

Copyright

by

I-Wen Lai

2009

**The Dissertation Committee for I-Wen Lai Certifies that this is the approved  
version of the following dissertation:**

**Time in the Iquito Language**

**Committee:**

---

Nora C. England, Supervisor

---

Anthony C. Woodbury

---

Patience L. Epps

---

Mily Crevels

---

Lisa J. Green

---

Lev D. Michael

**Time in the Iquito Language**

**by**

**I-Wen Lai, B. A.; M. A.**

**Dissertation**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**The University of Texas at Austin**

**May, 2009**

## **Dedication**

For my parents and my husband

and

Carlota Smith

## **Acknowledgements**

There are countless people, including my family, friends, colleagues, and professors, who have supported me and inspired me in my life and in achieving my personal and my professional goals in various different ways. I cannot mention all of you exhaustively here, but please accept the sincerest appreciation from my heart.

My deepest thanks go to my parents and my husband for their unconditional understanding, support, and patience along my long-lasting graduate career. I thank all of my friends who have helped me in so many ways to make my life continue as healthily and as happily as possible. Many of my friends are in different corners of the world. I thank you for your warmest friendship, generosity, hospitality, energy, and time. I thank my editors, Susan Smythe Kung and Tony Wright, for their time, energy and knowledge, and for making my dissertation much easier to read.

I am grateful to The Endangered Languages Documentation Programme of the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project. The data of this dissertation was collected during the years from 2003 to 2006 with the support of the above-mentioned agency. I am also grateful to the Iquito Language Documentation Project and the colleagues in the project for cultivating in me the traits of a professional linguist. I am extremely grateful to all the Iquito speakers in San Antonio de Pintuyacu, Loreto, Peru, most especially to

Ema Yareja Llona, Hermenegildo Díaz Cuyasa, Jaime Pacaya Inuma, and Ligia Inuma Inuma, who generously shared their time, knowledge, enthusiasm, and warmth with me.

I am fortunate to have worked with Dr. Carlota Smith, who was the co-chair of my dissertation committee, who generously shared her time with me, and who worked especially fast during the last months of her life. Even when she was quite ill, she still met with me regularly in person and managed to read about two thirds of the very rough draft of this dissertation. I was extremely fortunate to meet Dr. Nora England in my first year at UT and to immediately become her advisee. She provides me with unconditional support and always reads my papers head to toe many times, offering her helpful suggestions, editing, and comments. Dr. Lisa Green has influenced me in many ways. She has taught me, as a student as well as a person, to be very strong yet still very humorous. Dr. Patience Epps has been a great professor as well as a great friend to me and always supports me in every way she can. I am especially fortunate to have very enthusiastic off-campus committee members. Dr. Mily Crevels always printed out my drafts and sent them back to me with detailed comments. Every time I received a package from Europe, it was like receiving a present from her, besides the real gifts she brought me in person! Dr. Lev Michael has been a colleague in the Iquito Project as well as a great off-campus member who understood the unclear points I wanted to make about Iquito and helped me make them clear. During my graduate career at UT, Dr. Robert Harms has always been very kind and caring to me. Dr. Tony Woodbury, formerly the chair of the department, was very flexible and supportive of me, especially when my father passed away and I needed to go home for an entire year. Dr. Richard Meier, the current chair of the department, has been very caring to me and is always open to discuss any of my questions or concerns. I thank all of them for guiding me along the way.

# **Time in the Iquito Language**

Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

I-Wen Lai, Ph. D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

Supervisor: Nora C. England

Following Smith's (1991, 1997) two-component theory, this dissertation investigates the structural characteristics and the semantic properties of the temporal system, including tense, mood, viewpoint aspect, situation aspect and discourse modes, of Iquito, a highly endangered and moribund language spoken in the northern Peruvian Amazon.

Iquito has three tenses: Extended Current Tense, Recent Past Tense, and Distant Past Tense. Extended Current Tense gives a Reference Time (RT) frame from the day which includes Speech Time (SpT) to the infinite future. Therefore, situations occurring earlier on the same day or unrealized situations both appear in sentences with this tense. The temporal interpretation is inferred from the combination of aspect and mood morphology. Recent Past Tense gives a frame of RT from yesterday to one to two years prior to SpT. Distant Past Tense gives a frame of RT from one to two years prior to SpT extending backward to the infinitely remote past. Temporal boundaries among the tenses are not rigidly fixed in terms of a metrical conception of time. Iquito has seven perfective aspects, including a General, a Momentary, a Remote, two Deictic, an Allative, and an

Ablative Perfective Aspect and one Imperfective Aspect. Remote Perfective Aspect incorporates an adverbial component while Ablative and Allative Perfectives incorporate directional components and Deictic Perfectives incorporate deictic components. The system of perfective aspects in Iquito manifests the importance of expressing the realization of an event in conjunction with information about the time of the day, location, and routing in terms of location. Regarding situation aspect, I propose that there are six types in Iquito, including States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives and Motions, which all manifest language-specific correlates. With respect to grammatical moods, realis and irrealis moods are manifested in Iquito through a typologically unique strategy: word order change and vowel hiatus resolution. Regarding Discourse Modes, I find four modes in Iquito, including Narrative, Report, Description and Information. In addition, Quoted Speech manifests an interesting mixture of modes.

This dissertation adds another dimension to the close connections among tense, aspect and mood, and contributes to linguistic documentation and advances the structural and semantic analysis of Iquito and Amazonian languages. It also contributes to research on the crosslinguistic variation of temporal semantics and to linguistics in general through an interesting case study.



## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	xiv
List of Diagrams .....	xvi
List of Abbreviations .....	xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
1.1 Purpose and Central Questions of the Study.....	1
1.2 The Iquito People and Language .....	4
1.2.1 Iquito Language Shift and Maintenance .....	4
1.2.2 Main Speakers and the Community of the Study .....	13
1.2.3 Iquito Orthography.....	13
1.2.4 Features of Local Spanish as Phenomena of Language Contact	15
1.3 Previous Literature on Iquito and Organization of the Dissertation .....	21
Chapter 2: Pertinent Background.....	23
2.1 Theoretical Framework.....	23
2.1.1 Tense and Temporal Interpretation.....	23
2.1.2 Viewpoint Aspect.....	26
2.1.3 Situation Aspect.....	29
2.1.4 Discourse Mode .....	31
2.1.5 Notational Conventions .....	32
2.2 Methodology .....	35
2.3 Iquito Basic Constructions.....	44
2.3.1 Basic Word Order .....	45
2.3.2 Negation.....	55
2.3.3 Coordination .....	61
2.3.4 <i>When-</i> Clauses and Conditional Constructions.....	67
2.3.5 Basic Verbal Morphology and a General Introduction to Tense, Mood and Aspect in Iquito .....	69

Chapter 3: Tense .....	80
3.1 Introduction.....	80
3.1.1 Typology of Tense .....	80
3.1.2 Tense Morphology in Iquito .....	84
3.2 Discussion of Tense and Temporal Interpretation in Iquito .....	95
3.2.1 Tense Distinctions in Iquito.....	96
3.2.2 Interaction between Tense and Temporal Adverbs .....	102
3.2.3 Temporal Interpretation in Iquito .....	111
3.3 The Symmetric Nature of Some Deictic Temporal Adverbials.....	116
3.4 Temporal Divisions of a Day.....	128
3.5 Conclusion .....	136
Chapter 4: Mood .....	138
4.1 Introduction.....	138
4.2 Grammatical Mood: Realis and Irrealis.....	141
4.2.1 The Structural Characteristics of Realis and Irrealis Mood.....	143
4.2.2 The Semantic Contexts of Realis and Irrealis Mood .....	151
4.2.3 Possible Origins of Irrealis Word Order .....	162
4.3 Negation and Mood.....	167
4.3.1 <i>Caa</i> Negation .....	168
4.3.2 <i>Ji-caa</i> Negation.....	171
4.3.3 The Scope of Negation and the Function of the Two Strategies	178
4.4 Conditionals and Counterfactuality .....	181
4.4.1 Non-CF Conditionals.....	183
4.4.2 CF Conditionals .....	194
4.4.3 A Proposed Analysis.....	204
4.5 Desideratives, Optatives and CF Wishes .....	212
4.5.1 Desideratives.....	214
4.5.2 Optatives .....	222
4.5.3 CF Wishes.....	225
4.6 Imperatives and Jussives.....	238
4.6.1 Imperatives.....	241

4.6.2 Jussives .....	260
4.6.3 Negative Imperatives and Jussives .....	261
4.7 Conclusion .....	267
Chapter 5: Viewpoint Aspect.....	269
5.1 Introduction.....	269
5.2 General Perfective Aspect.....	276
5.2.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms.....	276
5.2.2 Past Context .....	278
5.2.2.1 Situation Types and Type of Perfective Closure .....	278
5.2.2.2 Reference Time and General Perfective Aspect .....	294
5.2.3 Immediate-Future Context and Imperatives .....	297
5.2.3.1 Immediate-Future Context.....	297
5.2.3.2 Imperatives.....	301
5.2.4 Summary .....	302
5.3 Momentary Perfective Aspect.....	302
5.3.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms.....	302
5.3.2 Past Context: Situation Types, Type of Perfective Closure and Reference Time.....	304
5.3.3 Near-Future Context and Imperatives.....	320
5.3.3.1 Near-Future Context .....	321
5.3.3.2 Imperatives.....	326
5.3.4 Summary .....	326
5.4 Remote Perfective Aspect.....	327
5.4.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms.....	327
5.4.2 Past Context: Situation Types and Type of Perfective Closure.....	330
5.4.3 Remote-Future Context and Imperatives .....	336
5.4.3.1 Remote-Future Context.....	340
5.4.3.2 Imperatives.....	343
5.4.4 Summary .....	344
5.5 Deictic Perfective Aspects .....	345
5.5.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms.....	345

5.5.2 Past Context .....	346
5.5.2.1 Deictic Property .....	346
5.5.2.2 Aspectual Property .....	355
5.5.3 Future Context and Imperatives .....	362
5.5.3.1 Future Context .....	362
5.5.3.2 Imperatives .....	367
5.5.4 Summary .....	371
5.6 Allative and Ablative Perfective Aspects .....	372
5.6.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms .....	372
5.6.2 Allative Perfective Aspect .....	374
5.6.3 Ablative Perfective Aspect .....	382
5.6.4 Summary .....	393
5.7 Imperfective Aspect .....	393
5.7.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms .....	393
5.7.2 Present and Past Contexts .....	396
5.7.3 Imminent-Future Context .....	410
5.7.4 Summary .....	412
5.8 Conclusion .....	413
Chapter 6: Situation Aspect .....	414
6.1 Introduction .....	414
6.2 Situation Types .....	417
6.2.1 Activities .....	420
6.2.2 Accomplishments .....	427
6.2.3 Achievements .....	434
6.2.4 Semelfactives .....	443
6.2.5 Statives .....	447
6.2.6 Motions .....	453
6.3 Conclusion .....	460
Chapter 7: Oral Texts and Discourse Modes .....	461
7.1 Introduction .....	461

7.2 Tense and Text Progression in Iquito .....	468
7.2.1 <i>How I Used to Live Down River</i> .....	469
7.2.2 <i>The Story of the Moon</i> .....	477
7.2.3 Discourse Modes in Iquito .....	492
7.3 Temporal Connectives .....	500
7.4 Conclusion .....	514
Appendices.....	515
Appendix 1: Event Quantification .....	515
1. Derivational Morphemes in the Lexicon .....	516
2. Generalized Synchronic Meanings .....	525
Appendix 2: Examples of Oral Texts.....	540
1. Introduction.....	540
2. Traditional tales .....	541
Text 1: The Story of the Moon .....	541
3. Narratives.....	547
Text 2: How I Used to Live Down River.....	547
4. Conversation .....	550
Text 3: Conversation about Leaf Collecting and Weaving Activities	
.....	551
References.....	600
Vita .....	611

## List of Tables

Table 1:	Iquito Word Order Variations.....	46
Table 2:	Template of Tense and Aspect Morphemes inside the Verbal Complex in Iquito.....	71
Table 3:	Schematic Summary of Phonological Realizations of Aspects in the contexts of Extended Current Tense.....	89
Table 4:	Symmetric Temporal Adverbials.....	117
Table 5:	Temporal Divisions of a Day.....	129
Table 6:	Elements Appearing in the X Position of SXV Word Order in Irrealis Mood.....	143
Table 7:	Semantic Contexts of Realis and Irrealis Mood.....	151
Table 8:	Non-CF Conditionals.....	183
Table 9:	CF Conditionals.....	195
Table 10:	CF Wishes.....	228
Table 11:	The Characterization of the Five Situation Types.....	270
Table 12:	Viewpoint Aspects in Iquito.....	274
Table 13:	Allomorphs of General Perfective Aspect in Iquito.....	277
Table 14:	Momentary Perfective Aspect in Iquito.....	304
Table 15:	Remote Perfective Aspect in Iquito.....	329
Table 16:	Dominant Types of Entities in Each Discourse Mode.....	462
Table 17:	Characteristics of the Five Discourse Modes.....	466
Table 18:	Discourse Modes and Temporal Advancement in <i>How I Used to Live Down River</i> .....	476

Table 19:	Discourse Modes and Temporal Advancement in <i>The Story of the Moon</i> .....	489
Table 20:	Discourse Modes in Iquito .....	498
Table 21:	Derivational Morphemes of Event Quantification.....	516
Table 22:	Relative Positions of the Derivational Morphemes .....	537

## List of Diagrams

Diagram 1:	The Zaparoan Family and Sub-groups of Iquito.....	6
Diagram 2:	List of Notational Conventions.....	33
Diagram 3:	Possible Positions of the Coordinator <i>Najaaaja</i> ‘also’ .....	62
Diagram 4:	Possible Positions of the Coordinator <i>Cuquisaacari</i> ‘probably’ .....	64
Diagram 5:	The Schematic Structure of Verbal Morphology in Iquito .....	69
Diagram 6:	The Schematic Structure of <i>Caa</i> Negation .....	169
Diagram 7:	The Schematic Structure of <i>Ji-caa</i> Negation .....	172
Diagram 8:	General Perfective Aspect.....	279
Diagram 9:	Allative Perfective Aspect <i>-sahu++</i> .....	373
Diagram 10:	Ablative Perfective Aspect <i>-(y)aar++</i> .....	373
Diagram 11:	Imperfective Aspect .....	396
Diagram 12:	Temporal Schema of Activities .....	421
Diagram 13:	Temporal Schema of Accomplishments .....	427
Diagram 14:	Temporal Schema of Achievements .....	435
Diagram 15:	Temporal Schema of Semelfactives.....	444
Diagram 16:	Temporal Schema of States .....	448
Diagram 17:	Continuity Pattern .....	463
Diagram 18:	Anaphoric Pattern .....	464
Diagram 19:	Deictic Pattern.....	464
Diagram 20:	Quoted Speech Pattern.....	496
Diagram 21:	<i>Jaari</i> and <i>Jaa</i> .....	501



## List of Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ADVRS	adversative
ALL	allative
AN	animate
ANA	anaphoric
ANT	anterior
APPL	applicative
CAU	causative
CIA	Cynthia Anderson Hansen
CLSF	clause-final marker
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
CF	counterfactual
CUM	cumulative
DEI1	deictic 1; upriver or in the proximity of the speaker
DEI2	deictic 2; downriver or away from the speaker
DET	determiner/demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DPST	Distant Past Tense
DST	distal, in a distance
DSTR	distributive
E	elicitation
EC	Extended Current Tense
ELY	Ema Llona Yareja
EXCL	exclusive
EXT	existential
FREQ	frequentative
FRUST	frustrative
GOAL	goal
GNR	general
HDC	Hermenegildo Díaz Cuyasa
HIS	historical
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INFR	inferential from auditory evidence
IPFV	imperfective
IWL	I-Wen Lai
JPI	Jaime Pacaya Inuma
JUSS	jussive

LII	Ligia Inuma Inuma
LOC	temporal or spatial location
MMT	Momentary
NASS	non-assertive
NEG	negative particle
NEXT	negative existential
NIP	non-imperfective aspects
NOM	nominalizer
NWR	narrower
OPT	optative
PART	participle
PFV	perfective
P	plural
PL	plural
POT	potential
PST	past
REL	relative pronoun/clause
REP	reportive evidential
REM	remote
RPST	Recent Past Tense
SUB	subordinate clause
S	singular
VERD	veridical from visual evidence

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 PURPOSE AND CENTRAL QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

There are currently around 6000 languages spoken in the world. However, the average rate of language death is one language every two weeks. That is to say, at least half of the languages on the planet will disappear in the very century in which we live now. One of the fundamental goals in linguistics is to discover language universals—how all languages are similar to each other—as well as language variations—how different languages can be. To achieve this goal, it is urgent and essential for linguists to contact speakers and to document as many languages as possible, especially under the circumstance that languages are disappearing at such an alarming rate. Iquito is a Zaparoan language spoken in the northern Peruvian Amazon. Out of the seven Zaparoan languages, three are still spoken nowadays: Iquito currently only has 25 speakers; Arabela has around 100; Záparo has virtually no fluent speakers left.

The present dissertation research on the Iquito tense, mood and aspect (TMA) system emerges from my continuing linguistic research<sup>1</sup> in the Iquito community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu in the northern Peruvian Amazon since 2003, the year in which I joined the Iquito Language Documentation Project (the ILDP hereafter). Among the topics of linguistic research done on Iquito, TMA has been one of the most challenging, problematic and interesting ones. Matthew S. Dryer (2005: 282), among many other authors, points out that “it is frequently difficult to determine from descriptive grammars whether a category ought to be considered tense or aspect. Different descriptions of the same language often differ in whether they characterize a category as one of tense or as one of aspect.” Dryer’s assertion motivates me very much to provide a detailed study,

---

<sup>1</sup> Specific periods of my fieldwork are detailed in §2.2 Methodology.

descriptively, analytically, as well as theoretically, and to present convincing evidence supporting my decision to designate a certain category as tense or as aspect in Iquito.

The goal of this dissertation is to provide a detailed description of Iquito tense and aspect, to propose a strong analysis under Smith's (1997[1991]) two-component theory and to offer a typological comparison with the languages of the world, which is not yet available for Iquito or other Zaparoan languages. The dissertation will also include discussions of grammatical mood in Iquito with the expectation to add another dimension to the close connections between tense, mood and aspect. The fieldwork conducted by the ILDP from 2003-2005 produced a basic understanding of tense, aspect and mood from oral texts in Iquito that was quite unanimous among the project members. However, because Iquito has a very unique and complicated tense and aspect system, many details and analyses of this system cannot be assured or even understood without systematic elicitation, including semantic tests and questionnaires, especially because certain viewpoint aspects do not occur frequently enough in any given natural text. These tasks were carried out during the dissertation fieldwork in 2006. In this dissertation, of course, I provide data not only from elicitation examples, but also from spontaneous conversational texts and narratives. The fundamental research questions of this study, which were unclear prior to the dissertation fieldwork, include: 1) Does Iquito have tense? If so, what are the tenses and how are they defined? 2) Does Iquito have relative tense? Tense, grammaticalized location in time (Comrie, 1985), takes some reference time as the deictic center from which it indicates the distance of an event. Therefore, this dissertation not only looks at independent sentences but also at the discourse context. Most tenses take utterance time as the deictic center in independent principal clauses, but they can depend on reference time in some cases. I study the Iquito patterns of different clause types (e.g. subordinate clauses, *when* clauses, etc.) and the discourse of narratives

in light of the well-established facts in Smith (1991, 1997, 2003). 3) Is future expressed by a modal category or tense, or a combination of both? 4) Is the tense category restricted to a certain type of situation, e.g. stative or dynamic? 5) How many viewpoint aspects and morphemes of temporal function are there in Iquito? 6) Does aspect interact with modal constructions? 7) Does aspect contribute to temporal interpretation? 8) Do viewpoint aspect and lexical aspect of predicates interact? In answering all the aforementioned questions, the goal of the dissertation research is to define the Iquito tense, mood and aspect categories, and to discover their interactions and patterns of obligatoriness. This dissertation pursues a thorough understanding of the temporal system of the Iquito Language.

This project has intellectual merit in that it will contribute to the linguistic documentation of the Iquito language, a highly endangered Zaparoan language. This study will also highlight the language-specific characteristics of Iquito and advance and contribute to the analysis and the overall understanding of TMA systems crosslinguistically. It advances general linguistics because the TMA system of a language is one of the most fundamental components of the grammar. It relates to the understanding of central cognitive categories. How different situation types of the verbs are categorized has to do with how a prototype is perceived. The way Iquito organizes temporal/modal/aspectual expressions and categorizes verb types and predicate arguments will present a variation in comparison with other languages. This study will add to our knowledge of how human languages pattern in terms of TMA systems and will contribute to the study of prototypes. As a broader impact, this project will bring together the linguistic description and theory of TMA systems and add to our knowledge of human brains and human languages. In short, it is expected that the detailed description, analysis and discussion of the Iquito temporal system included in this work will

contribute not only to the documentation of the Iquito, Zaparoan, and Amazonian languages, but also to linguistic theories and typological linguistics.

## **1.2 THE QUITO PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE**

This section examines some of the most important social and historical factors affecting the vitality of the Iquito language. The data used for this section include: 1) approximately 9 hours of interviews with 8 Iquito speakers, recorded by Karina Sullón Acosta, a member of the ILDP during the summer of 2005; 2) two articles by Beier and Michael, (2002, 2003); and 3) independent observations from my own fieldwork with the ILDP.

This section begins with a historical overview, including a brief description of Iquito's place in the Zaparoan family of languages, in order to contextualize the processes and stages of language shift in the Iquito case. Iquito language loss actually started within a historical context larger than just the language itself. This section discusses the relationship between historical diversity and the change of group identity, the political and social factors that led to the language shift and the attitude of the Iquito people towards their culture due to external pressure and cultural differences. Next the section turns to a discussion of the current situation of and the potential for language maintenance.

### **1.2.1 Iquito Language Shift and Maintenance**

Iquito, the name used for both the ethnic group and the language, is one of seven Zaparoan languages that were spoken in the Northern Peruvian Amazon. Besides Iquito, only Arabela and Záparo survive (as detailed below). The Iquito population currently can

be found concentrated in two areas on the Pintuyacu and Chambira Rivers. The largest and most concentrated population is found in the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu, Loreto, Peru. There are only about 25 fluent native speakers, 23 of whom live in San Antonio de Pintuyacu. None of them are monolingual. The native people identify themselves by the name of the river beside which they were born or by the name of the group to which the river corresponds.

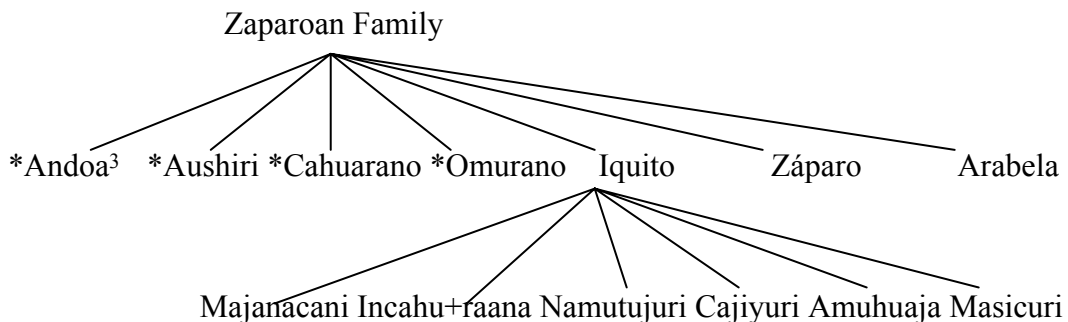
Historically, there were six sub-groups of Iquito, according to the interview data, distributed throughout the region of the Chambira, Pintuyacu, Nanay, Mazán and Momón Rivers. The group Majanacani lived in the region of the Momón and Chambira Rivers. Their physical characteristics were described by the 8 interviewed Iquito speakers as short and potbellied, with thick thighs and small feet. The group Incahu+raana<sup>2</sup> lived near the headwaters of the Pintuyacu River. This is the group of people who migrated to where the current city of Iquitos is today. Their physical characteristics were described as tall, light skinned and chubby. The Namutujuri group lived near the riverhead of Río Nanay. Their physical characteristics were described as potbellied with slim thighs. The Cajiyuri group lived in the region of the Pintuyacu. They were described as tall and chubby. The group Amuhujaja was described as a roaming tribe which did not settle in one place. The group Masicuri lived in the region of the Mazán River. They were described as small and thin, with delicate faces. These six groups of Iquito represent six dialects of one language. One thing to be noted is that although almost all of the interviewees were able to identify their individual origins in terms of these six groups, they emphasized that they are all Iquito people, a unified group. And indeed, a few of them were not able to distinguish the different groups of Iquito. In the following, I briefly represent the history of language shift of the Iquito language to Spanish.

---

<sup>2</sup> The plus sign '+' is used in Iquito orthography to indicate the sound of barred 'i' in IPA.

The seven languages of the Zaparoan family were estimated to have approximately 10,000 speakers for each language in pre-Columbian times. For the past three hundreds years, the number of speakers of these seven languages has declined due to political pressures brought about by colonization. The Andoa, Aushiri, Cahuarano and Omurano languages have become extinct, while the remaining three languages, Arabela, Iquito and Záparo, are now on the verge of extinction as well. When Catholic missionaries first arrived in the Amazon Basin in the 1600s, the Iquito people inhabited a fairly broad area as discussed above. Because of oppression and violence, which will be discussed below, the Iquito population gradually became concentrated and was reduced to about 500 people. When the Protestant missionary linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL hereafter) arrived in the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu in 1958, most of the adults were Iquito speakers. Linguists of SIL suggested that up until the 1930s, most of the Iquito people had been monolingual speakers. The situation of the Iquito language before the 1950s corresponds to the first stage of language shift outlined by Fishman (1985): language use is influenced by the institutional power of the social attitude of the majority group. The following diagram illustrates the Zaparoan family and the sub-groups of the Iquito language.

Diagram 1. The Zaparoan Family and Sub-groups of Iquito



<sup>3</sup> The asterisk here indicates the language is now extinct (i.e. currently it has no fluent speaker).



In the early 1900's the *mestizo* Güimack family<sup>4</sup> arrived in the region and adopted a forceful and strong approach to promoting the use of Spanish and repressing the use of indigenous language. This situation was especially serious from 1950 to 1980 (as detailed below). When Robert and Elizabeth Eastman of SIL arrived in San Antonio in 1958, all of the adults were able to speak Iquito. However, there was a high percentage of bilingualism among adults, and the loss of Iquito had started among children. Eastman (as cited in Beier and Michael, 2002) indicates that if both parents of the child were Iquito, the child would learn the language. If one of the two parents of the child was not Iquito, the Iquito language would not be passed on to the child. As such, inter-dialectal (i.e., marriage of Cajiyuri and Namutujuri, among others) marriage contributed to the loss of the diversity within the language, and inter-ethnic (i.e., marriage of Iquito and Spanish) marriage, plus external pressure, led to the loss of the language. According to current community members, 1950-1980 was an era of strong racism caused by the newcomers who brought political pressure. Speaking Iquito was a marker of indigenous identity, which was perceived as shameful, so they stopped speaking in Iquito in most contexts; the Iquito language use ceased to exist in all public domains.

Daily use of Iquito continued until about the 1980s because there were still monolingual Iquito speakers. Towards the end of the 1980s, monolingual speakers started to pass away. The population of monolingual speakers became smaller, leaving behind a majority of bilingual speakers. Thus, the absolute need to speak the Iquito language in order to communicate with monolingual speakers started to disappear. Furthermore, in the early 1990s, there were several severe waves of malaria. Almost all senior

---

<sup>4</sup> The Güimacks were Peruvian *mestizos* who came from the highlands as *patrones* during the rubber boom; the 'mixed race' Güimacks that now exist resulted from 'mixing' between mestizo men and Iquito women subsequent to the Güimacks' arrival (personal communication with Chris Beier, December, 15, 2005).

monolingual speakers and a considerable number of bilingual speakers were infected and died. As noted, currently there are only 23 bilingual speakers left in the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu.

The 1950s was a crucial period in terms of the loss of Iquito. Besides the strong presence of the mixed-race Güimack family, the last Iquito tribal leader died at the same time. This death represented a loss of local authority among the Iquito people. In addition, more immigrants coming from the highlands also arrived at the same time (Sullón, 2005). These newcomers came with pigs, abundant food, and other assets. Not long after their arrival, a new social hierarchy was developed in the community. The Iquito people were seen as poorer compared with the new community members. Meanwhile, due to the death of the last tribal leader, there was no internal authority among the people themselves. The Güimack family became the only authority and used violence to impose the use of Spanish. They encouraged social dependency, inter-ethnic marriage and external political force; therefore, Iquito people stopped passing on their native language to the next generation. At about the same time, Protestant Christian missionaries, bringing abundant medical resources and food, also arrived to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. The Bible stories they told reflected an entirely different way of life from traditional Iquito life. The indigenous people were ashamed for many of their cultural practices. The lack of authority among Iquito people at this period of time encouraged the loss of cultural practices. The abandonment of the language and also the cultural practices signaled relinguification and reethnification as the Iquito not only gave up their ethnic language and many cultural practices, but also came to view the ethnic language and these practices in negative ways. When interviewed, for example, some speakers said that their ancestors were nude and sometimes painted their bodies with plant pigments of a neutral tone. Some commented that their ancestors had been like

animals, wandering in the jungle. Some speakers did not admit that the ancestors sometimes painted their bodies. An obvious sense of shame can be discerned in the recorded interviews.

The situation of the Iquito language between 1950 and 1990 corresponds to the second and third stage of language shift outlined by Fishman (1985): the social dependency of the minority group on the majority group and relinguification and reethnification. The only caveat is that the terms ‘minority’ and ‘majority’ are not defined in terms of number, but in terms of power and wealth.

All of the 25 fluent native speakers are at least 58 years old. There is no fluent Iquito speaker younger than this age. In addition, there are about 15-20 semi-speakers and about 15-25 passive speakers (Beier and Michael, 2002). The ages of the semi-speakers and passive speakers ranges from 27-57 years old. People in the community continue to practice inter-ethnic marriage. Many of them now also marry people from the Iquitos area. Thus, the population continues to become more diverse in terms of linguistic and ethnic background. The use of the Iquito language is currently extremely limited. This fact can be attributed to the now small number of fluent speakers and their language attitudes. Fewer than 10 of the 23 speakers in the community state that they should not feel ashamed of speaking Iquito, while the rest of them still reported hesitancy in using Iquito as a means of communication among speakers. Even in a home setting where there are two or more Iquito speakers, Iquito is reportedly used much less than Spanish.

Since the mid-1990s, the racism characteristic of the period from 1950-1980 has become milder. The Iquito people strongly state that the situation of their ethnic language is critical, and they have been pursuing assistance from the regional provincial government for language revitalization and preservation. They have requested help in establishing bilingual primary and secondary schools to help preserve their own

language. They have also sent a request, through the regional government, for linguists to help with planning preservation-related issues and details. The ILDP, based at the University of Texas at Austin, has been working with the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu since 2001. The preparation of the reference grammar and pedagogical materials started in 2002.

The linguistic situation of the Iquito language since the mid-1990s corresponds to the fourth stage of language shift outlined by Fishman (1985), representing the possibility of a reaction that sets the scene for language revitalization and maintenance. In his research as a sociologist, Fishman (1985) used three variables to make predictions about language maintenance: the number of native speakers claimed in the census as an indication of the number of speakers of a language, the quantity of institutional resources available for the language, and an index relationship between the two. The following section discusses what actions the community has taken in elevating the number of speakers and the institutional resources available for the language. It also discusses the relationship between speakers' language attitudes and behaviors to estimate the potential of Iquito language revitalization and maintenance.

Although some speakers report that they value their ethnic language and claim they should not be ashamed of speaking it, the strong personal and social impact of racism since the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century cannot be changed overnight or even in a few years. Speakers have taken small steps in increasing the domains of language use. According to self-reported data, speakers say that they use Iquito with other speakers more frequently than before. In addition, in the celebration of Peruvian Independence Day in 2003, public speeches in Iquito were given. Although Iquito language use remains infrequent and symbolic, its language status has been enhanced in public domains. Iquito, as a subject, is now taught in primary and secondary

schools with materials created for this purpose. Children who have studied the language in school talk about it at home with their parents. Therefore, one interesting phenomenon is that adults are learning some Iquito through their children.

While many people are enthusiastic about revitalizing the language, the actual situation is more complicated. Descendants of immigrants from the highlands are indifferent to and even critical of Iquito language preservation. The majority of the mixed-race Güimack family is very enthusiastic about the ILDP linguistics project. However, most of the young Iquito people are not interested in learning linguistics or, ultimately, in learning to teach and conduct linguistics-related tasks for their ethnic language. Two young Iquito people, Miloslava and Arturo, who were originally interested in learning to be community linguists, could not continue to dedicate the time to learning linguistics and Iquito. The Iquito people have learned gradually to appreciate the effort of some descendants of the Güimack family, but the community still has a long way to go toward language revitalization because community-based efforts are essential to this goal.

The Peruvian government has already put in place legislation that clearly supports the preservation of indigenous languages, as well as their use in early education. Iquito is the official language of the community described here while Spanish and Quechua are the official languages of Peru. Thus, the political context is appropriate for language maintenance in the Iquito case. However, to teach and learn a language, it is necessary to have teachers who can teach and materials for them to use. To have teachers, the community needs to have trained bilingual teachers with the resources provided by the government. The original teachers of primary and secondary schools have contacted the cultural and educational department of the local provincial government, which has shown high respect for the indigenous languages of the Amazon basin and has been conducting

bilingual education programs, to demonstrate their goal of becoming eligible bilingual teachers. Together with the NGO Lupuna, an educational organization, the community teachers and the provincial government have successfully established bilingual schools and developed limited pedagogical materials. The support of the local government has been important in assuring the education and the training of Iquito people to be bilingual teachers. The community has incorporated senior Iquito speakers in the bilingual education classroom. Specifically, a bilingual teacher conducts the class while an Iquito speaker models the content of the language.<sup>5</sup>

Besides teachers, pedagogical materials are also in demand. One point to recognize is that the language must be taught not only to children, but to adults as well in order to maintain it. In addition to the home setting, where children talk to their parents about what they learn from the school, printed materials are also important in the long run for helping to preserve the language. Since the language cannot be learned naturally from the earlier generation, the materials for language learning include a grammar, which covers different aspects of the Iquito language, a dictionary, and a collection of texts, which represents the actual usage of Iquito. The ILDP has been preparing these materials since 2002.

The linguistic research of the ILDP plays an important role in the language maintenance of Iquito. It started with providing a practical and simple orthography, modified from the earlier orthography designed by the Eastmans of the SIL, and it has continued to create linguistic materials, including a descriptive reference grammar, a pedagogical grammar, a dictionary and a text collection.

---

<sup>5</sup> Of course, in many cases, the scope of learning is limited to vocabulary and fixed phrases.

### 1.2.2 Main Speakers and the Community of the Study

The data of the Iquito language in the current study were collected in the Iquito community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu, Loreto, Peru, in consultation with four principal, fluent native speakers. Throughout the dissertation, I use the terms *speaker*, *informant*, and *consultant*, interchangeably in referring to them. The four speakers are Ema Llona Yareja, Hermenegildo Díaz Cuyasa, Jaime Pacaya Inuma, and Ligia Inuma Inuma. Their ages range from 58 to around 78 years of age. In the body of the text of discussion, I often address them by first name. However, in the specific context of discussing the variations of their speaking styles or dialectal differences, I chose to use the abbreviated forms to indicate the source of the data and the participants due to high frequency of reference. The abbreviations are ELY for Ema Llona Yareja, HDC for Hermenegildo Díaz Cuyasa, IWL for myself, JPI for Jaime Pacaya Inuma, and LII for Ligia Inuma Inuma.

### 1.2.3 Iquito Orthography

The ILDP has adopted the following orthography (i.e. phonemic<sup>6</sup>) for the Iquito language. In the following, I introduce first the consonants and then the vowels; the graphemes can be written in both upper and lower case. I also include the corresponding IPA symbols between square brackets.

There are ten consonants in Iquito:

*p* represents the voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [p<sup>h</sup>].

*t* represents the voiceless aspirated alveolar stop [t<sup>h</sup>].

---

<sup>6</sup> For detailed discussions on Iquito sound inventory, please refer to Sullón (2004) and Rauschuber (2005).

*c* or *qu* represents the voiceless aspirated velar stop [k<sup>h</sup>]; the digraph *qu* is specifically used preceding the high front [i] or high central [ɨ] vowels.

*s* represents the voiceless alveolar fricative [s].

*j* represents the voiceless glottal fricative [h].

*m* represents the bilabial nasal [m].

*n* represents the alveolar nasal [n].

*r* represents the alveolar flap [ɾ].<sup>7</sup>

*y* represents the palatal approximant [j].

*hu* or *u* represents the labio-velar approximant [w]; the digraph *hu* is used when there is no preceding consonant.

There are eight vowels in Iquito, four short vowels and four long vowels:

*a* represents the low back unrounded vowel [a].

*aa* represents the long version of the low back vowel.

*i* represents the high front unrounded vowel [i].

*ii* represents the long version of the high front unrounded vowel.

*u* represents the high back rounded vowel [u].

*uu* represents the long version of the high back rounded vowel.

*+* represents the high central unrounded vowel. It is the corresponding barred i, [ɨ], in IPA.

*++* represents the long version of the high central unrounded vowel.

---

<sup>7</sup> The ILDP team members all notice a slight difference between the Iquito *r* and the flap r as defined in IPA. There is an additional frication property (i.e. the airstream coming out of a narrow passage) in the Iquito *r*. In addition, the Iquito *r* is pronounced with the tip of the tongue rather than the blade of the tongue.



In addition to the graphemes used above, the pitch-accent (also referred to as tone by the ILDP) is also marked on the vowel (e.g. *í*) except when the vowel is the high central vowel *+*, in which case, it is marked by an apostrophe ‘’ preceding the vowel (e.g. *’+*). It is noted that analysis of tone in Iquito is a developing project. The examples in the current study do not represent the most current tonal marking.

#### **1.2.4 Features of Local Spanish as Phenomena of Language Contact**

Local Spanish in the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu displays striking differences from the regular Latin American Spanish and Regional Amazonian Spanish, spoken in the city of Iquitos. Regional Amazonian Spanish is structurally the same as the common Latin American Spanish with the addition of regional vocabulary. Local Spanish in the community is quite different, not just in terms of its special vocabulary, but in the grammar as well. This profound difference has presumably been around for at least sixty years. Due to its grammatical difference from the regional and Latin American Spanish, it presents a border case between ‘a dialect of Spanish’ and ‘a creole.’ The current local Spanish in the community could be derived from both the substrate influence of the Iquito grammar and the effect of second language acquisition. At the very least, it presents an interesting case of a language-contact phenomenon. In the following, I discuss the fundamental grammatical characteristics of the Spanish spoken in San Antonio de Pintuyacu.

##### **Tense-Aspect**

In the use of local Spanish, the perfect form of common Spanish, such as *he, has, ha, hemos, han, había, habías* and *habían*, are adopted as the tense distinctions of remoteness in the past and in the perfective sentences, which correspond to the tense

distinctions in Iquito. The group of forms *he, has, ha, hemos* and *han* is used to indicate events taking place in the recent past and the group of forms *había, habías, habíamos* and *habían* is used to indicate the distant past. The ‘perfect’ meaning is lost, as in (a) and (b). The speaker Jaime indicates that the phrase *acabar de* ‘just’ in the present tense *acaba de* sounds weird in the community. The people in the community do not use it; they only use the form *ha acabado de*. Some of them understand *acaba de*, some of them do not.

(a) Jaime reciencito ha acabado de cocinar. ‘Jaime recently finished cooking.’

(b) Jaime había cocinado. ‘Jaime cooked a long time ago.’

In addition, there is no regular preterit (i.e. perfective past) form in local Spanish, as indicated in the following paradigm (c).

(c) cocinar ‘cook’

cociné ‘cook.1S.preterite’: N/A

cocinaste ‘cook.2S.preterite’: N/A

cocinó ‘cook.3S.preterite’: N/A

cocinaron ‘cook.2P/3P.preterit’: N/A

To indicate perfect meaning, the adverb *ya* ‘already’ is added together with an explicit temporal reference to indicate the time of the event, as in (d).

(d) Pero yo ya he cocinado en la mañana. ‘But I have already cooked in the morning.’

To indicate progressive imperfective situation, the auxiliary *estar* is used in combination with the progressive form, as in (e).

(e) Ella está cocinando. ‘She is cooking.’

However, there is no perfect progressive in local Spanish as in (f). Instead, a sentence such as (g) or (h) is the acceptable form. This, again, confirms that the form *ha*, among others, has lost its perfect meaning and is used solely to indicate perfective situations. This phenomenon also corresponds to the Iquito structure in which the perfect progressive is indicated through an adverbial indicating a duration of time in combination with the regular progressive, expressed through the imperfective aspect.

(f) Ella ha estado cocinando por tres horas. ‘She has been cooking for three hours.’:  
N/A

(g) Ella ya es tres horas lo que está cocinando. ‘She has been cooking for three hours.’ (Literally: She, it is already three hours what she is cooking.)

(h) Ella está cocinando tres horas. ‘She has been cooking for three hours.’  
(Literally: She is cooking three hours.)

Corresponding with the fact that there is no preterit form in local Spanish, the copula forms in common Spanish, such as *fui, fuiste, fue, fuimos* and *fueron*, do not exist in local Spanish. In addition, *era, eras* and *eran* are also not used. The perfective and imperfective uses of the copula are conflated into one expression *haber sido*. The phrases

*he sido, has sido, ha sido, hemos sido, han sido* are used for situations in the recent past and *había sido, habías sido, habíamos sido, habían sido* are used for those in the distant past. The present forms of *ser*, such as *soy, eres, es, somos* and *son* are retained in local Spanish. Examples in (i) demonstrate what is discussed above.

- (i) Yo soy estudiante. ‘I am a student.’  
Yo he sido estudiante antes. ‘I was a student before/earlier.’  
Yo había sido estudiante antes. ‘I was a student before (many years ago).’  
Yo era estudiante. ‘I was a student.’: N/A  
Yo fui estudiante. ‘I was a student.’: N/A

The last tense/aspect characteristic of local Spanish is that there is no future conjugation of the verb, only periphrastic expressions, as in (j).

- (j) Mañana va a matar una huangana. ‘Tomorrow he is going to kill a peccary.’

### **Irregular Conjugation**

One interesting borrowing from common Spanish is the adjectival form *muerto* ‘dead’ derived from *morir* ‘die.’ The form *muerto* is now used in local Spanish in the phrase *haber muerto* to mean ‘killed.’ The infinitive form of ‘kill’ is still *matar*. The forms of the present tense are still based on the infinitive form (i.e. *mato, matas, mata, matamos* and *matan*); however, the forms of the past tense have changed to *he muerto, has muerto, ha muerto, hemos muerto, han muerto, había muerto, habías muerto, habíamos muerto* and *habían muerto*, as in (k).

- (k) matar ‘kill’  
 maté ‘kill.1S.preterit’: N/A  
 mataste ‘kill.2S.preterit’: N/A  
 mató ‘kill.3S.preterit’: N/A  
 matado ‘kill.perfect’: N/A  
 ¿Has muerto una huangana? ‘Did you kill a peccary?’  
 Él ha muerto una huangana. ‘He killed a peccary.’  
 Había muerto una huangana. ‘He killed a peccary (a long time ago).’

This irregular past tense conjugation of ‘kill’ merges with that of ‘die.’ The only difference is that in the case of ‘die,’ a reflexive *se* is added, as in (l). This does not indicate a suicidal event. If it were a suicide, the phrase *él mismo* ‘he himself’ is added to stress this, as in (m).

- (l) Mañana ya va morir ese enfermo. ‘Tomorrow this sick person is already going to die.’  
 Ese enfermo ya se ha muerto ayer. ‘That sick person already died yesterday.’  
 Ese enfermo se había muerto. ‘That sick person died (a long time ago)’
- (m) Ya se ha muerto él mismo. ‘He already killed himself.’

### Double Subjunctive<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Spanish subjunctive conjugation of verbs is generally formed by changing the vowel height. However, some verbs have irregular conjugation; for example, the subjunctive form of the verb *tener* ‘have’ is *tenga*. What happens in the Quito community is that they further change the vowel height of the irregular conjugation of subjunctive to make the form *tengue*. I refer to this strategy as ‘double subjunctive.’

Local Spanish also displays a phenomenon of double subjunctive, specifically in those already irregular forms, such as *tenga* derived from *tener* ‘have.’ Sentence (n) shows the subjunctive conjugation of the verb *hablar* ‘speak’ and (o) shows the subjunctive conjugation of the irregular verb *tener* ‘have.’ The phenomenon of the double subjunctive is possibly a remnant of over-generalization from language acquisition.

(n) Espero que hable Iquito. ‘I hope he speaks Iquito.’

(o) Espero que tengue dinero. ‘I hope he has money.’

Espero que tenga dinero. ‘I hope he has money’: N/A

### **Determiner/Demonstrative**

Regarding the definite articles *el* and *la*, speakers of local Spanish use them only for generic or indefinite unspecific readings. They mostly use *un* or *una* for indefinite specific readings and *ese/esa* and *este/esta* for definite readings.

(p) No he visto a ese hombre. ‘I did not see that man.’

El hombre está durmiendo. ‘A man is sleeping.’

Un hombre está durmiendo. ‘A (specific) man is sleeping.’

### **Nominalizer**

Local Spanish also displays a phenomenon of over-generalization when nominalizing a verb. The nominal form *la enseñanza* ‘teaching’ is generally replaced by *el enseñar* and *el aprendizaje* ‘learning’ by *el aprender*; the nominal form *el profesor*

‘the teacher’ is also expressed through the phrase *el enseñador* and *el estudiante* ‘the student’ through *el aprendedor*.

### **Other Special Lexical Items**

There are a few terms that are specifically shared in the community, and perhaps among other indigenous communities as well, but not in the city of Iquitos.

- (q) apu ‘tribal leader’: a term that Iquito borrowed from Quechua  
deverasmente ‘really, indeed’: They also use the phrases *en verdad* and *de veras*.  
ha regresar ‘returned.3S.past’: The speaker Jaime indicates that some people use the unconjugated form *regresar* ‘to return’ in the phrase *ha regresar* ‘returned.’

### **1.3 PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON IQUITO AND ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

The first language documentation on Iquito is Eastman & Eastman’s (1963) *Iquito Syntax* which provides a syntactic sketch using a tagmemic framework. Since 2003, the ILDP has documented several aspects of the grammar, including phonology, verbal morphology, and syntax. Preliminary research and documentation directly related to the TMA system include Beier (2003b) which explores Iquito tense markers, including non-past tense, recent past tense and distant past tense. She also discusses the basic use of the Imperfective Aspect in Iquito. Lai (2003a) explores Iquito completive and inceptive aspects (which were re-analyzed and renamed as General Perfective Aspect and Momentary Perfective Aspect in this work) and Lai (2005a) proposes to change the label of completive aspect to perfective aspect because, in Iquito, completive aspect only indicates the termination or occurrence of an event and does not indicate the completion

of an event. Completion is generally assumed, but can be cancelled if an open<sup>9</sup> situation is asserted. Lai (2003b, 2005a) provides a basic understanding of how Iquito tense/aspect and mood interact. These works point out that perfective aspects are generally used in counterfactual situations while Imperfective Aspects are generally used in non-counterfactual situations. It is anticipated that this study will provide a detailed TMA investigation on the basis of previous research on this topic.

The current dissertation is organized as follows. In chapter 2, the pertinent background of the dissertation is discussed, including the theoretical framework, the methodology and the relevant basic constructions of Iquito. In chapter 3, I discuss tense in Iquito, including its morpho-phonology, its semantics and how temporal interpretations are achieved. In addition, I discuss the symmetric nature of temporal adverbials in Iquito and how a day is divided in the use of the language. In chapter 4, I discuss grammatical mood in Iquito, including the structural characteristics and the semantic contexts in which it is used. In addition, I also discuss constructions of negation, conditionals, desideratives, optatives, CF wishes, imperatives and jussives, specifically based on structural comparison of them with the mood constructions. In chapter 5, I discuss grammatical viewpoint aspects in Iquito, including their morpho-phonology and their semantics. In chapter 6, I discuss the realization of situation types in Iquito. In chapter 7, I discuss the temporal system in the discourse context and discourse modes discovered therein. Appendix 1 includes the discussion of event quantification in derivational morphology. Appendix 2 contains three example texts, including one traditional tale, one narrative, and one conversational text.

---

<sup>9</sup> Please refer to §2 for definitions of terminologies.



## **Chapter 2: Pertinent Background**

### **2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The analysis of the Iquito temporal system in this dissertation assumes Smith's (1997) two-component theory on aspectual systems, as well as her framework on discourse modes (2003) and tense and temporal interpretation (1997, 2005). Grammatical mood is not within the scope of her theory; however, in Iquito it contributes to the temporal interpretation of the sentence in certain cases and, therefore, is included in this dissertation. This section gives an overview of the assumed framework on tense (§2.1.1), viewpoint aspect (§2.1.2), situation aspect (§2.1.3), and discourse mode (§2.1.4), which are discussed in detail in respective chapters later in this dissertation. §2.1.5 introduces the notational conventions used in this study.

#### **2.1.1 Tense and Temporal Interpretation**

As stated in Smith (1997: 97), “Temporal location and aspect are complementary temporal systems. The former locates a situation in time, while the latter specifies the internal temporal structure of the situation.” Temporal information, including tense and explicit temporal adverbials, of a sentence contributes to temporal interpretation, which determines and locates a situation in time. The term ‘situation,’ following Smith’s use, includes states and events (i.e. Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives). Therefore, States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives are five types of ‘situation aspects,’ also termed ‘situation types.’ The term ‘situation’ is used on both the basic level (i.e. verbal constellation) and the derived level (i.e. shifted by grammatical aspects or explicit adverbials). Situation aspect is conveyed

by the verb constellation, including the verb and its arguments; grammatical aspect, also termed viewpoint aspect, is conveyed by one (or more) grammatical morphemes. ‘Eventuality’ is another term frequently encountered in Smith’s work, especially on discourse modes as a type of entity; it is, in general, equivalent to the term ‘situation’ used for the derived level.

Temporal interpretation indicates where a situation is temporally located in relation to reference time (frequently abbreviated as RT in this study), which may be the same as speech time (abbreviated as SpT) or some other reference point. Temporal interpretation is directly attained from tense in tensed languages, but is indirectly inferred, if there are no explicit temporal adverbials, from the semantic information conveyed by aspects and the pragmatic principles of their interpretation. Smith defines the tense category as an obligatory morpheme in the sentence. To temporally locate a situation, we need three times—SpT (the time of utterance), RT (the temporal perspective of the presentation), and SitT (the time a situation holds or occurs)—and two relations—the relation between SpT and RT, and that between RT and SitT. The three times and two relations are both encoded by tense; therefore, temporal interpretation is direct in tensed languages. It is noted that in simple sentences, SpT is the orientation point; in complex sentences, RT may serve as a secondary orientation point.

In tenseless languages, temporal interpretation relies on the semantic information of aspects, and pragmatic principles and inference rules. Viewpoint aspects semantically convey boundedness by presenting the situation in part or in its entirety. Boundedness information is crucial in determining the relationship between the situation and SitT. Bounded events occur within the SitT interval and unbounded events or states overlap the SitT interval. Pragmatic principles for inference of temporal interpretation in tenseless languages include the following, from Smith (2005):

A. The Deictic Principle

Speech Time is the central orientation point for language. The Present time is located at Speech Time; the Past precedes it, the Future follows.

B. The Bounded Event Constraint

Bounded situations may not be located in the Present.

C. The Simplicity Principle

Choose the interpretation that requires least information added or inferred.

Following the principle above, in tenseless languages which have grammatical aspects, a perfective sentence is by default inferred as the past unless additional information indicates otherwise. Likewise, an imperfective sentence is by default inferred as the present. The above three principles constrain temporal interpretation in tensed languages and guide the default pattern of temporal interpretation in tenseless languages. For a tenseless language that does not have grammatical aspects, boundedness is further inferred from the situation aspect. Situation aspects are categorized in terms of three temporal features: dynamism, duration, and telicity. Telic and non-durative events are intrinsically bounded. Atelic and durative events are unbounded.

In independent sentences of tensed languages, the deictic pattern is the default pattern of tense, whose interpretation is anchored to SpT. However, in stretches of sentences, the interpretation tense might be anchored to the previous discourse, illustrating a continuity and an anaphoric pattern. This is introduced in §2.1.4 and discussed in detail in §7. A detailed overview of the theory and the details of tense and temporal interpretation in Iquito are discussed in §3.

### **2.1.2 Viewpoint Aspect**

Viewpoint aspects, expressed through grammatical morphemes, semantically convey boundedness information of a situation in the sentence. Imperfective aspect presents part of a situation, an unbounded situation with ‘no information’ on the initial and final endpoints (also termed as the endpoints being ‘invisible’); this is also often addressed as an ‘open reading’ of a situation or an ‘open situation.’ The term ‘open’ therefore is equivalent to ‘unbounded’ while the term ‘closed’ is equivalent to ‘bounded.’ Bounded events occur within the SitT interval and unbounded events or states overlap the SitT interval. Perfective aspect presents a situation in its entirety, a bounded situation ‘including’ the initial and final endpoints (also termed as the endpoints being ‘visible’); this is often addressed as a ‘closed reading’ or a ‘closed situation.’ There are different types of closure (i.e. closed readings), including completion and termination. The above are the general unmarked properties of viewpoint aspects. However, viewpoint aspects interact with situation aspects; since States do not contain endpoints, properties of perfective aspect might not apply. Details on how much information viewpoint aspects span and present also differ from language to language. Smith proposes a third main type of aspect, Neutral aspect, which applies to languages with an unmarked aspect, allowing either a closed or an open reading. The terms ‘viewpoint aspect’ and ‘grammatical aspect’ are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

The information conveyed by linguistic forms of viewpoint aspect is its semantic meaning, which cannot be cancelled. Viewpoint aspects span all or part of a situation. The information a viewpoint presents is affected by the structure of the situation. This leads us to the point that aspectual viewpoints are independent of situation types as assumed in the two-component theory. The main semantic distinction among aspectual viewpoints is how much of a situation they make visible. Perfective viewpoints focus a

situation as a whole and include endpoints while imperfective viewpoints focus an interval and exclude endpoints. The evidence for the semantic meanings of aspectual viewpoints comes from semantic tests: conjunctions and questions. Conjunction is based on the compatibility of two assertions. Open situations are compatible with assertions that the situation continues or terminates without completion, which means the imperfective viewpoint does not entail the completion of the situation and, hence, the final endpoint of the event is not visible. Closed situations, on the other hand, are not compatible with assertions that the situation continues or terminates without completion, which means the perfective viewpoint entails the completion of the situation and, hence, the final endpoint of the event is visible. Crosslinguistically, there are different manifestations of perfective aspects; some languages have terminative closure instead of completive closure and some languages include a post stage, etc. *Before-* and *after-* clauses are also useful to test if the final endpoint of a situation is semantically visible. *When-* clauses can distinguish the imperfective viewpoint from others because a sequential reading would not be available for it. Questions also function as tests to discover the semantic meaning of a sentence: a closed situation is not compatible with a question which asks about its continuation.

The perfective viewpoint presents an entire situation and, therefore, is incompatible with an assertion that the event continued, as indicated in (r). It is closed informationally as an unmarked perfective viewpoint. As such, prototypically it does not apply to stative situations. The English perfective viewpoint conveys termination or completion depending on situation types. The Chinese perfective viewpoint conveys termination for all non-stative events. The Russian perfective requires the boundary of events to be specifically indicated. Regarding the parameter of statives and the perfective viewpoint, the French perfective applies to statives because the perfective includes changes into and out of a state; the English perfective presents open stative situations

because it does not include endpoints of States; perfectives in Russian, Mandarin Chinese, and Navajo do not apply to States at all, except when the verb constellations undergo a shift in situation type. The marked perfective viewpoint includes the Chinese -*guo* which requires a discontinuity in situation and is evident in conjunction tests.

(r) #Mary walked to school and she's still walking. (Smith, 1997: 64)

The imperfective viewpoint presents internal stages of a situation excluding its endpoints. Marked imperfective viewpoints span the preliminary stages of events or the resultant stages of telic events. Imperfective viewpoint can be tested by the conjunction test, *when-* and *after-* clauses. *After-* clauses require sequentiality and hence an open situation in the main clauses would be incompatible, as in (s). When transitivity and morphological factors allow, the stages which are focused by imperfective viewpoints may be ambiguous (i.e. an eventive or resultative reading). The neutral viewpoint is open but not unlimited and it allows both open and closed readings, with its temporal schema including the initial endpoint and at least one stage of the event.

(s) ?/\* John was singing after Mary broke the glass. (Smith 1997: 65) <sup>10</sup>

Viewpoint aspect is independent of situation aspect. For example, imperfective viewpoints may focus the preliminary or resultant stages of a situation, in which case the schemata of a situation and the span of the viewpoint do not coincide. In addition, the Chinese -*guo* perfective viewpoint requires the span to include the situation and also a

---

<sup>10</sup> I use an asterisk '\*' to indicate an ungrammatical sentence, the sign '#' to indicate a semantically ill-formed sentence, and the sign '?' to indicate a marginally acceptable form. The combination '?/\*' indicates the sentence is either ungrammatical or at best marginal for the speakers.

post-final stage which cannot be said to be dependent on the situation schema. As such, one crucial point is not to confuse perfectivity with telicity. Perfectivity indicates the boundedness of the situation while telicity concerns the natural final endpoint, in terms of a temporal bound as well as an outcome. For example, the sentence *I talked* contains an atelic event in the perfective aspect, indicating an event with an arbitrary final endpoint. A detailed overview of the theory and details of viewpoint aspects in Iquito are discussed in §5.

### 2.1.3 Situation Aspect<sup>11</sup>

Smith recognizes five situation types: States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives. Situation aspect, as one of the two components in the aspectual system, is conveyed through the verb and its arguments, including obligatory adverbials, at the basic level and is coerced (i.e. as shifts of situation types) by non-obligatory adverbials, viewpoint aspects, or sometimes even tense (i.e. English present tense) at the derived level. A given situation type, as a covert linguistic category, is indirectly grammaticized in a language if the verb constellations have a consistent set of linguistic properties. Intrinsic temporal features which distinguish the five situation types are based in human perceptual/cognitive abilities and can be described in terms of dynamism, duration and telicity. While the five situation types hold across languages, linguistic correlates of the distinction vary from language to language. Three features, [static/dynamic], [telic/atelic] and [durative/instantaneous] represent the properties of the five situation types. In addition, the mereological concept (i.e. quantized vs. cumulative events) of the analogy between things and events is also relevant.

---

<sup>11</sup> In the typological literature, ‘situation aspect’ is usually called ‘Aktionsart.’ However, there is a distinction in that ‘Aktionsart’ generally applies to verbs while ‘situation aspect’ applies to verbal constellations which include verbs and the obligatory arguments and adverbials.

The Activity situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [-telic], and [+durative]. The situation type value of Activity shifts to Accomplishment when accompanied by a bounding adverbial. There are two basic types of Activity: one consists of a cumulative, unlimited, event (i.e. an atelic verb with compatible complements, such as *laugh, talk, push a cart*, etc.), while the other consists of numerous internal stages (i.e. a telic verb with a mass NP complement, such as *eat cherries*).

The Accomplishment situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [+telic] and [+durative] and consists of a process and an outcome or a change of state. The relationship between the process and the outcome/result of the Accomplishment situation type is well known as non-detachability. Telic events can be classified by the type of result they bring about: affected object (e.g. *break a pot*), constructed object (e.g. *write a letter*), consumed object (e.g. *eat an apple*), affected experiencer (e.g. *entertain Mary*), and path-goal (e.g. *walk to the park*). Accomplishments derived from Activities (e.g. *walk for 3 hours*) do not have the feature of change of state as the outcome.

Semelfactives are single-stage events with no outcome/result, with the temporal features of [-dynamic], [-durative] and [-telic] (e.g. *cough*). Semelfactives with durative adverbials (e.g. *cough for a day*) are interpreted as derived multiple-event Activities.

The Achievement situation type is instantaneous and has a change of state (e.g. *win*). Its temporal features are [+dynamic], [-durative] and [+telic]. Derived Achievement sentences (e.g. *finish running, suddenly know*) in English appear with super-lexical verbs, such as *start* and *finish*, or adverbials.

States consist of an undifferentiated period with internal structure (e.g. *believe*). Their temporal features are [-dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]. Derived Statives (e.g. *tigers eat meat* and *always play piano*) include generic predication and habitual sentences. English event sentences with present tense and perfective viewpoint must be



taken as habituais. Across languages, Statives differ in compatibility with the kind of aspectual viewpoint. Some languages cannot combine Statives with perfective viewpoint; some cannot combine Statives with progressive viewpoint. The notational conventions and how temporal schemata of situation aspect and viewpoint aspect combine to yield aspectual interpretations are discussed in §2.1.5. A detailed overview of the theory and the details of situation aspects in Iquito are discussed in §6.

#### **2.1.4 Discourse Mode**

Smith (2003) recognizes five discourse modes at the level of local text structure, the level of passage: Narrative, Description, Report, Information and Argument. They are characterized in terms of types of text organization (i.e. temporal, atemporal), of entities (i.e. eventualities, general statives, abstract entities), of progression (i.e. temporal, spatial, metaphorical), and of patterns of tense interpretation (i.e. deictic, continuity, anaphoric). All of the above features are conveyed through linguistic correlates.

Narrative, Description and Report are temporal modes and convey, respectively, continuity, anaphoric, and deictic patterns of tense. That is to say, Reference Time (RT) in Narrative and Description is interpreted depending on the preceding discourse: it advances with each bounded event in Narrative and does not advance temporally in Description. The text of Description progresses spatially from one part of the scene to another; time is static in Description. RT and temporal advancement in Report depend on tense and deictic temporal adverbials, both related to Speech Time (SpT). Tense in Information and Argument is deictic as it anchors to SpT. However, Information and Argument are atemporal, involving situations which cannot be located in time in the real world. Text in Information and Argument progresses in the metaphorical domain as the Primary Referent of the text metaphorically moves or changes. Summarizing the above

discussion, tense in independent/simple sentences conveys deixis; however, contextual interpretation of tense, as well as aspect, varies according to different discourse modes. Regarding situation entities in discourse modes, Narrative, Report and Description, in general, consist of eventualities (i.e. specific events and states), while Information and Argument generally consist of general statives (i.e. generic and generalizing sentences) and abstract entities (i.e. facts and propositions). Besides text organization, progression, patterns of tense interpretation and situation entities, discourse modes also differ in the subjectivity they express. In Report and Argument, the author is usually strongly present while in Narrative, Description, and Information it is the opposite. All the above features are conveyed through linguistic correlates: the choice and the interpretation of tense and aspect, deixis shift of tense, pronoun, and space, temporal and spatial adverbials, and clause structure, among others.

A detailed overview of the theory and the details of discourse modes in Iquito are discussed in §7.

### **2.1.5 Notational Conventions**

Throughout the dissertation, the following notational conventions are used in discussing temporal properties and relations, and in presenting diagrams and temporal schemata. The conventions basically follow and extend those laid out in Smith (1997:23). In discussing temporal properties of situation aspect, the types of situation (i.e. event or state) are characterized in terms of their duration and whether they consist of successive internal stages, their initial and final endpoints, whether the final endpoint is natural or arbitrary, and the outcome of the event. In discussing temporal properties of viewpoint aspect, the span of a situation the aspect makes visible is characterized in terms of initial and final endpoints, internal stages and preliminary and post stages. In discussing

temporal relations of tense, the three times (i.e. SitT, SpT and RT) are related in terms of the overlapping, preceding or following relationship of their time points/intervals. In discussing temporal properties of a given discourse mode, the RT of the discourse context is characterized whether it is deictically related to SpT or anaphorically related to the previous discourse. The underlying assumption is a timeline, with the time flowing from the left to the right. Below is a list of conventions with explanations used in the current dissertation. Where necessary, annotations may be added as subscript text next to the conventions listed here.

Diagram 2. List of Notational Conventions

E	event in general or single-stage event
E <sub>R</sub>	single-stage telic event
I	initial endpoint
I-1	preliminary stage
F	final endpoint
F+1	post stage
F <sub>Arb</sub>	arbitrary (i.e. not natural) final endpoint
F <sub>Nat R</sub>	natural final endpoint as a result
SitT	situation time
SpT	speech time
RT	reference time
t	specific time point
( )	optional or unspecified/no information
.....	[+dynamic], successive stages during a period of time

_____	[+static]/[-dynamic], undifferentiated period of time
//////	the information visible through viewpoint aspects or aspectual adverbs
<	preceding: the time or situation to the left of the symbol precedes that to the right of the symbol
>	following: the time or situation to the left of the symbol follows that to the right of the symbol
=	same, overlapping, anchoring to, anaphoric with
+	the stage following
-	the stage preceding
[ ]	the event constellation, including the verb and the arguments without grammatical aspectual information
*	an ungrammatical sentence
#	a semantically ill-formed sentence
?	a marginally acceptable sentence

In the following, we see how aspectual interpretation is yielded through the composite information of situation aspect and viewpoint aspect, using the sentence *Mary was walking to school* as an example (based on Smith 1997: 63). The event of [Mary walk to school] is an Accomplishment event, which is dynamic with successive stages, durative, and with a natural endpoint. The temporal schema is as follows:

I.....F<sub>Nat R</sub>

The sentence contains an imperfective aspect *-ing*, which generally focuses on the internal stages of an event, schematized as follows:

I...////////...F

The composite temporal schema of the event is, therefore, as follows, expressing a durative telic event with no information regarding the initial and final endpoints as the imperfective aspect does not make such information available.

I...////////...F<sub>Nat R</sub>

The tense in the sentence is past tense, expressing a situation with reference in the past. The temporal relations in the sentence are as follows: RT precedes SpT which is the present moment; SitT is the same as the RT and both of them precede SpT.

RT < SpT

SitT = RT

Besides the above-mentioned notational conventions, I use the title case (e.g. Past) to indicate the grammatical tense and aspects in Iquito and the lowercase (e.g. past) to indicate time and aspects in general.

## **2.2 METHODOLOGY**

This dissertation presents typological phenomena of TMA systems from the literature and provides the Iquito data and analysis as a comparison to highlight the language-specific properties and contribute to an overall understanding of TMA systems of human languages. The analysis assumes Carlota Smith's framework, as discussed

above in §2.1. In this section, the collection of the data and the basic methodology, including analytical criteria and tests, of how one determines the aspectual meanings in question, are discussed.

Prior to the dissertation fieldwork in 2006 (May-December), I had already collected some narrative stories, in addition to abundant texts collected by other ILDP members and some elicited examples relevant for the study of the Iquito temporal system. The data were obtained primarily during my own summer field research done in 2003 and 2005, and from the text collection of the ILDP. I also had written my qualifying paper for doctoral candidacy, entitled *Fundamental Aspects of the Iquito Language*, on six major components of Iquito grammar: 1) A General Introduction to Tense and Aspect, 2) Basic Word Order, 3) Negation, 4) Coordination, 5) Complement Clauses and 6) Conditional Clauses. However, the study of tense and aspect at that point was still preliminary and did not incorporate large-scale data collection or data obtained through semantic tests.

In pursuit of a thorough and systematic corpus, I adopted Dahl's (1985, 2000) methods, which use questionnaires as an essential approach to data collection, in May 2006, when I began my dissertation research. Among the questionnaires that I used were Dahl's (1985) "TMA Questionnaire," Dahl's (2000) "The Future Time Reference Questionnaire," "The Perfect Questionnaire" and "Questionnaire on the Progressive Aspect." I adapted and contextualized the questions in these questionnaires according to specific cultural traditions to prevent speakers from directly translating the sentences. After collecting the data, and in order to progress towards an analysis, I worked with Iquito consultants, using the criteria and suggested semantic tests provided in Smith (1997), which proposes certain linguistic correlates for the determination of aspects and situation types and their parameters. I also incorporated comments obtained through

personal communication with Carlota Smith during the dissertation field period for the determination of tense and its RT span. Tense locates the event in time, Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event, and Mood describes the actuality of the event (Chung & Timberlake, 1985). The parallels between tense-aspect and mood are that tense and aspect provide information with respect to reference time while mood provides information with respect to the reference world. Therefore, in analyzing mood, I incorporate Chung and Timberlake's essential idea which embraces a unified account of TMA. I focus on the distinctions of grammatical mood (i.e. realis vs. irrealis) made by phonological, morphological and syntactic means and how tense, aspect and mood interact with each other. Indeed, in Iquito, it is mood as well as aspect that together determine temporal interpretations in the context of a certain tense, Extended Current Tense, even though Iquito is a tensed language. In addition to the elicited data, I also collected conversational texts and considered the analysis of the temporal system in the contextual use of Iquito oral texts. The use of the Iquito dictionary of the ILDP,<sup>12</sup> with around 7000 entries, was essential in the part of the analysis on lexicalized use of event quantification (Appendix 1).

The data collected during my 2006 dissertation fieldwork consists of around 130 hours of recordings, including texts, elicitation and consultation (i.e. discussion of elicitation, questions, contexts, and texts). The content of texts and elicitation was transcribed, analyzed and translated into English as presented in this dissertation. The consultation part, however, is in Spanish and, therefore, was not transcribed. For the analysis of text, I transcribed in 3-second intervals for around 5 minutes of texts, and then I had consultation sessions with the speakers for the translation and analysis; I repeated

---

<sup>12</sup> To assist in the task of building the dictionary, I made word lists that included example sentences, definition, and function of the word as I encountered a new lexical item, and I handed the lists over to the person in charge, Lev D. Michael. He then would enter these words into the SHOEBOSX database. The ILDP dictionary has been useful and I would like to acknowledge Lev's extensive work on the dictionary.

this process until the entire text was done; I went over the translated and transcribed texts with a few other speakers for other analysis-related opinions. The elicitation, generally based on the above-mentioned questionnaires and modified sentences and questions from the texts, and the consultation sessions, usually went together, so I transcribed as I asked the questions. The estimated transcribed words number around 8000 in Source Language. For the transcribed and annotated data, I use a 3-tier convention, including the first line in segmentized texts, second line as gloss (i.e. morpheme translation and abbreviated grammatical function), and the third line as free translation. One side note about the free translations for the example sentences in this dissertation is that they represent the fruit of quite nuanced discussions with the consultants. The analytical pertinence is the concern here. The first free translation a consultant would give might be so fully-packed with discourse information, just like any sentence one would utter in a daily conversational context, that it includes additional interpretations or information which cannot be obtained from the sentence itself and is not expressed through the temporal/aspectual meanings of the morphemes under discussion. I would discuss the translation quite intensively with the consultants to peel off the added interpretation and information not yielded from the sentence itself and I would request them to give an as simple as possible a translation. Through routine sessions and training, they could generally give the simplest translation without adding unnecessary context, but they also usually commented that the translation is correct but too simple, and is not a rhetorically beautiful and complicated sentence. In addition, one difficulty exists in the line of segmentized texts. The tone in Iquito operates on different levels and so it was the most inconsistent part of my transcription, although fortunately the tone does not affect the semantic and syntactic analysis at all.



In the following, I briefly discuss the precise analytical criteria (i.e. linguistic correlates) and the semantic tests I employ in determining the various temporal and aspectual meanings in question. The information introduced here should be combined with the detailed explanations of the theoretical background and tests outlined in §2.1 and in respective chapters and sections of different TMA categories. Smith defines the tense category as an obligatory morpheme in the sentence. Temporal interpretation is directly attained from tense in tensed languages. Therefore, the first criterion of determining whether a morpheme in question is a tense is its obligatory status in a finite sentence. If it is optional, most likely<sup>13</sup> it is a temporal adverb. If a morpheme is truly a tense category, even if a temporal adverb, such as ‘yesterday,’ which explicitly indicates RT, appears, the tense, such as the past tense in English, is still required in the sentence and the lack of such a tense would result in ungrammaticality. The second criterion I propose is the compatibility of such a morpheme and temporal adverbials; this criterion also serves to determine the temporal meaning of a tense morpheme. If a morpheme yields a past interpretation, it could be a past tense or a perfective—or even an imperfective—aspect. In tenseless languages which have grammatical aspects, a perfective sentence is by default inferred as the past and an imperfective sentence is by default inferred as the present unless additional information indicates otherwise. Therefore, a perfective aspect can be combined with a future adverbial while a past tense cannot be combined with a future adverbial. In other words, if the morpheme which supposedly yields a past interpretation can be combined with a future adverbial, chances are that it is a perfective aspect instead of a past tense. Likewise, if a morpheme which supposedly yields a present interpretation can be freely combined with a past adverbial or a future adverbial, chances

---

<sup>13</sup> Smith includes three types, in terms of tense, of languages in the world: tensed languages, tenseless languages, and mixed-temporal languages. Mixed-temporal languages (e.g. Navajo) have morphemes that function like a tense, but are not always required in a given finite sentence.

are that it is an imperfective aspect instead of a present tense. If after all these tests, one obligatory morpheme, for example, can only be used in a past context and yields a perfective interpretation, one might be able to preliminarily argue that such a morpheme encodes both past tense and perfective aspect meanings. To determine the precise temporal meanings of tense morphemes, one can work out a range of time to test; this is especially important for a language which has a remoteness distinction, such as Iquito. For example, recent past tense cannot be combined with future, present, immediate past, or distant past adverbials. For a complete discussion, please combine this paragraph with §2.1.1 and §3.

Viewpoint aspect, also often termed as grammatical aspect, encodes boundedness information of a situation (i.e. presenting all or part of a situation) in the sentence. I will discuss imperfective and perfective aspects here as they are the most common ones. The general unmarked properties of aspects are as follows. Imperfective aspect presents an unbounded situation with no information on the initial and final endpoints (also termed as the endpoints being ‘invisible’ in the literature); this is also often addressed as an ‘open reading’ of a situation or an ‘open situation.’ Perfective aspect presents a situation in its entirety, a bounded situation including the initial and final endpoints (also termed as the endpoints being ‘visible’); this is often addressed as a ‘closed reading’ or a ‘closed situation.’ Crosslinguistically, individual languages might have different types of closure; some languages have terminative closure instead of completive closure and some languages include a post stage. It is noted that a completed event in the past might be presented using an imperfective aspect or a perfective aspect. Therefore, the use of aspect is a matter of aspectual choice by speakers, depending on how they prefer to present a situation; the main semantic distinction among aspectual viewpoints is how much of a situation they make visible. If a speaker wants to focus on part of a situation, he might

choose an imperfective aspect which makes only part of a situation visible and provides no information on either endpoint. To determine the meanings of viewpoint aspects, conjunctions (i.e. compatibility of two assertions) and questions are the two most important tests. *Before-*, *after-* and *when-* clauses are also useful tests. The main principles are that open situations, presented by an imperfective aspect, are compatible with assertions that the situation continues or terminates without completion and that closed situations, presented by a perfective aspect, are not compatible with assertions that the situation continues or terminates without completion. For a complete discussion, please combine this paragraph with §2.1.2 and §5.

Situation aspect, often used interchangeably with the term ‘situation type,’ at a basic level, is conveyed through the verb and its arguments, including obligatory adverbials. When combined with non-obligatory adverbials, viewpoint aspects, or sometimes even tense (i.e. English present tense), one situation type might be coerced (i.e. as shifts of situation types) into another situation type at the derived level. Situation type is a covert linguistic category, which means that it is not directly marked through a morpheme, but indirectly grammaticized if the verb constellations have a consistent set of linguistic properties/correlates. Smith recognizes five situation types: States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives. Three features, [static/dynamic], [telic/atelic] and [durative/instantaneous] represent the properties of the five situation types.

The Activity situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [-telic] and [+durative], and is an event with dynamic stages that goes on for an interval of time without an outcome, therefore without a natural endpoint. Due to their [+dynamic] value, they can appear in imperative constructions, as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ and with volitional adverbials. Due to its [-telic] value, imperfective Activity sentences entail

perfective Activity sentences, are compatible with a sentence which asserts the continuation of a situation, but are incompatible with a sentence which asserts that the event did not take place. Also due to its [-telic] value, Activity shifts to a derived Accomplishment when used with a bounding adverbial. Due to its [+durative] value, when combined with punctual adverbials, inceptive readings are rendered.

The Accomplishment situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [+telic] and [+durative] and consists of a process and an outcome or a change of state. Due to its [+telic] value, imperfective Accomplishment sentences, unlike Activity sentences, generally do not entail perfective Accomplishment sentences, although there is crosslinguistic difference for this criterion. In addition, a sentence which asserts the completion of an event is incompatible with a sentence which asserts an open situation. Due to its [+durative] value, imperfective Accomplishments can combine with simple durative adverbials. However, due to its [+telic] and [+durative] value, it is odd to combine perfective Accomplishments with simple durative adverbials. Due to their [+dynamic] value, they can appear in imperative constructions, as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ and with volitional adverbials.

The Achievement situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [-durative], [+telic], and is a single-stage event that results in a change of state. Due to its [-durative] value, imperfective Achievement sentences focus on the preliminary stage of an event and do not entail perfective Achievement sentences. They combine naturally with punctual adverbials, which do not trigger inceptive readings of events but represent the actual occurrence of the events. Achievements are intrinsically bounded and have natural endpoints (i.e. [+telic]). A sentence which asserts the culmination of an Achievement is incompatible with a sentence which asserts an open situation. Because Achievements are instantaneous, they are not compatible with simple durative adverbials. If combined with

durative adverbials, the interpretation would be forced to focus on the preliminary stage of the event; such a sentence then is compatible with another clause asserting an open situation. Due to their [+dynamic] value, they can appear in imperative constructions, as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ and with volitional adverbials.

Semelfactives are single-stage events with no outcome or result, with the temporal features of [+dynamic], [-durative] and [-telic]. Due to their [+dynamic] value, they generally can appear in imperative constructions, as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ and with volitional adverbials. Although sometimes this might be pragmatically odd, it is grammatical. Due to its [-durative] value, when appearing with punctual adverbs, Semelfactives are interpreted as occurring once. Semelfactives with durative adverbials and/or an imperfective aspect are interpreted as multiple-event (derived) Activities. Due to their [-telic] value, imperfective Semelfactive sentences entail perfective Semelfactive sentences, are compatible with a sentence which asserts the continuation of a situation, but are incompatible with a sentence which asserts that the event did not take place.

The Stative situation type (also referred to as ‘State’) includes an undifferentiated (i.e. without internal structure) period of time (i.e. a moment, the minimal duration, or an interval), during which it obtains, with the temporal features of [-dynamic], [+durative], [-telic]. Due to its [-dynamic] value, they generally cannot appear in imperative constructions, neither as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ nor with volitional adverbials. As Statives do not differentiate within the period they cover, they are odd with indirect durative adverbials, such as *slowly* and *quickly*, unless the adverbials refer to the coming about of states. Due to its [+durative] value, Statives are compatible with adverbials of simple duration. When appearing with punctual adverbs, inceptive readings are triggered. Derived Statives are triggered by frequency adverbials combining with non-statives. Across languages, Statives differ in terms of compatibility with given kinds

of aspectual viewpoint. Some languages cannot combine Statives with the perfective viewpoint; some cannot combine Statives with progressive viewpoint. For a complete discussion on the methodology of situation type, please combine this section with §2.1.3 and §6.

### **2.3 QUITO BASIC CONSTRUCTIONS**

This section provides an overview of basic constructions in Iquito, especially those relevant to the analysis and examples in this dissertation. It is organized in five subsections: basic word order (§2.3.1), negation (§2.3.2), coordination (§2.3.3), *when*-clauses and conditional constructions (§2.3.4), and basic verbal morphology and a general introduction to tense, mood and aspect (§2.3.5). The basic word order in Iquito is SVO. There are three major types of negation for constructions with lexical verbs, locative and existential constructions, and imperatives. The negation section in §2.3.2 demonstrates all three types of negation while §4.3 focuses on the sentential structure of the negation of lexical verbs and its interaction with grammatical mood. There are three types of coordination in Iquito: conjunction, disjunction and adversative conjunction. Conjunction and disjunction are discussed as they are more relevant for the semantic tests than is adversative conjunction. The section on *when*-clauses and conditional constructions is included because throughout the dissertation these two constructions are often used. *When*-clauses are especially used for semantic tests; conditional clauses are discussed in detail in §4.4, as part of the analysis of mood. Finally, a section that introduces verbal morphology and the basic temporal system is presented.

### **2.3.1 Basic Word Order**

This section discusses and defines the basic word order of Iquito. The discussion of basic word order here concerns only the surface word order. It does not deal with theoretical assumptions concerning the underlying word order from which the surface word order is derived. The study of basic word order is based on the assumption that there is always one basic word order in all languages which is syntactically defined by the relative order among principal constituents. This assumption generally stands except in the case where the word order of the language is free, is pragmatically constrained or defined rather than syntactically based, or the appearance of both constituents (i.e. grammatical subject and object) in a clause is rare, in which case, defining any basic word order for such languages could be forced to some extent. However, as Mithun (1987) points out, “for languages with relatively rigid, syntactically defined surface word order, the establishment of this order at the outset has obvious utility. The description of rarer, morphologically and pragmatically marked alternative orders as the result of the movement of constituents out of their normal position is mechanically simple.” The basic word order of a language refers to the relative order among principal constituents in one clause. The principal constituents of a transitive clause include subject, verb and object. Many languages, although not allowing free word order, allow more than one possible word order. In Iquito, this is also the case. However, a sentence with basic word order is characterized as being least specific and least marked, morphologically as well as pragmatically, and although frequency of use is not a necessary part of the definition of basic word order, in Iquito the most common word order is in fact the basic word order. This section considers transitive and non-topicalized sentences. Lai (2006) includes examples of all possible variants which might influence, crosslinguistically, the placement of nominal phrases, including animacy, definiteness and the weight of the

phrase, e.g. full phrases vs. pronouns. I argue that the basic word order in Iquito is SVO instead of SOV and that animacy, definiteness and the phrase weight play no role in deciding the basic word order for Iquito. The following is a table to illustrate all word-order variations in a finite clause with one lexical verb.

Table 1. Iquito Word Order Variations

Transitivity				Intransitive	Transitive	Realis	
Subject	Definite	Object	Definite	<u>D<sup>14</sup>VS</u>	<u>DSVDO</u>	Irrealis	
			Indefinite		<u>DSVO</u>		
	Indefinite	Object	Definite	SV	<u>SVDO</u>		
			Indefinite		<u>SVO</u>		
Subject	Definite	Object	Definite	<u>DVS</u>	<u>DS,</u> <u>SDVO</u>		Object position filled by the grammatical object
			Indefinite		<u>DS,</u> <u>SOV</u>		
	Indefinite	Object	Definite	SV	<u>SDVO</u>		
			Indefinite		<u>SOV</u>		
Subject	Definite	Object	Definite	<u>DVS</u>	<u>DS,</u> <u>SAVDO</u>	Object positions filled by adverbs, including temporal or manner adverbs	
			Indefinite		<u>DS,</u> <u>SAVO</u>		
	Indefinite	Object	Definite	SV	<u>SAVDO</u>		
			Indefinite		<u>SAVO</u>		

In a more detailed study of word order in Lai (2006), I take into consideration the definiteness, animacy, and the weight of the nominal phrases and investigate seven different categories of subject as well as object. The seven categories include ‘inanimate indefinite,’ ‘inanimate definite,’ ‘animate indefinite,’ ‘animate definite,’ ‘personal indefinite,’ ‘personal definite’ and ‘proper name.’ These seven different categories, applying to the subject and object, generate forty-nine different expressions. The result of

<sup>14</sup> The abbreviations in the chart stand for the following:

A: adverb; D: determiner; V: verb; O: object, including pronouns or the nominal part of the grammatical object; S: subject, including pronouns or the nominal part of the grammatical subject.



the study concludes that animacy, definiteness and phrase weight do not operate on the pattern of word order in simple transitive clauses and that the basic word order of Iquito is SVO. In deciding basic word order, this chapter considers sentences containing the following characteristics: independent transitive clause, affirmative, realis mood and active voice. In addition, the subject and the object have to be expressed and represented in complete and full nominal phrases, for example, those including nouns as opposed to pronouns. In Iquito, there is no agreement information (e.g. person, number, gender, class, etc.) of grammatical arguments marking on the verb, and the alignment system, based on word order, exhibits an accusative pattern. It is noted that although pronouns in Iquito are not agreement inflection markers, they were excluded from the preliminary stage of investigation and the following examples do not contain them. A sentence with the basic word order is shown as in (1). As can be seen, the relative order among the principal constituents in the clause is SVO.

- (1) Aási picuu-Ø-cura            iíta-ca.  
rain wet-GNR.PFV-RPST house-PL  
The rain wet the houses (yesterday<sup>15</sup>).

In Iquito, word order conveys grammatical mood: SVX (realis mood) and SXV (irrealis mood). Note that SOV is one of the varieties of SXV orders detailed below. Irrealis mood is characterized as allowing an intervening element between the subject and the verb in the X position. A variety of elements could appear in the X position, including grammatical object and adverbs, among others, as detailed in §4.2. This section focuses

---

<sup>15</sup> The Recent Past Tense gives an RT frame from the day prior to SpT extending to one to two years prior. However, the most common interpretation, if without explicit adverbials, is ‘yesterday’.

on defining the basic word order as SVO. I argue in the following that SXV word order is actually highly marked and that SVO is the true basic one.

Consider first the following two sentences. In (2), we can see that the subject begins the sentence and the object follows the verb, displaying an SVO pattern. In (3), the subject and the object are attached together at the beginning of the sentence, displaying an SOV pattern. Note that pronoun clitics, which are not agreement markers, are not obligatory if a nominal phrase is used as subject or object.

(2) Nu=niqui-qui-Ø nuu.  
3S=see-GNR.PFV-EC 3S  
He/she saw him/her (today<sup>16</sup>).

(3) Nu=nu=niqui-r+-Ø.  
3S=3S=see-MMT.PFV-EC  
He/she will see him/her (tomorrow).

In the above examples, both subject and object are pronouns.<sup>17</sup> Two additional sentences using full noun phrases as the subject and the object are shown below to demonstrate that word order patterns remain the same regardless of types of constituents. Example (4) with a nominal subject and object shows the SVO pattern, and example (5) with a nominal subject and object shows the SOV pattern.

(4) Aási picuu-Ø-Ø íita-ca.

---

<sup>16</sup> The Extended Current Tense gives an RT frame from the day of SpT extending into the infinite future. The precise temporal interpretation is based on the combination of aspect and mood morphology.

<sup>17</sup> It is noted that Iquito does not have agreement inflections on the verb.

rain wet-GNR.PFV-EC house-PL

The rain wet the houses (today).

(5) Aási iíta-ca picuu-r++-Ø.

rain house-PL wet-MMT.PFV-EC

The rain will wet the houses (tomorrow).

So far, both SVO and SOV word orders seem to be unmarked in the sentences in the Extended Current Tense. However, the following discussion shows that SXV word order is actually highly marked in all other environments.

In the past-tense environment, SVO word order maintains the same kinds of morphological markings, while SOV word order cannot appear with only tense-aspect information as demonstrated above in (3) and (5), but has to be accompanied by either counterfactual or hypothetical morphemes.<sup>18</sup> As can be seen in (1) above, SVO word order in the past-tense environment only changes its tense morpheme and so still has the same kinds of morphological markings. However, SXV word order in the past context can only be used in conditional and counterfactual constructions and has to be accompanied by either the non-assertive hypothetical morpheme or the counterfactual morpheme. It cannot be used with just tense-aspect information. Example (6) is a case with a counterfactual morpheme. As can be seen, the counterfactual morpheme *-t++* and indirect O *nu* '3S' are inserted between S and V, providing evidence to support the claim that SXV, with intervening elements between S and V, is a marked word order.

(6) Caa quia=t++=nu-mit+-Ø-cura cacaraaja naaqui, nu=t++=sap+-Ø-cura.

---

<sup>18</sup> Please see §4 for detailed discussions on counterfactual and hypothetical morphemes.

NEG 2S=CF=3S-give-PFV-RPST hen egg 3S=CF=cry-PFV-RPST

If you did not give him eggs, he would have cried.

The possible positions of adverbs for both SVX and SXV word orders are non-argument positions including topic, pre-subject and post-verbal positions. However, in SXV sentences, adverbs are also allowed to appear in the X position where a grammatical object could appear, indicating that SXV word order is relatively marked. Example (7) shows that the temporal adverb *amicaáca* ‘one day away (i.e. yesterday/tomorrow)’ occupies the X position in the SXV sentences. Example (8) shows that such a sentence is ungrammatical in the past context without the counterfactual morpheme or the non-assertive hypothetical morpheme. Examples (9) and (10) show that the temporal adverb can occupy the post-verbal position in both realis and irrealis sentences.

(7) Qui=amicaáca=nara-r++-Ø.

1S=one.day.away=bathe-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow I will bathe.

(8) \*Qui=amicaáca=nara-Ø-cura.

1S=one.day.away=bathe-GNR.PFV-RPST

Yesterday I took a bath.

(9) Qui=nara-r++-Ø amicaáca.

1S=bathe-MMT.PFV-EC one.day.away

Tomorrow I will bathe.

- (10) Qui=nara-Ø-cura                      amicaáca.  
 1S=bathe-GNR.PFV-RPST one.day.away  
 Yesterday I took a bath.

In Iquito, there are two major types of sentential negation. The first one occurs in independent declarative sentences. The negative particle *caa* precedes the pronoun subject, as in (11), or follows the topicalized item if there is any. The position of *caa* is not sensitive to tense, aspect, or mood under this type of construction.

- (11) Caa qui=niqui-Ø-cura                      iina icuani.  
 NEG 1S=see-GNR.PFV-RPST DET man  
 I did not see that man (yesterday).

The second type of sentential negation in Iquito exists in interrogative clauses and subordinate clauses, including relative and adverbial clauses. In this type of construction, a different negative morpheme *-ji* is marked on the verb, and the negative marker *caa*, which precedes the verb in the first type, now follows the verb, as in (12).

- (12) Can++ca casira-ji-qui-Ø                      caa paapaaja?  
 who grab-NEG.SUB-GNR.PFV-EC NEG fish  
 Who did not grab fish?

However, the sentential negation of the second type of construction presents numerous diverse forms in the environment of irrealis<sup>19</sup> mood, indicating that SXV word order is a

---

<sup>19</sup> Anderson (2004b) specifically discusses irrealis interrogatives.

marked structure. Example (13) shows that *caa* follows the interrogative subject and then precedes as well as follows the verb. In (14), the interrogative object begins the sentence. The negative particle *caa* follows the pronoun subject and then precedes as well as follows the verb. The fact that *caa* can also occupy the object position in the SOV environment further supports the idea that the SOV pattern is highly marked.

(13) Can++ca caa jicata-ji-r+-Ø caa nu-naana?  
 who NEG take.out-NEG.SUB-MMT.PFV-EC NEG 3S-wood  
 Who will not take out his wood?

(14) Saaca nu=ca=mit+-ji-r+-Ø caa nu-atamajana?  
 what 3S=NEG=give-NEG.SUB-MMT.PFV-EC NEG 3S-brother  
 What won't he give to his brother?

Note that in sentences with a complex verbal predicate, for example, those having embedded infinitival clauses besides the main verb, the word order does not display a straightforward SVO pattern. Instead, it exhibits an SVV...OV pattern, which is also the case in the irrealis environment (SOV word order). Example (15) is an example of a complex verbal phrase in the SVO environment, and (16) is an example of it in the SOV environment. It is seen that both sentences using complex predicates display the same word order pattern—SVV...OV—no matter whether they are in realis mood (SVX) or in irrealis mood (SXV).

(15) Jaime amicaáca nu=nacar+-Ø-cura  
 James one.day.away 3S=want-PFV-RPST

namit++ni núquiica simíim+ naajuuni.  
 start.INF one letter write.INF  
 James wanted to start to write a letter yesterday.

- (16) Jaime amicaáca nu=nacar++-r++-Ø  
 James one.day.away 3S=want-MMT.PFV-EC

namit++ni núquiica simíim+ naajuuni.  
 start.INF one letter write.INF  
 James will want to start to write a letter tomorrow.

It is important to mention that SV is basic word order in intransitives, just as in transitive clauses. When the subject is a non-topicalized, definite nominal phrase, only the definite article precedes the verb, with the bare nominal remaining after the verb. As can be seen in (17), the determiner *iina* begins the sentence and appears before the verb and the bare subject appears after, showing a discontinuous S. The word order in example (17) is DVS (D stands for determiner/demonstrative).

- (17) Iina maqui-i-Ø icuani.  
 DET sleep-IPFV-EC man  
 That man is sleeping.

One might attempt to group S and O together as opposed to A (i.e. agent, the subject of a transitive verb) in terms of grammatical relations, based on the subject position shown in

(17). However, there are several points we have to make clear. While we can get a discontinuous S in a realis indicative single-verb intransitive clause, we never get a discontinuous O in a realis indicative single-verb transitive clause. As can be seen in (18), the word order is DAVDO (SVO). We do not get a discontinuous O.

- (18) Iina m+yaara s++naqui-Ø-cura iina caaya.  
 DET dog chew/bite-GNR.PFV-RPST DET person  
 That dog bit that person (yesterday).

Moreover, when the subject is indefinite, the word order in an intransitive clause is SV instead of VS. It is noted that the translation of subject phrase in English shows that it is semantically and syntactically indefinite in this language. Example (19) shows that the bare nominal subject precedes the verb.

- (19) Icuani maqui-i-Ø.  
 man sleep-IPFV-EC  
 A man is sleeping.

In addition, when the definite S is topicalized, leaving behind a resumptive subject pronoun preceding the verb, the word order is—S, SV as shown in (20).

- (20) Iina icuani nu=maqui-i-Ø.  
 DET man 3S=sleep-IPFV-EC  
 That man, he is sleeping.



The syntactic behaviors of S and O, in terms of positions appearing in the clause and the discontinuous pattern pertaining to the context of definiteness, are totally different. We could not group S and O together to say that this is an ergative language.

Besides all the above-mentioned points, the SVO word order indeed appears very frequently in the texts, and it is usually the word order which starts a discourse. Based on all these factors, SVO should be considered as the basic word order which fulfills the criterion of descriptive simplicity.

### **2.3.2 Negation**

There are three major types of negation in Iquito: sentential negation with lexical verbs, negation of locative and existential constructions, and negation of imperatives. This section introduces negation with lexical verbs (detailed in §4.3), negation in locative and existential constructions and negation in imperatives (detailed in §4.6.3).

In Iquito, sentential negation in principal and independent clauses is expressed differently from embedded and interrogative clauses. As such, there are two main patterns of sentential negation. The first main pattern of sentential negation, named *caa* negation, exists in independent or principal declarative sentences. The negative marker *caa* precedes the pronoun subject or follows the topicalized item if there is any. The second main pattern of sentential negation, named *ji-caa* negation, exists in embedded and interrogative clauses. Here a different negative morpheme *-ji*, which follows the verbal root and precedes tense and aspect morphemes, is marked on the verb, and the negative marker *caa*, which precedes the main verb in the first main pattern now follows the main verb. See §4.3 for schematic structures of sentential negation.

In *caa* negation, the negative particle *caa* is placed at the beginning of the utterance, if there is no topic element, to negate the entire sentence; it follows a

topicalized element and precedes the resumptive pronoun. As can be seen in (22) in comparison with (21), when the subject is a non-topicalized pronoun, the negative particle *caa* is placed directly at the beginning of the sentence without changing the position of the subject. On the other hand, if there is a topic element, as in (23), *caa* follows such an element and precedes the resumptive pronoun, as in (24). Example (25) is a case of constituent negation of the subject. As can be seen, the cleft construction is used to express subject negation. It is noted that the negated subject cannot be repeated again before the verb in the embedded clause, as in (26).

(21) Qui=niqui-Ø-cura            iina icuani.  
 1S=see-GNR.PFV-RPST DET man  
 I saw that man (yesterday).

(22) Caa qui=niqui-Ø-cura            iina icuani.  
 NEG 1S=see-GNR.PFV-RPST DET man  
 I did not see that man (yesterday).

(23) Iina m+saji nu=niqui-Ø-cura            amicaáca iina icuani.  
 DET woman 3S=see-GNR.PFV-RPST one.day.away DET man  
 That woman saw that man yesterday.

(24) Iina m+saji caa nu=niqui-Ø-cura            iina icuani.  
 DET woman NEG 3S=see-GNR.PFV-RPST DET man  
 That woman did not see that man (yesterday).

(25) Ca=t+      quijja (iina)<sup>20</sup> niqui-Ø-cura    iina icuani.  
 NEG=COP 1S    DET    see-PFV-RPST DET man  
 It's not me who saw that man (yesterday).

(26) \*Ca=t+      quijja(iina) **qui**=niqui-Ø-cura    iina icuani.  
 NEG=COP 1S    DET    1S=see-PFV-RPST DET man  
 It's not me who saw that man (yesterday).

Note that expressions of constituent negation imply an affirmative presupposition before the negative version is uttered. Therefore, expressions of constituent negation often imply contrastive focus. The characteristics of Iquito constituent negation as focus are as follows. First, when only a subject or an object is negated, instead of the entire clause, only the negated constituent is fronted to the beginning of the sentence, separated from the original clause. Second, a copula construction is adopted for the negated elements, followed by a finite clause. The whole sentence is usually called a cleft construction. Third, the negated elements are not repeated again in the embedded clause, which is very similar to how focus is usually expressed crosslinguistically. Based on the above-mentioned characteristics, it could be said that in Iquito, the *cleft* construction is used to express focused elements (i.e. affirmative and the constituent negations). Another point is that the relative pronouns *iina/iimi/iip+* are not always obligatory. Although they are preferred by some speakers, they are used more often when more than one embedded clause is used. Example (27) shows that in a negative embedded clause, an additional

---

<sup>20</sup> In Iquito, the difference between an independent clause and a dependent clause is that for a dependent clause, it is generally grammatical to add the word *iina* at the beginning of the clause. *Iina* can function as a subordinator, a relative pronoun, a determiner or a demonstrative, depending on the context in which it appears. In an independent clause, on the other hand, such an addition would otherwise make the sentence ungrammatical.

negative morpheme *-ji* is attached to the verbal stem followed by the tense/aspect information, followed by the negative particle *caa*.

- (27) Ca=t+      quijja(iina) niqui-ji-Ø-cura              caa    iina    icuani.  
 NEG=COP 1S    DET see-NEG.SUB-PFV-RPSTNEG DET man  
 It's not me who did not see that man (yesterday).

The following is a pair of examples of affirmation (28) and negation (29). In (29), *caa* follows the topic noun phrase and precedes the resumptive pronoun in the principal clause; *caa* follows the verbal complex, additionally marked by *-ji*, in the embedded clause.

- (28) Iina m+saji nu=niqui-qui-Ø              iina    icuani (iina)    nacusi-i-Ø    umaata.  
 DET woman 3S=see-GNR.PFV-EC    DET man    DET    know-IPFV-EC much  
 That woman saw that man who knows a lot.

- (29) Iina    m+saji caa    nu=niqui-qui-Ø              iina    icuani  
 DET    woman NEG    3S=see-GNR.PFV-EC    DET man

(iina) nacusi-ji-Ø-Ø              caa    umaata.  
 DET know-NEG.PFV-IPFV-EC NEG much

That woman did not see that man who does not know a lot.

We now turn to the negation in copula and in locative/existential constructions. The negative particle *caa* is contracted with the copula verb *t++* as a contracted form

*cat+* ‘is not,’ which is placed directly in front of what is to be negated. Example (30) is an affirmative copula sentence, and (31) is the negative version with the contracted negative particle and copula.

(30) Huiirajuuja t++ iina paapaaja.  
 fried COP DET fish  
 That fish is fried.

(31) Ca=t+ huiirajuuja iina paapaaja.  
 NEG=COP fried DET fish  
 That fish is not fried.

The locative/existential is expressed as *iiquii* ‘there is/are’ in the affirmative context, as in (32). In the negative context, the existential is expressed as *ajapaqui* ‘there isn’t/aren’t’ (33), while the locative is conveyed through the expression of *caa ...iiquii* ‘isn’t/aren’t’ (here/there)’ (34).

(32) Iina paapaaja tiira nu=iiqui-i-Ø.  
 DET fish there 3S=EXT-IPFV-EC  
 That fish is there. There is (that) fish there.

(33) Ajapaqui paapaaja (tiira).  
 NEG.EXT fish there  
 There is no fish (there).

- (34) Iina paapaaja caa nu=iiqui-i-Ø tíira.  
 DET fish NEG 3S=EXT-IPFV-EC there  
 That fish is not there.

Negation in imperative sentences is, at first sight, indicated by the potential marker *-cuma*, as in (36). However, this grammatical marker does not have a negative meaning itself as it is also used in affirmative contexts. The reason for this preliminary confusion is due to the omitability of the negative particle in combination with the second person singular pronoun, comparing (36) with (37). The possibility of omitting the negative particle and the grammatical person does not exist if the negative imperative sentence is directed to other grammatical persons. Refer to section §4.6.3 for a detailed discussion.

- (35) Iicua-qui.  
 Iicua-qui  
 go-GNR.PFV  
 Leave; go!

- (36) Iicua-cuma.  
 Iicua-cuma  
 go-POT  
 Don't leave; don't go!

- (37) Caa=quia iicua-cuma.  
 NEG=2S go-POT

Don't leave; don't go!

### 2.3.3 Coordination

Coordination refers to the connection of two or more phrases or clauses. Coordination differs from subordination in that connected clausal units are independent of each other. This section introduces three types of coordination in Iquito: conjunction, disjunction, and adversative conjunction. It is generally noted that very frequently two elements are simply juxtaposed directly without using any coordinator. As such, we can say that in Iquito, when coordinators are used, they do not function only as connectors, but also are used to express a sense of comparison or contrast. This section only discusses conjunction and disjunction because they are more relevant for the semantic tests of temporal properties than the adversative conjunction, which I did not use for the tests.

In Iquito, conjunction is used more frequently at the clausal level than at the level of nominal phrases or verbal phrases. Therefore, the sentence *you and I are singing* is most frequently expressed as *you are singing (and) I am singing*. When the coordinator *najaaja* 'also' is used, it expresses the sense of comparison, and demonstrates the equal status of phrases or clauses. Although the word *najaaja* 'also' can be used in the conjunction of two or more clauses, it is noted that if the clauses share neither subjects/objects nor verbs, the word *najaaja* 'also' cannot be used since no parts of the sentences are in common. The following diagram shows all possible positions of the coordinator *najaaja* 'also' with respect to the coordinated phrases. There are three observed possibilities for the positions of the coordinator *najaaja* 'also.' It can appear in all positions between the coordinated phrases simultaneously. Alternatively, it can just appear once before or after the last coordinated phrase.

Diagram 3. Possible Positions of the Coordinator *Najaaja* ‘also’

1. Coordinated Phrase 1 *najaaja* Coordinated Phrase 2 *najaaja* Coordinated Phrase 3
2. Coordinated Phrase 1 Coordinated Phrase 2 *najaaja* Coordinated Phrase 3
3. Coordinated Phrase 1 Coordinated Phrase 2 Coordinated Phrase 3 *najaaja*

As shown in (38), the coordinator appears between two clauses, and in (39), it appears after the second, also the last, clause.

(38) Quiaaja quia=ariicua-a-Ø. Najaaja quijja cu=ariicua-a-Ø.  
 2S 2S=sing-IPFV-EC also 1S 1S=sing-IPFV-EC  
 You are singing and I am also singing.

(39) Quiaaja quiaricuaa. Quijja cuaricuaa najaaja.  
 You are singing and I am singing as well.

It is noted, again, that in general, the word *najaaja* is optional. The word *najaaja* ‘also’ does not usually appear when we are simply connecting two phrases or clauses. It appears more frequently when we connect more than two, especially when the coordinated phrases are objects. However, the presence of the coordinator is obligatory when infinitive verbs are coordinated. The coordinator appears to disambiguate infinitival clausal constructions from conjunctions. As seen in (40), there is no coordinator appearing between the two infinitive verbs *namit++ni* ‘begin’ and *naajuuni* ‘write.’ However, in (41), the coordinator appears between the two coordinated infinitive verbs.

(40) Jaime nu=nacar++-yaa-cura namit++ni naajuuni.



Jaime 3S=want-IPFV-RPST begin.INF write.INF

(Yesterday), Jaime wanted to begin to write.

(41) Iina nu=nacusi-i-Ø paj++ni najaaja naajuuni.

DET 3S=know-IPFV-EC learn.INF also write.INF

He knows how to read and write.

Sometimes, instead of utilizing coordination, speakers place one of the elements they wish to coordinate at the end of the sentence and use a comitative phrase in the expression as shown in (42).

(42) Quiija qui=mayaasi-i-Ø arihuaani=jata.

1S 1S=dance-IPFV-EC sing.INF=COM

I dance and sing. (Literally: I dance with singing.)

Disjunction expresses the meaning of English *or* and offers alternatives, options or possibilities in the sentence. Subject disjunction applies at the phrasal level in three ways. First, we can place all elements together before the verb and use the **singular** form as the subject pronoun to indicate disjunction. The use of a singular pronoun disambiguates disjunction from conjunction in which the subject pronoun takes a plural form to express a sense of *and*. Second, we can put all elements for disjunction at the beginning of the sentence and use the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ before one or all elements. A singular pronoun is still used before the verb. Third, we can express one option before the verb and displace others to the end of the sentence and connect them with the sentence using the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably.’ Disjunction of objects and

adpositional phrases works in the same way except the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ is always used to disambiguate it from conjunction. Also, they do not involve the form of the subject pronoun. Disjunction of verbs operates only at the clausal level and therefore each verb has to appear in different clauses. Note that speakers use the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ more frequently than any other alternative although some speakers like to use phrases, such as *najaaja j++ta/j++ta najaaja* ‘also as,’ or *najaaja cuuta* ‘also perhaps.’ The following schematized diagram shows all possible positions of the coordinator *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ with respect to the coordinated phrases. There are two observed possibilities for the positions of the coordinator *cuquisaacari* ‘probably.’ It can appear before all coordinated phrases simultaneously or just once before the last coordinated phrase. Unlike in the case of conjunction, it does not appear after the last coordinated phrase.

Diagram 4. Possible Positions of the Coordinator *Cuquisaacari* ‘probably’

1. Coordinated Phrase 1 *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ Coordinated Phrase 2 Verb
2. *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ Coordinated Phrase 1 *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ Coordinated Phrase 2 Verb
3. Coordinated Phrase 1 Verb *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ Coordinated Phrase 2 *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ Coordinated Phrase 3

In subject disjunction, we can simply place all elements together before the verb and use the **singular** form as the subject pronoun to indicate disjunction as in (43) and (44). The use of a singular pronoun disambiguates disjunction from conjunction in which

the subject pronoun takes a plural form as shown in (45). Examples (43)-(45) do not use coordinators.

- (43) Juaa Jaime nu=nu=pariijata-r++-Ø.  
 Juan Jaime 3S=3S=help-MMT.PFV-EC  
 Juan or Jaime will help him.

- (44) Iina m+saji iina icuani nu=nacar++-yaa-Ø qui=jata saqu++ni.  
 DET woman DET man 3S=want-IPFV-EC 1S=COM converse.INF  
 That woman or that man is going to talk with me.

[pa:]<sup>21</sup>

- (45) Quiaaja quiija p+=ariicua-a-Ø.  
 2S 1S 1P.INCL=sing-IPFV-EC  
 You and I are singing.

We can also put all elements for disjunction at the beginning of the sentence and use the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ before one (46) or all options (47). A singular pronoun is still used before the verb.

- (46) p+-niatija cuquisaacari p+-caqu+ja nu=quia-niquiini=anuura ani-jaar++-Ø  
 1P-mother probably 1P-father 3S=2S-see.INF=towards come-ABL.PFV-EC  
 Our mother or father is going to visit you.

---

<sup>21</sup> Vowel hiatus resolution occurs in realis mood and the vowel quality of /+/ assimilates to /a/ in this case. Please see §4 for the discussion of grammatical marking of mood.

- (47) Cuquisaacari iina m+saji cuquisaacari iina icuani nu=qui=jata saqu+-r++-Ø.  
 probably DET woman probably DETman 3S=1S=COM converse-MMT.PFV-EC  
 That woman or that man is going to talk with me.

It is possible to express only one option before the verb and displace others to the end of the sentence and connect them with the sentence using the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ as in (48).

- (48) Jaime nu=parijata-a-Ø cuquisaacari Juua.  
 Jaime 3S=help-IPFV-EC probably Juan  
 Jaime or Juan will help.

In object disjunction, the word *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ is always used between the coordinated phrases to disambiguate disjunction from conjunction as seen in (49). If *cuquisaacari* ‘probably’ is not used, the meaning is conjunction as in (50).

- (49) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø núquiica carta naajuuni cuquisaacari ijuurumii  
 1S=want-IPFV-EC one letter write.INF probably report  
 I want to write a letter or a report.

- (50) Iina m+saji nu=nacusi-i-Ø pascura rus quiija.  
 DET woman 3S=know-IPFV-EC Pascual Ross 1S  
 That woman knows Pascual, Ross, and me.

### 2.3.4 *When-* Clauses and Conditional Constructions

This section introduces *when-* clauses and conditional constructions. A *when-* clause, paired with a principal clause, is often used for semantic tests of aspectual readings. The ordering of the *when-* clause and the principal clause is not fixed; either of the two clauses can appear first. A *when-* clause begins with *j++ticari* in Iquito and introduces an RT. The RTs of the two clauses overlap if one of the clauses contains the Imperfective Aspect; they follow each other, yielding a sequential reading, if both clauses contain perfective aspects. For example, in (51), both clauses contain perfective aspects; therefore, the RTs of the two clauses do not coincide. The event of [I arrive there] and that of [he finish write two letters] do not overlap with each other; the temporal adverb *jaa* ‘already’ gives the cue that the event [he finish write two letters] precedes that of [I arrive there].

(51) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r++-cura tíira=na, jaa  
when 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST there=CLSF already

nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iimi najuuni cuumi simiím+-ya.  
3S=end-GNR.PFV-RPST DET write.INF two letter-PL

When I arrived there (yesterday), he had already finished writing two letters.

A conditional construction in Iquito consists of two clauses—an antecedent clause and a consequent clause. There is a fairly strong preference for ordering the antecedent clause before the consequent clause. There are counterfactual (CF) and non-counterfactual (non-CF) conditionals (detailed in §4.4) in Iquito. Tense, Mood, and Aspect in both CF and non-CF conditionals is ‘real’ in the sense that they receive the

same temporal, modal and aspectual interpretations as they do in non-conditionals. The counterfactuality difference between CF conditionals and non-CF conditionals is expressed by a specialized CF morpheme  $(+)t+$ ,<sup>22</sup> which always accompanies SXV irrealis word order and conveys CF meaning by entailment instead of implicature. As in (52), the CF morpheme appears directly following the subject, in this case, between the subject and the adverb in the antecedent clause and between the subject and the definite article of the object phrase in the consequent clause. The object phrase in the consequent clause is discontinuous as the definite article precedes the verb while the nominal follows the verb.

- (52) Qui=t+=ifti iiqii-aa-cura. Qui=t+=iina niqii-Ø-cura m+saji.  
 1S=CF=here live-IPFV-RPST 1S=CF=DET see-GNR.PFV-RPST woman  
 If I had been here, I would have seen that woman.

The difference between non-CF conditionals and non-conditionals resides in that there is an additional bi-partite non-assertive formative *sa...cari* appearing in the antecedent clause or an epistemic adverbial *cuuta* ‘perhaps’ appearing in the consequent clause in a non-CF conditional. In (53), the non-assertive formative appears in the antecedent clause.

- (53) P+y++ni yahu++ni=jinaquia=mit++-sa-a-Ø-cari cacáraaja naaqui  
 all day=LOC 2S=give-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS hen egg  
  
 nuu, ca=nu=sapi-i-Ø.  
 3S NEG=3S=cry-IPFV-EC

<sup>22</sup> The form is *t+* when phonologically fused with other morphemes and *+t+* when not fused with other morphemes.

Everyday if you give him (an) egg, he doesn't cry.

### 2.3.5 Basic Verbal Morphology and a General Introduction to Tense, Mood and Aspect in Iquito

This section introduces the morphology in the verbal complex and the general overview of tense, mood and aspect in Iquito. The positions of morphemes inside the verbal complex are fixed as schematized in the following diagram. The optionality or obligatoriness of the morphemes is indicated by the presence or absence of parentheses. As shown, tense and aspect are obligatory categories in the verb. Copulas, discussed below in this section, are exceptions and crosslinguistically manifest irregularities.

Diagram 5. The Schematic Structure of Verbal Morphology in Iquito

(Proclitic)=(Prefix)-Verbal Root-(Derivational Suffix(es))-Aspect-Tense=(Enclitic)  
(Particle)<sup>23</sup>

Each label in the diagram is explained in the following. Proclitic indicates a monosyllabic pronoun which phonologically cliticizes onto the verbal complex (i.e. the equal sign '=' signifies the boundary between the clitic and the verbal complex). It is parenthesized because the nominal phrase in the preverbal position is not always a pronoun. In addition, any monosyllabic element in Iquito cliticizes rightward to another

---

<sup>23</sup> It is noted that most of the verbal morphology in Iquito is concatenative and, therefore, I segment the verbal morphology of Iquito as concatenative throughout this dissertation. However, some verbal roots have more than one allomorph and exhibit a change in vowel quality under different aspects and tenses. For example, the root *n+t+-* 'swim' exhibits the form *n+tii* in Imperfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense and the form *n+t+qui* in General Perfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense. Strictly speaking, the verbal morphology for this root in these forms is non-concatenative; however, for the sake of consistency, convenience, and clarity for aspect and tense morphology, I choose to present the verbal morphology of this sort as if it were concatenative. The following is an example of my segmentation for this kind of root: *n+t+-i-Ø* 'swim-IPFV-EC' and *n+t+-qui-Ø* 'swim-GNR.PFV-EC.'

element to form a phonological word. Prefix indicates a formative attached before the verbal root. In Iquito, suffixation is the prevailing pattern. There is only one prefix attested so far, which is the imperfective anterior morpheme (+)ta- that localizes a situation earlier in the day of SpT, discussed in §5.7. Verbal root is a general term to indicate the core of the verbal complex and the form to which derivational suffixes attach. In Iquito, verbal stem is perhaps a better term to represent the form of the verb (with or without derivational morphemes) to which inflectional suffixes attach. The form of the verbal root (followed by a derivational morpheme) and that of the verbal stem (in this case followed by an inflectional morpheme without intervening derivations) might be different. A derivational suffix is not obligatory, as indicated by parentheses; on the other hand, there could be more than one derivational morpheme present, as indicated by parentheses surrounding the plurals. One aspect morpheme, followed by one tense morpheme, is informationally obligatory in Iquito, even though they might be zero-marked in some cases. Enclitic indicates any clitic (i.e. possibly a reportive marker =na, a proximity =yaa(jaa), or a clause-final marker =na) that follows the verbal complex; an enclitic is not obligatory as indicated by the parentheses. Following the verbal complex and preceding other postverbal elements, there might be a particle, such as the negative particle *caa*.

Iquito has three tenses (detailed in §3): Extended Current Tense (conveyed by -Ø, indicating an RT frame from the day of SpT extending into the infinite future), Recent Past Tense (conveyed by -cura, indicating an RT frame from the day prior to SpT extending to one to two years prior) and Distant Past Tense (conveyed by -(y)aariqu+ and -quiaqu+, indicating an RT frame from one to two years prior to SpT extending into the infinitely remote past). One of these three tenses is obligatorily expressed in any given Iquito sentence. Viewpoint aspect in Iquito (detailed in §5) is either perfective or



imperfective. There is a complex system of perfective aspects, including a General *-qui/-Ø*, a Momentary *-r++*, a Remote *-maa*, two Deictics *-cuaa/-hu++*, an Allative *-sahu++* and an Ablative *-(y)ar++* Perfective Aspect. There is only one kind of imperfective aspect in Iquito, the general Imperfective *-:/-yaa*. The positions of tense and aspect morphemes inside the verbal complex are fixed, as schematized in table 2. In a given Iquito sentence, one of these eight aspects is expressed, as shown in examples in (54)-(61).

Table 2. Template of Tense and Aspect Morphemes inside the Verbal Complex in Iquito

Verbal Root-	Derivational Morpheme-	Aspect-	Tense
		Perfective	Extended Current Tense: <i>-Ø</i>
		Imperfective	Recent Past Tense: <i>-cura</i>
			Distant Past Tense with Imperfective Aspect: <i>-(y)aariqu+</i>
			Distant Past compatible only with perfective aspect: <i>-quiaqu+</i>

(54) Jaime nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø.  
 Jaime 3S=teach-IPFV-EC  
 Jaime is teaching.

(55) Nu=sani-qui-Ø nuu.  
 3S=try-GNR.PFV-EC 3S  
 He tried (today).

(56) Nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.

3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC

He arrived.

(57) Taaríqui nu=sihuaan+-maa-Ø.

morning 3S=arrive-REM.PFV-EC

He arrived in the morning.

(58) Nu=maqu+-hu++- Ø cáami.

3S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver

He slept upriver (and he is not there anymore).

(59) Nu=maqu+-cuaa-Ø tíira.

3S=sleep-DEI2.PFV-EC there

He slept there (and is not there anymore).

(60) Jaa cu=asa-sahu++-Ø jaa.

Already 1S=eat-ALL.PFV-EC already

I already ate upon arrival.

(61) Nu=najuu-jaar++-Ø núquiica simiím+.

3S=write-ABL.PFV-EC one letter

He wrote a letter and then left.

Grammatical mood in Iquito (detailed in §4) is realis or irrealis. Iquito realis/irrealis mood is expressed by word order change and vowel-hiatus resolution,

which is unique among strategies that are attested to date. SVO is the basic word order (Eastman & Eastman, 1963; Lai, 2005) and conveys realis mood. It occurs in finite realis clauses with no element allowed to appear between the subject and the verb, as in (62) and (63). Irrealis mood, however, generally requires an element to occupy the position between the subject and the verb, resulting in SXV word order. The X position in SXV order can be filled by an indefinite grammatical object (64), a pronoun object (65), the determiner of a definite object phrase (66) or an adverb (67), among others (Anderson *et al.*, 2006). In a counterfactual construction, an additional counterfactual morpheme appears after the subject (68).

(62) Aási picuu-Ø-Ø iíta-ca.  
rain wet-GNR.PFV-EC house-PL  
The rain wet the house (today).

(63) Nu=najuu-Ø-cura iina simiím+.  
3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET letter  
He wrote this letter (in the recent past).

(64) Aási **iíta-ca** picuu-r+-Ø.  
rain **house-PL** wet-MMT.PFV-EC  
The rain will wet the house (tomorrow or in a few days).

(65) Nu=**nu**=niqui-r+-Ø.  
3S=**3S**=see-MMT.PFV-EC  
He/she will see him/her (tomorrow or in a few days).

(66) Iina icuani nu=**iina** asa-r+-Ø **pápaaja** macuáarica.  
 DET man 3S=**DET** eat-MMT.PFV-EC **fish** slowly  
 That man, he will eat the fish slowly (tomorrow or in a few days).

(67) Amicaáca qui=**iyarácata** asa-r+-Ø pápaaja.  
 one.day.away 1S=**quickly** eat-MMT.PFV-EC fish  
 Tomorrow I will eat fish quickly.

(68) Qui=t+=**núquiica anitáaqui** pani-Ø-cura, qui=t+=nu mii-yaa-Ø.  
 1S=**CF=one peccary** search-GNR.PFV-RPST 1S=CF=3S have-IPFV-EC  
 If I had searched for a peccary, I would have one (now).

In addition, Iquito exhibits a phonotactic constraint against heteromorphemic vowel-hiatus within a phonological word. A monosyllabic preverbal element cliticizes rightward to the verbal complex. Instances of underlying vowel-hiatus are resolved by glide formation,<sup>24</sup> vowel deletion or vowel fusion, depending on the morphemes and the qualities of the vowels involved. In realis clauses, vowel-hiatus resolution between the subject and the verb is observed (69), while in irrealis clauses such a strategy is blocked when the X position is not filled by an overt lexical item (70). Vowel qualities in (70) are unaltered, as if there is an implicit element in the X position that blocks the vowel-hiatus.

[p+:sakwa:]

<sup>24</sup> Glide formation, specifically, is suspected to operate on two levels. First, it is associated with the realis mood. However, secondly, it is also associated with a post-syntactic phonetic phenomenon. That is to say, in slow speech, the glide formation strategy is observed to be blocked in irrealis clauses and to be active in realis clauses; in fast speech, however, glide formation is observed to be still active in irrealis clauses.

- (69) Taaríqui p+=iisa-cuaa-Ø tíira.  
 morning 1P.INCL=urinate-DEI2-EC there  
 We went there to urinate in the morning.

[p+ikwar+:]

- (70) P+=iicua-r++-Ø Iquito=jina amicaáca.  
 1P.INCL=go-MMT.PFV-EC Iquitos=LOC one.day.away  
 We will go to Iquitos tomorrow.

With respect to tense and aspect, copulas have fixed forms in different tenses and seem to convey only Imperfective Aspect, exhibiting irregularities. I dedicate the rest of this section to a discussion of forms of copulas as they are not discussed further in the dissertation. In sentences in the Extended Current Tense, the most common form of copula surfaces as *t++*, as in (71). Copulas do not seem to combine with additional aspectual morphemes, as in (72) and (73).

- (71) Quiija t++-Ø pajuuyaana.  
 1S COP-EC teacher  
 I am a teacher.

- (72) \*Quiija t++-qui-Ø pajuuyaana.  
 1S COP-GNR.PFV-EC teacher  
 I am a teacher.

- (73) \*Quiija t++-yaa-Ø pajuuyaana.

1S COP-IPFV-EC teacher

I am a teacher.

When followed by a clitic, the form changes from *t++* to *taa*. The combination of first person with the form *taa* is otherwise ungrammatical without an enclitic.

(74) Quiija taa-Ø=yaa pajuuyaana.

1S COP-EC=NWR teacher

I myself am a teacher.

(75) Atif taa-Ø=yaa pajuuyaana ácari quiija.

At.the.moment COP-EC=NWR teacher now 1S

I am still a teacher now.

(76) Ácari cu=arihuat+-yaa-Ø quiaaja. Juura pajuuyaana taa-Ø=ja quiaaja.

now 1S=believe-IPFV-EC 2S really teacher COP-EC=VERD 2S

Now I believe you. You are really a teacher.

(77) Quiaaja taa-Ø=na pajuuyaana?

2S COP-EC=REP teacher

Are you a teacher (according to what I heard)?

(78) Quiaaja taa-Ø=t+ juura pajuuyaana.

2S COP-EC=INFR really teacher

You, therefore, are really a teacher.

- (79) Juura pajuuyaana taa-Ø=t+ quiaaja.  
 really teacher COP-EC=INFR 2S  
 You are really a teacher, then.

In sentences in the Recent Past Tense, the only grammatical form of the copula is *taa*, which is followed by the tense suffix *-cura*, (80) and (81). Such a form can likewise be attached to by clitics, as in (82)-(86).

- (80) Quiija taa-cura pajuuyaana.  
 1S COP-RSPT teacher  
 I was a teacher.

- (81) Quiaaja taa-cura pajuuyaana.  
 2S COP-RPST teacher  
 You were a teacher.

- (82) Quiaaja taa-cura=na pajuuyaana?  
 2S COP-RPST=REP teacher  
 You were a teacher, as it is said?

- (83) Anuuja anuu=taa-cura=na pajuuyaana.  
 3S 3S=COP-RPST=REP teacher  
 He was a teacher (as it is said).

(84) Juura pajuuyaana taa-cura=ja quiaaja.

really teacher COP-RSPT=VERD 2S

You were really a teacher (as I saw).

(85) Quiaaja taa-cura=t+ juura pajuuyaana cáami.

2S COP-RSPT=INFR really teacher upriver

You were really a teacher upriver (as I heard).

(86) Quia-rica taa-cura=yaa pajuuyaana cáami.

2S-DIM COP-RPST=NWR teacher upriver

Only you yourself were the teacher upriver.

In the sentences in the Distant Past Tense, the form *taariqu+* is used to express the copula with an imperfective interpretation, as in (87) and (88). It seems to be the result of the lexicalized form derived from *taa* plus the Distant Past Tense with Imperfective Aspect *-(y)aariqu+*. The form *taariqu+* can also be attached to by clitics, as in (89) and (90); however, it seems to be ungrammatical or at most marginally acceptable when combined with the veridical and inferential clitics, as in (91) and (92). Its ungrammaticality or unacceptability is possibly attributable to a pragmatic constraint or semantic restriction. For example, the context of using veridical and inferential clitics in the distant past could be highly marked.

(87) Quiija taariqu+ pajuuyaana.

1S COP.DPST teacher

I was a teacher.



(88) Quiaaja taariqu+ pajuuyaana.

2S COP.DPST teacher

You were a teacher.

(89) Quia-rica taariqu+=yaa pajuuyaana tíira Iquito=jina.

2S-DIM COP.DPST=NWR teacher there Iquito=LOC

Only you were the teacher there in Iquitos.

(90) Iina tíira anuu=taariqu+=na pajuuyaana.

DET there 3S=COP.DPST =REP teacher

The one over there, he was a teacher (as it is said).

(91) \*Juura pajuuyaana taariqu+=ja quiaja.

Really teacher COP.DPST=VERD 2S

You were really a teacher (as I saw). (E.071206.JPI.IWL)

(92) ?/\*Juura pajuuyaana taariqu+=t+ pajuuyaana.

Really teacher COP.IPFV=INFR teacher

You were perhaps really a teacher (as I heard).

In the following chapters, Iquito tense (§3), mood (§4), viewpoint aspect (§5), situation aspect (§6) and their use in discourse contexts (§7) are discussed in detail.

## Chapter 3: Tense

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

#### 3.1.1 Typology of Tense

The preceding chapter provides an overview of the two-component theory, which includes two components of the aspectual system, situation aspect and viewpoint aspect, and of the theory of temporal interpretation. “Temporal location and aspect are complementary temporal systems. The former locates a situation in time, while the latter specifies the internal temporal structure of the situation” (Smith, 1997: 97). In this chapter, I provide an analysis of Iquito tense in light of Smith’s theory (1997, 2005) of tense and temporal interpretation. Temporal information of a sentence contributes to temporal interpretation which locates a situation<sup>25</sup> in time. That is to say, temporal interpretation indicates where a situation is located temporally in relation to a reference time, which is generally SpT or some other reference point. Temporal interpretation is directly attained from tense in tensed languages, but is indirectly inferred, in tenseless languages, from semantic information of aspect/mood and pragmatic principles of interpretation. Smith defines the tense category as an obligatory morpheme in the sentence. This is in accordance with Comrie (1993: 2), in which tense is defined as “grammaticalized expression of localization in time.” In light of this conception, Smith presents a typology in terms of formal encoding of time and indicates three types of languages: tensed languages, tenseless languages, and mixed-temporal languages. In tensed languages, such as English, tense is an obligatory category in the sentence; in

---

<sup>25</sup> The term ‘situation’ includes events (i.e. Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives) and States, following Smith (1991/7). These are five types of ‘situation aspects,’ also termed ‘situation types’.

tenseless languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, there is no grammatical tense and temporal interpretation is achieved through adverbials or inferred from aspects; in mixed-temporal languages, such as Navajo, there are inflectional categories expressing time, but they are not obligatory.

The temporal location of a situation requires 1) three times: SpT (the time of utterance), RT (the temporal perspective of the presentation) and SitT (the time in which a situation holds or occurs), and 2) the relation between SpT and RT, and that between RT and SitT. The three times and two relations are encoded by tense; therefore, temporal interpretation is direct in tensed languages. In tenseless languages, temporal interpretation relies on the semantic information of aspects, pragmatic principles and inference rules. An aspectual system, under Smith's two-component theory (1991 [1997]), includes situation aspects and viewpoint aspects.<sup>26</sup> Situation aspects are categorized in terms of three temporal features: dynamism, duration and telicity. Telic and non-durative events are intrinsically bounded. Viewpoint aspects semantically convey boundedness by presenting the situation in part or in its entirety. Boundedness information is essential as it determines the relationship between the situation and SitT. Bounded events occur within the SitT interval and unbounded events or states overlap the SitT interval. Pragmatic principles for inference of temporal interpretation in tenseless languages include the following:

(93) From Smith (2005)

A. The Deictic Principle

Speech Time is the central orientation point for language. The Present time is located at Speech Time; the Past precedes it, and the Future follows.

---

<sup>26</sup> Situation aspect is conveyed by the verb and its argument(s); viewpoint aspect is conveyed by a grammatical morpheme.

B. The Bounded Event Constraint

Bounded situations may not be located in the Present.

C. The Simplicity Principle

Choose the interpretation that requires least information added or inferred.

The above three principles constrain temporal interpretation in tensed languages and guide the default pattern of temporal interpretation in tenseless languages. In the following, I will briefly discuss tensed languages and tenseless languages, using the principles presented above.

I use English as the example of a tensed language. Essentially following Reichenbach's (1947) account, Smith assumes  $SpT=RT=SitT$  for Present tense,  $SitT=RT$  and  $RT<SpT$  for Past tense, and  $SitT=RT$  and  $RT>SpT$  for Future tense. The Perfect conveys  $SitT<RT$ .

(94) English: a tensed language

- a. Mary is talking.
- b. Mary left the house.
- c. Mary will leave the house.
- d. Mary has left the house.
- e. Mary had left the house when I arrived home.

In (94), the Present sentence *Mary is talking* locates the situation as simultaneous with  $SpT$ . The Past sentence *Mary left the house* locates the situation as prior to  $SpT$ . The Future sentence *Mary will leave the house* locates the situation as posterior to  $SpT$ . The Present Perfect sentence *Mary has left the house* locates the situation as prior to  $SpT$

which is also the temporal perspective of the sentence, the RT. The Past Perfect sentence *Mary had left the house when I arrived home* locates the situation [Mary leave the house] as prior to some RT in the past, in this case, the moment when I arrived home, which is in turn prior to SpT.

In tenseless languages, tense is not an obligatory category in a sentence. While temporal adverbials can explicitly specify the temporal location, temporal interpretation without such adverbials is achieved through inference from aspectual information. Viewpoint aspects semantically encode boundedness information and the relationship between SitT and RT. The relationship between RT and SpT in tenseless languages is not directly provided but indirectly inferred. The crosslinguistic default pattern of temporal location in tenseless languages, explained by pragmatic principles in (93), is as in (95). The simplest deictic interpretation of an unbounded situation is present while the simplest deictic interpretation of a bounded situation is past, rather than future, which generally requires additional information. The default pattern can be overridden if an explicit adverb or other information is presented.

(95) Default pattern of temporal location

Unbounded situations are located in the present; bounded situations are located in the past.

In the following, I take Mandarin Chinese, a tenseless language, as an example to show how aspectual information contributes to the inference of temporal interpretation. I discuss only the perfective aspects *-le* and *-guo*, and the imperfective aspect *zai*. These viewpoint aspects semantically encode the following information as in (96).

- (96) Mandarin Viewpoint Aspects
- le*: bounded event; SitT=RT
  - guo*: bounded event; SitT<RT
  - zai*: unbounded event; SitT=RT

Based on the information provided by the viewpoint aspects (as in (96)), in conjunction with the pragmatic principles in (93), the situations in (97) are located in the past ((97)a and (97)b) and in the present ((97)c). Please refer to Smith and Erbaugh (2005) for detailed discussions on Mandarin Chinese.

- (97) Mandarin: a tenseless language

a. Wǒ zuòlè guōngkè.

I do-LE homework

I did the homework.

b. Wǒ zuòguò guōngkè.

I do-GUO homework

I did the homework before. (I have the experience of doing homework.)

c. Wǒ zài zuò guōngkè.

I ZAI do homework

I am doing the homework.

### 3.1.2 Tense Morphology in Iquito

This section principally discusses the morphology of tense<sup>27</sup> in Iquito. Semantic details are discussed in §3.2.

---

<sup>27</sup> The first work done on tense suffixes is Beier (2003b).

Iquito exhibits three tense distinctions:<sup>28</sup> Distant Past Tense, Recent Past Tense and Extended Current Tense, which are conveyed by *-quiaqu+/(y)aariqu+*, *-cura*, and *-Ø*, respectively. One of these three tenses is obligatorily expressed in a given finite sentence. Distant Past Tense presents a situation within an RT frame from one to two years prior to SpT extending into the infinitely remote past. The morpheme *-quiaqu+* combines with perfective aspects, as in (98), while *-(y)aariqu+* is a portmanteau morpheme of Distant Past Tense and Imperfective Aspect, as in (99).

(98) Qui=iicua-Ø-*quiaqu+*            *tíira* *naqui-cuura*.  
 1S=go-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP there forest-DST  
 I went there to the forest (a long time ago).

(99) Cu=am+yaaqui-aariqu+*tíira* *naqui-jina*.  
 1S=hike-DPST.IPFV there forest-LOC  
 I used to walk there in the forest.

Recent Past Tense *-cura* presents a situation within an RT frame from the day prior to SpT extending to one to two years prior, as in (100).

(100) *Amicaáca*    *nu=najuu-Ø-cura*                    *iina*    *simiím+*.  
 one.day.away 3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST    DET    letter  
 He wrote this letter (yesterday).

---

<sup>28</sup> Structurally, the potential/optative *-cuma* patterns with tense formatives (i.e. occupies the same position in the verb) and clearly refers to a situation in the distant future. However, besides the arguable temporal component, it is solely used to express a weak prediction or a wish with strong uncertainty, it is therefore discussed under the mood chapter in §4.5.2.

Extended Current Tense, conveyed by  $-\emptyset$ , indicates an RT frame from the day of SpT extending into the infinite future, as in (101).

- (101) Qui=iicua-qui- $\emptyset$       tíira naqui-cuura.  
1S=go-GNR.PFV-EC there forest-DST  
I went there to the forest (today).

In the following, I discuss specifically the morphology of Extended Current Tense. A previous study on Iquito by Eastman and Eastman (1963) presents *-qui* and the phonologically unexpressed  $-\emptyset$  as allomorphs of a tense morpheme which means “present (pp. 179)” or “present, done today (pp. 180).” Although diachronically it might once have been a tense morpheme, this dissertation re-analyzes *-qui* as an allomorph of General Perfective Aspect synchronically, and proposes  $-\emptyset$  as the only form of Extended Current Tense. Below I present empirical grounds in favor of the current analysis and suggest the case of *-qui* as an interesting phenomenon of a shift in function, within inflectional morphology, of the same bound morpheme, as there is evidence showing that it must once have been a tense morpheme while other evidence suggests it is best treated as General Perfective Aspect synchronically.

First, sentences in the Extended Current Tense (with more examples and semantic details in §3.2) represent a range of reference time from the day of SpT, including earlier today (102), the current speech moment (103) and later today (104), to the more distant future, as in (105) and (106). This suggests that as a tense category, definitions, such as ‘present’ tense or ‘done today,’ clearly do not cover all possible temporal references of the situation indicated in a sentence.



S V O  
 (102) Qui=pani-qui-Ø núquiica anitáaqui.  
 1S=search-GNR.PFV-EC one peccary  
 I searched for a peccary.

S V O  
 (103) Nu=simiita-a-Ø iina simiím+.  
 3S=read-IPFV-EC DET book  
 He is reading this book. (He will be reading this book now.)

S O V  
 (104) Qui=núquiica anitáaqui pani-qui-Ø cu=amuuni=iira nuu.  
 1S=one peccary search-GNR.PFV-EC 1S=kill.INF=GOAL 3S  
 I will search for a peccary in order to kill it.

S O V  
 (105) Aási iíta-ca picuu-r++-Ø.  
 rain house-PL wet-MMT.PFV-EC  
 The rain will wet the houses (tomorrow or in a few days).

S O V  
 (106) Qui=núquiica anitáaqui pani-maa-Ø cu=amuuni=iira nuu.  
 1S=one peccary search-REM.PFV-EC 1S=kill.INF=GOAL 3S  
 I will search for a peccary to kill (a month later).

Second, in a simple sentence without a postverbal clitic, *-qui* only surfaces in perfective environments following stems ending in short vowels, including past perfective, as in (107), and future perfective, as in (108). This suggests that it is best treated as a perfective aspect marker, and not as a past-tense marker.

(107) Nu=raati-qui-Ø                    itíniija.  
       3S=drink-GNR.PFV-EC    masato  
       He drank masato (earlier today).

(108) Ácari iina    níínaqui nu=itíniija    raati-qui-Ø.  
       now DET    night    3S=masato    drink-GNR.PFV-EC  
       Tonight he is going to drink masato.

Third, the form *-qui* alternates with *-Ø* depending on the phonological environment. The relative positions of different tense and aspect morphemes in a verb are as shown in (109), and the schematic summary in table 3 represents the phonological contexts and realizations of General Perfective and Imperfective Aspects in sentences in the Extended Current Tense without clitics. Table 3 shows that in sentences in the Extended Current Tense, when the ending vowel of the verbal stem (verbal root with or without derivational suffixes) is short, General Perfective Aspect surfaces as *-qui* and Imperfective Aspect surfaces as vowel length; when the ending vowel is long, General Perfective Aspect is unmarked as *-Ø* and Imperfective Aspect surfaces as *-yaa*.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> The first work on the allomorphy of Imperfective Aspect is Beier (2003a).

(109) (Proclitic) = (Prefix<sup>30</sup>) - Verbal Root - (Derivational Suffix(es)) - Aspect - Tense  
 = (Enclitic) (Particle)

Table 3. Schematic Summary of Phonological Realizations of Aspects in the contexts of Extended Current Tense.

Length of ending vowel of verbal stem	General Perfective Aspect	Extended Current Tense
V:	-Ø	-Ø
V	-qui	-Ø
	Imperfective Aspect	Extended Current Tense
V:	-yaa	-Ø
V	-:	-Ø

It follows from the above discussion that *-qui* only appears in a perfective environment in sentences in the Extended Current Tense. As shown in (110) and (111), this allomorph does not go with the Imperfective or any other perfective aspects. The sentences are ungrammatical if *-qui* surfaces in place of *-Ø*, which indicates Extended Current Tense, as in (112).

(110) Nu=raati-i-Ø            itíniija.  
 3S=drink-IPFV-EC masato  
 He is drinking masato.

(111) Nu=raati-r++-Ø            itíniija cáamicu-cu.  
 3S=drink-MMT.PFV-EC masato upriver.LOC-DEI.upriver  
 He drank masato on the way upriver.

<sup>30</sup> There is only one verbal prefix attested in Iquito, which is the anterior morpheme *-(+)ta* which goes with the Imperfective Aspect in sentences in Extended Current Tense. Its function is to locate an open situation prior to SpT.

- (112) \*Nu=simiita-r+-qui                    iina    simiím+.  
 3S=read-MMT.PFV-GNR.PFV    DET    book  
 He read this book.

Fourth, when speakers utter a sentence in the morning to talk about a situation later in the night<sup>31</sup> of the same day, some of them adopt the Imperfective Aspect if the situation is viewed as imminent. If the situation is viewed with more temporal distance, they use the irrealis mood (SXV) in combination with either General Perfective Aspect (104) or Momentary Aspect (105). Speakers use the irrealis mood plus General Perfective Aspect for the more immediate future than when they use Momentary Perfective Aspect. The fact that General Perfective *-qui* and Momentary Perfective *-r++* are in complementary distribution structurally suggests *-qui*, just like *-r++*, is best treated as an aspect morpheme, at least synchronically speaking. In addition, the fact that *-qui* is not always used indicates that it does not pattern as an obligatory tense category. Finally, Iquito uses perfective aspects to indicate an imperative construction. Different perfective aspects are utilized in imperative sentences to indicate different spatial orientations, as in (113)-(115), by which the speaker expects the situation to be realized. Again, this suggests that because *-qui* patterns with other perfective aspects, it is best treated as an aspect morpheme. It is noted that the General Perfective aspect marker surfaces as a null morpheme following a root ending in long vowels, as in (116).

- (113) Quiaaja, cuhuasi-qui!

---

<sup>31</sup> When speakers talk about events that will take place on the same day, they use different aspect markers (Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++*, General Perfective Aspect *-qui*, or Imperfective Aspect *-yaa ~ -:*), depending on the distance in time they view the situation.

- 2S            talk-GNR.PFV  
 You, talk!
- (114) Cuhuasi-maa    tíira=ji!  
 talk-REM.PFV there=from  
 Come talking from there!
- (115) Cuhuasita-r++    quiija!  
 talk.to-MMT.PFV 1S  
 Talk to me as you pass by!
- (116) Isiin+-Ø!  
 cough-GNR.PFV  
 Cough!

In the above, I provide empirical evidence and propose that *-qui* is synchronically an allomorph of General Perfective Aspect instead of an allomorph of a tense category and that sentences in the Extended Current Tense are zero-marked. The evidence discussed is summarized again as follows. First, sentences in the Extended Current Tense cover a range of possible temporal reference, from earlier today to further in the future. Second, the form *-qui* only appears in perfective environments. Third, *-qui* alternates with *-Ø* in sentences in the Extended Current Tense depending on the phonological environment and not according to any semantic differences. In addition, *-qui* cannot combine with Imperfective Aspect or any other perfective aspect, indicating that it is an aspect

morpheme. Fourth, *-qui* structurally patterns with other perfective aspects, which is shown especially clearly in imperatives.

To continue with the discussion of how *-qui* might be a tense morpheme diachronically, I provide examples with the postverbal clitic =*yaa(jaa)*. The clitic =*yaa(jaa)* appears in postverbal positions, including immediately following the verb, or in sentence-final positions. It pairs with temporal or spatial reference to emphasize the proximity or exactness of the orientation point. For example, in the context of temporal expressions, it functions as a temporal narrowing device and indicates proximity to RT, translated in English as *still* or *soon*; in spatial contexts, it narrows the area of reference, translated in English as *right (there/here)*, *exactly (there/here)*. It can pair with the same reference term and has either temporal or spatial expression, depending on the aspect appearing in the sentence. The clitic =*yaa(jaa)* cannot attach to the element in the sentence-initial position, except for some lexicalized examples (§3.3).

The clitic always surfaces as =*yaajaa* in sentence-final positions, as in (117), (118), (119) and (120), no matter if it attaches to the verb or the reference word. It also is not restricted in terms of what aspect it appears with, as it can appear with the General Perfective Aspect as in (117) and (118), or the Imperfective Aspect, as in (119) and (120).

(117) Atii            nu=maqu+-Ø-cura=yaajaa.  
 at.the.place 3S=sleep-GNR.PFV-RPST=NWR  
 He slept right there.

(118) Nu=maqu+-Ø-cura            atii=yaajaa.  
 3S=sleep-GNR.PFV-RPST    at.the.place=NWR

He slept right there.

- (119) Atíí nu=maqui-aa-cura=yaa<sub>jaa</sub>.  
at.the.place/moment 3S=sleep-IPFV-RPST=NWR  
Right there, he was sleeping.  
At the moment, he was still sleeping.

- (120) Amicaáca nu=maqui-aa-cura atíí=yaa<sub>jaa</sub>.  
one.day.away 3S=sleep-IPFV-RPST at.the.place/moment=NWR  
Yesterday he was sleeping right there.  
Yesterday he was still sleeping at that time.

When it occurs in the non-sentence-final position, only =yaa surfaces, as in (121).

- (121) Nu=maqu+-Ø-cura atíí=yaa p+y++ni iina yahu++ni.  
3S=sleep-GNR.PFV-RPST at.the.place=NWR all DET day  
He slept right there all day long.

I now restrict the examples to the position which immediately follows the verb. It is seen that the clitic surfaces as =yaa(*jaa*) following the tense of the verb in the context of Distant Past Tense (122) and Recent Past Tense (123). In the context of Extended Current Tense, however, it surfaces as =quiyaa(*jaa*), following the Extended Current Tense (124).

- (122) Acáami Iwen=raati-Ø-quiaqu+=yaa nu=amaqu+=iira.

upriver Iwen=drink-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=NWR 3S=road=GOAL  
 Right there Iwen drank before her trip.

(123) Atif nu=sihuaan+-r++-cura=yaa amicaáca.  
 at.the.place 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST=NWR one.day.away  
 He arrived right there yesterday.

(124) Atif nu=pajuu-Ø-Ø=quiyaa p+y++ni yahu++ni.  
 at.the.place 3S=teach-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR all day  
 He taught right there all day.

It is seen that the ‘qui’ in =*quiyaa(jaa)* does not stand for the General Perfective Aspect, as it can appear after the Imperfective Aspect. Sentence (124) contains the General Perfective Aspect and a verbal root ending in a long vowel; (125) contains the Imperfective Aspect with the same verb as (124); (126) contains the Imperfective Aspect and a verbal root with short vowel; (127) contains the General Perfective Aspect and the same verb as (126).

(125) Atif nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
 at.the.moment 3S=teach-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 He is still teaching right now.  
 He is teaching right there.

(126) Atif nu=raati-i-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
 at.the.moment 3S=drink-IPFV-EC=NWR



He is still drinking.

- (127) Atíica                      nu=raati-Ø-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
at.the.place.DIM    3S=drink-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR  
He drank right there.

The realization of the clitic =yaa(jaa), among other post-verbal evidential clitics, is the only systematic evidence that would support the idea that *-qui* must once have been a tense morpheme, indicating ‘today,’ as the sequence ‘quiyaa(jaa)’ patterns with ‘curayaa(jaa)’ and ‘quiaqu+yaa(jaa)’/‘(y)aariqu+yaa(jaa)’ where *-cura* and *-quiaqu+/(y)aariqu+* are tense morphemes.

I propose that synchronically *-qui* is an allomorph of the General Perfective Aspect marker instead of a tense morpheme. It is clearly an analytical matter and this analysis is simpler and more straightforward than the one proposed in the previous literature.

### 3.2 DISCUSSION OF TENSE AND TEMPORAL INTERPRETATION IN IQUITO

In this section I discuss the formal encoding of tense (§3.2.1) as a grammatical category, demonstrate the interaction between tenses and temporal adverbials (§3.2.2) and propose an account of temporal interpretation<sup>32</sup> (§3.2.3) in Iquito. I will show that

---

<sup>32</sup> In this chapter, I focus on independent sentences and the deictic temporal interpretations of tenses contained therein. According to Smith (1997[1991]: 104), “canonically communication occurs at SpT and deictics are anchored to that time.” In the narratives, however, sometimes an anaphoric pattern of interpretation is obtained. That is to say, the deictic center shifts to a time introduced or previously established. “A shifted deixis implies a center of consciousness at the new orientation time”...in other words, “with a shifted orientation time the center of communication and consciousness shifts also” (pp. 104). I will discuss temporal interpretation of tense in connected texts in Chapter 7 of this dissertation. For more information about tense in discourse, please also refer to Smith (2003) and Banfield (1982).

tense, like aspect, is obligatory in Iquito. I will also show that in Iquito, although all three tenses provide basic temporal information, more precise temporal location in relation to SpT is inferred in the case of Extended Current Tense. This is a particularity of Iquito which makes it distinct from other tensed languages.

### 3.2.1 Tense Distinctions in Iquito

Iquito has three tenses: Distant Past Tense, Recent Past Tense and Extended Current Tense. The two Distant Past Tense morphemes *-quiaqu+* and *-(y)aariqu+*, as in (128) and (129), respectively, each gives a time span of RT from one up to two years prior to SpT, extending into the infinitely remote past. The difference between the two Distant Past Tense morphemes is that the morpheme *-quiaqu+* is used with perfective aspects including General Perfective Aspect and Momentary Perfective Aspect, among others. General Perfective Aspect<sup>33</sup> is unmarked in recent and distant past, so the morpheme *-quiaqu+* could by itself represent a combination of Distant Past Tense and General Perfective Aspect. The morpheme *-(y)aariqu+* encodes Distant Past Tense and Imperfective Aspect.<sup>34</sup>

(128) Qui=iicua-Ø-*quiaqu+*            tíira naqui-cuura.

1S=go-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP there forest-DST

I went there to the forest (in the distant past).

---

<sup>33</sup> Iquito has a complex system of perfective aspects. General Perfective Aspect is not morphologically marked in the recent-past and distant-past environment. When combining with Extended Current Tense, *-qui* surfaces after the verbal root ending in a short vowel. It is also not marked after the verbal root ending in a long vowel. For a detailed discussion of the General Perfective Aspect, please refer to Chapter 5.

<sup>34</sup> Imperfective Aspect is realized as *-(y)aariqu+* in the Distant Past Tense and *-(y)aa* in the Recent Past Tense. When combining with Extended Current Tense, *-:* (vowel length) surfaces after the verbal root ending in a short vowel and *-yaa* after the verbal root ending in a long vowel. For a detailed discussion on the Imperfective Aspect, please refer to Chapter 5.

(129) Cu=am+yaaqui-aariqu+ tíira naqui-jina.

1S=hike-DPST.IPFV there forest-LOC

I used to walk there in the forest.

I was walking there in the forest (in the distant past).

(130) Nu=najuu-Ø-cura iina simiím+.

3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET letter

He wrote this letter (in the recent past).

The morpheme *-cura*, glossed as Recent Past Tense as in (130), conveys the RT span from yesterday to one year prior to SpT (up to two years prior, for some speakers). The temporal boundary between *-cura*, and *-quiaqu+/(y)aariqu+* is not rigidly fixed in terms of metrical conception of time. When talking about an event occurring around one and half years ago, speakers might choose to use either Recent Past Tense or Distant Past Tense, depending on the sense of temporal remoteness they perceive. Speakers also have their individual styles. Certain people tend to choose Recent Past Tense and others, Distant Past Tense. Although the boundary between Distant Past Tense and Recent Past Tense is not entirely unchangeable, the range of this relatively free zone is unanimously restricted. None of the speakers would talk about an event occurring more than two years prior to SpT, using Recent Past Tense. Likewise, when talking about an event occurring within a month prior to SpT, none of them would use Distant Past Tense.

Extended Current Tense, conveyed by the phonologically unexpressed *-Ø*, indicates a time span of RT which includes the day of SpT and extends into the infinite future. Sentences in the Extended Current Tense are obligatorily unmarked and yet have

such an interpretation, which is confined within a certain RT span. Furthermore, Extended Current Tense cannot combine with temporal adverbs indicating a time in the recent past or distant past. The current study, therefore, proposes that sentences which are not overtly marked with any audible element are in fact tensed and contain Extended Current Tense, very much like the Present Tense with first or second person in English. Greater specificity regarding the temporal location within the RT span is either specified by temporal adverb or pragmatically inferred from viewpoint aspects and mood.<sup>35</sup> The temporal location of perfective sentences with realis word order (SVX) is inferred as being prior to SpT, as in (131). That of perfective sentences with irrealis word order (SXV) is understood as posterior to SpT, as in (132). Clauses containing verbs marked with Imperfective Aspect always co-occur with realis word order (SVX), and the temporal location for these clauses is understood as overlapping with SpT,<sup>36</sup> as in (133), unless an anterior morpheme *-(+)ta* appears at the beginning of the verbal complex to locate the situation as prior to SpT. I discuss the temporal interpretation of sentences in the Extended Current Tense in detail in §3.2.3.

(131) Nu=simiita-qui-Ø        iina simiím+.  
       3S=read-GNR.PFV-EC    DET book  
       He read this book (earlier today).

(132) Nu=iina simiita-qui-Ø        simiím+.  
       3S=DET read-GNR.PFV-EC book  
       He will read this book (later today).

---

<sup>35</sup> Realis mood is realized by the basic word order SVO, while the irrealis mood is realized by placing an interruptive element between the subject and the verbal complex, when such an element is available, resulting in an SXV pattern. For a detailed discussion on grammatical mood, please refer to §4.

<sup>36</sup> These constructions are employed to report on on-going situations or situations in the immediate future.

- (133) Nu=simiita-a-Ø iina simiím+.  
3S=read-IPFV-EC DET book  
He is reading this book.

In the following, I compare these three tenses by giving examples and discussing what speakers pointed out when producing and being presented with these examples.

Sentences with a temporal reference in the recent or distant past obligatorily contain Recent Past Tense or Distant Past Tense. Sentences without them can never be interpreted as indicating such temporal reference, the only exceptions being in narratives where the temporal origo (i.e. deictic center) of the narrator frequently switches to the narrated time.

- (134) (Jaa) nu=najuu-Ø-cura iina simiím+.  
(already) 3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET letter  
He wrote this letter.

Example (134) is a sentence with General Perfective Aspect and Recent Past Tense. The temporal reference of clauses marked by *-cura* is usually interpreted as yesterday by speakers, also very often as the day before yesterday or within a few days, and less often but possibly as up to approximately two years ago. The temporal reference of a similar sentence lacking *-cura* is understood as the day of SpT, as in (135). Since the sentence is a perfective one, the sentence is interpreted as prior to SpT.<sup>37</sup> The sentence cannot be interpreted as yesterday or further in the past.

---

<sup>37</sup> Please see §3.2.3 for detailed discussions on temporal interpretation.

- (135) (Jaa) nu=najuu-Ø-Ø iina simiím+.  
 (already) 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC DET letter  
 He wrote this letter (today).

As illustrated in examples (134) and (135), the cut-off point of Extended Current Tense (conveyed by -Ø) and Recent Past Tense (conveyed by *-cura*) with respect to temporal distance is between ‘today and afterwards’ and ‘before today.’ According to Comrie (1985), this is one of the most common cut-off points and is referred to, in Latinist terminology, as “hodiernal” and “pre-hodiernal.” In Iquito, therefore, tense is only phonologically overtly marked in a pre-hodiernal context, with *-cura* being Recent Past Tense, and *-quiaqu+* and *-(y)aariqu+* being Distant Past Tense.

The temporal reference of sentences marked by *-quiaqu+* is generally interpreted as more than one year ago and very often as many years prior to SpT. Example (136), repeated from (128), is a sentence with General Perfective Aspect and Distant Past Tense.

- (136) Qui=iicua-Ø-*quiaqu+* tíira naqui-cuura.  
 1S=go-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP there forest-DST  
 I went there to the forest (a long time ago).

Again, the temporal reference of similar sentences without *-quiaqu+* is interpreted as the day including SpT, as in (137). The temporal reference of the sentence is interpreted as earlier in the day containing SpT, and not one year ago.

- (137) Qui=iicua-qui-Ø tíira naqui-cuura.

1S=go-GNR.PFV-EC there forest-DST

I went there to the forest (today).

The temporal reference of a sentence marked by *-(y)aariqu+*, like *-quiaqu+*, is also interpreted as more than one year ago. Example (138) is a sentence with Imperfective Aspect and Distant Past Tense.

(138) Cu=am+yaaqui-aariqu+ tíira naqui-jina.

1S=hike-DPST.IPFV there forest-LOC

I used to walk there in the forest.

The temporal reference of similar sentences without *-(y)aariqu+* cannot be interpreted the same. Example (139) is marked with the Imperfective aspect and the Extended Current Tense. The directional morpheme *-cuura* ‘reference at a distance’ as well as the adverb *tíira* ‘there’ indicate that the forest is at a distance and, therefore, that the speaker is not in the forest at SpT. If the speaker is in the forest at SpT, the adverb *íiti* ‘here’ and the locative morpheme *-jina* ‘on the surface of an object or location’ are used instead. Example (139), therefore, is interpreted as having an immediate future temporal reference as ‘the person is on his or her way to walk in the forest.’

(139) Cu=am+yaaqui-i-Ø tíira naqui-cuura.

1S=hike-IPFV-EC there forest-DST

I am going to walk there in the forest.

### 3.2.2 Interaction between Tense and Temporal Adverbs

As discussed above, Iquito has three tenses. In this section, I will show that sentences with past tenses, including Distant Past Tense and Recent Past Tense, cannot combine with present adverbials. Likewise, sentences with Extended Current Tense can never combine with temporal adverbials indicating a time in the recent or distant past. In the following, I demonstrate this point by showing the combination of each tense with the distant-past adverbial *j++tiri mi amariaana* ‘many years ago,’ the recent-past adverbial *amicaáca*<sup>38</sup> ‘yesterday’ and the present adverbial *ácari yahu++ni* ‘today, now.’ I discuss how temporal adverbials contribute to further specifying the temporal information conveyed by tense morphology. Later, I also show how tense affects and limits the interpretation of adverbials in some cases, specifically in the case of the adverb *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago.’

We first start with the distant-past adverbial *j++tiri mi amariaana* ‘many years ago.’ In (140), the Distant Past Tense *-quiaqu+* co-occurs with this distant-past adverbial. The morpheme *-quiaqu+* provides an RT frame spanning from one to two years ago to the infinitely distant past. The temporal adverbial *j++tiri mi amariaana* ‘many years ago’ further specifies a temporal reference that is more vaguely conveyed by the tense.

- (140) *J++tiri mi amariaana*t++ *iina nu=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+* *iina simiím+*.  
 many year COP DET 3S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP DET letter  
 Many years ago he wrote this letter.

---

<sup>38</sup> The adverbial *amicaáca* is actually a symmetric one, meaning ‘one day away from SpT,’ i.e. it has both past and future time reference. When it combines with the recent-past tense, it renders the interpretation ‘yesterday’. When used with irrealis mood, realized by word order change, plus Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++*, it renders the interpretation ‘tomorrow.’ Please refer to §3.3 for more information.



Example (141) shows the incompatibility of *j++tirimi amariaana* ‘many years ago’ and Recent Past Tense *-cura*. The speaker Jaime commented that this sentence sounds like “many years ago, he wrote this letter these days,” which is not understandable for him. He suggested that the morpheme *-quiaqu+* should be used instead.

- (141) \**J++tirimi amariaanat++ iina nu=najuu-Ø-cura iina simiím+*.  
 many year COP DET 3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET letter  
 Many years ago, he wrote this letter these days.

Likewise, the temporal adverbial *j++tirimi amariaana* ‘many years ago’ cannot occur in sentences in the Extended Current Tense, as in (142). Jaime suggested, again, that the morpheme *-quiaqu+* should be used because the sentence sounds like “many years ago, he wrote this letter today,” which is simply impossible.

- (142) \**J++tirimi amariaanat++ iina nu=najuu-Ø-Ø iina simiím+*.  
 many year COP DET 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC DET letter  
 Many years ago, he wrote this letter today.

We now discuss the recent-past adverb *amicaáca* ‘yesterday.’ The adverb *amicaáca* is a symmetric one<sup>39</sup> and indicates a time point which is ‘one day away’ from SpT. Therefore it has two interpretations; one is yesterday and the other is tomorrow. Here we discuss the use of ‘yesterday.’ In (143), the sentence combines Recent Past Tense *-cura* with *amicaáca*. The tense morpheme *-cura* gives an RT frame spanning from the day prior to the day of SpT to one up to two years ago. The temporal adverbial

---

<sup>39</sup> Please refer to §3.3 for more discussions.

*amicaáca* ‘yesterday’ further narrows down and specifies the temporal information conveyed by the tense.

- (143) *Amicaáca*      *nu=najuu-Ø-cura*                      *iina simiím+*.  
 one.day.away 3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST    DET letter  
 He wrote this letter yesterday.

Example (144) shows the incompatibility of *amicaáca* ‘yesterday’ and the distant-past tense *-quiaqu+*. The speaker Jaime commented, as above, that this sentence sounds like ‘yesterday, many years ago he wrote this letter.’ He suggested that the morpheme *-cura* should be used.

- (144) \**Amicaáca*      *nu=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+*                      *iina simiím+*.  
 one.day.away 3S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP DET letter  
 Yesterday, many years ago he wrote this letter.

Example (145) shows that the temporal adverb *amicaáca* ‘yesterday’ cannot occur in a sentence in Extended Current Tense and General Perfective Aspect. As discussed in § 3.2.1, such a sentence has a temporal reference as ‘earlier on the day of SpT.’ The temporal adverb *amicaáca* therefore does not fit within this span. Jaime suggested, again, that the morpheme *-cura* should be used.

- (145) \**Amicaáca*      *nu=najuu-Ø-Ø*                      *iina simiím+*.  
 one.day.away 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC DET letter  
 Yesterday, he wrote this letter today.

It is worth noting that the temporal adverb *amicaáca* often renders the interpretation ‘tomorrow.’ However, a future temporal interpretation generally involves several grammatical features. First, an irrealis mood, realized by SXV word order, is usually used, except when the sentence refers to an immediate-future situation, in which case, realis word order with Imperfective Aspect is used. Second, depending on the remoteness of the future situation, different perfective aspects are used. To refer to a situation within the day of SpT, General Perfective Aspect  $-\emptyset$  or *-qui* is used; to refer to a situation on the following day, Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++* is used; to refer to an even more distant-future situation, Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* and the potential *-cuma* are used. Finally, Extended Current Tense is always used instead of any other tense morpheme. For future temporal reference, §3.3, chapter 4, and chapter 5 all have relevant discussions.

We now continue with the discussion of the present adverbial *ácari yahu++ni* ‘today.’ In (146), the present adverbial *ácari yahu++ni* ‘today’ occurs in a sentence of Extended Current Tense. Although Extended Current Tense gives an RT frame spanning from the day of SpT to the infinite future, the temporal adverbial *ácari yahu++ni* ‘today’ narrows down and makes explicit the temporal reference of the sentence. Furthermore, because the sentence contains General Perfective Aspect and realis mood, the situation of the sentence is interpreted as prior to SpT.

- (146) *Ácari yahu++ni nu=najuu- $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$  iina simiím+.*  
 now day 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC DET letter  
 Today he wrote this letter.

Example (147) shows the incompatibility of *ácari yahu++ni* ‘today’ and the distant-past tense *-quiaqu+*. Jaime commented that this sentence sounds like “today, many years ago he wrote this letter.” He suggested that the morpheme *-quiaqu+* should not be used.

- (147) \**Ácari yahu++ni nu=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+ iina simiím+*.  
 now day 3S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP DET letter  
 Today, many years ago he wrote this letter.

Example (148) shows the incompatibility of *ácari yahu++ni* ‘today’ and the recent-past tense *-cura*. The speaker Jaime commented that this sentence sounds like “today, he wrote this letter these days.” He suggested that the morpheme *-cura* should not be used.

- (148) \**Ácari yahu++ni nu=najuu-Ø-cura iina simiím+*.  
 now day 3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET letter  
 Today, he wrote this letter these days.

In above discussions, we see that temporal adverbials are only compatible with the tenses which indicate an RT span within which the temporal adverbials are located. Therefore, temporal adverbials contribute to further specifying the temporal information conveyed by tense morphology. Now, I discuss how, on the other hand, tense also affects and limits the interpretation of certain adverbials, specifically in the case of *tariíyaajaa* ‘a long time ago.’

The temporal adverbial *tariíyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ is defined by the speakers, when asked for the meaning of the word without a sentential context, as referring to a time point in the distant past. However, the reference to the temporal point or interval

conveyed by *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ is affected by tense morphology in a way that leads to different temporal interpretations. When used with Distant Past Tense, *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ indicates a time within the RT frame of one up to two years ago to the infinite past. When used with Recent Past Tense, *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ indicates a time prior to SpT, within the RT frame between yesterday to one up to two years ago. Finally, when used in a sentence of Extended Current Tense, *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ indicates a time prior to SpT, within the day containing it, usually rendering an interpretation of ‘a few hours ago.’

In examples (149)-(152), the sentences are marked with Distant Past Tense *-quiaqu+*, and consequently, the time point indicated by *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ is limited to the indicated RT frame. The temporal adverbial *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ can appear either in the beginning or at the end of the sentence.

- (149) *Taríyaajaa nu=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+ iina simiím+.*  
 a.long.time.ago 3S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP DET letter  
 A long time ago he wrote this letter.

Example (150) shows that *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ corresponds to a three-year period in the past, which is further specified by the temporal adverbial *s+saramaaj+tami amariaana* ‘for three years,’ the duration of how long the subject of the sentence lived in the city of Iquitos.

- (150) *Taríyaajaa nu=iiqui-Ø-quiaqu+ Iquito-jina*  
 a.long.time.ago 3S=live-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP Iquitos-LOC

s+saramaaj+tami amariaana.

three year

A long time ago he lived in Iquitos for three years.

Examples (151)-(152) show that the temporal adverbial *taríyaajaa* ‘a long time ago’ can also appear at the end of the sentence.

- (151) Nu=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+ iina simiím+ taríyaajaa.  
3S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP DET letter a.long.time.ago  
He wrote a letter a long time ago.

- (152) Nu=iiqui-Ø-aariqu+ Iquito-jina taríyaajaa.  
3S=live-GNR.PFV-DPST.IPFV Iquito-LOC a.long.time.ago  
He lived in the city of Iquitos a long time ago.

In the Distant Past Tense, *taríyaajaa* alternates with two distinct elements, *taríi* and *yaajaa*. *Taríi* appears independently at the beginning of the sentence and *=yaa(jaa)*<sup>40</sup> appears at the end of the verbal complex. If *=yaa(jaa)* is not in the sentence-final position, the syllable ‘*jaa*’ is omitted. Consultants Hermico and Jaime commented that *taríi* indicates a more recent point in the past than does *taríyaajaa* in the sentence-initial position.

---

<sup>40</sup> The clitic *=yaajaa* functions, in the context of temporal expressions, as a temporal narrowing device. It indicates proximity (expressions such as *just* or *soon*) to RT. The clitic *=yaajaa* cannot attach to the element in the sentence-initial position. I propose that the word *taríyaajaa* in the sentence-initial position is lexicalized and used as a word in distant-past situations. The form post-verbal *=yaajaa* alternates with *=quiyaajaa* in sentences in Extended Current Tense. As discussed in §3.1.2, this is one of several pieces of evidence to suggest that *-qui* was once a tense marker, indicating ‘today’. Synchronically, *-qui* is an allomorph of General Perfective Aspect.

(153) Tarii qui=muusi-Ø-quiaqu+=yaa iina=jina aaca.  
 before 1S=swim-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=NWR DET=LOC water  
 I swam in this water a long time ago.

(154) Tarii qui=ihu+ri-aariqu+=yaajaa.  
 before 1S=be.sick-DPST.IPFV=NWR  
 I was sick a long time ago.

When combined with Recent Past Tense *-cura*, the RT interpretation in the sentence changes to ‘the other day’ within the frame of yesterday to one up to two years ago.

(155) Qui=najuu-Ø-cura iina simiim+ taríi=yaajaa.  
 1S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET letter before=NWR  
 I wrote this letter some other day.

When *taríi yaajaa* appears in a sentence of Extended Current Tense, the RT frame in the sentence ranges from around ‘half an hour ago’ to ‘many hours ago.’ The interpretation of temporal reference is flexible, but is limited to the period prior to SpT on the same day of SpT. Hermico commented that sentence (156) means that the letter was written at 5 AM while this sentence was recorded around 10 AM.

(156) (Jaa) qui=najuu-Ø-Ø iina simiim+ taríi=yaajaa.  
 (already) 1S=write-GNR.PFV-EC DET letter before=NWR  
 I (already) wrote this letter many hours ago.

I (already) wrote this letter a while ago.

A point worth noting is that the temporal adverbial *tariiyajaa* ‘a long time ago’ cannot appear sentence-initially in sentences in the Recent Past Tense or Extended Current Tense. Only *tarii* can appear in this position, with the part =*yaa(jaa)* appearing at the end of the verbal complex. Only =*yaa* appears if it is not in the sentence-final position. As mentioned earlier, Hermico and Jaime commented that *tarii*, in the sentence-initial position, indicates a temporal point closer to SpT than *tariiyajaa* does. This observation is consistent with the distributional fact that *tariiyajaa* appears in sentence-initial position only in sentences in the Distant Past Tense. I suggest that such a use is a lexicalized one.

(157) *Tarii*    *qui=najuu-Ø-cura=yaa*                    *iina*    *simiim+*.  
before    1S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST=NWR    DET    letter  
I wrote this letter some other day.

(158) *Tarii*    *qui=ihu+ri-aa-cura=yajaa*.  
before    1S=be.sick-IPFV-RPST=NWR  
The other day, I was sick.

(159) *Tarii*    *qui=najuu-Ø-Ø=quiyaa*                    *iina*    *simiim+*.  
before    1S=write-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR    DET    letter  
I wrote this letter earlier today.

(160) *Tarii*    *qui=najuu-Ø-Ø=quiyajaa*.



before 1S=write-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR

I wrote earlier today.

### 3.2.3 Temporal Interpretation in Iquito

As shown above, Iquito has three tenses: Distant Past Tense, Recent Past Tense and Extended Current Tense. Tense, as well as aspect, is an obligatory category in a finite Iquito clause. In this section, I show that, although Iquito is a tensed language—all three tenses provide basic temporal information; the way in which temporal interpretation is achieved in Iquito actually involves characteristics of both tensed and tenseless languages—more precise temporal location in relation to SpT is inferred in the case of Extended Current Tense. In Distant Past Tense and Recent Past Tense, temporal interpretation is direct and the situation in the sentence is located prior to SpT. In sentences in the Extended Current Tense, however, the temporal interpretation is indirect and is achieved through inference which is based on semantic information of aspect and mood, in conjunction with pragmatic principles. I show how temporal interpretation under each tense is achieved using Smith's (1997, 2005) framework. The study of Iquito temporal interpretation adds another dimension to the already known close connections between tense, mood and aspect.

We first consider Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense. The morpheme *-cura*, as in (161), conveys the RT span from yesterday to one year prior to SpT (up to two years prior, for some speakers). The two Distant Past Tense morphemes *-quiaqu+* and *-(y)aariqu+*, as in (162) and (163) (repeated from (138)), respectively, each gives a time span of RT from one up to two years prior to SpT, extending into the infinitely remote past.

(161) Nu=najuu-Ø-cura            iina    simiím+.

3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST DET    letter

He wrote this letter (in the recent past).

(162) Qui=iicua-Ø-quiaqu+            tíira    naqui-cuura.

1S=go-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    there    forest-DST

I went there to the forest (in the distant past).

(163) Cu=am+yaaqui-aariqu+    tíira    naqui-jina.

1S=hike-DPST.IPFV    there    forest-LOC

I used to walk there in the forest.

I was walking there in the forest (in the distant past).

Extended Current Tense (conveyed by an unpronounced morpheme -Ø), as mentioned in §3.2.1 and §3.2.2, is incompatible with temporal adverbials specifying a time in the recent or distant past, and indicates a time span of RT which includes the day of SpT and extends into the infinite future. Sentences in the Extended Current Tense are, therefore, tensed and carry temporal meaning. However, as the RT span conveyed by the tense is relatively broad with respect to SpT, the exact temporal location of a situation can be before, on, or after the current moment, SpT. Such a precise temporal location is either specified by temporal adverbials, or it is attained or pragmatically inferred from viewpoint aspects and mood (cf. §2.1 for background information on Iquito basic constructions). In this section, I use General Perfective Aspect and Imperfective Aspect, in combination with realis mood and irrealis mood, to illustrate how temporal

interpretation is achieved under Extended Current Tense. Iquito viewpoint aspects and moods semantically convey the following information (164).

(164) General Perfective Aspect: bounded situation; SitT=RT

Imperfective Aspect: unbounded situation; SitT=RT

Realis Mood: situation realized, being realized, or definitely to be realized in the immediate future

Irrealis Mood: unrealized situation in the future, or used in combination with the counterfactual morpheme (+)t+ to indicate a counterfactual situation in the past or present<sup>41</sup>

In conjunction with the pragmatic principles in (93), which include the Deictic Principle, the Bounded Event Constraint and the Simplicity Principle, the default pattern of temporal interpretation under Extended Current Tense is the same as that in (95): unbounded situations are located in the present; bounded situations are located in the past. Therefore, for a sentence of Imperfective Aspect, which conveys an unbounded situation, the simplest deictic temporal interpretation is ‘present’ because it requires the least information added or inferred. Likewise, a sentence of General Perfective Aspect, which conveys a bounded situation, receives ‘past’ as the most basic deictic interpretation. The comprehensive pattern in Iquito is stated in (165) and is demonstrated in (166)-(169).

---

<sup>41</sup> According to Iatridou (2001: 231), “we cannot have a counterfactual to the future as the future is conceptualized as not yet fact.” In Iquito, the counterfactual morpheme in combination with the irrealis mood mostly applies to a counterfactual situation in the past or present. It almost never indicates a counterfactual situation in the future, except in the context of a scheduled future event. Please see Chapter 4 for more information.

(165) Temporal interpretation in sentences in the Extended Current Tense

Imperfective Aspect: The simplest deictic interpretation is present; unless an anterior-imperfective morpheme appears in the sentence to locate a situation prior to SpT. Imperfective Aspect does not combine with irrealis mood except in a counterfactual context.

Perfective Aspect: The simplest deictic interpretation is past, unless a word order change (SXV word order which indicates irrealis mood) is involved, in which case, the situation is located in the future.

(166) Nu=simiita-a-Ø iina simiím+.

3S=read-IPFV-EC DET book

He is reading this book (now).

Sentence (166) contains Imperfective Aspect and displays the basic SVO word order which conveys realis mood. The situation is interpreted as located in the present, overlapping SpT. This default interpretation is yielded because it requires the least information added. An explicit temporal adverbial, such as *soon* or *in a moment*, can override the default reading and force an interpretation of ‘immediate future.’ However, the default reading here is unambiguously present as guided by principles (93)A and (93)C.

(167) Ca=nu=ta-iiqui-i-Ø tii t++ cana +ta-iiqui-i-Ø.

NEG=3S=ANT-EXT-IPFV-EC there where 1P.EXCL ANT-EXT-IPFV-EC

He wasn’t there where we were (earlier today).

Example (167) contains a main clause and a subordinate clause, both marked with Imperfective Aspect. The sentence expresses two overlapping situations (due to Imperfective Aspect) which share RT. The difference between (166) and (167) in terms of structure within the clause is that (167) contains an additional anterior-imperfective morpheme (+)ta- which locates the situation in the past, prior to SpT. The interpreted temporal location ‘earlier today,’ as indicated in the translation, is more precise than the temporal information conveyed by Extended Current Tense, although still within its time span.

(168) Nu=simiita-qui-Ø        iina simiím+.  
       3S=read-GNR.PFV-EC    DET book  
       He read this book (earlier today).

Sentence (168) is marked with General Perfective Aspect and displays the basic SVO word order which conveys realis mood. The situation is interpreted as located in the past, prior to SpT. This default reading is achieved because 1) General Perfective Aspect conveys a bounded situation, 2) SpT is the orientation point, and 3) no additional information is presented in the sentence, following the pragmatic principles in (93). Again, the further inferred temporal location ‘earlier today’ still remains within the time span given by Extended Current Tense.

(169) Nu=iina simiita-qui-Ø        simiím+.  
       3S=DET read-GNR.PFV-EC book  
       He will read this book (later today).

Sentence (169) is marked with General Perfective Aspect. The difference between (168) and (169) is that (168) displays the basic SVO word order while (169) involves a word order change (SXV which indicates irrealis mood). The situation in (169) is interpreted as located in the future, posterior to SpT. This reading overrides the default pattern because 1) a bounded situation, as conveyed by perfective aspect, may not be located in the present, 2) SpT is the orientation point, and 3) the irrealis mood (realized by SXV word order), which conveys an unrealized situation, is indicated in the sentence. Following the pragmatic principles in (93), a future reading is yielded for (169). Remoteness distinctions within future are made by the use of different perfective aspects. In (169), the combination of General Perfective Aspect and irrealis mood renders the temporal interpretation of ‘later today.’

### **3.3 THE SYMMETRIC NATURE OF SOME DEICTIC TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS**

In this section, I discuss a set of temporal adverbials which indicate a temporal distance relative to SpT that is symmetric with respect to the flow of time. That is, these adverbs simply refer to the absolute temporal distance from SpT, without specifying if the point lies in the future or the past. Temporal reference arises out of the combined meaning of tense morphology and these symmetric temporal adverbials.

In Iquito, there are no metrical (milliseconds, seconds, minutes, or hours) or calendrical (weeks, name of months, name of years) temporal expressions. Temporal divisions of the day (cf. §4) are based on the position of the sun and degree of darkness or sunlight. Finer temporal distinctions within the day are deictically given based on proximity to SpT.

The adverbials to be discussed are shown in the following table, arranged by temporal distance from the closest to the furthest with respect to SpT. It is worthy of note

that the numbers belonging to the same row indicate alternative orderings of the relevant expressions. The parentheses indicate the optionality of the use of the indicated morphemes. The morpheme *-jina* is a postposition used with expressions of temporal and spatial location.

Table 4: Symmetric Temporal Adverbials

	SYMMETRIC TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL	MEANING
a.	1) <i>ácari</i> <sup>42</sup> + V= <i>quiyaa jaari</i> 2) V + <i>ácariyaajaari</i>	right now: within a few minutes from SpT
b.	1) <i>ácari</i> + V= <i>yaa(jaa)</i> 2) V + <i>ácariyaajaa</i>	recently: within a longer interval from SpT than adverbial (a) above. The interpretation ranges from ‘within half an hour’ to ‘on the same day.’
c.	<i>ácari (iina) nínaqui</i>	the dark part of today: either the previous night or the following night
d.	<i>amicaáca</i>	one day away
e.	<i>huar+ta amicaáca</i>	two days away
f.	1) <i>taana yahu++ni-jina</i> 2) <i>iina taana yahu++ni-jina</i> 3) <i>iina yahu++ni-jina taana</i> 4) <i>iina-jina taana yahu++ni</i>	another day, or the other day: at least three days away from SpT. It can indicate a day in the recent past or in the near future, generally within two years from SpT.
g.	1) <i>taana casiiri-jina</i> 2) <i>iina taana casiiri-jina</i> 3) <i>iina casiiri-jina taana</i> 4) <i>iina-jina taana casiiri</i>	another month or the other month
h.	1) <i>taana amariaana-jina</i> 2) <i>iina taana amariaana-jina</i> 3) <i>iina amariaana-jina taana</i> 4) <i>iina-jina taana amariaana</i>	another year or the other year

Adverbial (a), *ácariyaajaari*<sup>43</sup> in the chart above, indicates a fairly short interval of time around SpT. It is only used in a sentence of Extended Current Tense as SpT is

<sup>42</sup> The term *ácari* can mean either ‘now’ or ‘today,’ depending on the context.

<sup>43</sup> The word *ácariyaajaari*, although it can be segmented as ‘*ácari=yaa jaari*,’ is frequently used as one word by the speakers and hence is considered relatively lexicalized by the author.

within the RT span conveyed by the tense. The indicated temporal distance can precede SpT, as in (170)-(171), or follow SpT, as in (172)-(174). Examples (170) and (171) are perfective sentences, and in them, RT is prior to SpT. General Perfective Aspect is marked by a null alternant when a clitic follows, but a high pitch short vowel and a fairly sharp silence can be observed before the clitic =*quiyaa(jaa)*. Please refer to a discussion of the allomorph of General Perfective Aspect in Chapter 5.

(170) Ácari nu=iicua-Ø-Ø=quiyaa jaari.  
 now 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR already  
 He just left.

(171) Ácari nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø=quiyaa jaari.  
 now 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR already  
 He just arrived.

Examples (172)-(174) are imperfective sentences, where the Imperfective Aspect is indicated by the lengthened final vowel on the verbal root. In this context, RT follows SpT. Jaime commented that examples (172) and (173) are used when the person is already walking towards the direction of speaker.

(172) Ácari nu=ani-i-Ø=quiyaa jaari.  
 now 3S=come-IPFV-EC=NWR already  
 Right now he is coming.

(173) Jaa nu=ani-i-Ø ácari=yaa jaari.



already 3S=come-IPFV-EC now=NWR already

He is coming right now.

(174) Eduardo raati-i-Ø iina ácari=yaa jaari.<sup>44</sup>

Edward drink-IPFV-EC DET now=NWR already

Edward is going to drink it right now.

We have already seen above that the adverbial *ácariyaajaari* can appear in several positions in the sentence. If it appears in sentence-final position, *ácariyaajaari* appears as a single phonological unit, as in (173) and (174). Although a grammatical object might intervene between *ácari=yaa* and *jaari*, as indicated in footnote 44, speakers prefer the form without interruption. If the part *ácari* appears before the verb, the clitic *=yaa* and *jaari* remain in the postverbal position and an additional *qui*<sup>45</sup> appears in a sentence in Extended Current Tense, as in (170)-(172). *Ácariyaajaari* cannot appear entirely in the sentence-initial position, as in (175).

(175) \*Ácari=yaa=jaari nu=ani-i-Ø.

now=NWR=already 3S=come-IPFV-EC

Right now he is coming.

Adverbial (b), *ácariyaajaa*, indicates a more distant interval from SpT than adverbial (a) does. It is also only used in a sentence in Extended Current Tense. The

---

<sup>44</sup> In some rare cases, speakers produce the following sentence as an alternative of (174): Eduardo raatii ácari=yaa iina jaari. They prefer the form in (174).

<sup>45</sup> More discussion about the clitic *=(qui)yaa(jaa)* and its argument in relation to Extended Current Tense will be given later in this chapter.

interpretation ranges from ‘within half an hour’ to ‘on the same day.’ Example (176) is a perfective sentence, and RT is prior to SpT.

- (176) Ácari nu=pajuu-Ø-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
now 3S=teach-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR  
Fairly recently he taught.

Examples (177) and (178) are imperfective sentences, in which RT immediately follows SpT.

- (177) Ácari nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
now 3S=teach-IPFV-EC=NWR  
Fairly soon he is going to teach.  
He has been teaching since fairly recently.

Jaime commented that the following example could be used when the subject of the sentence might still be doing something else. In comparison to examples (172) and (173) above, the subject of example (178) is supposed to arrive later than the ones in those examples.

- (178) Nu=ani-i-Ø           ácari=yaajaa.  
3S=come-IPFV-EC now=NWR  
He is coming soon.

Adverbial (c), *ácari (iina) niínaqui* in the chart, refers to the nighttime hours<sup>46</sup> on either side of the daylight hours which contain SpT. Thus it may refer either to the past night, as in (179), or the coming night, as in (180)-(182). When a sentence is uttered during the nighttime hours, the term *iina niínaqui* ‘this night’ is used and the word *ácari* ‘now, today’ is omitted, as in (183). This temporal adverbial is only used in a sentence of Extended Current Tense.

(179) *Ácari iina niínaqui* (p+=ar+-Ø-Ø=na),<sup>47</sup>

now DET night 1P.INCL=pass-GNR.PFV-EC=CLSF

ca=qui maqu+-qui-Ø suhuaata.

NEG=1S sleep-GNR.PFV-EC well

This past night, I did not sleep well. (Literally: The night which we just passed, I did not sleep well.)

The following sentence was uttered in the morning and the adverbial refers to the coming night. Hermico used the irrealis word order plus General Perfective Aspect *-qui*. Jaime commented that he prefers to use Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++* instead, as in (181). This reflects the remoteness of future a speaker perceives, as well as tailors the use of the aspect and mood morphology.

(180) *Ácari iina niínaqui, qui=suhuaata maqu+-qui-Ø.*

now DET night 1S=well sleep-GNR.PFV-EC

<sup>46</sup> Please refer to §3.4 of the current chapter for a discussion on temporal divisions of the day.

<sup>47</sup> This is a use of spatial metaphors in talking about time, as if speakers are moving through time.

Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

- (181) *Ácari iina níínaqui, qui=suhuaata maqu+-r++-Ø.*  
now DET night 1S=well sleep-MMT.PFV-EC  
Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

If the sentence is uttered in the late afternoon, the speaker might choose to use realis word order plus the Imperfective Aspect, as in (182), as he is more likely to perceive the situation as being in the immediate future.

- (182) *Ácari iina níínaqui, qui=maqui-i-Ø suhuaata.*  
now DET night 1S=sleep-IPFV-EC well  
Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

If the sentence is uttered in the night, the adverbials *iina níínaqui* or *ácari iina níínaqui* can be used, as in (183) and (184).

- (183) *Iina níínaqui, ajapaqui aási aniini.*  
DET night NEXT rain come.INF  
There is no rain tonight.

- (184) *Ácari iina níínaqui, caa aási=ani-i-Ø.*  
Now DET night NEG rain=come-IPFV-EC  
Tonight it is not raining.

Adverbial (d), *amicaáca*, means ‘one day away,’ indicating the temporal distance of one day from SpT. Having both past and future time reference, it can indicate either yesterday, as in (185) and (186), or tomorrow, as in (187) and (188). The precise interpretation of this term depends on aspect and mood morphology. In (185) and (186), the sentences are marked by Recent Past Tense and the term is interpreted as ‘yesterday.’ In (187) and (188), the sentences are in Extended Current Tense and the terms are interpreted as ‘tomorrow.’

(185) *Amicaáca*    *Ligia nu=jicati-aar++-cura*    *iíti=ji*.  
 one.day.away *Ligia* 3S=exit-ABL.PFV-RPST    here=from  
*Ligia* left from here (in the sense of traveling, as opposed to only leaving the door) yesterday.

(186) *Amicaáca*    *cu=ariicua-Ø-cura*.  
 one.day.away 1S=sing-GNR.PFV-RPST  
 Yesterday I sang.

(187) *Amicaáca*    *Ligia nu=iíti=ji*    *jicati-aar++-Ø*.  
 one.day.away *Ligia* 3S=here=from exit-ABL.PFV-EC  
 Tomorrow *Ligia* will leave from here (in the sense of traveling).

(188) *Amicaáca*    *p++<sup>48</sup>*    *iicua-r++-Ø*.  
 one.day.away 1P.INCL    go-MMT.PFV-EC

---

<sup>48</sup> An irrealis generally requires an intervening element between the subject and the verb. Although there is no such element in this sentence, the vowel of the subject is not phonologically fused with the following vowel, which is otherwise a prevalent phenomenon.

Tomorrow we will go.

Adverbial (e), *huar+ta amicaáca*, means ‘two days away,’ indicating a temporal distance of two days away from SpT. Therefore, it can refer either to the day before yesterday, as in (189), or to the day after tomorrow, as in (190).

(189) Huar+ta amicaáca      qui=najuu-Ø-cura      qui-simiím+.  
another one.day.away 1S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST 1S-letter  
The day before yesterday I wrote my letter.

(190) Huar+ta amicaáca      qui=qui-simiím+      najuu-r++-Ø.  
another one.day.away 1S=1S-letter      write-MMT.PFV-EC  
I will write my letter the day after tomorrow.

Adverbial (f), *taana yahu++ni-jina*, literally means ‘on another day,’ and indicates a temporal distance of at least three days away from SpT. It can indicate a day in the recent past or in the near future, generally within two years from SpT. It is used either with Recent Past Tense to indicate the relevant temporal distance in the recent past, or with Extended Current Tense to indicate a similar distance in the future. The speakers use the determiner *iina* before the adverbial if they wish to specify a particular day or when they are counting the number of days by pointing to their fingers. The expression *iina taana yahu++ni-jina* varies freely with *iina yahu++ni-jina taana*.

(191) Taana yahu++ni-jina, qui=najuu-Ø-cura      núquiica simiím+.  
other day-LOC 1S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST one letter

The other day, I wrote a letter.

- (192) Iina yahu++ni-jina taana, qui=najuu-Ø-cura simiím+.  
DET day-LOC other 1S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST letter  
The other day, I wrote a letter.

The temporal adverbial *taana yahu++ni-jina* does not co-occur in the same clause with verbs marked with Distant Past Tense, as demonstrated in (193).<sup>49</sup>

- (193) \*Taana yahu++ni-jina, qui=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+ núquiica simiím+.  
other day-LOC 1S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP one letter  
The other day, I wrote a letter.

- (194) Taana yahu++ni-jina, qui=simiím+ najuu-r++-Ø.  
other day-LOC 1S=letter write-MMT.PFV-EC  
I will write a letter one of these days.

- (195) Iina yahu++ni-jina taana, qui=simiím+ najuu-r++-Ø.  
DET day-LOC other 1S=letter write-MMT.PFV-EC  
I will write a letter one of these days.

When the temporal adverbial *taana yahu++ni-jina* refers to the even more distant future, Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* is used.<sup>50</sup> The speaker Jaime commented that the event

---

<sup>49</sup> Jaime commented that this sentence is acceptable, but is interpreted as “in another time, such as in my childhood” instead of “on one day a long time ago...”

<sup>50</sup> Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* is used to indicate a perfective situation a long temporal distance away from SpT. Within the RT frame of Extended Current Tense, which spans from the day including SpT to the

will eventually take place, but it will occur at a more distant temporal point. Hermico commented that the event will take place within ten days to a few months.

- (196) Taana yahu++ni-jina, qui=quianajuu-nii-maa -Ø núquiica simiím+.  
 other day-LOC 1S=2S write-APPL-REM.PFV-EC one letter  
 I will write you a letter one of these days.

Adverbial (g), *taana casiiri-jina*, means ‘another month,’ which indicates ‘a month’ other than the month which includes SpT. It is used either with Recent Past Tense, which gives an RT frame between yesterday to one to two years ago, to indicate some other month in the recent past, as in (197) and (198), or with Extended Current Tense to indicate some other month in the future within approximately two years from SpT, as in (199) and (200). As in the case of adverbial (f), consultants use the determiner *iina* when counting the number of months by pointing to their fingers, or when they seek to indicate a specific month. The expression *iina taana casiiri-jina* varies freely with *iina casiiri-jina taana* and *iina-jina taana casiiri*.

- (197) Taana casiiri-jina, qui=mii-Ø-cura qui-minga.  
 other moon-LOC 1S=do-GNR.PFV-RPST 1S-minga  
 The other month, I did my minga.<sup>51</sup>

---

infinite future, it receives temporal references of either earlier in the morning of the day or further in the future within approximately two years from SpT, depending on the use of grammatical mood. Within the RT frame of Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense, it indicates a situation realized in the morning of a particular day. As a rare case in aspectual morphology, the meaning of a temporal adverbial, ‘in the morning,’ is grammaticalized and incorporated into Remote Perfective Aspect as one of the two meanings discussed above.

<sup>51</sup> The local Spanish word *minga* indicates a collaborative labor activity in which the host prepares food and drink for the people who assist him.



(198) Iina casiiri-jina taana, qui=mii-Ø-cura qui-minga.  
 DET moon-LOC other 1S=do-GNR.PFV-RPST 1S-minga  
 The other month, I did my minga.

(199) Taana casiiri-jina, qui=Iquito-jina iicua-r+-Ø.  
 other moon-LOC 1S=Iquito-LOC go-MMT.PFV-EC  
 I will go to Iquitos one of these months.

(200) Iina-jina taana casiiri, qui=Iquito-jina iicua-r+-Ø.  
 DET-LOC other moon 1S=Iquito-LOC go-MMT.PFV-EC  
 I will go to Iquitos one of these months.

Adverbial (h), *taana amariaana-jina*, means ‘in another year,’ and indicates a year other than the year which includes SpT. It is used either with Distant Past Tense to indicate some other year in the past, or with Extended Current Tense to indicate some other year in the future. As in the case of adverbials (f) and (g), the speakers use the determiner *iina* if they are counting by pointing to their fingers, or when they want to indicate a particular year. The expression *iina taana amariaana-jina* varies freely with *iina amariaana-jina taana* and *iina-jina taana amariaana*.

(201) Iina amariaana-jina taana, nu-tarahujaju taariqu+ simiím+ najuuni.  
 DET year-LOC other 3S-work COP.DPST letter write.INF  
 Last year, his job was writing letters.

(202) Taana amariaana-jina, ipanana taariqu+ iina aaca. Iina amariaana  
 other year-LOC hot COP.DPST DET water DET year

p+=iiqui-i-Ø ácari=na, s+m+tina t++ iina aaca.  
 1P.INCL=live-IPFV-EC now=CLSF cold COP DET water

Last year, the water was warm. This year, in which we now are, the water is cold.

(203) Taana amariaana-jina, cana=p+ca-r++-quiaqu+ tarahuajuuni.  
 other year-LOC 1P.EXCL=finish-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP work

We finished working some year in the past.

(204) Taana amariaana-jina, qui=núquiica simiím+ najuu-nii-maa-Ø quiaaja.  
 other year-LOC 1S=one letter write-APPL-REM.PFV-EC 2S

One of these years (literally: another year), I will write you a letter.

### 3.4 TEMPORAL DIVISIONS OF A DAY

The expressions referring to the divisions of the day, as shown in the following table, are based on the position of the sun and degree of darkness or sunlight. I discuss in the following the terms depicted in table 5.

Table 5: Temporal Divisions<sup>52</sup> of a Day

a	<i>yahu++ni</i> ‘day, as a quantified general term’ <i>ácari</i> ‘now, today’				
b	<i>niínaqui</i> ‘night time, darkness’; when quantified: <i>nin++ni</i>	<i>yahu++ni</i> ‘day time’			<i>niínaqui</i> ‘night time, darkness’; when quantified: <i>nin++ni</i>
c	<i>nin++ni-</i> <i>+j+qu+ya</i> ‘midnight’	<i>cutataani-</i> <i>ácuji</i> ‘before sunrise’	<i>taaríqui</i> ‘morning’	<i>yahu++ni-</i> <i>+j+qu+ya</i> ‘midday’	<i>nin++ni-ácuji</i> ‘afternoon’ ‘before darkness’

The term *yahu++ni* is often described by the speakers as ‘when the sunlight comes out,’ i.e. ‘day time.’ However, as can be seen in line (a) of the above table, *yahu++ni* is also used to refer to a more general concept of ‘day,’ which includes *nin++ni-j+qu+ya* ‘midnight,’ *cutataani-ácuji* ‘before sunrise,’ *taaríqui* ‘morning,’ *yahu++ni-j+qu+ya* ‘midday,’ *nin++ni-ácuji* ‘afternoon’ and *niínaqui* ‘night.’ When speakers quantify the number of days for some purpose, the term *yahu++ni* is used to indicate an entire day-night cycle, corresponding roughly to a 24-hour period, as in *núquiica yahu++ni* ‘one day’ or *p+y++ni yahu++ni* ‘every day’ or ‘all day.’

We continue with the discussion of the terms *niínaqui* and *nin++ni*. Speakers use the term *ácari iina niínaqui* to refer to the two periods of darkness bracketing a given daylight period (line (b)), reflecting the overall symmetric nature of temporal remoteness meanings indicated by temporal adverbs in Iquito, as discussed in §3.3 of this chapter. The term *ácari iina niínaqui* can refer to either the night that has just passed, including *nin++ni-j+qu+ya* ‘midnight’ and *cutataani-ácuji* ‘before sunrise,’ or the coming night. When talking about the portion of the prior night before midnight, the term *amicaáca*

<sup>52</sup> Besides using the spoken terms here, speakers can always use hand gestures, by pointing to arc of the sun’s or moon’s path in sky, to indicate a more precise time of day.

*niínaqui* ‘yesterday night’ is used, together with Recent Past Tense. Line (c) reflects the non-deictic divisions of the day. When speaking of a number of nights, the term *nin++ni* is preferred (line (b)), meaning ‘night, to become dark.’ Speakers commented that *niínaqui* sounds odd when used in a numerical sense, further indicating that it sounds like “a darkness rather than a night.” In the following, I discuss this in more detail.

The term *nin++ni*, as an infinitival verb form, means ‘to become dark,’ signaling the coming of the night, as in (205).

- (205) Jaa      nu=nacar++-yaa-Ø    nin++ni.  
 already    3S=want-IPFV-EC    become.dark.INF  
 The night time is coming. It is about to become dark.  
 Literally: It already wants to become dark.

To describe ‘become dark,’ due to dark clouds or other factors instead of sun-setting, during the day time, the verb *niin+taani* ‘to be dark’ is used, as in (206) and (207).

- (206) Jaa      nu=nacar++-yaa-Ø    niin+taani.  
 already    3S=want-IPFV-EC    be.dark.INF  
 It is about to become dark (because of some reason).

Sentence (207) in the following is used to describe the darkness in some part of the forest. It is very dark because it is under a lot of trees.

- (207) Naaca-cari    t++    iíti.    Umaata    iíti    niin+ta-a-Ø.  
 trees-below    COP    here    very.much    here    be.dark-IPFV-EC

It is full of trees here. It is very dark here.

The term *niínaqui* means ‘dark; darkness.’ Sentence (208) describes the darkness in a cave. Sentence (209) refers to a dark area in a far distance. Sentence (210) describes the darkness in a house. It is seen that *niinama* is used instead of *niínaqui* because of its concordance with spatial deictics; this is, however, outside the scope of this dissertation and not discussed in detail here.

(208) Juura niínaqui t++ íiti sahuija-jina.  
really dark COP here cave-LOC  
It is really dark here in the cave.

(209) Niínaqui-iira t++ tíira.  
dark-GOAL COP there  
It is dark there.

(210) P+=tiqui-aar++-Ø iina-jinacuma ííta.  
1P.INCL=enter-ABL.PFV-EC DET-inside house  
  
Niinama t++ naami ííta-jinacuma.  
dark COP inside house-inside  
We entered into that house. It is dark inside the house.

Hermico commented that sentence (209) has an alternative as in (211), which is of course understood by other speakers.

(211) Tíira niin+ta-a-Ø.  
 there be.dark-IPFV-EC  
 It is dark there.

As mentioned above, to refer to the portion of night prior to midnight, the term *amicaáca niínaqui* together with Recent Past Tense is used. Hermico, in explaining (212) recorded on the afternoon of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July, commented that the event of ‘writing a letter’ is understood to take place on the night of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July around 8-10PM. It is seen that the Recent Past Tense *-cura* is used, indicating that it is not the part of the day which includes SpT.

(212) Amicaáca niínaqui qui=najuu-yaa-cura núquiica simiím+.  
 one.day.away dark 1S=write-IPFV-RPST one letter  
 Last night I was writing a letter.

In (213), the term *ácari (iina) niínaqui* is used to refer to the night time that has just passed. It can be seen that the sentence is in Extended Current Tense, indicating that it is considered to be part of the day which includes SpT.

(213) Ácari iina niínaqui (p+=ar++-Ø-Ø=na),  
 now DET night 1P.INCL=pass-GNR.PFV-EC=CLSF  
  
 ca=qui=maqu+-qui-Ø suhuaata.  
 NEG=1S=sleep-GNR.PFV-EC well

I didn't sleep well last night.

When quantifying the number of nights, speakers prefer to use the term *nin++ni* 'night, to become dark,' as in (214) and (215), although the term *niínaqui* 'night, darkness' can also be employed. Both Hermico and Jaime explained that (214) means "three times of becoming dark, I haven't slept (literal translation)" while if the term *niínaqui* 'night, darkness' is used, it means "I haven't slept in three darknesses (literal translation)," which sounds odd to them.

(214) Ca=qui=maqu+-qui-Ø                      s+saramaaj+tami    nin++ni.  
NEG=1S=sleep-GNR.PFV-EC    three                      become.dark.INF  
I haven't slept for three nights.

(215) P+y++ni    iina    nin++ni, qui=maqu+-qui-Ø.  
all            DET    night    1S=sleep-GNR.PFV-EC  
I slept the entire night.

The term *nin++ni-+j+qu+ya* 'midnight' literally means 'night's halfway point,' as speakers also used their hands to demonstrate a knife-cutting gesture when explaining this. Hermico commented that a given day starts at *nin++ni-+j+qu+ya* 'midnight,' which is consistent with the fact that a sentence containing such a temporal adverbial goes with Extended Current Tense, as in (216). He also said that by this time, most people have fallen asleep already. In addition, Jaime commented that ancient people knew when midnight was by observing the movement of the stars or the sound of different species of crickets which start to chirp at midnight. Sentence (216) is a

perfective one; it is interpreted as taking place on the same day which includes SpT. Midnight as the start of the current day also corresponds with the use of the temporal adverbial *ácari iina nínaqui* ‘this night’ which could be the previous or the following dark portion of the day. *Ácari* means ‘today’ or ‘now.’ Therefore, either the previous night or the coming night can be referred to as ‘tonight.’ A more precise reference is specified by an added relative clause.

- (216) Qui=iniica-r++-Ø                      nin++ni-+j+qu+ya    qui=isaani=iira.  
 1S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC    become.dark-half    1S=urinate.INF=GOAL  
 I woke up around midnight (today) to urinate.

The term *cutataani-ácuji* ‘before sunrise’ indicates the portion of the day between midnight and when the sunlight appears.

- (217) Qui=iniica-r++-Ø                      cutataani-ácuji.  
 1S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC    dawn-before  
  
 Qui=san+-r++-Ø                      capiini      ánuura.  
 1S=get.up-MMT.PFV-EC    cook.INF    towards  
 I woke up before sunrise to cook.

Once the sunlight appears, the term *taaríqui* ‘morning’ is used to indicate the part of the day between sunrise and noon, as in (218).

- (218) Qui=iniica-maa-Ø                      taaríqui    qui=ihuaani=iira    qui-nasi-cuura.



1S=wake.up-REM.PFV-EC morning 1S=go=GOAL 1S-chacra-DST

I woke up in the morning to go to my garden.<sup>53</sup>

The term *yahu++ni-+j+qu+ya* ‘midday’ indicates the time point when the sun is immediately above our heads and literally means ‘day’s halfway point.’ The term *nin++ni-ácuji* ‘afternoon’ indicates the portion of the day between the sun’s highest point and when the sun sets, and literally means ‘before becoming dark.’

(219) Qui=iniica-r++-Ø                      yahu++ni-+j+qu+ya.

1S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC day-half

I woke up around mid-day.

(220) Qui=iniica-r++-Ø                      nin++ni-ácuji.

1S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC become.dark-before

I woke up in the afternoon.

One last important point for this section is the remoteness of time that speakers perceive when talking about the coming night. Speakers can freely choose to use the Imperfective Aspect (221), irrealis-mood word order with General Perfective Aspect (222), or irrealis-mood word order with Momentary Perfective Aspect (223), depending on how far they view it in terms of temporal distance, which of course also depends on the time of day when the sentence is uttered. If the sentence is uttered in the late afternoon, speakers most likely will use Imperfective Aspect while General or

---

<sup>53</sup> Local Spanish gloss for the word *nasi* is ‘chacra,’ which is a vegetable- and fruit-cultivating field in which crops are cultivated, situated away from the village.

Momentary Perfective Aspects are more likely to be used if a sentence is uttered earlier in the day.

(221) Ácari iina nínaqui, qui=maqui-i-Ø suhuaata.  
now DET night 1S=sleep-IPFV-EC well  
Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

(222) Ácari iina nínaqui quia=suhuaata maqu+-qui-Ø.  
now DET night 2S=well sleep-GNR.PFV-EC  
Tonight, you will sleep well.

(223) Ácari iina nínaqui, qui=suhuaata maqu+-r++-Ø.  
now DET night 1S=well sleep-MMT.PFV-EC  
Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed the formal encoding of Iquito tense, the obligatory status of tense and its interaction with temporal adverbials, temporal interpretation, the symmetric nature of a set of temporal adverbials, and the divisions of the day. Iquito displays a three-tense system. A number of remoteness distinctions are made in the pre-hodiernal past tenses, more finely distinguishing the localization of time prior to the day preceding SpT. Extended Current Tense is interesting in Iquito. On the one hand, it is obligatory and incompatible with temporal adverbials referring to a time outside its RT span. On the other hand, more precise temporal interpretation is inferred through aspects, which is a feature of tenseless languages. With respect to adverbials, a set of symmetric

temporal adverbials may be employed to make remoteness distinctions in terms of the temporal distance from SpT. Their use interacts with tense and aspect marking. Finally, the division of the day, according to the position of the sun and degree of darkness/sunlight, was described.

## Chapter 4: Mood

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses grammatical expressions of mood in Iquito, with a language-specific focus on the realis/irrealis mood, including their morphosyntactic characteristics and semantic properties. I first define the term ‘mood’ used in this dissertation and distinguish it from the term ‘modality’ as both terms are used in the literature. I use the term mood to refer to a formally grammaticalized category which has a modal function; therefore, it is the grammatical expression of modality in language-specific terms. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 239) indicate that “mood categories are extremely difficult and extremely interesting, as they represent long chains of diachronic developments, and they interact with semantic, syntactic, and discourse parameters. Imposing binary distinctions and looking for the one semantic element that all uses have in common will not always yield useful results.” Bybee (1998: 262) states that “modality is a broad functional or conceptual domain, and certain focal points in this domain commonly take grammatical expressions in language-specific grams”...although “a major difficulty is encountered in giving a coherent characterization to the conceptual domain of modality.” Both of the above sources question the validity of realis/irrealis as a crosslinguistic grammatical category; however, the following three authors have argued differently. Mithun (1995: 368; 1999: 173) recognizes the binary distinction between realis and irrealis mood, indicating that the realis portrays situations as “actualized” or “having occurred or actually occurring” and that the irrealis portrays situations as “purely within the realm of thought.” Elliot (2000: 55) “argues for a grammatical category of reality status, which has two components, realis and irrealis, and which is intriguingly interrelated with other grammatical categories.” Palmer (2001: 2) concludes that “the idea

that notional features of realis and irrealis are grammaticalized as the typological categories of Realis and Irrealis is a useful one” while also recognizing that “there is variation, at a quite fundamental level, in the categories that are treated as Realis and Irrealis in different languages. One language may mark commands as Irrealis, another may mark them as Realis, while yet another may not treat them as part of a system of modality at all.” In light of the previous citations, the current dissertation adopts the binary terms realis/irrealis to best characterize the two contrastive constructions whose meanings—although I do not intend to assign a single meaning for this contrast—are definable under language-specific terms. In declarative, negative, interrogative and non-CF conditionals, realis mood is consistently used for non-future (i.e. past, present and immediate future) situations while irrealis mood is consistently used for future (i.e. later in the same day of SpT, the day following SpT, and further in the future) situations, reflecting the speaker’s assessment of time rather than certainty. In CF conditionals, embedded clauses of desiderative/timitive verbs, (including ‘want,’ ‘fear,’ among others), and a particular potential future/optative construction, realis mood never applies and the choice of irrealis mood reflects speaker’s assessment of factuality. The last two constructions, desiderative/timitive and potential future/optative, arguably reflect the speaker’s assessment of both time and factuality.

As formal categories, moods vary from language to language with respect to number of markers and what modal distinctions are grammaticalized. Crosslinguistically frequent grammatical types include conditionals and imperatives, among others (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 2). They are expressed in language in a variety of ways: morphological, lexical, syntactic, or via intonation (Bybee and Fleischman, 1995). Elliott (2000:64-66) comments that “reality status is not marked by the same kind of morphosyntactic device in all languages, although by far the most common device used is

verbal affixation of some kind” and includes simple affixation, portmanteau affixation, particles, and enclitics as types of marking. Palmer (2001[1986]) also comments that inflectional mood is a very clear example of grammatical marking and the markers of modality may be modal verbs, clitics or particles. However, he also points out that modality is not necessarily marked in the verbal element, nor is there any obvious reason why it should be, apart from the fact that the verb is the most central part of the sentence. He further indicates that moods, the grammaticalized attitudes and beliefs of the speaker, are less associated with the verb, but have more to do with the whole sentence. Crosslinguistically, it should not be surprising, although it is uncommon, that mood and modality can be marked outside the verbal complex. In this dissertation, I introduce the grammatical strategy of Iquito realis/irrealis mood (i.e. SVX word order vs. SXV word order in combination with vowel-hiatus resolution) and propose to include ‘word order change,’ a crosslinguistically uncommon means, as a grammatical type of mood marking in linguistic typology.

Two grammatical moods are found in Iquito: realis and irrealis mood. Each Iquito sentence expresses either realis or irrealis mood. Irrealis mood imposes structural variations on certain constructions due to its unique grammatical strategy—SXV word order and vowel-hiatus resolution—which especially affects negation constructions, conditionals and counterfactual sentences, desideratives, imperatives and jussives. This chapter is organized as follows: §4.2 discusses these two grammatical moods in terms of the structural differences between them and the semantic contexts in which they appear; §4.3 discusses negation constructions and their structural realization influenced by mood; §4.4 deals with conditionals and counterfactuality; §4.5 discusses CF wishes<sup>54</sup> and desideratives because ‘CF wish’ is a topic commonly discussed together with other

---

<sup>54</sup> “CF wish” is a common term used in the literature of conditionals and counterfactuality, such as in Iatridou (2000), among others.

counterfactual constructions; §4.6 discusses imperatives and jussives; §4.7 concludes this chapter.

## 4.2 GRAMMATICAL MOOD: REALIS AND IRREALIS

Iquito has a grammaticalized realis/irrealis mood which is expressed by a typologically uncommon strategy, word order change and vowel-hiatus resolution.<sup>55</sup> The basic word order in Iquito is SVO, which appears in all finite clauses with realis mood. Irrealis mood in finite clauses,<sup>56</sup> however, generally requires an element to occupy the position between the subject and the verb, resulting in SXV word order. The X position in an SXV order can be filled by an indefinite grammatical object, an adverb, or the determiner of a definite object phrase, among others (Anderson *et al.*, 2006). To add to what is proposed in this literature, I propose that when the X position is not filled by an overt lexical item, the vowel-hiatus resolution strategy between S and V is blocked. Because the SXV order conveys the irrealis meaning and imposes syntactic restrictions on the overall sentence structure, mood in Iquito can be viewed as a grammaticalized category. Following Bybee (1998: 264), I consider the entire SXV construction as being responsible for expressing irrealis mood.<sup>57</sup> The binary terms ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ are used in this dissertation because these two specific terms are useful, as promoted by many linguists (Elliot 2000; Mithun 1995, 1999; Palmer 2001), in this case to best characterize two constructions which systematically apply to clauses with certain modal functions. ‘Realis’ and ‘irrealis,’ however, do not correspond exactly in meaning to *real*

---

<sup>55</sup> Please refer to Huamancayo (2003), which specifically discusses vowel hiatus resolution in Iquito. Also see footnote 24 for more information.

<sup>56</sup> In complex sentences which contain embedded infinitival clauses, the word order is neutralized to SV...OV (i.e. with no interrupting element between the subject and the main verb), regardless of mood. Please see §4.2.3 for more discussion.

<sup>57</sup> For a theoretical analysis of irrealis mood, please refer to Anderson *et al.* (2006).

vs. *unreal* or *assertive* vs. *non-assertive*. Realis mood, realized by SVX word order, is used in affirmative and negative declaratives, interrogatives and non-CF conditionals for mostly non-future situations.<sup>58</sup> In declaratives, the situation in clauses with realis mood is realized, being realized, or will be realized in the immediate future. In Iquito, negation, interrogatives, and non-CF conditionals do not impinge on the choice between realis and irrealis mood. Irrealis mood, realized by SXV word order or with vowel-hiatus resolution strategy blocked in the case of intransitive clauses, is used in non-immediate future declaratives, interrogatives and non-CF conditionals. In addition, it is used in all the CF conditionals, including past and present CF, together with an additional CF morpheme (+)*t*+-, a particular potential future/optative construction, and desideratives/timitives. In the second group of contexts, the choice of irrealis mood appears to depend on speaker's assessment of factuality. Imperatives show structural characteristics of both realis and irrealis mood. This dissertation, therefore, does not intend to assign a single meaning for either realis or irrealis mood, but uses these language-specific terms to characterize the two constructions in which two different types of word orders are used. I introduce the grammatical strategy by which the Iquito language expresses mood and propose to include 'word order change' as a grammatical type of mood marking in linguistic typology.

In §4.2.1, I focus on the structural differences of realis (SVX order) and irrealis (SXV order) clauses and the syntactic restrictions of irrealis mood constructions. Later in §4.2.2, I introduce the semantic contexts to which realis and irrealis mood apply. Most of

---

<sup>58</sup> Situations in the immediate future which is expected to be realized immediately following the SpT is expressed by realis mood in combination with the Imperfective Aspect. It is noted that the choice between realis and irrealis here has to do with a speaker's assessment of time instead of certainty about the future event. A sentence, indicating a situation in the immediate future and expressed by realis mood, can include an epistemic adverbial, such as 'perhaps' while a sentence, indicating a situation in the near future (i.e. occurring later on the same day of SpT for some speakers, the day following the SpT or later), always displays irrealis mood regardless of how certain the speaker is about the situation referred in the sentence.



these contexts are discussed in detail in subsequent sections. In §4.2.3, I propose possible origins and motivations of word order change.

#### 4.2.1 The Structural Characteristics of Realis and Irrealis Mood

The clauses with realis mood display SVX word order, with no element allowed to appear between the subject and the verb. In addition, vowel-hiatus resolution, detailed below, appears in realis clauses. In contrast, clauses with irrealis mood display SXV word order, with an element (X) standing between the subject (S) and the verb (V). The categories that can appear in this X position are summarized in table 6. It is noted that this position is not always filled by a lexical element if the verb is intransitive. Under such circumstances, the interpretation of realis or irrealis mood is determined by the blockage of vowel hiatus, or by pragmatic knowledge.

Table 6. Elements Appearing in the X Position of SXV Word Order in Irrealis Mood

Transitivity	Types of Elements in the X Position
Transitive	Indefinite grammatical object or pronoun
	Determiner of a definite object
	Adverbs and adverbials <sup>59</sup>
	Negative particle <sup>60</sup>
Intransitive	Adverb and adverbials
	Negative particle
	No lexical element, but with the vowel-hiatus resolution strategy blocked

<sup>59</sup> This, applying to both transitive and intransitive clauses, includes postpositional phrases (noun plus postpositional clitic) or determiner plus postpositional clitic, leaving the nominal phrase in the postverbal position. The list here is representative. For an exhaustive list of the possible types of elements, please refer to Anderson *et al.* (2006).

<sup>60</sup> This, applying to both transitive and intransitive verbs, appears in complementizer-type clauses, including *wh*-questions and subordinate clauses, when nothing appears between the subject and the verb. In Iquito, clausal negation is sensitive to clause types, please refer to §4.3 for a detailed discussion.

In a transitive clause, the types of elements that can appear in the X position include an indefinite grammatical object or pronoun, the determiner of the definite object, adverbs, adverbial phrases, postpositional phrases consisting of a noun plus a postpositional clitic, a determiner plus a postpositional clitic, and negative particles if no other elements appear in such a position. What **cannot** go in the X position is a complete nominal phrase or postpositional phrase containing a determiner. To be exact, [a determiner plus noun]<sup>61</sup>, as a definite object, **cannot** appear in the X position, but [an indefinite article, or a modifier, plus noun] can.

As can be seen in (224) and (225), an indefinite grammatical object or a pronominal object, respectively, can appear between the subject and the verb of an irrealis clause. In realis clauses, they appear in the postverbal position, as can be compared with (1), (2), and (4).

(224) Aási **íita-ca** picuu-r++<sup>62</sup>-Ø.

rain **house-PL** wet-MMT.PFV-EC

The rain will wet the houses (tomorrow or in a few days).

---

<sup>61</sup> Cynthia Anderson Hansen pointed out that “if a determiner plus noun is part of a possessive phrase, such a combination can occur in the X position.” She also provided the following example. The abbreviations were adapted to mine.

Amicáaca qui íp+ sináaqu+ siquita-r++-Ø m+rajáarica.  
 one.day.away 1S DET.PL.AN clothes wash-MMT.PFV-EC children  
 Tomorrow I will wash those children’s clothes. (E.ELY.CIA.160808)

<sup>62</sup> The Momentary Perfective *r++*, when used in the irrealis mood, is observed to be acoustically longer with level tone (the term level tone is suggested by Cynthia Anderson Hansen); when it is used in the realis mood, it is observed to be acoustically shorter with contour falling tone. At this point, I am not sure if such a difference in length and tone is associated with irrealis mood on the syntactic level, or with the morpheme *r++* itself. If it is associated with irrealis mood, then no matter which aspectual morpheme is used in the irrealis mood, such a difference should apply to it impartially. However, if it is associated with the morpheme *r++*, then the *r++* used in the irrealis mood should be considered as a different morpheme than the one used in the realis mood. Unfortunately, I do not have enough data to prove either view at this point in my research.

(225) Nu=**nu**=niqui-r++-Ø.

3S=**3S**=see-MMT.PFV-EC

He/she will see him/her (tomorrow or in a few days).

Sentence (226) shows that the X position can be filled by the determiner of the definite object. The pronoun *nu* ‘3S’ is the resumptive pronoun of the topicalized subject *iina icuani* ‘that man.’ The determiner *iina* that follows the resumptive pronoun forms a complete definite object phrase with the postverbal noun *pápaaja* ‘fish.’ It is ungrammatical if the entire definite object noun phrase appears in the X position, as in (227).

(226) Iina icuani nu=**iina** asa-r++-Ø **pápaaja** macuáarica.

DET man 3S=**DET** eat-MMT.PFV-EC **fish** slowly

That man, he will eat the fish slowly.

(227) \*Iina icuani nu=iina pápaaja asa-r++-Ø macuáarica.

DET man 3S=DETfish eat-MMT.PFV-EC slowly

That man, he will eat the fish slowly.

In (228), an adverb is in the topic position, which is always in the clause-initial position, followed by a subject pronoun, subsequently followed by a determiner pertaining to a definite object phrase.

(228) Amicaáca qui=**iina** niqui-r++-Ø **m+saji**.

one.day.away 1S=**DET** see-MMT.PFV-EC **woman**

I will see that woman tomorrow.

Sentences (229) and (230) show that an adverb can appear in the X position of an irrealis clause. In a realis clause, an adverb must appear in the pre-subject or postverbal position, as in (914), (610), and text 3: line 214. For a full treatment of adverb order, please refer to Hansen (2006).

(229) Amicaáca qui=**iyarácata** asa-r++-Ø pápaaja.  
one.day.away 1S=**quickly** eat-MMT.PFV-EC fish  
Tomorrow I will eat fish quickly.

(230) Ácari nin++ni=ácuji qui=**p+y++ni** mii-r++-Ø qui-miisana  
now afternoon 1S=**all** do-MMT.PFV-EC 1S-thing  
naji j++ta núquiica pajuuyaana.  
such like one teacher  
This afternoon I will do all of my work, just like a teacher.

Besides the above-mentioned elements, the negative particle can also appear in the X position in certain types of clauses<sup>63</sup> (i.e. interrogatives, subordinate clauses) under irrealis mood. First, we see a negative interrogative clause in realis mood, as in (231). Negation is expressed through a negative morpheme marked on the verb and a negative particle in the postverbal position.

---

<sup>63</sup> Only one of the negation strategies is introduced here, please refer to §4.3 for a detailed discussion on negation.

	S	V		O
(231)	¿Can++ca	casiira-ji-qui-Ø	caa	páapaaja?
	who	grab-SUB.NEG-PFV-EC	NEG	fish
	Who didn't grab fish?			

Interrogative sentences (232) and (233), show that when the object appears at the beginning of the sentence as a *wh*-word, as in (232), or remains in the postverbal position, as in (233), the negative particle *caa* has to be copied to appear in the X position, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. When a copy of the negative particle *caa* appears in the X position, the postverbal *caa* can appear optionally without changing the grammaticality of the sentence.

	O	S	X	V
(232)	Can++ca	quia= <b>ca</b> <sup>64</sup> =niqui-ji-r+-Ø		caa?
	who	2S= <b>NEG</b> =see-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC	NEG	
	Who will you not see?			

	S	X	V	
(233)	Can++ca	<b>caa</b>	sir+ta-ji-r+-Ø	asúraaja?
	who	<b>NEG</b>	harvest-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC	yuca
	Who will not harvest yuca?			

Sentence (234) is an interrogative ditransitive construction. The direct object appears as a *wh*-word at the beginning of the clause, followed by the subject pronoun. The indirect

---

<sup>64</sup> If *caa* is cliticized, together with the subject pronoun, onto the verbal complex, its pronunciation is shortened to *ca*.

object remains in the postverbal position while a negative particle *caa* fills the X position. If the X position is already filled by an element, *caa* cannot appear in that position, as in (235).

	DO	S	X	V		IO
(234)	Saaca	nu= <b>ca</b> =mit++-ji-r++-Ø			caa	nu-atamajana?
	what	3S= <b>NEG</b> =give-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC			NEG	3S-brother
	What will he not give to his brother?					

	S		X		V
(235)	Can++ca	(*caa)	<b>nu-nasi</b>	cuara-ji-r++-Ø	caa?
	who	NEG	<b>3S-garden</b>	cultivate-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC	NEG
	Who will not cultivate his garden?				

In an intransitive clause, the types of elements that can appear in the X position are the same as those in a transitive clause. As can be seen in (236), the adverb appears in the X position of an intransitive clause.

(236)	Qui= <b>amicaáca</b>	nara-r++-Ø.
	1S= <b>one.day.away</b>	bathe-MMT.PFV-EC
	Tomorrow I will bathe.	

Sentence (237) shows that a postpositional phrase (i.e. noun plus postpositional clitic) can appear in the X position and (238) shows that the determiner with the postpositional clitic can appear in the X position, with the remaining noun phrase in the postverbal position.

(237) Qui=**quia=jata** iicua-r+-Ø quia-nasi-cuura.  
 1S=**2S=COM** go-MMT.PFV-EC 2S-garden-DST  
 I am going to your garden with you.

(238) Amicaáca qui=**iina=jinacuma** maqu+-r+-Ø **ííta**.  
 one.day.away 1S=**DET=inside** sleep-MMT.PFV-EC **house**  
 Tomorrow, I am going to sleep inside the house.

It is ungrammatical to include the entire postpositional phrase containing the determiner or a definite object phrase in the X position.

(239) \*Amicaáca qui=**iina=jinacuma ííta** maqu+-r+-Ø.  
 one.day.away 1S=**DET=inside house** sleep-MMT.PFV-EC  
 Tomorrow, I am going to sleep inside the house.

(240) \*Amicaáca qui=**iina m+saji** niqui-r+-Ø.  
 one.day.away 1S=**DET woman** see-MMT.PFV-EC  
 I will see that woman tomorrow.

The X position in an intransitive clause, however, is not always filled by a lexical element. When it is not, vowel-hiatus resolution strategy is blocked. Iquito exhibits a phonotactic constraint against heteromorphemic vowel hiatus within a phonological

word.<sup>65</sup> If a preverbal element is monosyllabic, it cliticizes rightward to the verbal complex. As a result, it is pronounced together with the verbal complex as a continuous sound stream. In a realis clause, the quality of adjacent vowels of the preverbal and verbal elements is resolved by assimilation or alteration of the vowel. Instances of underlying vowel hiatus are resolved by glide formation, vowel deletion, or vowel fusion, depending on the morphemes and the qualities of the vowels involved. In realis clauses, non-focal subject pronouns generally form a phonological word with their associated verb (i.e. they behave like phonological clitics). If the verb root in question is vowel-initial, heteromorphemic vowel hiatus typically results, and one of the hiatus resolution processes just mentioned takes place. In irrealis clauses, however, non-focal subject pronouns typically do not cliticize to their associated verb. In cases in which an overt element intervenes between the subject pronoun and the verb, the subject pronoun normally cliticizes to the intervening element, instead of to the verb. Crucially, the subject pronoun, even if there is no intervening element (e.g. in the case of an intransitive verb in a clause with no adjuncts), still appears not to cliticize to the verb. Specifically, the normal rules of vowel-hiatus resolution strategy are blocked, as if the subject pronoun and the verb independently form separate phonological words. In slow or careful speech a brief pause may even be audible between the subject pronoun and the verb. That is to say, in the irrealis clause, it is observed that the quality of adjacent vowels remains intact, as if there is an implicit element in the X position that blocks the vowel hiatus.

In realis mood, as in (241), the vowel /i/ in *iisa-* ‘urinate’ changes to /+/, and the sentence means ‘we went there to urinate in the morning.’ If the sentence is an irrealis one, as in (242), the vowel /i/ does not assimilate to the preceding vowel (i.e. the

---

<sup>65</sup> I am grateful for the help and the support of my colleague, Lev Michael. He played an important role in helping me improve the phrasing of the idea presented in this paragraph. Michael (2003a) and (2003b) discuss cliticization in Quito extensively.



sequence [+] and [i] is heard), and the sentence means ‘we will go to Iquitos tomorrow.’ This phenomenon, in addition to other pragmatic factors in the discourse, contributes to disambiguating whether an intransitive clause receives a realis or irrealis interpretation.

[p++sacuaa]

- (241) Taaríqui p+=iisa-cuaa-Ø tíira.  
morning 1P.INCL=urinate-DEI2-EC there  
We went there to urinate in the morning.

[p+icuar++]

- (242) P+=iicua-r+++Ø Iquito=jina amicaáca.  
1P.INCL=go-MMT.PFV-EC Iquitos=LOC one.day.away  
We will go to Iquitos tomorrow.

#### 4.2.2 The Semantic Contexts of Realis and Irrealis Mood

The semantic contexts in which realis and irrealis mood appear are first summarized in the following table.

Table 7. Semantic Contexts of Realis and Irrealis Mood

Choice of Realis/Irrealis Mood	Semantic Contexts	
		Group 1: Declarative Negative Interrogative Non-CF conditional
Realis Mood	Situations in the past, present, or immediate future (i.e. situation realized, being realized, or to be	N/A

	realized immediately following SpT)	
Irrealis Mood	Situations further in the future (i.e. later on the same day of SpT, the day following SpT, or even later)	Unreal situations (i.e. counterfactual, emotions and wishes/weak prediction)
<p>Semantic basis and observations:</p> <p>For contexts in group 1, the choice between realis and irrealis mood reflects speaker's assessment of time. The speaker might be certain or uncertain about a particular situation in the immediate future, but realis mood is chosen with an optional usage of the epistemic adverb <i>cuuta</i> 'perhaps.' If the situation in the sentence is understood to be realized tomorrow, the day following SpT, the irrealis mood is chosen, regardless of how certain the speaker is about the situation.</p> <p>For contexts in group 2, the choice reflects the speaker's assessment of factuality. The choice of irrealis mood in desideratives/timitives and potential future/optative arguably represent the assessment of both time and factuality.</p>		

In Iquito, realis mood (realized as SVX word order) is used in past and present affirmative declarative sentences, as in (243) and (244). In (243), the subject is a pronoun *qui* '1S' which cliticizes<sup>66</sup> onto the verbal complex. The verbal complex contains the verbal root *pani-* 'search,' General Perfective Aspect, and the Extended Current Tense, zero-morpheme. The object is an indefinite nominal phrase, consisting of the indefinite article *núquiica* 'one' and the noun *anitáaqui* 'peccary,' an animal people hunt in the Amazon for food. This sentence receives a past interpretation. Sentence (244), besides the present interpretation, also receives an immediate-future interpretation, meaning 'he will be reading this book now.'

	S	V		O
(243)	Qui=	pani-qui-Ø		núquiica anitáaqui.
	1S=	search-GNR.PFV-EC	one	peccary
	I searched for a peccary.			

<sup>66</sup> In Iquito, a monosyllabic subject cliticizes rightward onto the verb in the realis clause.

S    V                    O

(244) Nu=simiita-a-Ø    iina    simiím+.

3S=read-IPFV-EC    DET    book

He is reading this book. (He will be reading this book now.)

In addition to affirmative declaratives, realis mood is also used in past and present negative declaratives (245), as well as interrogatives, including yes-no questions (246) and *wh*-questions (247). The following three sentences all have SVO word order, with subject pronouns preceding verbs in (245) and (246), and a subject interrogative pronoun preceding the verb in (247).

S    V                    O

(245) Caa qui=niqui-Ø-cura    iina    icuani.

NEG 1S=see-PFV-RPST    DET    man

I didn't see that man.

S    V                    O

(246) ¿Caa quia=niqui-Ø-cura    iina    icuani?

NEG 2S=see-PFV-RPST    DET    man

Didn't you see that man?

S                    V                                    O

(247) ¿Can++ca casiira-ji-qui-Ø                    caa    páapaaja?

who            catch-SUB.NEG-PFV-EC    NEG    fish

Who didn't catch fish?

Finally, realis mood can also be used in non-CF conditionals to refer to non-future situations. The difference between conditionals and the sentences discussed above is that there is an additional non-assertive formative or epistemic adverbial appearing in conditionals. Sentence (248) is a non-CF conditional, referring to a habitual pattern of situations, and realis mood is used. Sentence (249) is also a non-CF conditional. The consequent clause refers to a future situation and the irrealis mood is used. The paired clauses present the sequentiality between the situation in the antecedent and that in the consequent, due to the perfective aspect. The antecedent refers to a time preceding that of the consequent and the realis mood is used.

(248) P+y++ni yahu++ni=jina quia=mit++-sa-a-Ø-cari  
all day=LOC 2S=give-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS

cacáraaja naaqui nuu, ca=nu=sapi-i-Ø.

hen egg 3S NEG=3S=cry-IPFV-EC

Everyday if you give him (an) egg, he doesn't cry.

(249) Quia=iicua-sá-Ø-Ø-cari Iquito=jina,  
2S=go-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS Iquito=LOC

quia=Pedro niqui-r+-Ø tíira.

2S=Pedro see-MMT.PFV-EC there

If you go to Iquitos, you will see Pedro there.

Sentence (250) is another non-CF conditional. The antecedent refers to a situation in the recent past and the consequent refers to a situation in the present.

(250) Nu=raati-Ø-cura                      cuuta      amicaáca      nuu,  
 3S=drink-GNR.PFV-RPST perhaps    one.day.away 3S

nu=anaj+-i -Ø              cuuta      ácarí.

3S=recover-IPFV-EC perhaps    now

If he drank it (yesterday), he is probably recovering now.

In the above-mentioned contexts (i.e. affirmative and negative declaratives, interrogatives, and non-CF conditionals), the situation in the sentence is in the past, present, or immediate future. As such, realis mood seems to align with perception or assessment of time, rather than with assertion.

When the situation in the sentences is in non-immediate future (i.e. from as soon as later on the same day of SpT to the more remote future), irrealis mood is used. Again, this applies to both affirmative and negative declaratives, interrogatives, and non-CF conditionals. Sentence (251) refers to a situation which the speaker states that he will realize later in the same day of SpT. As can be seen, the subject *qui* ‘1S’ is followed by the object *núquiica anitáaqui* ‘a peccary,’ followed by the verb *pani-* ‘search.’ The sentence displays SOV word order, expressing irrealis mood.

S    O                                      V

(251) Qui=núquiica anitáaqui pani-qui-Ø                      cu=amuuni=iira      nuu.

1S=one peccary search-GNR.PFV-EC 1S=kill.INF=GOAL 3S

I will search for a peccary in order to kill it.

In (252), SOV word order is also observed. The situation in the sentence will be realized in the near future, ranging from the following day (the default interpretation) to a few days after SpT.

S O V

(252) Amicaáca qui=núquiica anitáaqui pani-r++-Ø  
one.day.away 1S=one peccary search-MMT.PFV-EC

cu=amuuni=iira nuu.

1S=kill.INF=GOAL 3S

Tomorrow I will search for a peccary in order to kill it.

When the event is understood to occur in the more remote future, ranging from within a month to a few months of SpT, Remote Perfective Aspect in combination with the irrealis mood is used, as in (253).

(253) Qui=núquiica anitáaqui pani-maa-Ø cu=amuuni=iira nuu.  
1S=one peccary search-REM.PFV-EC 1S=kill.INF=GOAL 3S

I will search for a peccary to kill (a month from now).

A particular potential future/optative construction is used to refer to situations in the even more distant future. Such a construction is strictly used to express the first person's (i.e.

speaker's) wish or prediction which imposes on the action of other people, usually the subject of the sentence. In such a construction, irrealis mood, in combination with Imperfective Aspect *-yaa* and the potential future marker *-cuma*, is used. The situation in such sentences might or might not be realized in the distant future, as in (254) and (255). The choice of irrealis mood in this particular construction can be argued to reflect the speaker's assessment of both time and factuality.

(254) Tácari yahu++ni=jina quia=cuhuaa amuu-yaa-cuma.  
 other day=LOC 2S=meat kill-IPFV-POT  
 Someday you will kill animals.

(255) Tácari yahu++ni=jina quia=paj+-yaa-cuma.  
 other day=LOC 2S=learn-IPFV-POT  
 Someday you will study.

Whether a future situation is presented as in the immediate future, realis mood with Imperfective Aspect (244), or as in the near future, irrealis mood with General Perfective Aspect (251), reflects the speaker's assessment of time (whether he views the situation as close or more distant from SpT). As Chafe (1995: 363) points out, the realis-irrealis distinction reflects judgments that certain ideas stem from direct perception, memory, or expectation of what is normal, while others have their source in imagination. He also comments (1995: 358) that reality is not a binary but a gradient dimension and that speakers may have a relatively stronger expectation that commands will be obeyed or that predicted events will take place. I believe, then, that the choice of realis or irrealis word order, reflecting speakers' perception and assessment of time, in certain sentences

of Iquito, is one of the flexible areas and that the realis-irrealis division along the reality continuum also varies from language to language.

In the following contexts in which irrealis mood is used, I show that it aligns with speakers' assessment of factuality (i.e. counterfactual,<sup>67</sup> desideratives/timitives, and potential future/optative as in (254) and (255) above). Desideratives/timitives and potential future/optative constructions arguably reflect a speaker's assessment of both time and factuality.

In addition to declaratives and interrogatives of future situations, irrealis mood is also used in CF conditionals. Sentence (256) is a CF conditional, consisting of a CF antecedent clause of a recent past situation, and a present CF consequent clause. As can be seen, the subject is followed by a CF morpheme, followed by the object, displaying SOV order. In (257), the element following the CF morpheme in the antecedent is an adverb, and that in the consequent is a determiner of an object phrase. Different types of elements can fill the position between the subject and the verb in an irrealis clause. This is discussed in more detail in §4.2.2.

(256) Qui=t+=núquiica anitáaqui pani-Ø-cura,                      qui=t+=nu mii-yaa-Ø.  
 1S=CF=one            peccary search-GNR.PFV-RPST 1S=CF=3S have-IPFV-EC  
 If I had searched for a peccary, I would have one (now).

(257) Qui=t+=ífti iiqui-aa-cura,            qui=t+=iina niqui-Ø-cura            m+saji.  
 1S=CF=here live-IPFV-RPST 1S=CF=DET see-GNR.PFV-RPST woman  
 If I had been here, I would have seen that woman.

---

<sup>67</sup> In §4.4, I establish that counterfactuality in Iquito is asserted and expressed by the CF morpheme (+)t+, rather than by implication.



Sentence (258) is a CF statement referring to a distant past situation.

- (258) Qui=t+=qui-miisana mii-Ø-quiaqu+ (naji) j++ta núquiica pajuuyaana.  
1S=CF=1S-thing do-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP such like one teacher  
I could have worked like a teacher.

CF wish, detailed in §4.5.3 of this chapter, is structurally entirely different from CF conditionals. It does not involve irrealis word order and is expressed by a type of imperative, consisting of a main verb and the causative and counterfactual markers (259), to express the speaker's wish. The first person can be an affected party in the situation or not. Speakers commented that (259) is the sentence they speak in their mind when the situation at present is that the woman is not drinking masato and they wish the contrary.

- (259) T+=rari-t++-r++ itíniija nuu!  
CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV masato 3S  
I wish she could drink masato!  
(Literally: Would it make her drink masato!)

Irrealis word order appears in the subordinate clauses of desiderative/timitive verbs. The matrix verb of (260) and (261) is *nacar++-* 'want/like/hope' and the subordinated finite clause, as indicated by square brackets, exhibits irrealis word order.

- (260) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø [Ima=asuraaja asa-qui-Ø].  
1S= want-IPFV-EC Ema=yuca eat-PFV-EC  
I hope that Ema will eat yuca.

(261) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø [iina maaya qui=niqui-qui-Ø].  
 1S=want-IPFV-EC DET child 1S=see-PFV-EC  
 I want that child to see me.

Sentence (262) is analyzed as taking a non-finite participle phrase as the object and hence does not use the irrealis word order.

(262) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø Ima asaani=iira asuraaja.  
 1S=want-IPFV-EC Ema eat.INF=GOAL yuca  
 I want Ema to eat yuca.

In (263), *qu+r++-* ‘fear’ is the matrix verb and the subordinate clause also exhibits irrealis word order. In the subordinate clause, *iina m+yaara* ‘that dog’ is in the topic position and the resumptive subject pronoun *nu* ‘3S’ precedes the definite article of the object.

(263) Qui=qu+r++-yaa-Ø [iina m+yaara nu=iina s++naqui-qui-Ø icuani].  
 1S=fear-IPFV-EC DET dog 3S=DET bite-PFV-EC man  
 I am afraid that that dog might bite that man.

The last point of this section concerns the imperative<sup>68</sup> construction. Whether imperatives are assigned to realis or irrealis mood in Iquito is an on-going question as they demonstrate structural characteristics of both grammatical moods. An alternative

---

<sup>68</sup> I use the term ‘imperative’ in the sense of directive illocutionary force, here including first person plural hortative, second person singular imperative, and second person plural imperative constructions.

view is that it might not be treated as part of the realis/irrealis system. Realis clauses display SVX word order and present vowel-hiatus resolution. Irrealis clauses, on the other hand, generally require an element to occupy the position between the subject and the verb. The X position is not always filled by a lexical element if the verb is intransitive, and the vowel-hiatus resolution strategy is blocked. Interestingly, in imperatives of intransitive verbs, as in (264), vowel hiatus resolution is also suspended (i.e. two vowels are pronounced distinctively), resembling the phonological characteristics of irrealis mood constructions. However, in imperatives of transitive verbs, as in (265), the object follows the verb, displaying SVO word order, resembling the syntactic characteristics of realis mood constructions. It is ungrammatical if the object appears between the subject and the verb in an imperative. Mood assignment in Iquito imperatives is, therefore, an on-going puzzle at this point of research.

[p+iisacuaa]

(264) P+=iisa-cuaa!

1P.INCL=urinate-DEI2.PFV

Let's go urinate!

(265) Quinaa=mii-Ø núquiica ífta!

2P=do-GNR.PFV one house

You all, you all build a house!

As discussed in this section, the terms realis and irrealis are chosen because they represent two distinct constructions which consistently coincide with constructions of certain modal functions. However, the terms are not chosen to present a strictly semantic

contrast between real and unreal situations. Therefore, the terms are to some extent language-specific.

#### 4.2.3 Possible Origins<sup>69</sup> of Irrealis Word order

Expressing mood through word order change is typologically unusual and interesting. So far, there has not been another language reported in the literature that utilizes a comparable approach. Irrealis word order in Iquito might be the result of a word order retention or word order change through historical development. That is to say, it is possible that 1) SOV (i.e. as one of the varieties of SXV word order) is the old word order and is retained in infinitival clauses as well as retained in or extended to irrealis clauses, or that 2) SVO has been the word order and SXV is a new strategy in irrealis clauses.

Synchronically, in all sentences with a complex verbal predicate, such as those including embedded infinitival clauses (although not in all kinds of subordinated clauses) besides the main verb, the word order does not display a straightforward SVO pattern. Instead, it exhibits a SV(V)...OV pattern. Given the fact that infinitival clauses, which have an ‘irrealis-like’ (i.e. talking about unrealized situations) element, it is not difficult to understand why two types of clauses could share the same word-order pattern. Examples (266) and (267) are sentences in realis mood with complex verbal phrases.

(266) Jaime amicaáca nu=nacar++-Ø-cura namit++ni  
Jaime one.day.away 3S=want-GNR.PFV-RPST start.INF

---

<sup>69</sup> I am very grateful for the enthusiastic discussions and suggestions provided by my committee member, Dr. Patience Epps.

núquiica simiím+ naajuuni.

one letter write.INF

Jaime wanted to start to write a letter yesterday.

(267) Jaime nu=namit+-yaa-cura núquiica simiím+ naajuuni.

Jaime 3S=begin-IPFV-RPST one letter write.INF

(Yesterday), Jaime was beginning to write a letter.

Example (268) is a sentence of irrealis mood.

(268) Jaime amicaáca nu=nacar+-r+-Ø namit++ni

Jaime one.day.away 3S=want-MMT.PFV-EC start.INF

núquiica simiím+ naajuuni.

one letter write.INF

Jaime will want to start to write a letter tomorrow.

It is seen that all three sentences above with complex predicates display the same word order pattern—SV(V)...OV. Mood is only expressed in the finite clause and does not determine the order of the non-finite clause since the grammatical information of finiteness is not relevant. In addition, because the subject of the verb in a non-finite clause is not always present and, therefore, there is no condition of talking about mood construction, which is based principally on the adjacency of subject and verb. The word order of non-finite clauses can be variable. The following three sentences have their embedded clauses as non-finite.

(269) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø quia=asaani=iira iina papaaja.

1S=want-IPFV-EC 2S=eat.INF=GOAL DET fish

I want you to eat that fish.

(270) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø papaaja asaani.

1S=want-IPFV-EC fish eat.INF

I want to eat fish.

(271) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø iina asaani papaaja.

1S=want-IPFV-EC DET eat.INF fish

I want to eat that fish.

If we can consider the effect of raising and control, in the case of English, it is noted that the big PRO actually occupy a space. Applying to the case in Iquito, however, we found out that subject control does not seem to occupy a space. For sentences (269) to (271), we might be able to give the following analyses. In (269), the subject of the infinitival clause is present, followed by the infinitive verb, followed by the full NP object. In (270), the subject of the infinitival clause is controlled by the principal clause; the space is not occupied; the next NP, which is indefinite, raises. In (271), the subject of the infinitival clause is controlled by the principal clause; the space is not occupied; the next NP is definite, so only the determiner raises. This structure is in a sense reminiscent of a finite intransitive clause, as in (272) and (273).

(272) Iina maqui-i-Ø icuani.

DET sleep-IPFV-EC man

That man is sleeping.

(273) Icuani maqui-i-Ø.

man sleep-IPFV-EC

A man is sleeping.

In addition to subordinate clauses, Iquito also displays numerous unexpected OV correlations in terms of word order typology as discussed in Dryer (1991, 1992): (1) it uses postpositions instead of prepositions; (2) the time/aspect (aux) information follows the verbal root, utilizing suffixes instead of prefixes; (3) in possessive noun phrases, the genitive precedes the noun instead of following it; (4) and finally, the copula verb follows the predicate instead of preceding it. According to typological studies, languages tend to retain their old word order in embedded clauses. Iquito, therefore, could have once been an OV language. However, what remains to be confirmed is the motivation of such a change of basic word order and why SOV, a variety of SXV word order, is retained in irrealis clauses. Two explanations are offered in the following. One is that in sentences with S[V(V)...OV] constituent order, all elements after the subject through the sentence-final verb historically constitute a complex object phrase, with the final verb as the principal verb. Throughout the historical development, some non-principal lexical verbs were frequently used and grammaticalized into tense and aspect morphemes, resulting in grammatical morphemes being positioned in the post-subject position and motivating the SVO word order in the simple clause. The other possible explanation is that the word order change in the simple clause is a relatively recent and drastic innovation because SVO word order, distributively more restricted, only appears in the realis simple clause.

The motivation of this might be a calque of Spanish sentence structure from the recent acquisition of the Spanish language. Both options are possible. However, one synchronic observation is that Arabela, which supposedly forms a branch of the Zaparoan family with Andoa, is predominantly SOV while Záparo, which supposedly forms a branch with Iquito, is SVO. SVO word order is therefore a shared innovation, if indeed a new word order, within the Záparo-Iquito branch. However, an Iquito text in Beuchat and Rivet in the 18th century displays SVO order (Lev Michael, p.c.). The above discussion suggests language contact is a less likely scenario since all Zaparoan languages have contact with Spanish, but present distinct synchronic facts. If SOV is indeed the old word order and SVO is a new word order, the motivation of such a change remains to be a topic for future research.

The other possible word-order development is that SVO has been the basic word order and that SXV is a new strategy in irrealis clauses and a new phenomenon in embedded infinitival clauses and complex predicate contexts. Complex predicates, especially complements of cognition verbs and the like, might plausibly be associated with irrealis mood (Patience Epps, p.c.). Here the explanation needed is the mechanism of such a word-order-change strategy. Hopper and Thompson (1980) correlate variations in word order and relative verbal transitivity, such as noun incorporation, with affectedness or individuation of object, which is also associated with irrealis mood. It is, therefore, that noun incorporation is the drive of SVO to SXV change. However, this scenario seems unlikely since there is almost no noun incorporation in Iquito, which is distinct from most of the Amazonian languages. The motivation of SVO to SXV change also remains to be a topic for future research.

§4.2 above gives an outline of the Iquito irrealis mood. It discusses the structural facts of the realis and irrealis word order, and the kinds of semantic contexts in which



each mood is employed. Iquito evidently adopts an extremely uncommon strategy, word order change, to encode the irrealis mood. The present study proposes to include this as one of the grammatical types by which modality can be expressed typologically. The discussion of this section also attempts to trace the origin of this uncommon means from a typological approach on word-order correlations. It is suggested that the earlier word order of Iquito might have been SOV and it gradually developed into SVO word order. This section also establishes that the choice of the terms *realis* and *irrealis* is based on the fact that these two terms represent two different constructions which are consistently used in sentences of different modal functions.

### **4.3 NEGATION AND MOOD**

This section discusses clausal negation. Following the discussion in §4.2, negation aligns with neither realis nor irrealis mood. The choice of realis or irrealis mood depends on the temporal reference of the sentence; there is, therefore, no direct semantic interaction or correlation between negation and mood. However, since the X position of SXV word order, expressing irrealis mood, can be filled by a negative particle in an irrealis clause, there is a certain structural interaction between negation and mood that is worthy of discussion. This section includes only examples from declaratives and interrogatives because other types of clauses, such as imperatives, use a completely different negative morpheme and display a different syntactic structure. Negative imperatives (i.e. prohibitives) are discussed in §4.6. Clausal negation in Iquito adopts two strategies, one in matrix clauses and the other in subordinate clauses. The current negation section discusses the matrix-clause strategy in §4.3.1, and the subordinate-clause strategy<sup>70</sup> in §4.3.2. In §4.3.3, I discuss the scope of negation and the function of

---

<sup>70</sup> Anderson (2004b) discusses the Iquito negation in subordinate clauses extensively.

different negation strategies in terms of empirical contexts based on the interpretation of the perception of the speakers. The current negation section does not include a theoretical analysis of negation structure. For a proposed theoretical analysis, please refer to Lai (2006b) for more discussion.

There are two principal strategies of clausal negation in Iquito: one uses the negative particle *caa* (referred to as *caa* negation hereafter) and the other uses the negative morpheme *-ji* in combination with the negative particle *caa* (referred to as *ji-caa* negation hereafter). In *caa* negation, the negative particle *caa* precedes a pronominal subject or a non-topicalized subject phrase, and follows a topicalized element if any. This strategy is generally used in principal/independent declarative clauses and yes/no questions. In *ji-caa* negation, the negative particle *caa* follows an inflected verb, in which the verbal root is followed by the negative morpheme *-ji*, followed by tense and aspect information. This strategy is generally used in *wh*-questions, relative clauses, and embedded clauses of cleft constructions. While *caa* negation does not have variation in irrealis mood, *ji-caa* negation varies structurally in irrealis clauses. The negative particle *caa* in *ji-caa* negation may appear repetitively in the postverbal position as well as in preverbal position if no other elements appear between the subject and the verb of an irrealis clause (detailed in §4.3.2). In adverbial and complement clauses, either one of these two strategies can be used.

### **4.3.1 Caa Negation**

*Caa* negation uses the negative particle *caa* in the pre-subject position to negate an entire clause. It is used in matrix clauses of declarative sentences and yes-no questions. Diagram 6 below shows the structural position of *caa* in relation to other

constituents of the clause. When there is a topic element in the negative clause, *caa* follows this element; otherwise, it precedes a non-topic element.

Diagram 6. The Schematic Structure of *Caa* Negation

{topic} *caa*<sup>71</sup> {pronominal or non-topicalized subject} {verbal complex} {object}

The negative particle *caa* can precede a pronominal subject, as can be seen in (274). The sentence consists of an independent declarative clause, in which only *caa* is used to negate the entire clause. No other negation marking is found on the verb.

(274) *Caa qui=niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani.*  
NEG 1S=see-PFV-RPST DET man  
I didn't see that man.

The negative particle in *caa* negation can also precede a non-topicalized subject. As can be seen in (275), *caa* precedes the nominal subject which is not topicalized.

(275) *Caa m+saji niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani.*  
NEG woman see-PFV-RPST DET man  
The woman did not see that man.

---

<sup>71</sup> Cynthia Anderson Hansen reminded me to add this information. The negative particle *caa* here is in focus position and cannot co-occur with a focused element: Adverb occurs in focus position, as in (302); with the introduction of negation, adverb occurs after the object, as in (303).

*Caa* follows a topicalized element, if there is one in the clause, and precedes the resumptive subject pronoun, as in (276).

- (276) Iina m+saji caa nu=niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani.  
DET woman NEG 3S=see-PFV-RPST DET man  
That woman did not see that man.

Besides independent declarative sentences, *caa* is also used in the principal clause of a complex clause construction, as can be seen in (277).

- (277) Caa qui=niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani [ Ø sir+ta-Ø-cura asúraaja].  
NEG 1S=see-PFV-RPST DET man REL take.out-PFV-RPST yuca  
I didn't see that man who took out the yuca.

The last type of clause in which *caa* negation is used is in yes-no questions. As can be seen in (278), *caa* precedes the pronominal subject even if the sentence is a question. Yes-no questions and declarative sentences are structurally the same in Iquito. The only difference resides in the intonation contour at the end of the sentence, with yes-no questions displaying a rising pattern.

- (278) ¿Caa quia=niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani?  
NEG 2S=see-PFV-RPST DET man  
Didn't you see that man?

The final point of *caa* negation is that the negative structure is not sensitive to mood. That is to say, the syntactic position of the negative particle does not vary because of the grammatical mood. Sentence (276) expresses realis mood (SVX word order), with General Perfective Aspect and Recent Past Tense, while sentence (279) expresses irrealis mood (SXV order), with Momentary Perfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense. The negative particle *caa* in both sentences follows the topicalized element and precedes the pronominal subject, remaining in the same position structurally.

(279) Iina icuani caa nu=m+saji niqui-r++-Ø.

DET man NEG 3S=woman see-MMT.PFV-EC

That man will not see a woman.

From the examples shown above, we see that *caa* negation is not sensitive to tense, aspect, or mood. The syntactic position of the negative particle remains the same, following a topic element and preceding a pronominal or non-topicalized subject.

#### 4.3.2 *Ji-caa* Negation

*Ji-caa* negation uses the negative particle *caa*, plus an additional negative morpheme *-ji* attached to the verb root, to negate a clause. This strategy is used in the following types of clauses: *wh*-questions, relative clauses, and embedded clauses of cleft constructions. Complement and adverbial clauses can adopt either *caa* negation or *ji-caa* negation. In *ji-caa* negation, both *-ji* and *caa* contribute to the negation meaning. The negative marker *-ji* is a portmanteau morpheme which encodes both the negation and the clause-type information. The fact that it also conveys the negation meaning is supported by two pieces of evidence. First, it is ungrammatical for it to appear in an affirmative

clause; second, in some cases, *caa* is omitted while the clause still retains its negation meaning. It is possible to consider *ji-caa* negation as a type of negative agreement since it agrees with the type of the clause it occurs. However, it is unlike a typical inflectional agreement marker for the following reasons. First, it cannot appear freely in any negative clause, but only in *wh*-questions, relative clauses, and embedded clauses of cleft constructions. Second, it attaches to the root (as opposed to stem) form of the verb, which indicates that it behaves more like a derivational morpheme in Iquito. Diagram 7 shows that the negative particle *caa* follows the inflected verb and the negative morpheme *-ji* is suffixed to the verbal root, preceding tense and aspect information.

Diagram 7. The Schematic Structure of *Ji-caa* Negation

{subject} {verbal root-*ji*-aspect-tense} *caa* {object and other adverbial phrases}

*Ji-caa* negation presents many variations in irrealis clauses. I discuss the basic pattern of *ji-caa* negation and its variations below.

In the types of clauses introduced above, the negative particle *caa* follows the verb. As can be seen in (280) which is a *wh*-question, *caa* is in the postverbal position and *-ji* is marked after the verbal root, as part of the verbal complex. It is noted that *-ji* appears after the verbal root to which only derivational morphemes attach. This suggests that in Iquito *-ji* is considered a derivational morpheme.

- (280) ¿Can++ca casiira-ji-qui-Ø                      caa      páapaaja?  
           who            grab-SUB.NEG-PFV-EC    NEG    fish  
           Who didn't grab fish?

In addition to *wh*-questions, relative clauses also adopt *ji-cao* negation. As can be seen in (281), this sentence consists of a principal clause and a relative clause. In the principal clause, the negative particle *cao* precedes the pronominal subject and in the relative clause, *cao* follows the verb which is additionally marked with *-ji*.

(281) Iina m+saji caa nu=niqui-qui-Ø iina icuani  
 DET woman NEG 3S=see-PFV-EC DET man

(iina) nacusi-ji-qui-Ø caa umaata.  
 REL know-SUB.NEG-PFV-EC NEG much

That woman did not see the man who did not know a lot.

Embedded clauses of cleft constructions also adopt *ji-cao* negation. As can be seen in (282), negation in the embedded clause uses *ji-cao* negation.

(282) Caa t++ iina m+saji (iina) niqui-ji-Ø-cura caa iina icuani.  
 NEG COP DET woman REL see-SUB.NEG-RPST NEG DET man

It is not that woman who did not see that man.

Unlike *cao* negation, *ji-cao* negation presents many syntactic variations sensitive to mood (i.e. in irrealis clauses). The negative particle in such clauses can appear after the verb, as in the basic pattern, before and after the verb, or only before the verb in some cases. Recalling the requirement of irrealis mood (i.e. one element should occupy the position between the subject and the verb), when this requirement is fulfilled, then *cao*

stays in the postverbal position, maintaining the basic pattern. When the object of a clause is dislocated to form a *wh*-question, or stays in the postverbal position, the negative particle *caa* appears between the subject and the verb, by which the requirement of irrealis mood is fulfilled. Sometimes, when *caa* already appears in the preverbal position, it does not appear again in the postverbal position. In each variation, the verb is obligatorily marked with the negative morpheme *-ji*.

In sentence (283), *-ji* marks the verb, followed by the negative particle *caa*, displaying the basic pattern of *ji-caa* negation. The *wh*-word is the subject, followed by the object phrase *nu-nasi* ‘his garden,’<sup>72</sup> followed in turn by the verb. This is the configuration of irrealis mood (SXV word order).

- (283) ¿Can++ca nu-nasi cuara-ji-r++-Ø caa?  
 who 3S-garden cultivate-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC NEG  
 Who will not cultivate his garden?

In (284), *caa* precedes and follows the verb which is marked with *-ji*. The questioned element here is the subject as well. However, the object *nu-naana* ‘his wood’ does not appear between the subject and the verb, but remains in the postverbal position. In comparison with the above example, the negative particle *caa* in the current example appears postverbally as well as preverbally, forming a linear SXV Word order to fulfill the requirement of irrealis mood. Compare this sentence with (286) below.

- (284) ¿Can++ca caa jicata-ji-r++-Ø caa nu-naana?  
 who NEG take.out-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC NEG 3S-wood

---

<sup>72</sup> In regional Spanish, the term *chacra* means ‘terrain for planting’.





mood requirement. The object *asúraaja* ‘yuca’ appears in the postverbal position. *Caa* also appears after the verbal complex. Interestingly, speakers indicate that sentence (287) is the most correct one while (288) is preferred because there is less repetition.

(287) ¿Can++ca caa sir+ta-ji-r++-Ø caa asúraaja?  
 who NEG take.out-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC NEG yuca  
 Who will not take out yuca?

In (288), *caa* appears between the questioned subject and the verb marked with *-ji*. The negative particle *caa* does not appear again in the postverbal position and the sentence is grammatical.

(288) ¿Can++ca caa sir+ta-ji-r++- Ø asúraaja?  
 who NEG take.out-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC yuca  
 Who will not take out yuca?

Examples (289) and (290) show that some negative clauses can be marked only by the negative morpheme *-ji*, although this is not common and not agreed on by all the speakers. The fact that a given negative clause can possibly be marked with only the negative morpheme *-ji* confirms its negation meaning.

(289) ¿Can++ca casira-ji-Ø-cura páapaaja?  
 who grab-SUB.NEG-PFV-RPST fish  
 Who did not grab fish?

- (290) ¿Can++ca ani-ji-Ø-cura?  
 who come-SUB.NEG-PFV-RPST  
 Who didn't come?

It is worth noting that many speakers use both strategies—*caa* negation and *ji-caa* negation—for certain types of clauses, such as adverbial clauses, as seen in (291) to (294), and complement clauses, as in (295) and (296). This corresponds to the fact that it is difficult in Iquito to classify adverbial and complement clauses as either independent or subordinate clauses. It seems that they can be viewed as both types of clauses. I attempt to explain this variation from a functional/pragmatic perspective in §4.3.3.

- (291) Iina icuani nu=jimat+-qui-Ø  
 DET man 3S=leave-PFV-EC  
  
 iyamiácuji nu=nacar++-ji-qui-Ø caa mayasiini.  
 because 3S=want-SUB.NEG-PFV-EC NEG dance.INF  
 That man left because he didn't want to dance.

- (292) Iina icuani nu=jimat+-qui-Ø  
 DET man 3S=leave-PFV-EC  
  
 iyamiácuji caa nu=nacar++-qui-Ø mayasiini.  
 because NEG 3S=want-PFV-EC dance.INF  
 That man left because he didn't want to dance.

(293) Caa qui=paji:-Ø ihuaani  
 NEG 1S=can-IPFV-EC go.INF

iyamiácuji caa cu=asúraaja sir+ta-r+-Ø.  
 because NEG 1S=yuca take.out-MMT.PFV-EC  
 I cannot go because I won't take out yuca.

(294) Caa qui=paji:-Ø ihuaani  
 NEG 1S=can-IPFV-EC go.INF

iyamiácuji cu=asúraaja sir+ta-ji-r+-Ø caa.  
 because 1S=yuca take.out-SUB.NEG-MMT.PFV-EC NEG  
 I cannot go because I won't take out yuca.

(295) Qui=saminijuu-yaa-Ø caa nu=mii-yaa-Ø cuuriqui.  
 1S=think-IPFV-EC NEG 3S=have-IPFV-EC money  
 I think she doesn't have money.

(296) Qui=saminijuu-yaa-Ø nu=mii-ji:-Ø caa cuuriqui.  
 1S=think-IPFV-EC 3S=have-SUB.NEG-IPFV-EC NEG money  
 I think she doesn't have money.

### 4.3.3 The Scope of Negation and the Function of the Two Strategies

In addition to the syntactic characteristics (i.e. type of clause) discussed above, there is a correlation between the negation strategy, the scope of negation and the

pragmatic function: *caa* negation has scope over the entire clause while *ji-caa* negation has scope over only the verb phrase, excluding the subject of the clause. For example, in *wh*-questions, the *wh*-word is not negated; only the rest of the clause is negated. This has much to do with the function of the two negation strategies: *caa* negation negates the clause without focusing any element, but *ji-caa* negation focuses the first element of the clause and negates the rest of the clause. This corresponds to the fact that *wh*-questions, relative clauses and embedded clauses are similar to cleft constructions, not only structurally (i.e. using *ji-caa* negation) but also functionally (i.e. generally interpreted by speakers as clefts and the first element focused). Recall also the phenomenon such that adverbial and complement clauses can adopt both negation strategies. In Iquito, the syntactic status of these types of clauses can be treated as subordinate clauses as well as coordinated clauses. In addition, it is noted that this variation also corresponds to different pragmatic functions (i.e. whether the first element of the clause focused or not). In the following, I start the discussion with a comparison between the structure of cleft constructions and that of clausal negation.

Sentence (297) consists of an affirmative clause. As seen in (298), to negate a principal or independent clause, the negative particle *caa* is directly placed at the beginning of the clause, which is *caa* negation.

(297) Qui=niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani.

1S=see-PFV-RPST DET man

I saw that man.

(298) Caa qui=niqui-Ø-cura iina icuani.

NEG 1S=see-PFV-RPSTDET man

I didn't see that man.

On the other hand, if a cleft construction is used, the subject is represented by the full form of the pronoun (i.e. *quijja* instead of *qui* '1S') and the negation strategy changes from *caa* negation to *ji-caa* negation, as can be seen in (299), because the negation is now occurring in a relative clause.

- (299) Quiija t++ iina niqui-ji-Ø-cura caa iina icuani.  
1SP COP REL see-SUB.NEG-PFV-RPST NEG DET man  
I am the one who didn't see that man.

Other cases of *ji-caa* negation, besides embedded clauses of cleft constructions, are *wh*-questions and relative clauses. The speakers always interpret them in the same way they interpret clefts, and they frequently insert the copular *t++*.<sup>74</sup> Consider example (300). Speakers interpret it with the meaning between parentheses and sometimes produce (301) to express the same meaning. There is variation, therefore, in that one can choose to use a cleft, (301), or not, (300). The structural similarity between these two clauses is especially clear with negation because both clauses use *ji-caa* negation. In addition, the interpretation suggests that these two clauses have the first elements focused, which correlates *ji-caa* negation with the focus function of the cleft construction.

- (300) ¿Can++ca casira-ji-Ø-cura caa páapaaja?  
who grab-SUB.NEG-PFV-RPST NEG fish  
Who didn't grab fish? (Who is the one who didn't grab fish?)

---

<sup>74</sup> The copular *t++* in Iquito is analyzed as carrying both copular function and focus function.

- (301) ¿Can++ca t++ iina casira-ji-Ø-cura caa páapaaja?  
 who COP REL grab-SUB.NEG-PFV-RPST NEG fish  
 Who is the one who didn't grab fish?

As discussed above, we see that besides clause types, there is a correlation between the negation strategy and the pragmatic function. *Caa* negation does not focus any element in the clause while *ji-caa* negation focuses the first element of the clause. The fact that adverbial and complement clauses can adopt both strategies supports the idea that these clauses are not typical subordinate clauses and select the different negation strategies due to pragmatic reasons.

#### 4.4 CONDITIONALS AND COUNTERFACTUALITY

This section provides a description and proposes an analysis of the morphosyntactic composition of conditionals and the status of counterfactuality in Iquito. A conditional construction in Iquito consists of an antecedent clause and a consequent clause. There are non-CF and CF conditionals. Non-CF conditionals are used to express habitual patterns of situations in the past and present, past and present epistemic situations, and future situations. CF conditionals are used in present counterfactual (PresCF<sup>75</sup>) situations or in past counterfactual (PastCF) situations.<sup>76</sup> CF constructions convey the meaning that the speaker believes a certain proposition not to hold (Iatridou, 2000: 231). The PresCF conveys that the antecedent and consequent of a conditional do not hold at present while the PastCF conveys that the antecedent and consequent of a

---

<sup>75</sup> I adopt the terminological convention used in Iatridou (2000).

<sup>76</sup> The CF morpheme is generally not used in a future situation except when the consultant believes that certain 'scheduled future situations' would not be realized.

conditional did not hold at a particular time in the past (Iatridou, 2000:232). Iatridou (2000) provides a discussion of “fake” tense/mood/aspect (TMA) in English and Modern Greek conditionals and CF wishes, indicating that TMA in these constructions is “fake” as it does not receive the same interpretations as those in other constructions. For example, in the sentence ‘if I were you, I would be happy with that,’ the past tense does not really indicate a past situation, but a present counterfactual situation. In addition, she also points out that counterfactuality is, in these languages, conveyed by implicature. In this section, I present a system differing from those discussed by Iatridou, and propose that, in Iquito, TMA in both CF and non-CF conditionals is “real”<sup>77</sup> because it receives the same temporal, modal, and aspectual interpretations as it does in non-conditionals. The counterfactuality difference between CF conditionals and non-CF conditionals is expressed by a specialized CF morpheme  $(+)t+$ ,<sup>78</sup> which conveys CF meaning by entailment instead of implicature. With respect to mood morphology which is realized by the word order change, the irrealis mood (realized by SXV word order to express an unrealized situation) is always used in the CF consequent in combination with the CF morpheme.

This section discusses conditional constructions in detail, including non-CF conditionals (§4.4.1) and CF conditionals (§4.4.2). §4.4.3 proposes an analysis of TMA morphology in conditionals and of the status of counterfactuality.

---

<sup>77</sup> Many Indo-European languages (i.e. Modern Greek and English, among others) and other non-Indo-European languages (i.e. Papago, Japanese, Korean, Hebrew, Turkish, and Basque, among others) have fake tense and aspect morphology in CF conditionals and wishes (Iatridou, 2000: 245).

<sup>78</sup> The form is  $t+$  when phonologically fused with other morphemes and is  $+t+$  when not fused with other morphemes.



#### 4.4.1 Non-CF Conditionals

In non-CF conditionals, a non-assertive morpheme *sacari* is used in antecedents in combination with the realis word order SVX, expressing the meaning ‘on the condition in which the indicated situation is realized or being realized (i.e., ‘if’),’ depending on the viewpoint aspect. *Sacari* is a circumfix with tense and aspect inflections appearing between *sa-* and *-cari*. Non-CF conditionals are used in the following three situations: habitual patterns of situations in the past and present, past and present epistemic situations and future situations. The specific structural characteristics of these three situations are summarized in the table below. I discuss, in the following, each situation in the order presented in this table.

Table 8. Non-CF Conditionals

Non-CF	Situations	Antecedent Clause	Consequent Clause
	Habitual	Non-assertive morpheme: <i>sacari</i> Tense: any Aspect: Imperfective Aspect Mood: realis word order SVX	Tense: any Aspect: Imperfective Aspect Mood: realis word order SVX
	Epistemic	Non-assertive morpheme: <i>sacari</i> Epistemic adverbial: <i>cuuta</i> ‘perhaps’ (optional) Tense: any Aspect: depending on the indicated meaning Mood: realis word order SVX	Epistemic adverbial: <i>cuuta</i> ‘perhaps’ Tense: any Aspect: depending on the indicated meaning Mood: realis word order SVX
	Future	Non-assertive morpheme: <i>sacari</i> Tense: only Extended Current Aspect: depending on indicated meaning Mood: realis word order SVX	Tense: only Extended Current Aspect: different perfective aspects, depending on remoteness of future <sup>79</sup> Mood: irrealis word order SXV

<sup>79</sup> Please also refer to Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 for more information on remoteness of future.

First, non-CF conditionals can be used to express habitual patterns of situations. The Imperfective Aspect and the realis word order SVX are used in both antecedent and consequent clauses. If expressing past habitual patterns, past tenses (i.e. Distant Past Tense or Recent Past Tense) are used; otherwise the Extended Current Tense is used.

Sentence (302) conveys a present habitual situation. It can be seen that the non-assertive morpheme *sacari* is used in the antecedent. Both clauses reflect the realis word order, SVX. The frequent adverbial *p+y++ni yahu++ni* ‘everyday,’ the Imperfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense appear in the sentence, indicating that the RT overlaps with SpT. The Imperfective Aspect receives a habitual interpretation. As introduced earlier, *sacari* is a bipartite morpheme with tense and aspect inflections appearing between *sa-* and *-cari*.<sup>80</sup>

(302) P+y++ni yahu++ni=jina quia=mit++-sa-a-Ø-cari cacáraaja naaqui  
all day=LOC 2S=give-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS hen egg

nuu, ca=nu=sapi-i-Ø.

3S NEG=3S=cry-IPFV-EC

If you give him (an) egg everyday, he doesn't cry.

Sentence (303) shows that negation does not affect sentence structure in the habitual use of non-CF conditionals.

---

<sup>80</sup> This is especially clear when Recent Past Tense appears. When used with Extended Current Tense, *saacari* is heard with Imperfective Aspect; *sácari* is heard with a short and high-pitched vowel on the first syllable, with General Perfective Aspect; *sar++cari* is heard with Momentary Perfective Aspect.

(303) Ca=quia=mit++-sa-a-Ø-cari                      núquiica    cacáraaja    naaqui  
 NEG=2S=give-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS    one            hen            egg

p+y++ni    yahu++ni=jina nuu, nu=sapi-i -Ø            p+y++ni    yahu++ni=jina.  
 all            day=LOC      3S    3S=cry-IPFV-EC    all            day=LOC

If you do not give him an egg everyday, he cries everyday.

In (304)-(306), it is seen that a frequency adverbial is not required in such a habitual construction. In other words, the Imperfective Aspect yields the habitual interpretation. The sentence does not render a progressive interpretation, such as ‘if the situation in the antecedent is ongoing, then the situation in the consequent is ongoing.’ Rather, the consultants commented that the situations in these sentences hold for ‘several days,’ not just ‘today,’ the day of SpT.

(304) Nu=niqui-sa-a-Ø-cari                      quiaaja,    ca=nu=pani-i-Ø                      quiaaja.  
 3S=see-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS    2S                      NEG=3S=look.for-IPFV-EC    2S

If he sees you, he does not look for you.

(305) Anuaja    ca=nu=niqui-sa-a-Ø-cari                      quiaaja,  
 3S            NEG=3S=see-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS    2S

nu=pani-i -Ø                      quiaaja.

3S=look.for-IPFV-EC    2S

If he does not see you, he looks for you.

(306) Ca=quia=niqui-sa-a-Ø-cari                      iina m+saji, quia=pani-i-Ø                      nuu.  
 NEG=2S=see-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS    DET woman 2S=look.for-IPFV-EC3S

Naji t++ quiaaja.

such COP 2S

If you do not see that woman, you (always) look for her. You are like that.

Besides habitual situations, non-CF conditionals can also be used to express epistemic situations. The realis word order SVX is used in both antecedent and consequent clauses. An epistemic adverb *cuuta* ‘perhaps’ is optionally used in antecedents and is always used in consequents. The tense and aspect morphology of both clauses depends on the meaning of the indicated situations.

Sentence (307) consists of a past epistemic antecedent and a present epistemic consequent. It is noted that the epistemic adverb *cuuta* ‘perhaps’ does not occur in the antecedent. The antecedent clause, therefore, can have three interpretations: a future interpretation ‘if he drinks it today,’ a past epistemic interpretation ‘if he drank it today’ (this example), or a past counterfactual interpretation ‘if he had drunk.’ The clause literally means ‘on the condition where the situation is realized (with a perfective aspect) or being realized (with Imperfective Aspect).’ The interpretation of *sacari* is selected by the other clause which pairs with it. The other point is that although the recent past tense can appear between *sa* and *cari*, the consultants prevalingly prefer Extended Current Tense. The temporal interpretation of the clause depends on the paired clause, by which I argue that the RT of such a clause anchors with the RT of the paired clause unless an explicit adverbial is used. In (307), the interpretation is clarified by the consequent. Since

the consequent is about the present situation, the antecedent is about the eventuality of the past.

(307) Nu=raati-sá-Ø-Ø-cari                      nuu,  
3S=drink-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS 3S

anuu=jata nu=anaj+-i-Ø                      cuuta.

3S=COM 3S=recover-IPFV-EC perhaps

If he (already) drank it (earlier today), with this he is probably recovering (now).

Sentence (308) consists of a past epistemic antecedent and a past epistemic consequent. The epistemic adverb *cuuta* ‘perhaps’ appears in the antecedent as well as in the consequent clause.

(308) Nu=raati-sá-Ø-Ø-cari                      cuuta nuu,  
3S=drink-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS perhaps 3S

nu=anaj+-qui-Ø                      cuuta.

3S=recover-IPFV-EC perhaps

If he (already) drank it (earlier today), he is probably recovered (by now).

It is noted that epistemic conditionals can also be expressed without the non-assertive morpheme *sacari*, by two declarative clauses in combination with the epistemic adverb *cuuta*, as in (309) and (310).

(309) Nu=raati-qui-Ø                    cuuta    nuu, nu=anaj+-qui-Ø                    cuuta.  
 3S=drink-GNR.PFV-EC perhaps 3S    3S=recover-GNR.PFV-EC perhaps  
 If he drank it (earlier today), he is probably recovered (by now).

(310) Nu=raati-Ø-cura                    cuuta    amicaáca    nuu,  
 3S=drink-GNR.PFV-RPST perhaps    one.day.away 3S  
  
 nu=anaj+-i-Ø                    cuuta    ácarí.  
 3S=recover-IPFV-EC perhaps    now  
 If he drank it (in the recent past), he is probably recovering now.

Finally, non-CF conditionals can also be used to express future situations. Extended Current Tense is used in both clauses. The non-assertive morpheme *sacari* and the realis word order SVX are used in antecedents while the irrealis word order SXV is used in consequents. Aspect morphology in the antecedent depends on the indicated meaning. A variety of perfective aspects, depending on the remoteness of future indicated, are used in consequents.

Example (311) concerns an immediate future situation later in the same day which includes SpT. The antecedent contains a Stative verb and the Imperfective Aspect is used, indicating overlapping SitT of situations in two clauses. The sentence means ‘I will visit you during the time while I can.’ It can be seen that Extended Current Tense is used in both clauses. The antecedent exhibits realis word order while the consequent exhibits irrealis word order.

(311) Qui=parii-sa-a-Ø-cari,                    qui=quia=sihu+ra-cuaa-Ø.

1S=can-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS 1S=2S=visit-DEI1.PFV-EC

If I can, I will go visit you.

Sentence (312) concerns a near future situation which might occur either very late on the same day or in a few days. The antecedent contains the same morphology as that in (311). The consequent contains Momentary Perfective Aspect in combination with the irrealis word order, indicating a near future.

(312) Qui=parii-sa-a-Ø-cari, qui=iina=niqui-r+-Ø maaya.

1S=can-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS 1S=DET=see-MMT.PFV-EC child

If I can, I will see that child.

Sentence (313) consists of an antecedent concerning immediate future and a consequent concerning tomorrow. As introduced earlier, an antecedent clause containing *sacari* and Extended Current Tense can have three interpretations, including future interpretation, past epistemic interpretation, and past counterfactual interpretation, and the precise interpretation is selected by the paired clause. In (313), the antecedent contains General Perfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense. The condition that the antecedent sets up is not concerned with whether the SitT precedes the SpT or follows the SpT. Rather, it expresses the boundedness of the telic predicate and the sequentiality between the antecedent and the consequent. It also shows that the event presented by the antecedent is not an ongoing event which overlaps with SpT. The future interpretation, among the three possible interpretations, is selected by the consequent. The consultants Jaime and Hermico commented that the past epistemic reading of the antecedent in (313) is also available, but not the past counterfactual interpretation. In contrast, the antecedent in

(314) which contains the adverb *cuuta* ‘perhaps’ yields only the epistemic reading. The verbs in the consequents of both (313) and (314) contain the Imperfective Aspect because this is the most unmarked aspectual choice for stative predicates.

(313) *Iina m+saji nu=mit++-sá-Ø-Ø-cari núquiica cacáraaja naaqui*  
 DET woman3S=give-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS one hen egg

*iina maaya ácari, ca=nu=paji-i- Ø amicaáca sahu++ni.*  
 DET child today NEG=3S=learn-IPFV-EC one.day.away cry.INF

If that woman gives an egg to that child today, he will not cry tomorrow.

(314) *Nu=mit++-Ø-Ø cuuta iina anuuja,*  
 3S=give-GNR.PFV-EC perhaps DET 3S,

*amicaáca ca=nu=paji-i-Ø sahu++ni.*  
 one.day.away NEG=3S=learn-IPFV-EC cry.INF

If she gave this to him (today), he will not cry tomorrow.

In (315), the consequent contains a non-stative predicate; Momentary Perfective Aspect is used to indicate a near future situation in combination with the irrealis word order SXV.

(315) *Ca=nu=niqui-sá-Ø-Ø-cari quiaaja,*  
 NEG=3S=see-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS 2S



amicaáca nu=quia=pani-r+-Ø.

one.day.away 3S=2S=look.for-MMT.PFV-EC

If he does not see you, he will look for you tomorrow.

It is observed that if the future situation indicated by the consequent clause concerns the immediate future, the unmarked General Perfective Aspect is used, as in (316).

(316) Nu=raati-sá-Ø-Ø-cari iina rimíria,  
3S=drink-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS DET remedy

anuuja nu=anaj+-t+-Ø-Ø.

3S 3S=recover-CAU-GNR.PFV-EC

If he takes this medicine, it will help him to recover today.

In Iquito, the unmarked aspectual choices for Activities are the same as those for Telics in conditionals.

(317) María n+t+-sá-Ø-Ø-cari,

María run-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS

nu=tíira n+t+-cuaa-Ø t++ na=n+t+-r+-Ø.

3S=there run-DEI2.PFV-EC where 3P=run-MMT.PFV-EC

If María runs (today), she will go to the race (tomorrow).

(Literally: If María runs, she will go there where they run tomorrow.)

When the Imperfective Aspect is used in the antecedent, the consequent receives an epistemic reading.

(318) María n+t+-sa-a-Ø-cari                      ácari,  
 María run-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS now

amicaáca      nu=tíira=iicua-r+-Ø                      t++      na=n+t+-r+-Ø.  
 one.day.away 3S=there=go-MMT.PFV-EC      where 3P=run-MMT.PFV-EC  
 If Maria is running now, tomorrow she will go to the race.

If the antecedent concerns a future situation specifically for ‘tomorrow,’ Momentary Perfective Aspect can be used in place of General Perfective Aspect, as in (319). However, this is not obligatory, as in (320)-(322). As discussed earlier, the future interpretation of an antecedent is selected by the consequent. The temporal adverbials narrow down and specify the RT.

(319) Quia=iicua-sa-r+-Ø-cari                      amicaáca,  
 2S=go-NASS-MMT.PFV-EC-NASS      one.day.away

quia=tumigu=jina      sihuaan+-r+-Ø                      Iquito=jina.  
 2S=Sunday=LOC      arrive-MMR.PFV-EC      Iquito=LOC  
 If you go tomorrow, you will arrive in Iquitos on Sunday.

(320) Quia=iicua-sá-Ø-Ø-cari                      Iquito=jina,  
 2S=go-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS      Iquito=LOC,

quia=pedro niqui-r++-Ø tíira.

2S=Pedro see-MMT.PFV-EC there

If you go to Iquitos, you will see Pedro there.

- (321) Iina icuani nu=acumi-sá-Ø-Ø-cari núquiica m+saji,  
DET man 3S=marry-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS one woman

suhuaata cuqui-qui-Ø iip+=iira m+rajarica.

well be-GNR.PFV-EC DET=GOAL children

If that man marries a woman, it will be good for the children.

- (322) Juaa ani-sá-Ø-Ø-cari, amicaáca  
Juan come-NASS-GNR.PFV-EC-NASS one.day.away

p+=mayasi-r++-Ø.

1S=dance-MMT.PFV-EC

If Juan comes, we will dance tomorrow.

Examples (319) and (320) above contain epistemic antecedents. Example (323) consists of a past epistemic antecedent and a future consequent. As can be seen, the recent past tense *-cura* appears in the circumfix *sacari*. The consultants sometimes produce such examples, but they prefer Extended Current Tense in the antecedent.

- (323) Nu=raati-sá-Ø-cura-cari (cuuta) amicaáca iina rimíiria,

3S=drink-NASS-GNR.PFV-RPST-NASSperhaps one.day.away DET remedy

amicaáca nu=anaj+-r+-Ø.

one.day.away 3S=recover-MMT.PFV-EC

If he took this medicine yesterday, tomorrow he will recover.

#### 4.4.2 CF Conditionals

In Iquito, CF conditionals are used in PastCF and PresCF situations. PastCF conveys the meaning that the proposition does not obtain in the past and PresCF conveys the meaning that the proposition does not obtain in the present. As in other languages, in Iquito the CF morpheme usually cannot be applied to a future situation;<sup>81</sup> however, in the context of a scheduled future, the CF morpheme can be used. In antecedent clauses of CF conditionals, either the non-assertive morpheme *sacari* with realis order SVX, or the CF morpheme (+)*t*+ with irrealis order SXV, is used. The consultants prefer using the CF morpheme in the antecedent. In consequent clauses, the CF morpheme (+)*t*+ with irrealis order SXV is always used. With respect to tense morphology, past tenses or Extended Current Tense are used in PastCF while in PresCF only Extended Current Tense is used. With respect to the aspect morphology in PastCF, General Perfective Aspect is mostly used for telic and Activity predicates while the Imperfective Aspect is mostly used for stative predicates. However, other aspects can also be used depending on the indicated meaning. In PresCF, the Imperfective Aspect is always used. In the following, I first discuss PastCF conditionals, then PresCF conditionals. The syntactic characteristics introduced here are summarized in table 9 below.

---

<sup>81</sup> “We cannot have a counterfactual to the future as the future is conceptualized as not yet fact” (Iatridou, 2001).

Table 9. CF Conditionals

CF	Situations	Antecedent Clause	Consequent Clause
	PastCF	Non-assertive morpheme: <i>sacari</i> (with SVX word order) <u>or</u> the CF morpheme (+) <i>t</i> + (with SXV word order) Tense: past or Extended Current Aspect: any, depending on situation types and the indicated meaning	The CF morpheme (+) <i>t</i> + (with SXV word order) Tense: past or Extended Current Aspect: any, depending on situation types and the indicated meaning
	PresCF	Non-assertive morpheme: <i>sacari</i> (with SVX word order) <u>or</u> the CF morpheme (+) <i>t</i> + (with SXV word order) Tense: Extended Current Aspect: Imperfective Aspect	The CF morpheme (+) <i>t</i> + (with SXV word order) Tense: Extended Current Aspect: Imperfective Aspect

In PastCF conditionals, the tense and aspect morphology depends on the situation types of the verb constellation and the indicated meaning. When the predicate is stative, Imperfective Aspect is usually used. In (324), we can see that the situation indicated in the antecedent is marked with Imperfective Aspect and overlaps with the event in the consequent. Consultants pointed out that if the perfective aspect is used in the antecedents of examples (324)-(327), the sentence is interpreted as ‘if you had not revived there, I would have died,’ which is grammatically possible but pragmatically odd for the consultants due to the combination of the antecedent and the consequent. A sentence like ‘if you had not revived, we would not have been so happy’ would be pragmatically acceptable. In Iquito, an inceptive reading is generally triggered when perfective aspect combines with statives. The aspectual morphology in the counterfactual conditionals is, therefore, ‘real’ because it receives its usual interpretation. If the sentence concerns a recent past situation, the recent past tense is used, as in (324) and (327). If the sentence

concerns a distant past situation, the distant past tense is used, as in (325). If the sentence concerns an immediate past situation, the Extended Current Tense is used, as in (326). As discussed before, the clause containing *sacari* often anchors with the RT of the paired clause. In (327), the Recent Past Tense marker *-cura* is optional and the interpretation remains the same.

(324) Ca=quia=t+=tíira=iiqui-aa-cura,                      qui=t+=ihu+r+-Ø-cura.  
 NEG=2S=CF=there=EXT-IPFV-RPST    1S=CF=die-GNR.PFV-RPST  
 If you had not been there (in the recent past), I would have died.

(325) Ca=quia=t+=tíira=iiqui-aariqu+,                      qui=t+=ihu+r+-Ø-quiaqu+.  
 NEG=2S=CF=there=EXT-DPST-IPFV    1S=CF=die-GNR.PFV-DPST-NIP  
 If you had not been there (a long time ago), I would have died.

(326) Ca=quia=iiqui-sa-a-Ø-cari                      tíira, qui=t+=ihu+r+-qui-Ø.  
 NEG=2S=EXT-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS there    1S=CF=die-GNR.PFV-EC  
 If you had not been there (today), I would have died.

(327) Ca=quia=iiqui-sa-a-(cura)-cari                      tíira,  
 NEG=2S=EXT-NASS-IPFV-(RPST)-NASS there  
  
 qui=t+=ihu+r+-Ø-cura.  
 1S=CF=die-GNR.PFV-RPST  
 If you had not been there (in the recent past), I would have died.

When the predicate is telic or an Activity, perfective aspect is usually used; the sentence conveys a sequential reading. In (328), the antecedent refers to a situation where the drinking of the remedy is finished. The CF morpheme indicates that the speaker believes that the indicated situation is contrary to the actual situation. It is noted that the clause which includes the CF morpheme reflects the irrealis word order. In (328), the subject is followed by the CF morpheme, followed by a determiner of the object phrase. A temporal adverb, as in (329), or the object pronoun, as in (330), may follow the CF morpheme as well. The X position is not always filled if the verb is intransitive, as in the consequent of (328). Extended Current Tense, with perfective aspect, is used to refer to a CF situation in the immediate past (i.e. earlier on the same day which includes SpT), as in (328) and the consequent of (329). Recent Past Tense is used to refer to a CF situation in the recent past (i.e. at least one day ago up to one to two years), as in the antecedent of (329).

(328) Nu=t+=iina=raati-qui-Ø                      rimíiria,  
 3S=CF=DET=drink-GNR.PFV-EC    remedy

jaa        nu=t+=anaj+-qui-Ø.

already 3S=CF=recover-GNR.PFV-EC

If he had taken the medicine (earlier today), he would have recovered (by now).

(329) Nu=t+=huar+ta amicaáca        raati-Ø-cura                      iina    ampisitaaja,  
 3S=CF=another one.day.away    drink-GNR.PFV-RPST    DET    medicine

jaa        nu=t+=ácari        anaj+-qui-Ø.

already 3S=CF=now recover-GNR.PFV-EC

If he had taken the medicine the day before yesterday, he would have recovered by now.

- (330) Ca=nu=t+=quia=niqui-Ø-quiaqu+,  
NEG=3S=CF=2S=see-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

nu=t+=quia=pani-Ø-quiaqu+.

3S=CF=2S=look.for- GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

If he had not seen you, he would have looked for you.

Besides using the CF morpheme in the antecedent, the non-assertive morpheme might also be used, conveying the meaning that ‘on the condition in which the indicated situation is realized,’ as in (331), although as mentioned before, using the CF morpheme is prevalingly preferred. The CF morpheme is always used in the consequent, as in (331).

- (331) Nu=raati-sá-Ø-(cura)-cari                      huar+ta amicaáca  
3S=drink-NASS-GNR.PFV-RPST-NASS    another    one.days.away

iina rimíiria, jaa      nu=t+=anaj+-qui-Ø.

DET remedy    already 3S=CF=recover-GNR.PFV-EC

If he had drunk that remedy, he would already have recovered (today).



Examples (332) and (333) show different degrees of past remoteness. In (332), the sentence concerns an immediate past situation and the Extended Current Tense is used. In (333), the sentence concerns a recent past situation and the Recent Past Tense is used.

(332) Ca=nu=t+=quia=niqui-qui-Ø,                      nu=t+=quia=pani-qui-Ø.  
 NEG=3S=CF=2S=see-GNR.PFV-EC    3S=CF=2S=look.for-GNR.PFV-EC  
 If he had not seen you, he would have looked for you.

(333) Ca=nu=t+=quia=niqui-Ø-cura,                      nu=t+=quia=pani-Ø-cura.  
 NEG=3S=CF=2S=see-GNR.PFV-RPST    3S=CF=2S=look.for-GNR.PFV-RPST  
 If he had not seen you, he would have looked for you.

Just like in PastCF conditionals, in PresCF conditionals, both the non-assertive morpheme *sacari* (with realis order SVX) and the CF morpheme (+)*t+* (with irrealis order SXV) can be used in the antecedent. The consequent, again, always contains the CF morpheme and irrealis word order. Imperfective Aspect is used in both the antecedent and the consequent of a PresCF conditional. As can be seen in (334), both the antecedent and the consequent concern a present counterfactual situation. The sentence means ‘I currently do not work as a lawyer and I don’t have money.’ In both clauses, Imperfective Aspect is used.

(334) Qui=t+=naji=tarahujuu-yaa-Ø    j++ta    núquiica abogada,  
 1S=CF=such=work-IPFV-EC    as    one    lawyer  
  
 qui=t+=cuuriqui=mii-yaa-Ø.

1S=CF=money=have-IPFV-EC

If I were working as a lawyer, I would have money.

In (335), the sentence conveys the meaning ‘he is currently not knowledgeable and he is not a teacher.’ The consultant Hermico commented that if the perfective aspect is used in the sentence, it conveys the meaning that ‘if he had become knowledgeable earlier today, he would have become a teacher by now,’ as in (336). When General Perfective Aspect appears with Statives, it renders an inceptive reading. The tense and aspect morphology in CF conditionals is real as tense and aspect yield the usual interpretation. Sentence (336) is grammatically possible, but it is pragmatically odd for the speakers.

(335) Nu=t+=nacusiaana=cuqui-i-Ø,

3S=CF=knowledgeable=be-IPFV-EC

ácari nu=t+=pajuuyaana cuqui-i-Ø.

now 3S=CF=teacher be-IPFV-EC

If he were knowledgeable, he would be a teacher now.

(336) #Nu= t+=nacusiaana=cuqui-qui-Ø,

3S=CF=knowledgeable=be-GNR.PFV-EC

ácari nu=t+=pajuuyaana cuqui-qui-Ø.

now 3S=CF=teacher be-GNR.PFV-EC

If he had become knowledgeable (earlier today), he would have become a teacher by now.

The consultants commented that General Perfective Aspect can be used only with Distant Past Tense, as can be seen in the antecedent of (337). The interpretation of the antecedent involves a learning process in which a person became knowledgeable from being non-knowledgeable. General Perfective Aspect indicates an inceptive reading.

(337) Nu=t+=nacusiaana=cuqui-Ø-quiaqu+,  
 3S=CF=knowledgeable=be-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

ácari nu=t+=pajuuyaana cuqui-i-Ø.  
 now 3S=CF=teacher be-IPFV-EC

If he had become knowledgeable (a long time ago), he would be a teacher now.

If the Imperfective Aspect is used with the Distant Past Tense, as in (338), the interpretation does not concern the learning process. It only renders the meaning that if he had been knowledgeable a long time ago, he could have become a teacher back then, and so he would be a teacher now. The sentence remains neutral about whether the person is knowledgeable or not right now. The consultants commented that he is perhaps knowledgeable now, but it is too late for a teaching career. Alternatively, he might still not be knowledgeable.

(338) Nu=t+=nacusiaana=cuqui-Ø-aariqu+,  
 3S=CF=knowledgeable=be-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

ácari nu=t+=pajuuyaana cuqui-i-Ø.

now 3S=CF=teacher be-IPFV-EC

If he had been knowledgeable (a long time ago), he would be a teacher now.

Besides the CF morpheme, *sacari* can also be used in the antecedent of a PresCF, as in (339).

(339) Nacusiaana cuqui-sa-a-Ø-cari nuu,  
knowledgeable be-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS 3S

ácari pajuuyaana ++ cuqui-i-Ø.

now teacher CF be-IPFV-EC

If he were knowledgeable, he would be a teacher now.

The CF morpheme is obligatory in the consequent clause of a CF conditional. The sentence is ungrammatical and unacceptable to the speakers if the CF morpheme is absent, as in (340).

(340) \*Suhuaani caaya ++ cuqui-i-Ø, qui=nu=is++cuu-Ø-Ø.  
good person CF be-IPFV-EC 1S=3S=befriend-GNR.PFV-EC

If he were a good person, I would befriend him (later today).

Comparing (341) with (342), both sentences contain the non-assertive morpheme *sacari* in the antecedent and the CF morpheme in the consequent. Both sentences contain Extended Current Tense, which gives an RT span from today that includes SpT, extending into the infinite future. The difference between the two sentences is that in the

consequent of (341), the unmarked General Perfective Aspect is used while in that of (342), Imperfective Aspect is used. Therefore, the consequent of (341) is interpreted as PastCF, meaning ‘he would have shouted,’ and that of (342) is interpreted as a PresCF, meaning ‘he would be shouting.’ This corresponds to the temporal interpretation of Extended Current Tense in non-conditional sentences.

(341) Nu=aqu+si-sa-a-Ø-cari,  
 3S=be.drunk-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS

jaa nu=t+=ruruucuu-Ø-Ø.  
 already 3S=CF=shout-GNR.PFV-EC

If he were drunk, he would have already shouted.

(342) Nu=aqu+si-sa-a-Ø-cari, jaa nu=t+=ruruucuu-yaa-Ø.  
 3S=be.drunk-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS already 3S=CF=shout-IPFV-EC

If he were drunk, he would already be shouting.

In (343), both clauses use the Imperfective Aspect. The sentence conveys that ‘it is not big now and it is not good.’

(343) Umaana cuqui-sa-a-Ø-cari, suhuaani ++ cuqui-i-Ø.  
 big be-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS good CF be-IPFV-EC

If it were big, it would be good.

Example (344) consists of a PastCF antecedent and a PresCF consequent. It is seen that General Perfective Aspect and Recent Past Tense are used in the antecedent and the Imperfective Aspect and the Extended Current Tense are used in the consequent.

(344) Juaa ++ amicaáca ani-Ø-cura,  
 Juan CF one.day.away come-GNR.PFV-RPST

ácari p+=t+=mayasi-i-Ø.

now 1P=CF=dance-IPFV-EC

If Juan had come yesterday, we would be dancing now.

#### 4.4.3 A Proposed Analysis

In the discussions above, I show that in CF conditionals as well as in non-CF conditionals, TMA morphology is real, which means it yields interpretations consistent with those in non-conditionals. The counterfactuality difference between CF conditionals and non-CF conditionals resides in the presence of a specialized CF morpheme in consequents, expressed by entailment rather than implication.

In (329) above, the perfective aspect receives its usual interpretation. If the Imperfective Aspect is used, as seen in (345), a progressive ongoing reading is rendered, and the sentence remains a PastCF.

(345) Nu=t+=huárataamicaáca raati-aa-cura iina ampisitaaja,  
 3S=CF=two.days.away drink-IPFV-RPST DET medicine

jaa nu=t+=ácari anaj+-qui-Ø.

already 3S=CF=now recover-GNR.PFV-EC

If he had been taking the medicine the day before yesterday, he would have already recovered by now.

In the following, I discuss the status of the CF morpheme and argue that its counterfactual meaning, the consultant's believing that a certain proposition does not hold (Iatridou, 2000: 231), is conveyed by entailment instead of implicature. Sentence (346) indicates that the speaker believes that the patient did not take the medicine and did not recover. It is compatible with (347) which directly states that the reason why the patient did not recover from sickness is due to his not having taken the medicine. The consultants commented that it is repetitive to utter both (346) and (347). Furthermore, (346) is incompatible with (348) which states that the consultant does not know if the patient took the medicine or not. This shows that when (346) is uttered, the consultant believes that he knows the actual situation even though the actual situation might be different from what he asserts and that counterfactuality in (346) is asserted and conveyed by entailment.

(346) Nu=t+=iina=raati-Ø-cura ampisítaaja,  
3S=CF=DET=drink-GNR.PFV-RPST medicine

jaa nu=t+=anaj+-Ø-cura.

already3S=CF=now=recover- GNR.PFV

If he had taken that medicine, he would have already recovered.

(347) J++ta nu=raari-ji-Ø-cura caa nuu=na,

as 3S=drink-SUB.NEG-GNR.PFV-RPST NEG 3S=CLSF

anihua=ácuji ca=nu=anaji-i-Ø atíí=yaajaa.

that=for NEG=3S=recover-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR

Since he did not take it, therefore he is still not recovering.

(348) #Ca=quí=nacusi-i-Ø nu=raati-Ø-cura cuuta nuu.

NEG=1S=know-IPFV-EC 3S=drink-GNR.PFV-RPST perhaps 3S

I don't know if he took it.

Examples (349)-(351) are relevant cases in point. Sentence (349) conveys the meaning that 'the object was not big and I did not buy a big one.' Sentence (349) is incompatible with (350) which conveys the meaning that 'the consultant does not know the size of the object. It may be big or not.' Sentence (351), again, is a repetition of what is conveyed in (349).

(349) Umaana t++ cuqui-aa-cura, qui=t+=umaana mas+-Ø-cura.

big CF be-IPFV-RPST 1S=CF=big buy-GNR.PFV-RPST

If it had been big, I would have bought (a) big (one).

(350) #Ca=quí=nacusi-i-Ø nuu.

NEG=1S=know-IPFV-EC 3S

Umaana t++ cuuta, cuquisaacari caa.

big COP perhaps or NEG



I do not know about it. It may be big or not.

(351) J++ta tacura s++sanúrica=na,  
as COP.RPST small=CLSF

ca=qui=mas+-Ø-cura umaana.

NEG=1S=buy-GNR.PFV-RPST big

Since it was small, I did not (because there is not a big one) buy a big one.

The other point worth noting is that the CF morpheme usually is not compatible with a future situation. However, if the consultant believes a certain scheduled future event will not take place because of the unfulfillment of a past or current event, the CF morpheme can be used (although this usage is marked). In (352), the antecedent indicates that ‘since the candidate of a political election did not arrive yesterday, all the events originally scheduled for today and tomorrow will not take place.’

(352) Nu=t+=amicaáca sihuaan+-r+-cura,  
3S=CF=one.day.away arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST

If he had arrived yesterday,

ácari nu=t+=p+y++ni nacusi-i-Ø iip+ cayaaca ífti=jip+.

now 3S=CF=all know-IPFV-EC DET.PL person.PL here=from=PL

he would now be getting acquainted with all the local people.

Níinaqui nu=t+=p+y++ni=saaca cuhuasi-qui-Ø.

night 3S=CF=all=thing talk-GNR.PFV-EC

Tonight he would talk about everything.

Amicaáca p+=t+=asa-r++-Ø. P+=t+=mayasi-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 1P=CF=eat-MMT.PFV-EC 1P=CF=dance-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow, we would eat. We would dance.

Ca=p+=paji-i-Ø amicaáca asaani nacaaja mayasiini,

NEG=1P=can-IPFV-EC one.day.away eat.INF neither dance.INF

We can neither eat nor dance tomorrow

iyámiácuji caa iina yahu++ni artinu+-yaa-Ø candidato.

because NEG DET time fulfill-IPFV-EC candidate

because there would not be enough time for the candidate.

It is noted that the CF morpheme can only refer to a CF situation<sup>82</sup> in Iquito, contrary to the case in English. Sentences (353) and (354) are a pair of conversational sentences. The sentence (353) indicates that ‘The subject is a bad person. He has many friends simply because he has money.’ Sentence (354), from another conversation partner indicates that ‘If the subject were a nice person, he would have even more friends.’ The consultant Hermico commented that the word *masiaana* ‘many’ in (354) refers to the quantity apart from the number of friends that the subject already has, therefore receiving the interpretation of ‘many more.’ Hermico commented that the consequent of (354) refers to a CF situation and cannot mean that ‘If the subject were nice, he would also

---

<sup>82</sup> In Iatridou (2001), the English CF sentence ‘if he were nice, he would also have many friends’ is argued to contain a non-CF consequent.

have the same number of friends that he has now.’ He further commented that if the sentence in parentheses is used, the entire sentence in (354) means that ‘If the subject were nice, he would have the same amount (i.e. interpreted from the phrase *naji j++ta* ‘such as’) of friends apart from (i.e. interpreted from the word *masiaana*) the amount of friends he has now.’ The consultant Jaime gave the same interpretation and further commented that he would change the word *masiaana* ‘many’ in (353) to *núquiica* ‘one’ and he would not use the sentence in parentheses. The meaning conveyed by the entire sentence, after the revision, would be ‘The subject has only one friend and he has that friend only because he has money. He is a bad person. If he were a nice person, he would have many friends apart from that friend he already has currently.’

(353) Anuu=mii-yaa-Ø masiaana nu-is++cuya  
 3S=have-IPFV-EC many 3S-friends

iyámiácuji nu=mii-yaa-Ø cuuriqui. S++sana caaya=quiija.

because 3S=have-IPFV-EC money Bad person=ADVRS

He has many friends because he has money. (He is a) bad person, however.

(354) Suhuaani caaya cuqui-sa-a-Ø-cari,  
 good person be-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS

nu=t+=masiaana=nu-is++cuya=mii-yaa-Ø

3S=CF=many=3S-friends=have-IPFV-EC

(naji j++ta nu=mii-yaa-Ø ácari).

such as 3S=have-IPFV-EC now

If he were a good person, he would have many (more) friends (compared with the number or the kind of friends he has now).

In conclusion, in this section I propose that TMA in Iquito conditionals is ‘real,’ and that the CF morpheme asserts and conveys counterfactuality by entailment and not by implicature. For further research, it would be worthwhile to compare Iquito with other languages within the same family, those spoken in the surrounding geographical area, as well as other languages in the world which use a specialized CF morpheme. The CF morpheme as well as conditional constructions are frequently used in Iquito narratives. In the following, I provide some examples from the ILDP text collection:

Re-segmented and translated from the story *Sihuaara Páyuhuaa* ‘The devil Páyuhuaa’ by Jaime Pacaya Inuma; line 43-45.

(355) Iina +yaca taa páyuhuaa, anuuja ++ cu=asa-qui-Ø.

DET name COP páyuhuaa 3S CF 1S=eat-GNR.PFV-EC

That whose name is Páyuhuaa could have eaten me.

Ca=na=najihu++-sa-a-Ø-cari quiija s++sa,

NEG=3PL=smell-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS 1S bad

If they hadn’t been smelling my bad smell,

na=t+=cu=asa-qui-Ø.

they=CF=1S=eat-GNR.PFV-EC

they would have eaten me.

Re-segmented and translated from the story *Ema nu-m+rajaarica na-t+-sis+cura najaaja* ‘Ema’s Children Would Have Drowned As Well’ by Ema Llona Yareja; line 37 and 48.

(356) Cana=t+=ihu++r+-Ø-cura            jaa        p+y++ni.  
1P.EXCL=CF=die-GNR.PFV-RPST    already    all  
We all would have died already.

Casandra, nu=t+=ihu++r+-Ø-cura        sis+ja  
Casandra    3S=CF=die-GNR.PFV-RPST    drowned  
Casandra, she would have drowned.

Re-segmented and translated from the conversational text *S++saramaj+táap+Itim'+ra Cuhuasitaa I* ‘Three Women Are Conversing I’ by Christine Beier, Ligia Inuma Inuma and Ema Llona Yareja; line 131 and 132.

(357) Quí=t+=nu=aratín+-Ø-cura.  
1S=CF=3S=fulfill-GNR.PFV-RPST  
I would have accomplished it.

Cana=ihuaani=íira            mínca=jina    sacumatáani, suhuaá=quiija.  
1P.EXCL=go.INF=GOAL    minga=LOC    instead        good=ADVRS

We went to the minga<sup>83</sup> instead, but (it was) good.

Re-segmented and translated from the story *Anihua Taaja Qui-saaqu++ni Qui-miisana* ‘This Is My Story About What I do’ by Jaime Pacaya Inuma; line 50-52.

(358) Áacari aási ani-sa-r++-Ø-cari

now rain come-NASS-MMT.PFV-EC-NASS

Now if it rains

iina yahu++ni=jina j++ta p+=iiqui-i-Ø=na,

DET day=LOC as 1P.INCL=EXT-IPFV-EC=CLSF

in these days that we are now,

qui=qui-naana jicata-r++-Ø aasamu=jina.

1S=1S-wood take.out-MMT.PFV-EC creek=LOC

I will take out my wood at the creek.

#### 4.5 DESIDERATIVES, OPTATIVES AND CF WISHES<sup>84</sup>

In this section, I discuss how an Iquito speaker expresses wishes. To express a wish, speakers choose from several strategies. First, they can use the lexical verb *nacar++-* ‘want’ which takes an infinitival complement or an inflected clausal

---

<sup>83</sup> The word *minga* refers to collective community work. A family requests other people’s help to clean the field, cultivate yuca, harvest leaves to weave roofs, etc. The family that requests help invites people to drink masato, a fermented yuca drink, and to eat before and after working.

<sup>84</sup> Following Iatridou (2000), I name this construction ‘CF wish’ because it involves the use of the CF morpheme in Iquito. However, it could be viewed as a type of optatives, which is crosslinguistically common to formally resembling imperative constructions.

complement. This construction is also used to rephrase the commands or wishes given by a person other than the speaker. I call this construction ‘desiderative.’ Second, an optative construction with Imperfective Aspect and the potential mood *-cuma* can also be used. Third, they can use a CF wish construction, by which a speaker does not expect the addressee to carry out the event.

The Desiderative expresses a past or present wish for an event to be realized (or not) in the future relative to RT. The sentence can be affirmative or negative. The addressee, if also the action-performing referent, is obligated to realize the event. The Desiderative is frequently used to rephrase commands (i.e. imperatives or other directive constructions) or wishes (i.e. by optatives) of other people. Correspondingly, the subject of the verb *nacar++-* ‘want,’ the person who expresses the expectation, can be any grammatical person and not necessarily the speaker of the sentence. The Optative, marked with Imperfective Aspect in combination with the potential mood,<sup>85</sup> expresses a weak prediction or wish about a potential event in the distant future. The wish is conveyed through implicature as this construction does not always express a wish and generally expresses a prediction. The sentence can be affirmative or negative and the person who expresses the prediction or wish is always the first person, which is the speaker. A CF wish expresses a past or present counterfactual situation which the speaker strongly desires to be realized or to have been realized. However, no action-performing referent is obligated. The sentence can only be affirmative and the person who expresses the wish can only be the first person, the speaker. I discuss desideratives in §4.5.1, optatives in 4.5.2, and CF wishes in 4.5.3.

---

<sup>85</sup> The potential mood *-cuma* is also used in another construction, in combination with the unmarked General Perfective Aspect *-Ø*, to express a negative imperfective in which a strong expectation about a negative event being promptly realized is conveyed.

#### 4.5.1 Desideratives

The lexical verb *nacar++-* ‘want’ can take an NP, a non-finite, or an inflected clausal complement;<sup>86</sup> the verb is translated as ‘love’ or ‘want,’ depending on the context. In (359), *nacar++-* ‘want’ takes an NP complement *nuu* ‘3S,’ which follows it. In (360), the complement of *nacar++-* ‘want’ is an infinitival clause in which the subject of the infinitive verb *asaani* ‘to eat’ is the same as that of the matrix clause, being unexpressed in the infinitival clause. It can be seen that the object *páapaaja* ‘fish’ appears before the infinitive verb *asaani* ‘to eat.’

(359) Qui=*nacar++-yaa-Ø* nuu.

1S=*want-IPFV-EC* 3S

I love him/her.

(360) Qui=*nacar++-yaa-Ø* páapaaja asaani.

1S=*want-IPFV-EC* fish eat.INF

I want to eat fish.

When the subject of the infinitive verb is different from that of matrix clause, it is obligatorily expressed and a construction with the clitic =*iira* is used instead, as in (361). It can be seen that *quia=* ‘2S’ appears before the infinitive verb *asaani* ‘to eat’ which is followed by the clitic =*iira* ‘GOAL.’ The object *iina páapaaja* ‘that fish’ appears after the infinitive verb.

(361) Qui=*nacar++-yaa-Ø* quia=*asaani=iira* iina páapaaja.

---

<sup>86</sup> For a detailed discussion on Complement Clauses, please refer to Lai (2005a).



1S=want-IPFV-EC 2S=eat.INF=GOAL DET fish

I want you to eat that fish.

In (362), the verb *nacar++*- ‘want’ takes an inflected clausal complement. The embedded clause reflects the irrealis word order SXV, with the determiner of the object phrase situated between the subject and the verb. General Perfective Aspect is used in the embedded clause to indicate that the speaker expects the addressee to realize the event soon after SpT. Sentence (363) shows that the demonstrative *iina* and the embedded finite clause in (362) are in equivalent positions in terms of clausal structure.

(362) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø quia=iina=ima-qui-Ø maraniu.

1S=want-IPFV-EC 2S=DET=eat-GNR.PFV-EC cashew

I want you to eat this cashew.

(363) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø iina.

1S=want-IPFV-EC DET

I want this one.

The lexical verb ‘want’ can be used to express a past or present wish about an event being realized in the future relative to RT. The speakers commented that they impose the obligation on the action-performing referents when they use these sentences (affirmative or negative). The difference between these sentences and imperatives is that these sentences seem to be less direct and impose slighter obligation. The imperative sentence reflects the realis SVX word order<sup>87</sup> while the complement clause of the verb

---

<sup>87</sup> Imperatives display characteristics of both realis and irrealis mood in terms of structural features. For a detailed discussion, please refer to §4.2 and §4.6.

*nacar++-* ‘want’ reflects the irrealis SXV word order. In addition, these sentences also express wishes in the past or present about an event being realized in the non-immediate future. Direct imperatives can only express the expectation about an event being realized in the proximity of SpT. In (364), the speaker wants the addressee to eat the cashew soon, or later in the day of SpT while in (365), the speaker wants the addressee to eat the cashew tomorrow or in a few days.

(364) Qui=*nacar++-yaa-Ø* quia=*iina=ima-qui-Ø* maraniu.  
 1S=*want-IPFV-EC* 2S=*DET=eat-GNR.PFV-EC* cashew  
 I want you to eat this cashew (soon or later today).

(365) Qui=*nacar++-yaa-Ø* quia=*iina=ima-r++-Ø* maraniu.  
 1S=*want-IPFV-EC* 2S=*DET=eat-MMT.PFV-EC* cashew  
 I want you to eat this cashew (in a few days).

In (366), the speaker wants the addressee to eat the yuca further in the future, in this case a year later.

(366) Qui=*nacar++-yaa-Ø* quia=*iina=asa-maa-Ø* asúraaja  
 1S=*want-IPFV-EC* 2S=*DET=eat-REM.PFV-EC* yuca  
  
*j++ticari nu=núquiica-amariaana mii-maa-Ø.*  
 when 3S=*one-year* have-REM.PFV-EC  
 I want you to eat this yuca when it is one year old.

In (367), the speaker wants the addressee to eat the yuca some time in the distant future. Although the speaker imposes an obligation on the addressee, he or she is not sure if the event will be realized. The complement clause expresses a weak prediction, which is to be discussed in §4.5.2.

(367) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø quia=iina=asa-aa-cuma asúraaja.

1S=want-IPFV-EC 2S=DET=eat-IPFV-POT yuca

I want you to eat this yuca perhaps once sometime in the distant future.

In addition to expressing a current wish about events being realized in the future, desideratives are also used to express a wish in the past. The complement clauses anchor to the RT of the matrix clause by means of tense and temporal adverbials.

(368) Iina=jina yahu++ni qui=nacar++-Ø-cura quia=iina=raati-qui-Ø té.

DET=LOC day 1S=want-PFV-RPST 2S=DET=drink-GNR.PFV-EC tea

On that day, I wanted you to drink tea.

The action-performing referent in the complement clause not only can be the second person, but also can be the third person, as in (369). The speaker might or might not expect the addressee to facilitate the event; in a jussive sentence, on the other hand, the addressee is always expected to facilitate the event, as in (370).

(369) Qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø iina cuhuasi-qui-Ø maaya.

1S=want-IPFV-EC DET talk-GNR.PFV-EC child

I want that child to talk.

(370) Pá=nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø        namiini!  
 JUSS=3S=talk-IPFV-EC    first  
 Let him talk first!

In addition to the above-mentioned contexts, desideratives are frequently used to rephrase the commands (i.e. imperatives which impose obligation on the addressee) or wishes (i.e. CF wishes which do not impose obligation on the addressee) of other people. As a consequence, the rephrased sentence is ambiguous as to whether the subject of the sentence imposes obligation on the realization of the event. The subject of the verb *nacar++* ‘want,’ the person who expresses the expectation, can be any grammatical person. Sentence (371) is used in the following scenario. The addressee is hard of hearing and couldn’t hear the hostess utter the imperative sentence, as in (372). A person sitting next to the addressee rephrased the imperative sentence and told him what the hostess said. The speaker of (372), which is not a syntactic argument in the sentence, corresponds to the subject of (371). The implicit subject in (372) appears to be the subject, *quia*= ‘2S,’ of the complement clause in (371). The object of (372), *iina itíniija* ‘this masato,’ corresponds to the object of the complement clause in (371). It is noted that the word order of the complement clause in (371) is SXV, an irrealis word order.

(371) Anuoja nu=nacar++-yaa-Ø    quia=iina=raati-qui-Ø        itíniija.  
 3S        3S=want-IPFV-EC    2S=DET=drink-GNR.PFV-EC masato  
 He wants you to drink this masato.

(372) Raati-qui                iina    itíniija!

drink-GNR.PFV DET masato

Drink that masato!

Examples (373) and (374) express past wishes of third-person subjects.

(373) Amicaáca nu=nacar++-Ø-cura  
one.day.away 3S=want-GNR.PFV-RPST

qui=iina=imaa-qui-Ø maraniu.

1S=DET=eat-GNR.PFV-EC cashew

Yesterday he wanted me to eat that cashew.

Ca=qui=nacar++-yaa-cura nuu imaani.

NEG=1S=want-IPFV-RPST 3S eat.INF

I didn't want to eat it.

(374) Taana amariaana=jina na=nacar++-yaariqu+  
other year=LOC 3P=want-DPST.IPFV

qui=iina=asa-qui-Ø cumaquiya.

1S=DET=eat-GNR.PFV-EC suri<sup>88</sup>

The other year, they wanted me to eat suri.

Ca=quiya qui=nacar++-yaariqu+ nu=assani.

---

<sup>88</sup> The regional Spanish *suri* refers to grubs of insects.

NEG=ADVR 1S=want-DPST.IPFV 3S=eat.INF

But I didn't want to eat it.

Besides paraphrasing imperative sentences, desideratives are also used to rephrase a CF wish. Example (375) is a CF wish (§4.5.3). Like direct imperative sentences, the speaker of a CF wish sentence is always the grammatical first person, especially since a CF wish is not usually said out loud. The first person can be a syntactic argument in the sentence if it is involved with the wished event, as in (376). Structurally similar to the second person imperatives, as in (372), CF wishes in Iquito do not have an explicit subject in the sentence-initial position. In (372), the object appears after the transitive verb *rariini* 'to drink' while in (375), two objects appear after the same transitive verbs *rariini* 'to drink' which is because the causative morpheme *-t++* increases the valence of the verb. I argue that in the case of CF wishes, the causative is responsible for introducing a hypothetical addressee and consequently yields, in combination with the CF morpheme, the meaning 'want.'<sup>89</sup> Corresponding to the function to indicate CF situations, a CF morpheme *(+)t+* appears before the verbal root. The difference between imperatives and CF wishes is that imperatives are directed to the addressee and impose an obligation while CF wishes are not directed to a real addressee and do not impose any obligation. If talking to a real person to impose an obligation, an imperative or a desiderative is used. CF wishes can be uttered in the conversation, but often reside in speakers' mental activities. They are only used in CF situations (i.e. counterfactual to a present or a past situation; a future situation is not considered counterfactual since "future is conceptualized as not yet fact." (Iatridou: 2000)) and the sentence is not directed to any addressee, unlike a typical imperative.

---

<sup>89</sup> I am very grateful to my colleague Cynthia Anderson Hansen for pointing out the contradiction and the oddness of my previous phrasing of this sentence. By adding the omitted information, the idea presented here is now clear.

According to the speakers Ema and Jaime, the sentence is used as if you were ‘praying to god.’ Strikingly, the paraphrased version of a CF wish (375) is the same as that of an imperative sentence, as in (377), in terms of the sentence structure of the rephrased version. The speaker of (375) appears to be the subject of the matrix clause in (377). The two objects appear to be the subject and the object of the complement clause in (377). The differences are that the addressee of imperatives (372) appears to be the subject of the complement clause, as in (371) while the subject of the complement clause in (377) is not the addressee of (375) since there might or might not be an actual addressee. In addition, Momentary Perfective Aspect in (375) is changed to General Perfective Aspect in (377). The function of different perfective aspects in CF wishes is discussed in §4.5.3.

(375) T+=rari-t+-r+-Ø                      itíniija    nuu!

CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    masato    3S

I wish that he would drink masato! (Literally: Would it<sup>90</sup> make him drink masato!)

(376) T+=rari-t+-r+-Ø                      itíniija    quiija!

CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    masato    1S

I wish I could drink masato! (Literally: Would it make me drink masato!)

(377) Anuu=nacar+-yaa-Ø    nu=itíniija=raati-qui-Ø.

3S=want-IPFV-EC    3S=masato=drink-GNR.PFV-EC

He (the speaker) wants him to drink masato.

---

<sup>90</sup> Note that this construction resembles that of imperatives. However, in terms of speech acts, it is uttered as mental activity and expects no actual addressee. Here in the gloss, the term ‘it’ represents this implicit addressee in the mental activity.

Finally, desideratives can be used in either affirmative sentences, as above, or negative sentences, as in (378).

- (378) Ca=qui=nacar++-yaa-Ø    quia=iina=ima-qui-Ø    miitii.  
 NEG=1S=want-IPFV-EC    2S=DET=eat-GNR.PFV-EC    cashew  
 I don't want you to eat this cashew.

#### 4.5.2 Optatives

The second strategy, optatives, with the Imperfective Aspect and the potential mood *-cuma*, is used to express a weak prediction or wish about a potential event in the distant future. As optatives generally convey a prediction, the wish is conveyed through implicature and is cancellable.<sup>91</sup> The sentence can be affirmative or negative and the person who expresses the prediction or wish is always the first person, the speaker. Structurally, potential/optative *-cuma* patterns with other tense formatives (i.e. occupy the same position in the morphological template of the verbal complex) and it also solely applies to the situation in the distant future. Therefore, it arguably incorporates both temporal and modal meanings.

In (379) below, the speaker who wishes feels uncertain as to whether the event will be realized eventually. And even if the event will be realized, it will be a long time after. The scenario of this sense is ‘when a child already passed the age he is supposed to

---

<sup>91</sup> In all contexts, the potential/optative *-cuma* expresses ‘a weak prediction about a situation in the distant future,’ which is the semantic meaning I claim for this morpheme. If a doctor uses *-cuma* and says ‘this child might never talk,’ clearly he does not have such a negative wish; instead, he is making a weak prediction based on his current diagnosis. However, as *-cuma* is frequently used in an affirmative sentence by the speakers, such a sentence is frequently interpreted as a wish by the speakers. The ‘wish’ sense of the morpheme *-cuma*, therefore, is yielded from its pragmatic use and is cancellable.



start talking.’ The speaker produced this sentence (379) to express an uncertain wish. The sentence can also be used in the sense of prediction. For example, if the child is recently born and still too small to talk, the speaker can use the following sentence.

(379) Iina maaya nu=cuhuasi-aa-cuma.

DET child 3S=talk-IPFV-POT

This child might talk (one day).

This child, (I hope) he will talk one day.

In (380), a doctor who examined a child who had passed the age of starting to talk may use the sentence if he found out that the child is not physically capable of talking. It is certainly not the case that the doctor does not want the child to talk.

(380) Iina maaya ca=nu=cuhuasi-aa-cuma.

DET child NEG=3S=talk-IPFV-POT

This child might not talk (ever).

The speaker Ema commented that the following sentence can be used by a parent who is about to pass away, saying it to a little child and wishing him to be able to collect leaves when he grows up.

(381) Quia=naam+ cata-aa-cuma.

2S=leaf collect-IPFV-POT

(I hope) you may collect leaves one day.

Emá indicated that the following negative sentence can also be used to express a wish. She said that the speaker wishes the child does not stop studying and hopefully he will not need to collect leaves like they do now.

- (382) Ca=quia=naam+ cata-aa-cuma naji j++ta cana=sujurisii-yaa-Ø.  
 NEG=2S=leaf collect-IPFV-POT like.this as 1P.EXCL=suffer-IPFV-EC  
 (I hope) you may never collect leaves like how we are suffering now.

The speaker Jaime commented that both (383) and (384) can be used after requesting a person to sing for a long time and that person still refuses to sing. In (383), the speaker expresses a wish and weak prediction that the addressee might still sing one day. In (384), on the other hand, the speaker might still wish (or not) that the addressee would sing one day. The sentence expresses a weak prediction that the addressee might never sing.

- (383) Quia=ariicua-aa-cuma tácarí yahu++ni-jina.  
 2S=sing-IPFV-POT other.indefinite day-LOC  
 (I hope) you will sing one day.  
 You might sing one day.

- (384) Narata jaa caqui-Ø=quiyaa quiaaja.  
 like.this already become-GNR.PFV=NWR 2S  
  
 Ca=quia=ariicua-aa-cuma j++ticari.  
 NEG=2S=sing-IPFV-POT when

You are already like this. You might never sing.

Jaime indicated that (385) can be a wish or prediction, while (386) is more a prediction than a wish. Example (386) is used to express the disappointment when the addressee, a little child, does not want to practice writing.

(385) TÁCari                    yahu++ni-jina quia=núquiica-simiím+    najuu-yaa-cuma.  
other.indefinite day-LOC      1S=one-letter                    write-IPFV-POT  
(I hope) one day you will write a letter.

(386) Ca=quia=núquiica-simiím+    najuu-yaa-cuma.  
NEG=2S=one-letter                    write-IPFV-POT  
You might never write a letter.

### 4.5.3 CF Wish

The third strategy expresses a past or PresCF wish. In the case of a PresCF wish, the speaker expresses a strong desire for something to be realized that is not currently being realized; he wishes for something, but expects opposite to happen. In the case of a past CF wish, the speaker expresses a strong desire for something to have been realized that was not realized in the past. A CF wish is an internal mental activity. It can also be used in the conversation. However, no action-performing referent is obligated. To obligate the addressee, the imperative construction or desideratives (as discussed in this chapter) are used. The sentence can only be affirmative and the person who expresses the wish can only be the speaker.

As discussed above, there are many formal similarities between second-person direct imperatives and a CF wish. I repeat the essential points here. First, no explicit subject appears in the sentence-initial position,<sup>92</sup> as in (387) and (388). In (387), the object of the transitive verb *rariini* ‘to drink’ appears in the post-verbal position; in (388), two objects appear after the same transitive verb *rariini* ‘to drink.’ The difference in the verbal complex of these two sentences is that in (388) there is a causative morpheme *-t++* which increases the syntactic valence of the verb. Second, both imperatives and CF wishes express an expectation about the realization of an event. The difference between them is that imperatives are directed to the addressee and impose obligation while CF wishes are not directed to the addressee and do not impose any obligation. Corresponding to the function to indicate CF situations, a CF morpheme *(+)t+* appears before the verbal root. The sentence does not mean that ‘you make x happen.’ The speakers Ema and Jaime often commented that the sentence is used in praying. A striking fact is that the rephrased version of an optative sentence is the same as that of an imperative sentence. Please refer to (377) above for the discussion of a paraphrased imperative and CF wish.

IMPERATIVE:

- (387) Raati-qui            iina   itíniija!  
 drink-GNR.PFV    DET   masato  
 Drink that masato!

CF wish:

- (388) T+=rari-t+-r+-Ø                    itíniija    nuu!  
 CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    masato    3S

---

<sup>92</sup> A subject of a simple declarative sentence always appears in the sentence-initial position. Iquito is an SVO language.

I wish he would drink masato! (Literally: Would it make him drink masato!)

A formal similarity between a CF wish and a ditransitive sentence in terms of clausal structure is that the word order is flexible in the postverbal position. As can be seen in (389) and (390) below, the two sentences convey the same meaning. Ema indicated that the sentence is used to think by yourself when you pass a house that has masato and the people inside the house did not invite you in. A CF wish can, therefore, be viewed as a kind of ditransitive causative construction.

(389) T+=rari-t+-r+-Ø                      quiija iina itíniija!  
CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC 1S      DET masato  
I wish I could drink that masato!

(390) T+=rari-t+-r+-Ø                      iina itíniija quiija!  
CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC DET masato 1S  
I wish I could drink that masato!

Different perfective aspects and tense morphemes can appear in a CF wish. I show them and the corresponding contexts in the table below. In a PresCF wish, Momentary Perfective Aspect followed by Extended Current Tense is used in the verbal complex. In a PastCF wish, which is contrary to a past situation occurring today, the unmarked General Perfective Aspect followed by Extended Current Tense is used. In a PastCF wish, which is contrary to a past situation occurring further in the recent past, the unmarked General Perfective Aspect followed by Recent Past Tense is used. In a PastCF wish, contrary to a past situation in the distant past, the unmarked General Perfective

Aspect plus Distant Past Tense is used. The Imperfective Aspect can never be used in a CF wish, as in (391). This is also the case for imperatives, as detailed in §4.6. I argue that the tense and aspect morphology in the CF wish is real (i.e. not fake).<sup>93</sup> The temporal interpretation of tense morphology is the same as that in a declarative sentence. The aspectual interpretation of aspect morphology corresponds to its conventional uses. Both General and Momentary Perfective Aspects are used in past as well as in future contexts. Please refer to the respective sections on grammatical aspects for a detailed discussion. Here in a CF wish construction, General Perfective Aspect is used to express a PastCF wish, while Momentary Perfective Aspect is used to express a PresCF wish. A PresCF wish in Iquito is used to express a desire which the speaker believes unrealizable currently in the actual world. It might be still realizable in the future, although the future possibility is not the scope of reference in the Iquito CF wishes. The notion of counterfactuality in Iquito is hence different from the general understanding as “a term only with respect to situations that cannot be helped anymore. (Iatridou, 2000: 231)” With respect to mood morphology, the irrealis mood (realized by SXV word order to express an unrealized situation), is generally used in other constructions containing the CF morpheme. Here, in CF wishes, it is not used since there is no condition to discuss the adjacency between the subject and the verb due to the obligatory absence of subjects in the sentence. Therefore, it is irrelevant to argue whether the mood morphology in CF wishes is real or fake.

Table 10. CF Wishes

Contexts	Aspect and Tense	Explanations
PresCF	-r++ ‘Momentary Perfective Aspect’	Contrary to the present situation

<sup>93</sup> I follow the terminology used throughout the general discussion in Iatridou (2000). “Fake” morphology does not convey its usual interpretation in certain CF constructions.

	Extended Current Tense	
PastCF	-Ø 'General Perfective Aspect' Extended Current Tense	Contrary to a past situation occurring today
	-Ø 'General Perfective Aspect' - <i>cura</i> 'Recent Past Tense'	Contrary to a past situation occurring in the recent past
	-Ø 'General Perfective Aspect' - <i>quiaqu+</i> 'Distant Past Tense'	Contrary to a past situation occurring in the distant past

(391) \*T+=rari-t+-yaa iina café quiija!

CF=drink-CAU-IPFV DET coffee 1S

(The sentence is not interpretable for the speakers.)

The last structural point before I go into the discussion of different CF wishes is that a postverbal object can be topicalized. The topicalized object is followed by a noticeable pause when the sentence is pronounced. In (392), the object pronoun *quiija* '1S' is topicalized and repeated again in the postverbal position. In (393), the object pronoun *iina m+saji* 'that woman' is topicalized and the resumptive pronoun appears in the postverbal position.

(392) Quiija, t+=rari-t+-r+-Ø iina café quiija!

1S CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC DET coffee 1S

I, I wish I could drink that coffee!

(393) Iina m+saji, t+=niqui-t+-r+-Ø iina icuani nuu!

DET woman CF=see-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC DET man 3S

That woman, I wish that man would see her!

When a PresCF wish is expressed, Momentary Perfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense are used in the verbal complex. Examples (394) and (395) are from a narrative text. When the man met a non-human spirit in the forest, he spoke to it using the following sentences. Since the spirit is not a human female, the wish is contrary to fact. The speaker wishes the spirit to be human, which she is not, so the wish is desiring something that is not the case.

- (394) T+=cuuhui-t++-r++-Ø                      m+saji    quiaaja, qui=quia=acuumi-qui-Ø!  
 CF=become-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    woman    2S            1S=2S=unite-GNR.PFV-EC  
 I wish you were a woman so that I could unite with you!  
 (T.HMS:10-11; re-segmented and translated by IWL)  
 (Original translation: Cómo no eres mujer, para reunirme contigo.)

- (395) T+=cuuhuit++r++-Ø                      caaya    quiaaja!  
 CF=become-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    person    2S  
 I wish you were a human being!  
 (T.HMS:20; re-segmented and translated by IWL)  
 (Original translation in local Spanish: Quisiera que seas gente usted.)

The speaker Ema indicated that she often goes to her *chacra* ‘vegetable garden’ by herself and only one or two dogs accompany her. She often says to the dog and to herself the following sentence because she feels lonely and wishes the dog could actually talk to her.

- (396) T+=cuuhui-t++-r++-Ø                      caaya            quiaaja    m+yar+ca



CF=become-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC person 2S dog.DIM

qui=cuhasitaani=iira quiaaja!

1S=talk.to=GOAL 2S

I wish you were a person, puppy, for me to talk to you!

The following sentence is induced in a scenario when the speaker is lost in the forest and feels thirsty. All of a sudden, he sees a hole on a really tall tree where there is water. The height of hole in the tree is unreachable.

(397) T+=mii-t+-r+-Ø quiija iina aaca iiqiii cáami!  
CF=have-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC 1S DET water EXT-IPFV up.there  
I wish I could have the water from up there (on the tree)!

The speakers Jaime and Ligia commented that if they had a child who had passed the age of starting to talk and still hadn't said a word, they would wish that the child would talk, using the following sentence.

(398) T+=cuhasi-t+-r+-Ø iina maayarica!  
CF=talk-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC DET child.DIM  
I wish that child would talk!

It is noted that the construction of the PresCF wish can also be used to fantasize about an event which is not realized presently, as in (399). The speakers commented that usually

the event in this construction has little chance to be realized. This shows that the concept of counterfactuality is oriented to a speaker's belief.

- (399) T+=ihui-t+++r++-Ø                    Iquito=jina    quiija    taana amariaana!  
 CF=live-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC Iquito=LOC 1S    other year  
 I wish I could live in Iquitos next year!

Hermico commented that (400) is only used when the speaker believes that he is only here as a visitor and will not stay long, because the schedule is already determined.

- (400) Qui=iiqui-i-Ø        San=Antonio=jina.    T+=ihui-t++-r++-Ø  
 1S=live-IPFV-EC    San=Antonio=LOC    CF=live-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC  
  
 San=Antonio=jina    quiija    narata=yaa        p+y++ni yahu++ni!  
 San=Antonio=LOC 1S    like.that=NWR    all        day  
 I am now in San Antonio. I would like to live in San Antonio just like that all my life!

The counterfactuality of a CF wish is not cancellable, as a true situation cannot be followed by a CF wish about the same situation. In (401), the speaker himself states that he is in Iquitos, which implies that the speaker knows and believes that he is in Iquitos. A PresCF wish which states the desire of being in Iquitos is hence incompatible with the first statement.

- (401) #Qui=iiqui-i-Ø        Iquito=jina.

1S=live-IPFV-EC Iquito=LOC

T+=ihui-t+-r+-Ø Iquito-jina quiija!

CF=live-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC Iquito-LOC 1S

I live in Iquitos. I wish I could live in Iquitos!

When looking at a picture which has coffee in it, the speaker can use the following sentence when there is actually no coffee available to him or her.

(402) T+=mii-t+-r+-Ø iina café quiija!

CF=have-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC DET coffee 1S

I wish I could have that coffee!

The speaker Ligia commented that CF wishes cannot be used to make a request directly to someone who has the beverage you want. It also cannot be used when you know you have such beverage in your own kitchen. For both situations, the following sentence is used instead. The beverage in the sentence is masato, a fermented yuca drink.

(403) Qui=nacar+-yaa-Ø iina rariini itiniija. Qui=car++ji-i-Ø.

1S=want-IPFV-EC DET drink.INF masato 1S=be.thirst-IPFV-EC

Miit++ quiija s++sarica aacanuriqu+ca!

give 1S little watery

Give me a little watery (masato)!

Example (404) shows that the speaker is not always part of a wished event. The speaker wishes that the woman, who never drinks masato or seems unlikely to drink masato at SpT, would drink the masato.

- (404) T+=rari-t+-r+-Ø                      iina itñiija iina m+saji!  
 CF=drink-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    DET    masato DET    woman  
 I wish that woman would drink this masato!

Examples (405) and (406) provide the verbal root *sani-* ‘taste’ and *niqui-* ‘see’ in CF wishes.

- (405) T+=sani-t+-r+-Ø                      quiija iina    nu=ta=mii-yaa-Ø!  
 CF=taste-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    1S    DET    3S=ANT.IPFV=have-IPFV-EC  
 I wish I could taste what she had!

- (406) T+=niqui-t+-r+-Ø                      iina    m+yaara    quiija    im+raani!  
 CF=see-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    DET    dog            1S            again  
 I wish I could see that dog again!

In addition to PresCF wishes, PastCF wishes can also be expressed using this construction. Example (407) is used when the speaker knows that the dog he wants to see again was here earlier today, but he was away and did not see the dog. Now the dog was taken away again and he lamented about what happened with a PastCF wish.

- (407) T+=niqui-t+-Ø-Ø                      quiija iina    m+yaara    im+raani!

CF=see-CAU-GNR.PFV-EC 1S    DET    dog            again

I wish I had seen that dog again (today)!

The following sentence is used to express regret about a past situation in which the speaker saw what I-Wen drank, but could not have it himself. Item (409) is a sentence with a similar context.

(408) T+=mii-t+-Ø-Ø                    quiija iina    iwen    raati-qui-Ø!

CF=have-CAU-GNR.PFV-EC 1S    DET    Iwen    drink-GNR.PFV-EC

I wish I had had (today) what Iwen drank (today)!

(409) T+=rari-t+-Ø-Ø                    iina café    quiija!

CF=have-CAU-GNR.PFV-EC 1S    coffee    1S

I wish I had had that coffee (today)!

When making a PastCF wish contrary to a situation occurring before today, the unmarked General Perfective Aspect and the recent past tense *-cura* are used. Example (410) is used when the event in which the speaker could have seen the dog occurred before the day which includes SpT. The speaker wishes that he had seen the dog.

(410) T+=niqui-t+-Ø-cura                    quiija iina    m+yaara im+raani!

CF=see-CAU-GNR.PFV-RPST 1S    DET    dog            again

I wish I had seen that dog again (the other day)!

Example (411) is a PastCF wish contrary to a situation occurring in the distant past. The speaker did not have a piano when he was a child and wishes he had had one. It is seen that the unmarked General Perfective Aspect and Distant Past Tense *-quiaqu+* is used.

- (411) T+=mii-t++-Ø-quiaqu+                      núquiica piana quiija!  
 CF=have-CAU-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    one        piano 1S  
 I wish I had had a piano (a long time ago)!

Besides the structure discussed above, there is also a trend to use the phrase *t+=cuuhui-t++-(r++/or* with Recent Past and Distant Past Tenses) as a fixed expression followed by an inflected clause. In this context of use, the speakers generally translate this phrase as ‘I wish that’ (originally in Spanish as ‘quisiera que’). There are at least two reasons to argue that this structure is calqued from Spanish. First, in Spanish, the phrase ‘quisiera que’ takes an inflected clause as the complement. The use of the fixed phrase is translated as ‘quisiera que’ and also takes an inflected clause as the complement. Second, under this use, there is only one complement in the postverbal position which indicates that the function of the causative morpheme *-t++*, increasing the syntactic valence, ceases. This is a strong indicator which shows that the phrase is used as a frozen unit. The only difference between local Spanish ‘quisiera que’ and the fixed use of the Iquito phrase is that in local Spanish, the person who makes the wish can be first person or third person singular. However, in Iquito the person who makes the wish can only be first person singular. In the following, I provide a few examples.

The complement clause of (412) is intransitive and, therefore, the nominal part of the subject appears after the verb *cuhuasi-* ‘talk’ while the determiner of the subject phrase appears before the verb.

- (412) T+=cuuhui-t+-r+-Ø                    iina    cuhuasi-qui-Ø    maaya!  
 CF=become-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    DET    talk-GNR.PFV-EC child  
 I wish that this child would talk!

The complement clause of (413) is transitive and the word order reflects the irrealis SOV order. The speaker Ema commented that the following sentence is used to plan and to think before talking to people and imposing obligations on them.

- (413) T+=cuuhui-t+-r+-Ø                    p+=naam+    cata-t+-Ø-Ø!  
 CF=become-CAU-MMT.PFV-EC    1P=leaf    collect-CAU-GNR.PFV-EC  
 I wish that we could request (people) to collect leaves!

In the following sentence, the fixed phrase takes a PastCF situation, consisting of a *when*-clause and a principal clause.

- (414) T+=cuuhui-t+-Ø-quiaqu+  
 CF=become-CAU-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP
- j++ticari    qui=cuuqui-aariqu+    maaya=na,  
 when    1S=become-DPST.IPFV child=CLSF
- qui=t+=núquiica=piana=mii-Ø-quiaqu+.  
 1S=CF=one=piano=have-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

Ácari jaa qui=t+=nu=nacusi-i-Ø arihuaat++ni.  
 now already 1S=CF=3S=know-IPFV-EC sing.CAU.INF

I wish that when I was a child, I had had a piano. Now I would already be able to play.

In §4.5, I discussed how an Iquito speaker expresses wishes. Three strategies are generally used: the first one, desideratives, involves the use of the lexical verb *nacar++-* ‘want’; the second one, optatives, involves the Imperfective Aspect in combination with the potential mood *-cuma*; the third one, CF wishes, uses the CF morpheme and a construction similar to that of imperatives. Desideratives express a past or present wish about an event being realized in the future relative to RT. This construction is also frequently used to rephrase the commands (i.e. by imperatives) or wishes (i.e. by optatives) of other people. Optatives express a weak prediction or wish about a potential event in the distant future. The wish is conveyed through implicature as this construction does not always convey a wish and generally conveys a prediction. CF wishes express a wish contrary to a present or past situation. The speaker expresses a strong desire about an event being realized or having been realized.

#### 4.6 IMPERATIVES AND JUSSIVES<sup>94</sup>

This section discusses the imperative and the jussive constructions in Iquito. Iquito imperatives are used when the addressees, as well as the action-performing referents, are first person plural inclusive, second person singular, or second person

---

<sup>94</sup> I use the term ‘imperative’ in a broad sense and include constructions of the first person hortative and second person imperative. The other point worth noting is that I distinguish ‘imperative’ and ‘jussive’ in this dissertation because Iquito does make a formal distinction between them; therefore, these labels reflect language-specific distinction, rather than crosslinguistically defined categories per se.



plural. Jussives are used when the action-performing or -involving referents are third person singular or third person plural. The addressees of jussives are second person singular or plural. Iquito imperatives and jussives can be used to give strong commands in which non-compliance is not expected by speakers. In addition, they can also be used to give permission, make requests, or provide instructions.

In affirmative contexts, imperatives and jussives are formally distinct structures while in negative contexts, imperatives and jussives use the same type of formal structure. Affirmative imperatives can appear with all seven perfective aspects,<sup>95</sup> except when they are pragmatically incompatible. In fact, the use of one of the seven perfective<sup>96</sup> aspects is obligatory in affirmative imperatives. The seven perfective aspects render different interpretations in terms of the location where the events are to be carried out and, therefore, the direction and trajectory of addressees' movement. The Imperfective Aspect can never be used in the imperative constructions. The affirmative jussives, on the other hand, appear only with the Imperfective Aspect and can never appear with any perfective aspect. In correspondence with this formal observation, imperatives are used before the potential event is realized while jussives can be used both before the event is realized and when the event is already in progress.

In negative contexts, both imperatives and jussives use a negative particle in combination with an unmarked perfective aspect, General Perfective Aspect, and the

---

<sup>95</sup> There are seven perfective aspects in Iquito: General Perfective, Momentary Perfective, Remote Perfective, two Deictic Perfectives, Allative Perfective and Ablative Perfective, which are discussed in detail in §5.

<sup>96</sup> According to Patience Epps (p.c.), in some languages, in particular, aspectual indicators in imperatives have a politeness function. For example, Hup perfective aspect makes a polite imperative to emphasize that the imposition will be of limited duration (Epps, 2008). In Iquito, because perfective aspects are obligatory in imperatives, the use of perfective aspect does not specifically carry a function of politeness. To make a polite request, speakers could express imperatives in a softer tone. Alternatively, they might use other types of clauses, such as desideratives. They could also express their expectations indirectly to another person and have them indirectly convey their expectations to the intended addressee.

morpheme of potential mood *-cuma*.<sup>97</sup> Negative imperatives and jussives are only used before negative events are realized. In both affirmative and negative constructions, speakers indicate that they expect the addressed events or the associated process of the addressed events to be realized upon uttering the sentences.

I have analyzed imperative (§4.6.1) and jussive (§4.6.2) sentences as tenseless because there are no counterpart sentences that are overtly marked with a tense morpheme. In addition, Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 172) indicate that tense and aspect distinctions in imperatives are relatively uncommon crosslinguistically. The fact that Iquito uses different perfective aspects in imperatives might be a reflection of the historical development of the aspect morphemes from verbs indicating direction and path.

In terms of realis/irrealis marking, which is realized by word order, both affirmative and negative imperatives and jussives are observed to reflect realis word order SVX, instead of irrealis word order SXV. Payne (1997) indicates that imperatives are usually expressed with irrealis structures crosslinguistically, reflecting the fact that an imperative commands that something happen rather than asserting that it has already happened. Given the fact that affirmative jussives can be used when the event is already in actual progress, the perfective aspects, together with the realis word order SVX, in the affirmative imperatives, negative imperatives and jussives express a strong expectation of the realization of addressed events. Indeed, some affirmative imperatives, especially when the addressees are first person plural inclusive or second person plural, might be structurally ambiguous with a perfective sentence which indicates a realized event. However, these imperatives and perfective declaratives are generally distinguished by the

---

<sup>97</sup> The morpheme of potential mood *-cuma* does not only appear in the negative constructions of imperatives and jussives, in which it appears with an unmarked perfective aspect. It is also used in combination with the Imperfective Aspect, in both affirmative and negative sentences, to indicate an uncertain prediction or a weak wish in which the speaker is not certain if the event will be realized. The events in this construction are further remote in the future.

following principles. First, in affirmative imperatives, explicit pronouns are pronounced with long vowels at the last syllable, as *p++=* ‘first person plural inclusive’ and *quinaa=* ‘second person plural’ while in past perfective declaratives, these two pronouns are pronounced as having a high pitch on the first syllable and short vowels on all syllables, as *p’+=* ‘1P.INCL’ and *quína=* ‘2P.’ Second, non-vowel-hiatus phenomena,<sup>98</sup> as introduced in §4.2, exist in imperatives under certain phonological environments. Third, most perfective declaratives appear with tense markers while the imperatives are always in Extended Current Tense. Fourth, speakers can use a temporal adverbial *jaa* ‘already’ before the subject pronoun to further clarify a past perfective declarative. Fifth, speakers use their pragmatic knowledge as well.

I discuss imperatives in §4.6.1, jussives in §4.6.2, and negative imperatives and jussives in 4.6.3 in terms of the sentence structure, the aspectual morphemes they appear with, and the mood structure they are associated with in the realis/irrealis system.

#### **4.6.1 Imperatives**

Imperative constructions are used to address interlocutors in the first person plural inclusive, as in (415), in the second person singular, as in (416), or in the second person plural, as in (417). Imperatives are observed to reflect SVX realis word order, instead of SXV irrealis word order, but with the non-vowel hiatus phenomenon, a characteristic of irrealis mood. It is noted that the addressees are also the action-performing referents in the sentences. If the addressee is second person singular, the subject pronoun is omitted, otherwise it appears before the verbs.

---

<sup>98</sup> This is a characteristic of irrealis mood. In consideration of this feature, imperatives are ambiguous in terms of the alignment of mood. They reflect characteristics of both realis and irrealis mood, including SXV word order and the non-vowel hiatus phenomenon.

(415) P++=cuhuasita-qui nuu!

1P.INCL=talk.to-GNR.PFV 3S

Let's talk to him!

(416) Cuhuasi-qui!

talk-GNR.PFV

Talk!

(417) Quinaa=mii-Ø<sup>99</sup> núquiica ífta!

2P=do-GNR.PFV one house

You all, build a house!

To highlight the person, a phonologically independent pronoun can be used in the sentence-initial position, as in (418)-(420). In sentences (418)-(420), it can be seen that the resumptive pronouns, the phonologically dependent pronouns, appear before the verbs except in the case when the addressee is second person singular.

(418) P++ja, p++=cuhuasita-qui nuu!

1P.INCL 1P.INCL=talk.to-GNR.PFV 3S

Let's talk to him!

(419) Quiaaja, cuhuasi-qui!

2S talk-GNR.PFV

---

<sup>99</sup> General Perfective Aspect is not morphologically marked in the recent-past and distant-past environment. In the hodiernal and future environment, *-qui* surfaces after the verbal root ending in a short vowel, except when followed by certain clitics, in which case it is not marked. It is also not marked after the verbal root ending in a long vowel.

You, talk!

- (420) Quinaaja, quinaa=mii-Ø núquiica ííta!  
2P 2P=do-GNR.PFV one house  
You all build a house!

The imperative constructions can appear with all seven perfective aspects, except when they are pragmatically incompatible. The seven perfective aspects (i.e. General Perfective Aspect, Momentary Perfective Aspect, Remote Perfective Aspect, two Deictic Perfective Aspects, Allative Perfective Aspect, and Ablative Perfective Aspect) give information on the location where the events are to be carried out and the direction in which addressees are supposed to proceed. The Imperfective Aspect can never be used in imperative constructions. In the following, I discuss how the seven perfective aspects are used in imperative constructions.

When General Perfective Aspect is used in imperatives, the addressee is expected to realize the action where he is, without proceeding to other locations. General Perfective Aspect,<sup>100</sup> as also discussed in §5.2, applies to situation types<sup>101</sup> of Activities (421), Accomplishments (422), Semelfactives (423) and some Motion verbs (424). For Achievements, General Perfective Aspect is used only when the commands, in combination with Momentary Perfective Aspect (425), have already been given many times. Speakers can use Achievements plus General Perfective Aspect to convey the

---

<sup>100</sup> In the past perfective declaratives, General Perfective Aspect spans the initial and final endpoints of Activities and Accomplishments, presenting them as closed situations. For Achievements, which are single-stage events and generally apply to Momentary Perfective Aspect, General Perfective Aspect spans the single-stage interval plus an extended post-stage, indicating that the Achievement situations are realized before the Reference Time (RT hereafter). For single-stage Semelfactives, General Perfective Aspect views both the single event (with natural final endpoints) and the multiple events (with arbitrary final endpoints) of Semelfactives as closed situations.

<sup>101</sup> For a detailed discussion on the classification of situation types, please see chapter 6.

insistence of their command (426). General Perfective Aspect is the most common perfective aspect in the imperative construction in the sense that it is most frequently used and compatible with almost all the verbs, except the verb *ani-* ‘come’ (427).

(421) Hermico, ariicua-qui!

Hermico, sing-GNR.PFV

Hermico, sing!

(422) Najuu-Ø            núquiica simiím+!

write-GNR.PFV one      letter

Write a letter!

(423) Isiin++-Ø!

cough-GNR.PFV

Cough!

When General Perfective Aspect is used with Motion verbs, such as *n+t+-* ‘run,’ the speaker only expects the addressee to start running from his original location. The speaker does not expect any particular speed or direction to which the addressee runs.

(424) N+t+-qui!

run-GNR.PFV

Run!

(425) Iniica-r++!

wake.up-MMT.PFV

Wake up!

(426) Iniica-qui            jaa!

Wake.up-GNR.PFV already

Wake up!

(427) \*Ani-qui!

come-GNR.PFV

Come!

When Momentary Perfective Aspect<sup>102</sup> *-r++* is used in imperatives, the addressee is expected to realize the action when he passes by on the way to some other place, if used with Activities, as in (428), Accomplishments, as in (429), and Semelfactives, as in (430). The addressee either keeps moving or stops by to perform the action, depending on the type of action and the amount of time it takes, before continuing his trip. When *-r++* appears with Achievements, as in (431), the addressee is expected to realize the action where he is. When *-r++* appears with the Motion verb *n+t+-* ‘run,’ the addressee is expected to realize the action in rapid speed, as in (432).

(428) Cuhuasita-r++      quijja!

---

<sup>102</sup> In past perfective declaratives, Momentary Perfective Aspect spans intrinsically bounded single-stage Achievements. For Statives, it coerces derived Achievements, which focus on instantaneous initial endpoints. For Accomplishments, multiple-event Semelfactives, and most Activities, it associates the temporal schema to a short interval of time and triggers an ‘in-passing’ reading. More specifically, it indicates ‘the event is realized in some place, on the way to some other place’. Finally, for some Motion Activities, such as ‘swim’ and ‘run,’ it renders a ‘fast’ reading which focuses on the initial point of the fast part of Activities in which the actions are realized rapidly.

talk.to-MMT.PFV 1S

Talk to me as you pass by!

(429) Najuu-r++ núquiica simiím+!

Write-MMT.PFV one letter

Write a letter as you pass by!

(430) Isiin+-r++!

cough-MMT.PFV

Cough as you pass by!

(431) Isiica-r++ nuu!

rip-MMT.PFV3S

Rip it!

(432) N+t+-r++!

run-MMT.PFV

Run fast!

Except in an idiomatic expression which will be introduced below, Momentary Perfective Aspect cannot appear in imperatives with several Motion verbs as in the following.

(433) \*Iícua-r++!

go-MMT.PFV

Go!



(434) \*Iicuu-r++!

walk-MMT.PFV

Walk!

(435) \*Musi-r++!

swim-MMT.PFV

Swim!

(436) \*+++-r++ (aviyu-jina)!

fly-MMT.PFV airplane-LOC

Fly (in the plane)!

(437) \*Ani-r++!

come-MMT.PFV

Come!

In a particular idiomatic expression where Momentary Perfective Aspect is used as part of the fixed expression, Motion verbs, among other verbs, can freely appear in the sentence.

(438) Ajaa, iicuu-r++=quiaja.

let's.see walk-MMT.PFV=VERD

Let's see, walk!

- (439) Ajaa, quinaa=iicuu-r++=quiaja.  
 let's.see 2P=walk-MMT.PFV=VERD  
 Let's see, you all walk!

When Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* is used in imperatives, the addressee is expected to realize the action with movement, either approaching the speaker or moving away from the speaker. It is very rarely used, for several reasons. First, pragmatically there are very few actions that can be realized while one is walking. Second, there are very few occasions in which the speaker would want other people to perform some actions while they are on the move. Third, there are other imperatives with equivalent meaning. Examples (440) and (441) indicate that the speaker wants the addressee to talk and walk towards him at the same time. The speaker Hermico prefers the locative adverbial *tíira=ji* 'from there' while the speaker Jaime prefers the locative adverbial *tíiracuma=ji* 'from (unspecific) there on.'

- (440) Cuhuasi-maa tíira=ji!  
 talk-REM.PFV there=from  
 Come talking from there!

- (441) Saqu+-maa narata=yaa tíiracuma=ji!  
 tell-REM.PFV like.this=NWR unspecific.there=from  
 Keep coming from there like this and talk!

Example (442) and (443) indicate that the speakers want the addressee to keep talking while leaving. The adverbial used is *tíiracuma* '(unspecific) there.'

(442) Cuhuasi-maa tíracuma!  
talk-REM.PFV unspecified.there  
Keep going and talking!

(443) Saqu+-maa tíracuma!  
tell-REM.PFV unspecified.there  
Keep going and talking!

It is noted that it is ungrammatical for Remote Perfective Aspect to appear with any Motion verb, except *ani-* ‘come.’ On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the imperative form of the verb *ani-* ‘come’ cannot appear with any other perfective aspects except Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa*.

(444) Ani-maa!  
come-REM.PFV  
Come!

There are two Deictic Perfective Aspects, *-hu++* and *-cuaa* that speakers often use in imperative constructions. The addressee is expected to move to a certain location and realize the indicated event. As is discussed in §5.5, two systems of deixis are represented by the two Deictic Perfective Aspects: one is the speaker-centered river-oriented deixis and the other is the speaker-centered radial deixis. The formative *-hu++* is used to indicate upriver orientation or in the proximity of the speaker while the formative *-cuaa* is used to indicate downriver orientation or away from the speaker. The

switch of deixis depends on the explicit use of deictic adverbials. Correspondingly, in the imperatives in combination with *-hu++*, the addressee is expected to realize the event in the proximity of the speaker or somewhere towards upriver, depending on the explicit adverbials together with manual gestures. In an imperative sentence with *-cuaa*, the addressee is expected to realize the event in a place that is away from the speaker or somewhere towards downriver. The two Deictic Perfective Aspects can appear with all event situation types (i.e. Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, and Semelfactives) and stage-level Statives (i.e. a transitory state, such as *angry* and *happy*). The situations are expected to take place within a certain indicated area. Therefore, *-hu++* and *-cuaa* are incompatible with verbs which encode directional components, such as *iicua-* ‘go,’ *ani-* ‘come,’ and *sihuaan+-* ‘arrive.’ Motion verbs, such as *n+t+-* ‘run,’ *musi-* ‘swim,’ and *++-* ‘fly,’ can appear with *-hu++* and *-cuaa* if the actions are to be performed within a restricted area.

Examples (445)-(448) show the use of the two Deictic Perfective Aspects with explicit adverbials in imperatives of the Activity situation type. The context is that a group of people are waiting for the addressee to arrive at a certain location and give a talk.

(445) Cuhuasi-hu++    ííti!  
 talk-DEI1.PFV    here  
 Come here to talk!

(446) Cuhuasi-hu++    cáami!  
 talk-DEI1.PFV    upriver  
 Go upriver to talk!

(447) Cuhuasi-cuaa tíira!  
talk-DEI2.PFV there  
Go there to talk!

(448) Cuhuasi-cuaa naami!  
talk-DEI2.PFV downriver  
Go downriver to talk!

Examples (449)-(452) show the imperatives of Accomplishments with explicit plural addressees and Deictic Perfective Aspects. The subject pronoun is not optional. It can also be observed that the word order of the sentences reflects SVX realis word order.

(449) Quinaaja, quinaa=mii-hu++ núquiica ííta ííti!  
2P 2P=do-DEI1.PFV one house here  
You all build a house here!

(450) Quinaa=mii-hu++ núquiica ííta cáami!  
2P=do-DEI1.PFV one house upriver  
You all build a house upriver!

(451) Quinaa=mii-cuaa núquiica ííta tíira!  
2P=do-DEI2.PFV one house there  
You all build a house there!

(452) Quinaa=mii-cuaa núquiica íita naami!  
 2P=do-DEI2.PFV one house downriver  
 You all build a house downriver!

Examples (453) and (454) are an Achievement and a Semelfactive, respectively. In (453), it does not matter if the rope is in the indicated location or with the addressee who is already ripping it in the unsuitable location. The point is that the addressee is expected to realize the event in the indicated location. Sentence (454) can appear in the two scenarios. It can be used in a rehearsal of a theater play. It can also be uttered to a person who is coughing in another place that the speaker considers unsuitable.

(453) Isiica-cuaa tíira iina iniy+!  
 rip-DEI2.PFV there DET twisted.rope  
 Rip the twisted rope there!

(454) Isiin++-hu++ ííti!  
 cough-DEI1.PFV here  
 Cough here!

Stage-level Statives can appear with Deictic Perfective Aspects in imperatives, as in (455).

(455) Iiqui-hu++ cáami!  
 live-DEI1.PFV upriver  
 Go upriver! (Literally: Be upriver!)

Directional Motion verbs, such as *iicua-* ‘go’ and *ani-* ‘come,’ are incompatible with *-hu++* and *-cuaa*, as in (456) and (457).

(456) \**Iicua-hu++*    *cáami!*  
go-DEI1.PFV    upriver  
Go upriver!

(457) \**Ani-hu++*        *ííti!*  
come-DEI1.PFV here  
Come here!

Motion verbs, such as *n+t+-* ‘run,’ can appear with *-hu++* and *-cuaa* only if the actions are to be performed within a restricted area. In (458), the addressee is supposed to arrive at the indicated location, which is near the speaker, and run around that area. If the speaker wants the addressee to run from ‘here’ to ‘there,’ a location indicated by gesture, General Perfective Aspect is used, as in (459). Ablative Perfective Aspect is often used when the destination is not indicated by the speaker, as in (460).

(458) *N+t+-hu++*    *ííti!*  
run-DEI1.PFV here  
Come here to run!

(459) *N+t+-qui*        *ííti=ji*        *tíira=anura!*  
run-GNR.PFV    here=from    there=towards

Run from here to there!

(460) N+t+-aar++ tíracuma!

run-ABL.PFV unspecified.there

(Start to) run (to where I cannot see)!

Allative Perfective Aspect *-sahu++* and Ablative Perfective Aspect *-(y)aar++* incorporate a directional component. In past perfective declarative sentences, *-sahu++* is used to express the realization of an event upon arrival at a location, while *-(y)aar++* is used to express the departure from a location upon realization of an event. Imperatives in combination with *-sahu++* can be used, but the combination is rarely used. The addressee of such a sentence can only be someone who is already arriving near you and you know in advance that he is coming towards you (i.e. a visitor or some visitors approaching your house, a person or a group of people mooring to the riverbank, among other situations). The addressee is expected to realize the event immediately upon arrival, without doing any other activity in between. Example (461) is directed to a group of people who, you know, are arriving to help you build a house. You see them coming and utter the sentence.

(461) Quinaa=mii-sahu++ ífta ífti!

2P=do-ALL.PFV house here

Since you all are arriving, come build a house right away! (Literally: You all, come build a house upon arrival!)

(462) Ariicua-sahu++!



sing-ALL.PFV

Sing immediately upon arrival!

Imperatives in combination with *-(y)aar++*, on the other hand, are usually directed to an addressee who is ready to depart from a location which is near the speaker. If directed to an addressee who is not ready to leave, the addressee is expected to realize the indicated event and leave where he is. In (463), the addressee is leaving already, but the speaker wants to listen to one more song, so the sentence is uttered.

(463) Ariicua-aar++!

sing-ABL.PFV

Sing before you depart!

In (464), it can be seen that the adverbial *amaqu+=iira* ‘to your trip,’ modifying the verb, is clearly related to the departure from a location.

(464) Cuhuasi-aar++ quia=amaqu+=iira!

talk-ABL.PFV 2S=road=GOAL

Talk before your trip!

As briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter, as well as in §5, Motion verbs in combination with Ablative Perfective Aspect *-(y)aar++* trigger an inceptive reading (i.e. walk away, run away and swim away) and focus on the starting/initial endpoint of Activities, in which case the destination of the motion is not part of the conveyed

information. Example (465) is directed to a person who is standing away from the speaker. They are engaged in a walking-related training activity.

- (465) Iicuu-yaar++      ácari    tíira=ji!  
walk-ABL.PFV    now    there=from  
Now walk from there!

Example (466) is directed to a person near you. The interpretation is hence ‘leave swimming.’

- (466) Musi-aar++!  
swim-ABL.PFV  
Swim away!

As discussed above, Deictic Perfective Aspect *-hu++* is used in the imperative construction. The allomorph of this aspect morpheme *-cuhu++*<sup>103</sup> is never used in imperatives with the exception of the verbs *carii-* ‘look’ and *niqui-* ‘see.’ When the speaker orders a person to come towards him to see something, *-hu++* is used, as in (467). However, when a person does not believe what the speaker saw, the allomorph *-cuhu++* is used, as in (468). Sentence (468) conveys an additional emphatic meaning which presupposes that the listener does not believe the speaker.

- (467) Carii-hu++      iina!  
look-DEI1.PFV    DET

---

<sup>103</sup> Please refer to §5.5 on Deictic Perfective Aspects for more discussion.

Come look at this!

- (468) *Carii-cuhu++ iina!*  
look-DEI1.PFV DET  
Come look at this yourself! (I am not lying.)

The verb *niqui-* ‘see’ works the same as the verb *carii-* ‘look’ in the imperatives.

- (469) *Niqui-hu++ iina!*  
see-DEI1.PFV DET  
Come see this!

- (470) *Niqui-cuhu++ iina!*  
see-DEI1.PFV DET  
Come see this (if you don’t believe me)!

One more point in terms of the structure of affirmative imperatives is that the Imperfective Aspect can never appear in imperative sentences. In the following, I show ungrammatical examples.

- (471) \**Musi-i!*  
swim-IPFV  
Swim!

- (472) \**Iicuu-yaa!*

walk-IPFV

Walk!

As mentioned in the introduction section, some affirmative imperatives, especially those directed to first person plural inclusive or second person plural, could be structurally ambiguous with a past perfective sentence which indicates a realized event. However, differences exist to distinguish them. First, in affirmative imperatives, explicit pronouns are pronounced with long vowels in the last syllable without high pitch on the first syllable, as *p++=* ‘first person plural inclusive’ instead of *p+=* and *quinaa=* ‘second person plural’ instead of *quína=*. In past perfective declaratives, these two pronouns are pronounced as having a high pitch on the first syllable and short vowels on all syllables, as *p’+=* ‘1P.INCL’ and *quína=* ‘2P.’ Second, non-vowel-hiatus phenomena in certain phonological environments clearly exist in imperatives. In the following, (473) and (474) are imperatives and the explicit pronouns are both pronounced with long vowels before the verbal roots. Examples (475) and (476) are past perfective declaratives and a high pitch is observed on the first syllables of the subject pronouns. It is also noted that the subject pronoun *quína=* is pronounced with a short vowel at the end. In addition, in (474), an imperative sentence frequently produced by speakers, the barred /i/ of the first person plural pronoun and the /i/ in the verbal root-initial position are clearly two distinct sounds in the imperative construction. In the past perfective sentence (476), a long barred /i/ is observed instead of two distinct sounds. The verbal root *isa-* ‘urinate’ changes to *+sa-* in the context of the past perfective declarative.

- (473) *Quinaa=mii-Ø*      *núquiica ífta!*  
2P=do-GNR.PFV    one      house

You all build a house!

(474) P++=isa-cuaa!

1P.INCL=urinate-DEI2.PFV

Let's go urinate!

(475) Quína=mii-Ø núquiica ífta.

2P=do-GNR.PFV one house

You all built a house (today).

(476) Taaríqui p'++sa-cuaa tíira.

morning 1P.INCL=urinate there

We went there to urinate in the morning.

Third, most perfective declaratives appear with tense markers, as in (477) and (478), while the imperatives are always null-tense marked, as in (473) and (474) above. Fourth, speakers can use a temporal adverbial *jaa* 'already' before the subject pronoun to further clarify a past perfective declarative, as indicated between the parentheses. In (475) above, the temporal adverbial *jaa* 'already' can appear in sentence-initial position. Lastly, speakers also distinguish a declarative from an imperative by their pragmatic knowledge.

(477) Quinaaja, (jaa) quína=mii-Ø-cura núquiica ífta.

2P already 2P=do-GNR.PFV-RPST one house

You all (already) built a house (a few days or a few months ago).

- (478) Quinaaja, (jaa) quína=mii-Ø-quiaqu+ núquiica ííta.  
 2P already 2P=do-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP one house  
 You all (already) built a house (a long time ago).

#### 4.6.2 Jussives

When the action-performing referents are third person, the jussive construction is used to direct to a second person addressee, as in (479) and (480). Jussives cannot be used when the action-performing referents are first or second person, as in (481).

- (479) Pá=nu=cuhuasi-i namiini!  
 JUSS=3S=talk-IPFV first  
 Let him talk first!

- (480) Pá=na=ariicua-a!  
 JUSS=3P=sing-IPFV  
 Let them sing!

- (481) \*Pá=qui /cana /p+ /quia/quina=cuhuasi-i!  
 JUSS=1S/1P.EXCL/1P.INCL/2S/2P=talk-IPFV  
 Let me/us (exclusive)/us (inclusive)/you (singular)/ you (plural) sing!

In contrast with the imperative constructions discussed in §4.6.1 above, the jussive construction can only appear with the Imperfective Aspect and can never appear with any of the seven perfective aspects, as in (482).

(482) \*Pá=nu=cuhuasi-qui!

JUSS=3S=talk-GNR.PFV

Let him talk!

In addition, while imperatives are only used before the potential event is realized, jussives can be used both before the event is realized as well as when the event is already in process. Example (479) and (480) above can be used to express that the speaker wants the subject(s) to realize the event or continue the event. The addressee is expected to induce, facilitate, or permit the event to be continued. Example (483) in the following is an example that is frequently used by speakers during the daily working sessions. When I bring a hot beverage and invite them to drink, they often use the utterance. It can be clearly observed that the jussive construction can have an event-involving referent which is actually not the action-performing referent. The imperative construction, on the other hand, can only have an action-performing referent as the subject and the addressee of the sentence.

(483) Pá=nu=sucuta-a!

JUSS=3S=cool.down

Let it cool down!

#### **4.6.3 Negative Imperatives and Jussives**

In negative contexts, imperatives and jussives have the same structure, both using a negative particle *caa* (or *ca=* as a clitic) in combination with an unmarked perfective

aspect -Ø and the morpheme of potential mood *-cuma*. Negative imperatives, also called ‘prohibitives,’ and jussives are only used before the negative events are realized.

As can be seen from (484) to (488) in the following, negative commands can have all grammatical persons as the action-performing referents, except first person singular and first person plural exclusive. The addressee(s) is second person. The speakers commented that example (484) might be used to think to oneself: ‘I shouldn’t say anything,’ but the sentence is never verbally uttered. Example (485) is ungrammatical. In (486), the addressee is also one of the action-performing referents. In (487), it is noted that the addressee is second person singular and the explicit mention of the subject is optional. However, the negative particle and the second person singular subject pronoun are either both omitted or both present. When the subject is one of the other grammatical persons, the subject pronoun and the negative particle are obligatorily present, as in (486), (488)-(490).

(484) \*Ca=qui=cuhuasi-Ø-cuma            saaca!  
 NEG=1S=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 Let me not say anything!

(485) \*Ca=cana=cuhuasi-Ø-cuma            saaca!  
 NEG=1P.EXGL=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 Let us not say anything!

(486) Ca=p+=cuhuasi-Ø-cuma            saaca!  
 NEG=1P.INCL=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 Let us not say anything!



- (487) (Ca=quia=)cuhuasi-Ø-cuma            saaca!  
 NEG=1P.INCL=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 Don't say anything!
- (488) Ca=quina=cuhuasi-Ø-cuma        saaca!  
 NEG=2P=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 You all, don't say anything!
- (489) Iina maaya    ca=nu=cuhuasi-Ø-cuma            saaca!  
 DET child    NEG=3S=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 That child, don't let him say anything!
- (490) Ca=na=cuhuasi-Ø-cuma            saaca!  
 NEG=3P=talk-GNR.PFV-POT    thing  
 Don't let them say anything!

It is noted that the combination of General Perfective Aspect -Ø and the potential mood -*cuma* is only used in the context of a negative imperative or negative jussive. It is never used in an affirmative context. From the discussion above, we can see that in both affirmative and negative constructions, the word order is observed to reflect realis word order—SVX. The speakers indicate that they expect the addressed events or the associated process of the addressed events to be realized upon uttering the sentences. The following are two textual examples. The speaker expects that the situation can be realized right away.

(491) Ca=p+=pajuu-Ø-cuma iip+ p+aarata cayaa-ca...  
 NEG=1P=teach-GNR.PFV DET.PL our person-PL  
 Let's not teach our people... (T.CJC: 27; re-segmented and translated by IWL)

(492) Ca=na=cuúqui-Ø-cuma iyuujsaap+.  
 NEG=3P=become-GNR.PFV-POT lazy.people  
 Don't let them become lazy people.  
 (T.CJC: 48; re-segmented and translated by IWL)

(493) Ca=na=iyuuju-Ø-cuma saaca miini.  
 NEG=3P=feel.lazy-GNR.PFV-POT thing do.INF  
 Don't let them feel lazy doing things.  
 (T.CJC: 49; re-segmented and translated by IWL)

(494) Ca=na=imát+niqui-Ø-Cuma na-niatija, na-caqu+ja-huaaca  
 NEG=3P=argue-GNR.PFV-POT 3P-mother 3P-father-PL  
 Don't let them argue with their parents.  
 (T.CJC: 54; re-segmented and translated by IWL)

(495) Ca=quia=saaqu+-Ø-cuma sacaaya.  
 NEG=2S=tell-GNR.PFV-POT things  
 Don't tell anything. (T.HMS: 40; re-segmented and translated by IWL)

(496) Ca=quia=saaqu+nii-Ø-cuma iinahuaja can++ca,

NEG=2S=tell.to-GNR.PFV-POT nothing who

Don't tell anything to anyone.

(T.HMS: 202; re-segmented and translated by IWL)

If the speakers don't expect the addressed events to take place right away (i.e. immediately or on the same day which includes SpT), they use the Imperfective Aspect (*vowel length* or *-yaa/-aa*) and the potential mood *-cuma*, in combination with the irrealis word order—SXV. In this construction, affirmative or negative, the speaker expresses a weak prediction or wish to indicate that the event might take place in the distant future.

(497) Iina maaya nu=cuhuasi-aa-cuma.

DET child 3S=talk-IPFV-POT

This child might talk (one day).

This child, (I hope) he will talk one day.

(498) Iina maaya ca=nu=cuhuasi-aa-cuma.

DET child NEG=3S=talk-IPFV-POT

This child might not talk (ever).

(499) Quia=ariicua-aa-cuma tácarí yahu++ni-jina.

2S=sing-IPFV-POT other.indefinite day-LOC

(I hope) you will sing one day.

You might sing one day.

(500) Narata jaa caqui-Ø=quiyaa quiaaja.

like.this already become-GNR.PFV=NWR 2S

Ca=quia=ariicua-aa-cuma j++ticari.

NEG=2S=sing-IPFV-POT when

You are already like this. You might never sing.

(501) TÁCARI yahu++ni-jina qui=núquiica-simiím+ najuu-yaa-cuma.

other.indefinite day-LOC 1S=one-letter write-IPFV-POT

(I hope) one day I will write a letter (to you).

I might write a letter (to you) one day.

In §4.6 above, I discussed imperative and jussive constructions in Iquito in terms of the sentence structure (i.e. the requirement of an explicit pronoun or not), the aspectual morphemes with which they appear, and the mood structure (i.e. word order and relevant characteristics) they associate with in a realis/irrealis system. Iquito imperatives are directed to second person(s). Action-performing referents, on the other hand, can be first person plural inclusive, second person singular, or second person plural. Jussives are directed to second person(s) when the action-performing or -involving referents are third person singular or third person plural.

In affirmative contexts, imperatives and jussives are formally distinct structures, while in negative contexts, imperatives and jussives use the same type of formal structure. In terms of realis/irrealis marking, which is realized by word order, both affirmative and negative imperatives and jussives are observed to reflect realis word order—SVX, instead of irrealis word order—SXV. In this section, I also discuss how imperatives, when there is an explicit pronoun, are distinguished from past perfective

declaratives in terms of high pitch and vowel lengthening on the subject pronoun. This section concludes with a brief extension on how the potential mood marker is used in constructions other than negative imperatives.

Iquito imperatives and jussives can be used to give strong commands in which the realization of situations is highly expected by speakers. In addition, they can also be used to give permission, make requests, or provide instructions.

#### **4.7 CONCLUSION**

In the above chapter, I discussed the grammatical expressions of Iquito mood, including the semantic contexts and the structural differences between realis and irrealis mood, negation constructions and their structural realization influenced by mood, conditionals and counterfactuality, CF wishes and desideratives, and imperatives and jussives. The terms realis/irrealis are language-specific to some degree as they correspond to two different constructions which are consistently used in sentences of certain modal functions. However, there is not a single meaning assigned for either realis or irrealis mood. When used in non-CF sentences (i.e. affirmative and negative declaratives, interrogatives, non-CF conditionals), the choice between realis and irrealis mood coincides with a speaker's assessment of time. That is to say, realis mood is chosen for past, present, and immediate future situations and irrealis mood is chosen for near future and more distant future situations. When used in CF sentences (CF statements and conditionals), desideratives, and potential future/optatives, the choice between realis and irrealis mood lies in the speaker's assessment of factuality. To be exact, irrealis mood, used with a specialized CF morpheme, is chosen for unreal (i.e. PresCF) or unrealizable (i.e. PastCF) situations. The choice of irrealis mood in desideratives and potential future/optative constructions arguably reflect the assessment of both time and factuality.

Imperatives display structural properties of both realis and irrealis mood, and may be considered ambiguous or outside of the system in terms of alignment of realis or irrealis mood. In addition, as realis and irrealis mood in Iquito are realized by a typologically uncommon strategy, word order change, I propose to include this as a grammatical means for the expressions of mood. Finally, I propose that Iquito might once have been a SOV language and changed into an SVO language synchronically.

## Chapter 5: Viewpoint Aspect

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the grammatical expressions of viewpoint aspects in Iquito, including their structural and semantic properties. Comrie (1976: 1-3) indicates that “tense,” as a deictic category, “relates the time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking” and that “aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” Smith (1997: 97) also indicates that “temporal location and aspect are complementary temporal systems. The former locates a situation in time, while the latter specifies the internal temporal structure of the situation.” This dissertation adopts Smith’s (1997[1991]) two-component theory of aspect which includes viewpoint aspects (discussed in §5) and situation aspects (discussed in §6). Viewpoint aspect is conveyed by the grammatical morpheme; situation aspect is conveyed by the verb and its argument. Viewpoint aspects semantically convey boundedness by presenting the situation in part (i.e. *unbounded*, such as Imperfective Aspect) or in its entirety (i.e. *bounded*, such as perfective aspect) (Smith, 2005). Situation aspects are characterized in terms of three covert temporal features: dynamism (i.e. agency), duration (i.e. durative vs. instantaneous), and telicity (i.e. completion and change of state). Telic and non-durative events are intrinsically bounded. The term “situation” includes events (i.e. Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives) and States. These are the five types of “situation aspects,” also termed “situation types.” The characterization of the five situation types in terms of the three temporal features is summarized in the table below. As can be seen, States are [-dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]. Activities are [+dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]. Accomplishments are [+dynamic], [+durative] and [+telic]. Achievements are

[+dynamic], [-durative] and [+telic]. Semelfactives are [+dynamic], [-durative] and [-telic]. Besides duration, detachability also distinguishes Accomplishments from Achievements. This chapter focuses on the viewpoint aspects of Iquito and leaves the situation aspects for discussion in §6.

Table 11. The Characterization of the Five Situation Types

Temporal Features Situation Types	Dynamism	Duration	Telicity
States	-	+	-
Activities	+	+	-
Accomplishments	+	+	+
Achievements	+	-	+
Semelfactives	+	-	-

In terms of formal identity, Dahl & Velupillai (2005: 266) indicate that “traditionally, tense and aspect are seen as grammatical categories of verbs,” but they further comment that “periphrastic constructions...are employed in functions similar to those of inflections”; in addition, “tense and aspect do not always present themselves as separate and neatly delineated categories” and “one and the same grammatical form may combine temporal and aspectual elements in its semantics.” According to Bybee *et al.* (1994), the past tense and perfectives may derive from perfects with respect to grammaticalization paths, and imperfectives from progressives. Therefore, the past tense, perfectives and imperfectives are notably inflectional (i.e. indicated by morphological means) while perfects and progressives are overwhelmingly periphrastic (Dahl and Velupillai, 2005: 266). Out of 222 languages in their sample, only 101 languages have grammatical marking of the perfective/imperfective distinction; their geographical distribution lies “in a band across southern Eurasia from Europe (excluding most of the



northern part) to China (but excluding the Dravidian part of South Asia and all of South-East Asia)...extending into Africa down to the Equator” (p. 267). The parts of the world that do not have a grammatical perfectivity distinction include “Northern Europe outside the Slavic area” and “large parts of South America and South-East Asia” (p.268). They further comment that “the widespread view of tense and aspect as alternatives to each other-that languages tend to be either tense languages or aspect languages” does not hold and state that “in fact, there are considerably more languages in the sample that have both the aspectual and the temporal categories, or neither of the alternatives, than have one only” (p.268). They characterize the imperfective-perfective distinction as “the basic opposition between one form (or set of forms) which is used exclusively or almost exclusively for single completed events in the past and another form (or set of forms) which is used for everything else” (p. 267). Comrie (1976: 4) indicates that “perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation.” Smith (2005) indicates that viewpoint aspects semantically convey boundedness by presenting the situation in part or in its entirety. Therefore, languages that have grammatical aspects (*viewpoint aspect* in Smith’s term) convey perfectivity (i.e. *boundedness*) information directly while aspectless languages achieve this through inference from the situation types (also termed *situation aspect* by Smith) of the verb constellation. As for the temporal location of a situation, temporal interpretation is directly attained from tense in tensed languages as tense provides information about the relation between RT and SpT; however, in tenseless languages, temporal interpretation is indirectly inferred from semantic information of aspects (which encode the relation between RT and SitT and boundedness information) and pragmatic principles of interpretation. Moreover, in

languages with grammatical aspects, temporal interpretation is even more indirectly inferred from the situation types of the verb constellation in conjunction with pragmatic principles. Boundedness information and the relation between RT and SitT are not grammatically conveyed, but are instead inferred through the situation types. Please see §3 for more discussion of temporal interpretation.

In terms of the position of tense-aspect affixes, Matthew S. Dryer (2005: 282) indicates that “morphological indicators of tense-aspect are [verbal] prefixes and suffixes”; in addition, “there are three less common morphological ways to indicate tense-aspect,” including “tone, infixes, and stem changes.” Indeed, out of 1062 languages with tense-aspect categories in his sample, 150 languages use prefixes, 629 use suffixes, 11 use tone, 133 use combinatory strategies with none primary, and the remaining 139 do not have tense-aspect inflection (i.e. by means of separate words, auxiliary verbs, non-inflecting particles, or clitics). He further states that “for many languages, perhaps even a majority, the morphological indicators of tense-aspect on verbs are rather heterogeneous and do not form a single category within the morphological system of the language.” In addition, “there are also many languages which combine prefixes or suffixes with one of the minor strategies.”

In Iquito, verbs, which do not inflect for person and number, obligatorily inflect for tense and aspect in a finite clause, although sometimes either tense or aspect may be realized by the absence of any overt tense-aspect morphology (i.e. Extended Current Tense, General Perfective Aspect in some phonological environments discussed in §5.2). The positions of morphemes inside the verbal complex are fixed as schematized in (502) (repeated from (109)). The optionality and obligatoriness of morphemes are indicated by the presence and absence of parentheses.

(502) (Proclitic) = (Prefix) - Verbal Root<sup>104</sup> - (Derivational Suffix(es)) - Aspect - Tense<sup>105</sup> = (Enclitic) (Particle)

As can be seen, verbal suffixation is the prevailing pattern in Iquito. There is only one verbal prefix attested in Iquito, which is the anterior morpheme *-(+)ta* that goes with the Imperfective Aspect in sentences in the Extended Current Tense to locate an imperfective situation prior to SpT. Tense and aspect information are conveyed by an aspect suffix followed by a tense suffix. Tense and aspect in Iquito are synchronically exclusively verbal formatives and do not attach to nouns or other parts of speech. They are bound morphemes because they have to occur with a verb rather than as a separate word. They are not periphrastic expressions because the sole occurrence of an aspect suffix conveys the aspect information. The position of aspect and tense suffixes are fixed in the verbal complex; therefore, they are structurally homogeneous morphological indicators, as the set of aspect suffixes form a single category within the morphological system while tense suffixes form another. Tense and aspect information are presented, in general, as separate formatives, except in the case of *-(y)aariqu+* which is a portmanteau morpheme encoding both Imperfective Aspect and Distant Past Tense.

In a finite clause, one of the three tenses (i.e. Distant Past Tense, Recent Past Tense, and Extended Current Tense) or the potential/optative *-cuma* has to be used. As for viewpoint aspects, either a perfective or an imperfective aspect is expressed in a sentence. Iquito has a complex system of perfective aspects, including a General, a Momentary, a Remote, two Deictic, an Allative, and an Ablative Perfective Aspect. There is one Imperfective Aspect. In a finite clause, only one aspect can be used and no

---

<sup>104</sup> A verbal stem is used if no derivational suffix is present before the aspect suffix.

<sup>105</sup> The potential/optative *-cuma* structurally patterns with tense formatives. Please refer to §4.5.2 for the discussion.

overlapping combination among the aspects, as in (503), is allowed. Besides using grammatical aspects to convey aspectual meaning, lexical verbs, such as *stop*, can also be used as auxiliaries (inflected for tense and aspect) to convey such a meaning.

- (503) \*Nu=simiita-r++-qui-Ø                      iina    simiím+.  
           3S=read-MMT.PFV-GNR.PFV-EC    DET    book  
           He read this book.

The various viewpoint aspect distinctions discussed in the current chapter are summarized in the following table.

Table 12. Viewpoint Aspects in Iquito

Perfectivity	Name, Gloss and Forms	Semantics
Perfective	General Perfective Aspect (GNR.PFV): -Ø in Distant Past Tense and Recent Past Tense. In Extended Current Tense, -Ø surfaces after a long vowel and -qui surfaces after a short vowel.	It conveys a bounded (i.e. closed) event in which SitT=RT. It generally renders an inceptive reading with an extended period of time in Stative sentences. If used in the future context, it contributes to specify the RT of a situation in the immediate future, generally within the same day of SpT.
	Momentary Perfective Aspect (MMT.PFV): -r++	In a past situation, it conveys an intrinsically bounded Achievement for which it spans a single-stage event with its natural endpoint. For Accomplishments, Semelfactives, and most Activities, it coerces an ‘in-passing’ reading. More specifically, it indicates ‘the event is realized in some place, on the way to some other place, as an interruption of a larger path.’ For Statives, it generally renders an inceptive reading and focuses on the initial endpoints of the States. If used in the future context, it contributes to specify the RT of a situation in the near future, generally from within a few days of SpT up to a month.

	Remote Perfective Aspect (REM.PFV): <i>-maa</i>	Remote Perfective Aspect incorporates an adverbial component. When used in the past context, it indicates an event realized in the morning. When used in the future context, it contributes to specify the RT of situation in the remote future, generally from a month up to two years.
	Deictic Perfective Aspect 1 (DEI1.PFV): <i>-hu++</i>	These two aspects incorporate a deictic component and convey a closed situation plus the discontinuous post-stage in terms of change of location at SpT. With respect to the deictic property, two systems of deixis are represented by Deictic Perfective Aspects: one is the speaker-centered river-oriented deixis and the other is the speaker-centered radial deixis. The formative <i>-hu++</i> is used to indicate upriver orientation or the area in the proximity of the speaker while the formative <i>-cuaa</i> is used to indicate downriver orientation or an area away from the speaker. The switch of the deixis depends on the explicit use of the deictic adverbials.
	Deictic Perfective Aspect 2 (DEI2.PFV): <i>-cuaa</i>	
	Allative Perfective Aspect (ALL.PFV): <i>-sahu++</i>	These two aspects incorporate a directional component. The formative <i>-sahu++</i> conveys a closed situation and includes a preliminary stage, indicating ‘the realization of an event upon arrival at the premises.’ The formative <i>-(y)aar++</i> conveys a closed situation and includes a post-stage, indicating ‘leaving the premises upon realization of the event.’
	Ablative Perfective Aspect (ABL.PFV): <i>-(y)aar++</i>	
Imperfective	Imperfective Aspect (IPFV): <i>-(y)aariqu+</i> in Distant Past Tense. <i>-yaa</i> in Recent Past Tense. In Extended Current Tense, <i>-yaa</i> surfaces after a long vowel and <i>-:</i> surfaces after a short vowel.	The Imperfective Aspect conveys an unbounded situation in which RT=SitT. The specific meaning has to do with situation types and adverbials.

It is noted that the definitions of the terms used for the Iquito aspects are language-specific to some degree and are not necessarily the same as used in the literature on other languages. In addition, the table above only provides a general characterization of these aspects. Their detailed usage, including the use of aspects in imperatives and their meanings, are provided in their respective sections of this chapter. General Perfective Aspect is discussed in §5.2, Momentary Perfective Aspect in §5.3, Remote Perfective Aspect in §5.4, the two Deictic Perfective Aspects in §5.5, Allative and Ablative Perfective Aspects in §5.6 and Imperfective Aspect in §5.7. In §5.8, I draw a conclusion and summary for this chapter.

## **5.2 GENERAL PERFECTIVE ASPECT**

### **5.2.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms**

This section discusses General Perfective Aspect (glossed as GNR.PFV; referred to as GNRPFV hereafter in this chapter) in Iquito. GNRPFV is used in past contexts with realis<sup>106</sup> word order (SVX), in immediate-future<sup>107</sup> contexts with irrealis word order (SXV), and in imperative constructions. This section discusses the first two contexts in detail and briefly includes its use in imperatives which is discussed in detail in §4.6. When used in the past context, it conveys a bounded (i.e. closed) event in which SitT overlaps with RT. It generally renders an inceptive reading in Stative sentences. When the adverbial *jaa* ‘already’ is used, the sentence presents properties of the perfect in which SitT precedes RT. When used in the context of the immediate future, the sentence

---

<sup>106</sup> For a detailed discussion of grammatical mood, please refer to §4.

<sup>107</sup> When speakers talk about events that will take place on the same day, they use different strategies: Imperfective Aspect *-yaa* ~ -: with the realis word order (SVO) if they view the situation as already in progress; General Perfective Aspect *-qui* ~ -∅ with the irrealis word order (SXV) if they view the situation as being realized later on the day of SpT with more distance; Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++* with the irrealis word order (SXV) if they view the situation with even greater temporal distance.

displays irrealis word order and an explicit reference time is usually given, but not required. The sentence indicates that the action will be realized on the same day as SpT.

GNRPFV is not overtly marked in sentences in the Recent Past and Distant Past Tenses. In sentences in the Extended Current Tense, which is formally unmarked, the formative *-qui* surfaces after the verbal stem (i.e. the verbal root with or without derivational suffixes) ending in a short vowel, except when followed by certain clitics, in which case it is unmarked. It is also unmarked after the verbal stem ending in a long vowel. In the following, I provide a paradigm of two verbs with GNRPFV in the context of Distant Past Tense, Recent Past Tense, and Extended Current Tense with an enclitic and without an enclitic. The verbal root *sani-* ‘try’ ends with a short vowel and the verbal root *najuu-* ends with a long vowel. In the following table, the verbs do not contain derivational suffixes after the verbal root. For an explanation in favor of analyzing *-qui* as synchronically an allomorph of GNRPFV instead of an allomorph of Extended Current Tense, please refer to §3.

Table 13. Allomorphs of General Perfective Aspect in Iquito

Tense in the sentence		Verbal Root	
		<i>sani-</i> ‘try’	<i>najuu-</i> ‘write’
Distant Past Tense		<i>Nu=sani-Ø-quiaqu+ nuu.</i> 3S=try-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP 3S He tried it (long time ago).	<i>Nu=najuu-Ø-quiaqu+ nuu.</i> 3S=write-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP 3S He wrote it (long time ago).
Recent Past Tense		<i>Nu=sani- Ø-cura nuu.</i> 3S=try-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S He tried it (the other day).	<i>Nu=najuu- Ø-cura nuu.</i> 3S=write-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S He wrote it (the other day).
Extended Current Tense	without enclitic	<i>Nu=sani-qui- Ø nuu.</i> 3S=try-GNR.PFV-EC 3S He tried (today).	<i>Nu=najuu- Ø- Ø nuu.</i> 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC 3S He wrote it (today).
	realis order with enclitic	<i>Ácari nu=sani-Ø-Ø=quiyaa nuu.</i> now 3S=try=NWR 3S He just tried it.	<i>Ácari nu=najuu-Ø-Ø=quiyaa nuu.</i> now 3S=write=NWR 3S He just wrote it.
	irrealis order with enclitic	<i>Ácari nu=nu=sani-Ø-Ø =quiyaajaa.</i> now 3S=3S=try=NWR He is going to try it now.	<i>Ácari nu=nu=najuu-Ø-Ø =quiyaajaa.</i> now 3S=3S=write=NWR He is going to write it now.

## 5.2.2 Past Context

This section discusses what types of situation GNRPFV appears with and the types of closure it conveys. I then discuss how GNRPFV associates with RT.

### 5.2.2.1 Situation Types and Type of Perfective Closure

GNRPFV appears with all situation types (i.e. Stative, Activity, Accomplishment, Achievement, and Semelfactive). It spans the initial and final endpoints of Activities and Accomplishments, presenting them as closed situations. For Achievements, which are single-stage events and generally apply to Momentary<sup>108</sup> Perfective Aspect (§ 5.3), GNRPFV spans the single-stage interval plus an extended post-stage, indicating that the Achievement situations are realized before a certain reference point, usually the moment of speech if in the present or the time of a past situation if in the past. For the single-stage Semelfactives, GNRPFV views both the single event (with natural final endpoints) and multiple events (with arbitrary final endpoints) of Semelfactives as closed situations. When it appears with Statives, it generally triggers an inceptive reading and spans the initial endpoint plus an extended interval, indicating that the situation begins before a certain reference point. For the inceptive reading of Statives which focuses solely on the initial endpoint (i.e. rather than initial endpoint plus an extended interval), then Momentary Perfective Aspect is usually used. There is one exception with the verb *ihuiini* ‘live, stage-level<sup>109</sup> *be*’ which has a locative interpretation when combined with

---

<sup>108</sup> Achievements use Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++* when an RT, which corresponds to SitT (i.e. the event is realized), is given or implied. When used in sentences in Extended Current Tense, the SitT is understood as being in the proximity of SpT.

<sup>109</sup> Stage-level *be*, which holds of stages of individuals and applies to a state of transitory properties, is the counterpart of individual-level *be*, which holds of individuals. One example of this distinction is the Spanish *estar* and *ser*, respectively.



Distant Past Tense; GNRPFV in this case presents a closed state which no longer obtains. In summary, GNRPFV presents all events as closed situations. As for shifted Stative situations, GNRPFV focuses on the initial endpoint and the extended interval without giving information with respect to its continuation; such sentences are open and are compatible with sentences which assert that the state continues or that the state no longer obtains.

As for the types of closure, for non-stative verb constellations, GNRPFV presents Activities with arbitrary final endpoints, Accomplishments with natural final endpoints or termination, Semelfactives with natural final endpoints as single-stage events and with arbitrary final endpoints as multiple events, and Achievements with single-stage events plus an extended post-stage. When GNRPFV is used with Accomplishments, it generally implies completion. However, termination is suggested if a perfective sentence is coordinated with another sentence which asserts an open situation. Therefore, GNRPFV is terminative instead of completive. Although completion is generally inferred, it is not obligatory and can be further emphasized by an adverbial *p+y++ni* ‘entirely’ or by a lexical verb *p+ca-* ‘finish.’ For Statives, it coerces an initial endpoint of the situation and an extended interval. I give detailed discussions with examples in the following. The following diagram is the general temporal schema for GNRPFV.

Diagram 8. General Perfective Aspect



Examples (504) to (518) in the following show that GNRPFV appears with all types of situations in different tenses.

(504) Accomplishment: Extended Current Tense

Nu=simiita-qui-Ø        iina simiím+.

3S=read-GNR.PFV-EC    DET book

He read this book (today).

(505) Accomplishment: Recent Past Tense

Nu=simiita- Ø-cura        iina simiím+.

3S=read-GNR.PFV-RPST    DET book

He read this book (recently).

(506) Accomplishment: Distant Past Tense

Taariyaajaa    nu=simiita-Ø-quiaqu+        iina simiím+.

a.long.time.ago 3S=read-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    DET book

A long time ago he read this book.

(507) Achievement: Extended Current Tense

Nu=sihuaan+-qui-Ø.

3S=arrive-GNR.PFV-EC

He arrived (half an hour ago or more).

(508) Achievement: Recent Past Tense

Nu=sihuaan+-Ø-cura.

3S=arrive-GNR.PFV-RPST

He arrived (a month ago).

He arrived (yesterday).

(509) Achievement: Distant Past Tense

Nu=sihuaan+-Ø-quiaqu+.

3S=arrive-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

He arrived (a long time ago).

(510) Activity: Extended Current Tense

Qui=maqu+-qui-Ø (maasia).

1S=sleep-GNR.PFV-EC some.hours

I slept (two to three hours).

(511) Activity: Recent Past Tense

Amicaáca cu=ariicua-Ø-cura.

one.day.away 1S=sing-GNR.PFV-RPST

Yesterday I sang.

(512) Activity: Distant Past Tense

Cu=ariicua-Ø-quiaqu+.

1S=sing-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP

I sang (a long time ago).

(513) Semelfactive: Extended Current Tense

Ácari qui=isiin++-Ø-Ø            umaata.

now 1S=cough-GNR.PFV-EC much

I coughed a lot today.

(514) Semelfactive: Recent Past Tense

Nu=isiin++-Ø-cura            cuumi.

3S=cough-GNR.PFV-RPST two

I coughed twice.

(515) Semelfactive: Distant Past Tense

Nu=isiin++-Ø-quiaqu+            (núquiica).

3S=cough-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP one

He coughed (once).

(516) Stative: Extended Current Tense

(Jaa)    núquiica    maaya    iiqui-qui- Ø            tíira    (im+raani).

already one            child    live-GNR.PFV-EC there (again)

One (more) child was born there.

Literally: One more child started to live there.

(517) Stative: Recent Past Tense

Atif            iina    iiqui-Ø-cura=yaa            curaaca.

at.that.time    DET    live-GNR.PFV-RPST=NWR    leader

The village leader revived at that time.

The village leader lived there. (Now he is not there.)

(518) Stative: Distant Past Tense

Umaana iíta iiqui-Ø-quiaqu+ tíira.  
big house exist-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP there

A big house was built there.

Literally: A big house started to exist there a long time ago.

GNRPFV in Iquito presents all events (i.e. Activity, Accomplishment, Achievement, and Semelfactive) as closed. The type of closure is the same for Activities (510)-(512) and Semelfactives (513)-(515). It represents arbitrary final endpoints for Activities. As can be seen from examples (510)-(512), GNRPFV presents closure whether the duration of Activities is specified or not. It represents natural final endpoints of single-stage Semelfactives, as in (515), and represents arbitrary final endpoints of multiple-event (derived) Activities, as in (513)-(514). For Achievements, however, it spans the final endpoint plus an extended post-stage. As can be seen in (507), the sentence is uttered only when the subject of the sentence arrived a while ago already. If the sentence is uttered near the moment of arrival, Momentary Perfective Aspect is used, as in (519).

(519) Jaa iina sihuaan+-r++-Ø quitaaca namuu-ja  
already DET arrive-MMT.PFV-EC girl paint-PST.PART

iina p++=+ta-tasi-ji-i-Ø caa.  
DET 1P.INCL=ANT-wait-SUB.NEG-IPFV-EC NEG

The painted queen that we were not expecting just arrived.

Another example is that the speakers often uttered the following sentence when the mini-disc ran out. I asked if I can utter the sentence (521) instead. They commented that I clearly can, but only when the mini-disc had run out a while ago already and we didn't realize that it was not recording anything anymore.

(520) (Jaa) nu=p+qu+-r++-Ø.  
 (already) 3S=end-MMT.PFV-EC  
 It (already) ran out.  
 Literally: It (already) ended.

(521) Jaa nu=p+qu+-qui-Ø.  
 already 3S=end-GNR.PFV-EC  
 It already ran out (a while ago).  
 Literally: It already ended (a while ago).

The other clear example can be found in the *when*- construction of two Achievement verbs where the *when*- clause indicates an RT and uses Momentary Perfective Aspect. It can be seen that the second clause, which takes place earlier, uses GNRPFV.

(522) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r++-cura tíira=na, jaa  
 when 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST there=CLSF already  
  
 nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iimi najuuni cuumi simiím+-ya.  
 3S=end-GNR.PFV-RPST DET write.INF two letter-PL  
 When I arrived there (yesterday), he had already finished writing two letters.

For Accomplishments, GNRPFV semantically conveys termination instead of completion. Completion is generally inferred and can be cancelled if the perfective sentence is coordinated with another sentence which asserts an open situation as can be seen in (523) and (524). If completion is semantically encoded, such a conjunction should not be possible.

(523) Nu=simiita-cura iina simiím+ (amicaáca),  
 3S=read-RPST DET book (one.day.away)

ca=quija nu=p+ca-Ø-cura nu-simitaani.

NEG=ADVRS 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S-read.INF

He read this book (yesterday), but he didn't finish reading it.

(524) Qui=mii-Ø-cura núquiica iíta.  
 1S=do-GNR.PFV-RPST one house

Qui=mii-yaa-Ø atí=yaa nu-huintana-ca.

1S=do-IPFV-EC at.that.moment=NWR 3S-window-PL

I built a house and I am still making its windows.

Completion is emphasized by an adverbial *p+y++ni* 'entirely' or by a lexical verb *p+ca-* 'finish,' as can be seen in (525) and (526), respectively.

(525) Nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iina simitaani simiím+.

3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST DET read.INF book  
 He finished reading this book.

(526) P+y++ni nu=simiita-Ø-cura iina simiím+.  
 all 3S=read-GNR.PFV-RPST DET book  
 He read this book entirely.

Sentences (525) and (526) are not compatible with a clause which asserts that the event is not completed, as can be seen in (527) and (528) in the following.

(527) #Nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iina simitaani simiím+,<sup>110</sup>  
 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST DET read.INF book  
  
 ca=quija nu=p+ca-Ø-cura nu-simitaani.  
 NEG=ADVRS 3S=finish-EC-RPST 3S-read.INF  
 He finished reading this book, but he didn't finish reading it.

(528) #P+y++ni nu=simiita-Ø-cura iina simiím+,  
 all 3S=read-GNR.PFV-RPST DET book  
  
 ca=quija nu=p+ca-Ø-cura nuu.  
 NEG=ADVRS 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S  
 He read this book entirely, but he didn't finish it.

---

<sup>110</sup> The pound sign # is used to indicate semantically ill-formed sentences. Examples (527) and (528) are each composed of two clauses which are grammatical individually. However, when combined together, they become semantically weird.



The closed reading of the perfective viewpoint can be further confirmed by the sequential reading in the *after-* clause as in (529).

- (529) Amicaáca nu=simiita-Ø-cura. Atííjjaa, nu=asa-Ø-cura.  
 one.day.away 3S=read-GNR.PFV-RPST afterwards 3S=eat-GNR.PFV-RPST  
 Yesterday he read. Afterwards, he ate.

GNRPFV conveys closed readings in the *when-* constructions as well. Whether the situation in the *when-* clause is realized before that in the principal clause or after that in the principal clause depends on which temporal adverbial or temporal connective<sup>111</sup> is used. In (530), the event of [he receive money] takes place before the event of [he buy a beer]. The two clauses are connected by the temporal connective *atíí* ‘then, at that moment/location’ which points to the time when the event [he receive money] is realized. In (531), repeated from (522), the event of [he arrive] takes place after the event of [he finish writing two letters]. The principal clause begins with the temporal adverbial *jaa* ‘already’ which places the SitT of [he finish writing two letters] before the RT which is introduced by the event of [he arrive]. Both sentences (530) and (531) render sequential readings.

- (530) J++ticari nu=mas++-Ø-cura cuuriqui, atíí  
 when 3S=receive-GNR.PFV-RPST money at.that.moment  
  
 nu=mas++-Ø-cura núquiica cerveza

---

<sup>111</sup> For a detailed discussion of temporal connectives, please refer to §7.3.

3S=receive-GNR.PFV-RPST one beer

When he received money, he bought a beer.

(531) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r++-cura tíira=na,  
when 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST there=CLSF

jaa nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iimi najuuni cuumi simiím+-ya.

already 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST DET write.INF two letter-PL

When I arrived there (yesterday), he had already finished writing two letters.

When the GNRPFV appears in Stative sentences, it generally triggers an inceptive reading, as in (516)-(518) above. The Stative verb *ihuiini* ‘live, stage-level be’ generally combines with Imperfective Aspect and indicates the meaning that ‘a person/being/thing lives or exists,’ ‘a person/being/thing is located in a certain place,’ or ‘a person is in a certain (emotional) state.’ When combined with GNRPFV, the sentence renders an inceptive reading. GNRPFV, however, does not only coerce an initial point of the State, it actually spans the initial endpoint plus an extended interval, indicating that the situation begins before the RT. Compare the sentence (532) and (533) below. Example (532) is used at the moment or right after the moment of the village leader’s revival. Example (533) is used after the event takes place a while already. It can be seen that for the inceptive reading of Statives which focuses solely on the initial endpoint, Momentary Perfective Aspect is used.

(532) Iina iiqui-r++-Ø=quiyaa<sup>112</sup> curaaca.

<sup>112</sup> The clitic =*yaajaa* functions as a temporal narrowing device in the context of a temporal expression. It indicates the proximity (expressions such as *just* or *soon*) around RT. If no explicit expression of time point

DET live-MMT.PFV=NWR leader

The village leader just revived.

(533) Iina iiq̄i-∅-∅=quiyaā curaaca.

DET live-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR leader

The village leader (really) revived quite recently.

In (534) and (535), the verb *pariini* ‘be able to’ generally combines with Imperfective Aspect and indicates the meaning that ‘a person is capable of doing something.’ When combined with Momentary or General Perfective Aspect, the sentences render an inceptive reading. The consultant Ligia gave the following scenario: A person went to collect some firewood. It was too heavy so he could not carry it. He kept trying and finally stood up with the entire pile of firewood. The sentence (534) can be uttered at this moment by other people. He went on walking for a while. The sentence (535) can be uttered by other people.

(534) Nu=parii-r++-∅ nu-anitaani.

3S=can-MMT.PFV-EC 3S-carry.INF

He managed to carry it.

(535) Nu=parii-∅-∅ nu-anitaani.

3S=can-GNR.PFV-EC 3S-carry.INF

He managed to carry it already.

---

or interval is indicated, the RT is understood as either overlapping with SpT or being fairly recent with respect to SpT, depending on the use of aspect. The form of =*yaajaa* surfaces as =*quiyaajaa* in the sentences in Extended Current Tense. The ‘*jaa*’ part is not pronounced if not in the sentence-final position.

In (536) and (537), the verb *nacusiini* ‘know’ also usually combines with Imperfective Aspect and means ‘a person has the knowledge of something,’ ‘a person/being knows in a dispositional sense,’ or ‘a person is acquainted with someone.’ When combined with Momentary or General Perfective Aspect, the sentences render an inceptive reading. The speaker Ligia gave the following scenario: A person did not know how to weave leaves and was learning. When he started to weave well, (536) could be uttered. When he wove a while or later in the same day, (537) could be uttered.

(536) Nu=nacusi-r+-Ø            naam+    taniini.  
           3S=know-MMT.PFV-EC leaves    weave.INF  
           He now knows how to weave leaves.

(537) Nu=nacusi-qui-Ø            naam+    taniini.  
           3S=know-GNR.PFV-EC leaves    weave.INF  
           He already knows how to weave leaves.

It is worth noting that Stative sentences with an inceptive reading can freely combine with a momentary temporal adverbial, as in (538) and (539).

(538) Tiijicuaji    nu=nacusi-r+-Ø            naam+    taniini.  
           suddenly    3S=know-MMT.PFV-EC leaves    weave.INF  
           All of a sudden, he knows how to weave leaves.

(539) Tiijicuaji    nu=nacusi-qui-Ø            nuu.

suddenly 3S=know-GNR.PFV-EC 3S

Within a few moments, he made friends with him already.

There is one exception with the verb *ihuiini* ‘live, stage-level be’ which has locative interpretation in Distant Past Tense, as in (540). GNRPFV in this case presents a closed state which no longer obtains, as in (541)-(543). Examples (540) and (541) indicate that the state has ended and that the subject of the sentence no longer lives in Iquitos anymore, a closed interpretation.

(540) Stative: Distant Past Tense

Qui=iiqui-Ø-quiaqu+ Iquito-jina (p+y++ni pucurica amariaana).

1S=live-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP Iquitos-LOC all fingers year

I lived in Iquitos (for ten years).

(541) Qui=iiqui-Ø-quiaqu+ Iquito-jina.

1S=live-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP Iquitos-LOC

Ácari ca=qui=iiqui-i-Ø Iquito-jina.

now NEG=1S=live-IPFV-EC Iquitos-LOC

I lived in Iquitos. Now I don’t live in Iquitos.

(542) #Qui=iiqui-Ø-quiaqu+ Iquito-jina.

1S=live-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP Iquitos-LOC

Atif qui=iiqui-i-Ø=quiyaa tíira.

at.that.moment 1S=live-IPFV-EC=NWR there

I lived in Iquitos. Now I still live there.

- (543) \*Qui=iiqui-Ø-quiaqu+            íiti    p+y++ni qui-ihuiini.  
1S=live-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    here    all            1S-live.INF  
I lived here all my life.

As Ligia commented, to indicate that the state from a long time ago has continued into the present and that the subject still lives in Iquitos, Imperfective Aspect with Extended Current Tense has to be adopted, as in (544) and (545).

- (544) Qui=iiqui-i-Ø            íiti    qui-niiya=jina            p+y++ni qui-ihuiini.  
1S=live-IPFV-EC    here    1S-homeland=LOC            all            1S-live.INF  
I have lived here in my hometown all my life.

- (545) Íiti qui=cum+-Ø-quiaqu+            qui-niiya=jina.  
here 1S=be.born-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    1S-homeland=LOC

Atíí            qui=iiqui-i-Ø=quiyaajaa.

at.that.moment 1S=live-IPFV-EC=NWR

I was born here in my hometown. Now I still live here.

In sentences in the Extended Current Tense and Recent Past Tense, to indicate a state with locative interpretation which does not obtain anymore, Deictic Perfective Aspects<sup>113</sup> are usually used, as in (546) and (547).

(546) Nu=iiqui-hu++-Ø cáami.  
 3S=live-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver  
 He was there upriver.

(547) Naami nu=iiqui-cuaa-Ø.  
 downriver 3S=live-DEI2.PFV-EC  
 He was there downriver.

Shifted Stative situations with the inceptive reading, on the other hand, focus on the initial endpoint and the extended interval without giving information with respect to the situation's continuation. Such sentences are open and are compatible with sentences which assert that the state continues, as in (548), or that the state no longer obtains, as in (549).

(548) Jaa nu=nacusi-qui-Ø naam+ taniini iina taaríqui.  
 already 3S=know-GNR.PFV-EC leaves weave.INF DET morning

Ácari nu=nacusi-i-Ø ajapaa nuu.  
 now 3S=know-IPFV-EC FRUST 3S

This morning, he already knew how to weave leaves. Now he still knows it.

---

<sup>113</sup> For a detailed discussion on Deictic Perfective Aspects *-hu++* and *-cuaa*, please refer to §5.5.

(549) Jaa nu=nacusi-qui-Ø naam+ taniini iina taaríqui.  
 already 3S=know-GNR.PFV-EC leaves weave.INF DET morning

Níinaqui nu=ariihuata-qui-Ø naam+ taniini.  
 night 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC leaves weave.INF

This morning, he already knew how to weave leaves. In the night, he forgot how to weave leaves.

In summary, GNRPFV in Iquito presents a sentence with the endpoint properties of its situation type schema for Activities and Semelfactives. For Accomplishments, it presents closed situations with terminative endpoints. For Achievements, it presents closed situations with their natural endpoints plus an extended post-stage. For most States, it presents coerced initial endpoints with an extended interval.

#### 5.2.2.2 Reference Time and General Perfective Aspect

As mentioned above, GNRPFV is mostly used in a past context and conveys a bounded event in which SitT=RT. Consider the following sentence. In (550), the temporal adverb *amicaáca* ‘one day away’ specifies the reference time and also the time when the event took place.

(550) Amicaáca qui=iicua-Ø-cura tíira naqui-cuura.  
 one.day.away 1S=go-GNR.PFV-RPST there forest-DST  
 Yesterday I went to the forest.



However, when the adverb *jaa* ‘already’ is attached to it, the sentence presents properties of the perfect which is SitT<RT, as (531) above, and (551)-(554) below. It conveys that situation time precedes reference time. Example (551) contains Extended Current Tense which provides an RT frame from the day of SpT extending into the infinite future. Without any temporal adverbial, the more precise temporal location is inferred to be prior to SpT.<sup>114</sup> With an explicit temporal adverb, such as *jaa* ‘already,’ the temporal location is specified. The event [he read this book] took place before the present moment.

(551) *Jaa nu=simiita-qui iina simiim+.*  
 already 3S=read-GNR.PFV DET book  
 He already read this book.

In (552), the specified RT of the principal clause is ‘the moment when you arrived there this morning.’ The event [I eat] took place before the specified RT.

(552) *Ácari taaríqui j++ticari quia=sihuaan+-r++-Ø tíira,*  
 now morning when 2S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC there  
  
*jaa iyácari j++ticari cu=asa-qui-Ø jaari.*  
 already at.that.moment when 1S=eat-GNR.PFV-EC already  
 This morning when you arrived there, at that moment I had already eaten.

---

<sup>114</sup> See §3 for a detailed discussion on temporal interpretation and information.

In (553), the RT of the principal clause is ‘the moment when I arrived yesterday.’ The event [he leave] took place before RT.

(553) Amicaáca      j++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r++-cura,jaa      nu=iicua-Ø-cura.  
 one.day.away when    1S=arrive-MMT.PFV    already 3S=go-GNR.PFV-RPST  
 Yesterday when I arrived, he already left.

Sentence (554) is a question and was elicited in the following context: the addressee being asked moved to the speaker’s village several years ago and the speaker asks if the addressee met the speaker’s brother before moving to the village. The RT of the principal clause is ‘the moment when you arrived that year.’ The event [you meet (you start to know)] took place before the RT.

(554) J++ticari quia=ani-Ø-quiaqu+                      iina    amariaana=jina,  
 when      2S=come-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    DET    year=LOC  
  
 jaa      quia=nacusi-Ø-quiaqu+                      cu-atamajani?  
 already 2S=know-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    1S-brother  
 When you came that year, did you know my brother already?

It is worth noting that *jaa* ‘already’ indicates that SitT<RT. Therefore, it is not compatible with the enclitic =*yaa(jaa)* which anchors to RT and indicates that SitT=RT, as in (555) and (556).

(555) \*Ácari jaa      iina=iri-r++-Ø=quiyaa                      aaca.

now      already    DET=boil-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR    water

Fairly recently the water just began to boil already.

(556) \*Jaa      iina=iri-r++-Ø=quiyaa                      aaca.

already    DET=boil-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR    water

The water just began to boil already.

### 5.2.3 Immediate-Future Context and Imperatives

GNRPFV is mostly used in a past context, but can also be used to refer to events which will take place on the same day of SpT. In addition, it is also used in imperative constructions of Activities and Accomplishments. In this section, I discuss the use in these contexts.

#### 5.2.3.1 Immediate Future Context

When referring to future situations, speakers use different strategies according to temporal distance, relative to SpT. When speakers talk about events that will take place on the same day, they very often use Imperfective Aspect *-yaa ~ -:* with realis word order (SVX), seeing the SpT as part of the entire situation, hence already in progress. They can also use GNRPFV *-qui ~ -Ø* with irrealis word order (SXV), seeing the situation as more distant temporally and SpT as not part of the entire situation. An utterance of this type is less common, but is sometimes encountered. Finally, they can also use Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++* with irrealis word order (SXV), seeing the situation with even greater temporal distance. The difference between the second (GNRPFV with irrealis word order) and the third (Momentary Perfective Aspect with the irrealis word order)

strategies is that the second strategy does not require an explicit temporal reference and the situation is understood to be realized later in the same day of SpT. The third strategy, however, requires an explicit temporal reference if the sentence indicates an event which will take place on the same day. Without a specific temporal reference, the interpretation is that the event will take place within a few days up to a month. To refer to a longer distance in time, Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* with irrealis word order is used. The interpretation is that the event will take place within a month, up to a few years. To refer to an even longer temporal distance, Imperfective Aspect *-yaa ~ -:*, in combination with the potential/optative *-cuma* and irrealis word order, is used. The interpretation is that the event will presumably take place in the very distant future.

Example (557) is uttered in the late afternoon and speakers choose to use realis word order with Imperfective Aspect.

- (557) *Ácari iina níinaqui, qui=maqu+-i-Ø suhuaata.*  
 now DET night 1S=sleep-IPFV-EC well  
 Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

Examples (558) and (560) are uttered in the morning. Example (559) is uttered in the afternoon. Both Hermico and Ema use irrealis word order plus GNRPFV. Jaime commented that sentence (558) is good for him, but he prefers to use Momentary Perfective Aspect *-r++* instead, as in (560). In all three sentences, an explicit temporal reference is given.

- (558) *Ácari iina níinaqui, qui=suhuaata maqu+-qui-Ø.*  
 now DET night 1S=well sleep-GNR.PFV-EC

Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

(559) Quia=niínaqui ani-qui-Ø,

2S=night come-GNR.PFV-EC

quia=niqui-sahu+-Ø p+y++ni najuu-ja jaa.

2S=see-ALL.PFV-EC all write-PST.PART already

When you come in the night, you will see, upon arrival, everything already written.

(560) Ácari iina níínaqui, qui=suhuaata maqu+-r++-Ø.

now DET night 1S=well sleep-MMT.PFV-EC

Tonight, I am going to sleep well.

It is worth noting that no explicit temporal reference is required when GNRPFV is used in the future context. The event is understood to be realized later in the same day, as in (561). The speakers were talking about a football team which needs a coach. The game will take place in the near future which corresponds to the use of *-r++* with the irrealis word order. The speakers commented that they will look for a coach today to start directing them today, which corresponds to the use *-qui ~ -Ø* with irrealis word order.

(561) Can++ca p+-mayasiini carii-nii-r++-Ø? P+=núquiica

who 1P.INCL-play.INF look-APPL-MMT.PFV-EC 1P.INCL=one

caaya pani-qui-Ø iinajaa p+=carii-nii-Ø-Ø.

person look.for-GNR.PFV-EC REL 1P.INCL=look-APPL-GNR.PFV-EC

Who will direct our game? We will look for a person who will direct us.

Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* is used with irrealis word order when referring to a more distant future. The speaker Jaime commented that the event in example (562) will eventually take place, but it will take a longer time. Hermico commented that the time the event will take place ranges from 10 days to a few months with respect to SpT.

- (562) Taana yahu++ni=jina, qui=quianajuu-nii-maa-Ø núquiica simiím+.  
other day=LOC 1S=2S write-APPL-REM.PFV-EC one letter  
Some day, I will write you a letter.

When an even more distant future is referred to, Imperfective Aspect, potential/optative *-cuma* and irrealis word order are used, as in (563). Jaime and Hermico commented that when the following sentence is uttered, the speaker does not guarantee the writing of letter. He might not write a letter after all. Hermico further commented, when I asked about this sentence, that he feels there is no hope of receiving the letter from me because there is no certainty expressed by the sentence.

- (563) TÁCari yahu++ni=jina, qui=quia najuu-nii-yaa-cuma-Ø núquiica simiím+.  
other day=LOC 1S=2S write-APPL-IPFV-POT-EC one letter  
One day, I might write you a letter.

### 5.2.3.2 Imperatives

In addition to the declarative constructions, GNRPFV is also used in imperatives of Activities and Accomplishments. Speakers use this construction to order or request a person (who is usually next to them) to perform the action at the same place where they are. For imperatives which involve the motion of the subject, Deictic Perfective Aspects are used instead. I provide a few examples here. For a detailed discussion of imperative constructions, please refer to §4.6.1.

(564) Siqu+-qui!

jump-GNR.PFV

Jump!

(565) Carii-nii nuu!

look-APPL 3S

Take care of him!

(566) Niqui-qui iina!

see-GNR.PFV DET

See this!

(567) Ariicua-qui!

sing-GNR.PFV

Sing!

(568) Maqu+-qui!

sleep-GNR.PFV

Sleep!

#### **5.2.4 Summary**

In this section, I discussed the use and the meaning of GNRPFV in Iquito. GNRPFV is mostly used in a past context with realis word order (SVX). In addition, it is also used with irrealis word order (SXV) in the context of the immediate future to indicate a situation on the same day of SpT. Finally, it is used in imperatives of Activities and Accomplishments. This section discussed the first two uses of GNRPFV in detail and briefly included its use in imperatives. In a past context, it conveys a bounded event in which Sit=RT. When the adverbial *jaa* ‘already’ is used, the sentence presents properties of the perfect in which Sit<RT. Perfective Statives generally render an inceptive reading. As for the type of closure, GNRPFV presents a sentence with the endpoint properties of its situation type schema for Activities and Semelfactives. For Accomplishments, it presents closed situations with terminative endpoints. For Achievements, it presents closed situations with their natural endpoints plus an extended post-stage. For most States, it presents coerced initial endpoints with an extended interval.

### **5.3 MOMENTARY PERFECTIVE ASPECT**

#### **5.3.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms**

This report discusses Momentary Perfective Aspect (glossed as MMT.PFV; referred to as MMTPFV hereafter in this chapter) in Iquito. MMTPFV is used in past



contexts with realis<sup>115</sup> word order (SVX), in near-future contexts with irrealis word order (SXV), and in imperative constructions of Achievements. This work discusses the first two uses in detail and briefly includes the imperative use.<sup>116</sup> MMTPFV appears with all situation types. In past contexts, it conveys an intrinsically bounded Achievement for which it spans the single-stage event with its natural endpoint. For Accomplishments, Semelfactives, and most Activities, it coerces an ‘in-passing’ reading. More specifically, it indicates ‘the event is realized in some place, on the way to some other place, as an interrupting activity within a larger path.’ For Statives, it generally renders an inceptive reading which focuses on the initial endpoints of States.

MMTPFV also appears with all situation types in the context of the near future. Such sentences display irrealis word order and an explicit temporal reference is usually given. Without an explicit temporal reference, the situation is interpreted as one that will be realized within a few days or within up to a month. With an explicit temporal reference, it can be used to indicate a situation which will be realized later in the same day of SpT, the following day, or further in the future. The ‘in passing’ reading does not arise in the use of a future context. In imperative constructions, MMTPFV is only used with Achievements.

MMTPFV is marked as *-r++* in all clauses. In the following, I provide a paradigm of two verbs with MMTPFV in sentences in the Distant Past Tense, Recent Past Tense, Extended Current Tense not followed by an enclitic, followed by a clitic, and the context of near future. The verbal root *sihuaan+-* ‘arrive’ ends with a short vowel and the verbal root *najuu-* ‘write’ ends in a long vowel. It can be seen in the table that MMTPFV does not have allomorphs due to the change of the phonological environment.

---

<sup>115</sup> For a detailed discussion on grammatical mood, please refer to §4.

<sup>116</sup> Please see §4.6 for a detailed discussion on imperatives.

Table 14. Momentary Perfective Aspect in Iquito

Tense in the sentence		Verbal Root	
		<i>sihuaan+</i> - ‘arrive’	<i>najuu-</i> ‘write’
Distant Past Tense		<i>Nu=sihuaan+-r++-quiaqu+</i> . 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP He arrived (a long time ago).	<i>Nu=najuu-r++-quiaqu+</i> 3S=write-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP  <i>núquiica simiím+</i> . one letter He wrote a letter in passing (a long time ago).
Recent Past Tense		<i>Nu=sihuaan+-r++-cura.</i> 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST He arrived (the other day).  <i>Atii nu=sihuaan+-r++-cura=yaa(jaa).</i> He arrived at the same place (the other day).	<i>Nu=najuu-r++-cura núquiica simiím+</i> . 3S=write-MMT.PFV-RPST one letter He wrote a letter in passing (the other day).
Extended Current Tense	without enclitic	<i>Nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.</i> 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC He arrived.	<i>Nu=najuu-r++-Ø</i> 3S=write-MMT.PFV-EC  <i>ácari núquiica simiím+</i> . one letter He wrote a letter in passing today.
	realis order with enclitic	<i>Ácari nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø=quiyajaa.</i> now 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR He just arrived.	<i>Ácari nu=najuu-r++-Ø=quiyaa</i> now 3S=write-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR  <i>núquiica simiím+</i> . one letter He just wrote a letter in passing.
	irrealis order with enclitic	<i>Jaa nu=ácari=sihuaan+-r++=quiyaa</i> already 3S=now=arrive-MT.PFV=NWR  <i>jaari.</i> already He is going to arrive now.	<i>Ácari nu=nu=najuu-r++=quiyaa</i> now 3S=3S=write-MMT.PFV=NWR  <i>iyáracata.</i> fast He is going to write it now really fast.

### 5.3.2 Past Context: Situation types, Type of Perfective Closure and Reference Time

This section discusses the situation types MMTPFV appears with and the meanings it conveys, including how MMTPFV associates with RT.

MMTPFV appears with all situation types (i.e. Stative, Activity, Accomplishment, Achievement, and Semelfactive). It spans intrinsically bounded single-

stage Achievements. For Statives, it coerces derived Achievements which focus on the instantaneous initial endpoints. For Accomplishments, multiple-event Semelfactives, and most Activities, it associates the temporal schema to a short interval of time and triggers an ‘in-passing’ reading. More specifically, it indicates ‘the event is realized in some place, on the way to some other place.’ Finally, for certain Motion Activities, such as ‘swim’ and ‘run,’ it renders an inceptive ‘fast’ reading which focuses on the initial point of the fast part of Activities in which the actions are realized rapidly. I give detailed discussions with examples in the following.

Examples (569) to (583) in the following show that MMTPFV appears with all types of situations in different tenses.

(569) Accomplishment: Extended Current Tense

Nu=najuu-r++-Ø            núquiica simiím+ cáamicu-cu.  
 3S=write-MMT.PFV-EC    one    letter    upriver-LOC.upriver  
 He wrote a letter in passing (today).

(570) Accomplishment: Recent Past Tense

Amicaáca    nu=najuu-r++-cura            núquiica simiím+.  
 one.day.away    3S=write-MMT.PFV-RPST one    letter  
 He wrote a letter in passing yesterday.

(571) Accomplishment: Distant Past Tense

Íiti    nu=najuu-r++-quiaqu+            núquiica simiím+.  
 here    3S=write-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP one    letter  
 He wrote a letter here in passing (a long time ago).

(572) Achievement: Extended Current Tense

Nu=inica-r++-Ø.

3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC

He woke up.

(573) Achievement: Recent Past Tense

Amicaáca nu=inica-r++-cura taaríqui.

one.day.away 3S=wake.up.MMT.PFV-RPST morning

Yesterday he woke up in the morning.

(574) Achievement: Distant Past Tense

Nu=inica-r++-quiaqu+ taaríqui.

3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP morning

He woke up in the morning.

(575) Activity: Extended Current Tense

Nu=asa-r++-Ø íiti.

3S=eat-MMT.PFV-EC here

He ate here in passing.

(576) Activity: Recent Past Tense

Amicaáca nu=asa-r++-cura íiti cáamicu-cu.

one.day.away 3S=eat-MMT.PFV-RPST here upriver-LOC.upriver

Yesterday he ate here on his way upriver.

(577) Activity: Distant Past Tense

Nu=asa-r+-quiaqu+            íiti    cáamicu-cu.  
3S=eat-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP   here   upriver-LOC.upriver  
He ate here on his way upriver.

(578) Semelfactive: Extended Current Tense

Nu=isiin+-r+-Ø            tíiracu-ma.  
3S=cough-MMT.PFV-EC    there-LOC  
He coughed in passing to somewhere.

(579) Semelfactive: Recent Past Tense

Amicaáca        nu=isiin+-r+-cura            tíiracu-ma.  
one.day.away    3S=cough-MMT.PFV-RPST    there-LOC  
Yesterday he coughed in passing to somewhere.

(580) Semelfactive: Distant Past Tense

Nu=isiin+-r+-quiaqu+            tíiracu-ma.  
3S=cough-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP    there-LOC  
He coughed here in passing.

(581) Stative: Extended Current Tense

Nu=nacusi-r+-Ø            naam+ taniini.  
3S=know-MMT.PFV-EC    leaves    weave.INF  
He now knows how to weave leaves.

(582) Stative: Recent Past Tense

Tiijicuaji nu=nacusi-r++-cura naam+ taniini.

suddenly 3S=know-MMT.PFV-RPST leaves weave.INF

All of a sudden, he knew how to weave leaves.

(583) Stative: Distant Past Tense

Tiijicuaji nu=nacusi-r++-quiaqu+ naam+ taniini.

suddenly 3S=know-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP leaves weave.INF

All of a sudden, he knew how to weave leaves.

### *Achievements*

MMTPFV spans the temporal schema of intrinsically bounded single-stage Achievements which are “instantaneous events that result in a change of state” (Smith, 1997). In a sentence where it appears, an explicit temporal reference which corresponds to SitT is usually given, as in (573) and (574) above. In sentences in the Extended Current Tense, the moment of the Achievement event is understood as being realized in the proximity of SpT, as can be seen in (584) and (585). Note that (584) is uttered without the temporal adverb *jaa* ‘already.’ When the sentence is repeated again, *jaa* ‘already’ is added. Within about five to ten minutes from the moment when the Achievement event is realized, (585) is used. Sentence (586) is used when the subject of the sentence has woken up for at least half an hour or more.

(584) (Jaa) nu=iniica-r++-Ø.

(already) 3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC

He (already) woke up.

- (585) Ácari nu=iniica-r++-Ø=quiyaa jaari.  
now 3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR already  
He just woke up.

- (586) Jaa nu=iniica-qui-Ø.  
Already 3S=wake.up-GNR.PFV-EC  
He already woke up a while ago.

Sentence (587) is another pertinent example to show that MMTPFV is used corresponding to the moment when the Achievement event is realized. The mother is talking to the baby, complaining that she is still cooking and cannot attend to him right at this moment. MMTPFV is used in the first sentence.

- (587) ++, jaa quia=iniica-r++-Ø maaya.  
ah already 2S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC child

Qui=capi-i-Ø atí=yajaa.  
1S=cook-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR  
Ah, you woke up already, child. I am still cooking now.

In sentences in the Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense, MMTPFV is used when the moment the Achievement event takes place is given by an explicit temporal reference, as in (573) and (574), implied by temporal terms, such as *j++ticari* ‘when,’ as in (588) and

(589), or understood as happening on a particular day, as in (590). When the clause of an Achievement event serves as the RT of the other clause, MMTPFV is also used. In (588), the moment of [I arrive] serves as the RT of the principal clause; MMTPFV is used on the verb *sihuaan+*- ‘arrive.’ The event [he finish writing two letters] takes place prior to the indicated RT. Therefore, GNRPFV is used with the Achievement verb *p+ca-* ‘finish’ together with the temporal adverb *jaa* ‘already.’

- (588) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r++-cura tíira=na,  
 when 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST there=CLSF already
- jaa nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iimi najuuni cuumi simiím+-ya.  
 already 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST DET write.INF two letter-PL
- When I arrived there (yesterday), he had already finished writing two letters.

In (589), the child does not stop talking until the moment when the movie ends. The Achievement verb *p+qu+-* ‘end’ uses MMTPFV. The Achievement verb *quit++-* ‘stop,’ again, uses MMTPFV.

- (589) Cu-ajinani cuhuasii-qui-Ø iyácari-iira=yaajaa  
 1S-grandchild talk-GNR.PFV-EC the.moment-GOAL=NWR
- j++ticari iina p+qu+-r++-Ø piricura.  
 when DET end-MMT.PFV-EC movie
- Atif nu=quit++-r++-Ø cuhuasiini.



at.that.moment 3S=stop-MMT.PFV-EC talk.INF

My grandson talked until the movie ended. From that moment, he stopped talking.

In (590), the event [Natalia arrive] is understood as taking place on the day prior to the day of SpT.

(590) Jaa Natari sihuaan+-r++-cura im+raani?  
already Natalia arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST again  
Did Natalia arrive again (yesterday)?

Consultants commented that when (591) is used, it means that the person already arrived a few months ago.

(591) Jaa nu=sihuaan+-Ø-cura.  
already 3S=arrive-GNR.PFV-RPST  
He already arrived.

Besides the Achievements discussed above, other frequent uses of Achievements with MMTPFV are presented in the following.

(592) Jaa nu=san+-r++-Ø.  
already 3S=get.up-MMT.PFV-EC  
He already got up.

(593) Amicaáca j++ticari nu=jicat+-r++-cura pacaricura=na,

one.day.away when 3S=exit-MMT.PFV-RPST patio=CLSF

qui=cuhuasiita-Ø-cura nuu.

1S=converse-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S

Yesterday when he came outside (of the house), I talked to him.

(594) P+=p+ca-r++-Ø (tarahuajuuni).

1P.INCL=finish-MMT.PFV-EC work.INF

We finished (working).

(595) Nu=p+qu+-r++-Ø.

3S=end-MMT.PFV-EC

It ended.

When a person changes his position from lying down to being upright, he is getting up. The verb *san+-* ‘get up,’ as in (592), encodes an instantaneous event when the change of state results. This can be seen from the fact that it is compatible with a punctual adverb, as in (596).

(596) Nu=san+-r++-Ø yahu++ni-+j+qu+ya.

3S=get.up-MMT.PFV-EC day-half

He got up at noon.

In addition, Imperfective Aspect is used to indicate the preliminary stage, before the person reaches his upright position, as in (597).

(597) Qui=sani<sup>117</sup>-i-Ø.

1S=get.up-IPFV-EC

I am getting up.

When GNRPFV is used, it means that the person already got up at least half an hour ago.

(598) Jaa nu=san+-qui-Ø jaa.

already 3S=get.up-GNR.PFV-EC already

He already got up a while ago.

The verb *jicat+-* ‘exit’ encodes the instantaneous event of a person exiting the door, or of an animal exiting a hole, among others. When MMTPFV is used, it means the person exited the door without leaving the house too far away, as in (593). Consultants Jaime and Ema commented that when (599) is used, it means an animal came out of a hole or a person exited the door from the house.

(599) Nu=jicat+-r++-Ø.

3S=exit-MMT.PFV-EC

He came out.

The verb *jicat+-* ‘exit’ can be used in the sense of ‘leave’ if followed by Ablative Perfective<sup>118</sup> Aspect *-(y)aar++*, as in (600) and (601). Sentence (600) means that the

---

<sup>117</sup> When the barred /i/ is lengthened as an allomorph of Imperfective Aspect, the vowel quality changes from [ɨ] to [i].

<sup>118</sup> For a detailed discussion on Ablative Perfective Aspect, please refer to §5.6.

person did not only exit the house, but further left the house behind. Sentence (601) indicates that the event of Ligia leaving the house took place yesterday. Therefore, consultants interpreted the sentence to mean that Ligia went on a trip to somewhere out of town.

(600) Jaa nu=jimati<sup>119</sup>-aar++-Ø.  
 already 3S=exit-ABL.PFV-EC  
 He already left.

(601) Amicaáca, Ligia nu=jicati-aar++-cura.  
 one.day.away Ligia 3S=exit-ABL.PFV-RPST  
 Ligia left yesterday.

The transitive verb *p+ca-* ‘finish’ encodes an instantaneous event in which a person finishes a certain task. In contrast, the intransitive verb *p+qu+-* ‘end’ encodes the meaning that an object of a certain quantity runs out, such as a movie ending, a tape finishing recording, a bottle of water running out, among others. It combines with MMTPFV when the above-mentioned events occur. When combined with Ablative Perfective Aspect *-(y)aar++*, it can be used to indicate the ending of a person’s life, as in (602), or a light bulb’s life, as in (603), which do not have a fixed length in Iquito speakers’ mind.

(602) Jaa nu=p+qui-aar++-Ø.  
 already 3S=end-ABL.PFV-EC

---

<sup>119</sup> Hermico pronounces the verb as *jimat+-* while Jaime pronounces the verb as *jicat+-*. In addition, when barred /i/ is followed by the vowel /a/, the vowel quality is changed from [+] to [i].

He is gone already. (His life ended.)

- (603) Níinaqui, nu=p+qui-aar++-Ø.  
night 3S=end-ABL.PFV-EC  
In the night it (the light) ran out.

In addition, the intransitive verb *p+qu+-* ‘end’ can also combine with Ablative Perfective Aspect *-(y)aar++* to mean that a stick disappears in a deep hole full of soft mud, or in a hollow wood trunk. The use with Ablative Perfective Aspect is discussed in detail in §5.6.

- (604) P+y++ni nu=p+qui-aar++-Ø.  
all 3S=end-ABL.PFV-EC  
The entire stick entered and cannot be seen anymore.

### *Statives*

MMTPFV coerces derived Achievements for Statives and focuses on the instantaneous initial endpoints. The stative verb *ihuiini* ‘live, stage-level be’ generally combines with the Imperfective Aspect. When used with MMTPFV, it triggers an inceptive reading, as in (605). Example (605) is used right after the moment of the village leader’s revival. Example (606), with GNRPFV, is used after the event has been taking place for a while already. Hermico commented that sentences (605) and (606) each can have two different readings. It can be that the existing village leader revived or it can be the case that the village did not have a leader and recently nominated one and now they

have a new village leader. Example (607) presents the beginning of a new emotional state of being happy.

(605) Jaa iina iiqi-r+-Ø curaaca.  
already DET live-MMT.PFV-EC leader  
The village leader already revived.

(606) Jaa iina iiqi-qi-Ø curaaca.  
already DET live-GNR.PFV-EC leader  
The village leader revived a while ago.

(607) Amicaáca p+=iiqi-r+-cura suhuaata.  
one.day.away 1P.INCL=live-MMT.PFV-RPST well  
Yesterday we became happy (for some reason).

The verb *pariini* ‘be able to’ generally combines with the Imperfective Aspect. When used with MMTPFV, it renders an inceptive reading, as in (608). The same applies to the verb *nacusiini* ‘know,’ as in (609). For more relevant discussion on the inceptive reading of Statives, please also refer to the discussion on GNRPFV.

(608) Nu=parii-r+-Ø nu-anitaani.  
3S=can-MMT.PFV-EC 3S-carry.INF  
He managed to carry it.

(609) Nu=nacusi-r+-Ø naam+ taniini.

3S=know-MMT.PFV-EC leaves weave.INF

He now knows how to weave leaves.

*'In-Passing' Reading and the inceptive 'Fast' reading*

For Accomplishments, multiple-event Semelfactives, and most Activities, MMTPFV associates the temporal schema to a short interval of time and triggers an 'in-passing' reading, meaning 'the event is realized in some place, on the way to some other place.' For some Motion Activities, such as 'swim' and 'run,' it renders an inceptive 'fast' reading which focuses on the initial point of the fast part of events in which the actions are realized rapidly. The final destinations of these events are usually understood or expressed in the discourse context.

For most Activities, MMTPFV renders an 'in-passing' reading. Example (610) means that a person is traveling and cooked here, on the way to some other place. The sentence renders an 'in passing' reading and does not have a 'fast' reading. As can be seen, it is compatible with the manner adverb *macuaarica* 'slowly.'

(610) Íiti nu=capi-r++-Ø (macuaarica).

Here 3S=cook-MMT.PFV-EC slowly

Here he cooked (slowly) in passing.

A point worthy of note is that the place of passing is assumed to be here, where the sentence is uttered, if it is not specified in the sentence. In addition, the information about the destination of the trip is not always specified, but can be, as in (611).

(611) Amicaáca nu=asa-r++-cura íiti cáamicu-cu.

one.day.away 3S=eat-MMT.PFV-RPST here upriver-LOC.upriver  
Yesterday he ate here on the way upriver.

In (612), the place of passing is right above our heads. The subject of the sentence can be a bird or an airplane.

(612) Nu=+-r+-cura p+-isacuma.  
3S=fly-MMT.PFV-RPST 1P.INCL-above  
It flew past us.

For Accomplishments, MMTPFV also renders an ‘in-passing’ reading, as in (613) and (614). Example (613) means that a person was traveling, but stopped over at a place to read a book then left to continue his trip afterwards. For example in (614), Hermico gave the following scenario. Some family members of a person are looking for him and asked the people in town if he was seen at all. The people in town can answer the question using (614), meaning a long time ago, he wrote a letter here when he was traveling.

(613) Amicaáca nu=simiita-r+-cura iina simiím+.  
one.day.away 3S=read-MMT.PFV-RPST DET letter  
Yesterday he left this book in passing.

(614) Nu=najuu-r+-quiaqu+ núquiica simiím+.  
3S=write-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP one letter  
He wrote a letter in passing a long time ago.



For Semelfactives, it also renders an ‘in-passing’ reading. For (615), the speaker gave the following scenario. A person who coughs a lot passed here when he was on his way to his chacra.<sup>120</sup> When he passed here yesterday, he was coughing.

(615) Amicaáca nu=isiin++-r++-cura.  
one.day.away 3S=cough-MMT.PFV-RPST  
Yesterday he coughed in passing.

For some Motion Activities, such as ‘swim’ and ‘run,’ MMTPFV renders an inceptive ‘fast’ reading and focuses on the initial point of the fast part of events in which actions are realized rapidly. Consultants Jaime and Hermico gave the following scenario about an event of ‘running.’ A running race is about to begin. All the competitors line up and prepare to run. The judge counts to three and all the competitors start to run. At this moment, (616) is used, indicating that Ablative Perfective Aspect *-(y)aar++* encodes the initial points of the running event. When the runners were running, Imperfective Aspect is used, as in (617). One of the runners tried running really fast to arrive at the finish line first. Sentence (618) with MMTPFV is used to describe the initial point of this part of the event. Sentence (619) is used after (618) is uttered.

(616) Jaa na=n+ti-aar++-Ø.  
already 3S=run-ABL.PFV-EC  
They just started to run.

---

<sup>120</sup> Chacra is a local Spanish term, which is a field in which crops and fruit are cultivated, situated away from the village.

(617) Na=n+ti-i-Ø.

3P=run-IPFV-EC

They are running.

(618) Nu=n+t+-r++-Ø (juura amataana).

3S=run-MMT.PFV-EC really strong

He ran very fast (with a lot of effort).

(619) Nu=ar++-r++-Ø iina taana.

3S=pass-MMT.PFV-EC DET other

He passed the other person.

The other example with the inceptive ‘fast’ reading is the Motion verb *musi-* ‘swim.’ Sentence (620) means a person swam really fast in order to reach the river bank or the edge of a lake. Note that the final destination of Motion Activities which use MMTPFV is usually pragmatically understood or expressed in the discourse context.

(620) Nu=musi-r++-Ø iyáracata.

3S=swim-MMT.PFV-EC fast

He swam fast.

### 5.3.3 Near-Future Context and Imperatives

MMTPFV is used in the past as well as in near-future contexts. In addition, it is also used in imperative constructions of Achievements.

### 5.3.3.1 Near-Future Context

MMTPFV *-r++* with irrealis word order (SXV) is used to indicate situations in the near future, the temporal distance of which is not rigidly fixed in terms of a metrical conception of time. Without any explicit temporal reference, the event in the sentence, as it is interpreted, will take place from within a few days up to a month. However, if an explicit temporal reference is given, the time frame a sentence can indicate ranges from an event which will take place on the same day to an event which will occur in one to two years. To refer to a longer distance in time, speakers use Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* with irrealis word order (SXV). The consultants commented that the event will take place from within a month, up to a few years. The boundary between the use of MMTPFV and that of Remote Perfective Aspect in future situations is clearly not rigid and reflects the flexibility of speaker's choice. To refer to an even longer temporal distance, speakers use the Imperfective Aspect *-yaa ~ -:* plus the potential/optative *-cuma*, together with irrealis word order (SXV). The speakers commented that the event will or will not take place a long time later.

Examples (621)-(625) in the following show that MMTPFV appears with all situation types in near-future contexts. It can be seen that the sentences display the SXV pattern for transitive verbs. For intransitive verbs, as in (622)-(624), the adverbs *amicaáca* 'one day away' can optionally cliticize onto the subject, displaying an SXV pattern as well. However, the adverb can also appear in the sentence-initial position, leaving nothing standing between the subject and the verbal complex, in which case the subject does not phonologically fuse with the verbal complex and the phonologically independent form of pronoun is used. For a detailed discussion on the grammatical irrealis mood, please refer to §4.

It is worthy of note that when MMTPFV is used in near-future contexts, it applies to all situation types and does not have shifted readings, such as an ‘in-passing’ reading.

(621) Accomplishment

Amicaáca nu=núquiica simiím+ najuu-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 3S=one letter write-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will write a letter.

(622) Achievement

Amicaáca nuu sihuaan+-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 3S arrive-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will arrive.

(623) Activity

Amicaáca nuu asa-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 3S eat-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will eat.

(624) Semelfactive

Amicaáca nuu isiin+-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 3S cough-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will cough.

(625) Stative

Amicaáca anuu=naam+ nacusi-r++-Ø taniini.

one.day.away 3S=leaves know-MMT.PFV-EC weave.INF

Tomorrow he will know how to weave leaves.

To express an ‘in-passing’ reading in the near-future context, an explicit adverbial clause or phrase is required, as in examples (626)-(633). In (626), the principal clause simply states that the event [he writer a letter] will take place tomorrow. The subordinate adverbial clause narrows down the RT to the time ‘when he passes by.’

(626) Accomplishment with ‘in passing’ reading

Amicaáca nu=núquiica simiím+ najuu-r++-Ø

one.day.away 3S=one letter write-MMT.PFV-EC

j++ticari nu=ar++-r++-Ø.

when 3S=pass-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will write a letter when he passes by.

Example (627) shows that an adverbial phrase can also be used to specify the ‘in-passing’ reading.

(627) Achievement with ‘in passing’ reading

Amicaáca nuu sihuaan+-r++-Ø ar++ni=jata.

One.day.away 3S arrive-MMT.PFV-EC pass.INF=COM

Tomorrow he will arrive in passing.

For the Achievement verb *sihwaan+-* ‘arrive,’ the consultants prefer to use another independent clause to indicate that the subject of the sentence will arrive, but will go soon. They commented that the constellation [he arrive in passing] does not really make sense in Iquito. Instead, the constellation [he pass.by] can be used, as *Amicaáca nuu ar++-r++* ‘tomorrow he will pass by.’

(628) Achievement with ‘in passing’ reading

*Amicaáca nu=iíti sihwaan+-r++-Ø. Atíjijaa, nu=iicua-r++-Ø.*  
 one.day.away 3S=here arrive-MMT.PFV-EC afterwards 3S=go-MMT.PFV-EC  
 Tomorrow he will arrive here. And then, he will leave.

In (629), if the adverbial *cáamicu-cu* ‘towards upriver’ were not used, the sentence would not render an ‘in-passing’ reading. In (630), it is shown that the place of ‘eating’ can be omitted and the adverbial *cáamicu-cu* ‘towards upriver’ can enter the interruptive position between the subject and the verbal complex.

(629) Activity with ‘in passing’ reading

*Amicaáca nu=iíti asa-r++-Ø cáamicu-cu.*  
 one.day.away 3S=here eat-MMT.PFV-EC upriver-LOC.upriver  
 Tomorrow he will eat here on his way upriver.

(630) Activity with ‘in passing’ reading

*Nu=cáamicu-cu asa-r++-Ø.*  
 3S=upriver-LOC.upriver eat-MMT.PFV-EC  
 He will eat on his way upriver.

Example (631) is structurally similar to that of (627).

(631) Semelfactive with ‘in passing’ reading

Amicaáca nu=isiin+-r++-Ø ar++ni=jata.  
one.day.away 3S=cough-MMT.PFV-EC pass.INF=COM  
Tomorrow he will cough in passing.

Example (632) is structurally similar to that of (629) with the use of a different adverbial.

(632) Semelfactive with ‘in passing’ reading

Amicaáca nu=iíti isiin+-r++-Ø tíiracu-ma.  
one.day.away 3S=here cough-MMT.PFV-EC there-LOC  
Tomorrow he will cough on his way there.

Example (633) is structurally similar to that of (626).

(633) Stative with ‘in passing’ reading

Amicaáca nu=iíti nacusi-r++-Ø p+y++ni saacaya  
one.day.away 3S=here know-MMT.PFV-EC all thing

j++ticari nu=ar++-r++-Ø.

when 3S=pass-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will know (the news) here when he passes.

### 5.3.3.2 Imperatives

In addition to declarative constructions, MMTPFV is also used in imperatives of Achievements. Speakers use this construction to order the person who is next to them to perform the action at the same place where they are. For imperatives which involve the motion of the subject, Deictic Perfective Aspects are used instead. When applying MMTPFV to other situation types, the addressee is expected to realize the event in passing. In this section, I provide a couple of common usages. For a detailed discussion on imperative constructions, please refer to §4.6.1.

(634) Tacu-r++!

stand.up-MMT.PFV

Stand up!

(635) Cari-r++!

look-MMT.PFV

Look! (also: Attention!)

### 5.3.4 Summary

In this section, I discussed the use and the meaning of MMTPFV in Iquito. MMTPFV is used in past situations with realis word order (SVX), in near-future situations with irrealis word order (SXV) and in the imperative constructions of Achievements. This section discussed the first two uses in detail and introduced its use in imperatives. In past contexts, it conveys an intrinsically bounded Achievement for which it spans the single-stage event with its natural endpoint. For Accomplishments, Semelfactives, and most Activities, it coerces an ‘in-passing’ reading. For Statives, it



generally renders an inceptive reading which solely focuses on the initial endpoints of the States. In near-future contexts, it is used for all situation types without the ‘in-passing’ reading, which needs to be further specified by an adverbial clause or phrase.

## 5.4 REMOTE PERFECTIVE ASPECT

### 5.4.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms

This section discusses Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa* (glossed as REM.PFV; referred to as REMPFV hereafter in this chapter). In Iquito, GNRPFV and MMTPFV do not incorporate adverbial components while REMPFV encodes an adverbial component. When used in past contexts (i.e. sentences in realis word order), it specifically indicates a perfective situation realized in the morning, including before sunrise. When used in future contexts (i.e. sentences in irrealis word order), it indicates a situation in the remote future. Therefore, when REMPFV is used in a sentence with Extended Current Tense, the RT of which spans from the day of SpT to the infinite future, such a sentence receives possible temporal references of either earlier in the day, including before sunrise or in the morning, or further in the future within approximately two years from SpT. The specific interpretation depends on the use of grammatical mood, realized by word order change (i.e. realis word order (SVX) in past situations and irrealis word order (SXV) in future situations) and vowel-hiatus resolution.

Regarding its adverbial components ‘in the morning’ and ‘in the remote future,’ the comparative data<sup>121</sup> from other Zaparoan languages suggest the historical origin of REMPFV from two distinct morphemes. With respect to the sense of ‘in the morning,’ Arabela exhibits a free adverb *maa* which means ‘begin’ (Rich, 1999: 187). It is plausible

---

<sup>121</sup> I am very grateful to my colleague as well as my outside committee member Lev Michael for pointing out and sharing his knowledge with me.

to project a grammaticization trajectory which links a free adverb meaning ‘begin’ with a verbal affix meaning ‘in the morning’ (i.e. beginning of the day). With respect to the sense of ‘in the remote future,’ Záparo exhibits a verbal affix *-ma* (~*-na*) which means ‘future’ (Peeke, 1991:12). Synchronically, I argue that it has developed into a single perfective morpheme which incorporates the adverbial component of these two senses. The empirical ground includes the following points. First, the *-maa* used in the past context and the *-maa* used in the remote-future context are phonologically homophonous according to the analysis up-to-date. Second, REMPFV structurally patterns with the other six Iquito perfective morphemes. Perfective aspects are used in past situations, in future situations, and in imperative constructions. Perfective aspects are especially obligatorily present in future situations and in imperative constructions: the exceptions are 1) in potential/optative constructions, Imperfective Aspect is required and 2) in imminent-future situations, Imperfective Aspect can be used. Third, a morpheme can be portmanteau; an aspectual component is not in conflict with a temporal component analytically.

REMPFV is used in past contexts with realis word order (SVX) and in remote-future contexts with irrealis word order (SXV). When used in imperatives, the addressee is expected to realize an event while on the move (§4.6.1). It is rarely used, although both grammatical and possible, in imperative constructions, with the exception of *animaa* ‘come!’ since requesting a person to realize a task while on the move is in general uncommon. In past contexts, REMPFV appears with all situation types. It conveys a closed event for Accomplishments, Activities, Accomplishments, and Semelfactives and renders an inceptive reading for States. When in the context of the remote future, REMPFV appears with all events with irrealis word order and indicates that the situation

will take place in the remote future. This report discusses the use of REMPVFs in declarative sentences in detail and briefly includes its imperative use.

REMPFV is marked as *-maa* in all clauses and does not have other allomorphs.

Table 15. Remote Perfective Aspect in Iquito

Tense in the sentence		Verbal Root	
		<i>sihuaan</i> + ‘arrive’	<i>najuu</i> - ‘write’
Distant Past Tense		<i>Nu=sihuaan+-maa-quiagu+</i> . 3S=arrive-REM.PFV-DPST.NIP He arrived in the morning (a long time ago).	<i>Nu=najuu-maa-quiagu+</i> 3S=write-REM.PFV-DPST.NIP  <i>taaríqui núquiica simiím+</i> . morning one letter He wrote a letter in the morning (a long time ago).
Recent Past Tense		<i>Nu=sihuaan+-maa-cura</i> . 3S=arrive-REM.PFV-RPST He arrived in the morning (the other day).  <i>Atií nu=sihuaan+-maa-cura=yaa(jaa)</i> . He arrived right at the same place in the morning (the other day).	<i>Amicaáca nu=najuu-maa-cura</i> one.day.away 3S=write-REM.PFV-RPST  <i>taaríqui núquiica simiím+</i> . morning one letter He wrote a letter in the morning.
Extended Current Tense	without enclitic	<i>Taaríqui nu=sihuaan+-maa-Ø</i> . morning 3S=arrive-REM.PFV-EC He arrived in the morning.	<i>Jaa nu=najuu-maa-Ø</i> already 3S=write-REM.PFV-EC  <i>ácari taaríqui núquiica simiím+</i> . now morning one letter He wrote a letter this morning.
	realis order with enclitic	<i>Atií nu=sihuaan+-maa-Ø=quiyaa</i> there 3S=arrive-REM.PFV=NWR  <i>im+raani</i> . again He arrived in the morning at the same place again.	<i>Atií nu=najuu-maa-Ø=quiyaa</i> there 3S=write-REM.PFV-EC=NWR  <i>núquiica simiím+ taaríqui tii</i> . one letter morning there He wrote a letter in the morning right there.
	Irrealis order with enclitic	<i>Atií nu=im+raani=sihuaan+-maa-Ø</i> there 3S=again=arrive-REM.PFV-EC  <i>=quiyaa tácarí</i> . =NWR other.day He is going to arrive at the same place the other day (a long time later).	<i>Atií nu=núquiica simiím+</i> at.the.place 3S=one letter  <i>=najuu-maa-Ø=quiyaa tii</i> . =write-MMT.PFV-EC=NWR here <sup>122</sup> He will write a letter at the same place (a long time later).

<sup>122</sup> The spatial demonstrative *tii* in Iquito is used to indicate a specified location (i.e. either pointed at by a finger or established by the discourse context). It is very often translated as *here*, although these two terms do not match exactly.

#### 5.4.2 Past Context: Situation Types and Type of Perfective Closure

In sentences in the Extended Current Tense, REMPFV indicates a perfective situation at a long temporal distance away from SpT. Past situations (i.e. earlier in the morning, including before sunrise) are expressed by realis word order (SVX) and future situations (i.e. the remote future) are expressed by irrealis word order (SXV). Examples (636)-(650) in the following show that MMTPFV appears with all situation types.

(636) Accomplishment: Distant Past Tense

Nu=najuu-maa-quiaqu+ núquiica simiím+ taaríqui.  
3S=write-REM.PFV-DPST.NIP one letter morning  
He wrote a letter in the morning.

(637) Accomplishment: Recent Past Tense

Nu=najuu-maa-cura núquiica simiím+ taaríqui.  
3S=write-REM.PFV-RPST one letter morning  
He wrote a letter in the morning.

(638) Accomplishment: Extended Current Tense

Nu=najuu-maa-Ø-Ø núquiica simiím+.  
3S=write-REM.PRF-EC one letter  
He wrote a letter in the morning.

(639) Achievement: Distant Past Tense

Nu=iniica-maa-quiaqu+ taaríqui.

3S=wake.up-REM.PFV morning

He woke up in the morning.

(640) Achievement: Recent Past Tense

Nu=iniica-maa-cura taaríqui.

3S=wake.up-REM.PFV-RPST morning.

He woke up in the morning.

(641) Achievement: Extended Current Tense

Nu=iniica-maa-Ø-Ø taaríqui nu=ihuaani=iira.

3S=wake.up-REM.PFV-EC morning 3S=go.INF=GOAL

He woke up in the morning in order to travel.

(642) Activity: Distant Past Tense

Nu=capi-maa-quiaqu+ taaríqui.

3S=cook-REM.PFV-DPST.NIP morning.

She cooked in the morning.

(643) Activity: Recent Past Tense

Nu=capi-maa-cura taaríqui.

3S=cook-REM.PFV-RPST morning

He cooked in the morning.

(644) Activity: Extended Current Tense

Ácari taaríqui nu=capi-maa-Ø.

now morning 3S=cook-REM.PFV-EC

This morning he cooked.

(645) Semelfactive: Distant Past Tense

Nu=isiin++-maa-quiaqu+ taaríqui.

3S=cough-REM-DPST.NIP morning

He coughed in the morning.

(646) Semelfactive: Recent Past Tense

Nu=isiin++-maa-cura taaríqui.

3S=cough-REM.PFV-RPST morning

He coughed in the morning.

(647) Semelfactive: Extended Current Tense

Ácari taaríqui nu=isiin++-maa-Ø.

now morning 3S=cough-REM.PFV-EC

He coughed this morning.

(648) State: Distant Past Tense

Nu=nacusi-maa-quiaqu+ p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.

3S=know-REM.PFV-DPST.NIP all DET.PL person.PL

He knew everyone in the morning.

(649) State: Recent Past Tense

Nu=nacusi-maa-cura p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.

3S=know-REM.PFV-DPST.NIP all DET.PL person.PL

He knew everyone in the morning.

(650) State: Extended Current Tense

Nu=nacusi-maa-Ø p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.

3S=know-REM.PFV-EC all DET.PL person.PL

He knew everyone in the morning.

As can be seen throughout the above examples, a temporal adverbial can be expressed in the sentence or not. If no explicit temporal adverbial appears in the sentence, the sentence receives a temporal interpretation of ‘in the morning.’ REMPFV can appear with the temporal adverbials (*ácari*) *taaríqui* ‘(this) morning,’ and *cutataani-ácuji* ‘before sunrise,’ but it cannot appear with *nin++ni-+j+qu+ya* ‘midnight’ or *yahu++ni-+j+qu+ya* ‘noon,’ as in (651) and (652).

(651) \*Nu=inica-maa-Ø nin++ni-+j+qu+ya.

3S=wake.up-REM.PFV-EC night-half

He woke up at midnight.

(652) \*Nu=inica-maa-Ø yahu++ni-+j+qu+ya.

3S=wake.up-REM.PFV-EC day-half

He woke up at noon.

GNRPFV conveys a closed event without giving any temporal information. To specify a time reference, an explicit adverbial is needed, as in (653). In contrast, REMPFV does

not need an explicit adverbial, as above. REMPfV, in comparison with GNRPFV, therefore encodes an additional component of a temporal adverbial.

- (653) *Ácari taaríqui nu=capi-qui-Ø.*  
now morning 3S=cook-GNR.PFV-EC  
This morning he cooked.

A sentence which contains a REMPfV morpheme cannot appear with GNRPFV again, as in (654) and (655). It is semantically redundant as well as structurally ungrammatical in terms of the morphological template of the verbal complex.

- (654) \**Ácari taaríqui nu=capi-qui-maa-Ø.*  
now morning 3S=cook-GNR.PFV-REM.PFV-EC  
This morning he cooked.

- (655) \**Ácari taaríqui nu=capi-maa-qui-Ø.*  
now morning 3S=cook-REM.PFV-GNR.PFV-EC  
This morning he cooked.

As REMPfV conveys a closed situation, it appears with the formative *-quiaqu+* in the Distant Past Tense, as in (636), (639), (642), (645) and (648). It is ungrammatical if it appears with the formative *-(y)aariqu+* which indicates Distant Past Tense with Imperfective Aspect, as in (656).

- (656) \**Nu=najuu-maa-yaariqu+ núquiica simiím+.*



3S=write-REM.PFV-DPST.IPFV one letter

He used to write a letter in the morning.

A sentence with REMPV conveys a closed event and is incompatible with the Imperfective Aspect. In the Recent Past Tense, it is also incompatible with the Imperfective Aspect, as in (657) and (658). This is also true in sentences in the Extended Current Tense, as in (659) and (660). Imperfective Aspect has to be used independently from the perfective aspect, as in (661).

(657) \*Amicaáca nu=capi-maa-yaa-cura taaríqui.  
one.day.away 3S=cook-REM.PFV-IPFV-RPST morning  
Yesterday he cooked in the morning.

(658) \*Amicaáca nu=capi-yaa-maa-cura taaríqui.  
one.day.away 3S=cook-IPFV-REM.PFV-RPST morning  
Yesterday he cooked in the morning.

(659) \*Ácari taaríqui nu=ta=najuu-maa-yaa-Ø núquiica simiím+.  
now morning 3S=ANT.IPFV=write-REM.PFV-IPFV-EC one letter  
This morning he was writing a letter.

(660) \*Nu=capi-maa-aariqu+ p+y++ni taaríqui.  
3S=cook-REM.PFV-DPST.IPFV all morning  
She cooked every morning.

(661) Nu=capi-aariqu+=na p+y++ni taaríqui.  
 3S=cook-DPST.IPFV=REP all morning  
 She cooked every morning.

With respect to the type of closure, REMPFV presents a sentence with the endpoint properties of its situation type schema for Activities, Achievements and Semelfactives. For States, it presents coerced initial endpoints. For Accomplishments, it presents closed situations with terminative endpoints. The completion of the event is in general implied; however the sentence is grammatical when followed by a sentence asserting an open situation, as in (662) and (663). This suggests that REMPFV conveys termination rather than completion.

(662) Nu=simiita-maa-cura taaríqui iina simiím+,  
 3S=read-REM.PFV-RPST morning DET book

ca=quija nu=p+ca-cura nu-simitaani.

NEG=ADVRS 3S=finish-RPST 3S-read.INF

He read this book in the morning, but he didn't finish reading it.

(663) Amicaáca qui=najuu-maa-cura núquiica simiím+.  
 one.day.away 1S=write-REM.PFV-RPST one letter

Ácari qui=najuu-yaa-Ø nu=jina.

now 1S=write-IPFV-EC 3S=LOC

Yesterday I wrote a letter in the morning. Now I am signing it.

REMPFV spans the entire event; therefore, it cannot be used to indicate an event that takes longer than the length of a morning, as in (664). The consultant Jaime comments that ‘you cannot build a house in one morning, but you can write a letter in one morning,’ as in (665). Compare the examples (662)-(665), (664) seems to be a counterexample to the idea that REMPV conveys a terminative endpoint. However, there are two preferences that we can annotate to this. First, a short event is strongly preferred when using REMPV and second, a complete endpoint is strongly suggested unless otherwise asserted. This is an interesting case for the study of perfectivity.

(664) \*Qui=mii-maa-cura      núquiica    ífta.  
 1S=do-REM.PFV-RPST one      house  
 I built a house in the morning.

(665) Amicaáca      qui=najuu-maa-cura      núquiica simiím+.  
 one.day.away 1S=write-REM.PFV-RPST one      letter  
 Yesterday I wrote a letter in the morning.

The consultant Jaime further suggests that if the verb *p+ca* ‘finish’ or an explicit adverbial is used, the sentence conveys a clear complete reading, as in (666) and (667), and cannot be followed by a sentence asserting an open situation, as in (668) and (669).

(666) Nu=p+ca-maa-cura      iina    simitaani    simiím+.  
 3S=finish-REM.PFV-RPST DET    read.INF    book  
 He finished reading this book in the morning (the other day).

(667) Nu=simiita-maa-cura      taaríqui    p+y++ni iina    simiím+.  
 3S=read-REM.PFV-RPST morning    all      DET letter  
 He read the entire letter in the morning.

(668) #Nu=p+ca-maa-cura      iina    simitaani    simiím+,  
 3S=finish-REM.PFV-RPST DET    read.INF    book  
  
 ca=quija      nu=p+ca-Ø-cura      nu-simitaani.  
 NEG=ADVRS    3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S-read.INF  
 He finished reading this book, but he didn't finish reading it.

(669) #Nu=simiita-maa-cura      p+y++ni iina    simiím+,  
 3S=read-REM.PFV-RPST    all      DET    letter  
  
 ca=quija      nu=p+ca-Ø-cura      nuu.  
 NEG=ADVRS    3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST 3S  
 He read the entire book in the morning, but he didn't finish it.

As a perfective aspect, REMPFV conveys a sequential reading in connected sentences, as in (670). The SitT of the event [he receive money] precedes that of [he buy a beer].

(670) J++ticari    nu=mas++-maa-cura      iina    cuuriqui=na,  
 when      3S=receive-REM.PFV-RPST DET    money

nu=mas++-maa-cura           núquiica   cerveza

3S=receive-REM.PFV-RPST   one       beer

When he received money in the morning, he bought a beer in the morning.

In (671), the SitT of the event [he finish writing all the letters] precedes a certain RT, in this case, the time of the event [I arrive]. The adverbial *jaa* ‘already’ reverses the temporal sequential order of the events in the sentence.

(671) J++ticari   qui=sihuaan+-maa-cura       taaríqui   tíira=na,  
when       1S=arrive-REM.PFV-RPST   morning   there=CLSF

jaa   nu=p+ca-Ø-cura           p+y++ni iimi   najuuni   simiím+ya.

already3S=finish-REM.PFV-RPST all       DET.PL write.INF letter.PL

When I arrived there in the morning (the other day), he already finished the letters.

When used with Stative sentences, REMPFV renders an inceptive reading, as in (672) and (673), in which the temporal adverbial *taaríqui* ‘morning’ can specify either the RT or SitT.

(672) Tiijicuaji   nu=nacusi-maa-cura       naam+   taniini.  
suddenly   3S=know-REM.PFV-RPST leaves   weave.INF

All of a sudden, he knew how to weave leaves.

(673) Jaa   iina   sihuaan+-maa-Ø       caaya   taaríqui

already DET arrive-MMT.PFV-EC person morning

iina p+=+ta tasi-ji-i-Ø caa.  
DET 1P.INCL=ANT.PRG wait-SUB.NEG-IPFV-EC NEG

The person, who we were not expecting, already arrived in the morning.

### 5.4.3 Remote-Future Context and Imperatives

#### 5.4.3.1 Remote-Future Context

In addition to past contexts, REMPFV also appears in future contexts with irrealis word order (SXV). Examples (674)-(677) in the following show that MMTPFV appears with all events. REMPFV also does not appear with Statives in future contexts.

#### (674) Accomplishment

Nu=núquiica simiim+ najuu-maa-Ø.  
3S=one letter write-REM.PFV-EC  
He will write a letter.

#### (675) Achievement

Taana amariaana-jina nu=taaríqui inica-maa-Ø.  
other year-LOC 3S=morning wake.up-REM.PFV-EC  
The other year, he will wake up in the morning.

#### (676) Activity

Taana amariaana-jina nu=taaríqui capi-maa-Ø.

other year-LOC 3S=morning cook-REM.PFV-EC

The other year, he will cook in the morning.

(677) Semelfactive

Taana yahu++ni-jina nu=isiin++-maa-Ø.

other day-LOC 3S=cough-REM.PFV-EC

He will cough some day.

When used in an irrealis clause, REMPFV, without any explicit temporal adverbial, as in (674), indicates an event which will be realized in the distant future. It does not render the interpretation of ‘in the morning,’ as in (674) and (677). To convey a temporal reference of ‘morning,’ an explicit temporal adverbial is required in the sentences, as in (675) and (676). It is noted that it can only refer to situations in the distant future; therefore, it cannot appear with a temporal adverbial such as *amicaáca* ‘one day away,’ as in (678). A clause indicating a near future situation contains MMTPFV, as in (679).

(678) \*Amicaáca nu=taaríqui inica-maa-Ø.

one.day.away 3S=morning wake.up-REM.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will wake up in the morning.

(679) Amicaáca nu=taaríqui capi-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 3S=morning cook-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will cook in the morning.

To indicate a distant future without certainty, Imperfective Aspect *-(y)aa~ -:* is used in place, structurally, of the aspect followed by the potential/optative mood marker *-cuma*, as in (680). The indicated situation might or might not take place after all.

(680) Quia=taaríqui inica-aa-cuma.

2S=morning wake.up-IPFV-POT

You might wake up in the morning some day.

In (681), it can be seen that the verb *capi-* ‘cook’ appears with Imperfective Aspect plus the potential/optative *-cuma* while the verb *cuqui-* ‘become’ appears with REMPV. The event [he cook] might or might not take place in the distant future while the event [he become adolescent] will definitely take place in the distant future.

(681) Nu=capi-aa-cuma j++ticari nu=maana cuqui-maa-Ø.

3S=cook-IPFV-OPT when 3S=adolescent become-REM.PFV-EC

He might cook some day when he grows up.

One point worthy of note is that the consultant Jaime prefers not to use REMPV with the Semelfactives directly, as in (647). Instead, he prefers the following sentence, as in (682). The scenario of the following sentence is as follows. A person who has not begun to cough went to see the doctor. The doctor told him that three years later, he would start coughing.

(682) Iiti=ji s++saramaj+tami amariaana=jina=ji

here-from three

year=LOC=from



quia=apara-maa-Ø      isin++ni=jina.

2S=start-REM.PFV-EC    cough.INF=LOC

Three years later, you will start to cough.

#### 5.4.3.2 Imperatives

In addition to declaratives, REMPFV is also used in imperatives (§4.6.1), although extremely rarely due to pragmatic constraints. When used in imperatives, the addressee is expected to realize a task in movement for a distance, which is in general uncommon in the real world. In Iquito, the only common expression of REMPFV in the imperative is as in (683). Since one has to move in order to realize the event of ‘come,’ it is not pragmatically weird in the daily use of imperatives in Iquito. For a detailed discussion on imperative constructions, please refer to §4.6.1.

The imperative use of *-maa* could be developed either from ‘begin’ or ‘remote/distance’ sense of REMPFV since the addressee is expected to begin realizing the event for a distance while in movement as soon as he hears the imperative sentence. It is noticed that, in Iquito, there is a directional morpheme *-ma* which has the senses ‘towards, inside, down,’ depending on context in which it appears. It is also noted that there are cognate morphemes of this directional morpheme found in Andoa (Rich, 1999: 75-6), meaning ‘towards, in’ and appearing both with verbs and nouns. However, I doubt that *-maa* in imperative constructions is developed from the directional morpheme *-ma* for several reasons. First, phonologically these two morphemes have different vowel length: short vowel is devoiced and hard to hear at the end of the sentence while long vowel is clearly heard at the sentence-final position. Second, the imperative use of *-maa* can be developed from regular senses of REMPFV. Third, all Iquito imperatives require

the presence of a perfective aspect. Even if it is the directional *-ma* here, a perfective aspect which will be yet another morpheme in this case will still be required. Fourth, in Andoa directional morphemes attach to both verbs and nouns while in Iquito directional morphemes can only attach to nouns; analyzing the imperative use of *-maa* here as the directional one would make this use the only exception that they attach to verbs. Fifth and the last, there is another directional morpheme *-cu* in Iquito, which cannot be used in imperatives either. However, given the complicated origin of REMPFV *-maa*, I think it is worth noting the relevant observations and the comparative facts here.

(683) Ani-maa!

come-REM.PFV

Come!

#### 5.4.4 Summary

In this section, I discussed the use and the meaning of REMPFV in Iquito. REMPFV is used in past contexts with realis word order (SVX), in remote-future situations with irrealis word order (SXV), and in imperative constructions. This section discussed the first two uses in detail and introduced the use of REMPFV in imperatives. In past contexts, it conveys a closed event realized in the morning. It coerces an inceptive reading for Statives. In future contexts, it indicates an event to be realized in the remote future.

## 5.5 DEICTIC PERFECTIVE ASPECTS

### 5.5.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms

This section discusses Deictic Perfective Aspects (glossed as DEI1.PFV and DEI2.PFV; referred to as DEIPFVs hereafter in this chapter) in Iquito. In Iquito, GNRPFV, MMTPFV, and REMPFV are non-deictic perfective aspects while the perfective aspects *-hu++* and *-cuaa* are deictic. DEIPFVs are used in past contexts with realis<sup>123</sup> word order (SVX), in immediate and near-future contexts with irrealis word order (SXV), and in imperative constructions of all events and stage-level Statives (i.e. indicating transitory states, such as *estar* in Spanish). They cannot appear with individual-level Statives (i.e. indicating permanent states, such as *ser* in Spanish). One point worthy of note is that verbs which have directional components, such as *iicua-* ‘go’ and *sihuaan+-* ‘arrive,’ cannot combine with DEIPFVs. This section discusses their use in declarative sentences in detail and summarizes their imperative use. In past contexts, DEIPFVs appear with all situation types and convey, in terms of the aspectual property, a closed situation plus the discontinuous post-stage in terms of change of location at SpT. With respect to the deictic property, two systems of deixis are represented by DEIPFVs: one is the speaker-centered river-oriented deixis and the other is the speaker-centered radial deixis. The formative *-hu++* is used to indicate upriver orientation or the area in the proximity of the speaker while the formative *-cuaa* is used to indicate downriver orientation or the direction away from the speaker. The switch of deictic reference depends on the explicit use of deictic adverbials. DEIPFVs also appear with all situation types in future contexts, with irrealis word order, to indicate that the situation will take place in the future and that the subject of the sentence has not reached the specified location at SpT.

---

<sup>123</sup> For a detailed discussion on grammatical mood, please refer to §4.

DEIPFVs are marked as *-hu++* and *-cuaa* in all realis clauses and do not have allomorphs in these clauses. The formative *-cuhu++* surfaces in irrealis clauses as the allomorph of *-hu++*; the formative *-cuaa* remains the same in irrealis clauses.

## 5.5.2 Past Context

### 5.5.2.1 Deictic Property

Two deixis systems are represented by DEIPFVs: one is speaker-centered river-oriented deixis and the other is speaker-centered radial deixis. The formative *-hu++* is used to indicate the proximity of the speaker, in terms of radial deixis, or the upriver orientation, in terms of river-oriented deixis. The formative *-cuaa* is used to indicate the non-proximity of the speaker, in terms of radial deixis, or the downriver orientation, in terms of river-oriented deixis. Without an explicit deictic adverbial, the sentence can be interpreted in terms of either river-oriented deixis or radial deixis. However, if an explicit deictic adverbial is specified, it clarifies the reference.

#### *Speaker-centered river-oriented deixis*

Within the river-oriented deictic system, the formative *-hu++* is used for situations with an upriver orientation from the speaker-centered deictic center and the formative *-cuaa* is used for situations with a downriver orientation from the deictic center.

In example (684), if the deictic adverbial *cáami* ‘upriver’ is not used, the sentence can be interpreted as ‘he slept here,’ with respect to radial deixis, or ‘he slept upriver,’ with respect to river-oriented deixis. However, when the upriver-related deictic expressions, such as *cáami* ‘upriver’ (684) or *-cu* ‘postposition: upriver’ (685), are used in the sentence, then an interpretation in terms of river-oriented deixis is specified.

Likewise, when a deictic adverbial, such as *íiti* ‘here,’ appears in the sentence, it has to be interpreted in terms of radial deixis. The formative *-hu++*, instead of the formative *-cuaa*, pairs with upriver-related deictic adverbials. The location expressed by the deictic adverbial *cáami* ‘upriver’ can indicate another village which is upriver to the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu where the sentence is produced. Within the scope of the community, it can indicate the area which is upriver to the area where the sentence is produced.

(684) Nu=maqu+-hu++-Ø      cáami.  
 3S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-EC    upriver  
 He slept upriver (and he is not there anymore).

(685) Nu=maqu+-hu++-Ø      nu-nasi-cu.  
 3S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-EC    3S-chacra-DEI.upriver  
 He slept in his chacra (and is not there anymore).

Example (686) receives an interpretation of a closed state in which the verb *iiqui-* ‘live’ functions as a stage-level Stative to indicate the location of the subject. It can be seen that when the deictic adverbial *cáami* ‘upriver’ is used, it pairs with DEIPFV *-hu++*. Example (687) shows that the combination of *-hu++* with *naami* ‘downriver’ is ungrammatical.

(686) Nu=iiqui-hu++-Ø      cáami.  
 3S=live-DEI1.PFV-EC    upriver  
 He was upriver.

(687) \*Naami nu=iqiii-hu++-Ø.  
 downriver 3S=live-DEI1-PFV-EC  
 He was downriver.

Example (688), which is composed of an Accomplishment constellation, indicates that the speaker who produced the sentence went to his chacra upriver to harvest his yuca earlier on the same day which includes SpT. The speaker has returned from his chacra upriver where he harvested the yuca.

(688) Qui-nasi-cu qui=sir+ta-hu++-Ø asúraaja.  
 1S-chacra-DEI.upriver 1S=harvest-DEI1.PFV-EC yuca  
 I harvested the yuca in my chacra upriver.

If the speaker is still in the chacra, the following sentence is uttered instead.

(689) Cu=ani-qui-Ø íiti asúraaja sirataani-ánuura.  
 1S=come-GNR.PFV-EC here yuca harvest.INF-in.order.to  
 I came here to harvest yuca.

Example (690) shows that the deictic adverbial *cáami* ‘upriver’ is optionally used when the postposition *-cu* is already used to indicate that the location of the noun is relatively upriver in comparison with the location where the sentence is uttered.

(690) Qui=samarata-hu++-cura j++timijaarica yahu++ni

1S=rest-DEI1.PFV-RPST many day

(cáami) qui-iíta-cu.

upriver 1S-house-DEI.upriver

I rested in my home upriver many days.

The consultant Hermico commented that the following sentence could be said in Taiwan after I go back there for a few years because the sentence is in Distant Past Tense. He explained that in order to go to Taiwan, one needs to go downriver first to the city of Iquitos and then fly to other destinations. Therefore, San Antonio is relatively upriver to Taiwan from this perspective. Jaime, however, commented that this sentence can be used only if I am in the city of Iquito.

(691) Cu=asa-hu+-quiaqu+ paapaaja San Antonio=jina.

1S=eat-DEI1.PFV-DPST.NIP fish San Antonio-LOC

I ate fish upriver in San Antonio a long time ago.

The following example is from the narrative. When Ligia was telling the story, she was in the center where the ILDP project works.

(692) Jaa qui=maqu+-hu+-cura cáami...

already 1S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-RPST upriver

I already slept there upriver. (T.2005.QCC.LII: 68)

In (693), if the deictic adverbial *tíira* ‘there’ is not used, the sentence is still generally interpreted as ‘he slept there,’ with respect to radial deixis, but can also be interpreted as ‘he slept downriver’ with respect to river-oriented deixis. However, when downriver-related deictic adverbials appear in the sentence, the sentence needs to be interpreted in terms of river-oriented deixis. The formative *-cuaa*, instead of the formative *-hu++*, pairs with downriver-related deictic adverbials. Sentence (693) is a radial-deictic one because of the adverbial *tíira* ‘there.’ The location expressed by (693), according to Ema and Jaime, can be any place, within approximately 200 meters in distance, away from the speaker-centered deictic center.

(693) Nu=maqu+-cuaa-Ø      *tíira*.  
           3S=sleep-DEI2.PFV-EC there  
           He slept there (and is not there anymore).

Like (686), example (694) receives an interpretation of a closed state in which the verb *iiqui-* ‘live’ is a stage-level Stative and indicates the location of the subject. It can be seen that when the deictic adverbial *naami* ‘downriver’ is used, it pairs with DEIPFV *-cuaa*.

(694) Naami      nu=iiqui-cuaa-Ø.  
           downriver 3S=live-DEI2.PFV-EC  
           He was downriver.

Example (695) shows that the combination of *-cuaa* with the adverbial *cáami* ‘upriver’ is ungrammatical.



(695) \*Cáami nu=iiqui-cuaa-Ø.

upriver 3S=live-DEI2.PFV-EC

He was upriver (and is no longer there).

Example (696) shows that the combination of *-cuaa* with the deictic postposition *-cu* ‘DEI.upriver’ is ungrammatical.

(696) \*Nu-nasi-cu nu=iiqui-cuaa-Ø.

3S-chacra-DEI.upriver 3S=live-DEI2.PFV-EC

He was in his chacra upriver (and is no longer there).

Example (697) shows that the deictic postposition *-ma* ‘downriver’ should be used instead to pair with DEIPFV *-cuaa*. The sentence indicates that the speaker who produced the sentence went to his chacra downriver to harvest his yuca earlier on the same day which includes SpT. The speaker has returned from his chacra downriver where he harvested the yuca.

(697) Qui-nasi-ma qui=sir+ta-cuaa-Ø asúraaja.

1S-chacra-DEI.downriver 1S=harvest-DEI2.PFV-EC yuca

I harvested the yuca in my chacra downriver.

If the speaker is going to his chacra, the following sentence which contains Imperfective Aspect is uttered.

(698) Qui-nasi-ma qui=iicua-a-Ø asúraaja sir+taani-anuura.

1S-chacra-DEI.downriver 1S=go-IPFV-EC yuca harvest.INF-in.order.to  
 I am going to my chacra downriver to harvest the yuca.

Example (699) shows that the deictic adverbial *naami* ‘downriver’ is optionally used when the postposition *-ma* is already used to indicate that the location of the noun is relatively downriver in comparison with the location where the sentence is uttered.

(699) Qui=samarata-cuaa-cura (naami) qui-ííta-ma.  
 1S=rest-DEI2.PFV-RPST downriver 1S-house-DEI.downriver  
 I rested in my house downriver.

***Speaker-centered radial deixis***

Within the radial deixis system, the formative *-hu++* is used for situations in the proximity of the deictic center and *-cuaa* is used for situations away from the deictic center. The deictic adverbials, *cáami* ‘upriver’ and *naami* ‘downriver,’ and the deictic postpositions, *-cu* ‘DEI.upriver’ and *-ma* ‘DEI.downriver,’ are not used in radial deictic sentences. Instead, adverbials of radial orientation, such as *ííti* ‘here’ and *tíira* ‘there’ are used.

In (700), if the deictic adverbial *ííti* ‘here’ is not used, the sentence can be interpreted in terms of radial deixis or in terms of river-oriented deixis. Here, the sentence is interpreted with respect to radial deixis because the deictic adverbial *ííti* ‘here’ is used. The formative *-hu++*, instead of the formative *-cuaa*, pairs with it.

(700) Nu=maqu+-hu++-Ø ííti.  
 3S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-EC here

He slept here (and is no longer here).

Example (701) shows that the combination of *-cuaa* and the deictic adverbial *iíti* ‘here’ is ungrammatical.

(701) \*Iíti nu=maqu+-cuaa-Ø.  
here 3S=sleep-DEI2.PFV-EC  
He slept here.

When the first grammatical person appears to be the subject of the sentence in which DEIPFV *-hu++* and the deictic adverbial *iíti* ‘here’ are used, the sentence is interpreted with a discontinuous period in terms of the subject’s location. The consultant Jaime gave a scenario for the following example. At first, he was in a meeting and then he went home to eat. After eating, he went back to the meeting. When he returned home again, his family arrived and invited him to eat. He can use this sentence to respond.

(702) Jaa cu=asa-hu++-Ø iíti.  
already1S=eat-DEI1.PFV-EC here  
I already ate here.

If the subject stayed in the house after eating until SpT, then the following sentence is used.

(703) Cu=ani-qui-Ø iíti asaani-anuura.  
1S=eat-GNR.PFV-EC here eat-in.order.to

I came here to eat.

Within radial deixis, the formative *-hu++* is used for situations in the proximity of the speaker-centered deictic center and the formative *-cuaa* is used for situations away from the deictic center. In (704), the deictic postposition *-cuura* indicates a distance within approximately 200 meters from the radial deictic center. The formative *-cuaa*, instead of the formative *-hu++*, pairs with the deictic postposition *-cuura*.

- (704) Qui-nasi-cuura      qui=sir+ta-cuaa-Ø      asúraaja.  
1S-chacra-DEI.there 1S=harvest-DEI2.PFV-EC yuca  
I harvested yuca in my chacra there.

If the chacra is within a short distance towards the upriver direction, the consultant Hermico can use the deictic postposition *-cuura* together with DEIPFV *-hu++* to indicate that he was there, as in (705). For the speaker JPI, (705) is ungrammatical and (706) is uttered instead.

- (705) Qui-nasi-cuura      qui=sir+ta-hu++-Ø      asúraaja.  
1S-chacra-DEI.there 1S=harvest-DEI1.PFV-EC yuca  
I harvested yuca in my chacra there.

- (706) Qui-nasi-cuura      qui=sir+ta-cuaa-Ø      asúraaja.  
1S-chacra-DEI.there 1S=harvest-DEI2.PFV-EC yuca  
I harvested yuca in my chacra there.

### 5.5.2.2 Aspectual Property

DEIPFVs *-hu++* and *-cuaa* convey a closed situation plus a discontinuous post-stage in terms of change of location in SpT. Examples (707)-(716) show that DEIPFVs appear with all situation types.

(707) Accomplishment: *-hu++*

Amicaáca nu=najuu-hu++-cura cáami núquiica simiím+.  
one.day.away 3S=write-DEI1.PFV-RPST upriver one letter  
Yesterday he wrote a letter (here or upriver).

(708) Accomplishment: *-cuaa*

Amicaáca nu=najuu-cuaa-cura naami núquiica simiím+.  
one.day.away 3S=write-DEI2.PFV-RPST downriver one letter  
Yesterday he wrote a letter (there or downriver).

(709) Achievement: *-hu++*

Amicaáca nu=namit++-hu++-cura nu-miisana miini cáami.  
one.day.away 3S=begin-DEI1.PFV-RPST 3S-thing do.INF upriver  
Yesterday he started it upriver.

(710) Achievement: *-cuaa*

Amicaáca nu=namit++-cuaa-cura nu-miisana miini naami.  
one.day.away 3S=begin-DEI2.PFV-RPST 3S-thing do.INF downriver  
Yesterday he started it downriver.

(711) Activity: *-hu++*

Nu=muuta-hu++-Ø.

3S=dig-DEI1.PFV-EC

He dug (here or upriver).

(712) Activity: *-cuaa*

Tíira nu=muuta-cuaa-Ø.

there 3S=dug-DEI2.PFV-EC

He dug there.

(713) Semelfactive: *-hu++*

Nu=isiin+-hu++-Ø.

3S=cough-DEI1.PFV-EC

He coughed (here or upriver).

(714) Semelfactive: *-cuaa*

Nu=isiin+-cuaa-Ø.

3S=cough-DEI2.PFV-EC

He coughed (there or downriver).

(715) Stative: *-hu++*

Nu=iiqui-hu++-Ø cáami.

3S=live-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver

He was upriver.

(716) Stative: *-cuaa*

Nu=iiqui-cuaa-Ø        naami.  
3S=live-DEI2.PFV-EC   downriver  
He was downriver.

In the following I provide examples, in order, of *-hu++* with an upriver meaning in river-oriented deixis, *-cuaa* with a downriver meaning in river-oriented deixis, *-hu++* with near-the-deictic-center meaning in radial deixis *-cuaa* with away-from-the-deictic-center meaning in radial deixis. Example (715) shows that DEIPFV *-hu++* conveys a closed state. The sentences in (717) are grammatical individually, but the combination of these two sentences is semantically ill-formed, which is indicated by a pound sign (#). If a sentence containing *-hu++* does not convey a closed state, it should be possible to coordinate it with a sentence which asserts an open situation. DEIPFV *-hu++*, therefore, conveys a closed situation.

(717) #Nu=iiqui-hu++-Ø        cáami. Nu=iiqui-i-Ø        cáami    atíí=yaajaa.  
3S=live-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver 3S=live-IPFV-EC upriver    at.the.moment=NWR  
I was upriver and am still upriver.

In addition to conveying a closed situation, DEIPFV *-hu++* also includes a discontinuous stage in terms of change of location at SpT. As can be seen in the following, a sentence containing *-hu++* cannot be coordinated with a sentence which asserts the continuous presence of the subject in terms of the same location.

(718) #Nu=maqu+-hu++-Ø        cáami. Nu=iiqui-i-Ø        cáami    atíí=yaajaa.

3S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver 3S=live-IPFV-EC upriver at.the.moment=NWR  
 He slept upriver and he is still upriver.

To express that the person is still upriver, the general Motion verb *ihuaani* ‘go’ with the non-discontinuous GNRPFV is used, as in (719) and (720).

(719) Nu=iicua-qui-Ø cáami (maqu++ni-anuura).  
 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC upriver sleep.INF-in.order.to

Acáami nu=iiqui-i-Ø=quiaajaa.  
 same.upriver 3S=live-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 He went upriver to sleep and is still upriver.

(720) Cáami-raata nu=iicua-qui-Ø.  
 upriver-towards 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC

Nu=iiqui-i-Ø cáami atí=yaaajaa.  
 3S=live-IPFV-EC upriver at.the.moment=NWR  
 He went upriver and is still upriver.

The same discontinuous property applies to the perfective *-cuaa* of its downriver meaning in river-oriented deixis, as in (721).

(721) #Nu=iiqui-cuaa-Ø naami. Nu=iiqui-i  
 3S=live-DEI2.PFV-EC downriver 3S=live-IPFV



naami      atif=yaaajaa.

downriver at.the.moment=NWR

He was downriver and is still downriver.

To express that the person is still downriver, the general Motion verb *ihuaani* ‘go’ with the non-discontinuous GNRPFV is used, as in (722).

(722) Nu=iicua-qui-Ø      naami.      Caa nu=paji-i-Ø      m+y+qu++ni im+raani.

3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC downriverNEG 3S=learn-IPFV-ECreturn.INF      again

He went downriver and cannot return again.

The same aspectual property applies to *-hu++* of near-the-deictic-center meaning in radial deixis and *-cuaa* in away-from-the-deictic-center meaning in radial deixis. As can be seen in (723), the combination of the two grammatical sentences is semantically ill-formed.

(723) #Nu=maqu+-hu++-Ø      iíti.      Iíti nu=maqui-i-Ø      atif=yaaajaa.

3S=sleep-DEI1.PFV-EC here here 3S=sleep-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR

He slept here and is still here.

The consultants commented that the example above would be better if the word *im+raani* ‘again’ were used because it would indicate a change of location and the discontinuous stage of the situation between the two sentences. To indicate a continuous situation of coming and staying to sleep, the following example is uttered instead.

(724) Nu=ani-qui-Ø                      maqu++ni-anuura    íiti.  
 3S=come-GNR.PFV-EC    sleep.INF-in.order.to    here

Atif                      nu=maqui-i-Ø=quiyajaa.  
 at.the.moment 3S=sleep-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 He came to sleep here and and he is still sleeping (here).

In (725), the combination of the two grammatical sentences is semantically ill-formed, indicating that DEIPFV *-cuaa* conveys a closed situation and a discontinuous stage.

(725) #Nu-nasi-cuura              nu=sir+ta-cuaa-Ø                      asuraaja.  
 3S-chacra-DEI.there    3S=harvest-DEI2.PFV-EC    yuca

Nu=iiqui-i-Ø              tíira    atíí=yajaa.  
 3S=live-IPFV-EC    there    at.the.moment=NWR  
 He harvested the yuca in his chacra there and he is still there.

To indicate that the subject of the sentence is still there in his chacra, the following example is used.

(726) Nu-nasi-cuura              nu=iicua-qui-Ø                      asúraaja    sir+taani-ánuura.  
 3S-chacra-DEI.there 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC    yuca              harvest.INF-in.order.to

Ca=nu=ani-i-Ø                      atíí=yajaa.

NEG=3S=come-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR

He harvested the yuca in his chacra there and he still hasn't arrived yet.

One point worthy of note is that DEIPFVs cannot appear with verbs which encode directional meanings, such as *iicua-* 'go' and *sihuaan+-* 'arrive.' In (727) and (728), *iicua-* 'go' plus *cáami* 'upriver' or *naami* 'downriver' is an event with a directional meaning; DEIPFVs cannot appear in such sentences. GNRPFV is used instead, as in (729).

(727) \*Nu=iicua-hu++-Ø cáami.  
3S=go-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver  
He went upriver.

(728) \*Nu=iicua-cuaa-Ø naami.  
3S=go-DEI1.PFV-EC downriver  
He went downriver.

(729) Nu=iicua-qui-Ø cáami.  
3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC upriver  
He went upriver.

Another example is with the verb *sihuaan+-* 'arrive' which is an Achievement verb with a directional meaning in Iquito. DEIPFV cannot appear with it, as is seen in (730). MMTPFV is used instead, as in (731). Jaime commented that (730) is fine, but it means that the person only arrived at the port, and came downriver immediately.

(730) \*Nu=sihuaan+-hu++-cura cáami amicaáca.  
 3S=arrive-DEI1.PFV-RPST upriver one.day.away  
 He arrived upriver yesterday.

(731) Nu=sihuaan+-r++-cura cáami amicaáca.  
 3S=arrive-DEI1.PFV-RPST upriver one.day.away  
 He arrived upriver yesterday.

### 5.5.3 Future Context and Imperatives

DEIPFVs are used in past contexts as well as in immediate, near, and remote future contexts. In addition, they are also used in the imperative constructions of all events. In this section, I discuss the uses in the future and briefly discuss those in imperative constructions.

#### 5.5.3.1 Future Context

The formative *-hu++* has an allomorph *-cuhu++* in irrealis clauses while the formative *-cuaa* remains *-cuaa*. In irrealis clauses, both *-cuhu++* and *-cuaa* attach to the derivational verbal root in some cases, as if they were derivational morphemes. This is observed from the stem-changing verbs (i.e. compare (738) with (748)). DEIPFVs *-cuhu++* and *-cuaa*, with irrealis word order (SXV), are used to indicate situations in the immediate, recent, and remote future, which ranges from later in the same day of SpT, to within a few days, to up to a few months. The exact temporal location is indicated by an explicit temporal reference.

Examples (732)-(743) in the following show that DEIPFVs appear with all situation types in irrealis clauses. It can be seen that the sentences display the SXV pattern for transitive verbs, as in (732)-(737). For intransitive verbs, as in (738)-(743), adverbs can cliticize onto the subject, displaying an SXV pattern as well. Adverbs can also appear in sentence-initial position, in which case the subject does not phonologically fuse with the verbal complex and the long form of the pronoun is used, as in (738) and (740)-(742). For a detailed discussion on irrealis mood, please refer to §4.

(732) Accomplishment: *-cuhu++*

Amicaáca nu=iina najuu-cuhu+-Ø simiím+.

one.day.away 3S=DET write-DEI1.PFV-EC letter

Tomorrow he will write the letter (here or upriver).

(733) Accomplishment: Remote future

Íiti=ji s++sar+maj+taami casiiri=jina=ji, qui=cu-asúraaja

here=from three month=after 1S=1S-yuca

sir+ta-cuhu+-Ø cáami=ji qui-nasi-cu=ji.

harvest-DEI1.PFV-EC upriver=from 1S-chacra-DEI.upriver=from

Three months later, I will harvest my yuca in my chacra upriver.

(734) Accomplishment: *-cuaa*

Amicaáca nu=iina najuu-cuaa-Ø simiím+.

one.day.away 3S=DET write-DEI2.PFV-EC letter

Tomorrow he will write the letter (there or downriver).

(735) Accomplishment: Remote future

Íiti=ji            s++sar+maj+taami casiiri=jinaji, qui=cu-asúraaja  
here=from    three                            month=after    1S=1S-yuca

sir+ta-cuaa-Ø            naami=ji            qui-nasi-ma=ji.  
harvest-DEI2.PFV-EC    downriver=from    1S-chacra-DEI.downriver=from  
Three months later, I will harvest my yuca in my chacra downriver.

(736) Achievement: *-cuhu++*

Amicaáca        nu=nu-miisana namit++-cuhu+-Ø    miini.  
one.day.away    3S=3S-thing    begin-DEI1.PFV-EC    do.INF  
Tomorrow he will start it (here or upriver).

(737) Achievement: *-cuaa*

Amicaáca        nu=nu namit++-cuaa-Ø        miini.  
one.day.away    3S=3S begin-DEI2.PFV-EC    do.INF  
Tomorrow he will start it (there or downriver).

(738) Activity: *-cuhu++*

Nuu    muura-cuhu+-Ø.  
3S    dig-DEI1.PFV-EC  
He will dig (here or upriver).

(739) Activity: *-cuaa*

Nu=ʔira muura-cuaa-Ø.  
3S=there dig-DEI2.PFV-EC  
He will dig there.

(740) Semelfactive: *-cuhu++*  
Nuu isiin+-cuhu++-Ø.  
3S cough-DEI1.PFV-EC  
He will cough (here or upriver).

(741) Semelfactive: *-cuaa*  
Nuu isiin+-cuaa-Ø.  
3S cough-DEI2.PFV-EC  
He will cough (there or downriver).

(742) Stative: *-cuhu++*  
Nuu=cáami iihui-cuhu++-Ø.  
upriver 3S live-DEI1.PFV-EC  
He will be upriver.

(743) Stative: *-cuaa*  
Nu=naami iihui-cuaa. Jahuaari nu=naami=ji  
3S=downriver live-DEI2.PFV at.that.moment 3S=downriver=from  
m+yiqui-aar++=quiyajaa.  
return-ABL.PFV=NWR

He will be downriver. On the same day he will return from downriver.

In (732), the object of the sentence is a definite phrase. It can be seen that the determiner of the object phrase cliticizes onto the subject noun. In irrealis clauses, as in (732), the allomorph *-cuhu++* is used while in realis clauses, as in (744), the allomorph *-hu++* is used. It is ungrammatical for *-hu++* to appear in irrealis clauses, as in (746). The formative *-cuaa* does not have an allomorphic counterpart in irrealis clauses, as is illustrated in (734) as well as (745).

(744) Amicaáca      nu=najuu-hu++-cura      núquiica    simiím+.  
one.day.away    3S=write-DEI1.PFV-RPST    one      letter  
Yesterday he wrote the letter (here or upriver).

(745) Amicaáca      nu=najuu-cuaa-cura      núquiica    simiím+.  
one.day.away    3S=write-DEI2.PFV-RPST    one      letter  
Yesterday he wrote the letter (there or downriver).

(746) \*Amicaáca      nu=iina    najuu-hu++-Ø      simiím+.  
one.day.away    3S=DETwrite-DEI1.PFV-EC    letter  
Tomorrow he will write the letter (here or upriver).

In (737), the object of the sentence is a pronoun. It can be seen that the pronominal object cliticizes onto the subject noun in the irrealis clause. In realis sentences, the pronoun object stays in the post-verbal position, as in (747).



(747) Amicaáca nu=namit+-hu+-cura nuu.  
 one.day.away 3S=begin-DEI1.PFV 3S  
 Yesterday he started it (here or upriver).

Examples (738)-(743) are intransitive clauses. It can be seen that adverbs can cliticize onto the subject, displaying an SXV pattern, as in (739), (742) and (743). Adverbs can also appear in sentence-initial position. If there is no adverb in the clause, the subject does not fuse to the verbal complex, as in (738) and (740)-(741). One point worthy of note is that sentences (738) and (739) contain the stem-changing verb *muuta-* ‘dig,’ whose derivational stem is *muura-* and inflectional stem is *muuta-*. From the comparison of (738) and (739) with (748) and (749), we can see this alternation.

(748) Ácari nu=muuta-hu+-Ø núquiica arama íiti.  
 3S=dig-DEI1.PFV-EC one hole here  
 He dug a hole here.

(749) Ácari nu=muuta-cuaa-Ø núquiica arama tíira.  
 there 3S=dig-DEI2.PFV-EC one hole there  
 He dug a hole there.

### 5.5.3.2 Imperatives

In addition to declarative constructions, DEIPFVs are also used in the imperatives of all events. Speakers use this construction to order a person to move to a certain location and realize the indicated task. In imperatives, the allomorph *-hu++*, instead of

*-cuhu++*, is generally used. The verbs *carii-* ‘look’ and *niqui-* ‘see’ are exceptions in that they can take both allomorphs with an additional emphatic meaning when combined with the allomorph *-cuhu++*. One point worthy of note is that the inflectional stem of the verb is used instead of a derivational stem.

The formative *-hu++* is used to order a person to move towards the speaker or upriver, then to realize an event in the proximity of the speaker or in some place with an upriver orientation. An explicit adverbial is usually provided to specify the location where the action is to be realized, as in (750) and (751). If no explicit adverbial is provided, the sentence is interpreted in terms of radial deixis. Sentence (750) is used to order a person who is at a distance from the speaker to move towards the speaker and stand. Sentence (751) is used to order a person, regardless of his current location relative to the speaker, to move towards somewhere upriver and sing.

(750) Tacu-hu++            iíti!  
           stand-DEI1.PFV    here  
           Come stand here!

(751) Ariicua-hu++        cáami!  
           sing-DEI1.PFV    upriver  
           Go sing upriver!

It is noted that the allomorph *-hu++* is generally used. An imperative sentence which contains *-cuhu++* is generally ungrammatical. Sentences (752)-(753) do not have an explicit adverbial. Therefore, the sentences are interpreted with respect to radial deixis. It can be seen that (754) is ungrammatical because the allomorph *-cuhu++* is used.

(752) Najuu-hu++ iina carta!  
write-DEI1.PFV DET letter  
Come write the letter (here)!

(753) Namit++-hu++ tarahuajuuni!  
start-DEI1.PFV work.INF  
Come start to work (here)!

(754) \*Najuu-cuhu++ iina carta!  
write-DEI1.PFV DET letter  
Come write the letter (here)!

In (755), it is seen that the verb *iicua-* ‘go’ which has a directional component is incompatible with DEIPFV *-hu++*; instead the verb *iiqui-* ‘live or stage-level *be*’ has to be used, as in (756).

(755) \*Iicua-hu++ cáami!  
go-DEI1.PFV upriver  
Go upriver!

(756) Iiqui-hu++ cáami!  
live-DEI1.PFV upriver  
Go upriver! (Literally: Be upriver!)

The formative *-cuaa* is used to order a person to realize an event at a distance from the speaker, in terms of radial deixis, or in some place with downriver orientation, in terms of river-oriented deixis. An explicit adverbial is usually provided to specify the location where the action is to be realized, as in (757) and (758). If no explicit adverbial is provided, the sentence is interpreted in terms of radial deixis. Sentence (757) is used to order a person who is in the proximity of the speaker to move away from the speaker and stand. Sentence (758) is used to order a person, regardless of his current location relative to the speaker, to go somewhere downriver and sing.

(757) Tacu-cuaa        tíira!  
           stand-DEI1.PFV there  
           Go stand there! (E.120806.ELY.IWL)

(758) Ariicua-cuaa    naami!  
           sing-DEI1.PFV downriver  
           Go sing downriver!

The two verbs, *carii-* ‘look’ and *niqui-* ‘see, find, locate,’ are exceptions because of their compatibility with the allomorph *-cuhu++* as well as *-hu++*. When a speaker orders a person to come towards him to see something, the allomorph *-hu++* is used, as in (759). However, when (760) is used, it is because the person being requested to perform the action does not believe the speaker. Sentence (760), therefore, conveys an additional emphatic meaning which presupposes that the listener does not believe the speaker.

(759) Carii-hu++        iina!

look-DEI1.PFV DET

Come look at this!

- (760) Ani-maa!            Carii-cuhu++    iina!  
come-REM.PFV   look-DEI1.PFV   DET  
Come look at this yourself! (I am not lying.)

The verb *niqui*- ‘see’ works the same as the verb *carii*- ‘look’ in imperatives, as in (761) and (762).

- (761) Niqui-hu++    iina!  
see-DEI1.PFV   DET  
Come see this!

- (762) Niqui-cuhu++    iina!  
see-DEI1.PFV   DET  
Come see this (if you don’t believe me)!

#### 5.5.4 Summary

In this section, I discussed the use and the meaning of DEIPFVs in Iquito. DEIPFVs are used in past contexts with realis word order (SVX) following inflectional verbal stem, in future situations with irrealis word order (SXV) following a verbal root, and in the imperative constructions of all events and stage-level Statives. The formative *-hu++* has an allomorph *-cuhu++* in irrealis clauses while the formative *-cuaa* remains the same in both realis and irrealis clauses. This section discusses the use of DEIPFVs in

declarative sentences in detail and summarizes the imperative use. In the past context, DEIPFVs appear with all situation types and convey a closed situation plus the discontinuous post-stage in terms of change of location at the SpT. The consultant Jaime commented that when DEIPFVs are used, it is understood that ‘one went to a specific location only to realize a certain task’ and that ‘one stayed there for a relatively short time.’ With respect to deictic properties, two systems of deixis are represented by DEIPFVs: one is the speaker-centered river-oriented deixis and the other is the speaker-centered radial deixis. The formative *-hu++* is used to indicate upriver orientation or the area in the proximity of the speaker while the formative *-cuaa* is used to indicate downriver orientation or the direction away from the speaker. The switch of deitic reference depends on the explicit use of deictic adverbials or postpositions. It is noted that verbs with directional components, such as *iicua-* ‘go’ and *sihuaan+-* ‘arrive’ cannot combine with DEIPFVs.

## **5.6 ALLATIVE AND ABLATIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECTS**

### **5.6.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms**

This section discusses Allative Perfective Aspect and Ablative Perfective Aspect (glossed as ALL.PFV and ABL.PFV respectively; referred to as ALLPFV and ABLPFV hereafter in this chapter) in Iquito. In Iquito, GNRPFV, MMTPFV, REMPFV, and DEIPFVs do not incorporate any directional meaning while ALLPFV *-sahu++* and ABLPFV *-(y)aar++* contain a directional component.

ALLPFV spans a closed event (i.e. events and derived Achievements from Statives) with a preliminary stage indicating the agent’s motion from some unspecified place to the location of the referred event. The agent realized or will realize the event

upon arrival. ABLPFV spans a closed event (i.e. events and derived Achievements from Statives) with a following stage indicating the agent's departure from the location of the referred event to some unspecified place. The agent departed or will depart the location of the event referred to upon its realization. The following diagrams summarize the information in this paragraph. The slashes represent what the aspects encode and the brackets indicate the initial (I) and final (F) endpoints of the events. I-1 indicates preliminary stage and F+1 indicates subsequent stage.

Diagram 9. Allative Perfective Aspect *-sahu++*

Realization of the event upon arrival at a location

I-1 I F  
 //////////[////////]

Diagram 10. Ablative Perfective Aspect *-(y)aar++*

Departure from a location upon realization of the event

I F F+1  
 [////////]////////

ALLPFV and ABLPFVs are marked as *-sahu++* and *-(y)aar++* in all clauses and do not have other allomorphs.

### 5.6.2 Allative Perfective Aspect

This section discusses the uses of ALLPFV *-sahu++* in comparison with DEIPFV *-hu++* because of the similarity in their formal identity. The formatives *-hu++* and *-sahu++* both present a closed event. However, *-sahu++* includes a preliminary stage in terms of the agent's movement towards the location where the event is realized; *-hu++* includes a discontinuous post-stage in terms of change of location. In the text, this can be seen by the explicit mention of movement of the subject or by a previously set-up scene. The interpretations by the speakers always include a long stretch of time before the situation expressed by the verbal constellation actually takes place. In future and imperative constructions, *-sahu++* also indicates the realization of the event upon arrival at a certain location.

Jaime gave a scenario for the following example. You and other people headed home together from the forest. You arrived first. And because you could not bear the hunger any longer, you ate first upon arrival. When other people arrived and asked you to eat, you use this sentence to respond, as in (763).

- (763) Jaa      cu=asa-sahu++-Ø      jaa.  
already 1S=eat-ALL.PFV-EC    already  
I already came first to eat. (Jaime)  
I already ate upon arrival. (Hermico)

ALLPFV *-sahu++* presents a closed event; therefore, the sentence containing it cannot combine with another sentence that asserts an open situation, as in (764).

- (764) #Jaa      cu=asa-sahu++-Ø.      Cu=asa-a-Ø      atíí=yaajaa.



already 1S=eat-ALL.PFV-EC 1S=eat-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR  
I already ate upon arrival and I am still eating.

In order to express that you are still eating, (765) or (766) is used.

(765) Jaa cu=asa-a-Ø.

already 1S=eat-IPFV-EC

I have been eating. (Literally: I am already eating.)

(766) Jaa cu=ani-qui-Ø asaani=ánuura.

already 1S=come-GNR.PFV-EC eat.INF=in.order.to

Atif cu=asa-a-Ø=quiyaajaa.

at.the.moment 1S=eat-IPFV-EC=NWR

I already came here in order to eat. At this moment, I am still eating.

Hermico gave the interpretation for (767) that the subject came from a distance to see the object, ‘finding’ (i.e. seeing upon arrival) the object sitting there already. This interpretation made the initial point of *niquiini* ‘see’ visible.

(767) Na=niqui-sahu++-quiaqu+ quijja ajitiaana.

3P=see-ALL.PFV-DPST.NIP 1S seated

Upon arrival, they saw me seated.

Other examples in Distant Past Tense also reveal the motion of the subject before the situation *-sahu++* attaches to takes place. The situation takes place as soon as the subject arrives at a certain location. The sequentiality of events is clearly indicated, as in (768).

- (768) Qui=sihuaan+-r++-quiaqu+      tii.      Cu=asa-sahu++-quiaqu+ paapaaja.  
 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP that.place 1S=eat-ALL.PFV-DPST.NIP fish  
 I arrived at that place. I ate fish upon arrival (it was already prepared).

In contrast, the following example with *-hu++* does not have any information concerning the arrival of the subject and how the ‘eating’ takes place.

- (769) Cu=asa-hu++-quiaqu+      paapaaja.  
 1S=eat-DEI1.PFV-DPST.NIP fish  
 I ate fish (here or upriver a long time ago).

The following examples from the text explicitly mention the motion of the subject and imply that sachavaca was already coming.

- (770) Nu=jata nu=iicua-Ø-Ø=quiyajaa,      nu-cajija=jata, tíira aasamu  
 3S=COM 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC=NWR 3S-ax=COM there creek

siricu-ma.      Iiya-iina nu=ajit+-sahu++-quaqu+ p+s+qu+ amaqu+=jina.  
 shore-LOC.upriver HIS-DET 3S=sit-ALL.PFV-DPST.NIP tapir road=LOC

With this, he just went with his ax to there, to the shore of the creek. Upon arrival, he sat on Sachavaca’s track. (T.PSV.2003.HDC: 148-150)

The following example shows that the subject's movement was explicitly explained. In the previous context, it was also mentioned that the sachavaca was floating in the well the people were heading for.

(771) Jaari nuu-huaar+ta cayaaca, titar++-Ø-Ø nuu tiira.  
 already 3S-peer person-PL follow-GNR.PFV-EC 3S there

Na=niqui-sahu++Ø anuu=yaajaa iicataana p+s+qu+.  
 3P=see-ALL.PFV-EC 3S=NWR trapping sachavaca

His peers already followed him there. Upon arrival, they saw him, by himself, trapping the sachavaca.

ALLPFV appears with all events. For Statives, it presents the movement of the subject towards a location and focuses on the initial endpoints of the Statives. It is compatible with a sentence asserting an open situation.

(772) STATIVES

Ácari yahu++ni nu-namija surii-sahu++Ø taaríqui.  
 now day 3S-eye emit-ALL.PFV-EC morning

Atif nu=surii-yaaØ=quiyajaa.  
 at.the.moment 3S=emit-IPFV-EC=NWR

Today the sun emitted (heat) strongly as soon as it came out in the morning. It is still pretty strong.

(773) Cu=ani-Ø-cura                      íiti    San Antonio=jina    ihuiini=ánuura.  
 1S=come-GNR.PFV-RPST    here    San Antonio=LOC live.INF=toward

Jaa    qui=iiqui-sahu++-Ø    íiti    jaa.

already 1S=live-ALL.PFV-EC    here    already

I came here to San Antonio to live. Upon arrival, I started to live here.

(774) Nu=nacusi-sahu++Ø      p+y++ni    cayaaca    íiti.  
 3S=know-ALL.PFV-EC    all            person.PL    here

Upon arrival, he got to know all the local people.

(775) Nu=sihuaan+-r++Ø      San Antonio=jina.    Jahuaari=yaajaa,  
 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC    San Antonio=LOC    at.that.time=NWR

nu=nacuasi-sahu++Ø    p+y++ni    iip+    cayaa-ca.

3S=know-ALL.PFV-EC    all            DET.PL    person-PL

He arrived at San Antonio. Almost at the same moment, he got acquainted with all the people.

For Activities, ALLPFV conveys the arbitrary endpoint and that the event is not in process. In (776), the subject ran (a few rounds or however long) upon arrival, but is not in the middle of running at SpT.

(776) ACTIVITIES

Nu=n+t+-sahu++-Ø.

3S=run-ALL.PFV-EC

He ran upon arrival.

To express that the subject is still running, (777) has to be used.

(777) Nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.      Nu=n+ti-i-Ø.

3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC 3S=run-IPFV-EC

He arrived and he is running now.

The following connected sentences further confirm that ALLPFV *-sahu++* conveys a closed event.

(778) Jaa      nu=asa-sahu++-Ø.      Jaa      nu=asa-qui-Ø      jaa.

already 3S=eat-ALL.PFV-EC      already 3S=eat-GNR.PFV-EC already

He already ate upon arrival. He indeed already ate.

The following sentence shows that momentary adverbials are not compatible with Activities in sentences containing *-sahu++*.

(779) \*Tiijicuaji nu=asa-sahu++-Ø.

suddenly 3S=eat-ALL.PFV-EC

Suddenly he ate upon arrival.

Achievement verbs, instead, are compatible with momentary adverbials, as in (780).

(780) Tiijicujaji nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø. Nu=apara-qui-Ø asaani=jina.  
 suddenly 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC 3S=begin-GNR.PFV-EC eat.INF=LOC  
 All of a sudden, he arrived. He started to eat.

ALLPFV conveys the natural final endpoints of Accomplishments. It can be seen from the examples below that for an event that takes more than one day to finish, such as ‘build a house,’ *-sahu++* can be used with Recent Past Tense (781), but not with Extended Current Tense (782), because pragmatically it is not possible that a group of people could arrive at a certain location, start to build a house, and finish building it by SpT.

(781) ACCOMPLISHMENTS

J++ticari na=sihuaan+-Ø-cura iíti=na, na=mii-sahu++-cura  
 when 3P=arrive-GNR.PFV-RPST here=CLSF 3P=do-ALL.PFV-RPST  
 núquiica iíta iíti.  
 one house here  
 When they arrived (in the recent past), they built a house here upon arrival.

(782) #Na=mii-sahu++-Ø núquiica iíta.  
 3P=do-ALL.PFV-EC one house  
 They built a house upon arrival.

For a short Accomplishment event, ALLPFV can appear in sentences in the Extended Current Tense with *-sahu++*, as in (783).

- (783) Jaa nu=najuu-sahu++-Ø iina simiim+.  
Already 3S=write-ALL.PFV-EC DET letter  
He already wrote the letter upon arrival.

For Achievements, ALLPFV spans the single-stage event with a preliminary stage, as in (784) and (785).

(784) ACHIEVEMENTS

Jaa na=p+ca-sahu++-Ø iina miini iíta.  
already 3P=finish-ALL.PFV-EC DET do.INF house

Jaa na=iiqui-i-Ø nu=jinacuma.  
already 3P=live-IPFV-EC 3S=inside

They finished building that house upon arrival (today). They already live in it.

- (785) Nahuaacaja jaa na=namit++-sahu++-Ø iina miini iíta.  
they already 3S=begin-ALL.PFV-EC DET do.INF house  
They already began to build the house upon arrival.

ALLPFV cannot combine with some Achievements because they are semantically incompatible, as in (786). One cannot arrive somewhere upon arrival.

(786) #Nu=sihuaan+-sahu++-Ø.  
 3S=arrive-ALL.PFV-EC  
 He arrived upon arrival.

ALLPFV also spans single-stage Semelfactives and presents intrinsically bounded events.

(787) SEMELFACTIVES  
 Nu=isiin++-sahu++-Ø.  
 3S=cough-ALL.PFV-EC  
 He coughed upon arrival.

(788) Nu=asíjuu-sahu++-Ø.      Atíí                      nu=asíjuu-yaa-Ø=quiyaaajaa.  
 3S=sneeze-ALL.PFV-EC    at.the.moment    3S=sneeze-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 He sneezed upon arrival. He is still sneezing now.

### 5.6.3 Ablative Perfective Aspect

This section discusses the uses of ABLPFV *-(y)aar++*. ABLPFV *-(y)aar++* conveys a closed event (i.e. Accomplishments, Achievements, non-motion Activities, Semelfactives, and derived Achievements from Statives) with a post-stage indicating the motion of going away from the location of the event. For Motion verbs, it indicates the onset of the motion with a direction away from a location. It can be used in past contexts and immediate and near-future contexts, but not remote-future contexts. In addition, it can also be used in imperatives.

As in (789), for Accomplishments, ABLPFV indicates that the subject realized an event and left the premises (addressed as ablative reading in this section; the consultants



often address this reading as ‘para su despedida’ ‘for his farewell’). The ablative reading obtains in both past (789) and future contexts (790). Note that ABLPFV cannot be used in the remote future. As in (790), REMPV *-maa* is used.

(789) Accomplishment

Past

Nu=najuu-yaar+-Ø núquiica simiím+.

3S=write-ABL.PFV-EC one letter

He wrote a letter and then left.

(790) Near Future

Amicaáca nu=núquiica simiím+ najuu-yaar+-Ø nu=ihuaani=iira.

one.day.away 3S=one letter write-ABL.PFV-EC 3S=go.INF=GOAL

Tomorrow he is going to write a letter and then leave.

(791) Remote future

Nu=núquiica simiím+ najuu-maa-Ø j++ticari nu=iícu-maa-Ø.

3S=one letter write-REM.PFV-EC when 3S=go-REM.PFV-EC

He is going to write a letter when he travels.

For Achievements, the ablative reading is also conveyed in past and in future contexts, as in (792) and (793).

(792) Achievement

Past

Jaa nu=iniica-aar++-Ø.  
already 3S=wake.up-ABL.PFV-EC  
He already woke up and left.

(793) Future

Nu=amicaáca iniica-aar++-Ø nu=ihuaani=iira.  
3S= one.day.away wake.up-ABL.PFV-EC 3S=go.INF=GOAL  
Tomorrow he is going to wake up and leave right away.

For non-motion Activities, an ablative reading is also obtained. Note that the other way to express the meaning of (795) is (796).

(794) Activity

Nu=tasii-yaar++-Ø quiaaja.  
3S=wait-ABL.PFV-EC you  
He waited for you and left.

(795) Jaa nu=cuhuaasi-aar++-Ø.  
already 3S=talk-ABL.PFV-EC  
He already talked and left.

(796) Nu=cuhuasiini=cánihuaaca, jaa nu=iicua-qui-Ø.  
3S=talk.INF=after already 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC  
After talking, he already went.

(797) Future

Quia=qui tasii-yaar+-Ø amicaáca.

2S=1S wait-ABL.PFV-EC one.day.away

You will for me before you go tomorrow.

For Semelfactives, an ablative reading is also obtained.

(798) Semelfactive

Nu=isiin+-yaar+-Ø.

3S=cough-ABL.PFV-EC

He coughed and left.

(799) J++ticariqui=sihuaan+-r+-cura ífti=na, nu=isiin+-yaar+-cura.

when 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST here=CLSF 3S=cough-ABL.PFV-RPST

When I arrived here (the other day), he coughed and left.

For most Motion verbs, an inceptive reading in addition to the ablative reading is also obtained, as in (800)-(803). Sentence (800) means that ‘the subject ran away from a location.’ The speaker sees the beginning of ‘running’ and uses the following sentence. Whether the subject is still running or not is not encoded.

(800) Motion

Jaa nu=n+ti-aar+-Ø.

already 3S=run-ABL.PFV-EC

He already ran away.

(801) Jaa nu=musi-aar+-Ø.  
already 3S=swim-ABL.PFV-EC  
He already swam away.

(802) Jaa nu=+-yaar+-Ø.  
already 3S=fly-ABL.PFV-EC  
He already fled away.

(803) Jaa nu=iicuu-yaar+-Ø.  
already 3S=walk-ABL.PFV-EC  
He already walked away.

Interestingly, in future contexts, the consultants overwhelmingly prefer to use MMTPFV instead of ABLPFV for Motion verbs.

(804) Future  
Amicaáca nu=+-yaar+-Ø.  
one.day.away 3S=fly-ABL.PFV-EC  
Tomorrow it will fly away.

(805) Amicaáca nu=iíti=ji +-r+-Ø.  
one.day.away 3S=here=from fly-MMT.PFV-EC  
Tomorrow it will fly away from here.

(806) Nu=amicaáca musí-r++-Ø.

3S= one.day.away swim-MMT.PFV-EC

He will swim tomorrow.

(807) Amicaáca nu=iíti=ji musí-r++-Ø.

one.day.away 3S=here=from swim-MMT.PFV-EC

Tomorrow he will swim from here.

(808) Amicaáca nu=iíti=ji musí-aar++-Ø tijiiraji-ánuura.

one.day.away 3S=from=from swim-ABL.PFV-EC river.bank-towards

Tomorrow he will swim away from here until the river bank on the other side.

(809) Immediate Future

Nin++niácuji nu=iíti=ji musí-aar++-Ø tijiiraji-ánuura.

Afternoon 3S=here=from swim-ABL.PFV-EC river.bank-towards

This afternoon he will swim away from here to the river bank on the other side.

For Statives, ABLPFV conveys a derived Achievement (i.e. an inceptive reading that focuses on the initial endpoints of a new state) and the motion of going away from the location. Note that (811), which contains ABLPFV, conveys the equivalent meaning of (810) in terms of the event of ‘getting to know’ and ‘leaving afterwards.’

(810) STATIVE

Jaa nu=iicua-qui-Ø. Anúurica=ánuura nu=ani=quiyaaajaa,

already 3S=go-GNR.PFV-EC only=towards 3S=come=NWR

nu=nacusiini=iira p+y++ni iip+ cayaa-ca.  
 3S=know.INF=GOAL all DET.PL person-PL  
 He already went. He only came to get to know everyone.

(811) Jaa nu=nacusi-aar++-cura.  
 already 3S=know-ABL.PFV-RPST  
 He left after getting to know (something or some people). (E.301106.JPI.IWL)

(812) Hermico nacusi-aar++-Ø Elbira sihuaan+-r++-Ø.  
 Hermico know-ABL.PFV-EC Elvira arrive-MMT.PFV-EC  
 Hermico learned the news that Elvira arrived and then he left.

(813) Tíira qui=ta iiqui-i-Ø. Atíira qui=nacusi-aar++-Ø  
 there 1S=ANT live-IPFV-EC. There.ANA 1S=know-ABL.PFV-EC

Elbira sihuaan+-r++-Ø. Anuu-niquiini=anuura  
 Elvira arrive-MMT.PFV-EC 3S.ANA-see.INF=in.order.to

cu=ani-qui-Ø juura nu=sihuaan+-sa-r++-cari.  
 1S=come-GNR.PFV-EC really 3S=arrive-NASS-MMT.PFV

I was there. There I learned the news that Elvira arrived. I came to see her, to see if she really arrived.

Sentence (814) indicates that the subject was finally able to carry the stuff, and so carried it away already.

(814) Jaa nu=parii-yaar+-Ø nu=aniquiini.  
already 3S=can-ABL.PFV-EC 3S=carry.INF  
He already went after being able to carry (the stuff).

Sentence (815) is from Ema's story (VRA). She used to live downriver for a few years. She said she left when she got tired of living there.

(815) Qui=sam++ri-aar++-quiaqu+ tíira ihuini.  
1S=be.tired-ABL.PFV-DPST.NIP there live.INF  
I was tired of living there and so I left.

Huaari cu=áni-Ø-quiaqu+ iicujiira=ji.  
at.that.time 1S=come-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP outside=from  
At that time, I came from outside (to here).

However, it is noted that ABLPFV is incompatible with the existential *iiqui-*. To express the idea that he was at some place, but not at SpT, DEIPFV is used. See §5.5 for relevant discussion.

(816) \*Jaa nu=iiqui-aar+-Ø.  
already 3S=be-ABL.PFV-EC

Interestingly, some verbs, such as *maqu+-* ‘sleep,’ convey an inceptive reading when combined with ABLPFV, patterning as a Stative<sup>124</sup> verb in this case, although the ablative reading is not rendered, unlike with other Statives. The reason for this inceptive reading is probably because ‘sleeping’ usually lasts a relatively long period of time with not much control by the agent and not much variation within the entire process. To express that the subject slept at a certain location and is not there at SpT, DEIPFV is used.

(817) Jaa nu=maqui-aar++-Ø.  
 already 3S=sleep-ABL.PFV-EC  
 He fell asleep.

(818) Jaa nu=maqui-aar++-Ø ácari=yaa=jaari.  
 already 3S=sleep-ABL.PRF-EC now=NWR=already  
 He already fell asleep just now.

The derived verb *maqu+t+++* ‘make sleep, cause to sleep,’ however, has an ablative reading when combined with ABLPFV.

(819) Jaa qui=maqu+-t+++-yaar++-Ø nuu.  
 already 1S=sleep-CAU-ABL.PFV-EC 3S  
 I already left after making him sleep.

---

<sup>124</sup> Other linguistic correlates (i.e. imperatives, etc.) show that the verb *maqu+-* ‘sleep’ is an Activity verb. However, the inceptive reading triggered by ABLPFV suggests that the verb also exhibits properties of Stative verbs due to these language-specific correlates.



(820) Nu=maqu+-t++-yaar++-cura nuu.  
 3S=sleep-CAU-ABL.PRF-RPST 3S  
 He made him sleep and then left.

Compare (817) with (821); the subject in (817) is asleep at SpT while that in (821), which contains GNRPFV in combination with the verb *maqu+*- ‘sleep,’ is awake.

(821) Caa nu=nacar++-yaa-Ø maqu++niiyamiácuji jaa nu=maqu+-qui-Ø.  
 NEG 3S=want-IPFV-EC sleep.INF because already3S=sleep-GNR.PFV-EC  
 He doesn’t want to sleep because he already slept.

If a Stative verb is combined with MMTPFV *-r++*, only the inceptive reading is rendered, without the ablative reading.

(822) Jaa qui=sam++r+-r++-Ø qui-miisana miini=ícuaji.  
 already 1S=be.tired-MMT.PFV 1S-thing do.INF=after  
 I got tired after working.

In the following, I discuss the verb *tiqui-* ‘pass through’ (i.e. pass a certain landmark and keep going), also often glossed as ‘enter’ by the consultants, as an Achievement verb. It is noted that although this verb is commonly translated by the consultants as ‘entrar’ in local Spanish, its meaning is more accurately described as ‘reach a certain point.’ This verb is the most common one used in imperatives with ABLPFV, as in (823).

(823) Tiqui-aar++-Ø (íiti=iira)!

pass.through-ABL.PFV here=GOAL

Come in (here)! (Literally: pass the door, walk away from it and keep coming towards here.)

(824) *Íiti=ji quia=iicuu-yaar++.* *Quia=iicuu-maa*<sup>125</sup> *tíira.*  
here=from 2S=walk-ABL.PFV 2S=walk-REM.PFV there

*Atíí=ji quia=quia-suhuaquiji-rata,*  
at.that.place=from 2S=2S-right.side-toward

*tiqui-aar++ taana niicuma. Atíira taa Inés-iíta=cuura.*  
pass.through-ABL.PFV other street there COP Inés-house=DST

You keep walking away from here. Continue walking until there. There you turn right to the other street. There is Inés' house.

If the speaker passed through the door of a house and is coming inside, he can utter the following the sentence.

(825) *Jaa qui=tiqui-aar++-Ø ííti=iira jaa.*  
already 1S=pass.through-ABL.PFV-EC here=GOAL already  
I already entered here (I am still in the house).

---

<sup>125</sup> This is a special imperative construction with the explicit mention of the addressee. The expression *iicu-maa tíira* 'walk (until) there' pairs with *ani-maa ííti* 'come (until) here,' but is not as common in daily imperative use.

If he reached to a certain point and stopped walking, and, after a while, somebody who cannot see him asks him where he is, the following sentence with GNRPFV is used, exhibiting a language-specific linguistic correlate of Achievements. See §6 for more discussion on situation types.

- (826) Jaa      qui=tiqui-qui-Ø                      ífti=iira      jaa.  
 already 1S=pass.through-GNR.PFV-EC    here=GOAL    already  
 I already entered (second time responding).

#### 5.6.4 Summary

This section discussed ALLPFV and ABLPFV. ALLPFV spans a closed event with a preliminary stage indicating the agent’s motion from some unspecified place to the location of the event referred to. ABLPFV spans a closed event with a following stage indicating the agent’s departure from the location of the event referred to some unspecified place. Both of them are uncommon with imperatives.

### 5.7 IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

#### 5.7.1 General Characterization of Semantics and Forms

This section discusses Imperfective Aspect (glossed as IPFV; referred to as IPFV hereafter in this chapter) in Iquito. IPFV does not occur with irrealis word order, except in counterfactual constructions in which an additional counterfactual morpheme, besides irrealis word order, also appears in the clause. When appearing in realis clauses, it combines with all three tenses (i.e. Extended Current Tense, Recent Past Tense, and Distant Past Tense) and yields imminent-future, present, and past interpretations. It is

ungrammatical with imperatives. It appears with all situation types. In general, IPFV conveys an unbounded situation (i.e. an open situation, part of a situation without endpoint information) in which SitT overlaps with RT. Smith (1997: 73) indicates that “the unmarked imperfective spans an interval that is internal to the situation” and that the “marked imperfective” spans “the preliminary stages of events or the resultant stages of telic events.” IPFV in Iquito renders progressive, habitual, dispositional, generic, or preliminary readings, depending on the situation types of the verbal constellation and the adverbials in the clauses. The most common uses of IPFV are the following. It focuses on the internal structure of all durative situations (i.e. Statives, Activities, Accomplishments). For non-durative situations (i.e. Achievements, Semelfactives), it focuses on the preliminary stage in the case of Achievements and it renders a multi-event reading for Semelfactives. It can also render an imminent-future reading usually with an explicit adverbial meaning ‘soon’ or other adverbials indicating a specific temporal reference, which, in a sense, focuses on the preliminary stages of all situation types in this context.

Regarding its formal identity, IPFV is morphologically marked in Iquito. Distant Past Tense and IPFV appear as a portmanteau morpheme *-(y)aariqu+*. In Recent Past Tense, it appears as *-(y)aa* except when following a short /a/ in which case the vowel is just lengthened. In the Extended Current Tense, it appears as *-yaa* following a long vowel and as vowel length *-:* following a short vowel. The following phonological rules are adapted from Lai (2005):

(827) In Distant Past Tense: *-(y)aariqu+* ‘Distant Past Tense with IPFV’

(828) In Recent Past Tense (*-cura*):

Only the short vowel /a/ which ends the verbal root is lengthened; all other vowels regardless of length are followed by *-yaa*. It is noted that the short vowel /+/ assimilates totally to [j] and is deleted when *-yaa* is attached.

a) IPFV -> -:/a-\_\_-cura

b) IPFV -> -yaa/V(V)-\_\_-cura

{V, VV} = /i, +, uu, ii, ++/

(829) In Extended Current Tense (-Ø):

For verb ending in a short vowel, the last vowel of the verbal root is lengthened, except for /+/ which changes to /i/ when lengthened. The possible vowels in point a) below include /a, i, +/.

a) IPFV -> -:/V-\_\_-Ø

{V} = /a, i, +/

For verbs ending in a long vowel, the formative *-yaa* suffixes. The possible vowels in point b) below include /uu, ii, ++/.<sup>126</sup>

b) IPFV -> -yaa/VV-\_\_-Ø

{VV} = /uu, ii, ++/

The following is the general temporal schema of IPFV.

---

<sup>126</sup> Up to now, there are still no examples ending in /aa/.

Diagram 11. Imperfective Aspect

I...////////...F

### 5.7.2 Present and Past Contexts

IPFV applies to all situation types in all three tenses. It renders progressive, dispositional, habitual, preliminary, generic, and multiple-event readings, depending on the situation type in the sentence. In the following, I discuss each situation type and how IPFV spans the temporal schemata of the respective situation types.

#### *ACTIVITIES*

For Activities in Extended Current Tense, IPFV renders progressive, dispositional, and habitual/generic readings, among which the progressive reading is the most common, as in (830)-(832). The event is ongoing at the moment of speech. The dispositional reading requires more pragmatic contexts, as in (833) and (834) and the habitual reading is generally accompanied by the use of frequency adverbials, as in (835). When the sentence is negated, either a dispositional or a progressive reading is interpreted, as in (836).

(830) Iina caaya nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø.

DET person 3S=talk-IPFV-EC

That person is talking.

(831) Iina m+saji atí nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø=quiyaajaa.

DET woman at.the.moment 3S=talk-IPFV-EC=NWR

That woman is still talking.

(832) Jaime nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø.

Jaime 3S=teach-IPFV-EC

Jaime is teaching.

(833) Iina icuani nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø Iqitu cuhuasiini.

DET man 3S=teach-IPFV-EC Iquito talk.INF

This man teaches the Iquito language.

(834) Quia=nacar++-sa-a-Ø-cari Iqitu cuhuasiini paj++ni,

2S=want-NASS-IPFV-EC-NASS Iquito talk.INF learn.INF

iina icuani nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø Iqitu cuhuasiini.

DET man 3S=teach-IPFV-EC Iquito talk.INF

If you want to learn the Iquito language, that man teaches the Iquito language.

(835) Iina icuani nu=pajuu-yaa-Ø Iqitu cuhuasiini

DET man 3S=teach-IPFV-EC Iquito talk.INF

p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina.

all day=LOC

This man teaches the language of Iquito everyday.

(836) Ca=nu=ariicua-a-Ø.

NEG=3S=sing-IPFV-EC

He is not singing. He does not sing.

IPFV indicates an open situation. This can be seen from the overlapping reading of a coordinated sentence. In (837), the events of eating and talking are on-going at the same time. The pronoun *nu* ‘3S’ can refer to the same person or to two different persons.

(837) Nu=asa-a-Ø      najahuaari      nu=cuhas-i-Ø=quiaaja.

3S=eat-IPFV-EC at.the.same.time 3S=talk-IPFV-EC=VERD

He is eating and talking at the same time.

He<sub>i</sub> is eating while he<sub>j</sub> is talking.

In Iquito, the comitative =*jata* also has the function of conjunction; it can be used if the agent of two events is the same, as in (838).

(838) Cuhasiini=jata nu=asa-a-Ø.

talk.INF=COM 3S=eat-IPFV-EC

He is eating and talking.

In (839), it can be seen that the verb *cuhasi*- ‘talk’ is intransitive. The subject of the verb is indicated by a discontinuous definite phrase in that the definite article precedes the verb while the nominal phrase remains in the postverbal position.

(839) Iina cuhasi-i-Ø caaya, najahuaari iina asa-a-Ø=quiaaja.



DET talk-IPFV-EC person at.the.same.time DET eat-IPFV-EC=VERD

That person is talking. At the same time this (other) person is eating.

For Activities in the Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense, the most common readings of IPFV, in contrast to those in the Extended Current Tense, are habitual/generic and dispositional, as in (840) and (841). The progressive reading is yielded under more specific pragmatic and linguistic contexts, as in (842) and (843). Sentences (842) and (843), consisting of a *when*- clause, also serve as a diagnostic test to show that IPFV linguistically conveys open situations as an overlapping reading is obtained.

(840) Iina Jaime Hermico Ema Ligia na=pajuu-yaa-cura

DET Jaime Hermico Ema Ligia 3P=teach-IPFV-RPST

Iqitu cuhuasiini (cuumi casiiri).

Iquito talk.INF two montrh

Jaime, Hermico, Ema and Ligia, they taught the Iquito language (everyday for two months).

(841) Trini nu=pajuu-yaariqu+ najaaja Iqitu cuhuasiini.

Trinity 3S=teach-DPST.IPFV also Iquito talk.INF

Trinity also taught the Iquito language.

(842) J++ticari iina sihuaan+-r++cura ifta acúmari=na,

when DET arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST house owner=CLSF,

Jaimenu=pajuu-yaa-cura Iqitu cuhuasiini.

Jaime3S=teach-IPFV-RPST Iqito talk.INF

When the owner of the house arrived, Jaime was teaching the Iquito language.

(843) J++ticari Jaime sihuaan+-r++-quiaqu+ Iquito=jina=ji=na,

when Jaime arrive-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP Iquito=LOC=from=CLSF

Trini nu=pajuu-yaariqu+ Iqitu cuhuasiini.

Trinity 3S=teach-DPST.IPFV Iqito talk.INF

When Jaime arrived from the city of Iquitos, Trinity was teaching the Iquito language.

### *ACCOMPLISHMENTS*

For Accomplishments in all three tenses, the progressive is the most common reading of IPFV, as in (844)-(846). In order to obtain a habitual/generic or dispositional reading, a frequency adverbial is required, as in (847) and (848). Speakers commented that the sentences indicate that ‘writing a letter’ was the subject’s job or part of his life, which is why he did it everyday. The sentence implies that he might have changed his job or habit now, if he were alive. In a negated sentence without an adverbial, only a progressive reading is obtained, as in (849). If the situation type in the sentence is changed to an Activity constellation, as in (850), either a dispositional or progressive reading is interpreted.

(844) Nu=najuu-yaa-Ø núquiica simíím+.

3S=write-IPFV-EC one letter

He is writing a letter.

(845) Nu=najuu-yaa-cura núquiica simiím+.

3S=write-IPFV-RPST one letter

He was writing a letter.

(846) Nu=najuu-yaariqu+ núquiica simiím+.

3S=write-DPST.IPFV one letter

He was writing a letter.

(847) Nu=najuu-yaa-cura núquiica simiím+ p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina.

3S=write-IPFV-RPST one letter all day=LOC

He wrote a letter everyday.

(848) Nu=najuu-yaariqu+ núquiica simiím+ p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina.

3S=write-DPST.IPFV one letter all day=LOC

He wrote a letter everyday.

(849) Ca=nu=najuu-yaa-Ø núquiica simiím+.

NEG=3S=write-IPFV-EC one letter

He is not writing a letter.

(850) Ca=nu=najuu-yaa-Ø simiím+.

NEG=3S=write-IPFV-EC letter

He does not write a letter.

Sentence (851) indicates that the Accomplishment event [write a letter] and the Activity event [eat] are two overlapping ongoing events.

(851) Iina nu=najuu-yaa-Ø núquiica simíim+ asaani=jata.  
DET 3S=write-IPFV-EC one letter eat.INF=COM  
He is writing a letter and eating at the same time.

### *ACHIEVEMENTS*

For Achievements in the Extended Current Tense and Recent Past Tense, preliminary focus (i.e. a progressive reading which focuses on the preliminary stage of an Achievement event) is the most common reading, as in (852) and (853). In the Distant Past Tense, on the other hand, a habitual/generic reading is the most common reading, as in (853) in which the frequency adverbial is optional. This is probably because when people are talking about the distant past, more frequently they talk about patterns of events and less frequently about a particular event. In order to yield a preliminary reading in the Distant Past Tense, more pragmatic and linguistic context is required, as in (855). The IPFV viewpoint, when yielding a preliminary reading, focuses an interval that precedes, hence is preliminary to, the single stage of an Achievement. Such an interval does not include the event itself and hence does not provide information on the actual realization of the Achievement event.

(852) (Jaa) nu=sihuaani-i-Ø.  
3S=arrive-IPFV-EC  
He is arriving.

(853) Amicaáca nu=sihuaani-aa-cura íiti ánuura qui-ífta=jina.  
 one.day.away 3S=arrive-IPFV-RPST house towards 1S-house=LOC  
 Yesterday he was arriving toward here at my house.

(854) (P+y++ni yahu++ni=jina) nu=sihuaani-aariqu+ íiti (ánuura)  
 all day=LOC 3S=arrive-DPST.IPFV here towards  
 qui-ífta=jina.  
 1S-house=LOC  
 He always arrived here in my house.

(855) J++ticari qui=iicua-aariqu+ Lima=jina=na,  
 when 1S=go-DPST.IPFV Lima=LOC=CLSF  
 najahuaari qui-is++cu sihuaani-aariqu+=huaja qui-ífta=jina.  
 the.same.time 1S-friend arrive-DPST.IPFV=EXCL 1S-house=LOC  
 When I was going to Lima, at the same time my friend was arriving at my house.

Sentence (856) further confirms that IPFV focuses on the preliminary stage of the Achievement event. Since the subject is prior to the state of being awake, it is not possible that he is eating at the same time, since eating requires a certain level of consciousness to perform the related muscle movements. Sentence (857) is, on the other hand, grammatical because it indicates that the subject is at the preliminary stage of waking up as well as prior to eating.

(856) \*Nu=iniica-a-Ø            asaani=jata.  
 3S=wake.up-IPFV-EC eat.INF=COM  
 He is waking up and eating.

(857) Nu=iniica-a-Ø            asaani-ánuura.  
 3S=wake.up-IPFV-EC eat.INF-towards  
 He is waking up in order to eat.

To indicate the actual realization of an Achievement event, perfective aspects are required, as in (858) and (859).

(858) Iina nu=iniica-r+-Ø            j++ticari iina +ta=asa-a-Ø            caaya.  
 DET 3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-ECwhen            DET ANT=eat-IPFV-EC person  
 He woke up when this person was eating.

(859) J++ticari nu=sihuaan+-r+-cura            amicaáca            ííti=na,  
 when            3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST one.day.away here=CLSF  
  
 jahuaari            qui=nara-a-cura.  
 at.the.time 1S=bath-IPFV-RPST  
 When he arrived here, I was bathing.

Interestingly, in a negated sentence, IPFV conveys a perfect meaning for Achievement events. Sentence (860) does not mean the subject is not arriving. In fact, he is arriving,

but has not arrived yet. To indicate that the subject did not arrive, perfective aspects are used, as in (861) and (862).

(860) Ca=nu=sihuaani-i-Ø      atif=yaaajaa.  
NEG=3S=arrive-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR  
He hasn't arrived yet.

(861) Ca=nu=sihuaan+-qui-Ø.  
NEG=3S=arrive-GNR.PFV-EC  
He did not arrive (earlier today).

(862) Ca=nu=sihuaan+-Ø-cura.  
NEG=3S=arrive-GNR.PFV-RPST  
He did not arrive (yesterday).

### *SEMELFACTIVES*

For Semelfactives in the Extended Current Tense, IPFV yields an ongoing multiple-event reading as the most common reading, as in (863) and (864). In a negated sentence, as in (865), either a habitual/generic or progressive reading is obtained.

(863) Nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø.  
3S=cough-IPFV-EC  
He is coughing.

(864) Nu=asíjuu-yaa-Ø.

3S=sneeze-IPFV-EC

He is sneezing.

(865) Ca=nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø.

NEG=3S=cough-IPFV-EC

He doesn't cough. He is not coughing.

Sentence (866) further confirms the ongoing multiple-event reading of IPFV for Semelfactives. Since the subject is coughing and singing at the same time, the event of singing must be interrupted by multiple events of coughing.

(866) Nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø najahuaari nu=ariicua-a-Ø=quiaaja.

3S=cough-IPFV-EC at.the.same.time 3S=sing-IPFV-EC=VERD

He is coughing and singing at the same time.

For a reading of single or multiple closed events, the perfective aspect must be used, as in (867) and (868). The number of events is not specified.

(867) Nu=isiin++-Ø-Ø.

3S=cough-GNR.PFV-EC

He coughed.

(868) Nu=asíjuu-Ø-Ø.

3S=sneeze-GNR.PFV-EC

He sneezed.



Semelfactives can also receive a habitual/generic reading, but with more pragmatic and linguistic contexts, as in (869)-(871).

(869) J++ticari ipanaca casiita-a-Ø nuu=na, nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø umaata.  
 when fever catch-IPFV-EC 3S=CLSF 3S=cough-IPFV-EC much  
 When he has fever, he coughs a lot.

(870) Nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø umaata iyámiácuji ca=nu=quiti-i-Ø ipanaca miini.  
 3S=cough-IPFV-EC much because NEG=3S=stop-IPFV-EC fever do.INF  
 He coughs a lot because he frequently has fever.

(871) Nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina.  
 3S=cough-IPFV-EC all day=LOC  
 He coughs everyday.

In the Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense, habitual/generic is the default reading of Semelfactives, as in (872) and (873). An ongoing multiple event reading is available when used with a *when*- clause, as in (874) and (876). Sentences (874) and (875) serve as a minimal pair in that IPFV in (874) yields an overlapping reading while GNRPFV in (875) yields a sequential reading. A closed reading is not possible for IPFV; therefore, sentences (874) and (876) cannot receive the reading ‘when I arrived there he had been coughing but he wasn’t at the moment.’ In order to express this reading, the speaker has to use (875) with a further explanation, such as ‘before I arrived, he was coughing.’

(872) Nu=isiin+-yaa-cura      taríyaaajaa  
3S=cough-IPFV-RPST    a.long.time.ago

iyámiácuji ipanaca mii-yaa-cura      nuu.  
because    fever    do-IPFV-RPST 3S  
He coughed before because he had fever (several times).

(873) Nu=isiin+-yaariqu+.  
3S=cough-DPST.IPFV  
He used to cough (a long time ago).

(874) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r+-cura      tíira=na,      nu=isiin+-yaa-cura.  
when      1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST    there=CLSF 3S=cough-IPFV-RPST  
When I arrived there, he was coughing.

(875) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r+-cura      tíira=na,      nu=isiin+-Ø-cura.  
when      1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST    there=CLSF 3S=cough-GNR.PFV-RPST  
When I arrived there, he coughed.

(876) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r+-quiaqu+      tíira=na,      nu=isiin+-yaariqu+.  
when      1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST    there=CLSF 3S=cough-DPST.IPFV  
(A long time ago) when I arrived there, he was coughing.

### *STATIVES*

For Statives in the Extended Current Tense, IPFV renders a state reading as the default reading. However, the IPFV might also render an inchoative reading for Statives, as indicated in the translation of (878), depending on the pragmatic contexts of the discourse. Such marked use of IPFV in Statives only appears with the Extended Current Tense, perhaps because the vividness of the present moment contributes dynamism to Statives. If conjoined with an event indicated by a comitative phrase, such a dynamic inchoative reading is also triggered, as in (879). In a negated sentence, only the state reading is interpreted, as in (880) and (881).

(877) Nu=nacusi-i-Ø      p+y++ni    cayaaca    niquisaani.  
 3S=know-IPFV-EC all            person.PL    appear.INF  
 He knows everyone's face.

(878) Nu=nacusi-i-Ø      p+y++ni    iip+      cayaaca  
 3S=know-IPFV-EC all            DET.PL    person.PL  
  
 iip+      iiqui-i-Ø      ifiti=ji.  
 DET.PL live-IPFV-EC here=from  
 He is getting familiar with everyone who lives here.

(879) Asaani=jata      nu=nacusi-i-Ø      p+y++ni iip+      cayaaca      ifiti=ji=p+.  
 eat.INF=COM 3S=know-IPFV-EC all            DET.PL person.PL here=from=PL  
 While eating, he is getting familiar with every one from here.

(880) Ca=nu=ta=iiqui-i-Ø            tii    t++    cana      +ta=iiqui-i-Ø.

NEG=3S=ANT=live-IPFV-EC there where 1P.EXCL ANT=live-IPFV-EC

He wasn't there where we were.

(881) Ca=nu=nacusi-i-Ø p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.

NEG=3S=know-IPFV-EC all DET.PL person.PL

He doesn't know everyone.

In Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense, the IPFV conveys a state reading. Statives and IPFV generally combine with Extended Current Tense; they only combine with Recent Past Tense and Distant Past Tense if the subject of the sentence died or incurred a change of state due to an accident or other reasons.

(882) Nu=nacusi-aa-cura p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.

3S=know-IPFV-RPST all DET.PL person.PL

He knew everyone.

(883) Nu=nacusi-aariqu+ p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.

3S=know-DPST.IPFV all DET.PL person.PL

He knew everyone.

### 5.7.3 Imminent-Future Context

It is noted that an additional adverbial which specifies a later time with respect to SpT forces a temporal interpretation of the imminent future. Speakers often use this strategy (i.e. Extended Current tense, realis mood, and IPFV in combination with an additional adverbial to indicate a situation in the imminent future) if they view the

situation as fairly close in terms of temporal distance and feel certain about its realization.

This strategy can be applied to all situation types as follows.

#### ACTIVITY

(884) Ácari iina nínaqui nu=maqui-i-Ø suhuaata.

Now DET night 3S=sleep-IPFV-EC well

Tonight he will sleep well.

(885) Ácari iina nínaqui nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø p+y++ni saacaya

Now DET night 3S=talk-IPFV-EC all thing.PL

iimi nu=nacar++-yaa-Ø cuhuasiini.

DET.PL 3S=want-IPFV-EC talk.INF

Tonight he will talk about everything he wants to talk about.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENT

(886) Jaa nu=najuu-yaa-Ø núquiica simiím+ ácari=yaa jaari.

already 3S=write-IPFV-EC one letter now=NWR already

He is going to write a letter right now.

#### ACHIEVEMENT

(887) Jaa nu=namit++-yaa-Ø núquiica iíta miini ácari=yaa jaari.

already 3S=begin-IPFV-EC one house do.INF now=NWR already

He is going to begin to build a house right now.

(888) Jaa nu=sihuaani-i-Ø ácari=yaa jaari.  
 already 3S=arrive-IPFV-EC now=NWR already  
 He is going to arrive right away.

SEMELFACTIVE

(889) Ácari nu=namit+-yaa-Ø isiin++ni.  
 Now 3S=begin-IPFV-EC cough.INF  
 He is going to begin to cough.

STATIVE

(890) Ácari nu=nacusi-i-Ø p+y++ni iip+ cayaaca.  
 now 3S=know-IPFV-EC all DET.PL person.PL  
 Now he is going to know everyone.

**5.7.4 Summary**

In Iquito, IPFV has the functions of a general imperfective as well as a progressive as it applies to all situation types. When applied to the basic level of the verbal constellation, it conveys a progressive reading for Activities and Accomplishments, a preliminary reading for Achievements, an ongoing multiple-event reading for Semelfactives and a state reading for Statives. When used in more specific pragmatic and linguistic contexts (i.e. combined with frequency adverbials, etc.), dispositional and habitual/generic readings can be obtained for Activities, a habitual/generic reading for Accomplishments, Achievements, and Semelfactives, and an inchoative reading for Statives. Interestingly, there is a scale with respect to which reading is considered the most common one according to the particular tense it is

combined with. It is perhaps due to the fact that when talking about the distant past, people frequently talk about patterns of events or states and less frequently talk about a specific event. Consequently, habitual/generic readings are generally obtained in past tenses without frequency adverbials while such readings generally occur with adverbials in Extended Current Tense. Habituals and generics are structurally quite similar in Iquito.

## **5.8 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, I discussed the grammatical aspects in Iquito. There are seven perfective aspects (i.e. General Perfective Aspect, Momentary Perfective Aspect, Remote Perfective Aspect, two Deictic Perfective Aspects, Allative Perfective Aspect and Ablative Perfective Aspect) and one Imperfective Aspect. Some of these perfective aspects incorporate an adverbial component while others incorporate directional or deictic components. The system of perfective aspects in Iquito manifests the importance of expressing the realization of an event in conjunction with information about the time of day, the location and the routing in terms of location (i.e. whether the event is realized upon arrival and if the subject leaves upon completion of the event). Perhaps the additional information has been so important (i.e. frequently expressed) that it is encoded synchronically as portmanteau morphemes together with the perfective meaning. The Imperfective Aspect is interesting as even though it has multiple functions when combining with different situation types, a scale of the most common reading to the least common reading is observed according to the tense it combines with. This scale reflects the important role of language use in determining the ultimate interpretation.

## Chapter 6: Situation Aspect<sup>127</sup>

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

The dissertation adopts Smith's (1997[1991]) two-component theory of aspect which includes viewpoint aspects (discussed in §5) and situation aspects (this chapter). The aspectual meaning of a given sentence results from the interaction of these two independent yet interacting components of aspect. Viewpoint aspect, grammatically encoded, semantically conveys the boundedness of a given situation (i.e. a bounded situation in its entirety vs. an unbounded situation in part). Situation aspect, expressed through the verb constellation (i.e. the verb and its argument), conveys intrinsic temporal properties of a situation. This chapter first gives an overview of the fundamentals of situation aspect in terms of different approaches and details the currently assumed approach in §6.1; then it continues with a discussion of situation types in Iquito in §6.2, including the basic properties and temporal schema of each type and its language-specific linguistic correlates; §6.3 concludes this chapter. Event quantification, including iterative, frequentative, and verbal number/pluractionality, is often discussed together with situation aspect as readers of the situation aspect literature are often interested in finding more information on this topic. In many languages, event quantification is expressed through productive morphology. In Iquito, however, it is conveyed through a set of synchronically unproductive derivational verbal morphemes. Because the discussion of event quantification in Iquito is essentially different from other analyses and consists of lists of words, I include this discussion in Appendix 1.

---

<sup>127</sup> In this dissertation I use the terms *situation aspect* and *situation type* quite interchangeably. Strictly speaking, I consider *situation aspect* as conceptual categories of human cognition and *situation type* as “covert linguistic categories” (in accordance with Smith 1997) which could manifest differently crosslinguistically.



Vendler (1967: 97) points out that “the use of a verb may also suggest the particular way in which that verb presupposes and involves the notion of time” and proposes four types, including States, Activities, Accomplishments and Achievements. Smith (1997) adds a fifth type which is Semelfactives. Aspectual properties of a situation are presumably part of human cognition as conceptual categories while situation types are considered, in the literature, equivalent to these categories (Bach 1981, Parsons 1990, among others), or as covert linguistic categories because they are manifested through language-specific correlates and are not directly coded in the grammar (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979, Smith 1997, among others). The situation-type relevant linguistic elements or constituents are considered to be VP (Dowty 1979, Verkuyl 1993), AspP (Borer 2005), both verb head and VP (Rothstein 2004), or a verb constellation (Smith 1997) which includes the verb and its arguments, corresponding to all non-optional lexical elements at the clausal level. I assume Smith’s (1997) approach as the situation type is compositional and is ultimately determined by properties of all elements in the clause, including nominal and verbal ones. In terms of characterizing situation types, both a set approach (Bach 1981, Pustejovsky 1995) and a feature approach (Verkuyl 1989, Smith 1997, Rothstein 2004) have been used. A set approach assumes hierarchical relationships among the situation types while a feature approach directly captures the situation types by the value of features, assuming no hierarchy and showing situation-type shifting as the result of feature changing. Verkuyl (1989) provides a verbal [ADDTO] and a nominal feature [SQA], distinguishing States, atelic events (i.e. Semelfactives and Activities) and telic events (i.e. Achievements and Accomplishments). Verkuyl (2005: 203) states that “the [+ADDTO]-property of the verb expresses dynamic progress, change, nonstativity or whatever term is available to distinguish it from stative verbs, which have a minus value. The [+SQA]-feature expresses that the NP pertains to a specified quantity of things or

mass denoted by its head noun.” Rothstein (2004) provides two features, [stage] and [telic], and distinguishes four types which are States, Activities, Achievements and Accomplishments while grouping Semelfactives and Activities together. Smith (1997) provides three covert temporal features: dynamism (i.e. agency), duration (i.e. durative vs. instantaneous), and telicity (i.e. completion and change of state). She distinguishes five situation types: States are [-dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]; Activities are [+dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]; Accomplishments are [+dynamic], [+durative] and [+telic]; Achievements are [+dynamic], [-durative] and [+telic]; and Semelfactives are [+dynamic], [-durative] and [-telic]. Besides duration, detachability also distinguishes Accomplishments from Achievements. Smith includes two levels of composition, which are a basic level and a derived level. This chapter assumes Smith’s framework. I assume situation types as covert linguistic categories (i.e. rather than a direct correspondence of conceptual categories of aspect) that is manifested through language-specific linguistic correlates. Situation type is conveyed by the verb constellation as it is interpreted at a clausal level and it is characterized by three temporal features-dynamism, duration, and telicity. With respect to the number of situation types, I propose to add a sixth type, Motion, in Iquito, as it reflects language-specific correlates. In this work, I use the term *motion* as both a situation type and a parameter feature for Iquito. Perhaps a more accurate term, such as [repetitive process with a directed path in mind],<sup>128</sup> should be considered in future research. It is worth noting that there seems to be a correspondence between *situation types* (i.e. in terms of temporal schemata) and *verb classes* (i.e. in terms of semantics). However, because the three parameters (i.e. dynamism, duration and telicity) might not be equally crucial crosslinguistically, the instantiation (i.e. manifested

---

<sup>128</sup> I use the term *motion* as a parameter feature because I am not really satisfied with the term [repetitive process with a directed path in mind]. Perhaps an even better term should be used in future research. It is also noted that this is a tentative proposal for a language-specific finding and I am using the term *motion* to denote the group of verbs that demonstrates this correlate; a few of them are not necessarily motion verbs.

temporal schemata through grammatical correlates) of the situation types in individual languages might not be the same. For example, in Thai, according to Sudmuk (2003), *duration*, instead of *telicity*, is crucial for events. As such, in some languages, Activities and Accomplishments might not be clearly distinct situation types although they might still be different verb classes, both cognitively and in terms of syntactic constructions. Motion verbs, semantically as a verb class, are commonly considered as pertaining to Activities in terms of situation type; Smith does not specifically distinguish the two. However, they have been proposed, by some authors, to be distinct in the aspectual system. Tenny (1995) indicates that Motion verbs are aspectually special. Janda (2007) states that “motion verbs are prototypical in the Russian aspectual system.” In the case of Iquito, the fact that the default use of certain perfective aspects clashes with Motion verbs and coerces derived meanings, among other grammatical correlates, suggests that Motion verbs have distinct temporal schemata, which consequently constitutes a distinct situation type. This proposal of adding Motion as a sixth situation type in Iquito is a pioneering and preliminary one, which is still a continuing research topic.

## **6.2 SITUATION TYPES**

This section discusses the classification of situation types in Iquito, distinguished by internal temporal features in terms of dynamism, duration, and telicity. Situation types are covert grammatical categories realized at the clausal level through linguistic correlates. According to Smith (1997), a given situation type is indirectly grammaticized in a language if verb constellations have a consistent set of linguistic properties. She assumes five idealized situation types which hold universally across languages: Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives, and Statives. I propose that this is generally true in Iquito, with some modifications. Iquito has six distinguished

situation types as demonstrated in their linguistic correlates: Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives, Statives, and Motions. Motion clauses generally have the same linguistic correlates as Activities or Accomplishments, depending on the adverbials (i.e. if there is a goal indicated) in the sentences, except when appearing with the Ablative Perfective *-(y)aar++* and the directional postposition *ánuura*, in which case Motion clauses receive marked interpretations in the former situation or are the only grammatical sentences in the later situation. The parameters which distinguish the six situation types in Iquito are therefore dynamism, duration, telicity, and motion. In the following, I discuss the situation types manifested in Iquito in terms of the three parameters of the internal temporal features and the linguistic correlates and show how Motion verbs are a distinct class in Iquito in terms of language-specific grammatical correlates.

### *Dynamism*

The temporal feature of dynamism requires agency as the source of energy, by which it distinguishes statives from events. Statives, therefore, cannot appear in the imperative construction and, correspondingly, cannot be the complements of verbs, such as ‘command’ or ‘order.’ Statives are also incompatible with manner or instrumental adverbials. In terms of language-specific grammatical correlates, Statives in Iquito generally appear with Imperfective Aspect. The combination of different perfective<sup>129</sup> aspects and Statives triggers different readings. The combination of Statives and General Perfective triggers an inceptive reading, in which case the General Perfective spans the initial endpoint plus an extended interval, indicating that the situation begins prior to RT. The combination of Statives and the Momentary Perfective triggers an inceptive reading

---

<sup>129</sup> There are 7 perfective aspects in Iquito: General Perfective, Momentary Perfective, Remote Perfective, two Deictic Perfectives, Allative Perfective and Ablative Perfective, which are discussed in detail in §5.

which solely focuses on the coerced initial endpoint. Remote Perfective indicates that the states began (i.e. the change of state began to hold) in the morning of a given day. Deictic Perfective Aspects indicate the location where the states began or obtained. With the Allative Perfective, the initial endpoint of a Stative is coerced upon the arrival of a given subject. With the Ablative Perfective, the initial endpoint of a Stative is coerced before the departure of a given subject. This section will discuss these language-specific grammatical correlates.

### *Duration*

The temporal feature of duration has adverbial and verbal linguistic correlates by which it distinguishes duratives from non-duratives. Durative verb constellations are compatible with simple durative adverbials (i.e. for x time), indirect durative adverbials (i.e. slowly, quickly) and inceptive and terminative verbs (i.e. begin, stop) which imply a durative situation. If combined with momentary adverbials (i.e. suddenly, at noon), an inceptive interpretation is rendered. Instantaneous verb constellations, on the other hand, are not compatible with simple durative adverbials, indirect durative adverbials or inceptive or terminative verbs. The sentences are either ungrammatical or yield marked interpretations (i.e. the duration of the preliminary or resultant state, derived multiple-event Activities). Instantaneous verb constellations are compatible with momentary adverbials which depict the moment when events occur. When combined with Imperfective Aspect, duratives focus on the internal stages while the instantaneous events focus on the preliminary stages. In terms of language-specific grammatical correlates, instantaneous telic (i.e. Achievement) events occur with the Momentary Perfective. The combination of the Momentary Perfective Aspect with all other events triggers an ‘in-passing’ reading (i.e. the event is realized as a separate interrupting route with respect to

a main route). The General Perfective is used in combination with instantaneous events only when SitT precedes RT.

### *Telicity*

The temporal feature of telicity has verbal correlates (i.e. finish vs. stop) and adverbial correlates (i.e. in x time vs. for x time) to distinguish Accomplishments from Activities. This is true in Iquito. Speakers can use the verb ‘finish’ and the adverbial ‘in x time’ with Activities only when there is a presupposed goal. They prefer to use the verb ‘stop’ and the simple durative adverbial ‘for x time’ with Activities. What distinguishes Accomplishments from Achievements is that when the adverbial ‘in x time’ is used for Accomplishments, the events span the entire duration. When it is used with Achievements, the expression receives the reading ‘it has been x time that’ which means it has been a certain period of time since the Achievement event has been realized. Speakers prefer to use the verb ‘stop’ for the termination of multiple-event Activities. In addition, the imperfective Activity sentences entail a perfective Activity sentence while imperfective Accomplishment sentences do not entail the completion of the event.

#### **6.2.1 Activities**

The Activity situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [-telic], and [+durative], and is an event with dynamic stages that goes on for an interval of time without an outcome, therefore without a natural endpoint. Its temporal schema is shown in Diagram 12. The symbol ‘I’ indicates the initial endpoint and ‘F’ indicates the final endpoint of the event. The subscript ‘Arb’ indicates that the event contains an arbitrary endpoint instead of a natural one. The dots indicate the internal stages of the event. Let’s take ‘talking’ as an example of an Activity. The event of ‘talking’ requires an input of

energy. At one moment the person who is talking moves his tongue towards the front of the mouth and at the other moment he moves it towards the back. The event of ‘talking’ hence spans a period of time with a sequence of mouth-moving stages. ‘Talking’ can continue as long as the input of agency is sustained and can end any time when the source of agency ceases; therefore, it is an event with an arbitrary ending, a temporal bound. Other notions relevant to the atelicity of Activities are known as ‘homogeneity’ and ‘cumulativity.’ Homogeneity entails that any sub-stretch of an Activity event constitutes an instance of such an Activity. However, an Activity is not entirely homogenous because, for example, at one moment a person might be opening the mouth but is not talking. The notion of cumulativity (Krifka 1992, Rothstein 2004) is a much more precise notion in that an event such as ‘talking’ consists of sub-events of ‘talk.’ Smith’s (1997) Entailment Pattern for Activities states: “If an Activity event A holds at interval I, then the process associated with that event holds at all intervals of I, down to intervals too small to count as A.”

Diagram 12. Temporal Schema of Activities

I.....F<sub>Arb</sub>

Imperfective Activity sentences entail perfective Activity sentences. Examples (891) and (892) in the following entail the perfective sentences (893) and (894), and (895), respectively.

(891) Ácari taaríqui nu=ta ariicua-a-Ø.  
 today morning 3S=ANT.IPFV sing-IPFV-EC

This morning he was singing.

- (892) Níinaqui nu=ta cuhuasi-i-Ø.  
Night 3S=ANT.IPFV talk-IPFV-EC  
In the night, he was talking.

- (893) Ácari nu=ariicua-maa-Ø taaríqui.  
today 3S=sing-REM.PFV-EC morning  
Today he sang in the morning.

- (894) Ácari taaríqui jaa nu=ariicua-qui-Ø.  
today morning already 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC  
This morning he already sang.

- (895) Níinaqui jaa nu=cuhuasi-qui-Ø.  
Night already 3S=talk-GNR.PFV-EC  
He already talked in the night.

A sentence which asserts that the event did not take place, therefore, is incompatible with an imperfective Activity sentence, as in (896) and (897).

- (896) #Ácari taaríqui nu=ta ariicua-a-Ø. Ca=nu=ariicua-qui-Ø.  
today morning 3S=ANT.PFV sing-IPFV-EC NEG=3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC  
This morning he was singing. He did not sing.



(897) #Niínaqui nu=ta                   cuhuasi-i-Ø.   Ca=nu=cuhuasi-qui-Ø.  
 Night     3S=ANT.IPFV talk-IPFV-EC NEG=3S=talk-GNR.PFV-EC  
 Last night, he was talking. He did talk.

The features of atelicity and duration indicate that the event does not have a natural endpoint, as in (898)-(900).

(898) Nu=ta                   ariicua-a-Ø.   Atíí                   nu=ariicua-a-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
 3S=ANT.IPFV sing-IPFV-EC at.the.moment 3S=sing-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 He was singing. And he is still singing now.

(899) Niínaqui nu=ta                   cuhuasi-i-Ø.  
 night     3S=ANT.IPFV talk-IPFV-EC  
  
 Atíí                   nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø =quiyaá   ácarí.  
 at.the.moment 3S=talk-IPFV-EC=NWR   now  
 In the night, he was talking. And he is still talking now.

(900) Ácarí taaríqui   jaa           nu=ariicua-qui-Ø.  
 today morning already 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC  
  
 Atíí                   nu=ariicua-a-Ø=quiyaajaa.  
 at.the.moment 3S=sing-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 This morning he already sang. He is still singing now.

The situation type value of Activity shifts to a derived Accomplishment when used with a bounding adverbial, as in (901) and (902).

(901) Anuu=ariicua-qui-Ø s++saramaj+táami hora.<sup>130</sup>  
 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC three hour  
 He sang for three hours.

(902) Anuu=cuhuasi-qui-Ø p+y++ni iina nin++ni.  
 3S=talk-GNR.PFV-EC all DET night  
 He talked for the entire night.

As Activities sentences are dynamic, they can appear in imperative constructions and as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ as in (903)-(904), and (905)-(906), respectively.

(903) Ani-maa! Ariicua-hu++ ífti!  
 come-REM.PFV sing-DEI1.PFV here  
 Come! Sing here!

(904) Cuhuasi-qui!  
 talk-GNR.PFV  
 Talk!

(905) Jaa qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø nuu nu=arihuaani=iira ífti.  
 already 1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC 3S 3S=sing.INF=GOAL here

---

<sup>130</sup> Iquito does not have a metrical concept of time, such as hours, minutes and seconds, in their lexicon. The word *hora* here is a loanword from Spanish.

I already ordered him to sing here.

- (906) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø Jaime nu=cuhuasiini=iira iíti.  
1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Jaime 3S=talk.INF=GOAL here  
I ordered Jaime to talk here.

Activities can also appear with volitional adverbials, reflecting the feature of dynamism, as in (907)-(909).

- (907) Nu=ariicua-a-Ø ca=marij++ni=jata.  
3S=sing-IPFV-EC NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
He is singing carefully.

- (908) Nu=ariicua-a-Ø mananuuni=jata.  
3S=sing-IPFV-EC bother.INF=COM  
He is singing on purpose.

- (909) Nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø ca=marij++ni=jata.  
3S=talk-IPFV-EC NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
He is talking carefully.

Activities are durative. Therefore, when combined with punctual adverbials, inceptive readings are rendered, as in (910) and (911).

- (910) Tiijicuai, nu=ariicua-qui-Ø.

suddenly 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC

Suddenly, he sang.

(911) Tiijicuaji, nu=cuhuasi-qui-Ø.

suddenly 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC

Suddenly, he talked.

Activities are durative and, therefore, are compatible with an inceptive verb, which implies a durative situation, as in (912) and (913).

(912) Jaime jaa nu=namit+-Ø-Ø arihuaani.

Jaime already 3S=begin-GNR.PFV-EC sing.INF

Jaime already began to sing.

(913) Jaime jaa nu=namit+-Ø-Ø cuhuasiini.

Jaime already 3S=begin-GNR.PFV-EC talk.INF

Jaime already began to talk.

Indirect durative adverbials are also compatible with Activities and describe the internal stages of the event span, as in (914)-(915).

(914) Macuaarica nu=ariicua-a-Ø.

slowly 3S=sing-IPFV-EC

He is singing slowly.

- (915) Macuaarica nu=cuhuasi-i-Ø.  
 slowly 3S=talk-IPFV-EC.  
 He is talking slowly.

### 6.2.2 Accomplishments

The Accomplishment situation type has the temporal features of [+dynamic], [+telic], and [+durative] and consists of a process and an outcome or a change of state. The successive stages of the process advance to the natural final endpoint which is the completion of the event and bring about a change of state. The temporal schema of Accomplishments is provided in Diagram 13. Again, ‘I’ indicates the initial endpoint and ‘F’ indicates the final endpoint of the event. The subscript ‘Nat R’ indicates that the event contains a natural endpoint which leads to a result or change of state. The dots indicate the internal stages of the event. As a telic event, an Accomplishment does not fit with the notion of cumulativity (Krifka 1992, Rothstein 2004) because an event such as [build a house] does not consist of sub-events of [build a house]. Smith’s Entailment Pattern for Accomplishments states: If event A occurs at interval I, then the process associated with A occurs during the internal stages of that interval.

Diagram 13. Temporal Schema of Accomplishments

I.....F<sub>Nat R</sub>

The imperfective Accomplishment sentences, unlike Activity sentences, do not entail perfective Accomplishment sentences. However, as a language-specific property, the General Perfective Aspect in Iquito semantically encodes only termination, not

completion.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, an imperfective Accomplishment, as in (916) and (917), does entail the counterpart perfective sentence, as in (918) and (919). Nevertheless, it does not entail the completion of the event as it can combine with a sentence which asserts an open situation, as in (920) and (921), or a closed situation, as in (922) and (923).

(916) Nu=ta            najuu-yaa-Ø    núquiica simiím+ taaríqui.  
 3S=ANT.IPFV write-IPFV-EC one    letter    morning.  
 He was writing a letter in the morning.

(917) Taaríqui nu=ta            mii-yaa-Ø    núquiica ííta.  
 morning 3S=ANT.IPFV do-IPFV-EC one    house  
 He was building a house in the morning.

(918) Nu=najuu-Ø-Ø            núquiica simiím+ taaríqui.  
 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC one    letter    morning.  
 He wrote a letter in the morning.

(919) Taaríqui nu=mii-Ø-Ø            núquiica ííta.  
 morning 3S=do-GNR.PFV-EC one    house  
 He built a house in the morning.

(920) Ca=nu    p+ca-qui-Ø            núquiica simiím+ najuuni.  
 NEG=3S    finish-GNR.PFV-EC one    letter    write.INF  
 He did not finish writing a letter.

---

<sup>131</sup> See §5.2 on General Perfective Aspect for a detailed discussion on the type of closure it encodes.

(921) Ca=quija nu=p+ca-qui-Ø iina miini ífta.  
 NEG=ADVRS 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-EC DET do.INF house  
 But he did not finish building that house.

(922) Jaa nu=p+ca-qui-Ø núquiica simiím+ najuuni.  
 already 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-EC one letter write.INF  
 He already finished writing a letter.

(923) Jaa nu=p+ca-qui-Ø iina miini ífta.  
 already 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-EC DET do.INF house  
 He finished building that house.

Accomplishments have a natural endpoint. A sentence which asserts the completion of the event is incompatible with a sentence which asserts an open situation, as in (924) and (925), unless it is a new event which involves writing a new letter or building another house. Momentary Perfective Aspect in the examples indicates a recent completion of the events relative to RT.

(924) #Nu=p+ca-r++-Ø núquiica simiím+ najuuni.  
 3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC one letter write.INF

Atíí nu=najuu-yaa-Ø=quiyaaajaa.  
 at.the.moment 3S=write-IPFV-EC=NWR  
 He finished writing a letter. And he is still writing.

(925) #Nu=p+ca-r++-Ø            iina miini ííta.  
3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC DET do.INF house

Atíí                    nu=mii-yaa-Ø=quiyaajaa.

at.the.moment 3S=do-IPFV-EC=NWR

He finished building a house. And he is still building.

Perfective Accomplishments combined with simple durative adverbials, such as *s++saramaj+táami hora* ‘for three hours’ or *p+y++in iina nin++ni* ‘all night long’ are odd. Instead, speakers use *s++saramaj+táami hora=jina* ‘in three hours’ or *núquiica casiiri=jina* ‘in a month.’

(926) Nu=p+ca-r++-Ø            núquiica simiím+ najuuni  
3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC one      letter    write.INF

s++saramaj+táami hora=jina.

three                    hour=LOC

He finished writing a letter in three hours.

(927) Nu=p+ca-r++-Ø            iina miini ííta    núquiica casiiri=jina.  
3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC DET do.INF house one      month=LOC

He finished building that house in a month.



Accomplishments are dynamic and appear in imperative constructions, as in (928) and (929), or as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ as in (930) and (931).

(928) Hirmicu, najuu-Ø-Ø           núquiica simiím+!  
Hermico write-GNR.PFV-EC one       letter  
Hermico, write a letter!

(929) Mii-cuaa núquiica ííta!  
do-DEI2 one       house  
(Go) build a house!

(930) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø       Hirmicu nu=najuuni=iira       núquiica simiím+.  
1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Hermico 3S=write.INF=GOAL one       letter  
I ordered Hermico to write a letter.

(931) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø       Jaimenu=miini=iira       nu-ííta       tíira.  
1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Jaime 3S=do.INF=GOAL 3S-house there  
I ordered Jaime to build his house there.

In addition, Accomplishments are also compatible with volitional adverbials, as in (932) and (933).

(932) Nu=najuu-Ø-Ø           núquiica simiím+ ca=marij++ni=jata.  
3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC one       letter   NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
He wrote a letter carefully.

(933) Jaime nu=mii-yaa-Ø núquiica ífta ca=marij++ni=jata.  
 Jaime3S=do-IPFV-EC one house NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
 Jaime is building a house carefully.

Accomplishments are durative. Therefore, when combined with a punctual adverbial, an inceptive reading is rendered, as in (934). Speakers prefer to use the combination of a punctual adverbial and an inceptive verb, as in (935).

(934) Tiijicuaji nu=najuu-Ø-Ø núquiica simiím+.  
 suddenly 3S=write-GNR.PFV-EC one letter  
 Suddenly he wrote a letter.

(935) Tiijicuaji nu=namit++-cura nu-ífta miini.  
 suddenly 3S=begin-RPST 3S-house do.INF  
 Suddenly he began to build his house.

The compatibility with an indirect durative adverbial which focuses on the internal stages of events also suggests the duration feature of Accomplishments, as in (46) and (47).

(936) Macuaarica nu=najuu-yaa-Ø núquiica simiím+.  
 slowly 3S=write-IPFV-EC one letter  
 He is writing a letter slowly.

(937) Macuaarica nu=mii-yaa-Ø núquiica ífta.

slowly      3S=do-IPFV-EC    one      house

He is building a house slowly.

As mentioned above, to assert the completion of an Accomplishment sentence, the verb *p+ca-* ‘finish’ is used. To assert the termination and the incompleteness of an Accomplishment, the verb *quit+-* ‘stop’ can be used, as in (938). The house indicated in the sentence is not completed.

(938) Nu=quit+-r++-Ø              núquiica    ífta      miini.  
3S=stop-MMT.PFV-EC    one          house do.INF  
He stopped building a house.

In contrast with Accomplishments, speakers prefer to use the verb *quit+-* ‘stop’ for Activities, as in (939), unless a presupposed goal is realized.

(939) Nu=quit+-r++-Ø              cuhuasiini.  
3S=stop-MMT.PFV-EC talk.INF  
He stopped talking.

What differentiates Accomplishments from Activities is in part the non-detachability feature which indicates the relationship between the process and the outcome/result of the Accomplishment situation type. One of the most common tests is with the adverb *almost*. For example, the sentence *he almost built a house* might have the interpretation of ‘he almost began building a house’ or ‘he almost successfully completed building a house.’ The above-demonstrated examples include a constructed object, a written letter or a built

house. Derived Accomplishments from Activities, such as (901) and (902), repeated below, do not have the feature of change of state as the outcome; therefore, they do not have the feature of non-detachability. The sentence *he almost sang for three hours* cannot have the interpretation of ‘he almost began singing for three hours.’

(940) Anuu=ariicua-qui-Ø s++saramaj+táami hora.  
 3S=sing-GNR.PFV-EC three hour  
 He sang for three hours.

(941) Anuu=cuhuasi-qui-Ø p+y++ni iina nin++ni.  
 3S=talk-GNR.PFV-EC all DET night  
 He talked for the entire night.

### 6.2.3 Achievements

The Achievement situation type is instantaneous (i.e. occurs in a moment) and includes a change of state. Its temporal features are [+dynamic], [-durative], [+telic]. Diagram 13 provides the temporal schema of Achievements. Achievements are single-stage events that result in a change of state. The dots indicate the preliminary and the resultant stages which are not part of the event. It is noted that Achievements might or might not have preliminary or resultant stages; some Achievement events such as [recognize] and [find out] do not necessarily have preliminary stages. Because Achievements are single-stage events, they are detached from any associated process and there is no whole-part entailment. That is to say, if the sentence *John arrived* is true at a certain time T, *John was arriving* would not be true at the same time T. It might be true at T-1, a time earlier than time T.

Diagram 14. Temporal Schema of Achievements

.....E<sub>R</sub>.....

Imperfective Achievement sentences, which focus on the preliminary stage of an event, do not entail perfective Achievement sentences. Therefore, an imperfective Achievement, as in (942) and (943), does not entail the counterpart perfective sentence, as in (944) and (945).

(942) Ácari taarqui nu=ta iniica-a-Ø.  
today morning 3S=ANT.IPFV wake.up-IPFV-EC  
He was waking up this morning.

(943) Ácari taaríqui nu=ta sihuaani-i-Ø.  
Today morning 3S=ANT.IPFV arrive-IPFV-EC  
This morning he was arriving.

(944) Jaa nu=iniica-qui-Ø.  
already 3S=wake.up-GNR.PFV-EC  
He already woke up.

(945) Jaa nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.  
already 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC  
He already arrived.

As a language-particular grammatical correlate, instantaneous telic Achievements appear with the Momentary Perfective Aspect in which SitT=RT. Therefore, if a person witnessed someone else waking up, sentence (946) is used instead of (944). The event of [he wake up] is in the proximity of RT which is the same as SpT in a sentence in the Extended Current Tense. If SitT < RT, the General Perfective Aspect is used, as in (944).

(946) Jaa nu=iniica-r+-Ø.  
 already 3S=wake.up-MTT.PFV-EC  
 He already woke up.

In (947), the SitT of the event [he finish writing two letters] precedes the RT introduced by the *when*- clause. Therefore, the General Perfective Aspect is used in the principal clause which contains the event [he finish writing two letters].

(947) J++ticari qui=sihuaan+-r+-cura tíira=na,  
 when 1S=arrive-MMT.PFV-RPST there=CLSF already  
  
 jaa nu=p+ca-Ø-cura iimi najuuni cuumi simiím+-ya.  
 already 3S=finish-GNR.PFV-RPST DET write.INF two letter-PL  
 When I arrived there (yesterday), he had already finished writing two letters.

The imperfective Achievement sentences do not entail the perfective Achievement sentences. This can also be observed from the compatibility of the imperfective clauses

with another clause which asserts an open situation, as in (948) and (949). The Imperfective Aspect in Iquito hence focuses on the preliminary stages of Achievements.

(948) Ácari taarqui nu=ta iniica-a-Ø.  
today morning 3S=ANT.IPFV wake.up-IPFV-EC

Ca=nu=iniica-a-Ø atíí=yaajaa.  
NEG=3S=wake.up-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR  
This morning he was waking up. (But) he still hasn't woken up yet.

(949) Ácari taaríqui nu=ta sihuaani-i-Ø.  
today morning 3S=ANT.PFV arrive-IPFV-EC

Ca=nu=sihuaani-i-Ø atíí=yaa ácari.  
NEG=3S=arrive-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR now  
This morning he was arriving. (But) he still hasn't arrived up to now.

Achievements are intrinsically bounded and have natural endpoints. A sentence which asserts the culmination of an Achievement is incompatible with a sentence which asserts an open situation, as in (950) and (951).

(950) #Jaa nu=iniica-qui-Ø.  
already 3S=wake.up-GNR.PFV-EC

Ca=nu=iniica-a-Ø atíí=yaajaa.

NEG=3S=wake.up-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR

He already woke up. He still hasn't woken up yet.

(951) #Jaa nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.

already 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC

Atii nu=sihuaani-i-Ø=quiyaaajaa.

at.the.moment 3S=arrive-IPFV-EC=NWR

He already arrived. He is still arriving.

Achievements are instantaneous and hence are not compatible with simple durative adverbials, as in (952) and (953). Instead of using the simple durative adverbials, such as *s++saramaj+táami hora* 'for three hours' or *p+y++in iina nin++ni* 'all night long,' speakers use the expression *jaari t++ s++saramaj+táami hora* 'it has been three hours,' as in (954) and (955).

(952) \*Jaa nu=iniica-r++-Ø s++saramaj+táami hora.

already 3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC three hour

He already woke up for three hours.

(953) \*Nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø s++saramaj+táami hora.

3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC three hour

He arrived for three hours.

(954) Jaari t++ s++saramaj+táami hora iina nu=iniica-r++-Ø.



already COP three hour COMP 3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC

It has been three hours since he woke up.

(955) Jaari t++ s++saramaj+táami hora nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.

already COP three hour 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC

It has been three hours since he arrived.

The adverbial *suhuaaramaj+táami hora=jina* ‘in four hours’ can be used to give the ingressive reading of Achievements. At the end of the four-hour period, they arrived.

(956) Na=sihuaan+-r++-Ø suhuaaramaj+táami hora=jina.

3P=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC four hour=LOC

They arrived in four hours.

Achievements are dynamic and appear in imperative constructions, as in (957) and (958), and as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ as in (959) and (960).

(957) Iniica-r++!

wake.up-MMT.PFV

Wake up!

(958) Sihuaan+-r++ íiti t++ qui=iiqui-i-Ø!

arrive-MMT.PFV here where 1S=EXT-IPFV-EC

Arrive (up to) here where I am.

(959) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø      Nataria    inicaani=iira.  
 1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Natalia    wake.up.INF=GOAL  
 I ordered Natalia to wake up.

(960) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø      Hirmicu    sihuan++ni=iira    iíti  
 1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Hermico    arrive.INF=GOAL here

t++      qui=iiqui-i-Ø.  
 where 1S=EXT-IPFV-EC  
 I ordered Hermico to arrive here where I am.

Achievements can also appear with volitional adverbials, as in (961) and (962).

(961) Ácari    nu=iniica-r++-Ø                      taaríqui    nu=ihuaani=iira    nu-nasicu.  
 today    3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC    morning 3S=go.INF=GOAL    3S-chacra  
 Today he woke up in the morning to go to the chacra.

(962) Nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø      iíti    nu=sihu+raani=iira    Hermico.  
 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC here    3S=visit.INF=GOAL    Hermico  
 He arrived here in order to visit Hermico.

Indirect durative adverbials can appear with Achievements, but they focus on the preliminary stages of events, as in (963). A clause containing an indirect durative adverbial is compatible with another clause asserting an open situation, as in (964).

(963) Macuaaria nu=iniica-a-Ø.  
slowly 3S=wake.up-IPFV-EC  
He is waking up slowly.

(964) Macuaaria na=sihuaani-i-Ø. Ca=na=sihuaani-i-Ø atí=yajaa.  
slowly 3P=arrive-IPFV-EC NEG=3P=arrive-IPFV-EC at.the.moment=NWR  
They are arriving slowly. They still haven't arrived yet.

Achievements are compatible with punctual adverbs, as in (965) and (966). Unlike in Accomplishment sentences, punctual adverbials do not trigger inceptive readings of events; they represent the actual occurrence of the events.

(965) Nu=iniica-r++-Ø tijicuaji.  
3S=wake.up-MMT.PFV-EC suddenly  
He suddenly woke up.

(966) Niiya jíríticu nu-namija nu=sihuaan+-r++-Ø.  
earth chest 3S-eye 3S=arrive-MMT.PFV-EC  
He arrived at noon.

Another point which distinguishes Achievements from Accomplishments is the incompatibility with the aspectual verb which expresses the final completion of a durative event, as in (967) and (968).

(967) \*Nu=p+ca-r++-Ø inicaani.

3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC wake.up.INF

He finished waking up.

(968) \*Nu=p+ca-r++-Ø                    sihuan++ni.

3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC arrive.INF

He finished arriving.

Achievement sentences derived from Activities or Accomplishments, as in (912), (913), (922), (923), (926), (927), (938) and (939), appear with aspectual verbs such as *namit+-* ‘begin,’ *p+ca-* ‘finish,’ and *quit+-* ‘stop.’ Example (912) is repeated as (969) below. The Momentary Perfective Aspect *r++-* appears with Achievements and spans the temporal schema of single-stage events. When appearing with Activities, Accomplishments, and Semelfactives, an ‘in passing’ reading is rendered, as in (970)-(972). This is discussed in detail in §5.3.

(969) Jaime jaa        nu=namit++-Ø-Ø            arihuaani.

Jaime already 3S=begin-GNR.PFV-EC sing.INF

Jaime already began to sing.

(970) Amicaáca        nu=asa-r++-cura                    ífti cáamicu-cu.

one.day.away 3S=eat-MMT.PFV-RPST hereupriver-LOC.upriver

Yesterday he ate here on the way upriver.

(971) Amicaáca        nu=simiita-r++-cura            iina    simiím+.

one.day.away 3S=read-MMT.PFV-RPST DET letter

Yesterday he read this book in passing.

- (972) Amicaáca nu=isiin++-r++-cura.  
one.day.away 3S=cough-MMT.PFV-RPST  
Yesterday he coughed in passing.

The Momentary Perfective Aspect triggers an inceptive reading when appearing with Statives, as in (973).

- (973) Nu=nacusi-r++-Ø naam+ taniini.  
3S=know-MMT.PFV-EC leaves weave.INF  
He now knows how to weave leaves.

#### 6.2.4 Semelfactives

Semelfactives are single-stage events with no outcome or result, with the temporal features of [+dynamic], [-durative] and [-telic]. The temporal schema of Semelfactives is as in Diagram 15. The symbol ‘E’ denotes an instantaneous event without outcome. Semelfactives are proposed by Smith as they are not included in Vendler’s (1967) classic typology. They are grouped with Achievements by Vendler (1967) because they are both punctual, with Activities in Verkuyl (1989) and Rothstein (2004) because repetition of Semelfactives (viewed as sub-events of Activities) constitutes Activities. Smith’s (1997) feature [-telic] separates Semelfactives from Achievements even though both of them are [-durative]; the feature [-durative] in turn distinguishes Semelfactives from Activities even though both of them are [-telic]. As Smith assumes a basic level and a derived level of situation type shifted by adverbials or viewpoints through the clash of features,

repetition of Semelfactives is treated as a derived Activity event consisting of multiple sub-events. For example, the sentence *John sneezed* (i.e. [-durative]) is a sentence with a Semelfactive verb constellation at the basic level while *John sneezed for an hour* (i.e. [+durative]) is interpreted as a multiple-event Activity at the derived level.

Diagram 15. Temporal Schema of Semelfactives

.....E.....

Semelfactives have the property of dynamism and, correspondingly, can appear in imperative constructions or as the complement of the verb ‘order.’ Examples (974)-(977) can appear in the context of a theater play or when people are establishing a certain signal to correspond to certain information. For example, people can say ‘cough once when people see us.’

(974) Isiin++-Ø            núquiica!  
 cough-GNR.PFV one  
 Cough once!

(975) Asíjuu-Ø            núquiica!  
 sneeze-GNR.PFV one  
 Sneeze once!

(976) Jaa        qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø        Iwen nu=isiin++ni=iira        tíira  
 already 1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Iwen 3S=cough.INF=GOAL there

t++ cayaa-ca niqui-i-Ø canaaja.

where person-PLsee-IPFV-EC 1P.EXCL

I already ordered Iwen to cough there where people see us.

(977) Jaa qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø Karina nu=asíjuuni=iira tíira.

already 1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Karina 3S=sneeze.INF=GOAL there

I already ordered Karina to sneeze there.

Semelfactives can also appear with volitional adverbials, as in (978) and (979).

(978) Anuu=isiin+-Ø-Ø mananuuni=jata.

3S=cough-GNR.PFV-EC bother.INF=COM

He coughed intentionally (to bother people).

(979) Anuu=asíjuu-Ø-Ø ca=marij++ni=jata.

3S=sneeze-GNR.PFV-EC NEG=mistake.INF=COM

He sneezed correctly (as planned, without making a mistake).

When appearing with punctual adverbs, Semelfactives are interpreted as occurring once, as in (980) and (981).

(980) Niiya jíriticu nu-namija nu=isiin+-Ø-Ø.

earth chest 3S-eye 3S=cough-GNR.PFV-EC

At noon, he coughed.

(981) Niiya jíriticu nu-namija nu=asíjuu-Ø-Ø.  
 earth chest 3S-eye 3S=sneeze-GNR.PFV-EC  
 At noon, he sneezed.

Semelfactives with durative adverbials are interpreted as multiple-event (derived) Activities, as in (982) and (983).

(982) Nu=isiin+-Ø-Ø                    suhuaaramaj+táami    hora.  
 3S=cough-GNR.PFV-EC    four                                    hour  
 He coughed for four hours.

(983) Nu=asíjuu-Ø-Ø                    suhuaaramaj+táami    hora.  
 3S=sneeze-GNR.PFV-EC    four                                    hour  
 He sneezed for four hours.

Iquito has non-productive derivational morphology<sup>132</sup> to derive a verbal stem, which encodes a mass number of multiple events, from an underived verbal root, which encodes a countable number of events. A few derived verbal stems are lexicalized and re-analyzed as a new verbal root. Example (984), which yields the same interpretation as that of (982), is not used all the time by the same speaker, and furthermore, not by all speakers. In addition, for the interpretation of a single event, the adverbial *suhuaaramaj+táami hora=jina* ‘in four hours’ is used, as in (985).

---

<sup>132</sup> For a detailed discussion of this topic, please refer to Appendix 1: Event Quantification in Derivational Morphology.



(984) Nu=isiin++cuu-Ø-Ø                   suhuaaramaj+táami   hora.  
 3S=cough.mass-GNR.PFV-EC four                   hour  
 He coughed for four hours.

(985) Nu=isiin++-Ø-Ø                   núquiica   suhuaaramaj+táami   hora=jina.  
 3S=cough-GNR.PFV-EC one           four                   hour=LOC  
 He coughed once in four hours.

An interpretation of multiple-event Activities is triggered when Semelfactives are combined with the Imperfective Aspect, as in (986) and (987).

(986) Nu=isiin++-yaa-Ø.  
 3S=cough-IPFV-EC  
 He is coughing.

(987) Nu=asíjuu-yaa-Ø.  
 3S=sneeze-IPFV-EC  
 He is sneezing.

### 6.2.5 Statives

The Stative situation type includes an undifferentiated (i.e. without internal structure) period of time (i.e. a moment, the minimal duration, or an interval), during which it obtains. Its temporal features are [-dynamic], [+durative], [-telic]. There might be a change into the state (i.e. initial endpoint) and change out of the state (i.e. final endpoint) involved; however, such endpoints, constituting changes of state, are distinct

situations instead of being part of the State. As indicated in Diagram 16, ‘I’ and ‘F’ are given in parentheses as they are not part of the State. The straight line indicates the undifferentiated period.

Diagram 16. Temporal Schema of States

(I)\_\_\_\_\_ (F)

Two kinds of States are identified: individual-level and stage-level States (Carlson 1977, 1980). Individual-level Statives (such as Spanish *ser*) denote properties of individuals which are considered more stable or permanent; stage-level Statives (such as Spanish *estar*) denote properties of stages (i.e. spatio-temporal manifestations) of individuals, which are considered transitory, temporary or episodic. In a derived level, Statives include generic and habitual readings of events (i.e. non-stative situation types). In the following, I discuss sentences of two commonly used verbs *nacusi-* ‘know, be acquainted with’ and *iiqui-* ‘live, EXT.’ Stative predicates in Iquito are generally expressed in the sentences with Imperfective Aspect, as in (988) and (989).

(988) Nu=nacusi-i-Ø        Iqitu cuhuasiini.  
 3S=know-IPFV-EC    Iquito speak.INF  
 He knows the Iquito language.

(989) Jaime iiqui-i-Ø        íiti.  
 Jaime live/EXT-EC here  
 Jaime lives here. Jaime is here.

In accordance with the non-dynamic temporal feature, Statives indeed cannot appear in imperative constructions, as in (990) and (991).

(990) #Nacusi-qui Iqitu cuhuasiini!  
know-GNR.PFV Iquito speak.INF  
Know the Iquito language!

(991) #Iiqui-qui íiti!  
live-GNR.PFV here  
Live here!

The speakers made corrections and provided the following sentences instead.

(992) Paj+-qui Iqitu cuhuasiini!  
learn-GNR.PFV Iquito speak.INF  
Learn the Iquito language!

(993) Ani-maa iicu quia=ihuiini=iira íiti!  
come-REM.PFV here.upriver 2S=live.INF=GOAL here  
Come here upriver (relative to you) to live here (where I am)!

Statives also cannot appear as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ as in (994) and (995).

(994) #Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø nuu nu=nacusiini=iira Iqitu cuhuasiini.

1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC 3S 3S=know.INF=GOAL Iquito speak.INF  
I ordered him to know the Iquito language.

(995) #Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø nuu nu=ihuiini=iira iíti.  
1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC 3S 3S=live.INF=GOAL here  
I ordered him to live here.

The sentences were replaced by the following the sentences.

(996) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø nuu nu=paj++ni=iira Iqitu cuhuasiini.  
1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC 3S 3S=learn.INF=GOAL Iquito speak.INF  
I ordered him to learn the Iquito language.

(997) Cu=atuu-Ø-Ø nuu nu=ihuiini=iira iíti.  
1S=inform/advice-GNR.PFV-EC 3S 3S=live.INF=GOAL here  
I told him to live here. I advised him to live here.

Statives also cannot appear with volitional adverbials, as in (998) and (999). Speaker Jaime commented that people might be able to guess what you mean by sentence (999) as it might refer to the things a person does that constitute his life and he does those things carefully. With respect to the sentences (998) and (999), the improved sentences are (1000) and (1001), respectively.

(998) #Nu=nacusi-i-Ø Iqitu cuhuasiini nu=cuhuasiini=iira Hirmicu=jata.  
3S=know-IPFV-EC Iquito speak.INF 3S=speak.INF=GOAL Hermico=COM

He knows the Iquito language in order to speak with Hermico.

- (999) #Nu=iiqui-i-Ø    iíti    ca=marij++ni=jata.  
3S=live-IPFV-EC here NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
He lives carefully.

- (1000) Nu=paji-i-Ø    Iqitu    cuhuasiini    nu=cuhuasiini=iira    Hirmicu=jata.  
3S=learn-IPFV-EC Iquito speak.INF 3S=speak.INF=GOAL Hermico=COM  
He is learning the Iquito language in order to speak with Hermico.

- (1001) Nu=mii-yaa-Ø    nu-miisana    ca=marij++ni=jata.  
3S=do-IPFV-EC 3S-work    NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
He does his works carefully.

As Statives do not differentiate within the period they cover, they are odd with indirect durative adverbials, such as *slowly* and *quickly*, unless the adverbials refer to the coming about of states, as in (1002), in which case, the sentence is arguably a derived Achievement because the Imperfective Aspect focuses on the preliminary stage of ‘the change of state.’ Sometimes, speakers resolve the weirdness by interpreting that the adverb does not have scope over the Stative verb, as in (1003). The adverb has scope over the infinitive verb ‘speak.’ Example (1004) has no alternative interpretation and, therefore, is completely bad as indicated by the speaker.

- (1002) Macuaarica nu=nacusi-i-Ø    Iqitu    cayaa-ca.  
slowly    3S=know-IPFV-EC Iquito person-PL

Slowly he gets to know Iquito people.

(1003) Macuaarica nu=nacusi-i-Ø Iqitu cuhuasiini.  
slowly 3S=know-IPFV-EC Iquito speak.INF  
He knows how to speak Iquito slowly.

(1004) #Macuaarica nu=iiqui-i-Ø íti.  
slowly 3S=live-IPFV-EC here  
Slowly he lives here.

Statives are compatible with adverbials of simple duration, as in (1005) and (1006).

(1005) Qui=nacusiija t++ Hirmicu suhuaaramaj+táami amariaana.  
1S=know.PART COP Hermico four year.  
I have known Hermico for four years.

(1006) Qui=iiqui-i-Ø íti suhuaaramaj+táami amariaana.  
1S=live-IPFV-EC here four year  
I have lived here for four years. (Literally: I live here for four years.)

As a language-specific grammatical correlate, Iquito Statives usually appear with the Imperfective Aspect. An inceptive reading is rendered when they appear with perfective aspects. Momentary Perfective Aspect coerces derived Achievements which focus on the instantaneous initial endpoints of the States, as in (1007) and (1008). General Perfective Aspect generally triggers an inceptive reading and spans the initial endpoint plus an

extended interval, indicating that the states obtain before RT, as in (1009). A detailed discussion is provided in §5.

(1007) Nu=nacusi-r+-Ø        naam+    taniini.  
3S=know-MMT.PFV-EC    leaves    weave.INF  
He now knows how to weave leaves.

(1008) Jaa        iina        iiqui-r+-Ø        curaaca.  
already    DET    live-MMT.PFV-EC    leader  
The village leader already revived.

(1009) Jaa        iina        iiqui-qui-Ø        curaaca.  
already    DET    live-GNR.PFV-EC    leader  
The village leader revived a while ago.

Derived Statives are triggered by frequency adverbials combining with non-statives, as in (1010).

(1010) Iina        caaya    p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina    nu=asa-a-Ø        páapaaja.  
DET    person    all        day=LOC        3S=eat-IPFV-EC    fish  
This person eats fish everyday.

### 6.2.6 Motions

In Iquito, there is a group of Motion verbs, including *n+t++ni* ‘to run,’ *musiini* ‘swim,’ *icuuni* ‘walk,’ *++ni* ‘fly,’ among others, which form a distinct class in terms of

language-specific grammatical correlates. Motion clauses generally have the same linguistic correlates as Activities or Accomplishments, depending on whether they have an adverbial indicating the destination. Examples (1011) and (1012) entail the perfective sentences (1013) and (1014), respectively.

(1011) Taaríqui nu=ta            n+ti-i-Ø.  
morning 3S=ANT.IPFV run-IPFV-EC  
He was running in the morning.

(1012) Taaríqui nu=ta            musi-i-Ø.  
morning 3S=ANT.IPFV swim-IPFV-EC  
He was swimming this morning.

(1013) Taaríqui nu=n+t+-qui-Ø.  
morning 3S=run-GNR.PFV-EC  
He ran in the morning.

(1014) Jaa nu=musi-qui-Ø.  
already 3S=swim-GNR.PFV-EC  
He already swam.

Imperfective sentences are incompatible with sentences which assert that the Motion events did not take place, as in (1015) and (1016).

(1015) #Taaríqui nu=ta            n+ti-i-Ø.            Ca=nu=n+t+-qui-Ø.



morning 3S=ANT.PFV run-IPFV-EC NEG=3S=run-GNR.PFV-EC

He was running in the morning. He did not run.

(1016) #Taariqui nu=ta mus-i-Ø. Ca=nu=musi-qui-Ø.

morning 3S=ANT.IPFV swim-IPFV-EC NEG=3S=swim-GNR.PFV-EC

He was swimming in the morning. He did not swim.

The Motion events do not have a natural endpoint, unless a goal is indicated. The features of atelicity and duration are indicated by the combination with a sentence which asserts an open situation, as in (1017) and (1018).

(1017) Taariqui nu=namit+-maa-Ø n+t++ni.

morning 3S=begin-REM.PFV-EC run.INF

Atii=yaa acari nu=n+ti-i-Ø.

at.the.moment=NWR now 3S=run-IPFV-EC

He began to run in the morning. From that time, until now, he is still running.

(1018) Taariqui nu=ta mus-i-Ø.

morning 3S=ANT.IPFV swim-IPFV-EC

Acari atii nu=musi-i-Ø=quiyajaa.

now at.the.moment 3S=swim-IPFV-EC=NWR

He was swimming in the morning. Now he is still swimming.

The situation type value of Activity shifts to a derived Accomplishment when combining with a bounding durative adverbial, as in (1019) and (1020).

(1019) P+y++nitaaríqui nu=n+t+-qui-Ø.

all morning 3S=run-GNR.PFV-EC

He ran for the entire morning.

(1020) P+y++ni taaríqui nu=musi-qui-Ø.

all morning 3S=swim-GNR.PFV-EC

He swam for the entire morning.

Motion sentences are dynamic. They can appear in imperative constructions and as the complement of the verb ‘order,’ as in (1021) and (1022), and (1023) and (1024), respectively.

(1021) N+t+-qui!

Run-GNR.PFV

Run!

(1022) Hirmicu, musi-qui!

Hermico swim-GNR.PFV

Hermico, swim!

(1023) Jaa qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø Jaime nu=n+t+++ni=iira.

already 1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Jaime 3S=run.INF=GOAL

I already ordered Jaime to run.

- (1024) Qui=iyáquita-qui-Ø      Hirmicu    nu=musiini=iira.  
1S=order-GNR.PFV-EC Hirmico    3S=swim.INF=GOAL  
I ordered Hirmico to swim.

They can also appear with volitional adverbials, reflecting the feature of dynamism, as in (1025) and (1026).

- (1025) Jaimenu=n+ti-i-Ø      ca=marij++ni=jata.  
Jaime3S=run-IPFV-EC    NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
Jaime is running carefully.

- (1026) Hirmicu nu=musi-i-Ø      ca=marij++ni=jata.  
Hermico3S=swim-IPFV-EC    NEG=mistake.INF=COM  
Hermico is swimming carefully.

Activities are durative and, therefore, are compatible with an inceptive verb, which implies a durative situation, as in (1027) and (1028).

- (1027) Jaa      Jaime    namit+-r++-Ø      n+t+++ni.  
already Jaime begin-MMT.PFV-EC    run.INF  
Jaime already began to run.

- (1028) Jaa      Hirmicu    nu=namit++-r++-Ø      musiiini.

already Hermico 3S=begin-MMT.PFV-EC swim.INF

Hermico already began to swim.

Indirect durative adverbials are also compatible with Activities and describe the progress of internal stages.

(1029) Macuaarica nu=n+ti-i-Ø.

slowly 3S=run-IPFV-EC

He is running slowly.

(1030) Macuaarica nu=musi-i-Ø naji j++ta núquiica m+tiija.

slowly 3S=swim-IPFV-EC as like one taricaya

He is swimming slowly like a taricaya turtle.

Activities are durative. Therefore, when combined with punctual adverbials, inceptive readings are rendered, as in (1031) and (1032). Where Motions differ from Activities in Iquito, in terms of linguistic correlates, is that Motion verbs combine with the Ablative Perfective Aspect instead of the General Perfective Aspect with punctual adverbials. The General Perfective Aspect can appear in this context only when the speaker is depicting a previous event. The speakers Jaime and Hermico commented that it is rarely used.

(1031) Tiijicuaji, nu=n+ti-aar++-Ø.

suddenly 3S=run-ABL.PFV-EC

Suddenly, he ran.

(1032) Tiijicuaji, nu=musi-aar++-Ø.  
 suddenly 3S=swim-ABL.PFV-EC  
 Suddenly, he swam.

The inceptive reading of the Ablative Perfective Aspect only applies to very few verbs, including the Motion verbs mentioned above and the verb *maqu++ni* ‘to sleep,’ as in (1033).

(1033) Jaa nu=maqui-aar++-Ø ácari=yaa=jaari.  
 already 3S=sleep-ABL.PRF-EC now=NWR=already  
 He already fell asleep just now.

When Activities combine with the Ablative Perfective Aspect, the reading is ‘realized the event and then left the premises,’ as in (1034).

(1034) Jaa Hermico cuhuasi-aar++-Ø.  
 already Hermico talk-ABL.PFV-EC  
 Hermico already talked and left.

Besides the above-mentioned grammatical correlates, the directional purposive postposition *ánuura* is another specific linguistic correlate of Motion verbs. In a clause which contains *ánuura*, only Motion verbs can appear as the main verb, as in (1035). The sentences containing non-motion verbs as the main verb are ungrammatical. As can be seen in (1036), the compatible postposition is *=iira*.

(1035) Qui=n+ti-i-Ø      Hirmicu ífta-cuura      Elbira      sihu+raani      ánuura.  
 1S=run-IPFV-EC      Hermico house-DST      Elbira      visit.INF      towards  
 I am running to Hermico's house to visit Elbira.

(1036) Qui=capi-i-Ø      asúraaja      asaani=iira.  
 1S=cook-IPFV-EC      yuca      eat.INF=GOAL  
 I am cooking yuca to eat.

In this section, I discussed the classification of situation types in Iquito in terms of the temporal features of dynamism, duration and telicity. Distinct situation types have respective consistent sets of linguistic properties in Iquito. I proposed that Iquito has six distinct situation types as demonstrated in their linguistic correlates: Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives, Statives, and Motions. The parameters which distinguish the six situation types in Iquito are therefore dynamism, duration, telicity, and motion.

### 6.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter first provided an overview of the fundamentals of situation aspect in terms of various approaches and proposed using Smith's (1997[1991]) framework. I assume situation types as covert linguistic categories that are manifested through language-specific linguistic correlates at the clausal level. The classification of situation types is characterized by the internal temporal features in terms of dynamism, duration and telicity. With respect to the number of situation types, I propose to add a sixth type, Motion, in Iquito as it reflects language-specific correlates.

## Chapter 7: Oral Texts and Discourse Modes

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in §3, tense and temporal interpretations of single/independent sentences are deictic; that is to say, the default way to determine the temporal location of a situation is based on the perspective of the speaker and is oriented to SpT. To expand the domain of the study of tense and temporal interpretation, the current chapter aims to explore Iquito text at the passage level (i.e. at least two sentences in context, stretches of text, text segments) in which various modes of discourse are manifest. Smith (2003) uses the term “discourse” to refer to both spoken and written material and reserves the term “text” for written material. In the field of language documentation, the term “text” is generally used to refer to transcribed material of audio recordings from oral activities. As the Iquito language does not have a writing tradition, although the Iquito people practice painting culturally, writing consequently does not constitute a distinct genre. This dissertation follows Smith’s (2003) terms and definitions for “discourse” and “discourse mode,” while using the terms “text” or “oral text” to refer to the transcribed version of originally oral content.

Smith (2003) proposes five discourse modes<sup>133</sup> manifested at the passage level: Narrative, Report, Description, Information (as “Informative” in Smith 2004), and Argument (as “Argument-Commentary” in Smith 2004). They are characterized in terms of types of text organization (i.e. temporal, atemporal), of entities (i.e. eventualities, general statives, abstract entities), of progression (i.e. temporal/spatial, metaphorical), and of patterns of tense interpretation (i.e. deictic, narrative/continuity, anaphoric). These features are interrelated as, for example, principles of progression change in accordance

---

<sup>133</sup> This does not include procedural texts and conversations.

with the types of entities and the organizational temporality of a given passage. Temporality, pertaining to human cognition, is essential in differentiating between the modes: Narrative, Report, and Description are temporally organized modes and are located in time while Information and Argument are not temporally organized and are not located in time. The main types of entity introduced into the discourse universe are eventualities and abstract entities. These correspond to the temporality discussed above since eventualities are temporally located in the world while abstract entities are not. Eventualities include events, states and general statives (including generics and generalizations). Abstract entities include facts, propositions, and projective propositions. Different types of entities prevail in different discourse modes. The following summary is adapted from Smith (2004).

Table 16. Dominant Types of Entities in Each Discourse Mode

Types of Entities		Eventualities (temporal)	Abstract Entities (atemporal)
Discourse Modes	Narrative	events, states	Not dominant
	Report	events, states, statives	Not dominant
	Description	states, statives, ongoing events	Not dominant
	Information	Not dominant	facts, statives
	Argument	Not dominant	all abstract entities, statives

In terms of principles of text progression (i.e. advancement), in temporally organized discourse modes (i.e. Narrative, Report, and Description) text advances as temporal or spatial location changes, while in atemporally organized discourse modes (i.e. Information and Argument) text advances along with metaphorical motion or change of metaphorical location. Subtypes of text progression are discussed in the following under each discourse mode.



Smith (2004) states that “at the local level of the passage, one recognizes stretches of text that are intuitively of different types, e.g. Narrative, Description, Commentary” and that “these stretches tend to have a particular force and a characteristic cluster of linguistic features and interpretations.” In the following I discuss the five modes individually. Moens (1987) points out that the main component of a narrative is the episode, which is a series of sequentially ordered and consequentially related events and states. These subevents “occur in a certain order, which is crucial for understanding” (Smith, 2003). The text of a narrative is therefore temporally organized and is located in time. After the first sentence of a passage, the understanding of RT depends on that of the previous sentence, and is not in accordance with SpT. Narrative RT advances according to the dynamism of events, with “perfective event sentences and with explicit temporal adverbials” (Smith, 2004). In addition, inference about change of time from change of location also advances narrative time (Smith, 2003). Tense in narrative mode conveys continuity instead of temporal location. That is to say, tense is not interpreted as deictically related to SpT; rather, it is interpreted as internally related to other clauses and RT advances with each bounded sentence. Narrative mode also consists of a limited anaphoric pattern in which the RT of a given sentence is the same as that of the preceding sentence when the sentence is unbounded. The continuity pattern is represented schematically in Diagram 17 and the anaphoric pattern in Diagram 18.

Diagram 17. Continuity Pattern: bounded Events (Adapted from Smith 2003)

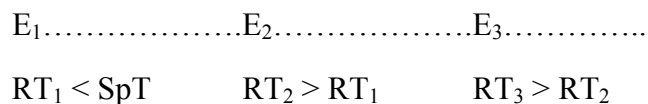
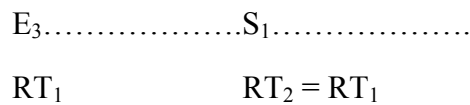
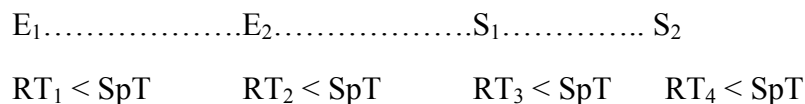


Diagram 18. Anaphoric Pattern: States, progressives (Adapted from Smith 2003)



Like Narrative, the Report mode mainly consists of eventualities. The difference between Report and Narrative in terms of the ordering of situations is that it is less significant in a Report because it neither determines nor changes the interpretation. The text of a Report is temporally organized and is located in time. However, the situations in the text are not related to each other; rather, they are related to SpT, the temporal perspective of the reporter. As such, Report RT advances according to the temporal standpoint of the reporter. Tense, as well as temporal adverbials, in Report mode conveys deixis with SpT as the orientation point, very much like the temporal interpretation of single/independent sentences. Tense frequently changes back and forth, confirming that the presentation order of the situations does not correspond to the temporally sequential order of events. The deictic pattern (with past tense) is schematically represented in Diagram 19 below.

Diagram 19. Deictic Pattern (Adapted from Smith 2003)



Like Narrative and Report, the Description mode mainly consists of eventualities, as opposed to abstract entities. However, the situations are unbounded, including ongoing events, states, and statives. Time in Description is static, without dynamism. There might

be perfective sentences, but they do not advance time. As Smith (2004) states, “if there is motion it doesn’t involve significant changes of state and there is no sense that time advances.” She posited a tacit durative time adverbial that has scope over the entire description, the duration of which depends on the context. That temporal stability and the coercion effect of perfective sentences in Description is interpreted with no temporal advancement can be attributed to such a tacit temporal adverbial. In addition, a locative adverbial in general appears as the first sentence to set the scene and has scope over the entire Description passage. The text of a Description is temporally organized and is located in time. However, as mentioned earlier, the time is static and the situations in the text share the same RT, an anaphoric pattern, as shown above in Diagram 18. Text does not advance temporally; rather, it advances spatially as the description moves from one part to another part of the scene. The presentational order of sentences corresponds to the path being traversed in the scene.

Information and Argument modes, unlike Narrative, Report, and Description mode, consist of statives and abstract entities in general. There might be sentences that express eventualities in the passage; however, they function to illustrate the relevant point, but are not part of the intended information or argument. These two modes are not temporally organized; the text progresses in a metaphorical domain, instead of a temporal or spatial domain. Smith (2003: 31) states that “The idea can be implemented with the notion of a Primary Referent that is semantically central to a situation. Each clause in a passage has a Primary Referent. When the Primary Referent moves metaphorically from one part of the text domain to another, one has the intuition of metaphorical progression.” The Primary Referent corresponds to Patient and Theme in general. She further states that “conventional organizing principles include causal relations, chronology, and geography (pp. 31),” which is timeless, not temporally organized. Information and Argument modes

differ in several ways. Their major types of entities are different: Information contains mainly facts and general statives while Argument contains all abstract entities, including propositions, and statives. They also differ in subjectivity: Information presents a collection of (uncontroversial) facts and generalizations while Argument presents potentially controversial findings or comments and the author might be strongly present or not depending on the use of deictic terms. Both Information and Argument have a deictic pattern as the function of tense. The choice of tense conveys deixis as tense anchors to SpT.

In summary, the three tense patterns (i.e. continuity, anaphora, and deixis) are demonstrated for non-first clauses of text passages with the first sentence being interpreted by the default deictic principle. The five discourse modes are interactive and frequently co-exist in a stretch of text. For example, a Description passage might appear in a larger Narrative Mode; a Narrative passage might appear in a larger Information or Argument passage to assist in illustrating the main point. Smith (2004) states that the list of five modes is perhaps not complete but is significantly representative, and that the list must be relatively short if it were to represent a generalization. Allowing variation within a mode (e.g. discounting non-major entities and patterns) is one of the ways that permit us to see a bigger picture of a mode.

The following table summarizes the characteristics of the five discourse modes discussed above.

Table 17. Characteristics of the Five Discourse Modes

Discourse Modes	Narrative	Report	Description	Information	Argument
Text Organization	temporal			atemporal	
Main Types of Entities	eventualities			statives and abstract entities	

	Subtypes	events, states	events, states, statives	ongoing events, states, statives,	facts, statives	all abstract entities, statives
	Ordering	sequentially ordered	ordering representing an advancing SpT	traversing path in the scene	traversing path in the metaphorical domain	
Principles of Progression/ Advancement	Domain	temporal or spatial Domain			metaphorical domain	
	Manner	dynamic temporal advancement		Static in time; spatial advancement	metaphorical motion, change of metaphorical location	
	Conveying Cues	perfective/ bounded events, explicit temporal adverbials, inference (e.g. change of time inferred from change of location)	the relation to SpT, including tense and temporal adverbials; change of spatial location	movement from one scene to another	change of Primary Referent; change of metaphorical location of Primary Referent	
Pattern of Tense Interpretation	Anchor of RT	previous discourse	SpT	previous discourse	SpT	
	Tense Function/ Pattern	continuity, limited anaphoric pattern	deictic	anaphora	deictic	

In §7.2, I discuss the manifestation of the discourse modes in Iquito oral texts and in §7.3, I discuss the major temporal connectives and their implications in the text. §7.4 concludes this chapter.

## 7.2 TENSE AND TEXT PROGRESSION IN QUITO

In this section, I discuss the structure of Iquito oral texts in terms of the discourse modes. Following Smith (2003), I use the linguistic correlates associated with each discourse mode to explicate the discourse mode pattern in Iquito. I further add language-specific grammatical correlates that occur in each discourse mode to demonstrate how each mode is manifested. In addition, I also include factors such as stress and intonation, audience and the surrounding setting in the discussion. Two oral texts are used as detailed case studies in this section; the first one is a narrative entitled *How I Used to Live Down River* (§7.2.1) and the second one is a traditional tale entitled *The Story of the Moon* (§7.2.2). In §7.2.3, I conclude, based on nearly twenty-one texts<sup>134</sup> from the ILDP text collection, that four modes (i.e. Narrative, Description, Report, and Information<sup>135</sup>) from Smith's (2003) list were found in the Iquito texts. This is not to say that Argument mode does not exist in Iquito texts. Perhaps it is due to the contexts and the cultural tradition of the oral texts of Iquito that Argument mode, which includes controversial facts and projections, does not appear in the existing texts. In the appropriate context, it might still emerge. The other possible reason that I have not encountered passages of Argument mode might have to do with the fact that Iquito is a moribund language. The Iquito language is not used on a daily basis and, therefore, naturally there is no political discussion or similar topics. Most of the conversations carried out by the speakers occurred during the recording sessions. In addition to the four modes mentioned above,

---

<sup>134</sup> Through personal communication with Chris Beier, the text coordinator of the ILDP, she confirmed that “the ILDP has a collection of more than ninety unique recorded ‘texts,’ documenting the Iquito language...yielding a total of about twenty-two hours of audio and/or video recordings” and that “seventy of the texts have been either completely or partially transcribed and translated, either by hand or as electronic documents; twenty-one are ready for publication.”

<sup>135</sup> Information Mode is found in instructional texts, such as *Cómo Hacer Chacra* ‘How to Establish a Vegetable garden,’ *Cómo Hacer Masato 1* ‘How to Make Manioc Beer 1,’ and *J++tarata canatanii in++si* ‘How to Weave a Hammock’.

Quoted Speech in Iquito, especially the direct quotes<sup>136</sup>, manifests an interesting mixture of modes with distinct language-specific grammatical correlates, interpretation of tense, and subjectivity. However, since it is currently only found embedded within a larger Narrative mode in Iquito and might as well be found embedded within other modes in the future, I discuss, in this dissertation, the interesting aspects of its properties, but presently I am not proposing it as an independent, separate, mode. Smith (2003) does not specifically discuss quoted speech, and does not include Quoted Speech as a separate mode. This might have to do with the fact that features of quoted speech might, to some extent, be predictable. For example, deixis (e.g. pronoun and space) shifts to that of the character because the speaker utters the sentence as if he were the character. However, since, in Iquito, quoted speech does exhibit different grammatical correlates and tense interpretation, it is worth discussing these interesting findings.<sup>137</sup> Although I do not specifically include a conversational text in this section, conversations (such as text 3 in Appendix 2) contain all four proposed modes—passages of narration, description, report and information—and quoted speech, as a mixture of modes.

### **7.2.1 *How I Used to Live Down River***

In this oral text (as text 2 in Appendix 2), the speaker Ema Llona Yareja talked about her life when she lived down river long time ago. She used to live there with her husband before he passed away. Her brother lived there at the time when this text was recorded. Among the four speakers who all display distinct traits of style, Ema is the one

---

<sup>136</sup> I am currently observing some variations of direct quotes. Direct quotes in conversational texts seem to be accompanied by the reportive markers.

<sup>137</sup> In Smith's class in Fall 2005, Marie Harnisch, a former classmate, wrote a course paper based on the text *Saasaquiicuaa Iiyuu 'The Powerful Man of the Purge Saasaquiicuaa'* and proposed Quoted Speech as an independent mode. Smith gave positive comments at that time. Harnisch's (2005) work, however, did not propose a detailed outline in terms of interpretation of tense in Quoted Speech and did not include information in her findings.

who generally tends to give sentences of patterns of events instead of specific events. She also often repeats. As such, in her narration the narrative time does not constantly advance because most of the sentences are generalizing statives; instead, it advances only at a few important points, manifesting a Narrative Mode with many instances of Report or Description modes in between. In this current oral text, narrative time advances twice. Once is when her husband passed away, which is also the same time when she got tired of living there. The second time is when she moved upriver. Below I discuss the text in more detail.

The beginning line of the text is in Report mode. The tense is deictic with RT<sub>1</sub><sup>138</sup> the same as SpT, reflecting the temporal perspective of the narrator. The aspect is imperfective, indicating an ongoing or immediate-future<sup>139</sup> event. The first grammatical person refers to the narrator and the second person refers to the researcher who was recording the story, establishing a connection between the narrator and the audience. This sentence constitutes its own mode also because its content is not related to that of successive sentences.

001 Qui=saaqu++nii-yaa-Ø quiaja Don Leo.

1S=tell-IPFV-EC      2S      Mr. Leo

I am going to tell you, Mr. Leo.

Lines 2-7 are the first major narrative passage in this oral text. Lines 2-3 are the first sentence which functions to establish an RT based on which the following event sentences advance the narrative time. As the first sentence of a narrative passage, the

---

<sup>138</sup> The subscript number next to RT is consistent with the line number in the oral text.

<sup>139</sup> Imperfective Aspect can only receive an interpretation of immediate future when combining with Extended Current Tense. Please refer to §3 for discussion on tense and temporal interpretation and §5 for discussion on aspect.



tense is related to SpT and is not anaphoric with the previous discourse. We can designate reference times of this sentence as RT<sub>2</sub> and RT<sub>3</sub>, the time when she lived with her husband and the time she lived very well respectively. RT<sub>2</sub> < SpT because this is the first sentence of the narrative passage and the tense and RT interpretation is deictic; RT<sub>3</sub> = RT<sub>2</sub> due to the Imperfective Aspect.

002 Quiija j++ticari qui=iiqui-yaariqu+ qui-niiyaca=jata=na,  
 1S when 1S=live-DPST.IPFV 1S-husband=COM=CLSF  
 I, when I lived with my husband down there,

003 qui=iiqui-yaariqu+ suhuaata.  
 1S=live-DPST.IPFV well  
 I lived well.

Lines 2-5 are a small descriptive passage with locatives. The RT of the tense in lines 3-5 is anaphoric to the previous discourse. The narrative time does not advance. Time is static due to the stative sentences expressing patterns of events instead of specific events; however, the scene moves from her house (line 4; RT<sub>4</sub> = RT<sub>3</sub>) to her vegetable garden (line 5; RT<sub>5</sub> = RT<sub>4</sub>). It is interesting to note that the tense choice in line 5 is Extended Current Tense. There are two possible reasons. First, the deictic center of the tense shifts and here anchors with the RT of the previous sentence. Second, it is also possible that she does still have a vegetable garden downriver at the time of recording this story, in which case, this will be a sentence of Report mode (RT<sub>5</sub> = SpT) within a larger Narrative mode.

004 Naami qui-yaama montepeyo=jina,

downriver 1S-home.downriver monte.bello=LOC

qui=cajii-yaariqu+ cuusi cacaraja.

1S=raise-DPST.IPFV pig hen

Down there at my home in Monte Bello, I raised pigs and chickens.

005 Qui-nasi umaana p+y++ni nataanaja qui=mii-yaa-Ø naami.

1S-chacra big all plant 1S=have-IPFV downriver

My vegetable garden is big, and I have all kinds of plants down there.

Line 6 is a perfective sentence, expressing a bounded event. The narrative time advances so that the time when her husband passed away is after the time when they lived together ( $RT_6 > RT_5$ ). Line 7 again is a perfective sentence, expressing  $RT_7 > RT_6$ , meaning the time when she came from there to here is after the time when her husband died. The tense choice from line 2 to line 7 is basically distant past tense, which means the deictic center of the tense is still SpT. In terms of the temporal interpretation of narrative time of these sentences, however, the advancement is based on the perfective sentences in sequential order, conveying a continuity pattern, the spirit of Narrative mode. This is distinct from the deictic pattern (e.g. Report mode) in which the order of the sentences does not represent the sequential order of RT. Instead, the specific RT of the sentences is related to SpT and relies on tense and the temporal adverbial which anchors to SpT.

006 J++ticari qui-niiyaca ihu++ri-Ø-quiaqu+=na

when 1S-husband die-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=CLSF

When my husband died,

007 nihua=acuji cu=ani-Ø-quiaqu+ naami=ji.  
 which=for 1S=come-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP downrive=from  
 therefore I came from down there.

Lines 8-17 are another major narrative passage which is in fact a repetition of the first narrative passage. Lines 8-15 are a descriptive passage within the larger Narrative mode. Line 8 talks about the same unbounded events as line 2, so  $RT_8 = RT_2$ . Lines 8-15 consist of stative sentences expressing patterns of events. The order of sentences only represents traversing the path (between the house and the field) in the scene and does not advance the narrative time. The RT is anaphoric, meaning all the sentences share the same RT (i.e.  $RT_9 = RT_8$ ,  $RT_{10} = RT_9$ ,  $RT_{11} = RT_{10}$ ,  $RT_{12} = RT_{11}$ ,  $RT_{13} = RT_{12}$ ,  $RT_{14} = RT_{13}$ , and  $RT_{15} = RT_{14}$ ).

008 Qui=mii-yaariqu+ qui=iiqui-yaariqu+ naqui=cura.  
 1S=do-DPST.IPFV 1S=live-DPST.IPFV forest=DST  
 I worked and lived in the center.

009 Qui=tarahuaajuu-yaariqu+ naji j++ta núquiica icuani.  
 1S=work-DPST.IPFV such as one man  
 I worked like this as a man.

010 Qui=pariijata-aariqu+ qui-niiyaca tarahuaajuuni.  
 1S=help-DPST.IPFV 1S-husband work.INF  
 I helped my husband to work.

011 Naji qui=iiqui-yaariqu+ qui-niiyaca=jata.  
such 1S=live-DPST.IPFV 1S-husband=COM  
Like this I lived with my husband.

012 Suhuaata cana=iiqui-yaariqu+ qui=mii-yaariqu+ p+y++ni saacaya.  
well 1P.EXCL=live-DPST.IPFV 1S=have-DPST.IPFV all things  
We lived well and we had all things.

013 Cana=tarahuaajuu-yaariqu+ naji j++ta núquiica icuani  
1P=work-DPST.IPFV such as one man  
We worked like this as a man,

014 j++ta núquiica j++ta cuup+ icuanihu++ya.  
as one as two man.PL  
as one, as two men.

015 Qui=iiqui-yaariqu+ naqui=cura.  
1S=live-DPST.IPFV forest=DST  
I lived in the center.

Line 16 is a perfective sentence and so is line 17. Therefore,  $RT_{17} > RT_{16}$  in which the time when she came outside from there is after the time when she got tired of living there. Line 17 and line 7 talk about the same event ( $RT_{17} = RT_7$ ) and supposedly the preceding events share more or less the same reference time ( $RT_{16} = RT_6$ ). Again, lines 8-17 are a

larger narrative passage because the order of lines 8-15, in relation with line 16 and line 17, represents a sequential order in time and their interpretations of RT build on previous discourse and are related to each other.

016 Qui=sam++ra-r+-quiaqu+      tíira ihuiini  
1S=tired-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP there live.INF  
When I got tired of living there,

017 huaari cu=ani-Ø-quiaqu+                      iicujiira=ji.  
then 1S=come-GNR.PFV-DPST.IPFV inside.the.area=from  
later I came out from there.

Lines 18-21 are the concluding passage in the Report mode. The interpretation of RT is related to SpT. The sentences consist of a series of states. Subjectivity is maintained by mentioning the narrator's brother. Line 18 serves as a bridge between the modes. Because the sentence talks about the same situation as that in line 8 and line 2, the three reference times are the same ( $RT_{18} = RT_8 = RT_2$ ). The connection between line 18 and line 19 is the location. Line 19 depicts that the narrator, at the present time, still has plants at the same location. Line 20 extends what she has to items other than plants. In line 21, the narrator's brother is introduced and concludes this oral text. The RTs of lines 19-21 are deictic because they rely on SpT.

018 Montepeyo=jina      qui=iiqui-yaariqu+.  
monte.bello=LOC 1S=live-DPST.IPFV  
I lived in Monte Bello.

019 Naami qui-nataanaja iiqui-i-Ø najaaja.  
 downriver 1S-plants EXT-IPFV-EC also  
 Down there, there are also my plants.

020 P+y++ni saacaya qui=mii-yaa-Ø naami  
 all things 1S=have-IPFV-EC downriver  
 I have all things down there,

021 nihua=acuji nuurica iiqui-i-Ø qui-cuajina naami.  
 which=for alone live-IPFV-EC 1S-brother downriver  
 therefore my brother lives alone down there.

The following table summarizes the modes and temporal advancement of the oral text *How I Used to Live Down River*.

Table 18. Discourse Modes and Temporal Advancement in *How I Used to Live Down River*

Discourse Mode		Line Number	Temporal Advancement	Pattern of Tense Function	Text Progression	
Report		001	$RT_1 = SpT$	Deictic	N/A	
Narrative 1 (deictic pronouns like Report mode)	Description	002	$RT_2 < SpT$	Deictic	Spatial	Temporal: $RT_7 > RT_6 > RT_5 (= RT_2)$
		003	$RT_3 = RT_2$	Anaphoric		
		004	$RT_4 = RT_3$			
		005	$RT_5 = RT_4$			
	Narrative	006	$RT_6 > RT_5$	Continuity		
007		$RT_7 > RT_6$				
Narrative 2 (deictic pronouns)	Description	008	$RT_8 < SpT$ ; $RT_8 = RT_2$	Deictic	Spatial	Temporal: $RT_{17} > RT_{16} > RT_{15} (=$
		009	$RT_9 = RT_8$	Anaphoric		

like Report mode)		010	$RT_{10} = RT_9$		$RT_8 = RT_2$ )
		011	$RT_{11} = RT_{10}$		
		012	$RT_{12} = RT_{11}$		
		013	$RT_{13} = RT_{12}$		
		014	$RT_{14} = RT_{13}$		
		015	$RT_{15} = RT_{14}$		
	Narrative	016	$RT_{16} > RT_{15}$		
	017	$RT_{17} > RT_{16}$			
Report		018	$RT_{18} < SpT$ ; $RT_{18} = RT_8 = RT_2$	Deictic	Temporal: $RT_{19} > SpT > RT_{18}$
		019	$RT_{19} = SpT$		
		020	$RT_{20} = SpT$		
		021	$RT_{21} = SpT$		

### 7.2.2 *The Story of the Moon*

In this oral text (as text 1 in Appendix 2), the speaker Jaime Pacaya Inuma narrates a traditional tale, a tale shared among the speakers as part of their cultural knowledge, about how the moon was created. It is believed by the Iquito people that a long time ago there was no moon and it was dark in the night, until a person who had committed adultery went up to the sky for his error. He turned into the light of the moon and lighted up the sky from then on. Jaime often prefers to give specific events in his narration. As such, the narrative time advances constantly. He also tends to use the evidential reportive marker =na with Distant Past Tense, maintaining the deixis of tense choice at SpT instead of presenting a shifted deixis although he does shift the deixis in Quoted Speech. Many interesting points can be observed from his narration: variation within Narrative mode, the interaction between the reportive marker and discourse modes, and usage of reportive markers in Quoted Speech and other contexts. I discuss the text in more detail below.

The beginning line of this oral text sets the temporal background of the entire story. The tense is Distant Past Tense and the aspect is Imperfective Aspect. Because it is the first line which lacks any previous discourse, the interpretation of RT is related to SpT ( $RT_1 < SpT$ ), reflecting a deictic pattern. The Imperfective Aspect in this sentence indicates an unbounded situation, meaning that RT is overlapping with SitT which is the lifespan of the man in the narrative. This first sentence indicates that the events in the following narration occur within this time interval unless additional information overrides this. This first sentence is not considered to be in Report mode for several reasons. First, the content is directly related to the following discourse. Second, the narrator does not use any deictic grammatical person to identify himself, entering an impersonal mode immediately. This is further confirmed by the use of reportive marker *=na* as well as *iiyaiinana*,<sup>140</sup> which indicates the perspective is objective and not subjective, in Smith's terms. The use of the reportive marker often corresponds to second-hand information rather than first-hand information.

001 Núquiica caaya iiqi-aariqu+=na can++r+mii-yaana.  
 one person live-DPST.IPFV=REP shame-NOM  
 It is said that there was a person who committed adultery.

Lines 2-14 are a descriptive passage that shares the same RT which is within the  $RT_1$  span set up in the first line. The RT in this passage is the earliest time point in comparison with the RT in the following discourse context. The RT of the tense in each sentence is anaphoric to (i.e. the same with the RT of) the previous sentence. The narrative time does not advance because the stative sentences express patterns of events

---

<sup>140</sup> This is a particle that incorporates the function of a reportive marker and serves to identify the reference and the progression of foreground information.



instead of specific events. The scene moves from one part of his life to another part, giving an overview of this person's life, his habits, and the architecture in his time. It is interesting that in line 2, the sentence contains perfective aspect, expressing a bounded event in which he met/married a woman. However, the following sentences containing Imperfective Aspect give rise to the same RT interpretation as if the sentence means 'he was married to a woman.' Smith (2003) talks about this coercion effect and states that this is due to the influence of a tacit durative adverbial posited from the context at the beginning of a descriptive passage. The other possible explanation is the view that this sentence containing perfective aspect provides a temporal bound through the expression of a bounded event. The following sentences containing Imperfective Aspect have their RT overlapping with this interval (i.e.  $RT_2 \subseteq RT_1$ ;  $RT_3 = RT_2$ ;  $RT_4 = RT_3$ ;  $RT_5 = RT_4$ ;  $RT_6 = RT_5$ ;  $RT_7 = RT_6$ ;  $RT_8 = RT_7$ ;  $RT_9 = RT_8$ ;  $RT_{10} = RT_9$ ;  $RT_{11} = RT_{10}$ ;  $RT_{12} = RT_{11}$ ;  $RT_{13} = RT_{12}$ ;  $RT_{14} = RT_{13}$ ). The passage is in Description mode and not Report mode not only because the tense conveys an anaphoric pattern, but also because the deictic adverb *tíira* 'there' does not reflect the narrator's deixis in its interpretation, but it is anaphoric with the location indicated in the previous sentence.

002 Nu=acumi-Ø-quiaqu+                      núquiica    m+saji.  
       3S=unite-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP    one            woman  
       He met/married a woman.

003 Nu-acuumiti            maqui-aariqu+=na            j++ta tíira.  
       3S-mother.in.law    sleep-DPST.IPFV=REP    as        there  
       His mother-in-law slept there as well.

004 Iiyaiinana<sup>141</sup> nuu, iina, nu-acuumiti, j++ta taariqu+ naji.  
 like.this 3S DET 3S-mother.in.law as COP.DPST such  
 Like this that mother-in-law was like this.

005 Na=mii-yaariqu+ na-iíta tiijiyaa niiya=jina=ji cáami anuura.  
 3P=make-DPST.IPFV 3P-house roof ground=LOC=from up towards  
 They built their houses from there, from the ground up.

006 J++ticari-na nu=cuqui-aariqu+ níinaqui=na,  
 when=REP 3S=become-DPST.IPFV dark=REP  
 It is said that when in the night,

007 niinaama naami na-iy+mi.  
 dark.in inside 3P-residence  
 it was dark inside the house.

008 Iiyaiinana iina m+saji, nu-acuumiti, maqui-aariqu+ naji tíira.  
 like.this DET woman 3S-mother.in.law sleep-DPST.IPFV as there  
 Like this is that woman, his mother-in-law, slept like this there.

009 Ajapaqui taariqu+=na n+yaaca.  
 NEG.EXT COP.DPST=REP husband  
 It is said that she did not have a husband.

---

<sup>141</sup> This particle *iyyaiinana*, glossed as ‘like this,’ is usually only used in traditional or historical tales. It has a reportive function, and also specifies the foreground character/scene or topic. As such, its presence signals the progression or change of foreground information.

010 Iiyaiinana iina icuani ani-aariqu+.

like.this DET man come-DPST.IPFV

Like this that man came.

011 nu-acuumi ani-aariqu+ nuu anuura.

3S-son.in.law come-DPST.IPFV 3S towards

Her son-in-law came there.

012 Iina<sup>142</sup> m+saji caa nu=nacusi-aariqu+ can++ca taa-ja.

DET woman NEG 3S=know-DPST.IPFV who COP-VERD

That woman did not know who he really was.

013 Iiyaiinana...<sup>143</sup>na j++timi amariaana ihuiija=na nu=jata,

like.this REP many year live.PST=REP 3S=COM

Like this having lived with him for many years,

014 caa nu=nacusi-aariqu+ can++ca taa-ja.

NEG 3S=know-DPST.IPFV who COP-VERD

she did not know who he really was.

Starting from line 15 to the end of the text, almost every line represents a specific bounded event and advances the narrative time. The RTs of each clause are dependent on

---

<sup>142</sup> This line has been modified from its original version. Please refer to text 1 in Appendix 2.

<sup>143</sup> Repeated dots represent the hesitation of the speaker.

the previous discourse and are related to each other. The entire oral text (lines 1-43) is in Narrative mode because the ordering of sentences from lines 2-14, as a block, to line 15 and the following lines represents a sequential order in time which is the spirit of Narrative mode. Between line 15 and 43, only a few lines do not advance the narrative time: the first clause of line 16 does not advance it because it is a repetition of line 15; line 18 does not advance it because it pertains to the same clause as line 17; line 23 and 24.2<sup>144</sup>-29 are Quoted Speech; line 37 is Quoted Speech as well; lines 42-43 are descriptive sentences. Interestingly, Quoted Speech in Iquito seems to emerge as an interesting mixture of modes and collectively takes an anaphoric pattern for the interpretation of tense. Below I discuss the lines in more detail.

Line 15 contains a perfective bounded event and advances the narrative time ( $RT_{15} > RT_{14} = RT_2$ ), indicating that the time the woman grated *huito* is after the time of sleeping with her son-in-law.

015 Iiyaiinana iina m+saji nu=jiniita-Ø-quiaqu+=na yaana...aminaari.  
 like.this DET woman3S=grate-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP this.thing...huito  
 Like this that woman grated this...huito.

The first clause of line 16 is a repetition of line 15, so the narrative time does not advance. The second clause of line 16 advances the narrative time. So, after grating *huito*, she placed it somewhere for use in the night.

016 Nu=jiniita-Ø-quiaqu+ nuu.Nu=inata-Ø-quiaqu+=na nuu niínaqui=iira.  
 3S=grate-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP 3S=place-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP 3S dark=GOAL

<sup>144</sup> Line 24.2 means ‘the second clause of line 24’. Therefore line 24.1 would mean ‘the first clause of line 24’.

She grated it. She placed it somewhere for the night.

Lines 17 and 18 pertain to the same clause and advance the narrative time. The time the man came again to bother her is after she had already placed *huito* for the use in the night.

017 Iiyaiinana jaari iina ani (cari...) iina ani-Ø-quiaqu+=na icuani  
like.this already DET come DET come-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP man  
From there, it is said that that man came,

018 nu-mananuuni anuura im+raani.  
3S-bother.INF towards again  
to bother her again.

From lines 19 to 22, each line represents a bounded event and advances the narrative time. Line 22, immediately preceding Quoted Speech, has the shifted deixis of the tense.

019 Iiyaiinana nuu...nu=casiita-Ø-quiaqu+=na iina aminaari.  
like.this 3S 3S=grab-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP DET huito  
Like this is that she...she grabbed this huito.

020 Nu=naajuu-Ø-quiaqu+=na nu-namii.  
3S=paint-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP 3S-face  
She painted his face.

021 Atí=na nuu nu=cut+...nu-cut+t+-r++quiaqu+=na e...nanihuaaca=na.  
 there=REP 3S 3S=get.up-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP family=REP  
 From there, it is said that his family woke up.

022 N+r+maatihuaaca na=áati-Ø-Ø=quiiana,  
 brothers 3P=say-GNR.PFV-EC=REP  
 His brothers talked to him,

Line 23 is Quoted Speech. Quoted Speech seems to emerge as an interesting mixture of modes in Iquito due to distinct linguistic correlates. It is similar to Description mode because its RT is anaphoric to the previous discourse: in this case, the time when line 23 is uttered by the character is the same as that of line 22 in which his brother talked to him. It is different from Description mode, however. Instead of progressing spatially from one scene to another, Quoted Speech progresses only because speech itself progresses. Collectively, Quoted Speech passages in Iquito do not advance narrative time in a larger Narrative mode. The time is static and stays the same as the previous RT of a narrative sentence. Furthermore Quoted Speech in Iquito amazingly does not contain a reportive marker for the direct quotes cited here<sup>145</sup> and tense always has shifted deixis to the previously established RT. According to Smith (2003), a passage of a particular mode consists of at least two sentences. However, so far in Iquito, I posit Quoted Speech as always being its own passage even if there is only one sentence. The criterion for this depends on whether the RT of the following sentence advances. For example, the following lines, 24.2-29, are Quoted Speech as well. While one might tend to group lines 23-29 as a passage of Quoted Speech with the exception of line 24.1, the best option is to

---

<sup>145</sup> Direct quotes in conversational texts seem to be accompanied by the reportive markers.

group line 23 and line 24.1 each as its own passage and lines 24.2-29 as one passage. The reason is that in line 24.1, RT advances. Therefore, the RT of lines 24.2-29 and that of line 23 do not coincide.

023 “¿Saaca=acuji t++ m++nacu quia-namii?” “¿T++ ? ¿T++ ? ¿Iiti?”  
 what=for COP black 2S-face where where here  
 “Why is your face black?” “Where? Where? Here?”

The first clause of line 24 is in Narrative mode and advances the narrative time. The tense deixis shifts back again to the narrator’s deixis. The RT builds on the previous discourse (RT<sub>24.1</sub> > RT<sub>23</sub>). From the second clause of line 24 to line 29 there is Quoted Speech again. All the features discussed for line 23 apply here as well: shifted deixis, anaphoric tense (RT<sub>24.2</sub> = RT<sub>25</sub> = RT<sub>26</sub> = RT<sub>27</sub> = RT<sub>28</sub> = RT<sub>29</sub>), speech progresses, no reportive marker.

024 Na=tuuñii-Ø-quiaqu+=na nuu. Nu-acuumiti, “¿Can++ca t++?”  
 3P=hear-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP 3S 3S-mother.in.law who COP  
 They had heard him. His mother-in-law, “Who is he?”

025 Nu-acuumi “AajaQuiaaja t++ iina... Quiaaja t++ iina can++r+mii-yaana.  
 3S-son.in.law ah 2S COP DET 2S COP DET shame-NOM  
 Her son-in-law,...“Ah... You are that... You are that adultery man.

026 Caa car+naquiini quiaaja. Quiaaja t++ iina iiqui-i-Ø... iiqui  
 NEG shame-INF 2S 2S COP DET live-IPFV-EC live-IPFV-EC

Shameless you. You are the one who lives...lives

027 iiqui-i-Ø qui=jata. Quia=iiqui-i-Ø qui-maaya=jata.  
live-IPFV-EC 1S=COM 2S=live-IPFV-EC 1S-child=COM  
lives with me. You live with my daughter.

028 Quia=iiqui-i-Ø najaaaja qui=jata.  
2S=live-IPFV-EC also 1S=COM  
You also live with me.

029 Juura can++r+mii-yaana taaja quiaaja.”  
really shame-NOM COP-VERD 2S  
Really, you are really a man of adultery.”

Lines 30-36 are in narrative mode and each line advances narrative time once, except in line 33 ( $RT_{33} = RT_{32}$ ). Line 36 has a shifted deixis of tense, which is unsurprisingly followed by Quoted Speech in line 37.

030 Iina=na caaya nu=ajacumu-Ø-quiaqu+=na naami=rata car+naquiini acuji.  
DET=REP person 3S=bend-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP down=toward shame.INF for  
It said that that person bent down because of shame.

031 Nu=apara-Ø-quiaqu+=na nu-namasica=rata iicuuni=jina.  
3S=start-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP 3S-back=toward walk.INF=LOC  
He started to walk backwards.



032 Nu=maaca-Ø-quiaqu+=na                      naratayaa              cáami iniicucu naana.  
 3S=elevate-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP exactly.like.this up    top    stick  
 He went up like this upward on top of the stick.

033 Iina nu-acuumiti              atí=na              nu=áati-aariqu+=na.  
 DET 3S-mother.in.law then=REP 3S=talk-DPST.IPFV=REP  
 That mother-in-law from there continued talking.

034 Iiyaiinana apiiri++-Ø-quiaqu+=na              ííta              cáamijita.  
 like.this    pass-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP house    top.pass  
 Like this he passed to the other side of roof of the house.

035 Na=carii-Ø-quiaqu+-na                      tíira.  
 3P=look-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP there  
 They looked there.

036 Nanaja=iicura=cari<sup>146</sup> paacaricura anuura    na=carii-cuaa-Ø-quiána.  
 for.them.to.look              patio              towards 3P=look-DEI2-EC=REP  
 For them to look, they went to the yard to see.

Line 37 is a Quoted Speech with shifted deixis and no reportive marker.

037 “++...amaaja...Iiya<sup>147</sup> casiiri cuqui-i-Ø    najaaja.”

<sup>146</sup> This phrase functions as an adverbial meaning ‘for them to look’. However, the detail of the morpheme breakdown is still a question under investigation.

ah wow ??? moon become-EC also

“Ah...wow...The moon is also forming.”

Lines 38-41 are in narrative mode and each line advances narrative time once. The surprising fact is that even though lines 38-39 are not Quoted Speech, the deictic reference of tense does not shift back immediately to that of the narrator. It shifts back in line 40.

038 Iiyaiinana jaa iina cáamiicua-qui-Ø car+naquiini=na acuji.  
like.this already DET up.go-PFV-EC shame.INF=REP for  
Like this it is that he went upwards because of shame.

039 Nu=cuqui-Ø-Ø=quiana casiiri.  
3S=become-PFV-EC=REP moon  
It is said that he became the moon.

040 Atíí=na=ja<sup>148</sup> nu=cuqui-Ø-quiaqu+ casiiri.  
then=REP=already 3S=become-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP moon  
From there, he became the moon.

041 Atíí=na=ja na=niqui-Ø-quiaqu+=na iina casiiri=na.  
then=REP=already 3S=see-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP DET moon=REP  
From there, it is said that they saw the moon.

---

<sup>147</sup> The nature of *iya* is still under investigation. So far, it seems to function parallel with *ina* as irrealis reference.

<sup>148</sup> The discourse particle *atíja* introduces a bounded event that anchors to the RT of previous discourse.

Following Smith (2003), two sentences of the same mode can be considered a passage in that mode. Lines 42-43 are in Description mode with anaphoric tense and spatial advancement, concluding this oral text.

042 Nu=nuni-aariqu+                      niínaqui naratayaajaa.  
 3S=illuminate-DPST.IPFV dark      exactly.like.this  
 It brightened the night the same like this.

043 Iip+=na                      nu-iicuajiip+ na=sapi-aariqu+=na                      nu-iicu.  
 DET.PL=REP 3S-family      3P=cry-DPST.IPFV=REP 3S=for  
 Those families cried for him.

The following table summarizes the discourse modes and temporal advancement discussed in this section.

Table 19. Discourse Modes and Temporal Advancement in *The Story of the Moon*

Discourse Mode		Reportive Marker	Line Number	Temporal Advancement	Pattern of Tense Function	Text Progression	
Narrative	(first sentence)	Yes =na	001	$RT_1 < SpT$	Deictic	(first sentence)	Temporal: The order of narration corresponds to sequential order in
	Description	N/A	002	$RT_2 \subseteq RT_1$	Anaphoric	Spatial	
		Yes =na	003	$RT_3 = RT_2$			
		Yes =iiyainana	004	$RT_4 = RT_3$			
		N/A	005	$RT_5 = RT_4$			

		Yes = <i>na</i>	006 007 (same clause)	$RT_6 = RT_5$ $RT_7 = RT_6$			time.
		Yes = <i>iiyainana</i>	008	$RT_8 = RT_7$			
		Yes = <i>na</i>	009	$RT_9 = RT_8$			
		Yes = <i>iiyainana</i>	010	$RT_{10} = RT_9$			
		N/A	011	$RT_{11} = RT_{10}$			
		N/A	012	$RT_{12} = RT_{11}$			
		Yes = <i>iiyainana</i>	013	$RT_{13} = RT_{12}$			
		N/A	014	$RT_{14} = RT_{13}$			
	Narrative	Yes = <i>iiyainana</i> = <i>na</i>	015	$RT_{15} > RT_{14}$ $= RT_2$	Continuity	Temporal	
		Yes = <i>na</i>	016 (first clause of line 16 is a repeti- tion of line 15)	$RT_{16.1} = RT_{15}$ ; $RT_{16.2} > RT_{16.1}$			
		Yes = <i>iiyainana</i> = <i>na</i>	017 018 (same clause)	$RT_{17} > RT_{16.2}$ ; $RT_{18} = RT_{17}$			
		Yes = <i>iiyainana</i> = <i>na</i>	019	$RT_{19} > RT_{17}$			
		Yes = <i>na</i>	020	$RT_{20} > RT_{19}$			
		Yes = <i>na</i>	021	$RT_{21} > RT_{20}$			
		Yes = <i>quiana</i>	022	$RT_{22} > RT_{21}$ (Tense has shifted deixis)			
	Quoted Speech	N/A	023	$RT_{23} = RT_{22}$	Anaphoric	Speech Traverses	
	Narrative	Yes	024.1	$RT_{24.1} > RT_{23}$	Continuity	Temporal	

		= <i>na</i>		(Tense Deixis shifts back)		
Quoted Speech	N/A		024.2	$RT_{24.2} = RT_{24.1}$ (Tense has shifted deixis again)	Anaphoric	Speech Traverses
			025	$RT_{25} = RT_{24.2}$		
			026	$RT_{26} = RT_{25}$		
			027	$RT_{27} = RT_{26}$		
			028	$RT_{28} = RT_{27}$		
			029	$RT_{29} = RT_{28}$		
Narrative	Yes = <i>na</i>		030	$RT_{30} > RT_{29} = RT_{24.1}$ (Tense Deixis shifts back)	Continuity	Temporal
			031	$RT_{31} > RT_{30}$		
			032	$RT_{32} > RT_{31}$		
			033	$RT_{33} = RT_{32}$ (A descriptive sentence)		
			034	$RT_{34} > RT_{32}$		
			035	$RT_{35} > RT_{34}$		
			036	$RT_{36} > RT_{35}$ (Tense has shifted deixis again)		
			037	$RT_{37} = RT_{36}$		
Quoted Speech	N/A		037	$RT_{37} = RT_{36}$	Anaphoric	Speech Traverses
Narrative	Yes = <i>iiyainana</i> = <i>na</i>		038	$RT_{38} > RT_{37}$	Continuity	Temporal
			039	$RT_{39} > RT_{38}$		
			040	$RT_{40} > RT_{39}$ (Tense Deixis shifts		

				back)		
		Yes =na	041	RT <sub>41</sub> > RT <sub>40</sub>		
	Description	Yes =na	042	RT <sub>42</sub> = RT <sub>41</sub>	Anaphoric	Spatial
		Yes =na	043	RT <sub>43</sub> = RT <sub>42</sub>		

### 7.2.3 Discourse Modes in Iquito

In this section, I discuss the discourse modes manifested in oral texts of Iquito, based on the study in §7.2.1, §7.2.2,<sup>149</sup> and some procedural/instructional texts, including *Cómo Hacer Chacra* ‘How to Establish a Vegetable garden,’<sup>150</sup> *Cómo Hacer Masato I* ‘How to Make Manioc Beer I’ and *J++tarata canatanii in++si* ‘How to Weave a Hammock.’ Of the five modes proposed by Smith (2003), Narrative, Report, Description, and Information are manifested in the Iquito texts. Argument mode is so far not found (i.e. there is also no distinct grammatical correlates which indicate Argument mode) in the ILDP text collection at this point. Perhaps in a future text, Argument mode might emerge in the appropriate context. In addition, Quoted Speech emerges as an interesting mixture of modes in Iquito because it demonstrates distinct linguistic correlates. Three modes (i.e. Narrative, Report and Description) and Quoted Speech passage consist of eventualities, are temporally organized and can be located in time. Information mode is atemporal and cannot be located in time. The text in Information consists of fact and statives, and advances along with metaphorical motion or change of metaphorical

<sup>149</sup> Although the oral texts featured here, *How I Used to Live Down River* and *The Story of the Moon*, are relatively short, they display three modes (i.e. Narrative, Report, and Description) plus the passage of Quoted Speech. This finding in general categories corresponds to Harnisch’s (2005) conclusion based on a longer text *Saasaquiiicuaa Iiyuu* ‘*The Powerful Man of the Purge Saasaquiiicuaa*’. The details on the grammatical correlates and the analyses in this dissertation, however, are quite different from those in her study. In addition, this dissertation proposes to add Information mode to the list of modes manifested in the Iquito text.

<sup>150</sup> The English titles of the texts are translated by the author of the dissertation.

location. In the following, I discuss each mode in terms of the grammatical correlates (i.e. reportive markers, shifted deixis of tense and deixis of other terms, such as pronouns and adverbials which conveys subjectivity), temporal advancement/text progression (i.e. temporal/spatial or metaphorical order of sentences), anchor of RT and pattern of tense function (i.e. deictic, anaphoric or continuity).

Narrative mode in Iquito, corresponding to Smith (2003), conveys primarily a continuity pattern and a limited anaphoric pattern. This is consistent with the finding, as shown above in table 19, that Narrative mode may consist of smaller passages of Description mode and Quoted Speech passage, which convey an anaphoric pattern. After the first sentence, the interpretation of RT depends on that of the preceding sentence, and is not in accordance with SpT. This is to say, tense is not interpreted as deictically related to SpT; rather, it is interpreted as related to tense in other clauses and RT advances with each bounded situation. The order of sentences represents the sequential temporal order of events. In Iquito, Narrative mode has the following grammatical correlates. The reportive markers =*na*, =*iiyaiinana* and =*quiana* are used, expressing objectivity instead of subjectivity (i.e. this largely corresponds to second-hand rather than first-hand information). The use of reportive markers accompanies impersonal deictic terms. For example, there are no instances of first person pronouns referring to the narrator himself and the deictic adverbs such as ‘here’ and ‘there’ do not anchor to the narrator’s spatial deixis. Of course, this grammatical correlate also has to do with the kind of content the narrator is providing. If he were talking about personal experiences, there will be no reportive markers and deictic terms will anchor to his deixis. In this case, I might argue that the text contains heavy components of Report mode, while still with narrative temporal advancement. Smith does not specifically discuss the difference between narrating personal experience and non-personal experience and the variation in terms of

subjectivity. Finally, tense deixis in narrative is in general very consistent and Narrative rarely has shifted deixis of tense. Shifting might occur, but prevailingly before and after Quoted Speech, functioning as a bridge for a change of mode.

Report mode conveys a deictic pattern of tense. This is to say, the interpretation of RT and temporal advancement always depend on tense and deictic temporal adverbials, which are related to SpT instead of anchoring to the preceding sentence. The order of sentences only represents an advancing SpT and does not reflect the temporal order of events. Report expresses the reporter's personal perspective, temporally and spatially. In Iquito, Report mode does not contain any reportive markers. This accompanies personal deictic terms. For example, first person pronouns refer to the reporter himself and the deictic adverbs such as 'here' and 'there' anchor to his spatial deixis. Report mode in Iquito text expresses the narrator's standpoint, establishes the connection between the narrator and the audience and relates the content in the story to current settings. The tense deixis of Report always anchors to SpT and therefore does not have shifted deixis of tense.

Description mode conveys an anaphoric pattern of tense, in which the interpretation of RT is the same as that of the previous discourse. Time in Description mode is static, without dynamism. The situations in the passage share the same RT. As such, text does not advance temporally; rather it progresses spatially as the description moves from one part of a scene to another. The order of sentences corresponds to a path being traversed in the scene. Like Narrative mode, Description mode in Iquito generally contains reportive markers and deictic terms are impersonal with the narrator absent in the scene. As mentioned above, I allow some variation in terms of subjectivity within the mode of Narrative and Description as this is what Iquito texts suggest. Description mode in general does not have shifted deixis of tense.



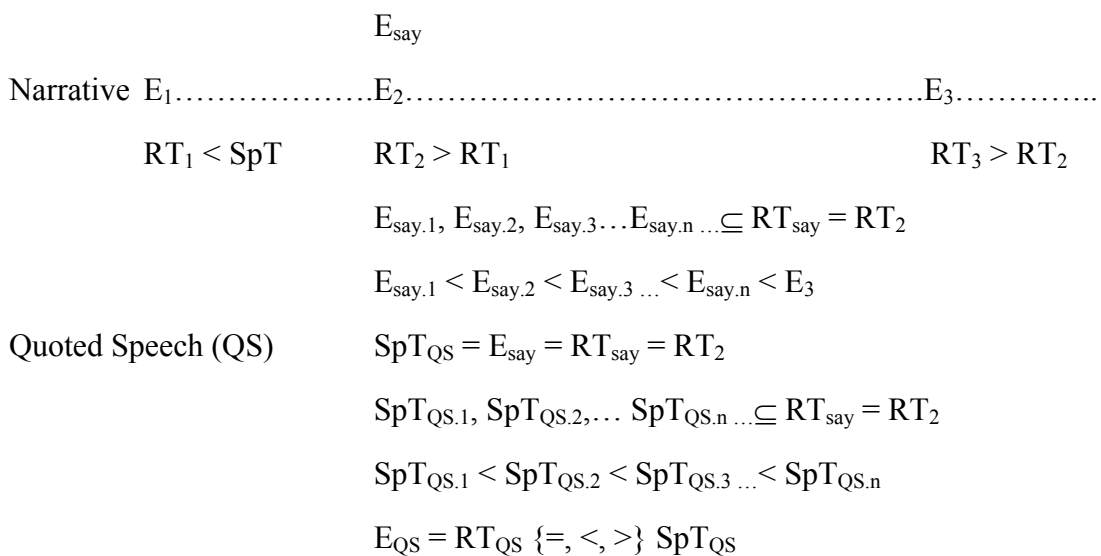
Quoted Speech in Iquito distinguishes itself as well as mixes with other modes due to grammatical correlates as well as a distinct combination of features. In passages of Quoted Speech, deixis of tense always shifts to the previously established time. No reportive markers are used. In addition, the first person pronoun is also used, reflecting a personal perspective. However, this personal deixis is not the narrator's, but the character's. In Quoted Speech, the narrator speaks for the character as if he were the character in the story. Quoted Speech, in terms of some features, is similar to Description mode: First, RT is anaphoric to the previous discourse; second, time is static within a larger Narrative mode. Quoted Speech is also similar to Report mode: First, it does not contain reportive markers<sup>151</sup>, expressing subjectivity; second, the deixis is personal, reporting from the standpoint of the character; third, the order of sentences represents an advancing SpT. Finally, Quoted Speech is similar to Narrative: First, the sequential order of sentences represents the temporal ordering these sentences as they are uttered by the character; second, time is static in Quoted Speech in terms of a larger time point/interval of Narrative (i.e. the interval within which the content is said or heard), but it advances within its own stretch of time if we view sentences in Quoted Speech as subevents of a larger event (i.e. [say]) in Narrative. However, one crucial difference between the temporal advancement of Narrative and that of Quoted Speech is that Narrative advances due to bounded events while Quoted Speech advances because the speech itself progresses, reflecting the ordering of Report mode. Because RT within the Quoted Speech is related to the speech time of the character instead of the narrator, its RT interpretation has no direct connection with the main stream of RT within the larger Narrative mode. I propose the following schematic diagram for the tense pattern in Quoted Speech within a larger Narrative mode. I assume  $E_2: x \text{ say } y$ .  $E_{\text{say}.1}$  represents the

---

<sup>151</sup> Direct quotes in conversational texts seem to be accompanied by the reportive markers.

first subevent of [say],  $E_{\text{say},2}$  represents the second subevent and so on. As suggested in the last line of the diagram,  $RT_{\text{QS}}$  within Quoted Speech is not related to  $RT_{\text{say}}$  within Narrative at all, and the relation between  $RT_{\text{QS}}$  and  $SpT_{\text{QS}}$  depends on the tense choice within Quoted Speech.

Diagram 20. Quoted Speech Pattern



Information mode conveys a deictic pattern of tense: the choice of tense conveys deixis as tense anchors to SpT; therefore it does not have shifted deixis of tense. Information mode is atemporal and cannot be located in the time of the real world. The order of sentences represents the traversing of a path in a metaphorical domain; text progresses in a metaphorical domain, instead of a temporal or spatial domain. Text progresses as the Primary Referent of the sentences metaphorically moves or changes. Information mode contains entities of (in general) uncontroversial facts and statives. Information can be subjective (i.e. expressing facts generalized from personal

experiences) as it could contain second grammatical person marking and other deictic terms with the narrator as the deictic center. In addition, it does not contain any reportive markers. However, in Information mode, the narrator is in general not strongly present as no first person pronouns and spatial terms such as ‘here’ are included. Below are a few excerpted sentences from the text *J++tarata canatanii in++si ‘How to Weave a Hammock.’* The organizing principle is chronology. However, the events described cannot be located in the time of the real world.

003 In’++si taniini=iira, quia=saji-qui-Ø canuú.  
 hammock weave.INF=goal 2S=cut-PFV-EC chambira.grass  
 To weave a hammock, first you cut some chambira grass.

004 Atíjjja quia=nu=turut+-Ø-Ø iina canuú.  
 from.then 2S=3S=dry-PFV-EC DET chambira.grass  
 Later you dry the grass.

005 Atíjja j++ticari taa turuuja nuu=na,  
 then when COP dry 3S=CLSF  
 Then when it is dry,

006 huaari quia=iinii-Ø-Ø nuu.  
 that.moment 2S=twist-PFV-EC it  
 you twist it then.

Table 20 summarizes the discourse modes in Iquito discussed in this section.

Table 20. Discourse Modes in Iquito

Note: Subjectivity presents a variation in Narrative and Description modes.

Discourse Modes		Narrative	Report	Description	Quoted Speech	Information
Grammatical Correlates	Reportive Markers: Subjectivity	Yes = <i>na</i> = <i>iiyaiinana</i> = <i>quiana</i>	N/A	Yes = <i>na</i> = <i>iiyaiinana</i>	N/A <sup>152</sup>	N/A
	Deixis of Pronouns and Adverbials: Subjectivity	Impersonal: no deictic terms anchoring to narrator's deixis	Personal: reporter's deixis (e.g. first person pronoun referring to the reporter)	Impersonal: same as Narrative	Personal: character's deixis (e.g. first person referring to the character)	Personal, but the narrator is not strongly present
	Shifted Deixis of Tense	Occasionally, especially before and after Quoted Speech	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
Text Organization		temporal				atemporal
Main Types of Entities	Types	eventualities				facts, statives
	Ordering	sequentially ordered	ordering representing an advancing SpT	traversing a path in the scene	the order of speech uttered by the character	traversing a path in the metaphorical domain
Principles of Progression/Advancement	Domain	temporal or spatial domain				metaphorical domain
	Manner	dynamic temporal advancement	Static in time; spatial advancement	Static in terms of a larger time point/interval; advances within its own stretch of time	metaphorical motion and change of metaphorical location	

<sup>152</sup> Direct quotes in conversational texts seem to be accompanied by the reportive markers.

Conveying Cues	perfective/ bounded events, explicit temporal adverbials, inference (e.g. change of time inferred from change of location)	the relation to SpT, including tense and temporal adverbial s; change of spatial location	imperfective/ unbounded situations; movement from one scene to another	speech traverses	change of metaphorical location of Primary Referent; change of Primary Referent
Anchor of RT	previous discourse	SpT	previous discourse	previous discourse	SpT
Tense Function/ Pattern	continuity, limited anaphoric pattern	deictic	anaphora	anaphora	deictic

From the discussion above, we see that the grammatical correlates, including reference of grammatical persons, the use of reportive markers, deixis of tense and adverbs, and viewpoint aspects associate with each discourse mode. Therefore, they also serve to signal the transition/shift from a given mode to another. For instance, in the beginning of a passage in Description mode, a new RT or durative adverbial, or a locative adverbial, usually appears. In addition, the sentence switches to Imperfective Aspect. In the beginning, or even before, of a passage in Quoted Speech, the tense deixis shifts to the previous RT. The pronoun deixis also shifts, with the first person being the speaking character and the second person being other characters within the story. The reportive marker ceases. Notably, the tone of voice of the narrator also changes, as though he were carrying on a real conversation.

Besides temporal advancement in the narration, we notice the particle =*iyaiinana* throughout the text *The Story of the Moon*. Instead of signaling the advancement of

narrative time, this particle serves to advance the foreground information, highlighting the foreground scenes in the story. The virtual line connecting all the instances of this particle shows how foreground information progresses. This observation leads us to another question: foreground vs. background. One interesting concern, as mentioned before in §7.2.2, is that sometimes a single sentence or clause of a distinct mode appear, surrounded by another mode. For example, line 23 and lines 24.2-29 of *The Story of the Moon* is Quoted Speech while line 24.1 is a clause in Narrative mode because it advances narrative time. Likewise, lines 30-36 are in Narrative mode, with one descriptive sentence, line 33, mixed in between. This line does not advance narrative time. One approach to see this phenomenon of insertion is to view it as a shift in discourse mode. However, as an alternative offered in Smith (2003), instead of treating this as a shift in discourse mode, we can hold the view that the primary mode is the foreground discourse while the inserted clause or sentence is the background discourse. One of the correlates of this is that its discourse mode is distinct from the surrounding discourse mode. Strikingly, this view coincides with the use of the particle =*iiyaiinana*. While preceding and following sentences, although not immediately preceding or following, might carry the particle =*iiyaiinana*, these inserted sentences, line 24.1 and line 33, do not begin with this particle, signaling that foreground information is not embedded in these sentences. This section provides an interesting study of Iquito text in terms of the discourse modes and the progression of text, including narrative time as well as foreground flow.

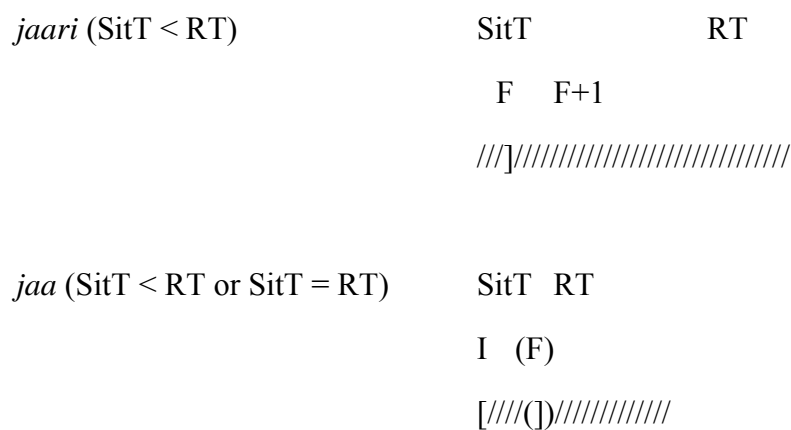
### 7.3 TEMPORAL CONNECTIVES

In this section, I explore a set of temporal connectives, emerging from the study of texts, that relate to the sequence, grouping and progression of events: *jaa*, *jaari*, *atií*, *atiíja*, *atiíji*, *atiíjija*, *j++ticari*, *huaari*, *jahuaari*, *iyácari* and *iiyaiinana*. They are difficult

to distinguish by means of translation and will be discussed in pairs, in many cases, to facilitate the comparison.

The temporal connectives, *jaa* and *jaari*, grammatically considered to be adverbials, are both often glossed as ‘already.’ However, they are distinct in terms of the type of situation they associate with as well as the relation between the situation referred to and RT. *Jaari* focuses on the final point of a bounded event and relates it to a given RT (SitT < RT), with a conceptually observable discontinuous period of time separating the two. That is to say, the bounded event precedes RT with a greater conceptual distance than that introduced by *jaa*. The particle *jaa*, on the other hand, focuses on the initial point of a situation, bounded or unbounded, and relates it to a given RT (SitT < RT or SitT = RT). If a bounded event is being related, such an event is viewed as immediately preceding RT; if an unbounded event is being related, such an event is viewed as starting immediately preceding RT. *Jaari* cannot be used with Imperfective Aspect, indicating an unbounded situation. The notion discussed above is schematically represented in the following.

Diagram 21. *Jaari* and *Jaa*



The following excerpt from the texts (*Saasaquiicuaa Iiyuu* ‘*The Powerful Man of the Purge Saasaquiicuaa*’: lines 131-134) illustrates the use of *jaari* and *jaa*. In line 131, the event of [he start grate the root] introduced by *jaari* begins a while before RT. Then, the narrator follows the entire event, reporting time points of each subevent. In line 134, upon realization of the event [he put it on the patio], the narrator reports it using *jaa*.

131 Jaari nu=apara-qui-Ø nu-ariini=jina nu-anija.

already 3S=start-PFV-EC 3S-grate.INF=LOC 3S-root

Already he (the elder) has begun to grate his root (the plant purge),

132 Atii nu=ari-qui-Ø nuu, nu=ari-qui-Ø nuu,

then 3S grate-PFV-EC 3S 3S=grate-PFV-EC 3S

nu=ari-qui-Ø nuu.

3S=grate-PFV-EC 3S

Then he grates it, he grates it, he grates it.

133 Nu=ina-qui-Ø samac=jinacuma nuu.

3S=put-PFV-EC gourd.bowl=inside 3S

He puts it inside the bowl.

134 Jaa nu=inata-qui-Ø pacaricu nu=jina.

already 3S=put.on-PFV-EC patio 3S=LOC

He has already put it on the patio.



The particle *jaari* ‘already,’ since it combines with perfective situations, always advances the narrative time in the text. Besides the properties of temporality, *jaari* and *jaa* can only be used in affirmative sentences and are ungrammatical in negative contexts, therefore patterning as *Affirmative Polarity Items*.

The temporal connectives *atií* and *atiíja*, both often glossed as ‘then’ or ‘there,’ are grammatically the same. They convey anaphoric time or location according to the previous discourse. Spatially, the event in a given sentence containing these particles takes place in the same location; temporally, the event in such a sentence has its SitT overlapping with that of the previous discourse. If the sentence contains perfective aspects, the event in the sentence is considered as a subevent of a larger event. For example, in line 132 of the text above, the event [he grate it] shares the same location with the event [he begin grate his root] in line 131. The sentence contains perfective aspects, but the event therein can be considered as a subevent of a larger event [he grate the root]. The temporal connectives *atiíji* and *atiíjija*, often glossed as ‘from then’ or ‘from there,’ on the other hand, signal change of location spatially from the previous sentence or temporally discontinuous/separation of events. This means a sentence containing *atiíji* and *atiíjija* indicates events considered as new events from the previous discourse. Temporally, the event in such a sentence does not have its SitT overlapping with that of the previous discourse. The following examples from the texts illustrate the discussion here. The first text is from *J++tarata canatanii in++si ‘How to Weave a Hammock’* (lines 3-12).<sup>153</sup> In line 4, which contains the particle *atiíjija*, the event, [you dry this grass], takes place in a different location from that of line 3, [you cut the grass].

---

<sup>153</sup> I include all the excerpted lines together in one chunk because later in the section when I discuss other temporal connectives, I use examples from the same texts as well. The cited texts were transcribed by various members of the ILDP, but is re-segmented, organized and translated by the author of the dissertation.

In addition, they are considered separate events which might not follow each other immediately. After cutting the grass, you need to bring it home. Before drying the grass, you might be too tired and have to first rest. Both bringing it home and taking a rest make up a major portion of time; this can also be seen from the irrealis mood (i.e. SXV word order) in line 4, signaling that the event should take place at least later in the day of the event in line 3. In line 5 which contains *atiíja*, the event [the grass dry] obtains in the same location as that of the event [you dry the grass] in line 4. In addition, the Imperfective Aspect also indicates the overlapping SitT of the two events. Lines 6-9 contain a sequence of events of twisting and weaving. Line 10, which contains *atiíjija*, signals that the event in line 9 concludes a major event and line 10 starts a new event. As such, ‘making handles’ is considered as a separate event from ‘making the main part of the hammock.’

003 In’++si taniini=iira, quia=saji-qui-Ø canuú.  
 hammock weave.INF=goal 2S=cut-PFV-EC chambira.grass  
 To weave a hammock, first you cut some chambira grass.

004 Atiíjija quia=nu=turut+-Ø-Ø iina canuú.  
 from.then 2S=3S=dry-PFV-EC DET chambira.grass  
 Later you dry the grass.

005 Atiíja j++ticari taa turuuja nuu=na,  
 then when COP dry 3S=CLSF  
 Then when it is dry,

006 huaari quia=iinii-Ø-Ø nuu.  
that.moment 2S=twist-PFV-EC it  
you twist it then.

007 J++ticari taa iiniija nuu=na,  
when COP twisted 3S=CLSF  
When it is twisted,

008 huaari quia=tanii-Ø-Ø nuu.  
that.moment 2S=weave-PFV-EC 3S  
then you weave it.

009 J++ticari quia=nu=p++ca-r++-EC taniini,  
when 2S=3S=finish-MMT.PFV-EC weave.INF  
When you finish weaving it,

010 atijija quia=nu-aniinaca mii-Ø-Ø.  
from.there 2S=3S-arms make-PFV-EC  
later you make its handles.

011 J++ticari taa p+yaaja p+y++ni iiniija iina nu-aniinaca=iira=na.  
when COP done all twisted DET 3S-arms=GOAL=CLSF  
When it is done, all twisted, for the handles,

012 huaari quia=nu=aniinuu-Ø-Ø.

that.moment 2S=3S=add.arm-PFV-EC

then you adds the handles for it.

The following excerpt is from the text *Cómo Hacer Chacra* 'How to Establish a Vegetable garden' (Lines 1-3; 7-8; 13-15; 19-21; 23-24). Lines 3 and 8, containing *atíji*, each is considered as a separate event from the previous discourse.

001 J++ticari taa ituuja nuu,

when COP burned 3S

When it (the field) is burned,

002 quia=camaraa itiini,

2S=clean first

First you clean the field.

003 Atíji quia=nu=aniruu-Ø-Ø.

from.then 2S=3S=plow-PFV-EC

Later you plow it.

...<sup>154</sup>

007 J++ticari taa p+y++ni nataaja nuu=na,

when COP all planted 3S=CLSF

When everything is planted,

008 atíji quia=nataa-Ø-Ø catija.

---

<sup>154</sup> I use three dots between the excerpted lines to indicate a break between non-adjacent lines in the text.

from.then 2S=plant-PFV-EC sachapapa

later you plant sachapapa.<sup>155</sup>

...

013 J++ticari taa p+yaaja nataani nuu jaari,  
when COP done plant.INF 3S already  
When the sowing part is already done for a while,

014 atííja, j++ticari asúraaja taa suhuaani jaari=na,  
then when yuca COP good already=CLSF  
then, after a while when the yuca plant is already growing,

015 huaari quia=nu apara-qui-Ø cuaraani=iira.  
that.moment 2S=3S start-PFV-EC weed.INF=GOAL  
you will need to start weeding the field.

...

019 J++ticari nu=miiyaa j++timi cásiiri jaa=na,  
when 3S=have-IPFV-Ø many month already=CLSF  
When many months have passed already,

020 huaari quia=niqui-i-Ø s++sana quia-nasi,  
that.moment 2S=see-IPFV-EC bad 2S-field  
you see your field in bad shape,

021 huaari quia=cuaataa-Ø-Ø nuu,

---

<sup>155</sup> Sachapapa is a kind of starchy plant growing underground.

that.moment 2S=weed-PFV-EC 3S

at that time you need to weed your field.

...

023 J++ticari nu-cásiiri sihuaan+-r++-Ø, nueve meses,

when 3S-month arrive-MMT.PFV-EC nine months

When the month arrives, (after passing) nine months,

024 huaari quia=asa-a-EC iina quia-asúraaja.

that.moment 2S=eat-IPFV-EC DET 2S-yuca

at that moment you (start) eating your yucas.

The following excerpt is from the text *Cómo Hacer Masato I 'How to Make Manioc Beer I'* (Lines 11-12, 15-22). Line 19 indicates that bubbling only occurs after blending with water and is a distinct event from blending.

011 J++ticari nu=cuúqui-r++-Ø aacana iina saqu++ca=na,

when 3S=become-MMT.PFV-EC watery DET dough=CLSF

When the manioc dough becomes watery,

012 huaari cana=ina-a-Ø cusi=jinacuma nuu.

that.moment 1P.INCL=put-IPFV-EC pot=inside 3S

then we put it inside the pot.

...

015 J++ticari taa ipana nuu=na,

when COP strong 3S=CLSF

When it is strong,

016 huaari quia=puri-i-Ø nuu,  
that.moment 2S=blend-IPFV-EC 3S  
you blend it (with water),

017 quia=rariini=iira nuu.  
2S=drink.INF=GOAL3S  
for you to drink it.

018 Quia=nu=puri-qui-Ø cusi=jina.  
2S=3S=blend-PFV-EC pot=LOC  
You blend it in the pot.

019 Atijija, j++ticari taa puriija nuu=na,  
from.then when COP blended 3S=CLSF  
From then, when it is blended,

020 nu=sapucuuta-a-Ø.  
3S=bubble-IPFV-EC  
it bubbles.

021 J++ticari taa nu=ipaasi-i-Ø=na,  
when COP 3S=ferment-IPFV-EC  
When it is fermenting,

022 huaari        quia=nu=raati-qui-Ø.  
 that.moment 2S=3S=drink-PFV-EC  
 then you can drink it.

The following excerpt is from the text *Iimi saaqu++ni icuani iina iiquiaariqu+na naquim++nijata* ‘The Story of a Man who lived with a Female Spirit’ (Lines 1-5, 8, 12, 14). Line 5 conveys that where the devil used to wander is the same location where he used to do his work.

001 Núquiica caaya iiqui-aariqu+=na        maacatuuhua iyácari.  
 one        person live-DPST.IPFV=CLSF        ancestors        historical.now  
 It is said that there was a person who lived in the time of the ancestors.

002 Iina=na        acuumi-aariqu+        núquiica m+Saji        iíti=jina,        p+-cujímani.  
 DET=REP        unite-DPST.IPFV        one        woman        here=LOC        1P.INCL-fellow  
 It is said that he was married to a local fellow woman.

003 Nu=iicu-aariqu+=na        tíira        nu-nasi=cuura  
 3S=go-DPST.IPFV=REP        there        3S-field=DST  
 He used to go to there in his field

004 nu=miini=iira        iina        taa=na        nu-miisana.  
 3S=do.INF=GOAL        DET        COP=REP        3S-work  
 to do what was his work.



005 Atíí=na iina sihuaara nu=puhuaaj+-yaariqu+=na tii amaqu+=jina.  
there=REP DET devil 3S=wander-DPST.IPFV=REP premises road=LOC  
There at the same location the devil used to wander on the road.

...

008 Iiyaiinana, j++ticari nu=ar+-yaariqui+=na im+raani=na,  
like.this when 3S=pass-DPST.IPFV=REP again=CLSF  
Like this when he was passing again,

...

012 Iiyaiinana nu=iicuu-yaar+-quiaqu+=na,  
like.this 3S=walk-ALL.PFV-DPST.NIP=REP  
It is said that one day he walked away (from the village to there),

...

014 Iiyaiinana nu=tújii-Ø-quiaqu+ nu-níhuaji n+tiaana núquiica caaya.  
like.this 3S=hear-GNR.PFV-DPST.NIP 3S-back running one person  
One day he heard one person running behind him.

The temporal connective *j++ticari*, glossed as ‘when,’ establishes a specific RT. This RT in the text is either different from the previous RT or a specific RT if within the interval of a previous RT. When this particle accompanies an advancement of narrative time depends on grammatical aspect. Perfective aspect advances narrative time while imperfective aspect does not. In the text *J++tarata canatanii in++si* ‘How to Weave a Hammock,’ lines 5, 7, 9 and 11 contain *j++ticari* ‘when.’ Each line introduces a new RT, the time point of ‘when the grass is dry,’ ‘when it’s twisted,’ ‘when you finish weaving’ and ‘when the arms are already twisted.’ This particular text is procedural. Each time

point might not be located in real time; however, the particle *j++ticari* in these lines advances a metaphorical time line. In the text *Cómo Hacer Chacra* ‘How to Establish a Vegetable garden,’ lines 1, 7, 13, 14, 19, 23 contain *j++ticari* ‘when.’ Each line introduces a new RT, the time ‘when the field is burned,’ ‘when everything is planted,’ ‘when everything including Sachapapa is planted,’ ‘when the yuca plant is already growing nicely,’ ‘when many months already passed,’ and ‘when nine months has passed since the yuca plants started growing.’ In the text *Cómo Hacer Masato 1* ‘How to Make Manioc Beer 1,’ the lines 11, 15, 21 each introduces the time ‘when the manioc dough is watery,’ ‘when it’s strong,’ and ‘when it’s fermenting.’

The temporal connectives *huaari* and *jahuaari*, often glossed as ‘that moment’ or ‘at that moment,’ are grammatically the same and only reflect dialect variation. The speaker Ema uses the term *huaari* while the rest of the speakers prefer *jahuaari*. The terms *huaari* and *jahuaari* indicate an RT anchoring to the previously introduced RT, typically accompanied with *j++ticari* ‘when.’ Whether it presents an overlapping or a sequential situation with the previous discourse depends on grammatical aspect. The following examples are from the excerpted texts: Lines 6 and 8 in *J++tarata canatanii in++si* ‘How to Weave a Hammock’; lines 15, 20, 21 and 24 in *Cómo Hacer Chacra* ‘How to Establish a Vegetable garden’; and lines 12, 16, and 22 in *Cómo Hacer Masato 1* ‘How to Make Manioc Beer 1.’ In addition, line 17 (excerpted below) in text 2 in Appendix 2 provides an example in point. The moment of ‘I came out’ is anchoring to the moment ‘when I had got tired of living there.’

016 Qui=sam++ra-r+-quiaqu+      tíira ihuiini  
 1S=tired-MMT.PFV-DPST.NIP there live.INF  
 When I got tired of living there,

017 huaari cu=ani-Ø-quiaqu+                      iicujiira=ji.  
 then 1S=come-GNR.PFV-DPST.IPFV inside.the.area=from  
 later I came out from there.

The terms *iyácarí* and *iiyáinana* are only used in a context and time which is outside the scope of the narrator's personal experience. The term *iyácarí*, glossed as 'historical now' anchors to the time established in the narrative context. For example, in the text *Iimi saaqu++ni icuani iina iiquiaariqu+na naquim++nijata* 'The Story of a Man who lived with a Female Spirit,' the term *iyácarí* is modified by *maacatuuhua* 'ancestors.' Therefore it indicates that the time the narration is about is the time of the ancestors, which is also the time when the character in the story lived. The term *iiyáinana*, often glossed as 'like this' and sometimes translated as 'one day,' is also only used in traditional or historical narratives. As discussed in §7.2.2 and §7.2.3, it has a reportive function as one of its grammatical components. However, it more serves to specify and highlight the foreground character, scene or topic. It presents a line along which the foreground information progresses or changes. Its presence, instead of advancing narrative time, advances the foreground of the storyline. Corresponding to this observation, we find it often appears at the beginning of more specific historical events which could be translated as 'like this, one day....' In the text *Iimi saaqu++ni icuani iina iiquiaariqu+na naquim++nijata* 'The Story of a Man who lived with a Female Spirit,' lines 8, 12 and 14 each highlights the important information the narrator wants the audience to pay attention to. Also refer to the discussion in §7.2.2 about the storyline of the text 'The Story of the Moon.'

## 7.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I expanded the scope of study from independent sentences to stretches of sentences at the passage level. Tense and temporal interpretations of single/independent sentences are deictic: this is the default way to determine the temporal location of a situation which is based on the perspective of the speaker and is oriented to SpT. Smith (2003) proposes five discourse modes manifested at the passage level: Narrative, Report, Description, Information and Argument. Narrative mode conveys continuity patterns of tense; Report, Information and Argument convey deictic patterns; Description conveys anaphoric patterns. I conclude that four modes (i.e. Narrative, Description, Report and Information) from Smith's (2003) list are manifested in Iquito texts, although Argument might still emerge in a future text. In addition, I propose Quoted Speech as an interesting mixture of modes. Later in the chapter, I discussed the major temporal connectives relating to sequence, grouping and progression of events and their implications in the text, including *jaa*, *jaari*, *atii*, *atiija*, *atiiji*, *atiijija*, *j++ticari*, *huaari*, *jahuaari*, *iyácari* and *iiyaiinana*.

## Appendices

### APPENDIX 1: EVENT QUANTIFICATION

In many languages, event quantification is expressed through productive morphology. In Iquito, however, it is conveyed through a set of synchronically unproductive derivational verbal morphemes, including *-s++*, *-juu*, *-cuu*, *-tii*, *-yuu*, *-yuucua*, among other morphemes with rarer frequency of usage. Structurally, these morphemes suffix directly to the verbal root and before the causative and other derivational morphemes which precede inflectional morphemes. Currently only very few words containing the derivational morphemes discussed here occur with great frequency in natural speech. The derivational morphemes in these cases encode serialization of multiple (i.e. mass number in this case) events conveyed by the verbal root. As their synchronic generalized meanings, these derivational morphemes are related with event quantification (i.e. patterns of frequency or habituation), spatial distribution, serialization, degree of endeavor and distributive events of multiple subjects. The meanings conveyed by these derivational morphemes are prevailingly expressed through the use of adverbials, in which case the presence of the derivational morphemes is not obligatory.

The derivational morphology discussed here is diachronically productive, but not synchronically productive. When the meaning of a combination of a verbal root and the derivational morphemes were asked for, only *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii* were given synchronically generalized meanings, all of which are optional and can be expressed by adverbials or other devices. The derivational morphemes *-cuu*, *-yuu* and *-yuucua*, among other morphemes, are only observed with specific verbal roots as lexicalized roots. Within the lexicon of items that occur with derivational morphemes with great frequency, the following phenomena are observed. First, some irregular roots appear in the

underived and in the derived verbal forms which suggests that the derived verbal stems appear to be lexicalized after the derivational morphemes attach. Second, some verbal stems which display apparent derivational morphology do not seem to have a direct correspondence, in terms of their meanings, with their underived forms. Third, several apparently derived verbal stems do not have their corresponding underived forms. These phenomena support the observation that the derivational morphology is not synchronically productive although people can provide an interpretation when given a derived form.

In section 1, I discuss the lexicon which contains the relevant derivational morphemes and occurs with great frequency in the natural speech. In section 2, I discuss the generalized meanings of the derivational morphemes synchronically.

### **1. Derivational Morphemes in the Lexicon**

This section presents the lexicon which contains the relevant derivational morphemes and occurs naturally (i.e. produced by speakers). The words in this section are gathered from the Iquito Dictionary, Text Collection, and the elicitation sessions, with the definitions confirmed and explained by the speakers. First, I present a table containing the infinitival forms of underived verbal roots (i.e. used for expressing the countable number of events), infinitival forms of derived verbal roots (i.e. used for expressing the mass number of events), local Spanish gloss and English translation. Later I discuss the observations made from the data presented.

Table 21. Derivational Morphemes of Event Quantification

Morpheme	Underived roots which convey a countable number of events	Derived roots which convey a multiple, mass number of events
----------	---	--

-s++	<i>ájaani</i> ‘moler’ ENG: to grind	<i>ájaas++ni</i> ‘moler en seguida’ ENG: to grind subsequently
	<i>amuuni</i> ‘matar o golpear’ ENG: to kill, hit (a person), or knock (the door)	<i>amuus++ni</i> ‘matar o golpear varias veces’ ENG: to kill, hit, or knock many times
	<i>ijaqu++ni</i> ‘reventar’ ENG: to pop (corns or wood sticks because of heat or fire)	<i>ijaqu+s++ni</i> ‘reventar varias partes en una cosa, o varias cosas reventan’ ENG: to pop subsequently (one single object or many objects)
	<i>inihu++ni</i> ‘moverse’ ENG: to move oneself	<i>inihu+s++ni</i> ‘moverse varias veces de todas las formas’ ENG: to move oneself continuously, restlessly
-juu	<i>amaniini</i> ‘matar a varios’ ENG: to kill several entities	<i>amanijuutaani</i> ‘dar golpitos muy suaves a un bebé para que duerma’ ENG: to pat gently on the back of a baby to facilitate his sleeping
	<i>asaani</i> ‘comer (comida)’ ENG: to eat (food)	<i>asaajuutaani</i> ‘masticar’ ENG: to chew
	<i>cuhuasiini</i> ‘hablar’ ENG: to speak	<i>cuhuarijuuni</i> ‘hablar sin parar por un largo tiempo’ ENG: to speak continuously for a long time
	<i>isicaani</i> ‘arrancar una soga una vez’ ENG: to tear a rope	<i>isicajuuni</i> ‘arrancar una soga varias veces en varios pedazos’ ENG: to tear a rope many times into several pieces
	<i>iyataani</i> ‘cortar el superficie de un objeto’ ENG: to cut on the surface of an object	<i>iyatajuuni</i> ‘hacer varios cortes en el superficie de un objeto’ ENG: to cut many times on the surface of an object
	<i>jiniini</i> ‘amasar’ ENG: to make a dough	<i>jinijuuni</i> ‘amasar varias veces/a cada rato’ ENG: to make many doughs
	<i>miriyaani</i> ‘apretar’ ENG: to press (with fingers)	<i>miriyajuuni</i> ‘apretar varias veces’ ENG: to press many times (e.g. when giving a massage)
	<i>mit++ni</i> ‘dar, brindar’ ENG: to give, provide	<i>mit++juuni</i> ‘repartir, brindar a varios’ ENG: to distribute, provide to many people
	<i>naraani</i> ‘bañar’ ENG: to take a bath	<i>narajuuni</i> ‘bañarse a cada rato; bañar a un bebito’ ENG: to take baths all the time; give a baby a bath
	<i>nataani</i> ‘sembrar’ ENG: to plant	<i>natajuuni</i> ‘sembrar todos los días (JPI), sembrar toda clase de cosas enseguida (HDC)’

		ENG: to plant every day (JPI), plant all kind of things in a roll (HDC)
	<i>niriin</i> ‘cagar’ ENG: to defecate	<i>nirijuuni</i> ‘cagar a cada rato’ ENG: to defecate all the time
	<i>n+n+qu++ni</i> ‘temblar’ ENG: to tremble	<i>n+n+qu+juuni</i> ‘temblar sin parar’ ENG: to tremble all the time (e.g. hands)
	<i>n+sicaani</i> ‘quebrar un palito’ ENG: to break a small stick	<i>n+sicajuuni</i> ‘quebrar palitos’ ENG: to break small sticks
	<i>n++caani</i> ‘partir algo en dos pedazos’ ENG: to split something in half	<i>n++cajuuni</i> ‘partir varias veces’ ENG: to split many times
	<i>picuuni</i> ‘mojar’ ENG: to wet	<i>picujuuni</i> ‘mojar el cuerpo parte por parte’ ENG: to wet small areas of the body one at a time
	<i>rihuacaani</i> ‘doblar algo duro’ ENG: to bend something firm (e.g. a metal wire)	<i>rihuacajuuni</i> ‘doblar varias veces’ ENG: to bend something many times
	<i>rihuasicaani</i> ‘enrollar’ ENG: to make a round shape (e.g. when organizing a hose)	<i>rihuasicajuuni</i> ‘enrollar muchas veces’ ENG: to make round shapes (e.g. when organizing a hose completely)
	<i>saminiini</i> ‘preparar’ ENG: to prepare	<i>saminijuuni</i> ‘pensar’ ENG: to think
	<i>sicaani</i> ‘hacer amor’ ENG: to make love	<i>sicajuuni</i> ‘hacer amor varias veces’ ENG: to make love many times in a row
	<i>titaani</i> ‘quitarse una ropa de su cuerpo’ ENG: to undress	<i>titaajuuni</i> ‘despegar o desconectar varias cosas’ ENG: to detach or disconnect many things
	<i>turuuni</i> ‘secarse por ser expuesto a calor fuerte, como el sol o la candela.’ ENG: to dry from being exposed to a strong heat, such as sun or flame.	<i>turujuuni</i> ‘secar varias cosas por la candela, durar yucas’ ENG: dry several things from the flame, make yucas firm (in preparation of food for several months)
- <i>tii</i>	<i>aqu+siini</i> ‘emborracharse’ ENG: to get drunk	<i>aqu+sitiini</i> ‘emborracharse varias veces’ ENG: to get drunk many times
	<i>ajiraani/ijiraani</i> ‘picar’ ENG: to peck, aim at the fish	<i>ajiratiini/ijiratiini</i> ‘picotear’ ENG: to peck or aim at the fish many times
	<i>asiyaani</i> ‘pisar’ ENG: to step on, kick	<i>asimatiini</i> ‘pisotear’ ENG: to step on or kick many times
	<i>ipan++ni</i> ‘sudar’ ENG: to sweat	<i>ipan+tiini</i> ‘sudar a cada rato’ ENG: to sweat all the time
	<i>maqu++ni</i> ‘dormir’ ENG: to sleep	<i>maqu+tiini</i> ‘seguir durmiendo’ ENG: to sleep all the time
- <i>cuu</i>	<i>an++ni</i> ‘llamar, vocinear’	<i>an++cuuni</i> ‘llamar varias veces’



	ENG: to call, make sound	ENG: to call many times (in a slow and prolonged fashion)
	<i>amaniini</i> ‘matar a varios’ ENG: to kill several entities	<i>amanicuutaani</i> ‘golpear algo repetidamente contra algo’ ENG: to hit something repetitively against something
	<i>imaani</i> ‘comer fruta; tragar’ ENG: to eat fruit, drink in large quantity	<i>imacuuni</i> ‘comer varias frutas; tragar varias veces’ ENG: to eat fruits, drink in large quantities many times in a row
	<i>jimuuni</i> ‘enterrar’ ENG: to bury, fill in the gap	<i>jimuucuuni</i> ‘llorar para un muerto para anunciar su entierro’ ENG: to cry for a dead person to announce his burial
	<i>muraani</i> ‘cavar’ ENG: to dig, dig a hole	<i>muracuuni</i> ‘cavar varias veces’ ENG: to dig many times, dig holes
	<i>quihuaani</i> ‘abrazar’ ENG: to hug	<i>quihuaacuuni</i> ‘abrazar varias veces’ ENG: to hug many times
	<i>ruruuni</i> ‘ladrar’ ENG: to bark	<i>ruruucuuni</i> ‘gritar’ ENG: to meow, shout
	<i>sahu++ni</i> ‘llorar’ ENG: to cry	<i>sahu++cuuni</i> ‘llorar a cada rato o llorar juntos’ ENG: to cry all the time or many people cry together
	<i>sip++ni</i> ‘dar un beso’ ENG: to give a kiss	<i>sip+cuuni</i> ‘besar varias veces enseguida’ ENG: to give kisses one after another
	<i>tahuataani</i> ‘huequear’ ENG: to poke through	<i>tahuaracuuni</i> ‘perforar algo repetidamente’ ENG: to perforate something repeatedly
	N/A	<i>tamacuuni</i> ‘moler una sogá del monte por torcerla repetidamente, generalmente con el fin de hacer la sogá más flexible’ ENG: to grind a rope from the jungle by rubbing it repetitively, generally resulting in making the rope very flexible
	<i>tijacaani</i> ‘trozar’ ENG: to chop	<i>tijacajuuni</i> ‘hacer varios trozos’ ENG: to chop many times
-qu++	<i>aparáani</i> ‘tocar’ ENG: to touch	<i>apáraqu++ni</i> ‘tocar o palpar varias veces’ ENG: to touch or pat many times
	<i>acan++ni</i> ‘abrir la boca’ ENG: to open the mouth (e.g. a fish)	<i>acan+qu++ni</i> ‘abrir y sacudir la boca varias veces’ ENG: to open and shake the mouth many times
	<i>imaani</i> ‘tragá, comer una fruta’	<i>ímaq++ni</i> ‘un grupo de gente come bananos’

	ENG: to swallow, eat fruit <i>ihu++ni</i> ‘echarse, estar echado’ ENG: to lie down	ENG: for many people to eat bananas <i>ihu++qu++ni</i> ‘caer repetidamente en varias direcciones como un animal bien herido’ ENG: to fall down repetitively in different directions, such as a hurt animal
	<i>niriini</i> ‘cagar’ ENG: to defecate	<i>niriqu++ni</i> ‘cagarse, mogrentar a ensuciar su propio cuerpo’ ENG: to defecate on oneself
	<i>puqitiini</i> ‘florear’ ENG: to grow mold	<i>puqitiqu++ni</i> ‘florear muchas veces, tener caspa’ ENG: to grow a lot of mold like a layer
	<i>sataani</i> ‘reírse’ ENG: to laugh	<i>sataqu++ni</i> ‘reírse varias veces’ ENG: to laugh a lot
	N/A	<i>cunitaqu++ni</i> ‘hacer patarashca’ ENG: to make patarashca
	N/A	<i>tamaqu++ni</i> ‘torcerse varias veces’ ENG: to be twisted by itself many times
- <i>nuu</i>	<i>ijaani</i> ‘picar con algo punteagudo’ ENG: to spear something, usually fish, with a sharp-ended object	<i>ijanuuni</i> ‘picar varias cosas uno después del otro’ ENG: to spear many things one after another
	<i>sajini</i> ‘cortar’ ENG: to cut with machete	<i>sajinuuni</i> ‘cortar varias veces’ ENG: to cut many times with machete
	<i>siquiini</i> ‘sartar’ ENG: to place a thread through something, such as beads or fruits	<i>siquinuuni</i> ‘molestar cada rato (con dedo o palo)’ ENG: to bother something all the time (with finger or stick)
- <i>n++</i>	<i>sim++ni</i> ‘buzar agua una vez’ ENG: to put the head into water	<i>sim++n++ni</i> ‘buzar agua varias veces’ ENG: to put the head into water many times
- <i>nihui</i>	<i>j++ni</i> ‘jalar’ ENG: to pull	<i>j++nihuitaani</i> ‘jalar varias veces’ ENG: to pull many times, pull around
- <i>niqui</i>	<i>najihu++ni</i> ‘oler’ ENG: to smell	<i>najihu+niquiini</i> ‘olfatear’ ENG: to smell many times, smell around
- <i>yuu</i>	<i>isicaani</i> ‘arrancar una sogá una vez’ ENG: to tear a rope once	<i>isicayuuuni</i> ‘arrancar una sogá varias veces en varios pedazos’ (LII) ENG: to tear a rope many times into several pieces
	<i>isaani</i> ‘orinar’ ENG: to urinate	<i>isayuuni</i> ‘orinar en cama, hamaca, o en un cuarto enfrente de otra gente, sin ir a un lugar dedicado; orinar a cada rato (JPI)’ ENG: to urinate in bed, in hammock, or in

		a room in front of other people, without going to a dedicated place; to urinate all the time
	<i>j++ni</i> ‘jalar’ ENG: to pull	<i>j++yuuni</i> ‘jalar varias sogas’ ENG: to pull many ropes
<i>-yuucua</i>	N/A	<i>muriyuucuaani</i> ‘rujar’ (una ves o muchas veces) ENG: to roar (once or many times)
	<i>musiini</i> ‘nadar’ ENG: to swim	<i>musiyuucuaani</i> ‘nadar varias veces’ ENG: to swim many laps
	<i>n+t++ni</i> ‘correr’ ENG: to run	<i>n+t+yuucuaani</i> ‘corretear’ ENG: to run many laps
	<i>siqu++ni</i> ‘brincar’ ENG: to jump	<i>siqu+yuucuaani</i> ‘brincotear’ ENG: to jump many times, in a restricted area or with a direction

In the following, I discuss the observation made for each derivational morpheme presented above. The derivational morpheme *-s++*, although there are only four instances in the dictionary, is one that has its generalized synchronic meaning as the frequentative, yet non-serial, occurrence of a given event. It can be seen from the table that the lexicalized forms which contain *-s++* convey serialization of events, with several occurrences of events in a row. The derivational morpheme *-juu* has its generalized synchronic meaning as a cumulative diminutive which conveys a series of continuous events performed in a diminutive fashion. This will be discussed in detail in section 2. From the twenty-one lexicalized forms presented in the table, it can be seen that they generally convey one of two meanings: first, cumulative serialization; second, verbal diminutiveness, such as the verbs *amanijuutaani*, *asaajuutaani* and *picujuuni*. Therefore, the generalized synchronic meaning seems to combine the two meanings conveyed by the lexicalized forms. The derivational morpheme *-tii* has its generalized synchronic meaning as distributive events of a collective subject, which conveys distributive simultaneous events performed by a collective plural subject. The meaning encoded by the lexicalized

form in the table is either serialization of punctual verbs or the frequentative of State verbs.

The derivational morphemes *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii* discussed above are three morphemes that can be freely combined with verbal roots. Other morphemes discussed below cannot be freely combined with verbal roots and hence do not have synchronic general meanings. The words containing *-s++*, *-juu* or *-tii* all have their underived forms as part of the Iquito lexicon. The meanings of the underived forms and the derived forms also generally correspond to each other in terms of the basic verbal root. Two exceptions exist in words which contain *-juu*. In the pairs of words, *saminiini* ‘preparar’ (ENG: prepare) > *saminijuuni* ‘pensar’ (ENG: think), and *amaniini* ‘matar a varios’ (ENG: kill several entities) > *amanijuutaani* ‘dar golpesitos muy suaves a un bebé para que duerma’ (ENG: to pat gently on the back of a baby to facilitate his sleeping), the meanings of the underived forms and the derived forms do not seem to relate to each other directly. In addition, the underived forms and the derived forms which contain *-s++*, *-juu* or *-tii* have identical base forms. One exception exists in the case of *-juu*, *cuhuasiini* ‘hablar’ (ENG: to speak) > *cuhuarijuuni* ‘hablar sin parar por un largo tiempo’ (ENG: to speak continuously for a long time) and one exception exists in the case of *-tii*, *asiyaani* ‘pisar’ (ENG: to step on, kick) > *asimatiini* ‘pisotear’ (ENG: to step on or kick many times). The combination of the above-mentioned phenomena suggests that the derivational morphology of *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii* is not a synchronically productive one and that the morphology of *-juu* and *-tii* might be older than that of *-s++*. This is also supported by the fact that speakers can interpret forms with *-s++* following either *-juu* or *-tii*. Collectively, the morphology of *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii* is a relatively more recent one in comparison with the morphology of other morphemes to be discussed below.

The derivational morpheme *-cuu* cannot freely combine with verbal roots synchronically. Therefore, the twelve words in the table are the only words which can appear with *-cuu*. The lexicalized forms presented in the table convey serialization of events in general. Three out of the twelve pairs of words provided in the table have an indirect meaning mapping between the underived forms and the derived forms: *amaniini* ‘matar a varios’ (ENG: to kill several entities) > *amanicuutaani* ‘golpear algo repetidamente contra algo’ (ENG: to hit something repetitively against something), *jimuuni* ‘enterrar’ (ENG: to bury, fill in the gap) > *jimuucuuni* ‘llorar para un muerto para anunciar su entierro’ (ENG: to cry for a dead person to announce his burial), and *ruruuni* ‘ladrar’ (ENG: to bark) > *ruruucuuni* ‘gritar’ (ENG: to meow, shout). One derived form, *tamacuuni* ‘moler una sogá del monte por torcerla repetidamente, generalmente con el fin de hacer la sogá más flexible’ (ENG: to grind a rope from jungle by rubbing it repetitively, generally resulting in making the rope very flexible), does not have a corresponding underived form. One pair of words does not have an identical phonological shape in their roots: *tahuataani* ‘huequear’ (ENG: to poke through) > *tahuaracuuni* ‘perforar algo repetidamente’ (ENG: to perforate).

The derivational morpheme *-qu++* also cannot freely combine with verbal roots synchronically. The nine words listed are the only words which contain *-qu++* with the meaning of event quantification. The lexicalized forms presented in the table convey the serialization of events. One interesting point to be noted is that they are mostly intransitive verbs, with only one exception: *apáraqu++ni* ‘tocar o palpar varias veces’ (ENG: to touch or pat many times). The following two pairs of words especially demonstrate the middle voice alternation between *-cuu* vs. *-qu++* and *-juu* vs. *-qu++*: *tamacuuni* ‘moler una sogá del monte por torcerla repetidamente, generalmente con el fin de hacer la sogá más flexible’ (ENG: to grind a rope from jungle by rubbing it

repetitively, generally resulting in making the rope very flexible) vs. *tamaqu++ni* ‘torcerse varias veces’ (ENG: to be twisted by itself many times), and *nirijuuni* ‘cagar a cada rato’ (ENG: to defecate all the time) vs. *niriqu++ni* ‘cagarse, mogrentar a ensuciar su propio cuerpo’ (ENG: to defecate on oneself). In addition, two of the nine words do not have an underived form: *cunitaqu++ni* ‘hacer patarashca’ (ENG: to make patarashca) > *tamaqu++ni* ‘torcerse varias veces’ (ENG: to be twisted by itself many times).

The derivational morpheme *-nuu* cannot freely combine with verbal roots synchronically. The three words listed, hence, are the only words with the meaning of event quantification. All of them convey the serialization of events. One interesting point to be observed is that they are all transitive verbs with the meaning of specific instruments and implied result states: *ijanuuni* ‘picar varias cosas uno después del otro’ (ENG: to spear many things one after another), *sajinuuni* ‘cortar varias veces’ (ENG: to cut many times with machete), and *siquinuuni* ‘molestar con dedo o palo’ (ENG: to bother something all the time with finger or stick).

The derivational morphemes *-n++*, *-nihui* and *-niqui* all have one example for each of them in the dictionary. They convey the serialization of events. Interestingly, the derived form which contains *-n++*, *sim++n++ni* ‘buzar agua varias veces’ (ENG: put one’s head in the water many times), is an intransitive verb which appears to be part of the middle voice alternation pair, but synchronically, there is no *sim++nuuni*. The derivational *-yuu* and *-yuucua* both have very few words containing them and cannot freely combine with verbal roots synchronically. The verbs which contain *-yuucua* are notably Motion verbs in general. The verb *muriyucuaani* ‘rujar’ (ENG: to roar) does not have a corresponding underived form synchronically and the word has come to encode both a countable and a mass number of events depending on the specific adverbials and inflectional morphemes, as shown in the following.

(1037) Núquiica nu=muriyuucua-qui-Ø.

one 3S=roar-PFV-EC

‘He roared once.’

(1038) Cuumi nu=muriyuucua-qui-Ø.

two 3S=roar-PFV-EC

‘He roared twice.’

(1039) Masiaana nu=muriyuucua-qui-Ø.

A.lot 3S=roar-PFV-EC

‘He roared many times.’

(1040) Nu=muriyuucua-a-Ø.

3S=roar-IPFV-EC

‘He is roaring (many times).’

## 2. Generalized Synchronic Meanings<sup>156</sup>

In this section, I discuss the following three points: first, the generalized synchronic meanings of the derivational morphemes *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii*; second, the equivalent adverbials used to express them or the relevant syntactic conditions; and third, their structural position with respect to other derivational and inflectional morphemes

---

<sup>156</sup> This section embraces more diversity in terms of acceptability and interpretations of sentences. Therefore, I include the relevant recording information (i.e. elicitation, date, speakers and linguist) when such varieties present themselves. The following format and abbreviations apply: E=elicitation; six digits of date, representing two digits, each, of day, month and year; ELY=Ema Llona Yareja; HDC=Hermenegildo Díaz Cuyasa; IWL=I-Wen Lai; JPI=Jaime Pacaya Inuma; LII=Ligia Inuma Inuma.

within the verbal complex. One important point to be noted is that most of the sentences in this section which contain the derivational morphemes *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii* are interpretable by the speakers, but were not produced spontaneously by the speakers. When asked for equivalent meanings, sentences with adverbials (i.e. without the derivational morphemes *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii*) were produced most of the time. Only in rare cases were sentences with the derivational morphemes *-s++*, *-juu* and *-tii* produced. Most of the sentences in that case contained lexicalized uses of the verbs as presented in the above section.

The derivational morpheme *-s++* has its generalized synchronic meaning as the frequentative, yet non-serial, occurrence of a given event. Actual interpretations include habitual events and frequentative events in spatially distributive locations. Speakers were able to give different interpretations in different elicitation sessions for the same sentences presented. The speaker Ema gives frequentative distributive readings preferably over a period of time than on a single day. The speaker Jaime gives habitual reading most of time, but indicates that there also can be a frequentative spatially distributive reading. The speaker Hermico gives both habitual and frequentative distributive readings. The speaker Ligia gives both readings as well. She is also the only speaker who cannot accept the combination of a few verbal roots with the derivational morpheme *-s++*. All four speakers produced sentences with adverbials without the derivational morphemes and indicate that the frequentative morpheme is not required if an explicit relevant adverbial appears in the sentence.

In the following, I provide examples of the verb *asaani* ‘eat.’ Example (1041) is a sentence which contains the underived form of the verb.

(1041) Nu=asa-a-Ø      núquiica páapaja.



3S=eat-IPFV-EC one fish

He is eating a fish.

When presented with the following sentence, the speakers gave different interpretations as indicated. The meanings (1042)a and (1042)b are habitual; (1042)c is a frequentative spatially distributive reading. The speaker Ligia cannot accept this sentence at all.

(1042) Nu=asa-s+-yaa-Ø páapaajaa.

3S=eat-FREQ-IPFV-EC fish

a. He eats fish everyday. (E.190906.JPI.IWL)

b. He eats fish three times a day. (E.220906.HDC.IWL)

c. He is eating fish many times in different places. (E.190906.JPI.IWL)

(E.230906.ELY.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL)

\*(E.091906.LII.IWL)

The habitual reading is, of course, influenced by the grammatical Imperfective Aspect. With the perfective aspect, the reading can only be frequentative or frequentative and spatially distributive within a limited period of time, indicated by the tense or by an adverbial. Note that the perfective aspect is unmarked when following a long vowel, as in (1043).

(1043) Nu=asa-s+-Ø páapaajaa.

3S=eat-FREQ-EC fish

a. He ate fish many times today. (E.190906.JPI.IWL)

b. He ate fish three times (as at three meals) today. (E.220906.HDC.IWL)

- c. He ate fish many times in different places today. (E.190906.JPI.IWL)  
 (E.230906.ELY.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL)  
 \*(E.091906.LII.IWL)

All four speakers gave the following sentence when asked the indicated meaning. It is seen that the frequentative adverbial *p+y++ni yahu++ni-jina* ‘every day’ is used without the frequentative derivational morpheme *-s++*.

- (1044) *Iina caaya p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina nu=asa-a-Ø páapaaja.*  
 DET person all day=LOC 3S=eat-IPFV-e fish  
 This person eats fish everyday.

Likewise, the frequentative adverbial *sam++ra* ‘frequently’ is used without the derivational morpheme.

- (1045) *Sam++ra nu=asa-a-Ø páapaaja.*  
 frequently 3S=eat-IPFV-EC fish  
 He eats fish frequently.

When asked the frequentative spatially distributive reading, the speakers gave the adverbial *masiaquiihuacu* ‘various place’ and *p+y++ni tíhuacu* ‘everywhere.’

- (1046) *Masiaquiihuacu nu=asa-a-Ø.*  
 various.places 3S=eat-IPFV-EC  
 He eats in various places.

(1047) Nu=asa-a-Ø p+y++ni tíhuacu.

3S=eat-IPFV-EC all place

He eats everywhere.

Other adverbials indicating numerous locations can also be used, as in (1048).

(1048) Nu=asa-a-Ø páapaaja p+y++ni ííta-ca=jina.

3S=eat-IPFV-EC fish all house-PL=LOC

He eats fish in all houses.

When asked the interpretation of a sentence containing frequentative adverbials as well as the derivational morpheme -s++, speakers generally have two reactions: 1) with the frequentative/habitual reading, the derivational morpheme -s++ is redundant; 2) the spatially distributive reading is triggered as in (1049) and (1050).

(1049) P+y++ni yahu++ni=jina nu=asa-s+-yaa-Ø páapaaja.

all day=LOC 3S=eat-FREQ-IPFV-EC fish

Every day he eats fish in a different place. (E.180906.JPI.IWL)

(E.220906.HDC.IWL) (E.230906.ELY.IWL) \*(E.091906.LII.IWL)

(1050) Núquiica yahu++ni=jina nu=asa-s+-yaa-Ø núquiica páapaaja.

one day=LOC 3S=eat-FREQ-IPFV-EC one fish

He eats a fish per day (and) every day in a different place. (E.230906.ELY.IWL)

In addition, if an adverbial indicating a limited period of time is present, the frequentative spatially distributive reading is also triggered, as in (1051).

(1051) Ácari yahu++ni nu=asa-s+-yaa-Ø            masiaana páapaaja.  
now day            3S=eat-FREQ-IPFV-EC    a.lot.of    fish  
Today he is eating a lot of fish in different places. (E.220906.HDC.IWL)  
(E.180906.JPI.IWL) \*(E.091906.LII.IWL) ?(E.230906.ELY.IWL)

In the following, I provide examples of the verb *capiini* ‘eat.’ Sentence (1052) in the following is a sentence containing the underived form.

(1052) Nu=capi-i-Ø.  
3S=cook-IPFV-EC  
She is cooking.

Pragmatically, the event of cooking is considered a habitual one which should take place every day. Therefore, the following sentence was interpreted as taking place in a spatially distributive fashion, changing to a different place each day. The sentence was also interpreted as a person cooking fairly frequently to an extreme that she or he cooks all the time.

(1053) Nu=capi-s+-yaa-Ø.  
3S=cook-FREQ-IPFV-EC  
a. She cooks in a different place everyday. (E.180906.JPI.IWL)  
(E.220906.HDC.IWL) (E.230906.ELY.IWL) (E.091906.LII.IWL)

b. She cooks frequently/all the time. (E.180906.JPI.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL)

When a sentence containing the derivational morpheme -s++ and an adverbial indicating a single place is provided, the speakers gave the habitual/frequentative reading, as in (1054). However, they all gave and preferred the alternative sentence with the use of adverbials, as in (1055).

(1054) Nu=capi-s++-yaa-Ø          iina=jina    iíta.  
3S=cook-FREQ-IPFV-EC    DET=LOC house  
She cooks in that house everyday.

(1055) Nu=capi-i-Ø          p+y++ni    yahu++ni=jina    iina=jina    iíta.  
3S=cook-IPFV-EC    all          day=LOC          DET=LOC house  
She cooks in that house everyday.

When the sentence (1056) is provided, speakers gave the reading of ‘cooking in a different place each day’ and explained that usually ‘cooking takes a lot of time so a person normally cannot be cooking in different places on a single day unless she or he is helping a little bit only in each place,’ as in (1057), as ‘if he or she is only directing the cooking,’ as in (1058).

(1056) Nu=capi-s++-yaa-Ø          iimi=jina          iíta-ca.  
3S=cook-FREQ-IPFV-EC    DET.PL=LOC    house-PL  
She cooks in these houses (changing to a different house everyday).

(1057) Ácari yahu++ni nu=capi-s++-yaa-Ø iimi=jina iíta-ca.  
 now day 3S=cook-FREQ-IPFV-EC DET.PL=LOC house-PL  
 Today she is cooking in these houses (helping a little bit in each house).

(1058) Ácari yahu++ni nu=capi-t++-s++-yaa-Ø iimi=jina iíta-ca.  
 now day 3S=cook-CAU-FREQ-IPFV-EC DET.PL=LOC house-PL  
 Today she is directing the cooking in these houses.

For (1056), the speakers all prefer the alternative in (1059).

(1059) Nu=capi-i-Ø p+y++ni yahu++ni=jina iimi=jina iíta-ca.  
 3S=cook-IPFV-EC all day=LOC DET.PL=LOC house  
 She cooks in these houses (changing to a different house everyday).

The derivational morpheme *-juu* has its generalized synchronic meaning as the cumulative diminutive, which conveys a series of continuous events performed in a diminutive fashion. The actual interpretations include: 1) performing an action slower than the rate typically associated with a given verb; 2) performing an action to a lesser degree of endeavor than typically associated with a given verb; 3) dividing the quantity of activities associated with a given verb into small portions and performing the action cumulatively to complete the task. Because of its verbal diminutive meaning, speakers often give examples, using a child as the action performer and commented that this derivational morpheme is for speaking ‘affectionately.’ Speakers were able to give different interpretations indicated above in different elicitation sessions for the same sentences presented. The speaker Ema especially prefers the first (‘slow’) reading. Other

speakers prefer the second ('lesser degree of endeavor'), the third ('cumulative') and the 'affectionate' reading. It is noted that *-juu* can be freely combined with most verbs unless this is pragmatically uninterpretable by the speakers. The generalized meaning conveyed by *-juu* can be expressed by the adverbials *macuaarica* 'slowly' and *s++sarica* 'a little.'

In the following, I provide examples of the verb *capiini* 'cook.' Example (1060) is interpreted as 'cooking slowly' or 'cooking in small portions each time, augmenting the food for a single meal.'

(1060) Nu=capi-juu-yaa-Ø.

3S=cook-CUM-IPFV-EC

a. She is cooking slowly. (E.230906.ELY.IWL)

b. She is cooking in small portions (i.e. in a small pot) many times in order to make enough food for a meal. (E.180906.JPI.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL)  
(E.190906.LII.IWL)

c. A little child is cooking a small portion. (E.180906.JPI.IWL)  
(E.220906.HDC.IWL)

The speakers commented that the following sentence was heard when they were children; they just don't use it very often anymore. Their parents usually said this to them upon going fishing. Because waiting for fish could take a long time and is boring, they would sleep continuously, but not deeply, while fishing on the canoe.

(1061) Qui=maqu+-juu-yaa-Ø cáami-rata.

1S=sleep-CUM-IPFV-EC upriver-towards

I am going to sleep lightly going upriver.

(1062) Nu=rarii-juu-yaa-Ø.

3S=drink-CUM-IPFV-EC

a. He is drinking slowly. (E.230906.ELY.IWL)

b. He is drinking in small portions many times to finish what he has.

(E.180906.JPI.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL) (E.190906.LII.IWL)

The speakers interpret the verb *asaani* ‘eat’ very similarly to the use in (1062). They were able to produce more sentences as follows.

(1063) Ca=nu=p+ca-a-Ø                      atí=yaajaa.

NEG=3S=finish-IPFV-EC    at.the.moment=NWR

Nu=asa-juu-yaa-Ø                      macuaariqu+ca.

3S=eat-CUM-IPFV-EC    slowly.DIM

He hasn’t finished yet. He is eating slowly. (E.230906.ELY.IWL)

(1064) Nu=asa-juu-yaa-Ø                      p+y++ni    tiihuacu    iíta-ca.

3S=eat-CONT-IPFV-EC    all                      place                      house-PL

He is eating a little in all the houses (to complete a meal). (E.091906.LII.IWL)

(1065) Nu=asa-juu-yaa-Ø                      p+y++ni    saaca-icuaji.

3S=eat-CONT-IPFV-EC    all                      thing-direction

He is eating a little bit of every thing (to complete a meal). (E.220906.HDC.IWL)



(1066) Nu=asa-juu-yaa-Ø            p+y++ni.  
3S=eat-CONT-IPFV-EC   all  
He is eating little by little. (E.180906.JPI.IWL)

The verb *muraani* ‘dig’ is another good example of the reading ‘to a lesser degree of endeavor.’ The sentence is interpreted as ‘a person is kind of digging, but not digging as deeply as digging is supposed to be done.’

(1067) Nu=mura-juu-yaa.  
3S=dig-CUM-IPFV  
He is digging shallowly.

The derivational morpheme *-tii* has its generalized synchronic meaning as distributive events of a collective subject, which conveys distributive simultaneous events performed by a collective plural subject. Speakers generally indicate that these sentences do not sound good with a singular subject and they also commented that sentences without the derivational morphemes *-tii* are more common currently. The speakers Ema and Ligia, in particular, do not like sentences containing *-tii*, except, of course, in cases of the lexicalized use presented in section 1 above.

In the following, I provide examples of the verb *asaani* ‘eat.’ Example (1068) is understood as a group of people eating their own food on different tables.

(1068) Na=asa-tii-yaa-Ø.  
3P=eat-DSTR-IPFV-EC

They are eating. (E.180906.JPI.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL)  
\*(E.230906.ELY.IWL) \*(E.190906.ELY.IWL)

Example (1069) with the verb *capiini* ‘cook’ indicates that a group of people are cooking, each of them having their own stove.

(1069) Na=capi-tii-yaa-Ø.

3P=cook-DSTR-IPFV-EC

They are cooking. (E.180906.JPI.IWL) (E.220906.HDC.IWL)  
\*(E.230906.ELY.IWL) \*(E.190906.ELY.IWL)

Example (1070) with the verb *sihuan++ni* ‘arrive’ was interpreted as a group of people arriving each in their own boat, one after the other.

(1070) Na=sihuan+-tii-yaa-Ø.

3P=arrive-DSTR-IPFV-EC

They are arriving.

Example (1071) with the verb *ruruuni* ‘bark’ indicates that in a collective group of dogs scattered in a place, each dog is barking in its own pace.

(1071) Na=ruruu-tii-yaa-Ø.

3P=bark-DSTR-IPFV-EC

They are barking.

Example (1072) with the verb *ruruucuuni* ‘meow’ indicates that in a collective group of cats scattered in a place, each cat is meowing in a distinct voice.

(1072) Na=ruruucuu-tii-yaa-Ø.

3P=meow-DSTR-IPFV-EC

They are meowing.

The relative structural positions of the derivational morphemes discussed in this report can be summarized as follows. In the case of lexicalized stems, it can be observed that *-cuu* precedes *-tii*, *-juu* precedes *-s++*, *-tii* precedes *-s++*, as illustrated in the following table.

Table 22. Relative Positions of the Derivational Morphemes

Roots	Derived Stem	Observed sentences
ruruuni ‘ladrar’ ENG: to bark	ruruucuuni ‘gritar’ ENG: to meow, shout	Na=ruruucuu-tii-yaa-Ø. They are meowing.
miriyaani ‘apretar’ ENG: to press (with fingers)	miriyajuuni ‘apretar varias veces’ ENG: to press many times (e.g. when giving massage)	Nu=miriyajuu-s++-yaa-Ø. He gives massages every day.
asiyaani ‘pisar’ ENG: to step on, kick	asimatiini ‘pisotear’ ENG: to step on or kick many times	Nu=asimatii-s++-yaa-Ø. He kicks (a ball) everyday.

The relative positions of *-s++*, which appears in the most external position from the example given above, and the causative *-t++* depends on the relevant scope.

(1073) Ácari yahu++ni nu=capi-t++-s++-yaa-Ø            iimi=jina            iíta-ca.  
now day            3S=cook-CAU-FREQ-IPFV-EC    DET.PL=LOC    house-PL

Today she is directing the cooking in these houses.

(1074) Cu=ajiratii-s++-t++-yaa-Ø nuu.

1S=peck-FREQ-CAU-IPFV-EC 3S

I am making him peck many times everyday (to plant corn or to hunt for fish).

(1075) Cu=ajiratii-t++-s++-yaa-Ø nuu.

1S=peck-CAU-FREQ -IPFV-EC 3S

Everyday I am make him peck many times (to plant corn or to hunt for fish).

Other derivational morphemes, except -s++, never appear after the causative morpheme -t++.

(1076) Cu=an++cuu-t++-yaa-Ø Jaime Ligia.

1S=call.many.times-CAU-IPFV-EC Jaime Ligia

I am making Jaime calling Ligia many times.

(1077) Cu=an++-t++-cuu-yaa-Ø Jaime Ligia.

In this section, a set of derivational verbal morphemes related to event quantification was discussed, including -s++, -juu, -tii, -cuu, -yuu, -yuucua, among other morphemes with rarer cases. The derivational morphology discussed here is a diachronically productive one, but not a synchronically productive one. Currently only a few lexicalized words, discussed in section 1, containing the derivational morphemes discussed here, occur with great frequency. The derivational morphemes in these cases encode serialization of multiple (i.e. a mass number in this case) events conveyed by the

verbal root. Synchronically (section 2), the combinations of verbal roots and these derivational morphemes, as non-lexicalized derived stems, are interpreted as being related to event quantification (i.e. patterns of frequency or habituation), spatial distribution, serialization, degree of endeavor and distributive events of multiple subjects. They are interpretable, but not obligatorily used. The meanings conveyed by these derivational morphemes are prevalingly expressed through the use of adverbials and other lexical items. The phenomena discussed in this report are interesting for a study of how morphological processes can become unproductive and lexicalized while the speakers can still obtain a general interpretation of the unproductive morphemes.

This appendix discusses event quantification conveyed through a set of synchronically unproductive derivational verbal morphemes, including *-s++*, *-juu*, *-cuu*, *-tii*, *-yuu*, *-yuucua*, among other morphemes with rarer frequency of usage. These morphemes derive new situation types from the basic-level ones. Currently only very few words containing these derivational morphemes occur with great frequency in natural speech. The derivational morphemes in such cases encode serialization of multiple (i.e. a mass number in this case) events conveyed by the verbal root. Synchronically, these derivational morphemes are related to event quantification (i.e. patterns of frequency or habituation), spatial distribution, serialization, degree of endeavor and distributive events of multiple subjects. The meanings conveyed by these derivational morphemes are mostly expressed through the use of adverbials, in which case the presence of the derivational morphemes is not obligatory. Structurally, these morphemes attach directly to the verbal root and before the causative and other derivational morphemes which in turn precede inflectional morphemes.

## **APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF ORAL TEXTS**

### **1. Introduction**

I include three example texts in Appendix 2, which embraces a few varieties of genres: traditional tale, narrative and conversation. These three texts were all recorded in the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu, Loreto, Peru, in the northern Peruvian Amazon. After they were recorded, the texts were transcribed and translated with the help of Iquito consultants. Since the 25 native fluent speakers of Iquito are all at least 58 years of age, these texts represent the speech of the older generation among the ethnic Iquito group. The traditional and the narrative oral texts were told strictly in Iquito, with the exception of a few loanwords from Spanish. The conversational text present a few incidents of code-switching between Spanish and Iquito.

## 2. Traditional Tales

Text 1 is a story about the origin of the moon. The text does not only deal with how and why the moon is created; it also beautifully presents the style of the houses in the ancient time and the traditional materials used for body paint.

### *Text 1: The Story of the Moon*

*Casiiri Saaqu++ni ‘Cuento de la Luna’*

A Story by Jaime Pacaya Inuma

Transcribed by I-Wen Lai (21 of July, 2003)

001 Núquiica caaya iiquiaariqu+na can++r+miiyaana.

It is said that there was a person of adultery.

002 Nuacumiquiaqu+ núquiica m+saji.

He met/married a woman.

003 Nuacuumiti maquiaariqu+na j++ta tíira.

His mother-in-law slept there as well.

004 Iiyaiinana nuu, iina, nuacuumiti, j++taariqu+ naji.

Like this that mother-in-law was like this.

005 Namiiyaariqu+ naiíta tiijiiyaa niijajinaji cáami anuura.

They built their houses from there, from the ground towards up.

006 J++ticarina nucuquiaariqu+ niínaquina,

It is said that when in the night,

007 niinaama naami naiy+mi.

it was dark inside the house.

008 Iiyaiinana iina m+saji, nuacuumiti, maquiaariqu+ naji tíira.

Like this is that woman, his mother-in-law, slept like this there.

009 Ajapaqui taariqu+na n+yaaca.

It is said that she did not have a husband.

010 Iiyaiinana iina icuani aniaariqu+.

Like this that man came.

011 nuacuumi aniaariqu+ nuu anuura.

Her son-in-law came there.

012 Caa nuna(cusiaariqu+)<sup>157</sup> iina m+saji caa nunacusiaariqu+ can++ca taaja.

She did not know...that woman did not know who he really was.

013 Iiyaiinana...<sup>158</sup>na j++timi amariaana ihuiijana nujata,

---

<sup>157</sup> If the target language appears in the parenthesis, it means that those words were not uttered but the speaker wanted to say them.

<sup>158</sup> Repeated dots represent the hesitation of speaker.



Like this having lived with him for many years.

014 caa nunacusiaariqu+ can++ca taaja.

she did not know who he really was.

015 Iiyaiinana iina m+saji nujiniitaquiaqu+na yaana...aminaari.

Like this that woman grated this...huito.

016 Nujiniitaquiaqu+ nuu. Nuinataquiaqu+na nuu niínaquiira.

She grated it. She placed it somewhere for the night.

017 Iiyaiinana jaari iina ani (cari...) iina aniquiaqu+na icuani

From there, it is said that that man came,

018 numananuuni anuura im+raani.

to bother her again.

019 Iiyaiinana nuu...nucasiitaquiaqu+na iina aminaari.

Like this is that she...she grabbed this huito.

020 Nunaajuquiaqu+na nunamii.

She painted his face.

021 Atiína nuu nucut+...nucut+t+r+++quiaqu+na e...naniihuaacana.

From there, it is said that his family woke up.

022 N+r+maatihuaaca naatiquiana,

His brothers talked to him,

023 “¿Saacaacuji t++ m++nacu quianamii?” “¿T++? ¿T++ ? ¿Iiti?”

“Why is your face black?” “Where? Where? Here?”

024 Natuujiiquiaqu+na nuu. Nuacuumiti, ¿Can++ca t++?

They had heard him. His mother-in-law, who is he?

025 Nuacuumi “Aaja...Quiaaja t++ iina... Quiaaja t++ iina can++r+miiyaana.

Her son-in-law,...“Ah... You are that... You are that adultery man.

026 Caa car+naquiini quiaaja. Quiaaja t++ iina iiquii...iiquii

Shameless you. You are the one who lives...lives

027 iiquii quijata. Quiaaiquii quimaayajata.

lives with me. You live with my daughter.

028 Quiaaiquii najaaja quijata.

You also live with me.

029 Juura can++r+miiyaana taaja quiaaja.”

Really, you are really a man of adultery.”

030 Iinana caaya nuajacumuquiaqu+na naamiraata car+naquiini acuji.

It said that that person bent down because of shame.

031 Nuaparaquiaqu+na nunamasicarata iicuunijina.

He started to walk backwards.

032 Numaacaquiaqu+na naratayaa cáami iniicucu naana.

He went up like this upward on top of the stick.

033 Iina nuacuumiti atiína nuatiaariqu+na.

That mother-in-law from there continued talking.

034 Iiyaiinana apiiri++quiaqu+na ííta cáamijita.

Like this he passed to the other side of roof of the house.

035 Nacariiquiaqu+na tíira.

They looked there.

036 Nanajaiicuracari, paacaricura anuura nacariicuaaquiana.

For them to look, they went to the yard to see.

037 “++...amaaja...Iiya casiiri cuquii najaaja.”

“Ah...wow...The moon is also forming.”

038 Iiyaiinana jaa iina cáami iicuaqui car+naquiinina acuji.

Like this he went upwards because of shame.

039 Nucuquiquiana casiiri.

It is said that he became the moon.

040 Atíínaja nucuquiquiaqu+ casiiri.

From there, he became the moon.

041 Atíínaja naniquiquiaqu+na iina casiirina.

From there, it is said that they saw the moon.

042 Nununiaariqu+ níínaqui naratayaajaa.

It brightened the night the same like this.

043 Iip+na nuicuajiip+ nasapiaariqu+na nuicu.

Those families cried for him.

### 3. Narratives

Text 2 is a narrative of personal experience. The speaker Ema lived in a different place downriver from the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu for a long time. In the text, she explains the condition and the quality of life she had when she lived downriver and why and when she decided to move upriver to the current community.

#### *Text 2: How I Used to Live Down River*

A story by Ema Llona Yareja

Transcribed by I-Wen Lai (21 of June, 2003)

001 Quisaaqu++niiyaa quiaja Don Leo.

I am going to tell you, Mr. Leo.

002 Quiija j++ticari quiiquiyaariqu+ quiniyacajatana,

I, when I lived with my husband down there,

003 quiiquiyaariqu+ suhuaata.

I lived well.

004 Naami quiyaama montepeyojina, quicajiiyaariqu+ cuusi cacaraja.

Down there, at my home in Monte Bello, I raised pigs and chickens.

005 Quinasi umaana p+y++ni nataanaja quimiiyaa naami.

My vegetable garden is big, and I have all kinds of plants down there.

006 J++ticari quiniiyaca ihu++riquiaqu+na

When my husband died,

007 nihuaacuji cuaniquiaqu+ naamiji.

therefore I came from down there.

008 Quimiiyaariqu+ quiiquiyaariqu+ naquicura.

I worked and lived in the center.

009 Quitarahuaajuuyaariqu+ naji j++ta núquiica icuani.

I worked like this as a man.

010 Quipariijataariqu+ quiniiyaca tarahuaajuuni.

I helped my husband to work.

011 Naji quiiquiyaariqu+ quiniyacajata.

Like this I lived with my husband.

012 Suhuaata caniiquiyaariqu+ quimiiyaariqu+ p+y++ni saacaya.

We lived well and we had all things.

013 Canatarahuaajuuyaariqu+ naji j++ta núquiica icuani

We worked like this as a man,

014 j++ta núquiica j++ta cuup+ icuanihu++ya.

as one, as two men.

015 Quiiquiyaariqu+ naquicura.

I lived in the center.

016 Quisam++rar++quiaqu+ tíira ihuiini

When I got tired of living there,

017 huaari cuaniquiaqu+ iicujiraji.

later I came out from there.

018 Montepeyojina quiiquiyaariqu+.

I lived in Monte Bello.

019 Naami quinataanaja iiquii najaaja.

Down there, there are also my plants.

020 P+y++ni saacaya quimiiyaa naami

I have all things down there,

021 nihuaacuji nuurica iiquii quicuajina naami.

therefore my brother lives alone down there.

#### 4. Conversation

Text 3 is a conversational text about leaf-collecting and leaf-weaving activities. In mid-August of 2006, Ema Llona Yareja went upriver of San Antonio with her grandson Rubén. They arrived at the post<sup>159</sup> of Doña Erlinda, Rubén's sister-in-law. That working post is on the land of *barillal*, which is a *champoso*<sup>160</sup> area, full of rotten leaves. Ema stayed there for almost a month to collect the leaves of the *irapay* plant, which people use to weave the rooves of houses in the Amazon. According to Ema, her house in San Antonio de Pintuyacu was already full of holes. When the ILDP team arrived, from the city, to the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu on September 16, 2006, Ema was still upriver. She returned to the community on September 20, and the following day this conversational text was recorded. She talked about why and how she had gone upriver, what she had done, and what it had been like to work and collect leaves upriver. There were three participants in this conversation, including two speakers, Ema Llona Yareja and Ligia Inuma Inuma, and the person in charge of recording from the ILDP, Christine Beier. This conversation reflects an important part of daily life of the people in this region.

In the transcription, the left square bracket, [, is used to indicate words simultaneously produced by more than two persons. The parenthesis, ( ), is used for the following situations. First, it is used to indicate a laughing sound or other non-linguistic

---

<sup>159</sup> The word *post*, *puesto* in regional Spanish, is used to refer to a hut where people stay when they leave the community to work in the jungle.

<sup>160</sup> The word *champa* in regional Spanish is used to refer to two types of weeds. First, on the land of *barillal*, the short *champa* grows (approximately 1 cm.) on the surface of a layer of rotten leaves (approximately 15 cm. above the real soil). Second, *champa* could also be used to refer to a type of weed that is big (approximately 20–45 cm.). This type grows on top of or near the land of *barillal*. To refer to an area full of *champa* weed, the word *chamपाल* is used in the regional Spanish. In Iquito, the word *sasaqu+* is used to refer to these two types of weeds. In addition, the word is also used to refer to the type of land. To refer specifically to the large weed, the phrase *tasiita sasaqu+* 'real *champa*' can also be used.



sounds. Second, it is used to indicate the information, for example, the pause, between the utterances. Third, it is used to modify an Iquito word (i.e. add or delete), according to the speaker's request, in which case a footnote is also added to note this. Fourth, it is used in the translation line to indicate a meaning that is not expressed in Iquito. The double parenthesis, (( )), is used to indicate the interactions among the conversational participants or information between the utterances.

Below I provide a table specifying the geographical positions and the related activities of the places mentioned in the conversation and in the discussion of this conversation.

	Upriver	Used Names	Information
		More upriver than Acamanilla	Leaf collection in the second collaborative work <i>minga</i>
		Acamanilla	The post of Don Edbin and Doña Elicha; second <i>minga</i>
		barillal	The post of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda; first <i>minga</i> ; leaf collection in the first <i>minga</i>
		Moronilla	The community of Don Daniel Bartra
		San Antonio (de Pintuyacu)	The community of Ema
		Monte Carbalió	The community of Don Edbin and Doña Elicha
	Downriver	Saboya	A community between the city of Iquitos and San Antonio
		Iquitos	The city of Iquito where Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda live most of the time

***Text 3: Conversation about Leaf Collecting and Weaving Activities***

S++saramaj+táap+ Itim'+ra Cuhuasitaa

A conversation among Christine Beier, Ligia Inuma Inuma and Ema Llona Yareja

Transcribed by I-Wen Lai (21 of September, 2006)

001 Ligia:Núquiica saáqu++ni.

A story.

002 Christine: ++j++. [Núquiica saáqu++ni, íina Ema saaqu'+niiyaa Ligia, Cristina najáaja.

Yes. A story, Ema tells Ligia and Christine as well.

Ema: [Núquiica saáqu++ni. (Laugh)

A story. (Laugh)

003 Ligia:++j++.

Yes.

Ema: (Laugh)

(Laugh)

Christine: Jaári? ++j++.

Ready? Yes.

(4 seg)

004 Ligia:Saáqu+=quiáana<sup>161</sup> j+'tarata quia=iícuacura cáamirata=na. [

Tell us how you had gone upriver, she said.<sup>162</sup>

Ema: [Ah...

---

<sup>161</sup> The reportive morpheme surfaces as =*quiáana* after the verb with the unmarked General Perfective Aspect and Extended Current Tense. It surfaces as =*na* following other elements. It can be used to indicate that the origin of the information is from other people. It can also be used as quotative to quote the exact words used by another person.

<sup>162</sup> Ligia explained that this sentence was quoted from Christine because Christine had requested Ema to tell her what had happened before this recording.

Ah...

005 Ema: Quí=iícuacura cáamirata huári=yajaa<sup>163</sup> quia=iícuacura Iquito=jina. [

I went the same<sup>164</sup> day when you<sup>165</sup> had left for Iquitos.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes

006 Ema: Huári quí=iícuacura cáamirata Rubé=jata. [ ++j++.

That same<sup>166</sup> day I went upriver with Rubén. Yes.

Christine: [¿Rubén?

Rubén?

007 Ema: Nu=aátiaácura quíija, “Íti ca=quia=paájii=quíana naám+ taniini=na,<sup>167</sup> mama.”<sup>168</sup>

He was telling me, “Here you cannot weave leaves, mamá.”

---

<sup>163</sup> It is noted that there is a brief pause here, before the speaker speaks the next word. In general, the enclitic =yajaa surfaces as =yaa if not in the utterance-final position. I consulted the speaker and she indicated that the sentence retains the same meaning if only =yaa is uttered with the pause.

<sup>164</sup> The word *huári* means ‘the moment of or then’. In this context, Ema translates it as ‘that same day’ because the enclitic =yajaa is used. The ILDP team leaved for the city on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August. The same day in the afternoon, Ema, Rubén, Vilton and Géiser, left for the post of Doña Emérita. Doña Emérita, Don Julio, and Don Eduardo were already there. Ema and her people stayed there overnight. The following morning at dawn, they left for the post of Doña Erlinda.

<sup>165</sup> Ema directed this utterance towards Christine and not towards Ligia. Christine and other members of THE ILDP left the community that day.

<sup>166</sup> Refer to footnote 164.

<sup>167</sup> The phrase ‘weave leaves’ here refers to the process of collecting the leaves of the *irapay* plant from a specific region in the jungle, and then weaving these collected leaves into panels which can be used by the weavers or sold. In this case, Ema wanted to weave leaves to repair the roof of her own house in the community.

<sup>168</sup> Rubén is Ema’s grandson, but is like her son because she raised him. Therefore, he often calls Ema mamá.

((Rubén's words to Ema))

008 Ema: "Ícua=quíána cáamirata=na."

"Go upriver."

((Rubén's words to Ema))

009 Ema: "Cáami taa=na iítica=na naám+. Quí=quia paríjata=quíána."

"Upriver the leaves are close (to the post). I will help you."

((Rubén's words to Ema))

010 Ema: Ca=quí=iícuacura naámirata cas... yána=jina, Montebello<sup>169</sup>=jina.

I didn't go downriver to cas(tilla), to that Monte Bello.

011 Ema: "Síipa taa=na naám+ naámi quia=anítaani=iira=na."

"Leaves are too far to carry."

((Rubén's words to Ema))

012 Ema: Cana=sihua...cana=iícuacura ácarí j+'ta, ácarí yahu'++ni. Taaríqui cana=iícu<sup>170</sup>maacura.

We ar(rived)...we started off like now, like today. We left in the morning

013 Ema: Cana=sihuaán+r++cura cáami yahu'++ni '+jaqu+ya,

We arrived upriver at noon,

---

<sup>169</sup> Monte Bello is a place downriver from San Antonio de Pintuyacu. Ema lived there for a long time before her husband passed away. Her brother, before passing, also lived there.

<sup>170</sup> The verb *ícu*- 'go' has an allomorph *ícu*- when appearing before the Remote Perfective Aspect *-maa*, which seems similar to the verb *iícuu*- 'walk'. In the following, I provide two sentences for comparison: *cana=iícumaa* 'I left in the morning' versus *cana=iícuumaa* 'We walked in the morning'.

014 Ema: cáami nu-cuniata<sup>171</sup> íyacu, Doña Erlinda. [ ++j++.  
upriver at the post of his sister-in-law Doña Erlinda. Yes.

Ligia: [¿Cáami nu=iíquii?  
She is upriver?

015 Ema: Cáami nu... cana=ajat+t+'+cura. Cáami=ji nu=an+'+cura canáaja.  
Upriver she...we anchored. From uphill, she called us.

016 Ema: Cana=nacar+'+yaácura ar++ni cáami=iíra<sup>172</sup>=yaajaa.<sup>173</sup>  
We wanted go even more upriver.

017 Ema: ++j++, nu=an+'+cura canáaja. Cana=maacar++cura.  
Yes, she called use. We went up (from the river bank).

018 Ema: Nu=aáticura, yáana, Rubé,  
She told, this, Rubén,

019 Ema: “Cuniata, iícuacuma=na cáami=iíra=na. Íiti=na ii...p'+=iyuújuu=quíáana.  
P'+=tarahuaáju(uyaa).<sup>174</sup> Quináaja...canáaja=na cana=tarahuaájuuyaa=quíáana  
madera.

---

<sup>171</sup> The third person pronoun, *nu*, refers to Rubén. Doña Erlinda is his sister-in-law.

<sup>172</sup> Although the phrase *cáami=iíra=yaajaa* sounds like *cáami=raa=yaajaa* in the recording, it is noted that a stress is heard on the /i/. After consulting the speaker, she segmented it as written here and explained that the phrase *cáami=iíra* means ‘more upriver’.

<sup>173</sup> The enclitic =*yaajaa* expresses the insistence of going ‘more upriver’ and emphasizes the meaning of ‘more upriver’. Ema translated this phrase as “even just a little bit more upriver.”

“Brother-in-law, don’t go more upriver. Here let’s stay. Let’s work. You all...we are working on the woods.<sup>175</sup>

((Erlinda’s words to Rebén to invite all the people on the boat where Ema was))

020 Ema: “Quina=tarahuaájuu=quiána sacumatáni iína naám+.

“You all go to work on the leaves instead.

((Erlinda’s words to the people))

021 Ema: “Masiána taa=na naám+=na íiti=na, cuniata.”

“Here there is a lot of leaves, brother-in-law.”

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

022 Ema: Anihua=ácuji cana=iyuújuucura cáami. [ ++j++. Cana=iyuújuucura naráta=yaa cáami.

That’s why we stayed upriver there. Yes. We stayed right there upriver.

Christine: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

023 Ema: Cana=cut+t'+r++cura. Nahuaáca tuu na=iícuacura naám+ cataani=ánuura, p+y'+ni.

We woke up (the following day). They indeed had gone to collect leaves, all of them.

---

<sup>174</sup> The words in the parentheses were not pronounced in the recording. After reviewing the recording, Ema added them.

<sup>175</sup> The phrase ‘work on woods’ refers to any process from searching and cutting to taking out the woods from the trees in the forest, for one’s own use or for sale.

024 Ema: Iíti ííti, naji j+'+ta ííti=ji=na j+'+ta tíira, itíira curi=cúura.

Here here, just like from here, they say, to there, there at the port.

025 Ema: Naám+ iitíca[=yaa jaári. ++j++.

The leaves are that close. Yes.

Ligia: [¿Ca=t+=síipa?

It's not far?

026 Ema: Na=cataácura itiini. Na=cataácura. Na=icánuut+'+yaácura. Na=sanitaácura nuú.

First they collected. They collected. They piled up, and counted the leaves.

027 Ema: Na=marúuyaácura núquiica carga.

They tied up for one load of cargo.

028 Ema: Na=inaácura. Na=inaácura. Na=inaácura ííta=jina nuú, aaca=iyáaji nuú.

Na=im+'+tacura m+yiqu++ni.

They put it down. They put it. They left it in the house near the riverbank. They returned to do the same again.

029 Ema: Na=ífcuaácura núurica=ánuura=yaa maruuni. Na=im+'+tacura.

Iína...na=im+'+tacura im+raani.

They only went to tie it up. They returned. They returned again.

030 Ema: Na=m+yiquiaácura im+raani núrica=yaa nu=ahuáraj++ca. Huári  
na=aniaácura taniini=ánuura.

They returned again for the last cargo. Then they came to weave.

031 Ema: S+'+saramaj+taámi carga na=miiyaácura núquiica yahu'++ni=jina.

They accomplished three loads of cargo in one day.

032 Ema: Masiána naám+ cáami.

There are lots of leaves upriver.

033 Ema: Ína=iíra, j+'+ta ína=iíra íta=na,<sup>176</sup> masiána cáami.

(The leaves) such as<sup>177</sup> for this house, there are plenty of them upriver.

034 Ema: ++j++, cáami cana=iyuújuucura cáami.

Yes, upriver we stayed upriver.

035 Ema: Cana=cut+t'+r++cura.

We got up.

036 Ema: Yána Doña Erlinda aátiaácura,

That Doña Erlinda was saying (to Rubén),

037 Ema: “¿T++<sup>178</sup> taa=raa=na=huaja yána Clara<sup>179</sup>=na, cuniata?”

---

<sup>176</sup> The morpheme =na here is not reportive, but is the clause-final marker.

<sup>177</sup> Ema makes a comparison between the type of leaves that were used for the ILDP kitchen where the conversation was recorded and the type she had seen upriver. She commented that this type of leaves is everywhere upriver.



“Where is, then, that Clara, brother-in-law?”

((Erlinda asked Rubén))

038 Ema: “Naámi nu=iyuújuu=quíána.”

“She stayed downriver.”

((Rubén’s response to Erlinda.))

039 Ema: “Caa=na. Iricuaa=quíána quia-majána, nu=nacusiini=fira=na j'+tarata=na  
núquiica icuani sujurísiiyaa=quíána.

“No. Go bringing your wife, so that she knows how a man suffers.

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

040 Ema: “Nu=nacusiini=fira, nu=ariini=fira=na naji=na,

“So that she knows, so that she says,

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

041 Ema: “Íina=na, cana=tarahuaájuyaa=quíána quí-níyaaca=jata=na.

“Like this we worked with my husband.

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

042 Ema: “Cana-sudor taa=na p+y'+ni=na. Nu=nacusiini=fira j'+tarata=na núquiica  
icuani sujurísiiyaa=quíána nuúriqu+ca tarahuajuuni=na.”

---

<sup>178</sup> In the recording, it is heard as written here. However, when I consulted the speaker, she repeated the following sentence: “¿T++ti taa=raa=na=huaja yána Clara=na, cuniata?”

<sup>179</sup> Clara is Doña Erlinda’s sister and Rubén’s wife.

“It is both of us’s sweat. So that she knows how a man suffers when he works by himself.”

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

043 Ema: “Iricuaa=quíána. Nu=quia=capinii=quíána.

“Go bringing (her) so that she cooks for you.

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

044 Ema: “¿Cán++ca quia-sinaáqu+ siquita=na=huaja?”

“Who is going to wash your clothes?”

((Erlinda’s words to Rubén))

045 Ema: Huári<sup>180</sup> Rubé ánimaacura taaríqui cáami=ji.

That day Rubén came from upriver in the morning.

046 Ema: Nu=irihu++cura Clara,<sup>181</sup> nu=irihu++cura nu-asúraaja.

He took Clara, and he took the yuca with him.

047 Ema: Na=cut+t’++r++cura,<sup>182</sup> huári cana=miiyaacura cáami saqu’++ca<sup>183</sup>

sacumatáni.

---

<sup>180</sup> Two days after the conversation between Doña Erlinda and Rubén, Rubén traveled downriver early in the morning. While telling the story, the speaker Ema was downriver in the community of San Antonio. Therefore, she used the word *aní-* ‘come’ instead of *iícua-* ‘go’.

<sup>181</sup> Besides Clara, Rubén also took his baby Felicho and his housekeeper, Mariela.

<sup>182</sup> Ema explained that Rubén was away for four days. During those days, yuca was running out. Therefore, they could not make manioc beer then. The fourth day, when Rubén and Clara arrived, they brought with them three bags of yuca. It was already very late when they arrived; therefore, that day they didn’t make the manioc beer either. The following day, after waking up, the women started making the yuca dough. Ema used the word *sacumatáni* ‘instead’ to say that they made the manioc beer after they arrived instead of before their arrival.

They woke up, then we were upriver making the yuca dough (instead of making it before their arrival).

048 Ema: Míinca cana=miicura cáami. ++j++.

We had minga<sup>184</sup> upriver. Yes.

049 Ema: Don Estalia<sup>185</sup> aátiaácura, “Quí=iícuaa=quiáana naqui=cúura=na.”

Don Estalio was saying, “I am going to the jungle (for hunting).”

((Don Estalio’s words to the people))

050 Ema: Nu=ámuucura s++saramaj+taámi anitáaqui.

He killed three peccary.<sup>186</sup>

051 Ema: ++j++. Nu=im++tamaacura ihuaani. Nu=ámuucura núquiica siquiáaja, umáana siquiáaja.

Yes. He went again<sup>187</sup> early in the morning. He killed a deer, a big deer.

---

<sup>183</sup> To make masato (i.e. the manioc beer) for a minga, first you need to take out two rows of yuca from your vegetable garden, then you peel them, wash them and then cook them. When the yuca is cooked, you grind it in a big container and chew it. You leave the yuca dough in the container to cool down. When the dough is cold, you put it in a bucket and leave it for three days. When it is fermented and bubbles, you filter it and dilute it with water. Now the masato is ready to serve.

<sup>184</sup> A minga is a collective, collaborative, work. A family requests other people in the community to help with a task (i.e. clean or cultivate a field, collect or weave leaves, etc.) and invite them to drink masato and eat before and after working. To have a minga, you have to make masato (with two rows of yuca) and two meals (breakfast and lunch at 3 or 4 in the afternoon) for a group of people.

<sup>185</sup> Because Iquito does not have *o* sound in the inventory, they pronounce it as *a* here. When they do pronounce *o*, it is considered code-switching in Spanish.

<sup>186</sup> There were two mingas mentioned in this conversation. The first one is Rubén’s, in ‘barillal’ where the post of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda is located (they live principally in the city of Iquitos) and Rubén’s small hut. Rubén had his minga with masato and the three peccaries that Don Estalio killed. The people in the minga include Rubén, Clara (Rubén’s wife), Mariela (Rubén’s housekeeper), Géiser (Ema’s nephew), Vilton (Sonia’s son), Ema, Don Estalio, Doña Erlinda and three people sent by Don Daniel Bartra de Moronilla (see footnote 190). The second minga is Don Edbin and Doña Elicha’s, see footnote 193 and 194.

052 Ligia: ¿Ácusana? [

Colorful?

Ema: [Ácusana siquiáaja. ++j++.

A colorful deer. Yes.

053 Ema: Suhuáani tacura íina míinca.

That minga is good.

054 Christine: [¿Rimúsijja=jata nu=ámuu?

With a gun he killed it?

Ema: [mas(++ni)<sup>188</sup>... ++j++. Rubé...Rubé, nu=mas+'+cura nu-rimúsijja. ++j++.

(buy)...Yes. Rubén...Rubén, (Don Estalio) bought his (Rubén's) gun. Yes.

055 Ema: Íina nu=jata...nu=jata...nu...nu=miicura nu-míinca.

That...with that, with that (meat)...he made his minga.

056 Ema: Íimaji<sup>189</sup> yáana moronilla=jina=ji...yáana...

From downriver, from that Moronilla<sup>190</sup>...that...

---

<sup>187</sup> After the first minga, Don Estalio went to hunt and killed a big deer. The meat of that deer was only for the family of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda. It was not for Rubén's minga.

<sup>188</sup> To complete the word, Ema added the part written between parentheses.

<sup>189</sup> The word *íimaji* means 'from downriver or from inside'. It is used more often to compare two places. The place of Don Daniel Bartra was downriver from that of Doña Erlinda, but still upriver from San Antonio de Pintuyacu where Ema recorded this sentence, which is why she did not use the word *naámi* 'downriver'.

057 Ema: ...Don Daniel Bartra nu-caayaaca ífcuacura cáami.

...Don Daniel Bartra's people were upriver.

058 Ema: Mincásii...na...na=mingásiihu++cura cáami.

To join the minga, they came upriver to join (Rubén's) minga.

059 Ema: Naám+ anítaani=ánuura. ++j++.

To carry leaves. Yes.

060 Ema: Na=tanicura. Núquiica yahu'+ni=jina na=p++cacura naám+ taniini.

They wove. In just one day they finished weaving leaves.

061 Ema: ++j++. Íina ap'+r++cura=na,<sup>191</sup> anúu Rubé tanicura núrica=yaaja.

Yes. What was left (from the minga), Rubén wove by himself.

062 Ema: Naji cana=tarahuaájuuyaácura cáami.

Like this we worked there.

063 Ema: Huárata ámicaáca hua...a...huárata ámicaáca tacura Doña Eliche,

Two days afterwards,<sup>192</sup> Doña Eliche made her minga,

---

<sup>190</sup> Moronilla is place where the post of Don Daniel Bartra is located. It is more downriver than Doña Erlinda's. It takes one hour walking from the post of Doña Erlinda to the post of Don Daniel Bartra.

<sup>191</sup> The morpheme =na here is the clause-final marker.

<sup>192</sup> Although the phrase *huárata ámicaáca* means 'the day before yesterday or the day after tomorrow,' here it is best translated as 'two days after Rubén's minga'.

064 Ema: naámi<sup>193</sup>=jina Edbin majáana, huárata ámicaáca tacura nu...nu-míinca cáami.  
the one who lives downriver, Edbin's wife, had her minga<sup>194</sup> upriver the day  
before yesterday (from the day of recording).

065 Ema: Na=anúuja naám+ cat++yáaca.  
The same (type of minga) leaf collection.

066 Ema: Na=miiyaácura s+'+saramaj+taáp+ caasíca, núquiica tímaaca.  
They had three collared peccary and a majás.

067 Ema: Anúu=tacura nu-míinca=iíraana. Iína cana=asámaacura taaríqui.  
That was her minga.<sup>195</sup> We ate that in the morning.

068 Ema: Yahu'+ni '+jaqu+ya cana=capicura táana tímaaca, núquiica cacáraaja=jata. [(RISA)  
At noon we cooked another (half) of majás with a chicken. (Laugh)

Christine: [(Laugh). ++j++.

(Laugh). Yes.

069 Ema: Suhuaá asácap+ canáaja.

---

<sup>193</sup> Don Edbin and Doña Elicha live principally in Monte Carbalio, a community upriver from Saboya. Monte Carbalio is downriver from San Antonio where the conversation was recorded. Therefore, Ema used the word *naámi* 'downriver'.

<sup>194</sup> The second minga was made by Don Edbin and Doña Elicha (they live principally in the community of Monte Carbalio) in a place called 'Acamanilla,' more upriver than Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda. The post of Don Edbin and Doña Elicha is in Acamanilla. They made a minga with a majás, a chicken and three buckets of masato. The people who were in that minga include Don Edbin, Doña Elicha, Don Estalio, Doña Erlinda, Ema, Géiser (Ema's nephew) and Mariela (Rubén's housekeeper). The stingray acquirers (see footnote 242) were also there. The majority of the meat from the three collared peccaries was for those three stingray acquirers, not for the minga. The family of Don Edbin kept a portion of meat from the three collared peccaries and their livers. They gave Ema a small piece to taste.

<sup>195</sup> See footnote 194 for more details on this minga.

We ate well.

070 Ema: Itíniija íquiaácura s+'+saramaj+taámi balde, j+'+ta ími.<sup>196</sup>

There were three buckets of masato, like these (big buckets).

071 Ema: Aási, aási=jina, atíira aási aniaácura=yaa naám+ cata=cu=cúura naá.

Rain, in the rain, it was raining there where they went to collect the leaves.

072 Ema: Síipa, cuúmi naji aasámuca na=ár++yaa tíira=ánuura.

Far away, two little creeks they had to cross from here to there.

073 Ema: Naám+ t++ tíira naji=yaajaa.<sup>197</sup> ++j++.

There are plenty of leaves there. Yes.

074 Ema: S+'+saramaj+taámi viaji=na<sup>198</sup> nu=miir++. [

Three trips he (Don Edbin) is going to make (in order to take these leaves downriver).

Christine: [¿++?

What?

075 Ema: S+'+saramaj+[taámi viaji=na nu=miir++. ¿++?

---

<sup>196</sup> The speaker Ema pointed, with her finger, to the biggest buckets in the kitchen where this conversation was recorded.

<sup>197</sup> The enclitic =yaajaa indicates that there are always a lot of leaves there.

<sup>198</sup> Ema acquired this information from Rubén.

Three trips he is going to make. What?

Ligia: [¿Cáami taa=yaaajaa t++ Erlinda ííquii?

Upriver where Erlina is?

076 Ligia: [¿Cáamijiita nu-isácujiita? [¿Acamaniya isácu...isácujiita?

Or more upriver than her (Doña Erlinda)? More upriver than Acamanilla?

Ema: [Cáamijiita, suhua=yáana, [Acamaniya jaa.

more upriver<sup>199</sup> than, well that, Acamanilla already.

077 Ema: Íina, íina cacuti p'+=iniyaa tíira ánuura. [

That, that beach where we need to cross on the way there.<sup>200</sup>

Ligia: [++j++.

Yes.

078 Ema: Atíi nu=ííquii íina=jina cacuti. Tíira ijácuca, atíira taa nu=tanii naám+.

The location on that beach is where he (Don Edbin) is. There on top of the riverbank, there is where he weaves the leaves.

---

<sup>199</sup> Acamanilla, the post of Don Edbin and Doña Elicha, is more upriver than the post of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda. The place where they went to collect leaves for the minga of Don Edbin was even more upriver than Acamanilla.

<sup>200</sup> Ema is trying to describe the distance between Acamanilla and the place where they went to collect leaves for the second minga. If the kitchen where this conversation was recorded were Acamanilla, the beach (i.e. Trinidad's house, approximately 1 km upriver from the kitchen) would be the place where they went to collect leaves.



079 Ema: Cáami.[ [++j++.  
Upriver. Yes.

Ligia: [¿Erlinda íimaji, íina<sup>201</sup> isámajiita? [++.

Erlinda is more downriver, a little more downriver than them? Yes.

080 Ema: Nu nu, huári=na nu=nu-caayaaca<sup>202</sup>=iricuaa,  
(Don Edbin said that) recently he is going to travel downriver to bring his  
people,

081 Ema: na=p+yaani=íira=na íina lote tíí.  
so that they can finish the lot<sup>203</sup> here.

082 Ema: Yám+ca na=catacura cúuta iim'+ca. Masiáana naám+.  
Like this a big square<sup>204</sup> they collected, perhaps like here (like the size of the  
kitchen). A lot of leaves.

(3 seg)

---

<sup>201</sup> The determiner refers to Don Edbin and Doña Elicha.

<sup>202</sup> Don Edbin said to Ema that he will go bringing his people from the community of Monte Carbalio.

<sup>203</sup> The word 'lote' refers to about 100 panels of woven leaves. Because it refers to a counted quantity of leaves (i.e. not spreaded sporadically on the ground), this word generally includes, in its meaning, the structure with which the woven leaves are piled up. If 100 panels of woven leaves are spread on the ground, in general the word *lote* cannot be used to refer to the same quantity. I assume it has to do with the fact that when you count the panels, you usually pile them up together. Refer to footnote 264 for information on how to make the construction on which the woven leaves are piled up.

<sup>204</sup> Ema is indicating the quantity of leaves they collected. The woven leaves were all piled up and the area these panels occupied was like the size of the kitchen. Ema uses the word 'vuelto' when translating the words into Spanish to indicate a square area like the kitchen where this conversation was recorded.

083 Ema: Atí=ji cana=cut+t'+r++cura.

Then, we woke up again.<sup>205</sup>

084 Ema: Yáana, qui=iícuacura naám+ cataani ánuura.

Well, I went to collect leaves.

085 Ema: Géiser nu=aátiaácura.

Géiser<sup>206</sup> was saying.

086 Ema: “Tía, qui=iícuaa=quíána. P'+=catacuaa=quíána naám+=na tíira, (niya),<sup>207</sup>  
yáana, t++ na=sajii náana Don Estalio.”

“Aunt, I am leaving. Let’s go collecting leaves there, (land), where Don Estalio  
(and other people) are cutting wood.”

((Géiser’s words to Ema))

087 Ema: Nu=iícuacura tíira.

(Géiser) went there.

088 Ema: ¿Yáana, j+'tarata t++ Sonia níyini '+yaaca? [

That, what is the name of Sonia’s son?

Ligia: [¿Pitusi?

---

<sup>205</sup> Ema and other people returned to the post of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda in the afternoon the same day Don Edbin and Doña Elicha had their minga.

<sup>206</sup> Géiser is one of Ema’s nephews. He went upriver with Rubén and Vilton, Sonia’s son.

<sup>207</sup> Ema indicated that this word between parentheses was a speech error and it does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence.

(nickname of Vilton, Sonia's son)

089 Ligia: [Vilton.

Vilton.

Ema: [Vilton. (Laugh) Quí=tújiyaacura, “++.” Na<sup>208</sup>=an'+cuuyaacura.

Vilton. (Laugh) I heard, “juu.” They were calling (me).

090 Ema: “Jaári=na cana=ámuu=quiáana cuuhuaá.”

“We killed some animal.”

((The boys' words to Ema))

091 Ema: Na=ruruúcuuyaácura. Quí=catacura naji j+'+ta ífi. Na=catacura j+'+ta tíira.

They were shouting. I had collected (leaves for weaving) like here. They had collected there.

092 Ema: “¿Saáca quina=ámuu?” Cu=an+'+níyaacura naá.

“What did you kill?” I was calling them.

093 Ema: “Jaári=na cana=iícuaa=quiáana. Tásii=quiáana quiniqui=iíira<sup>209</sup> amaqu+=jina canáaja=na.”

“We are already going. Wait for us there (the location near you) on the trail.”

((The boys' words to Ema))

---

<sup>208</sup> Ema went with Vilton and Géiser to collect leaves.

<sup>209</sup> When the boys were talking to Ema, they were about 50 meters away from the trail. They could not see her and they told her to wait for them on the trail.

094 Ema: Qui=tásiyaacura amaqu+=jina naá.

I was waiting for them on the trail.

095 Ema: Itina ísuuja na=sajinúucura (Laugh). [

Like this big (about 50 cm long) amardillo they had killed. (Laugh)

Christine: [Tar+'+jana.

Delicious.

Ligia: (Laugh)[¿Umáana tar+'+jana huiirana t++ cúuta=ji?<sup>210</sup>

(Laugh) Greasy big delicious, no?

096 Ema: Itina t++ nu-huíira=raa, [ísuuja íina íti.<sup>211</sup>

Like this big (about 6 cm thick) was its fat, see, from the surface of the amardillo.

Christine: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

---

<sup>210</sup> Ligia and Ema both explained that the expression *cúuta=ji* is an affective form of speech. Although I am not familiar with this way of speech, I think it is quite possible that this expression is a calque from local Spanish because both of them told me this expression corresponds to the phrase in local Spanish 'de verdad, di' 'really, no'.

<sup>211</sup> Ema pointed with her finger to her own armpit.

097 Ema: Íina, cana=qu++tacura nuú.

That, we peeled it.

098 Ema: Suhuaá cuníija n'+s+qu+. [(RISA)

Its shell was well roasted (Laugh)

Christine: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

Ligia: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

099 Ema: Na=ámuucura=na,<sup>212</sup> yáana, barillala=jina nuú.

They killed on the land of, that, barillal.<sup>213</sup>

100 Ligia: ¿R+'+ca=jina? [

On barillal?

Ema: [R+'+ca=jina.

On barillal.

101 Ema: Na, yáana, nu=pujutacura naji na=sajiini=iífra nuú.

---

<sup>212</sup> Géiser said this to Ema about what happened.

<sup>213</sup> The word 'barillal' is used to refer to a type of land where there is a level of rotten leaves above the original soil. Refer to footnote 160 for more details.

They, it (the amardillo) curled up its body like a circle (lying down in its nest where it was sleeping) before they cut it (with machete).

102 Ema: Nu=siqu+cura=na (Laugh) t++ tacura=na, táana<sup>214</sup> yáana, Vilton jin+'+ra. [  
(The amardillo) had jumped (Laugh) towards where this other person, Vilton, was.

Christine: [++.

Yes.

103 Ema: Nu=sajir++cura íiti=iiracuma<sup>215</sup> naji. (Laugh)  
(Vilton) he had cut him like this (in the middle of its body). (Laugh)

104 Ema: [Umáana ísuuja. [ ++j++.  
The amardillo was big. Yes.

Ligia: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

Christine: [¿Umáana?

Big?

105 Ema: ++j++. Jáqu++ cana=asácura nuú, samúcuati=jata. [ ++j++.  
Yes. We ate it like a mazamorra<sup>216</sup> dish, with plantain. Yes.

---

<sup>214</sup> The other person, in this case, is Vilton because Géiser was the person who told Ema about what happened.

<sup>215</sup> The expressions *íiti=iiracuma* means more or less near here. Ema indicated with her finger and pointed to her own waist and translated the phrase as 'in its middle'.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

(2 seg)

106 Ema: Suhuáata cana=iíquiaácura cáami.

We were fine upriver.

(1.5 seg)

107 Ema: Cana=aniaácura Don Daniel Bartra íyama.<sup>217</sup>

We came to the house of Don Daniel Bartra.

108 Ema: P+y'++ni tumíngu=jina na=mayásii cáami. [

Every Sunday they play (ball) upriver.<sup>218</sup>

Christine: [¿Júura?

Really?

109 Ema: Íina tumíngu ííquir++=na, na=mayásicuhu++. [

This coming Friday, (Rubén and other people) are going to come (from the post of Doña Erlinda) to play.

---

<sup>216</sup> Mazamorra is a type of thick soup made of plantain or yuca, and meat or fish.

<sup>217</sup> The post of Don Daniel Bartra is more upriver from the community of San Antonio, but it is downriver from the post of Doña Erlinda where Ema was. It takes one hour walking on land from the post of Doña Erlinda to the post of Don Daniel Bartra.

<sup>218</sup> Every Sunday, the family of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda travel downriver to the post of Don Daniel Bartra to play ball because there is a big field there for the game.

Christine: [++.

Yes.

(1 seg)

110 Christine: ¿Quia=maqu+qui íta=jina ?<sup>219</sup> [

Did you sleep in a house?

Ema: [¿Ah?

What?

111 Christine: ¿Íta=jinacuma quia=maqu+quicura?<sup>220</sup> [++j++. ¿Caa?

Inside a house you slept?

Yes. No?

Ema: [¿Cáami?

Upriver?

112 Ema: Doña Erlinda=jata [++j++. Nu-íta, nu-m+yíti<sup>221</sup>=jina imponasíija naji.<sup>222</sup>

With Doña Elinda Yes. Her house, in her sleeping hut made of palm<sup>223</sup> like this (with a height).

---

<sup>219</sup> The speaker commented that the form of this sentence is ungrammatical and should be as follows:

¿Quia=maquiaácura íta=jinacuma?

<sup>220</sup> The sentence should be corrected as follows: ¿Quia=maquiaácura íta=jinacuma?

<sup>221</sup> A sleeping hut, made of the leaves and bark of palm trees, is a smaller and simpler house than those in the community.

<sup>222</sup> Ema used her hand to indicate a height of about one meter. The people use the bark of a type of palm tree to make an elevated floor in the house.



Christine:[Ah. ++j++. Nu-ííte.

Ok. Yes. Her house.

113 Ema: Anúu=jata quí=maquiaácura.

With her I slept.

114 Ema: [Rubén nu=maquiaácura, nu, nu-cujímaca=jata, t++, t++ tíira na=miicura, na,  
na-ííta.

Rubén slept, he, with his friends, where, where there<sup>224</sup> they had built their own  
house.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

115 Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

[++j++.

Yes.

Ligia:[Nu-m+yíti. [

His sleeping hut.

Ema: [++j++. ++j++. Na-m+yíti. [

Yes. Yes. Their sleeping hut.

---

<sup>223</sup> That is to say, the sleeping hut is a humble rural home. This specific hut has an elevated floor made of palm barks. Usually a sleeping hut does not have an elevated floor.

<sup>224</sup> Ema indicates a distance of about 5 meters between the hut of Doña Erlinda and that of Rubén.

116 Ema: Atíira nu=maquii nu nu nu nu-cujímaca=jata, [++j++, nu-majáana. [++j++.

There he sleeps with his friends, yes, with his wife. Yes.

Christine: [Aaj.

[++j++.

Ok.

Yes.

117 Ema: Suhuaá na=iíquii cáami. [

There are fine there.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

118 Ema: Amicaáca na=miiyaácura saqu'++ca. [

Yesterday they were making yuca dough for masato.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes

119 Ema: Clara. [ ++j++.

Clara (makes the masato). Yes.

Christine: [Clara.

Clara.

120 Ema: Amica(aca),<sup>225</sup> ácarí itíniija íiquí cáami. [++j++]. (Laugh)

Yesterday, today they have masato upriver. Yes. (Laugh)

Ligia: [ ++j++.

Yes.

121 Ema: P+y'++ni sáhuatu=jina<sup>226</sup> na=na-másicu marúur++.

Every Saturday they go mooring the balsa.

122 Ema: Íina semana jaa íiquir++.<sup>227</sup>

This week already passed (and they still will not come back).

123 Ema: Íina táana semana (ajaa)<sup>228</sup> jaa síhuaán+r++, huári na=aniaár++<sup>229</sup> p+y'++ni

[másicu=jina. ++j++.

The other week, he is going to arrive. At that time all of them will come in balsa. Yes.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

---

<sup>225</sup> In reviewing the recording, Ema added the part between parentheses to complete the phrase.

<sup>226</sup> Ema explained that the balsas always hit the riverbank on a particular point with a particular angle, and sometimes this makes some of the supporting wood rotten or float away. Therefore, they moor the balsa weekly, in this case, every Saturday, to change its direction so that it hits on a different point evenly.

<sup>227</sup> In this sentence, Ema started to count the days when Rubén and other people will travel downriver in a balsa.

<sup>228</sup> Ema was yawning when he uttered this sentence.

<sup>229</sup> The verb *ani-* 'come' indicates that the direction of movement is towards the speaker where the center of deixis is. However, the destination is not necessarily the center of deixis. In this case, Rubén and other people are going downriver, passing the community of San Antonio, to the city of Iquitos two weeks after the recording of this conversational text.

124 Ligia: ¿J'++timi quia, J'++timi quia=tanicura?

How much, you, how much have you woven?

125 Ema: ++j++. S++sarica, núquiica juíira. (tiina tiina)<sup>230</sup> ++.

Yes. Very little. Only a row.<sup>231</sup> (Not understandable) Yes.

126 Ema: Quí=i hu++riaácura najáaja, ípanaca=jata.

I was sick as well, with fever.

127 Ema: Cu-ánaca ricuúyaácura quí=iira.

I had headache.

128 Ema: J'++ta quí=iícuacura (tau)<sup>232</sup> sihu+raani ánuura, j'++ta saacáaya paniini=jata cáami=na,

I went for leisure as much as for searching for something upriver,

129 Ema: jaa quí, jaa quí=tanicura ajapaa, ajapaa núquiica taa, núurica=ánuura=yaa ífina suriihu+s++yaa.

I already, I already wove just in case for one thing only, only for the one (my house) that is already full of holes.<sup>233</sup>

---

<sup>230</sup> The speaker Ema wanted to delete this part of the sentence.

<sup>231</sup> A row is a rectangular and large area where the leaves grow. The quantity of leaves in one row is approximately equivalent with that for a load of cargo.

<sup>232</sup> The speaker Ema wanted to delete this part of the sentence.

<sup>233</sup> The roofs of the houses in San Antonio are mostly made of woven leaves. They get worn out after a few years of use and the holes start to appear.

Ligia: ++.

Yes.

130 Ema: Núquiica táana lotecito=jina. [T++tiíca nu=aratín+r++]. [

One more<sup>234</sup> lot.

Until it is sufficient.

Ligia: [++j++.

[++j++.

Yes.

Yes.

131 Ligia: [ ++. Quí=panihu++cura quiaaja.

Yes. I went upriver to look for you.<sup>235</sup>

Ema: [++j++.

Yes. I could have completed it.

132 Ema: Cana=ihuaani=íira mínca=jina sacumatáani, suhuaá=quiija. [

Instead, went to the minga,<sup>236</sup> but it was good.

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

133 Ema: Cana=cut+t'++cura, cana=cut+t'++maacura.

---

<sup>234</sup> Ema explained that what she had woven was only a lot piled up in her patio.

<sup>235</sup> Ligia want to tell Ema that he went to look for her. She also wanted to start talking about her experiences upriver. She repeats the same sentence again in line 143.

<sup>236</sup> Ema explained that she could have finished weaving more leaves, but they went to Don Edbin and Doña Elicha's minga instead, the second minga mentioned in this conversation. Because of that, she lost one day of work.

We woke up. We woke up early in the morning.

134 Ema: Ájapaqui tacura saacáaya asasana. [

There was nothing to eat.

Ligia: [++j++.

Yes.

135 Ema: (E),<sup>237</sup> yáana, Edbin jicucura nu-caayaáca cáami=ji motoru=jina, [nu-huaatiruú,

That, Edbin had sent<sup>238</sup> his people from downriver in a motorboat, on his boat,

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

136 Ema: nu=iriini=fira canáaja p+y'++ni. [ ++j++.

so that he can bring all of us. Yes.

Ligia: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

137 Ema: Asasana íiquiaácura, yáana, caási cuuhuaájaca.

---

<sup>237</sup> The speaker Ema wanted to delete this part of sentence.

<sup>238</sup> Ema is explaining the details of the second minga. Two days after Rubén's minga, there was no food. Coincidentally, Don Edbin sent his boat to take people and invite them to his minga.

There was food, that, livers of collared peccaries.

138 Ema: Íina cu=aátii, tímaaca [huantíja=jina, cacáraaja amuuja. [(Laugh)

That I say, majás in the pot and a killed chicken. (Laugh)

Ligia: [++.

[(Laugh) Qui-m++ni.

Yes.

(Laugh) My chamuscar.<sup>239</sup>

139 Ema: Íina caási tar+'+jana. [++j++.

That peccary<sup>240</sup> (was) delicious. Yes.

Ligia: [Huírana.

Fat.

140 Ema: Cana=turiiyaácura naám+, taniaap+=ácuji. [

We were roasting<sup>241</sup> (the meat of the collared peccary) before the weavers (arrived).

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

141 Ema: Cana=p++car++cura capiini. [ Cana=turiiyaácura nuú.

---

<sup>239</sup> Ligia indicates that she is not responding to Ema. She is only thinking what she could have done with this meat if she were Ema.

<sup>240</sup> Ema explained that the collared peccaries were what stingray acquirers requested from Don Edbin. They had given her a small piece to taste.

<sup>241</sup> In the second minga, Ema stayed in the post of Don Edbin and Doña Elicha to help with cooking instead of going to collect leaves.

We finished cooking. We were roasting it.

Ligia: [++j++.

Yes.

142 Ema: Anúu, iíp+ iriaár++cura rayíruhuaaca.<sup>242</sup> [ ++j++.

That, they had brought for the stingray acquirers. Yes.

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

(4 seg)

143 Ligia: [Quí=panihu++cura quiaaja.

I went to look for you.

Ema: [naji, ++j++.

Like this, Yes.

144 Ligia: “Ca=quia=paájii=quiáana Ema niquiini. Jaa nu=iícua=quiáana cáamirata.” [

“You cannot see Ema. She had gone upriver.”

((Someone’s words to Ligia))

Ema: [++j++.

---

<sup>242</sup> A stingray acquirer is a person who travels upriver to buy the stinrays that all the communities obtain and then to sell them. Ema explained that the stingray acquirers had requested Don Estalio to hunt three collared peccaries for them.



Yes.

145 Ligia: ¿Saaca=ácuji nu=átuujicuaacura caa quíija? Quí=t+=nu=jata íicuaqui, [najáaja  
naám+ cataani ánuura.

Why didn't she tell me? I would have gone with her as well to collect leaves.

Ema: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

146 Ema: Taa iitíqu+ca. Cu=aátii naji,

It is quite near (the leaves upriver). I say like this,

147 Ema: yána, curi(ma),<sup>243</sup> curima t++ aaca=iiya=cúura taa naji tíira.

that, (from) the river port there where the riverbank is.

148 Ema: Yáquica<sup>244</sup> quia=cataa j+'+ta íiti.<sup>245</sup>

Like this close you collect just like until here.

149 Ema: Quia=íina p++car++, íina júira j+'+ta íina=na,<sup>246</sup>

You are going to finish that, that row like the area from here,

---

<sup>243</sup> The speaker Ema added the part between the parentheses to complete the sentence.

<sup>244</sup> Ema explained that the word *yaquica* expresses a short distance, approximately 120 meters, like she indicated in the sentence.

<sup>245</sup> Ema was making an example to describe the distance and the direction of collecting leaves. She said that it was like if you start from the riverbank, and continue collecting inland for about 120 meters, until here where the conversation was recorded. Such a long area of collecting is for a load of cargo and is a row.

<sup>246</sup> In this sentence, =na is a clause-final marker.

150 Ema: huári quia=iícuaa j+'+ta tíra.<sup>247</sup>

and later you are going there.

151 Ema: Núquiica sanja<sup>248</sup> j+'+ta íina aasámu.

A trail like a small creek.

152 Ema: Anúu quia=tiitaa, anúu=jina taa íina naám+.

Following that trail, the leaves are right there.

153 Ema: Ííti<sup>249</sup> quia=cúuta cataqui, núquiica carga=iíra.

Here perhaps you are going to collect for a load of cargo.

154 Ema: Amicaáca<sup>250</sup> quia=iína catar++ táana.

Tomorrow you are going to collect another (row for another load of cargo).

155 Ema: Atí=jí=jaa huárata amicaáca quia=iína catar++ táana.

After the day after tomorrow you are going to collect another (row for another load of cargo)

156 Ema: Núquiica sanja, nu=tiitaa íina naám+. [

---

<sup>247</sup> Ema explained that after collecting a row for a load of cargo, you have to bring the leaves back to your post. You return to continue collecting from where you finished the last time (e.g. from the kitchen which is about 120 meters from the riverbank).

<sup>248</sup> The trail is a piece of land, the bank of a small creek. A trail stretches on and the term is used to refer to the form of a creek, like the creek near the ILDP center. Ema said that an area like this for collection is a long area.

<sup>249</sup> Ema repeated and said that for a load of cargo, perhaps you collect from the river port to here. And later, you have to carry it. The following day you can return to continue collecting.

<sup>250</sup> Ema has made an example of temporal deixis here. If you start collecting today, tomorrow will be the second day, and the day after tomorrow will be the third day. Like this, you continue collecting.

A trail of creek borders the leaves.

Ligia: [(Sneeze)

(Sneeze)

157 Ema: Taamaáqui naji íina=jina sasaqu+.

In whatever part on the champal land.<sup>251</sup>

158 Ema: Ájapaqui nuú.<sup>252</sup> Nuúrica anúu<sup>253</sup> tiitaa=quiyaa íina niquisaa naji j++ta  
aasámu.

There is actually no creek. You just follow the trail like a creek.

159 Ema: ¿J++tarata cúuta r++ca naám+?<sup>254</sup>

What do you think about the leaves from barillal?

160 Ligia: R++ca naám+ í...r++ca naám+ íruhuana t++.

Leaves from so(ft)...leaves from barillal are very soft.

161 Ligia: Ca=t+=irísina. [ ++j++. Íruhuana t++ naji nuú. Ácanana.

They are not hard. Yes. Like this soft are the leaves. And shiny.

---

<sup>251</sup> The word *champal* is used to refer to an area full of the herb ‘champa’ which grows on the surface of a level (approximately 15 cm.) of rotten leaves above the soil. The leaves fall from the trees and form a soft level, like mattress. This type of land is called *barillal*. See footnote 160 as well for more details.

<sup>252</sup> Ema explained that there is actually no creek and she was making an example. She only meant that the area for collecting leaves is pronounced like a creek.

<sup>253</sup> The pronoun *anúu* refers to the champal.

<sup>254</sup> Ema was talking about the area where the leaves were collected and started to talk about the quality of the leaves.

Ema: [Puquina.<sup>255</sup>

Rotten.

162 Ema: Íina, na=ap++ta<sup>256</sup>=raa, na=ap++tacura nuú.<sup>257</sup> Nu...Nuúrica iriap+ íina  
maderaji [nahuaáca, Doña Erlinda. [

Those (leaves), they had left behind, they had left them behind. Doña Erlinda's  
people had only brought the wood.<sup>258</sup>

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

163 Ema: Nu=átiaacura quíija,

She told me,

164 Ema: “Abuela, quiína taa=na naám+=na. Canaraquicuma=na.

“Grandmother, here are the leaves. Don't be shy.

((Erlinda's words to Ema))

165 Ema: “Yáana, ca=na=nacar++cura=na,<sup>259</sup> taa yáana, yáana, Edbinhuaaca.”<sup>260</sup>

---

<sup>255</sup> Ema indicated that the leaves in the barillal are really close and easy to collect, but they are very soft, which can only be used for the house and not for sale. Because the leaves are very soft, they break and rot easily.

<sup>256</sup> This word is also translated as ‘sobrar’ in regional Spanish, meaning ‘extras’.

<sup>257</sup> Ema said that what they had collected was the part that other people didn't want. Doña Erlinda, her husband, and her sons only took the slender wood, and did not collect the leaves.

<sup>258</sup> The word *maderaje* in Spanish is used for the translation, referring to slender wood.

<sup>259</sup> Doña Erlinda said to Ema that Don Edbin and his people had stayed there for a week and did not want to collect the leaves there. After one week, Don Edbin and his people went downriver to Santa María. Ema and Rubén arrived after Don Edbin and his people had left the post of Don Estalio and Doña Erlinda.

<sup>260</sup> The word *Edbinhuaaca* and the pronoun *na* in the previous sentence are coindexed.

“That, they didn’t want. That, that Edbin and his people.”

((Erlinda está hablando a Ema))

166 Ema: Nahuaáca na=iíquiaácura cáami na=jata. [

They (Don Edbin and his people) were upriver with them (Doña Erlinda’s family).

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

167 Ema: “Ca=na=nacar++cura=na naám+ nu=cataani, iyámi ácuji taa=na naji, tíhuacu=na [sípaqu+ya=na.”

“They didn’t want to collect leaves because they were spread throughout several locations.”<sup>261</sup>

((Erlinda’s words to Ema))

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

168 Ema: Icuami, cu=átiaacura nuú. [

It’s not true, I told her.

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

---

<sup>261</sup> The word *rareada* ‘spread’ was used for translation. It is a synonym of *salteada* ‘jumped’ or *no concentrada en un solo lugar* ‘not concentrated in one single place’ in the regional Spanish.

169 Ema: Núquiica sanja, íina=tiitaa naám+. [

Along a small creek trail, the leaves continue (to grow).

Ligia: [++.

Yes.

170 Ema: ++. ++. Íip+ tuu icuanihu+ya=na,<sup>262</sup>

Yes. Yes. They (Rubén, Vilton, and Géiser) indeed being men,

171 Ema: na=catacura, j+'+ta cu=átii.

they had collected, as I am saying.

172 Ema: Íina, yáana, Géiser nu=miiyaa naji, jaa naji lote nu=miiyaa.

That, that, Géiser has so much, he already has (four) lots.

173 Ligia: Cuatrocientos [paños.

For hundred panels.

Ema: [++j++. Rubé, Rubé najáaja nu=miiyaa cinco lotes najáaja.

Yes. Rubén, Rubén also has five lots.

174 Ligia: Quinientos. [

[Pitusi.

[Doscientos.

---

<sup>262</sup> In this sentence, =na is a clause-final marker. Ema said that the men (i.e. Rubén, Vilton and Géiser) who went with her are real men because they could do hard work. The men who went with Ema had collected a lot of leaves, unlike the men with Don Edbin who didn't collect any leaves.

Five hundred.

(Vilton's nickname) Tow hundred.

Ema: [Atí=ji, yáana, Sonia nýini, [++j++, nu=miiyaa cuúmi lote. [++j++.

And then, that, Sonia's son, yes, he has two lots. Yes.

175 Ema: Ácari íina na=taniqui naá.

Now those (people Rubén, Géiser and Vilton) have woven those lots.

176 Ema: Ácari yahu'++ni nu=taniqui Alfredo<sup>263</sup>=íira.

Today (Géiser) has woven for Alfredo.

177 Ema: Na=iricura na=paa, azúcar, casiaasa, jahún.

(Géiser and Don Estalio) They brought their bread, sugar, liquor and soap.

178 Ema: [Géi, Géiser. [¿Ah? [Naám+. [¿Ah? [Caa.

(Géi)ser, Géiser. What? Leaves. What? No.

Christine: [Íina lo, lote. [¿Íina lote t++ [naám+ sajiini=iíraana? [¿Sajiini=iíraana t++? [

That lo(t), lot. That lot is for cutting leaves? Is it for cutting leaves?

Ligia: [Lotes. [Naám+. [Íina lote.

Lots. Leaves. That lot.

179: Christine: Lote. ++j++. [

---

<sup>263</sup> Alfredo is a leaf-merchant in the area of Pintuyacu river. He always buys woven leaves from the communities.

Lot. Yes.

Ligia: [Íina lote<sup>264</sup> naana t++. Na=tat+taniiyaa naana. Anúu-iicucu, na=inaa íina naám+naji taniija,

That lot is wooden. They fix sticks (on the ground). On top of those, they put woven leaves.

180 Ligia: t++ nu=aratín+=na cien, [ cien, [ esto tejido hoja. [ Eso es un lote. [ where, it's said to fit a hundred, a hundred, the woven leaves. That is a lot.

Christine: [++j++. [++j++. [Aaj.  
Yes. Yes. Ok.

Ema: [Naám+.  
Leaves.

181 Ligia: Así como [está viendo donde Jameco? [esa clase se llama [lote. [

Like it can be seen where Jaime lives now? That type of thing is a lot.

---

<sup>264</sup> Ligia explained that the word *lot* refers to a unit of a hundred counted panels of woven leaves, but including the structure where people pile up and count the woven leaves. To start to make this structure, people prepare two long wooden sticks (approximately 2.5 meters in height and placed about 2 meters apart). They sharpen the ends of these two sticks in order to drill them into and fix them into the soil, about 75 degrees tilted between the stick and the ground, in order to make it durable. On the surface of the soil, people put three sticks lying down, under which people put a stick or a wooden board to form a height and an angle so that the panels of woven leaves do not slip to the ground. On top of the sticks that are lying down, people put the panels against the two fixed standing-up sticks. People put the panels on the wider side (the side that has a 105 degrees angle between the stick and the ground). A structure of this type can hold up to one hundred panels. Sometimes, the two sticks are not well fixed and people would put two wooden boards against them to support the sticks better.





Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

185 Ema: Cájapaqui rimiria íquii cáami. [ Curariina quí=raaticura. [

Fortunately there was medicine uprvier. I took curarina.<sup>265</sup>

Christine: [++.

[++?

Yes.

What?

186 Ema: Ipána. [Quia=nu iquíniqui.

Strong. You will vomit the same day.

Christine: [Ipána.

Strong.

187 Ema: P+y'++ni nu=siqu++yaa cúta ífna ihuar+yáaca p+=+jacúura.

It gets rid of perhaps the sickness inside of us entirely.

188 Ema: Nu=jata cu=ánaj+cura [(Laugh) ++j++.

With this I recovered. (Laugh) Yes.

---

<sup>265</sup> The word *curarina* is the name of a plant from which people make remedies. People pull the entire plant, discard the leaves, and then grind the stem. People boil the ground powders with hot water. When the water turns green, they remove it from the fire and let it cool down. People drink 1 to 2 large glasses (500 ml each glass) on an empty stomach. It is taken to induce vomiting, after which the fever and the illness retreat completely.

Ligia: [(Laugh) ++.

(Laugh) Yes.

Christine: [(Laugh)

(Laugh)

189 Ligia: Najaa quiíja, qui=iíquiuhu++cura qui=máquisi=cu cáami.

Me too, I was upriver in my hut.

190 Ligia: Lourdes=jata qui, qui=cujihu++cura nuú. [

With Lourdes, I, I accompanied her.

Ema: [++.

Yes.

191 Ligia: Qui=catahu++cura naám+ cáami, [ s++saramaj+táami anítaaja. [

I went to collect leaves upriver, three loads of cargo.

Ema: [++j++.

[++.

Yes.

Yes.

192 Ligia: Anúu qui=tanicura, (qui=mat++),<sup>266</sup> qui=mas++t'+cura Vidal nuú, [

Those I had woven, and (I sold), I sold it to Vidal.

---

<sup>266</sup> The expression between the parentheses was a slip of tongue and Ligia corrected it right away.

Ema: [++j++.

Yes.

193 Ligia: qui=mas++ni=iíra caatúsi. [

in order to buy bullets.

Ema: [++j++.

Yes.

194 Ligia: Qui=mas+'+cura caatúsi. Qui=mas+'+cura pira.

I bought bullets. I bought batteries.

195 Ligia: Anúu=jata qui=nacar++yaa, yáana,

With those, I want to, that,

196 Ligia: tímaaca panit+'+ni ajapaa, [cu=aniruuni=iíra íina cáami quí-nasi.

look for a majás just in case, so that I can eradicate my field upriver.

Ema: [++.

Yes.

197 Ligia: Ájapaqui. (Nu)<sup>267</sup>=cuar++yaa aniruuni. [

None (is done). It needs to be eradicated.

---

<sup>267</sup> The pronoun is not heard in the recording, but Ligia added it to complete the sentence.

Ema: [¿Jaana=huaja?

Which?

198 Ligia: Ína cáami naqui. [

The forest upriver.

Ema: [O...

I see...

199 Ligia: Anihua=ácuji cu=aníruut++jiaáaraa caa naá.<sup>268</sup> Ájapaqui asasana.

Therefore I did not send people to eradicate it. There is no food (for the minga).

200 Ligia: Jaa quí=jicucuaacura yáana.

I already sent that person.

201 Ligia: Primavera n+ticumaji, nuú, yáana, Lacho am'+yaaquir++. [

After the spring,<sup>269</sup> he, that, Lacho will go working in the forest.

Ema: [A...

I see...

202 Ema: [Yahu'++ni íiquii ajapáaja.

There is still some time.

---

<sup>268</sup> Ligia wants to do a minga, but she doesn't have sufficient food to make it happen.

<sup>269</sup> In the Amazon, there is no clear distinction between the seasons. In general, the people use the word 'spring' to refer to the Spring Festival. This year (i.e. the year 2006), the party is on September 23, after the date of recording. Ligia indicated that after this party, Lacho will do the indicated work.

Ligia: [Icuani t++. A...

He is a man.<sup>270</sup> Ah...

203 Ligia: Iyami ácuji íina cana=natacura qui-nasi tíí=na, ájapaqui asúraaja riqiini tíí.

Because what we had planted<sup>271</sup> in my field, there is no yuca.

204 Ligia: [(T)<sup>272</sup>amaa<sup>273</sup> nataaja.

In vain it was planted.

Ema: [Sasaqu+<sup>274</sup> taa=na.

The land is champal, people say.

205 Ligia: Caa. Asúraaja, atíí cúuta asúraaja ííquiaariqu+.

No. Yuca, there perhaps used to grow yuca.

206 Ligia: Tarií=yaajaa cana=miicura nuú [j+<sup>1</sup>ticari tacura tasiíta sasaqu+.<sup>275</sup>

Before we did it when there was even big champal plant.

---

<sup>270</sup> Ligia was thinking about Lacho when she said this sentence. She explained that she was not responding to Ema.

<sup>271</sup> Ligia just seeded her field in the beginning of September. When she recorded this conversation, yuca had only been planted for two weeks.

<sup>272</sup> In the recording the word *samaa* was heard. According to Ligia, that was a speech error influenced by Ema's word *sasaqu+* 'champal'. Ligia indicated that she wanted to say *tamaa* 'in vain'.

<sup>273</sup> *Tamaa* or *tamaayaaja* is considered a frustrative adverb in Iquito.

<sup>274</sup> Ema uses the word *sasaqu+* to refer to the land where there grows a lot of short champa. Ligia explained to me that in a real barrillal area, only this type of short weed would grow and no other plants can grow; therefore, Ema thought Ligia's land was of this type. Also refer to footnote 160 for more detail.

<sup>275</sup> Ligia indicated that land was full of *tasiíta sasaqu+* 'real champa' which is larger in size. Her land was not a real barrillal (i.e. only short champa grow); therefore, she still cultivates the land for planting.

Ema: [¿Ácari=huaja? ¿Ácari=huaja?

And now? And now?

207 Ligia: Tamaa ína imaa=quiyaa niya, ína suhuáni niya.

In vain the land is only lying there, a good land.

208 Ligia: Ájapaqui asúraaja, cumari. [Inúriqu+ca riquiyaa. Anúu jaári t++ itina núu  
jaa. [

There is no yuca, godmother. Only some are growing. They are already this  
height (indicated by hand about fifty cm).

Ema: [Ájapaqui. [O...

None. Well...

209 Ligia: ++j++. Ájapaqui asúraaja, (ma),<sup>276</sup> nu=carícuuyaa quiija.

Yes. There is no yuca, (bad), bad luck is happening to me.<sup>277</sup>

210 Ligia: Nihua=ácuji, qui=naca, qui=nacar++yaa ína cáami aníruut++ni naqui. [++.

That's why, I want, I want the field upriver to be eradicated. Yes.

Ema: [++.

Yes.

---

<sup>276</sup> Ligia wanted to say the word *malagüera* in regional Spanish. She wanted to delete this syllable from the sentence.

<sup>277</sup> Here I provide the definition from the Iquito dictionary of THE ILDP: *Malagüera* a alguien, dicho de cosas o animales que por su presencia o sonido presenta un malagüera (e.g. macuuhua) que afecta a alguien, que por lo tanto indica que algo mal va pasar a la persona que presencia la malagüera.

211 Ligia: Cu=aníruut'+r++ nuú.

I will have it eradicated.

212 Ligia: Huári quí=nacar++yaa táana camaraani s++sanúri[ca tíi, yáana, Juus++  
[máquisi.

Then I want to clean another small field, José's field.<sup>278</sup>

Ema: [++j++. [++j++. ++.

Yes. Yes. Yes.

213 Ligia: Maquínuriqu+ca nuú. [Qui=pariiyaa ajapaa núquiica juhui=jata.

It is full of green. I can however do it with a *jullo*<sup>279</sup> of people.

Christine: [++j++.

Yes.

214 Ema: Iyarácata. [ (ajaa)

Fast. (Sound of yawning)

Ligia: [++j++. Íina=jina [ajaána, nu=suriiyaa iyarácata.

Yes. This summer, the sun is strong and the field is done fast.<sup>280</sup>

---

<sup>278</sup> The original translation in regional Spanish is the word *purma*. I provide the definition from the ILDP dictionary: una chacra vieja y abandonada, donde el monte ha vuelto crecer. It indicates an old and abandoned field where all kinds of plant begin to grow again.

<sup>279</sup> A *jullo* means a group of about ten people who clean the field (i.e. cut and eradicate it) together. A piece of land that can be cleaned with a *jullo* of people is very small in size.



215 Ligia: Naji íina maquína [máquisi.

Such as a green purma field.

Ema: [++j++.

Yes.

---

<sup>280</sup> When the sun is strong, the cleaned field dries especially fast and weeds do not return. When the cut and eradicated plants are dry, the field is burned clean before any vegetable plant is seeded.

## References

- Anderson, Cynthia (2004a). Interrogaciones de orden SOV. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2004)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Anderson, Cynthia (2004b). Posiciones Sintácticas de Negación: caa y -ji- caa. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2004)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Anderson, Cynthia, Christine Beier, I-Wen Lai, & Lev Michael (2006). SOV versus SVO constituent order in Iquito (Zaparoan): a phonological explanation. Conference talk given in SSILA (The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 2006).
- Auwera, Johan van der & Ludo Lejeune (2005). The Morphological Imperative. In *World Atlas of Language Structures*, Matthew Dryer, Martin Haspelmath, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie (eds.), pp. 286-287. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Auwera, Johan van der & Ludo Lejeune (with Valentin Goussev) (2005). The Prohibitive. In *World Atlas of Language Structures*, Matthew Dryer, Martin Haspelmath, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie (eds.), pp. 290-291. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Auwera, Johan van der, Ludo Lejeune & Valentin Goussev (2005). Imperative-Hortative Systems. In *World Atlas of Language Structures*, Matthew Dryer, Martin Haspelmath, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie (eds.), pp. 294-295. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bach, Emmon (1981). On Time, Tense and Aspect: An Essay in English Metaphysics. In *Radical Pragmatics*, Peter Cole (ed.), pp. 63-81. New York: Academic Press.
- Banfield, Ann (1982). *Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in the Language of Fiction*. Boston & London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Beier, Christine (2003a). Los Alomorfos del Morfema de Aspecto Incompleto. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2003)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.

- Beier, Christine (2003b). Sufijos Verbales de Tiempo. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2003)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Beier, Christine & Lev Michael. (2002). La condición actual del idioma indígena iquito y las claves factores afectando al proyecto de su recuperación. Austin, Texas. Cabeceras Aid Project. Ms.
- Beier, Christine & Lev Michael (2003). Las metas y metodología del proyecto de recuperación del idioma iquito. In *Memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica-I. (23-25 de octubre de 2003, University of Texas at Austin)*.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco, Valentina Bianchi, James Higginbotham, & Mario Squartini (eds.) (1995). *Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality*. 2 volumes. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Beuchat, H. & P. Rivet (1908). *La famille linguistique Zaparo*. Paris: Au Siege de la Societe.
- Boland, Johanna Hendrika Geertruida (2006). *Aspect, Tense and Modality: Theory, Typology, Acquisition*. Ph. D. Dissertation: Proefschrift Universiteit van Amsterdam. Utrecht : LOT.
- Boogaart, Ronny. (1995). Towards a Theory of Discourse Aspectuality. In *Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality*, Pier Marco Bertinetto, Valentina Bianchi, James Higginbotham, & Mario Squartini (eds.), vol. 1, pp. 221-236. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Borer, Hagit (2005). *Structuring Sense*. 3 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Borik, Olga (2006). *Aspect and Reference Time*. Oxford University Press.
- Bybee, Joan L. (1985). *Morphology: a study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L. (1998). "Irrealis" as a grammatical category. *Anthropological Linguistics* 40. pp. 257-71.
- Bybee, Joan L. & Östen Dahl (1989). The Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems in the Languages of the World. *Studies in Language* 13-1. pp. 51-103.
- Bybee, Joan L. & Suzanne Fleischman (eds.) (1995). *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins, & William Pagliuca (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carlson, Gregory N. (1977). A Unified Analysis of the English Bare Plural. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1: 413-458.
- Carlson, Gregory N. (1980). *Reference to Kinds in English*. New York: Garland Publishing Co.
- Chafe, Wallace (1995). The Realis-Irrealis Distinction in Caddo, the Northern Iroquoian Language, and English. In Bybee & Fleischman (eds.), *Modality in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Chung, Sandra & Alan Timberlake (1985). Tense, Aspect, and Mood. In Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol. 3, pp. 202-258. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard (1976). *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard (1985). *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. (1993). Towards a general theory of tense. In B. Lakshmi Bai and A. Mukherjee (eds.), *Tense and Aspect in Indian Languages*. Hyderabad.
- Craig, William Lane (2000). *The tensed theory of time: a critical examination*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Craig, William Lane (2000). *The tenseless theory of time: a critical examination*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Dahl, Östen (1985). *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dahl, Östen (1995). Areal tendencies in tense-aspect systems. In *Temporal reference, aspect and actionality*. Vol. 2: *Typological perspectives*, Pier Marco Bertinetto, Valentina Bianchi, and Mario Squartini (eds.), pp. 11-28. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Dahl, Östen (2000). *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*. New York : Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dahl, Östen & Viveka Velupillai (2005). Tense and Aspect. In *World Atlas of Language Structures*, Matthew Dryer, Martin Haspelmath, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie (eds.), pp. 266-272. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- De Haan, Ferdinand. (1997). *The interaction of modality and negation: a typological study*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Depraeterre, Ilse (1995). On the Necessity of Distinguishing between (Un)boundedness and (A)telicity. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 18: 1-19.
- DeSwart, Henriette (1998). Aspect Shift and Coercion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16: 347-85.
- Dixon, R. M. W. & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.). (1999). *The Amazonian languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dobrushina, Nina, Johan van der Auwera, & Valentin Goussev (2005). The optative. In *World Atlas of Language Structures*, Matthew Dryer, Martin Haspelmath, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie (eds.), 298-301. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dowty, David (1977). Towards a Semantic Analysis of Verb Aspect and the English Imperfective Progressive. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 1: 45-77.
- Dowty, David (1979). *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar: the Semantics of Verbs and Times in Generative Semantics and in Montague's PTQ*. Boston: D. Reidel Publishing.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1991). SVO languages and the OV: VO. *Journal of Linguistics* 27:443-482.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1992). The Greenbergian Word Order Correlations. *Language* 68: 81-138.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005). Position of Tense-Aspect Affixes. In *World Atlas of Language Structures*, Matthew Dryer, Martin Haspelmath, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie (eds.), pp. 282-283. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eastman, Robert & Elizabeth Eastman (1963). Iquito Syntax. In Waterhouse, V. G. (ed.), *Studies in Peruvian Indian Languages*. Vol. 1, pp. 145-92. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.
- Elliott, Jennifer R. (2000). Realis and irrealis: Forms and concepts of the grammaticalisation of reality. *Linguistic Typology* 4:55-90.
- England, Nora (1983). *A Grammar of Mam, a Mayan Language*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Epps, Patience L. (2008). *A Grammar of Hup*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Espinosa, L. (1955). *Contribuciones linguisticas y etnograficas sobre algunos pueblos indigenas del Amazonas peruano*. Madrid.
- Faller, Martina (2003). Propositional-and illocutionary-level evidentiality in Cuzco Quechua. In: Jan Anderssen, Paula Menendez-Benito, and Adam Werle (eds.) *Proceedings of SULA2, The Semantics of Under-Represented Languages in the Americas*. Amherst: The Graduate Linguistics Students' Association The University of Massachusetts.
- Fishman, J. A. (1985). Language Maintenance and Ethnicity. In J. A. Fishman, M.H. Gertner, E.G. Lowy, & W. G. Milán (ed.), *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival* (pp. 57-76). Berlin: Mouton.
- Fleischman, Suzanne (1982). *The future in thought and language: diachronic evidence from Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fleischman, Suzanne (1990). *Tense and narrativity: from medieval performance to modern fiction*. Austin: University Texas Press.
- Fleischman, Suzanne (1991). *Discourse-pragmatics and the verb: the evidence from Romance*. London: Routledge.
- Fleischman, Suzanne (1995). Imperfective and Irrealis. In Bybee & Fleischman (eds.), *Modality in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Foley, William A. & Robert D. Van Valin (1984). *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, Rayment G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Grice, H. Paul (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J. L. Morgan (eds.), *Speech Acts*. Academic Press, NY. pp. 41-58.
- Grohs-Paul, Waltraud (1974). *Los indios del Alto Amazonas del siglo XVI al siglo XVIII : poblaciones y migraciones en la antigua provincia de Maynas*. Bonn.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia (2007, to appear). On the temporal properties of mood: the subjunctive revisited . In Quer, J. (ed.), *Lingua*, special issue on Mood.
- Harnisch, Marie C. (2005). Tense within Modes of Discourse in an Iquito Narrative. Term paper of LIN 393, University of Texas at Austin. Ms.
- Hansen, Cynthia I. A. (2006). *Adverbs and Phrase Structure in Iquito*. M. A. Thesis: The University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics, USA.

Hollebrandse, Bart, Angeliek van Hout and Co Vet (eds.) (2005). *Crosslinguistic Views on Tense, Aspect and Modality*. 2 volumes. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi.

Hopper, Paul & Sandra A. Thompson (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56, 251-299.

Huamancayo C., Edinson (2003). Resolución de Hiatus Vocal Preverbal. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2003)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.

Iatridou, Sabine (2000). The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 231-270.

ILDP Dictionary (2003-2006).

ILDP Text Collection (2003-2006).

Cómo Hacer Chacra ‘How to Establish a Vegetable garden’<sup>281</sup>

Cómo Hacer Masato 1 ‘How to Make Manioc Beer 1’

Imi saaqu++ni icuani iina iiquiaariqu+na naquim++nijata ‘The Story of a Man who lived with a Female Spirit’

J++tarata canatanii in++si ‘How to Weave a Hammock.’

Saasaaquicuaa iiyuu ‘The Powerful Man of the Purge Saasaaquicuaa.’

Janda, Laura A. (2007). Aspectual Clusters of Russian Verbs. *Studies in Language* 31: 3, 607-648.

Janse, M. (2003). Introduction: Language Death and Language Maintenance. In M. Janse & S. Tol (ed.), *Language Death and Language Maintenance: Theoretical, Practical and Descriptive Approaches* (pp. iv-xvii). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kamp, Hans & Uwe Reyle (1993). *From discourse to logic*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Kamp, Hans & Christian Rohrer (1983). *Tense in Texts*. In Bauerle, R., C. Schwarze and A. von Stechow (eds.), *Meaning, Use and Interpretation of Language*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.

Klein, Wolfgang (1992). The Present Perfect Puzzle. *Language* 68: 525-552.

---

<sup>281</sup> The English titles of the texts are translated by the author of the dissertation.

- Klein, Wolfgang (1994). *Time in Language*. London: Routledge.
- Kratzer, Angelika (1991). Modality/Conditionals. In von Stechow, A. and D. Wunderlich (eds.), *Semantik: Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung [Semantics. An international Handbook of Contemporary Research]*, pp. 639-650/651-656. De Gruyter.
- Kratzer, Angelika (2002). The Notional Category of Modality. In Portner, P. and B. Partee (eds.), *Formal Semantics: The Essential Readings*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lai, I-Wen (2003a). Aspecto completivo e inceptivo. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2003)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Lai, I-Wen (2003b). Cláusulas condicionales. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2003)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Lai, I-Wen (2005a). *Fundamental Aspects of the Iquito Language*. Qualifying Paper of the Doctoral Candidacy: University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics, USA.
- Lai, I-Wen (2005b). A Case Study of the Iquito Language: Language Shift and Maintenance. Term paper of LIN 380S, University of Texas at Austin. Ms.
- Lai, I-Wen (2006a). *Fundamental Aspects of the Iquito Language*. Master's Report: University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics, USA.
- Lai, I-Wen (2006b). La negación clausular en Iquito. *The Proceedings of CILLA II*.
- Lai, I-Wen (2007a). Conditionals and Counterfactuality in Iquito. *The Proceedings of CLS43*.
- Lai, I-Wen (2007b). Temporal Interpretation in Iquito. *The Proceedings of LSJ134*.
- Lai, I-Wen (2008). La interpretación temporal: un estudio del idioma iquito. *The Proceedings of CILLA III*.
- Lai, I-Wen (2009, forthcoming). Realis and Irrealis Distinction in the Iquito Language (Zaparoan). *The Proceedings of Chronos 8*.
- Landman, Fred (1992). The Progressive. *Natural Language Semantics* 1: 1-32.
- Michael, Lev D. (2003a). Fusión Prosódica. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2003)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.



- Michael, Lev D. (2003b). La Fusión Fonológica en el Idioma Iquito (Familia Záparo, Amazonía Peruana). In *Memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica-I*. (23-25 de octubre de 2003, University of Texas at Austin).
- Midgette, Sally (1996). Lexical aspect in Navajo: The telic property. In Jelinek, E., S. Midgette, K. Rice, and L. Saxon (eds.), *Athabaskan Language Studies: Essays in honor of Robert W. Young*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Mithun, Marianne (1987). "Is basic word order universal?" In: Tomlin, Russell (ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse*, pp. 281-328. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mithun, Marianne (1995). On the relativity of irreality. in Bybee & Fleischman (eds.), *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mithun, Marianne (1999). *The Languages of Native North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moens, Mark. (1987). *Tense, Aspect and Temporal Reference*. Ph. D. Dissertation: Center for Cognitive Science, University of Edinburgh.
- Moens, Mark & Mark Steedman (1987). Temporal Ontology in Natural Language. *The Proceedings of the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Association for Computational Linguistics, Stanford, California*.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001[1986]). *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parsons, Terence (1990). *Events in the Semantics of English: a Study in Subatomic Semantics*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Payne, Doris (ed.). (1990). *Amazonian Linguistics: Studies in Lowland South American Languages*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Peeke, M. Catherine (1991). *Bosquejo gramatical del záparo*. Cuadernos Etnolingüísticos, 14. Quito: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. 72 p.
- Portner, Paul (1992). *Situation Theory and the Semantics of Propositional Expressions*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Mentor: Barbara Hall Partee.
- Portner, Paul (2002). The Semantics of Mood. In Cheng, L. and R. Sybesma (eds.), *GLOT International* 4.1, 3-9.
- Portner, Paul (2003). The Temporal Semantics and Modal Pragmatics of the Perfect, *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26, 459-510.

- Pustejovsky, James (1995). *The Generative Lexicon*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT press.
- Rathmann, Christian G. (2005). *Event Structure of American Sign Language*. Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics, USA.
- Rauschuber, Brianna G. (2005). Inventario Fonético y Fonémico del Idioma Iquito. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2005)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Reichenbach, Hans (1947). *Elements of Symbolic Logic*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rich, Rolland G. (1999). *Diccionario Arabela—Castellano*. Serie Lingüística Peruana, 49. Lima: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. 643 p.
- Rothstein, Susan Deborah (2004). *Structuring events: a study in the semantics of lexical aspect*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Sadock, Jarrold M. & Arnold M. Zwicky. (1985). Speech act distinctions in syntax. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. 1, Timothy Shopen (ed.), 155-196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shopen, Timothy (ed.) (2007[1985]). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. 3 volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Carlota S. (1995). The Range of Aspectual Situation Types: Derived Categories and Bounded Paradox. In *Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality*, Bertinetto, Pier Marco, Valentina Bianchi, James Higginbotham, & Mario Squartini (eds.), pp. 105-124. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Smith, Carlota S. (1997[1991]). *The parameter of aspect*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Smith, Carlota S. (2003). *Modes of Discourse: The Local Structure of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Carlota S. (2004). The Domain of Tense. In *The Syntax of Time*, Guéron, Jacqueline & Jacqueline Lecarme (eds.), pp. 597-620. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Smith, Carlota S. (2005). Time with and without tense. *The International Round Table on Tense and Modality*. Paris, France.
- Smith, Carlota S. & Mary Erbaugh (2005). Temporal interpretation in Mandarin Chinese. *Linguistics*: 43, 713-756.

- Sudmuk, Cholthicha (2003). The *thuuk* construction in Thai. In *Proceedings of the LFG03 Conferences, University of Albany, State University of New York*, Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.), pp. 402-423. CSLI Publications.
- Sullón A., Karina (2004). Inventario Fonológico del Idioma Iquito. In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2004)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Sullón A., Karina (2005). Iquituhuaaca “Maacatuahua ihuiini.” In *Estudios del Idioma Iquito (Versión de agosto 2005)*, Christine Beier and Lev Michael (eds.), Documento de trabajo del Proyecto de Documentación del Idioma Iquito.
- Tenny, Carol (1994). *Aspectual roles and the syntax-semantics interface*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic.
- Tanny, Carol (1995). How Motion Verbs are Special: The Interaction of Semantic and Pragmatic Information in Aspectual Verb Meaning. *Pragmatics and Cognition* 3: 1, pp. 31-73.
- Tessmann, Gunter B. (1884). *Los indigenas del Peru nororiental: investigaciones fundamentales para un estudio sistematico de la cultura*.
- Timberlake, Alan H. (2007). Aspect, Tense, Mood. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. 3, Timothy Shopen (ed.), 280-333. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Valenzuela, Pilar (2004). *Transitivity in Shipibo-Konibo Grammar*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon.
- Vendler, Zeno (1967). Verbs and Times. In *Linguistics in Philosophy*, Zeno Vendler, pp. 97-121. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Verkuyl, Henk J. (1972). *On the Compositional Nature of the Aspects*. The Netherlands: D. Reidel Publishing.
- Verkuyl, Henk J. (1989). Aspectual Classes and Aspectual Composition. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16, pp. 39-94.
- Verkuyl, Henk J. (1993). *A Theory of Aspectuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verkuyl, Henk J. (2005). Aspectual Composition: Surveying the Ingredients. In *Perspectives on Aspect*, Verkuyl, H. J., Henriëtte de Swart & Angeliek van Hout (eds.), pp. 201-219. Dordrecht : Springer.
- Vet, Co (1986). *Temporal structure in sentence and discourse*. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris.

Vet, Co (1990). *Layers and levels of representation in language theory: a functional view*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

Vet, Co (1994). *Tense and aspect in discourse*. Berlin: M. de Gruyter.

## Vita

I-Wen Lai was born in Kaohsiung City, Taiwan, on September 20, 1976, the daughter of Chin-Sung Lai and Mei-Chu Chan. She graduated from National Kaohsiung Normal University (Taiwan) in June 1998 with a B.A. in Chinese and received an M.A. in Applied Linguistics from Indiana State University in May 2001. In August 2001, she entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin to study Linguistics, with a specialization in descriptive and documentary linguistics. Since then, she has studied Mayan languages and participated in the Iquito Language Documentation Project (the ILDP). She received an M.A. in Linguistics in May 2006. She received a dissertation grant from the ILDP, funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, London, to conduct fieldwork on Iquito, an endangered Zaparoan language spoken in the northern Peruvian Amazon. She has been a teaching assistant and an assistant instructor of undergraduate-level linguistics courses. She has presented and published a number of articles on the linguistic structure of Iquito, including “Realis and Irrealis Distinction in the Iquito Language (Zaparoan)” in *The (forthcoming) Proceedings of Chronos 8 (The 8th meeting of Chronos: International Conference on Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Modality)*; “Lanegación clausular en iquito” in *The Proceedings of CILLA II (Second Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America)*; “Conditionals and Counterfactuality in Iquito” in *The Proceedings of CLS43 (The 43rd Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society)*; “Temporal Interpretation in Iquito” in *The Proceedings of LSJ134 (The 134th Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan)*.

Permanent address: 21, ALY 6, LN 123, Hsien-cheng RD. Kaohsiung City, Taiwan 802

This dissertation was typed by the author.