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The Semantics of Clause Linking in Iquito¹

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1. Introduction

This chapter describes the clause linking constructions (CLCs) of Iquito, a Zaparoan language of northern Peruvian Amazonia, in terms of the distinction laid out in Chapter 1 between semantically focal clauses (FCs) and semantically supporting clauses (SCs).

In comparison to some of the other languages in this volume (e.g. Akkadian, Chapter 2; Martuthunira, Chapter 11), Iquito makes a large number of semantic distinctions in its CLCs. Nevertheless, Iquito CLCs show considerable structural uniformity. As seen in Table 1, most Iquito CLCs fall into one of two structural types: (1) one in which SCs exhibit fully inflected main verbs, where clause linking markers (CLMs) are SC-initial syntactic elements or collocations of elements; and (2) constructions in which SCs exhibit nominalized main verbs, where CLMs are postpositions cliticized to the nominalized verb. The first construction type largely exhibits fixed SC FC order, whereas the second type largely exhibits free ordering of SC and FC. Apart from cases of apposition, the only major CLCs that diverge from these two structural types are the possible conditional construction, in which the CLM is a verbal suffix; the counterfactual conditional construction, in which the CLM is a verbal proclitic; and the contrast construction, in which the CLM is a second position clausal clitic appearing in a main clause. Polyfunctionality is pervasive among Iquito CLMs, an issue I discuss in §11.

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TABLE 1. Iquito clause linking constructions

Construction type Is, Succession (connected)		Marker; type and location	SC type; verb	FC type; verb	Order SC FC	
		huaári, jahuáari; FC-initial SE	main; Fl	main; FI		
Is, Succession (immediate)	4.1	atií, atiiji; FC-initial SE	main; Fl	main; Fl	SC FC	
Is, Succession	4.1	apposition	main; FI	main; Fl	SC FC	
Ir, Point Overlap	4.2	jiíticari; SC-initial SE	subord.; FI	main; Fl	free (CLF)	
Ir, Period Overlap		iyácari jiíticari; SC-initial collocation	subord.; FI	main; FI	free (CLF)	
Ir, Point Anteriority	4.3	=ácuji; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; FI	free	
Ir, Point Anteriority (immediate)	4.3	= iira; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; FI	free	
Ir, Period Anteriority	4.3	iyácari=ánuura/=íira jiiticari; SC-initial collocation	subord.; Fl	main; FI	free (CLF)	
lr, Point Posteriority (connected)	4.4	=cánihuaaca; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; FI	free	
Ir, Point Posteriority (immediate)	4.4	=icuaji; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; Fl	free	
Ir, Period Posteriority	4.4	jiíticari iyácari yaaja; SC-initial collocation	subord.; FI	main; Fl	free (CLF)	
Ir, Period Posteriority	4.4	tiiji yaaja tii; SC-initial collocation	subord.; Fl	main; Fl	free (CLF)	
Ir, Free Relative		piyiini yahuiini=jina; SC-initial collocation	main; Fl	main; Fl	SC FC	
Ic, Possible Conditional	4.6	-sa-cari; SC verb suffix	subord.; Fl	main; Fl	SC FC	
Ic, Counterfactual Conditional	4.6		main; FI	main; FI	SC FC	
IIc, Cause	5.1	yamiácuji; SC-initial SE	main; Fl	main; FI	FC SC	
IIc, Cause (presupposed)	5.1	jiita; SC-initial SE	subord.; Fl	main; FI	FC SC	
IIr, Result	5.2	nihua=ácuji; FC-initial collocation	main; FI	subord.; FI	SC FC	
IIp, General Purposive	5.3	=iira; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; FI	free	
Ilp, Motion Purposive	5.3	=ánuura; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; Fl	free	
III, Possible Consequence	6	purposive or cause construction	see above	see above	see above	

IVu, Unordered Addition (positive)	7.1	apposition	NA; 1st clause = main; FI	NA; 2nd clause = subord., -ni NOMZ	NA
IVu, Unordered Addition (negative)	7.1	nacaá; 2nd clause-initial SE	NA	NA	NA
IVe, Elaboration	7.2	apposition	main; FI	main; Fl	SC FC
IVc, Polar Contrast	8	=quija; 2nd-position FC clausal clitic	main; Fl	main; Fl	SC FC
IVc, Counter-expectation	8	ájapaa; SC-initial SE	main; FI	main; FI	free
IVc, Counter-expectation (negative)	8	ájapaquí; FC-inital SE	main; Fl	subord.; - <i>ni</i> NOMZ	SC FC
Vd, Disjunction	9	cuúquisacari; 2nd-clause initial SE	NA	NA	NA
Vr, Rejection	9	can huaa; SC-initial collocation	subord.; Fl	main; Fl	free
VIr, Real Manner	10	<i>jiita</i> ; SC-initial SE	main; Fl	main; Fl	FC SC
VIh, Hypothetical Manner	10	naji jiita; SC-initial collocation	main; FI	main; FI	FC SC
VI, Instrumental Manner	10	= jata; PC to SC verb	subord.; NOMZ	main; Fl	free
VI, Instrumental Manner	10	apposition	subord.; NOMZ	main; FI	SC FC

Notes: Abbreviations: NOMZ: nominalization: Fl: fully inflected; PC: postpositional clitic; SE: syntactic element; CLF: subordinate clause-final clitic in SC FC order.

In Iquito, FCs overwhelmingly correspond to main clauses, with only two exceptions: the Result CLC (§5.2) and the Negative Counter-Expectation CLC (§8).

Iquito CLCs exhibit a number of noteworthy features. Iquito temporal linkages draw a number of unusual semantic contrasts, including the immediacy, or lack thereof, of sequential events, as well as whether two events are 'connected' in a meaningful sense (see §4). Iquito appears to be the only language in this volume that distinguishes between presupposed and non-presupposed causes (§5.1). Iquito is also the only language in this volume that exhibits an element which functions both as a content interrogative and a CLM (jiiticari, see §4.2), a typologically unusual type of polyfunctionality, despite its ubiquity in Indo-European languages. Finally, together with Ojibwe (Ch. 8), Iquito exhibits the unusual pattern of ascribing different meanings to apposite main clauses (temporal succession, §4.1) and apposite subordinate clauses (unordered addition, §7.1).

2. Genetic and sociolinguistic background

Iquito is spoken by approximately twenty-five elderly individuals in the departamento of Loreto, in northern Peruvian Amazonia. At the time of the European conquest, Iquito was spoken in a contiguous region encompassing the headwaters of the Nanay, Pintuyacu, Chambira, Mazán, and Momón Rivers. Although slavery and forced settlement in mission towns (reducciones) led to severe decreases in the Iquito population in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was the economic bondage following the nine-teenth-century rubber boom that led to sudden language shift to Spanish in the early twentieth century. Iquito became moribund in the late 1950s. The remaining speakers of Iquito live in settlements in the Nanay River Basin, near the city of Iquitos, and over half of them live in or near the community of San Antonio de Pintuyacu, where the fieldwork on which this chapter is based was carried out. Present-day ethnic Iquitos devote themselves principally to commercial thatch-gathering and logging, combined with subsistence farming, hunting, and fishing.

Iquito is a member of the Zaparoan family, whose other established members include Andoa (believed extinct), Arabela (~75 speakers), and Záparo (<10 speakers). Iquito speakers indicate that Cahuarano, sometimes listed as a separate language, and now extinct, was a mutually intelligible dialect of Iquito. Three other languages sometimes classified as Zaparoan are Taushiro, Omurano, and Aushiri (Campbell 1997, Wise 1999).

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I carried out thirteen months of fieldwork in the community of San Antonio from 2001 to 2006. From 2002 on, I formed part of a collaborative team of linguists working to document, describe, and support the revitalization of Iquito (Beier and Michael 2006). Eastman and Eastman (1963) is the sole prior treatment of Iquito syntax.

3. Grammatical sketch

3.1. Phonology and prosody

This chapter uses the Iquito orthography developed by the Centro del Idioma Iquito. Graphemes correspond to their IPA equivalents, with the following exceptions: c, qu = /k/, hu = /w/, j = /h/, y = /j/, and r = /r/. Iquito exhibits a contrast between short and long vowels; the latter is marked by doubling the vowel.

Iquito exhibits a two-level tonal contrast, but any given morpheme can bear at most one contrastive tone, resulting in what is commonly called a pitch accent system (cf. Hyman 2007). In Iquito, the tone-bearing unit is the mora. Each phonological word typically has one high tone, though morphologically complex words may possess more than one. If no morphemes in a phonological word carry a lexical high tone, then a high tone occurs on the penultimate mora (Grohman 2006). Lexical high tones are marked with an accent.

3.2. Word classes and morphology

Iquito has clearly distinguished classes of verbs, nouns, adjectives, postpositions, and adverbs. Verbal morphology is entirely suffixal (or non-concatenative, see below). Tense and aspect are obligatorily marked, frequently via tense-aspect or directional-aspect portmanteaus; for convenience I do not indicate the null-marked extended current (i.e. present and near future) tense. Nominal morphology is limited to possessive prefixes and optional number suffixes. Adjectives form a medium-sized class with some sixty members, and they agree in number and animacy with the NP-head they modify. Postpositions are a large class with approximately forty members, and are second position NP clitics.

Numerous Iquito morphological processes are non-concatenative, involving target prosodic shapes, fusion, or particular tonal patterns. In this chapter, no effort is made to segment the results of such processes, and the corresponding morpheme glosses are separated by stops (periods), instead of dashes. Iquito also exhibits a bimoraic minimum phonological word requirement, resulting in cliticization of monomoraic elements, such as non-focus pronouns.

3.3. Syntax of main clauses

Iquito exhibits nominative-accusative alignment and AVO, SV basic constituent order. Peripheral arguments follow the verb; objects and peripheral arguments are freely ordered with respect to each other. Grammatical relations are not overtly marked on core arguments. A contrastive focus position, which may be filled by NPs, adverbs, or adjectives, is found immediately before the A/S position, permitting OAV order.

NPs are frequently extraposed (typically clause initially), for discourse-referent tracking purposes. Extraposed core argument NPs leave a resumptive pronoun in normal argument position; peripheral NPs leave no resumptive pronoun.

All clauses are either realis or irrealis, a difference which manifests only in constituent order (Anderson et al. 2006). In realis clauses, the basic constituent order obtains (i.e. AVO, SV). In irrealis clauses, a position becomes available between A/S and V, which is filled by any postverbal lexical material available to do so, including argument NPs, adjectives, and adverbs. When an object NP fills this position, AOV order arises, as in (22).

3.4. Non-main clause types

Iquito exhibits relative clauses and two types of complement clauses: ones with fully inflected verbs and ones with nominalized verbs. The latter are distinguished by a particular nominalized form of the verb, the -ni nominalization, as in (1), and the fact that the A/S of the clause is typically omitted if coreferential with the A/S of the main clause. In cases of such omission, the O of transitive verbs typically occupies the normal preverbal A position.

Iquito does not exhibit complementizers, except for: (i) reported speech complements, which may optionally be preceded by the element *naji* 'thus'; and (ii) complements of the nominalized verb *aparáani* 'begin' which must bear the postposition = *jina*, as in (2). Complement clauses can be distinguished on functional grounds, as they satisfy verbal argument requirements in the higher clause.

Iquito has externally headed postnominal relative clauses that, in most cases, employ a gap case-recoverability strategy. Relative pronouns are found at the left edge of the restrictive clause.

Subordinate clauses, including complement clauses with fully inflected verbs, can be distinguished via special forms taken by copular verbs (*taa*, as in (5), instead of *tii*, the main clause form), and negation (verbal negation

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TABLE 2. Iquito clause types and characteristics

	Inflection (T and Asp)	Pivot deletion	Copula _	Negation	Marker
Main Clause	full	NA	tii	caa	NA
Fully Inflected Complement Clause	full	no	taa	टवत	none (<i>naji, =jina</i>)
Fully Inflected Subordinate Clause	full	no	taa .	-ji caa	clause-initial syntactic element(s)
-ni Nominalization Complement Clause	none	yes	none	none	none (=iira)
-ni Nominalization Subordinate Clause	none	yes	none	caa	postposition (2nd position clitic)
Relative Clause	full	no	taa	-ji caa	relative pronoun

suffix -ji plus postverbal negation caa, as in (23), instead of only preverbal negation caa, as in main clauses) (Lai 2006, Anderson 2004). All dependent clauses may be independently negated, apart from complement clauses with nominalized main verbs. These features are summarized in Table 2.

An extrametrical clause-final clitic =na is associated with boundaries between fully inflected subordinate clauses and main clauses (Beier 2004). This clitic appears at the end of a fully inflected subordinate clause if it is followed by material from a main clause, as in (5). Note that clauses with nominalized main verbs never bear this clause-final clitic.

4. Temporal linking

Iquito finely distinguishes temporal relations between linked clauses. Two noteworthy semantic features are relevant to some of these constructions; (1) whether two events occur in swift succession; and (2) whether the two events are construed as 'connected', as, for example, by forming parts of a plan of action or by one event being seen as a consequence of the other.

Iquito CLCs systematically distinguish relative temporal relations between events construed as points in time from ones construed as enduring for extended periods of time. With the exception of *jiiticari* clauses (§4.2), all relative temporal relations between points in time are expressed via SCs with postposition-bearing nominalized verbs. Most constructions that express relative temporal relations between periods of time make use of the noun *iyūcari* 'period of time'.

4.1. Temporal succession

Iquito exhibits three temporal succession constructions which are distinguished by their sensitivity to temporal connectedness and aspectual characteristics of the posterior event. All Iquito temporal succession CLCs involve fully-inflected clauses that appear in time iconic order.

Temporal succession between connected events is expressed by a construction in which the adverb *jahuáari* 'then' (variant: *huáari*) appears in FC-initial position, as in (1).

(1) [Cáami quí_A=nacarii-yaa [tatiicúuni]_{COMP:O}]_{SC}, jahuáari upriver 1sg=want-IMPERV lay.palm.wood.floor.NOMZ then quí_S=cáami iícua-rií. 1sg=upriver.IRR go-MOM I want to lay a palm wood floor upriver, then I will go upriver (to live).

A second CLC neutralizes the distinction between connected and unconnected events, but, using the SC-initial elements *atii* and *atiiji*, characterizes the aspectual qualities of the posterior event. Atii is employed in SCs that express punctual actions, or ones with a clear end point, as in (2); whereas *atiiji* is employed in ones which express open-ended or enduring actions, as in (3).

- (2) [Nu_A=apáraa [rurucúuni=jina]_{COMP:O}|_{SC}, atií nu_S=ihuiirii. 3sg=begin.IMPERV scream.NOMZ=POSTP:LOC then 3sg=faint.IMPERV He begins to scream, and then he faints.
- (3) ... [quia_S=camaraa itiini]_{SC}, atiiji quia_A=nu_O=aníruu-ø.
 2sg=clear.underbrush.IMPERV first, then 2sg=3sg.IRR=clear.trees-PERV
 ... first you clear the underbrush, then you will clear the trees.

The elements *atii* and *atiiji* may also appear in sentence-initial position, where they serve to segment narratives into scenes, and do not serve as clause linking devices. If the posterior action follows swiftly on the heels of the anterior one, however, then the *atii-* or *atiiji-*bearing clause can appear under the same intonation contour as the first clause. In their role as CLMs, then, the two elements are also associated (perhaps defeasibly) with immediacy.

Finally, temporal succession, with no specification of connectedness or aspectual characteristics, can be expressed by the apposition of fully inflected clauses, as in (4).

(4) [Nu_A=sacata-qui nuú_O]_{SC}, nu_S=jimati-rií=na. 3sg=circle-PERV 3sg 3sg=leave-MOM=REP He circled it and then he left. Temp expre Overl free.

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4.2. Temporal overlap

Temporal overlap between the events described by two linked clauses is expressed with the element *jiiticari* (variant: *jiiticarii*) in SC-initial position. Overlap between *points* in time involves no other marker, and SC FC order is free. If the SC precedes the FC, it bears the clause-final clitic = na, as in (5).

(5) [Jiiticari taa jahuana_{CC} nasi_{CS}=na]_{SC}, quia_A=nu_O=ituu-o, when cop dry swidden =CLF 2sg=3sg.rR=burn-PERV When the swidden is dry, you will burn it.

Temporal overlap of events construed as extending through *periods* of time is expressed by a very similar construction, distinguished only by the additional element *iyácari*, which appears in the SC-initial collocation *iyácari jiíticari*, literally, 'period of time when', as in (6).

(6) Nu_S=asa-qui [iyácari jiíticari qui_S=capi-qui]_{St}.
3sg=eat-perv period.of.time when tsg=cook-perv
He ate while I cooked.

4.3. Relative anteriority

Iquito exhibits two CLCs that express the relative temporal anteriority between points in time; the two are distinguished by the duration of time they permit between the two events.

The general temporal anteriority CLC is characterized by an SC where the postposition $=\hat{a}cuji$ is cliticized to a nominalized verb, as in (7). When cliticized to a peripheral NP, $=\hat{a}cuji$ yields the spatial interpretation 'in front of, before'. This postposition thus exhibits a metaphorical relationship between the spatial sense of 'in front of' and the temporal sense of 'before'.

(7) Quis= naaraa [cus=asáani=ácuji]_{SC}, isg=bathe.imperv isg=eat.nomz=postp:before I am going to bathe before I eat.

Immediate anteriority is expressed by replacing the postposition $= \hat{a}cuji$ with = iira, as in (8). Note that the same construction can yield a purposive interpretation (see §5.3); only context eliminates the ambiguity. When cliticized to a peripheral argument, the postposition = iira has an allative or benefactive sense. This postposition thus exhibits a metaphorical relationship between the spatial allative sense and the temporal 'just before' sense.

(8) [Jaa nus=sihuaniini=iira already 3sg=arrive.nomz=postp:just.before [nu-camariita=jina]_{PERI}]_{SC}... nu_A=aáti=quiáana... 3sg-clearing=POSTP:LOC 3sg=say=PERV.REP Just before arriving in his clearing...he said...

Relative temporal anteriority for a period of time is expressed by a CLC in which the collocation $iy\acute{a}cari=\acute{a}nuura/=iira$ (jiiticari) (lit., 'towards the time (when)') appears in SC-initial position, as in (9). The allative clitics $=\acute{a}nuura$ and $=\acute{i}ira$ can be used interchangeably in this construction.

(9) Nu_S=raati-ø-curáana umáata, [iyácari=íira yaaja
3sg=drink-perv-rec.past.rep a.lot time.period=all until.now
nu_A=ámuu-quiaaqui náana_O najáaja]_{SC}.
3sg=kill-rem.past.perv tree also
He drank a lot, until he killed the tree as well (by using its roots in a decoction).

4.4. Relative posteriority

Relative temporal posteriority between points in time is expressed by two CLCs that additionally specify connectedness or temporal immediacy; there is no CLC that expresses simple relative posteriority of a point in time.

The first CLC is distinguished by a SC with the postposition = cánihuaaca cliticized to the nominalized verb, as in (10). This construction can only be used if the events in the two clauses are seen as connected, and not merely juxtaposed in temporal order.

[Quí_A=ináani=cánihuaaca [iina asúraaja]_O [cusi=jinacuma]_{PERI}]_{SC}, isg=put.nom2=postp:After ART manioc pot=postp:Inside quí_A=nu_O=inata-rií [iinami=jina]_{PERI}.

isg=3sg.irr=put.upright-mom fire=postp:Loc
After I put this manioc in the pot, I will put it on the fire.

The second construction is identical, except that $=c\acute{a}nihuaaca$ is replaced by the postposition =icuaji, and expresses immediate posteriority, as in (11). When cliticized to a peripheral NP, the postposition =icuaji indicates a spatial relationship of 'projecting from, jutting out of'.

(11) Quís=maaca-ø-cura [siquitáani=ícuaji]_{SC}
1sg=climb-perv-rec.past wash.nomz=postp:after
[curi=ma=ji]_{PERI}.
port=dir:down=abl
I climbed up from the port right after washing.

Relative temporal posteriority of a period of time is expressed by a CLC where the collocation *jiíticari iyácari yaaja* (variant: *iyácari yaaja jiíticari*) appears in

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SC-initial position, as in (12). The syntactic element *yaaja* indicates duration of a time period into the present.

iina yahuiini=jina, iiiticari piyiini -Narata quí s=iíquii (12)when all ART day=POSTP:LOC like.it isg=live.tmperv [iimi pi_{Λ} =namitii-o-cura iyácari yaaja upl.inc=begin-PERV-REC.PAST ART.PL.INAN time.period until.now tarahuajúuni]0... work

I live like this all the time, since we began this work...

A structurally distinct, but functionally equivalent, construction to the one just discussed involves an SC formed from a relative clause whose head is the collocation *tiiji yaaja*, literally, 'from then until now', as in (13).

(13) Qui_S=tari-aá-cura | tií=ji yaaja tii 1sg=be.sad-IMPERV-REC.PAST there=ABL until.now REL:LOC [quí-majáana]_A siquii-ø-cura quíija_O] _{SC}-1sg-wife discard-PERV-REC.PAST 1sg I have been sad since my wife left me.

4.5. Temporal free relative

Iquito exhibits a free relative construction, where the collocation *piyiini* yahuiini=jina, literally 'on every day', occurs in SC-initial position, as in (14). The SC is not a relative clause (although the construction almost certainly developed from one). Evidence for this assertion includes the fact that it is ungrammatical to place the relativizer *iina* at the left edge of the putative restricted clause, and that the clause-final marker =na does not appear at its right edge, both of which are grammatical for relative clauses.

(14) [Piyiini yahuiini=jina nu_S=árii-yaariqui tii]_{SC}, all day=Loc 3sg=pass.by-REM.PAST.IMPERV there nu_A=puhuaajii-nii-yaáriqui=na nuú_C.

3sg=whistle-APPLIC-REM.PAST.IMPERV=REP 3sg
Whenever he passed by there, it (a forest spirit) whistled at him.

4.6. Conditional²

Iquito exhibits two conditional CLCs: a possible conditional and a counterfactual conditional.

The possible conditional CLC is formed by the suffixation of the discontinuous morpheme -sa-cari to the SC main verb. The morpheme -sa-cari is

² My discussion of Iquito conditionals owes much to Lai's (to appear) work on this topic.

not a conditional morpheme *per se*, but rather a non-assertional morpheme used to indicate hypothetical status. The FC exhibits irrealis order when expressing a temporally definite possible future outcome, as in (15), and exhibits realis order when indicating a temporally indefinite outcome, as in (16), or a past outcome, as in epistemic conditionals (see Lai, to appear). In all cases, the SC is obligatorily realis, and must precede the FC.

- **[**Ácari aasis ani-sa-rií-cari (15) iina yahuiini=jina now rain come-nass-mom-nass day=Loc ART $[pi_S=iiquii=na]_{RC}, |_{SC}$ quí_A=[quí-náana]_O jicati-rií ipl.inc=be.imperv=clf isg=isg-tree.irr get.out-мом [aasamu=jina]_{PERI}. creek=Loc If the rain falls now in these days that we are in, I will get my timber out of the creek.
- (16) [Quia_A=cajii-saacari [masiáana]_O]_{SC},

 2sg=raise.animal=NASS.IMPERV many

 na_A=masicatataa [quia-cajínani]_O.

 3pl=break.limb.IMPERV 2sg-domestic.animal

 If you raise a lot (of chickens), they break the legs of your animals.

Temporally indefinite conditional relationships may also be expressed with a temporal overlap CLC (see §4.2), as in (17).

(17) [Jiíticari pi_A=nacusii suhuaa ihuíini ipl.inc=know.imperv when well live.nomz pí-níyaaca=jata=na]_{COMP:O}]_{SO} [caa saáca]_A cuarifnii-yaa quiáaja_O. ıpl.inc-husband=соміт=сь nothing lack-IMPERV When you know how to live well with your husband, you lack nothing.

The Iquito counterfactual (CF) conditional CLC is formed with the SC main verb proclitic *iti*= (*ti*=, when preceded by another clitic). Like the dislocated material that indicates irrealis reality status (see §3.3), the CF clitic occupies the position between A/S and V. Clauses with CF conditional clitics are obligatorily irrealis, so that sometimes both the counterfactual clitic and irrealis material appear between S/A and V, with the former preceding the latter (Beier 2005), as in (18).

Iquito exhibits two kinds of counterfactual conditional CLCs. In the first, both FC and SC are marked with the counterfactual clitic and both exhibit irrealis order, as in (18); in this case the SC must precede FC. The FC describes the state of affairs that would obtain were the unrealized counterfactual condition of the SC satisfied.

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3 } colloc (18) [Ca=quia_S=ti=inica-rii]_{SC} [quia-cúhuaaja]_A

NEG=2sg=CNTF=WAKE-MOM 2sg-heart

iti=quia_O=átuu-quiáana.

CNTF=2sG.IRR=tell-PERV.REP

Had you not awakened, your heart would have warned you.

In the second construction type, only the irrealis-order FC is marked with the CF clitic, while the SC exhibits no conditional marking, and displays realis order. The CF-marked clause indicates an action that would have counterfactually taken place, were it not for the realized action described by the SC, as in (19).

(19) $Nu_A = ti = nu_O$ saji-qui, $[nu_A = arihuata - rii [nu-cajiija]_O]_{SC}$. 3sg = cntf = 3sg.irr cut-perv 3sg = forget-mom 3sg-axeShe would have cut it, but she forgot her axe.

Note that the CF clitic also appears in single-clause constructions, where it functions as a frustrative, indicating that the action expressed by the verb was almost, but ultimately failed to be, realized, as in (20).

(20) [lipi sihuaaraá]_{TOP} na_A=ti=cu_O=asa-qui.

ART.PL.ANIM demon.PL 3pl=FRUST=1sg.IRR=eat-PERV

Those demons almost ate me.

5. Consequence

5.1. Cause

Iquito exhibits two cause CLCs, which distinguish whether the proposition construed as a cause is presupposed or not. The two constructions are structurally very similar, consisting of a pair of fully inflected clauses, where the CLM is an SC-initial syntactic element.

In the non-presupposed cause CLC, the syntactic element *yamiácuji* (variant: *iyamiácuji*) appears in SC-initial position, as in (21).³

(21) Ca=na_A=parii-yaáriqui [nu_O -canasiini]_{COMPO} [yamiácuji NEG=3pl-be.able-REM.PAST.IMPERV 3sg-defeat.NOMZ because nu_S=nacusi-aáriqui umáata|_{SC}. 3sg=know-REM.PAST.IMPERV a.lot They could not defeat him, because he knew a lot.

⁴ Yanniaciji is lexicalized from the NP yann aciji. Indeed, some speakers consider this to be a collocation of two distinct words, although they cannot specify a meaning for yami.

The second cause construction employs the CLM *jiita*, and indicates that the proposition construed as a cause is presupposed. This construction is typically employed when the cause has already been explicitly mentioned in previous discourse. In (22), for example, the chief's departure from office, which serves as the cause for the chief's desire to relate his wisdom, had been the topic of a lengthy prior discussion with the linguist.

(22) [Jiita qui_A=jicatii [áapu_O cuhuiini=jina=ji=na]_{COMP:O}]_{SC}, since 1sg=leave.IMPERV chief become.NoMZ=POSTP:LOC=ABL=CLF qui_A=nacarii-yaa [quia_A=piyiini_O nacusi-qui]_{COMP:O}...
1sg=want-IMPERV 2sg=everything know-perv
Since I am leaving the office of chief, I want you to know everything...

This construction is somewhat structurally anomalous, as the SC bears the clause-final clitic = na, despite the fact that only SC-initial order is attested.

5.2. Result

The result CLC consists of a pair of fully inflected clauses, where the CLM is the FC-initial collocation *nihua=ácuji*, as in (23). *Nihua* is an anaphor which takes a proposition, located in a preceding sentence or clause, as its antecedent. *Nihua=ácuji* is thus glossable as 'because of that', but its restriction to clause-initial position suggests that it has been grammaticalized as a connector. The FC obligatorily follows the SC, presumably due to the requirement on the anaphoric element *nihua*.

(23) [Anuús iyuúju-qui cúuta]_{SC}, nihua=ácuji
3sg.foc stay-perv perhaps, pana=postp:reas
nus=ani-jii caá cúuta.
3sg=come-neg.imperv neg perhaps
Perhaps she stayed, because of that, perhaps, she isn't coming.

5.3. Purpose

Iquito exhibits two purposive CLCs with the same basic structure: their SCs possess nominalized main verbs which bear one of two purposive postpositions. The postpositions in question, =iira and =ámuura, are polyfunctional, and additionally serve as allatives. In its latter role, =ámuura requires that the NP to which it cliticizes be a motion verb argument. The purposive constructions retain these selectional restrictions. The construction employing the postposition =iira, as in (24), exhibits no semantic restrictions on the FC verb.⁴

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^{*} Note that as with all clauses with -ni nominalized verbs, the A/S of the subordinate clause (the SC in this case) is typically omitted if it is coreferential with the A/S of the main clause. If the two A/S are non-coreferential, the A/S of the subordinate clause is retained.

(24) [Iniisi_O taniini=iira|_{SC}, quia_A=saji-qui hammock weave.NoMZ=POSTP:PURP 2sg=cut-PERV canuú_O, chambira.palm.fiber In order to weave a hammock, you cut chambira palm fiber.

The construction employing = annura, however, requires that the FC verb be a motion verb, as in (25). Note that in purposive constructions, it is grammatical to replace any occurrence of = annura with = iira.

(25) Nu_S=ani-o-cura [nu_O=ináani=ánuura 3sg=come-perv-rec.past 3sg=put.nomz=postp:purp [nu-íyiqui=íira]_{PERI}]_{SC}. 3sg-place=postp:all. She came in order to put it in her house.

6. Possible consequence

Iquito has no structurally distinct possible consequence CLC. Rather, a negative purposive construction or, as in (26), a cause construction with non-assertive modality is employed. Only undesirable possible consequences are attested.

(26) Quí_A =iricatájuu-yaa [quí-iita]_O [yamiácuji aasis isg=repair-imperv isg-house because rain ani-sa-rií-cari]_{SC}.

come-nass-mom-nass
I am repairing my house because it may rain.

7. Addition

Iquito addition CECs are quite restricted, a feature shared to some degree by several other languages in this volume (e.g. Manambu, Chapter 5; Ojibwe, Chapter 8; Martuthunira, Chapter 11). Iquito exhibits no event addition CLC and the availability of unordered addition is conditioned by clause polarity and main clause status.

7.1. Unordered addition

The unordered addition of two positive polarity clauses with fully inflected verbs is not attested in naturally occurring Iquito discourse.⁵ This may be

⁵ Such sentences are not difficult to elicit, but their absence in natural discourse leads me to conclude that they are calques from Spanish. In elicited examples, the syntactic element *najānja* 'also' appears in the final position of the second clause.

attributable to the fact that apposition of clauses with fully inflected verbs yields a temporal succession interpretation (see §4.1). However, the unordered addition of subordinate positive polarity clauses with nominalized verbs, where main clauses have been elided, as in (27), is relatively common.

(27) Pí_A=na_O=pájuu-ø [nasi_O míini]_{COMP} [cuuhuaá_O ipl.inc=3pl.trr=teach-perv garden make.nomz game.animal paníini [naqui=jina]_{PERI}]_{COMP}, [pápaaja_O look.for.nomz forest=postp:loc fish paníini [aaca=jina]_{PERI}]_{COMP}. look.for.nomz water=postp:loc
We will teach them to make gardens, to look for game animals in the forest, and to look for fish in the waters.

Iquito does, however, exhibit a construction that permits the unordered addition of negative polarity main clauses. The construction in question involves the use of the syntactic element nacaá 'and not, also not' (cf. najáaja 'also', caá NEG), which appears in the standard negation position, as in (28). Nacaá is only attested in the second clause in such constructions. The use of this construction requires a previous negative polarity sentence with a similar meaning to that of the nacaá-bearing clause. In the case of (28), for example, a previous sentence expressed the failure of a fishing trip.

(28) Quís=iícua-ø-cura tíira [naqui=cúura]_{PERI}, cuuhuaá_O isg=go-perv-rec.past there forest=all game.animal paníini=ánuura, jaa nacaá quís=niqui-ø-curaa saacáaya_O. look.for.nomz=all already also.not isg=see-perv-rec.past things I went to the forest to look for game animals, and I also didn't find anything.

7.2. Elaboration

Elaboration can be expressed in Iquito by apposition of clauses with fully inflected verbs, as in (29). Recall, however, that apposition is also employed to express temporal succession. The two potential CL meanings appear to be distinguished only by the appropriateness, or not, of temporal succession interpretations in any given case.

(29) [Suhuáata canas=iíqui-aáriqui]_{SC}, quí_A=mii-yaáriqui well ipl.excl=live-rem.past.imperv isg=have-rem.past.imperv [piyiini saacáaya]_C, all things
We lived well, I had everything.

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8. Contrast

Iquito exhibits three contrast CLCs: a polar contrast CLC and two counter-expectational CLCs.

Polar contrast between two clauses is indicated by the second position⁶ FC clausal clitic =quija (Harnisch 2005). The construction exhibits rigid SC FC order, as in (30).

(30) [Ca=quí_A=nacusii [cániica_{CS} taa quiáaja_{CC}]_{COMP:O}]_{SC}

NEG=1sg=know.imperv who cop 2sg

quia_A=anaji-tií-ø=quija quiija_O...

2sg=heal-caus-perv=contr isg

I do not know who you are, but you cured me...

This construction requires that the contrast being drawn be between concepts that can be construed as opposites, as between, for example, affirmative and negative versions of a proposition or between opposite directions, as in (31). Note that contrast between concepts that are merely different, and are not construable as opposites, cannot be expressed with this construction. The polar opposition may rest on an inference, as in (30), where the recipient displayed behavior the opposite of what is expected of a stranger.

(31) Juaás miyíqui-qui iicúraata, [Jusiís=quija iícua-qui namíraata]_{SC}.

Juan return-perv upriver José=contr go-perv downriver

Juan returned upriver, but José went downriver.

Iquito exhibits two counter-expectation constructions, a general one which does not distinguish the polarity of the unexpected event, and a second one that requires a negative polarity unexpected event.

In the general construction, the counter-expectation? CLM *ájapaa* appears SC-initially, and indicates that the *expected* outcome of the events described by the SC did not obtain, and instead, the *unexpected* events described by the FC obtained (Harnisch 2005).

(32) [Ajápaa cu_S=amíyaaqui-cura, quí_S=iícua-ø-cura, cntrexp isg=walk.in.forest-rec.past isg=go-perv-rec.past [siyúuni=ánuura]_{SC}]_{SC}, iinahuaja quí_S=casiíta-ø-cura=na fish.nomz=postp:purp not.at.all isg=grasp-perv-rec.past=rep pápaaja_O. fish

Although I went into the forest, and went to fish, I didn't get any fish at all.

[•] The clitic attaches to the first phonological, rather than grammatical, word of the clause.

⁷ Morphemes with similar meanings are sometimes called *frustratives*. In this volume, the term 'frustrative' is reserved for morphemes that express failure to realize an action (see Chapter 7).

In the negative polarity construction, the polyfunctional syntactic element ájapaqui, which also functions as a negative existential verb, marks a negative polarity FC expressing a proposition that is surprising in view of the state of affairs indicated by the SC. The verbs of ájapaqui-bearing clauses are necessarily nominalized, both in this construction and in the more common existential construction. The SC necessarily precedes the FC.

(33) [Jaa nunamijas iíqui-rii tií jaa]_{SC}, ájapaqui niyaacas already sun be-mom here already neg.exist her.husband saníini.
arise.nomz
The sun was already there [gesture], but her husband had not risen at all.

9. Alternatives

Iquito exhibits both a clausal disjunction and an alternative rejection construction, but no structurally distinct alternative suggestion construction.

Clausal disjunction is expressed via the syntactic element *cuiquisacari*, which is interposed between the two clauses, as in (34). An interesting restriction in Iquito disjunction linkages is that the subjects of the two clauses must be coreferential.

(34) Juaas tinii cúuta [nu-iita]_O, cuúquisacari
Juan thatch.IMPERV perhaps 3sg-house or
nu_A=mii-yaa [nu-huaatiruú]_O.
3sg=make-IMPERV 3sg-boat
Juan may be thatching his house, or building his boat.

In terms of textual frequency, disjunction is most typically associated with elision of arguments, or of the entire VP, as in (35).

quí_A=sanitaa Cáami [cajiini]_{COMP:O} (35) upriver 1sg=try.IMPERV raise.animal.nomz qui_A=parii-saacari [cajiini]_{COMP:O} raise.animal.nomz isg=be.able-nass.imperv cuúquisacari caa caa. NEG NEG Upriver I will try raising animals, (to see) if I can raise animals or not.

Note that *cuúquisacari* may also be employed in single-clause constructions, where it indicates uncertainty or doubt, as in (36).

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Th the la posit (36) Cuúquisacari nu_S=iícua-qui. perhaps 3sg=go-perv Perhaps he went.

Disjunction in Iquito is employed in situations in which the speaker has limited information but hazards a prediction regarding two (or more) options that may obtain, out of a possibly large set of possible states of affairs. Note that *cuúta* 'perhaps' commonly appears in such constructions, as it does in (34). Iquito disjunction is thus less like logical disjunction, and more a means of listing epistemically weak options, and hence, a form of open disjunction. *Cuúquisacari* is clearly lexicalized from the non-assertive inflected verb *cuúqui-sa-ø-cari* (be-NASS-PERV-NASS) 'may be'.

The Iquito rejection CLC is indicated by the collocation *caa huaa* in SC-initial position, as in (37). The SC exhibits irrealis order and is freely ordered with respect to the FC.

(37) [Caa huaa nu_A=[nu-huaatiruú]_O mii-ø]_{SO} nu_A=tinii

NEG REJECT 3sg=3sg-boat make-PERV 3sg=thatch.tmperV

[nu-iita]_O.

3sg-house

Instead of him building his boat, he is thatching his house.

The first element in the collocation is clearly the clausal negation *caa*; the origin of the element *huaa* is unclear.

10. Manner

Iquito exhibits distinct real and hypothetical manner CLCs, and a third type, an instrumental manner construction.

Real manner CLCs are distinguished by the SC-initial syntactic element *jiita* 'like', as in (38). The FC must precede the SC.

(38) Ácari quís=ruútii [nu=íicu]_{PERI} [jiíta miyáara_A now 1sg=bark.imperv 3sg=postp:at like dog ámuu-yaa nuú_O]_{SC}. kill-imperv 3sg
Now I am going to bark at it (a tapir) like a dog hunting it.

The sole difference between the real and hypothetical manner CLCs is that the latter adds the syntactical element *naji* 'thus' before *jiita* 'like' in SC-initial position, as in (39).

cuúqui-rií naji jiita ácusa-ma, [Quia=itípuma]_s (39)thus like become-мом red-DIR:INTRR 2sg=mouth májaacao sc. pi_A=raatii ipl.inc=drink.imperv blood Your mouth becomes red on the inside, as if we were drinking blood.

Iquito exhibits two instrumental manner CLCs. These constructions express a relationship between two actions, in which one action plays a role in facilitating or enabling the other. The first of these constructions is characterized by an SC in which the nominalized verb bears the postpostion = jata, as in (40). In this example, the SC expresses a secondary action, flying, which can be construed as both the manner of departure, and the action which enables departure.

(40) Quí_s=jimati-rií [íini=jata]_{SC}.

1sg=leave-mom fly.nomz=postp:com
I will leave flying.

Discussions with speakers indicate that the activities described by the two clauses in this construction must be simultaneously ongoing, beginning, and ending at the same time, and thus forming part of a single unified activity.

When cliticized to a peripheral NP, the postposition =jata expresses both instrumental and comitative roles. The comitative sense also extends to the manner construction in some cases, where the construction yields meanings reminiscent of event addition, as in (41).

(41) Icuani-huiyas anii [rurutáani=jata]_{SC}.
man-pl come.імреку make.noise.nomz=роsтр:сом
The men come, making a ruckus.

The second instrumental manner CLC is characterized by an SC with a nominalized verb which lacks a postposition (otherwise quite unusual, see §1). The construction also exhibits rigid SC FC order. The SC expresses an enabling action carried out in the realization of the action expressed in the FC, as in (42).

tíira (42) [Caá ihuáani jaa $pi=paajii|_{SC}...$ go.nomz already rel.pro:Loc ipl.incl=learn.imperv there NEG qui_s=iicuaa cutataaniácuji [quí_A=niquíini=íira before.dawn 1sg.go.IMPERV isg=see.nomz=postp:purp [quí-tɨrampa]_O]_{SC}. 1sg-fish.trap Without going to where we learn (i.e., the research center)... I go before dawn to see my fish trap.

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11. Polyfunctionality in Iquito clause linking markers

Iquito CLMs exhibit significant polyfunctionality. This is especially true of CLMs which additionally exhibit a postpositional function, most of which display locative or directional senses when cliticized to peripheral NPs. The element =iira, for example, has an allative directional sense, but may also indicate a peripheral beneficiary argument; in CLCs, it serves as both an immediate temporal anteriority (§4.3) and a purposive CLM (§5.3). The motion verb allative $=\acute{a}nuura$ also serves a purposive function (§5.3). Similarly, the element $=\acute{a}cuij$ has a locative sense 'before', but also forms part of cause (§5.1) and reason (§5.2) CLMs. Finally, the element $=\acute{a}cuij$ displays the spatial meaning 'jutting out of', as well as functioning as an immediate temporal posteriority CLM (§4.4). One element, =jata, has no spatial sense, but serves as a comitative/instrumental postposition, as well as a manner CLM (§10).

The polyfunctional elements tii, atii, and atiiji serve both as spatial adverbs and temporal CLMs. In their role as spatial adverbs, tii 'there' and atii 'there (focus)' display locative meanings, while atiiji 'from there' displays a directional meaning (note that =ji is an ablative clitic). In their roles as CLMs atii and atiiji express temporal succession (§4.1), while tii forms part of a temporal posteriority construction (§4.4).

Although many instances of polyfunctionality involve spatial meanings, not all do. The verbal proclitic iti=, for example, functions as a frustrative in monoclausal constructions, but as a counterfactual conditional in CLCs (§4.6). Similarly, the element jiita functions both as a presupposed cause (§5.1) and manner (§10) CLM. Likewise, ajapaqui serves as both a contrast CLM (§8) and a negative existential verb. The element jiiticari functions both as a temporal CLM (§4) and the temporal content interrogative 'when'.

Finally, it should be noted that several elements surface in multiple CLM collocations, such as *jiiticari* 'when' and *iyacari* 'period of time', which both appear in different temporal CLMs, as do the allative/purposive elements *iira* and *ânuara* (§4.3 and §4.4).

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