The Semantics of Clause Linking in Iquito

LEV MICHAEL

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 local clauses (LCs) 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. Polylfunctionality is pervasive among Iquito CLCs, an issue I discuss in §11.

1 My deepest gratitude is to Hermenegildo Díaz Guasa, Ligia Inuma Inuma, Lima Hana Yacaja, and Jaime Pacaya Inuma, who shared their deep knowledge of Iquito with patience and good humor. I also owe a debt to fellow Iquito linguists Cynthia Anderson, Christine Beier, and F-Wen Lan, with whom I consulted in the preparation of this chapter. Bob Dixon and Sasha Aikhenvald commented helpfully on earlier versions of this chapter. All errors that remain are my responsibility alone. The Iquito Language Documentation Project was funded by the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Programme, the Endangered Language Fund, and Cabezas Aid Project.
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<td>IVc, Counter-expectation</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>VI, Instrumental Manner</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>subord.; NOMZ</td>
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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 appositive main clauses (temporal succession, §4.1) and appositive 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 nineteenth-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).
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 = /u/, 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, prepositions, 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 aparāani ‘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 (tua, as in (5), instead of tii, the main clause form), and negation (verbal negation...
Table 2. Iquito clause types and characteristics

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<tr>
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<th>Pivot deletion</th>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Marker</th>
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<td>full</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>tii</td>
<td>caa</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fully Inflected Complement Clause</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>taa</td>
<td>caa</td>
<td>none (=najî, =jina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fully Inflected Subordinate Clause</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>taa</td>
<td>-ji caa</td>
<td>clause-initial syntactic element(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni Nominalization</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none (=îra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Clause</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>caa</td>
<td>postposition (2nd position clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni Nominalization</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>caa</td>
<td>relative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Clause</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>taa</td>
<td>-ji caa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Iquito 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 jiitcari 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 iyicari '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: húári) appears in FC-initial position, as in (1).

(1) [Cáami quí₅=nacarii-yaa [tatiicúuni]COMP₀SG. jahuáari upriver 1sg=want-IMPERV lay.palm.wood.Floor.NOMZ then quí₅=cáami icua-rii. 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) [Nu₃=apáaraa [rurucúuni=jina]COMP₀SC. atii nu₃=ihiuiri. 3sg=begin.IMPERV scream.NOMZ=POSTP:LOC then 3sg=faint.IMPERV

He begins to scream, and then he faints.

(3) ...[quí₅=camaraa itiini]SC. atiiji quí₅=nu₃/aniruu-o. 2sg=clear.underbrush.IMPERV first, then 2sg=3sg.IRR=clear.trees-IMPERV ...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) [Nu₃=sacata-qui nuu₃]COMP₀SC. nu₃=jimati-rii=na. 3sg=circle-IMPERV 3sg 3sg=leave-MOM=REP

He circled it and then he left.
4.2. Temporal overlap

Temporal overlap between the events described by two linked clauses is expressed with the element *jíticari* (variant: *jíticarí*) 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)  
\[ \text{[Jíticari taa jahuana₃: nasi₃=na₃]} \text{, qui₃=nu₃=ituu-3o.} \]
\[ \text{when cop dry swidden -clf 2sg-3sg.3irr = burn-perv} \]
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 *iyácarí*, which appears in the SC-initial collocation *iyácarí jíticari*, literally, ‘period of time when’, as in (6).

(6)  
\[ \text{Nu₃=asa-qui [iyácarí jíticari qui₃=capi-qui]} \text{₃st.} \]
\[ \text{3sg=eat-perv period.of.time when 1sg=cook-perv} \]
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 *-ácuji* is cliticized to a nominalized verb, as in (7). When cliticized to a peripheral NP, *-ácuji* 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)  
\[ \text{Qui₃=naaraa [cu₃=asiáni=ácuji]} \text{₃st.} \]
\[ \text{1sg=bathe.imperv 1sg=eat.nomz=postp:before} \]
I am going to bathe before I eat.

Immediate anteriority is expressed by replacing the postposition *-ácuji* with *-íira*, 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 *-íira* 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)  
\[ \text{[Jaa nu₃=síhuáqíni=íira} \]
\[ \text{already 3sg=arrive.nomz=postp:just.before} \]
Relative temporal anteriority for a period of time is expressed by a CLC in which the collocation iyácari=ánuurra=íra (jiiticari) (lit., ‘towards the time (when)’) appears in SC-initial position, as in (9). The allative clitics =ánuurra and =íra can be used interchangeably in this construction.

(9) \[ \text{Nu}_S=\text{raati-ø-curáana} \quad \text{umáata,} \quad [\text{iyácari}=\text{íra} \quad \text{yaaja} \]
\[ \text{3sg}=\text{drink-PERV-REC.PAST.REP} \quad \text{a.lot} \quad \text{time.period}=\text{ALL} \quad \text{until.now} \]
\[ \text{nu}_A=\text{ámuu-quiiaqqui} \quad \text{náana}_O \quad \text{najáaja}_S \]
\[ \text{3sg}=\text{kill-REM.PAST.PERV} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{also} \]

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 =cáníhuaaca 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.

(10) \[ [\text{Qui}_A=\text{ináani}=\text{cáníhuaaca} \quad [\text{iina asúraaja}_O \quad [\text{cusi}=\text{jinacuma}]_{\text{PERI}}]_{\text{SC}} \]
\[ \text{1sg}=\text{put.NOM2}=\text{POSTP:AFTER} \quad \text{art} \quad \text{manioc} \quad \text{pot}=\text{POSTP:INSIDE} \]
\[ \text{qui}_A=\text{nu}_O=\text{inata-ri}i \quad [\text{iinami}=\text{jina}]_{\text{PERI.}} \]
\[ \text{1sg}=\text{3sg.IRR}=\text{put.upright-MOM} \quad \text{fire}=\text{POSTP:LOC} \]

After I put this manioc in the pot, I will put it on the fire.

The second construction is identical, except that =cáníhuaaca is replaced by the postposition =ícuaji, and expresses immediate posteriority, as in (11). When cliticized to a peripheral NP, the postposition=ícuaji indicates a spatial relationship of ‘projecting from, jutting out of’.

(11) \[ \text{Qui}_S=\text{maaca-ø-curá} \quad [\text{siquitáani}=\text{ícuaji}]_{\text{SC}} \]
\[ \text{1sg}=\text{climb-PERV-REC.PAST} \quad \text{wash.NOMZ}=\text{POSTP:AFTER} \]
\[ [\text{curi}=\text{ma}=\text{ji}]_{\text{PERI.}} \]
\[ \text{port}=\text{DIR:DOWN}=\text{ABL} \]

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 jiiticari iyácari yaaja (variant: iyácari yaaja jiiticari) appears in
SC-initial position, as in (12). The syntactic element yuaja indicates duration of a time period into the present.

(12) Narata qui₅=iíkuii piyiini iina yahuuiini=jina, jiitícari like.it isg=live.imper all art day=postp:loc when iyacari yuaja pi₅=namitii-o-cura [iimi time.period until.now ipl.inc=begin-perf-rec.past art.pl.inan tarahuajjuni]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 tiijji yuaja, literally, 'from then until now', as in (13).

(13) Qui₅=tari-aá-cura |tii=jii yuaja tii isg=be.sad-imper-rec.past there=abl until.now rel:loc [qui-majáana]₅ siqiui-o-cura quiijia₁ sc:
isg-wife discard-perf-rec.past isg
I have been sad since my wife left me.

4.5. Temporal free relative

Iquito exhibits a free relative construction, where the collocation piyiini yahuuiini=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) [Piyini yahuuiini=jina nu₅=árii-yaariqui tii]sc, all day=loc 3sg=pass.by-rem.past.imper there nu₅=puhuaajiinii-yaariqui=na nuui₀,
3sg=whistle-appli-rem.past.imper=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.

(15) [Ácarí aasis ani-sa-rií-cari iina yahuúííi=jina now rain come-nass-mom-nass art day=loc
[pís=iíquii=na]RC=s SC quiY=qui-náana]O jicati-rií
1pl.inc=be.imper=clf 1sg=1sg-tree.irr get.out-mom
[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) [QuiaiA=cajii-saacari [masiáana]1]SC,
2sg=raise.animal=nass.imper many
naA=masicatataa [quia-cajinani]O
3pl=break.limb.imper 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) [Jiticari píA=nacuusii [suhuaa ihuíííí when
1pl.inc=know.imper well live.nomz
1pl.inc-husband=commit=clf nothing lack-imper 2sg
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.
(18) \([Ca=qui_a_s=ti=inica-rii]_{SC} \quad [qui-a-cihuaaja]_A\)
    \(NEG=2sg=\text{CNTF=wake-mom} \quad 2sg\text{-heart}\)
    \(iti=qui-a_0=atuui-qui-aana.\)
    \(\text{CNTF}=2sg.\text{IRR}=tell-\text{Perv}.\text{REP}\)

    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) \(Nu_A=ti=nu_0 \quad saji-qui, \quad [nu_A=arihuata-rii \quad [nu-cajiija]_0]_{SC}.\)
    \(3sg=\text{CNTF}=3sg.\text{IRR} \quad \text{cut-Perv} \quad 3sg=\text{forget-mom} \quad 3sg\text{-axe}\)

    She 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) \([\text{lipi} \quad \text{sihuaraa}]_{TOP} \quad na_A=ti=cu_0=asa-qui.\)
    \(\text{ART.PL} \quad \text{ANIM} \quad \text{demon.PL} \quad 3pl=\text{frust}=1sg.\text{IRR}=\text{eat-Perv}\)

    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 \(yamiacuji\) (variant: \(yamiacuji\)) appears in SC-initial position, as in (21).²

(21) \(Ca=na_s=pari-yaariqui \quad [nu_0, -canasiini]_{COMP}\quad [yamiacuji\)
    \(NEG=3pl=\text{able-REM.PAST.IMPERV} \quad 3sg=\text{defeat-NOMZ} \quad \text{because}\)
    \(nu_A=macusi-yaariqui \quad umiata]_{SC}.\)
    \(3sg=\text{know-REM.PAST.IMPERV} \quad a\text{-lot} \quad \text{They could not defeat him, because he knew a lot.}\)

² \(Yamiacuji\) is lexicalized from the NP \(yami-acuni\). 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 quiA=jicatii ] [áapuO cuhuiini=jina=jii=na]\text{COMP:O}\text{SG}
    since 1sg=leave\text{IMPERV} chief\text{become.NOMZ}=\text{POSTP:LOC}=\text{ABL}=\text{CLF}
    quiA=nacarii-yaa [ quiaA=piyiiniO nacusy-qui]\text{COMP:O}...
    1sg=want\text{-IMPERV} 2sg=everything know\text{-PERF}

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) [ AnuíS iyuju-qui cúuta]\text{SC}, nihua=ácuji
    3sg.FOC stay\text{-PERF} perhaps, \text{PANA}=\text{POSTP:REAS}
    nuíS=ani-jii caá cúuta.
    3sg=come\text{-NEG.IMPERV} NEG perhaps

Perhaps she stayed, because of that, perhaps, she isn’t coming.

5.3. Purpose

Iquitos 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, =*ína* and =*ánura*, are polyfunctional, and additionally serve as allatives. In its latter role, =*ánura* 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 =*ína*, as in (24), exhibits no semantic restrictions on the FC verb.4

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4 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) [Înîisi, _tanini=iira]_sc, _quîa=sajî-qui_ hammock weave.nomz=postp:purp 2sg=cut-perv canuû, _chambira.palm.fiber_  
In order to weave a hammock, you cut _chambira_ palm fiber.

The construction employing =ānûura, 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 =ānûura with =iíra.

(25) Nu_3=ani-o-cura [nu_1=inîani=ānûura 3sg=come-perv-rec.past 3sg=put.nomz=postp:purp [nu-iyiqui=iíra]_peri]_sc, 3sg-place=postp:ali.  
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) Qui_1=iricatajuwu-yaa _[qui-iíta], _[yamiacuji]_ aasî, 1sg=repair-imperv 1sg-house because rain ani-sa-rii-carî]_sc, _come-nass-mom-nass.  
I am repairing my house because it may rain.

7. Addition

Iquito addition CLCs 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. This may be

3 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 _minuta_ 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) \( P_{\lambda = na_0} = \text{pájuu-}0 \) [nasio miini]COMP [cuuhuaaio]
\( \text{ipl.inc}=3\text{pl. irr}=\text{teach-}PERV \) garden make.NOMZ game.animal
\( \text{paniini} \) [naqui= jina]PERI COMP, [pápaaniao]
\( \text{look.for.} \text{NOMZ} \) forest=POSTPLOC fish
\( \text{paniini} \) [aaca=jina]PERI COMP.
\( \text{look.for.NOMZ} \) water=POSTPLOC

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 nacá ‘and not, also not’ (cf. majáaja ‘also’, caí NEG), which appears in the standard negation position, as in (28). Nacá 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 nacá-bearing clause. In the case of (28), for example, a previous sentence expressed the failure of a fishing trip.

(28) \( \text{qui}_s = \text{iicua-o-cur}a \) tiira [naqui= cúura]PERI, cuuhuaaio
\( \text{isg} = \text{go} \)-PERV-REC.PAST there forest=ALL game.animal
\( \text{paniini} = \text{ánura}, \text{ja} \) nacá qui_s=niqui-o-curaa saacáayaio.
\( \text{look.for.NOMZ}=\text{ALL} \) 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) \([\text{Suhuáata} \text{can}_s=\text{iiqui-aárique}]_{SC}, \) qui_s=mii-yaárique
\( \text{well} \) \( \text{ipl.excl}=\text{live-REM.PAST.IMPERV} \) isg=have-REM.PAST.IMPERV
\( \text{[piyiini saacáaya]} \)_{IC}
\( \text{all} \) \( \text{things} \)
We lived well, I had everything.
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 elitic =quiجا (Harnisch 2005). The construction exhibits rigid SC FC order, as in (30).

(30) [Ca=qui_A=nacusii [cániica_C] taa quiáajá1 C|COMP,0|1CSC:
   neg=1sg=know,imperv who cop 2sg
   quiáajá1=anji-tií-o=quiجا quiėja1,...
   2sg=heal-caus-perv=contr 1sg
   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) Juán miyĩqi-qui iicũraata, [Jusiĩ=quiJA iicua-qui namiráata]1SC
   Juán return-perf upriver José=contr go-perf 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-expectation⁷ CLM ajapa 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) [Ajáppa cusk-amiiyaqui-curA, quiš=iicua-o-cura,
   cntrexp 1sg=walk.in.forest-rec.past 1sg=go-perf-rec.past
   [siyũuni=άnuura]1SC, iinahuaja quiš=cašita-o-cura=na
   fish.nomz=postp:purp not.at.all 1sg=grasp-perf-rec.past=rep
   pápaaja1,a
   fish
   Although I went into the forest, and went to fish, I didn’t get any fish at all.

⁶ 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 nunamijaₜ iiqui-rì tìì jaaₜ SC. ájapaqui niyaacaₜ already sun be-MOM here already NEG.EXIST her.husband sàniini. 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 cuuíquisacari, 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) Juanuₜ tìinii cuúta [nu-iita]ₜₐ, cuuíquisacari

Juan thatch.IMPERV perhaps 3sg-house or
nuₐ=mii-yaa [nu-huaatiru]ₜ₋ₐ₋ₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐ@SpringBootApplication

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

(35) Càami quìₐ=sanitaa [cajini]ₜ₋ₐ, cuuíquisacari

upriver 1sg=try.IMPERV raise.animal.NOMZ
quiₐ=pari Saacari [cajini]ₜ₋ₐ, cuuíquisacari
1sg=be.able-NASS.IMPERV raise.animal.NOMZ
caa cuuíquisacari caa.
NEG OR NEG

Upriver I will try raising animals, (to see) if I can raise animals or not.

Note that cuuíquisacari may also be employed in single-clause constructions, where it indicates uncertainty or doubt, as in (36).
(36) Cuúquisacari nus=iicuá-qui.
    perhaps 3sg=go-perf
    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 cuíita '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-o-cari (bc-nass-perf-nass) 'may be'.

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

(37) [Caa huua nuA={nu-huatirú}|1| mii-o]|sc,  nuA=tinii
    neg reject 3sg=3sg-boat make-perf 3sg=thatch.imperv
    [nu-iita]|1,
    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 huua 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=iicu]|peri [jiita miyáaraA
    now 1sg=bark.imper 3sg=post:at like dog
    ámuu-yaa nuú]|sc.
    kill-imper 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).
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 postposition =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) Quiₜ=jiinati-rii [iini=jata]₁Sc:
    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-huiaiₙ anii [rurutaani=jata]₁Sc:
    man-PL come.IMPERV make.noise.NOMZ=POSTP:COM
    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).

(42) [Caₜ tiira ihuani jaa tiip =paajii]₁Sc;
    NEG there go.NOMZ already REL:PRO:LOC 1pl.incl=learn.IMPERV
    quiₜ=iiucua cutataaniacuji [quiₜ=niquiini=iiira
    1sg.go.IMPERV before.dawn 1sg=see.NOMZ=POSTP:PURP
    [qui-tirampa]₁₀Sc:
    1sg-fish.trap
    Without going to where we learn (i.e., the research center) ... I go before dawn to see my fish trap.
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 =amura also serves a purposive function (§5.3). Similarly, the element =icuji has a locative sense ‘before’, but also forms part of cause (§5.1) and reason (§5.2) CLMs. Finally, the element =icuji displays the spatial meaning ‘jutting out of’, as well as functioning as an immediate temporal posteriority CLM (§4.4). One element, =juta, 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 itt-, for example, functions as a frustrative in monoclausal constructions, but as a counterfactual conditional in CLCs (§4.6). Similarly, the element jita 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 jiticari 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 jiticari ‘when’ and ityicari ‘period of time’, which both appear in different temporal CLMs, as do the allative/purposive elements iira and amura (§4.3 and §4.4).

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