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## Title: Conditionals and Counterfactuality in Iquitos

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This paper discusses the morphosyntactic composition of conditionals and the status of counterfactuality in Iquito, a highly endangered Zaparoan language spoken in Northern Peruvian Amazon. Iatridou (2000) provides a discussion on “fake” tense/mood/aspect (TMA) in English and Modern Greek conditionals and counterfactual (CF) wishes, indicating that TMA in these constructions is “fake” as it does not receive the same interpretations as those in other constructions. She also points out that counterfactuality is, in these languages, conveyed by implicature. This paper presents an under-documented Amazonian language with a system differing from those discussed by Iatridou, and proposes that, in Iquito, TMA in both CF and non-CF conditionals is “real” as it receives the same temporal, modal, and aspectual interpretations as it does in non-conditionals. Counterfactuality is expressed by a specialized CF morpheme (*t̪* or *‡t̪*), which conveys CF meaning by entailment instead of implicature.

Iquito non-CF conditionals are used in habitual patterns of situations, and epistemic and future conditionals. CF conditionals are used in present counterfactual (PresCF) and past counterfactual (PastCF) situations.

1. Nu=raati-sá-Ø-cura-cari huárataamicaáca iina rimíria,  
3S=drink-NASS-GNR.PFV-RPST-NASS two.days.away DET remedy  
jaa nu=tí=anají=qui-Ø.  
already 3S=CF=recover-GNR.PFV-ZT  
If he had drunk that remedy the day before yesterday, he would have already recovered  
(earlier today).

2. Nu=tí=huárataamicaáca raati-Ø-cura iina ampisitaaja,  
3S=CF=two.days.away drink-GNR.PFV-RPST DET medicine  
jaa nu=tí=ácari anají=qui-Ø.  
already 3S=CF=now recover-GNR.PFV-ZT  
If he had taken the medicine the day before yesterday, he would have already recovered  
by now.

In antecedent clauses of CF conditionals, either non-assertive morpheme *sacari* with realis mood (as in (1)), or CF morpheme *(i)tiz* with irrealis mood (as in (2)), is used. “*(i)tiz*” with irrealis mood is always used in consequent clauses, as in (1) and (2). Irrealis mood (realized by SXV word order), as opposed to realis mood (realized by SVO word order), requires an element to occupy the position between subject and verb. With respect to tense and aspect, perfective aspect and recent-past tense are used in PastCF concerning recent past (as in antecedents of (1) and (2)); perfective aspect and zero-tense are used in PastCF concerning immediate past (as in consequents of (1) and (2)).

3. Nu=t̄i=huárataamicaáca raati-aa-cura iina ampisitaaja,  
3S=CF=two.days.away drink-IPFV-RPST DET medicine  
jaa nu=t̄i=ácari anaj̄i=qui-Ø.

already 3S=CF=now recover-GNR.PFV-ZT  
If he had been taking the medicine the day before yesterday, he would have already recovered by now.

4. Qui=tí=naji=tarahuajuu-yaa-Ø jí̄ta núquiaca abogada,quí=tí=cuuriqui=mii-yaa-Ø.  
1S=CF=such=work-IPFV-ZT as one lawyer 1S=CF=money=have-IPFV-ZT  
If I were working as a lawyer, I would have money.

If imperfective aspect is used, as in (3), a progressive reading is rendered. Imperfective aspect and zero-tense are always used in PresCF, as in (4).

5. Nu=tí=nacusiáana=cuúqui-i-Ø, ácari nu=tí=pajuuyáana cuúqui-i-Ø.  
3S=CF=knowledgeable=be-IPFV-ZT now 3S=CF=teacher be-IPFV-ZT  
If he were knowledgeable (now), he would be a teacher now.
6. #Nu=tí=nacusiáana=cuúqui-qui-Ø, ácari nu=tí=pajuuyáana cuúqui-qui-Ø.  
3S=CF=knowledgeable=be-GNR.PFV-ZT now 3S=CF=teacher be-GNR.PFV-ZT  
If he had become knowledgeable (earlier today), he would have become a teacher by now.

TMA in conditionals is “real” as it receives consistent interpretations. Consider (5), a PresCF with imperfective aspect and zero-tense. If perfective aspect is used, as in (6), the sentence becomes a PastCF one, referring to the immediate past. Sentence (6) is, according to the consultants, pragmatically weird as one cannot become knowledgeable and then become a teacher on the same day.

7. a. Jí̄ta nu=raari-ji-Ø-cura caa nuu=na,  
as 3S=drink-SUB.NEG-GNR.PFV-RPST NEG 3S=CLSF  
anihuaácuji ca=nu=anaji-i-Ø atii=yaajaa.  
therefore NEG=3S=recover-IPFV-ZT at.the.moment=NWR  
Since he did not take it, therefore he is still not recovering
- b. Ca=quí=nacusi-i-Ø nu=raati-Ø-cura cuuta nuu.  
NEG=1S=know-IPFV-ZT 3S=drink-GNR.PFV-RPST perhaps 3S  
I don't know if he took it.

The CF meaning, conveying “the speaker believes a certain proposition not to hold” (Iatridou, 2000: 231), is expressed by (*í*)*tí*. Sentence (2) indicates that the speaker believes that the patient did not take the medicine and did not recover. It is compatible with (7a), directly stating the same situation. The consultants commented that it is repetitive to utter both (2) and (7a). In addition, (2) is incompatible with (7b), stating speaker's lack of knowledge about the situation. This shows that counterfactuality in (2) is asserted and conveyed by entailment.

I propose that TMA in Iquito conditionals is “real”, and counterfactuality is asserted and conveyed by entailment instead of implicature. This study contributes to linguistic documentation of Iquito and Amazonian languages, and to research on cross-linguistic morpho-syntactic and semantic variation. (500 words)

### References

Iatridou, S. (2000). The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31:231-270.