

Problem #3

Iquito

Eimear McKnight
(she/they)

Graded by

- Andrey Nikulin
- Ana Meta Dolinar
- Ákos Blaskovics
- Ksenia Gilyarova
- Pan Tung-Le
- Myself



(With thanks to all those who helped translate solutions)

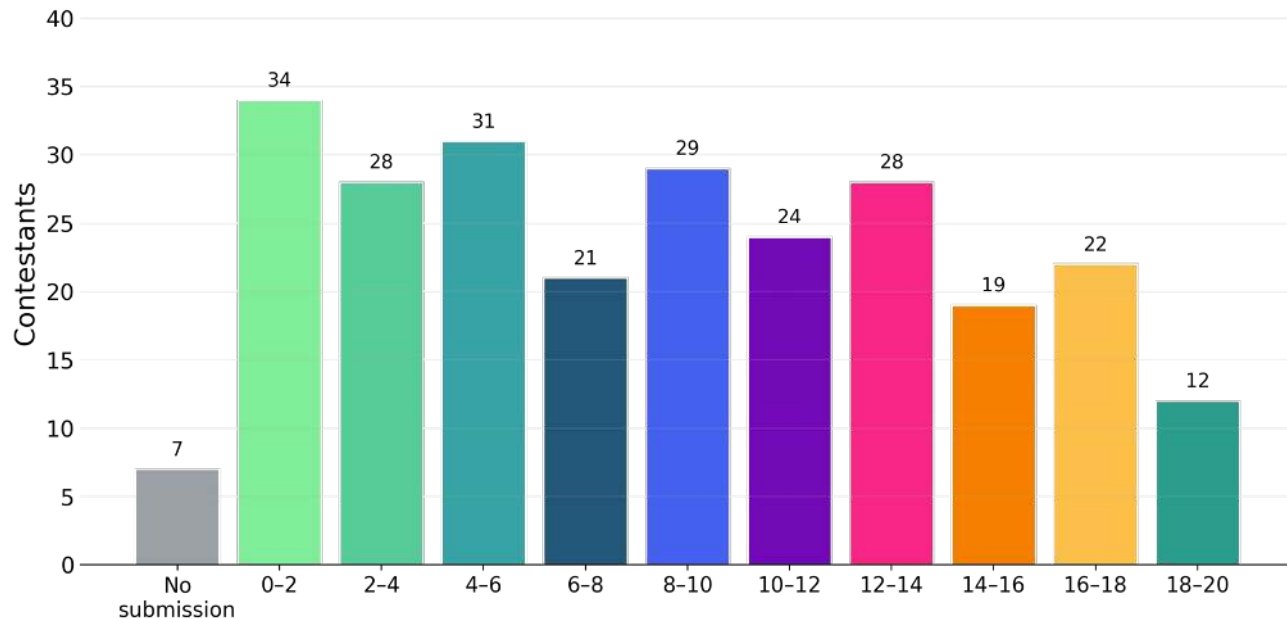
Statistics

248 submissions

6.7% rated hardest

23.0% rated easiest

Mean score: **8.6**
(3rd easiest/hardest)



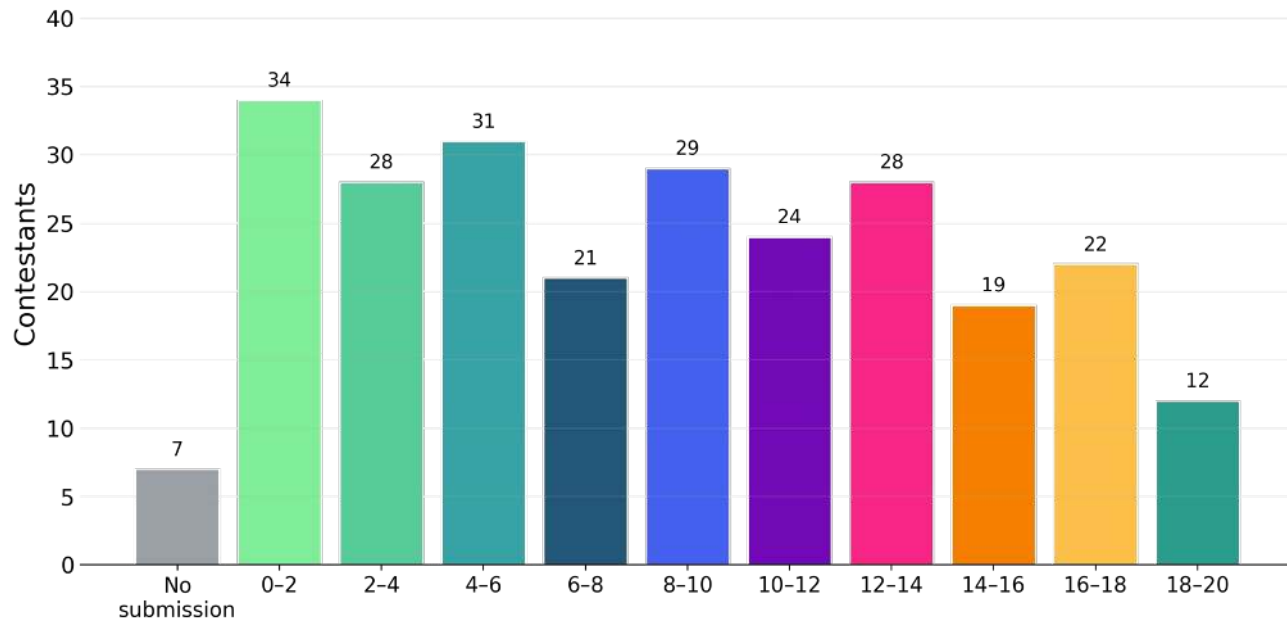
Statistics

248 submissions

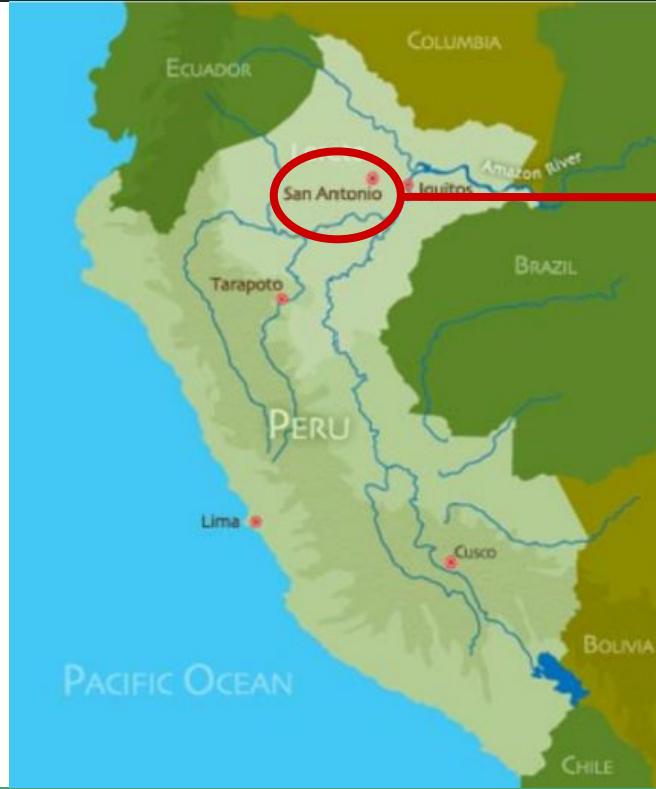
6.7% rated hardest
23.0% rated easiest

Mean score: **8.6**
(3rd easiest/hardest)

Top score: **19.5**

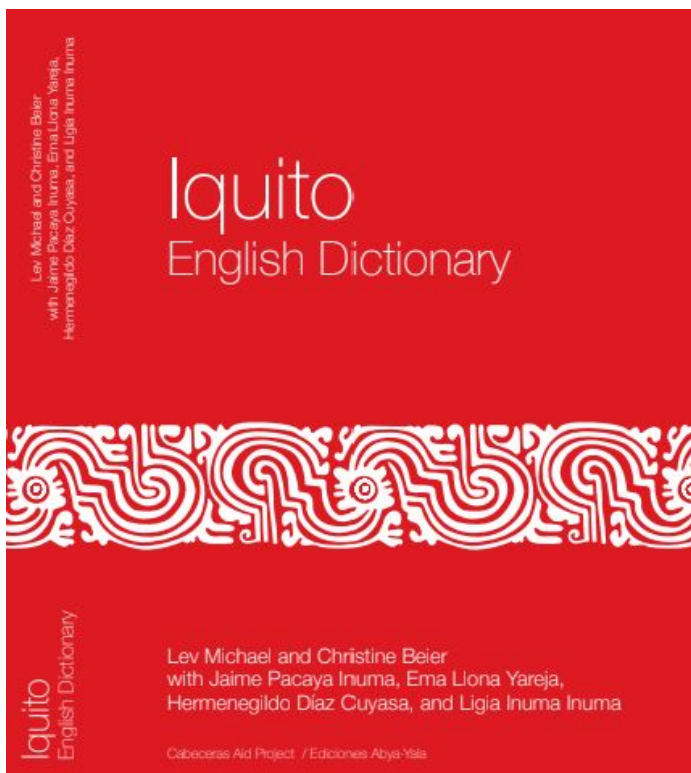


Iquito



San Antonio del Pintuyacu (village where most existing research was carried out)

Iquito



Main sources: work by the Iquito Language Documentation Project (IDLDP) by indigenous community members of San Antonio de Pintuyacu and researchers from the Cabeceras Aid Project / University of Texas at Austin



Jaime Pacaya Inuma (2002, 2019); Ema Llona Yareja (2003, 2018)



Hermenegildo Díaz Cuyasa (2005, 2014); Ligia Inuma Inuma (2004, 2006)

Solution

1. Ima paapaaja masiitiirii — *Ema will sell the fish (singular).*
2. nu=iina isikirii iiyii — *They will break this rope.*
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ki=iita masiitiirii Jaime} \\ \text{ki=Jaime masiitiirii iita} \end{array} \right\}$ — *I will sell Jaime the house.*
4. nu=naajuukura simiimi — *They wrote the book.*
5. ki=iina masiirii ikwani saawiri — *I will buy this machete of the man.¹*
6. ki=iipi asuraaja sakiirii mira — *I will chew the manioc of these children.*
7. Leo iipi siwiirarii ikwaniwiya — *Leo will visit these men.*
8. kia=Leo iita irikatajuurii — *You will repair Leo's house.*
9. ki=simiitakura iimi simiimiya — *I read (past) these books.*
10. nu=iimi irikatajuurii iiminaka — *They will repair these canoes.*
11. kia=kariiniikura miisaji kajinani — *You cared for the animal of the woman.*
12. ki=simiitakura iina simiimi paajuuyaana — *I read (past) the book of this teacher.*
13. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nu=paapaaja miitiirii iina ikwani} \\ \text{nu=iina miitiirii ikwani paapaaja} \end{array} \right\}$ — *They will give this man the fish (singular).*
14. ki=nikikura iipi kaajiya iitimira — *I saw the animals of these women.*
15. kia=iina simiimiya simiitarii maaya — *You will read the books of this child.*
16. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kia=iina masiitiirii simiimi paajuuyaana} \\ \text{kia=paajuuyaana masiitiirii iina simiimi} \end{array} \right\}$ — *You will sell the teacher this book.*

1. Ima paapaaja masiitiirii – Ema will sell the fish (singular).
2. nu=iina isikirii iiyii – They will break this rope.
3. { ki=iita masiitiirii Jaime } – I will sell Jaime the house.
 { ki=Jaime masiitiirii iita }
4. nu=naajuukura simiimi – They wrote the book.
5. ki=iina masiirii ikwani saawiri – I will buy this machete of the man.¹
6. ki=iipi asuraaja sakiirii mira – I will chew the manioc of these children.
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13. { nu=paapaaja miitiirii iina ikwani } – They will give this man the fish (singular).
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14. ki=nikikura iipi kaajiya iitimira – I saw the animals of these women.
15. kia=iina simiimiya simiitarii maaya – You will read the books of this child.
16. { kia=iina masiitiirii simiimi paajuuyaana } – You will sell the teacher this book.
 { kia=paajuuyaana masiitiirii iina simiimi }

Subject first

nu= 3sg

kia= 2sg

ki= 1sg

1. Ima paapaaja masiitiir^{rii} – Ema ^{will sell} the fish (singular).
2. nu=iina isiki^{rii} iiyii – They ^{will break} this rope.
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ki=iita masiitiir^{rii} Jaime} \\ \text{ki=Jaime masiitiir^{rii} iita} \end{array} \right\}$ – I ^{will sell} Jaime the house.
4. nu=naajuuk^{kura} simiimi – They ^{wrote} the book.
5. ki=iina masi^{rii} ikwani saawiri – I ^{will buy} this machete of the man.¹
6. ki=iipi asuraaja saki^{rii} mira – I ^{will chew} the manioc of these children.
7. Leo iipi siwiira^{rii} ikwaniwiya – Leo ^{will visit} these men.
8. kia=Leo iita irikatajuu^{rii} – You ^{will repair} Leo's house.
9. ki=simiita^{kura} iimi simiimiya – I ^{read (past)} these books.
10. nu=iimi irikatajuu^{rii} iiminaka – They ^{will repair} these canoes.
11. kia=kariini^{kura} miisaji kajinani – You ^{cared for} the animal of the woman.
12. ki=simiita^{kura} iina simiimi paajuuyaana – I ^{read (past)} the book of this teacher.
13. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nu=paapaaja miiti^{rii} iina ikwani} \\ \text{nu=iina miiti^{rii} ikwani paapaaja} \end{array} \right\}$ – They ^{will give} this man the fish (singular).
14. ki=niki^{kura} iipi kaajiya iitimira – I ^{saw} the animals of these women.
15. kia=iina simiimiya simiita^{rii} maaya – You ^{will read} the books of this child.
16. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kia=iina masiitiir^{rii} simiimi paajuuyaana} \\ \text{kia=paajuuyaana masiitiir^{rii} iina simiimi} \end{array} \right\}$ – You ^{will sell} the teacher this book.

Subject first

nu= 3sg

kia= 2sg

ki= 1sg

Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)

-kura past (realis)

1. Ima paapaaja masiitiirii — *Ema will sell the fish (singular).*
2. nu=iina isikirii iiyii — *They will break this rope.*
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9. ki=simiita kura iimi simiimiya — *I read (past) these books.*
10. nu=iimi irikatajuurii iiminaka — *They will repair these canoes.*
11. kia=kariini kura miisaji kajinani — *You cared for the animal of the woman.*
12. ki=simiita kura iina simiimi paajuuyaana — *I read (past) the book of this teacher.*
13. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nu=paapaaja miitiirii iina ikwani} \\ \text{nu=iina miitiirii ikwani paapaaja} \end{array} \right\}$ — *They will give this man the fish (singular).*
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Subject first

nu= 3sg

kia= 2sg

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Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)

-kura past (realis)

Word order

Past: S V O

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Subject first

nu= 3sg

kia= 2sg

ki= 1sg

Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)

-kura past (realis)

Word order

Past: S V O

Future: S X V (Y)

1. Ima paapaaja masiitirii — Ema will sell the fish (singular).
2. nu=iina isikirii iiyii — They will break this rope.
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Subject first

nu= 3sg

kia= 2sg

ki= 1sg

Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)

-kura past (realis)

Word order

Past: S V O

Future: S X V (Y)

Puzzle: what is X?

1. Ima paapaaja masiitiirii — *Ema will sell the fish (singular).*
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7. Leo iipi siwiirarii ikwaniwiya — *Leo will visit these men.*
8. kia=Leo iita irikatajuurii — *You will repair Leo's house.*
9. ki=simiitakura iimi simiimiya — *I read (past) these books*
10. nu=iimi irikatajuurii iiminaka — *They will repair these canoes.*
11. kia=kariiniikura miisaji kajinani — *You cared for the animal of the woman.*
12. ki=simiitakura iina simiimi paajuuyaana — *I read (past) the book of this teacher.*
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14. ki=nikikura iipi kaajiya iitimira — *I saw the animals of these women.*
15. kia=iina simiimiya simiitarii maaya — *You will read the books of this child.*
16. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kia=iina masiitiirii simiimi paajuuyaana} \\ \text{kia=paajuuyaana masiitiirii iina simiimi} \end{array} \right\}$ — *You will sell the teacher this book*

Subject first

nu= 3sg

kia= 2sg

ki= 1sg

Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)

-kura past (realis)

Word order

Past: S V O

Future: S X V (Y)

Puzzle: what is X?

This/these (positions unclear)

iina sg

iipi plural, animate

iimi plural, inanimate

Word order

Divide based on type of object(s):

N Ima paapaaja masiitiirii — *Ema will sell the fish (singular).*
nu=naajuukura simiimi — *They wrote the book.*

N'S N kia=Leo iita irikatajuurii — *You will repair Leo's house.*
kia=kariiniikura miisaji kajinani — *You cared for the animal of the woman.*

D N ki=simiitakura iimi simiimiya — *I read (past) these books.*
Leo iipi siwiirarii ikwaniwiya — *Leo will visit these men.*
nu=iina isikirii iiyii — *They will break this rope.*
nu=iimi irikatajuurii iiminaka — *They will repair these canoes.*

Divide based on type of object(s):

(D N)'s N **ki=iipi asuraaaja sakiirii mira** — *I will chew the manioc of these children.*
 ki=simiitakura iina simiimi paajuuyaana — *I read (past) the book of this teacher.*
 ki=nikikura iipi kaajiya iitimira — *I saw the animals of these women.*
 kia=iina simiimiya simiitarii maaya — *You will read the books of this child.*

N's (D N) **ki=iina masiirii ikwani saawiri** — *I will buy this machete of the man.*

$N_{\circ} N_{\text{IO}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ki=iita masiitiirii Jaime} \\ \text{ki=Jaime masiitiirii iita} \end{array} \right\}$ — *I will sell Jaime the house.*

$N_{\circ} (D N)_{\text{IO}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nu=paapaaja miitiirii iina ikwani} \\ \text{nu=iina miitiirii ikwani paapaaja} \end{array} \right\}$ — *They will give this man the fish (singular).*

$(D N)_{\circ} N_{\text{IO}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kia=iina masiitiirii simiimi paajuuyaana} \\ \text{kia=paajuuyaana masiitiirii iina simiimi} \end{array} \right\}$ — *You will sell the teacher this book.*

Abstraction

N = noun

D = determiner (*this/these*)

N_O = object

N_{IO} = indirect object

S = subject

V = verb

Object type	Past (- kura) word order	Future (- rii) word order
N	N	N V
N's N	N's N*	N's N V
D N	D N	D V N
(D N)'s N	D N N's	D N V N's
N's (D N)	(not in data)	D V N's N
N _O N _{IO}	(not in data)	N _O V N _{IO} N _{IO} V N _O
N _O (D N) _{IO}	(not in data)	N _O V D N_{IO} D V N_{IO} N_O
(D N) _O N _{IO}	(not in data)	N _{IO} V D N_O D V N_O N_{IO}

*it's actually quite hard to tell which of **miisaji kajinani** and **kaajiya iitimira** are *woman/animal* in at this stage, which is needed to work out this particular word order, but no time to go into it here

Indirect objects?

Object type	Past (- kura) word order	Future (- rii) word order
N	N	N V
N's N	N's N	N's N V
D N	D N	D V N
(D N)'s N	D N N's	D N V N's
N's (D N)	(not in data)	D V N's N
N _O N _{IO}	(not in data)	N_O V N_{IO} N_{IO} V N_O
N _O (D N) _{IO}	(not in data)	N_O V D N_{IO} D V N_{IO} N_O
(D N) _O N _{IO}	(not in data)	N_{IO} V D N_O D V N_O N_{IO}

Generalisation:
 N_O and N_{IO} are interchangeable; one of them participates in the future word order while the other goes to the end of the sentence

Basic (past) word order: S V O₁ (O₂)

Object type	Past (-kura) word order	Future (-rii) word order
N	N	N V
N's N	N's N	N's N V
D N	D N	D V N
(D N)'s N	D N N's	D N V N's
N's (D N)	(not in data)	D V N's N

Generalisations:

- In future word order, move some element of the object to the position before the verb.
- N_O and N_{IO} are interchangeable; one of them participates in the irrealis word order while the other goes to the end of the sentence

Subject

nu= 3sg
kia= 2sg
ki= 1sg

This/these

iina sg
iipi plural, animate
iimi plural, inanimate

Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)
-kura past (realis)

One extra word order

20. **ki=iipi kariiniirii iina mira ikwani**

One extra word order

20. **ki=iipi kariiniirii iina mira ikwani**



I will care for these children of this man
(only reasonable interpretation)

D V D N N's

Full solution

Basic (past) word order: S V O₁ (O₂)

Object type	Past (-kura) word order	Future (-rii) word order
N	N	N V
N's N	N's N	N's N V
D N	D N	D V N
[D N]'s N	D N N's	D N V N's
N's [D N]	(not in data)	D V N's N
[D N's] [D N]	(not in data)	D_N V D_{N's} N N's

Generalisations:

- In future word order, move some element of the object to the position before the verb.
- N_O and N_{IO} are interchangeable; one of them participates in the future word order while the other goes to the end of the sentence

Subject

nu= 3sg
kia= 2sg
ki= 1sg

This/these

iina sg
iipi plural, animate
iimi plural, inanimate

Verb endings

-rii future (irrealis)
-kura past (realis)

...but why?

Syntactic movement

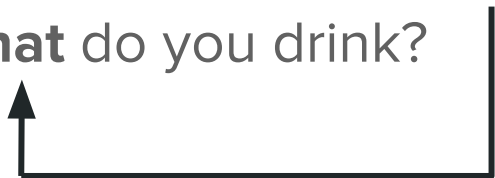
Many languages express grammatical differences by **moving** some part of the sentence to another location:

English (*wh*-movement):

You drink coffee

you drink **what**

What do you drink?



Chinese (no *wh*-movement):

你喝咖啡

你喝什么？

Syntactic movement

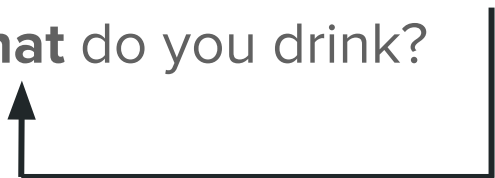
Many languages express grammatical differences by **moving** some part of the sentence to another location:

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You drink coffee

you drink **what**

What do you drink?



Chinese (no *wh*-movement):

你喝咖啡

你喝什么？

As shown in this problem, Iquito uses movement to express **past vs future**: A sentence is **future** when some constituent moves **before the verb**.

(It happens to do this in a complicated way, depending on the type of object that moves)

Multiple approaches

There are multiple ways to explain the word orders with movement - here are some which you suggested...

- In the future, move the verb rightward compared to the past form
- In the past, move the verb leftward compared to the future form
- In the future, put the verb after the first word which refers to the object (possessed noun)
- In the future, keep determiners and their nouns as far apart as possible (subject to some additional constraints)

...and all of which can be considered correct interpretations of the data

Future tense: $S O V$ or $S=P O V$
 where P is possessor of O
 if O or P has demonstrative adj.
 $\hookrightarrow S=X \rightarrow S=D(O/P)$
 $\hookrightarrow X$ move to end of sentence
 $\hookrightarrow O/P$ at end of sentence

i.e.:

- Start with $S=P O V$
- Move the thing after S to the end of the sentence, replace with Det
- Move the thing to which Det refers to the end of the sentence

- Let $\square$ denote a space for Possessor or its DEM, $\square/\square$ denote a space for Possessed or its DEM;
- Let $\square/\square$ be one unit, ~~Dem~~ as is any naked $\square$ or $\square/\square$ not in a unit.

• $\square$ $\square$ $\square/\square$ $\square$ $\square/\square$ must be filled up when $\neq$ O_{indirect}

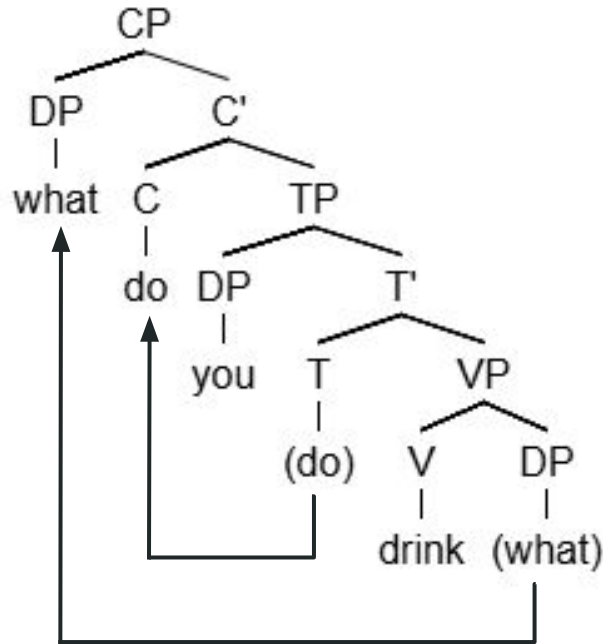
Such that

1. DEM of X comes before X,
2. The earliest $\square/\square \neq \text{DEM}$ unit is formed,
3. $\square/\square$ ~~Plural~~ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \square \square \text{-kura} \quad , \text{ PST} \\ \square \text{1unit} \square \text{-riti} \quad , \text{ FUT} \end{array} \right.$

I.e., make sure all sentences satisfy a template such that Dem comes before its noun, and things referring to objects and possessors alternate

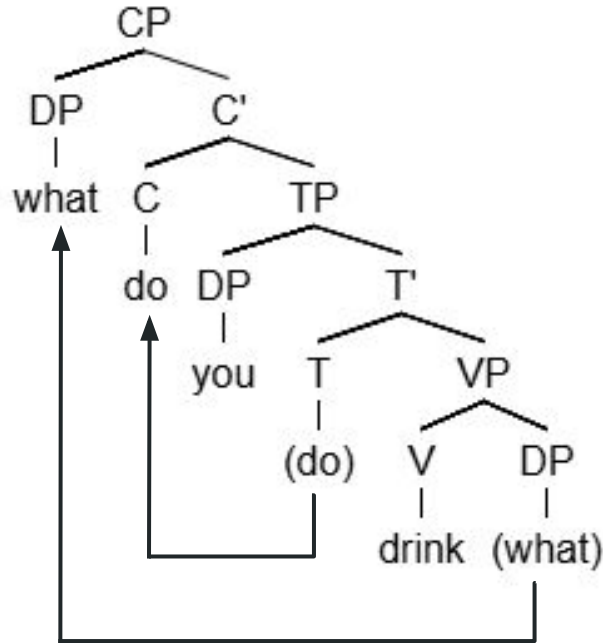
How the syntacticians do it

Syntacticians often represent sentences using **trees** which allow hierarchical structure and movement to be visualised.



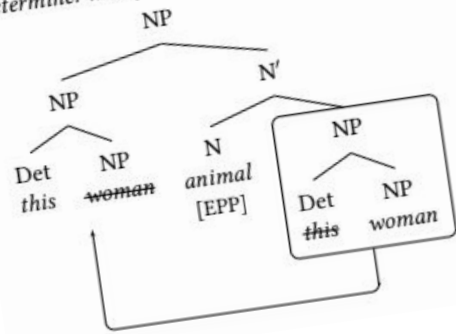
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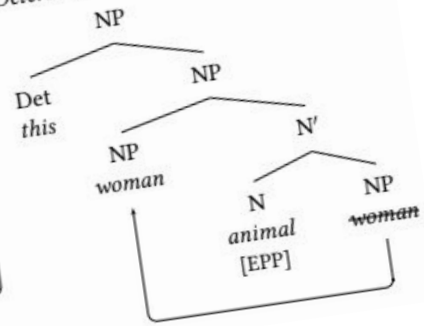


This makes analysis of Iquito very simple:

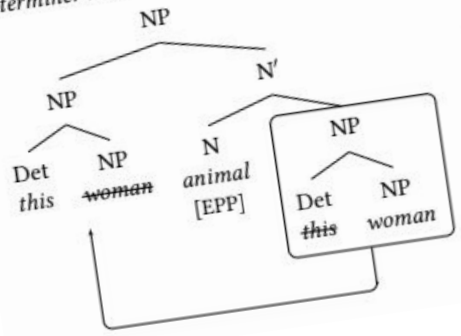
Determiner modifying possessor



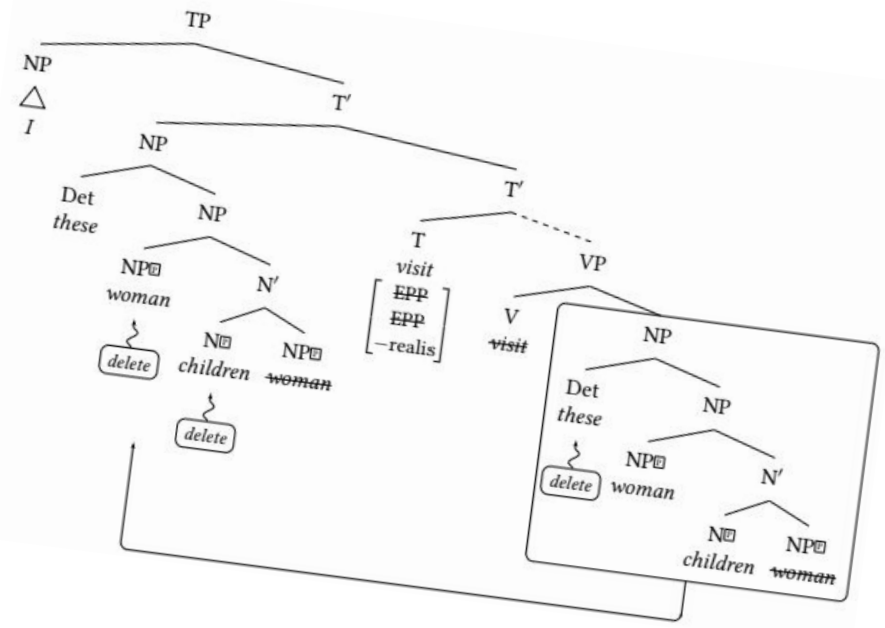
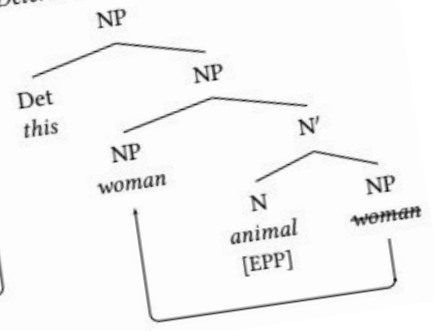
Determiner modifying possessum



Determiner modifying possessor

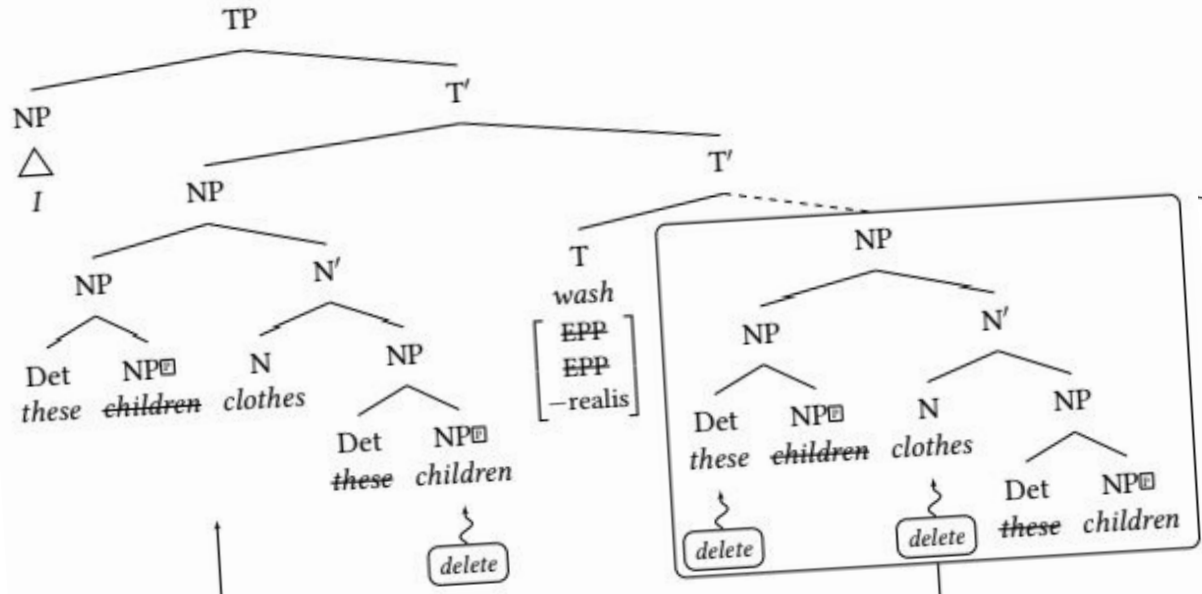
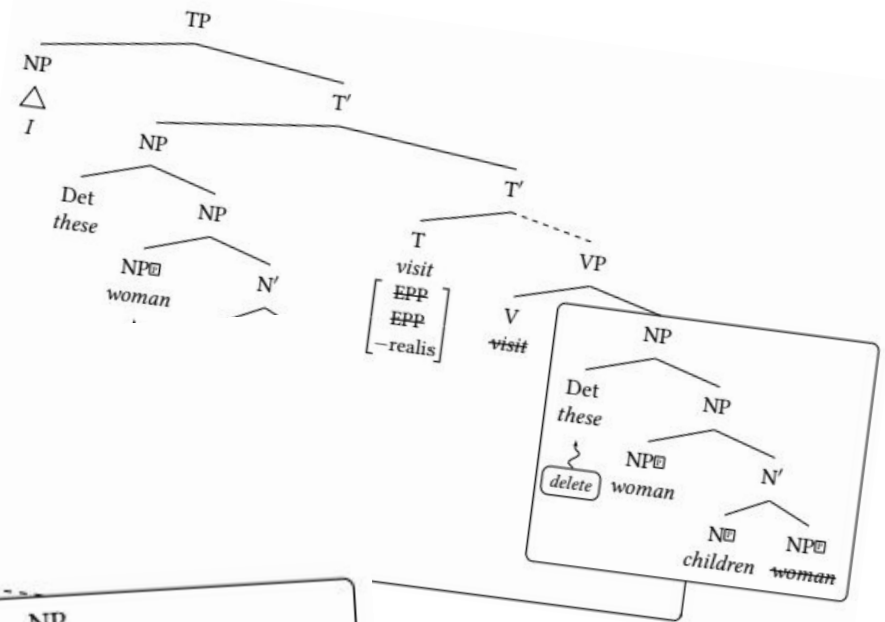
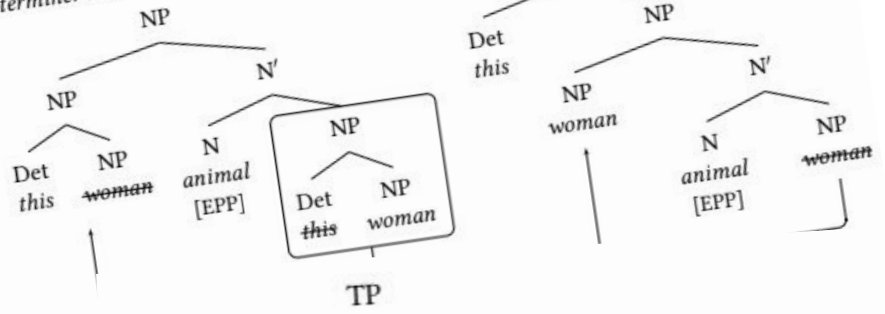


Determiner modifying possessum

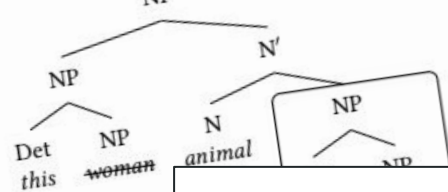


Determiner modifying possessor

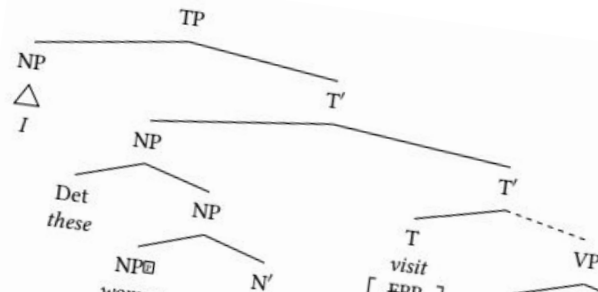
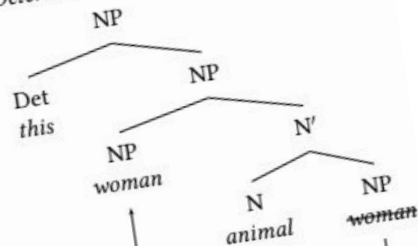
Determiner modifying possessum



Determiner modifying possessor

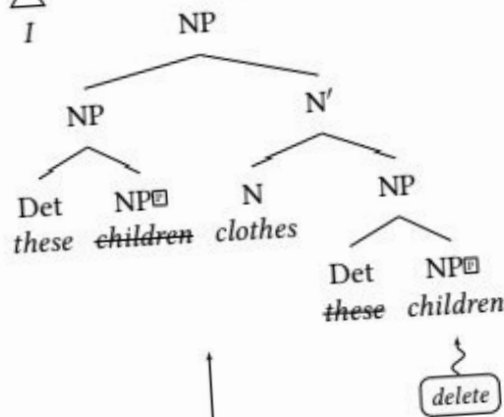


Determiner modifying possessum

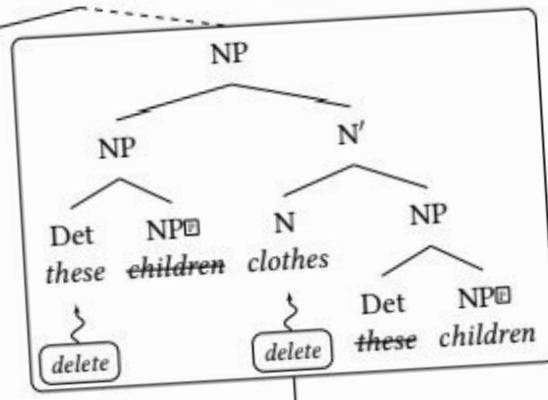


Iquito? more like I quit ☹

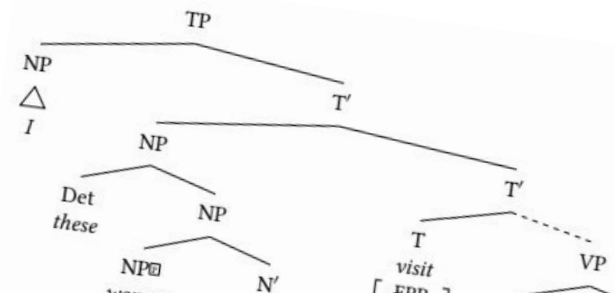
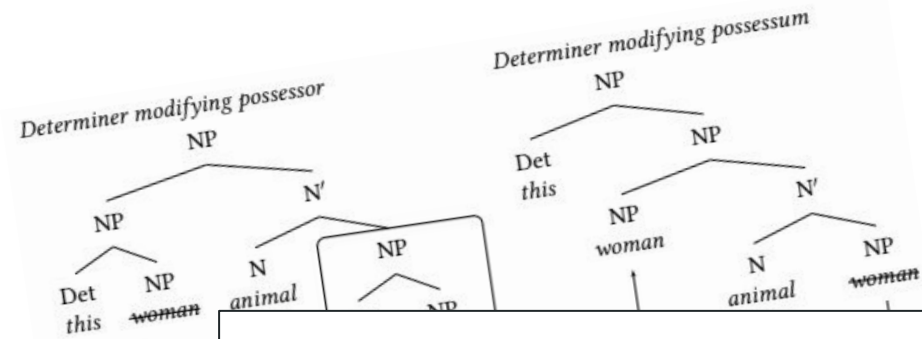
NP
△
I



T
wash
[EPP
EPP
-realis]

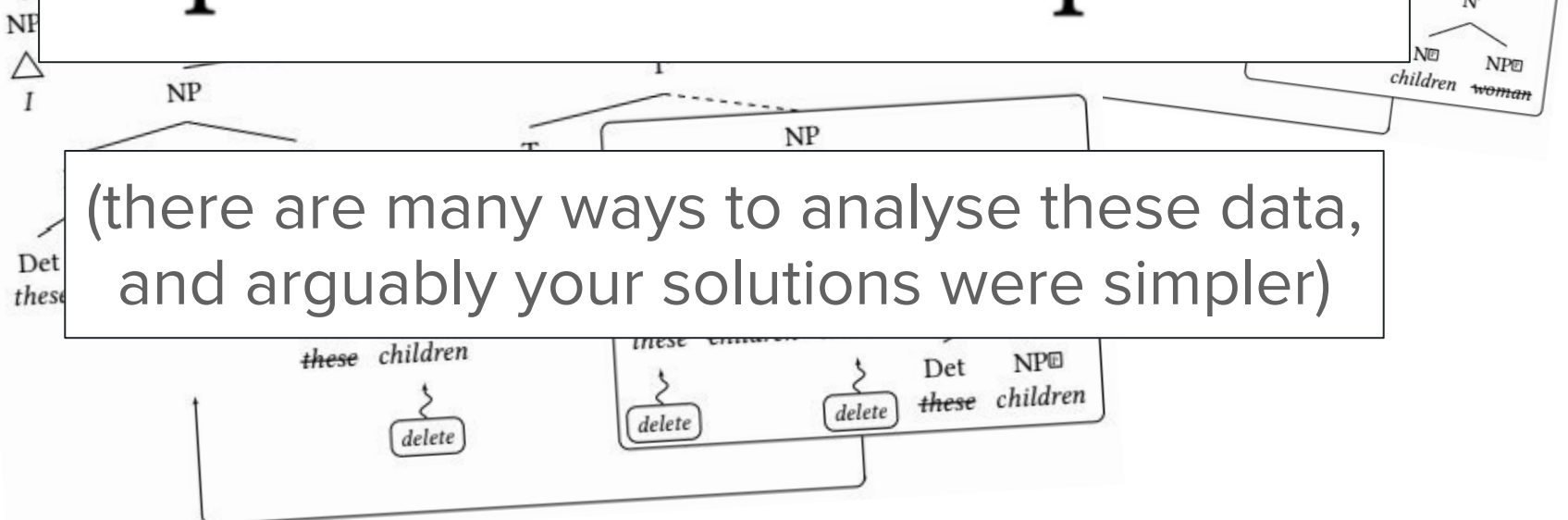


NP
N'
NP
children woman



Iquito? more like I quit ☹

(there are many ways to analyse these data, and arguably your solutions were simpler)



Assignments

17. **kia=iipɪ siwɪrariɪ mɪsaji paajuuyaapi**
You will visit these teachers of the woman.

18. **nu=nikikura Leo papaaja**
They saw Leo's fish.

19. **ki=iina masɪtɪrɪɪ mɪsaji iimina**
I will sell this canoe of the woman.
I will sell this woman the canoe.

20. **ki=iipɪ kariiniirɪɪ iina mira ikwani**
I will care for these children of this man.

Ambiguous between two orders:

S D V N's N

S D V N_{io} N_o

21. *You bought the canoes of these children.*
kia=masɪkura iipɪ iiminaka mira

22. *You will break the rope of the teacher.*
kia=paajuuyaana iiyɪ isikirɪɪ

23. *I will buy the house of these women.*
ki=iipɪ iita masɪrɪɪ iitimira

24. *They will sell these books to Ema.*
nu=iimi masɪtɪrɪɪ simiimiya Ima
nu=Ima masɪtɪrɪɪ iimi simiimiya

25. *I will repair this canoe of these men.*
ki=iina irikatajuurɪɪ iipɪ iimina ikwaniwiya

Sources

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Best solution

Best solution

Best solution

Gergely Péter Sánta

Hungary Uborka



Best Solution

Problem #3

Iquito

