Lexical Aspect in-sha Verb Chains in Pastaza Kichwa

Azya Dawn Ladd

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Lexical Aspect in -fa Verb Chains in Pastaza Kichwa

Azya Dawn Ladd

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts

Janis Nuckolls, Chair
  Chris Rogers
  Dirk Elzinga

Department of Linguistics
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ABSTRACT

Lexical Aspect in -ʃa Verb Chains in Pastaza Kichwa

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Master of Arts

This thesis is a corpus and narrative-based description of how the lexical aspect of predicates with the switch reference same subject (ss) suffix -ʃa affects the meaning of utterances in Pastaza Kichwa (PK), a Quechuan dialect spoken in Amazonian Ecuador. The main purpose of this thesis is to describe how verb chains that use -ʃa are affected by lexical aspect. The secondary purpose is to compare these uses with current grammars, and determine whether there are more uses than are currently proposed in the most recent grammar of PK. The most recent grammar of PK lists the functions of the coreference -ʃa as being indicative of simultaneous and sequential actions (Nuckolls & Swanson, 2020). I argue that not only does the lexical aspect of predicates in a -ʃa verb chain determine simultaneity and sequentiality, but there is a third category of habitual action that is at least partially determined by the lexical aspect of -ʃa verb chains.

After introducing the concept of switch reference, I briefly compare other analyses of switch reference languages around the world. I then introduce the concept of lexical aspect. From there I discuss my methodology and analysis, which is based on Van Valin’s (2006) tests and categories of lexical aspect. My analysis is composed of text examples from the Quechua Realwords (QRW) corpus (Nuckolls, 2021), and a PK narrative about Noah and the Flood. These are supplemented by examples from the Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa (CoPK) compiled by Rice (2018). These examples are used to demonstrate the lexical aspect of each verb in a -ʃa verb chain.

Keywords: Kichwa, switch reference, lexical aspect
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I would also like to thank Dr Tod Swanson of Arizona State University for his contributions to the grammar of Kichwa upon which this thesis is based, and Alex Rice, whose Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa provided the evidence I needed to support my claims. A special thanks goes out to Mama Louisa Cadena for her stories, without which, this thesis wouldn’t exist.

To my parents, John and Paige: thank you so much for your love and support my whole life. Your encouragement to pursue higher education has meant the world to me, especially when you weren’t sure your accident-prone daughter would live to graduate with her bachelor’s degree, much less her master’s.

Finally, a special thanks to my friends (both the dance friends and the language friends), of whom there are too many of you to count. You’ve been essential to my mental health, and I am so grateful to you guys for keeping me relatively sane.
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<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEP.FUT</td>
<td>dependent future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESP</td>
<td>despitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
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<td>DS</td>
<td>different subject</td>
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<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative</td>
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<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>evidential</td>
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<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
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<td>IDEO</td>
<td>ideophone</td>
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<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIM</td>
<td>limitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>patient-like argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCPL</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>same subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to describe how Pastaza Kichwa verbs which are marked with the coreference suffix -fa are used to indicate three functions: simultaneous actions, habitual actions, and sequential actions. The analysis is based on a narrative of Noah and the Flood, as well as on the Quechua Realwords (QRW) Corpus. It is argued that these functions are correlated with the lexical aspect of the verb stem. I will analyze how lexical aspect affects the meaning of the clauses that use the morpheme -fa in Pastaza Kichwa.

The rest of this thesis will be organized as follows: in this chapter I will provide a sociolinguistic sketch of Pastaza Kichwa, as well as introduce the source materials that are analyzed in this thesis. Chapter 2 contains a review of literature, and my research questions. It also includes a brief overview of other linguists’ analyses of languages with switch reference, a description of switch reference in Pastaza Kichwa, and an introduction to the theories of lexical aspect that will be applied throughout the analysis. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of data collection and of the analysis chapters, as well as explains the specific tests and criteria used to determine lexical aspect for the analysis chapters. In chapters 4-6 specific functions of the Pastaza Kichwa coreference morpheme -fa are discussed and analyzed. Finally, Chapter 7 explains the general conclusions from this analysis, and acknowledges shortcomings in this thesis, and also suggests possible further avenues for continued research.

1.1 Quechuan language families and Pastaza Kichwa

The Quechuan language family is spoken throughout the Andean Corridor from southern Colombia into northern Argentina, as shown in figure one. Pastaza Kichwa (ISO 639-3: qup, Glottolog: past1249) is spoken in the Pastaza region in the Amazon Basin in Ecuador.
Quechuan languages are spoken by 8-10 million people; the highest number of speakers of any indigenous language in the Americas (Andelaar & Muysken, 2010). As a language family, Quechua predates the Inca empire, though part of its spread was due to Incan rule (Andelaar & Muysken, 2010). When Spanish conquistadores began ruling in the Andes, they used Quechua as a “common language” to help them communicate (Fisher & Cahill, 2008:295). During the early days of Spanish colonization, Quechua was used by Catholic missionaries to proselytize. In fact,

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1 Red denotes Quechua I languages, yellow is Quechua II languages
the first known grammar of Quechua, *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú* (Grammar or Art of the General Language of the Indians of the Royalty of Peru) was published in 1560 by catholic missionary Domingo de Santo Tomás (Torero, 2007). The Spanish Crown banned Quechua as a general language in the late 1700s after the Tupác Amaru rebellion in Chile, even for administrative or evangelical purposes.

Since then, despite brief revitalization efforts after the Latin American wars for independence, Quechuan languages have become less prestigious, and are generally less-spoken in urban areas (Adelaar & Muysken 2010). There are, however, currently efforts to revitalize Quechuan languages, and include them in government. For example, in 1975, Peru became the first Latin American country to recognize Quechua as one of its official languages. It was followed in 2006 by Ecuador, and by Bolivia in 2009 (Borsdorf, 2015:142).

There are two main branches of the Quechuan language family: Quechua I and Quechua II. Pastaza Kichwa (also called Northern Pastaza Kichwa) is part of the Quechua II-C branch. Pastaza Kichwa is considered a ‘definitely endangered’ language by UNESCO (2021). This means that children are no longer learning Pastaza Kichwa as their first language in the home. There are about 30,000 speakers of Pastaza Kichwa remaining (2021).

Figure 2 shows the genetic relationships of Quechuan languages, specifically leading to Pastaza Kichwa.
Like other Quechuan languages, Pastaza Kichwa has nominative-accusative alignment, and the basic word order is SOV. It is an agglutinating language, but it is missing a lot of the personal reference markers used by other Quechuan languages to indicate possession or object agreement due to close interaction with the Barbacoan languages that were spoken in Ecuador prior to the arrival of Quechua (Van Gijn, 2016).
1.2 Quechua Real Words

The Quechua Real Words corpus is a corpus of ideophones compiled by Dr Janis Nuckolls with the help of Dr Tod Swanson and several of her students. The corpus consists of videos of ideophones used in normal speech for speakers of Pastaza Kichwa and Upper Napo Kichwa. Each video is transcribed into IPA, and the majority of them have also been translated into English, though none of them have been glossed. The format for each entry is as follows: the ideophone is named, and given a general definition or description of meaning. Then any hand gestures that are generally made with the ideophone, and comments about the tone of voice used by speakers are identified. After that, videos where the informant uses the ideophone in normal speech are embedded, along with their transcription and translation, if there is one. These video segments contain more than just the ideophone, as they are meant to show how ideophones are used in regular conversation, and therefore this corpus also contains examples of -ʃa that I have used in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

1.3 Noah and the Flood

This is a retelling of the biblical story of Noah and the Flood, as told by Sra. Louisa Cadena to Dr Tod Swanson. The videos for this story can be found on YouTube (Part 1: https://youtu.be/6Nk9G-hqKWk, Part 2: https://youtu.be/9WBoORq9SYc). Only the first half of the story is in this analysis, because while I was able to transcribe both parts, there was unfortunately a time constraint that resulted in the only available transcription not being of a caliber that I would be comfortable publishing. There are however, plans to complete the gloss and translation of this section at a future date. Because this is a story about kaśari uras or ‘the beginning times’, there are a lot of storytelling devices that don’t necessarily show up in everyday conversation present in this narrative. This means that there were more opportunities
for switch reference structures to show up, many of which I used in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

1.4 Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa

The Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa (CoPK) is a corpus compiled by Rice (2018). It contains 40 narrative texts, and 32,127 words (tokens). Dr Janis B Nuckolls (Brigham Young University) recorded 29 of the 40 narratives. The remaining 11 narratives were recorded by Dr Tod D Swanson (Arizona State University). I use examples from this corpus throughout my analysis to show the lexical aspect of various verbs.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Switch reference is a system in which “a set of morphemes associated with the juncture of two clauses indicates whether a certain prominent argument in each clause co-refers” (McKenzie, 2015: 409). In Pastaza Kichwa, there are two morphemes that help achieve this distinction: -ʃa for same subject (SS) relationships, and -kpi for different subject (DS) relationships. This thesis focuses on -ʃa. I will be referring to the clause that does not have the Pastaza Kichwa coreference suffix -ʃa attached to the verb as the matrix and the clause that does have -ʃa attached as the non-matrix or as the -ʃa verb.

This review is broken up into the following sections: subsection one deals specifically with the grammar of coreference in Pastaza Kichwa. Subsection two discusses grammatical and lexical aspect; I define terms that I will be using, and discuss how aspect is relevant to my analysis.

My research questions are as follows:

1. How does lexical aspect affect how verb chains that use the coreference suffix -ʃa in Pastaza Kichwa discourse are understood?

2. How does -ʃa function in genres such as narratives and descriptions?
   2a. Are there types of functions that are not described in the most recent grammar of Pastaza Kichwa in which -ʃa appears?
   2b. If so, what are they, and how are they different from what has already been described?

While it is important to understand the syntactic structure of the switch reference system in Pastaza Kichwa, my analysis chapters will only make passing mention of the mechanics of switch reference clause structures as a means of tracking arguments. This is because this thesis is
focused more on the use of how the lexical aspect of -ʃa verb chains affects the interpretation of an utterance in regard to simultaneity, habituality, and sequentiality. The majority of description of the syntactic function of -ʃa will be discussed in this literature review.

2.1 Switch Reference in Pastaza Kichwa

Nuckolls and Swanson (2020) listed the functions of the coreference suffix -ʃa as follows: to indicate simultaneous action, to indicate sequential action, and as part of a speech report. While it is true that -ʃa is attached to verbs that do all of these things, the primary function of -ʃa as a suffix is to track the subject of an utterance as the SS marker of the Pastaza Kichwa switch reference system. The interpretation of -ʃa verbs as being indicative of simultaneous or sequential actions are primarily determined by the lexical aspect of the verbs that -ʃa is attached to, and secondarily by the lexical aspect of the matrix verb and any surrounding ideophones.

Pastaza Kichwa has a system of evidential markers that are used in discourse to say how the speaker came by their knowledge. Evidential suffixes in Pastaza Kichwa “mark one’s knowledge source as stemming either from a speaker/articulator/utterer, or from the perspective of an ‘other’” (Nuckolls and Swanson, 2020, Lesson 6: 59). These suffixes are -mi, which is used when the speaker is stating something from their own perspective, and -ʃi, which is used when a speaker is reporting on something from any perspective not their own. The Pastaza Kichwa switch reference markers -ʃa and -kpi are able to have these evidential markers attached after them in words.

From existing literature, it is apparent that when switch reference occurs, it is because the matrix clause has a different argument than another clause of an utterance. In Pastaza Kichwa, this is indicated with the different subject morpheme -kpi. However, in many languages, it is assumed that between the two clauses, the arguments will stay the same, which can result in the
same argument used between clauses being the assumed default, and therefore not having a morpheme to indicate it. Pastaza Kichwa, in contrast, does have a same subject morpheme: -fa. Furthermore, it is not unheard of for there to be multiple morphemes that perform the same switch reference function in the environment of different types of clauses, as seen in Diyeri and Central Pomo. Generally speaking, switch reference languages have at least one morpheme to mark same subject, and one to mark different subject. Van Gijn notes that this type of duality is a fairly standard feature of switch reference systems (van Gijn, 2016: 23).

The two morphemes that are used as part of the Pastaza Kichwa switch reference system are -fa (SS) and -kpi (DS). Nuckolls and Swanson (2020: 168) note that the DS marker -kpi and the SS marker -fa never co-occur in the same verb, and that the subject of a verb with the -kpi suffix, and the subject of the matrix verb of a phrase are always different.

The following examples show how the switch reference markers -kpi and -fa are used in Pastaza Kichwa. It should be noted that throughout this thesis, when talking about verbs, I will be using their infinitive form, which will include the suffix -na to mark the infinitive. This is primarily for ease of reading.

(1) Same subject marker -fa in Pastaza Kichwa (Nuckolls & Swanson, 2020: 158)

\[
\text{Mikuna-ta maska-fa puri -k a -ra}
\]

Food-DO search-SS walk-AGT be-PST

‘Looking for food, (subject) would go.’

This example, taken from a narrative in Nuckolls and Swanson’s pedagogical grammar, is an example of the use of coreference in a switch reference system. The subject of ‘to search,’
maskana, and the subject of ‘to be’ ana are the same subject, so maskana takes the -fa coreferential suffix to indicate this relationship.

Contrast this to a similar sentence in example 4, where the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the pivot clause are different, triggering the use of the DS morpheme -kpi.

(2) Different Subject marker -kpi in Pastaza Kichwa (Nuckolls & Swanson, 2020: 168)

Chi-ta apa-mu-fa awa-kpi tuvya-ra
that-TOP take-REFL-SS make.a.clay.pot-DS explode-PST

‘(After) bringing that and (trying) to create with that clay, it exploded.’

In this example, the first two clauses involved the same unnamed referent, presumably a potter. However, the second verb awana ‘to make a clay pot’ had the suffix -kpi to indicate that the next action in this sequence involved a different referent in the particular grammatical relationship. Since it is impossible, thanks to the -kpi suffix in this context that the potter exploded, the only logical assumption is that the clay pot that the potter made exploded.

This kind of distinction between same- and different- subject morphology is persistent in Pastaza Kichwa. However, in this thesis I am focusing on the different ways that the SS morpheme -fa is used, and to explain that, I will approach it from the perspective of lexical aspect.

2.2 Lexical Aspect

When discussing lexical aspect, also called aktionsart, there are a few different theories of how it ought to be defined and categorized. Comrie (1976), and Vendler (1957) laid the
groundwork for these, so I will briefly be discussing their contributions before focusing on a
more up-to-date model proposed by Van Valin (2005, 2006).

Comrie defines aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of
a situation” (Comrie, 1976: 3). This is particularly true of grammatical aspect, which focuses on
the temporal functions of a clause or a situation as opposed to lexical aspect which focuses on
the intrinsic temporal functions of one specific verb regardless of other context. Comrie’s
definition of grammatical aspect encompasses two matrix categories: perfective, and
imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect happens when the meaning of a clause implies an action
with a temporal endpoint, such as killing something, or building a specific object. Imperfectivity
is the opposite: there is no set endpoint encoded in the action, for example, knowing something.
There is no temporal end to knowing something. Even if someone were to say ‘I used to know
that.’ the verb ‘to know’ still has imperfective aspect because there is no finite end to the verb.
Comrie made a chart to showcase how aspect can be broken down in languages, shown in Table
1:

Table 1: Classification of aspectual oppositions (Comrie, 1976: 25)
Comrie’s definition of imperfectivity can be further broken into the subsets of ‘habitual’ and ‘continuous’ aspect. Habituality is exactly what it sounds like – actions that happen with enough regularity for a pattern to be established and commented on. For example, in English, the phrases ‘used to’, or ‘would always do’ have habitual aspect. That is the difference between the sentence “the professor used to stand up, cough three times, and then begin his lecture,” and the sentence “the professor stood up, coughed three times, and began his lecture.” The first sentence has habitual aspect, and the second does not, even though both contain iterative action: coughing three times.

Continuous aspect has its own two subsections: nonprogressive, meaning that something is a continuous action, but it isn’t necessarily an action in progress. Comrie calls these actions ‘stative’ (Comrie, 1976: 37), and this kind of action includes verbs like ‘to be’ and ‘to live.’ In contrast, progressive actions are actively in progress. The English suffix -ing, for example, has progressive aspect. It should be noted that even stative verbs can be made progressive, but it does change the meaning of the sentence. There is an implication that the situation may not be permanent, but for the moment, it is ongoing. Comrie also defined a series of opposing characteristics that define lexical aspect; these categories include: punctual versus durative, telic versus atelic, and state versus dynamic situation (Comrie, 1976: 41-51). While Comrie’s commentary on lexical aspect is useful, it isn’t the most user-friendly framework from which to approach lexical aspect analysis. Vendler (1957) provides a more nuanced approach to lexical aspect.

Vendler breaks his description of lexical aspect into two broad categories: continuous tense verbs, and non-continuous tense verbs. Both of these categories have their own two sub
categories that describe how lexical aspect works. Unlike Comrie, Vendler isn’t as concerned with grammatical aspect, and focuses on lexical aspect. Table 2 below shows Vendler’s hierarchy of how lexical aspect can be broken down:

Table 2: Vendler’s description of lexical aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Continuous Tense Verbs</th>
<th>Non-Continuous Tense Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Activity lexical aspect according to Vendler (1957) are predicates that don’t have a set endpoint (the same can be said of state lexical aspect, which will be discussed later). These activities include things like running, or pushing a cart (146). Neither of these actions have an endpoint encoded; they can just keep on happening so long as the person or thing performing the action keeps expending energy on maintaining the action. Furthermore, with activity lexical aspect, it is possible to encode an ending by saying something like “he ran for half an hour,” and that means that the running was continuous for that whole half hour. In other words, “running and its kind [of action] go on in time in a homogenous way; any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole” (Vendler, 1957: 146).

The other aspect of continuous verb that Vendler discusses is accomplishments. This involves actions with internal temporal structure that has an endpoint encoded. One example of
this from Pastaza Kichwa is the verb *chayana* ‘to cook to the point of doneness’. Until the food has been cooked until it is done, it cannot be described with the verb *chayana*. Similarly, Vendler uses the English examples of ‘drawing a circle’ and ‘running a mile’ (146). If someone stops partway through drawing a circle, they can’t say that they have drawn a circle, and if they stop partway through running a mile, they can’t claim to have run a mile. Verbs with accomplishment lexical aspect “also go in time, but they proceed toward a terminus which is logically necessary to their being what they are. Somehow this climax casts its shadow backward, giving color to all that went before” (Vendler, 1957: 146).

Non-Continuous tense verbs are, as the name suggests, verbs that don’t have an ongoing aspect to them. These verbs take place at a specific point in time. While some of them may be able to take suffixes that would imply continuity (such as *-ing* in English), they are often more intangible concepts than are continuous verbs. The same test that determines continuous verbs can be used to determine whether a verb is non-continuous. For example, the phrase “I am loving” is grammatically incorrect in English, except for when ‘loving’ is used as an adjective. Similarly, if someone says that they are reaching the top of the mountain, they have not yet reached the top. They are still climbing. When they reach the top, that is a specific point in time, and that verb is the one that has the non-continuous aspect. Vendler calls these two types of non-continuous aspect achievement and state.

Achievement aspect describes the point at which an activity was completed, such as “I **won** the race,” or “She **reached** the top” (147). It’s important to note that verbs with achievement lexical aspect happen at a punctual instance in time. Even when someone says “I am winning the race,” what they’re saying is that they’re still racing; they’re just in front of their
other competitors. The verb ‘to win’ still encodes a single event happening only at one point in time.

In contrast, the concept of a state lexical aspect as described by Vendler does not necessarily have to be tied to the concept of time. These kinds of verbs include ‘to love,’ and ‘to know.’ Furthermore, according to Vendler, these types of verbs can often be accompanied by a conditional. In situations like this, conditionals will indicate a state verb, where in other cases, it indicates a hypothetical. As Vendler says: “while ‘to be able to run’ is never the same thing as ‘to run,” or ‘to be able to write a letter’ is by no means the same as ‘to write it,” it seems to be the case that, in some sense, ‘to be able to know’ is ‘to know,’ ‘to be able to love’ is ‘to love,’ and ‘to be able to see’ is ‘to see’” (Vendler, 1957: 148). Verbs with state lexical aspect are the most abstract of the different aspects that Vendler identifies.

Vendler and Comrie laid the groundwork for much more detailed and nuanced approaches to lexical aspect. Van Valin (2005, 2006) and Filip (2015) have since expanded on these categories of lexical aspect, focusing primarily on Vendler’s categories.

Van Valin acknowledges and generally accepts the above framework proposed by Vendler, but remarks that there is “is one important non-Vendlerian Aktionsart class, namely semelfactives” (Van Valin, 2006: 156) that are not addressed in Vendler’s original work on lexical aspect, or aktionsart. Semelfactives are punctual events similar to Vendler’s achievement aspect, but they have no result state, or end goal. Van Valin includes examples of semelfactives such as: ‘the beacon flashed,’ ‘Kim sneezed,’ and ‘the tree branch tapped on the door.’ (Van Valin, 2006: 156).

Van Valin also proposes a sixth class of lexical aspect: active accomplishments. That is when an activity predicate also has telic lexical aspect. In English, this isn’t encoded in the verb
by itself. However, active accomplishment can be seen in the sentences ‘She wrote a poem,’ which has active accomplishment lexical aspect, versus ‘She wrote,’ which simply has activity lexical aspect (Van Valin, 2006:156). The distinction primarily comes down to whether or not the predicate is telic. Predicates with active accomplishment lexical aspect have telicity, while predicates with activity lexical aspect do not.

These six classes of lexical aspect proposed by Van Valin of state, activity, achievement, semelfactive, accomplishment, and active accomplishment are characterized by four features: static, dynamic, telic, and punctual. The relationship between these features and each respective class can be seen below in table 3, along with examples in italics of each kind of lexical aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>[- dynamic]</th>
<th>[- telic]</th>
<th>[- punctual]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to believe, to be</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>[+ dynamic]</td>
<td>[- telic]</td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to run</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>[- dynamic]</td>
<td>[+ telic]</td>
<td>[+ punctual]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to win a race, to reach the summit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactive</td>
<td>[+/- dynamic]</td>
<td>- telic</td>
<td>[+ punctual]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctual: the branch hit the ground</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td>[- dynamic]</td>
<td>[+ telic]</td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cook until done, to eat until full</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Accomplishment</td>
<td>[+ dynamic]</td>
<td>[+ telic]</td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to run a race</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Dynamic’ features simply relate to whether or not a verb involves some sort of transition (commonly voluntary action). For this reason, verbs with activity or active accomplishment
lexical aspect have dynamic lexical aspect. In contrast, verbs with accomplishment lexical aspect are [- dynamic] because they refer specifically to the goal of the predicate, but not the precise point where the goal was reached, or the process of accomplishing that goal. Examples of verbs with dynamic features in English include ‘to talk,’ or ‘to run’ because they involve energy being continuously contributed to the action to keep it going. In English, verbs with the dynamic feature can be modified by adverbs like aggressively, strongly, or quietly, which helps identify them as [+dynamic]. Semelfactives can also have dynamic features encoded, and a good test for that in English is trying to use an adverb with the verb in question. For example, ‘she coughed once softly’ where ‘cough’ has semelfactive aspect, and dynamic features. In this example, the adverb ‘softly’ helps determine that ‘to cough’ has a [+dynamic] feature.

The next essential feature highlighted by Van Valin is telicity. According to Filip (2015), “telic verbs express “an action tending toward a goal,” while atelic ones describe situations that “are realized as soon as they begin” (Filip, 2015: 721, citing Garey, 1957: 106). This definition means that telic verbs have a clear end point, and atelic verbs do not. For this reason, verbs with achievement, accomplishment, and active accomplishment lexical aspect have telic features, while verbs with state, activity, and semelfactive lexical aspect do not. For example, a verb with state lexical aspect like ‘to know’ does not have a telic endpoint, while a verb like the Pastaza Kichwa verb chayana ‘to cook until done’ does.

The final feature that makes up lexical aspect outlined by Van Valin is punctuality. This simply refers to whether or not a verb is instantaneous, meaning that only achievement or semelfactive lexical aspects have punctual features. While it is tempting to argue that verbs with active achievement lexical aspect or accomplishment lexical aspect also have punctual features they do not. Verbs with accomplishment lexical aspect simply encode that there is a point at
which a verb will be done, not the instant it is done. Similarly, verbs with active achievement
lexical aspect refer to a process with a definite endpoint, but the fact that they are still in process
implies that they are not punctual. For example: ‘winning a race’ has active achievement lexical
aspect that implies that there is an end to the action: when the race is won; but the precise point
of the race being won is still in progress.

Understanding these classes of lexical aspect is necessary to understanding the analysis
that I did for the rest of this thesis. The following chapter will outline my methodology in
gathering Pastaza Kichwa data to analyze, and how I went about building my analysis.
Chapter 3: Methodology

Data for this thesis came primarily from two sources: the Quechua Real Words (QRW) Corpus compiled by Dr Janis Nuckolls and her students, and the biblical story of Noah and the flood as told by Sra Louisa Cadena to Dr Tod Swanson. The data in the QRW Corpus are comprised of a series of recorded interviews, and includes data from six informants who spoke either Pastaza Kichwa, or Upper Napo Kichwa though most of the data was from one particularly talkative Pastaza Kichwa speaker. Most of the samples used in this thesis from the QRW Corpus were taken from interviews where the informants are answering questions about daily life in the Amazon, or are telling stories to illustrate a point they are trying to make. The data were recorded on videos and have been glossed, though not all of it is translated. A total of 16 examples of -ʃa from the QRW corpus were used in this thesis, based on whether there were already glosses and translations available.

The story of Noah was untranslated and unglossed initially, and was glossed and translated under the supervision of Dr Nuckolls. It is from a video interview that Dr Tod Swanson did with Sra Louisa Cadena, where she was asked to tell the version of Noah and the Flood that she had been told as a child. Only the first half of the story is included in this analysis, due to time constraints in the translation process. In this section of the story, Noah and his wife prepare provisions for when God sends a flood to kill the wicked people. This part of the story also covers Noah trying to warn the wicked people that they need to be better, or God will punish them. The transcription of the first half of the Noah story ends with the flood coming, and Noah and his wife dealing with the repercussions of the flood as they float in the canoes they prepared at God’s command. Seven instances of -ʃa included in the analysis section come from this
narrative. Combined, there are 23 examples of -/a used in my analysis (Table 4), and 52 used to justify my analysis of the lexical aspect of verbs.

Table 4: Visual breakdown of sources of examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Name</th>
<th>Number of examples</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noah Story</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>examples of -/a, justification of lexical aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua Real Words (QRW)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>examples of -/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa (COPastaza Kichwa)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>justification of lexical aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuckolls and Swanson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>justification of lexical aspect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples chosen to include in this thesis were chosen in some cases for the ease of translation. As mentioned earlier, not all of the samples taken from the QRW Corpus were translated already, and while there were more examples of -/a available to use, my knowledge of Pastaza Kichwa limited the number of examples that could be translated and glossed with any accuracy. Otherwise, examples were chosen based on how complete they were, meaning whether or not they were cut off mid-sentence because the use of the ideophone in that statement had already been demonstrated. These uses include -/a as an indicator of simultaneous actions, and -/a as an indicator of sequential action. However, there was another use that I propose: -/a being used to indicate habitual actions.

In order to determine the lexical aspect of each verb in the verb chains that use -/a, I used the following charts from Van Valin (2006), as well as data from the Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa (CoPK) created by Rice (2018). The table 5 lists the tests I used to determine the lexical aspect
or *aksionsart* of verbs independent of the context of an utterance, which I confirmed using data from the CoPK.

Table 5: Tests for *Aktionsart* classes Van Valin (2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Achieve</th>
<th>Accmp</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Accmp (Active)</th>
<th>Seml</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td>Irrelevant*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Irrelevant*</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first test in this chart is only effective in languages that have a progressive, like Pastaza Kichwa and English. In English, the progressive is represented by the suffix *-ing*. In Pastaza Kichwa the progressive is most often marked by the durative suffix *-u*. The use of progressive only ever happens in actions that have accomplishment, activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect, meaning they are [– punctual]. Van Valin (2006) notes that “this test is marked “No” for semelfactives, because if an Adverb like *once or one time* is added to make an iterative reading impossible, the progressive is unacceptable…the progressive with a semelfactive Verb (or an achievement Verb with a plural subject) yields a Verb which patterns like an activity Verb” (159). This was something to be particularly aware of in the analyses of the lexical aspect of both *-fa* verbs and the matrix verbs with which they occur.
The next two tests measure whether the verb can occur with dynamic adverbs (test 2), or ‘pace’ adverbs (such as ‘quickly’ or ‘slowly’) that can occur with a verb regardless of whether or not it is dynamic (test 3). These tests are meant to test for the feature [± dynamic], and verbs with activity, acitive accomplishment and some verbs with semelfactive lexical aspect can use dynamic adverbs (test 2). In contrast, verbs with semelfactive lexical aspect cannot use ‘pace’ adverbs that describe the pace at which a verb was done (ie. quickly, slowly), while verbs with accomplishment, activity, and active accomplishment lexical aspect can. Adverbs aren’t used as often in Pastaza Kichwa as they are in English, so this was harder to apply as a metric than other tests in determining lexical aspect in my analyses.

Tests four and five differentiate between telic and non-telic verbs, relating back to the features proposed by Van Valin in T4, specifically [±telic]. The verbs with telic features – as determined by test 5 – fall under the lexical aspect categories of accomplishments, and active accomplishments. This is because they can refer to a specific endpoint. Test four, in contrast, is used to show verbs with atelic features, that can indicate a few types of lexical aspect: state, activity, and semelfactives, but not achievements. Test four is completely irrelevant to verbs with active accomplishment and accomplishment lexical aspect. These tests were particularly useful in analyzing -fa in Pastaza Kichwa.

The next test deals with the ability of a verb to become a stative modifier, and determines whether a verb with punctual features has achievement or semelfactive lexical aspect. A simple example of this from Pastaza Kichwa is when verbs can take the perfective suffix -jka, meaning something has been completed, and cannot be reversed, though that is not the only way that stative modifiers can be indicated. When a verb can be a stative modifier, it has the ability to modify the state of the subject creating a change in state that cannot be reversed or repeated. A
clear example of this in English is ‘to kill’, where once the subject has been killed, it cannot be un-killed. In contrast, a verb with semelfactive lexical aspect such as ‘to tap’ can be done repeatedly, and does not entail a result state. This test was occasionally difficult to apply to existing data, but ultimately useful in determining the difference between achievement lexical aspect, and semelfactive lexical aspect. The final test is not one that was used in this analysis. However, it was noted, when there was a verb that could take the causative suffix -tʃi in Pastaza Kichwa.

Table 6 is replicated table 3 from the Literature Review chapter, and contains the different features each type of lexical aspect possesses. This was the final check I used to verify the lexical aspect of specific verbs.

Table 6: Features of Aktionsart Classes (Van Valin, 2006, 156)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>State to believe, to be</th>
<th>Activity to run</th>
<th>Achievement to win a race, to reach the summit</th>
<th>Semelfactive punctual: the branch hit the ground</th>
<th>Accomplishment to cook until done, to eat until full</th>
<th>Active Accomplishment to run a race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[- dynamic]</td>
<td>[+ dynamic]</td>
<td>[- dynamic]</td>
<td>[+ dynamic]</td>
<td>[- dynamic]</td>
<td>[+ dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[- telic]</td>
<td>[- telic]</td>
<td>[+ telic]</td>
<td>[- telic]</td>
<td>[+ telic]</td>
<td>[+ telic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
<td>[+ punctual]</td>
<td>[+ punctual]</td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
<td>[- punctual]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Using these charts and tests, the lexical aspect of each verb in each verb chain that uses -ʃa in the analysis section was determined, and from there conclusions were drawn in regard to how well the uses of -ʃa in Pastaza Kichwa align with what has already been discussed by Nuckolls and Swanson (2020). The analysis also discusses how the lexical aspect of -ʃa verb chains affects the interpretation of different statements within Pastaza Kichwa narratives and descriptions. It should be noted that the effects of lexical aspect on -ʃa verb chains are often context dependent, so in the analysis, I make note of situations where context affects the interpretation of the verb chain in regards to simultaneity, sequentiality, or habituality.
Chapter 4: Simultaneity

In this chapter I discuss how -fa is used in Pastaza Kichwa when two or more actions, states, emotions, or bodily configurations have activity lexical aspect and therefore can occur simultaneously. I define ‘simultaneity’ as any set of actions that are performed at the same time, or are so difficult to pick apart that it would be inaccurate to say that they occur strictly in sequence. Simultaneity with -fa is determined largely by the lexical aspect of both the -fa verbs and the matrix verbs of a phrase. In this chapter, I use the word ‘predicate’ as a catch-all term to describe any verb, regardless of lexical aspect. Unless noted otherwise, I will be using Van Valin’s (2006) categories of lexical aspect in my analysis. These categories of lexical aspect are activity, accomplishment, achievement, semelfactive, active accomplishment, and state.

Of these categories, the lexical aspect category that is most likely to indicate simultaneous predicates is activity lexical aspect. Activity lexical aspect deals with predicates that are continuous, and have no set end point encoded. While it is possible for other lexical aspect categories such as state, or accomplishment lexical aspect to be used to describe simultaneous predicates when used with -fa, they more often will indicate habitual simultaneous predicates, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Pastaza Kichwa is not the only language that makes a distinction between simultaneous and sequential predicates. English, for example makes the distinction between walking and talking (simultaneous) versus walking then talking (sequential). In the first case, walking and talking, the connective conjunction ‘and’ matches the activity lexical aspect of the predicates ‘walk’ and ‘talk.’ While ‘walk’ and ‘talk’ both have activity aspect, meaning they have no endpoint implied, that just means that within the phrase, both predicates are ongoing. The word ‘and’ gives the context that they are going on at the same time because it matches the aspect of
the two verbs. (It should be noted that and only works this way when paired with verbs with activity lexical aspect. In other situations, it can indicate simultaneity.) In contrast, the conjunction ‘then’ has an achievement lexical aspect that is applied to the verbs ‘walk’ and ‘talk.’ Because ‘then’ implies that actions were done one at a time, there is sequentiality in the phrase ‘walking then talking’ despite both actions having activity lexical aspect.

The following sections deal with the most common ways that -fa is used to talk about simultaneous predicates. The first section deals with how -fa functions with verbs that use either state, or activity lexical aspect (or both) to indicate that the predicate has an ongoing temporal status. In other words, the verb(s) with activity lexical aspect establish that the subject of that verb was doing something with no set endpoint. In contrast, verbs with state lexical aspect are generally predicates that are more abstract, such as emotions, or knowing something.

4.1 -fa and Activity Verbs

One of the most effective ways to determine whether two predicates in a Pastaza Kichwa verb chain that uses -fa are simultaneous or not is to figure out whether or not all of the predicates listed have activity lexical aspect. Having activity lexical aspect means that the predicate is [– punctual], [– telic], and [+ dynamic]. Simply put, there is no encoded terminus to the predicate, but it is progressive. There are more features that verbs with activity lexical aspect have, but those will be discussed in the examples in this section.

Example three comes from the Quechua Real Words (QRW) Corpus entry for ruyag meaning “…an expanse of whiteness” (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=ruyag), which is used to describe an old woman’s hair.
(3) \(-fa\) in simultaneous: \textit{ruyag}

\begin{verbatim}
 riku-kpi-ga  rujak-sa  uma-juk  apa-wawa-fi  wamag  ukwi-ga  santoj  tija-fa-fi  kanta-u-ka
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
 look-DS-DO  IDEO-LIM  head-POSS  grandma-little-EV  bamboo  top-DO  IDEO  dwell-SS-EV  sing-DUR-PERF
\end{verbatim}

‘And upon looking what he saw was an extremely white-haired little grandmother sitting upright santong in the middle of (a grove of) bamboo, and she was singing’

QRW ruyag video 1 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=ruyag)

In order to determine the lexical aspect of the two verbs in this verb chain: \textit{tijana} ‘to dwell/exist/hang out’, and \textit{kantana} ‘to sing’, I pulled data from the CoPK (Corpus of Pastaza Kichwa) compiled by Rice (2018). My findings in regard to the lexical aspect of these verbs are below:

(4) use of durative \(-u\) with \textit{kantana} and \textit{tijana}

(a) \begin{verbatim}
paj  wafa-m-a-n  kanta-u-n
\end{verbatim}

(s)he  after-EV-be-3SG  sing-DUR-1SG.PRES

‘after (s)he was singing’

(b) \begin{verbatim}
lomocha-ta  pinari-nga-ta  tija-u-ra
\end{verbatim}

lomocha-DO  be.angry-3SG.FUT-ADV  sit-DUR-PST

‘the lomocha was sitting there angrily’

In these examples, both \textit{tijana} and \textit{kantana} use the durative suffix, meaning that they pass the first test proposed by Van Valin (2006) to determine lexical aspect: the ability to be progressive. This means that they both have either accomplishment, activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect.
Additionally, because of the use of the verb *piparina* ‘to be angry’, which has been adverbialized with the suffix *-ta*, *tijana* also passes the second test for lexical aspect proposed by Van Valin of occurring with dynamic adverbs, meaning it is either has activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. In comparison, *kantana* ‘to sing’ passes the fourth test proposed by Van Valin in this example; *kantana* can occur with a time expression that doesn’t have a set endpoint. This means that of the three lexical aspect categories that could have applied to it, the only one that fits is activity lexical aspect.

While I could not find any data supporting whether or not *tijana* ‘to dwell’ can also pass the fourth test of lexical aspect proposed by Van Valin, it is evident that *tijana* also has activity lexical aspect because of the two that it could be (activity or active accomplishment), *tiyana* also never acts as a stative modifier, meaning it fails the sixth test proposed by Van Valin (2006).

Both *tijana* and *kantana* refer to the little old grandmother, and, as established through other examples of the verbs in the CoPK, both verbs have activity lexical aspect. This means that both verbs are atelic, meaning they are accomplished as soon as they begin. Both sitting and singing have no set end point, so neither of them are punctual predicates. Furthermore, neither predicate is static, and both are dynamic. The presence of these features means that *tijana* and *kantana* both use activity aspect. At this point in the narrative, the sitting and singing is ongoing, though it is possible that the little grandmother can stop at any time.

‘To sing’ *kantana* also has the durative suffix *-u* attached to it, which means that at the time that the person was looking, the woman was singing. In this case, the *-u* suffix reaffirms the lexical activity of singing that the old woman was doing. It also doesn’t add any sort of context about when the singing will end, which implies again that sitting and singing are simultaneous predicates in this example.
While -ʃa does track the subject of the utterance, it also indicates a certain level of continuity in the predicate being modified by the -ʃa verb: tijana ‘to dwell’. The use of tijana in this utterance reaffirms that the little grandmother being talked about was actually physically there. The ideophone santoŋ specifies that she was sitting, not just dwelling, or hanging out as tijana would imply by itself, and also encodes the manner in which she was sitting. This particular ideophone is derived from the Spanish word santo or saint. This means that she was sitting in a certain stylized way, reminiscent of portraits of saints in Catholic iconography as she sang.

In this utterance the lexical aspect values of sitting tijana and singing kantana are both dynamic, ongoing activities. To be clear, in this situation -ʃa, which is used with tijana and -u, which is used with kantana, do not have the same durative function. While -u is indeed a durative marker indicating ongoing action, it specifies a verb’s aspect in relation to a speech event. In contrast, -ʃa functions to interrelate the verbs in their chains in terms of their simultaneity (or sequentiality). Table 7 below reiterates the results of the tests of lexical aspect for tijana and kantana.
Table 7: lexical aspect tests for *tijana* and *kantana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>tijana</em></th>
<th><em>kantana</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

| Activity | Activity |

My next example, example 5 has two different uses of -/a. In this section, I only discuss the first; however, the next section will explain how the second use of -/a works in this utterance. This is part of a story about how the narrator, Sra Louisa Cadena saw an armadillo, and how it ran away from her.

(5) -/a in simultaneous: *bolay*

\[
\text{nuka-ma} \quad \text{kasna} \quad \text{rika-fa} \quad \text{tija-u-ra} \quad \text{rik} \quad \text{-i} \quad \text{bolay} \quad \text{kaśpa-fa} \quad \text{ri-ra}
\]

\[\text{me-to} \quad \text{like.this} \quad \text{look-SS} \quad \text{exist-DUR-PST} \quad \text{look-IMP} \quad \text{IDEO} \quad \text{run-SS} \quad \text{go-PST}\]

‘Like this (it) was there staring at me, look! And then bolang (balled up) it ran away.’

QRW bola video 3 ([http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=bola](http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=bola))
In this example, the verbs in the first -fa verb chain are *tijana* ‘to dwell/be in existence somewhere’ and *rikuna* ‘to look.’ Because the activity lexical aspect of *tijana* has already been established in example 6, I will be examining the lexical aspect of *rikuna* ‘to look,’ based on Van Valin’s (2006) criteria, and on additional data from the Noah story that other -fa examples come from in this thesis, as well as from Rice’s (2018) CoPK. Example (8a) comes from line 91 of the Noah story, and example (6b) is from the CoPK.

(6) lexical aspect tests for *rikuna*

(a) *tʃita-ga kasiʃa riku-fun*

that-DO quietly look-let’s

‘let’s look at that quietly’

(b) *niuka mama-ta rikuna-ta*

my mama-DO look-DO

‘looking at my mother’

Example (6a) allows *rikuna* ‘to look’ to pass Van Valin’s (2006) second test for lexical aspect. This is simply a test of whether or not *rikuna* is a dynamic activity or a pace activity. The use of *kasiʃa* ‘quietly’ tells us that *rikuna* has [+ dynamic] features. This means that according to Van Valin, *rikuna* can have either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. These categories are confirmed by example (6b). Example (6b) shows that *rikuna* passes the first of Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect: *rikuna* can take progressive morphology. However, that still means that *rikuna* could either have active accomplishment, or activity lexical aspect. Like in example 4, the lexical aspect of *rikuna* is determined more by what it cannot do, than by other
existing data. I was unable to find any instance where rikuna acted as a state modifier. This means that the only lexical aspect that rikuna can have, according to Van Valin, is activity lexical aspect.

In example 5, taken from the QRW bola entry, ‘looking’ rikufa and ‘existing in a place’ tijaura are occurring at the same time. This is partially inferred by the fact that looking and existing in a place have slightly different functions, though they both have activity lexical aspect based on the features of being [-telic], [+ dynamic], [-static], and [-punctual]. Rikuna ‘to look’ has activity lexical aspect, and the use of -ʃa with it means that rikuna is going to be related to the matrix verb in this chain. The durative suffix -u used with the verb tijana ‘to exist in a place’, which is also a verb with activity lexical aspect means that the same situation applies here, as did in example one. Tijana using the durative suffix -u emphasizes the atelic nature of this verb. Like in example one, it’s unclear exactly when either action ended, making them both [+dynamic] and [-punctual], so they are lexically continuous (have activity lexical aspect). This means that tijana and rikuna are occurring simultaneously. Table 8 reiterates which of Van Valin’s tests rikuna passed, as tijana’s lexical aspect had already been determined (see Table 7).
Table 8: lexical aspect of rikuna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>rikuna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with X in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical Aspect</strong></td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Manner of Action

Another function of -fa in indicating simultaneity is in describing the manner in which a verb is performed. The encoding of manner of action is a subfunction of simultaneity in Pastaza Kichwa, because it most often occurs as part of a description in conjunction with a verb of motion. One common element that can indicate that -fa is describing the manner of motion in a verb chain is the presence of an ideophone in the utterance. In this way, as well as by encoding both directionality and type of motion (for example: running, rolling, walking) -fa can be used to help encode manner of action where both ideophones and verbs are used to describe precisely how an action happened. This is not only essential to effective storytelling in Pastaza Kichwa, but can be instrumental in determining the simultaneity of a -fa verb chain. If an ideophone is generally used to imitate a sound that a certain type of motion might make, there’s a good chance
that it indicates that the verb with the -fa suffix closest to it is part of a verb chain that indicates simultaneous actions.

Example 7 was used in the previous section to describe how the first use of -fa uses activity lexical aspect to indicate simultaneity. The second use of -fa in this utterance deals more with the manner in which the armadillo in the narrative ran away from Sra Cadena. The subject of the two utterances does not change – in both cases, it’s the same armadillo. However, there is a different verb chain to deal with. In the first chain, tijana ‘to exist in a place’ is the matrix verb, and in the second chain, rina ‘to go’ is the matrix verb. Sra. Cadena’s intonation in this segment indicates that the two uses of -fa occur as part of different episodes of this story. This is made most evident by the interjection of the ideophone bolanŋ. It acts as a depictive image of the armadillo’s running. Sra Cadena’s voice becomes higher pitched, and louder. She then resumes the story in her normal speaking tone, indicating that the use of -fa with the verb kaʃpaʃa ‘to run’ is part of a new phrase, even though the subject is the same. It is important to note in this gloss that the suffix -ma is glossed as the English word ‘to’, and that this is not an abbreviation for some sort of morphological function.

(7) -fa and manner of simultaneous action: bolanŋ

juka-ma kasna riku-fa tija-u-ra rik -i bolanŋ kaʃpa-fa ri-ra
me-to like.this look-SS sit-DUR-PST look-IMP IDEO run-SS go-PST

‘Like this (it) was there staring at me, look! And then bolang (baled up) it ran away.’

QRW bola video 3 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=bola)
I will be analyzing the lexical aspect of the verbs of the second verb chain that uses -fa: kaλpana ‘to run’ and rina ‘to go’. Data for these examples comes from the CoPK.

(8) kaλpana and rina with progressive

(a) شفا ácilka ɲapa ɲa kaλ pa u n
then that woman-DO run-DUR-3SG

‘then that woman is running’

(b) 鲷ka-fa ɲa u n
play.an.instrument-SS run-DUR-3SG

‘playing an instrument (flute) [(s)he/it)] is going’

In examples 8 (a) and (b), both kaλpana and rina are progressive within the context of the statement. That means that they both pass the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. Based on this information alone, it is evident that these verbs have accomplishment, activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Example 9 (a) and (b) narrow those categories down further.

(9) kaλpana and rina and dynamic action

(a) ʃinda kaλ pa ni
strong run-1SG.PRES

‘I run strongly’

(b) ʃinda ri-gi
strong go-2SG.IMP

‘(you) go strongly!’
Both of these verbs can be modified by dynamic adverbs. This means that they both pass Van Valin’s second test of lexical aspect and can now either have activity or active accomplishment lexical aspect. The final determination of the lexical aspect of ˈkaʃpaña ‘to run’ is discussed below with example 10.

(10) ˈkaʃpaña and time statement

\[
\text{my baby-DO time-EV run-to-PST}
\]

‘my baby ran toward me in no time’

In example 10, ˈkašpəna ‘to run’ passed Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical aspect, meaning it has activity lexical aspect. However, ˈrɪnə ‘to go’ is still unclear on whether it has activity or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Because ˈrɪnə cannot be a stative modifier, it does not pass Van Valin’s sixth test, and therefore also has activity lexical aspect.

The second use of -ʃə in example 7 is also an example of simultaneous actions taking place, but it encodes the manner of motion used by the armadillo. In the statement ˈkašpəʃə ˈrɪnə or ‘went (away) running’ -ʃə is attached to the verb ‘to run’ ˈkašpəna, and the matrix verb it is chained to is ‘to go’ ˈrɪnə. In this situation, ˈkašpəʃə has an activity lexical aspect, because it is not static, punctual or telic, but it is dynamic. ˈKašpəna ‘to run’ is an action that needs constant energy to be sustained as an action, and has no encoded endpoint. This lack of defined endpoint, static state, and punctuality holds true for ˈrɪnə as well, meaning the actions are performed simultaneously. The armadillo didn’t run, and then go; it just ran away.
Interestingly, there is a double encoding of manner here. As I just discussed, *kaʃpana* encodes the manner of going, but the use of *bolay* encodes the manner in which the armadillo ran away. *Bolay* is an ideophone used in Pastaza Kichwa to describe “[shaping] something into a ball, or to move like a ball in a rolling motion, or to run in a curled up, ball-like shape,” just as an armadillo does when it curls up to protect itself (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=bola). In this example, not only does *bolay* make a distinction between the first verb chain and the second by introducing an element of sequentiality, but it also acts as a shape classifier to describe exactly what the armadillo looked like when it ran away. Table 9 below summarizes the tests of lexical aspect passed by both *kaʃpana* and *rina*.

Table 9: lexical aspect of *kaʃpana* and *rina*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>rina</th>
<th>kaʃpana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical Aspect</strong></td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The next example comes from the QRW corpus under the entry for the ideophone ‘aki,’ which is used to describe wobbling motions. There are two uses of -fa in this example that have very similar functions. I will be discussing both of them.

(11) -fa and manner of simultaneous action: aki

wawa-ta marka-fa-ga aki aki aki aki aki ri-fka apa-fa-ga
baby-DO carry-SS-TOP IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO go-PERF take-SS-TOP
‘Carrying the baby he went (wobbling) aki aki aki taking it’

QRW aki video 1 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=aki)

In this example, the matrix verb, rina ‘to go’ has already been discussed in examples 8 and 9, and it has been determined to have activity lexical aspect. Both markana ‘to carry’ and apana ‘to take’ have not had their lexical aspect determined. Unfortunately, there is not much data on markana ‘to carry’ in the CoPK, as it is not a regularly used verb, and so it is difficult to determine with any certainty what lexical aspect it has. However, because conceptually it is so similar to apana ‘to take’, for the purposes of this analysis, I will assume that the lexical aspects of both verbs are the same. The data used to determine this lexical aspect comes from the CoPK.
(12) examples of *apana*

(a) *imawa apa-u-guna*

what take-DUR-PL

‘what are they taking?’

(b) *tfi uras apa-naku-fa afka-fi mana tfari wanuna*

those times to.take-RCPL-SS a.lot-EV NEG like.that to.die

‘At that time, following, a lot of them apparently were not to die.’

From these two examples, it is possible to determine the lexical aspect of *apana* ‘to take’, and its derived form: *apanakuna* ‘to follow.’ In example (a), *apana* is progressive, meaning it passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, and has accomplishment, activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. In example (b), it occurs in a format that talks about *apana* happening for a time, though it is unspecific how much time precisely. Because it can be in that kind of statement, it passes the fourth test of lexical aspect proposed by Van Valin. Finally, I can find no evidence that *apana* can act as a stative modifier. These three tests determine *apana* has activity lexical aspect. As mentioned before, due to a lack of information, but similar meanings and contexts, I will be assuming that the other -ʃa verb in example 11, *markana* ‘to carry’ has the same lexical aspect as *apana*.

In this example, the action of carrying (*markana*) the baby and the act of taking (*apana*) the baby are variations on a theme. Both verbs have very similar semantic meaning, and, more importantly for the purposes of this analysis, both the -ʃa verbs, and the matrix verb have activity lexical aspect. They are dynamic atelic verbs that are not static or punctual.
The first -fa is attached to the verb *markana* ‘to carry’ and has activity lexical aspect, as does the matrix verb it’s attached to: *rina* ‘to go’. The second -fa is attached to *apana* ‘to take’ and also has activity lexical aspect, and uses *rina* as its matrix verb. The two instances of -fa operate slightly differently. The first one, *markafaga* ‘carrying it’ could be chained to *rina* on its own. It could easily just be said that ‘carrying the child he went wobbling’ without the use of the second verb modified by -fa: *apafaga* ‘taking it’. However, the use of the verb ‘to take’ after the verb ‘to go’ reiterates that the person carrying the child actually took it from someone. This is a type of reiteration that is common in Kichwa narratives and in language generally. It is used to emphasize the main action verb. The reiteration of a similar verb gives more detail about the manner in which an action was done. In this case, it could be possible that the man had been wobbling carrying the child, and then went away, instead of taking it with him. The use of *apana* ‘to take’ with *rina* ‘to go’ ensures that there can be no misunderstanding of what events took place, how they took place, and ensures that listeners know that all the verbs in this chain took place simultaneously. Even if this statement could be translated as “he went away *aki aki aki* (wobbling), **and he took the baby with him!**” (emphasis added in bold), going away and taking the baby with him still happen simultaneously. Table 10 below reiterates which of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect *apana* ‘to take,’ and, I infer, that *markana* ‘to carry’ passed.
Table 10: lexical aspect of *apana* and *markana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>apana</em></th>
<th><em>markana</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical Aspect</strong></td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how -*fa* doesn’t just track the subject of an utterance and mark that it remains the same throughout an utterance as part of the Pastaza Kichwa switch reference system. One of the more common ways -*fa* is used in Pastaza Kichwa is to indicate simultaneous actions. While this is only one of several functions -*fa* has in discourse, it is an important one to understand, because it is one of the most commonly used functions of -*fa*.

The following patterns occur in phrases that use -*fa* to indicate simultaneity. First, it is unlikely for actions that are strictly simultaneous, that is, actions with no additional aspect such as habituality, to have more than one -*fa* verb in a row. That being said, it is possible, when describing manner of motion for a matrix verb to have a -*fa* verb on either side of it, as seen in example six. Second, when both the matrix verb, or the -*fa* verb has the lexical aspect of activity
(as described by Van Valin), they happen simultaneously. Finally, -ʃa is likely to imply simultaneity when manner of motion is being discussed. This is often indicated by ideophones.

As discussed in the first section, when -ʃa is used in a verb chain with a verb that has activity lexical aspect, the actions taking place in the chain are likely to occur simultaneously. Then as shown in section two, the same holds true for verbs that operate with ideophones, which can either have their own activity lexical aspect, or not.

This use of -ʃa with verbs that have activity lexical aspect to talk about simultaneous actions does not seem to have any limitations in regard to the tense of the matrix verb. It also does not appear to be limited to any specific type of discourse, though it does most commonly occur in either stories, or descriptions of activities. That is to say that -ʃa can be used to talk about simultaneous actions, emotional states, or states of being in multiple types of discourse. This lack of distinction is not surprising, considering that switch reference is used throughout the language, and isn’t limited to one kind of discourse either.
Chapter 5: Habituality

In this chapter I discuss how -fa is used with the lexical aspect of the verbs in the verb chains to which it’s attached to indicate habituality in Pastaza Kichwa. Throughout this chapter I will be using ‘predicate(s)’ as a general term to describe any verb regardless of lexical aspect. All verbs will be evaluated based on Van Valin’s (2006) tests for lexical aspect as well as which of the features of lexical aspect ([± telic], [± dynamic], and [± punctual]) each verb exhibits.

Habitual predicates in Pastaza Kichwa are not limited to humans. If an animal or plant does something often enough for a pattern to be noticed, those actions are talked about in the same way as they would be for a human. It should be noted that verb chains using -fa are not the only way that Pastaza Kichwa speakers talk about habitual actions or behaviors. Nuckolls and Swanson (2020) comment that “in Quichua, a verb suffixed with attributive -k, when combined with the past tense, expresses a meaning that is comparable to the ‘used to’ or ‘would do’ construction in English.” (Nuckolls and Swanson, 2020, Lesson 13: 148). In contrast to this type of habitual aspect, when -fa is used to describe habitual behaviors, it doesn’t require the use of a past tense verb; habituality may also be talked about using the present and future tense.

In Pastaza Kichwa, habituality seems to be a subset of simultaneous actions. The use of -fa when talking about habituality indicates predicates that happen simultaneously with each other. The difference is that unlike the examples from the previous chapter, these predicates happen simultaneously with each other and with regularity. While it might be possible for it to also indicate habitual patterns that have specific steps that must be followed, I haven’t found any evidence for sequentiality in habitual action. So based on available data, Pastaza Kichwa uses -fa as one way to discuss habitual actions that are simultaneous with each other. In these cases, -fa is attached to verbs that have either state or activity lexical aspect as defined by Van Valin (2006),
and are therefore simultaneous with each other. In other words, in Pastaza Kichwa, verbs that are
either continuous, and don’t have a set endpoint encoded (activity lexical aspect), or are abstract,
and deal with concepts like emotional states or knowledge (state lexical aspect) are likely to be
simultaneous with each other.

When the argument that -fa tracks is non-specific, such as a group of people, or animals,
then the -fa verb and its matrix verb are likely to be habitual actions. As I said in the previous
paragraph, in all available data, -fa is used to describe habitual actions that happen
simultaneously with each other. For example, when a set of actions occurring at the same time is
indicative of a typical cultural activity (such as mingas or ‘work parties’), -fa is indicative not
only of simultaneous, but also habitual action. Another case where a verb chain using -fa
indicates habituality is when the behaviors of animals, plants, and people are being discussed.

5.1 Prototypical Actions and Manner of Actions

In this section, prototypicality includes the manner in which the actions are done. The
examples of -fa verbs in this section have either activity or state lexical aspect. These verbs are
not only simultaneous with each other, but also occur habitually, even though there is not an
attributive -k suffix used, because the subject that -fa refers to is nonspecific.

In example 13, a -fa verb with activity lexical aspect is used in conjunction with a past
tense verb at the beginning of a narrative. It’s similar to how “once upon a time there were…”
functions in English in that it sets the scene and indicates that that the set of actions were
ongoing and/or simultaneous in context. This first type of habitual simultaneous action can be
seen below as the beginning of a narrative of Noah and the flood as told by Sra. Louisa Cadena.
In example 15, there are two verbs in the switch reference verb chain: the -fa verb, 

*mingana* ‘to have a work party’, and *upina* ‘to drink.’ I think it is important to mention that *upina* does not necessarily refer to imbibing alcoholic beverages, though it is likely to refer to that in this specific situation. In order to determine the lexical aspect of both these verbs, I will be using data from the CoPK, and the tests proposed by Van Valin (2006), which can be found in Table 5.

*Mingana* ‘to have a work party’ is a verb that is originally derived from the noun *minga* ‘work party’, and most tokens that exist refer to the noun, rather than the verb. However, I will be treating this as a verb that has activity lexical aspect because of the cultural norms associated with *miŋgas* as described by Nuckolls and Swanson (2020). For instance, when people work together on a project of any kind, as long as there are more than 2 people, it is considered a *miŋga*. Furthermore, a *miŋga* can last for as little as an hour, or for much longer, depending on the task that the people are working on. These two pieces of information indicate that were I able to find more tokens of *miŋga* being used as the verb *mingana*, those tokens would pass the first test proposed by Van Valin (2006), that it is possible for the verb *mingana* to be progressive, meaning it has activity, active accomplishment, or accomplishment lexical aspect. It also suggests that it would be possible to say *ɪʃkaj pundʒa minganaura* or ‘they’re having a work party for one hour.’ This would mean that *miŋgana* passes Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical

(13) -fa in prototypical habitual simultaneous actions: *miŋgas*

\[
\text{tfi paj-guna kasari uras miŋga-fa upi-u-ra}
\]

Those 3-PL beginning times work.party-SS drink-DUR-PST

‘Those beginning time work partying people were drinking’

Noah 1 [https://youtu.be/6Nk9G-hqKWk?t=32](https://youtu.be/6Nk9G-hqKWk?t=32) (0:32-0:42)
aspect and does not encode punctuality the way verbs with active accomplishment or accomplishment lexical aspect would, and therefore *mingana* ‘to have a work party’ has activity lexical aspect.

(14) lexical aspect of *upina*

(a)  

`upi-uuuuuuu-guna-fi wawa-guna`

`drink-DUR-PL-EV child-PL`

‘the children are driiiiiiiinking’

(b)

`tʃi-ta  tuta  upi-j  ana-u-ra`

`that-TOP night  drink-LOC  to.be-DUR-PST`

‘that night (he/she/it) was drinking there’

As both examples (a) and (b) show, *upina* ‘to drink’ passes the first of Van Valin’s (2006) tests for lexical aspect: it can be a progressive action. This means that *upina* can have either activity, accomplishment, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. However, example (b) also shows that *upina* can also happen for a specific time frame (in this case for a single night). That means that *upina* passes the fourth test proposed by Van Valin, which eliminates both active accomplishment and accomplishment lexical aspect. *Upina* has activity lexical aspect. Table 11 below reiterates the lexical aspect I infer that *mingana* has (shaded grey, because all answers are a result of inferences), as well as the lexical aspect of *upina* based on Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect.
Table 11: lexical aspect of *miŋgana* and *upina*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>miŋgana</em></th>
<th><em>upina</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

Activity Activity

'In example 13, Sra Cadena is describing how people in the time of Noah would get together for work parties, and then drink together. In this example, the context of the story of Noah taking place in *kašari uras* ‘the beginning times’ is important to consider in addition to the -*fa* verb *miŋgana* ‘to (have a) work party,’ and the matrix verb *upina* ‘to drink.’ As discussed above, both of these verbs have activity lexical aspect, meaning that having a work party and drinking happened simultaneously. However, because this statement is talking about a specific time period where these actions would happen, and there is no indication that this was a one-time event, this is also an example of a prototypicality judgement that means that these actions were so common as to be habitual. This prototypicality judgement is an implicature, meaning an inference made, based on assumptions about the way the world works.
Based on the context of the story of Noah and the flood, where God becomes angry at people, and sends a flood to wipe out all humanity (except for Noah and his family), it is safe to assume that this kind of rowdy work party was a common occurrence (see Example 17). These kinds of activities were so typical of a *minga* that they became the standard or prototypical examples of how a *minga* would operate.

Another potential indicator that *-fa* is being used to indicate prototypical habitual actions that happen simultaneously is when *-fa* enumerates multiple actions that have activity lexical aspect in a row. This type of usage does not require a matrix verb, and only happens when the actions are able to happen at the same time such as whistling while working. The following example also comes from Sra Cadena’s narrative of Noah and the flood, and happens immediately after Example 13, which I just discussed.

(15) *-fa* in prototypical habitual simultaneous actions: party description

> tʃaɾa paj-na-ga kaha-*fa* bajla-*fa* hahaj asi-*fa* tukui pikwanu ulawatu

perhaps 3-PL-TOP beat.a.drum-SS dance-SS IDEO laugh-SS all pikwanu ulawatu

‘they were beating a drum, dancing, hahay laughing all (playing) the pikwanu and ulawatu.’

Noah 2-3 https://youtu.be/6Nk9G-hqKWk?t=49 (0:49-0:57)

There are several *-fa* verbs in this sentence: *asina* ‘to laugh,’ *bailana* ‘to dance,’ and *kahana* ‘to beat a drum.’ The data I use to determine the lexical aspect of all of these verbs comes from the CoPK, and from Nuckolls and Swanson (2020). Both of the examples in example 18 are from the CoPK.
(16) asina lexical aspect tests

(a) warmi uchu-ta apa-mu-kpi asi-u-n pay-ga
    woman hot.pepper(s)-DO take-to-DS laugh-DUR-3SG 3SG-TOP
    ‘the woman takes hot peppers to the one who is laughing’

(b) iŋŋŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ-fi asi-ra
    IDEO-EV laugh-PST
    ‘iŋŋŋŋŋŋ (s)he laughed’

In example 16 (a), asina ‘to laugh’ passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, because it can be progressive. Then, narrowing the possible lexical aspect down to two possibilities (activity, or active accomplishment), example 18 (b) passes the second of Van Valin’s tests using the ideophone iŋ which is used to describe a wide smile, according to QRW. From there, it is impossible to use asina as a stative modifier or as part of a statement that fits the formula ‘___ in x time’. Therefore, according to Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, asina ‘to laugh’ has activity lexical aspect.

Example 17 deals with the verb bailana ‘to dance’. There were not many tokens in the CoPK of bailana, so the examples used here are all from Nuckolls and Swanson’s (2020) pedagogical grammar.
In Example 17, *bailana* passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, because it can be progressive; Then in the second example, it passes the fourth test by giving a time frame during which the dancing was happening. This means that *bailana* passes the fourth of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, and can only have activity lexical aspect.

For the last -fa verb from example 15, there is a distinct lack of data for *kahana* ‘to beat a drum’, however, because the rest of the sentence lists two kinds of flute, and because the idea that those instruments were also played is heavily implied, I am making the assumption that *kahana* has the same lexical aspect as the verb ‘to play’: *tukana*. I am therefore using data for *tukana* ‘to play’ to extrapolate the lexical aspect of *kahana* ‘to beat a drum’.
In example 18, *tukana* ‘to play’ uses the adverb *saki* ‘sad(ly)’ to describe how the guitar is being played. This type of adverb use passes Van Valin’s second test of lexical aspect. Beyond that, it is not possible for *tukana* to be part of a stative modifier. That makes it a verb with activity lexical aspect, and by extension, *kahana* ‘to beat a drum’ also has activity lexical aspect. Table 12 below reiterates which of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect *kahana*, *bailana*, and *asina* passed, and states their lexical aspect.

Table 12: lexical aspect of *kahana* (as determined by *tukana*), *bailana*, and *asina*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>kahana</em> (tukana)</th>
<th><em>bailana</em></th>
<th><em>asina</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X</em> for an hour, spend an hour <em>X</em>-ing’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X</em> in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

| Activity | Activity | Activity |

In Example 15, as I have discussed above, *-fa* is attached to three different actions: *bailafa* ‘dancing,’ *kahafa* ‘drumming,’ and *asifa* ‘laughing.’ I infer, based on the concept being presented of people having a wild party, that these actions are happening simultaneously rather than sequentially as distinct and separate actions. This inference is supported by all of these verbs having activity lexical aspect. None of the actions have a set endpoint, and if the people
were to stop doing the actions before they had done everything they had planned to do, it would still be accurate to say that they had danced, had laughed, and had drummed. This use of -ʃa to describe rowdy partiers indicates that the actions had a certain level of expectation. This was the way people behaved, and each of the actions in the verb chain habitually happened at the same time as the others. This aspect of continuous past action is not conveyed by where it happens syntactically in the sentence. It also isn’t indicated using other morphology that might be used in this situation such as the attributive -k suffix; it is implied contextually, by the activity lexical aspect of the verbs occurring with -ʃa. The -ʃa verbs in this chain are not accompanied by a matrix verb that is inflected for person, tense, or number. However, based on the context of the utterance it is understood that the actions were all being performed habitually in the past, and that they would occur simultaneously as part of a typical scene of revelry.

Sometimes, in Pastaza Kichwa, simultaneous habitual actions have an element of prototypicality that needs to be clarified. In situations like this, the type of action is restated with different verb(s) to clarify what is meant by the statement or question. This kind of clarification is an indicator that the two verbs are occurring simultaneously, and one might be a subtype of the other, such as in example 19, where the concept of working contains the subtype of a specific kind of work: sweeping. In this example, which is a question one woman asks another in the context of a story, both verbs have activity lexical aspect. However, the matrix verb pitfana ‘to sweep’ also has an ideophone that helps with clarifying the manner in which the sweeping should be done. This ideophone helps the listener understand that there is a final expectation in mind when the garden is swept.

Example 19 is taken from the Quechua Real Words (QRW) corpus entry for the
ideophone *tfju*. In the QRW, *tfju* is defined as meaning “very clean or shiny” ([http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=chyulya](http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=chyulya)).

(19) -fa in prototypical habitual simultaneous actions: *tfju*

```
taraba-fa-was mana-tfju tfju-รา piifa-ngi kam-ba tfagra-ta
work-SS-DESP NEG-NEG IDEO-LIM sweep-2SG you-POS garden-TOP
```

‘While working, isn't it true that you sweep your garden *chyulla* (completely clean)?'

QRW chyu 2 video 1 ([http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=chyulya](http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=chyulya))

In this rhetorical question, there are two verbs in the verb chain that uses -fa: tarabana ‘to work’, and *piifana* ‘to sweep’. The examples used to determine their lexical aspect all come from the CoPK. Example 22 deals specifically with how both verbs pass Van Valin’s second test of lexical aspect.

(20) tarabana and *piifana* and dynamic adverbs

(a)  
```
sindʒi m-a-n paj m-a-n taraba-k-ga
```

strong EV-be-3SG (s)he EV-be-3SG work-AGT-DO

‘(s)he is a strong worker’

(b)  
```
tfi pangga-ta sumak piifa-fa
```

that leaf-DO beautiful sweep-SS

‘(someone) is nicely sweeping those leaves’

In example 20, both tarabana ‘to work’ and *piifana* ‘to sweep’ use a dynamic description: tarabana uses *sindʒi* ‘stong(ly)’, and *piifana* uses *sumak* ‘beautiful(ly)’. The use of
these dynamic descriptions means that according to Van Valin’s second test of lexical aspect, both verbs have either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. In example 21, the lexical aspect of \textit{tarabana} is determined using Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical aspect.

\begin{example}
\textit{tarabana} in the ‘for an X amount of time’ template

\begin{tabular}{ll}
pun\text{\textipa{dza}} & taraba-f\text{\textipa{k}}a \\
day & work-3.SG.PERF \\
\end{tabular}

‘(s)he worked for a day/during the day’
\end{example}

In this example, \textit{tarabana} ‘to work’ is used in a time expression that gives a specific amount of time that the working was done. This means, as mentioned above, that \textit{tarabana} passes Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical aspect, and has activity lexical aspect. Unfortunately, there was less information available for \textit{pit\textipa{f}ana} ‘to sweep’, so rather than determining lexical aspect based on data that is there, its lexical aspect will be determined based on the functions that \textit{pit\textipa{f}ana} can’t do. The clearest example of this is that \textit{pit\textipa{f}ana} cannot be used as a stative modifier. Meaning that it has the ability to be repeated, and does not entail a result state. In this example, while there is a result state entailed, it is entailed by the ideophone \textit{tfj\textipa{u}} and not by \textit{pit\textipa{f}ana}. Furthermore, because this is an example of a prototypical action, it is clear that sweeping can be done multiple times. That means that it fails Van Valin’s sixth test of lexical aspect, and like \textit{tarabana} ‘to work’, \textit{pit\textipa{f}ana} ‘to sweep’ has activity lexical aspect. Table 13 reiterates the tests passed by \textit{tarabana} and \textit{pit\textipa{f}ana}, as well as their lexical aspect.
Table 13: lexical aspect of *tarabana* and *pitfana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>tarabana</em></th>
<th><em>pitfana</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

Activity  Activity

The example of -fa in example 19 is a perfect example of -fa being used to talk about types of action, and subtypes of that action. The verb *tarabana* ‘to work’ has -fa attached to it. Later in the question, the verb *pitfana* ‘to sweep’ is used to ask, rhetorically if, isn’t it true that while working, the garden is swept. The fact that this question is being asked (even rhetorically) makes it clear that the woman who sweeps is in the habit of doing so, because it is being asked about her by someone else. Both of these verbs by themselves have activity lexical aspect. Neither working nor sweeping has a specific endpoint or goal encoded. In this example, ‘to sweep’ *pitfana* is a hyponym of ‘to work’ *tarabana*, where it is the specific task the question asker wants to know about out of all the work that can be and is done in the garden. And because the sweeping is part of the work being done in the garden, it has activity lexical aspect that is simultaneous with the work. Once the sweeping is begun, so has a particular part of the work. The two actions cannot be separated.
The ideophone *tfju* meaning “very clean or shiny” that comes right before *pitfana* ‘to sweep,’ is used to clarify how the garden is swept, in this case, it is swept completely clean (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=chyulya). While this doesn’t change that *tarabana* and *pitfana* occur simultaneously, and habitually, it does contextualize how long the sweeping is supposed to be done (until clean), and what the end result of the work should be.

Example 22 is found in the QRW corpus entry for *tar*, which is used to describe “the ordinary non-communicative sound of a bird” (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tar). In this segment, the informant, Sra. Eulodia Dagua is in an interview with an ornithologist who is showing her pictures of birds and asking her about them. Although the pictures are of specific species of birds, Sra Dagua is not discussing just that one bird in her answers. Because she is not talking about any specific bird, but rather, a prototypical bird, this means that *tar* is the prototypical noncommunicative sound that a certain species of bird habitually makes. This is in contrast to the examples in the next section, where the sounds the birds make have a communicative function.

(22) -fa in prototypical habitual simultaneous actions: *tar*

\[ \text{paj tfi tar tar ni-n tfiga janga puri-}u-\text{fa-mi tfita tfasna } \text{na} \]

he this IDEO IDEO say-3SG then nothing go/walk-DUR-SS-EV that like-this DM

‘When he says *tar* *tar*, then he is going about (sounding) like that without any reason;’

QRW tar video 1 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tar)

In example 22, the two verbs of interest are the -fa verb, *purina* ‘to walk/go’, and the matrix verb, *nina* ‘to say.’ In order to determine the lexical aspect of these verbs, I will be using
examples from the CoPK, and comparing those usages to Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect.

Example 23 shows how both *purina* and *nina* can be progressive. It is important to note here, that while the durative -\( u \) is the clearest indication of a predicate being progressive in the context of an utterance, it is not they only way that the progressive feature can show up in Pastaza Kichwa.

(23) *purina* and *nina*: progressive

(a) \[ kaj \quad wawa-ta \quad puri-n \]
   that \quad child-DO \quad walk-3SG
   ‘That (one subject) is walking a little bit’

(b) \[ paj-ta \quad imata \quad ni-naun \]
   (s)he-TOP \quad what \quad say-3.PL
   ‘what are they saying to (him/her/it)’

Because both *nina* ‘to say’ and *purina* ‘to walk’ both have the ability to be progressive, they both pass Van Valin’s first test of lexical aspect, meaning they can have activity, accomplishment, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Example 26, only deals with *nina* ‘to say’ and shows how dynamic descriptions can be used with *nina*.

(24) *nina* dynamic description

\[ \text{pa-mi} \quad \text{rayu} \quad \text{pinari-u-n} \quad \text{ni-naun} \]
\[ \text{DM-EV} \quad \text{thunder} \quad \text{angry-DUR-3.SG} \quad \text{say-3.PL} \]
‘the thunder is saying angrily’
Example 24 shows how *nina* ‘to say’ can use dynamic descriptions, which means *nina* passes Van Valin’s second test of lexical aspect, and can have either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. This example did not, however help determine the lexical aspect of *purina*. In example 25, the lexical aspect of both *purina* and *nina* is able to be determined based on how both function in time expressions.

(25) *purina* and *nina* for X time expression

(a)  

*kunan-ga puri-ŋgi*

now-DO go-IMP

‘(you) go now!’

(b)  

*kunan-ga ni-ni-mi*

now-DO say-1.SG-EV

‘I’m saying now’

Both of these examples show how *purina* and *nina* function in time expressions that set a specific limit on when the verb is happening. This means that both *purina* and *nina* pass Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical aspect, and both have activity lexical aspect, as reiterated in Table 14. This also means that in the context of example 22, they are happening simultaneously.
Table 14: lexical aspect of purina and nina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>purina</th>
<th>nina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with X in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Lexical Aspect | Activity | Activity |

In example 22, the -fa verb purina ‘to go/to walk’ indicates one type of action that a specific species of bird does habitually. In this situation, the ideophone, the -fa verb purina, and the matrix verb nina ‘to say’ are part of a prototypicality judgement that allows the informant, Sra Dagua, to make a generic statement about the habits of this type of bird. This is partially inferred from the activity lexical aspect of purina, and partially from the suffixes that are used in addition to -fa: the durative -u, and the evidential marker -mi. In this phrase, the durative -u determines the ongoing aspect of purina in relation to the rest of the phrase. This assertion that this sound is made by this type of bird is confirmed by the evidential -mi which tells listeners that the speaker is making the claim about this type of bird saying tar tar, from her own perspective.

The interesting thing about this example is that it doesn’t only imply prototypicality and habituality, but also a cause-and-effect relationship between the ideophone tar and the verb modified by -fa: purina ‘to walk/to go around’. When the bird is making the non-communicative
sound, which it does habitually, as is implied by the vagueness of the subject—not referring to a specific bird, then it is just going about its business, not really having a defined purpose to what it’s doing.

5.2 Emotions

Emotions in Pastaza Kichwa have state lexical aspect, meaning that the emotion doesn’t really have a set beginning or end point; it’s more of a state of mind. Verbs with state lexical aspect are generally more abstract than other verbs, and can easily act as background information to explain how a subject is feeling as it is performing other actions being described. For this reason, emotions that occur in a verb chain that uses -ʃa are always simultaneous with the other verb(s) in the chain. However, they are only habitual if the subject is talking about a general population (such as people in general, or a kind of bird), and not a specific object (such as that man, or this specific bird).

Pastaza Kichwa speakers often attribute emotion to trees, or non-human animals to help explain how the world works. The use of -ʃa in utterances that are about emotion is common and helps indicate that more than one activity can happen while the emotion is being felt.

Example 26 is taken from the QRW corpus entry for kukuli which is “The sad sound of a bird flying by itself;” (http://quechua(realwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=kukuli). It demonstrates my earlier statement about how animals and plants often have human emotions attributed to their actions in Pastaza Kichwa.
(26) -fa in habitual emotions: *kukuli*

```
kukuli iii  kukulii  kukulii  kanta-g  a-n  ñaki-фа
IDEO  IDEO  IDEO  sing-AGT  be-3SG  be.sad  -SS
```

‘kukulii kukuliii kukuliiii it is a singer, being sad’

QRW kukuli video 1 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=kukuli)

The two main verbs in example 26 are the -fa verb ñakina ‘to be sad’, and the matrix verb ana ‘to be.’ The examples used to determine their lexical aspect are from the CoPK.

(27) ana

```
a-u-ŋgi  kajbi
be-DUR-2SG  here
```

‘you are being here’

Although ana ‘to be’ does pass the first of Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect, it does not have activity, active accomplishment, or accomplishment lexical aspect, because it absolutely cannot have any kind of adverb attached to it. Also, because ana by its very nature can act as a stative modifier, it has state lexical aspect.

(28) ñakina

```
ñaki-k  m-a-n  turi
be.sad-AGT  EV-be-3SG  brother.FEM
```

‘her brother is sad’
In example 28, \( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina \) ‘to be sad’ acts as a stative modifier to the verb \( \text{ana} \) ‘to be’. This means that according to Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, it could potentially have state, achievement, accomplishment, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. However, \( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina \) cannot occur with the progressive, which narrows the possibilities down to state, achievement, or semelfactive lexical aspect. Furthermore, it cannot occur with any kind of adverb. This means that \( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina \) has state lexical aspect. The lexical aspects of \( \text{ana} \) and \( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina \) are reiterated in Table 15 along with which of Van Valin’s tests they passed.

Table 15: lexical aspect of \( \text{ana} \) and \( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>( \text{ana} )</th>
<th>( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘( X ) for an hour, spend an hour ( X )-ing’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with ( X ) in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical Aspect</strong></td>
<td><strong>State</strong></td>
<td><strong>State</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The segment in example 26 is from a video clip where the speaker is describing how a bird’s singing is interpreted as expressive of a sad emotional state. The -\( \ddot{\mathbf{a}} \)a verb \( \ddot{\mathbf{a}}kina \) ‘to be sad’ has state lexical aspect, meaning that when -\( \ddot{\mathbf{a}} \)a is attached, the state of sadness is co-occurring with the matrix verb \( \text{ana} \) ‘to be’. I will be treating \( \text{ana} \) with the nominalized version of
kantana ‘to sing’ as a single predicate, because of the important context that kantak ‘singer’ adds to the statement. Both ana and ʎakina have state lexical aspect. So, whenever this kind of bird is alone, it sings a sad song. This state of being a singer and the state of being sad happen at the same time, and have no set beginning or end. Because this example isn’t talking about any specific bird, this statement is discussing habitual behavior, and not just two things that occur at the same time.

The ideophone kukuli encodes the sad manner in which the bird is singing, and is repeated several times, which gives the action of crying itself a progressive function. This comes partially from the repetition of kukuli, and partially from the way that the ideophone is drawn out on the final sound. The bird doesn’t stop being a singer when it breathes between cries, and the sadness it feels doesn’t magically disappear in between bird calls while it is breathing. The idea of sadness being a continuous emotion in the moment is conveyed in how the speaker draws out the final vowel in kukuli. In this example, even though neither of the verbs in this verb chain are marked for durativity, -ʃa still indicates that the emotional state of sadness is lexically continuous when it’s in a chain with the physical state of being a singer.

The use of -ʃa to indicate emotion being simultaneous with other actions or states is interesting because even without -ʃa in an utterance, it would be easy to assume that the person feeling an emotion, and the person performing another action at the same time are the same; especially if no other subject has been brought up. The use of -ʃa in conjunction with ideophones in these situations helps indicate not only that the subject doesn’t change, but that the subject is doing something while feeling certain emotions at the same time.

The following example, taken from the QRW corpus entry for tsjun describes the crying sound a bird habitually makes when it is sad because it can’t find flowers holding water for it to
drink from. Like example 26, a specific bird is not being discussed in this example, and so this behavior is a habit common to the species.

(29) -fa in habitual emotions: tsjun 4

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{waka-fa} & \text{uja-ngiʧi} & \text{tsʃun} & \text{tsʃun} & \text{tsʃun} & \text{sisa} & \text{iʃaj} \\
\text{cry} & \text{-ss} & \text{hear-2PL} & \text{IDEO} & \text{IDEO} & \text{IDEO} & \text{flower} & \text{lacking} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When it's crying do you hear it? (It goes) tsjun tsjun tsjun (because) there are no flowers’

QRW tsjun video 4 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tsjun)

The two verbs to focus on in this example are the -fa verb wakana ‘to cry’, and the matrix verb ujana ‘to hear.’ In order to determine their lexical aspect, examples from the CoPK are used. The first, example 30, deals with the lexical aspect of wakana.

(30) wakana

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{seŋora-ga} & \text{waka-u-n-ʃi} \\
\text{lady-DO} & \text{cry-DUR-3.SG-EV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the lady is crying’

In this example, wakana passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, meaning that wakana could have accomplishment, active accomplishment, or activity lexical aspect. It is also abundantly clear from data in the CoPK that wakana cannot function as a stative modifier. This means that it has activity lexical aspect.
In contrast, *ujana* ‘to hear’ is harder to pin down in regards to its lexical aspect. It fails the first three of Van Valin’s tests: based on lack of evidence in the CoPK, it cannot occur with any kind of adverb, nor can it have progressive features. This means that it could have state, achievement, or semelfactive lexical aspect. However, it can be used as a stative modifier, which means it can only either have achievement, or state lexical aspect. In the end, based on my inferences that it is possible to hear or listen to something for a certain amount of time, even when it isn’t explicitly stated, it seems most likely that *ujana* has state lexical aspect. This means that it is an ongoing predicate that can be simultaneous with a predicate like *wakana* that has activity lexical aspect.

*Wakana* ‘to cry’ encodes both the action of being sad, and the action of making sounds about it. Because it has no set endpoint, and is continuous, it has activity lexical aspect. *Ujana* ‘to hear’ happens simultaneously with *wakana*, but because hearing is something that people just do, as long as there isn’t a physical impediment or a disability preventing it, *ujana* has state lexical aspect. The iterativity of the ideophone *tsjun* used with it describes not only a one-time action, but thanks to the use of *-ʃa*, and the repetition of the ideophone, also indicates that this habitual action of crying has an iterative aspect. This example is taken from a description of how a bird sounds sad and cries about not finding water to drink from flowers. It is because of the habituality of the actions described that I argue that this is an example of simultaneous actions being indicated by *-ʃa*. This type of bird habitually cries when it can’t find water to drink from flowers, and humans habitually can’t help hearing them cry. The lexical aspect of both *wakana* and *ujana* as well as which of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect they pass are reiterated in Table 16.
Table 16: lexical aspect of *wakana* and *ujana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>wakana</th>
<th>ujana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

Activity | State

In example 31, also taken from the QRW *tsjun* 1 entry, a bird is crying as he goes looking for flowers to drink. The intonation of the speaker in this example indicates whether the bird is either sad or happy, and the fact that this ideophone exists at all implies that the bird makes this sound habitually. It may not be constant, but the generic statement about bird making this sound means that they are certainly in the habit of crying as they look for flowers to drink.
(31) -fa in habitual emotions: tsjun 3

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
waka-fa & puri-u-k & sisa & i.da-kpi & imata-ta & upi & -fa & ni & -fa \\
cry-SS & go-DUR-AGT & flower & lack-DS & what-TOP & drink-SS & say-SS \\
\end{array}
\]

‘crying he goes if there are no flowers wondering ‘what will I drink?’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
paj-ga & kuti & uja-ngichi & ts/u & ts/u & ts/u & waka-u-ta \\
he-DO & again & hear-2PL & IDEO & IDEO & IDEO & cry-DUR-TOP \\
\end{array}
\]

‘well haven’t you-all heard him when he’s crying tsyu tsyu tsyu?’

QRW tsjun1 video 3 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tsjun)

In this example, the two verbs in the verb chain are the -fa verb wakana ‘to cry’, and the matrix verb purina ‘to go/to walk’. Both of these verbs have activity lexical aspect as established in example 31 for wakana, and examples 23, and 25 for purina.

The verbs wakana ‘to cry’ and purina ‘to walk/to go’ in this example are already going to happen simultaneously with each other because they have activity lexical aspect. The bird does not need to stop crying in order to move. Purina also has the durative suffix -u indicating that this kind of action is ongoing (presumably) until the bird has found water to drink. In addition to the activity lexical aspect of the verbs purina and wakana indicating simultaneous habitual actions, the habituality of the going around crying is reinforced by the agentive -k, which, as I stated earlier in the chapter is another method that Pastaza Kichwa uses to talk about habitual actions. This means that the bird is considered to cry like this every time it does not find water. Furthermore, the use of the durative -u pairs with the -fa suffix to indicate both were ongoing actions, which indicates that they occur at the same time. Once again, this example doesn’t reference a specific bird, but makes a generalization about the behavior of this specific species.
Example 32 is taken from the QRW tar entry, though the ideophone tar is not discussed in this analysis as it doesn’t make any aspectual changes to the interpretation of this example, or describe manner of sound or movement.

(32) -fa in habitual emotions: tar

tʃi waka-u-fa-ga tʃi pirja pirja pirja waka-g a-u-n na paj waka-u-fa
this cry-DUR-SS-DO that IDEO IDEO IDEO cry-AGT be-DUR-3SG DM he cry-DUR-SS
‘but when he is crying, that one goes pirja pirja pirja, then he’s crying’

QRW tar video 1 (http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tar)

In example 32, both of the verbs in the -fa verb chain have already had their lexical aspects determined. The -fa verb wakana ‘to cry’ occurs twice with -fa attached. Regardless of how often it appears, it has activity lexical aspect as was established in example 31. The matrix verb ana ‘to be’ has state lexical aspect as determined by example 29.

The placement of -fa verbs in two different parts of this utterance is interesting. In both cases, -fa is indicating that the bird cries habitually because the subject is talking about a kind of bird generally. The verb wakana where it occurs with -fa in this statement has an activity lexical aspect. However, wakana is used not only at the beginning and end of this statement with the coreference suffix -fa, but also in another part of the utterance with the attributive suffix -k and as part of a compound with the verb ‘to be’ ana which has state lexical aspect. This would suggest that this kind of bird is a crier as part of what it is as a being. In other words, because it is a crier, it is known to cry habitually. There is no matrix verb present in this example, because there is no set time frame for the crying to happen. This type of bird is, always has been, and
always will be, a crier. The lack of a matrix verb in this example only reemphasizes the habitual aspect that the activity lexical aspect of both cases of \textit{waka-\textipa{fa}}, and the state lexical aspect of \textit{waka-g} already implied.

5.3 Involuntary Sounds

Other examples of two actions occurring simultaneously and implying habituality can be found when natural (in this case, involuntary) actions occur. Example 34 is taken from a description in the QRW Corpus entry for \textit{fun}. It describes how an armadillo snores while it sleeps. This is a generic statement, since this is a kind of sound that all armadillos make when they sleep, and one specific armadillo isn’t being discussed.

(33) -\textipa{fa} in involuntary habitual sounds: \textit{fun}

\texttt{kaj armali:jo ima-ga karota fun fun fun ro\textipa{anka-}\textit{fa} pu\textipa{nu-g} m-a-n}

the armadillo what-TOP distance IDEO IDEO IDEO snore-SS sleep-AGT EV-be-3SG

‘The armadillo (can be heard) at some distance (going) \textit{shun shun}. It's snoring as it sleeps!’

QRW shun video 1 (\url{http://quechua\_realwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=shun})

In this example, the -\textipa{fa} verb ro\textipa{nkana} ‘to snore’ only occurs once in either the CoPK, QRW, or Nuckolls and Swanson’s (2020) grammar. For this reason, I will be discussing my inferences of its lexical aspect based on the one example available, as well as what I know about snoring in general, and how closely that aligns with Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. The matrix verb \textit{pu\textipa{nuna}} will have its lexical aspect determined by Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect as proved by examples from the CoPK.
I infer that because something can be said to be snoring (as seen above in example 34), *ronkana* ‘to snore’ can be progressive. This means that it has accomplishment, active accomplishment, or activity lexical aspect. Furthermore, because it would be possible to say ‘*tʃunía ronkanggi*’ or ‘you snore quietly’, *ronkana* has either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Finally, since snoring co-occurs with sleeping, it is possible for it to be measured as part of a time span, meaning it passes Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical aspect. Based on these inferences, *ronkana* ‘to snore’ has activity lexical aspect.

As discussed earlier, *pununa* does have enough data to use the CoPK as well as Nuckolls and Swanson’s (2020) grammar to determine its lexical aspect.

(34) *pununa*
(a) *punu-u-n-ifu*
   sleep-DUR-3SG-INT
   ‘Is (s)he sleeping?’
(b) *tʃunía punu-ngi*
   quietly sleep-2SG
   ‘you sleep quietly’
(c) *paj mana punu-k a-fka*
   (s)he NEG sleep-AGT be-PERF
   ‘(s)he was not a sleeper’

In example (a), *pununa* ‘to sleep’ passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. It can be progressive, and therefore doesn’t have state, semelfactive, or achievement lexical aspect.
Then in example (b), it is evident that *puɲuna* can take a dynamic adverb, meaning it can only have either active accomplishment, or activity lexical aspect. Next, in example (c), it is evident that *puɲuna* can be part of a time expression, meaning it passes the fourth of Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect. Finally, *puɲuna* can’t be used as a stative modifier. This all means that *puɲuna* ‘to sleep’ has activity lexical aspect. Table 17 below reiterates the lexical aspect of *puɲuna* and *roŋkana* as well as which of Van Valin’s tests helped me determine their lexical aspect.

Table 17: lexical aspect of *puɲuna* and *roŋkana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>puɲuna</em></th>
<th><em>roŋkana</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with X in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical Aspect</strong></td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While -ʃa does still track that the subject of the sentence in example 34 is an armadillo, it has another function in this piece of discourse. This is another clear example of two actions occurring at the same time because both ‘to snore’ *ronkana* and ‘to sleep’ *puɲuna* have activity lexical aspect. The snoring doesn’t happen in close sequence, where the armadillo snores, wakes up, and sleeps. Breathing and sleeping have to occur simultaneously for the snorer to stay alive.
and the ideophone \textit{fun} being used repetitively shows how the snoring is done using repetitive sounds. Therefore, the snoring and sleeping have to be happening at the same time. Furthermore, the fact that the manner of snoring can be described by an ideophone like this means that the types of sounds being made are habitual, and happen whenever an armadillo falls asleep.

Example 35 is from the QRW corpus under the entry for ‘\textit{tʃala}’ which is the sound heard when water flows. It is part of a narrative told by Sra Luisa Cadena about a time she yelled at a man for trying to sneak into the bathroom to peek at her granddaughter while her granddaughter was showering. While the story may not be about something that habitually happened in the past, -\textit{fa} is used while describing a type of sound that typically happens when people bathe.

(35) -\textit{fa} in involuntary habitual sounds: \textit{tʃala}

\begin{verbatim}
arma-u-kpi-ga majta uja-ri-\textit{fa} arma-un--guna t{-a-ki} tʃalalalalala
bathe-DUR-DS-TOP how sound-REFL-SS bathe-DUR-3PL this -be-? IDEO
\end{verbatim}

‘She was bathing, and in the way that it sounds wherever people are bathing (it goes) chalala’

QRW chala video 1 (\url{http://quechuarealwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=chala})

The -\textit{fa} verb in this example \textit{ujana} ‘to hear/to sound’ has already been determined to have activity lexical aspect in the explanation for example 30. The matrix verb \textit{armana} ‘to bathe’ has not however. All examples used to determine its lexical aspect come from the CoPK. It is already clear just from example 35 that \textit{armana} passes the first of Van Valin’s tests, because it can be progressive. This means that it may have active accomplishment, activity, or accomplishment lexical aspect.
(36) armana

masna arma-shka

how much/ how long bathe-PERF

‘how much/how long has (s)he bathed?’

After the evidence from example 35, the only feature that had to be confirmed in order to determine the lexical aspect of armana ‘to bathe’ was whether it could occur within a set time period. While example 36 doesn’t state a specific time period, the fact that this question exists at all indicates that armana can indeed pass Van Valin’s fourth test of lexical aspect, meaning that armana has activity lexical aspect. This is all reiterated below in table 18.

Table 18: lexical aspect of armana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>armana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with X in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Lexical Aspect | Activity |
The two actions in this example, *armana* ‘to bathe’ and *ujarina* ‘to make sound,’ which refers specifically to the noises made by people bathing, both have activity lexical aspect. They can’t be separated cognitively because they’re both ongoing actions that are interdependent on each other to happen, so when someone is done bathing, the sounds that come with it stop too, and vice versa. This is a particularly clear example of -ʃa being used not only to track the subject of a chain of verbs, but also to indicate that this kind of sound happens every time people are bathing. This is because while both the -ʃa verb and the matrix verb have activity lexical aspect, the subject being tracked is vague. This vagueness implies that the sounds made by bathing occur habitually.

5.4 Conclusion

As I have demonstrated in this section, in Pastaza Kichwa, -ʃa does more than just track the subject of a verb chain, and tell speakers that the subject remains the same for each verb in the chain that is modified by -ʃa. It can also be an indication of habituality and prototypicality for certain types of simultaneous actions. When used with a vague subject, and a verb that either has state lexical aspect, or deals specifically with emotion (such as crying), -ʃa can also talk about how a subject habitually feels and behaves in certain situations. Furthermore, -ʃa can be used with ideophones and verbs that have state or activity lexical aspect to talk about involuntary noises that always happen when certain environmental conditions are met. Habitual simultaneous action can also be discussed using -ʃa verbs with semelfactive lexical aspect, but from my data it looks like there also has to be an ideophone present to indicate that the semelfactive verb is being done more than once. Being able to describe this type of habitual and prototypical actions in a language gives context for understanding Pastaza Kichwa.
Chapter 6: Sequentiality

This chapter deals with how -fa is used with the lexical aspect of verbs in Pastaza Kichwa discourse to indicate sequential actions. As in the previous analysis chapters, I will be using the term ‘predicate’ to describe all verbs regardless of lexical aspect. I am using Van Valin’s (2006) categories of lexical aspect: activity, achievement, state, semelfactive, active accomplishment, and accomplishment. The verb chains that are used to talk about sequential action in Pastaza Kichwa are syntactically identical to the construction that indicates simultaneous action. However, there are distinct differences in the lexical aspect of the verbs used.

In both simultaneous and habitual actions as indicated by -fa in Pastaza Kichwa, all of the verbs had either activity or state lexical aspect. The lack of a fixed endpoint encoded in the verb allowed multiple actions to happen simultaneously. Sequential predicates that use -fa don’t tend to have activity or state lexical aspect, unless there is more than one -fa verb in the utterance. Instead, sequential predicates that use -fa are predicates that have achievement, active accomplishment or accomplishment lexical aspect. For the purposes of this paper, I will be using the term ‘completive lexical aspect’ as a blanket term when I am referring to achievement, active accomplishment, and accomplishment lexical aspect all together.

The use of -fa with verbs that have completive lexical aspect in Pastaza Kichwa to talk about sequential actions functions similarly to how someone might use the word ‘then’ to describe the order in which they did tasks in English. This same type of sequentiality happens in Pastaza Kichwa discourse when -fa is attached to verbs with completive aspect.

One of the clearest ways this sense of completion can be indicated is with the addition of an ideophone that indicates that something is done all the way. As an example of this phenomenon, Nuckolls (1996) cites the ideophone tsuy, which is used to describe when
something is “absorbed, covered, or drenched with a liquid substance of some kind, as having completive and resultative aspect. For example, *tsuy hukuna* or ‘to be soaked, e.g. with water, sweat, blood, or urine’.” (Nuckolls, 1996, 262).

This indication of completion using ideophone isn’t unique to Pastaza Kichwa, though in English, ideophones do occur within a different grammatical context than in Pastaza Kichwa. In Pastaza Kichwa, ideophones are so deeply ingrained in language that it’s difficult if not impossible to communicate effectively without using them. In contrast, only certain genres of speech in English such as motherese use it: a mother may say “Poof! All gone!” while shaking an empty container, to demonstrate to her child that there’s no more of an item. In both situations however, Pastaza Kichwa and English ideophones (at least in this example) have completive lexical aspect.

Another feature of sequential -ʃa verb chains that differentiates them from simultaneous verb chains is that they tend to indicate processes or instructions. These instructions have to be performed in sequence for the correct result to happen. An English example of this can be seen in the children’s song ‘The Hokey Pokey’ where instructions are given in the dance: “You put your left hand in, you put your left hand out…and you shake it all about.” In this example, the dance being described has to be done in a specific order, or it isn’t recognizable as the correct dance. This is confirmed by the completive lexical aspect of the verbs used in the song.

The reason it is so important to understand the difference between simultaneous and sequential -ʃa verb chains is because they look so similar at first glance, but can drastically affect the meaning of a statement. Sequentiality based on the use of -ʃa is not necessarily different than any other case of sequentiality as indicated by verbs with accomplishment, active accomplishment, or achievement lexical aspect in Pastaza Kichwa. The difference between -ʃa
verb chains that are sequential vs simultaneous or habitual is more important to understand because they look so similar on a surface level, but the meaning is so different.

In verb chains where -ʃa indicates sequential action, -ʃa can also be used as part of a when/then cause and effect verb chain. In situations like this, while they are close to happening simultaneously, there is an element of volition involved in at least one of the parties that isn’t necessarily there in similar simultaneous actions like sounds being made by a person bathing, for example. The sounds of bathing happen whether or not the bather wishes them to. In situations where -ʃa indicates a sequential cause-and-effect relationship between verbs, there is an element of choice.

There are three subsections in this chapter. First, I discuss instances of -ʃa being part of a verb chain that uses the imperative, which is the first pattern I noticed exists when -ʃa is part of a sequential verb chain. The second subsection covers situations where ideophones are used with -ʃa to indicate a completive aspect that precludes simultaneity. The final section convers situations where -ʃa verb chains are used to describe sequential cause-and-effect relationships between verbs.

6.1 Sequential -ʃa verbs used in Imperatives

As discussed in the introduction, sequential predicates are marked with active accomplishment lexical aspect, achievement lexical aspect, or accomplishment lexical aspect. It is also possible for verbs with activity lexical aspect to be used when talking about sequential predicates, but that only happens when two predicates of many in a sequence happen to occur simultaneously with each other, but not the other verbs, or when there is an ideophone to separate two verbs. For example, once again using the hokey pokey, in the song, ‘you put your left hand out, you put your left hand in, and you shake it all about’, the verb ‘shake’ has activity
lexical aspect. However, because the other predicates in this example all have completive lexical aspect, this is an example of sequential predicates. The completive lexical aspect of each verb, as the term suggests, tells the listener that each predicate had to have been finished before the next predicate could be started. Each predicate mentioned has to happen in sequence in order to complete some sort of goal. That is particularly evident in this section, where orders or instructions are given to the subject of an utterance. As always, -fa also tracks that the subject is the same throughout the verb chain.

There is one feature in particular that stands out with this usage of -fa in Pastaza Kichwa, and that is that the final verb in the verb chain has to end with an imperative suffix. The use of the imperative is a sure sign that not only are instructions being conveyed, but also that the predicates in the verb chain are sequential. The imperative does not occur as part of a verb chain for any utterances that indicate simultaneous action; only sequential predicates use the imperative as part of the verb chain.

Example 37 comes from a narrative of Noah and the flood as told by Sra. Louisa Cadena. In this example, God is talking to Noah about the preparations he needs to make in order to survive the flood that will kill the rest of humanity. Specifically, Noah is being ordered to fill up containers with potable water.
(37) -ʃa in multi-part sequential imperatives: filling water

\[ jaku \- ta \quad tak - ta \quad unda - tʃi - ʃa \quad tfura - ɲgi \]

water-DO IDEO-ADV fill-CAUS-SS put-IMP

‘Filling the water tak until it's full, put it there’


The two verbs in the -ʃa verb chain are the -ʃa verb, undatʃina ‘to cause to fill’, and the matrix verb tfurana ‘to put’. All data for the following examples comes from the CoPK.

(38) (h)undatʃina²

(a) \[ tfaj - pi \quad ufpa - ta \quad hunda - tʃi - ʃa \]

there-LOC ashes-TOP fill-CAUS-SS

‘causing the ashes to be filled there’

(b) \[ lomo \quad ʃutfu - fka - ta \quad hunda - tʃi - n \]

yucca peel-PERC-TOP fill-CAUS-3SG

‘she fills the peeled yucca (manioc)’

In example 38 (a), undatʃina ‘to cause to be filled’ passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect: it can be progressive and therefore has accomplishment, activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Then, in example (b), undatʃina passes the sixth of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, because it can be a stative modifier. However, that still means that it could potentially have either accomplishment, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. The piece of

² There are some speakers who pronounce undatʃina as hundatʃina, but the meaning is the same. I will be using whatever pronunciation was indicated in the source material in my examples.
information that determines that undatfina has active accomplishment lexical aspect is the ideophone tak meaning ‘completely’ found with undatfina in example 37. This ideophone acts as a dynamic adverb, meaning that undatfina has causative active accomplishment lexical aspect.

Example 39 deals with the lexical aspect of the verb tfurana, the matrix verb in example 37.

(39) tfurana

$\text{ifkaj-ta tfaki-wan ri-u-n tfi-ta tak api-fa kaj tfura-ni nuka}$

two-TOP foot-with go-DUR-3SG this-TOP IDEO take-SS there put-1SG I

‘with two feet (it) goes then tak grabbing hold, I put (it) there.’

Example 39, is evidence of how tfurana can be used as a stative modifier. Predicates that can act as stative modifiers cannot be reversed or repeated (ie: to kill). The action of putting cannot be reversed or repeated, at least not with the same exact objects in the same way. There is no evidence that tfurana can be progressive, have adverbial modifiers, or happen in time expressions such as ‘X for an hour’ or ‘X in an hour’. This all means that tfurana ‘to put’ has accomplishment lexical aspect. Table 19 below reiterates which of Van Valin’s tests undatfina and tfurana passed, as well as what lexical aspect they have.
Table 19: lexical aspect of *undatʃina* and *tfurana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>undatʃina</em></th>
<th><em>tfurana</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Lexical Aspect</strong></th>
<th>Causative Active Accomp.</th>
<th>Accomp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In example 37, -*fa* is attached to the verb *undatʃina* ‘to cause to be filled’ which has causative active accomplishment lexical aspect. Filling a container is a dynamic and telic action; it has an eventual end encoded: the action is done when the container is full. But ‘to cause to be filled’ is not a punctual predicate, meaning it has active accomplishment lexical aspect. The causing to be filled is an ongoing action that has a defined endpoint further emphasized by the ideophone *tak* which “describe[s] the way something, such as a basket, is filled to a complete extent” ([https://quechua.realwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tag](https://quechua.realwords.byu.edu/?ideophone=tag)). The ideophone *tak* reemphasizes the goal of the verb ‘to cause to be filled’ *undatʃina*. *Undatʃina* is followed by the finite verb *tfurana* ‘to put,’ which has an imperative suffix attached to it, meaning that causing the water vessels to be filled is only the first step to the final goal of putting the filled containers somewhere.
Tjurana ‘to put’ has achievement lexical aspect because putting something somewhere happens only at one point in time, meaning it has a punctual function as well as a telic function. Even saying “I’m putting it over there” implies that the thing is not there yet. The predicate of ‘put’ happens only at one specific point in time. Filling the water containers up completely (as indicated by the use of the ideophone tak) with water is something that God wants done first, which -fa indicates when it’s attached to undatfina, a verb with active accomplishment aspect. Then the full water containers can be put somewhere. The use of the imperative on the matrix verb of this verb chain indicates that while the other predicate in this chain is part of the instructions being given, and the final goal of these instructions is to have full water containers put somewhere.

Example 40 gives further details on the instructions God gave to Noah about how to provision himself in order to survive the flood. In it, God discusses the specific foods that Noah should both harvest and prepare in order to survive the flood.

(40) -sha in multi-part sequential imperatives: getting provisions

Lomo-ta apa-fa aswa-fa tfura-ŋgi
yuca-DO bring-SS make.aswa-SS put-2SG.IMP

‘Bringing yuca, making aswa (you) put it (in)’

The matrix verb in example 40, tfurana ‘to put’ has already been discussed in example 39, and been determined to have achievement lexical aspect. One of the -fa verbs in this example, apana was already discussed in example 14, and was found to have activity lexical
aspect. However, in the context of bringing a specific item (in this case lomo or ‘yuca’) in order to turn it into another product, I argue that the lexical aspect of apana ‘to take’ shifts to being active accomplishment lexical aspect for this situation specifically, because the act of bringing a certain load of lomo does still have an active component, but, because it cannot be undone once it is brought, and that specific load cannot be brought again, it has the ability to be a stative modifier in this one situation, thus passing Van Valin’s sixth test of lexical aspect.

The other -fa verb in example 40 is aswana or ‘to make aswa’. Examples to help determine the lexical aspect of this verb are provided below in example 41, as well as in the subsequent discussion.

(41) aswana

mana aswa-ni-ʃa-tʃu
NEG aswa-1SG-LIM-NEG

‘I wasn’t just making aswa!’

Example 41 contains an example of how aswana can be progressive. This means that there are three possible lexical aspects for it to have: accomplishment, active accomplishment, and activity. This is further narrowed down by the fact that once aswa has been made, it cannot be broken back into its constituent parts. This means that aswana can act as a stative modifier, and therefore pass the sixth of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. This means that aswana has either accomplishment or active accomplishment lexical aspect. I argue that it has active accomplishment lexical aspect because it would be possible, according to some field notes from 2019, to describe someone making aswa well by saying something like ‘paj sumak aswan’ or
‘she makes aswa beautifully.’ This means that aswana ‘to make aswa’ passes Van Valin’s second test of lexical aspect and can only have active accomplishment lexical aspect. This is reiterated in Table 20.

Table 20: lexical aspect of **undatʃina**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><strong>undatʃina</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <strong>vigorously, gently etc.</strong></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <strong>quickly, slowly, etc.</strong></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<strong>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</strong>’</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <strong>X in an hour</strong></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

| Active Accomplishment |

In example 40, both *apana* ‘to bring’ and *aswana* ‘to make aswa’ both have -fa as an affix, to mark that they are steps to the end goal: *tfurana* ‘to put (in).’ In this situation it is implied by the order of the words that the reason yuca is being brought is in order to turn it into *aswa* (also known as *tʃita* in other areas of South and Central America), a fermented drink that is a dietary staple for native Kichwa people. Both *apana* ‘to bring,’ and *aswana* ‘to make aswa’ have active accomplishment lexical aspect. Neither verb can be stopped partway through and still have been done. If something were to only be brought part of the way, the action of bringing the object has only been partially completed. The action of bringing it was never actually finished,
and the purpose described by the verb isn’t complete. Similarly, if the process of making aswa is abandoned partway through, then there will be no aswa. Furthermore, both verbs have [+dynamic] features meaning they involve ongoing action. Therefore, both -ʃa verbs have active accomplishment lexical aspect. After the aswa is made from the yuca, it is to be put in a vessel of some sort. The action of ‘to put’ tfurana, just like in example 39, has achievement lexical aspect.

This is another case where the order in which the instructions are carried out has to be sequential. Aswa can’t be made from yuca that is still growing in the ground, and certainly can’t be stored if someone somehow tries to make aswa after storing the necessary components away.

The sequence of all of the verb chains that I have discussed thus far about Noah preparing food and water goes in order of relative importance. First, in example 37, Noah and his wife would need water. Next, in example 40, they would need aswa, which is used in Kichwa society as a major source of nutrition, and can be used if there is no other food available. Finally, in example 42, Noah is given instructions on what kind of solid foods he should bring with him, and how he should prepare them. In example 42, -ʃa is used in two different ways. I will only be discussing the first verb chain: tfakitiʃa afangafafu uranɡi: ‘drying (it) out, making a basket, you put (it).’

(42) -ʃa in multi-part sequential imperatives: creating storage

lomo palanda-ta nina-i tfaki-tf-ʃa afanga-ʃa tfura-ŋgi ni-ʃa
yuca plantain-DO fire-LOC dry-CAUS-SS make.an.afanga-SS put-IMP say-SS
‘drying out yuca and plantain in the fire and making a basket you put them saying’

Noah 23 https://youtu.be/6Nk9G-hqKWk?t=143 (2:25-3:30)
The matrix verb, *tfurana* ‘to put’ has achievement lexical aspect, as discussed in Example 39, and that still holds true in the context of example 42. There are two -fa verbs in this example that have yet to be discussed however: *tfakifina* ‘to cause to dry’, and *afangana* ‘to make an *afanga* basket’. Example 43 discusses the lexical aspect of *tfakifina*, and after that, I discuss the lexical aspect of *afangana*.

(43) *tfakifina*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ajtfa} & tfaki-tfis-fka \\
\text{meat} & \text{dry-CAUS-PERF} \\
\text{tfari} & \text{perhaps} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the meat was dried perhaps’

It is already evident from example 42, and the context that plantains and yuca are being dried, as well as the inclusion of a specific location (by or in the fire), that it is possible for *tfakifina* ‘to cause to dry’ to be progressive. This means that according to Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, it can have accomplishment active accomplishment, or activity lexical aspect. Then, in example 43, it is evident that causing something to be dried cannot be reversed. This means that it is only possible for *tfakifina* to have either accomplishment or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Finally, because there is absolutely no indication that *tfakifina* can occur with any kind of adverb, *tfakifina* has accomplishment lexical aspect.

Much like *aswana* in example 41, *afangana* is a verb that comes directly from a noun, and specifically refers to the creation of that noun. Unfortunately, there is not any data in the CoPK to use as direct evidence, so I will be determining the lexical aspect of *afangana* based on the patterns I have seen in other verbs that come from nouns, specifically *aswana* ‘to make aswa’.
and *wasina* ‘to build a house.’ In all cases where a verb is derived directly from a noun to indicate the creation of a particular object, they have the ability to occur with the progressive. This means that they can have accomplishment, activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Furthermore, it is possible to use either ideophones that behave like adverbs, or normal adverbs to describe the manner in which an object was made. This means that this kind of verb can have either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Finally, because there is a finished product that must be completed, and because once it has been completed, it cannot be repeated exactly, these kinds of verbs can be used as stative modifiers – meaning they can permanently alter the physical, mental, emotional etc. state of the subject. For these reasons, and based on these patterns, I argue that *afangana* ‘to make an *afanga* basket’ has active accomplishment lexical aspect. The lexical aspect of both *afangana* and *tfakifina* as well as the tests they passed to have their lexical aspect determined are below in Table 21.

Table 21: lexical aspect of *afangana* and *tfakifina*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>afangana</em></th>
<th><em>tfakifina</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Accomp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accomp.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In example 42, Noah is being ordered to prepare food (specifically yuca and plantain) by drying them by or in the fire, and then make a basket. The predicates *tʃakitʃina* ‘to cause to dry’ and *aʃanga* ‘to make an *aʃanga* basket’ are both suffixed by -fa. *tʃakitʃina* ‘to dry’ has causative accomplishment lexical aspect because there is no implication that the yuca and plantain have to be completely desiccated, just that they have to be dry, and that Noah is causing this to happen. *aʃanga* has active accomplishment lexical aspect because the action it describes means that the entire basket has to be made. The making of the basket itself is a dynamic process, and there is a telic end point encoded in the verb that the basket(s) will be completed. These lexical aspects tell us plantain and yuca have to be dried, and the *aʃanga* basket has to be made to store the dried foods.

While the verbs *aʃanga* ‘to make an *aʃanga* basket’ and *tʃakitʃina* ‘to cause to dry’ both have completive lexical aspect, it is possible, because *tʃakitʃina* has active accomplishment lexical aspect, which describes dynamic action, that they happened simultaneously with each other. However, regardless of whether the basket was being made whilst the foodstuffs dried by the fire, this is still an example of sequential predicates that use -fa because of the achievement aspect of *tʃurana* ‘to put.’ Both the action of drying plantains and yuca, and the weaving of the *aʃanga* have to be completed before the basketful of food can be put anywhere.

Example 44 also comes from Sra. Cadena’s narrative of Noah and the flood, and is part of the instructions God is giving to Noah. However, in this example, instead of discussing how to provision the canoe(s) that Noah and his wife will be living in, God is giving instructions on how to build the canoes and other structures that will go on the canoes. In example 44, Noah is given instructions for how and where to get the materials he will need to build these canoes.
There are a few verbs in this -fa verb chain. The -fa verbs are: rikuna ‘to look’, pilana ‘to pluck’, and ašana ‘to dig’. The matrix verb is apana ‘to take’. A couple of these verbs, specifically rikuna and apana have already had their lexical aspect established earlier in this thesis. Based on Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect, rikuna (example 8) and apana (example 14) both have activity lexical aspect. For the purposes of example 44 however, I argue that the lexical aspect of one or more of the verbs with activity lexical aspect shifts, and allows for a sequential reading. I will discuss this after determining the lexical aspect of ašana ‘to dig’ and pilana ‘to pluck’ based on Van Valin’s (2006) tests of lexical aspect. In example 45 I discuss the lexical aspect of ašana ‘to dig’. All examples are taken from the CoPK.

(45) ašana

lulun-da aša-fa aša-fa aša-fa famu-ra-ntī kanoa-wn
egg-TOP dig-SS dig-SS dig-SS come-PST-1PL canoe-INS

‘digging digging digging eggs we came by canoe.’
In example 45 it is evident that *ašana* ‘to dig’ can occur for a specific time period, meaning it passes the fourth of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. This means that it could potentially have state, activity, or semelfactive lexical aspect. However the repetition of *ašafa* also indicates that *ašana* ‘to dig’ can be progressive, meaning it also passes the first of Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect. Therefore, *ašana* has activity lexical aspect. Example 46 discusses the final -*ša* verb in example 44: *pilana* ‘to pluck’.

(46) *pilana*

(a) *tfig*a  *juka*  *sumak*  *pila-ni*
then  I  beautiful/well  pluck-1SG

‘then I pluck well.’

(b) *lomo*  *sapi*  *pila*  *pila*  *pila*  *pila-mi*
yuca  root  pluck  pluck  pluck  pluck-EV

‘pluck pluck pluck plucking yuca root’

In example 46 (a), not only does *pilana* ‘to pluck’ pass the second of Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect with the description *sumak* ‘beautiful or well’, but it also passes the sixth of Van Valin’s tests, because it has the ability to be a stative modifier, or permanently alter the state of the subject. These tests alone would be enough to determine that *pilana* has active accomplishment lexical aspect. However, example 46 (b) is also helpful in confirming active accomplishment lexical aspect because it shows how *pilana* passes the first of Van Valin’s tests, and can be progressive. The lexical aspect of *pilana* and *ašana* are reiterated below in table 22.
Table 22: lexical aspect of pilana and ašana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>ašana</th>
<th>pilana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with X in an hour</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lexical Aspect  Activity  Active Accomp.

Example 44 is a particularly weird use of -fa describing the sequential predicates of ‘to look’ rikuna, ‘to pluck’ pilana, and ‘to dig’ ašana. In this case, the last verb in the chain, ašana ‘to dig’ is out of order for what would make sense for sequential action, and not all of the verbs in the sequence have completive lexical aspect. Both rikuna ‘to look,’ and ašana ‘to dig’ have activity lexical aspect. They are dynamic predicates without a punctual end point, or telicity. In contrast, pilana ‘to pluck’ has active achievement lexical aspect because it is both telic, and punctual. Finally, the matrix verb apana ‘to take’ has, outside of this context, activity lexical aspect. However, because it cannot be started as an action until all the -fa verbs of looking, plucking, and digging start, it is still the end result of the sequence of gathering supplies for building a canoe described in example 44.
In this example, in order to determine sequentiality, it is necessary to listen to the intonation of the speaker, Sra. Louisa Cadena in order to find possible reasons for the strangeness of this usage. When she is relating the list of predicates, Sra. Cadena’s voice is strong, and she lists each predicate in almost a sing-song tone, as if listing things that everyone knows happen when these actions are being done to prepare for making canoes. Then, she throws in the final action allasha ‘digging’ as an under-her-breath afterthought where she lowers her voice, and half-whispers the word. Here it seems as if she isn’t sure that the person recording her story would understand what most native Kichwa speakers would already know about the process she is describing.

Although rikuna and aśana both have activity aspect, the order in which they are presented works with the matrix verb apana, which has accomplishment lexical aspect, and they are also working with pilana ‘to pluck’ which has active achievement lexical aspect. The concrete goal of this utterance provided by the matrix verb, as well as the specific order in which the -ʃa verbs are listed means that there is an order in which these predicates had to have been accomplished.

Example 47 details further instructions from God to Noah about how to prepare for the flood that is coming to destroy humanity. Noah is given instructions on how to properly prepare the canoe(s) – the number of canoes in the narrative is vague – that he and his wife will be living on once the land has been flooded. In this utterance, he is being given instructions on cutting long poles.
(47) *-sha* in multi-part sequential imperatives: cutting long poles

*Punda-ʃ j piti-ʃa apa-μuŋgi*

top-LOC cut-SS take-to-2SG.IMP

‘Cutting the top off, bring it’


Like in example 44, the matrix verb in this *-ʃa* verb chain is *apamuna* ‘to take’. And, just like in example 44, while *apana* may have activity lexical aspect, the lexical aspect of the *-ʃa* verb (in this case *pitina* ‘to cut’) determines the sequentiality of this example. Example 48 below uses Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect, and examples from the CoPK to determine the lexical aspect of *pitina*.

(48) *pitina*

*na tʃiw piti-n piti-ʃka*

DM IDEO cut-3SG cut-PERF

‘(it/(s)he) cut *tʃiw* (completely) cut.’

From example 48, it is clear that *pitina* passes the sixth of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. There is no evidence however, that supports the idea that any other of these tests can be passed. This means that the only lexical aspect that could apply to *pitina* is achievement lexical aspect. This is corroborated by the use of the ideophone *tʃiw*, which according to the QRW corpus means “To cut something completely off of or apart from something else; To be completely fissured. To cease an activity.”
The use of tʃiw supports the punctuality of pitina ‘to cut’ and therefore re-emphasizes that pitina has achievement lexical aspect. These tests, as well as the lexical aspect of pitina are reiterated below in table 23.

Table 23: lexical aspect of pitina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>pitina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like vigorously, gently etc.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like quickly, slowly, etc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing’</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with X in an hour</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexical Aspect** Achieve

This example is another situation in which -ʃa indicates a sequential set of predicates. First the top (of the plant) has to be cut off (pitina), then it can be brought (apa(mu)na). Pitina ‘to cut’ has achievement lexical aspect. The act of cutting can be interrupted before the goal is accomplished. However, there is a goal encoded in this use of ‘cut’ because there is a thing, specifically the top of the pole that has to be cut, I infer, completely off. Once this has been done, the pole can be brought. As seen before, in example one, apa(mu)na ‘to bring (to)’ has an accomplishment aspect. This is a predicate that cannot be interrupted partway through, and still have happened. Furthermore, the suffix -mu implies a directionality or sense of returning to a
specific point, further reinforcing the accomplishment lexical aspect of the verb. Finally, *apamuna* has an imperative marker on it, while the instruction of what should be brought (something with the top cut off) has the -*fa* suffix to mark it as a step that needs to be taken in order to achieve the goal.

Example 49 is taken from the *chem* entry in the Quechua Real Words (QRW) corpus, but I will not be discussing *chem* in this analysis, because it doesn’t affect the lexical aspect of either the -*fa* verb or the matrix verb. The use of -*fa* as part of a sequential set of instructions is pivotal to understanding this entire quotation. In example 49, the final result intended by giving instructions is for a speaker to have her brother harvest fruit and give it to her.

(49) *-sha* in multi-part sequential imperatives: *tfem*

\[
\text{paso-} \quad \text{paxa-} \quad \text{kuwa-} \quad \text{turi} \quad \text{riku-}\k
\]

\[
\text{paso-TOP} \quad \text{harvest-SS} \quad \text{give-IMP} \quad \text{brother.FEM} \quad \text{look-AGT}
\]

‘Harvesting those pasu fruits give to me’

\[
\text{famu-} \quad \text{tfem} \quad \text{apa-ri-} \quad \text{fka-mi} \quad \text{faja-u} \quad \text{ni-}\k
\]

\[
\text{come-IMP} \quad \text{IDEO} \quad \text{Catch-REFL-PERF-EV} \quad \text{stand-DUR-3SG} \quad \text{say-PST}
\]

‘she said ’come and look brother! They are chem (all over the tree)’

QRW chem video 1 (*chem – Quechua Realwords (byu.edu)*)
In this example I am focusing on the -\(\text{fa}\) verb \(p\alpha\text{sana}\) ‘to harvest’ and the matrix verb \(kuvana\) ‘to give’. In order to determine the lexical aspect of each verb, examples from the CoPK are listed below and then compared to Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect.

(50) \(kuvana\)

\(i\text{f}kaj\text{-}\text{ta-mi} \quad kuwa\text{-}\text{n} \quad j\text{uka}\text{-}\text{ta}\)

two-TOP-EV give-3SG me-TOP

‘(s)he gave me two.’

Example 50 shows how \(kuvana\) ‘to give’ passes Van Valin’s sixth test of lexical aspect. Because \(kuvana\) doesn’t pass any of Van Valin’s other tests, the only explanation is that \(kuvana\) has achievement lexical aspect. Example 51 explores the lexical aspect of \(p\alpha\text{sana}\).

(51) \(p\alpha\text{sana}\)

(a) \(m\text{ana} \quad a\text{sita}\text{-}\text{tfu} \quad p\alpha\text{sana}\text{-}\text{nawn}\)

NEG good-NEG harvest-3PL

‘they aren’t harvesting well.’

(b) \(p\text{anga}\text{-}\text{ta} \quad p\alpha\text{sana}\text{-}\text{n}\text{gi}\)

leaf-TOP harvest-IMP

‘you harvest the leaf!’

In example (a) of this example, \(p\alpha\text{sana}\) passes both the first and second of Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect: it occurs with a dynamic descriptor, and it is progressive. Based on the first
example alone, \textit{pa\'\text{n}a} can have either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Example (b) narrows that down, because it shows that \textit{pa\'\text{n}a} can also pass Van Valin’s sixth test of lexical aspect, and function as a stative modifier. This means that the action of harvesting cannot be reversed. That means that \textit{pa\'\text{n}a} ‘to harvest has active accomplishment lexical aspect. This is all reiterated below in Table 24 where the lexical aspect of both \textit{k\text{u}w\text{a}n\text{a}} ‘to give’ and \textit{pa\'\text{n}a} ‘to harvest’ is outlined.

Table 24: lexical aspect of \textit{k\text{u}w\text{a}n\text{a}} and \textit{pa\'\text{n}a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>\textit{k\text{u}w\text{a}n\text{a}}</th>
<th>\textit{pa'\text{n}a}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like \textit{vigorously, gently etc.}</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like \textit{quickly, slowly, etc.}</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘\textit{X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing}’</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with \textit{X in an hour}</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{Lexical Aspect}</td>
<td>Achieve</td>
<td>Active Accomp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example 49, the verb with the -\textit{fa} suffix appears right before a quotation about harvesting \textit{pasu} fruit that is growing all over a tree. The way that \textit{pa\'\text{n}a} ‘to harvest’ is used with \textit{k\text{u}w\text{a}n\text{a}} ‘to give’ indicates that the giving of the harvested fruit has a lot to do with how the following quotation will be taken. In this case, it sounds as if the speaker is asking for her brother
to come and harvest these fruits for her because they are all over the tree, not as if she is asking for help with harvesting.

This example is particularly interesting because it contains two sets of instructions. One has a -fa verb, and one has the attributive -k. This could have something to do with the lexical aspect of the verb that each suffix is attached to. The -fa verb is attached to a verb with active accomplishment lexical aspect –pašafa ‘harvesting’ has a definable end point: when there are no more ripe things to pick, but the harvesting is a dynamic action. In contrast, being someone who looks – riku-k has state lexical aspect, where there is no clearly defined endpoint, and will therefore be simultaneous with whatever verb follows it.

As the above examples demonstrate, the coreference suffix -fa often indicates sequential action when it is used in a verb chain with a final verb that has the imperative marker. The imperative suffix indicates the final result that the person giving the order wants to be accomplished. The -fa marker tracks not only that the subject performing the predicates is the same, but also the order in which the predicates in the verb chain ought to be performed. The only exception to this is when another -fa verb is added as an afterthought to give context or clarification, as seen in example 44.

6.2 Ideophones

In the book Sounds Like Life: Sound-symbolic Grammar, Performance and Cognition in Pastaza Quichua, Nuckolls says that:

“Quechua speakers’ use of sound-symbolism suggests an orientation to the world that unites the material with the conceptual, and the natural with the cultural or conventional…The “sounds of sound” communicate not an abstract, detached meaning, but a concrete movement, rhythm, or process unfolding in time.” (Nuckolls, 1996: 3).
The lexical aspect of ideophones also plays a role in determining whether or not the coreference suffix -fa is an indication of simultaneous versus sequential action in a verb chain. In determining sequential versus simultaneous action using the coreference suffix -fa in Pastaza Kichwa, certain ideophones convey a punctuality that conveys completive lexical aspect. That sense of completion encoded in how the ideophone is used (gesture, tone of voice, etc.) is also one of the ways that ideophone can be used to clarify whether a set of predicates in a verb chain are sequential or simultaneous. It should be noted however, that in Pastaza Kichwa, ideophones are equally essential for describing both simultaneous, habitual, and sequential action. Each -fa suffixed verb chain and ideophone combination must be analyzed on a case-by-case basis.

Example 52 is from the tfem entry in the QRW corpus, but the ideophone that is working with the -fa verb chain is actually wiŋ, which in this context means “anything or any group or collection of entities, or expanse of entities, considered as a whole.” (wing1 – Quechua Realwords (byu.edu)). This makes sense in the context of a branch, which is apparently still considered a single entity after being broken, being thrown away. The gesture gives context to the -fa verbs in the chain, because it tells how the branch was broken up. This example is discussing how sometimes the subject of the utterance (it is unclear who, or what the subject is) will break a branch. The broken branch (or rather, the pieces of the broken branch) are then thrown away behind the subject.

(52) sequentiality using -fa and ideophones: tfem
In example 52, both the -fa verb (which appears twice), pakina ‘to break’, and the matrix verb itfuna ‘to throw away’ have achievement lexical aspect as determined by Van Valin’s (2006) tests of lexical aspect. Examples explaining why this is the case are below in example 53.

(53) pakina and itfuna: stative modifier

(a) mana pakin-tʃu

NEG break-3SG-NEG

‘not broken’

(b) jña uma tupon urma-j chajbi-tʃ iʃu-ra

DM head IDEO fall-LOC there-EV throw.away-PST

‘a head falls tupon and with that, it is thrown away’

In both of these examples, the verb in question has the ability to act as a stative modifier. Both verbs represent predicates that cannot be reversed once completed. From available data, it is also evident that both pakina and itfuna do not pass any of Van Valin’s other tests for lexical aspect. This means that the only possible lexical aspect that they can have is achievement lexical aspect. Table 25 reiterates how this conclusion was reached.

Table 25: lexical aspect of pakina and itfuna
In example 52, the verb *pakina* ‘to break’ appears twice in the same utterance, and is suffixed by *-ʃa* in both cases. This is because the first use of *pakina* has the explanation of what is being broken (a branch) to add context, and then when it is used again, it is immediately followed by the matrix verb *itfuna* ‘to throw away’, which indicates that the broken branch is thrown away once it has been broken into pieces, and also has achievement lexical aspect. The act of breaking and the act of throwing away are two distinct predicates that have to be sequential because they both have achievement lexical aspect. Unless the branch is first broken, it won’t be thrown away.

There is also a semelfactive aspect to this example thanks to the ideophone *wuŋ* which is used to indicate everything or all of an object, which means that either there was more than one branch being broken, or that the one branch was broken into multiple pieces. While this doesn’t change the fact that the *-ʃa* verbs happen in sequence with the matrix verb, it does add context.
and reemphasize how the breaking and the throwing away had to be sequential, because there was more than one piece of the branch being thrown away.

Example 54 comes from the QRW entry for *patag* which describes “the sound or movement of something hitting a surface” ([patag – Quechua Realwords (byu.edu)](https://www.byu.edu)). This makes sense in this utterance as part of a description of how a hunting expedition went. The ideophone in this example serves to add context and paint a verbal picture of how actions, in this case, an animal dying and falling down, are completed.

(54) sequentiality using -fa and ideophones: *patag*

```
paj famu-fa patag waɲu-tʃi -fa itʃu -ra
```

he come-ss IDEO die -CAUS-ss throw.away-pst

‘Coming and killing it (to the point that it collapsed) *patag*, he threw (something) away.’

QRW *patag* video 1 ([patag – Quechua Realwords (byu.edu)](https://www.byu.edu))

In this example, the ideophone *patag* is used to describe how an animal fell when it collapsed after being struck. It is right in between the -fa verb *famuna* ‘to come’, and the other -fa verb *waɲutfina* ‘to kill’ (or, more specifically ‘to cause to die’). As always, the following examples will be using Van Valin’s tests for lexical aspect as well as data from the CoPK to determine the lexical aspect of both of the -fa verbs *famuna* ‘to come’, and *waɲutfina* ‘to kill’. Example 55 deals specifically with *famuna*. 

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In example 55, *famuna* can be progressive, as seen in example (a), which means that it passes Van Valin’s first test of lexical aspect. Then, in example (b), it passes the second test of lexical aspect with the description of dog-like being a dynamic description. This means that *famuna* can have either activity, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Finally, in example (c), *famuna* acts as a stative modifier, passing Van Valin’s sixth test, and determining that it has active accomplishment lexical aspect. Example 56 and the subsequent discussion deal with *waputfina* ‘to kill’ and its lexical aspect.

(56) *waputfina*

`afka-ta  wa nut-tʃi-ra`

a.lot-TOP  die-CAUS-3.SG..PST

‘(he/she/it) killed a lot.’
In example 56, it is evident that *wanutina* ‘to kill’ can be a stative modifier, and therefore passes Van Valin’s sixth test. Once an animal or person has been killed, it is generally considered impossible to bring them back. There is not, however, any indication from the data in the CoPK that *wanutina* can be progressive, occur with any kind of adverb, or any kind of time expression using ‘for’ or ‘in’. This means that by default, *wanutina* has causative achievement aspect. The tests of lexical aspect for both *wanutina* and *famuna* are restated below in table 26.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th><em>wanutina</em></th>
<th><em>famuna</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occurs with progressive</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occurs with Adverb like <em>vigorously, gently etc.</em></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occurs with Adverb like <em>quickly, slowly, etc.</em></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Occurs with ‘<em>X for an hour, spend an hour X-ing</em>’</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occurs with <em>X in an hour</em></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Can be used as a stative modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has causative paraphrase</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 54 has two different verbs that happen in sequence with each other. The first verb *famuna* ‘to come’ has active accomplishment lexical aspect, meaning that there is a telic goal encoded in the verb, but the verb is also dynamic. Despite the fact that it is continuous in the moment, it can’t be stopped partway through, either the subject has come, or it hasn’t. The second -*fa* verb, *wanutina* ‘to kill’ has causative achievement lexical aspect because it encodes
telicity, but not necessarily punctuality. The ideophone *pataŋ*, which tells listeners that the
death was punctual. *Pataŋ* describes the manner in which the animal was killed, and how it
dropped suddenly when it died. The ideophone also separates ‘to kill’ *waŋutina* it from the other
-*fa* suffixed verb in the chain ‘to come’ *famuna*. First the hunter came, and then he killed
something, and then threw something away.

As I stated earlier, ideophones in Pastaza Kichwa are integral to storytelling and are
invaluable in helping describe how different predicates happened. The lexical aspect of
ideophones can also have achievement, active accomplishment, or accomplishment lexical aspect
that emphasizes the ordering of events, or clarifies the manner in which events happened. The
inclusion of ideophones and their lexical aspect makes it clear when the -*fa* verbs in the verb
chain are sequential, rather than simultaneous.

6.3 *When/then and because of/therefore statements*

This section deals with sequential predicates that have a direct when/then or because
of/therefore relationship with each other. All verb chains that use -*fa* as an indication of
sequential predicate deal with a linear timeline. However, when/then and because of/therefore
statements use -*fa* verb chains differently than do ideophones or imperatives. For example, the
verb chain in these kinds of statements does not generally include an imperative in the matrix
verb. This is because these kinds of statements are more description based. This means that the
verb chain isn’t a set of orders that need to be carried out in a specific sequence. While this isn’t
strictly necessary information in determining sequentiality with -*fa*, it does make it easier to
identify the type of sequential predicates being described.

These when/then statement verb chains that use the coreference suffix -*fa* also differ in
how (and if) they use ideophones. In the previous section, ideophones were used in order to
create a verbal picture of a situation that was being described, and emphasized the punctual functions of the -ʃa verbs in the verb chain. In when/then statements in Pastaza Kichwa, ideophones may still be used to contextualize and explain the manner in which a set of predicates in the verb chain was performed. However, they don’t carry the same accomplishment (or achievement) aspect that they did in the previous section.

(57) -sha in cause-and-effect statements: finki

juka-ta  riku-ʃa  in  asiwa-ra
me-DO  see-SS  IDEO  laugh-PST
‘Seeing me, it in laughed.’

QRW shinki video 2 (shinki – Quechua Realwords (byu.edu))

Interestingly, although both the -ʃa verb rikuna ‘to see’, and the matrix verb asina ‘to laugh’ both have activity lexical aspect (see example 8 for rikuna), thanks to the ideophone in, they are read as sequential. Below in example 58 are examples of asina from the CoPK to show how I used Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect to determine that it has activity lexical aspect.

(58) asina

matʃa-fkaj  tfi  warmi-ʃa-j-mi  riku-ʃa  asi-u-n-ga  ra-u-n
drunk-?  this  woman-LIM-LOC-EV  look-SS  laugh-DUR-3SG-DO  do-DUR-3SG
‘being drunk (he) is going to be laughing right at this woman.’
From example 58, it is evident that asina ‘to laugh’ can be progressive, meaning it passes the first of Van Valin’s tests of lexical aspect. Based on just this data, asina could have accomplishment, active accomplishment, or activity lexical aspect. However, because it cannot be used as a stative modifier, the only option available is that of activity lexical aspect. Therefore, asina ‘to laugh’ has activity lexical aspect.

In terms of sequentiality or the lack thereof, example 57 is a little harder to pin down than other examples. An argument could be made for the two predicates rikuna ‘to see’ and asina ‘to laugh’ being simultaneous for a couple reasons: first, seeing something and laughing are both verbs that have activity lexical aspect. Someone can be laughing and see something, and there could be absolutely no relationship between the two predicates. Second, even if there is a relationship between seeing and laughing, it is hard to separate the two predicates into distinct and separate actions since it feels near-instantaneous seeing something and laughing at it.

That said, the ideophone helps with placing how exactly -ʃa functions in this situation. The ideophone ing is an ideophone that depicts something that happens visually, rather than a sound that is being made in nature. The use of iŋ here works to separate rikuna ‘to see’ from asina ‘to laugh.’ It’s hard to draw out the act of smiling for long. Eventually, the smile is going to be as wide as it can get, and stop. This is an analysis that is supported by the intonation of the speaker, Sra. Cadena, where she says the ideophone louder and with rising intonation that separates the two verbs of seeing and laughing.

While the ideophone is important in this example however, the fact still remains that there is a definite cause and effect relationship between seeing (rikuna) and laughing (asina). Because the object of the sentence saw the subject, it laughed. In other words, the seeing caused the laughing making these verbs sequential.
6.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed how the completive lexical aspect of -fa verbs can be used to indicate sequential predicates. This can also be aided or clarified by examining the completive lexical aspect of ideophones used in conjunction with the verb chain that uses the -fa suffix.

The first section discussed how -fa can be used in imperative statements, but only when it is attached to a verb that has completive lexical aspect. Furthermore, in these kinds of statements, the matrix verb also has completive lexical aspect. The lexical aspect of the verbs in the verb chain, combined with the -fa suffix acts in a very similar way to the word ‘then’ in English when lists of orders are given. For example, in the English phrase ‘Go wash the dog, then build a house, then milk the cows,’ ‘then’ works in a similar way to -fa in Pastaza Kichwa, and the verbs ‘to wash,’ ‘to build’ and ‘to milk’ all have either achievement, or active accomplishment lexical aspect. Furthermore, these predicates clearly all happen in a specific order, which would have been unclear without the use of ‘then’, and without the imperative ‘go’.

The second section was about how the lexical aspect of -fa and the lexical aspect of certain ideophones interact to create statements of sequential action. In these situations, the -fa verbs don’t always have completive lexical aspect. However, when the verbs in the verb chain themselves lack completive lexical aspect, the ideophone provides it, making the entire statement have completive aspect. Completive aspect in the verb chain once again implies that the verbs in that chain are happening in sequence with each other, rather than simultaneously.

The final section covered when/then statements where the general formula is ‘when/because x occurs, then/therefore y will happen.’ The verbs with -fa attached are the steps in the sequence, before the final verb in the chain signals that the process is complete.
Ideophones can be used to express the manner in which predicates in the sequence were performed, but they don’t carry the completive aspect that defines section two.
Chapter 7: Conclusion

The first research question for this thesis was “how does lexical aspect affect how verb chains that use the coreference suffix -ʃa in discourse are understood?”. The short answer, as shown in the analysis chapters of this paper is that the lexical aspect of the verbs in the verb chains that use -ʃa determine the timing of when those chains were performed in relation to each other. If the verbs have active accomplishment, activity, or state lexical aspect, they are most likely to be either simultaneous, or habitually simultaneous with each other. If the verbs have accomplishment, or achievement lexical aspect, they are more likely to have occurred in sequence. There are, of course, some exceptions, but those exceptions generally occur when an ideophone acts as a break between predicates, or works with a verb to modify its lexical aspect, usually in terms of telicity or punctuality. Interestingly, based on the data presented in this thesis, semelfactive lexical aspect does not tend to be present in -ʃa verb chains, though it can show up in the surrounding context, with the repetition of ideophones.

The second research question was “how does -ʃa function in genres such as narratives and descriptions?” This was further broken into two questions. The first question was “Are there types of functions that are not described in the most recent grammar of Pastaza Quichua in which -ʃa appears?” The second part of this question is “if there are additional functions than what are already described, what are they, and how do they differ from what has already been established?” These two questions were answered by the entirety of chapter 5. The most recent grammar of Pastaza Kichwa, by Nuckolls and Swanson (2020) only lists simultaneity and sequentiality as possible interpretations of -ʃa verbs as part of a chain. This thesis has established that while that is accurate, there is a subset of sequentiality that has yet to be discussed: habituality. While these habitual actions are simultaneous with each other, according to the data
in this analysis, they differ from other simultaneous actions. The subjects used by habitual actions are more general than those used by most simultaneous or sequential actions. While habitual actions as indicated by -fa may use verbs with activity lexical aspect, they also use verbs with state and active accomplishment lexical aspect, while -fa verb chains about simultaneous action only use activity lexical aspect.

While this thesis is a start toward understanding the role that lexical aspect plays in the interpretation of the same subject switch reference suffix -fa in Pastaza Kichwa, it is only a beginning. For instance, this thesis does not discuss how lexical aspect affects the other Pastaza Kichwa switch reference suffix -kpi. It also does not discuss the effects of lexical aspect in any other situation besides with the switch reference suffix -fa. For example, with how descriptive ideophones are in Pastaza Kichwa, it might be possible that they have lexical aspect as well, and should be discussed from that perspective.

Another avenue of future research could also be finding ways to adapt the concept of lexical aspect to work more with non-Indo European languages. A major obstacle that I had to deal with over the course of writing this paper is how in Pastaza Kichwa the lexical aspect of a verb could shift depending on the context of the verb (examples 40 and 45). The fact that the lexical aspect of predicates in -fa verb chains can shift based on context implies that lexical aspect is not as set in stone as one might assume based on current research and theories. This could potentially hold true in other non-Indo-European languages as well, and is worth investigating.

An analysis similar to this one could be applied to other languages, or even other dialects of Kichwa. Knowledge of how other languages use lexical aspect of predicates with switch reference in discourse would tell us more about if Pastaza Kichwa is unique in its treatment of
switch reference. It would be good to know if other languages also use switch reference systems to indicate anything other than whether the subject of a chain of verbs is the same or different throughout an utterance. It would also be interesting to see how and if any of the observations made in this thesis hold up to more intense scrutiny with a wider range of speakers and contexts to study, since this thesis is based primarily on the speech of one particularly talkative speaker of Pastaza Kichwa, and is only occasionally supplemented by samples from one or two other female speakers of the language. Greater depth and breadth of source material could lead to the discovery of other patterns of lexical aspect in Pastaza Kichwa verb chains.

By paying attention to the kinds of observations that speakers make about their culture, and how they make them, it is possible to infer the kinds of topics and actions that have the most significance to them. This makes revitalization efforts more feasible because it becomes more apparent what sorts of knowledge must be preserved in order for new speakers and heritage speakers to have the proper context for the language they’re learning.
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