

Mouton Grammar Library

A Grammar of Mose'tén



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A Grammar of Mosetén

by

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For the Mosetenes – shall they be proud of their language!

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Abbreviations

Glosses in the examples:

-		morpheme boundaries, in the list of abbreviations: affix
=		in the list of abbreviations: clitic
A		subject of transitive verb
AD	= <i>ya'</i>	adessive relation (added to NP), adverbial clause marker 'when', also used in hypothetical conditional clauses
AN	- <i>ki-</i>	antipassive
AP		general gloss for applicative
APB	- <i>bi-</i>	applicative 'against the will and possession of...'
APJ	<i>jaj-</i>	applicative prefix 'accompany, with'
APD	- <i>tyi-</i>	applicative 'from something'
APT	<i>ti-</i>	applicative prefix 'due to'
APY	- <i>yi-</i>	applicative 'for something'
AS	= <i>min</i>	associative relation marker, plural marker with pronouns, adjectives and some adverbs
AT	- <i>ti-</i>	antipassive, 'violence' meaning and 'say'
B		benefactive relation (added to NP), purposive adverbial clauses
C	= <i>win</i>	'dead' (added to NP), time reference 'before', 'completed'
CA	<i>ji'-</i>	general causative prefix
CO	= <i>ki</i>	'but' contrastive marker, emphasizing subject non-co-reference in adjacent clauses
COM	= <i>tom</i>	comitative relation (added to NP), simultaneous actions (in clause combinations)
CON	= <i>dyej</i>	adverb comparison
CS	<i>je-</i>	stative causative prefix
DC	- <i>chhi-</i>	'doing the action on the way, here'
DE		demonstrative pronoun
DI	- <i>ji-</i>	distributive associated motion marker
DIM		diminutive
DIR	- <i>j-</i>	bound marker that appears in relation to motion forms

DJ	<i>-kho-</i>	associated motion marker 'doing the action on the way, away' (see also <i>-jo-</i>)
DK	<i>-ki-</i>	associated motion marker 'do an action after arrival, away'
DM	<i>jäe'mä</i>	'uh', proform
DR	<i>=we</i>	downriver relation
DS	<i>-sh-</i>	associated motion marker 'do an action after arrival, here', with certain forms, see also <i>-ti-</i>
DT	<i>-ti-</i>	associated motion marker 'do an action after arrival, here', with certain forms, see also <i>-sh-</i>
E		Spanish
ED	<i>-(a)ke-</i>	deductive evidential (unproductive)
EH	<i>katyi'</i>	hearsay evidential
EM		emphasis marker: speaker emphasizes that what he says is true ¹
ES	<i>ishtyi'</i>	sensory (own experience) evidential
EX		exclamation
F		feminine
FO	<i>nä, näjä'</i>	focus marker: fronting of focussed element, strong focus
FR	<i>=tsa'</i>	'but' contrastive marker, frustrative (expectations have not been met)
GF	<i>näsh</i>	focus marker: general focus
HA		habitual
HOR		hortative
IE	<i>=tyi'</i>	imperative emphasis
IM		general imperative gloss
IMI		intransitive imperative
IMR		reflexive imperative
IMT		transitive imperative
IN	<i>=khan</i>	inessive relation
INC	<i>-dyedeyei-</i>	inceptive aspect marker
INS	<i>-jo-</i>	inceptive aspect and change of state marker
IO		secondary object
IR	<i>=ra'</i>	modal marker: irrealis
ITR	<i>-min-</i>	interrupted movement marker, followed by associated motion marker
ITD	<i>-dyi-</i>	incorporation marker 'iterative aspect'

ITI	- ' -	iterative aspect infix
L	= <i>si'</i> , = <i>tyi'</i>	linker
LO		general gloss for local relation marker
M		masculine
MO		modal marker: certainty ²
MN	= <i>wi'</i>	modal marker: necessity, used in counterfactual conditional clauses
NG	<i>jam</i>	general negation
NO	- <i>dye'</i>	general nominalization marker, also 'time' and 'place' meanings
NP		noun phrase
NX	<i>its-i-</i>	existential negation
O		object (primary object)
ON		onomatopoeic expression
P	= <i>in</i>	plural marker with nouns (subject)
PD	<i>ja-</i>	(in relation with reflexive marker <i>-ti-</i>): dynamic passive
PP	- <i>k</i>	dynamic passive participle
PR	- <i>n'</i>	general participle
PRI	- <i>jo-</i>	progressive intransitive marker
PE		(1 st person) plural exclusive
PI		(1 st person) plural inclusive
PR		progressive aspect
PS	<i>jike</i>	time reference: optional past tense marking
PT	= <i>yata'</i>	time reference: optional past tense marking
Q		general question marker
QI	= <i>dyash</i>	question marker: general information questions
QN	<i>am</i>	question marker: information questions, speaker expects the hearer to know the answer
QR	= <i>ka'</i>	question marker: rhetorical questions
QT	= <i>dyej</i>	question marker: yes / no questions, tag questions
QX	<i>abi'</i>	question marker: information questions, speaker does not expect the hearer to know the answer
QY	= <i>dyaj</i>	question marker: general yes / no questions
R	<i>yo(j)</i>	relative clause marker
RD		reduplication
RE	- <i>ti-</i>	reflexive and reciprocal marker
REA	- <i>ti-</i>	marker used with applicatives 'due to a reason'

RF	<i>khäei'</i>	reference and indefinite marker
s		short form
S		subject (of intransitive verb)
SG		singular
SU	<i>=chhe'</i>	superessive relation
TR	<i>-ke-</i>	transitive marker that appears in a number of forms, such as <i>-sha'(ke)-</i> 'can' and <i>-wa'(ke)-</i> 'progressive'
VD	<i>-tyi-</i>	verbal stem marker
VI	<i>-i-</i>	verbal stem marker
VJ	<i>-jo-</i>	verbal stem marker
VK	<i>-ki-</i>	verbal stem marker
VT	<i>-ti-</i>	verbal stem marker
VY	<i>-yi-</i>	verbal stem marker
/		subject to the left, object to the right (in cross-reference ending)

Abbreviations of example sources:

STE	Spoken text example
WTE	Written text example
COE	Conversation example
SELE	Spontaneous speech in elicitation example
ELE	Elicitation example

Informants:

(Age indication: Y: under 25, M: 26-49, O: above 50 years of age)
 (Source indication: JS: direct work with me, JH: recorded by Juan Huasna)

AM	Adan Misange Oye	M	JS
AT	Adrian Topepe Misange	M	JS
CI	Cristobal Icona	M	JH
CS	Catalina Siquimen	O	JH
CT	Cleto Tahe Chinica	M	JS
CV	Cipiriano Vani	O	JH
DC	Dario Chairique	O	JS
DM	Delicia Miro Wasna	Y	JS
EC	Esteban Condo	M	JH
EM	Eliseo Miro	M	JS

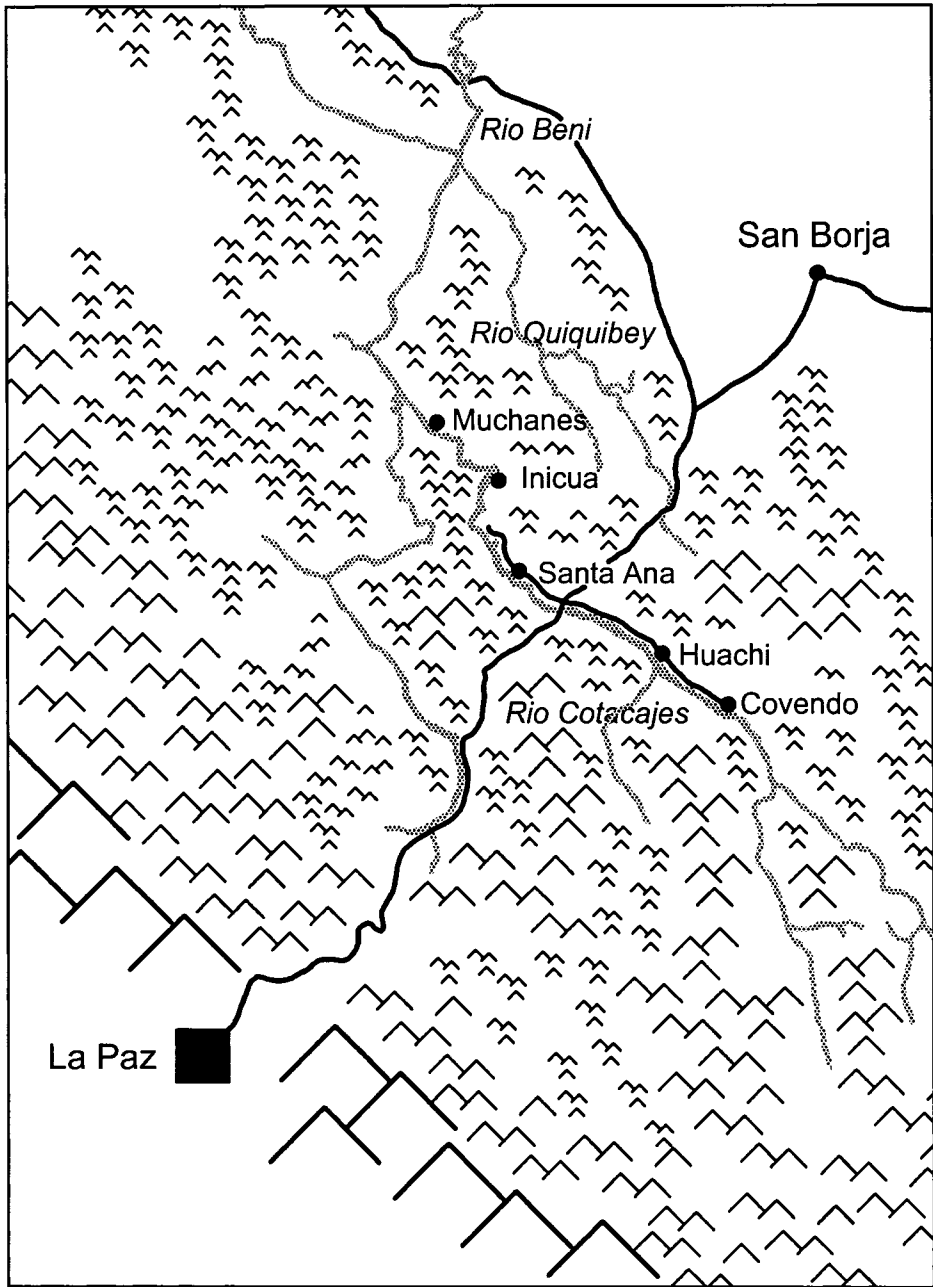
EO	Emiliano Condo	M	JH
FT	Fidelina Topepe Misange	Y	JS
JH	Juan Huasna Bozo	O	JS
JJ	Juan Josesito	O	JS
LM	Lidia Misange Oye	Y	JS
MW	Mamerto Wasna	O	JS
RI	Ricardina Icona	Y	JH
RN	Rita Nena Natte Wasna	Y	JS
RC	Rosnilda Condo Siquimen	Y	JS
SM	Sacarias Misange	O	JH
VC	Victoriano Chairique Oye	O	JH
VJ	Victorina Cualico Josesito	O	JH

Maps

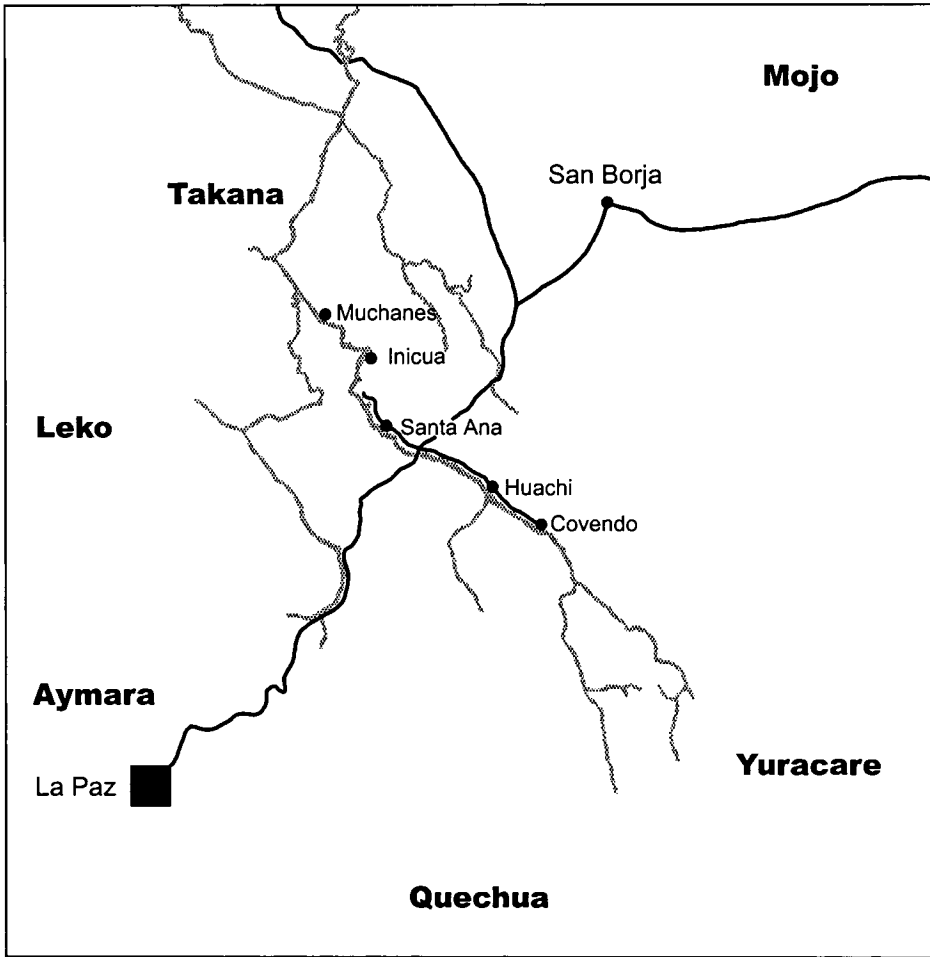
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The language Mosetén is spoken in Bolivia, in the eastern foothills of the Andes. Together with Chimane (Tsimane'), it forms the language family Mosetenan. This language family has not yet been proved to be related to other languages.

The task of this book is to provide a grammatical description of Mosetén in the form of a descriptive reference grammar. It is intended to be comprehensive and aimed at linguists from all backgrounds. Because of this, I have tried not to use specific terminology, as far as that was possible.

The grammar is divided into a short chapter on phonology (2.) and six chapters on the morphology: morphological processes (3.) the nominal system (4.), pronouns and reference (5.), adjectives and adverbs (6.), quantification (7.) and the verbal system (8.). These chapters are followed by voice (9.), negation (10.) and modality and discourse markers (11.). Finally, there are two syntactically oriented chapters on clause types (12.) and clause combinations (13.). In the appendix, I provide texts in the language, as well as a list of grammatical markers (affixes, clitics and particles).

In the present chapter, I will present background information about Mosetén, the language family Mosetenan, previous research and the history of my research. Finally, I will provide an overview of the grammar of Mosetén from a typological perspective.

1.1. Mosetenan

The small language family Mosetenan consists of two closely related languages: Mosetén and Chimane. The peoples consider themselves as belonging to two different ethnic groups, though they call each other *chhaetidye* 'related person'. Mosetén furthermore consists of two main dialects: Mosetén of Covendo and Mosetén of Santa Ana. Linguistically, Mosetén of Santa Ana lies between the two other

variants, showing a number of phonological and grammatical similarities with Chimane, and other grammatical similarities with Mosetén of Covendo. In this way, the three variants can be described as lying on a continuum.³

Mosetén of Covendo – Mosetén of Santa Ana – Chimane

Mosetén of Santa Ana is intelligible with Mosetén of Covendo and Chimane. Mosetén of Covendo and Chimane, on the other hand, are intelligible, but usually, only tolerant speakers have no difficulties in understanding each other.

The present grammar is about the variant Mosetén of Covendo, and only in some cases of obvious variation, I do include information about the other variants.

The Mosetenes call themselves *mintyi'in* ‘people’, their language usually being referred to as *tsinsi' mik*, ‘our language’ or *khäei'si' mik* ‘language of oneself’. *Tsinsisi'* or *tsinsis* are often used as well, referring to the language.

By outsiders, Mosetenes have been given various names: According to Metraux (1942: 15), Mosetenes have been called *Rache*, *Amo*, *Chumpa*, *Cunana*, *Aparoño* and *Magdaleno*.⁴ He furthermore mentions that some Mosetenes were called *Muchanes* and others *Tucupi*, referring to the rivers where they lived. Chimanes have been called *Chimanisa*, *Chumano*, *Chimani* and *Nawazi-moñtji*, according to Metraux (1942: 15).⁵

1.2. The genetic affiliation of Mosetenan

The genetic affiliation of Mosetenan to other languages or language families is unclear. A number of scholars have proposed similarities with several other languages, but the proofs are usually vague.

In this way, a number of travelers and missionaries have compared Mosetén to other languages, based on sound similarities and first impressions.

Linguists have also worked on the genetic affiliation of Mosetén with other languages, basing their description on the grammar by Schuller (1917), based on the manuscript by Bibolotti (1.5.). Swadesh (1963:

318) proposed that Mosestén should be grouped with the language family Chon - Ona and Tehuelche - from Southern Argentina and Chile. He claims that the languages share 34 % of the lexicon. According to **Suarez** (1973), Swadesh overestimated the data. Still, Suarez (1969, 1973) agrees that a superficial relationship with Chon exists, and he relates also Yuracare to Chon and Mosestenan. Primarily, however, he groups Mosestén with Pano-Tacanan, presenting a long list of related words and sound relations. Moreover, Suarez works with a 100 word list, in which he records possible cognates.⁶ Nevertheless, these similarities could be due to loans, and only a comprehensive reconstruction would show the relatedness of these languages. Furthermore, the comparisons of both Swadesh and Suarez are partly based on the forms of the first and second person pronouns. Recently, however, it has been argued that these pronominal forms are found in many languages of South America and that they are an areal phenomenon, instead of a proof for genetic relationship (Adelaar, with the collaboration of Muysken, in press).

Apart from the genetic affiliation of Mosestén, there are a number of loan words in the language, which show that Mosestén speaking people have been in contact with other languages. Such forms are *soñi* 'man', which means 'human' in Uru-Chipaya (an Andean highland language). A loan from Quechua is *tanta* 'bread'. According to my informants, a loan from Yuracare is *otej*, meaning 'luck'.⁷ Furthermore, Mosestén has many loans from Spanish.

1.3. Mosestén and its speakers

In the present section, I will discuss the situation of the Mosestenes from various angles: the demography of the area, the sociolinguistic situation and the way of life, including the political situation.

1.3.1. Demography

Mosestén is spoken in the foothills of the Andes, in the *Yungas* region of La Paz Department. Chimane is spoken in the area of San Borja in the lowlands of Beni Department (see Map 2).

The main area of the Mosevenes is the valley of the Upper Beni river, at about 500 metres of altitude. Covendo lies upriver from all other settlements.⁸ Mosevén of Covendo is spoken and around the village, on both shores of the river. The dialect of Santa Ana is spoken in a much broader area approximately 60 kilometers downriver from Covendo in Santa Ana, Inicua (about 25 kilometers downriver from Santa Ana) and Muchanes (about 40 kilometers from Santa Ana), as well as in a number of settlements along the Quiquibey river in the range of mountains between the Upper Beni river and the Amazon Basin. Within the last 40 years, roads have improved and the area has become accessible. In 2001, telephones have been installed in Covendo and Santa Ana, though communication is still largely carried out over the radio.

Neighboring indigenous languages are Leko, Yuracare, Aymara, Tacana and the Mojo languages, such as Ignaciano and Trinitario (see Map 3). Today, many of these languages are in the same situation as Mosevén and not spoken widely (see 1.3.2.). Most influence today is from Spanish. The highland language Aymara, which is spoken by many new residents in the area, does not seem to have had a profound influence on Mosevén.

At present, people of other language groups live in the same villages as the Mosevenes. Only few such “foreigners” live in Covendo, mainly speaking the languages Aymara, Trinitario and Yuracare. Furthermore, few people and families speak Tacana, Chimane and Chipaya. The village of Santa Ana, on the other hand, is divided into two parts between an area where the Mosevenes live and another area inhabited by “colonizers” (i.e. usually Aymara people) live.

1.3.2. Sociolinguistics

The sociolinguistic situations of the speakers of Mosevén and Chimane are very different. Mosevén of Covendo has around 600 speakers⁹ and Mosevén of Santa Ana has between 150 and 200 speakers. Chimane, on the other hand, is still spoken by at least 4000 people, other sources mentioning much higher numbers.¹⁰ Apart from the differences in number, Chimane is supposed to be one of the few languages in Bolivia that still has a growing number of speakers, whereas both Mosevén variants are slowly disappearing. Furthermore, many people speak

Chimane monolingually, while probably all speakers of Mosetén are bilingual in Mosetén and Spanish, most of them being better at Spanish than at Mosetén. Only a number of older people speak Mosetén with very little Spanish influence.

These differences between the situations of Mosetén and Chimane have a number of reasons. While Mosetenes always have had contact with neighboring tribes and with the Europeans, the Chimanes have lived rather isolated for many years. The Mosetenes have continuously been missionized for almost 200 years (1.4.), while the Chimanes have succeeded in fighting missionaries until rather recently. In this respect, the territory is also important, since the Mosetenes were easily accessible for missionaries from the highlands, while the Chimanes live in a less accessible swampy area in the lowlands. Within the last 30 years, contacts of both tribes with other people have been increasing, due to the better accessibility by roads. Many highland people have moved to the Mosetén area¹¹, and cattle breeders of mestizo origin have accessed the Chimane area.

The attitudes of other Bolivians towards indigenous people have caused many Mosetenes to try to hide their ethnicity. The Mosetenes behave like modern Bolivians, and usually avoid speaking Mosetén when outsiders can hear them.

In Covendo, almost all religious and public events are carried out in Spanish. Only on very few occasions is Mosetén used. One of these occasions is the speech of the cacique (1.3.4.) in front of the church after the Sunday mass (1.3.3.). This is usually carried out in a mixture of Mosetén and Spanish. At home, the majority of Mosetenes speak their language. However, due to intermarriage and little interest in learning other indigenous languages, many families are forced to speak Spanish. In this way, my main informant Juan Huasna Bozo, who is married to a Trinitario-speaking woman, speaks exclusively Spanish with his wife and his children.

While the Chimanes have more than 30 schools in which Chimane is the main language¹², Mosetenes visit communal schools with teachers that often come from highland communities. Spanish is exclusively spoken, as there are no teachers who speak Mosetén. Often, children shift entirely to Spanish when having entered school.

1.3.3. Spanish language influence

For various reasons (1.3.2.), Spanish has had considerable influence on Masetén. Speakers use a number of Spanish loanwords. Some of these loanwords have undergone sound changes, being pronounced according to the phonology of Masetén. I usually write these words in the same way as they are pronounced, such as *resya* ‘church’ instead of the Spanish form *iglesia*, and *ishkwera* ‘school’ instead of *escuela*. In these words, the sounds /l/ and /g/ are adjusted to Masetén pronunciation. However, these sounds occur in a number of other Spanish words, for example in Spanish names: the short form *Loki* from ‘Lucrecio’ is pronounced with the /l/ and not *Roki*.

Some speakers make extensive use of Spanish elements when speaking Masetén. The following text is part of a speech by the cacique Eliseo Miro, and contains code-switching between Masetén (bold) and Spanish:

- (1:1) *Siquiera agradecer-yi jike mö’ suerte mi’in*
 at.least thank-VY.M.S **PS 3F.SG** luck **2.PL**
tener-yi. Digamos nuestros padres jike
 have-VY.M.S we.would.say our fathers **PS**
sufrir-yi-in, khin'-nä ni siquiera ni en
 suffer-VY-P **now-FO** not.even not in
una herencia jaem'-ye-'mi'in. Por lo menos
 a inheritance **good-VY-3F.O-2PL** at.least
gracias a esos señores nuestros tatarabuelos -
 thanks to these men our great.grandfathers
jäen'-tom mäyëdyë' sufrir-yi-in!
how-COM day suffer-VY.M.S-P
 ‘At least you (should) thank for the luck you have. We would say that our fathers suffered, and now, you do not even keep it in memory. At least thanks to these men, our great-grandfathers - how many days have they suffered!’ STE/EM

Spanish verbs are expressed in the infinitive forms and followed by a Masetén ending. In this way, Spanish lexical elements are treated as non-verbal Masetén elements, appearing with the marker that assures that Masetén cross-reference can be added (8.3.). This is not the case in

forms such as *digamos* ‘we would say’, which instead can be described as a kind of discourse marker, instead of a main verb in this context. A number of elements in the example are expressed in Mosetén: *khin* ‘now’, *jike* ‘before’, *jäen'tom mäyëdyë* ‘how much time’, *-nä* ‘focus’ and *mi'in* ‘you, plural’. All other elements, such as nouns (e.g. *suerte* ‘luck’), negation (e.g. *ni* ‘not’), most verbs and an entire clause (*por lo menos ...* ‘at least...’) are expressed in Spanish. While Spanish verbs are turned into Mosetén forms, nouns and other parts of speech are loaned into Mosetén without a change in the form.

1.3.4. Occupation, education and politics

The Mosetenes are mostly farmers, working in their plantations (“chacos”). Many young people try to find other types of work, supported by various educational projects (such project OSCAR, set up by Franciscan priests). In this way, many young people are educated forest keepers, who try to avoid a complete deforestation of the area. Some people also earn money as workmen for farmers.

Most men can read and write, while many women of the older generation are illiterate. Young people all read and write. The Mosetén organization OPIM has funds for education of exceptional students, but only few people have a good education. These people often do not return to their villages. There are no educated Mosetén teachers yet. My main consultant, Juan Huasna Bozo, is taking over the function of a Mosetén teacher now, gathering mostly young people around him to teach them to read and write in Mosetén.

The political structure in Covendo is led by the “cacique”, i.e. the leader of the village. Another sub-cacique is the second in command. Furthermore, a number of dirigentes (minor leaders) have influence on political decisions. There are usually commissions for all types of projects, for example for the installation of running water in the smaller settlements.

1.4. History of the Mosevenes and previous research

Various people have collected data from Mosevén or Chimane, and a number of researchers have extracted grammatical information from first-hand texts. There are mainly two groups of people who have done first-hand research on Mosevén: 1. travelers, passing through the area, who collected word-lists, texts and ethnographic material, and 2. missionaries, who lived with the Mosevenes and who translated prayers, wrote down word lists and sometimes also short grammatical descriptions. A number of other researchers did second-hand research, working with the first-hand material collected by missionaries or travelers and attempted to extract a grammatical description.

According to Metraux (1942: 16), the first historical documents about the Mosevenes are from 1588, where a couple of Mosevenes - called 'Amo' - were met by the Spanish Captain Francisco de Angulo.¹³ In 1621, the Chimanes are mentioned by the Franciscan missionary Gregorio de Bolívar, who refers to the 'Chumano' Indians.

In the years 1666 and 1667, a number of missionaries entered the Mosevén area. One of them was the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Benito de Rivera y Quiroga, together with the Dominican Father Francisco del Rosario and Father José Morillo (Metraux, 1942: 17). Since then, there was contact between Europeans and Mosevenes, and also missions were set up for shorter periods of time. However, in the early 19th century only were permanent missions founded in the area. The Franciscan priest **Andrés Herrero** founded the mission of Muchanes in 1804/1805. In the year 1815, he founded the mission of Santa Ana. Herrero published the first known linguistic data about Mosevén, in a 'doctrina christiana', a prayer book, which was published on a journey to Europe in 1834.¹⁴ A number of new missionaries followed him back to Bolivia. One of them, Angelo Baldovino, founded the mission of Inmaculada Concepción in Huachi (see map 2) in 1835, which was later moved to Covendo.

The Italian Franciscan Father **Benigno Bibolotti** started working as a missionary of the Mosevenes in 1857 in the mission of Huachi / Covendo. He had an interest in the language and collected material from the Mosevén of Covendo dialect, aimed at further generations of missionaries. The most important work by Bibolotti is the 'Moseveno Vocabulary and Treaties', which was published in 1917 by Rudolph

Schuller. Schuller furthermore extracted grammatical phenomena from the religious texts and other data.¹⁵ Bibolotti also gave a short introduction to the grammar of Mosestén, consisting of numerals and mathematical operations. Furthermore, he has sections about personal pronouns and verbal inflection. In the latter case, he gives the forms of verbs in different tenses and moods. Interestingly, Bibolotti has a number of elements from the dialect of Santa Ana in his description, while most information is from Mosestén of Covendo. In this way, he mentions the past tense markers *ique* and *at*. The first one, *jike*, is from the Covendo dialect, while *aty* is from Santa Ana, and pronounced *aj*¹⁶ in Covendo. Furthermore, he translates the verb *rai'se*¹⁷ with 'love', while *maje* is 'want'. In the dialects today, *rai'se-* means 'want' in Covendo, while the verb *maje-* is used with this meaning in Santa Ana.¹⁸

The Franciscan missionary **Nicolás Armentia** worked in Covendo between 1873 and 1880. He wrote down several phrases in Mosestén, as well as a dictionary and religious texts.

The Franciscan missionary **José Cardús** (1886) collected a short list of words and phrases.

Edwin R. Heath (1883) gathered and published ethnological and linguistic material during a three-year stay in the Bolivian Beni-Region. The linguistic material also includes a comparative list of vocabularies of 211 words, following a questionnaire by the Smithsonian Institution. The vocabularies are of the languages Canichana, Cayubaba, Movima, Maropa, Mosestén, Pacahuara and Tacana. He finds Mosestén 'Frenchy in its pronunciation', which probably is due to the nasalized vowels.

Lucien Adam (1889), a French scholar, made in 1889 the attempt to extract grammatical information from Herrero's catechism, taking also into account the information presented in Heath. He claims that Mosestén does not seem to be related to the Mojo languages nor other known languages in Bolivia.

Lafone Quevedo (1901/1902)¹⁹ published Armentia's manuscript in the years 1901 and 1902. Having access to several published materials about Mosestén, Quevedo compares different sources: Herrero, Armentia, Heath and Adam.

In the same way as Lafone Quevedo, **Rudolph Schuller** (1917)²⁰, an Austrian, published Bibolotti's manuscript. He had found this manuscript among other papers at the Northwestern University Library

in Evanston, Illinois and decided to extract the grammar from it.²¹ Furthermore, he compared the various sources of the Mosestén language. Schuller's grammatical sketch has, until now, been the major source for Mosestén.

Erland von Nordenskiöld (1924), a Swedish traveler and ethnologist, visited the Mosestén region around Covendo in 1913 and stayed with the Mosestenes of Covendo for one or two weeks.²² He collected ethnological data and recorded a number of stories. The school-teacher Tomas Huasna²³, who had learned to write his language from the priests, wrote down three stories for him in Mosestén.

Franz Caspar (1953)²⁴, a Swiss anthropologist, lived with the Mosestenes in Covendo from 1943 to 1947, with several interruptions. Interested in the stories and the language, he compiled a word list – containing roughly 1500 words - of the language in manuscript-form.²⁵ Caspar also wrote a number of sections on the phonology of the language. He noticed both the significance of the glottal stop, which he usually transcribed –c-²⁶, and of nasality. Furthermore, he has few pages of notes on pronouns and numerals, as well as on “prepositions”, i.e. postclitics (4.1.).

Wayne Gill belongs to the North American protestant New Tribes Mission and has been a missionary with the Chimane people since the early 1980s. Interested in languages, he learned Chimane and created a writing system for the language. He printed a Chimane-Spanish and Spanish-Chimane dictionary, published school books and religious booklets (all under the name of Misión Nuevas Tribus). Furthermore, he translated the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament. For new missionaries, starting at the mission with the Chimane, he wrote a “teach-yourself-Chimane” manuscript, consisting of grammatical information, religious phrases and everyday speech. The grammatical information is very good and reliable. He is continuously collecting words for a manuscript dictionary of Chimane-English, which in 1999 consisted of more than 5000 words and derivations of words, - and example clauses for most entries.

Moreover, anthropologists who have lived with the Mosestenes and Chimanes have done collections or descriptions of parts of the language. One of them is the German **Jürgen Riester** (1978), who collected several Chimane stories and songs. In the same way, the French anthropologist **Isabelle Daillant** (1994) worked with the Mosestenes and

Chimanes and collected traditional stories in Mosevén. Recently, the **Gran Consejo Tsimane'** (Roca & Caimani, eds., 1999) has published a number of booklets, such as *aprenda tsimane'* 'learn Chimane'.

Furthermore, two minor research projects have been carried out in describing Mosevén and Chimane, such as the project by the Argentinean researcher **Eusebía H. Martín** (1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994; Martín and Pérez Díez 1989, 1990), who published a number of very basic notes about the Chimane language. **Colette Grinevald** (1996) worked in an alphabetization project for several languages of lowland Bolivia (see also section 2.6.).

1.5. History and method of my research

The data presented in this grammar are based on my own fieldwork in Bolivia. I carried out fieldwork four times:

July-August 1999	(1 month)	Mosevén region
January- April 2000	(4 months)	La Paz, Mosevén region
July-September 2000	(2 months)	La Paz, Cochabamba
January – February 2002	(2 months)	Cochabamba

On my first, preliminary fieldtrip in 1999, I introduced myself to the Mosevenes and met a number of people interested in linguistic work. I stayed in Covendo, and visited Santa Ana, recording different types of language data. I worked with Adan Misange, Ruth Misange, Casiana Wasna and Cleto Tahe in Covendo and Dario Chairique and Juan Josesito in Santa Ana. Moreover, I started to work on the first texts with my main informant, Juan Huasna Bozo.

On my second trip to Bolivia, I stayed in the capital La Paz together with Juan Huasna, transcribing the texts that I had recorded the preceding year. I introduced Juan Huasna to the computer. Furthermore, I bought him a tape recorder, so that he could record language data in the Mosevén region.²⁷ Apart from the analysis of texts, we worked in elicitation sessions on the basic structure of the grammar. In March, I went to the Mosevén area for one month, analyzing texts and carrying out elicitation with Cleto Tahe. Due to the conditions of the roads and blockades by angry farmers, I was unable to leave the place, and the

planned trips to other Mosestén-speaking villages could not be accomplished. At the end, I went to San Borja in the Chimane region and met with the missionary Wayne Gill in La Cruz (at the Maniqui river). I had planned to do library and archive research, in the remaining time, which again was very difficult, due to further blockades of the road and a general strike in the country.

The third fieldtrip was carried out in the cities of La Paz, with Cleto Tahe, and Cochabamba, with Juan Huasna. Juan had set up 'writing courses' for young Mosestenes, who came to his house to learn to read and write their language. He brought two of his pupils - Adrian Topepe and Lidia Misange - to Cochabamba for one week, and I worked on data-checking and other elicitation issues with them. In the meantime, Juan Huasna transcribed texts on the computer. We published the booklet *Poromasi' Pheyakdye'in* 'old stories' in Mosestén (Sakel, ed., 2000), containing texts written by my informants. Most texts are old stories, but the booklet also includes old songs, jokes and a translation of the Lord's prayer, based on Herrero's (1834) version.

The fourth fieldtrip was entirely carried out in Cochabamba with Juan Huasna and five of his "pupils". In the first two weeks, three young girls - Rosnilda Condo, Fidelina Topepe and Delicia Miro - participated in the project. We worked in different groups with elicitation, the texts collected by Nordenskiöld in the 1913, and a dictionary of Mosestén. In the following three weeks, Adrian Topepe and Rita Natte came to work with Juan Huasna and me. We finished the dictionary and the final revision of the grammar. Furthermore, we published a number of booklets: the second revised edition of the first booklet *Poromasi' Pheyakdye'in* 'old stories' (Sakel, ed. 2002), *ojtere'* 'the rooster' (Sakel, ed. 2001) - a comic-type booklet which I had prepared in Germany - and the spelling-book *tsinsi' kirjka* 'our book' (Sakel, ed. 2002). On this fieldtrip, I had brought a video-camera and made some recordings of our work and of spoken texts.

In this way, I carried out fieldwork both in the Mosestén area and in two Bolivian cities. In the Mosestén area, I got to know the culture, the circumstances of life, as well as the language conditions. Due to the sociolinguistic situation, I did not hear much Mosestén in the village. Furthermore, work was difficult, since most of my informants did not show up, and I spent a lot of time waiting. At an average, I only carried out fieldwork for one or two hours a day. Since some of my more

reliable informants were eager to get to know the cities²⁸, we decided to work in La Paz and Cochabamba. In this way, we were also able to use the computer.²⁹ Moreover, my personal conditions as a woman 'traveling' alone were much better in the cities than in the rural area, etc.

This grammar is primarily based on textual data. Some texts were recorded by me, while others were collected by Juan Huasna. His data are very good, since he had access to language varieties that were difficult for me to record. Furthermore, he was able to interview the speakers in Masetén and ask questions about uncommon words. Some examples in the grammar are based on elicitation data. They have all been checked with various different speakers, in order to guarantee the correctness of the data.

My research was carried out bilingually, in Spanish and Masetén.

1.6. Structural characteristics of Masetén

The phonological system of Masetén has ten vowel phonemes, five of which are oral and five nasal. Furthermore, length has phonemic status with some vowels. There are 24 consonant phonemes, among which are aspirated and palatalized consonants. The basic syllable structure is (C)V(C). Word stress generally falls on the first syllable. Other phonologically interesting phenomena are vowel and nasal harmony.

The different parts of speech of Masetén are nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and particles. Reduplication is frequent with all types of parts of speech, while affixation - mainly suffixes, few prefixes and one infix - is mainly found with verbs and cliticization with other parts of speech.

The degree of synthesis is rather high, especially in verbs. Masetén is mainly agglutinative, though it has a number of fusional characteristics, especially in the cross-reference forms, as well as in certain affixes, when appearing in combination with cross-reference forms, such as *-ban-* 'again' and the verbal stem marker / applicative *-tye-*. Verbs furthermore undergo a number of morphophonological changes.

The nominal morphology is rather simple, and most nominal modification is carried out by clitics. The same is the case with adjectives, adverbs and particles. Exceptional in nominal and adjectival

morphology is the use of the macrofunctional “linker” morpheme, which relates elements in a noun phrase. Predicatively used adjectives are not marked by this linker morpheme. The order in the noun phrase is usually determiner-modifier-noun, though usually long modifiers, such as relative clauses, appear after the head noun. Furthermore, the noun phrase can also be split up and a verb can appear between the different parts of the phrase.

Gender is inherent to nouns and usually not marked on the noun itself. Gender agreement, however, is extensive and can affect all kinds of parts of speech. For example, modal particles, place adverbs and a benefactive relation marker have a feminine and masculine form.

The verbal morphology of Mosestén is very complex (see also the list of grammatical markers in the appendix II). Intransitive verbs are obligatorily – inflectionally - marked for the gender of the subject³⁰ and transitive verbs are roughly marked for the gender, person and number of subject and object. The verbal cross-reference ending distinguishes first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive forms, whereas no such distinction is found in the pronominal system.³¹ Derivational forms in verbs include a kind of verbal classification system, which affects the majority of verbs in the language. I call the markers *verbal stem markers*. They basically appear after a bound verbal root, building the verbal stem to which other elements can be added. Moreover, they can occur after other parts of speech, and in this way, they are verbalizing. Mosestén also has a number of incorporation markers. Other affixes include a number of aspectual markers, associated motion markers, voice markers³², as well as verbal markers meaning ‘strongly’ and ‘again’.

Other expressions, such as a number of aspectual forms, as well as modality and discourse markers, are expressed by sentential clitics or particles.

A maximum of two arguments, subject and object, can be referred to by the verbal cross-reference ending. In this way, three-argument ditransitive clauses formally have two core arguments.³³ The word order in intransitive clauses is usually S V. In transitive clauses, the basic constituent order is A V O. This order can be changed due to pragmatic status. Identifiable referents are often pro-dropped, i.e. they are exclusively referred to by the verbal cross-reference ending and do not occur as a pronoun or as a full noun phrase.

Predicate clauses appear without a copular verb, subject and predicate usually being juxtaposed. In interrogative clauses, a question-marking particle indicates the type of question. Information questions are furthermore marked by an interrogative pronoun.

Clause combinations can be carried out in various ways. 'And'-coordinations are marked by juxtaposition or a particle, while the clitics *-ki* and *-tsa* mark contrastive coordination. There are various ways of expressing subordination of clauses in complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. Moreover, participial clause combinations occur, where one or more verbs appear as participles, while only the main verb is inflected.

Chapter 2 Phonology

In the present chapter, I will describe the phonology of Mosestén. Starting with vowels and consonants, I will move on to a description of phonotactics such as syllable structure, vowel harmony and nasal harmony. After that, I will look at the suprasegmental phenomenon of stress and then I give an overview of morphophonological processes in the language. Finally, I will discuss the orthography of Mosestén.

2.1. Vowels

2.2.1. Vowel inventory

Mosestén of Covendo has ten vowel phonemes. These can be divided into oral and nasal vowels. Nasality of vowels has phonemic status in Mosestén. I will treat the nasalized vowels as separate phonemes. Nasal harmony, however, will be treated below (2.3.3.). Furthermore, length has phonemic status with some vowels.

Table 1: The vowel inventory of Mosestén of Covendo

i / ĩ

e / ě ə / ǣ o / ɔ

a / ǎ

There is only one high vowel, namely the unrounded /i/. Furthermore, Mosestén of Covendo has the phoneme /ə/.

In Mosestén of Santa Ana and Chimane, the system includes an extra vowel and its nasal counterpart, namely the central high vowel /ɨ/, cf. table 2.

Vowels can generally appear in all kinds of syllables: V, VC, CV and CVC.

Table 2: The vowel inventory of Mosestén of Santa Ana and Chimane

i /ĩ	i /ĩ
e /ẽ	ə /ã o /õ
	a /ã

/a/

/a/ is an open central vowel. It stands in phonemic contrast to all other vowels:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|--|
| (2:1) | [sobaki] | 'visit someone' |
| | [sobekeʔ] | 'go to visit her' |
| (2:2) | [pax] | 'for' |
| | [pəx] | 'put down' |
| (2:3) | [ban] | 'again, M.S' |
| | [bin] | 'again, 3 rd person subject, 1 st person object' |

/ã/

The vowel */ã/* is the nasal variant of the oral vowel */a/*. That */ã/* is a separate phoneme is evident in the following minimal pairs:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| (2:4) | [tsãʔ] | 'awake, alive' |
| | [tsaʔ] | 'but' |
| | [tseʔ] | 'mother' |
| (2:5) | [pãtʃjẽʔ] | 'light a fire' |
| | [potʃjeʔ] | 'put a tree-trunk in the earth' |
| (2:6) | [fãdʰã-] | 'dig' |
| | [fədʰə-] | 'bend' |

/e/

The vowel */e/* is a close-mid front vowel.

(2:7)	[keʉeʔ]	‘someone searches her’
	[kiʉi]	‘again’
	[kãʉãkiʔ]	‘sweet’
(2:8)	[miʔ]	‘he’
	[meʔ]	‘so’
	[moʔ]	‘she’
(2:9)	[həki-]	‘behind’
	[heke-]	‘take something’

/ẽ/

The nasal vowel /ẽ/ is a separate phoneme, as shown in the following examples:

(2:10)	[mãnhãʔ]	‘yesterday’
	[men]	‘moment’
(2:11)	[mẽʔki]	‘this little’
	[meʔki]	‘this size (big or small)’
(2:12)	[fẽkõnji]	‘he turns around’
	[fãkeʔ]	‘someone is angry at her’

/ə/

The vowel /ə/ is a mid central unrounded vowel:

(2:13)	[jətəm]	‘so many’
	[jətõm]	‘with me’
(2:14)	[ʉən]	‘someone beats me’
	[ʉẽntʃ ^h i]	‘he comes’

/ə̃/

The nasal version of the mid central unrounded vowel.

(2:15)	[d̃ər̃ʔ]	‘not have’
	[dər̃ʔ]	‘tree’
(2:16)	[k̃ətiji]	‘he cultivates something’
	[kati]	‘we bring it’
(2:17)	[f̃ək̃ənʔki]	‘hiccup’
	[fok̃ənʔ]	‘rotten’
(2:18)	[t̃ʃip̃ʔ]	‘uncombed child’, ‘bunch of small bananas’
	[t̃ʃipaʔ]	‘uncombed grown-up’

/i/

The vowel /i/ has two allophones [i] and [ɪ], and can also appear with a phonemic length difference (see 2.1.3.). In the short form, the allophones [i] and [ɪ] exist, whereas the long form is always [ii]. The allophone [ɪ] is rather uncommon, appearing only before fricatives and affricates:

(2:19)	[d̃ɪx-]	‘take a bath’
	[ɪtsi]	‘not be there, M’

The phonological length difference is evident in the following forms:

(2:20)	[ɪts]	‘nocturnal monkey’
	[i:ts]	‘this one, M’

Most realizations of /i/ are as [i]:

(2:21)	[tipih]	‘piece’
	[təpəh]	‘little piece’
(2:22)	[hike]	‘past tense’
	[h̃ik̃ē]	‘cold’
(2:23)	[jime-]	‘sing something’
	[jəme-]	‘like something’
	[jame]	‘flower’
	[j̃im̃ē]	‘close’

/ĩ/

The vowel /ĩ/ is the nasal variant of the oral vowel /i/. This vowel has a phonemic length difference (see 2.1.3.), in the same way as /i/. There is, however, no allophone [ĩ] in the short form /ĩ/.³⁴ This nasal vowel is a separate phoneme, as shown in the following minimal pairs:

- | | | |
|--------|----------|-------------------|
| (2:24) | [miʔin] | ‘they, masculine’ |
| | [mĩʔin] | ‘you, plural’ |
| (2:25) | [ãuãʔ] | ‘child’ |
| | [ĩuĩʔ] | ‘little child’ |
| (2:26) | [tãxʃãʔ] | ‘beach’ |
| | [tũxʃĩʔ] | ‘little beach’ |

The length difference is found in examples with this nasalized vowel as well (see /i/ above). Hence, the /ĩĩ/ is long in [tʃl:ĩjete] ‘someone knows him’.

/o/

The phoneme /o/ has three allophones: [o], [ɔ] and [u]. [u] is a high back vowel and appears only in very few environments. For instance, in [ruktʃeʔ] ‘on the mountain’ the vowel is realized as [u] by some consultants. [ɔ] is a low-mid back vowel and occurs when /o/ is followed by a fricative within the same syllable:³⁵

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|-------------|
| (2:27) | [k ^h ɔxtʃiʔ] | ‘heart’ |
| | [hɔf] | ‘already’ |
| | [jɔx] | ‘like’ |
| | [jɔʃropai] | ‘thank you’ |

This also applies to the nasalized form of this vowel (see below):

- | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|
| (2:28) | [õxʃĩʔ] | ‘water’ |
|--------|---------|---------|

Across syllable boundaries, however, such a change does usually not occur, even if the following vowel is a fricative:

(2:29) [tʰofɛ] ‘blind’

[o] is a high mid back vowel, which appears in all other contexts:

(2:30) [ɔxtɛrɛʔ] ‘rooster’

[ax] ‘already, yet’

(2:31) [pɔroma] ‘before, ago, old times’

[pɔrɔʔ] ‘two’

/õ/

/õ/ is the nasal variant of /o/. It has the same allophones as /o/, just in nasalized versions: [õ], [õ̃] and [ũ]. The latter is rather uncommon and only applies to the way some people speak. [õ̃] appears when the syllable-final consonant is a fricative (see above). In all other cases, this vowel is realized as [o]:

(2:32) [mõʔ] ‘she’

[miʔ] ‘he’

(2:33) [õxɲiʔ] ‘water’

[kʰɔxtɪʔ] ‘heart’

[ax] ‘already, yet’

(2:34) [õuɛ] ‘here, F’

[iue] ‘here, M’

(2:35) [kʰõʃi] ‘he sleeps’

[kʰiʃi] ‘he is tired’

/ɨ/

The high central unrounded vowel /ɨ/ does not exist as a separate phoneme in Masetén of Covendo, but it does in the dialects Chimane and Masetén of Santa Ana. In Masetén of Covendo, the same words are realized with the vowels /i/ or /ə/ instead of /ɨ/:

Masetén of Santa Ana:

(2:36) [mɨʔue] ‘there, M’

[tʃ ^h ɨti tsɨn]	‘we fight’
[ɲɨʔ-sinʔ]	‘we are put...’

Mosetén of Covendo:

(2:37) [miʔue]	‘there, M’
[tʃ ^h iti tsin]	‘we fight’
[ɲəʔ-sinʔ]	‘we are put...’

2.1.2. Coda approximants

Diphthong-resembling structures in Mosetén involve coda approximants: the semi-vowels /j/ and /ʋ/ (cf. 2.2.6. below). Other combinations of vowels do not exist. Forms exist both with nasal vowels and with oral vowels. The forms I encountered in Mosetén are listed below:

(2:38)	[aj]	[tʃ ^h ajʔ]	‘go down’	
	[ãj]	[tʃ ^h ãjʔ]	‘vomit’	
	[oj]	[tʃ ^h oj]	‘land’	
	[õj]	[ʋẽnhõij]	‘come’	
	[ej]	[sejʔsejʔ]	‘cut’	
	[ẽj]	[tẽtẽj]	‘frog-sound’	
	[əj]	[dərəj]	‘hunt’, lit: ‘go to mountain’	
	[ə̃j]	[k ^h ə̃jʔ]	‘oneself’	
	(2:39)	[aʋ]	[k ^h aʋhoi]	‘he flees’
		[ãʋ]	[fãʋtʃ ^h ẽ]	‘above’
[eʋ]		[p ^h ep ^h eʋ]	‘lightning’	
[*ẽʋ]				
[iʋ]		[kiʋʔjeʔ]	‘turn off’	
[*ĩʋ]				
[əʋ]		[həʋʔjiʔ]	‘harvest rapidly with a spade’	
[*ə̃ʋ]				

2.1.3. Length

A phonemic difference in length only applies to the vowels /e/, /ə/ and /i/ and their nasalized counterparts. The vowel /i/ has furthermore two allophones as a short vowel, [i] and [ɪ], but only one form as a long vowel. The other vowels, including the nasal form /ĩ/, have no allophones:

(2:41)	[keʊeʔ]	‘someone searches her’
	[ke:ʊeʔ]	‘someone steps on her’
(2:42)	[tʃãn]	‘clear night’
	[tʃã:n]	‘ear’
(2:43)	[iyaʔ]	‘here, masculine’
	[i:yaʔ]	‘type of parrot’
(2:44)	[i:tsi]	‘dark violet’
	[ɪtsi]	‘negated existential (masculine)’
(2:45)	[tsi:n]	‘sun’
	[tsɪn]	‘we’

Some types of length difference in Mosestén are mainly applied to disambiguate certain expressions:

(2:46)	[mitʃeʔ]	‘over there, not visible’
	[mi:tʃeʔ]	‘on you’

If the environment is not ambiguous, the personal pronoun [mi] ‘you’ is not expressed with a long vowel, e.g. on its own.

2.2. Consonants

Table 3 summarizes the consonant inventory of Mosestén. I will discuss the consonants one by one with respect to their type of articulation, i.e. plosives, fricatives, affricates, nasals, trills and approximants. This is followed by a discussion of consonants that commonly appear in loanwords.

Table 3: The consonant inventory of Mosestén

	bilabial/labio-dental	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive, voiceless	p	t, tʰ		k	ʔ
plosive, voicel., asp.	pʰ			kʰ	
plosive, voiced	b	d, dʲ			
fricative	f	s	ʃ		h ³⁶
affricate		ts	tʃ		
affricate, aspirated		tsʰ	tʃʰ		
nasal	m	n	ɲ		
trill		r			
approximant		ʋ	j		

2.2.1. Plosives

/p/

/p/ is a voiceless and unaspirated bilabial plosive. It usually appears at the beginning of a syllable:

- (2:47) [penʔ] ‘(one) side’
 [fenʔ] ‘egg’
 [pʰen] ‘woman’
 (2:48) [opã] ‘mutun bird’
 [õka] ‘modal particle’

At the end of a syllable, /p/ is usually slightly aspirated.

/t/

/t/ is a voiceless and unaspirated dental-alveolar plosive. It can appear at the beginning of a syllable:

- (2:49) [taraʔtaraʔ] ‘big rat’
 [saraʔi] ‘mare bag’
 (2:50) [mitiʔ] ‘she fries it’
 [mitʰiʔ] ‘your masculine (thing)’

[misiʔ]	‘your feminine (thing)’
[mimiʔ]	‘only, M’ or ‘just, M’

In the same way as /p/, /t/ is often slightly aspirated, when appearing in syllable final position.

/tʲ/

/tʲ/ is the palatalized form of the voiceless and unaspirated dental-alveolar plosive /t/. This palatalized form is a separate phoneme. It can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:51/52) and at the end of a syllable (2:53):

(2:51)	[tʲabaʔ]	‘sponge’
	[ɗʲaba]	‘peanut’
(2:52)	[həmʔtʲete]	‘make it’
	[həmʔjete]	‘guard it, care for it’
(2:53)	[hiritʲ]	‘one, M’
	[hiris]	‘one, F’

/k/

/k/ is a voiceless and unaspirated velar plosive. It can appear at the beginning a syllable (2:54) and the end of a syllable (2:55):

(2:54)	[keʋeʔ]	‘search for her’
	[seʋeʔ]	‘hear her’
(2:55)	[hekeʔ]	‘bring her’
	[hebeʔ]	‘eat her’

At the end of a syllable, this marker is often slightly aspirated, in the same way as the other plosives /p/ and /t/ above.

/?/

The glottal stop is a separate phoneme. It exclusively appears at the end of the syllable:

(2:56)	[jiʔ]	‘she says’
	[ji]	‘he says’
(2:57)	[miʔ]	‘he’
	[mi]	‘you’
	[min]	‘among’

Furthermore, the glottal stop can follow the nasals /m/ and /n/ and the trill /r/ (see 2.3.1. on syllable structure):

(2:58)	[k ^h inʔd ^j emʔ]	‘finally’
	[həmʔd ^j em]	‘how are you (lit. ‘are you fine’)
(2:59)	[ban]	‘he goes’
	[banʔ]	‘she goes’
(2:60)	[p ^h irʔbanʔ]	‘cover it again’
	[hirʔhaijiti]	‘swallow the wrong way’

/p^h/

/p^h/ is a voiceless and aspirated bilabial plosive. It can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:61) and at the end of a syllable (2:62):

(2:61)	[p ^h an]	‘feather’
	[ban]	‘he goes’
(2:62)	[d ^j i p ^h]	‘then’
	[d ^j ix]	‘think, remember’

/k^h/

/k^h/ is an aspirated voiceless velar plosive that can occur at the beginning of a syllable (2:63) and at the end of a syllable (2:64):

- (2:63) [kõihẽd^hẽʔ] ‘plantation’
 [k^hõiʔ] ‘oneself’
 (2:64) [hãk^h] ‘earth’
 [nãhãʔ] ‘focus particle’

/b/

The voiced and unaspirated bilabial plosive /b/ appears exclusively at the beginning of a syllable:

- (2:65) [boŋiʔ] ‘she plays the flute’
 [soŋiʔ] ‘man’
 (2:66) [beʔbeʔ] ‘big fish trap’
 [neʔneʔ] ‘sound of deer’
 [peʔre] ‘banana’

/d/

The voiced, unaspirated dental plosive /d/ is very uncommon in Mosetén words. It exclusively appears at the beginning of a syllable, with the vowels /ə/ or /ẽ/, followed by the consonants /r/, /x/, /ʔ/ or in CV syllables:

- (2:67) [dər] ‘big’
 [kõⁿdẽx] ‘baby’
 (2:68) [dərəʔ] ‘tree, mountain’
 [sərəʔ] ‘long object’
 [tərərət^hiʔ] ‘throat’
 [d^həkẽd^hesiʔ] ‘sleeping place, pension’

/dy/

The palatalized voiced dental plosive /d^y/ exclusively occurs at the beginning of a syllable. As opposed to the non-palatalized phoneme /d/,

/dʲ/ frequently appears in syllables with different kinds of vowels and consonants:

(2:69)	[dʲaiʔ]	‘many’
	[taiʔji]	‘(to) slip’
(2:70)	[dʲam]	‘little’
	[ham]	‘no’

2.2.2. Fricatives

/f/

The unvoiced bilabial fricative /f/ can occur at the beginning (2:71) and the end of the syllable (2:72):

(2:71)	[farax]	‘leave’
	[taraʔtaraʔ]	‘big rat’
	[saraʔi]	‘mari-bag’, ³⁷
(2:72)	[hõf]	‘already’
	[uẽnhõnʔ]	‘we come there’

/s/

The unvoiced dental-alveolar fricative /s/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:73) and at the end of a syllable (2:74):

(2:73)	[san]	‘a certain medicine-plant’
	[ʃan]	‘leaf’
(2:74)	[sanakis]	‘booklet’
	[sanakitʰ]	‘pencil’

/ʃ/

The unvoiced palatal fricative /ʃ/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:75) and at the end of a syllable (2:76):

(2:75)	[ʃokdʰeʔ]	‘chicha’ ³⁸
	[rok]	‘on something’
(2:76)	[həʃ]	‘chewed yucca, out of which one makes chicha’
	[həmʔ]	‘good’
(2:77)	[ʊəʃ]	‘armadillo’
	[ʊətʃ]	‘harvest a fruit’

/h/: [x] and [h]

The velar fricative [x] and the uvular fricative [h] form one phoneme /h/. [h] exclusively occurs at the beginning of a syllable:

(2:78)	[hoʃiʔ]	‘palm’
	[soʃiʔ]	‘man’
(2:79)	[ihi]	‘ucumari (monster)’
	[iʃiʔni]	‘he has to throw up’

[x], on the other hand, only appears at the end of a syllable:³⁹

(2:80)	[ax]	‘already, yet’
	[am]	‘modal particle’
(2:81)	[rəx]	‘all’
	[rəmʔji]	‘bite’
(2:82)	[nōxnōx]	‘tomorrow’
	[nōnōʔ]	‘mother’
(2:83)	[mix]	‘stone’
	[mi]	‘you’

When appearing at the beginning of a syllable, the Spanish [x] is often pronounced [f] in Masetén: *Juan* [fuan].

2.2.3. *Affricates*

/ts/

The dental-alveolar non-aspirated affricate /ts/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:84/85) and at the end of a syllable (2:86):

(2:84)	[tsin]	‘we’
	[min]	‘among’
	[-Uin]	‘ago’
(2:85)	[atsi]	‘he comes’
	[aji]	‘she comes’
(2:86)	[i:ts]	‘this one, M’
	[in]	‘plural’

/tʃ/

The palatal non-aspirated affricate /tʃ/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:87/88) and at the end of a syllable (2:89):

(2:87)	[kamanʔ]	‘go back’
	[tʃamaki]	‘search for fish’
(2:88)	[aʔtʃi]	‘ugly’
	[aʔɲi]	‘beautiful’
(2:89)	[katʃ]	‘trample down’
	[kap ^h]	‘clap with hand’

/ts^h/

The dental-alveolar aspirated affricate /ts^h/ exclusively appears at the beginning of a syllable:

(2:90)	[ts ^h oiʔ]	‘she lands’
	[tʃ ^h oiʔ]	‘she jumps’

/tʃ^h/

The palatal aspirated affricate /tʃ^h/ exclusively appears at the beginning of a syllable:

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (2:91) | [tʃ ^h oʔji] | ‘he jumps several times’ |
| | [tʃoʔji] | ‘he tears out’ |

2.2.4. *Nasals*

/m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:92) and at the end of a syllable (2:93/94):

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (2:92) | [minsiʔ] | ‘woman’ |
| | [tsinsiʔ] | ‘our feminine ...’ |
| (2:93) | [bəʔiʔtʃ ^h om] | ‘sit for a while’ |
| | [tʃ ^h ok ^h] | ‘cut in meat’ |
| (2:94) | [d ^ɰ am] | ‘few’ |
| | [d ^ɰ amʔ] | ‘more’ |

/n/

The dental-alveolar nasal /n/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable (2:95) and at the end of a syllable (2:96):

- | | | |
|--------|------------|------------------|
| (2:95) | [nãf] | ‘focus particle’ |
| | [phãf] | ‘ferment’ |
| (2:96) | [fĩn] | ‘hair’ |
| | [fĩmʔfĩmʔ] | ‘move tail’ |

/ɲ/

The palatalized form of the dental-alveolar nasal /n/ can appear at the beginning of a syllable:

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| (2:97) | [jak ^h ɲi] | ‘he says again and again’ |
| | [jaksi] | ‘he tells them’ |
| (2:98) | [miɲiʔ] | ‘she goes, transforms’ |
| | [misiʔ] | ‘your feminine ...’ |
| | [mimiʔ] | ‘only, M’ |
| (2:99) | [ɲex] | ‘deer’ |
| | [nem] | ‘tongue, language’ |

There are only very few occurrences of [ɲ] in syllable-final position:

- | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (2:100) | [k ^h aɲ] | ‘in – separate form’ |
| | [-k ^h an] | ‘in, clitic’ |

Some informants do not use [ɲ] in specific cases:

- | | | |
|---------|------------|--------------|
| (2:101) | [ɲibeʔhoi] | ‘he is poor’ |
| | [jibeʔhoi] | ‘he is poor’ |

2.2.5. Trills

/r/

/r/ is a short trill. Usually, the tongue hits the gum ridge only once. It can appear at the beginning of the syllable (2:102) and at the end of the syllable (2:103):

- | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------------|
| (2:102) | [rəx] | ‘all’ |
| | [pəpəx] | ‘father in law’ |
| (2:103) | [fer] | ‘strong’ |
| | [fen] | ‘egg’ |

Some people pronounce /r/ as a retroflex flap [ɽ].

2.2.6. *Approximants*

/ʊ/

The dental-alveolar approximant /ʊ/ is found at the beginning (2:104) and at the end (2:105) of a syllable.

(2:104)	[ʊex]	‘eye’
	[ñex]	‘deer’
(2:105)	[keʊte]	‘search him?’
	[hiʔkep ^h ti]	‘make oneself be taken a picture of’

/j/

The palatal approximant /j/ exclusively appears at the beginning of a syllable:⁴⁰

(2:106)	[jomod ⁱ eʔ]	‘year’
	[momoʔ]	‘only, F’
(2:107)	[həmʔji]	‘be good’
	[həmʔɲi]	‘make good’

2.2.7. *Sounds that appear in Spanish loanwords*

Two sounds, [l] and [g], in Mosetén only occur in Spanish names and loanwords.

[l]

The lateral approximant [l] is used very often in Spanish names and loanwords.⁴¹

(2:108)	[loki]	‘short form of the proper name <i>Lucrecio</i> ’
	[kolonisarjitsin]	‘we are colonized (<i>colonizar</i>)’
	[titolo]	‘titel or diploma (<i>título</i>)’ ⁴²

[fasil]	‘easy (<i>fácil</i>)’
[salida]	‘exit (<i>salida</i>)’

[g]

The voiced velar plosive [g] does not exist in Masetén, but is pronounced as such in Spanish names and loanwords:

(2:109) [agradeserji]	‘say thank you, from <i>agradecer</i> ’
[agosto]	‘month of August, from <i>agosto</i> ’
[fregarji]	‘annoy, from <i>fregar</i> ’
[domingoja?]	‘on Sunday, from <i>domingo</i> ’

Some Spanish names that frequently occur in Masetén are changed and appear without the [g]. In this way, the short form of *Gabriel* is *Rari*: [rari]

2.3. Phonotactics

2.3.1. Syllable structure

Syllables of native Masetén words have the following structure:

(C) V (C) (?)

Only the vowel (V), the nucleus of the syllable, is obligatory in Masetén. Furthermore, syllables can involve consonants (C) in the onset (i.e. beginning) or the coda (i.e. end) of the syllable. No consonant clusters occur, apart from the glottal stop that can follow certain consonants at the end of the syllable. As a consequence, there are 8 possible syllable structures in Masetén, given in table 4.

The different vowels can occur in all types of syllables. Consonants are somewhat restricted in the places they can occur. Hence, only the consonants /m/, /n/ and /r/ can precede a glottal stop. Table 5 summarizes the types of consonants that can appear in the onset and the coda of a syllable.

Table 4: Possible syllable structures

Forms	Examples
V	õũẽ 'here, F'
C V	õũẽ 'here, F'
V C	in 'plural'
C V C	sap ^h 'tied'
V ?	ẽ?bĩxnã 'hammock'
C V ?	je? 'say to her'
V C ?	an?d ⁱ e? 'arm of river'
C V C ?	ban? 'she goes'

Table 5: Consonants in the syllable

Consonants that exclusively occur in the onset of a syllable	Consonants that exclusively occur in the coda of a syllable	Consonants that occur in the onset and the coda of a syllable
/b/, /d/	/ʔ/	/p/, /t/ and /k/ ⁴³
/d ^y /		/t ^y /
		/p ^h /, /k ^h /
		/f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/ ⁴⁴
/ts ^h /, /tʃ ^h /		/ts/, /tʃ/
		/m/, /n/, /ñ/ ⁴⁵
		/r/
		/ʋ/, /j/

Phonotactic constraints can be violated, for example by an infix. In this case, consonant changes occur to bring the syllable structure into line (see 2.5.3.). Loans, such as *kirjka* 'book' (exact source unclear) do not follow this syllable structure.

2.3.2. *Vowel assimilation*⁴⁶

Vowel harmony or rather 'vowel assimilation' is very restricted in Mosestén. Generally, it appears with a restricted number of verbal roots that are affected by certain cross-reference markers.⁴⁷ In this way, vowel harmony spreads towards the left in the word. It leads to a change from a vowel into /i/ or /ə/.⁴⁸ The table shows that the vowel /a/ (3.) is not affected by vowel harmony. In the structure in 1., /e/, /o/ and /ae/ are

turned into /i/, when a suffix that triggers vowel harmony is added to the word.

Table 6: Vowel change in vowel harmony

1.	e, o, ae	> i	raising
2.	i	> ae	lowering
3.	a	> a	no change

The following example shows the stem vowel /e/ and an affix $-e^{-49}$ that are turned into /i/ due to the suffixation of the marker $-ti$? ‘1st person plural inclusive subject and feminine object’:

- (2:110) *jebe*’ ‘he eats her’
 jibiti’ ‘we inclusive eat her’

In the following example, the stem vowel /o/ is changed into /i/, because the vowel harmony-triggering suffix $-sin$ ’ ‘1st person plural inclusive object’ is added to the verb:

- (2:111) *khöjkäte* ‘someone cares for him’
 khijkasin’ ‘someone cares for us inclusive’

In this example, the vowels that are not affected by vowel harmony are nasal, while the derived vowels are oral. This has to do with vowel harmony coinciding with nasal harmony in a number of forms (2.3.3.).

In the same way, the vowel /ə/, written ae, is changed into /i/ in some verbal stems, due to vowel harmony. In this case, vowel harmony is triggered by the cross-reference marker $-ti$ ’ - ‘2nd person singular subject (acts on) 1st person singular object’:

- (2:112) *maete* ‘he fries him’
 miti’ ‘you fry me’

In the second structure of vowel harmony 2), verbs with the stem vowel /i/ change this vowel into [ə], when triggered by the same suffixes. In the following example, the cross-reference form for the 1st person plural inclusive subject and masculine object, $-ti$, triggers vowel harmony in the stem, not affecting the vowel /a/:

(2:113) <i>yajkite</i>	‘someone has left him there’
<i>yajkaeti</i>	‘we have left him there’

The same structure is found in the verb *wī-* ‘beat, hit’. In this case, the cross-reference marker *-n* ‘1st or 2nd person singular object’ triggers vowel harmony:⁵⁰

(2:114) <i>wiite</i>	‘someone beats him’
<i>waen</i>	‘someone beats me’

In the examples above, different cross-reference markers trigger this harmony process. These are:

Table 7: Cross-reference markers that trigger vowel harmony

<i>-ti</i>	2 nd singular – 1 st singular: ‘you - me’
<i>-n</i>	1 st or 2 nd person singular object or 1 st person plural exclusive object: ‘he - me’, etc.
<i>-ti-</i>	1 st person plural inclusive subject marker – masculine object is marked by zero, feminine object is marked by glottal stop: ‘we inclusive - him’, etc. Furthermore: reflexive marker
<i>-tikha’</i>	reflexive marker 1 st person plural inclusive subject
<i>sin’</i>	1 st person plural inclusive object marker: ‘someone - us inclusive’

Most of these form involve an /i/, which historically seems to be the vowel that triggers vowel harmony. Synchronically, however, the marker *-n* does not contain an /i/, but it still triggers vowel harmony. Likewise, the 3rd person plural object marker *-ksi-*, which differs from other forms in the cross-reference paradigm in various ways (8.1.2.), includes an /i/, but does not trigger vowel harmony.⁵¹

The following verbal stems are affected by vowel harmony. In this almost exhaustive list, I have placed the unmarked forms in the column to the left and the forms affected by vowel harmony, marked by the 1st person plural inclusive subject and masculine object marker, in the column to the right:

(2:115) **e, o, ae > i**

<i>khöjkäte</i>	‘care for him’	<i>khijka-ti</i>	‘we care for him’
<i>jëjmäete</i>	‘cook him’	<i>jejmiti</i>	‘we cook him’
<i>mäete’</i>	‘fry him’	<i>miti</i>	‘we fry him’
<i>kewte</i>	‘search him’	<i>kiwdyi</i>	‘we search him’
<i>jebete</i>	‘eat him’	<i>jibiti</i>	‘we eat him’
<i>këwëte</i>	‘see him’	<i>kawiti</i>	‘we see him’
<i>ködyete</i>	‘beg for him’	<i>kidyiti</i>	‘we beg for him’
<i>jekte</i>	‘bring him’	<i>jikdyi</i>	‘we bring him’
<i>ñaete’</i>	‘put him’	<i>ñiti</i>	‘we put him’

(2:116) **i > ae**

<i>yajkete</i>	‘leave him’	<i>yajkaeti</i>	‘we leave him’
<i>wite</i>	‘beat him’	<i>waeti</i>	‘we beat him’
<i>chhüiyete</i>	‘know him’	<i>chhaeyiti</i>	‘we know him’

Vowel harmony only affects transitive verbs, because of the affixes involved. Some intransitive verbal stems can appear with vowel harmony, when derived by a transitivizer, such as the causative prefix *ji’*- (9.4.2.):

(2:117) <i>khöshï</i>	‘he sleeps’
<i>ji’khishdyi’</i>	‘I make you sleep’

Prefixes themselves are not changed by vowel harmony. Thus, the causative prefix *ji’*- is not changed into *jae’*- in this example.¹⁹

In some cases, vowel harmony can also affect suffixes of transitive verbs. Hence, the suffix *-ti-* ‘come to do an action’ (8.6.2.1.) appears with the vowel /e/ in the form of the 3rd person feminine object:

(2:118) <i>jibi-ti-n</i>	‘come to eat me’
(2:119) <i>jebe-te-’</i>	‘come to eat her’

In (2:118), the form *-n* ‘1st person singular object’ triggers vowel harmony, and the associated motion marker has the form *-ti-*. In (2:119), the marker for the 3rd person singular feminine object *-’* does not trigger vowel harmony and the associated motion marker *-ti-* is presented as *-te-*.²⁰ Other cross-reference forms that do not involve

vowel harmony are marked by another form of this associated motion marker *-sh-* (8.6.2. and 8.6.2.2.).

2.3.3. *Nasal harmony*

Mosetén has a system of nasal harmony. It exclusively affects vowels. Basically, this system works in the following way: when one vowel in a word is nasal, this nasality spreads to other vowels within the same word. By ‘word’ I am referring to roots, stems, their affixes and clitics. For example, the clitic *-ra* ‘irrealis’ becomes nasal when cliticized to the nasal element *yäe* ‘I’ (2:120). When cliticized to a non-nasal element, *-ra* is oral (2:121):

- (2:120) *yäe-rä* ‘I will’
 (2:121) *mi’-ra* ‘you will’

Generally, nasality spreads to suffixes and prefixes, when the closest vowel in the stem is nasal. In the following example, the verb *jäetyi* ‘relax’ is nasal, leading to a spread of nasality to the prefix *jä*’-:

- (2:122) *jä’-jäetyi-bin* ‘make oneself relax again’

In this example, the last vowel /i/ in *-bin* ‘again, reflexive’ is oral. This is caused by the preceding consonant /b/ that blocks nasal harmony. Such “blocker” consonants are plosives that appear at the beginning of suffixes, namely /t/, /ty/, /k/, /kh/, /b/ and /dy/.²¹ The vowels following these blockers are pronounced as orals:

- (2:123) t *chhüyëte* ‘someone knows him’
 ty *tsiwäetyi* ‘the cold one’
 k *pächyäkseja* ‘we sting them’
 kh *öikhan* ‘in this’
 b *pächyëbajte* ‘someone stings him again’
 dy *näjödye* ‘dawn’

Clitics and suffixes that do not begin in a plosive undergo nasal harmony. In this way, nasality can spread to the suffixes:

- (2:124) *ë'bijnä-chhë'*
 hammock-SU
 'on the hammock'

Nasal harmony is exclusively found in affixes. Roots are exclusively either nasal or oral, independent of blocker consonants:

- (2:125) *böjkä'* 'mud'
tsikë' 'lake'
äepäe' 'duck'
käedäej 'baby'

In the same way, all prefixes become nasal when the first vowel of the element they are added to is nasal. This is even the case, when blocking consonants appear in the root (see the consonant *-kh-* in example (2:126) below). Furthermore, the glottal stop, being a plosive, does not block nasal harmony in the prefix *ji'*.

In verbs, nasal harmony coincides with vowel harmony (2.3.2.). When vowel harmony is applied, the verb is not nasal. In this way, vowel harmony also changes the nasality of the verb in which it occurs, not just the type of vowel involved:

- (2:126) *ji'-khöjkä-te* 'somebody makes someone care for him'
 (2:127) *ji'-khijka-ti* 'we make someone care for him'

In example (2:126), the root *khöjkä* 'care for' is nasal, spreading to the causative prefix *ji'*, whereas the suffix *-te-* begins in a /t/, which blocks nasal harmony. In (2:127), the cross-reference marker *-ti-* is added to the verb. It triggers vowel harmony and at the same time de-nasalization of the entire verb.

Very few clitics and suffixes are nasal themselves. Here there is variation from speaker to speaker. One clitic that frequently is nasal is the modality marker *-dyërä'* 'must be' (oral variants also exist). When it is nasal, any oral words that it appears with are not nasalized:

- (2:128) *tyowo-dyërä'*
 mat-MO
 'it must be the mat ...'

2.4. Stress

Stress generally appears on the first syllable of a word, with a secondary stress on the third syllable. In the examples below, an accent on the vowel indicates stress. Nasal vowels that are stressed have been underscored:

(2:129) *Tyáph-ye-té.*
 grab-VY-3M.O
 ‘Someone grabs him.’

(2:130) *Tyáph-ye-tyé-te.*
 grab-VY-APD.3M.O
 ‘Someone grabs something from him.’

Even when the verb or noun appears with suffixes or clitics, the stress pattern is the same (2:130). Furthermore, prefixes are not involved in the general stress pattern of a word. In this way, stress is on the first syllable root of the verb (2:131) or the noun (2:132), even if a prefix is added to the verb:

(2:131) *ji'-chháeyiti* ‘study’
 (2:132) *chhi-míya'* ‘in the same place’

The stress pattern can help the hearer to identify word boundaries. The following examples show a minimal pair of two-word sequences, where stress indicates the word boundaries:

(2:133) *Jén' tyéye.* ‘I give you my father.’
 (2:134) *Jén'tye yé'.* ‘Someone is causing disgust.’

In the same way, the following examples show a one-word structure (A) and two words (B), with different stress patterns:

(2:135) *Ájyi'.* ‘She went (away)’
 (2:136) *Áj yí'.* ‘She has already said...’

Some words appear with a fixed word stress on positions other than the first syllable:

(2:137) <i>märäkhä</i>	‘orange’
(2:138) <i>karij</i>	‘hard’
(2:139) <i>farāj</i>	‘leave’
(2:140) <i>yoshropái</i>	‘thanks’
(2:141) <i>poróma</i>	‘before, old days’
(2:142) <i>Köwë’dö</i>	‘Covendo’

A number of words that have a fixed stress are loan words and place names (2:139-2:142). Likewise, there are a number of presumably inherent Mosestén words with an exceptional stress pattern. All these forms maintain their stress patterns when affixes are added to them:

(2:143) <i>Farāj-yi-tí.</i>
leave-VY-1PI/M
‘We leave him’

Apart from (phonemic) word stress, a number of verbal and nominal roots appear with flexible stress patterns. In their non-derived forms, the first syllable is stressed, but when affixes are added to them, the stress pattern changes. Verbal roots of this type are:²²

(2:144) <i>ats-</i>	‘he comes’
<i>ay-</i>	‘she comes’
<i>tyäb-</i>	‘fish’
<i>cham-</i>	‘fish with arrow’
<i>khösh-</i>	‘sleep’
<i>cha-</i>	‘go down’
<i>kew-</i>	‘search’
<i>tye-</i>	‘pass’

With just a verbal stem marker attached, these verbs are stressed on the first syllable: *átsi* ‘he comes’, *áyí* ‘she comes’, *tyábi* ‘he fishes’, *cháme* ‘he fishes it with an arrow (F)’, *khöshi* ‘he sleeps’, *chái* ‘he goes down’ and *kéwe* ‘he searches it (F)’. When these verbs are further derived by affixes or clitics, their stress patterns change. Independently of the number of syllables following, stress is on the second syllable in these verbal forms:

(2:145) <i>atsíjoi</i>	‘he comes there’
(2:146) <i>atsíban</i>	‘he comes back’
(2:147) <i>atsíbajsha’ya’</i>	‘when we came back’
(2:148) <i>tyäbéki</i>	‘he goes fishing’
(2:149) <i>tyäbédye’</i>	‘fish (substantive)’
(2:150) <i>tyabítyi’</i>	‘fisher (person)’

Minimal pairs exist with verbs that do not have a flexible stress pattern:

(2:151) <i>chabán</i>	‘he goes down again’
(2:152) <i>chában</i>	‘he vomits again’
(2:153) <i>kewák</i>	‘he was searched’
(2:154) <i>kéwak</i>	‘he was stepped on’

The verbs in (2:151) and (2:153) have flexible stress patterns, while the verbs in (2:152) and (2:154) follow the general stress pattern of Mosetén.

Some nominal forms also have variable stress patterns. In this way, *éme* ‘female turkey’ changes its stress to the second syllable when followed by another marker: *emési’* ‘of the female turkey’.

2.5. Morphophonology

A number of morphophonological changes occur when morphemes are combined. For example, groups of verbal stems can be affected in different ways by affixes. These structures will be treated in section 8.2. in relation to verbs. In the present section, I will discuss a number of other issues concerning verbal stem vowels, not treated in 8.2., followed by descriptions of certain consonant changes.

These morphophonological changes can be applied in two situations: when a suffix²³ is added to a stem, 1. something in the stem is changed, or 2. something in the suffix is changed. Table 8 summarizes the different types of morphophonological changes.

2.5.1. Stem vowels

The last vowel in a verbal stem can be changed according to the type of cross-reference marker or affix added. This is only the case in vowel stems (8.2.3.) and some forms of consonant stems (8.2.1.). There are three possible vowels that appear in these forms: /e/, /i/ and /a/.

Table 8: Morphophonological changes in Mosetén

	Affects	Changes
Stem vowel	stem	The last vowel in the verbal stem becomes /e/, /i/ or /a/ due to different suffixes
Drop of glottal stop	stem	A glottal stop at the end of two- or more syllable words is dropped, when the suffix or clitic begins with a consonant
Consonant alternations	stem	Changes in the stem due to alternating lexical forms, affecting /n/ versus /ñ/, /p ^h / versus /b/, /nʔ/ versus /ñ/ and /mʔ/ versus /m/
Extension of the velar fricative	suffix, clitic	The velar fricative [x] at the end of a word is extended to the following suffix or clitic, if this begins with /i/
Change <i>ti</i> > <i>dʲi</i> after consonants	suffix	When a suffix that begins with <i>-ti-</i> follows a consonant, the <i>-ti-</i> is changed to <i>-dʲi-</i>
Nasal attack	between syllables	A nasal is inserted between syllables, of which the first one ends in a nasal vowel and the second one starts with /b/, /d/ or /dʲ/

2.5.1.1. /e/

Generally, the vowel /e/ precedes transitive cross-reference forms which do not trigger vowel harmony (A), see example (2:155):

(2:155) *phe-ye-*
 tell-VY-3F.O
 ‘someone tells her’

Furthermore, /e/ appears before 1st person plural inclusive cross-reference forms in intransitive verbs:

- (2:156) *ye-ja'*
 say-1PI.S
 'we inclusive say'

Most suffixes in Mosetén trigger an /e/, unless these forms are changed due to vowel harmony.

2.5.1.2. /i/

The vowel /i/ precedes intransitive cross-reference forms, with the exception of the 1st person plural inclusive (see section 2.5.1.1. above). Furthermore, /e/ can be turned into /i/ when vowel harmony has applied.²⁴

Since intransitive verbs appear with the stem vowel /i/ and transitive verbs with /e/, no ambiguities appear, even if the verbal cross-reference ending is ambiguous. In this way, the glottal stop -' marks a feminine subject of intransitive verbs and a 3rd person singular feminine object in transitive verbs. By the form of the preceding vowel, the function as intransitive (2:157) or transitive (2:158) verb becomes apparent:

- (2:157) *Mö'* *yi-*'
 3F.SG say-F.S
 'She says.'
- (2:158) *Mö'* *ye-*'
 3F.SG say-3F.O
 'She says to her...'

2.5.1.3. /a/

The last vowel in a verbal stem is changed into /a/ when the 3rd person plural inclusive object marker *-ksi-* is added to it:

- (2:159) *Ya-ksi.*
 say-3P.O.M.S
 'He says to them...'

Furthermore, the last vowel of the stem is changed into /a/ when certain suffixes are added to this stem: *-khñi-* ‘strong’, *-ki-* ‘antipassive’, *-ki-* ‘middle’, *-ki-* ‘verbal stem marker’ and *-k* ‘passive participle’. All these markers begin with the consonant /k/ or /k^h/, though not all suffixes beginning with /k/ change the preceding vowel to /a/. In this way, suffixes of the form *-ki-* expressing a voice structure or verbal stem marker (2:160) can be distinguished from the associated motion marker *-ki-* (2:161), which appears with the preceding vowel /e/ (2.5.1.1.):

(2:160) *Daerae-ya-ki.*
 mountain-VY-AN.M.S
 ‘He hunts (something).’

(2:161) *Daerae-ye-ki.*
 mountain-VY-DK.M.S
 ‘He goes to hunt.’

The last vowel of the stem does not change into /a/ in direct stems and some forms of consonant stems (8.2.1.), such as *tii-* ‘bring’, *wi-* ‘beat’, *chhi-* ‘grab’. The verb *tii-* has the form *ti-ksi* ‘bring them’, when it is followed by the 3rd person plural object marker, instead of *ta-ksi* with the stem vowel /a/. In the same way, the verbal stem marker *-ti-*²⁵ (2:162), the associated motion marker *-ti-* (2:163) and the applicative marker *-bi-* (2:164) appear with the vowel /i/. This is even the case when they precede a suffix that otherwise changes the preceding vowels into /a/:

(2:162) *Piñi-ti-ksi.*
 cure-VT-3P.O.M.S
 ‘He cures them’

(2:163) *Ji’-wën-ti-ksi.*
 CA-move-DT-3P.O.M.S
 ‘He makes them come.’

(2:164) *Jeb-e-bi-ksi.*
 eat-VI-APB-3P.O.M.S
 ‘He eats them against their will.’

2.5.2. *Drop of glottal stop*

The glottal stop at the end of a two- or more-syllabled word can be dropped when followed by a suffix or clitic that begins with a consonant:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (2:165) <i>aka'</i> | 'house' |
| (2:166) <i>aka-dyesi'</i> | 'for the house' |
| (2:167) <i>daerae'</i> | 'mountain, tree' |
| (2:168) <i>daerae-yeja'</i> | 'we go to the mountain (i.e. to hunt)' |

Words of only one syllable do not drop the glottal stop:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| (2:169) <i>tse'-dyesi'</i> | 'for mother' |
|----------------------------|--------------|

When the suffix or clitic begins with a vowel, the glottal stop is not dropped from the stem:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------|
| (2:170) <i>aka'-in</i> | 'houses' |
|------------------------|----------|

2.5.3. *Consonant alternations*

Alternations appear with a number of consonants in verbal stems. Due to different verbal stem forms or affixation types, the same consonant within a verbal stem can sometimes occur in syllable initial position and sometimes in syllable final position. When this consonant usually does not occur at the end of the syllable, a consonant change appears. This is mainly the case in bound verbal roots following a certain affixation pattern (2:171) (8.2.), as well as in verbal roots derived by the infix -' (2:172) and (2:173) (8.5.5.3.):

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (2:171) <i>tsim'dyi'</i> | 'we catch her' |
| <i>tsime'</i> | 'someone catches her' |
| (2:172) <i>chhiphye'</i> | 'shoot her' |
| <i>chhi'be'</i> | 'shoot her repeatedly' |
| (2:173) <i>wen'yi</i> | 'swallow once' |
| <i>we'ni</i> | 'swallow rapidly one after the other' |

Furthermore, some verbal stems appear with lexical consonant changes, such as *san-* and *sañ-* ‘write’, both appearing at the beginning of a syllable:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (2:174) <i>sanaki</i> | ‘write something’ |
| <i>sañe</i> | ‘write it (F)’ |

Furthermore, other consonant alternations appear in a number of lexical forms, such as the alternation /ʃ/ versus /s/ :

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| (2:175) <i>jaes-i</i> | ‘she makes chicha’ |
| (2:176) <i>jaesh</i> | ‘chewed yucca (out of which one makes chicha)’ |

2.5.4. Extension of the velar fricative

The velar fricative [x] at the end of a word can be extended to a following suffix or clitic, if this begins with /i/:

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| (2:177) <i>raej</i> | [rəx] | ‘all’ |
| <i>raej-jin</i> | [rəx-xin] | ‘all of a group’ |
| (2:178) <i>maj</i> | [max] | ‘much (non-count)’ |
| <i>maj-ji</i> | [max-xiʔ] | ‘become more (river becomes high)’ |

This is the only environment in which the velar fricative [x] can appear at the beginning of a syllable.

2.5.5. Change *ti* > *dyi* after consonants

When a suffix that begins with *-ti-* follows a consonant, the *-ti-* is changed to *-dyi-*. This change exclusively occurs when the vowel is /i/.²⁶ Consequently, cross-reference forms that begin with *-ti-* (8.1.2., 8.1.3.), or the associated motion marker *-ti-* (8.6.2.1.) undergo this change, when a consonant appears in the preceding syllable:

- (2:179) *sobitkha'* 'someone visits us'
sobikdyikha' 'someone goes there to visit us'

2.5.6. Nasal attack (*epenthesis*)

A nasal attack appears between syllables, in which the first one ends in a nasal vowel and the second one starts with the plosives /b/ or /d/. In these cases an [m] or [n] attack appears between the syllables, depending on the place of articulation of the following plosive. In other words, when the second syllable starts with /b/, the nasal attack is /^m/:

- (2:180) *tyä^mbedye'* 'fish'
 (2:181) *chhä^mbae'i'* 'it is clean'

When the second syllable starts with /d/ or /d^y/, the nasal attack is /ⁿ/:

- (2:182) *käeⁿdäej* 'baby'
 (2:183) *köⁿdi* 'tail'

When the vowel is not nasal, no such nasal attack appears, e.g. *kaedaei* 'naked'.

2.6. Orthography

Before I started working on Mosetén, a number of orthographies had been proposed for the language. Several priests have produced written material in the language, though not always consistently. Furthermore, there are two new writing systems: 1. one by Wayne Gill for Chimane, dating from the early eighties and 2. one by Colette Grinevald for Mosestén and Chimane from 1996. Below, I will describe the two writing systems and my reasons for choosing one of them:

1. Wayne Gill from the New Tribes Mission developed a system for Chimane based on Spanish orthography, cf. tables 9 and 10. In this way, learning to read and write in both languages should be easier. However, Chimane has a number of sounds that do not exist in Spanish, especially nasal vowels and aspirated consonants. These are marked by diacritics,

which are not always easy to write on a typewriter or computer. In favor of choosing this orthography is a large amount of text material already produced. It is both of religious and non-religious nature. Among others can be mentioned schoolbooks for different levels of difficulty. Furthermore, this writing system has been taught in Chimane schools for many years.

Table 9: Orthography of W. Gill (1999)⁶⁰, consonants

	bilabial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive, voiceless	p	t, ty		c and qu ⁶¹	'
plosive, voiceless, aspirat.	p'			ć, ću	
plosive, voiced	b	d, dy			
fricative	f	s	sh	j	j
affricate		ts	čh		
affricate, aspirated		ts'	ch		
nasal	m, m'	n, n'	ñ		
trill		r			
approximant		v	y		

Table 10: Orthography of W. Gill, vowels

i / ĭ	u / ũ
e / ě	ä / ä̃
o / ɔ	
a / ą	

2. Colette Grinevald supervised a project on several languages of lowland Bolivia, with the aim of creating unified writing systems. She developed an independent system that does not have the idiosyncrasies of the Spanish orthography. In this way, the sound [k] is expressed by the letter *k*, instead of the symbols *c* and *qu* as in Spanish. Furthermore, her alphabet is easily written on a standard type-writer or computer.

It is problematic, however, that Gill's alphabet for Chimane already existed. Knowing this alphabet, Grinevald proposed a new writing system for Chimane and Masetén. This was not accepted by the Chimane people, arguing that they already had their own writing system. The Masetenes, on the other hand, eagerly worked in

Grinevald's project and a number of my consultants learned to write their language this way.

I did not want to intervene too much in choosing a writing system, and instead tried to provide arguments for and against each of the systems, letting my main consultant Juan Huasna discuss this matter with the Mosestenes, so they could reach a common agreement. At the end, they chose Grinevald's alphabet, despite the fact that it would make it more difficult to use the Chimane school books and other materials.⁶²

Consequently, table 11 shows the orthography that we use for Mosestén, following the orthography proposed by Grinevald in 1996. Table 12 shows the orthography of vowels in Mosestén. The nasals are marked by two dots above the vowel. The central vowel ə is written as *ae*, since there are no diphthongs of this type that this sound could be confused with (2.1.2.):

Table 11: Orthography of Mosestén, consonants

	bilabial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive, voiceless	p	t, ty		K	'
plosive, voiceless, aspirated	ph			kh	
plosive, voiced	b	d, dy			
fricative	f	s	sh		j
affricate		ts	ch		
affricate, aspirated		tsh	chh		
nasal	m	n	ñ		
trill		r			
Approximant		w	y		

Table 12: Orthography of Mosestén, vowels

i / i̇ [u/ü]⁶³

e / ë ae / äe o / ö

a / ä

Stress is generally not indicated in the writing system. We decided to mark stress only when the meaning of a word is ambiguous without such a marking.

Chapter 3

Morphological processes

In the present chapter, I want to discuss the morphological processes of Mosestén, introducing some of the terminology employed throughout this grammar.

3.1. Roots and stems

I use the terms **root** and **stem** following Payne (1997: 24): “A **root** is an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word. [...] A **stem** consists minimally of a root, but may be analyzable into a root plus derivational morphemes.” Such derivational morphemes will be treated in 3.2. below.

The forms of verbal roots and stems differ from roots and stems in other parts of speech. Most verbal roots are bound morphemes that have to be followed by a verbal stem marker to be turned into an element to which inflectional markers can be added (3:1). Only a limited number of verbs follow this pattern (3:2) and appear without such a verbal stem marker (8.3.):

(3:1) *ñae-tye-*
put-VD-3F.O
‘someone puts her’

(3:2) *yi-*
say-F.S
‘she says’

In (3:1), the bound verbal root *ñae-* ‘put’ is followed by the verbal stem marker *-tyi-*, building the stem *ñae-tye-*. This stem is followed by the inflectional marker. In (3:2), the verbal root *yi-* ‘say’ acts as a verbal stem at the same time, and is followed by the inflectional marker.

Nominal roots are less complex than verbs. They can stand alone, without further marking. The nominal root can furthermore be derived

by reduplication, leading to the expression of plural number. In the same way, the roots of participles, adjectives, adverbs and particles can appear on their own without further marking. These elements can appear in reduplicated form, but otherwise derivations of these markers appear in relation to a change in the word class. In many cases, they are verbalized. Furthermore, these parts of speech, as well as nouns, are often marked by clitics (3.3.).

In this way, verbs are morphologically the most complex forms.

3.2. Affixes

Affixes can be divided into derivational and inflectional forms. Again, I follow Payne's (1997: 25) definition: "**Derivational** operations are defined as operations which derive an inflectable stem from a root or an intermediate stem." Payne (1997: 26): "**Inflectional** operations are those which are required by the syntactic environment in which a root appears."

As mentioned in 3.1. above, only verbs have inflectional forms. Derivation is found with all parts of speech, but it is most common with verbs. There is no definite and fixed order of affixes in Mosestén. Generally, one can say that inflectional forms seem to follow derivational forms, but there are some exceptions to this as well (8.1.2.2.). Usually, the rightmost element has scope over all elements to the left.

There are various types of affixation in Mosestén. The major affixation pattern is suffixation. In this way, inflection is marked and most derivational affixes are suffixes. The other kinds of affixation that are found in Mosestén are: prefixes, infixes and reduplication. Furthermore, different types of affixes can be combined.

Some elements, such as verbal stem markers (8.3.), can appear both as affixes and as separate words. I treat these elements as affixes when they are grammatical markers with a bleached meaning (3:3). When appearing with their lexical meaning and not serving to mark a grammatical function, I treat these elements as separate words.

Compare example (3:2) with example (3:3):

- (3:3) *Nöi'-yi-*.
 afraid-VY-F.S
 'She is afraid.'

In (3:2), *yi-* is a separate verb, meaning 'say'. In (3:3), *-yi-* is an affix with a bleached meaning, used to mark a verbal stem.⁶⁴

3.2.1. Suffixes

Most affixation in Mosestén is carried out by suffixes. Inflection is marked this way, and most derivational affixes are suffixes as well.

The following example shows a verbal root derived by the derivational suffixes *-i-* 'verbal stem marker', *-wa'* 'progressive' and *-jo-* 'intransitive progressive marker' that are followed by the inflectional suffix *-'* 'feminine subject':

- (3:4) *Saeks-e-wa'-jo-*.
 eat-VI-PR-PRI-F.S
 'She is eating.'

Furthermore, derivation can turn elements into other parts of speech, also recursively. The following example shows the derivation of a verb from an adjectival root and that of a noun from a verb:

- (3:5) *karij-tya-k-dye'*
 hard-VD-AN-NO
 'work'

A number of morphophonological changes appear with suffixes, such as the change of the vowel /e/ in the verbal stem marker *-tyi-* to /a/ in (3:5) (2.5.1.3.).

3.2.2. Prefixes

There are few derivational prefixes in Mosestén: *chhi-* 'big (with nouns)' (4.6.3.) or 'also (with other parts of speech)' (3:6) (11.4.4.), the

causative markers *ji'*- (3:7) (9.4.2.) and *je*- (9.4.3.) and the applicatives *ti*- (9.5.3.) and *jaj*- (9.5.4.):

(3:6) *chhi-mi'-khan*
 also-3M.SG-IN
 'in the same place'

(3:7) *ji'-kae-yi-n*
 CA-sow-VY-1O
 'Someone has made me sow (peanuts).'

Prefixes do not undergo morphophonological changes. However, they can be affected by nasal harmony (2.3.3.).

3.2.3. *Infixes*

There is one infix -' in Mosestén, which expresses one type of iterative aspect (8.5.5.3.). This infix is added before the last consonant of the verbal root. In several cases this leads to consonant assimilations (2.5.3.). The verbal stem *kaph-yi*- 'clap in hand' is derived in the following way:

(3:8) *ka-'-b-e-*
 clap-ITI-clap-VI-3F.O
 'He claps at her (slower).'

Usually, changes of the verbal stem marker from *-yi-* to *-i-* occur in relation with this infix (8.3.).

3.2.4. *Reduplication*

Reduplication is the repetition of a root, stem, clitic, or a part of these. It is found in all types of parts of speech in Mosestén. Reduplication can be global, i.e. the whole element is reduplicated, or it can be partial, i.e. a part of the root or clitic is reduplicated. Reduplication can express various meanings, depending on the elements that are affected. Generally, these meanings express distributed plurality in space and

time, as well as comparison and emphasis. Furthermore, a number of structures have reduplicated forms with lexical meaning.

Most occurrences of global and partial reduplication involve distributed plurality. Partial reduplication expresses a broader spreading and distribution in space and time than global reduplication. Usually, certain elements are associated with one type of reduplication. In this way, partially reduplicated elements are: relation markers (3:9), including the linker (3:10), and numeral quantifiers (3:11):

- (3:9) *i-kha-khan*
M-IN-RD
'in here (several places)'
- (3:10) *paerae'-si-si'*
two-L.F-RD
'in two parts'
- (3:11) *khana-nam*
five-RD
'five out of five'

Partial reduplication of nominal relation marker clitics⁶⁵ and numerals involves the final CVC. The first consonant and vowel are reduplicated, followed by the entire CVC form. Thus, *khanam* 'five' turns into *khana-nam* 'five out of five' (3:11). Nominal relation markers are usually rather short, and can consist of a consonant and a vowel only, as the downriver marker *-we*. In this case, the entire marker is reduplicated: *-we-we*. Relation markers that involve CVC reduplicate in the same way as numerals, turning the last CVC into CV-CVC (3:9). Relation markers that appear with a final glottal stop, apart from the linker (3:10), drop this glottal stop entirely in their reduplicated forms. In this way, the superessive *-chhe'* and the adessive *-ya'* are turned into *-chhechhe* and *-yaya* respectively. When nominal relation markers appear as particles on their own, they are globally reduplicated. In this way, the associative relation marker *-min* 'among' is *min-min* 'among several, distributed' in the reduplicated form, when appearing as a separate particle.

Furthermore quantifiers are globally reduplicated (3:12):

- (3:12) *dyam-dyam*
 little-RD
 ‘few’

In these forms the entire quantifier is reduplicated.

Some forms can appear both partially and globally reduplicated. These are verbal and nominal roots. Nominal roots that are globally reduplicated express ‘plural’ (3:13), not involving a broad distribution, whereas partially reduplicated nominal roots express a broad distribution in space and time (3:14):

- (3:13) *jedye’-jedye’*
 thing-RD
 ‘things’

- (3:14) *nanaj-na-tyi*⁶⁶
 boy-RD-boy
 ‘every boy from generation to generation’

Verbal roots that are globally reduplicated express iterative aspect (3:15), which can be described as distributed plurality in time. Partially reduplicated verbal roots express a durative (3:16), expressing that the action takes place over a longer period of time:

- (3:15) *Jipin’-jipin’-yë-te.*
 put.on.fire-RD-VY-3M.O
 ‘Someone was constantly putting it on fire.’
- (3:16) *Titsoj-tso-i-*⁶⁷
 hang-RD-VI-F.S
 ‘She is hanging.’

Formally, partial reduplication of nominal and verbal roots is carried out in the same way. The last CV of the root is reduplicated. Often, speakers add aspiration after the copied element, preceding the reduplication. A final glottal stop is deleted in the copied element and appears only after the reduplication. In this way, *yiri* ‘liana’ is reduplicated to *yirij-ri*’.

Other meanings of reduplication include degree. The first CV of adjectives and adverbs can be partially reduplicated to express a superlative meaning:

- (3:17) *dae-daer*
 RD-big
 ‘biggest’

Comparison of place adverbs based on personal pronouns (6.4.1.1.) involves the first CV in the same way, though changing the consonant into /j/:

- (3:18) *mo-jo’-chhe*⁶⁸
 3F-RD-SU
 ‘further up’

Furthermore, global reduplication can express a kind of comparative meaning, such as *achhi’achhi* ‘very bad’, though this is more an emphatic repetition in the discourse than grammatical reduplication. In the same way, emphatic markers and clitics can be reduplicated to express further emphasis. In this way, the clitic *-ki* is reduplicated to *-ki-ki-* (13.2.1.) and the particle *yoj* to *yoj-yoj* (13.3.7.). Likewise, reduplicated linker forms can follow emphatic markers for emphasis, such as *anik-si-si’* or *me’-tyi-tyi’* (11.3.1, 11.3.4.).

A number of elements that most probably have developed through reduplication are synchronically untransparent, since they do not relate directly to a non-reduplicated form. These lexical forms are *-dye-dye-i* ‘inceptive’ (8.5.4.), *-tyi-tyi’* / *-si-si’* ‘resultative’ (9.1.4.), *mi-mi’* / *mö-mö’* ‘only, just’ (11.4.1.), and *yo-dye-dye-* ‘restrictive relative clause marker with plural antecedents’ (13.3.3.).

3.3.5. Combinations of affixes

The different types of affixes can be combined. Usually, markers of the same type do not occur twice on a word, apart from reduplicated clitics (3.3.). Thus, verbs only appear with one inflectional marker.

In the present section, I will look at a special type of combination of affixes, involving a prefix and a suffix. The prefixes *ji’-* ‘causative’ (9.4.2.) and *ja-* ‘bound morpheme’ (9.1.3.) can be combined with the suffix *-ti-* ‘reflexive marker’, both expressing a productive passive:

- (3:19) *ji'-dyak-dyi-'*.⁶⁹
 CA-find-VI.RE-F.S
 'she has been found'
- (3:20) *ja-wae-ti-'*.
 PD-beat-VI.RE-F.S
 'She is beaten.'

The combination of *ja-* and *-ti* is a fixed combination, as *ja-* does not appear on its own. In the same way, the combination of the causative marker *-ji'-* with the reflexive *-ti-* is partly fixed, since this structure is about to develop into a passive, not having the compositional meanings and functions of two separate affixes. For these reasons, I treat *ji'- -ti* and *ja'--ti-* as fixed combinations of affixes.

3.3. Clitics

According to Payne (1997: 22): "A clitic is a bound morpheme that functions at a phrasal or clausal level, but which binds phonologically to some other word, known as the **host**."

All clitics in Mosetén attach to the end of the host. When clitics are added to verbs, they appear after the cross-reference ending and after all derivational markers. Clitics are phonologically dependent on their host – which for example can be seen in nasal harmony. In this way, the clitic *-ra'* 'irrealis' is nasalized, when cliticized to an element that is nasal (2.3.3.):⁷⁰

- (3:21) *mi'-ra'*
 3M.SG-IR
 'he will...'
- (3:22) *yäe-rä'*
 1SG-IR
 'I will...'

There are basically three different types of clitics: 1. markers that always appear after the first element of the clause, 2. those that exclusively occur attached to a certain part of speech and 3. clitics that can appear in different places of the clause, depending on their function.

A number of sentential clitics always appear after the first element of the clause. These are mainly markers used in combinations of clauses, such as the contrastive marker *-ki* (13.2.1.), as well as the focus particle *-nä* (12.6.2). Questions markers that are formally clitics always appear after the first element of the clause (12.3.1.).⁷¹ Furthermore, the comment markers *-tyi'* (11.2.7.) and *-yai* (11.2.8.) appear in this position. A number of sentential clitics that often stand after the 1st element can sometimes also occur in other parts of the clause. These are the irrealis marker *-ra'* (11.2.1. and examples above) and the frustrative marker *-tsa'* (13.2.2.).

Few clitics are attached to a limited number of constituent. These are mainly pronominal clitics, that can appear on a noun phrase to express possession or act as anaphoric clitics, being added to verbs. Furthermore, the adverb comparison marker *-dyej* (6.4.4.) always occurs on adverbs, and the imperative emphasis marker *-tyi'* (8.1.5.6.) marks imperative verbs. Otherwise, most clitics can be used with different hosts. Sometimes, these clitics preferably occur on nouns (3:23), but can be added to other elements as well. This is the case with nominal relation markers (4.1.), that can have different functions when added to verbs (3:24):

- (3:23) *aka'-ya'*
house-AD
'at the house'
- (3:24) *wën-chhi-sh-än-yü'*
move-DC-DS-again-AD
'when / if he comes back again'

In (3:24), *-ya'* expresses 'when' or 'if'.

In the same way, the plural marker *-in* usually marks the plural noun, but at the same time it can appear with many different hosts (4.2.1.). Some clitics appear with hosts they have scope over. When they have scope over the entire clause, the clitic marks an emphatic particle in clause initial position. These clitics are primarily modality and discourse markers (11.2.).⁷²

Chapter 4

The nominal system

The nominal system in Mosetén involves the categories nominal relations, number and gender. These categories can be expressed in different ways: 1. by clitics, which are found with number marking and nominal relation markers, 2. by suffixes, found in some types of number marking, and 3. by agreement forms in other parts of speech, which is the case with gender. Even if the marking of these forms is not always directly nominal, at least not inflectional, I prefer to describe these categories under the heading of ‘nominal system’.

4.1. Nominal relation marking

The present section on nominal relation marking treats what in other grammars is described under the heading of case. For various reasons, I chose not to use the term “case” for these markers. First of all, Mosetén has neutral alignment, i.e. there are no core cases. Intransitive subject, transitive subject and primary object are treated alike in the nominal forms:

- (4:1) *Yäe saeks-i.*
1SG eat-VI.M.S
‘I (M) eat.’ ELE/JH
- (4:2) *Iits mintyi’ saeks-i.*
DE.M man eat-VI.M.S
‘The man eats.’ ELE/JH
- (4:3) *Yäe tyaj-ke-te iits mintyi’.*
1SG meet-VK-3M.O DE.M man
‘I met that man.’ ELE/JH
- (4:4) *Iits mintyi’ tyaj-ki-n yäe.*
DE.M man meet-VK-1O 1SG
‘That man met me.’ ELE/JH

The only formal marking of subject and object is found in the verbal cross-reference ending (8.1.2.).

The other case-resembling markers in Mosestén are thus non-core, or so-called oblique markers. There is a form resembling the genitive case of other languages. However, this marker has a much broader function, basically linking elements in the noun phrase. The other relation markers in Mosestén express local (adessive, inessive, “downriver” and superessive), instrumental, comitative, associative, benefactive and a number of other functions, the latter including forms which express ‘former’ or ‘only’. These are all cliticized to the noun they modify or to a dependent in the noun phrase (see section 4.7. on the construction of the noun phrase). Most of these forms can appear as words on their own, sometimes in a slightly different form, or as clitics on verbs. Furthermore, these forms can be combined or reduplicated (4.1.11.2.), which, depending on one’s analysis, one would not expect from case markers. Formally parallel, the meanings of these markers sometimes fall within the scope of what is treated as case in other languages, but some of the markers express adverbial meanings, such as ‘only’ (4.1.9.) and ‘former’ (4.1.10.).

4.1.1. *The linker in possessive function*

Possessive structures can be expressed in various ways, one of which involves the so-called linker marker with two gender forms: *-tyi’* (M) / *-si’* (F). The functions of the linker will be discussed in section 4.8. In the present section, focus will be on the function of the linker morpheme in expressing possession – in the same way as the genitive case in other languages.

Formally, the linker morpheme is added to the possessor, agreeing in gender with the possessum. Thus, with a feminine possessum, the genitive case has the form *-si’* and with a masculine possessum it is *-tyi’*.

- (4:5) *Martin-si’ aka’*
 Martin-L.F house(F)
 ‘Martin’s house’ ELE/JH

- (4:6) *Martin-tyi' jen'*
 Martin-L.M father
 'Martin's father' ELE/JH

Other forms and structures that relate to the linker morpheme will be discussed in section 4.8.

4.1.2. Comitative

The marker *-tom* expresses 'with' or 'by', but it is also used to express a habeo construction. The first example shows the use of the comitative with the meaning 'with':

- (4:7) *Raej-tom aj jedye' wën-jö-i mi'-chhe'-in*
 all-COM yet thing move-DJ-M.S 3M-SU-P
Köwë'dö-wë ashta Kowo'tai'-we wën-jö-i-ïn.
 Covendo-DR until.E Cogotai-DR move-DJ-M.S-P
 'With all their things they came up there to Covendo, until
 Cogotai they came.' STE/CT

In the following example the comitative is used to express a causation relationship:

- (4:8) *Dyiph tyaepae'-ye-jo-'-ra'-mö' aj mö'-khan*
 then get.quiet-VY-INS-F.S-IR-3F.SG yet 3F-IN
phi-ke-wa'-jo-' ma'-dyera' khä-mö' aj
 run-VK-PR-PRI-F.S sure-must. be well-3F.SG yet
saeñ-i-' tshij-tom.
 die-VI-F.S fire-COM
 'Then the running in there gets quiet; she must be dead
 because of the fire.' STE/VJ

Moreover, *-tom* can express that something happens simultaneously:

- (4:9) *Yi'-si'-tom phe-ya-k-dye' tits-o-n'-yi-ti*
 say-F-L.F-COM talk-VY-MI-NO hang-VI-PR-VY-L.M

ködi-chhë' nai-nai-ti-yi-ti
 tail-SU beat.on.ground-RD-VT-APY-AT.M.S
äej-ä-te.
 kill-VI-3M.O
 'Saying these words, he hung them (took them off the
 ground) by their tail and beat them on the ground until they
 were dead.' WTE/JH

Another relationship that can be expressed by the case marker *-tom* is possession. It is added to the possessum:

(4:10) *Yäe kasko-tom.*
 1SG canoe-COM
 'I have a canoe.' ELE/JH

In this form, there is no other verb present, since this is a predicative clause and the copula is frequently omitted (see also section 12.2.5.).

4.1.3. *Associative*

The associative relation marker *-min-* expresses the association of the noun phrase it marks with something else. It is often translated as 'also', referring to membership in a larger group:

(4:11) *Mi-min-dyaj mi'-chhe' korosh-yi?*
 2M.SG-AS-QY 3M-SU cross.E-VY.M.S
 'You were also (among those people) up there making the
 cross?' COE/JH

The associative does not always express that something is associated with something else at the same time, but can also indicate that there is a difference in time, and that different people share similar experiences. In that way, the different people involved are associated with each other as well. In the following example, several people, independent of each other, have seen a certain mountain:

- (4:12) *Aj mi-min näij-te jäe'ñi'-tyi' am-ki-mi*
 yet 2SG-AS see-VD.3M.O which-L.M QN-CO-2SG
ubikar-ye-te Illampo o Illimani?
 find.out.E-VY-3M.O Illampo or.E Illimani
 'Also you have seen it, and which one have you seen, Illampo
 or Illimani?' COE/EC

The marker *-min-* can also appear as a separate particle, with the same meaning as the bound marker. In the following example, *-min-* appears after a construction that is followed by the interrogative clitic *-dyaj* 'yes/no question' and before the noun it modifies. Usually, other clitics do not follow this marker (12.3.1.4.):

- (4:13) *Kichï-dyaj min shokhdye'?*
 go.on-QY AS chicha
 'Is there still (more) chicha?' ELE/JH

Apart from its nominal uses, the marker *-min-* can also occur with adjectives (6.1.3.) and verbs (see section on associated motion markers *-min-* 8.6.6.).

4.1.4. Benefactive

The benefactive relation involves traditional meanings such as recipient, but also a number of other concepts. The marker *-dyetyi'* (M) / *-dyesi'* (F) consists of the morphemes *-dye-*, which historically may be derived from the nominalization *-dye'*⁷³, and the linker morpheme *-si'* (F), *-tyi'* (M). Furthermore, some people in Covendo use the short forms *-dyety* (M) and *-dyes* (F).⁷⁴ As the linker morpheme is part of the benefactive marker, this relation shows gender agreement. In this noun phrase, gender agreement of the benefactive marker is with the head of the phrase.

The following examples show the use of the benefactive relation in the internal construction of a noun phrase. In this relation, gender agreement in the benefactive relation is with the head of the noun phrase:

- (4:14) *Mö' mayedye' saeks-i-in kawesa-si'-khan*
 3F.SG day eat-VI.M.S-P leader.E-L.F-IN
aka'-in paj-ki-ra' yok-si-dye-si' yomodye' mi'-ya'
 house-P for-CO-IR other-L.F-B-F year(F) 3M-AD
yok-tyi' kawesa-in.
 other-L.M leader.E-P
 'This day they eat at the house of the leader, so that the next
 year here will be other leaders.' WTE/CT

There can also be other meanings involved, as in the following example, where the meaning is 'all nights':

- (4:15) *Me'-katyi' raej-dye-si'yomo-i-'-si'*
 so-EH all-B-F night(F)-VI-F.S-L.F
wën-jö-i pero jam-katyi' ji'-naij-ti.
 move-DJ-M.S but.E NG-EH CA-see-VD.RE.M.S
 'Thus, he came all nights, but was never seen.' WTE/CT

The linker morpheme is an inherent part of the benefactive marker, so that another linker morpheme can be added after the benefactive, if the semantics allow this (see adjectival use of the linker morpheme in 4.8.):

- (4:16) *Faraj-ji'-ye-ye äwü-dye-tyi'-si'*
 leave-CA-VY-1SG/2SG child(M)-B-L.M-L.F
phe-ya-k-dye'.
 talk-VY-MI-NO(F)
 'I make you drop (i.e. not do) the speech for your son.'
 ELE/JH

In the following examples the benefactive is used in an object predicative in relation to the object. Here, gender agreement is with the object:

- (4:17) *Yi tsin jiri-s jedye' iits-dye-si'.*
 say.M.S IP one-F thing DE.M-B-L.F
 'We say one thing to ("for") him.' ELE/CT

- (4:18) *Tsin ya'-i mi' o'sho' mö'-dye-tyi'.*
 1P buy-VI.M.S 3M.SG clothes 3F.SG-B-L.M
 'We buy these clothes for her.' ELE/CT

The benefactive can also be used together with local relation markers:

- (4:19) *Mi'-ya' kasiki phe-ya-ki raej-jin-tom mintyi'*
 3M-AD cacique talk-VY-AN.M.S all-P-COM man
paj-ki-ra' jejmi-ti-in kich-khan-dye-si' tsiin.
 for-CO-IR cook.VI-RE.M.S-P noon-IN-B-L.F sun
 'There the cacique speaks with all men that they (should)
 cook for lunch.' WTE/CT

Apart from the examples above with nominal heads, the benefactive marker can also appear after verbs (see section 13.5.5.).

4.1.5. Adessive

The adessive local relation is realized by the relation marker *-ya'*. It has several different meanings, including 'at', 'close to' and 'in front of', depending on the context. This marker can both refer to a location, as well as to the movement to a location. The following example shows the use of 'close to':

- (4:20) *Jike wën-jö-ban mi'-we anik ñae'-tye-'*
 PS move-DJ-again.M.S 3M-DR EM put-VD-3F.O
jimë, më'-yä'-dyërä' ñae'-tye-' shiish-in aka'-ya'.
 close so-AD-MO put-VD-3F.O meat-P house-AD
 'And when they came there, surely he had put it close, very
 close to the house he put the meat.' STE/VC

The following example shows the use of *-ya'* meaning 'in front of':

- (4:21) *I-ya'-dyaj-mi' ö-we-dyaj-mö'?*
 M-AD-QY-3M.SG F-DR-QY-3F.SG
 'Is there a man in front of me and a woman behind me?'
 ELE/JH

In the above example, the local relation markers are added to *i-* (M) and *o-* (F). These, as well as forms involving *mi-*, *mö-*, *mi'-* and *mö'-*, form place adverbs (see section 6.4.1.1.)

In certain relations *-ya'* can mean 'in', e.g. when talking about walking 'in' the current of the river:

- (4:22) *I-chhe' katyi' j̄j-ka-i-in fer-ya' öjñi-si'-ya'.*
 M-SU EH go-DK-M.S-P strong-AD water-L.F-AD
 'They say that they went there in the current of the river.'
 ELE/JH

The local relation marker *-ya'* can also be used with an instrumental meaning:

- (4:23) *Mi' tae'-ts-e-' son mötö-yä'.*
 3M.SG cut-ITI-cut-VI-3F.O trunk chainsaw.E-AD
 'He cuts the trees with a chainsaw.' ELE/JH

The adessive relation marker can also have other meanings, such as 'further' (4.1.11.1.) Furthermore, this local relation marker can appear in combination with verbs, meaning 'when' (13.5.4.).

4.1.6. *Inessive*

The local relation marker *-khan* has the meaning 'in', as well as several other uses, such as 'under'. The following example illustrates the meaning of 'in':

- (4:24) *I-khan bae'-i Martin.*
 M-IN live-VI.M.S Martin
 'In here lives Martin.' ELE/JH

Moreover, the direction 'into' is covered by the relation marker *-khan*:

- (4:25) *Jö'dyë'yä' raej jedye' raej*
 and all thing all

jì'-wën-j-än-'-in *aka'-khan tata-si'-khan* *raej*
 CA-move-DJ-again-3F.O-P house-IN priest-L.F-IN all
jedye'-mi'
 thing-3M.SG
 'And all the things they bring into the house of the priest, all
 his things.' WTE/CT

The meaning of *aka'khan* is 'into the house', while 'to the house' would be expressed with the adessive marker *-ya'* (see 4.1.5. above).

The inessive relation marker *-khan* can also be used with more abstract nouns:

- (4:26) *Me'-dyaj-ra' näij-ti* *mi tyimäe-dye'-khan?*
 so-QY-IR see-VD.RE.M.S 2SG dark-NO-IN
 'So, can you see in the dark?' ELE/JH
- (4:27) *Me'-ki mi'-we jike 1969-khan yomodye'*
 so-CO 3M-DR PS 1969-IN year
jäe'mä jike yäe cuartel si-ti-yäe.
 DM PS 1SG army.E enter-VT.M.S-1SG
 'So there, in the year 1969, I entered the army.' STE/JH

The inessive relation marker is also used when travelling inside a vehicle (compare with the superessive relation in 4.1.8.):

- (4:28) *Sak-ti-kha' flota-khan.*
 travel-VT-1PI.S bus.E-AD
 'We travel by bus.' ELE/JH

In a number of elicitation examples, informants translated inessive form by 'under'. However, I have no text examples of this use:

- (4:29) *Öi boteya pech-khan mesa.*
 DE.F bottle.E trunk.of.tree-IN table.E
 'This bottle is under the table.' ELE/JH

A form resembling the inessive relation marker *-khan* can also appear as a separate word. Since there is a slight difference in the palatalized ending of the separate form, I will treat this apart:

- (4:30) *Jibi'-dyaj mej-me'-si' khañ-katyi' aka'-khan-si',*
 sure-QY down-so-L.F in-EH house-IN-L.F
titsoj-tso-si' tyako'-khan yoj-nāsh jike-in anik
 hang-RD-L.F sleeping.bag-IN R-GF PS-P EM
tyako'-khan poroma-dyera' aj-ra' me'.
 sleeping.bag-IN before-MO yet-IR so
 'Yes, that is right, like in this house, (the child) was hung up
 in a tyako-bag⁷⁵, like already in old days (they were hung up)
 in a tyako.' STE/VJ

4.1.7. 'Downriver'

The relation marker *-we* has different meanings. Apart from 'downriver', it also means 'behind' and 'on the other side'. In the following example, the meaning is 'downriver':

- (4:31) *Mi-we Palos Blanco-ya' dyai' mi'-ya' mintyi'-in.*
 M-DR Palos Blancos-AD many 3M-AD man-P
 'There are many men (i.e. people) in Palos Blancos.' ELE/JH

In the above example, the speaker is in the village of Covendo, which lies upriver from Palos Blancos. Thus, *miwe*⁷⁶ is used to refer to this place. Furthermore, the same form would be used if the speaker was not on the same river, but in a place further down the mountain, such as in the Amazon-basin.

Place names usually appear with fixed relation markers. In this way, *Palos Blancos* always appears with the adessive marker, independent of its spatial relation to other markers. Therefore, only the local relation markers that do not specifically appear in place names provide a clear indication of the spatial relation. The notion of 'downriver' also includes the relationship between La Paz (high up in the Andes) and places in the lowlands, even if there is no direct river-connection.

The 'downriver' relation marker can also have the meaning 'behind':

- (4:32) *Jedye-i am mi i-we?*
 thing-VI.M.S QN 2SG M-DR
 'What are you doing behind me?' ELE/CT

Furthermore, the present relation marker can be used to express ‘on the other side of the river’:

- (4:33) *I-we-ra’ tsin nöjnöj jïj-ka-i nöph-we.*
 M-DR-IR 1P tomorrow go-DK-M.S cross-DR
 ‘We will go to the other side (of the river) tomorrow.’ ELE/JH

Finally, *-we* can be used together with verbs such as ‘think’, expressing what is thought ‘about’:

- (4:34) *Mö’ dyij-yi-’ yäe-wë.*
 3F.SG think-VY-F.S 1SG-DR
 ‘She thinks about me.’ ELE/JH

4.1.8. Superessive

The local relation marker *-chhe’* generally means ‘on’ (in a place), ‘up’ (the direction) and ‘above’, and also refers to ‘upriver’ (as opposed to the downriver relation discussed above in 4.1.7.):

- (4:35) *Mö’ kirjka fäo-chhë’ mesa-chhe’.*
 3F.SG book place-SU table.E-SU
 ‘The book is on the table.’ ELE/JH
- (4:36) *I-chhe’ iits soñi’ bae’-i*
 M-SU DE.M man live-VI.M.S
karij-tya-k-wa’-jo-i.
 hard-VD-AN-PR-PRI-M.S
 ‘Up here this man lives working.’ ELE/JH

In the following example the speaker is in Santa Ana (see map 2), talking about going to Palos Blancos, situated upriver from there:

- (4:37) *Juevesh tsin mi’-chhe’ Palos Blanco-ya’.*
 Thursday.E 1P3M-SU Palos Blancos-AD
 ‘On Thursday, we will be in Palos Blancos.’ ELE/JH

The relation marker *-chhe'* can also be used with open transportation vehicles, such as boats (compare with the inessive relation for closed vehicles, 4.1.6.):

- (4:38) *Nöph-ja'* *öjñi'* *kasko-chhe'*.
 cross-VI.1PL.S river canoe.E-SU
 'We cross the river "on" a canoe' ELE/JH

Furthermore, the relation marker *-chhe'* can be used as a separate word, without a meaning change. It can be used in relation with other markers such as the 'downriver' marker *-we*, meaning 'from up there':

- (4:39) *Chhe'-we* *wētē'tē-yē-ti'*.
 up-DR fall-VY-RE-F.S
 'She (the monster) falls from up there (in pieces).' STE/VJ

This particle can also appear verbalized, meaning 'take up':

- (4:40) *Anik-ra'* *mi'* *aj-me'* *chhe'-ye-'* *son-ra'*
 EM-IR 3M.SG yet-so up-VY-3F.O trunk-IR
me'-ki-si' *jam* *jaof-ki-'*.
 so-size-L.F NG heavy-VK-F.S
 'And sure they took up the big trunks and they were not heavy.' STE/VJ

4.1.9. *-dyetyi'* 'only'

The marker *-dyetyi'* 'only' has no gender agreement forms, even if it resembles the masculine form of the benefactive relation (4.1.4.). This marker is primarily used in contexts where a person or thing is the only one left:

- (4:41) *Khin'-nä-ki-ki* *me'* *ats-i-ban*
 now-FO-CO-RD so come.M.S-VI-again.M
waemtyi'-mö' *aj* *its-i-'* *aj-win* *äwä'-dyetyi'*
 husband-3F.SG yet NX-VI-F.S yet-C child-only

mömö' dyak-a-kse-k-han-'.

only.F find-VI-3P.O-DK-again-3F.O

'And now her husband comes back and she is not there any more, only her children are left, he only finds the children.'

STE/VJ

(4:42) *Yäe-dyetyi' mimi' kerecha-tom.*

1SG-only.left only.M money-COM

'I was the only one left with money.' COE/SM

4.1.10. –win 'dead'

The marker –win can be added to a name and expresses that this person or animal is dead:

(4:43) *wiya'-win*

old.man-C

'the old man (that is dead).' ELE/JH

The marker –win can also express the non-existence of something inanimate, as in the following example about a village that later has been moved to another place:

(4:44) *Jeb-a-kse-wa'-jo-' mö'-yä'-bi' jike poroma*

eat-VI-3P.O-PR-PRI-F.S 3F-AD-still PS before

jike bae'-e-dye' Santa Ana, jike iji-we

PS live-VI-NO Santa Ana PS iji-DR

mö'-yä'-katyi' jike bae'-e-dye'-win.

3F-AD-EH PS live-VI-NO-C

'She was eating them there, where the village of Santa Ana was before, at the "iji's place", there they lived before.'

STE/VJ

The present use is close to the appearance of –win with verbs and certain particles, in which case it has a completive meaning (11.5.3.).

4.1.11. *Further notes on relation markers*

In this section I treat a number of general issues concerning relation markers in Mosestén. Many of the forms treated above can occur in the same form on verbs, having different meanings. Furthermore, a number of these markers can appear as separate words as well. This is summarized in table 13.

Table 13: The different uses of relation markers

	Meaning when cliticized to nouns	Meaning when cliticized to verbs	Meaning in use as separate word
linker	linking in the noun phrase	nominalizing / forming participles / relative clause marking (4.8.)	
comitative	'with'	simultaneous action (13.5.6.)	
associative	'among'	interruptive with associated motion markers (8.6.6.)	'among'
benefactive	'for', 'for the purpose of'	'for the purpose of' (adverbial clauses 13.5.5.)	
adessive	'at', 'close to', 'in front of'	when (temporal adverbial clauses, 13.5.4.), if (conditional adverbial clauses, 13.5.7.)	
inessive	'in', 'under'		'in' (different form)
'downriver'	'downriver', 'behind', 'on the other side'		
superessive	'on', 'up', 'above', 'upriver'		'on', etc.
-win	'dead'	perfective / completive (11.5.3.)	
-dyetyi'	'only'		

The nominal relation markers in Mosestén have meanings that are much broader than the meanings of case in case marking systems. Also, these markers not only appear with nominal forms, but also with other parts of speech, such as verbs.

Some of these relation markers can even appear as separate words. For these reasons, I have treated these forms as ‘relation markers’ instead of ‘case forms’.

4.1.11.1. The local relation markers

Local relation markers in Mosestén require more detailed discussion. Place names usually appear with fixed forms of the local relation markers, independently of their spatial relation to other elements. In this way, the following place names appear with a fixed relation marker to express ‘in / at the place’:

<i>Köwë'dö-wë</i>	in Covendo	(‘downriver’)
<i>Ra Pash-khan</i>	in La Paz	(inessive)
<i>Santa Ana-ya'</i>	in Santa Ana	(adessive)

I have no examples that show the superessive relation being used in fixed forms together with place names. Interestingly, *Covendo* is marked by the downriver relation, which is opposite of what one would expect, since *Covendo* lies upriver from most other places in the area of the Mosestenes.

In many cases, these fixed forms of place names appear with a place adverb (6.4.1.1.), that reflects the spatial relation to another element (see also example (4:37) in section 4.1.8. above for such a combination):

(4:45)	<i>Khin'</i>	<i>rai's-e-'</i>	<i>chhii-'</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>jäen'</i>	<i>yäe</i>
	now	want-VI-3F.O	know.VI-F.S	2SG	how	1SG
	<i>bae'-i</i>	<i>mi'-chhe'</i>	<i>Köwë'dö-wë.</i>			
	live-VI.M.S	3M-SU	Covendo-DR			
	‘Now you want to know how I live up there in Covendo.’					
	STE/JH					

Different local relation markers can also productively appear on elements within the same noun phrase. This is usually the case when the viewpoint of the situation changes:

- (4:46) *Aka'-khan mi'-ya' ...*
 house-IN 3M-AD
 'In the house there is....' ELE/JH

In this example, the place 'in the house' is established as the current viewpoint, which is the point of departure for the spatial relation marking in the following place adverb 'there (is)'.
 The adessive marker *-ya'* can be combined with other local relation markers, having the meaning of 'further', 'less' or sometimes 'better':

- (4:47) *dyam' i-khan*
 more M-IN
 'further down / in there' ELE/JH
- (4:48) *dyam' i-khan-ya'*
 more M-IN-AD
 'a little further down / in there' ELE/JH

The adessive marker can even be combined with another adessive marker. These combinations are formally different from the reduplication forms of local relation markers treated below since the glottal stop of this marker does not disappear (compare with the forms in 4.1.11.2. below):

- (4:49) *Aj ö-yä'-yä' añe-i-'*
 yet F-AD-AD rain-VI-F.S
 'It is already raining less (i.e. getting better).' ELE/JH
- (4:50) *A-dyaj i-ya'-ya' aj mi''?*
 yet-QY M-AD-AD yet 3M.SG
 'Is he already getting better?' ELE/JH

I gloss both of these forms AD, since the glottal stop is maintained, and it means something different from reduplication.

4.1.11.2. Reduplication of relation markers expressing ‘distributed plurality’

The reduplicated forms of the following relation markers express distributed plurality (see section 4.2.2.):⁷⁷ Comitative, associative, adessive, inessive, ‘downriver’ and superessive. To my knowledge, no reduplicated forms of the benefactive relation exist. The linker, on the other hand, can appear in reduplicated forms with other meanings and will be discussed elsewhere (4.8.). The present section is limited to relation markers expressing ‘distributed plurality’.

Formally, the reduplication involves the first CV of the relation marker. This means that relation markers that only consist of a consonant and a vowel, such as the ‘downriver’ relation *-we*, reduplicate the entire form, while markers such as comitative *-tom* have the reduplicated form *-totom*. Relation markers that appear with a final glottal stop, namely the adessive *-ya’* and the superessive *-chhe’* drop this glottal stop entirely in reduplication. The form of the reduplicated associative relation will be discussed at the end of the present section below.

In the following example, the reduplicated relation form indicates that there are several places along this particular river where the road is bad:

- (4:51) *Me’ki chhata’ me’ jo’me-ti-’ tyäetsen’*
 therefore MO so like-VT-F.S everywhere
jäewin-jö-’ bi’cha-ti-’ tyäetsen’ kosh-kosh
 hole-VJ-F.S mud-VT-F.S everywhere cavity-RD
anik raej öi jäe’mä jindak-ya-ya.
 EM all DE.F DM river-AD-RD
 ‘So it now is like this, everywhere holes, mud, everywhere
 cavities, surely in all parts of/at the river.’ STE/CT

The reduplicated inessive *-khakhan* also has a distributional plural meaning. In the following example, several men live at a hotel, in several rooms:⁷⁸

- (4:52) *Öi-khan otel-in iits mintyi’-in i-kha-khan*
 DE.F-IN hotel.E-P DE.M man-P M-IN-RD

bae'-i-in.

live-VI.M.S-P

'In this hotel these men live in there (in various rooms).'

ELE/JH

The following example shows the reduplicated form of the 'downriver' marker, referring to several rivers in a certain area:

(4:53) *Öi tyäbedye'-in khin'-ya' mayedye'-we öjñii'*
 DE.F fish-P now-AD day-DR water
jinak-we-we bae'-i-'-in.

river-AD-RD live-VB-F.S-P

'These fish at this time (of the year) in the rainy season⁷⁹ live in (certain) rivers.' ELE/JH

In the following example, the reduplicated form of the superessive relation marker *-chhechhe* expresses 'to several sisters'. The background of this example is that in old days, marriage among the Mosetenes exclusively took place among a limited number of people in a group:

(4:54) *Paj khäei'-wi-rä' tsin waem-e-bajs-ha'*
 for RF-MN-IR 1P marry-VI-again-1PL.S
woji'-chhe-chhe.

sister-SU-RD

'Because we get married to our sisters.' COE/SM

The reduplicated comitative in the following example indicates that these people handled various arrows at the same time.

(4:55) *Fin'-to-tom-in ijme-to-tom-in.*
 arrow-COM-RD-P arrow-COM-RD-P
 'They had lance-like arrows and arrows (with feathers).'

STE/EC

An exception to the formal rules of reduplication found in the examples above is the associative marker *-min*. This marker frequently appears as a separate word, and is reduplicated as a whole: *minmin*. Semantically,

it resembles the other reduplication relation markers above, expressing distributional plurality, which can also refer to temporal matters:

- (4:56) *Mi'-ya' phej-ya' korosh-ya'-in min-min*
 3M-AD plaza-AD cross-AD-PAS-RD
yomo'-we-si'
 afternoon-DR-L.F
 'There on the plaza at the cruz – all afternoon.' WTE/CT

4.2. Number

There are two numbers in Mosestén, singular and plural. The plural is formally marked, while the singular is unmarked. The plural can be marked by the clitic *in* or by reduplication of the noun. Furthermore, there are a number of cases where the singular appears in plural environments.

In Mosestén, we can differentiate between number marking in the noun phrase and number agreement in the verbal cross-reference system. The latter will be discussed with verbs (section 8.1.). Number marking in the noun phrase can be divided into marking of the head noun (discussed in the present section) and marking of determiners (section 5.1. and 5.2.) and adjectives (section 6.1.3.).

4.2.1. The *in* plural clitic

The morpheme that marks the plural on nouns is the clitic *in*, which usually is added to the NP that is interpreted as plural:

- (4:57) *nanasi'* 'girl'
 (4:58) *nanasi'-in* 'girls'
 (4:59) *nanatyi'* 'boy'
 (4:60) *nanatyi'-in* 'boys'

With 3rd person plural subjects, the nominal is marked by the plural clitic *in*, and in most cases further marking by *in* appears in other places

of the clause. In this case *in* is often cliticized to the verb. The clitic *in* may appear several times in the same clause:

- (4:61) *Pero mi'-in kolla-in jam rai's-e'-in,*
 but.E 3M-P Aymara.E-P NG want-VI-3F.O-P
fäk-hö-i-in.
 angry-VJ-M.S-P
 'But the Aymaras did not want it, they got angry.' STE/CT

Basically, *in* referring to the plurality of the subject can appear on all types of other elements in the clause. In this way, *in* may be cliticized to a noun which itself is not plural. The context usually clarifies this:

- (4:62) *Mö'-in-nä-ki tētēi-in raej-ra' mö'-in mä'-jō'-in*
 3F-P-FO-CO frog-P all-IR 3F-P glad-VJ-F.S-P
khäkī bi-jo-'-in phi-ke-dye'-in.
 because win-VJ-F.S-P run-VK-NO-P
 'And the frogs are all glad because they have won the (one)
 race.' WTE/JH

In 3rd person pronouns, a further difference exists. Emphasizing that a large number is involved, the plural clitic *in* occurs twice on the pronoun: *mi'-in-in* 'they.M' or *mö'-in-in* 'they.F'. In all other cases, there is a single *-in*, even when there is no direct focus on the number involved (see section 5.1.).

The plural clitic *in* also appears on body pairs, such as hands and eyes. A special dual form for these expressions does not exist: *iin-in* 'hands', *wej-in* 'eyes', *chhäen-in* 'ears' and *yij-in*⁸⁰ 'feet'.

4.2.2. *Plurality through reduplication of nominal roots*

Plurality can also be expressed by reduplication of the nominal root. Formally, there are two types of reduplication: global reduplication and partial reduplication (see section 3.2.4.). Global reduplication only appears in very few cases, and usually the plural clitic *in* is preferred:

- (4:63) *Aj 1992 yäe karij-tya-ki aj yidye jäe'mä*
 yet 1992 1SG hard-VD-AN.M.S yet pure DM
öi-in ya'tya'-in siyai-in jedye'-jedye'-ra' järe'mä
 DE.F-P herb-P root-P thing-RD-IR DM
yo-dye-dye-si' piñ-i.
 R-NO-RD-L.F cure-VI.M.S
 'Already in 1992 I worked purely with herbs and roots, those
 things that cure.' STE/JH

Partial reduplication of nouns expresses 'distributed plurality'. This means, that the pluralized noun expresses that certain entities are distributed over a certain area. Partial reduplication involves the last CV of the nominal root. The formal issues of this type of reduplication are discussed in section 3.2.4. In the following example, the last part of the root *yiri* 'liana' is reduplicated, referring to a place with several lianas scattered (distributed) around:

- (4:64) *Jike ya'dye anik ka-bin-'-in*
 PS go EM bring-again.RE-F.S-P
wën-jö-ban-' mö'-khan-in yo-khan mö'
 move-DJ-again-3F.S 3F-IN-P R-IN 3F.SG
bae'-i-' yirij-ri'-khan.
 live-VI-F.S liana-RD-IN
 'Then they walk and she brings her there, she comes there,
 where she lives, in the liana (place).' STE/EC

Whereas the above example shows that the meaning of distributionality is in space, the following example illustrates that distributionality can refer to several people at different times. The form *nanatyi* 'boy' is reduplicated to *nanajnatyi*, meaning 'boys from generation to generation':

- (4:65) *Khösä ñej bae'-wa-si' paj me'-bae'-i-'*
 ON deer be-VI.IMI-IE.F for so-be-VI-F.S
jai-we-m nanaj-na-tyi' käw-ï-n-in.
 time-DR-3F.SGs boy-RD-L.M see-VI-2O-P
 'Phhh (he blows), become a deer again, so that with time the
 boys (from generation to generation) can see you.'⁸¹ STE/VJ

This kind of distributed plurality can also refer to time, like in *yomo* ‘night’ reduplicated to *yomomo* ‘every night’:

- (4:66) *Si näkä’ jeb-e-wa’-ke-’ yomo-mo’.*
 yes.E agouti eat-VI-PR-TR-3F.O night-RD
 ‘Yes, the agouti is eating (yucca) every night.’ CTE/JH

4.2.3. Singular marking in plural environments

In a number of structures, plural entities are expressed in the singular.

Singular marking often appears with fixed plural entities, such as ‘parents’, which are expressed as ‘father’ only:

- (4:67) *Mi’ ats-i këw-ë-sh-te khäei’-tyi’*
 3M.SG come.M.S-VI look-VI-DS-3M.O RF-L.M
jen’
 father
 ‘He comes to see his father (i.e. his parents).’ ELE/JH

In this example, the verbal cross-reference ending and the nominal form *jen’* ‘father’ without plural marking formally mark singular forms. ‘Parents’ can also be expressed with the plural marker *in*: *jen’-in*, when there is clear emphasis on the plurality. Pairs of body parts, on the other hand, which could also be interpreted as fixed plural entities, are usually marked by the plural clitic *in* (see section 4.2.1.).

Another structure where plural entities are expressed in the singular appears in noun phrases that involve quantifiers (section 7.). In the following example, the numeral quantifier *paerae’* ‘two’ is used together with the head noun *tara’tara’* ‘big rat’ that obligatorily does not show plural marking.⁸²

- (4:68) *Aj katyi’ chhith majmi wätyëkë iits soñi’*
 yet EH half road suddenly DE.M man
näij-te paerae’ tara’tara’.
 see-VD.3M.O two big.rat
 ‘Then halfway [down] the road, suddenly this man sees two big rats.’ WTE/JH

In this example, the verbal cross-reference form also shows agreement with a singular object in the masculine gender, *-te*. When there is a clear focus on the plurality of the quantified head noun, however, plural marking can appear in the cross-reference ending, though not on the noun itself. This can occur with definite nouns or contextually established nouns in which plurality is more emphasized:

- (4:69) *Aj katyi'chhi-mi'-ya' ji-ban yo-ya'*
 yet EH also-3M-AD pass.VI-again.M.S R-AD
äej-ä-ksi paerae' tara'tara'
 kill-VI-3P.O.M.S two big.rat
 'Already he came back to the same place where he had killed
 the two big rats.' WTE/JH

In the above example, the two rats are definite in the context of the story (see also text 2, appendix I).

Furthermore, non-human objects are often represented as singular in number, as opposed to humans and higher animates. The latter include animals which in the mythology appear in the shape of humans.

4.2.4. *yaetaem* plural emphasis

The particle *yaetaem* 'so many' is used to emphasize plurality, as in the following example, emphasizing 'so many':

- (4:70) *Yaetaem i-we jady-i-ti-in*
 so.long M-DR go.and.come.back-VI-DT.M.S-P
padre.
 father.E
 'So many priests have come here already!' COE/JH

4.3. Gender

Mosetén has two genders: feminine and masculine. These are inherent to nouns and are only inflected on other constituents of the noun phrase. Apart from that, they are often represented in the cross-reference ending

of the verb (8.1.). Furthermore, many pronouns have gender distinctions (5.).

As for gender assignment, female human beings are in the feminine gender and male human beings in the masculine gender. In most other cases, gender assignment seems to be arbitrary in Mosetén. Thus, this gender system cannot be compared to the noun classifier systems, common in Amazonian languages.

4.3.1. *Gender agreement*

As in many other languages, gender in Mosetén is an inherent feature of nouns, without these usually having special gender marking themselves. There are, however, some nouns that usually refer to humans or animals which have different forms for each gender. These nouns have certain traits in common: the feminine forms often end in *-si*' and the masculine forms in *-tyi*':⁸³

- | | | |
|--------|------------------|-------------------------|
| (4:71) | <i>nanasi</i> ' | 'girl' |
| (4:72) | <i>nanatyi</i> ' | 'boy' |
| (4:73) | <i>minsi</i> ' | 'female human being' |
| (4:74) | <i>mintyi</i> ' | 'masculine human being' |

There are also productive morphemes of the same forms, which I call the 'linker' (4.8.).

Other nouns have suppletive forms for feminine and masculine gender, as the two nouns below:

- | | | |
|--------|---------------|---------|
| (4:75) | <i>phen</i> | 'woman' |
| (4:76) | <i>soñi</i> ' | 'man' |

Gender agreement with the head noun is found in almost all word classes. In this way, gender agreement is one of the most comprehensive categories in the grammar of Mosestén. It is found in pronouns and determiners, numerals, adjectives, relation marking, verbal cross-reference, place adverbs, temporal adverbs, relative pronouns, nominalization markers, different kinds of (sentential) particles, interrogative pronouns and a negation marker. The gender agreement

forms are treated in separate sections. In the present section, I will present only a brief overview of the different forms in the gender agreement system of Mosetén.

Only the third personal pronouns have gender differences: *mi* 'he' and *mö* 'she', as do the demonstrative pronouns, *iits*, 'this, M' and *öi*, 'this, F'.⁸⁴ The possessive pronouns, consisting of a personal pronoun and the linker morpheme (4.8.) show gender agreement with the possessum. In the third person, gender marking also appears in the personal pronoun part, agreeing with the possessor. Reference-related pronouns such as *yok-si*, 'other, F', *yok-tyi*, 'other, M', are also marked for gender, involving the linker morpheme as well. As the personal or demonstrative pronouns are also used as determiners, these are also gender marked.

The cardinal numeral 'one' has two different gender forms: *jiri-s*, 'one-F' and *jiri-ty*, 'one-M', while the rest of the cardinal numerals are not marked for gender. The ordinal numbers, on the other hand, all involve marking for gender (7.1.2.).

Adjectives are usually marked by the linker morpheme and therefore involve gender agreement.

Both possessive marking by the linker (4.1.1. and 4.8.) and benefactive relation (4.1.4.) marking have gender forms.

Verbs also mark for gender in the cross-reference ending. It appears on all intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs, especially in 3rd person forms (section 8.1.2.). Furthermore, the verb 'come' has suppletive forms for feminine and masculine subjects: *ayi*, 'she comes' and *atsi*, 'he comes'.

A number of place adverbs are derived from personal pronouns and show gender differences. Usually the antecedent of these place adverbs is the topic of the context.

Also, one strategy of relative clause marking, as well as one nominalization strategy show gender agreement.

A number of sentential particles are marked for gender: the phrasal, as well as clausal particle meaning 'only, just' is derived from a personal pronoun and consequently shows gender marking (11.4.1.). Some question and modality markers have gender differences as well (11.2.4., 11.2.5.). Agreement in these forms is usually with the topic.

What is more, the existential negation marker *itsi* (M) / *itsi'* (F) is formally a verb and has gender forms, agreeing with the subject of the clause (10.2.) (cf. Sakel 2002).

4.3.2. *The forms of gender agreement in Mosetén*

In Mosetén, gender agreement is not restricted to structures such as adjectives, personal pronouns and verbal cross-reference, but it is found in almost all other word classes, as described above (4.3.1.). Basically, this system of gender agreement has developed through the spreading of certain morphemes into other areas of the grammar. The forms of gender agreement are often similar to each other. Taking suppletion into account, the gender forms in Mosetén can be divided into four formal classes:

- 1) marking by the linker *-si'* (F) and *-tyi'* (M)
- 2) differences between *o* (F) and *i* (M)
- 3) forms ending in a glottal stop (F) and forms not ending in a glottal stop (M)
- 4) suppletive forms

1) Gender agreement in the forms *-si'* (F) and *-tyi'* (M) is frequently found inside the noun phrase. These are the forms of the linker (section 4.8.), and occur in possessive structures, adjectives, relative clause markers, nominalizations, numerals and in benefactive relation markers. Due to the macrofunctionality of this morpheme, gender agreement occurs in several different structures.

2) The difference between feminine and the masculine gender in *ö* (F) and *i* (M) is found with pronouns, certain place adverbs and certain particles. Diachronically, these place adverbs and particles have developed from the personal pronouns *mö'* (F) and *mi'* (M) and the particles *ö* (F) and *i* (M)⁸⁵ that show gender agreement. In the same way, the particle *mömö'* (F), *mimi'* (M) 'only, just' has most probably developed via a reduplication of the personal pronoun. Notice that the feminine forms usually appear nasalized.

3) The marking of the feminine gender by a glottal stop and the lack of this glottal stop in the masculine gender is found in verbs. Both transitive and intransitive verbs make use of this marking.⁸⁶

4) Gender differences by suppletion are found in few forms, among which one verb, several nouns denoting feminines and masculines, and the demonstrative pronouns *öi* (F) and *iits* (M).⁸⁷

As a conclusion, one can say that the diachronical development of the extensive gender agreement system seems to be due to the spreading of certain forms that carry gender agreement.

4.3.3. Gender agreement changes

In one structure, which is part of the gender agreement system, a change in the agreement has occurred. This is the possession structure in which a possessive clitic (formally similar to the personal pronouns) is cliticized to the possessum, agreeing in gender with the possessor:

- (4:77) *Mö' jiri-s-tom aka', jiri-ty waemtyi'-mö'*
 3F.SG one-F-COM houseone-M man-3F.SG
jiri-ty äwä' soñi'-tyi'. Me' mömö'.
 one-M child man-L.M so only.F
 'She has a house, a husband (is her's) a masculine child.
 That's all.' ELE/CT

Usually, these person clitics agree in gender with the possessor, as in the example above, but there are cases where they agree with the possessum instead. This is a phenomenon that most speakers do not acknowledge, although they seem to use it unconsciously. Primarily, it seems to occur among younger speakers, which could imply that this has to do with language change, but I also have a few examples where older speakers use this form. The following example is by a young speaker of Moseñ:

- (4:78) *Öi phen faraj-ye-i mö' lote. Khin'*
 DE.F woman leave-VY-3F.O 3F.SG plantation.E now
äwä'-mī' soñi'-tyi' mi'-mimi' karij-tye-'.
 child-3M.SG man-L.M 3M.SG-only.M work-VD-3F.O

‘This woman has left her plantation. Now her male child (i.e. her son) only works (in) it.’ SELE/CT

In what most Mosetenes would consider the “correct” form, the person clitic should be *-mō*’ here, i.e. in the feminine gender, and not *mi*’ in the masculine gender. Agreement “should” be with the possessor and not with the possessum. In the following example, an old speaker uses this form as well:

(4:79) ...*yi-katyi’-khä mi’ aj jen’-mi’ dyaba-tyi’*
 say.M.S-EH-well3M.SG yet father-3M.SG peanut-L.M
jam aj tye-te aj-win.
 NG yet give-3M.O yet-C
 ‘... said the father of the peanut, he did not give (it) to him (any more).’ STE/VJ

This type of gender agreement change primarily occurs with inalienable possessed nouns, such as kinship terms. Otherwise, there is no difference between alienable and inalienable possession in Mosetén (5.3.).

4.3.4. *The feminine as the unmarked gender*

Formally, there is no clear difference in the markedness of the different genders, even if the feminine gender often appears longer with verbs, as it involves a glottal stop where there is no marking in the masculine form.⁸⁸ With the verb that has a special stem for the feminine gender, *ayi* ‘she goes’, there is no feminine cross-reference, which could be described as an economic strategy to avoid double marking for gender, as the feminine is already expressed in the suppletive verbal root. Not appearing with a glottal stop at the end, this verbal form resembles masculine cross-reference forms in the intransitive paradigm. Thus, the masculine ending again appears to be formally less marked.

Functionally, however, the feminine gender is usually the unmarked form in Mosetén as opposed to the masculine gender. Thus, when a verb, such as the modal verb ‘want’, is followed by a clause as its formal object, this verb always receives feminine object marking:

- (4:80) *Mö' jam rai's-e' jïj-ka-baj-te.*
 3F.SG NG want-VI-3F.O go-DK-again-3M.O
 'She does not want to follow him again.' STE/EC

When males and females constitute one group, usually the feminine form is used to refer to them, as in the following two examples:

- (4:81) *Mö'-ïn yi'-in ats-i-jo-i katyi'*
 3F-P say-F.S-P come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S EH
äwä'-mï'
 child-3M.SG
 'They (father and mother) said that their son came.' ELE/CT

- (4:82) *Elena y Fan, mö'-ïn käejëdye'-tom*
 Elena and.EJuan 3F-P plantation-COM
San Jose-chhe'-in.
 San Jose-SU-P
 'Elena and Juan, they have a plantation in San Jose.' ELE/CT

However, in the speech of younger people, the masculine form is often used when referring to both females and males, probably due to influence of Spanish.

Another instance where the default gender is the feminine, is the benefactive structure on the clause level. In the following example, it is established in the context of the story that all people taking part are men. Still, the feminine form of the benefactive is used to refer to these people, not focussing on the gender of the participants.⁸⁹

- (4:83) *Jö'dyë'yä' katyi' jike raej-min-tyi'-in tata-dye-si'*
 and EH PS all-AS-L-M-P priest-B-LF
mimi' karij-tya-ki-in.
 only.M hard-VD-AN.M.S-P
 'Then all the people worked exclusively for the priest.'
 WTE/CT

Still, the cross-reference ending of the verb is in the masculine gender, which may be explained by a change towards the use of the masculine as the default gender. This example illustrates the change within the different structures. The general verbal cross-reference seems to be

more affected by changes in the default gender than the benefactive case marking.

4.3.5. *Person differences*

Apart from the various forms of gender agreement discussed above, there are other differences in the language of speakers. Instead of using the plural particle *in*, two of my female informants frequently use *ön* in the 3rd person plural feminine pronoun. Thus, instead of saying *mö'in*, 'they, F', they say *mö'ön*, reinterpreting the *in* plural marker as a masculine form and making up a feminine form instead, since in pronouns the vowel *-i-* usually refers to masculine, and *-ö-* to feminine entities. The *ön* form is not used in any other case, i.e. nouns that are feminine receive the plural form *in*. In the same way, nouns ending in *-ö* (as does *mö'*, where the plural form *ön* appears), are marked by the plural marker *in*. Furthermore, the 3rd person plural pronoun that refers to a large number, generally has the form *mö'in in* in the feminine gender. The two consultants using the *ön* instead of *in* use the form as *mö'ön in*, i.e. the last *in* is not reinterpreted as *ön*.

4.4. Nominalization

Nominalization in Mosetén can be carried out by the productive nominalizer *-dye'*. Furthermore, there are a number of lexicalized structures, nominalized by *-ty* (M)/*-s* (F) and *-dyetyi'* (M)/*-dyesi'* (F). In certain constructions, the linker *-tyi'* (M)/*-si'* (F) can appear as a nominalizer, though its use is much broader (4.8.). In the following sections, I will discuss the different types of nominalizations.

4.4.1. *The -dye' forms*

The productive nominalization marker in Mosetén is the suffix *-dye'*. It can be added to intransitive verbs and adjectives. Furthermore, the marker *-dye'* can have two other meanings, namely 'time' and 'place'. In these other functions, *-dye'* appears with other parts of speech,

turning them into nouns, as well as with nominal forms and thus not necessarily resulting in a change of category. Thus, when *-dye'* is added to nominal stems, these remain nouns, but are derived in meaning, expressing 'time' or 'place'.

4.4.1.1. Nominalization by *-dye'*

The nominalizer *-dye'* can be added to adjectives and intransitive verbs. If the verb is not intransitive, it is usually detransitivized by the antipassive *-ki-* or the middle marker *-ki-*.⁹⁰ When the nominalization suffix *-dye'* follows the marker *-ki-*, its final *-i-* usually disappears.⁹¹

- (4:84) *jeb-a-k-dye'*
eat-VI-MI-NO
'food, animal' ELE/JH

The form in the example above may originally have been used with the meaning 'something eaten', i.e. 'animal'. Today, this form is lexicalized and it is also used to refer to animals that are not usually eaten.⁹²

Moving on to the meanings of the nominalization by *-dye'*, this nominalizer turns a verbal action into a noun. The intransitive verb *saeksi-* 'eat' can be turned into a noun by the nominalizer, resulting in the meaning 'food':

- (4:85) *saeks-e-dye'*
eat-VI-NO
'food' (i.e. 'the thing that is eaten') ELE/JH

In the following example, the noun *jaes* 'chewed yucca or maize'⁹³, is verbalized by *-i-* (section 8.3.1.), resulting in an intransitive verb meaning 'make chicha'. This form is nominalized again, in this case by *-dye'* and means 'chicha':

- (4:86) *Jaes-i-'*
chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
'She makes chicha'⁹⁴. ELE/JH

- (4:87) *jaes-dye*⁹⁵
 chewed.yucca-NO
 ‘chicha’ (i.e. ‘the thing that is chewed-yucca-made’) ELE/JH

Most nominalizations by *-dye*’ express the meaning ‘the thing that is V-en’ (V being the verb).

The above examples were all nominalizations of verbal forms, which is also the most frequent type of nominalization in Mosetén. However, *-dye*’ can also nominalize adjectives. With adjectives, the derivation by *-dye*’ nominalizes the property expressed by the adjective:

- (4:88) *fer-dye*’
 strong-NO
 ‘strength’ ELE/JH

4.4.1.2. ‘Time’ meaning of *-dye*’

Apart from the other uses discussed above, the *-dye*’ nominalizer is also often used to express time, especially certain times of the year. In this case the *-dye*’ is often reduplicated, having a distributive meaning in relation to the time:

- (4:89) *khin’-ya-dye*’
 now-AD-NO
 ‘at this time of the year’ COE/JH

With verbs, usually a non-verbal form is derived by *-dye*’. Such a non-verbal form can be the root without a verbalization marker or a nominalized form derived by *-dye*’. In the following example, the Spanish loan *dewe-* ‘owe’ is derived by the nominalization marker *-dye*’:

- (4:90) *dewe-dye*’
 owe.E-NO
 ‘time of debts’ ELE/JH

The form *dewe-* above is a non-verbal form in Mosetén. Used verbally, it is derived by the verbalization marker *-i-* (section 8.3.1.) is added to form *dewe-i* (owe-VI.M.S) ‘he owes (money)’.

In the following example, the *-dye*’ suffix expressing ‘time’ appears after the formally similar nominalization by *-dye*’:

- (4:91) *Jike katyi’ ijts-ï-dye-dyedye’-ra’ añe-dye’*
 PS EH mature-VI-NO-INC-F.S-IR rain-time
ijts-ï-’ öi säk-a-k-dye’ daerae’-khan-si’.
 mature-VI-F.S DE.Fsuck-VI-MI-NO mountain-IN-L.F
 ‘At the beginning of the time of the ripening it must have
 been, in the rainy season, the fruits of the mountain ripen.’
 STE/EC

4.4.1.3. ‘Place’ meaning of *-dye*’

The *-dye*’ nominalizer also expresses ‘place of’, referring to the content of the word it is added to. With verbs, the meaning is ‘place of the action expressed by the verb’. This is shown in the following example, where the verb *chhiko’ñiti-* ‘wash oneself’ is derived by *-dye*’, meaning ‘place where one (regularly) washes oneself’ or simply ‘bathroom’:

- (4:92) *chhiko’-ñi-ti-dye’*
 liquid-put-VD.RE-NO
 ‘places where one washes oneself’ ELE/JH

This marker is very productive and can be used with all kinds of verbs to refer to a place in which a certain action habitually takes place:

- (4:93) *wir-a-k-dye’*
 thresh-VI-MI-NO
 ‘place of the threshing’ ELE/JH

The following example shows the locality meaning of *-dye*’ with an adjective:

- (4:94) *Jäe'nä'-dye'-ra' ö-khan-ra' yäe jaem'-ra' yäe*
 where-NO-IR F-IN-IR 1SG good-IR 1SG
chhanam-dye'
 dry-NO
 'How can I (find) here a good and dry place?' STE/EC

Nouns can also appear with the marker *-dye'* to mean 'place where...'. This marker is commonly used together with fruits and vegetables to express 'field' or 'plantation' or the plant in question:⁹⁶

- (4:95) *tyära-dye'-khan*
 maize-NO-IN
 'In the maize field' ELE/JH

4.4.2. Nominalization by the linker

One can argue that the linker nominalizes different parts of speech (4.8.). However, due to the macrofunctionality of the linker marker, these forms are usually indistinguishable from adjectives, relative clauses and similar structures. Since it mostly involves lexically nominal structures, I would like to discuss this marker as a nominalizer, though the use of the linker is generally much broader.

The nominal forms which appear with the linker can be described as participant-nominalizations. This means, that the nominalized element denotes a person. Gender agreement is with the gender of the person(s) expressed. The following example shows the verb *royaki* 'dance' which is turned into a noun by the linker. The nominalized form denotes the subject of this verb:

- (4:96) *Mi'-in-nä aj ro'y-a-ki-tyi'-in aj*
 3M-P-FO yet dance-VI-AN.M.S-L.M-P yet
äej-ä-i saeks-i-in.
 stop-VI-M.S eat-VI.M.S-P
 'And already the dancers stopped eating.' WTE/CT

Similarly, in derivations of transitive verbs, the nominalization of the verb denotes the subject:

- (4:97) *I-ya-tyi' järe'mä iits järe'mä khöjkä -'-tyi'*
 M-AD-L.M DM DE.M DM keep-3F.O-L.M
öi bae'-e-dye' min-min watyeke-ra' järe'mä
 DE.F live-VI-NO AS-RD maybe-IR DM
käw-ë-k-te-in.
 see-VI-DK-3M.O-P
 'The one from here, the keeper of the village, they all may go
 to see him.' WTE/CT

In many cases, however, forms with the linker marker are not usually used lexically. These can be analyzed as nominalizations or as relative clauses (4.8.):

- (4:98) *Mi'-aj katyi' seke'n-a-k-dye'-tom aj*
 3M.SG-yet EH play.violin-VI-MI-NO-COM yet
jäedyäk- ye-j-chhi me'-bae'-i-nä-ki mi'
 seem.to-VY-DIR-DC.M.Sso-be-VI.M.S-FO-CO 3M.SG
järe'mä 'ji'-wën-ti-ksi-tyi' dyäech mimi'
 DM CA-move-DT-3P.O.M.S-L.M sit.M.S only.M
bae'-i.
 be-VI.M.S
 'And already he comes with a violin, making sounds (i.e.
 playing), and the other one, the one who made them come,
 was like that, he was just sitting.' STE/VC

In the above example, the form *mi' ji'wëntiksityi'* 'the one who makes them come' can be analyzed as a noun appearing with a determiner *mi'* 'the (M)', or it can be interpreted as a relative clause with the head *mi'* 'he'. In many cases, there is no clear formal way to distinguish nominalizations and relative clauses of this kind.

4.4.3. Nominalizations by *-ty* (M) and *-s* (F)

The unproductive nominalizing forms *-s* (F) and *-ty* (M) are used with both stative and dynamic verbs. The forms of this type of nominalization can be diachronically related to the forms of the linker *-tyi'* (M) and *-si'* (F). In a number of lexical forms, both the 'long'

forms, i.e. linker forms, and the ‘short’ forms, i.e. *-ty* (M) and *s* (F), can appear in parallel:

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|--------|
| (4:99) | <i>nanasi'</i> | ‘girl’ |
| | <i>nanas</i> | ‘girl’ |
| (4:100) | <i>nanatyi'</i> | ‘boy’ |
| | <i>nanaty</i> | ‘boy’ |

The following nominalized forms only exist in the short forms:

- (4:101) *san-a-ki-ty*
 write-VI-AN-L.M.s
 ‘pencil’ ELE/JH

In the above example, the meaning of this nominalization involves the instrument of the action, namely ‘pencil’. The corresponding linker form is *sanakityi'* ‘writer’, i.e. refers to the person carrying out the action instead.

As these forms are highly lexical, this nominalization can in other cases also express the state arising from the action:

- (4:102) *Mö'-tom mömö' tyar-i-s mej-ye-ban-'*
 3F.SG-COM only.F sad-VI-L.F.s down-VY-again-F.S
me'-khan.
 so-IN
 ‘With that sadness she died.’ STE/EC

These nominalization forms are also found with the numeral ‘one’: *jiris* (F) and *jirity* (M). Due to their numeral use, I do not mark the *-ty* (M) and *-s* (F) forms as nominalizations in the morpheme analysis, but just as feminine versus masculine. Formally, however, these are nominalized forms as well:

- (4:103) *jiri-s son daer-si'*
 one-Ftrunk(F) big-L.F
 ‘one big tree’ ELE/CT

(4:104) *jiri-ty kojti daer-tyi'*
 one-M heart(M) big-L.M
 'one big heart' ELE/CT

4.4.4. Nominalization and the benefactive relation marker

The benefactive case marker *-dyetyi'* (M) / *-dyesi'* (F), which originally may have consisted of the nominalizer *-dye'* and the linker *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F) can also be used with verbs in adverbial clauses (13.5.5.), and in some cases these forms are lexicalized and are used as nouns:

(4:105) *san-a-k-dye-si'*
 write-VI-MI-B-L.F
 'copy-book' (lit. "for to be written") ELE/CT

4.5. Compounding

There is no productive nominal compounding in Mosetén. Structures that would be expressed by compounding in other languages are instead expressed as head noun and relative clause constructions (4.8.). A number of affixes, however, may have grammaticalized through compounding, such as the form *chhi-* 'big' (for examples see section 4.6. below).

4.6. Diminution / Augmentation

Diminution and augmentation are strategies to express that a given element or concept is smaller or bigger than expected.

4.6.1. Diminution

Diminution in Mosetén is carried out by a change in the vowel and / or nasality of the affected noun. The following structures are possible:⁹⁷

(4:106) vowel change to /i/:

a → i

ae → i

o → i

(4:107) nasalization:

ae → äe

i → ī

(4:108) vowel change to /i/ or /ae/ and nasalization:

a → ī

ae → ī

o → äe

I have not found any examples of /o/ being nasalized, which is a diminution-strategy with both /i/ and /ae/ (see 4:107).

In the following text example, the noun *tipi*, ‘piece’ appears in its diminutive form *täepäe*, ‘little piece’:

(4:109) *Jäe jäen'-dyërä' mö' täepäe.*

EX how-MO 3F.SG piece.DIM

‘Well, how will it be enough.’ (‘how would it be, the little piece’) COE/CV

In this example, the derivation to the diminutive is carried out by a change in the vowels from *i* to *ae* and nasality is added. Other examples of diminutive forms are *äwä*, ‘child’ and *iwi*, ‘little child’, *täjshä*, ‘beach’ and *tijshi*, ‘little beach’, *ki'we*, ‘piece’ and *ki'wë*, ‘little piece’; *chipa*, ‘uncombed grown-up’ and *chipäe* ‘uncombed child’; *saerae*, ‘long object’ and *säeräe*, ‘little long object’.

Mostly nouns have diminutive forms, but diminutives can also appear with other parts of speech. In this way, the adverb *dyam* ‘more’ has the diminutive form *dyim* ‘a little more’. The numerals *jiris* ‘one’ and *paerae* ‘two’ appear sometimes in the diminutive forms, which means that they are nasalized *jiris* ‘one.DIM’ and *päeräe* ‘two.DIM’ (see also 9.1.1. on this). Furthermore, the verbal form *khishi-* ‘be sleepy’ can be described as a diminutive form of the verb *khöshi-* ‘sleep’. Apart from that, similar diminutive forms with verbs do not exist.⁹⁸

4.6.2. Dialect-determined use of diminutives

A number of families in Covendo make use of the diminutive in instances where other Mosestén speakers from Covendo would not use such forms. These diminutives follow the same phonological derivation-rules as the regular diminutives discussed above. They include all kinds of nouns, such as *achae* 'dog', that becomes *ičhi* in normal speech (i.e. not referring to a puppy), and *kochi* 'pig', becoming *käechi*.

4.6.3. Augmentation

The prefix *chhi-* expresses augmentation with a limited group of nouns such as plants or body parts. In the following example, the *chhi-* is used to refer to a large type of banana:

- (4:110) *chhi-pe're*
 big-banana
 'cooking banana' ELE/JH

With parts of the body or other personal characteristics the *chhi-* prefix can be used productively to produce insults. The augmented nouns appear together with the linker *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F) (4.8.):

- (4:111) *chhi-yij-si'*
 big-leg-L.F
 'big-legged (woman)' ELE/JH
 (4:112) *chhi-chhäen'-tyi'*
 big-ear-L.M
 'big-eared (man)' ELE/JH

The prefix *chhi-* can also be used in adjectival comparison (section 6.3.)

4.7. Noun phrase structures

The noun phrase can consist of a head noun by itself. Such a head noun can be a proper name, a noun, or a pronominal. Moreover, there can be

different dependents in the noun phrase, such as determiners and modifiers. The latter carry the linker morpheme, i.e. they are marked for linking elements in the noun phrase, and include adjectives, relative clauses, possessive constructions, as well as a number of other structures (4.8.). Determiners, on the other hand, are not marked by the linker. These are based on personal (5.1.) or demonstrative pronouns (5.2.), but also non-numeral and numeral quantifiers (7.) can appear in determiner position.

The marking by a nominal relator appears on the dependent elements in the noun phrase, when these are present (4:113)⁹⁹, otherwise it appears on the head noun (4:114):

(4:113) *Yäe mäei'-tyi'-tom o'sho'.*
 1SG new-L.M-COM clothes
 'I have new clothes.' ELE/CT

(4:114) *Yäe aka'-tom.*
 1SG house-COM
 'I have a house.' ELE/CT

When a noun phrase contains both determiner and modifier, nominal relation marking appears with the determiner:

(4:115) *Bae'-i-tsin öi-khan aka' mäei'-sī'.*
 live-VI.M.S-1P DE.F-IN housenew-L.F
 'We live in this new house.' ELE/JH

The order of elements inside the noun phrase is rather free, though there are some tendencies that I will elaborate on here.

Possessive pronouns always appear before the head noun. In case of other modifiers, there is a tendency that these appear after the head noun with animate heads, and before the head noun with inanimate heads. This is a tendency, but human head nouns can also appear with a modifier in front of the head:

(4:116) *Yomo'-katyi' tsiñi' miñ-i mai katyi'*
 night-EH bat change-VI.M.S day EH
jaem-tyi' mintyi'.
 good- L.M man

‘At night he changed (into a bat), during daytime he was a good man.’ WTE/CT

The following two examples refer to the same situation: A hunter brings back good meat or good animals. In the example of the meat (4:117), which is inanimate as such, the modifier appears before the head, while in the example mentioning animals (4:118), being animate (though probably already dead), the modifier appears after the head:

(4:117) *Yäe-nä-ki jaem'-si' shiish ti-i'.*
1SG-FO-CO good-L.F meat bring-3F.O
‘And I bring good meat.’ STE/VJ

(4:118) *Khin'-ra' yäe jäe'mä-ki-ka' ti-i' jeb-a-k-dye'*
now-IR 1SG DM-HA.M-QR bring-3F.O eat-VI-MI-NO
jaem'-si'.
good-L.F
‘Now I will bring good animals (as always).’ STE/VJ

In the following examples, a determiner - in this case a non-numeral quantifier - appears before the inanimate head in the noun phrase in (4:119), whereas it appears after the animate head in (4:120):

(4:119) *Ay-i maj öjñi' ay-i-jo-i' mö'*
come.F.S-VI much water come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S 3F.SG
Köwë'dö.
Covendo
‘Much water came (down the river) Covendo.’ WTE/JH

(4:120) *Dyiph anik ash -katyi' ats-i-ban aj*
then EM yet.then-EH come.M.S-VI-again.M.S yet
waemtyi'-mö' mi'-nä-ki me' jeb-a-k-dye'
husband-3F.SG 3M.SG-FO-CO so eat-VI-MI-NO
ara' ti-ban-'
many bring-again-3F.O
‘And then her husband comes back and he brings back many animals.’ STE/VJ

Finally, long elements such as relative clauses usually appear after the head in the noun phrase.

- (4:121) *Jike yi mi' soñi' jeba'badye' me'chhi-tyi'...*
 PS say.M.S 3M.SG man saber have-L.M
 'Then the man, who has the sabre, says...' WTE/JH

The different elements of the noun phrase in Mosetén can be split up. That means, for example, that a verb can appear between the elements of the noun phrase. In the following example, the object NP *jaem'si'ra' saeksedye'* 'good food' is split into two parts and the subject NP *mö'* 'she' (underlined) is placed between these:

- (4:122) *Jike mi' waemtyi'-mö' phij-ye-' kiwi jes*
 PS 3M.SG husband-3F.SG blow-VY-3F.O again look
jaem'-si'-ra' mö' saeks-e-dye' aj näij-tye-'
 good-L.F-IR 3F.SG eat-VI-NO yet see-VD-3F.O
 'And then her husband blows her again¹⁰⁰ and look, she
 already sees good food.' STE/EC

Usually, speakers of Mosetén have no problems understanding split-up noun phrases, since the linker marks the modifying element(s) and the context normally makes it clear which elements form noun phrases.

Splitting up noun phrases can be used to emphasize the element in focus by putting it at the beginning of the clause, while more less important elements appear further to the right. The following example shows such a clefting construction, again placing the subject of the clause between the split-up parts of the object noun phrase:

- (4:123) *Jiri-s yäe kirjka tye-te Petosh.*
 ONE-F 1SG book give-3M.O Peter
 'I give ONE book to Peter.' ELE/JH

In the following two examples, the noun phrase is split up and the verb appears between the different nominal parts. In the first example, the modifier is placed before the verb and the head of the noun phrase, whereas the second example shows the head of the noun phrase placed before the verb and the modifier:

- (4:124) *Jike Oye-si' ja-yi-' phe-ya-k-dye'*
 PS Oye-L.F finish-VY-F.S talk-VY-MI-NO
 'Then the story of the Oye finishes.' STE/EC
- (4:125) *O'yi-we jīj-ka-' wō-ke-n' kädäej ka-i'*
 yucca-DR go-DK-F.S carry-VK-PR baby bring-3F.O
mäei'-sī'-mō'
 first-L.F-3F.SG
 'She went to the yucca-field, carrying her new baby.' STE/VJ

4.8. The linker

The linker *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F) is a macrofunctional marker, i.e. it appears in a number of structures. These structures are all related and can be summarized as elements that can appear in modifier position of a noun phrase (apart from few lexicalized forms).¹⁰¹

These modifiers include a type of possession marking, adjectives, a relative clause structure and verbal participles. Furthermore, a number of modifier structures involve the linker in combination with other morphemes. For example, the linker can appear after elements marked by a nominal relation marker (4.1.). There are also a number of grammaticalized structures in which the linker occurs. This is the case with another type of relative clause marking, the benefactive relation marker, the forms of the ordinal numerals as well as the reference-pronoun *yok-L* 'other'. Finally, there are a number of reduplicated forms of the linker appearing with certain parts of speech.¹⁰²

Due to the different structures that can be marked by the linker, sometimes several analyses are possible for a given form. For instance, it is not always clear whether one should analyze something as a relative clause, or an attributively used adjective. In this way, the example *mō' aka' daersi'* can be translated 'the big house' or 'the house that is big'. Semantically, however, there is usually no difference between the two translations above. With a number of structures marked by the linker, only one analysis is normally possible. This is for example the case with possession marking (4.8.1.).

In the following sections, I will discuss the different structures in which the linker can occur.

4.8.1. *Possession marking and the linker*

Possession marking can be carried out by the linker (though there are also other structures, see section 5.3.). In this type of possessive structure, the possessor is marked by the linker, agreeing in gender with the possessum:

(4:126) *yäe-si'* *phen*

1SG-L.Fwoman
'my wife' ELE/JH

(4:127) *yäe-tyi'* *mama'*

1SG-L.M father
'my father' ELE/JH

This structure can formally be analyzed as a possessum as the head noun of the structure and the possessor, marked by the linker, acting as a modifier in the noun phrase. This kind of marking is formally the same as the marking of attributively used adjectives.

When proper names are involved in a possessive structure, usually the first name is marked by the linker, while the family name is not:

(4:128) *Phen-mi'* *jäe'mä iits* *Kose-si'* *jike*

woman-3M.SG DM DE.M Jose-L.FPS

Toreno-win...

Tureno-C

'The wife of the late Jose Tureno...' STE/VC

4.8.2. *Adjectives and the linker*

Adjectives in attributive position in the noun phrase are also marked by the linker:

(4:129) *jaem'-tyi'* *mintyi'*

good-L.M man

'a good man' ELE/JH

When two elements are modifying the head noun, both elements are marked by the linker (see section 6.1.1. for an example with two adjectives). Thus, when a possessive modifier and an adjective occur together within the same noun phrase, both are marked by the linker:

- (4:130) *Mö' aka' jäechbäe'-si' Martin-si'.*
 3F.SG house red-L.F Martin-L.F
 'Martin's red house.' ELE/RC, FT

4.8.3. Relative clauses marked by the linker

In the same way as adjectives and possessive pronouns, relative clauses can also modify the head noun of a noun phrase. Consequently, most kinds of relative clause marking involve the linker (13.3.1.).¹⁰³ Relative clauses can be formed by adding a linker to the verb in the relative clause (and in this way turning this verb into a non-finite form):

- (4:131) *Chhata' katyi' khä mabe, katyi' khä-in,*
 MO EH well huge EH well-P
jeb-a-k-dye'-ya' phañ-i'-si'-in.
 eat-VI-MI-NO-AD grow.up-VI-F.S-L.F-P
 'They surely are huge, those who grow up with animals.'
 STE/VJ

In the above example, the relative clause is *jebakdye'ya' phañi'si'in* 'those who grow up with animals'. The verb *phañi-* 'grow up' is marked by the linker, turning the construction into a relative clause.

Relative clauses can consist of only a single verb, in the following example, this is the verb *tyashi* 'be in front', which is marked by the linker:

- (4:132) *Tyi-ra' i-ka' ti'-i mi' wiyä'-(in)*
 person-IR M-QR name-VI.M.S 3M.SG old.man-(P)
tyash-i-tyi'?
 front-VI-L.M
 'How was the old guy called who was first?' STE/JH

Instead of analyzing this example as a relative clause, one could also describe *tyashi* as an adjective with the meaning ‘fronted’, standing in attributive relation to the head *wiyä* ‘old man’.

4.8.4. Nominalizations marked by the linker

A number of linker structures can be analyzed as person nominalizations (4.4.2.). These forms are often used in the same way as nouns, such as *chhiityi* ‘wise man’ or ‘the one who knows’ and *tyäbityi* ‘the fisher’ or ‘the one who fishes’:

- (4:133) *Jedye'-dyash mi' ti'-i-tyi' jike*
 thing-QI 3M.SG name-VI.M.S-L.M PS
chhiityi'?
 know.VI -L.M
 ‘What was the name of him, who knows (wise man)?’ COE/JH
- (4:134) *Me'-ki mi' soñi' tyab-i-tyi' ji'chhaekhaen-te.*
 so-CO 3M.SG man fish-VI-L.M answer-VD.3M.O
 ‘So the man, the fisher answered.’ WTE/JH

When used as a nominalization, one could analyze these structures as linkers involving the nominalized form as the modifier in a headless noun phrase. Analyzing these structures as adjectives or relative clauses, other elements such as determiners can act as heads (4.4.2.).

4.8.5. Verbal participles and the linker

Verbs to which the linker is added can also be analyzed as participles, i.e. non-finite verbal forms. Apart from their use in relative clauses, these can occur in a number of other structures. In the following examples, verbs marked by the linker may be analyzed as adjectival participles:¹⁰⁴

- (4:135) *Mi'-in katyi' dyak-e-'-in jiri-s jeb-a-k-dye'*
 3M-P EH find-VI-3F.O-P one-F eat-VI-MI-NO

saeñ-e-si'.

die-VI-L.F

'They have found a dead animal.' ELE/CT

In the example, the verb *saeñi-* 'die' is marked by the linker and acts as a modifier of the head noun *jebakdye* 'animal'. The linker can also be reduplicated on verbs (9.1.4.).

Apart from acting as modifiers in noun phrases, the verbal participle forms can also appear in adverbial clauses expressing 'at the same time' (13.5.6.):

- (4:136) *Jike je-k-e'* *khäei'-si'* *shiish*,
 PS take-DK-3F.O RF-L.F meat
työdyök'-ye-'tyi' *tyaepae'-ye-jo'-katyi'*, *mö'*
 intrude-VY-3F.O-L.M disappear-VY-INS.F.S-EH 3F.SG
phen möñ-i'.
 woman disappear-VI-F.S
 'He takes out his penis, and while inserting it, she disappears,
 the woman disappears.' WTE/JH

Often, these types of examples can also be seen as either adverbial constructions, meaning 'at the same time', or the form marked by the linker can be analyzed as an adjectival structure:

- (4:137) *Ash-katyi'-ki-mi'* *fi-ye-ban-'tyi'* *phen*
 yet.then-EH-CO-3M.SG pull-VY-again-3F.O-L.M woman
ya'dye-katyi' *mi-ki* *öjñi'-khan miñ-i* *me'-ki*
 go-EH 2SG-CO water-IN go-VI.M.S so-CO
paeren jö'chh-ä'-in öjñi'-khan-in.
 both fall-VI.F.S-P water-IN-P
 'When he wanted to pull out his wife, he (himself) went into
 the water and both had fallen into the water.' WTE/LM

In this example, the form *fiyeban'tyi'* can also be analyzed as a nominalization 'the one pulling her' or as a relative clause 'the one, who pulled her'.

4.8.6. *The linker in combination with relation markers*

Another way of using the linker is after relation markers. These structures often have the meaning ‘from/of something/somewhere’:

(4:138) *nöph-we*
cross-DR
‘on the other side (of river)’ ELE/JH

(4:139) *nöph-we-tyi’*
cross-DR-L.M
‘(something/someone) from the other side (of river)’ ELE/JH

In the following example, the place adverb *mo’ya’* ‘there (F)’ is marked by the linker and can be formally described as a participial modifier of the head noun *tse’yäe’* ‘my mother’:

(4:140) *Nä’-i-yäe* *Santa Ana-ya’ de* *Moseten-si’*
born-VI.M.S-1SG Santa Ana-ADof.E Moseten-L.F
khäki *jike* *tse’yäe* *mö’yä-si’*.
because PS mother-1SG 3F-AD-L.F
‘I was born in Santa Ana de Mosetenes because my mother
was from there.’ STE/JH

Lexicalized structures can also appear with this type of marking, as in the form *tyash-*, meaning ‘front’, appearing together with the superessive relation marker *-chhe’* ‘on’, meaning ‘first-born’:

(4:141) “*Yäe-rä’* *bojw-i’*” *yi-katyi’* *äwä’-mi’*
1SG-IR go.up-VI.M.S say.M.S-EH child-3M.SG
tyash-chhe-tyi’.
front-SU-L.M
“‘I will go up”, says her oldest son.’ STE/EC

4.8.7. *The linker in the marker for benefactive*

The benefactive relation marker *-dyetyi’* (M) / *-dyesi’* (F) consists of the morpheme *-dye’* and the linker (4.1.4). In the following example, the

benefactive element *yäedyesi* ‘for me’ can be interpreted as a secondary predication of the object noun phrase *jiris jame* ‘one flower’:¹⁰⁵

- (4:142) *Mi’ ya’-i jiri-s jame yäe-dye-si’.*
 3M.SG buy-VI.M.S one-F flower 1SG-B-L.F
 ‘He bought a flower for me.’ ELE/JH

4.8.8. The linker as part of a relative clause marker

In section 4.8.3. above, I describe the relative clause marking involving the linker added to the verb in the relative clause. Another relative clause marking structure involves the form *yodye’-L* (13.3.2.). Relative clauses that are marked this way can, in the same way as the other structures discussed above, be described as modifiers in a noun phrase:

- (4:143) *Mi’ soñi’ yo-dye’-tyi’ i-khan bae’-i*
 3M.SG man R-NO-L.M M-IN live-VI.M.S
äej-ä-te jiri-ty itsiki.
 kill-VI-3M.O one-M jaguar
 ‘The man who lives in here has killed a jaguar.’ ELE/RC, FT

4.8.9. The linker in the forms of the ordinal numbers

Ordinal numerals consist of cardinal numerals to which the verb *yi-* ‘say’ in its intransitively inflected form is added, followed by the linker morpheme: *-yi’si’* (F) / *-yityi’* (M):

- (4:144) *chhibin-yi’-si’ mayedye’*
 three-VY-F.S-L.F day
 ‘(the) third day.’ ELE/JH

4.8.10. *The reference pronoun yok- and the linker*

The pronoun *yok* ‘other’, expressing non-co-reference, usually appears together with the linker when appearing inside the noun phrase:¹⁰⁶

- (4:145) *yok-tyi’ soñi’*
 other-L.M man
 ‘(an)other man’ ELE/JH

4.8.11. *The linker in combination with jäen’*

The pronoun *jäen’* that can be used as interrogative and indefinite (5.4.1.), can be marked by the linker. The meaning of this combination is more lexical than being a modifier, having to do with the number. Thus, as an interrogative pronoun, the meaning is ‘how many’, in other structures, the meaning is ‘some’ or ‘a number of’.¹⁰⁷

- (4:146) *Äej pochho’ mömö’ jäen’-sī’ mömö’ aka’.*
 EX palm only.F how-L.F only.F house
 ‘Well, it was just a palm-place, only some houses were there.’ COE/SM

4.8.12. *Reduplicated linker forms*

The linker forms can also appear in reduplicated form: *-sisi’* (F) and *-tyityi’* (M). This is the case with certain verbal participle forms (see 4.8.5. above), numerals, adverbs and sentential particles.

Numerals, the pronoun *tsin* ‘we’ and adverbs are marked by the reduplicated linker to express distributed plurality. Sentential particles marked by the linker are often lexicalized forms being used in non-modifying ways, but in some examples, they can also be formally analyzed as modifiers in a noun phrase.

I will discuss the different structures in which the linker occurs in a reduplicated form below. Participle forms, however, are discussed in section 9.1.4.

4.8.12.1. Reduplicated linker forms expressing distributed plurality

With a number of elements, marking by the reduplicated forms of the linker expresses distributed plurality. This is the case with numerals, the pronoun *tsin* ‘we’ and place adverbs. Formally, these forms are instances of partial reduplication (3.2.4.).

With numerals, the reduplicated linker form means ‘in X parts’ or ‘X by X’. In the following example, the meaning is ‘one by one’, where the reduplicated linker is added to the numeral *jiris* ‘one (F)’:

- (4:147) *Khin'-ki-ra' phi-ki-ya' ojtere' tsin-ki-ra'*
 now-CO-IR run-VK.M.S-AD rooster 1P-CO-IR
jiri-si-si ye-ja' tētēi yok-si'
 one.F-L.F-RD say-1PI.S ON other-L-F
mojo'-chhe-ya' tētēi ye-j-kho-ja'.
 3F-RD-SU-AD ON say-DIR-DJ-1PI.S
 ‘Now when the rooster runs we will one by one say “tetei”,
 another one more over there (further along) “tetei” we will
 say.’ WTE/JH

Furthermore, the personal pronoun *tsin* ‘we’ can appear with the linker in its reduplicated form *tsinsisi*. While the form *tsinsi*, in which the linker occurs only once, is a possessive pronoun meaning ‘our’, the reduplicated linker form *tsinsisi* has the meaning ‘purely ourselves’. This form is used to refer to the group of Mosevenes. This form can be used together with a head noun, such as *mintyi'in* ‘men’:

- (4:148) *Jaem' karij-tya-ki-in raej mintyi'-in*
 good work-VD-AN.M.S-P all man-P
tsin-tyi-tyi'-in jö'dyē'yä' chhome' kolla-in.
 1P-L.M-RD-P and also Aymara.E-P
 ‘They work well, all the people of us, and also the Aymaras.’
 WTE/CT

This structure can also be used on its own, i.e. outside of the noun phrase, to refer to the language, people or culture of the Mosevenes:

- (4:149) *Më'-ki'-ya' nāsh mimi' yäe chhü-yë- tsin-si-si'.*
 so-size-AD GF only.M 1SG know-VY-3F.O 1P-L.F-RD
 'Only this much I know of our (language).' COE/VC

In the speech of many people, this form is shortened to *tsinsis*.

Finally, place adverbs derived by the linker (6.4.1.) can appear with the reduplicated form of the linker to express distributed plurality. While the form *tyäetsen-tyi'* means 'a person from everywhere', the form involving the reduplicated linker *tyäetsen-tyi-tyi'* has the plural meaning 'persons from everywhere':

- (4:150) *Mi'-khan-in tyäetsen-tyi-tyi'*
 3M-IN-P everywhere-L.M-RD
ats-i-jo-i-in.
 come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S-P
 'There they come from everywhere.' COE/JH

4.8.12.2. Reduplicated linker forms with sentential particles

A number of sentential particles can occur with the reduplicated linker form. These can - in some cases - be used as modifiers in the noun phrase. For example, the particle *anik* 'sure', giving information about the truth of the proposition (11.3.1.), can appear with the reduplicated linker form as a modifier in a noun phrase, meaning 'real':

- (4:151) *Mi'-nä kerecha anik-tyi-tyi' jim-ke-kho-i.*
 3M.SG-FO money(M) EM-L.M-RD hide-VK-DJ-M.S
 'And he hides the real money.' COE/EC
- (4:152) *Anik-si-si' minsi'.*
 EM-L.F-RD woman(F)
 'She is a real woman (not an animal any more).' COE/JH

This is also the case with the participle *me'* 'so'. In the following example, *me'sisi'* 'like this' can be analyzed as the modifier of the head noun *dyijyedye'* 'idea', agreeing with this head noun in gender:

- (4:153) *Me'-ki me'-si-si' dyij-ye-dye' jike aj ayuda*
 so-CO so-L.F-RD think-VY-NO(F) PSyet help.E
ködy-a-j-ki-ki jäe'mä Luxemburgo.
 beg-VI-DIR-AN-DK.M.S DM Luxemburg
 'Therefore it was this kind of thought to beg for help in
 Luxemburg.' COE/SM

The translation could, however, also be 'therefore, like this it is, the idea was to go and beg for help in Luxemburg', as other informants proposed. In this example, *me'sisi'* means 'like that', referring to the contents of a head noun, though not as a modifier. Whereas the example above shows the reference as cataphoric (i.e. appearing earlier than the head noun *dyijyedye'*), the following example demonstrates a case where the reference is anaphoric (i.e. after the head, which in this case is the noun *certificado* 'certificate', marked by the benefactive relation):

- (4:154) *Me'-nä yäe ats-i-jo-i jäe'mä*
 so-FO 1SG come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S DM
ats-i-jo-i yäe viaje-i-' chhata'
 come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S 1SG travel.E-VI-F.S verily
yäe jäe'mä äwä-tom-yäe jäe'mä certificado-dye-si'
 1SG DM son-COM-1SG DM certificate.E-B-L.F
me'-tyi-tyi'-ki tsin ats-i viaje-i tsin.
 so-L.M-RD-CO 1P come.M.S-VI travel.E-VI.M.S 1P
 'So I came, I travelled (here) with my son because of the
 certificate; for this we came, we travelled.' COE/MW

The forms *me'tyityi'* (M) and *me'sisi'* (F) frequently occur with the meaning 'like that' in the speech of certain people.

Furthermore, a lexical form appears with a reduplicated linker, namely the interrogative pronoun *jäen'sisi'*. This form is treated in section 5.4.2. below.

Chapter 5

Pronouns and reference

In the present chapter, I will treat the different forms of pronouns and proforms, as well as the morphemes used for reference inside the clause or between clauses.

5.1. Personal pronouns and person clitics

The personal pronouns can be used to refer to both animate and inanimate NPs. They distinguish for person (1st, 2nd and 3rd person), number (singular and plural) and in the 3rd persons also gender (masculine and feminine):

Table 14: The forms of the personal pronouns

1SG	<i>yäe</i>
2SG	<i>mi</i>
3SG m	<i>mi'</i>
3SG f	<i>mö'</i>
1P	<i>tsin</i>
2P	<i>mi''in</i>
3P m	<i>mi'in</i>
3P f	<i>mö'in</i> ¹⁰⁸

The plural forms all involve the form *in*, which is used to mark the plural of nouns (4.2.1.). In the 3rd persons, the plural forms directly derive from the singular forms by the addition of the plural *in*:

- (5:1) *mi'* 'he' → *mi'-in* 'they, M'
(5:2) *mö'* 'she' → *mö'-in* 'they, F'

The second person is more idiosyncratic, even if *in* appears and the relationship between the singular form and the plural form is more or less apparent:¹⁰⁹

(5:3) *mi* ‘you, SG’ → *mī’in* ‘you, P’

The first person pronouns differ in the singular and plural. The forms are suppletive:

(5:4) *yäe* ‘I’ → *tsin* ‘we’

The form *tsin* is used both for inclusive and exclusive forms of the 1st person plural. Consequently, the distinction between inclusive and exclusive 1st plural forms that is found with verbs is not reflected in the pronominal system.

Returning to 3rd person plural pronouns, these are often marked by another *in* ‘plural’ clitic: *mi’in in* (M) and *mō’in in* (F). These forms refer to a large plural number (see also section 4.2.1.):

(5:5) *Me'-we-ki jäe'mä mi'-in-in jäe'-yë'*
 so-DR-CO DM 3M-P-P smell-VY-3F.O
jeye'-in, rai's-e- jeb-e- jike-in, me'-ki
 grandmother-P want-VI-3F.O eat-VI-3F.O PS-P so-CO
mö' fäk-a-ksi- äwä'.
 3F.SG angry-VI-3P.O-F.S child
 ‘So they had smelled their grandmother and wanted to eat her,
 but she was angry at her children.’ STE/EC

The forms of the personal pronouns have other functions as well. They can act as determiners in the noun phrase (4.7.)¹¹⁰, as possession markers cliticized to nouns (5.3.) and as anaphoric clitics on the verb. The latter will be treated below. Apart from these uses, personal pronouns derived by local relations frequently act as place adverbs (6.4.1.1.).¹¹¹

Anaphoric clitics are 1st and sometimes also 2nd person personal pronouns that are cliticized to the verb. In the following example, *tsin* ‘we’ is cliticized to the verb *bae'i-* ‘live’:¹¹²

(5:6) *Me'-khä jäe'mä tsin wën-jö-i-yä' Karasco-ya'*
 so-well DM 1P move-INS-M.S-AD Carasco.E-AD
mi'-ya' bae'-i-tsin.
 3M-AD live-VI.M.S-1P

‘Therefore, when we came to Carasco, we stayed there.’

COE/SM

The cliticized form of 2nd person singular pronouns is often reduced to *-m* instead of *-mi*:¹¹³

- (5:7) *Jäen’-ki-we am aj ko-ya-ki-m?*
 how-CO-DR QN yet clean.chaco-VY-AN.M.S-2SG.s
 ‘How much have you cleaned (of the chaco)?’ STE/VJ

These personal pronouns that are cliticized to the verb can both function as subject or object. This kind of cliticization is a method of emphasis, to mention an important participant again. In the following example, the transitive subject is cliticized to the verb. In this example, the quotative verb *yi-* ‘say’ appears, to which also 3rd persons can appear cliticized:

- (5:8) *Ye’-mi’ phen ...*
 say-3F.O-3M.SG woman
 ‘He says to his wife...’ STE/EC

In the following example, the object personal pronoun is cliticized to the verb. Here the emphasis is on the object, while the person of the subject is of minor importance and can only be deduced from the cross-reference ending in the verb:

- (5:9) *Me’-ki jike ka-n-yäe i-we Rurre-ya’ Beni-we.*
 so-CO PS bring-1O-1SGM-DR Rurre-AD Beni-DR
 ‘So I was brought down to Rurre in the Beni.’ STE/JH

5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

There are two demonstrative pronouns: *iits* (M) and *öi* (F). While place adverbs have different forms for the distance of the element involved (6.4.1.1.), such distinctions do not exist for demonstrative pronouns. As is the case with the personal pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns may be used for inanimates and animates. Demonstrative pronouns are also frequently used as determiners, as are 3rd person pronouns, cf. (4.7.)

The demonstrative pronouns are not only used for direct reference to the context of the speakers, but can also abstractly refer to people or things not apparent in the situation. Reference by the demonstrative pronoun provides a definite meaning, denoting a further closeness, either in space or in the discourse situation. Among others, this includes things or persons mentioned before:

- (5:10) *Khin' öi teja...*
 now DE.F tile.E
 'And now this tile...' COE/EC

In the above example the question is about something the speaker knows from the context of the conversation. He refers to this with the demonstrative pronoun. The following example shows reference within the context. In this case the reference is cataphoric 'I will tell you **this**':

- (5:11) *Jibi'-dyaj-khä iits jike yäe-rä' contar-ye-ye*
 sure-QY-well DE.M PS 1SG-IR tell.E-VY-1SG/2SG
awer un cacho.
 let's.see.E a.joke.E
 'Surely I will tell you this, let's see, a joke.' COE/EC

In the following example, the demonstrative pronoun is used to refer to an element in the same place as the speaker:

- (5:12) *Jam yäe rai's-e' ka-i' öi käedäej.*
 NG 1SG want-VI-3F.O bring-3F.O DE.F baby
 'I do not want to bring this baby.' STE/EC

While the demonstrative pronouns can be used to refer to well-known elements in the context, as well as visible or audible elements, they cannot be used to refer to smells. In this case, personal pronouns are used; thus, the demonstrative pronoun *öi* would not be possible in the following example:¹¹⁴

- (5:13) *Mö' pho-ke-dye' fer.*
 3F.SG smell-VK-NO(F) strong
 'This smell is strong.' ELE/JH

5.3. Possessive pronouns

There are two kinds of pronominal markers of possession, apart from the structure that is marked by the linker (4.1.1. and 4.8.): 1. possessive pronouns, which are personal pronouns marked by the linker, and 2. personal pronouns cliticized to the possessum.

There is no difference between alienable and inalienable possession (however, see 4.3.3.).

5.3.1. Personal pronouns marked by the linker

One type of possessive pronoun consists of personal pronouns marked by the linker (4.8.). The linker shows gender agreement with the possessum. Since personal pronouns have different gender forms in the 3rd person, there are two kinds of gender agreement in these possessive pronouns (5:16) and (5:17). While the personal pronoun-part of the possessive pronouns agrees with the possessor in person, number and in some cases gender, the linker agrees in gender with the possessum:

- (5:14) *yäe-si'* *phen*
 1SG-L.F woman(F)
 'my wife' ELE/JH
- (5:15) *yäe-tyi'* *äwä'*¹¹⁵
 1SG-L.M child(M)
 'my son' ELE/JH
- (5:16) *mi'-si'* *äwä'*
 3M.SG-L.Fchild(F)
 'his daughter' ELE/JH
- (5:17) *mi'-tyi'* *äwä'*
 3M.SG-L.M child(M)
 'his son' ELE/JH

Moreover, the co-referential pronoun *khäei'* 'own' (5.6.1.) has a possessive form that consists of the pronouns and the linker:

- (5:18) *khäei'-sī' äwä'*
 RF-L.F child(F)
 'his, her, my, your, our, etc. own female child' ELE/CT
- (5:19) *khäei'-tyi' äwä'*
 RF-L.M child(M)
 'his, her, my, your, our, etc. own male child' ELE/CT

Possessive pronouns can be marked by further nominal relation markers:

- (5:20) *bae'-e-dye'-we-tsin khäei'-sī'-wë Köwë'dö-wë*
 live-VI-NO(F)-DR-1P RF-L.F-DR Covendo-DR
 'in our own village, in Covendo' ELE/JH
- (5:21) *khäei'-sī'-chhë' aka'*
 RF-L.F-SU house(F)
 'on our house' ELE/JH

5.3.2. *Possession clitics*

Apart from the way of expressing possession by means of possessive pronouns, Mosestén has another possessive structure, cliticizing personal pronouns to the possessum. Most frequently, the personal pronoun that is cliticized to the possessum agrees in person, number and gender with the possessor:

- (5:22) *Mö'-yä' mö'-khan saludo ji-te-ban-'*
 3F-AD 3F-IN greeting.E send-VD.DT-again-F.S
Casiana-dyes Adan-dyes jö'dyë'yä' phen'-mi'
 Casiana-B.s Adan-B.s and woman-3M.SG
Arturo yi- mö'-chhë' san-a-k-dye' öi-si'.
 Arturo say-F.S 3F-SU write-VI-MI-NO DE.F-L.F
 'From there she sent greetings for Casiana, Adan and his wife and Arturo; it says on the postcard from her.' COE/JH

Most speakers of Mosestén metalinguistically judge structures in which the cliticized personal pronoun agrees with the possessor to be the only correct ones. However, many people are unaware of using pronouns

cliticized to the possessum that agree with the possessum instead, i.e. their real usage of these forms contradicts their grammaticality judgments (4.3.3.):

- (5:23) *Jam yäe chhii-yä-ksi waemtyi'-mi'-in.*
 NG 1SG know-VY-3P.O.M.S husband(M)-3M-P
 'I don't know their husbands.' ELE/AT

In this example, the speaker refers to the women's husband, while the possessive clitic on the possessum *waemtyi'* 'husband' agrees in the masculine gender with this possessum instead of appearing in the feminine gender, agreeing with the possessor 'women'.

The possessive person clitics can also be shortened. This occurs especially in the 3rd person.¹¹⁶ In this way, the feminine and masculine gender forms are undistinguishable:

- (5:24) *Wiyädye'-nä-m' jae'nä'-tyi'am mi'?*
 last.name-FO-3.SGs where-L.MQN 3M.SG
 'And his last name, where is he from?' COE/JH

Returning to the two different ways of marking possessive constructions, there are examples where both types of marking, namely personal pronouns marked by the linker as well as possessive clitics, appear in the same construction:

- (5:25) *Atsi-jo-i-in khäei' yäe-si-khan aka'-we-yäe.*
 go.M.S-INS-M.S-P RF 1SG-L.F-IN house-DR-1SG
 'They come themselves into my house.' STE/JH

In these constructions, where both possessive structures appear, the cliticized personal pronoun can be cliticized to the possessor. It appears with the linker, and agreement is with the possessor:

- (5:26) *Waj-raej aj phe-i-wa'-ke'-in familia-tom*
 among-all yet talk-VI-PR-TR-3F.O-P family.E-COM
mi'-si'-mi' jike aj me'.
 3M.SG-L.F-3M.SG PS yet so
 'All were talking with his family about her.' STE/EC

5.4. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns (for the structure of questions, see section 12.3.) constitute one form class with indefinite pronouns (section 5.5.), negation quantifiers (section 10.5.), and some adverbial subordination markers (section 13.5.). A couple of interrogative pronouns can also be used as relative clause markers (13.3.5.). I will discuss examples of the different functions of interrogative pronouns with *jäen'* below.

Many interrogative pronouns are based on the root *jäen'* or *jäe-*. There is no synchronic analysis that can explain how these interrogative pronouns have developed. However, the historical connection becomes evident given the similarity of these forms. Often, it is clear which morphemes these pronouns are composed of, and the meanings are usually derived from the separate meanings of the morphemes. In the sections below, I will discuss the structure of these pronouns.

A number of forms based on *jäe-* mark rhetorical questions, but due to similarity in their form to other interrogative pronouns, I will discuss them here as well.

5.4.1. *jäen'*

The interrogative pronoun *jäen'* has the meaning of ‘how’, ‘what’.¹¹⁷ In the following example, it is used together with the modal question particle *am* (12.3.1., 12.3.1.2.):

- (5:27) *Ya jäen' am mö' jäe'mä ñej-si'*
 EX how QN 3F.SG DM deer-L.F
phe-ya-k-dye'?
 talk-VY-MI-NO
 ‘Well, how was the story of the deer?’ COE/JH

This interrogative pronoun is frequently verbalized by *ye* (8.3.2.), resulting in the meaning ‘what will (you) do’:

- (5:28) *Wën-chhi-yä'-rä' jäen'-yë-te-dyash-ra' mi'in?*
 move-DC.M.S-AD-IR how-VY-3M.O-QI-IR 2P
 ‘When he comes, what will you do to him?’ WTE/JH

In the present section, I will present an overview of the other functions of interrogative pronouns, using *jäen'* as an example. It can be used as an indefinite pronoun (5.5.), a negative quantifier (10.5.) and adverbial subordination marker (13.5.). The following example shows the use of *jäen'* as **an indefinite pronoun**:

- (5:29) *Chhae-te'-ra' jam jiri-s-khan mayedye'*
 know-VI.DT-3F.O-IR NG one-F-IN day
tyar-i-'-mi jäen'-khäei' yäe ji-ya'
 sad-VI-F.S-2SG how-RF 1SG pass.M.S-AD
 '(I) know that you will be sad one day, all the things that can
 happen to me.' STE/EC

Jäen' can also be used as a **negative quantifier** with different meanings (10.5.). In the following example, *jäen'* is verbalized (8.3.3.) and the combination expresses 'nothing':

- (5:30) *Jam katyi'-khä jäen'-te-in.*
 NG EH-well how-VD.3M.O-P
 'They did not do anything to him.' STE/VJ

Finally, *jäen'* can be used as a **subordination marker** (13.5.3.):

- (5:31) *Yi-in ke-ra' jäe'mä ti-ban- kiwi-in*
 say.M.S-P that.E-IR DM bring-again-3F.O again-P
paj-ki-ra' tsin chhü jäen'jäe'mä san-a-k.
 for-CO-IR 1P know.VI.M.S how DM write-VI-PP
 'They said that they would bring it (the language material)
 back again, so that we know how it is written.' STE/CT

5.4.2. *jäen'tyi'* / *jäen'si'*

The interrogative pronoun *jäen'tyi'* (M) and *jäen'si'* (F) 'how many' consists of the interrogative pronoun *jäen'* and the linker *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F).¹¹⁸ Several other interrogative pronouns also mean 'how many', among others *jäen'tom* (5.4.3.) and *jäen'chhë'* (5.4.4.). *Jäen'-L* differs

from the others in that it is mainly used in direct questions about the quantity of something:

- (5:32) *Jäen'-sī' am ora jae'mä bojw-e-dye'?*
 how-L.F QN hour.E(F) DM go.up-VI-NO
 'How many hours is the ascent?' COE/JH

Gender agreement in these interrogative pronouns is with the element queried. In the above example, this is *ora* 'hour'.

This interrogative pronoun can be combined with a number of other morphemes, resulting in different meanings. The form *jäen'sisi'*, which appears with a reduplicated linker form, has the meaning 'from where':

- (5:33) *Mö' mömö' phen jäen' jäen'-sī-sī'*
 3F.SG only.F woman how how-L.F-RD
yok-si'-ki yata' mö' phen?
 other-L.F-CO PT 3F.SG woman
 'And this woman, from where is this other woman?' COE/JH

Another form, *jäen'tyi'ki*, appears to consist of *jäen'-L* and the contrastive marker *-ki* (13.2.1.). However, this form is composed of the interrogative pronoun *jäen'*, followed by the modality marker *-tyi'* (11.2.7.) and the clitic *-ki*. The meaning of this form is 'how (he) might be':

- (5:34) *Jibi'-dyera' mi'-we jij-ka-i taen'-ye-k-te*
 in.vain-MO 3M-DR go-DK-M.S see-VY-DK-3M.O
wojityi'-yäe khäei'-tyi' jäen'-tyi'-ki karij-tya-ki.
 brother-1SG RF-L.M how-L.M-CO hard-VD-AN.M.S
 'It might be in vain that I go there to see my own brother, how he might be working.' COE/MW

5.4.3. *jäen'tom*

The interrogative pronoun *jäen'tom* is the derivation of *jäen'*, 'how' with the comitative relation marker *-tom* (4.1.2.). It means 'how many'

and is often used in rhetorical questions, meaning something like ‘how many were they, I do not remember’:¹¹⁹

- (5:35) *Raej näk-ye-tye-’* *äwä’-in tyäkä’-tyi’ tshis-in*
 all grab-VY-APD-3F.O child-P EM-MO four-P
o chhibin-in o jäen’-tom-rä’ äwä’-mö’?
 or.E three-P or.E how-COM-IR child-3F.SG
 ‘They grabbed all the children, they are four or three or how many children did she have?’ STE/EC

5.4.4. *jäen’chhë’*

Jäen’ ‘how’ can be added to the superessive relation marker *-chhe’* ‘on’ (section 4.1.8.). The meaning of *jäen’chhë’* is ‘how much’, usually relating to money (5:36) and ‘how many’, often in relation to age (5:37). Thus, the meanings of the forms are not simply compositional:

- (5:36) *Jäen’-chhë’-rä’ mi bi-jo-i karij-tya-k-dye’-khan?*
 how-SU-IR 2SG win-VJ-M.S hard-VD-AN-NO-IN
 ‘How much will you earn at work?’ ELE/RC
- (5:37) *Jäen’-chhë’-rä’ jike-win nanatyi’ yäe.*
 now-SU-IR PS-C boy 1SG
 ‘How old (was I), I was just a boy.’ COE/VC

5.4.5. *jäen’ki’*

The interrogative pronoun *jäen’ki’* ‘what size’, ‘how much’ consists of *jäen’* ‘how’ and the marker *-ki’* ‘size’. The meaning can be ‘how much’ or ‘what size’, depending on the context, as well as on additional suffixes. First an example where it means ‘how much’:

- (5:38) *Jiri-tyi’ jäen’-ki’-dyash-ra’ mi’ soñi’-tsa’*
 one-L.M how-size-QI-IR 3M.SG man-FR
ñi’-ti.
 put-VD.RE.M.S

‘Alone, but how much courage could he have (lit.: how much courage could he put himself into).’ STE/JH

In the following example, this interrogative pronoun is followed by the downriver relation marker *-we*, resulting in the meaning ‘what size’:

- (5:39) *Jäen'-ki'-we-dyash-ra' mö' chhae'-i-'-ra'*
 how-size-DR-QI-IR 3F.SG mouth-VI-F.S-IR
me'-ki'-ra'-ki wë-të-n'-wëtën'-rä'
 so-size-IR-CO chew-VT-PR-RD-IR
 ‘What size must her mouth have been, since she would chew
 piece by piece.’ STE/VJ

5.4.6. *jäen'dye'*

The interrogative pronoun *jäen'dye'* ‘when’ consists of *jäen'* and the nominalizer *-dye'*. The latter has several meanings, one of which is ‘time’ (section 4.4.1.2.). The meaning of ‘when’ can both relate to something that happened in the past (5:40) as well as refer to something in the future (5:41):

- (5:40) *Jäen'-dye'-dyash ats-i mi?*
 how-NO-QI come.M.S-VI 2SG
 ‘When have you come?’ ELE/JH

When the potential marker *-ra'* (11.2.1.) is added, the meaning becomes ‘in the future’:

- (5:41) *Jäen'-dye'-dyash-ra' ats-i mi?*
 how-NO-QI-IR come.M.S-VI 2SG
 ‘When will you come?’ ELE/JH

5.4.7. *jäen'jä'*

The interrogative pronoun *jäen'jä'* is used in modality-clauses to indicate that the outcome is not clear. It is often used in rhetorical

questions about things in the future, meaning ‘how will it be’ or ‘let’s see whether’. It consists of *jäen*’, ‘how’ and the bound morpheme *-ja*’ ‘would be’:

- (5:42) ***Jäen’-jä’-rü’*** *yäe nöjnöj dyak-han-’*
 how-let’s.see-IR 1SG tomorrow find-VI.again-3F.O
kirjka-yäe.
 book-1SG
 ‘Let’s see whether I find my book tomorrow.’ ELE/JH

5.4.8. *jäen’äkha*

Being almost similar in meaning to *jäen’jä*’ (5.4.7.), the interrogative pronoun *jäen’äkha* expresses ‘how might it be’. This pronoun also consists of *jäen* ‘how’ and a bound morpheme *-akha* ‘might be’:

- (5:43) ***Jäen’-äkha-in*** *si-ra’ me’-ji-’-ya’?*
 how-might.be-P if.E-IR so-pass-F.S-AD
 ‘How might it be, if it turns out like this?’ STE/CT

5.4.9. *jäe’ñi’tyi*’ / *jäe’ñi’si*’

The interrogative pronoun *jäe’ñi’tyi*’ (M) / *jäe’ñi’si*’ (F) ‘which (one is it)’ refers to a selection from of a larger number of elements. It consists of the form *jäe’ñi-*, followed by the linker *-tyi*’ (M) / *-si*’ (F):

- (5:44) *Aj mi-min näj-të* ***jäe’ñi’-tyi’*** *am-ki-mi*
 yet 2SG-AS see-VD.3M.O which-L.M QN-CO-2SG
ubikar-ye-tye’ Illampo o Illimani?
 find.out-VY-3F.O Illampo or.E Illimani
 ‘Also you have seen it, and which one have you seen, Illampo or Illimani?’ COE/EC

5.4.10. *jäetäej*

Jäetaej is used only in connection with verbs expressing ‘say’ or ‘speak’. It means ‘sound’ or ‘something (said)’. This form contains *jäe-* at the beginning of the root. It is not transparent how the meaning of this pronoun is derived, at least synchronically:

- (5:45) *Jäetäej-yi-dyash-ra’ mi?*
 make.noise-VY.M.S-QI-IR 2SG
 ‘What would you say?’ ELE/JH

In texts, *jäetäej* can be used with a slightly derived meaning, asking what a story ‘says’:

- (5:46) *Jäetäej-yi’-dyash phe-ya-k-dye’-mö’?*
 make.noise-VY.M.S-F.S-QI talk-VY-MI-NO-3F.SG
 ‘How is her story?’ COE/JH

5.4.11. *jäe’nä’*

Jäe’nä’ means ‘where’ and can be used to ask about locality. Its internal structure is synchronically unclear:

- (5:47) *Tse’-nä-ki-m’ jäe’nä’*
 mother-FO-CO-3M.SG.s where
abi-kimi’-si’-mi’?
 QX-CO 3M.SG-L.M-3M.SG
 ‘And his mother, where was his mother?’ COE/JH

It can also be used to express movement to a place:

- (5:48) *Jäe’nä’ am-ki je-k-han-in?*
 where QN-CO take-DK-again.M.S-P
 ‘Where did they go to get it?’ COE/EC

‘From where’ is often expressed in combination with the linker: *jäe’nä’tyi’* (see also the form *jäen’sisi’* in section 5.4.2.):

- (5:49) *Me' yäe-tyäkä' jae'mä ködy-ä-ksi jae'nä-tyi'*
 so 1SG-EM DM beg-VI-3P.O.M.S where-L.M
ats-i-in.
 come.M.S-VI-P
 'So I also asked where they come from.' COE/JH

The form *jäe'nä'dye'* can express 'from where' or can also be used with derived meanings¹²⁰. This form consists of the interrogative pronoun *jäe'nä'* and the nominalization marker *dye'*. One meaning of the latter is 'place' (4.4.1.3.):

- (5:50) *Jäe'nä'-dye' yäe?*
 where-NO 1SG
 'From where (should) I be?' STE/VJ

5.4.12. tyi

The noun *tyi* 'person' can also act as an interrogative pronoun, meaning 'who':¹²¹

- (5:51) *Tyi abi-kishäe'ä-i o'yi?*
 person QX-CO rob-VI.M.Syucca
 'Who might rob the yucca?' STE/EC

5.4.13. jedye'

The noun *jedye'* 'thing' is used as an interrogative pronoun meaning 'what' (5:52) and 'why' (5:53):

- (5:52) *Titsäejtsäe' jedye'-dyash?*
 titsäejtsäe' thing-QI
 'What is *titsäejtsäe'*?' COE/JH

In the uses of 'why', 'what for', *jedye'* is often verbalized:

- (5:53) **Jedye-i** *am mi moch jïj-ka-i?*
 thing-VI.M.S QN 2SG far go-DK-M.S
 ‘Why do you go far (away)?’ ELE/JH

Jedye’ can be derived by the benefactive marker (4.1.4.), meaning ‘for what’. To this form, another *-dye*’ can be added, resulting in the meaning ‘without any motive’:¹²²

- (5:54) *Jam yäe rai’s-e-’ ka-i’ öi käedäej*
 NG 1SG want-VI-3F.O bring-3F.O DE.F baby
jedye-dye-si’-dye’-ki-ra’ ka-ti-’?
 thing-B-L.F-NO-CO-IR bring-1P.S-F.O
 ‘I do not want to bring this baby, why should we bring it?’
 STE/EC

5.5. Indefinite pronouns

Most indefinite pronouns are based on interrogative pronouns. This means that their form is the same as the form of interrogative pronouns, combined with a special marking of indefiniteness. This indefinite marker is the pronoun *khäei*’, which is also used for reference tracking (5.6.1.). Other indefinite pronouns do not appear with the indefinite marking by *khäei*’. These structures will be discussed separately in the following sections.

5.5.1. Indefinite pronouns with *khäei*’

Most indefinite pronouns are composed of an interrogative pronoun (5.4.) and the indefinite marker *khäei*’, cf. table 15.¹²³

The following two examples show the use of the indefinite pronouns *jäe’nä’ khäei*’ ‘wherever’ and *jedye’ khäei*’ ‘whatever’:

- (5:55) **Jäe’nä’ khäei’** *jïj-ka-i-ya’ waemtyi’-mo-in...*
 where RF go-DK-M.S-AD husband-3F-P
 ‘When their husbands go to whatever places ...’ (i.e. ‘when their husbands are not at home’) STE/VJ

- (5:56) *Jaem'-min-si'-nä-wi'-rä' i-we ñäe'-tye- '-in colegio*
 good-AS-L.F-FO-MN-IR M-DR put-VD-3F.O-P school.E
jedye' khäei'
 thing RF
 'At least they should have built a school here, whatever thing.'
 COE/JH

Table 15: Indefinite pronouns based on interrogative pronouns

<i>jäen' khäei'</i>	however, in whatever way
<i>jäen' chhë' khäei'</i>	however much
<i>jäen' tom khäei'</i>	however many
<i>jäen' si' / jäen' tyi' khäei'</i>	however many/ much
<i>jäen' ki' khäei'</i>	whatever size/ time relation
<i>jäen' dye' khäei'</i>	however much it would be
<i>jäen' äkha khäei'</i>	however it might be
<i>jae' ñi' tyi' / jae' ñi' si' khäei'</i>	whichever of these
<i>jäe' nä' khäei'</i>	wherever
<i>tyi khäei'</i>	whoever
<i>jedye' khäei'</i>	whatever

In the following example, the indefinite pronoun is verbalized. The verbalization appears on the interrogative pronoun part of the indefinite pronoun, while *khäei'* follows the construction:

- (5:57) *Jäen'-yë-wä khäei' jedye' mi!*
 how-VY-IMT.2SG RF thing 2SG
 'Do whatever!' ELE/JH

5.5.2. Indefinite pronouns without *khäei'*

There are also a number of indefinite pronouns composed in another way than by an interrogative pronoun and *khäei'*. The only one I will discuss here is the interrogative pronoun *jäen'* used on its own with an indefinite meaning:

- (5:58) *Me'-ki'-min-tyi'-ra'-in jäen'-ki'-min-ra'-in chhibin-nä*
 so-size-AS-L.M-IR-P how-size-AS-IR-P three-FO

khötei-in o tshis äwä'-mī', waj soñi-tyi'.
 MO.M-P or.E four child-3M.SG all man-L.M
 'Of this size they are – whatever size that might be – and they
 are three or four children, all male.' STE/EC

In this example, *jäen'* express an uncertainty about the size of the children. It is formed as a rhetorical question expressing indefiniteness: 'whatever size that might be'.

5.6. Reference tracking pronouns

Under the heading of reference tracking pronouns, I will treat pronouns used to refer to 'own' or 'same reference', reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronouns and other pronouns used to establish same or different reference in texts.

5.6.1. Co-referential pronoun *khäei'*

Apart from the indefinite pronoun-uses (5.5.1), the co-referential pronoun *khäei'* can be used in various other ways. All other uses of *khäei'* involve some kind of reference to an antecedent in the context. The reference can be to an antecedent within the same phrase, in the clause or over clause boundaries.

In the following example the antecedent of *khäei'* is in the same noun phrase, and the *khäei'* acts as an emphatic pronoun, meaning 'same', 'oneself':

(5:59) *Yä-ksi-' katyi'-tsa' mö' khäei' dyaba...*
 say-3P.O-F.S EH-FR 3F.SG RF peanut
 'The peanut herself says to them...' COE/VJ

The particle *mimi'* (M) / *mömö'* (F) 'only' supports the meaning 'he himself' or 'he alone', when added to *khäei'*:

- (5:60) *Tsa' khä khäei'-rä' mimi' mi' ro'-ya-ki.*
 FR well RF-IR only.M 3M.SG dance-VY-AN.M.S
 'But only he himself did dance.' COE/SM

In the clause, *khäei'* marks co-reference to another participant in the context. This co-reference is not formalized in the language, i.e. all kinds of antecedents are possible and reference is usually to the topic of the context. Furthermore, *khäei'* is optional in all the reference tracking areas, as it can be replaced by a personal pronoun, or be left out. There are no different gender, person or number forms of *khäei'*. The following example shows that the topic of the preceding clause 'father' is taken up in the following clause by the co-referential pronoun *khäei'*:

- (5:61) *Jam-dyej jaem'-yi jen'-mö', jäen'-ish-ki-ra' yäe*
 NG-CON good-VY.M.S father-3F.SG how-then-CO-IR 1SG
ka-i'?
 bring-3F.O
 'Her father is not good, why should I bring her (the baby)?'
 STE/EC

- (5:62) *Khäei'-dyä rä' ja-ji-sh-in paj.*
 RF-MO PD-bring-DS-RE.M.S for
 'She should be brought (back) by him.' STE/EC

The following elicitation example shows that common sense usually resolves the question of which element *khäei'* is co-referential to. Most consultants point out Elena as co-referential, since it would be strange if Maria cooked and left the house to visit somebody at the same time:

- (5:63) *Maria sob-e' Elena, yodye' khäei'*
 Maria visit-VI-3F.O Elena when RF
jejmi-ti-'-ya' saeks-e-dye'.
 cook.VI-RE-F.S-AD eat-VI-NO
 'Maria visits Elena when she is cooking food.' ELE/CT

In an ambiguous situation, co-reference to the topic is marked by *khäei'*, while co-reference to a non-topic is marked by the demonstrative pronouns *iits* (M) and *öi* (F). The following examples show possessive structures in which these pronominal forms occur. In possessive forms,

khäei' expresses the co-reference of the possessor to a participant in the context:

(5:64) *Maria sob-e-' Elena y khäei'-si' äwä'-in*
 Maria visit-VI-3F.O Elena and.ERF-L.F child-P
khösh-än-'-in.
 sleep-VI.again-F.S-P
 'Maria visits Elena and her (Maria's) children are sleeping.'
 ELE/CT

(5:65) *Maria sob-e-' Elena y öi-si' äwä'-in*
 Maria visit-VI-3F.O Elena and.EDE.F-L.F child-P
khösh-än-'-in.
 sleep-VI.again-F.S-P
 'Maria visits Elena and her (Elena's) children are sleeping.'
 ELE/CT

The translations I give here are translations without reference to a particular context. In different contexts, other assignments of co-reference would be possible.

Sometimes the reference of *khäei'* is default to the group of Mosetenes. *Khäei'si' mik* 'our language' is usually a fixed expression and is used in all kinds of contexts (compare with *tsinsisi'*, 4.8.12.1.):

(5:66) *Jam-tyi-si' culpa khäei'-si'-tsin.*
 NG-person-L.F mistake.E RF-L.F-1P
 'It isn't the mistake of anybody, it is ours (of the Mosetenes).'
 COE/SM

Furthermore, *khäei'* can optionally be used as a reflexive pronoun (see the next section).

5.6.2. *Reflexive pronoun*

Usually, reflexives are expressed by a special cross-reference ending in the verb:¹²⁴

- (5:67) *Alfredo wae-ti.*
 Alfredo hit-VI.RE.M.S
 ‘Alfredo hit himself.’ ELE/CT

To strengthen the reflexive, the form *khäei’* can be added to this structure in all persons:

- (5:68) *Alfredo khäei’ wae-ti.*
 Alfredo RF hit-VI.RE.M.S
 ‘Alfredo hit himself.’ ELE/CT

The following example shows the close relation between the reflexive form and the reference tracking pronoun: the verb is reflexive, and *khäei’* is used to express both reflexiveness, as well as the reference to the ‘same’ people, as opposed to the priest mentioned before:

- (5:69) *Tyash-i tata jo-ye-te-in.*
 front-VI.M.S fatherserve-VY-3M.O-P
 ‘First they serve (it to) the priest.’ WTE/CT
- (5:70) *Khin’-dyem’ khäei’-dye-si’ jo-yi-ti-in.*
 now-still RF-B-L.F serve-VY-RE.M.S-P
 ‘Finally they serve themselves.’ WTE/CT

The pronoun *khäei’* can also be used in oblique structures, such as the benefactive ‘for myself’. Again, this is possible in all persons:

- (5:71) *Ya’-i-yäe jiri-s kirjka khäei’-dye-si’-yäe.*
 buy-VI.M.S-1SG one-F book RF-B-L.F-1SG
 ‘I buy a book for myself.’ ELE/CT

5.6.3. Reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal pronouns in Mosestén are based on the marker *waj* ‘among’. One form that is frequently used is *wajmej*, where *waj* occurs together with the bound morpheme *-mej*.¹²⁵ A reciprocal relation is expressed by inflecting the verb in the reflexive (see also 5.6.2. and 8.1.3.), and having the reciprocal pronoun elsewhere in the clause:

- (5:72) *Ji'-chhae-yi-ti-kha' wajmej.*
 CA-know-VY-RE-1PI.S each.other
 'We learn (from) each other.' ELE/CT

Another form is *wajkawin*, based on the marker *waj* and the bound morpheme *-kawin*, expressing the same as *wajmej* above¹²⁶:

- (5:73) *Wajkawin dyis-a-k-ti-'-in.*
 each.other laugh-VI-AN-RE-F.S-P
 'They laugh at each other.' WTE/LM

5.6.4. *Non-coreferential pronoun*

The non-coreferential pronoun *yok-* 'other' can be used as a modifier in the noun phrase, in which case it is marked by the linker, or as a place adverb, marked by a nominal relation marker.

First, I will look at the use of this marker as a modifier in the noun phrase. It is used to refer to a non-coreferential participant or a non-topic in the context. Gender agreement is with the head of the noun phrase:

- (5:74) *Aj yok-si' phe-ya-k-dye'.*
 yet other-L.F speak-VY-MI-NO(F)
 'That is already another story.' STE/JH
- (5:75) *Mi' khi'jo-i yok-tyi' jaem' jam a'chi'.*
 3M.SG then-M other-L.M good NG ugly
 'The other one then was good, he was not ugly.' WTE/CT

This pronoun often appears with the relation marker of the associative relation: *-min-*, referring to 'among the others, 'of the others', etc. In the same way, other modifiers in the noun phrase are marked in the plural:

- (5:76) *Jaem'-tyi' nanatyi' chhi-dyai' rai's-e-te-in*
 good-L.M boy big-many want-VI-3M.O-P
yok-min-tyi' nanatyi'-in.
 other-AS-L.M boy-P

‘He was a good boy, many of the other boys liked him.’

WTE/CT

Used as a place adverb with nominal relation markers, *yok-* appears without the linker:

- (5:77) *Dyiph yok-we khötei j̄j-ka-i dyiph khötei*
 then other-DR MO.M go-DK-M.S then MO.M
o’yi-chhe’ j̄j-ka-i.
yucca-SU go-DK-M.S
 ‘Then he went in the other (direction), then he must have gone
 to the yucca field.’ STE/EC

5.6.5. *-yekhiñi-* ‘same’

The marker *-yekhiñi-* ‘same’ is added to pronouns to mark that these are co-referent with another participant in the context. Formally, this affix is verbalizing, having masculine (*-yekhiñi*) and feminine (*-yekhiñi*) cross-reference endings. The internal construction of this marker is unclear, though the first part may be the verbalizer *-ye-*.

In the following example, *-yekhiñi-* is added to the personal pronoun *mö*, referring to the same year:

- (5:78) *Mä’-yëkhiñi-’ yomodye’ si-ti-’ j̄äe’mä OPIM.*
 3F.SG-same-F.S year enter-VT-F.S DM OPIM
 ‘In the same year came the OPIM.’¹²⁷ STE/JH

In the following example, *mi’inyekhiñi* expresses ‘they themselves’, referring back to *mi’in* ‘they’:

- (5:79) *Jëñë khin’ mi’-in-nä-wi’-ra’-khä mi’-khan*
 like now 3M-P-FO-MN-IR-well 3M-IN
j̄i’-chhü-yä-ksi mi’-in-yekhiñi j̄ëñë
 CA-know-VY-3P.O.M.S 3M-P-same.M.S like
yok-si’-we bae’-e-dye’.
 other-L.F-DR live-VI-NO

‘Like now they also should be in there to teach, they themselves like in other villages.’ COE/JH

The meaning of ‘same’ can also be strengthened by suffixing *-yekhiñi-* to the co-referential pronoun *khäei*’ (5.6.1.):

- (5:80) *Pero mö’ ayuda yäe-dye-si’ enbano khäki*
 but.E 3F.SG help.E 1SG-B-L.F in.vain.E because
khäei’-yekhiñi i-we-tyi’ mintyi’-in jam-nä-ki
 RF-same.M.S M-DR-L.M man-P NG-FO-CO
kaets ö-khan jibi’-nä-ki mi’ kerecha i-we
 equal F-IN in.vain-FO-CO 3M.SG money M-DR
jij-ti.
 go-DT.M.S
 ‘But this help is in vain, in my opinion, because they are not equal to the people here, just in vain this money comes here.’
 COE/EC

5.7. Other proforms

In this section I want to discuss other proforms. These are the proform *jäe’mä* and the pro-verb *jaem’tye-*.

5.7.1. The proform *jäe’mä*

Jäe’mä can be used as a filler in discourse in cases where the speaker does not know what to say.¹²⁸ It also has another, slightly similar function as a proform for nouns, adverbs, adjectives and non-finite verb-forms. This proform appears in cases where the speaker is not sure about the content of the word he wants to express, while he knows the status of this word in the clause. In this way, derivational or inflectional marking can be added to *jäe’mä* to express the function of the replaced word in the clause.

In the following example, *jäe’mä* is used as a proform for a place adverb *iwe* ‘here’, the noun *aka* ‘house’ and the proper name *Ponilla*.

The relation marker of the benefactive relation that is used together with these antecedents also appears in the proform:

- (5:81) *Jäe'mä-dye-tyi' i-we-dye-tyi' jäe'mä aka'-dyes*
 DM-B-L.M M-DR-B-L.M DM house-B.s
Ponilla-dyes.
 Ponilla-B.s
 'For uh, for here, for the house, for Ponilla.' STE/MW

In the next example, the replaced word is the non-finite verbal stem *pheyak-* 'speak':

- (5:82) *Jäe'mä aj jäe'mä-dye-si' phe-ya-k-dye-si' jaem'.*
 DM yet DM-B-L.F talk-VY-AN-B-L.F well
 'Well, so for uh, for to speak well.' STE/CT

The proform *jäe'mä* can also appear with other relation markers. In this following example, *jäe'mä* replaces a noun marked inessive:

- (5:83) *Aj san-a-ki-ra' tsin mö'-khan jäe'mä-khan*
 yet write-VI-AN.M.S-IR 1P 3F-IN DM-IN
jëñë jäe'mä jäe'mä-khan makina-khan komputadora.
 like DM DM-IN machine.E-IN computer.E
 'Already we will write on that, on uh, like on uh, on the machine, the computer.' STE/JH

The proform *jäe'mä* cannot be followed by a verbal cross-reference ending or other verbal marking.

5.7.2. The pro-verb *jaem'tye-*

The pro-verb *jaem'tye-* 'do' (lit. 'good make') is often used instead of other, more specific verbs:

- (5:84) *Mö'-wë-rä' mö' phen mi'-tom soñi' mö'-wë*
 3F-DR-IR 3F.SG woman 3M.SG-COM man F-DR

khin' jedye' jaem'-tya-ki-'

now thing good-VD-AN-F.S

'There the woman will be with this man now doing things.'

STE/VJ

In this example, the pro-verb *jaem'tyaki'* is used to refer to a more specific meaning, in this case 'having a sexual relation', but which the speaker for some reason does not want to express.

Chapter 6

Adjectives and adverbs

There are different types of adjectives and adverbs in Mosetén. Some adjectival forms can act as manner adverbs, which is the reason why I treat these two structures under the same heading.

6.1. Adjectives

Adjectives form a separate word class in Mosetén. They have the following properties: age (*mäei* ‘young, new’, *phañej* ‘old’ and *phire* ‘old’), value (*jaem* ‘good’)¹²⁹, physical characteristics (*yaekaej* ‘hard’, etc.)¹³⁰, shape (*näkäts* ‘plain’, *daer* ‘big’, etc.), speed (*kawin* ‘fast’, *jejaem* ‘slow’, *fer* ‘strong, fast’, etc.), some colors (*phi* ‘green’, *piksi* ‘black’, *se* ‘obscure’)¹³¹ and some other characteristics (*ösh* ‘lazy’, *mibe* ‘lame’, *tyik* ‘deaf’, *yä* ‘raw’, *karij* ‘hard, difficult’).¹³² The class of adjectives is large, consisting of more than 50 items in the basic vocabulary. Nevertheless, many verbs convey similar notions. Hence, the value adjective *jaem* ‘good’ has the verbal counterpart *a’chi-* ‘bad’. Taste (*kīwiki-* ‘sweet’, *phāshī-* ‘bitter’, etc.) and human propensity (*majo-* ‘glad’, *fākho-* ‘angry’, etc.) are generally expressed by verbs. The concept of dimension (*mochchhe* ‘high’, *ökhänyä* ‘low’, *ichäeki-* ‘small’, etc.) is marked by place adverbs or verbs.

Elements serving as adjectives have the following traits in common:

1. In modifier position these elements are marked by the linker *-tyi* (M) and *-si* (F) (4.8.).
2. In predicative position, these adjectives appear without the linker.
3. Adjectival elements can act as manner adverbs in the absence of the linker.
4. Plurality is marked by *-min-*, which is the same morpheme as the associative relation marker with nouns (4.1.3.). This marking appears both when the adjective is in modifier position and when it acts as a predicate.

A number of other elements are marked by the linker when appearing in modifying position (see section 4.8. on the linker). The following examples show how different parts of speech can be used adjectivally. Example (6:1) below shows a “real” adjective, example (6:2) a stative verb and example (6:3) a noun. All these forms are marked by the linker, as they stand in modifying position:

- (6:1) *Tsin ya'-i* *iits* *kasko* *öi-dye-tyi'* *nanasi'*
 1P buy-VI.M.S DE.M canoe.E DE.F-B-L.M girl
jaem'-si'.
 good-L.F
 ‘We buy this canoe for that good girl.’ ELE/CT
- (6:2) *Tsin ya'-i* *iits* *kasko* *öi-dye-tyi'* *nanasi'*
 1P buy-VI.M.S DE.M canoe.E DE.F-B-L.M girl
ichäe-ke-si'.
 little-VK-L.F
 ‘We buy this canoe for that little girl.’ ELE/CT
- (6:3) *Mi'-si'* *äwä'* *chhibin* *pñen-si'* *chhi-chhibin*
 3M.SG-L.F child three woman-L.F also-three
soñi'-tyi'.
 man-L.M
 ‘He has three daughters and three sons.’ (lit.: ‘His children are three daughters and three sons.’) ELE/JH

These examples show that different parts of speech can be used as modifiers in the noun phrase when marked by the linker (treated in section 4.8.). The order of adjectives (modifiers) and head nouns is discussed in section 4.7.

In modifier position, all adjectives are marked by the linker, while in predicative position, they are only marked by the linker in secondary predication. Furthermore, manner adverbs derived from adjectives are not marked by the linker either. Table 16 summarizes the forms.

The different types of adjectival forms and their marking will be discussed in the sections below. I will start with attributively used adjectives, then I turn to predicatively used adjectives, followed by a section on plural marking of adjectives. Finally, I will discuss manner adverbs deriving from adjectives.

Table 16: The use and marking of adjectives

	Marked by linker
Adjective used attributively	yes
Adjective in secondary predication (object predicate)	yes
Adjective used predicatively (subject predicate)	no
Adverb	no

6.1.1. Attributively used adjectives

Adjectives that appear as modifiers in the noun phrase are marked by the linker *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F). Gender agreement is with the head of the noun phrase:

(6:4) *jaem'-si'* *shiish*
 good-L.F meat(F)
 'good meat' ELE/JH

(6:5) *jaem'-tyi'* *tyärä'*
 good-L.M maize(M)
 'good maize' ELE/JH

When two adjectives occur together in modifying position, both are marked by the linker morpheme as parts of the noun phrase (see also section 4.8.2.):

(6:6) *Ti-yi-ti'* *o'sho'* *jaem'-tyi'* *jai'b-a-tyi'*
 bring-VI.APY-2SG/1SG cloth good-L.M white-VI-L.M
i-we-ra' *köi-ñi'-tyi-ti'-mi!*
 M-DR-IR around-put-VD-2SG/1SG-2SG
 'Bring me some good white cloth, and put it here around me!'
 STE/VJ

6.1.2. Predicatively used adjectives

Predicatively used adjectives appear without the linker, while the linker morpheme always occurs with adjectives used as modifiers (6.1.1.). In this way, predicatively used adjectives have the same forms as manner

adverbs (6.1.4.), while differing in form from attributively used adjectives (see also table 16 above).

In the following example, the adjective *jaem* 'good' is used predicatively, meaning 'the chicha is not good':

- (6:7) *Yäe-nä-ki jam-ra' yäe tye-i-' shokdye',*
 1SG-FO-CO NG-IR 1SG drink-VI-3F.Ochicha
jam jaem', tsibi-ki-' mömö'.
 NG good bitter-VK-F.S only.F
 'And I do not drink chicha, it is not good, it is just bitter.'
 STE/VJ

In the above example, also the form *tsibiki-* 'bitter' is used. This form describes the subject of the clause as well, in the same way as the predicatively used adjective. Formally, however, *tsibiki-* 'bitter' is a verb, while *jaem* 'good' is an adjective. Since there is no obligatory copula in Mosestén (12.2.), predicatively used adjectives stand in relation to the subject of the clause without further marking, in the same way as verbs. This is also the case in the following example, where the predicatively used adjective *daer* 'big' and the verb *a'chi* 'ugly' are used in coordination, referring to the same subject *bi'chha* 'place where the road is bad':

- (6:8) *Awer ö-yä' jae'mä Palitos-ya-si' ashta*
 let's.see.E F-AD DM Palos.Blancos-AD-L.F until.E
Köwë'dö-wë daer anik a'chi' bi'chha'.
 Covendo-DR big EM ugly bad.place.(of.road)
 'Just see from Palos Blancos to Covendo: the bad places (of the road) are really big and ugly.' STE/CT

In my analysis of predicatively used adjectives in Mosestén, I encountered a number of structures in which seemingly predicatively used adjectives appeared with the linker. Further elicitation revealed that most of these forms were indeed predicatively used adjectives. In one case, however, it is unclear whether the adjective marked by the linker is in modifier position. Here, the head noun of the noun phrase is a personal pronoun, which usually would not occur with a modifier in Mosestén:

- (6:9) *Aj-ra' mi' tsiwae-tyi' jike-dye'-ra' mi'*
 yet-IR 3M.SG cold-L.M PS-NO-IR 3M.SG
shö-yi a'yae-ki-ti.
 not.want-VY.M.S wet-VK-RE.M.S
 'And he was cold and he did not want to get wet.' WTE/AT

There are two possible ways of analyzing the above structure. Firstly, the personal pronoun *mi'* can be analyzed as a determiner in a noun phrase with the head noun *tsiwaetyi'* 'the cold one'. Nominalization can also be carried out by the linker in Mosestén (4.8.). In this way, the adjective marked by the linker is not a predicatively used adjective. Another possible analysis of this example is that this form is similar to the Spanish translation *el está de frío* 'he is cold', where 'cold' is preceded by the preposition *de*, which is often used in possessive structures. Consequently, it is possible, that 'cold' in Mosestén is marked as a possessor as well, which is carried out by the linker (4.1.1.). In either case, the above example is only one structure where the analysis is not clear. Otherwise, predicatively used adjectives are not marked by the linker in Mosestén.

6.1.3. The plural forms of adjectives

I will now turn to the plural marking of adjectives and manner adverbs, which are both marked in the same way. Plural marking is carried out by the associative relation marker *-min-*. This marker is optional, but it appears in most cases where plurality is involved. In the noun phrase, it is often the only marker for the plurality of the head noun, since the nominal plural clitic *in* does not always appear (4.2.1.):

- (6:10) *Pero mi'-in tata-in jam-nä-ki-khä jaem'-tye'-in*
 but.E 3M-P father-P NG-FO-CO-well good-VD-3F.O-P
jaem'-min-si' bae'-e-dye'-khan anik colegio.
 good-AS-L.F live-VI-NO-IN EM school.E
 'But these priests have not made good schools in this village.'
 COE/JH

In predicative position, *-min-* usually occurs like in (6:11) and (6:12), especially when focusing on (all) elements of the same group:

- (6:11) **Daer-min** *mij jinak-khan.*
big-AS stone river-IN
'In the river are stones that are big.' ELE/JH
- (6:12) **Jish-ki-'min** *monision räei päeräe' tsin*
slim-VK-F.S-AS munition.E EM two 1P
tyoj-yi-'-si' ka-i'.
shoot-VY-F.S-L.F bring-3F.O
'Very small is the munition, we hardly have two to shoot.'
STE/VC

When focussing on part of an entity or on some individuals, as opposed to the group as a whole, the plural form *in* is used:

- (6:13) *Jäe'ñi'-tyi' aj jaem'-in shiph-ki-in.*
which-L.M yet good-P leave-VK.M.S-P
'Those who are good (should) leave (for university).'

6.1.4. *Manner adverbs deriving from adjectives*

Most manner adverbs, like adjectives, appear without the linker morpheme, hence resembling predicatively used adjectives in form. The following example shows a manner adverb identical to the adjective *jaem'* 'good':

- (6:14) **Jaem'** *bae'-i tsin.*
good live-VI.M.S 1P
'We lived well.' STE/DC

The adverb *jaem'* is also used in some combinations, such as *jaem' aj* 'very well'.

In cases where a modified head noun of a noun phrase is verbalized, the modifier is turned into an adverb. This means, that the modifying adjective appears without the linker morpheme. In the following example, the modified noun phrase *jaem'-si' jaes-dye'* (good-L.F

chewed.yucca-NO) ‘good chicha’ is verbalized to *jaem’ jaes-i-’* (good chewed.yucca-VI-F.S) ‘make chicha well’. The adjective ‘good’, modifying the head noun ‘chicha’, becomes an adverb relating to the verb ‘make chicha’:

- (6:15) *Mi-nä jäen-dye’ ish-wi’ mi jaem’*
 2SG-FO how-NO then-MN 2SG good
jaes-i-’.
 chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
 ‘And you, when will you make chicha well?’ STE/VJ

It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given element is an adjective, adverb or belongs to another part of speech. For example, stative verbs that can function as adjectives, marked by the linker (6.1.), can also appear without the linker in a position similar to the adverb *jaem’* ‘good’ above. Being stative verbs with a cross-reference ending, I prefer to analyze these elements as verbs of a coordinated clause instead of adverbs in the main clause. In the following example the marker *-tsa’* ‘but’ indicates that it is a coordinated clause:

- (6:16) *I jaes-i-’-tsa’ tsibi-ki-’*
 and.E chewed.yucca-VI-F.S-FR bitter-VK-F.S
 ‘And she makes chicha, but it is bitter.’ (instead of ‘and she makes chicha bitterly’) STE/VJ

6.2. Adverbs turned into adjectives

Some adverbs can be turned into adjectival forms, by adding a local relation marker. These forms can then be marked in the same way as adjectives, i.e. by *-min-* in the plural, and by the linker in modifying position.

In the following example, the adverb *moch* ‘far’ is turned into an adjective by addition of a local relation marker, in this case the adessive marker *-ya’* (4.1.5.). Since it is plural, the marker *-min-* is added. Appearing in predicative position, this adjective is not marked by the linker.¹³³

- (6:17) *Khin'-nä-ki ö-wë-si' phen-in dyai-dye'-tom*
 now-FO-CO F-DR-L.F woman-P many-NO-COM
bae'-i-'-in paj-ki-wi'-ra' daer-min äwä'-yi-'-in
 live-VI-F.S-P for-CO-MN-IR big-AS child-VY-F.S-P
moch-ya'-min pe're abi'.
 far-AD-AS banana QX
 'And now the women from here should live with strangers, so
 they would make big children, large must the bananas be.'
 COE/EC

The place and manner adverb *tyash* 'first' or 'in front of' can be turned into an adjective with the local relation *-chhe'* 'superessive'. In this example, the adjective is in modifier position and is marked by the linker:

- (6:18) *Jike-win jiri-ty mintyi' phen-tom bae'-i*
 PS-C one-M man woman-COM live-VI.M.S
äwä'-tom jiri-s-dyërä' äwä'-mö' tyash-chhe-si'.
 child-COM one-F-MO child-3F.SG front-SU-L.F
 'A man lived with his wife and maybe a child, the first child.'
 STE/EC

In the same way, the clitic *-ki'* 'size' can be adjectivized by addition of a local relation marker. This clitic often appears after interrogative pronouns and sentential particles such as *me'* 'so'. In the present example, the adjective is used predicatively:

- (6:19) *Anik jike me'-ki'-ya'-min khö'i dyaba jike.*
 EM PS so-size-AD-AS MO.F peanut PS
 'Surely this size (big) must the peanut have been.' STE/VJ

6.3. Adjectival comparison

Adjectival comparison in Mosestén can be carried out by several strategies, differing in meaning. The comparative can be expressed by juxtaposition of adjectives in combination with *-ki*, sometimes in combination with *jayi-* 'miss'.

Another structure that can express the comparative is a degree adverb. The superlative is expressed through reduplication of the adjective. There are two other ways to express a relative superlative, different from the superlative marked by reduplication, which has an ‘absolute’ meaning. The relative superlative can be expressed by prefixation of *chhi-* ‘big’ and also by the addition of a local relation marker to the adjective.

6.3.1. *The comparative*

The comparative can be expressed by the use of juxtaposition of clauses in combination with the contrastive marker *-ki* (13.2.1.). This clitic is added to an element in the second clause, highlighting the contrast for the referent involved:

- (6:20) *Öi ichhäe-ki-’ mö’-ki daer.*
 DE.F little-VK-F.S 3F.SG-CO big
 ‘This one is little and that one big.’ ELE/JH

The comparative, especially when size is involved, can also be emphasized by adding the verb *jayi-* ‘miss, lack’ to the minor element, expressing that it ‘lacks size compared to the big element’:

- (6:21) *Öi san-a-ki-s moch-ya’ öi-ki kirjka*
 DE.F write-VI-AN-L.F.s far-AD DE.F-CO book
ityi-yä’ ja-ye-’.
 down-AD miss-VY-3F.O
 ‘This copy-book is big (‘far’) and that book is small (‘down’),
 it lacks.’ ELE/JH

Another way of expressing adjectival comparison is by the degree adverb *miji-LO* (M) / *mojo-LO* (F), which is composed of a derived place adverb (for the structure of this form see section 6.4.4.). In the following example, the degree adverb follows the adjective *karo* ‘expensive’:

- (6:22) *Pero me'-ki-ki jäe'mä motor-chhe' ji-'-ya'*
 but.E so-CO-RD DM motor(boat).E-SU pass-F.S-AD
öjñi'-khan karo mo-jo'-chhe'
 river-IN expensive.E 3F-RD-SU
 'But passing in the boat on the river like that it is more
 expensive.' STE/CT

Other expressions of comparison are the lexical forms *iya'ya'* (M) and *öyä'yä'* (F), which are based on the place adverbs *iya'* 'here (M)' and *öyä'* 'here (F)'. They have a number of different meanings, depending on the analysis of the final *-ya'*. Some of these involve adverbial meanings:

- (6:23) *Ö-yä'-yä' jij-ka-wa!* 'closer'
 F-AD-RD go-DK-IMI.2.SG
 'Come further over here!' ELE/JH
- (6:24) *Aj ö-yä'-yä' añe-i-'* 'less (rain)'
 yet F-AD-RD rain-VI-F.S
 'It is already raining less.' ELE/JH
- (6:25) *Mö' kirjka ö-yä'-yä'.* 'cheap'
 3F.SG book F-AD-RD
 'The book is cheap.' ELE/JH
- (6:26) *A-dyaj i-ya'-ya' jo-ban-mi?* 'better'
 yet-QY M-AD-RD become-again.M.S-2SG
 'Have you become better (after illness)?' ELE/JH
- (6:27) *Aj i-ya'-ya' ji'-chhae-yi-ti-mi.* 'little by little'
 yet M-AD-RD CA-know-VY-RE.M.S-2SG
 'You are already studying little by little.' ELE/JH
- (6:28) *Paj-chhom ö-yä'-yä'-in!* 'relaxation'
 for-first F-AD-RD-P
 'Take it easy!' ELE/JH

6.3.2. *The superlative*

The superlative can be expressed by reduplication of the adjective. Reduplication of elements can result in different meanings (see section 3.2.4.). With adjectives, reduplication expresses that a given adjective is

“more” than it originally expresses. Hence, the partially reduplicated form of *daer* ‘big’ results in the meaning ‘biggest’:

- (6:29) *Mö’ aka’ dae-daer-si’*
 3F.SG housebig-RD-L.F
 ‘The house is biggest.’ ELE/JH

This superlative form can also occur in a comparative structure with the marker *-ki* (see 6.3.1. above):

- (6:30) *Öi nanasi’ dae-daer nāsh wojityi’-ki-mi’*
 DE.F girl RD-big GF brother-CO-3M.SG
īchhāe-ki
 little-VK.M.S
 ‘This girl is biggest (i.e. oldest) and her brother is small.’
 ELE/JH

Another strategy that expresses the superlative is the augmentation prefix *chhi-* (4.6.3.), rather unproductive with adjectives:

- (6:31) *chhi-daer-tyi’*
 big-big-L.M
 ‘the biggest one’ ELE/JH

Furthermore, there is a relative superlative. This expresses that something is “more” than it usually is, without claiming to be an absolute superlative. Also in this kind of superlative, only one adjectival form is involved (i.e. it is not the comparison of several elements). The relative superlative is expressed by the addition of a local relation marker to the adjective. The form *phañe-ya’* refers to the age of a person who is not very young, but not necessarily the oldest person:

- (6:32) *Jike mö’ jiri-s okoko phañe-ya-si’ ya-ksi-’...*
 PS 3F.SG one-F toad old-AD-L.F say-3P.O-F.S
 ‘Then an older frog said to them...’ WTE/JH

6.4. Adverbs

There are several types of adverbs in Mosestén, which differ in their formal appearance. While time adverbs and many place adverbs are lexical in nature, a number of place adverbs are based on personal pronouns and many manner adverbs resemble adjectives. In the following sections, I will discuss place adverbs, temporal adverbs, manner adverbs (see also 6.1.4.), and degree adverbs, finishing with adverb comparison.

6.4.1. Place adverbs

There are different types of place adverbs in Mosestén: those based on personal pronouns and lexical forms. Place adverbs can be used to express motion as well as place.

6.4.1.1. Place adverbs based on personal pronouns

Several place adverbs are derived from 3rd person personal pronoun forms and one of the local relation markers *-ya'* (adessive), *khan* (inessive), *-we* (downriver) and *-chhe'* (superessive) (4.1.5. – 4.1.8.). There are at least three different forms of place adverbs, differing in the closeness and visibility of the place described in relation to the deictic center.¹³⁴ The deictic center is usually the viewpoint of the speaker or of a character in a story.

The 3rd person personal pronouns *mi'* (M) and *mö'* (F) are the base for one type of place adverb. Several other modifications of these personal pronoun stems are used to express the closeness to the deictic center as well as the visibility of the object in question: *mi-* (M) and *mo* (F) and *i* (M) and *ö* (F). These forms are summarized in table 17. These place adverbs have different forms in the feminine and masculine. Gender agreement is to an antecedent in the context, such as a conceptually related noun. Usually, gender agreement is with the topic of the discourse.

Table 17: Place adverbs based on pronouns

	Meaning
<i>mi'</i> -LO (m)	close, but not 'here'
<i>mö'</i> -LO (f)	
<i>mi</i> -LO (m)	rather far away, usually not visible
<i>mö</i> -LO (f)	
alternatively:	
<i>mit</i> -LO (m)	
<i>möt</i> -LO (f)	
<i>i</i> -LO (m)	very close, usually 'here'
<i>ö</i> -LO (f)	

The following example shows gender agreement to a conceptually related noun. In the example, the place adverb *möwë* 'there' predicates over the object *Maria*:

- (6:33) *Mi' jen' mi' ji-te-' Maria mö-wë.*
 3M.SG father3M.SG send-VD.DT-3F.O Maria(F) F-DR
 'The father sent Maria there.' ELE/AT

The following sequence shows that gender agreement of the place adverb can also be with a contextually defined topic and not with the subject of the clause. In the first sentence, the topic 'the woman' is established, whereas in the second sentence, there is a masculine subject. The gender agreement of the place adverb that appears at the beginning of this sentence, however, is with the feminine topic of the previous context:¹³⁵

- (6:34) *Jike mö' anik-si-si' jij-ka-baj-te*
 PS 3F.SG EM-L.F-RD go-DK-again-3M.O
tya'kaj-ye-' aj äwä' tyäjä'-wë-dyërä'
 behind-VY-3F.O yet child edge.of.plantation-DR-MO
wën-jö-' o'yi-si'-we. Mö'-wë aj phij-ye-'
 move-DJ-F.S yucca-L.F-DR3F-DR yet blow-VY-3F.O
jam-ra' mö' aj soñi'-ra' mi' aj-win sino
 NG-IR 3F.SG yet man-IR 3M.SG yet-C instead.E
itsiki chhi-mö' aj itsiki.
 jaguar also-3F.SG yet jaguar.

‘She pulled herself together to follow him, left (her) child and went to the edge of the yucca (field). There he blew her (in her ear), (and from then on) she no longer (saw) the man (he was) before, but instead a jaguar, and also she was a jaguar.’ STE/EC

The following example shows the difference between the place adverbs involving a glottal stop *mi'-LO* and the forms without the glottal stop *mi-LO*. Keep in mind that the latter expresses something far away and not visible, while the former refers to something far away, but visible:

- (6:35) *Jike ya'dye mi'-chhe' mi-khan-ya' jji-ka-i -in*
 PS go 3M-SU M-IN-AD go-DK-M.S-P
daerae'-khan.
 mountain-IN
 ‘So he goes up there [can be seen] in there [cannot be seen] he goes, on the mountain.’ STE/VC

In the above example, the first place adverb *mi'-chhe'* ‘up there’ refers to a place up on the mountain, which is visible from the place of the speaker. The second place adverb *mi-khan'-ya'* refers to a place inside the mountain(s) that is not visible from the place of the speaker, consequently, the form *mikhan* is used. Furthermore, note the double marking by two local relations on this pronoun. This can be explained by the place adverb *mi-khan* ‘in there’ being a grammaticalized and fixed form, that can form the base for a local relations marker in the same way as other place adverbs (such as lexical place adverbs, 6.4.1.2.). This addition of by another local relation marker exclusively expresses ‘place’ and cannot be used to express movement to a place.

In addition to *mi-LO* and *mö-LO*, some speakers use another form to emphasize that a place is very far away. This is the form *mit-LO* (M) / *möt-LO* (F):

- (6:36) *Mäei'-yä-si' nöph-dye' yë-'si'-in mi'-ya' tsin*
 first-AD-L.F cross-NO say-3F.O-L.F-P 3M-AD 1P
khösh-ï mit'-chhe'.
 sleep-VI.M.S M-SU
 ‘At what is called “the first crossing place” we slept, far up there.’ STE/VC

The place adverb that refers to the deictic center ‘here’ has the form *i-LO* (M) / *ö-LO* (F).¹³⁶

- (6:37) *Khin’ mi’in ö-chhe’ järe’mä sob-a-ki-’*
 now 2P F-SU DM visit-VI-AN-F.S
järe’mä.
 DM
 ‘Now you (F.P) are up here, visiting.’ STE/CT

In Mosetén, the marker *i-* (M) / *ö-* (F) exclusively appears in fixed items such as the modal marker *ika’* (M) / *öka’* (F) (11.2.4.). In Chimane, this can be a separate particle (Gill, 1999: 145).¹³⁷

Returning to the place adverbs that resemble 3rd person pronouns with a local relation marker, ambiguity can arise as to whether these are place adverbs or personal pronouns. In most cases, gender marking indicates the function of such an element in the clause. In the following example, the first form *mi’chhe’* is a place adverb, meaning ‘up there’ and agreeing in gender with the topic *mi’* ‘he’. The second form *mö’chhë’rä’* is a personal pronoun in the locative relation, referring to ‘on her’. This difference can only be understood in the context of the story:¹³⁸

- (6:38) *Mi’-chhe’ khin’ mi’ soñi’ mö’-chhë’-rä’.*”
 3M-SU now 3M.SG man 3F.SG-SU-IR
 ‘Up there is the man, on her he is.’ STE/VJ

The personal pronoun in the second person has the form *mi*, which resembles the form of the place adverb *mi-LO*. These forms are not related and differ in the length of the vowel: the vowel of the personal pronoun is prolonged when this pronoun appears together with a relation marker:

- (6:39) *mii-chhe’* ‘on you’ (M or F)
 (6:40) *mi-chhe’* ‘up there’ (M)

The prefix *chhi-* can be used with place adverbs to indicate ‘also, same’ (see section 11.4.4.) where this is discussed more thoroughly). Combined with other parts of speech, this marker has different

meanings (6.3.2., 4.6.3.). In the following example, *chhi-mi'khan* means 'in the same place':

- (6:41) *Kīchī chhi-mi'-khan jīj-ka-i an'dye'-khan.*
 again also-3M-IN go-DK-M.S arm.of-river-IN
 'Again it goes to ("in") the same arm of the river.' STE/VC

6.4.1.2. Lexical place adverbs

There are a number of lexical place adverbs, which refer to a place in its relation to the deictic center. These place adverbs include:

- (6:42) *faj* 'out'
mej 'down'
fäo 'certain place'
moch 'far'
jime 'close'¹³⁹
tyaetsen' 'everywhere'
kaej 'middle'
koi 'around'
nöph 'other side of the river'¹⁴⁰
ityi- 'down'.

Two place adverbs are formally verbs:

- (6:43) *jaeki-* 'behind'
tyashi- 'in front of'

They are inflected as intransitive verbs, agreeing with the subject of the predicative clause they combine with. This subject is usually an antecedent in the context. The different kinds of place adverbs will be treated under the same heading, since they show a number of similarities.

The following example shows the non-verbal place adverb *moch* 'far':

- (6:44) *Aj kiwi moch mi'-i wätyëkë kiwi*
 yet again far go-VI.M.S suddenly again
jim-a-ki-' tëtëi.
 sing-VI-AN-F.S frog
 'He had already walked further, when the frog suddenly sang
 again.' WTE/JH

When the place adverb means distributive 'at several places', the associative relation marker is added to it. Compare this to the plural marking of adjectives (6.1.1.):

- (6:45) *Tsin-nä-rä' waj-raej fek-ye-ja' kheo' majmi*
 1P-FO-IR among-all form-VY-1P.S side road
moch-min ñi'-ti-kha'.
 far-AS put-VD.RE-1PI.S
 'We will all line-up at the side of the road, at a certain distance
 (from each other) we will put ourselves.' WTE/JH

Lexical place adverbs often occur together with place relation markers such as inessive, adessive, superessive or downriver (sections 4.1.5. – 4.1.8.). For example the place adverb *fäo* 'certain place' is often combined with the superessive relation marker *-chhe'*, expressing the meaning 'on', 'above'.¹⁴¹ In the same way as with other place adverbs (6.4.1.1.), lexical place adverbs with a local relation marker express 'at a place' instead of 'direction to a place':

- (6:46) *Ääj yi-nä-khä jike phe-ya-ki yo-ya'*
 EX say.M.S-FO-well PS talk-VY-AN.M.S R-AD
khin' jäe'mä fäo-chhë' Santa Ana.
 now DM certain.place-M.S-SU Santa Ana
 'Well, it is said; it was told to be further up from where Santa
 Ana is now.' STE/VJ

Moreover, verbal forms which act as place adverbs can be marked by a local relation marker. This local relation marker is placed after the verbal cross-reference ending and is used in the same way as other place adverbs, denoting a place instead of a motion. The local relation marker is usually *-we-* 'downriver' with *jaeki-* 'behind':

- (6:47) *Tyi am mi jaek-i'-we?*
 person QN 2SG back-VI-F.S-DR
 'Who are you behind me? COE/AM

Being marked by these place relation markers, the lexical place adverbs often resemble nouns. Compare the following examples:

- (6:48) *moch-ya'*
 far-AD
 'at a place far away' ELE/JH
- (6:49) *aka'-ya'*
 house-AD
 'at the house' ELE/JH

Some place adverbs can also be used with other, related meanings. This is the case with the verbal forms acting as place adverbs *jaeki-* 'behind' and *tyashi* 'in front of', being used with the temporal meanings 'last' and 'first' respectively. The following example shows the use of *tyashi* as a temporal adverb, meaning 'first':

- (6:50) *Tyash-i si-ti Kallawalla-khan-tyi'-in ashta*
 front-VI.M.S enter-VT.M.S Callawalla-IN-L.M-P until.E
*wën-jö-i resya-ya'-in.*¹⁴²
 move-DJ-M.S church-AD-P
 'First the Callawallas enter until they come to the church.'
 WTE/CT

6.4.2. *Temporal adverbs*

Most temporal adverbs are lexical forms, which either refer to the time relative to the deictic center or more generally to the time of the day, year, etc:

- (6:51) *khin'* 'today, now'
mäen'jä' 'yesterday'
nöjnöj 'tomorrow'
mäen'jä'khan 'before'

<i>mäen'jä' dye'</i>	'day before yesterday'
<i>nöjnödye'</i>	'day after tomorrow'
<i>thojma'dye'</i>	'darkness'
<i>näjjödye'</i>	'sun-rise'
<i>kichkhan tsiin</i>	'mid-noon'
<i>jabi'</i>	'afternoon'
<i>yomo'we tsiin</i>	'afternoon'
<i>shokam</i>	'late afternoon'
<i>yomo'</i>	'evening, night'
<i>öichhi' or chhiöi'</i>	'midnight'
<i>pamin</i>	'early'
<i>mäei'</i>	'first'
<i>tyashi</i>	'first'
<i>jayeki</i>	'last'
<i>poroma</i>	'old days'
<i>wätyëkë'</i>	'suddenly'
<i>dyiph</i>	'then'

See also section 11.5. on temporal reference particles.

There are two forms that express a temporal relationship which I will treat here: the verb *khi'jo-* 'then', 'finally', and the clitic *-dyem'* 'still'. The verbal form *khi'jo-* has the meaning 'then' and in some cases 'finally', depending on the nature of the predicate and the general context. Agreement is with the topic of the context. In the following intransitive clause the subject, in this case the topic, is feminine, and *khi'jo'* appears in the feminine form:

- (6:52) *Jiri-s-khan khi'jo-' mayedye' mö' phen ban-'*
 one-F-IN then-F day 3F.SG woman go-F.S
mö'-khan-si' bae'-e-dye' paeren' äwä'-mö'
 3F-IN-L.F live-VI-NO both child-3F.SG
ka-kse-ban-'
 bring-3P.O-again-F.S
 'Then one day the woman went (away) from the village and
 took her two sons with her.' WTE/CT

In the following example, *khi'jo-* agrees with the object, which is the topic of the context:

- (6:53) *Ashta tse'-mi' jam khi'jo-i rai's-e-te.*
 until.E mother-3M.SG NG then-M want-VI-3M.O
 'Until his mother finally did not want (like) him (any more).'
- WTE/CT

In the first example above, *khi'jo-* was translated as 'then', whereas in the second example above the meaning was 'finally'.

The clitic *-dyem'* expresses 'still', focusing on the ongoing nature of the action:

- (6:54) *Me' katyi'jike poroma iits tara'tara' mintyi'-dyem'*
 so EH PS before DE.M big.rat man-still
ji-ya' jam-bi'-dyem'maetyaej bae'-i.
 pass.M.S-AD NG-still-still mouse live-VI.M.S
 'So it is said that in old times, there was a rat; it was still
 human, it was not (transformed into) a mouse yet.' WTE/JH

Most frequently, the *-dyem'* appears together with the temporal adverb *khin'* 'now', with the derived meaning 'finally':

- (6:55) *Khäki tsin jäe'mä khin'-dyem'-chhome' rai's-e-'*
 because IP DM now-still-also want-VI-3F.O
i-chhe' ji'-chhae-yi-ti öi khäei'-si' tsin-si'
 M-SU CA-know-VY-RE.M.S DE.F RF-L.F 1P-L.F
nem.
 tongue
 'Because we here finally also want to learn our language.'
- STE/CT

6.4.3. *Manner adverbs*

Most manner adverbs have the same form as predicatively used adjectives and were treated in section 6.1.4. There are some adverbs not used as adjectives in their unmarked form, all involving tempo: *jejaem'* 'slowly'¹⁴³, *anii* 'slowly', *kawin* 'rapidly' and *säem'* 'fast'. These forms can, however, be turned into adjectives through verbalization:

- (6:56) *mi' kabayo kawin-yi-tyi'*
 3M.SG horse.E fast-VY-L.M
 'the fast horse' ELE/AT

The following examples show the uses as adverbs of *kawin* 'rapidly, soon' (6:57) and *säem* 'fast' (6:58):

- (6:57) *Sij-sij-ye-' paj kawin dyo-chhi-'-ki-ra' tsin.*
 shake-RD-VY-3F.O for fast go-DC-F.S-CO-IR 1P
 'Shake it several times, so that we soon can go.' STE/EC
- (6:58) *Khäki jäe'mä säem' ats-i-jo-i tsin.*
 because DM fast come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S 1P
 'Because we came fast.' COE/MW

6.4.4. Degree adverbs and adverb comparison

Adverb degree modification can be carried out in several ways, depending on the type of adverb involved.

The marker *-dyej*, which also acts as a question marker (12.3.1.5.), is used to express adverb comparison, especially with temporal adverbs. This marker expresses 'more': *khin* 'now, today' can be derived to *khin'-dyej* 'in a while, shortly', lit. 'more now':¹⁴⁴

- (6:59) *Khin'-dyej phen-ye-ye i-ya'.*
 now-CON woman-VY-1SG/2SG M-AD
 'In a while I will transform you into a woman here.' WTE/JH

In the following example, *pamin* 'early' is derived by *-dyej*, and the meaning is 'very early':

- (6:60) *Me'-ki jiri-s mayedye' jiri-ty soñi' pamin-dyej*
 so-CO one-F day one-M man early-CON
sak-yi Wë'ni'-we jÿj-ka-i
 leave-VY.M.S Santa.Elena-DR go-DK-M.S
tyäb-e-ki.
 fish-VI-DK.M.S

‘So one day a man left very early in the morning, he went down the river Santa Elena to fish.’ WTE/JH

The clitic *-dyej* can also appear together with the quantifier *dyam* ‘more’, resulting into *dyam’dyej*, a degree adverb. In the following example, it appears together with the adverb *fer* ‘strongly’, hence ‘more strongly’, ‘harder’:

- (6:61) *Mi’-nä-ki* *ojtere’* *dyam’-dyej katyi’* *phi-ki*
 3M.SG-FO-CO rooster more-CON EH run-VK.M.S
fer.
 strong
 ‘And the rooster runs harder.’ WTE/JH

The degree adverb can also appear as the only adverb in the clause:

- (6:62) *Tsa’-yi* *mi’-in-nä-ki* *administrar-ye’-in*
 FR-VY.M.S 3M-P-FO-CO administrate.E-VY-3F.O-P
mi’-in *dyam’-dyej-in.*
 3M-P more-CON-P
 ‘But they do not administrate it more (or better).’ COE/EC

Another adverb that expresses comparative meaning is *jiye* ‘too much’ with a negative connotation:

- (6:63) *Jiye-nä-khä* *phi-ke-wa’-jo-i* *chhome’.*
 too.much-FO-well run-VK-PR-PRI-M.S also
 ‘He also ran around too much (i.e. he did not do his job, drinking too much).’ COE/SM

Place adverbs based on pronouns (6.4.1.1.) have partially reduplicated forms that express comparison. These comparative forms have two different meanings: 1. A longer distance from the deictic center, compared with another distance. 2. Comparing one state to another one over time. The latter function does not involve the semantics of place adverbs.

Formally, the reduplication is carried out by copying the vowel of the personal pronoun, preceded by an aspiration: the place adverb *mö’chhe’*

‘up there (F)’ changes to *mö-jö’-chhë* ‘further along up there (F)’ and *mi’chhe* ‘up there (M)’ becomes *mi-ji’-chhe* ‘further along up there (M)’:

- (6:64) *Tsin-chhata’ tyäetsen’ mi’-i desde poente*
 1P-truly everywhere go-VI.M.S from.E bridge.E
Sapecho-ya-si’ mö-jö’-khan-si’ mö’ majmi
 Sapecho-AD-L.F 3F-RD-IN-L.F 3F.SG road
Santa Ana-ya’ jij-ka’-si’
 Santa Ana-AD go-DK-F.S-L.F
 ‘We have truly gone everywhere, from the bridge of Sapecho
 further down the road that leads to Santa Ana.’ STE/CT

These reduplicated forms of the place adverbs can also be used in adjectival comparison (6.3.1.).

Finally, in adverb comparison, several comparative markers can be combined:

- (6:65) *Jike ji-yi aj moch kiwi jim-a-ki’*
 PS pass-VY.M.S yet far again sing-VI-AN-F.S
aj chhibin-ki dyam’-dyej aj mi-ji’-we
 yet three-times more-CON yet 3M-RD-DR
tyar-i.
 be.sad-VI.M.S
 ‘And he passes (on) and further (away) again she sings, already
 three times, and even more in pain he is.’ WTE/JH

Another way to express adverb comparison is through reduplication. Global reduplication of adverbs results in the meaning ‘very’, i.e. a comparative meaning not expressed relative to another form:

- (6:66) *Jedye-i abi’ yäe tyamiñ-i daer anik*
 thing-VI.M.S QX 1SG dream-VI.M.Sbig EM
a’chi’-a’chi’ tyamiñ-i.
 ugly-RD dream-VI.M.S
 ‘Why have I dreamed like that, very ugly I have dreamed.’
 STE/EC

More relevant to adverb comparison is partial reduplication of adverbs (see also section 6.3.). In this type of reduplication, the first CV of the root is reduplicated. In the following example the time adverb *pamin* ‘early’ appear in a partially reduplicated form, expressing ‘earlier’, combined with *-dyej*:

- (6:67) *Näi-jö-’-yä’* *kiwi pa-pa-min-dyej*
 morning-VJ-F.S-AD again early.RD-AS-CON
bis-e-’-in.
 wait-VI-3F.O-P
 ‘The next day, (even) earlier they wait for her again.’ STE/EC

In the following example, two strategies of comparison co-occur: the degree adverb *dyam’dyej* is combined with partial reduplication of the manner adverb:

- (6:68) *Jäen’-abi-ki öi bi-jo-i’-in phi-ke-dye’-in*
 how-QX-CO DE.F win-VJ-F.S-P run-VK-NO-P
yäe-nä-ki dyam’-dyej fe-fer phi-ke-dye-si’?
 1SG-FO-CO more-CON strong-RD run-VK-NO-L.F
 ‘How could they win the race, when I am running much
 stronger in the race?’ WTE/JH

Another structure that expresses comparison with adjectives is the prefix *chhi-* ‘big’. With (place) adverbs, however, this form has the meaning ‘same’ and is consequently not a marker of comparison (see section 6.4.1.1. above).

Chapter 7

Quantification

In the present section I will treat numerals and non-numeral quantifiers.

7.1. Numerals

The numerals in Mosestén form a decimal system, which may have arisen from a quinary system (see below).

7.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The original source of the cardinal forms is partly reconstructable. Gender marking only exists in the number ‘one’, and this number is frequently used as a determiner in the noun phrase as well (4.7.):

(7:1) *jiri-s phen*
one-F woman
‘one / a woman’ ELE/JH

(7:2) *jiri-ty soñi’*
one-M man
‘one / a man’ ELE/JH

In the following conversation example, a person is asked to count to ten:

(7:3) *Awer me’-dyaj yäe poder-yi:*
let’s.see.E so-QY 1SG can.E-VY.M.S
jirīs , päeräe’ chhibin tsiis khanam’ jaebae in
one two three four five six
yaewaetidye’ khen’khan arajtyak tyak.
seven eight nine ten
‘Let’s see whether I can: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.’ COE/VC

The consultant in the above example pronounces *jiris* ‘one’ and *paerae* ‘two’ with a nasal. Most people pronounce these without, apart from cases where the nasal form *jirīs* is used as a diminutive (4.6.1.):

- (7:4) *Ya’i-ye-k-ha’* *jiri-s* *pe’re!*
 buy-VY-DK-AN-1PI.Sone.DIM-F banana
 ‘Let’s buy (only) one (single) banana.’ ELE/JH

Some of the numeral forms include derivational markers or other morphemes that are common in the language. Thus, ‘six’ contains the clitic *in* ‘plural’¹⁴⁵, ‘seven’ seems to be a nominalization by *-dye*, ‘eight’ may include the inessive relation marker *-khan*, and nine is constructed with *araj* ‘almost’ and *tyak* ‘ten’. Schuller (1917: lxiii) points out that the original system of numerals in Mosetén may have been quinary, since “all numerals over five are compound nouns, and are more or less conventional”. His explanation, however, is incomplete and rather unclear as to the nominal status of these numerals and, more importantly, their meanings. Still, it is conceivable that this numeral system may be based on both a quinary and a decimal system.

The teens are basically constructed with the word for 10, followed by the digit and the verbal form *jiyi-* ‘pass’. This form is always used in its feminine form with numerals. In this way, ‘eleven’ is *tyak jiris jiyi* [lit. ten one pass] and ‘twelve’ *tyak paerae’ jiyi*.

Higher decimals, i.e. twenty and above, are constructed by multiplying the numeral by ten. This is carried out by the clitic *-ki* ‘size’; with numerals, this clitic is used to express ‘multiplication’. In this way, ‘twenty’ is *paerae’ ki’ tyak* [lit. two size ten], ‘thirty’ is *chhibin ki’ tyak*, etc. In the same way, ‘one hundred’ is ‘ten times ten’: *tyak ki’ tyak*. The numerals 110 is *tyak ki’ tyak tyak jiyi* [lit. ten size ten ten pass]. Higher numerals are difficult to elicit and never used spontaneously. In most cases, Spanish numerals are used instead.

Recall, that different gender forms only existed with the number ‘one’. In higher numbers where ‘one’ occurs, such as ‘twenty-one’, only the feminine form *jiris* exists, being used together with both feminine and masculine nouns:

- (7:5) *paerae-ki' tyak jiri-s ji-yi-' phen-in*
 two-size ten one-F pass-VY-F.S woman-P
 'twenty-one women' ELE/JH
- (7:6) *paerae-ki' tyak jiri-s ji-yi-' soñi'-in*
 two-size ten one-F pass-VY-F.S man-P
 'twenty-one men' ELE/JH

In everyday speech, the Spanish numerals are preferred in numerals higher than ten.

7.1.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are constructed from cardinal numerals, derived by *yi'si'* in the feminine gender and *yityi'* in the masculine gender. In contrast to the cardinal numerals, the ordinals have gender agreement in all forms.

- (7:7) *Paerae-yi-'-si' mayedye' aj karij-tya-ki-tsin.*
 two-VY-F.S-L.F day(F) yet hard-VD-AN-1P
 'The second day we have already worked.' ELE/JH
- (7:8) *Chhibin-yi-tyi' soñi' tsin kãw-ë-te.*
 three-VY.M.S-L.M man(M) 1P see-VI-3M.O
 'We have seen the third man.' ELE/JH

The derived elements *yi'si'* (F) / *yityi'* (M) are composed of by the verbal stem marker *yi-* (8.3.2.) with the gender forms *yi* (M) / *yi'* (F), and the linker *-si'* (F) / *-tyi'* (M) (4.8.), turning the element into a modifier in the noun phrase. In the same way, other elements can be derived, such as in is the following example, where *Mosetén* is being turned into a modifier in the noun phrase:

- (7:9) *Jam nãsh chhü-yë-' tsin Mosetén-yi-'-si'*
 NG GF know-VY-3F.O 1P Mosetén-say-F.S-L.F
phe-ya-k-dye'
 talk-VY-MI-NO
 'We do not know what the word "Mosetén" means.' ELE/JH

Returning to ordinal numerals, ‘first’ has the form *mäei’yä-si*’ (F) / *mäei’ya-tyi*’ (M). This form can also mean ‘new’ but in many cases it is used as the ordinal numeral ‘first’:

- (7:10) *Me’-ki ka-baj-te taene-n’ ka-baj-te-in*
 so-CO bring-again-3M.O float-PR bring-again-3M.O-P
i-we aj mäei’-yä-si’-yä’ nöph-dye’.
 M-DR yet first-AD-L.F-AD cross-NO
 ‘So they brought him; floating they brought him here to the
 first crossing (place of the river).’ STE/JH

The regularly derived forms *jirity-yi-tyi*’ (M) / *jiris-yi’-si*’ (F) are not used as ordinal numerals, and informants understand them as a distinct form *jiri-ty yi-tyi*’ (one-M say-L.M) ‘one has said’.

7.1.3. Other derivations of numerals

Numerals can be derived in several other way, having different meanings, which often have to do with 1. time and place or 2. preference to person or objects.

7.1.3.1. Reference to time and place

A number of other derivations of numerals have a reference to time, such as to the length of an event. When the suffix *-dyetyi*’ ‘only’ (4.1.9.) is added to the numeral *jiris* ‘one’, i.e. *jirisdyetyi*’, this construction can be used with nouns like ‘year’, ‘day’, etc., the meaning being ‘for one more ...’. ‘only one more ...’:

- (7:11) *jiri-s-dyetyi’ mayedye’*
 one-F-only day
 ‘one more day’ ELE/JH
- (7:12) *jiri-ty-dyetyi’ iwä*
 one-M-only month
 ‘one more month’ ELE/JH

The comitative marker (4.1.2.) can be added to the numeral *jiris* ‘one’, leading to the meaning ‘suddenly’, ‘by one’, ‘at once’:

- (7:13) ***Jiri-s-tom*** *ji'-kaw-i-ti-kha'*
 one-F-COM CA-see-VI-RE-1PI.S
 ‘At once we make ourselves be seen.’ (i.e. we come out of the
 hiding place at once). ELE/JH

When numerals are followed by the suffix *-ki* ‘size’, ‘multiplication’ (see cardinal numerals above: 7.1.1.), the meaning ‘X times’ arises:

- (7:14) *Raej ban-in ashta ke dëj-yi-'* ***paerae'-ki'***
 all go.M.S-P until.E that.Esound-VY-F.S two-size
kampana-in misa-dye-si'
 bell.E-P mass.E-B-F.F
 ‘All go (away) until the bell strikes twice for the mass.’
 WTE/CT

The marker *-ki* can be reduplicated, without the glottal stop *-ki-ki*. This marker is usually added to the numeral *jiris* ‘one’, expressing ‘once in’:

- (7:15) ***Jiri-s-ki-ki*** *iwä-chhë'* *reunion-yi* *mintyi'-in*.
 one-F-size-RD month-SU meet.E-VY.M.S man-P
 ‘The men meet once a month.’ ELE/AT

The following structure involving a numeral refers to a place. The adessive relation marker *-ya'* can be added to a numeral to express ‘in X places’:

- (7:16) *I-we chhata'-tyi' jaem' wën-chhi-tsin*
 M-DR really-MO good move-DC.M.S-1P
paerae'-ya'-ki derrumbar-yi-' *majmi*.
 two-AD-CO fall.down.E-VY-F.S road
 ‘We surely came here well, (only) in two places the road had
 fallen down.’ COE/MW

The reduplicated adessive relation marker *-ya* 'can appear together with *jiris* 'one'. The final glottal stop of *-ya* disappears in the reduplicated form: *-ya-ya*. The meaning is not specific, expressing 'in some places':

- (7:17) *Khäki jäe'mä jiris-ya-ya pifé a'chi'*
 because DM one.F-AD-AD water.place ugly
chhi-'.
 know.VI-F.S
 'Because in some places, where the water runs, it uses to be
 ugly.' WTE/CT

7.1.3.2. Reference to persons or objects

Derivations of numerals can express reference to persons or objects. For example, the numeral *jiris* 'one', appearing in the form *jiri*, can be combined with the adessive relation marker *-ya*, meaning 'together':

- (7:18) *Yäe jäen' ka-ye jiri-ya' bae'-ja'*.
 1SG how bring-1SG/2SG one-F-AD live-VI.1PI.S
 'I accept to bring you and we will live together.' STE/EC

Numerals can also be reduplicated (3.1.4., 4.2.2.), expressing a distributional plurality. In this way, *jirisjiris* means 'some':

- (7:19) *Iits dyai'-dye'-in matawa'-in fochon-ye'-in*
 DE.M many-NO-P stranger-P dig.up-VY-3F.O-P
jiri-s-jiri-s poente chinaij-ye'-in jiri-s-jiri-s-ya'-in.
 one-F-RD-F bridge.E destroy-VY-3F.O-P one-F-RD-F-AD-P
 'These highlanders, strangers, dug it up (the road) and
 destroyed bridges in some places.' WTE/CT

The gender marking forms of the numeral *jiri-ty* 'one-M' and *jiri-s* 'one-F' resemble the short forms of the linker (4.8.). Turned into longer forms with the linkers *-tyi* (M) and *-si* (F), the numerals *jirityi* (M) and *jirisi* (F) express 'alone':

- (7:20) *Me'-mimi' jiri-tyi' mi'-chhe' miñ-i.*
 DM-only.M alone-L.M 3M-SU go-VI.M.S
 'Just like that he went up there alone.' STE/JH

When the forms *jirityi'* (M) and *jirisi'* (F) are combined with the adessive relation marker *-ya'*, the meaning is 'on his / her own'. In the following example, the meaning is 'he says to himself':

- (7:21) *Ya'dye ban dyis-i-kho-ban khäei' mimi'*
 go go.M.S laugh-VI-DJ-again.M.S RF only.M
jike yi jiri-tyi-ya'...
 PS say.M.S one-L.M-AD
 'Then he goes, laughing alone and he says to himself...'
 WTE/JH

Other numerals can also be derived by the linker. Usually, the linker is reduplicated in these, expressing the meaning 'in X parts':

- (7:22) *Me'-ki aj-katyi' mi'-chhe' aj wën-jö-i-ïn yaa*
 so-CO yet-EH 3M-SU yet move-DJ-M.S-P EX
paerae'-si-si' nöph-dye'.
 two-L.F-RD cross-NO
 'So they came up there to the second crossing.' STE/JH

7.1.4. *paeren'* 'both'

The word *paeren'* 'both' seems to be diachronically derived from *paerae'* 'two', but how exactly is unclear:

- (7:23) *Iits mimi' paerae' tara'tara' yäe*
 DE.M only.M two big.rat 1SG
tyaj-ka-ksi me'-ki paeren' äej-ä-ksi.
 meet-VK-3P.O.M.S so-CO both kill-VI-3P.O.M.S
 'I have just met those two rats and I killed them.' WTE/JH

7.1.5. Other expressions of quantity

Apart from the numerals and their derivations treated above, there is another expression of quantity, *chhith* ‘half’, used in expressions such as *chhith yomodye* ‘half a year’ and *chhith majmi* ‘halfway down the road:

- (7:24) *Aj katyi’ chhith majmi wätyëkë iits soñi’*
 yet EH half road suddenly DE.M man
näij-te paerae’ tara’tara’.
 see-VD.3M.O two big.rat
 ‘Then halfway [down] the road, suddenly this man sees two big rats.’ WTE/JH

Chhith can in some cases also mean ‘middle’. Compare this to the place adverb *kaej* ‘middle’ (6.4.1.2.).

Furthermore, the interrogative pronoun *jäen* ‘how’ can have the meaning ‘some’:

- (7:25) *jiri-s fin’*
 one-Fhair
 ‘one hair’ ELE/RC,FT
 (7:26) *jäen’-sï’ fin’*
 how-L.Fhair
 ‘some (little) hair.’ ELE/RD,FT

7.2. Non-numeral quantifiers

There are several non-numeral quantifiers in Mosetén. Many of these quantifiers can appear as determiners in the noun phrase. Furthermore, many quantifiers can be used as adverbs. Table 18 shows the possibilities of use.

7.2.1. *raej* ‘all’

The quantifier *raej* ‘all’ is exclusively used as a modifier. In example (7:27), *raej* ‘all’ appears with a Ø-head.

Table 18: The functions of quantifiers

	Determiner use	Adverb use
<i>raej</i>	all	
<i>dyai'</i>	many	
<i>maj</i>	a lot	
<i>ara'</i>	a lot, many	
<i>jes</i>	a lot, many	strongly, heavily
<i>dyam</i>	few, a little	a little
<i>pärēj</i>	some	aside

- (7:27) *Mi'-khan raej saeks-i-in.*
 3M-IN all eat-VI.M.S-P
 'There (they) all eat.' WTE/CT

Raej can be followed by the plural clitic *in*, in the same way as nominals (4.2.1.). A phonological rule (2.5.4.) extends the aspirated consonant to the *in*: *raej-jin* 'all-P'. The speaker can choose the plural form *raejjin* when speaking about a group of people while focusing on each person individually:

- (7:28) *Yi-nāsh phe-ya-ki-in mi'-chhe' Köwë'dö-wë-in*
 say.M.S-GF talk-VY-AN.M.S-P 3M-SU Covendo-DR-P
jiri-s-khan reunion raej-jin-tom mintyi'-in.
 one-F-IN meeting.E all-P-COM man-P
 'In this way they talked there in Covendo, at a meeting with all people.' WTE/CT

In this example, the focus is on each of the persons talked to, as every person involved had a different experience. The form *raej*, on the other hand, would be used when all people do the same thing together at the same time and the focus is on the group as such:

- (7:29) *Jö'dyë'yä' katyi'jike raej mintyi'-in*
 and EH PS all man-P
tata-dye-si' mimi' karij-tya-ki-in.
 priest-B-L.F only.M hard-VD-AN.M.S-P
 'And then all the people worked only for the priest.' WTE/CT

7.2.2. *dyai'*, *maj*, *ara'*, *jes* 'a lot, much, many'

There are four quantifiers in Mosestén that all mean 'a lot, much, many'. These are *dyai'*, *maj*, *ara'* and *jes*. The first three of them are exclusively used as modifiers, differing in their co-occurrence with count- or mass nouns.

The quantifier *dyai'* is exclusively used with count nouns:

- (7:30) *Khin' chhata' aj mö'-yä'-in dyai' mi'-e-ban-in*
 now MO yet 3F-AD-P much go-VI-again.M.S-P
mintyi' chhome' aj ats-i-in dyai'-in.
 man also yet come.M.S-VI-P many-P
 'Now surely many (people) are already going there again and
 also many come.' STE/CT

The quantifier *maj* is exclusively used with mass nouns:

- (7:31) *maj öjñi'*
 much water
 'much water' WTE/JH

Ara' can be used with both count nouns (7:32) and mass nouns (7:33). It seems to be semantically restricted to animals and food.:

- (7:32) *Pero mi'-we-dyera' ara' mi'-tyi' waka-m*
 but.E 3M-DR-MO much 3M.SG-L.M cow.E-3M.SG.s
me'-dyej?
 so-QT
 'But there, it must be that he has many cows, right?' COE/EC
- (7:33) *Katyi' khä mö' jaes-wa'-jo-'*
 EH well 3F.SG chewed.yucca-PR-PRI-F.S
waemtyi'-nä-ki-mö' shiish ara'
 husband-FO-CO-3F.SG meat much
ti-k-wa'-jo-i.
 bring-DK-PR-PRI-M.S
 'She is making chicha and her husband brings a lot of meat.'
 STE/VJ

Finally, *jes* ‘much’ can both be used as a modifier, and as an adverb. As a modifier, it can be used with mass nouns, such as *jes chhaesh* ‘a lot of blood’, as well as with count nouns, such as *ötö* ‘mosquito’:

- (7:34) *Jes-katyi'-ra' ötö' shiph-ki-'*
 much-EH-IR mosquito leave-VK-F.S
 ‘And many mosquitoes left.’ WTE/JH

In the following example, it is used like an adverb, meaning ‘strongly’ or ‘heavily’:

- (7:35) *Mö'-nä-ki-in jes-katyi'-ra' mö'-in tyim'-te*
 3F.SG-FO-CO-P much-EH-IR 3F-P suck-VD.3M.O
biki-in chhaesh je-k-bi-tye-'-in.
 biki-P blood take-DK-APB-APD-3F.O-P
 ‘And they are heavily sucking the bibosi, they take it.’ WTE/JH

Apart from this use, *jes* can be used emphatically, expressing ‘look!’.

7.2.3. *dyam* ‘few’, ‘a little’

The quantifier *dyam* means ‘few’ or ‘a little’.¹⁴⁶ It can be used as a modifier with count and mass nouns. The following example shows its use as a modifier with a count noun *jedye* ‘thing’:

- (7:36) *Mö'-wë chokrati mö'-yä' yäe jëñë paerae' ektaria*
 3F-DR chocolate.E3F-AD 1SG like two hectares.E
jö'dyë'yä' dyam yök-min-si' jedye'-in pe're chhome'
 and few other-AS-L.F thing-P banana also
mö'-yä'.
 3F-AD
 ‘There is chocolate, there I have like two hectares and few other things, bananas are also there.’ STE/JH

This modifier can also be used with mass nouns, such as *dyam öjñi* ‘a little water’.

Furthermore, *dyam* can act as an adverb:

- (7:37) *Dyĩñäe' trampa dyam öi jäe'mä jäkh-khan mej*
 trap trap.E little DE.F DM earth-IN down
fädy-a-ki.
 dig-VI-AN.M.S
 'Dyĩñäe' is a trap that is dug a little down in the earth.' COE/EC

The reduplication of this quantifier results in the distributive meaning 'little by little':

- (7:38) *Jam chhii-jä' kirjka-ye-ja', dyam-dyam*
 NG know.VI-1PI.S book-VY-1P.in.S little-RD
mömö'.
 only.F
 'We do not know how to read, only little by little (we can read something).' STE/DC

7.2.4. *päräj* 'some', 'aside'

Päräj means 'some' or 'aside', depending on its use. It can be used as a modifier and as an adverb. Used as a modifier, it appears with count nouns and has the meaning 'some':

- (7:39) *Päräj-ki jam me'-in.*
 some-CO NG so-P
 'And some are not like that.' STE/VJ

Other expressions of 'some' or 'several' are formed by reduplication of the numeral *jiris* 'one' (7.1.3.2.)

When *päräj* appears as an adverb it has the meaning 'aside' or 'apart'. It is usually used with the verb *ñäetye-* 'put', meaning 'put aside' or 'put apart':

- (7:40) *Päräj ñae'-tye-'-mi öi-ki-ra'-ki yäe-si'*
 aside put-VD-3F.O-2SG DE.F-CO-IR-CO 1SG-L.F
jaesh chhii-päräj-ra' ñae'-tye-'-mi.
 chewed.yucca also-aside-IR put-VD-3F.O-2SG

'You put this (one) aside and you also put my chewed yucca
aside.' STE/VJ

Chapter 8

The verbal system

The present chapter treats inflectional and derivational verbal structures.

8.1. Verbal inflection

The verbal inflection system in Mosestén is rather complex. There are different systems for intransitive and transitive paradigms. I will begin with the intransitive cross-reference paradigm, and go on to the transitive paradigm.

8.1.1. The intransitive cross-reference paradigm

There are basically two different types of marking in the intransitive inflection paradigm.

The first type of marking involves all persons, except the form for the 1st person plural inclusive subject. The difference between the 1st person plural inclusive and exclusive is only found in the verbal cross-reference system. Personal pronouns do not differentiate between inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural (5.1.). In table 19, the forms of the 1st person plural subject are in bold. Intransitive verbs agree with the gender of the subject; there is no agreement for person or number, apart from the 1st person plural inclusive subject, discussed below. The feminine gender is expressed by a glottal stop, whereas the masculine gender is expressed by the lack of this glottal stop:

- (8:1) *Yäe saeks-i-ʔ*.
1SG eat-VI-F.S
'I (F) eat.' ELE/JH

Table 19: Intransitive inflection: example saeksi- 'eat'

S↓	O	Verbal forms
1SG m		<i>saeksi</i>
1SG f		<i>saeksi'</i>
2SG m		<i>saeksi</i>
2SG f		<i>saeksi'</i>
3SG m		<i>saeksi</i>
3SG f		<i>saeksi'</i>
1P.I m		<i>saekseja' / saeksen'</i>
1P.I f		<i>saekseja' / saeksen'</i>
1P.E m		<i>saeksi</i>
1P.E f		<i>saeksi'</i>
2P m		<i>saeksi</i>
2P f		<i>saeksi'</i>
3P m		<i>saeksi (in)</i>
3P f		<i>saeksi' (in)</i>

- (8:2) *Mö' saeks-i -'.*
 3F.SG eat-VI-F.S
 'She eats.' ELE/JH
- (8:3) *Mi' saeks-i.*
 3M.SG eat-VI.M.S
 'He eats.' ELE/JH
- (8:4) *Mi'-in saeks-i-in.*
 3M-P eat-VI.M.S-P
 'They (P, M) eat.' ELE/JH

In the 3rd person plural, an additional *in* plural marking often appears in the clause (4.2.1.).

The second type of intransitive cross-reference marking is the marking of the 1st person plural inclusive.¹⁴⁷ These forms are very different from the other persons. The first person plural inclusive marker is *-ja'* and does not show gender distinctions.¹⁴⁸ Example (8:5) has a feminine subject 'we', example (8:6) a masculine subject:

- (8:5) *Tsin-nä-rä' waj-raej fek-ye-ja' kheo' majmi.*
 1P-FO-IR among-all arrange-VY-1P.in.S side road
 'We will all arrange (ourselves) at the side of the road.' WTE/JH

- (8:6) *Poroma jike ijme-ya' tyüb-e-ja'.*
 before PS arrow-AD fish-VI-1PL.S
 'In old days we (M) fished with (the) arrow.' STE/DC

Some families, and most young people, use another form for the 1st person plural inclusive in the intransitive paradigm. This is the marker *-n'*. It has the same form as the general participle marker (8.9.) and seems to have grammaticalized this way. A possible explanation for the grammaticalization of this marker can be seen in the following example:

- (8:7) *Jädyäk-yë-ki-' katyi' yoj-ye-n'-dyera' anik*
 noise-VY-DK-F.S EH R-VY-1PL.S-MO EM
nä'-ë-n' *ye-ki-' katyi' wa-ti-'*
 get.born-VI-1PL.S say-DK-F.S EH cry-VT-F.S
käedäej.
 baby
 'Suddenly there was a noise, like we say when we are born, so it is said that the baby cried.' or 'Suddenly there was a noise, like it sounds when being born, so it is said that the baby cried.' STE/VJ

There are two possible translations of this sentence, depending on whether the marker *-n'* functions as a verbal participle or a marker for the 1st person plural inclusive subject.

The marker *-n'* is used in the same way as *-ja'* above, in that it does not have different gender forms. The two forms do not seem to differ in meaning. People who accept *-n'*, usually use this form to mark the 1st person plural inclusive subject in the intransitive paradigm, but they also accept marking by *-ja'*. People not accepting the marker *-n'* always mark the 1st person plural inclusive subject in the intransitive inflection by *-ja'::*

- (8:8) *Tsin nöi'-yä-khñe-n'.*
 1P tired-VY-strong-1PL.S
 'We are very tired.' ELE/AT

- (8:9) *Tsin nõi'-yä-khñe-ja'*
 1P tired-VY-strong-1PI.S
 'We are very tired.' ELE/AT

This marker *-n'* can also be added to verbal derivation markers such as the progressive *-wa'-jo-*:

- (8:10) *Shiph-ke-wa'-jo-n'*
 leave-VK-PR-PRI-1PI.S
 'We are leaving.' ELE/JH

The 1st person plural exclusive subject, on the other hand, has the same kind of marking as the other persons in the intransitive paradigm, see table 19 above.

The verbal cross-reference marking always occurs after the verbal stem, which can either be the verbal root, or a root combined with several different markers. The verbal stem of the verb 'work' is, for example, based on the root 'hard', followed by the verbal stem marker *-tyi-* (8.3.3.) and the antipassive marker *-ki-* (9.3.1.). The verbal cross-reference ending follows this stem:

- (8:11) *Karij-tya-ki-'*
 hard-VD-AN-F.S
 'She works.' ELE/JH

The verbal cross-reference ending can be followed by other markers, namely clitics. This is the case in the following example, where the verb *karijtyaki-* 'work' is followed by the clitics *-wi'-* 'modality' (11.2.2.), *-ra'* 'potential' (11.2.1.) and *in* 'plural' (4.2.1.):

- (8:12) *Karij-tya-ki-'-wi'-ra'-in.*
 hard-VD-AN-F.S-MN-IR-P
 'They (F) should have worked.' ELE/JH

Irregularities in this inflectional paradigm appear only with one verb *ayi* 'F come(s)' in the feminine. This verb has suppletive gender forms. It is *atsi* 'he goes' in the masculine gender (see also section 4.3. on gender agreement). While other verbs mark the gender of the subject of an

intransitive verb by a glottal stop, the verb *ayi* appears without such a glottal stop.¹⁴⁹

- (8:13) *Mö'* *ay-i* *yäe-ya'*.
 3F.SG come.F.S-VI 1SG-AD
 'She comes to me.' ELE/JH

When derivational suffixes, such as the aspectual marker *-jo-* (8.5.3.) are added to this verbal stem *ayi-*, a glottal stop appears at the end of the verbal construction to mark feminine cross-reference:

- (8:14) *Ay-i* *maj öjñi'* *ay-i-jo-i'*¹⁵⁰ *mö'*
 come.F.S-VI much water come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S 3F.SG
Köwë'dö.
 Covendo
 'Much water came in the river 'Covendo'.' STE/JH

8.1.2. The transitive cross-reference paradigm

The transitive cross-reference paradigm consists of reference to the subject and primary object. Agreement is with person, gender and number of the subject and object, but all forms only refer to a subset of these features. The underlined, non-italic forms in the paradigm in table 20 are reflexive forms, which are used in cases of overlap in person (8.1.3.). In the following sections, I will discuss the different forms in the verbal paradigm. I will begin with the 1st person plural inclusive forms, which differ in many ways from the other forms in the paradigm (8.1.2.1.). Then, I will turn to the 3rd person plural object forms that formally resemble intransitive cross-reference forms (8.1.2.2.). After these introductions to the exceptions of the paradigm, I will more systematically consider the three grammatical categories which appear in this cross-reference paradigm: gender (8.1.2.3.), number (8.1.2.4.) and person (8.1.2.5.). The reflexive and partially overlapping forms in the cross-reference paradigm, underlined and not in italics in the table, will be treated together with reflexive and reciprocal cross-reference in section 8.2.3. below.

Table 20: The transitive cross-reference paradigm in Mose^tén¹⁵¹

S↓	O	1SG	2SG	3SG m	3SG f	1P.E	1P.I	2P	3P
1SG m		<u>-ti</u>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<u>-ti</u>	<u>-ti</u>	<i>-yak</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
1SG f		<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<u>-ti'</u>	<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-yak</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
2SG m		<i>-ti'</i>	<u>-ti</u>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>	<u>-ti</u>	<u>-ti</u>	<i>-ksi</i>
2SG f		<i>-ti'</i>	<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>	<u>-ti'</u>	<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-ksi'</i>
3SG m		<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-nak</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
3SG f		<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-nak</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
1P.E m		<u>-ti</u>	<i>-yak</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<u>-ti</u>	<u>-ti</u>	<i>-yak</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
1P.E f		<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-yak</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<u>-ti'</u>	<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-yak</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
1P.I m		<u>-tikha'</u>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ti'</i>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<i>-kseja'</i>
1P.I f		<u>-tikha'</u>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ti'</i>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<u>-tikha'</u>	<i>-kseja'</i>
2P m		<i>-tikha'</i>	<u>-ti</u>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>	<u>-ti</u>	<u>-ti</u>	<i>-ksi</i>
2P f		<i>-tikha'</i>	<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>	<u>-ti'</u>	<u>-ti'</u>	<i>-ksi'</i>
3P m		<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-nak</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
3P f		<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-nak</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>

8.1.2.1. 1st plural inclusive subjects in the transitive paradigm

In the same way as in the intransitive inflection, the forms for the 1st person plural inclusive subject differ from the forms in the rest of the paradigm. In this section, I will exclusively consider non-reflexive forms, i.e. the forms in italics in table 20.

There are two forms of the 1st person plural inclusive subject in the transitive paradigm: those with a 3rd person singular object and those with a 3rd person plural object. The latter formally resemble reflexive forms (8.2.3.): *-ti* (1st person plural inclusive subject with a masculine object) and *-ti'* (1st person plural inclusive subject with a feminine object). In these forms of the 1st person plural inclusive subject, gender agreement is with the object and not with the subject. The following examples show the 1st person plural inclusive subject with a feminine singular object (8:15) and a (8:16) masculine singular object:

- (8:15) *Jedye-dye-si'-dye'-ki-ra' ka-ti-'*?
 thing-B-L.F-NO-CO-IR bring-1PI.S-F.O
 'Why should we bring it?' STE/EC

- (8:16) *Pa'-ki-ti-ra'* *tyäkä'-dyërä'* *ij-a-ti.*
 beat-AN-1PI.S.M.O-IR EM-MO kill-VI-1PI.S.M.O
 'We will beat it (the tapir, M) and thus kill it.' STE/VC

With a plural object, the 1st person plural inclusive subject forms involve the marker for plural objects *-ksi-* (discussed in section 8.1.2.2.), as well as the 1st plural inclusive subject marker *-ja'* used in the intransitive inflection (8.1.1.). Together they form the cross-reference marker *-kseja'*. This marker is undifferentiated for gender:

- (8:17) *Jö'dyë'yä'* *jam aj tsin dyai-dye'-ra' tsin*
 and NG yet 1P many-NO-IR 1P
jäe'mä ti-kse-ja' *yi-'-tsa'* *dyij-ye-dye'*
 DM bring-3P.O-1PI.Ssay-F.S-FR think-VY-NO
pa'e-si'
 priest-L.F
 'And we haven't brought people from outside, but that was the priest's idea.' COE/SM
- (8:18) *Sob-a-kse-ja'* *mi'-in nanatyi'-in.*
 visit-VI-3P.O-1PI.S 3M-P boy-P
 'We visit the boys.' ELE/JH

In the same way as *-n'* (undifferentiated for gender) can be used to mark the 1st person plural inclusive in the intransitive paradigm (8.1.1.), this marker can also appear combined with *-kse-* '3rd person plural object':

- (8:19) *Worwa-kse-n'-ra'* *jam-ra'* *öi tyas-yi-' shokdye'.*
 call-3P.O-1PI.S-IR NG-IR DE.F dry-VY-F.S chicha
 'We will call them, the chicha will not stop (lit. 'dry in').'
 STE/VC

8.1.2.2. The forms of the 3rd person plural objects

The forms of the 3rd person plural objects in the cross-reference paradigm differ in many ways from the other forms. When derivational markers are added to the verbal stem, they commonly appear after the

cross-reference marker for the 3rd person. This differs from the general order of affixes in verbs, where only clitics can appear after the verbal cross-reference ending. Derivational suffixes usually precede the inflectional marker in verbs.

In the following example, the suffix *-ban* ‘again’ (8.8.) follows the marker for the 3rd person plural object *-ksi-*:

- (8:20) *ka-kse-ban-*
bring-3P.O-again-F.S
‘She brings them again.’ WTE/CT

In this example, the final glottal stop shows feminine gender agreement with the subject of the clause. Gender for the subject is usually only found with intransitive verbs, whereas 3rd person transitive verbs usually are marked for the gender of the object (see section 8.1.2.3. below). Furthermore, this marker for the gender of the subject of the clause appears after the verbal stem, in the same way as other cross-reference markers. The marker *-kse-* ‘3rd person plural object marker’, on the other hand, precedes the derivational marking by *ban* ‘again’.

In the following example, the intransitive form of the progressive aspect marker *-wa’-jo-* (8.5.1.) follows the marker for the 3rd person plural object *-ksi-*.¹⁵² The *-ya*’ at the end is a clitic meaning ‘when’:

- (8:21) *Me’ katyi’ poroma jike Sheshewintyi’*
so EH before PS Creator
ji’-min-a-kse-wa’-jo-i-ya’
CA-change-VI-3P.O-PR-PRI-M.S-AD
‘It is said that in old times, when the Creator made them transform.’ WTE/JH

In this example, the derivational affix is also followed by a marker referring to the gender of the subject of the clause, in the same way as with intransitive verbs (see section 8.1.1.).

With 1st person plural inclusive subjects (8.1.2.1.), derivational affixes appear in between the marker *-kse-* ‘3rd person plural object’ and *-ja*’ ‘1st person plural inclusive subject’:

- (8:22) *Jeb-a-kse-bi-ja'*
 eat(tr)-VI-3P.O-APB-1PI.S
 'We are eating them against their will.' ELE/JH

In this way, the marker *-ja'* '1st person plural inclusive subject' appears at the end of the verbal stem, in the same way as other cross-reference markers, whereas the marker for the 3rd person plural object appears in line with derivational markers. Furthermore, the form of the 1st person plural inclusive subject marker is *-ja'*, as in the intransitive form (8.1.2.1.).

There are a number of other oddities with *-kse-* '3rd person plural object': imperative forms usually have no reference to an object, apart from the object forms in the 3rd plural. Furthermore, a stem final vowel in vowel stems and some consonant stems is /e/ before many different transitive cross-reference endings (2.5.1.1.). With *-ksi-*, however, the vowel turns into /a/. This type of vowel change also appears with the antipassive suffix *-ki* and the passive marker *-k* (9.1.1.).

Given these facts about the 3rd person plural object marker *-kse-*, I assume that this marker acts as a derivational suffix instead of as an inflectional marker. It seems that this derivational marker has acquired inflectional uses. Furthermore, this suffix appears to be intransitive in nature, due to the fact that the intransitive 1st plural inclusive subject form *-ja'* is added to *-ksi-* instead of a transitive marker. Another argument for this claim is that 3rd person plural object forms generally agree with the gender of the subject, whereas 3rd person singular object forms agree with the gender of the object (8.1.2.3).

8.1.2.3. The category of gender in the cross-reference paradigm

The cross-reference system of transitive verbs contains some forms agreeing in gender with an argument, while other forms do not show such agreement. All 3rd person object forms show gender agreement with a number split with respect to their antecedent: singular 3rd person object forms inflect for the gender of the object, 3rd person plural object forms agree with the gender of the subject of the clause (see the previous section 8.1.2.2. for an explanation). Furthermore, 1st person inclusive plural subject forms (of transitive verbs) show gender

agreement with the object of the clause. Table 21 summarizes the forms of the cross-reference markers in the 3rd person object forms and the 1st person plural inclusive forms, in order to show the gender agreement structure in transitive cross-reference. Only forms which show gender agreement are shown in the table.

Table 21: Transitive cross-reference markers that show gender agreement

S↓	O	3SG m	3SG f	3P m	3P f
1SG m		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
1SG f		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
2SG m		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
2SG f		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
3SG m		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
3SG f		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
1P.I m		<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-kseja'</i>	<i>-kseja'</i>
1P.I f		<i>-ti'</i>	<i>-ti'</i>	<i>-kseja'</i>	<i>-kseja'</i>
1P.E m		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
1P.E f		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
2P m		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
2P f		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>
3P m		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi</i>	<i>-ksi</i>
3P f		<i>-te</i>	<i>-(V)'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>	<i>-ksi'</i>

8.1.2.4. The category of number in the cross-reference paradigm

Most cross-reference markers in the paradigm involve number marking of the subject or object. An exception is the cross-reference marker *-n* that can be applied to 3rd person singular or plural subjects, as well as 1st person singular and plural (exclusive) objects.¹⁵³ Furthermore, 3rd person object forms are marked for number, while the corresponding subject forms do not show these distinctions.

Interesting are the forms *-yak* and *-tikha*, referring to 1st person subject / 2nd person object and 2nd person object / 1st person subject respectively. These forms do not specify the number of subject or object. Instead, they are used when at least one of the participants, i.e. either subject or object, is plural. This can mean that both subject and

object are plural, or that the subject is plural and the object singular or the object plural and the subject singular.

8.1.2.5. The category of person in the cross-reference paradigm

The 3rd person object forms exclusively mark object and not subject person, apart from the exceptional forms of 1st person inclusive subjects, which mark both subject and object person (see 8.1.2.1. above). Furthermore, the cross-reference marker *-n* can be applied to 3rd person subjects and either 1st or 2nd person objects. All other cross-reference forms involve marking of both subject person and object person.

8.1.3. Reflexives and reciprocals

The notion of “reflexives” is a rather loose one in Mosetén, and also involves overlapping reference in the cross-reference paradigm.

8.1.3.1. Reflexives

Reflexive forms are marked by the suffix *-ti-*. They follow the intransitive inflection (8.1.1.) in agreeing with the gender of the subject of the clause in the general paradigm, while the 1st person plural inclusive subjects are marked by a special form that does not involve gender agreement, *-tikha'*. The reflexive marker *-ti-* resembles some other markers which seem to be diachronically related to it: the verbal stem marker *-ti-* (8.3.4.) and the antipassive marker *-ti-* (section 9.3.2.).¹⁵⁴

The following example shows the reflexive marking in the verbal cross-reference ending with a feminine subject:

- (8:23) *Mäei'-yä' katyi' ö-wë jish-yi-ti-'*.
 first-AD EH F-DR comb-VY-RE-F.S
 ‘At first she combed herself on this side (here).’¹⁵⁵ STE/VJ

3rd person plural reflexive forms are usually also marked by the plural clitic *in* (4.2.1.). In the following example, the reflexive pronoun *khäei'* (5.6.2.) also appears together with the reflexive cross-reference marking:

- (8:24) *Khin'-dyem' khäei'-dye-si' jo-yi-ti-in mi'-ya'*
 now-still RF-B-L.F serve-VY-RE.M.S-P 3M-AD
saeks-e-ban-in.
 eat-VI-again.M.S-P
 'Then they serve themselves and then they eat there.' WTE/CT

With 1st person plural inclusive subjects, the form of the reflexive is *-tikha'*:

- (8:25) *Me'-si-si'-we-i iits ojtere' chhata-dye-ki*
 so-L.F-RD-want-VI.M.S DE.M rooster true-NO-VK.M.S
chhii jäen' tsin ñi'-ti-kha' majmi-we.
 know.VI.MS how 1P put-VD.RE-1PI.S road-DR
 'This the rooster wants to know how we put (arranged)
 ourselves on the road.' WTE/JH

There are some special forms involving the reflexive. When the suffix *-ban* 'again' appears together with the reflexive, the forms are fused to *-bin* (masculine reflexive fused with *-ban*), *-bin'* (feminine reflexive fused with *-ban*) and *-bidyikha'* (1st person plural inclusive reflexive fused with *-ban*):

- (8:26) *Mö' chhok-i-bin-'*
 3F.SG cut-VI-RE.again-F.S
 'She has cut herself.' ELE/JH

Furthermore, there are fused forms of the imperative and the reflexive (8.1.5.5.).

The reflexive is often used in the reflexive causative and in other voice structures (section 9.1.2. nd 9.1.3.).

8.1.3.2. Reciprocals

Reciprocals have the same cross-reference forms as reflexives. They can be distinguished from reflexives by their meaning. Often, they also appear with a reciprocal pronoun such as *wajmej* or *wajkawin* ‘each other’.

- (8:27) *Wajkawin dyis-a-k-ti-'-in,* *jike katyi'*
 each.other laugh-VI-AN-RE-F.S-P PS EH
soij-ji-n'-in.
 go.out-VI-PR-P
 ‘With each other they laughed and went out (of the river) .’
 WTE/LM

In certain cases, the reciprocal pronoun does not occur in the clause. The people in the following example are unlikely to meet themselves and embrace themselves, making the reciprocal translation much more probable:

- (8:28) *Mi'-ya' kiwi Kallawalla bon-jan-in*
 3M-AD again Callawaya play.flute-VI.again-P
tyaj-ki-ti-in Moreno-tom-in mi'-ya'
 meet-VK-RE.M.S-P Moreno-COM-P 3M-AD
ño-ki-ti-in.
 embrace-VK-RE.M.S-P
 ‘There the Callawayas play the flute again and they meet with the Morenos and there they embrace each other.’ WTE/CT

The following example shows the form of the 1st person plural inclusive reciprocal inflection:

- (8:29) *Khin'-nä-ki (yäe) wajmej tyaj-ki-ti-kha'.*
 now-FO-CO (1SG) each.other meet-VK-RE-1.PI.S
 ‘Now we have met each other.’ COE/JH

8.1.3.3. Overlapping reference in the cross-reference paradigm

When the subject participant and the object participant is the same person, the reflexive is used (8.1.3.1.). In Mosestén, the reflexive inflection is extended to partial overlap, i.e. when the subject participant is included in the group of object participants or when the object participant is included in the group of subject participants. For example, 2nd person plural subject and 2nd person singular object reference is presented as a reflexive, since the object participant is included in the group of the subject participant. This structure is very rare and only makes sense in certain situations, such as with a crystal ball in which one can see the future, or a mirror looked at from a diagonal angle:

- (8:30) *Mi'in käw-ë-' espejo. Mi'-khan kaw-i-ti-' mi.*
 2P look-VI-3F.O mirror.E3M-IN look-VI-RE-F.S 2SG
 'You (F, P) look at the mirror. In there you (F, P) see you (SG).' ELE/CT

The reflexive form used in this structure agrees with the subject of the clause in gender - and in one case also in person. There is no direct agreement with the object (compare this with the antipassive marked by *-ti-* 9.3.1.). The hearer only knows that the object is partially or entirely co-referent with the subject participant. Thus, when the subject of such a structure is a 1st person plural inclusive, the reflexive forms *-tikha'* for 1st person plural inclusive subjects is used:

- (8:31) *Tsin käw-ë-' espejo. Mö'-khan tsin*
 1P look-VI-3F.O mirror.E3F-IN 1P
näij-ti-kha' (yäe).
 see-VI.RE-1PI.S 1SG
 'We look at the mirror. In there we see me.' ELE/AT

I have to point to the fact that the data in the present section are elicited. Furthermore, most of my consultants had profound difficulties with the odd situations in which these forms are used. Therefore, the data presented in the present section should be treated with care.

I also tried to find out about pointing reference in the situation, where one person "you" gives something to another person "you". These

forms were not accepted by the speakers in elicitation, and since I do not have textual material on this, it is unclear how the form would be in this case.

8.1.4. Ditransitive verb constructions

The cross-reference endings in Mosestén can show agreement with two arguments at most. Since there are three arguments present in ditransitive constructions, one such argument, usually in the role of the patient, is not referred to by the verb. The cross-reference ending of the ditransitive verb ‘give’ refers to the agent and the recipient role, while there is no agreement with the patient in the verb:

- (8:32) *Yäe tye-te jiri-s kirjka yäe-tyi’ otyi’.*
 1SG give-3M.O one-F book(F) 1SG-L.M brother
 ‘I gave a book to my brother.’ ELE/JH

The cross-reference ending shows agreement to a 3rd person masculine object, in this case the recipient ‘my brother’.¹⁵⁶ The feminine patient ‘a book’ is not referred to in the cross-reference ending. Since there is no core case marking in Mosestén (4.1.), these three different arguments are formally not distinguishable in any other way than through the marking in the cross-reference ending.

The following example shows the ditransitive verb ‘send’, where the cross-reference ending of the verb does not refer to the patient:

- (8:33) *Me’-ki ay-i-jo-i’-ya’ jike yäe karta*
 so-CO come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S-AD PS 1SG postcard.E
jäe’mä ji-ti-n jäe’mä Alemaniam-we.
 DM send-VD.DT-1O DM Germany.E-DR
 ‘So, when she came, she sent a postcard to me from Germany.’
 STE/JH

Usually, the patient-‘secondary object’ appears after the primary object in word order.

8.1.5. *Imperative inflection*

The imperative expresses direct commands. There are imperative inflection forms in the intransitive and in the transitive inflection for the 2nd person singular subject and the 2nd person plural subject. For all other persons, the general cross-reference forms (8.1.1. and 8.1.2.) are used when commands are expressed with these persons. Furthermore, I will look at negative imperatives, special (lexical) hortative markers, reflexive verbs marked by the imperative and at the clitic *-tyi* emphasizing the imperative.

8.1.5.1. *Intransitive inflection of imperatives in the second person*

The intransitive inflection of imperatives includes marking for person and number. The 2nd person subject singular is marked by *-wa* and in the plural it is *-wak*. There is no marking for gender. In the following example, the marker *-wa* is used to express the imperative in the 2nd person singular:

- (8:34) *Mö-wë-yä'* ***jij-ka-wa*** *dyam'* *mö-wë-yä'*
 3F-DR-AD go-DK-IMI.2SG more 3F-DR-AD
jij-ka-wa!
 go-DK-IMI.2SG
 'Go further over there, go more over there!' STE/VJ

The following example shows the imperative marker *-wak* in the 2nd person plural:

- (8:35) ***Je-jaem-ye-wak!***
 CS-good-VY-IMI.2P
 'Be careful!' STE/VJ

Following consonant stems (8.2.1.), the imperative forms are shortened. In this way, *phe-ya-ki* 'he talks' is *phe-ya-k-a!* in the imperative.

8.1.5.2. Transitive inflection of imperatives

The transitive inflection forms of imperatives are marked for person¹⁵⁷ and number of the subject, as well as for gender and number of the object. With plural objects, only the number is marked, not the gender.¹⁵⁸ The following table summarizes the different forms of the imperative:

Table 22: The transitive imperative marking

S↓	O	SG m	SG f	P
2SG		<i>-me</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ksewa</i>
2P		<i>-mak</i>	<i>-wak</i>	<i>-ksewak</i>

With singular subjects and singular masculine objects, the marker has the form *-me* (8:36). With singular feminine objects the form is *-wa* (8:37), and with all plural objects the form is *-ksewa*, as there are no distinct gender forms (8:38):

- (8:36) *Rai's-e-' yäe käw-ë-yë*
 want-VI-3.F.O 1SG see-VI-1SG/2SG
jäen'-yë-te-dyash-ra'-mi, käshü' mi' pina
 how-VY-3M.O-QI-IR-2SG see.HOR 3M.SG cuchi
chhiph-ye-me!
 shoot-VY-IMT.2.SG
 'I want to see you what you will do to him, let's see: shoot that cuchi-tree!' WTE/JH
- (8:37) *Jeb-e-wa mi saeks-e-dye'!*
 eat-VI-IMT.2SG 2SG eat-VI-NO
 'Eat your (SG) food!.' ELE/JH
- (8:38) *Sob-a-kse-wa mi'in nanatyi'-in!*
 visit-VI-3P.O-IMT. 2SG 2P boy-P
 'Visit your (SG) boys.' ELE/JH

With plural subjects and singular masculine objects, the marker has the form *-mak* (8:39). With singular feminine objects the form is *-wak* (8:40), and with plural objects the form is *-ksewak* (8:41):

- (8:39) ***Sob-e-wak*** *khäei'-sī' äwä'!*
 visit-VI-IMT.2P.S.F.O RF-L.F child
 'Visit your (P) daughter!' ELE/JH
- (8:40) ***Sob-e-mak*** *mī'in khäei'-tyi' äwä'!*
 visit-VI-IMT.2P.S.M.O 2P RF-L.M child
 'Visit your (P) son!' ELE/JH
- (8:41) ***Sob-a-kse-wak*** *mī'in nanatyi'-in!*
 visit-VI-3P.O-IMT.2P.S 2P boy-P
 'Visit your (P) boys.' ELE/JH

8.1.5.3. Negative imperative

The negative imperative is expressed by combining the imperative markers with the negation *jam*, though these markers do not have to be adjacent:

- (8:42) ***Jam mö' jaem'-wa!***
 NG 3F.SG good-VD.IMT.F.SG.O
 'Don't do that!' ELE/RC, FT

Another way to express the negative imperative combines the negation with the irrealis marker *-ra'*, and is slightly more polite than the negated imperative form above. The subject *mī'in* 'you, plural' is usually represented as a personal pronoun in this construction:

- (8:43) ***Jam-ra' ye-te mī'in!***
 NG-IR say-3M.O 2P
 'Do not tell him! STE/EC

For the expression of prohibition, see section 9.4.2.

8.1.5.4. Hortative

The first plural inclusive imperative is marked by the forms of the unmarked cross-reference paradigm. However, there are a number of

fixed lexical hortative forms: *dyoshkha* 'let's go' (8:44), *bajsha* 'let's go' (8:44) and *käshä* 'let's see' (8:45):

- (8:44) *Dyoshkha' bajsha' aj ish jam jaem'-yi-sin'*
 go.HOR go.HOR yet then NG good-VY-1PI.O
moshoki dyoshkha' bajsha'!
 mouse go.HOR go.HOR
 'Let us go, let us go, since the mouse does not treat us well
 (any more), let us go, let us go.' STE/VJ
- (8:45) *Käshä' kiwi chhiph-ye-me mi' pina!*
 see.HOR again shoot-VY-IMT.2SG 3M.SG cuchitree
 'Let's see, shoot again (at) the cuchitree!' WTE/JH

The derivation of these forms is not transparent. *Dyoshkha* 'let's go' is derived from *dyochhi*- 'go', *bajsha* 'let's go' is derived from *ban* 'go' and *käshä* 'let's see' from *käwë*- 'see'. Still, all these forms end with the 1st person plural inclusive marker *-ja*.

In the following example, the hortative form *dyoshkha* 'let's go' appears together with the other forms *khao'-jo-n'* 'let's flee' and *tya'kajyiti* 'let's leave her behind'. The latter two forms are not marked by a special hortative marker, but appear in the general cross-reference form for the 1st person plural inclusive subject:

- (8:46) *Dyoshkha' khao'-jo-n' tya'kaj-yi-ti-'*
 go.HOR flee-VJ-1PI.S behind-VY-1PI.S-F.O
 'Let us go, flee, leave her behind.' STE/VJ

8.1.5.5. Imperative reflexive and short imperative forms

Reflexive verbs have slightly different imperative forms from intransitive verbs (8.1.5.1.). The singular form is *-ta* and the plural form *-tak*:

- (8:47) *Mi' jejmi-ti.*
 3M.SG cook.VI-RE.M.S
 'He cooks.' ELE/JH

- (8:48) *Jejmi-ta!*
 cook.VI-IMR.2SG
 ‘cook (you SG)!’ ELE/JH
- (8:49) *Jejmi-tak!*
 cook.VI-IMR.2P
 ‘cook (you P)!’ ELE/JH

An otherwise transitively used form *käwë-* ‘see’ can be used together with the reflexive imperative marker *-ta*: *kawita* ‘see’. The reflexive form *kawiti-* has the meaning ‘look at oneself’ (for example in the mirror), and therefore the imperative form directly translated means ‘look at yourself’. However, lexically, this form is used as a discourse marker used to emphasize that one is making a statement:

- (8:50) *Kaw-i-ta* *aj* *its-i-’* *nönö!’*”
 see-VI-IMR.2SG yet NX-VI-F.S mother
 ‘Look, your mother is not here (any more)!’ STE/VJ

These reflexive forms are derived by changing the last vowel of the stem, in this case the reflexive marker *-ti-*, into /a/ and in the plural adding a *-k*. These imperative plural forms can, by some speakers, be used to express the imperative of other non-reflexive verbs.¹⁵⁹ These verbs are intransitive, in the same way as the reflexive forms discussed above, and involve bodily functions:

- (8:51) *oje’ki-* ‘cough’
tsä’i- ‘wake up’
chhiki- ‘urinate’
nä’i- ‘be born’
saeñi- ‘die’
tyomi- ‘drown’
jifi- ‘break wind’

Moreover, a number of other intransitive verbs are used this way:

- (8:52) *saeksi-* ‘eat’
phiki- ‘run’
käwün’yä- ‘hurry’

<i>ītsädyëi-</i>	‘play’
<i>näi-</i>	‘fly’
<i>jimaki-</i>	‘sing’
<i>tyijbi-</i>	‘fan’
<i>phäeshäei ’yï-</i>	‘crouch’
<i>ñibë ’jï’yëban-</i>	‘forgive’
<i>wiki-</i>	‘spin’

These “short” imperative plural forms with the queried verbs are only accepted by some speakers. The plural markers resemble passive forms which appear with other verbs. Compare the following form of the transitive verb *sañe-* ‘write’ in the passive (A) and the intransitive verb *saeñi-* ‘die’ derived by the short form of the imperative (B):

(8:53) *san-a-k*
write-VI-PP
‘it is written’ ELE/AT

(8:54) *Saeñ-a-k!*¹⁶⁰
die-VI-IMI.2P
‘die!’ ELE/AT

Since the verbs in which these imperative forms appear, are all intransitive and cannot be transitivized without further marking, ambiguity in the speech of these speakers as to whether a form is a passive form or an imperative form does not usually arise.

8.1.5.6. *-tyi*’ imperative emphasis

The clitic *-tyi*’ can be added to imperative verbal forms, emphasizing the imperative:

(8:55) *Töj-yë-wä* *mi’-ya’-näjä jïj-ka-i*
throw-VY-IMI.2SG 3M-AD-FO go-DK-M.S
‘*töj-yë-wä-tyi*!’
throw-VY-IMI.2SG-IE
‘Just throw it, there it has gone, just throw it!.’ STE/VC

The above example is said in a hunting situation, where several men try to kill an animal by throwing dynamite. One of the men says ‘throw it, the animal is now over there’, getting very excited and adding *töjyëwä’-tyi’* ‘just throw it’, emphasizing the imperative by the use of the clitic *-tyi’*.

Also in the following example, *tyi’* is used to emphasize the imperative, urging the person to do it ‘very slowly and carefully’:

- (8:56) *Je-jaem-ye-wak-tyi’ are’-tyi’-ra’!*
 CS-good-VY-IMI.2P-IE careful-IE-IR
 ‘Slow, careful!’ STE/VJ

The clitic *-tyi’* can also appear on other elements than imperative verbs, conveying a modal meaning (11.2.7.).

8.2. Morphophonological characteristics of verbal stems

Inflectional and derivational forms can be added to verbal stems in different ways, depending on the affixation characteristics of the verbal stem involved. The verbal stem usually consists of a root and a verbal stem marker (8.3.) and can be derived by various different affixes. These stems can have different affixation characteristics, when derivational or inflectional suffixes are added to them. Generally, one can describe these verbal stems by looking at three forms: the intransitive inflection in the 3rd person subject or transitive inflection in the 3rd person object, the form of the 1st person plural inclusive subject, and the form of the verbal stem when the nominalizing suffix *-dye’* is added.

The differences in these affixation patterns are not phonological, but verbal stems inherently follow a certain affixation pattern. In this way, some forms that end in *-ki* are consonantal stems (8:57) and (8:58), others are vowel stems (8:59) and (8:60):

- (8:57) *san-a-ki*
 write-VI-AN.M.S
 ‘he writes’ ELE/JH

- (8:58) *san-a-k-ha'*
write-VI-AN-1PL.S
'we inclusive write' ELE/JH
- (8:59) *phi-ki*
run-VK.M.S
'he runs' ELE/JH
- (8:60) *phi-ke-ja'*
run-VK-1PL.S
'we run' ELE/JH

In (8:57) the marker *-ki-* expresses an antipassive, and in (8:59) another marker *-ki-* is added to the verbal stem. The antipassive marker forms a consonant stem, in which the suffix is added to the last consonant of the stem, and the final vowel *-i-* disappears. The verbal stem marker, on the other hand, forms a vowel stem, in which the last vowel appears before the suffix.

The different types of verbal stems are summarized in the following table:

Table 23: Morphophonological types of verbal stems

Type of stems	Forms
Consonant stems	The suffix is added to the final consonant of the stem.
Direct stems	The suffix is added to the penultimate vowel, compared to the 3 rd person subject (intransitive) or object (transitive) forms.
Vowel stems	The suffix is added to the last vowel of the stem.
Mixed stems	The suffix for the 1 st person plural inclusive subject is added to direct stems, while the nominalization marker <i>-dye'</i> is added to vowel stems.
Irregular stems	A number of irregular forms do not fit into the other affixation patterns: <i>siti-</i> 'enter', reflexive forms, <i>-ban-</i> 'again' and <i>-tyi-</i> 'verbal stem marker'

8.2.1. Consonant stems

Consonant stems add the markers for the 1st person plural inclusive subject, as well as the derivational marker *-dye'* 'nominalization' directly to the final consonant of the preceding stem.

8.2.1.1. Intransitive consonant stems

Intransitive consonant stems add the marker for the 1st person plural inclusive *-ja* and the derivational marker *-dye* 'nominalization' to the last consonant of the verbal stem. In this way, verbs with the verbal stem marker *-i-* often appear without this *-i-*, as it usually is the last vowel in the stem that is deleted when certain suffixes are added. Verbal stems of this type are:

(8:61)	<i>tyom-</i>	'drown'
	<i>daer-</i>	'grow'
	<i>jif-</i>	'break a wind'
	<i>dyis-</i>	'laugh'
	<i>mis-</i>	'talk'
	<i>khösh-</i>	'sleep'
	<i>möñ- / mön-</i>	'disappear'
	<i>peñ- / pen-</i>	'surrender'
	<i>miñ- / min-</i>	'change, go'

Moreover, the affixes *-ki-* 'associated motion marker', *-sh-* 'associated motion marker' and *-ki-* 'antipassive' follow this pattern:

(8:62)	<i>daer-i-</i>	
	big-VI-F.S	
		'he grows' ELE/JH
(8:63)	<i>daer-ja'</i>	
	big-VI.1PI.S	
		'we inclusive grow' ELE/JH
(8:64)	<i>daer-dye'</i>	
	big-NO	
		'size' ELE/JH

The cross-reference ending in (8:62) is added to the vowel *-i-*, while the markers in (8:63) and (8:64) appear after the final consonant of the stem.

In some stems, sound changes can occur. When a fricative appears before the 1st person plural inclusive subject marker, the fricative at the beginning of this marker is not expressed:

- (8:65) *dyis-i-*'
 laugh-VI-F.S
 'he laughs' ELE/JH
- (8:66) *dyis-a*'
 laugh-VI.1PI.S
 'we inclusive laugh' ELE/JH
- (8:67) *dyis-dye*'
 laugh-NO
 'laughter' ELE/JH

If the stem-final consonant is *-k-*, it becomes aspirated before the ending of the 1st person plural inclusive subject:

- (8:68) *säk-a-ki-*'
 suck-VI-AN-3F.S
 'she sucks' ELE/JH
- (8:69) *säk-a-k-ha*'
 suck-VI-AN-1PI.S
 'we inclusive suck' ELE/JH
- (8:70) *säk-a-k-dye*'
 suck-VI-MI-NO
 'fruit' ELE/JH

Furthermore, an *-ñ-* in the verbal stem (8:71) is assimilated into *-n-*, when appearing at the end of the syllable (8:72) and (8:73) (2.5.3.):

- (8:71) *möñ-i-*'
 disappear-VI-F.S
 'he disappears' ELE/JH
- (8:72) *mön-jü*'
 disappear-1PI.S
 'we inclusive disappear' ELE/JH
- (8:73) *mön-dye*'
 disappear-NO
 'disappearance' ELE/JH

8.2.1.2. Transitive consonant stems

Suffixes are added directly to the final consonant of transitive consonant stems in the forms of the 1st person plural inclusive subject and the *-dye*’ nominalization marker. Verbs of this type are, for example:

(8:74)	<i>khiph-</i> (<i>khibe</i> ’)	‘milk’
	<i>ñäets-</i>	‘grind’
	<i>mits-</i>	‘bore’
	<i>jek-</i>	‘take there’
	<i>jesh</i>	‘take here’
	<i>tsim</i> ’- (<i>tsime</i> ’)	‘catch’
	<i>dyak-</i>	‘find’ ¹⁶¹
	<i>kew-</i>	‘search’

Furthermore, the associated motion markers *-sh-* and *-ki-* (8.6.1., 8.6.2.), as well as the antipassive marker *-ki-* (9.3.1.) form consonant stems.

When the 1st person plural inclusive subject marker *-ti-* is added to these consonantal stems, it is turned into *-dyi-* (see 2.5.5.). Furthermore, the final consonant of certain stems can change, when appearing in syllable-final instead of syllable-initial position (2.5.3.), for example *khiph-* / *khibe-* ‘milk’ and *tsim*’ / *tsime-* ‘catch’. The following examples show the forms of *jek-* ‘take there’ and *khiph-* ‘milk’:

- (8:75) *Je-k-e*’.
take-DK-3F.O
‘Someone takes her (there).’ ELE/JH
- (8:76) *Ji-k-dyi*’.
take-DK-1PI.S-3F.O
‘We (inclusive) take her (there).’ ELE/JH
- (8:77) *je-k-dye*’
take-DK-NO
‘thing that is taken (there)’ ELE/JH
- (8:78) *Khib-e-*’.
milk-VI-3F.O
‘Someone milks her.’ ELE/JH

- (8:79) *Khiph-dyi-*'
milk-VI.1PI.S-3F.O
'We milk her.' ELE/JH
- (8:80) *khiph-dye*'
milk-NO
'place of milking' ELE/JH

Most suffixes are added to the final consonant of transitive consonant stems. Some cross-reference forms, however, are added to a vowel that follows the final consonant, resembling vowel stems (8.2.3.). The different cross-reference forms that appear on the consonant stem *kew-* 'search' are shown in table 24.¹⁶²

Table 24: Cross-reference markers on transitive consonant stems

Form	Function (among others)	Forms with <i>kew-</i>	Type of stem
<i>-ti'</i>	2SG/1SG	<i>kiwdyi'</i>	consonant
<i>-ti-</i>	1P.I m	<i>kiwti</i>	consonant
<i>-tikha'</i>	2SG/1P.E	<i>kiwdyikha'</i>	consonant
<i>-sin'</i>	1P.I.O	<i>kiwsin'</i>	consonant
<i>-te</i>	3O m	<i>kewte</i>	consonant
<i>-n</i>	1O	<i>kiwin</i>	vowel
<i>-nak</i>	3SG/2P	<i>kiwinak</i>	vowel
<i>-ksi-</i>	3P m	<i>kewaksi</i>	vowel
<i>-'</i>	3O f	<i>kewe'</i>	vowel
<i>-ye</i>	1SG/2SG	<i>kewye/ kewe</i>	both possibilities
<i>-yak</i>	1SG/2P	<i>kewyak/ kewayak</i>	both possibilities

8.2.2. Direct stems

In direct stems, a suffix is added directly to the stem vowel, the penultimate vowel of feminine 3rd person subject (intransitive) or object (transitive) forms. In these 3rd person forms, an *-i-* is added to the stem, forming a diphthong. In the other forms of the stem, this *-i-* disappears, and the suffixes are added directly to the last consonant of the stem. In this way, these stems resemble consonant stems, apart from the element to which the suffix is added being a vowel instead of a consonant.

8.2.2.1. Intransitive direct stems

Intransitive direct stems are usually combined with the verbal stem markers *-i-* or *-jo-*. All verbal stems occurring with *-jo-* ‘verbal stem marker’, ‘associated motion marker’¹⁶³ and ‘aspectual marker’ follow this affixation pattern, while only some verbal roots derived by the stem marker *-i-* inherently follow the suffixation pattern of direct stems. Furthermore, the associated motion marker *-chhi-* forms direct stems. The following verbs form direct stems:

(8:81)	<i>dyi-</i>	‘bathe, swim’
	<i>kii-</i>	‘plant’
	<i>chhii-</i>	‘know’
	<i>atsi-</i>	‘come, M’
	<i>ayi-</i>	‘come, F’
	<i>tye-</i>	‘drink’
	<i>fäeidäe-</i>	‘bow’
	<i>äejä-</i>	‘kill’
	<i>jö'chhä-</i>	‘fall’
	<i>dyäetskäe-</i>	‘sit down’
	<i>ä'yäe-</i>	‘become wet’
	<i>fäkhö-</i>	‘become angry’
	<i>ma'jo-</i>	‘become happy’
	<i>wënchhi-</i>	‘come’

The following examples of the verb *jö'chhä-* ‘fall’ show the formation of intransitive direct stems:

- (8:82) *jö'chhä-i-*
 fall-VI-F.S
 ‘she falls’ ELE/JH
- (8:83) *jö'chhä-jä'*
 fall-VI.1PI.S
 ‘we (inclusive) fall’ ELE/JH
- (8:84) *jö'chhä-dye'*
 fall-NO
 ‘the fall, the place of the falling, etc.’ ELE/JH

8.2.2.2. Transitive direct stems

Transitive direct stems follow the same affixation pattern as intransitive direct stems. These forms only exist in few verbs, which are related to associated motion markers (see 8.6., 8.6.8.):

(8:85)	<i>ka-</i>	‘bring there’
	<i>ti-</i>	‘bring here’
	<i>jijka-</i>	‘follow there’
	<i>jijti-</i>	‘follow here’
	<i>jì'minka-</i>	‘sell’
	<i>chhi-</i>	‘grab’
	<i>me'chhi-</i>	‘have’.

The verbs *jijka-* and *jijti-* can also be used intransitively, expressing ‘go there’ and ‘go here’, following the same paradigm.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, the associated motion markers *-kho-* and *-chhi-*, that can be used intransitively and transitively, form direct stems. The following example shows the affixation pattern of *ti-* ‘bring here’:

- (8:86) *ti-i'*
bring.here-3F.O
‘someone brings her here’ ELE/JH
- (8:87) *ti-ti-*
bring.here-1PI.S-F.O
‘we (inclusive) bring her here’ ELE/JH
- (8:88) *ti-dye'*
bring.here-NO
‘the bringing (here)’ ELE/JH

The cross-reference form of the 3rd person plural object does not cause a change of the preceding vowel into *-a-* with direct stems, because the preceding vowel is a fixed stem vowel that is not affected by sound changes other than vowel and nasal harmony (2.3.3.):

- (8:89) *ti-ksi*
bring.here-3P.O.M.S
‘he brings them here’ ELE/JH

Table 25 shows the affixation pattern of the verbal stem *jijka-* ‘follow someone there’ with representative cross-reference forms.

Table 25: Cross-reference markers on transitive direct stems

Form	Function (among others)	Forms with <i>jijka-</i>	Type of stem
<i>-ti'</i>	2SG/1SG	<i>jijkati'</i>	direct
<i>-ti-</i>	1P.I m	<i>jijkati</i>	direct
<i>-tikha'</i>	2SG/1P.E	<i>jijkatikha'</i>	direct
<i>-sin'</i>	1P.I.O	<i>jijkasin'</i>	direct
<i>-te</i>	3O m	<i>jijkate</i>	direct
<i>-n</i>	1O	<i>jijkan</i>	direct
<i>-nak</i>	3SG/2P	<i>jijkanak</i>	direct
<i>-ksi-</i>	3P m	<i>jijkaksi</i>	direct
<i>-'</i>	3O f	<i>jijka'</i>	direct
<i>-ye</i>	1SG/2SG	<i>jijkaye</i>	direct
<i>-yak</i>	1SG/2P	<i>jijkayak</i>	direct

8.2.3. *Vowel stems*

When added to vowel stems, a suffix appears after the last vowel of the stem. Most verbs in Mosetén follow this affixation pattern, such as all verbs derived by the stem markers *-yi-*, *-ki-*, and most verbs derived by the stem marker *-i-*. Furthermore, many derivational suffixes form vowel stems.

8.2.3.1. Intransitive vowel stems

Vowel stems are the most frequent stem types, both with intransitive and transitive verbs. Some intransitive vowel stems are:

- (8:90) *saeksi-* ‘eat’
mëñi- / mëni- ‘continue, last’
sani- / sañi- ‘write’
chhañi- ‘be dry’
fäekäen'ki- ‘hiccough’
oje'ki- ‘cough’

<i>jä'chhijki-</i>	'sneeze'
<i>chhiiki-</i>	'urinate'
<i>phiki-</i>	'run'
<i>shipki-</i>	'leave'
<i>tsibiki-</i>	'count'
<i>wiki-</i>	'beat'
<i>jaofki-</i>	'be heavy'
<i>jishiki-</i>	'be warm'
<i>tsiwäeki-</i>	'be cold'
<i>tsä'i-</i>	'wake up'
<i>nä'i-</i>	'be born'
<i>pa'i-</i>	'float'
<i>mī'i-</i>	'walk'
<i>tī'i-</i>	'call'
<i>tyamiñi-</i>	'dream'
<i>rami-</i>	'desire'
<i>chhetyi-</i>	'depart'
<i>pechi-</i>	'sink'
<i>chi'chi-</i>	'be silent'
<i>khaeti-</i>	'hurt'
<i>wati-</i>	'cry'
<i>tyijbi-</i>	'fan'
<i>bojwi-</i>	'go up'
<i>näijji-</i>	'be seen'
<i>firi-</i>	'be warm'
<i>khiri-</i>	'snore'
<i>wori-</i>	'call'

The following examples show the affixation pattern of intransitive vowel stems:

(8:91) *saeks-i-*
eat-VI-F.S
'she eats' ELE/JH

(8:92) *saeks-e-ja'*
eat-VI-1PI.S
'we inclusive eat' ELE/JH

- (8:93) *saeks-e-dye*
 eat-VI-NO
 ‘food’ ELE/JH

Consonants in some of these verbal stems can undergo changes, such as *mëñi-* / *mëni-* ‘continue, last’ and *sani-* / *sañi-* ‘write’. The verb *sañe* ‘write it (F)’ has a palatalized *-ñ-*, while the *-n-* in *sanakdye* ‘writing’ is dental-alveolar, because the following suffix begins in a plosive. Other stems involving /ñ/ are not changed this way: *chhañi-* ‘be dry’ is preserved in *chhañedye* ‘dry season’.

8.2.3.2. Transitive vowel stems

Transitive vowel stems, in the same way as intransitive vowel stems, appear with suffixes added to the last consonant of the stem. This is the most frequent transitive affixation pattern. Most verbs derived by the stem marker *-i-*, as well as all verbs derived by *-ki-* and *yi-* follow this pattern. The latter can at the same time be used intransitively (see 8.2.3.1. above):

- | | | |
|--------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (8:94) | <i>ye-</i> | ‘say to someone’ |
| | <i>kachye-</i> | ‘crush’ |
| | <i>foi’ye-</i> | ‘tear’ |
| | <i>rai’s-</i> | ‘want’ |
| | <i>yakhñe-</i> | ‘say again and again’ |
| | <i>chäkä’ñe-</i> | ‘fry’ |
| | <i>yikñe-</i> | ‘move’ |
| | <i>chhoje-</i> | ‘pour’ |
| | <i>chha’che-</i> | ‘reach’ |
| | <i>jite-</i> | ‘send’ |
| | <i>tsime-</i> | ‘catch’ |
| | <i>waedye-</i> | ‘take (usually ‘harvest’) |
| | <i>ji’ji’e-</i> | ‘save’ |
| | <i>räemë-</i> | ‘find’ |
| | <i>jäe’së-</i> | ‘smell’ |
| | <i>jaeme-</i> | ‘like’ |
| | <i>dyebe-</i> | ‘sew’ |

<i>se</i> 'we-	'hear'
<i>käwë-</i>	'see'
<i>ji</i> ' <i>käwë-</i>	'show'
<i>sho</i> ' <i>ke-</i>	'rub'
<i>chhike-</i>	'feel'
<i>tyajke-</i>	'find'

In the same way as intransitive vowel stems, transitive vowel stems keep the vowel of the stem in front of the derived elements:

- (8:95) *tyaj-ke-*
find-VK-3F.O
'someone finds her' ELE/JH
- (8:96) *tyaj-ki-ti-*
find-VK-1PL.S-F.O
'we (inclusive) find her' ELE/JH
- (8:97) *tyaj-ka-k-dye*
find-VK-AN-NO
'finding' ELE/JH

Table 26 shows the forms of a number of representative cross-reference forms of the transitive vowel stem *rai*'*se-* 'want':

Table 26: Cross-reference markers on transitive vowel stems

Form	Function (among others)	Forms with <i>rai</i> ' <i>se-</i>	Type of stem
- <i>ti</i> '	2SG/1SG	<i>rai</i> ' <i>siti</i> '	vowel
- <i>ti-</i>	1P.I m	<i>rai</i> ' <i>siti</i>	vowel
- <i>tikha</i> '	2SG/1P.E	<i>rai</i> ' <i>sitikha</i> '	vowel
- <i>sin</i> '	1P.I.O	<i>rai</i> ' <i>sisin</i> '	vowel
- <i>te</i>	3O m	<i>rai</i> ' <i>sete</i>	vowel
- <i>n</i>	1O	<i>rai</i> ' <i>sin</i>	vowel
- <i>nak</i>	3SG/2P	<i>rai</i> ' <i>senak</i>	vowel
- <i>ksi-</i>	3P m	<i>rai</i> ' <i>saksi</i>	vowel
-'	3O f	<i>rai</i> ' <i>se</i> '	vowel
- <i>ye</i>	1SG/2SG	<i>rai</i> ' <i>seye</i>	vowel
- <i>yak</i>	1SG/2P	<i>rai</i> ' <i>seyak</i>	vowel

8.2.4. *Mixed stems*

Mixed stems have characteristics of both direct stems and vowel stems. They appear with a vowel before the nominalization marker *-dye'*, resembling a vowel stem (8:100), and without a vowel in the form of the 1st person plural inclusive subject, resembling a direct stem (8:99):

- (8:98) *bae'-i'*
live-VI-F.S
'she lives' ELE/JH
- (8:99) *bae'-ja'*
live-VI.1PL.S
'we inclusive live' ELE/JH
- (8:100) *bae'-e-dye'*
live-VI-NO
'village' ELE/JH

Apart from *bae'*- 'live, sit', the following verbs appear with this affixation pattern: *saeñ-* 'die' and *tyash-* 'be in front, guide'.

8.2.5. *Irregular verbal stems*

There are a number of irregular stem forms, most of which are affixes. One verbal root is irregular, *siti-* 'enter' (8:101), which can be described as a direct stem that involves a consonant change in the other forms (8:102) and (8:103):

- (8:101) *si-ti'*
enter-VT-3F.O
'she enters' ELE/JH
- (8:102) *sis-a'*
enter-VT.1PL.S
'we inclusive enter' ELE/JH
- (8:103) *sis-dye'*
enter-NO
'entrance' ELE/JH

Other irregular verbal stems are formed by suffixes that have undergone a number of idiosyncratic changes: reflexive forms, *-ban* forms and *-tyi-* forms.

8.2.5.1. Reflexive forms

The reflexive forms consist of the verbal ending *-ti-* (8:104) for all cross-reference forms apart from the 1st person plural inclusive marker, which has the form *-tikha'* (8:105) (8.1.2., 8.1.2.1.). This 1st person plural inclusive marker differs from the stem types of other verbs. The nominalization form, on the other hand, is regular: *-tidye'* (8:106):¹⁶⁵

- (8:104) *khof-yi-ti-*
 dress-VY-RE-F.S
 'she dresses herself' ELE/JH
- (8:105) *khof-yi-ti-kha'*
 dress-VY-RE-1PI.S
 'we inclusive dress ourselves' ELE/JH
- (8:106) *khof-yi-ti-dye'*
 dress-VY-RE-NO
 'dressing room' ELE/JH

8.2.5.2. *-ban-*

The form *(-)**ban-* can be a suffix or separate verb. It has fused forms with the cross-reference markers, following an irregular affixation pattern. For the entire paradigm, see table 35 in section 8.8. In the present section, I will only give intransitive forms of *-ban*. This marker is followed by a glottal stop when the subject is feminine, in the same way as the other verbal stems that end in a vowel:

- (8:107) *ban-*
 go-F.S
 'she goes' ELE/JH

The stem form of the 1st person plural inclusive subject is *bajs-* before the cross-reference marker *-ja'* (the *j* is presented as an aspiration: *h*):

- (8:108) *bajs-ha'*
 go-1PI.S
 'we inclusive go' ELE/JH

There are no nominalized forms of the separate verb *ban* 'go', while suffixed forms of *-ban* can appear with different stems before the nominalization marker *-dye'*. These forms are *-bakdye'*, *-bandye'* and *-badye'*. The first of these forms occurs with transitive verbs, while the other two forms appear in free variation with intransitive verbs.¹⁶⁶

8.2.5.3. *-tyi-*

Verbal stems combined with the stem marker *-tyi-* can have different forms, depending on the following suffixes. With some cross-reference forms, the marker *-tyi-* occurs, while with others, *-tyi-* is substituted. The entire paradigm is given in table 28 in section 8.3.3. The following examples show the forms of the 3rd person feminine object (8:109), the 1st person plural inclusive subject (8:110) and the nominalization marker *-dye'* (8:111):

- (8:109) *jaem'-tye-'*
 good-VD-3F.O
 'some one makes it (F)' ELE/JH
- (8:110) *jaem'-ti-'*
 good-VD.1PI.S-3F.O
 'we (inclusive) make it (F)' ELE/JH
- (8:111) *jaem'-tya-k-dye'*
 good-VD-AN-NO
 'work, labor' ELE/JH

In (8:109) and (8:111), the marker *-tyi-* occurs, while in the form of the 1st person plural inclusive subject (8:110), this marker does not appear before the cross-reference marker.

8.3. Verbal stem markers

Under the heading of verbal stem markers, I will treat forms that can be used to verbalize other elements, as well as markers that frequently appear in bound verbal roots. Bound verbal roots are elements that cannot appear on their own. They have to be derived by a verbal stem marker, before other elements can be added to it. An example of a bound verbal root is *näj-* ‘see’, which has to be combined with a verbal stem marker such as *-tyi-*, resulting in the verbal stem *näjtye-* ‘see’. Only to this stem form can other derivational elements be added, such as nominalizers.

The verbal stem markers can derive different verbal stems depending on transitivity or control of the subject participant, cf. table 27.¹⁶⁷ They differ from verbal incorporation markers (8.4.) in that they do not have specified meanings. Their forms are: *-i-*, *-yi-*, *-tyi-*, *-ti-*, *-jo-* and *-ki-*. I will treat the different markers and their meanings in the following sections, also including the cases where these markers appear within the verbal root. Furthermore, I will summarize the differences between these forms, moving on to the derivation of Spanish loan-verbs into Mosetén. Following this, I will look at the closed class of verbal forms not combined with a verbal stem marker. Finally, I will examine derivation by nominalizers and verbalizers occurring in the same structures.

8.3.1. The verbal stem marker *-i-*

The verbal stem marker *-i-* can derive verbal stems from bound verbal roots, as well as from other parts of speech. This verbal stem marker is highly productive, and can be used in a number of different constructions: most of the verbal forms marked by *-i-* are intransitive, though a number of verbs can also be used transitively. Often, these verbs express involuntary actions, but again there are verbs derived by *-i-* of which the meaning is dynamic.

First, I want to look at instances of *-i-* with an involuntary meaning. The verbal stem marking by *-i-* is not the only way to derive involuntary verbs, but derivations with *-jo-* can also express these notions (8.3.5.). Stative or involuntary meanings of verbal stems

Table 27: The different verbal stem markers

	Meanings as verbalizer	Transitivity	Possible source	Other functions	Productivity
-i-	1. involuntary actions 2. 'be with' 3. 'hunt' (with, in, hunted by) 4. 'make (plantation)'	mostly intrans., often S has low control, but also some trans. forms			highly productive
-yi-	1. 'use', 'do sth. with' 2. 'ask for' 3. 'be', 'become', 'transform into' (involuntary) 4. 'make', 'do' 5. 'say'	intrans. and trans., stative and active uses, S has control	quotative verb <i>yi-</i> 'say'	applic. (9.5.1.)	highly productive
-tyi-	1. 'do' 2. general trans. meanings	trans., S has high control	transitive verb <i>tye-</i> 'give'	applic. (9.5.2.)	unproductive
-ti-	1. general intrans. meanings 2. go, go by 3. use	intrans, S has control		antipass. (9.3.2.)	productive
-jo-	1. mostly stative (be, become) 2. often involuntary	intrans., mostly S has no control		aspectual marker (8.5.3.), assoc. motion (8.6.3.)	productive
-ki-	different stative and dynamic meanings	intrans., S has control in some verbs, no control in others		antipass. (9.3.1.), reflexive	unproductive (only used with bound verbal roots, not <i>verbali</i> .)

involving *-i-* include the meanings ‘be’ and ‘become’. In this way, the bound verbal root *näij-* ‘see’ can be combined with *-i-* expressing the stative meaning ‘be seen’, cf. example (8:112):¹⁶⁸

- (8:112) *Yäe näij-ti espejo-khan mi'in chhome'*
 1SG see-VD.RE.M.S mirror.E-IN 2P also
näij-jï-
 see-VI-F.S
 ‘I see myself in the mirror, you are also seen (i.e. reflected by the mirror).’ ELE/AT

Furthermore, other parts of speech can be combined with the verbal stem marker *-i-*. For example, the adjective *daer* ‘big’ combined with *-i-* carries the involuntary meaning ‘become big’, ‘grow’:

- (8:113) *Me' khi'jo-i ñibe' daer-i.*
 so then-M poor big-VI.M.S
 ‘So poorly he grew up.’ WTE/CT

The participle form *phash* ‘fermented’ combined with the verbalizer *-i-* means ‘to ferment’:

- (8:114) *Shi-ki-katyi' jam men-in, fer-katyi'-ra' mi'*
 drunk-VK.M.S-EH NG moment-P strong-EH-IR 3M.SG
aj aj-ra' mö-si' aj jaesh-ra'-mö'
 yet yet-IR 3F.SG-L.F yet chewed.yucca-IR-3F.SG
phash-i-
 ferment-VI-F.S
 ‘They get drunk in no time, so strong is it what she has chewed – it has fermented.’ STE/VJ

Verbal stems ending in *-i-* can, in certain restricted cases, also express ‘be with’ or ‘have’. When following the noun *kerecha* ‘money’, the verbalizer *-i-* accordingly expresses ‘have money’, ‘be with money’:

- (8:115) *Yäe Ra Pash-khan aj dyam kerecha-i.*
 1SG La Paz-IN yet little money-VI.M.S
 ‘I am in La Paz and I already have (a) little money.’ ELE/JH

Also the noun *chhæ* ‘mouth’ can be combined with *-i-*, expressing ‘have a mouth’:

- (8:116) *Jäen'-ki'-we-dyash-ra' mö' chhæ'-i'-rä'*
 what-size-DR-QI-IR3F.SG mouth-VI-F.S-IR
me'-ki'-ra'-ki wë-të-n'-wëtën'-rä'
 so-size-IR-CO chew-VT-PR-RD-IR
 ‘What size must her mouth have been, chewing piece by
 piece.’ STE/VJ

Furthermore, this verbalizer can express more abstract notions. Following *chhata* ‘true’, the verbalization by *-i-* generates the meaning ‘believe’ (instead of ‘become true’ or ‘make true’):

- (8:117) *Jam-ra' mö'-in chhata-i'-ra'-in.*
 NG-IR 3F-P true-VI-F.S-IR-P
 ‘They do not believe.’ STE/VJ

With the noun and question particle *jedye* ‘thing’, ‘what’ the verbalization by *-i-* can carry the meaning ‘why is it’ or ‘for what’:

- (8:118) *Jedye'-dyash khä jäe'mä oweka-mi' "äej äej äej"*
 thing-QI well DM sheep.E-3M.SG ON
yi-katyi'-khä jedye-i'-ra' khä öi me' oweka?
 say.M.S-EH-wellthing-VI-F.S-IR well DE.F so sheep
 ‘What is it with his sheep, it says “ahahaahah”, why is it like
 this, the sheep? COE/SM

Many verbs combined with *-i-* are intransitive, but there are also a number of transitive forms with the verbalizer *-i-*. For example, *jaeme* ‘like’ is a transitive verbalization of the adjective *jaem* ‘good’:

- (8:119) *Mö' tyityi-si' me'-ki-ki jäe'mä mö'-nä-ki*
 3F.SG sister.in.law-L.F so-CO-RD DM 3F.SG-FO-CO
jaem-e- ' äwä'-mö' itsiki-tyi'.
 good-VI-3F.O child-3F.SG jaguar-L.M
 ‘It (the tree) is of her sister-in-law, and the children of the
 jaguar like it.’ STE/EC

Another verbalization by *-i-* resulting in a transitive verb is *raej-e-* ‘finish something’, based on the adverb *raej* ‘all’:

- (8:120) *Dyiph-ra’ mi’ raej-e-’.*
 then-IR 3M.SG all-VI-3F.O
 ‘Then he finished it.’ STE/VJ

A special meaning arises when the marker *-i-* verbalizes certain nouns. These meanings are ‘hunt with / in’ or ‘hunted by’ and ‘make’. The verbalization suffix *-i-* can convey the meaning ‘hunt with’ or ‘hunt in’, as in the following examples:

- (8:121) *Mi’ Visente daerae-khan achae-i jam-bi’*
 3M.SG Vincent mountain-IN dog-VI .M.S not-still
ats-i-ban.
 come.M.S-VI-again.M.S
 ‘Vincent has gone to the mountain to hunt with the dog and he has not come home yet.’ ELE/JH

This marker can also be attached to the noun *daerae’* ‘mountain’, expressing ‘hunt in the mountain’:

- (8:122) *Daerae-i ti-ki jedye’-khäei’.*
 mountain-VI.M.S bring-AN.M.Sthing-RF
 ‘He hunts in the mountain and brings whatever things.’ STE/EC

Apart from the dynamic verbs above, ‘to hunt with / in’, there are other occurrences of *-i-* on nouns with the meaning ‘hunt’. However, these are rather stative in nature, signifying to ‘be hunted’ or ‘be killed / eaten’. Whether a noun derived by *-i-* is active or a stative verb depends on the meaning of the noun. Inanimate nouns such as ‘mountain’, cannot hunt themselves, and the verbalized form consequently expresses ‘hunt in (the mountains)’. With the noun ‘dog’ the default meaning is that somebody hunts with his dog, which is what the Mosetenes usually do. The derived verbal form cannot express that somebody is hunted by a dog, which would have to be expressed in another way. The noun ‘jaguar’, on the other hand, has a stative meaning when derived by the

verbalizer *-i*, since the default situation is that someone is ‘hunted by the jaguar’, as opposed to ‘hunting with the jaguar’:

- (8:123) *Iits soñi' kinakdye-i.*
 DE.M man jaguar-VI.M.S
 ‘This man is attacked by a jaguar.’ ELE/JH

This is also the case with vermin. A person does not hunt with vermin, but they can enter the human body and ‘eat’ the person:

- (8:124) *Mö' jöf raej roro-i-' wej-khan jäeij-khan.*
 3F.SG already all vermin-VI-F.Sear-IN nose-IN
 ‘She was “eaten” by vermin; they were in the ears and the nose.’ STE/EC

The verbalization suffix *-i-* can furthermore express the notion: ‘make’, as in ‘make a plantation’, etc. These expressions are often quite fixed and are mostly used with names of fruits or vegetables to express that the person in question makes a plantation with this type of fruit / vegetable:

- (8:125) *Mö'-yëkhiñi-' yomodye' kae-ti khin'-dyem'*
 3F.SG-same-F year sow-VT.M.S now-finally
pe're-i, pe're kae-ti-yäe.
 banana-VI.M.S banana sow-VT.M.S-1SG
 ‘In the same year I sowed, finally I made a banana field, I sowed bananas.’ STE/JH

Furthermore, the derivation of the noun ‘fire’ by *-i-* means ‘light a fire’:

- (8:126) *Jö'dyë'yä' tshij-ji-in jejmi-ti-in raej-dye-si'-in.*
 and fire-VI.M.S-P cook.VI-RE.M.S-P all-B-L.F-P
 ‘Then they light a fire and cook for all.’ WTE/CT

8.3.2. The verbal stem marker *-yi-*

The verbal stem marker *-yi-* is related to the quotative verb *yi-* ‘say’. Apart from being a verbal stem marker, this suffix is also used as an applicative (9.5.1.). As a verbal stem marker, *-yi-* has a bleached and highly variable verbal meaning. It can be attached to bound verbal roots, as well as turning other parts of speech, into verbal stems. Most verbs based on a *-yi-* stem can be used intransitively and transitively without further derivation. The meanings vary from stative to dynamic, usually depending on the element that *-yi-* is added to.

In the following example, *-yi-* is added to the bound verbal root *näj* ‘see’, expressing the stative meaning ‘be seen’. When combined with the associated motion marker *-chhi-* (8.6.4.), the meaning is ‘come and be seen on the way, appear’:

- (8:127) *Men-katyi’ mimi’ aj-ra’ aj näj-yë-j-chhi-’*
 moment-EH only.M yet-IR yet see-VY-DIR-DC-F.S
odyo’-in.
 monkey-P
 ‘Just in that moment monkeys appear (are to be seen).’ STE/CS

In the same way, the bound verbal root *nöi-* ‘afraid’ is used together with the verbal stem marker *-yi-*, meaning ‘be afraid’, ‘be scared’:

- (8:128) *Mi’-ya’ aj nöi’-yï’-tsin dyam.*
 3M-AD yet afraid-VY-F.S-1P little
 ‘There (in that place) we were a little afraid.’ COE/MW

When added to nouns, the meaning of the verbal stem marker *-yi-* is ‘use’ or ‘do something with’. Thus, verbalizing ‘book’, it means ‘read’:

- (8:129) *Kirjka-ye-’ nash-ra’ yäe öi jedye’*
 book-VY-3F.O GF-IR 1SG DE.F thing
nöjnöj-dye-si’.
 tomorrow-B-F
 ‘I will have to read this thing for tomorrow.’ ELE/JH

The general expression ‘do something with’ can also be applied to the derivation *korosh-yi-*, meaning ‘build a cross’:

- (8:130) *Āj korosh-yi-ya’ jike tsin yidyē-nā-khā mi’*
 EX cross-VY.M.S-AD PS 1P pure-FO-well 3M.SG
māñērē’.
 palm
 ‘Well, when we made the cross, there were purely palms (on that mountain).’ COE/SM

The cases where *-yi-* is being added to the noun can also carry the meaning ‘ask for’, for instance in the derivation of *phan’* ‘feather’ by *-yi-*:

- (8:131) *Jike katyi’ mö’-in ish-mö’*
 PS EH 3F-P mother.in.law-3F.SG
phan’-ye-ki-’ mö’-chhē’ ijme-dye-si’.
 feather-VY-DK-F.S 3F-SU arrow-B-L.F
 ‘And then their mother-in-law went up there to ask for feathers for arrows.’ STE/EC

Apart from the dynamic meanings of *-yi-*, there are also a number of stative concepts that can be expressed. If it is added to ‘man’, *-yi-* expresses ‘be a man’, i.e. ‘have courage’:

- (8:132) *Jäen’-ki’-dyash-ra’-ki anik soñi’-yi khi’jo-i?*
 how-size-QI-IR-CO EM man-VY.M.S then-M
 ‘How much courage must he have had then?’ STE/JH

In the same way, *minsi’* ‘woman’ can be combined with *-yi-* meaning ‘be a woman’ or ‘become a woman’. In the following example, a woman was turned into a jaguar, after which she involuntarily was transformed into a woman again:

- (8:133) *Aj minsi’-ye-ban.*
 yet woman-VY-again.M.S
 ‘She has transformed into a woman.’ STE/EC

In the same way as with nouns, the verbalizer *-yi-* can turn other parts of speech into verbs. Again, both stative and dynamic meanings arise. The following examples show dynamic meanings of verbalizations by *-yi-* with other parts of speech than nouns.

The adjective *jaem'* 'good' can be combined with the verbalizer *-yi-*, meaning 'keep' or 'take care of' in the transitive inflection:

- (8:134) *Mö' jaem'-ya-ksi-' nana-s-in.*
 3F.SG good-VY-3P.O-F.S girl-F-P
 'She takes care of the girls.' ELE/JH

If the same derivation *jaem'yi-* is inflected intransitively, it has the meanings 'be good', 'behave well':

- (8:135) *Me'-ki iits Sheshewintyi' chhiï aj me'*
 so-CO DE.M creator know.VI.M.S yet so
iits baekae-in jam jaem'-yi-in.
 DE.M squirrel-P NG good-VY.M.S-P
 'So, the creator already knows that these squirrels are not good.' WTE/JH

The following example shows the place adverb *tya'kaj* 'behind' combined with *-yi-* resulting in the meaning 'leave behind':

- (8:136) *Tya'kaj-ya-ksi.*
 behind-VY-3P.O.M.S
 'He leaves them behind.' WTE/JH

Attached to particles, such as *me'* 'so', *-yi-* expresses the concept 'do it like this':

- (8:137) *Me'-ki chhata' me'-ye-' majmi-in, raej*
 so-CO MO so-VY-3F.O road-P all
chinai-ye-'-in raej kach-ye-' son-ya-ya-in.
 destroy-VY-3F.O-P all block-VY-3F.O trunk-AD-AD-P
 'Therefore they did like this to the road, they destroyed it all, they blocked it all with trunks.' STE/CT

The meaning ‘make’ or ‘do’ also arises when *-yi-* is added to other particles such as *waejnaej* ‘without reason’, and *me’dyij* ‘each time’:

- (8:138) *Waeneaj-ye-n’* *tsin me’dyij-ye-n’*
 without.reason-VY-1PI.S 1P each.time-VY-1PI.S
tyan’-jo-n’ *no’b-e-n’*.
 tired-VJ-1PI.S tire-VI-1PI.S
 ‘Without reason we do (it), like this we do it each time tiring ourselves.’ STE/VJ

Adjectives, adverbs and particles combined with *-yi-* can express stative notions, as well. Hence, *kaets-* ‘equal’ in its verbalized form with *-yi-* generates the meaning ‘be equal’, ‘become equal’ (or also dynamically ‘make equal’), which is lexically being used to express ‘to pay’:

- (8:139) *Raej öi kaets-ye-i* *öi*.
 all DE.F equal-VY-3.F.O DE.F
 ‘She is paying all of these.’ COE/JH

Adverbs and particles combined with *-yi-* can result in stative meanings such as *kawin-yi-* ‘be fast’:

- (8:140) *Kawin-ye-wa-tyi’* *näi-jö-’-wä!*
 fast-VY-IMI.2SG-IE morning-VJ-F.S-IMI.2SG
 ‘Be fast, dawn!’ (expressed by a person desperately waiting for the morning) TRADITIONAL SONG

With *raej* ‘all’, the verbalization by *-yi-* can express ‘finish’ (compare this to *raej-e-* ‘finish something’ in 8.3.1. above):

- (8:141) *Raej-yi-’-si’* *charke...*
 all-VY-F.S-L.F dried.meat
 ‘Finishing the dried meat...’ COE/JH

In combination with the adjective *a’chi* ‘bad’, ‘ugly’, the meaning is ‘be bad’:

- (8:142) *Iits katyi' baekae daer-katyi' a'chi'-yi-in.*
 DE.M EH squirrel big-EH bad-VY.M.S-P
 'It is said that these squirrels are very bad.' WTE/JH

The construction *a'chi'-yi-* can also express 'say bad things', i.e. the *-yi-* marker expresses 'say', which is close to the quotative meaning of the separate verb *-yi-*.¹⁶⁹ This meaning is also found in other derivations by *-yi-*, such as the fixed expression *jäetäej-yi-* 'say something', 'make a noise':

- (8:143) *Jäetäej-yi-' am-khä mi mis-i-' inöj-yä'*
 make.noise-VY-F.S QN-well2SG say-VI-F.S moment-AD
chhi-jäetäej-yi-' abi-kio'-mi?
 also-make.noise-VY-F.S QX-MO-2SG
 'What did you say a moment ago, and what were you saying?'
 STE/VJ

One could analyze the above example as consisting of two forms, the particle *jäetäej* and the quotative verb *yi-*. In some cases, this is a viable analysis, but due to a number of reasons, this cannot be applied to the above example. First of all, this form is rather fixed, i.e. *jäetäej* is always used together with *-yi-*. Secondly, the meaning is not strictly 'say', but in other cases also 'make a sound' or 'make a noise'. In this way, this construction does not seem to be merely a combination of two lexical items.

This can also apply to the following example, where *ja-yi-* meaning 'accept', consists of the emphatic marker *ja* 'well' and *-yi-*. While still expressing a meaning similar to 'say', namely 'accept', the meaning of *ja-yi-* is derived from that of the individual parts:

- (8:144) *Aj jaem-e-si' aj dyij-ye-dye' waj-raej*
 yet good-VI-L.F yet think-VY-NO among-all
aj ja-yi'-in.
 yet well-VY-F.S-P
 'The plan is already ready, all have accepted it.' WTE/JH

A similar example is *aej-yi-*, consisting of the onomatopoeic *aej* 'ouch' and *-yi-*. The combination of these markers expresses 'shout':

- (8:145) *Jike mi' Sheshějwintyi' aej-yi kiwi*
 PS 3M.SG Creator EX-say.M.S again
aej-yi.
 ON-say.M.S
 'The Creator shouted and shouted again.' WTE/JH

The combination above can, however, also have the meaning 'say ouch', consisting lexically and formally of two words, namely *aej* 'ouch' and *yi-* 'say'. When formally separate in two words, other elements can appear between these elements. This is shown in the following example, where the verb *yoshropai-yi-* 'thank' can be analyzed as two separate words, *yoshropai* 'thank' and *yi* 'say', 'express'. In this case, a personal pronoun can be placed between these two elements:¹⁷⁰

- (8:146) *Yoshropai mi ye-ye.*
 thank 2SG say-1SG/2SG
 'I say "thank you" to you.' ELE/JH

Similarly, *yi-* can appear as a separate verb (not meaning 'say') to express imitation. In this way, 'imitate to spin' can be expressed *wiki' yi'* (she spins, she says, i.e. 'she imitates spinning').

Formal idiosyncrasies occur when causative or applicative prefixes are added to verbal stems derived by the stem marker *-yi-*. When *-yi-* is attached to bound verbal roots, the causative prefix appears before this root (8:147). When the element derived by *-yi-* is other than a bound verbal root, however, the prefix appears before the verbal stem marker (8:148):

- (8:147) *Ji'-ró'-ye-te.*
 CA-dance-VY-3M.O
 'She makes him dance (with force).' ELE/AT
- (8:148) *Pero khäei'-sī'-nä-ki mī'in-sī' ö-wë-si'*
 but.E RF-L.F-FO-CO 2P-L.F F-DR-L.F
karij-tya-k-dye' chhü-yë'-tsä' pero tampoco
 hard-VD-AN-NO know-VY-3F.O-but but.E either.E
válor-jí'-ye-'
 value.E-CA-VY-3F.O

‘But the work of you from here (is bad), you know it, but you don’t value it.’ STE/EM

In (8:147), the bound verbal root *ro*- ‘dance’ is derived by the verbal stem marker *-yi-*. The causative prefix *ji*- appears before the verbal root. In (8:148), the Spanish loanword *valor* ‘value’ is marked by the verbal stem marker *-yi-* ‘have value’ and derived by the causative prefix *ji*-. In this case, the causative prefix is added before the verbal stem marker *-yi-*, instead of appearing before the entire construction. All other elements that are not bound verbal roots, such as lexical participles (8:149) and adjectives (8:150), follow this affixation pattern:

(8:149) *tyáph-já-yi-ti*
grab-PP-VY-RE.M.S
‘he is grabbed’ ELE/JH

(8:150) *jáem’-jí’-ye-’*
good-CA-VY-3F.O
‘make someone take care of her’ ELE/JH

In this way, one could argue that the verbal stem marker *-yi-* is a separate verb that appears in relation to a non-verbal form. However, there are a number of arguments against this analysis. The stress pattern, for example, does not follow the pattern of separate words:¹⁷¹ the non-verbal element is stressed, followed by a stress on the prefix. Word stress, on the other hand, would appear on the 1st and 3rd syllable, while prefixes usually are not marked by stress (2.4.). Moreover, the non-verbal form and *-yi-* are semantically linked, often expressing one action or event, instead of consisting of two separate items. In this way, (8:150) above has the meaning ‘make someone take care of’, instead of the separate meanings ‘good’ and ‘make someone do’. Furthermore, only non-verbal elements derived by the verbal stem marker *-yi-* follow this affixation pattern. Prefixes appear before the entire construction in forms derived by other verbal stem markers (8:151):

(8:151) *ji’-jáem-tye-’*
CA-good-VD-3F.O
‘Make someone build it (F).’ ELE/JH

Compare this example to (8:150) above.

For these reasons, I choose to treat this affixation pattern as a formal idiosyncrasy of the verbal stem marker *-yi-*, instead of a construction of two separate items.

8.3.3. *The verbal stem marker -tyi-*

The verbal stem marker *-tyi-* involves control of the subject participant in the action.¹⁷² This marker can also be used as an applicative (9.5.2.), in the same way as the verbal stem marker *-yi-* (8.3.2.). As a verbal stem marker, *-tyi-* is not productive, as opposed to the markers *-i-* and *-yi-* above. Examples of verbs marked by *-tyi-* are: *'jaem'tye-* 'make', *näijtye-* 'see, look at', *karijtye-* 'work' and *ma'jotye-* 'make happy'.

Formally, the verbal stems building on *-tyi-* appear in fused forms with certain cross-reference markers. In this way, some of the forms in the cross-reference paradigm do not stand together with the suffix *-tyi-*, but are formally the same as the cross-reference markers in the transitive paradigm (8.1.2.). Still, the fused forms that involve *-tyi-* can be identified by appearing with other parts of speech than verbs, which generally cannot be followed by verbal cross-reference markers without being verbalized at first. Furthermore, these fused forms are parallel in their distribution with other cross-reference forms in which the marker *-tyi-* appears.

I have summarized the cross-reference forms in combination with the verbal stem marker *-tyi-* in table 28. The fused markers are in **bold**. Reflexive and partial overlap forms (8.1.3.3.) are not shown.

The following examples illustrate some of the cross-reference markers in combination with the verbal stem marker *-tyi-*. The verb *karijtye-* 'work' formally consists of the adjective *karij* 'hard' and the verbal stem marker *-tyi-*. With a 1st person plural inclusive object, the marker *-tyi-* does not formally occur, but is fused with the cross-reference ending. Still, there is no ambiguity in this form, since the root *karij* is not verbal, and has to be combined with a verbal stem marker followed by a cross-reference ending, cf. example (8:152).

Table 28: Cross-reference paradigm of fused cross-reference forms with the *-tye-* marker

S↓	O	1SG	2SG	3SGm	3SG f	1P.E	1P.I	2P	3P
1SG m			<i>-tyeye</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>			<i>-tyeyak</i>	<i>-tyaksi</i>
1SG f			<i>-tyeye</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>			<i>-tyeyak</i>	<i>-tyaksi'</i>
2SG m	<i>-ti'</i>			<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>			<i>-tyaksi</i>
2SG f	<i>-ti'</i>			<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>			<i>-tyaksi'</i>
3SG m	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-tyin</i>		<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-tyinak</i>	<i>-tyaksi</i>
3SG f	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-tyin</i>		<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-tyinak</i>	<i>-tyaksi'</i>
1P.E m			<i>-tyeyak</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>			<i>-tyeyak</i>	<i>-tyaksi</i>
1P.E f			<i>-tyeyak</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>			<i>-tyeyak</i>	<i>-tyaksi'</i>
1P.I m				<i>-ti'</i>	<i>-ti'</i>				<i>-tyakseja'</i>
1P.I f				<i>-ti'</i>	<i>-ti'</i>				<i>-tyakseja'</i>
2P m	<i>-tikha'</i>			<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>			<i>-tyaksi</i>
2P f	<i>-tikha'</i>			<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tikha'</i>			<i>-tyaksi'</i>
3P m	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-tyin</i>		<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-tyinak</i>	<i>-tyaksi</i>
3P f	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-tyin</i>		<i>-te</i>	<i>-tye'</i>	<i>-tyin</i>	<i>-sin'</i>	<i>-tyinak</i>	<i>-tyaksi'</i>

(8:152) *Chhata' anik me' ji'-karij-sin'*.

MO EM so CA-hard-VD.1PI.O

'Sure it is like that, he makes us work.' COE/JH

This marker can, in the same way as other verbal stem markers, attach to different parts of speech. In combination with sentential particles such as *me'* 'so', the meaning is 'do like this':

(8:153) *Me'-tya-ksi-' katyi' mö'-yä' jike iji,*

so-VD-3P.O-F.S EH 3F-AD PS ucumari

jeb-a-ksi-'.

eat-VI-3P.O-F.S

'So it did this to them, the ucumari-monster, it ate them.'

STE/VJ

In the following example, *-tyi-* occurs on the interrogative pronoun *jäen'* 'how', meaning 'how do' or 'what do':

- (8:154) *Jäen'-tyi-nak-dyash mi'in moshoki?*
 how-VD-2P.O-QI 2P rat
 'What is the rat doing to you?' STE/VJ

The verbal stem marker *-tyi-* can also appear with fixed verbal roots, such as *näij-* 'see':¹⁷³

- (8:155) *Jike näij-tye'-win yi'-ki wishi-i' jike*
 PS see-VD-3F.O-C say-F.S-CO ON-VI-F.S PS
me' jeye'-mö'.
 so grandmother-3F.SG
 'He had seen how she said "wishi" like this, his grandmother.'
 STE/VJ

In the above examples, I have mainly treated verbs which were not further followed by other markers than the verbal stem marker. Turning to other derivation forms appearing with these verbs, there are a number of comments. When a derivation marker is added to the verbal stem, the marker *-tyi-* consistently occurs overtly on the verb, also in cases where it would not have occurred when followed directly by the cross-reference ending. Bear in mind that *-tyi-* does not occur overtly with 3rd person singular masculine objects in non-derived verbal forms. However, when these verbal forms are derived by another suffix such as the progressive marker *-wa'*, *-tyi-* occurs overtly in the verbal stem and cannot be left out:

- (8:156) *Kiwi pirij-yi i-chhe' jij-ka-i*
 again go.into.water-VY.M.S M-SU go-DK-M.S
me'-tye-wa'-te.
 so-VD-PR-3M.O
 'Again it goes into the water, it goes up, this it was doing to him.' STE/VC

The form *me'-wa'-te*, i.e. without the marker *-tyi-* is not accepted in the above example.

Other derivational markers appear with the *-tyi-* in the same way as the progressive above, except with prefixes and with the marker *-ban* 'again'.

Prefixes added to a verbal stem which is combined with *-tyi-* appear without the marker *-tyi-* in the fused forms discussed above. This is shown in example (8:152) above.

Verbs derived by the marker *-ban* ‘again’ can appear without the marker *-tyi-* in the relevant cross-reference forms:

- (8:157) *Me' khi'jo-i mi' jike näij-te-in nanatyi'-in*
 so then-M 3M.SG PS see-VD.3M.O-P boy-P
jam dyam' näi-baj-te-in.
 NG more see-VD.again-3M.O-P
 ‘So, then they saw the boy, and they never saw him again.’
 WTE/CT

Still, the form *näij-tye-baj-te*, i.e. the form with the overt *-tyi-* marker, would also be accepted without a difference in meaning. Hence, the overt marking by *-tyi-* in the relevant cross-reference forms is optional when the verb is derived by *-ban*.

The affixing rules and the exceptions of the verbal stem marker *-tyi-* also occur with the applicative marker of the same form *-tyi-* (9.5.2.). Both markers can appear in the same form:

- (8:158) *Jaem'-tye-te tsin kasko.*
 good-VD.APD-3M.O 1P canoe
 ‘We made a canoe for him.’ ELE/JH

Compare this example with *jaem'te tsin kasko* ‘we made a canoe’, which is not combined with the applicative.

8.3.4. The verbal stem marker *-ti-*

The verbal stem marker *-ti-* can construct active intransitive verbal stems. The subject participant of these verbs has control over the action. Apart from its use as a verbal stem marker, *-ti-* marks the antipassive (9.3.2), reflexive (8.1.3.) as well as an associated motion marker (8.6.2.1.), and a marker that frequently occurs in relation to applicatives (9.5.). This marker resembles the reflexive and the antipassive *-ti-*. Formally, it follows the reflexive affixation pattern (see 8.1.3.).

The verbal stem marker *-ti-* appears on a number of bound verbal roots, such as *itsa-ti-* ‘play’, ‘make fun of’:

- (8:159) *Me'-yäe inöj Jeanette itsa-ti rai's-e'-tsa'*
 so-1SG moment Jeanette play-VT.M.S want-VI-3F.O-FR
yäe ka-tye-' komputadora.
 1SG bring-APD-3F.O computer.E
 ‘So I made fun of Jeanette a moment ago (making her believe)
 that I would want to take the computer (with me).’ ELE/JH

It also appears with the bound verbal root *tipi-ti-* ‘measure’:

- (8:160) *Me'-we-ra'-ki jji-ka-'; me'-me'-nä-khä*
 so-DR-IR-CO go-DK-F.S so-RD-FO-well
tipi-ti-'in tsiin-e-dye'-we.
 measure-VT-F.S-P sun-VI-NO-DR
 ‘So she went there; so she measured in the sunny season.’
 COE/EC

Furthermore, a number of nouns can be combined with this marker. In the following example, *faj* ‘urucu plant (a red plant)’ is verbalized by *-ti-* meaning ‘use the urucu plant (colour) to paint’. A reflexive marker follows the verbalizer, expressing that the subject paints herself. This reflexive marker has the same form as the verbalizer:

- (8:161) *Raej-katyi' khä ö-wë faj-ti-ti'*
 all-EH well F-DR urucu.plant-VT-RE-F.S
tyi'm-ï-ti-'.
 spot-VI-RE-F.S
 ‘All (of herself) she paints red, she makes spots on herself.’
 STE/VJ

The following example shows *chapa-ti-* ‘go by big raft’, from *chapa* ‘big raft’:

- (8:162) *Chhibin o tsiis ji'-jaem'-te penne*
 three or.E four CA-good-VD.3M.O raft

chapa-ti-k-dye-tyi'.

big.raft-VT-AN-B-L.M

'Three or four rafts to make a big raft.' WTE/CT

The verbalizer *-ti-* can also be attached to place adverbs, such as *moch* 'far'. In this case, the meaning is 'go far':

(8:163) *Suerte-ye-n' paj-ki-ra' jam moch-ti-kha*'.

luck.E-VY-1PL.S for-CO-IR NG far-VT-1PL.S

'We were lucky, because we didn't go further.' STE/VC

8.3.5. The verbal stem marker *-jo-*

The verbal stem marker *-jo-* derives intransitive verbs from bound verbal roots and other parts of speech. This marker is also used in a number of other constructions, among others as an aspectual marker for change of state and inception (8.5.3.), as well as an associated motion marker (8.6.3.). The meanings of the verbal stems derived by *-jo-* are mostly stative, 'be' or 'become', and involuntary, as in *fir-jo-* 'have a fever'¹⁷⁴, *jin-jo-* 'sweat', *japak-ho-* 'be ill, be warm' and *fäk-hö-* 'be angry'. However, there is also one verb with a non-stative meaning: *khao'-jo-* 'flee'.

The following example shows the attachment of *-jo-* to the bound verbal root *fäk-* 'be angry' or 'get angry':¹⁷⁵

(8:164) *Jike fäk-ho-' tse'-mö*'.

PS angry-VJ-F.S mother-3F.SG

'Then her mother got angry.' STE/EC

The adjective *jaem* 'good' can be turned into a verb by *-jo-*, meaning 'become good / better':

(8:165) *Khäki aj-katyi' öi majmi aj jaem'-jo-ban-*'.

because yet-EH DE.F road yet good-VJ-again-F.S

'Because already this road has become better.' STE/CT

The verb *jaem'jo-* is also frequently used, when referring to the weather 'become better, i.e. it is raining less'.

In the following example, the noun *jäewin* 'hole' is derived by *-jo-* to express that holes have developed in the streets (due to the rain):

- (8:166) *Jäe'nä' khäei' jäewin-jö-'*
 where RF hole-VJ-3F.S
 'Everywhere are holes.' STE/CT

8.3.6. *The verbal stem marker -ki-*

The verbal stem marker *-ki-* exclusively appears with bound verbal roots as a stem marker. It cannot be used to turn other parts of speech into verbs, and is therefore unproductive. This marker has the same form as the antipassive suffix *-ki-* (9.3.1) and the middle marker *-ki-* (9.2.).¹⁷⁶ Verbs involving the *-ki-* stem marker are intransitive and can have stative or dynamic meanings. Beginning with the latter, the subject participant has control over the actions in most cases. A number of these verbs involve movement, such as *chap-ki-* 'swim', *ship-ki-* 'leave', *phi-ki-* 'run', and *tsho-ki* 'put down', 'land (plane)':

- (8:167) *Jike mi' soñi' nöi-yi phi-ki.*
 PS 3M.SG man be.afraid-VY.M.S run-VK.M.S
 'And the man was afraid, he ran.' WTE/JH

Other verbs involving the marker *-ki-* do not directly express movement. These are verbs such as *phits-ki-* 'sit down (state)', *tyabe-ki-* 'fish', and *wi-ki-* 'spin wool':

- (8:168) *Wën-jö-ban aka'-khan phits-ki katyi'*
 move-DJ-again.M.S house-IN sit.down-VK.M.S EH
khä aj mö'-khan.
 well yet 3F-IN
 'When he came back into the house, she was seated in there.'
 STE/VJ

This marker can also be combined with stative meanings such as ‘be’ and ‘become’. Such forms are *pho-ki-* ‘smell’, *jaof-ki-* ‘be heavy’, *dya-ki-* ‘be hungry’, *wisäe-ki-* ‘ferment’, *shi’-ki-* ‘be drunk’ (8:169), *tsäbä-ki-* / *tsibi-ki-* ‘bitter’, and *käwä-ki-* / *küwi-ki-* ‘sweet’ (8:170).¹⁷⁷ In the following example the verb *shi-ki-* is used, meaning ‘become drunk’:

- (8:169) *Shi-ki-katyi’ jam men-in.*
 drunk-VK.M.S-EH NG moment-P
 ‘They get drunk in no time.’ STE/VJ
- (8:170) *Aj jaes-dye’-mö’ küwi-ki-’.*
 yet chewed.yucca-NO-3F.SG be.sweet-VK-F.S
 ‘Her chicha is already sweet.’ STE/VJ

In the following example, the meaning of the verb *wisäe-ki-* is ‘be fermented’.¹⁷⁸

- (8:171) *Jaem’-dyi-’ anik wisäe-ki-’.*
 good-taste-F.S EM ferment-VK-F.S
 ‘It tastes good, it sure is fermented. STE/VJ

8.3.7. Mosesténization of Spanish elements

When Spanish elements are used as verbs in Mosestén, they first have to be derived by the verbal stem markers *-i-* or *-yi-*, mostly *-yi-*.

8.3.7.1. Mosesténization of Spanish elements by *-i-*

Apart from its other functions discussed above (8.3.1.), the verbal stem marker *-i-* can turn Spanish elements (mostly nouns) into Mosestén verbs: *viaje-i-* ‘travel’, *dewe-i-* ‘owe’, *reso-i-* ‘pray’ and *fieshta-i-* ‘party’. This verbal stem marker is only used in a number of verbs. Most verbs are derived by the stem marker *-yi-* (8.3.7.2.).

The following example shows the Spanish noun *viaje* ‘journey’ being derived by the verbal stem marker *-i-* into the Mosestén verb *viajei-* ‘travel’:

- (8:172) *Poroma me'-katyi' jike viaje-i-in*
 before so-EH PS travel-VI.M.S-P
Köwë'dö-wë-tyi'-in mintyi'-in wiyä'-wün-in.
 Covendo-DR-L.M man-P old.man-C-P
 'In the old times, it is said that they traveled like this, the
 people, the old (now dead) men from Covendo.' WTE/CT
- (8:173) *Öi mision jike dewe-i' cien mil.*
 DE.F mission.E PS owe.E-VI-F.S hundred.E thousand.E
 'This mission owed a hundred thousand.' COE/SM

Some of the verbs that I discuss here can both be derived by *-i-* and *-yi-* (see the following section).

8.3.7.2. Mosesténization of Spanish elements by *-yi-*

The verbal stem marker *-yi-* is the most productive way to turn Spanish elements, usually infinitive verb¹⁷⁹ forms or nouns, into Mosestén verbs (see also 8.3.7.1. above on *-i-*). All different kinds of verbs can be derived by this marker, such as 'happen' (8:174), 'greet' (8:175) and 'be lucky' (8:176):

- (8:174) *Jam'-ra' pasar-yi jedye'.*
 NG-IR happen.E-VY.M.S thing
 'Nothing happened to him.' WTE/JH
- (8:175) *Bueno saludar-ye-te-ra' jae'mä mi tío*
 good.E greet.E-VY-3M.O-IR DM 2SG uncle.E
jäedyäk näi-te-mi.
 seem.to see-VD.3M.O-2SG
 'Well, greet the uncle (if) you maybe see him.' COE/MW
- (8:176) *Suerte-ye-n'*
 luck.E-VY-1PL.S
 'We were lucky.' STE/VC

8.3.8. Overlap of verbal stem markers

A number of verbal stems can be alternatively marked by several verbal stem markers, yielding different meanings, varying in the degree of control of the subject participant. Furthermore, affixation patterns can also interact with different verbal stem markers.

8.3.8.1. Subject control and transitivity

The differences between the verbal stem markers have to do with the transitivity of the verb and the control of its subject. While the highly productive verbal stem markers *-i-* and *-yi-* can construct very different kinds of verbal stems, the other markers are restricted to certain transitivity and control features. Still, *-i-* and *-yi-* also interact with control and transitivity. In this way, *-i-* often expresses that the subject participant has little control over the action, the verbs often being intransitive. The marker *-yi-*, on the other hand, often expresses that the subject is a controlling agent of intransitive or transitive verbs. Transitive verbs with a high amount of control of the subject participant are often marked by the stem marker *-tyi-*, whereas intransitive verbs with control of the subject participant are marked by *-ti-*. Intransitive verbs which usually have no control over the subject participant are marked by *-jo-*, whereas verbal stems of different kinds are marked by the unproductive stem marker *-ki-*. The differences between these markers becomes evident in verbal roots which can be combined with verbal stem markers. In the present section, I will give examples of verbal stems derived by different verbal stem markers.

In the following example, the adjective *jaem* 'good' is combined with several verbal stem markers, resulting in different meanings. In (8:177), the verbalizer *-i-* is used, generating the meaning 'like', i.e. there is no or very little control of the subject participant, though the verb is transitive. When *-yi-* is attached (8:178), the meaning is 'be good'; in other contexts, this form can carry the meaning 'take care of'. The derivation by *-tyi-* (8:179) expresses 'build' (lit.: 'make good'), which involves strong control of the subject participant, as well as transitivity. With the verbal stem marker *-jo-* (8:180), the meaning is

‘become good’. In this case, the action happens by itself and there is no control over the subject participant (involuntary action):

- (8:177) *Mö'-nä-ki jaem-e-' äwä'-mö' itsiki-tyi'*
 3F.SG-FO-CO good-VI-3F.O child-3F.SG jaguar-L.M
mö'-tyi-'-in.
 3F.SG-eat-F.S-P
 ‘And this the children of the jaguar like, they eat it.’ STE/EC
- (8:178) *Jam-dyej jaem'-yi jen'-mö'.*
 NG-CON good-VY.M.S father-3F.SG
 ‘Her father is not good (any more).’ STE/EC
- (8:179) *Pero mi'-in tata-in jam-nä-ki-khä jaem'-tye-'-in*
 but.E 3M-P father-P NG-FO-CO-well good-VD-3F.O-P
jaem'-min-si' bae'-e-dye'-khan anik colegio.
 good-AS-L.F live-VI-NO-IN EM school.E
 ‘But these priests have not built good schools in this village.’
 COE/JH
- (8:180) *Aj-dyera' jaem'-jo-ban.*
 yet-MO good-VJ-again.M.S
 ‘He must already have become better.’ COE/JH

There are no examples of *jaem* ‘good’ combined with the other verbal stem markers.

The following examples involve the adjective *daer* ‘big’. In the first example (8:177), this adjective is combined with *-i-*, and the subject has no control over the involuntary action of growing-up. When combined with *-yi-* (8:178), the subject of this verb has some control over the action, even if the result depends very much on other factors. Finally, *daer* can be combined with *-tyi-* (8:179). In this example, the verb is additionally combined with a causative, indicating that another person ‘makes him grow up’, i.e. acts as a parent:

- (8:181) *Mö' nash daer-i-' Rapash-khan.*
 3F.SG GF big-VI-F.S La Paz-IN
 ‘She grew up in La Paz.’ ELE/JH
- (8:182) *Daer-yi.*
 big-VY.M.S
 ‘He has made himself big.’ (by stretching, etc.) ELE/JH

- (8:183) *Jäen'-dyash-ra'-ki mö' ji'-daer-te-ra'?*
 how-QI-IR-CO 3F.SG CA-big-VD.3M.O-IR
 'And how might she have made him grow up?' STE/VJ

Another example that shows the difference between various verbal stem markers is the verbal root *wai-* 'cook'. These roots can be combined with *-yi-*, *-tyi-*, *-ki-* and *-jo-*:

- (8:184) *Yäe wai'-ye-' öjñi'.*
 1SG boil-VY-3F.O water
 'I boil the water.' ELE/AT
- (8:185) *Mö' öjñi' wai'-tye-'.*
 3F.SG water boil-VD-3F.O
 'I put the water to boil.' ELE/AT
- (8:186) *Mö' öjñi' wai'-ki-'.*
 3F.SG water boil-VK-F.S
 'The water boils.' ELE/AT
- (8:187) *Mö' wej wai'-jo-' arosh-khan.*
 3F.SG seed boil-VJ-F.Srice.E-IN
 'The seed was boiled in the rice.' (context: a seed accidentally fell into the rice pot and boiled) ELE/AT

Whereas *-yi-* (8:184) and *-tyi-* (8:185) form dynamic verbs with control of the subject participant, the stative verbal stem marker *-ki-* expresses the state of the water, which in this case has no control over the action (8:186). The verbal stem marker *-jo-* expresses that something accidentally happened by itself without external influence (8:187). The latter two forms (8:186) and (8:187) differ in that the water was consciously made to boil by someone in (8:186), whereas in (8:187), the seed was not supposed to be boiled and just fell into the water by chance.

8.3.8.2. Affixation patterns

The verbal stem markers *-i-* and *-yi-* sometimes occur within the same verbal paradigm. In this way, a number of verbs appear with the verbal stem marker *-i-* when the subject is a 3rd person (8:188), whereas a 1st

person plural inclusive subject is marked by the verbal stem marker *-yi-* (8:189):¹⁸⁰

(8:188) *Aka-i.*

house-VI.M.S

'He builds a house.' ELE/JH

(8:189) *I-ya'-ra' tsin aka-ye-ja'.*

M-AD-IR 1P house-VY-1PI.S

'Here we will build a house.' ELE/JH

This is the case with 'mixed vowel stems' and with marking of *-yi-* verbs by the iterative aspect marker *-'*.

In this class of intransitive verbs, most of the inflectional markers appear with the verbal stem marker *-i-*, while in the 1st person plural inclusive, the marking is *-yi-* (8.2.4.). These two different verbal stems are used for formal reasons (cross-reference forms), and not due to differences in the transitivity or control of the subject participant. Furthermore, the form *-yi-* appears with these verbs in a number of other environments, such as derivation by *-ban-* 'again' or by the progressive aspect. This is shown in the following verb *viaje-i* 'travel' (8:190), which appears with the verbal stem marker *-yi-* when derived by *-ban* 'again' (8:191) or by the progressive aspect (8:192):

(8:190) *Jö'dyë'yä' tata rai's-e- viaje-i-ya'*

and priest want-VI-3F.O travel.E-VI.M.S-AD

ji'-jaem'-te penne mintyi'-ya'.

CA-good-VD.3M.O raft man-AD

'And when the priest wanted to travel, he made the people make rafts.' WTE/CT

(8:191) *Me'-khä mi' jäe'mä viaje-ye-ban*

so-well 3M.SG DM journey.E-VY-again.M.S

Rapash-khan tata.

La Paz-IN priest

'Therefore, he traveled to La Paz again, the priest.' COE/SM

(8:192) *Me'-katyi' jike poroma viaje-ye-wa'-jo-i-ya'-in*

so-EH PS before travel.E-VY-PR-PRI-M.S-AD-P

wiyä'-wün-in Köwë'dö-wë-tyi'...

old.man-C-P Covendo-DR-L.M

‘So it was in old days, when the - now dead - old men from Covendo travelled ...’ WTE/CT

I now turn to the iterative aspect marker *-ʼ-* (8.5.5.3.), which appears with verbal stems marked by *-yi-* only. When this infix marks a verbal stem, the stem marker *-yi-* is turned into *-i-*:

(8:193) *Chhiph-ye-k-te.*
shoot-VY-DK-3M.O
‘He goes there to shoot him.’ ELE/JH

(8:194) *Chhi-ʼb-e-k-te.*
shoot-ITI -shoot-VI-DK-3.M.O
‘He goes there to shoot him various times.’ ELE/JH

In the same way, some verbs transitivized by a causative prefix appear with the verbal stem marker *-yi-* instead of *-i-*: *chhi-ĩ* ‘know’, but *jĩ-chhi-yä-ksi* ‘teach’.

8.3.9. Combinations of verbalizer and nominalizer

Nominalizers and verbalizers can be combined to form complex verbal or nominal stems. The rightmost element has scope over the elements to the left, i.e. when a root is nominalized and later verbalized, the overall structure of this word is verbal.

In the following example, the nominalizer *-dye* is followed by the verbal stem marker (i.e. ‘verbalizer’) *-i-*. The adjective *fer* ‘strong’ is consequently first nominalized to ‘strength’, and later verbalized, resulting in the meaning ‘use strength’:

(8:195) *Paeren-ki iin-miʼ aj-katyiʼ fer-dye-i jam*
both-CO hand-3M.SG yet-EH strong-NO-VI.M.S NG
räei chhak-shaʼ-ban-ʼ.
EM take.back-can-again-3F.O
‘With both hands he was “using strength”, but he could not get it out.’ WTE/JH

The following example shows the adjective *karij* ‘hard’, verbalized by *-tyi-*, and generating the meaning ‘work’ (verb). This form is furthermore followed by the antipassive marker *-ki-*. The present verbal stem can be derived by the nominalizer *-dye*, meaning ‘work’ (noun):

- (8:196) *karij-tya-k-dye*
 hard-VD-AN-NO
 ‘work’ ELE/JH

8.3.10. *Verbs not marked by verbal stem markers*

Apart from the forms discussed above, a number of verbs are not marked by verbal stem markers. Most verbs in Mosetén end in a vowel, and could therefore be interpreted as verbal stems marked by the productive verbal stem marker *-i-* (8.3.1.). For some verbal forms, however, such an analysis does not make sense. I will describe these forms as verbal stems that are not derived by a verbal stem marker, i.e. as ‘real’ verbs. Most of these forms are homophonous with grammatical markers. Furthermore, many of them are monosyllabic:

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|
| (8:197) | <i>yi-</i> | ‘say’ |
| | <i>tyi-</i> | ‘give’ |
| | <i>ban-</i> | ‘go’ |
| | <i>jo-</i> | ‘become’ |
| | <i>ji-</i> | ‘pass’ |
| | <i>chhi-</i> | ‘grab’ |
| | <i>me’chhi</i> | ‘have’ |
| (8:198) | <i>jek-</i> | ‘take away’ |
| | <i>jesh-</i> | ‘take hereto’ |
| | <i>jijka-</i> | ‘go there’ |
| | <i>jijti-</i> | ‘go here’ |
| | <i>ka-</i> | ‘bring there’ |
| | <i>ti-</i> | ‘bring here’ |
| | <i>wenjö-</i> | ‘come there’ |
| | <i>wenchhi-</i> | ‘come here’ |

The following example shows the verb *ban*-‘go’, which is homophonous to the suffix *-ban*- ‘again’ (8.8.). This verb is not derived by a verbal stem marker before the cross-reference ending:

- (8:199) *ban-*
 go-F.S
 ‘she goes’ ELE/JH

In the same way, the verbs *yi*- ‘say’ and *tyi*- ‘give’ appear without a verbal stem marker, when used separately as verbs. On the contrary, the homophonous suffixes on these verbs function as verbal stem markers (8.3.2. and 8.3.3.):

- (8:200) *ye-te*
 say-3M.O
 ‘someone says to him’ ELE/JH
 (8:201) *tye-i*
 give-3F.O
 ‘someone gives her something’ ELE/JH

Furthermore, a number of verbal stems are marked by an associated motion marker or seem to be lexically related to associated motion markers (8.6.) (8:198).¹⁸¹ The forms of the associated motion markers are bolded in the following examples. The verbs *ka*- ‘bring there’ and *ti*- ‘bring here’ are directly related to the associated motion markers *-ki*- (8.6.1.) and *-ti*- (8.6.2.1.). In the other forms, the associated motion markers are added to the roots that are not derived by a verbal stem marker:

- (8:202) *je-k-e*
 take-DK-3F.O
 ‘take her away’ ELE/JH
 (8:203) *je-sh-te*
 take-DS-3M.O
 ‘take him hereto’ ELE/JH
 (8:204) *jij-ka-i*
 move-DK-F.S
 ‘she comes there’ ELE/JH

- (8:205) *jĭj-tĭ-i*
 move-DT-M.S
 'he comes here' ELE/JH
- (8:206) *ka-ki*
 bring.there-AN.M.S
 'he brings something there' ELE/JH
- (8:207) *tĭ-i'*
 bring.here-3F.O
 'someone brings her here' ELE/JH
- (8:208) *wĕn-jŏ-*
 move-DJ-F.S
 'she comes there' ELE/JH
- (8:209) *wĕn-**chhĭ***
 move-DC.M.S
 'he comes here' ELE/JH

There are some formal differences between these fixed verbs and productive associated motion markers: the form of the associated motion marker *-ki-* is usually not followed by the vowel /a/, unless a marker that triggers /a/ appears after the associated motion marker (2.5.1.3.). Furthermore, the associated motion marker *-kho-* is presented as *-jo-* in the form *wĕn-jŏ-*. Thus, these forms are more lexical than productive derivations of verbal stems by associated motion markers.

Furthermore, the verbs *jo-* 'become' and *ji-* 'pass' are not derived by a verbal stem marker. They always occur in relation to another marker, such as the suffix *-ban* 'again' or the clitic *-ya* 'adessive':

- (8:210) *jo-ban-*
 become-again-F.S
 'she becomes, she is transformed into' ELE/JH
- (8:211) *ji-ban*
 pass-again.M.S
 'he passes' ELE/JH

When followed by a clitic, gender marking is directly on the verbal root. The masculine form is unmarked, and the feminine form is followed by a glottal stop, directly after the verbal root:

- (8:212) *ji-ya'*
 pass.M.S-AD
 'become' ELE/JH
- (8:213) *ji-'ya'*
 pass-F.S-AD
 'if she would be, etc.' ELE/JH

The verb *jo-* is related to the verbal stem marker *-jo-* (8.3.5.) and the inceptive aspect marker of the same form (8.5.3.), while *ji-* seems to be connected with the distributive associated motion marker *-ji-* (8.6.5.).

Finally, there are a two other verbal forms that do not resemble grammatical suffixes:¹⁸² *chhi-* 'grab' and *me'chhi-* 'have'. Still, these verbs are not marked by verbal stem markers in the same way as the other verbs discussed above:

- (8:214) *chhi-ksi*
 grab-3P.O.M.S
 'he grabs them' ELE/JH
- (8:215) *me'chhi-ksi*
 have-3P.O.M.S
 'he has them' ELE/JH

Concluding, there are a number of fixed verbal stems that do not involve verbal stem markers. Most of these are related to grammatical suffixes. Furthermore, many verbs of this type are monosyllabic.

Before concluding this section, I want to point out that a number of other verbs can formally appear without a verbal stem marker. These verbs differ, however, from the ones above in that they are marked by verbal stem markers in some forms, while not in others. In this way, the verbs *ya'i-* 'buy' and *chhi-* 'know' are marked by the verbal stem marker *-yi-* in their transitive forms, while they are marked by *-i-* in the intransitive forms:

- (8:216) *chhi-ĩ*
 know-VI.M.S
 'he knows' ELE/JH

- (8:217) *chhii-ye-te*
 know-VY-3M.O
 'he knows him' ELE/JH
- (8:218) *ya'-i*
 buy-VI.M.S
 'he buys' ELE/JH
- (8:219) *ya'i-ye-te*
 buy-VY-3M.O
 'he buys it (M)' ELE/JH

I will treat the intransitive forms (8:216) and (8:218) as being derived by the verbal stem marker *-i-*, in contrast with the transitive forms (8:217) and (8:219) derived by the verbal stem marker *-yi-*.

Furthermore, verbal stems derived by the marker *-tyi-* sometimes occur without the verbal stem marker in fused forms with the cross-reference markers (see table 28 in 8.3.3.). In these cases, I gloss the verbal stem marker (VD) as appearing fused to the cross-reference marker:

- (8:220) *ñae-te*
 put-VD.3M.O
 'someone puts it (M).' ELE/JH

Finally, due to certain affixation patterns inherent to the verbal roots, the verbal stem marker *-i-* can disappear in a number of verbs that follow 'consonant stems' (8.2.1.). In combinations with certain suffixes, these stems can appear without their final vowel, which can be the verbal stem marker *-i-*. In this way, the suffix *-ti-* 'reflexive' makes a stem of this type appear without the *-i-*. Moreover, the reflexive marker *-ti-* appears as *-dyi-* in these environments. This is the case with the verb *dyak-i-* 'find':

- (8:221) *ji'-dyak-dyi-*
 CA-find-VI.RE-F.S
 'she is found' ELE/JH

8.4. Incorporation markers

There are a number of incorporation markers in Mosestén. These markers differ from verbal stem markers (8.3.) in that they do not apply to verb roots but only to other parts of speech. Furthermore, these markers have a specific meaning: *-ñi-* ‘put’, *-bae'i-* ‘be, sit’, *-miñi-* ‘go, transform’ *-tii-* ‘bring’, *-wei-* ‘want’, *-tyi-* ‘eat’, *-dyi-* ‘taste good’, *-dyi-* ‘do repeatedly’ and *-sha'(ke)-* ‘be able to’. These can be divided into two groups: those that appear as independent verbs as well, and those only used as incorporation markers. Furthermore, the elements to which these markers can be added vary: some can only be added to nouns, while others can be added both to adjectives and a number of other parts of speech.

Table 29: Incorporation markers

	Meaning	Use as separate verb	Combinable with
<i>-ñi(tyi-)</i>	put	put	adjectives
<i>-bae'i-</i>	be, sit	be, sit	adjectives, particles, etc.
<i>-miñ-i-</i>	go, turn into	go, turn into	adjectives, adverbs, noun derived by local relation marker
<i>-tii-</i>	bring	bring	nouns
<i>-we-i-</i>	want		nouns
<i>-tyi-</i>	eat		nouns
<i>-dyi-</i>	taste (good)		adjectives, particles, etc.
<i>-dyi-</i>	do repeatedly		non-finite forms, particles
<i>-sha'(ke)-</i>	be able to	¹⁸³	non-finite forms, adjectives, nouns

8.4.1. *-ñi-* ‘put’, ‘make’ incorporation marker

The incorporation marker *-ñi-* ‘put’ has the same form and meaning as the verb *ñi-* ‘put’, ‘make’. This incorporation marker can only be added to adjectives, as shown in the following example, where the adjective *baen* ‘full’ is verbalized by *-ñi-* ‘make’, resulting in ‘fill’:

(8:222) *Ara'* *jaes-i-'* *tshis-chhe' erepa* *aj*
 much chewed.yucca-VI-F.S four-SU gourd yet

baen'-ñae'-tye-' jaesh-yäe.
 full-put-VD-3F.O chewed.yucca-1SG
 'I made a lot of chicha and filled my chewed yucca¹⁸⁴ into four
 gourds.' STE/VJ

The change in the vowel from *ñi* to *ñae* is due to vowel harmony (2.3.2.).

In the following example, *-ñi-* follows the adjective *jaem'* 'good', expressing 'make good', or 'prepare':

(8:223) *Jike mö'-in okoko-in jaem'-ñi'-ti'-in.*
 PS 3F-P toad-P good-put-VD.RE-F.S-P
 'Then the frogs make themselves ready.' WTE/JH

In this form, the meanings of *-ñi-* is derived from the general meaning of 'put' or 'make', which could resemble the way that verbal stem markers (8.3.) can differ in meaning due to the element they are attached to. Nevertheless, the marker *-ñi-* is an incorporation marker in my analysis, not deriving bound verbal roots.

8.4.2. *-bae'i* 'be', 'sit' incorporation marker

The verb *bae'i-* means 'live' or 'sit' and is also frequently used as an incorporation marker that generally expresses 'be in a place', with a slightly different meaning from the separate verb. It can be added to adjectives, particles and one adverb.

In the following example, the adjective *chäedäej* appears together with the incorporation marker *-bae'i-* 'be' to yield 'lie down':

(8:224) *Mö'-wë-rä'-mö' khin' jäe'mä chäedäej-bae'-i'.*
 3F-DR-IR-3F.SG now DM lie.down-be-VI-F.S
 'Now she lies down there.' STE/VJ

The verb *baen'bae'i-* means 'be full' (i.e. filled), consisting of the adjective *baen'* 'full' and the incorporation marker *-bae'i-* 'be (in a place)':

- (8:225) *Odyo baen'-bae'-i' jikë-si'.*
 bowl fill-be-VI-F.S cold-L.F
 'A big bowl is full of cold (chicha).' STE/VJ

In the following example, the incorporation marker again expresses 'be in a place', attached to the adjective *jaem* 'good':

- (8:226) *Jaem'-bae'-i näij-yi.*
 good-be-VI.M.S see-VY.M.S
 'It is in a good place to be seen.' COE/SM

The exclamation marker *jei ishtyi* 'it is good to kill' can be combined with *bae'i-*, meaning 'it is in a good place to be killed':

- (8:227) *Jei-bae'-i ishtyi'.*
 good.to.kill-be-VI.M.S ES
 'It is in a good place to be killed!' ELE/JH

This incorporation marker can furthermore appear together with the particle *me* 'so', expressing 'sit down'. In this case, the other meaning of the verb *bae'i-* 'be, sit' appears in the incorporation marker:

- (8:228) *Tsin me'-bae'-i.*
 1P so-be-VI.M.S
 'We sit down (like this).' COE/SM

When added to the adverb *kichi* 'directly', the final *i* disappears and the meaning is somewhat different, as it does not express 'in a place' but instead 'be direct' or simply 'directly':

- (8:229) *Kich-bae'-i ats-i kaw-i-sh-dyi-in.*
 directly-be-VI.M.S come.M.S-VI see-VI-DS-RE.M.S-P
 'Directly he comes to see him.' WTE/JH

8.4.3. *-miñi-* ‘turn into’ incorporation marker

The verb *miñi-* ‘go’, ‘turn into’ can be used as an incorporation marker with the same meaning. It can appear on adjectives and place adverbs, as well as nouns derived by a local relation marker. In the following example, it is added to the adjective *phash* ‘fermented’, expressing ‘ferment’, i.e. a transformation:

- (8:230) *Mö'* *phash* ... ***phash-miñ-i-***
 3F.SG fermented ferment-go-VI-F.S
 ‘It is fermented..., it has fermented.’ STE/VJ

This construction the adjective *phash* ‘fermented’ is incorporated instead of still involving two separate words. This becomes evident when trying to introduce an element between *phash* and *miñi-*, which is not possible:

- (8:231) **Phash mö'* *miñ-i-*
 fermented 3F.SG go-VI-F.S
 ‘It fermented.’ ELE/JH

In the following example, only the stress pattern shows that *-miñi-* is part of the place adverb *mi'we* ‘there’

- (8:232) *Mö'-tom mik ya'dye ñiren' mi'-we-miñ-i*
 3F.SG-COM word go together 3M-DR-go-VI.M.S
 ‘Saying this, they go there together.’ STE/EC

The incorporation marker *-miñi-* can also be added to a noun in combination with a local relation marker:

- (8:233) *Mö'-tom phe-ya-k-dye' tya'kaj-ye-' jike*
 3F.SG-COM talk-VY-MI-NO behind-VY-3F.O PS
sak-yi daerae'-kñan-miñ-i.
 leave-VY.M.S mountain-IN-go-VI.M.S
 ‘Saying this, he leaves her and leaves for the mountain.’ STE/EC

8.4.4. *-tii-* ‘bring’ incorporation marker

The incorporator *-tii-* ‘bring’ resembles the verb of the same form and meaning. It slightly resembles the verbal stem marker *-ti-* (8.3.4.); however, the incorporator has a very specific meaning, and the form also differs from the verbal stem marker in the length of the vowel. This marker can only be used with nouns.

In the following example, *-tii-* ‘bring’ is used together with the noun *o’yi* ‘yucca’ to express ‘bring yucca’:

- (8:234) *Jike mö’ yo-dye’-tyi’ jäe’mä ja-ji-ti-ti-’*
 PS 3F.SG R-NO-L.M DM PD-send-VD.DT-RE-F.S
paj-ki-ra’ o’yi-tii-ki-’ jaes-dye-dye-si’
 for-CO-IR yucca-bring-DK-F.Schewed.yucca-NO-B-L.F
wën-chhi-sh-än khötei.
 move-DC-DS-again.M.S MO.M
 ‘And (he), by whom she was sent there to bring yucca for
 chicha, (he) must have come back.’ STE/EC

Added to the noun *öjñi*’, the incorporator *-tii-* expresses ‘bring water’:

- (8:235) *Raej katyi’ pamin-si’ öjñi-tii ka-ki*
 all EH morning-L.F water-bring.M.S bring-AN.M.S
shara sara’i-khan.
 gourd mari-IN
 ‘All mornings he went to bring back water in gourds in his
 mari-bag.’ WTE/JH

8.4.5. *-wei-* ‘want’ incorporation marker

The incorporator *-wei-* is used to express desire such as ‘want’, ‘desire’, ‘need’, or similar concepts.¹⁸⁵ It exclusively attaches to nouns and cannot be used as a verb on its own. The *-wei-* is added to the things that are wanted or needed. When added to *kerecha* ‘money’, it is a direct and not very polite way to express the desire to receive money:

- (8:236) ***Kerecha-we-i-yäe!***
 money-want-VI.M.S-1SG
 ‘I want money!’ COE/JH

In the following example, the marker *-wei-* ‘want’ is added to the noun *inajmari*’, which is a kind of (small) fish:

- (8:237) *Iits-nä aj inajmari’ aj jike-nä*
 DE.M-FO yet tolocina.fish yet PS-FO
inajmari’-we-i’-mi!
 tolocina.fish-want-VI-F.S-2SG
 ‘These are the tolocina-fish, as you wanted tolocina-fish!’
 STE/VJ

In the following example the meaning is more like ‘need’ than ‘want’. It is added to the nominal form *daerwesi*’, meaning ‘big size’, which is a derived form of the adjective *daer* ‘big’:

- (8:238) *Jäen’-dyära’ jäe’mä daer-we-si’-we-i-ra’*
 how-MO DM big-DR-L.F-want-VI.M.S-IR
yoj-yi-nä-ki jen’-mö’ daer-we katyi’-ra’
 R-say-FO-CO father-3F.SG size-DR EH-IR
käejädye-i?
 plantation-VI.M.S
 ‘Why would I need a plantation of such a big size, like her father said - that I should make a big plantation?’ (context: he only has a few seeds, not enough for a big plantation) STE/VJ

8.4.6. *-tyi-* ‘eat’ incorporation marker

The incorporation marker *-tyi’* ‘eat’ turns nouns into verbs, but cannot be used as a verb on its own. In the following examples, it combines with the nouns *jiko* ‘salt’ (8:239), *charke* ‘dried meat’ (8:240), *bejki* ‘paquio-fruit’ (8:240) and *o’yi* ‘yucca’ (8:241):

- (8:239) *Jiko-tyi-*
 salt-eat-F.S
 ‘She eats salt.’ COE/JH
- (8:240) *Jam-tyi’-khä charke-tyi-’* *käedäej* *tyäkä’*
 NG-MO-well dried.meat-eat-F.S baby EM
bejki-tyi-’.
 paquio(fruit)-eat-F.S
 ‘She did not eat dried meat, the baby ate paquio.’ COE/EC
- (8:241) *O’yi-tyi.*
 yucca-eat.M.S
 ‘He eats yucca.’ ELE/JH

It can also appear together with the modality marker *-tyi’-*:

- (8:242) *O’yi-tyi’-tyi’-ra’*.
 yucca-eat-MO-IR
 ‘They will be eating yucca.’ COE/MW

8.4.7. *-dyi-* ‘taste’ incorporation marker

The *-dyi-* ‘taste’ incorporation marker can attach to adjectives, particles, as well as the negative quantifier *jäen’*. It cannot be used with nouns, neither can it be used as a verb on its own. In the following example, the adjective *jaem’* ‘good’ is derived by *-dyi-*:

- (8:243) *Aj-tyi’ jaem’-dyi-’* *aj* *shokdye’-mö’ Wero-si’!*
 yet-MO good-taste-F.Syet chicha-3F.SG Veronica-L.F
 ‘It already tastes good, Veronica’s chicha!’ STE/VC

The particle *yoj* ‘like’ can also be combined with *-dyi-*, resulting in the meaning ‘taste like’:

- (8:244) ... *yoj-dyi’-nä* *yok-si’* *phen* *jaes-i’-in.*
 R-taste-F.S-FO other-L.F woman chewed.yucca-VI-F.S-P
 ‘...like it tastes (when) other women make chicha.’ STE/VJ

In the following example, *-dyi-* ‘taste’ combines with the negative quantifier (*jam*) *jäen* ‘nothing’ in the construction *jam jäen’dyi* ‘taste like nothing’, ‘no taste’:

- (8:245) *Räei-nä-khä mö’-mömö’ räei tye-i-’-in*
 EM-FO-well 3F.SG-only.F EM drink-VI-3F.O-P
jam-nä-ki jäen’-dyi-’.
 NG-FO-CO how-taste-F.S
 ‘And always they just drink it (the water), and it does not have
 a taste.’ COE/EC

8.4.8. *-dyi-* ‘do each time’ incorporation marker

The incorporation marker *-dyi-*, with the meaning ‘do repeatedly’, derives intransitive verbs from non-finite verbal forms and from other parts of speech such as particles. Due to its meaning, this marker expresses an iterative aspect and will therefore be discussed in that section 8.5.5.2.

8.4.9. *-sha’(ke)-* ‘be able to’ incorporation marker

The marker *-sha’(ke)-* is added to non-finite elements such as bound verbal roots and adjectives. It turns these into transitive verbal stems with the meaning ‘be able to’.¹⁸⁶ In the same way as with the progressive, the form *-ke-* which is part of this incorporation marker, is not apparent in a number of cross-reference forms. The marking of 3rd person plural objects with *-sha’(ke)-*, however, is different from the forms of the progressive, since these forms regularly involve the marker *-ke-*, cf. tables 30a and 30b.¹⁸⁷

This marker can appear with non-finite verbal forms, such as *chhak* ‘taken out’, expressing the ability to carry out the action, cf. (8:246).

Table 30a: The inflection forms of *-sha'(ke)-* 'ability' (singular objects)¹⁸⁸

S↓	O	1SG	2SG	3SG m	3SG f
1SG m			<i>-sha'keye</i>	<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
1SG f			<i>-sha'keye</i>	<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
2SG m	<i>-sha'ti'</i>			<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
2SG f	<i>-sha'ti'</i>			<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
3SG m	<i>-sha'kin</i>	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
3SG f	<i>-sha'kin</i>	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
1P.E m			<i>-sha'keyäk</i>	<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
1P.E f			<i>-sha'keyäk</i>	<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
1P.I m				<i>-sha'ti</i>	<i>-sha'ti'</i>
1P.I f				<i>-sha'ti</i>	<i>-sha'ti'</i>
2P m	<i>-sha'kin</i>			<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
2P f	<i>-sha'kin</i>			<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
3P m	<i>-sha'kin</i>	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>
3P f	<i>-sha'kin</i>	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'te</i>	<i>-sha'ke'</i>

Table 30b: The inflection forms of *-sha'(ke)-* 'ability' (plural objects)

S↓	O	1P.E	1P.I	2P	3P
1SG m				<i>-sha'kinak</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi</i>
1SG f				<i>-sha'kinak</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi'</i>
2SG m	<i>-sha'tikha'</i>				<i>-sha'kaksi</i>
2SG f	<i>-sha'tikha'</i>				<i>-sha'kaksi'</i>
3SG m	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'sin'</i>	<i>-sha'kinak</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi</i>
			<i>-sha'kisin'</i>		
3SG f	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'sin'</i>	<i>-sha'kinak</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi'</i>
			<i>-sha'kisin'</i>		
1P.E m				<i>-sha'keyäk</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi</i>
1P.E f				<i>-sha'keyäk</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi'</i>
1P.I m					<i>-sha'kakseja'</i>
1P.I f					<i>-sha'kakseja'</i>
2P m	<i>sha'tikha'</i>				<i>-sha'kaksi</i>
2P f	<i>sha'tikha'</i>				<i>-sha'kaksi'</i>
3P m	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'sin'</i>	<i>-sha'kinak</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi</i>
			<i>-sha'kisin'</i>		
3P f	<i>-sha'kin</i>		<i>-sha'sin'</i>	<i>-sha'kinak</i>	<i>-sha'kaksi'</i>
			<i>-sha'kisin'</i>		

- (8:246) *Paeren-ki iin-mi' aj-katyi' fer-dye-i jam*
 both-CO hand-3M.SG yet-EH strong-NO-VI.M.S NG
räei chhak-sha'-ban-'.
 EM take.out-can-again-3F.O
 'With both hands he was "making strength", but he could not
 get it out.' WTE/JH

In this example, the marker *-ban* 'again' appears in combination with the verb. In the same way as with the progressive aspect marker (8.5.1.), the *ke*-part of the marker can optionally occur in the construction derived by *-ban*. Consequently, the form *chhaksha'keban* would also be possible above, conveying the same meaning.

The following example shows the *-sha'(ke)-* derivation of the adjective *jaem* 'good', expressing 'be able to make it good, be good at':

- (8:247) *Jaem'-sha'-ke-' mi aj sara'i.*
 good-can-TR-3F.O 2SG yet mari-bag
 'You are already good at making the mari-bag¹⁸⁹.' (context:
 one has just learned how to do it) ELE/AT

Furthermore, this marker can appear with nominal forms, such as *itsädye* 'game, play', in this case expressing 'be able to play':

- (8:248) *Dyiph-dyera' khä itsä-dye'-sha'-ke-'*
 then-MO well play-NO-can-TR-3.F.O
 'Then he was able to play it.' (context: the child was too young
 to understand the game, but suddenly it had become able to
 play it) ELE/JH

8.5. Aspect

Aspect can be expressed by derivations of verbs, analytic structures, as well as by clitics and sentential particles. In the present section, I will focus on aspectual derivations of verbs. Sentential particles and clitics of different kinds will be discussed in chapter 11. on modality and discourse markers. See also 11.5. on optional "tense" markers.

Aspectual distinctions, either marked on verbs or analytical, include the progressive, the habitual, the inceptive and the iterative aspect. Some of these aspect structures can be expressed in various ways, as summarized in the following table:

Table 31: Aspect markers

	Form(s)	Formal marking
Progressive	-wa'-jo- (intransitive)	suffix on verbal stem
	-wa'-(ke)- (transitive)	
Habitual	bae'i- 'be, sit'	analytic structure
	chhii- 'know'	analytic structure
	-kika' (M), -köka' (F)	clitics
Inceptive	-jo-	suffix on verbal stem
	-dyedyei-	suffix on verbal stem
Iterative	(root reduplication)	reduplication
	-dyi-	incorporation suffix
	-'	infix in verbal root
Durative		partial reduplication of verbal root

8.5.1. Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is marked by the verbal suffix *-wa'*, which is followed by different markers in the intransitive and transitive inflection.

In the intransitive inflection, the progressive aspect marker *-wa'* is always followed by the marker *-jo-*.¹⁹⁰ This marker has a number of other functions, such as marking the inceptive or a change of state (8.5.3.), as well as an associated motion marker (8.6.3.).

In the following example, the intransitive verb *karijtyaki-* 'work' is derived by the progressive aspect marker in its intransitive form *-wa'-jo-*:

(8:249) *Fer-tyi'-khan tsiin karij-tya-k-wa'-jo-i*
 strong-L.M-IN sun hard-VD-AN-PR-PRI-M.S
jam-tyi tye-te öjñi'
 NG-person give-3M.O water

‘He is working in the strong sun (and) nobody gives him water.’ ELE/JH

Being inflected as an intransitive verb, the feminine form is followed by a glottal stop (8:250), whereas the 1st person plural inclusive form is followed by *-ja*’ (8:251):

- (8:250) *Mö’ wi-k-wa’-jo-’*.
 3F.SG spin-VK-PR-PRI-F.S
 ‘She is spinning.’ STE/VJ
- (8:251) *Tsin-ra’ phe-ya-k-wa’-jo-ja’*.
 1P-IR talk-VY-AN-PR-PRI-1PI.S
 ‘We are talking.’ ELE/JH

In the transitive inflection, the marking of the progressive aspect varies in form due to the various cross-reference endings that follow. In this way, the progressive aspect marker *-wa’* is in some cases followed by a marker *-ki-*, while in other forms this is not the case.¹⁹¹ This marker *-ki-* seems to be complementary to the marker *-jo-* in the intransitive inflection of the progressive aspect. In the same way as *-jo-* has other functions, among them marking an associated motion marker, there is also an associated motion marker of the form *-ki-* (8.6.1.). Whether the markers which appear together with the progressive aspect marker *-wa’* are associated motion markers or derive from other markers, is synchronically unclear. Furthermore, the *-ki-* forms appear in combination with certain cross-reference markers of the transitive paradigm only, and not regularly throughout the whole paradigm. Tables 32a and 32b show the various forms of the transitive progressive marking in combination with the cross-reference markers. The forms of *-k(V)-* are in bold. For reasons of clarity, reflexive forms are not included in Table 32a and 32b. They will, however, also be discussed further below.

With 1st person plural inclusive objects, two forms of progressive marking are possible: *-wa’sin’* and *-wa’kisin’*, the latter appearing with *-ki-* and the former without. According to the majority of my informants, there is no difference in meaning between these forms.¹⁹²

Table 32a: The transitive inflection of the progressive aspect (singular objects)

S↓	O	1SG	2SG	3SG m	3SG f
1SG m			-wa'keye	-wa'te	-wa'ke'
1SG f			-wa'keye	-wa'te	-wa'ke'
2SG m	-wa'ti'			-wa'te	-wa'ke'
2SG f	-wa'ti'			-wa'te	-wa'ke'
3SG m	-wa'kin	-wa'kin		-wa'te	-wa'ke'
3SG f	-wa'kin	-wa'kin		-wa'te	-wa'ke'
1P.E m			-wa'keyäk	-wa'te	-wa'ke'
1P.E f			-wa'keyäk	-wa'te	-wa'ke'
1P.I m				-wa'ti	-wa'ti'
1P.I f				-wa'ti	-wa'ti'
2P m	-wa'kin			-wa'te	-wa'ke'
2P f	-wa'kin			-wa'te	-wa'ke'
3P m	-wa'kin	-wa'kin		-wa'te	-wa'ke'
3P f	-wa'kin	-wa'kin		-wa'te	-wa'ke'

Table 32b: The transitive inflection of the progressive aspect (plural objects)

S↓	O	1P.E	1P.I	2P	3P
1SG m				-wa'kinak	-ksewa'joi
1SG f				-wa'kinak	-ksewa'jo'
2SG m	-wa'tikha'				-ksewa'joi
2SG f	-wa'tikha'				-ksewa'jo'
3SG m	-wa'kin	-wa'sin' / -wa'kisin'		-wa'kinak	-ksewa'joi
3SG f	-wa'kin	-wa'sin' / -wa'kisin'		-wa'kinak	-ksewa'jo'
1P.E m				-wa'keyäk	-ksewa'joi
1P.E f				-wa'keyäk	-ksewa'jo'
1P.I m					-ksewa'joja'
1P.I f					-ksewa'joja'
2P m	wa'tikha'				-ksewa'joi
2P f	wa'tikha'				-ksewa'jo'
3P m	-wa'kin	-wa'sin' / -wa'kisin'		-wa'kinak	-ksewa'joi
3P f	-wa'kin	-wa'sin' / -wa'kisin'		-wa'kinak	-ksewa'jo'

Other forms in which the *-ki-* marker occurs are the forms of the 3rd person singular feminine objects (8:252) and the forms of the 2nd person singular objects (8:253):

- (8:252) *Jaem' katyi'-ra' aj anik aj shokdye'*;
 good EH-IR yet EM yet chicha
tye-wa'-ke-'; *käwä-ki-' jaem'*.
 drink-VI.PR-TR-3F.O sweet-VK-F.S good
 'The chicha-wine is surely good already; he is drinking it; it is
 sweet and good.' STE/VJ
- (8:253) *Khäki waemtyi'-mi me'-ki' wae-wa'-ki-n.*
 because husband-2SG so-size beat-VI.PR-TR-2O
 'Because your husband is beating you that much.' STE/EC

The following example shows the progressive form of a verb with a 3rd person singular masculine object that appears without the *-ki-* marker:

- (8:254) *Me'-tye-wa'-te-tsin.*
 so-VD-PR-3M.O-1P
 'This way we were doing to it (i.e. treating it).' STE/VC

Another example of a form in which the *-ki-* does not occur, is the reflexive, where the *-ti-* marker is added directly to the *-wa'-*:

- (8:255) *Jish-wa'-ti-'-ya'...*
 comb-VD.PR-RE-F.S-AD
 'When she was combing herself...' COE/CV

The forms of the 3rd person plural object differ from the other forms due to the nature of the marker *-kse-* (for this marker and an explanation about the intransitive forms, see 8.1.2.2.). In these forms, the intransitive progressive marker follows the cross-reference marker *-kse-*:

- (8:256) *Jibi-ra' mimi' tsin bis-a-kse-wa'-jo-ja'*
 in.vain-IR only.M 1P wait-VI-3P.O-PR-PRI-1PI.S
watyeke-ra' jam ay-i-jo-'-in.
 maybe-IR NG come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S-P
 'We are just waiting in vain, maybe they won't come.' ELE/JH

8.5.2. Habitual

There are four ways to express habitual aspect. Three of these are analytic structures with the verbs *bae'i-* 'be, sit', *chhü-* 'know' and *jyi-* 'pass'.¹⁹³ The clauses that these verbs form usually appear after the content verb of the clause.

The verb *bae'i-* 'be, sit' can mark habitual aspect analytically, appearing together with another verb that expresses an ongoing action. In the following example, *bae'i-* appears together with the verb *waen* 'he beats me', expressing that 'he is beating habitually':

- (8:257) *Jäen'-dye' ish-wi' jam me' jen'-mi*
 how-NO then-MN NG so father-2SG
wae-n-ra' yäe bae'-i.
 beat-VI.1SG.O-IR 1SG be-VI.M.S
 'How can it be that your father is (not) like that, he goes on beating me.' STE/EC

Another way to express the habitual is by the verb *chhü-* 'know' in combination with another verb:

- (8:258) *Jam jaem'-yi phen-dye-si' jiri-si' mi'-i'-yä',*
 NG good-VY.M.S woman-B-L.F one-L.F walk-VB-F.S-AD
chhi-ksi katyi' chhü.
 grab-3P.O.M.S EH know.VI.M.S
 'It is not good for women to pass alone, (then) he habitually catches them.' WTE/CT

Finally, speakers mark habitual aspect by the clitics *-kika'* (M) and *-köka'* (F). They consist of a bound morpheme *ki-* (M) and *kö-* (F) that expresses gender distinctions, and of the rhetorical question marker *-ka'* (12.3.1.6.). These markers express that something habitually happens, implying that 'it is always the case, therefore it will happen again':

- (8:259) *Yäe-ki-ka' jäe'mä jaem'-si' ti-i'*
 1SG-HA.M-QR DM good-L.F bring-3F.O
jeb-a-k-dye', mi-nä-kö-ka' jam jaem'
 eat-VI-MI-NO 2SG-FO-HA.F-QR NG good

- (8:261) *Dyiph* *tyaepae'-ye-jo-'-ra'-mö'* *aj* *mö'-khan.*
 then get.lost-VY-INS-F.S-IR-3F.SG yet 3F-IN
 'Then she gets lost in there (i.e. it becomes quiet).' STE/VJ

The following example shows a change of state, where the frog is not running any more (which it was before), but sitting on a stone instead:

- (8:262) *Aj* *ish-katyi'* *wën-jö-i* *öjñi'-wë* *jöf* *aj*
 yet then-EH move-DJ-M.S river-DR yet yet
mö'-wë *tëtëi* *mij-chhe'* *phits-ki-jo-'.*
 3F-DR frog stone-SU sit-VK-INS-F.S
 When he came to the river, the frog was already sitting on the
 stone there.' WTE/JH

In the same way as with the verbal stem marker of the same form *-jo-*, the aspectual marker can express that something happens without external influence. This is also the case in the following example:

- (8:263) *Shiph-ki-ye-jo-'* *mö'* *kochi;* *khin'-ra'* *jam*
 leave-VK-APY-INS-F.S 3F.SG pig now-IR NG
chhi-bin-'.
 catch-again.1PI/F
 'The pig left (i.e. escaped); now we won't (be able to) catch it
 again.' ELE/AT

The inception of an action and the change of the state can also be compared to the use of *-jo-* as part of the associated motion marker *-k-ho-*. Both imply that something moves away from the deictic center, the associated motion marker in space, the aspect marker in time.

This change of state, involving the applicative, can also be expressed on the copula negation (10.2.), meaning 'having changed the state to not being there' or 'having started with not being there':

- (8:264) *Aj* *ay-i* *its-i-ye-jo-i-ya'*
 yet come.F.S-VI NX-VI-APY-INS-M.S-AD
waemtyi'-mö'.
 husband-3F.SG

‘It (i.e. the monster, F) comes when her husband is not there.’
STE/VJ

8.5.4. *Inceptive aspect marking by –dyedyei-*

Another way to mark inceptive aspect is by adding the marker *–dyedyei-* to the verb. This marker probably consists of the nominalization marker *–dye’* in reduplicated form and the verbal stem marker *–i-* (8.3.1.), ‘be about to...’:

(8:265) *Yë-wä’-te mi’ mö’ phe-ya-k-dye’ aj-ra’-tsa’*
say-PR-3M.O 3M.SG 3F.SG talk-VY-MI-NO yet-IR-FR
shiph-ki-dyedyei.
leave-VK-INC.M.S
‘He was saying these words, but then he was already about to leave.’ ELE/RC, FT

This marker is not used very frequently, and is exclusively added to intransitive verbs such as *khöshi-dyedyei-* ‘be about to sleep’ and *saeksi-dyedyei-* ‘be about to eat’.

8.5.5. *Iterative aspect*

Iterative aspect indicates that an action takes place several times in a row. In Mosestén, this can be communicated in several ways: 1. by reduplication of the verbal root, 2. by the suffix *–dyi-*, and 3. by the infix *–’-*.

8.5.5.1. *Iterative aspect through reduplication*

Reduplication of the verbal root is one of the strategies in Mosestén to express iterative aspect. It involves the verbal root before addition of a verbal stem marker. The meaning is that something happens several times, with a certain intensity (see also section 8.5.5.4.). The following example shows the verbal root *tyoj-* ‘shoot at’ in reduplicated form:

- (8:266) *Tyoj-tyoj-ye-i*.
 shoot-RD-VY-3F.O
 ‘She is shot at several times.’ ELE/JH

In the following example, the bound verbal root *wan* ‘drink chicha’ is reduplicated to express that the subject drank the chicha very rapidly, taking the glass to his mouth several times:

- (8:267) *Jiris-ki’ katyi’ khä wan’-wan’-ye-’*.
 one.F-size EH well drink.chicha-RD-VY-3F.O
 ‘At once he has drunk it.’ STE/VJ

Similarly in the following example:

- (8:268) *Khin-ki-ra’-ki säk-e’-mi*
 now-CO-IR-CO suck-VI-3F.O-2SG
japits-japits-ye-’-ra’ säk-e-’.
 put.in.mouth-RD-VY-3F.O-IR suck-VI-3F.O
 ‘And now you will suck it, put it in the mouth repeatedly and suck it.’ STE/VJ

8.5.5.2. The iterative aspect marker –dyi-

The suffix –dyi- marks iterative aspect where the repeated actions usually are spread over a long period of time within the same situation. Formally, this marker is an incorporation suffix forming intransitive verbs. It is added to non-finite verbal forms or other parts of speech such as sentential particles. The meaning is ‘do something repeatedly’, differing from another incorporation marker with the same form, –dyi-, meaning ‘taste’ (8.4.7.). As this marker formally is an incorporating suffix, I gloss it *do.repeatedly* instead of marking it as *IT*- ‘iterative aspect’. In the following example, a frog is constantly making the sound *tētēi* for a long period of time within the same situation:

- (8:269) *Tētēi-dyi-’*.
 ON-do.repeatedly-F.S
 ‘Tetei it says (repeatedly).’ WTE/JH

The *-dyi-* marker can also appear on elements which already are marked for the iterative aspect in other ways, as in the following example, with the reduplicated verbal root *neye-*. This verb always appears in the reduplicated form (see also 8.5.5.1.) and is usually used to express that the tongue of a dog is hanging out of its mouth and moving around. The addition of *-dyi-* to this element emphasizes the iterativity of these movements:

- (8:270) *Nunca katyi' khä bailar-yi-' mö' achae*
 never.E EH well dance.E-VY-F.S 3F.SG dog
Diana, khäei'-ki mimi' Wanka
 Diana RF-CO only.M Wanka
*ne-ye-'-neye'-dyij*¹⁹⁴ *fen.*
 move-VY-3F.O-RD-do.repeatedly.M.S egg
 'The dog Diana will never dance, only Wanka moved around
 his testicles all the time (trying to dance).' COE/EC

Some verbs lexically occur with the iterative marker *-dyi-*, such as *dyochhdyi-* 'row with an oar' and *joidyi-* 'row with a tree trunk'. Furthermore, one nominal form that is formally derived from a verb involves the marker *-dyi-*: *fachdyij* 'arrow of chonta-palm', which literally means 'he shoots repeatedly'.

The marker *-dyi-* can furthermore be added to other elements, such as the sentential particle *me* 'so', expressing 'do like this each time':

- (8:271) *Jäe'nä' sob-a-ki, mi'-we ji'-min-a-ksi*
 where visit-VI-AN.M.S 3M-DR CA-change-VI-3P.O.M.S
me'-dyij katyi'
 so- do.repeatedly.M.S EH
 'Where he visited (someone), he every time transformed them
 (back into animals).' WTE/JH

This derived particle usually appears with transitive verbs, while *-dyi-* itself derives intransitive verbs.

8.5.5.3. The iterative aspect marking infix –’-

The third type of iterative aspect marker in Mosestén is the infix –’-. This is the only infix in the language (see also section 3.). It expresses an ongoing action consisting of several repeated sub-actions, not indicating anything about the speed or intensity of these actions. This iterative aspect marker appears with elements derived by the verbal stem marker –*yi*- only, and its use is therefore quite restricted. It is added before the final consonant of the verbal root, and also before the verbal stem marker. Following the infix, the consonant introduces a new syllable and in a number of cases is phonologically assimilated (2.5.3.). The verbal root that is constructed with this marker of iterativity is finally complemented with the verbal stem marker –*i*- inflecting as a transitive verb. In this way, the verbal stem marker –*yi*- is changed into –*i*- in verbs combined with this iterative aspect marker due to formal reasons.

The verbal root in the following example is *japits-yi*- which in its unmarked form becomes *japi’ts-e-*’ when combined with the infix –’-:

- (8:272) *Mö’ aj khäei’-mö’ aj-me’*
 3F.SG yet RF-3F.SG yet-so
japi-’-ts-e-’.
 put.in.mouth-ITI-put.in.mouth-VI-3F.O
 ‘She herself keeps putting it into her mouth (repeatedly).’
 STE/VJ

The following example shows the assimilation of the syllable-final consonant /ph/ in the root *chhiph-yi*- ‘shoot’ to the syllable-initial consonant /b/ in the form derived with the iterative aspect infix:

- (8:273) *Tsin chhiï chhi-’-b-a-ki*.
 1P know.VI.M.S shoot-ITI-shoot-VI-AN.M.S
 ‘We know how to shoot.’ STE/VJ

8.5.5.4. The different types of iterative aspect marking and their functions

The three types of iterative aspect marking in Mosetén vary in both form and meaning. Formally, one marker derives the iterative aspect through reduplication of the verbal root. The marker *-dyi-* is an incorporation suffix that appears with non-verbal elements. The iterative aspect marker *-'* is an infix in the verbal root of certain verbs. The functions of these three markers differ in the way the iterated action is carried out.

Table 33: Form and meaning of iterative aspect markers

Form	Meaning
Reduplication of the verbal root	fast repetition of the action
<i>-dyi-</i> suffix	repetition of the action over a long period of time
<i>-'</i> infix	iterative action (no indication of speed or intensity)

Reduplication of the verbal root expresses that an action is carried out several times quite fast. Marking by *-dyi-* expresses that the action is carried out several times over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the infix *-'* expresses an iterative action, without giving an indication of the speed or intensity of the subsequent actions.

The differences listed above are shown in the following complementary examples involving the verb *kaph-yi-* 'clap hands':

- (8:274) ***Kaph-yi.***
 clap-VY.M.S
 'He claps his hands (once).' ELE/JH
- (8:275) ***Kaph-kaph-yi.***
 clap-RD-VY.M.S
 'He claps his hands (several times, rather fast).' ELE/JH
- (8:276) ***Kaph-kaph-dyij.***
 clap-RD- do.repeatedly.M.S
 'He claps (constantly).' ELE/JH
- (8:277) ***Ka-'-b-e-'***
 clap-ITI-clap-VI-3F.O
 'He claps at her (several times, general, transitive).' ELE/JH

The following examples again show the differences in the meanings of the iterative aspect markers. The stem of the verb *taets-yi-* ‘cut’ can be reduplicated to express that an action is repeated rapidly:

- (8:278) *Taets-taets-ye-me* *mi’ sewoya!*
 cut-RD-VY-IMT.2SG 3M.SG onion.E
 ‘Chop the onion!’ ELE/JH

In the above example, the outcome is an onion that is cut into very small pieces. When speaking about cutting the onion once, one uses the unmarked form *taets-ye-me* ‘cut it once’. With the infix *-’-*, the result of the action could be an onion that is cut only several times or one that is cut into smaller pieces:

- (8:279) *Tae-’-ts-e-me* *sewoya!*
 cut-ITI-cut-VI-IMT.2SG onion.E
 ‘Cut the onion!’ ELE/JH

This verb is generally not used together with the iterative aspect marker *-dyi-*. However, it appears in the old Mosestén tribal name *taets-dyi-mai’*, but the internal composition of it is not completely clear.

8.5.6. Durative aspect

Durative aspect is expressed by partial reduplication of the verbal root. The last CV of the root is reduplicated, followed by a verbal stem marker. In some derived forms, vowel changes can appear. In the following example, the verbal root *titso-* ‘hang’ is partially reduplicated: *titsäej-tsäe-*:

- (8:280) *Paeren’ aj sak-yi-’ aj-in tya’kaj-ye-’ mö’*
 both yet leave-VY-F.S yet-P behind-VY-3F.O 3F.SG
aj iwi’-in käedäej-in titsäej-tsäe-yë-’ aj-in
 yet child.DIM-P baby-P hang-RD-VY-3F.O yet-P
jiri-si’-wë.
 one-L.F-DR

‘Both left, they left the little child behind, the child was hanging¹⁹⁵ alone.’ STE/EC

The last vowel of the stem is changed here from *-o-* into *-äe-*, and furthermore, the verbal stem is nasalized. These vowel changes are not obligatory. The form *titsoj-tso-* could have been used instead.

In the following example, the verbal root *tsiwae-* ‘be cold’ is partially reduplicated, with a change in the last vowel from *-ae-* to *-a-*:

- (8:281) *Tranquilo wën-chhï-yäe ni tsiwa-wa-i’*
 quiet.E move-DC.M.S-1SG NG.Ecold-RD-VI-F.S
se’w-e-’
 feel-VI-3F.O
 ‘I came here quietly, it did not even feel cold.’ COE/MW

Apart from verbal roots, also nominal forms can be partially reduplicated and followed by a verbal stem marker. These forms usually express carrying objects of the form described by the noun:

- (8:282) *Saerae’-rae-i.*
 long.object-RD-VI.M.S
 ‘He carries a long object.’ ELE/JH

8.6. Associated motion

There are a number of different associated motion markers in Mositén: *-ki-* ‘go away to do an action’, *-ti-/sh-* ‘come to do an action’, *-kho-* ‘to perform on the way there’, *-chhi-* ‘to perform on the way here’, *-ji-* ‘perform an action in various places’ and finally the marker *-min-* ‘interruption of the movement to do the action’ (which is used together with other associated motion markers to express that the movement was interrupted in order to do the action). Mositén has no marking for upriver or downriver in the associated motion system. Instead, these notions are found in the system of nominal relations (4.1.).

The first four associated motion markers listed above describe the movement to or from a deictic center. The deictic center is either the speaker or a central person or place in the story or discourse. Examples

will be presented below. The following table shows the different relations to the deictic center:

Table 34: Associated motion markers that mark the relation to a deictic center

	Perform the action after arriving	Doing the action on the way
Away from the deictic center	-ki-	-kho-
To the deictic center	-sh- / -ti-	-chhi-

8.6.1. The -ki- marker

The -ki- associated motion marker expresses the movement away from the deictic center to perform an action. This associated motion marker forms a group together with the associated motion marker -sh-/ti- (8.6.2.), both indicating that one goes somewhere to perform the action. Formally, the -ki- associated motion marker appears after the root and before the cross-reference ending. In the 3rd person plural object forms, the marker is placed after the -ksi- cross-reference form (8.1.2.2.). This associated motion marker generates intransitive or transitive consonant stems (see section 8.2.1.).

In the intransitive form, the suffix is homophonous with the antipassive suffix -ki-. However, there is a structural difference between the antipassive suffix -ki- and the associated motion marker -ki- that has to do with the vowel change before the suffix. With the associated motion marker, the vowel is usually /e/, or with some verbal stems /i/. With the antipassive -ki-, the vowel becomes /a/ (see section 2.5.1.3.): Compare *käwä-ki* ‘he sees (it)’ in the antipassive and *käwë-ki* ‘he goes away to see’ with the associated motion marker.

The following example shows the associated motion marker appearing in the intransitive inflection with a masculine subject. The movement expressed by the associated motion marker is away from the deictic center, the central point of departure in the story being the house where the people live:

(8:283) *Sin enbargo-nä-ki mi'-in yi jike-in jike aj*
 however.E-FO-CO 3M-Psay PS-P PS yet

daerae'-khan jĭj-ka-i-in moch
 mountain-IN go-DK-M.S-P far
daerae-ye-ki-in jĕe'mä mäekäe'-yä'-in...
 mountain-VY-DK.M.S-P DM hill-AD-P
 'However, they said that they had gone to hunt, far they had
 gone, to the hills...' STE/EC

In this example, the combination of *daerae* 'mountain' and the verbal stem marker *-yi-* expresses 'hunt'. This combination is derived by the associated motion marker *-ki-*, expressing 'go to hunt'.

The following example shows another intransitive verb in which this associated motion marker appears. The deictic center is located in relation to the main character of the story. The person is standing outside a house and hears that a monster (trapped inside the house) bumps into something at the other end of the house, i.e. moving away from the deictic center:

(8:284) *Wañ-i-n'-ti-' jike-dyera' phi-ke-wa'-jo-'-ra'*
 get.up-VI-PR-VT-F.S PS-MO run-VK-PR-PRI-F.S-IR
mö' tyaekaer-ye-ki-' ö-wë tyaekaer-ye-ki-'
 3F.SG collide-VY-AN-F.S F-DR collide-VY-AN-F.S
katyi' khä phi-ke-wa'-jo-' mö'-khan aka'-khan.
 EH well run-VK-PR-PRI-F.S 3F-IN house-IN
 'She got up and then she was running, she bumped into
 (something) here (behind), she bumped into (something),
 running inside the house.' STE/VJ

In the transitive inflection, *-ki-* appears without the final vowel in a number of cross-reference forms, forming a consonant stem (8.2.1.):

(8:285) *Ayo' käw-ë-k-te-in.*
 president see-VI-DK-3M.O-P
 'They went (there) to see the president.' STE/CT

In the 3rd person plural object forms, the marker of the associated motion marker follows the cross-reference form *-ksi-* (see section 8.1.2.2. on the intransitive nature of *-ksi-*) and carries the gender agreement to the subject of the clause:

- (8:286) *Jike-katyi' käw-ä-kse-ki* *iits*
 PS-EH see-VI-3P.O.M.S-DK.M.S DE.M
Sheshewintyi'.
 Creator
 'The Creator went to see them.' WTE/JH

Due to a phonological rule (2.5.5.), *-ti-* changes to *-dyi-* when following a consonant. This is, for example, the case with the reflexive cross-reference forms, as in the reflexive verb *ji'chhaeyiti-* 'study'. In this case is suffixed with *-k-*, meaning 'go to study':

- (8:287) *Khin'-yäe mi'-we jäe'mä ji'-chhae-yi-k-dyi*
 now-1SG 3M-DR DM CA-know-VY-DK-RE.M.S
96-khan.
 96-IN
 'And now I went there (to Riberalta) to study in the year 1996.'
 COE/JH

Other morphophonological changes occur when *-ki-* appears together with *-ban* 'again'. The latter marker generally involves a number of morphophonological changes (see section 8.8.). After the associated motion marker *-k-*, the initial /b/ of *-ban* changes to aspiration and the form becomes *-k-han*. In the following example, this form undergoes further morphophonological changes to *k-haj-*:

- (8:288) *Paerae'-ki' khi'jo-i mi'-we atya-win-nä-ki jäe'mä*
 two-size then-M 3M-DR uncle-C-FO-CO DM
taen'-ye-k-haj-te äwä'.
 see-VY-DK-again-3M.O son
 'Twice my dead uncle went there to see (his) son.' COE/JH

The associated motion marker *-k-* can be used in a number of lexicalized constructions. One such construction is *iyayeki-* 'he gets better' (lit. 'he is going to here'):

- (8:289) *Ö-yä-yë-ki'*.
 F-AD-VY-DK-F.S
 'She is getting better.' STE/MW

8.6.2. *-ti-/-sh- marker*

The associated motion marker that expresses ‘come (to the deictic center) to do an action’ is constructed with two different forms, *-sh-* and *-ti-* that alternate with each other. The use of these forms of the associated motion marker is fixed in different verbal contexts. First, I will discuss the use of *-ti-*, then I will turn to the *-sh-* form.

8.6.2.1. The *-ti-* form

The *-ti-* form of the associated motion marker appears with certain cross-reference markers of the verb and a number of derivational markers. It has the same shape as the 1st person plural inclusive subject marker in the transitive inflectional paradigm (see section 8.1.2. on cross-reference in the transitive paradigm). However, morphophonologically, these affixes behave differently as the associated motion marker does not trigger vowel harmony in the verbal stem. Hence, the verb *bae’i-* ‘live’ is transformed to *bae’eti* ‘he has come to live’ when marked by the associated motion marker. The forms of the 1st plural inclusive subject in the transitive paradigm result in the form *bae’iti* ‘we live with him’.

Turning to the forms of the associated motion marker, in the intransitive inflection, most contexts are marked by the *-ti-* form:

(8:290) *Mö’-nä-wi’-rä’* *jike tiempo tata-in yoj-yoj jike*
 3F.SG-FO-MN-IR PS time.E father-P R-RD PS
i-we *bae’-e-ti-in.*
 M-DR live-VI-DT.M.S-P
 ‘It must be the time that the priests, like before, came to live here.’ COE/JH

However, the 1st person plural inclusive subject forms appear with the marker *-sh-* (see also section 8.6.2.2. *-sh-* below): *bae’esha* ‘we have come to live here’ and not **bae’eteja*’.

When the associated motion marker appears with the antipassive marker *-ki-* on its own (i.e. when no other derivation is applied), the *-ti-* form of the associated motion marker is used:¹⁹⁶

- (8:291) *Maria ay-i sob-a-j-ki-ti-’*
 Maria come.F.S-VI visit-VI-DIR-AN-DT-F.S
 ‘Maria comes to visit (her own daughter).’ ELE/JH

The marker *-j-* that also appears in the present example is discussed in detail in section 8.6.7.

In the transitive cross-reference paradigm, some forms occur with the *-ti-* associated motion marker, others with the *-sh-* form of the associated motion marker. For example, 3rd person plural object forms are marked by *-ti-* in the same way as intransitive verbs:

- (8:292) *Dyiph-katyi’ wën-chhī ojtere’, aj*
 then-EH move-DC.M.Srooster yet
dyak-a-kse-ti tētēi-īn.
 find-VI-3P.O-DT.M.S frog-P
 ‘And then the rooster comes, he already comes to see the frogs.’ WTE/JH

Furthermore, the 3rd person feminine object forms appear with the *-ti-*, changing the vowel to /e/ due to vowel harmony (2.3.2.):

- (8:293) *Mi’ ats-i jeb-e-te’ pe’re.*
 3M.SG come.M.S-VI eat-VI-DT-3F.O banana(F)
 ‘He comes to eat bananas.’ ELE/JH

Finally, object forms marked by *-n*, i.e. forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular object, as well as the 1st plural exclusive object (see section 8.1.2. on transitive cross-reference), can appear with the *-ti-* marker:

- (8:294) *Öi yomo’-we-si’ ats-i-ra’ Johannes*
 DE.F night-DR-L.F come.M.S-VI-IR Johannes
kaw-i-ti-n-tsin.
 see-VI-DT-1O-1P
 ‘This afternoon, Johannes will come to see us.’ ELE/JH

However, the other form of the associated motion marker is also possible here. Hence, not just *-ti-*, but sometimes also *-sh-* appears with *-n* object forms:

- (8:295) *Ats-i otyi'-yäe sob-i-sh-in-yäe.*
 come.M.S-VI brother-1SG visit-VI-DS-1O-1SG
 'My brother comes to visit me.' ELE/JH

In conclusion, the *-ti-* form of this associated motion marker mainly appears with intransitive verbs (including the diachronically intransitive 3rd person plural object forms of the transitive cross-reference paradigm), as well as with a number of forms in the transitive cross-reference paradigm.

8.6.2.2. The *-sh-* form

The *-sh-* form occurs in all remaining contexts of the transitive cross-reference system, as well as with other derivational affixes not discussed with the *-ti-* form of this associated motion marker. Furthermore, as discussed above, the forms of the 1st person plural inclusive subject in the intransitive cross-reference paradigm appear with the *-sh-* form of this associated motion marker:¹⁹⁷

- (8:296) *Karij-tya-ki-j-sh-a'.*
 hard-VD-AN-DIR-DS-1PI.S
 'We will come to work here.' ELE/JH

The following examples show some other forms of the transitive cross-reference paradigm in which the *-sh-* form of the associated motion marker appears:

- (8:297) *Mi' ats-i sob-e-sh-te khäei-tyi' jen'.*
 3M.SG come.M.S-VI visit-VI-DS-3M.O RF-L.M father
 'He came to visit his father.' ELE/JH
- (8:298) *Anik nāsh me' ats-i-jo-i-yäe*
 EM GF so come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S-1SG
käw-ë-sh-yë.
 see-VI-DS-1SG/2SG
 'Surely I came to see you.' COE/MW

- (8:299) *Nöjnöj Maria ay-i-ra' kaw-i-sh-sin'*¹⁹⁸
 tomorrow Maria come.F.S-VI-IR see-VI-DS-1Pl.O
 'Tomorrow Maria will come to see us again.' ELE/JH

When the associated motion marker is followed by an element beginning with *-ti-*, the initial /t/ of that form is changed to /dy/ (2.5.5.):

- (8:300) *Sob-i-sh-dyikha' mi'in.*
 visit-VI-DS-1/2(P) 2P
 'He is visiting you (P).' COE/JH

With most derivational affixes, the forms of the associated motion marker are *-sh-*. This is also the case when the associated motion marker appears together with the progressive aspect:

- (8:301) *Shäe'ä-yë-sh-wü'-jö-ban-' aj-win, cho'-ya-ki-'*
 rob-VY-DS-PR-PRI-again-F.S yet-C tear.out-VY-AN-F.S
jo'me.
 note
 'She is always tearing that out which is noted.' STE/EC

The suffix *-ban-* 'again' undergoes different morphophonological changes when suffixed to certain stems (8.8.). Together with the associated motion marker *-sh-* it appears without the initial /b/:

- (8:302) *Iits Santi' jeb-e-sh-aj-te tyära.*
 DE.M Santiago eat-VI-DS-again-3M.O maize
 'This Santiago has come back to eat maize.' ELE/JH

In the preceding section on *-ti-* (6.8.2.1.), I stated that the associated motion marker, appearing together with the antipassive form *-ki-*, has the form *-ti-*. However, when further derivational marking is applied, such as by the suffix *-ban* 'again', the *-ti-* is replaced by the *-sh-* form of this associated motion marker:

- (8:303) *Pero ay-i-katyi'-ra' watyeke*
 but.E come.F.S-VI-EH-IR maybe

sob-a-j-ki-sh-an-'-ra'.¹⁹⁹

visit-VI-DIR-AN-DS-again-F.S-IR

'But she would come, maybe she would come back to visit.'

COE/MW

Furthermore, the verb *karijtyaki-* 'work', which has a very common antipassive form, uses the *-sh-* associated motion marker: *karijtyaki-sh-a'* 'we will come to work here' (see example 8:316 in section 8.6.7.).

8.6.3. *The -kho- marker*

The associated motion marker *-kho-* expresses the movement away from the deictic center in relation to an action done 'on the way'. Diachronically, it seems to derive from the aspectual marker *-jo-* (8.5.3.).²⁰⁰ This is supported by the fact that the associated motion marker appears as *-jo-* without the /k/ in combination with certain fixed verbs (8.6.8.), as well as with other associated motion marker derivations, such as in constructions with the marker *-min-* (8.6.6.). Used as an associated motion marker on its own, however, the form of this marker is always *-kho-*. Furthermore, this associated motion marker always appears together with the marker *-j-* (8.6.7.):

- (8:304) *Khin'-ki-ra'* *phi-ki-ya'* *ojtere'* *tsin-ki-ra'*
 now-CO-IR run-VK.M.S-AD rooster 1P-CO-IR
jiri-si-si *ye-ja'* "tētēi" *yok-si'* *mo-jo'-chhe-ya'*
 one-L.F-RD say-1PL.S ON other-F.L 3F-RD-SU-AD
 "tētēi" *ye-j-kho-ja'*.
 ON say-DIR-DJ-1PL.S
 'Now, when the rooster runs, we will one by one say "tetei",
 and another one further along "tetei", we will say (moving
 on).' WTE/JH

The associated motion marker in this example marks the sound of the frogs *tētēi* in combination with movement away from the deictic center. The deictic center is in this case the rooster, as the frogs imagine the upcoming event from the viewpoint of the rooster that is running,

thinking that a frog runs in front of him, saying *tētēi* while moving along.

In the following example, several men walk away from the village (the deictic center) in search of an old man who had disappeared. Some men are very cautious, watching out for dangerous animals, while others walk on not looking around. The associated motion marker in this example marks the movement away from the deictic center in combination with “looking around”:

- (8:305) *Yok-min-tyi'-in me' mimi' ji-yi-in jam jāe'mä*
 other-AS-L.M-P so only.M pass-VY.M.S-P NG DM
kāw-ä-ki-j-kho-i'-in.
 look-VI-AN-DIR-DJ-F.S-P
 ‘Other just passed, they did not walk looking around.’ STE/JH

The associated motion marker can also be applied with a derived meaning, as in the following example. Thus, when asking someone to tell a story, the question reads ‘how is the story’. Literally, the meaning is ‘how does the story move on saying’:

- (8:306) *Jäetäej-yë-j-kho'-dyash?*
 make.noise-VY-DIR-DJ-F.S-QI
 ‘How does it “go”?’ (i.e. ‘How is the story?’) COE/JH

8.6.4. The -chhi- marker

The associated motion marker of the form *-chhi-* is the counterpart of the *-jo-* associated motion marker (8.6.3.) and means ‘to move toward the deictic center in connection with carrying out an action’.²⁰¹ This associated motion marker also appears with the *-j-* marker (8.6.7.). In the following example, a jaguar-father comes to the deictic center, making noise and roaring while moving on:

- (8:307) *Jen'-nä-ki-mi' its-i daerae'-khan, me'-ki*
 father-FO-3M.SG NX-VI.M.S mountain-IN so-CO
jāe'mä yomo'-we tsiin-dyera'
 DM afternoon-DR sun-MO

jäedyäk'-ye-j-chhi-ban *aj-win*
 seem.to-VY-DIR-DC-again.M.S yet-C
jiij-ke-j-chhi-ban *kinakdye'-in.*
 roar-VK-DIR-DC-again.M.S jaguar-P
 'Their father was not there, he was in the mountains, and it
 must have been in the afternoon that he came back making
 noise, roaring, the jaguar.' STE/EC

In the following example, the *-chhi-* associated motion marker is used together with the verb *tyashi* 'be in front'. Being chased by dogs, the tapir is moving in the direction of the deictic center, in this case the speaker, while keeping ahead of the dogs. Furthermore, the verb is marked by *-ban* 'again', expressing that it comes back again, as it has been in the location before:

(8:308) *Ay-i* *aj* *achae-in* *kiwi-in* *jäedyäk*
 come.F.S-VI yet dog-P again-P seem.to
ats-i-tyi' *tyash-i-j-chhi-ban* *shi'*.
 come.M.S-VI-MO front-VI-DIR-DC-again.M.S tapir
 'The dogs come back again, it seems like the tapir is in front of
 them on his way back again (to us).' STE/VC

8.6.5. *The -ji- distributive marker*

Mosetén has two different kinds of distributives. One of them is marked by reduplication (4.1.11.2.), and does not involve movement to different locations, but just implies that there are several locations in combination with the actions performed. The distributive which I will discuss in the present section is the associated motion marker distributive that indicates movement in several directions to perform the action, however without indicating movement towards or away from the deictic center. This is expressed by the suffix *-ji-*, which is used in the intransitive inflection only.²⁰² Transitive verbs have to be detransitivized before marking by this associated motion marker.

In the following example, the distributive associated motion marks a sequence where a person moves to several locations to talk to everybody in the village:²⁰³

- (8:309) *Mi' katyi' mäen'jä' ji-tya-k paj-ki*
 3M.SG EH yesterday send-VD-PP for-CO
ye-jij raej-tom.
 say-DS.M all-COM
 'He was sent yesterday to talk to everybody.' ELE/JH

The distributive associated motion marker can also mark a situation where several different people – one after the other and independently of each other - enter the house to say “good night”:

- (8:310) *Jike-katyi' si-ti-in “yomo-i-” yi-ji-'-in.*
 PS-EH enter-VT.M.S-P night-VI-F.S say-DS-F.S-P
 'And then they entered, “good night”, they said.' STE/VC

The distributive associated motion marker is not used with transitive cross-reference forms. An exception to this are 3rd person plural object forms, marked by *-ksi-*, as discussed before (8.1.2.2.). With the 3rd person plural object forms, the distributive marker follows the *-ksi-*:

- (8:311) *Ya-kse-jij.*
 say-3P.O-DS.M
 'Go to them (individually) to tell them (something).' ELE/JH

8.6.6. The *-min-* interrupted movement marker

With other parts of speech, the marker *-min-* has several functions, such as associative relation marking of nouns (4.1.3.) and plural marking of adjectives (6.1.3.). With verbs, this marker expresses the interruption of a movement in order to do an action. It appears in relation to the associated motion markers *-jo-* (8.6.3.) and *-chhi-* (8.6.4.), which express that an action is carried out while moving towards or away from the deictic center. The associated motion marker *-kho-* (8.6.3.) in relation to the marker *-min-* is realized as *-jo-*:

- (8:312) *Saeks-e-min-jo-'*
 eat-VI-ITR-DJ-F.S
 'She went (there), ate and went away (after eating).'
 ELE/AT, LM

In this example, the construction of the interrupted movement marker and the associated motion marker expresses a movement away from the deictic center with an action done on the way. This action is not carried out while moving, but the movement stopped for this action to be done. This is also the case in the following example, where the movement to the deictic center was interrupted in order to sleep:

- (8:313) *Khösh-mïn-chhi.*
 sleep-VI.ITR-DC.M.S
 'He came here (interrupting his movement here to sleep).'
 ELE/CT

The following text example again illustrates the use of *-min-*:

- (8:314) *Mö'-nä-ki-ra' mö'-khan jëñë-mïn-rä'-tsa' aj*
 3F.SG-FO-CO-IR 3F-IN like-AS-IR-FR yet
weraej-ye-min-chhi-' nä'ri jäe'mä mö'-khan
 break.through-VY-ITR-DC-F.S doorframe DM 3F-IN
mö' phi-ke-wa'-jo-' phi-ke-wa'-jo-'.
 3F.SG run-VK-PR-PRI-F.S run-VK-PR-PRI-F.S
 'And she is inside there (stops her action to) try to break
 through the doorframe (which she does not succeed in) and
 (then she goes on) running, running.' STE/VJ

The other associated motion markers discussed above, namely *-k-*, *-ti/-sh-* and *-ji-*, cannot be used together with the *-min-* marker.

8.6.7. *The extension -j-*

In many of the examples of associated motion markers above, a form *-j-* occurs, glossed as DIR. This form obligatorily appears with most forms

of the associated motion markers *-kho-* and *-chhi-*²⁰⁴, while it only in some cases occurs with *-ki-* and *-sh-/ti-*.

First, I will look at the associated motion markers *-ki-* and *-sh-/ti-*. When the antipassive marker *-ki* (see section 9.3.1.) derives structures marked by the associated motion marker *-ki-*, a *-j-* almost always appears in the construction:

- (8:315) *Me'-ki me'-si-si' dyij-ye-dye' jike aj ayuda*
 so-CO so-L.F-RD think-VY-NO PS yet help.E
ködy-a-j-ki-ki jäe'mä Luxembugo.
 beg-VI-DIR-AN-DK.M.S DM Luxemburg
 'Therefore the idea was to go to beg for help in Luxemburg.'
 COE/SM

In this example, the antipassive marker and the associated motion marker are homophonous, differing only in the form of the vowel preceding them (see 9.3.1. for the antipassive). In this way, one can interpret the first form *-ki-* as the antipassive marker, being preceded by an /a/, whereas the second *-ki-* is the associated motion marker, not changing the vowel in front of it. In this way, the *-j-* marker and the *-ki-* associated motion marker are not adjacent. This is the case in many examples, also with the other associated motion marker *-sh-*. The verb *karijtyaki* 'work', which almost lexically occurs with the antipassive marker, is an exception, as the marker *-j-* follows the antipassive marker and directly precedes the associated motion marker (see also section 8.6.2. for further irregularities of this verb):

- (8:316) *karij-tya-ki-j-sh-a'*
 hard-VD-AN-DIR-DS-1PL.S
 'We will come to work here.' ELE/JH

With the associated motion markers *-kho-* and *-chhi-*, the marker *-j-* is always adjacent to the associated motion marker. Consequently, the *-j-* appears directly in front of the associated motion marker *-kho-* in example (8:305) in section 8.6.3. above: *käwä-ki-j-kho-i'-in* 'go there looking around'. Furthermore, in almost all cases the *-j-* appears with these associated motion markers. In the following example, there is no

antipassive marker apparent, but still the *-j-* appears in front of the associated motion marker:

- (8:317) *Jike katyi' mö'-in ish-mö'*
 PS EH 3F-P mother.in.law-3F.SG
phan'-ye-j-ki' *mö'-chhë' ijme-dye-si'*
 feather-VY-DIR-DK-F.S 3F-SU arrow-B-L.F
 'And then his mother-in-law went there to (ask for) feathers for
 arrows.' STE/EC

In two cases, the associated motion markers *-kho-* and *-chhi-* do not appear together with the *-j-*: with participles derived by *-n'* and with associated motion structures marked by *-min-* 'interruptive'. Instead, the marker *-min-* appears in the position of the *-j-* (see the examples in 8.6.6. above).²⁰⁵

Furthermore, *-j-* is not marked when the verbal stem involves a participle form ending in *-n'* (see section 8.9.):

- (8:318) *Fi-ye-n'-yi-'-si'* *tits-o-n'-ye-chhi* *mi'*
 drag-VY-PR-VY-F.S-L.F hang-VI-PR-VY-DC.M.S 3M.SG
tara'tara'
 big.rat
 'Dragging it (the saber), the rat hung down (having
 transformed from a man with a saber to a rat with a long tail –
 and the other man taking the saber has the tail in his hand – see
 the texts at the end of the grammar for an explanation). WTE/JH

In all other cases, the productive uses of the associated motion markers *-kho-* and *-chhi-* appear with the *-j-* marker.

8.6.8. Bound verbal roots involving motion markers

Several motion verbs involve associated motion markers in their lexicalized form. Some examples of these are the verbs *jijti-* 'come' as opposed to *jijka-*²⁰⁶ 'go'; *jadyiki* 'go there to perform the action and then come again' as opposed to *jadyiti* 'come here to perform the action and then go again'; *jek-* 'take' as opposed to *jesh-* 'bring'; *ka-* 'bring there'

and *ti-* ‘bring here’. Below, I will give examples of the bound root *wën-* ‘move’ appearing with different kinds of associated motion markers: *wën-chhï-*, *wën-jö-* and *wën-ti-*, which form verbal stems (see 8.3.10.).²⁰⁷

- (8:319) *Dyiph-katyi’ wën-chhï ojtere’, aj*
 then-EH move-DC.M.Srooster yet
dyak-a-kse-ti tětëi-ïn.
 find-VI-3P.O-DT.M.S frog-P
 ‘Then the rooster comes, he comes to see the frogs.’ WTE/JH

The associated motion marker *-kho-* (8.6.3.) appears as *jo-* in these fixed forms:²⁰⁸

- (8:320) *Jike tyash-i khö’-ï yoj-nä-ki aj wën-jö-i*
 PS front-VI.M.S MO.F R-FO-CO yet move-DJ-M.S
mi’-chhe’ tsin ya’dye-yäe nöb-i aj
 3M-SU 1P go-1SG cross-VI.M.S yet
tyash-i wën-jö-i.
 front-VI.M.S move-DJ-M.S
 ‘And (I) must have been (here as the) first, like we already came there, I crossed (the river) and came there.’ STE/VC

While the two derived verbs above are very frequent, the bound root *-wën-* can in some cases also appear with the associated motion markers *-k-* and *-ti-/sh-*:

- (8:321) *Chhi-jaem’ kiwi tï-wën-ti-baj-te-in*
 also-good again APT-move-DT-again-3M.O-P
Köwë’dö-wë.
 Covendo-DR
 ‘Thus, they again make him come back to Covendo.’ WTE/CT

These fixed verbal forms can furthermore be derived by other associated motion markers, though not by the same form. Thus, **wën-chhï-chhï* is not accepted. Other associated motion marking usually emphasizes the rather lexical and slightly bleached meaning of the fixed verbal form. A

very frequent example is the verb *wën-chhī* ‘come back’ used together with the associated motion marker *-sh-*:

- (8:322) *Jabi'-ya' yäe wën-chhī-sh-än.*
 afternoon-AD 1SG move-DC-DS-again.M.S
 ‘I will come back in the afternoon.’ STE/EC

8.7. The verbal suffix *-khñi* ‘strongly’

The verbal suffix *-khñi-* is a rather restricted marker: it is exclusively used together with plural subjects and intransitive verbs (for an exception, see the verb *yakhñi* discussed below). It expresses ‘strongly’ or ‘very’ and in this way resembles some of the uses of the antipassive marker *-ti-* as ‘violently’ (9.3.2.).

In the following example, several people got very drunk, which is expressed by the marker *-khñi-* on the verb *shi'ki-* ‘be drunk’:

- (8:323) *Mi'-in-nä-ki sñi'-ka-khñi-in shi'-ke-min-tyi'-in*
 3M-P-FO-CO drunk-VK-strong.M.S-P drunk-VK-AS-L.M-P
daerae'-khan miñ-i-in.
 mountain-IN go-VI.M.S-P
 ‘(And) they were very drunk, they were drunk and went to the mountain (i.e. ‘to hunt’).’ STE/VC

The subject of this verb is plural. With a singular subject, ‘being very drunk’ would be expressed in other ways.

The subject can also be a 1st person plural (also being a plural subject):²⁰⁹

- (8:324) *Nöi'-yä-khñe-ja'.*
 scare-VY-SP-1PL.S
 ‘We were very scared.’ ELE/RC, FT

Furthermore, there is a verb *yakhñi-* ‘say again and again’ or ‘say strongly’ which seems to be the derived form of *yi-* ‘say’ with *-khñi-*. Formally, however, this verbal form is lexicalized and can be used in many other grammatical contexts than the marker *-khñi-*. It can appear

with plural and singular subjects, as well as with intransitive and transitive verbs, and does not have all the restrictions that the derivational marker has.

In the following example, this verb is applied transitively, with a 3rd person masculine object:

- (8:325) *Jike-katyi’-khä ya-khñë-të-in* “me’-ra’-mi
 PS-EH-well say-strong-3M.O-P so-IR-2SG
saph-ye-wa!”
 grab-VY-IMI.2SG
 ‘And then they tell him “this way you will grab it!”’ STE/VJ

The following example shows the intransitive form of this verb with a singular subject, ‘say again and again’:

- (8:326) *Khä-dyërä’ khä bae’-e-dye’ jike-win ya-khñi-nü-khä*
 well-MO well live-VI-NO PS-C say-SP-FO-well
jike wiyä’-win shaerae’-win’.
 PS old.man-C Chuchiyo-C
 ‘It must be that the village was like that, in this way (he) told it
 (again and again), the old man, Chuchiyo (his name).’ STE/VJ

A slight phonological change appears with 3rd person plural objects, where the /ñ/ in *-khñi-* appears non-palatalized *-khna-*:

- (8:327) *Mö’ ya-khña-ksi-’.*
 3F.SG say-strong-3P.O-F.S
 ‘She said it to them (again and again).’ ELE/AT

8.8. The verbal suffix *-ban-* ‘again’

The verbal suffix *-ban-* basically carries the meaning ‘again’. This marker sometimes also expresses ‘expected happening’, such as traditional actions that always happen again. Formally, *-ban-* involves a number of morphophonological and fusional changes in relation to other suffixes.

Several cross-reference forms are fused with *-ban-*. In intransitive inflection, the forms are quite transparent: *-ban* (M.S.), *-ban'* (F.S) and *-bajsha* (1st plural inclusive subject). Only in the latter form, the final /n/ of *-ban* is turned into a *-j-*, followed by an *-s-*:

- (8:328) *Mi'-ya'-ra'* *bae'-i-m* *khin'-dye'-khä*
 3M-AD-IR live-VI.M.S-2SG.s now-NO-well
nöjnö-rä' ***sak-ye-bajs-ha'***
 tomorrow-IR leave-VY-again-1PI.S
 'You will stay here, and at the same time tomorrow we will
 leave again.' STE/VC

Many forms in the transitive paradigm involve modifications of *-ban-*. Some of these have the form *-badye-*, followed by the regular cross-reference marker, such as with 1st person singular subjects and 2nd person singular objects *-badye-ye-*. Other forms involve the stem *-bi-* followed by a cross-reference marker, whereas the form of the 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object is fused with *-ban-* to *-bin'*. The only forms that are transparent are the 3rd person feminine objects markers and the 3rd person plural object markers. The 3rd person feminine object marker, a glottal stop, follows *-ban-*, while the 3rd person plural object marker *-kse-* follows *-ban-* (8.1.2.2.). The transitive cross-reference forms in relation to *-ban-* are summarized in table 35a and 35 b.

Certain verbal stems (8.2.) appear with an alternative form of *-ban-*. Following consonant stems (8.2.1.), this marker appears without the *-b-*, as in *khöshän* 'sleep again'. When the last consonant in the stem is a nasal, *-ban* becomes *-jan*, as in *jaemjan-* 'cure', *minjan-* 'change back' and *mönjän-* 'disappear again'. When appearing together with fused cross-reference forms, the marker can become *-i-* instead of *-ban-*, like in the 1st person plural inclusive object forms, added to consonant stems:

- (8:329) *Kaw-i-sh-i-sin'*
 see-VI-DS-again-1PI.O
 'Somebody came to see us.' ELE/JH

Table 35a: The transitive inflection of *-ban* (singular object forms)²¹⁰

S↓	O	1SG	2SG	3SG m	3SG f
1SG m			<i>-badyeye</i>	<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
1SG f			<i>-badyeye</i>	<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
2SG m	<i>-bin'</i>			<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
2SG f	<i>-bin'</i>			<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
3SG m	<i>-bin</i>	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
3SG f	<i>-bin</i>	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
1P.E m			<i>-badyeyak</i>	<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
1P.E f			<i>-badyeyak</i>	<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
1P.I m				<i>-bin</i>	<i>-bin'</i>
1P.I f				<i>-bin</i>	<i>-bin'</i>
2P m	<i>-bidyikha'</i>			<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
2P f	<i>-bidyikha'</i>			<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
3P m	<i>-bin</i>	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>
3P f	<i>-bin</i>	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bajte</i>	<i>-ban'</i>

Table 35b: The transitive inflection of *-ban* (plural object forms)

S↓	O	1P.E	1P.I	2P	3P
1SG m				<i>-badyeyak</i>	<i>-kseban</i>
1SG f				<i>-badyeyak</i>	<i>-kseban'</i>
2SG m	<i>-bidyikha'</i>				<i>-kseban</i>
2SG f	<i>-bidyikha'</i>				<i>-kseban'</i>
3SG m	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bisin'</i>	<i>-binak</i>	<i>-kseban</i>
3SG f	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bisin'</i>	<i>-binak</i>	<i>-kseban'</i>
1P.E m				<i>-badyeyak</i>	<i>-kseban</i>
1P.E f				<i>-badyeyak</i>	<i>-kseban'</i>
1P.I m					<i>-ksebin'</i>
1P.I f					<i>-ksebin'</i>
2P m	<i>-bidyikha'</i>				<i>-kseban</i>
2P f	<i>-bidyikha'</i>				<i>-kseban'</i>
3P m	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bisin'</i>	<i>-binak'</i>	<i>-kseban</i>
3P f	<i>-bin</i>		<i>-bisin'</i>	<i>-binak'</i>	<i>-kseban'</i>

Turning to the function of this marker, it can also be used as a separate verb, meaning 'go home'. Primarily, the verbal suffix *-ban-* has to do with the completion of an event that has been initiated earlier. It is

frequently used together with motion verbs, such as *ayi* ‘she goes’ and *atsi* ‘he goes’:

- (8:330) *Mö’ ay-i-ban-’*.
 3F.SG come.F.S-VI-again-F.S
 ‘She comes back.’ ELE/JH
- (8:331) *Mi’ ats-i-ban*.
 3M.SG come.M.S-VI-again.M.S
 ‘He comes back.’ ELE/JH

In these examples, *-ban-* is used to declare an action completed. In other words, by going out, one completes the action when coming back ‘again’. The verbs above occur very frequently with this suffix, as well as a number of other motion verbs such as *wën-chhi-sh-än* ‘he comes back’, *ti-ban* ‘he brings back’, *sak-ye-ban* ‘he leaves for home’, etc. Other verbs that are frequently marked by the *-ban-* suffix are verbs connected with harvesting: *dyenäk-han* ‘he harvests peanuts’, *showak-han* ‘he harvests rice’, *tokak-han* ‘he harvests maize’ and *waedyak-han* ‘he harvests, general’. This use together with harvesting-verbs may have to do with sowing seeds in a plantation and taking the harvest of these seeds ‘back again’ later. Thus, these verbs also include the perspective-taking and completion of the event.

The completion of an event can also be presumed, especially with traditions, where it is expected that certain things happen. Thus, after hunting, the men are met at home by the women who have made *chicha*. The drinking of this *chicha* is the typical completion of a hunting trip. This is marked by *-ban-* in the following example:

- (8:332) *Jöi’-yë-yë-baj-te-in shokdye’*
 serve-VY-APY-again-3M.O-P *chicha*
tye-ban.
 drink-VI.again.M.S
 ‘They served him *chicha*, and he drank (the old man).’ STE/VC

Finally, I will give a number of examples from a written story about what usually happens at the three-day party of Covendo that has the same schedule every year. Several things are repeated every day, such

as singing in the church, playing instruments, walking around the town-square, etc. These repetitions are marked by *-ban-*:

- (8:333a) *Jayeki' jīm-ä-ki-k-hän-in* *chhome'*
 last sing-VI-AN-DK-again.M.S-P also
reso-i-in.
 pray-VI.M.S-P
 'At last they sing and also pray.' WTE/CT
- (8:333b) *Äej-ä-i reso-i-in shiph-ban-in.*
 stop-VI-M.S pray-VI.M.S-P leave-VK.again-P
 'They stop praying and leave again.' WTE/CT
- (8:333c) *Jayeki' bon-jan-in*
 last play.flute-VI.again.M.S-P
waiño-ye-ban-in, ro'-ya-k-han-in
 waiño.instrument-VY-again.M.S-P dance-VY-AN-again.M.S-P
jiris-ki' köi-yë-ban-in phej-ya'-in.
 one-size round-VY-again-P plaza-AD-P
 'At last they play the flute, play the waiño, dance, and go once around the plaza.' WTE/CT
- (8:333d) *Mi'-ya' kiwi wën-jö-ban-in resya-ya'.*
 3M-AD again move-DJ-again.M.S-P church-AD
 'There (i.e. then) they come back to the church.' WTE/CT
- (8:333e) *Mi'-ya' yakchh-i-bin-in korosh-ya'*
 3M-AD begin-VI-again.RE.M.S-P cross-AD
tye-bán-in ashta wën-jö-ban-in yo-we
 pass.VI-again.M.S-P until.E move-DJ-again.M.S-P R-DR
yakchh-i-ti-in ti-i'-in fiyeshta.
 begin-VI-RE.M.S-P bring-3F.O-P party.E
 'There they begin to pass at the cross, where they began, bringing the party (i.e. starting the party on the first day).'
 WTE/CT
- (8:333f) *Chhi-mi'-we ji-ki-k-han-in raej-jin tropa-in.*
 also-3M-DR bring-DK-AN-again.M.S-P all-P troop.E-P
 'There they also bring back all the troops (i.e. bands).' WTE/CT
- (8:333g) *Jëñë räei chhü-dye' tsin-si'.*
 how EM know.VI-NO 1P-L.F
 'Like our tradition has always been.' WTE/CT

8.9. Participles

Mosetén basically has two types of verbal participles: 1. lexical participle forms and 2. derived participles. There are three different ways of deriving participles: the (general) participle is derived with the suffix *-n'*, and the passive participles with *-k* and *-sisi'*. The passive participles will be discussed in the section on voice, in relation to the passive (9.1.1., 9.1.4.). In the present section, I will look at the participle marked by *-n'*.

The marker *-n'* is homophonous with the 1st person plural inclusive cross-reference marker in the intransitive inflection (8.1.1.). This suffix is always preceded by a vowel, which – in consonant and vowel stems (8.2.1., 8.2.3.) – turns into /e/ when followed by *-n'*. In this way, *nobi* ‘be tired’ becomes *noben'* ‘tired’, *yi* ‘say’ become *yen'* ‘said, saying’, *khöshì* ‘sleep’ becomes *khöshën'* ‘sleeping’ and *phitski* ‘sit’ becomes *phitsken'* ‘sitting, be seated’.

Participles derived by *-n'* can be used as adjectives in the same way as the two types of passive participles, but also furthermore appear in clause combinations. The latter will be discussed in more detail in section 13.7. In the present section, I will give some examples of the adjectival use. When appearing in modifying position, the participle is not marked by the linker, which occurs on all other elements in this position (4.8.). This is shown in the following example, where the participle *titso-n'* is a modifier in a noun phrase with *kerecha* ‘money’ as its head noun. One way to explain the absence of the linker is to analyze these forms as predicative constructions instead: ‘the money that was hanging’, which would leave the participle in predicative position, where it could also be without marking by the linker morpheme:

- (8:334) *Ats-i-dyera'-khä* *khäei'* *dueño de la casa*
 come.M.S-VI-MO-well RF owner.of.the.house.E
Garcia i-ka' mi' tì'-i
 Garcia M-MO 3M.SG name-VI.M.S
mej-ya-ki-dyera'-khä *tits-o-n'* *kerecha-mi'*.
 down-VY-AN.M.S-MO-well hang-VI-PR money-3M.SG

'He must have come, the owner of the house, Garcia I think he was called, and he took down the hanging money.' (i.e. he stole the money that was hidden under the bed, where it was hanging) COE/SM

The following example shows an adjectival form, where *jai'be-* 'white' can appear as an adjective with the linker or with the participle marker *-n*'. Here, the participle (adjective) is used in predicative position:

- (8:335) *Kaw-i-ta, miri'o jö'dyë'yä' chimi' jödyë'yä'*
 look-VI-IMR.2SG miri'o and chimi' and
isitäepë dyaba anik jai'b-a-si' jai'b-e-n' mömö'
 isitäepë peanut EM white-VI-L.F white-VI-PR only.F
jam anik jae'mä jii'b-i'.
 NG EM DM little.white-VI-F.S
 'Look, the miri'o, and the chimi' and the isitäepe peanuts are surely white, just white, not just a little white.' STE/VJ

I will now turn to lexical participle forms. In some cases, verbal stems are based on lexical participle forms. For example, the verb *sane-* 'write something' (usually appearing in the antipassive form *sanaki* 'write') is based on the lexical participle form *san*'. In the following example, this participle has a passive interpretation with the meaning 'written':

- (8:336) *Jäen'-chhë' abi-ki khäki jiri-s karton-ki*
 how-SU QX-CO because one-F carton.E-CO
me'-ki'-ya-si' mil mö'-chhë' san'-khä.
 so-size-AD-L.F thousand.E 3F.SG-SU written-well
 'How much would it be in a carton of this size, with "thousand" written on it.' COE/SM

Another lexical participle form is *ben*' 'passing':

- (8:337) *Öi majmi Ra Pash-khan jji-ti-si' a'chi', ben'*
 DE.F road(F) La Paz-IN go-DT-L.F ugly passed
aj Yolosa aj jaem'-ye-j-chhi-'
 yet Yolosa yet good-VY-DIR-DC-F.S

‘The road that leads (here) from La Paz is ugly, (but) passing Yolosa it becomes better.’ ELE/JH

In the same way as the lexical participle forms, derived participle forms can also be followed by another verbal stem marker. In this case, usually the verbal stem marker *-yi-* is used. In the following example, the verbal stem *khoñi-* ‘swallow’ is derived by the participle marker *-n*’, expressing ‘swallowed’. Later, the participle is verbalized by the verbal stem marker *-yi-*:

- (8:338) *Khin-nä-ki-ra’ mö’ khoñ-i-n’-ye-’*
 now-FO-CO-IR 3F.SG swallow-VI-PR-VY-3F.O
chom’ raej khin’-ki chhá-ban-’ bae-n’
 put.in.mouth all now-CO vomit-again-F.S fill-PAR
katyi’ tsho-ban-’ odyo-chhe’.
 EH go.down-again-F.S bowl-SU
 ‘And now all is swallowed, put in the mouth and now she vomits it back down in the bowl again.’ STE/VJ
- (8:339) *Yiph-yi-’ mömō’ aj kaech.*
 move-VY-F.S only.F yet put.together
 ‘She just moves another time and is already put together.’
 STE/VJ

Chapter 9

Voice

Mosetén has a number of different voice structures, such as causative, applicative, middle, antipassive and passive. Causative and applicative are generally valency increasing, i.e. they transform intransitive verbs into transitive verbs. When deriving transitive verbs, however, the valency is not changed, even if a change in the argument alignment of the verb occurs. With the exception of the antipassive marker *-ti-* (which can occur with transitive verbs as well), antipassive and passive markers turn transitive verbs into intransitive verbs and are thus valency decreasing. In the same way, reflexives and reciprocals (8.1.3.) decrease the valency of the verb. The middle voice can decrease the valency of transitive verbs, but when it derives intransitive verbs, no change in valency occurs. Apart from the structures which change the valency of the verb, general 3rd person subject constructions resemble passive structures, without being detransitivizing themselves. Furthermore, I will discuss a marker that frequently occurs in relation to applicatives, without changing the valency of the verb. Hence, the definition of voice in the present chapter is rather broad.

Table 36 summarizes the voice markers, their functions, and the restrictions on them. In the column on transitivity change, I indicate the type of derivation involved. Passives are presented as -subject, i.e. the subject of the clause is demoted, while applicatives are presented as +object, meaning that a new object is added to the clause. Furthermore, a number of voice structures have the same forms as verbal stem markers, as indicated in the rightmost column.

9.1. The passive

There are a number of structures that can be described as passives: the dynamic passive participle *-k*, the combinations *ji'*- *-ti-* 'restricted passive' (i.e. reflexive causative), *ja-* *-ti-* 'dynamic passive', as well as resultative participles, marked by the reduplicated linker (4.8.).

Table 36: Voice and valency affecting structures

	Transitivity change, involving	Form	Meaning	Special: restrictions, other functions, etc.
Passive	-subject	<i>-k</i>	dynamic passive participle	
		<i>ji' -ti-</i>	reflexive causative, restricted dynamic passive	S restricted to human beings and higher animates
		<i>ja- -ti-</i>	dynamic passive	S restricted to 3 rd person humans beings /forces only (in entire constr.)
		<i>-L-RD</i>	resultative participle	added to lexical participles only
Middle	-subject /X	<i>-ki-</i>	passive middle, low elaboration of agent ²¹¹	
Anti-passive	-object	<i>-ki-</i>	de-emphasis of object	also: verbal stem marker
		<i>-ti-</i>	de-emphasis of object, special meanings: violence, requests (with <i>yi-</i> 'say')	also: verbal stem marker, assoc. motion, cross-ref., applicative, reflexive. Used with intrans. and trans. verbs
Reflexive	-object	<i>-ti-</i>	subject and object are the same person	also: verbal stem marker, applicative, antipassive
Reciprocal	-object	<i>-ti-</i>	subject and object (de-emphasized) act on each other	also: verbal stem marker, applicative, antipassive
Causative and similar structures	+subject	<i>ñityi-</i>	analytic causative	
		<i>ji' -</i>	general causative	
		<i>je-</i>	stative causative	used with stative verbs
Applicative	+object	<i>-yi-</i>	for something	also: verbal stem marker
		<i>-tyi-</i>	from something	also: verbal stem marker
		<i>jaj-</i>	'accompany'	unproductive
		<i>-bi-</i>	against the will of	

Furthermore, constructions with general 3rd person subjects resemble passives, without being detransitivizing themselves.

Most of these passive structures are restricted in their subjects, or with respect to the (verbal) stems they appear with. In this way, resultative participles can be formed from lexical participles only, and consequently do not involve verbal forms as such. Due to their similarity to passive structures, I will treat them here as well.

Apart from these resultative participles, passives mark transitive verbs that are detransitized this way. The former object of the verb becomes the subject of the passivized verb. The former subject, i.e. the agent of the action, is demoted and disappears from the verbal cross-reference ending:

Table 37: The passive derivation

Transitive clause:	A	V	O
Passive clause:	S(= former O)	V-PA	(former A)

Passives can be dynamic or stative, the latter focusing on the result of the action (the state of the patient), whereas dynamic passives focus on the action expressed by the verb. The markers *-k*, *ji'* *-ti* and *ja-* *-ti* express dynamic passives, while the resultative participle is a stative passive, focussing exclusively on the result of the action. Mosetén has no impersonal passives, i.e. passives without a subject.

9.1.1. The *-k* dynamic passive participle

The dynamic passive participle is expressed by suffixation of the marker *-k* to the verbal stem. This marker appears instead of the verbal cross-reference ending, the final vowel of the stem being turned into /a/ (2.5.1.3.). In this way, the verb is non-finite and does not show agreement with the subject, which is usually the patient of the action. Instead, this non-finite verbal form acts as the predicate in a predicative construction (12.2.).

Turning to the functions of this marker, it expresses a dynamic passive, focusing on somebody carrying out the action in combination with its result. This passive marker can appear with all types of transitive verbs:

- (9:1) *Iits-khin' mintyi'-in karton-ya'-nä-khä mimi'*
 DE.M-now man-P carton.E-AD-CO-well only.M
kaets-ya-k-in.
 pay-VY-PP-P
 'And now these people were only paid with cardboard.'
 COE/SM

The form *kaetsyak-in* 'they are paid' focuses both on the result of the payment, as well as on the action being carried out. In the same way, *sinak* 'cleaned' does not simply express the state of something, but implies a preceding action:

- (9:2) *Phej-ki bae'-i-' jaem' täekäesh bae'-i-'*
 yard-COSit-VI-F.S good very.clean sit-VI-F.S
sin-a-k.
 clean-VI-PP
 'And the yard was good, it was very clean, it was cleaned (by someone).' STE/VC

The agent of the action is understood in the construction, even if it is never mentioned within the passive construction. The agent can, however, occur explicitly in the context of the passive clause:

- (9:3) *Chhome' am ñibë'-yä-ki-'-ra' mö'; aj me'*
 also QN luck-VY-AN-F.S-IR 3F.SG yet so
ñae'-tya-k; aj kïwi-ki-' mömö' jaes-i-'.
 put-VD-PP yet sweet-VK-F only.F chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
 'And so she also succeeded; then it was made; and so sweet she made the chicha.' STE/VJ

The passive clause '*aj me' ñäe'tyak* 'it is already done' is surrounded by two clauses that include the agent *mö'* 'she' as their subject.

9.1.2. The *ji'*-*-ti-* restricted dynamic passive

Often, the *ji'*-causative prefix (9.4.2.) occurs together with the reflexive marker *-ti-* (8.1.3.), forming a reflexive causative. This construction

functions as a restricted passive and can be interpreted as a grammaticalized passive construction. It covers both stative and dynamic meanings.

In the following example, the reflexive causative can be interpreted in two ways: ‘she made someone take a picture of herself’ or ‘she was taken a picture of’:

- (9:4) *Me'-ki mi-si' phen Kajna' chhii-yë-',*
 so-CO 2SG-L.Fwoman Casiana know-VY-3F.O
tyaj-ke-i, me'-ki mö'-khan jike foto jäe'mä
 meet-VK-3F.O so-CO 3F-IN PS photo.E DM
ji-keph-ti-' mö'-chhë'.
 CA-make-VD.RE-F.S 3F-SU
 ‘So your wife, Casiana, knows her, she met her; and in there she made herself be taken a picture of (or: ‘a picture was taken of her’), up there (in the village).’ STE/JH

The reflexive causative ‘she made herself be taken a picture of’ and the passive interpretation ‘a picture was taken of her’ are close in meaning, since they have the same outcome. The difference between the two structures is that the subject of the reflexive causative structure is an agent and has influence on the action, while the subject of the passive construction is a patient. Due to the related meanings, reflexive causatives can develop into passives (cf. Haspelmath 1990), which seems to be the case in Mosestén. Notice the agent of the action *mö'* ‘she’ which is mentioned in the preceding clause, but does not appear within the passive clause.

The passive interpretation of the reflexive causative frequently appears when the subjects are animals that the Mosestenes hunt:

- (9:5) *Chhi-mi-chhe'jü'-räem-ï-ti shi'*
 also-M-SU CA-find-VI-RE.M.Stapir
jiko-yi-'-si'-khan yi-in.
 salt-VY-F.S-L.F-IN say.M.S-P
 ‘Up there in the same place tapirs are found, in what they call the salt-place.’ STE/VC

- (9:6) *Jam ji'-dyak-dyi-' jeb-a-k-dye'.*
 no CA-find-VI.RE-F.S eat-VI-MI-NO
 'No animals are found.' (lit.: make themselves be found)
 STE/DC

These animals are assigned personal traits by the Mosetenes, and thus both the interpretation 'the animals are found' and 'the animals make themselves be found' are considered to be correct in the language. Furthermore, domestic animals such as cats and dogs are accepted by all my consultants as subjects, and many consultants furthermore accepted inanimate nouns such as 'tree' or 'house' as subjects of this construction. Inanimate nouns cannot deliberately cause an action, i.e. they cannot be agents in a reflexive causative, but only patients in a passive construction.²¹² In this way, these structures must really be passive constructions. A few other consultants, on the other hand, judge these inanimate subjects as ungrammatical. Thus, in the language use of some people, the reflexive causative has developed into a passive, while other consultants do not accept the passive structures. Furthermore, I only have elicitation examples of inanimate nouns appearing as subjects of this construction, which may not reflect actual language use. For these reasons, I call the *ji'*- *-ti*- structure a restricted passive, i.e. a structure which seems to be developing into a passive, but still appears to be restricted in its use.

Apart from the restricted passive, some reflexive causatives have developed into lexical verbal forms, such as the verb 'study', literally 'make oneself know':

- (9:7) *Ji'-chhae-yi-ti.*
 CA-know-VY-RE.M.S
 'He studies.' ELE/JH

9.1.3. *The ja- -ti- dynamic passive*

The combination of the prefix *ja-* and the reflexive marker *-ti-* expresses a dynamic passive. This passive is restricted to 3rd person human subjects.²¹³ The same restrictions are applied to the agents of these actions. These restrictions partly resemble those in a reflexive

causative construction (compare 9.1.2.). Diachronically, the structure *ja-ti* can have developed from a causative with the form *ja-*, though synchronically such a form does not exist.²¹⁴

This dynamic passive is productive with all kinds of verbs, but it especially occurs with verbs that express a forceful action, such as ‘say angrily’ above, or where direct violence to the patient is involved.²¹⁵

- (9:8) *Jike aj mö'-nä waemtyi'-mö' jam mö'*
 PS yet 3F.SG-FO husband-3F.SG NG 3F.SG
aj dyj-ye-baj-te waemtyi' yo-dye' jike
 yet think-VY-again-3M.O husband R-NO PS
ja-wae-ti-'
 PP-beat-VI.RE-F.S
 ‘And her husband, she did not think again about her husband,
 whom she was beaten by.’ STE/EC

The agent of this passive construction can be mentioned explicitly in an agent phrase (cf. *-k*, where this is not possible, 9.1.1.). While agent phrases in many languages are expressed as obliques, the agent is unmarked in Mosestén and appears as a regular core-participant in the clause. This participant, however, cannot be mistaken as the subject of the clause, as agreement marking in the intransitive verb is with the patient. As the agent is not being marked in the verbal cross-reference ending, it can be described as demoted:

- (9:9) *Jike katyi' waemtyi'-mö' jä-fäk-i-ti-²¹⁶ jaem'*
 PS EH husband-3F.SG PP-angry-VI-RE-F.S good
chhi-ti-'-nä-wi-rä'-mi'' ja-yi-ti-'
 grab-RE-F.S-FO-MN-IR-2SG PP-say-RE-F.S
waemtyi'-mö'
 husband-3F.SG
 ‘Then she was (said to) angrily by her husband “you should
 have fastened yourself well” she is told, by her husband.’
 WTE/LM

In this example, *waemtyi' mö'* ‘her husband’ is the agent. ‘She’ is the patient and subject of this clause, which is evident in the intransitive

verbal cross-reference ending that inflects for a feminine subject in both passivized verbs.

The prefix *ja-* in this construction has the same formal idiosyncrasies as the causative prefix *ji'-* (9.4.2.), appearing before the verbal stem marker *-yi-* in certain constructions (8.3.2.):

- (9:10) *Mintyi'-in tyáph-já-yi-ti.*
 man-P grab-PP-VY-RE.M.S
 'The men are grabbed.' ELE/JH

9.1.4. *The resultative participle*

The resultative participle is marked by the reduplicated form of the linker (4.8.). It is added to lexical participles (8.9.) only. In this way, it derives resultative participles from other participle forms, without changing the word class. The resultative participle appears as the predicate in a predicative construction, usually with a participant of the role of patient in subject position. In this way, it resembles the passive participle *-k* (9.1.1.). The meanings of these markers, however, differ: while *-k* presupposes a prior action, the marking by the resultative participle exclusively focuses on the result of the action without indicating how this result has come about. This is demonstrated in the following example, where the lexical participle form *shewan'* 'toasted' is derived by *-L-RD-*:

- (9:11) *Iits tyärä' shew-a-n'-tyi-tyi'.*
 DE.M maize toast-VI-PR-L.M-RD
 'This maize is toasted.' STE/JH

In this example, the speaker focuses on the maize being in a toasted state, and gives no indication as to whether a person has carried out the action of toasting or how this state has come about.

In the same way, the lexical verbal participle *chhak* 'torn out' can be derived by the reduplicated linker, resulting in the resultative participle 'be torn out':

- (9:12) *Chhak-si-si' öi ijme.*
 torn.out-L.F-RD DE.F arrow
 'The arrow is torn out.' ELE/JH

The linker furthermore appears in reduplicated form on a number of other elements (4.8.).

9.1.5. General 3rd person subjects

The structure of the general 3rd person subject is not detransitivizing itself, but resembles the passive in that the agent is demoted. The agent is not mentioned other than in the cross-reference ending of the verb, where it appears as a 3rd person subject. This results in a general passive-like interpretation of the clause, even if the transitivity is not changed and the patient remains in object position:

- (9:13) *Me'-tyi-tyi' jike yäe 1987-khan jike yäe*
 so-L.M-RD PS 1SG 1987-IN PS 1SG
jäe'mä wor-tyi-n-yäe jëñë secretario de salud
 DM nominate-VD-3/1SG-1SG like health.secretary.E
wor-tyi-n-yäe-in.
 nominate-VD-3/1SG-1SG-P
 'So, in 1987 I was nominated as health secretary, I was nominated.' STE/JH

In the second occurrence of the verb *wortyi-n* 'someone nominated me' the clitic *in* refers to the plurality of the subject, but this does not specify the subject participant any further.

In the following example with a 3rd person plural object form, the gender of the subject is marked in the cross-reference form. The feminine, which is the unmarked gender (4.3.4.), is used to refer to the general subject 'they':

- (9:14) *Me'-ki tshij-ji tshij öi jäe'mä daerae'-khan-si'*
 so-CO fire-VI.M.Sfire DE.F DM mountain-IN-L.F
öi tyaba'-in jäe'mä jatya'ka ya-ksi-' tshij.
 DE.F sponge-P DM jaguar.fire say-3P.O-F.S fire

‘So he made fire, fire of the mountain, those sponges (i.e. rotten leaves that glow in the dark) which are called jaguar fire.’ STE/EC

9.2. The middle voice *-ki-*

The marker *-ki-* expresses the middle voice. It is added to transitive verbs, which are detransitivized this way, having a patient or similar participant in subject position. In this way, the middle voice resembles the passive (9.1.):

(9:15) *Khin'-chhata' aj jeb-a-ki-' phen-yäe.*
 now-MO yet eat(tr)-VI-MI-F.Swoman-1SG
 ‘Now truly my wife has been eaten.’ STE/VJ

In this example, the middle marker is added to the transitive verb *jeb-* ‘eat’. The verb is detransitivized and the patient, i.e. the person eaten, is in subject position. In the terminology of Kemmer (1993), this structure would be described as a ‘passive middle’, since it is very close to the passive voice in having an implied agent. The difference between the passive middle and the passive is, according to Kemmer (1993), that the implied agent in the passive middle is more de-emphasized than it is in the passive. Still, the agent is not completely left out, as in the resultative (9.1.4.). This is demonstrated in the following examples with the verb *raem'yi-* ‘bite’, occurring with the middle (9:16), the passive participle *-k* (9:17) and the resultative participle *-L-RD-* (9:18):

- (9:16) *Mö' raem'-ya-ki-' inöj yomo'.*
 3F.SG bite-VY-MI-F.S moment night
 ‘She was bitten last night.’ (nobody knows by whom, it happened while everybody was asleep) ELE/AT
- (9:17) *Mö' raem'-ya-k.*
 3F.SG bite-VY-PP
 ‘She was bitten.’ (she saw or heard the insect) ELE/AT
- (9:18) *Raem'-si-si'.*
 bite-L.F-RD

‘She has been bitten.’ (no information about the agent or how this happened) ELE/AT

The middle construction (9:16) expresses that she was bitten by someone or something, without knowing who or what did it. My consultants explain that the biting took place at night, while the patient slept. Furthermore, the middle is used when the patient is not conscious about something being done to him. This is shown in the following examples, where the patient is pursued. In the middle construction in (9:19), the patient does not know that he is pursued, while in the passive construction in (9:20), the patient is conscious about someone following him:

(9:19) *Mi' kaech-e-n'-ya-ki.*
3M.SG go.on-VI-PR-VY-MI.M.S
‘He was pursued.’ (he did not know about it) ELE/AT

(9:20) *Mi' kaech-e-n'-ya-k.*
3M.SG go.on-VI-PR-VY-PP
‘He was pursued.’ (by his son or someone familiar; he knew about it) ELE/AT

In the following example, the middle voice expresses that something happened to someone, and the person had no influence on this action happening:

(9:21) *Me'-katyi' jike poroma jiri-ty mintyi' saen-tya-ki*
so-EH PS before one-M man die-VD-MI.M.S
phen.
woman
‘So it is said that in old times there was a man whose wife had died.’ WTE/JH

The middle marker –ki- can furthermore express spontaneous events²¹⁷, such as ‘the door opened’. In this way, the verb *jofor'yi-* ‘open’ can be used in the middle voice *jofor'yaki*, expressing ‘it opened (by itself)’, as opposed to the passive form that presupposes an agent *jofor'yak* ‘it was opened (by someone)’.

The marker *-ki-* also has other functions. It is a verbal stem marker (8.3.6.), an associated motion marker (8.6.1.), and an antipassive marker (9.3.1.). The latter is interesting in relation to the middle function of this marker, since these two structures are very similar. The formal marking of both the antipassive and the middle voice causes the preceding vowel to turn into /a/ (2.5.1.3.). Furthermore, the antipassive and the middle voice both express intransitivization, though conceptually they are different structures. Compare the above middle example (9:16) with the following antipassive example of the same form:

- (9:22) *Mö' roro' raem'-ya-ki-'*.
 3F.SG vermin bite-VY-AN-F.S
 'This vermin has bitten (someone / something).' ELE/AT

Many verbs can be marked by both the antipassive and the middle. When the forms are similar, only context and common knowledge clarifies the intended meaning of the speaker. Hence, a vermin bites more than getting bitten itself (9:22), whereas a woman most probably gets bitten more than biting someone herself (9:16).

9.3. The antipassive

There are two kinds of antipassive markers, *-ki-* and *-ti-*. The marker *-ki-* is used to express general actions with de-emphasized objects, as well as actions in which the object belongs to the subject of the clause. It is exclusively added to transitive verbs, which in this way are detransitivized. The antipassive marker *-ti-* is mainly used in situations of violence or aggression, marking transitive or intransitive verbs. While transitive verbs are de-transitivized, there is no change in the valency of intransitive verbs, and only the meaning of 'violence' is added when these verbs appear with the marker *-ti-*.

When detransitivizing a transitive verb, the antipassive demotes the object of the clause, as shown in the following diagram:

Table 38: The antipassive derivation

Transitive clause:	A	V	O
Antipassive clause:	S(= former A)	V-AP	(former O)

The former object can still appear in the clause derived by the antipassive, without explicitly being marked in the verbal cross-reference ending.

9.3.1 The antipassive *-ki-*

The antipassive marker *-ki-* detransitivizes transitive verbs. It de-emphasizes objects of general actions, and is also used in cases where the object belongs to the subject of the clause. The marker *-ki-* has a number of other functions as well. It is a verbal stem marker (8.3.6.), an associated motion marker (8.6.1.) and a middle marker (9.2.).²¹⁸

The antipassive marker *-ki-* is often used in cases of ownership, when the object ‘canoe’ belongs to the subject ‘I’. In these cases, the object is de-emphasized, disappearing from the verbal cross-reference ending:

- (9:23) *Yäe saph-ya-ki kanoa.*
 1SG tie-VY-AN.M.S canoe.E
 ‘I tied (my own) canoe.’ ELE/JH

These antipassive constructions usually also mark that subject and object are relatives:

- (9:24) ... *ya-ki-’ mö’ tse’.*
 say-AN-F.S 3F.SG mother
 ‘... she said to her mother.’ STE/EC

The subject and object of a clause can be related, even if the verb is not being marked by the antipassive. In this case, the object is usually important in the general context, expressing new information or emphasis:

- (9:25) *Me’-we-ki jäe’mä mi’-in-in jäe’-yë-’*
 so-DR-CO DM 3M-P-P smell-VY-3F.O
jeye’-in, rai’s-e-’ jeb-e-’ jike-in.
 grandmother-P want-VI-3F.O eat-VI-3F.O PS-P
 ‘So then they smelled their grandmother and wanted to eat her.’ STE/EC

The verb *jebe-* ‘eat’ is not marked by the antipassive, as the object of the clause *jeye* ‘grandmother’ is emphasized.

Furthermore, 3rd person plural human object forms are never detransitivized by the antipassive, but are always realized as *-ksi-* (9:27), as opposed to a singular human object (9:26) (see section 8.1.2.2. on the intransitive nature of this marker):²¹⁹

- (9:26) *Mö’ fäk-a-ki-’ äwä’*
 3F.SG angry-VI-AN-F.S child.
 ‘She is angry at her child.’ ELE/AT
- (9:27) *Mö’ fäk-a-ksi-’ äwä’-in.*
 3F.SG angry-VI-3P.O-F.S child-P.
 ‘She is angry at her children’ ELE/AT

The antipassive is furthermore applied when an action is expected to make use of a certain object. In the combination of *daeraei-* ‘hunt (lit. ‘do the mountain’) and *tii-* ‘bring’, the speaker uses the antipassive to mark the default action ‘bring back what was hunted’. In this case, the de-emphasized object is presented by two coordinated noun phrases, *ñej* ‘deer’ and *shi* ‘tapir’, which do not appear in the cross-reference ending of the detransitivized verb:

- (9:28) *Daerae-i ti-ki ñej, shi’*
 mountain-VI.M.S bring-AN.M.S deer tapir
ji’-saeks-e-’ jaem’.
 CA-eat-VI-3F.O good
 ‘He hunts and brings deer, tapirs, and lets her eat well.’ STE/EC

Other verbs which often occur with expected objects are ‘read’ and ‘write’. These can be used generally, without specification of an object (9:29), or in combination with such an object (9:30).²²⁰

- (9:29) *Tsin jäe’mä yakchh-i-ti san-a-ki-tsin*
 1P DM begin-VI-RE.M.S write-VI-AN.M.S-1P
me’-ki.
 so-CO
 ‘So we will begin to write.’ STE/JH

- (9:30) *Me'-ki khin' yäe sañ-e' dyam me'-näsh*
 so-CO now 1SG write-Vi-3F.O little so-GF
tsin-si' fiyeshta.
 1P-L.F party.E
 'So I now write a little (about) our party.' WTE/CT

The verb *karijtye-* 'work' can be used in the same way. Often, the type of work is not specified, and the verb is used intransitively, marked by the antipassive:

- (9:31) *Mi'-ya' karij-tya-ki jiri-s yomodye'.*
 3M-AD hard-VD-AN.M.S one-F year
 'There I worked for one year.' STE/JH

When the type of work is specified, the transitive form of this verb is used:

- (9:32) *Tsin khin' i-ya' jäe'mä karij-tye-' öi*
 1P now M-AD DM hard-VD-3F.O DE.F
texto en Mosetén.
 text.in.Mosetén.E
 'Here, we now work on this text in Mosetén.' WTE/JH

Other verbs that frequently occur with this antipassive marker are *pheya-ki-* 'talk', *jima-ki-* 'sing', *jewa-ki-* 'catch fish with a net', *se'wa-ki-* 'listen', *roya-ki-* 'play music', and *bisa-ki-* 'wait'.

9.3.2. The antipassive *-ti-*

Another antipassive marker in Mosetén is the suffix *-ti-*. This marker can detransitivize transitive verbs, but it can also be added to intransitive verbs without a change in the valency. It is used in situations of violence or aggression, and can express requests. Apart from the antipassive, this marker has a number of other functions: it is a verbal stem marker (8.3.4.), an associated motion marker (8.6.2.1.) and an applicative. Furthermore, *-ti-* marks reflexives (8.1.3.) and the transitive 1st person plural inclusive subject in the verbal cross-reference

paradigm. In contrast with the other *-ti-* markers, the reflexive and the antipassive follow the same irregular affixation pattern (8.2.5.1.).

The antipassive marker *-ti-* is primarily used with verbs expressing violence or aggression against the object, such as ‘grabbing her’ and ‘eating her’:

- (9:33) *Me'-bae'-i-'-nä-rä'* *khö'ï* *mö'* *jike*
 so-sit-VI-F.S-FO-IR MO.F 3F.SG PS
wi-k-wa'-jo-'-win, *aj-win* *me'-si-si'* *aj*
 spin-VK-PR-PRI-F.S-C yet-C so-L.F-RD yet
chhi-ti-'-in *jib-i-ti-'-in.*
 grab-AT-F.S-P eat-VI-AT-F.S-P
 ‘So she must have been sitting and spinning like this; when
 (the monster) grabbed her like this and ate her.’ STE/VJ

The anticipation of violence, such as ‘looking at somebody aggressively’ is marked by the antipassive *-ti-* as well. In this example, the intransitive verb *wënychhi-* ‘come’ is marked by the antipassive marker *-ti-*, in order to indicate that the action is carried out aggressively:

- (9:34) *Kich-bae'-i* *ats-i* *kaw-i-sh-dyi,* *fer*
 direct-be-VI.M.S come.M.S-VI see-VI-DS-AT.M.S strong
wën-chhi-ti, *fära'* *dyaе-ke-ti.*
 move-DC-AT.M.S angrystand-VK-DT.M.S
 ‘He comes (aggressively and) directly to see (him), he comes
 strongly, he came to a stop.’ WTE/JH

Notice that formally, the marker *-ti-* turns into *-dyi'* when following consonants (2.5.5.).

The antipassive marker *-ti-* can furthermore appear with the verb *yi-* ‘say’, expressing that a quotation is a request. In this way, the antipassive is similar to the imperative (8.1.5.) is used in direct speech to express requests. In the following example, a man asks another person to do something, which is expressed by the imperative in the quoted speech. The verb *yi-* ‘say’ is marked by the antipassive marker *-ti-* in order to express that the preceding quotation is a request:

- (9:35) “*Kāshā*’ *kiwi chhiph-ye-me mi’ pina*
 see.HOR again shoot-VY-IMT.2SG 3M.SG *cuchi.tree*
kiwi-ki-ra’ chhak-ye-k-an ijme-mi!”
 again-CO-IR take.out-VY-DK-again.M.S arrow-2SG
yi-ti-katyi’-in.
 say-AT.M.O-EH-P
 ‘“Let’s see, shoot again at the *cuchi*-tree and then take your
 arrow out again.”, he says to him.’ (i.e. requests him to do)
 WTE/JH

In the following example, the verb *yi*- ‘say’ is marked by the antipassive *-ti-* in order to mark the following quotation as a request:

- (9:36) *Jike yi-ti-dyera’ khä-in “waila nigra!”*
 PS say-AT-M.S-MO well-P dance.E negra.E
 ‘Then he said (requested) “dance, black one!”.’ COE/SM

9.4. The causative

Mosetén has two morphological causative structures, as well as an analytic causative. The latter is constructed by *ñi’tyi-* ‘make’, which is added to the clause. The morphological causatives are composed of the prefixes *ji’-* and *je-*. The former is the general causative form that can be used with different types of verbs, while the latter is used with stative verbs only, expressing the causation of states. Following general practice, I will call the subject of the causative construction the *causer* and the primary object the *causee*.

9.4.1. The analytic causative

The analytic causative consists of two clauses. The verb in one clause is a content verb, and the other clause contains the “causative” verb *ñi’tyi-* ‘make’.²²¹ In the intransitive inflection, the causer is the subject, and the causee the object of *ñi’tyi-*. Furthermore, the causee appears in the clause with the content verb as the subject of this verb:

- (9:37) *Mi'-ya'-ra' mi' ka'mana-i ñae'-te-in.*
 3M-AD-IR 3M.SG fall.down-VI.M.S make-VD.3M.O-P
 'There they made him fall down.' WTE/JH

The verb *ñae'te-in* 'they make him fall down' has the causer as the subject and the causee in object position. This causee is, at the same time, the subject of the content verb *ka'manai* 'fall down'.

When the clause with the content verb is transitive, three participants are involved. In the following example, the transitive verb *jebe-* 'eat' has the subject 'I' (which is the causee in this causative construction) and the primary object 'meat'. The clause with the analytic causative marker *ñi'tyi-* appears with a 3rd person causer in subject position, and the causee 'I' as the primary object of this clause:

- (9:38) *Jeb-e-' yäe mö' shiish ñi'-tyi-n-in.*
 eat(tr)-VI-3F.O 1SG 3F.SG meat make-VD-3S/1SG-P
 '(Someone) made me eat the meat.' ELE/CT

The analytic causative can also appear as a reflexive causative 'make oneself':

- (9:39) *Me'-katyi' khä-mö' jike saen-dye-i-' katyi'*
 so-EH well-3F.SG PS ill-NO-VI-F.S EH
bae'-i-' mö' ñi'-ti-' ñej saen-dye-i-'.
 be-VI-F.S 3F.SG put-VD.RE-F.S deer ill-NO-VI-F.S
 'So it is said that it was ill, that the deer made herself be ill (i.e. it acted as if it was ill).' STE/VJ

9.4.2. *The ji'- causative*

The morphological causative prefix *ji'-* adds the causer to the clause, in the position of the subject. This marker can appear with intransitive and transitive verbs. It is the general and most productive causative marker in Mosestén, expressing direct and indirect causation, permission and invitation. Invitation is expressed in combination with another marker. The *ji'-* causative marker has formal idiosyncrasies with respect to some verbal stems derived by *-yi-*. These are discussed in section 8.3.2.

Added to intransitive verbs, the causative structure is transitivizing. The causer is added as the subject of the clause, while the former intransitive subject is turned into the primary object of the verb derived by the causative. This phenomenon is shown in the following diagram:

Table 39: The causative derivation with intransitive verbs

Intransitive clause:	S	V	
Causative clause:	A(=new)	CA-V	O(=former S)

In the following example, the intransitive verb *shiphki*- ‘leave’ is the base for the causative, leading to the transitive verb *ji’shipkewa’ke* ‘she is making her leave’ or ‘she lets her leave’, in this particular case accompanied by the progressive aspect marker as well. Consequently, the subject ‘pigs’ of the intransitive verb ‘leave’ becomes the primary object in the causative construction:²²²

(9:40) ...*paj jam ji’-shiph-ke-wa’-ke-’ kochi-in.*
 for NG CA-leave-VK-PR-TR-3F.O pig-P
 ‘... that she does not let the pigs out.’ COE/JH

When the causative is added to a transitive verb, the valency of this verb is not changed, but the subject and object positions are occupied by other participants than in the non-derived verb: the causer of the action appears in subject position, the former subject is turned into a primary object and the former primary object disappears from the cross-reference marking in the verb. This is demonstrated in the following diagram:

Table 40: The causative derivation with transitive verbs

Transitive clause:	A	V	O	
Causative clause:	A(=new)	CA-V	O(=former A)	(former O)

In the following example, someone makes a woman carry a man. The transitive verb *webajte* ‘she carries him again’, that also appears in the example below, is the input for the causative to form *ji’weban* ‘someone makes her carry’. In this form, ‘she’ is the object of the clause:

- (9:41) *Jike-ra' aj me' ji'-we-ban-',*
 PS-IR yet so CA-carry-VD.again-F.O
we-baj-te.
 carry-VD.again-3M.O
 'And so he makes her carry again, she carries him again.'
 STE/VJ

Apart from simple causation, this causative marker can express a number of other concepts, such as 'invite' instead of 'cause', as in the following example:

- (9:42) *Jike jae'mä ji'-saeks-e' jam mö' rai's-e-'*
 PS DM CA-eat-VI-3F.O NG 3F.SG want-VI-3F.O
saeks-i-'.
 eat-VI-F.S
 'They invite her to eat, (but) she does not want to eat.' STE/EC

In the same way, the causative can also express 'want':

- (9:43) *Ji'-khish-dyi'-dyaj yäe rai's-e-'-mi?*
 CA-sleep-VI.2SG/1SG-QY 1SG want-VI-3F.O-2SG
 'Do you want me to sleep?' (lit. 'do you want to make me sleep') ELE/JH

Furthermore, 'allow' can be expressed in a compositional causative construction, combining the causative prefix *ji'-* and the marker *jäen'* 'how'.²²³ The first example (9:44) shows an intransitive verb, the second example a transitive verb (9:45):

- (9:44) *Mi-rä' yäe jäen' ji'-khish-dyi'.*
 2SG-IR 1SG how CA-sleep-VI.2SG/1SG
 'You allow me to sleep.' ELE/JH
- (9:45) *Yäe jäen' ji'-ya'-i-ye-ye tyärä'.*
 1SG how CA-buy-VI-APY-1SG/2SG maize
 'I allow you to buy maize.' ELE/JH

The verb 'prohibit' is expressed by the word *faraj* 'leave' in combination with the causative marker *ji'-*:

- (9:46) *Yäe faraj-ji'-ye-ye* *sob-a-k-dye'*
 1SG leave-CA-VY-1SG/2SG visit-VI-AN-NO
mo-si'-ya' *phen.*
 3F.SG-L.F-AD woman
 'I prohibit you to visit this woman.' ELE/JH

In this example, the verbal stem *faraj-yi* 'leave' is combined with the causative, while the content verb *sobaki-* 'visit' is expressed in a nominalized form in the same clause. Furthermore, this example shows the idiosyncratic uses of *ji'*- with some verbal stems (8.3.2.).

9.4.3. The causative prefix *je-* with stative verbs

The causative prefix *je-* turns stative intransitive verbs into transitive verbs. It expresses the causativization that leads to the result described by the verb:²²⁴

- (9:47) *Jike bajna-tii-'-in* *fekoj-ñe-'-in*
 PS cotton.seed-bring-F.S-P smoke-put-VD.3F.O-P
dyiph-dyërä' *je-shi'-ke-'-in.*
 then-MO CS-drunk-VK-3F.O-P
 'They fry the seed of the cotton, put them in the fire and then they make her drunk (by making her breathe the smoke).'
- STE/EC

In this example, someone is made drunk or caused to be drunk by a certain kind of smoke.

The marker *je-* can also be used with the verb *tii'* 'carry the name', deriving the meaning 'she makes him carry the name', or 'she calls him':

- (9:48) *Mi'-tyi'-rä'* *khä mintyi' mö' me'*
 3M.SG-MO-IR well man 3F.SG so
jë-ti'-ë-te *Äriwiwi ye-te.*
 CS-name-VI-3M.O Ariwiwi say-3M.O
 'And this man, she so calls him Ariwiwi.' STE/VJ

The following example shows the prefix *je-*, added to the verbal stem *tsä'ï-* ‘live’, expressing ‘wake up’ (lit. make live):

- (9:49) *Jë-tsä'-ä-ksi,* *raej jë-tsä'-ä-ksi.*
 CS-live-VI-3P.O.M.S all CS-live-VI-3P.O.M.S
 ‘He makes them wake up, he makes them all wake up.’ STE/VJ

9.5. The applicative

There are five applicative markers in Mosestén, three of which are suffixes and two of which are prefixes. The suffixes are *-yi-* ‘for something’, *-tyi-* ‘from something’ and *-bi-* ‘doing something to (the possession of) another person against the will of this person’. The prefixes are *ti-* ‘a condition of the object affects the subject’ and the rather unproductive marker *jaj-* ‘accompany’. These applicatives add a new object to the clause. This object has a function in the construction that depends on the meaning of the applicative. For example, with the applicative marker *-yi-* ‘for something’, the object of the clause has the semantic role of a recipient. Applicatives can be added to transitive and intransitive verbs. When derived from intransitive verbs, an object is added to the clause:

Table 41: The applicative derivation with intransitive verbs

Intransitive clause:	S	V	
Applicative clause:	A(=former S)	V-AP ²²⁵	O(=new)

With transitive verbs, the original object is replaced by a new object when the verb is derived by the applicative. The former object disappears from the verbal cross-reference ending, but can still be mentioned in the clause:

Table 42: The applicative derivation with transitive verbs

Transitive clause:	A	V	O
Applicative clause:	A(=former A)	V-AP ²²⁶	O(=new) (former O)

The applicatives and their meanings are summarized in table 43:

Table 43: The applicatives and their meanings

Form	Other use	Semantic role of object	Meaning	Possible source
-yi-	verbal stem marker	recipient	for something	verb <i>yi</i> 'say'
-tyi-	verbal stem marker	patient	from something	verb <i>tyi</i> 'give'
<i>ti-</i>		patient	a condition of the object affects the subject	verb <i>ti</i> 'bring'
<i>jaj-</i>		patient	accompany	
<i>-bi-</i>		patient	against the will of	

Apart from these applicative markers, I will also discuss the suffix *-ti-* that frequently occurs in relation to applicative suffixes, expressing 'due to a reason'.

9.5.1. The applicative suffix *-yi-*

The applicative marker *-yi-* expresses 'for', 'for the purpose of', 'for the benefit of', as well as a number of other meanings. It adds a recipient object to the clause. The same marker *-yi-* can also be a verbal stem marker (8.3.2.), when added to non-verbal elements or bound verbal roots. The applicative marker *-yi-* is always added to verbal stems:

(9:50) *Yäe karij-tya-ki.*

1SG hard-VD-AN.M.S

'I work.' ELE/JH

(9:51) *Yäe-rä' mi-we karij-tye-ya-ksi nöjnöj.*

1SG-IR M-DR hard-VD-APY-3P.O.M.S tomorrow

'I will work for them tomorrow.' ELE/JH

The applicative marker *-yi-* changes the verb 'I work' to 'I work for them', adding a benefactive element in object position. This element appears in the verbal cross-reference ending.

The following example shows the applicative marker used with the transitive verb *jöi'-yë-* 'serve it (the chicha)'. With the applicative marker *-yi-*, the meaning is 'serve to him':

- (9:52) *Jöi'-yë-yë-baj-te-in* *shokdye'* *tyé-ban.*
 serve-VY-APY-again-3M.O-P chicha drink-again.M.S
 'They served him chicha, and he drank (the old man).' STE/VC

The verb *jöi'yë-* 'serve' is the base for the applicative marker *-yi-*. The former object 'chicha' of this verb disappears from the verbal cross-reference ending, and instead another object 'for him' with benefactive function is added. This object appears in the verbal cross-reference ending. This example also shows that the verbal stem marker *-yi-* and the applicative of the same form often co-occur.

9.5.2. The applicative suffix *-tyi-*

The applicative marker *-tye-* adds an object that usually has the semantic role of patient to the clause. This marker is formally the same as the verbal stem marker *-tye-* (8.3.3. – see also this section for fused forms of this marker with the forms of the verbal cross-reference paradigm). While the verbal stem marker is added to non-verbal elements and bound verbal roots, the applicative marker is added to intransitive and transitive verbal stems.

Often, this applicative expresses that something is done to another person or thing. This includes the meaning of something being taken 'from' another person:

- (9:53) *Kiwi* *aj-mi'* *son'-ye-tye-k-han-'* *mö'*
 again yet-3M.SG take-VY-APD-DK-again-3F.O 3F.SG
aj *käedäej* *tits-äe-tsäe-'-si'*.
 yet baby hang-VI-RD-F.S-L.F
 'And again he goes to take the baby that is hung up away from her.' STE/VJ

Furthermore, this applicative marker can derive verbs like *dyij-yi-* 'think', expressing 'remember someone or something':

- (9:54) *Jike-katyi'* *dyij-ye-tya-ki* *okoko-we* *tëtëi-wë.*
 PS-EH think-VY-APD-AN.M.S little.toad-DR frog-DR
 'Then he remembered the toads, the frogs.' WTE/JH

The elements *okoko* ‘little toad’ and *tētēi* ‘frog’ are turned into objects by the applicative marker. This marker is followed by the antipassive *-ki-* (9.3.1.), de-emphasizing the object again.²²⁷

When this applicative marker is added to a transitive verb, the former primary object is replaced by a new object, which then appears in the verbal cross-reference ending, instead of the former object. The following examples show an unmarked transitive verb (9:55) and the verb marked by the applicative (9:56). In (9:55), the noun phrase *jiris kirjka* ‘one book’ is the object of the clause, appearing in the verbal cross-reference ending, with ‘uncle’ as a possessor. In (9:56), *atya* ‘uncle’ is added as the new object of the clause, relating to the meaning of the applicative ‘from’, ‘from my uncle’:

- (9:55) *Yäe je-k-e’ jiri-s kirjka atya-si’.*
 1SG take-DK-3F.O one-F book(F) uncle(M)-L.M
 ‘I take a book of my uncle’s.’ ELE/JH
- (9:56) *Yäe je-k-tye-te atya jiri-ty camisa.*
 1SG take-DK-APD-3M.O uncle(M) one-M shirt.E(M)
 ‘I take a shirt from my uncle. ELE/JH

The applicative marker *-tyi-* appears before the cross-reference marker for the 3rd person plural object, *-ksi-*.²²⁸

- (9:57) *Aj-nä-rä’ mö’ dyij-jo-tya-ksi-’ aj-win*
 yet-FO-IR 3F.SG thing-VJ-APD-3P.O-F.S yet-C
chhome’ khäei’-tyi’-nä-ki äwä’-mö’ itsiki-ïn.
 also RF-L.M-FO-CO child-3F.SG jaguar-P
 ‘She was already accustomed to her own children being jaguars.’ STE/EC

The following example shows a verb combined with the verbal stem marker *-tye-* that furthermore is derived by the applicative *-tye-*:

- (9:58) *Dyiph anik me’ tyaj-ke’-in, jike me’*
 then EM so meet-VK-3F.O-PPS so
phi-ki-’ keo’tso-tye-tye-’ o’sho’.
 run-VK-F.S step.on-VD-APD-3F.O clothes

‘Then they surely have met her, then she ran, (but) they stepped on her clothes.’ STE/EC

9.5.3. The applicative prefix *ti-*

The applicative prefix *ti-* mostly appears with stative and intransitive verbs. It is usually used with verbs expressing an emotional state, i.e. that a condition of the object participant or element affects the subject:

- (9:59) *Mö'* *tyar-i-s-tom* *tyar-i-'* *ti-tyar-e-te*
 3F.SG sad-VI-L.F-COM sad-VI-F.S APT-sad-VI-3M.O
waemtyi' *itsiki* *ti-tyar-a-ksi-'* *äwä'-mö'*
 husband jaguar APT-sad-VI-3P.O-F.S child-3F.SG
itsiki, *raej tyäkä'-tyi'-nä-ki saeñ-i*
 jaguar all EM-MO-FO-CO die-VI.M.S
khäei'-dyetyi'-mö' jiri-si' mö'-yä' mö'.
 RF-only-3F.SG one-L.F 3F-AD 3F.SG
 ‘And she was sad, she was sad about her jaguar-husband, she was sad about her children, they all had died, she was all alone there.’ STE/EC

In this case, the verb *tyari-* ‘be sad’ is derived by the applicative *ti-*, expressing ‘be sad about’. In this case, the persons in object position, i.e. her husband and her children, have been killed, and she is sad about that.

In the following example, the verb *fäki-* ‘be angry’ is marked by *ti-*:

- (9:60) *Yäe ti-fäk-e-'* *mö'* *nanasi'.*
 1SG APT-angry-VI-3F.O3F.SG girl
 ‘I was angry because of the girl.’ ELE/JH

This applicative marker can also be used with the verb *bae'i-* ‘live’. The form *ti-bae'e-* expresses ‘live together with’ and thus its meaning goes somewhat beyond the normal meaning of *ti-*.²²⁹

- (9:61) *Mi'-nä-ki* *aj* *ti-bae'e-'* *aj* *itsiki*
 3M.SG-FO-CO yet APT-live-VI-3F.S yet jaguar

Oye.

Oye

‘And he lives with her, the jaguar Oye.’ STE/EC

9.5.4. The applicative prefix *jaj-*

The applicative prefix *jaj-* has the meaning ‘accompany’ or ‘with’. This marker is not productive and only appears in lexical forms. One such form is *jaj-bae'e-* ‘accompany to live with’:

- (9:62) *Bueno chhata'-tyi' yi jike jen'-win-yäe*
 good.E MO-MO say.M.S PS father-C-1SG
se'w-e-te jike poroma mi' me'
 hear-VI-3M.OPS before 3M.SG so
jaj-bae'-a-ksi-ya' chhae-ti-dye'...
 APJ-live-VI-3P.O.M.S-AD know-VT-NO (relative)
 ‘Well, so said my father, I listened to him, that before, when he
 lived with the relative (Chimane person) ...’ STE/VC

Another construction of this type is *jäj-khöshe-* ‘accompany sleeping’. This expression is often used when guarding a plantation or trap, in order to prevent other people from stealing:

- (9:63) *Khin'-dye-ra' mi'-we-ra' jemoñ-e- jäj-khösh-te.*
 now-CON-IR 3M-DR-IR must-VI-3F.O APJ-sleep-VI.3M.O
 ‘Now we will have to accompany it (the rice), sleeping (in the
 plantation).’ ELE/LM

9.5.5. The applicative suffix *-bi-*

The applicative marker *-bi-* expresses that an action is carried out to a possession of the person in object position, against the will of this person:

- (9:64) *Khäki waemtyi'-mi me'-ki' wae-wa'-ki-n yi'-mi*
 because husband-2SG so-size beat-PR-TR-2O say-F.S-2SG

yi-bi-ti' *yäe yij mi.*
 say-APB-2SG/1SG 1SG footprint2SG
 'Because your husband is beating you like that, you said, you
 said to my footprint.' STE/EC

This marker is structurally different from the other applicatives suffixes in that it cannot be used as a verbal stem marker. Furthermore, it appears after the 3rd person plural marker *-ksi-*, whereas the other applicative suffixes appear before this marker (8.1.2.2.):

(9:65) *Mö' Aurelia ay-i-jo-i' aka'-ya'*
 3F.SG Aurelia come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S house-AD
si-ti-' kösinä-khan jeb-a-kse-bi-' saeks-e-dye'
 enter-VT-F.S kitchen.E-IN eat-VI-3P.O-F.S eat-VI-NO
äwä'-sī'-in.
 child-L.F-P
 'Aurelia came to the house, entered the kitchen and ate the
 food of the children (against their will).' SELE/JH

9.5.6. *The applicative extension -ti- 'for a reason'*

The suffix *-ti-* can follow other applicative suffixes, expressing 'for a reason'. This marker cannot be used alone with this meaning.²³⁰ The reason expressed by *-ti-* is usually not mentioned in the clause and is only evident from the context. The combination of the applicatives *-yi-* (9.5.1.) and *-ti-* is a combination of the meanings 'for the benefit of' and 'for a reason'.²³¹

(9:66) *Yäe ya'-i-ye-ti-te iits nanatyī'.*
 1SG buy-VI-APY-REA-3M.O DE.M boy
 'I buy it for the boy.' (because he has no money or because he
 is unable to buy it) ELE/JH

The marking by the applicative *-yi-* expresses that the action takes place for the benefit of the person in object position. The marker *-ti-* adds the meaning 'for a reason', which itself is not expressed in this example,

where the hearer must deduce this reason from the context. Most probably, the boy has no money or is unable to buy something.

With the applicative *-tye-* appearing before *-ti-* the meaning is a combination of ‘take from another person’ and ‘for a reason’:

- (9:67) *Tsin ya'-i-tye-ti-te jiri-s waka ya'-i-dye-si'*
 1P buy-VI-APD-REA-3M.O one-Fcow.E buy-VI-B-L.F
shiish.
 meat
 ‘We have bought a cow from someone (we know what to do with it) in order to sell meat.’ ELE/AT, LM

In this case, the reason is the idea of killing the cow and selling the meat, expressed in a purposive adverbial clause, following the clause marked by the applicatives.

9.6. Combinations of voice structures

Different voice structures can be combined, giving rise to a compositional meaning. These types of combinations are rather rare, and not all voice structures can appear together. Thus, causative and applicative prefixes cannot be applied to the same verb. In the same way, two elements of the same voice structure cannot be combined. Still, it is possible to elicit a number of co-occurring voice structures.

The following example shows the combination of a causative with an applicative:

- (9:68) *Yäe näsh raej-ji'-ye-ye-te öi saeks-e-dye'*
 1SG GF stop-CA-VY-APY-3M.O DE.F eat-VI-NO
iits nanatyi'
 DE.M boy
 ‘I made this boy finish (i.e. eat up) the food.’ ELE/JH

The passive marker *-k* and the causative *ji'-* are combined in the following example:

- (9:69) *Jedye-dye-tyi'-dyera' ji'-saeks-a-k?*
 thing-B-L.M-MO CA-eat-VI-PP
 'Why do they give him something to eat?' ELE/JH

Furthermore, the passive expressed by *ja-* *-ti* can occur together with the applicative *-tyi-*:

- (9:70) *Mi' mishi ja-jib-i-tyi-ti shiish.*
 3M.SG cat PD-eat-VI-APD-RE.M.S meat
 'Her meat had been eaten by the cat.' ELE/JH
- (9:71) *Mi' mishi raej-ja-yi-bi-ti shiish.*
 3M.SG cat finish-PD-VY-APB-RE.M.S meat
 'The cat has finished the meat (while nobody watched the plate).' ELE/JH

The causative marker *ji'-* can occur within the same verb as the antipassive markers *-ki-* and *-ti-*:

- (9:72) *Mi' tyaph-ji'-ya-ki äwä'-mö'.*
 3M.SG grab-CA-VY-AN.M.S child-3F.SG
 'He has made someone grab his daughter.' ELE/JH
- (9:73) *Mi' tyaph-ji'-yi-ti äwä'-mi'.*
 3M.SG grab-CA-VY-AT.M.S child-3M.SG
 'He has made someone grab his son (violently).' ELE/JH

In the examples (9:72) and (9:73) above, the verbs are detransitivized, i.e. here the antipassive has scope over the causative. This is generally the case, and can be explained by the fact that transitivity markers often are prefixes, or appear before detransitivizing devices, which often appear in final position of the verb. In this case, the final element often has scope over the elements before. However, an exception to this occurs with prefixal causatives that have scope over the antipassive. This is especially the case where verbs by default appear with an antipassive marker, expressing the general action, as opposed to their transitive counterparts that express a more specific action. In this case, a verb like *jima-ki-* 'sing - general verb' can be derived by the causative, transitivity markers the structure:

- (9:74) *Öi-katyi' jï'-jïm-ä-ke-' öi nanasi'.*
 DE.F-EH CA-sing-VI-AN-3F.O DE.F girl
 'She has made this girl sing.' ELE/RC

The same is the case with the middle structure that can be combined with the causative. Again, the causative can have scope over the detransitivizing middle:²³²

- (9:75) *Öi jï'-jeb-a-ke-' mishi-ya' öi faejfaej.*
 DE.F CA-eat-VI-MI-3F.O cat-AD DE.F pigeon
 'She has made this pigeon be eaten by a cat.' ELE/RC

Chapter 10

Negation

In the sections below, I will discuss the ways in which negation can be expressed in Mosestén. The negation marker *jam* is the general negation marker, whereas existential clauses are negated by the verb *itsi-* ‘not be’. ‘Have not’ is expressed by the particle *däeräe*. Furthermore, negation can be expressed lexically. Finally, I will discuss negative quantifiers that can be combined with the different negation markers.

10.1. The negation marker *jam*

The negation marker *jam* can be used in verbal clauses and in certain copular clauses. It can negate the entire clause, as well as single constituents. *Jam* usually appears before the constituent which it negates.

In word order, *jam* is either placed at the beginning of the negated clause (10:2) or alternatively (without a change in meaning) before the verb (10:3). Example (10:1) shows *jam* in combination with an affirmative clause:

- (10:1) *Yäe jaem-e-’ shokdye’.*
1SG good-VI-3F.O chicha
‘I like chicha.’ ELE/JH
- (10:2) ***Jam*** *yäe jaem-e-’ shokdye’.*
NG 1SG good-VI-3F.O chicha
‘I do not like chicha.’ ELE/JH
- (10:3) *Yäe jam jaem-e-’ shokdye’.*
1SG NG good-VI-3F.O chicha
‘I do not like chicha.’ ELE/JH

In the following text example, the negation appears in front of the negated clause:

- (10:4) *Jam aj tsin mi'-chhe'*
 NG yet 1P 3M-SU
jady-i-k-han.
 go.and.come.back-VI-DK-again.M.S
 'We did not go up there again.' STE/VC

The following example shows two different types of negation: 1. the constituent negation of the adverb *jaem'* 'well', in which the negation marker appears immediately before the adverb, and 2. the negation of the entire clause, in which the negation marker is placed before the verb *jaem'ñiban-* 'fix':

- (10:5) *Pero si katyi'-ra' räei jam jaem'*
 but.E if.E EH-IR EM NG good
phe-ya-ki-in räei-rä' öi jam
 talk-VY-AN.M.S-P EM-IR DE.F NG
jaem'-ñi'-ban-' majmi-in.
 good-put-VD.again-F.O road-P
 'But if it turns out not to be good what they talk about, then
 they (the others) won't fix the road.' STE/CT

In the constituent negation *jam jaem'* 'not well', the negation marker has scope over the element *jaem'* only, and not over the talking. The second occurrence of *jam* affects the whole clause, expressing 'they won't fix the road'. In this way, scope is always linear.

The following example shows another constituent negation of *men* 'moment', leading to the meaning 'no moment', or derived 'in no time, very rapidly':

- (10:6) *Aj khin' khötëi-ki pa-'-ch-e-'*
 yet now MO.M-CO put.on.fire-ITI-put.on.fire-VI-F.O
yoy-nä-ki-ra' jam men-mö' tyij-e-n'-ti-'
 R-FO-CO-IR NG moment-3F.SG fire.up-VI-PR-VT-F.S
ki'sha-i-' jam men.
 glow-VI-F.S NG moment
 'And now she ignites the fire, very fast she makes fire, she
 makes it glow in no time.' STE/VJ

Copular clauses expressing notions other than ‘exist’, ‘be in place’ (12.2.3.) or ‘have’ (12.2.5.), are negated by *jam* as well. In this case, the entire predicate is negated:

(10:7) ***Jam mö’ jaem’ me’.***
 NG 3F.SG good so
 ‘So she is not good.’ STE/DC

(10:8) ***Päräj-ki jam me’-in.***
 other-CO NG so-P
 ‘Others are not like that.’ STE/VJ

The difference between the existential negation marker *itsi-* (10.2.) and *jam* is that with *itsi-* the existence of something is negated, either generally or in relation to a certain place, whereas with *jam* the existence is presupposed and only the predication is negated, as in ‘it is not far away’ under the assumption that ‘it exists (in the place)’:

(10:9) ***Jam mochjike jeb-a-k-dye’-in raej tyäb-e-dye’-in raej.***
 NG far PS eat-VI-MI-NO-P all fish-VI-NO-P all
 ‘Not far were all the animals, all the fish.’ STE/DC

The negation marker *jam* is furthermore used as the answer to a yes-no question (12.4.). Negative questions are answered with *jam* when the outcome is negative:

(10:10)q ***Y iits-nä tata jam ji-te-te?***
 and.EDE.M-FO priest NG send-VD.DT-3M.O
 ‘And the priest has not brought it?’ COE/JH

(10:11)a ***Jam, jam ji-te-te.***
 NG NG send-VD.DT-3M.O
 ‘No, he did not bring it.’ COE/MW

The negation marker *jam* is furthermore used in corrections of something one has said before:

(10:12) ***Tsin phe-ye-’ nōjnōj, jam Domingo-ya’.***
 1P speak-VY-3F.O tomorrow NG Sunday.E-AD
 ‘We will talk about that tomorrow, no on Sunday.’ STE/JH

The combination of the negation and the temporal clitic *-bi* ‘yet’ (11.5.6.) has the meaning ‘not yet’:

- (10:13) *Jam-bi* ‘chhome’ *wën-chhï-* *Karanawi*.
 NG-still also move-DC-F.S Caranavi
 ‘It (the road) did not lead to Caranavi yet.’ COE/EC

The combination of the prefix *chhi-* ‘also’ and the negation marker *jam* has the meaning ‘not either’:

- (10:14) *Chhi-jam mi’-chhe*?
 also-NG 3M-SU
 ‘(You) weren’t up there either?’ COE/JH

Chhijam is often replaced by the Spanish *ni*:

- (10:15) *Ni-ra’ mi’ rendir-yi tyäkä’ mi’*
 neither.E-IR 3M.SG get.tired.E-VY.M.S EM 3M.SG
kaechh-ae-n’.
 follow-VI-PR
 ‘Neither did he give up, he was always following (him).’
 COE/EC

10.2. The existential negation marker *itsi-*

The negative intransitive verb *itsi-* can express both ‘not exist’ and ‘not be in place’ (cf. 12.2.4. for the positive existential construction). In the following example, the non-existence of the work marked by *itsi-* agrees with the subject of the clause *karijtyakdye* ‘work, F’ in the cross-reference ending. Furthermore, the non-existence of cement in the place is expressed by *itsi-* as well, agreeing with the subject *cemento* ‘cement, F’:

- (10:16) *Aj its-i’ mö’-chhë’ karij-tya-k-dye’*
 yet NX-VI-F.S 3F-SU hard-VD-AN-NO(F)
mientras khäki its-i’ cemento.
 in.the.meantime.E because NX-VI-F.S cement.E(F)

'There is no work up there in the meantime, because there is no cement.' COE/MW

When *itsi*- is combined with the temporal marker *aj* (11.5.4.)²³³, the meaning 'do not exist any more' is generated:

(10:17) *Khin'-tsa' raej kaf-o-n'-jo-i-tsin its-i'*
 now-FR all mix-VI-PR-VJ-M.S-1PNX-VI-F.S
aj öi ma'-jo-dye'
 yet DE.F glad-VJ-NO
 'Now we have all mixed (with other people) and there is no more happiness.' STE/DC

The negation marker *itsi*- can also strictly express that someone or something is not in a certain place. In this case, the general existence of the person or element is not negated:

(10:18) *Jike mi' soñi' aj jam jae'nä-i,*
 PS 3M.SG man yet NG where-VI.M.S
kef-an-', its-i' mö' phen.
 search-VI.again-3F.O NX-VI-F.S 3F.SG woman
 'The man does not know what to do, (he) searches for her again, (but) the woman is not there.' WTE/JH

In this example, the woman is not in the house, and the man does not know where she is. Still, the existence of the woman as such is not negated.

10.3. The negation *däeräe*' 'not have'

The negative particle *däeräe*' 'not have' can be used to express that a person does not possess a certain element (cf. 12.2.5. for the positive possessive construction). It does not have agreement forms for the subject or object in the same way as the intransitive verb *itsi*- above.

In the following example, the noun *käeijädye*' 'plantation' appears in combination with this negation marker to express 'I do not possess a plantation':

- (10:19) *Chhata' jike mäei-yä' yäe wën-jö-i-yä'*,
 true PS first-AD 1SG move-DJ-M.S-AD
däeräe' käeijëdye' mi'-chhe'-yäe.
 not.have plantation 3M-SU-1SG
 'Indeed, when I came the first time, I did not have a plantation
 up there.' STE/JH

Furthermore, this negative verb can be used with abstract nouns, such as 'time':

- (10:20) *Däeräe' tiempo.*
 not.have time.E
 'He / she does not have time.' COE/MW

10.4. Lexical negation

Under the heading of lexical negation I will treat two elements that have a negative meaning, but which do not appear with a negation marker themselves. The verb *shö-yi-* expresses 'not want':

- (10:21) *Shö-yi-nä-ki ä'yäe-ki-ti.*
 not.want-VY-FO-CO wet-VK-RE.M.S
 'And he did not want to get wet.' WTE/AT

The fixed expression *jedyetishan* expresses 'does not exist any more':

- (10:22) *Aj ish näi-jö-'-yä' jedyetishan*
 yet then morning-VJ-F.S-AD not.exist.M.S
saeñ-i aj-win.
 die-VI.M.S yet-C
 'And then it dawned and he wasn't any more, he had already
 died.' STE/VJ

10.5. Negative quantifiers

The negation markers *jam*, *itsi-* and *däeräe'* can be combined with negative quantifiers, most of which are formally the same as interrogative pronouns (5.4.). A number of negative quantifiers are not based on interrogative pronouns such as *dyam'* 'more' and *kiwi* 'again'. Starting with the latter, *dyam'* 'more' can appear in combination with *jam* to express 'never again':

- (10:23) *Jam aj dyam' me'-tya-kse-wa'-jo-'*.
 NG yet more so-VD-3P.O-PR-PRI-F.S
 'She never did (that) to them again.' COE/JH

The negative verb *itsi-* combined with the negative quantifier *dyam'* 'more' expresses 'not exist more (of something)':

- (10:24) *Its-i-'tsa' dyam' jae'mä derrumbe*.
 NX-VI-F.S-FR more DM landslide.E
 'But there were no more landslides.' COE/MW

In combination with the negative marker *däeräe'* 'not have', the meaning is 'do not have more':

- (10:25) *Maria äwä'-tom soñi'-tyi'. Däeräe' dyam'*.
 Maria child-COM man-L.M not.have more
 'Maria has a male child. She does not have more (children).'
 ELE/CT

The meaning 'never again' can be expressed by the combination of the negation marker with the particle *kiwi*, often in reduplicated form, 'never ever':

- (10:26) *Jam kiwi-kiwi käw-ë-k-han-' tse'-mi*.
 NG again-RD see-VI-DK-again-F.O mother-2SG
 'You will never (ever) see your mother again.' STE/VJ

The majority of negative quantifiers are based on interrogative pronouns (5.4.). Combined with the negation marker *jam*, the forms are as follows:

(10:27) <i>jam jäen'</i>	'nothing'
<i>jam jäen'dye'</i>	'never' ²³⁵
<i>jam jäe'nä'</i>	'nowhere'
<i>jam jaetaej (yi)</i>	'(say) nothing'
<i>jam tyi'</i>	'nobody'
<i>jam jedye'</i>	'nothing'
<i>jam jäen'ki'</i>	'no more'
<i>jam jäe'ñi'tyi' (M) /</i>	'none of them'
<i>jam jäe'ñi'si' (F)</i>	
<i>jam jäen'tyi' (M) /</i>	'not many'
<i>jam jäen'si' (F)</i>	
<i>jam jäen'tom</i>	'not many'. ²³⁶

The following example shows the combination *jam jäe'nä'* 'nowhere':

(10:28) <i>Jam-nä-rä'</i>	<i>mö'</i>	<i>jäe'nä'</i>	<i>phi-ki-'</i>	<i>aj-win.</i>
NG-FO-IR	3F.SG	where	run-VK-F.S	yet-C
'And she cannot run anywhere any more (because she has been killed).' STE/VJ				

The negative quantifier *jäetäej* appearing together with a negation marker has the meaning 'say nothing':

(10:29) <i>Mi'-ya'-katyi' ji-yi</i>	<i>mi'</i>	<i>Sheshejwintyi'</i>	<i>jam</i>
3M-AD-EH	pass-VY.M.S	3M.SG creator	NG
<i>jäetäej-yä-ksi,</i>	<i>kich-bae'-i</i>	<i>mimi'</i>	
make.noise-VY-3P.O.M.S	direct-be-VI.M.S	only.M	
<i>ji-yi.</i>			
pass-VY.M.S			
'There the creator passes, he does not say anything to them, he just passes.' WTE/JH			

Tyi' in combination with the negation *jam* expresses 'nobody':

- (10:30) *Me'-ki jam aj-ra' tyi-tom ban-'*.
 so-CO NG yet-IR person-COM go-F.S
 'Therefore she does not have anybody to go with.' STE/EC

Negative quantifiers can also be replaced by the Spanish equivalent:

- (10:31) *Jam nadies parar-yi*.
 NG nobody.E stop.E-VY.M.S
 'Nobody can stop him.' COE/SM

Also, other negation markers than *jam* can appear with a negative particle. In the following example, the negative particle *jedye'* is combined with the existential negation *itsi-*:

- (10:32) *Mö'-khan chhi'ats its-i' jedye'-tsa'*.
 3F-IN instead NX-VI-F.S thing-FR
 'But instead, nothing is in there.' STE/VC

In some cases, the combinations of negation and negative quantifier can have derived meanings. Hence, the combination of *jam* and *jäen'* can have the derived meaning 'to not know what to do', literally meaning 'be nothing':

- (10:33) *Aj jam jäen' mi' ojtere' jam aj*
 yet NG how 3M.SG rooster NG yet
bi-jo-i.
 win-VJ-M.S
 'The rooster did not know what to do, he had not won.' WTE/JH

The constructions can furthermore be verbalized to *jam jäen'tye-*, expressing 'not bother':

- (10:34) *Mi' yäe jam jäen'-tyi-n*.
 3M.SG 1SG NG now-VD-1O
 'He did not bother me.' ELE/FT

The combination *jam jäe'nä'* 'nowhere' can be used with the derived meaning 'there is nothing to do':

- (10:35) *Fäk-hö-i-nä-ki* provincial *asi es*
 angry-VJ-M.S-FO-CO province.leader.E so.it.is.E
me'-nä-ki jam jäe'nä.
 so-FO-CO NG where
 'And the leader of the province got angry, but there was
 nothing to do.' COE/SM

Furthermore, certain negative quantifiers can be combined. In this way, *dyam'* 'more' can be combined with *tyi'* 'someone' and the negation marker *jam* to express 'nobody else':

- (10:36) *Anik jam tyi-si' dyam'*.
 EM NG person-L.F more
 'Sure of nobody else.' (context: 'it does not belong to anybody
 else') WTE/CT

With the negation marker *itsi-* 'not be' in the combination *itsi' jedye'* 'nothing', *dyam'* expresses 'nothing more':

- (10:37) *Its-i-' dyam' jedye'*.
 NX-VI-F.S more thing
 'There do not exist more things.' STE/JH

Finally looking at the word order with negative quantifiers, the negation always appears before the quantifier(s). These markers can be adjacent, or other elements can appear in between. The elements that can appear in between are often adverbials, such as *aj* 'yet', though also other the subject of the clause may appear between the negator and the negative quantifier, as in example (10:28) above.

Chapter 11

Modality and discourse markers

In the present chapter, I will treat modality and discourse markers. Most of these markers are realized as particles and clitics. The markers include evidentials that mark the source of the information, modality markers which express the speaker's attitude, emphasis markers, as well as referential discourse markers and temporal markers. These particles and clitics sometimes have more than one function, such as expressing emphasis, as well as relating to the context in a way that resembles both emphasis and referential discourse markers.

11.1. Evidentials

There are two basic evidentials: *katyi* 'hearsay' and *ishtyi* 'sensory experience'. A third evidential marker, *-(a)ke* 'deductive', is rather unproductive and lexicalized. The evidentials only appear in clauses where the source of the information is emphasized, i.e. they are not obligatory.

Table 44: Evidentials

	Meaning	Productivity
<i>katyi</i>	hearsay	productive
<i>ishtyi</i>	sensory	productive
<i>-(a)ke</i>	deductive	unproductive

11.1.1. The hearsay evidential *katyi*

The evidential modality marker *katyi* is used to express that the information is reported, i.e. that the speaker has not experienced it himself. This applies to hearsay information, as well as to folklore information and common knowledge. In the following example, the

speaker is referring to hearsay information, about something he has not experienced it himself:

- (11:1) *Anik-dya'-tyi'-ki Illimani yäe-nä-ki yi*
 EM-MO-MO-CO Illimani 1SG-FO-CO say.M.S
se'w-a-ksi Illampo-katyi'.
 hear-VI-3P.O.M.S Illampo-EH
 'Is it really Illimani, although I have heard that it was Illampo.'
 COE/EC

This evidential can appear in all but the initial position in the clause. Old people often use this evidential marker in combination with the emphatic particle *khä* (11.3.5.). The evidential *katyi'* only appears in situations specifically focussing on the hearsay information, while many clauses are not marked for evidentials at all. It is often used in stories, where the focus is on hearsay folklore information.

11.1.2. The sensory evidential *ishtyi'*

The evidential modality marker *ishtyi'* expresses sensory evidential modality, i.e. something that the speaker has experienced and consequently is sure about.²³⁷ This includes visual and auditory evidence. Thus, *ishtyi'* is often used together with 1st person subjects.²³⁸

- (11:2) *Mö-wë ishtyi' jady-i-ki'-yäe.*
 3F-DR ES go.and.come.back-VI-DK-F.S-1SG
 'I went there (and came back).' STE/VJ

The auditory evidence can include deduction (see also 11.1.3.). In the following example, the person has heard a baby cry and deduces from this that the neighbor's child has been born. In this case, the evidential *ishtyi'* can also be applied:

- (11:3) *Yäe se'w-e-' wa-ti aka'-khan. Mi'*
 1SG hear-VI-3F.O cry-VT.M.S house-IN 3M.SG
ishtyi' käedäej nä'-i khin'.
 ES baby get.born-VI.M.S now

‘I heard it cry in the house. The baby has been born now.’

ELE/AT, NT

In the same way as *katyi*’ (11.1.1.), the evidential *ishtyi*’ can appear in all but the clause-initial position.

11.1.3. The unproductive deductive evidential *-(a)ke*

The evidential *-(a)ke* is used in situations where the speaker sees or hears something from which he can deduce what happened, without having seen or heard the action itself. This marker is unproductive, and it only appears in place names and other lexicalized forms. Furthermore, *-(a)ke* differs from the other modality and discourse markers in being a suffix. It is added to verbal stems, and does not show a gender distinction. In the same way as the passive participle *-k*, it turns the preceding vowel into an /a/ (2.5.1.3.).

In the following example, the speaker refers to a place name in which this evidential derivation occurs:

- (11:4) *Me’-ki khin’ mö’-yä’ järe’mä ye-i-in*
 so-CO now 3F-AD DM say-3F.O-P
jeba-ka-ke-ya’ mö’-yä’ räei me’ ti’-i’.
 eat-MI-ED-AD 3F-AD EM so name-VI-F.S
 ‘So now they call it “in the place where the unseen eating was”
 up there, that is its name.’ STE/JH

Jebaka-ke is the name of a place, where an old man has been attacked and eaten by a jaguar. Nobody has seen this attack, but the remains of his body were found in that place. People deduced from the state the body was in that only a jaguar could have attacked him. This deduction is marked by the evidential *-(a)ke*.

This evidential is still lexically used in a number of verbs, such as ‘finding a dead body and deducing from it that the person has died’. In the following example, a dog died, while his owner was away. Finding the dead dog, there is evidence of the dying, even if the speaker has not seen it happening in that moment:

- (11:5) *Mö' yäe-si' achae saen-a-ke inöj.*
 3F.SG 1SG-L.Fdog die-VI-ED moment
 'My dog died a moment ago.' ELE/JH

Another form in which the evidential *-(a)ke* is applied is *yeka-ke* 'deducting that someone went there to say it', consisting of the verb *yi-* 'say', the associated motion marker *-ki-* (8.6.1.) and the evidential *-(a)ke*. This verb is used when a secret that was shared by few people suddenly becomes public. Then, one can deduce from the result that somebody certainly must have talked about the secret.

11.2. Modal particles and clitics

Turning to modal particles and clitics, I will now discuss markers that express the attitude of a speaker. I will begin with the grammatical markers *-ra'* 'irrealis' and *-wi'* 'necessity'. Then, I will turn to clitics and particles which express the certainty of an event about to happen or having happened. The markers are summarized in table 45.

11.2.1. The irrealis marker *-ra'*

Mosetén distinguishes between a realis and an irrealis, the realis being unmarked whereas the irrealis is marked by the clitic *-ra'*. This marker is often cliticized to the first element of the clause, but can appear in other places as well.

The marker *-ra'* usually appears when a future event is referred to:

- (11:6) *Yäe-rä' bojw-i.*
 1SG-IR go.up-VI.M.S
 'I will go up.' STE/EC

Furthermore, the irrealis marker often appears together with the modality marker *-wi'* (11.2.2.), cf. example (11:7).

Table 45: Modal particles and clitics

	Function	Use, meaning
-ra'	irrealis	- future - change in point of view - in combination with modality markers, rhetorical questions and subordinations
-wi'	necessity	deontic modality marker, expressing 'should', 'must'
chhata'	certainty	high certainty
ika' / öka'	certainty	rather high certainty (often used with names)
khötei / khö'i	certainty	moderate certainty, deductions from common knowledge or context / clause-scope
-dyera'	certainty	moderate certainty, deductions from common knowledge or context / phrase- and clause-scope
-tyi'	certainty	moderate certainty, often used in answers and comments / not referring to personal experience
-yai	certainty	high certainty, often used in answers and comments / referring to personal experience
jäedyäk	certainty	moderate to low certainty, often used with future events
watyeke	certainty	moderate to low certainty, often expressing an idea
-dya'tyi'	certainty	moderate to low certainty, often based on unclear evidence

(11:7) *Mäen 'jä'-khan nāsh-tsa' aj mi'-chhe'-in*

yesterday-IN GF-FR yet 3M-SU-P

karij-tya-ki-wi'-ra'-in.

hard-VD-AN.M.S-MN-IR-P

'The other day they should already have worked (but they did not).' WTE/CT

The marker *-ra'* can occur in rhetorical questions. In some emphatic contexts, it is expressed on several elements in the clause at the same time:

(11:8) *Jäe'nä'-dye-ra' ö-khan bae'-i'-ra' yäe jäe'nä'-dye-ra'*

where-NO-IR F-IN live-VI-F.S-IR1SG where-NO-IR

ä-khan-ra'yäe jaem'-ra' yäe chhanam-dye'?

F-IN-IR 1SG good-IR 1SG dry-place

‘How could I (possibly) live here, how could I (possibly) find a good and dry place here?’ STE/EC

A number of subordinated elements are marked by *-ra'*:

(11:9) *Moch aj ka-i' jae'nä'-rä' mi' bae'-i.*
 far yet bring-3F.O where-IR 3M.SG live-VI.M.S
 ‘He brought her far (away), to where he lived.’ STE/EC

The marker *-ra'* can occur in negated clauses, though most often negation appears without marking by *-ra'*. In the following example, the negation marker *jam* is combined with a negative quantifier, which also is marked by *-ra'*.²³⁹

(11:10) *Tantos años bae'-i i-we tata-in jam-ra'*
 so.many.years.E live-VI.M.S M-DR father-P NG-IR
mi' jedye'-ra'-mi' recuerdo ya-j-ki-'
 3M.SG thing-IR-3M.SG memory.E leave-DIR-DK-F.S
 ‘So many years the priests have lived here, and they did not leave anything (i.e. no memories).’ COE/EC

Furthermore, *-ra'* can mark instances where the viewpoint in a story changes. In the following example, the viewpoint of the participant changes, because a jaguar blew her in the ear, and she is now able to see things from a jaguar’s point of view:

(11:11) *Jaem'-khan-ra' mi' bae'-i aj-ra'-mö'*
 good-IN-IR 3M.SG live-VI.M.S yet-IR-3F.SG
näij-tya-k-dyi-' *aj aj-win.*
 see-VD-AN-ITD-F.S yet yet-C
 ‘He lives in a good place, she surely sees it.’ STE/EC

In marking the change in a situation, *-ra'* can also appear together with the past-“tense” marker *jike* (11.5.1.). Hence, *-ra'* is not exclusively used with future actions:

- (11:12) *Jike-ra'* *mö'* *aj* *ma'-jo-i'*.
 PS-IR 3F.SG yet glad-VJ-F.S
 'Then she became glad.' STE/EC

11.2.2. The necessity marker *-wi'*

The clitic *-wi'* is used in clauses to express a speaker's attitudes, as well as to mark conditional clause combinations. The latter will be treated with adverbial clauses in (13.5.8.). In the present section, I will look at the modal uses of this marker, expressing deontic modality. This clitic very often appears in combination with the irrealis marker *-ra'* (11.2.1.). In a few cases *-wi'* occurs without the *-ra'*, sometimes together with other markers such as *ish* or *-ka'* (see further below in the present section). The marker *-wi'* often appears on verbs, though it can occur with other parts of speech as well, such as nouns:

- (11:13) *Me'-we-katyi' jike-tsa' khä aj-win phir-i'-ya' chhith*
 so-DR-EH PS-FR well yet-C ripe-VI-F.S-AD half
anik aj minsi'-wi'-ra' shiph-ki-'.
 EM yet woman-MN-IR leave-VK-F.S
 'So, when it already was getting ripe, a woman should leave
 the middle of it (the peanut plantation).' (folkloristic tale
 describing what happens when the peanuts get ripe) STE/VJ

In this example, the marker *-wi'* expresses the necessity that a woman has to appear when these peanuts get ripe.

The marker *-wi'* can also express the necessity to carry out a certain action:

- (11:14) *Ij-a-ti-wi'-ra'* *tyäe'shï jeb-a-k-dye-si'*.
 kill-VI-1P.S-MN-IR hen eat-VI-MI-B-L.F
 'We should kill a hen to eat.' ELE/AT, LM

In the following example, *-wi'* is used in an indirect command:

- (11:15) *Jew-a-ki-wi'-ra'-mi* *pe'-i-'* *jäe'mä*
 fish.with.net-VI-AN-MN-IR-2SG high.water-VI-F.S DM

öjñi'.

river

'You should fish (with net), the river is high.' STE/VJ

In a few examples, *-wi'* appears without the marker *-ra'*. This is demonstrated in the following example, where the expression *paj-nä-wi'* is used to declare a speech act:

- (11:16) *Paj-nä-wi'* me' jai-we mi'in chhaesh-tyi'
 that-FO-MN so time-DR2P blood-L.M
bae'-i-'-mi'in mintyi-si'
 live-VI-F.S-2P man-L.F
 'That you with time will live of the blood of the people!'
 WTE/JH

The patients have been transformed into mosquitoes through this speech act and are consequently forced to carry out the action of 'blood-sucking'. For this reason, the irrealis marker *-ra'* does not appear in relation to *-wi'*.

Furthermore, in rhetorical questions *-wi'* frequently appears without being marked by *-ra'*, but in combination with other markers. In the following examples, it appears in relation to *jäen'dye' ish*, expressing a rhetorical question (see also *ish* below 11.5.7.):

- (11:17) *Mi-nä jäen'-dye' ish-wi'* mi jaem'
 2SG-FO how-NO then-MN 2SG good
jaes-i-'?
 chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
 'And you, when will you make good chicha?' (expressing the necessity to make good chicha) STE/VJ

Furthermore, *-wi'* can occur in combination with the clitic *-ka'* which marks rhetorical questions (12.3.1.6.). This combination is often used in wishes, such as *shedyesh-wi'-ka'* 'hopefully'. The following expression *jäen'-wi'-ka'* means 'how should ...':

- (11:18) *Jüen'-wi'-ka' yäe chhi-i?*
 how-MN-MO 1SG know-VI.M.S
 'How should I know?' ELE/JH

11.2.3. *chhata'*

The particle *chhata'* expresses high certainty and can be translated as 'sure' or 'truly'. It is often applied to future actions:

- (11:19) *Chhata' yäe rai's-e- jaem'-ñae'-tye-'*
 MO 1SG want-VI-3F.O good-VD-APD-3F.O
 'I truly want to make it.' STE/EM

This form can also mark actions in the past, expressing a high certainty that these actions have already been carried out:

- (11:20) *Chhata' jae'mä kae-ti-yäe arosh.*
 MO DM sow-VT.M.S-1SG rice.E
 'I truly sowed rice.' STE/JH

More uncertainty is expressed when the marker *-tyi'* 'possibility' (11.2.7.) is combined with *chhata'*, as in the following example, where *chhata'tyi'* means 'possibly' instead of 'truly':

- (11:21) *Chhata'-tyi'-ra'-tsa' ji'-ji'-e- jam-nä-ki*
 MO-MO-IR-FR CA-save-VI-3F.O NG-FO-CO
äej-ä-'
 kill-VI-3F.O
 'Surely they had saved her, and they did not kill her.' STE/EC

11.2.4. *ika' (M) / öka' (F)*

The particles *ika'* (M) and *öka'* (F) consist of the bound pronominal markers *i* (M) and *ö* (F) and the unproductive marker of rhetorical questions *-ka'* (12.3.1.6.). Gender agreement is with the topic of the

clause. These markers declare that the speaker is quite sure about what he says:

- (11:22) *Aj i-ka' jümë watyeke-ra' jabi'-ya'*
 yet M-MO close maybe-IR afternoon-AD
chon'-yi.
 come-VY.M.S
 'He is already close, maybe he will come this afternoon.'
 WTE/JH

In this example, the speaker indicates a high certainty, without revealing his source of this information.

Often, these particles are used with expressions about names. In the following example, the particle *öka'* is used in a rhetorical question, declaring that the speaker is not sure about what the names may have been.²⁴⁰

- (11:23) *Tyi-ra' ö-ka' mö' ti'-i-'*
 person-IR F-MO 3F.SG name-VI-F.S
 'What was her name?' ELE/JH

In the following example, the particle *ika'* is used in a declarative clause, to express that the speaker is fairly, but not completely sure about the name of this person:

- (11:24) *Ats-i-dyera'-khä khäei' dueño de la casa*
 come.M.S-VI-MO-well RF owner.of.the.house.E
Garcia i-ka' mi' ti'-i.
Garcia M-MO 3M.SG name-VI.M.S
 'The owner of the house came, Garcia, I think, was his name.'
 COE/SM

11.2.5. *khötei* (M)/*khö'i* (F)

The particles *khötei* (M) and *khö'i* (F) are used to mark the speaker's deductions about an event. Such deductions are usually based on common knowledge and/or discourse context. These markers have

scope over the entire clause. The differences in gender in these forms involve a *-te-* in the masculine form and a glottal stop in the feminine form. Similar gender contrasts are found in 3rd person singular object forms of transitive verbs. Synchronically not verbal, it is possible that these two forms derive from verbs.

In the following example, the speaker deduces that something has happened based on his common knowledge and the context of the story. *Khötei* agrees in masculine gender with the topic *itsiki* ‘jaguar’:

- (11:25) *Me'-tyi-tyi' khötei jib-i-ti-in itsiki.*
 so-L.M-RD MO.M eat-VI-AT.M.S-Pjaguar(M)
 ‘So, the jaguar must have eaten (him).’ STE/JH

In the following example, the speaker deducts from common knowledge that a certain plant must have been sowed in the yard:

- (11:26) *Mö'-nä-ki khö'i phej-ya' kae-ti-dye'.*
 3F.SG-FO-CO MO.F yard-AD sow-VT-NO
 ‘And this (plant) must have been sowed in the yard.’ STE/EC

11.2.6. *-dyera'*

The clitic *-dyera'* is used to express the speaker’s deductions, either based on common knowledge or on the discourse context.²⁴¹ It differs from the other deductive markers *khötei* / *khö'i* (11.2.5.) in scope: *-dyera'* can have scope over one constituent, as well as over the entire clause, whereas *khötei* / *khö'i* has clausal scope.

The scope of *dyera'* in the example below is over *dyakis* ‘hunger’ and ambiguously over *jajris* ‘thirst’ as well. These two nouns are coordinated, but *-dyera'* appears only in relation to *dyakis* ‘hunger’, and may thus have scope over the entire coordination structure or part of it:

- (11:27) *Dyiph mö' tyäem' saeñ-i-' mö' kädäej*
 then 3F.SG dead die-VI-F.S 3F.SG baby
jajr-i-s-tom dya-ki-s-tom-dyera'.
 thirst-VI-NO-COM hunger-VK-NO-COM-MO

‘Then she is dead, the baby died, it must have been of thirst and of hunger.’ STE/EC

When the clitic *-dyera*’ is added to certain sentential particles or verbs, the scope of this marker is over the entire clause. In the following clause, this clitic is attached to the verb *wënjöban-* ‘go back again’:

- (11:28) *Wën-jö-ban-dyera*’ *tse*’-*ya*’
 move-DJ-again.M.S-MO mother-AD
tí-wën-ka-ban.
 APT-move-DK-again.M.S
 ‘He might have gone back to the mother, bringing back (the child).’ STE/EC

11.2.7. *-tyi*’

The clitic *-tyi*’ expresses both moderate certainty and emphasis of imperatives.²⁴² The latter has been discussed in the section on imperatives (8.1.5.). The marker *-tyi*’ declares that the speaker is not completely sure, as his information is not based on personal experience. Usually, this marker is used in answers or in comments to what has been said. Therefore, the following examples need to be related to their context:

- (11:29)q *Öi-nä-ki* *näkä*’ *jäe*’*mä* *käwä-ki-*’
 DE.F-FO-CO agouti DM sweet-VK-F.S
jaes-i-’.
 chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
 ‘And this agouti made sweet chicha.’ COE/JH
- (11:30)a *Käwä-ki-’-tyi’-ra’-khä* *aj* *näkä-si’-rä*’.
 sweet-VK-F.S-MO-IR-well yet agouti-L.F-IR
 ‘(The chicha) of the agouti is possibly sweet.’ COE/VJ

This marker is attached to the element which the speaker expresses his uncertainty about. In the above example, this is *käwäki’-tyi*’ ‘it is surely sweet’. The marker *-tyi*’ can also appear on particles, such as *ja*’ ‘well’, having scope over the entire clause:

- (11:31)q *Jäe'mä-dyerä'-khä jäe'mä o'yi-tom-si'*.
 DM-MO-well DM yucca-COM-L.F
 'Well, it must be her with the yucca (i.e. the owner of the yucca).' COE/JH
- (11:32)a *Ja'-tyi'-khä o'yi-tom.*
 well-MO-well yucca-COM
 'Well, it possibly is the one with the yucca.' COE/VJ

In the following example, the speaker is asked to count on from ten, and he answers that this certainly is possible, but he is not able to do it himself. In this case, the possibility is actually a certainty, as most speakers of Mosetén know the numerals above ten. Still, the speaker uses the marker *-tyi'*:

- (11:33)q *Mö'-yä'-nä jam-dyaj ji-yi-'*?
 3F-AD-FO NG-QY pass-VY-F.S
 'And (from) there it does not go on?' COE/JH
- (11:34)a *Ji-yi'-tyi'-tsa' jam-ki-khä yäe aj*
 pass-VY-F.S-MO-FR NG-CO-well 1SG yet
poder-yi.
 can.E-VY.M.S
 'Well, it certainly goes on, but I can't.' COE/VC

11.2.8. -yai

The clitic *-yai* expresses 'of course' or 'sure'. This marker is used in comments and answers, similar to *-tyi'* (11.2.7.). It differs from *-tyi'* in expressing complete certainty based on personal experience, whereas *-tyi'* only expresses a possibility. The following example shows the use of *-yai* in a question and an answer:

- (11:35) *Daer-dyaj mi' son?*
 big-QY 3M.SG trunk
 'Is the tree big?' ELE/JH

- (11:36) *Daer-yai khä.*
 big-MO well
 ‘Surely it is big.’ ELE/JH

In (11:34), the queried element *daer* ‘big’ is marked by the question marker *-dyaj* (12.3.1.4.). The same element is marked by *-yai* in the answer (11:35) to express ‘yes’ or ‘sure’.

In the following example, the woman exclaims ‘surely I’m your mother’, relating to the context in which her daughter, having lived with a jaguar for a long time, cannot remember her:

- (11:37) *Yäe-yäi tse'-mi!*
 1SG-MO mother-2SG
 ‘Surely I am your mother!’ STE/EC

11.2.9. *jäedyäk*

The particle *jäedyäk* expresses moderate to low certainty. It can often be translated as ‘maybe’ or ‘seem to’:

- (11:38) *Jüedyäk äwä'-tom-yäe nöjnöj chhome'*
 seem.to child-COM-1SG tomorrow also
taen'-ye-sh-adye-ye mö'-yä'-rä'mayedye'
 see-VY-DS-again-1SG/2SG 3F-AD-IR day
ji'-ya'
 pass-F.S-AD
 ‘Maybe my son and I will also come tomorrow to see you, if there is time.’ COE/MW

In a verbalized form, it can be used to express ‘it seems like’, when hearing something from a distance:

- (11:39) *Yok-tyi' mi'-ki-ki aj jüedyäk-yë-j-chhï*
 other-L.M 3M.SG-CO-RD yet seem.to-VY-DIR-DC.M.S
boñ-i mi' wën-chhï.
 play-VI.M.S 3M.SG move-DC.M.S

‘And another one seemed to come; he came playing (an instrument).’ STE/VC

11.2.10. *watyeke*

The particle *watyeke* ‘maybe’ is used to express moderate or low certainty.²⁴³ In the following example, the speaker utters an idea of what could be happening in another place, without having evidence for it:

(11:40) *Watyeke jao-tya-k-wa'jo-i.*
 maybe smoke-VD-AN-PR-PRI-M.S
 ‘Maybe he is smoking (fish).’ STE/JH

The speaker has no direct evidence of the smoking, and is not smelling or hearing anything that he could deduct this from.

Usually, *watyeke* ‘maybe’ is used when speaking about what other people may do in the future:

(11:41) *Watyeke-ra' mi'-we jüj-ka-i-in khäei'-si'-tom jäe'mä*
 maybe-IR 3M-DR go-DK-M.S-P RF-L.F-COM DM
öi makina-in, jaem'-ñi'-ban-'-ra'-in.
 DE.F machine.E-P good-put-VD.again-F.O-IR-P
 ‘Maybe they will go there with their own machines to make it
 (the road) good again.’ STE/CT

11.2.11. *-dya'tyi'*

The clitic *-dya'tyi'* consists of the bound morpheme *-dya'-* and the modality marker *-tyi'* (11.2.7.). It expresses ‘maybe’, based on unclear evidence. This is demonstrated in the following example, where evidence supporting the fact that the sheep had been ill can be deduced from its dead body, even though the speaker is not sure about the exact type of illness:

(11:42) *Jam chhii-yë-'-yäe, aj ish saeñ-i-'*
 NG know-VY-3F.O-1SG yet then die-VI.F.S

tsak-e-n'-yë-' *polmon-yi'-dya'-tyi'-ra'*
 obduce-VI-PR-VY-3F.O pneumonia.E-VY-F.S-MO-MO-IR
 'I do not know (what it was), and when it had died, they
 opened it and it seemed to have had pneumonia.' COE/SM

Furthermore, this marker is used in combination with the interrogative pronoun *jäen'* 'how' to express rhetorical questions such as 'how might it be':

(11:43) *Jäen'-dya'-tyi'* *mo-we-si'* *shirijo* *jäen'-ki'-dya'-tyi'*
 how-MO-MO F-DR-L.F arm.of.river how-size-MO-MO
aj?
 yet
 'How might the arm of the river over there be, how much
 (water) might it contain?' ELE/JH

11.3. Emphasis markers

There are different types of emphasis markers in Mosestén. The three very similar markers *anik*, *tyäkä'* and *räei* can be used by the speaker for emphatic reasons. These markers are often translated 'truly' or 'sure' by the informants, even though they do not contain information about the truth or certainty as such, but instead are being used as purely emphatic markers. The markers *me'* and *khä* are context-related emphatic markers that express meanings such as 'in this way' or 'so'. Furthermore, there are a number of other ways of expressing emphasis in Mosestén, to be discussed in section 11.3.6. In the following table, I have summarized the most common emphasis markers in Mosestén:

Table 46: The most common emphasis markers

	Use
<i>anik</i>	speaker emphasizes what he says is true
<i>tyäkä'</i>	speaker emphasizes what he says is true
<i>räei</i>	speaker emphasizes what he says is true
<i>me'</i>	context related, expresses 'so'
<i>khä</i>	context related emphasis 'well'

11.3.1. *anik*

The marker *anik* expresses emphasis by the speaker, often translated as ‘what I tell you is true’. This marker has, however, nothing to do with truth or certainty as such, but is exclusively used for emphatic purposes.²⁴⁴ In the following example, the speaker emphasizes the fact that there were things to eat and animals around in the old days, but is not indicating any degree of certainty as to whether his statement is true:

(11:44) *Anik raej mö'-yä' saeks-e-dye-s, jeb-a-k-dye'-in.*
 EM all 3F-AD eat-VI-B-F.S.seat-VI-MI-NO-P
 ‘Certainly all was here to eat, animals.’ STE/DC

In the same way in the following example, the clause ‘he came back’ is emphasized by *anik*:

(11:45) *Dyiph wën-chhi-sh-än anik.*
 then move-DC-DS-again.M.S EM
 ‘Then he really came back.’ STE/EC

The particle *anik* is often used in relation to modality markers, such as *khö'ï* (11.2.5.), in which case the degree of certainty of the event is being indicated by the modality marker:

(11:46) *Anik-ra'-ki khö'ï “ne'ne' ” ye-ki-'-katyi'-khä ñej.*
 EM-IR-CO MO.F say.ne'ne' say-DK-F.S-EH-well deer(F)
 ‘And it really must be that it said “ne'ne'”, said the deer.’
 STE/VJ

Finally, *anik* can express the meaning ‘real’ if it appears as a modifier in the noun phrase, and is marked by the reduplicated linker (4.8.12.).

11.3.2. *tyäkä'*

The particle *tyäkä'* is used in a similar way as *anik* (11.3.1.) to express emphasis in a story or in discourse, without giving an indication of the truth of the statement:

- (11:47) *Raej tyäkä'-tyi'-nä-ki saeñ-i khäei'-dyetyi' mö'*
 all EM-MO-FO-CO die-VI.M.S RF-B-only 3F.SG
jiri-si' mö'-yä' mö'.
 one-L.F 3F-AD 3F.SG
 'They all had really died, she was all alone there.' STE/EC
- (11:48) *I-chhe' katyi' je-k-han-in mö' tyäkä'.*
 M-SU EH take-DK-again.M.S-P 3F.SG EM
 'Up there, it is said, they really went to bring it.' COE/SM

11.3.3. räei

The particle *räei*, similar to *anik* (11.3.1.) and *tyäkä'* (11.3.2.), marks the speaker's emphasis on what is said, and often translates to 'sure'. Still, this marker does not express the speaker's judgment of the event:

- (11:49) *Räei-nä-khä mö'-mömö' räei tye-i'-in*
 EM-FO-well 3F.SG-only.F EM drink-VI-F.S-P
 'And they really just drink it.' COE/EC
- (11:50) *I-ya'-nä-khä näi-yi' räei Michai'-chhe'*
 M-AD-FO-well see-VY.M.S EM Michai'-SU
Illimani-dyera' räei Illimani.
 Illimani-MO EM Illimani
 'And from here it really is seen, on the Michai' mountain, it must be Illimani, it really is Illimani.' COE/SM

This marker can also appear in combination with other discourse markers, such as the emphasis marker *anik* (11.3.1.), expressing strong emphasis:

- (11:51) *Aj-win ti-bae'-e' anik räei aj mi'-we.*
 yet-C APT-live-VI-3F.O EM EM yet 3M-DR
 'Then he really, really lived with her there.' STE/EC

11.3.4. *me'*

The marker *me'* is frequently used in discourse and has an emphatic, context-related meaning. I gloss it 'so', though the uses of the marker go beyond this gloss. It can be used as a minimal response, and is often the host for clitics such as *—dyera'* 'must be' (11.2.6.):

- (11:52) *Me'-dyera'-khä.*
 so-MO-well
 'So it must be.' COE/SM

Very frequently, this marker is used in the construction *me'ki'yeki'* 'here the story ends':

- (11:53) *Me'-näsh me'-ki'-ye-ki-'* *näsh öi phe-ya-k-dye'.*
 so-GF so-size-VY-DK-F.S GF DE.F talk-VY-MI-NO
 'So, this story is until here (i.e. it ends here).' STE/JH

Me' can also appear in combination with the bound morpheme *—we*. In the same way as *me'*, the combination *me'we-* expresses a context-related, emphatic meaning. Some people prefer the form *me'we-*, others simply use *me'-*. Notice the difference, though, between *me'weki* and *me'ki* in section 13.5.1.

11.3.5. *khä*

The emphatic particle *khä* concerns what has been said in the context. In the following example, the speaker uses *khä* to emphasize that a place is not far away, relating to what he previously said about the journey:

- (11:54) *Una hora-dyera' mö'-ya' campamento-ya' wën-jö-jä'*
 one.Ehour.E-MO 3F-AD camp.E-AD move-DJ-1Pl.S
jam-nä-ki möch-chhe' khä.
 NG-FO-CO far-SU well
 'It must take about one hour to come to the camp, it is thus not far up there.' COE/SM

The particles *khä* can furthermore be used as a discourse marker in answers:

- (11:55) ***Khä-dyera'***
 well-MO
 'Well, it must be (this).' COE/CV

It is frequently used in combination with *nä* 'focus marker' (12.6.2.):

- (11:56) ***Jam-nä-khä*** *yäe chhü.*
 no-FO-well 1SG know.VI.M.S
 'Well, I don't know.' COE/EO

Older people prefer to use this marker with the evidential *katyi'* (11.1.1.) in the combination *katyi' khä*.

11.3.6. *Other types of emphasis marking*

Other emphasis markers include onomatopoeic expressions, as well as other small words that express different types of emphasis and minimal response. In discussions, the marker *ya* is often used for this purpose:

- (11:57) ***Ya*** *ji-wa mömö'!*
 EX pass.VI-IMI.2SG just.F
 'Well, just go on!' COE/JH

In the same way, the marker *ja*, sometimes pronounced *jäe*, can appear at the beginning of a clause:

- (11:58) ***Ja me'-we-dyaj*** *öi bi-jo'-in phi-ke-dye'-in.*
 well so-DR-QY DE.F win-VJ-F.S-P run-VK-NO-P
 'Well, this way they won the race.' WTE/JH

The marker *ja* can furthermore appear as an emphatic particle in other places of the clause.²⁴⁵

- (11:59) *Mö' ewo-si' phen-mi' mö' ñej ja.*
 3F.SG ant-L.F woman-3M.SG 3F.SG deer well
 'Well, the deer was the wife of the ant.' STE/VJ

The marker *uj* is used in discussions to express minimal response, often expressing admiration:

- (11:60) *Ij?*
 'really?' COE/JH

Furthermore, some people frequently use the sound *äej* before speaking. Old people use this sound before greetings, such as *äej näijjo* 'good morning', while young people prefer to say *näijjo* 'good morning' directly, without the *äej*.

The lengthening of the final consonant of a particle is often used for emphatic purposes:

- (11:61) *Jike mi' chon'-ye-chhi ajj mimi'*
 PS 3M.SG get.out-VY-DC.M.Syet only.M
yäe käw-ë-k-te.
 1SG see-VI-DK-3M.O
 'Then it (the tapir) came out of the water, I already saw it.'
 STE/VC

This type of emphasis is also found in the following example, where the emphatic sound *wajj* and *jess* 'much' appear with a long aspiration and a long fricative at the end, respectively:

- (11:62) *Wajj jess wäki-kë-' aj chhaesh aj-ra'*
 EX MUCH throw-VK-3.F.O yet blood yet-IR
khin' aj saeñ-i.
 now yet die-VI.M.S
 'Ohhh, a LOT of blood spurted out (of the animal), now it will die.' STE/VC

Furthermore, the lengthening of a vowel can also express emphasis:

- (11:63) *Pokor-yi meej-ya' ats-i.*
 ON-VY.M.S DOWN-AD come.M.S-VI
 'It said "grrr" and it went further Down.' STE/VC

11.4. Referential discourse markers

Under the heading of referential discourse markers, I will discuss a number of particles which refer to elements in the context of the discourse. These markers are *mimi'* (M) / *mömö'* (F) 'only, just', *kiwi* 'again', *chhome'* 'also', *chhi-* 'also, same', *jěñě* 'like' and *chhi'ats* and *jitäej* 'instead'.

11.4.1. *mimi'*, *mömö'* 'only', 'just'

The reduplicated forms of the 3rd person personal pronouns *mimi'* (M) and *mömö'* (F) carry the meanings 'only' and 'just'. They can appear within a noun phrase, meaning 'only', as well as on clause level, meaning 'just'.

In the following example, the noun phrases 'only my son' and 'only them' appear with this particle, agreeing in gender with the masculine head noun:

- (11:64) *Jäe'mä mimi' äwä'-yäe jö'dyë'yä' tyiñe'-yäe*
 DM only.M son-1SG and son.in.law-1SG
mi'-in mimi' karij-tya-ki mi'-we-in.
 3M-P only.M hard-VD-IN.M.S 3M-DR-P
 'Well, only my son and my son-in-law, only they are working
 in there.' STE/JH

Often, this particle is used together with the referential pronoun *khäei'*, resulting in the meaning 'alone':

- (11:65) *Iits i-ya' jij-ti khäei' mimi'.*
 DE.M M-AD go-DT.M.SRF only.M
 'This one here came alone.' ELE/JH

When *mimi'* (M) or *mömö'* (F) appear with clause reference, the meaning is 'just' and the gender agreement is with the topic of the clause:

- (11:66) *Yok-min-tyi'-in me' mimi' ji-yi-in jam jäe'mä*
 other-AS-L.M-P so only.M pass-VY.M.S-P NG DM
käw-ä-ki-j-kho-i'-in.
 look-VI-AN-DIR-DJ-F.S-P
 'Others just passed, they did not walk looking around.' STE/JH

11.4.2. *kiwi* 'again'

The particle *kiwi* means 'again':

- (11:67) *Dyai-dye'-tom kiwi-ra' tsin bae'-ja'*
 many-NO-COM again-IR 1P live-VI.1PI.S
 'With strangers, we (group: default feminine) will live again.'
 COE/SM
- (11:68) *Aj-katyi'kiwi wën-chhi Sheshejwintyi'.*
 yet-EH again move-DC.M.SCreator
 'Again the creator comes.' WTE/JH

11.4.3. *chhome'* 'also'

The particle *chhome'* means 'also':

- (11:69) *Pero Karanawi pocho' chhome' jike*
 but.E Caranavi palm.place also PS
pocho-bi' mömö'.
 palm.place-still only.F
 'But Caranavi was also a palm-area, still just a palm-area.'
 COE/SM

- (11:70) *Yäe rai's-e-'* **chhome'** *jäe'mä ködy-e-ye*
 1SG want-VI-3F.O also DM ask-VI-1SG/1SG
yok-si' phe-ya-k-dye'
 other-L.F talk-VY-MI-NO
 'I also want to ask you about another story.' COE/JH

11.4.4. *chhi-* 'also'

The prefix *chhi-* means 'also' or 'same', when added to other parts of speech than nouns and adjectives.²⁴⁶ When added to place adverbs, this marker can express 'in the same place' (see also 6.4.1.1.):

- (11:71) **Chhi-mi'-we** *jij-ka-ban* *yo-we* *jij-ti-yäe.*
 also-3M-DR go-DK-again.M.S R-DR go-DT.M.S-1SG
 'I will go back again, where I come from.' TRADITIONAL SONG

Chhi- can be added to personal pronouns, carrying the meaning 'she also':

- (11:72) **Chhi-mö'** *aj üsiki.*
 also-3F.SG yet jaguar
 'She was also a jaguar.' STE/EC

This marker often appears in the combination *chhi-tyäkä'*, together with the emphasis marker *tyäkä'* (11.3.2.):

- (11:73) **Chhi-tyäkä'** *Moreno-khan-tyi'-in* *kawesa-si'-khan aka'*
 also-EM Moreno-IN-L.M-P leader.E-L.F-IN house
jij-ka-i-in.
 go-DK-M.S-P
 'Surely also the Morenos go to the house of the leader.'
 WTE/CT

11.4.5. *jěñě* ‘like’

The marker *jěñě* ‘like’ is used to compare different elements, and precedes the element it compares something to:

(11:74) *Karo jăe'mă pasaje jam jěñě kamion-chhe*.
expensive.E DM ticket.E NG like truck.E-SU

‘The ticket is expensive, not like a truck-ride.’ STE/CT

(11:75) *Dyiph katyi'-ra'-khă mö'-in me'-ki' katyi'-khă*
then EH-IR-well 3F-P so-size EH-well

phañ-i- jěñě tyără.

grow.up-VI-F.S like maize

‘Then they grow to this (big) size, like maize.’ STE/VJ

11.4.6. *chhiáts* and *jitäej* ‘instead’

The particles *chhiáts* and *jitäej* both express ‘instead’:

(11:76) *Ăej mi'-khan-bi'-nă-khă-yăe chhiáts-yăe jăe'mă*

EX 3M-IN-still-FO-well-1SG instead-1SG DM

jitäej-nă-ki yăe wěn-chhi-sh-ăn mi'-khan.

instead-FO-CO 1SG move-DC-DS-again.M.S 3M-IN

‘Well, I was still there, or instead,... instead I came back there.’ COE/SM

11.5. Temporal reference particles

Mosetén has a number of particles which express temporal reference. These markers resemble tense and aspect markers, without being directly related to the verb. The different markers are summarized in table 47.

11.5.1. The “past” marker *jike*

Temporal reference in the past does not have to be marked in a special way. Thus, *yăe saeksi* could mean ‘I (M) ate’ or ‘I eat’, depending on

the situation. It may even express the future ‘I will eat’, though this form is more likely to be marked by the irrealis clitic *-ra*’ (11.2.1.). Still, past temporal reference can optionally be expressed by a number of separate words, of which the particle *jike* is the most frequent one. This

Table 47: Temporal reference particles

	Function, meaning
<i>jike</i>	optional past tense marking
<i>yata</i> ’	optional past tense marking
<i>-win</i>	‘before’, completive
<i>aj</i>	‘already’, ‘yet’
<i>jöf</i>	‘already’ (usually for a long time already)
<i>-bi</i> ’	‘yet’, ‘still’
<i>ish</i>	then – with relation to the context
<i>-chhom</i>	at first

particle can appear everywhere but in ultimate position in the clause, cf. example (11:77):

- (11:77) *Pero Karanawi pochho’ chhome’jike*
 but.E Caranavi palm.place also PS
pochho-bi’ mömö’.
 palm.place-still only.F
 ‘But Caranavi was also a palm-area, still just a palm area.’
 COE/SM

In the following example, the temporal adverb *poroma* ‘before’ is combined with the completive marker *-win* ‘ago’ (11.5.3.) and *jike*, all indicating that this action happened and was finished in the past:

- (11:78) *Me’-katyi’ jike poroma jäkh-chhe’ bae’-i-ya’-win*
 so-EH PS before earth-SU live-VI.M.S-AD-C
Sheshewintyi’.
 Creator
 ‘It is said that in the old times the Creator lived on Earth.’
 WTE/JH

11.5.2. The “past” marker *yata*'

The marker *yata*' expresses past temporal reference and focalization at the same time. It can appear in the second position in the clause, emphasizing the element in the front position. In the following example, the element *mi'ki* 'he that' is focused:

- (11:79) *Mi'-ki yata' öjñi'-wë dyi-wa'-jo-i.*
 3M.SG-COPT river-DR swim.VI-PR-PRI-M.S
 '(And) it was him swimming in the river.' COE/JH

This particle can also appear in the fixed expression *ajki yata*', meaning 'something is already gone' or 'someone is already dead'.

11.5.3. –win 'completive'

The clitic –win is used in combination with names of dead persons or animals, such as *wiyä'-win* 'late grandfather' (4.1.10.). In relation to verbs and particles, it expresses that the action or event has long been over. Hence, this marker adds a completive meaning to the clause.

In the following example, the person coming back has been away for a long time:

- (11:80) *I-we-tyi' katyi'-khä wën-chhi-wïn jike khäei'*
 M-DR-L.M EH-well move-DC.M.S-C PS RF
mimi' chhae-ti-dye'-we-tyi'.
 only.M know-VT-NO-DR-L.M
 'From here, it is said that he came alone, from the relatives (i.e. Chimanes).' STE/VC

In the following example, the verb is marked by the progressive aspect (8.5.1.), followed by the clitic –win. This expresses an ongoing action that took place a very long time ago in the past and is now over:

- (11:81) *Me'-bae'-i-'nä-rä' khö'i mö' jike*
 so-sit-VI-F.S-FO-IR MO.F 3F.SG PS

wi-k-wa'-jo'-win *aj-win* *me'-si-si'* *aj*
 spin-VK-PR-PRI-F.S-C yet-C so-L.F-RD yet
chhi-ti-'-in *jib-i-ti-'-in*.
 grab-AT-F.S-P eat-VI-AT-F.S-P
 'So she must have been sitting and spinning; so it grabbed her
 and ate her.' STE/VJ

This meaning can also be conveyed to the clause by cliticizing *-win* to a particle such as *aj* 'yet' or *jike* 'past tense', thus having scope over the entire clause:

(11:82) *Chhi-tyäkä'* *deoda* *mision* *jike-win* *aj* *pagao*.
 also-EM debt.E mission.E PS-C yet paid.E
 'The mission also had debt, and he had paid.' COE/SM

The order of actions in the past can be expressed with *-win* marking an action that takes place before another action. In the following example, the action under the scope of *-win*, i.e. 'giving the cord' is prior to the action of the verb 'bind':

(11:83) *Tidyë'-dyërä'-khä* *tye-te-in* *aj-win-in*, *me'-we-ki*
 cord-MO-well give-3M.O-P yet-C-P so-DR-CO
khötei-rä' *aj* *me'-ra'* *saph-ye-'-dyërä'* *khä*.
 MO.M-IR yet so-IR bind-VY-3F.O-MO well
 'They had given him the cord, therefore he - like that - had
 bound it.' STE/VJ

11.5.4. *aj* 'already, yet'

The particle *aj* means 'already' or 'yet' and usually introduces a new sequence, linking it with the context:

(11:84) *Aj-dyera'* *jaebae-in* *yomodye'*.
 yet-MO six-P year
 'He must already have been six years (old).' COE/JH

In the context, *aj* often expresses the temporal succession of actions. Consequently, the action *jö'chhä* 'she falls', directly preceded by *aj*, is marked following the action *jijka* 'she goes':

- (11:85) *Mö'-yä'-rä' mö' jij-ka- aj jö'chh-ä-'.
 3F-AD-IR 3F.SG go-DK-F.S yet fall-VI-F.S
 'There she goes, and then she falls.' STE/VJ*

The combination of the negation marker *jam* with the marker *aj* (11.5.4.) and *-win*, *jam ajwin*, expresses 'not any more'.

11.5.5. *jöf* 'already for some time'

The particle *jöf* expresses 'already for some time'. It is very often combined with *aj* 'already', 'yet' (11.5.4.). In the following example, the marker *jöf* expresses that this person has been sitting on the stone already for some time:

- (11:86) *Yok-si-ki-ra' jöf aj jaeme mij-chhe'
 other-L.F-CO-IR already yet ready stone-SU
 phits-ki- öjñi'-wë.
 sit-VK-F.S river-DR
 'And another one is already sitting on the stone by the river for
 some time.' WTE/JH*

In the following example, *jöf* does not appear in combination with *aj*:

- (11:87) *Mö' jöf raej roro-i- wej-khan jäej-khan.
 3F.SG already all vermin-VI-F.Sear-IN nose-IN
 'She had already for some time vermin(s) in the ears and nose.'
 STE/EC*

11.5.6. *-bi* 'still, yet'

The temporal clitic *-bi* 'still' or 'yet' implies that the action / state is not finished or completed. In the following example, the village Santa

Ana was still in another place, which is implied by the use of the clitic *-bi'*:

- (11:88) *Jeb-a-kse-wa'-jo-' mö'-yä'-bi' jike poroma jike*
 eat-VI-3P.O-PR-PRI-F.S 3F-AD-still PS before PS
bae'-e-dye' Santa Ana, jike iji-we mö'-yä'
 live-VI-NO Santa Ana PS Ucumari-DR 3F-AD
katyi' jike bae'-e-dye'-win.
 EH PS live-VI-NO-C
 'She was eating them there, where the village of Santa Ana was
 before, at the "Ucumari's (monster) place", there they lived
 before.' STE/VJ

In the following example the *-bi'* occurs on the noun *wawa* 'baby', resulting in the meaning 'she was still a baby':

- (11:89) *Iits-khin' äwä'-yäe finado jö'dyë'yä'-dyërä' mö'*
 DE.M-now son-1SG dead.E and-MO 3F.SG
Sabina chhome'wawa-bi'-in.
 Sabina also baby.E-still-P
 'And my dead son and Sabina, they were just babies then.'
 STE/VC

The clitic can also occur on verbs, like on the copula negation *itsi-*:

- (11:90) *62-khan näsh yäe-si' saeñ-i-' nönö'*
 62-IN GF 1SG-I.F die-VI-F.S mother
its-i-bi'-yäe.
 NX-VI.M.S-still-1SG
 'In 1962 my mother died, I wasn't born yet (sic!).' COE/EC

In the same way, this clitic frequently occurs together with the general negation *jam*, resulting in the meaning 'not yet':

- (11:91) *Khäki majmi jam-bi' anik jaem'-ñae'-ban-'-in.*
 because road NG-still EM good-put-VD.again-3F.O-P
 'Because they have not yet made the road good again.' STE/CT

11.5.7. *ish* ‘then’, context reference

The particle *ish* expresses a relation to the context, usually that of a succession in time. In the following example, *ish* expresses a succession in time to the preceding context:

- (11:92) *Aj ish-katyi’ aj mi-chhe’-ya’ wätyëkë mö’-chhë’*
 yet then-EH yet 3M-SU-AD suddenly 3F-SU
aj jiri-s phen dyöñ-ï-ñi’.
 yet one-Fwoman stand-VI-RD-F.S
 ‘When he was further down (the road), suddenly a woman
 stood there.’ WTE/JH

The examples where *ish* expresses a succession in time usually involve marking by *aj* ‘already, yet’ as well (11.5.4.). In fast speech, this combination of *aj* and *ish* is realized as *ash*:

- (11:93) *Ash jäe’mä kiwi phij-ye-tye-’ wej.*
 yet.then DM again blow-VY-APD-3F.O ear
 ‘And then he blows (in) her ear again.’ STE/CT

In the following example, *ish* is used to refer to what has been said before in the context:

- (11:94) *Jam yok-si’ ish-mö’ me’ yok-si’ abaya’ ish*
 NG other-L.F then-3F.SG so other-L.F abaya’ then
me’ abaya’ ish.
 so abaya’ then
 ‘No, this is another one, abaya’ it is, abaya’ it is.’ COE/VJ

Often, this particle is used together with the marker *-wi’* ‘necessity’ (11.2.2.) when complaining about a person, usually one’s own partner:

- (11:95) *Jäen’-dye’ ish-wi’ iits me’ waemtyi’ yäe-tyi’?*
 how-NO then-MN DE.M so husband 1SG-L.M
 ‘Why should my husband be like this?’ STE/EC

This particle frequently appears in replies to greetings, for example *näijö' ish* 'good morning' as the reply to *näijö'* 'good morning':

- (11:96) *Mö'-ki phen jì'chhaekaen-tye-te*
 3F.SG-CO woman answer-VD-3M.O
 "näi-jö-' ish" yi-'katyi' mö' phen.
 morning-VJ-F.S then say-F.S-EH 3F.SG woman
 'And the woman answers "good morning", says the woman.'
 WTE/JH

Furthermore, *ish* is used in interjections such as *jei ish!* 'I want to kill and eat it', exclaimed when an animal is in a good position to be hunted.

11.5.8. –chhom 'first'

The clitic –*chhom* has the meaning: 'first', expressing that one action is prior to something else.²⁴⁷

- (11:97) *Bae'-i'-chhom men-si' eñom'-khan.*
 sit-VI-F.S-first moment-L.F shadow-IN
 'First, she was sitting for a while in the shadow.' STE/EC
 (11:98) *Bis-a-ka-chhom Jeanette,*
 wait-VI-AN.IMI.2SG-first Jeanette
dyij-yi-chhom-ra'-yäe.
 think-VY-first-IR-1SG
 'Wait a little, Jeanette, I first have to think.' ELE/JH

This clitic can be added to all kinds of parts of speech. It has scope over the element that is marked, which in the following example is the noun 'man':

- (11:99) *Katyi' jike mintyi'-chhom khin-ki aj itsiki*
 EH PS man-first now-CO yet jaguar
bae'-i.
 live-VI.M.S
 'It is said that he was a man at first, but now he lives as (i.e. is) a jaguar.' ELE/JH

Chapter 12

Clause types

In the present chapter, I will treat various clause types, examine how they are constructed and look at the different constituent orders which appear. I will discuss the following clause types: 1. verbal clauses, 2. predicate clauses, 3. interrogative clauses and 4. answers to questions. Furthermore, I will look at the constituent order of adverbials and discourse markers, which appear optionally in the clause. Finally, I will discuss focus and topicalization structures. Negated clauses and word order in negation were discussed in section 10.

12.1. Verbal clauses

In this section, I will look at affirmative declarative main clauses which are constructed around a verb. Verbal clauses can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. Formally, only two arguments can be marked in the verbal cross-reference ending (8.1.2.). Consequently, ditransitive clauses appear with two arguments in the cross-reference ending only (8.1.4.). There is a basic constituent order in Mosestén, that may vary depending on the arguments in the clauses, as well as the pragmatics involved. In the present section, I will look at pragmatically marked and unmarked intransitive and transitive clauses, and discuss word order and the presentation of arguments. The latter is the way in which participants are formally marked: whether they appear as full noun phrases in the clause, whether they are substituted by pronouns, or whether they exclusively occur in the cross-reference ending of the verb due to pro-drop.

12.1.1. Pro-drop

The arguments of a verb can appear in the verbal cross-reference ending only, but not as full noun phrases or pronominal forms. This

phenomenon is frequently referred to as *pro-drop*. In this way, the basic intransitive clause in Mosetén, containing all obligatory elements, consists only of an intransitive verb (12:1) and the basic transitive clause of a transitive verb (12:2).

- (12:1) *Saeks-i-'*
eat(in)-VI-F.S
'She eats.' ELE/JH
- (12:2) *Tyaj-ka-ksi-'*
meet-VK-3P.O-F.S
'She meets them.' ELE/JH

At the text level, elements have to be introduced into the discourse before they can be dropped by *pro-drop*. Thus, at the beginning of a story, the referents are introduced and in this way made identifiable. For this purpose, they are represented by full noun phrases. Later, when identified, a participant can be referred to by a pronoun or by *pro-drop*, appearing exclusively in the cross-reference ending of the verb. This is demonstrated in the following three clauses from the beginning of a story. In relevant examples in this chapter, I have marked subjects with an underscore, **verbs are bold** and objects are regular:

- (12:3) *Jěñě mi' jiri-ty mintyi' **chhijn-a-ki** katyi'me'-we*
like 3M.SG one-M man hunt-VI-AN.M.S EH so-DR
*katyi' **chhijn-a-ki** tsikin'-we öjñi'.*
EH hunt-VI-AN.M.S shore-DR river
'There was one man who hunted, so he hunted on the bank of
the river.' WTE/AT
- (12:4) *Mi'-we **tyaj-ke-**' näkä' nöph-wě öjñi'.*
3M-DR found-VK-3F.O agouti cross-DR river
'There he found an agouti on the other side of the river.'
WTE/AT
- (12:5) *Jike katyi' **tyoj-ye-**'.*
PS EH shoot-VY-3F.O
'Then he shot it.' WTE/AT

At the beginning of the story, the man is introduced by the full noun phrase *jirity mintyi* 'one man' (12:3). In the second clause (12:4), the

man, already established as the topic and clearly identifiable, is not mentioned in a full noun phrase, but is simply left out. In (12:4), the object participant that is introduced appears in the noun phrase *nākā* ‘agouti’, whereas in (12:5) this participant is identifiable as well, but is only referred to in the transitive verb *tyojye* ‘he shoots it’.²⁴⁸ Judging from the context established so far in the story, it is obvious who shoots and who is shot at, so that ambiguities between the two participants would probably not arise. Furthermore, the verbal cross-reference ending marks the gender of the 3rd person object, which can refer to the agouti only. Hence, arguments often do not appear in full noun phrases, but undergo pro-drop, when they are identifiable in the context and non-ambiguous in their relation to the verb.

Conveying the identity of participants does not always involve topics of the discourse or referential elements in the immediate context, but can also appear in a broader context. This is, for example, the case in a description of the annual party in Covendo. At this party, the bell of the church tower rings at certain occasions, while various events occur in-between the ringing. The first two times the bell rings, the speaker states *kampana* ‘bell’ as the full noun phrase of the verb *dējyī-* ‘ring’. Later in the text, the bells ring another time, and the speaker states the verb *dējyī-* ‘ring’ only, as the noun phrase *kampana* ‘bell’ is being pro-dropped:

- (12:6) *Näi-jö-yä*’ *chhi-tyäkä*’ *kiwi dēj-yī-*’ *kiwi*
morning-VJ-AD also-EM again ring-VY-F.S again
misa-i *tata*.
mass-VI.M.S father
‘In the morning (the bell) rings again and the priest says the
mass again.’ WTE/CT

Pro-dropping elements that appear in a broader context is possible, because the bell is the only identifiable participant that rings in the story.

12.1.2. *Word order in intransitive clauses*

In the present section on intransitive clauses, I will exclusively consider those clauses that appear with a full NP or a pronoun in subject position, i.e. where the subject does not undergo pro-drop.²⁴⁹ I will start with clauses, in which the subject is realized as a full noun phrase, and move on to those clauses, where the subject is a pronoun.

Intransitive clauses consist of intransitive verbs and a subject participant. As a full noun phrase, the subject can appear before or after the verb. Both orders occur in Mosestén, with a tendency for S V to be the pragmatically least marked constituent order:

- (12:7) *Jiris-khan-katyi' mayedye' iits ojtere' dyij-yi*
 one-F-IN-EH day DE.M rooster think-VY.M.S
 "tyi-tom-ra' phi-ki".
 person-COM-IR run-VK.M.S
 'One day the rooster thought 'with whom can I run?' WTE/JH

In some constructions, the constituent order in intransitive clauses can be V S. This order can occur when a new participant is introduced:

- (12:8) *Wätyëkë katyi' chon'-ye-chhi jiri-ty soñi'*
 suddenly EH come.out-VY-DC.M.S one-M man
 daer-si'-tom jeba'badye'.
 big-L.F-COM saber
 'Suddenly a man came out with a big saber.' WTE/JH

When summing up what different people do, the verb often appears before the subject, focusing on the action instead of on the different participants:²⁵⁰

- (12:9) *Khösh-wä'-jö-i itsiki.*
 sleep-VI.PR-PRI-M.S jaguar
 'The jaguar is sleeping.' STE/RI

Moving on to intransitive clauses with a pronominal subject, these also have the basic constituent order S V, in the same way as intransitive clauses with subjects realized as full noun phrases:

- (12:10) *Jike-katyi'* *mö'* *wa-ti-'*.
 PS-EH 3F.SG cry-VT-F.S
 'And then she cried.' STE/EC

Sometimes, a pronoun appears within the clause in subject position, while the full noun phrase is dislocated to the right of the clause:

- (12:11) *Wätyëkä* *mi'* *aj* *jae-ki-'-we*
 suddenly 3M.SG yet behind-VK-F.S-DR
dyöñ-i-ñi *aj* *jiri-ty soñi' jaem'-tyi'*.
 stand-VI-RD.M.S yet one-M man good-L.M
 'Suddenly a good man stood behind her.' STE/EC

Personal pronouns can also appear cliticized to the verb. In the same way as with transitive verbs, intransitive verbs appear with person clitics mainly in the 1st and 2nd person. In the following example, the pronominal subject clitic *-yäe* appears attached to the verb *karijtyaki* 'work':

- (12:12) *Me'-ki mö'* *yomodye' jike yakchh-i-ti*
 so-CO 3F.SG year PS begin-VI-RE.M.S
karij-tya-ki-yäe.
 hard-VD-AN-1SG
 'So, that year I started to work.' STE/JH

In the 3rd person, cliticized pronouns are very rare and exclusively appear with the quotative verb *yi-* 'say', usually in addition to a dislocated full noun phrase, such as *minsi'* 'woman' in the following example:

- (12:13) *Jike-katyi'-ra'* *yi-'-mö'* *minsi'...*
 PS-EH-IR say-F.S-3F.SG woman
 'Then the woman said...' STE/VJ

12.1.3. *Word order in transitive clauses*

In the present section, on word order in transitive clauses, I will mainly discuss clauses that are not affected by pro-drop (12.1.1).

Transitive clauses have two arguments, a subject (A) and an object (O). The basic constituent order in Mosetén is A V O.²⁵¹ This word order can easily be varied, with different pragmatic effects.

The following example shows the basic constituent order A V O:

- (12:14) *Aj katyi' chhith majmi wätyëkë iits soñi'*
 yet EH half road suddenly DE.M man
näij-te paerae' tara'tara'.
 see-VD.3M.O two big.rat
 'Then halfway (down) the road, suddenly this man sees two big rats.' WTE/JH

The basic constituent order in transitive clauses changes when an argument is represented as a personal pronoun. Primarily subject participants are represented as personal pronouns, whereas personal pronouns in object position are extremely rare. Therefore, I will consider only two types of clauses with personal pronouns here: 1. a personal pronoun in subject position and a full NP object and 2. a personal pronoun in subject position and a pro-dropped object.

When several participants are identified in the context, subject participants are often realized as personal pronouns and can also occur in subject position. In this case, the pronoun disambiguates which identified participant the speaker is talking about.²⁵² In clauses with a personal pronoun in subject position and a full NP in object position, word order is (as a tendency) generally V A O, instead of A V O:

- (12:15) *Me'-katyi' ji-yi wi-ï' mi' phen.*
 so-EH pass-VY.M.S beat-VI-3F.O 3M.SG woman
 'So he went on beating his wife.' STE/EC

This word order is also predominant with 1st and 2nd personal pronouns, which cannot appear as a full NP:

- (12:16) *Rai's-e-' jäe'mä yäe öi phe-ya-k-dye'*
 want-VI-3F.O DM 1SG DE.F talk-VY-MI-NO
dyaba-si'
 peanut-L.F
 'I would like (to hear) the story about the peanut.' COE/JH

Still, other constituent orders are found with pronominal subjects. When the object of the clause is pro-dropped, the predominant order is A V:

- (12:17) *Me'-ki-ki jäe'mä mi' mis-e-'*
 so-CO-RD DM 3M.SG talk-VI-3F.O
 'So (change in referent) he talked to her.' STE/EC

Apart from appearing independently in the clause, personal pronouns can also be cliticized to the verb (see also section 5.1.). Primarily 1st and 2nd person pronouns in subject position appear as clitics:

- (12:18) *Khin'-ra' käw-ë-'-mi!*
 now-IR see-VI-3F.O-2SG
 'Now you will see!' WTE/JH

3rd person pronouns usually only appear as clitics in constructions with the quotative verb *yi-* 'say':

- (12:19) ... *ye-'-mō' yij*
 say-3F.O-3F.SG footprint
 '...she said to (the) footprint.' STE/EC

As opposed to independent personal pronouns in transitive clauses, these clitics can, in very few cases, also cover object functions in the clause. They exclusively appear with 1st and 2nd person.²⁵³

- (12:20) *"I-ya'-ra' mi bae'-i!" yi-n-yäe.*
 M-AD-IR 2SG live-VI.M.S say-1O-1SG
 "'Here you will stay" he told me.' STE/VC

Apart from a change in the word order with pronominal subjects, there are also other constituent orders in transitive verbal clauses. These are

primarily caused by changes in pragmatic status. All kinds of word orders of the subject, object and verb are generally possible, though there are some word orders that very frequently occur in the language, while others are uncommon. The most frequent change in word order caused by pragmatic status is the focalization and fronting of the object: O A V. This is for instance the case in the following example, where the speaker expresses ‘I have not seen them - only these two rats have I seen’, fronting ‘two rats’ due to pragmatic reasons:

- (12:21) *Jam ishtyi’ yäe näi-tya-ksi. Iits mimi’*
 NG ES 1SG see-VD-3P.O.M.S DE.M only.M
paerae’ tara’tara’ yäe tyaj-ka-ksi me’-ki
 two big.rat 1SG meet-VK-3P.O.M.S so-CO
paeren’ äej-ä-ksi.
 both kill-VI-3P.O.M.S
 ‘I have not seen them. Only these two rats have I met, and I
 killed them both.’ WTE/JH

12.2. Predicate clauses

Under the heading of predicate clauses, I will treat clauses that do not contain a verb. Mosestén has no obligatory copular verb that combines subject and predicate in a copular construction. This is expressed by juxtaposition of the combined elements. I will look at the following types of predicate clauses: nominal predicates, adjective predicates, locative predicates, existentials and possessive clauses.

12.2.1. Nominal predicates

Nominal predicates are expressed by the juxtaposition of two noun phrases:

- (12:22) *Dyññäe’ trampa.*
 trap trap.E
 ‘Dyññäe is a trap.’ COE/EC

- (12:23) *Yäe-ki-ki khin' waemtyi'-tom aj yok-tyi'-tom,*
 1SG-CO-RD now husband-COM yet other-L.M-COM
mi' ütsiki, ti'-i Oye.
 3M.SG jaguar name-VI.M.S Oye
 'But I now have another husband, he is a jaguar, his name is
 Oye.' STE/EC

12.2.2. Adjective predicates

Adjective predicates are expressed by the juxtaposition of a noun phrase and an adjective:

- (12:24) *Mö' aka' daer.*
 3F.SG housebig
 'The house is big.' ELE/CT

The subject precedes the predicate in the unmarked constituent order. In focus constructions, the order of predicate and subject is reversed:

- (12:25) *Daer katyi' wo'ko-mö'.*
 big EH stomach-3F.SG
 'Big was her stomach.' WTE/CT

Very frequent adjective predicate structures can be formed by cliticizing a 1st or 2nd person subject pronoun to the predicate.²⁵⁴ This is, for example, the case in the question 'how are you' (A) and the answer 'I'm fine' (B):

- (12:26) *Näi-jö-' jaem'-dye-mi Ricardina näi-jö-'.*
 morning-VJ-F.S good-QT-2SG Ricardina morning VJ-F.S
 'Good morning Ricardina, how are you, good morning!'
 COE/JH
- (12:27) *Näi-jö' jaem'-yäe.*
 morning-VJ-F.S good-1SG
 'Good morning, I'm fine.' COE/RI

12.2.3. *Locative predicates*

Locative predicates express that someone or something is in a certain location by juxtaposing a subject noun phrase and a locative predicate. In Mosestén, locations are expressed by a place adverb (6.4.1.) or by a noun phrase marked by a local nominal relation marker (4.1.5. - 4.1.8.). In the following example, the subject *tsin* ‘we’ is juxtaposed to the predicate *öikhan otel* ‘in this hotel’:

(12:28) *Me' nāsh tsin öi-khan otel.*
 DM GF 1P DE.F-IN hotel.E
 ‘So, we are in this hotel.’ STE/CT

In constructions, where the location is focused, the predicate can precede the subject of the clause, often combined with a focus marker, such as *nāsh* (12.6.3.):

(12:29) *Mö'-chhë' nāsh bae'-i-'*
 3F-SU GF live-VI-F.S
 ‘Up there she lives!’ COE/JH

12.2.4. *Existentials*

Existential clauses are usually formed by juxtaposing a place adverb with a noun phrase. The general place adverb used for this purpose is the form *mi'ya'* (M) / *mö'yä'* (F)²⁵⁵ In the following example, *mö'yä'* is juxtaposed to the feminine noun *jicha* ‘sin’, agreeing with this noun in gender:

(12:30) *Me'-ki mö'-yä' jicha mö' öi jäe'mä jäkh.*
 so-CO 3F-AD sin(F) 3F.SG DE.F DM earth
 ‘Therefore there is sin on this earth.’ STE/VC

In focus structures, the predicate or a modifier of the predicate can precede the existential marker:

- (12:31) *Merkado-khan ara' mi'-ya' mintyi'-in.*
 market-IN many 3M-AD man-P
 'In the market - many people are there.' ELE/CT

Existential markers can be added to clauses such as 'some fathers think well, others do not even want to talk', without changing the internal composition of the clause. In English, for example, relative clauses are used in constructions such as 'there are fathers, who...' or 'fathers exist who...'. In Mosetén, the existential *mi'ya* 'there is' is added to clauses without structural change, marking these as relative clauses. One could, however, argue that the clause is coordinated by juxtaposition (13.1.1.) to the existential clause, expressing 'there are fathers and they think well':

- (12:32) *Mi'-ya' jike tata-in jike me' dyij-yi-in*
 3M-AD PS father-P PS so think-VY.M.S-P
jaem' pero mi'-ya' yok-tyi' tata-in ni-mi'-in
 good but.E 3M-AD other-L.M father-P not.E-3M-P
rai's-e-' phe-ye-'-in
 want-VI-3F.O talk-VY-3F.O-P
 'There were priests who thought very well, but there were
 other priests who did not even want to talk.' COE/JH

Existential clauses have a special negation marker *itsi-* (described in section 10.2.).

12.2.5. Possessive clauses

In the same way as the different kinds of predicative clauses discussed above, possessive clauses can be expressed by the juxtaposition of two elements. In this case, the subject noun phrase is the possessor. The possessed predicate noun phrase is marked by the comitative relation marker *-tom* 'with' (4.1.2.). In this way, such a possessive clause can be translated 'he is with something':

(12:33) *Fan jiri-s-tom aka*.
 Juan one-F-COM house
 ‘Juan has a house.’ ELE/CT

Apart from predicates marked by the comitative relation marker, possession can also be expressed by the transitive verb *me’chhi-* ‘have, control’:

(12:34) *Mö’ tsedye’ me’chhi-te dyam’ kerecha*.
 3F.SG aunt have-3M.O more money(M)
 ‘The aunt has more money (now).’ ELE/JH

This verb can also be used when talking about controlling or looking after something, without owning it:

(12:35) *Mö’ äwä’ yok-si-tyi’ me’chhi-te Elena*.
 3F.SG child other-LF-L.M have-3M.O Elena
 ‘She cares for the son of another woman, Elena.’ ELE/JH

Possessive clauses have a separate negation marker *däeräe’* (10.3.).

12.3. Interrogative clauses

Depending on the type of question, interrogative clauses can contain interrogative pronouns and question markers. Interrogative pronouns have been treated in section 5.4. In the present section, I will look at the different types of question markers. Following this discussion, I will look at constituent order and general composition of questions.

12.3.1. Question markers

There are different types of questions, such as information questions and yes / no questions. Furthermore, information questions can vary according to the speaker’s judgement about the anticipated response to the question, marked by the choice of question marker. Questions can also be marked as rhetorical questions. All question markers can be

applied to both verbal and predicate clauses. The majority of questions appear with a question marker, and only a few structures are not marked this way.

The following table summarizes the different types of question markers in Mosetén:

Table 48: Question particles

	Question type	Special meaning	Non-interrogative use of the marker
<i>-dyash</i>	information questions		
<i>am</i>	information questions	speaker expects the hearer to know the answer	high probability marker in declarative clauses
<i>abi'</i>	information questions	speaker does not expect the hearer to know the answer	low probability marker in declarative clauses
<i>-dyaj</i>	yes / no questions		exclamations
<i>-dyej</i>	yes / no questions, tag questions		similar marker used in adverb comparison (6.4.4.)
<i>-ka'</i>	rhetorical questions		used in combinations such as <i>ika' / öka'</i> (11.2.4.) and <i>kika' / köka'</i> (8.5.2.)
<i>-dye'</i>	rhetorical question		similar marker used in nominalizations (4.4.1.)
(no marker)	comment-type questions		

12.3.1.1. *-dyash* 'general information question'

General information questions are expressed by the question marker *-dyash*, following the interrogative pronoun. In the following example, *dyash* expresses a general information question about the name of a person:

- (12:36) *Jedye'-dyash mi' ii'-i-tyi' jike chhii-tyi'?*
 thing-QI 3M.SG name-VI-L.M PS know.VI-L.M
 'What was the name of him, who knows (the wise man)?'
 COE/JH

The following example shows the question about a verbal clause, asking about the way a person came:

- (12:37) *Jäen'-dyash-ki mi' mi'-we waemtyi'*
 how-QI-CO 3M.SG 3M-DR husband
wën-jö-ban?
 move-DJ-again.M.S
 'And how did the husband come there?' COE/JH

The interrogative pronoun can also be verbalized and derived. In this case, *-dyash* follows the derived construction:

- (12:38) *Jäetäej-yë-j-kho-i'-dyash phe-ya-k-dye'-mö'*
 make.noise-VY-DIR-DJ-3F.O-QI talk-VY-MI-NO-3F.SG
 'What is the story of it like.' COE/JH

12.3.1.2. *am* 'speaker expects answer'

The question particle *am* is used in information questions, expressing that the speaker presupposes that the hearer knows the answer to the question. In the following example, somebody mentioned *fächdyim'*, 'arrow made of chonta-palm', which the hearer has never heard of before. He asks what this word means, using *am*, as he expects to get an answer to his question:

- (12:39) *Jedye' am mö' fächdyim'?*
 thing QN 3F.SG arrow.of.chonta.palm
 'What is this fächdyim?' COE/JH

Similarly, the speaker expects that there is an answer to the question of how long time it takes to go up a certain mountain, knowing that the other person has done the hike:

- (12:40) *Jäen'-sī' am ora jäe'mä bojw-e-dye'?*
 how-L.F QN hour.E DM go.up-VI-NO
 'How many hours does it take to go up?' COE/JH

Furthermore, *am* is in a few cases used outside of questions as a modal particle, expressing a high probability:

- (12:41) *Mö' aj chhome' am ñibë'-yä-ki-'-ra' mö'*
 3F.SG yet also QN luck-VY-AN-F.S-IR 3F.SG
aj-me' ñae'-tya-k aj kiwi-ki-' mömō'
 yet-so put-VD-PP yet sweet-VK-F only.F
jaes-i-'
 chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
 'And she (most) probably also had luck, and so it was made,
 and sweet she made the chicha.' STE/VJ

12.3.1.3. *abi'* 'speaker does not expect answer'

The particle *abi'* is used in information questions to express that the speaker does not expect the hearer to be able to answer the question. Hence, questions expressed by *abi'* resemble rhetorical questions, with the difference that in the latter, the speaker does not want an answer to his question.

In the following example, a woman notices that someone has stolen her yucca. The woman asks 'who might have stolen the yucca', knowing that unless somebody has seen it, there is no clear answer to her question:

- (12:42) *Tyi abi-ki shäe'ä-i o'yi?*
 person QX-CO rob-VI.M.S yucca
 'Who might have stolen the yucca?' STE/EC

In the following example, the hearer is not expected to know the answer to the question about a special sound made by a child:

- (12:43) *Jäetäej-yi-'* *abi-ki mö'* *yi-'?*
 make.noise-VY-F.S QX-CO 3F.SG say-F.S
 'What does she say?' (i.e. what does that mean) COE/JH

In these examples, *abi'* appears in combination with the contrastive marker *-ki* (13.2.1.). This combination of markers appears frequently. In the following example, *abi'* occurs without *-ki* in a comment by a person who is listening to a story. In this particular case, he has his own ideas about where something may have happened, and is not expecting this information to be part of the story as such:

- (12:44) *Käeijëdye'-khan-tyi'* *abi'-khä?*
 chaco-IN-L.M QX-well
 'Maybe of the chaco?' COE/JH

The marker *abi'* can also appear outside of questions, expressing low probability (see *am* in 12.3.1.2.). In the following example, *abi'* is used in relation with the emphasis marker *anik* (11.3.1.), expressing 'it is really unlikely':

- (12:45) *Yi-katyi'* "*anik abi'!*"
 say.M.S-EH EM QX
 'He says "it is really unlikely (that she is not at home)!".'
 STE/VJ

Furthermore, *abi'* occurs in a construction with the bound morpheme *-kio'*. This marker *abikio'* is used in accusations that are formally questions, but instead function like indirect questions:

- (12:46) *Jäe'nä' abi-kio' mi bae'-i-' waeñae-i-'*
 where QX-MO 2SG live-VI-F.S without.reason-VI-F.S
yäe me' ti-wa-te-ye.
 1SG so APT-cry-VT-1SG/2SG
 'Where have you been (i.e. 'you have been away for a long time'), without reason I cried for you.' STE/CS

12.3.1.4. *-dyaj* ‘yes-no questions’

Yes-no questions are expressed by the question marker *-dyaj*. Differing from information questions above, yes/no questions are not marked by an interrogative pronoun. The clitic *-dyaj* always appears in relation to the element queried. The marker *-dyaj* is added to a sentential particle when the scope is over the entire clause.

In the following example, the element ‘you as well’ is questioned, appearing in clause-initial position, and followed by *-dyaj*:

- (12:47) *Mi-min-dyaj mi'-chhe' korosh-yi?*
 2M.SG-AS-QY 3M-SU cross.E-VY.M.S
 ‘Were you also up there, making the cross?’ COE/JH

In the following clause, the speaker asks whether an event took place in the year 1962, while the event itself is not questioned. Note that 1962 is in clause initial position:

- (12:48) *1962-khan-dyaj si-i- ' jae'mä aka'?*
 1962.E-IN-QY burn-VI-F.O DM house
 ‘Did the houses burn in 1962?’ COE/JH

The following question is negatively biased with the negation *jam* marked by *-dyaj*:

- (12:49) *Jam-dyaj mi näi-tye- ' Elena?*
 NG-QY 2SG see-APD-3F.O Elena
 ‘Haven’t you seen Elena?’ ELE/JH

In the following example, *-dyaj* has clausal scope and is added to the emphatic particle *anik* that appears in clause-initial position:

- (12:50) *Anik-dyaj mi'in bis-te Sheshejwintyi'?*
 EM-QY 2P wait-VI.3M.O Creator
 ‘Are you waiting for the creator?’ WTE/JH

The marker *-dyaj* can be added to other sentential particles as well, expressing clausal scope. In the following example, it appears in relation to the particle *me'*:

- (12:51) *Me'-dyaj mi'in rai's-e- ' yäe-tom phi-ki-'*?
 so-QY 2P want-VI-3F.O 1SG-COM run-VK-F.S
 'So, would you like to run with me?' WTE/JH

In the same way as the question markers *abi'* (12.3.1.3.) and *am* (12.3.1.2.), *-dyaj* can be used with other structures than questions, e.g. to mark exclamations:

- (12:52) *I-ya'-dyaj-mi!*
 M-AD-QY-2SG
 'Here you are!' ELE/JH

In this example, *-dyaj* appears in an exclamation that formally is a question: 'are you here?'.²⁵⁶ The context disambiguates whether this is a question or an exclamation as both participants know that the speaker has seen the hearer.

Furthermore, *-dyaj* is used in the fixed expression *jibi'dyaj* 'that's for sure', which is frequently used in positive answers to questions (see 12.4. below).

12.3.1.5. *-dyej* 'yes-no questions and tag questions'

The marker *-dyej* can be used as a yes/no question marker, in the same way as *-dyaj* (12.3.1.4.).²⁵⁷ Similarly, it is used in the question *jaem'-dye-mi* 'how are you' (lit. 'are you well'). This marker also appears in the minimal response *jäe-dyej* 'hmm', in combination with the emphatic marker *jäe* (11.3.6.). The following example shows the marker *-dyej* added to the negation *jam*, expressing 'why isn't he good' instead of 'isn't he good', which would otherwise be the meaning of a yes/no question marked by *-dyaj*:

- (12:53) *Jam-dyej jaem'-yi jen'-mö'...*
 NG-QT good-VY.M.S father-3F.SG
 'Her father is not good, right?' STE/EC

The clitic *-dyej* can furthermore appear in combination with the interrogative pronoun *jäen'*. *Jäen'dyej* 'how is it' is usually placed at the beginning of a question as an emphasis marker:

- (12:54) *Jäen'-dyej a-dyaj jaeme ñae'-tye'-mi?*
 how-QT yet-QY ready put-VD-3F.O-2SG
 'How is it, have you already made it ready?' STE/VJ

The marker *-dyej* is frequently added to the emphatic particle *me'*, expressing a tag question that appears at the end of the clause:

- (12:55) *Felipe chhome' me'-dyej?*
 Felipe also so-QT
 'Also Felipe, right?' COE/JH
- (12:56) *Mi'-chhe' jäe'mä owishpo misa-ye-ki me'-dyej?*
 3M-SU DM bishop.Emass-VY-DK.M.S so-QT
 'The bishop went up there for the mass, right?' COE/JH

12.3.1.6. *-ka'* with question markers

Speakers do not expect answers to rhetorical questions. In Mosestén, the clitic *-ka'* is used to mark rhetorical questions, appearing in combination with the question markers *-dyash*, *-dyaj*, and *am*.²⁵⁸ Furthermore, *-ka'* is used in a number of fixed expressions, such as *ika'* / *öka'* (11.2.4.) and *kika'* / *köka'* (8.5.2.). This marker never appears on its own.

In the following example, *-ka'* is added to the general information question marker *-dyash*, changing the information question into a rhetorical question. In this question, the speaker does not directly ask for the answer to the question 'what is it called', but instead expresses that he knew the name before and cannot remember it right now:

- (12:57) *Jedye'-dyash-ka'* *mö'* *tü'-i'-sü'* *aka'* *yo-khan*
 thing-QI-QR 3F.SG name-VI-F.S-L.FhouseR-IN
yäj-ka-k-tyi' *bae'-i-in* *huérfano.*
 leave-VK-PP-L.M live-VI.M.S-P orphan.E
 'What was the house called where the orphans live?' COE/EC

With the clitic *-dyaj*, marking yes-no questions, *-ka'* turns a direct question into a rhetorical yes/no question. In the following example, a speaker asks himself whether a certain road already existed, instead of asking a direct question in order to get an answer:

- (12:58) *Jöf-dyaj-ka'* *majmi* *aj* *Karanawi-we.*
 already-QY-QR road yet Caranavi-DR
 'Was the road to Caranavi already there?' COE/EC

Furthermore, the question marker *am* can be used together with *-ka'*:

- (12:59) *Jedye'-am-ka'* *mi* *chhü-yë-'*
 thing-QN-QR 2SG know-VY-3F.O
 'What do you know then (if you don't know this)?' COE/AM

Apart from these uses in relation to question markers, *-ka'* appears in a number of fixed structures such as *jäen'wi'ka'* 'however it might be' and *shedyesh-wi'-ka'* 'hopefully', together with the (deontic) modality marker *-wi'-* (11.2.2.).

12.3.1.7. *-dye'* with interrogative pronouns

The marker *-dye'*, similar in form to the nominalization marker *-dye'* (4.4.1.), can be added to interrogative pronouns, expressing rhetorical questions with a high degree of emphasis, usually translatable as '... in the world'. It always appears in combination with the irrealis marker *-ra'* (11.2.1.) or another modality marker, such as *-dyera'* (11.2.6.) in the following example:

- (12:60) *Jäen'-dye'-dyërä'* *me'-yi-ti-'* *jeb-a-k-dye'?*
 how-NO-MO so-VY-1PI-F.O eat-VI-MI-NO
 'How in the world could we do this to the animal!' COE/VC
- (12:61) *Añe-i-ya'* *jedye'-dye'-ra'* *ö-wë-rä'* *yäe*
 rain-VI.M.S-AD thing-NO-IR F-DR-IR 1SG
je-k-e' *tshij-dye-si'?*
 take-DK-3F.O fire-B-L.F
 'When it rains, what in the world will I take to make a fire
 here?' STE/EC

The combination of the interrogative pronoun *jäe'nä'* 'where' and *-dye'* has the fixed meaning 'how in the world', instead of 'where in the world':

- (12:62) *Jäe'nä'-dye'-ra'* *yäe öi chhash-i-n-in?*
 where-NO-IR 1SG DE.F reach-VI-1O-P
 'How in the world would they reach me?' STE/EC

12.3.1.8. Questions without question markers

Most questions in Mosetén are marked by question markers. Questions that appear without these markers are usually one-word comments with a rising tone. The following example consists of the word *mama'* 'papa', marked by the clitic *-nä'* 'focus marker' (12.6.2.):

- (12:63) *Mama'-nä'*
 papa-FO
 'And papa?' (what about him, will he join us?) ELE/JH

Many of the questions which are constructed without a question marker are linked to the context by *-nä'* (see 12.6.2.). In the following example, the question consists of a one-word clause without question marker or *-nä'*:

- (12:64) *Khin'-ya-dye'?*
 now-AD-time
 'At this time of the year?' COE/JH

12.3.2. Word order in interrogative clauses

In the present section, I will look at word order in interrogative clauses. I will only take those interrogative clauses marked by a question marker into account, and not treat the comment-type of questions discussed in 12.3.1.8. above.

Interrogative clauses are constructed by combining a clause with a question marker. The interrogated element is fronted, i.e. appears in clause-initial position, followed by the question particle. In an information question, this interrogated element is replaced by an interrogative pronoun²⁵⁹; in yes/no questions, the interrogated element is a core or optional part of the clause itself. I will discuss the interrogated elements below, but before that I will turn to the general word order in interrogative clauses. Apart from the interrogated element, which follows another pattern, constituent order in questions resembles that of declarative clauses. Questions are built up by an interrogated element, followed by a question marker and the elements of the (declarative) clause. For verbal clauses that are interrogated, the following scheme applies:²⁶⁰

Table 49: Word order of information questions

Intransitive:	INT Q S V
Transitive:	INT Q A V O

Table 50: Word order of yes/no questions

Intransitive:	X-Q S V
Transitive:	X-Q A V O

The X in yes/no questions and the INT in information questions can be a fronted core element of the clause, in which case the core element disappears from its original position in the clause. I will now look at the interrogated element, as well as at further word-order tendencies in the different types of questions.

Information questions appear with an interrogative pronoun which can occupy different functions in the clause. I will differentiate between interrogative pronouns replacing optional elements in the clause and interrogative pronouns replacing core elements.²⁶¹ When replacing optional elements, the core elements of the clause appear after the

interrogative pronoun and the question marker. In the following example, the interrogative pronoun *jedyei* ‘why’ queries an optional element of the clause, while not affecting the core parts ‘they suck the bibosi-tree’:

- (12:65) *Jedye-i* *am* *mī'in tyim'-te* *biki?*
 thing-VI.M.S QN 2P suck-VD.3M.O bibosi.tree
 ‘Why are you sucking the bibosi-tree?’ WTE/JH

The constituent order in this question is as follows: the interrogative pronoun is in clause-initial position, and is followed by the question marker *am* and the rest of the clause. The constituent order of the elements following the question marker is slightly different from word order in declarative clauses, where a pronominal subject usually follows the verb. In interrogative clauses, there is a tendency for pronominal subjects to appear before the verb in transitive and intransitive clauses.

When the interrogative pronoun replaces a core element in the clause, this element is deleted from the clause. In the following example, the verb is replaced. The interrogative pronoun is verbalized and no verb appears after the question marker *am*:

- (12:66) *Jäen'-yë-te* *am-ra'* *mī'in?*
 how-VY-3M.O QN-IR 2P
 ‘What will you do to him?’ WTE/JH

In **yes/no questions**, the interrogated element is fronted, followed by the markers *-dyaj* or *-dyej*. Again, I will differentiate between fronted core-elements and optional elements fronted. In case of the latter, the marker is followed by the clitic *-dyaj*, and the constituent order follows this question marker resembling the order in declarative clauses:

- (12:67) *Jam-dyaj* *näi-tya-ksi-mi* *yäe-si' äwä'-in?*
 no-QY see-VD-3P.O.M.S-2SG 1SG-L.Fchild-P
 ‘Haven’t you seen my children?’ WTE/JH

In intransitive clauses, however, there is a tendency to place the verb before the subject:

- (12:68) *A-dyaj daer-i kädäej-mi?*
 yet-QY big-VI.M.Sbaby-2SG
 ‘Is your baby already growing?’ COE/JH

When a core element of the clause is interrogated, this argument is fronted and appears in clause-initial position, followed by *-dyaj*. In the following example, the fronted element *mi* ‘he’ appears again after that clause in an apposition, *waemtyi mö* ‘her husband’:

- (12:69) *Mi'-dyaj-ka'-ki jae-ki-ki mi'-we jij-ka-i,*
 3M.SG-QY-QR-CO back-VK.M.S-CO 3M-DR go-DK-M.S
waem'tyi'-mö' jäen'-dyash-ka'?
 husband-3F.SG how-QI-QR
 ‘Didn’t he follow after her (there), her husband, how was it?’
 COE/JH

When the action expressed by the verb is interrogated, the verb is fronted in the clause. In an analytic construction of two clauses, both verbs can be fronted, leading to different questions. In the following examples, the clause *mi rai'se' khöshi'* ‘you want to sleep’ is questioned. This can be carried out in four different ways: with the general question, in which an optional particle appears in fronted position (12:70), with the question about the clause ‘want’ (12:71), with the question about the clause with the content verb ‘sleep’ (12:72), or with the question about the subject (12:73):

- (12:70) *Me'-dyaj mi rai's-e' khösh-i'?*
 so-QY 2SG want-VI-3F.O sleep-VI-F.S
 ‘Do you want to sleep?’ ELE/JH
- (12:71) *Rai's-e'-dyaj khösh-i'-mi?*
 want-VI-3F.O-QY sleep-VI-F.S-2SG
 ‘Do you WANT to sleep?’ ELE/JH
- (12:72) *Khösh-i'-dyaj rai's-e'-mi?*
 sleep-VI-F.S-QY want-VI-3F.O-2SG
 ‘Do you want to SLEEP?’ ELE/JH
- (12:73) *Mi-dyaj rai's-e' khösh-i'?*
 2SG-QY want-VI-3F.O sleep-VI-F.S
 ‘Do YOU want to sleep?’ ELE/JH

Moving on to **predicate clauses**, these are questioned in the same way as verbal clauses. In the following example, the locative *mo'chhe* 'up there' is interrogated, and appears in fronted position before *-dyaj*:

- (12:74) *Mö'-chhë'-dyaj jäe'mä Doña Casiana?*
 3F-SU-QY DM Doña Casiana
 'Is Doña Casiana up there?' COE/JH

In information questions, the queried element, which can either be the subject or the predicate, is replaced by an interrogative pronoun, while the other element appears after the question marker at the end of the clause:

- (12:75) *Jäen'-chhë' am mi-si' yomodye'?*
 how-SU QN 2SG-L.Fyear
 'How old are you?' (lit. 'how much are your years') COE/JH

12.4. Answers to questions

Answers to questions depend on the type of question involved, as well as on what the speakers wishes to express.

Information questions usually trigger a normal clause as answer, as in the following example:

- (12:76)q *Jedye'-dyash dyiñäe'?*
 what-QI trap
 'What is dyiñäe'?' COE/JH

- (12:77)a *Dyiñäe' trampa dyam öi jäe'mä jähk-khan mej*
 trap trap.E little DE.F DM earth-IN down
fädy-ä-ki.
 dig-VI-AN.M.S
 'Dyiñäe' is a trap, it is dug a little down in the ground.' COE/EC

The queried element is likely to appear in a focused position, i.e. at the beginning of the clause.

Questions similar to those have a single word as their answer, applying the question as the antecedent:

- (12:78)q *Este hospital huérfano-dye-si' jätäej-yi'-dyash*
 this.hospital.E orphan.E-B-L.F make.noise-VY-F.S-QI
tsin-si-s-khan huérfano?
 1P-L.F-RD.s-IN orphan.E
 'This orphan-hospital – how do we say orphans in our
 language?' COE/JH
- (12:79)a *Yäj-ka-k-tyi'-in.*
 leave-VK-PP-L.M-P
 'Orphans.' COE/EC

Finally, the answer to such as question can be an entire story, and when the responder has time and knows the story, many clauses can be required to answer this question:

- (12:80) *Jätäej-yi'-dyash phe-ya-k-dye'-mö'?*
 make.noise-VY-F.S-QI talk-VY-MI-NO-3F.SG
 'How does her story go?' COE/JH

Yes/no questions usually receive an emphatic particle or a negation marker as answers. One strategy of the responder is to repeat the whole question or part of the question in an affirmative or a negated clause, to respond with a positive or negative answer:

- (12:81)q *Jaem'-dyajtsä-' äwä'-mi phen-mi?*
 good-QY live-F.S child-2SG woman-2SG
 'And are your children and you wife fine?' COE/JH
- (12:82)a *Jaem'-tsin waj-raej-tsin.*
 good-1P every-all-1P
 'We are all fine.' COE/VC

Another way to respond with a negative answer is to use a negation marker such as *jam* 'no', *itsi-* 'not exist' or *däeräe* 'not have', depending on the type of negation involved (10.). A negative question is answered in the same way as a positive one, expressing the polarity of the answer. In this way, when the answer is negative, a negation is used:²⁶²

- (12:83)q *Iits-nä tata jam ji-te-te?*
 DE.M-FO fatherNG send-VD.DT-3M.O
 ‘And the priest did not send him?’ COE/JH
- (12:84)a *Jam, jam, ji-te-te yoj-tsa’ mi’-we*
 NG NG send-VD.DT-3M.O R-FR 3M-DR
jady-i-ki Edy.
 go.and.come.back-VI-DK.M.S Edy
 ‘No, he did not send him, but Edy went there.’ COE/MW

When the answer to a yes/no question is positive, an emphatic or modal marker, or a combination of these can be used, such as *anik* ‘sure’, *ja-tyi* ‘yes’, ‘well’, *tyäkä* ‘sure’, ‘always’, *khä-dyera* ‘thus it might be’ and *jibi’dyaj* ‘that’s for sure’ (see also section 11.2. and 11.3.):

- (12:85)q *Shäe’ä-i’-katyi’ jike äwä’ poroma me’-dyej?*
 rob-VI-F.S-EH PS child before so-TQ
 ‘She robbed a child in the old days, right?’ COE/JH
- (12:86)a *Jibi’-dyaj.*
 sure-QY
 ‘Yes, that is right.’ COE/VJ

12.5. Adverbials and emphatics in word order

Optional elements in the clause, such as discourse markers and adverbials, do not have a fixed place in the constituent order. As a tendency, discourse markers, such as emphatic particles and modality markers (11.2. and 11.3.), appear at the beginning of the clause, while adverbials, such as ‘in the house’ or ‘yesterday’, can be placed in different positions in the clause.

In the following example, the discourse marker *me’ki* introduces the first clause. The adverbials *jiris mayedye* ‘one day’, *pamindyey* ‘very early’ and *We’ni’we* ‘to (the river) Santa Elena’ appear before the subject and the verbs of the clauses respectively. These adverbials are underlined and regular:

- (12:87) *Me'-ki jiri-s mayedye' jiri-ty soñi' pamin-dyej*
 so-CO one-Fday one-M man early-CON
sak-yi, We'ni'-we jĵj-ka-i
 leave-VY.M.S Santa.Elena-DR go-DK-M.S
tyäb-e-ki.
 fish-VI-DK.M.S
 'So one day a fisherman left very early for the river Santa
 Elena to fish.' WTE/JH

In the following example, adverbials are placed at the beginning of the first clause and in final position of the second clause:

- (12:88) *Raej katyi' pamin-si' öjñi-tii ka-ki*
 all EH early-L.F water-bring.M.S bring-AN.M.S
*shara sara'i-khan.*²⁶³
 gourd mari.bag-IN
 'Every morning he fetched water bringing a gourd in a mari-
 bag.' WTE/JH

12.6. Focus constructions

There are a number of markers which can focus an element in the clause by fronting this element and marking it as focused. This can be carried out by the markers *näjä'*, *nä* and *näsh*. All of these markers involve *nä* and seem to be related, though their synchronical relation is unclear. While *näjä'* and *nä* express a strong focus, often being used in exclamations, *näsh* expresses a general focus. All markers front the element they focus.²⁶⁴ Parts of phrases are never fronted before a focus marker. In this way, focus constructions differ from interrogative clauses, where also parts of phrases can appear in clause-initial position (see examples 12:70-12:73 in section 12.3.2.).

12.6.1. The focus marker *näjä*'

The particle *näjä*' focuses the fronted element after which it occurs. This can be seen in the following example, where a person has been called by the wrong name and replies (rather annoyed) 'my name is...':

- (12:89) *Yäe-si' ti' näjä' Jeanette!*
 1SG-L.F name FO Jeanette
 'My name is Jeanette.' (answer to the question 'how are you Sofia?') ELE/JH

Compare this with the likewise emphatic marker *näsh* (12.6.3.), that does not express this strong focus:

- (12:90) *Yäe-si' ti' näsh Jeanette.*
 1SG-L.Fname GF Jeanette
 'My name is Jeanette.' (answer to the question 'what is your name?') ELE/JH

In the following example, it is applied in order to focus an adverbial phrase, expressing 'up there is a lot!':

- (12:91) *Mö-jö'-chhë'-yä' näjä' khä ara-si'!*
 3F-RD-SU-AD FO well much-L.F
 'Further up there is a lot!' STE/EC

The focus marker *näjä*' can also be used in predicate clauses, such as in the following example, where it focusses the personal pronoun *yäe* 'I'. This construction has the meaning 'I just am, I just exist':²⁶⁵

- (12:92) *Yäe näjä', jam yäe jäe'nä-si',*
 1SG FO NG 1SG where-L.F
jäetäej-yi-dyash-mi inöj-yä'-mi yäe-dye-si'?
 make.noise-VY.M.S-QI-2SGmoment-AD-2SG 1SG-B-L.F
 'And the woman says "I (just) am, I am not from anywhere, what was it that you said a moment ago to me?" WTE/JH

This focus marker is often used at the beginning of stories, following a particle such as *me'*:

- (12:93) *Me' näjä' jae'mä yi-'katyi' öi phe-ya-k-dye'*
 so FO DM say-F.S-EHDE.F talk-VY-MI-NO
poroma-si'
 before-L.F
 'In this way is this old story.' STE/EC

12.6.2. *The focus marker nä*

In the same way as *näjä'* (12.6.1.), the marker *nä* can be applied to focus elements, fronting them in the clause. This marker is much more common in Mosestén of Santa Ana and Chimane, though some speakers in Covendo also use it instead of *näjä'*. In the following example, the scope of the focus is the entire clause, because the particle *jěñě* 'like' appears before the *nä*:

- (12:94) *Jäen'-in-ka'-ra' mi shö-yi-rä'-mï nönö'*
 how-P-QR-IR 2SG not.want-VY-IR-2SG mother
sob-e-ke-' jěñě nä kädäej
 visit-VI-DK-3F.O like FO baby
säk-a-k-dye'-we-i!
 suck-VI-MI-NO-want-VI.M.S
 'How can it be that you do not want to visit mother, when the babies want the fruits!' STE/EC

This is also shown in the following example, where the focus is on the predicate 'three', which is fronted in the clause:

- (12:95) *Chhibin nä khötei-in o tshis äwä'-mï', waj*
 three FO MO.M-P or.E four child-3M.SG all
soñi-tyi'
 man-L.M
 'Three or four children he has, and all male!' STE/EC

Those people in Covendo who prefer the focus marker *nä* also accept *näjä*, sometimes using the latter with slightly stronger implications:

- (12:96) *Mi-tyi' mama' nä saen-dye-i.*
 2SG-L.M father FO ill-NO-VI.M.S
 'Your father is ill!' (no further implication) ELE/AT
- (12:97) *Mi-tyi' mama' näjä' saen-dye-i.*
 2SG-L.M father FO ill-NO-VI.M.S
 'Your father is ill!' (go see him, do something!) ELE/AT

This focus particle can also be combined with a number of other elements, such as the modality marker *-wi'*.

- (12:98) *Me' nä-wi'-rä' tü-jij-ti-' mi'in!*
 so FO-MN-IR APT-go-DT-F.S 2P
 'This way you should have brought it!' ELE/JH

Similarly, this particle can also be used with the emphasis marker *khä*.

- (12:99) *Mi' nä-khä khin' mö' obra jaem'-tye-'*
 3M.SG FO-well now 3F.SG work.E good-VD-3F.O
tata este hospital huérfano-dyesi'.
 fatherthis.hospital.E orphan.E-B.F
 'And he made these works, this priest, the hospital for orphans!' COE/JH

12.6.3. The focus marker *näsh*

The particle *näsh* is a focus marker which can front elements in the same way as *näjä* and *nä* above, though the focus indicated by *näsh* is not as strong as with the other markers. Consequently, *näsh* is not used in exclamations.

In the following example, the element *chhibin* 'three' is focused and fronted in the clause, expressing 'three stories I have already told'.²⁶⁶

- (12:100) *Chhibin näsh aj phe-ye-' aj öi khäei'-sī'*
 three GF yet talk-VY-3F.O yet DE.F RF-L.F

tsin-si' j äe'mä j äen' bae'-e-dye'.
 1P-L.F DM how live-VI-NO
 'Three (stories) have I told about how it was in this, our own
 village.' COE/VC

In the following example, *näsh* follows the negation *jam*, in an answer to the question 'are you the Creator', focusing on the *jam*:

(12:101) *Jam näsh yäe Sheshewintyi'.*
 NG GF 1SG Creator
 'I am not the Creator.' WTE/JH

If the speaker angrily wanted to express that he was not the Creator, he would have chosen the focus marker *näjä'* or *nä*.

Furthermore, core elements of the clause, such as the verb, can be focused:

(12:102) *Bis-te näsh tsin mi'.*
 wait-VI.3M.O GF 1P 3M.SG
 'We wait for him.' WTE/JH

In this example, the verb is fronted in the clause, followed by *näsh* and the remaining parts of the clause, consisting of the subject and object pronouns.

Following an emphatic particle such as *me'*, *näsh* can be used to introduce a story or a conversation, focusing on what will be said:

(12:103) *Me' näsh yäe khä rai's-e' dyaba*
 so GF 1SG well want-VI-3F.O peanut
ki-ï' me'-ish ats-i yäe.
 sow-VI-3F.O so-then come.M.S-VI 1SG
 'I want to sow peanuts, therefore I have come.' STE/VJ

Chapter 13

Clause combinations

In this chapter, I will look at coordination and subordination of clauses in Mosetén. Formally, subordinated clauses are part of the main clause, while coordinated clauses are two separate main clauses linked for various reasons. I will discuss the following types of clauses: 1. Coordination by juxtaposition and by *jö'dyë'yä'*. In this section, I will also look at the coordination of constituents. 2. Contrastive marking of adjacent clauses, which is a type of marking that frequently appears in coordinated, but also in subordinated clauses to express a contrastive meaning. 3. Relative clauses, which formally are modifiers in noun phrases, as well as headless relative clauses that can be used adverbially, 4. Complement clauses, i.e. clauses that take over a subject or object function within another clause. In this case, the main clause will be called the 'matrix' clause. 5. Adverbial clauses, which have an adverbial function within another clause. 6. Indirect speech and 7. Participial clause combinations. Furthermore, I will look at word order in the different clause types. In the sections on word order, I will generally bold, underline and italicize **verbs**, subjects, and *objects* respectively. In the other sections, I will bold the markers discussed in these sections, such as *jö'dyë'yä'* or *-ki*, or the clauses described such as adverbial clauses or relative clauses.

13.1. Coordination

There are basically two ways of coordinating constituents and clauses: by juxtaposition of the elements or by combining the elements with *jö'dyë'yä'*. Both coordinating devices can be used to combine clauses and constituents. In the combination of clauses, juxtaposition can express succession in time, as well as actions happening at the same time, whereas *jö'dyë'yä'* can only be used with actions happening at the same time.

13.1.1. *Coordination by juxtaposition*

Coordination by juxtaposition can combine clauses and constituents. The combination of clauses can express temporal succession, as well as simultaneous actions. In the following example, three successive clauses are coordinated by juxtaposition:

- (13:1) *Mö' Aurelia ay-i-jo-i' aka'-ya',*
 3F.SG Aurelia come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S house-AD
si-ti-' kösinä-khan, jeb-a-kse-bi-'
 enter-VT-F.S kitchen.E-IN eat-VI-3P.O-APB-F.S
saeks-e-dye' äwä'-sī'-in.
 eat-VI-NO child-L.F-P
 'Aurelia comes to the house, enters the kitchen, eats the food of
 the children.' SELE/JH

In the same way, simultaneity can be expressed by juxtaposition, e.g. living somewhere and having a child:

- (13:2) *Khäki jike-win jiri-ty mintyi' phen-tom bae'-i*
 because PS-C one-M man woman-COM live-VI.M.S
äwä'-tom jiri-s-dyera'.
 child-COM one-F-MO
 'Because one man lived with his wife and maybe one child.'
 STE/EC

Since a clause in Mosestén can consist of a verb only (12.1.1.), fully inflected verbs can appear adjacent to each other due to juxtaposition of clauses.²⁶⁷ Often, these short clauses express that many things happen at the same time or in close succession:

- (13:3) *Jike tikhin-te tyoj-yi*
 PS ready.to.shoot-3M.O shot-VY.M.S
jachha'-yi "waejjj"
 open.mouth-VY.M.S ON
 'Then we were ready to shoot it, he shot and it (the animal)
 opens its mouth "hhhhhhh".' STE/VC

In this example, three inflected verbs follow each other, expressing actions that happen in close temporal succession. The first two verbs have the same subject ‘we’, while the last verb *jachha’yi-* ‘open the mouth’ has as its subject ‘the animal’. This difference in the subjects of the clause is possible as these are easily identifiable in the context (12.1.1.).

Juxtaposition can also coordinate constituents, such as the nouns ‘children’ and ‘grandchildren’ in the following example:

- (13:4) *Paj-jam me’-in jai-we äwä’-in wiya’-in*
 for-NG so-P time-DRson-P grandchild.M-P
jeye’-in, paj-jam sufrir-yi’-in.
 grandchild.F-P for-NG sufferE-VY-F.S-P
 ‘... so that they are not like this with time the children, male grandchildren and female grandchildren, so that they won’t suffer.’ STE/DC

In the same way, the derived noun ‘those from Simai’ and ‘those from Cogotai’ are coordinated by juxtaposition in the following example:

- (13:5) *Me’-ki aj bis-a-ki-in iits chhome’-in*
 so-CO yet wait-VI-AN.M.S-P DE.M also-P
Simai’-ya-tyi’-in, Kowo’tai’-ya-tyi’-in.
 Simai-AD-L.M-P Cogotai-AD-L.M-P
 ‘So they are already waiting, also those from Simai and those from Cogotai.’ STE/CT

13.1.2. Coordination by *jö’dyë’yä’*

The marker *jö’dyë’yä’* can coordinate clauses and constituents. It consists of the marker *jö’dyë’* ‘coordination with the context’²⁶⁸ and the adessive relation marker *-ya’*. In coordinating clauses, this marker expresses that these are simultaneous:

- (13:6) *Mäei’-ya’ jike yo-dye’ wën-chhi-yä’ tata-in*
 first-AD PS R-NO move-DC.M.S-AD father-P

jö'dyë'yä' *katyi'jike raëj mintyi'-in*
 and EH PS all man-P
tata-dye-si' mimi' karij-tya-ki-in jö'dyë'yä'
 father-B-L.F only.M hard-VD-AN.M.S-P and
tata rai's-e' viaje-i-ya'
 fatherwant-VI-3F.O travel.E-VI.M.S-AD
ji'-jaem'-te penne mintyi'-ya'
 CA-good-VD.3M.O raft man-AD
 'At first when the priests had come and when all people just
 worked for the priest and when the priest wanted to travel, he
 let a raft be built by the people.' WTE/CT

The following example shows the coordination of the adjectives *chhiwejtyi* 'big eyed' and *chhichhäen'tyi* 'big eared':

(13:7) *Pen' katyi' chhi-wej-tyi' jö'dyë'yä' chhi-chhäen'-tyi'*
 side EH big-eye-L.M and big-ear-L.M
 'On one side (of his head) he was big-eyed and big-eared.'
 WTE/CT

13.2. "Contrastive" marking of adjacent clauses

Coordinated clauses can be marked to express the contrastive meaning 'but'. This can be carried out by two different markers, *-ki* and *-tsa'*. Basically, they differ in that *-ki* expresses that the subjects in the coordinated clauses / adjacent clauses are not co-referent, whereas *-tsa'* is more general, expressing that certain expectations have not been met. These two markers can also appear together, combining their meanings.

13.2.1. *-ki* 'but', emphasizing subject non-co-reference

The marker *-ki* appears in coordinated structures and other adjacent clauses, cliticized to the first element of the second clause. It emphasizes that the subject in this clause is different from the one in the preceding clause, as well as expressing 'but'. Being an emphasizing marker, *-ki* is not obligatory. The following example shows the

coordination of two clauses with different subjects. The marker *-ki* appears on the first element of the second clause:

- (13:8) *Mi' tyaph-ye-i khäei'-si' phen, mö'-ki*
 3M.SG grab-VY-3F.O RF-L.F woman 3F.SG-CO
kawin faraj-ji'-yi-ti-'
 fast leave-CA-VY-RE-F.S
 'He grabbed his wife, but she rapidly freed herself again.'
 ELE/JH

In the following example, *-ki* once again expresses the change in the subject participant, as well as indicating that the action could not be carried out, since the priest was not there:

- (13:9) *Mi'-we ködy-a-j-ki-ki material, itsi-ki*
 3M-DR beg-VI-DIR-AN-DK.M.S material.E NX.M.S-CO
tata.
 father
 'They went there to ask for material, but the priest was not there.' COE/MW

The marker *-ki* can even appear combined with the likewise optional co-referential pronoun *khäei'* (5.6.1.). This is, however, only possible when *khäei'* is part of the construction *khäei' mimi'* 'only him' or *khäei' mömö'* 'only her':

- (13:10) *Nunca katyi' khä bailar-yi-' mö' achae*
 never.E EH well dance.E-VY-F.S 3F.SG dog
Diana, khäei'-ki mimi' Wanka
 Diana RF-CO only.M Wanka
ne-ye-'-neye'-dyj fen.
 move-VY-3F.O-RD-do.repeatedly egg
 'The dog Diana will never dance, only Wanka moved around his testicles all the time (trying to dance).' COE/EC

The marker *-ki* frequently appears in reduplicated form and then expresses more intensity than the non-reduplicated form *-ki*. This difference is shown in the following negative clauses:

- (13:11) *Yoj-tsa' mi'-we öjñi' jïj-ka-i jam-ki jedye'*
 R-FR 3M-DR river go-DK-M.S NG-CO thing
äej-ä-'
 kill-VI-3F.O
 'Like I went to the river, but I did not catch anything.' (I almost did catch something) ELE/AT
- (13:12) *Yoj-tsa' mi'-we öjñi' jïj-ka-i jam-ki-ki jedye'*
 R-FR 3M-DR river go-DK-M.S NG-CO-RD thing
äej-ä-'
 kill-VI-3F.O
 'Like I went to the river, but I did not catch anything.' (there was no possibility) ELE/AT

In (13:11), the person tried to fish but had not luck, even if there was a possibility to catch something. In (13:12), with the reduplicated form *jam-ki-ki*, there was no opportunity at all to catch fish. The more intense and emphatic meaning of this reduplicated form is also seen in the following example. The speaker expresses 'but now', leaving the past behind and introducing a new situation:

- (13:13) *Me'-ishtyi' yäe jike-win ö-khan yäj-ki-'*
 so-ES 1SG PS-C F-IN leave-VK-F.S
käedäej-yäe, yäe-ki-ki khin' waemtyi'-tom aj
 baby-1SG 1SG-CO-RD now husband-COM yet
yok-tyi'-tom.
 other-L.M-COM
 'I have left my baby here, but I now have another husband.'
 STE/EC

Furthermore, the marker *-ki* often appears in relation to the focus marker *nä*.²⁶⁹ In this way, *nä-ki* is not only fronting due to the functions of *nä* that expresses focus, but also marking a change in the topic (or time), due to *-ki*. This is articulated as can be seen in the following example, where *mi'* 'he' is marked by *näki*, being focused and expressing that the subject changes:

- (13:14) *Jike mi' soñi' nöi-yi phi-ki*
 PS 3M.SG man be.afraid.VY.M.S run-VK.M.S

khao-jo-tyi-ti, mi' nã-ki jaek-i-we
 escape-VJ-L.M-VT.M.S 3M.SG FO-CO back-VI.M.S-DR
kaechh-ae-n' chhi-phi-ke-j-chhii.
 follow-VI-PR also-run-VK-DIR-DC.M.S
 ‘And the man was afraid, he ran, he fled and the other one
 followed behind, also running.’ WTE/JH

Furthermore, there are a number of fixed forms that are based on *-ki*: *khinki* ‘and now’, *me'ki* ‘so’ and *pajki* ‘for to’.

Possibly due to Spanish influence, a marker *ki* can also be used as a subordinating conjunction, in the same way as the Spanish conjunction *que*. Phonologically, these markers also resemble each other slightly:

(13:15) *Jaem'-yäe contento-yäe ki öi-tom*
 well-1SG content.E-1SGthat DE.F-COM
mi-nã-rä' karij-tya-ki gringa-in.
 2SG-FO-IR hard-VD-AN.M.S gringa-P
 ‘I am very content with that you are working with foreign
 women.’ COE/MW

This marker *ki* is used as a conjunction, instead of a clitic. Furthermore, it does not mark a difference in the subject participants.

13.2.2. *-tsa'* frustrative

The clitic *-tsa'* expresses that something did not turn out as expected or did not happen in relation to the context. Usually, this marker appears in combinations of clauses, but can also mark a contrast in a single clause. It is not restricted to marking the first element of the second clause, like *-ki*, but can appear on all parts of the clause(s), preferably in the first clause of a clause combination.

In the following example, *-tsa'* marks the clause ‘others came’. The speaker expected people from other countries to come, as had happened before, but instead, these new people were from Rurrenabaque. In this way, the expectation, based on the context, is not met:

- (13:16) *Yok-tyi'-tsa' ats-i-jo-i, i-we*
 other-L.M-FR come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S here.M
jij-ti-in Rurre-ya'.
 go-DT.M.S-P Rurrenabaque-AD
 'Others came, but they came from Rurrenabaque.' COE/SM

Notice that *-tsa'* appears in the first clause, instead of the clause that expresses what is contrastive. In this way, the speaker marks the expectations not to be true already from the beginning, giving a closer explanation of how they are not fulfilled in the clause that follows.

This is also evident in the following example, where a person begs for something, marked by *-tsa'*. The following clause 'they did not give it to him' elaborates on the expectations not being met:²⁷⁰

- (13:17) *Wën-jö-ban-tyi' khä kiwi-ra' mi'-tsa'*
 move-DJ-again.M.S-MO well again-IR3M.SG-FR
ködy-ä-k-han-' jam aj tye-te-in.
 beg-VI-DK-again-F.O NG yet give-3M.O-P
 'He was coming again, coming to ask for (it), but they did not give it to him.' STE/VJ

The marker *-tsa'* can appear in relation with other markers, such as the modality marker *-wi'* (11.2.2.). In the following example, the speaker expresses that an intended action could not be carried out:

- (13:18) *Khin'-tsa'-wi'-ra' tsin achae-i kaechh-ae-n'-ki*
 now-FR-MN-IR 1P dog-VI go.on-VI-PR-CO
añe-i-'
 rain-VI-F.S
 'We should have gone hunting with dogs now, but it goes on raining.' ELE/JH

In the following example, both *-tsa'* and the Spanish equivalent *pero* 'but' are combined:

- (13:19) *Jiri-tyi' jäen'-ki'-dyash-ra' mi' soñi'-tsa'*
 one-L-M how-size-QI-IR 3M.SG man-FR

ñi'-ti *pero jam-tyäkä' jedye' pasar-yi.*
 put-VD.RE.M.S but.E NG-EM thing happen.E-VY.M.S
 'Alone (going up there), how much courage must he have had,
 but nothing ever happened.' STE/JH

The marker *-tsa'* can also appear with individual clauses, in which peoples' expectations based on common knowledge are not met. In these clauses, *-tsa'* appears within the clause that describes the action or event not carried out, as opposed to the use of *-tsa'* in clause combinations, where it generally marks the preceding clause. When appearing in a single clause, *-tsa'* is cliticized to the first element in that clause.

Based on their common knowledge, the speaker and hearer in the following example expect the road to be very bad and there to be many landslides. Marking this clause by *-tsa'*, the speaker points out that these expectations did not come true and that there were no landslides:

(13:20) *Its-i'-tsa' dyam' jäe'mä derrumbe.*
 NX-VI-FR more DM landslide.E
 'But there weren't more landslides.' COE/MW

13.3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are modifiers in noun phrases, and resemble other modifiers in appearing with the linker *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F) (4.8.). Furthermore, a number of clauses which are constructed in a similar way as relative clauses can be used adverbially. Due to these resemblances, I will treat these structures under the same heading.

Relative clauses can be marked in two ways: 1. by addition of the linker to the verb of the relative clause, marking a restrictive relative clause or 2. by starting the relative clause with the relative marker *yodye'-L*, marking a non-restrictive relative clause. The latter can mark restrictive relative clauses with plural antecedents, when appearing in the partially reduplicated form *yodyedye-L*.²⁷¹ Furthermore, *yodye'-L* and the short form *yoj* 'like' can take over oblique functions in combination with nominal relation markers (4.1.). Formally headless relative clauses, structures marked by *yoj* 'like', have adverbial

functions. Apart from these markers, a number of interrogative pronouns can appear in the same place as relative clause markers, expressing similar concepts. I will furthermore discuss constituent order in relative clauses, and look both at the placement of the relative clause within the main clause, as well as at the constituent order in the relative clause.

Unless the relative clauses are headless, their head consists of the antecedent of the relativized element. This is usually substituted by a relative clause marker inside the relative clause. The functions of the head within the main clause are not marked in Mosetén, and all types of different noun phrases can function as heads of relative clauses. The functions of the head within the relative clause, however, can be restricted in some structures, as summarized in the following table:

*Table 51: The functions of the relativized elements within the relative clause*²⁷²

	Intrans. subject	Transitive subject	Primary object	Secondary object	Oblique	Possessor
V-L	X	X	X	X		
<i>yodye'-L</i>	X	X	X	X	X-LO	X
<i>yodye-dye-L</i>	X	X	X	X	X-LO	X
<i>yo-</i>					X-LO	
<i>yoj</i> (headless)						
<i>jäe'nä'</i> ,					X	
<i>tyitom</i>						

13.3.1. V-L restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses are marked by the linker morphemes *-tyi'* (M) / *-si'* (F), added to the verb of the relative clause. Relative clauses marked this way usually provide a closer description of the head of the noun phrase, which the speaker assumes is essential for the hearer to identify the noun phrase in question. The functions of this relative clause marking inside the relative clause can only be intransitive subject, transitive subject, primary object and secondary object. Restrictive relative clauses functioning as obliques or possessives are marked differently.

The following example shows the marking of a relative clause by the linker morpheme. In this clause, the head works as an intransitive subject in the relative clause:

- (13:21) *Me'-ki chhata' anik me-dye-si' me-dye-si' iits*
 so-CO MO EM so-B-L.F so-B-L.F DE.M
jäe'mä fäk-hö-i-in i-ya' bae'-i-tyi'-in
 DM angry-VJ-M.S-P M-AD live-VI-L.M-P
colono-in.
 colonizer.E-P
 'So, because of this they really got angry, the colonizers living here.' STE/CT

The relative clause precedes the head *colono* 'colonizer'. This is a possible constellation of relative clause and head, though the postnominal order of the relative clause to the head is the most frequent one. Gender agreement of the linker morpheme is to the head of the relative clause. The following example shows a relative clause that appears after the feminine head:

- (13:22) *Desde poente Sapecho-ya-si' mo-jo'-khan-si' mö'*
 from.E bridge.E Sapecho-AD-L.F 3F-RD-IN-L.F 3F.SG
majmi Santa Ana-ya' jji-ka'-si' Puerto Linares
 road Santa Ana-AD go-DK-F.S-L.F Puerto Linares
tyäetsen' anik wai-jo-' mö' majmi, tyäetsen'.
 everywhere EM wipe-VJ-F.S 3F.SG road everywhere
 'From the bridge of Sapecho further down the road that goes to Santa Ana, Puerto Linares, everywhere the road is wiped out (i.e. broken).' STE/CT

The following examples show relative clauses marked by the linker morpheme where the transitive subject function is relativized:

- (13:23) *Me' bae'-i-nä-ki mi' jäe'mä*
 so sit-VI.M.S-FO-CO 3M.SG DM
ji'-wën-ti-ksi-tyi' dyäech mimi' bae'-i.
 CA-move-DT-3P.O.M.S-L.M sit.M.S only.M sit-VI.M.S

‘So he sat there, (he) who made them come, he was just sitting.’ STE/VC

- (13:24) *Watyeke i-ya-tyi’ järe’mä iits järe’mä*
 maybe M-AD-L.M DM DE.M DM
khöjkä-’-tyi’ öi bae’-e-dye’ min-min
 care.for-3F.O-L.M DE.F live-VI-NO AS-RD
watyeke-ra’ järe’mä käw-ë-k-te-in.
 maybe-IR DM see-VI-DK-3M.O-P
 ‘Maybe this one from here, who care for all around the village
 (the caretaker), maybe they will go to see him.’ STE/CT

The relativized element is in primary object function in the following example:

- (13:25) *Mi’ soñi’ näij-te-tyi’ mi inöj-yä’*
 3M.SG man see-VD.3.M.O-L.M 2SG moment-AD
äej-ä-te jiri-ty itsiki.
 kill-VI-3M.O one-M jaguar
 ‘The man that you saw a moment ago has killed a jaguar.’
 ELE/RC, FT

In the following example, the relativized element has the secondary object (i.e. patient) function in a ditransitive construction. The secondary object in Mosetén, usually in the semantic role of the patient, is not marked in the cross-reference ending of the verb (8.1.4.):

- (13:26) *Mö’ aka’ tyi-ti’-si’ mi*
 3F.SG housegive-2SG/1SG-L.F 2SG
je-kao-ka-ksi-’ mintyi’.
 CS-frighten-VK-3P.O-F.S man
 ‘The house that you gave me frightens people.’ ELE/RC, FT

13.3.2. *yodye’-L non-restrictive relative clauses*

In the present section, I want to discuss the non-restrictive relative clauses, marked by *yodye’-L*. Non-restrictive relative clauses add new information to the clause, instead of restricting the head noun. *Yodye’-L*

appears at the beginning of the relative clause, while the verb in this clause is regularly inflected and not marked in a special way, as opposed to relative clauses marked by the linker (13.3.1.). The relative clause marker *yodye'-L* consists of the sentential marker *yo-* 'like, in this way' (13.3.7.), the nominalization marker *-dye'* (4.2.1) and the linker *-si'* (F) / *-tyi'* (M). Without the marking by the linker, *yodye'* is used in adverbial clauses (13.5.4.).

The marker *yodye'-L* is not restricted to subjects and objects in the relative clause, but can function as intransitive subject, transitive subject, primary object, secondary object, oblique element as well as possessor. In the oblique function, the relative marker undergoes further derivations, which is discussed in 13.3.3. below.

The following examples show the gender agreement of the linker marker to the head of the relative clause. The head functions as the transitive subject in the relative clause:

(13:27) *Yäe näsh chhü-yä-ksi-' soñi'-in yo-dye'-tyi'*
 1SG GF know-VY-3P.O-F.S man-P R-NO-L.M
näij-tye-' Maria.
 see-VD-3F.O Maria
 'I know the men who have seen Maria.' ELE/JH

(13:28) *Yäe näsh chhü-yä-ksi-' minsi'-in yo-dye'-si'*
 1SG GF know-VY-3P.O-F.S woman-P R-NO-L.F
näij-tye-' Maria.
 see-VD-3F.O Maria
 'I know the women who have seen Maria.' ELE/JH

In the following example, the function of the relative clause marker within the relative clause is ambiguous. This has to do with the cross-reference on the verb that marks for a masculine object, while both possible participants in the clause are masculine. Since the relative clause marker does not declare the function in the relative clause²⁷³, the example is ambiguous:

(13:29) *Yäe chhü-yë-te mi' soñi' yo-dye'-tyi'*
 1SG know-VY-3M.O 3M.SG man R-NO-L.M
näij-te Roberto.
 see-VD.3M.O Roberto

‘I know the man whom Roberto has seen.’ / I know the man who saw Roberto.’²⁷⁴ ELE/RC, FT

If the head is plural, an *in* may follow the relative marker, though this is not obligatory (4.2.1.). Hence, even a difference in number may not help to disambiguate the above example, which can only be achieved through a difference in gender or in the pragmatics of the example.

In the following text example, the relative clause marker is the intransitive subject in the relative clause:

(13:30) *Fäk-e-’ mi’ phen, phen jike mi’*
 angry-VI-3F.O 3M.SG woman woman PS 3M.SG
yo-dye’-si’ itsiki-tom bae’-i-’.
 R-NO-L.F jaguar-COM live-VI-F.S
 ‘He got angry at the woman, the woman who lives with the jaguar.’ STE/EC

In some examples, *jike mi’* or *jike mö’*, i.e. the temporal particle *jike* ‘past’ and a 3rd person personal pronoun, appear between the head and the relative clause.²⁷⁵

The following example shows the primary object function of the relative clause marker in the relative clause. The relative clause in this example appears with a head that is only present in the cross-reference ending of the verb *ñae’tye’* ‘she puts it’:

(13:31) *Mö’-ki aj päräj yo-dye’-si’-ra’ mö’*
 3F.SG-CO yet other R-NO-L.F-IR 3F.SG
jï-’ mö’-ki aj päräj ñae’-tye’-’-in.
 chew.VI-F.O 3F.SG-CO yet other put-VD-3F.O-P
 ‘And the other one (put) apart what she has chewed, and the other one is put apart.’ STE/VJ

When the function of the relativized element is that of a patient in a ditransitive construction, it does not appear in the cross-reference ending of the verb in the relative clause, as *mishi* ‘cat’ in the following example:

- (13:32) *Mö' mishi yo-dye'-si' tyi-ti'-mi saeks-i' ara' much*
 3F.SG cat R-NO-L.F give-2SG/1SG-2SG eat-VI-F.S
 'The cat that you gave me eats a lot.' ELE/RC, FT

The oblique functions that according to the accessibility hierarchy should be treated here will be discussed below. Instead, I will turn to the possessor function of the relativized element. This can be expressed by the relative clause marker *yodye'-L* without further marking.²⁷⁶ The possessor can both be animate (13:33) and inanimate (13:34):

- (13:33) *Mi' soñi' yo-dye'-tyi'yij-mö' daer paerae' äwä'-mi' child-3M.SG*
 3M.SG man R-NO-L.M foot(F)-3F.SG big two
 'The man, whose feet are huge, has two children.' ELE/RC, FT
- (13:34) *Bae'-i-'yäe jiri-s-khan aka' yo-dye'-si' kaertyakis jaechbae' door red*
 live-VI-F.S-1SG one-F-IN houseR-NO-L.F
 'I live in a house, of which the door is red.' ELE/RC, FT

13.3.3. *yodye-dye'-L* and *jäe'ñi-L* restrictive relative clauses

The partially reduplicated form of the marker *yodye'-*, namely *yodye-dye'-L*, can mark restrictive relative clauses. It can appear in all functions within the relative clause, in the same way as *yodye'-L* (13.3.2.). This type of relative clause marking differs from the restrictive relative clause marking *V-L* (13.3.1.), in that *yodyedye'-L* exclusively appears with plural antecedents. It marks a small and restricted sub-group, which is part of a larger selection of people:

- (13:35) *Phe-ya-j-ki-ki-in raej-tom mintyi'-in jö'dyë'yä' kolla-tom-in yo-dye-dye'-tyi' tsin-si-khan jükh*
 talk-VY-DIR-AN-DK.M.S-P all-COM man-P and
 Aymara-COM-P R-NO-RD-L.M 1P-L.F-IN earth

bae'-i-in.

live-VI.M.S-P

‘They have talked with all people (i.e. Mosetenes) and all Aymaras who live in our area.’ STE/CT

In this example, the group of Aymaras is restricted to those who live in the Mosetén area.

Yodyedye'-L can also be used in structures where the restrictive relative clause marking by *V-L* is not accepted, as in the oblique function:

- (13:36) *Pero khin' katyi'-ra' jike shiph-ki i-ya'-in*
 but.E now EH-IR PS leave-VK.M.SM-AD-P
sak-yi-in i-we jij-ka-i-in
 leave-VY.M.S-P M-DR go-DK-M.S-P
phe-ya-j-ki-ki-in yo-dye-dye'-tyi'-tom
 talk-VY-DIR-AN-DK.M.S-P R-NO-RD-L.M-COM
ayo'-tom i-we bae'-i'-in.
 president-COM M-DR live-VI-F.S-P
 ‘But today it is said that they will leave – there they will go to speak with those who are with the president.’ STE/CT

Furthermore, the interrogative pronoun *jäe'ñi-L* ‘which one is it’ (5.4.9.) can be used to mark restrictive relative clauses of this type:

- (13:37) *Jäe'ñi'-tyi'aj jaem'-in shiph-ki-in.*
 which-L.M yet good-P leave-VK.M.S-P
 ‘Those who are good should leave (for university).’ COE/JH

13.3.4. *Oblique functions of relative clause markers*

The relative clause markers *yodye'-* and *yo-* can appear with relation markers (4.1.), that are not being marked by the linker. The generated clauses function as adverbial clauses. I have divided the different relation markers in the following sections treating 1. local relations (i.e. adessive, inessive, downriver and superessive), 2. comitative, 3.

benefactive and 4. associative relation. These differ in their forms and meanings as summarized in the following table:

Table 52: Oblique relative clause markers

	<i>yodye'</i> -X	<i>yo</i> -X
Adessive <i>-ya'</i>		<i>yoya'</i>
Inessive <i>-khan</i>	<i>yodye'</i> -L- <i>khan</i> (close locality)	<i>yokhan</i> (broad locality)
Downriver <i>-we</i>		<i>yowe</i>
Superessive <i>-chhe'</i>		<i>yochhe'</i>
Comitative <i>-tom</i>	<i>yodye'</i> -L- <i>tom</i> (general form)	<i>yotom</i> (large plural number, only accepted by some informants)
Benefactive <i>-dye</i> -L	<i>-yodye'</i> -L- <i>dye</i> -L	
Associative <i>-min</i>	<i>yodye'</i> -L- <i>min</i>	<i>yomin</i> (apparently no difference to long form)

13.3.4.1. Relative clause markers and local relations

Relative clauses, in which the relativized element has a local function, can be marked in two ways: 1. by the marker *yo-* (13.3.7.), followed by a local relation marker (4.1.5 to 4.1.8.): *yo-ya'*, *yo-khan*, *yo-we* and *yo-chhe'* and 2. by the marker *yodye'*-L-, followed by the inessive relation marker *-khan*.

I will begin with the relative clause markers composed of *yo-* in combination with a local relation marker. In the following example, the relativized element has an oblique function in the relative clause, and the marker *yo-* has added to it the adessive relation marker *-ya'*. In this example, the relative NP is not adjacent to the head *chhimi'ya'* 'in the same place':

- (13:38) *Aj katyi'chhi-mi'-ya' ji-ban yo-ya'*
 yet EH also-3M.SG-AD pass.VI-again.M.S R-AD
üej-ä-ksi paerae' tara'tara'
 kill-VI-3P.O.M.Stwo big.rat
 'Then he comes back to the same place where he killed the two rats.' WTE/JH

The relative clause in the above example can also be used without a head, functioning as a local adverbial clause (13.5.2.).

The following examples show the superessive (13:39) and the downriver (13:40) relations, forming relative clause markers together with *yo-*:

- (13:39) *Daerae'-chhe'yo-chhe' bae'-i'-in nä-i-si'-in*
 tree-SU R-SU live-VI-F.S-P fly-VI-L.F-P
yo-chhe' fer tsi'wae'-wae-i'-...
 R-SU strong cold-RD-VI-F.S
 'On top of the trees²⁷⁷, where (the) birds live (and) where it is
 very cold...' ELE/DM
- (13:40) *Jäen' am ti''i'-in bae'-e-dye'-in yo-we*
 how QN name-VI-F.S-P live-VI-NO-P R-DR
bae'-i tata Roberto?
 live-VI.M.S fatherRoberto
 'What are the names of the villages where the priest Roberto
 lives (i.e. works)?' ELE/RC, FT

In the inessive relative, two types of marking are possible. The following example shows the inessive marker added to *yo-*, in the same way as the other local relations above:

- (13:41) *Yäe tyi-ti' mö' kirjka yo-khan yäe*
 1SG give-1SG/2SG3F.SG book R-IN 1SG
yäj-ki-n' jiri-s paper jaem'-si'-dye-si'.
 leave-VK-PR one-Fpaper.E good-L.F-B-L.F
 'I gave you the book (in the place) where I left (i.e. forgot) an
 important paper.' ELE/RC

In this example, *yokhan* appears as a headless relative clause, referring to the place in which the paper was forgotten. In the following example, the speaker uses another relative clause marker, namely the 'long' form *yodye'si'khan*, consisting of the relative clause marker *yodye'-L* and the inessive marker *-khan*:

- (13:42) *Yäe tyi-ti' jiri-s kirjka yo-dye'-si'-khan*
 1SG give-1SG/2SG one-F book R-NO-L.F-IN

yäe yäj-ki-n' jiri-s paper jaem'-si'-dye-si'
 1SG leave-VK-PR one-Fpaper.E good-L.F-B-L.F
 'I gave you a book in which I forgot an important paper.'
 ELE/RC

In this example, *kirjka* 'book' is the head of the relative clause, expressing that the person forgot the paper inside the book (instead of the place where the book was given away).

Generally, the 'long' form *yodye'si'khan* expresses a more local relation than the 'short' form *yokhan*. In this way, the long form is often used when something is inside a smaller thing. This is demonstrated in the following example, where the long form is used to refer to a bat that lives in a jar. Notice that the head of the relative clause *towo* 'jar' appears within the relative clause:

(13:43) *Me'-ki yo-dye-si'-khan mi' towo bae'-i*
 so-CO R-NO-L.F-IN 3M.SG jar live-VI.M.S
jiri-s-ki-ki katyi'jam wën'-jō-ban.
 one-F-size-RD EH NG move-DJ-again.M.S
 'So, he (the bat) sometimes did not come back to the jar, in
 which he lived.' WTE/CT

These long forms of the relative clause marker are not accepted with other local relations. This may be due to the fact that the long form expresses the close locality "in" a place, which is only covered by the inessive relation marker *-khan* (see section 4.1.6.).

Apart from the locality, the long form of this relative clause marker can express a time depth of being 'inside' a place, as opposed to the short form that expresses a shorter time period:

(13:44) *Mö' aka' yo-khan yäe bae'-i' jimi mö'*
 3F.SG houseR-IN 1SG live-VI-F.Sroof 3F.SG
manai'-si'
 palm.leave-L.F
 'The house in which I live has a roof of palm leaves.' (I have
 lived there for a short time) ELE/RC, FT

(13:45) *Mö' aka' yo-dye'-si'-khan yäe bae'-i' jimi*
 3F.SG houseR-NO-L.F-IN 1SG live-VI-F.Sroof

mö' manai'-si'.

3F.SG palm.leave-L.F

'The house in which I live has a roof of palm leaves.' (I have always lived there or I lived there in the past) ELE/RC, FT

13.3.4.2. Relative clause markers and the comitative

When the relativized element occurs in the comitative function, the relative markers *yo-* and *yodye'-L-* are marked by the comitative relation marker *-tom*. These two forms differ in that *yodye'-L-tom* can always be used, whereas *yotom* is only used by some informants, and exclusively with plural antecedents which express a large number. The following example shows the long form *yodye'-L-tom*:

(13:46) *Anayi Anayi katyi'khä-mi' ti'-i*

Anayi Anayi EH well-3M.SG name-VI.M.S

yo-dye'-tyi'-tom-ra' mö' bae'-wa'-jo-'

R-NO-L.M-COM-IR 3F.SG live-VI.PR-PRI-F.S

'His name was Anayi, Anayi, with whom she was living.'

COE/VJ

The following examples show the difference between the long (C) and the short (D) form of the comitative relative clause marker. The short form focuses on a larger plurality; however, it is only accepted by some informants:

(13:47) *Mi'-in soñi'-in yo-dye'-tyi'-tom shiph-ki-' Maria...*

3M-P man-P R-NO-L.M-COM leave-VK-F.S Maria

'The men with whom Maria left...' (some men, unknown number) ELE/RC, FT

(13:48) *Mi'-in soñi'-in yo-tom shiph-ki-' Maria...*

3M-P man-P R-COM leave-VK-F.S Maria

'The men with whom Maria left...' (many men, large number)

ELE/RC, FT

13.3.4.3. Relative clause markers and the benefactive

Relative clauses with the head noun appearing in the benefactive function can be marked in two different ways. One of these types of marking is by *yodye'-L-dye-L*, which consists of the relative clause marker *yodye'-L* and the benefactive relation marker *-dye-L*:

- (13:49) *Yäe näsh tyaj-ka-ksi-' phen-in*
 1SG GF meet-VK-3P.O-F.S woman-P
yo-dye'-si'-dye-si'-in mi ya'-i-ya-ksi-' kirjka.
 R-NO-L.F-B-L.F-P 2SG buy-VI-APY-3P.O-F.S book
 'I have met the women for whom you have bought the books.'
 ELE/DM

In this example, the benefactive element is the primary object of the clause, having the role of a recipient.

Most of my informants accept this marker, though some people tend to understand it as an indefinite marker, meaning 'for no reason at all'. An indefinite marker with this meaning has almost the same form, *yodye'sidyesei* 'for no good reason', with the only difference that no glottal stop appears after *yodye'si-*.

Informants who do not accept the form *yodye'si'dyesei* as a relative clause marker prefer to mark relative clauses with a relativized benefactive relation in a different way: the clauses are coordinated by juxtaposition, the head noun of the former relative clause appears as a personal pronoun marked by the benefactive relation:

- (13:50) *Yäe tyaj-ka-ksi mö'-in phen-in,*
 1SG meet-VK-3P.O.M.S 3F-P woman-P
mö'-in-dye-si' jike ya'-i mi kirjka-in.
 3F-P-B-L.F PS buy-VI.M.S 2SG book-P
 'I met the women for whom you have bought the book(s).'

ELE/JH

13.3.4.4. Relative clause markers and the associative

My informants also accepted the associative in relation to the relative clause marker both in the long form *yodye'-L-min* and the short form *yo-min*. I could not elicit any differences in meaning between these two forms. The associative relation (on its own) is very infrequent and there are no text examples of this form together with the relative clause marker.

13.3.5. *Other relative clause markers*

As alternatives to the types of relative clause marking discussed above, a couple of other elements can be used as relative clause markers: the interrogative pronouns *jäe'nä'* (13:51) 'where' and *tyitom* (13:52) 'with whom', the latter consisting of *tyi* 'who' and the comitative relation marker *-tom*. The marker *tyitom* is exclusively used with human beings:

- (13:51) *Dyiph mi' aj kinakdye' ti-wën-ka-*
 then 3M.SG yet jaguar APT-move-DK-F.S
daerae'-khan moch aj ka-i' jäe'nä'-rä' mi'
 mountain-IN far yet bring-3F.O where-IR 3M.SG
bae'-i.
 live-VI.M.S
 'Then the jaguar brought her to the mountain, far he brought her, (to) where he lives.' STE/EC
- (13:52) *Yäe näsh chhii-yë-te mi' soñi' tyi-tom*
 1SG GF know-VY-3M.O 3M.SG man person-COM
shiph-ki Roberto.
 leave-VK.M.S Roberto
 'I know the man with whom Roberto left.' ELE/RC, FT

13.3.6. *Word order in relative clauses*

What is the constituent order in the main clause and the internal constituent order in the relative clause? The order of elements in the main clause is independent of the type of relative clause involved. The

relative clause generally appears at the end of the main clause, often independent of the place of its antecedent.²⁷⁸ Still, the antecedent is generally found before the relative clause. In some cases, relative clauses also appear before their head, see example (13:21) above. Even more uncommon is the appearance of the head within the relative clause, see example (13:43) above.

Often, word order in the main clause is not changed, even if a relative clause follows. Since relative clauses usually are placed at the end of the main clause, they are often not adjacent to their head. This is shown in the following example, where the head of the relative clause, *tētēi* ‘frog’ appears before the verb of the main clause, and is not adjacent to the relative clause *yodye’sitomra’ phiki* ‘with whom he would run’:

- (13:53) *Mö’-nä-ki jiri-s tētēi mö’-ya’ bis-a-ki-’*
 3F.SG-FO-CO one-F frog 3F-AD wait-VI-AN-F.S
yo-dye’-si’-tom-ra’ phi-ki.
 R-NO-L.F-COM-IR run-VK.M.S
 ‘And one of the frogs was waiting, the one with whom he
 would run.’ WTE/JH

This non-adjacency of the head is possible, since the noun phrase in Mosestén commonly can be split up (4.7.). It is found with all functions of the relativized element; see example (13:31) above for a non-oblique clause marked by *yodye’-L*, and example (13:21) for an example of relative clause marking by *V-L*.

The head can also be adjacent to the relative clause, for example, when the word order is changed in the main clause:

- (13:54) *Me’-ki jäe’mä men bae’-e-dye’ aj-win mö’-tyäkä’*
 so-CO DM moment live-VI-NO yet-C 3F.SG-EM
phen yo-dye’-si’ shüe’ä-i Oye.
 woman R-NO-L.F rob-VI.M.S Oye
 ‘So she had already lived there for some time, the woman, who
 (the jaguar) Oye had robbed.’ STE/EC

The following example shows a relative clause marked by *V-L*. In this type, the relative clause is not initiated by a marker, but appears on the

verb instead. Therefore, it can sometimes be difficult to determine where the relative clause begins, and the hearer has to rely on meaning and context. In the following example, the relative clause is adjacent to the head *tata* ‘father, priest’:

- (13:55) *Awer, mi' tata, khin' 'jäe'mü Alto*
 let's.see.E 3M.SG fathernow DM Alto
khöjkä-i'-tyi', ...
 care.for-F.O-L.M
 ‘Let’s see, the priest, who cares for them in El Alto,...’ COE/JH

Turning to the internal structure of relative clauses, *yodye'-L* initiates these, whereas *V-L* appears on the verb of the relative clause. Word order inside the relative clause is generally the same as in declarative clauses, but with some exceptions: the relativized element is exclusively referred to by the relative clause marker and its place in the clause is not occupied. This is demonstrated in the example (13:55) above, where the head *tata* ‘father, priest’ is relativized and does not appear – apart from the verbal cross-reference ending - inside the relative clause. In focus constructions, the word order in the relative clause can be changed, so that the relative clause appears before its head, often leading to another constituent order inside the relative clause as well, where the verb then appears before the subject.

With pronominal subjects, the two main types of relative clauses differ in their internal constituent order. In relative clauses marked by *V-L*, the pronominal subject usually appears after the verb, in the same way as in declarative clauses:

- (13:56) *Mi' yäe tye-te kirjka jiri-ty soñi'*
 3M.SG 1SG give-3M.O book one-M man
chhü-yë-te-tyi' mi.
 know-VY-3M.O-L.M 2SG
 ‘I gave the book to a man, whom you know.’ ELE/DM

In relative clauses marked by *yodye'*, on the other hand, the pronominal subject usually precedes the verb:

- (13:57) *Mi' yäe tye-te kirjka jiri-ty soñi'*
 3M.SG 1SG give-3M.O book one-M man
yo-dye'-tyi' mi chhü-yë-te.
 R-NO-L.M 2SG know-VY-3M.O
 'I gave the book to a man, whom you know.' ELE/DM

13.3.7. Headless relative clauses: *yoj*

The marker *yoj* is part of the relative clause marker *yodye'-L* (13.3.2.); it also appears in a number of oblique forms of relative pronouns (13.3.4.). On its own, *yoj* is used adverbially, expressing manner adverbial clauses (13.5.3.). Formally, it marks headless relative clauses:

- (13:58) *Me'-we-katyi' jäe'mä jike mö' ñibe'-ya-ki-'*
 so-DR-EH DM PS 3F.SG lucky-VY-AN-F.S
phen dyak-a-ki-' yoj-räei' äwä' dyak-dyi-'
 woman find-VI-AN-F.S R-EM child get-VI.1PI-F.O
khin'-ya'.
 now-AD
 'So it is said that she was lucky, she had a child, like we get children today.' STE/EC

In the following example, *yoj* is combined with the incorporating marker *-dyi'* 'taste' (8.4.7.). Again, the reference is generally to the context:

- (13:59) *Yoj-dyi'-nä yok-si' phen jaes-i'-in*
 R-taste-F.S-FO other-L.F woman chewed.yucca-VI-F.S-P
mi-nä jäen-dye' ish-wi' mi jaem'
 2SG-FO how-NO then-MN 2SG good
jaes-i- '?
 chewed.yucca-VI-F.S
 'How tasty it is (when) other women make chicha, and you, when will you make good chicha?' STE/VJ

The marker *yoj* can be combined with the suffix *-ki'* 'size', expressing 'a size like' or similar concepts:

- (13:60) *Yo-ki'-we näjjä' mimi' yäe*
 R-size-DR piece only.M 1SG
koi-yá-j-ki-ki.
 clean.plantation-VY-DIR-AN-DK.M.S
 'I just cleared this area of the plantation.' STE/VJ

Furthermore, this marker can be applied to refer to a period of time:

- (13:61) *Yo-ki'-ya' mayedye' mi'-i.*
 R-size-AD day go-VI.M.S
 'All the day he walked.' STE/EC

The meaning of *yo-ki'* is in fact neutral as to the actual size of the element in question.

Furthermore, *yoj* can appear in the reduplicated form *yojyoyj*, which is often used for emphasis:

- (13:62) *Yoj-yoj yäe ya'dye mayedye'.*
 R-RD 1SG go day
 'Like I pass the day (so much time I spend).' ELE/RC, FT

In the following example, *yojyoyj* refers to what happened the day before. The context that is described in the preceding clause can be interpreted as the antecedent of this marker:

- (13:63) *Me'-ki jäe'mä yakchh-i-ti-tsin mäen'jä', khin'*
 so-CO DM begin-VI-RE.M.S-1P yesterday now
chhome' kichh' öi-tom tsin jäe'mä oraciones
 also go.onDE.F-COM 1P DM sentences.E
yoj-yoj yakchh-i-ti jäe'mä.
 R-RD begin-VI-RE.M.S DM
 'So we started yesterday, now we also go on with the
 sentences, like we started.' STE/JH

13.4. Complement clauses

Complement clauses appear in subject or object position of a matrix clause, and are thus subordinated to this clause. There are three types of complement clauses in Mosestén: finite complement clauses, non-finite complement clauses and indirect questions. In general, only object complement clauses are found in the language, whereas subject complements only very rarely occur. The latter can, however, be elicited:

- (13:64) *Karij-tya-ki* *raej-dye-si'* *mayedye'*
 hard-VD-AN.M.S all-B-F.S day
ij-a-n-yäe.
 kill-VI-1SG.O-1SG
 'Working all day kills me.' ELE/AT

Since all my other examples of complement clauses are object complements, I will generally refer to them as “complement clauses” in the remainder of this section. The following table shows the different types of complement clauses, some of the matrix verbs they appear with, as well as restrictions on their form:

Table 53: Complement clauses

	Meaning of matrix verb	Restrictions
Finite complement clauses	want, must, seem, stop, finish, begin, know (how to), etc.	co-referent subjects in matrix clause and complement clause ²⁷⁹
Non-finite complement clauses	beg, forbid, etc.	primary object of matrix clause is co-referent to subject of complement clause
Indirect questions	remember, etc.	introduced by interrogative pronoun

13.4.1. Finite complement clauses

Finite complement clauses can appear in transitive and intransitive matrix clauses. Intransitive matrix clauses are often derived by the

antipassive, as the demoted object complement is apparent in the clause without being inflected in the cross-reference ending. Due to the relatedness in form with object complements of transitive verbs, I will treat these structures under the same heading. The verbs in complement clauses are finite and can be inflected both intransitively and transitively. The subject of such a verb is co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause.

I will begin with object complement clauses that appear with transitive matrix verbs, and will then move on to those with intransitive matrix verbs. Transitive matrix verbs appear with 3rd person feminine object agreement in the cross-reference ending, referring to the complement clause. As a complement clause has no gender marking itself, the unmarked feminine gender is used for this purpose. A number of matrix verbs typically appear in these constructions: *rai'se* 'want' (13:65), *jemoñe* 'must' (13:66) and *se'we* 'seem' (13:67):

- (13:65) *Me'-ki katyi' mej sak-yi Don Jose aj*
 so-CO EH down leave-VY.M.S Don Jose yet
sak-yi yi-katyi' rai's-e-'-tsa' mi'
 leave-VY.M.S say.M.S-EH want-VI-3F.O-FR 3M.SG
ji'-ro'-ya-ke-' achae Diana.
 CA-dance-VY-AN-3F.O dog Diana
 'So he left, Don Jose, he left, saying that he wanted to make the
 dog Diana dance (which did not succeed). COE/SM

Notice that the pronominal subject *mi'* follows the matrix verb, while there is no subject marker apparent in the complement clause.

- (13:66) *Khin-ra'jemoñ-e-' jaem' jaes-i-'-mi.*
 now-IR must-VI-3F.O good chewed.yucca-VI-F.S-2SG
 'Now you must make good chicha.' STE/VJ

The matrix verb *se'we* 'seem' usually has a general subject in both clauses:

- (13:67) *Aj pho-ki-' katyi' se'w-e-'-in.*
 yet smell-VK-F.S EH seem-VI-3F.O-P
 'It seems (to them) that something is smelling.' WTE/JH

In the above examples, the subjects in matrix and complement clauses are co-referential. The verb in the complement clause can be preceded by the markers *paj* ‘for’ or *pajki* ‘for that’, which are usually used in purposive adverbial clauses (13.5.5.). With complement clauses, they express that the subjects of matrix and complement clause are not co-referential:

- (13:68) *Yäe rai's-e- paj añe-i-'*
 1SG want-VI-3F.O that rain-VI-F.S
 ‘I want it to rain.’ ELE/JH

In the same way as transitive matrix verbs, a number of intransitive verbs can appear with object-resembling complements. Intransitive verbs in Mosestén frequently occur with an object marker in the clause. This is, for example, the case in detransitivized structures where former objects are demoted and do not appear in the verbal cross-reference ending. Still, they can stand unmarked in the clause (9.3.). In the same way as transitive matrix verbs, the intransitive matrix verbs have subjects that are co-referential with those in the complement clause. Intransitive verbs that frequently take object complements are *rae'i-* ‘stop’ (13:69), *äejä-* ‘finish’ (13:70), *yakchhiti-* ‘begin’ (13:71) and *chhi-* ‘know (how to)’ (13:72):

- (13:69) *Dyiph rae'-i-'-ra' aj jö'chh-ä-' aka'*
 then stop-VI-F.S-IR yet fall-VI-F.S house
kinä'-ye-j-chhi-'
 coal-VY-DIR-DC-F.S
 ‘Then, the house stops falling, it all becomes coal.’ STE/VJ
- (13:70) *Äej-ä-i phe-ya-ki jike ya-ksi aj*
 stop-VI-M.S talk-VY-AN.M.SPS say-3P.O.M.S yet
phi-ke-dye-si'...
 run-VK-B-L.F
 ‘When they had finished to talk he said to them concerning the race: ...’ WTE/JH
- (13:71) *Me'-ki mö' yomodye' jike yakchh-i-ti*
 so-CO 3F.SG year PS begin-VI-RE.M.S
karij-tya-ki-yäe mäei-yä'-sī' jäe'mä
 hard-VD-AN.M.S-1SG first-AD-L.F DM

käejädye'-yäe.

plantation-1SG

'So, that year I started to work the first time in my plantation.'

STE/JH

(13:72) *Khäki tsin chhii chhi-'b-a-ki.*

because 1P know.VI.M.S shoot-ITI-shoot-VI-AN.M.S

'Because we know how to shoot.' WTE/JH

13.4.2. *Non-finite complement clauses*

Apart from finite complement clauses (13.4.1.), complement clauses can appear with a non-finite verb, formed with the nominalizer *-dye'* (4.2.1.). This structure is generally found with ditransitive verbs, in which the complement clause is in secondary object position, i.e. not marked in the cross-reference ending of the transitive matrix verb. The primary object of the matrix clause is co-referential to the subject of the complement clause. This structure is found with verbs such as 'forbid' (13:73) and 'beg' (13:74):

(13:73) *Yäe faraj-ji'-ye-ye sob-a-k-dye' mö'-si'-yä'*

1SG leave-CA-VY-1SG/2SG visit-VI-AN-NO F-L.F-AD

phen.

woman

'I forbid you to visit this woman.' (lit. 'I cause you to leave the visit at this woman's.') ELE/JH

The non-finite complement clause *sobakdye' mö'si'yä'* 'visiting this woman' is nominalized and appears as a noun phrase, instead of a clause. The same structure is found in the following example, with the matrix verb 'beg':

(13:74) *Yäe ködye-ye sob-a-k-dye' öi-yä' phen.*

1SG beg-1SG/2SG visit-VI-AN-NO DE.F-AD woman

'I beg you to visit this woman.' ELE/JH

13.4.3. Indirect questions

Indirect questions are complement clauses initiated by an interrogative pronoun (5.4.):

- (13:75) *Jam dyij-mi jedye' yomodye'?*
 NG think(PR) -2SG thing year
 'Don't you remember what year it was?' COE/JH

These clauses can also be interpreted as direct question, marked by a question marker, such as *-dyash*:

- (13:76) *Me'-dyaj mi dyij jedye'-dyash-ra' yowañi',*
 so-QY 2SG think(PR) thing-QI-IR yowañi
phi-yi-ti' khin'.
 talk-VY-2SG/1.SG now
 'So, do you remember what this *yowañi*' (main actor in a story) is; tell me about it now.' STE/VC

13.4.4. Word order in complement clauses

In the present section, I will discuss the position of the complement clause in relation to the matrix clause, as well as the word order inside complement clauses.

Usually, complement clauses appear in object position of the matrix clause, i.e. after the matrix verb. This order can be changed to O A V when the object is focused, in the same way as in transitive declarative clauses (12.1.3.). This fronting of an object complement is found when the object complement is rather short and at the same time focused:

- (13:77) *Aj-in chojw-e-te-in äej-ä-te rai's-e'-in.*
 yet-P rage-VI-3M.O-P kill-VI-3M.O want-VI-3F.O-P
 'They were angry with him and wanted to kill him.' STE/EC

The complement clause *äejate* 'kill him' precedes the matrix verb *rai'se* 'want it'.

The subject of a complement clause, being co-referential with the subject of the matrix verb, is not expressed in a full noun phrase or by a pronoun, but is instead simply left out. Consequently, complement clauses generally begin with their verb in finite complement clauses, with the nominalized form in non-finite clauses, and with an interrogative pronoun in rhetorical questions. If the complement clause is transitive, an object NP can follow this marker.

13.5. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses take over an adverbial function within a superordinated clause. These clauses can express different relations, such as reason, location, manner, time, purpose, simultaneous actions, hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals. Many types of adverbial clauses are marked by elements that have other functions as well, such as nominal relation markers and relative clause markers. The types of adverbial clauses and their marking are summarized in the following table:

Table 54: Adverbial clauses and their marking

	Nominal relation markers	Relative clause markers	Other marking
Reason			<i>khäki, me'ki, me'weki</i>
Location		<i>yo-LO</i>	<i>jäe'nä'</i> (interrogative)
Manner		<i>yoj</i>	
Time	<i>-ya'</i>	<i>yodye'... -ya'</i>	<i>jijya' / ji'ya'</i>
Purpose	<i>-dyetyi' / -dyesi'</i>		<i>paj, pajki</i>
Simultaneous actions (non-finite)	<i>-tom</i>		
Hypothetical conditional	<i>-ya'</i>		
Counterfactual conditional			<i>-wi'</i> (modality), <i>jijya' / ji'ya'</i>

13.5.1. Reason

Adverbial clauses that express reason are formed by the particle *khäki* ‘because’, consisting of the emphatic marker *khä* (11.3.5.) and a marker *-ki* ‘reason’. This marker does not seem to be related to the other marker *-ki* which expresses the non-co-reference of subjects in adjacent clauses (13.2.1.). In the following example, the subject of the main clause is co-referential to the subject of the adverbial clause:

- (13:78) *Jam-ra' mö' soñi-tye-te khäki-rä' anik*
 NG-IR 3F.SG man-VD-APD.3M.O because-IR EM
min-min kinakdye', wodyo' kishri-i.
 AS-RD jaguar on.four.feetpaint-VI.M.S
 ‘She cannot have courage (to see him), because she really is
 among jaguars, on four feet, painted.’ STE/EC

The particle *me'ki* ‘therefore’ can also be used to refer to a reason-relationship. This marker consists of *me'* ‘so’ (11.3.4.) and the marker *-ki* ‘reason’:

- (13:79) *Pero mi'-in kolla-in jam rai's-e'-in,*
 but.E 3M-P Aymara.E-P NG want-VI-3F.O-P
fäk-hö-i-in, me'-ki kiwi ka'ñ-i-bin-in
 angry-VJ-M.S-P so-CO again go.back-VI-again.RE.M.S-P
raej-tom jedye'-in kich-bae'-i-in Santa Ana-ya'-in.
 all-COM thing-P direct-be-VI.M.S-P Santa Ana-AD-P
 ‘But the Aymaras did not want to, they got angry; therefore,
 they (the engineers) went back again directly to Santa Ana with
 all their things.’ STE/CT

The marker *me'weki* is used to express a reason relationship in the same way as *me'ki*. Sometimes, the marker expresses predictions about the future at the same time:

- (13:80) *Räei-dyera' mi aj otej-tya-ki-*
 EM-MO 2SG yet luck-VD-AN-F.S
me'-we-ki jaem' aj-khin'jaem' shokdye'-mi.
 so-DR-CO good yet-now good chicha-2SG

‘You really have had luck, therefore you will now make good chicha.’ STE/VJ

13.5.2. *Location*

Locational adverbial clauses are expressed in the same way as locational relative clauses (13.3.4.1.), in that they are marked by the relative clause marker *yo-LO* (13:81) or the interrogative pronoun *jäe'nä* ‘where’ (13:82):

- (13:81) *Me' mö'-nä-ki phen je-sh-wa'-ban-' mö'*
 so 3F.SG-FO-CO woman take-DS-PR-again-F.S 3F.SG
o'yi yo-khan jike käedäej yäj-ki-'
 yucca R-IN PS baby leave-VK-F.S
ichäe-ki-si'
 little-VK-L.F
 ‘So the woman goes to get yucca where she had left her little child.’ STE/EC

- (13:82) *Moch aj ka-i' jäe'nä'-rä' mi' bae'-i.*
 far yet bring-3F.O where-IR 3M.SG live-VI.M.S
 ‘He brought her far (away), where he lived.’ STE/EC

13.5.3. *Manner*

Manner adverbial clauses are marked by *yoj*, which formally can be described as a headless relative clause marker (13.3.7.):

- (13:83) *Yoj-nä-mi ti-chhe'-e-te-mi we-te-m*
 R-FO-2SG APT-up-VI-3M.O-2SG carry-VD.3M.O-2SG.s
me'-ra' khin' jemoñ-e-'-mi
 so-IR now must-VI-3F.O-2SG
we-baj-te-m
 carry-VD.again-3M.O-2SG.s
 ‘Like (in the same way as) you can hold him and carry him, so now you have to carry him.’ (uttered by a husband who has

killed the lover of his wife and now makes her carry the body to the fire) STE/VJ

13.5.4. Time

Temporal adverbial clauses are usually expressed by the clitic *-ya'*, added to the verb of this clause. This marker is used as an adessive relation marker in noun phrases (4.1.5.). The following example shows a temporal adverbial clause, following the main clause:

- (13:84) *Jäe'nä-si' am-ki je-k-e'-ki-in mi'-chhe'-in,*
 where-L.F QN-CO take-DK-3F.O-CO-P 3M-SU-P
mäei'-yä' karij-tya-ki-ya'-in mi'-chhe'?
 first-AD hard-VD-AN.M.S-AD-P 3M-SU
 'And from where did you take it (the water), when you first started to work up there?' COE/EC

In temporal adverbial clauses marked by *-ya'*, the marker *yodye'* can also be applied. It is used as a relative clause marker, combined with the linker morpheme (13.3.2.). In the same way as with relative clauses, it introduces the adverbial clause:

- (13:85) *Jaaa yodye' korosh jaem'-tye'-ya'-in raej aj*
 EX when cross.E good-VD-3F.O-AD-P all yet
jäe'mä iits Loki, Nikel raej tsin aj
 DM DE.M Lucrecio Nicolas all 1P yet
joventud.
 youth.E
 'Well, when they made the cross, Lucrecio and Nicolas, we all were young then.' COE/SM

In a few cases, the form *ji-ya'* 'when, M' / *ji'ya'* 'when, F', consisting of a verbal element 'pass' and the marker *-ya'*, is used to express a temporal adverbial clause:

- (13:86) *Jike khin'-ki me' aj shökäm aj ji-ya'*
 PS now-CO so yet afternoon yet pass.M.S-AD

“*i-ya’-ra’ mi bae’-i” yi-n-yäe.*
 M-AD-IR 2SG be-VI.M.S say-1O-1SG
 ‘And now when it already was afternoon, he told me “here you
 will stay”.’ STE/VC

Mostly, however, the marker *jijya’ / ji’ya’* appears in conditional clauses (13.5.8.).

13.5.5. Purpose

Purposive adverbial clauses are expressed by cliticizing *-dyetyi’* (M) or *-dyesi’* (F) to the verb. These markers can also be used in noun phrases, expressing a benefactive relation (4.1.4.). In adverbial clauses, gender agreement is with a noun phrase²⁸⁰ in the adverbial clause, or with an element that directly affects the adverbial clause.

In the following example, gender agreement is with *jedye’in* ‘things’, as the purposive adverbial clause provides a closer description of this element:

(13:87) *Khäki katyi’-in jäe’mä dyam-dyam jedye’-in*
 because EH-P DM little-RD thing(F)-P
jäe’mä saeks-i-dye-si’.
 DM eat-VI-B-L.F
 ‘Because there are only few things to eat.’ WTE/JH

Transitive verbs are detransitivized before the benefactive marker, in the same way as with the nominalization marker *-dye’*. In the following example, gender agreement is with the noun *aka’* ‘house’ that appears in the adverbial clause:

(13:88) *Mi’-tom karij-tya-ki-yäe jäe’mä jiri-ty*
 3M.SG-COM hard-VD-AN.M.S-1SGDM one-M
mintyi’, rai’s-i-n-yäe mi’ jäe’mä khöjkä-k-dye-si’
 man want-VI-1O-1SG3M.SG DM care.for-AN-B-L.F
aka’-mi’.
 house(F)-3M.SG

‘With him I worked, with a man, he wanted me to take care of his house.’ STE/JH

Another way of expressing purposive adverbial clauses is by the particle *paj* ‘so (that)’.²⁸¹ The use of this particle generally implies that the subjects of the main clause and of the adverbial clause are not co-referent:

(13:89) *Sij-sij-ye-’ paj kawin dyo-chhi-’-ki-ra’ tsin.*
 shake-RD-VY-3F.O for fast go-DC-F.S-CO-IR 1P
 ‘Shake it, so that we can rapidly go away.’ STE/EC

The particle *paj* can also express an indirect imperative, such as ‘let’.²⁸²

(13:90) *Jam-ra’ mi’in bojw-i paj mama’ bojw-i!*
 NG-IR 2P go.up-VI.M.S for father go.up-VI.M.S
 ‘Don’t you climb up, let father climb up!’ STE/EC

Due to the non-coreference of the subjects in these adjacent clauses, the particle *paj* is often marked by *-ki* (13.2.1.), which emphasizes this non-coreference:

(13:91) *Mi’-ya’ tsho-i-in jaem’-ñi’-tya-ki-in*
 3M-AD land-VI.M.S-P good-put-VD-AN.M.S-P
tata-dye-si’ paj-ki-ra’ mi’-ya’ khösh-ï.
 father-B-L.F for-CO-IR 3M-AD sleep-VI.M.S
 ‘There they land and prepares (a place) for the priest, so that he can sleep.’ WTE/CT

13.5.6. Simultaneous actions

Adverbial clauses that refer to simultaneous actions are always non-finite and marked by the clitic *-tom*. This marker expresses a comitative relation in noun phrases (4.1.2.). When added to non-finite clauses, it expresses that two actions appear simultaneously, one of these actions being expressed in an adverbial clause. In the following example, the marker *tom* is added to the non-finite verb *yi-si’*:

- (13:92) *Yi'-si'-tom phe-ya-k-dye' tits-o-n'-yi-tyi'-in*
 say-L.F-COM talk-VY-MI-NO grab-VI-PR-VY-L.M-P
ködi-chhë' nai-nai-ti yi-ti-in
 tail-SU smash(on.ground)-RD-VT.M.S do-AT.M.S-P
äej-ä-te.
 kill-VI-3M.O
 'Saying this, he took his tail and smashed him on the ground,
 killing him.' WTE/JH

The verb *yi-* 'say' is marked by the feminine form of the linker *-si'* (4.8.) and is therefore non-finite. It is followed by *-tom*, expressing simultaneity. This use is very close to the function of *-tom* in the noun phrase, expressing a comitative relation. The following example shows such a comitative relation, which in this case also expresses simultaneous actions:

- (13:93) *Mö'-tom dyij-ye-dye' aj wek-ye-' äwä'.*
 3F.SG-COM think-VY-NO yet bind-VY-3F.Ochild
 'Thinking this, she bound up her child.' (Mosetén children are
 put to sleep by being wrapped in a sheet tied to the roof of the
 house) STE/EC

13.5.7. Hypothetical conditional clauses

Hypothetical conditional clauses are marked by the clitic *-ya'*, following the verb in the conditional clause. This marking resembles that of temporal adverbial clauses (13.5.4.). Hypothetical conditional clauses are furthermore usually marked by *-ra'* 'irrealis' (11.2.1.):

- (13:94) *Mi'-ra' wën-chhī-sh-än-yä' tye-baj-te-ra'*
 3M.SG-IR move-DC-DS-again.M.S-AD give-again-3M.O-IR
yäe kerecha.
 1SG money
 'If he comes back again, I give him his money.' ELE/FT

Negative conditional clauses are expressed in the same way, appearing in combination with a negation marker. Schematically, these express

that “unless X then Y”, such as ‘unless a certain thing happens, the action will be carried out’:

- (13:95) *Jam-ra’ aña-i’-ya’ merkado-we-ra’ jji-ka-ja’.*
 NG-IR rain-VI-F.S-AD marked.E-DR-IR go-DK-1PL.S
 ‘Unless it rains, we will go to the marked.’ ELE/JH

13.5.8. Counterfactual conditional clauses

Counterfactuality or low probability is expressed in two ways in Mosestén: by *jijya’* (M) / *ji’ya’* (F) and by the clitic *-wi’-* (11.2.2.). The verb *ji-* ‘pass’ is combined with the marker *-ya’* to form *jijya’* (M) / *ji’ya’* (F) (see also 13.5.4.):

- (13:96) *Mi minsi’ ji’-ya’ jaem’*
 2SG woman pass-F.S-AD good
jaes-i’-mi.
 chewed.yucca-VI-F.S-2SG
 ‘If you would become a woman, you would make good chicha.’ STE/VJ

Counterfactual conditional clauses can also be marked by *-wi’-*, which can occur in combination with the marker *-ya’* or *jijya’* / *ji’ya’*. Both clauses in the combination are marked by *-wi’-*, which is cliticized to the first element in each clause. Often, the irrealis marker *-ra’* appears in these clauses, as well as the focus marker *-nä* (13:97) and the contrastive marker *-ki* (13:98):²⁸³

- (13:97) *Me’-ki-wi’-ra’-khä jam shäe’ä-ti-k-ya’ chhome’*
 so-CO-MN-IR-well NG rob-VT-PP-AD also
kerecha jäe’mä mi’ tio Lucrecio
 money DM 3M.SG uncle.E Lucrecio
tyakhan-ki-wi’-ra’-tsin karij-tya-ki-ysin
 back-CO-MN-IR-1P hard-VD-AN.M.S-1P
fabrika-ki; mö’-yä’-nä-ki.
 factory.E-CO 3F-AD-FO-CO
 ‘If his money hadn’t been stolen from my uncle Lucrecio, we

would have stayed, we would have worked in a factory; there was one.’ COE/SM

- (13:98) *Pero mö'-yä' obra-in dejar-ye-'-nä-wi'-rä'*
 but.E 3F-AD work.E-P leave.E-VY-3F.O-FO-MN-IR
obra-in mo-ya'-nä-wi'-rä' progreso.
 work.E-P F-AD-FO-MN-IR progress.E
 ‘But if they had left works, there would have been progress.’
 COE/JH

13.5.9. *Word order in adverbial clauses*

Adverbial clauses can appear in all parts of the main clause, in the same way as other adverbials (discussed in 12.1.2. and 12.1.3.) However, the tendency for adverbial clauses is to appear at the beginning or the end of the main clause, especially when the adverbial clause are rather long.

The internal constituent order of adverbial clauses does not differ from declarative clauses (12.1. and 12.2.). When the marker of the adverbial clause is a particle, it appears at the beginning of the clause, without changing the word order in the rest of the clause.

13.6. Indirect speech

Indirect speech is not marked in a special way in Mosestén. In the same way as direct speech, it is preceded or followed by the quotative verb *yi-* ‘say’:

- (13:99) ***Khäki waemtyi'-mi me'-ki' wae-wa'-ki-n***
 because husband-2SG so-size beat-VI.PR-PT-2O
yi-'-mi, yi-bi-ti' yäe yij mi.
 say-F.S-2SG say-APB-2SG/1SG 1SG footprint2SG
 ‘Because your husband is beating you like that, you said, you said to my footprint.’ STE/EC

The clause in bold is the repetition of what another person said, followed by the verb *yi-* ‘say’. Knowing the context of this example, one can interpret the bold part as indirect speech. Apart from this

interpretation, however, the clause in bold can also express the imitation of direct speech, citing another person who had said to a woman “your husband is beating you”. In this way, direct speech and indirect speech are formally not distinguished in the language.

Most quotation clauses are expressed by direct speech, i.e. by direct quotation of what has been said. The following example shows the direct citation of what another person has said, also marked by the quotative verb *yi-*:

- (13:100) *Jike mi' soñi' ye- 'jäe'nä-si' am mi*
 PS 3M.SG man say-3F.O where-L.F QN 2SG
ay-i-jo- '?’ ***yi-katyi'***
 come.F.S-VI-INS-F.S say.M.S-EH
 ‘And the man says to her: “Where have you come from”, he says.’ WTE/JH

13.7. Participial clause combinations

Another type of clause combination involves participles. These appear in place of the verb, in the first of two adjacent clauses, which in this way is non-finite. These constructions express simultaneous actions, or actions in close succession. Moreover, the subjects of these clauses are always co-referential. The following example shows this relationship, combining the meaning ‘be full (of eating)’ with ‘be sitting for a while’:²⁸⁴

- (13:101) *Jö'dyë'yä' inajmari' mö' raej*
 and tolocina 3F.SG all
son'-ye-tye-ban-' jam-nä-rä' mö'
 take-VY-APD-again-3F.ONG-FO-IR 3F.SG
*jäetäej-yi-' **dyi-ki-n'-nä-rä'-khä** me'-ra' mömö'*
 make.noise-VY.F.S full-VK-PR-FO-IR-well so-IR only.F
phits-ki-' bae'-i-' mö'-yä' katyi' khä tshij-ya'
 sit-VK-F.S sit-VI-F.S 3F.SG-AD EH well fire-AD
 ‘And she had taken all the fish, she did not say anything, being full, she just was sitting there, at the fire.’ STE/VJ

Participle constructions can also appear in combination with the marker *-tom*, expressing simultaneous actions in non-finite clauses:

- (13:102) *Mo-tom mö' shiish wö-ke-n' me'-mimi'*
 3F-COM 3F.SG meat carry-VK-PR so-only.M
möñ-ï, yok-si'-ki katyi' wö-ke-n' asta
 disappear-VI.M.S other-L.F-CO EH carry-VK-PR until.E
i-we jimë ñae'-tye-'
 M-DR close put-VD-3F.O
 'Carrying the meat he just disappeared, (he came back again,) carrying another (piece), until he has put them close (to the house) STE/VC

These participial clause constructions can also express the meaning of close temporal succession. In this case, the single actions are related, being carried out to achieve the same overall result. In the following example, the picking up of the spindle is prior to 'imitating the spinning'. These two actions happen in close sequence, being closely related, as the latter could not take place without the prior:

- (13:103) *Jike-win-dyera' khä mö'-yëkhiñi-' katyi' khä-rä'*
 PS-C-MO well 3F.SG-same-FEH well-IR
mö' wits-i-n'-ki wi-k-dye' wi-ki-'
 3F.SG pick.up-VI-PR-CO spin-VK-NO spin-VK-F.S
yi-²⁸⁵ mö'-yä' tshij-ya'
 do-F.S 3F-AD fire-AD
 'Before, she (the same one) must have picked up the spindle and then imitated the spinning there at the fire.' STE/VJ

In the following example, the two successive actions are also closely related and can be interpreted as belonging to one overall action:

- (13:104) *Wën-chhï-sh-än-tsin, näi-jö-'-yä' sak*
 move-DC-DS-again.M.S-1P morning-VJ-F.S-AD leave
kiwi je-k-haj-te-tsin me'-ye-te-tsin.
 again take-DK-again-3M.O-1P so-VY-3M.O-1P
 'We came back, and the next day we went to bring it back, this way we did it.' STE/VC

Two participles expressing movement always appear in these constructions. They cannot be used as inflected verbs on their own. In this way, *tai* expresses ‘imperative movement away from the deictic center’, such as ‘go fish’:

- (13:105) *Räei-mö’ jike jäe’mä ji-te-te waemtyi’*
 EM-3F.SG PS DM send-VD.DT-3M.O husband
 “*tai jewa-ka*” *ye-te jike.*
 go.IM fish.with.net-AN.IMI say-3M.O PS
 ‘Indeed she sent her husband: “Go fish with a net!”, she told him.’ STE/VJ

The participle *ya’dye* frequently appears in relation to non-imperative verbs, expressing movement away from the deictic center in relation to another action:²⁸⁶

- (13:106) *Jike mi’ baekae ya’dye wits-i-n’ köi’-dye’*
 PS 3M.SG squirrel go pick.up-VI-PRbow-NO
jö’dyë’yä’ ijme.
 and arrow
 ‘And then the squirrel went to pick up the bow and the arrow.’
 WTE/JH

As with *ya’dye* above, other motion verbs can also appear in relation to another verb. However, these verbs are inflected, and are consequently formally to be considered as coordination structures:

- (13:107) *I-we iits ats-i-jo-i käw-ë-te-’*
 M-DR DE.M come.M.S-VI-INS-M.S see-VI-DT-3F.O
öi bae’-e-dye’.
 DE.F live-VI-NO
 ‘He comes here to see the village.’ ELE/JH

In such a construction, the two juxtaposed clauses have co-referent subjects. Furthermore, the actions seem to belong to one action as such, in the same way as in participial constructions which express successive actions.

Appendix I

Texts

Text 1: Interview and spoken text

Interview of Ricardina Icona by Juan Huasna. Spoken old story by Ricardina Icona: ‘the story of the armadillo’. Recorded by Juan Huasna.

Interview:

Juan:

(I:1) *Näi-jö-’ jaem’-dye-mi Ricardina näi-jö-’.*
morning-VJ-F.S good-QT-2SG Ricadina morning-VJ-F.S
‘Good morning Ricadina, how are you, good morning!’

Ricardina:

(I:2) *Näi-jö-’ jaem’-yäe.*
morning-VJ-F.S good-1SG
‘Good morning, I’m fine.’

Juan:

(I:3) *A-dyaj daer-i käedäej-mi?*
yet-QY big-VI.M.S baby-2SG
‘Is your baby already growing?’

Ricardina:

(I:4) *Aj daer-dye’ aj käedäej-yäe.*
yet big-NO yet baby-1SG
‘It is already big, my baby.’

Juan:

(I:5) *Jäen’-chhë’-äm mi-si’ yomodye’?*
how-SU-QN 2SG-L.Fyear
‘How old are you?’

Ricardia:

(I:6) *23 años.*
23.E years.E
‘23 years.’

Juan:

(I:7) *23 años-dyaj ya, anik-dyaj mi chhë-ï-’*
23.E years.E-QY already.E EM-QY 2SG know-VI-F.S

jäe'mä phe-i-te its waesh?
 DM tell-VI-3M.O DE.M armadillo
 'You are already 23 years old, surely you can tell about the armadillo?'

Ricardina:

(I:8) *Anik chhi-ï- ' phe-i-te-yäe.*
 EM know-VI-F.S talk-VI-3M.O-1SG
 'Surely I can tell it.'

Juan:

(I:9) *Käshä' khin' phe-ya-ka jäwä jäwä*
 see.HOR now talk-VB-AN.IMI.2SG well well
jäetäej-yi am?
 make.noise-VY QN
 'Let's see, talk, how does it go?'

Story:

Ricardina:

(I:10) *Me'-katyi' jike waesh jïj-chha-k-wa'-ti*
 so-EH PS armadillo go-DC-MI-PR-RE.M.S
ïtsiki-tom.
 jaguar-COM
 'Thus it is said that the armadillo always was followed by the jaguar.'

(I:11) *Chhi-te itsiki jaoj-te jaoj-te*
 grab-3M.O jaguar put.on-VD.3M.O put.on-VD.3M.O
tshij-chhe'.
 fire-SU
 'The jaguar grabbed it and put it into the fire.'

(I:12) *Kaej-ya'-kï-kï khösh-ï kaej-ya'-kï-kï*
 middle-AD-CO-RD sleep-VI.M.S middle-AD-CO-RD
khösh-ï itsiki.
 sleep-VI.M.S jaguar
 'In the middle of it, the jaguar fell asleep.'

(I:13) *Me'-we-katyi' jike-katyi' jäe'mä waes-i waesh*
 so-DR-EH PS-EH DM defecate-VI.M.S armadillo
tshij-khan.
 fire-IN
 'So the armadillo defecated in the fire.'

- (I:14) *Khösh-ï waesh-mi' waesh-ki-ki*
 sleep-VI.M.S armadillo-3M.SGarmadillo-CO-RD
khao'jo-i fädy-á-ki.
 flee-VJ-M.S dig-VI-AN.MS
 'He sleeps, and his armadillo, the armadillo flees and digs (in the earth).'
- (I:15) *Khösh-wä'-jö-i itsiki.*
 sleep-VI.PR-PRI-M.S jaguar
 'The jaguar is sleeping.'
- (I:16) *Fädy-á-ki mi'-ya' fädy-á-ki.*
 dig-VI-AN.M.S 3M-AD dig-VI-AN.M.S
 'He digs there, he digs.'
- (I:17) *Khösh-ï-nä-ki fädy-á-ki.*
 sleep-VI-FO-CO dig-VI-AN-M.S
 'The other one sleeps, and he digs.'
- (I:18) *Kiwi chhi-mi'-chhe' rok.*
 again same-3M-SU on.something
 'Again he (the armadillo) is in the same fire.' (context: because the jaguar opens his eyes from time to time, so the armadillo acts as if he was still roasting on the fire)
- (I:19) *Khösh-ï fädy-á-ki.*
 sleep-VI.M.S dig-VI-AN.M.S
 'He sleeps and (the other one) digs.'
- (I:20) *Kiwi chhi-mi'-chhe' rok.*
 again same-3M-SU on.something
 'Again he is in the same fire.'
- (I:21) *Dyiph waes-i äej-ä-i waes-i*
 then defecate-VI.M.S stop-VI-M.S defecate-VI.M.S
ya'dye ban tyo'-khan min-jan.
 go go.M.S hole-IN go-again.M.S
 'He defecates, he stops to defecate and goes into his hole again.'
- (I:22) *Ash tsä'-ë-ban itsiki.*
 yet.then wake-VI-again.M.S jaguar
 'Then the jaguar wakes up.'
- (I:23) *"Chiii' ko'sha-i waesh" yi-katyi' itsiki.*
 what.a.pity burn-VI.M.S armadillo say.M.S-EH jaguar
 "'What a pity, my armadillo has burned", says the jaguar.'

- (I:24) *Me'-we-katyi' "ko'sha-i waesh-win ko'sha-i*
 so-DR-EH burn-VI.M.S armadillo-C burn-VI.M.S
waesh-win" yi-katyi' itsiki.
 armadillo-C say.M.S-EH jaguar
 'So "it has burned, the dead armadillo, it has burned, the dead
 armadillo", says the jaguar.'
- (I:25) *Me'-we-katyi' jae'mä jike-katyi', atsi-jo-i*
 so-DR-EH DM PS-EH come.M-INS-M.S
jae'mä waesh taen'-wi²⁸⁷-sh-in-in.
 DM armadillo look-VY-DS-again.RE-P
 'Then the armadillo comes to look at him again.'
- (I:26) *"Jaem'-ra'-mi jeb-e-' yäe-si' waes" yi-katyi'*
 good-IR-2SG eat-VI-3F.O 1SG-L.Ffeces say.M.S-EH
waesh.
 armadillo
 'Good you are eating my feces, says the armadillo.'
- (I:27) *Me'-we-katyi' jae'mä mi'-khan-dyaj dyae-ki-m.*
 so-DR-EH DM 3M-IN-QY stop-VK-3M.SG.s
 'And thus he comes to a halt in there.'
- (I:28) *"Khin'-ra' käw-ë-'-mi!" yi-katyi'.*
 now-IR see-VI-3F.O-2SG say.M.S-EH
 "Now you will see!", he says.'
- (I:29) *Taets-ya-ki sön itsiki, jesham ñae'-tya-ki.*
 cut-VY-AN.M.S trunk jaguar sharp put-VD-AN.M.S
 'The jaguar cuts a trunk and sharpens it.'
- (I:30) *Khin'-ki-ki khoch-khoch-ti-yi-ti-in faj-tom*
 now-CO-RD stick-RD-VT-APY-AT.M.S-P stab-COM
katyi'.
 EH
 'And now he sticks several times with the stab (in the hole of
 the armadillo).'
- (I:31) *Waesh tai'-tai'-yak jë'ñ-ë-' aj*
 armadillo paint²⁸⁸-RD-VY-PP appear-VI-3F.S yet
chhaesh-mi' aj sön-chhë'.
 blood-3M.SG yet trunk-SU
 'The armadillo is painted; and it appears like his blood is on the
 trunk.'

- (I:32) *Khin'-ki-ki aj sön-chhë' tai'-tai'-ye-'.*
 now-CO-RD yet trunk-SU paint-RD-VY-3F.O
 'And now he (the armadillo) paints the trunk.'
- (I:33) *Kiwi khoch-khoch-ti-yi-ti-in mi'-ya'.*
 again stick-RD-VT-APY-AT.M.S-P 3M-AD
 'Again he (the jaguar) stabs him in there.'
- (I:34) *Yi aj itsiki "khin'-ra' tya-khan*
 say.M.S yet jaguar now-IR inside-IN
foko-i-mi waesh" yi-ti-in "khin'-ra' aj
 rot-VI.M.S-2SG armadillo say-AT.M.S-Pnow-IR yet
jam kiwi-kiwi dyä-kh-adye-ye waesh!"
 NG again-RD find-AN-again-1SG/2SG armadillo
yi-ti-katyi'-in.
 say-AT.M.S-EH-P
 'And the jaguar says 'now you will rot inside, armadillo', he
 says, "now I will never see you again!", he says violently.'

Text 2: Written text

Old story, written down by Juan Huasna Bozo: *Tara'tara'si'*
pheyakdye' 'the story of the big rat'

- (II:1) *Me' katyi'jike poroma iits tara'tara' mintyi'-dyem'*
so EH PS before DE.M rat man-still
ji-ya' jam-bi'-dyem' maetyaej bae'-i.
pass.M.S-AD NG-still-still mouse live-VI.M.S
'So it is said that in old times, there was a rat; it was still
human, it was not (transformed into) a mouse yet.'
- (II:2) *Me'-ki jiri-s mayedye' jiri-ty soñi' pamin-dyej*
so-CO one-Fday one-M man early-CON
sak-yi, We'ni'-we jij-ka-i
leave-VY.M.S Santa.Elena-DR go-DK-M.S
tyäb-e-ki.
fish-VI-DK.M.S
'So one day a fisherman left very early to the river Santa Elena
to fish.'
- (II:3) *Aj katyi'chhith majmi wätyëkë iits soñi'*
yet EH half road suddenly DE.M man
näij-te paerae' tara'tara', me'-ki yi iits
see-VD.3M.O two rat so-CO say.M.S DE.M
soñi' "jëi ishtyi' jeb-a-k-dye' " yi.
man good.to.kill ES eat-VI-MI-NO say.M.S
'Then halfway [down] the road, suddenly this man sees two big
rats, and so the man says "oh, this is good (to kill and eat), he
says.'
- (II:4) *Jike fäedyäe-i-yä-ki köi'-dye' je-k-e' ijme.*
PS bend-VI-APY-AN.M.S bend-NO take-DK-3F.O arrow
'Then he bent his bow and took out an arrow.'
- (II:5) *Chhiph-ti-ye-te jiri-ty jö'dyë'yä' yok-tyi-ki*
shoot-VT-APY-3M.O one-L.Mand other-L.M-CO
chhiph-ye-te.
shoot-VY-3M.O
'He shot at one and shot the other.'
- (II:6) *Paeren' äej-ä-ksi, äej-ä-i me'*
both kill-VI-3P.O.M.Skill-VI-M.S so

- fobo-bo-ya-ksi sara'i-khan.*
 put-RD-VY-3P.O.M.S mari.bag-IN
 'He has killed both, so he has killed, he puts them in his mari-bag.'
- (II:7) *Ya'dye ji-yi wën-jö-i öjñi'-wë jike*
 go pass-VY.M.S move-DJ-M.S river-DR PS
yakchh-i-ti tyäb-i cham-á-ki.
 begin-VI-RE.M.S fish-VI.M.S fish.with.arrow-VI-AN.M.S
 'He goes, and then he comes to the river and he begins to fish, to fish with an arrow.'
- (II:8) *Jam jedye' cham-e-' its-i'*
 NG thing fish.with.arrow-VI-3F.O NX-VI-F.S
tyäb-e-dye'.
 fish-VI-NM
 'There is nothing to fish with the arrow, there are no fish.'
- (II:9) *Jike atsi-ban wok-o-' paerae' tara'tara'.*
 PS come.M-again.M.S carry-VI-3F.O two big.rat
 'Then he comes back, carrying two rats.'
- (II:10) *Aj katyi'chhi-mi'-ya' ji-ban yo-ya'*
 yet EH also-3M-AD pass.VI-again.M.S R-AD
äej-ä-ksi paerae' tara'tara'.
 kill-VI-3P.O.M.S two big.rat
 'He already comes back to the same place where he has killed the two big rats.'
- (II:11) *Wätyëké katyi'chon'-ye-chhi jiri-ty soñi'*
 suddenly EH come.out-VY-DC.M.S one-M man
daer-si'-tom jeba'badye'.
 big-L.F-COM saber
 'Suddenly a man comes out with a big saber.'
- (II:12) *Kich-bae'-i ats-i kaw-i-sh-dyi, fer*
 direct-be-VI.M.S come.M.S-VI see-VI-DS-AT.M.S strong
wën-chhi-ti, färä' dyaе-ke-ti.
 move-DC-AT.M.S angrystand-VK-DT.M.S
 'He comes (aggressively and) directly to see (him), he comes strongly, he comes to a halt.'
- (II:13) *Jike yi mi' soñi'.*
 PS say.M.S 3SG.M man
 'And the man says.'

- (II:14) *Jam-dyaj näi-tya-ksi-mi yäe-si' äwä'-in?*
 NG-QY see-VD-3P.O.M.S-2SG 1SG-L.Fchild-P
 'Haven't you seen my children?'
- (II:15) *Pamin ishtyi' ji-ta-ksi-yäe paj-ki*
 early ES send-VT-3P.O.M.S-1SG for-CO
je-sh-te tyärä'-in bajkityi'.
 get-DS-3M.O maize-P maize.choclo
 'Early I have sent them to bring maize and choclo maize.'
- (II:16) *Me'-ki khin' jam-bi' choñ-i-sh-in-in."*
 so-CO now NG-still come.back-VI-DS-again.RE.M.S-P
 'But now they still have not come back.'"
- (II:17) *Me'-ki mi' soñi' tyab-i-tyi' ji'chhaekhaen-te.*
 so-CO 3M.SG man fish-VI-L.M answer-VD.3M.O
 'So the man, the fisher answered.'
- (II:18) *Jam ishtyi' yäe näi-tya-ksi.*
 NG ES 1SG see-VD-3P.O.M.S
 'I have not seen them.'
- (II:19) *Iits mimi' paerae' tara'tara' yäe*
 DE.M only.M two rat 1SG
tyaj-ka-ksi me'-ki paeren' äej-ä-ksi.
 meet-VK-3P.O.M.S so-CO both kill-VI-3P.O.M.S
 'I have just met those two rats and I killed them.'
- (II:20) *Ji'-khö-yë-te paeren' saeñ-e-tyi' tara'tara'.*
 CA-see-VY-3SG.O both die-VI-L.M big.rat
 'He shows the two rats.'
- (II:21) *Jike yi mi' soñi' jeba'badye' me'chhi-tyi'...*
 PS say.M.S 3M.SG man saber have-L.M
 'Then the man, who has the saber, says...'
- (II:22) *"Ja mi-dyaj yäe-si' äwä' äej-ä-ksi,*
 well 2SG-QY 1SG-L.Fchild kill-VI-3P.O.M.S
khin'-ra' chhi-i-mi!" yi-ti-katyi'.
 now-IR know-VI.M.S-2SG say-AT-EH
 "'Well, so you have killed my children, now you will see!" he
 says.'
- (II:23) *Jike san-ya-ki jeba'badye'.*
 PS take.out-VB-AN.M.S saber
 'Then he takes out his saber.'

- (II:24) *Jike mi' soñi' nõi-yi phi-ki*
 PS 3M.SG man afraid-VY.M.S run-VK.M.S
khao-jo-tyi-ti, mi'-nä-ki jaek-i-we
 escape-VJ-L.M-VT.M.S 3M.SG-FO-CO back-VI.M.S-DR
kaechh-ae-n' chhi-phi-ke-j-chhii.
 follow-VI-PR also-run-VK-DIR-DC.M.S
 'And the man is afraid, he runs, he flees and the other one follows behind, also running.'
- (II:25) *Aj katyi'-ra' jëñë chha'sh-i-ti-in jike mi'*
 yet EH-IR like reach-VI-RE.M.S-P PS 3M.SG
soñi' tyab-i-tyi' sön-wë jïj-ka-i
 man fish-VI-L.M trunk-DR go-DK-VI.M.S
ji'-khi-ti-yi-ti-in, tyaph-ye-tye-te mö'
 APJ-see-VT-APY-AT.M.S-P grab-VY-APD-3M.O 3F.SG
jeba'badye' jike fiyen'-ye-tye-te.
 saber PS drag-VB-APD-3M.O
 'They are almost reaching (close to) each other, when the fisherman goes behind a tree and surprises him, he grabs the saber and drags it away.'
- (II:26) *Fi-ye-n'-yi-'-si' tits-o-n'-ye-chhi mi'*
 drag-VY-PR-VY-F.S-L.F hang-VI-PR-VY-DC.M.S 3M.SG
tara'tara', jam aj mintyi'.
 big.rat NG yet man
 'Dragging it (the saber), the rat hangs down, it is no man (any more).'²⁸⁹
- (II:27) *"Mäetyäej mimi'daer-tyi'" jike yi mi' soñi'*
 mouse only.M big-L.M PS say 3M.SG man
"jënë-tyi' anik-tyi'-tyi' mintyi'-mi mäei' abi-ki
 how-L.M EM-L.M-RD man-2SG first QX-CO
tara'tara'-mi."
 big.rat-2SG
 "“You are only a big rat” says the man “and you surely appeared to be human, but you are a big rat.””
- (II:28) *Yi-'-si'-tom phe-ya-k-dye' tits-o-n'-yi-ti*
 say-F-L.F-COM talk-VY-MI-NO hang-VI-PR-VY-L.M
ködi'-chhë' nai-nai-ti-yi-ti
 tail-SU beat.on.ground-RD-VT-APY-AT.M.S

äej-ä-te.

kill-VI-3M.O

‘Saying these words, he hangs them (takes them off the ground) by their tail and beats them on the ground until they are dead.’

(II:29) *Me'-katyi' jike poroma iits tara'tara'.*

so-EH PS before DE.M big.rat

‘So, this rat existed in old times.’

Text 3: Discussion

Part of a discussion by 4 men: Esteban Condo, Sacarias Misange, Cristobal Icona and Juan Huasna, recorded by Juan Huasna, Covendo

EC

(III:1) *Ji'-ro'-ya-ke-' katyi'-khä Diana Don Jose*
 CA-dance-VY-AN-3F.O EH-well Diana Don Jose
Loki-ki jäe'mä...
 Loke-CO DM
 'He made Diana dance (a dog) – of Don José – the Don Lucrecio.'

SM

(III:2) *Aj-tsin mej räei mi'-khan-dyera' karij-tya-ki*
 yet-1P downEM 3M-IN-MO hard-VB-AN.M.S
räei-nä-ki mi'-khan-dyij Loki chhome'
 EM-FO-CO 3M-IN-ITD.M.S Lucrecio also
Diana-nä-ki mö'-yä'.
 Diana-FO-CO 3F-AD
 'There we always were working, Lucrecio and also Diana were also always there.'

CI

(III:3) *Mö' negra Luciana.*
 3F.SG black.woman.E Luciana
 'And the black woman Luciana.'

JH

(III:4) *Raej-yi-'-si' charke.*
 all-VB-F.S-L.F dried.meat
 'Finishing the dried meat.'

EC

(III:5) *Jam-tyi'-khä charke-tyi-' käedäej tyäkä'*
 NG-MO-well dried.meat-eat-F.S baby EM
bejki-tyi-'.
 paquio²⁹⁰-eat-F.S
 'She did not eat dried meat, the baby ate paquio.'

SM

- (III:6) *Jam-dyaj khä Diana-tyi'-khä.*
 NG-QY well Diana-MO-well
 'No, Diana.'

JH

- (III:7) *Jäen' am-ki*
 how QN-CO
 'How was it?'

SM

- (III:8) *Loki-tyi' khä me' itsä-ti-' - tsin-nä-ki*
 Lucrecio-MO well thus play-VT-F.S 1P-FO-CO
Diana-tom-ki mi'-ya' waj-we tsin jäe'mä
 Diana-COM-CO 3M-AD among-DR 1P DM
bae'-i.
 sit-VI.M.S

'Lucrecio was like this, he has played with Diana, and and we were there front to front with Diana, we were sitting.'

- (III:9) *Jike yi-ti-dyera' khä-in "waila nigra!"*
 PS say-AT-M.S-MO well-P dance.E negra.E
ye-te katyi' khä "mi' achae sabe wailar"
 say-3M.O EH well 3M.SG dog know.E dance.E
wajjaber".
 you.will.see.E

'Then he said [requested] "dance, black one!", thus he says to the dog – "he can dance", "you will see".'

- (III:10) *Me'-ki katyi' mej sak-yi Don Jose aj*
 so-CO EH down leave-VY.M.S Don Jose yet
sak-yi yi-katyi' rai's-e-'-tsa' mi'
 leave-VY.M.S say.M.S-EH want-VI-3F.O-FR 3M.SG
ji'-ro'-ya-ke-' achae Diana.

CA-dance-VY-AN-3F.O dog Diana

'So he left, Don Jose, he left, saying that he wanted to make the dog Diana dance [which did not succeed].

- (III:11) *"Nunka ba bailar la Diana" yi-näjä'*
 never.E will.E dance.E the.E Diana say.M.S-FO
Loki dyisa'-yi-'-näjä'.

Lucrecio make.fun-VY-F.S-FO

""Diana will never dance", says Lucrecio, "it is a joke".'

- (III:12) *Tsa' khä khäei'-rä' mimi' mi' ro'-ya-ki.*
 FR well RF-IR only.M 3M.SG dance-VY-AN.M.S
 'But only he himself did dance.'

EC

- (III:13) *Nunca katyi'khä bailar-yi-' mö' achae Diana,*
 never.E EH well dance.E-VY-F.S 3F.SG dog Diana
khäei'-ki mimi' Wanka ne-ye'-neye'-dyij
 RF-CO only.M Wanka move-VY-3F.O-RD-do.repeatedly
fen.
 egg
 'The dog Diana will never dance, only Wanka moved around
 his testicles all the time [trying to dance].'

Appendix II

Word order in written texts

In written texts, the following word orders occur.²⁹¹ These statistics do not account for pragmatic marking.

Transitive verbs:

Type of clause	Number of occurrences	Percentages
V	69	38,12%
V O ^{NP}	27	14.92%
S ^P V	12	6.63%
O ^{NP} V	12	6.63%
S ^P V O ^{NP}	10	5.52%
V S ^{NP}	8	4.44%
S ^{NP} V	8	4.44%
V S ^P	7	3.87%
V O ^P	5	2.76%
S ^P V O ^{CLAUSE}	4	2.21%
O ^P V	4	2.21%
S ^{NP} V O ^{CLAUSE}	3	1.66%
V S ^P O ^{NP}	2	1.10%
V O ^{CLAUSE}	2	1.10%
O ^{NP} V S ^P	2	1.10%
O ^P V O ^{NP}	2	1.10%
S ^{NP} V O ^{NP}	1	0.55%
O ^{NP} S ^P V	1	0.55%
S ^P O ^P V O ^{NP}	1	0.55%
S ^P V S ^P O ^{NP}	1	0.55%

Intransitive verbs:

Type of clause	Number of occurrences	Percentages
V	270	60.27%
V S ^{NP}	65	14.51%
S ^{NP} V	49	10.94%
S ^P V	48	10.71%
V S ^P	13	2.91%
split-up phrases: 2 x S ^{NP} V S ^{NP} and 1 x S ^P V S ^{NP}	3	0.67%

Appendix III

List of grammatical markers

The forms presented below can look differently due to vowel harmony or nasal harmony. Affixes are presented by “-”, clitics by “=”.

Grammatical markers with nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs

<i>chhi=</i>	‘big’ (4.6.3.)
<i>=chhe’</i>	superessive relation (4.1.8.)
<i>=dyej</i>	adverb comparison (6.4.4.)
<i>=dyem’</i>	‘still’ (6.4.2.)
<i>-dye’</i>	general nominalization marker, also ‘time’ and ‘place’ meanings (4.4.1.)
<i>=dyesi’</i>	benefactive relation, F (4.1.4.)
<i>=dyetyi’</i>	benefactive relation, M (4.1.4.)
<i>=dyetyi’</i>	‘only’ (4.1.9.)
<i>=in</i>	plural marker with nouns (4.2.1.)
<i>jiyi’</i>	‘pass’, ‘go on’ (following composed numerals) (7.1.1.)
<i>=ki’</i>	‘size’, ‘times’ (combining numerals) (7.1.1.)
<i>=khan</i>	inessive relation (4.1.6.)
<i>=mi</i>	2 nd person singular clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>=mi’</i>	3 rd person singular M clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>=mi’in</i>	3 rd person plural M clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>=min</i>	associative relation (4.1.3.)
<i>-min-</i>	plural marker with pronouns, adjectives and some adverbs (6.1.3.)
<i>=mï’in</i>	2 nd person plural clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>=mö’</i>	3 rd person singular F clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>=mö’in</i>	3 rd person plural F clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>=s</i>	short linker form F (4.8.)
<i>=si’</i>	linker F (various functions, 4.8.)

= <i>tom</i>	comitative relation (4.1.2.)
= <i>tsin</i>	1 st person plural clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
= <i>ty</i>	short linker form M (4.8.)
= <i>tyi'</i>	linker M (various functions (4.8.))
= <i>we</i>	downriver relation (4.1.7.)
= <i>win</i>	'dead' (4.1.10.)
= <i>ya'</i>	adessive relation (4.1.5.)
- <i>yekhiñi-</i>	'same' (5.6.5.)
= <i>yäe</i>	1 st person singular clitic: possession and anaphora (5.1.)
<i>yaetaem</i>	plural emphasis (4.2.4.)
- <i>yityi'</i>	ordinal numeral marker M (7.1.2.)
- <i>yi'si'</i>	ordinal numeral marker F (7.1.2.)

Grammatical markers with verbs

-(<i>a</i>) <i>ke-</i>	deductive evidential (unproductive) (11.1.3.)
- <i>badye-</i>	see <i>-ban</i> 'again' (8.8.)
- <i>baj-</i>	see <i>-ban</i> 'again' (8.8.)
- <i>ban-</i>	'again' (8.8.)
<i>bae'i-</i>	'be, sit', analytic habitual (8.5.2.)
- <i>bae'i-</i>	incorporation marker 'be, sit' (8.4.2.)
- <i>bidyi-</i>	see <i>-ban</i> 'again' (8.8.)
- <i>bin-</i>	see <i>-ban</i> 'again' (8.8.)
- <i>bi'-</i>	applicative 'against the will and possession of...' (9.5.5.)
- <i>chhi-</i>	'doing the action on the way, here' (8.6.4.)
- <i>chhi-</i>	'know', analytic habitual (8.5.2.)
- <i>dyedyei-</i>	inceptive aspect marker (8.5.4.)
- <i>dyi-</i>	incorporation marker 'taste (good)' (8.4.7.)
- <i>dyi-</i>	incorporation marker, iterative aspect (8.5.5.2.)
- <i>i-</i>	verbal stem marker (8.3.1.)
<i>its-i-</i>	existential negation (10.2.)
- <i>j-</i>	no direct meaning: bound marker that appears in relation to certain associated motion forms (8.6.7.)
<i>ja-</i>	(in relation with reflexive marker <i>-ti-</i>): dynamic passive (9.1.3.)
<i>jaj-</i>	applicative prefix 'accompany, with' (9.5.4.)
<i>je-</i>	stative causative prefix (9.4.3.)
- <i>ji-</i>	distributive associated motion marker (8.6.5.)

<i>ji'</i>	general causative prefix (9.4.2.)
<i>-jo-</i>	verbal stem marker (8.3.5.)
<i>-jo-</i>	inceptive aspect marker, change of state (8.5.3.)
<i>-jo-</i>	associated motion marker 'doing the action on the way, away' with fixed forms (see also <i>-kho-</i>) (8.6.3.)
<i>-k</i>	dynamic passive participle (9.1.1.)
<i>-khñi-</i>	strongly (only with plural subjects of intransitive verbs, apart from the lexical form <i>yakñi-</i>) (8.7.)
<i>-kho-</i>	associated motion marker 'doing the action on the way, away' (see also <i>-jo-</i>) (8.6.3.)
<i>kika'</i>	habitual aspect marker M (8.5.2.)
<i>köka'</i>	habitual aspect marker F (8.5.2.)
<i>-ki-</i>	associated motion marker 'do an action after arrival, away' (8.6.1.)
<i>-ki-</i>	verbal stem marker (8.3.6.)
<i>-ki-</i>	antipassive (9.3.1.)
<i>-mak</i>	imperative, transitive 2 nd person plural subject and masculine singular object (8.1.5.2.)
<i>-me</i>	imperative, transitive 2 nd person singular subject and masculine singular object (8.1.5.2.)
<i>-min-</i>	interrupted movement marker, followed by associated motion marker (8.6.6.)
<i>-miñi-</i>	incorporation marker 'go, transform' (8.4.3.)
<i>-n'</i>	general participle (8.9.), 1 st person plural inclusive marker (intransitive) (8.1.1.)
<i>-ñi-</i>	incorporation marker 'put' (8.4.1.)
<i>ñityi-</i>	analytic causative marker (9.4.1.)
<i>-sh-</i>	associated motion marker 'do an action after arrival, here', with certain forms, see also <i>-ti-</i> (8.6.2.)
<i>-sha'(ke)-</i>	incorporation marker 'be able to' (8.4.9.)
<i>-sisi'</i>	resultative participle F (9.1.4.)
<i>-ta</i>	imperative reflexive form, singular (8.1.5.5.)
<i>-tak</i>	imperative reflexive form, plural (8.1.5.5.)
<i>-ti-</i>	reflexive and reciprocal marker (8.1.3.)
<i>-ti-</i>	verbal stem marker (8.3.4.)
<i>-ti-</i>	associated motion marker 'do an action after arrival, here', with certain forms, see also <i>-sh-</i> (8.6.2.)
<i>-ti-</i>	antipassive, 'violence' meaning and 'say' (9.3.2.)

<i>-ti-</i>	marker used in relation to applicatives ‘due to a reason’ (9.5.6.)
<i>-tii-</i>	incorporation marker ‘bring’ (8.4.4.)
<i>-tyi-</i>	verbal stem marker (8.3.3.)
<i>-tyi-</i>	applicative ‘from something’ (9.5.2.)
<i>-tyi-</i>	incorporation marker ‘eat’ (8.4.6.)
<i>-tyityi’</i>	resultative participle M (9.1.4.)
<i>-tyi’</i>	imperative emphasis (8.1.5.6.)
<i>-wa</i>	imperative, intransitive 2 nd person singular subject (8.1.5.1.)
<i>-wa</i>	imperative, transitive 2 nd person singular subject and feminine singular object (8.1.5.2.)
<i>-wa’jo-</i>	progressive aspect, intransitive (8.5.1.)
<i>-wa’(ke)-</i>	progressive aspect, transitive (8.5.1.)
<i>-wak</i>	imperative, intransitive 2 nd person plural subject (8.1.5.1.)
<i>-wak</i>	imperative, transitive 2 nd person plural subject and feminine singular object (8.1.5.2.)
<i>-wei-</i>	incorporation marker ‘want’ (8.4.5.)
<i>-yi-</i>	applicative ‘for something’ (9.5.1.)
<i>-yi-</i>	verbal stem marker (8.3.2.)
<i>-’-</i>	iterative aspect infix (8.5.5.3.)

Sentential markers

<i>abi’</i>	question marker: information questions, speaker does not expect the hearer to know the answer (12.3.1.3.)
<i>aj</i>	time reference: ‘already’, ‘yet’ (11.5.4.)
<i>-(a)ke-</i>	deductive evidential (unproductive), marking verbs (11.1.3.)
<i>am</i>	question marker: information questions, speaker expects the hearer to know the answer (12.3.1.2.)
<i>anik</i>	emphasis marker: speaker emphasizes that what he says is true (11.3.1.)
<i>=bi’</i>	time reference: ‘still’, ‘yet’ (11.5.6.)
<i>chhata’</i>	modal marker: high certainty (11.2.3.)
<i>chhi-</i>	referential discourse marker: ‘also, same’ (11.4.4.)
<i>chhi’ats</i>	referential discourse marker: ‘instead’ (11.4.6.)

= <i>chhom</i>	time reference: 'at first' (11.5.8.)
<i>chhome'</i>	referential discourse marker: 'also' (11.4.3.)
<i>däeräe'</i>	'not have' negation (10.3.)
= <i>dyaj</i>	question marker: general yes / no questions (12.3.1.4.)
= <i>dyash</i>	question marker: general information questions (12.3.1.1.)
= <i>dya'tyi'</i>	modal marker: medium to low certainty, often based on unclear evidence (11.2.11.)
= <i>dyej</i>	question marker: yes / no questions, tag questions (12.3.1.5.)
= <i>dyem'</i>	'still' (6.4.2.)
= <i>dyera'</i>	modal marker: medium certainty (phrase and clause scope) (11.2.6.)
= <i>dyesi'</i>	adverbial clause marker: purpose F (13.5.5.)
= <i>dyetyi'</i>	adverbial clause marker: purpose M (13.5.5.)
= <i>dye'</i>	question marker: rhetorical questions (12.3.1.7.)
<i>ika'</i>	modal marker M: rather high certainty (11.2.4.)
<i>ish</i>	time reference: 'then' (in relation to the context) (11.5.7.)
<i>ishtyi'</i>	sensory (own experience) evidential (11.1.2.)
<i>its-i-</i>	existential negation (10.2.)
<i>jam</i>	general negation (10.1.)
<i>jäedyäk</i>	modal marker: medium to low certainty, often used with future events (11.2.9.)
<i>jäen'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how' (5.4.1.)
<i>jäen'äkha</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how might it be' (5.4.8.)
<i>jäen'chhë'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how many' (5.4.4.)
<i>jäen'dye'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'when' (5.4.6.)
<i>jäen'jä'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how will it be', 'let's see whether' (5.4.7.)
<i>jäen'ki'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'what size', 'how much' (5.4.5.)
<i>jäen'si'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how many' F (5.4.2.)
<i>jäen'tom</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how many' (5.4.3.)
<i>jäen'tyi'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'how many' M (5.4.2.)
<i>jäetaej</i>	interrogative marker and more: sound, something said (5.4.10.)
<i>jäe'mä</i>	'uh', proform (5.7.1.)
<i>jäe'nä'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'where,' can also be used

	as relative clause marker (5.4.11., 13.3.5.)
<i>jäe 'ñi' si'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'which one' F (also relative clause marker) (5.4.9.)
<i>jäe 'ñi' tyi'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'which one' M (also relative clause marker) (5.4.9.)
<i>jedye'</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'what' (5.4.13.)
<i>jëñë</i>	referential discourse marker: 'like' (11.4.5.)
<i>jijya'</i>	adverbial clause marker: 'when, if' (used in counterfactual conditional clauses) (13.5.8.)
<i>jike</i>	time reference: optional past tense marking (11.5.1.)
<i>ji'ya'</i>	adverbial clause marker: 'when, if' (used in counterfactual conditional clauses) (13.5.8.)
<i>jitäej</i>	referential discourse marker: 'instead' (11.4.6.)
<i>jöf</i>	time reference: 'already' (11.5.5.)
<i>jö'dyë'yä'</i>	coordination marker (13.1.2.)
<i>=ka'</i>	question marker: rhetorical questions (13.3.1.6.)
<i>katyi'</i>	hearsay evidential (11.1.1.)
<i>=ki</i>	'but' contrastive marker, emphasizing subject non-co-reference in adjacent clauses (13.2.1.)
<i>kiwi</i>	referential discourse marker: 'again' (11.4.2.)
<i>khä</i>	emphasis marker: 'well' (11.3.5.)
<i>khäei'</i>	reference and indefinite marker (5.6.1., 5.6.2., 5.5.1.)
<i>khäki'</i>	adverbial clause marker: 'because' (13.5.1.)
<i>khi'jo-</i>	'then', 'finally' (6.4.2.)
<i>khötei</i>	modal marker M: medium certainty (clause scope) (11.2.5.)
<i>khö'ï</i>	modal marker F: medium certainty (clause scope) (11.2.5.)
<i>me'</i>	emphasis marker: 'so' 11.3.4.)
<i>me'ki</i>	adverbial clause marker: reason (with =ki) (11.3.4., 13.2.1.)
<i>me'weki</i>	adverbial clause marker: reason (11.3.4., 13.2.1.)
<i>mimi'</i>	referential discourse marker: 'only', 'just' M (11.4.1.)
<i>mömö'</i>	referential discourse marker: 'only', 'just' F (11.4.1.)
<i>nä</i>	focus marker: fronting of focused element, strong focus (12.6.2.)
<i>näjä'</i>	focus marker: fronting of focused element, strong focus (12.6.1.)

<i>nāsh</i>	focus marker: general focus (12.6.3.)
<i>öka'</i>	modal marker F: rather high certainty (11.2.4.)
<i>paj</i>	adverbial clause marker: purpose (13.5.5.)
<i>pajki</i>	adverbial clause marker: purpose (with =ki) (13.5.5., 13.2.1.)
<i>=ra'</i>	modal marker: irrealis (11.2.1.)
<i>räei</i>	emphasis marker: speaker emphasizes that what he says is true (11.3.3.)
<i>=si'</i>	restricted relative clause marker F (added to verb in relative clause) (13.3.1.)
<i>=tom</i>	simultaneous actions (13.5.6.)
<i>tsa'</i>	'but' contrastive marker, frustrative (expectations have not been met) (13.2.2.)
<i>tyäkä'</i>	emphasis marker: speaker emphasizes that what he says is true (11.3.2.)
<i>tyi</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'who' (5.4.12.)
<i>tyitom</i>	interrogative marker and more: 'with whom' (also relative clause marker) (13.3.5.)
<i>=tyi'</i>	restricted relative clause marker M (added to verb in relative clause) (13.3.1.)
<i>=tyi'</i>	modal marker: medium certainty (no personal experience) (11.2.7.)
<i>wajmej</i>	'each other' (5.6.3.)
<i>wajkawin</i>	'each other' (5.6.3.)
<i>watyeke</i>	modal marker: medium to low certainty, often expressing an idea (11.2.10.)
<i>=win</i>	time reference: 'before', completive (11.5.3.)
<i>=wi'</i>	modal marker: necessity, used in counterfactual conditional clauses (11.2.2., 13.5.8.)
<i>=yai</i>	modal marker: medium certainty (personal experience) (11.2.8.)
<i>=yata'</i>	time reference: optional past tense marking (11.5.2.)
<i>=ya'</i>	adverbial clause marker: 'when' (also used in hypothetical conditional clauses) (13.5.4., 13.5.7.)
<i>yo=</i>	particle used with relation markers: different oblique functions in the relative clause (13.3.4.)
<i>yodyedye'si'</i>	restricted relative clause marker F (only plural antecedents) (13.3.3.)

- yodyedye'tyi'* restricted relative clause marker M (only plural antecedents) (13.3.3.)
yodye'si' non-restricted relative clause marker F (13.3.2.)
yodye'tyi' non-restricted relative clause marker M (13.3.2.)
yoj 'like', used in formally headless relative clauses (13.3.7.)
yoksi' 'other' F (5.6.4.)
yoktyi' 'other' M (5.6.4.)

Notes

- ¹ *anik, räei, tyäkä'*
- ² *chhata'*, =*dya'tyi'*, =*dyera'*, *jäedyäk*, =*tyi'*, *watyeke*, =*yai*, *ika'löka'*, *khötei/ khö'i*
- ³ Demographically, Mosestén of Santa Ana is not spoken directly between Mosestén of Covendo and Chimane, though the road between Covendo and the Chimane region in present times - as well as most probably the easiest passing place over the mountains in old times - passes the area of Santa Ana.
- ⁴ According to Schuller (1917), the name *Magdalenos* was given to the group after they had kidnapped a governor's daughter called Magdalena.
- ⁵ The last term is probably Chimane and derives from *nanasi' mintyi'* 'girls and men' or a similar expression.
- ⁶ Later (1977), Suarez mentions similarities between Uru and Mosestén and Amuesha and Mosestén, based on a number of words.
- ⁷ This word appears very frequently in my corpus. According to my informants, only families that are related to Yuracares use this word.
- ⁸ In this area, the Upper Beni river has the name *Cotacajes*.
- ⁹ According to my consultants, about 240 adult men live in the area, of whom about 200 speak Mosestén. Counting these up with their families, a total number of 600 speakers would be feasible, taking into account that some families or family members do not speak Mosestén.
- ¹⁰ According to Ellis & Aráuz (1998), the Gran Consejo Chimane estimates a total population of 8000 speakers.
- ¹¹ These "colonizers" have settled in the traditional land of the Mosestenes. Finally in 2001, the territory of the Mosestenes was measured and officially accepted.
- ¹² School books and other materials have been written by the New Tribes Missionaries Wayne and Ruth Gill, published under the name *Nuevas Tribus*.
- ¹³ Metraux refers here to Maurtua (1906), vol.9, pp. 88-104.
- ¹⁴ The translations of these prayers are still known by many older Mosestenes today, even if they are not in possession of the written material.
- ¹⁵ Bibolotti's religious texts are accompanied by - partly not very encouraging - notes in Spanish to new missionaries.
- ¹⁶ I describe it as a temporal reference marker (11.5.4.).
- ¹⁷ He did not mark the glottal stops, so the verb *rai'se* is spelled *raise* by Bibolotti.
- ¹⁸ Historically, however, both verbs can have occurred in Covendo, in the way Bibolotti describes them.
- ¹⁹ Published under the name of N. Armentia.
- ²⁰ Published under the name of B. Bibolotti.
- ²¹ Having to leave the United States in May 1917, because of World War I, only a draft of the grammar was left by Schuller and other scholars finished the book.
- ²² Nordenskiöld mentions that he came to Covendo on the 29th of October. After his visit to Covendo, he went to Huachi, from where he left on the 15th of November.
- ²³ Tomas Huasna is the grandfather of my main informant, Juan Huasna.

- ²⁴ The publication of 1953 is principally about old stories. Caspar's dictionary is still a manuscript.
- ²⁵ Following a questionnaire called 'language museum'.
- ²⁶ Such as in *ābic*, which I write *abi* 'question marker and modal marker'. This marker is not nasal.
- ²⁷ I introduced him thoroughly to ethics and recording of language data. He became the 'journalist' of the village, recording different people.
- ²⁸ Most of them know La Paz, but have never been to other places in the country.
- ²⁹ Electricity is not very reliable in the Masetén area.
- ³⁰ Apart from the 1st person plural inclusive subject forms, which are marked for person (i.e. are different from the other forms), while not being marked for gender.
- ³¹ The pronoun *tsin* 'we' is used for both inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural forms.
- ³² Although there are also some analytic voice structures.
- ³³ These usually have the semantic roles of agent and recipient.
- ³⁴ This applies to environments in which the allophone [ɪ] is not nasalized.
- ³⁵ Across syllable boundaries, there is not such change in the vowel.
- ³⁶ Allophone: [x]
- ³⁷ A traditional handmade bag.
- ³⁸ A fermented drink.
- ³⁹ However, see section 2.5.4. on morphophonology for the cases where [x] can be extended to the following syllable.
- ⁴⁰ There are no examples for /j/, parallel to those with /u/, that change into a syllable final consonant in certain verb forms.
- ⁴¹ In some cases, however, loan words are pronounced differently. In this way, the Spanish word *escuela* 'school' has the Masetén equivalent [iʃkwera], while [ɪ] is turned into [r].
- ⁴² The Spanish sound /u/ is an allophone [u] of the phoneme /o/ in Masetén and often [u] in Spanish loanwords is pronounced [o] in Masetén.
- ⁴³ These sounds /p/, /t/ and /k/ often appear aspirated in the coda of the syllable (see the separate sections on these phonemes above).
- ⁴⁴ The phoneme /h/ has the allophones [h] at the beginning of a syllable and [x] at the end of a syllable.
- ⁴⁵ The phoneme /ñ/ appears only in the coda in very few cases.
- ⁴⁶ From now on, most examples are written in the Masetén orthography (2.6.) rather than in IPA.
- ⁴⁷ As opposed to Finnish and other languages, where vowel harmony in principle affects all words in the language.
- ⁴⁸ The vowel /ə/ is written *ae* in the orthography (2.6.).
- ⁴⁹ This is the verbal stem maker *-i-* (8.3.1.) with the transitive stem vowel *-e-* (2.5.1.1.). Consisting only of a vowel, the change affects the entire form *-i-*.
- ⁵⁰ This marker *-n* does not appear with an *-i-*, which is usually the trigger for vowel harmony. Still, one could argue that historically, the marker *-n* can have occurred in combination with an *-i-*.
- ⁵¹ Similarly, some informants use the form *-ei* as the marker for 3rd person singular feminine object, instead of *-e'*. The form *-ei* does not trigger vowel harmony

either.

⁵² Furthermore, I have no examples where both vowel harmony derivation take place, i.e. e, o, ae > i and i > ae.

⁵³ One could also argue that *-te-* is the unmarked form and *-ti-* is the form affected by vowel harmony. Against this reasoning is the fact that the suffix *-ti-* is used as an associated motion marker with intransitive verbs, whereas vowel harmony forms exclusively mark transitive stems.

⁵⁴ There are no suffixes or clitics that start with p, ph or d. In this way, one cannot test whether these plosives block nasal harmony. Furthermore, the infix *-'* does not block nasal harmony in the verb: *chäkän'-yë-* (fried-VY-3F.O) 'fry it' and *chäkä'-n-ä-ki* (fried-IT-fried-VI-AN.M.S) 'he fries something several times'.

⁵⁵ This list is almost exhaustive.

⁵⁶ Apart from nasal harmony (2.3.3.), prefixes do not cause changes on the stem or vice versa.

⁵⁷ Furthermore, the linker causes the preceding vowel to turn into /i/. One could, in this way, describe the linker (4.8.) as a marker that triggers vowel harmony.

⁵⁸ Which possibly derives from the irregular verb *tii-* 'bring'.

⁵⁹ When /t/ is followed by other vowels, for example the comitative marker *-tom* 'with', no such change in the consonant from /t/ to /dʲ/ appears.

⁶⁰ Orthography from the early eighties, later revised.

⁶¹ The letter *qu* is used before the vowels /i/ and /e/, while *c* appears before the other vowels, in the same way as in Spanish.

⁶² The two languages are rather close and could have been written in one orthography.

⁶³ The high central vowel /i/ that is found in Masetén of Santa Ana (and Chimane) is written *u* in this writing system.

⁶⁴ In this example, *-yi-* is affected by nasal harmony (2.3.3.).

⁶⁵ These include comitative, associative, adessive, inessive, 'downriver' and superessive. I have no examples of a reduplicated benefactive relation.

⁶⁶ Here, the element *nana* is formally the root, of which the last element is reduplicated. This reduplication is preceded by an aspiration: *nana^h-na-*. The linker marker *-tyi'*, which lexically is part of this word, is not considered in the reduplicated structure.

⁶⁷ This form can alternatively be expressed as *tütsäejtsäei-*, i.e. with a change in the vowel from /o/ to /äe/.

⁶⁸ Cf. *mo'chhe* 'up there'.

⁶⁹ These morphophonological changes of the marker *-ti-* appear when following a consonant (2.5.5.).

⁷⁰ The last vowel of the host has to be nasal.

⁷¹ These are the markers *-ka'* and *-dye'* used in rhetorical questions, *-dyash* 'information question marker', *dyaj* 'yes / no question marker' and the likewise yes / no question marker *-dyej* (see section 12.3.1.5. on questions)

⁷² To these clitics belong: *-wi'* 'necessity', *-dyera'* 'speaker's deductions', *-dya'tyi'* 'maybe, unclear evidence', *-bi'* 'still', *-win* 'completive, dead', *-dyem'* 'still', *ya'* 'when, if', *-chhom* 'first' and *-ki'* 'size'.

- 73 Synchronically, however, these markers differ, as the benefactive turns a preceding vowel of vowel or consonant stems into /i/, while the nominalization marker *-dye'* appears with the vowel /e/ (2.5.1.1.).
- 74 In the other dialects Mosetén de Santa Ana (my own data) and Chimane (Gill, 1999:101), the forms of the benefactive relation are always *-dyes* (F) and *-dyety* (M) instead of *-dyesi'* (F) and *-dyetyi'* (M).
- 75 A traditional way of putting children to sleep is to hang them under the roof of the house in a tyako-bag.
- 76 The difference between place adverbs involving *i-*, *mi-* and *mi'*- in the masculine gender and *ö-*, *mö-* and *mö'*- in the feminine gender is discussed in section 6.4.1.1.
- 77 However, notice another form *-ya'-ya'* in section 4.1.1.1.
- 78 The form is ambiguous as to whether every man lives in his own room or whether several men share a room.
- 79 In the present example, the expression of 'rainy season' is a bit clumsy. The general form is *añedye'*.
- 80 One of my consultants uses the form *yii'ij* for the plural of *yij* 'foot' instead of *yij-in*.
- 81 This example is from an old story of the Mosetenes, where a deer (in shape of a human) has done something wrong and is turned into a constellation in the sky, to warn following generations against making the same mistake.
- 82 This is also the case with human nouns, such as *paerae' äwä'* 'two sons'.
- 83 Some of these nouns may also have a shorter variant, so *nasasi'*, 'girl' below can also be *nanas* and *nanatyi'*, 'boy' *nanaty*.
- 84 In the plural, the clitic *in* is added to these demonstrative pronouns. In this way, the gender distinctions also exist in the plural.
- 85 These particles are not productively used in Mosetén. They never appear on their own without further marking. In Chimane, however, they are productive and can appear on their own (Gill 1999:145).
- 86 The 3rd person singular masculine object marker differs from the feminine form not only in the lack of a glottal stop, but furthermore, the masculine form is marked by *-te-* (8.1.2.).
- 87 In these forms, the feminine form is nasal, while the masculine form is oral. This is also the case with 3rd person pronouns *mi'* 'he' and *mö'* 'she', as well as their derivations, such as *iya'* 'here, M' and *öya'* 'here, F'.
- 88 There are, however, also a number of masculine forms that are slightly longer, such as with the aspectual marker *-jo-*. When appearing at the end of the verb, it has the masculine form *-joi* as opposed to the feminine form *-jo'*.
- 89 The masculine gender would be used here if the focus was on the gender of the participants.
- 90 In few cases, the antipassive marker *-ti-* (9.3.2.) is used to intransitivize the verb before the nominalization marker is added.
- 91 It forms a consonant stem (8.2.1.). In some cases, however, the *-i-* is still apparent, such as in *näij-tya-ki-dye'* 'mirror', which has the alternative form *näij-tya-k-dye'*.
- 92 Another form that has developed a special meaning with the nominalization marker *-dye'* is *chhidye'* 'tradition', consisting of *chhi* 'know' and the nominalizer. This form also means 'knowledge'. Usually, context clarifies its meaning.

- ⁹³ the main ingredient of chicha
⁹⁴ A fermented drink.
⁹⁵ In this example, the *-i-* disappears; see section 8.2.1. on consonant stems.
⁹⁶ Compare this with the verbal stem marker *-i-* that can be used to express ‘make a plantation of the fruit / vegetable’ (8.3.1.).
⁹⁷ Their use is lexically predicted.
⁹⁸ There are two stative verbs with different forms, resembling diminutive derivation. However, these forms do not seem to differ in meaning, and are used interchangeably (some people prefer one form, others another form): *kāwāki* and *kīwīki*, both meaning ‘sweet’; *tsābāki* and *tsībīki*, both meaning ‘bitter’.
⁹⁹ If there are several modifiers, all of them are usually marked by the linker
¹⁰⁰ The jaguar-husband blows his wife’s the ear to transform her into a jaguar as well, so that the raw meat he has brought appears to be good food to her.
¹⁰¹ This phenomenon is also described for a number of South East Asian languages by Gil (e.g. 2001).
¹⁰² The order of modifier and noun is discussed in section 4.7.
¹⁰³ One kind of relative clause marking, which is formally adverbial in nature (rather than a modifier structure), does not carry linker marking: relative clauses marked by the interrogative pronouns *tyi* ‘who’ and *jāe’nā* ‘where’ (5.4.11.).
¹⁰⁴ When appearing as modifying adjectives, these verbal forms occur with the linker, i.e. in a non-finite form. “Predicatively”, on the other hand, these verbs appear in their finite form, i.e. are formally verbs and not adjectives.
¹⁰⁵ In this way, the linker can be used as a secondary predication marker.
¹⁰⁶ This pronoun can also appear with local relation markers, functioning as an adverbial. In this case, *yok-* is not marked by the linker (5.6.4.).
¹⁰⁷ Notice also the form *jāen’sisi*’ in section 5.4.2.
¹⁰⁸ Two of my female informants use *mō’ön* instead of *mō’in* (4.3.5.).
¹⁰⁹ Nasalization is probably a means to distinguish between the 3rd person plural masculine pronoun and the 2nd person plural pronoun.
¹¹⁰ Only 3rd person pronouns.
¹¹¹ Again only 3rd person pronouns.
¹¹² An argument can in some constructions be referred to by a personal pronoun and a clitic at the same time.
¹¹³ Compare these shortened forms with the forms of the 3rd person pronouns, used as possessive clitics (5.3.).
¹¹⁴ This example cannot be translated ‘her smell is strong’, as in this case the pronoun *mō*’ ‘she’ would be marked by the linker, appearing as a possessive pronoun (5.3.).
¹¹⁵ The noun *āwā*’ ‘child’ can be used in both genders, referring to a male or female child.
¹¹⁶ Compare this form with the 2nd person clitic (5.1.).
¹¹⁷ In the dialect of Santa Ana (my own data), this form is *jin*’. In Chimane (Gill 1999:44) it is *jun*’ (with the high central vowel /ɨ/, which is written *u*).
¹¹⁸ This is one of the lexicalized forms in which the linker (4.8.) appears.
¹¹⁹ Another marker is used in direct questions to express ‘how many’ (5.4.2.)
¹²⁰ See example 11:8 in section 11.2.1.
¹²¹ This form has no gender distinctions. Furthermore, it differs from the linker (4.8.)

- in that *tyi* 'who' has no final glottal stop.
- ¹²² The clause *jedye 'dyesi 'dye 'kira 'yäe yi?* (ELE/AT) literally translates to 'why have I spoken', meaning 'I shouldn't have spoken' in the context.
- ¹²³ Interrogative pronouns (mainly those used in rhetorical questions) not mentioned in this table cannot be used as indefinite pronouns.
- ¹²⁴ In this way, reflexives only appear when the subject and the first object in a clause are coreferent.
- ¹²⁵ The place adverb *mej* 'down' does not seem to be related to this form.
- ¹²⁶ The adverb *kawin* 'fast' does not seem to be related to this reciprocal pronoun.
- ¹²⁷ OPIM (Organización del Pueblo indígena Mosestén) is the organization of the Mosestenes, with an office in Palos Blancos.
- ¹²⁸ Due to its common function as a discourse marker, I always gloss *jäe 'mä* as DM (i.e. 'discourse marker').
- ¹²⁹ However, 'bad' is a verb: *a 'chi*-.
- ¹³⁰ However, a number of physical characteristics are expressed by verbs, such as *jaofki*- 'heavy', *jifri*- 'light' and *ä 'ni*- 'beautiful'.
- ¹³¹ Most colors, however, are formally verbs: *jai 'ba*- 'white', *tsinkäe*- 'black', *jäechbäe*- 'red', *tyäeyñäe*- 'red', *mäetsäi*- 'blue', *yäeshñäe*- 'yellow', etc.
- ¹³² Yet, many other characteristics are formally verbs marked by the verbal stem markers *-jo-* (8.3.5.), *-ki-* (8.3.6.) or *-i-* (8.3.1.).
- ¹³³ In the same way, *ityi*' 'down' can appear together with a local relation marker, meaning 'little' (see example (6:21) in section 6.3.1.).
- ¹³⁴ Demonstrative pronouns, however, do not involve these differences (5.2.).
- ¹³⁵ One can describe this in that the place is conceptually related to the woman, as the woman goes there.
- ¹³⁶ The superessive is one of the local relation markers.
- ¹³⁷ According to Gill (1999: 145) this separate "particle is used to put a slight emphasis on the subject, it is often used in cases where we would use the verb "to be" in English. At times it can be translated: He, she, it etc. was the one who did it, etc.". Due to a vowel difference between Mosestén and Chimane, the vowel *i* is *í* in Chimane, written *u* in Gill's orthography.
- ¹³⁸ In the glosses, I transcribe the 3rd person pronominal form that is part of the place adverb as 3M or 3F, depending on the gender. Personal pronouns are transcribed 3M.SG or 3F.SG. Thus, in these glosses the difference is noticeable.
- ¹³⁹ In the dialect of Santa Ana this place adverb is *chëi* 'close'
- ¹⁴⁰ This form is generally transcribed as 'cross' in the morpheme analysis.
- ¹⁴¹ This form is usually used with the superessive relation marker *-chhe*', meaning 'above'. I have one elicited form, where *fäo-* is used together with the downriver relation marker *-we*: *fäowë* 'outside'.
- ¹⁴² The word *resya* 'church' is a loan from Spanish *iglesia*. It has been adapted almost completely to Mosestén, and I do not mark it as E.
- ¹⁴³ Consisting of the causative prefix *je-* (9.4.3.) and *jaem*' 'good'.
- ¹⁴⁴ This can both express 'in very short time' in the future and 'very short time ago' in the past.
- ¹⁴⁵ This could also be related to *iin* 'hand'.
- ¹⁴⁶ This form differs from *dyam*' 'more'.

- ¹⁴⁷ The 1st plural inclusive subject forms are special, in that they differ much from the way in which the cross-reference paradigm functions. They seem to have a different diachronic source.
- ¹⁴⁸ In Chimane, this cross-reference marker is also found in the transitive paradigm, where a glottal stop denotes the feminine gender and the lack of a glottal stop the masculine gender. In Moseten, however, this affix only exists in the intransitive paradigm and in one special form of the transitive paradigm (the 3rd person plural object, together with a 1st person inclusive plural subject).
- ¹⁴⁹ The masculine equivalent is *atsi* 'he comes'.
- ¹⁵⁰ The feminine form in Mosetén of Covendo is *-jo* ' , but some speakers use *-joi* ' instead. The form *-joi* ' is also used in Mosetén of Santa Ana and Chimane.
- ¹⁵¹ Some speakers express 3rd person feminine object forms by *-i-*, as in *yet* 'say to her', as opposed to *-ye* '.
- ¹⁵² The alternation between the forms *-ksi-* and *-kse-* is due to a vowel change in the verbal stem (2.5.1.).
- ¹⁵³ This form can also be used for 2nd person singular objects. 2nd person plural forms are marked by another element.
- ¹⁵⁴ There are other markers with the same form, such as the associated motion marker *-ti-* (8.6.2.1.), for which I find it difficult.
- ¹⁵⁵ The translation of this example, appearing in another context, could also be 'she combed herself in there'.
- ¹⁵⁶ With 3rd person singular objects, the cross-reference ending exclusively marks for the object and not the subject (8.1.2.).
- ¹⁵⁷ Separate imperative forms exist only for the 2nd person. Still, these forms differ from the unmarked cross-reference markers that are used in commands with other persons.
- ¹⁵⁸ According to Gill (1999:64), there is an alternative form in Chimane *-jam*. This form cannot be used in Mosetén.
- ¹⁵⁹ The singular forms of the imperative, however, are derived in the regular way (8.1.5.1.)
- ¹⁶⁰ By most of my informants, this form is not accepted as an imperative form.
- ¹⁶¹ The nominalized forms of this verb can be *dyakdye* ' or *dyakedye* '.
- ¹⁶² This verb is also influenced by vowel harmony (2.3.2.) in certain cross-reference forms.
- ¹⁶³ This marker has the productive form *-kho-* in non-lexicalized environments.
- ¹⁶⁴ See intransitive direct stems above.
- ¹⁶⁵ Combined with *-ban*, these markers appear in fused form (8.8.).
- ¹⁶⁶ A number of lexicalized forms, however, only occur with one of these options.
- ¹⁶⁷ In some grammatical descriptions, these forms are called 'light verbs', in other traditions, similar structures are called verbal classifiers. To keep my description of these forms as broad and unbiased as possible, I will use the term 'verbal stem markers'.
- ¹⁶⁸ A phonological rule is applied in this form, extending the previous /j/ to the *-i-*: *-ji-* (2.5.4.).
- ¹⁶⁹ In this way, the marker *-yi-* can resemble incorporation markers (8.4.).
- ¹⁷⁰ See also the derivation of verbs marked by *-yi-* in relation to prefixes (8.3.).

- ¹⁷¹ However, it does not follow the stress pattern of one word, either.
- ¹⁷² Since this marker usually derives transitive verbs, the vowel /i/ appears often as /e/ (2.5.1.1.).
- ¹⁷³ The fixed verbal root *näij-* can also be derived by other verbal stem markers, such as *-i-*: *näij-ji* ‘be seen’.
- ¹⁷⁴ This bound root can also be derived by *-i-*: *fir-i-*, having another meaning ‘burn’.
- ¹⁷⁵ This bound root can also be derived by *-i-*: *fäk-i* ‘be angry at’.
- ¹⁷⁶ There is also an associated motion marker with the form *-ki-* (8.6.1.).
- ¹⁷⁷ The last two verbs have two different forms. These could resemble diminutive or vowel harmony forms, though in these cases they are alternative forms of the same lexical element. Speakers usually prefer one form instead of another, and there is no difference in meaning involved.
- ¹⁷⁸ Compare with *phashi* in 8.3.1.
- ¹⁷⁹ All Spanish verbs appear in the infinitive form and are marked by *-yi-* when turned into a “Mosetén” verb.
- ¹⁸⁰ Other verbs that follow this pattern are: *itsädyëi* ‘play’, *atsai-* ‘swim’, *nəwo’woi-* ‘dribble’, *ji’säi-* ‘bake, smoke’, *dewei-* ‘debt’, *wəñəaei* ‘lie’, *chhatai* ‘believe’, *majmai-* ‘make a road’, *kirjkai-* ‘read’, *shäe’äi-* ‘rob’, *akai-* ‘build house’, *viajei-* ‘travel’ and *resoi* ‘pray’. The verbs *ya’i-* ‘buy, trade’ and *ja’odyi-* ‘bark [dog]’ follow the same pattern, but they always keep the root final vowel /i/, as it is not part of a diphthong: *ya’iyeja* ‘we buy’ and *ya’idyē* ‘purchase’ and *ja’odyiyeja* ‘we bark’ and *ja’odyiyedyē* ‘barking’.
- ¹⁸¹ There are also the less frequent forms *wən-ti-* ‘come here’ and *wən-ka-* ‘come there’.
- ¹⁸² Formally, these resemble the associated motion marker *-chhi-* (8.6.4.), but they mean something different.
- ¹⁸³ The verb *sha’ke-* ‘wipe out’ (for example the writings on the blackboard) does not seem to be related to the marker *-sha’(ke)-*.
- ¹⁸⁴ Of the chewed yucca one makes the fermented drink *chicha*.
- ¹⁸⁵ This incorporation marker cannot express ‘the cloud is about (i.e. “wants”) to rain’, as in many other South American languages like Quechua.
- ¹⁸⁶ When the associated motion marker *-sh-* is followed by the marker for the 1st person plural inclusive subject *-ja’*, it is homophonous with the marker *sha’(ke)-*, also having the form *-sha’* (8.6.2.).
- ¹⁸⁷ One reason for the difference between the progressive marking and the marking of *sha’(ke)-* is that the latter exclusively appears with transitive verbs. Therefore, the 3rd person plural object form is not marked as the corresponding intransitive form, which is the case with other markers that have intransitive forms.
- ¹⁸⁸ For a better overview, the reflexive forms are not mentioned in the table. They are based on *sha’ti-*.
- ¹⁸⁹ Traditional bag that is used by the Mosetenes.
- ¹⁹⁰ The inflection patterns of this marker is discussed in section 8.2.2.1.
- ¹⁹¹ Compare this to the verbal stem marker (8.3.3.) and applicative *-tyi-* (9.5.2.).
- ¹⁹² One of my informants suggested that the form with the *-k(V)-* has taken place for a shorter period of time than the complementary form without the *-k(V)-*.
- ¹⁹³ Example 12:15 shows the use of *jiyi-* ‘pass’ (section 12.1.3.)

- ¹⁹⁴ This marker is usually followed by a rather strong aspiration in the masculine form. Therefore, I mark the masculine form as followed by a *-j*.
- ¹⁹⁵ Mosestén babies are hung up in the roof of the house to sleep.
- ¹⁹⁶ With further derivational marking, the form of the associated motion marker is *-sh-* (8.6.2.2.).
- ¹⁹⁷ The marker of the 1st person plural inclusive subject appears as *-a'* after the fricative form *-sh-* of this associated motion marker.
- ¹⁹⁸ According to Gill (1999: 123) this form is *kawissin* in Chimane. In Mosestén, such a form does not exist.
- ¹⁹⁹ The marker *-j-* is discussed in section 8.6.7.
- ²⁰⁰ The *-k-* element in this associated motion marker may be related to the *-ki-* associated motion marker discussed in section 8.6.1.
- ²⁰¹ This associated motion marker appears in a number of lexicalized verbal stems. Such verbs are *dyijchhi-* 'remember' and *yakchhiti-* 'begin'. In most cases, the path of lexicalization is synchronically unclear.
- ²⁰² The form of the 1st person plural inclusive subject is *-jja'*: *khoshe-ji-ja'* 'we go to various places to sleep.'
- ²⁰³ The masculine form of this marker is often followed by an aspiration, which I mark by *-j* in the examples.
- ²⁰⁴ Below, I will discuss some instances where this is not the case.
- ²⁰⁵ One possible analysis of *-min-* and *-j-* is that *-min-* expresses the interruption of the movement in order to do the action, while *-j-* expresses an ongoing action. Furthermore, there may be a historical connection between *-j-* and the distributive associated motion marker *-ji-* (8.6.5.).
- ²⁰⁶ This form *jikkä-* appears with the vowel /a/ instead of /i/, which would be the regular form of this associated motion marker.
- ²⁰⁷ The bound verbal root *wën-* is not marked by a verbal stem marker before the associated motion marker is added to it. Still, the overall function of this construction is verbal.
- ²⁰⁸ The form *wën-jö-* can also be used with the meaning 'come somewhere without being seen'.
- ²⁰⁹ Also, the alternative form for the 1st person plural inclusive subject (8.1.1.) is accepted with this derivational suffix: *tsin nöi'yäkhñe-n'*.
- ²¹⁰ The reflexive and partial overlapping forms are *-bin* (3M.S) / *-bin'* (3F.S) and *-bidyikha'* (1PL.S).
- ²¹¹ In the terminology of Kemmer (1993).
- ²¹² Apart from forces.
- ²¹³ Forces are, however, sometimes found as subjects in these constructions.
- ²¹⁴ There is, however, an applicative of the form *jaj-*, meaning 'accompany' (9.5.4.).
- ²¹⁵ In this way, the suffix *-ti-* could also be interpreted as the antipassive marker *-ti-* which expresses violence as well (9.3.2.).
- ²¹⁶ *Fäki-* can either mean 'be angry' or 'say angrily, shout'.
- ²¹⁷ In other descriptions, these structure are sometimes called anticausatives.
- ²¹⁸ See section 9.2. for a discussion of the differences between the middle and the antipassive marker.
- ²¹⁹ Non-human objects are often presented as singular (4.2.3.).

- ²²⁰ In Mosestén, objects of ‘write’ can both be the topic that is written about, such as ‘our party’, or the element written on, such as ‘book’.
- ²²¹ This verb is derived by the verbal stem marker *-tyi-* (8.3.3.), which has idiosyncratic forms in relation to cross-reference markers.
- ²²² The plural object is non-human, and therefore marked as singular (4.2.3.).
- ²²³ *Jäen* ‘can also have indefinite meanings (5.5.).
- ²²⁴ Some people use the form *jej-* instead of *je-*.
- ²²⁵ In this diagram, I present applicatives as suffixes, even if two applicatives are prefixes.
- ²²⁶ In this diagram, I present applicatives as suffixes, even if two applicatives are prefixes.
- ²²⁷ In this example, the de-emphasized objects in the antipassive construction appear with the downriver relation marker *-we*. This is possible, though most de-emphasized objects in antipassive constructions are expressed in the clause without further marking (9.1.1.).
- ²²⁸ This is also the case with the applicative marker *-yi-* (9.5.1.), while *-bi-* (9.5.5.) follows the marker *-ksi-*.
- ²²⁹ Compare this to example (9:62) in section 9.5.4.
- ²³⁰ There are other suffixes of the same form *-ti-*: a verbal stem marker (8.3.4.), a reflexive marker (8.1.3.), as well as an associated motion marker (8.6.2.1.).
- ²³¹ I have not found such a marker that expresses ‘for a reason’ in other voice structures.
- ²³² Interestingly, in this combination of causative and middle, the agent of the construction is known, which is otherwise not the case with the middle voice appearing on its own (9.2.).
- ²³³ For simplicity, this marker is always glossed ‘yet’, though it has a number of different uses apart from that.
- ²³⁴ This marker is a fixed expression, meaning ‘not exist any more’. It cannot, synchronically, be divided into morphemes, though it appears to be composed of on the noun *jedye* ‘thing’. The almost homophonous verb *jedyetiishan* ‘he came to bring the thing again’ can be divided in *jedye* ‘thing’, *-tii-* ‘bring’ *-sh-* ‘associated motion marker’ and *-ban* ‘again, M.S’. However, this verb has nothing to do with the negative form in the example.
- ²³⁵ ‘Never’ can also be expressed by the marker *jäen* ‘in combination with *rä* ‘potential’ and the negation: *jam jäen rä* ‘never’.
- ²³⁶ Other interrogative pronouns are not accepted together with the negation.
- ²³⁷ This marker may diachronically be constructed of the marker *ish* (consecutive marker) and *-tyi* ‘(possibility marker). Synchronically, however, these markers are not related.
- ²³⁸ This evidential also occurs in stories in instances of direct speech.
- ²³⁹ Often, however, negative quantifiers are not marked by *-ra* ‘(11.2.1.).
- ²⁴⁰ In this way, the marker *öka* ‘resembles the other use of *-ka*’, marking rhetorical questions (12.3.1.6.).
- ²⁴¹ The composition of this marker is unclear: it may be constructed of the nominalizer *-dye* (4.4.1.) and the irrealis marker *-ra* ‘(11.2.1.), though synchronically the meaning of this marker does not appear to be a combination of these.

- ²⁴² This marker has no gender agreement forms and is not related to the linker (4.8.).
- ²⁴³ Another form, realized with nasal vowels *wätyëkë*, means ‘suddenly’.
- ²⁴⁴ One purpose for the speaker using this marker could be to keep the interest of the hearer.
- ²⁴⁵ In verbalized forms, this marker is also used to express ‘accept’ *ja-yi-*, even if *ja* itself does not have a positive or negative implication, and can appear in negated clauses as well.
- ²⁴⁶ With these parts of speech, it has the meaning ‘big’ (4.6.3.) and can be used in superlative constructions (6.3.2.).
- ²⁴⁷ This marker is not to be confused with *chhome* ‘also’.
- ²⁴⁸ This verb appears in combination with a temporal particle and an evidential that are optional elements in a clause.
- ²⁴⁹ See appendix II for statistics about the word order in written texts.
- ²⁵⁰ The context of this example can be seen in the text ‘The story of the Armadillo’ in the appendix.
- ²⁵¹ See appendix II for statistics about the word order in written texts.
- ²⁵² Furthermore, different topic markers such as *-ki* (13.2.1.) can then help to differentiate between the participants.
- ²⁵³ See also examples in section 5.1.
- ²⁵⁴ Compare this with cliticization with intransitive (12.1.2.) and transitive (12.1.3.) verbs above.
- ²⁵⁵ There are few examples which use *mö’we*, such as *jes mö’we tyabedye* ‘there are many fish [in the river]’. Other place adverbs, such as *öya*’ or *möya*’ (see 6.4.1.1.) are never used in this structure.
- ²⁵⁶ This resembles the use of *abikio*’ above, expressing an accusation, rather than a question.
- ²⁵⁷ Another marker, *-dye*, appears with degree adverbs (6.4.4.).
- ²⁵⁸ The question marker *abi*’ does not appear in combination with *-ka*’, which may be caused by the closeness between questions marked by *abi*’ and rhetorical questions: *abi*’ expresses that the speaker does not expect the hearer to know an answer to his question.
- ²⁵⁹ Question markers show that the interrogative pronouns are used in questions and not as subordinations, or other functions (see 5.4.1. for an example where *jäen*’ is used as a subordinator).
- ²⁶⁰ Predicate clauses will be discussed below.
- ²⁶¹ The notion of ‘core’ elements is somewhat misleading, since this term includes verbs, subjects and objects. The latter two are core elements, but can be “deleted” from the clause by pro-drop, as they occur in the verbal cross-reference ending. This formal deletion, however, does not change their status as core elements of the clause.
- ²⁶² When the answer is positive, a marker such as *anik* ‘sure’ is used.
- ²⁶³ See the transitive clauses below for occurrences of “objects” with verbs marked by the antipassive, similar to *shara* ‘gourd’ in this example.
- ²⁶⁴ Compare this with the fronting of objects in word order (12.1.3.).
- ²⁶⁵ According to Mosestén mythology, people saying to an animal ‘if you were human,

- ...’ will meet this animal in a human shape shortly after. The people are often astonished and wonder where this other “human” comes from. This example is the answer of a transformed animal, referring to what the person said right before (and to its consequences).
- ²⁶⁶ Compare this to example (12:95) above, where *chhibin* ‘three’ is fronted and focused by *-nä*.
- ²⁶⁷ The coordination of fully inflected verbs is very different from participle constructions, in which only one main verb occurs (8.9.).
- ²⁶⁸ I have only one example of the marker *jö’dyë*, which is used to relate a clause to the context. Mostly, the form *jö’dyë’yä* is used.
- ²⁶⁹ Only the marker *nä* appears in this combination, whereas *näjä*’ cannot appear before *-ki*.
- ²⁷⁰ Compare this example to (13:9) in section 13.2.1.
- ²⁷¹ The marking of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is usually very consistent.
- ²⁷² These are the possible functions of the relativized element, according to the accessibility hierarchy, proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977).
- ²⁷³ Apart from adverbial relative clauses, treated in 13.3.3. below.
- ²⁷⁴ The first translation is the one I first got from my informants.
- ²⁷⁵ The personal pronoun agrees in gender with the subject of the main clause.
- ²⁷⁶ I.e. whether a relativized element can be interpreted as having the role of a possessor is not marked on the element and depends largely on the context.
- ²⁷⁷ The noun *daerae*’ can both mean ‘tree’ and ‘mountain’, i.e. this example could also be understood as ‘on top of the mountains, ...’.
- ²⁷⁸ I mainly refer to text examples here. In elicitation examples, the relative clause usually appears directly after its antecedent, in different places within the main clause. In texts, however, the orders describes here are prevalent.
- ²⁷⁹ These restrictions can be removed, marking the complement clause by *paj* ‘for’.
- ²⁸⁰ Usually, only one noun phrase appears in this type of adverbial clauses, as the verb is always intransitive or intransitivized.
- ²⁸¹ This particle can also be used in finite complement clauses (13.4.1.) to express that the subject of the matrix clause is not co-referent with the subject of the complement clause.
- ²⁸² The meaning ‘let’ can also be expressed by a causative structure (9.4.2.).
- ²⁸³ In these examples, I only mark in bold the elements in which *-wi-* occurs.
- ²⁸⁴ The construction ‘sit for a while’ is expressed by analytic progressive aspect marking (8.5.1.), consisting of two juxtaposed verbs: *bae’i-* and the content verb. In this way, the participle form is followed by two inflected verbs.
- ²⁸⁵ In this case, *-yi-* expresses ‘to imitate’.
- ²⁸⁶ Associated motion markers express similar concepts (8.6.).
- ²⁸⁷ This speaker uses the marker *-wi-* here instead of *-yi-*, which would be used by other people.
- ²⁸⁸ Paint with a certain red plant ‘orucu’.
- ²⁸⁹ The saber turned out to be the tail of the rat, which had transformed into a human shape.
- ²⁹⁰ A fruit.

²⁹¹ In these texts, only one transitive clause appear with both a subject NP and an object NP. In the entire database of dialogues, spoken texts and elicitation examples, there are more examples of this type. Abbreviations are: NP = noun phrase, P = pronoun, CLAUSE = complement clause

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