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A GRAMMAR OF MOCOVI

by

Verónica María Grondona

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Arts and Sciences
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

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A GRAMMAR OF MOCOVI

Verónica María Grondona, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 1998

Abstract

This dissertation presents a description of Mocoví, with special emphasis on the inflectional morphology of noun and verb phrases and the structure of clauses and sentences. The basis for this study is comprised of data collected during fieldwork with native speakers of Mocoví in the Colonia "El Pastoril" in Chaco province, Argentina.

Mocoví belongs to the Southern branch of the Waikurúan language family. It has somewhere between 4,000 and 7,000 speakers who live in communities scattered in the northern part of Santa Fé province and the southern part of Chaco province in Argentina.

Mocoví is an SVO language with an Active/Inactive pronominal system. It has one set of pronominal clitics for agentive subjects, i.e. an Active set of proclitics, and another set for non-agent subjects and objects, i.e. an Inactive set of proclitics. The set of Inactive proclitics strongly resembles the set of possessive markers on nouns. It also has an Alienable/Inalienable opposition in nouns. Mocoví has a complex demonstrative system that consists of a set of deictic roots which precede the noun in noun phrases and mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). These deictic roots can also function as pronominals and as locative adverbs. Mocoví has a complex verb form with numerous categories expressed as affixes or clitics within that form: negation, indefinite agent, person and number, progressive aspect, location and direction, object number, and evidentiality.

It lacks a passive construction. but it has an indefinite agent proclitic that occurs within the verb form. It has a set of locative/directional verbal enclitics that express the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. The following types of clauses are described: transitive and intransitive clauses. existential and copular clauses. and subordinate clauses. including relative clauses and complement clauses.

This study provides a description of Mocoví. a language that has been poorly documented. with particular emphasis on nominal and verbal morphology. It provides a fairly detailed and comprehensive study of a Waikurúan language. It presents data for a comparative study of Waikurúan languages. and for the reconstruction of Proto-Waikurúan.

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I am especially endebted to the speakers of Mocoví of the Colonia "El Pastoril" who so patiently and vigorously attempted to teach me their language; without their knowledge and assistance I would never have been able to carry out this research. I thank those Mocoví speakers who have answered my endless questions with patience and insight: Juan José Manito, Roberto Ruiz, Juan Nicolás, Luisa Salteño and Simona Molina. Special thanks are due to Valentín Salteño, teacher and friend. His knowledge of Mocoví, his insights, his patience and his sense of humor have been invaluable during my fieldwork. I am also grateful to the staff of the Escuela N° 418 "Niño Mocoví", especially Eva Morales and Nancy Vargas for their support and assistance, and for giving me the opportunity to work closely with them and their students.

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List of Abbreviations

`<>`	orthography, spelling as it appears in the source		INWDS	inwards
			M	masculine
=	clitic		n	noun
-	affix		NEG	negative
1	first (person)		NOM	nominalizer
2	second (person)		nonext	non-extended
3	third (person)		nthg	nothing
ABS	absolutive		OBJ	object
absnt	absent		OBL	oblique
AC	active		PCL	paucal
ADJ	adjective		PL	plural
AL	alienable		POSS	possessive
cmng	coming		pref	prefix
COLL	collective		PROG	progressive
DEIC	deictic root		PRON	pronoun
DIM	diminutive		R	respectful
DWN	down		SG	singular
EV	evidential		Sp	Spanish
f	familiar		suff	suffix
F	feminine		TDS	towards
gng	going		v	verb
HTH	hither		vert	vertically extended
hor	horizontally extended		vi	intransitive verb
IN	inactive		vt	transitive verb
INDEF	indefinite agent			

1. Introduction

This work presents a linguistic description of Mocoví. a Southern Waikurúan language spoken in the Chaco region in Argentina. with special emphasis on the inflectional morphology of noun and verb phrases. and the structure of sentences and clauses.

Mocoví. or [moqoyt la?qa:tqa] *'Mocoví language '*. is an American Indian language with somewhere between 4.000 and 7.000 speakers who live in communities scattered in the northern part of Santa Fé province and the southern part of Chaco province in Argentina (See Map 1. Appendix C). Mocoví belongs to the Southern branch of the Waikurúan language family.

The Waikurúan language family includes two branches. Waikurú and Southern Waikurúan. The Waikurú branch is made up of Mbayá. formerly spoken in the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco. and its only descendant Kadiwéu. now spoken by about 1.500 people in western Mato Grosso do Sul. Brazil. The Southern Branch includes Toba. Pilagá. Mocoví and ✝Abipón. Toba. with 25.000 speakers. is spoken in Southern Paraguay and eastern Bolivia. and in the eastern part of Chaco and Formosa provinces in Argentina (approximately 15.000 Toba speakers live in Argentina). Pilagá has about 4.000 speakers scattered in the northeastern part of Chaco and in Formosa provinces in Argentina. Abipón. now extinct. was spoken in the eastern part of Chaco province in Argentina and was very closely related to the other languages in this branch. The family tree of the Waikurúan language family is provided in Figure 1.

Proto-Waikurúan

Waikurú   Southern Waikurúan

Mbayá

Kadiwéu   Mocoví   Pilagá   Toba   Abipón[t]
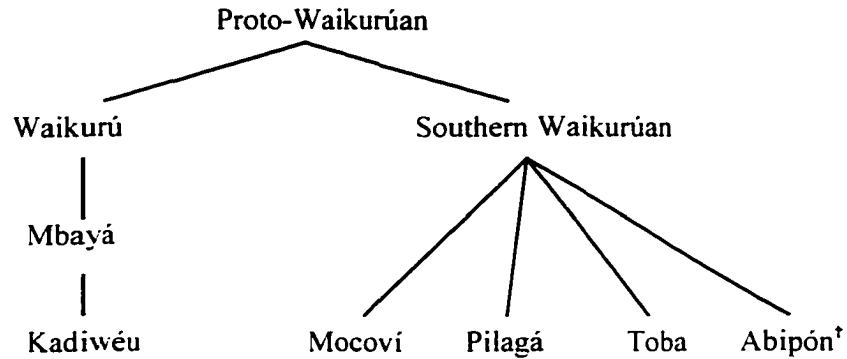
Figure 1

Mocoví is a poorly documented language in a poorly studied family. There is an 1892 grammar of Mocoví by Lafone Quevedo that is based on a manuscript by Francisco Tavolini, a Jesuit priest, dating from between 1854 and 1864; a paper on palatalization in two varieties of Mocoví by Gualdieri, and a study on zoological names and ethno-zoology of the Pilagá, Toba, Mocoví, Mataco and Vilela by Martínez Crovetto, an Argentinian agronomist. An Evangelical Minister, Alberto Buckwalter, is said to be working on a dictionary of Mocoví. I have not been able to contact Mr. Buckwalter. There are two historical works on the Waikurúan family. The first is a paper on the reconstruction of the pronominals and demonstratives of Proto-Waikurúan by Ceria and Sandalo (1995), which includes a reconstruction of the phonological system of Proto-Waikurúan largely based on unpublished work by Terrence Kaufman. The second is a paper on prefixation, semantic change and class reduction in Waikurúan languages by Vidal (1997). There is also a paper on location and direction in Waikurúan languages by Grondona (1998).

1.1. Methodology

This study is based on data collected during fieldwork between 1991 and 1997 in the Colonia "El Pastoril", in Villa Angela, Chaco, Argentina, over a period of six months. (See Map 1. Appendix C.) I have mainly worked with three different native speakers of the language, all of whom speak Spanish as a second language: Juan José Manito, born in 1943 and 'president' of the community between 1991 and 1993; Roberto Ruiz, born in 1939; and Valentín Salteño, born in 1965. Both Mr. Ruiz and Mr. Salteño are 'bilingual helpers' at the elementary school in the community. Mr. Ruiz also speaks Toba, which he learned as an adult while performing evangelical work in the northern part of the Chaco province in Argentina. Mr. Ruiz has also helped in Mr. Buckwalter's translation of the Bible into Mocoví.

I have spent a total of almost six months collecting data from native speakers of Mocoví between 1991 and 1997: one month in the summer of 1991 (May-June 1991), two and a half months in the summer of 1992 (June-July-August 1992), two weeks in 1995 (September 1995), three weeks in 1996, and two weeks in 1997. The data I collected over this period makes up a database of about two thousand lexical items, about three thousand sentences, and about twenty recorded texts by various native speakers other than my informants (varying from 5 minutes to 45 minutes in length), 12 of which I have transcribed and analysed.

The main guides for the collection of data have been a typological checklist developed by Sarah Thomason; certain relevant sections of the Lingua Descriptive Studies questionnaire designed by Bernard Comrie & Norval Smith; the grammatical questionnaire and the accompanying lexical list of approximately two thousand items developed by Kaufman & Berlin

(1987), especially designed for South American Indian languages; and books and pictures of native flora and fauna of the region.

1.2. Historical Background

Very little, if anything, is known of the Mocoví Indians in pre-Hispanic times, but there is little reason to believe that their lifestyle and traditions were much different from what they were in the 17th century, when we have the first European accounts of Indian groups in the Chaco region in Argentina. The Mocovís were nomadic hunters and gatherers. The bands or tribes moved in the area from the Bermejo River southwest down to the Salado River. Each tribe was made up of a few extended families. The men were in charge of hunting and fishing, and the women would gather wood and fruit and fetch water, and carry the small children and their belongings when they moved. There is evidence that there were trade routes across the Chaco forests. The Chaco Indians would exchange wildcat skins and rhea and egret feathers for gold, silver and copper objects in the Inca villages on the border of the Inca Empire, as well as in Indian towns in the Calchaquí valley. The Mocovís probably had more contact with the Indians in the Calchaquí valley than with those in the Inca Empire, and some accounts portray them as the ˙wild Indians roaming the Province of Tucumán˙ (Métraux 1946:211).

In the second half of the 16th century the Spanish started founding settlements on the border of the region inhabited by the Mocovís (Santiago del Estero in 1553, Tucumán in 1563, Esteco in 1567, Córdoba in 1573, Concepción del Bermejo in 1632, and Salta in 1709. See Map 2, Appendix C). The Mocovís, who by then had acquired horses by stealing them from the

Spanish and from other Indians, occasionally traded with the settlers in these towns. but also attacked and raided them frequently.

In 1743 the Jesuit Francisco Burgés founded the mission of San Francisco Xavier with a few Mocoví Indians on the eastern side of what is now Santa Fé province. He was then succeeded by Father Florián Paucke. who wrote a detailed description of the Mocoví. although not of their language. The mission prospered and the Mocoví population increased. In 1765 the Jesuit mission of San Pedro was founded on the Ispin-Chico River. a tributary of the Saladillo River. The Jesuits provided Indians with cattle and showed them how to work the land in an attempt to make them sedentary. After 1767. with the Jesuit expulsion from the region. the missions declined rapidly. In 1780 the Franciscan mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y Santiago de Lacangayé (on the Bermejo River) was founded. but it is likely that most of the Indians there were Toba rather than Mocoví. (See Map 2. Appendix C.)

It was not until the second half of the 19th century that the Spanish started showing some interest in the area again. Little is known about the missions around that time. However. around the late 1850s Father Francisco Tavolini. an Italian missionary member of a Spanish religious order. was sent to the former mission of San Pedro. now called "reducción" (namely an Indian community headed by a European priest), which at the time apparently had mostly Mocoví Indians. Father Tavolini spent approximately three years in the "reducción". during which time he wrote a description of the language which was edited and published by Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo in 1892 (see below for details).

In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the Europeans entered more and more into the Chaco. pushing the Indians to settle in small communities and forcing them to adopt a sedentary life. Some of them worked as peons for European landowners. clearing land of bushes and trees and preparing it for grazing and planting. Others settled in communities

scattered around the region and started working as temporary laborers, preparing the land for planting, and later harvesting the crops, mainly cotton. It was only the chiefs and the male heads of families who communicated with Spanish speakers. Their level of bilingualism was not high, but it was enough to negotiate a price for their work, and to purchase food, such as sugar or "yerba" (a type of tea typical of the region).

In the mid 1940s the elementary school #418 was founded in the Colonia El Pastoril, one of the biggest Mocovi communities in the Southern Chaco region. The aim was to teach the Indians Spanish and to give them an education. The teachers were monolingual Spanish speakers; most Mocovi children and adults did not speak Spanish. The school is still operating today: the teachers are still all native speakers of Spanish who do not speak Mocovi. The children learn Mocovi as their first language and start attending school around the age of 5 or 6, but few of them finish elementary school: most drop out in third or fourth grade. There have been attempts to teach Spanish reading and writing to adult women, but the results have not been good.

At present it is still the men who are in closer contact with Spanish speakers, since they are the ones who negotiate with the landowners, who go into town for supplies, and who may travel farther away in search of work when there is no work in the home area. The women and children who attend school have contact with the teachers, all of them Spanish monolinguals, and sometimes with the doctor who goes to the community once a week. Most if not all the families own a radio and listen to it almost constantly. Radio transmission in the area is in Spanish. A few households have a television set (all the programs are in Spanish), and I know of one household that owns a VCR. The level of bilingualism in Mocovi speakers varies from high proficiency in Spanish (mostly men 25-50 years old) to no knowledge of Spanish (mainly older adults, mostly women but some men as well, and children up to 5 years old). Younger women tend to be more

proficient in Spanish than older women. In the last year transportation to and from the town, some five kilometers away, has improved, and the Mocoví go to town more frequently during the harvesting season when money and work are more readily available. The more contact a speaker has with the Spanish- speaking world, the higher his or her level of bilingualism.

Mocoví was not a written language. However, in the 1950s a group of missionaries developed a writing system for Toba which was later extended to Mocoví. This writing system was largely based on the Spanish writing system. The only written text in Mocoví is a translation of the bible by Mr. Buckwalter.

1.3. Existing Literature on Mocoví

Very little work has been done on Mocoví up until now. Lafone Quevedo's 1892 grammar of Mocoví is based on a manuscript by Francisco Tavolini, a Jesuit priest who spent approximately ten years with the Mocoví between 1854 and 1864. Although this grammar is valuable as a historic source of the langauge, caution should be exercised when working both with the data and the analyses provided. Lafone Quevedo's description is not based on his own fieldwork with the language, but on Tavolini's notes and description of Mocoví. Tavolini did not distinguish between velar and uvular stops, and uvular fricatives and glottal stops were not recorded. Lafone Quevedo's description maintained these inconsistencies. Throughout his work Lafone Quevedo makes an attempt to relate Mocoví to other Waikurúan languages such as Toba and Abipón (two languages he also provided descriptions of) and other American Indigenous languages. His analysis of the data seems to suffer from such an attempt.

There is a paper on palatalization in two varieties of Mocoví by Gualdieri. Martínez Crovetto's study on zoological names and ethno-zoology of the Pilagá, Toba, Mocoví, Mataco and Vilela provides useful data for a comparative study of zoological names in these languages. However his transcriptions are not always accurate. The information on Alberto Buckwalter's dictionary of Mocoví is not available, since I have not yet been able to contact Mr. Buckwalter. There are two historical works on the Waikurúan family. The first is a paper on the reconstruction of the pronominals and demonstratives of Proto-Waikurúan by Ceria and Sandalo (1995), which includes a reconstruction of the phonological system of Proto-Waikurúan largely based on unpublished work by Terrence Kaufman. Some of the data in the paper needs to be revised in light of new findings in the various Waikurúan languages. The second is a paper on prefixation, semantic change and reduction of classes in Waikurúan languages by Vidal (1997). There is also a paper on location and direction in Waikurúan languages by Grondona (1998) which provides a comparative study of the notions of location and direction as expressed in the demonstrative system and in the locative/directional morphemes within the verb form in the various languages of the Waikurúan family.

1.4. Grammatical Sketch

In this section I provide a brief sketch of Mocoví in order to familiarize the reader with the basic structures of the language. Mocoví is an SVO language. In most cases, subjects and objects are encoded by pronominal clitics and affixes on the verb. It has an Active/Inactive agreement system on verbs, and an Alienable/Inalienable opposition in nouns. Possession is marked on the possessed head noun in the NP, i.e. Mocoví is *head-marking*, and no

marker occurs on the dependent noun. i.e. the possessor. When the possessor is an overt noun (or NP), the possessor can either precede or follow the possessed noun. with no apparent change in meaning. It has a fairly complex demonstrative system which marks the absence/presence of the noun they modify. as well as motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). It has a rather complex verb form in which various categories are expressed as affixes or clitics. Mocoví lacks prepositions. but it has an oblique marker. *ke*. which introduces oblique noun phrases.

1.4.2. Mocoví as an Active/Inactive Language

Mocoví can be classified as an Active/Inactive language. It has an agreement system on verbs in which agents are marked by one set of markers. the Active person markers. and non-agents. and objects are maked by another set of markers. the Inactive person markers. The set of possessive markers on nouns very closely resembles the Inactive person markers.

Table 1 lists the person markers in Mocoví.

Table 1

Person Markers

	Possessive	Active	Inactive
1sg	i+	s+ ~ i+	ir+ ([j])
2sgf	r+ ~ ∅+ ... -i	∅+ ... -i	r+ ... -i
2sgR	r+ ~ ∅+ ... +ir	∅+ ... +ir	r+ ... +ir
3sg	l+ ~ ∅+	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+
1pl	qar+ ~ qa+	s+ ~ i+ ... -aɢ	qar+
2pcl	r+ ~ ∅+... -iri	∅+ ... -iri	r+ ... -iri
2pl	r+ ~ ∅+... -i:	∅+ ... -i:	r+ ... -i:
3pl	l+ ~ ∅+ ... -er	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+... -er	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+... -er
Abs	n+ ~ l+		

Person is marked mainly by a set of proclitics which immediately precede the verb stem. or the prefix *n-* 'hither' in a verb that takes this prefix, in the case of verbs: they immediately precede the nominal root. or the alienable prefix *n-*. when marking possession on nouns. Person number is marked as a suffix immediately following the stem. For the second person singular the proclitic for the Active set is ∅+ and for the Inactive set and the Possessive markers it is *r+*. There is also a suffix *-i* for the second person singular familiar. or an enclitic *+ir* for the second person singular respectful form. which immediately follows the stem. The marker for the second person singular respectful is a clitic not a suffix because the phonological rules apply before the clitic is attached to the verb form. Third person in the set of Possessive markers is expressed by the proclitic *l+* in inalienably possesed nouns. and by the proclitic ∅+ in alienably possessed nouns. There are four allomorphs of the third person proclitic on verbs: *i+*. ∅+. *r+*. and *n+*. These allomorphs are not phonologically determined. Verb stems in Mocoví have been classified into four different classes based on the form of the proclitic that they take for the third person:

Class A verbal stems are those that take the proclitic *i+*. Class B stems are those that take the proclitic ∅+. Class C stems are those that take the proclitic *r+*. and Class D stems are those that take the proclitic *n+* for the third person. Number for the first. second and third persons is marked by suffixes which immediatelly follow the verb stem. While there is a distinction on the second person between a paucal suffix *-iri*, used normally when referring to two or maybe three entities. and a plural suffix *-i:* used when referring to four or more. there is only a two-number distinction in the first and third persons. namely singular and plural. Singular is used when referring to one entity. and plural is used when referring to two or more.

It should be noted that none of the person proclitics can co-occur. i.e. Mocovi does not allow more than one person proclitic on the verb: therefore. if the verb form calls for one subject proclitic and one object proclitic. there is a hierarchy that will determine which person marker will occur in the verb form: 1>2>3. However. it does allow two person suffixes. one of which must be the first person plural agent suffix.

1.4.3. Alienable/Inalienable Possession

There is a distinction in Mocovi between Inalienably possessed nouns. i.e. nouns that must occur with a possessive marker. or an absolutive marker indicating that the noun lacks a possessor. and Alienably possessed nouns. i.e. nouns that do not normally occur with a possessive marker. In order to bear a possessive marker these nouns must take the alienable prefix *n-*. which immediately precedes the nominal root. The possessive proclitic then precedes the alienable prefix *n-*. The structure of alienably and inalienably possessed nouns with the person markers is shown in (1).

(1)   Inalienably possessed nouns: [POSS+stem(-POSS)]

        Alienably possessed nouns: [POSS+*n*-stem(-POSS)]

Mocoví nouns can be grouped into three noun classes depending on the possessive marker that they take: Class I. nouns that *must* be possessed and do not take a prefix *n*-: Class II. nouns that *may* be possessed and that take the prefix *n*- when they are possessed: Class III. nouns that are *never* possessed. and include words for such items as animals. things from nature (e.g. storm. rain. and river), and non-kinship terms referring to people (e.g. man and woman). The prefix *n*- is added to nouns that are alienably possessed when they occur with a possessive marker.

1.4.4. Structure of the Verb Form

The verb form is quite complex and it includes the following categories: negation. indefinite agent. pronominal agreement. hither. progressive aspect. locative/directional enclitics. object number and evidential. The structure of the verb form in Mocoví is provided in (2). (See Chapter 4 for a detailed table showing the structure of the verb form.)

(2)   Structure of the Verb form

        Neg+ Indef+ Pers+ hither- STEM -Pl.Ag -Pers   +Aspect +Loc/Dir +O.n° +EV
                                                (+2SGR)

1.4.5. Basic Constituent Order and Clause Types

The basic word order in sentences is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). although sentences with two nominal phrases are fairly uncommon. Verb-Object-Subject (VOS) order is also very common. The common word order. then. is VO. Since verbal arguments are expressed by pronominals on the verb form, a single verb form can constitute a full sentence. as in example (3). However. those arguments can also be expressed by lexical noun phrases. as in example (4).

The examples are presented as follows. The first line provides a phonemic transctiption. between / /; in cases in which the phonetic representation of a form differs considerably from the phonemic form. a phonetic transcription is provided above the phonemic transcription between [ ]. The second line gives a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown. with the morphemes in their underlying forms; the third line gives a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. The fourth line provides a free English translation.

(3)   /sekinaG*ir*/

s+ekin-aG+*ir*

2AC+greet-1PL+*2SGR*

'We greet *you* (R)'

(4)   'so ilo šipeGaG ne?ettak *waGaɣaq* ke ji kanal/

so   ilo   šipeGaG n+e?et+tak   *waGaɣaq* ke   ji   kanal

DEIC(gng) 1SGPOSS+animal horse 3AC+drink+PROG *water*   OBL DEIC(hor) canal

'My horse is drinking water in the canal.'

The discussion of clauses in Mocoví has been organized into various clause types: intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, existential clauses, copular clauses, interrogative clauses, subordinate clauses, which include complement and relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

Intransitive clauses are those in which the verb is an intransitive verb, which bears only one argument. That argument can be either an agent (Active marker), as in example (5) or a non-agent argument (Inactive marker), as in example (6). **Transitive clauses** are those clauses in which the verb is a transitive verb with two arguments. The arguments can be expressed by pronominals on the verb form, as in (3), or by pronominals and nominal phrases, as in (4) and (7). It is not common, however, in natural speech to find two lexical noun phrases in a sentence; it is likely that at least one of the arguments is expressed only by the pronominal on the verb form. However, clauses with two NPs do occur.

(5)   /sopil/

        s+opil

        1AC+return

        ‘I return.’ (= I go back [home])

(6)   /jipe/

        ir+ipe

        1IN+freshen.up

        ‘I freshen up.’ (= I get refreshed)

(7)   /lwis yalawat na nanayk/

        lwis i+alawat na   nanayk

        Luis 3AC+kill DEIC(cmng) yarará

        ‘Luis kills/killed the yarará (type of snake).’

Existential clauses are clauses that express the existence of somebody or something. They can be translated into English as 'There is X' or 'X exists'. In Mocoví, existential clauses are formed by the verb *ʔwe* 'there is, there exists' and a nominal phrase, as in example (8). Since Mocoví does not have a verb which expresses the semantic notion of possession, i.e. a verb such as 'to have, to own, to possess', the notion of possession is expressed by an existential clause, with the verb *ʔwe* 'there is' and a nominal clause in which the possessor is marked on the possessed noun, as in example (9).

(8)   /ʔwe laʔlege/

        ʔwe   laʔlege

        exists sugar (= something sweet)

        'There is sugar.'

(9)   /ʔwe ilo ʔɢañi/

        ʔwe   i+lo   ʔɢañi

        exists 1SGPOSS+animal duck

        'I have a duck..' (= exists my animal duck)

Mocoví lacks a copula verb. In copular clauses, the predicate is expressed by a noun phrase, as in example (10), and/or an adjective phrase, as in examples (11) and (12).

(10)   /daho iowa/

        da-ho   i+owa

        DEIC(vert)-PROX 1SGPOSS+spouse

        'That is my spouse.'

(11)   /aso ʔalo poʔɢoy/

        a+so   ʔalo   poʔɢoy

        F+DEIC(vert) woman thin

        ˙That woman is thin.˙

(12)   /yim lateʔwgeʔ/

        yim   lateʔwgeʔ

        1SGPRON fat

        ˙I am fat.˙

Interrogative clauses are introduced by the interrogative forms *ñigeʔ* ˙what. who. how˙. *lagi* ˙when˙. *ciʔnege* ˙why˙. *waʔge* ˙where˙. These interrogative forms are normally followed by a deictic classifier, in most cases *ka* ˙deictic classifier (absent).

(13)   /ñigeʔ **ka** yoʔweːtetak/

        ñigeʔ ka   i+oʔweːt+tak

        what   DEIC(absnt) 3AC+do+PROG

        ˙What is he doing?˙

(14)   /**waʔge** na naqatiṁi/

        waʔge na   Ø+n-aqat+ir+ñi

        where DEIC(cmng) 2AC+HITH+catch+2SGR+DWN

        ˙Where did you catch it?˙

(15)   /lagio? na naqatiñi/

lagi+o?   na   Ø+n-aqat+ir+ñi

when+EV DEIC(cmng) 2AC+HITH-catch+2SGR+DWN

˙When did you catch it?˙

Complement clauses are those that function as direct objects in a sentence. Complement clauses in Mocoví can be introduced by the complementizer *kijim* ˙that˙, but normally occur without a complementizer.

(16)   /ñige? ka nak **kijim** ka ewa ši?ge ioGoge/

ñige? ka   Ø+nak **kijim** ka   ewa ši?ge   i+oGoge

who DEIC(absnt) 3AC+say **that** DEIC(absnt) Eva already 3AC+leave

˙Who said that Eva had left?˙

Relative clauses are not marked by any relative pronouns. The meaning expressed in English by a relative clause, is expressed in Mocoví by a clause immediately following the noun they modify, but without an overt relativizer.

Adverbial clauses of cause are introduced by *saik* ˙because˙. Clauses of **time** are expressed by clauses marked by the coordinators *ka?* ~ *ka* ˙and, then˙, or *na?* ˙when˙. Mocoví lacks an adverb to mark instrumental clauses. The **instrumental** meaning is expresssed by juxtaposed clauses, one of which usually contains a form of the verb *o?wet* ˙to use, utilize˙. **Conditional** clauses are introduced by *no?om* ˙if˙.

The overt coordinators *čaqae* ˙and˙, *ka?* ˙and, then˙, *qam* ~ *qalaGam* ˙but˙, *loqo?m* ˙or˙ mark **coordinate clauses** (or phrases), as in (17).

(17)   /alisya ro?we:naᴳantak **qam** kiyotapigi pekatiripi/

alisya r+o?we:naᴳan+tak **qam** ∅+kiyo+tap+igi pekat-ir-ipi

Alicia 3AC+sing+PROG **but** 3AC+wash+PROG+TDS dish-PCL-

ˈAlicia sings while she washes the dishes.ˈ

(lit: ˈAlicia is singing but she is washing the dishes.ˈ

Mocoví adjectives do not have comparative or superlative forms. These notions are expressed by the lexical forms *peg ~ pageg* ˈmoreˈ and *čalego* ˈveryˈ. If a sentence has two noun phrases that are being compared, one of the noun phrases occurs in a prepositional phrase introduced by the generic preposition *ke*. Equatives are expressed by juxtaposition. The clauses are linked by *?nem ~ ?nehem* ˈlike. similar, sameˈ.

In Mocoví **negation** is expressed by a negative proclitic with two allomorphs *sqae+ ~ se+*. as in example (18).

(18)   /sesa?de:n/

se+s+a?de:n

NEG+1AC+know

ˈI donˈt know.ˈ

There is an enclitic *+o?* which can be attached to the verb or other elements in the verb phrase which marks **evidentiality**. It can be used to refer both to events that occurred in the past. and events that will occur in the future. but which the speaker has not witnessed him/herself. This enclitic is very common in narrative texts.

1.5. Purpose and Organization of this Study

1.5.1. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to provide a description of a language that has not been well described previously. It presents a systematic and detailed description of Mocovi. It provides a basis for comparing the structures of the different Waikurúan languages. It also provides data very much needed for research on the history of the Waikurúan language family.

Such a study is also necessary for pedagogical reasons: in the late 1980's a law was passed in the Chaco province guaranteeing bilingual education for children that are native speakers of an Indian language in the province. However, of the three main languages spoken in Chaco. Wichí and Toba have been poorly described so far, and a description of Mocovi is not yet available. It is extremely hard, if possible at all, to provide bilingual education to children in a language of which very little is known, and almost impossible to develop any pedagogical material for instruction in the language. A descriptive study of Mocovi would provide the basis for the development of material and planning of instruction in Mocovi for native speakers of the language.

This study presents new data on a poorly studied language, data that will contribute to typological studies of language. It presents additional data for a typology of languages with Active/Inactive systems, systems on which further research is necessary. It presents an account of a complex deictic system rather uncommon in the world's languages. It also provides data on the expression of location and direction within the verb form, which will contribute to the study of the expression of spatial orientation in the world's languages.

It is not yet clear what the theoretical implications of this study are. It may either confirm or force changes in the general conceptual framework of current linguistic theory. Regardless of theoretical results, this study provides a new and original description of a heretofore poorly documented language.

1.5.2. Organization of this Study

This work is organized as follows. In Chapter 2 I outline the phonological system of Mocovi, including a description of the phonemes and the phonological processes active in the language. Chapter 3 presents an analysis of nouns and noun phrases. This chapter includes a discussion of nominal roots, noun morphology such as gender, number, and possessive markers, and an account of the alienable/inalienable opposition in Mocovi. In chapter 4 I present a description of the verb form and verbal morphology. This chapter includes a discussion of person markers, the indefinite agent, the prefix *n-* 'hither', aspect, locative/directional enclitics, and object number. Chapter 5 presents a description of constituent order and clause types. It also includes a discussion of the negative and evidential clitics. In chapter 6 I present an account of the influence of Spanish on Mocovi, including a list of loanwords and a description of the various nativization patterns. In Chapter 7 I lay out the conclusions. Appendix A is a collection of four Mocovi texts recorded from various native speakers, that have been transcribed and analysed. Appendix B presents comparative information from various Waikurúan languages. Appendix C is a collection of maps showing relevant geographic locations. Appendix D provides a glossary of the Mocovi forms included throughout this work.

2. Phonology

In this section I will present a description of the phonological system of Mocoví. Section 2.1 shows charts with the consonant and vowel phonemes. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 present a description of the phonemes. For each phoneme. I provide a description. the environment(s) in which it occurs. any allophonic variation(s). and examples to illustrate. In section 2.4 I discuss syllable structure and the distribution of phonemes. Section 2.5 deals with phonological processes and section 2.6 with morphophonemic rules. In section 2.7 a description of suprasegmentals is provided.

The examples in this section are organized as follows: the first line provides a phonemic transcription: if the phonetic transcription is considerably different from the underlying form. the phonetic transcription is provided above the phonemic transcription in [ ]. If the example is a morphologically complex form. a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown is provided as well. followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in line 3. The translation is given in single quotation marks. Stress is marked only where it is the topic of discussion. or when it does not follow the predictable stress pattern. i.e. when it is not stressed on the rightmost vowel of the word (see section 2.7.1. for further discussion).

e.g. /sewoːse/ ˙I cook˙
s+ewoːse
1AC+cook

2.1. Consonants and vowels

Mocoví has twenty-three consonant phonemes. two of which occur only in Spanish borrowings. and eight vowel phonemes. four short vowels and four long vowels (Table 2 and Table 3). (The phones that occur only in borrowings from Spanish are given in parenthesis in the chart.)

Consonants

Table 2
Consonant phonemes

		bilabial	alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stops &	**voiceless**	p	t	č		k	q	ʔ
affricates	**voiced**		d	ǰ				
fricatives	**voiceless**	(φ)	s	š			(x)	
	voiced					ɣ	G	
nasals		m	n	ñ				
liquids	**laterals**		l	λ				
	flap		r					
vocoids	**voiceless**							h
	voiced	w			y			

(Note: For practical reasons. throughout this work the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ will be transcribed as /g/.)

Vowels

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Table 3

Vowel Phonemes

</div>

```
i   i:

e   e:              o   o:

            a   a:
```

2.2 Consonants

/p/   voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop; occurs in initial, medial, and final positions

(19)   /pe/   ˙night˙

(20)   /tapiñik/   ˙tatú˙

(21)   /iap/   ˙my mouth˙
       i+ap
       1SGPOSS+mouth

/t/   voiceless unaspirated apicoalveolar stop; occurs in initial, medial, and final positions. (Underlying /t/ is realized as a voiceless alveopalatal affricate [č] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(22)   /etesqo?/   ˙uncle˙

(23)   /nete?se/   ˙morning star˙

(24)   /regat/   ˙jaguar˙

/d/   voiced apicoalveolar stop: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not occur in word-

final position. (Underlying /d/ is realized as a voiced alveopalatal affricate [j] before /i/.

See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(25)   /doʔo/   ˈhatˈ

(26)   /saʔden/   ˈI knowˈ
        s+aʔdeːn
        1AC+know

The phoneme /d/ is the only voiced oral stop in Mocoví. There are two voiced fricative

phonemes, a voiced velar fricative /g/ and a voiced uvular fricative /ɢ/. There is also a voiced

bilabial fricative [β] which only occurs as an allophone of /w/. The fact that /d/ does not occur

word-finally is due to the innovation of /r/ in Mocoví (for further discussion see /r/ below).

/k/   voiceless unaspirated dorsovelar stop: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions

        (27)   /kos/   ˈpigˈ

        (28)   /leʔkoːta/   ˈhis kneeˈ
                l+eʔkoːta
                3POSS+knee

        (29)   /ʔɢoyk/   ˈmuch, manyˈ

/q/   voiceless unaspirated dorsouvular stop: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions

        (30)   /qar/   ˈstone, chinˈ

        (31)   /poqo/   ˈcharcoalˈ

(32)   /qoʔpaq/   'tree'

/ʔ/   glottal stop: occurs in initial. medial, and final positions

(33)   /ʔalo/   'woman. female'

(34)   /laʔaṭ/   'meat'

(35)   /waqaʔe/   'chicken. hen'

(36)   nogotokiʔ   'little child'
        nogot-okiʔ
        child-dimM

(37)   a. /ʔimek/   'house'

        b. /ikeʔla/   'my ear'
           i+keʔla
           1SGPOSS+ear

(38)   a. /ʔwe/   'there is'

        b. /we/   'salt'

/č/   voiceless lamino-alveopalatal affricate: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not

        occur in word-final position.

(39)   /čaqae/   'and'

(40)   /kočok/   'purple'

/j/   voiced lamino-alveopalatal affricate: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not

        occur in word-final position: optionally realized as [ž] in all environments. (Both

        realizations of this phoneme. [j] and [ž]. are equally accepted and produced by my

        informants. There seem to be no restrictions as to which one is used. and both are

produced by the same speakers.) (See section 2.5 (b) for a discussion of word-final

devoicing of /g/ in example (42).)

(41)   [kīʒiλi] ~ [kiʒiλi]   `chicken pox`
        /kīʒiλi/   /kīʒiλi /

(42)   [jawik] ~ [žawik]   `I (get/got) burned`
        /jawig/ ~ /žawig/
        ir+awig
        1IN+burn

/φ/   voiceless bilabial fricative: occurs only in borrowings from Spanish

(43)   /φelisa/   `Felisa` (<Sp. *Felisa*. woman's name)

(44)   /φatima/   `Fatima` (<Sp. *Fatima*. woman's name)

/s/   voiceless apicoalveolar fricative: occurs in initial. medial. and final positions.

        (Underlying /s/ is realized as a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [š] before /i/. See section

        2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(45)   /salon/   `I lit (a fire)`
        s+alon
        1AC+light

(46)   /raʔasa/   'sun'

(47)   /kos/   `pig`

/š/   voiceless alveopalatal fricative: occurs in initial and medial positions: never occurs

        word-finally

(48)   /šiʔge/   `now. today`

(49)   /ne:šaɢa/   `mud`

/ɣ/   voiced dorsovelar fricative: occurs in initial and medial positions: transcribed henceforth

as /g/. (Underlying /ɣ/ is realized as a voiceless velar stop [k] when it occurs in word-

final position. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(50)   /giriʔlek/   ˈgringo. creoleˈ
        giriʔ-lek
        gringo-M

(51)   /regat/   ˈjaguarˈ

(52)   a. /skewog/   ˈI sharpenˈ
           s+kewog
           1AC+sharpen

        b. /skewogaɢ/   ˈwe sharpenˈ
           s+kewog-aɢ
           1AC+sharpen-1PL

/x/   voiceless velar fricative: occurs only in borrowings from Spanish

(53)   /xwan/   ˈJuanˈ (<Sp. *Juan*, manˈs name)

(54)   /xuhtoke/   ˈjust asˈ (<Sp. *justo que* ˈjust as, just whenˈ)

/ɢ/   voiced dorsouvular fricative: occurs in initial and medial position. (Underlying /ɢ/ is

realized as a voiceless uvular stop [q] when it occurs word-finally. See section 2.5 (b) for

further discussion.)

(55)   /ʔɢoyk/   ˈmany, severalˈ

(56)   /qoɢoy/   ˈold womanˈ

(57)   a. /sečaɢ/   ˈI cutˈ
           s+ečaɢ
           1AC+cut

b. /sɪčaɢaɢ/   ˈwe cutˈ
   s+ečaɢ-aɢ
   1AC+cut-1PL

/h/   voiceless glottal approximant: occurs only in word medial position

(58)   /ʔahañi:/   ˈyou(pl) lookˈ
        Ø+aʔahan-i:
        2AC+look-2PL

(59)   /naho/   ˈthis (close to the speaker)ˈ

/m/   voiced bilabial nasal stop: occurs in initial. medial. and final positions

(60)   /mañik/   ˈrheaˈ

(61)   /qomir/   ˈwe (1pl independent pronoun)ˈ

(62)   /pigim/   ˈskyˈ

/n/   voiced apicoalveolar nasal stop: occurs in initial. medial. and final positions. (Underlying /n/ is realized as a voiced alveopalatal nasal stop [ñ] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(63)   /norek/   ˈfireˈ

(64)   /nonot/   ˈwindˈ

(65)   /skiyoɢon/   ˈI washˈ
        s+kioɢon
        1AC+wash

/ñ/   voiced alveopalatal nasal stop: occurs in initial and medial positions: never occurs word-finally

(66)   /ñilek/   ˈpimple with pusˈ

(67)   /ra?ñagi/   'deaf'

(68)   /ña?Ga?a/   'day'

/l/   voiced apicoalveolar lateral approximant: occurs in initial. medial and final positions.

        (Underlyling /l/ is realized as a voiced lamino-alveopalatal lateral approximant [λ]

        before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

        (69)   /lo?wi?/   'milk'

        (70)   /šilqayk/   'iguana'

        (71)   /nesal/   'he vomits'
                Ø+n-esal
                3AC+HITH-vomit

        (72)   /napal/   'corpse'

/λ/   voiced lamino-alveopalatal lateral approximant: occurs in initial and medial positions. It

        never occurs word-finally

        (73)   /λaGa/   'edge. blade'

        (74)   /laλak/   'his shoulder'
                l+aλak
                3POSS+shoulder

/r/   voiced apicoalveolar flap: occurs in initial and medial positions. (Underlying /r/ is

        realized as a glottal stop [?] when it occurs in word final position. See section 2.5 (b) for

        further discussion.)

        (75)   /rapik/   'honey'

        (76)   /qo?paripi/   'tree. stick. wood (pl)'
                qo?pa-r-ipi
                tree-PCL-PL

The phoneme /r/ is of recent origin in Mocoví. It is likely that [d] and [r] were allophones of one phoneme in Proto-Southern Waikurúan. if not in Proto-Waikurúan. Klein 1979 reports that in Toba there is a phone [r] which occurs as an allophone of /d/. in free variation with [d]. In Abipón. Lafone Quevedo 1896 includes *r* but not *d* as "sounds" in the language. and actually under the entry for *d* he states that it is a "letter that Abipón lacks" (p. 62) and refers the reader to "look under `r` ". For Pilagá, Vidal 1997 lists a phoneme /r/ which is restricted to the environments V_V and V_C (p. 106). In Mocoví /d/ and /r/ are separate phonemes. Compare examples (77) and (78).

(77)   /roʔo/   `he gets angry`
        r+oʔo
        3IN+get.angry

(78)   /doʔo/   `hat`

/w/   voiced bilabial continuant: occurs in initial and medial positions: optionally realized as a

       voiced bilabial fricative [β]

(79)   [wirse] ~ [βirse| `evening star`
        /wirse/   /wirse/

(80)   [sewet| ~ [seβet| `it hurts me (I am hurting)`
        /sewet/   /sewet/

(81)   /ʔaw/   `first`

/y/   voiced palatal vocoid: occurs in initial. medial and final positions

(82)   /yaɢat/   `rain`

(83)   /noɢoyaɢa/   `sweat`

(84)   /ralolɢay/   ˙sick (F)˙

2.3. Vowels

All vowel phones are voiced.

/i/   short high front unrounded vowel

/iː/   long high front unrounded vowel

(85)   /mapik/   ˙mesquite (*Prosopis*)˙
        map-ik
        mesquite-tree

(86)   a. /ʔjiːñi/   ˙you (sg.f) know˙
           Ø+aʔdeːn-i
           2AC+know-2SGf

    cf. b. /ʔjiːñiː /   ˙you (pl) know˙
           Ø+aʔdeːn-iː
           2AC+know-2PL

/e/   short mid front unrounded vowel: can be realized as a lower high front unrounded vowel

        [ɪ] when it occurs in the first syllable of the word.

/eː/   long mid front unrounded vowel

(87)   a. /ʔimek/   ˙house (n)˙

    cf. b. /saʔdeːnaɢ/   ˙we know˙
           s+aʔdeːn-aɢ
           1AC+know-1PL

(88)   [nɪʔya] ~ [neʔya]   'he digs (tv)'
        /neʔya/ ~ /neʔya/
        ∅+n-eʔya
        3AC+HITH-dig

/a/   short low central unrounded vowel

/a:/   long low central unrounded vowel

(89)   a. /ča:wik/   'rush, reed (n)'

        cf. b. [jawik]   'I get burned'
               /irawig/
               ir+awig
               1IN+get.burned

(90)   a. /sa:weg/   'I go out (to the fields)'
           s+a:+weg
           1AC+go+OUT

        cf. b. /saweg/   'I stretch (something)'
               s+aweg
               1AC+stretch

/o/   short mid back rounded vowel: sometimes realized as a lower high back rounded vowel

        [ʊ] when it is preceded or followed by a velar

(91)   /yoʔyo/   'fat (n)'

(92)   [latogot] ~ [latʊgʊt| 'lagoon'
        /latogot/   /latogot/

(93)   [kočokiʔ| ~ [kʊčʊkiʔ| 'small child'
        /kočokiʔ/   /kočokiʔ/

/o:/   long mid back rounded vowel

(94)   a. /ʔo:m/   'cold'

cf. b. /ʔom/   ˙it goes off, it is turned off˙

2.4. Phonotactics

2.4.1 Distributions of phonemes

All phonemes but /h/ occur word-initially. The phonemes /d. ĵ. š. č. ñ. ƛ. h/ do not occur word-finally.

Mocoví has no geminate consonants.

Every vowel represents a syllable peak. Syllable divisions are marked according to the following patterns:

(a) /...VV... / is syllabified as [...V.V...]

(b) /...VCCV.../ is syllabified as [...VC.CV...]

The following syllable types are possible in Mocoví: CV. CVC. CCV. CCVC. CCVCC. V. VC. The canonical syllable type in Mocoví is thus (C)(C)V(C)(C)

(95)   CV
         /la/   ˙fruit˙

(96)   CVC
         /qom/   ˙person˙

(97)   CCV.CVC
         /ʔñiːtak/   ˙you (pl) are laughing˙
         Ø+aʔn-iː+tak
         2AC+laugh-2PL+PROG

(98)   CCVC
         /pyoG/   ˙dog˙

(99)   CCVCC
        /ʔGoyk/   ˑmany. muchˑ

(100)   V.CV.VC
        /iqaig/   ˑmy headˑ
        i+qaig
        1SGPOSS+head

Consonant clusters that may occur word initially are *ʔC-, sC-, rC-, lC-, n C-, ñ C-,* and *py-*. These word-initial consonant clusters are normally the result of prefixation (except in the case of /ʔC-/).

(101)   /ʔman/   ˑpregnantˑ

(102)   /ʔwe/   ˑthere is. it existsˑ

(103)   [ʔji:ñir]   ˑyou(R) know. you(R) thinkˑ
        /aʔdenir/
        ∅+aʔden+ir
        2AC+know+2SGR

(104)   /ʔtaGaki/   ˑmug. cupˑ

(105)   /sqawa: /   ˑI take a stepˑ
        s+qawa:
        1AC+take.a.step

(106)   /spaʔčoGon/   ˑI cure (can be said only when the shaman is the
        s+paʔčoGon   agent)ˑ
        1AC+cure

(107)   /nqaden/   ˑhe makes himself to be healedˑ
        ∅+n-qaden
        3AC+HITH-make.heal

(108)   [ñqadenaq]   ˑwe make ourselves to be healedˑ
        /inqadenaG/
        i+n-qaden-aG
        1AC+HITH-make.heal-1PL

(109)   /lqoweʔ/   ˑeggˑ
        l+qoweʔ
        ABS+egg

(110)   /rkemairi/   'you(pcl) are satisfied'
        r+kema-iri
        2IN+be.satisfied-2PCL

(111)   /pyoG/   'dog'

Consonant clusters that may occur word-finally are -yt. -yk. -hn

(112)   /moqoyt/   'mocoví'

(113)   /nanayk/   'yarará (type of snake)'

(114)   /sa?mahn/   'I lie (to someone)'
        s+a?mahn
        1AC+lie

There seem to be no restrictions on medial consonant sequences. though clusters made

up of three or more consonants do not seem possible. All medial consonant sequences are

heterosyllabic: tautosyllabic consonant clusters therefore occur only at word boundaries.

2.5 Phonological rules

(a) All alveolar consonants except /r/ are palatalized before /i/: i.e. the front of the tongue is

raised towards the hard palate during their articulation rather than to the alveolar ridge as a

result of the influence of /i/.

(115)   a.[sepit]   'I smile'
           /sepit/
           s+epit
           1AC+smile

        b. [piči?]   'you (R) smile'
           /epitir/
           Ø+epit+ir
           2AC+smile+2SGR

(116)   a. [saʔdeːn]   ˙I know˙
             /saʔdeːn/
             s+aʔdeːn
             1AC+know

         b. [ʔjiːñiʔ| 'you(R) know'
             /aʔdeːnir/
             Ø+aʔdeːn+ir
             2AC+know+2SGR

(117)   a. [seʔmen]   ˙I sell˙
             /seʔmen/
             s+eʔmen
             1AC+sell

         b. [ʔmiñi| ˙you(f) sell˙
             /eʔmeni/
             Ø+eʔmen-i
             2AC+sell-2SGf

(118)   a. [kos| ˙pig (sg)˙
             /kos/

         b. [košiʔ| ˙pigs (pcl)˙
             /kosir/
             kos-ir
             pig-PCL

(119)   a. [načil]   ˙he bathes˙
             /načil/
             Ø+n-ačil
             3AC+HITH-bathe

         b. [načiλiʔ| ˙you(R) bathe˙
             /načilir/
             Ø+n-ačil+ir
             2AC+HITH-bathe+2SGR

(b) The underlying voiced fricatives. /g/ and /ɢ/ become voiceless stops [k] and [q].

respectively. word-finally.

(120)   a.[lqaik| ˙his head˙
             /lqaig/
             l+qaig
             3POSS+head

b. [lqaige?] 'their head'
/lqaiger/
l+qaig-er
3POSS+head-3PL

(121) a. [yočaq] 'he gets fat (= gain weight)'
/iočaɢ/
i+očaɢ
3AC+get.fat

b. [ročaɢai:] 'You(pl) get fat (= gain weight)'
/ročaɢi:/
r+očaɢ-i:
2AC+get.fat-2PL

(c) The alveolar flap /r/ becomes a glottal stop [?] word-finally.

(122) a. [yale?] 'men (pcl)'
/yaler/
yale-r
man-PCL

b. [yaλiripi] 'men (pl)'
/yaleripi/
yale-r-ipi
man-PCL-PL

(d) The high front unrounded vowel /i/ is realized as a palatal vocoid [y] before a vowel.

(123) (a) [ike?la] 'my ear'
/ike?la/
i+ke?la
1SGPOSS+ear

(b) [yap] 'my mouth'
/iap/
i+ap
1SGPOSS+mouth

(e) The mid front unrounded vowel /e/ is raised to [i] when it precedes /i/ or /i:, as in example

(124), or when it follows the palatal vocoid [y], as in example (125).

(124)   a. [seʔgeno]   ˙I enter (inside)˙
            /seʔgeno/
            s+eʔgen+o
            1AC+enter+INWDS

          b. [ʔgiñi:wo]   ˙You (pl) enter (inside)˙
            /eʔgeni:wo/
            Ø+eʔgen-i:+wo
            2AC+enter-2PL+INWDS

(125)   a. [senaq]   ˙I throw (tv)˙
            /senaɢ/
            s+enaɢ
            1AC+throw

          b. [yinaq]   ˙he throws (tv)˙
            /ienaɢ/
            i+enaɢ
            3AC+throw

(f) Vowels are deleted at the beginning of a word before a consonant in words of two or more

syllables.

(126)   [wiñiʔ]   ˙you(R) use˙
            /owenir/
            Ø+owen+ir
            2AC+use+2SGR

(127)   [lawačiʔ]   ˙you (sgR) kill˙
            /alawatir/
            Ø+alawat+ir
            2AC+kill+2SGR

(g) Long vowels are shortened in closed syllables.

(128)   a. [sa?.den]   'I know. I think'
            /sa?de:n/
            s+a?de:n
            1AC+know

        b. [na?.de:.naq]   'thinker (= person who thinks)'
            /na?de:naɢ/
            n+a?de:n-aɢ
            ABS+know-NOM

(h) An epenthetic vowel [a] is inserted following a uvular consonant /q/ or /ɢ/ when the uvular consonant is followed by a front unrounded vowel /i, i:, e, e:/. The transition is as long as that of any full underlying non-epenthetic vowel. Therefore. it is treated as phonemic /a/.

(129)   a. [nakyaq]   'his palate'
            /nakyaɢ/
            Ø+n-akyaɢ
            3POSS+AL-palate

        b. [nakyaɢai:]   'your(pl) palate'
            /nakyaɢi:/
            Ø-nakyaɢ-i:
            2POSS+palate-2PL

        c. [nakyaɢae?]   'their palate'
            /nakyaɢer/
            Ø+nakyaɢ-er
            3POSS+palate-3PL

2.6. Morphophonological rules

There are two phonological rules involving the first person proclitic *i+* which do not involve regular phonological processes in the language.

(a) The sequence *i+n-* is conflated to [ñ]. where *i+* marks the first person proclitic and *n-* marks

either the prefix 'hither' on verbs. or the *n-* prefix marking alienably possessed nouns.

(130)   a. [ñowir]   'I come (here)'
             /inowir/
             i+n-owir
             1AC+HITH-come

        b. [nowir]   'he/she comes (here)'
             /nowir/
             Ø+n-owir
             3AC+HITH-come

(131)   a. [ñqar]   'my chin'
             /inqar/
             i+n-qar
             1SGPOSS+AL-chin

        b. [nqar]   'his/her chin'
             /nqar/
             Ø+n-qar
             3POSS+AL-chin

(b) The sequence *ir+* marking the first singular person inactive on verbs is conflated to [j].

(132)   a. [jasot]   'I dance'
             /irasot/
             ir+asot
             1IN+dance

        b. [rasoči?]   'you (sgR) dance'
             /rasotir/
             r+asot+ir
             2IN+dance+2SGR

2.7 Suprasegmentals - Stress

Stress in Mocoví is essentially predictable. falling on the rightmost vowel of the word. Where stress is predictable. it is not marked in the data unless a word deviates from the predictable stress pattern. It is marked in examples (133)-(136) to illustrate the shift of stress to the rightmost vowel when suffixes and clitics are added to the end of a word.

(133)   [yináq]   ʿhe throwsʿ
          /yenaɢ/
          i+enaɢ
          3AC+throw

(134)   [yinaɢá]   ʿhe throws (to somebody)ʿ
          /yenaɢa/
          i+enaɢ-a
          3AC+throw-?

(135)   [qayinaɢá]   ʿit is thrownʿ
          /qaienaɢa /
          qa+i+enaɢ-a
          INDEF+3AC+throw-?

(136)   [yinaɢaɢšigím]   ʿhe throws upwardsʿ
          /ienaɢšigim/
          i+enaɢ+šigim
          3AC+throw+UP

Many loanwords preserve Spanish penultimate stress when borrowed into Mocoví. Some of these loanwords may also occur with a nativized stress pattern. The only forms that have been found which consistentlly do not follow the Mocoví stress pattern in the singular form are λiméta ʿbottleʿ (from Spanish: [liméta]). páre ʿbutterflyʿ and čilála ʿeagleʿ (the origin of the two latter forms is still unknown). However. when paucal or plural morphology is added to them. they follow Mocoví stress patterns: stress falls on the last vowel of the word. (See Chapter 6 on Spanish borrowings for further discussion.)

(137)   a. /λiméta/   ˙bottle (sg)˙

      b. /λimetál/   ˙bottles (pcl)˙
         limeta-l
         bottle-PCL

      c. /λimetaλipi̷/ ~ /limetaypi̇ /   ˙bottles (pl)
         limeta-l-ipi
         bottle-PCL-PL

(138)   a. /páre/   ˙butterfly (sg)˙

      b. /parél/   ˙butterfly (pcl)˙
         pare-l
         butterfly-PCL

2.8. Summary

In this chapter I presented an outline of the phonology of Mocovi. I provided a description of the phonemes and their distribution. the syllable types. and the phonological processes that operate in the language. I showed the morphophonological processes involving the first person proclitic. and the stress pattern of the language.

3. Nominal Morphology: Nouns and Noun Phrases

In this chapter I provide a description of the morphology of nouns and noun phrases. Section 3.1 presents an account of the structural characteristics of nominal roots. both bound and free roots. In section 3.2 I discuss gender marking. In section 3.3 I present the different paucal suffixes that nouns can take. as well as the plural and collective markers. Section 3.4 provides an account of possessive constructions within the noun phrase. This section includes a description of the alienable/inalienable opposition in Mocovi. as well a classification of nominal roots into different classes based on the possessive marking that they take. In section 3.5 I discuss the demonstrative system. Demonstratives precede the noun in noun phrases and mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify. as well as motion and position. Section 3.6 is a description of adjectives and adjective phrases. and in section 3.7 I discuss numerals and quantifiers.

The chart in Table 4 shows the elements that can occur in a noun phrase in Mocovi. including the inflectional morphemes and clitics that can occur on the noun. (Optional elements within the noun phrase are shown in ( ): optional morphemes within a form are shown in []: elements whose position may vary within the noun phrase are shown in { }.)

Table 4
Structure of the noun and noun phrase

Noun Phrase: (num/quant) (DEIC) {(adj)} **NOUN** {(adj)}

Noun: (POSS/ABS+)(AL-) **STEM** (-PCL)(-PL)(-POSS)

The possessive and absolutive markers on the noun are marked as optional on the chart because they are required only by bound roots and inalianably possessed nouns (See section 3.1). The alienable prefix on the noun only occurs with alienably possessed nouns when they occur with a possessive marker. (See section 3.4 for further discussion.)

3.1. Nominal roots

There are two types of nominal roots in Mocovi: bound and free roots. Bound roots are those that cannot occur by themselves, and must always be preceded by a possessive or an absolutive proclitic. Free roots are those than can occur by themselves without any possessive or absolutive marker.

3.1.1. Bound roots

Bound roots are nominal roots that cannot occur by themselves, and must always occur with a possessive or an absolutive proclitic, absolutive meaning that it is a noun that is not possessed. These roots include most kinship terms, most body parts, and most man-made objects.

Examples (139)-(141) show the bound roots -*atap* 'forehead', -*ate?e* 'mother', and -*oq* 'food'. The forms in (139)a-b, (140)a-b, and (141)a-b show these roots with possessive clitics; the forms in (139)c, (140)c, and (141)c show the same roots with the absolutive proclitic; and the forms in (139)d, (140)d, and (141)d show that the forms in which these roots are not preceded by any possessive or absolutive proclitic are ungrammatical.

(139)   -atap   ˈforeheadˈ

       a. /iatap/   ˈmy foreheadˈ
          i+atap
          1SGPOSS+forehead

       b. /latap/   ˈhis/her foreheadˈ
          l+atap
          3POSS+forehead

       c. /natap/   ˈforehead (lit. ˈsomebodyˈs foreheadˈ)ˈ
          n+atap
          ABS+forehead

       d. */atap/   ˈforeheadˈ

(140)   -ateʔe   ˈmotherˈ

       a. /iateʔe/   ˈmy motherˈ
          i+ateʔe
          1SGPOSS+mother

       b. /lateʔe/   ˈhis/her motherˈ
          l+ateʔe
          3POSS+mother

       c. /nateʔe/   ˈ(a) motherˈ
          n+ateʔe
          ABS+mother

       d. */ateʔe/   ˈmotherˈ

(141)   -oq   ˈfoodˈ

       a. /ioq/   ˈmy foodˈ
          i+oq
          1SGPOSS+food

       b. /loq/   ˈhis/her foodˈ
          l+oq
          3POSS+food

       c. /noq/   'food (lit. 'somebody's food')'
          n+oq
          ABS+food

       d. */oq/   'food'

3.1.2. Free roots

Free roots are those that can occur by themselves. without any absolutive or possessive proclitic. Actually. most free roots do not take a possessive or an absolutive marker. These include mainly nouns referring to elements from nature. most animals. a few nouns referring to humans. such as *qom* 'people'. *?alo* 'woman'. and *yale* 'man'. and most loanwords.

Examples (142)-(145) show the free roots *wirse* 'evening star'. *?alo* 'woman'. *mapik* 'mesquite tree' and *ke?lay* 'mule'. In examples (142)-(145)a these roots occur without any possessive or absolutive marker. The examples in (142)-(145)b include forms in which the first singular possessive proclitic *i+* has been added to these roots. resulting in ungrammatical forms. In (142)-(145)c the same roots occur with the absolutive proclitic *n+*. forms which are also ungrammatical. The example in (145)d is an alternative possessive construction that is possible with nouns denoting animals. (See section 3.4.2.iii for further discussion of possession with nouns denoting animals.)

   (142)   wirse   'star (evening star)'

        a. wirse   '(a) star'

        b. */i+wirse/   'my star'
           1SGPOSS+star

        c. *n+wirse   'star'
          ABS+star

(143) ʔalo   ˙woman˙

    a. ʔalo   ˙(a) woman˙

    b. */i+ʔalo/   'my woman˙
       1SGPOSS+woman

    c. */n+ʔalo/   ˙woman˙
       ABS+woman

(144) map-ik   ˙mesquite tree (*Prosopis*)˙
       mesquite-tree

    a. map-ik   ˙(a) mesquite tree˙
       mesquite-tree

    b. */i+map-ik/   ˙my mesquite tree˙
       1SGPOSS+mesquite-tree

    c. */n+map-ik/   ˙mesquite tree˙
       ABS+mesquite-tree

(145) keʔlay   ˙mule˙

    a. keʔlay   ˙(a) mule˙

    b. */i+keʔlay/   ˙my mule˙
       1SGPOSS+mule

    c. */n+keʔlay/   ˙mule˙
       ABS+mule

but   d. /ilo keʔlay/   ˙my mule˙
       i+lo   keʔlay
       1SGPOSS+animal mule

3.2. Gender

Mocoví nouns are either masculine or feminine. Grammatical gender is not overtly marked on most nouns: however it is marked on the demonstratives and on most adjectives, which must agree in gender with the noun they modify. Table 5 lists some masculine nouns and some feminine nouns that are not overtly marked for grammatical gender. It is the optional gender prefix on the demonstratives or the form of the modifying adjective (if either occurs in the noun phrase) that shows the gender of the head noun.

Table 5
Nouns not overtly marked for grammatical gender

Masculine		Feminine	
qar	ˈstoneˈ	wirse	ˈstarˈ
norek	ˈfireˈ	lasote	ˈbranchˈ
ʔlawa	ˈearth. landˈ	poqo	ˈcoalˈ
nonot	ˈwindˈ	-awe	ˈhair. leafˈ
-enat	ˈnailˈ	-qote	ˈeyeˈ
-qoʔpaq	ˈeyebrowˈ	-ade	ˈeyelashˈ
-imik	ˈnoseˈ	-šilge	ˈcheekˈ
-ap	ˈmouthˈ	-qoʔge	ˈelbowˈ
-aλak	ˈshoulderˈ	-awa	ˈarmˈ
-epya	ˈfootˈ	-oʔgiλiʔ	ˈmuscleˈ
-kyaq	ˈpalateˈ	-pokena	ˈhandˈ
kotap	ˈtype of fruit. autumnˈ	raʔasa	ˈsunˈ

Examples (146) and (147) contain noun phrases in which the head noun is not overtly marked for grammatical gender. Gender is marked on the demonstrative and on the adjective in

each noun phrase. In example (146) the head noun *?we:na* 'pot' is feminine. Although grammatical gender is not marked on the head noun. it is marked by the proclitic *a+* 'feminine' on the demonstrative *ana* 'deictic(coming)' and by the suffix *-ay* 'adjective (F)' on the adjective *laweraGay* 'black (F)'.

(146) /ana ?we:na laweraGay/

a+na   ?we:na laweraG-ay

F+DEIC(cmng) pot   black-ADJF

'that black pot'

In example (147) the head noun *?taGaki* 'mug' is masculine. While grammatical gender is not marked on the head noun. it is marked by *e+* 'masculine' on the demonstrative *ena* 'deictic (coming)' and by the suffix *-ayk* 'adjective (M)' on the adjective *laweraGayk* 'black (M)'.

(147) /ena ?taGaki laweraGayk/

e+na   ?taGaki laweraG-ayk

M+DEIC(cmng) pot   black-ADJM

'that black mug'

There are a few animate nouns which do have gender overtly marked. These are morphologically complex nouns. the formation of which involves derivational processes that I will not describe in the present study. However. it is important to point out that in the case of these derived nouns. the derivational suffixes show a gender distinction. The gender markers for these nouns are *-lek ~ -ek* for the masculine (M) and *-le ~ -e* for feminine (F). in examples (148) and (149): *-aG* (M) and *-aGa* (F). in examples (150) and (151): *-Ø* (M) and *-o* (F). in examples (152) and (153).

(148) a. /ia:-lek/   ˙my son˙
           i+a:-lek
           1SGPOSS+child-**M**

       b. /ia:le/   ˙my daughter˙
           i+a:-le
           1SGPOSS+child-**F**

(149) a. /morolek/   ˙mute (n) (M)˙ (< Sp. *mudo* ˙mute˙)
           moro-lek
           mute-**M**

       b. /morole/   ˙mute (n) (F)˙ (< Sp. *mudo* ˙mute˙)
           moro-le
           mute-**F**

(150) a. /pewaG/   ˙son of single mother˙
           pew-aG
           child.of.single.mother-**M**

       b. /pewaGa/   ˙daughter of single mother˙
           pew-aGa
           child.of.single.mother-**F**

(151) a. /čisaG/   ˙cripple (n) (M)˙
           čis-aG
           crippled-**M**

       b. /čisaGa/   ˙cripple (n) (F)˙
           čis-aGa
           crippled-**F**

(152) a. /napeloG/   ˙orphan (M)˙
           n+apeloG-∅
           ABS+orphan-**M**

       b. /napeloGo/   ˙orphan (F)˙
           n+apeloG-o
           ABS+orphan-**F**

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UMI

3.3.1.1. Paucal -*l*

      This is the most common and most productive paucal suffix. All the nouns that

take this suffix end in a vowel. However, not all nouns that end in vowels in Mocoví take the

paucal marker -*l*. The paucal suffix -*l* is the one that is added to loanwords, as shown in examples

(154)-(156). (For discussion of the change of stress in loanwords, see chapter 6.)

(154) a. /sápo/   'toad (sg)' (<Sp. *sapo* 'toad')

        b. /sapól/   'toads (pcl)'
          sapó-l
          toad-PCL

(155) a. /λiméta/   'bottle (sg)' (<Sp. *limeta* '(type of) bottle')

        b. /λimetál/   'bottles (pcl)'
          λimetá-l
          bottle-PCL

(156) a. /wólsa/   'bag (sg)' (<Sp. *bolsa* 'bag')

        b. /wolsál/   'bags (pcl)'
          wolsá-l
          bag-PCL

      Table 6 lists some of the nouns that take the paucal suffix -*l*.

Table 6

Nouns with paucal -*l*

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
λiméta	λimetá-l	'bottle' (<Sp. *limeta*)
λoɢonata	λoɢonata-l	'canoe'
ʔweːna	ʔweːna-l	'pot'
-aʔgaɢanaɢa	-aʔgaɢanaɢa-l	'bat'
-aʔyaɢa	-aʔyaɢa-l	'heel'
-aʔyoɢonaɢate	-aʔyoɢonaɢate-l	'mirror'
-aːšilge	-aːšilge-l	'cheek'
-aːtapse	-aːtapse-l	'helmet'
-ade	rade-l	'eyelashes'
-ai	-ai-l	'side. wall'
akipyaɢki	akipyaɢki-l	'vase. mug'
-apyaɢanata	-apyaɢanata-l	'toe'
-ašilete	-ašilete-l	'crutch'
-asote	-asote-l	'branch. horn'
-awe	-awe-l	'leaf. feather. hair'
daɢanaqate	daɢanaqate-l	'fork'
doʔo	doʔo-l	'hat'
-eːči	-eːči-l	'leg'
-eːtana	-eːtana-l	'stake. post'
nečigoɢonaɢa	nečigoɢonaɢa-l	'rat'
nelolaɢanaɢa	nelolaɢanaɢa-l	'toad'
-epaqata	-epaqata-l	'braid'
-ešite	-ešite-l	'ring'
lase	lase-l	'bug. insect'
lataɢañi	lataɢañi-l	'fly'
leːre	leːre-l	'paper'

Table 6 (cont'd)

maɢso	maɢso-l	˙pants˙
móno	mono-l	˙monkey˙ (<Sp. *mono*)
mote	mote-l	˙knot˙
no?ɢona	no?ɢona-l	˙clay pot˙
-o?o:ta	-o?o:ta-l	˙vein˙
no:togɢoso	no:togɢoso-l	˙type of (wild) fruit˙
-oqoyna	-oqoyna-l	˙netting. mesh˙
-osa:taɢki	-osa:taɢki-l	˙belt˙
-owaɢse	-owaɢse-l	˙bracelet˙
páre	pare-l	˙butterfly˙
palačiriɢa	palačiriɢa-l	˙spider˙
-palaqate	-palaqate-l	˙finger˙
pïjiloɢoloɢo	pïjiloɢoloɢo-l	˙frog˙
qae?pe	qae?pe-l	˙axe˙
qari	qari-l	˙bola˙ (type of hunting tool)
-qo?ge	-qo?ge-l	˙elbow˙
qo?peloɢo?ñi	qo?peloɢo?ñi-l	˙tadpole˙
-qo:ta	-qo:ta-l	˙knee˙
qošikyaɢawa	qošikyaɢawa-l	˙monkey˙
-qote	-qote-l	˙eye˙
taqate	taqate-l	˙comb˙
wyo	wyo-l	˙mortar

3.3.1.2. Paucal -*er*

Table 7 lists some of the nouns that take the paucal marker -*er.* All these nouns end in consonants: however. not all nouns that end in a consonant take -*er* as the paucal suffix.

Table 7

Nouns with paucal -er

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
napaɢat	napaɢat-er	˙louse˙
-apyat	-apyat-er	˙foot˙
nkeʔenaɢanaɢat	nkeʔenaɢanaɢat-er	˙hook˙
kiyoɢonaɢat	kiyoɢonaɢat-er	˙soap˙
koλeget	koλeget-er	˙kerchief˙
-qoʔweːt	-qoʔweːt-er	˙egg˙
ladeːneg	ladeːneg-er	˙witch doctor˙
ñilot	ñilot-er	˙worm˙
noʔɢoyaɢat	noʔɢoyaɢat-er	˙friend˙
notoɢosoɢonoɢat	notoɢosoɢonqat-er	˙hammer˙
pyoɢ-lapaɢat dog-louse	pyoɢ-lapaqat-er dog-louse-PCL	˙flea˙ (lit. ˙dog louse˙)
-qoyaraɢanaɢat	-qoyaraɢanaɢat-er	˙candle˙

3.3.1.3. Paucal -i

Table 8 shows the three nouns that take the paucal marker -i.

Table 8

Nouns with paucal -i

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
qar	qar-i	˙stone˙
keʔlay	keʔlay-i	˙mule˙
ɢonɢay	ɢonɢay-i	˙wild boar˙

3.3.1.4. Paucal -*ir*

Table 9 shows some of the nouns that take the paucal marker -*ir*.

Table 9

Nouns with paucal -*ir*

Singular	Paucal	Plural
-ap	-ap-ir	˙mouth, lip˙
-apal	-apal-ir	˙corpse, body˙
-atap	-atap-ir	˙forehead˙
-enat	-enat-ir	˙nail, claw˙
kos	kos-ir	˙pig˙
lasom	lasom-ir	˙door˙
latogot	latogot-ir	˙lagoon˙
laʔat	laʔat-ir	˙meat˙
lekat	lekat-ir	˙knife˙
naλin	naλin-ir	˙fish˙
-osap	-osap-ir	˙buttock˙
regat	regat-ir	˙cat˙
regone	regone-ir	˙wild boar˙
yat	yat-ir	˙mosquito

3.3.1.5. Paucal -*o*

Table 10 shows some of the nouns that take the paucal marker -*o*.

Table 10

Nouns with paucal -*o*

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
-aλak	-aλak-o	˙shoulder. back˙
mañik	mañik-o	˙rhea˙
napagɢak	napagɢak-o	˙bridge˙
pyoɢ	pyoɢ-o	˙dog˙

3.3.1.6. Paucal -*qa*

Most of the nouns that take the paucal suffix -*qa* end in /ek/ or /k/. In the paucal forms, /ek/ ~ /k/ is replaced by -*qa*. Some of these nouns might originally have been morphologically complex forms in which -*ek* ~ -*k* could be identified as a separate morpheme, possibly a singular marker. This involves derivational processes of word formation that are not covered by this study, and which still require further investigation. Table 11 shows some nouns that take the paucal marker -*qa*.

Table 11

Nouns with paucal -qa

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
alolek	alol-**qa**	'weasel'
i?mek	i?m-**qa**	'spoon'
i:mek	i:m-**qa**	'house'
kanek	kan-**qa**	'blanket'
lawoyk	lawo(y)-**qa**	'wasp'
lekolaɢarayk	lekolaɢaray-**qa**	'lizard'
mičolek	mičol-**qa**	'cat'
na:serek	na:ser-**qa**	'tobacco'
na:so:lek	na:so:l-**qa**	'corn'
nanayk	nana(y)-**qa**	'snake'
ne?mek	ne?me-**qa**	'ladle'
ñik	ñi-**qa**	'rope'
nogošik	nogoši-**qa**	'bow'
nowik	nowi-**qa**	'arrow'
pa?lotoɢoyk	pa?lotoɢoy-**qa**	'scorpion'
šilkayk	šilka(y)-**qa**	'iguana'

There are two nouns that also take the paucal suffix -*qa* which do not end in /k/ in the singular forms:

(157)   qo?ole   qo?ol-**qa**   'bird'

(158)   waɢay   waɢa-**qa**   'river'

Masculine nouns which end in the masculine suffix -*lek* take not -*qa* but -*lqa* as a paucal suffix. as shown in examples (159) and (160).

| (159) | moro-lek | moro-lqa | 'mute' (M) (cf. *morole* 'mute (F)') |
| | mute-MASC(SG) | mute-MASC(PL) | (<Sp mudo 'mute') |

| (160) | -a:-lek | -a:-lqa | 'son' (cf. *-a:le* 'daughter') |
| | child-MASC | child-MASC(PL) | |

3.3.1.7. Paucal -*r*

Most nouns that take the paucal suffix -*r* end in a vowel; however, not all nouns ending in vowels take the paucal suffix -*r*. Table 12 shows some of the nouns ending in vowels that form the paucal by adding -*r* to the singular form of the noun.

Table 12

Nouns with paucal -*r* (stems ending in a vowel)

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
?acaki	?acaki-r	'mug. jug'
-ači	-ači-r	'tear'
-epa?genacawa	-epa?genacawa-r	'enemy'
ka?canacki	ka?canacki-r	'chair'
-kowičacaki	-kowičacaki-r	'nest'
lečicsqate	lečicsqate-r	'ring'
lo?giλi	lo?giλi-r	'squash'
na?cata	na?cata-r	'day'
nepela	nepela-r	'shoe'
ni?yacanqate	ni?yacanqate-r	'shovel'
-ocoki	-ocki-r	'dress. bag'
qote	qote-r	'eye'
yale	yale-r	'man'

There is a set of nouns which end in /aq/ which also take the paucal suffix -*r*. These nouns are listed in Table 13. In these nouns, the voiceless uvular stop /q/ is replaced by -*r* in the paucal forms.

Table 13

Nouns with paucal suffix -*r* (stems ending in /aq/)

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
činaq	čina-r	˙ant˙
daɢaraq	daɢara-r (~ daɢaraqa)	˙turkey˙
ñiksaq	ñiksa-r	˙skunk˙
-qoʔpaq	-qoʔpa-r	˙eyebrow˙
qoʔpaq	qoʔpa-r	˙tree˙
šipegaq	šipega-r	˙horse˙
waloɢonaq	waloɢona-r	˙dumb˙

3.3.1.8. Paucal - vowel lengthening

There are three nouns in Mocoví which form the paucal by lengthening a vowel in the root. These are *ʔalo* ˙woman˙, -*owe* ˙tooth˙, and *yolo* ˙black pig˙. Their singular and paucal forms are shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Vowel lengthening

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
ʔalo	ʔaːlo	˙woman˙
-owe	-oweː	˙tooth˙
yolo	yoloː	˙black pig˙

3.3.2. Plural

There are two plural markers in Mocoví: one which is used with most nouns and denotes four or more entities. -*ipi*. and the other one. -*sat* ~ -*šat*. which is used with nouns denoting plants. trees. or parts thereof. which has a collective meaning. I will first discuss the plural suffix -*ipi* in (a). and in (b) I will present the collective plural suffix -*sat* ~ -*šat*.

3.3.2.1. Plural -*ipi*

There is one plural suffix -*ipi* denoting four or more (i.e. 'many'). which is added to the paucal form of the noun. This plural suffix can be used with all nouns. Examples (161)-(166) show the suffix -*ipi* 'plural' added to different nouns. The forms in (a) show the singular forms. those in (b) the paucal forms. and those in (c) the plural forms.

(161)   a. /ʔwe:na/   'pot (sg)'

           b. /ʔwe:nal/   'pots (pcl)'
              ʔwe:na-l
              pot-PCL

           c. /ʔwe:na**ipi**/   'pots (pl)'
              ʔwe:na-l-**ipi**
              pot-PCL-**PL**

(162)   a. /lapaɢat/   'louse (sg)'

           b. /lapaɢater/   'lice (pcl)'
              lapaɢat-er
              louse-PCL

      c. /lapaɢater **ipi**/   ˈlice (pl)ˈ
        lapaɢat-er-**ipi**
        louse-PCL-**PL**

(163)   a. /yat/   ˈmosquitos (sg)ˈ

      b. /yatir/   ˈmosquitos (pcl)ˈ
        yat-ir
        mosquito-PCL

      c. /yatiripi/   ˈmosquitos (pl)ˈ
        yat-ir-**ipi**
        mosquito-PCL-**PL**

(164)   a. /qoʔpaq/   ˈtree (sg)ˈ

      b. /qoʔpar/   ˈtrees (pcl)ˈ
        qoʔpa-r
        tree-PCL

      c. /qoʔparipi/   ˈtrees (pl)ˈ
        qoʔpa-r-**ipi**
        tree-PCL-**PL**

(165)   a. /yale/   ˈman (sg)ˈ

      b. /yaler/   ˈmen (pcl)ˈ
        yale-r
        man-PCL

      c. /yaleripi/   ˈpots (pl)ˈ
        yale-r-**ipi**
        man-PCL-**PL**

(166)   a. /qar/   ˈstone (sg)ˈ

      b. /qari/   ˈstones (pcl)ˈ
        qar-i
        stone-PCL

      c. /qariːpi/   ˈstones (pl)ˈ
        qar-i-**ipi**
        stone-PCL-**PL**

3.3.2.2. Collective -sat

There is another plural marker, -sat ~ -šat, which is used only with nouns denoting trees and plants. It is added to the singular form of the noun and has a collective meaning, rather than simply plural. As shown in example (167), the plural suffix -ipi can also be used with these nouns, with a plural rather than a collective meaning.

(167)   a. /mapik/   'mesquite tree (sg) (*Prosopis*)'
           map-ik
           mesquite-tree

        b. /mapiki/   '(a few) mesquite trees (pcl)'
           map-ik-i
           mesquite-tree-PCL

        c. /mapiki:pi/   '(many) mesquite trees (pl)'
           map-ik-i-ipi
           mesquite-tree-PCL-PL

        d. /mapsat/   'mesquite trees (coll)'('forest of mesquite trees',
           map-sat   rather than just 'many mesquite trees')
           mesquite-COLL

Table 15 shows some of the nouns which can take the collective plural suffix -sat. Not all nouns denote trees, but they are all nouns referring to plants, fruits or trees, or parts thereof. (The blank cells in the table only reflect the fact that the data is not available, not that those forms are not possible in the language.)

Table 15

Nouns that take the collective suffix -sat

Singular	Paucal	Plural collective	Gloss
kotap-ik quebracho-tree		kotap-ik-sat	'quebracho tree' (*Schinopsis* *halansae*, or *Quebrachia morongii*)
lo:yo		lo:yo-l-sat	'trunk'
map-ik mesquite-tree	map-ik-i mesquite-tree-PCL	mapik-i-ipi map-ik-sat	'mesquite tree' (*Prosopis*)
ne:targe-ik jacarandá-tree		ne:targe-ik-sat	'jacaranda tree'
peteka-ik chañar-tree		peteka-ik-sat	'chañar tree' (*Geoffroea decorticans*)
pinkoš-ik tala-tree		pinkoš-ik-sat	'tala tree' (*Celtis tala*)
rayami	rayami-l prickly.pear-PCL	rayami-l-sat	'prickly pear'

The allomorph -šat is found only in a few nouns, and it is not phonologically conditioned. Table 16 shows the three nouns that take the allomorph -šat 'collective'.

Table 16

Nouns that take the collective suffix -šat

Singular	Paucal	Plural collective	Gloss
lasote	lasote-l branch-PCL	laso-šat	'branch'
le		le:-šat	'thorn'
qo?paq		qo?pa-šat	'tree'

To summarize. Mocoví has eight paucal suffixes denoting a few entities (more than one. but fewer than four). The distribution of these paucal suffixes cannot be predicted. There is one

plural suffix -*ipi*, denoting four or more entities (i.e. 'many'), which can occur with any noun. This suffix is added to the paucal form of the noun. It also has a suffix with a collective meaning, -*sat* ~ -*šat*, which occurs only with nouns referring to plants and trees, and which is added to the singular form of the noun.

3.4. Possession

There are certain nouns in Mocoví that must always be possessed, others that might be possessed, and others that are never possessed. It can be claimed, then, that Mocoví has a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

'Alienable' and 'inalienable' possession are standard terms that are common in the description of American Indian languages. They represent semantic and pragmatic notions, and are tied to the degree of association between the possessor and the possessed. Typically "...inalienable possession is inborn, inherent, not conferred by purchase: alienable possession is, roughly, ownership, socially and economically conferred" (Nichols 1988:568).

In this section I will discuss possessive structures within the noun phrase. I will present the possessive markers on nouns and discuss the word order of the possessive structures within the noun phrase. I will then present a classification of nominal roots based on the alienable/inalienable opposition, and discuss the structural and semantic differences among the various groups.

3.4.1. Possessive Structures within the Noun Phrase

Possession is marked on the possessed head noun in the NP. i.e. Mocoví is *head-marking*. and no marker occurs on the dependent noun. i.e. the possessor. When the possessor is an overt noun (or NP), the possessor can either precede or follow the possessed noun. with no apparent change in meaning.

Examples (168) and (169) show the bound roots *-awoʔ* ʼhouseʼ and *-awe* ʼhair. featherʼ in possessive constructions in which the possessor precedes the head noun.

(168)   /xwan lawoʔ/   ʼJuanʼs houseʼ
              xwan l+awoʔ
              Juan 3POSS+house

(169)   /qoʔole lawe/   ʼbirdʼs feather (= hair)ʼ
              qoʔole l+awe
              bird   3POSS-hair

Example (170) shows a possessive construction in a sentence.

(170)   /jawa ewa loʔɢonal ʔwesalek ji lames ropoqogilo/
        ji-awa   ewa l+oʔɢona-l   ʔwe+sa+leg
        DEIC(hor)-PL Eva 3POSS+vase-PCL exist+PROG+ON

        ji   lames r+opoqo-gi+lo
        DEIC(hor) table   3INAC+break-ʔ+OPCL

        ʼThose (two) (clay) vases of Evaʼs which are on the table are broken.ʼ

Example (171) shows the two possible orders of the possessor and possessed nouns within a noun phrase. In (171)a the possessor follows the possessed noun, and in (b), it precedes the possessed noun.

(171)   a. late?e ewa   'Eva's mother'
           l+ate?e   ewa
           3POSS+mother Eva

        b. ewa late?e   'Eva's mother'
           ewa l+ate?e
           Eva 3POSS+mother

Table 17 lists the possessive markers in Mocoví. (As discussed in section 1.4.2, the possessive markers in Mocoví are almost identical to the set of inactive markers.)

Table 17

Possessive markers

1sg	i+
2sgf	r+ ~ Ø+ ... -i
2sgR	r+ ~ Ø+ ... +ir
3sg	l+ ~ Ø+
1pl	qar+ ~ qa+
2pcl	r+ ~ Ø+... -iri
2pl	r+ ~ Ø+... -i:
3pl	l+ ~ Ø+ ... -er
Abs	n+ ~ l+

The zero allomorphs of the second and third person possessive markers are used when the possessive proclitics precede the alienable prefix *n-*. The *l+* allomorph for the absolutive

marker is used with alienably possessed roots. i.e. roots that must take the alienable prefix *n̅*-when they occur with a possessive marker.

Examples (172) and (173) show the possessive markers with the nominal roots -*ate:neg* 'prey' and -*owe* 'tooth'. These roots do not take the alienable prefix *n̅*- when they occur with a possessive marker. and take the proclitic *n̅+* as the absolutive marker.

(172)   -ate:neg   'prey'

1sg	/i+ate:neg/	'my prey'
2sgf	/r+ate:neg-i/	'your (f) prey'
2sgR	/r+ate:neg+ir/	'your (R prey'
3sg	/l+ate:neg/	'his/her prey'
1pl	/qar+ate:neg/	'our prey'
2pcl	/r+ate:neg-iri/	'your (pcl) prey'
2pl	/r+ate:neg-i: /	'your (pl) prey'
3pl	/l+ate:neg-er/	'their prey'
Abs	/n+ate:neg/	'(a) prey'

(173)   -owe   'tooth'

1sg	/i+owe/	'my tooth'
2sgf	/r+owe-i/	'your (f) tooth'
2sgR	/r+owe+ir/	'your (R tooth'
3sg	/l+owe/	'his/her tooth'
1pl	/qar+owe/	'our tooth'
2pcl	/r+owe-iri/	'your (pcl) tooth'
2pl	/r+owe-i: /	'your (pl) tooth'
3pl	/l+owe-er/	'their tooth'
Abs	/n+owe/	'(a) tooth'

Example (174) gives the possessive markers with the nominal root *kopi* ˙mucus˙. a free root that must be preceded by the prefix *n*- ˙alienable˙ when it is possessed. These forms illustrate the zero allomorphs for the second and third person possessive proclitics. Since *kopi* ˙mucus˙ is a free root. it does not take an absolutive marker.

(174)   kopi   ˙mucus˙

1sg	/i+n-kopi/	˙my mucus˙
2sgf	/∅+n-kopi-i/	˙your (f) mucus˙
2sgR	/∅+n-kopi+ir/	˙your (R) mucus˙
3sg	/∅+n-kopi/	˙his/her mucus˙
1pl	/qa+n-kopi/	˙our mucus˙
2pcl	/∅+n-kopi-iri/	˙your (pcl) mucus˙
2pl	/∅+n-kopi-i:/	˙your (pl) mucus˙
3pl	/∅+n-kopi-er/	˙their mucus˙
Abs	/kopi/	˙(a) mucus˙

A few nouns take the proclitic *qa(d)*- rather than *r*- for the second person singular. paucal and plural possessive. This suppletive allomorphy is not phonologically conditioned. The nominal roots that take this allomorph for the second person possessive are *-am* ˙money. - *ap* ˙mouth˙. *-ate?e* ˙mother˙. *-eta?a* ˙father˙. *-ewal* ˙grandchild˙. *-lo* ˙animal˙. *-pe* ˙grandfather˙. and *-epyat* ˙foot˙.

Example (175) shows the possessive forms of the bound root *-ewal* ˙grandchild˙ for the first person singular in (175)a. second person singular respectful in (175)b. and third person singular in (175)c.

(175)   -ewal 'granchild'

    a. /iːwal/   'my grandchild'
       i+ewal
       1SGPOSS+grandchild

    b. /qaewalir/   'your (sgR) grandchild'
       qa+ewal+ir
       2POSS+grandchild+2SGR

    c. /lewal/   'his/her grandchild'
       l+ewal
       3POSS+grandchild

3.4.2. Noun Classes

Mocoví nouns can be grouped into three noun classes depending on the possessive marker that they take: Class I, nouns that *must* be possessed and do not take a prefix *n-*; Class II, nouns that *may* be possessed and that take the prefix *n-* when they are possessed; Class III, nouns that are *never* possessed, and include words for such items as animals, things from nature (e.g. storm, rain, and river), non-kinship terms referring to people (e.g. man and woman). The prefix *n-* marks alienably possessed nouns.

3.4.2.1. Class I - Nouns that *must* be possessed

Class I nouns are bound roots that must always occur with a possessive marker. If they are not possessed, they must occur with an absolutive proclitic, indicating that the noun lacks a possessor (or at least a known possessor). The possessive or absolutive proclitic immediately precedes the root (e.g. [POSS+stem(-POSS)]. This class includes mainly kinship terms (e.g. *-taʔa* 'father', *-ateʔe* 'mother', *-asoro* 'aunt', *-aleʔ* 'daughter', *-alek* 'son', *-ate* 'daughter-in-law').

nouns denoting body parts (e.g. *-ašik* `face`. *-atap* `forehead`. *-ataw* `ankle`. *-ap* `mouth`. *-akom* `belly`. *-awa* `arm`. *-imik* `nose`. *-ewo* `blood`. *-oʔota* `vein`. *-owe* `tooth`. *-oʔwala* `stomach`. *-olamek* `liver`. *-etekse* `kidney`. etc.). and nouns for a few man-made objects that are closely identified with their owner or that mark indispensable possessions of a functioning member of Mocoví society (e.g. *-owik* `arrow`. *-ogošik* `bow`. *-oɢoki* `bag`. *-kanek* `blanket`). The forms in (176) show the possessive markers on the bound nominal root *-qosot* `neck`.

(176) -qosot   `neck`

    a. /iqosot/   `my neck`
       i+qosot
       1SG.POSS+neck

    b. /rqosotir/   `your(sg.R) neck`
       r+qosot+ir
       2POSS+neck+2SGR

    c. /lqosot/   `his/her neck`
       l+qosot
       3POSS+neck

    d. /qarqosot/   `our neck`
       qar+qosot
       1PL.POSS+neck

    e. /rqosotiː/   `your(pl) neck`
       r+qosot-iː
       2POSS-neck-2PL

    f. /lqosoter/   `their neck`
       l+qosot-er
       3POSS+neck-3PL

    g. /nqosot/   `(a) neck`
       n-qosot
       ABS-neck

3.4.2.2. Class II - Nouns that *may* be possessed

Class II nouns are nouns that may be possessed. They are mostly bound roots which, when possessed, must take the prefix *n-* 'alienable'. The prefix *n-* 'alienable' immediately precedes the nominal root, and the possessive proclitic immediately precedes the prefix *n-*: [POSS+*n*-stem(-POSS)]. When Class II nouns are not possessed, they must occur with the absolutive proclitic *i+*. This class includes mainly nouns denoting man-made objects (*-oʔloʔ* 'fabric', *-amaɢki* 'shirt', *-oɢki* 'dress', *-ekat* 'knife', *-ešite* 'ring', etc.) but it also includes two kinship terms, *-etesqoʔ* 'uncle' and *komena* 'grandmother').

The forms in (177)a-c provide examples in which the possessive markers are added to the bound nominal root *-amaɢki* 'shirt'. In these forms, the *n-* prefix marking alienability immediately precedes the root, and the possessive proclitic immediately precedes the prefix *n-*. In example (177)d the same root occurs with the absolutive proclitic *i+*. The example in (177)e shows that a form in which the possessive proclitic immediately precedes the root *-amaɢki* 'shirt', without the prefix *n-* 'alienable', is ungrammatical. In (177)f, a form in which the bound root is not preceded by a possessive or an absolutive proclitic is also ungrammatical.

(177)	-amaɢki	'shirt'
	a. /inamaɢki/ i+n-amaɢki **1SGPOSS+**AL**-shirt**	'my shirt'
	b. /namaɢkiir/ Ø+n-amaɢki+ir **2POSS+**AL**-shirt-2SGR**	'your(sgR) shirt'
	c. /namaɢki/ Ø+n-amaɢki **3POSS+**AL**-shirt**	'his/her shirt'

d. /lamaɢki/ ʼa shirtʼ
l+amaɢki
ABS+shirt

e. */i+amaɢki/ ʼmy shirtʼ
1SGPOSS+shirt

f. */amaɢki/ ʼa shirtʼ
shirt

In (178)a the bound root *-etesqoʔ* ʼuncleʼ occurs with the first singular possessive proclitic *i+* followed by the prefix *n-* ʼalienableʼ. Example (178)b. in which the possessive proclitic immediately precedes the root without the prefix *n-*. is ungrammatical.

(178) -etesqoʔ ʼuncleʼ

a. /inetesqoʔ/ ʼmy uncleʼ
i+n-etesqoʔ
1SGPOSS+AL-uncle

b. */i+etesqoʔ/ ʼmy uncleʼ
1SGPOSS+uncle

A few nouns denoting body parts also belong to this group. However. they are bound roots that can also occur as free roots. but with different (but related?) meanings. Examples (179) and (181) show the bound roots *-qar* ʼchinʼ and *-qoʔpaq* ʼeyebrowʼ with possessive markers and the prefix *n-* ʼalienableʼ. When these roots occur as free roots. they have different meanings. *qar* ʼrockʼ and *qoʔpaq* ʼtreeʼ. and as free roots they cannot take a possessive prefix. as shown in examples (180) and (182).

(179) -qar ʼchinʼ

a. /inqar/ ʼmy chinʼ
i+n-qar
1SGPOSS+AL-chin

b. */i+qar/   ˙my chin˙
   1SGPOSS+chin

c. /nqarir/   ˙your(sgR) chin˙
   Ø+n-qar+ir
   2POSS+AL-chin+2SGR

d. /nqar/   ˙his/her chin˙
   Ø+n-qar
   3POSS+AL-chin

(180) qar   ˙rock˙

a. */i+qar/   ˙my rock˙
   1SGPOSS+rock

b. */i+n-qar/   'my rock (but OK meaning ˙my chin˙)˙
   1SGPOSS+AL-rock

(181) -qoʔpaq   ˙eyebrow˙

a. /inqoʔpaq/   ˙my eyebrow˙
   i+n-qoʔpaq
   1SGPOSS+AL-eyebrow

b. */i+qoʔpaq/   ˙my eyebrow˙
   1SGPOSS+eyebrow

c. /nqoʔpaqir/   ˙your(sgR) eyebrow˙
   Ø+n-qoʔpaq+ir
   2POSS+AL-eyebrow+2SGR

d. /nqoʔpaq/   ˙his/her eyebrow˙
   Ø+n-qoʔpaq
   3POSS+AL-eyebrow

(182) qoʔpaq   ˙tree˙

a. * /i+n-qoʔpaq/   ˙my tree˙
   1SGPOSS+AL-tree

b. */i-qo?paq/   ˙my tree˙
   1GPOSS+tree

3.4.2.3. Class III - Nouns that *cannot* be possessed

Class III nouns cannot be possessed. These are free roots that cannot occur either with a possessive affix or with the absolutive prefix. They include nouns denoting animals (e.g. *mañik* ˙rhea˙, *nanok* ˙yacaré (type of crocodile)˙, *silkayk* ˙iguana˙, *qo?ole* ˙bird˙, *ñiksaq* ˙skunk˙, *sipegaq* ˙horse˙, *conoay* ˙tapir˙, *pyoo* ˙dog˙); people (e.g. *yale* ˙man˙, *alo* ˙woman˙, *pi?oonaq* ˙shaman˙, etc.); elements from nature (e.g. *ra?asa* ˙sun˙, *siraygo* ˙moon˙, *?lawa* ˙earth˙, *qar* ˙rock˙, *wacayaq* ˙water˙, *yacat* ˙rain˙, *pigim* ˙sky˙, *lacewge* ˙river˙); plants and fruits such as *pihñi* ˙prickly pear˙, *map* ˙mesquite (fruit) (fruit of the mesquite tree, *Prosopis*)˙, etc.)

Examples (183)-(185) show the free roots *yale* ˙man˙, *pihñi* ˙prickly pear˙, and *wacayaq* ˙water˙. In the forms in (a) the roots occur without any possessive or absolutive marker. Since these are free roots, the forms are grammatical. In the forms in (b) the roots are immediately preceded by the first person singular proclitic *i-*, and in the (c) forms the roots are preceded both by the first singular proclitic *i-* and by the alienable prefix *n-*. Since these roots are free roots and cannot bear a possessive marker (with or without the alienable prefix *n-*), all the (b) and (c) forms are ungrammatical.

(183)   yale   ˙man˙

        a. /yale/   ˙(a) man˙

        b. */i-yale/   ˙my man˙
           1SGPOSS-man

        c. */i-n-yale/   ˙my man˙
           1SGPOSS+AL-man

(184)   pihñi   'prickly pear'

        a. /pihñi/   'prickly pear'

        b. */i+pihñi/   'my prickly pear'
           1SGPOSS+prickly.pear

        c. */i+n-pihñi/   'my prickly pear'
           1SGPOSS+AL-prickly.pear

(185)   waɢayaq   'water'

        a. /waɢayaq/   '(some) water'

        b. */i+waɢayaq/   'my water'
           1SGPOSS+water

        c. */i+n-waɢayaq/   'my water'
           1SGPOSS+AL-water

Most nouns referring to animals are also free roots which cannot take a possessive affix.

However, they can occur in a more complex possessive construction in which the possessive

markers are added to the bound root -*lo* 'animal'. The bound root -lo 'animal' must immediately

precede the noun denoting the animal in the NP. The structure of an NP with such a

constructionis shown in (186).

(186)   Structure of a Possessive Construction with nouns denoting animals

        (num/quant)(DEIC){(adj)} POSS +*lo*(-POSS) NOUN{(adj)}

        (Where NOUN stands for the noun denoting the animal.)

In (187)a the root *pyoɢ* 'dog' can occur by itself because it is a free root. In (187)b the

same root occurs in a possessive construction, where the possessive markers are added to the

bound root -*lo* 'animal' which immediately precedes the root *pyoɢ* 'dog' in the noun phrase. The

demonstrative immediately precedes the bound root -*lo* 'animal'. The examples in (187)c and

(187)d are ungrammatical, since in (187)c the possessive markers are added to the free root *pyoɢ*

'dog'. and in (187)d they are added to the same root immediately preceding the alienable prefix

n-.

(187)   /pyoɢ/   'dog'

a. /pyoɢ/   '(a) dog'

b. /ñi ilo pyoɢ/

ñi   i+lo   pyoɢ

DEIC(hor) 1SGPOSS+animal dog

'my dog (lit. my animal dog)'

c. */i+pyoɢ/

1SGPOSS+dog

'my dog'

d. */i+n-pyoɢ/

1SGPOSS+AL-dog

'my dog'

The example in (188) shows a possessive construction with the free root *sipegaq* 'horse'.

The forms in (188)a and b. in which the possessive markers are added to the bound root -*lo*

'animal' immediately preceding the free root. are grammatical. The form in (188)c is

ungrammatical because the possessive markers are added to the free root *sipegaq* 'horse'.

(188)   a. /ilo sipegaq/

i+lo   sipegaq

1SGPOSS+animal horse

'my horse (lit: 'my animal horse')'

b. /qaloir šipegaq/

    qa+lo+ir   šipegaq

    2POSS+**animal**+2SGR   horse

    `your(sgR) horse (lit: `your(sgR) animal horse`)`

cf.   c. */qa+šipegaq+ir/

        2POSS+horse+2SGR

It should be noted that the form of the bound root -*lo* `animal` is different from the free

nominal root meaning animal. which is *isegeyek* `animal`. While the bound root -*lo* `animal`

must occur with a possessive or an absolutive marker. as in (189)a-b. the free root *isegeyek*

`animal` cannot take a possessive (or absolutive) marker. as in (189)c.

(189)   a. /ilo isegeyek/

        i+lo   isegeyek

        1SGPOSS+animal   animal

        `my animal`

b. /qaloir isegeyek/

    qa+lo+ir   isegeyek

    2POSS+**animal**+**2SGR**   animal

    `your(sgR) animal`

cf.   c. */r+isegeyek+ir/

        2POSS+animal+**2SGR**

Some generalizations can be made about the semantic notions and structural

characteristics that are involved in the alienable/inalienable distinction in Mocovi and that are

common to the nouns in each of the classes. Inalienably possessed nouns (Class I) are nouns that must be possessed: they include most kinship terms, most body parts, and a few man-made objects: they are bound roots: and they seem to make up a closed set of nouns. Alienably possessed nouns (Class II) are nouns that may be possessed, including most man-made objects, a few body parts, and a few kinship terms: they are mostly bound roots, but a few free roots are also included. Alienably possessed nouns seem to be an open set. The third group of nouns (Class III) comprises nouns that cannot be possessed, and is made up mostly of free roots.

3.5. The Demonstrative System

Mocoví has a fairly complex demonstrative system. It is made up of a set of deictic roots which precede the noun in noun phrases and mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). These deictic roots can also function as pronominals and as locative adverbs.

The demonstratives are independent words that can be marked for gender and number. Gender is optional in the singular and not marked in the plural. The gender markers are $e+$ 'masculine' and $a+$ 'feminine'. Number is optional if it is marked on other elements in the NP. The plural suffix of the demonstratives is -*awa*. The demonstratives can also occur with suffixes marking proximity to the speaker (see below for further discussion). The structure of the demonstratives is provided in (190).

(190)   Structure of the demonstrative form:

(GENDER+) DEICTIC (-PLURAL)(-PROXIMITY)

The demonstrative system of Mocoví is given in Table 18.

Table 18

The Demonstrative System of Mocoví

Sg.M	*absent*			(e+)ka
	present	*movement:*	coming	(e+)na
			going	(e+)so
		position:	standing *(vertically extended)*	(e+)da
			sitting *(non-extended)*	(e+)ñi
			lying *(horizontally extended)*	(e+)ji
Sg.F	*absent*			(a+)ka
	present	*movement:*	coming	(a+)na
			going	(a+)so
		position:	standing *(vertically extended)*	(a+)da
			sitting *(non-extended)*	(a+)ñi
			lying *(horizontally extended)*	(a+)ji
Pcl/Pl	*absent*			ka-awa
	present	*movement:*	coming	na-awa
			going	so-awa
		position:	standing *(vertically extended)*	da-awa
			sitting *(non-extended)*	ñi-awa
			lying *(horizontally extended)*	ji-awa

Some examples of the deictic roots as demonstratives with the noun ʔalo 'woman' are

shown in (191).

(191)   a. /a+ka ʔalo/   ˙that woman(absent)
             F+DEIC(absnt) woman

         b. /a+na ʔalo/   ˙that woman(coming)
             F+DEIC(cmng) woman

         c. /a+so ʔalo/   ˙that woman(going)
             F+DEIC(gng) woman

         d. /a+da ʔalo/   ˙that woman(vertically extended)
             F+DEIC(vert) woman

         e. /a+ñi ʔalo/   ˙that woman(non-extended)
             F+DEIC(nonext) woman

         f. /a+ji ʔalo/   ˙that woman(horizontally extended)
             F+DEIC(hor) woman

Example (192) was taken from a text in which a man is walking on the land looking for

food. and he encounters a creature that tells him that there is going to be a flood. so he should go

back and warn his family. This is the second sentence in the text. and it shows demonstratives

being used with the various nouns in the sentence. The man. *so qom* ˙the man˙. is walking on

the land. so the demonstrative *so* ˙deictic (going)˙ is used: he is looking for food. *ka*

lepetaɢanaɢat ˙the food˙. which is not present. so the demonstrative *ka* ˙deictic (absent)˙ is used:

and he is walking on the land *ji noʔweːnaɢa* ˙the land˙. an extended surface. so the

demonstrative *ji* ˙deictic (horizontally extended)˙ is used.

(192)   /so qom nakitetakoʔ/

         so   qom   Ø+n-akite+tak+oʔ
         DEIC(gng)   person   3AC+HITHER-look.for+PROG+EV

         /ka lepetaɢanaɢat iowoːtakoʔ/
         ka   l+epetaɢanaɢat   i+owoː +tak+oʔ
         DEIC(absnt)   ABS+food   3AC+walk+PROG+EV

         /ke ji noʔweːnaɢa/.
         ke   ji   n+oʔweːnaɢa
         OBL DEIC(hor)   ABS+land

         ˙That man was looking for food. (he) was walking on the land (= field).˙

The deictic root *ka* 'absent' is very common in texts, regardless of the motion or position

of the noun it modifies. The sentence in (193) was taken from Text 3. The Woman and the Duck,

a narrative text in which a woman goes to the well to get water and encounters a man who tells

her he is interested in her. In this sentence the demonstrative *ka* 'deictic (absent)' is used with the

nouns *naɢaʔa* 'day', *ʔalo* 'woman' and *leʔya* 'her well', regarless of their motion or position.

This is the first sentence in the story.

(193) /ʔweoʔ ka naɢaʔa aka ʔalo/

ʔwe+oʔ   ka   naɢaʔa   a+ka   ʔalo

exist+EV   DEIC(absnt) day   F+DEIC(absnt)   woman

/riʔλiwi ke aka leʔya/

r+iʔλiwi   ke   a+ka   l+eʔya

3AC+look.for.water OBL   F+DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+well (=from her well)

'Once there was a woman who went to her well to look for water' (=who looks

for water from her well)

The demonstratives can occur with additional morphology marking distance relative to

the speaker. In such cases the suffixes *-ho* 'very proximate', *-ta* 'proximate' (not as close as

-ho), *-kerawk* 'far', *-keram* 'farther', and *-keram:* 'very far' are used. The last suffix, *-keram:*

'very far', is interesting, since it is the lengthening of the last nasal /m/ which encodes the

intensive meaning. Long consonants are not part of the phonemic inventory of Mocoví, but in

this case the /m:/ is used with an intensive meaning.

In the examples in (194), the deictic root *da* 'deictic (vertically extended)' precedes the

same noun, *yale* 'man' in the noun phrase. In (194)a it occurs without any additional

morphology marking proximity to the speaker. In (194)b it occurs with the suffix *-kerawk* 'far',

in (194)c it occurs with the suffix -*keram* 'farther', and in (194)d it occurs with the suffix -

keram: 'very far'. In all the examples the proclitic *e+* 'masculine' precedes the deictic root.

(194)   a. /eda yale/   'that man (vert)'
             e+da   yale
             M+DEIC(vert) man

         b. /edakerawk yale/   'that man farther'
             e+da-**kerawk**   yale
             M+DEIC(vert)-**DIST** man

         c. /edakeram yale/   'that man quite far'
             e+da-**keram**   yale
             M+DEIC(vert)-**DIST** man

         d. /edakeram: yale/   'that man. VERY far'
             e+da-**keram-m**   yale
             M+DEIC(vert)-**DIST-INTENS** man

The deictic roots can also function as third person independent pronouns. In such cases

the form *maɢare ~ ma:re* 'pronoun' immediately follows the deictic root.

(195)   /da maɢare kowaʔe aka inaqaype ke ji ʔo:či/

         da   **maɢare** ∅+kowaʔe a+ka   i+n-aqaype   ke ji   ʔo:či

         DEIC(vert) **PRON**   3AC+forget F+DEIC(absnt) 1SGPOSS+AL-axe OBL DEIC(hor) brush

         'He forgot my axe in the brush.'

(196)   /awerañi dawa maɢare/

         ∅+aw-er+ñi   da-wa   **maɢare**

         3AC+fall-3PL+DWN DEIC(vert)-PL **PRON**

         'They fell (down from something).'

The deictic roots can also function as demonstrative pronouns, as an equivalent to the English 'this/that one' as in example (197). (Notice also the form *qaeka* 'nothing', which includes the deictic root *ka* 'absent'.)

(197) /ka? na ne:lonaq **ena** qaeka ?nem la?a:ɢa čalego? la?a:ɢa/

ka? na ne:lonaq e+na

then DEIC(cmng) campanilla **M+DEIC(cmng)**

qa+e+ka ?nem la?a:ɢa čalego? la?a:ɢa

nthg+M+DEIC(abst) same ugly very ugly

'And the campanilla, **this one**, there is nothing as bad, it is very bad.'
(lit. 'And the campanilla, this one, nothing is as ugly, it is very ugly.')

The deictic roots can function as locative adverbs, and in that case they usually occur with one of the suffixes marking proximity to the speaker, as in (198) from Text 2, The Flood.

(198) / sašila?i? kopačiro?o? **naho** sentangi laqalači/

s+ašila+ir ∅+kopat+ir+o?+o? **na-ho**

1AC+ask+2SGR 2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV **DEIC(cmng)-PROX**

s+enta+ngi l+aqalači

1AC+exist?+? ABS+open.field

'... you start a fire here, where I am on the open field.'

All the Waikurúan languages have inherited and preserved this complex demonstrative system. These deictic roots have received different labels in the literature on Waikurúan languages. Klein (1979) describes them as noun classifiers in Toba; Vidal (1997) considers them classifiers in Pilagá, and makes a distinction between *da?* 'vertically extended', *ñi?* 'sitting/non-extended' and *di?* 'lying/horizontally extended' as positional classifiers, and *na?*

'coming/proximal', *so?* 'going away/past', and *ga?* 'absent/distal' as deictic classifiers. Sandalo (1995) for Kadiwéu and Ceria & Sandalo (1995) for Proto-Waikurúan refer to them as demonstratives. In Mocoví, these are deictic roots which can function as demonstrative adjectives and demonstrative pronouns, as locative adverbs, and can also be part of other morphologically complex forms. As demonstratives, the choice of the deictic root depends on the absence/presence, motion and/or position of noun they modify, and they can occur with additional morphemes marking proximity to the participants in the speech event.

All the Waikurúan languages have this complex demonstrative system, and in all the languages of the family they have very similar forms with very similar meanings, i.e. they express the same (set of) concepts: they mark absence/presence in the visual field as well as motion and position of the noun they modify; they precede the noun in the noun phrase; and they are marked for gender and (optionally) for number. The reconstructed forms of the demonstrative system of Proto-Waikurúan were presented in Ceria & Sandalo (1995). It is not yet clear if the deictic roots that make up the demonstrative sytem in the Waikurúan languages have the same variety of functions in all the languages, i.e. whether they can also function as demonstrative adjectives as well as demonstrative pronouns and locative adverbs in all the languages. (See appendix A for a chart of the demonstrative system of the Waikurúan languages, and Grondona (1998) for a brief discussion of their behavior in Pilagá, Toba, and Kadiwéu.)

To summarize, then, the demonstrative system in Mocoví is very complex and it encodes presence or absence in the visual field as well as the position of the noun they modify (i.e. standing, sitting, or lying down, coming or going). There are six deictic roots that make up the demonstratives in Mocoví and in a definite noun phrase one of them usually precedes the head noun: *ka* 'absent', *na* 'coming', *so* 'going', *da* 'vertically extended', *ñi* 'non-extended', and

ji 'horizontally extended'. These deictic roots can occur with an optional suffix marking proximity (of the noun) to the speaker. and they can also function as third person independent pronouns and as locative adverbs.

3.6. Adjective Phrase

Noun phrases in Mocoví can also contain adjectives. or adjective phrases. The adjective phrase can either precede or follow the noun within the NP, without any difference in meaning.

(199)   /čim newage/

čim newage

sour watermelon

'sour watermelon'

(200)   /lawayk yale/

lawayk yale

weak man

'weak man'

(201)   /nepela **toglek**/ ~ /**toglek** nepela/

nepela tog+lek ~ tog+lek nepela

shoe   red-SIM ~ red-SIM   shoe

'reddish shoe' (= orange shoe)

Most adjectives are marked for gender and number. They must agree in gender with the noun they modify. Number agreement. however. is optional if it is marked on the demonstrative

or on the head noun within the noun phrase. (If number is marked on the adjective. it is

optionally marked on the head noun. Basically. if paucal or plural is marked on one element

within the noun phrase. paucal or plural marking is optional on other elements in that noun

phrase.)

In example (202), the head noun *qoʔole* 'bird' is singular. so the adjective *tog* 'red' is

also singular. The noun phrases in (203)a-b have the same meaning. '(a few) red birds'. In

(203)a. both the head noun *qoʔole* 'bird' and the adjective *tog* 'red' are marked with the paucal

suffixes. so *qoʔolqa* and *toger* are used. In (203)b the head noun *qoʔole* 'bird' is singular. and

paucal number is marked on the adjective *tog* 'red'. so *toger* 'red (pcl)' is used. The noun

phrases in (203)a-b are both grammatical and equally acceptable.

(202)   /qoʔole **tog**/

       qoʔole **tog**

       bird   **red**

       'red bird'

(203)   a. /qoʔolqa **toger**/

         qoʔol-qa **tog-er**

         bird-PCL **red-PCL**

         'red birds'

      b. /qoʔole **toger**/

         qoʔole **tog-er**

         bird   **red-PCL**

         'red birds'

Table 19 lists some adjective forms in Mocoví. (The blank cells in the table indicate only

that the data is not available. not that those forms are not possible in the language.)

Table 19

Adjectives

| Singular | | Paucal | | |
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	Gloss
čimaʔge	čimaʔge	čimaʔgelo	čimaʔgelo	˙smelly˙
lalo:kiʔ	laloʔλiʔ	lalolqaer	lalo:λir	˙small. little˙
lodegɢat	latewʔge	letaʔal	lateʔel	˙big. fat˙
mogel	mogola	mogolaqa	mogolal	˙silly. funny˙
paʔateta	paʔateta			˙light˙
qoñi	qoñi			˙yellow˙
tog	tog	toger	toger	˙red˙
waloɢonaq	waloɢonaɢa	waloɢonar	waloɢonaɢa	˙crazy˙
yi	yi	yir	yir	˙ripe˙

There are a few adjectives that end in -ayk in the masculine singular form and -ay in the feminine singular. In the paucal forms these adjectives take -qa for the masculine and -ai for the feminine. The feminine paucal suffix -ai seems to be a suffix that occurs only on adjectives, not on nouns. Table 20 lists some of the adjectives in Mocoví which end in -ayk (M) and -ay (F).

Table 20

Adjectives ending in *-ayk* (M)/ *-ay* (F)

| Singular | | Paucal | | |
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	Gloss
čaqayk	čaqay	čaqaqa	čaqai	˙dangerous˙
laleɢayk	laleɢay	laleɢaqa	laleɢai	˙white˙
lawayk	laway	lawaqa	lawai	˙weak˙
le:taraɢayk	le:taraɢay	le:taraqa	le:taraɢai	˙old. broken˙
qoʔɢoyk	qoʔɢoy	qoʔɢoyaqa	qoʔɢoi	˙old˙
šaλaɢarayk	šaλaɢaray	šaλaɢaraqa	šaλaɢarai	˙heavy˙
šitaɢarayk	šitaɢaray	šitaɢaraqa	šitaɢarai	˙sharp-pointed˙
walayk	walay	walaɢaqa	walaɢai	˙lazy˙
yaɢarayk	yaɢaray	yaɢaraqa	yaɢarai	˙sharp˙ (of knife. axe)
jaqayk	jaqay	jaqaqa	jaqai	˙fast˙

The plural suffix *-ipi* can also be added to the paucal forms of the adjectives to form the plural; however. these forms are rarely used.

3.7. Numerals and Quantifiers

Number in Mocoví is primarily encoded in suffixes on the head noun. on demonstratives. and/or on adjectives. as shown in section 3.3. However. the quantifiers *ʔɢoyk* ˙many˙. in example (204). *ʔwewk* ˙several˙. in example (205). *kočoki* ˙little. a few˙. in example (206). and *-aʔwge* ˙all˙ in examples (207) and (208). do occur. and they precede the head noun in the noun phrase.

(204) /ɸelisa leʔyak ʔɢoyk ariña/

ɸelisa l+eʔyak   ʔɢoyk ariña

Felisa 3AC+bring **many flour**

˙Felisa brought a lot of flour.˙

(205) /ɸelisa leʔyak kočoki ariña/

ɸelisa l+eʔyak   **kočoki ariña**

Felisa 3AC+bring **little   flour**

˙Felisa brought a **little flour**.˙

(206) /ɸelisa leʔyak ʔɢoyk qalači/

ɸelisa l+eʔyak   ʔɢoyk qalači

Felisa 3AC+bring **many onions**

˙Felisa brought **many onions**.˙

(207) /ʔwewk moqoytlase roʔɢonaɢantak/

ʔwewk   moqoyt-lase r+oʔɢonaɢan+tak

several Mocoví-F   3AC+work+ PROG

˙**Several Mocoví women** are working.˙

The quantifier *-aʔwge* ˙all˙ does not occur by itself: it is a bound morpheme that is added to one of the deictic roots to form the quantifier ˙all˙. It precedes demonstratives in the noun phrase. Compare example (208). in which the action is performed towards the speaker. so -*aʔwge* ˙all˙ is added to the deictic root *na* ˙coming˙. and example (209). in which the action is performed going away from the speaker. so that *-aʔwge* ˙all˙ is added to the deictic root *so* ˙going˙.

(208)   /φelisa ie?yak **na?wge** na qalači/

φelisa i+e?yak   **na-a?wge**   na   qalači

Felisa 3AC+bring **DEIC(cmng)-all** DEIC(cmng) onions

˙Felisa brought **all** the onions.˙

(209)   /sa?wge so arina qaia?ɢat /

so-a?wge   so   arina qa+i+a?ɢat

DEIC(gng)-ALL DEIC(gng) flour INDEF+3AC+carry

˙All the flour was taken.˙

The sentence in (210) is another example in which the quantifier *-a?wge* ˙all˙ is added to the deictic root *so* ˙going˙.

(210)   /sa?wge so yale ro?we:nataɢantak ke na waloq nowiro? ke na sawado/

so-a?wge   **so**   **yale** r+o?we:nataɢan+tak ke   na   waloq

DEIC(gng)-ALL DEIC(gng) man 3AC+work+PROG   OBL DEIC(cmng) cotton

Ø+n-owir+o?   ke   na   sawado

3AC+HITHER-come+EV OBL DEIC(cmng) Saturday

˙**All the men** who work in the cotton (=picking cotton) come back on Saturday.˙

It seems that Mocoví lacked numeral forms. and has borrowed all its numerals from Spanish. When a numeral does occur in a noun phrase. it precedes the demonstrative if there is one in the noun phrase. Since number is encoded in the numeral. the head noun can occur either in the singular or with a paucal or plural suffix. depending on the numeral. In examples (211) and (212). the numeral *dos* ˙two (<Sp. *dos*) occurs in a noun phrase with the noun *yale* ˙man˙. In

(211), the head noun *yale* 'man' is in the singular form, and in (212) it is in the paucal form. with

the paucal suffix -*r*.

(211)   /doh yale yalawater ka nanayk/

        doh yale i+alawat-er ka   nanayk

        two man 3AC+kill-3PL DEIC(absnt) snake

        'Two men killed a snake.'

(212)   /doh yaler yalawater ka nanayk/

        doh yale-*r*   i+alawat-er ka   nanayk

        two man-*PCL* 3AC+kill-3PL DEIC(absnt) snake

        'Two men killed a snake.'

3.8. Summary

In this chapter I have provided a description of the inflectional morphology of nouns and

noun phrases. including clitics. I discussed the different types of nominal roots. bound and free

roots. I showed how the notions of alienable and inalienable possession are expressed in Mocoví.

and presented a classification of nouns into three classes based on how they are marked for

possession. I presented the complex demonstrative system of Mocoví. which contains a set of

deictic roots that mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify. as well as the position or

movement. I described adjectives. quantifiers. and numerals which may also be part of the noun

pharse. In the following chapter I present a description of the inflectional morphology of the verb

form. including clitics.

4. Verbal Morphology: Verbs and Verb Phrases

The structure of the verb form in Mocoví is quite complex. and includes the following categories: negative. indefinite agent. active and inactive person markers. hither. aspect. locatives/directionals. object number. and evidential. Table 21 shows the structure of the verb form in Mocoví.

Table 21
Structure of the Verb form

(-4)	(-3)	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	(+3)	+4	(+5)	(+6)
Neg	Indef	Pers	hither	STEM	Pl.Ag	Pers	Aspect	Loc/Dir	O.n°	EV
se+ sqae+	qa+	Active (Class I) 1sg/pl s+~ i+ 2sg/pl 2+ 3sg/pl i+ ~ r+ ~ 2+ ~ n+ Inactive (Class II) 1sg ir+ 2sg/pl r+ 3sg/pl i+ ~ r+ ~ 2+ ~ n+ 1pl qar+	n-		1pl -aG	2sgf -i 2sgR -ir 2pcl -iri 2pl -i: 3pl -er	+tak 'prog'	+aŕa 'across' +awgi 'in'? +ek 'outwards' +eŕe 'with' +igi 'on' +ñi 'downwards' +kena 'tds here' +leg 'on. over' +ñigi 'inside' +ot ~ -oʔot 'under' +o ~ -wo 'tds here' +owgi 'inwards' +pegeʔ 'up to' +sigim 'upwards' +weg ~ -eg 'out'	-lo 'pcl' -er 'pl'	-oʔ

In this Chapter I present a description of the verb form in Mocoví. and the various morphemes that can occur within it. In Section 4.1 I discuss the person markers. both independent pronouns and pronominal markers on verbs. In section 4.2 I discuss the prefix n- 'hither'. and in section 4.3 I present the aspect marker. Section 4.4 presents a discussion of the indefinite agent clitic. In section 4.5 I provide an account of the locative and directional enclitics:

and in section 4.6 I discuss object number. The negative proclitic and the evidential enclitic will

be discussed in chapter 5.

4.1. Person Markers

Mocoví has a set of independent pronouns, used mainly for emphasis, and a set of

pronominal markers on verbs which reflect an active/inactive (or active/stative) agreement

system. There are two sets of person-marking proclitics, one used with agent subjects (Class I,

Active markers), and the other with non-agent subjects and objects (Class II, Inactive markers).

This system was inherited from Proto-Waikurúan (See Appendix B for the reconstructed

pronominal forms of Proto-Waikurúan). In section 4.1.1 I discuss the set of independent

pronouns, followed by a general discussion of pronominal markers on verbs (Section 4.1.2). In

section 4.1.3 I provide an account of the set of Active proclitics, and the set of Inactive proclitics

are discussed in section 4.1.4.

4.1.1. Independent Pronouns

Mocoví has a set of independent pronouns which can be used both as subjects and

objects for emphasis. The language lacks independent pronouns for the third person singular and

plural; instead the deictic classifiers are used, normally followed by the morpheme *maqare* (~

[*ma:re*] ~ [*maq*]). Table 22 lists the set of independent pronouns in Mocoví. It should be noted

that for the second persons paucal and plural only one form is used.

Table 22

Independent Pronouns

1sg	/yim/
2sgf	/qami/
2sgR	/qamir/
3sg	----------
1pl	/qomir/
2pcl/pl	/qamiri/
3pl	----------

In the example in (213) the first person independent pronoun *yim* is used for emphasis. although the first person agent is marked on the verb *owir* 'to come. arrive'.

(213)   [yim ñowir]

    /yim inowir/

    yim   i-n-owir

    1SGPRON 1AC-HITH-come

    'It is me that came here.'

Example (214) contains the first person independent pronoun *yim*. used here for emphasis. as well as a noun with a first person possessive proclitic *i-*. The possessive clitic on the noun and the independent pronoun are coreferential. This sentence was taken from Text 2 (The Flood).

(214)   [...ma? yim yoykenatek na yaçat.]

    /...ma? yim ioykenatek na yaçat/

    ... ma?   yim   i+oykenat+ek   na   yaçat

    ... because 1SGPRON 1SGPOSS-dominance-OVER DEIC(cmng) rain

    '... because I dominate the rain (=I have power over the rain). (lit: '... because I [there is] my dominance over the rain.')'

4.1.2. Person Markers - Verbal morphology

In this section I discuss person markers on the verb form. I will first describe some general characteristics of pronominal markers in Mocovi, and I will then provide a description of Active and Inactive pronominal markers (sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4 respectively).

Mocovi has two sets of person markers on the verb: one set of pronominal clitics for agentive subjects, i.e. an Active set of proclitics, and another set for nonagent subjects and objects, i.e. an Inactive set of proclitics. As mentioned in section 1.4, the set of Inactive proclitics strongly resembles the set of possessive markers on nouns, something not unusual in languages with an active/inactive person marking system. Table 23 lists the set of Active and Inactive pronominal markers.

Table 23

Active and Inactive person markers

	Active	Inactive
	Active	**Inactive**
1sg	s+ ~ i+	ir+ ([ɟ])
2sgf	∅+ ... -i	r+ ... -i
2sgR	∅+ ... +ir	r+ ... +ir
3sg	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+
1pl	s+ ~ i+ ... -aG	qar+
2pcl	∅+ ... -iri	r+ ... -iri
2pl	∅+ ... -i:	r+ ... -i:
3pl	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+... -er	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+... -er

Person is marked on the verb mainly by a set of proclitics which immediately precede the verb stem. or the prefix *n-* 'hither' in a verb that takes this prefix. Number (namely plural) of person is marked as a suffix immediately following the stem. as shown in examples (215)e, f, g. For the second person singular the proclitic for the Active set is ∅+ and for the Inactive set is r+. but there is a suffix -*i* for the second person singular familiar. or an enclitic +*ir* for the second person singular respectful form. which immediately follows the stem. as shown in (215)b and c. (The second person familiar suffix is used only with very close friends. i..e. friends one might have grown up with. or with siblings; otherwise, the respectful form is used).

The forms in (215) show the Active person markers on the verb root *ko?o* 'to give birth'.

(215)   a. sko?o   'I give birth'
            s+ko?o
            1AC+give.birth

         b. ko?oi   'you(f) give birth'
            ∅+ko?o-i
            2AC+give.birth-2SGf

c. ko?oir   'you(R) give birth'
∅+ko?o+ir
2AC+give.birth+2SGR

d. ko?o   'she gives birth'
∅+ko?o
3AC+give.birth

e. sko?yaG   'we give birth'
s+ko?o-aG
1AC+give.birth-1PL

f. ko?oiri   'you(pcl) give birth'
∅+ko?o-iri
2AC+give.birth-2PCL

g. ko?oi: 'you(pl) give birth'
∅+ko?o -i:
2AC+give.birth-2PL

h. ko?or   'they give birth'
∅+ko?o-er
3AC+give.birth-3PL

In Mocoví, first person is marked by a proclitic. s+ or i+. The allomorph i+ of the Active set is used when the verbs take the prefix n- 'hither' and the sequence [i+n-] is then conflated to [ñ]: otherwise. s+ is used (see section 4.2 for a detailed discussion of the prefix n- 'hither'). The first person plural is also marked by a suffix -aG, which immediately follows the verb stem.There is no paucal verbal suffix for the first person. The plural suffix -aG is used for both paucal and plural functions.

Second person has zero marking as a proclitic for the Active set and r+ for the Inactive. but it is marked as a suffix -i for the second person singular familiar (f) and as an enclitic +ir for the second person singular respectful (R). The second singular respectful form is the one that is most commonly used. There is also a distinction between a second person paucal. marked by the suffix -iri, and a second person plural, marked by the suffix -i:.

The third person proclitic has four allomorphs, *i+*, *r+*, *Ø+*, and *n+*, the occurrence of which is not phonologically determined. Number for the third person is marked by a suffix *-er* immediately following the verb stem. This suffix is realized as *-r* when it follows a vowel. There is no paucal verbal suffix for the third person. The plural suffix *-er* is used for both paucal and plural functions. The verb stems are classified into four classes based on the form of the proclitic that they take for the third person. Class A verbal stems are those that take the proclitic *i+*. Class B stems are those that take the proclitic *Ø+*, Class C stems are those that take the proclitic *r+*, and Class D stems are those that take the proclitic *n+* for the third person, regardless of number.

While the markers for second familiar *-i*, first plural *-aɢ*, second person paucal *-iri* and plural *-i:*, and the third plural *-er* are suffixes, the second person respectful marker *+ir* is an enclitic. The phonological changes that it triggers and undergoes are not those of suffixes.

The second person respectful enclitic *+ir* also has an effect on the preceding sound(s), alternations that are not found with other person markers. Mocoví has a phonological rule by which voiced obstruents are devoiced at the end of the word (See Chapter 5, Section 2.5). The examples in (216)-(220)a show a voiced consonant devoiced as a result of this rule. In (216)-(220)b, stem-final voiced consonants are not devoiced because they are not word-final (they are followed by other suffixes in the verb form, such as the second singular familiar suffix, as in (216)b, (217)b, and (218)b, or the second plural suffix, as in (219)b and (220)b). However, in (216)-(220)c the stem-final voiced consonants are devoiced before the second person respectful clitic *+ir*, in what seem to be the same phonetic environments as in those examples in (216)-(220)b. While suffixes block the rule devoicing voiced obstruents at the end of the word, the second person respectful marker does not.

(216) a. [jawik]

/ir+awig/

1IN+burn

·I burn·

b. [rawigi]

/r+awig-i/

2IN+burn-2SGf

·You(f) burn·

c. [rawiki?]

/r+awig+ir/

2IN+burn+2SGR

·You (R) burn·

(217) a. [samaq]

/s+amaɢ/

1AC+push

·I push·

b. [maɢai]

/Ø+amaɢ-i/

2AC+push-2SGf

·You (f) push·

c. [maqi?]

/Ø+amaɢ+ir/

2AC+push+2SGR

·You (R.) push·

(218) a. [sawok]

/s+awog/

1AC+copulate

·I copulate·

b. [wogi]

/Ø+awog-i/

2AC+copulate-2SGf

·You (f) copulate·

c. [woki?]

/Ø+awog+ir/

2AC+copulate+2SGR

˙You (R) copulate˙

(219) a. [jičaq]

/ir-ičaG/

1IN+cut

˙He cuts me˙

b. [ričaGai:]

/r+ičaG-i: /

2IN+cut-2PL

˙He cuts you(pl)˙

c. [ričaqaer]

/r+ičaG+ir/

2IN+cut+2SGR

˙He cuts you(R)˙

(220) a. [senaq]

/s+enaG/

1AC+throw

˙I throw˙

b. [naGai:]

/Ø+enaG-i: /

2AC+throw-2PL

˙You (pl) throw˙

c. [naqai?]

/Ø+enaG+ir/

2AC+throw+2SGR

˙You (R) throw˙

The second person singular respectful suffix is realized as -*is* when it precedes the progressive enclitic +*tak* (that is. the sequence +*ir*+*tak* is realized as [isa(k)] ~ [i?sak]). In the

examples in (221) and (222) the second person singular respectful and the progressive enclitics are realized as [isa] with the verb roots *enan* 'to lie (down)' and *owaGan* 'to hit'. (In these examples the first line shows the phonetic representation and the second line the phonemic representation; the third line provides a morpheme breakdown, the fourth line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the last line provides the English translation for each form.)

(221) [nenañisañi]

/nenanir*tak*ñi/

∅+n-enan+ir+*tak*+ñi

2AC+HITH-lie.down+**2sgR**+*PROG*+DWN

'you(R) are lying down'

(222) [waGañisalek]

/owaGanir*tak*lek /

∅+owaGan+ir+*tak*+leg

2AC+hit+**2SGR**+*PROG*+ON

'you(R) hit (on/over)'

The second person singular markers seem to be an innovation in the Southern Branch of the Waikurúan language family. Toba does not have any suffix or enclitic marking second person, and it also seems to make no distinction between a respectful and a familiar form for a second person singular. The data available for Abipón does not show a suffix or an enclitic for the second person singular. Kadiwéu, the only living language of the Waikurú branch of the family, does not have a suffix or enclitic marking second person singular, but the language does show a difference between noble and non-noble speakers (Sandalo 1995).

4.1.3. Active Markers

The Active set of proclitics is used with verbs in which the subject is an agent. These can be either intransitive or transitive verbs. The set of Active person markers is given again for convenience in Table 24.

Table 24

Active person markers

1sg	s+ ~ i+
2sgf	∅+ ... -i
2sgR	∅+ ... +ir
3sg	i+ ~ r+ ~ ∅+
1pl	s+ ~ i+... -aG
2pcl	∅+ ... -iri
2pl	∅+ ... -i:
3pl	i+ ~ r+ ~ ∅+ ... -er

Some of the verbs that take the Active set of proclitics are listed in Table 25.

Table 25

Verbs with Active person markers

Class A (Verbs with third person proclitic i+)

Intransitive	ayo	to fly (vi)
	owir	to arrive (vi)
	owo	to walk (vi)
Transitive	ain	to shoot (vt)
	akon	to take. grab (vt)
	alawat	to kill (vt)
	amaG	to push. send (vt)
	aweg	to pull, stretch, bring (vt)
	e?gen	to try (vt)
	ečaG	to cut. shorten (vt)
	ekon	to grab (vt)
	enaG	to throw (vt)
	epaGat	to twist. braid (vt)
	ewan	to see (vt)
	omat	to finish (vt)
Intransitive/Transitive	a?ahan	to look at (vt/vi)
	a?de:n	to know. understand (vt/vi)

Class B (Verbs with third person proclitic ∅+)

Intransitive	?e:t	to escape. run away (vi)
	aλit	to play (vi)
	a?a	to menstruate (vi)
	a?G	to hear (vi)

Table 25 (cont'd)

	ača:r	to stand up (vi)
	anat	to fall (vi)
	ašil	to get married (vi)
	awog	to copulate (vi)
	epit	to smile (vi)
	ik	to go (vi)
	koʔo	to give birth (vi)
	oʔon	to get married (vi)
	oʔwet	to get dressed
	onog	to get naked. to undress 1 (vi)
	osog	to get naked. to undress 2 (vi)
	qawa	to walk (a few steps) (vi)
	qoɢon	to urinate (vi)
Transitive	aʔme:n	to paint. rub (vt)
	alateg	to find (vt)
	aman	to like (of taste) (vt)
	ano	to lift (vt)
	epeteg	to cut hair (vt)
	ešit	to be able to (vt)
	kiyo	to wash (vt)
	kewog	to sharpen (vt)
Transitive/Intransitive	apog	to cover (vt/vi)
	eʔet	to drink (vt/vi)
	keʔe	to eat (vt/vi)

Class C (Verbs with third person proclitic r+)

Intransitive	ato	to yawn (vi)
	eʔλiwi	to fetch water (vi)
Transitive	oqopi	to hit (vt)
Transitive/Intransitive	eʔya	to dig (vt/vi)

Table 25 (cont'd)

Class D (Verbs with third person proclitic n+)

Intransitive	e?ya:m	to boil (vi)
Transitive/Intransitive	qo?goʁo	to kiss, suck (vt/vi)

Examples (223) and (224) show the Active person markers on the verb *alawat* 'to kill' and *kiyo* 'to wash'. (In these examples, the first line shows the phonetic form, the second line provides the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown, and the third line s the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss.)

(223)   alawat   'to kill'

      a. [salawat]   'I kill'
         /s+alawat/
         1AC+kill

      b. [lawači]   'you (f) kill'
         /Ø+alawat-i/
         2AC+kill-2SGf

      c. [lawači?]   'you (R) kill'
         /Ø+alawat+ir/
         2AC+kill+2SGR

      d. [lawat]   'he kills'
         /Ø+alawat/
         3AC+kill

      e. [salawataq]   'we kill'
         /s+alawat-aʁ/
         1AC+kill-1PL

      f. [lawačiri]   'you (pcl) kill'
         /Ø+alawat-iri/
         2AC+kill-2PCL

      g. [lawači:]   'you (pl) kill'
         /Ø+alawat-i: /
         2AC+kill-2PL

      h. [lawate?]   'they kill'
         /Ø+alawat-er/
         3AC+kill-3PL

(224) kiyo 'to wash'

    a. [skiyo| 'I wash'
       /s+kiyo/
       1AC+wash

    b. [kiyoi] 'you (f) wash'
       /∅+kiyo-i/
       2AC+wash-2SGf

    c. [kiyoiʔ] 'you (R) wash'
       /∅+kiyo+ir/
       2AC+wash+2SGR

    d. [kiyo] 'he washes'
       /∅+kiyo/
       3AC+wash

    e. [skiyoq] 'we wash'
       /s+kiyo-aG/
       1AC+wash-1PL

    f. [kiyoiri] 'you (pcl) wash'
       /∅+kiyo-iri/
       2AC+wash-2PCL

    g. [kiyoi:] 'you (pl) wash'
       /∅+kiyo-i:/
       2AC+wash-2PL

    h. [kiyoʔ] 'they wash'
       /∅+kiyo-er/
       3AC+wash-3PL

4.1.4. Inactive Markers

The Inactive set of person proclitics is used to mark the non-agentive subject of intransitive verbs, and the direct object of transitive verbs. For convenience. the set of Inactive person markers is given again in Table 26.

Table 26

Inactive person markers

1sg	ir+ ([j])
2sgf	r+ ... -i
2sgR	r+ ... +ir
3sg	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+
1pl	qar+
2pcl	r+ ... -iri
2pl	r+ ... -i:
3pl	i+ ~ ∅+ ~ r+ ~ n+ ... -er

The Inactive marker for the first person is *ir+*, a sequence that is then conflated to [j].

The first and second person proclitics have an *r*, which is not present in the third person proclitic.

It is likely that the *r* in the proclitic forms for the first and second persons was a separate

morpheme at an earlier stage, and it may have been present for the third person (there is,

however, one set of verbs that take *r+* as an Active proclitic, and another set of verbs which take

r+ as an Inactive proclitic.). It does not seem to be an independent morpheme in Mocoví at

present.

Some of the intransitive verbs that take inactive proclitics are listed in Table 27. (The

verbs in Table 27 are intransitive verbs.)

Table 27

Verbs with (only) Inactive person markers

Class A (Verbs with third person proclitic *i*+)

a?a:t	to finish eating (vi)
edo:n	to get food poisoning (vi)
awig	to burn. get burned (vi)
eyala	to hurry up (vi)
ečaG	to cut oneself. get cut (vi)
ilew	to die (vi)

Class B (Verbs with third person proclitic ∅+)

koñiraG	to cut oneself. get cut (vi)
kemar	to get full (vi)

Class C (Verbs with third person proclitic *r*+)

ona:	to get stuck (vi)
esawλi	to slip (vi)
alola	to get sick (vi)
asot	to dance (vi)

Class D (Verbs with third person proclitic *n*+)

a?wat	to swell. get swollen (vi)
apyo?o	to be dirty (vi)
esal	to vomit (vi)
o?či	to be afraid (vi)
o?daGtetek	to get scared (vi)
ewal	to feel lazy (vi)

Example (225) shows the verb *awig* 'to get burned' with the different Inactive proclitics. This is a Class A verb which takes the clitic *i*+ for the third person. (In these examples. the first line shows the phonetic form. the second line gives the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown. and the third line provides the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss.)

(225) awig   'to get burned'

a. [jawik]   'I get burned'
   /ir+awig/
   1IN+get.burned

b. [rawigi]   'you (f) get burned'
   /r+awig-i/
   2IN+get.burned-2SGf

c. [rawiki?]   'you (R) get burned'
   /r+awig+ir/
   2IN+get.burned+2SGR

d. [yawik]   'he gets burned'
   /i+awig/
   3IN+get.burned

e. [qarawik]   'we get burned'
   /qar+awig/
   1IN+get.burned

f. [rawigiri]   'you (pcl) get burned'
   /r+awig-iri/
   2IN+get.burned-2PCL

g. [rawigi:]   'you (pl) get burned'
   /r+awig-i:/
   2IN+get.burned-2PL

h. [yawige?]   'they get burned'
   /i+awig-er/
   3IN+get.burned-3PL

Example (226) shows the Inactive person markers on the verb *alola* 'to get sick'. a Class

C verb which takes the clitic *r+* for the third person.

(226)   alola   'to get sick'

    a. [jalola]   'I get sick'
       /ir+alola/
       1IN+get.sick

    b. [ralolai]   'you (f) get sick'
       /r+alola-i/
       2IN+get.sick-2SGf

    c. [ralolai?]   'you (R) get sick'
       /r+alola+ir/
       2IN+get.sick+2SGR

    d. [ralola]   'he gets sick'
       /r+alola/
       3IN+get.sick

    e. [qaralola]   'we get sick'
       /qar+alola/
       1IN+get.sick

    f. [ralolairi]   'you (pcl) get sick'
       /r+alola-iri/
       2IN+get.sick-2PCL

    g. [ralolai:]   'you (pl) get sick'
       /r+alola-i:/
       2IN+get.sick-2PL

    h. [ralolae?]   'they get sick'
       /r+alola-er/
       3IN+get.sick-3PL

Example (227) shows Inactive proclitics with the verb *o?ći* 'to fear': (227)d and h

include examples in which the prefix *n+* '3rd person inactive' is used for the third person

singular and third person plural respectively. (Recall that it is only the second person that shows

a distinction between paucal and plural.)

(227) oʔči   'to fear, be afraid'

    a. [joʔči]   'I am afraid'
      /ir+awig/
      1IN+fear

    b. [roʔčiʔi]   'you (f) are afraid'
      /r+oʔči-i/
      2IN+fear-2SGf

    c. [roʔčiʔiʔ]   'you (R) are afraid'
      /r+oʔči+ir/
      2IN+fear+2R

    d. [noʔči]   'he is afraid'
      /n+oʔči/
      3IN+fear

    e. [qaroʔči]   'we are afraid'
      /qar+oʔči/
      1IN+fear

    f. [roʔčiri]   'you (pcl) are afraid'
      /r+oʔči-iri/
      2IN+fear -2PCL

    g. [roʔčiː]   'you (pl) are afraid'
      /r+oʔči-iː/
      2IN+fear -2PL

    h. [noʔčiʔ]   'they are afraid'
      /n+oʔči-er/
      3IN+fear-3PL

The set of Inactive person markers is also used to mark the direct object of transitive

verbs. In that case, the verb form takes both an Active marker for the agentive subject and an

Inactive marker for the direct object. It should be noted that none of the person proclitics can co-

occur, i.e. Mocovi does not allow more than one person proclitic on the verb: therefore, if the

verb form calls for one subject proclitic and one object proclitic. there is a hierarchy that will determine which person marker will occur in the verb form: 1>2>3. However. it does allow two person suffixes (or a suffix and the second person singular respectful enclitic). one of which must be the first person plural agent suffix.

Table 28 provides a paradigm for the same verb. root *ečaɢ* 'to cut'. with both Active and Inactive markers on the verb form. In this table the row across lists the persons for the Inactive markers. and the column on the left lists the Active markers. The Inactive markers are in **boldface** and the Active markers in *italics*. For reasons of space the forms involving the second person singular familiar and the second person paucal are not shown.

Table 28
Subject and Object markers with the verb *ečaɢ* 'to cut'

IN \ AC	1sg	2sgR	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
1sg	_____	*s*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'I cut you(sgR)'	*s*+ečaɢ 'I cut him'	_____	*s*+ečaɢ-i: 'I cut you(pl)'	*s*+ečaɢ-**er** 'I cut them'
2sgR	*ir*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'you(sg) cut me'	_____	*Ø*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'you(sg) cut him'	qar+ečaɢ+*ir* 'you cut us'	_____	*Ø*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'you comb them'
3sg	*ir*+ečaɢ 'he cuts me'	*r*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'he cuts you(sg)'	*i*+ečaɢ 'he cuts him/her'	qar+ečaɢ 'he cuts us'	*r*+ečaɢ-i: 'he cuts you(pl)'	*i*+ečaɢ-**er** 'he cuts them'
1pl	_____	*s*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'we cut you(sgR)'	*s*+ečaɢ-**aɢ** 'we cut him'	_____	*s*+ečaɢ-**aɢ**-i: 'we cut you(pl)'	*s*+ečaɢ-**aɢ**-**er** 'we cut them'
2pl	*ir*+ečaɢ-i: 'you(pl) cut me'	_____	*Ø*+ečaɢ-i: 'you(pl) cut him'	qar+ečaɢ-i: 'you(pl) cut us'	_____	*Ø*+ečaɢ-i: 'you(pl) cut them'
3pl	*ir*+ečaɢ-**er** 'they cut me'	*r*+ečaɢ+*ir* 'they cut you(sg)'	*i*+ečaɢ-**er** 'they cut him'	qar+ečaɢ-**er** 'they cut us'	*r*+ečaɢ-i: 'they cut you(pl)'	*i*+ečaɢ-**er** 'they cut them'

In some cases a verb form with both Active and Inactive markers is equivalent to a phrase with a verb with only an Active marker, where the object. or non-agent. is expressed as an independent pronoun in a separate noun phrase. as in examples (228) and (229). In (228) there is a first person singular object proclitic *ir*- on the verb and the agent is not overtly marked on the

verb form because it is the third person singular. In example (229) there is a third person agent proclitic *i+*, but no Inactive marker on the verb form. The object is expressed by the first person independent pronoun *yim*. However, both sentences have the same meaning. Although the sentence in (229) is grammatical, the sentence in (228), in which both arguments of the verb are expressed by pronominals on the verb form, is much more commonly used. One of my informants has actually pointed out that while (229) is possible, it is not as common as (228).

(228)   /φelisa iretagñi/

φelisa ir+etag+ñi

Felisa 1SGIN+comb+DOWN

'Felisa combs me.'

(229)   /φelisa ietagñi yim/

φelisa i+etag+ñi   yim

Felisa 3AC+comb+DOWN 1SGPRON

'Felisa combs me.'

This seems to suggest that person markers on the verb form are arguments of the verb, rather than simply agreement. This would allow us to classify Mocoví as a pronominal argument languages. This topic, however, requires further investigation.

It is also possible to have both Active and Inactive markers as well as an independent pronoun coreferential either with the Active or the Inactive marker, i.e. either as subject or as object. The independent pronoun in that case has an emphatic function. In (230) the verb *e?aorin* 'to favor, to like, to appreciate' occurs with the first person active proclitic *s+* marking the agent and the second person respectful enclitic *+ir* marking the object (or non-agent) together with the second person independent pronoun *qamir*. This sentence was also taken from Text 2, The Flood.

(230)   /... čaqae qamir se?Goriñir ka ?we ka na?Ga?a.../

        ... čaqae **qamir**   s+e?Gorin+ir   ka ?we   ka   na?Ga?a...

        ... and   **2SGPRON** *I.IC*+favor+**2SGR** and exists DEIC(absnt) day ...

        `...and *I* favor **you**; and there will be a day...`

The sentences in (231)-(233) provide more examples of verb forms with both Active and

Inactive markers.

(231)   /ireda:n*i*take/

        ir+eda:n+*ir*+take

        1SGIN+search+*2SGR*+PROG

        `*You*(sgR) are looking for **me**.`

(232)   /qarqo?yoqočit*ir*/

        qar+qo?yoqočit+*ir*

        1PLIN+frighten+*2SGR*

        `*You (sgR)* frighten **us**.`

(233)   /sqo?yoqočiter/

        s+qo?yoqočit-er

        I.IC+frighten-3PL

        `*I* frighten **them**.`

To summarize. then. Mocoví has two sets of person markers. one Active set which marks

agentive subjects. and an Inactive set which marks the non-agentive subject of an intransitive

verb and the object of a transitive verb. There is just one set of suffixes marking second person

singular familiar, first person plural. second person paucal and plural. and third person plural.

and the enclitic for the second person singular respectful, which occur with both the Active and

Inactive set of proclitics.

4.2 The Prefix *n*- 'hither'

There is a prefix *n*- in Mocoví which immediately precedes the stem in the verb form

and indicates that the action expressed by the verb is performed towards the speaker and/or the

agent of the clause. This prefix can also have a strictly reflexive meaning, namely that the agent

performs the action upon him or herself rather that upon somebody or something else. In section

4.2.1 I discuss the meaning 'hither' of the verbal prefix *n*-; and in section 4.2.2 I discuss its

reflexive function.

4.2.1. *n*- 'Hither'

The prefix *n*- 'hither', which immediately precedes the stem in the verb form, can

indicates that the action expressed by the verb is performed towards the speaker or the agent of

the clause. It can occur with intransitives verbs, and in that case the verb only takes an agentive

(Active) marker, as in examples (234) and (235), or with a transitive verb, and in that case the

verb takes both an agentive (Active) and a non-agentive (Inactive) marker, as in example (236).

(Recall, however, that the Inactive marker for the third person is ∅+.)

Some verb stems must take *n*- 'hither', other stems cannot take this prefix, and yet other

stems can occur with or without this prefix. In some cases the meaning 'hither' is transparent,

but in others it is not. Below are some examples of verbs with and without *n*- 'hither'.

In examples (234)-(236), the 'hither' meaning is apparent in the meaning of the verb.

The forms in (a) provide forms of the verbs *owir* 'arrive'. *e?gen* 'run'. and *aweg* 'bring' without

the prefix *n-*. and in (b) the same verbs occur with the prefix *n-*.

(234) a. [sowi?]

/sowir/

s+owir

1AC+arrive

'I arrive (there).'

b. [ñowi?]

/inowir/

i+n-owir

1AC+HITH-owir

'I arrive (here).'

(235) a. [se?geno]

/se?geno/

s+e?gen+o

1AC+run+INWDS

'I run into the inside (there).'

b. [ñi?geno]

/ini?geno/

i+n-e?gen+o

1AC+HITH-run+INWDS

'I run into the inside (here).'

(236). the 'hither' meaning is apparent in the meaning of the verb. The forms in (a) provide forms

of the verbs *owir* 'arrive'. *e?ycn* 'run'. and *awcy* 'bring' without the prefix *n*-. and in (b) the same

verbs occur with the prefix *n*-.

(234) a. [sowi?]

    /sowir/

    s-owir

    1AC-arrive

    'I arrive (there).'

  b. [ñowi?]

    /inowir/

    i-n-owir

    1AC+HITH-owir

    'I arrive (here).'

(235) a. [se?gcno]

    /se?gcno/

    s-e?gcn-o

    1AC-run-INWDS

    'I run into the inside (there).'

  b. [ñi?gcno]

    /ini?gcno/

    i-n-e?gcn-o

    1AC+HITH-run-INWDS

    'I run into the inside (here).'

(240)   /naλiṭ/
         Ø+n-aλit
         3AC+HITH-play
         `He/she plays`

In example (241) the verb *ewan* `to see` can occur either with or without the prefix *n-* `hither`. with a slight change in meaning. In example (241)a the verb occurs without *n-* `hither` meaning `to see`, while the form in (241)b shows the verb with *n-* `hither`, and the meaning of the verb is `to see well`; however, the directional meaning `hither` is not clear in this form.

(241)   a. /sewana lwis/

            i+ewan+a   lwis
            1AC+see+?   Luis

            `I see Luis`

         b. [ñiwanñi]

            /inewanñi /
            i+n-ewan+ñi
            1AC+HITH-see+DWN

            `I see well.`

It is part of the lexical information of each verb root whether it will take the prefix *n-* `hither`.

As mentioned above, some verbs must take the prefix *n-* `hither`, other verbs cannot take it, and other verbs may occur either with or without this prefix. The forms in examples (242)-(245) show the verbs *ayo* `to fly`, *e?λiwi* `to fetch water`, *ke?e* `to eat` and *ko?o* `to give birth`, which take the agentive markers but cannot occur with the prefix *n-* `hither`. The examples in (a)

show the forms without the prefix, and in (b) the same forms in which *n-* `hither` immediately

precedes the verb root are ungrammatical.

(242)   a. [sayo]
        s-ayo
        1AC+fly

        `I fly.`

cf.   b. *[ñayo]
        i+n-ayo
        1AC+HITH-fly

(243)   a. [seʔλiwi]
        s-eʔλiwi
        1AC+fetch.water

        `I (go to) fetch water.`

cf.   b. *[ñeʔλiwi]
        i+n-eʔλiwi
        1AC+HITH-fetch.water

(244)   a. [skeʔe]
        s-keʔe
        1AC-eat

        `I eat.`

cf.   b. *[ñkeʔe]
        i-n-keʔe
        1AC+HITH-eat

(245)   a. [skoʔo]
        s-koʔo
        1AC+give.birth

        `I give birth.`

cf.   b. *[ñkoʔo]
            i+n-koʔo
            1AC+HITH-give.birth

The examples in (246)-(248) include forms of the verbs *ačil* 'to bathe'. *aλit* 'to play'.

and *aqat* 'to pick (up). harvest'. These verbs cannot occur without the prefix *n-* 'hither'. The

forms in (a) provide example of the verbs with this prefix. and the forms in (b) show the

ungrammatical forms. i.e. forms without *n-* 'hither'.

(246)   a. [ñačil]
            /inačil/
            i+n-ačil
            1AC+HITH-bathe

            'I bathe (myself).'

cf.   b. *[sačil]
            s+ačil
            1AC+bathe

(247)   a. [ñaλit]
            /inaλit/
            i+n-aλit
            1AC+HITH-play

            'I play.'

cf.   b. *[saλit]
            s+aλit
            1AC+play

(248)   a. [ñaqat waloq]

/inaqat waloq/

i+n-aqat   waloq

1AC+HITH-pick.up   cotton

'I harvest cotton.'

cf.   b. *[saqat waloq]

s+aqat   waloq

1AC+pick.up   cotton

The examples in (249) and (250) show the verbs *amac* 'to push' and *aweg* 'to bring, take', which can occur both with the prefix *n-* 'hither', as in (249)a and (250)a, and without it, as in (249)b and (250)b.

(249)   a. [samaq]

/samac/

s+amac

1AC+push

'I push.'

b. [ñamaq]

/inamac/

i+n-amac

1AC+HITH-push

'I push (towards where I am).'

(250)   a. /iawego lakat/

i+aweg+o   l+akat

3AC+bring+INWDS   3POSS+breath

'He breathes.'

b. /naweg lakat/

Ø+n-aweg   l+akat

3AC+HITH-bring   3POSS+breath

'He sighs.'

4.2.2. *n-* 'hither' as Reflexive

Mocoví does not have a reflexive marker. The prefix *n-* 'hither' is used to convey the meaning of reflexive, in which the agent performs an action upon him or herself rather than upon somebody or something else. In that case the prefix occurs with a transitive verb with an Active marker, but without any marker Inactive marker.

The forms in (251)-(253) provide examples of the same verb roots used with and without a reflexive meaning. The forms in (a) show the verbs with the prefix *n-* 'hither' in which the agent performs the action upon him/herself, i.e. reflexive meaning. The forms in (b) show the same verbs without the prefix *n-* 'hither', and they convey the meaning that the agent performs the action upon something or somebody else. In that case the patient is expressed either as a marker on the verb form (example (251)b), or as a lexical NP within the verb phrase (examples (252)b and (253)b).

(251) a. [ño?wet]

/ino?wet/

i+n-o?wet

1AC+HITH-dress

ˈI dress **myself** (= ˈI get dressedˈ)

b. [so?wiči?]

/so?wetir/

s+o?wet+ir

1AC+dress+2SGR

ˈI dress you.ˈ

(252) a. [ñitakñi]

/inetagñi/

i+n-etag+ñi

1AC+HITH-comb+DWN

ˈI comb **myself.**ˈ

b. [setagñi aso φelisa]

/setagñi aso φelisa /

s+etag+ñi   a+so φelisa

1AC+comb+DWN F+DEIC(gng) Felisa

ˈI comb Felisa.ˈ

(253)   a. [nkiyoi?]

        /nkiyoir/

        Ø+n-kiyo+ir

        2AC+HITH-wash+2SGR

        'You wash **yourself.**'

    b. [kiyoi? peget]

        /kiyoir peget /

        Ø+kiyo+ir   peget

        2AC+wash   dish

        'You wash the dish.'

To Summarize. then. Mocoví has a prefix *n-* 'hither' which immediately precedes the stem within the verb form. This prefix indicates that the action expressed by the verb is performed towards the agent or speaker. Since Mocoví lacks a reflexive marker. the prefix *n-* 'hither' is also used with a reflexive meaning, namely that the agent performs the action upon him/herself. Some verbs must take this prefix. others cannot take it. and others may occur both with and without this prefix. with a slight change inmeaning: the meaning hither is not present in all cases.

4.3. Indefinite Agent

There is a proclitic *qa+* which marks an indefinite agent and immediately precedes the person clitics in the verb form. This clitic occurs only with transitive verbs. and it always

precedes the third person active marker. It is translated as an indefinite agent, i.e. ˈsomebody (I don't know who) performs Xˈ.

(254) /qanadalaɢat/

qa+Ø+n-adalaɢat

INDEF+3AC+HITH-change

ˈSomebody changed it.ˈ

(255) /qaiawana lwis/

qa+i+awan+a   lwis

INDEF+3AC+see+? Luis

ˈSomebody saw Luis.ˈ

(256) /qanaweg na ñik/

qa+Ø+n-aweg   na   ñik

INDEF+3AC+HITH-bring DEIC(cmng) rope

ˈSomebody pulled the rope towards here.ˈ

The forms in (254)-(256) are grammatical because the indefinite agent clitic occurs with a transitive verb in all the examples. The forms in (257) and (258), however, are ungrammatical because in both cases the clitic marking the indefinite agent occurs with an intransitive verb.

(257) */qaia?at/

qa+i+a?at

INDEF+3AC+finish.eating

(258) */qa?et/

qa+Ø+?et

INDEF+3AC+escape

When the clitic *qa+* occurs in the verb form. the agent is normally not specified. However. the language does allow for the agent to be expressed as an oblique NP. i.e. a noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *ke*. The category of agent as an oblique NP in this case is still under investigation.

Example (259) was taken from a text in which Pedro. a man who is not easily fooled. is taken by a few men and wrapped in a piece of leather to be thrown into a river. He is left by himself for a few moments and another man arrives. Pedro asks him to untie him. In this example we see the proclitic *qa+* 'indefinite agent' preceding the third person proclitic *i+* in the verb form *qaiawatlek* 'somebody uncovered him'. and the agent *so?maq yale* 'the man' is expressed by an oblique noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *ke*.

(259)   [... qayawahlek so pegrolek ke so?maq yale]

/... qaiawatlek so pegrolek ke so maɢare yale/

... qa+i+awat+leg   so   pegro-lek ke   so-maɢare   yale

... INDEF+3AC+uncover+ON DEIC(gng) Pedro   OBL DEIC(gng)-PRON man

'... Pedro is uncovered by this man.'

Mocoví lacks passive constructions. but it has a clitic *qa+* which marks an indefinite agent which can attach to a transitive verb form. immediately preceding the third person active clitic.

4.4. Aspect

Of apects. Mocoví marks only progressive on the verb form. with a progressive clitic

+tak ~ *+sak* ~ *+take* ~ *+tape* which immediately follows the person suffixes and clitic. The

different allomorphs of the progressive clitic do not seem to be phonologically conditioned:

however. *+sak* occurs with the second person singular respectful clitic. and *+take* and *+tape*

occur mainly with the third person plural suffix.

(260)   /saːnaGan/

s+aːnaGan

1AC+plant

·I plant.·

(261)   /saːnaGantak/

s+aːnaGan+tak

1AC+plant+PROG

·I am planting.·

(262)   /(yim) skoːla na mansána/

yim   s+koːla   na   mansána

1SGPRON 1AC+peel   DEIC(cmng) apple

·I peel the apple.·

(263)   /(yim) skoːlatak na mansána/

(yim)   s+koːla+tak   na   mansána

1SGPRON 1AC+peel+PROG DEIC(cmng) apple

·I am peeling the apple.·

Tense. mood. and other aspectual categories are not marked on the verb form. but are expressed with adverbial forms such as *nagi* ˈnow. today. presentˈ. *na?le* ˈbefore. earlier. pastˈ. and *ma?le* ˈlater. after. futureˈ. The sentences in (264)-(265) include examples with different time adverbials.

(264)　/... ?weo? ka yaɢat **ma?le/**

　　　... ?we+o? ka　　　　yaɢat **ma?le**

　　　... be+EV　DEIC(absnt) rain　　**after**

　　　ˈ... there will be rain **later.**ˈ (Text 2. The Flood)

(265)　/aso ?alo iowaɢan so xwan senanak **nagi/**

　　　a+so　　　?alo　i+owaɢan　so　　　xwan　se+∅+n-anak　　　**nagi**

　　　F+DEIC(gng) woman 3AC+hit　　DEIC(gng) Juan　NEG+3AC+HITH-come **now**

　　　ˈThe woman who hit Juan did not come **today.**ˈ

The sentences in (266)-(268) were taken from Text 2. The Flood. The sentence in (266) contains the adverbial *na?le* ˈearly. beforeˈ: in (267). the adverbial *nagi* ˈnow. todayˈ is used: and in (268), the adverbial *ma?le* ˈlater. tomorrowˈ.

(266)　/**na?le** ?we so qom so qom rašilaɢantak/

　　　na?le ?we so　　　qom　so　　　qom　r+ašilaɢan+tak

　　　early exist DEIC(gng) person DEIC(gng) person　3AC+ask+PROG

　　　ˈ**Earlier** I met this person. he made a request.ˈ

(267)   /kaʔ nagi ka sašilaiʔsak /

kaʔ nagi kaʔ s+ašil+ir+sak

and now and   1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG

˙And now I am asking you.˙

(268)   /čaqaeʔmaʔ naʔmaɢačiñoʔ ma ʔweoʔ ka yaɢat maʔle /

čaqaeʔ-maʔ   Ø+n-aʔmaɢat+ñi+oʔ

and-ʔ(=immediately)   3AC+HITH-prepare+DWN+EV

maʔ   ʔwe+oʔ   ka   yaɢat maʔle

because exist+EV DEIC(absnt) rain   later

˙They [must] get ready immediately because there will be a rain later.˙

Mocoví has no morphological imperative. The imperative meaning is expressed by a verb form with a second person subject. Intonation and context determine the imperative meaning

In example (269). the same form [ʔλiwiʔ] (/eʔλiwir/) can either mean ˙you go to get water˙ or ˙(you) go to get water!˙

(269)   /eʔλiwir/

Ø+eʔλiwi+ir

2AC+get.water+2SGR

˙You go to get water˙ or ˙(You) go to get water!˙

In example (270) , taken from Text 2. The Flood. the strange creature is telling the man to come close to it. The form *naʔirkena* ˙you come here˙ is used with an imperative meaning.

(270)   /naʔirkena naho.../

Ø+n-aʔ+ir+kena   na-ho

2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX

˙Come towards here...˙

In example (271), from the same text, the strange creature has asked the man to do him a

favor, and it is giving the man instructions as to what he needs him to do. The forms *kopatiroʔoʔ*

˙you ignite it (= start the fire)˙ and *peliroʔ* ˙you go home˙ are used with an imperative meaning.

(271)   /kopatiroʔoʔ kaʔma ʔime kopatiraʔa ka epeliroʔ /

Ø+kopat+ir+oʔ+oʔ   kaʔma i+me   Ø+kopat+ir+aʔa

2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV when   3AC+finish 2AC+ignite+2SGR+?

kaʔ Ø+epil+ir+oʔ

then 2AC+go.home+2SGR+EV

˙Set it on fire, when you are finished setting it on fire, then you go home.

In (272), from Text 3, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar, the jaguar is tickling the fox on

the snout with a small stick. But the fox, who is half asleep, thinks it is the flies that are

bothering him. He tells the flies to leave him alone. The form *jajaɢaniːtak* ˙you (pl) leave me˙ is

used with an imperative meaning.

(272)   /jajaɢaniːtak latagañi/

ir+ajaɢan-iː+tak   latagan-i

1IN+leave-2PL+PROG fly-PCL

˙Leave me alone, flies˙

4.5. Locatives/Directionals

There is a set of verbal morphemes in Mocovi. the locative/directional (loc/dir) enclitics. which indicate motion. location and direction of the action expressed by the verb. I have identified fifteen loc/dir enclitics in Mocovi. The loc/dir enclitics are listed in Table 29. listed first in terms of opposite relations--down/up. under/on. in/out. towards.here/towards.there--and then other spatial relations for which opposites do not occur in Mocovi.

Table 29

Locative/directional enclitics

Down/Up

+ñi	˙down. downwards˙
+šigim	'up. upwards'

Under/On

+ot	'under'
+leg	'on. over˙

In/Out

+eg ~ +weg	˙out. outwards˙
+wgi	˙in. inwards. into˙
+ñigi	˙inside˙
+o ~ +wo	˙inwards. hither˙

Towards.here/Towards.there

+kena	˙towards here˙
+igi	˙towards (there?)˙

Other spatial relations:

+aʔta	'on/to other side of. across'
+eʔe	'with'
+igit	˙behind˙
+pegeʔ ~ +peʔ	˙up to˙

Loc/dir enclitics follow the progressive aspect marker and precede object number enclitics in the verb form. In example (273) the loc/dir enclitic +*igi* 'towards there (TDS)' is added to the verb *owaɢan* 'to hit', where it occurs between the progressive enclitic +*tak* and the enclitic +*lo* 'paucal object'.

(273) /qamir   waɢanir*tak* **igi***lo* nawa lečil so lwis/

qamir   Ø+owaɢan+ir+*tak*+**igi**+*lo*   na-wa   l+eči-l   so   lwis

2SGPRON 2AC+hit+2SGR+*PROG*+**ON**+*PCL* DEIC(cmng)-PL 3POSS+leg-PCL DEIC(gng) Luis

'You are hitting Luis on the legs (= you are hitting on Luis' legs).'

When a loc/dir morpheme is added to the verb form, it increases the valency of the verb, adding a loc/dir argument to the argument structure of the verb. This argument is not always overtly expressed by an NP, but when it is, it expresses the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. It will be referred to as NP[loc], i.e. a locative noun phrase not introduced by an oblique marker. The sentences in (274)-(277) provide examples of some locative/directional enclitics added to the same verb root, *añoɢot* 'to hide'. In each sentence there is an NP[loc] expressing the location where Luis is hiding. (The loc/dir enclitics are in **boldface**, and the NP[loc] is in *italics*.)

(274) /lwis nañoɢot**igit** *da qoʔpaq*/

lwis Ø+n-añoɢot+**igit**   *a+da*   *qoʔpaq*

Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+**BEHIND** *F+DEIC(vert)* *tree*

'Luis hides **behind** *the tree*.'

(275)   / lwis nañoGotwgi *ñi ?imck* /

       lwis Ø+n-añoGot+**wgi**   ñi   *?imck*

       Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+**INSIDE** *DEIC(sitting) house*

       `Luis hides **inside** *the house.*`

(276)   /lwis nañoGoti?ñot *ji nki?yaGala* /

       lwis Ø+n+añoGot-i?ñi+ot   ji   *n+ki?yaGala*

       Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+?+**UNDER** *DEIC(hor) ABS+table*

       `Luis hides **under** *the table.*`

(277)   /lwis nañoGotlek *ñi ?imck lclaq*/

       lwis Ø+n-añoGot+**leg**   ñi   *?imck l-claq*

       Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+**ON** *DEIC(sitting) house 3POSS+roof*

       `Luis hides **on** *the roof of the house.*`

The loc/dir enclitics cannot co-occur: only one loc/dir is possible within a verb form in Mocovi. Example (278) shows that a sentence with two loc/dir enclitics, -leg 'on' and -ñi 'down, downwards' added to the verb root *at* 'to fall' cannot co-occur within the same verb form.

(278)   */satlekñi so waloq/

       s-at+leg+**ñi**   so   waloq

       1AC+fall+ON+DWN deic(gng) cotton

       `I fall **down on** the cotton.`

In many cases, a sentence containing a verb+loc/dir and a NP_{iloc} is equivalent to a sentence containing a verb (without any loc/dir enclitic) and an oblique noun phrase. The

sentence in (279) is a simple sentence in which the verb *ilew* 'to die' has only the Inactive third

person subject proclitic *i+*.

(279)   /Iwis iilew /

Iwis i+ilew

Luis 3IN+die

'Luis died.'

Example (280) shows the same verb *ilew* 'to die' with the Inactive third person subject

proclitic *i+* and the loc/dir enclitic *+wgi* 'in, inwards, inside', as well as an NP$_{[loc]}$ *ñi*

natarenataᴳanaᴳaki 'in the hospital' which expresses the location of the action expressed by the

verb, i.e. where Luis died.

(280)   /iilewwgi ñi natarenataᴳanaᴳaki/

i+ilew+wgi   ñi   n+atarenataᴳanaᴳaki

3IN+ die +INSIDE DEIC(non-ext) ABS+hospital

'(He) died in the hospital.'

Example (281) again shows the same verb *ilew* 'to die' with only the third person

Inactive subject clitic *i+*, no loc/dir enclitic on the verb form, and an oblique noun phrase

ke ñi natarenataᴳanaᴳaki 'in the hospital', introduced by the oblique marker *ke* followed by

the noun phrase *ñi natarenataᴳanaᴳaki* 'the hospital'. The meaning of the sentences in (280) and

(281) is the same: Luis died in the hospital.

(281)   /iilew ke ñi natarenataᴳanaᴳaki/

i+ilew   ke   ñi   n+atarenataᴳanaᴳaki

3IN+ die OBL DEIC(non-ext) ABS+hospital

'(He) died in the hospital.'

Example (282) shows that it is not possible to have both the loc/dir enclitic on the verb and the noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *ke*.

(282)   */iilewwgi *ke* ñi nataʀenataɢanaɢaki/

        i+ilew+wgi   *ke*   ñi   n+ataʀenataɢanaɢaki

        3IN+ die +INSIDE *OBL*   DEIC(nonext) ABS+hospital

        ˙(He) died in the hospital.˙

Examples (283) and (284) show the same pattern. The sentence in (283) contains a verb form with the enclitic +*wgi* ˙in, inside, inwards˙ added to the verb root *enoɢon* ˙enter˙ and an NP$_{[loc]}$ *iaʔa* ˙my house˙, while in (284) a sentence containing the same verb form with the enclitic +*wgi* and an oblique noun phrase *ke iaʔa* ˙in my house˙. rather than an NP$_{[loc]}$ is ungrammatical.

(283)   /yim senoɢonwgi iaʔa/

        yim   s+enoɢon+wgi   i+aʔa

        1SGPRON 1AC+ enter +INSIDE 1SGPOSS+house

        ˙I enter my house.˙

(284)   */yim senoxonwgi *ke* iaʔa/

        yim   s+enoxon+wgi   *ke*   i+aʔa

        1SGPRON 1AC+enter+ INSIDE *OBL*   1SGPOSS+house

        ˙I enter my house.˙

Another interesting example was taken from Text 2. The Flood. in which a man is walking in a field and encounters a creature who tells him there is going to be a flood. Both sentences express the same meaning: the man is walking on the land. or in the field. The

sentence in (285) contains the verb form *ke:talko?* (/Ø+ek+tak+leg+o?/) 'he is going on (=is walking on)' with, among other morphemes, the loc/dir +leg 'on', and the NP[loc] *ji no?we:naɢa* 'the field'.

(285)   [naλa:qo? wo? so qom? ke:talko? ji no?we:naɢa ...]

/naλa:qo? weo? so qom?/

naλa:q+o?   we+o?   so   qom

before+EV   exist+EV DEIC(gng) person

/eke:talego? ji no?we:naɢa .../

Ø+ ek +tak · leg· o?   ji   n · o?we:naɢa

3AC+go+PROG+ON+EV   DEIC(hor) ABS · field

'Once upon a time (= in the old times) there was a person walking on the land... '

In (286), the sentence contains the verb form *yowo:tako?* (/i+owo:-tak-o?/) 'he was walking' without any loc/dir enclitic, and an oblique noun phrase *ke ji no?we:naɢa* 'in the field'.

(286)   [... yowo:tako? ke *ji no?we:naɢa*]

/... iowo:tako? ke *ji no?we:naɢa*

i+owo:-tak+o?   **ke**   *ji*   *n+o?we:naɢa*

3AC+walk+PROG+EV **OBL** *DEIC(hor)*   *ABS+field*

'... [the man] he was walking on the land.'

The verb forms, *ke:talko?* (/Ø-ek+tak+leg-o?/) 'he is going on (= is walking on)' in (285) and *yowo:tako?* (/i+owo:-tak+o?/) 'he is walking' in (286), have different verb roots, *ek* 'to go' and *owo:* 'to walk' respectively. Not all verb stems can take any loc/dir enclitic: some

verb stems can occur with most (or all) loc/dir enclitics, while other verb stems can occur with only a few, and still others with none.

When these loc/dir enclitics are added to an intransitive verb, they introduce a noun phrase, an $NP_{[loc]}$, into the sentence, as shown in examples (279) and (281) above, and the verb agrees with the locative/directional noun phrase ($NP_{[loc]}$). When they are added to a transitive verb we can find not only a $NP_{[loc]}$ in the sentence, but also a direct object noun phrase ($NP_{[DO]}$). This $NP_{[DO]}$ occurs farther from the verb form than the $NP_{[loc]}$, and the verb agrees with the $NP_{[loc]}$ rather than with the $NP_{[DO]}$, affecting the grammatical relation of the noun phrases to the verb within the verb phrase.

(287)   /samaɢ so lwis/

s+amaɢ   so   lwis
1AC+push   DEIC(gng)   Luis

'I push Luis.'

(288)   /samaɢleg *so waloq* so lwis/

s+amaɢ+leg   *so*   *waloq*   so   lwis
1AC+push+ON   *DEIC(gng)*   cotton   DEIC(gng)   Luis

'I push Luis onto the cotton.'

(289)   */samaɢleg *ke so waloq* so lwis /

s+amaɢ+leg   *ke so*   *waloq*   so   lwis
1AC+push+ON   *ke DEIC(gng)*   cotton   DEIC(gng)   Luis

'I push Luis onto the cotton.'

This evidence supports the idea that when these loc/dir enclitics are added to a verb form, they increase the valency of the verb, adding a loc/dir argument to the argument structure of the verb.

The examples below provide sentences containing the different loc/dir enclitics. Some of these sentences were elicited; others were taken from spontaneous speech samples, mainly texts.

Down/Up

+*ñi* 'down, downwards'

    (290)   [sanahñi ke da qoʔpaq]

               /sanatñi ke da qoʔpaq/

               s+anat+ñi   ke da   qoʔpaq

               1AC+fall+**DOWN** OBL DEIC(vert) tree

               'I fell from the tree.'

    (291)   [qalaɢam jilamqañoʔ jilamqañoʔ ke naho]

               /qalaɢam irilamaqañioʔ irilamaqañioʔ ke naho/

               qalaɢam ir+elamaq+ñi+oʔ ir+elamaq+ñi+oʔ ke   na-ho

               but   1IN+fall+DWN+EV 1IN+fall+DWN+EV OBL DEIC(cmng)-PROX (= here)

               "But I fell down. I fell down here. (Text 2. The Flood)

+*šigim* 'up, upwards'

    (292)   /naqašigim/

               ∅+n-aqat-šigim

               3AC+HITH-take+**UP**

               'He took it out (= pulled it up).'

(293) /sela:ɢšigim ana ñoɢki ke ada qoʔpaq/

s+ela-aɢ+šigim a+na   ñoɢki ke   a+da   qoʔpaq

1AC+put-1PL+UP F+DEIC(cmng) bag   OBL   F+DEIC(vert) tree

'We lift the bag up to the tree.'

In (294), both +ñi 'down, downwards' and +šigim 'up, upwards' occur in the same

sentence.

(294) /ka naʔ nqoʔñišigim so nawegelek ka iroʔwe:nañi... /

kaʔ naʔ Ø+n-qoʔñi+šigim so   nawegelek kaʔ ir+oʔwe:n+ñi

and when 3AC+HITH-rise+UP DEIC(cmng) cloud   then 1IN+stay+DWN

'And when the cloud went up, then I stayed down...'

Under/On

+ot ~ +oʔot 'under'

(295) ji roqači ʔweoʔot laʔaloki?

ji   r+oqači ʔwe+oʔot l+aʔal-oki?

DEIC(HOR) 3AC+steal be+UNDER ABS+shade-DIM

'The thief was in the shade.' (Text 3, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar)

(296) /neʔyoʔot ada qotapik/

n+eʔy+oʔot   a+da   qotap-ik

3AC+dig+UNDER F+DEIC(vert) mesquite-tree

'He digs under the mesquite (tree).'

+*leg* ˙on, over˙

(297)   [yaʔik ñi laʔat weːtaleg ji nkiʔyaɢala]

/iaʔik ñi laʔat weːtaleg ji nkiʔyaɢala/

i+aʔik   ñi   l+aʔat   ʔwe+ta+leg   ji   n+kiʔyaɢala

3AC+eat DEIC(nonext) ABS+meat exist+PROG+ON DEIC(vert) ABS+table

˙He eats the meat that is on the table.˙

(298)   [tahleg so lwis so waloq]

/atleg so lwis so waloq/

∅+at+leg   so   lwis so   waloq

3AC+fall+ON DEIC(gng) Luis   DEIC(gng) cotton

˙Luis falls on the cotton.˙

(299)   /kaʔ keːtankyoʔ ka laqalači yiwanelegoʔ /

ka?   ∅+ek+tanekit+oʔ ke   l+aqalači   i+ewan+leg+oʔ

and 3AC+go+PROGʔ+EV OBL ABSʔ+open.field 3AC+see+ON+EV

˙And as he was going through the open field he found it (on it).˙

(Text 2, The Flood)

In/Out

+*eg* ~ +*weg* 'out. outwards'

(300)   [yočiawek ke ˈji ʔoːči]

/iočiaweg ke ˈji ʔoːči/

i+oči+weg   ke ˈji   ʔoːči

3AC+not.reach+OUT OBL DEIC(hor) brush

'He did not reach the edge of the brush.' ('He tried to come out of the brush. but
he couldn't. i.e. he couldn't reach the outside of the brush.')

(301)   /qamoʔ ka yale šimoʔ yaɢaneg ka rasotaɢwa/

qam+oʔ ka   yale šim+oʔ   i+aɢan+eg

but+EV DEIC male almost+EV 3AC+release+OUT

ka   r+asot-aɢ-wa

DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

'But the male mosquito is about to release his dancing partner.'

/qam kaʔma ʔalo sqaiyaɢaneg ka rasotaɢwa/

qam ka   ʔma ʔalo   sqa+i+aɢan+eg

but   DEIC(absnt) PRON female NEG+3AC+release+OUT

ka   r+asot-aɢ-wa

DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

'But the female mosquito did not release her partner.'

(Text 1. A Joke about the Mosquitos)

+*wgi* 'in. inwards. into'

(302)   /rawegirwgi/

r+aweg+ir+wgi

2IN+bring+2SGR+INSIDE

'He takes you inside.'

(303)   /yim sa:wgi da ?o:či/

yim   s+a: +wgi   da   ?o:či

1SGPRON 1AG+go+INSIDE DEIC(vert) brush

'I go into the brush (= inside the brush).'

+*ñigi* 'inside'

(304)   [ya?ik ji la?at we:tañigi ñi ?we:na neto?ot ji nki?yaɢala]

/ia?ik ji la?at we:tañigi ñi ?we:na neto?ot ji nki?yaɢala/

i+a?ik   ji   1+a?at   ?we+ta+ñigi   ñi   ?we:na

3AC+eat DEIC(hor) ABS+meat exist+PROG+INSIDE DEIC(hor)   pan

/net+o?ot ji   n+ki?yaɢala/

be+UNDER DEIC(hor) ABS+table

'He eats the meat that is inside the pan which is under the table.'

+*o* ~ +*wo* ˙inwards. hither˙

(305) /sawego iakat/

s+aweg+o   i+akat

1AC+bring+INWDS 1SGPOSS+breath

˙I breathe (= I bring my breath hither).˙

Towards here/Towards there

+*kena* ˙towards here˙

(306) [sawotake taykena aka rosa]

/sawotake taykena aka rosa/

s+awo+take   tai+kena   a+ka   rosa

1AC+want+PROG 3AC.go(?)+TDS.THERE F+DEIC(absnt) Rosa

˙I want Rosa to go there (where you are)˙.

(307) /naʔitkena naho .../

Ø+n-aʔ+ir+kena   na-ho

2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX

˙Come towards here...˙ (Text 2. The Flood)

+*igi* 'towards (there), around'

(308)   /lwis sowaɢanigi lqaig/

lwis   s+owaɢan+igi   l+qaig

Luis   1AC+hit+TDS   3POSS+head

'I hit Luis on the leg.'

(309)   /neʔetigi aso lačewge/

Ø+n-eʔet+igi   a+so   lačewge

3AC+HITH-drink+TDS   F+DEIC(gng)   river

'He drinks (water) from/in the river (using a glass or container).'

Other spatial relations:

+*aʔta* 'on/to other side of, across'

(310)   /iočiaʔta ke so lačewge/

i+oči+aʔta   ke   so   lačewge

3AC+not.reach+ACROSS OBL DEIC(gng) river

'He did not reach the other side of the river (i.e. He tried to cross the river but didn't get to the other side.')

+*eʔe* 'with'

(311)   [jasoteʔe lwis]

/irasoteʔe lwis/

ir+asot+eʔe   lwis

1IN+dance+WITH Luis

'I dance with Luis.'

(312)   /rasotire?e so lwis/

r+asot+ir+e?e   so   lwis

2IN+dance+2SGR+WITH DEIC(gng) Luis

˙You(sg) dance with Luis.˙

+*igit* ˙behind˙

(313)   /lwis nañoɢotigit ada qo?paq /

lwis n+añoɢot+igit   a+da   qo?paq

Luis 3AC?+hide+BEHIND F+DEIC(vert) tree

˙Luis hides behind the tree.˙

+*pege?* ˙up to˙

(314)   /lwis kepege? martin la?a?/

lwis ∅+ek+pege?   martin l+a?a?

Luis 3AC+go+UP.TO Martin 3POSS+house

˙Luis goes to Martin's house.˙

To summarize, then, loc/dir verbal enclitics indicate motion, location and direction of the action expressed by the verb. There are fifteen loc/dir enclitics in Mocoví which can be added to a verb form and which express direction and/or location of the action expressed by the verb. When a loc/dir morpheme is added to the verb form, it increases the valency of the verb, adding a loc/dir argument to the argument structure of the verb. These loc/dir morphemes affect the grammatical relation of the noun phrases to the verb within the verb phrase. When they are added to a verb form, the verb agrees with the locative/directional noun phrase ($NP_{[loc]}$) in the

sentence, and when they attach to a transitive verb we can find not only a $NP_{[loc]}$ in the sentence, but also a direct object noun phrase $(NP_{[DO]})$. This $NP_{[DO]}$ occurs farther from the verb form than the $NP_{[loc]}$, and the verb agrees with the $NP_{[loc]}$ rather than with the $NP_{[DO]}$.

All the Waikurúan languages have a set of locative/directional (loc/dir) verbal morphemes that mark the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. Although the exact position of these morphemes varies slightly from language to language, in all the languages these loc/dir morphemes occur within the verb form after person number and aspect markers. In Toba and Kadiwéu some of them can co-occur, but it is not clear whether this is the case for Pilagá and Abipón. In Mocoví, none of the loc/dir enclitics have been found to co-occur. In Mocoví and Kadiwéu these loc/dir morphemes are clitics; in Toba and Abipón they are described as suffixes. It is not clear whether they are clitics or suffixes in Pilagá. The reconstruction of these morphemes in Proto-Waikurúan still needs to be done. However, it is likely that all the Waikurúan languages inherited the loc/dir verbal morphemes from the parent language. (See Appendix B for a comparative chart and a few examples of loc/dir morphemes in other Waikurúan languages.)

4.6. Object Number

Mocoví has two morphemes that mark the number of the object noun phrase: +*lo* 'paucal' and +*er* 'plural'. These enclitics follow the loc/dir enclitics within the verb form.

(315)   /sekona ñi ?taɢaki/

        s+ekon+a   ñi   ?taɢaki

        1AC+grab+? DEIC(non-ext) mug

        ˙I grab the mug.˙

(316)   /sekonalo ñawa ?taɢaki(?)/

        s+ekon+a+lo   ñi-wa   ?taɢaki(-?)

        1AC+grab+?+PCLO DEIC(non-ext)-PL mug(-PCL)

        ˙I grab the (two) mugs.˙

(317)   /ñiwa? ana maɢso/

        i+n-ewar   a+na   maɢso

        1AC+HITH-sew F+DEIC(cmng) pants

        ˙I sew the (pair of) pants.˙

(318)   [qami? waɢañirigilo nawa lečil so lwis]

        /qamir owaɢañirigilo/

        qamir   Ø+owaɢan+ir+igi+lo

        2SGPRON 2AC+hit+2SGR+TDS+PCL

        /nawa lečil so lwis/

        na-wa   l+-eči-l   so   lwis

        DEIC(non-ext)-PL 3POSS+leg-PCL DEIC(gng) Luis

        ˙You(sgR) hit Luis on the legs (lit: ˙you (sgR) hit on Luis˙ legs).˙

4.7. Summary

In this chapter I have provided a description of the inflectional morphology of verbs and verb phrases, including clitics. In the following chapter I present a description of the syntax of clauses in Mocovi.

5. Clause Level Syntax

5.1. Constituent Order

Mocoví is an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) language. VOS (Verb-Object-Subject) word order is also very common, but based on the word order found in natural speech samples. SVO seems to be the basic word order in the language. In discourse, the occurrence of both subject and object lexical noun phrases in the same sentence is infrequent. In most cases, Mocoví encodes subjects and objects by pronominal clitics and affixes. However, when lexical NPs are present in discourse, if the verb of the clause has only one argument, i.e. when the main verb is an intransitive verb, the order tends to be VS. When the verb in the clause has two arguments, i.e. when it is a transitive verb or an intransitive verb with a locative NP, the order tends to be SVO.

The sentence in (319) is an example with both a subject and an object lexical NP. This sentence was taken from Text 2, The Flood. This is the third sentence in the text. The speaker has already introduced the main character in the story, a man who is walking in a field. And in this sentence he tells us what it is that the man is doing: he is looking for food. The agentive subject NP, *so qom* 'this person (going)', precedes the verb, therefore the verb phrase, and the non-agentive NP (the object), *ka lepetaoanaoat* 'his food (absent)', follows the verb. (The subject NP is in **boldface**, and the object NP in *italics*.)

(319)   /**so qom** nakitetako? *ka lepetaɢanaɢat* /

      so   **qom**   Ø+n-akit+tak+o?   *ka*   *l-epet-aɢanaɢat*

      DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV *DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+food*

      that person was looking for *his food*:

      `That person was looking for food.`

Examples (320) and (321) show the same order of lexical NPs. These sentences were taken from Text 1. A Joke about the Mosquitos. in which the mosquitos are at a party. and a male mosquito has had a few drinks. He asks one of the female mosquitos to dance. and as they are dancing he feels his pants are about to fall off and tries to let go of his dance partner. But the female mosquito does not let go of him. In example (320). the agentive subject NP *na yale* `the man` precedes the verb phrase. while the non-agentive NP (the object) *ka rasotaɢawa* `the partner` follows the verb in the verb phrase. In example (321). the agentive subject NP *ka ?alo yat* `the female mosquito` precedes the verb phrase. while the object NP *ka rasotaɢawa* `the partner` follows the verb in the verb phrase. (The subject NP is in **boldface**. and the object NP in *italics*.)

(320)   /ka **na yale** šimo? yaɢaneg *ka rasotaɢawa*/

      ka   **na**   **yale** šim+o?   i+aɢan+eg   *ka*   *r-asot-aɢa-wa*

      then **DEIC(cmng) man** almost+EV 3AC+let.go+OUT *DEIC(absnt) 3IN+dance-NOM-mate*

      `Then the male (mosquito) almost lets go of the dancing partner.`

(321)   /qam ka ʔalo ʔyat noʔqctañioʔ *ka rasotaɢawa*/

qam ka   ʔalo   ʔyat   Ø+n-oʔqot+ñi+oʔ

but   DEIC(absnt) female mosquito 3AC+HITH-hold+DWN+EV

ka   *r+asot-aɢa-wa*

DEIC(absnt) *3N+dance-NOM-mate*

ˑThen the male (mosquito) almost lets go of the dancing partner.ˑ

Example (322), taken from the same text. contains an intransitive verb with one agentive

argument. the subject NP *na qom* ˑthe peopleˑ. which follows the verb. (The subject NP is in

boldface.)

(322)   /kaʔ nowiretakoʔ **na qom**/

ka? Ø+n-owir+tak+oʔ   **na**   **qom**

and 3AC+HITH-arrive+PROG+EV **DEIC(cmng) person**

ˑAnd the people were arriving.ˑ

Example (323). also taken from Text 1. A Joke about the Mosquitos. contains both an

agentive subject *aka newige* ˑthe musicˑ. which follows the intransitive verb *iilamikioʔ* ˑit

sounds, plays (of music)ˑ. and a non-agentive subject *ka ʔyatir* ˑthe mosquitosˑ. which follows

the intransitive verb *rasotetapoʔ* ˑthey are dancingˑ.

(323)   /kaʔ iilamikioʔ **aka newige**/

 kaʔ i+ilamiki+oʔ   a+ka   n+ewige

and 3AC+sound+EV **F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music**

/rasotetapoʔ   **ka ʔyatir**/

r+asot-er+tape+oʔ   **ka   ʔyat-ir**

3IN+dance-3PL+PROG+EV   **DEIC(absnt) mosquito-PCL**

˙And (when) the music played the mosquitos danced.˙

In existential clauses. i.e. clauses with the verb *ʔwe* ˙there is. there exists˙. the subject

NP regularly follows the verb. The sentences in (324) and (325) are examples of existential

clauses. These sentences were taken from a text about a man with three heads who comes to eat

the prey that three other men have hunted. In example (324). the subject NP. *so λya neloɢoyak*

˙another guardian˙. follows the existential verb *ʔweoʔ* ˙there was˙.

(324)   /kaʔ ʔweoʔ so λya neloɢoyaq/

ka? ʔwe+oʔ so   λiya n+eloɢoyaq

then exist+EV DEIC(gng) other ABS+guardian

˙Then there was another guardian.˙

In (325) the subject NP *so naʔa:ñaq treh lqaigo* ˙the visitor with three heads˙ follows

the existential verb *ʔwe* ˙there is˙.

(325)   /kaʔ ʔwe so naʔa:ñaq treh lqaigo/

ka? ʔwe so   n+aʔa:ñaq treh l+qaig-o

then exist DEIC(gng) ABS+visitor three 3POSS+head-PCL

˙Then there was another guardian.˙

5.2. Sentence Types

5.2.1. Declarative Sentences

Since verbal arguments are expressed by pronominals on the verb form, a single verb form can constitute a full sentence, as shown in examples (326) and (327). However, those arguments can also be expressed by lexical noun phrases, as shown in examples (328) and (329).

In example (326), the agentive argument is the first person singular, marked with an Active proclitic *s+* on the verb form, and the non-agentive argument (the direct object) is the second person singular respectful, marked on the verb as an enclitic *+ir*. (The agentive (Active) marker is in **boldface** and the non-agentive (Inactive) marker in *italics*.)

(326) /soʔdaɢat*ir* eg/

s+oʔdaɢat+*ir*+eg

1**AC**+scare+*2SGR*+ON

'I scare you.'

The sentence in (327) was taken from a text about Pedro, a man who is placed in a leather bag to be thrown in a river, but he fools his enemies and escapes. The agentive argument is expressed by the third person proclitic *n+*. The verb form also contains the indefinite agent clitic *qa+*.

(327)   /qanewareleg/

         qa+n+ewar+leg

         INDEF+3AC+sew+ON

         ˙Somebody sewed (him).˙ (= the bag was sewn and he was inside the bag)

In example (328), from a text about how to cure a snake bite, the verb -aqat ˙to take

(out)˙ is a transitive verb. The subject is an agentive argument marked with an Active

pronominal on the verb, the third person ∅+, and the non-agentive argument, the object, is

expressed in a noun phrase, ka lošigimaɢa ˙its skin˙. (Since the non-agentive argument is a third

person it is not overtly marked on the verb form.)

(328)   /kaʔ antehnada naqat ka lošigimaɢa/

         kaʔ antehnada ∅+n-aqat   ka   l+ošigimaɢa
         and first.of.all   3AC+HITH-take DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+skin

         ˙And first he takes its skin.˙

In example (329), also taken from the text about Pedro, the subject is an agentive

argument marked with an Active pronominal on the verb, the third person clitic ∅+, and by the

noun phrase so λya qom ˙another person˙. The verb -owir ˙to arrive˙ is an intransitive verb that

takes only one argument, an agentive subject.

(329)   /kaʔ nowiroʔ so λya qom/

         kaʔ ∅+n-owir+oʔ   so   λya qom
         and 3AC+HITH-arrive+EV DEIC(gng) other person

         ˙And another person arrives.˙

Intransitive clauses are those with an intransitive verb, which bears only one argument. That argument can be either an agent (Active marker) or a non-agent (Inactive marker).

In example (330), taken from Text 4, 'The Fox Steals from the Jaguar', the verb e:loweg 'to wake up' is an intransitive verb with an agentive subject expressed by the Active proclitic Ø+ and the noun phrase ka netesqo? 'the uncle'.

(330)   /ne:lowko? ka netesqo?/

Ø+n-e:lo+weg+o?   ka   n+etesqo?

3AC+HITH-wake.up+OUT DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

'His uncle woke up.'

The example in (331) contains two intransitive clauses, the first clause has the intransitive verb ?et 'to escape' and, the second clause includes the verb owir 'to arrive, reach'.

(331)   /ka? ka ji ?et qaekan yowir/

ka? ka ji   Ø+?et   qa+e+ka-n   i+owir

then and DEIC(hor) 3AC+escape nthg+M+DEIC(absnt)-? 3AC+arrive

'Then he escapes: nobody can reach him.'

The example in (332), taken from the text about Pedro, is an intransitive sentence with the verb owir 'to arrive'. The agentive subject is marked by the Active proclitic Ø+ on the verb form and by the NP ka yaleripi 'the men'.

(332)   /ima? ka... yaleripi nowiro? na?le/

ima? ka   yale-r-ipi   Ø+n-owir+o?   na?le

after DEIC(absnt) man-PCL-PL   3AC+arrive+EV later

'Later the men arrived.'

The intransitive sentence in (333), taken from the same text, contains the verb *awalaq* 'to shout'. The agentive subject is expressed by the Active proclitic ∅+ on the verb form and by the NP *so yale* 'the man'.

(333)   /iawalaqtako? so yale/

i+awalaq+tak+o?   so   yale

3AC+shout+PROG+EV **DEIC(gng) man**

'The man was screaming.'

The example in (334) is an intransitive clause with only one argument, a non-agentive subject. The non-agentive argument is expressed by the Inactive marker *r+* on intransitive verb *iloɢog* 'to itch', and by the lexical NP *nawa rakomeri* 'their bellies'.

(334)   /riloɢoglo **nawa rakomiri** /

r+iloɢog+lo **na-wa**   **r+akom-er-i**

3IN+itch+PCL **DEIC(cmng)-PL   3POSS+belly-3PL-PCL**

'Their bellies start itching.'

Transitive clauses are those in which the verb is transitive, with two arguments. The arguments can be expressed by pronominals on the verb form or by pronominals and nominal phrases. It is not common in natural speech, however, to find two lexical noun phrases in a sentence; it is likely that at least one of the arguments will be expressed only by the pronominal on the verb form. However, clauses with two NPs do occur.

The sentence in (335) was taken from Text 4, 'The Fox steals from the Jaguar'. It is the first sentence in the text. The speaker is introducing the story, and the clause has both an agentive subject noun phrase *regat* 'jaguar' and an object noun phrase, or non-agentive, *šipegaq qo?ɢoyk* 'old horse'. The third person agentive subject is also marked on the verb by an Active

proclitic *r+*. (Third person Inactive is not overtly marked on the verb form.) (The agentive

subject noun phrase is in **boldface**. and the object NP in *italics*.)

> (335)   /regat ralawataɢantako? *šipegaq qo?ɢoyk/*
>
> **regat** r+alawataɢan+tak+o?   *šipegaq   qo?ɢoyk*
>
> **jaguar** 3AC+carve.up+PROG+EV *horse   old*
>
> ˙A jaguar was carving up an old horse.˙

In example (336), from the same text, the agent is expressed by the third person Active

proclitic *i+* on the verb *aɢañi* ˙he abandons˙. and the object (or non-agentive argument) is

expressed by the nominal phrase *ka lete:sek* ˙his nephew˙. (As already noted. the third person

non-agentive pronominal is not overtly marked on the verb form.) (The agentive marker is in

boldface and the object is in *italics*.)

> (336)   /ka? iaɢañi *ka lete:sek/*
>
> ka? **i**+aɢañi   *ka   l+ete:sek*
>
> and 3AC+abandon *DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew*
>
> ˙And he left his nephew.˙

In (337). taken from the text about Pedro. the agent is expressed by the Active proclitic

i+. and the non-agentive argument. or object. by the noun phrase *so maɢare* ˙that one. him˙.

> (337)   / ka? ya?jin so maɢare/
>
> ka? **i**+a?jin   *so   maɢare*
>
> and 3AC+fool *DEIC(gng) PROX*
>
> ˙And he fooled him.˙

5.2.2. Existential Clauses

Existential clauses express the existence of somebody or something. They can be translated into English as 'There is X' or 'X exists'. In Mocoví, existential clauses are formed by the verb *?we* 'there is, there exists' and a nominal phrase. The NP follows the verb in the clause, as shown in example (338), taken from the Text 2. 'The Flood'.

(338)   /... ?weo? ka yaɢat ma?le/

      ... ?we+o? ka   yaɢat   ma?le

      ... be+EV DEIC(absnt) rain   after

      '... there will be rain later.'

The example in (339) was taken from a text about a man with three heads. In this sentence the subject *ka isegeyekoki?* 'little animal(s)' follows the verb *?weo?* 'there was'.

(339)   /?weo? ka isegeyekoki? /

      ?we+o? ka   isegeyek-oki?

      be+EV DEIC(absnt) animal-DIMF

      'There were little animals.'

Mocoví does not have a special verb which expresses the semantic notion of possession, i.e. a verb such as 'to have, to own, to possess'. Possession is instead expressed by an existential clause, with the verb *?we* 'there is' and a nominal phrase in which the possessor is marked on the possessed noun. In example (340), from Text 2 'The Flood'. the strange creature is telling the man that he has a request. This is expressed by the verb *?we* 'there is' and the noun phrase *da yašilaɢanaɢat* 'my request'. The sentence can be translated into English as 'I have a request':

however, its literal translation is 'there exists my request'. (In these sentences, the verb ʔwe 'there exists' is in **boldface** and the possessive markers in *italics*.)

(340)   /kaʔ nagi ʔweoʔ da *i*asilaɢanaɢat /

ka? nagi **ʔwe+o?**   da   *i*-ašilaɢan-aɢat

and now **exist+EV** DEIC(vert) *1SGPOSS*+ask-NOM

'And now I have a request.' (= 'and now there exists my request')

The sentence in (341) was taken from Text 3, The Woman and the Duck. The subject *ka lalo le:naɢat ʔɢañi* 'the animal whose name is duck' follows the verb *ʔweoʔ* 'there was'. The sentence can be translated as 'She had an animal called duck'. The possessive meaning is expressed by the existential verb *ʔwe* and the NP with the head noun *-lo* 'animal' with the third person possessive proclitic *i*-.

(341)   /qam ʔweoʔ ka *l*alo le:naɢat ʔɢañi/

qam **ʔwe+o?** ka   *i*-lo   l+e:naɢat   ʔɢañi

but **be+EV** DEIC(absnt) *3POSS*+animal 3POSS+name duck

'But she had an animal called duck.' (= 'there existed her animal his name [was] duck')

The sentences in examples (342) and (343) have the same structure. In example (342) 'I own a horse' is literally 'there exists my horse', and in example (343), 'I have a sister', the literal translation is 'there exists my sister'.

(342)   /ʔwe ñi *i*lo šipegaq/

ʔwe ñi   *i*+lo   šipegaq

exist DEIC(nonext) *1SGPOSS*+animal horse

'I have a horse.' (lit: 'There exists my animal horse')

(343)   /ʔwe ana *iaqa/*

         ʔwe   a+na   *i*+aqa

         exist F+DEIC(cmng) *1SGPOSS*+sibling

         'I have a sister.' (lit: 'There exists my sister')

5.2.3 Copular Clauses

Mocovi lacks a copula verb. In copular clauses. the predicate is expressed by a noun phrase and/or an adjective phrase. In example (344), the noun phrase *iateʔe* 'my mother' is the predicative phrase. while in examples (345) and (346) the predicate is the adjective phrase *lodeGat* 'big'. (The predicative phrase is in **boldface**.)

(344)   /adaho **iateʔe**/

         a+da-ho   i+ateʔe

         F+DEIC(vert)-PROX 1SGPOSS+**mother**

         'This here is my mother.' (lit: 'This here my mother'.)

(345)   /ñi pyoG **lodeGat**/

         ñi   pyoG **lodeGat**

         DEIC(nonext) dog **big**

         'That dog is big.' (lit: 'This dog big'.)

(346) /naho lekat **lodeɢat/**

na-ho   lekat **lodeɢat**

DEIC(comng)-PROX knife **big**

'This knife here is big.' (lit: 'This knife here big'.)

5.3. Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are introduced by the interrogative forms *ñige?* 'what. who'. *lagi*

'when'. *či?nege* 'why'. and *wa?ge* 'where'. (Mocoví lacks an interrogative form equivalent to

English 'how': the interrogative *ñige?* 'what, who' can also be used with the meaning 'how'.)

These interrogative forms are normally followed by a deictic classifier. in most cases *ka* 'deictic

classifier (absent)'.

(347) /ñige? ka iapongi añi xwan le?ya/

nige? ka   i+apongi   a+ñi   xwan l+e?ya

who   DEIC(absnt) 3AC+cover F+DEIC(nonext) Juan 3POSS+hole

'Who covered Juan's hole?'

(348) /ñige? ka riyakir/

ñige? ka   r+iyak+ir

what DEIC(absnt) 2AC+bring+2SGR

'What did you bring?'

The example in (349) was taken from a text about a man with three heads. One of the

men is guarding the prey that he and other men have hunted. In this sentence the man with the

three heads asks the man guarding the prey whether he would rather he (the three-headed man)

eat him (the guard) or his prey. The interrogative sentence is introduced by the interrogative

ñige? what. ho' followed by the deictic *ka* `deictic (absent)`.

(349) /ñige? ka peg qaindaweg sa?ikir loqo?m sa?ik na račinkir/

       ñige? ka   peg   qa+i+nda+weg   s+a?ik+ir
       what DEIC(absnt) more INDEF+3AC+prefer?+2SGR 1AC+eat+2SGR

       loqo?m s+a?ik   na   r+ačink+ir
       or   1AC+eat DEIC(cmng) 2POSS+prey+2SGR

       `What do you prefer, that I eat you or that I eat your prey?`

The interrogative clause in (350) is introduced by *lagi* `when` followed by the deictic *na*

`deictic (coming)`

(350) /lagio? na nowir so xwan/

       lagi+o? na   ∅+n-owir   so   xwan
       when+EV DEIC(cmng) 3AC+HITH-arrive DEIC(gng) Juan

       `When did Juan arrive?`

The example in (351) was taken from the text about Pedro. His enemies. who thought

they had thrown him in the river. thought he was dead. But he had fooled them and years later he

comes back. The men then ask `Why is he back?`. The interrogative sentence in (351) is

introduced by *či?nege* `why`.

(351)   /či?negeo? da nagi lot λya nowir/

či?nege+o? da   nagi lot-λya   Ø+n-owir

why+EV   DEIC(vert) now   time(?)-other(=again) 3AC+HITH-arrive

`Why has this one come back again?` (= `why has this one arrived another

time?`)

The interrogative sentence in (352) is introduced by the interrogative *wa?ge* `where`

followed by the deictic *ka* `deictic (absent)`.

(352)   /wa?ge ka se?ɢatirege/

wa?ge ka   s+e?ɢat+ir+ege

where DEIC(absnt) 1AC+take+2SGR+LOC

`Where do I take you?`

5.4. Subordinate Clauses

5.4.1. Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are those that function as arguments of the verb in a sentence.

Complement clauses in Mocoví can be introduced by the complementizer *kijim* `that`, but

normally they occur without a complementizer. The sentence in (353) contains a clause

complement of the verb *sa?de:naɢta* `we know` introduced by the complementizer *kijim* `that`.

(The clause is in *italics*, and the complementizer in **boldface**.)

(353)   /saʔdeːnaɢta kɨ̃jim *na qom iaʔdeːner naʔqaːtaɢanaɢaɢ/

s+aʔdeːn-aɢ+ta   kɨ̃jim *na*   qom   i+aʔdeːn-er   n+aʔqaː-aɢan-aɢaq

1AC+know-1PL+PROG **that**   *DEIC(gng) person 3AC+know-3PL ABS+tell -NOM*

˙We know that the people know stories.˙

Example (354) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. This sentence contains a subordinate

clause, *salatetapigi* ˙I make thunder˙. that is introduced by the complementizer *kɨ̃jim* ˙that˙. (The

clause is in *italics*. and the complementizer in **boldface**.)

(354)   /ka naʔ saɢanñi na ʔmaq kɨ̃jim *salatetapigi* /

ka ʔ naʔ   s+aɢan+ñi   na   ʔmaq kɨ̃jim *s+alatetap+igi*

and when 1AC+stop+DWN   DEIC(cmng) PRON **that**   *1AC+thunder+TDS*

˙And when I stopped making thunder... ˙

Example (355) is an example of reported speech. in which the subordinate clause is a

question. the object of the verb *renataɢan* ˙he asks˙. The subordinate clause has the structure of

any interrogative sentence and is not introduced by the complementizer *kɨ̃jim* ˙that˙.

(355)   /xwan renataɢan *ñigeʔ ka lašik ka lanayk/*

xwan r+enataɢan *ñigeʔ ka*   *l+ašik*   *ka*   *l+anayk*

Juan 3AC+ask   *what DEIC(absnt) ABS+face DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+snake*

˙Juan asks what type of snake it is.˙

5.4.2. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are not marked by any relative pronouns. The meaning expressed in English by a relative clause. is expressed in Mocovi by means of a clause immediately following the noun they modify. without an overt relativizer. In (356) the sentence contains a subject NP which includes a relative clause *sota čoqaʔa so nanegse* '(who) brought the plants' without an overt relativizer immediately following the head noun it modifies. *doqolase* 'white woman'. (The relative clause is in *italics*.)

(356) /nowir aso doqolase *sota čoqaʔa so nanegse*/

Ø+n-owir   a+so   doqo-lase
3AC+HITH-arrive F+DEIC(gng) white-F

so   *Ø+čoqaʔa so-ta*   *n+anegse*
DEIC(gng) 3AC+give   DEIC(gng)-PROX abs+plant

'The white woman who brought the plants arrived.' (lit: 'The white woman came. she gave me the plants')

The sentence in (357) shows the relative clause *iowaɢan so xwan* '(who) hit Juan' immediately following the head noun it modifies. *aso ʔalo* 'the woman'. without an overt relativizer. (The relative clause is in *italics*.)

(357) /aso ʔalo *iowaɢan so xwan* senanak nagi/

a+so   ʔalo   *i+owaɢan so*   *xwan* se+Ø+n-anak nagi
F+DEIC(gng) woman 3AC+hit   DEIC(gng) Juan NEG+3AC+HITH-come now

'The woman who hit Juan did not come today.'

The example in (358) shows a sentence in which the subject NP includes a relative clause *?we:taleg ji lames* '(which) are on the table' without an overt complementizer. (The relative clause is in *italics*.)

(358)   /ʃiwa ɸelisa ?we:nal togir *?we:taleg ji lames* ropoqogilo/

ʃi-wa   ɸelisa   ?we:na-l   tog-ir

DEIC(hor)-PL Felisa   pot-PCL   red-PCL

?we+ta+leg   ji   l+ames   r+opoqog-lo

be+PROG+ON DEIC(hor)   ABS+table   3IN+break-PCL

'Those red pots of Felisa's that are on the table are broken.'

5.4.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses of **cause** are introduced by *saik* 'because'. In example (359) *saik* 'because' introduces the adverbial clause *aso rosa iawa:ɢan xose* 'Rosa hit José'.

(359)   /lwis iawalaɢ **saik** *aso rosa iawa:ɢan xose*/

lwis i+awalaɢ   **saik**   a+so   rosa   i+awa:ɢan   xose

Luis 3AC+scream   **because** F+DEIC(cmng) Rosa   3AC+hit   José

'Luis screamed because Rosa hit José.'

The example in (360) was taken from Text 4, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar. The jaguar has just woken up and realizes that the meat he had taken from his prey is missing. The sentence contains two clauses, a main clause with the verb *ro?o* 'he gets angry', and an adverbial clause of cause introduced by *saik* 'because'.

(360)   /ka roʔo **saik** *ioʔwat latenqaipi/*

ka r+oʔo   **saik**   *i+oʔwat*   *l+aten-qa-ipi*

and 3IN+get.angry **because** *3IN(ʔ)+be.missing 3POSS+prev-PCL-PL*

˙And he got angry because his prey was missing.˙

Clauses of time are expressed by clauses marked by the coordinator *kaʔ ~ ka* ˙and. then˙, or *naʔ* ˙when˙. The sentence in (361) was taken from Text 3. The woman and the Duck. The sentence is introduced by the adverbial *kaʔ* ˙then˙.

(361)   /**kaʔ** satoʔ ka pato/

kaʔ Ø+sat+oʔ   ka   pato

then 3AC+listen+EV DEIC(absnt) duck

˙Then the duck listened.˙

The sentence in (362) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. The adverbial clause *nqoʔñišigim so nawegelek* ˙when the cloud went up˙ is introduced by the adverbial *naʔ* ˙when˙.

(362)   /**kaʔ naʔ** *nqoʔñišigim so nawegelek* ka joʔwe:nañi/

kaʔ naʔ   *Ø+n-qoʔñi+šigim*   *so*   *nawegelek*

and **when** *3AC+HITH-rise+UP*   *DEIC(cmng)* cloud

ka   ir+oʔwe:n+ñi

then   1IN+stay+DWN

˙And when the cloud went up then I stayed (= I remained on the earth).˙

Mocoví lacks an adverb to mark instrumental clauses. The instrumental meaning is expressed by juxtaposed clauses, one of which usually contains a form of the verb *oʔwet* ˙to use. to utilize˙ as in example (363). In this example the clauses *soʔwet naserek lpaʔaʔ* ˙I use the

liquid medicine' and *sa?men lotoge xwan* 'I rub Juan's chest' are simply juxtaposed. but they provide the instrumental meaning that in English can be glossed as 'I rub Juan's chest with the liquid medicine'. However, the literal meaning of the sentence is 'I use the liquid medicine. I rub Juan's chest'. The clause containing the form of the verb *o?wet* 'to use, to utilize' is in *italics*.)

(363)   */so?wet naserek lpa?a?* sa?men lotoge xwan/

   s+o?wet n+aserek   l+pa?a?   s+a?men l+otoge   xwan

   1AC+use ABS+medicine ABS+liquid   3AC+rub 3POSS+chest Juan

   'I rub Juan's chest with the liquid medicine.' (= I use the liquid medicine. I rub Juan's chest.)

Conditional clauses are introduced by *no?om* 'if', as in example (364). In this sentence the conditional clause *yaɢat* 'rain' is introduced by *no?om* 'if' and the coordinator *ka?* 'then' occurs between the conditional clause and the following clause *sqaesik* 'I don't go'.

(364)   /no?om yaɢat ka? sqaesik/

   no?om yaɢat ka?   sqae+s+ik

   if   rain   then NEG+1AC+go

   'If it rains I don't go.'

In (365), from Text 2. The Flood. the conditional clause *da ji?ɢoriñir* 'you do me a favor' is introduced by *no?om* 'if' and the coordinator *čaqae* 'and' occurs between the conditional clause and the following clause *qami? se?ɢoriñir* 'I favor you. I will help you'.

(365)   /qalaɢam nagi sašilaiʔsak **noʔom** *da jiʔɢoriñir* čaqae qamir seʔɢoriñir/

qalaɢam nagi   s+ašila+ir+sak   **noʔom**   *da*   *ir+eʔɢorin+ir*

but   now   1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG **if**   DEIC(vert)   *11N+favor+2SGR*

čaqae qamir   s+eʔɢorin+ir

and   2SGPRON   1AC+favor+2SGR

"But now I am asking you, if you appreciate me this way I will favor you." (= If you do this for me now, I will help you)

5.5. Coordination

The overt coordinators *čaqae* 'and'. *kaʔ* 'and. then'. *qam ~ qalaɢam* 'but'. and *loqoʔm* 'or' are used to coordinate sentences and clauses. The example in (366) shows the clauses *φelisa rewo:se* 'Felisa cooks' and *aso alisia kola qalači* 'Alicia peels the onions' conjoined by the coordinator *kaʔ* 'and. then'. The coordinator *kaʔ* 'and. then' occurs between the two clauses.

(366)   /φelisa rewo:se **kaʔ** aso alisia kola qalači/

φelisa r+ewo:se **kaʔ** a+so   alisia ∅+kola   qalači

Felisa 3AC+cook **and** F+DEIC(cmng) Alicia 3AC+peel onion

'Felisa cooks and Alicia peels onions.' (=Felisa cooks while Alicia peels onions)

In   (367) the clauses *qaeka laʔat* 'there is no meat' and *so φelisa rewo:se* 'Felisa cooked (stew)' conjoined by the coordinator *qam* 'but'. which occurs between the two clauses.

(367)   /qaeka laʔat **qam** so ɸelisa r-ewoːse/

       qa+i+ka   laʔat **qam** so   ɸelisa r+ewoːse

       nthg+M+DEIC(absnt) meat **but** DEIC(gng) Felisa 3AC+cook

       ˙There is no meat. but Felisa cooked (stew).˙ (=although there is no meat. Felisa

       cooked a meal.˙)

In example (368) from Text 2. The Flood. the clauses *qomoʔ so* ˙(was) this a person˙ and

legemaɢayk ˙a strange being˙ are conjoined by the coordinator *loqoʔm* ˙or˙.

(368)   /qomoʔ so **loqoʔm** legemaɢayk/

       qom+oʔ   so   **loqoʔm** legemaɢ-ayk

       PERSON+EV DEIC(gng) **or**   strange.being-ADJ

       ˙Was it a person or a strange creature?˙

In the example in (369) from the same text. the coordinator *loqoʔm* ˙or˙ is used to

conjoin the noun phrases *waɢay* ˙sea˙. *ñaːči* ˙stream˙ and *lačeʔwge* ˙river˙.

(369)   /kaʔ qaiodaɢsom ke ka lemanaɢa waɢay **loqoʔm** ñaːči **loqoʔm** lačeʔwge/

       kaʔ qa+i+odaɢsom   ke   ka   l+emanaɢa waɢay **loqoʔm** ñaːči

       then INDEF+3AC+carry OBL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+edge sea   or   stream

       loqoʔm lačeʔwge

       or   river

       ˙He was taken to the edge of the sea. or stream. or river˙

The coordinators *kaʔ* ˙and. then˙ and *qam ~ qalaɢam* ˙but˙ are extremely common in

texts. Their function is to link sentences in   discourse. in which almost every sentence is

introduced by a coordinator. Example (370) includes the first few sentences from Text 1. A Joke

about the Mosquitos. In this example the first sentence of the text is presenting the setting. and it

is not introduced by any coordinators. The following twelve sentences of the text are all introduced by a coordinator. (The layout of the text is as follows: the first line provides a phonetic and sometimes phonemic transcription: the second line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown: the third line includes a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss: the fourth line contains a literal translation in English: and the last line is a free English translation of the sentence. provided in *italics*. The coordinators in each sentence are in **boldface**.)

(370) Excerpt from Text 1, A Joke about the Mosquitos

/ʔweoʔ so naʔɢaʔa ʔwe so wayle rasotaɢayripi/

ʔwe+oʔ   so   naʔɢaʔa ʔwe so   wayle r+asot-aɢa-ir-ipi

EXIST+EV DEIC(gng) day   exist DEIC(gng) dance 3POSS+dance-NOM-PCL-PL

˙There was a day [when] there was a dance of the dancers.˙

'One day there was a dance of many dancers. '

/kaʔ nowiretakoʔ na qom/

kaʔ ∅+n-owire+tak+oʔ   na   qom

then 3AC+HITH-arrive+PROG+EV DEIC(cmng) person

˙**Then** the people were arriving.˙

'*Then* the people started to arrive. '

/qam ʔwei sawaʔmaq šige ʔwesanji ʔyati leːnaɢat ʔyati/

qam ʔwe-i   so-wa   ʔmaq

but exist-PL DEIC(gng)-PL PRON

ˈ**But** [there] they were.ˈ

šige   ʔwe-san-ji   ʔyat-i   l+enaɢat   ʔyat-i

already exist-ʔʔ-DEIC(hor) mosquito-PCL 3POSS+name mosquito-PCL

ˈthey were already there the mosquitos, those whose name is mosquitos.ˈ

ˈ*But there they were the mosquitos, those called mosquitos.*ˈ

/kaʔ so ʔyat yale ʔwei ka laqanoʔlyiʔ/

kaʔ so   ʔyat   yale ʔwe-i   ka   l+aqan-oʔλyiʔ

then DEIC(gng) mosquito male exist-PL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+drink-DIMF

ˈ**Then** the male mosquito had a few drinks.ˈ (= there exist his small drinks)

ˈ*Then the male mosquito had a few drinks.*ˈ

/kaʔ iewaneʔtoʔ ka ʔaloʔλiʔλya/

kaʔ i+iwan-eʔt+oʔ ka   ʔalo-oʔλiʔ-λya

then 3AC+see-ʔ+EV DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF-other

ˈ**Then** he saw another little woman.ˈ

ˈ*Then he saw a little woman.*ˈ

/kaʔ naːkoʔ ... iilamkyoʔ ka newige/

kaʔ Ø+naːk+oʔ   i+ilamki+oʔ ka   n+ewige

then 3AC+say+EV 3AC+play+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

ˈ**Then** he said the music played.ˈ

ˈ*Then he said... the music played...*ˈ

/ka? na:ko? ka ?yat "čima ?we da yasotaqčik yasotaqčik/ "

ka? ∅+na:k+o?   ka   ?yat

then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito

˙**Then** the mosquito said:

čima ?we da   i+asot-aq-čik   i+asot-aq-čik

??   exist DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+dance-NOM-?? 1SGPOSS+dance-NOM-??

«There exists my wish to dance».˙

˙*Then the mosquito said: «I would like to dance».*˙

/ka? na:ko? ka ?alo "aha yim taqa?neta ?we da qaralorta/

ka? ∅+na:k+o?   ka   ?alo

then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) woman

˙**Then** the woman said:

aha yim   taqa?neta ?we da   qar+alorta

yes 1SGPRON also   exist DEIC(vert) 1PLPOSS+??

"Yes. I also (it) exists our ?? (=our wishes are the same?)".˙

˙*And the woman said: «Yes. I want to dance too.*˙

/ka?ma sinaqta/ "

ka?-ma s+in-aq+ta

then-?   1AC+?-1PL+PROG

˙**then** we do that.

˙*«Then let's do so».*˙

/ka? tare?wɨji rasoter rasotero?/

ka? Ø+tar-er+wɨji   r+asot-er   r+asot-er+o?

then 3AC+exit-3PL+OUT? 3IN+dance-3PL   3IN+dance-3PL+EV

ˈ**Then** they went out [and] they dance they danced.ˈ

ˈ*Then they went outside and danced.*ˈ

/ka iilamkyo? aka newige rasotetapo? ka ?yati/

ka i+ilamki+o? a+ka   n+ewige

then 3AC+play+EV   F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

ˈ**Then** when the music playedˈ

r+asot-er+tape+o?   ka   ?yat-i

3IN+dance-3PL+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito-PCL

ˈthe mosquitos were dancing.ˈ

ˈ*Then when the music played the mosquitos were dancing.*ˈ

qam ka ta:čigiñi maɢarayko? ka rasotaɢage?.

qam ka   ta:čigiñi maɢar-ayk+o? ka   r+asot-aɢag-er

ˈ**but** DEIC(absnt) beginning good-ADJM+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-
3PL

ˈ**but** at the beginning their dancing was good.ˈ

ˈ*And at the beginning they were dancing well.*ˈ

/qam na? waw?keram ka? nko?ne:tako? da namoɢolišiger/

qam na? waw?keram **ka?** Ø+n-ko?ne:+tak+o?   da   n+amoɢolišig-er

but then later   **then** 3AC+HITH-increase+PROG+EV DEIC(vert) 3POSS+joke-3PL

ˈ**But** then later their jokes are increasing.ˈ

ˈ*But later their jokes were increasing.*ˈ

5.6. Comparatives and Equatives

Mocoví adjectives do not have comparative or superlative forms. These notions are expressed by the lexical forms *pageg* ~ *peg* 'more' and *čalego* 'very'. If a sentence has two noun phrases that are being compared. one of the noun phrases is an oblique noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *ke*.

(371)   /xwan **peg** ladogaɢa *ke* so rowerto/

xwan **peg**   ladogaɢa *ke*   so   rowerto
Juan   **more** tall   *OBL* DEIC(gng) Roberto

'Juan is taller than Roberto'

(372)   /xwan **peg** ladogaɢa/

xwan **peg**   ladogaɢa
Juan **more** tall

'Juan is the tallest.'

(373)   /naho lačewge **peg** leka?ge *ke* ji λya/

na-ho   lačewge **peg** leka?ge *ke* ji   λya
DEIC(cmng)-PROX   river   **more** big   *OBL* DEIC(hor) other

'This river here is longer than that other (one).'

Equatives are expressed by juxtaposition. The clauses are linked by *?nem ~ ?nehem* 'like. similar. same'. In example (374), taken from a text about how to cure a snake bite. the speaker is describing the bite of the 'campanilla'. a poisonous snake. and he says there is nothing

as bad as a bite from this snake. The negative *qaeka* `nothing` and the adjective *laʔa:ɢa* `ugly`
are linked by *ʔnem* `similar. same, like`. The sentence has an equative meaning.

(374)   /qaeka ʔnem laʔa:ɢa... /

      qa+e+ka   **ʔnem**   laʔa:ɢa

      nothg+M+DEIC(absnt) **same**   ugly

      `Nothing is as ugly...`

Example (375) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. At this point in the story the man has
encountered a strange creature who tells him that there is going to be a flood. and he asks the
man to do something for him. He tells the man that they both have the same need. literally `your
need is the same as my need`. The noun phrases *da   iowenaɢanaɢa* `my need` and *da
rowenaɢanaɢair* `your need` are linked by *ʔnehem* `similar. same. like`. The sentence has an
equative meaning.

(375)   /kaʔ nagi ka sašilairsak/

      kaʔ nagi kaʔ s+ašil+ir+sak

      and now and 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG

      `And now I am asking you.`

      /ka da   iowenaɢanaɢa ʔnehem da rowenaɢanaɢair/

      kaʔ da   i+owenaɢanaɢa **ʔnehem** da   r+owenaɢanaɢa+ir

      and DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need   **same**   DEIC(vert) 2POSS+need+2SGR

      `And my need is similar to your need`

5.7. Negation

In Mocoví negation is expressed by a negative proclitic with two allomorphs. *sqae+* ~

se+. It is not yet clear what determines the distribution of the allomorphs. In (376), the negative

clitic se+ is attached to the verb *rapiler* 'they return'; in (377), it is attached to the verb

sa?de:naɢ 'we know'; and in (378), it precedes the noun *lpaɢanqate* 'his underpants'.

(376)   /sawa yaler nagi serapiler/

so-wa   yale-r   nagi   se+r+apil-er

DEIC(gng)-PL man-PCL now   NEG+3IN+return-3PL

'Now the men will not return.'

(377)   /qam sesa?de:naɢ/

qam se+s+a?de:n-aɢ

but   NEG+3AC+know-1PL

'But we don't know.'

(378)   /šim nahañi lpaɢanqate qam selpaɢanqate/

šim   Ø+n-aha+ñi   l+paɢanqate   qam se+l+paɢanqate

almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN 3POSS+underpants but   NEG+3POSS+underpants

'His underpants almost fall down; but these are not his underpants.'

(Text 1. A Joke about the Mosquitos)

In (379), taken from Text 2. The Flood, the negative clitic *se+* is attached to the verb

ewan 'see'. and the negative clitic *sqae+* is attached to the noun *qom* 'person'.

(379) /ma? seiewanapega ia?den ma? sqaeqom/

ma? se+i+ewan+pega i+a?de:n ma? sqae+qom

because NEG+3AC+see+? 3AC+know because NEG+person

˙Because he had never seen it. he didn't know it because it was not a person.˙

In (380). the negative clitic *sqae+* is attached to the verb *ewanaɢanir* ˙you look (at something)˙. and in (381). it is attached to the verb *alawatir* ˙you kill (something)˙.

(380) /sqaeewanaɢanir /

sqae+∅+ewanaɢan+ir

NEG+2AC+look+2SGR

˙Do not look (at it)˙

(381) /sqaealawatir/

sqae+∅+alawat+ir

NEG+2AC+kill+2SGR

˙Do not kill him/her/it˙

5.8. Evidential

There is an enclitic *+o?* which can be attached to the verb or other elements in the verb phrase which seems to mark evidential. It can be used to refer both to events that occurred in the past and to events that will occur in the future. This enclitic is extremely common in narrative texts.

The example in (382) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. This is the third sentence in

the text. The story the native speaker is telling is not something he has witnessed himself: it's a

story told to him by his grandfather when he was a child. The evidential +*oʔ* is attached to the

verb form *nakitetak* 'he is looking'.

(382)   /so qom nakittakoʔ ka lepetaɢanaɢat/

so   qom   Ø+n-akit+tak+oʔ   ka   l+epet-aɢanaɢat

DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+food

'That person was looking for food.'

(383)   /kaʔ iλitakoʔ lasom lai/

ka ʔ i+λyak+oʔ   l+asom   l+ai

then 3AC+bring+EV 3POSS+door ABS+side

'And she placed it near the door (= by the side of the door).'

In example (368). taken from the same text and repeated here as (384) for convenience.

the evidential clitic +*oʔ* is attached to the noun *qom* 'person'.

(384)   /qomoʔ so loqoʔm legemaɢayk/

qom+oʔ   so   loqoʔm   legemaɢ-ayk

PERSON+EV   DEIC(gng) or   strange.being-ADJ

'Was it a person or a strange creature?'

In (385), from a text. the evidential clitic +oʔ is attached to the adverbial šim ˈalmostˈ.

(385) /kaʔ šimoʔ qainaɢanigi so waɢayaq/

      kaʔ šim+oʔ   qa+i+naɢan+igi   so   waɢayaq

      then almost+EV ɪNDEF+3AC+throw+TDS DEIC(gng) water

      ˈThen he was almost thrown into the water. ˈ (lit: ˈThen somebody almost threw him into the water.)

The example in (386) . the first sentence in Text 2 (The Flood) contains three evidentials.

(386) /naλya:qoʔ weoʔ so qom ke:talegoʔ ji noʔwe:naɢa/

      naλa:q+oʔ ʔwe+oʔ so   qom

      before+EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person

      ∅+ek+ta+leg+oʔ   ji   n+oʔwe:naɢa

      3AC+walk+PROG+ON+EV DEIC(hor) ABS+field

      ˈOnce upon a time (= in the old times) there was a man who was walking on the field.ˈ

In (387). from the same text. the verb form kopatiroʔoʔ ˈyou ignite (it)ˈ contains two instances of the evidential clitic +oʔ.

(387) /kijim sašilaʔiʔ kopatiroʔoʔ naho sentangi laqalači /

      kijim s+ašila+ir   ∅+kopat+ir+oʔ+oʔ   na-ho

      for   1AC+ask+2SGR 2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV DEIC(cmng)-PROX

      s+enta+ngi   l+aqalači

      1AC+existʔ+ʔ ABS+open.field

      ˈ[I ask] that you start a fire here. where I am on the open field.ˈ

5.9. Summary

In this chapter I provided an account of word order and the structure of sentences and clauses in Mocoví. I described declarative and interrogative sentences, intransitive and transitive clauses, existential clauses, copular clauses, (the lack of) relative clauses, various types of adverbial clauses, comparative and equative structures, and coordination. I have described the negative proclitics and the evidential enclitic, and shown their use and function in natural speech.

6. Spanish Influence on Mocoví

The Mocoví Indians have been in contact with Spanish speakers since the mid 1700s. when the Spanish started sending expeditions to the southern Chaco region in Argentina. and the Jesuits attempted to establish missions in the area. However. the Mocovis. together with other Indian groups. managed to keep the Spanish away from the region until the late 19th century. when the Europeans settled in the area and the Mocovís started to depend on them for survival. It was not until the mid-20th century that Mocoví speakers came into intense contact with Spanish speakers.

In this chapter I examine the extent and nature of Spanish influence on Mocoví as a result of the recent intense contact situation between speakers of the two languages. In section 6.1 I briefly outline the methodology used in this chapter. In section 6.2 I present the borrowings from Spanish found in the Mocoví data I have examined. and I analyze the patterns of nativization that these forms show in Mocoví. Section 6.3 summarizes the findings.

6.1. Methodology

For this chapter I have concentrated on lexical items. morphology and phonology. I have examined data collected through elicitation from native speakers of the language and from texts recorded from four different native speakers of Mocoví of different ages (a total of 10 texts). I have also examined two sources that provide a description of earlier stages of two Waikurúan languages. One is a grammar of Abipón by Najlis (1966) based on the descriptions of the language provided by Martin Dobrizhoffer (1784) and Joseph Brigniel (original date unknown.

though likely to be around 1760. and published in 1896). The second source is Lafone Quevedo's

1892 Grammar of Mocoví. which can be used as a description of Mocoví in the late 19th

century. I have also used Ceria & Sandalo (1995) on Proto-Waikurúan as a source for earlier

stages of the phonology and (part of the) lexicon of Mocoví.

6.2. Lexical Borrowings

Spanish borrowings into Mocoví show several patterns of phonological nativization.

ranging from items that exhibit no change at all to items that have been completely nativized.

The lexical borrowings are grouped according to the extent of their nativization and the

pattern(s) that they show. I have found so far a total of forty borrowings from Spanish in

Mocoví. out of a total of about two thousand lexical items that I have collected and analyzed.

Most of these forms were collected during elicitation sessions. and only about fifteen borrowings

occurred in texts: seven discourse markers and eight lexical items.

The data is organized as follows: the Mocoví form of the borrowing is presented in the

first column. followed by the Spanish source with the phonetic transcription in square brackets.

then the English gloss. and then. in those cases where it is available. the native form is provided

in the last column.

6.2.1. Spanish loans with no segmental changes and Spanish stress.

The phonemic inventories of Mocovi and Spanish are not extremely different.[1] and many Spanish borrowings contain sounds that also occur in Mocovi. The stress patterns. however, are different. and many loanwords maintain penultimate Spanish stress when borrowed into Mocovi. Examples (388)-(397) show Spanish loans with no segmental changes and with Spanish penultimate stress. Some of these words may also occur in monolinguals' speech with nativization of the stress pattern. but so far I have found no examples.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(388)	βanána	Sp. banana [banána]	banana	
(389)	máka	Sp. hamaca [amáka]	hammock. swing	-alaki
(390)	mansána	Sp. manzana [mansána]	apple	
(391)	owéro	Sp. overo [oβéro]	spotted	
(392)	pápa	Sp. papa [pápa]	potato	
(393)	pápi	Sp. papi [pápi]	daddy	tayo
(394)	páto	Sp. pato [páto]	duck	raqawi
(395)	pelóta	Sp. pelota [pelóta]	ball	
(396)	sórgo	Sp. sorgo [sórɣo]	sorghum	
(397)	tomáte	Sp. tomate [tomáte]	tomato	

6.2.2. Mocoví stress with native suffixes

Some Spanish loanwords in Mocovi maintain the Spanish stress pattern when they occur without any Mocovi suffixes. However. if Mocovi suffixes are added. the loanwords adopt the Mocovi stress pattern. namely stress on the last vowel of the word. as in examples (398)-(400).

The forms in (a) show the Spanish loanwords with Spanish penultimate stress in Mocoví: in (b), the same forms occur with the paucal suffix -*l*, which moves the stress to the last vowel in the word. In example (398)c, the plural suffix -*ipi* has been added, also moving the stress to the last vowel in the word.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(398) a.	λiméta (SG)	Sp. limeta [liméta]	bottle	
b.	λimetál (PCL)			
c.	λimetaypi (PL)			
(399) a.	móno (SG)	Sp. mono [móno]	monkey	
b.	monól (PCL)			
(400) a.	sápo (SG)	Sp. sapo [sápo]	frog	pïjiloɢoloɢó
b.	sapól (PCL)			

It is interesting to note that it is only Mocoví suffixes and not prefixes or enclitics that trigger this change of stress in loanwords. In (401)a below, the loanword in the singular form maintains Spanish penultimate stress. In (401)b the paucal suffix -*l* has been added, in (401)c the plural -*ipi*, and in (401)d the second person respectful possessive suffix -*ir* (together with the prefix *n*- 'alienable possession'). These suffixes change the stress to the last syllable of the word. In (401)e, however, the first person singular possessive prefix *ñ*- has been added, and the word still maintains the Spanish penultimate stress.

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[1] See Appendix B, Section B.4 for the phonemic inventory of (Argentinian) Spanish.

	Mocovi	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(401)a.	wólsa	Sp. bolsa [bólsa]	bag	noɢoki
b.	wolsál (PCL)			
c.	wolsa(l)ipî (PL)			
d.	nwolsaîr (2SG.POSS)			
	Ø+n-wolsa+ir			
	2POSS+AL-bag+2SGR			
e.	ñwólsa (1SGPOSS)			
	i+n-wolsa			
	1SGPOSS+AL-bag			

There is one loanword. [petiso?ƛi? ~ petisoki?] 'short' (< Sp *petiso* 'short' and Mocoví

diminutive suffixes -*o?ƛi?*(F) and -*o?ki?*(M)). that is found always with the Mocoví diminutive

suffix. and that follows Mocoví stress pattern.

	Mocovi	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(402)	petiso?ƛi? (F)	Sp. petiso/a [petíso]	short (dimF)	lawošo?ƛi?
	petisoki? (M)		short (dimM)	

6.2.3. Vowel change (Sp. /u/ > Mcv /o/) (and Spanish stress)

Spanish words that contain a high back rounded vowel /u/ when borrowed into Mocovi change the Spanish vowel [u] to Mocovi [o]. This is an example of nativization because Mocovi lacks a phoneme /u/. In both (403) and (404) the Spanish stress pattern is maintained. Note also the change from Spanish [ð] (an allophone of /d/ in Spanish) to Mocovi [r].

	Mocovi	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(403)	koñára	Sp. cuñada [kuñáða]	sister-in-law	iowaλya (1SGPOSS)
(404)	móro	Sp. mudo [múðo]	mute	

6.2.4. Word-initial vowel deletion

There is a phonological rule in Mocovi that deletes a word-initial vowel. In some Spanish borrowings the Spanish word-initial unstressed vowel is deleted as in (405)-(408). Note that the forms in (405)-(407) also maintain the Spanish stress pattern. Example (408) shows the deletion of both the first vowel [a] and the following consonant [l], as well as the addition of the masculine diminutive suffix -oki? which changes the stress to the last vowel of the word.

	Mocovi	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(405)	čárpe	Sp. echarpe [ečárpe~ešárpe]	scarf	
(406)	(a)rína	Sp harina [arína]	flour	
(407)	súkar	Sp. azúcar [asúkar]	sugar	
(408)	pargatoki?	Sp. alpargata [alparɣáta]	rope-soled slipper	nepela 'shoe'

6.2.5. Reanalysis of Spanish Loans

There are a few nouns that have been borrowed from Spanish together with the Spanish feminine definite article. and have been reanalyzed as one word. I have not found any examples of such reanalysis involving the Spanish masculine article *el* 'the (M)'. At this point I would like to suggest that this is probably due to chance. since there are only three examples of reanalysis involving a Spanish definite article and a noun.

In examples (409) and (410) the Spanish nouns *mesa* 'table' and *taza* 'cup. mug' have been borrowed together with the feminine definite article *la* 'the (F)' which precedes these nouns in Spanish. Both forms also show the deletion of the word-final unstressed vowels. Notice that word-final vowels are not deleted in any of the other loanwords where the Spanish form has penultimate stress. (Compare (409) and (410) with the forms in examples (388)-(397). and (398)a-(401)a.)

	Mocovi	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(409)	lamés	Sp. la mesa [la mésa]	table	sela . nki?yaɢala
(410)	latás	Sp. la taza [la tása]	cup. mug	?taɢaki

6.2.6. Consonant cluster simplification

There is one loanword. the form for 'town' (from Spanish *pueblo* [pweβlo]). shown in (411) below. where the Spanish consonant cluster [pw] has been simplified into Mocovi [p]. The [β] is an allophone of [w] in Mocovi. so Spanish [β] is realized either as [w] or [β] in Mocovi. This is the only example I have found that has such a consonant cluster in the Spanish model. I have not found any other cases of consonant cluster simplification in loanwords (cf. Mcv

[porke] < Sp *porke* 'because': Mcv [antehnada] < Sp *antes que nada* 'before anything else. first': Mcv [mansána] < Sp *manzana* 'apple': Mcv [sórgo] < Sp. *sorgo* 'sorghum': Mcv [wólsa] < Sp. *bolsa* 'bag').

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss
(411)	péwlo (~péβlo)	Sp. pueblo [pwéβlo]	town

6.2.7. Spanish loans with Mocoví stress in all forms

One loanword from Spanish. [waká] 'cow' from Spanish *vaca* [báka] 'cow'. consistently shows final stress with and without Mocoví morphology. although its Spanish source has penultimate stress:

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss
(412)a.	waká (SG)	Sp. vaca [báka]	cow
b.	wakál (PCL)		

6.2.8. Discourse markers

An analysis of texts collected from different native speakers reveals few loanwords. but the introduction of a few discourse markers from Spanish. These seem to be integrated into the discourse structure of Mocoví. As noted in Chapter 5. Section 5.5. in Mocoví texts the sentences in a discourse are linked with the previous sentence by a discourse marker. usually *ka?* 'then. and then' or *qam* 'but'. It is not unusual to find Spanish loanwords such as [ahtaké] (Sp. *hasta que*)

'until', [tónseh] (Sp. *entonces*) 'then', and [xuhtoke] (Sp. *justo que*) 'just then' fulfilling the same function as the Mocoví discourse markers.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss
(413)	ahtaké	Sp. hasta que [áhta ke]	until
(414)	xúhtoke	Sp. justo que [xúhto ke]	just as/when
(415)	tónseh	Sp. entonces [entónses]	then
(416)	pórke	Sp. porque [pórke]	because
(417)	péro	Sp. pero [péro]	but
(418)	antehnáda	Sp. antes que nada [antehkenáda]	first, before anything else
(419)	porsupwéhtoke	Sp. por supuesto que [por supwéhto ke]	of course

Below are a few examples of these discourse markers in texts. The examples are organized as follows: the first line is the text in phonetic transcription; the second line is a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown in phonemic transcription; the third line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; the fourth line is a literal translation; and the last line (in italics) is a free translation of the sentence.

In (420) we see the use of the form [ahtake] borrowed from Spanish *hasta que* [ahtake] 'until'. This sentence was taken from Text 4, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar. The jaguar has just killed a horse, and the fox (its nephew), steals some of the meat while the jaguar is asleep. The jaguar wakes up and finds that some of its prey is gone. He suspects the fox, so he goes looking for him and finds him asleep. The jaguar tickles the fox with a twig and then he (the jaguar) runs back to his hole.

(420) /qošiwko? ka nete:sqo? ka? ka ji ?et/

qa+Ø+šiwk+o?   ka   n+ete:sqo? ka? ka   ji   Ø+?et
INDEF+3AC+exit+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+uncle then DEIC(absnt) DEIC(absnt) 3AC+escape

the uncle leaves and from there he escapes

/qaykan yowi? **ahtake** yowiro? ka lawak/

qayka-n	i+owir	**ahtake**	i+owir+o?	ka	l+awak
nothing-? (=nobody)	3AC+reach	until	3AC+reach+EV	DEIC(abst)	3POSS+hole

nobody can reach him until he reaches his hole

`So the uncle leaves and manages to escape. Nobody can reach him, until he reaches his hole.`

In (421) the Spanish borrowing [porke] from Spanish *porque* [porke] `because` is used.

In (422) we see the use of [antehnada] from Spanish *antes que nada* [antehkenada ~ antehnada] `before anything else, first of all`. These two examples were taken from a text in which the native speaker is explaining what to do when a poisonous snake bites.

(421)   /qayka ?nem la?a:ɢa čalego? la?a:ɢa **porke** ?ji:ñi? ka?ne:ta/

qayka	?nem	la?a:ɢa	čalego?	la?a:ɢa	**porke**	Ø+a?de:n+ir	ka?ne:ta
nothing	same	ugly	very	ugly	because	2AC+know+2SGR	what.happens

`nothing [is] as ugly, [it is] very ugly, because you know what happens?`

/**porke**: na ne:lonaq ena /

porke	na	ne:lonaq	e+na
because	DEIC(cmng)	campanilla	M+DEIC(cmng)

`because the campanilla this one`

/ qaina:ta pagek ke:saɢanaɢa ke na?wge/

qa+i+na:+ta		pagek	ke:saɢan-aɢa	ke	na-?wge
INDEF+3AC+?+PROG	more	power		OBL	DEIC(cmng)-all

`it has more power than all.`

`Nothing is as ugly, it is very ugly, because you know what happens? Because the "campanilla" has more power than all of them (= than all the other snakes).`

(422) kïjim ʔwe ka laʔde:nataɢanaɢak

kïjim ʔwe   ka   l+aʔde:nataɢan-aɢak

if   exist DEIC(abst) 3POSS+know-NOM

˙If there exists knowledge˙

kaʔ **antehnada** naqat ka lošigimaɢa

kaʔ **antehnada**   ∅+n-aqat   ka   l+ošigimaɢa

then **before.anything.else** 3AC+HITH-remove DEM(abst) 3POSS+skin

˙then first thing is to remove the skin.˙

˙If the person knows, then the first thing he/she does is remove the skin.˙

6.2.9. New phonemes

Mocoví has no voiceless labiodental fricative, but it does have a voiced bilabial fricative

as an allophone of the voiced labio-velar vocoid /w/. When Spanish forms with a voiceless

labiodental fricative [f] are borrowed into Mocoví, they are borrowed with a voiceless bilabial

fricative [φ], a phone that is present neither in the Spanish nor in the Mocoví native phonemic or

phonetic inventories. This sound has only been found in Spanish loanwords.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(423)	φátima	Sp. Fátima [fátima]	Fátima (woman's name)	
(424)	φelísa	Sp. Felisa [felísa]	Felisa (woman's name)	
(425)	kaφe	Sp. café [kafé]	brown (adj), coffee (n)	tokolek ˙brown˙ (lit: ˙reddish˙)˙

Mocoví has also borrowed a voiceless velar fricative [x] from Spanish. This sound is

only present in borrowed words, especially proper names like Juan [xwan] and José [xose]. This

phone is not part of the native phonemic inventory of Mocovi. but it is part of the phonemic inventory of Spanish.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(426)	xwan	Sp. Juan [xwan]	John (man's name)	
(427)	xose	Sp. José [xosé]	Joseph (man's name)	
(428)	xuhtoke	Sp. justo que [xuhtoke]	just when	

6.2.10. Unknown source.

There are two forms in Mocoví that do not conform to the native stress pattern. [čilála] ˙eagle˙ and [páre] ˙butterfly˙. The source for these two forms is unknown. These forms are clearly not borrowed from Spanish (Sp. *águila* ˙eagle˙, *mariposa* ˙butterfly˙). nor (as far as I have been able to find out) from any of the neighboring Indian languages. Neither Toba nor Abipón has cognate forms for these words: Toba (Buckwalter 1980) <toxotoq> [toɢotoq] ˙butterfly˙. <ỹanecdalo> [yanekdalo] ˙eagle˙: Abipón (Najlis 1966) [kela] ˙butterfly˙ (and the form for ˙eagle˙ is not available). Although I have not been able to identify a source for these words. the non-native stress and the lack of cognates in genetically related languages suggest that they are indeed loanwords.

	Mocoví	Source	English Gloss
(429)	čilála	??	eagle
(430)	páre	??	butterfly

Two more generalizations need to be made at this point, based not on what can be found in the data available, but on what is *not* found. The first is that the morphology of Mocoví does not show signs of influence from Spanish (yet). No Mocoví or Spanish forms were found bearing Spanish morphology, and Mocoví morphology is always added to Spanish loanwords if necessary. (The examples in (409) and (410), where a Spanish noun is borrowed together with the preceding feminine article *la* 'the (F)'. cannot be treated as examples of borrowed Spanish morphology, since the forms are reanalyzed in Mocoví as one morpheme, and treated as such in the syntax.)

The second generalization that is worth mentioning is that there are no verbs among the loanwords from Spanish. In Mocoví, nouns have a fairly simple form, while the verb form is a fairly complex one. However, this is not enough to explain why it is only nouns and not verbs that have been borrowed from Spanish (at least so far). It has been suggested in the literature that verbs are not borrowed into languages with complex verb forms (Meillet 1921b:84, cited by Vildomec, 1971:100, and discussed in Thomason & Kaufman 1988:348). However there are examples of verbs borrowed into languages with complex verb forms. Thomason & Kaufman briefly discuss the proposed constraints against the borrowing of verbs, especially in languages with complex verb forms. They list several examples of borrowings of verbs and mechanisms of borrowing in languages with complex verbs (1988:348-9, footnote 3).

6.3. Summary

In this chapter I have described the influence of Spanish on the vocabulary and the phonology of Mocoví as a result of the recent intense contact between speakers of the

two languages. The morphology of Mocoví, however, does not show signs of Spanish influence (at least not yet). A close study of the various changes reveals a variety of results: varying degrees of phonological nativization in loanwords (e.g. [pargatoki?] (Sp. *alpargata*) 'shoe', [waka] (Sp. *vaca*) 'cow', or [pelóta] (Sp. *pelota*) 'ball'; the introduction of two new phonemes, [x] (a voiceless velar fricative) and [φ] (a voiceless bilabial fricative), into Mocoví, which occur only in Spanish loanwords; and the introduction of a few discourse markers from Spanish which seem to follow the discourse structure of Mocoví. Spanish nouns that maintain Spanish penultimate stress when borrowed into Mocoví will adapt to the Mocoví stress pattern (namely ultimate stress) when Mocoví suffixes are added (e.g. [wólsa] (Sp. *bolsa*) 'bag', but [wolsál] 'bags (paucal)', [wolsaypí] 'bags (plural)' and [newolsair] 'your (sg) bag').

It will be interesting to compare the findings outlined here to the amount and the type of borrowings found in the same community in a few years' time, or maybe to those found in the language of Mocoví speakers from a different community. This, however, will be a topic for future research.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation presents a systematic and detailed description of Mocoví, a Waikurúan language that has been underdescribed. I have provided an analysis of the phonemic system of the language as well as the phonological processes that operate within it. I have analysed the inflectional morphology of nouns and noun phrases, the verb form and verb phrases, and the structure of sentences and clauses. Finally, I presented an account of the influence that Spanish has had on Mocoví, especially as a result of the intense contact in the last fifty years.

The analysis presented here shows that Mocoví can be classified typologically as an SVO language with an Active/Inactive person marking system. It has one set of pronominal clitics for agentive subjects, i.e. an Active set of proclitics, and another set for non-agent subjects and objects, i.e. an Inactive set of proclitics. The set of Inactive proclitics strongly resembles the set of possessive markers on nouns, something not unusual in languages with an Active/Inactive person marking system. It also shows that Mocoví has an Alienable/Inalienable opposition in nouns, a trait that is common in Active/Inactive languages (Nichols 1988 and 1992). Mocoví has a complex demonstrative system that consists of a set of deictic roots which precede the noun in noun phrases and mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). These deictic roots can also be function as pronominals and as locative adverbs. This study also shows a complex verb form with numerous categories expressed as affixes or clitics within that form. It shows that Mocoví lacks a passive construction, but it has an indefinite agent proclitic that attaches to the verb form. It has a set of (at least) fifteeen locative/directional enclitics that also occur within the verb form. I have described the structure of transitive and intransitive clauses, existential and copular clauses,

subordinate clauses and coordination. The analysis presented here shows that Mocoví lacks relative clauses.

Many of the topics discussed in this study require further investigation, and the analyses require refinement, especially issues that relate to the verb and the verb phrase. The data presented here suggests that Mocovi is a pronominal argument language, however further research is needed to confirm such a claim. A more detailed and comprehensive classification of the verb roots needs to be provided, which will hopefully shed some light into the selection restrictions of each verb. This is likely to play a significant role in the structure of the verb phrase and the elements that occur within the verb form and the verb phrase. Of particular interest is the set of locative/directional clitics, the selection restrictions of each verb root which may determine the different locative/directional clitics that each verb root may take and the effect that they have on the relation of the noun phrases with the verb. The role of the oblique agent noun phrase that sometimes occurs with the indefinite agent clitic needs to be further investigated.

Of particular interest are the implications that the analyses presented here may have typologically. This dissertation provides data for the study of languages with Active/Inactive systems, systems which have been neglected in the literature. It provides an account of a language with a complex deictic system, and provides additional data for typological studies of deictic systems in the world's languages. It also presents a description of locative and directional verbal morphemes, data that should be valuable in the typology of the expression of spatial orientation in language. It provides data for the study of passive constructions and/or the lack thereof.

It is not clear what implications the analyses presented here might have on linguistic theory. This is a topic that needs further investigation.

The analysis presented here has not provided an account of derivational morphology in Mocoví. Many of the forms in the data are morphologically complex. A description and detailed analysis of the derivational morphemes and the derivational processes active in the language are required. This study represents the first stage in an ongoing effort: further description and analysis are needed.

For historical linguists, this dissertation provides a fairly detailed and comprehensive study of a Waikurúan language. It provides data for a comparative study of Waikurúan languages, and data that is very much needed for the reconstruction of Proto-Waikurúan.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Texts

Text 1 - A Joke about the Mosquitos. by Juan José Manito

Text 2 - The Flood. by Juan José Manito

Text 3 - The Woman and the Duck. by Luisa Salteño

Text 4 - The Fox Steals from the Jaguar. by Isidoro Nicolás

Interlinear Text Analysis Layout

FN: phometic and sometimes phonetic detail

MM: morphemes in underlying shape

MG: morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss

LT: literal translation in English

FT: Free English translation

Symbols

+   clitic

-      affix

?   unknown gloss/morpheme breakdown

Text 1

A Joke about the Mosquitos

Narrated by Juan José Manito (May-June 1991)

FN   ?wo? so na?Ga?a ?we so wayle rasotaGayripi

MM   ?we+o?   so   na?Ga?a ?we so   wayle r+asot-aGa-ir-ipi

MG   EXIST+EV DEIC(gng) day   exist DEIC(gng) dance 3POSS+dance-NOM-PCL-PL

LT   There was a day [when] there was a dance of the dancers

FT   One day there was a dance of many dancers.

FN   ka? nowiretako? na qom

MM   ka? Ø+n-owire+tak+o?   na   qom

MG   then 3AC+HITH-arrive+PROG+EV DEIC(cmng) person

LT   then the people were arriving

FT   Then the people started to arrive.

FN   qam ?wi: sawa?maq šige ?wesanji ?yači lenaGat ?yači.

MM   qam ?we-i   so-wa   ?maq šige   ?we-san-ji   ?yat-i   l+enaGat   ?yat-i

MG   but   exist-PL DEIC(gng)-PL PRON already exist-??-DEIC(hor) mosquito-PCL 3POSS+name mosquito-
PCL

LT   But there they were the mosquitos their name mosquitos

FT   But there they were the mosquitos. those whose name is mosquitos.

FN   ka? so ?yat yale ?wi: ka laqano?lyi?.

MM   ka? so   ?yat   yale ?we-i   ka   l+aqan-o?lyi?

MG   then DEIC(gng) mosquito male exist-PL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+drink-DIMF

LT   Then the male mosquito there exist (some of) small drinks

FT   Then the male mosquito had a few drinks.

FN	kaʔ yiwaneʔtoʔ ka ʔaloʔλiʔλɤa.
MM	kaʔ i+ewan-eʔt+oʔ ka ʔalo-oʔλiʔ-λya
MG	then 3AC+see-ʔ+EV DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF-other
LT	Then he saw another little woman

FT	Then he saw a little woman.

FN	kaʔ naːkoʔ yilamkyoʔ ka newige .
MM	kaʔ Ø+naːk+oʔ i+ilamki+oʔ ka n+ewige
MG	then 3AC+say+EV 3AC+play+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+music
LT	Then he said the music played

FT	And the music played.

FN	kaʔ naːkoʔ ka ʔyat
MM	kaʔ Ø+naːk+oʔ ka ʔyat
MG	then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito
LT	Then the mosquito said:

FN	"čima ʔwe da yasotqačik yasotqačik".
MM	čima ʔwe da i+asot-aq-čik i+asot-aq-čik
MG	? exist DEIC(vert) 1POSS+dance-NOM-ʔ 1POSS+dance-NOM-ʔ
LT	"There exists my wish to dance."

FT	Then the mosquito said: "I would like to dance."

FN	kaʔ naːkoʔ ka ʔalo "aha yim taqaʔneta ʔwe da qaralorta
MM	kaʔ Ø+naːk+oʔ ka ʔalo aha yim taqaʔneta ʔwe da qar+alorta
MG	then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) woman yes 1SGPRON also exist DEIC(vert) 1PLPOSS+ʔ
LT	Then the woman said: "Yes. I also (it) exists our (ʔ) (=our wishes are the same?)"

FT	And the woman said: "Yes. I want to dance too.

FN   ka?ma šinqata."

MM   ka?ma   s+in-aq+ta

MG   then   1AC+?-1PL+PROG

LT   then we do that

FT   Then let's do that."

FN   ka? tare?wīji rasote? rasote?o?

MM   ka? Ø+tar-er+wīji   r+asot-er   r+asot-er+o?

MG   then 3AC+exit-3PL+OUT? 3IN+dance-3PL 3IN+dance-3PL+EV

LT   Then they went out [and] they dance they danced

FT   Then they went outside and danced.

FN   ka yilamkyo? aka newige

MM   ka   i+ilamki+o? a+ka   n+ewige

MG   when 3AC+play+EV F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

LT   When the music played

FN   rasotetapo? ka ?yači.

MM   r+asot-er+tape+o?   ka   ?yat-i

MG   3IN+dance-3PL+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito-PCL

LT   the mosIquitos danced

FT   When the music played. the mosquitos were dancing.

FN   qam ka ta:čigiñi maɢarayko? ka rasotaɢage?.

MM   qam ka   ta:čigiñi maɢar-ayk+o? ka   r+asot-aɢag-er

MG   but DEIC(absnt) beginning good-ADJM+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-3PL

LT   but at the beginning their dancing was good

FT   And at the beginning they were dancing well.

FN   qam naʔ waw?kram kaʔ nkoʔne:tawkoʔ da namoɢolĭšigeʔ

MM   qam naʔ waw?keram kaʔ Ø+n-koʔne:+tak+oʔ   da   n+amoɢolĭšig-er

MG   but then later   then 3AC+HITH-increase+PROG+EV DEIC(vert) 3POSS+joke-3PL

LT   But then later it is increasing their jokes

FT   But later their jokes were increasing.

FN   ǰiloɢogilo nawa rakomiri rakomiri

MM   r+iloɢog+ilo na-wa   r+akom-er-i   r+akom-er-i

MG   3IN+itch+PCL DEIC(cmng)-PL 3POSS+belly-3PL-PCL 3POSS+belly-3PL -PCL

LT   their bellies itch

FT   Their bellies start itching.

FN   kaʔ yiwanetoʔ na?maq laqahlek naqapyokiʔ

MM   kaʔ i+ewan-er+oʔ   na   ?maq l+aqat+leg   naqapi-okiʔ

MG   then 3AC+see-3PL+EV DEIC(cmng) PRON 3POSS+sleep+LOC child-DIMM

LT   Then they saw the children's sleeping

FT   Then they saw that the children were sleeping.

FN   ka ... ka ?yači šimoʔ šimoʔ

MM   ka ... ka ?yat-i   šim+oʔ   šim+oʔ

MG   then then mosquito-PCL almost+EV almost+EV

LT   Then the mosquitos almost ...

FN   ka na yale šimoʔ yaɢanek ka rasotaxawa.

MM   ka na   yale šim+oʔ i+aɢan+ek   ka   r+asot-aɢa-wa

MG   then DEIC(cmng) male almost+EV 3AC+release+ON DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOMF-partner

LT   then the male almost released his dancing partner

FT   Then the mosquitos almost... the male mosquito almost released his dancing partner

FN   qam ka ʔalo ʔyat noʔqotañoʔ ka rasotaɢawa

MM   qam ka   ʔalo ʔyat   Ø+n-oʔqota+ñi+oʔ   ka r+asot-aɢ-wa

MG   but DEIC(absnt) female mosquito 3AC+HITH-hold+DWN+EV DEIC 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

LT   But the female mosquito held down her partner

FT   But the female mosquito held her partner.

FN   kaʔ ka ma rasotaɢwa

MM   kaʔ ka   maq r+asot-aɢ-wa

MG   then DEIC(absnt) PRON 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

LT   Then her partner

FN   šimoʔ nahañi ka lamaɢso

MM   šim+oʔ   Ø+n-aha+ñi   ka   l+amaɢso

MG   almost+EV 3AC+fall+DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+pants

LT   his pants are almost to fall down

FT   Then her partner's pants are about to fall down.

FN   qamoʔ ka yale šimoʔ yaɢanek ka rasotaɢwa

MM   qam+oʔ ka yale šim+oʔ   i+aɢan+eg   ka   r+asot-aɢ-wa

MG   but+EV DEIC male almost+EV 3AC+release+OUT DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

LT   But the male almost releases his dancing partner

FT   But the male mosquito is about to release his dancing partner.

FN   qam kaʔma ʔalo sqayaɢanek ka rasotaɢwa

MM   qam ka   ʔma ʔalo sqa+y+aɢan+eg   ka   r+asot-aɢ-wa

MG   but DEIC PRON female NEG+3AC+release+OUT DEIC 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

LT   but the female did not release her partner

FT   But the female mosquito did not release her partner.

FN   noʔqo:tañi saik yaʔdenaka šim nahañi

MM   Ø+n-oʔqo:t+ñi   saik   i+aʔde:n-aka šim Ø+n-aha+ñi

MG   3AC+HITH-hold+DWN because 3AC+know-?? casi 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN

LT   She held him down becaues she knew that he almost fell down

FT   She kept holding him because she knew that he had almost fallen down.

FN   kaʔ ahtake nahañoʔ ka lamaɢso

MM   kaʔ ahtake² Ø+n-aha+ñi+oʔ   ka   l+amaɢso

MG   then until   3AC+HITH-fall+DWN+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+pants

LT   Then until his pants fell down

FT   And then his pants fell down.

FN   ahta ke nahañoʔ ka lamaɢso ka ʔyat

MM   ahtake Ø+n-aha+ñi+oʔ   ka   l+amaɢso   ka   ʔyat

MG   until   3AC+HITH-fall+DWN+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+pants DEIC(absnt) mosquito

LT   Until the mosquito's pants fell down

FT   Until the mosquito's pants fell down.

FN   kaʔ ʔwoʔ ka λya yale na:koʔ "ko: nahañi lamaɢso!"

MM   kaʔ ʔwe+oʔ   ka   λya yale Ø+na:k-oʔ ko: Ø+n-aha+ñi   l+amaɢso

MG   then exist+EV DEIC(absnt) other male 3AC+say+EV interj. 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN 3POSS+pants

LT   Then there was another male: he said: "Wow. his pants fall down!"

FT   And there was another man who said: "Wow. his pants are falling down!"

FN   šim nahañi ña λa

MM   šim   Ø+n-aha+ñi   ñi   λya

MG   almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN DEIC(nonext) other

LT   The other one almost falls down.

FT   The other one almost falls down.

---

² Mocovi *ahtake* 'until' < Sp. *hasta que* 'until'

FN   šim nahañi lpaɢanqate qam selpaɢanqate

MM   šim   Ø+n-aha+ñi   l+paɢanqate   qam se+l+paɢanqate

MG   almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN 3POSS+underpants but   NEG+3POSS+underpants

LT   his underpants almost fall down; but it is not his underpants

FT   His underpants almost fall down: but these are not his underpants.

FN   qam ña lowenqoʔ ñi šim noʔɢačiñi

MM   qam ñi   l+owenq+oʔ   ñi   šim   Ø+n-oʔɢat+ñi

MG   but DEIC(nonext) 3POSS+thing+EV DEIC(nonext) almost 3AC+HITH-hang+DWN

LT   but it is the thing is almost hanging down

FT   But it it is his thing that is almost hanging down.

FN   kaʔ qoynakoʔ lowenqa

MM   kaʔ   qa+i+nak+oʔ   l+owenqa

MG   then INDEF+3AC+say+EV 3POSS+weapon

LT   then he was told his weapon

FN   ñišim načiñi šim noʔɢačiñi

MM   ñi šim   Ø+n-ači+ñi   šim   Ø+n-oʔɢat+ñi

MG   DEIC(nonext) almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN almost 3AC+HITH-hang+DWN

LT   (it) is almost falling down. it is almost hanging down.

FT   Then he was told that his thing is about to fall down: it is almost hanging down.

Text 2

The Flood

Narrated by Juan José Manito (June 1991)

FN	naλya:qoʔ woʔ so qom ke:talkoʔ ji noʔwe:naɢa:
MM	naλa:q-oʔ ʔwe-oʔ so qom Ø+ek+ta+leg+oʔ ji n+oʔwe:naɢa
MMG	before+EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person 3AC+walk+PROG+ON+EV DEIC(hor) ABS+field
FT	In old times there was a man walking on the field.
FT	Once upon a time (=in the old times) there was a man who was walking on the field.

FN	sekiša:koʔ na qom.
MM	se+Ø+kiša:k+oʔ na qom
MMG	NEG+3AC? -exist?+EV DEIC(cmng) person
LT	No (other) person existed
FT	There was nobody else.

FN	so qom nakitetakoʔ ka lepetaɢanaɢat
MM	so qom Ø+n-akit+tak+oʔ ka l-epet-aɢanaɢat
MMG	DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+food
LT	that person was looking for his food:
FT	That person was looking for food.

FN	iowo:takoʔ ke ji noʔwe:naɢa.
MM	i+owo:+tak+oʔ ke ji n+oʔwe:naɢa
MMG	3AC+walk+PROG+EV OBL DEIC(hor) ABS+field
LT	(he) was walking on the field.
FT	He was walking on the field.

FN	ka? ke:tankyo? ka laqalači yiwanelko?
MM	ka? Ø+ek+taneki+o? ke l+aqalači i+ewan+leg+o?
MMG	and 3AC+go+PROG?+EV OBL ABS?+open.field 3AC+see+ON+EV
LT	And he was going on the open field he found it.
FT	And as he was going through the open field he found it.

FN	ka? ?ɢayako? ka nošikinaɢanaɢak:
MM	ka? Ø+?ɢayak+o? n+ošikinaɢanaɢa-k
MMG	and 3AC+hear+EV ABS+hiss-NOM
LT	And he heard one who hissing
FT	And he heard somebody hissing (at him).

FN	senaqatko? ka? na ?maɢare:
MM	se+Ø+n-aqat+ek+o? ka? na ?maɢare
MMG	NEG+3AC+HITH-understand+ON+EV then DEIC(cmng) PRON
LT	(He) did not understand (well) this one.
FT	He did not get to hear this well [where it was coming from].

FN	ka? raqačigilo? na lqaig:
MM	ka? r+aqat+igi+l+o? na l+qaig
MMG	and 3AC+move?+ON+?+EV DEIC-(cmng) 3POSS+head
LT	And he (began to) move his head.
FT	And he started moving his head.

FN	ka? yiwane?to? ka na qom ka ?na:ko? ka na qom
MM	ka? i+ewan-e?t+o? ka na qom ka Ø+?na:k+o? ka na qom
MMG	and 3AC+see-?+EV then DEIC(cmng) person then 3AC+say+EV then DEIC(cmng) person
LT	And he saw this person and said this person:
FT	And he saw this person. and this person said:

FN   "naʔitkena[naho] naʔitkena naho

MM   Ø+n-aʔ+ir+kena   na-ho   Ø+n-aʔ+ir+kena   na-ho

MMG   2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX 2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX

LT   Come towards here. come towards here.

FN   ʔanta ʔwe da yowenaɢanaɢa".

MM   ʔanta   ʔwe   da   i+owenaɢanaɢa

MMG   ? (=look) exists DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need

LT   look. there exists my need.

FT   "Come here. come here. listen. I need something (=I have a need)".

FN   qam kaʔmaq qom noʔčiːtoʔoʔ ka isegeyek

MM   qam ka   ʔmaq qom   Ø+n-oʔčiːtoʔ+oʔ   ka   isegeyek

MMG   but DEIC(absnt) PRON person 3AC+HITH-fear+EV DEIC(absnt) animal

LT   But the person feared the animal.

FT   But this person was afraid of the creature.

FN   maʔ seyiwanapega yaʔden maʔ sqae qom:

MM   maʔ   se+i+ewan+pega i+aʔdeːn   maʔ   sqae+qom

MMG   because NEG+3AC+see+? 3AC+know because NEG+person

LT   because he didn't see he didn't know (it) because it not a person

FT   Because he had never seen it. he didn't know it because it was not a person.

FN   qam reːtakoʔ so qom.

MM   qam r+eːtak+oʔ   so   qom

MMG   but 3IN?+talk+EV DEIC(gng) person

LT   But this person spoke.

FT   But this person spoke.

FN   kaʔ retakatakoʔ ka yale ʔnaːkoʔ

MM   kaʔ r+etaka+tak+oʔ   ka   yale Ø+ʔnaːk+oʔ

MMG   and 3IN?+talk+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+say+EV

LT   And the man spoke. he said:

FT   And the man spoke. he said:

FN   "yim ʔwe da yowenaɢanaɢa kaʔ šinta ma qamiʔ

MM   yim   ʔwe da   i+owenaɢanaɢa kaʔ {šinta ma qamiʔ}

MMG   1SGPRON exist DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need   then {??} (=I am like you)

LT   I my need exists. then I am like you

FT   "I have a need. then I am like you.

FN   ʔwe da roʔweːnaɢanaɢaʔeʔ wičhigiñoʔ ʔem woʔisak nagi."

MM   ʔwe da   r+oʔweːnaɢanaɢa+ir {wičhigiñoʔ ʔem} Ø+wo+ir+tak   nagi

MMG   exist DEIC(vert) 2POSS+need+2SGR   {that.is.why is ?} 2AC+walk+PROG now

LT   exists your need. that is why you are walking now."

FT   "You have a need [too]. that is why you are walking now.

FN   qalaɢam da yowenaɢanaɢa ñaːčiñiʔčigitoʔ

MM   qalaɢam da   i+owenaɢanaɢa   {ñaːčiñiʔčigit+oʔ}

MMG   but   DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need   {? (=coincides)}

LT   but my need coincides (= is the same)

FN   maʔ qamiʔ woʔišigiriʔ kaʔ jiwaynterelkoʔ

MM   maʔ qamir   Ø+woʔišigir+ir   kaʔ ir+ewan+ir+leg+oʔ

MMG   because 2SGPRON 2AC+walk??+2SGR then 1IN+find+2SGR+ON+EV

LT   because you walk and you found me.

FT   "But my need is the same since you walk and you found me.

FN   ka? nagi ?wo? da yašilaɢanaɢat

MM   ka? nagi ?we+o?   da   i+ašilaɢan-aɢat

MMG   then now exist+EV DEIC(standing) 1SGPOSS+ask-NOM

LT   then now exists my request

FT   ``And now I have a request.

FN   kijim sašila?i? kopačiro?o? naho

MM   kïjim s+ašila+ir   Ø+kopat+ir+o?+o?   na-ho

MMG   for   1AC+ask+2SGR 2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV DEIC(cmng)-PROX

LT   for I ask you ignite here where I am on the open field.

FN   sentangi laqalači

MM   s+enta+ngi   l+aqalači

MMG   1AC+exist?-?   ABS+open.field

LT   (where) I am on the open field.

FT   ``[I ask] that you start a fire here. where I am on the open field.

FN   kopačiro?o?

MM   Ø+kopat+ir+o?+o?

MMG   2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV

LT   ignite it and when it is finished you igniting it. and you go home

FN   ka?ma ?ime kopačira?a ka piλi?o?

MM   ka?ma i+me   Ø+kopat+ir+a?a   ka? Ø+epil+ir-o?

MMG   when 3AC+finish 2AC+ignite+2SGR+? then 2AC+go.home-2SGR+EV

LT   and when it is finished you igniting it. and you go home

FT   ``Set it on fire. when you are finished setting it on fire. then you go home.

FN   čaqa?ma? piλi?o?

MM   čaqa?-ma?   Ø+pil+ir+o?

MMG   and -? (=immediately) 2AC+go.home+2SGR+EV

LT   immediately you go back

FN   ? wito? ka la?ɢayaɢak ka qawoči?

MM   Ø+wo+ir+o?   ka   l+a?ɢayaɢak ka   qa+awot+ir

MMG   2AC+walk+2SGR+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+warning DEIC(absnt) 2POSS+relative+2SGR

LT   you walk [to give] a warning to your relatives

FT   ¨Go back at once and warn your relatives.

FN   čaqa?ma? na?maɢačiño? ma ?wo? ka yaɢat ma?le

MM   čaqa?-ma?   Ø+n-a?maɢat+ñi+o?   ma?   ?we+o? ka   yaɢat ma?le

MMG   and-?(=immediately) 3AC+HITH-prepare+DWN+EV because exist+EV DEIC(absnt) rain   later

LT   Immediately they prepare because there is a rain later.

FT   ¨They [must] get ready immediately because there will be a rain later.

FN   ma? yim yoykenatek na yaɢat.

MM   ma?   yim   i+oykenat?+ek   na   yaɢat

MMG   because 1SGPRON 1SGPOSS+dominance+OVER DEIC(cmng) rain

LT   because I [there is] my dominance over the rain.

FT   ¨Because I dominate the rain (=I have power over the rain).

FN   qalaɢam jilamqaño? jilamqaño? ke naho

MM   qalaɢam ir+elamaq+ñi+o? ir+elamaq+ñi+o? ke   na-ho

MMG   but   1IN+fall+DWN+EV 1IN+fall+DWN+EV OBL DEIC(cmng)-PROX (=here)

LT   but I fell. I fell here (=on this close).

FT   ¨But I fell (down), I fell (sown) here.

FN   ka? nagi ka saSilai?sak

MM   ka? nagi ka? s+aSil+ir+sak

MMG   and now and 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG

LT   and now I am asking you

FT   ¨And now I am asking you.

FN   ka da yowenaɢanaɢa ?nehem da rowenaɢanaɢa?e?

MM   ka? da   i+owenaɢanaɢa   ?nehem da   r+owenaɢanaɢa+ir?

MMG   and DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need   same   DEIC(vert) 2POSS+need+2SGR

LT   and my need is the same as your need

FN   nagi kĩjim ?wo?isak.

MM   nagi kĩjim   Ø+wo+ir+tak

MMG   now for.that 2AC+walk+2SGR+PROG

LT   now for that reason you are walking."

FT: "And my need is similar to your need, that is why you are walking."

FN   ka?maq yale yowito? ka lawo? ka ?na:ko? :

MM   ka-?maq   yale i+owir+o?   ka   l+awo-r   ka? Ø+?na:k+o?

MMG   DEIC(absnt)-? man 3AC+arrive+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+family-PCL and 3AC+say+EV

LT   And the man arrived [to] his relatives and (he) said:

FT   And the man arrived where his relatives, and he said:

FN   "na?le ?we so qom so qom rašilaɢantak.

MM   na?le ?we so   qom so   qom   r+ašilaɢan+tak

MMG   early exist DEIC(gng) person DEIC(gng) person 3AC+ask+PROG

LT   earlier there is this person this person was asking

FT   "Earlier I met this person, he made a request.

FN   qam šim seña?ɢayaɢana ma? sesa?de:n so ma? qom

MM   qam šim se+i+n-a?ɢayaɢan+a   ma?   se+s+a?de:n   so   ma? qom

MMG   but almost NEG+1AC+HITH-notice+OBJ? because NEG+1AC+know DEIC(gng) PRON person

LT   But almost I did not notice (=pay attention to) him because I did not know this person.

FT   "But I almost did not pay attention to him because I did not know this person.

FN   qomoʔ so loqoʔm legemaGayk por supwehto ke eh legemaGayk

MM   qom+oʔ   so   loqoʔm legemaG-ayk   porsupwehtokeeh³ legemaG-ayk

MMG   PERSON+EV DEIC(gng) or   strange.being-ADJ of.course.that.is   strange.being-ADJ

LT   Was this a person or a strange being? of course it [was] a strange being.

FT   ʻʻWas it a person or a strange creature? Of course it was a strange creature.

FN   ʔwičigiñoʔ nelamqañoʔ.

MM   ʔwičigiñoʔ Ø+n-elamq+ñi+oʔ

MMG   thar.is.why 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN+EV

LT   That is why it fell down.

FT   ʻʻThat is why it fell down.

FN   qam soʔ ma ...

MM   qam soʔ   ma...

MMG   but   DEIC-(gng) PRON

LT   But this one...

FT   ʻʻBut this one...

FN   so ʔmaʔ qom ʔna:koʔ ʻʻsaoGat so maq na:palGa.

MM   so   ʔmaʔ qom   Ø+ʔna:k+oʔ saoGat so   maq n+a:palGa

MMG   DEIC(gng) PRON person 3AC+say+EV   because DEIC(gng) PRON ABS+darkness

LT   This person said: ʻʻBecause the darkness

FN   na:palGa so soʔmaq ñqayʔλigiñi kaʔ yiya:ñi

MM   n+a:palGa   so   so-ʔmaq   i+n-qayʔλigi+ñi   kaʔ i+eya:+ñi

MMG   ABS+darkness DEIC(gng) DEIC(gng)-PRON 1AC+HITH-thunder+DWN and 3AC+fall+DWN

LT   darkness this this one I made it thunder down (=I made thunder) and I fell down

FT   ʻʻThis person said: «Because of darkness. that darkness. I created thunder. and I fell down.

³ Mocoví por supwehtokeeh ʻof course that (it) isʼ < Sp. por supuesto que es ʻof course that (it) isʼ

FN	šintapego? ñaq qoyoqočigiño? na?maq ?lawa
MM	s+inat+pege+o? ñaq Ø+qoyoqot+igi+nĭ+o? na-?maq ?lawa
MMG	1AC+think+WITH+EV still 3AC+far+??+DWN+EV (?) DEIC(cmng)-PRON earth
LT	I was thinking [that] the earth was still far

FT   «I was thinking that the earth was still far away.

FN	šintapega ñaq qoyoqoči?ña
MM	s+inat+pege ñaq Ø+qoyoqot+igi+nĭ+a
MMG	1ac+think+WITH still far+??+DWN+??
LT	I think [it] is still far down

FT   «I was thinking that it was still far down.

FN	ka na? saɢanñi na ?maq kĭjim salatetapigi
MM	ka? na? s+aɢan+ñi na ?maq kĭjim s+alatetap+igi
MMG	and when 1AC+stop+DWN DEIC(cmng) PRON that 1AC+thunder+??
LT	And when I stopped I thunder (=make thunder)

FN	ka se?wetañi ka na ?lawa
MM	ka? s+?we+ta+ñi ke na ?lawa
MMG	and 1AC+exist+PROG+DWN OBL DEIC(cmng) earth
LT	and I am down on the earth
FT	«And when I stopped making thunder. then I am down on the earth.

FN   ka naʔ nqoʔñišigim so nawegelek ka j̈oʔweːnañi

MM   kaʔ naʔ Ø+n-qoʔñi+šigim so   nawegelek kaʔ ir+oʔweːn+ñi

MMG   and when 3AC+HITH-RISE+UP DEIC(cmng) cloud   then IIN+stay+DWN

LT   and when the cloud rose up

FN   kaʔ wičigiñoʔ nagi sentaʔñi naho.

MM   kaʔ wičigiñ+oʔ   nagi s+entaʔ+ñi   na-ho

MMG   then that.is.why+EV now IAC+existʔ+PROG+DWN DEIC(cmng)-PROX (= here)

LT   then I stayed down and that was why I am now down here

FT   «And when the cloud went up. then I stayed down, and that was why I am down here now.

FN   qalaɢam nagi sašilaiʔsak noʔm da j̈iʔɢoriñiʔ

MM   qalaɢam nagi s+ašila+ir+sak   noʔm da   ir+eʔɢorin+ir

MMG   but   now IAC+ask+2SGR+PROG if   DEIC(vert) IIN+favor+2SGR

LT   But now I am asking you if this (=like this) you favor me

FT   «But now I am asking you if you appreciate me this way:

FN   čaqae qamiʔ seʔɢoriñiʔ

MM   čaqae qamir   s+eʔɢorin+ir

MMG   and   2SGPRON IAC+favor+2SGR

LT   and you I favor

FT   «And I favor you.

FN   ka ʔwe ka naʔɢaʔa

MM   kaʔ ʔwe ka   naʔɢaʔa

MMG   then exists DEIC(absnt) day

LT   then exists the day

FN   ka maq ranataɢačiʔ ke kaʔ maq daːñiʔsake

MM   ka maq   r+anataɢat+ir ke   ka   ʔmaq Ø+edaːn+ir+tak

MMG   and PRON 2IN+find+2SGR OBL DEIC(absnt) PRON 2AC+search+2SGR+PROG

LT   and you find this you are looking for

FN   lepetaɢanaɢat na   rošigimaɢaʔe?"

MM   l+epetaɢanaɢat na   r+ošigimaɢa+ir

MMG   ABS+food   DEIC(cmng) 2POSS+body+2SGR

LT   food of your body."

FT   «And there will be a day when you will find what you are looking for, food for your body.» ¨

Text 3

The Woman and the Duck

Narrated by Luisa Salteño (May 1996)

FN ?wo? ka na?Ga?a ka ?alo ri?λiwi ke aka le?ya

MM ?we-o? ka   na?Ga?a ka   ?alo   r-i?λiwi   ke a-ka   l-e?ya

MG exist+EV DEIC(absnt) day   DEIC(absnt) woman 3AC+fetch.water OBL F+DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+hole

LT One day there was a woman who went to look for water from the well.

FT Once upon a time there was a woman who went to the well to look for water.

FN nata ne?ya na moqoyt le?ya waGayaq

MM na-ta   n+e?ya na   moqoyt l+e?ya   waGayaq

MG DEIC(cmng)-PROX ABS+hole DEIC(cmng) Mocovi 3POSS+hole water

LT This hole was a hole of water of the Mocovi.

FT This well was a well of water of the Mocovi.

FN ka? le?ya ka yale yawo:take retaGaya?pe? ka ?alo

MM ka? l+e?ya   ka   yale i+awo:-take   r+etaGaya+pe? ka   ?alo

MG then 3POSS+hole DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+want+PROG 3AC+talk+WITH DEIC(absnt) woman

LT Then the hole. a man wanted to talk to the woman.

FT At the well a man wanted to talk to the woman.

FN qam yawo:ntako? ka ?alo

MM qam i+awo:n+tak+o?   ka   ?alo

MG but 3AC+like+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) woman

LT But he likes the woman

FT And he likes the woman.

FN   qam ka yale renataɢantako?

MM   qam ka   yale r+enataɢan+tak+o?

MG   but DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+ask+PROG+EV

LT   But the man was asking when.

FN   lakyo? ka ?maɢare retaɢayapege? ?alo?ʎi?

MM   laki+o? ka   ?maɢare r+etaɢay+pege? ?alo-?ʎi?

MG   when+EV DEIC(absnt) PRON   3AC+talk+UP.TO   woman-DIM

LT   when he talks to the little woman (= when he can talk to the young woman).

FT   But the man was asking when he would be able to talk to the young woman.

FN   qam... ka ?alo naqayažin ka yale

MM   qam... ka   ?alo   n+aqayajin ka   yale

MG   but   DEIC(absnt) woman 3AC+deceive DEIC(absnt) man

LT   But... this woman deceived the man.

FT   But this woman deceived the man.

FN   na:ko? ma?lepe wi:čiro?

MM   Ø+na:k+o? ma?le-pe Ø+owir+ir+o?

MG   3AC+say+EV after-night 2AC+arrive+2SGR+EV

LT   (She) said: "Later tonight come (to my house)

FN   qam lasom lai sowe:ta?ño?

MM   qam l+asom l+ai   s+owe+tak+ñi+o?

MG   but ABS+door 3POSS+side 1AC+exist?+PROG+DWN+EV

LT   but I will be by the side of the door

FN   wi:čiro? setaɢayaɢato? ke lasom lasom ñiya?a?

MM   Ø+owir+ir+o?   s+etaɢay-aɢ+t+o? ke l+asom   l+asom   ñi   i-a?a?

MG   2AC+arrive+2SGR+EV 1AC+talk-1PL+?+EV OBL ABS+door ABS +door DEIC(nonext) 1SGPOSS+house

LT   Come and we will talk by the door of my house

FT   (She) said: "Later tonight come (to my house) and I will be by the side of the door: come and we

            will talk by the door. the door of my house."

FN   ka? ka yale pe?e:to? ?keo?

MM   ka? ka   yale Ø+pe?e:t+o?   Ø+ek+o?

MG   then DEIC(absnt) man 3IN+be.happy+EV 3AC+go+EV

LT   Then the man was happy: he went [home].

FT   Then the man was happy and he went home.

FN   ka? kala:wit

MM   ka? ka   l+a:wit

MG   then DEIC(absnt) ABS?+evening

LT   Then in the early evening

FN   ka? ka yale eka keo?

MM   ka? ka   yale e+ka   Ø+ke+o?

MG   then DEIC(absnt) man M+DEIC(absnt) 3AC+go+EV

LT   then this man went to the little woman's house.

FN   ka la?a? ka ?alo?λi?

MM   ka   l+a?a?   ka   ?alo-?λi?

MG   DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+house DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF

LT   then this man went to the little woman's house.

FT   And early that evening this man went to the young woman's house.

FN   aka ?a:lo?λi?

MM   a+ka   ?alo-?λi?

MG   F+DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF

LT   The little woman.

FN   ka ?we ka leta?al ka ?a:lo?λi?

MM   ka   Ø+?we   ka   l+eta?a-l   ka   ?a:lo-?λi?

MG   DEIC(absnt) 3AC+exist DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+father-PCL DEIC(absnt) woman-DIM.F

LT   she had her parents. (= the parents of the little woman exist)

FT   The parents of the young woman were there.

FN	ka qo?naɢato? ka leta?al		
MM	ka qo?naɢat+o? ka		l+eta?a-l
MG	then ?+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+father-PCL		
LT	Then she asked her parents.		

FN	yoqa ka lomate? nqa?en		
MM	i+oq+a ka	l+omat-er	n+qa?en
MG	3AC+put+? DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+place+3PL 3AC+make		
LT	she made them change their place.		

FT	Then she asked her parents to change their places.

FN	čaqae ?alo?λi?
MM	čaqae ?alo-?λi?
MG	and woman-DIMF
LT	And the little woman

FN	qam ?wo? ka lalo le:naɢat ?ɢañi		
MM	qam ∅+?we+o? ka	l+lo	l+e:naɢat ?ɢañi
MG	but 3AC+exist+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+animal 3POSS+name duck		
LT	but she had an animal called 'duck' (=but exists her animal whose name was 'duck')		

FT	And the young woman had an animal called 'duck'.

FN	le:naɢat páto lalo		
MM	l+e:naɢat páto⁴	l+lo	
MG	3POSS+name duck 3POSS+animal		
LT	the name of her animal was 'duck'		

FT	The name of her animal was 'duck' (= her animal was a duck).

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⁴ Mocoví páto <Sp. pato 'duck'

FN   qam naʔnata páto newek

MM   qam naʔ-na-ta   páto newek

MG   but ʔ-DEIC(cmng)-PROX duck wild

LT   But that duck was wild.

FT   But that duck was wild.

FN   ana lalo qaʔpaɢanaɢae

MM   a+na   l+lo   qaʔpaɢan-aɢa-e

MG   F+DEIC(cmng) 3POSS+animal brood+NOM-ʔ

LT   her brooding animal is brooding its little ones

FN   qaʔpaɢatalektoʔ kawa λa:lqolqaeʔ

MM   qaʔpaɢan+tak+leg+oʔ ka-wa   l+a:l-qo-lqaer

MG   brood+PROG+ON+EV DEIC(absnt)-PCL 3poss+child-PCL-ʔ

LT   is brooding its little ones

FT   Her brooding animal is brooding its young.

FN   kaʔ noqqae akageʔ ʔɢañi le:naɢat

MM   kaʔ noqae a+ka-geʔ   ʔɢañi l+e:naɢat

MG   then bad   F+DEIC(absnt)-ʔ duck 3POSS+name

LT   But that one whose name is duck is bad.

FT   But that one called duck is bad.

FN   kaʔ iλi:taʔkoʔ lasom lai

MM   kaʔ i+-λi:taʔk+oʔ l+asom   l+ai

MG   then 3AC+put+EV 3POSS+door 3POSS+side

LT   Then she put it by the side of the door

FT   Then she put it by the side of the door.

FN   ka? lawit ka? yowiro? ka yale

MM   ka? l+awit   ka? i+owir+o?   ka   yale

MG   then ABS+evening then 3AC+arrive+EV DEIC(absnt) man

LT   Then in the early evening the man arrived.

FT   Then in the early evening the man arrive.

FN   qam ši:napalčigiñi ka? yowiro? ka yale

MM   qam ši:napaltigiñi ka? i+owir+o?   ka   yale

MG   pero ? (=at dusk) then 3AC+arrive+EV DEIC(absnt) man

LT   Then when the sun set. the man arrived.

FT   Then at sunset the man arrived.

FN   ka? na:ko? igenta?o? wa:ko?

MM   ka? Ø+na:k+o? i+genta?+o? Ø+wa:k+o?

MG   then 3AC+say+EV 3AC+go+EV   3AC+say?+EV

LT   Then he said. he went. he said

FN   "ka ?we:tago? aka ?alo" nako?

MM   ka   ?we:+tak+o? a+ka   ?alo   Ø+nak+o?

MG   DEIC(absnt) exist+EV   F+DEIC(absnt) woman 3AC+say+EV

LT   "Where is the woman?" he said.

FT   "Where is the woman?" he said.

FN   qayka ka na:wekapego?

MM   qa+e+ka   ka   Ø+n-a:beg+pege+o?

MG   nthg+M+DEIC(absnt) DEIC(absnt) 3AC+HITH-think+UP.TO+EV

LT   He does not think in anything. (= he does not imagine anything)

FT   He cannot imagine anything (is going to happen).

FN   ka? sa:to? ka páto na nako?

MM   ka? Ø+sa:t+o?   ka   páto na   Ø+nak+o?

MG   then 3AC+hear+EV DEIC(absnt) duck   then 3AC+say+EV

LT   Then the duck heard something. and it said:

FN   ''haaaaah...'' ne?tko? ka páto caqa eko?sat

MM   ''haaaaah... Ø+ne?+tak+o?   ka   páto čaqa eko?sat

MG   ahhhhhhh... 3AC+do+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) duck and   ? (= as if it was to answer)

LT   ''Ahhhhh...'' does the duck and as if it was about to answer

FT   And the duck heard something. and it said: ''Ahhhhh...'' goes the duck. as if it was answering.

FN   qačika ka yale la?maɢa nako?

MM   qačika ka   yale la?maɢa Ø+nak+o?

MG   but   DEIC(absnt) man more?   3AC+say+EV

LT   But the man says more.

FT   But the man speaks again.

FN   ''wa?ge ka qaretaɢayaqa?''

MM   ''wa?ge ka   qar+etaɢay-aɢ+a?

MG   where DEIC(absnt) 1PLIN+talk-1pl-?

LT   ''Where are we going to talk?''

FT   ''Where are we going to talk?''

FN   ma?le páto qačika lama?ɢa? na:ko? ka páto

MM   ma?le páto qačika lama?ɢa? Ø+na:k+o? ka   páto

MG   later duck but   more   3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) duck

LT   Later the duck... But the duck said more.

FT   But the duck spoke again.

FN   qačika la?ma?ɢo? ro?o:ka páto

MM   qačika la?ma?ɢa+o? r+o?o:ka   páto

MG   but   more+EV   3IN+get.angry duck

LT   But the duck got angry again.

FT   But the duck got angry again.

FN   "haaaaaaah..." ne?tko? qačika yale la?ma?aɢan noki:go?

MM   "haaaaaaah..." Ø+ne?etek+o? qačika yale la?ma?aɢan Ø+n-oki:g+o?

MG   ahhhhh...   3AC+do?+EV but   man more   3AC+HITH-approach+EV

LT   "Ahhhhhhhh..." it did. But the man got closer.

FT   "Ahhhhhhhh..." it went. But the man got closer.

FN   ka yale nokiketa?o?

MM   ka   yale Ø+n-oki:g+ta?+o?

MG   DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+HITH-approach+PROG+EV

LT   The man was getting closer.

FT   The man was getting closer.

FN   ka sa:tetak nqa?ɢančigiñi

MM   ka   Ø+sa:t+tak   Ø+n-qa?aɢan-t-igi+ñi

MG   DEIC(absnt) 3AC+answer+PROG 3AC+HITH-sit-?-?+DWN

LT   the one who answers sat up.

FT   The one who was answering sat up.

FN   i:me ka nqa?ɢaño?

MM   i:me ka   Ø+n-qa?aɢan+ñi+o?

MG   finish then 3AC+HITH-sit+DWN+EV

LT   It finished and it sat down

FT   And when it finished. it sat down.

FN   liyo? retaqa ka yale na:ko?

MM   λya+o? r+etaɢ+a ka   yale Ø+na:k+o?

MG   other+EV 3AC+talk+? DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+say+EV

LT   And he spoke again: the man said:

FN   "ñigeʔ ka ñiːsaʔpegeʔ" naːkoʔ

MM   ñigeʔ   ka   Ø+en+ir+saʔ+pegeʔ   Ø+naːk+oʔ

MG   INTERROG DEIC(absnt) 2AC+do+2SGR+PROG+UP.TO 3AC+say+EV

LT   "What are you doing?" he said.

FT   And the man spoke again: he said: "What are you doing?" he said.

FN   "saotake setayaɢataʔ" naːkoʔ ka yale

MM   s+awo+take   s+etay-aɢ-t+aʔ" Ø+naːk+oʔ ka   yale

MG   1AC+want+PROG 1AC+talk-1PL-?-? 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) man

LT   "I want us to talk" (= I want we talk), the man said.

FT   "I want us to talk", the man said.

FN   qačika saːtoʔ saʔatakoʔ ka pato

MM   qačika Ø+saʔat+oʔ   Ø+saʔat+tak+oʔ   ka   páto

MG   but   3AC+answer+EV 3AC+amswer-PROG?+EV DEIC(absnt) duck

LT   But it answered, the duck answered

FT   But it answered: the duck answered.

FN   ka saːtoʔ ka naːkoʔ "haaaaah..."

MM   ka   Ø+saʔat+oʔ   ka   Ø+naːk-oʔ   "haaaaah..."

MG   DEIC(absnt) 3AC+answser+EV DEIC(absnt) 3AC+say+EV   Ahhhhhh

LT   It answered: it said: "Ahhhhhhh..."

FT   It answered: it went: "Ahhhhhhh...".

FN   kaʔ qayaʔžikyoʔ ka lašik

MM   kaʔ   qa+i+aʔjiki+oʔ   ka   l+ašik

MG   then INDEF+3AC+peck+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+face

LT   and his face was pecked.

FT   And the man's face was pecked.

FN   nokigoʔ ka yale mašigi... mašigi...

MM   Ø+n-okig+oʔ   ka   yale mašigi... mašigi...

MG   3AC+HITH-approach+EV DEIC(absnt) man but   but

LT   The man came closer. but... but...

FN   qayažikyoʔ ka lašik ka yale ka nelo páto

MM   qa+i+ajiki+oʔ   ka   l+ašik   ka   yale ka   n+lo   páto

MG   INDEF+3AC+peck+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+face DEIC(absnt) man DEIC(absnt) ABS+animal duck

LT   The man's face was pecked: this animal duck.

FT   The man came closer. but... but... the man's face was pecked by this duck.

Text 4

The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

Narrated by Isidoro Nicolás (April 1996)

FN   regat ralawataɢantako? šipegaq qo?ɢoyk

MM   regat r+alawataɢan+tak+o? šipegaq qo?ɢoyk

MG   jaguar 3AC+butcher+PROG+EV horse   old

LT   The jaguar was butchering an old horse.

FT   The jaguar was butchering an old horse.

FN   pop la:tenek leta?am

MM   pop   l+a:tenek   leta?am

MG   INTERJ 3POSS+prey many

LT   Wow [there was] a lot of meat (= prey)

FT   Wow! There were lots of meat!

FN   pop roqačyo? ka nowaɢayaɢa

MM   pop   r+oqači+o?   ka   n+owaɢayaɢa

MG   INTERJ 3AC+steal+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+fox

LT   Wow! The fox stole it.

FT   Wow! The fox stole it.

FN   roqačyo? ka late:nek ka netesqo?

MM   r+oqači+o?   ka   l+ate:nek   ka   n+etesqo?

MG   3AC+steal+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+prey DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

LT   He stole his uncle's prey.

FT   He stole his uncle's prey.

FN   roqačigyo?

MM   r+oqači+igi+o?

MG   3AC+steal+EV

LT   He stole it.

ELT   He stole it.

FN   ne:lowko? ka netesqo?

MM   Ø+n-e:lowok+o? ka   n+etesqo?

MG   3AC+wake.up+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

LT   The uncle woke up.

ELT   The uncle woke up.

FN   ka ro?o saik yo?wat latenqaypi

MM   ka   r+o?o   saik   i+o?wat   l+atene-qa-ipi

MG   then 3AC+get.angry because 3AC+not.be 3POSS+prey-PCL-PL

LT   Then he e got angry because his prey was missing.

FT   And he got angry because his prey was missing.

FN   ?nak "peta?a čaqayka ka i:tesek ka roqači

MM   Ø+?nak peta?a čaqayka ka   i+itesek   ka   r-oqači

MG   3AC+say maybe and   DEIC(absnt) 1SGPOSS+nephew DEIC(absnt) 3AC+steal

LT   (He) said: And maybe my nephew, he stole it.

FT   (He) said: "Then maybe my nephew, he [probably] stole it.

FN   ka? ka ži ya?de:ntari

MM   ka? ka   ji   i+a?de::n+tak+ri

MG   then DEIC(absnt) DEIC(hor) 3AC+know+PROG-?

LT   Then he already knows.

FT   So he knows already.

FN   ne:te?o? ka qayda:nake na?ɢa?a lawiñi

MM   ne:te?e+o? ka   qa+i+da:nake   na?ɢa?a lawiñi

MG   tomorow+EV DEIC(absnt) INDEF+3AC+look.for day   middle

LT   The following day this one [the fox] is looked for in the middle of the day.

FT   The following day. in the middle of the day. he [the jaguar] looks for him [the fox].

FN   ka? qaywanelek laqatam

MM   ka? qa+i+ewan+leg   l+aqatam

MG   then INDEF+3AC+find+ON ABS+sleeper (=one.who.sleeps)

LT   then he was found sleeping

FT   And he was found sleeping

FN   ji roqači ?wet+o?ot la?aloki?

MM   ji   r+oqači ?we+t+o?ot   l+a?al-oki?

MG   DEIC(HOR) 3AC+steal exist+PROG+UNDER ABS+shade-DIMM

LT   the one who stole is under the shade.

FT   The thief was in the shade.

FN   yiwanelko? ka lete:sek

MM   i+ewan+leg+o? ka   l+ete:sek

MG   3AC+find+ON+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew

LT   He found his nephew.

FT   He [the jaguar] found his nephew.

FN   qam seyaqamaɢat

MM   qam se+i+aqamaɢat

MG   but NEG+3AC+do

LT   But he didn't do it. (= he doesn't do anything to him)

FT   But he [the jaguar] doesn't do anything to him.

FN   yada?ko?ken nawa limyaqolqai? ke na waqapyoki?

MM   i+ada?ak+o?+ken   na-wa   l+imiaqolqa-ir   ke   na   waqapi-oki?

MG   3AC+poke+EV+?   DEIC(cmng)-pcl 3POSS+nostril-PCL? OBL DEIC(cmng) grass-DIMM

LT   He pokes his nostrils with a little blade of grass.

ELT   He [the jaguar] tickles his nostrils [the fox's nostrils] with a little blade of grass.

FN   ri:šigyo?ken limik nqa?en

MM   r+i:šigi+o?+ken l+imik   Ø+n-qa?en

MG   3AC+itch+EV+? 3POSS+nose 3AC+HITH-make

LT   He makes his nose itch. (= he makes his nose itches)

FT   He makes his nose itch.

FN   ?na:ko? žažaɢani:tak lataɢañi

MM   Ø+?na:k+o? ir+ajaɢan-i:+tak   lataɢan-i

MG   3AC+say+EV 1IN+abandon+PROG fly-PCL

LT   He said: "Leave me alone, flies.

FN   noma?či sesačiči

MM   no?om ma?-či   se+s+ačit-i:

MG   if   because ? NEG+1AC+share.with-2PL

LT   because if not I will not share with you

FN   ke ñi ñoq qagreta lowa?

MM   ñi   i+n-oq   qagreta lowa?

MG   OBL DEIC(nonext) 1SGPOSS+AL-food sheep   male

LT   my food of the male sheep.

FT   He said: "Leave me alone, flies, because if not I will not share with you any of my food, the male

       sheep."

FN   ki ži ka qoyaɢaño?

MM   ke ji   ka   qa+i+aɢan+o?

MG   OBL DEIC(hor) DEIC(absnt) INDEF+3AC+leave+EV

LT   There he was left alone.

FT   And then he was left alone.

FN   qošiwko? ka netesqo?

MM   Ø+qoši+weg+o? ka   n+etesqo?

MG   3AC+exit+OUT+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

LT   The uncle leaves.

FT   The uncle leaves.

FN   ka? ka zi ?et qaykan yowi?

MM   ka? ka   ji   Ø+?et   qa-e+ka-n   i+owir

MG   then DEIC(absnt) DEIC(hor) 3AC+escape nthg+M+DEIC(absnt)-? 3AC+reach

LT   And there he escapes: nobody can reach him.

FT   And then he escapes from that place: nobody can reach him.

FN   ahtake yowito? ka lawak

MM   ahtake i+owir+o?   ka   l+awak

MG   until   3AC+reach+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+hole

LT   Until he reaches his hole.

FT   Until he reaches his hole.

FN   ka yinoɢoño? ra?yitao? ka netesqo? ?

MM   ka i+inoɢon+ñi+o?   r+a?yi+ta+o?   ka   n+etesqo?

MG   then 3AC+enter+DWN+EV 3IN+see+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

LT   Then he entered: the uncle was looking.

FT   Then he went in: the uncle was looking around.

---

⁵ Mcv [ahtake] <Sp. *hasta que* 'until'

FN   kaʔ ʔna:ko "noki:kero noki:kero"

MM   kaʔ ∅+ʔna:k+oʔ ∅+n-oki:k+ir+o   ∅+n-oki:k+ir+o

MG   then 3AC+say+EV 2AC+HITH-approach+2sgR+IN 2AC+HITH-approach+2sgR+IN

LT   Then he said: "Come close, come close".

FT   Then he said: "Come here, come here"

FN   raʔyaoʔ

MM   r+aʔi+oʔ

MG   3AC+see+EV t

LT   He looked inside.

FT   He looked inside.

FN   kaʔ yimičigiloʔ nqote ke na ʔlawa

MM   kaʔ i+imit-igi+loʔ   n+qote   ke   na   ʔlawa

MG   then 3AC+throw-ʔ+OPCL 3POSS+eye OBL DEIC(cmng) soil

LT   Then he threw dust in his eyes.

FT   Then he [the jaguar] threw dust in his [the fox's eyes] eyes.

FN   kaʔ yoʔme:tegiriʔ

MM   kaʔ i+oʔme:t-giriʔ

MG   then 3AC+be.lost-ʔ

LT   Then he was lost.

FT   And he [the fox] was lost.

FN   kaʔ zi yaɢañi ka lete:sek kaʔ ži i:me

MM   kaʔ ji   i+aɢan+ñi   ka   l+ete:sek   kaʔ ji i:me

MG   then DEIC(hor) 3AC+leave+DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew then DEIC(hor) 3AC+finish

LT   And there his nephew left him. y ahí lo terminó

FT   And there his nephew left him.and there he left his nephew and there he finished

FN   kaʔ ži iːme

MM   kaʔ ji   i+ime

MG   then DEIC(hor) 3AC+finish

LT   then it finishes.

FT   And it finished.

FN   ka yaɢañi ka leteːsek

MM   ka   i+aɢan+ñi   ka   l+eteːsek

MG   DEIC(absnt) 3AC+leave+DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew

LT   He leaves his nephew.

FT   He leaves his nephew.

Appendix B

B.1. Phonemic Inventory of the Waikurúan languages

Kadiwéu: stops and affricates: p, b, b:, t, d, d:, j, č, k, g, g:, q; fricatives: G; nasals: m, m:, n, n::
approximants: l, l:, w, w:, y, y:: vowels: a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:.

Mocoví: stops and affricates: p, t, d, č, j, k, q, ?: fricatives: (φ), s, š, g, (x), G: nasals: m, n, ñ:
approximants: l, r, λ, h: vocoids: w, y. Vowels: i, i:, e, e:, a, a:, o, o:.

Pilagá: stops and affricates: p, t, d, k, q, ?, g, č: fricatives: s, (x), G: nasals: m, n, ñ:
approximants: l, r, w, y, h: vowels: a, e, i, o.

Toba: stops and affricates: p, t, č, j, k, q, g, ?; fricatives: s, š, G: nasals: m, n, ñ: approximants: l,
λ, r, w, y, h: vowels: a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:.

Abipón: stops and affricates: p, t, č, k, q, g, {?}; fricatives: G: nasals: m, n, ñ: approximants: l, r,
w, y, h: vowels: a, e, ë, i, o.

( ) marks a phoneme which occurs only in loanwords; { } marks a phoneme that seems to have
existed in Abipón but is nor marked in the sources.

Ceria & Sandalo (1995) presented a reconstruction of the phonological system of Proto-
Waikurú based on 130 cognate sets of lexican and grammatical items and grammatical items
found in Noble Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocoví. This reconstruction is presented in Table 30, and is
largely based Terrence Kaufman's reconstruction (personal communication, 1992).

Table 30

Sound Correspondences

Proto-Waikurú	Kadiwéu	Toba	Mocoví
*p	p	w. ʔ	w. ʔ
*pː	p	p	p
*b	b	p	(p)
*bː	*b:*	w	w
(*bʸ)	b	s	s
*t	t. Ø	ʔ. w	ʔ. n
*tː	t	t. č	t. č
*tʸ	č	t. č. s	(t. č) s
*d	d. dː	d. t. č. l. w	d. t. č. w
*dː	dː	ǰ	ǰ
*dʸ	ǰ	s. č	s
*k	k	w	(w)
*kː	k	k.q	k.q
*kʸ	č	G.(k). q. č	k.q
*g	g. gː	k. (q). w. ʔ	k. q. (ʔ)
*gː	gː	g	g. ʔg
*q	q	g	(g)
*qː	q	k. q	k. q
*G	G	k. q. w	k. q. w
*Gː	G	G	G
*h	ʔ	h	h
*m	m	m. Ø. ʔ	m. Ø.(ʔ)

Table 30 (cont'd)

*m:	m:	m	m
*n	n	n. d	n. d
*n:	n:	n. ñ	n. ñ
*ŋ	w	n	(n)
*l:	l:, l	l, lʸ, lʔ	l, lʸ, ʔl
*l	l, l:	l. d	l. d
*y	y	∅	∅, ʔ
*y:	y:	s. y	j̈
*w	w	w. ʔ	w. ʔ
*w:	w:	p	p
*i(:)	i	i. e	i
*e(:)	e	e	e. i
*æ(:)	a,e	a. e	a. e
*a(:)	a	a	a
*o(:)	o. a	o. a	o. a
*u(:)	o	o	o
*œ	o	e	e
*ü	o	i	i

(Ceria & Sandalo 1995:172-173)

B.2. The Demonstrative System of the Waikurúan languages

All the Waikurúan languages have a demonstratives, which precede the noun in the noun phrase. They mark absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion(coming/going)

and position (standing/sitting/lying). They are marked for gender and number (although number in some languages is optional if it is marked on another element in the noun phrase). They can occur with additional morphology marking distance relative to the speaker (e.g. Pilagá: -ča 'distal', -ho? 'proximal', -mʔe 'no reference to distance' (Vidal 1997:70); Mocoví: -kerawk 'far', -keram 'farther'). In some of the languages they can function as third person pronouns (sometimes with additional morphology).[6]

The demonstrative system of Proto-Waikurúan and the Waikurúan languages is presented inTable 31. (The reconstructed forms of Proto-Waikurúan are taken from Ceria & Sandalo 1995.)

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[6] In Pilagá there is an additional classifier *hen* 'general classifier', used only when pointing out an entity physically proximate to the speaker. It can be used also with mass nouns with no specific reference and with nouns such as 'sky', 'land/earth', 'moon' or 'sun'. (Vidal 1997:82-83)

| (1) | qomi? | sa-liena-k | **hen** | lapat | (Plg) |
| | pron.1pl | 1-eat-pl | **class** | meat | |

'We eat meat.' (Vidal 1997:82)

| (2) | wʔo | **hen** | noop | | (Plg) |
| | exist | **class** | water | | |

'There is water.' (=pointing at it) (Vidal 1997:82)

Table 31

The Demonstrative System of the Waikurúan Languages

			Proto-Waikurú	Kadiwéu	Mocoví	Pilagá	Toba	Abipón
Sg.M	*absent*		*k:æ	i-ka	(e⁻)ka	ga?	ka	e-ka
	present	*mov.* *coming*	*(e)-n:a	i-n:a	(e⁻)na	na? (-no?)	na	e-na
		going	*(e)-dˠu	i-jo	(e⁻)so	so?	so	e-ha
		pos. *standing*	*(e)-da	i-d a	(e⁻)da	da?	ra	e-ra
		sitting	*(e)-n:i	i-n i	(e⁻)ñi	ñi? (-ño?)	ñi	e-ñi
		lying	*(e)-d:i	i-d:i	(e⁻)ji	di? (-dyo?)	ji	e-ri
Sg.F	*absent*		*a-k:æ	a-ka	(a⁻)ka	(ha-)ga?	a-ka	a-ka
	present	*mov.* *coming*	*a-n a	a-n:a	(a⁻)na	(ha-)na? (-no?)	a-na	a-na
		going	*a-dˠu	a-jo	(a⁻)so	(ha-)so?	a-so	a-ha
		pos. *standing*	*a-da	a-d a	(a⁻)da	(ha-)da?	a-ra	a-ra
		sitting	*a-n i	a-n:i	(a⁻)ñi	(ha-)ñi? (-ño?)	a-ñi	a-ñi
		lying	*a-d:i	a-d i	(a⁻)ji	(ha-)di? (-dvo?)	a-ji	a-ri
Pcl/Pl	*absent*		*k:æ-wa	i-d i-wa	ka-wa	ga?	ka.-/ka-wa	e-k-o(a)
	present	*mov.* *coming*	*n:a-wa	i-d i-wa	na-wa	na (-na?)	na -/na-wa	e-n-o(a)
		going	*dˠu-wa	i-d i-wa	sa-wa	sa?	so -/so-wa	ꞌ
		pos. *standing*	*da-wa	i-d i-wa	da-wa	dya?	ra:-/ra-wa	e-r-o(a)
		sitting	*n:i-wa	i-d i-wa	ña-wa	ña?	ñi.-/ñi-wa	e-ñ-o(a)
		lying	*d:i-wa	i-d i-wa	ja-wa	dya?	ji -/ji-wa	e-ri-o(a)

(Based largely on Ceria & Sandalo 1995)

B.3. Locative/directional verbal morphemes in Waikurúan languages

All the Waikurúan languages have a set of loc/dir verbal morphemes that express the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. These loc/dir morphemes occur in

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[*] There are some discrepancies among the sources for Abipon However, I have taken Najlis (1966) as a source for the classifiers listed in the table since her work is based on that of the other sources

similar positions within the verb form of the various languages in the family. and have very similar meanings. The structure of the verb forms in Mocovi. Toba. Abipón and Kadiwéu are provided in (431)-(434). The data for Pilagá is not available. The position of the loc/dir morphemes in each language is in **boldface**.

(431) Structure of the verb form in Mocovi

Neg+ Pass- Pers- hither- STEM -IPLAC -Pers   -Aspect -**Loc/Dir** -O.nᵉ -EV
(-2SGR)

(432) Structure of the verb form in Toba (Based on Klein 1978)

Subj-   hither-   BASE   -Subj.pl   -asp.   **-position -dir**   -O. n²

(433) Structure of the verb form in Abipón (Based on Najlis 1966:29)

emph-   Subj-   BASE   -Subj.pl   -aspect   **-loc** -O.n²   -asp   -tense

(434) Structure of the verb form in Kadiwéu (Based on Sandalo 1995)

asp- neg- mood- n°-pers- refl- hither- ROOT-val -asp -nᵒ -cl.ITIc1   -cl.ITIc2   -cl.ITIc3   -cl.ITIc4
                                                                              [rel-n²]   [rel-nᵉ]

CLITIC 1 string includes the following categories: [-rel-rep+pers]

CLITIC 1 string includes the following categories: [-rel+**dirI**+**dirII**-pron-sem.role]

The locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikurúan languages are presented in Table 32. The table is organized as follows: the left hand-side column lists the meanings (in

alphabetical order) for which similar morphemes are found in two or more of the Waikurúan

languages: the other columns list the forms in each of the languages for which a form with that

meaning exists. In those languages in which there is a slight change in meaning, that meaning is

provided in italics. As can be seen in the table, most loc/dir morphemes occur in two or more

languages, and have similar forms for the same (or very similar) meaning. Each of the languages

has a few loc/dir morphemes that do not have equivalents in any of the other languages. These are

listed in the last five rows in the chart.

Table 32
Locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikuruan languages

	Kadiwéu	Mocoví	Pilagá	Toba	Abipón
'downwards'	┼nigi ~ ┼n:	┼ñi *dwn(wds)*		-ñi	-añi ~ -iñi *down*
'hither'		┼o ~ ┼wo ┼kena *tds.here*		-get	
'inside'	¹┼n *going.inside*	┼ñigi		-ngi -igi	-oa
'inwards, into'	┼w ~ ┼wgi *inwds*	┼wgi *into, inside,*		-wo *inwds*	
'on'		┼leg *on, over*	-lege *on (?)*	-lek	-alge ~ -elge
'on/to.other.side.of'		┼a?ta *on/to.other.side*		-ata -7oga *across*	
'outwards'	┼ke	┼eg ~ ┼weg		-wek	-ooge ~ -ook *out(wds)* -aa *outside*
'towards'	┼gi:	┼igi	-ge		
'under'		┼ot		-ot	
'upwards'	┼bigim	┼šigim	-sem	-šigem	-hegem ~ -ihegem *up(wds)*
'with'	¹┼wag *going.together*	┼e?e		-peget	
'towards water'				-ca:ma *tds.water/town*	-hagam *ref.to.water*
'straight'	¹┼ko *going.straight*			-teg *straight*	
	┼ka *absent*	┼igit *behind*	-ma ?	-?a *fixed.place*	-aigit *around, near*
	┼we *bckwds*	┼pege? *upto*	-pe ?	-asop *next.to*	
	┼kwak *apart*		-ya ?	-waci *tds.fire*	
	¹┼jo *going*		-wo ?	-pe *circular*	
	¹┼get *going.against*				

¹These morphemes in Kadiwéu are the dirl clitics in CLITIC 2 position in the verb form and they all express 'motion'. All others express 'direction' and occur are the dirll clitics in the CLITIC 2 position in the verb form. (See Sandalo 1995 for a full discussion of loc/dir clitics in Kadiwéu.)

Examples (435)-(439) provide sentences from Mocoví, Pilagá, Toba, Abipón and Kadiwéu, with the same loc/dir morpheme meaning 'up/upwards' (+*šigim* (Mocoví)/-*sem* (Pilagá)/-*šigem* (Toba)/ -*hegem* ~ -*ihegem* (Abipón)/+*bigim* (Kadiwéu) 'upwards').

(435) /sela:qšigim ana ñoɢki ke ada qoʔpaq/   (Mocoví)

s+ela-aɢ+šigim   a+na   ñoɢki   ke   a+da   qoʔpaq

1AC+put-1PL+UP F+DEIC(cmng) bag   OBL   F+CLASS(vert) tree

'We lift the bag up to the tree.'

(436) Ø-wentetpa   n-oo-sem   ga?   emek (Pilagá)

3SG-plan   3SG-build-UPWDS   CLASS(abs) house

'He plans to build a house.' (Vidal 1997:92)

(437) nawekšigem haji iqaya   (Toba)

Ø-n-aweg-šigem   ha-ji   i-qaya

3S-HITHER-lift-UPWDS   F-CLASS 1POSS-sister

'He is lifting up my sister (but toward him and she's prone)' (Klein 1981:228)

(438) naičiitahegem   (Abipón)

na-et-i-ta-hegem

2S-be-2SG-PROG-UPWDS

'You are standing (=you are up, you are standing up)' (Najlis 1966:40)

(439)   nekenigo walokoditibigimed:i nalaɢate   (Kadiwéu)

       neke-nigo   w-alokon-d-t+bigem+e-d: nalaɢate

       dog-CLASS 3SGS-run-ATEL-REL+UPWDS+3SGCL-THEME   mountain

       'The dog ran up the mountain.' (Sandalo 1995:55)

Examples (440)-(443) include sentences with the loc/dir morpheme 'out' or 'outwards':

Mocoví +weg 'out(wards)' (440), Pilagá -gek 'outwards' (441), Toba -wek 'out' (442) and

Abipón -ge 'outwards' (443).

(440)   /yim sa:weg ke ji noʔwe:naɢa/   (Mocoví)

       yim   s+a:+weg   ke ji   n+oʔwe:naɢa

       1SGPRON 1AC+go+OUT OBL   DEIC(hor) ABS+field

       'I go (out) to the fields.'

(441)   naegaʔ   awa-pya-gek   naʔ   l-apat   (Pilagá)

       INTERROG 2SG-cut-OUTWDS CLASS(prox) 3POSS-meat

       'What do you cut meat with?' (Vidal 1997:79)

(442)   senoɢanaɢaweg   (Toba)

       s-enoɢan-aɢ-weg

       1S-go-1PL-OUT

       'Let's get out of here, we are leaving for outside.' (Klein 1981:232)

(443)   ñataɢaoge   (Abipón)

       ñ-ataɢao-ge

       1S-spit-OUTWDS

       'I spit (outside)'

In summary, then, all the Waikurúan languages have a set of locative/directional

morphemes encoding the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. Although

not all the loc/dir morphemes occur in all the languages, most of them occur in two or more

Waikurúan languages, and in those cases the forms are very similar. The structure of the verb

form in the Waikurúan languages is very similar, and these loc/dir morphemes occur in very

similar positions within the verb form.

B.4. Phonemic Inventory of (Argentinian) Spanish

Table 33

Consonants

	bilabial	labio dental	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
stops & affricates	p b [b, β]		t d [d, ð]		č	k g [g, ɣ]
fricatives		f		s [s, h]	ž [ž, ǰ, š]	
nasals	m			n	ñ	
liquids lateral trill and tap				l ř, r		
vocoids					y	

Vowels

i   u

e   o

a

Appendix C

Map 1 - Area where Mocoví is spoken

Argentina (Area of detail)
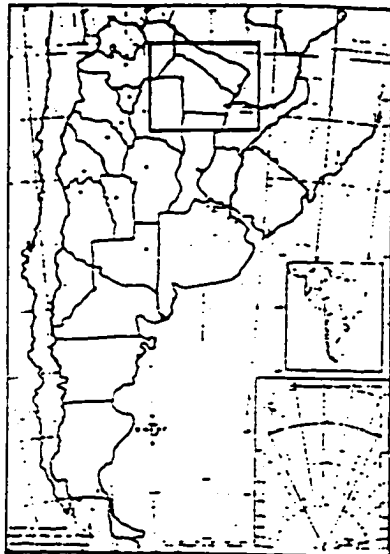
 Area where Mocoví is spoken
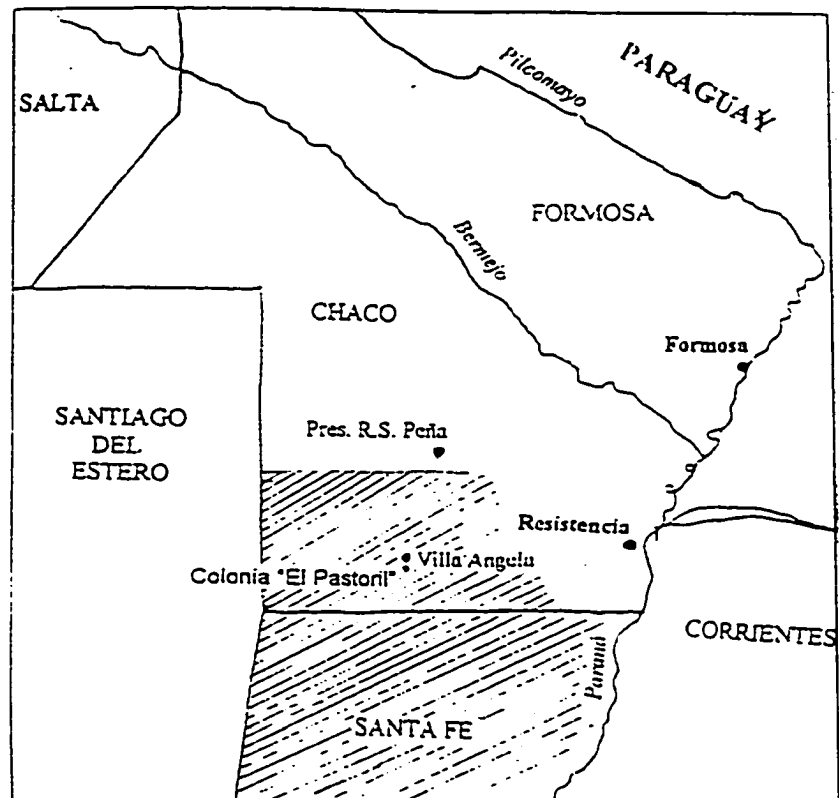
Map 2 - Early Spanish settlements in the southern Chaco region
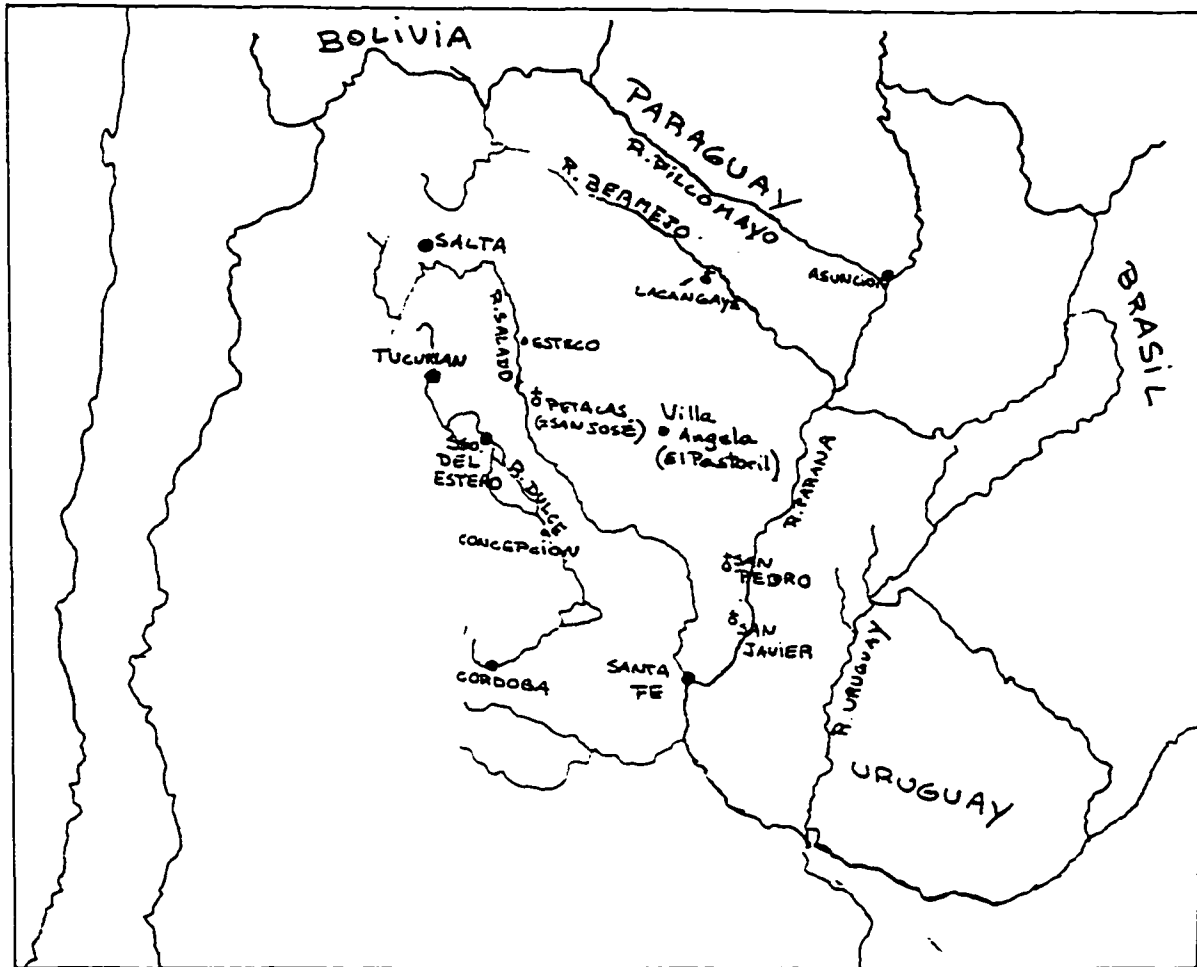
Map 3 - Geographic location of Waikurúan languages

Apb = Abipón, Kdw = Kadiwéu, Mocoví = Mocoví, Plg = Pilagá Tb = Toba
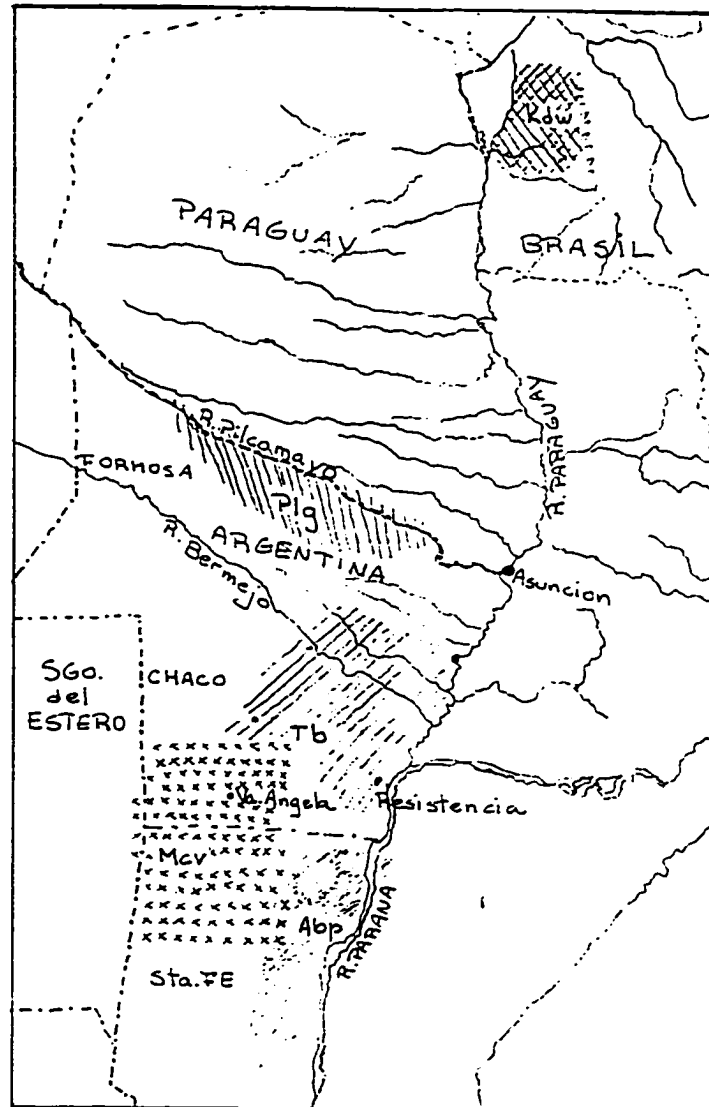
Appendix D - Glossary

This glossary contains a list of the lexical items that appear throughout the examples in this dissertation. For each item, the following information is provided:

Eng: English gloss

Sp: Spanish Gloss

ps: part of speech

Comments: any other relevant information, such as what Class each item belongs to (if apropriate), possessive forms, paucal/plural forms, source (if it is a borrowed form); masculine/feminine forms (if appropriate); etc.

Noun Classes:

Mocoví nouns can be grouped into three noun Classes depending on the possessive marker that they take.

Class I: nouns that *must* be possessed and do not take a prefix *n-*

Class II: nouns that *may* be possessed and that take the prefix *n-* when they are possessed

Class III: nouns that are *never* possessed

(The prefix *n-* marks alienably possessed nouns.)

Verb Classes:

The verb roots are Classified into four Classes based on the form of the proclitic that they take for the third person.

Class A: verbal roots that take the proclitic *i-* for the 3rd person

Class B: verbal roots that take the proclitic *∅-* for the 3rd person

Class C: verbal roots that take the proclitic *r-* for the 3rd person

Class D: verbal roots that take the proclitic *n+* for the 3rd person

List of Symbols and Abbreviations

-	suffix
+	clitic
{ }	affix or clitic attaches to the category here specified (e.g. enclitic {v} = verbal enclitic
Arg	Argentinian Spanish
n	noun
v	verb
vt	transitive verb
vi	intransitive verb

?aw	Eng:	first
	Sp:	primero/a
	ps:	?
	Comments:	

?alolek	Eng:	weasel
	Sp:	comadreja
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCt alolqa.

?e:t	Eng:	to escape; to run away.
	Sp:	escapar(se); huir.
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active. 1sg se?e t. 3sg ?e t.

?Goyk	Eng:	many; much; a lot.
	Sp:	mucho; muchos/as.
	ps:	quantifier
	Comments:	

?imek	Eng:	house
	Sp:	casa
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. 1sGPOSS ñi?mek

?man	Eng:	pregnant
	Sp:	embarazada
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	

?nem	Eng:	same; similar.
	Sp	igual; similar.
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	~ ?nchem. used to link clauses with an equative meaning.

?o:ci	Eng:	brush (small forest)
	Sp:	monte.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III.

?o:m	Eng:	cold
	Sp:	frio
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III.

?taGaki	Eng:	mug; jug;
	Sp:	jarro. taza.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. PCt. ?taGakir.

ʔwe   Eng: there is; there exists;
                Sp: hay; existe
                ps: vi
           Comments: irregular; used only with third person, cf. we 'salt'. Pl. ʔwei [ʔwi]

ʔwe:na   Eng: pot;
                Sp: olla;
                ps: n
           Comments: Class II. Poss ʔwe nal. Pl. ʔwe naλipi.

ʔwewk   Eng: several
                Sp: bastantes; varios;
                ps: quant
           Comments:

ʔyat   Eng: mosquito
                Sp: mosquito
                ps: n
           Comments: Class III. Poss ʔyatir. cf. yatir 'my tear' (-aci 'tear')

a+   Eng: feminine
                Sp: femenino
                ps: proclitic {deictic root}
           Comments: attaches to singular forms of deictic roots; optional; e g. aka 'deictic (absent) F'.

-aλak   Eng: shoulder
                Sp: hombro
                ps: n
           Comments: Class I. 1SG.POSS iaλak. 3SG.POSS laλak.

aλit   Eng: to play
                Sp: jugar
                ps: vi
           Comments: Class B. Active; must take the prefix n- 'hither'. 1SG inaλit [ñaλit]. 3SG: naλit;

aʔa   Eng: to menstruate;
                Sp: menstruar
                ps: vi
           Comments: Class B. Active; 1SG saʔa; 3SG aʔa.

aʔa:t   Eng: to finish eating;
                Sp: terminar de comer;
                ps: vi
           Comments: Class A. Inactive. 1SG iraʔa t [jaʔa t]. 2SG.R raʔa tir. 3SG iaʔa t.

aʔahan   Eng: to look at;
                Sp: mirar
                ps: vt/vi
           Comments: Class A. Active; 1SG saʔahan; 3SG iaʔahan;

-a?at	Eng:	meat
	Sp:	carne
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. ABS la?at.

a?de:n	Eng:	to know; to understand;
	Sp:	saber; conocer;
	ps:	vt/vi
	Comments:	Class A. Active: 1SG sa?de n. 2SGf a?de ni [?jiñi], 2SGR a?de nir [?jiñi?]; 3SG: ia?de:n; 1PL sa?de:nao; 2PCL: a?de:niri; 2PL Ca?de:ni:; 3PL. ia?de:ner

a?G	Eng:	to hear
	Sp:	oir
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active;

-a?gaGanaGa	Eng:	bat;
	Sp:	murciélago.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. ABS na?gaGanaGa. PCL na?gaGanaGal.

a?mahn	Eng:	to lie
	Sp:	mentir
	ps:	vt/vi?
	Comments:	Class A?. Active. 1SG sa?mahn.

a?me:n	Eng:	to paint; to rub (on);
	Sp:	pintar; untar;
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class B. Active. 1SG sa?me n. 2SGR a?me nir. 3SG a?me n.

a?n	Eng:	to laugh
	Sp:	reirse
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class A?. Active.

+a?ta	Eng:	on/to other side of; across;
	Sp:	en/hacia el otro lado de; a traves;
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	

a?wat	Eng:	to swell; to get swollen;
	Sp:	hincharse;
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class D. Inactive. 1SG irawat [jawat], 2SGR raa?watir. 3SG na?wat;

-a?wge	Eng:	all
	Sp:	todo/a (s)
	ps:	quantifier
	Comments:	is added to one of the deictic roots to form the quantifier 'all'

-a?yaɢa	Eng:	heel;
	Sp:	talon;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. ABS na?yaɢa. PCI na?yaɢal

-a?yoɢonaɢate	Eng:	mirror;
	Sp:	espejo;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II: derived form: ABS na?yoɢonaɢate. PCI na?yoɢonaɢatel

-a:le	Eng:	daughter;
	Sp:	hija;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. F: M -a lek 'son'. ISGPOSS ia lekia le

-a:lek	Eng:	son;
	Sp:	hijo;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. M: F -a le 'daughter'. PCI -a lqa. ISGPOSS ia lekia le

-a:tapse	Eng:	helmet;
	Sp:	casco.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I?. PCI na tapsel. ABS na tapse

aĉa:r	Eng:	to stand up
	Sp:	pararse
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active;

-aĉi	Eng:	tear
	Sp:	lágrima
	ps:	n
	Comments:	PCI -aĉir; ISGPOSS yaĉi. tef ?yaĉi 'mosquitos (pcl)')

aĉil	Eng:	to bathe
	Sp:	bañar(se)
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class A?. Active. ISG saĉil 'I bathe somebody' cf inaĉil [ñaĉil] 'I bathe myself';

-ade	Eng:	eyelash;
	Sp:	pestaña.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. ISGPOSS iade. ABS nade; PCI nadel (ABS).

-aɢ	Eng:	1st person plural Active marker
	Sp:	marcador de 1ª persona del plural Activo
	ps:	suffix {v}
	Comments:	the verb is also marked with the 1st person proclitics s- -i-.

ahtake
        Eng: until
        Sp: hasta que
        ps: discourse marker
        Comments: < Sp. *hasta que* [ahta ke] 'until'

-ai
        Eng: side; wall;
        Sp: lado, pared.
        ps: n
        Comments: Class I. PCT. -ail.

ain
        Eng: to shoot
        Sp: disparar
        ps: vt
        Comments: Class A. Active. 1SG sain; 3SG iain.

-akipyaɢki
        Eng: vase; mug;
        Sp: jarron, jarro;
        ps: n
        Comments: derived form. PCT. nakipyaɢkil, ABS nakipyaɢki.

-akom
        Eng: belly
        Sp: panza
        ps: n
        Comments: Class I. 1SGPOSS iakom; 3SGPOSS iakom, ABS nakom.

akon
        Eng: to take; to grab;
        Sp: tomar; agarrar;
        ps: vt
        Comments: Class A. Active. 1SG sakon. 3SG iakon.

-akyaɢ
        Eng: palate
        Sp: paladar
        ps: n
        Comments: Class II. 3SGPOSS nakyaɢ.

alateg
        Eng: to find
        Sp: encontrar
        ps: vt
        Comments: Class B. Active; 1SG salateg, 3SG alateg.

alawat
        Eng: to kill;
        Sp: matar;
        ps: vt
        Comments: Class A. Active. 1SG salawat. 2SGF alawati [lawači]. 2SGR alawatir [lawači?]; 3SG ialawat; 1PL salawataɢ; 2PCL alawatiri; 2PL alawati:, 3PL ialawater

alola
        Eng: to get sick;
        Sp: enfermarse.
        ps: vi
        Comments: Class C. Inactive; 1SG iralola [jalola], 2SGR ralolair, 3SG ralola.

alon
    Eng: to lit, to light a fire
    Sp: encender (un fuego)
    ps: vi
    Comments: Class ?. 1sg salon.

-am
    Eng: money
    Sp: dinero
    ps: n
    Comments: ABS lam; 2SGRPOSS qadamir.

amac
    Eng: to push; to send:
    Sp: empujar; enviar;
    ps: vt
    Comments: Class A. Active: can occur with n- 'hither'. 1sg samac. 3sg iamac.

-amacki
    Eng: shirt
    Sp: camisa
    ps: n
    Comments: Class II. 1SGPOSS inamacki [ñamacki]. 2SGPOSS namackii.
                   2SGRPOSS: namackiir; 3SGPOSS: namacki; 1PLPOSS. qanamacki,
                   2PL: namackiiri. 2PL namackii. 3PLPOSS namackier; ABS lamacki

aman
    Eng: to like (of taste)
    Sp: gustar (de gusto)
    ps: vt
    Comments: Class B. Active.

anat
    Eng: to fall
    Sp: caerse
    ps: vi
    Comments: Class B. Active: 1sg sanat-ñi:

ano
    Eng: to lift
    Sp: levantar
    ps: vt
    Comments: Class B. Active.

antehnada
    Eng: first: before anything else;
    Sp: antes que nada; primero:
    ps: discourse marker
    Comments: < Sp. antes que nada [antch ke nada] 'first: before anything else'

-ap
    Eng: mouth, lip
    Sp: boca, labio
    ps: n
    Comments: Class I. 1SGPOSS iap. 2SGRPOSS rapir; 3SGPOSS lap. ABS nap.

-apagacak
    Eng: bridge
    Sp: puente
    ps: n
    Comments: Class II: morphologically complex (derived form).

-apal

Eng: corpse
Sp: cadáver
ps: n
Comments: Class I. PCL -apalir:

-apeloc

Eng: orphan (M).
Sp: huerfano (M):
ps: n
Comments: Class I. M. F -apeloco 'orphan (F)'

-apelocio

Eng: orphan (F):
Sp: huerfana (F):
ps: n
Comments: Class I. F. M -apeloci 'orphan (M)'

apog

Eng: to cover
Sp: cubrir
ps: vt/vi
Comments: Class B. Active. Isci sapog.

-apyacanata

Eng: toe:
Sp: dedo del pie.
ps: n
Comments: Class I. PCL -apyacanatal. Isciposs iapyacanata:

-apyar

Eng: foot
Sp: pie
ps: n
Comments: Class I. PCL iapyarer [iapyate?] (3sciposs)

apyoɁo

Eng: to get dirty
Sp: ensuciarse
ps: vi
Comments: Class D. Inactive. Isci irapyoɁo [japyoɁo], 2sciR rapyoɁoir. 3sci napyoɁo:

-aqaype

Eng: axe
Sp: hacha
ps: n
Comments: Class II.

arína

Eng: flour
Sp: harina
ps: n
Comments: also [ariña]. < Sp harina [arina] 'flour'.

-ašig

Eng: face; color:
Sp: cara; color:
ps: n
Comments: Class I. PCL -ašigi. Isciposs iašig. 3sciposs Iašig:

aṧil	Eng:	to get married
	Sp:	casarse
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active, 1sʋ saṧil. 3sʋ aṧil.

-aṧilete	Eng:	clutch;
	Sp:	muleta.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. ABS naṧilete. PCL naṧiletel.

-aṧilge	Eng:	cheek;
	Sp:	mejilla.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. PCL -aṧilgel. 1sɢPᴏss iaṧilge. 3sɢPᴏss laṧilge. ABS naṧilge

-asoro	Eng:	aunt
	Sp:	tia
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. 1sɢPᴏss iasoro. 3sɢPᴏss lasoro.

asot	Eng:	to dance
	Sp:	bailar
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class C. Inactive: 1sʋ irasot [jasot]; 2sɢf rasoti; 2sɢR rasotir [rasočiʔ]; 3sg rasot; 1PL qarasot; 2PCL rasotiri; 2PL rasoti; 3PL rasoter.

asot	Eng:	to dance
	Sp:	bailar
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class C. Inactive. 1sʋ irasot [jasot]. 2sɢR rasotir. 3sʋ rasot. 1PL qarasot; 2PCL rasotiri; 2PL rasoti; 3PL rasoter.

-asote	Eng:	branch; horn;
	Sp:	rama; cuerno;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. PCL -asotel. PL -asotelipi. ABS lasote

-atap	Eng:	forehead;
	Sp:	frente.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. 1sɢPᴏss iatap. 2sɢRPᴏss ratapir. 3sɢPᴏss latap. ABS natap;

-atap	Eng:	forehead
	Sp:	frente
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I.

-ataw

Eng:	ankle
Sp:	tobillo
ps:	n
Comments:	Class I. 1SGPOSS iataw; 3SGPOSS lataw.

-ate

Eng:	daugther-in-law
Sp:	nuera
ps:	n
Comments:	Class I. 1SGPOSS iate. 3SGPOSS late.

-ate:neg

Eng:	prey
Sp:	presa
ps:	n
Comments:	Class I. 1SGPOSS iate.neg; 2SGPOSS rate.negi; 2SGRPOSS rate:negir; 3SGPOSS late:neg; 1PLPOSS qarate:neg; 2PCLPOSS: rate-negiri; 2PLPOSS rate-negi; 3PLPOSS late-neger; ABS nate-neg;

ato

Eng:	to yawn
Sp:	bostezar
ps:	vi
Comments:	Class C. Active; 1SG sato; 3SG rato;

-awe

Eng:	leaf; feather; hair;
Sp:	hoja, pluma, pelo.
ps:	n
Comments:	Class I. PCL -awel; 1SGPOSS iawe; 3SGPOSS lawe.

aweg

Eng:	to pull; to stretch; to bring
Sp:	estirar; traer; jalar.
ps:	vt
Comments:	Class A. Active, can occur with n- 'hither'. 1SG saweg; 3SG iaweg. 1SG inaweg [ñawek];

awig

Eng:	burn
Sp:	quemar
ps:	vt/vi
Comments:	Class A. Inactive; 1SG irawig; 2SGf rawigi [ʔjiñiʔ]; 2SGR rawigir; 3SG iawig; 1PL qarawig; 2PCL rawigiri; 2PL rawigi; 3PL iawiger

-awoʔ

Eng:	house
Sp:	casa
ps:	n
Comments:	Class I. 1SGPOSS iawoʔ, 3SGPOSS lawoʔ.

awog

Eng:	to copulate
Sp:	copular, cojer (Arg.).
ps:	vi
Comments:	Class B. Active; 1SG sawog; 3SG awog;

ayo

Eng:	to fly
Sp:	volar
ps:	vi
Comments:	Class A. Active, 1SG sayo; 3SG iayo.

ča:wik	Eng:	rush; reed;
	Sp:	junco
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III.

čalego?	Eng:	very
	Sp:	muy
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	

čaqae	Eng:	and
	Sp:	y
	ps:	coordinator
	Comments:	

čaqay	Eng:	dangerouos (F)
	Sp:	peligrosa (F).
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	M. čaqayk, PCL(M) caqaqa. PCL (F) čaqai.

čaqayk	Eng:	dangerous (M)
	Sp:	peligroso (M);
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	F čaqay. PCL(M) caqaqa. PCL (F) čaqai.

čarpe	Eng:	scarf
	Sp:	bufanda, echarpe;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	< Sp. *echarpe* [ečarpe - ešarpe] 'scarf'

či?nege	Eng:	why
	Sp:	por que
	ps:	interrogative
	Comments:	

čilála	Eng:	eagle
	Sp:	aguila
	ps:	n
	Comments:	borrowing, source unknown.

čim	Eng:	sour
	Sp:	agrio
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	

čima?ge	Eng:	smelly (M/F)
	Sp:	oloroso, que tiene olor (M/F).
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	PCL. čima?gelo.

činaq	Eng:	ant
	Sp:	hormiga
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III; PCL činar:
čisaᴳ	Eng:	cripple (M)
	Sp:	cojo (M)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, M; F čisaᴄa `cripple (F)`.
čisaᴳa	Eng:	cripple (F)
	Sp:	coja (F)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, F. čisaᴄ `cripple (M)`
da	Eng:	deictic (vertically extended)
	Sp:	deictico (verticalmente extendido)
	ps:	deictic root
	Comments:	Demonstrative M: e+da; F a−da; PCL/Pl da-wa.
daᴳanaqate	Eng:	fork
	Sp:	tenedor
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II; PCL daᴄanaqatel.
daᴳaraq	Eng:	turkey
	Sp:	pavo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, PCL daᴄarar:
do?o	Eng:	hat
	Sp:	sombrero
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II; PCL do?ol.
e?λiwi	Eng:	to fetch water
	Sp:	buscar agua
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class C. Active. 1SG se?λiwi, 2SGR e?λiwir. 3SG re?λiwir.
e+	Eng:	masculine
	Sp:	masculino
	ps:	proclitic {deictic root}
	Comments:	attaches to singular forms of deictic roots: optional. e.g. eka `deictic (absent) M`.
+e?e	Eng:	with
	Sp:	con
	ps:	locative enclitic {v}
	Comments:	

e?et	Eng:	to drink
	Sp:	beber;
	ps:	vt/vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active: 1sg se?et; 2sgR e?etir; 3sg e?et.

e?gen	Eng:	to run
	Sp:	correr
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active: can occur with the prefix n- 'hither'. 1sg se?gen~o. 1sg ini?geno [ñi?geno];

e?gen	Eng:	to try
	Sp:	probar; tratar; intentar;
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class A. Active. 1sg se?gen. 3sg ie?gen.

-e?ko:ta	Eng:	knee
	Sp:	rodilla
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I, PCL -e?ko.tal. 1sgPOSS ie?ko ta. 3sgPOSS le?ko ta.

e?men	Eng:	to sell
	Sp:	vender
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class B. 1sg se?men. 2sgf e?meni. 2sgR e?menir.

-o?o:ta	Eng:	vein
	Sp:	vena
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I, PCL -o?o tal. 1sgPOSS io?o ta.

e?ya	Eng:	to dig
	Sp:	cavar. hacer un pozo
	ps:	vt/vi
	Comments:	Class B. takes n- 'hither'. 3sg ne?ya.

-e?ya	Eng:	well; hole;
	Sp:	pozo; pozo (de agua)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II.

e?ya:m	Eng:	to boil
	Sp:	hervir
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class D. Active: 3sg ne?yam;

-e:či	Eng:	leg
	Sp:	pierna
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I, PCL -e čil. 1sgPOSS ie či. 3sgPOSS le či. ABS ne či.

-e:tana
           Eng: stake. post
           Sp:
           ps: n
     Comments: Class ?, PCL -e tanal

ečaɢ
           Eng: to cut: to shorten:
           Sp: cortar: acortar:
           ps: vt
     Comments: Class A. Active: 1sɢ sečaɢ, 3sɢ ičeaɢ.

ečaɢ
           Eng: to cut oneself; to get cut;
           Sp   cortarse
           ps: vi
     Comments: Class A. Inactive: 1sɢ irečaɢ [ječaɢ]; 2sɢR rečaɢir; 3sɢ ičeaɢ;

edo:n
           Eng: to get food poisoning;
           Sp: intoxicarse (con comida);
           ps: vi
     Comments: Class A. Inactive: 1sɢ iedo:n [jedo:n]; 2sɢR redo nir; 3sɢ iedo n.

+eg
           Eng: out: otwards;
           Sp: afuera. hacia afuera,
           ps: enclitic |v|
     Comments: -weg

lekat
           Eng: knife
           Sp: cuchillo
           ps: n
     Comments: Class III.

ekon
           Eng: to grab
           Sp: tomar: agarrar
           ps: vt
     Comments: Class A. Active. 1sɢ sekon; 3sɢ iekon.

enaɢ
           Eng: to throw
           Sp: tirar: arrojar.
           ps: vt
     Comments: Class A. Active. 1sɢ senaɢ, 3sɢ ienaɢ.

-enat
           Eng: nail
           Sp: uña
           ps: n
     Comments: Class I. 1sɢPOSS ienat. 2sɢPOSS renatir; 3sɢPOSS ienat.

-epa?genaɢawa
           Eng: enemy
           Sp: enemigo
           ps: n
     Comments: PCL -epa?genaɢawar.

epacat	Eng:	to twist; to braid,
	Sp:	retorcer; trenzar;
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class A. Active. 1sc separat. 3sc icpacat.

-epaqata	Eng:	braid
	Sp:	trenza
	ps:	n
	Comments:	PCL -epaqatal. derived form.

-epetacanacat	Eng:	food
	Sp:	comida; alimento;
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. morphologically complex (derived form).

epeteg	Eng:	to cut hair
	Sp:	cortar (pelo)
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class B. Active;

epil	Eng:	to go home; to go back;
	Sp:	volver a casa; volver;
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active. 1sc sepil; 2sGR epilir [piλi?]; 3sc epil.

epit	Eng:	to smile
	Sp:	sonreir
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active; 1sc sepit; 2sGR epitir [pici?]; 3sc epit.

-er	Eng:	paucal number marker
	Sp:	marcador de número
	ps:	suffix {n}
	Comments:	

-er	Eng:	3rd person plural marker
	Sp:	marcador de 3ª persona plural
	ps:	suffix {v. n}
	Comments:	

+er	Eng:	plural object marker
	Sp:	marcador de objecto plural
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	cf +lo 'paucal';

eśit	Eng:	to be able to
	Sp:	poder
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class B. Active; 1sc seśit;

-ešite

Eng: ring
Sp: anillo
ps: n
Comments: CLASS ?. PCL -ešitek

esal

Eng: to vomit
Sp: vomitar
ps: vi
Comments: Class D; Inactive; 1sg iresal [jesal]; 2sgR resalir; 3sg nesal.

esawλi

Eng: to slip
Sp: resbalarse
ps: vi
Comments: Class C; Inactive; 1sg iresawλi [jisawλi]; 2sgR resawλir; 3sg resawλi;

etag

Eng: to comb
Sp: peinar
ps: vi/vt
Comments: Class A; Active; 1sg setag; 3sg ietag.

-etekse

Eng: kidney
Sp: riñon
ps: n
Comments: Class I. 1sgPOSS ietekse.

-etesqoʔ

Eng: uncle
Sp: tio
ps: n
Comments: Class II. 1sgPOSS [ñetesqoʔ], 3sgPOSS netesqoʔ.

ewal

Eng: to feel lazy
Sp: tener fiaca (Arg.), estar cansado.
ps: vi
Comments: Class D. Inactive. 1sg irewal [jewal], 2sgR rewalir, 3sg newal.

-ewal

Eng: grandchild
Sp: nieto/a
ps: n
Comments: Class I. 1sgPOSS iewal. 2sgRPOSS qaewalir; 3sgPOSS iewal.

ewan

Eng: to see
Sp: ver
ps: vt
Comments: Class A. Active; 1sg sewan. 3sg iewan.

ewar

Eng: to sew
Sp: coser
ps: vt/vi
Comments: Class B; Active; must take the prefix *n-* 'hither'. 1sg inewar [ñewaʔ]; 3sg newar;

-ewo	Eng:	blood
	Sp:	sangre
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. 1sGPoss iewo.

ewa	Eng:	Eve (woman's name)
	Sp:	Eva (nombre de mujer)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	

eyala	Eng:	to hurry up
	Sp:	apurarse
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class A, Inactive. 1sG ireyala [jiyala]; 2sGR reyalair; 3sG ieyala.

φátima	Eng:	Fatima (woman's name)
	Sp:	Fatima (nombre de mujer)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	< Sp. Fátima [fátima] 'Fatima'.

φelisa	Eng:	Felisa (woman's name)
	Sp:	Felisa (nombre de mujer)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	< Sp. Felisa [felisa] 'Felisa'.

giriʔlase	Eng:	gringo (F) (= white woman)
	Sp:	gringa (F) (= criolla, blanca)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. cf M giriʔlek 'gringo (= white man)', morphologically complex form.

giriʔlek	Eng:	gringo (M) (= white man)
	Sp:	gringo (M) (= criollo, blanco)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. cf M giriʔlase 'gringo (= white woman)'

GonGay	Eng:	wild boar
	Sp:	chancho moro
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III; PCL: GonGayi.

-ho	Eng:	very proximate
	Sp:	muy próximo/cerca
	ps:	suffix {deictic}
	Comments:	can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives; naho 'this (cmng) very proximate'; cf. -ta 'proximate'; naho 'here'

-i	Eng:	paucal number marker
	Sp:	marcador de número
	ps:	suffix {n}
	Comments:	

-i	Eng:	2ⁿᵈ person singular familiar marker
	Sp:	marcador de 2ᵃ persona singular familiar
	ps:	suffix {v. n}
	Comments:	

i+	Eng:	1ˢᵗ person singular possessive marker
	Sp:	marcador de 1ᵃ persona singular posesivo
	ps:	proclitic {n}
	Comments:	e.g. iawo 'my spouse' (i-awo)

i+	Eng:	1ˢᵗ person Active marker
	Sp:	marcador de 1a persona Activo
	ps:	proclitic {v}
	Comments:	used with verbs when they are preceded by the prefix n- 'hither'. i- n- is then conflated to [ñ]; e.g. inowir [ñowi?] 'I come (here)'. see s- '1ˢᵗ person Active'.

i+	Eng:	3ʳᵈ person Active marker
	Sp:	marcador de 3a persona Activo
	ps:	proclitic {v}
	Comments:	e.g. ialawat 'he kills'. see i- '3ʳᵈ person Inactive'. marks Class A verbs.

i+	Eng:	3ʳᵈ person Inactive marker
	Sp:	marcador de 3a persona No-Activo
	ps:	proclitic {v}
	Comments:	see also i- '3ʳᵈ person Active'.

i?mek	Eng:	spoon
	Sp	cuchara
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II; PL. i?mqa.

-i:	Eng:	2ⁿᵈ person plural marker
	Sp:	marcador de 2ᵃ persona plural
	ps:	suffix {v. n}
	Comments:	cf. -iri '2ⁿᵈ person paucal marker'.

+igi	Eng:	towards (there?)
	Sp:	hacia (alli?)
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	

+igit	Eng:	behind;
	Sp:	detrás de; atras;
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	

ilew	Eng:	to die
	Sp:	morir
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class A; Inactive. 1SG irilew [jilew]; 2SGR rilewir [riλiwi?]; 3SG iilew;

-imik	Eng:	nose
	Sp:	nariz
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. isiposs. iimik [yimik].

+ir	Eng:	2nd person singular respectful marker
	Sp:	marcador de 2a persona singular de respeto
	ps:	enclitic {v. n}
	Comments:	cf. -i '2nd person singular familiar'.

ir+	Eng:	1st person singular Inactive marker
	Sp:	marcador de 1a persona singular No-Activo
	ps:	proclitic {v}
	Comments:	realized phonetically as [j]. cf. r- ~ s- '1st person Active'.

ik	Eng:	to go
	Sp:	ir
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active. Isg. sik.

-ir	Eng:	paucal number marker
	Sp:	marcador de número paucal
	ps:	suffix {n}
	Comments:	

-iri	Eng:	2nd person paucal marker
	Sp:	marcador de 2a persona paucal
	ps:	suffix {v. n}
	Comments:	cf. -i '2nd person plural marker'

isegeyek	Eng:	animal
	Sp:	animal
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III.

ji	Eng:	deictic (horizontally extended)
	Sp:	deictico (horizontalmente extendido)
	ps:	deictic root
	Comments:	Demonstrative M: e+ji. F: a- ji. PCL/PL. ji-wa.

jaqay	Eng:	fast (F)
	Sp:	rapido (F)
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	M: jaqayk. PCL.(M): jaqaqa. PCL. (F): jaqai.

jaqayk	Eng:	fast (M)
	Sp:	rápido (M)
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	F: jaqay. PCL.(M): jaqaqa. PCL. (F): jaqai.

ka	Eng:	deictic (absent)
	Sp:	deictico (ausente)
	ps:	deictic root
	Comments:	Demonstrative M: e-ka; F a-ka; PCL/PL ka-wa, qa-e-ka 'nothing, nobody'
ka	Eng:	then
	Sp:	entonces
	ps:	coordinator
	Comments:	- ka?
ka?	Eng:	then;
	Sp:	entonces;
	ps:	coordinator
	Comments:	- ka
ka?canacki	Eng:	chair
	Sp:	silla
	ps:	n
	Comments:	PCI ka?canackir; derived form.
kaφe	Eng:	brown
	Sp:	marron
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	Sp cafe [kafe] 'coffee'.
kanek	Eng:	blanket
	Sp:	frasada
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II: PCL -ikanqa, morphologically complex' (derived form').
ke	Eng:	oblique marker
	Sp:	marcador de frase nominal oblicua
	ps:	n
	Comments:	
ke?e	Eng:	to eat
	Sp:	comer
	ps:	vt/vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active; 1sG ske?e; 2sGR ke?eir; 3sG ke?e;
-ke?la	Eng:	ear
	Sp:	oreja
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class I. 1sGPOSS ike?la;
ke?lay	Eng:	mule
	Sp:	mula
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL ke?layi;

kemar	Eng:	to get full; to be satisfied;
	Sp:	llenarse; estar satisfecho;
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Inactive. 1sg irkemar [jkemar]; 2sgR rkemarir; 3sg kemar;

+kena	Eng:	towards here;
	Sp:	hacia aqui;
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	

-keram	Eng:	farther
	Sp:	mas lejos
	ps:	suffix (deictic)
	Comments:	can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives: nakeram 'that one (cmng) farther'. cf. -kerawk 'far'. -keram: 'very far'.

-keram:	Eng:	very far
	Sp:	muy lejos
	ps:	suffix (deictic)
	Comments:	can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives, nakeram 'that one (cmng) very far'; cf. -kerawk 'far'. -keram 'farther'.

-kerawk	Eng:	far
	Sp:	lejos
	ps:	suffix (deictic)
	Comments:	can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives: nakerawk 'that one (cmng) far'; cf. -keram 'farther'. -keram: 'very far'.

kewog	Eng:	sharpen
	Sp:	afilar
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class '. Active. 1sg skewog. 1Pl skewogao.

kewog	Eng:	to sharpen
	Sp:	afilar
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class B. Active; 1sg skewog. 2sgR kewogir; 3sg kewog.

-ki?yaɔala	Eng:	table
	Sp:	mesa
	ps:	n
	Comments:	derived form. ABS nki?yaɔala.

kɨjiλi	Eng:	chicken pox
	Sp:	varicela
	ps:	n
	Comments:	

kĩjim	Eng:	that (complementizer)
	Sp:	que
	ps:	complementizer
	Comments:	introduces complement clauses. is optional.

kiyo	Eng:	to wash
	Sp:	lavar
	ps:	vt
	Comments:	Class B. Active. 1sc skiyo, 2scf kiyoi [lawači], 2scR kiyoir [lawači?]; 3sc kiyo; 1PL skiyoac; 2PCL kiyoiri, 2PL kiyoi , 3PL kiyoer;

kiyoɢon	Eng:	to wash
	Sp:	lavar
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active. 1sc skiyoɢon.

kiyoɢonaɢat	Eng:	soap
	Sp:	jabon
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. PCL. kiyoɢonaɢater. morphologically complex derived form.

koλeget	Eng:	kerchief
	Sp:	pañuelo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II.

ko?o	Eng:	to give birth
	Sp:	parir. dar a luz.
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Active. 1sc sko?o. 2scf ko?oi. 2scR ko?oir. 3sc ko?o. 1PL sko?yac; 2PCL ko?oiri; 2PL ko?oi.; 3PL, ko?oer;

kočok	Eng:	purple
	Sp:	violeta
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	

kočoki	Eng:	little;
	Sp:	poco/a(s)
	ps:	quantifier
	Comments:	

kočoki?	Eng:	small child (M)
	Sp:	niñito (M)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	cf F: kočo?λi?.

komena	Eng:	grandmother
	Sp:	abuela
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II.

koñára	Eng:	sister-in-law
	Sp:	cuñada
	ps:	n
	Comments:	< Sp. cuñada [kuñáða] 'sister-in-law'.

koñiraG	Eng:	to cut oneself; to get cut.
	Sp:	cortarse
	ps:	vi
	Comments:	Class B. Inactive. 1sG irkoñiraG [jkoñiraG]. 2sGR rkoñiraGir. 3sG koñiraG.

kopi	Eng:	mucus
	Sp:	moco
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. 1sGPOSS inkopi [ñkopi]. 2sGfPOSS nkopii. 2sGRPOSS nkopiir. 3sGPOSS nkopi. 1PLPOSS qankopi. 2PCL nkopiiri. 2PL nkopii. 3PLPOSS nkopier. ABS kopi.

kos	Eng:	pig
	Sp:	cerdo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL kosi [koši]. PL kosiipi [koši.pi].

kotapik	Eng:	quebracho (Schinopsis balansae or Quebrachia morongii)
	Sp:	quebracho (Schinopsis balansae or Quebrachia morongii)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	-ik = nominal suffix 'tree'. COLL kotapiksat.

-kowičaGaki	Eng:	nest
	Sp:	nido
	ps:	n
	Comments:	PCL -kowičaGakir. morphologically complex (derived form).

-l	Eng:	paucal number marker
	Sp:	marcador de número paucal
	ps:	suffix {n}
	Comments:	

la	Eng:	fruit
	Sp:	fruta
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III.

lade:neg	Eng:	witch doctor
	Sp:	curandero
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL lade:neger.

lagi	Eng:	when
	Sp:	cuando
	ps:	interrogative
	Comments:	it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots. in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'

lalecay

Eng:	white (F);
Sp:	blanca (F)
ps:	adj
Comments:	M: lalecayk; PCL(M): lalecaqa, PCL(F): lalecai.

lalecayk

Eng:	white (M);
Sp:	blanco (M)
ps:	adj
Comments:	F: lalecay; PCL(M): lalecaqa; PCL(F): lalecai.

laloλi?

Eng:	small (F); little (F);
Sp:	pequeño (F);
ps:	adj
Comments:	-o?λi? 'diminutive (F)'. M: laloki?; PCL(M): lalolqacr; PCL(F): lalo:λir.

laloki?

Eng:	small (M); little (M);
Sp:	pequeño (M).
ps:	adj
Comments:	-oki? 'diminutive (M)'. F: lalo?λi?; PCL(M): lalolqacr, PCL(F): lalo:λir.

lames

Eng:	table
Sp:	mesa
ps:	n
Comments:	Class II; IsGPOSS ñ(i)lames. ~ Sp *mesa* 'table'.

lapacat

Eng:	louse
Sp:	piojo
ps:	n
Comments:	Class III. PCL lapacatcr.

lase

Eng:	insect; bug;
Sp:	insecto; bicho
ps:	n
Comments:	Class III. PCL lasel.

lasom

Eng:	door
Sp:	puerta
ps:	n
Comments:	Class II. PCL lasomir.

latacañi

Eng:	fly
Sp:	mosca
ps:	n
Comments:	Class III. PCL latacañil.

latas
Eng: cup; mug;
Sp: taza; jarro;
ps: n
Comments: < Sp. *la taza* [la tasa] (definite feminine article - taza 'cup') 'the cup'.

latew?ge
Eng: big (F); fat (F);
Sp: grande (F); gorda (F);
ps: adj
Comments: M. lodegoat; PCL(M); leta?al. PCL(F); late?el.

latogot
Eng: lagoon, pond
Sp: laguna
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

laway
Eng: weak (F)
Sp: debil (F)
ps: adj
Comments: M. lawayk. PCL(M); lawaqa. PCL(F); lawai.

lawayk
Eng: weak (M)
Sp: debil (M)
ps: adj
Comments: -yk 'masculine (adj)'. F laway. PCL(M); lawaqa. PCL(F) lawai.

lawoyk
Eng: wasp
Sp: avispa
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCL. lawo(y)qa.

le
Eng: thorn
Sp: espina
ps: n
Comments: Class III. coll. le sat.

le:re
Eng: paper
Sp: papel
ps: n
Comments: Class II. PCL. le.rel.

le:taracay
Eng: old (F); broken (F);
Sp: viejo (F); roto (F);
ps: adj
Comments: M. le taracayk. PCL(M); le taraqa. PCL(F) le taracai.

le:taracayk
Eng: old (M); broken (M);
Sp: viejo (M); roto (M);
ps: adj
Comments: F le taracay; PCL(M) le taraqa; PCL(F) le taracai.

+leg	Eng:	on; over.
	Sp:	sobre
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	

lekat	Eng:	knife
	Sp:	cuchillo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. PCL. lekatir.

lekolacarayk	Eng:	lizard
	Sp:	lagartija
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL. lekolacara(y)qa

licicsqate	Eng:	ring
	Sp:	anillo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class II. PCL. licicsqater.

+lo	Eng:	paucal object marker
	Sp:	marcador de objecto paucal
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	cf. +er 'plural'.

lo?giλi	Eng:	squash
	Sp:	zapallo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL. lo?giλir.

lo?wi?	Eng:	milk
	Sp:	leche
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class ?. ABS. lo?wi?

lo:yo	Eng:	trunk (of tree)
	Sp:	tronco (de árbol)
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL. lo:yol, COLL. lo yolsat.

lodegcat	Eng:	big (M); fat (M).
	Sp:	grande (M); gordo (M).
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	F. latew?ge. PCL.(M). leta?al. PCL.(F). late?el.

loqo?m	Eng:	or
	Sp:	o
	ps:	coordinator
	Comments:	conjoins phrases or clauses

λaɢa
     Eng: edge: blade
     Sp: borde: filo
     ps: n
     Comments: Class II?.

λiméta
     Eng: bottle
     Sp: botella
     ps: n
     Comments: Class II; PCL λimetal; Pl. λimetalipi. · Sp *limeta* 'bottle'.

λoɢonata
     Eng: canoe:
     Sp: canoa:
     ps: n
     Comments: Class II; PCL λoɢonatal:

ma?le
     Eng: after; later; future:
     Sp: después: más tarde: futuro.
     ps: adv
     Comments:

maɢare
     Eng: pronoun
     Sp: pronombre
     ps: pronoun
     Comments: occurs with deictic roots for 3rd person pronominal: also realized as [maq] ~ [ma:re]

maɢso
     Eng: pants (pair of):
     Sp: pantalón:
     ps: n
     Comments: Class II; PCL maɢsol.

máka
     Eng: hammock: swing:
     Sp: hamaca.
     ps: n
     Comments: < Sp *hamaca* [amáka] 'hammock. swing'.

mañik
     Eng: rhea
     Sp: ñandú
     ps: n
     Comments: Class III.

mansána
     Eng: apple
     Sp: manzana
     ps: n
     Comments: < Sp *manzana* [mansána] 'apple'.

maq
     Eng: pronoun
     Sp: pronombre
     ps: pronoun
     Comments: occurs with deictic roots for 3rd person pronominal: variant pronunciation of /maɢare/: also realized as [maɢare] ~ [ma:re]

ma:re	Eng:	pronoun
	Sp:	pronombre
	ps:	pronoun
	Comments:	occurs with deictic roots for 3rd person pronominal, variant pronounciation of /mac̆are/; also realized as [macare] ~ [maq]

mic̆olek	Eng:	cat
	Sp:	gato
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III; PL mic̆olqa, morphologically complex?.

mogel	Eng:	silly (M); funny (M);
	Sp:	tonto (M); gracioso (M);
	ps:	n
	Comments:	F mogola, PCL(M); mogolaqa, PCL (F) mogolal;

mogola	Eng:	silly (F), funny (F);
	Sp:	tonto (F); gracioso (F).
	ps:	n
	Comments:	M mogel, PCL(M); mogolaqa, PCL (F) mogolal;

móno	Eng:	monkey;
	Sp:	mono.
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, PCL monól; < Sp. mono 'monkey'.

moqoyt	Eng:	Mocovi
	Sp:	mocovi
	ps:	n, adj
	Comments:	

mote	Eng:	knot
	Sp:	nudo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, PCL motel.

n+	Eng:	3rd person Active marker
	Sp:	marcador de 3a persona Activo
	ps:	proclitic {v}
	Comments:	marks Class D verbs;

n+	Eng:	3rd person Inactive marker
	Sp:	marcador de 3a persona No-Activo
	ps:	proclitic {v}
	Comments:	marks Class D verbs.

n+	Eng:	Absolutive marker
	Sp:	marcador de Absolutivo
	ps:	proclitic {n}
	Comments:	

n-	Eng:	hither
	Sp:	hacia aqui
	ps:	prefix {v}
	Comments:	occurs with some verbs that take the Active markers, can also have a reflexive meaning;

n-	Eng:	alienable
	Sp:	alienable
	ps:	prefix {n}
	Comments:	attaches to alienably possessed nouns when possessive markers occur on the noun;

na	Eng:	deictic (coming)
	Sp:	deictico (viniendo)
	ps:	deictic root
	Comments:	Demonstrative: M: e+na; F a+na; PL/PL na-wa;

naλin	Eng:	fish
	Sp:	pez; pescado
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III; pcl: naλinir [naλiñi?]

na?	Eng:	when
	Sp:	cuando
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	introduces adverbial clauses of time

na?ɢata	Eng:	day
	Sp:	dia
	ps:	n
	Comments:	~ ña?ɑa?a, Class III; PCL na?ɢatar;

na?le	Eng:	before; earlier; past;
	Sp:	antes; mas temprano, pasado,
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	

na:serek	Eng:	tobacco
	Sp:	tabaco
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, PCL na serqa,

na:so:lek	Eng:	corn
	Sp:	maiz
	ps:	n
	Comments:	PCL na so:lqa;

nagi	Eng:	now; today; present;
	Sp:	ahora, hoy; presente;
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	

nanayk
Eng: yarará (type of poisonous snake)
Sp: yarara (tipo de vivora venenosa)
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCI. nana(y)qa.

nanok
Eng: alligator
Sp: yacare
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

napagɔak
Eng: bridge
Sp: puente
ps: n
Comments: Class II. PCI. napagɔako.

ne?mek
Eng: ladle
Sp: cucharon
ps: n
Comments: Class II. PCI. ne?mqa.

ne:lonaq
Eng: *campanilla* (type of poisonous snake)
Sp: campanilla
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCI. ne.lonar.

ne:saɢa
Eng: mud; clay
Sp: barro. arcilla
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

ne:targek
Eng: jacaranda
Sp: jacarandá
ps: n
Comments: Class III. -ik = nominal suffix 'tree'. COLI ne targeksat.

neɗigoɢonaɢa
Eng: rat
Sp: rata
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCI. neɗigoɢonaɢal.

nehem
Eng: same; similar;
Sp: igual; similar;
ps: adv
Comments: ~ ?nem. used to link clauses with an equative meaning.

nelolaɢanaɢa
Eng: toad
Sp: sapo
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCI. nelolaɢanaɢal;

NOTE TO USERS

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UMI

norek Eng: fire
 Sp: fuego
 ps: n
 Comments: Class III.

ña?Ga?a Eng: day
 Sp: dia
 ps: n
 Comments: ~ ña?,ata. Class III, PCL ña?,ia?a. --

ñi Eng: deictic (non-extended)
 Sp: deictico (no extendido)
 ps: deictic root
 Comments: Demonstrative: M: e-ñi. F a- ñi. PCL/PL ñi -wa.

+ñi Eng: down; downwards:
 Sp: abajo: hacia abajo:
 ps: enclitic {v}
 Comments:

ñige? Eng: what; who;
 Sp: que: quien.
 ps: interrogative
 Comments: it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots. in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'; introduces interrogative clauses,

+ñigi Eng: inside:
 Sp: dentro de:
 ps: enclitic {v}
 Comments:

ñik Eng: rope
 Sp: soga
 ps: n
 Comments: Class II, PCL ñiqa.

ñiksaq Eng: skunk
 Sp: zorrino
 ps: n
 Comments: Class III, PCL ñiksar.

ñilek Eng: pimple (with pus)
 Sp: granito (con pus)
 ps: n
 Comments: Class III.

ñilot Eng: worm
 Sp: gusano
 ps: n
 Comments: Class III; PCL ñiloter;

+o   Eng: inwards; hither;
                 Sp: hacia adentro; hacia aqui;
                 ps: enclitic {v}
                 Comments: -- -wo

+oʔ   Eng: evidential
                 Sp: evidencial
                 ps: enclitic
                 Comments:

-o   Eng: paucal number marker
                 Sp: marcador de número
                 ps: suffix {n}
                 Comments:

oʔči   Eng: to be afraid;
                 Sp: temer; tener miedo;
                 ps: vi
                 Comments: Class D; Inactive; 1sg: iroʔči [joʔči]; 2sgR: roʔčiir; 3sg: noʔči.

oʔdaɢtetek   Eng: to get scaed
                 Sp: asustarse
                 ps: vi
                 Comments: Class D; Inactive; 1sg: iroʔdaɢtetek [joʔdaɢtetek]; 2sgR:
                            roʔdaɢtetekir; 3sg: noʔdaɢtetek;

-oʔɢona   Eng: vase
                 Sp: jarrón
                 ps: n
                 Comments: Class II; Pcl. -oʔɢonal.

-oʔɢoyaɢat   Eng: friend
                 Sp: amigo/a
                 ps: n
                 Comments: Class IIʔ; pcl -oʔɢoyaɢater; morphologically complex (derived form).

-oʔloʔ   Eng: fabric
                 Sp: tela
                 ps: n
                 Comments: Class II.

oʔo   Eng: to get angry
                 Sp: enojarse
                 ps: vi
                 Comments: Class Cʔ. 3sg: roʔo.

-oʔo:ta   Eng: vein
                 Sp: vena
                 ps: n
                 Comments: Class I; Pcl. -oʔo:tal.

o?om
    Eng: to turn off, to go off
    Sp: apagar(se)
    ps: vt/vi?
    Comments: Class B, 3sg: o?om;

o?on
    Eng: to get married
    Sp: casarse
    ps: vi
    Comments: Class B, Active;

+o?ot
    Eng: under
    Sp: debajo de;
    ps: enclitic {v}
    Comments: ~ -ot

-o?we:naca
    Eng: land; field;
    Sp: campo; tierra;
    ps: n
    Comments: Class II; morphologically complex (derived form).

o?wet
    Eng: to get dressed
    Sp: vestirse
    ps: vi
    Comments: Class B, Active;

ocac
    Eng: to become fat; to gain weight
    Sp: engordar
    ps: vi
    Comments: Class A, Inactive. 1sg: irocac, 2sgR rocacir; 3sg: iocac,

-ogošik
    Eng: bow
    Sp: arco
    ps: n
    Comments: Class I, Pcl -ogošiqa;

-ocki
    Eng: dress; bag;
    Sp: vestido, bolsa;
    ps: n
    Comments: Class II, pcl -ockir;

-olamek
    Eng: liver
    Sp: higado
    ps: n
    Comments: Class I, 1sgPoss iolamek,

omat
    Eng: to finish
    Sp: terminar
    ps: vt
    Comments: Class A, Active. 1sg: somat, 3sg: iomat;

ona:
Eng: to get stuck; to stick (to something);
Sp: pegarse; quedarse pegado;
ps: vi
Comments: Class C, Inactive;

onog
Eng: to get naked; to get naked;
Sp: desvestirse; desnudarse;
ps: vi
Comments: Class B, Active, see also onog 'to get naked, to undress'.

oqopi
Eng: to hit
Sp: pegar
ps: vt
Comments: Class C, Active;

-oqor
Eng: father-in-law
Sp: suegro
ps: n
Comments: Class I, M; F -oqoro 'mother-in-law'

oqoro
Eng: mother-in-law
Sp: suegra
ps: n
Comments: Class I, F, M -oqor 'father-in-law'

-oqoyna
Eng: netting; mesh
Sp: red
ps: n
Comments: Class II; PCL -oqoynal;

-osa:taoki
Eng: belt
Sp: cinturon
ps: n
Comments: Class?, PCL -osa.taokil.

-osap
Eng: buttocks
Sp: nalgas
ps: n
Comments: Class I, ISGPOSS iosap;

osog
Eng: to get naked; to undress;
Sp: desvestirse; desnudarse;
ps: vi
Comments: Class B, Active, see also onog 'to get naked, to undress'

+ot
Eng: under
Sp: debajo de;
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments: ~ -o?ot

-otoGosoGonoGat

Eng: hammer

Sp: martillo

ps: n

Comments: Class II; pcl. -otoGosoGonoGater; morphologically complex (derived form);

-owaGse

Eng: bracelet

Sp: pulsera

ps: n

Comments: Class ?; PCL -owaGsel;

-owe

Eng: tooth

Sp: diente

ps: n

Comments: Class I. PCL -owe:; 1SGPOSS: iowe, 2SGPOSS rowei; 2SGRPOSS rowcir; 3SGPOSS: lowe; 1PLPOSS: qarowe; 2PCL: roweiri; 2PL: rowei:; 3PLPOSS. lower; ABS nowe.

owen

Eng: to use

Sp: usar; utilizar; ocupar

ps: vt

Comments: Class A. 1sg: sowen; 2SGR. owenir [wiñi?].

owéro

Eng: spotted (of an animal's skin)

Sp: overo

ps: adj

Comments: < Sp. overo [oβéro] 'spotted (of an animal's skin)'.

-owik

Eng: arrow

Sp: flecha

ps: n

Comments: Class I. PCL -owiqa.

owir

Eng: to come; arrive; reach.

Sp: llegar; alcanzar;

ps: vi

Comments: Class I. Active; can occur with or without n- 'hither'. 1sg. inowir [ñowi?] 'I arrive (here)' vs sowir 'I arrive (there)'. 3SG nowir vs yowir;

owo

Eng: to walk

Sp: caminar

ps: vi

Comments: Class A. Active; 1SG sowo; 3SG iowo.

pa?ateta

Eng: light (of weight) (M/F);

Sp: liviano/a (M/F);

ps: adj

Comments:

pa?čoɢon
    Eng: to cure
    Sp: curar
    ps: vt?
    Comments: Class ?; ʾsɢ. spa?čoɢon; can be said only when the shaman is the agent;

pa?lotoɢoyk
    Eng: scorpion
    Sp: escorpión
    ps: n
    Comments: Class III; PCL. pa?lotoɢoyqa.

palačiriɢa
    Eng: spider;
    Sp: araña
    ps: n
    Comments: Class III; PCL. palačiriɢa.

-palaqate
    Eng: finger
    Sp: dedo (de la mano)
    ps: n
    Comments: Class I, PCL. -palaqatel. ʾsɢPOSS: ipalaqate.

pápa
    Eng: potato
    Sp: papa
    ps: n
    Comments: Class II. < Sp *papa* [papa] 'potato'.

pápi
    Eng: dad; daddy;
    Sp: papa; papi.
    ps: n
    Comments: Class III. < Sp *papi* [papi] 'dad. daddy'.

páre
    Eng: butterfly
    Sp: mariposa
    ps: n
    Comments: Class III; PCL. parel, Pl. parelipi, borrowing. source unknown.

pargatoki?
    Eng: rope-soled shoe;
    Sp: alpargata (Arg) (tipo de calzado con suela de soga trenzada).
    ps: n
    Comments: Class II; < Sp *alpargata* [alparɣata] 'rope-soled shoe' and the diminutive masculine suffix -oki?;

páto
    Eng: duck
    Sp: pato
    ps: n
    Comments: Class III; < Sp *pato* [páto] 'duck'.

pe
    Eng: night
    Sp: noche
    ps: n
    Comments: Class III.

-pe

Eng: grandfather
Sp: abuelo
ps: n
Comments: Class I.

+pe?

Eng: up to
Sp: hasta
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments: -- -pege?

peg

Eng: more
Sp: mas
ps: adv
Comments: -- pegeg; precedes adjectives in a phrase.

+pege?

Eng: up to
Sp: hasta
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments: -- -pe?

pegeg

Eng: more
Sp: más
ps: adv
Comments: -- peg, precedes adjectives in a phrase.

pelóta

Eng: ball
Sp: pelota
ps: n
Comments: Class II. < Sp. pelota [pelóta] 'ball'.

péro

Eng: but
Sp: pero
ps: discourse marker
Comments: < Sp. pero [pero] 'but'.

petekayk

Eng: chañar (Geoffroea decorticans)
Sp: chañar (Geoffroea decorticans)
ps: n
Comments: Class III, -ik = nominal suffix 'tree'. PCL petekai, COLL. petekayksat.

petiso?λi?

Eng: short (F)
Sp: petisa (F)
ps: n, adj
Comments: Class III; < Sp. petiso [petiso] 'short' and the diminutive feminine suffix -o?λi?;

petisoki?

Eng: short (M)
Sp: petiso (M)
ps: n, adj
Comments: Class III; < Sp. petiso [petiso] 'short' and the diminutive masculine suffix -oki?;

péwlo

Eng: town
Sp: pueblo
ps: n
Comments: Class II; < Sp *pueblo* [pwéβlo] 'town'.

pi?ɢonaq

Eng: shaman
Sp: shaman
ps: n
Comments: Class III;

pigim

Eng: sky
Sp: cielo
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

pijiloɢoloɢo

Eng: toad
Sp: sapo
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL pijiloɢoloɢoL also sápo (Sp. ~sapo 'toad')

pinkošik

Eng: tala (Celtis tala)
Sp: tala
ps: n
Comments: Class III. -ik = nominal suffix 'tree'. COL pinkošiksaL

poqo

Eng: charcoal
Sp: carbon
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

porsupwéhtoke

Eng: of course
Sp: por supuesto
ps: discourse marker
Comments: < Sp *por supuesto que* [por supwehto ke] 'of course that'

pyoɢ

Eng: perro
Sp: dog
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCL pyoɢo.

pyoɢlapagat

Eng: flea
Sp: pulga
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL pyoɢlapaɢatcr; morphologically complex (derived form) pyoɢ 'dog' - lapagat 'louse'.

qa+

Eng: indefinite agent
Sp: agente indefinido
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: occurs only with a verb in the third person singular, immediately precedes the 3rd person proclitic in the verb form

-qa   Eng: paucal number marker
          Sp: marcador de número
          ps: suffix {n}
        Comments:

qaden   Eng: to make heal
          Sp: curar
          ps: vt
        Comments: Class B. 3sc, nqaden.

qae?pe   Eng: axe
          Sp: hacha
          ps: n
        Comments: Class II: PCL: qae?pel.

-qaig   Eng: head
          Sp: cabeza
          ps: n
        Comments: Class I: PCL: -qaigo. 1SGPOSS: iqaig; 3SGPOSS: lqaig;

qalacam   Eng: but
          Sp: pero
          ps: coordinator
        Comments: used to conjoin phrases or clauses; - qam.

qam   Eng: but
          Sp: pero
          ps: coordinator
        Comments: used to conjoin phrases or clauses; - qalacam

qami   Eng: 2nd person singular familiar independent pronoun
          Sp: pronombre personal de 2ª persona singular familiar
          ps: independent pronoun
        Comments: used only with siblings or very close friends (friends one has grown up with); cf. qamir '2nd person singular Respectful independent pronoun'.

qamir   Eng: 2nd person singular Respectful independent pronoun
          Sp: pronombre personal de 2ª persona singular de Respeto
          ps: independent pronoun
        Comments: cf. qami '2nd person singular familiar independent pronoun'; qamir is the one most commonly used;

qamiri   Eng: 2nd person plural independent pronoun
          Sp: pronombre personal de 2ª persona plural
          ps: independent pronoun
        Comments: there doesn't seem to be a different form for the independent pronoun in the 2nd person paucal;

qar   Eng: stone
          Sp: piedra
          ps: n
        Comments: Class III: PCL: qari: PL: qariipi [qari:pi]; see -qar 'chin', qari 'bola'

-qar

Eng: chin
Sp: menton
ps: n
Comments: Class II; 1SGPOSS ñqar; 2SGRPOSS nqarir; 3SGPOSS nqar; see qar 'stone';

qar+

Eng: 1ˢᵗ person plural Inactive marker
Sp: marcador de 1ˢᵗ persona plural No-Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: cf 1ˢᵗ plural Active s- - i- -aɢ;

qari

Eng: bola (type of hunting tool)
Sp: boleadora
ps: n
Comments: Class II?, PCL: qaril. (from qa 'stone')

qawa

Eng: to walk
Sp: caminar
ps: vi
Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG sqawa

-qoʔge

Eng: elbow
Sp: codo
ps: n
Comments: Class I; PCL -qoʔgel. 1SGPOSS iqoʔge. 3SGPOSS lqoʔge.

qoʔgoɢo

Eng: to suck; to kiss;
Sp: chupar; besar;
ps: vt/vi
Comments: Class D; Active; can take the prefix n- 'hither'. 1SG sqoʔgoɢo. 3SG nqoʔgoʔgo,

qoʔɢoy

Eng: old (F);
Sp: viejo (F);
ps: adj
Comments: M qoʔɢoyk. PCL(M) qoʔɢoyaqa. PCL(F) qoʔɢoi.

qoʔɢoyk

Eng: old (M);
Sp: viejo (M).
ps: adj
Comments: F qoʔɢoy. PCL(M) qoʔɢoyaqa. PCL(F) qoʔɢoi.

qoʔole

Eng: bird
Sp: pájaro
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL qoʔolqa.

qoʔpaq

Eng: tree; stick; wood;
Sp: árbol, palo; madera;
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL qoʔpar; PL qoʔparipi. cf -qoʔpaq 'eyebrow'.

-qo?paq Eng: eyebrow
Sp: ceja
ps: n
Comments: Class II; PCL. nqo?par (3SGPOSS). 1SGPOSS. ñqo?paq; 2SGRPOSS nqo?paq; 3SGPOSS: nqo?paq; see qo?paq 'tree, stick, wood'; cf. qo?paq 'tree'.

qo?peloGo?ñi Eng: tadpole
Sp: renacuajo
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL. qo?peloGo?ñil.

-qo:ta Eng: knee
Sp: rodilla
ps: n
Comments: Class I; PCL. -qo tal; 1SGPOSS iqo ta.

qoGon Eng: to urinate
Sp: orinar
ps: vi
Comments: Class B; Active; 1SG sqoGon. 2SGf qoGoni; 2SGR qoGonir; 3SG qoGon; 1PL sqoGonaG, 2PCL qoGoniri; 2PL qoGoni; 3PL qoGoner.

qom Eng: person
Sp: persona
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCL qomir.

qom Eng: person
Sp: persona
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

qomir Eng: 1st person plural independent pronoun
Sp: pronombre personal de 1a persona plural
ps: independent pronoun
Comments: qom 'person' --- qom-ir (person-pcl) 'people'

qoñi Eng: yellow
Sp: amarillo
ps: adj
Comments:

qoŝikyaGawa Eng: monkey;
Sp: mono.
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL. qoŝikyaGawal; also mono (< Sp. mono 'monkey')

-qosot Eng: neck
Sp: cuello
ps: n
Comments: Class I. 1SGPOSS iqosot , 2SGRPOSS: rqosotir, 3SGPOSS lqosot.

-qote
Eng: eye
Sp: ojo
ps: n
Comments: Class II; 1sɡ inqote [ñqote]; 3sɡPoss nqote.

-qowe?
Eng: egg
Sp: huevo
ps: n
Comments: Class II.

·
Eng: candle
qoyaracanacat
Sp: vela
ps: n
Comments: Class II; pcl qoyaracanacater; morphologically complex (derived form);

r+
Eng: 3rd person Active marker
Sp: marcador de 3a persona Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: see also r- '3rd person Inactive'; marks Class C verbs;

r+
Eng: 3rd person Inactive marker
Sp: marcador de 3a persona No-Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: see also r- '3rd person Active'

r+
Eng: 2nd person Inactive marker
Sp: marcador de 2a persona No-Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: cf. ⊘- '2nd person Active'.

-r
Eng: paucal number marker
Sp: marcador de numero
ps: suffix {n}
Comments:

ra?asa
Eng: sun
Sp: sol
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

širaygo
Eng: moon
Sp: luna
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

ra?ñagi
Eng: deaf
Sp: sordo
ps: adj ?
Comments: very likely derived form.

ralolᴄay
Eng: sick (F)
Sp: enferma (F)
ps: adj
Comments: derived form; cf. M. ralolᴄayk.

rapik
Eng: honey
Sp: miel
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

rayami
Eng: prickly pear
Sp: tuna del monte
ps: n
Comments: PCL. rayamil. COLL. rayamilsat.

regat
Eng: jaguar; cat;
Sp: jaguar; gato.
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL regatir. PL regatiripi

regone
Eng: wild boar
Sp: jabali
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCL regoneir [regoñi?].

** s+**
Eng: 1ˢᵗ person Active marker
Sp: marcador de la persona Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: used with verbs when they are not preceded by the prefix *n-* 'hither'.
e.g. salawat 'I kill'; see *i-* '1ˢᵗ person Active'.

saik
Eng: because
Sp: porque
ps: adv
Comments: introduces adverbial clauses of cause

sápo
Eng: toad
Sp: sapo
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL sapól; < Sp *sapo* 'toad'.

sawado
Eng: Saturday
Sp: sábado
ps: n
Comments: Class III. < Sp *sábado* 'Saturday'

se+
Eng: negative
Sp: negación
ps: proclitic
Comments: also sqae-.

so	Eng:	deictic (going)
	Sp:	deictico (yendo)
	ps:	deicitc root
	Comments:	Demonstrative. M. e+so, F. a-so. PCL/PL. so-wa.

sókar	Eng:	sugar
	Sp:	azúcar
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. < Sp azúcar [asúcar] 'sugar'.

sórgo	Eng:	sorghum
	Sp:	sorgo
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. < Sp. sorgo [soryo] 'sorghum'.

sqae+	Eng:	negative
	Sp:	negación
	ps:	proclitic
	Comments:	also se-.

šaλaɢaray	Eng:	heavy (F)
	Sp:	pesado (F)
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	M. šaλaɢarayk. PCL(M) šaλaɢaraqa. PCL(F) šaλaɢarai.

šaλaɢarayk	Eng:	heavy (M)
	Sp:	pesado (M)
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	F. šaλaɢaray. PCL(M). šaλaɢaraqa. PCL(F) šaλaɢarai.

ši?ge	Eng:	already
	Sp:	ya
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	~ šige.

šige	Eng:	already
	Sp:	ya
	ps:	adv
	Comments:	~ ši?ge.

+šigim	Eng:	up; upwards;
	Sp:	arriba; hacia arriba.
	ps:	enclitic {v}
	Comments:	e.g. icnaošigim 'he throws up(wards)'.

šilqayk	Eng:	iguana
	Sp:	iguana
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III. PCL. šilka(y)kɂa,

šim

Eng: almost
Sp: casi
ps: adv
Comments:

šitacaray

Eng: sharp-pointed (F)
Sp: puntiagudo (F)
ps: adj
Comments: M. šitacarayk: PCL(M). šitacaraqa, PCL(F). šitacarai.

šitacarayk

Eng: sharp-pointed (M)
Sp: puntiagudo (M)
ps: adj
Comments: F. šitacaray: PCL(M). šitacaraqa, PCL(F). šitacarai.

qawa:

Eng: to take a step
Sp: dar un paso
ps: vi
Comments: Class ?. 1sg. sqawa.

-ta

Eng: proximate
Sp: proximo
ps: suffix (deictic)
Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives. nata 'this (coming) proximate'; cf. -ho 'very proximate'.

+tak

Eng: progressive aspect
Sp: aspecto progresivo
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments: also realized as -tapc ~ -takc ~ -sak ([sak] when it follows the 2nd person singular Respectful enclitic)

tapiñik

Eng: (type of) armadillo
Sp: tatu
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

taqate

Eng: comb
Sp: peine
ps: n
Comments: Class II; PCL. taqatel.

tog

Eng: red
Sp: rojo
ps: adj
Comments: PCL. toger; toglek 'reddish (orange in color)'

tomáte

Eng: tomato
Sp: tomate
ps: n
Comments: Class III. < Sp. tomate [tomáte] 'tomato'.

tónseh

Eng: then
Sp: entonces
ps: discourse marker
Comments: < Sp. *entonces* [entonses] 'then'

wa?ge

Eng: where
Sp: donde
ps: interrogative
Comments: it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots. in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'

waɢay

Eng: sea; river;
Sp: mar; rio;
ps: n
Comments: Class III; PCL. waɢaqa;

waɢayaq

Eng: water
Sp: agua
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

waka

Eng: cow
Sp: vaca
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCL. wakal; Sp *vaca* [baka] 'cow'.

walay

Eng: lazy (F)
Sp: vago (F)
ps: adj
Comments: M walayk; PCL(M)' walaɢaqa; PCL(F) walaɢai.

walayk

Eng: lazy (M)
Sp: vago (M)
ps: adj
Comments: F walay; PCL(M) walaɢaqa; PCL(F) walaɢai.

waloɢonaq

Eng: dumb
Sp: tonto
ps: n. adj
Comments: Class III; PCL waloɢonar;

waloq

Eng: cotton
Sp: algodón
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

wanána

Eng: banana
Sp: banana
ps: n
Comments: ~ wanána < Sp *banana* [banana] 'banana'.

waqa?e   Eng: chicken. hen
             Sp: pollo. gallina
             ps: n
             Comments: Class III; PCL waqa?el

we   Eng: salt
             Sp: sal
             ps: n
             Comments: Class III; cf. ?we 'there is, there exists'.

+weg   Eng: out: outwards
             Sp: afuera; hacia afuera;
             ps: locative enclitic {v}
             Comments: - -eg

+wgi   Eng: in; inwarda; into
             Sp: adentro; hacia adentro; dentro de;
             ps: enclitic {v}
             Comments:

+wo   Eng: inwards; hither;
             Sp: hacia adentro. hacia aqui.
             ps: enclitic {v}
             Comments: - -o

wólsa   Eng: bag
             Sp: bolsa
             ps: n
             Comments: Class II; PCL wolsál. < Sp *bolsa* [bolsa] 'bag'.

wyo   Eng: mortar
             Sp: mortero
             ps: n
             Comments: Class II; PCL wyol.

xúhtoke Eng: just as/when
             Sp: justo que
             ps: discourse marker
             Comments: < Sp *justo que* [xuhto ke] 'just as/when'

xwan   Eng: John
             Sp: Juan
             ps: n
             Comments: < Sp *Juan* 'John'

yaGaray Eng: sharp (of knife, axe) (F)
             Sp: afilado (cuchillo. hacha) (F)
             ps: adj
             Comments: M: yaGarayk; PCL(M) yaGaraqa; PCL(F) yaGarai.

yaᴄarayk

	Eng:	sharp (of knife, axe) (M)
	Sp:	afilado (cuchillo, hacha) (M)
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	F. yaᴄaray: PCL.(M): yaᴄaraqa, PCL.(F) yaᴄarai,

yaᴄat

	Eng:	rain
	Sp:	lluvia
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III.

yale

	Eng:	man, male
	Sp:	hombre, macho
	ps:	n
	Comments:	Class III, PCL. yaler, PL. yaleripi,

yi

	Eng:	ripe (M/F)
	Sp:	maduro/a (M/F)
	ps:	adj
	Comments:	PCL.(M/F). yir.

yim

	Eng:	1st person singular independent pronoun
	Sp:	pronombre personal de 1^{a} persona singular
	ps:	pronoun
	Comments:	

yo?yo

	Eng:	fat (M/F)
	Sp:	gordo/a (M/F)
	ps:	adj, n
	Comments:	

yolo

	Eng:	black pig
	Sp:	chancho negro
	ps:	n
	Comments:	CLASS III, PCL. yolo:.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

150mm

6"
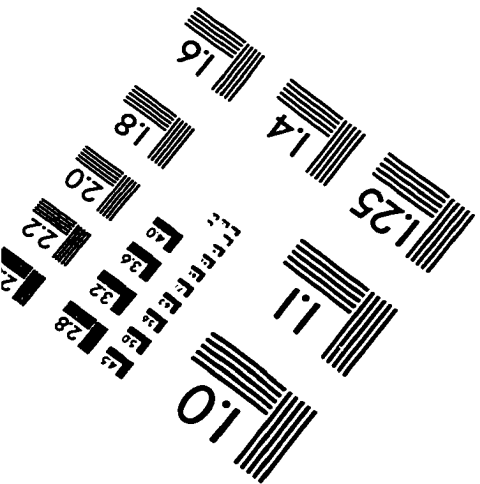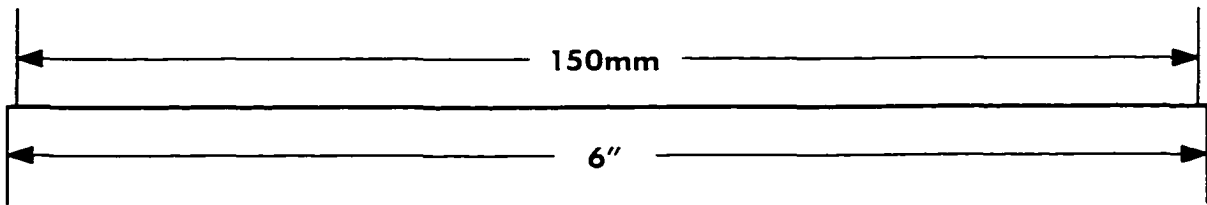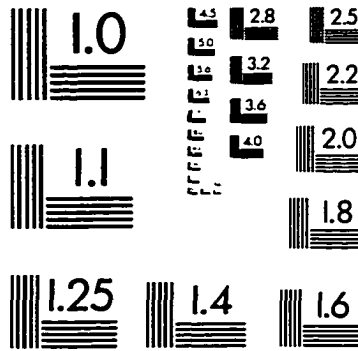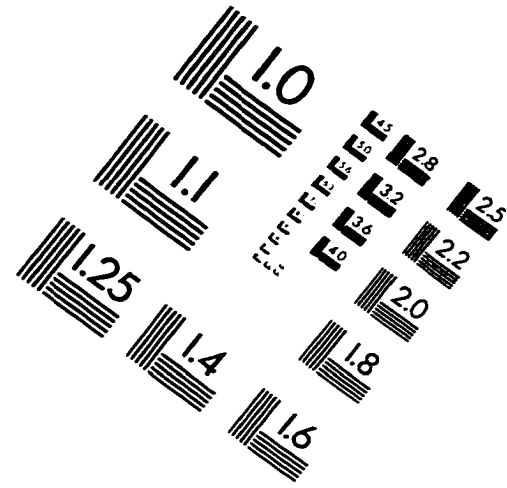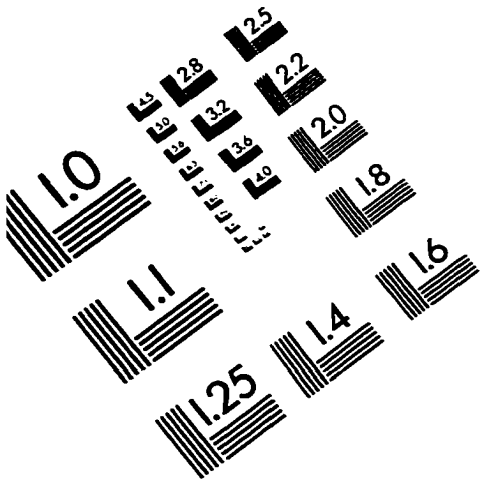
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