The Mochica language was spoken on the North-West coast of Peru and in some inland villages. The first attested documentation of the language is from 1607. The language was widely used in the area in the 17th and early 18th century, but records of the language at the end of the 19th century show a dying language only spoken by a few persons in some villages around Chiclayo. The language died out as a spoken language about 1920, but certain words and phrases were in use in some families up to the 1960s.

Mochica was the language of the Chimú culture and it may have been the language of the Moche culture. Mochica was the language of one of the main pre-Inca cultures of Perú, a culture that created the great town Chanchan and the impressive pyramids, temples and tombs from Trujillo in the south to Túcume in the north.

Our main source for the knowledge of this ancient South American language is Fernando de la Carrera: *ARTE DE LA LENGVA YVNGA DE LOS VALLES del Obispado de Truxillo del Peru, con vn Confessonario, y todas las Oraciones Christianas, traducidas en la lengua, y otras cosas*. (Lima 1644). The book contains a grammar, all the basic religious texts, confessional formulas, extensive explanatory questions and answers to most texts, psalms, as well as some brief non-religious dialogues and a number of sentences in Mochica. The author had a native command of the lanuage.

Mochica is typologically different from the other main languages on the West coast of South America (Quechua, Aymara, and Mapudungun) and contains features that are rare both within South American languages and in the languages of the world: case system where cases are build on each other in a linear sequence, e.g. the ablative suffix has to be added to the locative which again must be added to an oblique case form - all nouns have two stems: a possessed stem and a non-possessed stem - an agentive case suffix mainly used for the agent in passive clauses - a verbal system where all finite forms are formed with the copula. Mochica appears to be a linguistic isolate with no clear cognates among attested American Indian languages.
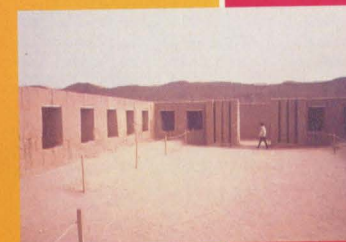
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Even Hovdhaugen : Mochica

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PREFACE

My interest in Mochica started with my historiographic research on missionary grammars including Carrera's grammar of Mochica from 1644. Trying to decipher the extensive Mochica texts in his grammar I found the existing grammatical descriptions of the language (Carrera 1644 and Middendorf 1892) inadequate.

Accordingly, I started 10 years ago to write a short grammar of Mochica. Due to other research projects and administrative duties the work on this grammar became a part-time project that now finally is completed.

During the past 10 years some major studies of Mochica have appeared (Cerrón-Palomino 1995, Salas 2002, and Torero 2002). They treat the history of the language, the history of research on the language as well as selected parts of the grammar. Salas (2002) is an extensive documentation of the sources for Mochica lexicography.

A grammar of Mochica has to be fragmentary owing to the limited data available. Many aspects of the language are not attested at all or only sporadically in Carrera (1644). This book is an attempt of systematizing our limited knowledge of this fascinating language. But it has to be a grammar with depressingly many gaps.

Even Hovdhaugen
The University of Oslo

CONTENTS

TERMINOLOGY

A = agent argument of transitive verbs
ABL = ablative
ADJR = adjectivalizer
ADVR = adverbializer
AG = agentive
aj = adjective
av = adverb
BEN = benefactive
BUFF = buffer vowel
CAUS = causative
conj = conjunction
COP = copula
DAT = dative
DIR = direct case
EMPH = emphatic
FREQ = frequentative
FUT = future
GER = gerund (verbal adverb)
IMP = imperative
IMPR = impersonal
inj = interjection
LOC = locative
LOC /ALL = locative-allative
n = noun
n-np = nonpossessed noun
n-p = possessed noun
NEG = negative
NOM = nominative
N.POSS = non-possessed
num = numerals
O = patient of transitive verbs
OBL = oblique

OPT = optative
ORD = ordinal
PASS = passive
PART = participle
part = particle
PL = plural
POSS = possessed
posp = postposition
pro = pronoun
PRS = present
PRT = preterite
PTCL = particle
PURP = purpose
RED = reduplicated
REL = relative clause particle
S = single argument of one-place predicates
SEQ = sequential
SG = singular
SUFF = suffix
THAT = the particle *can*
v = verb
VN = verbal noun
1 = first person
2 = second person
3 = third person
- = morpheme boundary
+ = portmanteau form
. = word division that is irrelevant to the analysis

1. THE MOCHICA LANGUAGE

1.0. Introduction

So far there exist two grammars of Mochica: Carrera (1644) and Middendorf (1892).[1] Both are hard to get hold of and linguists today will frequently not find what they are looking for in these grammars.

There is no grammar and no word list of Mochica covering all the Mochica texts in Carrera's grammar. Apparently, no modern scholar has read and analyzed the about 80 pages with Mochica texts in Carrera's book. Middendorf (1892) analyzed a few of them, but only those that were more or less directly translated[2] from Spanish. Furthermore, the data found in the texts do not always correspond to the rules given in the grammar (e.g. 3.11.1.3.).

The purpose of this book is to present a grammar of the Mochica language based on the only reliable source we have of the language while it still was a living language (Carrera 1644).

Although most of the Mochica texts in Carrera's grammar are translations of basic Christian texts, or questions and answers concerning these texts, they are paradoxically also due to Carrera's free and pedagogical translation practice an important source for our knowledge of pre-conquest Mochica culture. I hope in the future to publish a complete edition and translation of all the Mochica texts in Carrera (1644).

1.1. The language

The Mochica language was spoken on the West coast of Peru from Chócope in the south to Mórrope and Motupe in the north and in some inland villages. The language was certainly spoken there before the Incas conquered the area in the 15th century although the first attested documentation of the language is from 1607 (Oré 1607). The language was widely used in the area in the 17th and early 18th century, but when we find records of the language at the end of the 19th century it is a dying language only spoken by a few persons in some villages around Chiclayo (especially Eten). The language died out as a spoken language about 1920, but certain words and phrases were in use in some families up to the 1960s.

Mochica was most likely the language of the Chimú culture, it may have been the language of the Moche culture (cf. Bawden 1996, Larco Hoyle 2001), it may be the same as or closely related to Quingnam, a language said to have been spoken further south on the Pacific coast (Cerrón-Palomino 1995:32-34). Mochica was the language of one of the main pre-Inca cultures of Perú, a culture that created the spectacular Chanchan and the impressive pyramids, temples and tombs from Trujillo in the south to Túcume in the north.

1.2. Sources

The oldest preserved source of Mochica is a number of religious texts published in Oré (1607).[3]

The second source is Carrera (1644), which contains a grammar, all the basic religious texts, confessional formulas, extensive explanatory questions and answers to most texts, psalms, as well as some brief non-religious dialogues and a number of sentences in Mochica.

We also have information about a Spanish-Mochica-Quechua catechism from 1596 and another Mochica grammar (Altieri 1939:viii), both unpublished. These manuscripts (if they ever existed!) were apparently unknown to Carrera because he wrote that nobody could deprive him of the glory of being the first to write a grammar of Mochica (Altieri 1939:4). However, the similarities in the wording of some of the basic religious texts (like the Lord's Prayer) in Oré (1607) and Carrera (1644) indicate that Carrera knew Oré's texts or that a canon of the basic Christian texts in Mochica existed at Carrera's time.

Other sources on the language are lists of word and/or phrases from the end of the 19th[4] and the first quarter of the 20th century.[5] The most extensive source is Middendorf (1892). This material shows a dying language only used in limited spheres of communication and heavily influenced by Spanish.

Accordingly, our main source for the knowledge of this ancient South American language is Carrera (1644). Carrera's grammar was published in Lima in 1644 with the title *ARTE DE LA LENGVA YVNGA DE LOS VALLES del Obispado de Truxillo del Peru, con vn Confessonario, y todas las Oraciones Christianas, traducidas en la lengua, y otras cosas*. The book was printed in two versions. One was dedicated to the king and probably consisted of copies destined for Europe. The other was dedicated to the cantor of the cathedral in Trujillo. There are a few discrepancies between the two editions besides the dedications suggesting that some minor (and rather unmotivated) changes were made in the text between the printing of the two editions.

We do not know how many copies were printed of the book, but today only four copies are known to exist (one in British Museum in London, one in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and two in private ownership in South America). Carrera's grammar was partly or completely reprinted three times in Peru between 1879 and 1921. It also formed the

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[1] Torero (2002:330-368) contains a sketch of selected topics of Mochica grammar.
[2] Mostly Carrera's translations are quite free since he often tried to adapt the wording of the Mochica texts to Mochica culture. Furthermore, some of the texts are apparently written by Carrera in Mochica without any known corresponding text in Spanish. This free approach to translation and to the selection of texts was current in catechisms for indigenous languages in South America in the 17th and 18th century.

[3] Concerning the origin of his Mochica texts Oré says: "La Mochica fue traduzida por Sacerdotes Seculares y Regulares approbada por el Illustrissimo Arcobispo de los Reyes" (Oré 1607:31, quoted after Galdós Rodríguez 2000:45).
[4] In between Carrera and these more recent sources is the short wordlist collected by Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón between 1782 and 1788 (Salas 2002:121-131).
[5] Salas (2002) gives a good survey and presentation of this material.

basis of Middendorf (1892), in which Carrera's paradigms were checked and attempts were made to translate his texts with the help of old Mochica-speaking informants in Eten. In 1939 a critical scholarly edition of Carrera's grammar appeared (Altieri 1939). Unfortunately, this critical edition contains numerous errors, especially in the Mochica texts.

We know little about the author. D. Fernando de la Carrera Daza was born in Trujillo in 1604. His parents were Juan de la Carrera and Jerónima Daza Carvajal, both descendants from the first Spanish families in the city. He was a fluent speaker of Mochica which he learned as a child in Lambayeque (close to Chiclayo and Eten) where he grew up (Altieri 1939:6). Carrera was a priest, from 1633 in the small town of Reque (close to the village of Eten and the modern town of Chiclayo). The last time his name is mentioned is in a document dating from1665.

In his grammar Carrera does not refer to other languages than Latin and Spanish. Those seem to have been the only languages he knew besides Mochica. He had some knowledge of how Portuguese was written and pronounced. We cannot exclude the possibility that he had some knowledge of Quechua and might have read some Quechua grammars, but there is no positive indication to that effect. Carrera mentions that he has had the opportunity to discuss his linguistic work with several Jesuits, but apparently none of them knew Mochica. According to Carrera, there were only four Spanish clerics at his time who knew Mochica.

Carrera's orthography for Mochica is very close to being phonological and few languages at his time could boast of a similar thoroughly planned orthography. Carrera's orthography is used in this book since in several cases the phonetic interpretation of it is unclear (cf. Torero 2002:299-330). His arbitrary word division is, however, normalized.

1.3. Typology

The main languages known to us on the west coast of South America are Quechua, Aimara and Mapudungun. To what extent and for how long time Quechua and Aimara have been spoken in the coastal area is unclear. Mochica is typologically different from them and shows features that are rare both within South American languages and in the languages of the world:
- case system where cases are built on each other in a linear sequence, e.g. the ablative suffix has to be added to the locative-allative that again must be added to the oblique form: *pol-e-nqu-ich* (heart-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL) "from the belly, from the heart",
- all nouns have two stems: a possessed stem and a non-possessed stem,
- an agentive case suffix mainly used for the agent in passive clauses,
- a verbal system where all finite forms are formed with the copula.

1.4. Genetic affiliation

The only serious attempt to link Mochica genetically to other languages is Stark (1968, 1972) who makes a tentative and not very convincing comparison with Mayan languages.

Mochica appears to be a linguistic isolate with no clear cognates among attested American Indian languages. There may have been other languages on the Pacific coast which have now disappeared that were related to Mochica. A likely candidate according to the scanty information we have is the Quignam language that seems to have been spoken in the Trujillo area. But not a single word of Quignam has survived.

2. PHONOLOGY

The phonetic realization of Mochica phonemes is in many cases not clear. The most thorough study so far is Cerrón-Palomino (1995) with a good survey of previous studies[6].

The Mochica material from the late 19th and early 20th century, notably Middendorf (1892) and Brüning (Zevallos Quiñones 1987, Salas 2002) was collected by amateur linguists and was from a dying language being 250 years apart from the language Carrera described. It is of limited use for a phonetic interpretation of Carrera's orthography.

Carrera was a native speaker of the language and one of the achievements he was most proud of, was his Mochica orthography where all the sounds were indicated by separate letters. Either he "invented" new letters (e.g. æ, cɥ) or expressed the sounds by new combinations of letters (e.g. xll, tzh). He used this orthography quite consistently in contrast to the vacillating and phonologically unsatisfactory spelling in Oré (1607).

To establish the phonetic correlates of Carrera's orthography, the following data have been used, the two first being considered most important:
- variation in the orthography, especially in the texts,
- morpho-phonological variations in Mochica,
- Carrera's own scanty information on the pronunciation of the Mochica letters,
- the contemporary pronunciation of the letters in Spanish.

2.1. Vowels
2.1.1. Vowel quality

There are 6 vowel phonemes in Mochica. Five of them are represented by the letters used for the five Spanish vowels (a, e, i, o, u) and there is no reason to assume that their pronunciation was significantly different from the corresponding Spanish vowels.

Carrera's description of the sixth vowel written æ in his orthography is rather confusing and has by some scholars been interpreted as the description of a diphthong (Salas 2002). Cerrón-Palomino (1995:75-80) discusses earlier interpretations.

For several reasons æ seems most likely to have been a short, maybe reduced, central vowel [ə]:
- æ never has an accent (´, `, ^) that may have indicated vowel length or stress, cf. below.
- æ is the only vowel that is regularly subject to elision, cf. mecherræc (ABS) - mecherc-ær-o (-OBL-ADJR).
- æ appears to be a reduced variant of other vowels, cf. 2.5.1.
- æ is used as a buffer vowel to avoid unacceptable consonant groups, cf. 2.4.

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6 Apparently Hovdhaugen (1992) was unknown to him. Cf. also Tolero (2000).

2.1.2. Vowel quantity

There is conflicting information about vowel quantity in Mochica (cf. Cerrón-Palomino 1995:81-83). There are reasons to believe that the 19th century variant of Mochica described by Middendorf had a phonological opposition between short and long vowels (Middendorf 1892:48-49). Furthermore, Carrera himself states that there is such an opposition that he indicates by accents (i.e. ´, `, and ^).[7] The problem is that he is not at all following his own rules for the use of the accents[8] and the accents are rarely and inconsistenly used in his texts.

/æ/ is never accented and /i/ only twice with grave accent. /a/ is found with all three accents, mainly on the final syllable, including the monosyllabic là "water". /e/ is also attested with all three accents. Most examples are with an accent on the oblique suffix -e. /o/ is found with all three accents, in most cases with a circumflex accent on the suffix -ô (ADJR). /u/ is also found with all three accents mainly on the penult and final syllable.

It is difficult to interpret these data as an indication of vowel length, which then must have been a marginal part of Mochica phonology. Cf. 2.3. for the possibility that the accents indicated stress or tones.

2.1.3. Diphthongs?

It is uncertain whether Mochica had diphthongs (cf. Cerrón-Palomino 1995:127-131).

/i/ was realized as an approximant [j] in the positions #_V, V_#, V_C, and V_V, cf. spelling variations like yanà "servant" - īana-ss (-POSS), ai "do" - ay-ca (-FUT), aj-içær (-VN), ai-næm/ay-næm (-PURP). Carrera's spelling is mostly phonological and he writes i for both [i] and [j]. To what extent /u/ had a similar variation [u] - [v] is not so clear because /u/ is not found in the positions V_#, V_V, V_C. With a very few exceptions the letter v is only used in borrowings from Spanish like viernes, vino, virgen etc. and we do not know how they were pronounced. However, the variable spelling of the word for "farm" (vizquic, ù iz quic, û, iz quic) may be interpreted as /uisʲkik/ [visʲkik].

In certain positions we find sequences of i+ a/e/o/u/æ and a/e/o/u/æ + i. In these cases we find the following peculiarities.
- The i is always preceded or followed by one of the phonemes ç/z, ch, ñ, tzh, or x.
- In several cases Carrera alternates between forms with and forms without i in these positions: peñ - peiñ "good", ñeñ - ñeiñ "to play", ñier - ñer "uncle or older brother of a woman".

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7 "De la manera que esta virgulilla ^ en latin nos enseña adonde hemos de parar, cuando la diccion se pronuncia larga, assi ira puesta en las que lo fueron en esta lengua. Y assi tambien esta para las breves."(Carrera 1644:A2)
8 Cf. the following examples from the grammar: çiùquich De alli, í longa, çiùquich Por allà, û breve, çiùquichna Desde alla, ù longa, çiuquichna Por alla u breve.

- In Oré (1607) similar words are often (but not always) written without *i*: *ez/eis* "son" (Carrera *eiz*), *uz* "earth" (Carrera *æiz*).
- Before or after *ç/z*, *ch*, *ñ*, *tzh*, or *x*, there appears to be no phonological opposition between forms with and forms without *i*.

In these constructions *i* appears to be a phonetic off-glide or on-glide to a preceding or following *ç/z*, *ch*, *ñ*, *tzh*, or *x*. The interesting question is what these five consonants have in common that set them apart as a subclass of consonants. We should expect that they shared the features postalveolar and palatal(ized) and then we should have expected *ll* /ʎ/ to have been in this group of phonemes. But it is not.

2.2. Consonants

Concerning the following consonants, we have no reason to assume that their pronunciation differed significantly from their phonetic value in Spanish: *c/qu*[k], *ch*[tʃ], *f* [f], *l* [l], *ll* [ʎ], *m* [m], *n*[n], *ñ* [ɲ], *p* [p], and *t* [t].

The following orthographic representations are more difficult to interpret, so they call upon some comments:

ç, z These letters are found partly in complementary distribution, partly in free variation. In word initial position we only find *ç*[9] while in word final position *z* is the norm, but in some cases alternating with *ç*. In intervocalic position there is free variation and sometimes both letters are used, cf. *izçæc, içæc, izæc* "all". In a few cases *c* is used instead of *ç*. There is no indication that this variation is anything but graphic. Since *ç/z* is one of the five phonemes combined with the *i*-"diphthongs", it is likely that it had a postalveolar or palatal(ized) pronunciation. A possible interpretation is [sʲ], cf. Cerrón-Palomino (1995:99-107) for a different interpretation.

cɥ This is a new letter invented by Carrera. It is most likely an affricate due to its graphic structure and representation in later sources. In contrast to *ch* it has no postalveolar, palatal or palatalized pronunciation since it is not combined with the *i*-"diphthongs". A possible phonetic interpretation would be a retroflex affricate [tʂ]. In a few cases *ch* is used instead of *cɥ*. There is no indication that this variation is anything but graphic.

d This phoneme never occurs in word-initial position and is mainly found in stem final position and in some suffixes. Voiced plosives were apparently unknown in Mochica, i.e. a phoneme /d/ is not very likely.[10] In two words, *d* alternates with [j] and once with [sʲ], cf. 2.5.2. This indicates that it was a dental or alveolar fricative and maybe voiced, i.e. [ð].[11]

ng This letter combination does not occur word initially, but is frequent in word final position as well as in intervocalic position and before other consonants (e.g. *ñangcu* "male"). Mochica has no word initial or word final consonant groups or intervocalic consonant groups consisting of more than two consonants (2.4) and *ng* is interpreted as [ŋ].

rr/r Except in suffixes (always *r*) this is a phoneme with low frequency in Mochica. The positional distribution and variation between the spellings *rr* and *r* indicate that they were positional variants of one and the same phoneme which is interpreted as a trill [r], although it may as well have been a tap.

ss/s Cerrón-Palomino (1995:99-107) shows that there is no phonological opposition between *ss* and *s* (free and/or positional variation), but his interpretation of *s/ss* as a retroflex fricative is questionable. Another possible interpretation would be an alveolar fricative [s].

tr There are two Mochica words attested with initial *tr*: *trengtreng* "breathing tupe" and *tronom*, a verb of unknown meaning. Cerrón-Palomino (1995: 131) assumes *treng* to be an error for *rreng*. Owing to the lack of material the phonological interpretation of *tr* is unclear (a retroflex stop [ʈ]?).

tzh The spelling indicates that this is the third affricate in Mochica together with *ch* and *cɥ*. Since *tzh* is one of the five phonemes combined with the *i*-"diphthongs", it is likely that it had a postalveolar or palatal(ized) pronunciation. [tsʲ] is a possible interpretation.

x Carrera states that this letter has the same pronunciation as in Portuguese. i.e [ʃ].

xll The spelling indicates that this is a fricative. Since it is not combined with the *i*-"diphthongs", it most likely had no postalveolar, palatal or palatalized pronunciation and may have been a retroflex fricative [ʂ].

The following letters are only found in loanwords from Spanish and it is impossible to know how far their pronunciation was adapted to the phonological system of Mochica: *b, g,* and word initial *d*. Concerning *v*, cf. 2.11.

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[9] Except in the name for the town Zaña where both *Zaña* and *Çaña* are attested.

[10] However, cf. the position of /d/ in Standard Finnish.

[11] The loan word *casar* "married" < Spanish *casado* makes this interpretation a bit problematic (Spanish [ð] > Mochica [r]!).

A possible phonemic interpretation of Mochica orthography.

VOWELS			
i,y,j /i/			*u, v* /u/
e /e/	*æ* /ə/	*o* /o/	
	a /a/		

CONSONANTS						
	labial	dentoalveolar	postalveolar	retroflex	palatal (ized)	velar
plosive	*p* /p/	*t* /t/		*tr* /ʈ/?		*c/qu* /k/
affricates			*ch* /tʃ/	*cɥ* /tʂ/	*tzh* /tsʲ/	
nasal	*m* /m/	*n* /n/			*ñ* /ɲ/	*ng* /ŋ/
fricative	*f* /f/	*d* /ð/ *s/ss* /s/	*x* /ʃ/	*xll* /ʂ/	*ç/z* /sʲ/	
thrill/tap		*r/rr* /r/				
lateral		*l* /l/			*ll* /ʎ/	

2.3. Prosody and metrics

We know next to nothing about the prosodic system of Mochica: did it have phonological stress or was it a tone language? But the system of accents described in 2.1., the elision of /æ/ in certain cases, and the vowel changes /o/ -> /u/, /u/ -> /æ/ etc. (2.5.1.) may indicate a variable stress accent.

Carrera's grammar contains a translation of some of the basic Christian hymns into Mochica. In (1) we seem to have a metrical pattern of the form ´ ⌣ ´ ⌣ ´ ⌣ ´

(1) *At-aix ac-piñ pan mæn-o*
although-1PL see-PTCL bread as-ADJR
at-aix ac-piñ vino mæn.
although-1PL see-PTCL wine as
llærræp-na-io Dios[12] fe-mo.
true-ADVR-ADJR God COP-this
Although we see it as bread, although we see it as wine, this is truely God.

A very tentative interpretation of (1) and Carrera's use of accents would be that Mochica had a stress accent that normally was on the vowel of the nitial syllable of a word, but that some words had stress on other syllables and some suffixes were always stressed. In the last cases stress was indicated by accents. Stressed vowels may of course also simultaneously have been lengthened.

2.4. Phonotactics

The possible syllable structure of Mochica is (C)V(C). /i/ and /u/ may function both as V and C.[13].

There are no word initial or word final consonant groups in Mochica. Between vowels, sequences of two consonants are common.. There are no consonant groups with /ð/ as its second member. When a suffix with an initial /ð/ (eg. PRT.PART and the gerund -*d*) are added to a stem with final consonant, a buffer vowel /æ/ has to be inserted: *quesseç* "to nail"- *quesseç-æ-d* /nail-BUFF-PRT.PART) "nailed".

There are no consonant groups consisting of more than two consonants and this restriction blocks the otherwise normal elision of /æ/ in cases like *altærr – altærrær* [OBL] "throat", cf. *alæc – alcær* [OBL] "chief". A form **altrrær* would have been phonologically impossible in Mochica.

2.5. Morpho-phonology
2.5.1. Vowel alternations

There are a number of vowel alternations in both nouns and verbs. The exact conditions for them are unclear. The basic forms are found in the direct case of nouns and the independent stem of verbs.

Here are examples of the most common types:

a > e

an "house" > *enec* (LOC)
la "water" > *leng* (OBL)
ai "to do" > *eiæp* (PASS)
ta "to come" > *te* (in all derived forms)
mañap "to say" > *meñep, meñæp* (combined with CAUS and IMP)

e > i

fel "to sit" > *fil* (in all derived forms)
met "to carry" > *mit* (combined with PRS.PART and BEN)

o > u

fon "nostrils" - *funæc* (LOC)
loc "foot" - *lucæc* (LOC)
ssol "forehead" - *ssulæc* (LOC)
locɥ "eye" - *lucɥæc* (LOC)
col "to quarrel" > *cul* (combined with PRS.PART and PRT.PART)

V > æ

cɥumer "to get drunk" - *cɥæmer* (the two forms are mostly in free varation)
loc "to be" > *læc, læ* (cf. 3.8.1.1.)
mut "grow" > *mæt* (combined with PRS.PART and PRT.PART)
mucha "to adore" - *mæcha* (free variation - *mæcha* may be the basic form, cf. *mæcha* "holy")

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poi "to give" > *pæi* (combined with PRS.PART and PRT.PART), *pii* (combined with BEN)
ssol "to absolve" > *ssæl* (combined with PURP)

In the third person pronouns *aio, çio, mo,* the final *o* optionally becomes *u* before the oblique suffix: *aiung/aiong, çiung/çiong, mung/mong.*

The change V -> *æ* in the second syllable of bisyllabic stems appears to be optional and not related to any specific grammatical surroundings.[14]

canpoller - canpollær "on purpose"
faiñtecna - faiñtæcna "lying"
ineng - inæng "daily"
irrim - irræm "afraid"
rronom - rronæm "to hurt"
tocon - tocæn "to leave"
torroc - torræc "beaten"
tuxllum - tuxllæm "born"

The alternation *cruz - cræz* "cross" in a loanword is unique. The pronunciation of the (from a Mochica point of view) impossible initial consonant group *cr-* is not known. Accordingly, we do not know if the word was pronounced as monosyllabic or polysyllabic.

2.5.2. Consonant alternations

In addition to orthographic variations like *ç-c, ç - z, cʉ - ch, rr - r, ss – s* (2.2.) we find the following changes of consonants:
- an alternation *d - i* [j] - *ç* in the words *led - lei* "outside" and *miçi -midi - miyi* "nail", cf. 2.2.
- an alternation *t - r* in *tipæn - ripæn* "suddenly"[15].
- a simplification $C_xC_x > C_x$ over morpheme boundaries: *manæm* "to eat/drink" (< *man + næm*), *tunæm* "to kill, beat") (< *ton + næm), epæn* why" (< *ep* "why" + *pæn* "for").

A quite rare phenomenon is the anticipation of an initial consonant of a word at the end of the preceding word: *en-ec-o-iñ-t tæc* (house-LOC-ADJR-1SG-*t* go) "I go to my house". The following example indicates that this is a graphic phenomenon: *eztæ-c chi-chæm* (EMPH-*c* be-FUT) "it will (not) at all be". In the last case a grapheme (*c*) and not a phoneme (*ch*) is copied.

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[14] But it may be seen as a kind of vowel reduction triggered by a word initial stress accent, cf. 2.3. and 2.1.1.
[15] One of these forms may be a printing error. We do not know if Carrera had the possibility to proofread his book. There clearly are some printing errors in the book and that should make us cautious not to present too many ingenious interpretations based on *hapax legomena.*

2.6. Orthography and word division

Carrera's orthography is fairly consistent except for word division and the use of punctuation marks. Here the variation is great, especially in the texts. The only rule seems to be that a graphic word has to contain at least one vowel. The word division may be in the middle of a morpheme,. Here are just a few examples of the stem *cancap* "to know" with the present participle suffix *-apæc* and the causative suffix *-ar* plus the purpose suffix *-næm*: *cancapapæc - canca papæc - cancapa pæc* and *cancapaparnæm - can capapar næm - cancapapar næm - can capoparnæm.* Of *ac* "see" we find the purpose form written *acnæm* and *ac næm.* The gerund form with the suffix *-læc* is written *acalæc* or *a calæc.*

In the following example:

(2) *aie aca-na-ix ef-co xllangmuss-e-io mæich çio mæn.*
as REL-ADVR-1PL free-CAUS enemy-OBL-ADJR 1PL(OBL) 3 as
as we forgive our enemies like this

the same sentence is found three times in the texts, in all cases with different word division:

aie aca naix efco xllang musseio mæich, çio mæn.
aie acan ax efco xllang musseio, mæich, çiomæn
aie acan ax efco xllang muss eio, mæich, çiomæn

Oré 1607 has the same variable and confusing word division. To make the interlinear analysis more transparent, the word division of Carrera's texts has been normalized.

3. MORPHOLOGY
3.0 The word

The concept <u>word</u> is problematic in Mochica, cf. also 2.6. Carrera had no consistent way of indicating orthographic words. Our lack of knowledge of Mochica prosody and intonation makes it impossible to define a phonetic word. In many cases we do not know whether a particle is a suffix, a clitic or an independent word. The morpho-syntactic word division used in this grammar is primarily based on the grammatical part of Carrera (1644) and is an attempt to establish a system of word division that is consistent and transparent.

3.1. Word classes

The word classes I tentatively assume for Mochica are:

NOUNS (words having possessed and non-possessed stems, inflected for direct, oblique, locative-allative, and ablative case and sometimes also for locative and agentive case)

NUMERALS (words that can be combined with the ordinal and frequentative suffixes)

ADJECTIVES (words inflected for number, but not cases). In addition, nouns and noun phrases, adverbs, adverbial phrases, and prepositional phrases are frequently adjectivalized.

PRONOUNS (words inflected for direct, oblique and dative case)

VERBS (words from which participles and gerunds are derived)

IMPERATIVE VERBS (words only inflected for 2PL, cf. 3.8.3.1.)

POSTPOSITIONS (words forming a phrase with a preceding noun phrase in direct or oblique case)

ADVERBS (uninflected words indicating time, place etc. of the action or state described by the verb)

PARTICLES (an everything else class comprising some words that probably in many cases were clitics and had a more or less fixed syntactic position)

INTERJECTIONS (words forming a clause by their own)

The border between particles and adverbs appears to be vague and in some cases the classification chosen is rather arbitrary.

3. 2. Plural

The plural suffix for nouns, numerals, adjectives, pronouns (3PL), and verbs (3PL) is -*æn*. In adjectives (including participles), numerals, verbs, and a few borrowed nouns it is attached directly to the stem: *articulo-æn* "articles" (but *santo-ng-æn*, "saints"), *tim-æn* "others", *çopæt-æn* "there persons", *arrchipæc-æn* "those being first", *tæc-æn* "they go". It is attached to the oblique stem of nouns and pronouns if the stem ends in a vowel: *cɥolu* "boy, girl" - *cɥolu-ng-æn* (-OBL-PL) "boys, girls", *mo* "this" - *mo-ng-æn* "these". If the stem has the oblique suffix -*e,* the plural precedes the oblique: *eng* "mother" - *eng-æn-e* (-PL-OBL). If the stem has

the oblique suffix -*ær*, both sequences are attested: *moixquic* "soul" - *moixquic-æn-ær* "souls", *ñofæn* "man" - *ñofn-ær-æn* "men".

When a noun phrase contains an adjective, the plural suffix is attached only to the adjective: *ûtzh-æn-o col* "big horses" or to both the adjective and the noun (13).

We also find a few examples of subjects (S) and corresponding verb being both in the plural (69), but this congruence is far from the rule (49, 139, 143 etc.). Plural marking of verbs, with the exception of *tæc* "to go" - *tæcæn* (PL), is rare.

In verbs and personal pronouns we find a suffix -*chi/-ich* indicating 2PL (in one case 1PL). The variant -*ich* is only attested when the stem ends in *ch*, otherwise it is -*chi*.

amelec "You (SG) get away!" - *amelecchi* " You (PL) get away!"
amoch "Let me go." - *amochich* "Let us go."
anich "You (SG) look!" - *anchich* "You (PL) look!"
tzha "you (SG)" - *tzhachi* "you (PL)"
maz "let you (SG)" - *mazchi* "let you (PL)"
manan "Drink (SG)! - *mananchi* "Drink (PL)!".

3.3. Nouns

There are no nominal genders in Mochica and nouns are not inflected for definiteness or specificity.

Nouns in Mochica can be classified according to stem formation and case inflection.

Nouns are inflected for the following cases: direct, oblique, locative-allative and ablative. Some nouns also have an agentive and a locative case form.

3.3.1. Nominal stems

A noun has two basic stems: <u>non-possessed</u> (e.g. *efquic* "father", *fanu* "dog") and <u>possessed</u> (e.g. *ef* "(someone's) father", *fanuss* "(someone's) dog").[16]

Not all nouns have both possessed and non-possessed stems attested. An example is *ssonæng* "wife" which we know is a possessed stem because we find *mæiñ ssonæng* "my wife" in the texts. It is often accidental if a stem is attested or not. The word for "mother" (*eng*) has no non-possessed stem attested in Carrera's grammar, but in the short word list collected by Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón (cf. footnote 4) we find the expected form *enquic*.

A possessed stem may have an overtly expressed possessor like *mæich ef* "our father", but the possessor may also be implicit: *efe ssap* "(your/our) father's word". A non-possessed stem is used where there is no explicit or implicit possessor, e.g. *Dios efquic* "God the father".

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16   A similar system of non-possessed vrs. possessed nominal stems is attested in some Arawak languages, cf. Baarle (1999:140-142) and Taylor (1977:54-57).

The opposition between the two stems is formally marked in one of three ways:

a. The non-possessed stem is derived from the possessed one, mostly with the suffix *-quic*. Observe that many of these nouns are inherently possessed (inalienable possession).

non-possessed	possessed
çiequic	çiec "lord"
efquic	ef "father"
eizquic	eiz "son"
fænquic	fon "nostrils"
lucɥquic	locɥ "eyes"
moixquic	moix "soul"
mæcɥquic	mæcɥ "hand"
uizquic	uiz "farm"
xllonquic	xllon "bread, food"

b. The possessed stem is derived form the non-possessed stem by the suffixes *-(V)ss* or (more rarely) *-æd* or *-æ*.

non-possessed	possessed
capæcnencæpæc[17]	capæcnencæpcæss "lawyer"
cuçia	cuçias "heaven"
fanu	fanuss "dog"
fellu	felluss "duck"
yana	ianass "servant"
ixll	ixllæss "sin"
llaftu	llaftuss "ribbon"
col	colæd "horse"
xllac	xllacæd "fish"
xllaxll	xllaxllæd "(silver) money"
mang	mangæ "maiz"
cɥap	cɥapæn "ceiling

All possessed participles are formed in this way:

chicopæc	chicopæcæss "creator"

c. The two stems are formed with separate suffixes from the same root. In most cases they are derived with the suffixes *-(V)c* and *-(V)r* from a verb root, while in other cases the root is unknown:

non-possessed	possessed
cunuc	cunur "sleeping blanket"
filuc	filur "chair" (< *fel* "to sit")
manic	manir "cup" (< *man* "to drink, to eat")[18]
ñeñuc	ñeñur "toy" (< *ñe(i)ñ* "to play")

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[17] There is some variation in the spelling of these words: *capæcnencæpæc/capæcnemcæpæc* and *capæcnencæpcæss/capæcnemcæpcæss*.

[18] *Manir* means also "brothel" and *manic* "lustful person".

All verbal nouns (3.8.5.) have non-possessed stems in *-c* and possessed in *-r*.

A similar structure is found in words where *-Vc* expresses non-possessed and *-æng* the possessed stem.

falpic	falpæng "head"
tonic	tonæng "leg"
ærquic	ærqueng "human flesh"

In two words we have the root attested in addition to two suffixed stems:

medquic	medeng "ear" (but *med* in *medec* "in the ears")
polquic	polæng /pol "belly, heart" (*pol* and *polæng* appear to be equivalents)

3.3.2. Cases
3.3.2.1. Direct case

The direct case is identical with the noun stem. The direct form is used for subjects (A, S) and objects (O) of active verbs, for patient of passive verbs, (O) and before some postpositions (cf. 3.10.).

(3) *Mo Iesu Christo-f læm-æd-o mæich-pe.ñ-æss pæn.*
this Jesus Christ-COP die-PRT.PART-ADJR 1PL(OBL)-good-POSS for
This Jesus Christ (S) has died for our good.

(4) *Eiñ æng ñop mo Missa?*
who COP conceive this *mass*
Dios efquic ang ñop-çio çiu-ng eiz çio
Dios father COP conceive-3 3-OBL son 3
missa-ng.-nic piy-c-æm.-ssæc.
mass-OBL-LOC/ALL give-BEN-PASS-GER
Who(A) conceived this mass (O)? God the father(A) conceived it when his son (O) was given in the mass.

(5) *mit-æc.-eiñ tzha mo mang*
bring-BEN-1SG 2SG(DAT) this maize
I(A) bring you this maize (O).

(6) *Iñ-o-pæn.-o-ng ei-æp mo Missa?*
who-ADJR-for-ADJR-COP do-PASS this mass
For whom is this mass (O) held?

(7) *chang.cæd len*
neighbor with
with the neighbor

3.3.2.2. Oblique case

The oblique case is used as the possessive (=genitive) form (*ef-e ssap* father-OBL mouth "the father's mouth"), before some postpositions (*izçæc mecher.ç-ær lequich* all woman-OBL from "from all women"), and to mark agents of passive verbs with nouns that have no separate agentive caseform (8).

(8)   *Ech pæn-o-ix piy-c-æ.m-æd-o Dios.-i*
       what as-ADJR-1PL give-BEN-PASS-PRT.PART-ADJR God-OBL
       mo exll.mætzh-o ærqu-ic-ær chi-çæ-r?
       this five-ADJR flesh-N.POSS-OBL be-VN-POSS
       Why have we been given <u>by God (A)</u> these five senses [lit. beings of the flesh]?

The agentive and locative-allative suffixes are attached to the oblique form.

The oblique suffixes are *-ng, -u, -æ, -i, -ær,* and *-e.*

a. All nouns ending in vowel form the oblique case with the suffix *-ng: vino - vin-ong* "wine", *lanca - lanca-ng* "placenta", *ñitu - ñit-ung* "brain" etc.

b.The suffix *-u* is only attested in two words: *col - colu* (besides *cole* and *colung*) "horse and *ol - olu* "fire".

c. The suffix *-æ* is found in three words, two of which are numerals: *çiæcɥ - çiæcɥæ* "ten", *tap - tapæ* "nine", *cɥap - cɥapæ* "ceiling".

d. The suffix *-i* is found with over 20 monosyllabic stems. A possible exception could be the loanword *Dios - Diosi* "god", but it seems that stems with the form (C)iV(C) and (C)Vi(C) were monosyllabic in Mochica, *Dios* probably being pronounced [tjos], cf. 2.1.3. and footnote 11. Examples: *ixll - ixlli* "sin", *æiz - æizi* "earth", *çac - çaci* "horse", *pan - pani* "bread". A few stems have both *-i* and *-ær: lun - luni/lunær* "day", *mæcɥ - mæcɥi/mæcɥær* "hand".

e. The suffix *-ær* is found with polysyllabic stems (the only exceptions being *lun* "day" and *mæcɥ* "hand", cf. above), it is obligatory when the stem ends in /m/ and it is strongly preferred when the stem ends in /k/. It is also the suffix used in most borrowings from Spanish. Examples: *animal - animalær* "animal", *çopæt - çopætær* "three", *efquic - efquicær* "father", *eiztic - eizticær* "uterus", *lamlam - lamlamær* "liver", *langæss - langæssær* "eight", *moixquic - moixquicær* "soul", *navidad - navidadær* "Christmas".

f. *-e* can be found with both monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems. It has the widest distribution of the suffixes, but cannot be attached to a preceding /m/. The agentive case suffix *-n* must be attached to an oblique stem formed with the suffix *-e.* Examples: *ef - efe* "father", *eng - enge* "mother", *cocæd - cocæde* "aunt or older sister of a man", *chicopæcæss - chicopæcæsse* "creator", *chucæss - chucæsse* "kneecap".

The final consonant of the stems plays a certain, but mostly not absolute role in the choice of oblique suffix. All the five nouns ending in /m/ have the suffix *-ær*, while of the 45 nouns ending in /k/, 38 have the suffix *-ær*, five the suffix *-e* and two the suffix *-i*. Of the 15 nouns ending in /ŋ/, 12 have the suffix *-e*, two the suffix *-ær,* and one has *-i*.

-ær appears to be the productive suffix since it is used in most borrowings from Spanish. It is significant that of the 15 nouns ending in /r/, 13 have the suffix *-e. -ær* is only found with two borrowed words: *corregidor* "mayor" and *altar* "alter", cf. also *altar - altarær* "alter" vrs. *altærr - altærre* "throat".

There are a few irregularities in the formation of the oblique case:
a. *aput* "two" has the oblique form *aptur.*
b. *pol* "spleen" has the oblique form *polodæ*, but this may be from a not attested possessed form **polod.*
c. *tun* "people, world" and *col* "horse" have two oblique suffixes: *tun-i-ng* and *col-u-ng* (besides *col-u).*.

3.3.2.3. Agentive case

The agentive case expresses the agent (A) with passive verbs and with transitive preterite participles like *aiad(o)* "made" (from *ai(a)* "to do" (169)), *chicodo* "created" (from *chi-co* "to create (be-CAUS) (169)), *metedo* "carried" (from *met(e)* "to carry" (30)), and *torroc* "beaten" (from *ton* "to beat" (205)), cf. 3.8.1.2.3. and 3.8.2.2. Cf. also 3.3.2.2. for example of such agents expressed by the oblique case suffix.

The agentive case suffix *-n* is attached to an oblique stem formed with the suffix *-e. col* "horse" normally forms the oblique stem with the suffix *-u* or *-u-ng*, but before the agentive suffix its oblique stem is *cole.* The agentive suffix is mainly used with nouns designating human being or groups of human beings (*eiz - eizen* "son", *cocæd - cocæden* "aunt or older sister of a man", *xllangmuss - xllangmussen* "enemy", *xllipquemæd - xllipquemæden* "belonging to a group of people talking together", *manir - maniren* "cup, brothel"). But it is also found with a few other words, e.g. *col - colen* "horse", *ssap - ssapen* "mouth, word, will", *pol - polen* "will, heart":

(9)   <u>*eng-e-n*</u> *eiñ tzhac-ær*
       mother-OBL-AG 1SG carry-PASS
       I(O) am carried by <u>my mother(A)</u>./ My mother carries me.

(10)   *Em.- io-ix nam.quem ap ixll-i-nic,*
       how -ADJR-1PL fall-CAUS+PASS then sin-OBL-LOC/ALL
       <u>*mo xllang.muss-e-n?*</u>
       this enemy-OBL-AG
       How do <u>our enemies(A)</u> then lead us(O) to fall in sin?

The following forms from Carrera's grammar are unclear, but may indicate another way of forming and using the agentive than attested in the texts: *manic - manic-ær* (-OBL) - *manic-ær-e* (-AG) "cup, glass" and *manuc - manucær* (OBL) - *manuc-ær-e* (-AG) "drink, drinking place, taverna". There are no examples of such constructions in the texts.

3.3.2.4. Locative case

The locative suffix *-Vc* is attached directly to the nominal stem and not like the locative-allative and the ablative case suffixes to the oblique stem. The suffix can be combined with a following ablative suffix *-ich* (*en-ec-ich* (-LOC-ABL) "from the house"), but not with the locative-allative suffix *-nic.*

The locative case appears not to be productive and many of the forms with this suffix seem to be lexicalized adverbs. They are characterized by

irregular vowel changes both in the stem and in the suffix itself. Forms with -*Vc* have frequently a plural meaning. Normally, these forms carry the meaning "in, on", but in a few cases they may also have an allative meaning "to" (11). With the locative-allative suffix -*nic* the situation is opposite: the allative meaning is more common than the locative one.

(11) *Pæi-apæc-o-z ñof.n-ær mæcɥ-æc,*
      give-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG man-OBL hand-LOC
      quemun-o iñi.cuc tocor.-næm?
      virgin-ADJR bride deflower-PURP
      Have you given in a man's hands a virgin bride to deflower?

The attested locative forms are:
fon "nostrils" - *funæc* "in the nostrils"
loc "foot" - *lucæc* "on the feet"
ssol "forehead" - *ssulæc* "in the forehead"
locɥ "eye" - *lucɥæc* "in the eyes"
mæcɥ "hand" - *mæcɥæc* "in the hand"
far "holiday" - *farræc* "on holidays"
olecɥ "outside" - *olecɥæc* "outside"
ssap "mouth" - *ssapæc* "in the mouth"
lecɥ "head" - *lecɥæc* "on the head"
an "house" - *enec* "in the house"
med "ear" - *medec* "in the ears"
neiz "night" - *ñeizac* "in the nights"[19]
xllang "sun" - *xllangic* "in the sun"

Furthermore, there are some postpositions (*lucɥæc* "among", *fænæc* "according to", *tulæc* "before") and local adverbs (*ledæc*, *leiæc* "outside", *olecɥæc* "above") that end in -*æc* and most likely contain the locative suffix, cf. also *lucɥ-qu-ich* "from among" which shows the combination locative + ablative.

Except for the adverbial form *led-æc-na* (-LOC-NA) "outside" there are no examples of locative being combined with the adverbalizer suffix -*na*.

3.3.2.5. Locative-allative case

The locative-allative case has the meaning "in, to" (12):

(12) <u>*cuçia-ng-nic*</u> *tzhac-ar-næm,* <u>*mæich læm-içær-é-nic*</u>
      heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL carry-PASS-PURP our die-VN-OBL-LOC/ALL
      to be brought <u>to heaven</u> when we die [lit. <u>in our death</u>]

The locative-allative suffix -*n(i)c* can be combined with a following ablative suffix -*ich*: *pol-e-nqu-ich* (-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL) "from the belly, from the heart".

-*nic* resembles a postposition, is attached to the oblique stem (an exception is *ssap-nic* word-LOC/ALL in 185), and is most of the time

written as a separate word in the texts. However, for two reasons it is classified as a suffix:
a. the phonetic variants of the suffix /-nik, -nk, -kik/,
b. its preceding the ablative suffix –*ich*.

Examples: *cuçia-ng-nic* (-OBL-LOC/ALL) "in/to heaven", *oqu-e-nic* (-OBL-LOC/ALL) "in his name",.

The following forms are deviant:
- *ssapnic* "in the mouth", cf. *ssap*, *ssape* (OBL) "mouth, word, will",
- *ùizquic* "on his farm", cf *uiz* "farm".

3.3.2.6. Ablative case

The ablative suffix is -*ich*. It is found in a number of adverbs, local nouns, adjectives and place names: *aiin* "there" - *aiinich* "from there", *foch* "north" - *fochich* "from north", *arr* "first" - *arrich* "from the beginning", *ñampaxllæc* "Lambayeque" - *ñampaxllæcich* "from Lambayeque" and is also most likely present in some postpositions (*enquich* "from", *lequich* "from, by"). In common nouns the ablative suffix is normally preceded by a locative-allative form: *tun* "world" – *tun-i-nqu-ich* (-OBL-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL) "from the world, *purgatorio* "purgatory" - *purgatorio-ng-niqu-ich* (-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL) "from the purgatory".[20]

The ablative suffix is frequently followed by the adverbializer -*na*: *foch* "north" - *fochichna* "from north", *çiuc* "there" - *çiuquichna* "from over there".

The following ablative forms are irregular: *xllang* "sun" - *xllangchich* /-tʃitʃ/ (-ABL) "from the sun" and *olecɥ-tot-ich* (-with?-ABL) "from above" from a root *olecɥ-* attested also in *olecɥæc* (LOC) "above".

3.4. Numerals

Numerals take the plural suffix -*æn* when they are not the head of a noun phrase (13-14). There are no examples of numerals used with other case suffixes than LOC/ALL (14).

(13) *Onæc.-na-io fe, mo Dios.-o chi-çæ-c: chi-top çopæt-o,*
      one-ADVR-ADJR this God-ADJR be-VN-N.POSS be-SEQ three-ADJR
      çopæt-æn-o çiam chi-pæc.-æn chi-ssæc.
      three-PL-ADJR live be-PRS.PART- PL be-GER
      This godly being, is only one [but] since there are three persons, it is three.

(14) *Pac.-xa-ng.-nic-o çio-fe:*
      two-ORD-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR 3-COP
      chefnam læ-pæc funo.-cò-næm.
      hungry be-PRS.PART eat-CAUS-PURP
      In the second [commandment] is this: to let the hungry eat.

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[19] The alternation *n-* vrs. *ñ-* in this word is strange.

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[20] The combination LOC + ABL is also found in the Amazonian language Yagua (Payne and Payne 1990:380).

Of the numerals for 1 to 4 there are two variants, one being used alone and the other combined with the words meaning "ten" and before the ordinal suffix -*xa* and the frequentative suffix -*xia*.

Cardinal numerals:

1	*onæc, na-*	6	*tzhaxlltzha*
2	*aput, pac-*	7	*ñite*
3	*çopæt, çoc-*	8	*langæss*
4	*nopæt, noc-*	9	*tap*
5	*exllmætzh*	10	*çiæcɥ, -pong,-ssop, -fælæp, -cɥoquixll*[21]
20	*pacpong, pacssop* etc.		
30	*çocpong, çocssop* etc.		
40	*nocpong, nocssop* etc.		
50	*exllmætzhpong, exllmætzhssop* etc.		
60	*tzhaxlltzhapong, tzhaxlltzhassop* etc.		
70	*ñitepong, ñitessop* etc.		
80	*langæsspong, langæssop* etc.		
90	*tappong, tapssong* etc.		
100	*palæc*		
1000	*cunô*		

Mochica had, according to Carrera, a large system of quantifiers. He gives the following examples:

felæp "pair (counting birds, jugs etc.)"

luc "pair (counting plates, drinking vessels, cucumbers, fruits)"

cɥoquixll "ten (counting fruits, ears of corn etc.)"

cæss "ten (counting days)"

pong "ten (counting fruits, cobs etc.)"

ssop "ten (counting people, cattle, reed etc., i.e. everything that is not money, fruits and days)"

chiæng" hundred (counting fruits etc.)"

Ordinals are formed with the suffix -*xa*: *pacxa* "second".

The frequentative suffix -*xia* expresses "how many times": *naxia* "once", *pacxia* "twice", *pac-xia-ng-nic-o* (two-FREQ-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR) "at the second time".

3.5. Adjectives

A typical adjective in Mochica has in addition to the stem form (e.g. *piss* "bad"), normally two other forms: a plural form (*piss-æn*) and a free adjectival form (*piss-o*) or a combination of these two suffixes (*piss-æn-o*). The stem form of such adjectives is rarely attested in the data and those attested may be part of lexicalized compounds, e.g. *piss ssap er* (bad word with) "with swearings".

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[21] The last four are numeral classifiers, cf. below. The most common are -*pong* and -*ssop*.

There are a few words that seem to be adjectives, but that have no inflection (e.g. *lalacti* "dead", *nocssi* "gready", *opaizti* "silly").

Adjectives can without phonological changes function as nouns and get case suffixes: *arr* "first" - *arr-ich* (ABL) "from the beginning", *piss-i-nqu-ich* (-bad-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL) "from the evil", cf. also *peñ-æss.* (*changcæde peñæss pæn* "for the profit of the neighbor") from *pe(i)ñ* "good".

Since not only the adverbializer -*na* (3.9.) can be attached to adjectives, but the adjectivalizer -*o* can be attached to the adverbializer -*na*, we get forms like *llærræp* "true" - *llærræp-na-io* (*llærræpo Dios* "a true/real God" - *llærræpnaio Dios* "God in reality (about the bread at communion)" and *irrirro* - *irrna* - *irrnaio* "big": *onæc irrirro Sacramento* "one big sacrament"; *irrna pisso* "very bad"; *irrnaio mæiñ ixllæss* "my very bad sins").

A few words are always constructed with the verb *loc* "to be" (sometimes *lic* "to do"), e.g. *llaxll* "rich" (*llaxll læpæco*[22] *mecheræc* "rich woman, woman being rich"), *mæcha* "adoration (?)" (*Dios feix loca mæcha* "We worship God.", cf. also *mæch* "holy"). It is unclear if they should be classified as nouns or adjectives.

The adjectivalizer C-*ô*/V-*iô*[23] is an important and unique element in Mochica morphology and syntax (together with the adverbializer -*na*).[24] It indicates a word or phrase (usually adjectives (29, 31), numerals (8, 13), nouns (15) - mainly in oblique or locative-allative case form (14, 21) -, participles (16), adverbs (151) or postpositional phrases (6)) that are modifying a head or function as relative clauses (16) or as predicative (17) phrases. The postposition *pæn(o)* "for" usually governs ADJR (6).

(15) *maich*[25] *ciec Iesu Christo-ng cho.qu.içæ-r-o*
1PL(OBL) lord Jesus Christ-OBL stand.up-VN-POSS-ADJR
pascua-ng.-nic.
Easter-OBL-LOC/ALL
at the Easter resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ [lit. at Easter being the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ]

(16) *tzhang ai-apæc-o tzhang chi-co-pæc-o Dios*
2SG(DIR) do-PRS.PART-ADJR 2SG be-CAUS-PRS.PART-ADJR God
God who has made and created you

(17) *Mo-cɥlpi ang mæiñ eng.-e-iô.*
this blanket COP 1SG(OBL) mother-OBL-ADJR
This blanket belongs to my mother.

Present and preterite participles used as adjectives (3.8.2.3.) or combined with copula to form finite verb forms (3) usually have the ADJR-

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[22] *læpæco* is present participle of *loc* (3.8.1.1.).

[23] Since the -*o* is the only regularly accented vowel (usually *ô*) in Carrera (1644) it was probably always stressed, cf. 2.3.

[24] A typological parallel to the Mochica adjectivalizer is the attributive form in the Dagestanian language Tsakhur (Polinsky 2002:409-411).

[25] Error for *mæich.*

suffix, but not when they are functioning as nouns (*çiam chipæc* "person"). Compare also *Dioso chiçæc* "godly being" in (13) with *Diosi chiçær* "God's being, existence".

The adjectivalizer is used on pronouns followed by an apposition (*tzhangô Diosi eng* "you, God's mother"), cf. *mæichò Heuang eizæn* in (18)

(18)　*tzhang eix xllipco, mo-tu.n-i-ng.-nic,*
　　　2SG(DIR) 1PL call this-world-OBL-OBL-LOC/ALL
　　　turræc.natam.co-d-o, mæich-ò Heua-ng eiz-æn,
　　　exil-PRT.PART-ADJR 1PL(OBL)-ADJR Eve-OBL son-PL
　　　We are calling on you, we the exiled sons of Eve in this world,

An unusual construction is (19) where the suffix is added to an adverbial sentence with the gerund suffix *-læc* indicating that this clause is functioning as an adjective caracterizing the subject "I".

(19)　*Corregidor chi-læc-o-iñ tæp-æd tzha.*
　　　mayor be-GER-ADJR-1SG flog-GER 2SG(DAT)
　　　Being mayor I have to flog you.

In some cases the use of *-ô* is surprising, e. g. the form *pissæno* in (20) where the nominalized plural form *pissæn* appears to function as the object of *xllip* "to talk". The Mochica wording is literally "talking related to bad (things)".

(20)　*Pac-xia-ng.-nic-o çio, fe-ix ay-ca ssap-æc çio-tim,*
　　　two-FREQ-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR 3 COP-1PL do-FUT mouth-LOC 3-for
　　　Dios.-i ef-quem.-næm piss-æn-o
　　　God-OBL free-CAUS+PASS-PURP bad-PL-ADJR
　　　xllip.cæ-çæ-r.-e-n.qu.ich.
　　　talk-VN-POSS-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL
　　　Secondly, it is to do it [=the sign of the cross] on the mouth for this:
　　　that God save us from talking bad things.

It is difficult to cover all the uses of *-ô* not the least due to the great variability in the use of this suffix where there most likely are pragmatic or syntactic subtleties that we have not grasped.[26]

3.6. Pronouns
3.6.1. First and second person personal pronouns

The set of personal pronouns is a simple one: first, second, and third person singular and plural.

The case system of the personal pronouns is not clear on all points due to lack of data and probably a certain instability in the system. Only second person singular distinguishes formally between three case forms: *tzhang, tzhæng* and *tza. Tzhang* is S, O and A of active verbs. *Tzhang* is also used before postpositions governing the direct case of nouns. The

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[26] The adjectivalizer appears in many other cases to be optional. There is e.g. frequent variation between e.g. *lærræp Dios* and *lærræpo Dios* "true God" apparently without any differences in meaning, cf. also the variation between *mæno* and *mæn* "as" in (1) and between *len-o-z* (73) vrs. *len-az* (74).

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postposition *len* "with" is constructed both with *tzhang* and *tzhæng*. There is one example with *tzhang* as possessive (*tzhang mecherræc* "your wife") where *tzhang* may be a misprint for *tzhæng. Tzhæng* is identical to the oblique case in nouns expressing possession (*tzhæng eiz* "your son"), being governed by postpositions (*tzhæng capæc* "on you, by you") and being the basis of the locative-allative case (*tzhængnic* "in you"). *Tzha* is used as the dative-benefactive object of *piiæc* "to give" (23) as well as object of *mæcha loc* "to adore".

On this basis three cases are assumed for personal pronouns: direct, oblique and dative (cf. examples 5, 22-28).

Dative is found as the dative-benefactive object of the verbs *efco* "to forgive", *met(e)* "to carry", *piiæc* "to give", *ssol* "to absolve"[27], *xem(e)* "to remove" and as the only object of *mæcha loc* "to adore" and *tocon* "to leave (behind)". The dative corresponds according to Carrera's grammar to constructions with the postposition *pæn* "for" with nouns, but there are no examples of such dative constructions in the texts.

The oblique form in possessive constructions is normally preposed to the possessed noun (as is the case with the oblique form of nouns). But there is another construction (21) where the possessive pronoun is placed after the noun which has got the suffix *-ô* (ADJR).

(21)　*changcæd-e-io mæich*
　　　neighbor-OBL-ADJR 1PL(OBL)
　　　our neighbors

Personal pronouns 1st and 2nd person	
1SG	1PL
moiñ (DIR)	*mæich* (DIR)
mæiñ (OBL)	*mæich* (OBL)
moiñ (DAT)	*ñof* (DAT)
2SG	2PL
tzhang (DIR)	*tzhæich* (DIR)
tzhæng (OBL)	*tzhæich* (OBL)
tzha (DAT)	*tzhachi* (DAT)

No agentive or ablative forms of pronouns are attested. A few locative-allative forms are found: *tzhængnic* "in you(sg)", *mæichnic* "in us". When a pronoun functions as the A of a passive verb, it is followed by the postposition *capæc* "on, by" (22). But with preterite participles the oblique form of the pronoun is used as agentive (30).

(22)　*moiñ tzhæng capæc ne. c-æm.-næm*
　　　1SG(DIR) 2SG(OBL) by protect-PASS-PURP
　　　in order that I am protected by you

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[27] *Ssol* is partly constructed with the direct (*tzhang*) and partly with the dative case (*ñof*).

(23) *piy-c-an ñof tzhæng cuçia-s*
give-BEN-IMP 1PL(DAT) 2SG(OBL) heaven-POSS
Give us thy heaven!

(24) *mo pup-az mit-æc moiñ*
this stick-2SG bring-BEN 1SG(DAT)
You are bringing me this stick.

(25) *Mæiñ ssonæng muc-o-iñ pii-c-tzha mo anillo.*
1SG(OBL) wife here-ADJR-1SG give-BEN-2SG(DAT) this ring
My wife, I give you here this ring.

(26) *tzha.c-n moiñ tzhæng cuçia-s.-enic*
carry-IMP 1SG(DIR) 2SG(OBL) heaven-POSS-OBL-LOC/ALL
Carry me to your heaven!

(27) *mæiñ eiz eiñ eiñ æzta-ix tæ-pæc-o ixll,*
1SG(OBL) son who who or-1PL go-PRS.PART-ADJR sin
lecy-na-zta moiñ tzhæng lec.quich,
head-ADVR-EMPH 1SG(DIR) 2SG(OBL) from
My son, both do we sin whoever we are and I more than you.

In addition to the pronominal forms given above, first and second person pronouns can also be expressed by the personal copula forms (cf. 3.7.3.). A personal pronoun can sometimes be used together with the personal copula (28)

(28) *aie-z loc chæm tzhang*
as-2SG be FUT 2SG(DIR)
amexllec confessar Dios-i mandamientos mæn
now confess God-OBL commandments as
as you will now confess according to God's commandments

3.6.2. Third person pronouns

The third person pronouns are *çio* "he, she, it", *mo* "this", and *aio* "that" (29-32).

(29) *áio tim-æn-o ñite-io çio*
that other-PL-ADJR seven-ADJR 3
those seven others are these

(30) *mæiñ mete-d-o pup-ang-mo*
1SG(OBL) bring-PRT.PART-ADJR stick-COP-this
This is the stick brought by me.

(31) *amoss tim-o Dios çiio*[28]
not other-ADJR God 3
that is no other God but him

(32) *Dios çiec.-e-n ma-z fil.-c-æm pol-e-nic, çiu-ng çæn*
God lord-OBL-AG OPT-2SG sit-BEN-PASS heart-OBL-LOC/ALL 3-OBL and
ma-z pii-c-æm peñ-o çiu-ng chi.-çæ-r, çio seruir læc.-næm:
OPT-2SG give-BEN-PASS good-ADJR 3-OBL be-VN-POSS 3 serve be-PURP
May God the Lord let you be seated in his heart and may he give you his goodness to serve him.[29]

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[28] The spelling with a double *ii* in this word is unusual.
[29] Cf. 6.5. for a syntactic analysis of this example.

The 3rd person pronouns have the case system of the personal pronouns:[30]

çio (DIR)	*mo* (DIR)	*aio* (DIR)
çiong, çiung[31] (OBL)	*mung* (OBL)	*aiung* (OBL)
çioss (DAT)	*moss* (DAT)	*aioss* (DAT)
çiongnic, çiungnic (LOC)		
çiongæn, çiungæn (PL)	*mongæn, mungæn*[32] (PL)	*aiongæn, aiungæn*[33] (PL)

Examples of the use of the singular forms of *çio* are: *çiong er* "with him", *çio xllonquic* "this bread", *çioss tim* "for him", *çiung eiz* "his son", *çio-ng-na* (3-OBL-ADVR) "in that direction". The oblique form *çiung* also functions as agentive (169).

3.6.3. Interrogative and indefinite proforms

Some of these words are rarely if at all attested in the texts and they are with a few exceptions not inflected for case. Their word class classification is in many cases unclear

interrogative proforms	indefinite proforms
eiñ (DIR) "who, someone" (33, 34, 52)	*eiñ, eiñeiñ* "whoever, anyone" (27, 173, 174)
iñ (DIR,OBL) "who, someone" (6, 35)	*iñiñ* "whoever, anyone"
ich (DIR,OBL) "who, whose, what?" (39)	
eñ "which" (36)	
ech (DIR) "what" (37,39, 45, 154, 155)	*ech, echech* "whatever, anything" (38, 172)
in "where" (40, 41,50)	*inin* "wherever"
em "how" (98, 108, 119, 143)	
ixque. ixqueiæn (PL) "how much, how many" (49)	
afxiass "how many times" (cf. *-xia* 3.4.)	
ep "why" (110)	
epæn (< *ep+pæn*) "why" (67)	
exllæm "why" (42, 49)	
ichturquich "why"	
ech pæn "why" (8)	

(33) *eiñ-æz*
who-2SG
Who are you?

(34) *az læ-d-o afa eiñ tot*
2SG be-PRT.PART-ADJR fight who with
Have you fought with someone?

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[30] Except for the direct forms, there are hardly any examples of *aio* and *mo* in the texts.
[31] The form *çiong* is only found befor *na* (ADVR), *æn* (PL) - alternating with *çiung* - and before *er* "with" (where *çiung* is not attested).
[32] Before -*ô* (ADJR).
[33] Before -*ô* (ADJR).

(35) *iñ-ix ef-quec-æm*
who-1PL free-CAUS+BEN-PASS
Who forgives us?

(36) *eñ-o piss-i-nqu-ich-o-ix*
which-ADJR bad-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL-ADJR-1PL
eng ef-quem-næm
say free-CAUS+PASS-PURP
From which bad things do we ask to be forgiven?

(37) *ech-æz tem*
what-2SG want
What do you want?

(38) *ech ech aia-pæc*
what what do-PRS.PART
allmighty

(39) *ech/ichô/echô pæn*[34]
what as
like what

(40) *in-o-ng loc*
where-ADJR-COP be
Where is he?

(41) *in-ich*
where-ABL
from where

(42) *Exllæm ong ei-e.p-æd-o ñofæn pæn?*
why COP do-PASS-PRT.PART-ADJR man as
Why was he created as a man?

3.6.4. Words meaning "each, own"

There are three words meaning "each, own" in Mochica: *çifçif* "each one", *çifa* "own, each" (43-44), and *çifnan* (45-47) "own, each". *çifçif* is only mentioned in the grammar and not attested in the texts. The difference in meaning and function between *çifa* and *çifnan* is unclear and so is their morphological analysis.

(43) *çifa.io pæn*
own-ADJR for
for oneself

(44) *çifa ixll-æss tim*
own sin-POSS for
for one's own sins

(45) *Justiçia fe: çifnan çifa ech piy-cæ-çæ-c*
justice COP own own what give-BEN-VN-N.POSS
Justice is to give each one his own things [i.d. what he properly should have].

(46) *çifnan ærrqu-eng tana*
own flesh-POSS with
with one's own body

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34 *Ech pæn* is the only construction attested in the texts, but in the grammar Carrera gives *ichô pæn* or *echô pæn* as possible forms.

(47) *ænta çifnan ñofæn pæn*
not own man for
not for each man

3.7. Copula verbs and particles

The whole finite verbal system of Mochica rotates around the complex set of copula verbs and copula particles.[35] Except for positive and negative imperative clauses, all main clauses in Mochica contain a copula particle. The following introduction to the catechism illustrates both the central position of the copula and the extensive variation in the use of these forms.

(48) *Meñep.-c-an moiñ ang chi Dios? A, padre chi-fe Dios.*
say-BEN-IMP 1SG(DAT) COP be God yes father be-COP God
Tell me, does God exist? Yes, father, God exists.

(49) *Ix.que.-iæn.-o-ng Dios? Onæc çior-na-ie*[36] *fe.*
how.many-PL-ADJR-COP God one only-ADVR-ADJR COP
How many Gods are there? There is only one.

(50) *In-o-ng loc çio Dios?*
where-ADJR-COP be 3 God
Where is this God?

(51) *Cuçia-ng.-nic, æiz-i capæc in.fitop çæn.*
heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL earth-OBL on everywhere and
In heaven, on earth and everywhere else.

(52) *Eiñ æng Dios?*
who COP*Dios*
Who is God?

3.7.1. Copula verbs

There are two copula verbs in Mochica: *chi* "to be, exist" (53-56) and *loc* "to be" (57).

(53) *chi-ñ rræmotec*
be-1SG mad
I am mad.

(54) *Regidor chi-z.cæf-o-iñ-ta*
alderman be-GER-ADJR-1SG-go
I will be alderman.

(55) *Aio-ng.-æn ma-ng-chi caf læ-pæc.*
this-OBL-PL OPT-COP-PL work be-PRS.PART
They must be workers.

Except that *loc* never has the meaning "to exist", *loc* and *chi* appear to be synonymous (56-57).

(56) *æpæc çio-len chi-næm*
always 3-with be-PURP
to always be with him

---

35 Owing to their rather free distribution on the one hand and their assimilation to the preceding word on the other hand they were most likely clitic particles.
36 Error for *çiornaio.*

(57) *can-ang loc.-æpæc tzhæng len*
THAT-COP be-PRS.PART 2SG(OBL) with
that he is being with you

3.7.2 Non-personal copula particles.
fe/f[37]

This is the most common copula form in the texts, and it is used with all persons (*moiñ fe, tzhang fe, aio fe, mæich fe, tzhæich fe, aiangæn fe*) but mainly with the third person.

(58) *Dios çiec.-e-n fe-ix ef-que.c-æm.*
God lord -OBL-AG COP-1PL free-CAUS+BEN-PASS
We are forgiven by God the Lord.

(59) *Cuçia-ng.-nic fe loc, moix tana ærqu-eng tana çæn.*
heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL COP be soul with flesh-POSS with and
She is in heaven both with soul and flesh.

(60) *Ixll fe, lecɥ-na tarr-o-f-ca.*
sin COP head-ADVR strong-ADJR-COP-FUT
It is a sin and it will be a very great one.

e

This particle is also used for all persons, but mainly for third person.

(61) *infierno-ng.-nic e-tæca tzhæng moix*
hell-OBL-LOC/ALL COP-go 2SG(OBL) soul
Your soul is going to hell.

(62) *Pan-i.-nic-o çæn, e, Dios.-i ærqu-eng*
bread-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR and COP God-OBL flesh-POSS
God's flesh is also in the bread.

(63) *tæc-æn æng-ca cuçia-ng.-nic? Tæc.-æn e-ca moix tana*
go-PL COP-FUT heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL go-PL COP-FUT soul with
Will they go to heaven? They will go with their souls.

ang, æng, ong, -ng[38]

The form *ang* can according to Carrera's grammar just like *fe* and *e* be used with reference to all persons singular or plural. In the texts there are no examples of its being used with reference to first and second person (singular or plural) pronouns.

(64) *moiñ ang ñofæn*
1SG COP man
I am a man.

(65) *Dios ang loc tzhang len*
God COP be 2SG(DIR) with
God is with you.

---

37 The reduced forms *f* is used frequently when the preceding word ends in *o*, and is also sometimes found with a preceding or following *e, a, o, æ*.

38 After a preceding *a* or *o*.

(66) *mæich ang æl-apæc*
1PL(DIR) COP ill-PRS.PART
We are ill.

(67) *Epæn.-o-ng poc Cardinales?*
why+for-ADJR-COP call cardinales
Why are these called *cardinals*?

(68) *Ech æng ame mo Missa?*
what COP thus this *Missa*
What is thus this mass.

Ang is clearly the basic form. It is not yet clear what conditions the alternation between *ang ~ æng ~ ong*. The unstability of the vowel in this particle and in the personal copula particles (cf. 2.7.3.) follows certain patterns[39], but there are still some unexplained examples (cf. 42 - repeated below - and 69) that either indicate an extensive variability or that there are rules for vowel assimilation that we have not yet understood.

(42) *Exllæm ong*[40] *ei-e.p-æd-o ñofæn pæn?*
why COP do-PASS-PRT.PART-ADJR man as
Why was he created as a man?

(69) *Exllæm æng tæ-d-æn, ænta æpæc-na cuçia-ng.-nic*
why COP go-PRT.PART-PL not always-ADVR heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL
mo moix-quic.-æn?
this soul-N.POSS-PL
Why have these souls not always gone to heaven?

3.7.3. Personal copula particles.
The personal copula particles are the basis of the finite verb constructions in Mochica. In addition to being used as the other copula particles (3.7.2.) they are combined with verbal stems and the present and preterite participles to form finite verbal constructions (3.8.3.2.): *ac* "to see" - *aceiñ* "I see" - *acapæcoiñ* "I am/was looking, use(d) to look"- *acadoiñ* "I saw".

The forms of the personal copula particles are[41]:

	after vowel	after consonant	non clitic
1SG	*-iñ*	*-aiñ/eiñ/æiñ*	*eiñ*
2SG	*-z/ç*	*-az/ez/æz*	*az*
1PL	*-ix*	*-aix/eix/æeix/ix*	*ix, eix*
2PL	*-zchi*	*-azchi/ezchi/æchi*[42]	

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39 We find e.g. always *æng* after *eiñ* "who", *ech* "what", *em* "how".

40 To interpret *exllæm ong* as *exllæm-o-ng* (why-ADJR-COP) would be a bit ad hoc and just to push the problem under the carpet (why ADJR in (42) and not in (69)).

41 *-ang, -æng,* and *-ng* functions as the third person personal copula when clitic to the verb stem, participles, the optative-subjunctive verb *ma-* (3.8.3.3.), and the future verb *t-* (3.8.3.4.). In non-clitic position the copula particles *fe* and *e* can also be used.

42 2PL forms are not found in the texts, only in the grammar. There are no examples of non-clitic 2PL personal particles.

1SG: *V-iñ* and *C-eiñ* are the usual forms. We find *–æiñ* once (*met* "to carry" - *met-er-æiñ* (-PASS-1SG)) and a few examples of *-aiñ* (*fam(a)* "to cry" - *famaiñ/fameiñ*, *irræm* "to be afraid" - *irræmaiñ*, *irrimæc* "to frighten" - *irrimæcaiñ/irrimæcoiñ*, *loc* "to be" - *loqueiñ/locaiñ*).

2SG: The basic forms are *V-z* and *C-az*, but there is a number of examples of *-ez* and *-æz*. Carrera has *metaz*, *metez* and *metæz* ("you (sg) carry") as optional variants, cf. also *eng* "to say" - *engaz/engæz*, *loc* "to be" - *locaz/locæz*. Cf. (72-78).

1PL: The basic forms are V-*ix* and C-*eix*, but *-ix* is also common after consonants, cf. *lic* - "to do" - *liquix*, *llic* "to want" - *lliquix*. *-æix* is found in *tæc* "go" - *tæcæix*. Carrera has *metaix* and *meteix* "we carry" as optional variants.

When the copula particles are attached to participles with the suffix *-ô* (ADJR), there are no irregularities regarding the present participle (i.e. *loc* "to be" - *læ-pæc-o* (-PRS.PART-ADJR): *læpæcoiñ*, *læpæcoz*, *læpæcong*, *læpæcoix*.

Constructions with the preterite participle are more complicated. The only forms we have well attested are first person singular. We should expect *-d-o-iñ*. But in a number of forms we find as an alternative or as the only form *-d-aiñ*: *man* "to eat/drink" - *manadaiñ/manadoiñ*, *met* "to carry" - *metadaiñ/metadoiñ*, *chi* "to be" - *chidaiñ/chidoiñ*, *xam* "to recognize" - *xamadaiñ*, *funo* "to eat" - *funodaiñ* etc.

The forms *eiñ*, *az*, *eix* (and *ang*) are the ones found in utterance initial position (70) or when the particle has the position before the verb it is combined with (71).

(70) *Az ton-od læm.-top chang cæd?*
2SG beat-PP die-SEQ neighbor
Have you beaten your neighbor so he died?

(71) *moll.pæc, tarr-o ixll.-i-nic eix nam-ca*
truely strong-ADJR sin-OBL-LOC/ALL 1PL fall-FUT
Truely, we will fall in great sin;

Some examples showing the variability of the 2SG form:

(72) *peñ-aç tzhang*
good-2SG 2SG(DIR)
You are good.

(73) *tzhang az peñ-o*
2SG(DIR) 2SG good-ADJR
You are good.

(74a) *Eiñ len.-o-z?*
who with-ADJR-2SG
With whom are you?

(74b) *Dios len az loc*
God with 2SG be
You are with God.

(75) *loc-æz casar læc.-næm*
be-2SG marry be-PURP
Do you want to get married?

(76) *Pedro-ng col-æd æz met*
Pedro-OBL horse-POSS 2SG carry
You bring Pedro's horse.

(77) *eiñ æz*
who 2SG
Who are you?

(78) *Ech-æz tem?*
what-2SG want
What do you want?

The copula particles are found in clause initial position (mainly in interrogative clauses, cf. (70)) or after the first phrase in the sentence, cf. *tarro ixllinic* (prepositional phrase) + *eix* (71), *Pedrong colæd* (noun phrase) + *æz* (76) and *nam* (verb phrase) + *ix* (79).

(79) *Nam ix-ca ixll-i-nic, chang.cæd læm.-top tunæm*
fall 1PL-FUT sin-OBL-LOC/ALL neighbor die-SEQ beat+PURP
læ-ssæc, pæiz ænta çio tono.-læc?
be-GER when not 3 beat-GER
Do we sin when we want to beat a neighbor to death although we are not killing him?

3.7.4. Function of the personal copula particles

In combination with verbs the personal copula particles can express S (79), A (76), and O in passive clauses (80). We find one example of a personal copula particle having the function of a locative-allative or dative meaning ("(come) to us" (81)). There is no example of copula expressing O in active clauses.

(80) *Aie-çæn Demonio-ng çæn eix nam.-quem*
as-and devil-OBL also 1PL[43] fall-CAUS+PASS
læ-pc-o ixll-i-nic,
be-PRS.PART-ADJR sin-OBL-LOC/ALL
çiu-ng ssap ñopo-ssæc.
3-OBL word receive-GER
And the devil leads us also to fall in sin if we accept his word.

(81) *çin-i.ch-o-f-ta chæm.m-ix, çiam-æn-o,*
there-ABL-ADJR-COP-come FUT-1PL live-PL-ADJR
læm-æd-æn-o chi-pc-ær chi-çæ-r tem-æd.
die-PRT.PART-PL-ADJR be-PRS.PART-OBL be-VN-POSS ask-GER
From there he shall come to us to question living and dead persons.

In (82) the personal copula functions almost as a possessive particle

(82) *ir-na-i-az pa mo ixll-æss*
big-ADVR-ADJR-2SG PTCL this sin-POSS
Alas, your sins are big.

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[43] This clause with two phrases before the personal copula is deviant. To have *çæn* twice in the same clause is also unusual.

3.8. Verbs
3.8.0. Structure of the Mochica verb
The structure of the Mochica verb is:

<u>Finite forms:</u>
    Stem + IMP
    Stem + *amoz* "don't!"
    Stem + copula
    Stem+ PRS.PART/PRT.PART + copula

<u>Nominal or adjectival forms:</u>
    Present participle
    Preterite participle
    Verbal noun

<u>Non-finite forms:</u>
Gerunds or other suffixes forming subordinate clauses:
    -læc (GER)
    -næm (PURP)
    -ssæc(GER)
    -top (SEQ)
    -(æ)d (GER)
    -(æ)zcaf (GER).

All these non-finite suffixes are mutually exclusive and cannot be combined with copula particles. Some of them can, however, occasionally be combined with *-ô* (ADJR) and *-na* (ADVR).

3.8.1. Verbal stems
3.8.1.1. Primary verbal stems
We have three types of <u>primary stems</u>:
a, All stems with a final vowel and some stems with a final consonant are <u>invariable</u> like *funo* "to eat", *ec* "to say, believe", *eng* "to say, want", *faiñ* "to lie", *æm* "to return", *æxll* "to give birth".

b. Some stems are <u>variable</u> having a short and a long form depending on which suffix is added to the stem. The long form is formed by adding a vowel identical to the root vowel, i.e. - $(C)V_xC > (C)V_xCV_x$.[44] The long forms are used before the gerund suffixes *-læc, -ssæc,* and *-(æ)zcæf*, the preterite participle *-d,* and the combination CAUS-+PASS (*-quem-*), but not before others verbal suffixes (e.g. *-top* (SEQ), *-d* (GER), and *-næm* (PURP)). Examples of variable stems are *ac(a)* "to see" - (*actop - acassæc*), *ton(o)* "to beat", *met(e)* "to carry", *læm(æ)* "die". Variable verbs form the verbal noun with the suffix *-içæ-*, while invariable stems have the shorter variant *-çæ-*. The causative, benefactive and passive suffixes are mostly, but not consistently added to the long stem. There are also examples of

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[44] There are no examples of V_x being /i/ or /u/.

variation in the use of short and long forms, e.g. *ai* "to do" - *aiassæc/aissæc* (GER).

c. Bisyllabic stems with the structure (C)V(*i*)CæC change to (C)V(*i*)CCæ (<u>stems with floating æ</u>) before the suffixes that take long stems: *iaiæp - iaipæ* "to end" (*iaiæp-top*(-NAR) vrs. *iaypæ-ssæc*(-GER) and *iaipæ-çær* (-VN)), *xllipæc - xllipcæ* "to talk", *oxllæm - oxllmæ* "to be ashamed".

When the purpose suffix *-næm* is added to a passive stem formed with the suffix *-æm-*, the passive suffix has sometimes a floating æ (*æm > mæ*), cf. *lic-mæ-næm* (do-PASS-PURP), but *irrimc-æm-næm* (frighten-PASS-PURP)[45], *pii-c-æm-næm* (give-BEN-PASS-PURP).

There are three irregular verbs: *loc ~ læc ~ læ* "to be", *ta ~ te* "to come" and *tæc(a) ~ tæ* "to go": [46]
loc:

    loc- in isolation, before copula, *-an* (IMP) and *-top* (SEQ)
    læc- before *-(æ)d* (GER) and *-næm* (PURP)
    læ- elsewhere (i.e. before PRS.PART, PRT.PART, VN, *-ssæc* (GER), *-læc* (GER) and *-cɥæm* (IMPR)

ta:

    ta- in isolation and before *chæm* (FUT)
    te- before *-d* (GER), VN, *-ssæc* (GER) and *-cɥæm* (IMPR)

tæc(a):

    tæc-/tæca in isolation and before COP[47], *(-æ)d* (GER), and *-næm* (PURP)
    tæ- before PRS.PART, PRT.PART, VN, *-ssæc* (GER), and *-læc* (GER)

The verb *man(a)* "to eat/drink" has an irregular form *ma-* when combined with the gerund suffix *-(æ)d* (3.8.4.5.) and *met(e)* "to carry" has a suppletive form *tet* here. Concerning *ta* and *tæc(æ)*, cf. also 4.2.

3.8.1.2. Derived verbal stems
Derived stems consist of a primary stem plus one, two or all three of the suffixes for causative, benefactive and passive in that order, or the impersonal suffix (*-cɥæm*) that cannot be combined with any other derivational verbal suffix.

There may have been other such derivational suffixes in Mochica. A possible candidate is *-p-* (continuative) attested in a few examples, e.g. (83).
(83) *Chi-p-ang funo?*
      be-PTCL-COP eat
      Are you/he/he (etc.) still eating?

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[45] Observe that a group of three consonants (*mcm*) is impossible in Mochica.
[46] Some combination of these roots and verbal suffixes are not attested in the material.
[47] *Tæc* is preferred when there is a future particle in the clause and *tæca* elsewhere, but there are too few examples to enable us to state the distribution more precisely.

One example in the texts (84) indicates that there may have been a negative derivational suffix -ec, cf. 3.11.2. for the usual way of expressing negation in Mochica.

(84) *Ssap xac.p-ec.-mæ-ssæc.*
word respect-NEG-PASS-GER
When his word is not respected.

3.8.1.2.1. Causative

The causative suffix is -co- (or -c(æ)-?. cf. 3.8.1.2.3.). When we have both causative and passive, the two are realized as one portmanteau form -quem-. In combination with the benefactive we find a similar portmanteau form -quec-:

chi "to be" - chi-co "to create"
chefnam "to be hungry" - chefnam-co "to make someone hungry",
cɥumer "to get drunk" - cɥumer-co "to make someone else drunk"
ac(a) "to see" - aca-quem "to be shown"
ef "free" - ef-quec "to set free, save"
læm(æ) "to die" - læmæ-co "to kill"

A form like *ef-quec-æm* shows that the sequence of the suffixes is CAUS+BEN+PASS, since BEN+CAUS+PASS should have given *efcæquem.

The causative is frequently used in combination with the passive. Examples of causatives are (16, 80, 85,86).

(85) *ænta chang.cæd faiñ.-co-næm, ænta-cæn faiñ.-næm*
not neighbor lie-CAUS-PURP not-and lie-PURP
not to make your neighbor lie and not to lie (yourself)

(86) *aie-ca.n-az cham.-co-d-o Dios*
as-THAT-2SG angry-CAUS-PRS.PART-ADJR God
so that you has made God angry

When CAUS is added to intransitive verbal stems, the subject (S) of the intransitive verb becomes object (O) of the transitive causative verb. We have just a few examples of CAUS being added to transitive verbs, and none of them show the casemarking of the subject (A) of the transitive verb in the causative construction. The object of the transitive verb remains an object (in the direct case) in the transitive construction (87).

(87) *mete-co-iñ-mo-la*
bring-CAUS-1SG-this-water
I made someone bring this water.

3.8.1.2 2. Benefactive

The benefactive suffix -(æ)c(æ)- means that the action or state is for the benefit of, in the interest of, or concerns someone:

ef-quec-çæ-r (free-CAUS+BEN-VN-POSS) "(someone's) salvation"
llop "to steal" – llop-c-æm (-BEN-PASS) "to be stolen from someone"
lærræm "to envy" – lærræm-æc "to envy someone",
ñoque "to show" – ñoque-c "to show someone"

poi "to give" – pii-æc "to give"

Benefactive is common in Mochica. In some verbs (e.g. *poi - piiæc* "to give") the benefactive form is much more common than the non-benefactive one.

(88) *Xllaxllad iñ llop-c-æm*
coin 1SG steal-BEN-PASS
My coin was stolen from me.

(89) *Llærræm.-cæ-pæc-o-z changcæd-e ech ech?*
envy-BEN-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG neighbor-OBL what what
Do you envy your neighbor something?

3.8.1.2.3. Passive

There are eight passive suffixes attested, and the material is far from sufficient to state their distribution and possible semantic and syntactic differences between them. Carrera was aware of the variation and considered it to be optional pointing out that in many words two or more suffixes alternate (*met* "to carry" - *meter, metem, metær*).

The following variants are attested:

-kem-: a portmanteau form (CAUS+PASS)
-(æ)m(æ): ai(a) "to do" - aiæm, ec "to say" - ecæm, lic "to do" - licæm, etc.
-em-: met(e) "to carry" - metem
-æp-: ai(a) "to do" - eiæp, tæp(æ) "to whip" - tæpæp, ec "to say" - ecep, lic "to do" - lic-æp
-(æ)r-: met(e) "to carry" - metær, llic "to honor" - llicær, tæp(æ) "to whip" - tæpær, ñop(o) "to conceive" - ñopor, cancap(a) "to know" - cancapar, etc
-ir-: llic "to honor" - lliquir
-er-: met(e) "to carry" - meter
-ar-: xam(a) "to recognize" - xamar

A suppletive form is *torroc* "to be beaten, killed", cf. *ton* "to beat, kill".

The passive suffix is only added to transitive verbal stems. The object (O) of the active verb becomes subject of the passive verb while the subject (A) of the active verb is in the agentive case in the passive clause (9). Further examples of passive are found in (4, 6, 8, 12, 22, 35, 100, 143).

In two cases (32, 90) we find the sequence -cæm- that does not seem to be BEN-PASS, but CAUS-PASS. This is probably an example of the development V > æ (2.5.1.).

(90) *Tema-p.c-o-ix santo-io çiu-ng oc izc-ær*
pray-PRS.PART-ADJR-1PL holy-ADJR 3-OBL name all-OBL
xam-ar.-næm, aie-çæn izc-ær irrim.-c-æm.-næm.
recognize-PASS -PURP as-and all-OBL afraid-BEN-PASS-PURP
We pray that his holy name be recognized by all and be feared by all.

3.8.1.2 4. Impersonal

The suffix -cɥæm is a derivational suffix just like PASS, BEN, and CAUS, but there are no examples of this suffix being combined with any other stem-deriving suffix. It can be combined with the gerund suffix -ssæc

and the purpose suffix -*næm* and has morphophonological variation typical of suffixes (-*cɥæm/-cɥmæ*).

The suffix is used in general statements, frequently about the future (91-93), or as a sign of respect or politeness (94). Only in the last case can an impersonal construction have an overt subject.

(91) *çoc.-xa-ng.-nic-o çio-fe, ænta farr-i-nic*
three ORD-OBL LOC/ALL-ADJR this-COP not holiday-OBL-LOC/ALL
Domino-ng.-nic, ænta-çæn fiesta-ng.-nic, caf-læ-cɥmæ-næm;
sunday-OBL-LOC/ALL not-and fiesta-OBL-LOC/ALL work-be- IMPR-PURP
pæiz-ma-ng chi.-cɥæm-ca Missa aca-d-o.
when-OPT-COP be-IMPR-FUT mass see-PRT.PART-ADJR
In the third [commandment] is this: not to work on holidays, Sundays or fiests when one should attend mass.

(92) *Cie ma-ng læmæ-cɥæm Sacramento macɥ-unta,*
when OPT-COP die-IMPR sacrament take-NEG
in-æng tæ.-cɥæm-ca?
where-COP go-IMPR-FUT
If one dies without taking sacrament, where will one go?

(93) *Em æng cɥumep cɥæm-ca ænta?*
how COP get.drunk IMPR-FUT not
How shall one not get drunk?

(94) *Ef-quic-ær ang chi.-cɥæm cɥæc-o mo Dios eiz-quic.*
father-N.POSS-OBL COP be-IMPR dear.thing-ADJR this God son-N.POSS
The father loves God, the son.[48]

3.8.2. Participles
3.8.2.1. Present participle
The present participle is formed with the suffix V+*p(æ)c* and C+*ap(æ)c*: *ac(a)* "to see" - *acapæc* "seeing", *chi-co* "to create" (be-CAUS) - *chicopæc* "creating, creator". The /æ/ of the suffix is frequently elided when a copula form or the plural sparticle are attached to the participle: *aiapæc* "doing" - *aiapcæn* "those doing", *ac(a)* "to see" - *acapæcoz, acapcoz* "you are seeing". Stems with a floating /æ/ have the /æ/ at the end of the stem: *metzh(æ)c(æ)* "to threaten" - *mætzhcæpæc* "threatening".

There are a few irregular forms:
- from *loc* "to be" and *tæc* "to go" the participles are *læ-pæc* and *tæ-pæc*.
- from *iai(æ)p(æ)* "to end" and *xac(æ)p(æ)* "to adore, respect" the participles are *iaypopæc* and *xacpopæc*.

There are some bisyllabic verbs that form the present participle not by adding the suffix -(*a*)*pæc* to the stem, but with a periphrastic construction with the verb *loc* "to be": *mañap* "to say" - *mañap læpæc* "saying", *mællæc* "to talk" - *mællæc læpæc* "talking". The verb *cɥæmer* "to get drunk" constructs the present participle in this way (*cɥæmer læpæc*), but

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[48] This is a transitive construction with *efquicær* as A and *mo Dios eizquic* as O. *chi cɥæco* (lit. "be a dear thing") means "to love".

in the causative form (*cɥæmerco* "to cause someone to get drunk") the present participle is not periphrastic (*cɥæmercopæc*). Cf. also *nam* "to fall" - *nam-quem læ-pæc* (fall-CAUS+PASS be-PRS.PART) "being caused to fall".

There are no examples of present participle being added to passive stems.

3.8.2.2. Preterite participle
The suffix is -(*æ*)*d* which in many verbs is formally identical with the gerund suffix -(*æ*)*d* (3.8.4.5). Only in cases with variable stems (*ai(a)* "to do" - *aiad* (PRT.PART) "done" - *aiæd* (GER) "in order to do") and in the irregular verbs *loc* "to be", *man* "to eat/drink", and *tæc* "to go" are the two formally differentiated. In variable stems the gerund is added to the short stem (*ac* "to see" – *ac-æd* "in order to see") while the preterite particle suffix is added to the long stem (*aca-d* "seen"). In the irregular verbs we find *læd* (PRT.PART) "been" - *læcæd* (GER) "in order to be", *tæd* (PRT.PART) "gone" - *tæcæd* (GER) "in order to go", *manad* (PRT.PART) "eaten, drunk" - *mad, manæd* (GER) "in order to eat/drink". Furthermore, the participle has usually the suffix -*ô* (ADJR) which is impossible with gerunds.

Preterite participles can be formed from passive stems, but some preterite particles of transitive verb have both active and passive meaning and syntax. The verb *ai(a)* "to do" has a normal active preterite participle *aiad* "done" (165) and a normal passive participle *eiepæd* "been made" (182). But in (169) we find *aiad* with the meaning "been made", cf. 3.3.2.3.

3.8.2.3. Function of the participles
The participles are mostly used in the formation of finite verbs (3.8.3.2.) or as adjectives with the suffix -*ô* (ADJR), cf. (16). In some cases present participles are used as nouns (95-96). As particles they retain their verbal government of nouns (16, 95):

(95) *In-o-f pa-ca ai-apc-æss mo ef-quic.*
nobody-ADJR-COP PTCL-FUT do-PRS.PART-POSS this father-N.POSS
Nobody is the creator of this father.

(96) *chefnam læ-pæc funo.-cò-næm.*
hungry be-PRS.PART eat-CAUS-PURP
to feed the hungry.

3.8.3. Finite verbal forms
There are four finite verb constructions in Mochica
- imperatives and imperative verbs
- verbal stems or participles plus copula
- optative-subjunctive
- future

3.8.3.1. Imperative and imperative verbs

The imperative suffix is -C-*an*/-V-*n*: *ac-an* "Look!" (*ac(a)* "to see"), *ñico-n* "Do well!" (*ñico* "to do well"). The plural form is -*(a)nchi*: *man-an-chi* ""Drink(PL)!" (*man* "to drink").

ac(a) to see" has also in adition to *acan* a short, uninflected imperative *ac* "Look!/Look at!/Consider!/See!". *Chi* "to be" has no imperative form *chin*, but adds the particle *an* (3.11.1.4.) to the sequence *chi* + *ng* (COP) to form the imperative *chingan* of this verb.

The imperative verbs are stems with a verbal meaning, usually indicating activity, and only inflected for plural (3.2.). In a few cases (*locan*, *loctopan*) they appear to have a fosilized singular imperative suffix.

amelec (SG)	*amelecchi* (PL) "Get away!"
anich (SG)	*anichich* (PL) "Look!"
Iñich (SG)	*iñichich* (PL) "Go!"
tumang (SG)	*tumanchi* (PL) "Leave it!"
locan (SG)	*locanchi* (PL) "Good bye!"
loctopan (SG)	*loctopanchi* (PL) "Good bye!"

The following forms is deviant since it refers to the first person:

amoch (SG)	*amochich* (PL) "Let me/us go!"

3.8.3.2. Finite verbal constructions with copula particles

There are three finite verbal constructions with copula:

<u>Verbal stem + copula</u>: *meteiñ* "I carry" (a. general tense, (98) b. present (25, 97)).[49]

<u>Present participle + copula</u>: *metapæcoiñ* "I am/was carrying, I use(d) to carry" (imperfective, progressive, habitual (99a, 99c, 99g)).

<u>Preterite participle + copula</u> *metedoiñ* "I carried" (preterite, perfective, singular/unique act in the past (99b, 99d, 99e,99f)).

There is one basic tense opposition (future is mainly expressed through verbal particles, cf. 3.11.1.1.) between preterite and present in the non-imperfective forms, while the imperfective construction is unmarked with respect to tense.

(97)   *Llic-æz tzhæng ñang pæn?*
        want-2SG 2SG(OBL) husband as
        Do you want him as your husband?

(98)   *Em.-io-ng ñop çiam chi-pæc Dios.-i chi-çæ-r*
        how-ADJR-COP obtain live be-PRS.PART God-OBL be-VN-POSS
        mo-tun-i-ng.-nic, muc çæn cuçia-ng.-nic tæc-næm?
        this-world-OBL-OBL-LOC/ALL here and heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL go-PURP
        How does a person obtain God's grace in this world, and there [the grace] to go to heaven?

The opposition between the perfective and the imperfective constructions is well illustrated through the sequence of questions in (99). They are translated from Spanish and in the Spanish text they are all introduced with the formula *Habéis (reñido* etc.)... "Have you (quarrelled etc.)...".

(99a)   *Cul-apc-o-z lecц chi-pæc tot*
        quarrel-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG head be-PRS.PART with
        piss ssap-er, cio xllip.-co-læc?
        bad word-with 3 talk-CAUS-GER
        Are you quarreling with a superordinate with bad words when he is calling?

(99b)   *Az tono-d læm.-top chang.cæd?*
        2SG hit-PRT.PART die-SEQ neighbor
        Have you beaten your neighbor so he died?

(99c)   *Az llic-apæc chang.cæd-e læm-içæ-r?*
        2SG want-PRS.PART neighbor-OBL die-VN-POSS
        Are you wanting your neighbor's death?

(99d)   *Az læ-d-o afa eiñ tot, az tono.-d-o-eiñ?*
        2SG be-PRT.PART-ADJR fight who with 2SG hit-PRT.PART-ADJR-who
        Have you fought with anyone, have you beaten someone?

(99e)   *Az mana-d-o turræc casar-o mecherræc?*
        2SG eat/drink-PRT.PART-ADJR sex married-ADJR woman
        Have you had sex with a married woman?

(99f)   *Az çiæng.-cæ-d-o pir ñang-o mecherræc?*
        2SG fuck-BEN-PRT.PART-ADJR without man-ADJR woman
        Have you fucked an unmarried woman?

(99g)   *Man-apc-o-z turræc ssonæng ñitirr-e-nic*
        eat/drink-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG sex wife ass-OBL-LOC/ALL
        nam.-top çiu-ng.-nic?
        fall-SEQ 3-OBL-LOC/ALL
        Are you fucking your wife in her ass ejaculating in her?

3.8.3.3. Optative-subjunctive

The optative-subjunctive verb *ma-* is irregular compared to all other verbs. It has no derived stems, no participles and no infinite suffixes. It is always combined with the suffixed personal copula particles or the copula particle *ang*: *ma-iñ, ma-z, ma-ng, ma-ix, ma-z chi, (æn) ma-ng*. The optative -subjunctive verb is combined with the simple or extended verbal stem (*mang licæm* in 100, *maix lic* in 101) or with a participle (*mang chido* in 102). It can also be combined with the future particle *ca* (103) and the verbal particle *piñ* "even though" (102).

The optative verb is used in three cases:
- in wishes (100),
- after the conjunction *çie* "if" it is obligatory (101,102),
- after the conjunction *pæiz* "when" when the sentence is not negated (91).

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[49] This classification of the tense-aspect system of Mochica does not cover all the examples in the material. An example of a verbal stem plus copula referring to preterite tense is (40).

(100) *Mæich ef, aca-z loc cuçia-ng.-nic, tzhæng, oc*
1PL(OBL) father REL-2SG be heaven-OBL/ALL 2SG(OBL) name
ma-ng lic-æm mæcha, piy-c-an ñof tzhæng cuçia-s,
OPT-COP do-PASS holy give-BEN-IMP 1PL(DAT) 2SG(OBL) heaven-POSS
ei-æp-ma-ng tzhæng pol-æng mæn, mo æiz-i capæc
do-PASS-OPT-COP 2SG(OBL) heart-POSS as this earth-OBL on
cuçia-ng.-nic mæn.
heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL as
Our father that is in heaven, let your name be holy, give us your heaven, let your will be done thus on this earth as in heaven.

(101) *Ænta, çie ma-ix-lic çie mæcha, tarr-o ixll-i.-nic eix nam-ca.*
no if OPT-1PL-do if holy strong-ADJR sin-OBL-LOC/ALL 1PL fall-FUT
No, if we adore it, we will fall in a great sin.

(102) *Em-io-ng læm-æd-o*
how-ADJR-COP die-PRT.PART-ADJR
çie ma-ng chi-d-o piñ Dios?
if OPT-COP be-PRT.PART-ADJR PCTL God
How did he die if he were God?

3.8.3.4. Future

The future tense is usually expressed with the particles *ca* and *chæm* (3.11.1.1.). There is also a future verb *t-* mentioned by Carrera in his grammar, but not attested in the texts,

tiñ chi "I will be"	*tiñ met* "I will carry"
tæz chi "you (SG) will be"	*tæz met* "you (SG) will carry"
tæng chi "he/she wil be"	*tæng met* "he/she will carry"
tix chi "we will be"	*tix met* "we will carry"
tæz chichi "you (PL) will be"	*tæz mætchi* "you (PL) will carry"
tæng ching æn "they will be"	*tæng mæt æn* "they will carry"

3.8.4. Infinite verbal suffixes

There are six infinite verbal suffixes: the sequential suffix *-top*, the purpose suffix *-næm* and the four gerund suffixes *-læc*, *-ssæc*, *-(æ)zcæf* and *-(æ)d*.[50] These suffixes can be attached to any verbal stem, but they cannot be combined with each other and they cannot be combined with the copula, the participles or the verbal particles. These suffixes express subordinate clauses, mainly adverbial clauses.

3.8.4.1. The sequential suffix *-top*

This sequential suffix is always attached to the short stem of variable verbs (*al(a)* "to descend" - *al-top*). It is preceded in the text by a finite verb construction or by a word indicating narrative sequence like *aie* "so, thus", *çæn* "and, also"[51] and expresses a sequence of actions or events (103) or several parallel events or states (104). Mostly *-top* refers to the preterite tense. Its (explicit or implicit) subject (A or S) is 3SG/PL.

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[50] The initial *(æ)* in the two last suffixes is a buffer vowel to avoid impossible consonant groups (2.4.).
[51] Cf. also (176).

(103) *Mo Iesu Christ-o-f læm-æd-o*
this Jesus Christ-ADJR-COP die-PRT.PART-ADJR
mæich-pe.ñ-æss pæn
1PL(OBL)-good-POSS for
al-top ol-o infierno-ng.-nic,
descend-SEQ fire-ADJR hell-OBL-LOC/ALL
çoc-lun-ær.-nic-o choc-top.
three-day-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR stand.up-SEQ
Puj-top cuçia-ng.-nic, fel-top
go.up-SEQ heaven-OBL-LOC sit-SEQ
ech, ech ai-a.pæc-ó ong.xllæm
what what do-PRS.PART-ADJR right
ef.-quic.c-ær mæcy-æc: çin-ich.-o-f-ta chæm-ix,
father-N.POSS-OBL hand-LOC there-ABL-ADJR-COP-come FUT-1PL
çiam-æn-o læm-æd-æn-o chi-pc-ær chi-çær tem-æd.
life-PL-ADJR die-PRT.PART-PL-ADJR be-PRP-OBL be-VN.POSS ask-GER
This Jesus Christ has died for our good, he went down to hell, stood up on the third day, went up to heaven, sits at his almighty father's right hand, from there he shall come to us to question the living and dead persons.

(104) *Aie çæn chi-top Dios mo ef.-quic, chi-top Dios mo*
as and be-SEQ God this father-N.POSS be-SEQ God this
eiz.-quic, chi-top Dios çæn mo espiritu Santo.
son-N.POSS be-SEQ God and this spirit holy
And thus this father is God, this son is God, and this Holy Spirit is God.

-top can be combined with the negative particle *amoss* (105) and take part in more than one narrative sequence in the same sentence (cf. *natzhiacæno maniçæc* + *amoss pærreptop* and *natzhiacæno funoçæc* + *amoss ñomtop* in 105). Sequences with *-top* can also be interrupted by other infinite clauses (106):

(105) *Templança fe, na.tzhia.cæn-o man-içæ-c,*
moderation COP having.moderation-ADJR eat/drink-VN-N.POSS
amoss pærrep-top ech, ech man-o, aie-çæn, e,
not damage-SEQ what what drink-ADJR as-and COP
natzhia.cæn-o fu.no.-çæ-c, amoss ñom.-top
having.moderation-ADJR eat-VN-N.POSS not eat.greadily-SEQ
caballo mæn funo-io, aie-çæn, E, na.tzhia.cæn-o
horse as eat-ADJR as-and COP having.moderation-ADJR
xllip.-cæ-çæ-c, amoss pullna, xllipæc-o.
talk-BEN-VN-N.POSS not as.you.like talk-ADJR
Restraint is to drink moderately not doing untimely things while drinking whatsoever and also to eat with moderation, not eating greedily like a horse and also to talk with moderation and not talking in vain.

(106) *Iesu Christo fe, llærræp-o Dios llærræp-o*
Jesus Christ COP true-ADJR God true-ADJR
ñofæn çæn, can-ang eie.p-æd-o ñofæn pæn Dios
man and THAT-COP become-PRT.PART-ADJR man as God
chi-læc, que.mun-o Sants Maria-ng pol-e-nic,
be-GER virgin-ADJR saint Mary-OBL belly-OBL-LOC/ALL
<u>*nam.-top*</u>, *que.munta çiu-ng eng locon.-læc,*
born-SEQ virgin 3-OBL mother remain-GER
<u>*læm-top*</u> *Cruz-ær capæc, ixill-i-nqu-ich*
die-SEQ cross -OBL on sin-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL
çiam chi-pæc ef-co-næm.
live be-PRS.PART free-CAUS-PURP
Jesus Christ is a true God and a true man who being God became a man and was born in Virgin Saint Mary's belly, his mother remaining a virgin, and died on the cross to make human beings free from sin.

In the exemples above *-top* refers to something that in time is simultaneous with or following the <u>preceding</u> verb. But if *-top* is combined with a word with a gerund suffix, it is the other way around: then *-top* refers to something which in time is simultaneous with or after the <u>following</u> verb, cf. (70) versus (79).

(70) *Az ton-od læm.-top chang cæd?*
2SG beat-PP die-SEQ neighbor
Have you beaten your neighbor so he died?

(79) *Nam ix-ca ixll-i-nic, chang.cæd læm.-top tunæm*
fall 1PL-FUT sin-OBL-LOC/ALL neighbor die-SEQ beat+PURP
læ-ssæc, pæiz ænta çio tono.-læc?
be-GER when not 3 beat-GER
Do we sin when we want to beat a neighbor to death although we are not killing him?

In (107, 108) we find examples of deviant uses of *-top*, both attested only once:

In (107) *-top* is added to the adjective *llung-o* "pure" with adjectival *-o*.

(107) *çio xllon-quic llung.-o-top, sacerdote-ng mæcу-æc*
3 bread-N.POSS pure-ADJR-SEQ priest-OBL hand-LOC
This bread was pure in the hands of the priest.

In (108) *top* appears to be a free particle used in an imperative clause. If this is not an error, it may be a different *top*.

(108) *ai-ez loc.-chæm tzhang*
as-2SG be-FUT 2SG(DIR)
amexllec confessar Dios-i mandamientos mæn,
now confess God-OBL commandments as
michæc moiñ top, aie em-iñ temæc tzha-xllec.
answer 1SG(DAT) SEQ? as how-1SG ask 2SG(DAT)-separate
When you now shall confess according to God's commandments, answer me as I ask you specifically.

3.8.4.2. The purpose suffix *-næm*

The purpose suffix *-næm* is like *-top* attached to the short stem of variable verbs. *-næm* expresses purpose clauses. Except in constructions with *tem* "to ask, pray" the subject (S or A) of a *næm*-clause is not expressed. The covert subject is normally identical with the subject of the main clause (20, 109,110), but there are exceptions (11).

(109) *Dios-i cæfær-o-iñ fel ame, tzhæng ssap næm.-næm,*
God-OBL place-ADJR-1SG sit thus 2SG(OBL) word hear-PURP
tzhang çæn ixll-æss.-e-n.qu-ich ssæl.-næm,
2SG(DIR) and sin-POSS -OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL absolve-PURP
I sit thus in God's place to hear your words and also to absolve you from your sins.

(110) *Ep ix eng.-apc-o lliqu-eiñ Dios ef.-quic?*
why 1PL say-PRS.PART-ADJR believe-1SG God father-N.POSS
Çio Dios ef.-quic, tzhio.pæna Dios pæn llic.-næm,
3 God father-N.POSS perfect God as honor-PURP
tzhio.pæna Dios pæn xam.-næm çæn.
perfect God as recognize -PURP and
Why are we saying "I believe in God the Father"? To honor God the Father as a perfect God and to recognize him as a perfect God

When a *næm*-clause is subordinate to the verb *tem* "to pray" it has an overt subject (90,111,112).

(111) *Tem-a.pæc-o-ix, Dios mæich.-nic chi.-næm,*
pray-PRS.PART-ADJR-1PL God 1PL(OBL)-LOC/ALL be-PURP
We are praying that God is in us.

(112) *Tem-ap.c-o-ix ech, ech, Dios.-i lec çiu-ng*
pray-PRS.PART-ADJR-1PL what what God-OBL with 3-OBL
mæich çio pij.-c-æm.-næm
1PL(DIR) 3 give-BEN-PASS-PURP
We pray to God about everything that he gives it to us.

Combined with *loc* "to be" or *eng* "to say" a *næm*-clause forms a desiderative construction ("to want to, to be about to"), cf. (113-116).

(113) *Funo-næm-eiñ-loc.*
eat-PURP-1SG-be
I want to eat.

(114) *Eng æz-chi funo-quem-næm?*
say 2SG-PL eat-CAUS+PASS-PURP
Do you (pl) want to be given food?

(115) *Loc-æz çiu-ng ñang pæn chi.-næm?*
be-2SG 3-OBL husband as be-PURP
Do you want to be her husband?

(116) *æl-ssæc, læm-næm læ-ssæc çæn*
weak-GER die-PURP be-GER and
when one is weak and when one is about to die

3.8.4.3. The gerund suffixes -læc and -ssæc

They form temporal, causal, concessive or conditional clauses. According to Carrera the suffixes are identical in meaning and in free variation. As pointed out by Middendorf (1892:142-143) that is not quite true although the suffixes seem to overlap to some extent. Both suffixes are added to the long stem of variable verbs. In (79) we find both suffixes used in the same sentence illustrating well their prototypical meanings.

-læc mainly forms conditional (117) or concessive (118) clauses but sometimes also causual (119) and temporal (120, 121) ones.

(117) *Mana .-pæc-o-z cæncy vigilia-ng.-nic, viernes.-ær.-nic-æzta,*
eat/drink -PRS.PART-2SG flesh vigil-OBL-LOC Friday-OBL-LOC-or
quaresma-ng.-nic-æzta peiñ chi-læc?
lent-OBL-LOC-or need be-GER
Are you eating meat at vigil or on Friday or during Lent if it is good?

(118) *Ep-ix mañap læ-pæc-o, Padre tot ixll-æss, onana*
why-1PL say be-PRS.PART-ADJR priest with sin-POSS just
mæich mæn-o ñofæn cio chi-læc?
1PL(DAT) as-ADJR man 3 be-GER
Why are we telling the priest our sins when he is just a man like us?

(119) *Em.-io-ng ñop çiam chi-pæc Dios.-i chi-çæ-r*
how-ADJR-COP obtain live be-PRS.PART God-OBL be-VN-POSS
mo-tun-i-ng.-nic, muc çæn cuçia-ng.-nic tæc.-næm?
this-world-OBL-OBL-LOC/ALL here and heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL go-PURP
Iesu Christo xama-læc, çio çæn llic.-læc.
Jesus Christ believe-GER 3 and honor-GER
aie-çæn, çiu-ng ssap macyco.-læc.
as-and 3- OBL will obey-GER
How does a person obtain God's grace in this world, and there [the grace] to go to heaven? By believing in Jesus Christ and by honoring him and by obeying his word.

(120) *Mællæc læ-pæc-o-z changcæd tim, çio chop.-co-læc?*
talk be-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG neighbor for 3 blame-CAUS-GER
Are you talking about your neighbor blaming him?

(121) *Mæiñ-ef ang læm-æd-o tzhang Limac chi-læc.*
1SG(OBL)-father die-PRT.PART-ADJR 2SG(DIR) Lima be-GER
My father died when you were in Lima.

-ssæc mainly forms temporal clauses (122, 123, 125), but sometimes also causal (124) and concessive (13) ones.

(122) *Eiñ tot.-o-ix mællæc ap,*
who with-ADJR-1PL talk then
Dios te salve mañap-ssæc?
Dios te salve say-GER
With whom are we talking then when we say *Dios te salve*?

(123) *Exll.mætzh.-xa-ng.-nic-o çio-fe:*
five -ORD-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR this.-COP
tunitu.ni ech mana.-ssæc al.-çæ-c.
too.much what eat/drink-GER vomit-VN-N.POSS
The fifth concerns vomiting when eating too much of something.

(124) *Em.-io-ix na.m-apæc-o, cio ixll-i-nic?*
how-ADJR-1PL fall-PRS.PART 3 sin-OBL-LOC/ALL
Adan-ær eiz.-æn, mæich chi-ssæc.
Adam-OBL son-PL 1PL(DIR) be-GER
How are we falling in this sin? Because we are the sons of Adam.

(125) *Læm-apæc-o-ng moix-quic?*
die-PRS.PART-ADJR-COP soul-N.POSS
Ænta-f læm-apæc-o ezta; læm-æd
no-COP die-PRS.PART-ADJR EMPH die-PRT.PART
maxllca-io-f chi-pc-o
symbol-ADJR-COP be-PRS.PART-ADJR
infierno-ng-nic tæ-ssæc, ænta Dios ac-assæc, ap
hell-OBL-LOC/ALL go-GER not God see-GER when
ixll-i-nic læmæ-cyæm-ssæc.
sin-OBL-LOC/ALL die-IMPR-GER
Is the soul dying? It is not at all dying, it is symbolically dead when it goes to hell and when it does not see God and when one then dies in sin.

3.8.4.4. The gerund suffix -(æ)zcæf

-(æ)zcæf is added to the long form of variable verbs and expresses a temporal clause with a perfective aspect:

(126) *tecnæp-top çior çio Virgen, que.munta,*
remain-SEQ only 3 virgen virgin
ænta-zta-cæñ-unta, aie çaen æxll-ssæc,
not-EMPH-give.birth-NEG as and give.birth-GER
aie çæn æxll.-æz.cæf.
as and give.birth-GER
she was virgin when she has not given birth and also when giving birth and also when she had given birth

(127) *ænta penitencia aia-z.cæf læmæ-cyæm-ssæc.*
not penitence do-GER die-IMPR-GER
when you die not having done penitence

(128) *Açæn, çio chi-çæ-c.-nic nam.-co-z.cæf,*
yes-and 3 be-VN-N.POSS-LOC/ALL fall-CAUS-GER
çio ixll-i-nic nam.-ssæc.
3 sin-OBL-LOC fall-GER
Yes, when you have ejaculated in this person, then you have fallen in sin.

(129) *aie-çæn min læm-æz.cæf, cuçia-ng.-nic-o mæich tæ-çæ-r*
as-and here die-GER heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR 1PL go-VN-POSS
çio len yll.yll-na læc.-næm.
3 with happy(RED)-ADVR be-PURP
and when we have died here we go to heaven to be happy with him

Example (54) seems to be an idiomatic and partly deviant use of this gerund.

3.8.4.5. The gerund suffix -(æ)d

Formally it is in most cases identical with the preterite participle, cf. 3.8.2.2. There are a few verbs that have either irregular stems or a suppletive form for this gerund, cf. 3.8.1.1. Carrera (1644) gives this as one of four forms in his *a verbo* lists of inflectional forms of verbs, but there are few examples of it in the texts. It expresses purpose clauses usually with a future particle in the main clause.

(130) *çin-i.ch-o-f-ta chæm.m-ix, çiam-æn-o,*
there-ABL-ADJR-COP-come FUT-1PL live-PL-ADJR
læm-æd-æn-o chi-pc-ær chi-çæ-r tem-æd.
die-PRT.PART-PL-ADJR be-PRS.PART-OBL be-VN-POSS ask-GER
From there he shall come to us to question living and dead persons.

(131) *Ang lecɥ-o-fe tæc-æn chæm ol-o*
COP head-ADJR-COP go-PL FUT fire-ADJR
infierno-ng.-nic exllec.ac-pæn çin chi-d.
hell-OBL-LOC/ALL eternal-as there be-GER
[They] will immediately go to the fire hell to be there forever.

3.8.5. Verbal nouns

From apparently all verbs - also derived verbal stems - possessed and non-possessed verbal nouns can be formed by the suffixes -(i)-çæ-c (non-possessed) and -(i)-çæ-r (possessed). The variant -içæ- is added to variable verbal stems and the variant -çæ- to all other stems. Stems with floating æ has the form (C)V(i)CCæ before -çæ-:

læm(æ) "to die" - *læmiçæc/læmiçær* "death"
ai(a) "to do"- *aijçæc/aijçær* "creation"
chi "to be" - *chiçæc/chiçær* "being"
choc(o) "to stand up" - *choquiçær* "(his) resurrection"
cɥam "to be angry" - *cɥamçæc* "anger"
xllip(æ)c(æ) "to talk" - *xllipcæçær* "(his/her) talking".

Verbal nouns are inflected as nouns but there are no examples of the plural particle *æn* being combined with them. The nominalized verbs retain their case government except that the subject in nominalization is in the oblique case (132, 134).

(132) *Christ-ong cho.qu-içæ-r-o pascua-ng.-nic*
Christ-OBL stand.up-VN-POSS-ADJR Easter-OBL-LOC/ALL
Christ's resurrection at Easter

133) *mæich ixll-æss ef-co-çæ-r*
1PL sin-POSS free-CAUS-VN-POSS
his making us free from our sins

(134) *mæiñ læm-içæ-r.-e-nic*
1SG(OBL) die-VN-POSS-OBL-LOC/ALL
in my death

In (134) *læmiçærenic* is inflected like an ordinary noun. But *chiçæcnic* in (128) and *læmiçærnic* (194) have the locative-allative suffix added directly to the direct stem and not to the oblique stem.

3.9. Adverbs

The group of adverbs comprises more than 80 words, but most of them are only found listed in the grammar and little can be said about their use. Some of the adverbs appear to be old locative (3.3.2.4.) or ablative forms (3.3.2.6.).

There is a number of temporal adverbs describing parts of the day as well as other temporal relations:

amexllec "now"	*mulluch* "by twilight"
nanguss "before"	*pamana* "afternoon"
pelen "yesterday"	*tipæn/ripæn/tuctamæn* "suddenly"
xequech "as long as"	*æpæc* "always".

The following ones are examples of the many local adverbs:

aiin/çin "there"	*ledæc* "outside"
çoc "under"	*çinana* "at the same place"
çiuc "over there"	*infitop* "everywhere"
min "here"	*muc* "here, there"
xecæn "under the dress".	

Example of other adverbs:

canpoller "on purpose"	*mollpæc* "truely"
narna "possible"	*onana* "just"
tupnan "equally big".	

Furthermore, there are according to Carrera some adverbs indicating diminutive or augmentative meaning (e.g. *cantarrofta, locɥmæn, molá*), but there are no examples of them in the texts.

The most frequent types of adverbs and adverbial constructions are those formed with the suffix -*na* (ADVR), which together with the suffix -*ô* (ADJR) is one of the most typical features of Mochica grammar. While the sequence ADVR-ADJR is well attested (1,13, 49, 82), the alternative order (*ADJR-ADVR) is impossible.

Some of the most typical uses of ADVR are:
- when adjectives and noun phrases are used adverbially with verbs (129),
- with adjectives and sometimes nouns before a postposition (135) although there is some variation between constructions with and without -*na* (*ñofæn mæn* - *ñofænna mæn* "as a man, as a human being") without any clear differences in meaning,
- when nouns and adjective are emphasizing the meaning of a following adjective (60).

In some cases derivations with -*na* are lexicalized:

lecɥ "head" - *lecɥ-na* "first, more"
onæc "one" - *onæcna* "one only, single"
tæ-læc-na (go-GER-ADVR) "according to"

The nuances of meaning indicated by -na can be quite subtle, cf. *lærræp(o) Dios* "a true God" - *lærræpnaio Dios* "God in reality, really God". Cf. also the difference between *sacramento mæn* and *sacramento mæn na* in (135).

(135) *Ame.-io-f çio chi-çæ-c; Saçerdote-f man-apæc-o*
thus-ADJR-COP 3 be-VN-N.POSS priest-COP eat/drink-PRS.PART-ADJR
ap Missa aia-ssæc, Dios.-i ærqu-eng pan-i-nic aie-çæn
when mass do-GER God-OBL flesh-POSS bread-OBL-LOC/ALL thus-and
çiu-ng cul-o vino-ng.-nic sacrifiçio mæn aie-çæn
3-OBL blood-ADJR wine-OBL-LOC/ALL sacrifice as thus-and
sacramento mæn: ænta Saçerdote chi-pæc-o
sacrament as not priest be-PRS.PART-ADJR
mæich eix man-a pæc-o Sacramento mæn na.
1PL (DIR) 1PL eat/drink-PRS.PART-ADJR sacrament as ADVR
This is thus: When the priest eats God's flesh in the bread and his blood in the wine as a sacrifice and as a sacrament when doing mass, we who are not a priest eat it like a sacrament/in a sacramental way

Even more problematic are cases where -na is attached to adverbs like in (69), cf. the use of *æpæc* without -na in (56).

There is a suffix -nan (136, 137) which is attested in a few words and appears to have mostly the same function as -na, possibly with an emphatic meaning, e.g. *cɥæc* "dear" - *cɥæcna* "dearly" - *cɥæcnan* "very dearly".

(136) *cɥæc.-nan ac, mo-sso.næng amoz ton*
dear-SUFF see this-wife don't hit
Consider this wife as something very dear and do not beat her!

(137) *Eñ-o piss-i-n.qu-ich.-o-ix*
which-ADJR bad-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL-ADJR-1PL
eng ef.-quem.-næm,
say free-CAUS+PASS-PURP
ame eng.-læc lecɥ-nan ef-co ñof piss-i-n.qu-ich?
thus say-GER head-SUFF free-CAUS 1PL(DAT) bad-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL
From which bad things do we want to be forgiven when we thus are saying: "first of all save us from evil"?

3.10. Postpositions

Postpositions in Mochica govern either the direct (a) or the oblique (b) case form of the preceding noun or pronoun. In some cases we find both patterns or we do not have sufficient material to state which case the postposition in question governs.

a. <u>Postpositions with the preceding noun in the direct case:</u>

capo "from"	*enquich* "from"
locɥo "on (about time)"	*lucɥquic* "from among"
mæn "as"	*tana* "together with"
tot "(combined) with"	*totna* "towards"

b. <u>Postpositions with the preceding noun in the oblique case</u>

capæc "above, in, by"	*fanang* "during"
fænæc "according to"	*lecɥæc* "above, on"
lequich "from, by"	*lucɥæc* "among"
ssecæn "under"	*tutæc* "before"
turquich "behind"	

c. <u>Postpositions with other patterns of casemarking</u>

er "with (instrument)" (normally governing the direct case, but always the oblique form of the pronoun *çio* "he, she, it" and sometimes also of nouns in the grammar, but not in the texts).
lec "with" (normally governing the oblique case, but sometimes the direct case).
len(a) "together with" (governing the direct case of nouns, but sometimes the oblique case of pronouns, cf. *tzhang len, tzhæng len* "with you(sg)").
pæn "as, for" (governing the direct case that may have the suffix *-ô*. cf. *mæiñ efeiôpæn* "for my father").
tim "for, through" (governing the direct case except for the pronoun *çio* where it is once attested with the oblique and once with the dative case).

d. <u>Postpositions with unknown case government</u>

capna "from"	*fæiñ* "with (about mixing x with y)"
mongna "through"	*olpæc* "inside"

3.11. Particles

Particles constitute to some extent an everything-else class of uninflected words. Some particles may probably as well be classified as adverbs (or vice versa), conjunctions or interjections. Some of them were certainly clitics. Owing to the scanty material and our lack of knowledge of Mochica prosody, our classification is very tentative. Copula particles are treated in 3.7.2. and 3.7.3. Some of the interrogative and indefinite words in 3.6.3 may also be classified as particles.. The remaining particles will be treated in this chapter: verbal particles in 3.11.1., negative particles in 3.11.2., conjoining particles in 3.11.3., subordinating particles in 3.11.4., and other particles in 3.11.5.

3.11.1. Verbal particles

These particles were probably all clitics and they either follow the verbal stem or the copula. They are semantically diverse, giving both temporal and modal meaning to the verb phrase.

3.11.1.1. The future particles *ca* and *chæm*

ca indicates a general, vague future. The particle is attached to the verbal stem or the copula, cf. (139-140). In the paradigms in his grammar Carrera lists a number of composed forms classified as optative or

subjunctive forms with *ca*, e.g. *meteiñca* "I should carry" and
metedoiñcapiñ "I should have carried".[52] These forms are not found in the
texts. Carrera says that in such constructions the PRT.PART has a syncope
as in (138):

(138) *çie ma.iñ chi-d ca alcalde.-io*
if OPT-1SG be-PRT.PART FUT mayor-ADJR
If I had been mayor.

where we find *chid ca* instead of *chido ca*.

(139) *çie ma-ng læm-æd-o*
if OPT-COP die-PRT.PART-ADJR
mæich, çiec Iesu Christo izçæc-na mæich tim,
our lord Jesus Christ all-ADVR 1PL(DIR) for
tæc-æn æng-ca izçæc-na çiam chi-pæc cuçia-ng.-nic?
go-PL COP-FUT all-ADVR live be-PRS.PART heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL
If our lord Jesus Christ has died for us all, will all persons go to heaven?

(140) *Pir Bulas.-na, çio ma.ná-ssæc, na.m-ix-ca ixll-i-nic?*
without bull -ADVR 3 eat/drink-GER fall-1PL-FUT sin-OBL- LOC/ALL
A, moll.pæc ixll-i-nic eix nam-ca santa-io
yes truely sin-OBL-LOC/ALL 1PL fall-FUT holy-ADJR
Quaresma-ng.-nic çio mana-ssæc.
Lent-OBL-LOC/ALL 3 eat/drink-GER
Without this bull will we fall in sin if we eat these things? Yes truly, we will fall
in sin if we eat these things in the holy Lent.

chæm is always attached to the verbal stem, but may be preceded by
other particles (141) and is accordingly not a suffix. Its meaning is that
something in the future must be done or ought to be done or most certainly
will happen. In some cases it is identical in meaning to *ca*.

(141) *ænta-f tæc pa-chæm ezta cuçia-ng.-nic moix:*
not-COP go PTCL-FUT EMPH heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL soul
alas, his soul will not at all go to heaven

(142) *Ænta Iesu Christo llic-apæc, aie-çæn aio, can-ang*
not Jesus Christ honor-PRS.PART as-and that THAT-COP
çio xam-apæc, ænta pæiñ.-na læ-pæc ænta-çæn çiu-ng
3 believe-PRS.PART not good-ADVR be-PRS.PART not-and 3-OBL
ssap macų.co-pæc, ænta-fe tæc-æn chæm ezta
word obey-PRS.PART not-COP go-PL FUT EMPH
cuçia-ng.-nic, ang lecų-o-fe ta-çæn chæm ol-o
heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL COP head-ADJR-COP go-PL FUT fire-ADJR
infierno-ng.-nic exllec.ac-pæn çin chi-d.
hell-OBL-LOC/ALL ethernal-as there be-GER
Those who are not honoring God, not believing, not being good, as well as not
obeying his word shall not at all go to heaven [but] must immediately go to the fire
hell to be there for ever.

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[52] These constructions indicate that *ca* basically refers to something uncertain, hypothetical, not
realized.

(143) *Piss-æn-o chi-pæc ixll ai-apæc, xaiñ, meñep.-*
bad-PL-ADJR be-PRS.PART sin do-PRS.PART but say-
c-an moiñ em-æng li.c-æp chæm, a-çæn ol-o
BEN-IMP 1SG(DAT) how-COP do-PASS FUT yes-and fire-ADJR
infierno-ng.-nic tæ-ssæc?
hell-OBL-LOC/ALL go-GER
But those who are bad and doing sin, tell me how must they be treated
when going to the fire hell?

(144) *Çio llic-apæc xaiñ, çiu-ng ssap*
3 honor-PRS.PART but 3-OBL word
macųco-pæc çæn tæc-æn æng-ca cuçia-ng.-nic?
obey-PRS.PART and go-PL COP-FUT heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL
Tæc.-æn e-ca moix tana, aie-çæn ærqu-eng tana,
go-PL COP-FUT soul with as-and flesh-POSS with
cuçia-ng.-nic, can-o-fe ta-chæm Iesu Christo,
heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL THAT-ADJR-COP come-FUT Jesus Christ
mo-tun iay.pæ-ssæc, izçæc-na mæch chi-çæ-r tem-æd,
this-world end-GER all-ADVR holy be-VN-POSS ask-GER
çiexllec choc.-top, izçæc-na læm-æd-æn-o chi-pæc.
then stand.up SEQ all-ADVR die-PRT.PART-PL-ADJR be-PRS.PART
But those honoring and obeying his word will they go to heaven? They will go
with their soul and their flesh to heaven and Jesus Christ shall come when this
world ends to ask all holy beings then to stand up, all the dead beings.

3.11.1.2. *Pa* "alas"

pa indicates basically tenderness or sorrow and is attached to the
verbal stem or the copula (82, 141).

Mochica has no separate word meaning "to have". The concept of
having is expressed with the verb *chi* "to be" plus the particle *pa*, although
this is not a common construction in the texts.

(145) *tzhæng eiz, Iesu Christo, a.ca-z*
2SG son *Iesu Chisto* REL-2SG
chi-d-o-pa pol-e-nic;
be-PRT.PART-ADJR-PTCL belly-OBL-LOC/ALL
your son Jesus Christ that you had in your belly

3.11.1.3. *Piñ* "even though"

piñ is by Carrera and Middendorf described as a particle indicating
imperfective preterite with the copula, e.g. *moiñ e piñ - chin piñ* "yo era/ich
war/I was".

The examples we have of *piñ* in the texts indicate a different
interpretation. First, it is only found after the conjunctions *can* "that", *at*
"although" and *çie* "when". *At* is only attested once without *piñ*. Secondly,
in some of the examples a preterite time interpretation is impossible.
Thirdly, it is not only combined with the verb *chi* "be" as Carrera and
Middendorf state.

The actual meaning of *piñ* seems to be a concessive one, to indicate
that what is said in the subordinate clause is valid although it apparently can

be seen as contradicted by what is said in the main clause. A possible translation of *piñ* is "even though" (1, 102, 146, 147).

(146) *Ænta-f.e-zta çopæt-o Dios, at-ang piñ çopæt-o*
not-COP-EMPH three-ADJR God although-COP PTCL three-ADJR
çiam chi-pæc-æn, onæc çior-na-io Dios fe.
life be-PRS.PRT-PL one single-ADVR-ADJR God COP
God is not at all three, [and] although there are three persons, there is only one God.

(147) *At-ang piñ Dios, mo Iesu Christo, ñofæn*
although-COP PTCL God this Jesus Christ man
çæn, e, ñofæn mæn læm-top, ænta xain Dios mæn.
and COP man as die-SEQ not but God as
Although this Jesus Christ was God, he was also man and he died as a man, but not as God.

In the paradigms in the grammar Carrera lists some composed forms with *piñ* classified as optative or subjunctive forms: *Chi daiñ/chi doiñ ca piñ* "I should have been", *metedoiñcapiñ* "I should have carried". These forms are not found in the texts.

3.11.1.4. The imperative particle *an*

an "come and" is an imperative particle preceding the verb stem: *an fano* "come and eat", *an metchi* "come and carry(PL)". The formal identity with the imperative suffix *-an* may not be accidental, cf. 3.8.3.1.

3.11.2. Negative particles

Clause negation is expressed through one of the three[53] particles *amoss*, *amoz*, and *ænta*. *Ænta* may also negate phrases. All three particles are always in clause (or phrase) initial position.

amoss "not" is usually used in infinite clauses. In contrast to *ænta* it is not emphatic (31,105).

amoz "don't" is combined with the verbal stem and forms negative imperatives (136, 148).

(148) *mæçæm-an amoz nam allo na-xia*
correct-IMP don't fall and one-how.many.times
mo-mæn-o ixll-i-nic;
this-like-ADJR sin-OBL-LOC/ALL
Correct [yourself] and don't fall once again in such sins!

ænta "not (at all)" is the most frequent negative particle (47, 79, 85, 91, 126, 127, 135, 141, 142, 146, 149). It is also used as an interjection (101). *Ænta* is often combined with the emphatic particle *ezta* and they are often (but not always, cf. 150) assimilated to *æntazta*. *æntazta* can also have the meaning "not yet" (149).

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53 In addition *pissozta* "not at all" is attested once in the grammar.

(149) *ænta-zta-cæñ-unta*
not-EMPH-give.birth-NEG
not yet having given birth

(150) *Ænta-f ezta çopæt-o.*
not-COP EMPH three-ADJR
He is not at all three.

When *amoz* and *ænta* is combined with the verbal stem, the stem sometimes gets the suffix *-ô* (ADJR).

The particle *pir* "without" is classified by Carrera as the only preposition in Mochica. It is a particle preposed to nouns: *pir ñang-o mecherræc* "a woman without a man (i.e. an unmarried woman)" (99f). Constructions with *pir* often receive the adverbializer suffix *-na*, cf. *pir bulasna* "without a bull" in (140). Whether we classify *pir* as a preposition, a proclitic particle or a prefix, it is unique in Mochica, constituting a class of its own.

3.11.3. Conjoining particles

Aie "so, as" is a clause initial particle, usually combined with another following clitic particle, especially *çæn* "also, too, and" (162). *Aie* expresses textual continuity and cohesion (80,151, 152, 180).

(151) *Aie can-ang chi-pæc-o onæc ñofæn moix-tim, ærrqu-eng tim,*
as THAT-COP be-PRS.PART-ADJR one man soul-for flesh-POSS for
çæn onæc-na.-io ñofæn, ænta aput-ò aie-çæn, e mo Iesu
and one-ADVR-ADJR man not two-ADJR as-and COP this Jesus
Christo chi-læc, ñofæn çæn chi-læc, onæc.-na-io,
Christ be-GER man and be-GER one-ADVR-ADJR
ænta xaiñ aput-ò.
not but two-ADJR
So he is being a man because of his soul and his flesh so he is only one man and not two. When he is Jesus Christ and when he is man, he is just one, but not two.

(152) *Ef-que.c-an, ñof ixll-æss*
free-CAUS+BEN-IMP 1PL(DAT) sin-POSS
aie aca-na-ix ef-co xllang.muss-e-io mæich, çio mæn.
as REL-ADVR-1PL free-CAUS enemy-OBL-ADJR 1PL(DIR/OBL) 3 as
Forgive us our sins as we forgive our enemies like this.

Allo "also, and, too" conjoins numerals (153), noun phrases (154) or verb phrases (155). Conjoining noun phrases it is added to the final phrase of the coordinate structure (154, 155, 162).

(153) *na-ssop lecu allô nopæt-o-f*
one-ten head and four-ADJR-COP
fourteen.

(154) *Ec-apæc-o-z xllom.-pæc-na*
believe-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG true-PRS.PART-ADVR
pæn fæp-içæ-r, ñañ-i-ssap-çæn,
as sleep-VN-POSS bird-OBL-word-and
pucu, fiñ, pocpoc, lic-apæc-o-z
owl fortunetelling.bird fortunetelling.bird do-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG
mæcha, macʮ-æc, pong, ech-allo
holy hand-LOC stone what-and
Are you believing as true dreams, and birds' voices, owls, fortune telling birds and are you adoring stones and anything else?

(155) *Llop-apæc-o-z xllaxll, ñaiñ, pæp, timo, ech-æzta allo?*
steal-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG silver.money bird thread other what-or and
Are you stealing silver money, birds, threads or anything else?

(156) *ir-na-i-az pa mo ixll-æss*
big-ADVR-ADJR-2SG PTCL this sin-POSS
çie ma-ng chi-d-o ænta
if OPT-COP be-PRT.PART-ADJR not
can-peñ-o Dios, infierno-ng-nic-e tæ-ca tzhæng
THAT-good-ADJR God hell-OBL-LOC/ALL-COP go-FUT 2SG(OBL)
moix: mæçæm-an amoz nam allo na-xia
soul correct-IMP don't fall and one-how.many.times
mo-mæn-o ixll-i-nic; ap-an çio-ss-tim, etc.
this-like-ADJR sin-OBL-LOC/ALL pray-IMP 3-DAT-for etc.
Your sins alas are big if he had not been that good God, your soul should go to hell, correct [yourself] and do not fall again once in such sins, pray to him etc.

Ap "then" (cf. *taiñ* below) means that an action or situation is following another one in time, being in a causual relationship to it or having some pragmatic relationship to it. The particle has a rather free distribution in the clause. (10, 122, 125, 157-161).

(157) *xacpo-pæc-o-ix Dios.-i ssap ap, çiu-ng oc*
respect-PRS.PART-ADJR-1PL God-OBL word then 3-OBL name
we respect God's word and then his name.

(158) *Ech-ix tem-apec-o, Dios-i oc mucha ap, lic-ssæc?*
what-1PL pray-PRS.PART-ADJR God-OBL name holy when do-GER
What do we pray when then adoring God's name?

(159) *çio neiz fe-ix nic.nam-co, ap Missa ac-assæc*
3 night COP-1PL kneel-CAUS then mass see-GER
that night he let us kneel when we then were attending mass

(160) *Ap Quaresma-io viernes-ær-nic, aie-çæn,*
then lent-ADJR Friday-OBL-ADJR as-and
sábado santo-ng-nic, aie-çæn Pascua de Navidad-ær
sabbath holy -OBL-LOC/ALL as-and Easter of Christmas-OBL
vigilias-e-nic.
vigil-OBL-LOC/ALL
then on Friday in Lent and on the holy sabbath and on Christmas' vigil

(161) *Læ-pæc-o-z aiunar: navidad-ær, vigilias-e-nic;*
be-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG fast Christmas-OBL vigil-OBL-LOC/ALL
aie-çæn ap viernes-o quaresma-ng-nic sabado santo çæn?
as-and then Friday-ADJR lent-OBL-LOC/ALL Sunday holy and
Are you fasting at the vigil of Christmas and then Friday at Lent and the Easter Saturday?

çæn "and, also" is a clitic particle and frequently combined with a preceding *aie* "so, as", *ænta* "not" etc. It conjoins phrases (51, 59, 162) as well as clauses (32, 85). It can also be a textual conjoining particle "also" (62, 80, 163). Observe that in (80) there are two *çæn*'s.

(162) *çio tim-o-iñ loc*
3 for-ADJR-1SG be
mucha que.mun-o Santa Maria, aie-çæn San Miguel
holy virgin-ADJR Saint Mary as-and Saint Michael
Arcangel, aie-çæn San Juan Baptistæ, aie-çæn Santos
Archangel as-and Saint John Baptist as-and holy(PL)
Apostoles San Pedro, San Pavlo çæn, izçæc
apostles Saint Peter Saint Paul and all
cuçia-ng.-nic læ-pæc.-æn-o Santos çæn: tzhang
heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL be-PRS.PART-PL-ADJR saints and 2SG(DIR)
çæn allo Padre, Dios tot, moiñ tzhæng
and also father God with 1SG(DIR) 2SG(OBL)
capæc nem.c-æm.-næm:
by protect-PASS-PURP
For this I adore Virgin Saint Mary, together with Saint Michael Archangel and Saint John the Baptist and the holy apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and also all the saints being in heaven; and also you father God in order to be protected by you.

(163) *Espiritu Santo xaiñ xam çæn ix-ca Dios pæn?*
Spirit Holy but recognize and 1PL-FUT God as
But shall we recognize the Holy Spirit also as God?

Taiñ "accordingly, then" (cf. *ap*) is a clitic particle attached to the first phrase in the clause and always followed by the explanatory particle *can* (164, 165).

(164) *Aio taiñ, can-ang ærqu-ic ñiquem.-næm[54] çio-fe mo.*
this then THAT-COP flesh-N.POSS do.well+CAUS+PASS-PURP 3-COP that
Accordingly those that take care of the flesh are these:

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54 *ñic(o)-* "to do well, show mercy" plus *-quem-* CAUS+PASS.

(165) *Çio penitencia taiñ, can-ang aia.-d-æn, ænta,*
3 penitence then THAT-COP do-PRT.PART- PL not
mo tun-i-ng.-nic çiam-na chi.-læc, çio-fe tæc.-æn
this world-OBL- OBL-LOC/ALL live-ADVR be-GER 3-COP go-PL
macyco-d, aio ol-o purgatorio-ng.-nic.
comply.with-GER this fire-ADJR purgatory-OBL-LOC/ALL
This penitence then that they have done, is not while living in this world, they go to the fire purgatory to comply with it there.

Xain "but" is a clitic particle attached to the first phrase of the clause (166, 167), sometimes to the whole clause (168, 169).

(166) *Sacramento xaiñ ech æng?*
sacrament but what COP
But what is the Sacrament?

(167) *onæc-na çæn mo eiz.-quic, ænta xaiñ çopæt-o*
one-ADVR and this son-N.POSS not but three-ADJR
and this son is only one, and not three

(168) *Ænta-f-ezta-ixll mo-ech ech mæich-o pæn llic.-çæ-c*
not-COP-EMPH-sin this-what what 1PL-ADJR for want-VN-N.POSS
peñ-o chi-çæ-c çio-ng er ai-næm: ixll eix tæca xaiñ
good-ADJR be-VN-N.POSS 3-OBL with do-PURP sin 1PL go but
çie ma-ix llica çio ech-ech, piss-o chi.-çæ-c pæn,
if OPT-1PL want 3 what-what bad-ADJR be-VN-N.POSS as
changcæd.-e-io, çio xama ssæc.
neighbor-OBL-ADJR 3 recognize GER
It is not at all a sin when we want for ourselves something for a good purpose. But we are sinning if we want something for a bad purpose when recognizing it belongs to the neighbor.

(169) *Mo eiz.-quic, ænta-f e-zta, ef-e-n,*
this son-N.POSS not-COP-EMPH father-OBL-AG
a.i-ad-ô, ænta çæn
do-PRT.PART-ADJR not and
çiu-ng chi-co-d-ô ænta çæn
3-OBL be-CAUS-PRT.PART-ADJR not and
Espiritu Santo-ng ai-ad-ô,
Spirit Holy-OBL do-PRT.PART.-ADJR
ænta çæn çiu-ng chi-co-d-ô: çior-na
not and 3-OBL be-CAUS-PRT.PART-ADJR self-ADVR
ef.-e, ssod.-e-nqu-ich tux.llû.m-æd-o xaiñ.
father-OBL chest-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL come.forward-PRT.PART-ADJR but
This son is not made by his father, not at all created by him and not made by the Holy Spirit not also created by him, but by himself he was born from his father chest.

Æzta "or" combines noun phrases, mostly by being added to the final phrase of the coordinate structure (x y-æzta "x or y"), cf. (117, 170, 171).

(170) *Ænta-ng Dios æzta mo xllang, çi, cyong.oiæc*
not-COP God or this sun moon star
æzta, lota, mallar æzta?
or light beam or
Is not the sun too, the moon or the stars, the light or the beams God?

(171) *Uruiñ.cæ-p-c-o-z missa farr-æc, fiesta-ng.-nic,*
miss-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG mess holiday-LOC fiesta-OBL-LOC/ALL
tzhæng eiz æzta, tzhæng iana-ss-æzta?
2SG(OBL) son or 2SG(OBL) servant-POSS-or
Are you or your son or your servant missing mass on holidays and fiests?

(172) shows another use of *ænta* (*ech ænta* "anything")

(172) *Ñite.-xa-ng.-nic-o çio-fe, ænta ech æzta llop.-næm·*
seven-ORD-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR 3-COP not what or steal -PURP
In the seventh [commandment] is this: not to steal anything.

3.11.4. Subordinating particles

Aca, acana[55] (REL) introduces an explanatory clause following a noun (173), adverb (174) or the particle *aie* (175). Constructions with *aca(na)* are similar to relative clauses but there is not necessarily a phrase in the *aca(na)*-clause being co-referent with the word or phrase it is attached to and if there is co-reference, there is not necessarily any gap or anaphora in the *aca(na)*-clause. In some cases *aca(na)* overlaps with *can* (cf below).

(173) *Eiñ eiñ-æng mo mæich xllang.muss, aca.-ix tem*
who who-COP this 1PL(OBL) enemy REL-1PL ask
çiu-ng mæcy-qu-ich ef-quem.-næm?
3-OBL hand-LOC-ABL free-CAUS+PASS-PURP
Who are these our enemies that we ask to be saved from their hands?

(174) *mæiñ eiz eiñ eiñ æzta-ix tæ-pæc-o ixll,*
1SG(OBL) son who who or-1PL go-PRS.PART-ADJR sin
lecy-na-zta moiñ tzhæng lec.quich,
head-ADVR-EMPH 1SG(DIR) 2SG(OBL) from
æpæc aca-iñ chi-pæc-o ixll-i-nic,
always REL-1SG be-PRS.PART-ADJR sin-OBL-LOC/ALL
læ-pæc-o-iñ confessar moiñ mæn-o sacerdote tot
be-PRS.PART-ADJR-1SG confess 1SG(DIR) as-ADJR priest with
My son, both do we sin whoever we are, and I more than you, [and] always when I am sinning I use to confess with a priest like myself.

(175) *Ef-que.c-an, ñof ixll-æss*
free-CAUS+BEN-IMP 1PL(DAT) sin-POSS
aie aca.na-ix ef-co xllang.muss-e-io mæich, çio mæn.
like REL-1PL free-CAUS enemy-OBL-ADJR 1PL(OBL) 3 as
Forgive us our sins as we forgive our enemies like this.

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[55] *-na* may be ADVR, but it is not obvious why the suffix is used here.

In (176) we find a strange use of *-top* (SEQ) in an *aca(na)*-clause. Since the example is from a psalm metrical considerations man have influence the choice of verbal form (it had to be dissyllabic).

(176) *Aca-z tzhang que.mun-o*
REL-2SG 2SG(DIR) virgin-ADJR
chi-top llam-o, xem-o
be-SEQ gentle-ADJR sweet-ADJR
apa-co-n ñof tzhang mæn
learn-CAUS-IMP 1PL(DAT) 2SG(DIR) as
llam.-na, xem.-na chi-næm.
gentle-ADVR sweet-ADVR be-PURP
You who are a virgin and are gentle and sweet. teach us to be gentle and sweet like you.

At "although" is always combined with the particle *piñ* "even though" (3.11.1.3.), cf. (146, 147).

Can (THAT) is a particle with a variety of functions. Its basic meaning is to introduce additional information concerning the word or phrase it is attached to. If attached to a noun it functions as a relative particle (cf. *aca(na)* above) (164, 177-179). *Can* is followed by either a clause (then a copula particle is obligatory after *can*, cf. 177-182) or it introduces a noun phrase (183-184). In (185) it introduces an infinite clause.

(177) *mo ssonæng, can-az pii-c-æm Dios çiec-e-n,*
this wife THAT-2SG give-BEN- PASS God lord-OBL-AG
This wife that has been given you by God, the Lord.

(178) *Roma læ-pæc-o Santo Padre, can-ang poc Papa*
Roma be-PRS.PART-ADJR holy father THAT-COP call Papa
the holy father in Roma, who is called Papa

(179) *Dios leñ az loc Maria, Dios.-i peñ-o chi-çæ-r ang*
God with 2SG be Mary God-OBL good-ADJR be-VN-POSS COP
tzhæng.-nic. Dios ang loc tzhang len,
2SG(OBL)-LOC/ALL God COP be 2SG(DIR) with
can-pe.ñ-az tzhang, izçæc mecher.ç-ær
THAT-good-2SG 2SG(DIR) all woman-OBL
lequich aie-çæn can-peñ-o-f, tzhæng
from as-and THAT-good-ADJR-COP 2SG(OBL)
pol.-e-n.qu.ich tuxllu.m-æd-o, tzhæng eiz Iesu Christo.
belly-OBL-LOC-ABL born-PRT.PART-ADJR 2SG(OBL) son Jesus Christ
You are with God, Mary, God's goodness is in you. God is with you who are better than all women and so it is good that your son Jesus Christ was born from your belly.

The last example also shows another common function of *can* (and *aca(na)*) namely to introduce additional information about words like *aie* "so, as" (180) and *ame* "thus" (181):

(180) *Amexllec çæn-ez loc-chæm confessar, pol-æng tæ-læc-na,*
now and -2SG be-FUT confess heart-POSS go-GER-ADVR
tzhang ai-apæc-o tzhang chi-co-pæc-o
2SG(DIR) do-PRS.PART-ADJR 2SG(DIR) be-CAUS-PRS.PART-ADJR
Dios cyam.-co-ssæc amoss irrim.-læc-na, ænta-çæn oxllmæ-læc,
God angry.-CAUS-GER not afraid-GER-ADVR not-and shame-GER
aie-ca.n-az cham.-co-d-o Dios,
as-that-2SG angry-CAUS-PRS.PART-ADJR God
aie can-az ai-ad-o ixll,
as that-2SG do-PRT.PART-ADJR sin
çio-mæn çæn-ez-ma.ñæp chæm: amoss çio-xllang.a-læc
3-as and-2SG-tell FUT not 3-deny-GER
amoss fuiñ.-læc, amoss oxllmæ-læc at-az ac moiñ ñofæn-o
not lie-GER not shame-GER although-2SG see 1SG(DIR) man-ADJR
For now you must confess according to your heart when you have made God who has made and created you, angry, not being afraid and also not being ashamed. Because you have made God angry and you have committed sin as this also you shall tell, not denying, not lying, not being ashamed although you see that I am a man.

(181) *Ame, can-ang mo ef.-quic, çio mæn-çæn mo eiz-quic*
thus THAT-COP this father-N.POSS 3 as-and this son-N.POSS
çio-mæn çæn, mo Espiritu Santo.
3-as and this spirit holy
Thus is this father, and like him this son and like him this Holy Spirit.

A clause introduced by *can* can be a complement of the verb *llic* "to honor":

(182) *Mo çopæt.-ô çiam chi-pæc llic-apæc, llic çæn ma-ng,*
this three-ADJR live be-PRS.PART honor- PRS.PART honor and OPT-COP
can-ang ei-ep-æd-o mæich çiec Iesu Christo ñofæn pæn
THAT-COP do-PASS-PRT.PART-ADJR 1PL(OBL) lord Jesus Christ man as
Santa Maria-ng pol-e-nic.
holy Mary-OBL belly-OBL-LOC/ALL
One should honor these three persons and honor that our lord Jesus Christ was made as a man in the belly of Santa Maria

The most common function of *can* is the pure explanatory one, adding additional information ("that is") (183).

(183) *Mo çopæt-o çiam chi-pæc, can-ang, piñ çopæt-o, chi-top*
this three-ADJR live be-PRS.PART THAT-COP PTCL three-ADJR be-SEQ
onæc-na Dios, can Dios,.-na.-io-f pa ænta iaipæ-cæ-r.
one-ADVR God THAT God -ADVR-ADJR-COP PTCL not end-VN-POSS
These three persons although they are three, are one single God that as God has no end.

(184) *Chi-top onana, tupnan, tzhiacnan, ef tot, can Dios.-na-io:*
be-SEQ like equally.big same.age father with that God-ADVR-ADJR
chi-top ñofæn chi-ssæc, na.tzhia.cæn ef.-e-le.quich.
be-SEQ man be-GER of.less.value father-OBL-from
He is just equally with his father in size and age, that is in his godly function.
Being a man he is of less value than his father.

(185) *Dios.-i ssap.-nic.namco-næm, aie-çæn*
Dios- OBL word-LOC/ALL kneel-PURP as-and
çio mæcha læc.-næm, can-peñ-o Dios chi-ssæc.
3 holy be-PURP THAT-good-ADJR God be-GER
To kneel for God's word and also to adore him because God is good.

In (144 and 186) the suffix *-ô* (ADJR) is added to *can* for no obvious reasons.

(186) *Iesu Christo-ng; eng, ñico-n moiñ mollpæc,*
Jesus Christ-OBL mother do.well-IMP 1SG(DAT) truely
can-o iñ loc tzha mæcha, tzhæng capæc nem.c-æm.-næm,
THAT-ADJR 1SG be 2SG(DAT) holy 2SG(OBL) by protect-PASS-PURP
Mother of Jesus Christ, be mercyful towards me, that is, I adore you to be protected by you.

Çie "if, when" introduces conditional clauses where the finite verb always is in the optative mood (101, 102). In (101) *çie* is used twice in the same clause. The reason for this (if it is not an error) is unclear. Cf. also (189) where we have both *çie* and *pæiz* in the same clause.

Pæiz "if, when" introduces conditional or temporal clases. If the clause is positive the finite verb is in the optative mood (91). However, in most examples *pæiz* is found in negative clauses and in such cases the verb has always the gerund suffix *-læc* (79, 187, 188).

(187) *Læ-pæc-o-z confessar færmeiñ quaresma-ng.-nic,*
be-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG confess annually lent-OBL-LOC/ALL
aie-çæn æl-ssæc, pæiz ænta quaresma chi-læc?
as-and weak-GER when not lent be-GER
Are you confessing annually at Lent and also when you are ill when there is no Lent?

(188) *Dios xam-içæ-c ang poc Fe; pæiz ænta çio locɥ er, aca-læc.*
God recognize-VN-N.POSS COP call *fe* when not 3 eye with see-GER
To recognize God is called *Fe*, when we do not see him with our eyes.

(189) *Az-xeme-c læ-pæc ech-changcæd:*
2SG-remove-BEN be-PRS.PART what-neighbor
pæiz ænta çie eng læc,
when not if want GER
Are you removing something [belonging to] your neighbor when/if he does not want it [to be removed].

3.11.5. Other particles

a "yes"[56] is a clause initial particle, usually combined with a following *mollpæc* "truely" or *çæn* "and, also" (48, 140, 143).

ame "thus" is a particle with a rather free distribution occuring both in clause initial position (161), following the finite verb (188) as well as in other positions (68, 191).

(190) *Ech ix tem-apc-o, ame eng.-læc*
what 1PL pray-PRS.PART-ADJR thus say-GER
ef-que.c-an ñof ixll-æs
free-CAUS+BEN-IMP 1PL(DAT) sin-POSS
aie acan ax efco xllang.muss-e-io, mæich, çio-mæn?
like REL 1PL free-CAUS enemy-OBL-ADJR 1PL(DIR/OBL) 3-as
What are we praying when we thus are saying: forgive us our sins and that we forgive our enémies like this?

(191) *Eæp-ix[57] eng.-apc-o ame aie acan.a-x ef-co*
why-1PL say-PRS.PART-ADJR thus as REL-1PL free-CAUS
xllang.muss.-e-io, mæich, çio-mæn?
enemy OBL-ADJR 1PL(DIR/OBL) 3-as
Why are we thus saying that we forgive our enemies like that?

3.12. Interjections

To what extent interjections form a separate word class in Mochica is questionable. Carrera gives five examples of interjections in his grammar, but none of them are found in the texts.

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56 *Ima* "yes" is only found in the grammar.

57 Clearly an error for *epæix*.

4. WORD FORMATION

4.1. Reduplication

Reduplication is not a productive phonological process in Mochica and plays a marginal role in word formation. We find it in a few nouns (*lamlam* "liver", *pufpuf* "lungs", *trengtreng* "breathing tube") - always having the form C¹VC² C¹VC² The few reduplicated adjectives have a greater formal variety: *lalacti* "dead", *yllyllna* "happy", *tunituni* "much", *irrirr* "big", *tzhictzhic* "huge".

Only in some pronouns (3.6.3.) does reduplication have a clear semantic function:

> *ech* "what" - *echech* "whatever"
> *eiñ* "who" - *eiñeiñ* "whoever"
> *in* "where" - *inin* "wherever"

4.2. Derivational affixes

Suffixes forming possessed and non-possessed nominal stems have been treated in 3.3.1. and suffixes forming deverbal verbal stems in 3.8.1.2. Nouns can be derived from verbs through the suffix *-(i)çæ-* (3.8.5.), but there is no similar way for deriving verbs from nouns. Occasionally we have examples of zero-derivation like *fæp* (v) "to sleep" - *fæp* (n) "sleep". *çiæiz* (b) "word" - *çiæiz(i)* (v) "to speak". Another way of deriving verbs from nouns is to combine the noun with the verb *loc* "to be", cf. *caf loc* "to work" and 3.7.1.

There are examples of a few derivational suffixes:

-cu has no clear meaning and derives nouns from nouns:

> *eizcu* "daughter" < *eiz* "son"
> *lecycu* "thumb" < *lecy* "head"?
> *ñangcu* "male < *ñang* "husband"

-mæd signifies a person doing something together with others or being together with others[58]:

> *ai(a)* "to do" - *aiamæd* "peson doing something together with others"
> *ñeiñ* "to play" - *ñeiñmæd* "person playing in company with someone"

Derivations with *-mæd* have the oblique case suffix *-e* and the agentive case suffix *-e-n*.

Word negation is expressed with the suffixes *-unta* and *un(o)* added to verbs and sometimes nouns. According to Carrera and the texts, there is no difference in meaning between *-un(o)* and *-unta*[59] but *-unta* is most common. Some words with these suffixes have stems that are not easily identifiable. [60]

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[58] This suffix may also be attested in *cyecymæd* "brother" although we have no verb *cyecy* in Mochica.

[59] E.g. *quemuno* and *quemunta* "virgin" are alternating freely in the texts.

[60] *quemuno* and *quemunta* "virgin" may be from a root *quem* "to tie around", a word found in MIddendorf (1892:87). The meaning may refer to how virgins in contast to married women were clothed.

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(192) *Maña.-pæd-o-z, çie.xllec, içæc xllir ixll-æss, onæc-æzta xllang.-unta?*
tell-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG then all all sin-POSS one-or hide-NEG
"Do you then use to tell all your sins not hiding a single one?"

The two irregular verbs (3.8.1.1.) *tæc(æ)* "to go" and *ta* "to come" have the stems *tæzi-* (or *tæçi-*) and *tezi-* before *-unta* and *un(o)*, i.e. *tæziunta* "not going", *teziuno* "not coming".

The only example of a prefix (except possibly *pir* "without", cf. 3.11.2.) is the intensifying prefix *can-.* in *canpiss* "very bad" (*piss* "bad") and *canpeñ* "very good" (*peñ* "good").

4.3. Compounds

Compounding does not appear to have been a part of word formation in Mochica and in the material available there are no clear examples of compound words.

A problematic word in this respect is *cancap* "to know, question". It is normally written as one word - or better, as an orthographic sequence, cf. 2.6. But in two cases (193, 194) the word is separated into *can* and *cap* indicating that this may be a compound (or *can* being a prefix). The examples also show us how poorly understood many aspects of Mochica morphosyntax still are.

(193) *Ænta mollpæc, can-eix cap-ca xaiñ*
not truely know-1PL know-FUT but
çio santo-ng peñ-o chi-çæ-r, can-ang ai-ap.c-æn,
3 holy-OBL good-ADJR be-VN-POSS COMP-COP do-PRS.PART- PL
Dios-i ssap macy.-co-læc: caix-top-çio çif-nan-o
God-OBL word seize-CAUS-GER support-SEQ-3 each-ADVR-ADJR
Not really, but we shall recognize the good person of a saint from what each of them are doing when carrying out God's will.

(194) *Çifa læm-içæ-r.-nic nam.-co-næm aie çæn*
own die-VN-POSS-LOC/ALL fall-CAUS-PURP as and
çio lun-te.-co-næm, can-aix capær chæm can
3 day-come-CAUS-PURP THAT-1PL know FUT know
Dios çiec.-e-n, cie.xllec, aie-çæn ol-o infierno-tim,
God lord-OBL-AG then as-and fire-ADJR hell-or
irrim,-næm, aie-çæn cuçia-ng.-nic-o
be.afraid-PURP as-and heaven-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR
chi-çæ-c iama-c.-næm.
be-VN-N.POSS desire-BEN-PURP
[Description of the *novismos* "the last things":] To let us fall in our own death and also to let that day come to be questioned by God the Lord, and also to be afraid for the fire hell and also to desire a life in heaven.

5. VOCABULARY

There is a large amount of Spanish loanwords in the Mochica texts. Most of them concern items connected with European culture and Christianity, especially religious terms. These words are spelled as in Spanish and we do not know to what degree their pronunciation was integrated into Mochica phonology (cf. 2.2. and 2.3.). Spanish nouns are completely integrated into Mochica morphology, cf. 3.2. and 3.3.2.2. Spanish verbs on the other hand are borrowed in the Spanish infinitive form (e.g. *confessar* "to confess") to which the copula verb *loc* "to be" is added: *confessar loc* "to confess" (174, 180).

Cerrón-Palomino (1989) has found a small number of Quechua loanwords in Mochica (e.g. *yana* "servant", *catu* "market place", *facqa* "poor", *llaftu* "ribbon", and *mæcha* "worship").

6. SYNTAX

Several aspects of Mochica syntax have already been treated in chapter 3.

Other aspects of syntax like word order and syntactic roles have been mentioned at various places above, but will be given a summarizing presentation below. And a few selected aspects of syntax that have not been treated so far will be mentioned. However, owing to the small text material we have, and the absence of informants, many aspects of Mochica syntax will probably forever remain unclear or unknown to us.

Some of the gaps in the material are curious, others are more easily understandable. There are e.g. few clauses in the texts containing two full noun phrases. That means that we do not find clauses like "The man saw the woman." or "The dog chased the bear." in the material. For a linguist this is a rather frustrating situation. However, several linguists have observed that clauses of this type are rare in many languages.

6.1. Noun phrases

Noun phrases may have the following structures:
a. <u>n</u> (e.g. *changcæd* "neighbor" (70))
b. <u>aj(ADJR)+n</u> (e.g. *peño Dios* "good God" in (156))
c. <u>n(OBL) + n</u> (e.g. *Pedrong colæd* "Peter's horse" in (76))
d. <u>pro (OBL) + n</u> (e.g. *mæiñ ssonæng* "my wife" in (25))
e. <u>3rd person pronoun+ n</u> (e.g. *mo la* "this water" in (87))

The head of an oblique noun phrase modifying the head of a noun phrase (*Pedrong* in c.) is placed next to it and adjectives characterizing the main phrase head are placed before the head of the oblique phrase, cf. *mo exllmætzho ærquicær chiçær* "these five senses (lit. being's of the flesh)" in (8) and (195).

(195) *ech ech ai-a.pæc-ó ong.xllæm ef.-quic.c-ær mæcɥ-æc*
      what what do-PRS-PART-ADJR right father-N.POSS-OBL hand-LOC
      at the right hand of the allmighty father

There is no congruence with regard to case suffixes in noun phrases, case suffixes being added to the last word of the phrase, cf. *çio missa-ng* (4). Plural is normally only marked on the adjective in constructions like b. but occasionally we have number marking on both adjective and noun (13), cf. 3.2.

A deviant and unclear noun phrase type is exemplified in (21). Instead of *changcædeio mæich* (neighbor-OBL-ADJR 1PL(OBL) "our neighbor" we would have expected *mæich changcæd* (1PL(OBL) neighbor), cf. c. above.

The structure of nominalized verb phrases is treated in 3.8.5.

6.2. Verb phrase

The finite indicative verb phrases[61] have the structure:
I. v (PRS.PART/PRT.PART) + copula particle (verbal particle(s))
or
II. copula particle + v (PRS.PART/PRT.PART) (verbal particle(s))
While I. has to be clause initial, II. can be preceded by another phrase.
Examples of I. are *culapcoz* "you are quarreling" (99a, 99g) and of *II az tonod* "you have beaten (99b), *-f læmædo* "has died" (3), *æng ñop* "conceived" (4).

An optative verb phrase has the structure
III. *ma*-COP v (PRS.PART/PRT.PART) (verbal particle(s))
Examples of III are *mang licæm* "let be holy" (100), *mang chido piñ* "although he were" (102).

6.3. Other phrases

Adjectival phrases are formed by adding *-ô* (ADJR) to preceding adjectives (*pissæno* in 20), participles (*læmædo* in 3), pronouns (*iño* in 6, *mæichô* in 18), adverbs *(llærræpnaio* in 1), noun phrases in the direct (*Dioso* in 13), oblique (*mæiñ engeiô* in 17), or locative-allative case (*pacxiangnico* in 20), non-finite verbal suffixes (*chilæco* in 19), verbal stems (*mano* and *funoio* in 105) and postpositional phrases (*ech pæno* in 8).

Postpositional phrases are formed by adding a postposition to a noun phrase.

Pronominal phrases consist of pronouns that cannot be modified by other words except in the poorly understood possessive construction *xllangmusseio mæich*"our enemies" (152), cf. 3.6.1.

6.4. Word order

While the word order in phrases is fixed, the word order in finite clauses is more free, cf. (168 and 196) and (197 and 24):

(196) *Dios leñ az loc*
God with 2SG be
You are with God.

(197) *Moiñ ang met xllac.*
1SG COP carry fish
I carry fish.

(24) *mo pup-az mit-æc moiñ*
this stick-2SG bring-BEN 1SG(DAT)
You bring me this stick.

A major rule is that copula particles have to have the first or second position in a clause. That is, it must either be clause initial (usually only as

an optional alternative in interrogative clauses and only when it is a personal copula particle, cf. (99a-g)) or being clitic to a preceding
- verb stem or participle (97),
- another phrase (noun phrase (24), adjectival clauses (6), adverbial phrase (139), pronominal phrase (198), postpositional phrase (197)).
This means that "you carry" can be *tzhang ang met* or *tzhang fe met* or *tzhang e met* or *tzhang az met* or *metaz* but not **tzhang metaz.*

There are a few exceptions to this copula-second rule e.g. *Aieçæn Demoniong çæn eix* in (80), *çio mæn çæn fe* (198), and *Çoc xa-ng nico-çio-fe* in (199). It may be significant that in both (80) and (198) the copula is preceded by *çæn* "and, also" and in (199) by the third person pronoun *çio.*

(198) *Aie, can-ang ei-e.pæ-d-o ñofæn pæn-fep.lluna-io,*
as THAT-COP do-PASS-PRT.PART-ADJR man as by.itself-ADJR
çio mæn çæn fe tuxllumæ-d-o eng.-e
3 as and COP born-PRT.PART-ADJR mother-OBL
pol-e-n.qu-ich feplluna çæn.
belly-OBL-LOC/ALL-ABL by.itself as
So that he was created as a man by himself and also like this he was born from his mother's belly also by himself.

(199) *Çoc xa-ng.-nic-o çio-fe, xam.-næm, llic-næm çæn,*
three ORD-OBL-LOC/ALL-ADJR 3-COP recognize-PURP honor-PURP and
can-ang quesse.ç-æd-o, mæich çiec Iesu Christo Cruz tot,
COMP-COP nail-PRT.PART-ADJR 1PL(OBL) lord Jesus Christ cross with
çiu-ng capæc læm-top, xllang.-æm-top, mæich ef.-co-næm,
3-OBL on die-SEQ bury-PASS-SEQ 1PL(OBL) free-CAUS-PURP
aie-çæn mæich ixll-æss tim çiu-ng læ.m-icæ-r er cæp.-næm.
as-and 1PL sin-POSS for 3-OBL die-VN-POSS with pay-PURP
The third is this: to recognize and honor that our Lord Jesus Christ was nailed to the Cross and died on it and was buried to save us and also to pay for our sins with his death.

In infinite clauses with infinite verbal suffixes the verb is usually in final position (103-131). An exception is *læmtop Cruzær capæc* "died on the cross" (106).

In intransitive clauses S seems always to follow the verb. In transitive active clauses the order of arguments is normally AVO (197, 200). If only one of the arguments is expressed with a full noun phrase, A is placed before the verb (201-203) and O after the verb (204).

(200) *Mo ang met mo.*
this COP carry this
This one carries this.

(201) *Pedro-ng az-xllip-quem.*
Pedro-OBL 2SG-call-CAUS+PASS
Pedro calls you.

(202) *Ef-e-n az-xllip.-quem-æd-o.*
father-OBL-AG 2SG-call-CAUS+PASS-PRT.PART-ADJR
Your father has called you.

(203) *Tzhæng eiñ funo-quem.*
2SG(OBL) 1SG eat-CAUS+PASS
You give me food [lit. I am caused food by you}.

(204) *Tun-apc-o-z ef.*
hit-PRS.PART-ADJR-2SG father
Have you beaten your father?

The rules for S, A, and O given above are overruled by the rules that says that interrogative words shall be clause intial (10, 36, 49, 50, 157).

In subordinate clauses with subordinating particles the particle counts as a phrase and the copula particle always follows the subordinating particle, cf. (173-182) and 3.11.4.

6.5. Grammatical roles

Mochica is a rather special kind of a split ergative language. The A of transitive verbs in

a) passive clauses (finite or non-finite) (10, 112, 201-203, 205)

and in

b) finite active clauses with a preterite participle with a passive meaning (30, 169)

is in the agentive case (or in the oblique case iwhen a nouns has no separate agentive case form), cf. 3.3.2.3. In active clauses with the verb in the stem form or with a present participle the A and O are both in the direct case (197, 200).

(205) *ef-e-n eiñ torræc*
father-OBL-AG 1SG beaten
I am beaten by my father.

If Mochica had a syntactic pivot (the material to decide this is meager), it was probably O, cf. (70):

(70) *Az ton-od læm.-top chang cæd?*
2SG beat-PP die-SEQ neighbor
Have you beaten your neighbor so he died? [i.e. Did you (A$_y$) hit your neigbour (O$_x$) so he (S$_x$) died.].

In most sentences one of the arguments is expressed with the personal copula, with zero or with the third person pronoun *çio*. In (32) we have three clauses:

(32) *Dios çiec.- e-n ma-z fil.-c-æm pol-e-nic, çiu-ng çæn*
God lord-OBL-AG OPT-2SG sit-BEN-PASS heart-OBL-LOC/ALL 3-OBL and
ma-z pii-c-æm peñ-o çiu-ng chi.-çæ-r, çio seruir læc.-næm:
OPT-2SG give-BEN-PASS good-ADJR 3-OBL be-VN-POSS 3 serve be-PURP
May God the Lord let you be seated in his heart and may he give you his goodness to serve him.

In the first (*Dios çiecen maz filcæm polenic"* May God the Lord let you be seated in his heart") *Dios çiecen* is A in the agentive case and *-z* (2SG) is

O. In the second clause (*çiung çæn maz piicæm peño çiung chiçær"* may he give you his goodness") the oblique pronominal form *çiung* (he=God) is A, *peño çiung chiçær* is O (and *çiung* in this phrase is a possessive oblique refering to God) and *-z* (2SG) is the dative object. In the last phrase (*çio seruir læcnæm* "to serve him") *çio* (he = God) is O in the direct case. The A of the infinite form *seruir læcnæm* is not overtly expressed.

In (199) there is no overt A of the infinite verb forms *xamnæm* "to recognize" and *llicnæm* "to honor", but it is understood to be "we" or "one". The two verbs have no O expressed but are followed by an explanatory *can*-clause that functions as a complement to the two preceding verbs. The A of the preterite participle *quessçædo* ("nailed") is not expressed, but *mæich çiec Iesu Christo* "our lord Jesus Christ" is the O in the direct case. This phrase is also S of the sequential form *læmtop* and A of the sequential form *xllangæmtop* as well as A of the purpose forms *efconæm* "to forgive" and *cæpnæm* ("to pay"). The O of the two last verbs is *mæich* "us". In the last clause *mæich* can both be O and/or possessive oblique to *ixllæss* "sin". Observe also that *çiung* in *çiung capæc* refer to the cross ("on it", i.e. the cross), but in *çiung læmiçær* it refers to Jesus Christ (S).

6.6. Relative clauses

Carrera states that (206) is bad Mochica.

(206) *ñofæn-can-ang tæ-d-ô Limac,*
man-that-COP go-PRT.PART-ADJR Lima
ænta-z.ta-f quex-æd-o.
not-EMPH-COP return-PRT.PART-ADJR
The man who went to Lima, has not yet returned.

Instead one should say:

(207) *ænta-.z.ta-f queix Limac tæ-d-ô ñofæn*
not-EMPH-COP return Lima go-PRT.PART-ADJR man
The man who went to Lima, has not yet returned.

But the texts give a more varied picture.

There are three ways to express relative clauses in Mochica, all three fairly common.

a. By a preposed participle e.g. *tzhang aiapæco tzhang chicopæco Dios* "God who has made you and created you" (16), *Limac tædô ñofæn* "the man who went to Lima" (207), *echech aiapæco Dios* "God who has made everything" (208).

(208) *Ixll-æss eiñ mañæp ech, ech ai-apæc-o Dios tot,*
sin-POSS 1SG say what what do-PRS.PART-ADJR God with
I tell my sins to God who has made everything

This construction can only be used when the subject of the participle is identical to the noun it modifies.

b. By the subordinating relative particle *aca(na)* (173-175) cf. 3.11.4.
c. By the subordinating particle *can*, cf. (177-179), cf. 3.11.4.

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