

A GRAMMAR OF MOCOVI

by

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Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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List of Abbreviations

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

1. Introduction

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

Mocoví, or [moqoyt laʔqa:tqa] '*Mocoví language*', is an American Indian language with somewhere between 4,000 and 7,000 speakers who live in communities scattered in the northern part of Santa Fé province and the southern part of Chaco province in Argentina (See Map 1, Appendix C). Mocoví belongs to the Southern branch of the Waikurúan language family.

The Waikurúan language family includes two branches, Waikurú and Southern Waikurúan. The Waikurú branch is made up of Mbayá, formerly spoken in the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco, and its only descendant Kadiwéu, now spoken by about 1,500 people in western Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Southern Branch includes Toba, Pilagá, Mocoví and †Abipón. Toba, with 25,000 speakers, is spoken in Southern Paraguay and eastern Bolivia, and in the eastern part of Chaco and Formosa provinces in Argentina (approximately 15,000 Toba speakers live in Argentina). Pilagá has about 4,000 speakers scattered in the northeastern part of Chaco and in Formosa provinces in Argentina. Abipón, now extinct, was spoken in the eastern part of Chaco province in Argentina and was very closely related to the other languages in this branch. The family tree of the Waikurúan language family is provided in Figure 1.

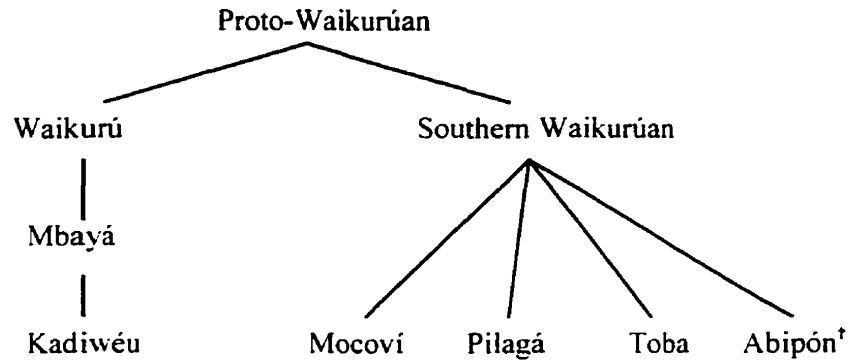


Figure 1

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

1.1. Methodology

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

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

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

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

1.2. Historical Background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. Existing Literature on Mocoví

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

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

1.4. Grammatical Sketch

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

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

1.4.2. Mocoví as an Active/Inactive Language

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

Table 1 lists the person markers in Mocoví.

Table 1
Person Markers

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

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

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

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

1.4.3. Alienable/Inalienable Possession

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

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

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

1.4.4. Structure of the Verb Form

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

- (2) Structure of the Verb form

Neg+ Indef+ Pers+ hither- STEM -Pl.Ag -Pers +Aspect +Loc/Dir +O.nº +EV
 (+2SGR)

1.4.5. Basic Constituent Order and Clause Types

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

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

- (3) /sekinag*ir*/
 s+ekin-*ag*+*ir*
 2AC+greet-1PL+2SGR
 'We greet *you* (R)'

- (4) 'so ilo šipegag ne?ettak *wagayaq* ke ji kanal/
 so ilo šipegag n+e?et+tak *wagayaq* ke ji kanal
 DEIC(gng) 1SGPOSS+animal horse 3AC+drink+PROG *water* OBL DEIC(hor) canal
 'My horse is drinking water in the canal.'

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

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

- (5) /sopil/
 s+opil
 1AC+return
 'I return.' (= I go back [home])

- (6) /ʃipe/
 ir+ipe
 1IN+freshen.up
 'I freshen up.' (= I get refreshed)

- (7) /lwis yalawat na nanayk/
 lwis i+alawat na nanayk
 Luis 3AC+kill DEIC(cmng) yarará
 'Luis kills/killed the yarará (type of snake).'

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

- (8) /*?we la?lege*/
 ?we la?lege
 exists sugar (= something sweet)
 ‘There is sugar.’
- (9) /*?we ilo ?gañi*/
 ?we i+lo ?gañi
 exists 1SGPOSS+animal duck
 ‘I have a duck..’ (= exists my animal duck)

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

- (10) /*daho iowa*/
 da-ho i+owa
 DEIC(vert)-PROX 1SGPOSS+spouse
 ‘That is my spouse.’

- (11) /aso ʔalo poʔɔɔy/
 a+so ʔalo poʔɔɔy
 F+DEIC(vert) woman thin
 ‘That woman is thin.’

- (12) /yim lateʔwgeʔ/
 yim lateʔwgeʔ
 1SGPRON fat
 ‘I am fat.’

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

- (13) /ñigeʔ ka yoʔwe:tetak/
 ñigeʔ ka i+oʔwe:t+tak
 what DEIC(absnt) 3AC+do+PROG
 ‘What is he doing?’
- (14) /waʔge na naqatirñi/
 waʔge na Ø+n-aqat+ir+ñi
 where DEIC(cmng) 2AC+HITH+catch+2SGR+DOWN
 ‘Where did you catch it?’

- (15) /*lagio?* na naqatirñi/
lagi+o? na Ø+n-aqat+ir+ñi
when+EV DEIC(cmng) 2AC+HITH-catch+2SGR+DWN
 ‘When did you catch it?’

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

- (16) /*ñige?* ka nak **kijim** ka ewa ši?ge iogoge/
ñige? ka Ø+nak **kijim** ka ewa ši?ge i+ogoge
 who DEIC(absnt) 3AC+say **that** DEIC(absnt) Eva already 3AC+leave
 ‘Who said that Eva had left?’

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

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

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

- (17) /alisya roʔwe:nagantak **qam** kiyotapigi pekatiripi/
 alisya r+oʔwe:nagan+tak **qam** Ø+kiyo+tap+igi pekat-ir-ipi
 Alicia 3AC+sing+PROG **but** 3AC+wash+PROG+TDS dish-PCL-
 'Alicia sings while she washes the dishes.'
 (lit: 'Alicia is singing but she is washing the dishes.'

Mocoví adjectives do not have comparative or superlative forms. These notions are expressed by the lexical forms *peg* ~ *pageg* 'more' and *čalego* 'very'. If a sentence has two noun phrases that are being compared, one of the noun phrases occurs in a prepositional phrase introduced by the generic preposition *ke*. Equatives are expressed by juxtaposition. The clauses are linked by *ʔnem* ~ *ʔnehem* 'like, similar, same'.

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

- (18) /sesaʔde:n/
 se+s+aʔde:n
 NEG+1AC+know
 'I don't know.'

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

1.5. Purpose and Organization of this Study

1.5.1. Purpose of the Study

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

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

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

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

1.5.2. Organization of this Study

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

2. Phonology

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

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

e.g.	/sewo:se/	'I cook'
	s+ewo:se	
	lAC+cook	

2.1. Consonants and vowels

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

Consonants

Table 2
Consonant phonemes

		bilabia l	alveolar	alveo- palatal	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stops & affricate s	voiceless	p	t	č		k	q	ʔ
	voiced		d	ǰ				
fricatives	voiceless	(ɸ)	s	š			(x)	
	voiced					ɣ	g	
nasals		m	n	ɲ				
liquids	laterals		l	ɭ				
	flap		r					
vocoids	voiceless							h
	voiced	w			y			

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

Vowels

Table 3
Vowel Phonemes

i	i:		
e	e:		o o:
	a	a:	

2.2 Consonants

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

(19) /pe/ 'night'

(20) /tapiñik/ 'tatú'

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

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

(22) /etesqoʔ/ 'uncle'

(23) /neteʔse/ 'morning star'

(24) /regat/ 'jaguar'

/d/ voiced apicoalveolar stop: occurs in initial and medial positions; does not occur in word-final position. (Underlying /d/ is realized as a voiced alveopalatal affricate [ɟ] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(25) /doʔo/ ‘hat’

(26) /saʔden/ ‘I know’
 s+aʔde:n
 lAC+know

The phoneme /d/ is the only voiced oral stop in Mocoví. There are two voiced fricative phonemes, a voiced velar fricative /g/ and a voiced uvular fricative /ɣ/. There is also a voiced bilabial fricative [β] which only occurs as an allophone of /w/. The fact that /d/ does not occur word-finally is due to the innovation of /r/ in Mocoví (for further discussion see /r/ below).

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

(27) /kos/ ‘pig’

(28) /leʔko:ta/ ‘his knee’
 l+eʔko:ta
 3POSS+knee

(29) /ʔgoyk/ ‘much, many’

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

(30) /qar/ ‘stone, chin’

(31) /poqo/ ‘charcoal’

(32) /qoʔpaq/ 'tree'

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

(33) /ʔalo/ 'woman, female'

(34) /laʔat/ 'meat'

(35) /waqaʔe/ 'chicken, hen'

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

(37) a. /ʔimek/ 'house'

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

(38) a. /ʔwe/ 'there is'

b. /we/ 'salt'

/č/ voiceless lamino-alveopalatal affricate: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not occur in word-final position.

(39) /čaqae/ 'and'

(40) /kočok/ 'purple'

/j/ voiced lamino-alveopalatal affricate: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not occur in word-final position: optionally realized as [ž] in all environments. (Both realizations of this phoneme, [j] and [ž], are equally accepted and produced by my informants. There seem to be no restrictions as to which one is used, and both are

produced by the same speakers.) (See section 2.5 (b) for a discussion of word-final devoicing of /g/ in example (42).)

- (41) [kĩjiɭi] ~ [kiʒiɭi] 'chicken pox'
 /kĩjiɭi/ /kiʒiɭi/
- (42) [j̥awik] ~ [ʒawik] 'I (get/got) burned'
 /j̥awig/ ~ /ʒawig/
 ir+awig
 1IN+burn

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

- (43) /ɸelisa/ 'Felisa' (<Sp. *Felisa*. woman's name)
- (44) /ɸatima/ 'Fatima' (<Sp. *Fatima*. woman's name)

/s/ voiceless apicoalveolar fricative: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions.
 (Underlying /s/ is realized as a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [š] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

- (45) /salon/ 'I lit (a fire)'
 s+alon
 1AC+light
- (46) /raʔasa/ 'sun'
- (47) /kos/ 'pig'

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

- (48) /šiʔge/ 'now, today'
- (49) /ne:šaga/ 'mud'

/ɣ/ voiced dorsovelar fricative: occurs in initial and medial positions; transcribed henceforth as /g/. (Underlying /ɣ/ is realized as a voiceless velar stop [k] when it occurs in word-final position. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(50) /giriʔlek/ ‘gringo. creole’
 giriʔ-lek
 gringo-M

(51) /regat/ ‘jaguar’

(52) a. /skewog/ ‘I sharpen’
 s+kewog
 lAC+sharpen

 b. /skewogag/ ‘we sharpen’
 s+kewog-ag
 lAC+sharpen-1PL

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

(53) /xwan/ ‘Juan’ (<Sp. *Juan*. man’s name)

(54) /xuhtoke/ ‘just as’ (<Sp. *justo que* ‘just as, just when’)

/g/ voiced dorsouvular fricative: occurs in initial and medial position. (Underlying /g/ is realized as a voiceless uvular stop [q] when it occurs word-finally. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(55) /ʔgoyk/ ‘many, several’

(56) /qogoy/ ‘old woman’

(57) a. /sečag/ ‘I cut’
 s+ečag
 lAC+cut

b. /sɪčaɢaɢ/ ʼwe cutʼ
 s+ečaɢ-aɢ
 1AC+cut-1PL

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

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

(59) /naɦo/ ʼthis (close to the speaker)ʼ

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

(60) /mañik/ ʼrheaʼ

(61) /qomir/ ʼwe (1pl independent pronoun)ʼ

(62) /pigim/ ʼskyʼ

/n/ voiced apicoalveolar nasal stop: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions.

(Underlying /n/ is realized as a voiced alveopalatal nasal stop [ɲ] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(63) /norek/ ʼfireʼ

(64) /nonot/ ʼwindʼ

(65) /skiyogon/ ʼI washʼ
 s+kioɢon
 1AC+wash

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

(66) /ɲilek/ ʼpimple with pusʼ

(67) /raʔn̩agi/ 'deaf'

(68) /n̩aʔgaʔa/ 'day'

/l/ voiced apicoalveolar lateral approximant: occurs in initial, medial and final positions.
(Underlying /l/ is realized as a voiced lamino-alveopalatal lateral approximant [λ] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(69) /loʔwiʔ/ 'milk'

(70) /silqayk/ 'iguana'

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

(72) /napal/ 'corpse'

/λ/ voiced lamino-alveopalatal lateral approximant: occurs in initial and medial positions. It never occurs word-finally

(73) /λaga/ 'edge, blade'

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

/r/ voiced apicoalveolar flap: occurs in initial and medial positions. (Underlying /r/ is realized as a glottal stop [ʔ] when it occurs in word final position. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(75) /rapik/ 'honey'

(76) /qoʔparipi/ 'tree, stick, wood (pl)'
qoʔpa-r-ipi
tree-PCL-PL

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

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

(78) /doʔo/ ‘hat’

/w/ voiced bilabial continuant; occurs in initial and medial positions; optionally realized as a voiced bilabial fricative [β]

(79) [wirse] ~ [βirse] ‘evening star’
 /wirse/ /wirse/

(80) [sewet] ~ [seβet] ‘it hurts me (I am hurting)’
 /sewet/ /sewet/

(81) /ʔaw/ ‘first’

/y/ voiced palatal vocoid; occurs in initial, medial and final positions

(82) /yagat/ ‘rain’

(83) /nogoyaga/ ‘sweat’

(84) /ralolgay/ 'sick (F)'

2.3. Vowels

All vowel phones are voiced.

/i/ short high front unrounded vowel

/i:/ long high front unrounded vowel

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

(86) a. /ʔji:ñi/ 'you (sg.f) know'
 Ø+aʔde:n-i
 2AC+know-2SGf

cf. b. /ʔji:ñi:/ 'you (pl) know'
 Ø+aʔde:n-i:
 2AC+know-2PL

/e/ short mid front unrounded vowel: can be realized as a lower high front unrounded vowel
 [ɪ] when it occurs in the first syllable of the word.

/e:/ long mid front unrounded vowel

(87) a. /ʔimek/ 'house (n)'

cf. b. /saʔde:nag/ 'we know'
 s+aʔde:n-ag
 1AC+know-1PL

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

/a/ short low central unrounded vowel

/a:/ long low central unrounded vowel

- (89) a. /ča:wik/ 'rush, reed (n)'
 cf. b. [jawik] 'I get burned'
 /irawig/
 ir+awig
 1IN+get.burned
- (90) a. /sa:weg/ 'I go out (to the fields)'
 s+a:+weg
 1AC+go+OUT
- cf. b. /saweg/ 'I stretch (something)'
 s+aweg
 1AC+stretch

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

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

- (91) /yoʔyo/ 'fat (n)'
- (92) [latogot] ~ [latʊgot] 'lagoon'
 /latogot/ /latogot/
- (93) [kočokiʔ] ~ [kʊčʊkiʔ] 'small child'
 /kočokiʔ/ /kočokiʔ/

/o:/ long mid back rounded vowel

- (94) a. /ʔo:m/ 'cold'

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

2.4. Phonotactics

2.4.1 Distributions of phonemes

All phonemes but /h/ occur word-initially. The phonemes /d, ʃ, š, č, ñ, λ, h/ do not occur word-finally.

Mocoví has no geminate consonants.

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

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

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

The following syllable types are possible in Mocoví: CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC, CCVCC.

V, VC. The canonical syllable type in Mocoví is thus (C)(C)V(C)(C)

(95)	CV /la/	'fruit'
(96)	CVC /qom/	'person'
(97)	CCV.CVC /ʔñi:tak/ Ø+aʔn-i:+tak 2AC+laugh-2PL+PROG	'you (pl) are laughing'
(98)	CCVC /pyog/	'dog'

- (99) CCVCC
/ʔgoyk/ 'many, much'
- (100) V.CV.VC
/iqaig/
i+qaig
1SGPOSS+head
'my head'

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

- (101) /ʔman/ 'pregnant'
- (102) /ʔwe/ 'there is, it exists'
- (103) [ʔji:ñir]
/aʔdenir/
Ø+aʔden+ir
2AC+know+2SGR
'you(R) know, you(R) think'
- (104) /ʔtagaki/ 'mug, cup'
- (105) /sqawa: /
s+qawa:
1AC+take.a.step
'I take a step'
- (106) /spaʔčogon/
s+paʔčogon
1AC+cure
'I cure (can be said only when the shaman is the agent)'
- (107) /nqaden/
Ø+n-qaden
3AC+HITH-make.heal
'he makes himself to be healed'
- (108) [ñqadenaq]
/inqadenag/
i+n-qaden-ag
1AC+HITH-make.heal-1PL
'we make ourselves to be healed'
- (109) /lqoweʔ/
l+qoweʔ
ABS+egg
'egg'

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

(111) /pyog/ 'dog'

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

(112) /moqoyt/ 'mocovi'

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

(114) /saʔmahn/ 'I lie (to someone)'
 s+aʔmahn
 1AC+lie

There seem to be no restrictions on medial consonant sequences, though clusters made up of three or more consonants do not seem possible. All medial consonant sequences are heterosyllabic; tautosyllabic consonant clusters therefore occur only at word boundaries.

2.5 Phonological rules

(a) All alveolar consonants except /r/ are palatalized before /i/: i.e. the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate during their articulation rather than to the alveolar ridge as a result of the influence of /i/.

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

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

- (116) a. [saʔde:n] 'I know'
 /saʔde:n/
 s+aʔde:n
 1AC+know
- b. [ʔji:niʔ] 'you(R) know'
 /aʔde:nir/
 Ø+aʔde:n+ir
 2AC+know+2SGR
- (117) a. [seʔmen] 'I sell'
 /seʔmen/
 s+eʔmen
 1AC+sell
- b. [ʔmiɳi] 'you(f) sell'
 /eʔmeni/
 Ø+eʔmen-i
 2AC+sell-2SGf
- (118) a. [kos] 'pig (sg)'
 /kos/
- b. [koʃiʔ] 'pigs (pcl)'
 /kosir/
 kos-ir
 pig-PCL
- (119) a. [načil] 'he bathes'
 /načil/
 Ø+n-ačil
 3AC+HITH-bathe
- b. [načiliʔ] 'you(R) bathe'
 /načilir/
 Ø+n-ačil+ir
 2AC+HITH-bathe+2SGR

(b) The underlying voiced fricatives, /g/ and /g/ become voiceless stops [k] and [q], respectively, word-finally.

- (120) a. [lqaik] 'his head'
 /lqaig/
 l+qaig
 3POSS+head

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

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

- (124) a. [seʔgeno]
/seʔgeno/
s+eʔgen+o
1AC+enter+INWDS
‘I enter (inside)’
- b. [ʔgiñi:wo]
/eʔgeni:wo/
Ø+eʔgen-i:+wo
2AC+enter-2PL+INWDS
‘You (pl) enter (inside)’
- (125) a. [senaq]
/senag/
s+enag
1AC+throw
‘I throw (tv)’
- b. [yinaq]
/ienag/
i+enag
3AC+throw
‘he throws (tv)’

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

- (126) [wiñi?]
/owenir/
Ø+owen+ir
2AC+use+2SGR
‘you(R) use’
- (127) [lawaçi?]
/alawatir/
Ø+alawat+ir
2AC+kill+2SGR
‘you (sgR) kill’

- (a) The sequence *i+n-* is conflated to [ñ], where *i+* marks the first person proclitic and *n-* marks either the prefix ‘hither’ on verbs, or the *n-* prefix marking alienably possessed nouns.

- (130) a. [ñowir] ‘I come (here)’
 /inowir/
 i+n-owir
 1AC+HITH-come
- b. [nowir] ‘he/she comes (here)’
 /nowir/
 Ø+n-owir
 3AC+HITH-come
- (131) a. [ñqar] ‘my chin’
 /inqar/
 i+n-qar
 1SGPOSS+AL-chin
- b. [nqar] ‘his/her chin’
 /nqar/
 Ø+n-qar
 3POSS+AL-chin

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

- (132) a. [jasot] ‘I dance’
 /irasot/
 ir+asot
 1IN+dance
- b. [rasoči?] ‘you (sgR) dance’
 /rasotir/
 r+asot+ir
 2IN+dance+2SGR

2.7 Suprasegmentals - Stress

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

(133)	[yináq] /yenag/ i+enag 3AC+throw	‘he throws’
(134)	[yinagá] /yenaga/ i+enag-a 3AC+throw-?	‘he throws (to somebody)’
(135)	[qayinagá] /qaienaga / qa+i+enag-a INDEF+3AC+throw-?	‘it is thrown’
(136)	[yinagagšigim] /ienagšigim/ i+enag+šigim 3AC+throw+UP	‘he throws upwards’

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

- (137) a. /*λiméta*/ 'bottle (sg)'
 b. /*λimetál*/
 limeta-l
 bottle-PCL
 c. /*λimetaλipiĩ* ~ /*limetaypĩ* / 'bottles (pl)'
 limeta-l-ipi
 bottle-PCL-PL
- (138) a. /*páre*/ 'butterfly (sg)'
 b. /*parél*/
 pare-l
 butterfly-PCL

2.8. Summary

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

3. Nominal Morphology: Nouns and Noun Phrases

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

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

Table 4
Structure of the noun and noun phrase

Noun Phrase:	(num/quant) (DEIC) {(adj)} NOUN {(adj)}
Noun:	(POSS/ABS+)(AL-) STEM (-PCL)(-PL)(-POSS)

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

3.1. Nominal roots

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

3.1.1. Bound roots

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

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

- (139) -atap `forehead`
- a. /iatap/
i+atap
1SGPOSS+forehead `my forehead`
- b. /latap/
l+atap
3POSS+forehead `his/her forehead`
- c. /natap/
n+atap
ABS+forehead `forehead (lit. `somebody`s forehead)`
- d. */atap/ `forehead`
- (140) -ateʔe `mother`
- a. /iateʔe/
i+ateʔe
1SGPOSS+mother `my mother`
- b. /lateʔe/
l+ateʔe
3POSS+mother `his/her mother`
- c. /nateʔe/
n+ateʔe
ABS+mother `(a) mother`
- d. */ateʔe/ `mother`
- (141) -oq `food`
- a. /ioq/
i+oq
1SGPOSS+food `my food`
- b. /loq/
l+oq
3POSS+food `his/her food`

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

3.1.2. Free roots

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

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

- (142) *wirse* 'star (evening star)'
- a. *wirse* '(a) star'
- b. */i+wirse/
 1SGPOSS+star 'my star'
- c. */n+wirse
 ABS+star 'star'

- (143) ?alo ‘woman’
- a. ?alo ‘(a) woman’
- b. */i+?alo/
 1SGPOSS+woman ‘my woman’
- c. */n+?alo/
 ABS+woman ‘woman’
-
- (144) map-ik ‘mesquite tree (*Prosopis*)’
 mesquite-tree
- a. map-ik ‘(a) mesquite tree’
 mesquite-tree
- b. */i+map-ik/
 1SGPOSS+mesquite-tree ‘my mesquite tree’
- c. */n+map-ik/
 ABS+mesquite-tree ‘mesquite tree’
-
- (145) ke?lay ‘mule’
- a. ke?lay ‘(a) mule’
- b. */i+ke?lay/
 1SGPOSS+mule ‘my mule’
- c. */n+ke?lay/
 ABS+mule ‘mule’
-
- but d. /ilo ke?lay/ ‘my mule’
 i+lo ke?lay
 1SGPOSS+animal mule

3.2. Gender

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

Table 5
Nouns not overtly marked for grammatical gender

Masculine		Feminine	
qar	‘stone’	wirse	‘star’
norek	‘fire’	lasote	‘branch’
?lawá	‘earth, land’	poqo	‘coal’
nonot	‘wind’	-awe	‘hair, leaf’
-enat	‘nail’	-qote	‘eye’
-qoʔpaq	‘eyebrow’	-ade	‘eyelash’
-imik	‘nose’	-šilge	‘cheek’
-ap	‘mouth’	-qoʔge	‘elbow’
-aʔak	‘shoulder’	-awa	‘arm’
-epya	‘foot’	-oʔgiʔiʔ	‘muscle’
-kyaq	‘palate’	-pokena	‘hand’
kotap	‘type of fruit, autumn’	raʔasa	‘sun’

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

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

- (146) /*ana ?we:na laweragay*/
- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>a+na</i> | <i>?we:na lawerag-ay</i> |
| F+DEIC(cmng) pot | black-ADJF |
| ‘that black pot’ | |

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

- (147) /*ena ?tagaki laweragayk*/
- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>e+na</i> | <i>?tagaki lawerag-ayk</i> |
| M+DEIC(cmng) pot | black-ADJM |
| ‘that black mug’ | |

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

- (148) a. /ia:-lek/
i+a:-lek
1SGPOSS+child-**M** 'my son'
- b. /ia:le/
i+a:-le
1SGPOSS+child-**F** 'my daughter'
- (149) a. /morolek/
moro-lek
mute-**M** 'mute (n) (M)' (< Sp. *mudo* 'mute')
- b. /morole/
moro-le
mute-**F** 'mute (n) (F)' (< Sp. *mudo* 'mute')
- (150) a. /pewag/
pew-ag
child.of.single.mother-**M** 'son of single mother'
- b. /pewaga/
pew-aga
child.of.single.mother-**F** 'daughter of single mother'
- (151) a. /čisag/
čis-ag
crippled-**M** 'cripple (n) (M)'
- b. /čisaga/
čis-aga
crippled-**F** 'cripple (n) (F)'
- (152) a. /napelog/
n+apelog-Ø
ABS+orphan-**M** 'orphan (M)'
- b. /napelogo/
n+apelog-o
ABS+orphan-**F** 'orphan (F)'

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UMI

3.3.1.1. Paucal *-l*

This is the most common and most productive paucal suffix. All the nouns that take this suffix end in a vowel. However, not all nouns that end in vowels in Mocoví take the paucal marker *-l*. The paucal suffix *-l* is the one that is added to loanwords, as shown in examples (154)-(156). (For discussion of the change of stress in loanwords, see chapter 6.)

(154)	a. /sápo/	‘toad (sg)’ (<Sp. <i>sapo</i> ‘toad’)
	b. /sapól/	‘toads (pcl)’
	sapó-l	
	toad-PCL	
(155)	a. /λiméta/	‘bottle (sg)’ (<Sp. <i>limeta</i> ‘(type of) bottle’)
	b. /λimetál/	‘bottles (pcl)’
	λimetá-l	
	bottle-PCL	
(156)	a. /wólsa/	‘bag (sg)’ (<Sp. <i>bolsa</i> ‘bag’)
	b. /wolsál/	‘bags (pcl)’
	wolsá-l	
	bag-PCL	

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

Table 6
Nouns with paucal -l

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
λiméta	λimetá-l	‘bottle’ (<Sp. <i>limeta</i>)
λogonata	λogonata-l	‘canoe’
?we:na	?we:na-l	‘pot’
-a?gaganaga	-a?gaganaga-l	‘bat’
-a?yaga	-a?yaga-l	‘heel’
-a?yogonagate	-a?yogonagate-l	‘mirror’
-a:šilge	-a:šilge-l	‘cheek’
-a:tapse	-a:tapse-l	‘helmet’
-ade	rade-l	‘eyelashes’
-ai	-ai-l	‘side, wall’
akipyacki	akipyacki-l	‘vase, mug’
-apyaganata	-apyaganata-l	‘toe’
-ašilete	-ašilete-l	‘crutch’
-asote	-asote-l	‘branch, horn’
-awe	-awe-l	‘leaf, feather, hair’
daganaqate	daganaqate-l	‘fork’
do?o	do?o-l	‘hat’
-e:či	-e:či-l	‘leg’
-e:tana	-e:tana-l	‘stake, post’
nečigogonaga	nečigogonaga-l	‘rat’
nelolaganaga	nelolaganaga-l	‘toad’
-epaqata	-epaqata-l	‘braid’
-ešite	-ešite-l	‘ring’
lase	lase-l	‘bug, insect’
latagañi	latagañi-l	‘fly’
le:re	le:re-l	‘paper’

Table 6 (cont'd)

magso	magso-l	'pants'
móno	mono-l	'monkey' (<Sp. <i>mono</i>)
mote	mote-l	'knot'
noʔgona	noʔgona-l	'clay pot'
-oʔo:ta	-oʔo:ta-l	'vein'
no:togoso	no:togoso-l	'type of (wild) fruit'
-oqoyna	-oqoyna-l	'netting, mesh'
-osa:tagki	-osa:tagki-l	'belt'
-owagse	-owagse-l	'bracelet'
páre	pare-l	'butterfly'
palačiriga	palačiriga-l	'spider'
-palaqate	-palaqate-l	'finger'
pĩjilogologo	pĩjilogologo-l	'frog'
qaeʔpe	qaeʔpe-l	'axe'
qari	qari-l	'bola' (type of hunting tool)
-qoʔge	-qoʔge-l	'elbow'
qoʔpelogoʔñi	qoʔpelogoʔñi-l	'tadpole'
-qo:ta	-qo:ta-l	'knee'
qošikyagawa	qošikyagawa-l	'monkey'
-qote	-qote-l	'eye'
taqate	taqate-l	'comb'
wyo	wyo-l	'mortar'

3.3.1.2. Paucal -er

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

Table 7
Nouns with paucal -er

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
napagat	napagat-er	‘louse’
-apyat	-apyat-er	‘foot’
nkeʔenaganagat	nkeʔenaganagat-er	‘hook’
kiyogonagat	kiyogonagat-er	‘soap’
koʔeget	koʔeget-er	‘kerchief’
-qoʔwe:t	-qoʔwe:t-er	‘egg’
lade:neg	lade:neg-er	‘witch doctor’
ñilot	ñilot-er	‘worm’
noʔgoyagat	noʔgoyagat-er	‘friend’
notogosoqonogat	notogosoqonqat-er	‘hammer’
pyog-lapagat dog-louse	pyog-lapaqat-er dog-louse-PCL	‘flea’ (lit. ‘dog louse’)
-qoyaraganagat	-qoyaraganagat-er	‘candle’

3.3.1.3. Paucal -i

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

Table 8
Nouns with paucal -i

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
qar	qar-i	‘stone’
keʔlay	keʔlay-i	‘mule’
gongay	gongay-i	‘wild boar’

3.3.1.4. Paucal *-ir*

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

Table 9
Nouns with paucal *-ir*

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

3.3.1.5. Paucal -o

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

Table 10
Nouns with paucal -o

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
-a λ ak	-a λ ak-o	‘shoulder, back’
mañik	mañik-o	‘rhea’
napaggak	napaggak-o	‘bridge’
pyog	pyog-o	‘dog’

3.3.1.6. Paucal -qa

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

Table 11
Nouns with paucal -qa

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
alolek	alol- qa	‘weasel’
iʔmek	iʔm- qa	‘spoon’
i:mek	i:m- qa	‘house’
kanek	kan- qa	‘blanket’
lawoyk	lawo(y)- qa	‘wasp’
lekolagarayk	lekolagaray- qa	‘lizard’
mičolek	mičol- qa	‘cat’
na:serek	na:ser- qa	‘tobacco’
na:so:lek	na:so:l- qa	‘corn’
nanayk	nana(y)- qa	‘snake’
neʔmek	neʔme- qa	‘ladle’
ñik	ñi- qa	‘rope’
nogošik	nogoši- qa	‘bow’
nowik	nowi- qa	‘arrow’
paʔlotogoyk	paʔlotogoy- qa	‘scorpion’
šilkayk	šilka(y)- qa	‘iguana’

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

(157) qoʔole qoʔol-**qa** ‘bird’

(158) wagay waga-**qa** ‘river’

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

(159)	moro-lek mute-MASC(SG)	moro-lqa mute-MASC(PL)	'mute' (M) (cf. <i>moro/c</i> 'mute (F)') (<Sp mudo 'mute')
(160)	-a:-lek child-MASC	-a:-lqa child-MASC(PL)	'son' (cf. <i>-a:/c</i> 'daughter')

3.3.1.7. Paucal -r

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

Table 12
Nouns with paucal -r (stems ending in a vowel)

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
ʔaʔaki	ʔaʔaki-r	'mug, jug'
-ači	-ači-r	'tear'
-epaʔgenagawa	-epaʔgenagawa-r	'enemy'
kaʔganaʔki	kaʔganaʔki-r	'chair'
-kowičagaki	-kowičagaki-r	'nest'
lečigsqate	lečigsqate-r	'ring'
loʔgiʔi	loʔgiʔi-r	'squash'
naʔgata	naʔgata-r	'day'
nepela	nepela-r	'shoe'
niʔyaganqate	niʔyaganqate-r	'shovel'
-ogoki	-ogoki-r	'dress, bag'
qote	qote-r	'eye'
yale	yale-r	'man'

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

Table 13

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

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
činaq	čina-r	‘ant’
dagaraq	dagara-r (~ dagaraqa)	‘turkey’
ñiksaq	ñiksa-r	‘skunk’
-qoʔpaq	-qoʔpa-r	‘eyebrow’
qoʔpaq	qoʔpa-r	‘tree’
šipegaq	šipega-r	‘horse’
walogonaq	walogona-r	‘dumb’

3.3.1.8. Paucal - vowel lengthening

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

Table 14

Vowel lengthening

Singular	Paucal	Gloss
ʔalo	ʔa:lo	‘woman’
-owe	-owe:	‘tooth’
yolo	yolo:	‘black pig’

3.3.2. Plural

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

3.3.2.1. Plural *-ipi*

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

(161)	a. /ʔwe:na/	‘pot (sg)’
	b. /ʔwe:na/	‘pots (pcl)’
	ʔwe:na-l	
	pot-PCL	
	c. /ʔwe:nalipi/	‘pots (pl)’
	ʔwe:na-l- ipi	
	pot-PCL- PL	
(162)	a. /lapagat/	‘louse (sg)’
	b. /lapagater/	‘lice (pcl)’
	lapagat-er	
	louse-PCL	

- c. /lapagater **ipi**/
lapagat-er-**ipi**
louse-PCL-PL `lice (pl)´
- (163) a. /yat/
 b. /yatir/
 yat-ir
 mosquito-PCL `mosquitos (sg)´
 `mosquitos (pcl)´
- c. /yatir**ipi**/
 yat-ir-**ipi**
 mosquito-PCL-PL `mosquitos (pl)´
- (164) a. /qoʔpaq/
 b. /qoʔpar/
 qoʔpa-r
 tree-PCL `tree (sg)´
 `trees (pcl)´
- c. /qoʔpar**ipi**/
 qoʔpa-r-**ipi**
 tree-PCL-PL `trees (pl)´
- (165) a. /yale/
 b. /yaler/
 yale-r
 man-PCL `man (sg)´
 `men (pcl)´
- c. /yaler**ipi**/
 yale-r-**ipi**
 man-PCL-PL `pots (pl)´
- (166) a. /qar/
 b. /qari/
 qar-i
 stone-PCL `stone (sg)´
 `stones (pcl)´
- c. /qari:**pi**/
 qar-i-**ipi**
 stone-PCL-PL `stones (pl)´

3.3.2.2. Collective *-sat*

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

(167)	a. /mapik/ map-ik mesquite-tree	‘mesquite tree (sg) (<i>Prosopis</i>)’
	b. /mapiki/ map-ik-i mesquite-tree-PCL	‘(a few) mesquite trees (pcl)’
	c. /mapiki:pi/ map-ik-i-ipi mesquite-tree-PCL-PL	‘(many) mesquite trees (pl)’
	d. /mapsat/ map-sat mesquite-COLL	‘mesquite trees (coll)’ (‘forest of mesquite trees’, rather than just ‘many mesquite trees’)

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

Table 15

Nouns that take the collective suffix -sat

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

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

Table 16

Nouns that take the collective suffix -šat

Singular	Paucal	Plural collective	Gloss
lasote	lasote-l branch-PCL	laso-šat	'branch'
le		le:-šat	'thorn'
qoʔpaq		qoʔpa-šat	'tree'

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

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

3.4. Possession

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 17	
Possessive markers	
1sg	i+
2sgf	r+ ~ Ø+ ... -i
2sgR	r+ ~ Ø+ ... +ir
3sg	l+ ~ Ø+
1pl	qar+ ~ qa+
2pcl	r+ ~ Ø+... -iri
2pl	r+ ~ Ø+... -i:
3pl	l+ ~ Ø+ ... -er
Abs	n+ ~ l+

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

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

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

(172)	<i>-ate: neg</i>	‘prey’
1sg	/i+ate: neg/	‘my prey’
2sgf	/r+ate: neg-i/	‘your (f) prey’
2sgR	/r+ate: neg+ir/	‘your (R prey’
3sg	/l+ate: neg/	‘his/her prey’
1pl	/qar+ate: neg/	‘our prey’
2pcl	/r+ate: neg-iri/	‘your (pcl) prey’
2pl	/r+ate: neg-i: /	‘your (pl) prey’
3pl	/l+ate: neg-er/	‘their prey’
Abs	/n+ate: neg/	‘(a) prey’
(173)	<i>-owe</i>	‘tooth’
1sg	/i+owe/	‘my tooth’
2sgf	/r+owe-i/	‘your (f) tooth’
2sgR	/r+owe+ir/	‘your (R tooth’
3sg	/l+owe/	‘his/her tooth’
1pl	/qar+owe/	‘our tooth’
2pcl	/r+owe-iri/	‘your (pcl) tooth’
2pl	/r+owe-i: /	‘your (pl) tooth’
3pl	/l+owe-er/	‘their tooth’
Abs	/n+owe/	‘(a) tooth’

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

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

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

Example (175) shows the possessive forms of the bound root *-ewa/* ‘grandchild’ for the first person singular in (175)a, second person singular respectful in (175)b, and third person singular in (175)c.

(175) -ewal 'grandchild'

a. /i:wal/ i+ewal 1SGPOSS+grandchild	'my grandchild'
b. /qaewalir/ qa+ewal+ir 2POSS+grandchild+2SGR	'your (sgR) grandchild'
c. /lewal/ l+ewal 3POSS+grandchild	'his/her grandchild'

3.4.2. Noun Classes

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

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

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

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

(176) <i>-qosot</i>	'neck'
a. <i>/iqosot/</i> <i>i+qosot</i> 1SG.POSS+neck	'my neck'
b. <i>/rqosotir/</i> <i>r+qosot+ir</i> 2POSS+neck+2SGR	'your(sg.R) neck'
c. <i>/lqosot/</i> <i>l+qosot</i> 3POSS+neck	'his/her neck'
d. <i>/qarqosot/</i> <i>qar+qosot</i> 1PL.POSS+neck	'our neck'
e. <i>/rqosoti:/</i> <i>r+qosot-i:</i> 2POSS-neck-2PL	'your(pl) neck'
f. <i>/lqosoter/</i> <i>l+qosot-er</i> 3POSS+neck-3PL	'their neck'
g. <i>/nqosot/</i> <i>n-qosot</i> ABS-neck	'(a) neck'

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

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

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

(177)	-amacki	'shirt'
a.	/inamacki/ i+n-amacki 1SGPOSS+AL-shirt	'my shirt'
b.	/namackiir/ Ø+n-amacki+ir 2POSS+AL-shirt-2SGR	'your(sgR) shirt'
c.	/namacki/ Ø+n-amacki 3POSS+AL-shirt	'his/her shirt'

d. / <i>lamacki</i> /	‘a shirt’
<i>l+amacki</i>	
ABS+shirt	
e. */ <i>i+amacki</i> /	‘my shirt’
1SGPOSS+shirt	
f. */ <i>amacki</i> /	‘a shirt’
shirt	

In (178)a the bound root *-etesqo?* ‘uncle’ occurs with the first singular possessive proclitic *i+* followed by the prefix *n-* ‘alienable’. Example (178)b, in which the possessive proclitic immediately precedes the root without the prefix *n-*, is ungrammatical.

(178) <i>-etesqo?</i>	‘uncle’
a. / <i>inetesqo?</i> /	‘my uncle’
<i>i+n-etesqo?</i>	
1SGPOSS+AL-uncle	
b. */ <i>i+etesqo?</i> /	‘my uncle’
1SGPOSS+uncle	

A few nouns denoting body parts also belong to this group. However, they are bound roots that can also occur as free roots, but with different (but related?) meanings. Examples (179) and (181) show the bound roots *-qar* ‘chin’ and *-qo?paq* ‘eyebrow’ with possessive markers and the prefix *n-* ‘alienable’. When these roots occur as free roots, they have different meanings, *qar* ‘rock’ and *qo?paq* ‘tree’, and as free roots they cannot take a possessive prefix, as shown in examples (180) and (182).

(179) <i>-qar</i>	‘chin’
a. / <i>inqar</i> /	‘my chin’
<i>i+n-qar</i>	
1SGPOSS+AL-chin	

- b. */i+qar/
1SGPOSS+chin 'my chin'
- c. /nqarir/
Ø+n-qar+ir
2POSS+AL-chin+2SGR 'your(sgR) chin'
- d. /nqar/
Ø+n-qar
3POSS+AL-chin 'his/her chin'
- (180) qar 'rock'
- a. */i+qar/
1SGPOSS+rock 'my rock'
- b. */i+n-qar/
1SGPOSS+AL-rock 'my rock (but OK meaning 'my chin')'
- (181) -qoʔpaq 'eyebrow'
- a. /inqoʔpaq/
i+n-qoʔpaq
1SGPOSS+AL-eyebrow 'my eyebrow'
- b. */i+qoʔpaq/
1SGPOSS+eyebrow 'my eyebrow'
- c. /nqoʔpaqir/
Ø+n-qoʔpaq+ir
2POSS+AL-eyebrow+2SGR 'your(sgR) eyebrow'
- d. /nqoʔpaq/
Ø+n-qoʔpaq
3POSS+AL-eyebrow 'his/her eyebrow'
- (182) qoʔpaq 'tree'
- a. */i+n-qoʔpaq/
1SGPOSS+AL-tree 'my tree'

(184)	pihñi	‘prickly pear’
	a. /pihñi/	‘prickly pear’
	b. */i+pihñi/ 1SGPOSS+prickly.pear	‘my prickly pear’
	c. */i+n-pihñi/ 1SGPOSS+AL-prickly.pear	‘my prickly pear’
-
(185)	wagayaq	‘water’
	a. /wagayaq/	‘(some) water’
	b. */i+wagayaq/ 1SGPOSS+water	‘my water’
	c. */i+n-wagayaq/ 1SGPOSS+AL-water	‘my water’

Most nouns referring to **animals** are also free roots which cannot take a possessive affix. However, they can occur in a more complex possessive construction in which the possessive markers are added to the bound root *-lo* ‘animal’. The bound root *-lo* ‘animal’ must immediately precede the noun denoting the animal in the NP. The structure of an NP with such a construction is shown in (186).

- (186) Structure of a Possessive Construction with nouns denoting animals
- (num/quant)(DEIC){(adj)} POSS +/α(-POSS) NOUN{(adj)}
- (Where NOUN stands for the noun denoting the animal.)

In (187)a the root *pyog* ‘dog’ can occur by itself because it is a free root. In (187)b the same root occurs in a possessive construction, where the possessive markers are added to the bound root *-lo* ‘animal’ which immediately precedes the root *pyog* ‘dog’ in the noun phrase. The demonstrative immediately precedes the bound root *-lo* ‘animal’. The examples in (187)c and (187)d are ungrammatical, since in (187)c the possessive markers are added to the free root *pyog*

b. /qaloir šipegaq/

qa+lo+ir šipegaq

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

‘your(sgR) horse (lit: ‘your(sgR) animal horse’)

cf. c. */qa+šipegaq+ir/

2POSS+horse+2SGR

It should be noted that the form of the bound root *-lo* ‘animal’ is different from the free nominal root meaning animal, which is *isegeyek* ‘animal’. While the bound root *-lo* ‘animal’ must occur with a possessive or an absolutive marker, as in (189)a-b, the free root *isegeyek* ‘animal’ cannot take a possessive (or absolutive) marker, as in (189)c.

(189) a. /ilo isegeyek/

i+lo isegeyek

1SGPOSS+animal animal

‘my animal’

b. /qaloir isegeyek/

qa+lo+ir isegeyek

2POSS+animal+2SGR animal

‘your(sgR) animal’

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

2POSS+animal+2SGR

Some generalizations can be made about the semantic notions and structural characteristics that are involved in the alienable/inalienable distinction in Mocoví and that are

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

3.5. The Demonstrative System

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

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

(190) Structure of the demonstrative form:

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

The demonstrative system of Mocoví is given in Table 18.

Table 18
The Demonstrative System of Mocoví

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

Some examples of the deictic roots as demonstratives with the noun *?alo* 'woman' are shown in (191).

- (191) a. /a+ka ʔalo/ ʔthat woman(absent)
 F+DEIC(absnt) woman
- b. /a+na ʔalo/ ʔthat woman(coming)
 F+DEIC(cmng) woman
- c. /a+so ʔalo/ ʔthat woman(going)
 F+DEIC(gng) woman
- d. /a+da ʔalo/ ʔthat woman(vertically extended)
 F+DEIC(vert) woman
- e. /a+n̄i ʔalo/ ʔthat woman(non-extended)
 F+DEIC(nonext) woman
- f. /a+ʔi ʔalo/ ʔthat woman(horizontally extended)
 F+DEIC(hor) woman

Example (192) was taken from a text in which a man is walking on the land looking for food, and he encounters a creature that tells him that there is going to be a flood, so he should go back and warn his family. This is the second sentence in the text, and it shows demonstratives being used with the various nouns in the sentence. The man, *so qom* ‘the man’, is walking on the land, so the demonstrative *so* ‘deictic (going)’ is used; he is looking for food, *ka lepetaganagat* ‘the food’, which is not present, so the demonstrative *ka* ‘deictic (absent)’ is used; and he is walking on the land *ʔi noʔwe:naga* ‘the land’, an extended surface, so the demonstrative *ʔi* ‘deictic (horizontally extended)’ is used.

- (192) /so qom nakitetako?/
 so qom Ø+n-akite+tak+o?
 DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITHER-look.for+PROG+EV
- /ka lepetaganagat iowo:tako?/
 ka l+epetaganagat i+owo: +tak+o?
 DEIC(absnt) ABS+food 3AC+walk+PROG+EV
- /ke ʔi noʔwe:naga/.
 ke ʔi n+oʔwe:naga
 OBL **DEIC(hor)** ABS+land

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

The deictic root *ka* ‘absent’ is very common in texts, regardless of the motion or position of the noun it modifies. The sentence in (193) was taken from Text 3, *The Woman and the Duck*, a narrative text in which a woman goes to the well to get water and encounters a man who tells her he is interested in her. In this sentence the demonstrative *ka* ‘deictic (absent)’ is used with the nouns *nagaʔa* ‘day’, *ʔalo* ‘woman’ and *leʔya* ‘her well’, regardless of their motion or position. This is the first sentence in the story.

(193) /ʔweoʔ ka nagaʔa aka ʔalo/

ʔwe+oʔ	ka	nagaʔa	a+ka	ʔalo
exist+EV	DEIC(absnt)	day	F+DEIC(absnt)	woman

/riʔʕiwi ke aka leʔya/

r+iʔʕiwi	ke	a+ka	l+eʔya
3AC+look.for.water	OBL	F+DEIC(absnt)	3POSS+well (=from her well)

‘Once there was a woman who went to her well to look for water’ (=who looks for water from her well)

The demonstratives can occur with additional morphology marking distance relative to the speaker. In such cases the suffixes *-ho* ‘very proximate’, *-ta* ‘proximate’ (not as close as *-ho*), *-kerawk* ‘far’, *-keram* ‘farther’, and *-keram:* ‘very far’ are used. The last suffix, *-keram:* ‘very far’, is interesting, since it is the lengthening of the last nasal /m/ which encodes the intensive meaning. Long consonants are not part of the phonemic inventory of Mocoví, but in this case the /m:/ is used with an intensive meaning.

In the examples in (194), the deictic root *da* ‘deictic (vertically extended)’ precedes the same noun, *yale* ‘man’ in the noun phrase. In (194)a it occurs without any additional morphology marking proximity to the speaker. In (194)b it occurs with the suffix *-kerawk* ‘far’.

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

- (197) /kaʔ na ne:lonaq **ena** qaeka ʔnem laʔa:ga čalegoʔ laʔa:ga/
 kaʔ na ne:lonaq e+na
 then DEIC(cmng) campanilla M+DEIC(cmng)

qa+e+ka ʔnem laʔa:ga čalegoʔ laʔa:ga
 nthg+M+DEIC(abst) same ugly very ugly

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

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

- (198) /sašilaʔiʔ kopačiroʔoʔ **na**ho sentangi laqalači/
 s+ašila+ir Ø+kopat+ir+oʔ+oʔ **na-ho**
 IAC+ask+2SGR 2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV DEIC(cmng)-PROX
 s+enta+ngi I+aqalači
 IAC+exist?+? ABS+open.field
 ‘... you start a fire here, where I am on the open field.’

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

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

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

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

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

3.6. Adjective Phrase

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

- (199) /čim newage/
 čim newage
 sour watermelon
 ‘sour watermelon’
- (200) /lawayk yale/
 lawayk yale
 weak man
 ‘weak man’
- (201) /nepela toglek/ ~ /toglek nepela/
 nepela tog+lek ~ tog+lek nepela
 shoe red-SIM ~ red-SIM shoe
 ‘reddish shoe’ (= orange shoe)

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

or on the head noun within the noun phrase. (If number is marked on the adjective, it is optionally marked on the head noun. Basically, if paucal or plural is marked on one element within the noun phrase, paucal or plural marking is optional on other elements in that noun phrase.)

In example (202), the head noun *qoʔole* ‘bird’ is singular, so the adjective *tog* ‘red’ is also singular. The noun phrases in (203)a-b have the same meaning, ‘(a few) red birds’. In (203)a, both the head noun *qoʔole* ‘bird’ and the adjective *tog* ‘red’ are marked with the paucal suffixes, so *qoʔolqa* and *toger* are used. In (203)b the head noun *qoʔole* ‘bird’ is singular, and paucal number is marked on the adjective *tog* ‘red’, so *toger* ‘red (pcl)’ is used. The noun phrases in (203)a-b are both grammatical and equally acceptable.

(202) /qoʔole tog/
 qoʔole tog
 bird red
 ‘red bird’

(203) a. /qoʔolqa toger/
 qoʔol-qa tog-er
 bird-PCL red-PCL
 ‘red birds’

 b. /qoʔole toger/
 qoʔole tog-er
 bird red-PCL
 ‘red birds’

Table 19 lists some adjective forms in Mocoví. (The blank cells in the table indicate only that the data is not available, not that those forms are not possible in the language.)

Table 19
Adjectives

Singular		Paucal		Gloss
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	
čimaʔge	čimaʔge	čimaʔgelo	čimaʔgelo	‘smelly’
lalo:kiʔ	laloʔliʔ	lalolqaer	lalo:liʔ	‘small, little’
lodegat	latewʔge	letaʔal	lateʔel	‘big, fat’
mogel	mogola	mogolaqa	mogolal	‘silly, funny’
paʔateta	paʔateta			‘light’
qoñi	qoñi			‘yellow’
tog	tog	toger	toger	‘red’
walogonaq	walogonaga	walogonar	walogonaga	‘crazy’
yi	yi	yir	yir	‘ripe’

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

Table 20
Adjectives ending in -ayk (M)/ -ay (F)

Singular		Paucal		Gloss
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	
čaqayk	čaqay	čaqaq	čaqai	‘dangerous’
lalegayk	lalegay	lalegaq	lalegai	‘white’
lawayk	laway	lawaq	lawai	‘weak’
le:taragayk	le:taragay	le:taraq	le:taragai	‘old, broken’
qoʔgoyk	qoʔgoy	qoʔgoyaq	qoʔgoi	‘old’
šaʎagarayk	šaʎagaray	šaʎagaraq	šaʎagarai	‘heavy’
šitagarayk	šitagaray	šitagaraq	šitagarai	‘sharp-pointed’
walayk	walay	walagaq	walagai	‘lazy’
yagarayk	yagaray	yagaraq	yagarai	‘sharp’ (of knife, axe)
jaqayk	jaqay	jaqaq	jaqai	‘fast’

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

3.7. Numerals and Quantifiers

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

- (204) /*φelisa leʔyak ʔgoyk ariña*/
φelisa l+eʔyak ʔgoyk ariña
 Felisa 3AC+bring **many flour**
 ‘Felisa brought a lot of flour.’
- (205) /*φelisa leʔyak kočoki ariña*/
φelisa l+eʔyak kočoki ariña
 Felisa 3AC+bring **little flour**
 ‘Felisa brought a little flour.’
- (206) /*φelisa leʔyak ʔgoyk qalači*/
φelisa l+eʔyak ʔgoyk qalači
 Felisa 3AC+bring **many onions**
 ‘Felisa brought **many onions**.’
- (207) /*ʔwewk moqoytlase roʔgonagantak*/
ʔwewk moqoyt-lase r+oʔgonagan+tak
several Mocoví-F 3AC+work+ PROG
 ‘**Several Mocoví women** are working.’

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

- (208) /*ɸelisa ieʔyak naʔwge na qalači*/
ɸelisa i+eʔyak na-aʔwge na qalači
 Felisa 3AC+bring DEIC(cmng)-all DEIC(cmng) onions
 'Felisa brought **all** the onions.'

- (209) /*saʔwge so arina qaiaʔgat* /
so-aʔwge so arina qa+i+aʔgat
 DEIC(gng)-ALL DEIC(gng) flour INDEF+3AC+carry
 'All the flour was taken.'

The sentence in (210) is another example in which the quantifier *-aʔwge* 'all' is added to the deictic root *so* 'going'.

- (210) /*saʔwge so yale roʔwe:natagantak ke na waloq nowiroʔ ke na sawado*/
so-aʔwge so yale r+oʔwe:natagan+tak ke na waloq
 DEIC(gng)-ALL DEIC(gng) man 3AC-work+PROG OBL DEIC(cmng) cotton

Ø+n-owir+oʔ ke na sawado
 3AC+HITHER-come+EV OBL DEIC(cmng) Saturday
 'All the men who work in the cotton (=picking cotton) come back on Saturday.'

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

(211), the head noun *yale* ‘man’ is in the singular form, and in (212) it is in the paucal form, with the paucal suffix *-r*.

- (211) /doh yale yalawater ka nanayk/
doh yale i+alawat-er ka nanayk
two man 3AC+kill-3PL DEIC(absnt) snake
 ‘Two men killed a snake.’
- (212) /doh yaler yalawater ka nanayk/
doh yale-r i+alawat-er ka nanayk
two man-PCL 3AC+kill-3PL DEIC(absnt) snake
 ‘Two men killed a snake.’

3.8. Summary

In this chapter I have provided a description of the inflectional morphology of nouns and noun phrases, including clitics. I discussed the different types of nominal roots, bound and free roots. I showed how the notions of alienable and inalienable possession are expressed in Mocoví, and presented a classification of nouns into three classes based on how they are marked for possession. I presented the complex demonstrative system of Mocoví, which contains a set of deictic roots that mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as the position or movement. I described adjectives, quantifiers, and numerals which may also be part of the noun phrase. In the following chapter I present a description of the inflectional morphology of the verb form, including clitics.

4. Verbal Morphology: Verbs and Verb Phrases

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

Table 21
Structure of the Verb form

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

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

and in section 4.6 I discuss object number. The negative proclitic and the evidential enclitic will be discussed in chapter 5.

4.1. Person Markers

Mocoví has a set of independent pronouns, used mainly for emphasis, and a set of pronominal markers on verbs which reflect an active/inactive (or active/stative) agreement system. There are two sets of person-marking proclitics, one used with agent subjects (Class I, Active markers), and the other with non-agent subjects and objects (Class II, Inactive markers). This system was inherited from Proto-Waikurúan (See Appendix B for the reconstructed pronominal forms of Proto-Waikurúan). In section 4.1.1 I discuss the set of independent pronouns, followed by a general discussion of pronominal markers on verbs (Section 4.1.2). In section 4.1.3 I provide an account of the set of Active proclitics, and the set of Inactive proclitics are discussed in section 4.1.4.

4.1.1. Independent Pronouns

Mocoví has a set of independent pronouns which can be used both as subjects and objects for emphasis. The language lacks independent pronouns for the third person singular and plural; instead the deictic classifiers are used, normally followed by the morpheme *magare* (~ [ma:re] ~ [maq]). Table 22 lists the set of independent pronouns in Mocoví. It should be noted that for the second persons paucal and plural only one form is used.

Table 22
Independent Pronouns

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

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

- (213) [yim ñowir]
 :yim inowir/
 yim i-n-owir
 1SGPRON 1AC-HITH-come
 ‘It is me that came here.’

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

- (214) [...ma? yim yoykenatek na yagat.]
 /...ma? yim ioykenatek na yagat/
 ... ma? yim i-oykenat+ek na yagat
 ... because 1SGPRON 1SGPOSS+dominance+OVER DEIC(cmng) rain
 ‘... because I dominate the rain (=I have power over the rain). (lit: ‘... because I [there is] my dominance over the rain.’)’

4.1.2. Person Markers - Verbal morphology

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

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

c. koʔoir Ø+koʔo+ir 2AC+give.birth+2SGR	'you(R) give birth'
d. koʔo Ø+koʔo 3AC+give.birth	'she gives birth'
e. skoʔyaG s+koʔo-aG 1AC+give.birth-1PL	'we give birth'
f. koʔoiri Ø+koʔo-iri 2AC+give.birth-2PCL	'you(pcl) give birth'
g. koʔoi: Ø+koʔo -i: 2AC+give.birth-2PL	'you(pl) give birth'
h. koʔor Ø+koʔo-er 3AC+give.birth-3PL	'they give birth'

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

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

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

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

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

- (216) a. [ɰawik]
 /ir+awig/
 1IN+burn
 ‘I burn’
- b. [rawigi]
 /r+awig-i/
 2IN+burn-2SGf
 ‘You(f) burn’
- c. [rawikiʔ]
 /r+awig+ir/
 2IN+burn+2SGR
 ‘You (R) burn’
- (217) a. [samaq]
 /s+amag/
 1AC+push
 ‘I push’
- b. [magai]
 /Ø+amag-i/
 2AC+push-2SGf
 ‘You (f) push’
- c. [maqiʔ]
 /Ø+amag+ir/
 2AC+push+2SGR
 ‘You (R.) push’
- (218) a. [sawok]
 /s+awog/
 1AC+copulate
 ‘I copulate’
- b. [wogi]
 /Ø+awog-i/
 2AC+copulate-2SGf
 ‘You (f) copulate’

- c. [wokiʔ]
 /Ø+awog+ir/
 2AC+copulate+2SGR
 ‘You (R) copulate’

- (219) a. [ʃiçaq]
 /ir-ičag/
 1IN+cut
 ‘He cuts me’

- b. [ričagai:]
 /r+ičag-i: /
 2IN+cut-2PL
 ‘He cuts you(pl)’

- c. [ričaqaer]
 /r+ičag+ir/
 2IN+cut+2SGR
 ‘He cuts you(R)’

- (220) a. [senaq]
 /s+enag/
 1AC+throw
 ‘I throw’

- b. [nagai:]
 /Ø+enag-i: /
 2AC+throw-2PL
 ‘You (pl) throw’

- c. [naqaiʔ]
 /Ø+enag+ir/
 2AC+throw+2SGR
 ‘You (R) throw’

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

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

- (221) [nenañisañi]
 /nenanir takñi/
 Ø+n-enan+ir+tak+ñi
 2AC+HITH-lie.down+2sgR+PROG+DWN
 ‘you(R) are lying down’

- (222) [wagañisalek]
 /owaganir taklek /
 Ø+owagan+ir+tak+leg
 2AC+hit+2SGR+PROG+ON
 ‘you(R) hit (on/over)’

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

4.1.3. Active Markers

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

Table 24

Active person markers

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

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

Table 25

Verbs with Active person markers

Class A (Verbs with third person proclitic *it*)

Intransitive	ayo	to fly (vi)
	owir	to arrive (vi)
	owo	to walk (vi)
Transitive	ain	to shoot (vt)
	akon	to take, grab (vt)
	alawat	to kill (vt)
	amaG	to push, send (vt)
	aweg	to pull, stretch, bring (vt)
	eʔgen	to try (vt)
	ečag	to cut, shorten (vt)
	ekon	to grab (vt)
	enag	to throw (vt)
	epagat	to twist, braid (vt)
	ewan	to see (vt)
	omat	to finish (vt)
Intransitive/Transitive	aʔahan	to look at (vt/vi)
	aʔde:n	to know, understand (vt/vi)

Class B (Verbs with third person proclitic $\emptyset$ +)

Intransitive	ʔe:t	to escape, run away (vi)
	ałit	to play (vi)
	aʔa	to menstruate (vi)
	aʔG	to hear (vi)

Table 25 (cont'd)

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

Class C (Verbs with third person proclitic /ʔ/)

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

Table 25 (cont'd)

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

Intransitive	eʔya:m	to boil (vi)
Transitive/Intransitive	qoʔgogo	to kiss. suck (vt/vi)

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

(223)	alawat	'to kill'
a.	[salawat] /s+alawat/ 1AC+kill	'I kill'
b.	[lawaçi] /Ø+alawat-i/ 2AC+kill-2SGf	'you (f) kill'
c.	[lawaçiʔ] /Ø+alawat+ir/ 2AC+kill+2SGR	'you (R) kill'
d.	[lawat] /Ø+alawat/ 3AC+kill	'he kills'
e.	[salawataq] /s+alawat-ag/ 1AC+kill-1PL	'we kill'
f.	[lawaçiri] /Ø+alawat-iri/ 2AC+kill-2PCL	'you (pcl) kill'
g.	[lawaçi:] /Ø+alawat-i: / 2AC+kill-2PL	'you (pl) kill'
h.	[lawateʔ] /Ø+alawat-er/ 3AC+kill-3PL	'they kill'

- (224) kiyo 'to wash'
- a. [skiyol] 'I wash'
 /s+kiyo/
 1AC+wash
 - b. [kiyoi] 'you (f) wash'
 /Ø+kiyo-i/
 2AC+wash-2SGf
 - c. [kiyoi?] 'you (R) wash'
 /Ø+kiyo-ir/
 2AC+wash+2SGR
 - d. [kiyo] 'he washes'
 /Ø+kiyo/
 3AC+wash
 - e. [skiyoo] 'we wash'
 /s+kiyo-ag/
 1AC+wash-1PL
 - f. [kiyoiri] 'you (pcl) wash'
 /Ø+kiyo-iri/
 2AC+wash-2PCL
 - g. [kiyoi:] 'you (pl) wash'
 /Ø+kiyo-i:/
 2AC+wash-2PL
 - h. [kiyo?] 'they wash'
 /Ø+kiyo-er/
 3AC+wash-3PL

4.1.4. Inactive Markers

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

Table 26
Inactive person markers

1sg	<i>ir+</i> ([j])
2sgf	<i>r+</i> ... -i
2sgR	<i>r+</i> ... +ir
3sg	<i>i+</i> ~ $\emptyset$ + ~ <i>r+</i> ~ <i>n+</i>
1pl	<i>qar+</i>
2pcl	<i>r+</i> ... -iri
2pl	<i>r+</i> ... -i:
3pl	<i>i+</i> ~ $\emptyset$ + ~ <i>r+</i> ~ <i>n+</i> ... -er

The Inactive marker for the first person is *ir+*, a sequence that is then conflated to [j]. The first and second person proclitics have an *r*, which is not present in the third person proclitic. It is likely that the *r* in the proclitic forms for the first and second persons was a separate morpheme at an earlier stage, and it may have been present for the third person (there is, however, one set of verbs that take *r+* as an Active proclitic, and another set of verbs which take *r+* as an Inactive proclitic.). It does not seem to be an independent morpheme in Mocoví at present.

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

Table 27
Verbs with (only) Inactive person markers

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

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

Class B (Verbs with third person proclitic *Ø*⁺)

koñirag	to cut oneself, get cut (vi)
kemar	to get full (vi)

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

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

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

aʔwat	to swell, get swollen (vi)
apyoʔo	to be dirty (vi)
esal	to vomit (vi)
oʔči	to be afraid (vi)
oʔdagtetek	to get scared (vi)
ewal	to feel lazy (vi)

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

- (225) awig 'to get burned'
- a. [jawik] 'I get burned'
/ir+awig/
1IN+get.burned
 - b. [rawigi] 'you (f) get burned'
/r+awig-i/
2IN+get.burned-2SGf
 - c. [rawiki?] 'you (R) get burned'
/r+awig+ir/
2IN+get.burned+2SGR
 - d. [yawik] 'he gets burned'
/i+awig/
3IN+get.burned
 - e. [qarawik] 'we get burned'
/qar+awig/
1IN+get.burned
 - f. [rawigiri] 'you (pcl) get burned'
/r+awig-iri/
2IN+get.burned-2PCL
 - g. [rawigi:] 'you (pl) get burned'
/r+awig-i:/
2IN+get.burned-2PL
 - h. [yawige?] 'they get burned'
/i+awig-er/
3IN+get.burned-3PL

Example (226) shows the Inactive person markers on the verb *alola* ‘to get sick’, a Class C verb which takes the clitic *r+* for the third person.

- (226) *alola* ‘to get sick’
- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| a. [jalola]
/ir+alola/
1IN+get.sick | ‘I get sick’ |
| b. [ralolai]
/r+alola-i/
2IN+get.sick-2SGf | ‘you (f) get sick’ |
| c. [ralolaiʔ]
/r+alola+ir/
2IN+get.sick+2SGR | ‘you (R) get sick’ |
| d. [ralola]
/r+alola/
3IN+get.sick | ‘he gets sick’ |
| e. [qaralola]
/qar+alola/
1IN+get.sick | ‘we get sick’ |
| f. [ralolairi]
/r+alola-iri/
2IN+get.sick-2PCL | ‘you (pcl) get sick’ |
| g. [ralolai:]
/r+alola-i:/
2IN+get.sick-2PL | ‘you (pl) get sick’ |
| h. [ralolaeʔ]
/r+alola-er/
3IN+get.sick-3PL | ‘they get sick’ |

Example (227) shows Inactive proclitics with the verb *oʔči* ‘to fear’: (227)d and h include examples in which the prefix *n+* ‘3rd person inactive’ is used for the third person singular and third person plural respectively. (Recall that it is only the second person that shows a distinction between paucal and plural.)

- (227) oʔči ‘to fear, be afraid’
- a. [joʔči] ‘I am afraid’
/ir+awig/
1IN+fear
- b. [roʔčiʔi] ‘you (f) are afraid’
/r+oʔči-i/
2IN+fear-2SGf
- c. [roʔčiʔiʔ] ‘you (R) are afraid’
/r+oʔči+ir/
2IN+fear+2R
- d. [noʔči] ‘he is afraid’
/n+oʔči/
3IN+fear
- e. [qaroʔči] ‘we are afraid’
/qar+oʔči/
1IN+fear
- f. [roʔčiri] ‘you (pcl) are afraid’
/r+oʔči-iri/
2IN+fear -2PCL
- g. [roʔči:] ‘you (pl) are afraid’
/r+oʔči-i:/
2IN+fear -2PL
- h. [noʔčiʔ] ‘they are afraid’
/n+oʔči-er/
3IN+fear-3PL

The set of Inactive person markers is also used to mark the direct object of transitive verbs. In that case, the verb form takes both an Active marker for the agentive subject and an Inactive marker for the direct object. It should be noted that none of the person proclitics can co-occur, i.e. Mocoví does not allow more than one person proclitic on the verb; therefore, if the

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (228) /*ɸelisa iretagñi*/
 ɸelisa ir+etag+ñi
 Felisa 1SGIN+comb+DOWN
 ‘Felisa combs me.’
- (229) /*ɸelisa ɨetagñi yim*/
 ɸelisa ɨ+etag+ñi *yim*
 Felisa 3AC+comb+DOWN 1SGPRON
 ‘Felisa combs me.’

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

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

- (230) /... čaqae qamir sʔgorinir ka ʔwe ka naʔgaʔa.../
 ... čaqae **qamir** sʔeʔgorin+ir ka ʔwe ka naʔgaʔa...
 ... and **2SGPRON** /AC+favor+2SGR and exists DEIC(absnt) day ...
 ‘...and *I* favor *you*; and there will be a day...’

The sentences in (231)–(233) provide more examples of verb forms with both Active and Inactive markers.

- (231) /ireda:n/irtake/
 ir+eda:n+ir+take
1SGIN+search+2SGR+PROG
 ‘*You*(sgR) are looking for **me**.’

- (232) /qarqoʔyoqočit/ir/
 qar+qoʔyoqočit+ir
1PLIN+frighten+2SGR
 ‘*You* (sgR) frighten **us**.’

- (233) /sʔoʔyoqočiter/
 sʔ+qoʔyoqočit-er
 /AC+frighten-3PL
 ‘*I* frighten **them**.’

To summarize, then, Mocoví has two sets of person markers, one Active set which marks agentive subjects, and an Inactive set which marks the non-agentive subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb. There is just one set of suffixes marking second person singular familiar, first person plural, second person paucal and plural, and third person plural.

and the enclitic for the second person singular respectful, which occur with both the Active and Inactive set of proclitics.

4.2 The Prefix *n-* ‘hither’

There is a prefix *n-* in Mocoví which immediately precedes the stem in the verb form and indicates that the action expressed by the verb is performed towards the speaker and/or the agent of the clause. This prefix can also have a strictly reflexive meaning, namely that the agent performs the action upon him or herself rather than upon somebody or something else. In section 4.2.1 I discuss the meaning ‘hither’ of the verbal prefix *n-*; and in section 4.2.2 I discuss its reflexive function.

4.2.1. *n-* ‘Hither’

The prefix *n-* ‘hither’, which immediately precedes the stem in the verb form, can indicate that the action expressed by the verb is performed towards the speaker or the agent of the clause. It can occur with intransitive verbs, and in that case the verb only takes an agentive (Active) marker, as in examples (234) and (235), or with a transitive verb, and in that case the verb takes both an agentive (Active) and a non-agentive (Inactive) marker, as in example (236). (Recall, however, that the Inactive marker for the third person is $\emptyset+$.)

Some verb stems must take *n-* ‘hither’, other stems cannot take this prefix, and yet other stems can occur with or without this prefix. In some cases the meaning ‘hither’ is transparent, but in others it is not. Below are some examples of verbs with and without *n-* ‘hither’.

In examples (234)-(236), the 'hither' meaning is apparent in the meaning of the verb. The forms in (a) provide forms of the verbs *owir* 'arrive', *eʔgen* 'run', and *aweg* 'bring' without the prefix *n-*, and in (b) the same verbs occur with the prefix *n-*.

(234) a. [sowiʔ]

/sowir/

s+owir

lAC+arrive

'I arrive (there).'

b. [ñowiʔ]

/iñowir/

i+n-owir

lAC+HITH-owir

'I arrive (here).'

(235) a. [seʔgeno]

/seʔgeno/

s+eʔgen+o

lAC+run+INWDS

'I run into the inside (there).'

b. [ñiʔgeno]

/iñiʔgeno/

i+n-eʔgen+o

lAC+HITH-run+INWDS

'I run into the inside (here).'

(236). the 'hither' meaning is apparent in the meaning of the verb. The forms in (a) provide forms of the verbs *owir* 'arrive', *eʔgen* 'run', and *away* 'bring' without the prefix *n-*, and in (b) the same verbs occur with the prefix *n-*.

- (234) a. [sowiʔ]
 /sowir/
 s-owir
 IAC+arrive
 'I arrive (there).'

- b. [ñowiʔ]
 /inowir/
 i-n-owir
 IAC+HITH-owir
 'I arrive (here).'

- (235) a. [seʔgeno]
 /seʔgeno/
 s-eʔgen+o
 IAC+run-INWDS
 'I run into the inside (there).'

- b. [ñiʔgeno]
 /iniʔgeno/
 i+n-eʔgen+o
 IAC+HITH-run-INWDS
 'I run into the inside (here).'

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

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

- (241) a. /sewana lwis/
 i+ewan+a lwis
 1AC+see+? Luis
 'I see Luis'
- b. [ñiwanñi]
 /inewanñi /
 i+n-ewan+ñi
 1AC+HITH-see+DWN
 'I see well.'

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

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

show the forms without the prefix, and in (b) the same forms in which *n-* 'hither' immediately precedes the verb root are ungrammatical.

- (242) a. [sayo]
 s-ayo
 IAC+fly
 'I fly.'

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

- (243) a. [seʔʔliwi]
 s-cʔʔliwi
 IAC+fetch.water
 'I (go to) fetch water.'

- cf. b. *[ñeʔʔliwi]
 i+n-cʔʔliwi
 IAC+HITH-fetch.water

- (244) a. [skeʔe]
 s-keʔe
 IAC+eat
 'I eat.'

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

- (245) a. [skoʔo]
 s-koʔo
 IAC+give.birth
 'I give birth.'

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

The examples in (246)-(248) include forms of the verbs *ačil* ‘to bathe’, *aλit* ‘to play’, and *aqar* ‘to pick (up), harvest’. These verbs cannot occur without the prefix *n-* ‘hither’. The forms in (a) provide example of the verbs with this prefix, and the forms in (b) show the ungrammatical forms, i.e. forms without *n-* ‘hither’.

- (246) a. [*ñaçil*]
 /*inaçil*/
 i+n-ačil
 IAC+HITH-bathe
 ‘I bathe (myself).’

- cf. b. *[*sačil*]
 s+ačil
 IAC+bathe

- (247) a. [*ñaλit*]
 /*inaλit*/
 i+n-aλit
 IAC+HITH-play
 ‘I play.’

- cf. b. *[*saλit*]
 s+aλit
 IAC+play

- (248) a. [ñaqat waloq]
 /inaqat waloq/
 i+n-aqat waloq
 1AC+HITH-pick.up cotton
 ‘I harvest cotton.’

- cf. b. *[saqat waloq]
 s+aqat waloq
 1AC+pick.up cotton

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

- (249) a. [samaq]
 /samag/
 s+amag
 1AC+push
 ‘I push.’
- b. [ñamaq]
 /inamag/
 i+n-amag
 1AC+HITH-push
 ‘I push (towards where I am).’

- (250) a. /iawego lakat/
 i+aweg+o I+akat
 3AC+bring+INWDS 3POSS+breath
 ‘He breathes.’
- b. /naweg lakat/
 Ø+n-aweg I+akat
 3AC+HITH-bring 3POSS+breath
 ‘He sighs.’

4.2.2. *n-* ‘hither’ as Reflexive

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

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

- (251) a. [ñoʔwet]
 /inoʔwet/
 i+n-oʔwet
 1AC+HITH-dress
 ‘I dress **myself** (= ‘I get dressed’)

- b. [soʔwičiʔ]
 /soʔwetir/
 s+oʔwet+ir
 1AC+dress+2SGR
 ‘I dress you.’

- (252) a. [ñitakñi]
 /inetagñi/
 i+n-etag+ñi
 1AC+HITH-comb+DWN
 ‘I comb **myself**.’

- b. [setagñi aso øelisa]
 /setagñi aso øelisa /
 s+etag+ñi a+so øelisa
 1AC+comb+DWN F+DEIC(gng) Felisa
 ‘I comb Felisa.’

- (253) a. [nkiyoi?]
 /nkiyoir/
 Ø+n-kiyo+ir
 2AC+HITH-wash+2SGR
 ‘You wash **yourself**.’
- b. [kiyoi? peget]
 /kiyoir peget /
 Ø+kiyo+ir peget
 2AC+wash dish
 ‘You wash the dish.’

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

4.3. Indefinite Agent

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

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

- (254) /qanadalagat/
 qa+Ø+n-adalagat
 INDEF+3AC+HITH-change
 'Somebody changed it.'

- (255) /qaiawana lwis/
 qa+i+awan+a lwis
 INDEF+3AC+see+? Luis
 'Somebody saw Luis.'

- (256) /qanaweg na ñik/
 qa+Ø+n-aweg na ñik
 INDEF+3AC+HITH-bring DEIC(cmng) rope
 'Somebody pulled the rope towards here.'

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

- (257) */qaia?at/
 qa+i+a?at
 INDEF+3AC+finish.eating

- (258) */qa?et/
 qa+Ø+?et
 INDEF+3AC+escape

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

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

- (259) [... *qayawahlek so pegrolek ke so?maq yale*]
 /... *qaiawatlek so pegrolek ke so magare yale*/
 ... *qa+i+awat+leg* *so* *pegro-lek ke* *so-magare* *yale*
 ... INDEF+3AC+uncover+ON DEIC(gng) Pedro OBL DEIC(gng)-PRON man
 ‘... Pedro is uncovered by this man.’

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

4.4. Aspect

Of aspects, Mocoví marks only progressive on the verb form, with a progressive clitic *+tak* ~ *+sak* ~ *+take* ~ *+tape* which immediately follows the person suffixes and clitic. The different allomorphs of the progressive clitic do not seem to be phonologically conditioned; however, *+sak* occurs with the second person singular respectful clitic, and *+take* and *+tape* occur mainly with the third person plural suffix.

(260) /sa:nagan/

s+a:nagan

1AC+plant

‘I plant.’

(261) /sa:nagantak/

s+a:nagan+tak

1AC+plant+PROG

‘I am planting.’

(262) /(yim) sko:la na mansána/

yim s+ko:la na mansána

1SGPRON 1AC+peel DEIC(cmng) apple

‘I peel the apple.’

(263) /(yim) sko:latak na mansána/

(yim) s+ko:la+tak na mansána

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

‘I am peeling the apple.’

Tense, mood, and other aspectual categories are not marked on the verb form, but are expressed with adverbial forms such as *nagi* ‘now, today, present’, *naʔle* ‘before, earlier, past’, and *maʔle* ‘later, after, future’. The sentences in (264)-(265) include examples with different time adverbials.

- (264) /... ʔweoʔ ka yagat **maʔle**/
- ... ʔwe+oʔ ka yagat **maʔle**
- ... be+EV DEIC(absnt) rain **after**
- ‘... there will be rain **later**.’ (Text 2, The Flood)

- (265) /aso ʔalo iowagan so xwan senanak **nagi**/
- a+so ʔalo i+owagan so xwan se+Ø+n-anak **nagi**
- F+DEIC(gng) woman 3AC+hit DEIC(gng) Juan NEG+3AC+HITH-come **now**
- ‘The woman who hit Juan did not come **today**.’

The sentences in (266)-(268) were taken from Text 2, The Flood. The sentence in (266) contains the adverbial *naʔle* ‘early, before’: in (267), the adverbial *nagi* ‘now, today’ is used; and in (268), the adverbial *maʔle* ‘later, tomorrow’.

- (266) /**naʔle** ʔwe so qom so qom rašilagantak/
- naʔle** ʔwe so qom so qom r+ašilagan+tak
- early** exist DEIC(gng) person DEIC(gng) person 3AC+ask+PROG
- ‘**Earlier** I met this person, he made a request.’

- (267) /kaʔ **nagi** ka saʃilaiʔsak /
 kaʔ **nagi** kaʔ s+aʃil+ir+sak
 and **now** and 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG
 ‘And **now** I am asking you.’

- (268) /čaqaeʔmaʔ naʔmagačiñoʔ ma ʔweoʔ ka yagat **maʔle** /
 čaqaeʔ-maʔ Ø+n-aʔmagat+ni+oʔ
 and-ʔ(=immediately) 3AC+HITH-prepare+DWN+EV

 maʔ ʔwe+oʔ ka yagat **maʔle**
 because exist+EV DEIC(absnt) rain **later**
 ‘They [must] get ready immediately because there will be a rain **later**.’

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

In example (269), the same form [ʔʌiwiʔ] (/eʔʌiwir/) can either mean ‘you go to get water’ or ‘(you) go to get water!’

- (269) /eʔʌiwir/
 Ø+eʔʌiwi+ir
 2AC+get.water+2SGR
 ‘You go to get water’ or ‘(You) go to get water!’

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

(270) /naʔirkena naho.../

Ø+n-aʔ+ir+kena na-ho

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

‘Come towards here...’

In example (271), from the same text, the strange creature has asked the man to do him a favor, and it is giving the man instructions as to what he needs him to do. The forms *kopatiroʔoʔ* ‘you ignite it (= start the fire)’ and *peliroʔ* ‘you go home’ are used with an imperative meaning.

(271) /kopatiroʔoʔ kaʔma ʔime kopatiraʔa ka epeliroʔ /

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

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

kaʔ Ø+epil+ir+oʔ

then 2AC+go.home+2SGR+EV

‘Set it on fire, when you are finished setting it on fire, then you go home.’

In (272), from Text 3, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar, the jaguar is tickling the fox on the snout with a small stick. But the fox, who is half asleep, thinks it is the flies that are bothering him. He tells the flies to leave him alone. The form *ʃaʃagani:tak* ‘you (pl) leave me’ is used with an imperative meaning.

(272) /ʃaʃagani:tak latagañi/

ir+aʃagan-i:+tak latagan-i

1IN+leave-2PL+PROG fly-PCL

‘Leave me alone, flies’

4.5. Locatives/Directionals

There is a set of verbal morphemes in Mocoví, the locative/directional (loc/dir) enclitics, which indicate motion, location and direction of the action expressed by the verb. I have identified fifteen loc/dir enclitics in Mocoví. The loc/dir enclitics are listed in Table 29, listed first in terms of opposite relations--down/up, under/on, in/out, towards.here/towards.there--and then other spatial relations for which opposites do not occur in Mocoví.

Table 29
Locative/directional enclitics

Down/Up

+ñi	'down, downwards'
+šigim	'up, upwards'

Under/On

+ot	'under'
+leg	'on, over'

In/Out

+eg ~ +weg	'out, outwards'
+wgi	'in, inwards, into'
+ñigi	'inside'
+o ~ +wo	'inwards, hither'

Towards.here/Towards.there

+kena	'towards here'
+igi	'towards (there?)'

Other spatial relations:

+a?ta	'on/to other side of, across'
+e?e	'with'
+igit	'behind'
+pege? ~ +pe?	'up to'

Loc/dir enclitics follow the progressive aspect marker and precede object number enclitics in the verb form. In example (273) the loc/dir enclitic *+igi* ‘towards there (TDS)’ is added to the verb *owagan* ‘to hit’, where it occurs between the progressive enclitic *+tak* and the enclitic *+lo* ‘paucal object’.

- (273) /qamir waganirtak **igi**lo nawa lečil so lwis/
 qamir Ø+owagan+ir+**tak**+**igi**+lo na-wa l+eči-l so lwis
 2SGPRON 2AC+hit+2SGR+PROG+ON+PCL DEIC(cmng)-PL 3POSS+leg-PCL DEIC(gng) Luis
 ‘You are hitting Luis on the legs (= you are hitting on Luis’ legs).’

When a loc/dir morpheme is added to the verb form, it increases the valency of the verb, adding a loc/dir argument to the argument structure of the verb. This argument is not always overtly expressed by an NP, but when it is, it expresses the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. It will be referred to as NP[loc], i.e. a locative noun phrase not introduced by an oblique marker. The sentences in (274)-(277) provide examples of some locative/directional enclitics added to the same verb root, *añogot* ‘to hide’. In each sentence there is an NP[loc] expressing the location where Luis is hiding. (The loc/dir enclitics are in **boldface**, and the NP[loc] is in *italics*.)

- (274) /lwis nañogot**igit** *da qoʔpaq*/
 lwis Ø+n-añogot+**igit** a+da qoʔpaq
 Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+**BEHIND** F+DEIC(vert) tree
 ‘Luis hides **behind** *the tree*.’

(275) /lwis nañogotwgi ñi ʔimek/

lwis Ø+n-añogot+wgi ñi ʔimek

Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+INSIDE DEIC(sitting) house

‘Luis hides **inside** the house.’

(276) /lwis nañogotiʔñot ji nkiʔyagala/

lwis Ø+n-añogot-iʔñi+ot ji n+kiʔyagala

Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+?+UNDER DEIC(hor) ABS-table

‘Luis hides **under** the table.’

(277) /lwis nañogotlek ñi ʔimek lelaq/

lwis Ø+n-añogot+leg ñi ʔimek t-claq

Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+ON DEIC(sitting) house 3POSS+roof

‘Luis hides **on** the roof of the house.’

The loc/dir enclitics cannot co-occur: only one loc/dir is possible within a verb form in Mocoví. Example (278) shows that a sentence with two loc/dir enclitics, -leg ‘on’ and -ñi ‘down, downwards’ added to the verb root *at* ‘to fall’ cannot co-occur within the same verb form.

(278) */satlekñi so waloq/

s-at+leg+ñi so waloq

1AC+fall+ON+DWN deic(gng) cotton

‘I fall **down on** the cotton.’

In many cases, a sentence containing a verb+loc/dir and a NP_[loc] is equivalent to a sentence containing a verb (without any loc/dir enclitic) and an oblique noun phrase. The

sentence in (279) is a simple sentence in which the verb *ilew* ‘to die’ has only the Inactive third person subject proclitic *i+*.

- (279) /lwis iilew /
 lwis i+ilew
 Luis 3IN+die
 ‘Luis died.’

Example (280) shows the same verb *ilew* ‘to die’ with the Inactive third person subject proclitic *i+* and the loc/dir enclitic *+wgi* ‘in, inwards, inside’, as well as an NP_[loc] *ñi natarenataganagaki* ‘in the hospital’ which expresses the location of the action expressed by the verb, i.e. where Luis died.

- (280) /iilewwgi ñi natarenataganagaki/
 i+ilew+wgi ñi n+atarenataganagaki
 3IN+ die +INSIDE DEIC(non-ext) ABS+hospital
 ‘(He) died in the hospital.’

Example (281) again shows the same verb *ilew* ‘to die’ with only the third person Inactive subject clitic *i+*, no loc/dir enclitic on the verb form, and an oblique noun phrase *ke ñi natarenataganagaki* ‘in the hospital’, introduced by the oblique marker *ke* followed by the noun phrase *ñi natarenataganagaki* ‘the hospital’. The meaning of the sentences in (280) and (281) is the same: Luis died in the hospital!

- (281) /iilew ke ñi natarenataganagaki/
 i+ilew ke ñi n+atarenataganagaki
 3IN+ die OBL DEIC(non-ext) ABS+hospital
 ‘(He) died in the hospital.’

Example (282) shows that it is not possible to have both the loc/dir enclitic on the verb and the noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *ke*.

- (282) */iilewwgi *ke* ñi natarenataganagaki/
 i+ilew+wwgi *ke* ñi n+atarenataganagaki
 3IN+ die +INSIDE OBL DEIC(nonext) ABS+hospital
 ‘(He) died in the hospital.’

Examples (283) and (284) show the same pattern. The sentence in (283) contains a verb form with the enclitic +*wgi* ‘in, inside, inwards’ added to the verb root *enogon* ‘enter’ and an NP_[loc] *ia?a* ‘my house’, while in (284) a sentence containing the same verb form with the enclitic +*wgi* and an oblique noun phrase *ke ia?a* ‘in my house’, rather than an NP_[loc] is ungrammatical.

- (283) /yim senogonwwgi ia?a/
 yim s+enogon+wwgi i+a?a
 1SGPRON 1AC+ enter +INSIDE 1SGPOSS+house
 ‘I enter my house.’

- (284) */yim senoxonwwgi *ke* ia?a/
 yim s+enoxon+wwgi *ke* i+a?a
 1SGPRON 1AC+enter+ INSIDE OBL 1SGPOSS+house
 ‘I enter my house.’

Another interesting example was taken from Text 2. The Flood, in which a man is walking in a field and encounters a creature who tells him there is going to be a flood. Both sentences express the same meaning: the man is walking on the land, or in the field. The

sentence in (285) contains the verb form *ke:talko?* (/Ø+ek+tak+leg+oʔ/) ‘he is going on (=is walking on)’ with, among other morphemes, the loc/dir +leg ‘on’, and the NP_[loc] *ji noʔwe:naga* ‘the field’.

(285) [naʎa:qoʔ woʔ so qomʔ ke:talkoʔ ji noʔwe:naga ...]

/naʎa:qoʔ weoʔ so qomʔ/

naʎa:q+oʔ we+oʔ so qom
before+EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person

/ekc:talegoʔ ji noʔwe:naga .../

Ø+ek+tak+leg+oʔ ji n+oʔwe:naga

3AC-go-PROG+ON+EV DEIC(hor) ABS+field

‘Once upon a time (= in the old times) there was a person walking on the land...’

In (286), the sentence contains the verb form *yowo:tako?* (/i+owo:-tak+oʔ/) ‘he was walking’ without any loc/dir enclitic, and an oblique noun phrase *ke ji noʔwe:naga* ‘in the field’.

(286) [... yowo:takoʔ ke ji noʔwe:naga]

/... iowo:takoʔ ke ji noʔwe:naga

i+owo:-tak+oʔ ke ji n+oʔwe:naga

3AC+walk+PROG+EV OBL DEIC(hor) ABS+field

‘... [the man] he was walking on the land.’

The verb forms, *ke:talko?* (/Ø-ek+tak+leg+oʔ/) ‘he is going on (= is walking on)’ in (285) and *yowo:tako?* (/i+owo:-tak+oʔ/) ‘he is walking’ in (286), have different verb roots, *ek* ‘to go’ and *owo:* ‘to walk’ respectively. Not all verb stems can take any loc/dir enclitic: some

verb stems can occur with most (or all) loc/dir enclitics, while other verb stems can occur with only a few, and still others with none.

When these loc/dir enclitics are added to an intransitive verb, they introduce a noun phrase, an NP_[loc], into the sentence, as shown in examples (279) and (281) above, and the verb agrees with the locative/directional noun phrase (NP_[loc]). When they are added to a transitive verb we can find not only a NP_[loc] in the sentence, but also a direct object noun phrase (NP_[DO]). This NP_[DO] occurs farther from the verb form than the NP_[loc], and the verb agrees with the NP_[loc] rather than with the NP_[DO], affecting the grammatical relation of the noun phrases to the verb within the verb phrase.

(287) /samag so lwis/

s+amag so lwis

1AC+push DEIC(gng) Luis

‘I push Luis.’

(288) /samagleg so waloq so lwis/

s+amag+leg so waloq so lwis

1AC+push+ON DEIC(gng) cotton DEIC(gng) Luis

‘I push Luis onto the cotton.’

(289) */samagleg *ke* so waloq so lwis /

s+amag+leg *ke* so waloq so lwis

1AC+push+ON *ke* DEIC(gng) cotton DEIC(gng) Luis

‘I push Luis onto the cotton.’

This evidence supports the idea that when these loc/dir enclitics are added to a verb form, they increase the valency of the verb, adding a loc/dir argument to the argument structure of the verb.

The examples below provide sentences containing the different loc/dir enclitics. Some of these sentences were elicited; others were taken from spontaneous speech samples, mainly texts.

Down/Up

+*ñi* ‘down, downwards’

(290) [sanah*ñi* ke da qo?paq]

/sanat*ñi* ke da qo?paq/

s+anat+*ñi* ke da qo?paq

1AC+fall+DOWN OBL DEIC(vert) tree

‘I fell from the tree.’

(291) [qalagam jilamaq*ñio?* jilamaq*ñio?* ke naho]

/qalagam irilamaq*ñio?* irilamaq*ñio?* ke naho/

qalagam ir+elamaq+*ñi+o?* ir+elamaq+*ñi+o?* ke na-ho

but 1IN+fall+DWN+EV 1IN+fall+DWN+EV OBL DEIC(cmng)-PROX (= here)

‘But I fell down. I fell down here. (Text 2. The Flood)

+*šigim* ‘up, upwards’

(292) /naqa*šigim*/

Ø+n-aqat-*šigim*

3AC+HITH-take+UP

‘He took it out (= pulled it up).’

- (293) /sela:gšigim ana ñogki ke ada qo?paq/
 s+ela-ag+šigim a+na ñogki ke a+da qo?paq
 1AC+put-1PL+UP F+DEIC(cmng) bag OBL F+DEIC(vert) tree
 ‘We lift the bag up to the tree.’

In (294), both +ñi ‘down, downwards’ and +šigim ‘up, upwards’ occur in the same sentence.

- (294) /ka na? nqo?ñišigim so nawegelek ka iro?we:nañi... /
 ka? na? Ø+n-qo?ñi+šigim so nawegelek ka? ir+o?we:n+ñi
 and when 3AC+HITH-rise+UP DEIC(cmng) cloud then 1IN+stay+DWN
 ‘And when the cloud went up, then I stayed down...’

Under/On

+ot ~ +o?ot ‘under’

- (295) ji roqači ?weo?ot la?aloki?
 ji r+oqači ?we+o?ot l+a?al-oki?
 DEIC(HOR) 3AC+steal be+UNDER ABS+shade-DIM
 ‘The thief was in the shade.’ (Text 3. The Fox Steals from the Jaguar)
- (296) /ne?yo?ot ada qotapik/
 n+e?y+o?ot a+da qotap-ik
 3AC+dig+UNDER F+DEIC(vert) mesquite-tree
 ‘He digs under the mesquite (tree).’

+leg ‘on, over’

(297) [yaʔik ñi laʔat we:taleg ji nkiʔyagala]

/iaʔik ñi laʔat we:taleg ji nkiʔyagala/

i+aʔik ñi l+aʔat ʔwe+ta+leg ji n+kiʔyagala

3AC+eat DEIC(nonext) ABS+meat exist+PROG+ON DEIC(vert) ABS+table

‘He eats the meat that is on the table.’

(298) [tahleg so lwis so waloq]

/atleg so lwis so waloq/

Ø+at+leg so lwis so waloq

3AC+fall+ON DEIC(gng) Luis DEIC(gng) cotton

‘Luis falls on the cotton.’

(299) /kaʔ ke:tankyoʔ ka laqalači yiwanelegoʔ /

kaʔ Ø+ek+taneki+oʔ ke l+aqalači i+ewan+leg+oʔ

and 3AC+go+PROG?+EV OBL ABS?+open.field 3AC+see+ON+EV

‘And as he was going through the open field he found it (on it).’

(Text 2, The Flood)

In/Out

+eg ~ +weg 'out, outwards'

(300) [yočia**weg** ke ji ʔo:či]

/iočia**weg** ke ji ʔo:či/

i+oči+**weg** ke ji ʔo:či

3AC+not.reach+OUT OBL DEIC(hor) brush

'He did not reach the edge of the brush.' ('He tried to come out of the brush, but he couldn't, i.e. he couldn't reach the outside of the brush.')

(301) /qamoʔ ka yale šimoʔ yaganeg ka rasotagwa/

qam+oʔ ka yale šim+oʔ i+agan+eg

but+EV DEIC male almost+EV 3AC+release+OUT

ka r+asot-ag-wa

DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

'But the male mosquito is about to release his dancing partner.'

/qam kaʔma ʔalo sqaiyaganeg ka rasotagwa/

qam ka ʔma ʔalo sq+i+agan+eg

but DEIC(absnt) PRON female NEG+3AC+release+OUT

ka r+asot-ag-wa

DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

'But the female mosquito did not release her partner.'

(Text 1. A Joke about the Mosquitos)

+*wgi* ‘in, inwards, into’

- (302) /rawegir**wgi**/
 r+aweg+ir+**wgi**
 2IN+bring+2SGR+INSIDE
 ‘He takes you inside.’

- (303) /yim sa:**wgi** da ʔo:či/
 yim s+a: +**wgi** da ʔo:či
 1SGPRON 1AG+go+INSIDE DEIC(vert) brush
 ‘I go into the brush (= inside the brush).’

+*ñigi* ‘inside’

- (304) [yaʔik ji laʔat we:ta**ñigi** ñi ʔwe:na netoʔot ji nkiʔyagala]
 /laʔik ji laʔat we:ta**ñigi** ñi ʔwe:na netoʔot ji nkiʔyagala/
 i+aʔik ji l+aʔat ʔwe+ta+**ñigi** ñi ʔwe:na
 3AC+eat DEIC(hor) ABS+meat exist+PROG+INSIDE DEIC(hor) pan

 /net+oʔot ji n+kiʔyagala/
 be+UNDER DEIC(hor) ABS+table
 ‘He eats the meat that is inside the pan which is under the table.’

+*o* ~ +*wo* 'inwards, hither'

(305) /sawego iakat/

s+aweg+o i+akat

1AC+bring+INWDS 1SGPOSS+breath

'I breathe (= I bring my breath hither).'

Towards here/Towards there

+*kena* 'towards here'

(306) [sawotake taykena aka rosa]

/sawotake taykena aka rosa/

s+awo+take tai+**kena** a+ka rosa

1AC+want+PROG 3AC.go(?)+TDS.THERE F+DEIC(absnt) Rosa

'I want Rosa to go there (where you are).'

(307) /naʔitkena naho .../

Ø+n-aʔ+ir+**kena** na-ho

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

'Come towards here...' (Text 2. The Flood)

+*igi* 'towards (there), around'

(308) /lwis sowagan**igi** lqaig/

lwis s+owagan+**igi** l+qaig

Luis 1AC+hit+TDS 3POSS+head

'I hit Luis on the leg.'

(309) /neʔet**igi** aso lačewge/

Ø+n-eʔet+**igi** a+so lačewge

3AC+HITH-drink+TDS F+DEIC(gng) river

'He drinks (water) from/in the river (using a glass or container).'

Other spatial relations:

+*aʔta* 'on/to other side of, across'

(310) /iočiaʔ**ta** ke so lačewge/

i+oči+aʔ**ta** ke so lačewge

3AC+not.reach+ACROSS OBL DEIC(gng) river

'He did not reach the other side of the river (i.e. He tried to cross the river but didn't get to the other side.')

+*eʔe* 'with'

(311) [jasoteʔ**e** lwis]

/irasoteʔ**e** lwis/

ir+asot+eʔ**e** lwis

1IN+dance+WITH Luis

'I dance with Luis.'

- (312) /rasotireʔe so lwis/
 r+asot+ir+eʔe so lwis
 2IN+dance+2SGR+WITH DEIC(gng) Luis
 ‘You(sg) dance with Luis.’

+igit ‘behind’

- (313) /lwis nañogotigit ada qoʔpaq /
 lwis n+añogot+igit a+da qoʔpaq
 Luis 3AC?+hide+BEHIND F+DEIC(vert) tree
 ‘Luis hides behind the tree.’

+pegeʔ ‘up to’

- (314) /lwis kepegeʔ martin laʔaʔ/
 lwis Ø+ek+pegeʔ martin laʔaʔ
 Luis 3AC+go+UP.TO Martin 3POSS+house
 ‘Luis goes to Martin's house.’

To summarize, then, loc/dir verbal enclitics indicate motion, location and direction of the action expressed by the verb. There are fifteen loc/dir enclitics in Mocoví which can be added to a verb form and which express direction and/or location of the action expressed by the verb. When a loc/dir morpheme is added to the verb form, it increases the valency of the verb, adding a loc/dir argument to the argument structure of the verb. These loc/dir morphemes affect the grammatical relation of the noun phrases to the verb within the verb phrase. When they are added to a verb form, the verb agrees with the locative/directional noun phrase (NP_[loc]) in the

sentence, and when they attach to a transitive verb we can find not only a NP_[loc] in the sentence, but also a direct object noun phrase (NP_[DO]). This NP_[DO] occurs farther from the verb form than the NP_[loc], and the verb agrees with the NP_[loc] rather than with the NP_[DO].

All the Waikurúan languages have a set of locative/directional (loc/dir) verbal morphemes that mark the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. Although the exact position of these morphemes varies slightly from language to language, in all the languages these loc/dir morphemes occur within the verb form after person number and aspect markers. In Toba and Kadiwéu some of them can co-occur, but it is not clear whether this is the case for Pilagá and Abipón. In Mocoví, none of the loc/dir enclitics have been found to co-occur. In Mocoví and Kadiwéu these loc/dir morphemes are clitics; in Toba and Abipón they are described as suffixes. It is not clear whether they are clitics or suffixes in Pilagá. The reconstruction of these morphemes in Proto-Waikurúan still needs to be done. However, it is likely that all the Waikurúan languages inherited the loc/dir verbal morphemes from the parent language. (See Appendix B for a comparative chart and a few examples of loc/dir morphemes in other Waikurúan languages.)

4.6. Object Number

Mocoví has two morphemes that mark the number of the object noun phrase: *+lo* ‘paucal’ and *+er* ‘plural’. These enclitics follow the loc/dir enclitics within the verb form.

(315) /sekona ñi ?tagaki/

s+ekon+a ñi ?tagaki

1AC+grab+? DEIC(non-ext) mug

‘I grab the mug.’

(316) /sekonalo ñawa ?tagaki(?)/

s+ekon+a+lo ñi-wa ?tagaki(-?)

1AC+grab+?+PCLO DEIC(non-ext)-PL mug(-PCL)

‘I grab the (two) mugs.’

(317) /ñiwa? ana magso/

i+n-ewar a+na magso

1AC+HITH-sew F+DEIC(cmng) pants

‘I sew the (pair of) pants.’

(318) [qami? wagañirigilo nawa lečil so lwis]

/qamir owagañirigilo/

qamir Ø+owagan+ir+igi+lo

2SGPRON 2AC+hit+2SGR+TDS+PCL

/nawa lečil so lwis/

na-wa l+-eči-l so lwis

DEIC(non-ext)-PL 3POSS+leg-PCL DEIC(gng) Luis

‘You(sgR) hit Luis on the legs (lit: ‘you (sgR) hit on Luis’ legs).’

4.7. Summary

In this chapter I have provided a description of the inflectional morphology of verbs and verb phrases, including clitics. In the following chapter I present a description of the syntax of clauses in Mocoví.

5. Clause Level Syntax

5.1. Constituent Order

Mocoví is an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) language. VOS (Verb-Object-Subject) word order is also very common, but based on the word order found in natural speech samples, SVO seems to be the basic word order in the language. In discourse, the occurrence of both subject and object lexical noun phrases in the same sentence is infrequent. In most cases, Mocoví encodes subjects and objects by pronominal clitics and affixes. However, when lexical NPs are present in discourse, if the verb of the clause has only one argument, i.e. when the main verb is an intransitive verb, the order tends to be VS. When the verb in the clause has two arguments, i.e. when it is a transitive verb or an intransitive verb with a locative NP, the order tends to be SVO.

The sentence in (319) is an example with both a subject and an object lexical NP. This sentence was taken from Text 2, The Flood. This is the third sentence in the text. The speaker has already introduced the main character in the story, a man who is walking in a field. And in this sentence he tells us what it is that the man is doing: he is looking for food. The agentive subject NP, *so qom* 'this person (going)', precedes the verb, therefore the verb phrase, and the non-agentive NP (the object), *ka lepetaganagat* 'his food (absent)', follows the verb. (The subject NP is in **boldface**, and the object NP in *italics*.)

- (319) /so **qom** nakitetako? *ka lepetaganagat* /
 so **qom** Ø+n-akit+tak+o? *ka* *l+epet-aganagat*
 DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+food
 that person was looking for *his food*:
 ‘That person was looking for food.’

Examples (320) and (321) show the same order of lexical NPs. These sentences were taken from Text 1, A Joke about the Mosquitos, in which the mosquitos are at a party, and a male mosquito has had a few drinks. He asks one of the female mosquitos to dance, and as they are dancing he feels his pants are about to fall off and tries to let go of his dance partner. But the female mosquito does not let go of him. In example (320), the agentive subject NP *na yale* ‘the man’ precedes the verb phrase, while the non-agentive NP (the object) *ka rasotagawa* ‘the partner’ follows the verb in the verb phrase. In example (321), the agentive subject NP *ka ?alo yat* ‘the female mosquito’ precedes the verb phrase, while the object NP *ka rasotagawa* ‘the partner’ follows the verb in the verb phrase. (The subject NP is in **boldface**, and the object NP in *italics*.)

- (320) /ka **na yale** šimo? yaganeg *ka rasotagawa* /
 ka **na** yale šim+o? i+agan+eg *ka* *r-asot-aga-wa*
 then DEIC(cmng) man almost+EV 3AC+let.go+OUT DEIC(absnt) 3IN+dance-NOM-mate
 ‘Then the male (mosquito) almost lets go of the dancing partner.’

(321) /qam ka ʔalo ʔyat noʔqotañioʔ ka rasotagawa/

qam ka ʔalo ʔyat Ø+n-oʔqot+ñi+oʔ

but DEIC(absnt) female mosquito 3AC+HITH-hold+DWN+EV

ka r+asot-aga-wa

DEIC(absnt) 3IN+dance-NOM-mate

‘Then the male (mosquito) almost lets go of the dancing partner.’

Example (322), taken from the same text, contains an intransitive verb with one agentive argument, the subject NP *na qom* ‘the people’, which follows the verb. (The subject NP is in **boldface**.)

(322) /kaʔ nowiretakʔ **na qom**/

kaʔ Ø+n-owir+tak+oʔ **na** **qom**

and 3AC+HITH-arrive+PROG+EV DEIC(cmng) **person**

‘And the people were arriving.’

Example (323), also taken from Text 1, A Joke about the Mosquitos, contains both an agentive subject *aka newige* ‘the music’, which follows the intransitive verb *iilamikioʔ* ‘it sounds, plays (of music)’, and a non-agentive subject *ka ʔyatir* ‘the mosquitos’, which follows the intransitive verb *rasotetapoʔ* ‘they are dancing’.

- (323) /kaʔ iilamikiʔ aka newige/
 kaʔ i+ilamiki+oʔ a+ka n+ewige
 and 3AC+sound+EV F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music
- /rasotetapoʔ ka ʔyatir/
 r+asot-er+tape+oʔ ka ʔyat-ir
 3IN+dance-3PL+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito-PCL
- ‘And (when) the music played the mosquitos danced.’

In existential clauses, i.e. clauses with the verb *ʔwe* ‘there is, there exists’, the subject NP regularly follows the verb. The sentences in (324) and (325) are examples of existential clauses. These sentences were taken from a text about a man with three heads who comes to eat the prey that three other men have hunted. In example (324), the subject NP, *so λya nelogoyak* ‘another guardian’, follows the existential verb *ʔweoʔ* ‘there was’.

- (324) /kaʔ ʔweoʔ so λya nelogoyaq/
 kaʔ ʔwe+oʔ so λiya n+elogoyaq
 then exist+EV DEIC(gng) other ABS+guardian
- ‘Then there was another guardian.’

In (325) the subject NP *so naʔa:ñaq treh lqaigo* ‘the visitor with three heads’ follows the existential verb *ʔwe* ‘there is’.

- (325) /kaʔ ʔwe so naʔa:ñaq treh lqaigo/
 kaʔ ʔwe so n+aʔa:ñaq treh l+qaig-o
 then exist DEIC(gng) ABS+visitor three 3POSS+head-PCL
- ‘Then there was another guardian.’

5.2. Sentence Types

5.2.1. Declarative Sentences

Since verbal arguments are expressed by pronominals on the verb form, a single verb form can constitute a full sentence, as shown in examples (326) and (327). However, those arguments can also be expressed by lexical noun phrases, as shown in examples (328) and (329).

In example (326), the agentive argument is the first person singular, marked with an Active proclitic *s+* on the verb form, and the non-agentive argument (the direct object) is the second person singular respectful, marked on the verb as an enclitic *+ir*. (The agentive (Active) marker is in **boldface** and the non-agentive (Inactive) marker in *italics*.)

- (326) /soʔdagat*ir* eg/
 s+oʔdagat+*ir*+eg
 1**AC**+scare+2*SGR*+ON
 'I scare you.'

The sentence in (327) was taken from a text about Pedro, a man who is placed in a leather bag to be thrown in a river, but he fools his enemies and escapes. The agentive argument is expressed by the third person proclitic *n+*. The verb form also contains the indefinite agent clitic *qa+*.

(327) /qanewareleg/

qa+n+ewar+leg

INDEF+3AC+sew+ON

‘Somebody sewed (him).’ (= the bag was sewn and he was inside the bag)

In example (328), from a text about how to cure a snake bite, the verb *-aqat* ‘to take (out)’ is a transitive verb. The subject is an agentive argument marked with an Active pronominal on the verb, the third person $\emptyset$ +, and the non-agentive argument, the object, is expressed in a noun phrase, *ka lošigimaga* ‘its skin’. (Since the non-agentive argument is a third person it is not overtly marked on the verb form.)

(328) /kaʔ antehnada naqat ka lošigimaga/

kaʔ antehnada $\emptyset$ +n-aqat ka l+ošigimaga

and first.of.all 3AC+HITH-take DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+skin

‘And first he takes its skin.’

In example (329), also taken from the text about Pedro, the subject is an agentive argument marked with an Active pronominal on the verb, the third person clitic $\emptyset$ +, and by the noun phrase *so λya qom* ‘another person’. The verb *-owir* ‘to arrive’ is an intransitive verb that takes only one argument, an agentive subject.

(329) /kaʔ nowiroʔ so λya qom/

kaʔ $\emptyset$ +n-owir+oʔ so λya qom

and 3AC+HITH-arrive+EV DEIC(gng) other person

‘And another person arrives.’

Intransitive clauses are those with an intransitive verb, which bears only one argument. That argument can be either an agent (Active marker) or a non-agent (Inactive marker).

In example (330), taken from Text 4, ‘The Fox Steals from the Jaguar’, the verb *e:loweg* ‘to wake up’ is an intransitive verb with an agentive subject expressed by the Active proclitic $\emptyset$ + and the noun phrase *ka netesqo?* ‘the uncle’.

- (330) /ne:lowko? ka netesqo?/
 $\emptyset$ +n-e:lo+weg+o? ka n+etesqo?
 3AC+HITH-wake.up+OUT DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle
 ‘His uncle woke up.’

The example in (331) contains two intransitive clauses, the first clause has the intransitive verb *?et* ‘to escape’ and, the second clause includes the verb *owir* ‘to arrive, reach’.

- (331) /ka? ka ji ?et qaekan yowir/
 ka? ka ji $\emptyset$ +?et qa+e+ka-n i+owir
 then and DEIC(hor) 3AC+escape nthg+M+DEIC(absnt)-? 3AC+arrive
 ‘Then he escapes: nobody can reach him.’

The example in (332), taken from the text about Pedro, is an intransitive sentence with the verb *owir* ‘to arrive’. The agentive subject is marked by the Active proclitic $\emptyset$ + on the verb form and by the NP *ka yaleripi* ‘the men’.

- (332) /ima? ka... yaleripi nowiro? na?le/
 ima? ka yale-r-ipi $\emptyset$ +n-owir+o? na?le
 after DEIC(absnt) man-PCL-PL 3AC+arrive+EV later
 ‘Later the men arrived.’

The intransitive sentence in (333), taken from the same text, contains the verb *awalaq* ‘to shout’. The agentive subject is expressed by the Active proclitic Ø+ on the verb form and by the NP *so yale* ‘the man’.

- (333) /iawalaqtako? so yale/
 i+awalaq+tak+o? so yale
 3AC+shout+PROG+EV DEIC(gng) man
 ‘The man was screaming.’

The example in (334) is an intransitive clause with only one argument, a non-agentive subject. The non-agentive argument is expressed by the Inactive marker *r+* on intransitive verb *ilogog* ‘to itch’, and by the lexical NP *nawa rakomeri* ‘their bellies’.

- (334) /rilogoglo nawa rakomiri /
 r+ilogog+lo na-wa r+akom-er-i
 3IN+itch+PCL DEIC(cmng)-PL 3POSS+belly-3PL-PCL
 ‘Their bellies start itching.’

Transitive clauses are those in which the verb is transitive, with two arguments. The arguments can be expressed by pronominals on the verb form or by pronominals and nominal phrases. It is not common in natural speech, however, to find two lexical noun phrases in a sentence: it is likely that at least one of the arguments will be expressed only by the pronominal on the verb form. However, clauses with two NPs do occur.

The sentence in (335) was taken from Text 4, ‘The Fox steals from the Jaguar’. It is the first sentence in the text. The speaker is introducing the story, and the clause has both an agentive subject noun phrase *regat* ‘jaguar’ and an object noun phrase, or non-agentive, *šipegaq qo?goyk* ‘old horse’. The third person agentive subject is also marked on the verb by an Active

proclitic *ɾ+*. (Third person Inactive is not overtly marked on the verb form.) (The agentive subject noun phrase is in **boldface**, and the object NP in *italics*.)

- (335) /**regat** **ralawata**gantakoʔ *šipegaq qoʔgoyk*/
regat **ɾ**+alawatagan+tak+oʔ *šipegaq qoʔgoyk*
jaguar 3AC+carve.up+PROG+EV *horse old*
 'A jaguar was carving up an old horse.'

In example (336), from the same text, the agent is expressed by the third person Active proclitic *ɪ+* on the verb *agañi* 'he abandons'. and the object (or non-agentive argument) is expressed by the nominal phrase *ka lete:sek* 'his nephew'. (As already noted, the third person non-agentive pronominal is not overtly marked on the verb form.) (The agentive marker is in **boldface** and the object is in *italics*.)

- (336) /kaʔ **iagañi** *ka lete:sek*/
 kaʔ **ɪ**+agañi *ka* *ɪ*+ete:sek
 and 3AC+abandon *DEIC(absnt)* 3POSS+nephew
 'And he left his nephew.'

In (337), taken from the text about Pedro, the agent is expressed by the Active proclitic *ɪ+*, and the non-agentive argument, or object, by the noun phrase *so magare* 'that one, him'.

- (337) / kaʔ yaʔʒin so magare/
 kaʔ **ɪ**+aʔʒin *so* *magare*
 and 3AC+fool *DEIC(gng)* *PRON*
 'And he fooled him.'

5.2.2. Existential Clauses

Existential clauses express the existence of somebody or something. They can be translated into English as ‘There is X’ or ‘X exists’. In Mocoví, existential clauses are formed by the verb *?we* ‘there is, there exists’ and a nominal phrase. The NP follows the verb in the clause, as shown in example (338), taken from the Text 2, ‘The Flood’.

- (338) /... ?weo? ka yagat ma?le/
 ... ?we+o? ka yagat ma?le
 ... be+EV DEIC(absnt) rain after
 ‘... there will be rain later.’

The example in (339) was taken from a text about a man with three heads. In this sentence the subject *ka isegeyekoki?* ‘little animal(s)’ follows the verb *?weo?* ‘there was’.

- (339) /?weo? ka isegeyekoki? /
 ?we+o? ka isegeyek-oki?
 be+EV DEIC(absnt) animal-DIMF
 ‘There were little animals.’

Mocoví does not have a special verb which expresses the semantic notion of possession, i.e. a verb such as ‘to have, to own, to possess’. Possession is instead expressed by an existential clause, with the verb *?we* ‘there is’ and a nominal phrase in which the possessor is marked on the possessed noun. In example (340), from Text 2 ‘The Flood’, the strange creature is telling the man that he has a request. This is expressed by the verb *?we* ‘there is’ and the noun phrase *da yašilaganagat* ‘my request’. The sentence can be translated into English as ‘I have a request’:

however, its literal translation is ‘there exists my request’. (In these sentences, the verb *?we* ‘there exists’ is in **boldface** and the possessive markers in *italics*.)

- (340) /ka? nagi **?weo?** da *ʔasilagan*agat /
 ka? nagi **?we+o?** da *ʔa*ʔasilagan-agat
 and now **exist+EV** DEIC(vert) *1SG*POSS+ask-NOM
 ‘And now I have a request.’ (= ‘and now there exists my request’)

The sentence in (341) was taken from Text 3. The Woman and the Duck. The subject *ka ʔalo le:nagat ?gañi* ‘the animal whose name is duck’ follows the verb *?weo?* ‘there was’. The sentence can be translated as ‘She had an animal called duck’. The possessive meaning is expressed by the existential verb *?we* and the NP with the head noun *-lo* ‘animal’ with the third person possessive proclitic *ʔ-*.

- (341) /qam **?weo?** ka *ʔalo le:nagat ?gañi* /
 qam **?we+o?** ka *ʔ*lo *l*e:nagat *?gañi*
 but **be+EV** DEIC(absnt) *3POSS*+animal *3POSS*+name duck
 ‘But she had an animal called duck.’ (= ‘there existed her animal his name [was] duck’)

The sentences in examples (342) and (343) have the same structure. In example (342) ‘I own a horse’ is literally ‘there exists my horse’, and in example (343), ‘I have a sister’, the literal translation is ‘there exists my sister’.

- (342) /**?we** ñi *ʔlo* ʃipegaq /
 ?we ñi *ʔ*lo ʃipegaq
 exist DEIC(nonext) *1SG*POSS+animal horse
 ‘I have a horse.’ (lit: ‘There exists my animal horse’)

- (343) /ʔwe ana iʔaqa/
 ʔwe a+na iʔaqa
 exist F+DEIC(cmng) 1SGPOSS+sibling
 ‘I have a sister.’ (lit: ‘There exists my sister’)

5.2.3 Copular Clauses

Mocoví lacks a copula verb. In copular clauses, the predicate is expressed by a noun phrase and/or an adjective phrase. In example (344), the noun phrase *iateʔe* ‘my mother’ is the predicative phrase, while in examples (345) and (346) the predicate is the adjective phrase *lodegat* ‘big’. (The predicative phrase is in **boldface**.)

- (344) /adaho **iateʔe**/
 a+da-ho i+ateʔe
 F+DEIC(vert)-PROX 1SGPOSS+**mother**
 ‘This here is my mother.’ (lit: ‘This here my mother’.)

- (345) /ñi pyog **lodegat**/
 ñi pyog **lodegat**
 DEIC(nonext) dog **big**
 ‘That dog is big.’ (lit: ‘This dog big’.)

(346) /naho lekat lodegat/

na-ho lekat lodegat

DEIC(comng)-PROX knife big

‘This knife here is big.’ (lit: ‘This knife here big’.)

5.3. Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are introduced by the interrogative forms *n̄ige?* ‘what, who’, *lagi* ‘when’, *či?nege* ‘why’, and *wa?ge* ‘where’. (Mocoví lacks an interrogative form equivalent to English ‘how’; the interrogative *n̄ige?* ‘what, who’ can also be used with the meaning ‘how’.) These interrogative forms are normally followed by a deictic classifier, in most cases *ka* ‘deictic classifier (absent)’.

(347) /n̄ige? ka iapongi añi xwan le?ya/

n̄ige? ka i+apongi a+ñi xwan l+e?ya

who DEIC(absnt) 3AC+cover F+DEIC(nonext) Juan 3POSS+hole

‘Who covered Juan’s hole?’

(348) /n̄ige? ka riyakir/

n̄ige? ka r+iyak+ir

what DEIC(absnt) 2AC+bring+2SGR

‘What did you bring?’

The example in (349) was taken from a text about a man with three heads. One of the men is guarding the prey that he and other men have hunted. In this sentence the man with the

three heads asks the man guarding the prey whether he would rather he (the three-headed man) eat him (the guard) or his prey. The interrogative sentence is introduced by the interrogative *ñige?* 'what. ho' followed by the deictic *ka* 'deictic (absent)'.

- (349) /*ñige? ka* peg qaindaweg saʔikir loqoʔm saʔik na račinkir/
ñige? ka peg qa+i+nda+weg s+aʔik+ir
what DEIC(absnt) more INDEF+3AC+prefer?+2SGR 1AC+eat+2SGR

 loqoʔm s+aʔik na r+ačink+ir
 or 1AC+eat DEIC(cmng) 2POSS+prey+2SGR
 'What do you prefer, that I eat you or that I eat your prey?'

The interrogative clause in (350) is introduced by *lagi* 'when' followed by the deictic *na* 'deictic (coming)'

- (350) /*lagio? na* nowir so xwan/
lagi+o? na Ø+n-owir so xwan
when+EV DEIC(cmng) 3AC+HITH-arrive DEIC(gng) Juan
 'When did Juan arrive?'

The example in (351) was taken from the text about Pedro. His enemies, who thought they had thrown him in the river, thought he was dead. But he had fooled them and years later he comes back. The men then ask 'Why is he back?'. The interrogative sentence in (351) is introduced by *či?nege* 'why'.

(351) /či?negeo? da nagi lot λya nowir/

či?nege+o? da nagi lot-λya Ø+n-owir

why+EV DEIC(vert) now time(?)-other(=again) 3AC+HITH-arrive

‘Why has this one come back again?’ (= ‘why has this one arrived another time?’)

The interrogative sentence in (352) is introduced by the interrogative *wa?ge* ‘where’ followed by the deictic *ka* ‘deictic (absent)’.

(352) /wa?ge ka se?gatirege/

wa?ge ka s+e?gat+ir+ege

where DEIC(**absnt**) 1AC+take+2SGR+LOC

‘Where do I take you?’

5.4. Subordinate Clauses

5.4.1. Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are those that function as arguments of the verb in a sentence. Complement clauses in Mocoví can be introduced by the complementizer *kijim* ‘that’, but normally they occur without a complementizer. The sentence in (353) contains a clause complement of the verb *sa?de:nagta* ‘we know’ introduced by the complementizer *kijim* ‘that’. (The clause is in *italics*, and the complementizer in **boldface**.)

- (353) /saʔde:nagta **kijim** na qom iaʔde:ner naʔqa:taganagaq/
 s+aʔde:n-ag+ta **kijim** na qom i+aʔde:n-er n+aʔqa:-agan-agaq
 IAC+know-1PL+PROG **that** DEIC(gng) person 3AC+know-3PL ABS+tell -NOM
 ‘We know that the people know stories.’

Example (354) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. This sentence contains a subordinate clause, *salatetapigi* ‘I make thunder’, that is introduced by the complementizer *kijim* ‘that’. (The clause is in *italics*, and the complementizer in **boldface**.)

- (354) /ka naʔ saganñi na ʔmaq **kijim** *salatetapigi* /
 kaʔ naʔ s+agan+ñi na ʔmaq **kijim** s+*alatetap*+igi
 and when IAC+stop+DWN DEIC(cmng) PRON **that** IAC+thunder+TDS
 ‘And when I stopped making thunder...’

Example (355) is an example of reported speech, in which the subordinate clause is a question, the object of the verb *renatagan* ‘he asks’. The subordinate clause has the structure of any interrogative sentence and is not introduced by the complementizer *kijim* ‘that’.

- (355) /xwan renatagan ñigeʔ ka lašik ka lanayk/
 xwan r+enatagan ñigeʔ ka l+ašik ka l+anayk
 Juan 3AC+ask what DEIC(absnt) ABS+face DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+snake
 ‘Juan asks what type of snake it is.’

5.4.2. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are not marked by any relative pronouns. The meaning expressed in English by a relative clause, is expressed in Mocoví by means of a clause immediately following the noun they modify, without an overt relativizer. In (356) the sentence contains a subject NP which includes a relative clause *sota čoqaʔa so nanegse* ‘(who) brought the plants’ without an overt relativizer immediately following the head noun it modifies, *doqolase* ‘white woman’. (The relative clause is in *italics*.)

(356) /nowir aso doqolase *sota čoqaʔa so nanegse*/

Ø+n-owir a+so doqo-lase

3AC+HITH-arrive F+DEIC(gng) white-F

so Ø+čoqaʔa *so-ta* n+anegse

DEIC(gng) 3AC+give DEIC(gng)-PROX abs+plant

‘The white woman who brought the plants arrived.’ (lit: ‘The white woman came, she gave me the plants’)

The sentence in (357) shows the relative clause *iowagan so xwan* ‘(who) hit Juan’ immediately following the head noun it modifies, *aso ʔalo* ‘the woman’, without an overt relativizer. (The relative clause is in *italics*.)

(357) /aso ʔalo *iowagan so xwan* senanak nagi/

a+so ʔalo i+owagan *so* xwan se+Ø+n-anak nagi

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

‘The woman who hit Juan did not come today.’

The example in (358) shows a sentence in which the subject NP includes a relative clause *?we:taleg ji lames* ‘(which) are on the table’ without an overt complementizer. (The relative clause is in *italics*.)

(358) /jiwa øelisa ?we:naI togir *?we:taleg ji lames* ropoqogilo/

ji-wa øelisa ?we:na-I tog-ir
DEIC(hor)-PL Felisa pot-PCL red-PCL

?we+ta+leg ji I+ames r+opoqog-lo
be+PROG+ON DEIC(hor) ABS+table 3IN+break-PCL

‘Those red pots of Felisa’s that are on the table are broken.’

5.4.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses of **cause** are introduced by *saik* ‘because’. In example (359) *saik* ‘because’ introduces the adverbial clause *aso rosa iawa:gan xose* ‘Rosa hit José’.

(359) /lwis iawalag **saik** *aso rosa iawa:gan xose*/

lwis i+awalag **saik** a+so rosa i+awa:gan xose
Luis 3AC+scream **because** F+DEIC(cmng) Rosa 3AC+hit José

‘Luis screamed because Rosa hit José.’

The example in (360) was taken from Text 4, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar. The jaguar has just woken up and realizes that the meat he had taken from his prey is missing. The sentence contains two clauses, a main clause with the verb *ro?o* ‘he gets angry’, and an adverbial clause of cause introduced by *saik* ‘because’.

- (360) /ka roʔo saik ioʔwat latenqaipil/
 ka r+oʔo saik i+oʔwat l+aten-qa-ipi
 and 3IN+get.angry because 3IN(?) + be.missing 3POSS+prey-PCL-PL
 ‘And he got angry because his prey was missing.’

Clauses of time are expressed by clauses marked by the coordinator *kaʔ* ~ *ka* ‘and, then’, or *naʔ* ‘when’. The sentence in (361) was taken from Text 3, The woman and the Duck. The sentence is introduced by the adverbial *kaʔ* ‘then’.

- (361) /kaʔ satoʔ ka pato/
 kaʔ Ø+sat+oʔ ka pato
 then 3AC+listen+EV DEIC(absnt) duck
 ‘Then the duck listened.’

The sentence in (362) was taken from Text 2, The Flood. The adverbial clause *nqoʔnišigim so nawegelek* ‘when the cloud went up’ is introduced by the adverbial *naʔ* ‘when’.

- (362) /kaʔ naʔ nqoʔnišigim so nawegelek ka ʔoʔwe:nañi/
 kaʔ naʔ Ø+n-qoʔni+šigim so nawegelek
 and when 3AC+HITH-rise+UP DEIC(cmnng) cloud

 ka ir+oʔwe:n+ñi
 then 1IN+stay+DWN
 ‘And when the cloud went up then I stayed (= I remained on the earth).’

Mocoví lacks an adverb to mark instrumental clauses. The instrumental meaning is expressed by juxtaposed clauses, one of which usually contains a form of the verb *oʔwet* ‘to use, to utilize’ as in example (363). In this example the clauses *soʔwet naserek lpaʔaʔ* ‘I use the

liquid medicine' and *saʔmen lotoge xwan* 'I rub Juan's chest' are simply juxtaposed, but they provide the instrumental meaning that in English can be glossed as 'I rub Juan's chest with the liquid medicine'. However, the literal meaning of the sentence is 'I use the liquid medicine, I rub Juan's chest'. The clause containing the form of the verb *oʔwet* 'to use, to utilize' is in *italics*.)

(363) /*soʔwet naserek lpaʔaʔ* saʔmen lotoge xwan/

s+oʔwet n+aserek l+paʔaʔ s+aʔmen l+otoge xwan
IAC+use ABS+medicine ABS+liquid 3AC+rub 3POSS+chest Juan

'I rub Juan's chest with the liquid medicine.' (= I use the liquid medicine, I rub Juan's chest.)

Conditional clauses are introduced by *noʔom* 'if', as in example (364). In this sentence the conditional clause *yagat* 'rain' is introduced by *noʔom* 'if' and the coordinator *kaʔ* 'then' occurs between the conditional clause and the following clause *sqaesik* 'I don't go'.

(364) /*noʔom yagat kaʔ* *sqaesik*/

noʔom yagat kaʔ *sqaesik*
 if rain then NEG+IAC+go

'If it rains I don't go.'

In (365), from Text 2, The Flood, the conditional clause *da jiʔgoriñir* 'you do me a favor' is introduced by *noʔom* 'if' and the coordinator *čaqa* 'and' occurs between the conditional clause and the following clause *qamiʔ seʔgoriñir* 'I favor you, I will help you'.

- (365) /qalagam nagi sašilaiʔsak noʔom da jiʔgoriñir čaqae qamir seʔgoriñir/
 qalagam nagi s+ašila+ir+sak noʔom da ir+eʔgorin+ir
 but now 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG if DEIC(vert) 1IN+favor+2SGR

čaqae qamir s+eʔgorin+ir
 and 2SGPRON 1AC+favor+2SGR

‘But now I am asking you, if you appreciate me this way I will favor you.’ (= If you do this for me now, I will help you)

5.5. Coordination

The overt coordinators *čaqae* ‘and’, *kaʔ* ‘and, then’, *qam* ~ *qalagam* ‘but’, and *loqoʔm* ‘or’ are used to coordinate sentences and clauses. The example in (366) shows the clauses *felisa rewo:se* ‘Felisa cooks’ and *aso alisia kola qalači* ‘Alicia peels the onions’ conjoined by the coordinator *kaʔ* ‘and, then’. The coordinator *kaʔ* ‘and, then’ occurs between the two clauses.

- (366) /felisa rewo:se kaʔ aso alisia kola qalači/
 felisa r+ewo:se kaʔ a+so alisia Ø+kola qalači
 Felisa 3AC+cook and F+DEIC(cmng) Alicia 3AC+peel onion

‘Felisa cooks and Alicia peels onions.’ (=Felisa cooks while Alicia peels onions)

In (367) the clauses *qaeka laʔat* ‘there is no meat’ and *so felisa rewo:se* ‘Felisa cooked (stew)’ conjoined by the coordinator *qam* ‘but’, which occurs between the two clauses.

(367) /qaeka laʔat **qam** so ʔelisa r-ewo:se/

qa+i+ka laʔat **qam** so ʔelisa r+ewo:se
 nthg+M+DEIC(absnt) meat **but** DEIC(gng) Felisa 3AC+cook

‘There is no meat, but Felisa cooked (stew).’ (=although there is no meat, Felisa cooked a meal.)

In example (368) from Text 2, The Flood, the clauses *qomoʔ so* ‘(was) this a person’ and *legemagayk* ‘a strange being’ are conjoined by the coordinator *loqoʔm* ‘or’.

(368) /qomoʔ so **loqoʔm** legemagayk/

qom+oʔ so **loqoʔm** legemag-ayk
 PERSON+EV DEIC(gng) **or** strange.being-ADJ

‘Was it a person or a strange creature?’

In the example in (369) from the same text, the coordinator *loqoʔm* ‘or’ is used to conjoin the noun phrases *wagay* ‘sea’, *ña:či* ‘stream’ and *lačeʔwge* ‘river’.

(369) /kaʔ qaiodagsom ke ka lemanaga wagay **loqoʔm** ña:či **loqoʔm** lačeʔwge/

kaʔ qa+i+odagsom ke ka l+emanaga wagay **loqoʔm** ña:či
 then INDEF+3AC+carry OBL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+edge sea or stream

loqoʔm lačeʔwge

or river

‘He was taken to the edge of the sea, or stream, or river’

The coordinators *kaʔ* ‘and, then’ and *qam ~ qalagam* ‘but’ are extremely common in texts. Their function is to link sentences in discourse, in which almost every sentence is introduced by a coordinator. Example (370) includes the first few sentences from Text 1, A Joke about the Mosquitos. In this example the first sentence of the text is presenting the setting, and it

is not introduced by any coordinators. The following twelve sentences of the text are all introduced by a coordinator. (The layout of the text is as follows: the first line provides a phonetic and sometimes phonemic transcription; the second line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown; the third line includes a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss; the fourth line contains a literal translation in English; and the last line is a free English translation of the sentence, provided in *italics*. The coordinators in each sentence are in **boldface**.)

(370) Excerpt from Text 1, A Joke about the Mosquitos

/ʔweoʔ so naʔgaʔa ʔwe so wayle rasotagayripi/

ʔwe+oʔ so naʔgaʔa ʔwe so wayle r+asot-aga-ir-ipi

EXIST+EV DEIC(gng) day exist DEIC(gng) dance 3POSS+dance-NOM-PCL-PL

‘There was a day [when] there was a dance of the dancers.’

‘One day there was a dance of many dancers.’

/kaʔ nowiretakoʔ na qom/

kaʔ Ø+n-owire+tak+oʔ na qom

then 3AC+HITH-arrive+PROG+EV DEIC(cmng) person

‘**Then** the people were arriving.’

‘Then the people started to arrive.’

/qam ?wei sawa?maq šige ?wesanji ?yati le:nagat ?yati/

qam ?we-i so-wa ?maq

but exist-PL DEIC(gng)-PL PRON

‘But [there] they were.’

šige ?we-san-ji ?yat-i l+enagat ?yat-i

already exist-??-DEIC(hor) mosquito-PCL 3POSS+name mosquito-PCL

‘they were already there the mosquitos, those whose name is mosquitos.’

‘But there they were the mosquitos, those called mosquitos.’

/ka? so ?yat yale ?wei ka laqano?lyi?/

ka? so ?yat yale ?we-i ka l+aqan-o?lyi?

then DEIC(gng) mosquito male exist-PL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+drink-DIMF

‘Then the male mosquito had a few drinks.’ (= there exist his small drinks)

‘Then the male mosquito had a few drinks.’

/ka? iewane?to? ka ?alo?li?λya/

ka? i+iwan-e?t+o? ka ?alo-o?li?-λya

then 3AC+see-?+EV DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF-other

‘Then he saw another little woman.’

‘Then he saw a little woman.’

/ka? na:ko? ... iilamkyo? ka newige/

ka? Ø+na:k+o? i+ilamki+o? ka n+ewige

then 3AC+say+EV 3AC+play+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

‘Then he said the music played.’

‘Then he said... the music played...’

/kaʔ na:koʔ ka ʔyat ˈčima ʔwe da yasotaqčik yasotaqčik/ ˈ

kaʔ Ø+na:k+oʔ ka ʔyat

then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito

ˈThen the mosquito said:

čima ʔwe da i+asot-aq-čik i+asot-aq-čik

?? exist DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+dance-NOM-?? 1SGPOSS+dance-NOM-??

«There exists my wish to dance».

ˈThen the mosquito said: «I would like to dance».

/kaʔ na:koʔ ka ʔalo ˈaha yim taqaʔneta ʔwe da qaralorta/

kaʔ Ø+na:k+oʔ ka ʔalo

then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) woman

ˈThen the woman said:

aha yim taqaʔneta ʔwe da qar+alorta

yes 1SGPRON also exist DEIC(vert) 1PLPOSS+??

ˈYes, I also (it) exists our ?? (=our wishes are the same?)ˈ.

ˈAnd the woman said: «Yes, I want to dance too.»

/kaʔma sinaqta/ ˈ

kaʔ-ma s+in-aq+ta

then-? 1AC+?-1PL+PROG

ˈthen we do that.

ˈ«Then let's do so».

/ka? tare?wiji rasoter rasotero?/

ka? Ø+tar-er+wiji r+asot-er r+asot-er+o?

then 3AC+exit-3PL+OUT? 3IN+dance-3PL 3IN+dance-3PL+EV

‘Then they went out [and] they dance they danced.’

‘Then they went outside and danced.’

/ka iilamkyo? aka newige rasotetapo? ka ?yati/

ka i+ilamki+o? a+ka n+ewige

then 3AC+play+EV F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

‘Then when the music played’

r+asot-er+tape+o? ka ?yat-i

3IN+dance-3PL+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito-PCL

‘the mosquitos were dancing.’

‘Then when the music played the mosquitos were dancing.’

qam ka ta:čigiñi magarayko? ka rasotagage?.

qam ka ta:čigiñi magar-ayk+o? ka r+asot-agag-er

‘but DEIC(absnt) beginning good-ADJM+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-3PL

‘but at the beginning their dancing was good.’

‘And at the beginning they were dancing well.’

/qam na? waw?keram ka? nko?ne:tako? da namogolišiger/

qam na? waw?keram ka? Ø+n-ko?ne:+tak+o? da n-amogolišig-er

but then later then 3AC+HITH-increase+PROG+EV DEIC(vert) 3POSS+joke-3PL

‘But then later their jokes are increasing.’

‘But later their jokes were increasing.’

5.6. Comparatives and Equatives

Mocoví adjectives do not have comparative or superlative forms. These notions are expressed by the lexical forms *pageg* ~ *peg* ‘more’ and *čalego* ‘very’. If a sentence has two noun phrases that are being compared, one of the noun phrases is an oblique noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *ke*.

- (371) /xwan **peg** ladogaga *ke* so rowerto/
 xwan **peg** ladogaga *ke* so rowerto
 Juan **more** tall *OBL* DEIC(gng) Roberto
 ‘Juan is taller than Roberto’

- (372) /xwan **peg** ladogaga/
 xwan **peg** ladogaga
 Juan **more** tall
 ‘Juan is the tallest.’

- (373) /naħo lačewge **peg** lekaʔge *ke* ji λya/
 na-ħo lačewge **peg** lekaʔge *ke* ji λya
 DEIC(cmng)-PROX river **more** big *OBL* DEIC(hor) other
 ‘This river here is longer than that other (one).’

Equatives are expressed by juxtaposition. The clauses are linked by *?nem* ~ *?nehem* ‘like, similar, same’. In example (374), taken from a text about how to cure a snake bite, the speaker is describing the bite of the ‘campanilla’, a poisonous snake, and he says there is nothing

as bad as a bite from this snake. The negative *qaeka* ‘nothing’ and the adjective *laʔa:ga* ‘ugly’ are linked by *?nem* ‘similar, same, like’. The sentence has an equative meaning.

- (374) /qaeka ?nem laʔa:ga... /
 qa+e+ka ?nem laʔa:ga
 nothg+M+DEIC(absnt) **same** ugly
 ‘Nothing is as ugly...’

Example (375) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. At this point in the story the man has encountered a strange creature who tells him that there is going to be a flood, and he asks the man to do something for him. He tells the man that they both have the same need, literally ‘your need is the same as my need’. The noun phrases *da iowenaganaga* ‘my need’ and *da rowenaganagair* ‘your need’ are linked by *?nehem* ‘similar, same, like’. The sentence has an equative meaning.

- (375) /kaʔ nagi ka saʃilairsak/
 kaʔ nagi kaʔ s+aʃil+ir+sak
 and now and IAC+ask+2SGR+PROG
 ‘And now I am asking you.’

 /ka da iowenaganaga ?nehem da rowenaganagair/
 kaʔ da i+owenaganaga ?nehem da r+owenaganaga+ir
 and DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need **same** DEIC(vert) 2POSS+need+2SGR
 ‘And my need is similar to your need’

5.7. Negation

In Mocoví negation is expressed by a negative proclitic with two allomorphs. *sqa*⁺ ~ *se*⁺. It is not yet clear what determines the distribution of the allomorphs. In (376), the negative clitic *se*⁺ is attached to the verb *rapiler* ‘they return’; in (377), it is attached to the verb *saʔde:nag* ‘we know’; and in (378), it precedes the noun *lpaganqate* ‘his underpants’.

- (376) /sawa yaler nagi serapiler/
 so-wa yale-r nagi se+r+apil-er
 DEIC(gng)-PL man-PCL now NEG+3IN+return-3PL
 ‘Now the men will not return.’

- (377) /qam sesaʔde:nag/
 qam se+s+aʔde:n-ag
 but NEG+3AC+know-1PL
 ‘But we don’t know.’

- (378) /šim nahañi lpaganqate qam selpaganqate/
 šim Ø+n-aha+ñi l+paganqate qam se+l+paganqate
 almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN 3POSS+underpants but NEG+3POSS+underpants
 ‘His underpants almost fall down; but these are not his underpants.’
 (Text 1. A Joke about the Mosquitos)

In (379), taken from Text 2. The Flood, the negative clitic *se*⁺ is attached to the verb *ewan* ‘see’, and the negative clitic *sqa*⁺ is attached to the noun *qom* ‘person’.

- (379) /maʔ seiewanapega iaʔden maʔ sqaeqom/
 maʔ se+i+ewan+pega i+aʔde:n maʔ sqa+qom
 because NEG+3AC+see+? 3AC+know because NEG+person
 ‘Because he had never seen it, he didn’t know it because it was not a person.’

In (380), the negative clitic *sqa+* is attached to the verb *ewanaganir* ‘you look (at something)’, and in (381), it is attached to the verb *alawatir* ‘you kill (something)’.

- (380) /sqaewanaganir /
 sqa+Ø+ewanagan+ir
 NEG+2AC+look+2SGR
 ‘Do not look (at it)’

- (381) /sqaalawatir/
 sqa+Ø+alawat+ir
 NEG+2AC+kill+2SGR
 ‘Do not kill him/her/it’

5.8. Evidential

There is an enclitic *+oʔ* which can be attached to the verb or other elements in the verb phrase which seems to mark evidential. It can be used to refer both to events that occurred in the past and to events that will occur in the future. This enclitic is extremely common in narrative texts.

The example in (382) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. This is the third sentence in the text. The story the native speaker is telling is not something he has witnessed himself: it's a story told to him by his grandfather when he was a child. The evidential *+o?* is attached to the verb form *nakitetak* 'he is looking'.

- (382) /so qom nakittako? ka lepetaganagat/
 so qom Ø+n-akit+tak+o? ka l+epet-aganagat
 DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+food
 'That person was looking for food.'

- (383) /ka? iłitako? lasom lai/
 ka? i+ıyak+o? l+asom l+ai
 then 3AC+bring+EV 3POSS+door ABS+side
 'And she placed it near the door (= by the side of the door).'

In example (368), taken from the same text and repeated here as (384) for convenience, the evidential clitic *+o?* is attached to the noun *qom* 'person'.

- (384) /qomo? so loqo?m legemagayk/
 qom+o? so loqo?m legemag-ayk
 PERSON+EV DEIC(gng) or strange.being-ADJ
 'Was it a person or a strange creature?'

In (385), from a text, the evidential clitic *+o?* is attached to the adverbial *šim* ‘almost’.

(385) /ka? šimo? qainaganigi so wagayaq/

ka? šim+o? qa+i+nagan+igi so wagayaq
then almost+EV INDEF+3AC+throw+TDS DEIC(gng) water

‘Then he was almost thrown into the water.’ (lit: ‘Then somebody almost threw him into the water.’)

The example in (386) . the first sentence in Text 2 (The Flood) contains three evidentials.

(386) /naλya:qo? weo? so qom ke:talego? ji no?we:naga/

naλa:q+o? ?we+o? so qom
before+EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person

Ø+ek+ta+leg+o? ji n+o?we:naga
3AC+walk+PROG+ON+EV DEIC(hor) ABS+field

‘Once upon a time (= in the old times) there was a man who was walking on the field.’

In (387), from the same text, the verb form *kopatiro?o?* ‘you ignite (it)’ contains two instances of the evidential clitic *+o?*.

(387) /kijim sašila?i? kopatiro?o? naho sentangi laqalači /

kijim s+ašila+ir Ø+kopat+ir+o?+o? na-ho
for 1AC+ask+2SGR 2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV DEIC(cmng)-PROX

s+enta+ngi l+aqalači
1AC+exist?+? ABS+open.field

‘[I ask] that you start a fire here, where I am on the open field.’

5.9. Summary

In this chapter I provided an account of word order and the structure of sentences and clauses in Mocoví. I described declarative and interrogative sentences, intransitive and transitive clauses, existential clauses, copular clauses, (the lack of) relative clauses, various types of adverbial clauses, comparative and equative structures, and coordination. I have described the negative proclitics and the evidential enclitic, and shown their use and function in natural speech.

6. Spanish Influence on Mocoví

The Mocoví Indians have been in contact with Spanish speakers since the mid 1700s, when the Spanish started sending expeditions to the southern Chaco region in Argentina, and the Jesuits attempted to establish missions in the area. However, the Mocovís, together with other Indian groups, managed to keep the Spanish away from the region until the late 19th century, when the Europeans settled in the area and the Mocovís started to depend on them for survival. It was not until the mid-20th century that Mocoví speakers came into intense contact with Spanish speakers.

In this chapter I examine the extent and nature of Spanish influence on Mocoví as a result of the recent intense contact situation between speakers of the two languages. In section 6.1 I briefly outline the methodology used in this chapter. In section 6.2 I present the borrowings from Spanish found in the Mocoví data I have examined, and I analyze the patterns of nativization that these forms show in Mocoví. Section 6.3 summarizes the findings.

6.1. Methodology

For this chapter I have concentrated on lexical items, morphology and phonology. I have examined data collected through elicitation from native speakers of the language and from texts recorded from four different native speakers of Mocoví of different ages (a total of 10 texts). I have also examined two sources that provide a description of earlier stages of two Waikurúan languages. One is a grammar of Abipón by Najlis (1966) based on the descriptions of the language provided by Martin Dobrizhoffer (1784) and Joseph Brigniel (original date unknown,

though likely to be around 1760, and published in 1896). The second source is Lafone Quevedo's 1892 Grammar of Mocoví, which can be used as a description of Mocoví in the late 19th century. I have also used Ceria & Sandalo (1995) on Proto-Waikurúan as a source for earlier stages of the phonology and (part of the) lexicon of Mocoví.

6.2. Lexical Borrowings

Spanish borrowings into Mocoví show several patterns of phonological nativization, ranging from items that exhibit no change at all to items that have been completely nativized. The lexical borrowings are grouped according to the extent of their nativization and the pattern(s) that they show. I have found so far a total of forty borrowings from Spanish in Mocoví, out of a total of about two thousand lexical items that I have collected and analyzed. Most of these forms were collected during elicitation sessions, and only about fifteen borrowings occurred in texts: seven discourse markers and eight lexical items.

The data is organized as follows: the Mocoví form of the borrowing is presented in the first column, followed by the Spanish source with the phonetic transcription in square brackets, then the English gloss, and then, in those cases where it is available, the native form is provided in the last column.

6.2.1. Spanish loans with no segmental changes and Spanish stress.

The phonemic inventories of Mocoví and Spanish are not extremely different,¹ and many Spanish borrowings contain sounds that also occur in Mocoví. The stress patterns, however, are different, and many loanwords maintain penultimate Spanish stress when borrowed into Mocoví. Examples (388)-(397) show Spanish loans with no segmental changes and with Spanish penultimate stress. Some of these words may also occur in monolinguals' speech with nativization of the stress pattern, but so far I have found no examples.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(388)	βanána	Sp. banana [banána]	banana	
(389)	máka	Sp. hamaca [amáka]	hammock, swing	-alaki
(390)	mansána	Sp. manzana [mansána]	apple	
(391)	owéro	Sp. overo [oβéro]	spotted	
(392)	pápa	Sp. papa [pápa]	potato	
(393)	pápi	Sp. papi [pápi]	daddy	tayo
(394)	páto	Sp. pato [páto]	duck	raqawi
(395)	pelóta	Sp. pelota [pelóta]	ball	
(396)	sórgo	Sp. sorgo [sórgo]	sorghum	
(397)	tomáte	Sp. tomate [tomáte]	tomato	

6.2.2. Mocoví stress with native suffixes

Some Spanish loanwords in Mocoví maintain the Spanish stress pattern when they occur without any Mocoví suffixes. However, if Mocoví suffixes are added, the loanwords adopt the Mocoví stress pattern, namely stress on the last vowel of the word, as in examples (398)-(400).

The forms in (a) show the Spanish loanwords with Spanish penultimate stress in Mocoví: in (b), the same forms occur with the paucal suffix *-l*, which moves the stress to the last vowel in the word. In example (398)c. the plural suffix *-ipi* has been added, also moving the stress to the last vowel in the word.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(398) a.	liméta (SG)	Sp. limeta [liméta]	bottle	
b.	limetál (PCL)			
c.	limetaypí (PL)			
(399) a.	móno (SG)	Sp. mono [móno]	monkey	
b.	monól (PCL)			
(400) a.	sápo (SG)	Sp. sapo [sápo]	frog	pĩjilogologó
b.	sapól (PCL)			

It is interesting to note that it is only Mocoví suffixes and not prefixes or enclitics that trigger this change of stress in loanwords. In (401)a below, the loanword in the singular form maintains Spanish penultimate stress. In (401)b the paucal suffix *-l* has been added, in (401)c the plural *-ipi*, and in (401)d the second person respectful possessive suffix *-ir* (together with the prefix *n-* ‘alienable possession’). These suffixes change the stress to the last syllable of the word. In (401)e, however, the first person singular possessive prefix *ñ-* has been added, and the word still maintains the Spanish penultimate stress.

¹ See Appendix B, Section B.4 for the phonemic inventory of (Argentinian) Spanish.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(401)a.	wólsa	Sp. bolsa [bólsa]	bag	noɣoki
b.	wolsáɪ (PCL)			
c.	wolsa(l)ipí (PL)			
d.	nwolsaír (2SG.POSS) Ø+n-wolsa+ir 2POSS+AL-bag+2SGR			
e.	ñwólsa (1SGPOSS) i+n-wolsa 1SGPOSS+AL-bag			

There is one loanword, [petisoʔliʔ ~ petisokiʔ] ‘short’ (< Sp *petiso* ‘short’ and Mocoví diminutive suffixes -oʔliʔ (F) and -oʔkiʔ (M)), that is found always with the Mocoví diminutive suffix, and that follows Mocoví stress pattern.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(402)	petisoʔliʔ (F)	Sp. petiso/a [petiso]	short (dimF)	lawoʂoʔliʔ
	petisokiʔ (M)		short (dimM)	

6.2.3. Vowel change (Sp. /u/ > Mco /o/) (and Spanish stress)

Spanish words that contain a high back rounded vowel /u/ when borrowed into Mocoví change the Spanish vowel [u] to Mocoví [o]. This is an example of nativization because Mocoví lacks a phoneme /u/. In both (403) and (404) the Spanish stress pattern is maintained. Note also the change from Spanish [ð] (an allophone of /d/ in Spanish) to Mocoví [r].

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(403)	koñára	Sp. cuñada [kuñáða]	sister-in-law	iowaɣya (1SGPOSS)
(404)	móro	Sp. mudo [múdo]	mute	

6.2.4. Word-initial vowel deletion

There is a phonological rule in Mocoví that deletes a word-initial vowel. In some Spanish borrowings the Spanish word-initial unstressed vowel is deleted as in (405)–(408). Note that the forms in (405)–(407) also maintain the Spanish stress pattern. Example (408) shows the deletion of both the first vowel [a] and the following consonant [l], as well as the addition of the masculine diminutive suffix *-okiʔ*, which changes the stress to the last vowel of the word.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(405)	čárpe	Sp. echarpe [ečárpe~ešarpe]	scarf	
(406)	(a)rína	Sp. harina [arína]	flour	
(407)	súkar	Sp. azúcar [asúkar]	sugar	
(408)	pargatokĩʔ	Sp. alpargata [alparyáta]	rope-soled slipper	nepela 'shoe'

6.2.5. Reanalysis of Spanish Loans

There are a few nouns that have been borrowed from Spanish together with the Spanish feminine definite article, and have been reanalyzed as one word. I have not found any examples of such reanalysis involving the Spanish masculine article *el* ‘the (M)’. At this point I would like to suggest that this is probably due to chance, since there are only three examples of reanalysis involving a Spanish definite article and a noun.

In examples (409) and (410) the Spanish nouns *mesa* ‘table’ and *taza* ‘cup, mug’ have been borrowed together with the feminine definite article *la* ‘the (F)’ which precedes these nouns in Spanish. Both forms also show the deletion of the word-final unstressed vowels. Notice that word-final vowels are not deleted in any of the other loanwords where the Spanish form has penultimate stress. (Compare (409) and (410) with the forms in examples (388)-(397), and (398)a-(401)a.)

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(409)	lamés	Sp. la mesa [la mésa]	table	sela . nkiʔyagala
(410)	latás	Sp. la taza [la tása]	cup, mug	ʔtagaki

6.2.6. Consonant cluster simplification

There is one loanword, the form for ‘town’ (from Spanish *pueblo* [pweβlo]), shown in (411) below, where the Spanish consonant cluster [pw] has been simplified into Mocoví [p]. The [β] is an allophone of [w] in Mocoví, so Spanish [β] is realized either as [w] or [β] in Mocoví. This is the only example I have found that has such a consonant cluster in the Spanish model. I have not found any other cases of consonant cluster simplification in loanwords (cf. Mcv

[porke] < Sp *porke* ‘because’; Mcv [antehnada] < Sp *antes que nada* ‘before anything else, first’: Mcv [mansána] < Sp *manzana* ‘apple’: Mcv [sórgo] < Sp. *sorgo* ‘sorghum’: Mcv [wólsa] < Sp. *bolsa* ‘bag’).

Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss
(411) péwlo (~péβlo)	Sp. pueblo [pwéβlo]	town

6.2.7. Spanish loans with Mocoví stress in all forms

One loanword from Spanish, [waká] ‘cow’ from Spanish *vaca* [báka] ‘cow’, consistently shows final stress with and without Mocoví morphology, although its Spanish source has penultimate stress:

Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss
(412)a. waká (SG)	Sp. vaca [báka]	cow
b. wakál (PCL)		

6.2.8. Discourse markers

An analysis of texts collected from different native speakers reveals few loanwords, but the introduction of a few discourse markers from Spanish. These seem to be integrated into the discourse structure of Mocoví. As noted in Chapter 5, Section 5.5, in Mocoví texts the sentences in a discourse are linked with the previous sentence by a discourse marker, usually *ka?* ‘then, and then’ or *qam* ‘but’. It is not unusual to find Spanish loanwords such as [ahtaké] (Sp. *hasta que*)

‘until’, [tónseh] (Sp. *entonces*) ‘then’, and [xuhtoke] (Sp. *justo que*) ‘just then’ fulfilling the same function as the Mocoví discourse markers.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss
(413)	ahtaké	Sp. hasta que [áhta ke]	until
(414)	xúhtoke	Sp. justo que [xúhto ke]	just as/when
(415)	tónseh	Sp. entonces [entónses]	then
(416)	pórke	Sp. porque [pórke]	because
(417)	péro	Sp. pero [péro]	but
(418)	antehnáda	Sp. antes que nada [antehkenáda]	first, before anything else
(419)	por supwéhtoke	Sp. por supuesto que [por supwéhto ke]	of course

Below are a few examples of these discourse markers in texts. The examples are organized as follows: the first line is the text in phonetic transcription; the second line is a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown in phonemic transcription; the third line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; the fourth line is a literal translation; and the last line (in italics) is a free translation of the sentence.

In (420) we see the use of the form [ahtake] borrowed from Spanish *hasta que* [ahtake] ‘until’. This sentence was taken from Text 4, The Fox Steals from the Jaguar. The jaguar has just killed a horse, and the fox (its nephew), steals some of the meat while the jaguar is asleep. The jaguar wakes up and finds that some of its prey is gone. He suspects the fox, so he goes looking for him and finds him asleep. The jaguar tickles the fox with a twig and then he (the jaguar) runs back to his hole.

- (420) /qošiwo? ka nete:sqo? ka? ka ji ?et/
 qa+Ø+šiwo+o? ka n+ete:sqo? ka? ka ji Ø+?et
 INDEF+3AC+exit+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+uncle then DEIC(absnt) DEIC(absnt) 3AC+escape
 the uncle leaves and from there he escapes

/qaykan yowĩ? **ahtake** yowiro? ka lawak/

qayka-n i+owir **ahtake** i+owir+o? ka l-awak
 nothing-? (=nobody) 3AC+reach until 3AC+reach+EV DEIC(abst) 3POSS+hole
 nobody can reach him until he reaches his hole

‘So the uncle leaves and manages to escape. Nobody can reach him, until he reaches his hole.’

In (421) the Spanish borrowing [porke] from Spanish *porque* [porke] ‘because’ is used. In (422) we see the use of [antehnada] from Spanish *antes que nada* [antehkenada ~ antehnada] ‘before anything else, first of all’. These two examples were taken from a text in which the native speaker is explaining what to do when a poisonous snake bites.

(421) /qayka ?nem la?a:ga čalego? la?a:ga **porke** ?ji:ñi? ka?ne:ta/

qayka ?nem la?a:ga čalego? la?a:ga **porke** Ø+a?de:n+ir ka?ne:ta
 nothing same ugly very ugly because 2AC+know+2SGR what.happens
 ‘nothing [is] as ugly, [it is] very ugly, because you know what happens?’

/**porke**: na ne:lonaq ena /

porke na ne:lonaq e+na
 because DEIC(cmng) campanilla M+DEIC(cmng)
 ‘because the campanilla this one’

/ qaina:ta pagek ke:saganaga ke na?wge/

qa+i+na:+ta pagek ke:sagan-aga ke na-?wge
 INDEF+3AC+?+PROG more power OBL DEIC(cmng)-all
 ‘it has more power than all.’

‘Nothing is as ugly, it is very ugly, because you know what happens? Because the “campanilla” has more power than all of them (= than all the other snakes).’

- (422) *kĩjim ʔwe ka laʔde:nataganagak*
kĩjim ʔwe ka l+aʔde:natagan-agak
 if exist DEIC(abst) 3POSS+know-NOM
 ‘If there exists knowledge’
- kaʔ antehnada naqat ka lošigimaga*
kaʔ antehnada Ø+n-aqat ka l+ošigimaga
 then **before.anything.else** 3AC+HITH-remove DEM(abst) 3POSS+skin
 ‘then first thing is to remove the skin.’
- ‘If the person knows, then the first thing he/she does is remove the skin.’

6.2.9. New phonemes

Mocoví has no voiceless labiodental fricative, but it does have a voiced bilabial fricative as an allophone of the voiced labio-velar vocoid /w/. When Spanish forms with a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] are borrowed into Mocoví, they are borrowed with a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ], a phone that is present neither in the Spanish nor in the Mocoví native phonemic or phonetic inventories. This sound has only been found in Spanish loanwords.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(423)	ɸátima	Sp. Fátima [fátima]	Fátima (woman’s name)	
(424)	ɸelisa	Sp. Felisa [felisa]	Felisa (woman’s name)	
(425)	kaɸe	Sp. café [kafé]	brown (adj), coffee (n)	tokolek ‘brown’ (lit: ‘reddish’)

Mocoví has also borrowed a voiceless velar fricative [x] from Spanish. This sound is only present in borrowed words, especially proper names like Juan [xwan] and José [xose]. This

phone is not part of the native phonemic inventory of Mocoví, but it is part of the phonemic inventory of Spanish.

	Mocoví	Spanish source	English Gloss	Native form
(426)	xwan	Sp. Juan [xwan]	John (man's name)	
(427)	xose	Sp. José [xosé]	Joseph (man's name)	
(428)	xuhtoke	Sp. justo que [xuhtoke]	just when	

6.2.10. Unknown source.

There are two forms in Mocoví that do not conform to the native stress pattern. [čilála] 'eagle' and [páre] 'butterfly'. The source for these two forms is unknown. These forms are clearly not borrowed from Spanish (Sp. *águila* 'eagle', *mariposa* 'butterfly'), nor (as far as I have been able to find out) from any of the neighboring Indian languages. Neither Toba nor Abipón has cognate forms for these words: Toba (Buckwalter 1980) <toxotoq> [toɡotoq] 'butterfly', <ȳanecdalo> [yanekdalo] 'eagle': Abipón (Najlis 1966) [kela] 'butterfly' (and the form for 'eagle' is not available). Although I have not been able to identify a source for these words, the non-native stress and the lack of cognates in genetically related languages suggest that they are indeed loanwords.

	Mocoví	Source	English Gloss
(429)	čilála	??	eagle
(430)	páre	??	butterfly

Two more generalizations need to be made at this point, based not on what can be found in the data available, but on what is *not* found. The first is that the morphology of Mocoví does not show signs of influence from Spanish (yet). No Mocoví or Spanish forms were found bearing Spanish morphology, and Mocoví morphology is always added to Spanish loanwords if necessary. (The examples in (409) and (410), where a Spanish noun is borrowed together with the preceding feminine article *la* 'the (F)', cannot be treated as examples of borrowed Spanish morphology, since the forms are reanalyzed in Mocoví as one morpheme, and treated as such in the syntax.)

The second generalization that is worth mentioning is that there are no verbs among the loanwords from Spanish. In Mocoví, nouns have a fairly simple form, while the verb form is a fairly complex one. However, this is not enough to explain why it is only nouns and not verbs that have been borrowed from Spanish (at least so far). It has been suggested in the literature that verbs are not borrowed into languages with complex verb forms (Meillet 1921b:84, cited by Vildomec, 1971:100, and discussed in Thomason & Kaufman 1988:348). However there are examples of verbs borrowed into languages with complex verb forms. Thomason & Kaufman briefly discuss the proposed constraints against the borrowing of verbs, especially in languages with complex verb forms. They list several examples of borrowings of verbs and mechanisms of borrowing in languages with complex verbs (1988:348-9, footnote 3).

6.3. Summary

In this chapter I have described the influence of Spanish on the vocabulary and the phonology of Mocoví as a result of the recent intense contact between speakers of the

two languages. The morphology of Mocoví, however, does not show signs of Spanish influence (at least not yet). A close study of the various changes reveals a variety of results: varying degrees of phonological nativization in loanwords (e.g. [pargatoki?] (Sp. *alpargata*) 'shoe', [waka] (Sp. *vaca*) 'cow', or [pelóta] (Sp. *pelota*) 'ball': the introduction of two new phonemes, [x] (a voiceless velar fricative) and [ɸ] (a voiceless bilabial fricative), into Mocoví, which occur only in Spanish loanwords; and the introduction of a few discourse markers from Spanish which seem to follow the discourse structure of Mocoví. Spanish nouns that maintain Spanish penultimate stress when borrowed into Mocoví will adapt to the Mocoví stress pattern (namely ultimate stress) when Mocoví suffixes are added (e.g. [wólsa] (Sp. *bolsa*) 'bag', but [wolsál] 'bags (paucal)', [wolsaypí] 'bags (plural)' and [newolsair] 'your (sg) bag').

It will be interesting to compare the findings outlined here to the amount and the type of borrowings found in the same community in a few years' time, or maybe to those found in the language of Mocoví speakers from a different community. This, however, will be a topic for future research.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation presents a systematic and detailed description of Mocoví, a Waikurúan language that has been underdescribed. I have provided an analysis of the phonemic system of the language as well as the phonological processes that operate within it. I have analysed the inflectional morphology of nouns and noun phrases, the verb form and verb phrases, and the structure of sentences and clauses. Finally, I presented an account of the influence that Spanish has had on Mocoví, especially as a result of the intense contact in the last fifty years.

The analysis presented here shows that Mocoví can be classified typologically as an SVO language with an Active/Inactive person marking system. It has one set of pronominal clitics for agentive subjects, i.e. an Active set of proclitics, and another set for non-agent subjects and objects, i.e. an Inactive set of proclitics. The set of Inactive proclitics strongly resembles the set of possessive markers on nouns, something not unusual in languages with an Active/Inactive person marking system. It also shows that Mocoví has an Alienable/Inalienable opposition in nouns, a trait that is common in Active/Inactive languages (Nichols 1988 and 1992). Mocoví has a complex demonstrative system that consists of a set of deictic roots which precede the noun in noun phrases and mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). These deictic roots can also function as pronominals and as locative adverbs. This study also shows a complex verb form with numerous categories expressed as affixes or clitics within that form. It shows that Mocoví lacks a passive construction, but it has an indefinite agent proclitic that attaches to the verb form. It has a set of (at least) fifteen locative/directional enclitics that also occur within the verb form. I have described the structure of transitive and intransitive clauses, existential and copular clauses,

subordinate clauses and coordination. The analysis presented here shows that Mocoví lacks relative clauses.

Many of the topics discussed in this study require further investigation, and the analyses require refinement, especially issues that relate to the verb and the verb phrase. The data presented here suggests that Mocoví is a pronominal argument language, however further research is needed to confirm such a claim. A more detailed and comprehensive classification of the verb roots needs to be provided, which will hopefully shed some light into the selection restrictions of each verb. This is likely to play a significant role in the structure of the verb phrase and the elements that occur within the verb form and the verb phrase. Of particular interest is the set of locative/directional clitics, the selection restrictions of each verb root which may determine the different locative/directional clitics that each verb root may take and the effect that they have on the relation of the noun phrases with the verb. The role of the oblique agent noun phrase that sometimes occurs with the indefinite agent clitic needs to be further investigated.

Of particular interest are the implications that the analyses presented here may have typologically. This dissertation provides data for the study of languages with Active/Inactive systems, systems which have been neglected in the literature. It provides an account of a language with a complex deictic system, and provides additional data for typological studies of deictic systems in the world's languages. It also presents a description of locative and directional verbal morphemes, data that should be valuable in the typology of the expression of spatial orientation in language. It provides data for the study of passive constructions and/or the lack thereof.

It is not clear what implications the analyses presented here might have on linguistic theory. This is a topic that needs further investigation.

The analysis presented here has not provided an account of derivational morphology in Mocoví. Many of the forms in the data are morphologically complex. A description and detailed analysis of the derivational morphemes and the derivational processes active in the language are required. This study represents the first stage in an ongoing effort; further description and analysis are needed.

For historical linguists, this dissertation provides a fairly detailed and comprehensive study of a Waikurúan language. It provides data for a comparative study of Waikurúan languages, and data that is very much needed for the reconstruction of Proto-Waikurúan.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Texts

Text 1 - A Joke about the Mosquitos. by Juan José Manito

Text 2 - The Flood. by Juan José Manito

Text 3 - The Woman and the Duck. by Luisa Salteño

Text 4 - The Fox Steals from the Jaguar. by Isidoro Nicolás

Interlinear Text Analysis Layout

FN: phometic and sometimes phonetic detail

MM: morphemes in underlying shape

MG: morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss

LT: literal translation in English

FT: Free English translation

Symbols

+ clitic

- affix

? unknown gloss/morpheme breakdown

Text 1

A Joke about the Mosquitos

Narrated by Juan José Manito (May-June 1991)

- FN ʔwoʔ so naʔgaʔa ʔwe so wayle rasotagayripi
MM ʔwe+oʔ so naʔgaʔa ʔwe so wayle r+asot-aga-ir-ipi
MG EXIST+EV DEIC(gng) day exist DEIC(gng) dance 3POSS+dance-NOM-PCL-PL
LT There was a day [when] there was a dance of the dancers
FT One day there was a dance of many dancers.
- FN kaʔ nowiretakoʔ na qom
MM kaʔ Ø+n-owire+tak+oʔ na qom
MG then 3AC+HITH-arrive+PROG+EV DEIC(cmng) person
LT then the people were arriving
FT Then the people started to arrive.
- FN qam ʔwi: sawaʔmaq ʃige ʔwesanjɪ ʔyači lenagat ʔyači.
MM qam ʔwe-i so-wa ʔmaq ʃige ʔwe-san-ji ʔyat-i l+enagat ʔyat-i
MG but exist-PL DEIC(gng)-PL PRON already exist-??-DEIC(hor) mosquito-PCL 3POSS+name mosquito-PCL
LT But there they were the mosquitos their name mosquitos
FT But there they were the mosquitos, those whose name is mosquitos.
- FN kaʔ so ʔyat yale ʔwi: ka laqanoʔlyiʔ.
MM kaʔ so ʔyat yale ʔwe-i ka l+aqan-oʔlyiʔ
MG then DEIC(gng) mosquito male exist-PL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+drink-DIMF
LT Then the male mosquito there exist (some of) small drinks
FT Then the male mosquito had a few drinks.

FN ka? yiwane?to? ka ?alo?li?λya.

MM ka? i+ewan-e?t+o? ka ?alo-o?li?-λya

MG then 3AC+see-?+EV DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF-other

LT Then he saw another little woman

FT Then he saw a little woman.

FN ka? na:ko? yilamkyo? ka newige .

MM ka? Ø+na:k+o? i+ilamki+o? ka n+ewige

MG then 3AC+say+EV 3AC+play+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

LT Then he said the music played

FT And the music played.

FN ka? na:ko? ka ?yat

MM ka? Ø+na:k+o? ka ?yat

MG then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito

LT Then the mosquito said:

FN "čima ?we da yasotqačik yasotqačik".

MM čima ?we da i-asot-aq-čik i-asot-aq-čik

MG ? exist DEIC(vert) 1POSS+dance-NOM-? 1POSS+dance-NOM-?

LT "There exists my wish to dance."

FT Then the mosquito said: "I would like to dance."

FN ka? na:ko? ka ?alo "aha yim taqa?neta ?we da qaralorta

MM ka? Ø+na:k+o? ka ?alo aha yim taqa?neta ?we da qar-alorta

MG then 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) woman yes 1SGPRON also exist DEIC(vert) 1PLPOSS-?

LT Then the woman said: "Yes, I also (it) exists our (?) (=our wishes are the same?)"

FT And the woman said: "Yes, I want to dance too."

FN kaʔma šinqata.”

MM kaʔma s+in-aq+ta

MG then 1AC+?-1PL+PROG

LT then we do that

FT Then let’s do that.”

FN kaʔ tareʔwiji rasoteʔ rasoteʔoʔ

MM kaʔ Ø+tar-er+wiji r+asot-er r+asot-er+oʔ

MG then 3AC+exit-3PL+OUT? 3IN+dance-3PL 3IN+dance-3PL+EV

LT Then they went out [and] they dance they danced

FT Then they went outside and danced.

FN ka yilamkyoʔ aka newige

MM ka i+ilamki+oʔ a+ka n+ewige

MG when 3AC+play+EV F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

LT When the music played

FN rasotetapoʔ ka ʔyači.

MM r+asot-er+tape+oʔ ka ʔyat-i

MG 3IN+dance-3PL+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) mosquito-PCL

LT the mosquitos danced

FT When the music played, the mosquitos were dancing.

FN qam ka ta:čigiñi magaraykoʔ ka rasotagageʔ.

MM qam ka ta:čigiñi magar-ayk+oʔ ka r+asot-agag-er

MG but DEIC(absnt) beginning good-ADJM+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-3PL

LT but at the beginning their dancing was good

FT And at the beginning they were dancing well.

- FN qam na? waw?kram ka? nko?ne:tawko? da namogolišige?
 MM qam na? waw?keram ka? Ø+n-ko?ne:+tak+o? da n-amogolišig-er
 MG but then later then 3AC+HITH-increase+PROG+EV DEIC(vert) 3POSS+joke-3PL
 LT But then later it is increasing their jokes
 FT But later their jokes were increasing.
- FN jilogogilo nawa rakomiri rakomiri
 MM r+ilogog+ilo na-wa r-akom-er-i r-akom-er-i
 MG 3IN+itch+PCL DEIC(cmng)-PL 3POSS+belly-3PL-PCL 3POSS+belly-3PL -PCL
 LT their bellies itch
 FT Their bellies start itching.
- FN ka? yiwaneto? na?maq laqahlek naqapyoki?
 MM ka? i+ewan-er+o? na ?maq l+aqat+leg naqapi-oki?
 MG then 3AC+see-3PL+EV DEIC(cmng) PRON 3POSS+sleep+LOC child-DIMM
 LT Then they saw the children's sleeping
 FT Then they saw that the children were sleeping.
- FN ka ... ka ?yači šimo? šimo?
 MM ka ... ka ?yat-i šim+o? šim+o?
 MG then then mosquito-PCL almost+EV almost+EV
 LT Then the mosquitos almost ...
- FN ka na yale šimo? yaganek ka rasotaxawa.
 MM ka na yale šim+o? i+agan+ek ka r-asot-aga-wa
 MG then DEIC(cmng) male almost+EV 3AC+release+ON DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOMF-partner
 LT then the male almost released his dancing partner
 FT Then the mosquitos almost... the male mosquito almost released his dancing partner

- FN qam ka ?alo ?yat no?qotaño? ka rasotagawa
MM qam ka ?alo ?yat Ø+n-o?qota+ñi+o? ka r+asot-ag-wa
MG but DEIC(absnt) female mosquito 3AC+HITH-hold+DWN+EV DEIC 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner
LT But the female mosquito held down her partner
FT But the female mosquito held her partner.
- FN ka? ka ma rasotagwa
MM ka? ka maq r+asot-ag-wa
MG then DEIC(absnt) PRON 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner
LT Then her partner
- FN šimo? nahañi ka lamagso
MM šim+o? Ø+n-aha+ñi ka l+amagso
MG almost+EV 3AC+fall+DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+pants
LT his pants are almost to fall down
FT Then her partner's pants are about to fall down.
- FN qamo? ka yale šimo? yaganek ka rasotagwa
MM qam+o? ka yale šim+o? i+agan+eg ka r+asot-ag-wa
MG but+EV DEIC male almost+EV 3AC+release+OUT DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner
LT But the male almost releases his dancing partner
FT But the male mosquito is about to release his dancing partner.
- FN qam ka?ma ?alo sqayaganek ka rasotagwa
MM qam ka ?ma ?alo sqa+y+agan+eg ka r+asot-ag-wa
MG but DEIC PRON female NEG+3AC+release+OUT DEIC 3POSS-dance-NOM-partner
LT but the female did not release her partner
FT But the female mosquito did not release her partner.

- FN noʔqo:tañi saik yaʔdenaka šim nahañi
MM Ø+n-oʔqo:t+ñi saik i+aʔde:n-aka šim Ø+n-aha+ñi
MG 3AC+HITH-hold+DWN because 3AC+know-?? casi 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN
LT She held him down because she knew that he almost fell down
FT She kept holding him because she knew that he had almost fallen down.
- FN kaʔ ahtake nahañoʔ ka lamagso
MM kaʔ ahtake² Ø+n-aha+ñi+oʔ ka l+amagso
MG then until 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+pants
LT Then until his pants fell down
FT And then his pants fell down.
- FN ahta ke nahañoʔ ka lamagso ka ʔyat
MM ahtake Ø+n-aha+ñi+oʔ ka l+amagso ka ʔyat
MG until 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+pants DEIC(absnt) mosquito
LT Until the mosquito's pants fell down
FT Until the mosquito's pants fell down.
- FN kaʔ ʔwoʔ ka λya yale na:koʔ "ko: nahañi lamagso!"
MM kaʔ ʔwe+oʔ ka λya yale Ø+na:k-oʔ ko: Ø+n-aha+ñi l+amagso
MG then exist-EV DEIC(absnt) other male 3AC+say+EV interj. 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN 3POSS+pants
LT Then there was another male: he said: "Wow, his pants fall down!"
FT And there was another man who said: "Wow, his pants are falling down!"
- FN šim nahañi ña λa
MM šim Ø+n-aha+ñi ñi λya
MG almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN DEIC(nonext) other
LT The other one almost falls down.
FT The other one almost falls down.

² Mocovi *ahtake* 'until' < Sp. *hasta que* 'until'

- FN šim nahañi lpaganqate qam selpaganqate
MM šim Ø+n-aha+ñi l+paganqate qam se+l+paganqate
MG almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN 3POSS+underpants but NEG+3POSS+underpants
LT his underpants almost fall down; but it is not his underpants
FT His underpants almost fall down; but these are not his underpants.
- FN qam ña lowenqo? ñi šim no?gačiñi
MM qam ñi l+owenq+o? ñi šim Ø+n-o?gat+ñi
MG but DEIC(nonext) 3POSS+thing+EV DEIC(nonext) almost 3AC+HITH-hang+DWN
LT but it is the thing is almost hanging down
FT But it is his thing that is almost hanging down.
- FN ka? qoynako? lowenqa
MM ka? qa+i+nak+o? l+owenqa
MG then INDEF+3AC+say+EV 3POSS+weapon
LT then he was told his weapon
- FN ñišim načiñi šim no?gačiñi
MM ñi šim Ø+n-ači+ñi šim Ø-n-o?gat+ñi
MG DEIC(nonext) almost 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN almost 3AC+HITH-hang+DWN
LT (it) is almost falling down, it is almost hanging down.
FT Then he was told that his thing is about to fall down; it is almost hanging down.

Text 2

The Flood

Narrated by Juan José Manito (June 1991)

- FN naʎya:qoʔ woʔ so qom ke:talkoʔ ji noʔwe:naga:
- MM naʎa:q-oʔ ʔwe-oʔ so qom Ø+ek+ta+leg+oʔ ji n-oʔwe:naga
- MMG before+EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person 3AC+walk+PROG+ON+EV DEIC(hor) ABS+field
- FT In old times there was a man walking on the field.
- FT Once upon a time (=in the old times) there was a man who was walking on the field.
- FN sekiša:koʔ na qom.
- MM se+Ø+kiša:k+oʔ na qom
- MMG NEG+3AC? -exist?-EV DEIC(cmng) person
- LT No (other) person existed
- FT There was nobody else.
- FN so qom nakitetakoʔ ka lepetaganagat
- MM so qom Ø+n-akit+tak+oʔ ka l-epet-aganagat
- MMG DEIC(gng) person 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+food
- LT that person was looking for his food:
- FT That person was looking for food.
- FN iowo:takoʔ ke ji noʔwe:naga.
- MM i+owo:+tak+oʔ ke ji n-oʔwe:naga
- MMG 3AC+walk+PROG+EV OBL DEIC(hor) ABS+field
- LT (he) was walking on the field.
- FT He was walking on the field.

FN ka? ke:tankyo? ka laqalači yiwanelko?
 MM ka? Ø+ek+taneki+o? ke l+aqalači i+ewan+leg+o?
 MMG and 3AC+go+PROG?+EV OBL ABS?+open.field 3AC+see+ON+EV
 LT And he was going on the open field he found it.
 FT And as he was going through the open field he found it.

FN ka? ?gayako? ka nošikinaganagak:
 MM ka? Ø+?gayak+o? n+ošikinaganaga-k
 MMG and 3AC+hear+EV ABS+hiss-NOM
 LT And he heard one who hissing
 FT And he heard somebody hissing (at him).

FN senaqatko? ka? na ?magare:
 MM se+Ø+n-aqat+ek+o? ka? na ?magare
 MMG NEG+3AC+HITH-understand+ON+EV then DEIC(cmng) PRON
 LT (He) did not understand (well) this one.
 FT He did not get to hear this well [where it was coming from].

FN ka? raqačigilo? na lqaig:
 MM ka? r+aqat+igi+l+o? na l+qaig
 MMG and 3AC+move?+ON+?+EV DEIC-(cmng) 3POSS+head
 LT And he (began to) move his head.
 FT And he started moving his head.

FN ka? yiwane?to? ka na qom ka ?na:ko? ka na qom
 MM ka? i+ewan-e?t+o? ka na qom ka Ø-?na:k+o? ka na qom
 MMG and 3AC+see-?+EV then DEIC(cmng) person then 3AC+say+EV then DEIC(cmng) person
 LT And he saw this person and said this person:
 FT And he saw this person. and this person said:

FN "na?itkena[naho] na?itkena naho
 MM Ø+n-a?+ir+kena na-ho Ø+n-a?+ir+kena na-ho
 MMG 2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX 2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX
 LT Come towards here. come towards here.

FN ?anta ?we da yowenaganaga".
 MM ?anta ?we da i+owenaganaga
 MMG ? (=look) exists DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need
 LT look, there exists my need.

FT "Come here, come here. listen, I need something (=I have a need)".

FN qam ka?maq qom no?çi:to?o? ka isegeyek
 MM qam ka ?maq qom Ø+n-o?çi:to?+o? ka isegeyek
 MMG but DEIC(absnt) PRON person 3AC+HITH-fear+EV DEIC(absnt) animal
 LT But the person feared the animal.
 FT But this person was afraid of the creature.

FN ma? seyiwanapega ya?den ma? sqae qom:
 MM ma? se-i+ewan+pega i+a?de:n ma? sqae+qom
 MMG because NEG+3AC+see+? 3AC+know because NEG+person
 LT because he didn't see he didn't know (it) because it not a person
 FT Because he had never seen it, he didn't know it because it was not a person.

FN qam re:tako? so qom.
 MM qam r+e:tak+o? so qom
 MMG but 3IN?+talk+EV DEIC(gng) person
 LT But this person spoke.
 FT But this person spoke.

FN ka? retakatako? ka yale ?na:ko?

MM ka? r+etaka+tak+o? ka yale Ø+?na:k+o?

MMG and 3IN?+talk+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+say+EV

LT And the man spoke, he said:

FT And the man spoke, he said:

FN "yim ?we da yowenaganaga ka? šinta ma qami?

MM yim ?we da i+owenaganaga ka? {šinta ma qami?}

MMG 1SGPRON exist DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need then {??} (=I am like you)

LT I my need exists, then I am like you

FT "I have a need, then I am like you.

FN ?we da ro?we:naganaga?e? wičhigiño? ?em wo?isak nagi."

MM ?we da r+o?we:naganaga+ir {wičhigiño? ?em} Ø+wo+ir+tak nagi

MMG exist DEIC(vert) 2POSS+need+2SGR {that.is.why is ?} 2AC+walk-PROG now

LT exists your need, that is why you are walking now."

FT "You have a need [too], that is why you are walking now.

FN qalagam da yowenaganaga ña:čiñi?čigito?

MM qalagam da i+owenaganaga {ña:čiñi?čigit+o?}

MMG but DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need {? (=coincides)}

LT but my need coincides (= is the same)

FN ma? qami? wo?išigiri? ka? jiwaynterelko?

MM ma? qamir Ø-wo?išigir+ir ka? ir+ewan+ir+leg+o?

MMG because 2SGPRON 2AC+walk??+2SGR then 1IN+find+2SGR+ON+EV

LT because you walk and you found me.

FT "But my need is the same since you walk and you found me.

FN ka? nagi ?wo? da yašilaganagat

MM ka? nagi ?we+o? da i+ašilagan-agat

MMG then now exist+EV DEIC(standing) 1SGPOSS+ask-NOM

LT then now exists my request

FT “And now I have a request.

FN kijim sašila?i? kopačiro?o? naho

MM kījim s+ašila+ir Ø+kopat+ir+o?+o? na-ho

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

LT for I ask you ignite here where I am on the open field.

FN sentangi laqalači

MM s+enta+ngi l+aqalači

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

LT (where) I am on the open field.

FT “[I ask] that you start a fire here, where I am on the open field.

FN kopačiro?o?

MM Ø+kopat+ir+o?+o?

MMG 2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV

LT ignite it and when it is finished you igniting it, and you go home

FN ka?ma ?ime kopačira?a ka piłi?o?

MM ka?ma i+me Ø+kopat+ir+a?a ka? Ø+epil+ir-o?

MMG when 3AC+finish 2AC+ignite+2SGR+? then 2AC+go.home-2SGR-EV

LT and when it is finished you igniting it, and you go home

FT “Set it on fire, when you are finished setting it on fire, then you go home.

FN čaqa?ma? piłi?o?

MM čaqa?-ma? Ø+pil+ir+o?

MMG and -? (=immediately) 2AC+go.home+2SGR+EV

LT immediately you go back

FN ? wito? ka la?Gayagak ka qawoči?

MM Ø+wo+ir+o? ka I+a?Gayagak ka qa+awot+ir

MMG 2AC+walk+2SGR+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+warning DEIC(absnt) 2POSS+relative+2SGR

LT you walk [to give] a warning to your relatives

FT “Go back at once and warn your relatives.

FN čaqa?ma? na?magačiño? ma ?wo? ka yagat ma?le

MM čaqa?-ma? Ø+n-a?magat+ñi+o? ma? ?we+o? ka yagat ma?le

MMG and-?(=immediately) 3AC+HITH-prepare+DWN+EV because exist+EV DEIC(absnt) rain later

LT Immediately they prepare because there is a rain later.

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

FN ma? yim yoykenatek na yagat.

MM ma? yim i+oykenat?+ek na yagat

MMG because 1SGPRON 1SGPOSS+dominance+OVER DEIC(cmng) rain

LT because I [there is] my dominance over the rain.

FT “Because I dominate the rain (=I have power over the rain).

FN qalagam jilamqaño? jilamqaño? ke naho

MM qalagam ir+elamaq+ñi+o? ir+elamaq+ñi+o? ke na-ho

MMG but 1IN+fall+DWN+EV 1IN+fall+DWN+EV OBL DEIC(cmng)-PROX (=here)

LT but I fell, I fell here (=on this close).

FT “But I fell (down), I fell (sown) here.

FN ka? nagi ka sašilai?sak

MM ka? nagi ka? s+ašil+ir+sak

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

LT and now I am asking you

FT “And now I am asking you.

FN ka da yowenaganaga ?nehem da rowenaganaga?e?

MM ka? da i+owenaganaga ?nehem da r+owenaganaga+ir?

MMG and DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need same DEIC(vert) 2POSS+need+2SGR

LT and my need is the same as your need

FN nagi kiĵim ?wo?isak.

MM nagi kiĵim Ø+wo+ir+tak

MMG now for.that 2AC+walk+2SGR+PROG

LT now for that reason you are walking.”

FT: “And my need is similar to your need, that is why you are walking.”

FN ka?maq yale yowito? ka lawo? ka ?na:ko? :

MM ka-?maq yale i+owir+o? ka l+awo-r ka? Ø+?na:k-o?

MMG DEIC(absnt)-? man 3AC+arrive+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+family-PCL and 3AC+say+EV

LT And the man arrived [to] his relatives and (he) said:

FT And the man arrived where his relatives, and he said:

FN “na?le ?we so qom so qom rašilagantak.

MM na?le ?we so qom so qom r+ašilagan+tak

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

LT earlier there is this person this person was asking

FT “Earlier I met this person, he made a request.

FN qam šim seña?gayagana ma? sesa?de:n so ma? qom

MM qam šim se+i+n-a?gayagan+a ma? se+s+a?de:n so ma? qom

MMG but almost NEG+1AC+HITH-notice+OBJ? because NEG+1AC+know DEIC(gng) PRON person

LT But almost I did not notice (=pay attention to) him because I did not know this person.

FT “But I almost did not pay attention to him because I did not know this person.

FN qomo? so loqo?m legemagayk por supwehto ke eh legemagayk
 MM qom+o? so loqo?m legemag-ayk porsupwehtokeeh³ legemag-ayk
 MMG PERSON+EV DEIC(gng) or strange.being-ADJ of.course.that.is strange.being-ADJ
 LT Was this a person or a strange being? of course it [was] a strange being.
 FT “Was it a person or a strange creature? Of course it was a strange creature.

FN ?wičigiño? nelamqaño?
 MM ?wičigiño? Ø+n-elamq+ñi+o?
 MMG thar.is.why 3AC+HITH-fall+DWN+EV
 LT That is why it fell down.
 FT “That is why it fell down.

FN qam so? ma ...
 MM qam so? ma...
 MMG but DEIC-(gng) PRON
 LT But this one...
 FT “But this one...

FN so ?ma? qom ?na:ko? “saogat so maq na:palga.
 MM so ?ma? qom Ø+?na:k+o? saogat so maq n+a:palga
 MMG DEIC(gng) PRON person 3AC+say+EV because DEIC(gng) PRON ABS-darkness
 LT This person said: “Because the darkness

FN na:palga so so?maq ñqay?łigiñi ka? yiya:ñi
 MM n+a:palga so so-?maq i+n-qay?łigi-ñi ka? i+eya:-ñi
 MMG ABS+darkness DEIC(gng) DEIC(gng)-PRON 1AC+HITH-thunder+DWN and 3AC-fall+DWN
 LT darkness this this one I made it thunder down (=I made thunder) and I fell down
 FT “This person said: «Because of darkness, that darkness, I created thunder, and I fell down.

³ Mocovi *por supwehtokeeh* ‘of course that (it) is’ < Sp. *por supuesto que es* ‘of course that (it) is’

FN šintapego? ñaq qoyoqočiño? na?maq ?lawā
 MM s+inat+pege+o? ñaq Ø+qoyoqot+igi+nĩ+o? na-?maq ?lawā
 MMG IAC+think+WITH+EV still 3AC+far+??+DWN+EV (?) DEIC(cmng)-PRON earth
 LT I was thinking [that] the earth was still far
 FT «I was thinking that the earth was still far away.

FN šintapega ñaq qoyoqoči?ña
 MM s+inat+pege ñaq Ø+qoyoqot+igi+nĩ+a
 MMG Iac+think+WITH still far+??+DWN+??
 LT I think [it] is still far down
 FT «I was thinking that it was still far down.

FN ka na? saganñi na ?maq kĭjim salatetapigi
 MM ka? na? s+agan+ñi na ?maq kĭjim s+alatetap+igi
 MMG and when IAC+stop+DWN DEIC(cmng) PRON that IAC+thunder+??
 LT And when I stopped I thunder (=make thunder)

FN ka se?wetañi ka na ?lawā
 MM ka? s+?we+ta+ñi ke na ?lawā
 MMG and IAC+exist+PROG+DWN OBL DEIC(cmng) earth
 LT and I am down on the earth
 FT «And when I stopped making thunder. then I am down on the earth.

FN ka na? nqo?ñišigim so nawegelek ka jo?we:nañi

MM ka? na? Ø+n-qo?ñi+šigim so nawegelek ka? ir+o?we:n+ñi

MMG and when 3AC+HITH-RISE+UP DEIC(cmng) cloud then 1IN+stay+DWN

LT and when the cloud rose up

FN ka? wičigiño? nagi senta?ñi naho.

MM ka? wičigiñ+o? nagi s+enta?+ñi na-ho

MMG then that.is.wh+EV now 1AC+exist?+PROG+DWN DEIC(cmng)-PROX (= here)

LT then I stayed down and that was why I am now down here

FT «And when the cloud went up, then I stayed down, and that was why I am down here now.

FN qalagam nagi sašilai?sak no?m da ji?goriñi?

MM qalagam nagi s+ašila+ir+sak no?m da ir+e?gorin+ir

MMG but now 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG if DEIC(vert) 1IN+favor+2SGR

LT But now I am asking you if this (=like this) you favor me

FT «But now I am asking you if you appreciate me this way:

FN čaqae qami? se?goriñi?

MM čaqae qamir s+e?gorin+ir

MMG and 2SGPRON 1AC+favor+2SGR

LT and you I favor

FT «And I favor you.

FN ka ?we ka na?ga?a

MM ka? ?we ka na?ga?a

MMG then exists DEIC(absnt) day

LT then exists the day

FN ka maq ranatagači? ke ka? maq da:ñi?sake

MM ka maq r+anatagat+ir ke ka ?maq Ø+eda:n+ir+tak

MMG and PRON 2IN+find+2SGR OBL DEIC(absnt) PRON 2AC+search+2SGR+PROG

LT and you find this you are looking for

FN lepetaganagat na rošigimaga?e?”

MM l+epetaganagat na r+ošigimaga+ir

MMG ABS+food DEIC(cmng) 2POSS+body+2SGR

LT food of your body.”

FT «And there will be a day when you will find what you are looking for. food for your body.» ”

Text 3

The Woman and the Duck

Narrated by Luisa Salteño (May 1996)

- FN ?wo? ka na?ga?a ka ?alo ri?liwi ke aka le?ya
 MM ?we+o? ka na?ga?a ka ?alo r+i?liwi ke a+ka l-e?ya
 MG exist+EV DEIC(absnt) day DEIC(absnt) woman 3AC+fetch.water OBL F+DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+hole
 LT One day there was a woman who went to look for water from the well.
- FT Once upon a time there was a woman who went to the well to look for water.
- FN nata ne?ya na moqoyt le?ya wagayaq
 MM na-ta n+e?ya na moqoyt l+e?ya wagayaq
 MG DEIC(cmng)-PROX ABS+hole DEIC(cmng) Mocovi 3POSS+hole water
 LT This hole was a hole of water of the Mocovi.
- FT This well was a well of water of the Mocovi.
- FN ka? le?ya ka yale yawo:take retagaya?pe? ka ?alo
 MM ka? l+e?ya ka yale i+awo:+take r+etagaya+pe? ka ?alo
 MG then 3POSS+hole DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+want+PROG 3AC+talk-WITH DEIC(absnt) woman
 LT Then the hole, a man wanted to talk to the woman.
- FT At the well a man wanted to talk to the woman.
- FN qam yawo:ntako? ka ?alo
 MM qam i+awo:n+tak+o? ka ?alo
 MG but 3AC+like+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) woman
 LT But he likes the woman
- FT And he likes the woman.

FN qam ka yale renatagantako?

MM qam ka yale r+enatagan+tak+o?

MG but DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+ask+PROG+EV

LT But the man was asking when.

FN lakyo? ka ?magare retagayapege? ?alo?li?

MM laki+o? ka ?magare r+etagay+pege? ?alo-?li?

MG when+EV DEIC(absnt) PRON 3AC+talk+UP.TO woman-DIM

LT when he talks to the little woman (= when he can talk to the young woman).

FT But the man was asking when he would be able to talk to the young woman.

FN qam... ka ?alo naqayažin ka yale

MM qam... ka ?alo n+aqayažin ka yale

MG but DEIC(absnt) woman 3AC+deceive DEIC(absnt) man

LT But... this woman deceived the man.

FT But this woman deceived the man.

FN na:ko? ma?lepe wi:čiro?

MM Ø+na:k+o? ma?le-pe Ø+owir+ir+o?

MG 3AC+say+EV after-night 2AC+arrive+2SGR+EV

LT (She) said: "Later tonight come (to my house)

FN qam lasom lai sowe:ta?ño?

MM qam l+asom l+ai s+owe+tak+ñi+o?

MG but ABS+door 3POSS+side IAC-exist?+PROG+DWN+EV

LT but I will be by the side of the door

FN wi:čiro? setagayagato? ke lasom lasom ñiya?a?

MM Ø+owir+ir+o? s+etagay-ag+t+o? ke l+asom l+asom ñi i-a?a?

MG 2AC+arrive+2SGR+EV IAC-talk-IPL-?+EV OBL ABS+door ABS +door DEIC(nonext) ISGPOSS+house

LT Come and we will talk by the door of my house

FT (She) said: "Later tonight come (to my house) and I will be by the side of the door: come and we will talk by the door. the door of my house."

FN ka? ka yale pe?e:to? ?keo?
 MM ka? ka yale Ø+pe?e:t+o? Ø+ek+o?
 MG then DEIC(absnt) man 3IN+be.happy+EV 3AC+go+EV
 LT Then the man was happy; he went [home].
 FT Then the man was happy and he went home.

FN ka? kala:wit
 MM ka? ka I+a:wit
 MG then DEIC(absnt) ABS?+evening
 LT Then in the early evening

FN ka? ka yale eka keo?
 MM ka? ka yale e+ka Ø+ke+o?
 MG then DEIC(absnt) man M+DEIC(absnt) 3AC+go+EV
 LT then this man went to the little woman's house.

FN ka la?a? ka ?alo?li?
 MM ka I+a?a? ka ?alo-?li?
 MG DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+house DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF
 LT then this man went to the little woman's house.
 FT And early that evening this man went to the young woman's house.

FN aka ?a:lo?li?
 MM a+ka ?alo-?li?
 MG F+DEIC(absnt) woman-DIMF
 LT The little woman.

FN ka ?we ka leta?a? ka ?a:lo?li?
 MM ka Ø+?we ka I+eta?a-l ka ?a:lo-?li?
 MG DEIC(absnt) 3AC+exist DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+father-PCL DEIC(absnt) woman-DIM.F
 LT she had her parents. (= the parents of the little woman exist)
 FT The parents of the young woman were there.

- FN ka qoʔnagatoʔ ka letaʔal
 MM ka qoʔnagat+oʔ ka l+etaʔa-l
 MG then ʔ-EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+father-PCL
 LT Then she asked her parents.
- FN yoqa ka lomateʔ nqaʔen
 MM i+oq+a ka l+omat-er n+qaʔen
 MG 3AC+put+ʔ DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+place+3PL 3AC+make
 LT she made them change their place.
- FT Then she asked her parents to change their places.
- FN čaqae ʔaloʔliʔ
 MM čaqae ʔalo-ʔliʔ
 MG and woman-DIMF
 LT And the little woman
- FN qam ʔwoʔ ka lalo le:nagat ʔgañi
 MM qam Ø+ʔwe-oʔ ka l+lo l+e:nagat ʔgañi
 MG but 3AC-exist-EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+animal 3POSS+name duck
 LT but she had an animal called 'duck' (=but exists her animal whose name was 'duck')
- FT And the young woman had an animal called 'duck'.
- FN le:nagat páto lalo
 MM l+e:nagat páto⁴ l+lo
 MG 3POSS+name duck 3POSS+animal
 LT the name of her animal was 'duck'
- FT The name of her animal was 'duck' (= her animal was a duck).

⁴ Mocoví *páto* <Sp. *pato* 'duck'

- FN qam naʔnata páto newek
MM qam naʔ-na-ta páto newek
MG but ʔ-DEIC(cmng)-PROX duck wild
LT But that duck was wild.
FT But that duck was wild.
- FN ana lalo qaʔpaganagae
MM a+na l+lo qaʔpagan-aga-e
MG F+DEIC(cmng) 3POSS+animal brood+NOM-?
LT her brooding animal is brooding its little ones
- FN qaʔpagatalektō? kawa λa:lqolqae?
MM qaʔpagan+tak+leg+oʔ ka-wa l+a:l-qo-lqaer
MG brood+PROG+ON+EV DEIC(absnt)-PCL 3poss+child-PCL-?
LT is brooding its little ones
FT Her brooding animal is brooding its young.
- FN kaʔ noqqae akageʔ ʔgañi le:nagat
MM kaʔ noqae a+ka-geʔ ʔgañi l+e:nagat
MG then bad F+DEIC(absnt)-? duck 3POSS+name
LT But that one whose name is duck is bad.
FT But that one called duck is bad.
- FN kaʔ iλi:taʔkoʔ lasom lai
MM kaʔ i+-λi:taʔk-oʔ l-asom l+ai
MG then 3AC+put+EV 3POSS+door 3POSS+side
LT Then she put it by the side of the door
FT Then she put it by the side of the door.

- FN ka? lawit ka? yowiro? ka yale
 MM ka? l+awit ka? i+owir+o? ka yale
 MG then ABS+evening then 3AC+arrive+EV DEIC(absnt) man
 LT Then in the early evening the man arrived.
 FT Then in the early evening the man arrive.
- FN qam ši:napalčigiñi ka? yowiro? ka yale
 MM qam ši:napaltigiñi ka? i+owir+o? ka yale
 MG pero ? (=at dusk) then 3AC+arrive+EV DEIC(absnt) man
 LT Then when the sun set, the man arrived.
 FT Then at sunset the man arrived.
- FN ka? na:ko? igenta?o? wa:ko?
 MM ka? Ø+na:k+o? i+genta?+o? Ø+wa:k+o?
 MG then 3AC+say+EV 3AC+go+EV 3AC+say?+EV
 LT Then he said, he went, he said
- FN “ka ?we:tago? aka ?alo” nako?
 MM ka ?we:+tak+o? a+ka ?alo Ø+nak+o?
 MG DEIC(absnt) exist+EV F+DEIC(absnt) woman 3AC+say+EV
 LT “Where is the woman?” he said.
 FT “Where is the woman?” he said.
- FN qayka ka na:wekapego?
 MM qa+e+ka ka Ø+n-a:beg+pege+o?
 MG nthg+M+DEIC(absnt) DEIC(absnt) 3AC+HITH-think+UP.TO+EV
 LT He does not think in anything. (= he does not imagine anything)
 FT He cannot imagine anything (is going to happen).
- FN ka? sa:to? ka páto na nako?
 MM ka? Ø+sa:t+o? ka páto na Ø+nak+o?
 MG then 3AC+hear+EV DEIC(absnt) duck then 3AC+say+EV
 LT Then the duck heard something, and it said:

FN “haaaaah...” ne?tko? ka páto caqa eko?sat
 MM “haaaaah... Ø+ne?+tak+o? ka páto čaqa eko?sat
 MG ahhhhhhh... 3AC+do+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) duck and ? (= as if it was to answer)
 LT “Ahhhhh...” does the duck and as if it was about to answer
 FT And the duck heard something, and it said: “Ahhhhh...” goes the duck, as if it was answering.

FN qačika ka yale la?maga nako?
 MM qačika ka yale la?maga Ø+nak+o?
 MG but DEIC(absnt) man more? 3AC+say+EV
 LT But the man says more.
 FT But the man speaks again.

FN “wa?ge ka qaretagayaqa?”
 MM “wa?ge ka qar+etagey-ag+a?
 MG where DEIC(absnt) 1PLIN+talk-1pl-?
 LT “Where are we going to talk?”
 FT “Where are we going to talk?”

FN ma?le páto qačika lama?ga? na:ko? ka páto
 MM ma?le páto qačika lama?ga? Ø+na:k+o? ka páto
 MG later duck but more 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) duck
 LT Later the duck... But the duck said more.
 FT But the duck spoke again.

FN qačika la?ma?go? ro?o:ka páto
 MM qačika la?ma?ga-o? r+o?o:ka páto
 MG but more+EV 3IN+get.angry duck
 LT But the duck got angry again.
 FT But the duck got angry again.

- FN “haaaaaaah...” ne?tko? qačika yale la?ma?agan noki:go?
MM “haaaaaaah...” Ø+ne?etek+o? qačika yale la?ma?agan Ø+n-oki:g+o?
MG ahhhhh... 3AC+do?+EV but man more 3AC+HITH-approach+EV
LT “Ahhhhhhhh...” it did. But the man got closer.
FT “Ahhhhhhhh...” it went. But the man got closer.
- FN ka yale nokiketa?o?
MM ka yale Ø+n-oki:g+ta?+o?
MG DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+HITH-approach+PROG+EV
LT The man was getting closer.
FT The man was getting closer.
- FN ka sa:tetak nqa?gančigiñi
MM ka Ø+sa:t+tak Ø+n-qa?agan-t-igi+ñi
MG DEIC(absnt) 3AC+answer+PROG 3AC+HITH-sit-?-?+DWN
LT the one who answers sat up.
FT The one who was answering sat up.
- FN i:me ka nqa?gaño?
MM i:me ka Ø+n-qa?agan+ñi+o?
MG finish then 3AC+HITH-sit+DWN+EV
LT It finished and it sat down
FT And when it finished, it sat down.
- FN liyo? retaqa ka yale na:ko?
MM λya+o? r+etag+a ka yale Ø+na:k-o?
MG other+EV 3AC+talk+? DEIC(absnt) man 3AC+say+EV
LT And he spoke again: the man said:

- FN “ñige? ka ñi:sa?pege?” na:ko?
- MM ñige? ka Ø+en+ir+sa?+pege? Ø+na:k+o?
- MG INTERROG DEIC(absnt) 2AC+do+2SGR+PROG+UP.TO 3AC+say+EV
- LT “What are you doing?” he said.
- FT And the man spoke again: he said: “What are you doing?” he said.
-
- FN “saotake setayagata?” na:ko? ka yale
- MM s+awo+take s+etay-ag-t+a?” Ø+na:k+o? ka yale
- MG 1AC+want+PROG 1AC+talk-1PL-?-? 3AC+say+EV DEIC(absnt) man
- LT “I want us to talk” (= I want we talk), the man said.
- FT “I want us to talk”, the man said.
-
- FN qačika sa:to? sa?atako? ka pato
- MM qačika Ø+sa?at+o? Ø+sa?at+tak+o? ka páto
- MG but 3AC+answer+EV 3AC+answer-PROG?+EV DEIC(absnt) duck
- LT But it answered, the duck answered
- FT But it answered: the duck answered.
-
- FN ka sa:to? ka na:ko? “haaaaah...”
- MM ka Ø+sa?at+o? ka Ø+na:k-o? “haaaaah...”
- MG DEIC(absnt) 3AC+answer+EV DEIC(absnt) 3AC+say+EV Ahhhhhh
- LT It answered: it said: “Ahhhhhhh...”
- FT It answered: it went: “Ahhhhhhh...”.
-
- FN ka? qaya?žikyo? ka lašik
- MM ka? qa+i+a?žiki+o? ka l+ašik
- MG then INDEF+3AC+peck+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+face
- LT and his face was pecked.
- FT And the man’s face was pecked.

FN nokigo? ka yale mašigi... mašigi...

MM Ø+n-okig+o? ka yale mašigi... mašigi...

MG 3AC+HITH-approach+EV DEIC(absnt) man but but

LT The man came closer. but... but...

FN qayažikyo? ka lašik ka yale ka nelo páto

MM qa+i+ažiki+o? ka l+ašik ka yale ka n+lo páto

MG INDEF+3AC+peck+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+face DEIC(absnt) man DEIC(absnt) ABS+animal duck

LT The man's face was pecked; this animal duck.

FT The man came closer. but... but... the man's face was pecked by this duck.

Text 4

The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

Narrated by Isidoro Nicolás (April 1996)

FN regat ralawatagantako? šipegaq qo?goyk

MM regat r+alawatagan+tak+o? šipegaq qo?goyk

MG jaguar 3AC+butcher+PROG+EV horse old

LT The jaguar was butchering an old horse.

FT The jaguar was butchering an old horse.

FN pop la:tenek leta?am

MM pop l+a:tenek leta?am

MG INTERJ 3POSS+prey many

LT Wow [there was] a lot of meat (= prey)

FT Wow! There were lots of meat!

FN pop roqačyo? ka nowagayaga

MM pop r+oqači+o? ka n+owagayaga

MG INTERJ 3AC+steal+EV DEIC(absnt) ABS+fox

LT Wow! The fox stole it.

FT Wow! The fox stole it.

FN roqačyo? ka late:nek ka netesqo?

MM r+oqači+o? ka l+ate:nek ka n+etesqo?

MG 3AC+steal+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+prey DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

LT He stole his uncle's prey.

FT He stole his uncle's prey.

FN roqačigyo?

MM r+oqači+igi+o?

MG 3AC+steal+EV

LT He stole it.

ELT He stole it.

FN ne:lowko? ka netesqo?

MM Ø+n-e:lowok+o? ka n+etesqo?

MG 3AC+wake.up+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle

LT The uncle woke up.

ELT The uncle woke up.

FN ka ro?o saik yo?wat latenqaypi

MM ka r+o?o saik i+o?wat l+atene-qa-ipi

MG then 3AC+get.angry because 3AC+not.be 3POSS+prey-PCL-PL

LT Then he e got angry because his prey was missing.

FT And he got angry because his prey was missing.

FN ?nak "peta?a čaqayka ka i:tesek ka roqači

MM Ø+?nak peta?a čaqayka ka i+itesek ka r-oqači

MG 3AC+say maybe and DEIC(absnt) 1SGPOSS+nephew DEIC(absnt) 3AC+steal

LT (He) said: And maybe my nephew, he stole it.

FT (He) said: "Then maybe my nephew, he [probably] stole it.

FN ka? ka ži ya?de:ntari

MM ka? ka ji i+a?de:n+tak-ri

MG then DEIC(absnt) DEIC(hor) 3AC+know+PROG-?

LT Then he already knows.

FT So he knows already.

FN ne:te?o? ka qayda:nake na?ga?a lawiñi
 MM ne:te?e+o? ka qa+i+da:nake na?ga?a lawiñi
 MG tomorrow+EV DEIC(absnt) INDEF+3AC+look.for day middle
 LT The following day this one [the fox] is looked for in the middle of the day.
 FT The following day, in the middle of the day, he [the jaguar] looks for him [the fox].

FN ka? qaywanelek laqatam
 MM ka? qa+i+ewan+leg l+aqatam
 MG then INDEF+3AC+find+ON ABS+sleeper (=one.who.sleeps)
 LT then he was found sleeping
 FT And he was found sleeping

FN ji roqači ?wet+o?ot la?aloki?
 MM ji r+oqači ?we+t+o?ot l+a?al-oki?
 MG DEIC(HOR) 3AC+steal exist+PROG+UNDER ABS+shade-DIMM
 LT the one who stole is under the shade.
 FT The thief was in the shade.

FN yiwanelko? ka lete:sek
 MM i+ewan+leg+o? ka l+ete:sek
 MG 3AC+find+ON+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew
 LT He found his nephew.
 FT He [the jaguar] found his nephew.

FN qam seyaqamagat
 MM qam se+i+aqamagat
 MG but NEG+3AC+do
 LT But he didn't do it. (= he doesn't do anything to him)
 FT But he [the jaguar] doesn't do anything to him.

- FN yada?ko?ken nawa limyaqolqai? ke na waqapyoki?
MM i+ada?ak+o?+ken na-wa l+imiaoqolqa-ir ke na waqapi-oki?
MG 3AC+poke+EV+? DEIC(cmng)-pcl 3POSS+nostril-PCL? OBL DEIC(cmng) grass-DIMM
LT He pokes his nostrils with a little blade of grass.
ELT He [the jaguar] tickles his nostrils [the fox's nostrils] with a little blade of grass.
- FN ri:šigyo?ken limik nqa?en
MM r+i:šigi+o?+ken l+imik Ø+n-qa?en
MG 3AC+itch+EV+? 3POSS+nose 3AC+HITH-make
LT He makes his nose itch. (= he makes his nose itches)
FT He makes his nose itch.
- FN ?na:ko? žažagani:tak latagañi
MM Ø+?na:k+o? ir+ažagan-i:+tak latagan-i
MG 3AC+say+EV IIN+abandon+PROG fly-PCL
LT He said: "Leave me alone, flies.
- FN noma?či sesačiči
MM no?om ma?-či se+s+ačit-i:
MG if because ? NEG+1AC+share.with-2PL
LT because if not I will not share with you
- FN ke ñi ñoq qagreta lowa?
MM ñi i+n-oq qagreta lowa?
MG OBL DEIC(nonext) 1SGPOSS+AL-food sheep male
LT my food of the male sheep.
FT He said: "Leave me alone, flies, because if not I will not share with you any of my food, the male sheep."

FN ki ži ka qoyagaño?
 MM ke ji ka qa+i+agan+o?
 MG OBL DEIC(hor) DEIC(absnt) INDEF+3AC+leave+EV
 LT There he was left alone.
 FT And then he was left alone.

FN qošiwo? ka netesqo?
 MM Ø+qoši+weg+o? ka n+etesqo?
 MG 3AC+exit+OUT+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle
 LT The uncle leaves.
 FT The uncle leaves.

FN ka? ka zi ?et qaykan yowi?
 MM ka? ka ji Ø+?et qa-e+ka-n i+owir
 MG then DEIC(absnt) DEIC(hor) 3AC+escape nthg+M+DEIC(absnt)-? 3AC+reach
 LT And there he escapes: nobody can reach him.
 FT And then he escapes from that place: nobody can reach him.

FN ahtake yowito? ka lawak
 MM ahtake i+owir+o? ka l+awak
 MG until 3AC+reach+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+hole
 LT Until he reaches his hole.
 FT Until he reaches his hole.

FN ka yinogoño? ra?yitao? ka netesqo? ?
 MM ka i+inogon+ñi+o? r+a?yi+ta+o? ka n+etesqo?
 MG then 3AC+enter+DWN+EV 3IN+see+PROG+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle
 LT Then he entered: the uncle was looking.
 FT Then he went in: the uncle was looking around.

⁵ Mcv [ahtake] <Sp. *hasta que* 'until'

- FN ka? ?na:ko "noki:kero noki:kero"
- MM ka? Ø+?na:k+o? Ø+n-oki:k+ir+o Ø+n-oki:k+ir+o
- MG then 3AC+say+EV 2AC+HITH-approach+2sgR+IN 2AC+HITH-approach+2sgR+IN
- LT Then he said: "Come close, come close".
- FT Then he said: "Come here, come here"
-
- FN ra?yao?
- MM r+a?i+o?
- MG 3AC+see+EV t
- LT He looked inside.
- FT He looked inside.
-
- FN ka? yimičigilo? nqote ke na ?lawa
- MM ka? i+imit-igi+lo? n+qote ke na ?lawa
- MG then 3AC+throw-?-OPCL 3POSS+eye OBL DEIC(cmng) soil
- LT Then he threw dust in his eyes.
- FT Then he [the jaguar] threw dust in his [the fox's eyes] eyes.
-
- FN ka? yo?me:tegiŋi?
- MM ka? i+o?me:t-giri?
- MG then 3AC+be.lost-?
- LT Then he was lost.
- FT And he [the fox] was lost.
-
- FN ka? zi yagañi ka lete:sek ka? ži i:me
- MM ka? ži i+agan+ñi ka l+ete:sek ka? ži i:me
- MG then DEIC(hor) 3AC+leave+DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew then DEIC(hor) 3AC-finish
- LT And there his nephew left him. y ahí lo terminó
- FT And there his nephew left him.and there he left his nephew and there he finished

FN ka? ʒi i:me

MM ka? ʒi i+ime

MG then DEIC(hor) 3AC+finish

LT then it finishes.

FT And it finished.

FN ka yagañi ka lete:sek

MM ka i+agan+ñi ka l+ete:sek

MG DEIC(absnt) 3AC+leave+DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew

LT He leaves his nephew.

FT He leaves his nephew.

Appendix B

B.1. Phonemic Inventory of the Waikurúan languages

Kadiwéu: stops and affricates: p, b, b:, t, d, d:, ʃ, č, k, g, g:, q; fricatives: ɣ; nasals: m, m:, n, n:; approximants: l, l:, w, w:, y, y:; vowels: a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:.

Mocoví: stops and affricates: p, t, d, č, ʃ, k, q, ʔ; fricatives: (φ), s, š, g, (x), ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, r, λ, h; vocoids: w, y. Vowels: i, i:, e, e:, a, a:, o, o:.

Pilagá: stops and affricates: p, t, d, k, q, ʔ, g, č; fricatives: s, (x), ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, r, w, y, h; vowels: a, e, i, o.

Toba: stops and affricates: p, t, č, ʃ, k, q, g, ʔ; fricatives: s, š, ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, λ, r, w, y, h; vowels: a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:.

Abipón: stops and affricates: p, t, č, k, q, g, {?}; fricatives: ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, r, w, y, h; vowels: a, e, ě, i, o.

() marks a phoneme which occurs only in loanwords; { } marks a phoneme that seems to have existed in Abipón but is not marked in the sources.

Ceria & Sandalo (1995) presented a reconstruction of the phonological system of Proto-Waikurú based on 130 cognate sets of lexicon and grammatical items and grammatical items found in Noble Kadiwéu, Toba, and Mocoví. This reconstruction is presented in Table 30, and is largely based Terrence Kaufman's reconstruction (personal communication, 1992).

Table 30
Sound Correspondences

Proto-Waikurú	Kadiwéu	Toba	Mocoví
*p	p	w, ?	w, ?
*p:	p	p	p
*b	b	p	(p)
*b:	b:	w	w
(*b ^y)	b	s	s
*t	t, Ø	?, w	?, n
*t:	t	t, č	t, č
*t ^y	č	t, č, s	(t, č) s
*d	d, d:	d, t, č, l, w	d, t, č, w
*d:	d:	ǰ	ǰ
*d ^y	ǰ	s, č	s
*k	k	w	(w)
*k:	k	k, q	k, q
*k ^y	č	G, (k), q, č	k, q
*g	g, g:	k, (q), w, ?	k, q, (?)
*g:	g:	g	g, ?g
*q	q	g	(g)
*q:	q	k, q	k, q
*G	G	k, q, w	k, q, w
*G:	G	G	G
*h	?	h	h
*m	m	m, Ø, ?	m, Ø, (?)

Table 30 (cont'd)

*m:	m:	m	m
*n	n	n. d	n. d
*n:	n:	n. ñ	n. ñ
*ŋ	w	n	(n)
*l:	l:, l	l, lʲ, lʔ	l, lʲ, lʔ
*l	l, l:	l. d	l. d
*y	y	∅	∅, ?
*y:	y:	s. y	ʃ
*w	w	w. ?	w. ?
*w:	w:	p	p
*i(:)	i	i. e	i
*e(:)	e	e	e, i
*æ(:)	a.e	a. e	a. e
*a(:)	a	a	a
*o(:)	o, a	o, a	o, a
*u(:)	o	o	o
*æ	o	e	e
*ü	o	i	i

(Ceria & Sandalo 1995:172-173)

B.2. The Demonstrative System of the Waikurúan languages

All the Waikurúan languages have a demonstratives, which precede the noun in the noun phrase. They mark absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion(coming/going)

and position (standing/sitting/lying). They are marked for gender and number (although number in some languages is optional if it is marked on another element in the noun phrase). They can occur with additional morphology marking distance relative to the speaker (e.g. Pilagá: *-ča* 'distal', *-ho?* 'proximal', *-m?e* 'no reference to distance' (Vidal 1997:70); Mocoví: *-kerawk* 'far', *-keram* 'farther'). In some of the languages they can function as third person pronouns (sometimes with additional morphology).⁶

The demonstrative system of Proto-Waikurúan and the Waikurúan languages is presented in Table 31. (The reconstructed forms of Proto-Waikurúan are taken from Ceria & Sandalo 1995.)

⁶ In Pilagá there is an additional classifier *hen* 'general classifier', used only when pointing out an entity physically proximate to the speaker. It can be used also with mass nouns with no specific reference and with nouns such as 'sky', 'land/earth', 'moon' or 'sun'. (Vidal 1997:82-83)

(1) qomi? sa-liena-k **hen** lapat (Plg)
 pron.1pl 1-eat-pl **class** meat
 'We eat meat.' (Vidal 1997:82)

(2) w?o **hen** noop (Plg)
 exist **class** water
 'There is water.' (=pointing at it) (Vidal 1997:82)

Table 31
The Demonstrative System of the Waikurúan Languages

		Proto- Waikurú	Kadiwéu	Mocoví	Pilagá	Toba	Abipón ⁷
Sg.M	<i>absent</i>	*k.æ	i-ka	(e-)ka	ga?	ka	e-ka
	<i>present mov. coming</i>	*(e)-n:a	i-n:a	(e-)na	na? (-no?)	na	e-na
	<i>going</i>	*(e)-dʷu	i-jo	(e-)so	so?	so	e-ha
	<i>pos. standing</i>	*(e)-da	i-d a	(e-)da	da?	ra	e-ra
	<i>sitting</i>	*(e)-n:i	i-n i	(e-)ñi	ñi? (-ño?)	ñi	e-ñi
	<i>lying</i>	*(e)-d:i	i-d i	(e-)ji	dí? (-dvo?)	ji	e-ri
Sg.F	<i>absent</i>	*a-k.æ	a-ka	(a-)ka	(ha-)ga?	a-ka	a-ka
	<i>present mov. coming</i>	*a-n a	a-n:a	(a-)na	(ha-)na? (-no?)	a-na	a-na
	<i>going</i>	*a-dʷu	a-jo	(a-)so	(ha-)so?	a-so	a-ha
	<i>pos. standing</i>	*a-da	a-d a	(a-)da	(ha-)da?	a-ra	a-ra
	<i>sitting</i>	*a-n i	a-n i	(a-)ñi	(ha-)ñi? (-ño?)	a-ñi	a-ñi
	<i>lying</i>	*a-d:i	a-d i	(a-)ji	(ha-)dí? (-dvo?)	a-ji	a-ri
Pcl/Pl	<i>absent</i>	*k.æ-wa	i-d i-wa	ka-wa	ga?	ka -/ka-wa	e-k-o(a)
	<i>present mov. coming</i>	*n a-wa	i-d i-wa	na-wa	na: (-na?)	na -/na-wa	e-n-o(a)
	<i>going</i>	*dʷu-wa	i-d i-wa	sa-wa	sa?	so -/so-wa	ʔ
	<i>pos. standing</i>	*da-wa	i-d i-wa	da-wa	dya?	ra -/ra-wa	e-r-o(a)
	<i>sitting</i>	*n:i-wa	i-d i-wa	ña-wa	ña?	ñi -/ñi-wa	e-ñ-o(a)
	<i>lying</i>	*d:i-wa	i-d i-wa	ja-wa	dya?	ji -/ji-wa	e-ri-o(a)

(Based largely on Ceria & Sandalo 1995)

B.3. Locative/directional verbal morphemes in Waikurúan languages

All the Waikurúan languages have a set of loc/dir verbal morphemes that express the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. These loc/dir morphemes occur in

⁷ There are some discrepancies among the sources for Abipon. However, I have taken Najlis (1966) as a source for the classifiers listed in the table since her work is based on that of the other sources.

similar positions within the verb form of the various languages in the family, and have very similar meanings. The structure of the verb forms in Mocoví, Toba, Abipón and Kadiwéu are provided in (431)-(434). The data for Pilagá is not available. The position of the loc/dir morphemes in each language is in **boldface**.

(431) Structure of the verb form in **Mocoví**

Neg+ Pass+ Pers+ hither- STEM -IPLAC -Pers -Aspect -**Loc/Dir** -O.n^o -EV
(+2SGR)

(432) Structure of the verb form in **Toba** (Based on Klein 1978)

Subj- hither- BASE -Subj.pl -asp. -**position** -**dir** -O. n^o

(433) Structure of the verb form in **Abipón** (Based on Najlis 1966:29)

emph- Subj- BASE -Subj.pl -aspect -**loc** -O.n^o -asp -tense

(434) Structure of the verb form in **Kadiwéu** (Based on Sandalo 1995)

asp- neg- mood- n^o-pers- refl- hither- ROOT-val -asp -n^o -CLITIC1 -CLITIC2 -CLITIC3 -CLITIC4
[rel-n^o] [rel-n^o]

CLITIC 1 string includes the following categories: [-rel-rep+pers]

CLITIC 1 string includes the following categories: [+rei+**dirI**+**dirII**-pron-sem.role]

The locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikurúan languages are presented in Table 32. The table is organized as follows: the left hand-side column lists the meanings (in

alphabetical order) for which similar morphemes are found in two or more of the Waikurúan languages; the other columns list the forms in each of the languages for which a form with that meaning exists. In those languages in which there is a slight change in meaning, that meaning is provided in italics. As can be seen in the table, most loc/dir morphemes occur in two or more languages, and have similar forms for the same (or very similar) meaning. Each of the languages has a few loc/dir morphemes that do not have equivalents in any of the other languages. These are listed in the last five rows in the chart.

Table 32
Locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikuruan languages

	Kadiwéu	Mocoví	Pilagá	Toba	Abipón
'downwards'	+ngi ~ +n:	tñi <i>down(wds)</i>		-ñi	-añi ~ -ñi <i>down</i>
'hither'		+o ~ +wo		-get	
'inside'	+n <i>going, inside</i>	+kena <i>tds, here</i>		-ngi	-oa
		tñigi		-igi	
'inwards, into'	+w ~ +wgi <i>inwds</i>	+wgi <i>into, inside,</i>		-wo	<i>inwds</i>
'on'		+leg <i>on, over</i>	-lege	-lek	-alge ~ -elge
'on/to, other, side, of'		+a'ta <i>on/to, other, side</i>		-ata	
				-7oga	<i>across</i>
'outwards'	+ke	+eg ~ +weg		-wek	-ooge ~ -ook <i>out(wds)</i>
					-aa <i>outside</i>
'towards'	+gi:	+igi	-ge		
'under'		+ot		-ot	
'upwards'	+bigim	+šigim	-sem	-šigem	-hegem ~ -ihegem <i>up(wds)</i>
'with'	+wag <i>going, together</i>	+e'e		-peget	
				-ga:ma <i>tds, water/town</i>	-hagam <i>ref. to, water</i>
'towards water'	+t'ko <i>going, straight</i>			-teg	<i>straight</i>
'straight'	+ka <i>absent</i>	+igit	-ma	-ʔa	<i>fixed, place</i>
	+we <i>backwds</i>	+pegeʔ	-pe	-asop	<i>around, near</i>
	+kwak <i>apart</i>		-ya	-wag	<i>tds, fire</i>
	+jo <i>going</i>		-wo	-pe	<i>circular</i>
	+t'get <i>going, against</i>				

! These morphemes in Kadiwéu are the dir1 clitics in CLITIC 2 position in the verb form and they all express 'motion'. All others express 'direction' and occur are the dir1 clitics in the CLITIC 2 position in the verb form. (See Sandalo 1995 for a full discussion of loc/dir clitics in Kadiwéu.)

Examples (435)-(439) provide sentences from Mocoví, Pilagá, Toba, Abipón and Kadiwéu, with the same loc/dir morpheme meaning ‘up/upwards’ (+*šigim* (Mocoví)/-*sem* (Pilagá)/-*šigem* (Toba)/-*hegem* ~ -*ihegem* (Abipón)/+*bigim* (Kadiwéu) ‘upwards’).

- (435) /sela:qšigim ana ñogki ke ada qoʔpaq/ (Mocoví)
 s+ela-ag+šigim a+na ñogki ke a+da qoʔpaq
 1AC+put-1PL+UP F+DEIC(cmng) bag OBL F+CLASS(vert) tree
 ‘We lift the bag up to the tree.’

- (436) Ø-wentetpa n-oo-sem gaʔ emek (Pilagá)
 3SG-plan 3SG-build-UPWDS CLASS(abs) house
 ‘He plans to build a house.’ (Vidal 1997:92)

- (437) nawekšigem haji iqaya (Toba)
 Ø-n-aweg-šigem ha-ji i-qaya
 3S-HITHER-lift-UPWDS F-CLASS 1POSS-sister
 ‘He is lifting up my sister (but toward him and she’s prone)’ (Klein 1981:228)

- (438) naičiitahegem (Abipón)
 na-et-i-ta-hegem
 2S-be-2SG-PROG-UPWDS
 ‘You are standing (=you are up, you are standing up)’ (Najlis 1966:40)

- (439) nekenigo walokoditibigimed:i nalagate (Kadiwéu)
 neke-nigo w-alokon-d-t+bigem+e-d: nalagate
 dog-CLASS 3SGS-run-ATEL-REL+UPWDS+3SGCL-THHEME mountain
 ‘The dog ran up the mountain.’ (Sandaló 1995:55)

Examples (440)-(443) include sentences with the loc/dir morpheme ‘out’ or ‘outwards’:
 Mocoví +weg ‘out(wards)’ (440), Pilagá -gek ‘outwards’ (441). Toba -weg ‘out’ (442) and
 Abipón -ge ‘outwards’ (443).

- (440) /yim sa:weg ke ji noʔwe:naga/ (Mocoví)
 yim s+a:+weg ke ji n+oʔwe:naga
 1SGPRON 1AC+go+OUT OBL DEIC(hor) ABS+field
 ‘I go (out) to the fields.’

- (441) naega? awa-pya-gek na? l-apat (Pilagá)
 INTERROG 2SG-cut-OUTWDS CLASS(prox) 3POSS-meat
 ‘What do you cut meat with?’ (Vidal 1997:79)

- (442) senoganagaweg (Toba)
 s-enogan-ag-weg
 1S-go-1PL-OUT
 ‘Let’s get out of here, we are leaving for outside.’ (Klein 1981:232)

- (443) ñatagaoge (Abipón)
 ñ-atagao-ge
 1S-spit-OUTWDS
 ‘I spit (outside)’

In summary, then, all the Waikurúan languages have a set of locative/directional morphemes encoding the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. Although not all the loc/dir morphemes occur in all the languages, most of them occur in two or more Waikurúan languages, and in those cases the forms are very similar. The structure of the verb form in the Waikurúan languages is very similar, and these loc/dir morphemes occur in very similar positions within the verb form.

B.4. Phonemic Inventory of (Argentinian) Spanish

Table 33
Consonants

	bilabial	labio dental	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
stops & affricates	p b [b, β]		t d [d, ð]		č	k g [g, ɣ]
fricatives		f		s [s, h]	ž [ž, j, š]	
nasals	m			n	ñ	
liquids lateral trill and tap				l ř, r		
vocoids					y	

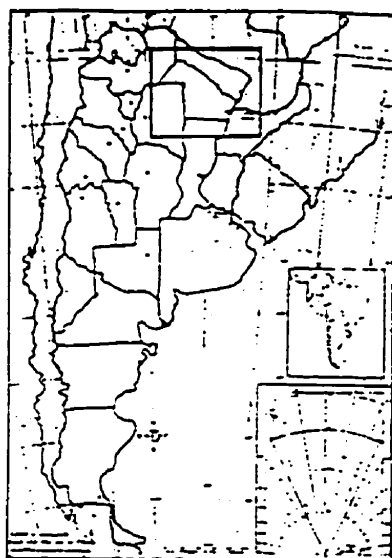
Vowels

i	u
e	o
a	

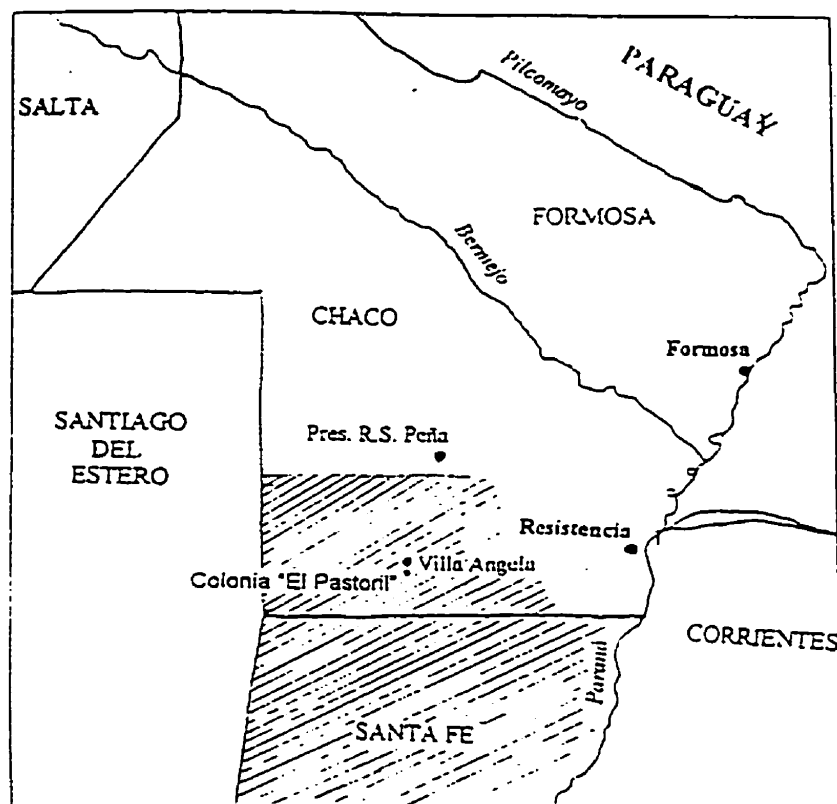
Appendix C

Map 1 - Area where Mocoví is spoken

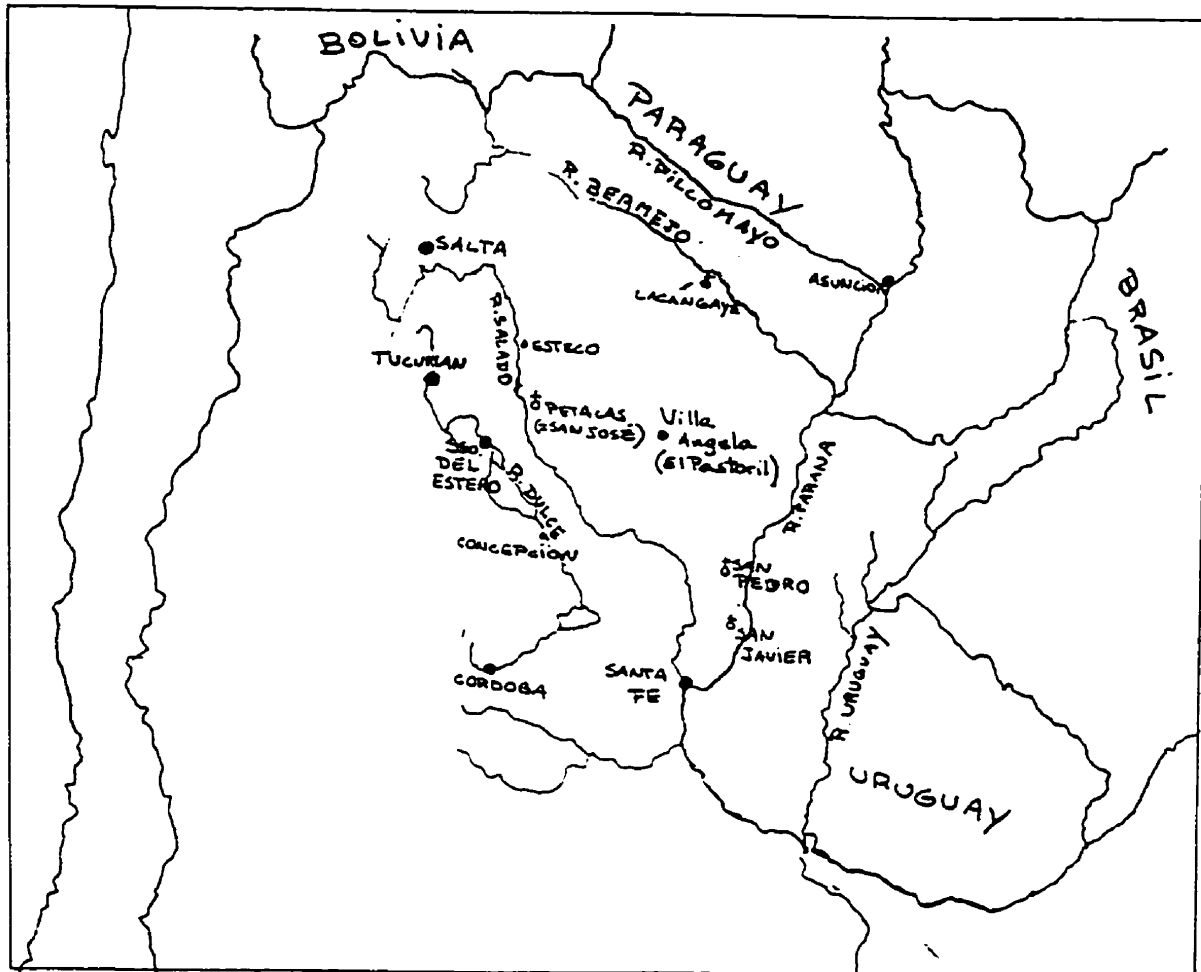
Argentina (Area of detail)



Area where Mocoví is spoken

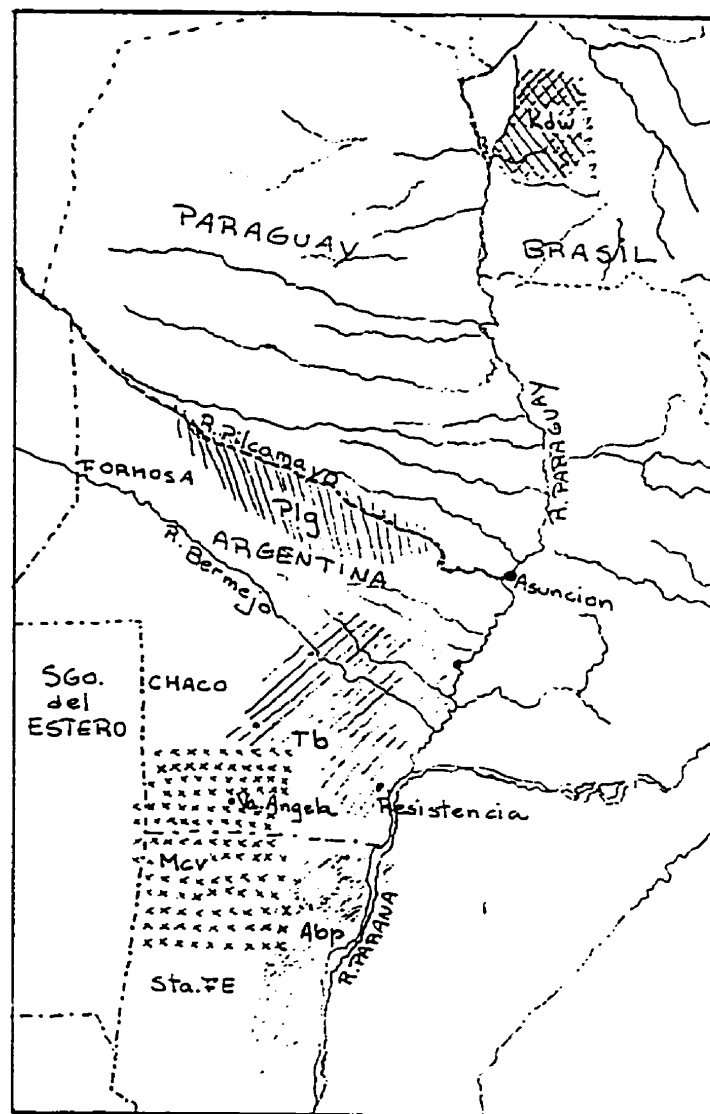


Map 2 - Early Spanish settlements in the southern Chaco region



Map 3 - Geographic location of Waikurúian languages

Apb = Abipón, Kdw = Kadiwéu, Mocoví = Mocoví, Plg = Pilagá Tb = Toba



Appendix D - Glossary

This glossary contains a list of the lexical items that appear throughout the examples in this dissertation. For each item, the following information is provided:

Eng: English gloss

Sp: Spanish Gloss

ps: part of speech

Comments: any other relevant information, such as what Class each item belongs to (if appropriate), possessive forms, paucal/plural forms, source (if it is a borrowed form); masculine/feminine forms (if appropriate); etc.

Noun Classes:

Mocoví nouns can be grouped into three noun Classes depending on the possessive marker that they take.

Class I: nouns that *must* be possessed and do not take a prefix *n-*

Class II: nouns that *may* be possessed and that take the prefix *n-* when they are possessed

Class III: nouns that are *never* possessed

(The prefix *n-* marks alienably possessed nouns.)

Verb Classes:

The verb roots are Classified into four Classes based on the form of the proclitic that they take for the third person.

Class A: verbal roots that take the proclitic *i-* for the 3rd person

Class B: verbal roots that take the proclitic $\emptyset-$ for the 3rd person

Class C: verbal roots that take the proclitic *~* for the 3rd person

Class D: verbal roots that take the proclitic *n+* for the 3rd person

List of Symbols and Abbreviations

-	suffix
+	clitic
{ }	affix or clitic attaches to the category here specified (e.g. enclitic {v} = verbal enclitic)
Arg	Argentinian Spanish
n	noun
v	verb
vt	transitive verb
vi	intransitive verb

?aw	Eng: first Sp: primero/a ps: ? Comments:
?alolek	Eng: weasel Sp: comadreja ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: alolqa.
?e:t	Eng: to escape; to run away; Sp: escapar(se); huir; ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: se?e t, 3SG: ?e t.
?goyk	Eng: many; much; a lot; Sp: mucho; muchos/as; ps: quantifier Comments:
?imek	Eng: house Sp: casa ps: n Comments: Class II, 1SG/POSS: ñi?mek
?man	Eng: pregnant Sp: embarazada ps: adj Comments:
?nem	Eng: same, similar; Sp: igual; similar; ps: adv Comments: ~ ?nehem, used to link clauses with an equative meaning.
?o:či	Eng: brush (small forest) Sp: monte; ps: n Comments: Class III.
?o:m	Eng: cold Sp: frío ps: n Comments: Class III.
?tagaki	Eng: mug; jug; Sp: jarro; taza; ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: ?tagakir.

?we	Eng: there is, there exists. Sp: hay, existe ps: vi Comments: irregular; used only with third person, cf. we 'salt', PL: ?wei [ʔwi]
?we:na	Eng: pot. Sp: olla. ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: ?we na!, PL: ?we naʔipi.
?wewk	Eng: several Sp: bastantes; varios; ps: quant Comments:
?yat	Eng: mosquito Sp: mosquito ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: ?yatir, cf. yatir 'my tear' (-ači 'tear')
a+	Eng: feminine Sp: femenino ps: proclitic {deictic root} Comments: attaches to singular forms of deictic roots; optional: e.g. aka 'deictic (absent) F'.
-aʔak	Eng: shoulder Sp: hombro ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iaʔak, 3SGPOSS: laʔak.
aʔit	Eng: to play Sp: jugar ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active; must take the prefix <i>n-</i> 'hither', 1SG: inaʔit [ñaʔit], 3SG: naʔit.
aʔa	Eng: to menstruate; Sp: menstruar ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG: saʔa, 3SG: aʔa.
aʔa:t	Eng: to finish eating; Sp: terminar de comer; ps: vi Comments: Class A, Inactive, 1SG: iraʔat [jaʔat], 2SG: raʔa tir, 3SG: iaʔa t.
aʔahan	Eng: to look at; Sp: mirar ps: vt/vi Comments: Class A, Active; 1SG: saʔahan; 3SG: iaʔahan;

-aʔat	Eng: meat Sp: carne ps: n	Comments: Class III, ABS, laʔat.
aʔde:n	Eng: to know; to understand. Sp: saber; conocer. ps: vt/vi	Comments: Class A, Active, [ʃu: saʔde n, 2suf aʔde ni [ʔiini], 2suf aʔde niʔ [ʔiiniʔ], 3suf laʔde:n, 1pl: saʔde:nag, 2pl: aʔde:nit, 2pl: ʔaʔde:nit, 3pl: laʔde:net
aʔe	Eng: to hear Sp: oír ps: vi	Comments: Class B, Active.
-aʔgaganaga	Eng: bat; Sp: murciélago. ps: n	Comments: Class III, ABS, naʔgaganaga, 1pl: naʔgaganagal.
aʔmahn	Eng: to lie Sp: mentir ps: vt/vi?	Comments: Class A?, Active, [ʃu: saʔmahn.
aʔme:n	Eng: to paint; to rub (on); Sp: pintar; untar. ps: vt	Comments: Class B, Active, [ʃu: saʔme n, 2suf aʔme niʔ, 3suf aʔme n.
aʔn	Eng: to laugh Sp: reírse ps: vi	Comments: Class A?, Active.
+aʔia	Eng: on/to other side of; across; Sp: en/hacia el otro lado de; a través; ps: enclitic [v]	Comments:
aʔwat	Eng: to swell; to get swollen; Sp: hincharse; ps: vi	Comments: Class D, Inactive, [ʃu: irawat [ʔawat], 2suf: naʔwaʔit, 3suf: naʔwaʔ.
-aʔwage	Eng: all Sp: todo/a (s) ps: quantifier	Comments: is added to one of the deictic roots to form the quantifier 'all'

-aʔyaga	Eng: heel; Sp: talón; ps: n Comments: Class I, ABS -naʔyaga, PCL -naʔyagal
-aʔyogonagate	Eng: mirror; Sp: espejo; ps: n Comments: Class II; derived form: ABS -naʔyogonagate, PCL -naʔyogonagatel
-a:le	Eng: daughter; Sp: hija. ps: n Comments: Class I, F; M -a lek 'son', ISGPOSS -ia lek/ia le
-a:lek	Eng: son, Sp: hijo; ps: n Comments: Class I, M; F -a le 'daughter', PCL -a lqa, ISGPOSS -ia lek/ia le
-a:tapse	Eng: helmet; Sp: casco. ps: n Comments: Class I?, PCL -na tapsel, ABS -na tapse
ača:r	Eng: to stand up Sp: pararse ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active.
-ači	Eng: tear Sp: lágrima ps: n Comments: PCL -ačir; ISGPOSS -yači, cf ʔyači 'mosquitos (pcl)'
ačil	Eng: to bathe Sp: bañar(se) ps: vt Comments: Class A?, Active, ISG -sačil 'I bathe somebody' cf inačil [ñačil] 'I bathe myself';
-ade	Eng: eyelash; Sp: pestaña. ps: n Comments: Class I, ISGPOSS -iade, ABS -nade, PCL -nadel (ABS).
-ag	Eng: 1 st person plural Active marker Sp: marcador de 1 ^a persona del plural Activo ps: suffix {v} Comments: the verb is also marked with the 1 st person proclitics s- -i-.

ahtake	Eng: until Sp: hasta que ps: discourse marker Comments: < Sp. <i>hasta que</i> [ahta ke] 'until'
-ai	Eng: side; wall; Sp: lado, pared. ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -ail.
ain	Eng: to shoot Sp: disparar ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: sain, 3SG: iain.
-akipyagki	Eng: vase; mug; Sp: jarrón, jarro; ps: n Comments: derived form, PCL: nakipyagkil, ABS: nakipyagki.
-akom	Eng: belly Sp: panza ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iakom, 3SGPOSS: lakom, ABS: nakom.
akon	Eng: to take; to grab; Sp: tomar; agarrar; ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: sakon, 3SG: iakon.
-akyag	Eng: palate Sp: paladar ps: n Comments: Class II, 3SGPOSS: nakyaq.
alateg	Eng: to find Sp: encontrar ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: salateg, 3SG: alateg.
alawat	Eng: to kill; Sp: matar; ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: salawat, 2SGf: alawati [lawaci], 2SGR: alawatir [lawaci?], 3SG: ialawat, 1PL: salawataq, 2PCL: alawatiri, 2PL: alawati, 3PL: ialawater
alola	Eng: to get sick; Sp: enfermarse. ps: vi Comments: Class C, Inactive, 1SG: iralola [jalola], 2SGR: ralolair, 3SG: ralola.

alon	Eng: to lit, to light a fire Sp: encender (un fuego) ps: vi Comments: Class ?, 1SG: <i>salon</i> .
-am	Eng: money Sp: dinero ps: n Comments: ABS: <i>lam</i> ; 2SGRPOSS: <i>qadamir</i> .
amac	Eng: to push; to send; Sp: empujar; enviar; ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active; can occur with <i>n-</i> 'hither', 1SG: <i>samac</i> , 3SG: <i>lamac</i> .
-amagki	Eng: shirt Sp: camisa ps: n Comments: Class II, 1SGPOSS: <i>inamagki</i> [<i>ñamagki</i>], 2SGPOSS: <i>namagkii</i> , 2SGRPOSS: <i>namagkiir</i> , 3SGPOSS: <i>namagki</i> , 1PLPOSS: <i>qanamagki</i> , 2PL: <i>namagkiiri</i> , 2PL: <i>namagkii</i> , 3PLPOSS: <i>namagkier</i> ; ABS: <i>lamagki</i>
aman	Eng: to like (of taste) Sp: gustar (de gusto) ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active.
anat	Eng: to fall Sp: caerse ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG: <i>sanat-ñi</i> .
ano	Eng: to lift Sp: levantar ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active.
antehnada	Eng: first; before anything else; Sp: antes que nada; primero; ps: discourse marker Comments: ~ Sp. <i>antes que nada</i> [<i>anteh ke naða</i>] 'first; before anything else'
-ap	Eng: mouth, lip Sp: boca, labio ps: n Comments: Class I; 1SGPOSS: <i>lap</i> , 2SGRPOSS: <i>rapir</i> , 3SGPOSS: <i>lap</i> , ABS: <i>nap</i> .
-apagacak	Eng: bridge Sp: puente ps: n Comments: Class II; morphologically complex (derived form).

-apal	Eng: corpse Sp: cadáver ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -apalir;
-apelog	Eng: orphan (M); Sp: huérfano (M); ps: n Comments: Class I, M, F: -apelogo 'orphan (F)'
-apelogo	Eng: orphan (F); Sp: huérfana (F); ps: n Comments: Class I, F, M: -apelog 'orphan (M)'
apog	Eng: to cover Sp: cubrir ps: vt/vi Comments: Class B, Active: 1SG: sapog,
-apyacanata	Eng: toe; Sp: dedo del pie; ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -apyacanatal, 1SGPOSS: iapyacanata,
-apyar	Eng: foot Sp: pie ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: iapyarer [lapyate?] (3SGPOSS)
apyoʔo	Eng: to get dirty Sp: ensuciarse ps: vi Comments: Class D, Inactive, 1SG: iapyoʔo [japyoʔo], 2SG: rapyoʔoir, 3SG: napyoʔo;
-aqaype	Eng: axe Sp: hacha ps: n Comments: Class II,
arīna	Eng: flour Sp: harina ps: n Comments: also [ariña], < Sp. <i>harina</i> [arina] 'flour'.
-ašig	Eng: face; color; Sp: cara; color; ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -ašigi, 1SGPOSS: iašig, 3SGPOSS: lašig,

ašil	Eng: to get married Sp: casarse ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: sašil, 3SG: ašil.
-ašilete	Eng: clutch; Sp: muleta, ps: n Comments: Class II, ABS: našilete; PCL: našileteL.
-ašilge	Eng: cheek; Sp: mejilla; ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -ašilgeL, 1SGPOSS: iašilge, 3SGPOSS: iašilge, ABS: našilge
-asoro	Eng: aunt Sp: tia ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iasoro, 3SGPOSS: iasoro.
asot	Eng: to dance Sp: bailar ps: vi Comments: Class C, Inactive, 1SG: irasot [jasot], 2SGF: rasoti; 2SGR: rasotir [rasoči?]; 3sg: rasot; 1PL: qarasot; 2PCL: rasotiri; 2PL: rasoti; 3PL: rasoter.
asot	Eng: to dance Sp: bailar ps: vi Comments: Class C, Inactive, 1SG: irasot [jasot], 2SGR: rasotir, 3SG: rasot, 1PL: qarasot; 2PCL: rasotiri; 2PL: rasoti; 3PL: rasoter.
-asote	Eng: branch; horn; Sp: rama; cuerno; ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: -asoteL, PL: -asotelipi; ABS: iasote
-atap	Eng: forehead; Sp: frente, ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iatap, 2SGRPOSS: ratapir; 3SGPOSS: iatap, ABS: natap.
-atap	Eng: forehead Sp: frente ps: n Comments: Class I.

-ataw	Eng: ankle Sp: tobillo ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iataw; 3SGPOSS: iataw.
-ate	Eng: daughter-in-law Sp: nuera ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iate; 3SGPOSS: iate.
-ate:neg	Eng: prey Sp: presa ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iate:neg; 2SGfPOSS: rate:neg; 2SGRPOSS: rate:negiri; 3SGPOSS: iate:neg; 1PLPOSS: qarate:neg; 2PCLPOSS: rate:negiri; 2PLPOSS: rate:negiri; 3PLPOSS: iate:neg; ABS: nate:neg.
ato	Eng: to yawn Sp: bostezar ps: vi Comments: Class C, Active; 1SG: sato; 3SG: rato;
-awe	Eng: leaf; feather; hair; Sp: hoja, pluma, pelo, ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: iawe; 1SGPOSS: iawe; 3SGPOSS: iawe.
aweg	Eng: to pull; to stretch; to bring Sp: estirar, traer, jalar, ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active; can occur with <i>n</i> 'hither'; 1SG: saweg; 3SG: iaweg; 1SG: inaweg [ñawek];
awig	Eng: burn Sp: quemar ps: vt/vi Comments: Class A, Inactive; 1SG: irawig; 2SGf: rawigi [ʔjini?]; 2SGR: rawigir; 3SG: iawig; 1PL: qarawig; 2PCL: rawigiri; 2PL: rawigi; 3PL: iawiger
-awo?	Eng: house Sp: casa ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: iawo?; 3SGPOSS: iawo?.
awog	Eng: to copulate Sp: copular, cojer (Arg.), ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG: sawog; 3SG: awog.
ayo	Eng: to fly Sp: volar ps: vi Comments: Class A, Active; 1SG: sayo; 3SG: iayo.

ča:wik	Eng: rush; reed; Sp: junco ps: n Comments: Class III.
čalego?	Eng: very Sp: muy ps: adv Comments:
čaqaе	Eng: and Sp: y ps: coordinator Comments:
čaqay	Eng: dangerous (F) Sp: peligrosa (F); ps: adj Comments: M. čaqayk, PCL(M) caqaqa, PCL (F) čaqai.
čaqayk	Eng: dangerous (M) Sp: peligroso (M); ps: adj Comments: F čaqay, PCL(M) caqaqa, PCL (F) čaqai.
čarpe	Eng: scarf Sp: bufanda; echarpe; ps: n Comments: - Sp. <i>echarpe</i> [ečarpe ~ ešarpe] "scarf"
či?nege	Eng: why Sp: por que ps: interrogative Comments:
čilála	Eng: eagle Sp: aguilá ps: n Comments: borrowing, source unknown.
čim	Eng: sour Sp: agrio ps: adj Comments:
čima?ge	Eng: smelly (M/F) Sp: oloroso, que tiene olor (M/F); ps: adj Comments: PCL.. čima?gelo.

činaq	Eng: ant Sp: hormiga ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: činar;
čisag	Eng: cripple (M) Sp: cojo (M) ps: n Comments: Class III, M; F: čisaga 'cripple (F)';
čisaga	Eng: cripple (F) Sp: coja (F) ps: n Comments: Class III, F; čisag 'cripple (M)';
da	Eng: deictic (vertically extended) Sp: deictico (verticalmente extendido) ps: deictic root Comments: Demonstrative: M: e+da; F: a-da; PCL/PL: da-wa.
daganaqate	Eng: fork Sp: tenedor ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: daganaqatel.
dagaraq	Eng: turkey Sp: pavo ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: dagaqar;
doʔo	Eng: hat Sp: sombrero ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: doʔol.
eʔłiwi	Eng: to fetch water Sp: buscar agua ps: vi Comments: Class C, Active; 1SG: seʔłiwi, 2SG/R: eʔłiwir, 3SG: reʔłiwir.
e+	Eng: masculine Sp: masculino ps: proclitic {deictic root} Comments: attaches to singular forms of deictic roots; optional, e.g. eka 'deictic (absent) M';
+eʔe	Eng: with Sp: con ps: locative enclitic {v} Comments:

eʔet	Eng: to drink Sp: beber; ps: vt/vi Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG: seʔet, 2SGR: eʔetir, 3SG: eʔet.
eʔgen	Eng: to run Sp: correr ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active; can occur with the prefix <i>n-</i> 'hither', 1SG: seʔgen+o, 1SG: iniʔgeno [niʔgeno].
eʔgen	Eng: to try Sp: probar, tratar, intentar; ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: seʔgen, 3SG: ieʔgen.
-eʔko:ta	Eng: knee Sp: rodilla ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -eʔko ta, 1SGPOSS: ieʔko ta, 3SGPOSS: ieʔko ta.
eʔmen	Eng: to sell Sp: vender ps: vt Comments: Class B, 1SG: seʔmen, 2SGf: eʔmeni, 2SGR: eʔmenir.
-oʔo:ta	Eng: vein Sp: vena ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -oʔo ta, 1SGPOSS: ioʔo ta.
eʔya	Eng: to dig Sp: cavar, hacer un pozo ps: vt/vi Comments: Class B, takes <i>n-</i> 'hither', 3SG: neʔya.
-eʔya	Eng: well; hole; Sp: pozo, pozo (de agua) ps: n Comments: Class II.
eʔya:m	Eng: to boil Sp: hervir ps: vi Comments: Class D, Active; 3SG: neʔyam.
-e:či	Eng: leg Sp: pierna ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -e či, 1SGPOSS: ie či, 3SGPOSS: ie či, ABS: ne či.

-e:tana	Eng: stake, post Sp: ps: n Comments: Class ?, PCL: -e tanal
ečag	Eng: to cut; to shorten; Sp: cortar; acortar; ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active; 1SG: sečag, 3SG: iečag,
ečag	Eng: to cut oneself; to get cut; Sp: cortarse ps: vi Comments: Class A, Inactive; 1SG: irečag [ječag]; 2SG: rečagir; 3SG: iečag,
edo:n	Eng: to get food poisoning; Sp: intoxicarse (con comida); ps: vi Comments: Class A, Inactive; 1SG: iedon [jedon]; 2SG: redo nir; 3SG: iedo n,
+eg	Eng: out; otwards; Sp: afuera, hacia afuera. ps: enclitic {v} Comments: -weg
lekat	Eng: knife Sp: cuchillo ps: n Comments: Class III,
ekon	Eng: to grab Sp: tomar; agarrar ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: sekon, 3SG: iekon,
enag	Eng: to throw Sp: tirar; arrojar. ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: senag, 3SG: ienag,
-enat	Eng: nail Sp: uña ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: ienat; 2SGPOSS: renatir; 3SGPOSS: lenat,
-epa?genagawa	Eng: enemy Sp: enemigo ps: n Comments: PCL: -epa?genagawar,

epagat	Eng: to twist; to braid; Sp: retorcer; trenzar; ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: sepagat, 3SG: iepagat.
-epaqata	Eng: braid Sp: trenza ps: n Comments: PCL: -epaqatal, derived form.
-epetaganagat	Eng: food Sp: comida, alimento, ps: n Comments: Class II, morphologically complex (derived form).
epeteg	Eng: to cut hair Sp: cortar (pelo) ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active;
epil	Eng: to go home; to go back; Sp: volver a casa, volver; ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: sepil; 2SGR: epilir [piɬi?]; 3SG: epil.
epit	Eng: to smile Sp: sonreir ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: sepit; 2SGR: epitir [picit?]; 3SG: epit.
-er	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de número ps: suffix {n} Comments:
-er	Eng: 3 rd person plural marker Sp: marcador de 3 ^a persona plural ps: suffix {v, n} Comments:
+er	Eng: plural object marker Sp: marcador de objecto plural ps: enclitic {v} Comments: cf. +to 'paucal'.
ešit	Eng: to be able to Sp: poder ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: sešit;

-ešite	Eng: ring Sp: anillo ps: n Comments: CLASS 2, PCL -ešitel
esal	Eng: to vomit Sp: vomitar ps: vi Comments: Class D; Inactive; 1SG iresal [ʒesal], 2SGR resalir, 3SG nesal.
esawli	Eng: to slip Sp: resbalar ps: vi Comments: Class C; Inactive; 1SG irekawli [ʒisawli], 2SGR resawliir, 3SG resawli.
etag	Eng: to comb Sp: peinar ps: vi/vt Comments: Class A; Active; 1SG setag, 3SG ietag.
-etekse	Eng: kidney Sp: riñón ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS ietekse.
-etesqo?	Eng: uncle Sp: tío ps: n Comments: Class II, 1SGPOSS [ñetesqo?], 3SGPOSS netesqo?.
ewal	Eng: to feel lazy Sp: tener fiaca (Arg.), estar cansado. ps: vi Comments: Class D; Inactive; 1SG irewal [jewal], 2SGR rewalir, 3SG newal.
-ewal	Eng: grandchild Sp: nieto/a ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS icwal, 2SGRPOSS qacwalir, 3SGPOSS icwal.
ewan	Eng: to see Sp: ver ps: vt Comments: Class A; Active; 1SG sewan, 3SG icwan.
ewar	Eng: to sew Sp: coser ps: vt/vi Comments: Class B; Active; must take the prefix <i>n-</i> 'hither', 1SG inewar [ñewa?], 3SG newar.

-ewo	Eng: blood Sp: sangre ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS. iewo,
ewa	Eng: Eve (woman's name) Sp: Eva (nombre de mujer) ps: n Comments:
eyala	Eng: to hurry up Sp: apurarse ps: vi Comments: Class A, Inactive, 1SG ireyala [jɪyala], 2SGR. reyalair, 3SG. icyala,
ɸátima	Eng: Fatima (woman's name) Sp: Fatima (nombre de mujer) ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>Fátima</i> [fátima] 'Fatima'.
ɸelisa	Eng: Felisa (woman's name) Sp: Felisa (nombre de mujer) ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>Felisa</i> [felisa] 'Felisa'.
giriʔlase	Eng: gringo (F) (= white woman) Sp: gringa (F) (= criolla, blanca) ps: n Comments: Class III, cf. M. giriʔlek 'gringo (= white man)', morphologically complex form,
giriʔlek	Eng: gringo (M) (= white man) Sp: gringo (M) (= criollo, blanco) ps: n Comments: Class III, cf. M. giriʔlase 'gringo (= white woman)'
gongay	Eng: wild boar Sp: chancho moro ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: gongayi,
-ho	Eng: very proximate Sp: muy próximo/cerca ps: suffix {deictic} Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives; naho 'this (cmng) very proximate'; cf. -ta 'proximate'; naho 'here'
-i	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de número ps: suffix {n} Comments:

-i	Eng: 2 nd person singular familiar marker Sp: marcador de 2 ^a persona singular familiar ps: suffix {v, n} Comments:
i+	Eng: 1 st person singular possessive marker Sp: marcador de 1 ^a persona singular posesivo ps: proclitic {n} Comments: e.g. iawo 'my spouse' (i+awo)
i+	Eng: 1 st person Active marker Sp: marcador de 1a persona Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: used with verbs when they are preceded by the prefix <i>n-</i> 'hither'. <i>i-</i> <i>n-</i> is then conflated to [ñ]; e.g. inowir [ñowi?] 'I come (here)'. see <i>s-</i> '1 st person Active'.
i+	Eng: 3 rd person Active marker Sp: marcador de 3a persona Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: e.g. ialawat 'he kills', see <i>i-</i> '3 rd person Inactive', marks Class A verbs.
i+	Eng: 3 rd person Inactive marker Sp: marcador de 3a persona No-Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: see also <i>i-</i> '3 rd person Active'.
iʔmek	Eng: spoon Sp: cuchara ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: iʔmqa.
-i:	Eng: 2 nd person plural marker Sp: marcador de 2 ^a persona plural ps: suffix {v, n} Comments: cf. -iri '2 nd person paucal marker'.
+igi	Eng: towards (there?) Sp: hacia (allí?) ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
+igit	Eng: behind; Sp: detrás de; atrás; ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
ilew	Eng: to die Sp: morir ps: vi Comments: Class A; Inactive. 1SG: irilew [jilew]; 2SG: rilewir [riɬiwi?]; 3SG: iilew;

-imik	Eng: nose Sp: nariz ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SG.POSS: iimik [yimik].
+ir	Eng: 2 nd person singular respectful marker Sp: marcador de 2 ^a persona singular de respeto ps: enclitic {v, n} Comments: cf. -i '2 nd person singular familiar'.
ir+	Eng: 1 st person singular Inactive marker Sp: marcador de 1 ^a persona singular No-Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: realized phonetically as [j]; cf. <i>ir</i> ~ <i>s</i> '1 st person Active'.
ik	Eng: to go Sp: ir ps: vi Comments: Class B; Active; 1SG: sik.
-ir	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de numero paucal ps: suffix {n} Comments:
-iri	Eng: 2 nd person paucal marker Sp: marcador de 2 ^a persona paucal ps: suffix {v, n} Comments: cf. -i '2 nd person plural marker'.
isegeyek	Eng: animal Sp: animal ps: n Comments: Class III.
ji	Eng: deictic (horizontally extended) Sp: deictico (horizontalmente extendido) ps: deictic root Comments: Demonstrative: M: e+ji, F: a+ji, PCL/PL: ji-wa.
jaqay	Eng: fast (F) Sp: rapido (F) ps: adj Comments: M: jaqayk, PCL.(M): jaqaqa; PCL. (F): jaqai.
jaqayk	Eng: fast (M) Sp: rápido (M) ps: adj Comments: F: jaqay; PCL.(M): jaqaqa; PCL. (F): jaqai.

ka	Eng: deictic (absent) Sp: deictico (ausente) ps: deictic root Comments: Demonstrative. M: e+ka; F: a+ka; PCL/PL: ka-wa, qa+e+ka 'nothing, nobody'
ka	Eng: then Sp: entonces ps: coordinator Comments: ~ ka?
ka?	Eng: then; Sp: entonces; ps: coordinator Comments: ~ ka
ka?ganaaki	Eng: chair Sp: silla ps: n Comments: PCL: ka?ganaakir; derived form.
ka?e	Eng: brown Sp: marrón ps: adj Comments: ~ Sp: <i>café</i> [kafe] 'coffee'.
kanek	Eng: blanket Sp: frazada ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: -ikanqa, morphologically complex? (derived form?).
ke	Eng: oblique marker Sp: marcador de frase nominal oblicua ps: n Comments:
ke?e	Eng: to eat Sp: comer ps: vt/vi Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG: ske?e; 2SG: ke?eir; 3SG: ke?e;
-ke?la	Eng: ear Sp: oreja ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: ike?la;
ke?lay	Eng: mule Sp: mula ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: ke?layi;

kemar	Eng: to get full; to be satisfied; Sp: llenarse; estar satisfecho; ps: vi Comments: Class B, Inactive, 1SG: irkemar [ʔkemar]; 2SGR: rkemarin; 3SG: kemar.
+kena	Eng: towards here; Sp: hacia aquí. ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
-keram	Eng: farther Sp: más lejos ps: suffix (deictic) Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives: nakeram 'that one (cmng) farther', cf. -kerawk 'far', -keram: 'very far'.
-keram:	Eng: very far Sp: muy lejos ps: suffix (deictic) Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives: nakeram 'that one (cmng) very far', cf. -kerawk 'far', -keram: 'farther'.
-kerawk	Eng: far Sp: lejos ps: suffix (deictic) Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives: nakerawk 'that one (cmng) far', cf. -keram 'farther', -keram: 'very far'.
kewog	Eng: sharpen Sp: afilar ps: vt Comments: Class ?, Active, 1SG: skewog, 1PL: skewogaa.
kewog	Eng: to sharpen Sp: afilar ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: skewog, 2SGR: kewogin; 3SG: kewog.
-kiʔyagala	Eng: table Sp: mesa ps: n Comments: derived form, ABS: nkiʔyagala.
kijili	Eng: chicken pox Sp: varicela ps: n Comments:

kijim	Eng: that (complementizer) Sp: que ps: complementizer Comments: introduces complement clauses, is optional.
kiyo	Eng: to wash Sp: lavar ps: vt Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: skiyo, 2SGf: kiyoi [lawaci], 2SGR: kiyoir [lawaci?], 3SG: kiyoi, 1PL: skiyoag, 2PCL: kiyoiri, 2PL: kiyoi, 3PL: kiyoe;
kiyogon	Eng: to wash Sp: lavar ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: skiyo ^{gon} ,
kiyogonagat	Eng: soap Sp: jabon ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: kiyogonagater, morphologically complex derived form.
ko^{le}get	Eng: kerchief Sp: pañuelo ps: n Comments: Class II;
ko^oo	Eng: to give birth Sp: parir; dar a luz; ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, 1SG: sko ^o o, 2SGf: ko ^o oi, 2SGR: ko ^o oir, 3SG: ko ^o o, 1PL: sko ^o yag, 2PCL: ko ^o oiri, 2PL: ko ^o oi, 3PL: ko ^o oe;
ko^ook	Eng: purple Sp: violeta ps: adj Comments:
ko^ooki	Eng: little; Sp: poco/a(s) ps: quantifier Comments:
ko^ooki?	Eng: small child (M) Sp: niño (M) ps: n Comments: cf. F: ko ^o o?aki?
komena	Eng: grandmother Sp: abuela ps: n Comments: Class II;

koñára	Eng: sister-in-law Sp: cuñada ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>cuñada</i> [kuñáda] 'sister-in-law'.
koñirag	Eng: to cut oneself; to get cut; Sp: cortarse ps: vi Comments: Class B; Inactive, 1SG: irkoñirag [jkoñirag], 2SG: rkoñiragir, 3SG: koñirag;
kopi	Eng: mucus Sp: moco ps: n Comments: Class II; 1SGPOSS: inkopi [ñkopi]; 2SGPOSS: nkopii; 2SGRPOSS: nkopiir; 3SGPOSS: nkopi; 1PLPOSS: qankopi; 2PCL: nkopiiri, 2PL: nkopii; 3PLPOSS: nkopier; ABS: kopii.
kos	Eng: pig Sp: cerdo ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: kosi [koši], PL: kosiipi [koši.pi];
kotapik	Eng: quebracho (<i>Schinopsis balansae</i> or <i>Quebrachia morongii</i>) Sp: quebracho (<i>Schinopsis balansae</i> or <i>Quebrachia morongii</i>) ps: n Comments: -ik = nominal suffix 'tree', COLL: kotapiksai.
-kowičagaki	Eng: nest Sp: nido ps: n Comments: PCL: -kowičagakin; morphologically complex (derived form).
-l	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de numero paucal ps: suffix {n} Comments:
la	Eng: fruit Sp: fruta ps: n Comments: Class III.
lade:neg	Eng: witch doctor Sp: curandero ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: lade neger;
lagi	Eng: when Sp: cuando ps: interrogative Comments: it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots, in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'

lalegay	Eng: white (F); Sp: blanca (F) ps: adj Comments: M: lalegayk; PCL(M): laleqaqa; PCL(F): lalegai.
lalegayk	Eng: white (M); Sp: blanco (M) ps: adj Comments: F: lalegay; PCL(M): laleqaqa; PCL(F): lalegai.
laloʔi?	Eng: small (F); little (F); Sp: pequeño (F); ps: adj Comments: -oʔʔi? 'diminutive (F)', M: laloki?, PCL(M): lalolqaer; PCL(F): laloʔiʔ;
laloki?	Eng: small (M); little (M); Sp: pequeño (M); ps: adj Comments: -oki? 'diminutive (M)', F: laloʔʔi?, PCL(M): lalolqaer; PCL(F): laloʔiʔ;
lames	Eng: table Sp: mesa ps: n Comments: Class II; 1SGPOSS: ñ(i)lames, < Sp: <i>mesa</i> 'table'.
lapagat	Eng: louse Sp: piojo ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: lapagater.
lase	Eng: insect; bug; Sp: insecto; bicho ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: lasel.
lasom	Eng: door Sp: puerta ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: lasomir.
latagañi	Eng: fly Sp: mosca ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: latagañil.

latas	Eng: cup, mug; Sp: taza; jarro. ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>la taza</i> [la tasa] (definite feminine article + taza 'cup') 'the cup'.
latew?ge	Eng: big (F); fat (F); Sp: grande (F); gorda (F); ps: adj Comments: M. lodegeat; PCL(M): leta?al; PCL(F): late?el.
latogot	Eng: lagoon, pond Sp: laguna ps: n Comments: Class III.
laway	Eng: weak (F) Sp: débil (F) ps: adj Comments: M. lawayk; PCL(M): lawaqa; PCL(F): lawai.
lawayk	Eng: weak (M) Sp: débil (M) ps: adj Comments: -yk 'masculine (adj)'; F: laway; PCL(M): lawaqa; PCL(F): lawai.
lawoyk	Eng: wasp Sp: avispa ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: lawo(y)qa.
le	Eng: thorn Sp: espina ps: n Comments: Class III; COLL: le šat.
le:re	Eng: paper Sp: papel ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: le:rel.
le:taragay	Eng: old (F); broken (F); Sp: viejo (F); roto (F); ps: adj Comments: M. le taragayk; PCL(M): le taraqa; PCL(F): le taragai.
le:taragayk	Eng: old (M); broken (M); Sp: viejo (M); roto (M); ps: adj Comments: F: le taragay; PCL(M): le taraqa; PCL(F): le taragai.

+leg	Eng: on; over; Sp: sobre ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
lekat	Eng: knife Sp: cuchillo ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: lekatir;
lekolagarayk	Eng: lizard Sp: lagartija ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: lekolagara(y)ka
ličiesqate	Eng: ring Sp: anillo ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: ličiesqater;
+lo	Eng: paucal object marker Sp: marcador de objeto paucal ps: enclitic {v} Comments: cf. +er 'plural';
lo?giɿi	Eng: squash Sp: zapallo ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: lo?giɿir;
lo?wi?	Eng: milk Sp: leche ps: n Comments: Class 2; ABS: lo?wi?
lo:yo	Eng: trunk (of tree) Sp: tronco (de árbol) ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: lo:yol, COLL: lo:yolsat,
lodegat	Eng: big (M); fat (M); Sp: grande (M); gordo (M). ps: adj Comments: F: latew?ge, PCL(M): leta?al, PCL(F): late?el.
loqo?m	Eng: or Sp: o ps: coordinator Comments: conjoins phrases or clauses

ɭaga	Eng: edge; blade Sp: borde; filo ps: n Comments: Class II?
ɭiméta	Eng: bottle Sp: botella ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: ɭimetal; PL: ɭimetalipi; < Sp. <i>limeta</i> 'bottle'.
ɭogonata	Eng: canoe; Sp: canoa; ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: ɭogonatal;
maʔle	Eng: after; later; future; Sp: después; mas tarde; futuro; ps: adv Comments:
magare	Eng: pronoun Sp: pronombre ps: pronoun Comments: occurs with deictic roots for 3 rd person pronominal; also realized as [maq] ~ [ma:re]
magso	Eng: pants (pair of); Sp: pantalón; ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: magsoɭ;
maʔka	Eng: hammock; swing; Sp: hamaca; ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>hamaca</i> [amaʔka] 'hammock; swing'.
maʔik	Eng: rhea Sp: ñandú ps: n Comments: Class III.
mansána	Eng: apple Sp: manzana ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>manzana</i> [mansána] 'apple'.
maq	Eng: pronoun Sp: pronombre ps: pronoun Comments: occurs with deictic roots for 3 rd person pronominal; variant pronunciation of /magare/; also realized as [magare] ~ [ma:re]

ma:re	Eng: pronoun Sp: pronombre ps: pronoun Comments: occurs with deictic roots for 3 rd person pronominal, variant pronunciation of /ma:re/, also realized as [ma:re] ~ [maq]
mičolek	Eng: cat Sp: gato ps: n Comments: Class III, PL mičolqa, morphologically complex?
mogel	Eng: silly (M); funny (M); Sp: tonto (M); gracioso (M); ps: n Comments: F mogola, PCL(M): mogolaqa, PCL (F) mogolal.
mogola	Eng: silly (F); funny (F); Sp: tonto (F); gracioso (F); ps: n Comments: M mogel, PCL (M) mogolaqa, PCL (F) mogolal.
móno	Eng: monkey; Sp: mono; ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL monól, < Sp. <i>mono</i> 'monkey'.
moqoyt	Eng: Mocovi Sp: mocovi ps: n, adj Comments:
mote	Eng: knot Sp: nudo ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL motel.
n+	Eng: 3 rd person Active marker Sp: marcador de 3a persona Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: marks Class D verbs.
n+	Eng: 3 rd person Inactive marker Sp: marcador de 3a persona No-Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: marks Class D verbs.
n+	Eng: Absolutive marker Sp: marcador de Absolutivo ps: proclitic {n} Comments:

n-	Eng: hither Sp: hacia aqui ps: prefix {v} Comments: occurs with some verbs that take the Active markers. can also have a reflexive meaning;
n-	Eng: alienable Sp: alienable ps: prefix {n} Comments: attaches to alienably possessed nouns when possessive markers occur on the noun;
na	Eng: deictic (coming) Sp: deictico (viniendo) ps: deictic root Comments: Demonstrative: M: e+na, F: a+na; PCL/PCL: na-wa;
naλin	Eng: fish Sp: pez; pescado ps: n Comments: Class III; pcl: naλinir {naλiñi?}
na?	Eng: when Sp: cuando ps: adv Comments: introduces adverbial clauses of time
na?gata	Eng: day Sp: dia ps: n Comments: ~ ña?na?a, Class III; PCL: na?gatar;
na?le	Eng: before; earlier; past; Sp: antes; mas temprano. pasado. ps: adv Comments:
na:serek	Eng: tobacco Sp: tabaco ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: na:serqa.
na:so:lek	Eng: corn Sp: maiz ps: n Comments: PCL: na:so:lqa;
nagi	Eng: now; today; present; Sp: ahora. hoy; presente; ps: adv Comments:

nanayk	Eng: yarará (type of poisonous snake) Sp: yarara (tipo de vivora venenosa) ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: nana(y)qa.
nanok	Eng: alligator Sp: yacaré ps: n Comments: Class III.
napagkak	Eng: bridge Sp: puente ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: napagkakə.
neʔmek	Eng: ladle Sp: cucharón ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL: neʔmqa.
ne:lonaq	Eng: <i>campanilla</i> (type of poisonous snake) Sp: campanilla ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: ne lonar.
ne:saga	Eng: mud, clay Sp: barro, arcilla ps: n Comments: Class III.
ne:targek	Eng: jacaranda Sp: jacarandá ps: n Comments: Class III, -ik = nominal suffix 'tree', COLL: ne targeksat.
nečigogonaga	Eng: rat Sp: rata ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: nečigogonagal.
nehem	Eng: same, similar; Sp: igual, similar; ps: adv Comments: ~ ʔnem, used to link clauses with an equative meaning.
nelolaganaga	Eng: toad Sp: sapo ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: nelolaganagal.

NOTE TO USERS

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UMI

norek	Eng: fire Sp: fuego ps: n Comments: Class III.
ñaʔgaʔa	Eng: day Sp: día ps: n Comments: ~ naʔgata. Class III, PCL. ñaʔgaʔa.
ñi	Eng: deictic (non-extended) Sp: deictico (no extendido) ps: deictic root Comments: Demonstrative: M: e-ñi, F: a-ñi, PCL/PL: ñi -wa.
+ñi	Eng: down, downwards; Sp: abajo; hacia abajo; ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
ñigeʔ	Eng: what; who; Sp: que; quien. ps: interrogative Comments: it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots, in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'; introduces interrogative clauses.
+ñigi	Eng: inside; Sp: dentro de; ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
ñik	Eng: rope Sp: sogá ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL. ñiqa.
ñiksaq	Eng: skunk Sp: zorrino ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL. ñiksar.
ñilek	Eng: pimple (with pus) Sp: granito (con pus) ps: n Comments: Class III;
ñilot	Eng: worm Sp: gusano ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL. ñiloter.

+o	Eng: inwards; hither; Sp: hacia adentro; hacia aquí; ps: enclitic {v} Comments: ~ -wo
+oʔ	Eng: evidential Sp: evidencial ps: enclitic Comments:
-o	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de número ps: suffix {n} Comments:
oʔči	Eng: to be afraid; Sp: temer; tener miedo; ps: vi Comments: Class D, Inactive; 1SG: iroʔči [joʔči]; 2SGR: roʔčir; 3SG: noʔči.
oʔdaɣtetek	Eng: to get scaed Sp: asustarse ps: vi Comments: Class D, Inactive; 1SG: iroʔdaɣtetek [joʔdaɣtetek]; 2SGR: roʔdaɣtetekir; 3SG: noʔdaɣtetek;
-oʔɣona	Eng: vase Sp: jarrón ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: -oʔɣonal,
-oʔɣoyagat	Eng: friend Sp: amigo/a ps: n Comments: Class II?; pcl: -oʔɣoyagater; morphologically complex (derived form).
-oʔloʔ	Eng: fabric Sp: tela ps: n Comments: Class II,
oʔo	Eng: to get angry Sp: enojarse ps: vi Comments: Class C?; 3SG: roʔo.
-oʔo:ta	Eng: vein Sp: vena ps: n Comments: Class I; PCL: -oʔo:tal,

oʔom	Eng: to turn off, to go off Sp: apagar(se) ps: vt/vi? Comments: Class B, 3SG: oʔom;
oʔon	Eng: to get married Sp: casarse ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active;
+oʔot	Eng: under Sp: debajo de; ps: enclitic {v} Comments: ~ +ot
-oʔwe:naga	Eng: land, field; Sp: campo, tierra; ps: n Comments: Class II, morphologically complex (derived form).
oʔwet	Eng: to get dressed Sp: vestirse ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active;
očag	Eng: to become fat, to gain weight Sp: engordar ps: vi Comments: Class A, Inactive, 1SG: iročag, 2SG: ročagir, 3SG: ročag,
-ogošik	Eng: bow Sp: arco ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL: -ogošiqat
-ogki	Eng: dress; bag; Sp: vestido, bolsa; ps: n Comments: Class II, pcl: -ogkir;
-olamek	Eng: liver Sp: hígado ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS: -olamek,
omat	Eng: to finish Sp: terminar ps: vt Comments: Class A, Active, 1SG: somat, 3SG: iomat;

ona:	Eng: to get stuck; to stick (to something); Sp: pegarse; quedarse pegado; ps: vi Comments: Class C, Inactive.
onog	Eng: to get naked; to get naked; Sp: desvestirse; desnudarse; ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, see also onog 'to get naked, to undress'.
oqopi	Eng: to hit Sp: pegar ps: vt Comments: Class C, Active.
-oqor	Eng: father-in-law Sp: suegro ps: n Comments: Class I, M; F -oqoro 'mother-in-law'
oqoro	Eng: mother-in-law Sp: suegra ps: n Comments: Class I, F; M -oqor 'father-in-law'
-oqoyna	Eng: netting; mesh Sp: red ps: n Comments: Class II, PCL -oqoynal;
-osa:tacki	Eng: belt Sp: cinturón ps: n Comments: Class?, PCL -osa:tackil.
-osap	Eng: buttocks Sp: nalgas ps: n Comments: Class I, 1SGPOSS -iosap;
osog	Eng: to get naked; to undress; Sp: desvestirse; desnudarse; ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active, see also onog 'to get naked, to undress'
+ot	Eng: under Sp: debajo de. ps: enclitic {v} Comments: ~ +o?ot

-otogosoگونogat	Eng: hammer Sp: martillo ps: n Comments: Class II; pcl. -otogosoگونogater; morphologically complex (derived form);
-owagse	Eng: bracelet Sp: pulsera ps: n Comments: Class ?; PCL. -owagseL,
-owe	Eng: tooth Sp: diente ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL. -ower; 1SGPOSS: iowe, 2SGPOSS: rowei; 2SGRPOSS: roweir; 3SGPOSS: iowe; 1PLPOSS: qarowe; 2PCL: roweiri; 2PL: rowei.; 3PLPOSS: lower; ABS: nowe.
owen	Eng: to use Sp: usar; utilizar; ocupar ps: vt Comments: Class A, 1sg: sowen; 2SGR: owenir [wiñi?].
owéro	Eng: spotted (of an animal's skin) Sp: overo ps: adj Comments: < Sp. <i>overo</i> [oβéro] 'spotted (of an animal's skin)'.
-owik	Eng: arrow Sp: flecha ps: n Comments: Class I, PCL. -owiqa,
owir	Eng: to come; arrive; reach. Sp: llegar; alcanzar; ps: vi Comments: Class I, Active; can occur with or without <i>h-</i> 'hither'. 1sg: inowir [ñowi?] 'I arrive (here)' vs. sowir 'I arrive (there)', 3SG: nowir vs. yowir;
owo	Eng: to walk Sp: caminar ps: vi Comments: Class A, Active; 1SG: sowo; 3SG: iowo,
paʔateta	Eng: light (of weight) (M/F); Sp: liviano/a (M/F); ps: adj Comments:

paʔčogon	Eng: to cure Sp: curar ps: vt? Comments: Class ?; 1SG: spaʔčogon, can be said only when the shaman is the agent;
paʔlotogoyk	Eng: scorpion Sp: escorpión ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: paʔlotogoyqa.
palačiriga	Eng: spider; Sp: araña ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: palačiriga.
-palaqate	Eng: finger Sp: dedo (de la mano) ps: n Comments: Class I; PCL: -palaqatel; 1SGPOSS: ipalaqate.
pápa	Eng: potato Sp: papa ps: n Comments: Class II; < Sp <i>papa</i> [papa] 'potato'.
pápi	Eng: dad, daddy; Sp: papá, papi. ps: n Comments: Class III; < Sp <i>papi</i> [papi] 'dad, daddy'.
páre	Eng: butterfly Sp: mariposa ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: paréI, PL: parclipi, borrowing, source unknown.
pargatokiʔ	Eng: rope-soled shoe; Sp: alpargata (Arg) (tipo de calzado con suela de sogá trenzada). ps: n Comments: Class II; < Sp <i>alpargata</i> [alparɣata] 'rope-soled shoe' and the diminutive masculine suffix -okiʔ.
páto	Eng: duck Sp: pato ps: n Comments: Class III; < Sp <i>pato</i> [pato] 'duck'.
pe	Eng: night Sp: noche ps: n Comments: Class III.

-pe	Eng: grandfather Sp: abuelo ps: n Comments: Class I.
+pe?	Eng: up to Sp: hasta ps: enclitic {v} Comments: -- -pege?
peg	Eng: more Sp: más ps: adv Comments: ~ pegeg, precedes adjectives in a phrase.
+pege?	Eng: up to Sp: hasta ps: enclitic {v} Comments: -- -pe?
pegeg	Eng: more Sp: más ps: adv Comments: ~ peg, precedes adjectives in a phrase.
pelóta	Eng: ball Sp: pelota ps: n Comments: Class II, < Sp. <i>pelota</i> [pelóta] 'ball'.
péro	Eng: but Sp: pero ps: discourse marker Comments: < Sp. <i>pero</i> [pero] 'but'.
petekayk	Eng: chañar (<i>Geoffroea decorticans</i>) Sp: chañar (<i>Geoffroea decorticans</i>) ps: n Comments: Class III, -ik = nominal suffix 'tree', PCL: petekai, COLL: petekayksat.
petiso?łi?	Eng: short (F) Sp: petisa (F) ps: n, adj Comments: Class III, < Sp. <i>petiso</i> [petiso] 'short' and the diminutive feminine suffix -o?łi?,
petisoki?	Eng: short (M) Sp: petiso (M) ps: n, adj Comments: Class III, < Sp. <i>petiso</i> [petiso] 'short' and the diminutive masculine suffix -oki?,

péwlo	Eng: town Sp: pueblo ps: n Comments: Class II; ~ Sp <i>pueblo</i> [pweβlo] 'town'.
piʔgonaq	Eng: shaman Sp: shaman ps: n Comments: Class III.
pigim	Eng: sky Sp: cielo ps: n Comments: Class III.
piʃilocoloco	Eng: toad Sp: sapo ps: n Comments: Class III, PCT: piʃilocolocol, also sápo (Sp. ~ <i>sapo</i> 'toad')
pinkošik	Eng: tala (Celtis tala) Sp: tala ps: n Comments: Class III, -ik = nominal suffix 'tree', COL: pinkošiksak.
poqo	Eng: charcoal Sp: carbon ps: n Comments: Class III.
porsupwéhtoke	Eng: of course Sp: por supuesto ps: discourse marker Comments: < Sp <i>por supuesto que</i> [por supwehto ke] 'of course that'
pyox	Eng: perro Sp: dog ps: n Comments: Class III, PCT: pyoxox.
pyoxlapagat	Eng: flea Sp: pulga ps: n Comments: Class III, PCT: pyoxlapagater; morphologically complex (derived form) pyox 'dog' + lapagat 'louse'.
qa+	Eng: indefinite agent Sp: agente indefinido ps: proclitic {v} Comments: occurs only with a verb in the third person singular; immediately precedes the 3 rd person proclitic in the verb form

-qa	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de número ps: suffix {n} Comments:
qaden	Eng: to make heal Sp: curar ps: vt Comments: Class B, 3SG: nqaden.
qae?pe	Eng: axe Sp: hacha ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: qae?pe.
-qaig	Eng: head Sp: cabeza ps: n Comments: Class I; PCL: -qaigo, 1SGPOSS: iqaig, 3SGPOSS: iqaig.
qalagam	Eng: but Sp: pero ps: coordinator Comments: used to conjoin phrases or clauses: -- qam.
qam	Eng: but Sp: pero ps: coordinator Comments: used to conjoin phrases or clauses: -- qalagam
qami	Eng: 2 nd person singular familiar independent pronoun Sp: pronombre personal de 2 ^a persona singular familiar ps: independent pronoun Comments: used only with siblings or very close friends (friends one has grown up with); cf. qamir '2 nd person singular Respectful independent pronoun'.
qamir	Eng: 2 nd person singular Respectful independent pronoun Sp: pronombre personal de 2 ^a persona singular de Respeto ps: independent pronoun Comments: cf. qami '2 nd person singular familiar independent pronoun'; qamir is the one most commonly used;
qamiri	Eng: 2 nd person plural independent pronoun Sp: pronombre personal de 2 ^a persona plural ps: independent pronoun Comments: there doesn't seem to be a different form for the independent pronoun in the 2 nd person paucal;
qar	Eng: stone Sp: piedra ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: qari; PL: qariipi [qari:pi]; see -qar 'chin', qari 'bola'

-qar	Eng: chin Sp: mentón ps: n Comments: Class II; 1SGPOSS: ñqar; 2SGRPOSS: nqarir; 3SGPOSS: nqar; see qar 'stone';
qar+	Eng: 1 st person plural Inactive marker Sp: marcador de 1 ^a persona plural No-Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: cf. 1 st plural Active s+ -i+ -aaq;
qari	Eng: bola (type of hunting tool) Sp: boleadora ps: n Comments: Class II?, PCL: qaril; (from qa 'stone')
qawa	Eng: to walk Sp: caminar ps: vi Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG: sqawa
-qoʔge	Eng: elbow Sp: codo ps: n Comments: Class I; PCL: -qoʔgel; 1SGPOSS: iqoʔge; 3SGPOSS: lqoʔge.
qoʔgogo	Eng: to suck; to kiss; Sp: chupar; besar; ps: vt/vi Comments: Class D; Active; can take the prefix <i>n-</i> 'hither'; 1SG: sqoʔgogo; 3SG: nqoʔgogo;
qoʔgoy	Eng: old (F); Sp: viejo (F); ps: adj Comments: M: qoʔgoyk; PCL(M): qoʔgoyaqa; PCL(F): qoʔgoi.
qoʔgoyk	Eng: old (M); Sp: viejo (M); ps: adj Comments: F: qoʔgoy; PCL(M): qoʔgoyaqa; PCL(F): qoʔgoi.
qoʔole	Eng: bird Sp: pájaro ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: qoʔolqa.
qoʔpaq	Eng: tree; stick; wood; Sp: árbol; palo; madera; ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: qoʔpar; PL: qoʔparipi; cf. -qoʔpaq 'eyebrow'.

-qoʔpaq	Eng: eyebrow Sp: ceja ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: nqoʔpar (3SGPOSS), 1SGPOSS: ñqoʔpaq; 2SGRPOSS: nqoʔpaq; 3SGPOSS: nqoʔpaq; see qoʔpaq 'tree, stick, wood'; cf. qoʔpaq 'tree'.
qoʔpelogoʔñi	Eng: tadpole Sp: renacuajo ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: qoʔpelogoʔñil.
-qo:ta	Eng: knee Sp: rodilla ps: n Comments: Class I; PCL: -qo:tal; 1SGPOSS: iqo:ta.
qogon	Eng: to urinate Sp: orinar ps: vi Comments: Class B; Active; 1SG: sqogon, 2SG: qogoni, 2SGR: qogonir; 3SG: qogon; 1PL: sqogonag, 2PL: qogoniri, 2PL: qogoni; 3PL: qogoner.
qom	Eng: person Sp: persona ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: qomir.
qom	Eng: person Sp: persona ps: n Comments: Class III.
qomir	Eng: 1 st person plural independent pronoun Sp: pronombre personal de 1 ^a persona plural ps: independent pronoun Comments: qom 'person' → qom-ir (person-pcl) 'people'
qoñi	Eng: yellow Sp: amarillo ps: adj Comments:
qoʃikyagawa	Eng: monkey; Sp: mono. ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: qoʃikyagawal; also: mono (< Sp. <i>mono</i> 'monkey')
-qosot	Eng: neck Sp: cuello ps: n Comments: Class I; 1SGPOSS: iqosot, 2SGRPOSS: rqosotir, 3SGPOSS: lqosot.

-qote	Eng: eye Sp: ojo ps: n Comments: Class II; 1sg: inqote [ñqote], 3sgPOSS: nqote.
-qowe?	Eng: egg Sp: huevo ps: n Comments: Class II.
- qoyaraganagat	Eng: candle Sp: vela ps: n Comments: Class II; pcl: qoyaraganagater; morphologically complex (derived form),
r+	Eng: 3 rd person Active marker Sp: marcador de 3 ^a persona Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: see also <i>r~</i> '3 rd person Inactive', marks Class C verbs.
r+	Eng: 3 rd person Inactive marker Sp: marcador de 3a persona No-Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: see also <i>r~</i> '3 rd person Active'
r+	Eng: 2 nd person Inactive marker Sp: marcador de 2a persona No-Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: cf. <i>2~</i> '2 nd person Active'.
-r	Eng: paucal number marker Sp: marcador de número ps: suffix {n} Comments:
ra?asa	Eng: sun Sp: sol ps: n Comments: Class III.
širaygo	Eng: moon Sp: luna ps: n Comments: Class III.
ra?nagi	Eng: deaf Sp: sordo ps: adj ? Comments: very likely derived form.

ralolgay	Eng: sick (F) Sp: enferma (F) ps: adj Comments: derived form, cf. M. ralolgayk.
rapik	Eng: honey Sp: miel ps: n Comments: Class III.
rayami	Eng: prickly pear Sp: tuna del monte ps: n Comments: PCL: rayamil, COLL: rayamilsat.
regat	Eng: jaguar, cat; Sp: jaguar, gato. ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: regatir, PL: regatiripi
regone	Eng: wild boar Sp: jabali ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: regoneir [regoñi?].
s+	Eng: 1 st person Active marker Sp: marcador de 1a persona Activo ps: proclitic {v} Comments: used with verbs when they are not preceded by the prefix <i>n-</i> 'hither', e.g. salawat 'I kill'; see <i>n-</i> '1 st person Active'.
saik	Eng: because Sp: porque ps: adv Comments: introduces adverbial clauses of cause
sápo	Eng: toad Sp: sapo ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: sapól; < Sp. <i>sapo</i> 'toad'.
sawado	Eng: Saturday Sp: sábado ps: n Comments: Class III, < Sp. <i>sábado</i> 'Saturday'
se+	Eng: negative Sp: negación ps: proclitic Comments: also <i>sqa+</i> .

so	Eng: deictic (going) Sp: deictico (yendo) ps: deicite root Comments: Demonstrative. M. e+so, F. a+so, PCL/PL: so-wa.
sókar	Eng: sugar Sp: azúcar ps: n Comments: Class III. < Sp. <i>azúcar</i> [asúcar] 'sugar'.
sórgo	Eng: sorghum Sp: sorgo ps: n Comments: Class III. < Sp. <i>sorgo</i> [sorɣo] 'sorghum'.
sqaε+	Eng: negative Sp: negación ps: proclitic Comments: also se-.
šaɫaɣaray	Eng: heavy (F) Sp: pesado (F) ps: adj Comments: M: šaɫaɣarayk; PCL (M): šaɫaɣaraqa; PCL (F): šaɫaɣarai.
šaɫaɣarayk	Eng: heavy (M) Sp: pesado (M) ps: adj Comments: F: šaɫaɣaray; PCL (M): šaɫaɣaraqa; PCL (F): šaɫaɣarai.
šiʔge	Eng: already Sp: ya ps: adv Comments: ~ šiʔge.
šige	Eng: already Sp: ya ps: adv Comments: ~ šiʔge.
+šigim	Eng: up; upwards; Sp: arriba; hacia arriba. ps: enclitic {v} Comments: e.g. ienacšigim 'he throws up(wards)'.
šilqayk	Eng: iguana Sp: iguana ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: šilka(y)qa,

šim	Eng: almost Sp: casi ps: adv Comments:
šitagaray	Eng: sharp-pointed (F) Sp: puntiagudo (F) ps: adj Comments: M. šitagarayk; PCL(M): šitagaraqa; PCL(F): šitagarai.
šitagarayk	Eng: sharp-pointed (M) Sp: puntiagudo (M) ps: adj Comments: F šitagaray; PCL(M): šitagaraqa; PCL(F): šitagarai.
qawa:	Eng: to take a step Sp: dar un paso ps: vi Comments: Class ?; 1SG: sqawa.
-ta	Eng: proximate Sp: proximo ps: suffix (deictic) Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives: nata 'this (coming) proximate'; cf. -ho 'very proximate'.
+tak	Eng: progressive aspect Sp: aspecto progresivo ps: enclitic {v} Comments: also realized as -tape ~ -take ~ -sak ([sak] when it follows the 2 nd person singular Respectful enclitic)
tapiñik	Eng: (type of) armadillo Sp: tatu ps: n Comments: Class III.
taqate	Eng: comb Sp: peine ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: taqateI.
tog	Eng: red Sp: rojo ps: adj Comments: PCL: toger; toglek 'reddish (orange in color)'
tomáte	Eng: tomato Sp: tomate ps: n Comments: Class III; < Sp. <i>tomate</i> [tomáte] 'tomato'.

tónseh	Eng: then Sp: entonces ps: discourse marker Comments: < Sp. <i>entonces</i> [entonses] 'then'
waʔge	Eng: where Sp: donde ps: interrogative Comments: it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots, in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'
wagay	Eng: sea; river; Sp: mar; río; ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: <i>wagaqa</i> .
wagayaq	Eng: water Sp: agua ps: n Comments: Class III;
waka	Eng: cow Sp: vaca ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: <i>waka</i> ; ~ Sp. <i>vaca</i> [baka] 'cow'.
walay	Eng: lazy (F) Sp: vago (F) ps: adj Comments: M: <i>walayk</i> ; PCL(M): <i>walagaqa</i> ; PCL(F): <i>walagai</i> .
walayk	Eng: lazy (M) Sp: vago (M) ps: adj Comments: F: <i>walay</i> ; PCL(M): <i>walagaqa</i> ; PCL(F): <i>walagai</i> .
walogonaq	Eng: dumb Sp: tonto ps: n, adj Comments: Class III; PCL: <i>walogonar</i> .
waloq	Eng: cotton Sp: algodón ps: n Comments: Class III;
wanána	Eng: banana Sp: banana ps: n Comments: ~ <i>wanána</i> < Sp. <i>banana</i> [banána] 'banana'.

waqaʔe	Eng: chicken, hen Sp: pollo, gallina ps: n Comments: Class III; PCL: waqaʔel
we	Eng: salt Sp: sal ps: n Comments: Class III; cf. ʔwe 'there is, there exists'.
+weg	Eng: out; outwards Sp: afuera; hacia afuera; ps: locative enclitic {v} Comments: ~ -eg
+wgi	Eng: in; inwarda; into Sp: adentro; hacia adentro; dentro de; ps: enclitic {v} Comments:
+wo	Eng: inwards; hither; Sp: hacia adentro; hacia aquí; ps: enclitic {v} Comments: ~ -o
wól̥sa	Eng: bag Sp: bolsa ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: wolsál̥. < Sp. <i>bolsa</i> [bolsa] 'bag'.
wyo	Eng: mortar Sp: mortero ps: n Comments: Class II; PCL: wyol.
xuhtoke	Eng: just as/when Sp: justo que ps: discourse marker Comments: < Sp. <i>justo que</i> [xuhto ke] 'just as/when'
xwan	Eng: John Sp: Juan ps: n Comments: < Sp. <i>Juan</i> 'John'
yagaray	Eng: sharp (of knife, axe) (F) Sp: afilado (cuchillo, hacha) (F) ps: adj Comments: M. yagarayk; PCL(M) yagaraqa; PCL(F) yagarai.

yagarayk	Eng: sharp (of knife, axe) (M) Sp: afilado (cuchillo, hacha) (M) ps: adj Comments: F yagaray, PCL(M): yagaraqa, PCL(F): yagarai.
yagat	Eng: rain Sp: lluvia ps: n Comments: Class III.
yale	Eng: man, male Sp: hombre, macho ps: n Comments: Class III, PCL: yaler, PL: yaleripi.
yi	Eng: ripe (M/F) Sp: maduro/a (M/F) ps: adj Comments: PCL(M/F): yir.
yim	Eng: 1 st person singular independent pronoun Sp: pronombre personal de 1 ^a persona singular ps: pronoun Comments:
yo?yo	Eng: fat (M/F) Sp: gordo/a (M/F) ps: adj, n Comments:
yolo	Eng: black pig Sp: chancho negro ps: n Comments: CLASS III, PCL: yolo?,