A GRAMMAR OF MOCOVI

by

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

University of Pittsburgh

1998
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A GRAMMAR OF MOCOVI

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University of Pittsburgh. 1998

Abstract

This dissertation presents a description of Mocovi, 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 Mocovi in the Colonia “El Pastoril” in Chaco province, Argentina.

Mocovi 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 Fe province and the southern part of Chaco province in Argentina.

Mocovi 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. Mocovi 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. Mocovi 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 Mocovi, 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.
Acknowledgements

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

I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee members Sarah G. Thomason, Terrence Kaufman, Alan Juffs and Susan Berk-Seligson.

Sally’s gentle guidance, encouragement and support throughout my career at the University of Pittsburgh were fundamental to the completion of this dissertation. Her detailed comments, her input and her demand for precision during the development of this study were always very constructive.

To Terry I owe my interest in American Indigenous languages and their speakers. He was the first one to introduce me to field work and to encourage my work on poorly documented languages. I am most grateful for the endless hours he spent going over the data with me, for his careful and detailed comments and constructive discussions. His input and guidance were essential to the development of this work. I have been very fortunate to work with Terry.
I thank Alan Juffs for his advice, his support, and his helpful comments. His work and insights on theoretical issues proved to be invaluable guidance, and helped me clarify various points, especially during the last stages of this project.

I am grateful to Susan Berk-Seligson for her constructive comments at different stages of this dissertation.

I also wish to thank the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh and the Tinker Foundation for their financial support in the early stages of my fieldwork.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my family, although miles distant, they have always been present in spirit. To my mother and brothers for their confidence, encouragement, and moral support in all moments of my career. To my father who taught me the value of knowledge, and whose interest in native American cultures I unknowingly pursued. And to Andrew, for his patience, his help, his encouragement, and for making me smile.
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<table>
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<tr>
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1. Introduction

This work presents a linguistic description of Mocovi, 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.

Mocovi, or [moqoyt la?qa:tqa] 'Mocovi 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). Mocovi 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, Mocovi 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

Mocovi is a poorly documented language in a poorly studied family. There is an 1892 grammar of Mocovi 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 Mocovi by Gualdieri, and a study on zoological names and ethno-zoology of the Pilagá, Toba, Mocovi, Mataco and Vilela by Martínez Crovetto, an Argentinian agronomist. An Evangelical Minister, Alberto Buckwalter, is said to be working on a dictionary of Mocovi. 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 Mocovi.

I have spent a total of almost six months collecting data from native speakers of Mocovi 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 Mocovi 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 Mocovi, although not of their language. The mission prospered and the Mocovi 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 Mocovi. (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 Mocovi Indians. Father Tavolini spent approximately three years in the "reducción", during which time he wrote a description of the language which was edited and published by Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo in 1892 (see below for details).

In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the Europeans entered more and more into the Chaco, pushing the Indians to settle in small communities and forcing them to adopt a sedentary life. Some of them worked as peons for European landowners, clearing land of bushes and trees and preparing it for grazing and planting. Others settled in communities
scattered around the region and started working as temporary laborers, preparing the land for planting, and later harvesting the crops, mainly cotton. It was only the chiefs and the male heads of families who communicated with Spanish speakers. Their level of bilingualism was not high, but it was enough to negotiate a price for their work, and to purchase food, such as sugar or “yerba” (a type of tea typical of the region).

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

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

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

1.3. Existing Literature on Mocoví

Very little work has been done on Mocoví up until now. Lafone Quevedo’s 1892 grammar of Mocoví is based on a manuscript by Francisco Tavolini, a Jesuit priest who spent approximately ten years with the Mocoví between 1854 and 1864. Although this grammar is valuable as a historic source of the 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.
1. Introduction

There is a paper on palatalization in two varieties of Mocovi by Gualdieri. Martínez Crovetto's study on zoological names and ethno-zoology of the Pilagá, Toba, Mocovi, 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 Mocovi 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 Mocovi in order to familiarize the reader with the basic structures of the language. Mocovi 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. Mocovi 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. Mocovi lacks prepositions, but it has an oblique marker, *ke*, which introduces oblique noun phrases.

1.4.2. Mocovi as an Active/Inactive Language

Mocovi 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 Mocovi.
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 \( \varnothing+ \) 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 \( i+ \) in inalienably possessed nouns, and by the proclitic \( \varnothing+ \) in alienably possessed nouns. There are four allomorphs of the third person proclitic on verbs: \( i+ \), \( \varnothing+ \), \( r^+ \), and \( n^+ \). These allomorphs are not phonologically determined. Verb stems in Mocovi have been classified into four different classes based on the form of the proclitic that they take for the third person:
Class A verbal stems are those that take the proclitic $i^+$. Class B stems are those that take the proclitic $\emptyset^+$. Class C stems are those that take the proclitic $r^+$, and Class D stems are those that take the proclitic $n^+$ for the third person. Number for the first, second and third persons is marked by suffixes which 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. Mocovi does not allow more than one person proclitic on the verb: therefore, if the verb form calls for one subject proclitic and one object proclitic, there is a hierarchy that will determine which person marker will occur in the verb form: $1>2>3$. However, it does allow two person suffixes, one of which must be the first person plural agent suffix.

1.4.3. Alienable/Inalienable Possession

There is a distinction in Mocovi between Inalienably possessed nouns, i.e. nouns that must occur with a possessive marker, or an absolutive marker indicating that the noun lacks a possessor, and Alienably possessed nouns, i.e. nouns that do not normally occur with a possessive marker. In order to bear a possessive marker these nouns must take the alienable prefix $n_-$, which immediately precedes the nominal root. The possessive proclitic then precedes the alienable prefix $n_-$.

The structure of alienably and inalienably possessed nouns with the person markers is shown in (1).
1. Introduction

Mocovi 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 Mocovi is provided in (2). (See Chapter 4 for a detailed table showing the structure of the verb form.)

(2) Structure of the Verb form

\[
\text{Neg+ Indef+ Pers+ hither- STEM -Pl.Ag -Pers } +\text{Aspect } +\text{Loc/Dir } +\text{O.nº } +\text{EV} \quad (+2\text{SGR})
\]
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)  /sekina∫IR/
      s+ekin-ag+ir
      2AC→greet-1PL→2SGR

      ‘We greet you (R)’

(4)  ‘so ilo ŝipeqaŋ neʔettak wagayaŋ ke ji kanal/
      so     ilo     ŝipeqaŋ    n+eʔet+tak    wagayaŋ ke     ji     kanal
      DEIC(gng) 1SG-poss+animal horse 3AC→drink→PROG water  OBL   DEIC(hor) canal

      ‘My horse is drinking water in the canal.’
The discussion of clauses in Mocovi has been organized into various clause types: intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, existential clauses, copular clauses, interrogative clauses, subordinate clauses, which include complement and relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

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

(5) /sopil/
s+opil
1AC+return

'I return.' (= I go back [home])

(6) /jipe/
ir+ipe
1IN+freshen.up

'I freshen up.' (= I get refreshed)

(7) /lwis yalawat na nanayk/
lwis i+alawat na nanayk
Luis 3AC+kill DEIC(cmng) yarara

'Luis kills/killed the yarara (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 Mocovi, existential clauses are formed by the verb *we 'there is. there exists' and a nominal phrase. as in example (8). Since Mocovi 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 lSGPOSS+animal duck
     'I have a duck...' (= exists my animal duck)

Mocovi 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 lSGPOSS+spouse
     'That is my spouse.'
(11) /aso ?alo po?goy/
    a+so         ?alo  po?goy
    F+DEIC(vert) woman thin

    'That woman is thin.'

(12) /yim late?wge?/
    yim         late?wge?
    lSGPRON fat

    'I am fat.'

**Interrogative clauses** are introduced by the interrogative forms *ńige?* 'what, who, how', *lagi* 'when', *ci?nege* 'why', *wa?ge* 'where'. These interrogative forms are normally followed by a deictic classifier, in most cases *ka* 'deictic classifier (absent).

(13) /ńige? ka yo?we:tetak/
    ńige? ka       i+o?we:t+ak
    what  DEIC(absnt) 3AC+do+PROG

    'What is he doing?'

(14) /wa?ge na naqatirni/
    wa?ge na       Ø+n-aqat+ir+ni
    where  DEIC(cmng) 2AC+HITH+catch+2SGR+DWN

    'Where did you catch it?'
(15) /lagio? na naqatirni/
lagi+o? na Ø+n-aqat+ir+ni
where+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 Mocovi can be introduced by the complementizer kijim ‘that’. but normally occur without a complementizer.

(16) /nige? ka nak kijim ka ewa si?ge iogoge/
nige? ka Ø+nak kijim ka ewa si?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 Mocovi by a clause immediately following the noun they modify, but without an overt relativizer.

Adverbiacl 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’. Mocovi 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 caqae ‘and’, ka? ‘and, then’. qam ~ qalagam ‘but’. loqom ‘or’ mark coordinate clauses (or phrases), as in (17).
Mocovi adjectives do not have comparative or superlative forms. These notions are expressed by the lexical forms peg ~ pageg ‘more’ and ćalego ‘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 ?nem ~ ?nemeh ‘like, similar, same’.

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

(18) /sesa?de:n/  
se+s+a?de:n  
NEG+1AC+know  
‘I don’t know.’

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

1.5.1. Purpose of the Study

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

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

This study presents new data on a poorly studied language, data that will contribute to typological studies of language. It presents additional data for a typology of languages with Active/Inactive systems, systems on which further research is necessary. It presents an account of a complex deictic system rather uncommon in the world's languages. It also provides data on the expression of location and direction within the verb form, which will contribute to the study of the expression of spatial orientation in the world's languages.
It is not yet clear what the theoretical implications of this study are. It may either confirm or force changes in the general conceptual framework of current linguistic theory. Regardless of theoretical results, this study provides a new and original description of a heretofore poorly documented language.

1.5.2. Organization of this Study

This work is organized as follows. In Chapter 2 I outline the phonological system of 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 Mocovi. 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 cooḱ
     s+ewo:se
     lAC+cook
2. Phonology

2.1. Consonants and vowels

Mocovi 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant phonemes</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>glottal</th>
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<tr>
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<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
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<td>(ʊ)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ɭ</td>
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<td>flap</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<td>y</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Vowels

Table 3
Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(22) /etesqoʔ/ 'uncle'

(23) /neteʔse/ 'morning star'

(24) /regat/ 'jaguar'
2. Phonology

/d/ voiced apicoalveolar stop: occurs in initial and medial positions; does not occur in word-final position. (Underlying /d/ is realized as a voiced alveopalatal affricate [j] before /i/.

See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

(25) /doʔ/o/ ‘hat’
(26) /saʔden/ ‘I know’
   s+aʔde:n
   1AC+know

The phoneme /d/ is the only voiced oral stop in Mocovi. There are two voiced fricative phonemes, a voiced velar fricative /g/ and a voiced uvular fricative /g/. 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 Mocovi (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) /ʔgojʔk/ ‘much, many’

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

(30) /qar/ ‘stone, chin’
(31) /poʔqo/ ‘charcoal’
2. Phonology

\[(32)\] \(/qo?paq/\) 'tree'

\(/?/\) glottal stop: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions

\[(33)\] \(/\text{?alo}/\) 'woman. female'
\[(34)\] \(/\text{la?at}/\) 'meat'
\[(35)\] \(/\text{waqa?e}/\) 'chicken. hen'

\[(36)\] nogotoki? 'little child'
    nogot-oki? child-dimM

\[(37)\] a. \(/\text{?imek}/\) 'house'
b. \(/\text{ike?la}/\) 'my ear'
    i+ke?la
    iSGPOSS+ear

\[(38)\] a. \(/\text{?we}/\) 'there is'
b. \(/\text{we}/\) 'salt'

\(/\ddot{c}/\) voiceless lamino-alveopalatal affricate: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not occur in word-final position.

\[(39)\] \(/\ddot{c}aqae/\) 'and'
\[(40)\] \(/\text{ko?ok}/\) 'purple'

\(/j/\) voiced lamino-alveopalatal affricate: occurs in initial and medial positions: does not occur in word-final position: optionally realized as \(\ddot{z}\) in all environments. (Both realizations of this phoneme. \(\ddot{z}\) and \(\ddot{z}\). 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)  [kũiũi] ~ [kũiũi]  
/kũiĩi/  /kũiĩi/  
‘chicken pox’

(42)  [jũwik] ~ [žawik]
/jũwig/ ~ /žawig/  
ir+awig  
1N+burn  
‘I (get/got) burned’

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

(43)  /φelisa/  
‘Felisa’ (<Sp. Felisa, woman’s name)

(44)  /φatimã/  
‘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 [ʃ] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)

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

(46)  /raʔasa/  
‘sun’

(47)  /kos/  
‘pig’

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

(48)  /shiʔge/  
‘now, today’

(49)  /ne:šaka/  
‘mud’
2. Phonology

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

(50) \[/giri?-lek/\]
giri?-lek
gringo-M

\'gringo creole\'

(51) \[/regat/\]

\'jaguar\'

(52) a. \[/skewog/\]

\'I sharpen\'

s+kewog
1AC+sharpen

b. \[/skewoga~/\]

\'we sharpen\'

s+kewog-ag
1AC+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‘)

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

(55) \[/?goyk/\]

\'many, several\'

(56) \[/qogoy/\]

\'old woman\'

(57) a. \[/sečag/\]

\'I cut\'

s+ečag
1AC+cut
2. Phonology

b. /sičagag/ ‘we cut’
   s+ečag-ag
   lAC+cut-lPL

/h/ voiceless glottal approximant: occurs only in word medial position
(58) /ʔaḥaʔi:/ ‘you(pl) look’
    θ+aʔahan-i:
    2AC+look-2PL
(59) /naho/ ‘this (close to the speaker)’

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal stop: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions
(60) /maŋik/ ‘rhea’
(61) /qomir/ ‘we (1pl independent pronoun)’
(62) /pigim/ ‘sky’

/n/ voiced apicoalveolar nasal stop: occurs in initial, medial, and final positions.
(Underlying /n/ is realized as a voiced alveopalatal nasal stop [ŋ] before /i/. See section 2.5 (b) for further discussion.)
(63) /norek/ ‘fire’
(64) /nonot/ ‘wind’
(65) /skiyoŋon/
    s+kioŋon
    lAC+wash

/ŋ/ voiced alveopalatal nasal stop: occurs in initial and medial positions: never occurs word-finally
(66) /ŋilek/ ‘pimple with pus’
2. Phonology

(67) /raʔagi/  'deaf'

(68) /ʔaʔaʔa/  'day'

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

(69) /loʔwiʔ/  'milk'

(70) /silqayk/  'iguana'

(71) /nesal/  'he vomits'

Ω+n-esal
3AC+HITH-vomit

(72) /napaʔ/  'corpse'

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

(73) /laʔa/  'edge, blade'

(74) /laʔak/  'his shoulder'

l+aʔak
3POSS+shoulder

/ Listening
voiced apicoalveolar flap: occurs in initial and medial positions. (Underlying /ɾ/ 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 Mocovi. It is likely that [d] and [r] were allophones of one phoneme in Proto-Southern Waikurian, if not in Proto-Waikuriian. 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 Mocovi /d/ and /r/ are separate phonemes. Compare examples (77) and (78).

(77) /ro?o/ 'he gets angry'
    r+o?o
    3IN+get.angry

(78) /do?o/ 'hat'

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

(79) [wirse] ~ [Birse] 'evening star'
    /wirse/ /wirse/

(80) [sewet] ~ [sebet] 'it hurts me (I am hurting)'
    /sewet/ /sewet/

(81) /?aw/ 'first'

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

(82) /yaqat/ 'rain'

(83) /noqoyaca/ 'sweat'
2. Phonology

(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. /ʔjiːn̚i/ 'you (sg.f) know'

Ø+aʔdeːn-i
2AC+know-2SGf

cf. b. /ʔjiːn̚i:/

Ø+aʔdeːn-i:
2AC+know-2PL

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

/e:/ long mid front unrounded vowel

(87) a. /ʔimek/ 'house (n)'

cf. b. /saʔdeːnag/ 'we know'

s+aʔdeːn-ag
1AC+know-1PL
2. Phonology

(88) [ni?ya] ~ [ne?ya] ‘he digs (tv)’
/ne?ya/ ~ /ne?ya/
Ø+n-e?ya
3AC+H1TH-dig

/a/ short low central unrounded vowel

/a:/ long low central unrounded vowel

(89) a. /ca:wik/ ‘rush. reed (n)’
   cf. b. /[jawik] ‘I get burned’
   /irawig/
   ir+a wig
   lIN+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

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

(91) /yo?yo/ ‘fat (n)’

(92) [latogot] ~ [latogot] ‘lagoon’
    /latogot/ /latogot/

(93) [ko?ki?] ~ [ko?uki?] ‘small child’
    /ko?ki?/ /ko?uki?/

/o:/ long mid back rounded vowel

(94) a. /o:m/ ‘cold’
2. Phonology

cf. b. /?om/ "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. j. š. č. ň. h/ do not occur word-finally.

Mocovi 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 Mocovi: CV. CVC. CCV. CCVC. CCVCC.

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

(95) CV

/la/ 'fruit'

(96) CVC

/qom/ 'person'

(97) CCV.CVC

/ñi:tak/ 'you (pl) are laughing'

Ø+a?n-i:tak 2AC+laugh-2PL+PROG

(98) CCVC

/pyoc/ 'dog'
Consonant clusters that may occur word initially are $\hat{p}C$. $sC$. $\hat{r}C$. $lC$. $nC$. $\hat{n}C$. and $py$. These word-initial consonant clusters are normally the result of prefixation (except in the case of $\hat{p}C$).
2. Phonology

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

(110) /r kemairi/  
\(-\text{you(pcl) are satisfied}\)

r+kema-iri  
2IN+be.satisfied-2PCL

(111) /pyog/  
\(-\text{dog}\)

(112) /moqoyt/  
\(-\text{mocovi}\)

(113) /nanayk/  
\(-\text{yarará (type of snake)}\)

(114) /sa?mah/  
\(-\text{I lie (to someone)}\)

s+a?mah  
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]  
\(-\text{I smile}\)

/sepit/  
s+epit  
1AC+smile

b. [piči?]  
\(-\text{you (R) smile}\)

/piči?/  
/epit+ir  
Ø+epit+ir  
2AC+smile+2SGR
2. Phonology

(116) a. [saʔde:n]  
/saʔdeːn/  
s+aʔdeːn  
1AC+know  

b. [ʔjiːniʔ]  
/aʔde:nir/  
Ø+aʔdeːn+ir  
2AC+know+2SGR  

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

b. [ʔmiːniʔ]  
/eʔmeni/  
Ø+eʔmen-i  
2AC+sell-2SGf  

(118) a. [kos]  
/kos/  

b. [koʃiʔ]  
/kosir/  
kos-ir  
pig-PCL  

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

b. [načilʔiʔ]  
/načilir/  
Ø+n-ačil+ir  
2AC+HITH-bathe+2SGR  

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

(120) a. [lqaik]  
/lqaig/  
l+qaig  
3POSS+head
2. Phonology

b. [lqaigeʔ] /lqaiger/ ‘their head’
   l+qaig-er 3POSS+head-3PL

(121) a. [yočaq] /yočaq/ ‘he gets fat (= gain weight)’
   i+očag 3AC+get.fat

b. [ročagai:] /ročaGl:/ ‘You(pl) get fat (= gain weight)’
   r+očag-i: 2AC+get.fat-2PL

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

(122) a. [yaleʔ] /yaler/ ‘men (pcl)’
   yale-r man-PCL

b. [yaɬiripi] /yaleripi/ ‘men (pl)’
   yale-r-ipi man-PCL-PL

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

(123) a. [ikeʔla] /ikeʔla/ ‘my ear’
   i+keʔla 1SGPOSS+ear

(b) [yap] /iap/ ‘my mouth’
   i+ap 1SGPOSS+mouth
(e) The mid front unrounded vowel /e/ is raised to [i] when it precedes /i/ or /iː:/ as in example (124), or when it follows the palatal vocoid [y], as in example (125).

(124)  a. [se?geno]  
  /se?geno/  
  s+e?gen+o  
  1AC+enter+INWDS

  ‘I enter (inside)’

b. [gini:wo]  
  /e?geni:wo/  
  Ø+e?gen-i:+wo  
  2AC+enter-2PL+INWDS

(125)  a. [senaq]  
  /senaq/  
  s+enaq  
  1AC+throw

  ‘I throw (tv)’

b. [yinaq]  
  /ienaq/  
  i+enaq  
  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)  [winiʔ]  
  /oweniʔ/  
  Ø+owen+ir  
  2AC+use+2SGR

  ‘you(R) use’

(127)  [lawaciʔ]  
  /alawatiʔ/  
  Ø+alawat+ir  
  2AC+kill+2SGR

  ‘you (sgR) kill’
(g) Long vowels are shortened in closed syllables.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(128) } & \text{ a. [sa?de:ni] } & \text{ 'I know. I think' } \\
& /sa?de:n/ & \\
& s+a?de:n & 1AC+know \\
& b. [na?de:.naq] & \text{'thinker (= person who thinks)'} \\
& /na?de:nag/ & \\
& n+a?de:n-ag & \text{ABS+know-NOM}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(129) } & \text{ a. [nakyaq] } & \text{'his palate'} \\
& /nakyaq/ & \\
& \emptyset+n-nakyag & 3POSS+AL-palate \\
& b. [nakyaqai:] & \text{'your(pl) palate'} \\
& /nakyaq:i/ & \\
& \emptyset-nakyag-i: & 2POSS+palate-2PL \\
& c. [nakyaqae?] & \text{'their palate' } \\
& /nakyaqer/ & \\
& \emptyset+nakyag-er & 3POSS+palate-3PL
\end{align*}
\]

2.6. Morphophonological rules

There are two phonological rules involving the first person proclitic i+ which do not involve regular phonological processes in the language.
(a) The sequence \(i+n\) is conflated to \([\text{n}]\), 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. [\(\text{\text{n}}\text{owir}\)]
    /\text{i\text{n}owir}/
    \(i+n\text{-owir}\)
    1\text{AC+HITH-come}

    b. [\(\text{n}\text{owir}\)]
    /\text{\text{n}\text{owir}}/
    \(\emptyset+n\text{-owir}\)
    3\text{AC+HITH-come}

(131) a. [\(\text{\text{n}}\text{qar}\)]
    /\text{\text{i\text{n}qar}}/
    \(i+n\text{-qar}\)
    1\text{SGPOSS+AL-chin}

    b. [\(\text{n}\text{qar}\)]
    /\text{\text{n}\text{qar}}/
    \(\emptyset+n\text{-qar}\)
    3\text{POSS+AL-chin}

(b) The sequence \(i\text{r}\) marking the first singular person inactive on verbs is conflated to \([\text{j}]\).

(132) a. [\(\text{\text{j}}\text{asot}\)]
    /\text{\text{i\text{r}asot}/}
    \(i+r\text{asot}\)
    1\text{N+dance}

    b. [\(\text{\text{r}asoci\text{i}r}\)]
    /\text{\text{r}asotir}/
    \(r+\text{asot}+\text{ir}\)
    2\text{N+dance+2SGR}
2.7 Suprasegmentals - Stress

Stress in Mocovi 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) [yinagaoșigim] /ienagőșigim/ i+enag+őșigim 3AC+throw+UP
   ‘he throws upwards’

Many loanwords preserve Spanish penultimate stress when borrowed into Mocovi. 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 Mocovi stress pattern in the singular form are λiméta ‘bottle’ (from Spanish: [liméta]), päre ‘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 Mocovi stress patterns: stress falls on the last vowel of the word. (See Chapter 6 on Spanish borrowings for further discussion.)
2. Phonology

(137) a. /liméta/ ‘bottle (sg)’
    b. /limetál/ ‘bottles (pcl)’
        limeta-l bottle-PCL
    c. /limetālipi/ ~ /limetaypī/ ‘bottles (pl)’
        limeta-l-ipi bottle-PCL-PL

(138) a. /pāre/ ‘butterfly (sg)’
    b. /parēl/ ‘butterfly (pcl)’
        pare-l butterfly-PCL

2.8. Summary

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure of the noun and noun phrase</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Mocovi: bound and free roots. Bound roots are those that cannot occur by themselves, and must always be preceded by a possessive or an absolutive proclitic. Free roots are those 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', -atepe '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.
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(139) -atap

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

b. /latap/  
l+atap  
3POSS+forehead

c. /natap/  
n+atap  
ABS+forehead

d. */atap/  
·forehead`

(140) -ate?e

a. /iate?e/  
i+ate?e  
1SGPOSS+mother

b. /late?e/  
l+ate?e  
3POSS+mother

c. /nate?e/  
n+ate?e  
ABS+mother

d. */ate?e/  
·mother`

(141) -oq

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

b. /loq/  
l+oq  
3POSS+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’, palo ‘woman’, and yale ‘man’, and most loanwords.

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

(142) wirse  ‘star (evening star)’
   a. wirse  ‘(a) star’
   b. */i+wirse/  ‘my star’
      LSPOSS+star
   c. */n+wirse  ‘star’
      ABS+star
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(143) ?alo  ‘woman’
   a. ?alo  ‘(a) woman’
   b. */i+?alo/  ‘my woman’
      1SGPOSS+woman
   c. */n+?alo/  ‘woman’
      ABS+woman

(144) map-ik  ‘mesquite tree (Prosopis)’
        mesquite-tree
   a. map-ik  ‘(a) mesquite tree’
        mesquite-tree
   b. */i+map-ik/  ‘my mesquite tree’
      1SGPOSS+mesquite-tree
   c. */n+map-ik/  ‘mesquite tree’
      ABS+mesquite-tree

(145) ke?lay  ‘mule’
   a. ke?lay  ‘(a) mule’
   b. */i+ke?lay/  ‘my mule’
      1SGPOSS+mule
   c. */n+ke?lay/  ‘mule’
      ABS+mule
   but  d. /ilo ke?lay/  ‘my mule’
        i+lo  ke?lay
           1SGPOSS+animal  mule
3.2. Gender

Mocovi 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qar</td>
<td>wirse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>norek</td>
<td>lasote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?lawa</td>
<td>poqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonot</td>
<td>-awe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-enat</td>
<td>-qote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qo?paq</td>
<td>-ade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imik</td>
<td>-silge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ap</td>
<td>-qo?ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aλak</td>
<td>-awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-epya</td>
<td>-o?giλλι?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kyaq</td>
<td>-pokena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotap</td>
<td>ra?asa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

Nouns not overtly marked for grammatical gender

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 \( ?\text{we:na} \) ‘pot’ is feminine. Although grammatical gender is not marked on the head noun, it is marked by the proclitic \( a+ \) ‘feminine’ on the demonstrative \( \text{ana} \) ‘deictic(coming)’ and by the suffix -\( ay \) ‘adjective (F)’ on the adjective \( \text{laweragay} \) ‘black (F)’.

(146) \( /\text{ana} \ ?\text{we:na laweragay}/ \)
\[ a+\text{na} \quad ?\text{we:na lawerag-ay} \]
\[ F+\text{DEIC(cmng) pot} \quad \text{black-ADJF} \]

‘that black pot’

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

(147) \( /\text{ena} \ ?\text{tagaki laweragayk}/ \)
\[ e+\text{na} \quad ?\text{tagaki lawerag-ayk} \]
\[ M+\text{DEIC(cmng) pot} \quad \text{black-ADJM} \]

‘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); -\( \varnothing \) (M) and -\( o \) (F), in examples (152) and (153).
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

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

b. /ia:le/  
i+a:-le  
1SGPOSS+child-F  

(149) a. /morolek/  
moro-lek  
mute-M  

b. /morole/  
moro-le  
mute-F  

(150) a. /pewag/  
pew-ag  
child.of.single.mother-M  

b. /pewaga/  
pew-ag-a  
child.of.single.mother-F  

(151) a. /cisag/  
cis-ag  
crippled-M  

b. /cisaga/  
cis-ag-a  
crippled-F  

(152) a. /napeloc/  
n+apeloc-Ø  
ABS+orphan-M  

b. /napelogo/  
n+apeloc-o  
ABS+orphan-F  

"my son"  
"my daughter"  
"mute (n) (M)" (< Sp. *mudo* "mute")  
"mute (n) (F)" (< Sp. *mudo* "mute")  
"son of single mother"  
"daughter of single mother"  
"cripple (n) (M)"  
"cripple (n) (F)"  
"orphan (M)"  
"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 Mocovi take the paucal marker -l. The paucal suffix -l is the one that is added to loanwords, as shown in examples (154)-(156). (For discussion of the change of stress in loanwords, see chapter 6.)

(154)  a. /sápo/          'toad (sg)' (<Sp. sapo 'toad')
       b. /sápól/          'toads (pcl)'
                 sapó-l toad-PCL

(155)  a. /λiméta/        'bottle (sg)' (<Sp. limeta 'type of bottle')
       b. /λimétál/        'bottles (pcl)'
                λimétá-l bottle-PCL

(156)  a. /wólsa/         'bag (sg)' (<Sp. bolsa 'bag')
       b. /wolsál/         'bags (pcl)'
              wolsá-l bag-PCL

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

**Nouns with paucal -l**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>λimēta</td>
<td>λimetá-l</td>
<td>‘bottle’ (&lt;Sp. <em>limeta</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λo gonata</td>
<td>λo gonata-l</td>
<td>‘canoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?we:na</td>
<td>?we:na-l</td>
<td>‘pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a?gaganaga</td>
<td>-a?gaganaga-l</td>
<td>‘bat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a?yaga</td>
<td>-a?yaga-l</td>
<td>‘heel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a?yogonagate</td>
<td>-a?yogonagate-l</td>
<td>‘mirror’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a:šilge</td>
<td>-a:šilge-l</td>
<td>‘cheek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a:tapase</td>
<td>-a:tapase-l</td>
<td>‘helmet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ade</td>
<td>rade-l</td>
<td>‘eyelashes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-ai-l</td>
<td>‘side, wall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akipyacki</td>
<td>akipyacki-l</td>
<td>‘vase, mug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apyaganata</td>
<td>-apyaganata-l</td>
<td>‘toe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ašilete</td>
<td>-ašilete-l</td>
<td>‘crutch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-asote</td>
<td>-asote-l</td>
<td>‘branch, horn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awe</td>
<td>-awe-l</td>
<td>‘leaf, feather, hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daganaqate</td>
<td>daganaqate-l</td>
<td>‘fork’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do?o</td>
<td>do?o-l</td>
<td>‘hat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e:či</td>
<td>-e:či-l</td>
<td>‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e:tana</td>
<td>-e:tana-l</td>
<td>‘stake, post’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nečigogonaga</td>
<td>nečigogonaga-l</td>
<td>‘rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nelolaganaga</td>
<td>nelolaganaga-l</td>
<td>‘toad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-epaqata</td>
<td>-epaqata-l</td>
<td>‘braid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ešite</td>
<td>-ešite-l</td>
<td>‘ring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lase</td>
<td>lase-l</td>
<td>‘bug, insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latagañi</td>
<td>latagañi-l</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le:re</td>
<td>le:re-l</td>
<td>‘paper’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

### Table 6 (cont’d)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>magso</td>
<td>magso-l</td>
<td>‘pants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móno</td>
<td>mono-l</td>
<td>‘monkey’ (Sp. mono)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mote</td>
<td>mote-l</td>
<td>‘knot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no?gona</td>
<td>no?gona-l</td>
<td>‘clay pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o?ota</td>
<td>-o?ota-l</td>
<td>‘vein’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no:to-goso</td>
<td>no:to-goso-l</td>
<td>‘type of (wild) fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oqyna</td>
<td>-oqyna-l</td>
<td>‘netting, mesh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-osa:tagki</td>
<td>-osa:tagki-l</td>
<td>‘belt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-owagse</td>
<td>-owagse-l</td>
<td>‘bracelet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páre</td>
<td>páre-l</td>
<td>‘butterfly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palačirica</td>
<td>palačirica-l</td>
<td>‘spider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-palaqate</td>
<td>-palaqate-l</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pijilologologo</td>
<td>pijilologologo-l</td>
<td>‘frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qae?pe</td>
<td>qae?pe-l</td>
<td>‘axe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qari</td>
<td>qari-l</td>
<td>‘bola’ (type of hunting tool)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qo?ge</td>
<td>-qo?ge-l</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qo:ta</td>
<td>-qo:ta-l</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qošikyagawa</td>
<td>qošikyagawa-l</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qote</td>
<td>-qote-l</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqate</td>
<td>taqate-l</td>
<td>‘comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyo</td>
<td>wyo-l</td>
<td>‘mortar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

Table 7

Nouns with paucal -er

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>napaGat</td>
<td>napaGat-er</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apyat</td>
<td>-apyat-er</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nke?enaganagat</td>
<td>nke?enaganagat-er</td>
<td>‘hook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyogonagat</td>
<td>kiyogonagat-er</td>
<td>‘soap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kologet</td>
<td>kologet-er</td>
<td>‘kerchief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qo?we:t</td>
<td>-qo?we:t-er</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lade:neg</td>
<td>lade:neg-er</td>
<td>‘witch doctor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nilot</td>
<td>nilot-er</td>
<td>‘worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no?goyagat</td>
<td>no?goyagat-er</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notogosogonogat</td>
<td>notogosogonogat-er</td>
<td>‘hammer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyoc-lapagat</td>
<td>pyoc-lapaqat-er</td>
<td>‘flea’ (lit. ‘dog louse’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog-louse</td>
<td>dog-louse-PCL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qoyaraganagat</td>
<td>-qoyaraganagat-er</td>
<td>‘candle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.3. Paucal -i

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

Table 8

Nouns with paucal -i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qar</td>
<td>qar-i</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke?lay</td>
<td>ke?lay-i</td>
<td>‘mule’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gongay</td>
<td>gongay-i</td>
<td>‘wild boar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.1.4. Paucal -\textit{ir}

Table 9 shows some of the nouns that take the paucal marker -\textit{ir}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ap</td>
<td>-ap-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘mouth, lip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apal</td>
<td>-apal-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘corpse, body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-atap</td>
<td>-atap-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-enat</td>
<td>-enat-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘nail, claw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kos</td>
<td>kos-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasom</td>
<td>lasom-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latogot</td>
<td>latogot-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘lagoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la\textit{at}</td>
<td>la\textit{at}-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekat</td>
<td>lekat-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na\textit{lin}</td>
<td>na\textit{lin}-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-osap</td>
<td>-osap-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘buttock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regat</td>
<td>regat-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regone</td>
<td>regone-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘wild boar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yat</td>
<td>yat-\textit{ir}</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.1.5. Paucal -o

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aₐ₀₉₉₉₉</td>
<td>-aₐ₀₉₉₉₉-o</td>
<td>'shoulder, back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma₉₉₉₉₉₉</td>
<td>ma₉₉₉₉₉₉-o</td>
<td>'rhea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napag₉₉₉₉₉₉</td>
<td>napag₉₉₉₉₉₉-o</td>
<td>'bridge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyo₉₉₉₉₉₉</td>
<td>pyo₉₉₉₉₉₉-o</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alorek</td>
<td>alol-qa</td>
<td>'weasel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i?mek</td>
<td>i?m-qa</td>
<td>'spoon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:mek</td>
<td>i:m-qa</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanek</td>
<td>kan-qa</td>
<td>'blanket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawoyk</td>
<td>lawo(y)-qa</td>
<td>'wasp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekolagarayk</td>
<td>lekolagaray-qa</td>
<td>'lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mičolek</td>
<td>mičol-qa</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:serek</td>
<td>na:ser-qa</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:so:lek</td>
<td>na:so:l-qa</td>
<td>'corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanayk</td>
<td>nana(y)-qa</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne?mek</td>
<td>ne?me-qa</td>
<td>'ladle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ňik</td>
<td>ňi-qa</td>
<td>'rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nogosik</td>
<td>nogoshi-qa</td>
<td>'bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nowik</td>
<td>nowi-qa</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?lotoooyk</td>
<td>pa?lotogoy-qa</td>
<td>'scorpion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šilka(y)-qa</td>
<td>šilka(y)-qa</td>
<td>'iguana'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(158) 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).
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(159) moro-lek
mutter-MASC(SG)

morolqamute-MASC(PL)
‘mute (M) (cf. monol ‘mute (F)’)
(<Sp mudo ‘mute’)

(160) -a:-lek
child-MASC

-a:-lqachild-MASC(PL)
‘son’ (cf. -a:le ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?itaïki</td>
<td>?itaïki-r</td>
<td>‘mug, jug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aïci</td>
<td>-aïci-r</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-epa?genagawa</td>
<td>-epa?genagawa-r</td>
<td>‘enemy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka?ganakïkï</td>
<td>ka?ganakïkï-r</td>
<td>‘chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kowieqagaki</td>
<td>-kowieqagaki-r</td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leçeiosisqate</td>
<td>leçeiosisqate-r</td>
<td>‘ring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo?giïjï</td>
<td>lo?giïjï-r</td>
<td>‘squash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na?gata</td>
<td>na?gata-r</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nepela</td>
<td>nepela-r</td>
<td>‘shoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni?yaqanqate</td>
<td>ni?yaqanqate-r</td>
<td>‘shovel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ogoki</td>
<td>-ogoki-r</td>
<td>‘dress, bag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qote</td>
<td>qote-r</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yale</td>
<td>yale-r</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>činaq</td>
<td>čina-r</td>
<td>‘ant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagaraq</td>
<td>dagara-r (~ dagaraqa)</td>
<td>‘turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋiiksaq</td>
<td>ŋiiksa-r</td>
<td>‘skunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qo?paq</td>
<td>-qo?pa-r</td>
<td>‘eyebrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo?paq</td>
<td>qo?pa-r</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šipegaq</td>
<td>šipega-r</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walogonaq</td>
<td>walogona-r</td>
<td>‘dumb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ?alo ‘woman’, -owe ‘tooth’, and yolo ‘black pig’. Their singular and paucal forms are shown in Table 14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?alo</td>
<td>?alo</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-owe</td>
<td>-owe:</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yolo</td>
<td>yolo:</td>
<td>‘black pig’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2. Plural

There are two plural markers in Mocovi: 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.

3.2.1. Plural -ipi

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

(161) a. /ʔwe:na/ 'pot (sg)'  
    b. /ʔwe:nal/ 'pots (pcl)'  
      ?we:na-l pot-PCL  
      c. /ʔwe:nalipi/ 'pots (pl)'  
         ?we:na-l-ipi pot-PCL-PL

(162) a. /lapagat/ 'louse (sg)'  
    b. /lapagater/ 'lice (pcl)'  
      lapagat-er louse-PCL
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(163) a. /yat/
   'mosquitos (sg)'

   b. /yatir/
      yat-ir
      mosquito-PCL

   c. /yatiripi/
      yat-ir-ipi
      mosquito-PCL-PL

(164) a. /qo?paq/
   'tree (sg)'

   b. /qo?par/
      qo?pa-r
      tree-PCL

   c. /qo?paripi/
      qo?pa-r-ipi
      tree-PCL-PL

(165) a. /yale/
   'man (sg)'

   b. /yaler/
      yale-r
      man-PCL

   c. /yaleripi/
      yale-r-ipi
      man-PCL-PL

(166) a. /qar/
   'stone (sg)'

   b. /qari/
      qar-i
      stone-PCL

   c. /qari:pi/
      qar-i-ipi
      stone-PCL-PL
3.3.2.2. Collective -sat

There is another plural marker, -sat ~ -sat, 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
(167) \quad \text{a.} & /\text{mapik}/ \\
& \text{map-ik} \\
& \text{mesquite-tree} \\
\Rightarrow & \text{‘mesquite tree (sg) (}\text{Prosopis})\text{’} \\
\text{b.} & /\text{mapiki}/ \\
& \text{map-ik-i} \\
& \text{mesquite-tree-PCL} \\
\Rightarrow & \text{‘(a few) mesquite trees (pcl)’} \\
\text{c.} & /\text{mapiki:pi}/ \\
& \text{map-ik-i-ipi} \\
& \text{mesquite-tree-PCL-PL} \\
\Rightarrow & \text{‘(many) mesquite trees (pl)’} \\
\text{d.} & /\text{mapsat}/ \\
& \text{map-sat} \\
& \text{mesquite-COLL} \\
\Rightarrow & \text{‘mesquite trees (coll)’ (‘forest of mesquite trees’, rather than just ‘many mesquite trees’)}
\end{align*}
\]

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.)
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns that take the collective suffix -sat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotap-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quebracho-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo:yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesquite-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne:targe-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jacaranda-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peteka-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chañar-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinkos-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tala-tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns that take the collective suffix -sat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch-PCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo?paq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarize. Mocovi 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
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

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 Mocovi that must always be possessed, others that might be possessed, and others that are never possessed. It can be claimed, then, that Mocovi has a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

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

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

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

Examples (168) and (169) show the bound roots -awọ 'house' and -awe 'hair, feather' in possessive constructions in which the possessor precedes the head noun.

(168)  /xwan lawo?/       ‘Juan’s house’
 xwan l+awo?
 Juan 3POSS+house

(169)  /qo?ole lawe/       ‘bird’s feather (= hair)’
 qo?ole l+aawe
 bird 3POSS-hair

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

(170)  /jawa ewa lo?gonal ?wesalek ji lames ropoqogilo/
 ji-awa      ewa l+o?gonal ?we+sa+leg
 DEIC(hor)-PL Eva 3POSS+vase-PCL exist+PROG+ON

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

‘Those (two) (clay) vases of Eva’s which are on the table are broken.’
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  
   l+ate?e  ewa  
   3POSS+mother Eva

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Possessive markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>i+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgf</td>
<td>r+ ~ Ø+ ... -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
<td>r+ ~ Ø+ ... +ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>l+ ~ Ø+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>qar+ ~ qa+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pel</td>
<td>r+ ~ Ø+... -iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>r+ ~ Ø+... -i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>l+ ~ Ø+ ... -er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>n+ ~ l+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The zero allomorphs of the second and third person possessive markers are used when the possessive proclitics precede the alienable prefix n-. The l+ allomorph for the absolutive
marker is used with alienably possessed roots, i.e. roots that must take the alienable prefix *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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(172) <em>ate: neg</em></th>
<th>'prey'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>/i+ate:neg/</td>
<td>'my prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgf</td>
<td>/r+ate:neg-i/</td>
<td>'your (f) prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
<td>/r+ate:neg+ir/</td>
<td>'your (R prey)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>/l+ate:neg/</td>
<td>'his/her prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>/qar+ate:neg/</td>
<td>'our prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pcl</td>
<td>/r+ate:neg-iri/</td>
<td>'your (pcl) prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>/r+ate:neg-i: /</td>
<td>'your (pl) prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>/l+ate:neg-er/</td>
<td>'their prey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>/n+ate:neg/</td>
<td>'(a) prey'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(173) <em>owe</em></th>
<th>'tooth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>/i+owe/</td>
<td>'my tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgf</td>
<td>/r+owe-i/</td>
<td>'your (f) tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
<td>/r+owe+ir/</td>
<td>'your (R tooth)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>/l+owe/</td>
<td>'his/her tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>/qar+owe/</td>
<td>'our tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pcl</td>
<td>/r+owe-iri/</td>
<td>'your (pcl) tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>/r+owe-i: /</td>
<td>'your (pl) tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>/l+owe-er/</td>
<td>'their tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>/n+owe/</td>
<td>'(a) tooth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (174) gives the possessive markers with the nominal root \textit{kopi} ‘mucus’. a free root that must be preceded by the prefix \textit{n}- ‘alienable’ when it is possessed. These forms illustrate the zero allomorphs for the second and third person possessive proclitics. Since \textit{kopi} ‘mucus’ is a free root, it does not take an absolutive marker.

(174) \textit{kopi} \quad \textit{mucus}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  1sg & /i+n-kopi/ \quad \textit{my mucus} \\
  2sgf & /Ø+n-kopi-i/ \quad \textit{your (f) mucus} \\
  2sgR & /Ø+n-kopi+ir/ \quad \textit{your (R) mucus} \\
  3sg & /Ø+n-kopi/ \quad \textit{his/her mucus} \\
  1pl & /qa+n-kopi/ \quad \textit{our mucus} \\
  2pcl & /Ø+n-kopi-iri/ \quad \textit{your (pcl) mucus} \\
  2pl & /Ø+n-kopi-i:/ \quad \textit{your (pl) mucus} \\
  3pl & /Ø+n-kopi-er/ \quad \textit{their mucus} \\
  Abs & /kopi/ \quad \textit{(a) mucus} \\
\end{tabular}

A few nouns take the proclitic \textit{qa(d)}- rather than \textit{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 -\textit{am} ‘money’, \textit{ap} ‘mouth’, -\textit{ate}?e ‘mother’, -\textit{eta}?a ‘father’, -\textit{ewal} ‘grandchild’, -\textit{lo} ‘animal’, -\textit{pe} ‘grandfather’, and -\textit{epyat} ‘foot’.

Example (175) shows the possessive forms of the bound root -\textit{ewal} ‘grandchild’ for the first person singular in (175)a, second person singular respectful in (175)b, and third person singular in (175)c.
3.4.2. Noun Classes

Mocovi 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’).

(176) -qosot
a. /iqosot/
   i-qosot
   1SG.POSS+neck

b. /rqosotir/
   r+qosot+ir
   2POSS+neck+2SGR

c. /lqosot/
   l-qosot
   3POSS+neck

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

e. /rqosoti:/
   r+qosot-i:
   2POSS-neck-2PL

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

g. /nqosot/
   n-qosot
   ABS-neck

‘neck’
‘my neck’
‘your(sg.R) neck’
‘his/her neck’
‘our neck’
‘your(pl) neck’
‘their 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 */+. This class includes mainly nouns denoting man-made objects (-o?lo? ‘fabric’, -ama~ki ‘shirt’, -o?ki ‘dress’, -ekat ‘knife’, -e?ite ‘ring’, etc.) but it also includes two kinship terms, -etesqo? ‘uncle’ and komena ‘grandmother’).

The forms in (177)a-c provide examples in which the possessive markers are added to the bound nominal root -ama~ki ‘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 */+. The example in (177)e shows that a form in which the possessive proclitic immediately precedes the root -ama~ki ‘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) -ama~ki

a. /inama~k?i/  ‘my shirt’
   i+n-ama~k?i
   1SGPOSS+AL-shirt

b. /nama~k?iir/  ‘your(sgR) shirt’
   Ø+n-ama~k?i+iR
   2POSS+AL-shirt-2SGR

c. /nama~k?i/  ‘his/her shirt’
   Ø+n-ama~k?i
   3POSS+AL-shirt
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & /i+etesqo/ \\
& i+n-etesqo? \\
& 1SGPOSS+AL-uncle \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 -qoʔpaq ‘eyebrow’ with possessive markers and the prefix n- ‘alienable’. When these roots occur as free roots, they have different meanings. qar ‘rock’ and qoʔpaq ‘tree’, and as free roots they cannot take a possessive prefix, as shown in examples (180) and (182).

(179)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & /inqar/ \\
& i+n-qar \\
& 1SGPOSS+AL-chin \\
\end{align*}
\]
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) -qo?paq  
   `eyebrow`

a. /i+nqo?paq/  
   1SGPOSS+AL-eyebrow  
   `my eyebrow`

b. */i+qo?paq/  
   1SGPOSS+eyebrow  
   `my eyebrow`

c. /nqo?paqir/  
   Ø+n-qo?paq+ir  
   2POSS+AL-eyebrow+2SGR  
   `your(sgR) eyebrow`

d. /nqo?paq/  
   Ø+n-qo?paq  
   3POSS+AL-eyebrow  
   `his/her eyebrow`

(182) qo?paq  
   `tree`

a. */i+n-qo?paq/  
   1SGPOSS+AL-tree  
   `my tree`
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

3.4.2.3. Class III - Nouns that cannot be possessed

Class III nouns cannot be possessed. These are free roots that cannot occur either with a possessive affix or with the absolutive prefix. They include nouns denoting animals (e.g. *manik 'rhea', *nanok 'yacare (type of crocodile)', *šiška ‘iguana’, *qoitale ‘bird’, *ňiksáq ‘skunk’, *šipeqáq ‘horse’, *gonoqay ‘tapir’, *pyoo ‘dog’); people (e.g. *yale ‘man’, *alo ‘woman’, *pišoonaq ‘shaman’, etc.); elements from nature (e.g. *raʔasa ‘sun’, *širaygyo ‘moon’, *ňawa ‘earth’, *qar ‘rock’, *waqayaq ‘water’, *yaqat ‘rain’, *pigim ‘sky’, *lačewye ‘river’); plants and fruits such as *pihi ‘prickly pear’. *map ‘mesquite (fruit) (fruit of the mesquite tree, *prosopis), etc.)

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

(183) yale

a. */yale/ ‘(a) man’

b. */i-yale/ ‘my man’
   1SGPOSS-man

c. */i-n-yale/ ‘my man’
   1SGPOSS-AL-man
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(184)  pih̓i̓ ni  ‘prickly pear’
   a. /pih̓i ni/  ‘prickly pear’
   b. */i+pih̓i ni/  ‘my prickly pear’
       1SGPOSS+prickly.pear
   c. */i+n-pih̓i ni/  ‘my prickly pear’
       1SGPOSS+AL-prickly.pear

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

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

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

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

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

In (187)a the root pyo ̃ ‘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 pyo ̃ ‘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 pyo ̃
‘dog’, and in (187)d they are added to the same root immediately preceding the alienable prefix *n-.*

(187)  /pyog/  

a. /pyog/  ‘(a) dog’

b. /ño ilo pyog/  

ña  i+lo pyog  
DEIC(hor) 1SGPOSS+animal dog  
‘my dog (lit. my animal dog)’

c. */i+pyog/  

1SGPOSS+dog  
‘my dog’

d. */i+n-pyog/  

1SGPOSS+1L-dog  
‘my dog’

The example in (188) shows a possessive construction with the free root šipegaq ‘horse’.

The forms in (188)a and b. in which the possessive markers are added to the bound root -lo ‘animal’ immediately preceding the free root, are grammatical. The form in (188)c is ungrammatical because the possessive markers are added to the free root šipegaq ‘horse’.

(188)  a. /ilo šipegaq/  

i+lo  šipegaq  
1SGPOSS+animal horse  
‘my horse (lit: ‘my animal horse’)’
b. /qaloir šipegaq/
   qa+lo+ir      šipegaq
   2POSS+animal+2SGR  horse
   'your(sgR) horse (lit: 'your(sgR) animal horse')`

cf.  c. */qa+šipegaq+ir/
   2POSS+horse+2SGR

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

(189)    a. /ilo isegeyek/
   i+lo      isegeyek
   1SGPOSS+animal  animal
   'my animal'

b. /qaloir isegeyek/
   qa+lo+ir      isegeyek
   2POSS+animal+2SGR  animal
   'your(sgR) animal'

cf.  c. */r+isegeyek+ir/
   2POSS+animal+2SGR

Some generalizations can be made about the semantic notions and structural characteristics that are involved in the alienable/inalienable distinction in Mocovi and that are
common to the nouns in each of the classes. Inalienably possessed nouns (Class I) are nouns that must be possessed: they include most kinship terms, most body parts, and a few man-made objects; they are bound roots: and they seem to make up a closed set of nouns. Alienably possessed nouns (Class II) are nouns that may be possessed, including most man-made objects, a few body parts, and a few kinship terms; they are mostly bound roots, but a few free roots are also included. Alienely 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

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

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

\[(\text{GENDER+}) \, \text{DEICTIC} \, (-\text{PLURAL}) \, (-\text{PROXIMITY})\]

The demonstrative system of Mocovi is given in Table 18.

### Table 18

The Demonstrative System of Mocovi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Absence</th>
<th>Present Movement: Coming</th>
<th>Present Movement: Going</th>
<th>Present Movement: Standing (Vertically Extended)</th>
<th>Present Movement: Sitting (Non-Extended)</th>
<th>Present Movement: Lying (Horizontally Extended)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.M</td>
<td></td>
<td>(e+)ka</td>
<td>(e+)na</td>
<td>(e+)so</td>
<td>(e+)da</td>
<td>(e+)ni</td>
<td>(e+)jji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.F</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a+)ka</td>
<td>(a+)na</td>
<td>(a+)so</td>
<td>(a+)da</td>
<td>(a+)ni</td>
<td>(a+)jji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcl/Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-awa</td>
<td>na-awa</td>
<td>so-awa</td>
<td>da-awa</td>
<td>ñi-awa</td>
<td>ji-awa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of the deictic roots as demonstratives with the noun ?alo 'woman' are shown in (191).
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(191)  a. /a+ka ?alo/  "that woman (absent)"
       F+DEIC(absnt) woman
b. /a+na ?alo/  "that woman (coming)"
       F+DEIC(cmng) woman
c. /a+so ?alo/  "that woman (going)"
       F+DEIC(gng) woman
d. /a+da ?alo/  "that woman (vertically extended)"
       F+DEIC(vert) woman
e. /a+n?i ?alo/  "that woman (non-extended)"
       F+DEIC(nonext) woman
f. /a+ji ?alo/  "that woman (horizontally extended)"
       F+DEIC(hor) woman

Example (192) was taken from a text in which a man is walking on the land looking for food, and he encounters a creature that tells him that there is going to be a flood, so he should go back and warn his family. This is the second sentence in the text, and it shows demonstratives being used with the various nouns in the sentence. The man, so qom "the man", is walking on the land, so the demonstrative so "deictic (going)" is used: he is looking for food. ka lepetaganagat "the food". which is not present, so the demonstrative ka "deictic (absent)" is used: and he is walking on the land jì no?we:naga "the land", an extended surface, so the demonstrative jì "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 jì no?we:naga/.
 ke jì n+o?we: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 *naca?a* ‘day’, *alo* ‘woman’ and *le?ya* ‘her well’. Regardless of their motion or position. This is the first sentence in the story.

(193) /?weo? ka naca?a aka ?alo/

*/we?+o* ka naca?a a+ka ?alo

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

*/ri?l?iwi ke aka le?ya/

r+i?l?iwi ke a+ka l+e?ya

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 Mocovi, but in this case the /m:/ is used with an intensive meaning.

In the examples in (194), the deictic root *da* ‘deictic (vertically extended)’ precedes the same noun, *yale* ‘man’ in the noun phrase. In (194)a it occurs without any additional morphology marking proximity to the speaker. In (194)b it occurs with the suffix *-kerawk* ‘far’.
in (194)c it occurs with the suffix -keram ‘farther’, and in (194)d it occurs with the suffix -keram: ‘very far’. In all the examples the proclitic e+ ‘masculine’ precedes the deictic root.

(194)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /eda yale/</td>
<td>‘that man (vert)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e+da yale</td>
<td>M+DEIC(vert) man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /edakerawk yale/</td>
<td>‘that man farther’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e+da-kerawk yale</td>
<td>M+DEIC(vert)-DIST man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /edakeram yale/</td>
<td>‘that man quite far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e+da-keram yale</td>
<td>M+DEIC(vert)-DIST man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. /edakeram: yale/</td>
<td>‘that man, VERY far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e+da-keram-m yale</td>
<td>M+DEIC(vert)-DIST-INTENS man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The deictic roots can also function as third person independent pronouns. In such cases the form magare – ma:re ‘pronoun’ immediately follows the deictic root.

(195)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/da magare kowa?e aka inaqaype ke ji ?o:či/</td>
<td>‘He forgot my axe in the brush.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da magare Ø+kowa?e a+ka i+n-aqaype ke ji ?o:či</td>
<td>DEIC(vert) PRON 3AC+forget F+DEIC(absnt) 1SGPOSS+AL-axe OBL DEIC(hor) brush</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(196)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/awerani dawa magare/</td>
<td>‘They fell (down from something).’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø+aw-er+ni da-wa magare</td>
<td>3AC+fall-3PL+DWN DEIC(vert)-PL PRON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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'.)

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

s+ašila+ir  Ø+kopat+ir+o?+o?  na-ho
lAC+ask+2SGR  2AC+ignite+2SGR+EV+EV DEIC(cmng)-PROX
s+enta+ngi  l+aqalači
lAC+exist??  ABS+open.field
'... you start a fire here. where I am on the open field.'

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

"coming/proximal", "so" "going away/past", and "ga" "absent/distal" as deictic classifiers. Sandalo (1995) for Kadiweu and Ceria & Sandalo (1995) for Proto-Waikurúan refer to them as demonstratives. In Mocovi, 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 Pilaga, Toba, and Kadiwéu.)

To summarize, then, the demonstrative system in Mocovi 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 Mocovi and in a definite noun phrase one of them usually precedes the head noun: "ka" "absent", "na" "coming", "so" "going", "da" "vertically extended", "ni" "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 Mocovi 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 *qo?ole* ‘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 *qo?ole* ‘bird’ and the adjective *tog* ‘red’ are marked with the paucal suffixes, so *qo?olqa* and *toger* are used. In (203)b the head noun *qo?ole* ‘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) /qo?ole tog/
    qo?ole tog
    bird  red

    ‘red bird’

(203)  a. /qo?olqa toger/
    qo?ol-qa  toger
    bird-PCL  red-PCL

    ‘red birds’

b. /qo?ole toger/
    qo?ole  toger
    bird  red-PCL

    ‘red birds’

Table 19 lists some adjective forms in Mocovi. (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masc</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čima?ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lodeggat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo?ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walogonaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Mocovi which end in -ayk(M) and -ay(F).
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

3.7. Numerals and Quantifiers

Number in Mocovi is primarily encoded in suffixes on the head noun, on demonstratives, and/or on adjectives, as shown in section 3.3. However, the quantifiers *goyk* 'many', in example (204), *wewk* 'several', in example (205), *kočoki* 'little, a few', in example (206), and *awiwge* 'all' in examples (207) and (208), do occur, and they precede the head noun in the noun phrase.

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Paucal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čaqayk</td>
<td>čaqay</td>
<td>čaqai</td>
<td>'dangerous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalegayk</td>
<td>lalegay</td>
<td>lalegai</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawayk</td>
<td>laway</td>
<td>lawai</td>
<td>'weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le:taragayk</td>
<td>le:taragay</td>
<td>le:taragai</td>
<td>'old, broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo?goyk</td>
<td>qo?goy</td>
<td>qo?goi</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šalagarayk</td>
<td>šalagaray</td>
<td>šalagarai</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šitagarayk</td>
<td>šitagaray</td>
<td>šitagarai</td>
<td>'sharp-pointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walayk</td>
<td>walay</td>
<td>walagai</td>
<td>'lazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yagarayk</td>
<td>yagaray</td>
<td>yagarai</td>
<td>'sharp' (of knife, axe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqayk</td>
<td>jaqay</td>
<td>jaqai</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Nouns and Noun Phrases

The quantifier -a?wge ‘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 -a?wge ‘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 -a?wge ‘all’ is added to the deictic root so ‘going’.

(204) /felisa le?yak aoyk ariña/
    felisa l+e?yak aoyk ariña
    Felisa 3AC+bring many flour
    ‘Felisa brought a lot of flour.’

(205) /felisa le?yak kočoki ariña/   
    felisa l+e?yak kočoki ariña
    Felisa 3AC+bring little flour
    ‘Felisa brought a little flour.’

(206) /felisa le?yak aoyk qalači/   
    felisa l+e?yak aoyk qalači
    Felisa 3AC+bring many onions
    ‘Felisa brought many onions.’

(207) /?wewk moqoytlase ro?gonagantak/   
    ?wewk moqoyt-lase r+o?gonagan+tak
    several Mocoví-F 3AC+work+PROG
    ‘Several Mocoví women are working.’
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(208) /\pəlisa i\+e\?yak na\?wge na qala\+c/i
\pəlisa i\+e\?yak na-a\?wge na qala\+c
Felisa 3AC+bring DEIC(cmng)-all DEIC(cmng) onions

‘Felisa brought all the onions.’

(209) /sa\?wge so arina qa\+i+gat /
so-a\?wge so arina qa+i+a\?gat
DEIC(gng)-ALL DEIC(gng) flour INDEF+3AC+carry

‘All the flour was taken.’

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

(210) /sa\?wge so yale ro\?we:na\+tagan\+tak ke na waloq nowiro? ke na sawado/
so-a\?wge so yale r+o\?we:na\+tagan\+tak ke na waloq
DEIC(gng)-ALL DEIC(gng) man 3AC-work+PROG OBL DEIC(cmng) cotton

Ø+n-owir+o? ke na sawado
3AC+HITHER-come+EV OBL DEIC(cmng) Saturday

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

It seems that Mocovi 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
3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

(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 Mocovi.
and presented a classification of nouns into three classes based on how they are marked for
possession. I presented the complex demonstrative system of Mocovi, 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 Mocovi 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 Mocovi.

Table 21
Structure of the Verb form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(-4)</th>
<th>(−3)</th>
<th>−2</th>
<th>−1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>+1</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>(+3)</th>
<th>+4</th>
<th>(+5)</th>
<th>(+6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Indef</td>
<td>Pers</td>
<td>hither</td>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>PLAg</td>
<td>Pers</td>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>Loc/Dir</td>
<td>O.n*</td>
<td>EV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se-</td>
<td>saqe-</td>
<td>Active (Class I)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg/pl</td>
<td>i~</td>
<td>1pl -ar</td>
<td>2sgf - i</td>
<td>2sgR -ir</td>
<td>2pcl -iri</td>
<td>2pl -i</td>
<td>3pl -er</td>
<td>+pek ‘across’</td>
<td>+aqa ‘across’</td>
<td>-er ‘pl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg/pl</td>
<td>r~</td>
<td>3sg/pl</td>
<td>r~ r~ r~</td>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>3pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive (Class II)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+o ‘downwards’</td>
<td>-o ‘o/t’ ‘inside’</td>
<td>+o ‘o/t’ ‘under’</td>
<td>-o ‘o/t’ ‘hdf here’</td>
<td>-owg ‘inwards’</td>
<td>-pege ‘up to’</td>
<td>-ugim ‘upwards’</td>
<td>-weg ‘w’ ‘out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this Chapter I present a description of the verb form in Mocovi, 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

Mocovi 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-Waikuruan (see Appendix B for the reconstructed pronominal forms of Proto-Waikuruan). 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

Mocovi 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 *macare* (~*ma:re* ~ *maq*). Table 22 lists the set of independent pronouns in Mocovi. It should be noted that for the second persons paucal and plural only one form is used.
In the example in (213) the first person independent pronoun \textit{yim} is used for emphasis, although the first person agent is marked on the verb \textit{owir} 'to come, arrive'.

(213) \footnote{\textit{yim} \textit{owir}}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{yim \textit{inowir}}
\item \textit{yim} \textit{i-n-owir}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1SGPRON 1AC-HITH-come
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'It is me that came here.'
\end{itemize}

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

(214) \footnote{\textit{ma? yim i oykenateck na yacat.}}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{... ma? yim i oykenateck na yacat/}
\item ... ma? \textit{yim i oykenateck na yacat}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item ... because 1SGPRON 1SGPOSS-dominance-OVER DEIC(cmng) rain
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item '... because I dominate the rain (=I have power over the rain). (lit: '... because I [there is] my dominance over the rain.')'
\end{itemize}
4.1.2. Person Markers - Verbal morphology

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Inactive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>s+ ~ i+</td>
<td>ir+ ([j])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgf</td>
<td>Ø+ ... -i</td>
<td>r+ ... -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
<td>Ø+ ... +ir</td>
<td>r+ ... +ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>i+ ~ Ø+ ~ r+ ~ n+</td>
<td>i+ ~ Ø+ ~ r+ ~ n+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>s+ ~ i+ ... -aq</td>
<td>qar+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pcl</td>
<td>Ø+ ... -iri</td>
<td>r+ ... -iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>Ø+ ... -i:</td>
<td>r+ ... -i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>i+ ~ Ø+ ~ r+ ~ n+ ... -er</td>
<td>i+ ~ Ø+ ~ r+ ~ n+ ... -er</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Person is marked on the verb mainly by a set of proclitics which immediately precede the verb stem, or the prefix n- ‘hither’ in a verb that takes this prefix. Number (namely plural) of person is marked as a suffix immediately following the stem, as shown in examples (215)e, f, g.

For the second person singular the proclitic for the Active set is Ø+ and for the Inactive set is r+. but there is a suffix -i for the second person singular familiar, or an enclitic +ir for the second person singular respectful form, which immediately follows the stem, as shown in (215)b and c.

(The second person familiar suffix is used only with very close friends, i.e. friends one might have grown up with, or with siblings; otherwise, the respectful form is used).

The forms in (215) show the Active person markers on the verb root koʔo ‘to give birth’.

(215) a. skoʔo
    s+koʔo
    1AC+give.birth

b. koʔoi
    Ø+koʔo-i
    2AC+give.birth-2SGF

‘I give birth’
‘you(f) give birth’
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c. ko?oir</th>
<th>'you(R) give birth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\emptyset$+ko?o+ir</td>
<td>$2AC$+give.birth+$2SGR$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d. ko?o</th>
<th>'she gives birth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\emptyset$+ko?o</td>
<td>$3AC$+give.birth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e. sko?yag</th>
<th>'we give birth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s+ko?o-ag</td>
<td>$1AC$+give.birth-$1PL$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f. ko?oiri</th>
<th>'you(pcl) give birth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\emptyset$+ko?o-iri</td>
<td>$2AC$+give.birth-$2PCL$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g. ko?oi:</th>
<th>'you(pl) give birth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\emptyset$+ko?o -i:</td>
<td>$2AC$+give.birth-$2PL$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>h. ko?or</th>
<th>'they give birth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\emptyset$+ko?o-er</td>
<td>$3AC$+give.birth-$3PL$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $[\bar{n}]$: otherwise, $s+$ is used (see section 4.2 for a detailed discussion of the prefix $n-$ 'hither'). The first person plural is also marked by a suffix -$ag$, which immediately follows the verb stem. There is no paucal verbal suffix for the first person. The plural suffix -$ag$ is used for both paucal and plural functions.

Second person has zero marking as a proclitic for the Active set and $r+$ for the Inactive, but it is marked as a suffix -$i$ for the second person singular familiar (f) and as an enclitic $+ir$ for the second person singular respectful (R). The second singular respectful form is the one that is most commonly used. There is also a distinction between a second person paucal, marked by the suffix -$iri$, and a second person plural, marked by the suffix -$i$: 
The third person proclitic has four allomorphs, \( i^+ \), \( r^+ \), \( \emptyset + \), 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 \( \emptyset + \), Class C stems are those that take the proclitic \( r^+ \), and Class D stems are those that take the proclitic \( n^+ \) for the third person, regardless of number.

While the markers for second familiar \(-i\), first plural \(-ac\), second person paucal \(-\text{iri}\) 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. Mocovi 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.
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(216)  a. [jawik]
\( /\text{er+awig}/ \)
1IN+burn
‘I burn’

b. [rawigi]
\( /\text{r+awig-}i/ \)
2IN+burn-2SGf
‘You (f) burn’

c. [rawigi?]
\( /\text{r+awig+}i\text{id}/ \)
2IN+burn+2SGR
‘You (R) burn’

(217)  a. [samaq]
\( /\text{s+amag}/ \)
1AC+push
‘I push’

b. [magai]
\( /\text{q+amag-i/} \)
2AC+push-2SGf
‘You (f) push’

c. [maqi?]
\( /\text{q+amag+}i\text{id}/ \)
2AC+push+2SGR
‘You (R.) push’

(218)  a. [sawok]
\( /\text{s+awog}/ \)
1AC+copulate
‘I copulate’

b. [wogi]
\( /\text{q+awog-i/} \)
2AC+copulate-2SGf
‘You (f) copulate’
c. [wokiʔ]
/∅+awog+ir/  
2AC+copulate+2SGR  
‘You (R) copulate’

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

b. [rićaŋai:]  
/ri+ićaŋ-i:/  
2IN+cut-2PL  
‘He cuts you(pl)’

c. [rićaŋaer]  
/ri+ićaŋ+ir/  
2IN+cut+2SGR  
‘He cuts you(R)’

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

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

c. [naqaiʔ]  
/∅+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)  [nenaŋisañi]

`/nenanirakñi/`

∅ + n - enan + ir + tak + ni

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

'you(R) are lying down'

(222)  [waganisalek]

`/owaganiraklek/`

∅ + 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. Kadiwéú, 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active person markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pcl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ɨ+)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Active person markers</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayo</td>
<td>to fly (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owir</td>
<td>to arrive (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owo</td>
<td>to walk (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>to shoot (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akon</td>
<td>to take, grab (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawat</td>
<td>to kill (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amag</td>
<td>to push, send (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aweg</td>
<td>to pull, stretch, bring (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔgen</td>
<td>to try (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔag</td>
<td>to cut, shorten (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekon</td>
<td>to grab (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enag</td>
<td>to throw (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epagat</td>
<td>to twist, braid (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewan</td>
<td>to see (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omat</td>
<td>to finish (vt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive/Transitive</td>
<td>aʔahan</td>
<td>to look at (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aʔde:n</td>
<td>to know, understand (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Active person markers</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?eːt</td>
<td>to escape, run away (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔit</td>
<td>to play (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔa</td>
<td>to menstruate (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔg</td>
<td>to hear (vi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 25 (cont’d)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ača:r</td>
<td>to stand up (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anat</td>
<td>to fall (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašil</td>
<td>to get married (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awog</td>
<td>to copulate (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epit</td>
<td>to smile (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>to go (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koʔo</td>
<td>to give birth (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oʔon</td>
<td>to get married (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oʔwe</td>
<td>to get dressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onog</td>
<td>to get naked, to undress 1 (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osog</td>
<td>to get naked, to undress 2 (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qawa</td>
<td>to walk (a few steps) (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qogon</td>
<td>to urinate (vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aʔme:n</td>
<td>to paint, rub (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alateg</td>
<td>to find (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aman</td>
<td>to like (of taste) (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ano</td>
<td>to lift (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epeteg</td>
<td>to cut hair (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔit</td>
<td>to be able to (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyō</td>
<td>to wash (vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kewog</td>
<td>to sharpen (vt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive/Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apog</td>
<td>to cover (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔet</td>
<td>to drink (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keʔe</td>
<td>to eat (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class C (Verbs with third person proclitic ʔ+)

Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ato</td>
<td>to yawn (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔʔliwi</td>
<td>to fetch water (vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oqopi</td>
<td>to hit (vt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive/Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eʔya</td>
<td>to dig (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

Table 25 (cont’d)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>eʔyaːm</td>
<td>to boil (vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive/Intransitive</td>
<td>qoʔgogo</td>
<td>to kiss, suck (vt/vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(223) alawat ‘to kill’

a. [salawat] /s+alawat/ 1AC+kill
b. [lawaçi] /∅+alawat-i/ 2AC+kill-2SGf
c. [lawaçi:] /∅+alawat+ir/ 2AC+kill+2SGR
d. [lawat] /∅+alawat/ 3AC+kill
e. [salawataq] /s+alawat-ag/ 1AC+kill-1PL
f. [lawaçiiri] /∅+alawat-iri/ 2AC+kill-2PCL
g. [lawaçi:] /∅+alawat-i: / 2AC+kill-2PL
h. [lawateʔ] /∅+alawat-er/ 3AC+kill-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.
Verbs and Verb Phrases

**Table 26**

**Inactive person markers**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ir+ ([j])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgf</td>
<td>r+ ... -i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
<td>r+ ... +ir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>i+ ~ Ø+ ~ r+ ~ n+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>qa'r+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pcl</td>
<td>r+ ... -iri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>r+ ... -i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>i+ ~ Ø+ ~ r+ ~ n+ ... -er</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Mocovi 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Verbs with third person proclitic $i+$</th>
<th>Verbs with third person proclitic $\varnothing+$</th>
<th>Verbs with third person proclitic $r+$</th>
<th>Verbs with third person proclitic $n+$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class A</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a?a:t</td>
<td>to finish eating (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edo:n</td>
<td>to get food poisoning (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awig</td>
<td>to burn, get burned (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyala</td>
<td>to hurry up (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ećag</td>
<td>to cut oneself, get cut (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilew</td>
<td>to die (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class B</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koñiraọ</td>
<td>to cut oneself, get cut (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemar</td>
<td>to get full (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class C</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona:</td>
<td>to get stuck (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esawλi</td>
<td>to slip (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alola</td>
<td>to get sick (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asot</td>
<td>to dance (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class D</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a?wat</td>
<td>to swell, get swollen (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apyoʔo</td>
<td>to be dirty (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esal</td>
<td>to vomit (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oʔçi</td>
<td>to be afraid (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oʔdagtetek</td>
<td>to get scared (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewal</td>
<td>to feel lazy (vi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (225) shows the verb *awig* 'to get burned' with the different Inactive proclitics.

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

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

b. [rawigi]  
/r+awig-i/  
2IN+get.burned-2SGf

c. [rawirii]  
/r+awig+ir/  
2IN+get.burned+2SGR

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

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

f. [rawigiri]  
/r+awig-iri/  
2IN+get.burned-2PCL

g. [rawigi:]  
/r+awig-i:/  
2IN+get.burned-2PL

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

'I get burned'

'you (f) get burned'

'you (R) get burned'

'he gets burned'

'we get burned'

'you (pcl) get burned'

'you (pl) get burned'

'they get burned'
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

b. [ralolai]
   /r+alola-i/
   2IN+get.sick-2SGf

c. [ralolai?]
   /r+alola+ir/
   2IN+get.sick+2SGR

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

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

f. [ralolairi]
   /r+alola-iri/
   2IN+get.sick-2PCL

g. [ralolai?]
   /r+alola-i:/
   2IN+get.sick-2PL

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

Example (227) shows Inactive proclitics with the verb *oʔi* ‘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.)
Verbs and Verb Phrases

(227) o?či  ‘to fear. be afraid’

a. [jo?či]
   /ir+awig/
   1IN+fear
   ‘I am afraid’

b. [ro?či:i]
   /r+o?či-i/
   2IN+fear-2SGf
   ‘you (f) are afraid’

c. [ro?či:i?j]
   /r+o?či+ir/
   2IN+fear+2R
   ‘you (R) are afraid’

d. [no?či]
   /n+o?či/
   3IN+fear
   ‘he is afraid’

e. [qaro?či]
   /qar+o?či/
   1IN+fear
   ‘we are afraid’

f. [ro?či:ri]
   /r+o?či-iri/
   2IN+fear -2PCL
   ‘you (pcl) are afraid’

g. [ro?či:]
   /r+o?či-i:/
   2IN+fear -2PL
   ‘you (pl) are afraid’

h. [no?či?]
   /n+o?či-er/
   3IN+fear-3PL
   ‘they are afraid’

The set of Inactive person markers is also used to mark the direct object of transitive verbs. In that case, the verb form takes both an Active marker for the agentive subject and an Inactive marker for the direct object. It should be noted that none of the person proclitics can co-occur, i.e. Mocovi does not allow more than one person proclitic on the verb: therefore, if the
verb form calls for one subject proclitic and one object proclitic. there is a hierarchy that will
determine which person marker will occur in the verb form: 1>2>3. However, it does allow two
person suffixes (or a suffix and the second person singular respectful enclitic), one of which
must be the first person plural agent suffix.

Table 28 provides a paradigm for the same verb, root 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sgR</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ečag+ir</td>
<td>s-ečag</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ečag-i:</td>
<td>s-ečag-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'i cut you(sg)'</td>
<td>'i cut him'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'i cut you(pl)'</td>
<td>'i cut them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgR</td>
<td>ir+ečag-ir</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø+ečag-ir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you(sg) cut me'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'you(sg) cut him'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ir+ečag</td>
<td>r+ečag-ir</td>
<td>Ø+ečag</td>
<td>qar+ečag</td>
<td>r+ečag-i:</td>
<td>i+ečag-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he cuts me'</td>
<td>'he cuts you(sg)'</td>
<td>'he cuts him/her'</td>
<td>'you cut us'</td>
<td>'he cuts you(pl)'</td>
<td>'he cuts them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ečag+ir</td>
<td>s-ečag-ag</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ečag-ag-i:</td>
<td>s-ečag-er-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we cut you(sg)'</td>
<td>'we cut him'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'we cut you(pl)'</td>
<td>'we cut them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ir+ečag-i:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø+ečag-i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you(pl) cut me'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'you(pl) cut him'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ir+ečag-er</td>
<td>r+ečag+ir</td>
<td>Ø+ečag-i:</td>
<td>qar+ečag-i:</td>
<td>r+ečag-i:</td>
<td>i+ečag-er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'they cut me'</td>
<td>'they cut you(sg)'</td>
<td>'you(pl) cut him'</td>
<td>'you(pl) cut us'</td>
<td>'they cut you(pl)'</td>
<td>'they cut them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases a verb form with both Active and Inactive markers is equivalent to a
phrase with a verb with only an Active marker, where the object, or non-agent, is expressed as an
independent pronoun in a separate noun phrase, as in examples (228) and (229). In (228) there is
a first person singular object proclitic ir- on the verb and the agent is not overtly marked on the
verb form because it is the third person singular. In example (229) there is a third person agent proclitic $i^+$, but no Inactive marker on the verb form. The object is expressed by the first person independent pronoun $yim$. However, both sentences have the same meaning. Although the sentence in (229) is grammatical, the sentence in (228), in which both arguments of the verb are expressed by pronominals on the verb form, is much more commonly used. One of my informants has actually pointed out that while (229) is possible, it is not as common as (228).

(228) /Felisa iretagñi/
Felisa 1SGIN+comb+DOWN
'Felisa combs me.'

(229) /Felisa 3tagñi 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 Mocovi 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 $epoorin$ '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.
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(230) /... čaqae qamir sé?gorinir ka ?we ka na?ga?a../
... čaqae qamir s+e?gorin+ir ka ?we ka na?ga?a...
... and 2SGPRON 1AC+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/ítake/
ir+eda:n+ír+take
1SGIN+search+2SGR+PROG

'You(sgR) are looking for me.'

(232) /qarqo?yqočit/ír/
qar+qo?yqočit+ir
1PLIN+frighten+2SGR

'You (sgR) frighten us.'

(233) /sqo?yqočiter/
s+qo?yqočit-er
1AC+frighten-3PL

'I frighten them.'

To summarize, then, Mocovi 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 Mocovi 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 indicates that the action expressed by the verb is performed towards the speaker or the agent of the clause. It can occur with intransitives verbs, and in that case the verb only takes an agentive (Active) marker, as in examples (234) and (235), or with a transitive verb, and in that case the verb takes both an agentive (Active) and a non-agentive (Inactive) marker, as in example (236).

(Recall, however, that the Inactive marker for the third person is $\emptyset$+.)

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', e?gen 'run', and aweg 'bring' without the prefix n-. and in (b) the same verbs occur with the prefix n-.

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

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

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

   b. [níʔgeno]
      / iniʔgeno/
      i+n-eʔgen+ø
      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', *c?gen* '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

IAC-arrive

'I arrive (there).'

b. [ńowiʔ]

/inowir/

i-n-owir

IAC+HITH-owir

'I arrive (here).'

(235) a. [sc?geno]

/sc?geno/

s-c?gen-o

IAC-run-INWDS

'I run into the inside (there).'

b. [ńi?geno]

/in?geno/

i-n-c?gen-o

IAC+HITH-run-INWDS

'I run into the inside (here).'
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. /niwanñi/  
\[ /inewanñi / \]  
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’, *eʔliwi* ‘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
   'fly.'

cf.  b. *[fiayo]

   i+n-ayo
   IAC-HITH-fly

(243)  a. [se?iwi]

   s-e?iwi
   IAC-fetch.water
   '(go to) fetch water.'

cf.  b. *[fe?iwi]

   i+n-e?iwi
   IAC-HITH-fetch.water

(244)  a. [skoce]

   s-ke?ce
   IAC-eat
   'eat.'

cf.  b. *[fke?ce]

   i-n-ke?ce
   IAC-HITH-eat

(245)  a. [sko?o]

   s-ko?o
   IAC+give.birth
   'give birth.'
The examples in (246)-(248) include forms of the verbs *ačil* 'to bathe', *ačit* 'to play', and *aqat* 'to pick (up), harvest'. These verbs cannot occur without the prefix *n* 'hither'. The forms in (a) provide example of the verbs with this prefix, and the forms in (b) show the ungrammatical forms, i.e. forms without *n* 'hither'.

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

'I bathe (myself).'

cf. b. *[sačil]*
*s+ačil*
\(\lambda\)AC+bathe

(247) a. [ñaλiťit]
/inaλiťit/
*i+n-αλiťit*
\(\lambda\)AC+HITH-play

'I play.'

cf. b. *[saλiťit]*
*s+αλiťit*
\(\lambda\)AC+play
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(248)  a. [ʔaqaʔ waloq]
\[\text{inaqaʔ waloq}\]
\[\text{i+n-aqaʔ waloq}\]
\[\text{1AC+HITH-pick.up cotton}\]
‘I harvest cotton.’

cf.  b. *[qaqat waloq]
\[s+aqat waloq\]
\[\text{1AC+pick.up cotton}\]

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

(249)  a. [samaq]
\[\text{samaq}\]
\[\text{s+amaq}\]
\[\text{1AC+push}\]
‘I push.’

b. [ʔamaq]
\[\text{inamaq}\]
\[\text{i+n-amaq}\]
\[\text{1AC+HITH-push}\]
‘I push (towards where I am).’
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(250)  a. /iawego lakat/
        i+aweg+o  l+akat
   3AC+bring+NWDS  3POSS+breath
   'He breathes.'

        b. /naweg lakat/
           Ø+n-aweg  l+akat
   3AC+HITH-bring  3POSS+breath
   'He sighs.'

4.2.2. n- 'hither' as Reflexive

Mocovi 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).
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(251) a. [ño?wet]
   /ño?wet/
   i+n-o?wet
   1AC+HITH-dress
   
   'I dress myself (= 'I get dressed')

b. [so?wičiʔ]
   /so?wetir/
   s+o?wet+ir
   1AC+dress+2SGR
   
   'I dress you.'

(252) a. [ńitakńi]
   /ńetagńi/
   i+n-etag+ńi
   1AC+HITH-comb+DWN
   
   'I comb myself.'

b. [setagńi aso ężelisa]
   /setagńi aso ężelisa /
   s+etag+ńi a+so ężelisa
   1AC+comb+DWN F+DEIC(gng) ężelisa
   
   'I comb ężelisa.'
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(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
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

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+∅+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+∅+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+∅+?et
INDEF+3AC+escape
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

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 macare yale/  
... qa+i+awat+leg so pegro-lek ke so-macare yale  
... INDEF+3AC+uncover+ON DEIC(gng) Pedro  OBL DEIC(gng)-PRON man  
‘... Pedro is uncovered by this man.’

Mocovi 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, Mocovi 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', *na?le* 'before, earlier, past', and *ma?le* 'later, after, future'. The sentences in (264)-(265) include examples with different time adverbials.

(264) /*weo? ka yaqat ma?le/  
... ?we+o? ka yaqat ma?le  
... be+EV DEIC(absnt) rain after  
'... there will be rain *later*.' (Text 2. The Flood)

(265) /a?o alo iowagan so xwan senanak nag/  
a+so alo i+owagan so xwan se+Ø+n-anak nag  
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 *na?le* 'early, before': in (267), the adverbial *nagi* 'now, today' is used; and in (268), the adverbial *ma?le* 'later, tomorrow'.

(266) /na?le ?we so qom so qom rašilagantak/  
na?le ?we so qom so qom r+ašilagen+tak  
*early* exist DEIC(gng) person DEIC(gng) person 3AC+ask+PROG  
'Earlier I met this person, he made a request.'
(267) /ka? nagi ka sašilai?sak /
   ka? nagi ka? s+ašil+ir+sak
   and now and 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG

   'And now I am asking you.'

   čaqae?-ma?
   Ø+n-a?magat+ni+o?
   and-=? (=immediately) 3AC+HITH-prepare+DWN+EV

   ma? ?we+o? ka yagat ma?le
   because exist+EV DEIC(absnt) rain later

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

Mocovi 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 [ʔl.iciʔ?'] (/eʔl.iciʔw/) can either mean 'you go to get water' or '(you) go to get water!'

(269) /eʔl.iciʔw/
   Ø+eʔl.iciʔ+w
   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.
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(270) /na?irkena naho.../

∅+n-a?+ir+kena na-ho

2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmngjPx)-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 kopatiro?o? 'you ignite it (= start the fire)' and peliro? 'you go home' are used with an imperative meaning.


∅+kopat+ir+o?+o? ka?ma i+me ∅+kopat+ir+a?a

2AC+ignite+2SGR+EVA+EVA when 3AC+finish 2AC+ignite+2SGR+

ka? ∅+epil+ir+o?

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

'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 jajagani:tak 'you (pl) leave me' is used with an imperative meaning.

(272) /jajagani:tak latagañi/

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

**Table 29**  
**Locative/directional enclitics**

**Down/Up**

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

**Under/On**

+ot — 'under'
+leg — 'on, over'

**In/Out**

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

**Towards.here/Towards.there**

+kenu — '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 waganira~ak ig1o nawa leCil so lwis/
     qamir 0+owagan+ir+tak+igi+lo na-wa 1+eC1-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 añogot+igit da qo?paq/
     lwis 0+n-añogot+igit  a+da  qo?paq
Luis 3AC+HITH-hide+BETWPN F=DEIC(vert) tree
     ‘Luis hides behind the tree.’
(275) /luis nañogotwgi ni ?imek /

/luis Ø+n-añogot-wgi ni ?imek

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

‘Luis hides inside the house.’

(276) /luis nañogotitnót ji nki?yagala /

/luis Ø+n-añogot-itnít ji n=ki?yagala

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

‘Luis hides under the table.’

(277) /luis nañogotlek ni ?imek kclaq/

/luis Ø+n-añogot-lehy ni ?imek l-claq

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

‘Luis hides on the roof of the house.’

The loc/dir enclitics cannot co-occur: only one loc/dir is possible within a verb form in Mocovi. Example (278) shows that a sentence with two loc/dir enclitics, -leg ‘on’ and -ni ‘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)  
Awis iilew /  
Awis 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] *ni* natarenataganagaki 'in the hospital' which expresses the location of the action expressed by the verb. i.e. where Luis died.

(280)  
/iilewwg
i
ni
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 ni* natarenataganagaki 'in the hospital'. introduced by the oblique marker *ke* followed by the noun phrase *ni* natarenataganagaki 'the hospital'. The meaning of the sentences in (280) and (281) is the same: Luis died in the hospital.

(281)  
/iilew
ke
ni
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) */iilewrgi ke ñi natarenatakanagaki/

```
i+ile+wgi  ke  ñi  n+atarenatakanagaki
3IN+ die +INSIDE OBL  DEIC(nonext) ABS+house
```

`'(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 *engo*n ‘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 senogonwgi ia?a/

```
yim  s+enogon+wgi  i+a?a
1SGPRON 1AC+ enter +INSIDE 1SGPOSS+house
```

`'I enter my house.'`

(284) */yim senoxonwgi ke ia?a/

```
yim  s+enoxon+wgi  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?* (/\(\emptyset\)+ek+tak+leg-o?/) ‘he is going on (=is walking on)’ with, among other morphemes, the loc/dir +leg ‘on’, and the NP *ji no?we:naga* ‘the field’.

\[
\text{(285) } [\text{nala} : qo? \text{ wo? so qom? ke:talko? ji no?we:naga ...}] \\
\quad /\text{nala} : qo? \text{ wo? so qom?/} \\
\quad \text{nala} : q-o? \text{ we-o? so qom} \\
\quad \text{before-EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person} \\
\]

*veke:talego? ji no?we:naga ...*/

\(\emptyset\) + ek +tak -leg o? ji n - o?we:naga

\(3\text{AC=}\text{go=}\text{PROG=}\text{ON+EV DEIC(hor) ABS+field} \)

‘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:talak* (/i-owo:-tak-o?/) ‘he was walking’ without any loc/dir enclitic, and an oblique noun phrase *ke ji no?we:naga* ‘in the field’.

\[
\text{(286) } [\ldots \text{ yowo:talak} \text{ ke ji no?we:naga}] \\
\quad /\ldots \text{ iowo:talak} \text{ ke ji no?we:naga} \\
\quad i+owo:-tak+o? \text{ ke ji n-o?we:naga} \\
\quad \text{3AC=walk=PROG=EV OBL DEIC(hor) ABS+field} \\
\quad \ldots [\text{the man}] \text{ he was walking on the land.}\]

The verb forms. *ke:talko?* (/\(\emptyset\)-ek+tak+leg-o?/) ‘he is going on (= is walking on)’ in (285) and *yowo:talak* (/i+owo:-tak+o?/) ‘he is walking’ in (286), have different verb roots. *ek* ‘to go’ and *owo* ‘to walk’ respectively. Not all verb stems can take any loc/dir enclitic: some
verb stems can occur with most (or all) loc/dir enclitics, while other verb stems can occur with only a few, and still others with none.

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

(287) /samag so lwis/

\[
\text{s+amag} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{lwis} \\
\text{lAC+push} \quad \text{DEIC(gng)} \quad \text{Luis} \\
\text{‘I push Luis.’}
\]

(288) /samag leg so waloq so lwis/

\[
\text{s+amag+leg} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{waloq} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{lwis} \\
\text{lAC+push+ON DEIC(gng)} \quad \text{cotton} \quad \text{DEIC(gng)} \quad \text{Luis} \\
\text{‘I push Luis onto the cotton.’}
\]

(289) */samag leg ke so waloq so lwis /

\[
\text{s+amag+leg} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{waloq} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{lwis} \\
\text{lAC+push+ON ke DEIC(gng)} \quad \text{cotton} \quad \text{DEIC(gng)} \quad \text{Luis} \\
\text{‘I push Luis onto the cotton.’}
\]
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

\(+\textit{ni}\)  ‘down, downwards’

(290)  
\[\text{[sanahni ke da qo?paq]}\] 
\[/\text{sanatni ke da qo?paq}/\]
\[s+\text{anat+ni ke da qo?paq}\]
\[lAC+fall+\text{DOWN OBL DEIC(vert) tree}\]

‘I fell from the tree.’

(291)  
\[\text{[qalagam jilamqaño? jilamqaño? ke naho]}\] 
\[/\text{qalagam irilamaqaño? irilamaqaño? ke naho}/\]
\[qalagam ir+elamaq+ni+o? ir+elamaq+ni+o? ke na-ho\]
\[\text{but } lIN+\text{fall}+\text{DWN}+\text{EV } lIN+\text{fall}+\text{DWN}+\text{EV OBL DEIC(cmng)-PROX (= here)}\]

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

\(+\textit{ṣigim}\)  ‘up, upwards’

(292)  
\[\text{/naqaṣigim/}\]
\[\emptyset\text{+n-aqat-ṣigim}\]
\[3AC+HITH\text{-take+UP}\]

‘He took it out (= pulled it up).’
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(293) /sela::ošigim ana ŋoqki ke ada qo?paq/
s+ela-ag+šigim a+na ŋoqki 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 +di 'down, downwards' and +šigim 'up, upwards' occur in the same sentence.

(294) /ka na? nqo?nišigim so nawegelek ka iro?we:naňi... /
ka? na? Ø+n-qo?ni+šigim so nawegelek ka? ir+o?we:n+ni
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)'.

Under/On
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

+/leg 'on. over'

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

/iaʔik ʔi laʔat we:taleg ji nkiʔyagala/
i+aʔik ʔi 1+aʔat ?we+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) /ka? ke:tanyoʔ ka laqalaʔi yiwakelegoʔ /

ka? Ø+ek+ta+nkei+oʔ ke l+aqalaʔi 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)  
[yočiawek ke ji ?o:či]

/iočiaweg ke ji ?o:či/
i+oči+weg ke ji ?o: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)  
/qamo? ka yale ŝimo? yaganeg ka rasotagwa/
qam+o? ka yale ŝim+o? 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 ka?ma ?alo sqaiyaneg ka rasotagwa/
qam ka ?ma ?alo sqa+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)
3. Verbs and Verb Phrases

+wgi 'in. inwards. into'

(302) /rawegirwgi/
r+aweg+ir+wgi
2IN+bring+2SGR+INSIDE
'He takes you inside.'

(303) /yim sa:wgi da ?o:çi/
yim s+a: +wgi da ?o:çi
1SGPRON 1AG+go+INSIDE DEIC(vert) brush
'I go into the brush (= inside the brush).'

+nigi 'inside'

(304) [ya?ik ji la?at we:tañigi ni ?we:na neto?ot ji nki?yagala]
/ia?ik ji la?at we:tañigi ni ?we:na neto?ot ji nki?yagala/
i+a?ik ji l+a?at ?we+ta+nigi ni ?we:na
3AC+eat DEIC(hor) ABS+meat exist+PROG+INSIDE DEIC(hor) pan
/net+o?ot ji n+ki?yagala/
be+UNDER DEIC(hor) ABS+table

'He eats the meat that is inside the pan which is under the table.'
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

+o ~ +wo  ‘inwards, hither’

(305)  /sawego iakat/
       s+aweg+o    i+akat
       1AC+bring+INWDS | SGPOSS+breathe

‘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)  /na?itkena naho ...
       Ø+n-a?+ir+kena      na-ho
       2AC+HITH-come+2SGR+TDS DEIC(cmng)-PROX

‘Come towards here…’ (Text 2. The Flood)
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

+igi ‘towards (there), around’

(308) /lwis sowacanigi lqaig/
lwis s+owagan+igi l+qaig
Luis 1AC+hit+TDS 3POSS+head

‘I hit Luis on the leg.’

(309) /ne?etig i aso la?ewge/
Ø+n-e?et+igi a+so la?ewge
3AC+HITH-drink+TDS F+DEIC(gng) river

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

Other spatial relations:

+a?ta ‘on/to other side of, across’

(310) /ioçiia?ta ke so la?ewge/
i+oçi+a?ta ke so la?ewge
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.’)

+e?e ‘with’

(311) [jasote?e lwis]
/irasote?e lwis/
ir+asot+e?e lwis
1IN+dance+WITH Luis

‘I dance with Luis.’
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(312) /rasotire?e so lwis/
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{r+asot+ir+e?e} & \quad \text{so} \quad \text{lwis} \\
2\text{IN+dance+2SGR+WITH} & \quad \text{DEIC(gng)} \quad \text{Luis}
\end{align*}
\]
‘You(sg) dance with Luis.’

+igit ‘behind’

(313) /lwis nañogotigit ada qo?paq /
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lwis} & \quad n+añogot+igit \\
& \quad a+da \quad qo?paq
\end{align*}
\]
Luis 3AC?+hide+BETWEEN 3+DEIC(vert) tree
‘Luis hides behind the tree.’

+pege? ‘up to’

(314) /lwis kepege? martin la?a?/
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lwis} & \quad \varnothing+ek+pege? \\
& \quad \text{martin} \quad 1+a?a?
\end{align*}
\]
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 Mocovi 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 Mocovi, none of the loc/dir enclitics have been found to co-occur. In Mocovi 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

Mocovi 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.
4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

(315) /sekona nī ?tagaki/

s+ekon+a nī ?tagaki
1AC+grab+? DEIC(non-ext) mug

'I grab the mug.'

(316) /sekonofo nawa ?tagaki(?) /

s+ekon+a+lo nī-wa ?tagaki(-?)
1AC+grab+?+PCL DEIC(non-ext)-PL mug(-PCL)

'I grab the (two) mugs.'

(317) /nīwa? ana macso/

i+n-ewat a+na macso
1AC+HITH-sew F+DEIC(cmng) pants

'I sew the (pair of) pants.'

(318) /qami? wagañirigilo nawa leči l so lwis

/qamir owagañirigilo/

qamir Ø+owagan+ir+i+gi+lo
2SGPRON 2AC+hit+2SGR+TDS+PCL

/nawa leči l so lwis/

na-wa 1+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

Mocovi 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, Mocovi 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 lepetacanacat 'his food (absent)', follows the verb. (The subject NP is in boldface, and the object NP in italics.)
(319) /so qom nakitetako? ka lepetaganaqat i
so qom Ø+n-akit+tak+o? ka ḫ-epet-agonagat
DEIC(person) 3AC+HITH-search+PROG+EV DEIC(absent) 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 ḫalo 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 ŝimo? yaganeg ka rasotagawa/
ka na yale ŝim+o? i=agan+eg ka ḫ-asot-agaw-a
then DEIC(mng) man almost+EV 3AC-let.go=OUT DEIC(absent) 3IN-dance-NOM-mare
‘Then the male (mosquito) almost lets go of the dancing partner.’
5. Clause Level Syntax


qam ka             ?alo     ?yat            Ø+n-o?qot+ñi+o?
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 bold.

(322) /ka? nowiretako? na qom/

ka? Ø+n-owir+tak+o?      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 ii lamikio? 'it sounds, plays (of music)', and a non-agentive subject ka ?yatir 'the mosquitos', which follows the intransitive verb rasotetapo? 'they are dancing'.

...
(323) /ka? iilamikio? aka newige/
ka? i+ilamiki+o? a+ka n+ewige
and 3AC+sound+EV F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music

/rasotetapo? ka ?yatir/
ra+asot-tape+o? ka ?yat-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 ?we '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 lyya nelogyak 'another guardian', follows the existential verb ?weo 'there was'.

(324) /ka? ?weo? so lyya nelogyak/
ka? ?we+o? so iya n+elogyak
then exist+EV DEIC(gng) other ABS+guardian

'Then there was another guardian.'

In (325) the subject NP so na?a:ñaq treh lqaigo 'the visitor with three heads' follows the existential verb ?we 'there is'.

(325) /ka? ?we so na?a:ñaq treh lqaigo/
ka? ?we so n+a?a:ñaq treh l+qaigo
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) `/so?daqatir eg/
  s+o?daqat+ir+eg
  1AC+scare+2SGR+ON

  'I scare you.'

The sentence in (327) was taken from a text about Pedro, a man who is placed in a leather bag to be thrown in a river, but he fools his enemies and escapes. The agentive argument is expressed by the third person proclitic $n+$. The verb form also contains the indefinite agent clitic $qa+$. 
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 ə+. and the non-agentive argument, the object, is expressed in a noun phrase. ka losigimaga '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 losigimaga/
    kaʔ antehnada ə+n-aqat ka l+osigimaga
    and first.of.all əC+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 ə+. and by the noun phrase so əya qom 'another person'. The verb -owir 'to arrive' is an intransitive verb that takes only one argument, an agentive subject.

(329) /kaʔ nowiroʔ so əya qom/
    kaʔ ə+n-owir+oʔ so əya qom
    and əC+HITH-arrive+EV DEIC(gng) other person

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

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

\[
\text{(330)} \quad /\text{ne:lowko? ka netesqo?/} \\
\text{Ø+n-e:lo+weg+o? ka n+etesqo?} \\
3\text{AC+HITH-wake.up+OUT DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+uncle} \\
\quad \text{‘His uncle woke up.’}
\]

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’.

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

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

\[
\text{(332)} \quad /\text{ima? ka... yaleripi nowiro? na?le/} \\
\text{ima? ka yale-r-ipi \ Ø+n-owir+o? na?le} \\
\text{after DEIC(absnt) man-PCL-PL 3AC+arrive+EV later} \\
\quad \text{‘Later the men arrived.’}
\]
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 $\varnothing^+$ 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 *ilocog* 'to itch'. and by the lexical NP *nawa rakomeri* 'their bellies'.

(334) /rilogoglo nawa rakomiri /
$r^+$ilocog+lo na-wa $r^+$akom-er-i
3IN+itch+PCL DEIC(cmmng)-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. *sipegaq qoŋgoyk* ‘old horse’. The third person agentive subject is also marked on the verb by an Active
proclitic *rt. (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 ralawatagantako? šipegaq qo?qoyki/
regat r+alawatagan+tak+o? šipegaq qo?qoyk
jaguar 3AC+carve+up+PROG+EV horse old

'A jaguar was carving up an old horse.'

In example (336), from the same text, the agent is expressed by the third person Active proclitic *i*+ on the verb *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) `/ka? iagañi ka lete:sek/
ka? i+agañi ka i+ete:sek
and 3AC+abandon DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew

'And he left his nephew.'

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

(337) `/ ka? yajjin so magare/
ka? i+a?jin 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 Mocovi, existential clauses are formed by the verb ʔwe ‘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) ... ʔweo? ka yagat ma?le/
... ʔwe+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 ʔweo? ‘there was’.

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

Mocovi 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 ʔwe ‘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 ʔwe ‘there is’ and the noun phrase da yašilacanagat ‘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 ṝwe ‘there exists’ is in **boldface** and the possessive markers in **italics**.)

(340) /ka? nagi ṝweo? da āsilagan-acute /
ka? nagi ṝwe+o? da āsilagan-agat
and now exist+EV DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+ask-NOM

‘And now I have a request.’ (= ‘and now there exists my request’)

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

(341) /qam ṝweo? ka lalo le:nagat ḡañi/  
qam ṝwe+o? ka ḡ+lo l+e:nagat ḡañi  
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) ṝwe ni ḡ+lo šipegaq/  
ṝwe ni ḡ+lo šipegaq  
exist DEIC(nonext) 1SGPOSS+animal horse

‘I have a horse.’ (lit: ‘There exists my animal horse’).
(343) /?we ana /aqa/
?we a+na ?aqa
exist F+DEIC(cmng) 1SGPOSS+sibling

‘I have a sister.’ (lit: ‘There exists my sister’)

5.2.3 Copular Clauses

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

(344) /adaho iate?e/
ad+da-ho i+ate?e
F+DEIC(vert)-PROX 1SGPOSS+mother

‘This here is my mother.’ (lit: ‘This here my mother’.)

(345) /?i pyo6 lodecat/
?i pyo6 lodecat
DEIC(nonext) dog big

‘That dog is big.’ (lit: ‘This dog big’.)
5. Clause Level Syntax

(346) /naho lekat lodecat/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na-</th>
<th>lekat</th>
<th>lodecat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEIC(comng)-PROX</td>
<td>knife</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'This knife here is big.' (lit: 'This knife here big'.)

5.3. Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are introduced by the interrogative forms ńige? 'what, who', lagi 'when', ći?nege 'why', and wa?ge 'where'. (Mocovi lacks an interrogative form equivalent to English 'how': the interrogative ńige? '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) /ńige? ka iapongi aň xwan le?ya/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ňige? ka</th>
<th>i+apongi a+ni</th>
<th>xwan l+e?ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>DEIC(absnt) 3AC+cover F+DEIC(nonext) Juan 3POSS+hole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Who covered Juan's hole?'

(348) /ńige? ka riyakir/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ňige? ka</th>
<th>r+iyak+ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>DEIC(absnt) 2AC+bring+2SGR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 _REFRESHQUERY* what. ho' followed by the deictic ka ‘deictic (absent)’.

\[(349) \]  
\[\text{\textit{\textit{nige? ka peg qa\textit{nda}weg sa\textit{ikir loqo?m sa\textit{ikir na ra\textit{cinkir}/}}}}\]  
\[\text{\textit{nige? ka peg qa\textit{+i\textit{nda}weg s+a\textit{ikir+ir}}}}\]  
\[\text{\textit{what DEIC(absnt) more INDEF+3AC+prefer?+2SGR 1AC+eat+2SGR}}\]  
\[\text{\textit{loqo?m s+a\textit{ikir na r+a\textit{cinkir+ir}}}}\]  
\[\text{\textit{or 1AC+eat DEIC(cmng) 2POSS+prey+2SGR}}\]  
\[\text{‘What do you prefer, that I eat you or that I eat your prey?’}\]

The interrogative clause in (350) is introduced by \textit{lagi} ‘when’ followed by the deictic \textit{na} ‘deictic (coming)’

\[(350) \]  
\[\text{\textit{\textit{lagi? na nowir so xwan/}}}\]  
\[\text{\textit{lagi+o? na \textit{\textit{\textit{Ø+n-owir so xwan}}}}}\]  
\[\text{\textit{when+EV DEIC(cmng) 3AC+HITH-arrive DEIC(gng) Juan}}\]  
\[\text{‘When did Juan arrive?’}\]

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 \textit{či\textit{nege} ‘why’}. 
5. Clause Level Syntax

(351) /či?nege? da nagi lot λya nowir/
či?nege+o? da na?gi lot-λya O+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?atirege/
wa?ge ka s+e?at+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 Mocovi 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:na?ta ‘we know’ introduced by the complementizer kijim ‘that’.

(The clause is in italics, and the complementizer in boldface.)
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*.)

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

`We know that the people know stories.`
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 ćoqa?a 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 ćoqa?a so nanegse/
\[ \varnothing+n-owir \quad a+so \quad doqo-lase \]
\[ 3AC+HITH-arrive \ F+DEIC(gng) \text{ white-F} \]
\[ so \quad \varnothing+ćoqa?a \quad so-ta \quad n+anegse \]
\[ DEIC(gng) \ 3AC+\text{give} \ DEIC(gng)\text{-PROX abs+plant} \]
‘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 ćalo* ‘the woman’, without an overt relativizer. (The relative clause is in italics.)

(357) /aso ćalo iowagan so xwan senanak nagi/
\[ a+so \quad ćalo \quad i+owagan \quad so \quad xwan \quad se+\varnothing+n-anak \text{ nagi} \]
\[ F+DEIC(gng) \text{ woman} \ 3AC+\text{hit} \ DEIC(gng) \text{ Juan} \ NEG+3AC+HITH-\text{come now} \]
‘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 \(\textit{jiames} \text{ (which) are on the table} \) without an overt complementizer. (The relative clause is in italics.)

(358) /\textit{jiwa} \text{\textit{felisa} \textit{we:nal togir \textit{we:tal}e\textit{jiames} \textit{ropoqogilo/}}
\textit{ji-wa} \text{\textit{felisa} \textit{we-na-l tog-ir}
DEIC(hor)-PL Felisa pot-PCL red-PCL.
\textit{we+ta+leg \textit{ji} \textit{lames} \textit{r+opoqog-lo}
be+PROG+ON \textit{DEIC(hor)} ABS+table 3IN+break-PCL.
\textit{\}`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 \textit{saik} `because`. In example (359) \textit{saik} `because` introduces the adverbial clause \textit{aso rosa iawa:gan xose} `Rosa hit José`.

(359) /\textit{lwis iawala\textit{g saik} \textit{aso rosa iawa:gan xose/}
\textit{lwis i+awala\textit{g saik} \textit{a+so rosa i+awa:gan xose}
Luis 3AC+scream because \textit{F+DEIC(cmng) Rosa 3AC+hit José
\textit{`}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 \textit{ro\textit{ro}o} `he gets angry`, and an adverbial clause of cause introduced by \textit{saik} `because`. 
Clauses of time are expressed by clauses marked by the coordinator *ka? ~ ka* 'and, then', or *na?' when'. The sentence in (361) was taken from Text 3. The woman and the Duck. The sentence is introduced by the adverbial *ka? 'then'.

(361) /ka? sato? ka pato/

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ka? } \varnothing\text{+sat+o? } \text{ka } \text{pato} \\
\text{then } 3\text{AC+listen+EV DEIC(absnt) duck}
\end{array}
\]

'Then the duck listened.'

The sentence in (362) was taken from Text 2. The Flood. The adverbial clause *nqo?nisi'gim so nawegelek* 'when the cloud went up' is introduced by the adverbial *na?' when'.

(362) /ka? na? nqo?nisi'gim so nawegelek ka jo\text{we:na}n{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}}}}}i/

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ka? na? } \varnothing\text{+n-qo?nì+šigim so } \text{nawegelek} \\
\text{and when } 3\text{AC+HITH-rise+UP DEIC(cmng) cloud}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ka } \text{ir+o\text{we:n+nì} } \\
\text{then } 1\text{IN+stay+DWN}
\end{array}
\]

'And when the cloud went up then I stayed (= I remained on the earth).'

Mocovi 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\text{?wet* 'to use, to utilize' as in example (363). In this example the clauses *so\text{?wet naserek} lpa\text{?a?* 'I use the
liquid medicine' and *sa?men lotoge xwan* ‘I rub Juan’s chest’ are simply juxtaposed, but they provide the instrumental meaning that in English can be glossed as ‘I rub Juan’s chest with the liquid medicine’. However, the literal meaning of the sentence is ‘I use the liquid medicine. I rub Juan’s chest’. The clause containing the form of the verb *o?wet* ‘to use, to utilize’ is in *italics*.)


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s+o?wet  n+ aserek  l+pai?a?  s+a?men l+otoge  xwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[1AC+use \text{ABS+} \text{medicine ABS+} \text{liquid} \quad 3AC+rub \ 3\text{POSS+} \text{chest Juan} \]

‘I rub Juan’s chest with the liquid medicine.’ (= I use the liquid medicine. I rub Juan’s chest.)

Conditional clauses are introduced by *no?om* ‘if’, as in example (364). In this sentence the conditional clause *yagat* ‘rain’ is introduced by *no?om* ‘if’ and the coordinator *ka?* ‘then’ occurs between the conditional clause and the following clause *sqaesik* ‘I don’t go’.

(364) /no?om yagat ka? sqaesik/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no?om  yagat  ka?  sqaes+s+ik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[
\text{if \quad rain \quad then \quad NEG+1AC+go} \]

‘If it rains I don’t go.’

In (365), from Text 2, The Flood, the conditional clause *da ji?oorinir* ‘you do me a favor’ is introduced by *no?om* ‘if’ and the coordinator *caqae* ‘and’ occurs between the conditional clause and the following clause *qami? se?oorinir* ‘I favor you. 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 ⌢+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 la?at qam so qelisa r-ewo:se/
qa+i+ka la?at qam so qelisa 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 qomo? so 'was' this a person' and legemagayk 'a strange being' are conjoined by the coordinator loqo?m 'or'.

(368) /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 the example in (369) from the same text, the coordinator loqo?m 'or' is used to conjoin the noun phrases wagay 'sea', ña:ci 'stream' and laçe?wge 'river'.

ka? qa+i+oda~som ke ka l+emanaga wagay loqo?m ña:ci
then INDEF+3AC+carry OBL DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+edge sea or stream

loqo?m laçe?wge
or river

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

The coordinators ka? 'and, then' and qam ~ qalacam '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

/ʔweʔ so ʔnaʔgaʔa ʔwe so ʔayle ʔrasotagayrip/  
ʔwe+oʔ so ʔnaʔgaʔa ʔwe so ʔayle ʔ+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.'

/ʔaʔ nowiretakoʔ ʔna qoʔm/  
ʔaʔ ʔʔ+n-owire+tak+oʔ ʔna  qoʔm

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

'Then the people were arriving.'

'Then the people started to arrive.'
But exist-PL DEIC(gng)-PL PRON
‘But they were.’

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

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

Then he saw another little woman.’

Then he said the music played.’
Then the mosquito said:

"There exists my wish to dance.".

Then the woman said:

"Yes. I also (it) exists our ?? (=our wishes are the same?)".

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

«Then let's do so». 
5. Clause Level Syntax

/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 ilamkyo? 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:cigiñi magarayko? ka rasotage?.
qam ka ta:cigiñi 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.'

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 *calego* '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 ladoga ke so rowerto/
    xwan peg  ladoga  ke  so  rowerto
    Juan  more  tall  OBL DEIC(gng) Roberto

    'Juan is taller than Roberto'

(372) /xwan peg ladoga/
    xwan peg  ladoga
    Juan  more  tall

    'Juan is the tallest.'

(373) /naho laçewge peg leka?ge ke ji λya/
    na-ho  laçewge  peg  leka?ge  ke  ji  λya
    DEIC(cmng)-PROX  river  more  big  OBL DEIC(hor) other

    'This river here is longer than that other (one).'

**Equatives** are expressed by juxtaposition. The clauses are linked by *?nem* ~ *?nehem* 'like. similar. same'. In example (374), taken from a text about how to cure a snake bite, the speaker is describing the bite of the `campanilla`. a poisonous snake. and he says there is nothing
as bad as a bite from this snake. The negative qaeka 'nothing' and the adjective laʔa: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 iowanaganaga 'my need' and da rowenaganagair 'your need' are linked by ?nem 'similar, same, like'. The sentence has an equative meaning.

(375) /kaʔ nagi ka sašilairsak/
    kaʔ nagi ka? s+ašil+ir+sak
    and now and lAC+ask+2SGR+PROG
    'And now I am asking you.'

/kα da iowanaganaga ?nem da rowenaganagair/
    kaʔ da i+owenaganaga ?nem 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 Mocovi negation is expressed by a negative proclitic with two allomorphs, \textit{sqae+} ~ \textit{se+}. It is not yet clear what determines the distribution of the allomorphs. In (376), the negative clitic \textit{se+} is attached to the verb \textit{rapiler} `they return': in (377), it is attached to the verb \textit{sa?de:nag} `we know': and in (378), it precedes the noun \textit{lpaganqate} `his underpants`.

\begin{enumerate}
\item (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.'

\item (377) /qam sesa?de:nag/
qam se+s+a?de:n-ag
but NEG+3AC+know-1PL

`But we don’t know.'

\item (378) /sim nahañi lpaganqate qam selpaganqate/
sim ð+ñ-aha+ñi \textit{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)
\end{enumerate}

In (379), taken from Text 2, The Flood, the negative clitic \textit{se+} is attached to the verb \textit{ewan} `see', and the negative clitic \textit{sqae+} is attached to the noun \textit{qom} `person'.
In (380), the negative clitic *sqae* is attached to the verb *ewanacanir* 'you look (at something)', and in (381), it is attached to the verb *alawatir* 'you kill (something)'.

(380) /sqaeewanacanir /
    *sqae+Ø+ewanacan+ir*
    *NEG+2AC+look+2SGR*
    'Do not look (at it)'

(381) /sqaealawatir/
    *sqae+Ø+alawat+ir*
    *NEG+2AC+kill+2SGR*
    'Do not kill him/her/it'

5.8. Evidential

There is an enclitic *+Ø?* 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? ikitako? lasom lai/
ka? i+λyak+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 (384), 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 loqm legemagayk/
qom+o? so loqm 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 +0? is attached to the adverbial šim 'almost'.

(385) /ka? šimo? qainaganigi so wagayaq/
    ka? šim+o? qa+i+naqan+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.

    naλa:q+o? ?we+o? so qom
    before+EV exist+EV DEIC(gng) person

∅+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  ∅+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 Mocovi

The Mocovi Indians have been in contact with Spanish speakers since the mid 1700s, when the Spanish started sending expeditions to the southern Chaco region in Argentina, and the Jesuits attempted to establish missions in the area. However, the Mocovis, together with other Indian groups, managed to keep the Spanish away from the region until the late 19th century, when the Europeans settled in the area and the Mocovis started to depend on them for survival. It was not until the mid-20th century that Mocovi speakers came into intense contact with Spanish speakers.

In this chapter I examine the extent and nature of Spanish influence on Mocovi 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 Mocovi data I have examined, and I analyze the patterns of nativization that these forms show in Mocovi. 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 Mocovi 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 Mocovi, which can be used as a description of Mocovi in the late 19th century. I have also used Ceria & Sandalo (1995) on Proto-Waikurian as a source for earlier stages of the phonology and (part of the) lexicon of Mocovi.

6.2. Lexical Borrowings

Spanish borrowings into Mocovi 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 Mocovi, 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 Mocovi form of the borrowing is presented in the first column, followed by the Spanish source with the phonetic transcription in square brackets, then the English gloss, and then, in those cases where it is available, the native form is provided in the last column.
6.2.1. Spanish loans with no segmental changes and Spanish stress.

The phonemic inventories of Mocovi and Spanish are not extremely different, and many Spanish borrowings contain sounds that also occur in Mocovi. The stress patterns, however, are different, and many loanwords maintain penultimate Spanish stress when borrowed into Mocovi. Examples (388)-(397) show Spanish loans with no segmental changes and with Spanish penultimate stress. Some of these words may also occur in monolinguals’ speech with nativization of the stress pattern, but so far I have found no examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(388)</td>
<td>banána</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(389)</td>
<td>máka</td>
<td>hammock, swing</td>
<td>-alaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(390)</td>
<td>mansána</td>
<td>apple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(391)</td>
<td>owéro</td>
<td>spotted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(392)</td>
<td>pápa</td>
<td>potato</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(393)</td>
<td>pápi</td>
<td>daddy</td>
<td>tayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(394)</td>
<td>pátó</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>raqawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(395)</td>
<td>pelóta</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(396)</td>
<td>sórgo</td>
<td>sorghum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(397)</td>
<td>tomáte</td>
<td>tomato</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.2. Mocovi stress with native suffixes

Some Spanish loanwords in Mocovi maintain the Spanish stress pattern when they occur without any Mocovi suffixes. However, if Mocovi suffixes are added, the loanwords adopt the Mocovi stress pattern, namely stress on the last vowel of the word, as in examples (398)-(400).
The forms in (a) show the Spanish loanwords with Spanish penultimate stress in Mocoví; in (b), the same forms occur with the paucal suffix -l, which moves the stress to the last vowel in the word. In example (398)c, the plural suffix -ipi has been added, also moving the stress to the last vowel in the word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocoví</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(398) a. λiméta (SG)</td>
<td>Sp. limeta [liméta]</td>
<td>bottle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. λimetál (PCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. λimetaypi (PL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(399) a. mono (SG)</td>
<td>Sp. mono [móno]</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. monól (PCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(400) a. sapo (SG)</td>
<td>Sp. sapo [sáp]</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. sapól (PCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pijilologogó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 n- 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.
6. Spanish Influence on Mocovi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wólsa</td>
<td>Sp. bolsa [bólsa]</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>nogoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolsál (PCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolsa(l)ipí (PL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwolsaír (2SG.POSS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwolsair</td>
<td>2POSS+AL-bag+2SGR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiwolsa (1SGPOSS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwówlsa (1SGPOSS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one loanword, [petisoʔiʔ ~ petisokiʔi] ‗short‘ (< Sp petiso ‗short‘ and Mocovi diminutive suffixes -oʔiʔ (F) and -oʔkiʔ (M)). that is found always with the Mocovi diminutive suffix, and that follows Mocovi stress pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>petisoʔiʔ (F)</td>
<td>Sp. petiso/a [petiso]</td>
<td>short (dimF)</td>
<td>lawoșoʔiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petisokiʔi (M)</td>
<td></td>
<td>short (dimM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.3. Vowel change (Sp. /u/ > Mcv /o/) (and Spanish stress)

Spanish words that contain a high back rounded vowel /u/ when borrowed into Mocovi change the Spanish vowel [u] to Mocovi [o]. This is an example of nativization because Mocovi lacks a phoneme /u/. In both (403) and (404) the Spanish stress pattern is maintained. Note also the change from Spanish [ð] (an allophone of /d/ in Spanish) to Mocovi [r].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koñára</td>
<td>Sp. cuñada [kuñáda]</td>
<td>sister-in-law</td>
<td>iowalỹya (1SGPOSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móro</td>
<td>Sp. mudo [múdo]</td>
<td>mute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.4. Word-initial vowel deletion

There is a phonological rule in Mocovi that deletes a word-initial vowel. In some Spanish borrowings the Spanish word-initial unstressed vowel is deleted as in (405)-(408). Note that the forms in (405)-(407) also maintain the Spanish stress pattern. Example (408) shows the deletion of both the first vowel [a] and the following consonant [l], as well as the addition of the masculine diminutive suffix -oki7 which changes the stress to the last vowel of the word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čárpe</td>
<td>Sp. echarpe [ečárpe–ešarpe]</td>
<td>scarf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)rina</td>
<td>Sp harina [arina]</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súkar</td>
<td>Sp. azúcar [asúkar]</td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pargatoki7</td>
<td>Sp. alpargata [alparỹata]</td>
<td>rope-soled slipper nepela ‘shoe’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lamés</td>
<td>Sp. <em>la mesa</em> [la mésa]</td>
<td>table</td>
<td>sela. nki?yagala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latás</td>
<td>Sp. <em>la taza</em> [la tása]</td>
<td>cup. mug</td>
<td>?tagaki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.6. Consonant cluster simplification

There is one loanword, the form for ‘town’ (from Spanish *pueblo* [pweβlo]), shown in (411) below, where the Spanish consonant cluster [pw] has been simplified into Mocovi [p]. The [β] is an allophone of [w] in Mocovi. so Spanish [β] is realized either as [w] or [β] in Mocovi. This is the only example I have found that has such a consonant cluster in the Spanish model. I have not found any other cases of consonant cluster simplification in loanwords (cf. Mcv
Spanish Influence on Mocovi


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(411) péwlo (~péβlo)</td>
<td>Sp. pueblo [pwéβlo]</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.7. Spanish loans with Mocovi stress in all forms

One loanword from Spanish. [waká] ‘cow’ from Spanish vaca [báka] ‘cow’. consistently shows final stress with and without Mocovi morphology. although its Spanish source has penultimate stress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(412)a. waká (SG)</td>
<td>Sp. vaca [báka]</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. wakál (PCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Mocovi. As noted in Chapter 5. Section 5.5. in Mocovi texts the sentences in a discourse are linked with the previous sentence by a discourse marker. usually kai? ‘then. and then’ or qam ‘but’. It is not unusual to find Spanish loanwords such as [ahtaké] ( Sp. hasta que)
6. Spanish Influence on Mocovi

‘until’. [tónseh] (Sp. entonces) ‘then’, and [xuhtoke] (Sp. justo que) ‘just then’ fulfilling the same function as the Mocovi discourse markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(413) ahtaké</td>
<td>Sp. hasta que [áhta ke]</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(414) xuhtoke</td>
<td>Sp. justo que [xúhto ke]</td>
<td>just as/when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(415) tónseh</td>
<td>Sp. entonces [entónses]</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(416) pórke</td>
<td>Sp. porque [pórke]</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(417) péro</td>
<td>Sp. pero [péro]</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(418) antehnáda</td>
<td>Sp. antes que nada [antehkenáda]</td>
<td>first, before anything else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(419) porsupwéhtoke</td>
<td>Sp. por supuesto que [por supwéhto ke]</td>
<td>of course</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

qa+Ø+śiwk+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
6. Spanish Influence on Mocovi

/qaykan yowir? ahtake yowir? ka l-awak/
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.

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-aqa 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).'
6. Spanish Influence on Mocovi

(422) kijim ?we ka la?de:nataganagak
     kijim ?we  ka     l+a?de:natagan-agak
if exist DEIC(abst) 3POSS+know-NOM
‘If there exists knowledge’

ka? antehnada naqat ka lošigimaga
ka? 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

Mocovi 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 Mocovi, they are borrowed with a voiceless bilabial fricative [φ], a phone that is present neither in the Spanish nor in the Mocovi native phonemic or phonetic inventories. This sound has only been found in Spanish loanwords.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(423)</td>
<td>φátima</td>
<td>Sp. Fátima [fátima]</td>
<td>Fátima (woman’s name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(424)</td>
<td>φelisa</td>
<td>Sp. Felisa [felisa]</td>
<td>Felisa (woman’s name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(425)</td>
<td>kaφe</td>
<td>Sp. café [kafé]</td>
<td>brown (adj). coffee (n) tokolek ‘brown’ (lit: ‘reddish’) ‘</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mocovi has also borrowed a voiceless velar fricative [x] from Spanish. This sound is only present in borrowed words, especially proper names like Juan [xwan] and José [xose]. This
phone is not part of the native phonemic inventory of Mocovi, but it is part of the phonemic inventory of Spanish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Spanish source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Native form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(426)</td>
<td>xwan</td>
<td>Sp. Juan [xwan]</td>
<td>John (man's name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(427)</td>
<td>xose</td>
<td>Sp. José [xosé]</td>
<td>Joseph (man's name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(428)</td>
<td>xuhtoke</td>
<td>Sp. justo que [xuhtoke]</td>
<td>just when</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.10. Unknown source.

There are two forms in Mocovi 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> [togo] 'butterfly'. <yanecdalo> [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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(429)</td>
<td>čilála</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(430)</td>
<td>páre</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Mocovi does not show signs of influence from Spanish (yet). No Mocovi or Spanish forms were found bearing Spanish morphology, and Mocovi 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 Mocovi 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 Mocovi, 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 Vildomé, 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 Mocovi as a result of the recent intense contact between speakers of the
two languages. The morphology of Mocovi, however, does not show signs of Spanish influence (at least not yet). A close study of the various changes reveals a variety of results: varying degrees of phonological nativization in loanwords (e.g. [pargatoki?] (Sp. alpargata) ‘shoe’. [waka] (Sp. vaca) ‘cow’. or [pelóta] (Sp. pelota) ‘ball’: the introduction of two new phonemes, [x] (a voiceless velar fricative) and [φ] (a voiceless bilabial fricative) into Mocovi, which occur only in Spanish loanwords: and the introduction of a few discourse markers from Spanish which seem to follow the discourse structure of Mocovi. Spanish nouns that maintain Spanish penultimate stress when borrowed into Mocovi will adapt to the Mocovi stress pattern (namely ultimate stress) when Mocovi suffixes are added (e.g. [wólsa] (Sp. bolsa) ‘bag’, but [wolsál] ‘bags (paucal)’. [wolsaypi] ‘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 Mocovi speakers from a different community. This, however, will be a topic for future research.
7. Conclusion

This dissertation presents a systematic and detailed description of Mocoví, a Waikurúan language that has been underdescribed. I have provided an analysis of the phonemic system of the language as well as the phonological processes that operate within it. I have analysed the inflectional morphology of nouns and noun phrases, the verb form and verb phrases, and the structure of sentences and clauses. Finally, I presented an account of the influence that Spanish has had on Mocoví, especially as a result of the intense contact in the last fifty years.

The analysis presented here shows that Mocoví can be classified typologically as an SVO language with an Active/Inactive person marking system. It has one set of pronominal clitics for agentive subjects, i.e., an Active set of proclitics, and another set for non-agent subjects and objects, i.e., an Inactive set of proclitics. The set of Inactive proclitics strongly resembles the set of possessive markers on nouns, something not unusual in languages with an Active/Inactive person marking system. It also shows that Mocoví has an Alienable/Inalienable opposition in nouns, a trait that is common in Active/Inactive languages (Nichols 1988 and 1992). Mocoví has a complex demonstrative system that consists of a set of deictic roots which precede the noun in noun phrases and mark the absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). These deictic roots can also be function as pronominals and as locative adverbs. This study also shows a complex verb form with numerous categories expressed as affixes or clitics within that form. It shows that Mocoví lacks a passive construction, but it has an indefinite agent proclitic that attaches to the verb form. It has a set of (at least) 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 Mocovi lacks relative clauses.

Many of the topics discussed in this study require further investigation, and the analyses require refinement, especially issues that relate to the verb and the verb phrase. The data presented here suggests that Mocovi is a pronominal argument language, however further research is needed to confirm such a claim. A more detailed and comprehensive classification of the verb roots needs to be provided, which will hopefully shed some light into the selection restrictions of each verb. This is likely to play a significant role in the structure of the verb phrase and the elements that occur within the verb form and the verb phrase. Of particular interest is the set of locative/directional clitics, the selection restrictions of each verb root which may determine the different locative/directional clitics that each verb root may take and the effect that they have on the relation of the noun phrases with the verb. The role of the oblique agent noun phrase that sometimes occurs with the indefinite agent clitic needs to be further investigated.

Of particular interest are the implications that the analyses presented here may have typologically. This dissertation provides data for the study of languages with Active/Inactive systems, systems which have been neglected in the literature. It provides an account of a language with a complex deictic system, and provides additional data for typological studies of deictic systems in the world’s languages. It also presents a description of locative and directional verbal morphemes, data that should be valuable in the typology of the expression of spatial orientation in language. It provides data for the study of passive constructions and/or the lack thereof.

It is not clear what implications the analyses presented here might have on linguistic theory. This is a topic that needs further investigation.
The analysis presented here has not provided an account of derivational morphology in Mocovi. 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 Waikurián language. It provides data for a comparative study of Waikurián languages, and data that is very much needed for the reconstruction of Proto-Waikurián.
References


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: phonetic 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)

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

Then the people started to arrive.

But there they were the mosquitos their name mosquitos.

Then the male mosquito had a few drinks.
Appendix A - Text 1: A Joke about the Mosquitos

FT Then he saw another little woman.

FT Then he saw a little woman.

FT And the music played.

FT Then the mosquito said: “I would like to dance.”

FT And the woman said: “Yes. I also (it) exists our (?) (=our wishes are the same?).”
Appendix A - Text 1: A Joke about the Mosquitos

FN ka?ma ɕiŋqata."
MM ka?ma s+in-aq+ta
MG then 1AC+?-1PL+PROG
LT then we do that
FT Then let's do that."

MM ka? Ø+tar-er+wi:j ɾ=asot-er ɾ=asot-er+o?
MG then 3AC+exit-3PL-OUT? 3IN+dance-3PL 3IN+dance-3PL+EV
LT Then they went out [and] they dance they danced
FT Then they went outside and danced.

FN ka yilamkyo? aka newige
MM ka i+ilamki+o? a+ka n=ewige
MG when 3AC+play+EV F+DEIC(absnt) ABS+music
LT When the music played

MM ɾ=asot-er-tape+o? ka ?yat-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:ɕiːgini ma:garayko? ka rasotagag?.
MM qam ka ta:ɕiːgini ma:gar-ayk-o? ka ɾ=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.
Appendix A - Text 1: A Joke about the Mosquitos

A Joke about the Mosquitos


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

But then later it is increasing their jokes

But later their jokes were increasing.

Jilogo qilo nawa rakomiri rakomiri

Their bellies start itching.

Ka? yiwaneto? na? maq laqahle naqapyoki?

Then they saw the children's sleeping

Ka ... ka? yači šimo? šimo?

Then the mosquitos almost ...

Ka na yale šimo? yaganek ka rasotaxawa.

Then the male almost released his dancing partner
Appendix A - Text 1: A Joke about the Mosquitos

**FN** qam ka ?alo ?yat no?qotaño? ka rasotaga

**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 rasotaga

**MM** ka? ka maq r+asot-ag-wa

**MG** then DEIC(absnt) PRON 3POSS+dance-NOM-partner

**LT** Then her partner

**FT** Then her partner's pants are about to fall down.

**FN** qamo? ka yale šišo? yaqanek ka rasotaga

**MM** qam-o? ka yale šiš-o? i-agan-eg ka r+asot-ag-wa

**MG** but 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 rasotaga

**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.
Appendix A - Text 1: A Joke about the Mosquitos

FN noqo:tañi saik ya?denaka ñim nahañi
MM Ø+n-o?qo:t+ñi saik i+a?de:n-aka ñim 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 ka? ahtake nahaño? ka lamagso
MM ka? ahtake2 Ø+n-aha+ñi+o? 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 nahaño? ka lamagso ka ?yat
MM ahtake Ø+n-aha+ñi+o? ka l+amagso ka ?yat
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.

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 ñim nahañi ña lya
MM ñim Ø+n-aha-ñi ñi lya
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'
His underpants almost fall down: but it is not his underpants.

But it is his thing that is almost hanging down.

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)

In old times there was a man walking on the field.

Once upon a time (=in the old times) there was a man who was walking on the field.

There was nobody else.

That person was looking for food.

He was walking on the field.
And he was going on the open field he found it.

And he heard somebody hissing (at him).

He did not get to hear this well [where it was coming from].

And he started moving his head.

And he saw this person and said this person:
"na?itkena[naho] na?itkena naho

∅+n-a?+ir+kena na-ho ∅+n-a?+ir+kena na-ho

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

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)".

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? sqaey qom:
MM ma? se-i-ewan-pega i-a?de:n ma? sqaey-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:tako? so qom
MMG but 3IN?+talk+EV DEIC(gng) person
LT But this person spoke.
FT But this person spoke.
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

MM ka? r-etaka+ta-ko? ka yale Ø+na:ko?
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? ième ma qami?
MM yim ?we da i-owenaganaga ka? {ième 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.

MM ?we da r-o?we:naganaga+ir {wičhišño? ?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 ḋa:čiňi?čigo?
MM qalagam da i-owenaganaga {ńa:čiňi?čigit-o?}
MMG but DEIC(vert) 1SGPOSS+need {? (=coincides)}
LT but my need coincides (= is the same)

MM ma? qamir Ø-wo?işigir-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."
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

FN ka? nagi ?wo? da yašilaganagat
MM ka? nagi ?we-o? da i-ašilagan-agat
MMG then now exist+EV DEIC(standing) lSGPOSS+ask-NOM
LT then now exists my request
FT "And now I have a request.

FN kijim sašila?i? kopačiro?o? naho
MM kijim 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 1+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 pil+i?o?
MM ka?ma i-me Ø+kopat-ir+a?a ka? Ø+epi-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? pil+i?o?
MM čaqa?-ma? Ø+pi+l+ir-o?
MMG and -? (=immediately) 2AC=go.home-2SGR+EV
LT immediately you go back
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

FN ? wito? ka la?gayagak ka qawoci?
MM Ø+wo+ir+o? ka l+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.

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 I SGPRON SGPOSS+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 qalaqam jilaqmaño? jilaqmaño? ke naho
MM qalaqam ir+elamaq+rí+i+o? ir-elamaq+rí+i+o? ke na-ho
MMG but LIN+fall+DWN+EV LIN+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?šak
MM ka? nagi ka? s+šil+ir+šak
MMG and now and 1AC+ask+2SGR+PROG
LT and now I am asking you
FT "And now I am asking you.
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

FT: "And my need is similar to your need. That is why you are walking."

FT: "But I almost did not pay attention to him because I did not know this person."
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

FN qomo? so loqo?m legemagayk por supwehto ke eh legemagayk
MM qom+o? so loqo?m legemag-ayk porsupwehtokeeh\(^1\) 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 ?wićiño? nelamqano?.
MM ?wićiño? Ø+n-elamq+ni+o?
MMG that.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...

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

MM n+a:palga so so?maq i=n-qay?lägiñi 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.

\(^1\) Mocovi por supwehtokeeh `of course that (it) is` < Sp. por supuesto que es `of course that (it) is`
I was thinking [that] the earth was still far away. «I was thinking that the earth was still far away.

I think [it] is still far down «I was thinking that it was still far down.

And when I stopped making thunder (=make thunder)

And when I stopped making thunder, then I am down on the earth.
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

FN ka naʔ nqoʔniśiqim so nawegelek ka joʔwe:nəni
MM ka naʔ ∅+n-qoʔniśiqim so nawegelek kaʔ ir-oʔwe:nəni
MMG and when 3AC=HITH-RISE=UP DEIC(cmng) cloud then 1IN=stay=DWN
LT and when the cloud rose up

FN kaʔ wičiğiñoʔ nagı sentaʔni naʔo.
MM kaʔ wičiğiñoʔ-oʔ nagı s+entaʔni na ho
MMG then that is why +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 qalaqam nagı sašilaʔsak noʔm da jiʔgoriņiʔ
MM qalaqam nagı s+ašila+ir+sak noʔm da ir-eʔgorin+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 qamiʔ seʔgoriņiʔ
MM čaqae qamir s+eʔgorin+ir
MMG and 2SGPRON 1AC=favor+2SGR
LT and you I favor
FT «And I favor you.

FN kaʔ we ka naʔgaʔa
MM kaʔ ?we ka naʔgaʔa
MMG then exists DEIC(absnt) day
LT then exists the day

FN ka maq ranatagačiʔ ke kaʔ maq daʔniʔsake
MM ka maq r+anataga+ir ke kaʔ maq ∅+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
Appendix A - Text 2: The Flood

FN "lepetaganagat na rošigimaça?e?"
MM I+epetaganagat na r+ošigimaça+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)

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.

LT This was a hole of water of the Mocovi.

FT This well was a well of water of the Mocovi.

LT Then the hole, a man wanted to talk to the woman.

FT At the well a man wanted to talk to the woman.

LT But he likes the woman.

FT And he likes the woman.
The Woman and the Duck

**Appendix A - Text 3: The Woman and the Duck**

**LT** But the man was asking when.

**LT** But the man was asking when he would be able to talk to the young woman.

**FT** But this woman deceived the man.

**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.”
Then the man was happy: he went [home].

Then the man was happy and he went home.

Then in the early evening this man went to the little woman’s house.

And early that evening this man went to the young woman’s house.

She had her parents. (= the parents of the little woman exist)
Appendix A - Text 3: The Woman and the Duck

Then she asked her parents.

Then she asked her parents to change their places.

And the little woman

And the young woman had an animal called 'duck'.

The name of her animal was 'duck'.

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4 Mocovi pāto <Sp. pato 'duck'
But that duck was wild.

Her brooding animal is brooding its little ones.

But that one whose name is duck is bad.

Then she put it by the side of the door.
Then in the early evening the man arrived.

Then at sunset the man arrived.

Then he said, he went, he said

"Where is the woman?" he said.

He does not think in anything. (= he does not imagine anything)

He cannot imagine anything (is going to happen).

Then the duck heard something, and it said:
Appendix A - Text 3: The Woman and the Duck

FN "haaaaah..." neʔiko? ka páto caqa ekoʔsat
MM "haaaaah... Ø+neʔ+taʔ+oʔ ka páto čaqa ekoʔsat
MG ahhhhhhh... 3AC+do+PRG=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: "Ahhhhhh..." goes the duck, as if it was answering.

FN qačika ka yale laʔmaga nakọ?
MM qačika ka yale laʔmaga Ø+nak+oʔ
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=ettagay-ag-a?"  
MG where DEIC(absnt) 1PLN=talk-1pl-
LT "Where are we going to talk?"
FT "Where are we going to talk?"

FN maʔle páto qačika lamaʔgaʔ na:koʔ ka páto
MM maʔle páto qačika lamaʔgaʔ Ø+na:k+oʔ 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 laʔmaʔgoʔ roʔo:ka páto
MM qačika laʔmaʔgaʔ=oʔ r=ʔo:ka páto
MG but more=EV 3IN=get.angry duck
LT But the duck got angry again.
FT But the duck got angry again.
Appendix A - Text 3: The Woman and the Duck

"haaaaaaaaah..." neʔkoʔ qačika yale laʔmaʔagan noki:go?

"haaaaaaaah..." Ø+neʔetek+oʔ qačika yale laʔmaʔagan Ø+n-oki:g+o?

ahhhhh... 3AC+doʔ+EV but man more 3AC+HITH-approach+EV

LT "Ahhhhhhhhh..." it did. But the man got closer.

FT "Ahhhhhhhhh..." it went. But the man got closer.

FN ka yale nokiketʔoʔ?

MM ka yale Ø+n-oki:g+taʔ+oʔ?

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 nqaʔcančiginiʔ

MM ka Ø+sa:ṭ+taʔ Ø+n-qaʔagan-t-igi+ní

MG DEIC(absnt) 3AC+answer+PROG 3AC+HITH-sit-ʔ-ʔ=DWN

LT the one who answers sat up.

FT The one who was answering sat up.

FN i:me ka nqaʔgaññoʔ?

MM i:me ka Ø+n-qaʔagan-ní-oʔ?

MG finish then 3AC+HITH-sit=DWN-EV

LT It finished and it sat down

FT And when it finished, it sat down.

FN liyoʔ retaʔa yale naːkoʔ?

MM ʔyaʔ-oʔ r+etɪʔ+a ŋa yale Ø=naːk-oʔ?

MG other=EV 3AC+talk=ʔ DEIC(absnt) man 3AC=say=EV

LT And he spoke again: the man said:
Appendix A - Text 3: The Woman and the Duck

FN "nige? ka ni:sa?pege?" na:ko?
MM nige? 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 qacika sa:to? sa?atako? ka pato
MM qacika Ø+sa?at-o? Ø+sa?at+tak+o? ka pato
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+answser+EV DEIC(absnt) 3AC+say+EV Ahhhhhh
LT It answered: it said: "Ahhhhhhh...
FT It answered: it went: "Ahhhhhhh...

FN ka? qayaižikyo? ka lašik
MM ka? qa-i+a?jiki-o? ka lašik
MG then INDEF+3AC+peck+EV DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+face
LT and his face was pecked.
FT And the man’s face was pecked.
Appendix A - Text 3: The Woman and the Duck

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+ajiki+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'alawataqan-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 nowagayaca
MM pop r-oqači-o? ka n-nowagayaca
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.
The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

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 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.
The following day this one [the fox] is looked for in the middle of the day. He [the jaguar] looks for him [the fox].

The following day, in the middle of the day, he [the jaguar] looks for him [the fox].

And he was found sleeping

The thief was in the shade.

He found his nephew.

But he doesn’t do it. (= he doesn’t do anything to him)
Appendix A - Text 4: The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

**FN**  yada?ko?ken nawa limyaqolqai? ke na waqapoky?
**MM** i+ada?ak+o?+ken na-wa I+imiaqolqa-ir ke na waqapi-oki?
**MG** 3AC+poke+EV+? DEIC(cmng)-pcl 3POSS+nostril-PCL? OBL DEIC(cmng) grass-DIMM
**LT** He pokes his nostrils with a little blade of grass.

**ELT** He [the jaguar] tickles his nostrils [the fox’s nostrils] with a little blade of grass.

**FN**  ri:sigyo?ken limik nqa?en
**MM** r+i:sigi+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? i=ajagan-i:=-tak latagan-i
**MG** 3AC+say+EV 1IN+abandon+PROG fly-PCL
**LT** He said: “Leave me alone. flies.”

**FN**  nomai?i 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 ňi ňoq qagreta lowa?
**MM** ňi i=n-oq qagreta lowa?
**MG** OBL DEIC(nonext) ISPOSS+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.”
Appendix A - Text 4: The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

FN ki zi ka qoyacan?o?
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 qošíwko? ka netesqo?
MM Ø+qoší+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.

MM ka i+inoon=ni=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.

'Mcv [ahtake] <Sp. hasta que 'until'
Appendix A - Text 4: The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

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:tegiri?
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 yagańi ka lete:sek ka? zi i:me
MM ka? ji i-agan-ni ka l-ete:sek ka? ji i:me
MG then DEIC(hor) 3AC+leave=DWN DEIC(absnt) 3POSS+nephew then DEIC(hor) 3AC+finish
LT And there his nephew left him. y ahi lo terminó
FT And there his nephew left him. and there he left his nephew and there he finished
Appendix A - Text 4: The Fox Steals from the Jaguar

FN  ka? ži i:me
MM  ka? ji 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-fi 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. t. d. j. č. k. g. g:. q; fricatives: ơ; nasals: m. m:. n. n:. approximants: l. l:. w. w:. y. y:. vowels: a. a:. e. e:. i. i:. o. o:.  

**Mocovi**: stops and affricates: p. t. d. č. j. k. q. ʔ; fricatives: (φ), s. š. g. (x). ơ; nasals: m. n. ň: approximants: l. r. ɻ. 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). ơ; nasals: m. n. ň: approximants: l. r. w. y. h: vowels: a. e. i. o.  

**Toba**: stops and affricates: p. t. č. j. k. q. g. ʔ; fricatives: s. š. g: nasals: m. n. ň: approximants: l. ɻ. r. w. y. h: vowels: a. a:. e. e:. i. i:. o. o:.  

**Abipón**: stops and affricates: p. t. č. k. q. g. {ʔ}: fricatives: ơ; nasals: m. n. ň: 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 Mocovi. This reconstruction is presented in Table 30 and is largely based Terrence Kaufman’s reconstruction (personal communication, 1992).
Table 30
Sound Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Waikurú</th>
<th>Kadiwéu</th>
<th>Toba</th>
<th>Mocovi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>w.?</td>
<td>w.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*p:</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>(p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b:</td>
<td>b:</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(*b²)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t. Ø</td>
<td>? w</td>
<td>? n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t:</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t. č</td>
<td>t. č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t²</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>t. č. s</td>
<td>(t. č) s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>d. d:</td>
<td>d. t. č. l w</td>
<td>d. t. č. w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d:</td>
<td>d:</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d²</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>s. č</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k:</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k.q</td>
<td>k.q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k³</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>G.(k). q. č</td>
<td>k.q</td>
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<td>k. q. (?</td>
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<tr>
<td>*g:</td>
<td>g:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g. ?g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q:</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>k. q</td>
<td>k. q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>k. q. w</td>
<td>k. q. w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*G:</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m. Ø. ?</td>
<td>m. Ø. (?</td>
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</table>
Table 30 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*m:</th>
<th>m:</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n. d</td>
<td>n. d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*n:</td>
<td>n:</td>
<td>n. ŋ</td>
<td>n. ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋl</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l:</td>
<td>l: l</td>
<td>l, l̯, l?</td>
<td>l, l̯, l?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l</td>
<td>l, l:</td>
<td>l, d</td>
<td>l, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅, ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y:</td>
<td>y:</td>
<td>s, y</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w, ?</td>
<td>w, ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*w:</td>
<td>w:</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i(;)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i, e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e(;)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*æ(;)</td>
<td>a,e</td>
<td>a, e</td>
<td>a, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a(;)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o(;)</td>
<td>o, a</td>
<td>o, a</td>
<td>o, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u(;)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ě</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ù</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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’, -hoʔ ‘proximal’, -mē ‘no reference to distance’ (Vidal 1997:70); Mocovi: -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) qomiʔ sa-liena-k hen lapat (Plg)
pron.1pl l-eat-pl class meat
‘We eat meat.’ (Vidal 1997:82)

(2) wʔo hen noop (Plg)
exist class water
‘There is water.’ (=pointing at it) (Vidal 1997:82)
### Table 31
The Demonstrative System of the Waikurúan Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proto-Waikurú</th>
<th>Kadiwéu</th>
<th>Mocovi</th>
<th>Pilagá</th>
<th>Toba</th>
<th>Abipón*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.M</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>*kæ</td>
<td>i-ka</td>
<td>(e-)ka</td>
<td>ga?</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>*(e)-n a</td>
<td>i-n.a</td>
<td>(e-)na</td>
<td>na?</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mov. coming</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>i-jo</td>
<td>(e-)so</td>
<td>so?</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>going</td>
<td>*(e)-d' u</td>
<td>i-d</td>
<td>*(e)-so</td>
<td>so?</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pos. standing</td>
<td>*(e)-da</td>
<td>i-d a</td>
<td>(e-)da</td>
<td>da?</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>e-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitting</td>
<td>*(e)-n i</td>
<td>i-n i</td>
<td>(e-)ņi</td>
<td>Ŧi?</td>
<td>Ŧi</td>
<td>e-ņi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lying</td>
<td>*(e)-d i</td>
<td>i-d i</td>
<td>(e-)đi</td>
<td>đi?</td>
<td>ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.F</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>*a-kæ</td>
<td>a-ka</td>
<td>(a-)ka</td>
<td>(ha-)ga?</td>
<td>a-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>*(a)-n a</td>
<td>a-n a</td>
<td>(a-)na</td>
<td>(ha-)na?</td>
<td>a-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mov. coming</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>a-d' u</td>
<td>(a-)so</td>
<td>(ha-)so?</td>
<td>a-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>going</td>
<td>*(a)-d a</td>
<td>a-d a</td>
<td>(a-)da</td>
<td>(ha-)da?</td>
<td>a-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pos. standing</td>
<td>*(a)-da</td>
<td>a-d a</td>
<td>(a-)da</td>
<td>(ha-)da?</td>
<td>a-ra</td>
<td>a-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitting</td>
<td>*(a)-n i</td>
<td>a-n i</td>
<td>(a-)ņi</td>
<td>(ha-)ņi?</td>
<td>(ʔoʔi?)</td>
<td>a-ņi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lying</td>
<td>*(a)-d i</td>
<td>a-d i</td>
<td>(a-)đi</td>
<td>(ha-)đi?</td>
<td>a-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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

* There are some discrepancies among the sources for Abipon. However, I have taken Najlis (1966) as a source for the classifiers listed in the table since her work is based on that of the other sources.
similar positions within the verb form of the various languages in the family, and have very similar meanings. The structure of the verb forms in Mocovi, Toba, Abipon and Kadiwèu are provided in (431)-(434). The data for Pilaga is not available. The position of the loc-dir morphemes in each language is in **boldface**.

(431) Structure of the verb form in **Mocovi**

```
```

(432) Structure of the verb form in **Toba** (Based on Klein 1978)

```
Subj- hither- BASE - Subj.pl - asp - position - dir - O.n
```

(433) Structure of the verb form in **Abipon** (Based on Najlis 1966:29)

```
emph- Subj- BASE - Subj.pl - aspect - loc - O.n - asp - tense
```

(434) Structure of the verb form in **Kadiwèu** (Based on Sandalo 1995)

```
asp- neg- mood- n- pers- refl- hither- ROOT-val - asp- n-2 - CLITIC1 - CLITIC2 - CLITIC3 - CLITIC4
```

CLITIC 1 string includes the following categories: [-rel-rep+pers]

CLITIC 1 string includes the following categories: [-rel+dir1+dir2+pron-sem.role]

The locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikurian 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 Waikuruan 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikuruan languages</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kadiwèu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'downwards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hither'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'inwards, into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'on/to other side of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'outwards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'towards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'under'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'upwards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'towards water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'absent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'apart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 These morphemes in Kadiwèu are the dir clitics in C1.TITIC 2 position in the verb form and they all express 'motion'. All others express 'direction' and occur are the dir clitics in the C1.TITIC 2 position in the verb form. (See Sandalo 1995 for a full discussion of loc/dir clitics in Kadiwèu.)
Appendix B

Examples (435)-(439) provide sentences from Mocovi, Pilagá, Toba, Abipón and Kadiwéu, with the same loc/dir morpheme meaning ‘up/upwards’ (+śigim (Mocovi)/-sem (Pilagá)/-śigem (Toba)/ -hegem ~ -ihegem (Abipón)/+bigim (Kadiwéu) ‘upwards’).

(435) /sela:qśiqim ana ňocki ke ada qoʔpaq/ (Mocovi)
    s+ela-ag+śiqim a+na ňocki ke a+da qoʔpaq
    1AC+put-1PL+UP F+DIC(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) nawekśigem haji iqaya (Toba)
    Ø-n-aweɡ-śigem 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)
Examples (440)-(443) include sentences with the loc/dir morpheme 'out' or 'outwards':

Mocovi +weg 'out(wards)' (440), Pilaga -gek 'outwards' (441), Toba -wek 'out' (442) and Abipon -ge 'outwards' (443).

(440) /yim sa:weg ke ji no?we:naga/ (Mocovi)

  yim      CGPRON 1AC+go+OUT OBL
  S+a:+weg ke ji        DEIC(hor) ABS+field
  n+o?we:naga

  '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) ñatacaoge (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labio dental</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops &amp; affricates</td>
<td>p b [b, β]</td>
<td>t d [d, ð]</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>k g [g, ã]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
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<td>z [ž, ʒ, ʂ]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñ</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>liquids lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill and tap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ō, ō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocoids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

i u
è o
a
Appendix C

Map 1 - Area where Mocovi is spoken

Argentina (Area of detail)
Map 2 - Early Spanish settlements in the southern Chaco region
Map 3 - Geographic location of Waikurúan languages

Apb = Abipón, Kdw = Kadiwéu, Mocovi = Mocovi, 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:

Mocovi 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 0- for the 3rd person
Class C: verbal roots that take the proclitic r- for the 3rd person
Class D: verbal roots that take the proclitic n+ for the 3rd person
List of Symbols and Abbreviations

- suffix
- clitic
\{ \} affix or clitic attaches to the category here specified (e.g. enclitic \{v\} = verbal enclitic
Arg Argentinian Spanish
n noun
v verb
vt transitive verb
vi intransitive verb
Appendix D - Glossary

7aw
Eng: first
Sp: primero/a
ps: n
Comments:

7alolek
Eng: weasel
Sp: comadreja
ps: n
Comments: Class III, PET alolek.

7ext
Eng: to escape, to run away.
Sp: escaparse, huir.
ps: vi
Comments: Class B, Active. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pt.

7goyk
Eng: many, much, a lot.
Sp: mucho, muchos/as.
ps: quantifier
Comments:

7imek
Eng: house
Sp: casa
ps: n
Comments: Class II, 1st/poss, n7imek

7man
Eng: pregnant
Sp: embarazada
ps: adj
Comments:

7mem
Eng: same, similar.
Sp: igual, similar.
ps: adv
Comments: ~ ?nem, used to link clauses with an equative meaning.

7oxi
Eng: brush (small forest)
Sp: monte.
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

7om
Eng: cold
Sp: frío
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

7tagaki
Eng: mug, jug.
Sp: jarro, taza.
ps: n
Comments: Class II, PET ?tagakir.
Eng: there is, there exists.
Sp: hay; existe
ps: vi

Comments: irregular, used only with third person, cf. we 'salt': pt. ?wei [?wi]

Eng: pot.
Sp: olla.
ps: n


Eng: several
Sp: bastantes; varios;
ps: quant

Comments:

Eng: mosquito
Sp: mosquito
ps: n

Comments: Class III, pt. ?yatir, cf. yatir 'my tear' (~ači 'tear')

Eng: feminine
Sp: femenino
ps: proclitic (deictic root)

Comments: attaches to singular forms of deictic roots, optional, e.g. aku 'deictic (absent) F'.

Eng: shoulder
Sp: hombro
ps: n

Comments: Class I, 1sg sos iañak, 3sg sos iañak.

Eng: to play
Sp: jugar
ps: vi

Comments: Class B, Active, must take the prefix n- 'hither'. 1sg inañiit [iñañiit]. 3sg náñiit.

Eng: to menstruate;
Sp: menstruar
ps: vi

Comments: Class B, Active. 1sg saʔa, 3sg aʔa.

Eng: to finish eating;
Sp: terminar de comer;
ps: vi

Comments: Class A, Inactive. 1sg raʔa t [jaʔa t], 2sg.R raʔa tir. 3sg iaʔa t.

Eng: to look at;
Sp: mirar
ps: vt/vi

Comments: Class A, Active. 1sg saʔahan, 3sg iaʔahan.
-a?yaga
  Eng: heel;
  Sp: talon;
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I. ABS na?yaga. PCL na?yagal

-a?yogononate
  Eng: mirror;
  Sp: espejo;
  ps: n
  Comments: Class II. derived form. ABS na?yogononate. PCL na?yogononate

-a:le
  Eng: daughter;
  Sp: hija;
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I, F. M -a le 'son'. Isgposs ia lekiial le

-a:lek
  Eng: son;
  Sp: hijo;
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I, M. F. -a le 'daughter', PCL -a lqa. Isgposs ia lekiia le

-a:tapse
  Eng: helmet;
  Sp: casco;
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I', PCL. na tapse, ABS na tapse

a?ear
  Eng: to stand up
  Sp: pararse
  ps: vi
  Comments: Class B, Active.

-a?i
  Eng: tear
  Sp: lagrima
  ps: n
  Comments: PCL a?i, Isgposs ya?i, tf? ya?i 'mosquitos (pel)'

a?il
  Eng: to bathe
  Sp: ba?ar(se)
  ps: vt

-a?e
  Eng: eyelash
  Sp: pestaña
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I. Isgposs a?e. ABS nade. PCL nadel (ABS).

-a?g
  Eng: 1st person plural Active marker
  Sp: marcador de la persona del plural Activo
  ps: suffix {v}
  Comments: the verb is also marked with the 1st person proclitics -i-
Appendix D - Glossary

ahtake
- Eng: until
- Sp: hasta que
- ps: discourse marker
- Comments: < Sp hasta que [ahta ke] 'until'

-ai
- Eng: side; wall
- Sp: lado, pared
- ps: n
- Comments: Class I, P1, naii.

ain
- Eng: to shoot
- Sp: disparar
- ps: vt
- Comments: Class A, Active. 1Sc: ain, 3Sc: ain.

-akipyagki
- Eng: vase; mug
- Sp: jarron, jarro
- ps: n
- Comments: derived form, PCl, nakipyagki, A1S nakipyagki.

-akom
- Eng: belly
- Sp: panza
- ps: n
- Comments: Class I, 1Sc: akom, 3Sc: akom.

akon
- Eng: to take; to grab
- Sp: tomar, agarrar
- ps: vt
- Comments: Class A, Active. 1Sc: akon, 3Sc: akom.

-akyag
- Eng: palate
- Sp: paladar
- ps: n
- Comments: Class II, 1Sc: akyag, 3Sc: akyag.

alateg
- Eng: to find
- Sp: encontrar
- ps: vt
- Comments: Class B, Active. 1Sc: alateg, 3Sc: alateg.

alawat
- Eng: to kill
- Sp: matar
- ps: vt
- Comments: Class A, Active. 1Sc: alawat, 2Sc: alawati [lawati], 2ScR alawatir [lawači?], 3Sc: alawat, 1Pl: alawata, 2Pl: alawati, 3Pl: alawati

alola
- Eng: to get sick
- Sp: enfermarse
- ps: vi
- Comments: Class C, Inactive. 1Sc: alola [علام], 2ScR: alolair, 3Sc: alota.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An entry</th>
<th>Eng.</th>
<th>Sp.</th>
<th>ps.</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alov</td>
<td>to lit, to light a fire</td>
<td>encender (un fuego)</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class ?. fso. salon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>dinero</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ABS lam, 2SG-RPOSS qadamir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amag</td>
<td>to push, to send;</td>
<td>empujar, enviar;</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class A. Active; can occur with n. &quot;hither&quot;. 1SG: samag, 3SG: iameg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aman</td>
<td>to like (of taste)</td>
<td>gustar (de gusto)</td>
<td>vt</td>
<td>Class B. Active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anat</td>
<td>to fall</td>
<td>caerse</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class B. Active. 1SG: sanat-fii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ano</td>
<td>to lift</td>
<td>levantar</td>
<td>vt</td>
<td>Class B. Active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antehnada</td>
<td>first: before anything else.</td>
<td>antes que nada, primero.</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
<td>Class B. Active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ap</td>
<td>mouth, lip</td>
<td>boca, labio</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, 1SG-RPOSS iap, 2SG-RPOSS rapir, 3SG-RPOSS iap, ABS nap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apagacak</td>
<td>bridge</td>
<td>puente</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II morphologically complex (derived form).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Eng</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>ps</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apal</td>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>cadaver</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, PC1, -apalar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apeleco</td>
<td>orphan (M), huertano (M)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, M, F -apeleco 'orphan (F)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apeleco</td>
<td>orphan (F), huertana (F)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, F, M -apeleco 'orphan (M)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apog</td>
<td>to cover</td>
<td>cubrir</td>
<td>vt/vi</td>
<td>Class B, Active: IG, sapog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apyacanata</td>
<td>toe; dedo del pie.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, PC1 -apyacanata, 1SG POSS 'apyacanata'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apyar</td>
<td>foot; pie</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, PC1 'apyar; lapyar [lapyate?] (3SG POSS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apyojo</td>
<td>to get dirty</td>
<td>ensuciarse</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class D, Inactive: 1SG apyojo [apyojo], 2SG apyojo, 3SG napyojo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aqaype</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>hacha</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arīna</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>harina</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>also [arīna], ← Sp harina [anna] ‘flour’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ašig</td>
<td>face; color.</td>
<td>cara; color.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, PC1 -ašigi, 1SG POSS išig, 3SG POSS išig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>așil</td>
<td>to get married</td>
<td>casarse</td>
<td>B. Active</td>
<td>1s: sașil, 3s: așil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-așilete</td>
<td>clutch</td>
<td>muela</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>abn nașilete, pct. nașiletel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-așilge</td>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>mejilla</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>abn nașilge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-asoro</td>
<td>aunt</td>
<td>tía</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1sposs asoro, 3sposs lasoro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asot</td>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>bailar</td>
<td>C. Inactive</td>
<td>1s: rasot [jasot], 2sgr tasot, 2sgr rasotir (rasotii), 3s: rasot, 1pl: qarasot, 2pl: rasotiri, 2pl: rasoti, 3pl: rasoter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asot</td>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>bailar</td>
<td>C. Inactive</td>
<td>1s: rasot [jasot], 2sgr tasot, 2sgr rasotir (rasotii), 3s: rasot, 1pl: qarasot, 2pl: rasotiri, 2pl: rasoti, 3pl: rasoter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-asote</td>
<td>branch, horn</td>
<td>rama, cuerno</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>pl: asotelip, abn lasote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-atap</td>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>frente</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1sposs iatap, 2sgrposs ratapir, 3sposs iatap, abn natap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-atap</td>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>frente</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1s: iatap, 3s: natap.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ataw
Eng: ankle
Sp: tobillo
ps: n
Comments: Class I. 1sgposs lataw, 3sgposs lataw.

-ate
Eng: daughter-in-law
Sp: nuera
ps: n
Comments: Class I. 1sgposs late, 3sgposs late.

-ate: neg
Eng: prey
Sp: presa
ps: n
Comments: Class I. 1sgposs late neg, 2sgposs rate negi, 3sgposs rate neg
eri, 3sgposs late neg; 1plposs qarate neg; 2plposs rate negir; 3plposs late neger. Abs. rate 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. Pct. -awe, 1sgposs ia awe, 3sgposs ia awe.

aweg
Eng: to pull, to stretch, to bring
Sp: estirar, traer, jalar.
ps: vt
Comments: Class A, Active, can occur with 'hither'; 1sg saweg, 3sg iaweg.

awig
Eng: burn
Sp: quemar
ps: vt/vi
Comments: Class A. Inactive, 1sg iawig, 2sgf rawig [jifiril], 2sgr rawigir
3sg: rawigir; 1plq qarawig; 2plq rawigiri; 2plf rawigi; 3plf rawiger

-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.
čawik  Eng: rush: reed,  Sp: junco  ps: n  Comments: Class III.

cately  Eng: very  Sp: muy  ps: adv  Comments: 

caqae  Eng: and  Sp: y  ps: coordinator  Comments: 

caqay  Eng: dangerous (F)  Sp: peligrosa (F)  ps: adj  Comments: M čaqayk, PC: (M) čaquaq, PC: (F) čaqai.

caqayk  Eng: dangerous (M)  Sp: peligroso (M)  ps: adj  Comments: F čaqay, PC: (M) čaquaq, PC: (F) čaqai.


činege  Eng: why  Sp: por que  ps: interrogative  Comments: 


cim  Eng: sour  Sp: agrio  ps: adj  Comments: 

cima?ge  Eng: smelly (M/F)  Sp: oloroso, que tiene olor (M/F)  ps: adj  Comments: PC: čima?ge,
### Appendix D - Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>PCL</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>činaq</td>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hormiga</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, PCL činar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čisag</td>
<td>cripple (M)</td>
<td>cojo (M)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, M. čisag &quot;cripple (M)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čisaga</td>
<td>cripple (F)</td>
<td>coja (F)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, F. čisaga &quot;cripple (F)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dacanaqate</td>
<td>fork</td>
<td>tenedor</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II, PCL dacanaqate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dacaraq</td>
<td>turkey</td>
<td>pavo</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, PCL dacaraq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doʔo</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td>sombrero</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II, PCL: doʔo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔliwi</td>
<td>to fetch water</td>
<td>buscar agua</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class C, Active. 1sg: eʔliwi, 2sg: eʔliwi, 3sg: reʔliwi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e+</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>masculino</td>
<td>proclitic {deictic root}</td>
<td>attaches to singular forms of deictic roots, optional, e.g. eku 'deictic (absent) M'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+eʔe</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>con</td>
<td>locative enclitic {v}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: "ps" stands for part of speech.
Appendix D - Glossary

**e?et**  
Eng: to drink  
Sp: beber.  
ps: vt/vi  
Comments: Class B. Active; 1sg. se?et, 2sg-R. e?etir, 3sg. e?et.

**e?gen**  
Eng: to run  
Sp: correr  
ps: vi  
Comments: Class B. Active; can occur with the prefix n- 'hither'; 1sg. se?gen-o, 1sg. ni?geno [ni?geno].

**e?gen**  
Eng: to try  
Sp: probar, tratar, intentar  
ps: vi  
Comments: Class A. Active, 1sg. se?gen, 3sg. ie?gen.

**-e?kot?ta**  
Eng: knee  
Sp: rodilla  
ps: n  

**e?men**  
Eng: to sell  
Sp: vender  
ps: vt  

**-o?kot?ta**  
Eng: vein  
Sp: vena  
ps: n  

**e?ya**  
Eng: to dig  
Sp: cavar, hacer un pozo  
ps: vt/vi  
Comments: Class B. takes n- 'hither'; 3sg. ne?ya.

**-e?ya**  
Eng: well; hole;  
Sp: pozo, pozo (de agua)  
ps: n  
Comments: Class II.

**e?ya:m**  
Eng: to boil  
Sp: hervir  
ps: vi  
Comments: Class D. Active; 3sg. ne?yam.

**-e?ci**  
Eng: leg  
Sp: pierna  
ps: n  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-e:tan</td>
<td>stake, post</td>
<td>Class 9, PCT. -e:tanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:ca</td>
<td>to cut; to shorten.</td>
<td>Class A, Active; 1SG: se:ca; 3SG: le:ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:ca</td>
<td>to cut oneself; to get cut.</td>
<td>Class A, Inactive; 1SG: le:ca; 2SG: re:gar; 3SG: le:ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e:gu</td>
<td>out; outwards;</td>
<td>Class III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en:go</td>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>Class A, Active; 1SG: se:go; 3SG: le:go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ena:</td>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>PCT. -ena:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>Sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epacat</td>
<td>to twist, to braid.</td>
<td>retorcer, trenzar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-epaqata</td>
<td>braid</td>
<td>trenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-epetaganacat</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>comida, alimento;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epeteg</td>
<td>to cut hair</td>
<td>cortar (pelo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epil</td>
<td>to go home; to go back;</td>
<td>volver a casa, volver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epit</td>
<td>to smile</td>
<td>sonreir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-er</td>
<td>paucal number marker</td>
<td>marcador de numero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-er</td>
<td>3rd person plural marker</td>
<td>marcador de 3º persona plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+er</td>
<td>plural object marker</td>
<td>marcador de objecto plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esit</td>
<td>to be able to</td>
<td>poder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-esite
Eng: ring
Sp: anillo
ps: n
Comments: CLASS 2; PCL -esite.

esal
Eng: to vomit
Sp: vomitar
ps: vi
Comments: Class D; Inactive; 1sg. resal [jesal], 2sg. resalir, 3sg. resal.

esawli
Eng: to slip
Sp: resbalarse
ps: vi
Comments: Class C, Inactive; 1sg. resawli [jisawli], 2sg. resawzlir, 3sg. resawli.

etag
Eng: to comb
Sp: peinar
ps: vi/vt
Comments: Class A, Active; 1sg. setag, 3sg. ietag.

-ettekse
Eng: kidney
Sp: riñon
ps: n
Comments: Class I, 1sgross iettekse.

-etesqo?
Eng: uncle
Sp: tio
ps: n
Comments: Class II, 1sgross [netesqo?], 3sgross netesqo?.

ewal
Eng: to feel lazy
Sp: tener fiaca (Arg.), estar cansado.
ps: vi
Comments: Class D, Inactive; 1sg. iewal [jewal], 2sg. rewalir, 3sg. newal.

-ewal
Eng: grandchild
Sp: nieto/a
ps: n
Comments: Class I, 1sgross iewal, 2sgRiross qaewalir, 3sgross iewal.

ewan
Eng: to see
Sp: ver
ps: vt
Comments: Class A, Active; 1sg. sewan, 3sg. iewan.

ewar
Eng: to sew
Sp: coser
ps: vt/vi
Comments: Class B, Active; must take the prefix n- 'hither'. 1sg. inewar [fhewa?], 3sg. inewar.
-ewo
Eng: blood
Sp: sangre
ps: n
Comments: Class I. Isg.Poss -ewo.

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. ieyala [jiyalal], 2sg. ireyalir; 3sg. ieyala.

féáima
Eng: Fatima (woman’s name)
Sp: Fatima (nombre de mujer)
ps: n

felisá
Eng: Felisa (woman’s name)
Sp: Felisa (nombre de mujer)
ps: n

giiritlase
Eng: gringo (F) (= white woman)
Sp: gringa (F) (= criolla, blanca)
ps: n
Comments: Class III. cf M giiritlase ‘gringo (= white man)’, morphologically complex form.

giriitek
Eng: gringo (M) (= white man)
Sp: gringo (M) (= criollo, blanco)
ps: n
Comments: Class III. cf M giiritlase ‘gringo (= white woman)’

gongay
Eng: wild boar
Sp: chancho moro
ps: n
Comments: Class III, PCL: gongay.

-ho
Eng: very proximate
Sp: muy proximo/cerca
ps: suffix [deictic]
Comments: can be added to deictic roots when used as demonstratives; naho ‘this (cmng) very proximate’, cf. -la ‘proximate’; naho ‘here’

-i
Eng: paucal number marker
Sp: marcador de numero
ps: suffix [n]
Comments:
-i

Eng: 2nd person singular familiar marker
Sp: marcador de 2a persona singular familiar
ps: suffix {v, n}
Comments:

i+

Eng: 1st person singular possessive marker
Sp: marcador de 1a persona singular posesivo
ps: proclitic {n}
Comments: e.g. iawo 'my spouse' (i-awo)

i+

Eng: 1st person Active marker
Sp: marcador de 1a persona Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: used with verbs when they are preceded by the prefix ni- 'hither'. i- ni- is then conflated to [n], e.g. inowir [niowir] 'I come (here)'. see 2- 1st person Active'.

i+

Eng: 3rd person Active marker
Sp: marcador de 3a persona Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: e.g. iulawat 'he kills'. see i+ 3rd person Inactive', marks Class A verbs.

i+

Eng: 3rd person Inactive marker
Sp: marcador de 3a persona No-Activo
ps: proclitic {v}
Comments: see also i- 3rd person Active'.

i'mek

Eng: spoon
Sp: cuchara
ps: n
Comments: Class II, pcl. i'mqa.

-i:

Eng: 2nd person plural marker
Sp: marcador de 2a persona plural
ps: suffix {v, n}
Comments: cf. -iri '2nd person paucal marker'.

+i'gi

Eng: towards (there?)
Sp: hacia (alli?)
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments:

+i'git

Eng: behind;
Sp: detrás de, atras.
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments:

i'lew

Eng: to die
Sp: morir
ps: vi
Comments: Class A, Inactive. 1sg: irilew [jilew]; 2sg: rilewir [ri'liwi?]; 3sg: iilew;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-imik</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nariz</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, singular possessive marker [yimik]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ir</td>
<td>2nd person singular respectful marker</td>
<td>marcador de 2ª persona singular de respeto</td>
<td>enclitic {v, n}</td>
<td>cf -i + 2nd person singular familiar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir+</td>
<td>1st person singular Inactive marker</td>
<td>marcador de 1ª persona singular No-Activo</td>
<td>proclitic {v}</td>
<td>realized phonetically as [j]; cf -i + 1st person Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>ir</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class B, Active [kik]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>paucal number marker</td>
<td>marcador de numero paucal</td>
<td>suffix {n}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iri</td>
<td>2nd person paucal marker</td>
<td>marcador de 2ª persona paucal</td>
<td>suffix {v, n}</td>
<td>cf -i + 2nd person plural marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isegeyek</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji</td>
<td>deictic (horizontally extended)</td>
<td>deictico (horizontalmente extendido)</td>
<td>deictic root</td>
<td>Demonstrative M a · j i, F a · ji, P C I · P C I · j i · w a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqay</td>
<td>fast (F)</td>
<td>rapido (F)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>M jaqay; P C I (M) jaqaqa; P C I (F) jaqai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqayk</td>
<td>fast (M)</td>
<td>rapido (M)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>F jaqay; P C I (M) jaqaqa; P C I (F) jaqai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>Eng: then</td>
<td>Sp: entonces</td>
<td>ps: coordinator</td>
<td>Comments: - ka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔ</td>
<td>Eng: then;</td>
<td>Sp: entonces</td>
<td>ps: coordinator</td>
<td>Comments: - ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔkanakí</td>
<td>Eng: chair</td>
<td>Sp: silla</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments: PCL kaʔkanakí; derived form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaφe</td>
<td>Eng: brown</td>
<td>Sp: marron</td>
<td>ps: adj</td>
<td>Comments: - Sp cafe [kaφe] 'coffee'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanek</td>
<td>Eng: blanket</td>
<td>Sp: tíasada</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments: Class II, PCL -ikana, morphologically complex' (derived form').</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Eng: oblique marker</td>
<td>Sp: marcador de frase nominal oblicua</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keʔe</td>
<td>Eng: to eat</td>
<td>Sp: comer</td>
<td>ps: vi/vi</td>
<td>Comments: Class B, Active; 1SG, keʔe; 2SG, keʔe; 3SG keʔe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-keʔla</td>
<td>Eng: ear</td>
<td>Sp: oreja</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments: Class I, 1SG/POS: leʔka:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keʔlay</td>
<td>Eng: mule</td>
<td>Sp: mula</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments: Class III, PCL keʔlayi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**kemar**

**Eng:** to get full; to be satisfied; 

**Sp:** llenarse; estar satisfecho; 

**ps:** vi 

**Comments:** Class B. Inactive. 1sg: irkemar [j=kemar]. 2sg: rkmarn. 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 B. Active. 1sg: skewog. 1pl: skewogao. 

**kewog**

**Eng:** to sharpen 

**Sp:** afilar 

**ps:** vt 

**Comments:** Class B. Active. 1sg: skewog. 2sg: kewogir. 3sg: kewog. 

**-kiyagala**

**Eng:** table 

**Sp:** mesa 

**ps:** n 

**Comments:** derived form. Abs nkiyagala. 

**kiyali**

**Eng:** chicken pox 

**Sp:** varicela 

**ps:** n 

**Comments:**
Appendix D - Glossary

**kičim**

Eng: that (complementizer)  
Sp: que  
ps: complementizer  
Comments: introduces complement clauses, is optional.

**kiyo**

Eng: to wash  
Sp: lavar  
ps: vt  

**kiyocon**

Eng: to wash  
Sp: lavar  
ps: vi  
Comments: Class B, Active, 1st: kiyocon.

**kiyoconagat**

Eng: soap  
Sp: jabon  
ps: n  
Comments: Class II, pl. kiyoconagater, morphologically complex derived form.

**koleget**

Eng: kerchief  
Sp: pañuelo  
ps: n  
Comments: Class II.

**kofo**

Eng: to give birth  
Sp: parir, dar a luz  
ps: vi  

**kočok**

Eng: purple  
Sp: violeta  
ps: adj  
Comments:  

**kočoki**

Eng: little  
Sp: poco/a(s)  
ps: quantifier  
Comments:  

**kočoki?**

Eng: small child (M)  
Sp: ninito (M)  
ps: n  
Comments: cf F kočoki?.

**komena**

Eng: grandmother  
Sp: abuela  
ps: n  
Comments: Class II.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kōnāra</strong></td>
<td>sister-in-law</td>
<td>cuñada</td>
<td>&lt; Sp. <em>cuñada</em> [kuñada] 'sister-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kōnirag</strong></td>
<td>to cut oneself; to get cut;</td>
<td>cortarse</td>
<td>Class B, Inactive. 1SG: irkōnirag [jko:nirag]. 2SG: Rkōnirag. 3SG: kōnirag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kopi</strong></td>
<td>mucus</td>
<td>moco</td>
<td>Class II. 1SG.POSS: inkopi [îkopi]. 2SG.POSS: nkopi. 2SG.POSS: nkopi. 3SG.POSS: nkopi. 1PL.POSS: qankopi. 2PL. nkopiiri. 2PL. nkopi. 3PL.POSS: nkopiier. ABS. kopi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kos</strong></td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>cerdo</td>
<td>Class III. PCL. kosi [ko:yi]. Pl. kosiipi [ko:yi pi].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kotapik</strong></td>
<td>quebracho</td>
<td>quebracho</td>
<td>-ik = nominal suffix 'tree'. Coll. kotapiksat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-kōwičagaki</strong></td>
<td>nest</td>
<td>nido</td>
<td>PCL. -kōwičagakir. morphologically complex (derived form).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-l</strong></td>
<td>paucal number marker</td>
<td>marcador de numero paucal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>la</strong></td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>fruta</td>
<td>Class III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lade:neg</strong></td>
<td>witch doctor</td>
<td>curandero</td>
<td>Class III. PCL. lade neger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lagi</strong></td>
<td>when</td>
<td>quando</td>
<td>it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots. in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix D - Glossary*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Eng:</th>
<th>Sp:</th>
<th>ps:</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lame</td>
<td>white (F);</td>
<td>blanca (F)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>M  lalociayk, pC1 (M) lalocaq, pC1 (F) lalociayk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalociayk</td>
<td>white (M);</td>
<td>blanco (M)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>F lalociayk, pC1 (M) lalocaq, pC1 (F) lalociayk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalociayk</td>
<td>small (F);</td>
<td>pequeño (F)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>M lalociayk, pC1 (M) lalocaq, pC1 (F) lalociayk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalociayk</td>
<td>small (M);</td>
<td>pequeño (M)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>F lalociayk, pC1 (M) lalocaq, pC1 (F) lalociayk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lames</td>
<td>table</td>
<td>mesa</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II, 1sg.poss. lames, <code>Sp mesa </code>table`.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapagat</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>piojo</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, pC1 lapagat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lase</td>
<td>insect, bug;</td>
<td>insecto, bicho</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, pC1 lase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasom</td>
<td>door</td>
<td>puerta</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II, pC1 lasom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latagañi</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>mosca</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class III, pC1 latagañi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lata\$ \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{cup, mug;}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{taza, jarro;}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } n
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } < \text{Sp. } \text{la taza [la tasa] } \text{(definite feminine article - taza 'cup') } \text{'the cup'}. \\
latew?ge \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{big (F); fat (F);}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{grande (F), gorda (F);}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } \text{adj}
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } M \text{. bodegrat, pct.(M) leta?al, pct.(F) late?el.}
\\latogot \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{lagoon, pond}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{laguna}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } n
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } \text{Class III.}
\\laway \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{weak (F)}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{debil (F)}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } \text{adj}
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } M \text{. lawayk, pct.(M) lawauqa, pct.(F) lawai.}
\\lawayk \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{weak (M)}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{debil (M)}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } \text{adj}
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } -yk 'masculine (adj)', F. laway, pct.(M), lawauqa, pct.(F) lawai.
\\lawoyk \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{wasp}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{avispa}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } n
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } \text{Class III, pct. lawoykya.}
\\le \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{thorn}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{espina}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } n
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } \text{Class III, cont. le sat.}
\\le:re \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{paper}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{papel}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } n
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } \text{Class II, pct. le rel.}
\\le:taracy \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{old (F), broken (F);}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{viejo (F), roto (F);}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } \text{adj}
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } M \text{. le taracyk, pct.(M) le taraqa, pct.(F) le taraqai.}
\\le:taracyk \hspace{1em} \text{Eng: } \text{old (M), broken (M),}
\hspace{1em} \text{Sp: } \text{viejo (M), roto (M)}
\hspace{1em} \text{ps: } \text{adj}
\hspace{1em} \text{Comments: } F \text{. le taraqay, pct.(M) le taraqa, pct.(F) le taraqai.}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+leg</th>
<th>Eng: on, over.</th>
<th>Sp: sobre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: enclitic {v}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lekat</th>
<th>Eng: knife</th>
<th>Sp: cuchillo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: Class II, PCL. lekati.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lekolagarayk</th>
<th>Eng: lizard</th>
<th>Sp: lagartija</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: Class III, PCL. lekolagarayk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ličiosquate</th>
<th>Eng: ring</th>
<th>Sp: anillo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: Class II, PCL. ličiosquate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+lo</th>
<th>Eng: paucal object marker</th>
<th>Sp: marcador de objecto paucal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: enclitic {v}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf ‘or ‘plural’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lo?gi?li</th>
<th>Eng: squash</th>
<th>Sp: zapallo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: Class III, PCL. lo?gi?li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lo?wi?</th>
<th>Eng: milk</th>
<th>Sp: leche</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: Class ?, ABS. lo?wi?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lo?yo</th>
<th>Eng: trunk (of tree)</th>
<th>Sp: tronco (de árbol)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: Class III, PCL. lo?yo, CONJ. lo yosat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lodeggat</th>
<th>Eng: big (M), fat (M)</th>
<th>Sp: grande (M), gordo (M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: adj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loqo?m</th>
<th>Eng: or</th>
<th>Sp: o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ps: coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments: conjoins phrases or clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix D - Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>λaca</th>
<th>Eng: edge; blade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>borde; filo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Class II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>λimêta</th>
<th>Eng: bottle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>botella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Class II, Pl. λimêta, Pl. λimêtaipi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>λogonata</th>
<th>Eng: canoe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>canoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Class II, Pl. λogonata.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mafele</th>
<th>Eng: after; later; future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>despues: mas tarde, futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>macare</th>
<th>Eng: pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>pronombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>occurs with deictic roots for 3rd person pronominal, also realized as [maq] ~ [ma.re]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>macos</th>
<th>Eng: pants (pair of);</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>pantalon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Class II, Pl. macos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maka</th>
<th>Eng: hammock, swing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>hamaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>:- Sp hamaca [amaka] 'hammock, swing'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mantik</th>
<th>Eng: rhea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>ñandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Class III.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mansana</th>
<th>Eng: apple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>manzana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>:- Sp manzana [mansana] 'apple'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maq</th>
<th>Eng: pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp:</td>
<td>pronombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps:</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>occurs with deictic roots for 3rd person pronominal, variant pronunciation of /macare/; also realized as [macare] ~ [ma.re]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ma:re
Eng: pronoun
Sp: pronombre
ps: pronoun
Comments: occurs with deictic roots for 3rd person pronominal, variant pronunciation of 'macare', also realized as ['macare'] - ['maq']

mičolek
Eng: cat
Sp: gato
ps: n
Comments: Class III, pl. mičola, morphologically complex.

mogel
Eng: silly (M); funny (M);
Sp: tonto (M), gracioso (M);
ps: n
Comments: F mogel, p.pl. (M) mogola, p.pl. (F) mogola.

mogola
Eng: silly (F), funny (F);
Sp: tonto (F), gracioso (F);
ps: n
Comments: VI mogel, p.pl. (M) mogola, p.pl. (F) mogola.

móno
Eng: monkey;
Sp:mono;
ps: n
Comments: Class III, p.pl. mónol, < Sp. mono 'monkey'.

moqoyt
Eng: Mocovi
Sp: mocovi
ps: n, adj
Comments:

mote
Eng: knot
Sp: nudo
ps: n
Comments: Class III, p.pl. motel.

n+
Eng: 3rd person Active marker
Sp: marcador de 3a persona Activo
ps: proclitic {v};
Comments: marks Class D verbs.

n+
Eng: 3rd person Inactive marker
Sp: marcador de 3a persona No-Activo
ps: proclitic {v};
Comments: marks Class D verbs.

n+
Eng: Absolutive marker
Sp: marcador de Absolutivo
ps: proclitic {n};
Comments:
| n- | Eng: | hither |
| Sp: | hacia aqui |
| ps: | prefix [n] |
| 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, PAST na-wa; |

| nalin | Eng: | fish |
| Sp: | pez, pescado |
| ps: | n |
| Comments: | Class III, PCL: nalinir [nalinii?] |

| na? | Eng: | when |
| Sp: | cuando |
| ps: | adv |
| Comments: | introduces adverbial clauses of time |

| naga | Eng: | day |
| Sp: | dia |
| ps: | n |
| Comments: | - ña-ga•na, Class III, PCL: naga•gar, |

| 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 setqa, |

| na:so:lek | Eng: | corn |
| Sp: | maiz |
| ps: | n |
| Comments: | PCL: na so•loqa; |

<p>| nagi | Eng: | now; today; present; |
| Sp: | ahora, hoy, presente |
| ps: | adv |
| Comments: | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nanayk</th>
<th>Eng: yarará (type of poisonous snake)</th>
<th>Sp: yarara (tipo de víbora venenosa)</th>
<th>ps: n</th>
<th>Comments: Class III, PCL. namak.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nanok</td>
<td>Eng: alligator</td>
<td>Sp: yacare</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments: Class III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne?saga</td>
<td>Eng: mud, clay</td>
<td>Sp: barro, arcilla</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments: Class III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nehem</td>
<td>Eng: same, similar</td>
<td>Sp: igual, similar</td>
<td>ps: adv</td>
<td>Comments: ~ ?hem. used to link clauses with an equative meaning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) not included in the original manuscript are unavailable from the author or university. The manuscript was microfilmed as received.

UMI
norek  
Eng: fire  
Sp: fuego  
ps: n  
Comments: Class III.

ña?ga?a  
Eng: day  
Sp: dia  
ps: n  

ña  
Eng: deictic (non-extended)  
Sp: deictico (no extendido)  
ps: deictic root  
Comments: Demonstrative M: e-ña, F a-ña, pcl. ña-ña.

+ña  
Eng: down, downwards;  
Sp: abajo, hacia abajo;  
ps: enclitic  
Comments:  

ñige?  
Eng: what; who;  
Sp: que; quien.  
ps: interrogative  
Comments: it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots, in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'; introduces interrogative clauses.

+ñigi  
Eng: inside.  
Sp: dentro de;  
ps: enclitic  
Comments:  

ník  
Eng: rope  
Sp: soga  
ps: n  
Comments: Class II, pcl. ñiqı̈.

ñiksqaq  
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.
### Appendix D - Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Eng</th>
<th>Sp</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+0</td>
<td>inwards; hither.</td>
<td>hacia adentro, hacia aquí.</td>
<td>enclitic !v!</td>
<td>- -wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o?či</td>
<td>to be afraid;</td>
<td>temer, tener miedo.</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class D, Inactive, 1sg. iriʃči [jořčič], 2sg. ro}?čir, 3sg. no?či.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o?lo?</td>
<td>fabric</td>
<td>tela</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o?v</td>
<td>to get angry</td>
<td>enojarse</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class C?, 3sg. ro?v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o?qa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```plaintext
Class D; Inactive, 1sg. iriʃči [jořčič], 2sg. ro}?čir, 3sg. no?či.
```

```plaintext
Class II, pcl. -o?gona.
```

```plaintext
Class II?, pcl -o?goyagater, morphologically complex (derived form).
```

```plaintext
Class II, pcl. -o?o?ta.
```
### Appendix D - Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Spanish Form</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o�om</td>
<td>to turn off, to go off</td>
<td>apagar(se)</td>
<td>vt/vi?</td>
<td>Class B, 3SG. o�om:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o�on</td>
<td>to get married</td>
<td>casar(se)</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class B. Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+o�ot</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>debajo de.</td>
<td>enclitic 'v'</td>
<td>~ vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o�wemaga</td>
<td>land, field.</td>
<td>campo, tierra.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II, morphologically complex (derived form).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o�wet</td>
<td>to get dressed</td>
<td>vestirse</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class B. Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o�al</td>
<td>to become fat, to gain weight</td>
<td>engordar</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class A, Inactive, 1SG. engorda, 2SG. teñistas, 3SG. teña,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ogosoŋik</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>arco</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, pcl -ogosoŋiku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ogki</td>
<td>dress, bag,</td>
<td>vestido, bolsa.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II, pcl -ogkir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-olamek</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>higado</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, lsgoŋoss -olamek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omat</td>
<td>to finish</td>
<td>terminar</td>
<td>vt</td>
<td>Class A, Active, 1SG. somat, 3SG. iomat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Eng</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona</td>
<td>to get stuck; to stick (to something);</td>
<td>pegarse; quedarse pegado;</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class C. Inactive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onog</td>
<td>to get naked; to get naked;</td>
<td>desvestirse; desnudarse.</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class B. Active, see also onog 'to get naked, to undress'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oqopi</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>pegar</td>
<td>vt</td>
<td>Class C. Active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oqor</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>suegro</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, M, F -oqor 'mother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oqoro</td>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>suegra</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I, F, M -oqor 'father-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oqoyna</td>
<td>netting, mesh</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II. PCL. -oqoyna:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-osa:tački</td>
<td>belt</td>
<td>cinturón</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II. PCL. -osa tački:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-osap</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>nalgas</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I. PCL. -osap:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osog</td>
<td>to get naked; to undress:</td>
<td>desvestirse, desnudarse.</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Class B. Active, see also onog 'to get naked, to undress':</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| -ot | under | debajo de. | ensfrec [vt] | - -ot-
-otogosogonogat
  Eng: hammer
  Sp: martillo
  ps: n
  Comments: Class II. ptc. -otogosogonogater, morphologically complex (derived form);

-owagse
  Eng: bracelet
  Sp: pulsera
  ps: n
  Comments: Class ?, ptc. -owagset.

-owe
  Eng: tooth
  Sp: diente
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I, ptc. -owe, 1sgPOSS. owe, 2sgPOSS. rowei, 2sgRAPPOSS rowiir, 3sgPOSS. owei, 1plPOSS. qarowe, 2plPOSS. roweiri, 2pl. rowei., 3pl.POSS. rower, ABS. rowe.

owen
  Eng: to use
  Sp: usar, utilizar, ocupar
  ps: vt
  Comments: Class A. 1sg. owen, 2sg. owenir [wiñi?].

owéro
  Eng: spotted (of an animal's skin)
  Sp: overo
  ps: adj
  Comments: < Sp. overo [oβero] 'spotted (of an animal's skin)'.

-owik
  Eng: arrow
  Sp: flecha
  ps: n
  Comments: Class I. ptc. -owika.

owir
  Eng: to come, arrive, reach.
  Sp: llegar. alcanzar.
  ps: vi
  Comments: Class I. Active, can occur with or without -i- 'hither'. 1sg. inowir [ñowir?] 'I arrive (here)' vs sowir 'I arrive (there)'. 3sg. rowir vs yowir.

owo
  Eng: to walk
  Sp: caminar
  ps: vi
  Comments: Class A. Active. 1sg. sowo, 3sg. iowo.

pa?atatêta
  Eng: light (of weight) (M/F).
  Sp: liviano/a (M/F).
  ps: adj
  Comments:
pa?cogram
Eng: to cure
Sp: curar
ps: vt?
Comments: Class II. Sp: pa?cogram, can be said only when the shaman is the agent.

pa?tologoyk
Eng: scorpion
Sp: escorpi?on
ps: n
Comments: Class III. pcl. pa?tologoyk.

pala?irica
Eng: spider
Sp: ar?ana
ps: n
Comments: Class III. pcl. pala?irica.

-palaqate
Eng: finger
Sp: dedo (de la mano)
ps: n
Comments: Class I. pcl. -palaqate, l'sp: palaqate.

pa?pa
Eng: potato
Sp: papa
ps: n
Comments: Class II. < Sp papa [papa] 'potato'.

pa?ipi
Eng: dad, daddy
Sp: papa, papi
ps: n
Comments: Class III. < Sp papi [papi] 'dad, daddy'.

pa?are
Eng: butterfly
Sp: mariposa
ps: n
Comments: Class III. pcl. parei, pl. pareli, borrowing, source unknown.

pargatoki?
Eng: rope-soled shoe
Sp: alpargata (Arg) (tipo de calzado con suela de soga trenzada).
ps: n
Comments: Class II. < Sp alpargata [alpar?ata] 'rope-soled shoe' and the diminutive masculine suffix -oki?.

pa?to
Eng: duck
Sp: pato
ps: n
Comments: Class III. < Sp pato [pa?to] 'duck'.

pe
Eng: night
Sp: noche
ps: n
Comments: Class III.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>abuelo</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+pe?</td>
<td>up to</td>
<td>hasta</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
<td>-pe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peg</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>adv</td>
<td>-pey, precedes adjectives in a phrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+pege?</td>
<td>up to</td>
<td>hasta</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
<td>-pe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pegeg</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>adv</td>
<td>-pey, precedes adjectives in a phrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelota</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>pelota</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Class II. &lt; Sp pelota [pelota] ‘ball’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pero</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>pero</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
<td>&lt; Sp pero [pero] ‘but’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petiso?λi?</td>
<td>short (F)</td>
<td>petisa (F)</td>
<td>n, adj</td>
<td>Class III, &lt; Sp petiso [petiso] ‘short’ and the diminutive feminine suffix -λi?.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petisoki?</td>
<td>short (M)</td>
<td>petiso (M)</td>
<td>n, adj</td>
<td>Class III, &lt; Sp petiso [petiso] ‘short’ and the diminutive masculine suffix -oki?.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
péwlo

Eng: town
Sp: pueblo
ps: n
Comments: Class II. "Sp pueblo [pweˈβlo] 'town'."

piʔgonaŋ

Eng: shaman
Sp: shaman
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

pigim

Eng: sky
Sp: cielo
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

pjjilóqologo

Eng: toad
Sp: sapo
ps: n
Comments: Class III. Pcl. pjjilóqologo, also sapo (Sp. 'sapo 'toad')

píŋkosoŋik

Eng: tala (Celtis tala)
Sp: tala
ps: n
Comments: Class III. -ik = nominal suffix 'tree'. Col.: píŋkosoŋiksat.

poŋo

Eng: charcoal
Sp: carbon
ps: n
Comments: Class III.

porsupwéhtoŋe

Eng: of course
Sp: por supuesto
ps: discourse marker
Comments: < Sp por supuesto que [por supuesto ke] 'of course that'

pynko

Eng: perro
Sp: dog
ps: n
Comments: Class III. Pcl. pynko.

pyógiłapagat

Eng: flea
Sp: pulga
ps: n
Comments: Class III. Pcl. pyógiłapagat. morphologically complex (derived form) pyógi 'dog' - lapagat 'louse'.

qa+

Eng: indefinite agent
Sp: agente indefinido
ps: proclitic TV
Comments: occurs only with a verb in the third person singular, immediately precedes the 3rd person proclitic in the verb form
-qa

Eng: paucal number marker
Sp: marcador de numero
ps: suffix {n}
Comments:

qaden

Eng: to make heal
Sp: curar
ps: vt
Comments: Class B. 3SG. ngaden.

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. 1SGPSS. -qaig. 3SGPSS. -daqig.

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: 2nd person singular familiar independent pronoun
Sp: pronombre personal de 2ª persona singular familiar
ps: independent pronoun
Comments: used only with siblings or very close friends (friends one has grown up with), cf. qamir '2nd person singular Respectful independent pronoun'.

qamir

Eng: 2nd person singular Respectful independent pronoun
Sp: pronombre personal de 2ª persona singular de Respeto
ps: independent pronoun
Comments: cf. qami '2nd person singular familiar independent pronoun'. qamir is the one most commonly used.

qamiri

Eng: 2nd person plural independent pronoun
Sp: pronombre personal de 2ª persona plural
ps: independent pronoun
Comments: there doesn’t seem to be a different form for the independent pronoun in the 2nd person paucal.

qar

Eng: stone
Sp: piedra
ps: n
Comments: Class III. PCL. qari. PL. qariipi [qari:pi]. see -qar 'chin', qari 'bola'.
-qar
Eng: chin  
Sp: menton  
ps: n  
Comments: Class II. 1sg.poss. nqar, 2sg.poss. nqarir, 3sg.poss. nqar; see qar 'stone'.

qar+
Eng: 1st person plural Inactive marker  
Sp: marcador de 1ª persona plural No-Activo  
ps: proclitic {v}  
Comments: cf 1ª plural Active s- -i- -agi.

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. qawa

-qo?ge
Eng: elbow  
Sp: codo  
ps: n  

qo?gogo
Eng: to suck, to kiss;  
Sp: chupar; besar.  
ps: vi/vi  
Comments: Class D. Active. can take the prefix n- 'hither'. 1sg. sqo?gogo. 3sg. noqo?gogo.

qo?goy
Eng: old (F),  
Sp: viejo (F).  
ps: adj  

qo?goyk
Eng: old (M),  
Sp: viejo (M).  
ps: adj  

qo?ole
Eng: bird  
Sp: pajar0  
ps: n  
Comments: Class III. pcl. qo?ole.

qo?paq
Eng: tree, stick, wood;  
Sp: arbol, palo, madera;  
ps: n  
Comments: Class III, pcl. qo?par, pl. qo?parapi. cf -qo?paq 'eyebrow'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Eng</th>
<th>Sp</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-qoʔpaq</td>
<td>eyebrow</td>
<td>ceja</td>
<td>Class II; 1SG.POSS. nqoʔpar, 2SG.POSS. nqoʔpaq, 3SG.POSS. nqoʔpaq, see qoʔpaq 'tree, stick, wood'; cf. qoʔpaq 'tree'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoʔpelogoʔnil</td>
<td>tadpole</td>
<td>renacuajo</td>
<td>Class III, 1PL. qoʔpelogoʔnil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qoʔta</td>
<td>knee</td>
<td>rodilna</td>
<td>Class I, 1PL. -qo ta; 1SG.POSS. qoʔta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoqon</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
<td>onmar</td>
<td>Class B, Active, 1SG. qoqon, 2SG. qoqon, 2PL. qoqonir, 3SG. qoqon; 1PL. qoqon, 2PL. qoqonir, 3PL. qoqoner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>qom</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>persona</td>
<td>Class III, 1PL. qomir.</td>
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<tr>
<td>qom</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>persona</td>
<td>Class III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qomir</td>
<td>1st person plural independent pronoun</td>
<td>pronombre personal de 1er persona plural</td>
<td>qom 'person' --&gt; qom-ir (person-pcl) 'people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoni</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>amarillo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qošíkyagawa</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>mono</td>
<td>Class III, 1PL. qošíkyagawal, also mono (' Sp. mono 'monkey').</td>
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<tr>
<td>-qoʔsoł</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>cuello</td>
<td>Class I, 1SG.POSS. qoʔsot, 2SG.POSS. qoʔsotir, 3SG.POSS. qoʔsot.</td>
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<td>Tag</td>
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<td>Spanish</td>
<td>POS</td>
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<tr>
<td>-qote</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ojo</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>-qowe?</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>huevo</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>-qoyaranacat</td>
<td>candle</td>
<td>vela</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>r+</td>
<td>3rd person Active marker</td>
<td>marcador de 3ª persona Activo</td>
<td>proclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r+</td>
<td>3rd person Inactive marker</td>
<td>marcador de 3a persona No-Activo</td>
<td>proclitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>r+</td>
<td>2nd person Inactive marker</td>
<td>marcador de 2a persona No-Activo</td>
<td>proclitic</td>
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<td>-r</td>
<td>paucal number marker</td>
<td>marcador de numero</td>
<td>suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>ra?asa</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>sol</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s?raygo</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>luna</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>ra?nagi</td>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>sordo</td>
<td>adj</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Part of Speech</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>ralokay</td>
<td>sick (F)</td>
<td>enferma (F)</td>
<td>adj</td>
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<tr>
<td>rapik</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>miel</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rayami</td>
<td>prickly pear</td>
<td>tuna del monte</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>regat</td>
<td>jaguar, cat.</td>
<td>gato.</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>regone</td>
<td>wild boar</td>
<td>jabali</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>s+</td>
<td>1st person Active marker</td>
<td>marcador de la persona Activo</td>
<td>proclitic</td>
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<td>saik</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>porque</td>
<td>adv</td>
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<td>sapo</td>
<td>toad</td>
<td>sapo</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>sawado</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>sábado</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>se+</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>negación</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>En</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>Ps</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>sókar</td>
<td>Eng: sugar</td>
<td>Sp: azucar</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqae+</td>
<td>Eng: negative</td>
<td>Sp: negación</td>
<td>ps: proclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salagaray</td>
<td>Eng: heavy (F)</td>
<td>Sp: pesado (F)</td>
<td>ps: adj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salagarayk</td>
<td>Eng: heavy (M)</td>
<td>Sp: pesado (M)</td>
<td>ps: adj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+síigim</td>
<td>Eng: up; upwards;</td>
<td>Sp: arriba; hacia arriba.</td>
<td>ps: enclitic [v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silqayk</td>
<td>Eng: iguana</td>
<td>Sp: iguana</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
şim
  Eng: almost
  Sp: casi
  ps: adv
  Comments:

şitagaray
  Eng: sharp-pointed (F)
  Sp: puntiagudo (F)
  ps: adj
  Comments: M şitagarayk, pCl.(M) şitagaraka, pCl.(F) şitagarai.

şitagarayk
  Eng: sharp-pointed (M)
  Sp: puntiagudo (M)
  ps: adj
  Comments: F şitagaray, pCl.(M) şitagaraka, pCl.(F) şitagarai.

qawa:
  Eng: to take a step
  Sp: dar un paso
  ps: vi
  Comments: Class 9, 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. sho 'very proximate'.

+tak
  Eng: progressive aspect
  Sp: aspecto progresivo
  ps: enclitic [v]
  Comments: also realized as -tače -tače -sak ([sk] when it follows the 2nd person singular Respectful enclitic)

tapińik
  Eng: (type of) armadillo
  Sp: tatu
  ps: n
  Comments: Class III.

taqate
  Eng: comb
  Sp: peine
  ps: n
  Comments: Class II, pCl. taqatč.

tog
  Eng: red
  Sp: rojo
  ps: adj
  Comments: pCl. toγer; toγlečk 'reddish (orange in color)'

tomáte
  Eng: tomato
  Sp: tomate
  ps: n
  Comments: Class III, < Sp tomate [tomáte] 'tomato'.
## Appendix D - Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Spanish Meaning</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tóenseh</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>entonces</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
<td><em>Sp. entonces [entonces] 'then'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa?ge</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>donde</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td><em>Comments:</em> it is normally followed by one of the deictic roots, in most cases ka 'deictic (absent)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagay</td>
<td>sea; river;</td>
<td>mar, no.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagayaq</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>agua</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>vaca</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wala?y</td>
<td>lazy (F)</td>
<td>vago (F)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wala?yk</td>
<td>lazy (M)</td>
<td>vago (M)</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waloconaq</td>
<td>dumb</td>
<td>tonto</td>
<td>n, adj</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>waloq</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>algodón</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanána</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>n</td>
<td><em>Comments:</em> ~ wanaña ~ &lt; Sp. banana [banana] 'banana'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D - Glossary

waqañe
Eng: chicken, hen
Sp: pollo, gallina
ps: n
Comments: Class III, pcl. waqañe

we
Eng: salt
Sp: sal
ps: n
Comments: Class III, cf. ?we ‘there is, there exists’.

+weg
Eng: out, outwards
Sp: afuera, hacia afuera
ps: locative enclitic {v}
Comments: -weg

+wgi
Eng: in, inwards, into
Sp: adentro, hacia adentro, dentro de
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments:

+wo
Eng: inwards, hither
Sp: hacia adentro, hacia aqui
ps: enclitic {v}
Comments: -wo

wólsa
Eng: bag
Sp: bolsa
ps: n

woy
Eng: mortar
Sp: mortero
ps: n
Comments: Class II, pcl. woy.

xuhtoke
Eng: just as/when
Sp: justo que
ps: discourse marker
Comments: < Sp justo que [xuhtoke] ‘just as/when’

xwan
Eng: John
Sp: Juan
ps: n
Comments: < Sp Jwan ‘John’

yagaray
Eng: sharp (of knife, axe) (F)
Sp: afilado (cuchillo, hacha) (F)
ps: adj
Comments: M. yagarayk, pcl.(M) yagaraga, pcl.(F) yagarai.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yacarayk</th>
<th>Eng: sharp (of knife, axe) (M)</th>
<th>Sp: afilado (cuchillo, hacha) (M)</th>
<th>ps: adj</th>
<th>Comments:</th>
<th>F yacarayk, pCL(M) yacaraqa, pCL(F) yacarai.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yagat</td>
<td>Eng: rain</td>
<td>Sp: lluvia</td>
<td>ps: n</td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>Class III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
<td>Eng: ripe (M/F)</td>
<td>Sp: maduro/a (M/F)</td>
<td>ps: adj</td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td>pCL(M/F), yir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yim</td>
<td>Eng: 1st person singular independent pronoun</td>
<td>Sp: pronombre personal de 1ª persona singular</td>
<td>ps: pronoun</td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoyyo</td>
<td>Eng: fat (M/F)</td>
<td>Sp: gordo/a (M/F)</td>
<td>ps: adj, n</td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>