

GENDER AGREEMENT IN MOSETÉN

Jeanette Sakel
MPI Leipzig

1. Introduction¹

Mosetén (Chimane, Tsimane') is a language isolate from eastern Bolivia. The language consists of three dialects, Mosetén de Covendo, Mosetén de Santa Ana, and Chimane.² There are about 5000 speakers, of which the majority speaks Chimane. My research is based on the dialect of Mosetén de Covendo, which has only about 500 speakers.³

Derbyshire and Payne (1990) discuss noun classification systems as a common structure in Amazonian languages. They distinguish three different kinds of classifiers: numeral classifiers, concordial classifiers and verb-incorporated classifiers. Gender systems are treated under the heading of concordial classifiers. While most classifier systems have a semantic base for assignment, such as classification according to size, shape, function or the like, gender assignment may in some cases not be completely semantically based.

Mosetén has a gender system, which is rather arbitrarily assigned. There are two genders: masculine and feminine. Female humans are in the feminine gender and male humans are in the masculine gender. The rest of gender assignment does not seem to follow any semantic rule.⁴

In most languages with a gender system, there is some kind of gender agreement in the noun phrase. Often, determiners and modifiers agree in gender with the head noun. In some languages, gender agreement is furthermore found outside the noun phrase, as for example in the Caucasian languages Lak and Abkhaz, discussed by Corbett (1991). In Mosetén, as well, gender agreement affects many different elements, from now on called targets, in the clause. As gender agreement is very frequent, it is exceptional for a clause in Mosetén not to have any marking for gender at all.

¹ I want to thank Mily Crevels, Simon van de Kerke and Hein van der Voort for their review of this paper.

² Often, Mosetén and Chimane are considered to be different languages, forming a small language family. The self-consciousness of the Mosetenes and the Chimanes as separate groups supports this argument. Linguistically, however, Mosetén de Santa Ana and Chimane are more closely related than the two Mosetén dialects. Furthermore, all three dialects are mutually intelligible. I therefore choose to consider these as three dialects of one language.

³ The data presented in this linguistic work are from my own fieldwork in Bolivia 1999-2000. I want to thank my consultants Juan Huasna, Cleto Tahe, Adrian Topepe, Lidia Misange, as well as those who contributed to this linguistics work by telling stories.

⁴ In some cases, phonology and certain nominalization indicate specific gender assignment. For example all nouns ending in the nominalizer *-dye* are feminine.

I will look at the different forms of gender agreement, starting with the noun phrase, the prototypical locus for gender. I will then gradually move on to structures where we do not usually expect to find this form of agreement.

2. Nouns

As in many other languages, gender in Mosestén is an inherent feature of nouns, without these usually having special gender marking themselves. Corbett (1991) calls this a covert gender system, as no phonological form or marker on the noun itself predicts the gender of this noun.

There are, however, some nouns in Mosestén usually referring to humans or animals which have different forms for each gender. These nouns have certain traits in common: the feminine forms often end in *-si'* and the masculine forms in *-tyi'*. Some of these nouns might also have a shorter variant, so *nanasi'* 'girl' below can also be *nanas*, and *nanatyi'* 'boy' *nanaty*:

- | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------------------|
| (1)e | nana-si' | girl |
| (2)e | nana-tyi' | boy |
| (3)e | min-si' | female human being |
| (4)e | min-tyi' | masculine human being |

Other nouns have suppletive forms for feminine and masculine gender:

- | | | |
|------|-------|--------------|
| (5)e | phen | woman, wife |
| (6)e | soñi' | man, husband |

3. Pronouns

Personal pronouns in the 3rd person are marked for gender, while 1st and 2nd person pronouns are not. The 3rd person masculine pronoun is *mi'* and the feminine pronoun is *mo'*. In the plural, the clitic *in*, which is the general marker of plurality in Mosestén, is added to these pronouns, and thus gender is also apparent in the plural:

- | | | |
|-------|--------|---------|
| (7)e | mo' | (3F) |
| (8)e | mi' | (3M) |
| (9)e | mo'-in | (3F-PL) |
| (10)e | mi'-in | (3M-PL) |

Demonstrative pronouns also distinguish between feminine and masculine gender. These are the suppletive forms *öij* for the feminine and *its* for the masculine. Again, these can be pluralized with the clitic *in*:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---------|--------|------------|
| (11)e | öij | (DEM.F) | öij-in | (DEM.F-PL) |
| (12)e | its | (DEM.M) | its-in | (DEM.M-PL) |

The possessive pronouns are formed by adding the gender markers *-tyi'* (M) and *-si'* (F) to the personal pronoun. They show gender agreement to the possessed element:

(13)e **yäe-si'** phen
 1SG-F woman
 ‘my wife’

(14)e **yäe-tyi'** mama'
 1SG-M father
 ‘my father’

When the possessor is a 3rd person pronoun, there are two kinds of gender agreement in the possessive pronoun: agreement with the possessor, which is apparent in the personal pronoun-part of the possessive pronoun and agreement with the possessum in the added gender marker:

(15)e **mi'-si'** phen
 3M.SG-F woman
 ‘his wife’

There is a way of marking possession other than by the possessive pronoun, namely by cliticizing a personal pronoun to the possessum as a postclitic. This clitic usually agrees in gender with the possessor:

(16)e Mo' jiri-s-tom aka', jiri-ty **waemtyi'-mo'**
 3F.SG one-F-COM house one-M man-3F.SG

 jiri-ty äwä' soñi'-tyi'. Me' momo'.
 one-M child man-M so only.F
 ‘She has a house, a husband (is hers), a masculine child. That’s all.’

Usually, such a person clitic agrees in gender with the possessor, but there are examples where it agrees with the possessum. This is a phenomenon that most consultants deny in elicitation, although it appears in the use of their language. Most of all, it seems to be used by younger speakers, which could mean that this has to do with language change. I also have few examples, however, where this appears in the speech of an older speaker. Usually, when asked again, the informants wonder about the forms, try the masculine and the feminine form and are not sure which form to use. In free speech, the form agreeing with the possessum often simply occurs. The following example is given by a young speaker of Mosetén:

- (17)e Öij phen faraj-ye-i mo' lotej. Khin'
 DEM.F woman leave-VB-3SG.F.O3F.SG plantation.E now

äwä'-mi' soñi-tyi' mi'-mimi' karij-tye-'.
 child-3M.SG man-M 3M.SG-only.M work-APPL-3SG.F.O

'This woman has left her plantation. Now only her masculine child (i.e. her son) works (on) it.'

In what most Mosetenes would consider the correct form, the person clitic should be *-mo'* here (i.e. in the feminine) and not *-mi'* in the masculine gender, i.e. it 'should' agree with the possessor and not with the possessum.

Since I also have examples of older people using this form, it might not be a recent change in the language, even if it is rather infrequent as opposed to the cases where this clitic agrees with the possessor. In the following example, a 63-year-old speaker uses this form:

- (18)t ...yi-katyi'-khä mi' aj **jen'-mi'** dyaba-tyi'
 say.M.S-EVID-EVID 3M.SG ASP father-3M.SG peanut(F)-M

jam aj tye-te aj-win.
 NEG ASP give-3SG.M.O ASP-before

'... said the father of the peanut, he did not give (it) to him (any more).'

Another pronoun with different gender forms is the reference tracking pronoun '*other*'. This has the form *yoktyi'* in the masculine gender and *yoksi'* in the feminine gender. Again, the gender marking morphemes are *-tyi'* (M) and *-si'* (F):

- (19)t Kiwij **yok-si'** pheya-k-dye' yäe se'we' dyiñae-ij
 again other-F say-PASS-NOM 1SG hear-3SG.F.O trap-VB.M.S

jedye' dyash dyiñae'.
 thing QUE trap

'Another word I heard: 'dyiñaeij' – what is 'dyinae'??'

- (20)e **yok-tyi'** soñi'
 other-M man
 'another man'

The morphemes *-tyi'* in the masculine gender and *-si'* in the feminine gender resemble those used in the possessive construction. Thus, when the *yoksi'/yoktyi'* itself appears in a possessive construction, it may appear to have two gender markers of the same kind. This gives rise to double gender agreement on the same word. However,

agreeing with different antecedents in gender, one of these might be in the feminine gender, while the other one is in the masculine gender: *other* itself agrees with the noun it represents, while the possession marker agrees with the possessum of this possessive construction:

- (21)e Fan chhĩ-ye-’ äwä’ Alfredo-si’
 Juan know-VB-3SG.F.O child Alfredo-F
- jam-ki-kij chhĩ-ye-’ yok-tyi-si’ Mo’ momo’.
 NEG-and-and know-VB-3SG.F.O other-M-F 3F.SG only.F
 ‘Juan knows the daughter of Alfredo. But (and) he does not know others
 (i.e. other man’s daughters). Only her.’

4. Determiners

In the function of determiners in the noun phrase, usually 3rd person personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are used in Mosetén. These are marked for gender (see section 2. above) agreeing with the gender of the head noun:

- (22)e **mi’** mintyi’
 3M.SG man
 ‘the man’
- (23)e **mo’** minsi’
 3F.SG woman
 ‘the woman’

5. Numerals

Of the cardinal numerals, only the numeral ‘one’ is marked for gender: *jiris* in the feminine and *jirity* in the masculine gender. All other numerals have the same form for both genders. When counting ‘one, two, three’, and in other cases where gender is not specified, the feminine form *jiris* is used. In the noun phrase, the numeral *one* agrees in gender with the head noun:

- (24)e **jiri-s** son daer-si’
 one-F tree big-F⁵
 ‘one big tree (feminine)’
- (25)e **jiri-ty** kojti daer-tyi’
 one-M heart big-M
 ‘a big heart (masculine)’

⁵ An explanation of the long adjectival form is given below.

All other cardinal numerals are not marked for gender. This even includes forms that are compounded with *one*, as twenty-one in (26). This numeral does not agree in gender with the head noun, but remains in its unmarked feminine form:

(26)e paerae'-ki' tyak **jiri-s** jiyi' soñi-in
 two-times ten one-F NUM man-PL
 '21 men'

(27)e paerae'-ki' tyak **jiri-s** jiyi' phen-in
 two-times ten one-F NUM woman-PL
 '21 women'

The ordinal numerals, on the other hand, have both feminine and masculine forms of all numerals due to their derivation. The derivation of ordinal numerals is the addition of *-yi'si'* to the cardinal numeral in the feminine gender and *-yityi'* in the masculine gender. The *-yi-* appears to be derived from the verb *yi*, 'to say', which in the feminine gender is marked by a glottal and in the masculine gender remains unmarked. To this inflected verbal form, the gender marker *-tyi* (M) and *-si'* (F) is added and agrees with the head noun:

(28)e Chhibin'-**yi'-si'** mayedye' khin'-dyem-ra' karij-tya-ki-tsin
 three-ORD-F.S-F day now-yet-POT work-APPL-INTR.M.S-1PL
 'The third day we already work.'

(29)e Chhibin'-**yi-tyi'** soñi' tsin kawete.
 three-ORD.M.S-M man 1PL see-3SG.M.O
 'The third man we have seen.'

6. Adjectives

Adjectives have two forms in Mosetén, from now on called 'long' and 'short' forms. While the short forms might be used as adjectives or adverbs, the long forms are strictly adjectival forms. The long form consist of the short form plus the gender marker *-tyi'* (M) and *-si'* (F). Thus, adjectives in the long form agree in gender with their antecedent, while adjectives in the short form have no marking for gender. In the following table, I summarise the use of the long and the short adjectival forms in Mosetén:

	short from	long form
Adverb	yes	no
Adjective used predicatively	yes	yes
Adjective used attributively	no	yes

Table 1: the long and the short adjectival forms in Mosetén

The long adjectival form appears with adjectives used predicatively and attributively, while the short form, apart from some exceptions (see below), is only used with adjectives in predicative position.

The adjective marking is similar to the marking in Russian, which also has a long and a short adjectival form (Wade 1992) with the same formal distribution as in Mosestén. As in Russian, in Mosestén the distribution of long and short forms of the predicatively used adjective depends on various semantic factors. The following examples show the attributive use of adjectives, where the adjective is usually marked by the gender marker:

(30)e Mi' mintyi' **daer-tyi'**.
 3M.SG man big-M
 'The man is big.' or 'The big man.'

(31)e Tsin ya'ij its kasko öj-dye-tyi' nana-si' **ichäeke-si'**.
 1PL buy.M.S DEM.M boat.E DEM.F-BEN-M girl-F little-F
 'We buy this boat for that little girl.'

Some adjectives are exceptions and do not always take the genitive in attributive position:

(32)e **dyam'** momo' phen-in
 few only.F woman-PL
 'only few women'

The following examples show the predicative use of adjectives. In this case, the adjectives may be in the long or in the short form. When in the long form, the adjectives agree in gender with their antecedent, which in this case is the subject of the clause.⁶

(33)e Mo' aka' **daer-si'**.
 3F.SG house big-F
 'The house is big/the big house.'⁷

(34)e Mi' soñi' **daer-tyi'**.
 3M.SG man big-M
 'The man is big/the big man.'⁸

⁶ In the case of an object predicative the agreement would be with the object.

⁷ This has also another translation (see 'Relative clauses' below): 'the house that is big'

⁸ This also has another translation (see 'Relative clauses' below): 'the man who is big'

- (35)e Mo' aka' **daer**.
 3F.SG house big
 'The house is big.'

7. *Other nominal relationships*

Apart from the adjectival marking discussed above, there are a number of structures in Mosestén that express nominal relationships and mark for gender: the possessive construction, which has already been discussed with the possessive pronouns, the benefactive/purposive case and participant-nominalization.

The benefactive case consists of the benefactive marker and the gender marker *-tyi'* (M) and *-si'* (F). It expresses benefactive and purposive meanings. Gender agreement is with the subject of an intransitive clause:

- (36)t Jikejkatyi' mo'-in ish-mo'
 PST EVID 3F-PL mother.in.law-3F.SG

 phan'-ye-j-ki-' mo'-chhe' **ijme-dye-si'**.
 feather-VB-DIR-DIR-F.S 3F.SG-SUP arrow-BEN-F
 'Then her mother-in-law (went) up there to get feather(s) for the arrow.'

In transitive clauses, gender agreement in the benefactive case suffix is with the object of the clause:⁹

- (37)e Yij tsin jiri-s jedye' **its-dye-si'**.
 say.M.S 1PL one-F thing DEM.M-BEN-F
 'We say one thing to ('for') him.'
- (38)e Tsin ya'ij mi' o'sho' **mo'-dye-tyi'**.
 1PL buy.M.S 3M.SG clothes 3F.SG-BEN-M
 'We buy these clothes for her.'

One type of nominalization marking involves the morphemes *-tyi'* (M) and *-si'* (F) and thus shows gender agreement. This nominalizer primarily derives verbs. The nominalization focuses on the subject participant of the action, so that the nominalized element denotes a person. Gender agreement is with the subject of this verb, i.e. with the person(s) that is / are expressed:

⁹ In other structures, to be discussed below, the antecedent of gender agreement can be an established topic in the situation. Also the benefactive case marking might agree in gender with an established topic, even if I have no clear examples of this yet.

- (39)t Mi'-in-nä' aj **ro'ya-ki-tyi'-in** aj äejai saeksi-in.
 3M-PL-and ASP dance-INTR-M-PL ASP stop.M.S eat.M.S-PL
 'And the dancers (M) stop eating.'

8. Verbs

There is gender marking on all intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs are marked for gender with 3rd person objects and also 1st person inclusive plural subjects. The other person forms in the transitive cross-reference system do not mark for gender.

8.1. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs agree with the gender of the subject. This agreement marking is apparent in all persons. The feminine gender is expressed by a glottal suffix, the masculine gender is expressed by the lack of this glottal and when ending in a vowel, it is often followed by a slight aspiration:

- (40)e Yäe karij-tya-**kij**.
 1SG hard-APPL-INTR.M.S
 'I (M) work.'

- (41)e Yäe karij-tya-**ki-'**.
 1SG hard-APPL-INTR-F.S
 'I (F) work.'

The inflection of intransitive verbs, with one exception, shows gender marking for the subject. The exception is the 1st person plural inclusive subject, which behaves differently from the other persons in the cross-reference paradigm, and which has a separate form with intransitive verbs. The intransitive 1st person plural inclusive inflection has the same form for both genders:

- (42)e Saekse-**ja'**.
 eat.INTR-1PL.in
 'We (incl.) eat.' (masculine, feminine, mixed)¹⁰

Mosetén also has a verb with suppletive stem forms for each gender: *atsij*, 'he goes' and *ayij* 'she goes'. Usually, the feminine *ayij* has no glottal at the end to indicate the feminine agreement, even if I have few examples where speakers use the form *ayi'* with a glottal. An explanation for this could be that since the gender is already specified by different verbal stems, there is no need for a special ending for feminine gender agreement:

¹⁰ In Chimane and Mosetén de Santa Ana, the same form *-ja'* is also used with transitive verbs with a 1st person plural inclusive subject, agreeing in gender with the object. The affix *-ja* is used with a masculine object and *-ja'* with a feminine object. Thus, the form *-ja'*, which is used in the intransitive cross-reference ending in all three dialects, seems originally to be a feminine form.

- (43)e Mo' **ayij** yäe-ya'.
3F.SG come.F.S 1SG-AD
'She comes to me.'
- (44)t Yoshropai-mij khin **atsij** i-khan' mij
thank-2SG now come.M.S M-IN 2SG
'Thanks that you now came here.'

When affixes are added to the verb *atsij/ayij*, however, the glottal for the feminine gender form and the lack of the glottal on the masculine form become evident. The following examples show the directional marker *-joj* (M)/*-jo'* (F) with the alternative form *-joi'* (F), which frequently is added to this verb and which takes typical verbal gender agreement forms:¹¹

- (45)t Me'-nä-yäe **atsij-jo-ij** jäe'maj **atsij-jo-ij**
DM-'and'-1SG come.M.S-DIR-M.S DM come.M.S-DIR-M.S
- yäe viaje-ij chhata'-yäe
1SG travel.E-VB.M.S truly-1SG
- jäe'maj äwä-tom-yäe jäe'maj certificado-dye-si'.
DM son-COM-1SG DM certificate.E-BEN-F¹²
'And I came here, I truly traveled here with my son for the certificate.'
- (46)t Ayij maj ojñi' **ayij-jo-i'**¹³ mo' Köwë'döj.
come.F.S much water come.F.S-DIR-F.S 3F.SG Covendo (rio C.)
'Much water came (here) in the river 'Covendo'.'

Another verb that has two different stems, one for each gender, is the verb *iyayekij*, 'get better.M', *oyayeki*, 'get better.F'. With these stems, the development of different gender forms in the stem is synchronically clear, as this verb derives from a place adverb with comparative meaning, which itself derives from a pronoun (see the section below on place adverbs):

- (47)t Yidyej san' mimi' ji'-tye-tej mi'-mimi'
pure mentisan.herb only.M CAUS-drink-3SG.M.O 3M.SG-only.M

¹¹ Only the affixes *-jo'/-joi'* and *-ban'* are used with this verb (in my data) and they have marking for the feminine gender.

¹² The Spanish word *certificado* 'certificate' seems to act as a feminine noun in Masetén, even if its gender assignment is masculine in Spanish.

¹³ The feminine form in Masetén de Covendo is *-jo'*, even if some speaker use *-joi'*, which is the form of this morpheme in the other dialects Masetén de Santa Ana and Chimane.

mi'-mimi' jö'dyë'yä' aj iyaye-k-han.
 3M.SG-only.M and already get.better.M-INTR-again.M.S
 'We made him drink purely San' (a special herb) and he became better.'

(48)t Kaechen' öyaye-ki-' jikej.
 go.on get.better.F-INTR-F.S PST
 'She was getting better.'

8.2. Transitive verbs

The complicated cross-reference system of transitive verbs contains some forms agreeing in gender with an argument, while other forms do not show any such agreement. All 3rd person object forms show gender agreement with a number split in respect to their antecedent: singular 3rd person object forms inflect for the gender of the object, 3rd person plural object forms agree with the gender of the subject of the clause. Also 1st person inclusive plural subject forms (of transitive verbs) show gender agreement. The following table summarises the forms of the cross-reference markers in the 3rd person object forms and the 1st person plural inclusive forms in order to show the gender agreement structure in transitive cross-reference. Only forms that show gender agreement are given in the table:

	1SG.O.M	1SG.O.F	3SG.O.M	3SG.O.F	3PL.O.M	3PL.O.F
	2SG.O.M	2SG.O.F				
	1PL.O.M	1PL.O.F				
	2PL.O.M	2PL.O.F				
1SG.S.M			-te	-(V)'	-ksi	-ksi
1SG.S.F			-te	-(V)'	-ksi'	-ksi'
2SG.S.M			-te	-(V)'	-ksi	-ksi
2SG.S.F			-te	-(V)'	-ksi'	-ksi'
3SG.S.M			-te	-(V)'	-ksi	-ksi
3SG.S.F			-te	-(V)'	-ksi'	-ksi'
1PL.in.S.M	-tij	-tij	-tij	-tij	-kseja	-kseja
1PL.in.S.F	-ti'	-ti'	-ti'	-ti'	-kseja'	-kseja'
1PL.ex.S.M			-te	-(V)'	-ksi	-ksi
1PL.ex.S.F			-te	-(V)'	-ksi'	-ksi'
2PL.M			-te	-(V)'	-ksi	-ksi
2PL.F			-te	-(V)'	-ksi'	-ksi'
3PL.M			-te	-(V)'	-ksi	-ksi
3PL.F			-te	-(V)'	-ksi'	-ksi'

Table 2: Transitive cross-reference markers that show gender agreement

8.2.1. The forms of the 3rd person singular object

These forms are marked for the gender of the object, but they are independent of the gender of the subject of the clause.

Apart from the special person marking forms of the 1st person plural inclusive subject marking, the forms of the 3rd person singular masculine object are *-te* and for the 3rd person singular feminine object they are *-V'* (or variably *-Vi* or *-Vi'*)¹⁴. The gender agreement is with this object form (and not with e.g. the subject):

- (49)t “Jäe'nä' abi' mi jij-tijj” **ye-te-kätyi'** mo' soñi';
 where QUE 2SG come-DIR.M.S say-3SG.M.O-EVID 3F.SG man
- me'kij mi' yij soñi' **ye-'** phen ...
 thus 3M.SG say.M.Sman say-3SG.F.O woman
- “‘Where did you come from’, she said to the man; thus the man said to her...’

8.2.2. The forms of the 3rd person plural object

In the cross-reference forms for the 3rd person plural object, the gender agreement is with the subject, as opposed to the singular, where the gender agreement is with the object. In all cases, apart from the special case of where the subject of the clause is the 1st person plural inclusive, the form is *-ksi* for 3rd person plural object and a masculine subject and *-ksi'* for a feminine subject.¹⁵

- (50)e Mo' **phoch-ya-ksi-'** mi'-in
 3F.SG inject-VB-3PL.O-F.S 3M-PL
 ‘She injects them.’
- (51)e Its Fan **ji'-karij-tya-ksi** yidyey phen'-in.
 DEM.M Juan CAUS-work-APPL-3PL.O.M.S pure woman-PL
 ‘This Juan makes purely women work.’

8.2.3. The forms of the 1st person plural subject

The forms of the transitive 1st person plural inclusive subject differ from other transitive cross-reference forms, as do intransitive cross-reference forms for the 1st person plural inclusive subject. All forms of the 1st person inclusive subject agree in gender with the subject:

¹⁴ V means vowel. In this case the vowel is often *e*.

¹⁵ The forms of the 3rd person plural objects differ from the other cross-reference forms in various other ways. Many derivational affixes that usually appear before the cross-reference ending occur after the marker for the 3rd person plural object. In many ways this form functions like an intransitive derivation, also in its gender agreement to the subject of the clause.

- (52)t **Pa'-ki-ti-ra'** tyäkä'-dyerä' ija-tij
hit-INTR-1PL.in.S.M-POT always-must.be kill-1PL.in.S.M
- otej-nä-rä' jikej
not.let.disappear.again-and-POT PST
'We will hit and thus kill it, and we (M) wouldn't let it disappear again.'
- (53)t Me'-kij mo' yi- 'jam yäe raise-' ka-i'
thus-that.M 3F.SG say-F.S NEG 1SG want-3SG.F.O bring-3SG.F.O
- öij kädäej jedye-dye-si'-dye'-ki-ra' **ka-ti-'** ''
DEM.F baby thing-BEN-F-NOM-that-POT bring-1PL.in-F.S
'Thus she says "I do not want to bring this baby, why should we (F) bring it?"'

8.3. Copular verbs

Gender differences also occur in copular verbs. There is no obligatory copular verb in affirmative clauses and the optional copular verbs do not show gender agreement. In negative clauses, however, the copular verb *itsi'* (F)/*itsij* (M) must be present. Gender agreement is with the subject:

- (54)e Jebe-' shiish-yäe, yodye' **itsi-'-ya'** phen-yäe.
eat.(trans)-3SG.F.O meat-1SG when not.be-F.S-when wife-1SG
'I eat meat when my wife is not (at home).'
- (55)e **Itsij** aka'-khan'.
not.be.M house-IN
'The (man) is not in the house (i.e. at home).'

9. Place adverbs

In Mosestén, even place adverbs agree in gender. The form is diachronically derived from personal pronouns, in which this gender difference also is apparent (compare section 2).¹⁶

The gender marking of the place adverb in transitive and intransitive clauses agrees with the gender of the subject of the clause. However, as I will show below, the antecedent of the agreement marking may change due to pragmatic factors.

- (56)e Mo' Jeanette **mo-wej** jadyi-ki-'.
3F.SG Jeanette F-DR go-DIR-F.S
'Jeanette went there.'

¹⁶ There are various deictic differences in the place adverbs: *mo'wej* (far), *mowej* (very far, cannot be seen) and *owej* (close) differ in distance to the speaker.

- (57)e Yäe mäen'ja' **mi-wej** jadyi-ki.
 1SG(M) yesterday M-DR go-DIR.M.S
 'I (M) went there yesterday.'

The two examples above show intransitive clauses. In the first example the subject of the clause is feminine and the place adverb 'over there' is in the feminine gender and in the second example the subject is masculine, leading to a masculine agreement marking in the place adverb.

The following example shows a transitive clause, where the gender agreement of the place adverb is also with the subject of the clause:

- (58)e Alfredo nash tyaj-k-ei-rä' Maria **i-ya'**.
 Alfredo EMP meet-DIR-3SG.F.O-POT Maria M-AD
 'Alfredo will go to meet Maria here.'

The subject of the clause is masculine, the object feminine and the place adverb carries masculine agreement, agreeing with the subject.

The examples above are all elicitation examples, i.e. clauses outside of a discourse context. Looking at discourse context, however, the picture of gender agreement is different. In the following example a topic is established in the first clause, which then is the trigger of gender agreement in the second clause:

- (59)t a Jikejmo' anik-si-si' jijka-baj-te tya'kaj-ye-' aj
 PST 3F.SG sure-RD-F follow-again-3SG.M.O leave-VB-3SG.F.OASP
 äwä' tyäjä'-wë-dyërä' wen-jo-' o'yi-si'-wej.
 child edge.of.plantation-DR-must.be 'move'-DIR-F.S yuca-F-DR
 'She surely followed him, left (her) child and went to the edge of the yuca field.'

- (59)t b **Mo'-wej** aj phij-ye-' jam-ra' mo' aj soñi'-ra'
 3F.SG-DR ASP blow-VB-3SG.F.O NEG-POT 3F.SG ASP man-POT
 mi' aj-win sino itsikij chhi-mo' aj itsikij.
 3M.SG ASP-before but.rather.E jaguar also-3F.SG ASP jaguar.
 'There he blew her (in her ear), (and from then on) she no longer (saw) the man (he was) before, but rather a jaguar, and also she was a jaguar.'

In (59b) the place adverb is in the feminine gender, agreeing with the established topic of the preceding clause, whereas the subject of (59b) is masculine in gender. Thus here, the agreement of gender does not follow a strictly syntactic pattern, but reacts to pragmatic factors.

10. Particles

Remarkably, gender can also be marked on some particles.

10.1. Only, just

The first particle I want to discuss is ‘only, just’. This is expressed by *mimi*’ (masculine) and *momo*’ (feminine). Diachronically, these seem to be reduplicated forms of the personal pronouns *mi*’, ‘he’ and *mo*’, ‘she’. There are two kinds of uses, where *mimi*’/*momo*’ appears. On the one hand this particle can be attached to a noun phrase, meaning ‘only’. On the other hand, the particle can be used in a clausal context, meaning ‘just’.

When this particle is used attached to the noun phrase with the meaning ‘only’, the agreement in gender is with the head noun:

(60)t Jäe’mä **mimi**’ äwä’-yäe jö’dye’ya’ tyiñe’-yäe
 DM only.M son-1SG and son.in.law-1SG

mi’-in **mimi**’ karijtyakij mi’-we-in
 3M-PL only.M work.M.S 3M.SG-DR-PL

‘Well, only my son and my son in law, only they are working in there.’

In this example, ‘only’ is part of the noun phrase and agrees in gender with the masculine head noun.

When the meaning is ‘just’, the element in the scope of this particle is the whole clause, and the gender agreement is with the subject of that clause. Example (61) shows an intransitive clause involving agreement with the subject, (62) is a transitive clause, where the agreement also is with the subject of the clause:¹⁷

(61)t Yok-min’-tyi’ katyi’-in jam jäe’maj jam’ jam-dyërä’
 other-DIS-M EVID-PL NEG DM NEG NEG-must.be

chhaekh-dyi’-dyiij-in yok-min’-tyi’-in me’-**mimi**’ jiyij-in jam
 careful-DIR-PROG-PL other-DIS-M-PL so-only.M pass.M-PL NEG

jäe’maj kawa-kij-k-hoi-in me’-katyi’ **mimi**’ jiyij-in
 DM look-INTR-DIR-DIR.M.S-PL so-EVID just.M pass.M-PL

‘Others were not going carefully, they just passed without looking (watching out), in this way they just passed.’

¹⁷ There might again, as with the place adverbs, be a broader, pragmatically based pattern of gender agreement. This pattern would then take an established topic as its antecedent. However, the lack of correspondence between subjecthood and topichood remains to be investigated.

- (62)e Maria chhĩ-ye-te äwä'-mi' Martin-tyi'. Me'-momo'
 Maria know-VB-3SG.M.O child-3M.SG Martin-M thus-only.F
 'Maria knows the child of Martin. That is all (about this).'

10.2. Question particles and other particles

Several particles are diachronically derived from the pronouns *i* and *o*, which in Chimane seem to be free particles (Gill 1999). In Mositén de Covendo, they always occur in fixed combinations with particles or affixes, as for example together with the unproductive suffix *-ka'*, which is used in rhetorical questions.¹⁸ Thus, diachronically, these two now unproductive morphemes have developed into the productively used question particles *ika'* (M) and *oka'* (F). They show agreement in gender with the subject:

- (63)e Tyi'-ra' ö-ka' mo' ti'-i-'.
 person-POT F-QUE 3F.SG name-VB-F.S
 'What was her name?' (I knew it once, but can't remember it right now)
- (64)t Tyi'-ra' i-ka' ti'-ij mi' wiyä'-[in] tyashi-tyi'
 person-POT M-QUE name-VB.M.S 3M.SG old.man-[PL] approach-M
 'How was this old guy called who approached (the certain place).'

11. Discussion and conclusion

There are most probably several other targets showing gender agreement in addition to those discussed here. Further research may reveal these.

11.1. The feminine as the unmarked gender

Formally, there is no clear difference in the markedness of the different genders, even if with verbs the feminine gender often appears longer, as it involves a glottal where there is no marking in the masculine form. Functionally, however, the feminine gender is usually the unmarked form in Mositén as opposed to the masculine gender. Thus, when a verb, such as the modal verb 'want', is followed by a clause as its formal object, this verb always gets feminine object marking:

- (65)t Mo' jam raise-' jij-ka-baj-te
 3F.SG NEG want-3SG.F.O go-DIR-again-3SG.M.O
 'She does not want to follow him.'

When males and females constitute one group, usually the feminine form is used to refer to them:

¹⁸ In the same way as the pronouns *i* and *o* are unproductive in Mositén, the suffix *ka'* is also unproductive in Mositén and productive in Chimane. It only exists in some combinations in Mositén, together with other question particles such as *dyaj* or *dyash*, which themselves are productive in Mositén.

(66)e **Mo'-in yi'-in** atsi-jo-ij katyi' äwä'-mi'.
 3F-PL say-F.S-PL come-DIR-M.S EVID child-3M.SG
 'They (father and mother) said that their son came.'

(67)e Elena y Fan, **mo'-in** käijedye'-tom San Jose-chhe'-in.
 Elena and.E Juan 3F-PL plantation-COM San Jose-SUP-PL
 'Elena and Juan, they have a plantation in San Jose.'

Sometimes, however, the masculine gender form is used in this case, especially in the speech of young people, surely due to the influence of Spanish.

11.2. Individual differences

I have encountered variation in the speech of consultants with respect to the formal expression of gender. One of my female consultants differentiates between feminine and masculine in the plural clitic *in*. She frequently uses *on* in feminine forms. Thus, *mo'in*, 'they, F' becomes *mo'on*. She might be re-interpreting the *i* in this plural clitic as a masculine form, as opposed to *o* being the feminine form. This difference becomes apparent in the personal pronouns, where *mi'* is the 3rd person singular masculine and *mo'* the 3rd person singular feminine. This seems to be a personal invention of my consultant, since I have not yet found any other speakers who use this form, nor any other data that could lead me to the conclusion that the form *on* for the plural feminine is a general form.

11.3. Conclusion

In Mosetén, gender agreement is not restricted to 'typical' targets such as adjectives, personal pronouns and verbal cross-reference, but it is also found in place adverbs, case marking, relative clause markers, and particles. In many cases, it is rather unclear from a functional perspective why these targets show gender agreement. The explanation lies in the development of these structures. The forms of gender agreement to some extent resemble each other. The gender forms in Mosetén can be divided into four formal classes:

- 1) *-si'* (F) and *-tyi'* (M)
- 2) *o* (F) and *i* (M)
- 3) forms ending in a glottal (F) and forms not ending in a glottal (M)
- 4) suppletion differences

I will briefly discuss these:

- 1) Gender agreement by the forms *-si'* (F)/*-tyi'* (M) and the short form *-s* (F)/*-ty* (M) is frequently found inside the noun phrase. This is a phenomenon usually called *macrofunctionality of morphemes* (Gil 2001), i.e. the same morpheme is used for posses-

sion structures, adjectival marking, relative clause marking, nominalizations and other functions. In Mosestén this macrofunctional morpheme furthermore marks some pronouns and numerals. In addition to that, it appears in the benefactive case markers. As this morpheme shows gender differences, all its uses have these differences. The development of macrofunctional morphemes as in Mosestén may have proceeded in several ways. In the case of Mosestén, the development of macrofunctionality might have started with the use of a morpheme in only one structure for which gender agreement was functionally important. One such structure could have been the genitive case. Then, the morpheme gained a broader use, bringing its gender agreement forms into other structures, which one would not usually expect to show gender agreement.

2) The differentiation between feminine and masculine gender by *o* (F) and *i* (M) is found with pronouns, place adverbs and certain particles. Diachronically, these place adverbs and particles appear to have developed from the personal pronouns *mo'* (F), *mi'* (M) and the particles *o* (F), *i* (M), the path of grammaticalization still being rather clear in the synchronic forms. In this way, place adverbs consist of a 3rd person pronoun such as *mo'* and a local case marker such as *-wej*: *mo'wej*, 'there'. In the same way, the particle *momo'* (F), *mimi'* (M) has most probably developed by a reduplication of the personal pronoun. The place adverb *ikhan'*, 'here.M'/okhan' here.F' and the question particles *oka'* (F), *ika'* (M) have developed by combining the particle *o*, *i* with a case marker or a question particle.

3) The marking of the feminine gender by a glottal and the lack of this glottal in the masculine gender is found in verbs. Both transitive and intransitive verbs show this marking, even if the transitive 3rd person singular masculine object has another agreement form

4) Gender differences marked by suppletion are found in a few forms, among them one verb, several nouns denoting females/males and the demonstrative pronouns *öij* (F) and *its* (M).

I have shown that gender agreement morphemes are not separate forms in Mosestén, but that there are few forms that are found in various different targets of gender agreement. This seems in many cases to have to do with diachronic developments in the language. Since personal pronouns carry gender marking in Mosestén and since these pronouns have played a role in creating new forms, gender agreement had a way to expand. In the same way, a certain morpheme that has developed into a macrofunctional morpheme by chance carried gender agreement, and thus brought gender agreement to targets where we usually would not expect to find it.

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Abbreviations

IPL.in	first plural inclusive	E	Spanish loan	POT	potential
IPL.ex	first plural exclusive	EMP	emphatic marker	PROG	progressive aspect
AD	adessive relation	F	feminine gender	PST	past tense marker
APPL	applicative	IN	inessive relation	QUE	question marker
ASP	aspect	INTR	intransitivizer	RD	reduplication
BEN	benefactive case	M	masculine gender	S	subject
CAUS	causative	NEG	negation	SG	singular
COM	comitative	NOM	nominalization	SUP	superessive relation
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	NUM	numeral marker	V	vowel
DIR	directional	O	object	VB	verbalization
DIS	distributive	ORD	ordinal numeral	()e	elicitation example
DM	discourse marker	PASS	passive voice	()t	text example
DR	"downriver" relation	PL	plural		