

Mouton Grammar Library

A Grammar of Mosetén



Mouton Grammar Library 33

Editors

Georg Bossong

Bernard Comrie

Matthew Dryer

Mouton de Gruyter

Berlin · New York

# A Grammar of Mosetén

by  
Jeanette Sakel

Mouton de Gruyter  
Berlin · New York

Mouton de Gruyter (formerly Mouton, The Hague)  
is a Division of Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin.

⊗ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines of the  
ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Sakel, Jeanette, 1973– A grammar of Mosestén / by Jeanette Sakel. p. cm. – (Mouton grammar library ; 33) English and Mosestén. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 3-11-018340-4 (cloth : alk. paper) 1. Mosestén language – Grammar. I. Title. II. Series. PM6561.S35 2004 498'.9–dc22  2004023226
---

ISBN 3 11 018340 4

*Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek*

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <<http://dnb.ddb.de>>.

© Copyright 2004 by Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, D-10785 Berlin.  
All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages. No part of this book  
may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical,  
including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permis-  
sion in writing from the publisher.  
Printed in Germany.

*For the Mosetenes – shall they be proud of their language!*



## Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to the speakers of Mosestén who contributed to this grammar either directly, by working with me, or indirectly, by telling stories in their language: Adan Misange Oye, Adrian Topepe Misange, Casiana Wasna, Cristobal Icona, Catalina Siquimen, Cleto Tahe Chinica, Cipiriano Vani, Dario Chairique, Delicia Miro Wasna, Esteban Condo, Eliseo Miro, Emiliano Condo, Fidelina Topepe Misange, Juan Josesito, Lidia Misange Oye, Mamerto Wasna, Ricardina Icona, Rita Nena Natte Wasna, Rosnilda Condo Siquimen, Ruth Misange, Sacarias Misange, Victoriano Chairique Oye and Victorina Cualico Josesito. Especially, I want to thank my main informant, Juan Huasna Bozo, who was both conscientious and enthusiastic about this project, collecting language data and organizing writing lessons for young Mosestenes.

In Bolivia, I want to thank Ricardo Giavarini, who always helped me to contact the Mosestenes, sending my messages by radio or delivering them personally. Furthermore, I want to thank Wayne and Ruth Gill, who kindly shared their Chimane material with me. Moreover, I am grateful to the Gran Consejo Tsimane', Padre Ives Anderson, Yuri Gonzalo Aguilar Dávalos and the staff at the libraries of the Universidad Católica in Cochabamba and CIPCA in El Alto.

I owe thanks to Isabelle Daillant for sharing her material with me and helping me to get to know the Mosestenes, their culture and their present situation a little better.

Furthermore, I want to thank Franz Caspar's family for contributing unpublished material.

I am especially thankful for the huge amount of help and comments on this manuscript by Bernard Comrie (MPI EVA, Leipzig, Germany) and Pieter Muysken (University of Nijmegen, Holland).

This project could not have been carried out without the financial support of the Max Planck Society. I am grateful to the members and visitors at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, who have supported me with comments. Likewise, I owe thanks to other colleagues and friends with whom I had the opportunity to discuss my

work, although space does not allow me to mention each of them individually.

Particularly, I want to thank Frans Plank and Peter Bakker for introducing me to linguistic typology and fieldwork many years ago.

At Mouton, I would like to thank Ursula Kleinhenz and Monika Wendland. Likewise I am thankful for the comments by Georg Bossong.

Finally, I cannot tell all the gratitude for the support I received from my friends and family, especially from Morten Schønau Fog and from Mishi, who was faithfully lying on my desk.



## Contents

Abbreviations	xxi
Maps	xxvii
Map I: Bolivia	xxvii
Map II: The area where Masetén and Chimane are spoken	xxviii
Map III: Neighboring languages	xxix
List of tables	xxx
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Masetenan	1
1.2. The genetic affiliation of Masetenan	2
1.3. Masetén and its speakers	3
1.3.1. Demography	3
1.3.2. Sociolinguistics	4
1.3.3. Spanish language influence	6
1.3.4. Occupation, education and politics	7
1.4. History of the Masetenes and previous research	8
1.5. History and method of my research	11
1.6. Structural characteristics of Masetén	13
2. Phonology	17
2.1. Vowels	17
2.2.1. Vowel inventory	17
2.1.2. Coda approximants	23
2.1.3. Length	24
2.2. Consonants	24
2.2.1. Plosives	25
2.2.2. Fricatives	29
2.2.3. Affricates	31
2.2.4. Nasals	32
2.2.5. Trills	33
2.2.6. Approximants	34
2.2.7. Sounds that appear in Spanish loanwords	34
2.3. Phonotactics	35
2.3.1. Syllable structure	35

2.3.2. Vowel assimilation	36
2.3.3. Nasal harmony	40
2.4. Stress	42
2.5. Morphophonology	44
2.5.1. Stem vowels	45
2.5.1.1. /e/	45
2.5.1.2. /i/	46
2.5.1.3. /a/	46
2.5.2. Drop of glottal stop	48
2.5.3. Consonant alternations	48
2.5.4. Extension of the velar fricative	49
2.5.5. Change <i>ti</i> > <i>dyi</i> after consonants	49
2.5.6. Nasal attack (epenthesis)	50
2.6. Orthography	50
3. Morphological processes	53
3.1. Roots and stems	53
3.2. Affixes	54
3.2.1. Suffixes	55
3.2.2. Prefixes	55
3.2.3. Infixes	56
3.2.4. Reduplication	56
3.2.5. Combinations of affixes	59
3.3. Clitics	60
4. The nominal system	63
4.1. Nominal relation marking	63
4.1.1. The linker in possessive function	64
4.1.2. Comitative	65
4.1.3. Associative	66
4.1.4. Benefactive	67
4.1.5. Adessive	69
4.1.6. Inessive	70
4.1.7. 'Downriver'	72
4.1.8. Superessive	73
4.1.9. <i>-dyetyi</i> 'only'	74
4.1.10. <i>-win</i> 'dead'	75
4.1.11. Further notes on relation markers	76

4.1.11.1. The local relation markers	77
4.1.11.2. Reduplication of relation markers expressing ‘distributed plurality’	79
4.2. Number	81
4.2.1. The <i>in</i> plural clitic	81
4.2.2. Plurality through reduplication of nominal roots	82
4.2.3. Singular marking in plural environments	84
4.2.4. <i>yaetaem</i> plural emphasis	85
4.3. Gender	85
4.3.1. Gender agreement	86
4.3.2. The forms of gender agreement in Mosetén	88
4.3.3. Gender agreement changes	89
4.3.4. The feminine as the unmarked gender	90
4.3.5. Person differences	92
4.4. Nominalization	92
4.4.1. The <i>-dye</i> ’ forms	92
4.4.1.1. Nominalization by <i>-dye</i> ’	93
4.4.1.2. ‘Time’ meaning of <i>-dye</i> ’	94
4.4.1.3. ‘Place’ meaning of <i>-dye</i> ’	95
4.4.2. Nominalization by the linker	96
4.4.3. Nominalizations by <i>-ty</i> (M) and <i>-s</i> (F)	97
4.4.4. Nominalization and the benefactive relation marker	99
4.5. Compounding	99
4.6. Diminution / Augmentation	99
4.6.1. Diminution	99
4.6.2. Dialect-determined use of diminutives	101
4.6.3. Augmentation	101
4.7. Noun phrase structures	101
4.8. The linker	105
4.8.1. Possession marking and the linker	106
4.8.2. Adjectives and the linker	106
4.8.3. Relative clauses marked by the linker	107
4.8.4. Nominalizations marked by the linker	108
4.8.5. Verbal participles and the linker	108
4.8.6. The linker in combination with relation markers	110
4.8.7. The linker in the marker for benefactive	110
4.8.8. The linker as part of a relative clause marker	111
4.8.9. The linker in the forms of the ordinal numbers	111

4.8.10. The reference pronoun <i>yok-</i> and the linker	112
4.8.11. The linker in combination with <i>jäen'</i>	112
4.8.12. Reduplicated linker forms	112
4.8.12.1. Reduplicated linker forms expressing distributed plurality	113
4.8.12.2. Reduplicated linker forms with sentential particles	114
5. Pronouns and reference	117
5.1. Personal pronouns and person clitics	117
5.2. Demonstrative pronouns	119
5.3. Possessive pronouns	121
5.3.1. Personal pronouns marked by the linker	121
5.3.2. Possession clitics	122
5.4. Interrogative pronouns	124
5.4.1. <i>jäen'</i>	124
5.4.2. <i>jäen'tyi' / jäen'si'</i>	125
5.4.3. <i>jäen'tom</i>	126
5.4.4. <i>jäen'chhë'</i>	127
5.4.5. <i>jäen'ki'</i>	127
5.4.6. <i>jäen'dye'</i>	128
5.4.7. <i>jäen'jä'</i>	128
5.4.8. <i>jäen'äkha</i>	129
5.4.9. <i>jäe'ñi'tyi' / jäe'ñi'si'</i>	129
5.4.10. <i>jäetaej</i>	130
5.4.11. <i>jäe'nä'</i>	130
5.4.12. <i>tyi</i>	131
5.4.13. <i>jedye'</i>	131
5.5. Indefinite pronouns	132
5.5.1. Indefinite pronouns with <i>khäei'</i>	132
5.5.2. Indefinite pronouns without <i>khäei'</i>	133
5.6. Reference tracking pronouns	134
5.6.1. Co-referential pronoun <i>khäei'</i>	134
5.6.2. Reflexive pronoun	136
5.6.3. Reciprocal pronoun	137
5.6.4. Non-coreferential pronoun	138
5.6.5. <i>-yekhiñi-</i> 'same'	139
5.7. Other proforms	140
5.7.1. The proform <i>jäe'mä</i>	140

5.7.2. The pro-verb <i>jaem'tye-</i>	141
6. Adjectives and adverbs	143
6.1. Adjectives	143
6.1.1. Attributively used adjectives	145
6.1.2. Predicatively used adjectives	145
6.1.3. The plural forms of adjectives	147
6.1.4. Manner adverbs deriving from adjectives	148
6.2. Adverbs turned into adjectives	149
6.3. Adjectival comparison	150
6.3.1. The comparative	151
6.3.2. The superlative	152
6.4. Adverbs	154
6.4.1. Place adverbs	154
6.4.1.1. Place adverbs based on personal pronouns	154
6.4.1.2. Lexical place adverbs	158
6.4.2. Temporal adverbs	160
6.4.3. Manner adverbs	162
6.4.4. Degree adverbs and adverb comparison	163
7. Quantification	167
7.1. Numerals	167
7.1.1. Cardinal numerals	167
7.1.2. Ordinal numerals	169
7.1.3. Other derivations of numerals	170
7.1.3.1. Reference to time and place	170
7.1.3.2. Reference to persons or objects	172
7.1.4. <i>paeren</i> 'both'	173
7.1.5. Other expressions of quantity	174
7.2. Non-numeral quantifiers	174
7.2.1. <i>raej</i> 'all'	174
7.2.2. <i>dyai</i> , <i>maj</i> , <i>ara</i> , <i>jes</i> 'a lot, much, many'	176
7.2.3. <i>dyam</i> 'few', 'a little'	177
7.2.4. <i>pärëj</i> 'some', 'aside'	178
8. The verbal system	181
8.1. Verbal inflection	181
8.1.1. The intransitive cross-reference paradigm	181

8.1.2. The transitive cross-reference paradigm	185
8.1.2.1. 1 <sup>st</sup> plural inclusive subjects in the transitive paradigm	186
8.1.2.2. The forms of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural objects	187
8.1.2.3. The category of gender in the cross-reference paradigm	189
8.1.2.4. The category of number in the cross-reference paradigm	190
8.1.2.5. The category of person in the cross-reference paradigm	191
8.1.3. Reflexives and reciprocals	191
8.1.3.1. Reflexives	191
8.1.3.2. Reciprocals	193
8.1.3.3. Overlapping reference in the cross-reference paradigm	194
8.1.4. Ditransitive verb constructions	195
8.1.5. Imperative inflection	196
8.1.5.1. Intransitive inflection of imperatives in the second person	196
8.1.5.2. Transitive inflection of imperatives	197
8.1.5.3. Negative imperative	198
8.1.5.4. Hortative	198
8.1.5.5. Imperative reflexive and short imperative forms	199
8.1.5.6. <i>-tyi'</i> imperative emphasis	201
8.2. Morphophonological characteristics of verbal stems	202
8.2.1. Consonant stems	203
8.2.1.1. Intransitive consonant stems	204
8.2.1.2. Transitive consonant stems	206
8.2.2. Direct stems	207
8.2.2.1. Intransitive direct stems	208
8.2.2.2. Transitive direct stems	209
8.2.3. Vowel stems	210
8.2.3.1. Intransitive vowel stems	210
8.2.3.2. Transitive vowel stems	212
8.2.4. Mixed stems	214
8.2.5. Irregular verbal stems	214
8.2.5.1. Reflexive forms	215
8.2.5.2. <i>-ban-</i>	215
8.2.5.3. <i>-tyi-</i>	216

8.3. Verbal stem markers	217
8.3.1. The verbal stem marker <i>-i-</i>	217
8.3.2. The verbal stem marker <i>-yi-</i>	223
8.3.3. The verbal stem marker <i>-tyi-</i>	230
8.3.4. The verbal stem marker <i>-ti-</i>	233
8.3.5. The verbal stem marker <i>-jo-</i>	235
8.3.6. The verbal stem marker <i>-ki-</i>	236
8.3.7. Mosesténization of Spanish elements	237
8.3.7.1. Mosesténization of Spanish elements by <i>-i-</i>	237
8.3.7.2. Mosesténization of Spanish elements by <i>-yi-</i>	238
8.3.8. Overlap of verbal stem markers	239
8.3.8.1. Subject control and transitivity	239
8.3.8.2. Affixation patterns	241
8.3.9. Combinations of verbalizer and nominalizer	243
8.3.10. Verbs not marked by verbal stem markers	244
8.4. Incorporation markers	249
8.4.1. <i>-ñi-</i> 'put', 'make' incorporation marker	249
8.4.2. <i>-bae'i</i> 'be', 'sit' incorporation marker	250
8.4.3. <i>-miñi-</i> 'turn into' incorporation marker	252
8.4.4. <i>-tii-</i> 'bring' incorporation marker	253
8.4.5. <i>-wei-</i> 'want' incorporation marker	253
8.4.6. <i>-tyi-</i> 'eat' incorporation marker	254
8.4.7. <i>-dyi-</i> 'taste' incorporation marker	255
8.4.8. <i>-dyi-</i> 'do each time' incorporation marker	256
8.4.9. <i>-sha'(ke)-</i> 'be able to' incorporation marker	256
8.5. Aspect	258
8.5.1. Progressive aspect	259
8.5.2. Habitual	263
8.5.3. Change of state and inceptive aspect marking by <i>-jo-</i>	264
8.5.4. Inceptive aspect marking by <i>-dyedyei-</i>	266
8.5.5. Iterative aspect	266
8.5.5.1. Iterative aspect through reduplication	266
8.5.5.2. The iterative aspect marker <i>-dyi-</i>	267
8.5.5.3. The iterative aspect marking infix <i>-'</i>	269
8.5.5.4. The different types of iterative aspect marking and their functions	270
8.5.6. Durative aspect	271

8.6. Associated motion	272
8.6.1. The <i>-ki-</i> marker	273
8.6.2. The <i>-ti/-sh-</i> marker	276
8.6.2.1. The <i>-ti-</i> form	276
8.6.2.2. The <i>-sh-</i> form	278
8.6.3. The <i>-kho-</i> marker	280
8.6.4. The <i>-chhi-</i> marker	281
8.6.5. The <i>-ji-</i> distributive marker	282
8.6.6. The <i>-min-</i> interrupted movement marker	283
8.6.7. The extension <i>-j-</i>	284
8.6.8. Bound verbal roots involving motion markers	286
8.7. The verbal suffix <i>-khñi</i> 'strongly'	288
8.8. The verbal suffix <i>-ban-</i> 'again'	289
8.9. Participles	294
9. Voice	297
9.1. The passive	297
9.1.1. The <i>-k</i> dynamic passive participle	299
9.1.2. The <i>ji'</i> <i>-ti-</i> restricted dynamic passive	300
9.1.3. The <i>ja-</i> <i>-ti-</i> dynamic passive	302
9.1.4. The resultative participle	304
9.1.5. General 3 <sup>rd</sup> person subjects	305
9.2. The middle voice <i>-ki-</i>	306
9.3. The antipassive	308
9.3.1. The antipassive <i>-ki-</i>	309
9.3.2. The antipassive <i>-ti-</i>	311
9.4. The causative	313
9.4.1. The analytic causative	313
9.4.2. The <i>ji'</i> causative	314
9.4.3. The causative prefix <i>je-</i> with stative verbs	317
9.5. The applicative	318
9.5.1. The applicative suffix <i>-yi-</i>	319
9.5.2. The applicative suffix <i>-tyi-</i>	320
9.5.3. The applicative prefix <i>ti-</i>	322
9.5.4. The applicative prefix <i>jaj-</i>	323
9.5.5. The applicative suffix <i>-bi-</i>	323
9.5.6. The applicative extension <i>-ti-</i> 'for a reason'	324
9.6. Combinations of voice structures	325



10. Negation	329
10.1. The negation marker <i>jam</i>	329
10.2. The existential negation marker <i>itsi-</i>	332
10.3. The negation <i>däeräe</i> 'not have'	333
10.4. Lexical negation	334
10.5. Negative quantifiers	335
11. Modality and discourse markers	339
11.1. Evidentials	339
11.1.1. The hearsay evidential <i>katyi</i> '	339
11.1.2. The sensory evidential <i>ishtyi</i> '	340
11.1.3. The unproductive deductive evidential <i>-(a)ke</i>	341
11.2. Modal particles and clitics	342
11.2.1. The irrealis marker <i>-ra</i> '	342
11.2.2. The necessity marker <i>-wi</i> '	345
11.2.3. <i>chhata</i> '	347
11.2.4. <i>ika</i> ' (M) / <i>oka</i> ' (F)	347
11.2.5. <i>khötei</i> (M) / <i>khö'i</i> (F)	348
11.2.6. <i>-dyera</i> '	349
11.2.7. <i>-tyi</i> '	350
11.2.8. <i>-yai</i>	351
11.2.9. <i>jäedyäk</i>	352
11.2.10. <i>watyeke</i>	353
11.2.11. <i>-dya'tyi</i> '	353
11.3. Emphasis markers	354
11.3.1. <i>anik</i>	355
11.3.2. <i>tyäkä</i> '	355
11.3.3. <i>räei</i>	356
11.3.4. <i>me</i> '	357
11.3.5. <i>khä</i>	357
11.3.6. Other types of emphasis marking	358
11.4. Referential discourse markers	360
11.4.1. <i>mimi</i> ', <i>mömö</i> ' 'only', 'just'	360
11.4.2. <i>kiwi</i> ' 'again'	361
11.4.3. <i>chhome</i> ' 'also'	361
11.4.4. <i>chhi-</i> 'also'	362
11.4.5. <i>jěñě</i> ' 'like'	363
11.4.6. <i>chhiáts</i> and <i>jitäej</i> ' 'instead'	363

11.5. Temporal reference particles	363
11.5.1. The “past” marker <i>jike</i>	363
11.5.2. The “past” marker <i>yata</i> ’	365
11.5.3. <i>-win</i> ‘completive’	365
11.5.4. <i>aj</i> ‘already, yet’	366
11.5.5. <i>jöf</i> ‘already for some time’	367
11.5.6. <i>-bi</i> ‘still, yet’	367
11.5.7. <i>ish</i> ‘then’, context reference	369
11.5.8. <i>-chhom</i> ‘first’	370
12. Clause types	371
12.1. Verbal clauses	371
12.1.1. Pro-drop	371
12.1.2. Word order in intransitive clauses	374
12.1.3. Word order in transitive clauses	376
12.2. Predicate clauses	378
12.2.1. Nominal predicates	378
12.2.2. Adjective predicates	379
12.2.3. Locative predicates	380
12.2.4. Existentials	380
12.2.5. Possessive clauses	381
12.3. Interrogative clauses	382
12.3.1. Question markers	382
12.3.1.1. <i>-dyash</i> ‘general information question’	383
12.3.1.2. <i>am</i> ‘speaker expects answer’	384
12.3.1.3. <i>abi</i> ‘speaker does not expect answer’	385
12.3.1.4. <i>-dyaj</i> ‘yes-no questions’	387
12.3.1.5. <i>-dyej</i> ‘yes-no questions and tag questions’	388
12.3.1.6. <i>-ka</i> ‘with question markers	389
12.3.1.7. <i>-dye</i> ‘with interrogative pronouns	390
12.3.1.8. Questions without question markers	391
12.3.2. Word order in interrogative clauses	392
12.4. Answers to questions	395
12.5. Adverbials and emphatics in word order	397
12.6. Focus constructions	398
12.6.1. The focus marker <i>näjä</i> ’	399
12.6.2. The focus marker <i>nä</i>	400
12.6.3. The focus marker <i>näsh</i>	401

13. Clause combinations	403
13.1. Coordination	403
13.1.1. Coordination by juxtaposition	404
13.1.2. Coordination by <i>jö'dyë'yä'</i>	405
13.2. "Contrastive" marking of adjacent clauses	406
13.2.1. <i>-ki</i> 'but', emphasizing subject non-co-reference	406
13.2.2. <i>-tsa'</i> frustrative	409
13.3. Relative clauses	411
13.3.1. <i>V-L</i> restrictive relative clauses	412
13.3.2. <i>yodye'-L</i> non-restrictive relative clauses	414
13.3.3. <i>yodye-dye'-L</i> and <i>jäe'ñi-L</i> restrictive relative clauses	417
13.3.4. Oblique functions of relative clause markers	418
13.3.4.1. Relative clause markers and local relations	419
13.3.4.2. Relative clause markers and the comitative	422
13.3.4.3. Relative clause markers and the benefactive	423
13.3.4.4. Relative clause markers and the associative	424
13.3.5. Other relative clause markers	424
13.3.6. Word order in relative clauses	424
13.3.7. Headless relative clauses: <i>yoj</i>	427
13.4. Complement clauses	429
13.4.1. Finite complement clauses	429
13.4.2. Non-finite complement clauses	432
13.4.3. Indirect questions	433
13.4.4. Word order in complement clauses	433
13.5. Adverbial clauses	434
13.5.1. Reason	435
13.5.2. Location	436
13.5.3. Manner	436
13.5.4. Time	437
13.5.5. Purpose	438
13.5.6. Simultaneous actions	439
13.5.7. Hypothetical conditional clauses	440
13.5.8. Counterfactual conditional clauses	441
13.5.9. Word order in adverbial clauses	442
13.6. Indirect speech	442
13.7. Participial clause combinations	443

Appendix I: Texts	447
Text 1: Interview and spoken text	447
Text 2: Written text	452
Text 3: Discussion	457
Appendix II: Word order in written texts	461
Appendix III: List of grammatical markers	463
Grammatical markers with nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs	463
Grammatical markers with verbs	464
Sentential markers	466
Notes	471
References	485
Further materials about Mosestén and Chimane	489
Index	499