

Mouton Grammar Library

A Grammar of Mosetén



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A Grammar of Mosetén

by

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

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Abbreviations

Glosses in the examples:

-	morpheme boundaries, in the list of abbreviations: affix
=	in the list of abbreviations: clitic
A	subject of transitive verb
AD = <i>ya</i>	adessive relation (added to NP), adverbial clause marker 'when', also used in hypothetical conditional clauses
AN - <i>ki</i> -	antipassive
AP	general gloss for applicative
APB - <i>bi</i> -	applicative 'against the will and possession of...'
APJ <i>jaj</i> -	applicative prefix 'accompany, with'
APD - <i>tyi</i> -	applicative 'from something'
APT <i>ti</i> -	applicative prefix 'due to'
APY - <i>yi</i> -	applicative 'for something'
AS = <i>min</i>	associative relation marker, plural marker with pronouns, adjectives and some adverbs
AT - <i>ti</i> -	antipassive, 'violence' meaning and 'say'
B	benefactive relation (added to NP), purposive adverbial clauses
C = <i>win</i>	'dead' (added to NP), time reference 'before', 'completed'
CA <i>ji</i> '-	general causative prefix
CO = <i>ki</i>	'but' contrastive marker, emphasizing subject non-co-reference in adjacent clauses
COM = <i>tom</i>	comitative relation (added to NP), simultaneous actions (in clause combinations)
CON = <i>dyej</i>	adverb comparison
CS <i>je</i> -	stative causative prefix
DC - <i>chhi</i> -	'doing the action on the way, here'
DE	demonstrative pronoun
DI - <i>ji</i> -	distributive associated motion marker
DIM	diminutive
DIR - <i>j</i> -	bound marker that appears in relation to motion forms

DJ	<i>-kho-</i>	associated motion marker ‘doing the action on the way, away’ (see also <i>-jo-</i>)
DK	<i>-ki-</i>	associated motion marker ‘do an action after arrival, away’
DM	<i>jäe’mä</i>	‘uh’, proform
DR	<i>=we</i>	downriver relation
DS	<i>-sh-</i>	associated motion marker ‘do an action after arrival, here’, with certain forms, see also <i>-ti-</i>
DT	<i>-ti-</i>	associated motion marker ‘do an action after arrival, here’, with certain forms, see also <i>-sh-</i>
E		Spanish
ED	<i>-(a)ke-</i>	deductive evidential (unproductive)
EH	<i>katyi’</i>	hearsay evidential
EM		emphasis marker: speaker emphasizes that what he says is true ¹
ES	<i>ishtyi’</i>	sensory (own experience) evidential
EX		exclamation
F		feminine
FO	<i>nä, näjä’</i>	focus marker: fronting of focussed element, strong focus
FR	<i>=tsa’</i>	‘but’ contrastive marker, frustrative (expectations have not been met)
GF	<i>näsh</i>	focus marker: general focus
HA		habitual
HOR		hortative
IE	<i>=tyi’</i>	imperative emphasis
IM		general imperative gloss
IMI		intransitive imperative
IMR		reflexive imperative
IMT		transitive imperative
IN	<i>=khan</i>	inessive relation
INC	<i>-dyedyei-</i>	inceptive aspect marker
INS	<i>-jo-</i>	inceptive aspect and change of state marker
IO		secondary object
IR	<i>=ra’</i>	modal marker: irrealis
ITR	<i>-min-</i>	interrupted movement marker, followed by associated motion marker
ITD	<i>-dyi-</i>	incorporation marker ‘iterative aspect’

ITI	-'	iterative aspect infix
L	= <i>si'</i> , = <i>tyi'</i>	linker
LO		general gloss for local relation marker
M		masculine
MO		modal marker: certainty ²
MN	= <i>wi'</i>	modal marker: necessity, used in counterfactual conditional clauses
NG	<i>jam</i>	general negation
NO	- <i>dye'</i>	general nominalization marker, also 'time' and 'place' meanings
NP		noun phrase
NX	<i>its-i-</i>	existential negation
O		object (primary object)
ON		onomatopoeic expression
P	= <i>in</i>	plural marker with nouns (subject)
PD	<i>ja-</i>	(in relation with reflexive marker - <i>ti-</i>): dynamic passive
PP	- <i>k</i>	dynamic passive participle
PR	- <i>n'</i>	general participle
PRI	- <i>jo-</i>	progressive intransitive marker
PE		(1 st person) plural exclusive
PI		(1 st person) plural inclusive
PR		progressive aspect
PS	<i>jike</i>	time reference: optional past tense marking
PT	= <i>yata'</i>	time reference: optional past tense marking
Q		general question marker
QI	= <i>dyash</i>	question marker: general information questions
QN	<i>am</i>	question marker: information questions, speaker expects the hearer to know the answer
QR	= <i>ka'</i>	question marker: rhetorical questions
QT	= <i>dyej</i>	question marker: yes / no questions, tag questions
QX	<i>abi'</i>	question marker: information questions, speaker does not expect the hearer to know the answer
QY	= <i>dyaj</i>	question marker: general yes / no questions
R	<i>yo(j)</i>	relative clause marker
RD		reduplication
RE	- <i>ti-</i>	reflexive and reciprocal marker
REA	- <i>ti-</i>	marker used with applicatives 'due to a reason'

RF	<i>khäei'</i>	reference and indefinite marker
s		short form
S		subject (of intransitive verb)
SG		singular
SU	<i>=chhe'</i>	superessive relation
TR	<i>-ke-</i>	transitive marker that appears in a number of forms, such as <i>-sha'(ke)-</i> 'can' and <i>-wa'(ke)-</i> 'progressive'
VD	<i>-tyi-</i>	verbal stem marker
VI	<i>-i-</i>	verbal stem marker
VJ	<i>-jo-</i>	verbal stem marker
VK	<i>-ki-</i>	verbal stem marker
VT	<i>-ti-</i>	verbal stem marker
VY	<i>-yi-</i>	verbal stem marker
/		subject to the left, object to the right (in cross-reference ending)

Abbreviations of example sources:

STE	Spoken text example
WTE	Written text example
COE	Conversation example
SELE	Spontaneous speech in elicitation example
ELE	Elicitation example

Informants:

(Age indication: Y: under 25, M: 26-49, O: above 50 years of age)
 (Source indication: JS: direct work with me, JH: recorded by Juan Huasna)

AM	Adan Misange Oye	M	JS
AT	Adrian Topepe Misange	M	JS
CI	Cristobal Icona	M	JH
CS	Catalina Siquimen	O	JH
CT	Cleto Tahe Chinica	M	JS
CV	Cipiriano Vani	O	JH
DC	Dario Chairique	O	JS
DM	Delicia Miro Wasna	Y	JS
EC	Esteban Condo	M	JH
EM	Eliseo Miro	M	JS

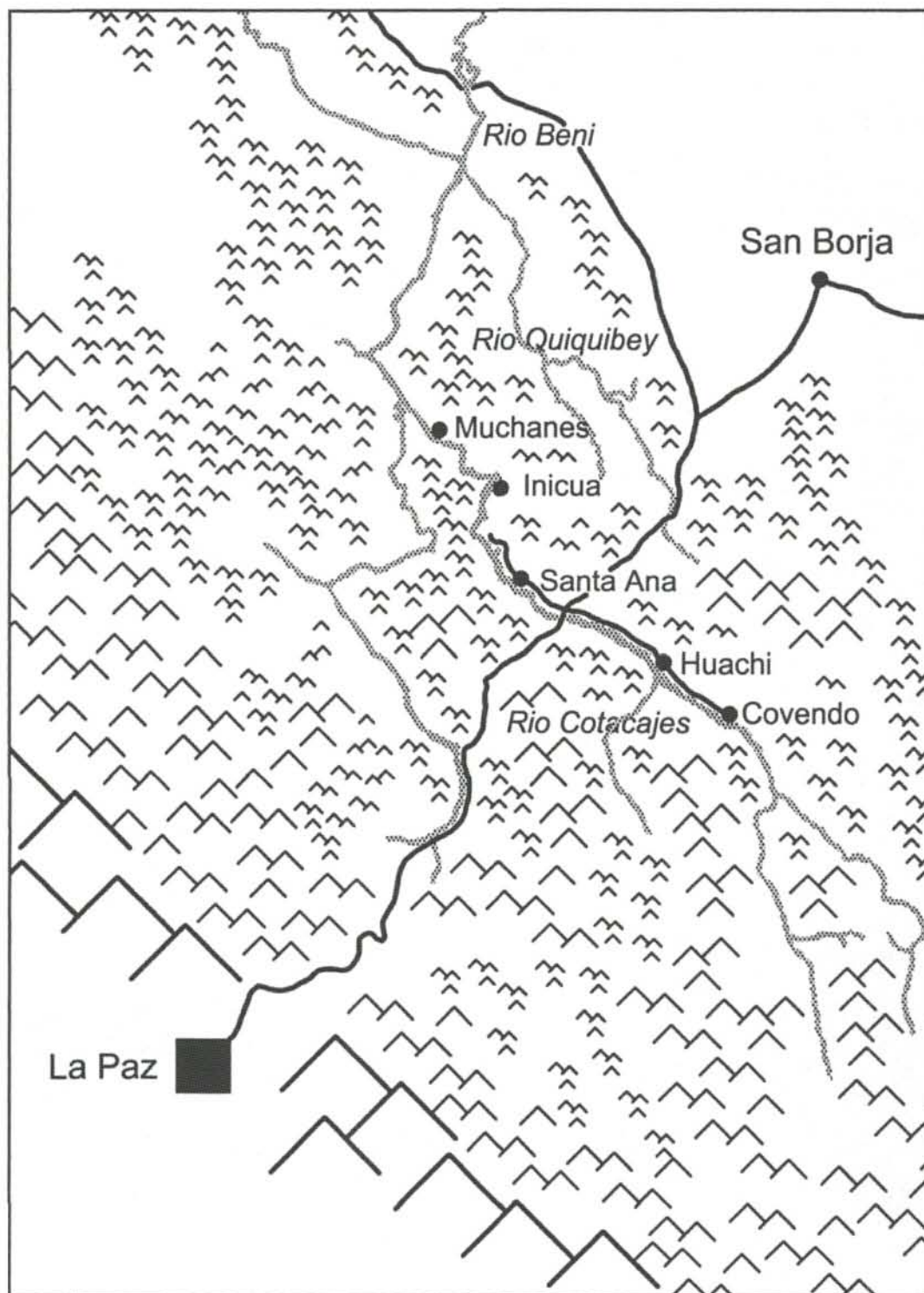
EO	Emiliano Condo	M	JH
FT	Fidelina Topepe Misange	Y	JS
JH	Juan Huasna Bozo	O	JS
JJ	Juan Josesito	O	JS
LM	Lidia Misange Oye	Y	JS
MW	Mamerto Wasna	O	JS
RI	Ricardina Icona	Y	JH
RN	Rita Nena Natte Wasna	Y	JS
RC	Rosnilda Condo Siquimen	Y	JS
SM	Sacarias Misange	O	JH
VC	Victoriano Chairique Oye	O	JH
VJ	Victorina Cualico Josesito	O	JH

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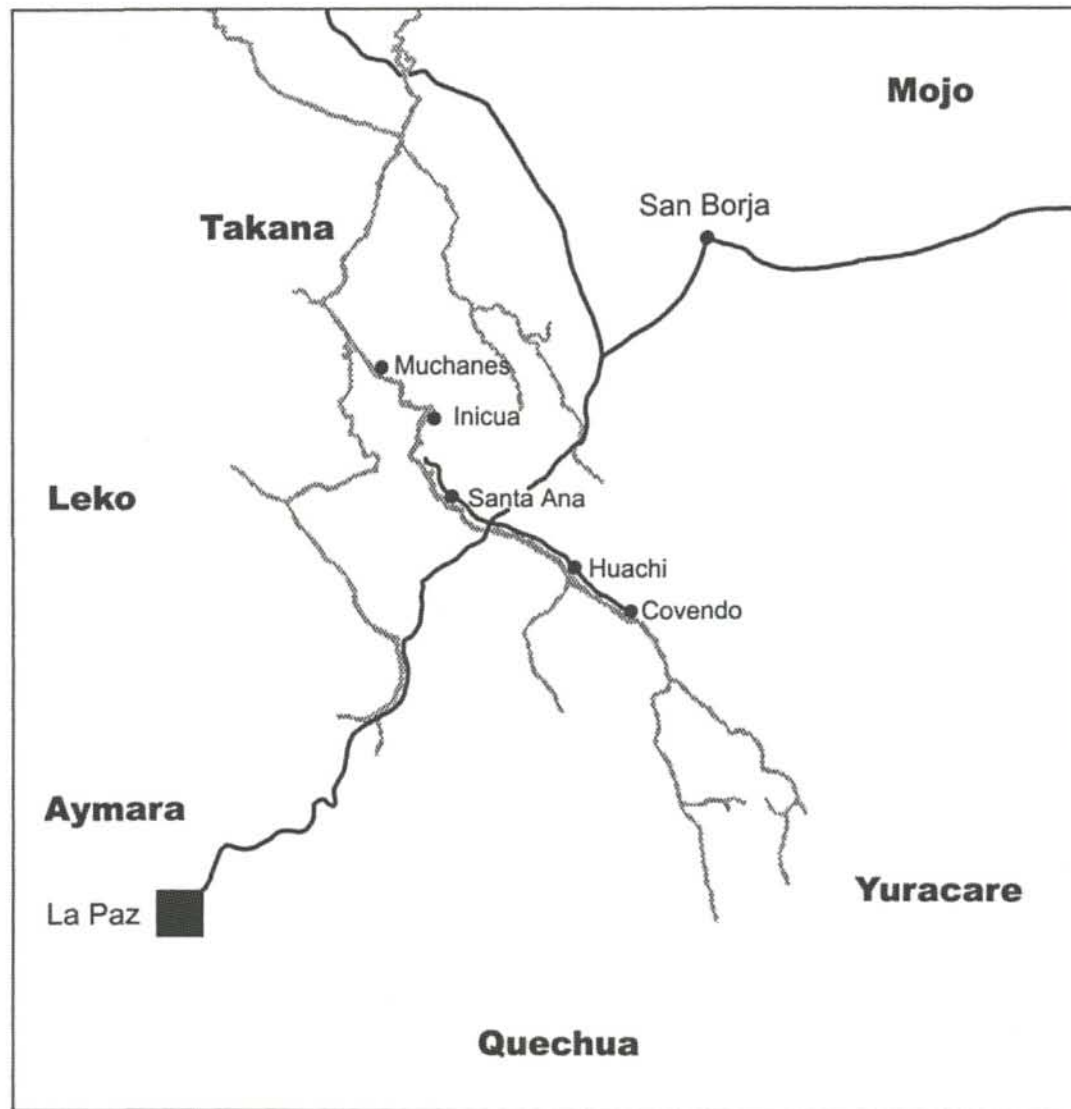
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The language Mosestén is spoken in Bolivia, in the eastern foothills of the Andes. Together with Chimane (Tsimane'), it forms the language family Mosetenan. This language family has not yet been proved to be related to other languages.

The task of this book is to provide a grammatical description of Mosestén in the form of a descriptive reference grammar. It is intended to be comprehensive and aimed at linguists from all backgrounds. Because of this, I have tried not to use specific terminology, as far as that was possible.

The grammar is divided into a short chapter on phonology (2.) and six chapters on the morphology: morphological processes (3.) the nominal system (4.), pronouns and reference (5.), adjectives and adverbs (6.), quantification (7.) and the verbal system (8.). These chapters are followed by voice (9.), negation (10.) and modality and discourse markers (11.). Finally, there are two syntactically oriented chapters on clause types (12.) and clause combinations (13.). In the appendix, I provide texts in the language, as well as a list of grammatical markers (affixes, clitics and particles).

In the present chapter, I will present background information about Mosestén, the language family Mosetenan, previous research and the history of my research. Finally, I will provide an overview of the grammar of Mosestén from a typological perspective.

1.1. Mosetenan

The small language family Mosetenan consists of two closely related languages: Mosestén and Chimane. The peoples consider themselves as belonging to two different ethnic groups, though they call each other *chhaetidye* 'related person'. Mosestén furthermore consists of two main dialects: Mosestén of Covendo and Mosestén of Santa Ana. Linguistically, Mosestén of Santa Ana lies between the two other

2 Introduction

variants, showing a number of phonological and grammatical similarities with Chimane, and other grammatical similarities with Masetén of Covendo. In this way, the three variants can be described as lying on a continuum:³

Masetén of Covendo – Masetén of Santa Ana – Chimane

Masetén of Santa Ana is intelligible with Masetén of Covendo and Chimane. Masetén of Covendo and Chimane, on the other hand, are intelligible, but usually, only tolerant speakers have no difficulties in understanding each other.

The present grammar is about the variant Masetén of Covendo, and only in some cases of obvious variation, I do include information about the other variants.

The Masetenes call themselves *mintyi'in* 'people', their language usually being referred to as *tsinsi' mik*, 'our language' or *khäei'si' mik* 'language of oneself'. *Tsinsisi'* or *tsinsis* are often used as well, referring to the language.

By outsiders, Masetenes have been given various names: According to Metraux (1942: 15), Masetenes have been called *Rache*, *Amo*, *Chumpa*, *Cunana*, *Aparoño* and *Magdaleno*.⁴ He furthermore mentions that some Masetenes were called *Muchanes* and others *Tucupi*, referring to the rivers where they lived. Chimanese have been called *Chimanisa*, *Chumano*, *Chimani* and *Nawazi-moñtji*, according to Metraux (1942: 15).⁵

1.2. The genetic affiliation of Masetenan

The genetic affiliation of Masetenan to other languages or language families is unclear. A number of scholars have proposed similarities with several other languages, but the proofs are usually vague.

In this way, a number of travelers and missionaries have compared Masetén to other languages, based on sound similarities and first impressions.

Linguists have also worked on the genetic affiliation of Masetén with other languages, basing their description on the grammar by Schuller (1917), based on the manuscript by Bibolotti (1.5.). Swadesh (1963:

318) proposed that Mosetén should be grouped with the language family Chon - Ona and Tehuelche - from Southern Argentina and Chile. He claims that the languages share 34 % of the lexicon. According to Suarez (1973), Swadesh overestimated the data. Still, Suarez (1969, 1973) agrees that a superficial relationship with Chon exists, and he relates also Yuracare to Chon and Mosetenan. Primarily, however, he groups Mosetén with Pano-Tacanan, presenting a long list of related words and sound relations. Moreover, Suarez works with a 100 word list, in which he records possible cognates.⁶ Nevertheless, these similarities could be due to loans, and only a comprehensive reconstruction would show the relatedness of these languages. Furthermore, the comparisons of both Swadesh and Suarez are partly based on the forms of the first and second person pronouns. Recently, however, it has been argued that these pronominal forms are found in many languages of South America and that they are an areal phenomenon, instead of a proof for genetic relationship (Adelaar, with the collaboration of Muysken, in press).

Apart from the genetic affiliation of Mosetén, there are a number of loan words in the language, which show that Mosetén speaking people have been in contact with other languages. Such forms are *soñi* 'man', which means 'human' in Uru-Chipaya (an Andean highland language). A loan from Quechua is *tanta* 'bread'. According to my informants, a loan from Yuracare is *otej*, meaning 'luck'.⁷ Furthermore, Mosetén has many loans from Spanish.

1.3. Mosetén and its speakers

In the present section, I will discuss the situation of the Mosetenes from various angles: the demography of the area, the sociolinguistic situation and the way of life, including the political situation.

1.3.1. Demography

Mosetén is spoken in the foothills of the Andes, in the *Yungas* region of La Paz Department. Chimane is spoken in the area of San Borja in the lowlands of Beni Department (see Map 2).

The main area of the Mosetenes is the valley of the Upper Beni river, at about 500 metres of altitude. Covendo lies upriver from all other settlements.⁸ Mosetén of Covendo is spoken and around the village, on both shores of the river. The dialect of Santa Ana is spoken in a much broader area approximately 60 kilometers downriver from Covendo in Santa Ana, Inicua (about 25 kilometers downriver from Santa Ana) and Muchanes (about 40 kilometers from Santa Ana), as well as in a number of settlements along the Quiquibey river in the range of mountains between the Upper Beni river and the Amazon Basin. Within the last 40 years, roads have improved and the area has become accessible. In 2001, telephones have been installed in Covendo and Santa Ana, though communication is still largely carried out over the radio.

Neighboring indigenous languages are Leko, Yuracare, Aymara, Tacana and the Mojo languages, such as Ignaciano and Trinitario (see Map 3). Today, many of these languages are in the same situation as Mosetén and not spoken widely (see 1.3.2.). Most influence today is from Spanish. The highland language Aymara, which is spoken by many new residents in the area, does not seem to have had a profound influence on Mosetén.

At present, people of other language groups live in the same villages as the Mosetenes. Only few such “foreigners” live in Covendo, mainly speaking the languages Aymara, Trinitario and Yuracare. Furthermore, few people and families speak Tacana, Chimane and Chipaya. The village of Santa Ana, on the other hand, is divided into two parts between an area where the Mosetenes live and another area inhabited by “colonizers” (i.e. usually Aymara people) live.

1.3.2. Sociolinguistics

The sociolinguistic situations of the speakers of Mosetén and Chimane are very different. Mosetén of Covendo has around 600 speakers⁹ and Mosetén of Santa Ana has between 150 and 200 speakers. Chimane, on the other hand, is still spoken by at least 4000 people, other sources mentioning much higher numbers.¹⁰ Apart from the differences in number, Chimane is supposed to be one of the few languages in Bolivia that still has a growing number of speakers, whereas both Mosetén variants are slowly disappearing. Furthermore, many people speak

Chimane monolingually, while probably all speakers of Mosetén are bilingual in Mosetén and Spanish, most of them being better at Spanish than at Mosetén. Only a number of older people speak Mosetén with very little Spanish influence.

These differences between the situations of Mosetén and Chimane have a number of reasons. While Mosetenes always have had contact with neighboring tribes and with the Europeans, the Chimanes have lived rather isolated for many years. The Mosetenes have continuously been missionized for almost 200 years (1.4.), while the Chimanes have succeeded in fighting missionaries until rather recently. In this respect, the territory is also important, since the Mosetenes were easily accessible for missionaries from the highlands, while the Chimanes live in a less accessible swampy area in the lowlands. Within the last 30 years, contacts of both tribes with other people have been increasing, due to the better accessibility by roads. Many highland people have moved to the Mosetén area¹¹, and cattle breeders of mestizo origin have accessed the Chimane area.

The attitudes of other Bolivians towards indigenous people have caused many Mosetenes to try to hide their ethnicity. The Mosetenes behave like modern Bolivians, and usually avoid speaking Mosetén when outsiders can hear them.

In Covendo, almost all religious and public events are carried out in Spanish. Only on very few occasions is Mosetén used. One of these occasions is the speech of the cacique (1.3.4.) in front of the church after the Sunday mass (1.3.3.). This is usually carried out in a mixture of Mosetén and Spanish. At home, the majority of Mosetenes speak their language. However, due to intermarriage and little interest in learning other indigenous languages, many families are forced to speak Spanish. In this way, my main informant Juan Huasna Bozo, who is married to a Trinitario-speaking woman, speaks exclusively Spanish with his wife and his children.

While the Chimanes have more than 30 schools in which Chimane is the main language¹², Mosetenes visit communal schools with teachers that often come from highland communities. Spanish is exclusively spoken, as there are no teachers who speak Mosetén. Often, children shift entirely to Spanish when having entered school.

1.3.3. Spanish language influence

For various reasons (1.3.2.), Spanish has had considerable influence on Mosetén. Speakers use a number of Spanish loanwords. Some of these loanwords have undergone sound changes, being pronounced according to the phonology of Mosetén. I usually write these words in the same way as they are pronounced, such as *resya* ‘church’ instead of the Spanish form *iglesia*, and *ishkwera* ‘school’ instead of *escuela*. In these words, the sounds /l/ and /g/ are adjusted to Mosetén pronunciation. However, these sounds occur in a number of other Spanish words, for example in Spanish names: the short form *Loki* from ‘Lucrecio’ is pronounced with the /l/ and not *Roki*.

Some speakers make extensive use of Spanish elements when speaking Mosetén. The following text is part of a speech by the cacique Eliseo Miro, and contains code-switching between Mosetén (bold) and Spanish:

- (1:1) *Siquiera agradecer-yi jike mö’ suerte mĩ’in*
 at.least thank-VY.M.S PS 3F.SG luck 2.PL
tener-yi. Digamos nuestros padres jike
 have-VY.M.S we.would.say our fathers PS
sufrir-yi-in, khin’-nä ni siquiera ni en
 suffer-VY-P now-FO not.even not in
una herencia jaem’-ye’-mĩ’in. Por lo menos
 a inheritance good-VY-3F.O-2PL at.least
gracias a esos señores nuestros tatarabuelos -
 thanks to these men our great.grandfathers
jäen’-tom mäyedyë’ sufrir-yi-in!
 how-COM day suffer-VY.M.S-P
 ‘At least you (should) thank for the luck you have. We would
 say that our fathers suffered, and now, you do not even keep it
 in memory. At least thanks to these men, our great-
 grandfathers - how many days have they suffered!’ STE/EM

Spanish verbs are expressed in the infinitive forms and followed by a Mosetén ending. In this way, Spanish lexical elements are treated as non-verbal Mosetén elements, appearing with the marker that assures that Mosetén cross-reference can be added (8.3.). This is not the case in

forms such as *digamos* ‘we would say’, which instead can be described as a kind of discourse marker, instead of a main verb in this context. A number of elements in the example are expressed in Mosetén: *khin* ‘now’, *jike* ‘before’, *jäen’tom mäyëdyë* ‘how much time’, *-nä* ‘focus’ and *mī’in* ‘you, plural’. All other elements, such as nouns (e.g. *suerte* ‘luck’), negation (e.g. *ni* ‘not’), most verbs and an entire clause (*por lo menos ...* ‘at least...’) are expressed in Spanish. While Spanish verbs are turned into Mosetén forms, nouns and other parts of speech are loaned into Mosetén without a change in the form.

1.3.4. Occupation, education and politics

The Mosetenes are mostly farmers, working in their plantations (“chacos”). Many young people try to find other types of work, supported by various educational projects (such project OSCAR, set up by Franciscan priests). In this way, many young people are educated forest keepers, who try to avoid a complete deforestation of the area. Some people also earn money as workmen for farmers.

Most men can read and write, while many women of the older generation are illiterate. Young people all read and write. The Mosetén organization OPIM has funds for education of exceptional students, but only few people have a good education. These people often do not return to their villages. There are no educated Mosetén teachers yet. My main consultant, Juan Huasna Bozo, is taking over the function of a Mosetén teacher now, gathering mostly young people around him to teach them to read and write in Mosetén.

The political structure in Covendo is led by the “cacique”, i.e. the leader of the village. Another sub-cacique is the second in command. Furthermore, a number of dirigentes (minor leaders) have influence on political decisions. There are usually commissions for all types of projects, for example for the installation of running water in the smaller settlements.

1.4. History of the Mosetenes and previous research

Various people have collected data from Mosetén or Chimane, and a number of researchers have extracted grammatical information from first-hand texts. There are mainly two groups of people who have done first-hand research on Mosetén: 1. travelers, passing through the area, who collected word-lists, texts and ethnographic material, and 2. missionaries, who lived with the Mosetenes and who translated prayers, wrote down word lists and sometimes also short grammatical descriptions. A number of other researchers did second-hand research, working with the first-hand material collected by missionaries or travelers and attempted to extract a grammatical description.

According to Metraux (1942: 16), the first historical documents about the Mosetenes are from 1588, where a couple of Mosetenes - called 'Amo' - were met by the Spanish Captain Francisco de Angulo.¹³ In 1621, the Chimanos are mentioned by the Franciscan missionary Gregorio de Bolívar, who refers to the 'Chumano' Indians.

In the years 1666 and 1667, a number of missionaries entered the Mosetén area. One of them was the Governor of Santa Cruz, Don Benito de Rivera y Quiroga, together with the Dominican Father Francisco del Rosario and Father José Morillo (Metraux, 1942: 17). Since then, there was contact between Europeans and Mosetenes, and also missions were set up for shorter periods of time. However, in the early 19th century only were permanent missions founded in the area. The Franciscan priest **Andrés Herrero** founded the mission of Muchanes in 1804/1805. In the year 1815, he founded the mission of Santa Ana. Herrero published the first known linguistic data about Mosetén, in a 'doctrina christiana', a prayer book, which was published on a journey to Europe in 1834.¹⁴ A number of new missionaries followed him back to Bolivia. One of them, Angelo Baldovino, founded the mission of Inmaculada Concepción in Huachi (see map 2) in 1835, which was later moved to Covendo.

The Italian Franciscan Father **Benigno Bibolotti** started working as a missionary of the Mosetenes in 1857 in the mission of Huachi / Covendo. He had an interest in the language and collected material from the Mosetén of Covendo dialect, aimed at further generations of missionaries. The most important work by Bibolotti is the 'Moseteno Vocabulary and Treaties', which was published in 1917 by Rudolph

Schuller. Schuller furthermore extracted grammatical phenomena from the religious texts and other data.¹⁵ Bibolotti also gave a short introduction to the grammar of Moseken, consisting of numerals and mathematical operations. Furthermore, he has sections about personal pronouns and verbal inflection. In the latter case, he gives the forms of verbs in different tenses and moods. Interestingly, Bibolotti has a number of elements from the dialect of Santa Ana in his description, while most information is from Moseken of Covendo. In this way, he mentions the past tense markers *ique* and *at*. The first one, *jike*, is from the Covendo dialect, while *aty* is from Santa Ana, and pronounced *aj*¹⁶ in Covendo. Furthermore, he translates the verb *rai'se*¹⁷ with 'love', while *maje* is 'want'. In the dialects today, *rai'se-* means 'want' in Covendo, while the verb *maje-* is used with this meaning in Santa Ana.¹⁸

The Franciscan missionary **Nicolás Armentia** worked in Covendo between 1873 and 1880. He wrote down several phrases in Moseken, as well as a dictionary and religious texts.

The Franciscan missionary **José Cardús** (1886) collected a short list of words and phrases.

Edwin R. Heath (1883) gathered and published ethnological and linguistic material during a three-year stay in the Bolivian Beni-Region. The linguistic material also includes a comparative list of vocabularies of 211 words, following a questionnaire by the Smithsonian Institution. The vocabularies are of the languages Canichana, Cayubaba, Movima, Maropa, Moseken, Pacahuara and Tacana. He finds Moseken 'Frenchy in its pronunciation', which probably is due to the nasalized vowels.

Lucien Adam (1889), a French scholar, made in 1889 the attempt to extract grammatical information from Herrero's catechism, taking also into account the information presented in Heath. He claims that Moseken does not seem to be related to the Mojo languages nor other known languages in Bolivia.

Lafone Quevedo (1901/1902)¹⁹ published Armentia's manuscript in the years 1901 and 1902. Having access to several published materials about Moseken, Quevedo compares different sources: Herrero, Armentia, Heath and Adam.

In the same way as Lafone Quevedo, **Rudolph Schuller** (1917)²⁰, an Austrian, published Bibolotti's manuscript. He had found this manuscript among other papers at the Northwestern University Library

in Evanston, Illinois and decided to extract the grammar from it.²¹ Furthermore, he compared the various sources of the Mosetén language. Schuller's grammatical sketch has, until now, been the major source for Mosetén.

Erland von Nordenskiöld (1924), a Swedish traveler and ethnologist, visited the Mosetén region around Covendo in 1913 and stayed with the Mosetenes of Covendo for one or two weeks.²² He collected ethnological data and recorded a number of stories. The school-teacher Tomas Huasna²³, who had learned to write his language from the priests, wrote down three stories for him in Mosetén.

Franz Caspar (1953)²⁴, a Swiss anthropologist, lived with the Mosetenes in Covendo from 1943 to 1947, with several interruptions. Interested in the stories and the language, he compiled a word list – containing roughly 1500 words – of the language in manuscript-form.²⁵ Caspar also wrote a number of sections on the phonology of the language. He noticed both the significance of the glottal stop, which he usually transcribed –c-²⁶, and of nasality. Furthermore, he has few pages of notes on pronouns and numerals, as well as on “prepositions”, i.e. postclitics (4.1.).

Wayne Gill belongs to the North American protestant New Tribes Mission and has been a missionary with the Chimane people since the early 1980s. Interested in languages, he learned Chimane and created a writing system for the language. He printed a Chimane-Spanish and Spanish-Chimane dictionary, published school books and religious booklets (all under the name of Misión Nuevas Tribus). Furthermore, he translated the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament. For new missionaries, starting at the mission with the Chimane, he wrote a “teach-yourself-Chimane” manuscript, consisting of grammatical information, religious phrases and everyday speech. The grammatical information is very good and reliable. He is continuously collecting words for a manuscript dictionary of Chimane-English, which in 1999 consisted of more than 5000 words and derivations of words, – and example clauses for most entries.

Moreover, anthropologists who have lived with the Mosetenes and Chimanes have done collections or descriptions of parts of the language. One of them is the German **Jürgen Riester** (1978), who collected several Chimane stories and songs. In the same way, the French anthropologist **Isabelle Daillant** (1994) worked with the Mosetenes and

Chimanes and collected traditional stories in Mosetén. Recently, the **Gran Consejo Tsimane'** (Roca & Caimani, eds., 1999) has published a number of booklets, such as *aprenda tsimane'* 'learn Chimane'.

Furthermore, two minor research projects have been carried out in describing Mosetén and Chimane, such as the project by the Argentinean researcher **Eusebia H. Martín** (1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994; Martín and Pérez Díez 1989, 1990), who published a number of very basic notes about the Chimane language. **Colette Grinevald** (1996) worked in an alphabetization project for several languages of lowland Bolivia (see also section 2.6.).

1.5. History and method of my research

The data presented in this grammar are based on my own fieldwork in Bolivia. I carried out fieldwork four times:

July-August 1999	(1 month)	Mosetén region
January- April 2000	(4 months)	La Paz, Mosetén region
July-September 2000	(2 months)	La Paz, Cochabamba
January – February 2002	(2 months)	Cochabamba

On my first, preliminary fieldtrip in 1999, I introduced myself to the Mosetenes and met a number of people interested in linguistic work. I stayed in Covendo, and visited Santa Ana, recording different types of language data. I worked with Adan Misange, Ruth Misange, Casiana Wasna and Cleto Tahe in Covendo and Dario Chairique and Juan Josesito in Santa Ana. Moreover, I started to work on the first texts with my main informant, Juan Huasna Bozo.

On my second trip to Bolivia, I stayed in the capital La Paz together with Juan Huasna, transcribing the texts that I had recorded the preceding year. I introduced Juan Huasna to the computer. Furthermore, I bought him a tape recorder, so that he could record language data in the Mosetén region.²⁷ Apart from the analysis of texts, we worked in elicitation sessions on the basic structure of the grammar. In March, I went to the Mosetén area for one month, analyzing texts and carrying out elicitation with Cleto Tahe. Due to the conditions of the roads and blockades by angry farmers, I was unable to leave the place, and the

planned trips to other Mosestén-speaking villages could not be accomplished. At the end, I went to San Borja in the Chimane region and met with the missionary Wayne Gill in La Cruz (at the Maniqui river). I had planned to do library and archive research, in the remaining time, which again was very difficult, due to further blockades of the road and a general strike in the country.

The third fieldtrip was carried out in the cities of La Paz, with Cleto Tahe, and Cochabamba, with Juan Huasna. Juan had set up 'writing courses' for young Mosestenes, who came to his house to learn to read and write their language. He brought two of his pupils - Adrian Topepe and Lidia Misange - to Cochabamba for one week, and I worked on data-checking and other elicitation issues with them. In the meantime, Juan Huasna transcribed texts on the computer. We published the booklet *Poromasi' Pheyakdye'in* 'old stories' in Mosestén (Sakel, ed., 2000), containing texts written by my informants. Most texts are old stories, but the booklet also includes old songs, jokes and a translation of the Lord's prayer, based on Herrero's (1834) version.

The forth fieldtrip was entirely carried out in Cochabamba with Juan Huasna and five of his "pupils". In the first two weeks, three young girls - Rosnilda Condo, Fidelina Topepe and Delicia Miro - participated in the project. We worked in different groups with elicitation, the texts collected by Nordenskiöld in the 1913, and a dictionary of Mosestén. In the following three weeks, Adrian Topepe and Rita Natte came to work with Juan Huasna and me. We finished the dictionary and the final revision of the grammar. Furthermore, we published a number of booklets: the second revised edition of the first booklet *Poromasi' Pheyakdye'in* 'old stories' (Sakel, ed. 2002), *ojtere* 'the rooster' (Sakel, ed. 2001) - a comic-type booklet which I had prepared in Germany - and the spelling-book *tsinsi' kirjka* 'our book' (Sakel, ed. 2002). On this fieldtrip, I had brought a video-camera and made some recordings of our work and of spoken texts.

In this way, I carried out fieldwork both in the Mosestén area and in two Bolivian cities. In the Mosestén area, I got to know the culture, the circumstances of life, as well as the language conditions. Due to the sociolinguistic situation, I did not hear much Mosestén in the village. Furthermore, work was difficult, since most of my informants did not show up, and I spent a lot of time waiting. At an average, I only carried out fieldwork for one or two hours a day. Since some of my more

reliable informants were eager to get to know the cities²⁸, we decided to work in La Paz and Cochabamba. In this way, we were also able to use the computer.²⁹ Moreover, my personal conditions as a woman 'traveling' alone were much better in the cities than in the rural area, etc.

This grammar is primarily based on textual data. Some texts were recorded by me, while others were collected by Juan Huasna. His data are very good, since he had access to language varieties that were difficult for me to record. Furthermore, he was able to interview the speakers in Mosetén and ask questions about uncommon words. Some examples in the grammar are based on elicitation data. They have all been checked with various different speakers, in order to guarantee the correctness of the data.

My research was carried out bilingually, in Spanish and Mosetén.

1.6. Structural characteristics of Mosetén

The phonological system of Mosetén has ten vowel phonemes, five of which are oral and five nasal. Furthermore, length has phonemic status with some vowels. There are 24 consonant phonemes, among which are aspirated and palatalized consonants. The basic syllable structure is (C)V(C). Word stress generally falls on the first syllable. Other phonologically interesting phenomena are vowel and nasal harmony.

The different parts of speech of Mosetén are nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and particles. Reduplication is frequent with all types of parts of speech, while affixation - mainly suffixes, few prefixes and one infix - is mainly found with verbs and cliticization with other parts of speech.

The degree of synthesis is rather high, especially in verbs. Mosetén is mainly agglutinative, though it has a number of fusional characteristics, especially in the cross-reference forms, as well as in certain affixes, when appearing in combination with cross-reference forms, such as *-ban-* 'again' and the verbal stem marker / applicative *-tye-*. Verbs furthermore undergo a number of morphophonological changes.

The nominal morphology is rather simple, and most nominal modification is carried out by clitics. The same is the case with adjectives, adverbs and particles. Exceptional in nominal and adjectival

morphology is the use of the macrofunctional “linker” morpheme, which relates elements in a noun phrase. Predicatively used adjectives are not marked by this linker morpheme. The order in the noun phrase is usually determiner-modifier-noun, though usually long modifiers, such as relative clauses, appear after the head noun. Furthermore, the noun phrase can also be split up and a verb can appear between the different parts of the phrase.

Gender is inherent to nouns and usually not marked on the noun itself. Gender agreement, however, is extensive and can affect all kinds of parts of speech. For example, modal particles, place adverbs and a benefactive relation marker have a feminine and masculine form.

The verbal morphology of Mosetén is very complex (see also the list of grammatical markers in the appendix II). Intransitive verbs are obligatorily – inflectionally - marked for the gender of the subject³⁰ and transitive verbs are roughly marked for the gender, person and number of subject and object. The verbal cross-reference ending distinguishes first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive forms, whereas no such distinction is found in the pronominal system.³¹ Derivational forms in verbs include a kind of verbal classification system, which affects the majority of verbs in the language. I call the markers *verbal stem markers*. They basically appear after a bound verbal root, building the verbal stem to which other elements can be added. Moreover, they can occur after other parts of speech, and in this way, they are verbalizing. Mosetén also has a number of incorporation markers. Other affixes include a number of aspectual markers, associated motion markers, voice markers³², as well as verbal markers meaning ‘strongly’ and ‘again’.

Other expressions, such as a number of aspectual forms, as well as modality and discourse markers, are expressed by sentential clitics or particles.

A maximum of two arguments, subject and object, can be referred to by the verbal cross-reference ending. In this way, three-argument ditransitive clauses formally have two core arguments.³³ The word order in intransitive clauses is usually S V. In transitive clauses, the basic constituent order is A V O. This order can be changed due to pragmatic status. Identifiable referents are often pro-dropped, i.e. they are exclusively referred to by the verbal cross-reference ending and do not occur as a pronoun or as a full noun phrase.

Predicate clauses appear without a copular verb, subject and predicate usually being juxtaposed. In interrogative clauses, a question-marking particle indicates the type of question. Information questions are furthermore marked by an interrogative pronoun.

Clause combinations can be carried out in various ways. 'And'-coordinations are marked by juxtaposition or a particle, while the clitics *-ki* and *-tsa'* mark contrastive coordination. There are various ways of expressing subordination of clauses in complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. Moreover, participial clause combinations occur, where one or more verbs appear as participles, while only the main verb is inflected.

Chapter 2 Phonology

In the present chapter, I will describe the phonology of Mosetén. Starting with vowels and consonants, I will move on to a description of phonotactics such as syllable structure, vowel harmony and nasal harmony. After that, I will look at the suprasegmental phenomenon of stress and then I give an overview of morphophonological processes in the language. Finally, I will discuss the orthography of Mosetén.

2.1. Vowels

2.2.1. *Vowel inventory*

Mosetén of Covendo has ten vowel phonemes. These can be divided into oral and nasal vowels. Nasality of vowels has phonemic status in Mosetén. I will treat the nasalized vowels as separate phonemes. Nasal harmony, however, will be treated below (2.3.3.). Furthermore, length has phonemic status with some vowels.

Table 1: The vowel inventory of Mosetén of Covendo

i / ĩ

e / ē ə / ǣ o / ō

a / ǣ

There is only one high vowel, namely the unrounded /i/. Furthermore, Mosetén of Covendo has the phoneme /ə/.

In Mosetén of Santa Ana and Chimane, the system includes an extra vowel and its nasal counterpart, namely the central high vowel /ɨ/, cf. table 2.

Vowels can generally appear in all kinds of syllables: V, VC, CV and CVC.

Table 2: The vowel inventory of Mosetén of Santa Ana and Chimane

i / ĭ	ĩ / ɨ
e / ě	ə / ǣ o / ȯ
a / ǎ	

/a/

/a/ is an open central vowel. It stands in phonemic contrast to all other vowels:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2:1) | [sobaki] | ‘visit someone’ |
| | [sobekeʔ] | ‘go to visit her’ |
| (2:2) | [pax] | ‘for’ |
| | [pəx] | ‘put down’ |
| (2:3) | [ban] | ‘again, M.S’ |
| | [bin] | ‘again, 3 rd person subject, 1 st person object’ |

/ã/

The vowel */ã/* is the nasal variant of the oral vowel */a/*. That */ã/* is a separate phoneme is evident in the following minimal pairs:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| (2:4) | [tsãʔ] | ‘awake, alive’ |
| | [tsaʔ] | ‘but’ |
| | [tseʔ] | ‘mother’ |
| (2:5) | [pâtʃjẽʔ] | ‘light a fire’ |
| | [potʃjeʔ] | ‘put a tree-trunk in the earth’ |
| (2:6) | [fãdʲã-] | ‘dig’ |
| | [fədʲə-] | ‘bend’ |

/e/

The vowel */e/* is a close-mid front vowel.

(2:7)	[kɛʋeʔ]	‘someone searches her’
	[kiʋi]	‘again’
	[kãʋãkiʔ]	‘sweet’
(2:8)	[miʔ]	‘he’
	[meʔ]	‘so’
	[moʔ]	‘she’
(2:9)	[həki-]	‘behind’
	[heke-]	‘take something’

/ẽ/

The nasal vowel /ẽ/ is a separate phoneme, as shown in the following examples:

(2:10)	[mãnhãʔ]	‘yesterday’
	[men]	‘moment’
(2:11)	[mẽʔki]	‘this little’
	[meʔki]	‘this size (big or small)’
(2:12)	[fẽkõnji]	‘he turns around’
	[fãkeʔ]	‘someone is angry at her’

/ə/

The vowel /ə/ is a mid central unrounded vowel:

(2:13)	[jətəm]	‘so many’
	[jətõm]	‘with me’
(2:14)	[ʋən]	‘someone beats me’
	[ʋẽntʃɪ]	‘he comes’

/ẽ/

The nasal version of the mid central unrounded vowel.

- | | | |
|--------|--------------|--------------------------------------------|
| (2:15) | [d̃ər̃ʔ] | ‘not have’ |
| | [dər̃ʔ] | ‘tree’ |
| (2:16) | [k̃ət̃ij̃i] | ‘he cultivates something’ |
| | [k̃at̃i] | ‘we bring it’ |
| (2:17) | [f̃ək̃ənʔki] | ‘hiccup’ |
| | [f̃ok̃onʔ] | ‘rotten’ |
| (2:18) | [t̃ʃ̃ip̃əʔ] | ‘uncombed child’, ‘bunch of small bananas’ |
| | [t̃ʃ̃ipaʔ] | ‘uncombed grown-up’ |

/i/

The vowel /i/ has two allophones [i] and [ɪ], and can also appear with a phonemic length difference (see 2.1.3.). In the short form, the allophones [i] and [ɪ] exist, whereas the long form is always [ii]. The allophone [ɪ] is rather uncommon, appearing only before fricatives and affricates:

- | | | |
|--------|----------|-------------------|
| (2:19) | [d̃ɪ x-] | ‘take a bath’ |
| | [ɪ tsi] | ‘not be there, M’ |

The phonological length difference is evident in the following forms:

- | | | |
|--------|--------|--------------------|
| (2:20) | [ɪ ts] | ‘nocturnal monkey’ |
| | [i:ts] | ‘this one, M’ |

Most realizations of /i/ are as [i]:

- | | | |
|--------|----------|------------------|
| (2:21) | [tipih] | ‘piece’ |
| | [təpəh] | ‘little piece’ |
| (2:22) | [hike] | ‘past tense’ |
| | [h̃ik̃e] | ‘cold’ |
| (2:23) | [jime-] | ‘sing something’ |
| | [jəme-] | ‘like something’ |
| | [jame] | ‘flower’ |
| | [j̃im̃e] | ‘close’ |

/ĩ/

The vowel /ĩ/ is the nasal variant of the oral vowel /i/. This vowel has a phonemic length difference (see 2.1.3.), in the same way as /i/. There is, however, no allophone [ĩ] in the short form /ĩ/.³⁴ This nasal vowel is a separate phoneme, as shown in the following minimal pairs:

- | | | |
|--------|----------|-------------------|
| (2:24) | [miʔin] | ‘they, masculine’ |
| | [mĩʔin] | ‘you, plural’ |
| (2:25) | [ãuãʔ] | ‘child’ |
| | [ĩuĩʔ] | ‘little child’ |
| (2:26) | [tãxʃãʔ] | ‘beach’ |
| | [tĩxʃĩʔ] | ‘little beach’ |

The length difference is found in examples with this nasalized vowel as well (see /i/ above). Hence, the /ĩ/ is long in [tʃl:ĩjete] ‘someone knows him’.

/o/

The phoneme /o/ has three allophones: [o], [ɔ] and [u]. [u] is a high back vowel and appears only in very few environments. For instance, in [ruktʃeʔ] ‘on the mountain’ the vowel is realized as [u] by some consultants. [ɔ] is a low-mid back vowel and occurs when /o/ is followed by a fricative within the same syllable:³⁵

- | | | |
|--------|------------|-------------|
| (2:27) | [kʰɔxtʃiʔ] | ‘heart’ |
| | [hɔf] | ‘already’ |
| | [jɔx] | ‘like’ |
| | [jɔʃropai] | ‘thank you’ |

This also applies to the nasalized form of this vowel (see below):

- | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|
| (2:28) | [õxʃĩʔ] | ‘water’ |
|--------|---------|---------|

Across syllable boundaries, however, such a change does usually not occur, even if the following vowel is a fricative:

(2:29) [tʰofe] ‘blind’

[o] is a high mid back vowel, which appears in all other contexts:

(2:30) [ɔxtereʔ] ‘rooster’
 [ax] ‘already, yet’
 (2:31) [poroma] ‘before, ago, old times’
 [pəɾəʔ] ‘two’

/õ/

/õ/ is the nasal variant of /o/. It has the same allophones as /o/, just in nasalized versions: [õ], [õ̃] and [ũ]. The latter is rather uncommon and only applies to the way some people speak. [õ̃] appears when the syllable-final consonant is a fricative (see above). In all other cases, this vowel is realized as [o]:

(2:32) [mõʔ] ‘she’
 [miʔ] ‘he’
 (2:33) [õxʃiʔ] ‘water’
 [kʰɔxtyiʔ] ‘heart’
 [ax] ‘already, yet’
 (2:34) [õue] ‘here, F’
 [iue] ‘here, M’
 (2:35) [kʰõʃi] ‘he sleeps’
 [kʰiʃi] ‘he is tired’

/ɨ/

The high central unrounded vowel /ɨ/ does not exist as a separate phoneme in Masetén of Covendo, but it does in the dialects Chimane and Masetén of Santa Ana. In Masetén of Covendo, the same words are realized with the vowels /i/ or /ə/ instead of /ɨ/:

Masetén of Santa Ana:

(2:36) [mɨʔue] ‘there, M’