

Nominal TAME marking in Mojeño Trinitario

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1. The issue

1.1. Basic facts

- TAME (Tense Aspect Mood Evidentiality) generally thought as
 - inflectional verbal categories
 - having scope over the whole proposition
 - not found on nouns, because nouns are time-stable
- TAME markers in Mojeño
 - found in NPs
 - narrow scope (not clausal scope)
 - not a verbal category

(1) TAME on a noun

ene piúriko jmani pakono te pjoka ppenogierekoo'i, ene?
ene pi-uri-ko j-ma-ni paku-ono
and 2SG-be_good-ACT DEM-NH.PL-PROX dog-PL

te p-jo-ka pi-peno=giereko=ri'i ene
in DEM-NH.SG-PROX 2SG-house=CONT=IPFV TAG

And you enjoy these dogs in this (continuous and lasting) house of yours, right ?
{text10.007}

1.2. Nominal TAME cross-linguistically

1.2.1. Nominal tense (Nordlinger and Sadler 2004)

- Core cases of nominal TAM
 - Productive
 - Not just on predicates but also on arguments and/or adjunct NPs
 - Morphological category of the nominal, not a syntactic clitic on the NP.
 - More frequent than previously thought (aspect not attested on nominals)
- Nominal tense markers can have scope
 - over the proposition
 - over the NP (many cases in Amazonia)
- Nominal tense markers can be formally
 - distinct from verbal tense markers
 - identical with verbal tense markers (esp. in North and South America)

1.2.1. Nominal aspect, mood, modality and evidentiality¹

- Some attestations:
 - Jarawara: nominal aspect, mood, modality, and evidentiality, with the same markers as on predicates (Dixon 2004)
 - Also
 - Aspect: habitual in Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009)
 - Realis/irrealis in Chorote (Carol 2015)
 - Epistemic modality in Chorote (Carol 2015)
 - Evidentiality in the NP is generally found in determiners (Jacques to appear), as in Nambiquara (Lowe 1999)
 - Only direct evidence in nominals (Lecarme 2008)
- Narrow-scope nominal TAME challenge the conception of TAME as verbal categories having scope over the proposition.

1.3. Mojeño Trinitario

- Mojeño (Arawak, Bolivia), Trinitario dialect
- Textual database (~ 6h)
- Rich morphology, polysynthetic (Rose 2015b)
- Ubiquitous TAME marking
 - TAME markers on verbs, nouns and other parts of speech
 - can be zero-marked for TAME
 - Aspect encoded in nominalizers
 - Aspect encoded in associated motion markers (Rose 2015a)
 - Epistemic modality encoded in demonstratives (Rose 2017)
- TAME markers found in NPs
 - large set
 - not just the well-known past and future nominal tense
 - involves aspect, mood and epistemic categories
 - generally the same markers as on verbs
 - narrow scope

¹ The terms "nominal aspect" and "nominal modality" are sometimes used with a different meaning, referring to questions of referentiality, specificity, or individuation (Rijkhoff 1991, Ziegeler 2012).

2. Mojeño nominal TAME markers

Table 1. Expression of TAME on verbal and non-verbal predicates, and in noun phrases

Domain	Category	Verbal predicates	Non-verbal predicates	Noun phrases
TENSE	future	=yore		
	past		=ini	
MOOD	irrealis	-a ~ a-	-ina	
	negative irrealis	ku-		
	frustrative	=ini (usually with FUT or IRR)		
MODALITY	speculative	=puka		
EVIDENTIALITY	reportative	=iji		
ASPECT	still, 'for a short time' 'not yet' (with negation)	=cho'o		
	continuative	=giereko		
	still	=rich'o		
	once again, also	=wore		
	imperfective	=ri'i		
	resumptive	=ojno		
	perfective	=po	?	
			-po 'INTENS'	
	habitual	=nove	-nove 'KIN.PL'	
	frequentative	=pooko	-pooko 'INTENS' on pronouns	
	gradual progressive	=poripo	-poripo 'DISTR'?	
	repetition, duration; desintensive	~RED		
	pluractional	-ri		

- Most TAME markers are found on predicates and in noun phrases
 - clitics (can go on negative auxiliary)
 - on nouns and other parts-of-speech (pronouns, numerals, adjectives, adverbs, filler, copula), not on DET
 - less frequent (also less stacking) in noun phrases than on predicates

(2) TAME on a verbal predicate
vimora'iyree'ijiro
vi-imora'i=yore=ri'i=iji=ro
 1PL-watch=FUT=IPFV=RPT=UNQ
 'They say that we are going to be watching.'

(3) TAME on a nominal predicate
kasikiyenoyoo'ijiro
kasiki-yeno=yore=ri'i=iji=ro
 cacique-wife=FUT=IPFV=RPT=UNQ
 'They say that she is going to be a cacique's wife.'

- (4) TAME on a noun
nanaekchopo eto to 'resiyore,
na-naekcho=po eto to 'resia=yore
3PL-start=PFV 3NH ART.NH church=FUT
'They started (to build) the future church.'

- Some TAME categories also differ on nouns and verbs (**bold**)
 - Verbal vs. non-verbal irrealis
 - Pluractional and negative irrealis found only on verbs
 - Past found only on nouns
 - more tense categories on nominals (past and future) than on predicates (future only)
- Some TAME categories also differ on predicates vs. NPs
 - TAME clitics with homonyms in NPs (shaded)

3. Meaning and scope of nominal TAME

- Meanings cross-linguistically rare or non-attested on nominals (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004:783, Jacques to appear)
 - aspectual categories in general
 - irrealis
 - epistemic modality and evidentiality
- Always narrow scope in noun phrases
 - = independent nominal tense (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004)
 - No agreement with the predicate
 - Nominals do not express time-stable concepts only
 - existence and identity of an entity can change over time
 - states (nominalizations) can change over time

- (5) Tense: Past as ceased existence
tepenoriporo jmue viapiarini
ti-epeno=ripo=ro p-ma-e vi-apiaru=ini
3-die=PFV=UNQ DEM-M-DIST 1PL-uncle=PAST
'our late uncle is dead' {text6.114}

- (6) Tense: Past as past possession
ene esupo su nchicha nera'ikri'i te to mpenori'ini
ene esu-po su nu-chicha nu-era'i-ko=ri'i
and F-ADD ART.F 1SG-child 1SG-leave-ACT=IPFV

te to m-peno=ri'i=ini
PREP ART.NH 1SG-house=IPFV=PAST
'and I left my daughter in my former house' {text36.008}

- (7) Tense: Past as past identity (property)
ema koregieroori'ini
ema koregieroru=ri'i=ini
3M corregidor=IPFV=**PAST**
the previous/past corregidor {elicitation}
- (8) Aspect: Imperfective for a property lasting in time
tajtse to pijaree'i piti viya?
taj-tse to pi-ijare=ri'i piti viya?
INDET.NH-CONTRAST ART.NH 2SG-name=**IPFV** 2SG Sir
'(And then after that, he wanted to know:) "But what is your name, Sir.?"'
{text8.046partial}
- (9) Irrealis for an entity not yet existing
pepiaka to jmimirina takuti to mmiro.
pi-epia-ko-a to pi-mimVro-ina ta-kuti to nu-miro.
2SG-make-ACT-IRR ART.NH 2SG-mask-**IRR** 3NH-be_like ART.NH 1SG-face
'Make a mask that looks like my face.' {text8.037}
- (10) Irrealis for a state not yet realized
vyosiookoo'i to viuriwina
vi-yosioo-ko=ri'i to vi-uri-wo-ina
1PL-ask-ACT=IPFV ART.NH 1PL-be_good-NZ-**IRR**
We are pleading for our (not realized) well-being.
- (11) Epistemic modality: speculation on the identity of the referent
skochane pñi simapuka
s-kochane pñi s-ima=puka
3F-be_accompanied DEM.M 3F-husband=**SPEC**
[Context: describing a video stimulus] she is accompanied by this man who must be her husband (I am guessing).
- (12) Evidentiality: reportative (extremely rare elsewhere than on predicates)
apinaeji semana sjichyore
api-na=iji semana s-jicho=yore
two-CLF=**RPT** week 3F-make=**FUT**
'She'll be staying two weeks (she said).' {text26.026}

4. A blurred noun/verb distinction ? Polycategoriality in Mojeño Trinitario

- Nouns and verbs are distinct at the root level
 - semantically (no verbo-nominal root)
 - distinct derivational morphology
 - category changing derivations: nominalizers and verbalizers

- Nouns and verbs are distinct at the stem level
 - some differences in inflectional morphology (3rd person prefix, irrealis...)
 - even though they share most of their morphology, esp. person indexes, TAME...
- Nouns and verbs may be hard to distinguish at the word level
 - Nouns are prototypically used as arguments and verbs as predicates...
 - but nominal and verbal words are polyfunctional
 - both can be used as predicates (without additional morphology), see (2) and (3)
 - both can be used as arguments, with just a determiner (13)-(15)

(13) Complement clause (action)

wo nawro'o to [tsiopano eno tkomeriono]

wo na-a-woro-'o to ti-siopo-a-no eno tkomeriono
NEG 3PL-IRR-want ART.NH 3-enter-IRR-PL PL non-indigenous

'They did not want the non-indigenous people to enter.'

(14) Relative clause (subject)

ñikepripo ñi [tve'yo to ta-chuti].

ñi-kepripo ñi ti-ve-'o=yo to ta-chuti.
3M-arrive ART.M 3-take-ACT=FUT ART.NH 3NH-head

'The one who was going to take the head (of a slaughtered bull) came.'

(15) Relative clause (object)

nakopako to [naniko eno 'chañ-ono].

na-kopa-ko to na-ni-ko eno 'chañ-ono.
3PL-kill-ACT ART.NH 3PL-eat-ACT PL person-PL

'They killed it for the people to eat'.

- Same TAME on nouns and verbs could result from:
 - Parallel grammaticalization of TAME on predicates and non-predicates
 - source constructions
 - Predicate morphology → in NPs
 - Omni-predicativity: all lexemes are predicative in nature (Launey 1994); Arguments are derived from predicates (Queixalós 2006)
 - Nouns carrying TAME are predicates turned into nominals by the determiner

Cf. consultants' Spanish translation, such as "he who was my father" (father-PAST), "he who must be her husband" (husband-SPEC), "it that was his house" (house-IPFV)...

 - Nominal morphology → main clause morphology
 - Main clause morphosyntax resulting from the reanalysis of nominalizers (Gildea 1998, 2013)
- A combination of these in Mojeño Trinitario?
 - Most TAME clitics have an alternate form including /ri/
 - And -ri is a nominalizer in most languages of the Arawak family

- Diachronic hypothesis:
 - TAME clitics may have grammaticalized from a main verb which subject could have been a nominalization
 - Nominalizations carrying TAME clitics have been reanalyzed as main verbs with TAME morphology
 - Hence explaining why verbs and nouns share so much morphology... and why Mojeño Trinitario lost the active/stative split that is found, in many Arawak languages, in main clause predicates but not in nominalizations (Durand 2016)

Abbreviations

Glosses that are not from the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* are: ACT active; ADD additive; CONTRAST contrast; INDET indeterminate; NH nonhuman; NZ nominalizer; PAST past; PREP preposition; RPT reportative; SPEC speculative; TAG tag; UNQ unquestionable; VALD validator.

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