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The rise and fall of Mojeño diminutives through the centuries

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This paper investigates the diachrony of diminutives in Mojeño across four centuries. First, it shows that the three Mojeño diminutives have two lexical sources: ‘child’ and ‘seed’. This constitutes a counterexample to Jurafsky’s (1996) theory concerning the universal source of diminutives. Second, the paper investigates the grammaticalization process of diminutives and their further distributional and functional changes. It shows that the extension of the distribution onto verbs and grammatical parts of speech correlates with the gain of emotional connotations. It describes the evolution of emotional connotations of the diminutives and the pragmaticalization of their interactional functions until the eventual shift to purely expressive morphemes when diminutives lose their core meaning of ‘smallness’. Third, since each of the three language varieties has one ‘true’ diminutive only, two successive cycles of diminutive renewal are hypothesized, whereby an old diminutive is replaced by a new one.

1. Introduction

This paper traces the evolution of three Mojeño diminutives across the centuries. The data on Old Mojeño of the late 17th century, and on the two presently extant dialects, Trinitario and Ignaciano, are drawn from grammars, texts, dictionaries and a corpus gathered during fieldwork. The relatively rich data available in historical documents, recent descriptions and documentation of two dialects, associated with first-hand data, make it possible to track at least three diminutive markers in the language across four centuries. The goal of the paper is to account for the diachrony of these markers in terms of their etymology, their evolution in form, distribution and function, as well as their interrelations. The results of this study offer major insights in the diachrony of diminutives. First, the study gives two possible lexical sources of diminutives. Second, it investigates their distributional and semantic extension, ending with the loss of their core diminutive meaning. Third, the paper

posits a succession of three different Mojeño diminutives throughout time. It thus postulates two cycles of renewal, whereby an old diminutive is replaced by a new one, such that each variety has one 'true' diminutive only.

Mojeño is an Arawak language of Lowland Bolivia (Rose 2015). It belongs to the South Arawak branch, along with Paunaka and Bauré, also spoken in Bolivia, and Terêna and Salumã spoken in Brazil (Aikhenvald 1999: 67). Being the most widely spoken language in the Moxos region at the time of colonization, it has been used as a *lingua franca* (called 'lengua general')¹ in the Jesuit missions, which were active from the 1670s to the 1760s (Saito 2009). It was spoken by various people living in the missions: Spaniards, Mojeños, and other indigenous people. During this historical period, a Jesuit missionary described the language and wrote a catechism in it (Marbán 1702). There is no record of spontaneous indigenous speech from this era. More recently, four dialects have been registered (Rose 2010): Loretano (extinct), Javeriano (moribund), Ignaciano and Trinitario (both extant but endangered). These last two varieties have been described and documented (see below). The variety described by Marbán, that was spoken in the missions in the 17th and 18th century, is mainly based on 'River Mojeño' (as it was spoken along the Mamoré river, where the Trinitario dialect is now spoken). Marbán also gives some indication on the 'Pampa Mojeño' dialect, spoken at that time in the present-day area of the Ignaciano dialect. These two dialects spoken in the 17th century show few and minor distinctions. This paper investigates the diminutives in Old Mojeño (a term I am coining for the historical variety of the language described by Marbán), and in the Ignaciano and Trinitario modern dialects. There are two unavoidable caveats. First, since Old Mojeño was actively used in a multilingual setting, also by non-native speakers and by speakers of the 'Pampa Mojeño' dialect, contact may have played a role in the subsequent development of the language. Second, the present-day dialects do not necessarily derive in any straightforward fashion from Old Mojeño, since popular varieties may have been maintained along with the 'official' language of the missions. To minimize these potential problems, I will refer to data from other Arawak languages when investigating the genesis of the diminutives.

Basic typological information on Mojeño is that it is an agglutinating language, with a large number of suffix and enclitic slots and fewer prefix slots on nouns and verbs, as exemplified in the two verbs of Example (1). The structure of the nouns and verbs is presented in Table 2 and Table 3 within Section 3.1. Note that lexical and grammatical morphemes display several surface forms, due to a rich system of morphophonemic rules and a pervasive process of vowel deletion specific to the

1. For each mission, the Jesuits selected a *lingua general* ('general language') among the local languages to serve as an official *lingua franca* within the mission.

Trinitario dialect (Rose 2008). As for syntax, the basic order of constituents is SVO in the modern dialects (2); there is no case marking but arguments are indexed on the predicate (Rose 2011).

- (1) *p-emptio-k=yore=wore ene wi=po*
 2SG-get.lost-ACT=FUT=REP and NEG=PFV
n-a-k-uch-ku-'vi=yre
 1SG-IRR-CAUS-go.out-CLF-ACT-2SG=FUT
 'You are going to get lost again and this time, I will not take you out of it'.
 Mojeño Trinitario {text8.040}
- (2) *ene takepo ma t(y)-siso 'chane [...] ma-m=po ma 'chane.*
 and then ART.M 3-black person 3M-take=PFV ART.M person
 'And then the black man took the (lost) man'. Mojeño Trinitario {text8.045}

Diminutives participate in evaluative morphology, which comprises various morphological devices encoding quantitative or qualitative evaluation (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015). Evaluative morphology is generally described as changing the semantics of the base word but not its category nor its subcategorization frame, as allowing recursive application, and finally, as having an ambiguous position with respect to inflection and derivation (see Grandi 2015 for more details). Cross-linguistically, diminutives show three types of functions, namely 1. denotational meanings, 2. emotional connotations, and 3. interactional functions (Ponsonnet 2014: 81–109; Ponsonnet this volume). Denotational meanings of diminutives indicate that a referent or an event is low on a scale: small size, young age, small amount or quantity, intensity, approximation, female gender, small-type, imitation, individuation (Jurafsky 1996: 536). Emotional connotations commonly conveyed by diminutives are affection (endearment), compassion, contempt, and playfulness.² Interactional functions aim at softening the effects of illocutionary acts, like commands, requests, judgements, etc. (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994).

Diachronic studies show that “the rise and development of evaluative formatives, in most cases, can be described either as a grammaticalisation process or as a process of refunctionalisation” (Mutz 2015: 146).³ Diminutive affixes in particular are said to emerge from the grammaticalization of a noun for ‘child’ (Jurafsky 1996). To their original denotational meanings (quantitative evaluation), the diminutive affixes can add emotional connotations (qualitative evaluation) through subjectivization. Ponsonnet (this volume) discusses the emotional semantic extensions of

2. These ‘emotional values’ (in the terminology of Ponsonnet 2014) and ‘emotional connotations’ (Ponsonnet this volume) are called ‘pragmatic senses’ by Jurafsky (1996: 235).

3. Diminutives can result from ‘refunctionalization’ of affixes deriving denominal adjectives or nouns with the meaning ‘related-to’, ‘similar-to’ or ‘origin-of’ (Mutz 2015: 147).

diminutives in a synchronic perspective. The diminutive suffixes can also grammaticalize interactional functions through pragmaticalization (Diewald 2011). Diminutive affixes can also undergo changes in their phonetic substance, in their distribution and/or productivity. Finally, Mutz (2015: 152) adds that “the renovation of an existing evaluative category can be necessary because of the bleaching-out or total loss of the evaluative meaning in existing derivations, as a result of extensive and conventionalised use.” A final remark is that the diachrony of evaluative affixes has been investigated almost exclusively within Indo-European languages (Mutz 2015: 152). The present paper therefore fills a gap, offering an in-depth and long-range diachronic study (on emergence and further changes) of the diminutives in a Native American language.

To investigate the history of Mojeño diminutives, data collection took place in two steps. The first step was to record the information on evaluative morphology present in the grammars of the three different varieties (Old Mojeño, Mojeño Ignaciano and Mojeño Trinitario) specified in Table 1. Diminutives and/or other evaluative markers are discussed in the major grammars (or grammar sketches) of the three varieties, including the one written in the early 18th century. However, in none of these works does their description exceed two pages. They are sometimes introduced with labels other than ‘diminutives’, such as ‘hypocoristics’ or ‘emotive suffixes’.⁴ The second step in data collection was to look for the very same markers and some cognate forms in the existing documentation of the language, i.e. the texts, the dictionaries and the personal corpus given in Table 1. My personal corpus of six hours of naturalistic Mojeño Trinitario speech has been collected during four different fieldtrips between 2005 and 2010 in both the city of Trinidad and the village of San Lorenzo de Mojos. A variety of genres (traditional or personal narratives, procedural texts, conversations, etc.) has been recorded with 23 different speakers of both genders and various ages.⁵ The total documentation of the three varieties is rather large (see number of pages and hours of recordings in Table 1). However, the reader should keep in mind that the only naturalistic speech within the corpus is the recordings of oral Mojeño Trinitario. For example, the catechism in Marbán contains fake dialogues between a priest and a catechist,⁶ the dictionary examples do not appear in a discourse context, and the elicited data in Mojeño Trinitario were elicited specifically in order to gather examples of evaluative

4. All the markers under study are glossed DIM for ‘diminutive’ in this paper, disregarding their specific meaning in individual examples.

5. These recordings have been initially transcribed and translated into Spanish with the help of native Trinitario consultants (though not necessarily the original speakers of the texts). The English translations are mine.

6. There is no indication in Marbán’s work on the likely involvement of native speakers in writing the catechism.

morphology. Elicitation of a total of 24 utterances has been conducted with two speakers, in order to verify textual data and produce additional examples (of various evaluative morphemes on different word classes), with special attention being given to the translations first offered spontaneously by the speakers and then elaborated through discussion with the researcher. A consequence of the type of documentation available is that it is not appropriate to count tokens: only in the Mojeño Trinitario texts is this feasible and meaningful.

Table 1. Sources of data

	Old Mojeño	Mojeño Ignaciano	Mojeño Trinitario
Grammars	Marbán (1702: Chapter 12, 86–7)	Ott and Ott (1967: 104) Ott and Ott (1983: 49) Olza Zubiri et al. (2002: Chapter 24.1, 418–20)	Gill (1957: 153, 214) Ibáñez Noza et al. (2009: 45) Rose (2015: 68, 79)
Documents	Marbán (1702: 118–659) [dictionary] Marbán (1702: appendix 1–202) [text: catechism]	Ott and Ott (1983: 57–644) [dictionary]	Gill (1993, 102 p.) [dictionary] New Tribes Mission, (New Tribes Mission 2002, 661 p.) [text: New Testament] Rose, personal corpus (6 hours of recordings) [texts]

The methodology of analysis of the data thus gathered is as follows. First, I examined the distribution of the markers, with regard to the parts-of-speech of the host, the syntagmatic position of the marker within the nominal and verbal word, the animacy of the referent, and the frequency of the marker. Second, I noted the functions of these markers, and undertook a text study to investigate the use of the most frequent diminutive in discourse (in Section 4.3). To summarize the findings, Old Mojeño and Mojeño Trinitario each show a different but rather canonical diminutive, found only on nominals with a meaning centered around ‘smallness’. There is also a paradigm of four other evaluative markers in the two modern varieties that show a wide distribution across several parts of speech and seem to occupy similar slots. Among these four evaluative markers, I argue in this paper that two of them belong to the diminutive realm (they do not necessarily encode the core quantitative meaning of ‘smallness’). I can only speculate for now a diachronic connection between the other two and the diminutive category. These are the pejorative morpheme *tata(ji)* found in both Trinitario (3) and Ignaciano,⁷ and the pejorative

7. In my corpus of Mojeño Trinitario, the pejorative suffix *-tata(ji)* seems to have the same distributive properties as the marker of compassion *-chicha* (found on both nouns and verbs, see Section 4.1). There is no example of *-tata(ji)* combining with a diminutive marker. In Mojeño

morpheme *-(i)navaji* found only in Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 418), with which the South Arawak languages Terêna and Baure show possible cognates. Terêna has a noun *tata* ‘piece’ (Butler 2003: 10) and a classifier *tata* ‘small’ (Marcus 1994: 916; Butler & Ekdahl 2012: 144). Baure shows the lexical pair *kohis* ‘stone’ and *kohistot* ‘pebble’ (Danielsen 2007: 145).⁸ If a link between the Mojeño pejorative *-tata(ji)* and the diminutive category was confirmed in the future, this would enhance the wealth of evaluative morphology in Mojeño. It would offer an additional source of grammaticalization for the diminutive – the exact nature of which is yet unknown – and an additional semantic extension towards another negative emotional connotation, that of pejorative, which is cross-linguistically well-attested (see Ponsonnet this volume). However, this paper will focus on the other three morphemes that have a better established link with the diminutive category.

- (3) *jmani pak-tataj-ono t-ijane-mo-no.*
 DEM dog-PEJ-PL 3-stink-CLF:thin_flex-PL
 ‘These fucking dogs stink.’ Mojeño Trinitario {text29.042}

This paper is organized as follows: Sections 2, 3 and 4 describe the synchronic distribution and function of the diminutives in Old Mojeño, Mojeño Ignaciano and Mojeño Trinitario, respectively. Section 5 analyzes the rise and fall of these diminutives across the four centuries, from Old Mojeño to the two modern extant dialects. Section 6 presents a summary of the results.

2. Diminutives in Old Mojeño

Marbán (1702: 86–7) explains that ‘diminutive nouns’ are built in two ways in Old Mojeño. In the first construction, a noun and an adjective meaning ‘small’ (*achipi-chu* or *achicha-chu*) are juxtaposed as in (4) and (5). Marbán does not justify the classification of *achicha* and *achipi* as adjectives.⁹ However, his analysis seems

Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 13), the pejorative suffix *-tataji* is described as filling a different slot than the suffixes *-chicha* and *-sami* which will be described in Section 3.

8. This apparently ‘diminutive’ derivation is not productive (Danielsen p.c.). Actually, the second part of *kohistot* ‘pebble’ is also used as a repeater classifier with the meaning ‘round’, only in relation with the two nouns *kohistot* ‘pebble’ and *koten* ‘caramelized sugar cane’ (Danielsen 2007: 145).

9. Marbán (1702: 2) just says about adjectives that they can be distinguished by their meaning only from substantives, with which they form the noun category. In this paper, I use the term ‘noun’ for what Marbán calls substantives. In Section 5.2, I discuss the formal distinction between adjectives and nouns.

correct because were these nominal roots, a possessive marker would be expected within the genitive noun phrase ('the smallness of the dog/robe'), and were they stative verbs, a prefix indexing the subject would be expected on the verb.¹⁰ In the two examples provided, the adjective precedes the noun. The author also illustrates these adjectives as predicates taking 'possessives' and a *chu* final element as in (6). This enables us to segment *chu* as a separate morpheme in the two adjectival words,¹¹ leaving as adjectival roots *achicha* and *achipi*. Marbán does not explain the difference between these roots. Given the likely adjectival nature of the word meaning 'small', its morphological complexity, its variation, and its apparent status as a separate word, I consider the construction in (4) and (5) as a noun phrase with an adjective meaning 'small' modifying the nominal head. It is therefore a periphrastic diminutive rather than a morphological diminutive.

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|
| (4) | <i>achicha-chu tamucu</i> ¹²
small-ASS dog
'small dog' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 86) |
| (5) | <i>achipi-chu muiriare</i>
small-ASS robe
'small robe' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 86) |
| (6) | <i>achipi-nu-chu</i>
small-1SG-ASS
'I am small.' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 86) |

The second construction is described as a noun with a postposed particle *chicha* and is illustrated in examples (7) and (8).

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>mari chicha</i>
stone DIM
'small stone' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 87) |
|-----|--|------------------------------|

10. They could be analyzed as non-verbal (adjectival or nominal) predicates with a zero suffix for the third person subject in the examples (4) and (5) only if we consider that the translations as NPs rather than as full sentences are an error, which does not seem reasonable to me given the overall quality of Marbán's work.

11. I gloss *-chu* as 'assertive' on the basis of the description and illustrations of this so-called "particle" on various types of predicates in Marbán (1702: 33).

12. The examples in Marbán (1702) are not segmented into morphemes nor glossed, only translated. The segmentation and gloss are mine.

(8) *pacu*¹³ *chicha*
 dog DIM
 ‘puppy’

Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 87)

I consider this construction as very likely comprising a morphological diminutive *chicha*. There are six reasons to consider *chicha* in (7) and (8) to be a diminutive suffix resulting from the grammaticalization of *achicha*. The first reason is that the placement of *chicha* to the right of the nominal root differs from the regular position of adjectives as in (4) and (5), and fits with the prototypical position of affixes (there are more suffixes than prefixes in this language). The second reason is that no element is ever inserted between the nominal root and *chicha*. The third reason is that, in that position, the diminutive has an invariable form (the alternate form *achipi* is not available). The fourth reason is that, if the adjective *achicha* is the source for the diminutive, the grammaticalization process is made visible by the phonological reduction. The initial vowel /a/ is not realized in the diminutive marker, probably as a result of a morphophonemic rule avoiding vowel sequences. It is worth noting that the disyllabic structure of *chicha* is not a rarity for Old Mojeño suffixes, see for instance the suffixes *-ono* for ‘plural’, *-abi* for ‘1st person plural’, and *-ripo* for ‘pluperfect’. A fifth reason is that the lack of additional morphology on post-nominal *chicha* (*chu* is not found in this construction) is evidence that it has lost its lexical status. The sixth argument is prosody. Marbán does not consistently write post-nominal diminutives as separate words, but sometimes as part of the nominal word (without a hyphen in the source), see (10) and (11). He does not comment on stress placement in his discussion on diminutives, but his marking of accents provides evidence for the idea that *chicha* is incorporated into the stress domain of the noun, a property associated with affixes.¹⁴ Finally, a conclusive piece of evidence for the completion of the grammaticalization process could be the placement of inflections, for example the plural suffix, but there is no example to illustrate this. In summary, it is clear that *chicha* has started to grammaticalize into a diminutive in Old Mojeño, even

13. *Tamucu* in (4) and *pacu* in (8) and (10) are two synonyms for ‘dog’ in Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 306). Mojeño Trinitario has retained the *paku* form as in (3) and (42), while Mojeño Ignaciano has retained the *tamucu* form (Ott & Ott 1983: 604).

14. Marbán (1702: 2) states that some nouns are stressed on the final syllable, others on the penultimate, and fewer still on the antepenultimate. He does not explain the rules that he follows for writing accents, but since written accents are mostly found on final syllables, the implicit orthographic rule must be that penultimate stress is not written, as in Spanish. The second form of Example (11) therefore shows that *-chicha* is considered part of the word, since there is no accent on the nominal root *cahacurè*, that is normally stressed on the final syllable, as shown by the first form of Example (11).

though there is no conclusive evidence that the process has been completed. This diachronic scenario holds with two of Marbán's comments: that *chicha* is a particle, while *achicha* is an adjective, and that while the construction in (4) and (5) is said to occur "sometimes", the one in (7) and (8) is considered "better". A possible diachronic scenario for the co-occurrence of prenominal adjectives and a post-nominal morphological diminutive is suggested in Section 5.2.

Five examples of the morphological diminutive were found in the dictionary, and none in the catechism. Since the construction is described in the grammar and exemplified in the dictionary, its absence in the catechism points to the non-naturalness of this text, that does not reflect the way Mojeños were really speaking. In the five examples, *chicha* accompanies a noun, and expresses small size (or young age), as in examples (9) to (11). The Old Mojeño diminutive thus appears to be restricted to a denotational meaning, apparently showing no emotional connotation or interactional function. The type of grammar and documents available for Old Mojeño make it impossible to comment on the frequency and productivity of the diminutive marker.

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|
| (9) | <i>upohi chicha</i>
duck DIM
'duckling' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 634) |
| (10) | <i>pacu-chicha</i>
dog-DIM
'puppy' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 166) |
| (11) | <i>cahacurè chicha</i> / <i>cahacure-chicha</i>
river DIM river-DIM
'stream' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 145, 413) |

3. Diminutives and associated expressive markers in the Mojeño Ignaciano dialect

For the modern Mojeño Ignaciano dialect, three evaluative markers have been described by Olza Zubiri et al. (2002), and only two by Ott & Ott (1967).

3.1 *-chicha*

The diminutive *-chicha* is described by Ott & Ott (1967) as expressing "diminutive, endearment" and Olza Zubiri et al. (2002) as "hypocoristic". This morpheme displays a wide distribution: in the grammars and dictionaries, it occurs on nouns in the great majority of examples, but it also occurs, occasionally, on verbs, demonstratives, adverbs, pronouns, quantifiers and some grammatical morphemes. Evaluative

formation cross-linguistically ranges over the four major word classes and the same formative can apply to different word classes (Štekauer 2015: 56–8), but such a wide distribution seems cross-linguistically uncommon. Diminutivization of pronouns is very rare cross-linguistically (Štekauer 2015: 57).

Table 2 shows the placement of *-chicha* on nouns and Table 3 on verbs (as described in Ott & Ott 1983: 14–5). These tables suggest that *-chicha* participates in the derivational morphology on nouns, while it participates in the inflectional morphology on verbs. On nouns, it is very close to the root and its denotational meaning affects the meaning of the noun. On verbs, it is distant from the root, and the diminutive meaning does not affect the description of the situation denoted by the predicate, but is rather associated with an argument as described, for instance, for the diminutives of Passamaquoddy and Lamunkhin Even (LeSourd 1995, Pakendorf 2016).¹⁵ In (12), the diminutive on the verb has no effect on the intensity of the event but reinforces the affection expressed towards the subject. This does not fit with the idea that the semantics of the evaluative morpheme applies regularly to whatever the semantics of the base is, as with a diminutive expressing a decrease in size on nouns and a decrease in intensity on verbs (Grandi 2015: 77). Finally, *-chicha* is not obligatory, whether on nouns or verbs. These observations on the distribution of *-chicha* fit with earlier work on evaluative morphology; as Grandi (2015: 74) puts it: “All scholars agree in recognizing the peculiar nature of evaluative affixes, and in asserting that they cannot be reduced either to inflection or to derivation” (see also Scalise 1984, Bybee 1985, Stump 2008). This complex issue is not further developed in this paper, as it is not central to the diachronic perspective.

Table 2. The diminutive within nominals (adapted from Ott & Ott 1983: 25)

PERS _{POSS} ⁻	root	-POSS ⁺	-DIM	-PL	-TAM
		-CLF			

* This set of suffixes derives non-possessable nouns from obligatorily possessed nouns, or vice versa (Rose 2015: 79).

Table 3. The diminutive within verbs (adapted from Ott & Ott 1983: 14–5)

PERS _A ⁻	IMP-	CAUS-	root	-RED	-CLF	-PLURAC	-ACT	-VAL	-ORD	-PERS _O	-DIM	-PL
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- (12) *éna-chicha amaperu-chicha-na t-échejirahi-chicha-vaca*
 ART.PL-DIM youngster-DIM-PL 3-be_nice-DIM-PL
 ‘The kids are nice’ Mojeño Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 419)

15. Ott & Ott (1983) present *-chicha* as a suffix that can be found on both intransitive and transitive verbs, but examples show this morpheme only on intransitive predicates.

Example (12) also shows that *-chicha* can be marked on several words (lexemes and function words) in the same sentence.¹⁶ While repetition of the diminutive in the same sentence may superficially look like agreement, it is not systematically attested in the corpus and is therefore not an obligatory agreement pattern: examples in Ott & Ott (1983) show that *-chicha* can be found on the subject only or on the predicate only.

Regarding the functions of *-chicha*, some examples show the following denotational meanings: small size (13), young age (14), intensification (15) and approximation (16).

- (13) *simena-chicha* Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 67)
wood-DIM
'small wood'
- (14) *ta ichape~pe-ha-vaca-pa ta churuisi-chicha-na (...)*
ART.NH big~RED-CLF:body-PL-PFV ART.NH opossum-DIM-PL
'When the baby opossums are big, ...'
Mojeño Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 418)
- (15) *apaesa-chicha* Mojeño Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 418)
little-DIM
'a little bit'
- (16) *cáperehi-chicha* Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 32)
afternoon-DIM
'late afternoon'

However, emotional connotations are said to be more salient: "the suffix *-chicha*, more than a diminutive, is a hypocoristic and indicates affection, esteem and tenderness towards the object"¹⁷ (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002). This meaning of a positive feeling inspired by someone else is labeled 'affection' in this paper, also known as 'endearment' elsewhere. Example (12) illustrates the expression of 'affection'. Example (17) may illustrate the expression of 'compassion', i.e. empathy with someone affected by a negative event.

- (17) *má-eche-ji-re eta m-áquehe-chicha*
PRIV-flesh-CLF-N.POS ART.NH 3M-body-DIM
'His poor little body is scrawny.' Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 160)

16. The three occurrences of *-chicha* in Example (12) express affection towards the children.

17. My translation of the original: "el sufijo *-chicha* que más que diminutivo es un hipocorístico e indica afecto, estima, cariño hacia el objeto".

Moreover, *-chicha* could have an interactional function on two grammatical roots, the warning (i.e. apprehensive) negative root *machu* as well as on the ‘request for confirmation’ root *masi*,¹⁸ though the translations include the emotional connotation ‘dear’. Diminutives can be used to soften the illocutionary force of various types of utterances, such as commands and requests (see for example Wierzbicka 1984: 128, Ponsonnet 2014: 97). This may be the case with the recommendation in (18), and with a request for confirmation in (19), two speech acts that threaten the addressee’s face.¹⁹

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (18) | <i>machu-chicha</i>
APPR-DIM
‘beware, dear one, lest...’ | Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1967: 130) |
| (19) | <i>masi-chicha</i>
TAG-DIM
‘isn’t that right, dear?’ | Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1967: 130) |

3.2 *-tsitsa*

The Mojeño Ignaciano suffix *-tsitsa* is only mentioned in Olza Zúbiri et al. (2002) and is said to be “equivalent to *-chicha*”. There is no example of it in the works of Ott & Ott (1967, 1983). Given its phonological similarity to *-chicha*, I suspect that it is an allomorph in free variation.

3.3 *-sami*

The Mojeño Ignaciano suffix *-sami* is described by both Ott & Ott (1983) and Olza Zúbiri et al. (2002). It is found on various parts of speech (nouns, verbs, and pronouns), and is described as having the same placement as *-chicha* on nouns (within derivational morphology) and on verbs (within inflectional morphology). When *-sami* is used on a predicate, then its diminutive meaning does not affect the event denoted by the predicate, but is rather associated with one of the arguments. On the intransitive verbs of examples (20) to (25), it affects the subject.²⁰ It can also be found on several words of different categories in the same sentence, as in (25).

18. It is not considered an interjection by Ott & Ott (1983).

19. Face-threatening acts is a label within the politeness theory developed by Brown & Levinson (1987).

20. As for *-chicha*, Ott & Ott (1983) present *-sami* as a suffix that can be found on both intransitive and transitive verbs, but examples show this morpheme only on intransitive predicates.

Again, there is no systematic agreement pattern. There are also examples with *-sami* on the predicate only.

The suffix *-sami* is nevertheless functionally distinct from *-chicha*. It does not express any denotational meaning, but only emotional connotations as in (20) and (21). Ott & Ott (1983) gloss it as ‘sympathetic’. Olza Zúbiri et al. (2002) translate it as ‘poor’ in most cases and ‘dear’ in a few cases, and describe it as expressing “friendliness” and “compassion”. I suspect that Olza Zúbiri’s ‘friendliness’ definition (*simpatía* in the Spanish original) of *-sami* is an erroneous translation of Ott & Ott’s English ‘sympathy’.

- (20) *tí-apan-sami-pahi*²¹ Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 49)
 3-fall-DIM-CLF:ground
 ‘Poor him/her, (s)he fell.’
- (21) *tí-yaha-va-sami* Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 11)
 3-cry-MID-DIM
 ‘He is crying over himself’ (the speaker has pity over the crying one)

Just as with *-chicha*, *-sami* also has some interactional effects in some examples: politeness (maybe modesty) in the greeting formula in (22), and softening the command in the imperatives of (23) and (24).

- (22) *n-úri-sami-chu* Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 432)
 1SG-be_good-DIM-INTENS
 ‘I am fine.’ (formula of answer to greetings)
- (23) *pi-ku-arameka-sami* Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 108)
 2SG-PROH-be_afraid-DIM
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’
- (24) *yáre-sami* Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1983: 34)
 come.IMP-DIM
 ‘Come!’ (the speaker expresses pity over his hearer)

Two examples point to the fact that the marker *-sami* can combine with the diminutive *-chicha*, both following the order *-chicha-sami*. It is cross-linguistically a very common feature of diminutives to combine with each other. In (25), it is hard to tell what each marker individually encodes. The overall meaning is that of ‘compassion.’

21. It is worth noting that this example contradicts the verbal structure presented in Table 3, because the diminutive precedes a classifier.

- (25) *éñi-chicha-sami ñi amaperu-ini-chicha-sami ñí-jina-i-pa-sami*
 ART.M-DIM-DIM ART.M youngster-PAST-DIM-DIM 3M-not.be-?-PFV-DIM²²
 ‘The poor boy isn’t here, poor him.’

Mojeño Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 419)

The productivity of the Mojeño Ignaciano diminutive markers is never discussed. Nevertheless, Olza Zúbiri et al. (2002) mention that *-sami* is frequent in songs. This suggests that this form is archaic. In all the documents of Mojeño Ignaciano, there are indeed fewer examples of *-sami* than of *-chicha*.

4. Diminutives and associated expressive markers in the Mojeño Trinitario dialect

Mojeño Trinitario also has three evaluative markers. Two of them have allomorphs, due to a rule of syncope that affects every odd vowel of certain words (Rose 2014).

4.1 *-chicha*

The Mojeño Trinitario suffix *-chicha* (~-tcha) has a wide distribution: it occurs mostly on verbs, commonly on nouns, and occasionally on adjectives, pronouns and numerals. Its position within the noun and verb words is the same as in Mojeño Ignaciano (Section 3.1), i.e. it is a derivational suffix on nouns and an inflectional suffix on verbs. When *-chicha* is used on a predicate, then the diminutive meaning does not affect the event denoted by the predicate, but is rather associated with one of the arguments. Examples of *-chicha* on verbs show that its meaning associates with S of an intransitive verb (26), and with either A (28) or P (27) of a transitive verb (without a neat distribution).

The marker *-chicha* in Mojeño Trinitario has no denotational meaning of small size, young age, intensification or approximation. It systematically encodes emotional connotations of ‘compassion, pity’ (26)–(28), and is therefore very often combined with terms for ‘elders’ and ‘ancestors’ as illustrated in (29). It can also express ‘self-pity’, as in (30). It takes a derogatory sense in its rare occurrences on inanimate nouns as in (31). Gill (1957) says that “it may also mean that the object is delicate or breakable”. Example (31) is from a text of an elder explaining how life was in the indigenous village during his childhood. He mentions hammocks. Hammocks are not particularly “delicate or breakable” but they are much less prestigious in the

22. The examples in Olza Zúbiri et al. (2002) are not segmented nor glossed. I was not able to analyze the /i/.

minds of the speakers than a bed, being taken as a symbol for older times predating the introduction of manufactured goods.

- (26) *p-momnare-gi-a-po-tcha.* Mojeño Trinitario {text37.068}
 2-demand-ACT-IRR-MID-DIM
 ‘Poor you, make an effort (lit. be demanding with yourself)’ [uttered by a woman to a young man asking for advice regarding administrative matters]
- (27) *ñi-nik-chicha=pu=iji to ’jii’i.* Mojeño Trinitario {text35.078}
 3M-eat-DIM=PFV=RPT ART.NH rooster
 ‘It (the wild cat) ate the poor rooster.’
- (28) *na-epia-k-chicha=wore to rauriyu.* Mojeño Trinitario {24.083}
 3PL-make-ACT-DIM=REP ART.NH brick
 ‘They made bricks again with great sacrifice.’
- (29) *eskravonri’ini eno no v-jañon-chicha-no.*
 they_were_slaves PRO.3PL ART.PL 1PL-parent-DIM-PL
 ‘Our poor ancestors were slaves.’ Mojeño Trinitario {text2.046}
- (30) *oni eto pjoka v-emtonerep-chicha=ri’i viti ’seno-no*
 so PRO3NH DEM 1PL-way_working-DIM=IPFV PRO1PL woman-PL
 ‘Such is our way of working, us, poor women’ Mojeño Trinitario {text36.007}
- (31) *t-k-epia eto kolcha, ante, tyompo eto achu-chicha*
 3-CAUS-make ART.NH blanket before and ART.NH hammock-DIM
kut=giene jena Mojeño Trinitario {text25.65}
 like=INTENS DEM
 ‘(...) they used to make blankets, before, and crappy hammocks just like these.’

The marker *-chicha* is not highly frequent, with 23 occurrences in the text corpus, but elicitation shows that it is productive.

4.2 *-samini*

The evaluative marker *-samini* occurs in a single textual example in my corpus (32). It is not mentioned in Gill (1957), nor found in the dictionary (Gill 1993) and the New Testament (New Tribes Mission 2002). A few elicited examples show that the distribution of *-samini* is very similar to that of *-chicha*: it can occur on nouns, verbs, adjectives and pronouns. Just like *-chicha*, when *-samini* is used on a verbal predicate, then the diminutive meaning is associated with one of the arguments of the verb, either the S on intransitive verbs or the A of a transitive verb as in (34).²³

23. My corpus does not include examples of *-samini* on a transitive verb where its meaning associates with P.

- (32) *eto-na=pka ora eno-samini (to?) t-imo-ko-n=ri'i*
 one-CLF:gen=SPEC hour 3PL-DIM ART.NH 3-sleep-ACT-PL=IPFV
 'After maybe only one hour, they fell asleep (dizzy with tobacco).' [making fun
 of rainbows that, contrarily to humans, cannot resist smoking tobacco]
 Mojeño Trinitario {text24.114}

From this example and the consultant's discussion of the elicited examples, it is obvious that *-samini* encodes emotional rather than denotational meanings. The exact emotional connotation that it expresses is difficult to determine, due to the low quality of data (a few elicited examples, like (33) and (29)). It is translated as expressing compassion, like *-chicha*. My impression from elicited pairs of contrastive examples is that *-samini* additionally expresses contempt (compare (34) with (35)). Remember that, as mentioned in the introduction, both dialects of the modern Mojeño language also contain a pejorative suffix *-tata(ji)*, that is quite frequent in discourse (3). The Ignaciano dialect also shows a second pejorative suffix *-(i)navaji*. More data are needed to determine the exact meaning of *-samini*. Finally, I have not tested the possibility of combining *-chicha* with *-samini*.

- (33) *eñi 'chos-samini* Mojeño Trinitario {elicited}
 PRO3M old-DIM
 'the old man' [the consultant added that it could be said jokingly]
- (34) *ñi-nik-samini* Mojeño Trinitario {elicited}
 3M-eat-DIM
 'The poor man eats (food that he has first rejected)'
- (35) *ñi-nik-chicha* Mojeño Trinitario {elicited}
 3M-eat-DIM
 'The poor man eats (with difficulty, for example after being sick)'

4.3 *-gira*

Mojeño Trinitario has a diminutive *-gira* (~ *-gra*) that is not found in Mojeño Ignaciano. This diminutive occurs mostly on nouns (36), and occasionally on quantifiers (37), nominal predicates (38), nominalized verbs (39), and adjectives.²⁴

- (36) *n-ñom=po n-k-emtone te to 'pona rancho-gra*
 1SG-go=PFV 1SG-VZ-work PREP ART.NH other farm-DIM
 'I went to work in another small farm' Mojeño Trinitario {text36.028}

24. Gill (1957: 153) briefly mentions the use of *-gira* on verbs. However, since my corpus does not show a single example of *-gira* on a verb, this use has been ignored in the present study.

- (37) *'pues-gira p-kucho-k-a=ri'i=ni, ...*
 little-DIM 2SG-wait-ACT-IRR=IPFV=FRUST
 'if you had waited for him a little bit, ...' Mojeño Trinitario {text37.036}
- (38) *'moyo-wokov-gira=richò*
 kid-1PL-DIM=still
 'We were still little kids.' Mojeño Trinitario {text25.069}
- (39) *v-ero=yore to t-itve-gira*
 1PL-drink=FUT ART.NH 3-be_sweet-DIM
 'We are going to drink the *dulcecito* (a type of drink).'
 Mojeño Trinitario {text28.100}

The position of *-gira* in the nominal word is the same as that of *-chicha* in both modern Mojeño dialects: it appears in the derivational slot immediately following the root, preceding inflections like the plural as in (40). This marker is rather frequent, with 62 occurrences in the text corpus. Elicitation has shown that it is fully productive on nouns.

- (40) *te to rancho-gra-m=poo'i*
 PREP ART.NH farm-DIM-PL=MOT
 'in each of the small farms' Mojeño Trinitario {text33.002}

The diminutive *-gira* encodes denotational meanings of size (36) and (40), age (38), intensification (37), and approximation (41). It can occur on inanimate nouns as in (36) and (40).

- (41) *kopere'-gira*
 afternoon-DIM
 'late afternoon' Mojeño Trinitario {text19.068}

Many examples also express an emotional connotation of affection or endearment. Bauer (1996: 537) states that it can be difficult to distinguish emotional overtones from reference to size. Indeed, in many cases, it is actually difficult to tease apart the denotational meaning from the emotional connotations of *-gira*. There are actually no clear cases of *-gira* with an emotional meaning autonomous from small size or age.

- (42) *pak-gira*
 dog-DIM
 'the puppy / the small dog / doggy' Mojeño Trinitario

A discourse study is very telling in that respect. The text under study is an account of the stimulus known as the 'Frog Story'. *Frog, where are you?* is a picture book (Mayer 1969), often used by linguists to elicit comparable data across languages or

types of speakers (for example, see Berman & Slobin 1994). It is the story of a boy and his dog that go looking for their missing pet frog that has escaped. Along their way, they meet bees, a rat, an owl, a deer, and in the end, the pet frog in a group of adult and baby frogs.

In the story account of one of the speakers, the diminutive occurs on *'móperu* 'youngster', *paku* 'dog' and *sapo* 'toad' (i.e. the pet frog). It does not occur on *móposi* 'bee', *kotso* 'rat', *yusa* 'owl', *kjowo* 'deer', nor on any noun with an inanimate referent. The first finding is that the use of *-gira* is not only about absolute or relative size or age. Indeed, the bees and the rat are, in the absolute, smaller than the boy and the dog, but the nouns referring to them do not take the diminutive. Moreover, the adult frogs are big in relation to the baby frogs but the noun referring to them takes the diminutive anyway. Hence, diminutive occurs when the referent is friendly and/or endearing but not on the nouns for the bees, the rat and the deer, all nasty characters in this story. The second finding is that the diminutive is used for endearment. In this text, endearment is expressed for characters conveying positive feelings, among them a human and two pets, entities likely to trigger affection (Jurafsky 1996). The forest animals are either neutral in that respect (the owl) or have a negative image (the rat, the bees, the deer) because they harm or frighten the main, 'nice' characters. The nouns referring to them do not carry the diminutive. Back to the nouns which take the diminutive *-gira*, all occurrences of *sapo* 'toad' occur with the diminutive, as well as all but one of *paku* 'dog',²⁵ but only some occurrences of *'móperu* 'youngster' take the diminutive as in (43), while others do not as in (44).

(43) *ene ma 'moperu-gra (...) mu-em-ò=po to jani-ono*
 and ART.M youngster-DIM 3M-see-ACT=PFV ART.NH bee-PL
 'and the little boy saw the bees' Mojeño Trinitario {text11.019}

(44) *em-ja=a'i ma 'móperu, te yoti t-jára-ku*
 3M-EXI=IPFV ART.M youngster PREP night 3-be_light-CLF:hole
 'there was a boy, in the night, with a bright moon'
 Mojeño Trinitario {text11.002}

Examining the presence or absence of the diminutive *-gira* on *'móperu* 'youngster' gives more detailed insights into the use of the diminutive in discourse.²⁶ The noun *'móperu* occurs five times without the diminutive, and four times with it (Table 4). The first three occurrences of the diminutive are found in contexts where the boy is in danger, causing the speaker to evoke feelings of compassion, and the final

25. The absence of *-gira* in this example is unexplained.

26. The word *'móperu* 'youngster' is preceded by an article for (human) masculine singular and refers to the 'boy' in this text.

one in a context where the boy shows affection for his pet, thus evoking feelings of endearment from the speaker. The five occurrences without the diminutive are more neutral (note that the affection of the pet frog for its master does not cause the speaker to evoke feelings of endearment). The examination of the discourse distribution of the diminutive on the same noun (with the same referent) shows that the diminutive can be used to express compassion.²⁷ The account of the Frog Story by another consultant shows zero occurrence of the diminutive, showing that its use is highly dependent on the speaker's stance.

Table 4. Occurrences of *'móperu* 'youngster' with and without the diminutive in an account of the Frog Story

five occurrences of <i>'móperu</i> 'youngster' without the diminutive	'there was a boy, in the night, with a bright moon' 'and also it (the owl) flew to see the boy ' 'and then the deer appeared and went with the boy on his back' 'and it (the frog) is happy that the boy is here, because the boy was its friend'
four occurrences of <i>'móperu</i> 'youngster' with the diminutive	'and the little boy saw the bees' 'and the little boy ran' 'the water was shallow and the little boy did not sink' 'then the little boy took a small frog in his hand, he put it in his hand'

5. The rise and fall of the diminutives

Based on the data presented in the three preceding sections on Old Mojeño, Mojeño Ignaciano and Mojeño Trinitario respectively, this section elaborates on the diachrony of the Mojeño diminutive markers, namely their inventory and formal evolution (5.1), their etymology (5.2), their further distributional (5.3) and functional evolution (5.4). After offering a brief sketch of the evolution of each diminutive through the centuries and the dialects (5.5), I discuss their organization in a system renewed with different waves of grammaticalization (5.6). This section builds on all the markers presented in the three previous sections, even though some of them do not convey the core meaning of 'smallness' and would not be described as diminutives in a synchronic description.

27. Angela Terrill (p.c.) noticed that the diminutive is used in examples when the boy is being agentive, and absent when he is not agentive.

5.1 Inventory of the Mojeño diminutives over time

This section compares the descriptions of the three varieties of Mojeño (one of the late 17th, two of the late 20th and early 21st century) in order to track the history of the diminutives in the language. Table 5 gives the relevant forms in the three varieties. I hypothesize that the five formally distinct markers can be organized in three cognate sets, on the basis of formal and functional similarity.

Table 5. Comparison of diminutives in three varieties of Mojeño

Old Mojeño	Mojeño Ignaciano	Mojeño Trinitario
- <i>chicha</i> 'small'	- <i>chicha</i> ~ (- <i>tsitsa</i>) 'small, endearment'	- <i>chicha</i> 'compassion'
	- <i>sami</i> 'compassion'	- <i>samini</i> 'compassion (contempt?)'
		- <i>gira</i> 'small, endearment'

The first cognate set groups together the three *-chicha* forms, and possibly the *-tsitsa* form, if the latter is considered a free variant of *-chicha* in Mojeño Ignaciano. The suffix *-chicha* undergoes the Trinitario regular vowel deletion process, so that it has an allomorph *-tcha*.²⁸ The second cognate set is that which groups Mojeño Ignaciano *-sami* and Mojeño Trinitario *-samini*. The /ni/ element is discussed in the next section. No form obviously cognate with it was found in Old Mojeño. Finally, the third cognate set is a singleton containing the Mojeño Trinitario diminutive *-gira*, which has no grammatical counterpart in the other two varieties. No strong phonetic erosion has been observed in more than three centuries. It must be noted that the modern Mojeño morphological inventory shows many other disyllabic morphemes, such as =*yore* 'FUT' and =*wore* 'REP' used in Example (1). The next section investigates the origin of the diminutives.

5.2 The etymology of the diminutives

The historical work on the Arawak family does not include a reconstruction of diminutives.²⁹ The genesis of the Mojeño diminutives must therefore be investigated through internal reconstruction.

The precise lexical etymology of *-chicha* can only be hypothesized. We have two clearly related lexical items as possible lexical sources for this diminutive marker: the Old Mojeño *achicha* analyzed as an adjective and translated as 'small' in Marbán

28. A sequence of two <ch> /tʃ/ consonants is realized as <tch> /tʃ/.

29. Aikhenvald (1999: 94) only briefly mentions a diminutive marker *-chaa* in Añun. Payne (1987, 1991) does not mention diminutives.

(1702), as in (4), and the Old Mojeño lexical item *chicha* analyzed as a noun and translated as ‘son, daughter’ in Marbán (1702), illustrated in (45) and (46).³⁰ These two lexical roots (*achicha* and *chicha*) are very close semantically and formally, and one is very likely derived historically from the other. On the semantic level, the noun *chicha* has additional semantic features compared to the adjective ‘small’, those of ‘offshoot’ and ‘animate’. On the formal level, the nominal root *chicha* and the adjective *achicha* differ only in the initial /a/, the function of which we have no evidence for. The two forms differ more radically in terms of morphological combination. The noun *chicha* pertains to the class of obligatorily possessed nouns: it requires either a possessive prefix as in (45) and (46) or a suffix indicating that it is not possessed (for this reason, I will translate it as ‘offspring’ rather than ‘child’). In contrast, adjectives cannot take personal prefixes.

- (45) *nu-chicha* Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 252)
 1SG-offspring
 ‘my son/daughter’
- (46) *ta-chicha vaca* Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 158)
 3NH-offspring cow
 ‘the calf (lit. the offspring of a cow)’

The identification of the etymology of the *chicha* diminutive is logically independent from the direction of change between the adjective *achicha* ‘small’ and the noun *chicha* ‘offspring’.³¹ Instead, it crucially depends on a potential source construction that would account for the fact that the *-chicha* diminutive marker does not show an initial /a/ as in the adjective for ‘small’, nor any kind of possessive markers that the noun for ‘offspring’ normally takes, as well as the fact that the diminutive follows the nominal head, while its likely lexical sources are expected to come first in a noun phrase. The possessor normally precedes the possessee in a genitive phrase like

30. Marbán also gives the adjectival form *achipi* ‘small’ (see Section 1), the noun *achipi* ‘child’ (Marbán 1702: 369) and other related lexemes starting with /chi/: *-chineno* ‘daughter-in law’ and *-china* ‘son-in-law’ (Marbán 1702: 461). It is therefore possible that there was actually an initial element /chi/, the meaning of which could have been either ‘small’ or ‘offspring’, and out of which either *chicha* ‘offspring’ or *achicha* ‘small’ could have first derived. This additional information does not help in teasing apart whether the element that became a diminutive was adjectival or nominal.

31. We leave open the question of the direction of change (with a change in semantics and parts-of-speech), from the adjective *achicha* ‘small’ to the noun *chicha* ‘offspring’ or the other way around. In the first alternative (with the adjective being the initial point of the chain of changes), the initial /a/ would have been deleted, even though this is not an expected morphophonological change in the process of personal possessive prefix affixation. In the second alternative (with a noun being the initial point of the chain of changes), the /a/ would have been added on the nominal form to develop the adjective. There is no evidence elsewhere in the language for such a function of /a/.

(46), and the adjectives precede the noun that they modify in examples (4) and (5). However, Marbán briefly mentions compound nouns (48) as an alternative to the regular genitive phrases (47). In his examples of compound nouns, the possessor follows the possessee and occurs without a personal possessive prefix or a possessive suffix, even though it pertains to the class of obligatorily possessed nouns. Moreover, while Marbán's grammar does not discuss the word order of adjectives, evidence for an alternative order noun-adjective has been found in the textual data. The adjective *chope* 'big', for example, is regularly found before the head noun, as in *chope pecatu* 'big sins', but is sometimes attested after it as in *pecatu chope* 'big sins' (Marbán 1702: 78, 89 of catechism). The scarce examples do not provide evidence for an analysis in terms of flexible word order or of compounding.

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------|
| (47) | <i>ta-chuti ichini</i>
3NH-head jaguar
'the head of the jaguar' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 91) |
| (48) | <i>ichini-chuti</i>
jaguar-head
'the head of the jaguar' | Old Mojeño (Marbán 1702: 91) |

Whether the lexical source of the diminutive is a noun or an adjective, there is a different possible source construction where it follows the head noun: either compound nouns or postnominal adjectives. The post-nominal word order, and maybe some prosodic integration, could have influenced the lexical status of *chi-cha*, leading to its grammaticalization as a suffix. In the first diachronic scenario (with a nominal lexical source), the absence of possessive affixes is explained by the fact that compounding allows the nominal root to be bare. In the second scenario (with an adjectival lexical source), the absence of the /a/ is unexplained because vowel sequences are normally allowed in the process of word formation. The first hypothesis is therefore favored, on morphophonological grounds.

Most of the cross-linguistic literature offers support for the nominal origin of diminutives. On the basis of a comparative work on 60 European languages, Jurafsky underlines the "lack of evidence for any morphological diminutives whose origin is a word meaning 'small'" (Jurafsky 1996: 569). Instead, he states that "the origins of the diminutive cross-linguistically lie in words semantically or pragmatically linked to children" (Jurafsky 1996: 533). This is supported by Grandi's (2011: 21) conclusions that the semantic source of diminutive is "child/young" in Indo-European languages and elsewhere.³² Heine & Kuteva (2002) similarly suggest

32. Grandi deals with the semantic rather than lexical source of diminutives. Indeed, the sources of Indo-European diminutives are suffixes.

that the most common source for diminutive morphology cross-linguistically is the noun for ‘child’. However, Mutz (2015: 147) presents the adjective ‘small’ as another cross-linguistically attested lexical source for the diminutive. The cross-linguistic literature does not therefore contradict either of the two hypotheses on the etymology of the Old Mojeño diminutive. It is then wiser to leave open the question of the lexical source of the Old Mojeño *chicha* diminutive, with a preference for the hypothesis of the nominal source “offspring”.

The lexical etymology of the suffix *-sami(ni)* is not synchronically obvious. The only evident cognate forms are the vocative *sami* ‘dear’ found in Mojeño Ignaciano (Ott & Ott 1967: 131) and a diminutive *-mýne* in Paunaka, a neighboring South Arawak language spoken in Bolivia (Terhart, p.c.).³³ An older etymology for *-sami(ni)* could be Proto-Arawak **dumi* ‘son’ (Payne 1991: 419). The functional change from ‘son’ (a word semantically related to ‘child’) to ‘compassion’ or ‘contempt’ has been attested and accounted for in Jurafsky’s (1996) study. The formal change from Proto-Arawak **dumi* to Mojeño *-sami* is also plausible. The change from Proto-Arawak **d* to modern Mojeño [s] is attested: Proto-Arawak **iditu* (Payne 1991: 419), Mojeño Ignaciano *siture* (Ott & Ott 1983: 320), Mojeño Trinitario *sture* (personal data, after first vowel deletion) ‘chigoe flea’, and **kudi* ‘ant’ (Payne 1991: 393),³⁴ Trinitario *ksi-i* ‘anthill’ (personal data, after vowel deletion and with an ‘environment’ classifier *-i*). Proto-Arawak **u* changed to /a/ in the following word: Proto-Arawak **inu* (Payne 1991: 412), Mojeño Ignaciano *éna* ‘mother’ (Ott & Ott 1983: 583). If we consider /*sami*/ as the result of the grammaticalization of a noun for ‘son’, then the final /*ni* ~ *ne*/ of Mojeño Trinitario *-samini* and Paunaka *-mýne* must have been added before the split between Mojeño and Paunaka (with a later deletion in Mojeño Ignaciano).³⁵ The sequence /*ni*/ in Mojeño Trinitario has a homonymic suffix *-(i)ni* that means ‘past, deceased’, and a potentially high combination of the use of this ‘deceased’ *-ini* with ‘affection, compassion’ *-sami* on nouns for ‘ancestors’ could explain a fusion of *-(i)ni* with *-sami*.³⁶

33. Further Mojeño Trinitario lexical items also show some resemblance to *-sami(ni)*: *samo* ‘listen, feel’, and *esamijriko* ‘leave s.o. alone, stop bothering s.o.’. However, the formal and functional changes necessary for their grammaticalization into the affection or compassion suffix *-sami* are difficult to conceptualize.

34. Payne (1991: 393) reconstructs three nouns for ‘ant’, hence the numbered gloss.

35. Parallel innovations in both Mojeño Trinitario and Paunaka cannot be totally excluded, as well as contact effects: a diminutive suffix *-mini* is even attested in a neighboring Tupi-Guarani language, Guarayu (Höller 1932: 13).

36. The marker *-chicha* is frequently attested on nouns for elders and ancestors in Mojeño Trinitario (see Section 4.1). We can hypothesize the same kind of frequent combination in the history of *-samini*.

The lexical etymology of Mojeño Trinitario *-gira* is not a noun for ‘child’, but a noun for ‘seed’. The Mojeño Trinitario Example (49) illustrates *gira* ‘seed’ as the head of a nominal phrase, with a possessive prefix and a plural suffix. A cognate noun is found in other varieties of Mojeño,³⁷ but it has grammaticalized as a diminutive in Mojeño Trinitario only.

- (49) *to* *'pomri-ono ta-gira-no* *t-pacare-co-m=po* *te* *'to*
 ART.NH other-PL 3NH-seed-PL 3-fall-ACT-PL=PFV PREP ART.NH
ti-uuna *'pog'e*.
 3-be_good land
 ‘Its other seeds fell into the good soil.’

Mojeño Trinitario (New Testament, Mat 13.8.)

The lexical source ‘seed’ of the diminutive *-gira* is an important finding because it adds another possible etymology for diminutives apart from ‘child’, which according to Jurafsky (1996: 533) and Grandi (2011: 22) is supposed to be the only lexical source of morphological diminutives.³⁸ The nouns for ‘seed’ and ‘child’ share some obvious semantic features: the features ‘small’, ‘offshoot’,³⁹ and ‘future growth.’ However, the distinctive feature ‘human’, present in ‘child’ but missing in ‘seed’, is crucial. It has been noted that “the semantic source of the diminutive and augmentative meaning tends to be anthropocentric” (Mutz 2015: 153). It is precisely from this ‘human’ feature that the emotional connotations of the diminutives are supposed to evolve (remember that Jurafsky calls ‘pragmatic senses’ what is called ‘emotional connotations’ in this journal issue): “each of these pragmatic senses of the diminutive (affection, informal register, intimacy, sympathy) derives naturally from conventionalized implicatures about children” (Jurafsky 1996: 563).⁴⁰ However, it is a fact that Mojeño Trinitario *gira* can have emotional connotations

37. The Trinitario noun *gira* [çira] ‘seed’ is a reflex of Proto-Arawak **aki* ‘seed’ (Payne 1991: 418). It is also found in Old Mojeño *qui*, *quira* [ki, kira] ‘seed’ (Marbán 1702: 586–7) and in Mojeño Ignaciano *qui* [ki] (Ott & Ott 1983: 623). The change from Old Mojeño /k/ to Trinitario /ç/ is regular before front vowels: Old Mojeño *tiquiso* [tikiso] (Marbán 1702: 289), Mojeño Trinitario *tgiso* [tçiso] (personal data) ‘it is black’; Old Mojeño *ciqueró* [sike’ro] (Becerra Casanovas 1980: 44), Mojeño Trinitario *sígieru* [‘siçeru] (personal data) ‘bird sp. (Sp. *tiluchi*)’.

38. Heine and Kuteva (2002: 65) actually mention two languages in which a diminutive has grammaticalized out of a polysemic noun meaning both ‘child’ and ‘seed’.

39. Matisoff (1992: 13–4) suggests that the use of a lexical item ‘child’ for ‘fruit’ involves two semantic changes, with an intermediary meaning ‘derived thing’.

40. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi’s (1994) whole paradigm of pragmatic interpretations of diminutives – mostly from European languages – is based on their use in child-centered situations.

(affection and compassion) though its etymology is a noun with a non-human referent. Therefore Jurafsky's and Grandi's conclusion does not hold, unless 'seed' has some, as yet undescribed, human-like semantic properties for Mojeño speakers.

In this section, I have suggested three lexical sources for the three diminutives found in the various varieties of Mojeño: first, a word that could either be an adjective for 'small' or a noun for 'offspring'; second, a noun for 'son'; and third, a noun for 'seed'. These lexical items have grammaticalized into diminutives at different stages (see Section 5.6 for discussion of the timing of these grammaticalization processes).

5.3 Distributional change in the diminutives

In this section, I move on to a discussion of the changes undergone by the diminutives at the distributional level after the grammaticalization process has started taking place. Bauer (1997: 540) suggests a four-level cross-linguistic hierarchy of base types for diminutivization, given in Figure 1. "For a word-class to be used as the base in evaluative morphology in a particular language, word-classes from each step above (that) must also be so used in that language" (Bauer 1997: 540, my parenthesis).

Nouns > Adjective, verb > Adverb, numeral, pronoun, interjection > Determiner

Figure 1. Hierarchy of base types for diminutivization (Bauer 1997: 540)

Table 6 compares the distribution of the diminutives on parts of speech in the three Mojeño varieties under study. Firstly, the diminutive *-chicha* was found only on nouns in Old Mojeño, but extended its distribution to verbs and other parts of speech in both Mojeño Ignaciano and Mojeño Trinitario. In the latter, it is even found more frequently on verbs than on nouns. A correlation between this distributional change and semantic change is suggested in the next section. Secondly, the marker *-sami* occurs on nouns, verbs and other parts of speech in Mojeño Ignaciano and Mojeño Trinitario, so that it must be rather old. However, surprisingly, it is not

Table 6. Comparison of the distribution of diminutives in three varieties of Mojeño

	Old Mojeño	Mojeño Ignaciano	Mojeño Trinitario
on nouns	<i>-chicha</i> 'small'	<i>-chicha</i> 'small, endearment' <i>-sami</i> 'compassion'	<i>-chicha</i> 'compassion' <i>-samini</i> 'compassion (?)' <i>-gira</i> 'small, endearment'
on verbs (and other parts of speech)		<i>-chicha</i> 'endearment' <i>-sami</i> 'compassion'	<i>-chicha</i> 'compassion' <i>-samini</i> 'compassion (?)'

attested in Old Mojeño. Yet, the fact that there is a cognate suffix *-mýne* in Paunaka consolidates the hypothesis that it is an inherited element. Thirdly, the diminutive *-gira* is found only on nouns, and only in Mojeño Trinitario, so that it must be a recent innovation of that variety.

To summarize, the Mojeño diminutives are either found only on nouns, or on a variety of parts of speech, including verbs, adjectives, pronouns, quantifiers, demonstratives, and other grammatical roots. Since the Mojeño data respect Bauer's (1997) hierarchy of base types for diminutivization, we can posit that the Mojeño diminutives started with a distribution first limited to nouns, and later extended to other parts of speech along the hierarchy.

5.4 Functional change in the diminutives

This section focuses on the functional changes undergone by the diminutives after their initial grammaticalization (with the core denotational meaning). Table 7 compares the functions of the diminutives in the three Mojeño varieties under study.

Table 7. Comparison of the function of diminutives in three varieties of Mojeño

	Old Mojeño	Mojeño Ignaciano	Mojeño Trinitario
Denotational meaning 'small'	<i>-chicha</i>	<i>-chicha</i>	<i>-gira</i>
Emotional connotations: 'endearment'		<i>-chicha</i>	<i>-gira</i>
Emotional connotations: 'compassion'		<i>-chicha</i> <i>-sami</i>	<i>-chicha</i> <i>-samini</i> (+contempt) <i>-gira</i>
Interactional function		<i>-chicha</i> <i>-sami</i>	

Four types of functional evolution can be observed. First, the affection sense develops by conventionalization of inference, out of the 'child' etymology according to Jurafsky (1996: 551).⁴¹ This can be described as part of a subjectification process, because an item originally expressing a meaning based on the external situation comes to index speaker's attitude or viewpoint (Traugott 2010). Interestingly, this change is observable with both *-chicha* and *-sami(ni)*, the etymology of which are respectively 'offspring' or 'small', and 'son', but also with *-gira*, the etymology of which is 'seed'. The second functional change observed within all three diminutive forms is the development of the compassion meaning. This is, in my view, the result

41. "In semantic change via inference, a morpheme acquires a new meaning that had been an inference or implicature in its old meaning" (Jurafsky 1996: 551).

of a specialization process, compassion being a subtype of affection linked to the specific context of negative events. Ponsonnet (this volume) offers a cross-linguistic application of this idea. She also suggests that the expression of compassion may be favored by the wealth of evaluative suffixes. This is only mildly supported by Mojeño: while the Trinitario dialect shows three diminutives, the Ignaciano dialect has only two. Contempt is maybe an additional emotional meaning of *-samini* in Mojeño Trinitario. The ‘contempt’ meaning could arise through conventionalization of context-dependent interpretations of ‘small’ as ‘minor in quality’ (Mutz 2015: 152).⁴² A third type of functional change, illustrated by *-chicha* in Mojeño Trinitario, is the loss of the denotational meaning ‘small’. This makes it obvious that emotional connotations have been semanticized. A final functional change is the emergence of interactional function by pragmaticalization, observed only in Mojeño Ignaciano. In the morphopragmatics perspective of Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi (1994), this constitutes the final stage of grammaticalization: automaticity leads to regular pragmatic effects of regular morphological operations. The semantic evolution sketched in this paragraph corresponds to unidirectional universal paths of semantic change.

Figure 2 shows the universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive suggested by Jurafsky (1996: 542). The historical Mojeño data partially fits within Jurafsky’s suggested structure, that includes ‘child’ as a source, then ‘small’ as a first main derived meaning, and ‘affection’, ‘sympathy’ (what is called ‘compassion’ in this paper) and ‘contempt’ as secondary derivations.

There are three aspects in which Mojeño data does not confirm the proposed universal structure:

- i. ‘Child’ is not the only possible etymology for diminutives, ‘seed’ is another possible etymology.
- ii. ‘Affection’ and ‘sympathy’ can be derived from a non-human etymology like ‘seed’, and not only from the original ‘child’ meaning. I suggest that these emotional meanings can be derived from the intermediary step ‘small’, whatever its etymology. This may have implications for the semantic derivations of diminutives based on the pragmatics of their use in child-centered speech situations (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994).
- iii. The ‘sympathy/compassion’ meaning is a specialization of the ‘affection’ meaning. ‘Affection’ should therefore be considered an intermediary step between ‘small’ and ‘sympathy’.

42. Ponsonnet (this volume) also points to the fact that the ‘defectiveness’ that can be associated with ‘smallness’ leads to the basic negative emotional value of diminutives, i.e. disapproval.

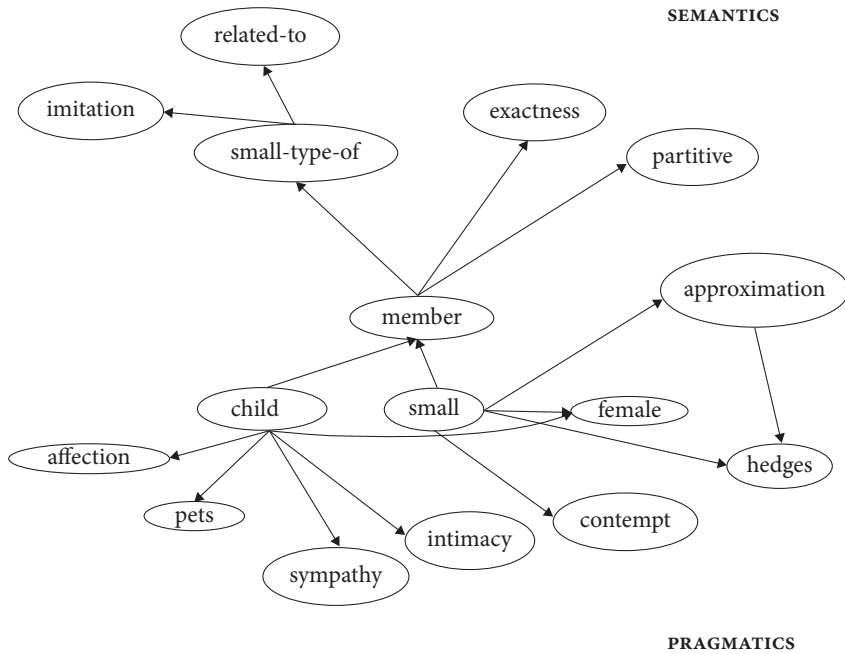


Figure 2. Proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive by Jurafsky (1996: 542, simplified)

Bauer (1997: 540, elaborating on Nieuwenhuis 1985: 221–3) states that the further down the hierarchy in Figure 1 a diminutive form occurs, the greater its emotional reading, since “it is frequently hard to gloss diminutives from bases low down the hierarchy simply in terms of some modification of size.” This assertion holds for the Mojeño markers: while the individual functions of the markers do not seem to correlate with particular parts of speech,⁴³ the extension of the functions of each diminutive correlates with the extension of their distribution on parts-of-speech (compare Table 7 and Table 6). On the one hand, there are instances of a diminutive found only on nouns: *-chicha* in Old Mojeño and *-gira* in Mojeño Trinitario. They show denotational meanings, and emotional connotations are not found independently of the denotational meanings. On the other hand, there are instances of a diminutive found only on parts of speech other than nouns (verbs and others): *-chicha* and *-samini* in the modern dialects of Mojeño, which both show emotional connotations (*-chicha* in Mojeño Ignaciano also maintains the

43. The interactional function of diminutives has nevertheless been attested only in verbal marking.

denotational meanings). This validates the diachronic hypothesis that can be drawn from Bauer's statement that the emotional reading of the diminutives tends to develop as their distribution extends. This is however not a rigid correlation, because Mojeño Trinitario *-gira* acquired some emotional reading while it is not found on parts of speech other than nouns.

5.5 Diachronic summary for each diminutive

This section summarizes the previous observations and hypotheses by drawing a sketch of the evolution of each Mojeño diminutive marker throughout the centuries, with their distributional and semantic changes.

The marker *-chicha* started to grammaticalize in Old Mojeño from either an adjective 'small' or a noun for 'offspring' as a nominal marker with a denotational meaning only. It then took on some emotional connotations, mostly affection, occasionally compassion, and was then also found on verbs. This step is illustrated in the currently spoken Mojeño Ignaciano. Mojeño Trinitario shows a further step, with specialization in the expression of compassion accompanied by subsequent loss of both the initial denotational meaning and the general emotional connotation of affection. Though Mojeño Ignaciano and Mojeño Trinitario are contemporary, Mojeño Ignaciano represents an intermediary stage in the evolution of *-chicha*, between the ancient variety of Old Mojeño and the more innovative Mojeño Trinitario dialect. Interactional functions have also developed in Mojeño Ignaciano. In this dialect, *-chicha* has an allomorph *-tsitsa*.

The marker *-sami* could have grammaticalized as a diminutive from a lexical root for 'son' inherited from Proto-Arawak (**dumi*), with a later addition of final *ni* visible in Mojeño Trinitario only. It is found on both nouns and verbs in the modern dialects, and expresses only the emotional connotations of affection, compassion and perhaps contempt. From Bauer's (1997) cross-linguistic generalizations based on the hierarchy of diminutivization, we can draw the hypothesis that the meaning and distribution of *-sami(ni)* evolved together: it must first have been used on nouns only with the 'smallness' meaning, then it extended to verbs with additional emotional connotations, before it finally specialized for affection and lost its previous denotational meanings. The first two steps are left without attestation in Mojeño. They are nevertheless visible in closely-related and neighboring Paunaka, where the diminutive suffix *-mjne* is found on nouns (50), personal pronouns (51), demonstratives, and verbal (52), nominal and quantifier predicates (Terhart p.c.). It can express denotational meanings such as small size, as in (50), and intensification. In addition, it also encodes emotional connotations such as affection, compassion, and

self-pity, as in (51). It can have interactional functions, such as expressing modesty or softening commands, as in (52). The wide distribution and functional extension of the Paunaka diminutive *-mýne* offers evidence that its grammaticalization is not recent. The present state of Paunaka *-mýne* is the missing link between a lexical source ‘son’ and the present-day Mojeño suffix *-sami(ni)* that expresses emotional connotations and interactional functions.

- (50) *i kaku echýu pise-mýne ni-mumuku uchuine*
 and exist DEM bird-DIM 1SG-look.at now
 ‘and there is this little bird that I was looking at right now’
 Paunaka (Lena Terhart, fieldnotes)
- (51) *nýti-mýne baicha-ne* Paunaka (Lena Terhart, fieldnotes)
 PRO1SG-DIM orphan-1SG
 ‘I am a poor orphan.’
- (52) *p-ea-mýne* Paunaka (Lena Terhart, fieldnotes)
 2SG-drink.IRR-DIM
 ‘Please drink!’

The marker *-gira*, found only on Mojeño Trinitario nouns, shows both denotational meanings and emotional connotations, but the latter never appear independently of the former. The compassion meaning is occasional. The marker *-gira* is most likely the latest innovation in the Mojeño diminutive domain.

5.6 Waves of diminutives: renewal cycles

While the previous section summarized the evolution of each diminutive through the centuries, the present section aims at analyzing the evaluative morphology under study as forming a system in each Mojeño variety, and putting forward hypotheses on the evolution of the diminutives as a system. This section builds on the diachronic literature on diminutives. Mutz (2015: 146) asserts that “cross-linguistically, there seems to exist a slight tendency towards constant renewal of the diminutive category and its formatives. [...] The tendency to and need for renewal can be explained by the increasing loss of expressive power of the diminutives in the course of time due to exaggerated use.” Renewal cycles have been described for Romance languages, Slavonic languages and Greek (Grandi 2011), and for Bantu languages (Creissels 1999). My hypotheses on the evolution of the Mojeño diminutive system are summarized in Table 8, with some unattested reconstructed stages, and some reconstructed forms (preceded by a question mark).

Table 8. Suggested diachronic stages involving the Mojeño diminutives

Proto-Arawak	Proto-Mojeño/ Paunaka1	Proto-Mojeño/ Paunaka2	Old Mojeño	Ignaciano & older stage of Trinitario	Trinitario
* <i>dumi</i> 'son'	? <i>sami</i> 'son'	? <i>sami</i> 'son'	? <i>-sami(ni)</i> 'affection'	? <i>-sami</i> 'affection'	? <i>-sami</i> 'affection'
	? <i>-sami</i> 'small'	? <i>-sami(ni)</i> 'small, affection'			
	? <i>chicha</i> 'small' or 'offspring' (?)	? <i>chicha</i> 'small' or 'offspring' (?)	<i>chicha</i> 'offspring'	<i>chicha</i> 'offspring'	<i>chicha</i> 'offspring'
			<i>-chicha</i> 'small'	<i>-chicha</i> 'small, endearment, compassion'	<i>-chicha</i> 'compassion'
* <i>aki</i> 'seed'			<i>quira</i> [kira] 'seed'	<i>qui</i> [ki] 'seed'	<i>gira</i> [çira] 'seed' <i>-gira</i> 'small, endearment, compassion'

An important finding is that there is only one 'true' diminutive per language variety, i.e. a marker that has the meaning of 'small' (sometimes among other meanings). This diminutive is *-chicha* in Old Mojeño and Mojeño Ignaciano, and *-gira* in Mojeño Trinitario (in bold in Table 8). Mojeño Trinitario *-chicha* has a diminutive etymology, though its synchronic meaning is separate from the diminutive. I hypothesize that the marker *-sami(ni)* of both modern dialects also had such an etymology and evolved similarly to Mojeño Trinitario *-chicha*. The only available attestations of this marker show a meaning separate from the 'smallness' meaning. Consequently, without the typological knowledge offered by studies like Jurafsky's (1996) or detailed descriptions of diminutives in individual languages like Dalabon (Ponsonnet 2014), there would be no reason to include *-sami* and Mojeño Trinitario *-chicha* in a study on diminutives. Their meanings rather participate in the expression of subjectivity (speaker's attitude or viewpoint) and intersubjectivity (speaker's attention to addressee's self-image), as defined by Traugott (2010). However, given what is known of the evolution of diminutives across languages, it seems clear that *-sami* and Mojeño Trinitario *-chicha* relate etymologically to diminutives. Remember that it was mentioned in the introduction that a pejorative morpheme *-tata(ji)* could also relate historically to diminutives.

Regarding the absolute timing of the emergence of each diminutive, the available evidence suggests that the grammaticalization of *-chicha* started taking place not long before Marbán described Old Mojeño in the very early 18th century. Indeed, in Old Mojeño data, *chicha* is often written as a separate word, and its distribution

and function are limited to those of the canonical diminutive, expressing smallness on nouns. One may wonder about the role of contact with Spanish, since *-chicha* emerged at a time when Old Mojeño had been in contact for two or three decades with Spanish, which has robust and pervasive diminutives (Náñez Fernández 1973, Reynoso Noverón 2005, among others). The diminutive *-gira* emerged much later, and only in the Trinitario dialect. As for *-sami(ni)*, it is attested only in the modern dialects but the morpheme's low frequency, distribution, and function point to a rather old item that has undergone many changes. A cognate suffix is found in Paunaka, but not in the other South Arawak languages. It is therefore not reconstructible to Proto-South Arawak. Its lexical etymology predates Old Mojeño and Paunaka (remember that the suggested etymology **dumi* 'son' dates back to Proto-Arawak; **dumi* 'son' is not found as a noun in Old Mojeño, *chicha* is used instead). It could be that in Old Mojeño, the suffix *-sami(ni)* already had a limited use in discourse, which could explain why it has not been described, nor used in the texts.

Regarding the relative timing of the emergence of the diminutives, I suggest that the three diminutives have emerged in sequence, one replacing the other when the core meaning of 'smallness' began to lose ground. The suffix *-sami(ni)* probably displayed low frequency in Old Mojeño, expressing some specific emotional meaning or interactional function separate from its etymology. This could have opened the way for the emergence of the new *-chicha* diminutive, which then acquired new meanings and extended its distribution, a stage that is visible today in Mojeño Ignaciano. When *-chicha* was losing its core meaning in Mojeño Trinitario, this variety innovated a new diminutive. The word for 'offspring' (*chicha*) in this dialect was not available as a lexical source for the new diminutive, since it shows a strong resemblance to the former diminutive that presently expresses 'compassion'. Two other nouns for 'child' (*'moyo*) and 'youngster' (*'móperu*) were available,⁴⁴ but the new diminutive was based on an etymon with a different meaning (*gira* 'seed').

I thus postulate two successive renewal cycles of the diminutive, sequencing the emergence of the three diminutives in such a way that each variety has one 'true' diminutive only. This does not entail that there never was a time with two diminutives in a language variety, since variation is a usual transition phase in the course of language change. The history of renewal of Mojeño diminutives suggested here is outstanding in the succession of two renewal cycles, involving three markers of diminutives.

A final finding is that Mojeño Trinitario is more innovative than Mojeño Ignaciano as far as diminutives are concerned, despite the fact that both modern dialects are supposed to derive directly from Old Mojeño (see introduction).

44. Contrarily to *chicha*, these nouns cannot be possessed.

6. Summary of results

This paper has traced the history of three diminutive markers in Mojeño across four centuries, from the 17th century variety spoken in the Jesuit missions to dialects spoken today. The methodology of data collection included evaluative morphology that is synchronically autonomous from the canonical diminutive meaning and instead participates in inter-subjectivity, but is reconstructed as deriving from a canonical diminutive. I hypothesize three waves of initial grammaticalization of a canonical diminutive expressing ‘smallness’ on nouns. I also posit a later extension of both the distribution of these affixes (to parts-of-speech other than nouns) and their meanings (to emotional connotations and sometimes interactional functions) through subjectivization and pragmaticalization. I posit as well a final stage with the loss of the core meaning of ‘smallness’. This results in evaluative markers that are semantically autonomous from the ‘diminutive’ meaning, despite their etymology.

The paper has made several contributions to our understanding of the diachronic development of diminutives. First of all, another etymology besides a word related to ‘child’ is possible: that of ‘seed’. Second, the emotional connotations like endearment expressed by diminutives can actually derive from an etymology other than ‘child’, and even with a non-human referent like ‘seed’. Third, the Mojeño data confirm Bauer’s (1997: 540) statement that cross-linguistically, the extension to emotional meanings parallels the distributional extension to parts-of-speech other than the noun. Fourth, it suggests that specialized emotional connotations like compassion or contempt derive diachronically as specializations of the wider emotional meaning of affection, rather than as an inference from the lexical source as proposed by Jurafsky (1996: 542). Fifth, the waves of grammaticalization are conceived as ‘renewal cycles’, where a new canonical diminutive arises when the older one has largely diverged from the canonical diminutive so that each variety shows only one ‘canonical’ diminutive.

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Abbreviations

ACT	active	PERS	person
APPR	apprehensive	PLURAC	pluractional
ASS	assertive	POSS	possessed form of the N; possession
DIM	diminutive	PREP	preposition
EXI	existential	PRIV	privative
FRUST	frustrative	PRO	pronoun
INTENS	intensive	RED	reduplication
MID	middle	REP	repetitive
MOT	motion	RPT	reportative
NH	non-human	SPEC	speculative
N.POS	non possession	TAM	tense, aspect, mood
ORD	order	VAL	valency changes
PAST	past	VZ	verbalizer.
PEJ	pejorative		

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