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Mochica: Grammatical topics and external relations

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Part III. Grammatical Topics

*Chapter 6. Mochica Nominal
Possession*

In this chapter, I analyze the strategies of coding nominal possession in Mochica, as described by Carrera (1644). Some languages present possessive systems that treat certain groups of nouns in different manners, this phenomenon being known as “possessive split” (Haspelmath 2008: 1) or “split possession” (Stolz, Kettler, Stroh & Urdze 2008: 28). Mochica exhibits a special inalienability split (also known as “alienability opposition” (Nichols 1988: 562) or simply “alienability split” (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1998: 38)), which cannot be identified as a strict bipartite system, but rather as a formal *continuum* which corresponds iconically to the relational distance (conceptual) between the possessor and the possessed. This way, on one end of the *continuum* we have the most archaic possessive construction, which corresponds to inalienable possession, while the most innovative possessive constructions, which correspond to alienable possession, are located on the other end.

6.1. State of the art: “The second nominative”

The topic of possession in grammar has been widely studied. There are numerous descriptions of languages that deal with possession¹¹³. McGregor (2009b: 1) defines a possessive relation as “[...] a relational concept that potentially covers a wide range of conceptual relations between entities [...]”. Taking into account the definition of McGregor (2009a) and following Seiler (1983a: 4; 1983b: 90), linguistic possession is understood as the relation between a possessor, prototypically [+ animate], [+ human], and close to the speaker [+ ego] and a possessed element that can either be [+ animate] or [-animate].

¹¹³ References to compiled works on descriptive and typological studies about possession in diverse languages, amongst other: Nichols (1988); Chappell & McGregor (1996); Aikhenvald (2013).

Three types of possessive constructions can be distinguished: attributive, predicative and external (McGregor 2009b: 2). The study presented here does not deal with possession beyond the nominal phrase; this means that I only analyze the possessive (attributive) constructions in which two NPs are associated. This type of possessive construction is also known in the literature as nominal, adnominal, phrasal (Heine 1997) or internal (McGregor 2009b: 2).

The corpus of study for this analysis of nominal possessive constructions is the *Arte* and the religious texts contained therein. Carrera (1644: 4) mentions that Mochica nouns have two¹¹⁴ nominative forms. According to Carrera's examples, the "first nominative" refers to nouns that are not inside of a possessive construction. In Carrera's words, the noun is "general" and "there is no property or lordship"¹¹⁵, which means that the noun itself is in its absolute form. In relation to the "second nominative", Carrera (1644: 6) clarifies that the noun involved is in a relationship of possession¹¹⁶: "All these second nominative forms, have in themselves a possessive, as mine, yours, his, Pedro's, Antonio's, & c."

¹¹⁴ "In all the substantives there is this difference (which is all the difficulty of this language) that as we shall say, that each of them has three Genitive forms; it also has two Nominatives [...]" (Carrera 1644:4).

¹¹⁵ "El primero Nominatiuo es general en todo genero de cosas, como col. cūilpi, ñaiñ fellu, cūscu polquic. fāpic, cunuc. filuc, &c enlos quales no ay propiedad, ni señorío, porque dize generalmente el cauallo, la manta, la aue, la cabeça. la manta de dormir, el asiento, &c." (Carrera 1644: 4).

¹¹⁶ "Todos estos segundos Nominatiuos, tienē en si vn possessiuo, como mio, tuyo, de aquel, de Pedro, de Antonio, &c" (Carrera 1644: 6).

On this basis, Middendorf (1892: 56-58) discusses the forms of the “second nominative”, calling them “possessive syllables”¹¹⁷. Hovdhaugen (2004: 19-21) proposes that nouns in Mochica have two basic roots: the possessed and non-possessed¹¹⁸ forms. His classification, however, lacks an exhaustive analysis. In a similar approach, Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 335), refers to the second nominative in his discussion of the formation of relational nouns. Persistence of a similar approach is observed in the works of Salas (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b), who basically refers to possessed and unpossessed forms. Salas (2011b: 25) uses the term “morpheme of possession” to refer to Carrera’s second nominative.

Although all these analyses are based on Carrera’s description, none of them offers a systematic explanation of the Mochica nominal possession system. This is because they base their analysis on the pattern of distribution of nouns, i.e., inside and outside of possessive constructions (hence the creation of the opposing categories “possessed” versus “absolute”, or “non-possessed”, form); however, these accounts do not take into consideration the characteristics of the possessor or possessed element nor the properties of the possessive relationship. One of the typological features of the Mochica language that differentiates it from the other Andean languages is the presence of more than one type of possessive construction. The objective of this chapter is to offer an analysis of the syntax and semantics of the possessive constructions described by Carrera (1644).

For the present analysis, I have considered internal arguments from the Mochica language, given that each language has its own way of

¹¹⁷ “Possessivsilben” (Middendorf 1892: 56).

¹¹⁸ “two basic stems”: possessed and non-possessed forms (Hovdhaugen 2004: 19).

conceptualizing and expressing possession. In this regard, it should be remembered that the ownership and possession domain can be defined semantically as bio-cultural (Seiler 1983a: 4, Ameka 1996: 784, Lehmann 2003: 5). This approach should not, however, distance us from the need to examine the constructions from a cross-linguistic perspective in order to determine the typological classification of the possessive constructions of this language (see 6.2.1. and 6.2.2.).

Regarding the terminology used, it should be mentioned that I avoid referring to nouns as alienable or inalienable, preferring to reserve the terms “alienable” and “inalienable” for possessive constructions. Seiler (1983a: 12) argues that it is more appropriate to speak of inalienable and alienable structures rather than inalienable and alienable nouns since otherwise, clear divisions of the lexicon would be established within the two groups of nouns.

The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is based on the semantic relationship established between the possessor and the possessed element. The semantic relationship expressed by inalienable possessive constructions has been characterized in different ways: “intimate, inherent, inseparable and even abnormal” (Heine 1997: 10). Prototypically, body part terms and terms of kinship are possessed in an inalienable way; however, the exact semantic content of the “inalienable set” is variable (Aikhenvald 2013: 12). By contrast, in a construction of alienable possession, there is no dependence between the possessor and the possessed item. An alienable possessive construction can be considered, thus, a “non-intimate, accidental, acquired, transferable or normal” relation (Heine 1997: 10). In relation to terminology, I basically follow Seiler (1983a: 12). Hence, if I make use of terms such as “alienable” or “inalienable” when referring to nouns, it is only for expository purposes, in my discussion of previous authors’ analyses.

6.2. Typological classification of the Mochica possessive constructions

The possessive construction is also known as the genitive construction (Croft 1990, Dryer 2013). In what follows, I try to analyze the Mochica possessive constructions taking into account typological criteria. First, in 6.2.1. the analysis of the nominal genitive phrase (of possession) is presented, which relies on the concept of head and dependent marking (head-marking and dependent-marking) of Nichols (1986). Second, in 6.2.2. a topic closely related to that presented in 6.2.1. will be examined: the ordering of the possessor noun and the possessed noun, which, according to Croft (1990), is a tool that allows one to observe the strategies used to relate two morphemes or two syntactic elements (Croft 1990: 28).

6.2.1. Possession and head vs. dependent marking strategies

The head of a phrase is the element that determines its syntactic function, and the rest of the elements are generally considered dependents (Payne [1997] 2003: 31). Some languages mark the relationship between the head and the dependent on the head, while others mark it on the dependent (Payne [1997] 2003: 31); still others combine both strategies, or use none at all (Nichols 1986: 56). Nichols (1986) carried out a typological study based on numerous languages, managing to establish certain patterns of morphological marking that become a consistent choice of marking in the morphosyntax of each language (Nichols 1986: 66; Payne [1997] 2003: 31). Her analysis is based on two concepts: the concept of “headedness” and the concept of presence/location of the morphemes that mark the syntactic relationships (Nichols 1986: 56).

The following examples in (184) - (187) show that in the case of the Mochica language, the morphological marking always occurs on the dependent, both in cases of inalienable possession and in cases of alienable possession. The peculiarity in Mochica is that while most of the possessive constructions show double possessive marking, see examples (185) - (187), the construction shown in (184) does not.

- (184) <mæiñef> (Carrera 1644: 8)
- | | |
|-------------|--------|
| mæiñ | ef |
| 1SG.OBL | father |
| 'my father' | |

Example (184) illustrates a possessive phrase of obligatory inalienable possession in which the marking only occurs on the possessor. According to Nichols (1986, 1988, 1992) and Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1998), the languages that establish the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession tend to present morphological markings on the head of the inalienable possessive construction, that is, on the possessed noun. The other alternative, according to these authors, is the zero-marking strategy, wherein the relationship between the possessor noun and the possessed noun is expressed through simple juxtaposition (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1998: 38). However, despite the alienable/inalienable distinction present in Mochica, this pattern of marking on the inalienable construction is not manifested in this language.

Example (185) shows a case of double marking in Mochica. The possessed element is a body part term that displays the relational suffix <-eng> (in other testimonies of the *Arte* it appears as <-ng>). The marking on the dependent is clear; the possessor is in oblique-genitive. In the present analysis, I understand

this construction to be within the scope of inalienable possession for reasons that I will explain in section 6.3.1.3.

- (185) <mæiñ falpeng> (Carrera 1644: 6)
- | | | | |
|-----------|-------|-----|--|
| mæiñ | falp- | eng | |
| 1SG.OBL | head- | REL | |
| 'my head' | | | |

Example (186) illustrates a possessive phrase that, like that in (185), would belong to the field of inalienable possession, as will be seen in 6.4.2.3. This is the case of possession of a result / event nominalization:

- (186) <Maich[sic] ciec Iesu Christong choquiçær> (Carrera 1644: 216-217)
- | | | | | | |
|---|------|---------------|-----|-------|------------|
| mæich | ciéc | Iesu Christo- | ng | choc- | çær |
| 1PL.OBL | lord | Jesus Christ- | OBL | rise- | EVENT.NMLZ |
| 'the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ' | | | | | |

This possessive nominalization construction also illustrates double case marking. The possessor (the dependent) is marked with the oblique-genitive case, and the possessed element is marked through a change in its final consonant, <c> > <-r>.

Finally, example (187) shows the case of a possessive phrase of alienable possession; the possessor is a pronoun in the oblique-genitive case, and the possessed noun is marked with the relational suffix, which, according to Carrera (1644: 5), is used for (alienable) nouns ending in a vowel, as in the case of <cuilpi> 'blanket':

- (187) <mæiñ cūlpiss> (Carrera 1644: 6)
- | | | |
|---------|----------|-----|
| mæiñ | cūlpi- | ss |
| 1PL.OBL | blanket- | REL |
- my blanket'

6.2.2. Order of the possessor noun and the possessed noun

There is a direct correlation between the type of morphological marking that occurs in possessive constructions and their word order. As observed in 6.2.1., alienable and inalienable possessive constructions include a marked possessor noun in the oblique case; the possessor (phrase) is also known as the “genitive noun phrase” (Dryer 2013). Examples (188) - (191) illustrate structures that constitute phrases of possession. The constructions illustrated by (188) and (189) are cases of inalienable possession in Mochica: the possessed noun in both structures is the same term of consanguinity, ‘son’, which, in this language, is expressed as possessed by way of the inalienable possession construction.

- (188) <Heuãg eizæn> (Carrera 1644: 210)
- | | | | |
|------|-----|--------|----|
| Heu- | ang | eiz- | æn |
| Eva- | OBL | child- | PL |
- ‘Eva’s children’

- (189) <tzhæng eiz> (Carrera 1644: 205)
- | | |
|---------|-------|
| tzhæng | eiz |
| 2SG.OBL | child |
- ‘your child’

In (188) the possessor is the genitive nominal phrase <Heuãg> ‘of Eva’, and the head of the construction is <eizæn> ‘children’; in (189), on the other hand, the possessor is <tzhæng>, ‘you’, corresponding to the genitive form of the 2SG, and <eiz> ‘son’ is the head. Based on examples (188) and (189), it can be determined that the order of the possessor noun/pronoun and the possessed noun is of the GenN type or “genitive preceding head noun” (Dryer 2013).

The examples in (188) and (190) are constructions with a nominal possessor, while those in (189) and (191) have a pronominal possessor. Thus, from these examples, it can be established that in Mochica there is no deviation from the GenN order, unlike in some languages, where pronominal possession implies a distinctive construction that requires a different word order, such as French, in which the NGen word order of the nominal genitive contrasts with the GenN word order of the pronominal genitive (Dryer 2013). Also, Tauya (Madang, Trans-New Guinea, Papua New Guinea) exhibits the GenN order for nominal possessors but places the pronominal possessors after the head noun (Dryer 2013).

The GenN order not only occurs in cases of inalienable possessive constructions, but also in alienable possessive constructions, both with nominal and pronominal possessors. The examples in (190) and (191) show alienable possessive constructions:

- (190) <Pedrong colæd> (Carrera 1644: 6)
- | | | | |
|--------|-----|------|-----|
| Pedro- | ng | col- | æd |
| Pedro- | OBL | col- | REL |
- ‘Pedro’s horse/llama’

- (191) <mæiñ colæd> (Carrera 1644: 104)
- | | | |
|---------|------|-----|
| mæiñ | col- | æd |
| 1SG.OBL | col- | REL |
- ‘my horse/llama’

Crosslinguistically there are numerous strategies used to express possession. In some languages, the possessor occurs with an affix in the genitive case (Croft 1990: 29, Dryer 2013), as can also be seen in the Mochica examples above. Thus, on the basis of these examples and, as a summary, it can be said that the oblique-genitive case marked on the possessor is a morphosyntactic means (or strategy) that Mochica uses to establish the relationship of possession between two NPs. In addition to the genitive case marked on the possessor, Mochica employs morphemes suffixed to the head of the possessive phrase that function as relationals (see 6.3.2.1, 6.3.2.2.). These suffixes suggest that double marking also represents a strategy of expressing possession in this language.

6.3. Analysis of the Mochica possessive constructions according to the properties of the possessed noun

Barker (1991: 50) offers an interpretation of possessive constructions based on the idea that nouns denote relations with different valencies, suggesting that there are two classes of nouns, nouns which can only occur with a single predicate and “nouns with richer semantic structure”, whose denotation is best expressed as a relationship. Along the same lines, in reference to Katukína, Queixalós (2005: 198) distinguishes “monovalent constructions”, or alienable constructions, from “divalent”, or inalienable constructions. These divalent constructions would include the so-called “relational nouns”. Ameka (1991: 162) states that the fact that relational nouns have an inherent association with another noun means that a relational noun subcategorizes for arguments.

Relationality is a feature that distinguishes the possessor from the possessed in prototypical terms and contributes to the function of the possessor as an attribute (Lehmann 2003: 30).

According to Lehmann (2003: 48), nouns that exhibit grammatical properties of relationality are inalienable, while those that present grammatical properties of non-relationality are alienable. The underlying concept behind the grammatical property of relationality/non-relationality helps to classify the nouns involved in possessive structures. The relationality/non-relationality of a noun is manifested in its sensitivity at being used in syntactic constructions inside vs. outside a possessive phrase. In this respect, the use of a noun within a possessive construction is called ‘possessed’ and the use outside is called ‘absolute’ (Lehmann 2003: 48). Lehmann (2003: 49) notes that “[r]elationality is a grammatical property of noun stems that can be changed through derivational operations.” This derivational operation allows a noun to become relational through relationalization, and absolute through absolutivization (Lehmann 2003: 49). To establish the classes of possessive constructions in Mochica, the concept of relationality will be taken into account.

6.3.1. Inalienable possessive constructions

Lehmann (2003) and other authors speak of inalienable and alienable nouns despite Seiler's early complaint (1983a: 12-14) about this trend. Seiler (1983a: 12) argues that it is more appropriate to speak of inalienable and alienable structures rather than inalienable and alienable nouns. As mentioned briefly above, the basis of Seiler's criticism (1983a) lies in the fact that there is a scale representing the degree of inherence and it is inappropriate, therefore, to establish sharp divisions that divide the lexicon into two groups of nouns. In

this sense, it should be mentioned that, often, the same noun can be used in both inalienable and alienable possessive constructions. This phenomenon is known as “fluidity”. Likewise, Nichols (1988) mentions that the notion “inalienable” is not a semantically uniform notion because belonging to this closed class varies from language to language (Nichols 1988: 572) and is based on specific cultural conventions (Heine 1997: 11).

Although the terms alienable and inalienable are quite common in the literature, their references are highly variable (Nichols 1988: 561), which is why it is relevant to reconcile crosslinguistic variability (Epps 2008: 233). In order to achieve this, Nichols (1988: 572) proposes a hierarchy of belonging to the class of inalienable possession: (i) kinship terms and/or body part terms, (ii) part-whole relationships and (iii) culturally determined basic elements, such as arrows, domestic animals, etc. This hierarchy, however, is far from universal (Chappell & McGregor 1996: 8, Epps 2008: 233) and is violated with counterexamples from different languages, such as Hup (Epps 2008: 233) and Ewe (Ameka 1995: 147), in which the order of this hierarchy is not met. In addition, there are other examples that show that despite the existence of an inalienable/alienable distinction in a language, belonging to the inalienable domain cannot be predicted, as in the case of Dyirbal, a language in which kinship terms are not treated in the inalienable scope, but rather belong to the realm of alienable possession (Lyons 1999: 129), or Ewe, in which body part terms are terms of alienable possession (Ameka 1991: 7). According to the morphological markings present in the examples extracted from Carrera (1644), three subclasses of nouns can be established in the field of inalienable possession: absoluble, inabsoluble, and double-marked.

6.3.1.1. *Absoluble (obligatory) inalienable possession*

In the domain of inalienable possession, nouns are marked morphosyntactically in their absolute form (Lehmann 2003: 53; Kockelman 2009: 25), and they do not bear a morphological marking when they are possessed (Lehmann 2003: 53). In relation to nouns in absolute form, Lehmann (2003: 53) suggests (for Yucatecan Maya) two grammatical classes of inalienable nouns, namely those that are obligatorily possessed, or those that remain inabsoluble, and those that are absoluble, that is, those that can appear as absolute. Haspelmath (2006: 9) follows Lehmann (2003) using the term “possidend nouns”, also distinguishing between “absoluble and inabsoluble possidend nouns”.

Examples (192) and (193) illustrate contrasting constructions with a single noun in Mochica. In example (192), the dependent, a pronominal possessor, is marked with the genitive case. In (193), the absolute form carries the absolutizing suffix <-quic> and is not understood to be possessed by anyone.

(192) <mæich xllon> (Carrera 1644: 202)

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| mæich | xllon |
| 1PL.OBL | food/bread |
| ‘our bread’ | |

(193) <xllonquic> (Carrera 1644: 104)

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| xllon- | quic |
| bread- | DEREL |
| ‘the bread’ | |

The attested nominal roots that occur both inside a possessive construction, as in (192), and outside of it, as in (193), are the following: <ef-quic> ‘father’;

<eng-*quic*> ‘mother’; <eiz-*quic*> ‘child’; <moix-*quic*> ‘soul’; <lucq-*quic*> ‘eye’; <fæn-*quic*> ‘nose’; <mæcɥ-*quic*> ‘hand’; <çieç-*quic*> ‘master’, ‘lord’; <uiz-*quic*> ‘cultivating field’; and <xllon-*quic*> ‘food in general’, ‘bread’, according to the Our Father prayer (Carrera 1644: 202). These nouns consist of linear kinship terms (expressing relationships between direct descendents: father, mother, son), culturally relevant elements such as ‘food’, ‘cultivating field’, and some body parts. The body part terms included in this group differ from those that occur in double-marking constructions, as will be seen in 6.3.2.1., as they can be found grammaticalized as concepts of spatial relations (spatial relations are analyzed in 6.4.2.2.).

6.3.1.2. *Inalienable (obligatory) inabsoluble possession*

Carrera (1644: 5-6) notes that it was difficult to form the “second nominative” with some nouns. After scrutinizing the *Arte* and religious texts by Carrera (1644), it can be concluded that there are very few nouns expressing inalienable inabsoluble possession. This fact is not surprising; it actually occurs in the languages that present it, as the case of Yucatecan Maya (Lehmann 2003). The following nouns present zero marking when they are possessed, and their absolute form is impossible or at least does not appear to be attested in the *Arte* (Carrera 1644): <ssap> ‘mouth’, ‘order’, ‘commandment’; <cul> ‘blood’ and <oc> ‘name’. In this group, one can find other nouns that appear to be grammaticalized (including in their form the relational suffix <-æng> / <-ng>). Those nouns consist of certain affinity terms: <ssonæng> ‘wife’, <ñang> ‘husband’ and some terms expressing consanguinity of collateral line kin, such as <chang> “brother, sister, nephew or niece of younger age” (Carrera 1644: 146). These examples, apparently grammaticalized, are a good illustration of the ability of some nouns to express relationships (simply because they are relational). Also, included in this group

are certain consanguinity and collateral line kin terms that are somewhat more distant from the ego, such as <cocæd> “the aunt or older sister, one has to understand that it refers to aunt or sister of a man [...]” (Carrera 1644: 145), <changcæd> “which means relative, or neighbor” (Carrera 1644: 144) and other similar terms like <parræng> ‘vassal’ and <cꝛecꝛmæd>, which is translated as ‘brother’ in Carrera (1644: 117).

6.3.1.3. *Inalienable possession in double-marked constructions*

The cases shown so far in 6.3.1.1. and 6.3.1.2. show inalienable possessive constructions that present only one marking on the dependent. In this section, I present cases of inalienable possession with double marking. Example (185) was introduced in 6.2.1. as an inalienable possessive structure with double marking. Example (194) also illustrates a possessive inalienable double-marking construction, the marking appearing on both the dependent (oblique) and on the head (the suffix <-æng> or <-eng>). The example in (194) refers to ‘human flesh’, which in some contexts of the texts is understood as ‘the human body’.

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| (194) <mæich ærqueng> | (Carrera 1644: 204) |
| mæich ærc- eng | |
| 1PL.OBL flesh- REL | |
| ‘our flesh’ | |

In addition to certain body part terms, certain nominalizations also occur with double possessive marking. The topic of possession and nominalizations is explored in 6.4.2.3.

6.3.2. Alienable possessive constructions

In an alienable possessive construction, the possessed element is non-relational. Haspelmath (2006: 9) mentions that alienable nouns, in general, require morphological marking inside of a possessive construction. This marking has the function of a relational element. For this purpose, Mochica has two suffixes, <-Vd> and <-(V)ss>. The relational suffixes of alienable possession <-Vd> (with the variants <-æd>, <-ad>) and <-(V)ss> are found in complementary distribution. According to Carrera's formation rule of the second nominative (Carrera 1644: 5-6), the affix <-Vd> attaches to nouns ending in a consonant, and the affix <-(V)ss> attaches to nouns ending in a vowel.

6.3.2.1. Relational suffix <-Vd>

Example (195) shows the suffix <-Vd> (<-æd>) within a possessive construction:

- (195) <Pedrongcolæd> (Carrera 1644: 6)
- | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------|-----|
| Pedro- | ng | col- | æd |
| Pedro- | OBL | llama- | REL |
- ‘Pedro’s llama’

Example (196) illustrates the same noun as in (195) outside a possessive construction:

- (196) <mo col> (Carrera 1644: 119)
- | | |
|----------|-------|
| mo | col |
| DET.PROX | llama |
- ‘this llama’

The nouns that accept the suffix <-Vd> are objects that can be subject to trade and exchange, that is, elements of transferable and temporary possession (which can be commercialized, for example), such as <col> ‘llama’/‘horse’; <xllac> ‘fish’ and <xllaxll> ‘money’. The alienable possessive construction exhibits double marking; the possessor is in the genitive case, and the head accepts the morphological marking of the suffix <-Vd>.

6.3.2.2. Relational suffix <-(V)ss>

The group of nouns that accept this suffix include certain animal names such as <fanu-ss> ‘dog’; <fellu-ss> ‘duck’ and some body part terms such as <chucæ-ss> ‘knee’; <cuqætæ-ss> ‘heart’; <poto-s> ‘testicles’, in addition to <iana-ss> ‘domestic servant’; <cuçia-ss> ‘heaven’; <xllangmu-ss> ‘enemy’; <cuqolu-ss> ‘young man’; <mellu-ss> ‘egg’; <villo-s> ‘cup’; <capcæ-ss> ‘inn’; <yqui-ss> ‘father in law’; <cuilpi-ss> ‘blanket’; and <ixllæ-ss> ‘sin’. In the possessive construction there is double marking: the possessor is marked for the genitive, and the head is morphologically marked with the suffix <-(V)ss>:

| | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (197) | <i><mæiñ cuilpiss></i> | (Carrera 1644: 6) |
| | Mæiñ cuilpi- ss | |
| | 1SG.OBL blanket- REL | |
| | ‘my blanket’ | |

Example (198) represents the case of the same noun <cuilpiss> ‘blanket’ outside of the possessive construction:

- (198) <moç[1]pi> [sic] (Carrera 1644: 107)
- | | |
|----------------|---------|
| mo | cũilpi |
| DET.PROX | blanket |
| ‘this blanket’ | |

6.4. Types of possessive relations

Taking into account the properties of the possessive relation, the following types of possessive relations can be distinguished: 6.4.1. kin relations, 6.4.2. part-whole relations that include 6.4.2.1. body parts and 6.4.2.2. concepts of spatial relations; and 6.4.2.3. participant relations in nominalizations.

6.4.1. Kin relations

Typically, it is assumed that in languages in which the alienable/inalienable distinction exists, kinship relations are prototypically in the domain of inalienable possession. However, it does not always happen this way (Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 209). As already mentioned in 6.3.1., in Dyirbal, kinship terms are not treated in the inalienable field, but belong to the field of alienable possession (Lyons 1999: 12). Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001: 209) characterize the terms expressing kin relations as “egocentric” and “pragmatically anchored”. Such nouns are typically animate and are often used similarly to proper names; syntactically, they are usually subjects. In the normal case, a term of kinship is anchored in the “ego” of the speech act, that is, the speaker (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 209).

In Mochica, terms expressing kin relations are distributed into three different groups:

- Inalienable, absoluble, obligatory possession.

In possessive constructions, the possessor is marked with genitive case, and there is a zero marking on the dependent. The absolute form is marked with the affix <-quic>. Terms expressing linear kin relations belong to this class. Example: <ef-quic> ‘father’.

- Inalienable, inabsoluble, obligatory possession.

In possessive constructions, the possessor is marked with genitive case, and the kin terms do not vary morphologically based on whether or not they occur in a possessive construction. Some of these terms appear to be grammaticalized and refer to affinity or political relations such as <ssonæng> ‘wife’; <ñang> ‘husband’; <parræng> ‘vassal’. Also, in this group, there are some terms of collateral consanguinity that may be considered more distant from the ego such as <cocæd> “the aunt or big sister” (Carrera 1644: 145); <chang> “brother, sister, nephew or niece of younger age” (Carrera 1644: 146); <changcæd> “which means the relative, or the next one” (Carrera 1644: 144) and <çęçymæd> ‘brother’ (Carrera 1644: 117).

- Alienable possession.

In possessive constructions, the possessor is marked with genitive case, and the head of the construction is marked with the suffix <-Vss> or <-Vd>: <yana-ss> ‘the family servant’ (Carrera 1644: 144); <yqui-ss> ‘father in law’ (Carrera 1644: 146).

6.4.2. Part-whole relations

Constructions expressing part-whole relations have relational features. The most prototypical relation is that between a body part and its whole (in

6.4.2.1.), but spatial relations and nominalizations are also part-whole relations, as discussed below in 6.4.2.2. and 6.4.2.3.

6.4.2.1. Body Parts

Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001: 209) observe that nouns referring to body parts are typically inanimate nouns and that their possessor is predictable, in contrast to that of kin terms. According to these authors, body part terms generally occupy different syntactic contexts than kin terms. They are special because they involve a direct relationship with the body as a whole and, at the level of discourse, body part terms have low status, since the body part itself is not as relevant as the person or animal that possesses it. In short, body part terms are syntactically and not pragmatically anchored, in contrast to kin terms (as shown in 6.4.1.).

As with the kin terms, body part terms, attested in Mochica, can be grouped according to the morphological marking that they bear in possessive contexts:

- Inalienable, absoluble, obligatory possession. In possessive constructions the possessor is marked with oblique case, and the dependent in absolute form is marked with the affix <-quic>. Examples: <moix-quic> ‘soul’; <lucʉ-quic> ‘eye’; <fæn-quic> ‘nose’; <mæcʉ-quic> ‘hand’. The body part terms included in this group differ from those that have double marking because the ones presented here can be found grammaticalized as spatial relation concepts, see 6.4.2.2.
- Inalienable, inabsoluble, obligatory possession. In possessive constructions the possessor is marked with oblique case and the body part term remains invariable inside and outside possessive

constructions. Body parts that belong to this group are: <cul> ‘blood’ and <ssap> ‘mouth’.

- Alienable possession. In possessive constructions the possessor is marked with genitive case, and the head is also marked with the suffix <-(V)ss>. Examples: <poto-ss> ‘testicles’, <chucæ-ss> ‘knee’, <cqætæ-ss> ‘heart’.

6.4.2.2. *Spatial relations*

As Aikhenvald (2013: 1, 41) points out, affixes that mark possession may have other functions, meanings and extensions that are not related to possession; this is the reason why body part terms may be grammaticalized as spatial relation markers. In the same vein, Kockelman (2007: 346) states that certain body parts provide a useful domain for grammatical coding of spatial and temporal relations.

Carrera (1644: 93-94; 120-123, 161) describes some Mochica adpositions. Because they are postposed to the noun they modify, he calls them “postpositions”. The term “postposition” persists in the work of Middendorf (1892: 96-100); Hovdhaugen (2004: 54-55); Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 333) and Salas (2012b: 146-152). In what follows, I try to justify that it is more appropriate to refer to these postpositions as spatial relation markers.

While the placement of these adpositions superficially suggests that they should be classified as postpositions, it is also relevant to point out the fact that most of them derive from body part terms (Middendorf (1892), Adelaar ([2004] 2007a) and Salas (2012b)). Already in the seventeenth century, Carrera himself (1644: 161) pointed out the origin of these postpositions because their origin was transparent; that is, they had developed from nouns

referring to body parts. This manifestation is common in the languages of the world.

Taking into account the properties of terms referring to spatial relations, it must be said that these are relational like terms referring to body parts. In addition, body parts denote a fixed part, while spatial relations denote the projected space of a part of a whole (Roy 2006). The fact that spatial relations are in the field of inalienable possession is not strange in the languages of the world. Kockelman (2007: 346), for example, explains that Q'eqchi has five different subclasses of inalienable possession. Nouns referring to body parts belong to the first subclass of inalienable possession in Q'eqchi, called “adpositions” by Kockelman.

According to Lehmann (2003: 86-87, see also Ameka 1995: 147), spatial relations are an essential part of inalienable possession. In his words, this seems “disorienting” because the structures involving spatial relations usually lack a possessor and because their most obvious manifestation is in the form of adpositions. In Mochica, we have, for example: <lecɥæc> lit. ‘on the head’ or ‘above’ (Carrera 1644: 120, 161), <lucɥæc> lit. ‘in the eyes’ or ‘between’ (Carrera 1644: 121, 161), <funec> / <fænæc> lit. ‘in the nose’ or ‘according to’ (Carrera 1644: 161), etc. Example (199) illustrates the use of <funec>:

- (199) <Espiritu Santong ssap e fænæc> (Carrera 1644: 213)
 Espiritu Santo- ng ssap- e fænæc
 Espiritu Santo- OBL mouth/word- OBL ACOL
 ‘according to the Holy Spirit’s word’

From a historical perspective, Ameka (1996: 811) tries to explain the formation of spatial relation terms as the result of a process of grammaticalization and reanalysis. In relation to Mochica, the presence of the

suffix <-Vc> which, in turn, is a locative marker, may suggest that a reanalysis took place, of the following structure: [name of part of the body-locative]. This would explain why Carrera (1644: 161) proposes that all the body part terms with the suffix <-Vc> should be translated with the preposition “in”, “in the head”, “in the forehead”, “in the eyes”, “in the ears”, “in the nose”, “in the mouth”, “in the feet”.

In short, in Mochica there is evidence for the result of a process of grammaticalization of certain body part terms into adpositions. A similar grammaticalization process can be observed in many other languages of the world, for example, in Nêlêmwa (Bril 2013: 81-82), in Yucatec Mayan (Lehmann 2003: 86-87), among others.

6.4.2.3. *Nominalization and possession*

Some nominalizations in Mochica can be analyzed as relational nouns. The genitive of the possessive phrases that include a nominalization is interpreted, at first glance, as a possessor, but Seiler (1983b: 111) establishes other possible interpretations of the possessors of nominalizations. The relations between nominals can be relationships of subject, object or ambivalent (Seiler 1983a: 51-53; 1983b: 111-112).

As will be seen in Chapter 7, the Mochica language exhibits a rich system of nominalizations that includes both lexical and verbal nominalizations. For the purposes of this section, I concentrate on the cases of lexical nominalization, more specifically: deadjectival nominalization and the nominalizations achieved through the following nominalizing suffixes: <-Vc> instrumental and place/location nominalizer, <-pæc> agentive nominalizer, <-çVc> / <-ssVc> resultant or event nominalizer and <-tVc> locative nominalizer.

The nominalizer <-Vc> presented in (200) is used to create deverbal nominalizations of both place and instrument. Thus, <manic>, derived from <man-> ‘to drink’, ‘to eat’ can refer either to the place where one drinks or eats, such as the room, or to the container from which one drinks or eats something. Other cases similar to <manic> attested in possessive constructions in the *Arte* of Carrera (1644) can be mentioned, for example, <xllangic>, <xllangir> ‘tomb’, derived from the verb <xllang> ‘to hide’; <filuc>, <filur> ‘chair’, derived from the verb <fel> ‘to sit’; <ñeñuc>, <ñeñur> ‘toy’, derived from the verb <ñeñ-> ‘to play’; and <cunuc>, <cunur> ‘blanket’ and <catæc>, <catær> (unknown etymology).

- (200) <manic> (Carrera 1644: 5)
- man- ic
 drink- INS.NMLZ
 ‘place for drinking and eating’

The example in (201) illustrates a resultative nominalization (or event nominalization), formed with the nominalizer <-çVc> / <-ssVc>. As mentioned above, final <c> becomes <r> when it is possessed: <chiçæc> > <chiçær>.

- (201) <chiçæc> (Carrera 1644: 5)
- chi- çæc
 to be- EVENT.NMLZ
 ‘grace, understanding¹¹⁹’

¹¹⁹ According to Carrera (1644: 144) <chiçæc>, <chiçær> means “the being, will, understanding, judgement, skill, habit, etc.” And according to Carrera (1644: 146) it also means “grace, the good, and all what has been said in the other explanation”.

Example (202) shows the formation of <caxlltæc> ‘bladder’, derived from <caxll-> ‘the urine’ (Carrera 1644: 180) or ‘the urines’ (Carrera 1644: 100) with the locative nominalizer <-tVc>.

- (202) <caxlltæc> (Carrera 1644: 180)
- | | |
|--------|-----------|
| caxll- | tæc |
| urine- | LOC.NMLZ |
| | ‘bladder’ |

The presence of the suffix <-tVc> is evidenced on different body part terms. These terms are attested with the variants/endings <-tic>, <-tæc>, <-tuc>, <-tær>, <-tærr>. This nominalizing suffix also undergoes the change of final <c> to <r>. The suffixes <-tær> and <-tærr> would be the possessed forms ending in <-r>, corresponding to possessed nominalizations.

The agentive nominalization behaves differently; when possessed, the agentive nominalizer <-pæc> does not undergo the same change of <c> to <r> as we saw above. Example (203) illustrates an agentive nominalization with <chicopæc>. An agentive nominalization, when possessed, receives the suffix <-æss> which, at least in form, is identical to the suffix that is used for alienable possessive phrases ending in a vowel; as shown in 6.3.2.2., <chicopæc> would become <chicopæss>.

- (203) <chicopæc> (Carrera 1644: 5)
- | | | |
|------|-------|---------------|
| chi- | co- | pæc |
| be- | CAUS- | AG.NMLZ |
| | | ‘the creator’ |

Mochica also exhibits deadjectival nominalization. The suffix that generates deadjectival nominalizations is the suffix <-(V)ss>. This suffix resembles the

suffix <-(V)ss> present on nouns in alienable possessive constructions, after the process of relationalization, as observed in 6.3.2.2.

This way, <peñ>, ‘good’, becomes <peñ-æss> ‘goodness’, through the addition of the nominalizing suffix <-(V)ss>. In example (204), one can observe <peñæss> in a possessive construction, that is, ‘our goodness’, ‘our good’. This raises the interesting question of whether the deadjectival nominalizing suffix <-(V)ss> and the relational suffix <-(V)ss> found in alienable possessive constructions are the same suffix.

| | | |
|-------|--|---------------------|
| (204) | <i><mæich peñæss></i> | (Carrera 1644: 200) |
| | <i>mæich</i> <i>peñ-</i> <i>æss</i> | |
| | 1PL.OBL good- DEADJ.NMLZ | |
| | ‘our goodness’ | |

Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 336) discusses this suffix, proposing a similar analysis to the one proposed here. He considers both the nominalizing function and the relational function of this suffix: “Adjectives can be turned into abstract nouns by adding the suffix *-æss/-äss*, as in *peñ-æss* ‘goodness’ from *peñ* ‘good’. Such nouns are always relational.” (Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 336). This suggests that he treats this suffix as one item with two different functions.

6.5. Mochica (nominal) attributive possession as a *continuum*

In this section, I discuss the possibility of presenting the Mochica attributive/nominal possession system as a *continuum*. It is important to consider, first, that various authors have identified a gradual scale that goes from the most inherent to the most contingent possession (Seiler 1983a: 5-6, Pamies 2004: 85). Second, it is relevant as well to keep in mind that typically, inalienable constructions are highly grammaticalized (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-

Tamm 1998: 41) and that the original construction expressing inalienable possession is shorter and simpler than that expressing alienable possession.

Mochica does not offer direct evidence for a clear process of grammaticalization of the possessive constructions; however, it is possible to rely on the cases of other languages that allow for observation of how the opposition between inalienable and alienable constructions could have developed. According to Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1998: 40), there is ample evidence to prove that the alienable/inalienable distinction generally implies an opposition between an archaic inalienable construction and a more innovative alienable construction. In this sense, Nichols (1992: 117) and Heine (1997: 172) suggest that the possessive markers of inalienable nouns are older than those used for alienable nouns.

Figure 9 helps to explain the proposal of a continuum, the graph of concentric circles representing the conceptual distance with respect to the possessor, who would be in the center, in the darkest gray area. Thus, the innermost circles represent constructions of inalienable possession that would encompass three areas or circles of the graph: inalienable absoluble possession, inalienable inabsoluble obligatory possession, and inalienable possession with double marking.

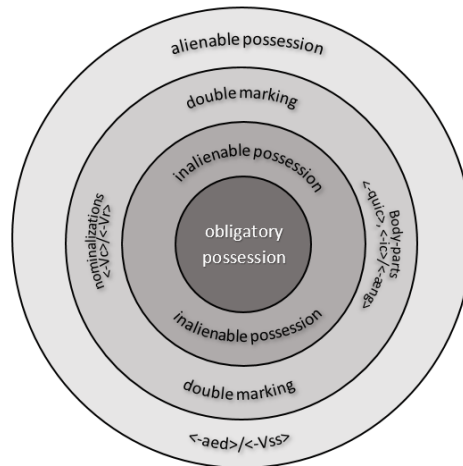


Figure 9. Possessive classes of the Mochica nominal possession system

A noun in an absoluble inalienable possessive construction has zero marking and presents the absolutizing suffix <-quic> in non-possessive constructions. As seen in 6.3.1.2., the constructions of obligatory possession involve nouns that do not undergo any change based on whether they occur within or outside of a possessive construction, and in Figure 9, they occupy the second circle, see inalienable (obligatory) inabsoluble possession. The zone of double marking that is represented with lighter gray in the figure, occupies the third circle and is considered a transition area. In the transition area, one can find the nominalizations with double marking <-Vc> / <-Vr> and the nouns that accept double marking <-Vc> / <-æng> or <-eng>. The latter are mostly terms referring to body parts. These first three concentric circles involve relational terms and imply inalienable possession.

This same organization is observed with respect to the morphology in possessive constructions involving kin terms, as was shown in 6.4.1. This varies in relation to the conceptual distance with respect to the ego. Greater morphological complexity implies greater conceptual distance. This situation

resembles Michael's description (2013: 157-158) of Nanti. Applying his analysis to Mochica, one would group kin terms into different sets. The set closest to the ego would include terms that refer to parents and children, but nouns with cultural relevance such as: <uiz-quic> 'farm' and <xllon-quic> 'food', 'bread' would also be included in this group. Then, we would have the set of invariable grammaticalized terms of kinship and, finally, those that are found in the alienable field.

The suffix <-æng> has an important role in this proposal. First of all, it is necessary to call attention to its form, since it is reminiscent of one of the genitive markers in Mochica: <-ng>. The suffix <-æng> appears to have marked a greater conceptual distance, taking into account that less marking, or greater morphological simplicity, means smaller conceptual distance. On the other hand, <-æng> seems to be key to the explanation of a grammaticalization process because this affix can be seen as a transition, one stage in the grammaticalization process from the inalienable construction located on the left end of the continuum, to the most alienable structures located on the far right. See Figure 10. The need for a construction to arise was perhaps due to the fact that the construction used for inalienable possession became formally weak, and it was necessary to specify the relationship between the two nominals through a structure with more easily observable characteristics, and therefore, a more complex form (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1998: 41).

Thus, the proposal for the continuum describing the process of grammaticalization of possession structures in Mochica can be represented by Figure 10.

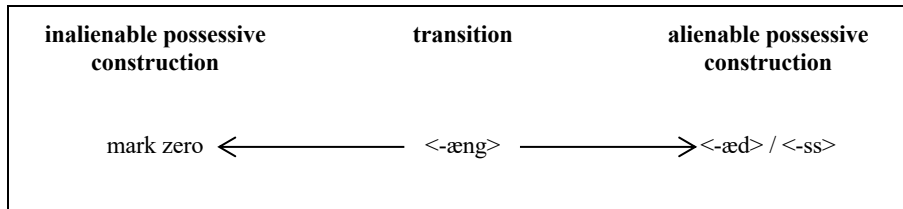


Figure 10. Mochica nominal possession system as a continuum in linear representation

6.6. Conclusions

The main goal of this chapter was to describe and explain the linguistic expressions of nominal possession in Mochica. In order to achieve this goal, I have analyzed the possessive constructions extracted from the *Arte* (Carrera 1644), and I have come to the following conclusions:

1. Mochica does not fit into the typology proposed by Nichols (1986, 1988, 1992) and Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1998), which suggests that the languages that establish the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession tend to present a morphological marker on the head of the possessive construction, that is, on the possessed noun. Rather, Mochica's marking pattern varies according to the type of possessive construction.
2. Concerning the order of the possessor and the possessed item, there is no difference between nominal possessive constructions and pronominal possessive constructions, nor between alienable and inalienable constructions, as can be found in other languages (Croft 1990: 34, Aikhenvald 2013: 7). The order in Mochica is always GenN.
3. The oblique-genitive case marking on the possessor is the morphosyntactic strategy Mochica uses to establish the relationship of possession between two NPs. Besides the oblique-genitive case

marking on the possessor, there are also affixes in Mochica that appear suffixed to the head of the possessive phrase and that function as relationals (see 6.3.2.1. and 6.3.2.2.). Double marking represents a means of expressing possession in this language.

4. The Mochica nominal possessive system is best explained in terms of its possessive classes, as determined by distinctive marking strategies.
5. The system marking spatial relations in Mochica has a nominal origin; more specifically, the markers find their origin in grammaticalized body part terms. These markers are located in the inalienable possession field.
6. The Mochica system of nominal possession can be interpreted as a continuum, one end of which is occupied by the inalienable construction, and the other of which is occupied by the allomorphs expressing alienable possession. In the middle zone, one finds a transition area representing inalienable possessive constructions with double marking, characterized by the suffix <-æng>.
7. Some Mochica nominalizations are relational terms that I consider to belong to the inalienable possession field. The suffix <-æss>, which corresponds to the relational morpheme of alienable possession, is similar in form to the morpheme that functions as a deadjectival nominalizer.

