1. The issue
   1.1. Basic facts

- TAME (Tense Aspect Mood Evidentiality) generally thought as
  - inflectional verbal categories
  - having scope over the whole proposition
  - not found on nouns, because nouns are time-stable

- TAME markers in Mojeño
  - found in NPs
  - narrow scope (not clausal scope)
  - not a verbal category

(1) TAME on a noun

\[
\text{ene piúriko jmani pakono te pjoka ppenogierekoo'i, ene?}
\]
\[
\text{ene pi-uri-ko j-ma-ni paku-ono}
\]
\[
\text{and 2SG-be_good-ACT DEM-NH.PL-PROX dog-PL}
\]
\[
\text{te p-jo-ka pi-peno=gierceko=ri'i ene}
\]
\[
\text{in DEM-NH.SG-PROX 2SG-house=CONT=IPFV TAG}
\]
And you enjoy these dogs in this (continuous and lasting) house of yours, right?

1.2. Nominal TAME cross-linguistically

   1.2.1. Nominal tense (Nordlinger and Sadler 2004)

- Core cases of nominal TAM
  - Productive
  - Not just on predicates but also on arguments and/or adjunct NPs
  - Morphological category of the nominal, not a syntactic clitic on the NP.
  - More frequent than previously thought (aspect not attested on nominals)

- Nominal tense markers can have scope
  - over the proposition
  - over the NP (many cases in Amazonia)

- Nominal tense markers can be formally
  - distinct from verbal tense markers
  - identical with verbal tense markers (esp. in North and South America)
1.2.1. Nominal aspect, mood, modality and evidentiality¹

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

- Narrow-scope nominal TAME challenge the conception of TAME as verbal categories having scope over the proposition.

1.3. Mojeño Trinitario

- Mojeño (Arawak, Bolivia), Trinitario dialect
- Textual database (~ 6h)
- Rich morphology, polysynthetic (Rose 2015b)
- Ubiquitous TAME marking
  - TAME markers on verbs, nouns and other parts of speech can be zero-marked for TAME
  - Aspect encoded in nominalizers
  - Aspect encoded in associated motion markers (Rose 2015a)
  - Epistemic modality encoded in demonstratives (Rose 2017)

- TAME markers found in NPs
  - large set
  - not just the well-known past and future nominal tense
  - involves aspect, mood and epistemic categories
  - generally the same markers as on verbs
  - narrow scope

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

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

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

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

(2) TAME on a verbal predicate

\[ \text{vimora'iryee'i}jiro \]
\[ vi-\text{imora'i}=\text{yore}=\text{ri'}i=..\text{iji}=\text{ro} \]
\[ 1\text{PL-watch}=\text{FUT}=\text{IPFV}=\text{RPT}=\text{UNQ} \]
'They say that we are going to be watching.'

(3) TAME on a nominal predicate

\[ \text{kasikiyenoo'yjito} \]
\[ kasiki-yeno=\text{yore}=\text{ri'}i=..\text{iji}=\text{ro} \]
\[ \text{cacique-wife}=\text{FUT}=\text{IPFV}=\text{RPT}=\text{UNQ} \]
'They say that she is going to be a cacique's wife.'
Some TAME categories also differ on nouns and verbs (bold)
  o Verbal vs. non-verbal irrealis
  o Pluractional and negative irrealis found only on verbs
  o Past found only on nouns
    ▪ more tense categories on nominals (past and future) than on predicates (future only)

Some TAME categories also differ on predicates vs. NPs
  o TAME clitics with homonyms in NPs (shaded)

3. Meaning and scope of nominal TAME

Meanings cross-linguistically rare or non-attested on nominals (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004:783, Jacques to appear)
  o aspectual categories in general
  o irrealis
  o epistemic modality and evidentiality

Always narrow scope in noun phrases
  o = independent nominal tense (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004)
  o No agreement with the predicate
  o Nominals do not express time-stable concepts only
    ▪ existence and identity of an entity can change over time
    ▪ states (nominalizations) can change over time

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

Tense: Past as past possession
  ene esupo su nchicha nera’ikri’i te to mpenori’ini
  ene esu-po su nu-chicha nu-era’i-ko=ri’i
  and F-ADD ART.F 1SG-child 1SG-leave-ACT=IPFV
  te to m-peno=ri’i=ini
  PREP ART.NH 1SG-house=IPFV=PAST
  ‘and I left my daughter in my former house’ {text36.008}
(7) Tense: Past as past identity (property)
ema koregieroori’ini
ema koregieroru=ri’i=ini
3M corregidor=IPFV=PAST
the previous/past corregidor {elicitation}

(8) Aspect: Imperfective for a property lasting in time
\[ \text{tajtse to pijaree’i piti viya?} \]
\[ \text{taj-tse to pi-ijare=ri’i piti viya?} \]
INDET.NH-CONTRAST ART.NH 2SG-name=IPFV 2SG Sir
'(And then after that, he wanted to know:) "But what is your name, Sir.?" '
{text8.046partial}

(9) Irrealis for an entity not yet existing
\[ \text{pepiaka to jinimrina takuti to mmiro.} \]
\[ \text{pi-epia-ko-a to pi-mimVro=-ina ta-kuti to nu-miro.} \]
2SG-make-ACT-IRR ART.NH 2SG-mask-IRR 3NH-be_like ART.NH 1SG-face
'Make a mask that looks like my face.' {text8.037}

(10) Irrealis for a state not yet realized
\[ \text{vyosiookoo’i to viuriwina} \]
\[ \text{vi-yosioo-ko=ri’i to vi-uri-wo-ina} \]
1PL-ask-ACT=IPFV ART.NH 1PL-be_good-NZ-IRR
We are pleading for our (not realized) well-being.

(11) Epistemic modality: speculation on the identity of the referent
\[ \text{s-kochane pñi simapuka} \]
\[ \text{s-kochane pñi s-ima=puka} \]
3F-be_accompanied DEM.M 3F-husband=SPEC
[Context: describing a video stimulus] she is accompanied by this man who must be her husband (I am guessing).

(12) Evidentiality: reportative (extremely rare elsewhere than on predicates)
\[ \text{apinaeji semana sjichyore} \]
\[ \text{api-na=iji semana s-jicho=yore} \]
two-CLF=RPT week 3F-make=FUT
'She'll be staying two weeks (she said).'
{text26.026}

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

- Nouns and verbs are distinct at the root level
  o semantically (no verbo-nominal root)
  o distinct derivational morphology
  o category changing derivations: nominalizers and verbalizers
• Nouns and verbs are distinct at the stem level
  o some differences in inflectional morphology (3rd person prefix, irrealis…)
  o even though they share most of their morphology, esp. person indexes, TAME…

• Nouns and verbs may be hard to distinguish at the word level
  o Nouns are prototypically used as arguments and verbs as predicates…
  o but nominal and verbal words are polyfunctional
    both can be used as predicates (without additional morphology), see (2) and (3)
    both can be used as arguments, with just a determiner (13)-(15)

(13) Complement clause (action)
wo navro’o to [tsiopano eno tkomeriono]
wo na-a-woro-’o to ti-siopo-a-no eno tkomeriono
NEG 3PL-IRR-want ART.NH 3-enter-IRR-PL PL non-indigenous

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

(14) Relative clause (subject)
ñikepripo ñi [tve’yo to ta-chuti].
ñi-kepripo ñi ti-ve-‘o=yo to ta-chuti.
3M-arrive ART.M 3-take-ACT=FUT ART.NH 3NH-head

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

(15) Relative clause (object)
nakopako to [naniko eno ’chañ-ono].
na-kopa-ko to na-ni-ko eno ’chañ-ono.
3PL-kill-ACT ART.NH 3PL-eat-ACT PL person-PL

‘They killed it for the people to eat’.

• Same TAME on nouns and verbs could result from:
  o Parallel grammaticalization of TAME on predicates and non-predicates
    ▪ source constructions
  o Predicate morphology ⇒ in NPs
    ▪ Omni-predicativity: all lexemes are predicative in nature (Launey 1994); Arguments are derived from predicates (Queixalolís 2006)
    ▪ Nouns carrying TAME are predicates turned into nominals by the determiner
  Cf. consultants’ Spanish translation, such as “he who was my father” (father-PAST), “he who must be her husband” (husband-SPEC), “it that was his house” (house-IPFV)….
  o Nominal morphology ⇒ main clause morphology
    ▪ Main clause morphosyntax resulting from the reanalysis of nominalizers (Gildea 1998, 2013)

• A combination of these in Mojeño Trinitario?
  o Most TAME clitics have an alternate form including /ri/
  o And -ri is a nominalizer in most languages of the Arawak family
Diachronic hypothesis:
- TAME clitics may have grammaticalized from a main verb which subject could have been a nominalization
- Nominalizations carrying TAME clitics have been reanalyzed as main verbs with TAME morphology
- Hence explaining why verbs and nouns share so much morphology… and why Mojeño Trinitario lost the active/stative split that is found, in many Arawak languages, in main clause predicates but not in nominalizations (Durand 2016)

Abbreviations

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

References
