

## Predication in Ixcatec (Otomanguean)

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### Introduction

This paper presents the relationships that exist between a predicate, whether verbal or non-verbal, and a noun phrase (NP) in Ixcatec. The so-called predications were identified only when the language disposed of formal means to code them, such as inflectional marking, on the predicate or the NP, specialized predicates, or linear order, when applicable (see Frajzyngier & Shay 2016). The predications are presented by the name of their function to achieve better cross-linguistic comparability, but each predication is introduced by a language specific definition. Under "constructions", I present the formal means that code this predication in Ixcatec and under "contrasts" the relevant predications with which the predication is in contrast. Up to four examples are presented in order to illustrate each predication, some of them being the prototypical examples, in accordance with the definition, and others more peripheral or problematic. The examples are extracted through the spontaneous conversations and the data elicited through the Pear Stories films (Chafe 1975). All the data were annotated using IPA. Glosses follow the standardized glossing rules elaborated within the project and significantly expanding the Leipzig glossing rules.

### Language information

#### IXCATEC



**Name and ISO code** :  $\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{wa}^2\text{ni}^3$ , better known in the literature under the name Ixcatec (IXC), *ixcateco* (in Spanish), based on Nahuatl *ichcatl* 'cotton' + *-teca/-tecatl* 'inhabitant of a place (whose name ends in -tlan or -lan)'.

**Speakers** : Ten identified speakers, of whom only four are fluent. Most of them -with one exception- are in their late 80s. All are bilingual in Spanish. They have had little formal education in Spanish and no formal education in Ixcatec.

**Region** : Ixcatec is spoken in the municipality of Santa María Ixcatlán in the state of Oaxaca, in Mexico. Today, Santa María Ixcatlán has some 400 inhabitants but at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in 1522 it was an important centre for the Mixteca zone with an estimated population of 10,000 to 30,000 people.

**Classification** : Ixcatec belongs to the Popolocan branch of the Otomanguean stock together with Ngiba/Ngigua (also known as Chocho), Popoloc, and Mazatec.

**Dialectology** : There are no known dialects.

**Status** : Ixcatec is a critically endangered language, with less than ten speakers. An orthography was developed in the 1950s by a native Ixcatec speaker, Doroteo Jiménez, in collaboration with linguists of the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, the Mexican branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Doroteo Jiménez's orthography uses the Latin script and relies on the graphic correspondences with Spanish with some additions when necessary.

**Main typological features :** Ixcatec is a tone language, with three lexically contrastive tones: a high tone, transcribed with a superscripted<sup>1</sup>, a mid tone, transcribed with<sup>2</sup>, and a low tone, transcribed with<sup>3</sup>. Its phonology is complex and not yet well understood. The existence of stress is under discussion. Consonant inventory ranges from 24 to 52 depending on whether glottalized and aspirated consonants are analyzed as clusters of two segments, complex single segments or simple onsets followed by simple nuclei. It has five vowels which may be oral, /a e i o u/, or nasal /ã ê ï ô ù/. Ixcatec makes a clear distinction between verbs and nouns; some adjectives may also function as predicates. It is a head-marking language, i.e., grammatical relations are marked on the verb. It has accusative alignment in indexing (A = S ≠ P), i.e., only the single argument of intransitive verbs (S) and the agent-like argument of transitive verbs (A) are indexed on the verb through suffixes. A dozen experience predicates take a different coding, namely through possessive suffixes. Ixcatec is a pro-drop language, i.e., free pronouns are optionally used for all functions, and NPs are generally omitted. It has a VS/SVO unmarked order. When an S argument is moved to the preverbal position, a cross-reference morpheme is suffixed on the verb. The Ixcatec cross-reference morphemes (-da<sup>2</sup> 'male', -k<sup>wa2</sup> 'female', and -βa<sup>3</sup> 'animal') corefer to nouns formed with the noun classifiers, di<sup>2</sup>- 'man', k<sup>wa2</sup>- 'woman', ʔu<sup>2</sup>- 'animal', to some animate nouns even though they have no classifier, and to the masculine and feminine third singular pronouns which bear the same suffixes as those used for the cross-reference morphemes, i.e., su<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>2</sup> 'he' and su<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-kwa<sup>2</sup> 'she'. Noun classifiers are distinct from so-called class terms which partake in word formation for inanimates but are not associated with any cross-reference morphemes.

## Functions in the domain of Predication for the language Ixcatec (Otomanguan)

### existential and equational

<b>Definition</b>	The existential predicate encodes the general existence of an entity X. It is also used as an equational predication indicating that an entity A is identical with an entity B (no occurrences in the corpus).
<b>Construction</b>	The existential predicate si <sup>1</sup> .

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▶ [si<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> tʃi<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>1</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_01\_JSB-RRM\_064)

**si<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> tʃi<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>1</sup> //**  
 si<sup>1</sup> -ku<sup>1</sup> tʃi<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>1</sup> //  
 EXS -ANT party //  
 PRED TAM N //

There was a party

▶ [si<sup>1</sup> ʔu<sup>1</sup>tʃa<sup>1</sup> tsu<sup>1</sup>the<sup>2</sup> si<sup>1</sup> /](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_02\_JSB-RRM\_065)

**si<sup>1</sup> ʔu<sup>1</sup>tʃa<sup>1</sup> tsu<sup>1</sup>the<sup>2</sup> si<sup>1</sup> /**  
 si<sup>1</sup> ʔu<sup>1</sup>tʃa<sup>1</sup> tsu<sup>1</sup>the<sup>2</sup> si<sup>1</sup> /  
 EXS much garbage EXS /  
 PRED QUANT N PRED /

there's a lot of garbage,

▶ [βe<sup>2</sup>g# βa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>nga<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup> ʃta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> <ma<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_007)

**βe<sup>2</sup>g# βa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>nga<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup> ʃta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup>**  
 β- a<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>nga<sup>2</sup> -na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup> ʃta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup>  
 PROG- upset -POSS.1SG because COMP what ugly EXS  
 TAM PRED PRO COMP PRO.Q ADJ PRED

**ma<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> //**  
 ma<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> //  
 mummy //  
 N.BORR //

I'm getting upset because it's so ugly <woman>.

### negative existential

<b>Definition</b>	The negative existential denies the existence of an entity.
<b>Construction</b>	The negative existential is expressed through the non-verbal predicate ka <sup>2</sup> ʔa <sup>2</sup> .
<b>Contrasts</b>	The negative existential contrasts with the existential predicate si <sup>1</sup> .

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▶ [ka<sup>2</sup>ʔa<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup> tʃi<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup> he<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> ʔi<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup> /](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_02\_JSB-RRM\_055)

**ka²ʔa²na²      tʃi²ka² he²e² ʔi¹a²na²      /**  
ka²ʔa²    -na²    tʃi²ka²    he²e²    ʔi¹a²    -na²    /  
NEG.EXS   -FOC   like      now    no      -FOC   /  
PRED                      ADV    PTL      PTL    /

Not like now, no,

▣ **ka²ʔa²na² tʃi²ka² ka²ndi² ʃu²hu²na³ kwi²i²ʃku²na³ ndi² si¹ tʃʔwi¹ //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_196)

**ka²ʔa²na²      tʃi²ka²    ka²ndi²    ʃu²hu²na³      kwi²ʃku²na³      ndi²    si¹**  
ka²ʔa²    -na²    tʃi²ka²    ka²ndi²    ʃu²hu²    -na³    kw-      i²ʃku²    -na³    ndi²    si¹  
NEG.EXS   -FOC   like      when    come      -1SG    PFV-      see    -1SG    what    EXS  
PRED        PTL                      ADV    V                      PRO    TAM                      V      PRO    PRO.Q    PRED  
**tʃʔwi¹ //**  
tʃʔwi¹ //  
clean //  
ADV //

Not like when I come, I see it is clean.

▣ **ka²ʔa² hu²ku²ti²pa² //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_04\_JSB-RRM\_273)

**ka²ʔa²    hu²ku²ti²pa² //**  
ka²ʔa²    hu²ku²ti²pa² //  
NEG.EXS   NP                      //  
PRED      N                        //

It's not Hukutipa.

## presentative

<b>Definition</b>	The presentative predication is used to introduce a referent in a deictic situation.
<b>Construction</b>	The presentative predication involves the presentative predicate ʃe².
<b>Contrasts</b>	The presentative predicate is distinct from verbs because it does not receive any S or A suffixes. It is distinct from the other non-verbal predicates because of its form.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▣ **tʃa²ndjo² kwa²ʃe² ʔndze¹na³na³ la² ki¹i² la² ti¹nda¹hna³ //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_161)

**tʃa²ndjo²    kwa²ʃe²      ʔndze¹na³na³      la²      ki¹i²    la²      ti¹nda¹hna³**  
tʃa²ndjo²    kwa²-    ʃe²    ʔndze¹      -na³na³    la²      ki¹i²    la²      ti¹nda¹hna³  
therefore    PFV-      PRST    child      -POSS.1SG    LOC.DIST    LOC    LOC.DIST    municipality  
                    TAM      PRED    N                      PRO      ADV      PRED    ADV      N

//  
//  
//  
//

So, my son is there at the municipality.

▣ **kwi²hi² ka² tʃʰmī¹ ʃe² ku²rʃi² //** (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_01\_PEARSTORY-PSG\_015)

**kwi²hi²      ka²    tʃʰmī¹    ʃe²    ku²rʃi² //**  
kwi²-    hi²    ka²    tʃʰmī¹    ʃe²    ku²rʃi² //  
PFV-    arrive    all    fruit    PRST    seems //  
V                      QNT    N      PRED    V      //

He arrives, there is all the fruit, it seems.

▣ **ʰngu² kwa² ʃe² //** (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_01\_PEARSTORY-PSG\_088)

**ʰngu²    kwa²    ʃe²    //**  
ʰngu²    kwa²    ʃe²    //  
one    woman    PRST    //  
INDF    N                      PRED    //

There is a woman.

## possessive

<b>Definition</b>	The possessive predication indicates that an entity X owns/has an entity Y.
<b>Construction</b>	The possessive predication involves the possessive predicate ja <sup>1</sup> . It is followed by an NP and can be preceded by another NP: (NP) ja <sup>1</sup> NP.
<b>Contrasts</b>	The possessive predicate is distinct from verbs for not receiving the S or A suffixes. It is distinct from the locative and existential predicates because of its form.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▢ [kwa<sup>2</sup>tsu<sup>2</sup> ftã<sup>h</sup>ũku<sup>1</sup> tja<sup>2h</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> tjhĩ<sup>3</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_04\_JSB-RRM\_087)

**kwa<sup>2</sup>tsu<sup>2</sup> ftã<sup>h</sup>ũku<sup>1</sup> tja<sup>2h</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> tjhĩ<sup>3</sup> //**  
 kwa<sup>2</sup>- tsu<sup>2</sup> ftã<sup>h</sup>ũ<sup>2</sup> -ku<sup>1</sup> tja<sup>2h</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> tjhĩ<sup>3</sup> //  
 PFV- say be.scared -ANT people for.this POSS blood //  
 TAM V V TAM N PRED N //

One says, people got scared, that's why it has blood.

▢ [ja<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>fku<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_02\_PEARSTORY-RRM\_021)

**ja<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>fku<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> //**  
 ja<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>2</sup>- fku<sup>2</sup>ã<sup>1</sup> -?e<sup>1</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> //  
 POSS all fruit in CLS.OBJ- bag -POSS.3SG carry fruit //  
 PRED QNT N ADP N DET V N //

He has all the fruit in his bag. He carries the fruit.

▢ [ja<sup>1</sup> ʔu<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_02\_PEARSTORY-RRM\_039)

**ja<sup>1</sup> ʔu<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> //**  
 ja<sup>1</sup> ʔu<sup>2</sup>- ʃi<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>3</sup> //  
 POSS CLF.AN- goat //  
 PRED N //

He has a goat.

## stative locative

<b>Definition</b>	The stative locative predication indicates the presence of an entity at the place X or of an event that occurs at the place X.
<b>Construction</b>	The stative locative predication involves the stative locative predicate ki <sup>1i2</sup> which is preceded by an NP and can be followed by another NP: NP LOC (NP)
<b>Contrasts</b>	The stative locative predicate is distinct from verbs for not receiving the S or A suffixes and distinct from other non-verbal predicates because of its form.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▢ [la<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1i2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>ϕi<sup>2</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_01\_JSB-RRM\_088)

**la<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1i2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>ϕi<sup>2</sup> //**  
 la<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1i2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup> -?e<sup>1</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>= ϕi<sup>2</sup> //  
 LOC.DIST LOC house\place -POSS.3SG for.this COMP PROG.PL- go //  
 ADV PRED N DET CONJ TAM V //

There, he is in his house. That's why they are going.

▢ [ku<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1i2</sup> hngu<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>2</sup>tsĩ<sup>2</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_027)

**ku<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1i2</sup> hngu<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>2</sup>tsĩ<sup>2</sup> //**  
 ku<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1i2</sup> hngu<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>2</sup>tsĩ<sup>2</sup> //  
 COORD/INS LOC.PROX LOC one outside //  
 CONJ ADV PRED INDF ADV //

And here there is a square.

▶ **si<sup>1</sup>si<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup> ske<sup>1</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>?u<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_04\_JSB-RRM\_113)

<b>si<sup>1</sup>si<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ske<sup>1</sup>?e<sup>1</sup></b>		<b>ki<sup>1</sup>?u<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>2</sup></b>		<b>ndi<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>nda<sup>2</sup></b>
si <sup>1</sup> si <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	ske <sup>1</sup>	-?e <sup>1</sup>	ki <sup>1</sup> =	?u <sup>2</sup> se <sup>2</sup> ?e <sup>2</sup>	ndi <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	ki <sup>1</sup> i <sup>2</sup>	nda <sup>2</sup>
stand	head	-POSS.3SG	PROG.3SG-	look	where	LOC	what
V	N	PRO	TAM.PNG	V	Q	PRED	PRO.Q
<b>?u<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>//</b>						
?u <sup>2</sup>	-ra <sup>2</sup>	//					
animal	-DEM.DIST	//					
N	//						

it stands, looks around, where is that animal.

## human antipassive

<b>Definition</b>	The antipassive triggers the suppression of the patient-like (P) and the recipient-like (R) arguments which are pragmatically identifiable. With stative predicates it indicates that the state is particularly affecting the participant.
<b>Construction</b>	The antipassive morpheme -mi <sup>2</sup> is suffixed on the verbs and stative predicates.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▶ **ni<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup> kwi<sup>2</sup>rha<sup>2</sup>na<sup>3</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_01\_JSB-RRM\_106)

<b>ni<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>kwi<sup>2</sup>rha<sup>2</sup>na<sup>3</sup>mi<sup>2</sup></b>		<b>ndi<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>//</b>
ni <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	kwi <sup>2</sup> rha <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	-na <sup>3</sup>	-mi <sup>2</sup>	ndi <sup>2</sup> la <sup>2</sup> //
as.soon.as	meet	-1SG	-ANTIP	SUB //
ADV	V	PRO	CONJ	//

I just met (with him/them) that...

▶ **kwi<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup> kwi<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup> ?a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> kwa<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> /** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_01\_JSB-RRM\_131)

<b>kwi<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>kwi<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>?a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>la<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>kwa<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>la<sup>2</sup></b>
kwi <sup>2</sup> -	hi <sup>2</sup>	kwi <sup>2</sup> -	hi <sup>2</sup>	?a <sup>2</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	-mi <sup>2</sup>
PFV-	arrive	PFV-	arrive	take	-ANTIP
TAM	V	TAM	V	V	LOC.DIST
/	/	/	/	/	ADV
/	/	/	/	/	TAM
/	/	/	/	/	V
/	/	/	/	/	PRO
/	/	/	/	/	ADV

They came to bring (me). There, they came there...

▶ **ndri<sup>2</sup> ?mi<sup>2</sup>ke<sup>2</sup> ?i<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>2</sup>?i<sup>2</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_04\_JSB-RRM\_171)

<b>ndri<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>?mi<sup>2</sup>ke<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>?i<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>?u<sup>2</sup>se<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>tu<sup>1</sup>?i<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>//</b>
ndri <sup>2</sup>	?mi <sup>2</sup>	-ke <sup>2</sup>	?i <sup>2</sup> hi <sup>2</sup>	?u <sup>2</sup> se <sup>2</sup> ?e <sup>2</sup>	-mi <sup>2</sup>
how	call	-ITER	arrive	look	-ANTIP
Q	V	V	V	TAM.PNG	V
					PROG.PL-
					go //
					//

what is it called, she arrives to see how we are doing.

## causative

<b>Definition</b>	The causative introduces a new argument, semantically a causer and syntactically an A argument. In several cases, the causative has been lexicalized, e.g. tse <sup>2</sup> hi <sup>2</sup> 'sell' < 'do-go'.
<b>Construction</b>	The causative tse <sup>2</sup> k-/tse <sup>2</sup> - attaches to verbs.
<b>Contrasts</b>	The causative derives from the verb tse <sup>2</sup> "to do", which is still used as a verb and an auxiliary. Note the use of tse <sup>2</sup> as a light verb with Spanish verb borrowings. As a valency-increasing suffix, the causative contrasts with the valency-decreasing antipassive and can co-occur with it suppressing the causee.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▶ **a<sup>2</sup>j me<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>1</sup>tse<sup>2</sup>ftä<sup>h</sup>ũku<sup>1</sup> tja<sup>2</sup>hmi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_04\_JSB-RRM\_078)

**a<sup>2</sup>j me<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>1</sup>tse<sup>2</sup>ʃta<sup>1</sup>hũ<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> tʃa<sup>2</sup>hmi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> //**  
a<sup>2</sup>j me<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>1</sup>- tse<sup>2</sup>- ʃta<sup>1</sup>hũ<sup>2</sup> -ku<sup>1</sup> tʃa<sup>2</sup>hmi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> //  
INTJ therefore PFV- CAUS- be.scared -ANT people for.this //  
EXCL TAM V TAM N //

Oh, therefore, it made people scared, that's why.

▢ **ku<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>2</sup>ngu<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_01\_PEARSTORY-PSG\_216)

**ku<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>2</sup>ngu<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> //**  
ku<sup>2</sup>- tse<sup>2</sup>ngu<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> //  
PFV- CAUS:gather all fruit //  
TAM V QNT N //

He has gathered all the fruit.

## instrumental

<b>Definition</b>	The instrumental serves to add a prototypically non-human argument, often indicating that the action is realized with an instrument.
<b>Construction</b>	The instrumental is expressed in two ways: 1) The applicative-instrumental -ʃi <sup>2</sup> attaches to verbs or experience predicates (note some lexicalized uses). However, the applicative-instrumental does no longer seem very productive in its prototypical uses. 2) The coordinating conjunction ku <sup>2</sup> e.g. "talk with the microphone", "clean with the scarf".
<b>Constraints</b>	For the applicative-instrumental to be used, the object has to be in a marked position, i.e., preverbal.
<b>Contrasts</b>	The instrumental contrasts in particular with the comitative ka <sup>2</sup> hu <sup>2</sup> , which indicates that the agent executes the action with a human co-agent.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▢ **la<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup> h<sup>h</sup>ngu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>?nde<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> ʃa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>ʃa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>kro<sup>2</sup>ʃo<sup>2</sup>no<sup>2</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_02\_JSB-RRM\_246)

**la<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup> h<sup>h</sup>ngu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>?nde<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> ʃa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>ʃa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>2</sup>**  
la<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup> h<sup>h</sup>ngu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>?nde<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> ndi<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> ʃa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>= ʃa<sup>2</sup>- ni<sup>2</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>2</sup>  
LOC.DIST LOC one ground LOC.DIST where PROG.PL- IPFV- talk  
ADV PRED INDF N ADV Q TAM.PNG TAM V  
**ku<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>kro<sup>2</sup>ʃo<sup>2</sup>no<sup>2</sup> //**  
ku<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>kro<sup>2</sup>ʃo<sup>2</sup>no<sup>2</sup> //  
COORD/INS microphone //  
CONJ N.BORR //

there is one field, there where they talk with the microphone,

▢ **he<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>ndi<sup>2</sup> kwa<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>2</sup> di<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>le<sup>2</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>ndro<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> ʃa<sup>2</sup>tsu<sup>2</sup>ke<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>2</sup>mã<sup>1</sup>hũ<sup>1</sup>ke<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> su<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>3</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_094)

**he<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>ndi<sup>2</sup> kwa<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>2</sup> di<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>le<sup>2</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>ndro<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup>**  
he<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>ndi<sup>2</sup> kwa<sup>2</sup>- ʃi<sup>2</sup> di<sup>2</sup>- a<sup>2</sup>le<sup>2</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>ndro<sup>2</sup> -na<sup>2</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup>  
now when PFV- go CLF.M- NP -FOC also what  
ADV ADV TAM V N PTL ADV PRO.Q  
**ʃa<sup>2</sup>tsu<sup>2</sup>ke<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>2</sup>mã<sup>1</sup>hũ<sup>1</sup>ke<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> su<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>3</sup> //**  
ʃa<sup>2</sup>- tsu<sup>2</sup> -ke<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>2</sup>= mã<sup>1</sup>hũ<sup>1</sup> -ke<sup>2</sup> -na<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> su<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>3</sup> //  
PROG- say -ITER PROG.SG- sweep -ITER -FOC COORD/INS hot //  
TAM V TAM.PNG V PTL CONJ ADV/ADJ //

Now when Alejandro came, he again said how I sweep in the heat.

▢ **ki<sup>1</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>he<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>he<sup>3</sup> //** (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_02\_PEARSTORY-RRM\_023)

**ki<sup>1</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>he<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>?e<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>ʃe<sup>2</sup>he<sup>3</sup> //**  
ki<sup>1</sup>= ʃe<sup>2</sup>he<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> -?e<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>= ʃe<sup>2</sup>he<sup>3</sup> //  
PROG.3SG- clean COORD/INS scarf -POSS.3SG COORD/INS PROG.3SG- clean //  
TAM.PNG V CONJ N.BORR DET CONJ TAM.PNG V //

He is cleaning with his scarf, he is cleaning.

## comitative

<b>Definition</b>	The comitative indicates that the agent executes the action with a human co-agent.
<b>Construction</b>	An uninflected comitative morpheme, ka <sup>2</sup> hu <sup>2</sup> , is used as a free morpheme. It can also be found in lexicalized verbs, e.g. phi <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> hu <sup>2</sup> 'bring' < 'come-with'.
<b>Contrasts</b>	The comitative contrasts with the instrumental, which applies to non-human arguments.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▢ [?i<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>?tʃi<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup>?tʃi<sup>2</sup> kwa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>tse<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>tsu<sup>1</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup> βa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>phi<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup>kũ<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>1</sup>](#) // (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_02\_JSB-RRM\_187)

<b>?i<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>la<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>na<sup>2</sup>?tʃi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ta<sup>1</sup>?tʃi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>kwa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>tse<sup>2</sup></b>	
?i <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup>	-na <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> hu <sup>2</sup>	-na <sup>2</sup> la <sup>2</sup>	na <sup>2</sup> ?tʃi <sup>2</sup>	ta <sup>1</sup> ?tʃi <sup>2</sup>	kwa <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> =	tse <sup>2</sup>
fine	-FOC COM	-FOC	COMP	grandmother	grandfather	PFV.PL-
ADV	PTL ADP	PTL	CONJ	N	N	TAM.PNG
<b>nda<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>βa<sup>2</sup>tsu<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>ndi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>βa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>phi<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ka<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>tsi<sup>2</sup>kũ<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>1</sup></b>	//
nda <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	βa <sup>2</sup> tsu <sup>1</sup>	ndi <sup>2</sup>	βa <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> =	phi <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup>	tsi <sup>2</sup> kũ <sup>3</sup>	-?e <sup>1</sup> //
what	be\make	what	PROG.PL-	go	all	money
Q	V	Q	TAM.PNG	V	QNT	N
						DET
						//

It's fine with the grandmothers, the grandfathers, they do, they go for their money

▢ [tʃi<sup>1</sup>hngu<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup>?i<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>u<sup>2</sup>ʃta<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>u<sup>2</sup>ʃta<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup>](#) // (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_02\_PEARSTORY-RRM\_119)

<b>tʃi<sup>1</sup>hngu<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>li<sup>2</sup>?i<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>ki<sup>1</sup>u<sup>2</sup>ʃta<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ku<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ki<sup>1</sup>u<sup>2</sup>ʃta<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup></b>
tʃi <sup>1</sup> hngu <sup>2</sup>	li <sup>2</sup>	?i <sup>1</sup> ki <sup>1</sup> =	u <sup>2</sup> ʃta <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>2</sup>	ki <sup>1</sup> = u <sup>2</sup> ʃta <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>2</sup>
other.one	CLS.boy-	small	PROG.3SG-	play
PRO		N	TAM.PNG	V
<b>ka<sup>2</sup>hu<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ku<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>mĩ<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>ki<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup></b>	//
ka <sup>2</sup> hu <sup>2</sup>	ku <sup>2</sup>	tʃ <sup>h</sup> mĩ <sup>1</sup>	ki <sup>1</sup> i <sup>2</sup>	//
COM	COORD/INS	fruit	LOC	//
ADP	CONJ	N	PRED	//

Another boy is playing with... he is playing together with the fruit. He is there.

## sociative

<b>Definition</b>	The sociative is used to express an action realized together with other participants, e.g. "go together", "meet". Some examples indicate a passive use, where the patient is promoted as a subject, e.g. "he is hot" = "the heat affects him". Examples not attested in the corpus indicate a reciprocal meaning.
<b>Construction</b>	The sociative -te <sup>3</sup> ?e <sup>3</sup> attaches to the verb.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▢ [ju<sup>1</sup>hu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> ʃa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>te<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>](#) // (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_01\_PEARSTORY-PSG\_126)

<b>ju<sup>1</sup>hu<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>ʃa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>te<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>la<sup>2</sup></b>	//
ju <sup>1</sup> hu <sup>2</sup>	-na <sup>2</sup> ʃa <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>2</sup>	-te <sup>3</sup> ?e <sup>3</sup> la <sup>2</sup>	//
two	-FOC meet	-SOC	LOC.DIST //
NUM	PTL	V	ADV //

the two of them meet there.

▢ [la<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>1</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>te<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>3</sup>](#) // (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_01\_PEARSTORY-PSG\_152)

<b>la<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>tu<sup>1</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>te<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>3</sup></b>	//
la <sup>2</sup>	tu <sup>1</sup> = hi <sup>2</sup> -te <sup>3</sup> ?e <sup>3</sup>	//
SUB	PROG.PL-	arrive -SOC //
CONJ	TAM.PNG	V //

The others are going together.

▢ [ʃa<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>te<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>](#) / (IXC\_LEA\_NARR\_02\_PEARSTORY-RRM\_129)

<b>ja<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>te<sup>3</sup>?e<sup>3</sup></b>		<b>la<sup>2</sup></b>	/
ja <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>2</sup>	-ku <sup>1</sup> -te <sup>3</sup> ?e <sup>3</sup>	la <sup>2</sup>	/
meet	-ANT -SOC	LOC.DIST	/
V	TAM PRO	ADV	/

They met each other there.

## experiencer

<b>Definition</b>	The experiencer predication encodes that a participant is affected by the event, e.g. emotion 'be upset', 'be lazy'; bodily experience 'be sick', 'bathe', but also posture 'sit'.
<b>Construction</b>	The experiencer predication consists of a non-verbal predicate (not a noun or a verb) that receives the series of possessive suffixes.
<b>Contrasts</b>	Other non-verbal predications.

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▶ [βe<sup>2</sup>g# βa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>nga<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ndi<sup>2</sup>je<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> nda<sup>1</sup> fta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> <ma<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_007)

<b>βe<sup>2</sup>g# βa<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>nga<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup></b>		<b>ndi<sup>2</sup>je<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>nda<sup>1</sup> fta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup></b>
β-	a <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> nga <sup>2</sup> -na <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup>	ndi <sup>2</sup> je <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>2</sup> la <sup>2</sup>	nda <sup>1</sup> fta <sup>1</sup> si <sup>1</sup>
PROG-	upset -POSS.1SG	because	COMP what ugly EXS
TAM	PRED PRO		COMP PRO.Q ADJ PRED

**ma<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> //**

ma<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> //

mummy //

N.BORR //

I'm getting upset because it's so ugly <woman>.

▶ [me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> ?i<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> sja<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup>na<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup> tsu<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>2</sup>na<sup>3</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_099)

<b>me<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup> ?i<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> sja<sup>1</sup>na<sup>3</sup>na<sup>3</sup></b>		<b>tsi<sup>2</sup> tsu<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>2</sup>tse<sup>2</sup>na<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>//</b>
me <sup>1</sup> nda <sup>2</sup> ?i <sup>2</sup> na <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ?mẽ <sup>1</sup> ?õ <sup>2</sup> sja <sup>1</sup>	-na <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup>	tsi <sup>2</sup> tsu <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>2</sup> -	tse <sup>2</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> //
for.this 1SG	also idleness	-POSS.1SG say say PFV-	say -1SG //
PRO	ADV PRED	PRO V V TAM	V PRO //

to do this I'm lazy, I told him.

## spatial specification

<b>Definition</b>	Spatial specification codes the position of a referent X with respect to a referent Y, e.g., X inside Y, X above Y, etc. Some spatial specifiers derive from body part terms.
<b>Construction</b>	The spatial specifiers combine with TMA markers, but not with S or A suffixes. They generally precede the NP: SPCF.SPC NP

Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

▶ [tʃi<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>1</sup>hna<sup>3</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> ?a<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>2</sup> hngu<sup>2</sup> to<sup>2</sup>ne<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> ʃhe<sup>1</sup> /](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_03\_JSB-RRM\_146)

<b>tʃi<sup>2</sup>ka<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>1</sup>hna<sup>3</sup> ?mẽ<sup>1</sup>?õ<sup>2</sup> ?a<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>2</sup> hngu<sup>2</sup> to<sup>2</sup>ne<sup>1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> ʃhe<sup>1</sup> /</b>
tʃi <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> nda <sup>1</sup> hna <sup>3</sup> ?mẽ <sup>1</sup> ?õ <sup>2</sup> ?a <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>2</sup> hngu <sup>2</sup> to <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>1</sup> la <sup>2</sup> ʃhe <sup>1</sup> /
like municipality also inside one barrel REL big /
N ADV SPCF.SPC INDF N.BORR COMP ADJ /

Like at the municipality also in a barrel that is big...

▶ [a<sup>2</sup>j ki<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup>tʃu<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>je<sup>3</sup> //](#) (IXC\_LEA\_CONV\_04\_JSB-RRM\_039)

<b>a<sup>2</sup>j ki<sup>1</sup>nda<sup>2</sup>tʃu<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ?u<sup>2</sup>je<sup>3</sup> //</b>
a <sup>2</sup> j ki <sup>1</sup> = nda <sup>2</sup> tʃu <sup>2</sup> e <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>2</sup> ?u <sup>2</sup> - je <sup>3</sup> //
INTJ PROG.3SG- behind -FOC CLF.AN- snake //
EXCL TAM.PNG SPCF.SPC PTL N //

Oh, the snake is behind (him)!



<b>ndi²la²</b>	<b>si¹nga²</b>	<b>nde²hi²βa²</b>		<b>si¹hi³</b>	<b>ndi²la²</b>	<b>tsu²ʔa²na²βa²</b>			
ndi²la²	si¹nga²	nde²hi²	-βa²	si¹hi³	ndi²la²	tsu²	-ʔa²	-na²	-βa²
SUB	inside/on	tangle	-CO.AN	feet	SUB	want	-NEG	-FOC	-CO.AN
CONJ	SPCF.SPC	V	PRO	N	CONJ	V	PTL	PRO	
<b>tse²nde¹ʔe²βa²</b>		//							
tse²nde¹ʔe²		-βa²	//						
release		-CO.AN	//						
V		PRO	//						

Because the animal got tangled in (his) feet, because it didn't want to let go.

## Synthesis & Discussion

To summarize, I have identified the following predications: existential and equational, presentative, possessive, stative locative, negative existential, human antipassive, causative, instrumental, comitative, sociative, experiencer, and spatial specification. However, note that the syntactic analysis is still ongoing.

Ixcatec presents a number of typologically interesting predications. In particular, the human antipassive verbal suffix,  $-mi^2$ , is typologically rare in many respects (Adamou 2014). Unlike most languages with antipassive constructions (Polinsky 2005), Ixcatec antipassive constructions target highly individuated arguments, namely humans who are also generally speech-act participants. This is due to the origin of  $-mi^2$ , which most likely developed from the Proto-Popolocan  $**hmi$  'person' (reconstructed in Veerman-Leichsenring 2004: 433 following Gudshinsky) and is still productive in compound word formation, i.e.  $mi^2-nda^2wa^2$  'man',  $mi^2-tʃa^2$  'woman',  $tʃa^2h-mi^2$  'people'. The Ixcatec antipassive triggers the suppression of the patient-like (P) and the recipient-like (R) arguments. We also note the use of the antipassive suffix with stative predicates, indicating that the state is particularly affecting the participant. Within the Otomanguan stock, one can also draw attention to the equivalent 'object-suppressive' voice in Totonac which also occurs with states and nominal roots for atelic reading (Beck 2004).

Cross-reference morphemes are of typological interest, in relation to the lexical classifiers (see Adamou 2017a for an overview of their uses in relative clauses and methodological challenges for a systematic analysis of a critically-endangered language).

Another interesting feature is the so-called "experiencer" predication. Unlike in other Popolocan languages, as Chocholtec (Ngigua/Ngiba) and Popoloc, I consider that this predication cannot be described as a case of semantic alignment in Ixcatec as it is not a pervasive feature but rather characterizes a small number of verbs (Wichmann 2008: 3 offers the following definition of semantic alignment: "an agentive S is encoded, through case marking, verbal agreement, or both, in the same way as A and non-agentive S in the same way as P" and "the agentive vs. non-agentive distinction is a pervasive feature of the grammar").

Among under-described features of Ixcatec that deserve future research is the so-called "sociative", which presents a rather wide range of uses that defy easy characterization.

## Conclusion

To conclude, Ixcatec is a previously undescribed and critically-endangered language. Although it shares a number of features that characterize the Popolocan languages and more broadly the languages of the Otomanguan stock and the Mesoamerican area, Ixcatec also shows a number of interesting developments that can be of interest to typologists. Clearly, much work remains to be done and the present paper is aimed as an introduction to the complexity of this language.

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