Predication in Movima (Ameridian isolate)

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Introduction

This paper is part of the outcome of the project "Designing spoken corpora for cross-linguistic research" (CorTypo, ANR-12-BSH2-0011).

The sections below give an overview of different types of "predications" found in Movima, i.e., constructions in which there is a particular and unique relationship between the predicate and its arguments. 21 predications are listed here, but this does not mean that the list is complete. In particular, depending on the morphological form of the predicate, the number of intransitive predications is much larger.

Language information
Name and ISO code: Movima (MZP).

Speakers: about 500, most over 60 years old. All speakers are bilingual with Spanish. There are no first-language learners of Movima anymore.

Region: Bolivia, Beni Department, Santa Ana del Yacuma and a small diaspora in other settlements of the Beni department.

Classification: isolate.

Status: Movima is seriously endangered, despite strong revitalization efforts. There has been a gap in the acquisition of the language of at least one generation (see above).

Main typological features: Head initial; no case or agreement marking; arguments pronouns/NPs are distinguished by their position either “internal” or “external” to the predicate phrase; transitive clauses exhibit a direct-inverse alternation, with the “internal” argument usually higher in a referential hierarchy (person, animacy, topicality); limited noun-verb distinction on the syntactic level (only possessed nouns can NOT function as main-clause predicates); no copula; reference is established through dedicated “referential elements” (articles, pronouns, demonstratives), which indicate humanness (male/female), plurality, spatial and temporal categories; morphology is agglutinating, mainly suffixing, but also with reduplicative and infixing morphemes; compounding and incorporation is frequent.
Functions in the domain of Predication for the language Movima (Ameridian isolate)

agentive

| Definition | The agentive suffix -eɬ attaches to bivalent verbal bases. It marks the verb as syntactically intransitive, the single argument being the actor of a (usually) two-participant event. See Haude 2006: 330. |
| Construction | The suffix -eɬ is attached to an inherently bivalent verb base. |
| Constraints | The suffix only occurs on inherently bivalent verb bases (Haude 2006: 321f., 339f.) |
| Contrasts | Contrasts with all other voice markers, e.g. direct, inverse, and reflexive/reciprocal. |

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

**ban loy in̍ mase:łe naj joyajwa, jankwa**  
(MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_068)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ban loy it</th>
<th>mas</th>
<th>-ele</th>
<th>n- as</th>
<th>jo'yaj</th>
<th>-wa =0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>ITN</td>
<td>PRO.CL.1INTR</td>
<td>beat_up</td>
<td>-AGT</td>
<td>OBL- ART.NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>ROOT.V(bv)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**jankwa**  
say =PRO.1SG  
but I'll beat them up when I get there, I said

**che noj lapelwa'as jampa'us ney, łaň**  
(MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_142)

| che n- os | lap -ele -wa =as |
| CONJ | OBL- ART.NT.PST | bite | -AGT | -NMLZ.DYN =PRO.3NT.ABSN |
| PTCL | ROOT.V(bv) |

**jampa'us**  
ne =us  
here  
EVD  
N  
OBL-DEM PTCL

and when when it bit him, he did like this, look

**bo jayna chido:don noj ewelna'oj mimi:di**  
(MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_145)

| bo jayna chi - don <CVdup> | #0 | n- os |
| CSL | DSC | exit | - blood | #PRO | OBL- ART.NT.PST |
| PTCL | PTCL | ROOT.V(mv) |

**ewełna'oj**  
hold | -AGT | -NMLZ.DYN =ART.NT.PST | snake |
| ROOT.V(bv) | N |

because it was already bleeding where the snake had gripped him

antipassive

| Definition | The direct-marked predicate is preceded by a particle kwey/kaw. P is optionally expressed as an oblique. A is expressed by a preceding free pronoun or a relativized RP. The same construction is grammatically possible as a "passive", i.e. with an inverse verb, but this is not attested in the corpus. See Haude (2006: 287f.) |
| Construction | The particle kwey/kaw precedes a direct-marked verb. The verb does not take a bound pronoun. The former OBV argument is expressed as an oblique. |
| Constraints | This construction only occurs in relative clauses (i.e. headed relatives, pronominal construction, RPs with verbs) in order to allow the relativization of a high-ranking A (where the inverse is not always an option). |
| Contrasts | Only occurs in contexts where the predicate is preceded by RP di´ (headed relative clause), an article, or a free pronoun. Contrasts with other predications because of kaw/kwey before the verb; contrasts with kwey 'hodiernal past' because of synonymous kaw. |
Exemples: cliquez sur la référence d'un exemple pour élargir son contexte dans le corpus

**argument incorporation**

**Definition**
A nominal element ("IN" = "incorporated noun"; often a truncated element or classifier) representing P is incorporated in the direct-marked verb. The verb is syntactically intransitive (i.e. A is expressed as S); P can be expressed additionally by an oblique RP or free pronoun. There is always a corresponding syntactically transitive construction. Argument incorporation creates a lexical item that describes an action directed towards a particular type of undergoer. (There is no sign that the construction has a syntactic function, e.g. to "promote" A to the external argument position like the antipassive.) See Haude 2006: 367ff.

**Construction**
A nominal element ("IN" = "incorporated noun"; often a truncated element or classifier) representing P is incorporated in the direct-marked verb. The verb is syntactically intransitive (i.e. A is expressed as S); P can be expressed additionally by an oblique RP or free pronoun.

**Constraints**
Argument incorporation only occurs with direct-marked verbal bases.

**Contrasts**
Contrasts with "modifying incorporation" (or "possessor raising"), where the verb is transitive and is not restricted to direct marking; contrasts with "antipassive" because this affects (also) morphology and does not seem to have a syntactic (pivot-maintaining) purpose.

**basic intransitive main clause**

**Definition**
The predicate is a monovalent verb, adjective, or unpossessed noun; Argument is a bound pronoun, externally enciliticized ( -- ); an RP; or Ø.

**Construction**
A basic intransitive clause can appear as V/N/ADJ alone or with subsequent arguments. It is not preceded by the relativizer di´, a free pronoun, or an article.

**Constraints**
A possessed noun can usually not be the predicate of this construction. (The pronominal construction is preferred in this case.)

**Contrasts**
A basic intransitive clause differs from a non-basic clause in that the content word is not preceded by ge REL, ge PRO.IDP, ge ART. It differs from a basic transitive clause in that the predicate cannot take an internal encilitic (=) (apart from exceptions such as intransitive verbs with the suffix -kal).

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

**buka' jiwa:wa naj ro:ya, salmo uj tami:ba**

they came to the house, the baby returned

**welcho, lolkarso:ne**

he was on hands and feet, without pants
bo kawra ij mimi:di naj chańmo
because there are many snakes in the bush

**benefactive**

**Definition**
The verb contains the suffix -kwa `BEN`. This means that the non-A argument is the beneficiary of the event. The suffix can apply to monovalent and bivalent bases. The derived verb is semantically bivalent, but not necessarily syntactically transitive (this is only achieved by adding the DR or INV marker). See Haude 2006: 397.

**Construction**
The verb contains the suffix -kwa `BEN`. (NB, there are several homophonous morphemes -kwa, so the gloss is essential.)

**Contrasts**
The benefactive suffix -kwa is homophonic with the "absolute state" suffix (ABSL), with the bound root 'mouth', and with the "bodily process" suffix.

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

**causative**

**Definition**
The causative suffix -poj derives verbs denoting events that involve a causer and an agent/causee. The resulting verbs are semantically bivalent, but syntactically intransitive (i.e., can take only one core argument, which represents P) unless combined with the direct or inverse marker. See Haude (2006: 392ff., 2010ff.).

**Construction**
The verb contains the suffix -poj.

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

co-participant applicative
Definition
The suffix -łe indicates that an additional participant is involved in the event denoted by the verb root. The verb is semantically bivalent and can be marked as syntactically transitive (so that it can take two arguments) through attachment of the direct or inverse marker. (Haude 2006: 402ff.)

Construction
The suffix -łe is suffixed to the verb root/base.

Contrasts
Difficult to distinguish from verbs derived with the suffix -eł `APPL`.

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

> joykała'is ij mora', joyałe'is ij pajwe:la  
(MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_019)
joykała'is  
joy -kał -a =is  
go -INCH -EP =PRO.3PL.ABSN ART.PL carajo  
joyałe'is  
joy -a -łe =is  
go -EP -COPART =PRO.3PL.ABSN ART.PL match

they left at once, the idiots, they took matches

> ban ascheł, volyełena'us is a:kaya'us  
(MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_097)
ban as -cheł #0  
but sit -REFL/RECP #PRO look.back -COPART -DR =PRO.3M.ABSN ART.PL  
avolyełena'us  
volye -łe -na =us  
N
but he sat down, he turned around to his elder siblings

> jiwałe:na us ney naj lo:los  
(MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_203)
jiwałe:na  
jiwa -łe -na =0  
come -COPART -DR =PRO.1SG get.away OBL-DEM OBL- ART.NT village  
us ney naj as  
N
I brought him here to the village

existential

Definition
The predicate is a demonstrative (´absential´ or ´past´); the argument is expressed by an RP. (Haude 2006: 295)

Construction
A demonstrative pronoun precedes an RP (i.e. an article + content word).

Contrasts
DEM + V: here, the demonstrative includes aspectual information

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

> nokwa koro' koj popoykwa di' ji:na' yo'kay /  
(MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_036)
nokwa koro'  
nokora' kos po-  
right_now DEM.N.AB ART.N.AB RED-  
pok po-y  
ABSL BR.animal  
dx -kwa di' ji:na'  
pocl  
pocl nokwa koro'  
ptcl
di' ji:na'  
pocl
di' ji:na'  
pocl
yokkay /  
yok -kay =0 /  
catch INV 1SG /  
v  
there would be an animal that might catch me
**Identification**

**Definition**
The first syntactic element is a free pronoun, followed by a lexical predicate (noun/adjective or verb). Syntactically, the construction is a cleft: the pronoun is the predicate ("He/she/it/they is/are"), since it is nominalized in embedding, and the lexical predicate is a headless relative clause, since it shows the same syntactic properties as other relative constructions (restriction to obviative argument, gapping, antipassive, special negation pattern). The pronominal construction is used to assert something about a nontopical referent, which was introduced immediately before and is taken up by the free pronoun. The free personal pronoun represents S, P of direct, and A of inverse. The argument is sometimes taken up again by a coreferential bound pronoun. (Haude 2018)

**Construction**
The construction consists of an initial free pronoun followed by a noun/adjective or a verb (plus eventually particles, adverbial clauses etc.)

**Constraints**
The fact that the pronoun is the predicate becomes apparent in the dependent construction, where the free pronoun is nominalized instead of the lexical predicate. The lexical predicate, whether noun or verb, shares the properties of a relative clause or of the lexical element inside an RP (antipassivization, negation with *loy*).

**Contrasts**
Contrasts with basic main clauses through:
- initial free pronoun
- nominalization of free pronoun in embedding, while lexical predicate remains unmodified
- antipassive required when referent of pronoun is A outranking O in referential hierarchy
- negation of lexical predicate with *loy* and "partial nominalization".

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

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**Locative**

**Definition**
The predicate is a demonstrative adverb: ney 'here', nosdé/nokodé 'there'. The argument is optionally expressed by an enclitic pronoun, which is always marked as 'obviative' with the prefix k-. The dependent structure identifies the adverbial as a predicate: here, it is "nominalized" with the suffix -niwa 'VBZ.NMZ' (like a demonstrative predicate).

**Construction**
The construction contains an oblique-marked demonstrative (OBL-DEM) as predicate, i.e. in clause-initial position.
Contrasts

Oblique-marked demonstratives also occur as adverbs, in which case they occur in addition to a verbal or nominal predicate, and usually not in initial position.

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

[kuro' joyałe kuj David kilwa nosdé] (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_046)

[kuro' joyałe kuj David kilwa nosdé]

kuro' joy -a -le =kus David kilwa nosdé
DEM.M.ABSN go -DR -COPART ART.M.ABSN David DEM.PL.ELEV.DIST over.there
ROOT.V(mv) N OBL-DEM

David took him, they are over there

[choń naj joywa, joycheł nosdé naj asna'is, naj choń joywa naj Santa Kurus] (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_281)

[choń naj joywa, joycheł nosdé naj asna'is, naj choń joywa naj Santa Kurus]

choń n- as joy -wa =0 joy -cheł #0
always OBL- ART.NT go -NMLZ.DYN =PRO.1SG go -REFL/RECP #PRO
PTCL ROOT.V(mv) ROOT.V(mv)

naj waya asna -is =as n- as choń
over.there OBL- ART.NT home =PRO.3PL.ABSN OBL- ART.NT always
OBL-DEM PTCL

joywa naj Santa Kurus
joy go -NMLZ.DYN =PRO.1SG OBL- ART.NT Santa Cruz
ROOT.V(mv) CN- -CN

every time I go, I go over there to their house, whenever I go to Santa Cruz

modifying incorporation

Definition
A noun, bound nominal element or "classifier" is incorporated into the verb, which can subsequently be marked as monovalent or as bivalent (with direct or inverse marking); in the most relevant case, the incorporated element denotes a part of whole, resulting in a possessor-ascension effect (the possessor becomes the argument). See Haude 2006: Ch. 9.2.

Construction
The verb contains a bound nominal element or classifier. It may be transitive (if with a direct or inverse marker) or intransitive.

Constraints
There must be some; to be defined

Contrasts
Different from Argument incorporation because transitivity is not affected: verbs with a modifying incorporatum can be transitive (with direct/inverse marking) or intransitive, while verbs with an incorporated argument contain a direct marker and are nevertheless intransitive.

negation of event

Definition
The predicate is a particle ka followed by a "determining" element =s and a "nominalized" verb, which is marked with the suffix -wa and obligatorily possessed. The possessor represents S of an intransitive, A of a direct transitive, and P of an inverse transitive clause. The second argument of a transitive clause is expressed as in the affirmative clause (see Predication 2a and 2b). See Haude 2006: 316f.

Construction
The construction begins with the element kas, followed by a content word that is nominalized with the suffix -wa and takes a possessor enclitic (pronoun or article).

Contrasts
Different from nominal, pronominal, existential, and possessive negation because of -wa=POSS on the dependent predicate

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

[kaj tinoka:wa] (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_039)

[kaj tinoka:wa]

kas tinok -a -wa =0 //
NEG fear SNS NMLZ.DYN 1SG //
ptcl n vsufx vsufx pro.cl //
I wasn't scared

the caimans weren't killed

because they didn't have a price

but there was no water

he came, on hands and feet, but he had no pants on

Based on existential predication. The demonstrative ("there is") is preceded by the negative copula with determiner and nominalized by suffixation of -niwa ´VBZ:NMZ´ (but not marked as possessed like other nominalizations; see Haude 2011). The argument is optionally expressed by an RP, which means that it can be specific. Also when there is no RP, the demonstrative specifies the negated referent for +/- humanness, sex, and number.
Construction: The initial negative particle kas is followed by a demonstrative with the suffix -niwa, possibly followed by an RP.

Contrasts: The construction contrasts with the "negation of nonspecific existence" with the irrealis infix <(k)ak>. The functional difference is that in the present case, the negated referent can be specified by a full RP.

negation of state

Definition: This is the negation of a predicate nominal. The negative marker is kas, and the following lexical content word is "nominalized" with infixing reduplication. (Haude 2006: 317).

Construction: The negative predicate ka=s is followed by a noun that contains a reduplication. There is no example in the Cortypo sample.

Contrasts: like negation of event, but reduplication instead of suffix -wa

possessed nonverbal predicate

Definition: The predicate is a possessed noun; the clause can be translated as an intransitive clause

Construction: The predicate is a possessed noun, the argument is the encliticized possessor

Constraints: Only exists with a limited number of nouns (je` state`, jampa `done thing`, jankwa `said thing`)

Contrasts: with intransitive clause: the argument is the possessor

presentational

Definition: directing the attention to a referent and identifying it

Construction: Pronoun or demonstrative with its own intonation contour

Contrasts: In contrast to the "pronominal construction", the referential element (pronoun or demonstrative) has its own intonation contour

reflexive/reciprocal

Definition: The reflexive/reciprocal suffix marks the verb as intransitive and indicates that the single argument simultaneously represents actor and undergoer.

Construction: The suffix -cheL is attached to a bivalent verb root.

Contrasts: The suffix -cheL contrasts with the other voice markers, especially direct and inverse.

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

jo'yaj konne:cheł // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_110)

jo'yaj konne:cheł
jo'yaj kon -ne -cheł #0 /
arrive take_out CLF.person REFL/RECP /
vi vr(bv) clf vsufx /
I(?) arrived, undressed,

che in' joycheł (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_110)

che in' joycheł
che it joy -cheł
CONJ 1INTR go REFL/RECP
cnj pro.cl vr(mv) vsufx
and I went

nas di' yeynawan as se:le, is de:cheł // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_110)
n- as di' yeynawan -na -wa =n as se:le / is
OBL ART.N HYP want DR NMLZ.DYN 2 ART.N hammock / 2.INTR
prfx art ptcl vr(bv) vsufx vsufx pro.cl art n / pro.cl
if you want a hammock, you lie down

Resultative

| Definition | The suffix -‘i on a bivalent verb root indicates that the verb is intransitive and that its single argument represents the undergoer of an externally induced event. On morphologically complex bivalent bases, the absence of any marker can also indicate the resultative (see Haude 2012). This is not marked in the corpus. |
| Construction | The construction contains an intransitive predicate with the suffix -‘i ‘RES’; the predicate can also be morphologically unmarked for voice. |
| Contrasts | -‘i is in complementary with the other voice morphemes, in particularly the direct, inverse, and reflexive/reciprocal markers. It is homophonous with the third-person presentential enclitic -‘i, but in a different paradigmatic distribution (the two can cooccur). |

transitive direct main clause

| Definition | PRED is a verb with direct marking. The A argument pronoun or RP is "internally" encliticized to the predicate. The P argument has the same properties as S of the intransitive clause (see above). |
| Construction | The predicate is marked as either direct or inverse and takes an internally cliticized pronoun or article (of an RP) expressing the agent. |
| Contrasts | Distinct from intransitive clauses because of presence of “internally cliticized” (= ) nominal constituent; absence of overt RP/pronoun in this construction means ’1SG A’ Distinct from possessed noun because of the presence of DR/INV |

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

- dewajna oj yonali (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_153)
  dewaj -na =0 os yonali
  see DR 1SG ART.N.PST caiman
  vr(bv) vsufx pro.cl art n
  I saw a caiman

- tino'pojna oj rey yonali (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_234)
  tino'pojna -poj -na =0 os rey yonali
  fear CAUS DR 1SG ART.N.PST MOD caiman
  n vsufx vsufx pro.cl art ptcl n
  I scared the caiman

- tino'pojna rey (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_236)
  tino'pojna -poj -na =0 rey
  fear CAUS DR 1SG MOD
  n vsufx vsufx pro.cl ptcl
  I scared it

transitive inverse main clause

| Definition | The predicate is a verb that is (at least in main clauses) overtly marked as ‘inverse’ (-kay); the P argument is encoded like A of the direct clause (i.e. by an "internal enclitic"), the A argument is encoded like P of the direct clause or S of the intransitive clause (i.e. by an RP, an "external enclitic", or zero). |
| Construction | The predicate is marked by the suffix -kay (at least in main clauses; under certain morphological circumstances the inverse is marked by CVC-reduplication or is unmarked). The internally cliticized argument represents the patient. |
Contrasts
Distinct from intransitive clauses because of presence of a predicate-internal nominal constituent ("internally cliticized" = );
Distinct from possessed nominal construction (where possessor is

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

```plaintext
nokwa lapkay koj mimi:di // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_034)
nokwa laMkay koj mimi:di //
nokowa lahm -kay =0 kos mimi:di //
right_now bite INV 1SG ART.N.AB snake //
ptcl v vsufx pro.cl art n //
would be bitten by a snake
```

```plaintext
nokwa koro' koj popoykwa di' jina' yo'kay / (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_036)
nokwa koro' koj popoykwa di' jina'
nokowa koro' kos po- poy -kwa di' jina'
right_now DEM.N.AB ART.N.AB RED- BR.animal ABSL REL as_surprise
ptcl dem art red nr sufx ptcl
yokkay /
vr vsufx pro.cl /
there would be an animal that might catch me
```

```plaintext
oj rey pa'wa bo oj jayna yo'yo'wa (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_211)
oj rey paMwa bo oj jayna
os rey pap -wa =0 bo os jayna
ART.N.PST MOD appear NMLZ.DYN 1SG CSL ART.N.PST DSC
art ptcl vr(mv) vsufx pro.cl conj art ptcl
yokyokwa
yok~yok -wa =0
INV~catch NMLZ.DYN 1SG
vt vsufx pro.cl
for my appearing again in order to devour me
```

References


