Predication in Movima (Amerindian 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 (Amerindian 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. |

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

1. ban loy in̍ mase:łe naj joyajwa, jankwa  (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_068)
   
   **ban loy in̍**
   - ITN
   - PRO.CL.1INTR

   **mase:łe**
   - mas -eɬ -wa =0
   - ROOT.V(bv)

   **naj**
   - as
   - jo'yaj -wa =0
   - OBL- ART.NT

   **joyajwa**
   - V(mv)

   
   **jankwa**
   - =0
   - say =PRO.1SG

   but I'll beat them up when I get there, I said

2. che noj lapėlwa'as jampa'us ney, łań  (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_142)

   **che noj lapėlwa'as**
   - CONJ
   - OBL- ART.NT.PST
   - bite -AGT -NMLZ.DYN =PRO.3NT.ABSN
   - ROOT.V(bv)

   **jampa'us**
   - =us
   - ney łań

   **ney**
   - n- os
   - lap -eɬ -wa =as
   - OBL-DEM

   **łań**
   - łań

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

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

   **bo jayna chido:don noj**
   - CSL
   - DSC
   - exit - blood
   - #PRO OBL- ART.NT.PST
   - ROOT.V(mv)

   **ewelna'oj**
   - =os
   - mimi:di

   **ewelna'oj**
   - -ele -wa =os
   - hold -AGT -NMLZ.DYN =ART.NT.PST
   - 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

[Text excerpt from the document]

arguement 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 encilitized (→); 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 enclitic (=) (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

[Text excerpt from the document]
bo kawra ij mimi:di naj chaŋmo  

because there are many snakes in the bush

benefactive

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.

Exemples: 
joya:kwa uj pa:'i/

I went for the priest

causative

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.).

Exemples: 
tino'pojna oj rey yonali

I scared the caiman

coop-participant applicative

The verb contains the suffix -poj.

Exemples: 
che asapoja'is uj a:na'is

and they made their little brother sit down

kaya:poj nij maropa

I fed him papaya
**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 i j mora', joyałe'is i j pajwe:la** (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_019)
  
  `joykała'is`
  
  `joy -kał -a =is`  `i s`  `mora'`
  
  `go`  `-INCH -EP =PRO.3PL.ABSN ART.PL`  `carajo`
  
  N
  
  `joyałe'is`
  
  `joy -a -łe =is`  `i s`  `pajwe:la`
  
  `go`  `-EP -COPART =PRO.3PL.ABSN ART.PL`  `match`
  
  ROOT.V(mv)
  
  N
  
  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`  `volyełena'us`  `is`
  
  `ban`  `as`  `-cheł`  `#0`  `volye`  `-le`  `-na =us`  `is`
  
  `but`  `sit`  `-REFL/RECP`  `#PRO`  `look.back`  `-COPART`  `-DR =PRO.3M.ABSN ART.PL`  `V(mv)`
  
  `a:kaya'us`
  
  `a:kay`  `-a =us`
  
  `older.sibling`  `-EP =PRO.3M.ABSN`
  
  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`  `us`  `ney`  `naj`  `lo:los`
  
  `jiwa`  `-le`  `-na =0`  `#us`  `ney`  `n`  `as`  `lølos`
  
  `come`  `-COPART`  `-DR =PRO.1SG`  `get.away`  `OBL-DEM`  `OBL- ART.NT`  `village`
  
  `ROOT.V(mv)`
  
  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'`  `koj`  `popoykwa`  `di'`  `ji:na'`
  
  `nokwa`  `koro'`  `kos`  `po-`  `poy`  `-kwa`  `di'`  `ji:na'`
  
  `right_now`  `DEM.N.AB`  `ART.N.AB`  `RED-`  `BR.animal`  `ABSL`  `REL`  `as_surprise`  `ptcl`  `dem`  `art`  `red`  `nr`  `sufx`  `ptcl`  `ptcl`
  
  `yokkay`  `/`
  
  `yok`  `-kay`  `=0`  `/`
  
  `catch`  `INV`  `1SG`  `/`
  
  `vr`  `vsufx`  `pro.cl`  `/`
  
  there would be an animal that might catch me
iso' ij eney alra  
iso'  ij  eney alra  
iso'  is  eney alra  =0  
DEM.PL.PST  ART.PL  (filler)  friend  1SG  
dem  art  intj  n  pro.cl  
there were my friends

chat sal-, salmo:wa, oso' os itwa  
chat  sal-,  salmo:wa  /  oso'  os  itwa  
chat  sal  salmo  -wa  =0  /  oso'  os  itwa  
always  HESIT  return  NMLZ.DYN  1SG  /  DEM.N.PST  ART.N.PST  big_river  
ptcl  HESIT  vi  vsufx  pro.cl  /  dem  art  n  
when I returned, there was a river

**Identificational**

| 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) |
| 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

**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 adverbal 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

David took him, they are over there

Chon̍ naj joywa, joycheł nosdé naj asna'is, naj chon̍ joywa naj Santa Kurus

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.

definition 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 //

Neg fear SNS NMLZ.DYN 1SG //

Ptcl n vsufx vsufx pro.cl //
I wasn't scared

kaj tikoywa'ij yonali // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_098)

kaj tikoywa'ij yonali //
kas tikoy =is yonali //
NEG kill NMLZ.DYN ART.PL cainam //
ptcl vr vsufx art n //
the caimans weren't killed

tsikacho:way'bi // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_098)
kaj tsikacho:way'bi //
kas tsikachol -na -wa =0 #y'bi //
NEG lie DR NMLZ.DYN 1SG 2PL.S/OBV //
ptcl v vsufx vsufx pro.cl pro.cl //
negation of non-specific existence

Definition
In addition to the negative copula and determiner ka=s, the infix <(k)ak> ´irrealis´ is inserted after the first iambic foot (CVCV, CVCVC, CVC) of the predicate. The construction negates S of the intransitive, P of the direct transitive, and A of the inverse transitive clause: "there is no N" for nouns (if possessed: "Y has no N"), "Nobody was V-ed" for direct verbs and "Nobody V-ed X" for inverse verbs. (See Haude 2006: 435-442)

Construction
The construction has as its initial element the negative predicate ka=s. The subsequent content word contains the infix <(k)ak> after the first iambic foot.

Constraints
Bases consisting of less than a iambic foot take a reduplicative suffix.

Contrasts
In contrast to state or event negation, here it is not the existence of an event or state that is negated, but the existence of an entity (denotee of a noun or participant of a verbal event). The contrast with specific negation is that the negated entity itself is represented by the predicate and cannot be additionally expressed (and specified) by an RP.

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

bo kaj jana'karimela'i // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_100)

bo kaj jana'karimela'i //
bo kas jan -ak -ka -rimel -a =i //
CSL NEG how -IRR -MLT -BE.price -EP 3PL //
conj ptcl ptcl inf inf sufxf sufxf pro.cl pro.cl //
because they didn't have a price

ban kaj toka'mi // (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_041)

ban kaj toka'mi //
ban kas to:mi <ak>
but NEG water
but there was no water

jiwa:wa buka', welcho, ban kaj kara'sone'us // (MZP_KH_NARR_240807_EAO-vibora_101)

jiwa:wa buka' welcho ban kaj kara'sone'us
ji<wa:>:wa #0 buka' welcho #0 ban kas karso:ne
come DUR.MVG creep but NEG pants =PRO.3M.ABSN
V(mv) V(mv) CONJ N
he came, on hands and feet, but he had no pants on

negation of specific existence

Definition
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.
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
conj pro.cl vr(mv) vsufx
and I went

nas di’ yeynawan as se:le, is de:cheł // (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_110)
nas di’ yeynawan
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

[1] dewajna oj yonali  (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_153)

dewajna  

oj  

yonali  

dewaj  -na =0  os  yonali  

see  DR  1SG  ART.N.PST  caiman  

vr(bv)  vsufx  pro.cl  art  n  

I saw a caiman

[2] tino'pojna oj rey yonali  (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_234)

tino'pojna  

oj  

rey  

yonali  

tinok  -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

[3] tino'pojna rey  (MZP_KH_NARR_130907_JGD-Caiman_236)

tino'pojna  

rey  

tinok  -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.
Distinct from intransitive clauses because of presence of a predicate-internal nominal constituent (“internally cliticized” = );

Distinct from possessed nominal construction (where possessor is)

References


