

## Movima

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## Movima

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### 1 Introduction

Movima (glottocode movi1243) is spoken in and around Santa Ana del Yacuma (13.7404° S, 65.4223° W), a former Jesuit mission with today approximately 18,000 inhabitants in the Beni department, Bolivia. Movima is a linguistic isolate, and nothing is known about the pre-colonial history of the ethnic group by which it is spoken. While ‘Movima’ is also the self-designation of non-natives born in Santa Ana del Yacuma, most indigenous people belong to the lower social class of the town’s population. According to a count conducted by members of the speaker community, in 2012 Movima was spoken by approximately 500 adults. There are no first-language learners of Movima anymore, and despite revitalization initiatives e.g. at primary schools, the language must be considered severely endangered.

At present there is no evidence of linguistic phenomena resulting from contact with other indigenous languages. A possible loan from Guaraní might be *ro:ya* ‘house’ (Guaraní *oga*); the word *charke* ‘dried meat’ is originally Quechua (*charqi*), but it is likely that it was introduced via the regional Spanish *charque*; and the word *pa:ko* ‘dog’ is found in other native language of Bolivia, including in the highlands, but its origin is unclear. The prolonged contact with Spanish, however, has led to a large number of lexical borrowings, which are marked by their phonological treatment and by their behaviour in compounding. Also, there seem to be numerous calques from Spanish. For instance, the Movima verb *toje:te* shows the same polysemy as Spanish *pasar* ‘pass by / happen’, which is probably no coincidence; and ‘not anymore’ is expressed in Movima by *jayna kas* ‘already not’, parallel to *ya no* in Spanish.

Movima was first investigated systematically by the SIL linguists Robert and Judith Judy (see J. Judy 1965; R. Judy 1965; Judy and Judy 1962, 1967). Colette Grinevald carried out an elicitation session on classifiers in the late nineties (Grinevald 2002). The data on which this chapter is based, stemming from direct elicitation plus a corpus of approximately 30 hours (130,000 words) of annotated spontaneous discourse, were collected by the author during 10 field trips (totalling more than 15 months) between 2001 and 2012. All examples presented below are attested in the corpus, although some have been slightly simplified for the sake of presentation. The present grammatical sketch does not cover all aspects of Movima grammar, and some issues are slightly simplified; it is largely restricted to those morphological and syntactic patterns that are frequent in actual discourse and that are central for an understanding of the structure of the language. The reader is referred to Haude (2006) for a more fine-grained picture of the phenomena dealt with (or not dealt with) here, as well as to the separate publications by the author referred to in the corresponding sections.<sup>1</sup>

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## 2 Phonology

The five vowel phonemes of Movima are /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. There are no nasal vowels. Contrasts in vowel length are mostly metrically or morphologically based (see below), so no separate set of long vowels is assumed.

The consonants are listed in Table 1, with differing orthographic symbols – partly based on Spanish orthography – in pointed brackets. Given the regional context, the most remarkable phoneme is the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/, which is frequently heard in spontaneous speech due to its appearance in several common affixes.

Table 1. Movima consonant phonemes (differing orthographic symbols in <> )

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
simple plosives	p	t		ɰ	ʔ <'>
labialized plosives				k <sup>w</sup> <kw>	
implosives	ɓ <b>	ɗ <d>			
affricate			tʃ <ch>		
fricatives	β <v>	s			h <j>
lateral fricative		ɬ			
nasals	m	n			
lateral approximant		l			
simple vibrant		r <r>			
glides	w		j <y>		
glottalized glide					jʔ <y'>

There are not many phonologically conditioned alternations. The alveolar nasal /n/ assimilates in articulation place to right adjacent consonants: before a bilabial consonant, it is pronounced as [m]; before a velar consonant, it is pronounced as [ŋ]. A striking allophony, which contributes to the abundance of glottal(ized) sounds in spoken Movima, involves the voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/. In coda position, these are realized as glottal(ized) consonants: /k/ is realized as the simple glottal stop [ʔ], which is followed by an echo vowel repeating the preceding vowel at the end of a prosodic phrase (this echo vowel is only represented orthographically when it actually occurs); /p/ and /t/, while retaining their place of articulation during the glottal closure, are released nasally and realized as [pʔ<sup>m</sup>] and [tʔ<sup>n</sup>], respectively.

Syllables may be open or closed. Consonant clusters are not allowed, although they may occur in loans. There are some restrictions on the coda position: the bilabial fricative /β/ and the affricate /tʃ/ do not occur in coda position; /r/ occurs in coda position only in Spanish loans, where it tends to be realized as [h]; plosives in coda position are realized by their glottalized allophones, described above; the labialized plosive /k<sup>w</sup>/ is not found in coda position at all. There are no vowel-initial syllables: what is spelled orthographically as a vowel-initial word is, in fact, preceded by a glottal stop, and the same is true of vowel-initial bound morphemes (except ‘external clitics’, see §3.5 below).

Metrics, as reflected by the opposition between light (L, i.e. CV) and heavy (H, i.e. CV: or CVC) syllables, is extremely important in Movima word formation, but not yet fully explored. In general, content words are minimally disyllabic and consist of minimally three moras. Stress (not represented orthographically) occurs by default on the penultimate syllable of the word. When the penultimate syllable is open, it is lengthened; in the case of disyllabic words, this lengthening is a way to achieve the three mora condition. Examples of frequent words that conform to these rules are given in (1).

- (1) a. CV:CV        /'to:mi/        ‘water’  
       b. CVC.CVC    /'bajɬim/       ‘garden, field’

c.	CVC.CV	/'alra/	'my friend'
d.	CV:CVC	/'bi:haw/	'old'
e.	CV.CV:CVC	/ko'ri:di/	'stick'

Syllables with glottal(ized) coda consonants attract stress. Hence, words ending in /p/, /t/ or /k/, glottalized in coda position, are stressed on the last syllable, e.g. /ku:'dʊp/ [ku:'dʊpʔ<sup>m</sup>] 'flea', /tʃu:'hat/ [tʃu:'hatʔ<sup>n</sup>] 'motacú (palm tree)' or /me'rek/ [me'reʔ<sup>e</sup>] 'big'. The simple glottal stop, [ʔ], can furthermore cause deviations from the lengthening rule: most disyllabic words ending in the simple glottal stop have a short initial syllable, e.g. /me'rek/ 'big' or /ka'raʔ/ 'macaw'.

There is a closed class of about seven nouns that are phonologically defective in that they only consist of two light syllables with identical vowels, e.g. /koʔo/ 'tree, wood' or /βeʔe/ 'fire'. These nouns all contain a glottal stop, and they have a special form when suffixes or enclitics are added; for instance, the base /koʔo/ 'tree' becomes /koj/ in that case.

Spanish loans are adapted to the Movima stress rules. A stressed penultimate syllable is lengthened when open: for instance, the loan from Spanish *policía* 'police' is pronounced /poli'si:ja/. When, however, a Spanish word originally carries stress on the antepenultimate syllable, like *música* 'music', the penultimate syllable of the loan is stressed, but remains short, while the originally stressed syllable is lengthened: /mu:'sika/. Furthermore, unlike native words (see §3.1), disyllabic Spanish loans with the structure CV:CV retain the long penultimate vowel also when further morphemes are added: e.g. /'wa:ka/ 'cow' (from Spanish *vaca*), /wa:'ka:di/ 'reins' (-*di* 'CLF.long/thin'), /wa:ka'to:da/ 'meat' (-*toda* 'BR.piece').

Other deviations from the stress and lengthening rules, which suggest that long vowels may be phonemic synchronically, are probably due to the lexicalization of morphologically complex words. This can result in minimal pairs distinguished by lengthening, like /ba'lo:si/ 'pink' vs. /ba:'losi/ (*ba:-* 'finish', *-losi* 'BR.resin') 'finished resin'.

Furthermore, different cliticization processes (see §3.5) lead to significant stress and lengthening distinctions, as shown in (2). In (2a), the penultimate syllable of the complex unit is stressed and there is no long vowel. In (2b), the antepenultimate syllable of the unit is stressed and lengthened. This is because in (2a), the bound pronoun /us/ is 'internally cliticized' (represented by ' = '; see §3.5). Internal cliticization, which attaches a possessor to nouns or the PROX argument (see §5.1 for this label) to transitive verbs, results in a prosodic word that bears no lengthening on either the penultimate syllable of the host or on the penultimate syllable of the resulting word. In (2b), the same bound pronoun /us/ is 'externally cliticized' (represented by ' -- '). External cliticization, which attaches a pronoun representing S or OBV to the predicate (see §5.1), has no prosodic effect, and so, the penultimate syllable of the host remains long and stressed. As the meaning contrast between (2a) and (2b) shows, in Movima, variation in the stress and lengthening pattern of a transitive predicate indicates who acts on whom.

- (2) a. [ʔaja'naʔus]  
 /aja-na=us/  
 wait-DR=3M.AB  
 'He waits for him/her/it/them.'
- b. [ʔa'ja:naʔus]  
 /aja:-na=Ø--us/  
 wait-DR=1SG--3M.AB  
 'I wait for him.'

As far as intonation is concerned, declarative clauses generally bear the pitch accent on the lexical predicate. Marked intonation is the major device for question formation. Here, the first syllable of the first word in the sentence, even if normally unstressed, receives high pitch, and pitch decreases continuously towards the end of the utterance.

### 3 Morphology

Lexical morphology is mainly agglutinating. The fusional character of referential elements (§4.1), where one morpheme indicates multiple semantic, deictic and syntactic categories simultaneously, can be attributed to fossilized morphological complexity (Haude 2006: 143).

The distinction between derivation and inflection is difficult to make in Movima, since canonical inflectional categories like tense/mood/aspect on verbs or case/number/gender on nouns do not exist, and there is no agreement morphology. Most morphemes are best considered derivational in that they change the lexical category of a word and/or affect its meaning (e.g. verbalization and nominalization, or valence increasing morphology on verbs, §6.2). Verbal direct/inverse marking (§6.1) might be considered inflectional since it is a) fully productive and b) interacts directly with clausal syntax. Still, given the weak evidence of a clear distinction, it seems preferable to leave the question open and to speak of derivation (and accordingly, of lexical bases rather than stems) everywhere.

#### 3.1 Suffixes and prefixes

Suffixes, the most common bound morphemes, create a phonological word that follows the stress and lengthening rules outlined above: stress and length shift towards the right, as shown by the boldface on the stressed syllables in (3). Some endings, e.g. /wa/ in (3c), require a ‘linking nasal’ before a further suffix is added (Haude 2006: 59).

- (3) a. *iw**a**:ni*  
 speak  
 ‘(I/you/X) speak(s).’
- b. *iw**ani**:-wa=Ø*  
 speak-NMLZ.EVT=1SG  
 ‘my speaking’
- c. *iwani-**wa**-n-si*  
 speak-NMLZ.EVT-LN-CLF.sound  
 ‘way of speaking’

The only real prefix is the oblique marker *n(V)-*, which attaches to referential elements (§4.1). When the referential element is consonant-initial, the prefix receives a vowel that is identical to the first vowel of the base: *ni-kinos* (‘OBL-ART.F.AB’). Furthermore, word-initial reduplication (see below) can also be analyzed as prefixation, albeit phonologically underspecified.

#### 3.2 Reduplication

There are four reduplication processes, all of them regressive (i.e. copy preceding source). They are based on metrics: prefixing reduplication can be monomoraic (CV~) or bimoraic (CVC~ or CV:~). One reduplication process even involves a full iambic foot (H~, LL~, or LH~), as in e.g. *maj~majni* ‘have children’, *nono~no:no* ‘have animals’, *choran~chorankwanto* ‘have/wear a hat’. Infixing reduplication is always monomoraic

(<CV~>); it involves copying the last CV-element of the base and inserting it before the source, as in *de<ja:~>jal* (cook<MID~>) ‘cook’.

Reduplication in Movima covers a large and cross-linguistically unusual range of grammatical functions, listed in Table 2. Infixing and bimoraic prefixing reduplication cover different functions, but disambiguation follows either from the base to which they are applied or from the syntactic environment (Haude 2014a). Only in some cases does reduplication simply serve prosodic well-formedness, e.g. with monosyllabic bound noun roots, as in *di~di-n-kwa* (RED~BR.grain-LN-ABST) ‘grain/seed’.

Table 2. Forms and functions of Movima reduplication ( $\mu$ = mora; F=iambic foot)

reduplicant	base it applies to	category it indicates	gloss
$\mu$ ~	Monosyllabic verb root with suffix	direct	DR~
$\mu\mu$ ~	Monosyllabic verb root with suffix	inverse	INV~
	Monosyllabic verb root without suffix	middle	MID~
< $\mu$ ~>	Disyllabic verb root or complex base, with suffix	inverse	<INV~>
	Disyllabic verb root or complex base	middle	<MID~>
	Noun	inalienable possession	<INAL~>
	Noun	embedded predicate	<NMLZ.ST~>
F~	Noun	predicative possession	POSS~

### 3.3 Infixation

Movima has three infixes, whose position inside the base is partly morphologically, partly metrically conditioned.

The first is <*ka*> ‘multiple-event/participant (MLT)’, which is attached to the root of complex verbal bases: *tan-pit* (cut-CLF.middle) ‘cut in halves’ → *tan-ka:-pit* (cut-MLT-CLF.middle) ‘cut into various pieces’. When this marker is inserted in a synchronically unanalyzable root, it must be analyzed as an infix: *eye:ni* ‘move’ → *eye<ka:>ni* ‘move repeatedly’.

The second is <*a*> ‘direct (DR)’. It is an allomorph of the direct suffix *-na* (§6.1) and occurs in complex bases after monosyllabic roots of the structure CVC: *tan-a-pit=Ø* (cut-DR-CLF.middle=1SG) ‘I cut (it) in halves’. This affix comes late in word formation, even if, as in this example, it precedes other morphemes in linear order (see also (38) and (39) below). As in the case of <*ka*> ‘MLT’, when the components of the base cannot be identified synchronically, this element must be analysed as an infix, as in *jom<a>ni=Ø* (devour<DR>=1SG) ‘I devoured it’. When the slot after the first syllable is already occupied by <*ka*> ‘MLT’, the direct marker is replaced by the word-final allomorph *-na*: *tan-ka-pit-na=Ø* ‘I cut it in various pieces’.

The third infix is <(k)ak> ‘irrealis (IRR)’, which indicates either participant negation (§8.3) or, on verbs, undetermined future. It is inserted after the first iambic foot (LH or H) of the base, independently of the base’s internal morphological complexity. It takes the form <*kak*>

after vowels (4) and <ak> after consonants (5). As (6) shows, also this marker can be analyzed as a suffix in those cases where it happens to occur between two identifiable morphemes. On monosyllabic bases, it is replaced by a reduplicated suffix, (7).

- |     |    |                                                                     |    |                                                                                                  |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4) | a. | <i>aro:so</i><br>rice<br>'rice'                                     | b. | <i>aro&lt;kak&gt;so</i><br>rice<IRR><br>'(There is) no rice.'                                    |
| (5) | a. | <i>as-na=∅</i><br>sit-NMLZ.LOC=1SG<br>'my home'                     | b. | <i>as&lt;ak&gt;-na=∅</i><br>sit-NMLZ.LOC=1SG<br>'I have no home.'                                |
| (6) | a. | <i>chi-poj-kay=∅</i><br>exit-CAUS-INV=1SG<br>'(They) drive me out.' | b. | <i>chi-poj-ak-kay=∅</i><br>exit-CAUS-INV=1SG<br>'Nobody drives me out. / May they drive me out.' |
| (7) | a. | <i>ko'o</i><br>tree,wood<br>'tree/wood'                             | b. | <i>ko'-ka:~kak</i><br>tree,wood-RED~IRR<br>'There is no tree/wood.'                              |

### 3.4 Compounding and incorporation

Compounding and noun incorporation are important word-forming devices in Movima. Here a nominal element is attached to the right of a lexical base. The attached nominal element is only rarely a full noun, as in *sotak-sema:na* (one-week) 'one week'; more commonly, it is a bound root (like *-di* 'BR.grain'), a truncated element (like *-mi* 'TRC.water' from *to:mi* 'water'), or a bound element with no corresponding free form (e.g. *-waj* 'BE.place'; *-lomaj* 'BE.time'). Multiple compounding with bound elements is fairly productive, e.g. *bo:ve* 'straw fan', *bove:-mo* 'straw basket', *bove-mo:-ba* 'little round straw basket'. There is a strong tendency towards lexicalization, and many synchronically simple nouns probably originate from compounding.

Truncation, i.e. the clipping of one part of a noun so that it can be used for incorporation or compounding, usually involves the last syllable of a word, but is extremely irregular and of limited productivity. There are indications that some apparently truncated elements were originally noun roots, but were lexicalized with other elements, so that their occurrence in other environments is regarded as truncation. So, for instance, the classificatory bound element *-lo* 'liquid' in *charaye:-lo* 'syrup' (sugarcane-BE.liquid) might be interpreted as a truncation from the noun *nonlo* 'milk'; however, the first element in *nonlo* is identical with the verb root *non-* 'suckle', and hence, the noun *nonlo* itself is a compound headed by the classificatory bound element *-lo*. Also the truncation of non-final segments is a hint that the source word may have undergone subsequent compounding: the bound element *-kos* 'girl' stems from *tolkosya* 'girl', whose last element *-ya*, in turn, may be a truncation from *kwe:ya* 'woman'; this interpretation is supported by the fact that some speakers still use the word *tolkos* 'girl'. There must have been a point in time when truncation was highly productive, as is also evident from the treatment of some, probably older, Spanish loans. These must be disyllabic when truncated (e.g. *-pato* from *sapa:to* 'shoe', Spanish *zapato*), and in the case of disyllabic words, the truncated last syllable is reduplicated: for instance, *si:ya* 'chair' (from Spanish *silla*) becomes *-yaya* in constructions like *sotak-yaya* (one-TRC.chair) 'one chair'.

### 3.5 Cliticization

Cliticization involves referential elements, i.e. determiners, bound pronouns, and demonstratives (§4.1). These can be attached to different kinds of hosts and can have syntactic scope over an entire phrase. There are two types of cliticization: ‘internal’ and ‘external’. Internal cliticization (represented by ‘=’), which marks the PROX argument on transitive predicates and the possessor on nouns, is suffix-like in that it creates a prosodic word with the corresponding penultimate stress (see §2). In contrast to canonical prosodic words, the penultimate syllable is not lengthened. Internal clitics furthermore require a preceding vowel, so that on consonant-final hosts, a linking vowel /a/ is attached; the hiatus with vowel-initial enclitics is resolved by a glottal stop. While this process might also be interpreted as suffixation, the cliticization analysis is favoured by the fact that it also applies to determiners, which form a syntactic phrase with the subsequent content word. This is illustrated in (8), where the article =*us* is phonologically encliticized to a transitive predicate and at the same time forms a referential phrase (RP) together with the proper noun *Ernan*. Example (8) also shows the pronoun =*y’hi* internally encliticized to a noun, encoding its possessor. The stressed syllables are marked with an accent here.

- (8)     *jayna*         *jay<a>mol-á=us*         *Ernan*     *us*         *pa:toron-á=y’hi*  
           DSC         call<DR>-LV=ART.M     Ernan     ART.M     landlord-LV=1EXCL  
           ‘Then Ernan called our landlord.’

External cliticization (represented by ‘--’) only involves bound pronouns that represent the single argument (S) of an intransitive predicate or the OBV argument of a transitive predicate (see §5.2). Stress and vowel length remain unaffected, and no preceding vowel is required. The feature that distinguishes external cliticization from both juxtaposition and suffixation is that vowel-initial enclitic elements are resyllabified with a host-final consonant, as shown in (9); in juxtaposition and suffixation, by contrast, vowel-initial morphemes are preceded by a glottal stop.

- (9)     *jo’yaj--us*         /’ho.ʔja.hus/  
           arrive--3M.AB  
           ‘He arrived.’

Another type of cliticization involves a single consonant that must attach to a preceding vowel. Cases in point are the determining element *s* and the first-person pronoun *ʔ* (see Table 6), both of which are often neutralized to [h]. They both occur as the final element of the articles (of which they analyzed as an integral part, see Table 4), but also on determining demonstratives (§4.1) and on the negative copula (§8), where they are analyzed as clitics.

## 4 Lexical and functional categories

The most fundamental word class distinction is that between content words, referential elements, and particles. Referential elements (§4.1) belong to a formally and functionally clearly definable closed class. Content words (§4.2) contrast with particles (§4.3) in their morphology.

### 4.1 Referential elements

There are three sets of referential elements: articles, personal pronouns, and demonstratives. Articles (Table 4) mark the beginning of an RP. All articles have the ending /s/, which can be seen as the element bearing the determining function (it can also occur on demonstrative



determiners, see below, and with the negative copula, §7). Articles specify the referents of an RP as human male/female vs. non-human (‘neuter’), singular vs. plural, present vs. absent, in existence vs. not existing anymore (‘past’). The neuter article is furthermore used for nonspecific or derogatory reference to humans. The articles do not mark definiteness.

Table 4. Movima articles

	male sg. (M)	female sg. (F)	non-human sg. (N)	plural/mass (PL)
presential/generic	<i>us</i>	<i>i'nes</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>is</i>
absential (AB)	<i>kus</i>	<i>kinos</i>	<i>kos</i>	<i>kis</i>
ceased existence/past (PST)	<i>us</i>	<i>isnos</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>is(os)</i>

The ‘presential’ and ‘absential’ forms of the article are used for referents that exist at the place of speaking or somewhere else, respectively (10a). The ‘past’ form is used when the referent is absent and does not exist anymore (10b).

- (10) a. *loy it aj<a>lo:maj as / kos pa:ko*  
 ITN 1 tell\_about<DR> ART.N / ART.N.AB dog  
 ‘I’ll tell you about my (present / absent) dog.’
- b. *loy it aj<a>lo:maj os pa:ko*  
 ITN 1 tell\_about<DR> ART.N.PST dog  
 ‘I’ll tell you about my (former/deceased) dog.’

In past contexts, the past-tense article also occurs in RPs referring to entities that may still be in existence, but whose existence is considered irrelevant. This is especially common with non-human referents, as in (11), where the ‘machine’ might still have been in existence at the time of speaking even though the narrated events took place many years ago. Here, the article simply marks past tense.

- (11) *yey-na=’ne os ma:kina*  
 want-DR=3F ART.N.PST sewing\_machine  
 ‘She wanted the/a sewing machine.’

In RPs referring to non-time-stable and more abstract entities, such as points in time or states and events, the absential article acquires a temporal meaning, indicating hodiernal past (see the complement clause in (49) below).

The set of free and bound third-person personal pronouns is displayed in Table 5. Free personal pronouns (glossed PRO) typically occur clause-initially, where they function as predicates (§9.3). Bound pronouns are encliticized, either internally or externally, to the preceding noun or verb (see §3.5).

Table 5. Movima personal pronouns of third person

	human male (M)		human female (F)		non-human (N)		plural/mass (PL)	
	free	bound	free	bound	free	bound	free	bound
presential/generic	<i>u’ko</i>	<i>u(’)</i>	<i>i’ne</i>	<i>(i)’ne</i>	<i>a’ko</i>	<i>a(’)</i>	<i>i’ko</i>	<i>i(’)</i>
absential (AB)	<i>usko</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>isne</i>	<i>(i)sne</i>	<i>asko</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>isko</i>	<i>is</i>

The system of personal pronouns referring to speech-act-participants (SAPs; Table 6) is more heterogeneous (see Haude 2011a). The distinction between free and bound pronouns exists

here as well, but there is less morphological similarity between the two categories. There are two sets of bound pronouns, one for marking possessors and the PROX argument of transitive verbs (see §5.1), the other one marking the single argument of intransitive predicates (S). Both sets also contain elements that precede the head. These consist of a single consonant, which is either preceded by a dummy vowel /i/ or is phonologically cliticized to a preceding vowel-final word. None of the pre-head elements is grammatically obligatory.

Table 6. Movima personal pronouns of first and second person

	free	bound (PROX/possessor)		bound (S)	
		pre-head	post-head	pre-head	post-head
1SG	<i>inla</i>	(i)ł	=∅	(i)t	–
2SG	<i>ulkwat</i>	–	=n	(i)j	–
1+2	<i>i:de</i>	(i)ł	=n	(i)ł	–
1EXCL	<i>iy'ti</i>	(i)ł	=y'ti	(i)t	--(i)y'ti
2PL	<i>iy'bikweł</i>	–	=nkweł	(i)j	--(i)y'bi

The third set of referential elements contains the demonstratives (Table 7). Demonstratives can function as determiners (12), as pronouns (13), and as predicates of existential (14a) and possessive clauses (14b). They convey temporal, aspectual and evidential information.

(12) *kodé=s pa:ko*  
 DEM.N.NSTD=DET dog  
 ‘that (visible, sitting or lying) dog’

(13) *kulro' joy-chel*  
 DEM.M.RETR go-REFL/RECP  
 ‘He (in sight, retreating) is leaving.’

(14) a. *uso' us itila:kwa* b. *uso' us majniwa=us*  
 DEM.M.PST ART.M man DEM.M.PST ART.M offspring\_of=3M.AB  
 ‘There was the/a man.’ ‘He had a son (lit.: There was his son).’

Table 7. Movima demonstratives

		human male (M)	human female (F)	non-human (N)	plural/mass (PL)
SAP-oriented	close to speaker	<i>u:(ru)</i>	<i>i:(ni)</i>	<i>ay(ru)</i>	<i>i:(ri)</i>
	close to hearer	<i>kul(ru)</i>	<i>kil(ni)</i>	<i>kal(ru)</i>	<i>kil(ri)</i>
present	standing on ground	(PRX) <i>kure'</i>	<i>kine'</i>	<i>kore'</i>	<i>kire'</i>
		(DIST) <i>kulre'</i>	<i>kilne'</i>	<i>kolre'</i>	<i>kilre'</i>
	non-standing on ground	(PRX) <i>kude:</i>	<i>kinede:</i>	<i>kode:</i>	<i>kide:</i>
		(DIST) <i>kulde:</i>	<i>kilnede:</i>	<i>kolde:</i>	<i>kilde:</i>
	elevated	(PRX) <i>kuwa</i>	<i>kiniwa</i>	<i>kowa</i>	<i>kiwa</i>
	elevated distant, or otherwise perceived	<i>kulwa</i>	<i>kilniwa</i>	<i>kolwa</i>	<i>kilwa</i>
temporary possession	(PRX) <i>kupa</i>	<i>kinipa</i>	<i>kopa</i>	<i>kipa</i>	
	(DIST) <i>kulpa</i>	<i>kilnipa</i>	<i>kolpa</i>	<i>kilpa</i>	
absent	moving towards speaker	<i>kula'wa</i>	<i>kila'niwa</i>	<i>kola'wa</i>	<i>kila'wa</i>
	moving away from speaker	<i>kulro'</i>	<i>kilno'</i>	<i>kolro'</i>	<i>kilro'</i>
existential	non-past	<i>kuro'</i>	<i>kino'</i>	<i>koro'</i>	<i>kiro'</i>
	past	<i>uso'</i>	<i>isno'</i>	<i>oso'</i>	<i>iso'</i>

The functions of referential elements can be illustrated with the structure of RPs and the marking of possession. An RP contains minimally a determiner and a content word (see also §9.2). Possessive marking is realized through the internal cliticization (§3.5) of a bound pronoun, (15), or of the determiner of the possessor RP, (16), to the noun.

- (15) *us*            *alwaj-a='ne*  
 ART.M.AB spouse-LV=3F  
 'her husband'
- (16) *us*            *alwaj-a=kine'e=s*            *tolkosya*  
 ART.M            spouse-LV=DEM.F.STD=DET    girl  
 'that (standing) girl's husband'

As on transitive verbs, the absence of an overt internal enclitic on an obligatorily possessed noun (see §4.2) marks the first-person singular possessor, (17); like on verbs, the proclitic first-person marker *l* is not obligatory here.

- (17) *us*            *alwaj=Ø*  
 ART.M            spouse=1SG  
 'my husband'

The way in which referential elements encode the OBV argument is illustrated in §5.1; predicative personal pronouns are discussed in §9.3.

All referential elements except bound pronouns can be marked as oblique by the prefix *n(V)-*, which marks any kind of adjunct:

- (18) *n-us*            *alwaj=Ø*  
 OBL-ART.M        spouse=1SG  
 'with/for/from etc. my husband'

## 4.2 Content words

### 4.2.1 Nouns and verbs: morphology

Most Movima content words can be identified as either nouns or verbs on morphological grounds (adjectives form subclasses of verbs and nouns; see §4.2.4). However, the difference between nouns and verbs is not always overt: cross-linguistically typical nominal categories like case/number/gender marking or verbal categories like tense/aspect/mood are either not, or not consistently, morphologically marked; some morphemes are even shared by nouns and verbs, e.g. the irrealis infix *<(k)ak>* marking existential negation (see §3.3, §8.3). However, there are morphemes that do depend on the lexical category of the base. For instance, the verbalizing suffix *-tik* 'make/do (sth. with) N' only occurs on nominal bases, such as *pokso* 'chicha' or *po:no* 'drum': *pokso-tik* 'make chicha'; *pono:-tik* 'play the drums'. Hence, words can usually be tested for their morphological possibilities in order to be classified.

While aspect and modality are mainly marked by particles, there are also some affixes that mark these categories on verbs. For instance, there is a suffix *-kał*, which indicates that an action is going to be carried out immediately. The above-mentioned irrealis infix *<(k)ak>* can imply an undetermined future when attached to a verbal base: *sal<ak>mo* (return<IRR>) can mean 'Nobody returns', but also 'I'll be back'.

Some verbal and nominal affixes are homophonous, and their interpretation depends on the lexical category of the base. For instance, the suffix *-na* is an intransitive directional verbalizer on nouns: *itwa-na* (river-VBZ.DIR) ‘go to the river’. On bivalent verbal bases, by contrast, *-na* is a marker of direct voice, and on monovalent verbal bases, *-na* is a locative nominalizer (see §6.1). Suffixes with the form *-kwa* can also be found on both nouns and verbs. On nouns, *-kwa* marks ‘absolute state’, as in (21b) below. On verbs, *-kwa* marks the benefactive (§6.2), and *-kwa* also derives verbs denoting a bodily process, as in *joro:-kwa* ‘sleep’ or *choj-kwa* ‘urinate’. Further, infixing reduplication marks inalienable possession on nouns, as in (20b) below, while on verbs, it marks the inverse voice on complex verbal bases (see §3.2). These meaning differences of homophonous affixes suggest a clear lexical difference between nouns and verbs – or at least between those subclasses of nouns and verbs with which these elements can be productively combined.

#### 4.2.2 Nouns and verbs: syntax

Verbs typically function as predicates and nouns typically occur in referential phrases, and deviating distributions are pragmatically marked (§10.1). There is no categorical distinction between verbs and nouns on the syntactic level, however. Basically, all content words can function as predicates, and all content words can be combined with a determiner to form a referential phrase. Possessed nouns and proper names, however, are usually not found as main-clause predicates (§9.3). Hence, a rough three-way lexical distinction can be made on syntactic grounds between (i) possessed or proper nouns, which have a restricted potential to function as predicates, (ii) bivalent verbs, which freely form transitive predicates, and (iii) unpossessed common nouns and monovalent verbs, which freely form intransitive predicates.

A useful criterion to distinguish nominal from verbal predicates is their behavior in embedding (see §7). Embedded verbal predicates take the suffix *-wa*, while nominal predicates undergo reduplication. When a noun is combined with the verbal suffix *-wa*, as in (19), the resulting meaning hints at a zero verbalization (but see Haude 2011b for a different analysis).

- (19) *os pokso-Ø-wa=sne*  
 ART.N.PST *chicha*-VBLZ-NMLZ.EVT=3F.AB  
 ‘her making (of) *chicha*’

#### 4.2.3 Possession

Most nouns can be possessed: they can be directly combined with an internally encliticized person marker (see §3.5, §4.1), e.g. *roya=n* (house =2) ‘your house’. A verb, in contrast, can only be combined with an internal enclitic when it is overtly marked as transitive by either the ‘direct’ or the ‘inverse’ affix (see §5.2). Hence, as a rule of thumb, a word that can be combined with an internal enclitic without containing a direct or inverse marker is a noun. This criterion identifies, for instance, the words *jampa* ‘do’ and *jankwa* ‘say’ as nouns, or at least as non-verbs: *jampa=n* ‘you do’, lit. ‘your done (thing)’, *jankwa=n* ‘you say’, lit. ‘your said (thing)’.

Nouns are either alienable or inalienable. Alienable nouns, like *roya* ‘house’ or *to:mi* ‘water’, can occur with and without possessive marking. When denoting inalienably possessed entities, they undergo infixing reduplication (see §3.2). Examples (20a) and (20b) show the noun *ro:ya* ‘house’ alienably and inalienably possessed, respectively.

- (20) a. *as roya=us*  
 ART.N house=3M.AB  
 ‘his house’
- b. *as ro<ya~>ya=as*  
 ART.N house<INAL~>=3N.AB  
 ‘its house (of the riverboat)’

On inalienable nouns, a zero internal enclitic indexes the first-person singular. This class includes kinship terms, part-of-whole terms, and some terms denoting goods like *baytim=∅* ‘my field’, *dokwe=∅* ‘my dress’, *no:no=∅* ‘my domestic animal’. Inalienable nouns must be overtly marked if denoting an unpossessed entity. Markers of nonpossession vary with the bases they attach to: *baytim-wa:nas* (field-INS:ABSTR) ‘field’; *dokwe-wanra:ni* (clothes-INSTR:CLF.NTR:PRC) ‘clothes’; *nono-wanra* (domestic animal-INS:CLF.NTR) ‘domestic animal’. Unpossessed kinship terms take the ending *-wawankwa*, as in *ma'-wawankwa* ‘mother (i.e. woman who has children)’.

Many part-of-whole terms are phonologically defective roots that consist of two moras only, e.g. *lora* ‘leaf’ (CVCV) in (21a), and cannot occur without an overt possessive marker. When unpossessed or alienably possessed, these roots receive the ‘absolute state’ suffix *-kwa* that marks them as physically detached from the entity whose part they are, as in (21b). This derived form, in turn, can again be marked as inalienably possessed by infixing reduplication, as in (21c), which is a semantically equivalent alternative to (21a).

- (21) a. *lora=as*  
 BR.leaf=3N.AB  
 ‘its (i.e. a plant’s) leaf’
- b. *lora-n-kwa(=us)*  
 BR.leaf-LN-ABST(=3M.AB)  
 ‘(his) leaf’ (alienably possessed or unpossessed)
- c. *lora-n-<kwa~>kwa=as*  
 BR.leaf-LN-<INAL~>ABST=3N.AB  
 ‘its (i.e. a plant’s) leaf’

Some words that would intuitively be classed as nouns cannot be possessed. These are, for instance, instrumental nouns terminating in *-ni*, (22). The ending *-ni* is also found on some intransitive verbs (e.g. *iwa:ni* ‘speak’), and it marks adjectives (see below) as denoting a process. Therefore, perhaps these supposed nouns originate from intransitive verbs.

- (22) a. *ya:lowe-wanra:-ni*  
 drink-INS:CLF.NTR-PRC  
 ‘beverage’
- b. *\*ya:lowe-wanra-ni=n*  
 drink-INS:CLF.NTR-PRC=2  
 (Intended: ‘your beverage’)

#### 4.2.4 Adjectives

Property-denoting words like *merek* ‘big’, *tochik* ‘small’, *ja:yaw* ‘good, nice’, and color terms, share properties of both verbs and nouns. Like monovalent verbs, property-denoting words cannot be combined with an internal enclitic and are not found with the verbalizing suffix *-tik*. Like bivalent verbs, in combination with the suffix *-na* they form a direct transitive predicate: *jayaw-na=n* (nice-DR=2) ‘you make (it) nice’; unlike bivalent verbs, however, the unmarked form does not denote the result of an action (see §6.1). Furthermore, unlike verbs, but like nouns, property-denoting words can undergo reduplication when functioning as embedded predicates, as in (23a). There is, however, an alternative form, which is derived by the suffix *-le*, as in (23b). This can be taken as evidence that property-denoting words form a separate word class, i.e. adjectives.

- (23) a. *n-os*                      *to<chi~>chik-a=sne*  
 OBL-ART.N.PST    small<NMLZ.ST~>-LV=3F.AB  
 ‘when she was small (lit. in her past-being small)’
- b. *n-os*                      *tochik-le=sne*  
 OBL-ART.N.PST    small-NMLZ.ST=3F.AB  
 ‘when she was small (lit. in her past-being small)’

A further distinctive feature of property-denoting words is that they can only occur as the leftmost (i.e., modifying) element of a compound, as in *merek-ro:ya* ‘big house’. There is no evidence indicating whether this is compounding or mere juxtaposition. If analyzed as juxtaposition, this would mean that there is a class of content words, adjectives, which can directly precede another content word within the same phrase.

Quantifiers like *ba:-* ‘all’, *kaw-* ‘much/many’, the four native numeral terms *sotak-* ‘one’, *oy-* ‘two’, *tas-* ‘three’, and *oyka-* ‘four’, as well as some property-denoting roots such as *dit-* ‘hard’, *mol-* ‘unripe’, or *pola-* ‘new’, require a classifier or other bound nominal element: e.g. *mol-ba* (unripe-CLF.round) ‘unripe round fruit’. When no further semantic specification is given, they take as a placeholder the semantically neutral bound element *-ra*; e.g. *mol-ra* ‘unripe’.

#### 4.2.5 Content words: summary

The three major classes of content words as distinguished by the above criteria are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Some criteria distinguishing classes of Movima content words

	occurrence as main predicate	marker if embedded	+ VBLZ <i>-tik</i>	+ <a>/-na ‘DR’ or ‘NMLZ.LOC’	+ internal enclitic
verbs	yes	<i>-wa</i>	no	yes	yes, if DR/INV
nouns	yes	<RED~>	yes	no	yes (most)
adjectives	yes	<RED~>, <i>-le</i>	no	yes (rare)	no

### 4.3 Particles

Movima has at least 40 particles, i.e. words that neither belong to the closed class of referential elements nor participate in any of the morphological processes that apply to content words. Particles are generally morphologically invariant and typically only bimoraic (unlike content words). Some, however, have a long and a short form, e.g. *lajat/lat* ‘hesternal past’, *to(je)ł* ‘very’, or *nok(o)wa* ‘future’; some particles can occur either with or without a final syllable *-ka*, like *kwey(ka)* ‘hodiernal past’, *rey(ka)* ‘again; you know’, or *po:ra(ka)* ‘briefly’.

Particles cover a large range of functions. They can be subdivided into several groups on the basis of their functional and distributional properties. Coordinating particles, such as *che* ‘and’, *ban* ‘but’, or *bo* ‘because’, occur at the beginning of the adjoined clause. Most other particles can occur anywhere in the sentence, even inside an RP, and many can occur more than once in the same sentence. This includes the ubiquitous discourse particle *jayna* (see e.g. (33)), which is analyzed as marking a discontinuity in the course of events, but whose function still requires more research. Also particles marking tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality are not restricted to a particular position. Some particles, e.g. *loy* ‘intentional’, *loy* ‘subordinate negator’ (§8.2) and the detransitivizing marker *kaw/kwey* (§6.3) immediately precede the predicate. Interjections usually occur at sentence margins.

Particles are the primary means to encode tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality. Tense particles distinguish between remote (*kwił*), hesternal (*la’* or *lajat*), and hodiernal past (*kwey(ka)*), as well as future (*nok(o)wa* and *loy*). Tense particles usually occur only towards the beginning of a text or passage, where they establish the time of the narration; past and nonpast tense are furthermore indicated by articles (see §4.1). Aspectual categories indicated by particles include *chot* ‘habitually’ or the durative particles *ena’* ‘standing’ (see (89)), *da(ya)’* ‘non-standing’, and *buka’* ‘moving’. Modal, epistemic and evidential particles include, for instance, words such as *rey* ‘you see/as we all know’ (regional Spanish *pues*) or *łat*, which is used to attract the addressee’s attention (‘Look!’) or to indicate indirect knowledge in non-personal narratives.

Homophonous particles can be distinguished on the basis of their allomorphies and/or their syntactic distribution. For instance, the ‘hodiernal past tense’ particle *kwey* has an allomorph *kweyka*, which the ‘detransitivizer’ *kwey* does not have; the detransitivizer *kwey*, by contrast, is a speaker-dependent variant of *kaw*, and its occurrence is limited to relative clauses and RPs (see §6.3). Another case of homophony is the ‘subordinate negation’ particle *loy* (see §8.2), which only occurs in subordinate constructions and is therefore distinct from the ‘intentional’ future particle *loy*. Finally, the ‘hypothetical’ particle *di’* can be distinguished from the ‘relativizer’ *di’* in that it can occur at the beginning of a basic clause, while the latter has to follow the noun it modifies (see §9.1). Incidentally, there are several modal particles commencing with *di*, i.e. *didi’* ‘frustrative’, *dis* ‘optative’, and *disoy* ‘counterfactual’.

## 5 Basic clause structure and grammatical relations

### 5.1 Argument encoding

Movima syntax is predominantly predicate initial, and the language displays all the properties that this feature commonly entails (see Clemens and Polinsky 2015: 3). In terms of morphosyntactic ordering, there are no postpositions, and the only non-reduplicative prefix in the language, the oblique marker *nV-*, can be compared to prepositions in other languages. The order of possessive phrases is possessed-possessor. Relative clauses always follow their head. Incorporated elements follow the verb root. There is neither a copula nor a possessive verb, and the most common main-clause alignment pattern is ergative. Movima also provides

evidence of Myhill's (1985) claim that in verb-initial languages, a verb in non-initial position is deverbalized (see §9.3).

Movima shows neither agreement nor case marking. The two arguments of transitive clauses are distinguished by constituency. They can be characterized as 'internal' vs. 'external' to the predicate phrase, based on the fact that the former is tightly phonologically attached to the predicate, while the latter is less tightly connected, can be left unexpressed, or can be 'extracted' from its position (§9; see Table 8 below). The internal argument represents the event participant that ranks higher in the hierarchies of person (1>2>3), animacy (human > animate > inanimate), and discourse topicality, while the external argument represents the event participant that ranks lower in these hierarchies. Because of this impact of referential hierarchies (reminiscent of Algonquian obviation systems), the internal argument of a transitive predicate is henceforth labelled PROX ('proximate'), and the external argument is labelled OBV ('obviative').

An illustration of pronominal argument encoding is given in (24). In (24a), the PROX argument is the first person singular, which is zero-marked, so that the verb (*aya:na*) has the typical prosodic pattern with stress and length on the penultimate syllable. The externally cliticized pronoun (*--us*) does not induce or undergo any phonological process. In (24b), PROX is the second-person enclitic *=n*. This element being nonsyllabic, it does not affect the stress pattern of the host; however, like all internal enclitics, it causes the penultimate syllable of the host to lose its lengthening. The subsequent vowel-initial externally cliticized pronoun *--us* takes the consonant /n/ as its onset. Example (24c), finally, illustrates the internal cliticization of a syllabic pronoun, *=us*, which causes the main stress to shift to the new penultimate syllable, illustrating the suffix-like character of internal cliticization (albeit without the corresponding penultimate lengthening). The following third-person pronoun is preceded by an element *k-*, which is glossed 'obviative' since the pronoun refers to the less topical event participant in a third-on-third scenario.

- (24) a. *aya:-na=∅--us* /ʔa.'ja:.na.ʔus/  
 wait\_for-DR=1SG--3M.AB  
 'I wait for him.'
- b. *aya-na=n--us* /ʔa.'ja.na.nus/  
 wait\_for-DR=2--3M.AB  
 'You wait for him.'
- c. *aya-na=us--k-as* /ʔa.ja.'na.ʔus.kas/  
 wait\_for-DR=3M.AB--OBV-3N.AB  
 'He waits for it.'

First person and second person singular, being highest in the referential hierarchy, can only be encoded in the internal position. When the two persons interact, only the first person is encoded, while the second person is either understood from the context or expressed by a free pronoun, as shown in (25).

- (25) (*ulkwat*) *aya:-na=∅*  
 PRO.2SG wait-DR=1SG  
 'I wait for you.'

The properties of PROX and OBV/S are summed up in Table 8.



Table 8. Properties of PROX vs. OBV/S

PROX	OBV/S
internal cliticization (=): stress shift, epenthetic /a/; pronouns and articles are cliticized	external cliticization ( -- ): resyllabification, no stress shift, no epenthetic /a/; only pronouns are cliticized
obligatory (=Ø ‘1SG’)	not grammatically obligatory
higher in referential hierarchy	lower in referential hierarchy
all persons	only 2PL and 3 <sup>rd</sup> persons

## 5.2 Transitive and intransitive predicates

Transitive verbs are always marked as either ‘direct’ or ‘inverse’. These markers indicate which of the two arguments, PROX or OBV, is the actor (i.e. agent, causer, experiencer etc.) and which one is the undergoer (i.e. patient, goal, theme, causee, stimulus etc.). In this way, the combination of the morphological marking on the verb and the syntactic position of the nominal constituents (see §5.1) unambiguously indicates the semantic roles of the arguments.

A direct and an inverse transitive clause, respectively, are contrasted in (26a) and (26b). In both examples, PROX is expressed by a pronoun and OBV by an RP, which is the most common situation (see Haude 2014b).

- (26) a. *jom<a>ni=as os ke:so*  
 devour<DR>=3N.AB ART.N.PST cheese  
 ‘It (the fox) devoured the cheese.’
- b. *jommi-kay-a=’ne is ka:wup*  
 devour-INV-LV=3F ART.PL mosquito  
 ‘She will be devoured by mosquitos.’

Intransitive predicates can take only one argument (S), which shares the properties of OBV, listed in Table 8. An example of an intransitive verbal predicate with the argument expressed by a bound pronoun is *jo’yaj--us* ‘he arrived’ in (9) above, which also displays the resyllabification of the external enclitic with the host-final consonant.

Unpossessed common nouns can function directly as predicates of equational clauses. They behave like intransitive verbal predicates, whose argument can, for instance, be expressed by an externally cliticized pronoun, as in (27).

- (27) *rulrul--as*  
 jaguar--3N.AB  
 ‘It is/was the/a jaguar.’

Possessed nouns are rare as main-clause predicates (see §9.3); when they function as such, their argument can only be expressed by an RP, as in (28), but not by a bound pronoun, as in (29).

- (28) *jayna pekato=sne os jeya=sne*  
 DSC sin=3F.AB ART.N.PST state\_of=3F.AB  
 ‘Her sin was that she was like that (lit.: Her state was her sin).’

- (29) \**pa:ko=us--k-as*  
 dog=3M.AB--OBV-3N.AB  
 (Intended: ‘It is his dog.’)

Existential, locational and possessive clauses are formed with a demonstrative pronoun in predicate function, as illustrated in (30).

- (30) *kuro’ kus majni=Ø n-as Santakurus*  
 DEM.M.AB ART.M.AB offspring=1SG OBL-ART.N Santa\_Cruz  
 ‘I have a son in Santa Cruz (lit.: There is my son in Santa Cruz).’

As will become apparent in §9, OBV and S share not only formal, but also behavioral characteristics, since only OBV or S can be relativized. In contrast, there is no construction to which PROX has exclusive access (see Haude 2010a, 2019a). Therefore, if anything is to be analyzed as the ‘subject’ of a transitive clause in Movima, this would be OBV.

Since the encoding of arguments as either PROX or OBV depends on the relative position of their referents on a referential hierarchy, the pattern was analyzed as ‘hierarchical alignment’ in Haude (2009a): the argument with the lower-ranking referent is aligned with S. The direct/inverse contrast results in a split-alignment pattern, with the direct construction displaying ergative (S=P) and the inverse construction displaying accusative alignment (A=S).

In addition to the core arguments, a clause can take an unlimited number of oblique-marked constituents, here subsumed under the term ‘adjuncts’. These include all kinds of circumstantial expressions, like the locative adverbial in (30) above or the time adverbial in (31). Example (31) also shows that event participants that are not included in the syntactic argument structure of the verb, as is e.g. the case with verbs denoting three-participant events, are encoded as adjuncts as well.

- (31) *n-os ima:yoj kay<a>le=us--k-as n-os*  
 OBL-ART.N.PST morning give<DR>=3M.AB--OBV-3N.AB OBL-ART.N.PST  
*charke*  
*dried\_meat*  
 ‘In the morning he gave it (= the dog) (the) dried meat.’

## 6 Voice, valence and transitivity

There is a fundamental distinction between semantic and syntactic valence in Movima, here termed ‘valence’ and ‘transitivity’, respectively. Semantically, verbs can be mono-, bi-, or polyvalent, i.e. they can denote events involving one, two, or more participants. Whatever their valence, however, all verbs are basically intransitive, and transitive verbs (i.e. verbs taking two syntactic core arguments) must be derived through direct or inverse marking. Ditransitive main-clause predicates do not exist; most verbs denoting three-participant events, e.g. ‘give’, encode the recipient as their non-actor core argument (see (31); Haude 2012a).

A basic outline of the verbal system is given in §6.1. Valence-increasing morphology, i.e. morphology deriving verbs that denote events with more than one participant, is presented in §6.2. The mechanisms of transitivity decrease, applicable only to transitive verbs, are described in §6.3.

## 6.1 Verb classes and voice morphemes

Different classes of verbal bases can be distinguished on the basis of their combinatorial possibilities with the voice/valence affixes. The most basic distinction is that between bivalent and monovalent bases. Bivalent bases participate in the direct/inverse alternation. They either belong to a closed class of about 150 semantically bivalent roots, such as *tikoy-* ‘kill’, *vel-* ‘watch’, *yey-* ‘want’, *sal-* ‘look for’, or they contain valence-increasing morphology (see §6.2).

Bivalent bases can be productively combined with the voice morphemes from Table 9, which determine the argument structure of a verb and indicate the semantic role of its S/OBV argument, as well as, in the case of the direct/inverse markers, that of PROX. Only the direct and inverse markers can derive a transitive verb; they add a PROX argument position, which encodes the actor in the case of direct and the undergoer in the case of inverse marking.

Table 9. Voice affixes and the role of S/OBV

affix	marks	S/OBV is
<i>-a/-na</i>	direct (DR)	undergoer of transitive verb
<i>-kay</i>	inverse (INV)	actor of transitive verb
<i>-chet</i>	reflexive/reciprocal (REFL/RECP)	actor + undergoer
<i>-ete</i>	agentive (AGT)	actor
<CV~>	middle (MID)	potentially affected actor
<i>-i</i>	resultative (RES)	undergoer of state resulting from externally induced event

Example (32) illustrates different voice affixes on the bivalent root *lek-* ‘kick’. Recall that the transitive voices, direct and inverse, obligatorily take an internal enclitic, and that the absence of an overt form indexes the first person singular. Intransitive verbs are translated into English as non-finite forms.

- (32) a. *lek-na=Ø* ‘I kick you/him/her/it/them.’  
 b. *lek-kay=Ø* ‘You/he/she/it/they kick(s) me.’  
 c. *lek-chet* ‘kick oneself/each other’  
 d. *lek-e:te* ‘kick at something/someone; kick around’  
 e. *lek-i* ‘be kicked’

Most bivalent bases cannot be combined with the full range of voice markers, however; for instance, the middle reduplication is unattested with *lek-* ‘kick’, but it does occur with the root *kel-* ‘open’: *kel~kel* ‘open by itself’; the root *kel-*, in turn, is not found with the agentive suffix *-ete*. The only alternations in which all bivalent bases participate are those between direct, inverse, reflexive/reciprocal, and resultative.

The resultative voice can be considered the least-marked form of a bivalent base (see Haude 2012b). The resultative ending *-i* only occurs on simple bivalent verb roots, which cannot form a prosodic word on their own, like *lek-* in (32). Morphologically complex bivalent bases, in contrast, can be unmarked for voice; in that case, they denote a state, usually a resultative one, as in (33). Furthermore, the element /i/ that occurs with simple roots serves as a phonological dummy in other environments, e.g. on the bound third-person feminine pronouns (Table 5), or the bound first-person pronouns (*i*l, (*i*)y’li, (*i*)y’bi (Table 6).

- (33) *jayna*      *lok-poj*      *kis*      *ko’o*  
 DSC      fall-CAUS      ART.PL.AB      tree  
 ‘The trees have already been felled.’

Monovalent bases do not participate in the direct/inverse alternation. The diagnostic for identifying them is that the element *-na*, which marks direct voice on bivalent bases, derives a possessed locational noun, as illustrated in (34).

- (34) a. *joy-chet* → *joy-na=∅*  
 go-REFL/RECP go-NMLZ.LOC=1SG  
 ‘go’ ‘where I go (lit.: my go-place)’
- b. *kay~kay* → *kay-na=∅*  
 eat-MID eat-NMLZ.LOC=1SG  
 ‘eat’ ‘where I eat (lit.: my eat-place)’
- c. *jo’yaj* → *joyaj-na=∅*  
 arrive arrive-NMLZ.LOC=1SG  
 ‘arrive’ ‘where I arrive (lit.: my arrive-place)’

Some monovalent roots, like *joy-* in (34a) and *kay-* in (34b), take the reflexive or middle marker. This is lexically determined, and it does not mean that these roots are freely combinable with other voice morphemes. Some monovalent verbs, like *jo’yaj* in (34c), are monomorphemic, while others belong to restricted classes sharing one particular morpheme, such as *-kwa* for ‘bodily processes’ (e.g. *choj-kwa* ‘urinate’, *achis-kwa* ‘sneeze’, *joro:-kwa* ‘sleep’) or *-a* for ‘sensations’ (e.g. *bele:k-a* ‘be happy’ *jilo:k-a* ‘feel cold’).

Transitivity and the direct/inverse distinction are also reflected by imperative marking. The suffix *-ki* derives an intransitive imperative verb (35); *-ti* derives the transitive direct imperative, (36); *-doj/-dok* derives the transitive inverse imperative, (37). As shown in the b. examples of (35)–(37), on both the transitive direct and the intransitive imperative the plural is formed with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural ending *-kwel* (cf. Table 6 above). In the inverse imperative, surprisingly, a plural actor is encoded by an internally cliticized second-person plural pronoun of the S/OBV set (=y’bi), (37b); no explanation of this unusual pattern can be given here. A plural undergoer of the inverse imperative verb is formed with internally cliticized first-person exclusive pronoun (37c), in line with the general argument encoding pattern of inverse verbs. The combination of actor and undergoer enclitics is not attested on imperatives.

- (35) a. *joy-ki* b. *joy-ki-kwel*  
 go-IMP.INTR go-IMP.INTR-2PL  
 ‘Go!’ ‘Go (PL)’
- (36) a. *sal-ti* b. *sal-ti-kwel*  
 look\_for-IMP.DR look\_for-IMP.DR-3PL  
 ‘Look for him/her/it/them!’ ‘Look (PL) for him/her/it/them!’
- (37) a. *aya-dok* b. *aya-doj-a=y’bi* c. *aya-doj-a=y’ti*  
 wait-IMP.INV wait-IMP.INV-LV=2PL.S/OBV wait-IMP.INV-LV=1EXCL  
 ‘Wait for me!’ ‘Wait (PL) for me!’ ‘Wait for us!’

## 6.2 Valence-increasing morphology

As stated above, bivalent bases can be derived by overt morphemes such as causatives or applicatives. Recall that the resulting verbs are not necessarily transitive (see e.g. (33)): they require direct or inverse marking to function as transitive predicates.

The causative suffix *-poj* on a monovalent root indicates direct causation. Example (38) shows the transitivized, direct counterpart of (33), PROX (=is) representing the actor and OBV (*kis ko'o*), encoded like S in (33) above, representing the undergoer. The benefactive suffix *-kwa* is illustrated in (39). Note that in both examples, the direct marker, which marks the verb as transitive, is represented by the base-internal allomorph *-a*, since the roots are monosyllabic (see §3.3).

(38) *tok-a-poj-a=is*                      *kis*                      *ko'o*  
 fall-DR-CAUS-LV=PL.AB      ART.PL.AB      tree  
 'They felled the trees.'

(39) *des-a-kwa=as*                      *is*                      *pa:ko*  
 jump-DR-BEN=ART.N              ART.PL              dog  
 'It jumped for the dogs (in order to catch them).'

A very common applicative suffix is the 'co-participant' marker *-le*, which adds an undergoer to the meaning of the verb. For instance, the monovalent verb root *jiwa-* 'come', combined with this suffix, becomes a bivalent base 'bring' (40a; resultative without voice affixes), which can be transitivized through direct (40b) or inverse (40c) marking.

- (40) a. *jiwa:-le*  
 come-CO  
 'be brought'
- b. *jiwa-le:-na=∅*  
 come-DR-CO=1SG  
 'I brought you/him/her/it/them.'
- c. *jiwa-le-kay=∅*  
 come-CO-INV=1SG  
 'I was brought by you/him/her/it/them.'

The valence-increasing suffixes can also be added to direct-marked bases, from which they derive semantically trivalent verbs. On monosyllabic roots, the direct marker is then optionally replaced by a reduplicative CV-prefix (see §3.2, Table 2), while elsewhere, the direct marker *-na* or *<a>* is retained.

On a direct-marked base, the causative indicates indirect causation. The core arguments represent causer and causee, while the patient is optionally encoded as an adjunct (an additional suffix *-as* may be added to reverse the causee/patient roles). This is illustrated in (41). The causer is encoded as PROX (=∅), the causee is OBV, which is not overtly expressed here, but implied by the direct marking on the verb; the patient is represented by an oblique-marked adjunct phrase.

(41) *sa~sal-poj-na=∅*                      *ni-kis*                      *alwambet*  
 DR~look\_for-CAUS-DR=1SG      OBL-ART.PL.AB      paper  
 'I'll have (her) look for the papers.'

Example (42) features another valence-increasing morpheme, the ‘malefactive’ suffix *-bij*. Again, the suffix is attached to a direct-marked base. This time, the derived verbal base is transitivized by the inverse marker. As a consequence of the inverse marking, the actor is OBV (again unexpressed in this example) and the maleficiary is encoded as PROX (=y’ti); the patient is represented by an adjunct.

- (42) *jayna jom<a>ni-bij-kay-a=y’ti n-is nono=y’ti*  
 DSC devour<DR>-MAL-INV-LV=1EXCL OBL-ART.PL animal=1EXCL  
 ‘(It) has already devoured our animals (to our detriment).’

A valency increase is also induced by a process called ‘modifying incorporation’. The most transparent situation is that where a part-of-whole term is incorporated, which raises the possessor to argument status; see the contrast between (43a) and (43b). The verb can then be transitivized through direct marking (43c), which adds an actor to the event, or through inverse marking (43d), which swaps the A and P roles of the transitive verb.

- (43) a. *ben-’i kis chorimpa=sne*  
 paint-RES ART.PL.AB fingernail=3F.AB  
 ‘Her fingernails are painted.’
- b. *ben-chorimpa--sne*  
 paint-fingernail--3F.AB  
 ‘She has painted fingernails (lit.: She is fingernail-painted).’
- c. *ben-a-chorimpa=Ø--sne*  
 paint-DR-fingernail=1SG--3F.AB  
 ‘I paint her fingernails (lit.: I fingernail-paint her).’
- d. *ben-chorimpa:-kay=Ø--isne*  
 paint-fingernail-INV=1SG--3F.AB  
 ‘She paints my fingernails (lit. I am fingernail-painted by her).’

### 6.3 Detransitivizing processes

There are two processes that decrease the syntactic transitivity of a verb: argument incorporation, and the detransitivizing operation with *kaw/kwey*. Both processes operate on direct-marked verbs, with the effect that the verb becomes intransitive, with PROX promoted to S and OBV demoted to adjunct status.

Argument incorporation involves the insertion of a noun or a bound nominal element (see §3.4) into a direct-marked verb. The bound element represents the undergoer, and the now intransitive verb has the actor as its S argument. The undergoer can optionally be additionally expressed as an adjunct. This is particularly common when, as in (44), the incorporated element has a broader meaning, so that the adjunct provides more precise information. Note the difference in cliticization of the bound pronoun (*i*)y’ti in the examples below: it is internally cliticized when representing PROX of the non-incorporating transitive verb in (44a), and externally cliticized when representing S of the incorporating, now intransitive verb in (44b).

- (44) a. *vel-na=y'li*            *is*            *wa:ka*  
 watch-DR=1EXCL ART.PL    cow  
 ‘We looked after (the) cattle.’
- b. *vel-a:-poy--iy'li*            *n-is*            *wa:ka*  
 watch-DR-animal--1EXCL OBL-ART.PL    cow  
 ‘We tended (the) cattle (lit.: We animal-watched at [the] cattle).’

The detransitivizing operation is restricted to relative constructions, which can only target S/OBV (§9). The detransitivizing particle *kwey/kaw* (speaker-dependent variation) is inserted before the predicate, as illustrated in (45) with a headed relative clause. Through this operation, PROX becomes S, and OBV is demoted to adjunct status. In spontaneous speech, this construction only occurs with direct-marked verbs, where it functions as an antipassive; elicitation shows, however, that the operation is also grammatical with inverse verbs, from which it derives a passive voice.

- (45) *kino'*            *kinos*            *kwe:ya*    *di'*            *kwey*    *vel-na*            *n-isko*  
 DEM.F.AB    ART.F.AB    woman    REL        DETR       watch-DR    OBL-PRO.3PL.AB  
 ‘There is a woman who looks after them.’

Detransitivization is obligatory in relative constructions describing scenarios with a human acting on an inanimate entity. When both participants are equally ranked, the detransitivization alternates freely with the inverse construction (see (68) below).

The detransitivizing operation contrasts with argument incorporation in that the latter is not required by any syntactic condition. Argument incorporation modifies the meaning of the verb, indicating that the action is directed towards a particular type of undergoer; by contrast, the detransitivizing operation has a purely syntactic function.

## 7 Complement and adverbial clauses

Complement and adverbial clauses have the form of an RP containing a nominalized predicate, as illustrated by the temporal adverbial clauses in (46)–(48). Verbal predicates are nominalized with the suffix *-wa* (46); nominal predicates undergo infixing reduplication (47) (§3.2, §4.2). These nominalized forms are marked as possessed, i.e. they are combined with an internal enclitic, and the absence of overt marking indexes the first person singular. Embedded referential predicates, i.e. demonstratives (48) or personal pronouns (see §9.3), take the ending *-niwa*, probably a fossilized combination of the verbalizer *-ni* and the nominalizer *-wa*. Referential embedded predicates are unpossessed.

- (46) *n-os*                            *joy-wa=Ø*  
 OBL-ART.N.PST    go-NMLZ.EVT=1SG  
 ‘when I left (lit.: at my past-leaving)’
- (47) *n-os*                            *tolkos<ya:~>ya=Ø*  
 OBL-ART.N.PST    girl<NMLZ.ST~>=1SG  
 ‘when I was a girl (lit.: at my past-being a girl)’
- (48) *n-as*                            *koro'-niwa*                            *kos*                            *laya:kwa*  
 OBL-ART.N        DEM.N.AB-VBZ:NMLZ    ART.N.AB        drunk\_person  
 ‘when there is a drunk person (lit.: at there being a drunk person)’

Due to possessive marking, which is identical to PROX encoding, embedded intransitive verbal and nominal predicates show a different argument-encoding pattern than in main clauses (see §5.2): their S is encoded like PROX of a transitive predicate. Transitive nominalized predicates, in turn, retain their argument structure. In the complement clause in (49), both arguments of the transitive direct predicate are expressed as in the main clause, i.e. the actor as PROX and the undergoer as OBV.

- (49) *bo*            *yey-na=us*            *choy*            *rey*            *kos*  
 REAS            want-DR=3M.AB            certainly            EPIST            ART.N.AB  
*onaye-na-wa=us--k-isne*  
 know-DR-NMLZ.EVT=3M.AB--OBL-3F.AB  
 ‘Because he wanted to get to know her (lit.: ... his knowing her, earlier today), of course.’

Voice marking is only partly retained on nominalized verbal predicates. Most monovalent voice suffixes are dropped; for instance, the reflexive-marked verb *joy-chel* ‘go’ becomes *joy-wa* when nominalized. On verbal bases whose morphological structure would require that the direct voice be formed with *-a* (see §3.3), e.g. *kay-a-poj* ‘feed’, even the inverse marker *-kay* is dropped, (50). Hence, the possessor of a bivalent nominalized base that lacks a voice marker is necessarily interpreted as the undergoer; only through the presence of an overt argument expression, like *--k-i'sne* in (50), can such a nominalized form be identified as inverse.

- (50) *bo*            *os*            *kay-poj-wa=y'li--k-isne*  
 REAS            ART.N.PST            eat-CAUS-NMLZ.EVT=1EXCL--OBV-3F.AB  
 ‘... so that she would feed us (lit.: for our past-being fed by her)’

Since complement and adverbial clauses are RPs denoting states and events, their determiner is always an article of the ‘non-human’ set (see Table 4 above). In contrast to its function when referring to concrete entities, the absential form of the article here indicates an additional temporal category: a past tense limited to the day of speaking (e.g. in (49)). In this way, embedded clauses show a three-way temporal distinction (see Haude 2010b), illustrated in (51).

- (51) *as*            /            *kos*            /            *os*            *joy-wa=Ø*  
 ART.N                       ART.N.AB                       ART.N.PST            go-NMLZ.EVT=1SG  
 ‘my leaving (now or later/earlier today/before today)’

Different types of complement and adverbial clauses are specified by particles (see §4.3). For instance, a purposive clause is a complement clause introduced by *bo*, as in (50) above, which is a clause coordinator when preceding a main clause, as in (49).

## 8 Negation

### 8.1 Main-clause negation

Negated main clauses consist of a copula *ka* ‘is not’, to which the determining element =s or =t (for 1<sup>st</sup> person) is attached (§4.1), and an embedded predicate. The embedded predicate is nominalized in the same way as in complement and adverbial clauses (§7). Since there is no



article here, tense is not specified here. The examples in (52) and (53) below show an intransitive clause and a direct transitive clause, respectively, with the affirmative version under a. and the negated version under b. (Recall that argument encoding in affirmative intransitive clauses is optional.)

- (52) a. *(it)*            *joy-chet*  
 1INTR            go-REFL/RECP  
 ‘(I) went/left.’
- b. *ka=t*            *joy-wa=Ø*  
 NEG=DET.1SG    go-NMLZ.EVT=1SG  
 ‘I didn’t go/leave (lit.: my going/leaving was not).’
- (53) a. *onaye-na=u*        *kinos*            *majniwa=u*  
 know-DR=3M        ART.F.AB        offspring\_of=3M  
 ‘He knew his daughter.’
- b. *ka=s*            *onaye-na-wa=u*        *kinos*            *majniwa=u*  
 NEG=DET        know-DR-NMLZ.EVT=3M    ART.F.AB        offspring\_of=3M  
 ‘He didn’t know his daughter (lit.: his knowing his daughter was not), you see.’

## 8.2 Other types of predicate negation

Other types of negation work slightly differently. After negators like *ka’* ‘prohibitive’, *mo:(ka)* ‘not yet’, and the subordinate clause negator *loy*, only intransitive predicates are nominalized, and they are not marked as possessed (54). Transitive predicates retain their main-clause form, either direct (55) or inverse (56), without nominalization.

- (54) *ka’*            *iwani:-wa--y’bi*  
 PROH        speak-NMLZ.EVT--2PL.OBV/S  
 ‘Don’t talk!’
- (55) *ka’*            *sal-na=nkwet*  
 PROH        look\_for-DR=2PL  
 ‘Don’t look for it!’
- (56) *ka’*            *rey*    *ij*        *ela:-kay=Ø--iy’bi*  
 PROH        EPIST    2        abandon-INV=1SG--2PL.OBV/S  
 ‘Don’t (pl.) leave me alone!’

Embedded clauses are negated with *loy* (57). Here, the nominalized predicate retains the form it has in an affirmative embedded clause, i.e. all predicates are nominalized and, where applicable, possessed. The particle *loy* also negates relative clauses (see §9), whose predicate then follows the pattern described above.

- (57) *kaw-yemes*    *as*        *loy*        *joy-wa=y’ti*  
 much-BR.day    ART.N    ITN        go-NMLZ.EVT=1EXCL  
 ‘It’s been many days that we haven’t been going (lit.: Many days [is] our not-going).’

### 8.3 Existential negation

To negate the existence of the participant represented by S/OBV, the predicate may be marked by the ‘irrealis’ infix <(k)ak> (see §3.3 above). The construction is illustrated with an intransitive verb in (58), a transitive direct verb in (59), and a transitive inverse verb in (60).

- (58) *ka=s*            *tij<ak>ka:rim*  
 NEG=DET        work<IRR>  
 ‘There is no worker/nobody who works.’
- (59) *ka=s*            *pawa<kak>-na=Ø*  
 NEG=DET        hear<IRR>-DR=1SG  
 ‘I don’t hear anything.’
- (60) *ka=s*            *vel<ak>-kay-a=sne*  
 NEG=DET        watch<IRR>INV-LV=3F.AB  
 ‘Nobody looks after her.’

On nominal predicates, irrealis marking negates the existence of the noun’s denotee or its location at a particular place. This can be existential negation when the noun is unpossessed, (61), and negation of possession when the noun is marked as possessed, (62). In (63), the latter case is also illustrated in an embedded clause, negated with *loy* (see §8.2).

- (61) *ka=s*            *juye<kak>ni*  
 NEG=DET        person<IRR>  
 ‘There is nobody.’
- (62) *ka=s*            *pola<kak>ta=y’ti*  
 NEG=DET        money<IRR>=1EXCL  
 ‘We don’t have money.’
- (63) *n-as*            *loy*            *juye<kak><ni~>ni=a*  
 OBL-ART.N    NEG.SUB    person<IRR><~NMLZ.ST~>=3N  
 ‘when there is nobody (lit.: at it [e.g. the house] having nobody)’

Alternatively, existential negation can be expressed with the main-clause negation pattern (see §8.1) and an embedded demonstrative predicate (cf. (14), (30)). (For the verb inside the RP, see §9.2.)

- (64) *ka=s*            *koro’-niwa*            *kos*            *tijka:rim*  
 NEG=DET        DEM.AB.N-VBZ:NMLZ    ART.N.AB        work  
 ‘There is nobody who works.’

### 9 Relativization

When an underived content word is preceded by a referential element or by an RP, it is syntactically subordinated to it and functions as a semantic specifier of the referent. Constructions of this type are described here as relative clauses (RCs), even though they can

also be characterized as participles or nominal constructions. There are three types of RCs: externally headed RCs, preceded by an RP and a relativizer (§9.1); light-headed RCs, preceded by a determiner (§9.2); and headless RCs, which occur after a pronominal predicate (§9.3).

Relativization is restricted to the S/OBV argument, which is, to use a transformational metaphor, ‘extracted’ from its clause-final position and ‘moved’ to a position preceding the predicate. The detransitivizing operation (§6.3) is necessary to promote PROX to S so that it can be relativized. A further property shared by all RC types is that they are negated with *loy* (see §8.2).

### 9.1 Headed relative clauses

Headed RCs follow the RP they modify and are introduced by the particle *di’*. They can be restrictive and non-restrictive. Headed RCs are the most productive device for modification in Movima. There is no principled restriction on the placement of the modifying and the modified element: for instance, (65a) and (65b) are both attested, with apparently no difference in meaning.

- (65) a. *is bi:jaw di’ mowi:maj*  
 ART.PL old REL Movima  
 ‘(the) old Movima (lit.: old ones who are Movima)’
- b. *is mowi:maj di’ bi:jaw*  
 ART.PL Movima REL old  
 ‘(the) old Movima (lit.: Movimas who are old)’

The main-clause argument that is relativized is usually S/OBV, which is more often expressed by an RP, (66). However, PROX can be expressed by a relativized RP as well, (67).

- (66) *joy-a-te=us is we:ye di’ vel-na=us*  
 go-DR-CO=3M.AB ART.PL ox REL watch-DR=3M.AB  
 ‘He left with the oxen that he was in charge of.’
- (67) *jom<a>ni=is jokme di’ sereram-mo kis*  
 devour<DR>=ART.3PL bird REL wild-CLF.bird ART.PL.AB  
*ba-ba-<kwa~>kwa=is tok’im*  
 RED~BR.fruit-<INAL~>ABS=ART.PL sujo  
 ‘The wild birds eat (the) fruits of the sujo (tree).’

The relativized RP must be the S/OBV argument of the RC, i.e. S of an intransitive predicate, as in (65) and (67), P of a transitive direct predicate (66), or A of a transitive inverse predicate (68). Inside the RC, the relativized element remains unexpressed.

- (68) *kis senyo:ra di’ vel-kay-a=sne*  
 ART.PL.AB lady REL watch-INV-LV=3F.AB  
 ‘(the) ladies who look after her’

In order to relativize the PROX argument, the detransitivizing operation must be applied; see (45) in §6.3 above. The negation of a headed RC with the particle *loy* is shown in (69) with an intransitive verb, which is nominalized but unpossessed (see §8.2).

- (69) *is juyeni di' loy joy-wa n-as lo:los*  
 ART.PL person REL NEG.SUB go-NMLZ.EVT OBL-ART.N village  
 ‘(the) people who do not go to the village’

## 9.2 Light-headed RCs: referential phrases

Any type of content word can occur inside an RP, including verbs (see Haude 2019b). Example (70a) illustrates an RP containing a direct, (70b) an RP containing an inverse verb.

- (70) a. *kis vel-na=’ne* b. *kis vel-kay-a=’ne*  
 ART.PL.AB watch-DR=3F ART.PL.AB watch-INV-LV=3F  
 ‘the (ones)/people she looks after’ ‘the (ones)/people (who) look after her’

The content word of an RP has the same syntactic properties as the predicate of a headed RC. The referent of the RP is the event participant that would be encoded as the S/OBV argument of the corresponding main-clause predicate. The verbs in (70a) and (70b) are thus similar to the predicates of the headed RCs in (66) and (68), respectively, except that they are not preceded by an overt relativizer and the head is not a full RP. The determiner, which establishes the reference (see §4.1), can be considered a ‘light head’ (Citko 2004).

As with externally headed RCs, detransitivization is necessary if the referent of the RP is the actor of a direct-marked verb (71). Negation is carried out with *loy* (72).

- (71) *is kaw vel-na n-is wa:ka*  
 ART.PL DETR watch-DR OBL-ART.3PL cow  
 ‘the (ones) (who) look after the cattle’
- (72) *is loy iyeni:-wa*  
 ART.PL NEG.SUB move-NMLZ.EVT  
 ‘the (ones) (who) do not move’

There is no structural difference between an RP containing a verb and an RP containing a noun. Even detransitivization can occur in a RP with a noun, with the effect that the referent of the RP is the possessor of the noun’s denotee. Compare the possessed noun in (73a) with the ‘detransitivized’ noun in (73b).

- (73) a. *is majniwa=sne*  
 ART.PL offspring\_of=3F.AB  
 ‘her children’
- b. *kinos kwey majni (n-usko)*  
 ART.F.AB DETR offspring OBL-PRO.3M.AB  
 ‘(his) mother (lit.: the/a [woman who has] [him as] child)’

Given the many parallels between nouns and verbs, and in particular, the identical encoding of the possessor and PROX, the effect of the detransitivization of nouns makes sense: a verb (at least inside an RP, but possibly also elsewhere) can be interpreted as denoting an event participant rather than an event (see Haude 2009b). The RP with a transitive verb in (70a), for instance, can be paraphrased as ‘her watched ones’, and the detransitivized RP in (71) as something like ‘the ones who have the cows as watched ones’.

### 9.3 Headless RCs: content words with fronted pronoun

In the third construction that can be characterized in terms of relativization, the content word is preceded by a free pronoun (see Tables 5 and 7), as in (74). The pronoun is the predicate here (Haude 2018a). This becomes apparent in embedding, as in (75) (see §7), where it is the pronoun that receives morphological marking, and not the content word.

- (74) *asko*                    *yey-na='ne*  
 PRO.3N.AB            want-DR=3F  
 ‘That was (what) she wanted.’
- (75) *n-os*                    *asko-niwa*                    *yey-na='ne*  
 OBL-ART.N.PST        PRO.3N.AB-PRC:NMLZ        want-DR=3F  
 ‘when that was (what) she wanted’

The content word in this construction behaves exactly like the predicate of a relative clause or like the content word of an RP: to express the PROX argument with a clause-initial free pronoun, detransitivization must be used, (76); and the negation of the subordinate predicate is carried out with *loy*, (77).

- (76) *usko*                    *kwey*                    *ona-ra:-na*  
 PRO.3M.AB            DETR                    know-CLF.NTR-DR  
 ‘He is (the one/someone who) knows (it).’
- (77) *u'ko*                    *loy*                    *iwani:-wa*  
 PRO.3M                    NEG.SUB                    speak-NMLZ.EVT  
 ‘He is (the one/someone who) doesn’t talk.’

As in the other two types of RCs, the content word can also be a noun, as in (78). This results in an equational clause, propositionally equivalent to an intransitive nominal clause (see (27) above). The pronominal construction, furthermore, is the only construction in which a possessed noun can function as a lexical predicate with a pronominal argument expression, as in (79) (cf. (29) above).

- (78) *a'ko*                    *rulrul*  
 PRO.3N                    jaguar  
 ‘It is (the/a) jaguar.’
- (79) *asko*                    *pa:ko=us*  
 PRO.3N.AB            dog=3M.AB  
 ‘It is his dog.’

## 10 Pragmatic effects of constituent order alternations

### 10.1 Predicate nominals with a verb in the argument RP

The unmarked constituent order in Movima is predicate initial, with a verb functioning as the predicate, as in (80a). An alternative, pragmatically marked construction is created by placing the noun representing the S/OBV argument in predicate position and the verb (with the PROX

argument, if transitive) inside the S/OBV RP, as in (80b) (see also §9.2). Open questions are also formed this way: The predicate is a question word and the argument RP typically contains a verb, as in (81).

- (80) a. *yey-na=us*      *os*      *to:mi*  
 want-DR=3M.AB    ART.N.PST    water  
 ‘He wanted (the) water.’
- b. *to:mi*      *os*      *yey-na=us*  
 water      ART.N.PST    want-DR=3M.AB  
 ‘Water (was) (what) he wanted.’
- (81) *léla*      *kos*      *yey-na=n*  
 what\_is    ART.N.AB    want-DR=2  
 ‘What do you want (lit.: What [is] the [thing] you want)?’

## 10.2 Fronted free pronouns

The construction with a clause-initial free S/OBV pronoun described in §9.3 has a pragmatically marked status as well. It establishes as the clausal topic a referent that has been introduced immediately before and that is not the main protagonist of either the preceding or the subsequent discourse. The focus is on the content word, which is prosodically prominent. Syntactically, the construction is a cleft, but this does not correspond to its pragmatic function (Haude 2018b). Its information structure rather suggests that the free pronoun has a copula function, attributing the focus (rheme) to the content word.

Also PROX can be represented by a free pronoun to the left of the predicate. In contrast to the pronominal construction, the pronoun here has a disambiguating function, taking up the main protagonist of the previous discourse after another discourse participant has intervened (Haude 2012c), as in (82). Even though there is not necessarily a pause after the pronoun, this construction can be described as left-dislocation: firstly, the argument is cross-referenced by the obligatory internal enclitic on the predicate; secondly, unlike the pronominal construction, negation follows the main-clause pattern, indicating that the pronoun is located outside the clause (83).

- (82) *joy-chel*      *is*      *chot*      *komersyante*    *di’*    *juyeni*      ...,  
 go-REFL/RECP    ART.PL    HAB    merchand    REL    person  
*che usko*      *jayna,*      *eney,*      *ji:sa-na=us*      *os*      *nego:siyo*  
 and PRO.3M.AB    DSC      FILLER    make-DR=3M.AB    ART.N.PST    deal  
*n-is*      *juyeni*  
 OBL-ART.PL    person  
 ‘Merchants (lit.: merchand people) used to come, and he then traded with the people (i.e., the merchants).’
- (83) *che*      *usko*      *ka=s*      *iwani-wa=us*  
 and    PRO.3M.AB    NEG=DET    speak-NMLZ.EVT=3M.AB  
 ‘And he didn’t speak (lit.: And he, his speaking was not).’

### 10.3 Fronted RPs

An RP can precede the predicate as well. This may often be due to influence from Spanish; but in many cases, the fronted RP indicates a topic shift, signalling that the referent of the RP will persist in the subsequent discourse. When the fronted RP represents S/OBV of the predicate it precedes, it may (84) or may not (85) be repeated by a bound pronoun after the predicate.

- (84) *che kinos alwaj-a=us la' tera:ni--sne*  
 and ART.F.AB spouse-LV=3M ANT ill--3F.AB  
 'And his wife, she was ill.'

- (85) *ul alwaj=Ø jayna bi:jaw*  
 ART.M:1 spouse=1SG DSC old  
 'My husband is old already.'

In transitive clauses, either PROX or OBV may be represented by a fronted RP; the referent of this RP can then sometimes only be identified on the basis of the context, as in (86). Here, it is known from the context that the caciques and commissioners do not distribute the meat to others, but that they received it from the cowherds; hence, the two juxtaposed RPs represent OBV and are cross-referenced by the externally cliticized pronoun *--k-is*.

- (86) *isos kasi:ki, isos komisa:riyo*  
 ART.PL.PST cacique ART.PL.PST commissioner  
*kay<ka>le-na=is--k-is n-os wa:ka-to:da*  
 give<MLT>-DR=3PL.AB--OBV-3PL.AB OBL-ART.N.PST cow-BR.piece  
 'They distributed the meat to the *caciques*, to the commissioners.'

When the fronted RP corresponds to PROX of a transitive predicate, it must be cross-referenced by the obligatory internal enclitic (87). If it corresponds to OBV (which is more common), it can be repeated by an external enclitic, as in (86) above, or not, as in (88) and (89). The fronted OBV RP then represents either P of a direct-marked verb, (86) and (88), or A of an inverse-marked verb, (89).

- (87) *us itila:kwa tojel yey-na=us isnos alwaj-a=us*  
 ART.M man very want-DR=3M.AB ART.F.PST spouse-LV=3M.AB  
 'The man, he loved his wife very much.'

- (88) *che is dichi:ye jemak ja' joy-a-le=as*  
 and ART.PL child too just go-DR-CO=3N.AB  
 'And it (the jaguar) also just took (the) children (lit.: the children it also just took).'

- (89) *is pa:ko ena' jayna kamay-kay-a=as*  
 ART.PL dog DUR.STD DSC bark-INV-LV=3N.AB  
 'The dogs were already barking at it (lit.: the dogs, it was being barked at by [them]).'

As with the pronominal left-dislocation in (83), negation is marked as on main clauses and does not involve the initial RP (90).

- (90) *is ri:ko ka=s rey tokbaycho-wa=i*  
 ART.PL rich NEG=DET EPIST remember-NMLZ.EVT=3PL  
 ‘(The) rich don’t remember (lit.: the rich, their remembering is not).’

The different syntactic constructions and their pragmatic statuses can roughly be represented as in Table 10.

Table 10. Movima constructions and their functions (ARG=argument; PRED=predicate; RC=relative clause; TR=transitive)

Construction	Function
[verb] <sub>PRED</sub> [DET+noun] <sub>ARG</sub>	unmarked
[noun] <sub>PRED</sub> [DET+verb] <sub>ARG</sub>	focus on event participant
[pronoun] <sub>PRED</sub> [verb/noun] <sub>RC</sub>	assertion about new discourse participant
[pronoun <sub>i</sub> ] [verb=bound pronoun <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>PRED.TR</sub>	takes up a given discourse participant
[RP] [verb/noun] <sub>PRED</sub>	topic shift

## 11 Summary

Movima is a linguistic isolate with some typologically remarkable features. In the order of the present paper, one may start by pointing out that metrics, i.e. syllable length and weight, play an important role in morphological processes, so that sometimes the metrical effects of a clitic are the only formal means to distinguish grammatical relations. Lexical composition involving noun roots, classifier-like elements, or truncated parts of words are important devices for word formation. There is no verbal tense marking, but tense is indicated by the different spatio-temporal categories of the referential elements, in particular, the article. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives are near-equivalent syntactically: they are basically predicates, and reference is established through a determiner. There is neither agreement nor morphological case. The grammatical relations in a transitive clause are distinguished by constituent order (internal vs. external to the predicate phrase) and by direct/inverse marking on the verb. The internal argument position is occupied by the PROX argument, whose referent ranks higher in hierarchies of person, animacy, and topicality. The external argument position is occupied by the OBV argument, whose referent ranks lower in these hierarchies. The OBV argument has the same properties as the single argument of the intransitive clause, including exclusive access to relativization. Direct marking on a transitive predicate indicates that the PROX argument is the actor and the OBV argument the undergoer, while inverse marking indicates the reversed situation. Given that OBV shares the properties of S, the direct/inverse alternation leads to an unusual split-alignment pattern, with direct clauses patterning ergatively and inverse clauses patterning accusatively. The syntactic structure of Movima is predicate-initial. A ‘fronted’ pronoun functions as predicate, and a content word preceded by a fronted pronoun or by a determiner has the syntactic properties of a relative clause. Information structure is largely manipulated through variation in constituent order.



## Symbols and abbreviations

= internal cliticization; -- external cliticization; ~ reduplication; < > infixation.

1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; A=agent-like argument of transitive predicate; AB=absential; ABST=absolute state; AGT=agentive; ART=article; BE=bound nominal element; BEN=benefactive; BR=bound root; C=consonant; CAUS=causative; CLF=classifier; CO=co-participant; DEM=demonstrative; DET=determiner; DETR=detransitivizer; DIR=directional; DIST=distal; DP=determiner phrase; DR=direct; DSC=discontinuous; DUR=durative; EPIST=epistemic; EV=evidential; EVT=event; H=heavy; INAL=inalienable; INS=instrumental; INTR=intransitive; INV=inverse; L=light; LN=linking nasal; LOC=locative; LV=linking vowel; M=masculine; MAL=malefactive; MID=middle; MLT=multiple event; NEG=negator; N=neuter; NMLZ=nominalizer; NTR=neutral; OBL=oblique; OBV=obviative argument; OBV=obviative; P=patient-like argument of transitive predicate; PL=plural; POSS=possessive; PRC=process; PRED=predicate; PRO=free personal pronoun; PROH=prohibitive; PROX=proximate argument; PRX=proximal; PST=past; RC=relative clause; RED=reduplication; REL=relativizer; RES=resultative; REFL/RECP=reflexive/reciprocal; RETR=retreating; S=single argument of intransitive predicate; SG=singular; ST=state; STD=standing; SUB=subordinate; TR=transitive; TRC=truncated element; V=vowel; VBZ=verbalizer.

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