A Grammar of Movima

Haude Katharina

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A Grammar of Movima

een wetenschappelijke proeve
op het gebied van Letteren

Proefschrift

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Symbols and abbreviations

Symbols used in transcriptions

-	affixation
=	internal and neuter cliticization
--	external cliticization
~	reduplication
< >	infixation

Additional symbols used in interlinearisation

.	not segmentable
_	one morpheme translated withseveral words
:	morphologically complex, but for expository reasons not segmented
?	function or meaning not clear

Abbreviations used in the text

ARG_1	first transitive argument
ARG_2	second transitive argument
ARG_{intr}	intransitive argument
NP	noun phrase

Abbreviations used in interlinearisation

1	first person
2	second person
a	absential
ABS	absolute state
ABSTR	abstract
ad	proximate to addressee
AG	agent nominalization
AGT	agentive
ANT	anterior
APPL	applicative
appr	approaching
ART	article
ASS	assertive
BDP	bodily process
BE	bound element
BEN	benefactive
BR	bound root
CAU	causative
CINV	causative inverse
CND	conditional
CNTF	counterfactual
CO	co-participant
CONC	concessive
CONT	continuous
CSQ	consequence
D	dummy
d	distal
DEF	definite
DES	desiderative
DET	determiner
DM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
DR	bivalent direct
DR2	secondary direct marker
DSC	discontinuative
DUB	dubitative
DUR	durative
el	elevated
EMPH	emphatic
EV	evidential
f	feminine
FOC	focus particle
FRUST	frustrative
HAB	habitual
HYP	hypothetical
IJ	interjection
IM	immediately/impossibly
IMM	immediate past
IMP	imperative
INAL	inalienable possession
INSTR	instrumental nominalization
INT	intensifier
intr	intransitive
INV	bivalent inverse
IRR	irrealis
ITN	intentional
LN	linking nasal
LOC	location
LV	linking vowel
m	masculine
MAL	malefactive
MD	middle voice
MIR	mirative
MLT	multiple event
MOD	modal
mov	moving
MST	mental state
MV	monovalent
N	of noun
n	neuter
NEG	negative
NMZ	action/state nominalization
nst	non-standing
ntr	neutral
obl	oblique
OBV	obviative
ONOM	onomatopoeic
OPT	optative
p	past
PH	phasal aspect
pl	plural
po	temporal possession
POSS	possessive predicate
POT	potential
PRC	process verbalization
PRCL	preclusive
PROH	prohibitive
PRO	free pronoun
PSEU	pseudo
REAS	reason
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
REM	remote past
RES	resultative

R/R	reflexive/reciprocal
rtr	retreating
sg	singular
SNS	sensation
SPC	speculative
spk	proximate to speaker
std	standing
SUB	of subordinate clause
TRC	truncated element
VBZ	action verbalization
VLC	locative verbalization

Regional terms

The following are brief explanations of a few Spanish and regional terms that occur in some examples.

chicha
fermented drink made of maize, manioc, sweet potatoe

chivé
flour made of manioc, which is grated, spread in the sun for fermentation, and then toasted on the fire; is consumed either dry together with a meal, or mixed with water as a drink. Both the mass of grated manioc and the toasted powder can be referred to by this term. Typical of the Movima area.

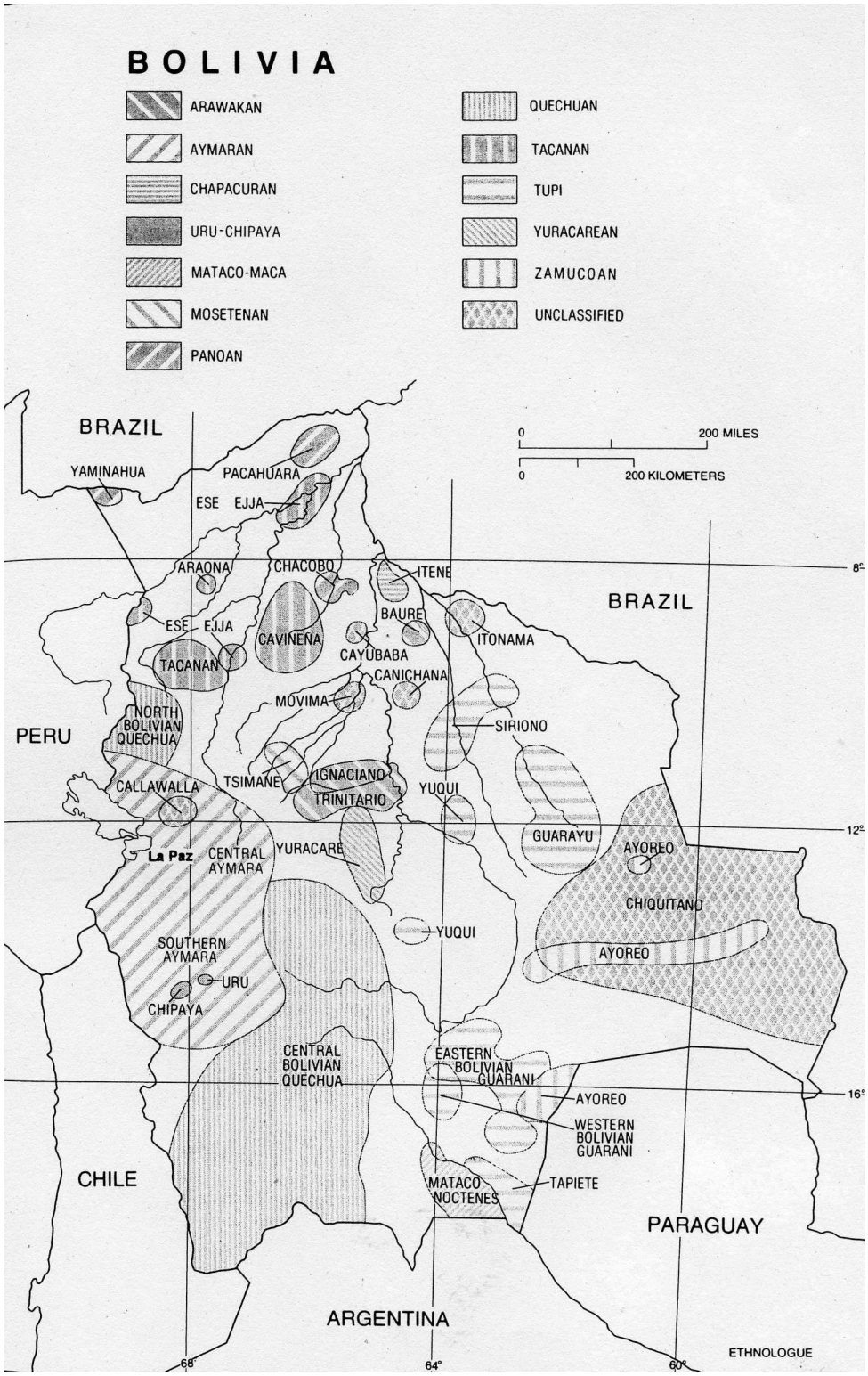
El Perú
village between Santa Ana del Yacuma and San Ignacio de Mojos

fiesta
village anniversary (in Santa Ana, July 26th)

locro
a typical dish of the Beni: like soup, but with less ingredients (usually rice and either chicken or dried meat); the Movima term *lo:kwa* is also used to refer to food in general.

Map I. Bolivia.

(Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/bolivia_rel93.jpg; circle mine)



Map II. Languages of Bolivia.

(Source: Grimes 1996)

1 Introduction

This book is a description of Movima, a genetically unclassified language spoken in the Amazon area of Bolivia. This book is intended for linguists from different backgrounds, and is not based on any particular theoretical framework.

In the present chapter, I will give general information on Movima and its speakers. This includes the historic, geographic and sociolinguistic background, previous research on the language, and information on the fieldwork and data on which the present study is based. In addition, I will give an overview of the main characteristics of Movima by comparing them to characteristic features of other Amazonian languages. The final two sections give an outline of the structure of the book and of the way in which the data are presented.

1.1. The name of the language

The term Movima, pronounced [mo'βima] in Spanish, originally refers to the ethnic group that speaks this language. The native term is *mowi:maj*, pronounced [mɔ'wi:mah].

The Movima language is referred to by Spanish-speaking locals as *el idioma* ('the language') or *el dialecto* ('the dialect'). In Movima, it is called *chonsineɬ* ('native language', literally 'right sound'), a term also used to refer to other native languages. More specifically, the language is referred to as *chonsineɬ di' mowi:maj* ('native language Movima').

Movima is the only name known for the language. Only minor spelling differences are encountered in the literature. In the first written record, from 1621 (cf. 1.3 below), it is referred to as "moyma" or "moima". Créqui-Montfort & Rivet (1914) spell it "mobima". All these spellings are more or less faithful to the pronunciation of the word (<v> and <b> in the Spanish spelling represent the phoneme /β/). However, Métraux (1942) confusingly spells it as *Móvima*, with an accent on the *o*. Since stress is on the penultimate syllable, this must be a misspelling.

Dialectal varieties of the language have not yet been discovered.

1.2. Geographic location

The center of the Movima-speaking area is formed by Santa Ana del Yacuma, the capital of the main cattle-raising province in the Beni Department (cf. Map I). There are more than 270 ethnically Movima communities and small settlements, mainly located in the districts of Santa Ana del Yacuma, Exaltación, San Joaquín and San Ignacio. The major communities are the villages El Perú and Desengaño. Most of the smaller settlements are located along the rivers Yacuma and Apere, but also along the rivers Rapulo, Mamoré, Matos, and Maniqui (cf. Díez Astete & Murillo 1998: 175ff.).

The area where the Movimas live today is more or less the same now as it was at the time of first contact with the Europeans (cf. Montaño Aragón 1987: 244; Kaufman 1994, maps 18 and 24). It is covered with natural savannah, swamps and forest isles. The closest neighbours of the Movimas are the Mojos Indians (Trinitario and Ignaciano) to the South, whose language

belongs to the Arawak family, and the Cayuvava and Canichana Indians to the North and East. Like Movima, the languages Cayuvava and Canichana are genetically unclassified.

Today, Santa Ana del Yacuma has approximately 12,877 inhabitants (census 2001). Its population is quite clearly split up into a large upper class of white land-owners, a growing middle class of professionals (teachers, nurses, etc.) of mixed origin, and a lower class, consisting almost exclusively of Movima Indians who usually work as domestic employees, washer women or cowboys. In addition, there is an increasing number of Quechua- and Aymara-speaking migrants from the highlands, who are usually merchants.

1.3. History and ethnographic data

First mention of the Movimas, as "moimas" or "moymas", was made by P. Fr. Gregorio de Bolívar in 1621, who met them along the Mamoré river (which he referred to as "Himana"), and who reported their main settlement to be Tumba (cf. Métraux 1943: 81).[1] After this initial contact, the group was mentioned again in 1700 by the priest P. Altamarino (cf. Montaño Aragón 1987: 240). In 1708, the mission of San Lorenzo near the Mamoré river was founded with Movima Indians by the Jesuit missionary Baltasar de Espinoza.[2] A few years later, apparently in relation to the violent death of a priest,[3] this settlement was abandoned and Santa Ana del Yacuma was founded. Other Jesuit missions where Movima Indians lived, together with people of other ethnic groups, were San Borja, San Luis and Reyes (cf. Montaño Aragón 1987: 241).

The acculturation of the Movimas must have proceeded rapidly. In 1839, D'Orbigny noted that their pre-colonial habits and beliefs had been completely lost (Montaño Aragón 1987: 247), a finding confirmed by Nordenskiöld (1922: 77). Not much is known of the pre-colonial Movima culture. Gregorio de Bolívar described the Movimas in 1621 as "gente toda desnuda, muy vil y sobremanera dados a las hechiserías [sic]" ("totally naked, very vile and greatly dedicated to witchcraft") (cf. Montaño Aragón 1987: 239). They lived as hunters, fishermen, and farmers (cf. D'Orbigny 1839 in Montaño Aragón 1987: 242). According to Montaño Aragón (1987: 240), the Movimas probably practiced agriculture on artificial terraces which existed in that area, created not by themselves, but by previous inhabitants of the region. The closest contact seems to have been with the Mojo Indians, who were culturally very similar (D'Orbigny 1839 in Montaño Aragón 1987: 243).

As far as typical cultural attributes are concerned, Nordenskiöld (1922: 77) described the most noteworthy traditional artifact as a particular kind of roasting pan (probably the *wereycho*, used for roasting manioc powder) adorned with a wickerwork pattern, which was put over the fire on three stumps of clay. Herlan Rojas Rossel (p.c.), a native speaker of Movima, furthermore describes a special way in which the ancestors made vessels for drinking water, using a particular kind of clay that contains the shells of fish eggs. When burned, this clay resulted in a very robust material. In addition, Rojas says that the old Movimas were called *ku:ba:kwa*, 'long-heads', because of their longish heads; so perhaps,

[1] The Movima word *tumba* can be translated as 'black fruit'.
[2] This is probably not the community of San Lorenzo at the Yacuma river, which is two kilometers from Santa Ana.
[3] According to Montaño Aragón (1987: 241), it was the priest Altamarino; according to Métraux (1942), it was Baltazar de Espinoza who was killed by the Indians.

there was a method to elongate the heads of little babies. Nowadays, the only material attributes that can be seen as typically Movima are the adorned mats of reed woven by the women, and *chivé* (in Movima: *mo'incho*), a powder of roasted fermented manioc, which is usually mixed with water to drink. It is probably due to the lack of "exotic" features that the Movima culture has been very much neglected by anthropologists.

Precolonial Movima mythology seems to have disappeared a long time ago. D'Orbigny (1839) found there were memories of an evil spirit called Canibaba Kilmo (cf. Montaño Aragón 1987: 247, Métraux 1942: 82).[4] Native speakers say that there are still old people who may know some folk tales. On several occasions I accompanied speakers to visit these old people, but they always said that they had forgotten the stories. In the Movima narrative tradition, their history starts with the arrival of the first cattle. The Movimas were already Catholics then, represented by the *cacique* of the *cabildo indigenal*, which still exists today.

In the 19th century, white farmers[5] came into the Beni Department to raise cattle, using the Indians as workers (cf. Crevels 2002: 15). During the so-called "rubber boom", Indians from all of Amazonia were transported to the rubber regions and used as slaves. The survivors returned to their original villages and continued working for white farmers (Riester 1976: 51).

Interestingly, Nordenskiöld (1922: 76) reports that during his travels he met quite a few wealthy Movima Indians who owned cattle, sewing machines, guns and rifles, clothing etc. This is supported by different stories told to me about their parents or grandparents who had been wealthy land owners who traded with white merchants. Usually, cattle was exchanged for artifacts, like jewellery, weapons, or sewing machines. Some say that this is what finally ruined the Indians, who sold off their cattle in order to pay the high prices for the goods. For example, the price for a pair of golden earrings was one adult cow, and a foot-driven sewing machine cost a pair of tame ox. The real impoverishment of the Movimas, however, is probably primarily due to the land reform that took place in 1953 (cf. Crevels 2002: 19, Díez Astete & Murillo 1998: 156).

In the 1980s, Santa Ana del Yacuma played a central role in the Bolivian drug trade. Coca paste from the Chapare region was processed in laboratories around Santa Ana and sold to Columbian traders. The most famous drugs barons of Bolivia lived in Santa Ana, which prospered at that time. In 1991, an invasion by the United States' Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) ended this situation. Apparently, the Indians did not profit from the money the drug traffic brought; on the contrary. Those years are reported to have been dominated by violence, of which Indian employees in the country were often the victims.

Today, apart from self-sustaining horticulture and some hunting, most people work for the white upper class, as cowboys or as domestic employees. This is not an ideal situation, exacerbated by the fact that on the ranches only the men, who work with the cattle, earn money, while their wives, who do the domestic work, earn nothing. The salary is so low that the workers are often forced to borrow money from their employers, so that they are often working to pay off increasing debts. An alternative system exists in which workers are not paid, but receive half of the cattle raised during five years. The workers, however, usually do not have land on which they could keep this cattle, so they generally end up selling it back to the land owner and continue working as employees.

[4] The Movima word *kilmo* means 'naughty, mischievous'.

[5] This includes people of Spanish as well as of Arabic origin. As far as the Arabs are concerned, all there is left of their descendance are their surnames. They are monolingual in Spanish.

The lack of land is one of the biggest problems facing the Movimas today. Most of the land is occupied by white cattle rachers, who demarcate it with fences. This includes the forest islands dispersed over the savannah, which are the best places for hunting and for building *chacos* (slash-and-burn fields where manioc, plantains etc. are grown). The forest which remains for these activities is alongside the rivers. In 1989, the *Subcentral de Pueblos Indígenas Movima* was founded, a subpart of the *Central de Pueblos Indígenas del Beni* (CPIB). One of the main tasks of this organization is to deal with the land problems. Even though the distribution of the land was normalized by the law INRA in 1996, the situation is still precarious (cf. Díez Astete & Murillo 1998).

Movima population numbers vary between 6,516 (CIRTB 1996) and 11,688 (Langevin 1997, cited in Lema 1998). It is very difficult to estimate the size of ethnoc groups in concrete numbers. What makes this extra difficult in the case of Movima is the fact that white inhabitants of the Santa Ana region refer to themselves as Movima, too.[6] For them, this term by no means implies an indigenous background.[7] Apart from wealth and physical appearance, surnames are one of the clearest dividing lines between the white and the indigenous population. Both the white and the indigenous people are highly aware of whether they have native or non-native, upper-class surnames.

1.4. The situation of the language

It is conspiuous that despite the early loss of native indigenous culture, the Movima language has been preserved until today. This can, in part, be attributed to the fact that the Jesuits recognized the native languages and stimulated their use (cf. Crevels 2002: 13).[8] However, Movima has been maintained for at least two generations longer than many of its neighbouring languages which were also spoken in Jesuit missions, such as the now possibly extinct languages Canichana and Cayuvava.

This may have to do with the fact that Movima speakers are proud of their language. This is, for example, reflected in their awareness of linguistic purity. I have never observed code-switching in a conversation between native speakers. When I was involved in a conversation, some passages were explicitly translated into Spanish for me. Mixing of Spanish and Movima is disliked. Many people who do not have a full command of Movima prefer not to speak it.

While there are many Spanish loans in Movima, this is predominantly the case for nouns denoting cultural items introduced by the Europeans. In at least one case, however, a Movima noun has been replaced by the corresponding Spanish term because of its derogatory connotation in Spanish. This is the Movima noun *ku:lo* 'top': since it is homophonous with the familiar Spanish word 'backside', it has been replaced by the loan *ari:wa*, from Spanish *arriba* 'on top' (Chirimani, p.c.).

Despite the long preservation of the language, Movima is seriously endangered today (cf. Crevels 2002: 21): there are no more children learning the language, and most fluent speakers are over fifty years olds. This sudden change, despite the maintenance of the language throughout the process of acculturation and the contact with white people for 300 years, is

[6] This is a general phenomenon found in the Moxos region (cf. Crevels 2002: 21f.)
[7] However, I use the term "Movima" here for the ethnic group only.
[8] However, there are no written materials from the Jesuit times (cf. Montaño Aragón 1987: 241).

probably due to the educational reform of 1955 (cf. Crevels 2002: 19). At that time, country schools came into existence, where children were educated in Spanish and punished for using their native language (Julia Malale p.c.). Most people from that generation, who are now 50 and older, did not pass the language on to their children. Therefore, most people of indigenous origin between the age of 20 and 40 understand the language, but cannot speak it and are not very interested in doing so. Some older people try to pass their knowledge on to their grandchildren, but due to the Spanish-speaking surroundings, this has not been very successful.

Since the last educational reform of 1992, Bolivian children are to learn the language of their ancestors at school. However, this is not easily put into practice. One problem is the lack of course materials for the smaller indigenous languages like Movima. Another problem is that, ironically, many teachers who are assigned the task of teaching Movima do not speak the language themselves. While the latter problem is largely bureaucratic in nature, it is hoped that in the future, Spanish primers containing the most important grammatical features of Movima, complemented by workshops, may help the teachers to understand the structure of the language and to create school materials.[9] The speakers and school teachers are very much interested in this.

1.5. Number of speakers

Over the years, the numbers given for Movima speakers have varied considerably, a problem often pointed out in the literature (cf. Adelaar 1991, Montaño Aragón 1987). The number given by the *censo indígena rural de tierras bajas* (CIRTB) of 1996, which is cited in all more recent publications (including the Ethnologue 2005), is 1,452. If the number of members of the ethnic group, 6,516 (cf. above) is more or less correct, this seems to be a realistic count.

Of the people who speak Movima, usually not younger than 45, the degree of bilingualism is very high: all speakers of Movima also speak the local variety of Spanish. Only a couple of old people in Santa Ana do not seem to speak Spanish, even though they understand it. It seems that in the small communities, the situation is not very different from that in Santa Ana: there are only very few monolinguals, and all children grow up with Spanish.[10] Many of the older speakers were raised monolingually in Movima and learned Spanish at a later stage. They are more fluent in Movima than in Spanish. Others grew up bilingually, and some learned Spanish first and Movima during their childhood. Many people understand Movima perfectly and have a perfect pronunciation, but are not used to speaking it and cannot carry on a conversation in this language.

[9] As a first step in this direction, I taught a class on the phoneme system, of which I also prepared and distributed a written version (Haude in press). In addition, I distributed a collection of Movima texts with Spanish translation.

[10] In a report by PROEIB Andes (Ministerio de Educación 2001), however, it is stated that in the small community Maravillas, near Exaltación (province Yacuma), Movima is also spoken by children.

1.6. Genetic affiliation

At the present time, Movima must be taken to be linguistically unclassified. The language has been considered by some as belonging to the Chibcha phylum (cf. Tovar & Larrucea 1984: 78). Tovar & Larrucea (1984) suggested that it may be related to Canichana. The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) states that it is "reported to be Tucanoan", without giving a source. However, Movima is generally considered to be an isolated language (Gordon 2005; Adelaar 1991: 57; Aikhenvald & Dixon 1999: 367; Ibarra Grasso 1982: 148; Kaufman 1990: 49; Key 1979: 67; Loukotka 1968: 164). Greenberg (1987) classifies it as Macro-Tucanoan, a subgroup of his large Amerind language type, but as Campbell (1997: 326) points out, there is no evidence for Greenberg's subgroups yet.

During the present study, no striking similarities of Movima with any other language could be detected that suggest a genetic relationship. However, Movima displays many areal features, as outlined in 1.9 below.

1.7. History of linguistic description

The first materials of the Movima language are lists of words and phrases (Hervás y Panduro 1787, D'Orbigny 1838, Heath 1883, Cardús 1886, Chamberlain 1910, Créqui-Montfort & Rivet 1914, del Castillo 1929). Of these older lists, the one produced by the missionary Cardús (1886) is most reproduced in the literature. In the 1960s, Movima was studied extensively by Robert and Judith Judy of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The results include a word list with a grammatical sketch (1962a), an outline of the phoneme inventory (1962b), two articles on specific topics (J. Judy 1965 and R. Judy 1965), and a tagmemic grammar (1965 and 1967).

A government-financed alphabetization campaign led by Colette Grinevald in 1995 raised new interest in the language. An alphabet was created by the speakers, mainly based on the orthography used by Judy and Judy, but with some changes (most importantly, *c* and *qu* were replaced by *k*). The workshops, furthermore, resulted in the publication of a collection of stories in Movima (Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y Planificación 1998) and in a course book introducing the alphabet (Ministerio de Educación et al. 2003). Also, Colette Grinevald published an article on Movima noun classifiers (Grinevald 2002). Of the several unpublished materials inspired by the workshops, an extensive word list by Eligardo Chirimani (1998) deserves special mention. It needs to be said that without those workshops, the present grammar may not have been written: it is because of the interest expressed by the Movima participants that Movima was proposed to me as a language of research.

The present research project is part of the Spinoza project "Lexicon and Syntax" directed by Pieter Muysken, which aims at describing as many of the language isolates in Amazonian Bolivia and Brazil as possible. It is hoped that it will serve as a basis for the production of materials that will help the Movimas to teach and learn their ancestral language.

1.8. Field work, consultants, and data

While it has benefited from earlier publications, the present study is based entirely on my own elicitation and text data. These were collected during four field trips to Santa Ana del Yacuma between 2001–2004, amounting to approximately nine months in total. The initial contact was with the Subcentral Indígena Movima. The speakers I mainly worked with were Esaltación Amblo Ovales, Eligardo Chirimani Malue, and Julia Malale Humasa. Apart from Eligardo Chirimani, the secretary of education of the Subcentral Indígena in 2001, I met my consultants through private contacts.

I will briefly sketch the linguistic background of my three main consultants. Esaltación Amblo was raised monolingually in Movima by her grandparents, who did not speak Spanish, and learned Spanish as a teenager. Her knowlegde of Movima is renowned in the speaker community. She permanently lives with relatives of the same age or older (mother, aunt, sister, and several cousins), all of whom are native speakers, so that Movima is the principal language spoken in the compound. Spanish is spoken only with the children and grandchildren, who are not always at home. Julia Malale also has Movima as her first language. She lives with her children and grandchildren, and it seems that Spanish is the principal language spoken at home. Eligardo Chirimani grew up bilingually. He does not speak Movima fluently, but understands and pronounces it perfectly and has excellent judgement about the language. With him, I translated and analysed all the texts I transcribed.

Most elicitation was carried out with Esaltación Amblo in 2002 and 2003, who also provided more than half of the texts on which this grammar is based. Julia Malale was my main consultant during my first and my last stay. Other speakers with whom I had several elicitation sessions were Griselda Cáumol, Herlan Rojas, Balvina Almaquio, and Ela Rossel. In this way, I was able to check all my findings with at least two speakers. With a number of other speakers I worked only sporadically. In Table 1, the contributors to this grammar are listed. I generally paid per hour, a wage similar to that of a local teacher.[11]

I carried out the elicitation in Spanish, but did not use questionnaires or ask for translations from Spanish. The technique I mainly used and which worked very well was setting up (imagined) contexts. This was facilitated by the fact that the elicitation was carried out at the speakers' homes. For certain topics, I used elicitation stimuli developed by the Max Planck-Insitute for Psycholinguistics Nijmegen.[12]

[11] Since for several reasons, payment in fieldwork is often a matter of debate, I have to stress that in my particular field situation it proved to be a very good basis for working together. Also people who did not work with me appreciated the fact that I paid my consultants. Paying in goods, as I did at the beginning when I was not yet sure how to handle the issue, in contrast, gave me an awkward, patronizing feeling.

[12] In particular, the "Picture series for Positional Verbs" (Ameka et al. 1999) and the "Demonstrative Questionnaire" (Wilkins 1999).

Table 1. Consultants (in alphabetical order of first surname)

	sex	age (appr.) in 2001	code	transcribed text (in hours)
Balvina Almaquio Saucedo	f	69	BA	00:40
Esaltación Amblo Ovales	f	55	EA	> 05:00
Jovina Amblo Ovales	f	87	JA	00:20
Germán Barba	m	83	GB	00.12
Nataniel Cáumol	m	73	NC	00:02
Griselda Cáumol Mayapo	f	55	GC	00:20
Peregrina Cayú Mazaro	f	67	PC	00:05
Eligardo Chirimani Malue	m	52	EC	–
Etelvina Gualujna Amblo	f	64	EG	00:22
Nelly Gualusna Saucedo	f	48	NG	00:01
Ajdón Humasa	m	52	AH	00:06
Julia Malale Humasa	f	64	JM	00.16
Delmira Masaro Yoqui	f	78	DM	00:04
Hérlan Rojas Rossel	m	54	HR	00:35
Ela Rossel Mole	f	52	ER	00:05
Eleuterio Mole Vargas	m	59	EM	00:08
Dora Vargas	f	59	DV	00:01
Luis Yalauma	m	56	LY	00:04
Alejandro Yónima	m	64	AY	00:02

The text corpus consists of over 60 audio-recorded, transcribed and translated texts, which together constitute about eight hours. Most of the texts are "personal narratives", as defined by Vaux & Cooper (1999: 183). About one hour consists of procedural or descriptive texts. The transcribed part of a text relating historical events (by Germán Barba, about the arrival of the first cows in Santa Ana) is about a quarter of an hour long. The transcribed dialogues constitute approximately 20 minutes. Apart from the dialogues, which were generally spontaneous, the texts can be classified as "staged communicative events" (cf. Himmelmann 1998: 185), since I usually explicitly asked the speakers to talk to me in Movima. There are no recordings of folk tales or mythological texts. While some younger people say that old speakers must still have some knowledge of narrations of this kind, the old speakers maintain that they do not remember anything.

1.9. Structural characteristics of Movima

Movima has many characteristics typical of Amazonian languages. I will compare it to the features listed as typically Amazonian in Dixon & Aikhenvald (1999: 8f.).

(a) *polysynthetic, head-marking, agglutinating with little fusion*
Movima is agglutinating, i.e., most morphemes have only one meaning, and displays a limited degree of fusion. It is head-marking in that one transitive argument as well as

possession are marked on the predicate or possessed noun, respectively. It is problematic to classify the language as polysynthetic, however. Polysynthetic features of Movima are that a clause can consist of the predicate alone, and that there is productive noun incorporation. However, while voice/valency and applicative categories are encoded by verbal morphology, tense, location, and direction (typical features of polysynthesis in Amazonian languages, cf. Payne 1990: 214) are not morphologically expressed on the verb, and person only to a limited degree. Moreover, Movima is syntactically fairly configurational (verb-initial), a feature untypical of polysynthetic languages.

(b) */i/ in the vowel inventory, contrastive nasalization of vowels*
Neither the central unrounded vowel [ɨ], nor contrastive nasalization of vowels exist in Movima. The five vowel phonemes are i, e, a, o, u.

(c) *Extensive classifier and/or semantically based gender systems*
Movima has a semantically-based gender system, marked on the referential elements (articles, pronouns, demonstratives). This system is independent of the classifier system, which seems to have arisen through compounding and incorporation.

(d) *Only few oblique cases*
Indeed, there is only one oblique case in Movima, marked by the prefix *n-* on the referential elements (articles and pronominal forms). Otherwise, case marking is absent.

(e) *Possession marked on the possessed noun, not on the possessor; most widespread word order is 'possessor possessed'*
Possession is marked on the possessed noun. Since the possessed noun is marked by an enclitic encoding the possessor, however, the word order is 'possessed possessor'.

(f) *Just one core argument cross-referenced on the verb*
This is true for Movima: the only core argument that is obligatorily cross-referenced is the transitive argument encoding the participant higher on the animacy hierarchy.

(g) *'Split-ergative' systems arise due to complex rules determining which core argument is cross-referenced on the verb*
A split-ergative pattern can indeed be observed in Movima, arising from the hierarchical alignment system: the transitive argument lower on the animacy hierarchy (in subordinate and negative clause, the argument higher on the hierarchy) is encoded like the intransitive argument, regardless of whether it is A or O.

(h) *The bound pronominal forms marking a possessor within an NP are the same as one of the bound pronominal paradigms for marking core arguments of a clause*
This is indeed the case. The possessor is encoded in the same way as the first argument of a transitive clause, which is the only argument obligatorily encoded.

(i) *Most languages have prefixes, and there are fewer prefix than suffix positions*
There is only one "real" prefix in Movima, the oblique case marker *n-*. Other prefixes are reduplicated elements. Otherwise, Movima is mainly suffixing.

(j) *(On typical order of prefixes)*
Does not apply: only one prefix (*n-* or a reduplicated element) can occur at a time.

(k) *Most verbal categories (e.g. tense, aspect, modality, direction) are expressed through optional suffixes*
All these categories are expressed not by suffixes, but by optional particles in Movima, whose distribution in the clause is relatively free. Tense is, in addition, a nominal category, expressed by referential elements.

(l) *Subordinate clauses typically involve nominalized verbs, the type of subordination being marked on the verb*
Indeed, subordination (as well as main-clause negation) always involves nominalization of the predicate. The type of subordination, however, is either not overtly indicated, or indicated by a particle preceding the subordinate clause.

(m) *If there is noun incorporation, typically only those nouns which are obligatorily possessed can be incorporated, and they typically precede the verb root*
There are different types of productive noun incorporation, involving unpossessed nouns or body-part-terms. Apart form body-part terms, obligatorily possessed nouns cannot be incorporated. The incorporated nominal element follows the root.

(n) *In many languages adverbs and adpositions may be incorporated into the verb*
This does not seem to be the case in Movima.

(o) *There is generally only a small class of lexical numbers*
Indeed, there are only four number terms, from 1 to 4, and the terms for 1 and 4 seem to be morphologically complex ("no other" and "several times two," respectively).

As can be seen, Movima only deviates in minor points from the typical Amazonian patterns observed by Dixon and Aikhenvald, while the similarities are striking. In the following paragraphs, I will point out some other features of Movima, not mentioned in connection with the list above.

Lexical tone, a feature found in a number of Amazonian languages, is not present in Movima. Instead, there is contrastive vowel length. A consonant which deserves special mention, since it does not seem to be common in the area, is the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/. The syllable structure is simple: either CV or CVC.

Morphological features which deserve special mention include the existence of an infix, inserted according to metric criteria. Different types of reduplication are not only frequent, but also serve a wide range of functions which are noteworthy from a cross-linguistic perspective. These include, among other things, voice marking, the marking of inalienable possession, the expression of predicative possession, and nominalization. Furthermore, Movima uses

different cliticization processes to distinguish grammatical relations.

The major parts of speech, distinguished by their morphological properties, are verbs, nouns, and particles. Adjectives form a subclass of nouns. Referential elements (articles, pronouns, demonstratives) constitute a category of their own, but display nounlike rather than verblike properties. The class of particles is heterogeneous, the defining feature being that particles are not productively combined with other morphemes. There are no ideophones.

The fine-grained system of reference and deixis, expressed by referential elements (articles, pronouns, demonstratives) is highly complicated, something which is not uncommon for Amazonian languages. Gender, number, presence, absence, visibility, position, and motion form the main parameters of deictic reference. The system also marks temporal categories on nominal constituents, differentiating between actual or future existence and ceased existence of the referent.

Compounding and incorporation occur frequently. The different degrees of lexicalization of words created by these processes make the morphological description of Movima difficult. The morphological entities that can form part of a compound or can be incorporated into a verb are nouns, noun roots, truncated nominal elements, and other bound elements with lexical content. Many of these morphemes have a classificatory function, indicating shape and consistency of an entity. All this is typical for Amazonian languages (cf. Payne 1990). Demonstratives and other pronouns are not combined with nominal elements.

Inalienable possession is an important criterion for the semantic classification of nouns. Relational (inalienably possessed) nouns have to be overtly marked when denoting an unpossessed or inalienably possessed entity; conversely, non-relational nouns are overtly marked when denoting an inalienably possessed entity.

A clause can have maximally two core arguments, depending on the valency of the verb. The valency of a verb is generally overtly indicated by voice markers, which also specify the semantic role(s) of the argument(s). The productivity and function of voice markers depend on semantic properties of the base. Grammatical relations are distinguished by the way in which the argument is cliticized to the base. It seems that Movima displays syntactic ergativity, most clearly in relative clauses.

As mentioned above, only the transitive argument higher on the animacy hierarchy is obligatorily encoded. Strikingly, there is no obligatory marker for the first person singular, so that this person is implicit on a bivalent predicate unmarked for person. This is untypical for Amazonian languages (Dan Everett, p.c.). It has to do with the fact that, while all persons, except the first, are encoded by enclitics, first and second person are (also) encoded by optional bound pronouns preceding the predicate. The first person is not encoded by an enclitic, but by the optional preverbal form only.

There is no copula. Instead, in equational or possessive clauses, nouns function as predicates. Morphological verbs can occur in NPs, their voice marker specifying the referent. Serial verb constructions only exist to a very limited degree, and always involve verbs of directed motion.

1.10. The organization of this book

The organization of this book is as follows. Chapter 2 describes the phonological and morphophonological properties of the language. In the section on intonation, the difference between declarative and interrogative sentences is explained.

In the first part of Chapter 3, the different morphological units and processes are introduced, including the different kinds of cliticization by which the grammatical relations are distinguished. The second part of this chapter provides an overview of the parts of speech in Movima, paying special attention to the status of adjectives.

The morphological, semantic, and pragmatic properties of the different types of referential elements, which play a central role in the grammar of Movima, are described in Ch. 4.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with noun morphology. In Ch. 5, independent nouns, compounds, and the different kinds of bound nominal elements (bound roots etc., including classificatory elements) are described. Since possession is central for the semantic classification of nouns and their morphological properties, this phenomenon is described separately in Ch. 6.

Chapter 7 deals with Movima syntax. Here, clause structure and argument encoding are described, the hierarchical alignment system is explained, and different sentence types are presented. The syntactic effect of argument incorporation, whose morphological characteristics are presented in Ch. 9, is also illustrated in this chapter. Chapter 7 furthermore includes a description of the different types of subordination. In this way, negation, which is expressed differently for main and subordinate clauses, can be described in one single section. Coordination, which involves the combination of two main clauses, is described in Ch. 12, which deals with the different types of coordinating particles.

The three following chapters, 8, 9, and 10, are dedicated to verb morphology. In Ch. 8, the intriguing system of voice and valency marking is described. Since this system interacts closely with semantic and lexical properties of the verbal bases, the different types of verb roots and bases are described in this chapter as well.

Chapter 9 gives a more detailed account of complex verbal bases, which contain morphological elements that interact with the valency of the verb. In the first part of this chapter, the different types of noun incorporation are described: argument incorporation, which leads to a decrease in valency, and modifier incorporation, which occurs prior to valency assignment. The second part describes the causative, benefactive, and applicative morphemes.

Chapter 10 deals with other verbal morphemes, which have a modal and/or an aspectual function. Formally, they have in common that they do not interact with verbal valency, even though their function and productivity can be influenced by the valency properties of the base.

In Chapter 11, nominalizing and verbalizing morphemes are presented. Some of these are also described, where relevant, in earlier chapters, (e.g., in Ch. 3 on the noun/verb distinction, in Ch. 7 on subordination). Since nominalization and verbalization often interact, both processes are described together in this chapter.

Chapter 12 gives an overview of the large class of particles. These inlude clause-coordinating particles, TAM particles, and discourse particles.

1.11.Presentation of the data

The presentation of the Movima data as well as the English translation given deserve some explanation.

When a bivalent predicate in Movima is not combined with a cliticized referential element, this automatically implies that the first argument is the first person singular. All bivalent verbs, furthermore, have an implicit second argument, even though it is not obligatorily overtly realized. Therefore, a simple bivalent verb without person marking is translated into English as a full clause with a first person singular subject; the implied second argument is always represented as "X":

(1) *sal-na* 'I look for X.'

Temporal categories are often not overtly indicated in Movima, but inferred from the context. Hence, a clause unmarked for tense can imply any temporal category (past, present, future), and example (1) can mean 'I (have) looked for X,' 'I will look for X,' etc. This is a problem for the English translation, which I have solved as follows: examples where no context exists (in particular, elicitation examples) are translated into the English simple present, even when this does not sound like good English. Examples where a temporal context exists, even when this cannot be seen in the example itself, are translated in a way which fits into this context (e.g., 'I looked for X' in (1)). In many examples, the translation fits with the Movima data, since tense is often reflected in the article.

An area where Movima displays finer differentiations than English is spatial deixis: articles, pronouns and demonstratives always indicate whether a referent is present, absent, in existence or out of existence. Unless relevant for the discussion, I do not reflect these categories in the English translation:

(2)	a.	***i'nes***	*kwe:ya*	b.	***kinos***	*kwe:ya*	c.	***isnos***	***kwe:ya***
		ART.f	woman		ART.f.a	woman		ART.f.p	woman
		'the/a woman (present)'			'the/a woman (absent)'			'the/a woman (deceased)'	
		→ 'the/a woman'			'the/a woman'			'the/a woman'	

Occasionally, I use the indices $_i$ and $_j$ when it is necessary to indicate whether two are coreferential or not:

(3) *di' joy-sicha'kwa='ne joy-chel--i'ne, jankwa=sne*
HYP go-DES=f go-R/R--f say=f.a
'If she$_i$ wants to go, she$_i$ goes, she$_j$ said.'

In the English translations, I use round brackets (as in (2)a and b) for relevant information implicit in the Movima example. Contextual information, which cannot be inferred from the example, is given in square brackets:

(4) *sal-na* 'I look for [her].'

Many particles indicating tense, aspect, and mood (henceforth TAM) and discourse particles

are hard to translate. For example, it is not clear how the particle *rey* in (5), which occurs in almost every sentence, should be translated:

(5) *bo* ***rey*** *ban-cho* *os* *beń'i*
REAS again bare-BR.inside ART.n.p grassland
'Because the savannah was flat (you know/of course?).' {EA, Cbba 164}

Therefore, I often do not translate these particles.

Square brackets with dots […] in the Movima example mean that a part of the text has been omitted.

It was necessary to employ special symbols representing different morphological processes. Most are taken from the Leipzig Glossing Rules of 2003, like those given in (6).[13] Others, shown in (7), are specifically introduced for the purpose of the present description.

(6) ~ reduplication
< > infixation

(7) = (internal) cliticization
-- external cliticization

As suggested by the Leipzig Glossing Rules, I sometimes use a colon (:) in the glosses when it is not practical to segment the Movima word. For example, when a morphologically complex noun is incorporated into a verb, this process can be represented more adequately when the different morphemes of the noun are not set apart. In (8), an example is given of a complex noun (cf. (8)a) that is incorporated into a verb (cf. (8)b). From the glosses in (8)b, it can be seen that the noun consists of several morphemes. In (8)c, the morphemes are separated; here, it is not directly clear from the representation whether the suffix *-łe* modifies the verb or, as is actually the case, belongs to the noun.

(8) a. *kwa-n-łe*
BR.mouth-LN-CO
'upper side, opening'

b. *bań-kwanłe*
put-BR.mouth:LN:CO
'to be put on top'

c. *bań-kwa-n-łe*
put-BR.mouth-LN-CO
'to be put on top'

The source of the examples is usually indicated. Between braces, the speaker code is given (cf. Table 1), followed by either a word, an abbreviation, or a number. In text examples, the speaker code is followed by words or by an abbreviation indicating the text, as shown (9)a. Elicitation examples are marked by a number following the speaker code, as in (9)b.[14] Examples from elicitation on demonstratives are marked by "DEM", as in (9)c.

[13] The Leipzig Glossing Rules can be found in the internet under http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html.

[14] The numbers refer to the sources in my Shoebox database.

(9) a. {EA, Yuca 003}
{HR, TX 010}
{AH, EA&AH 035}

b. {EA 10, 080}
{EC 1, 100}
{EC 1, 100}

c. {EA, DEM 103}

2 Phonology

This chapter provides an overview of the phoneme inventory, syllable structure, suprasegmental features, and morphophonemics in Movima. In addition, the spelling conventions in the remainder of this book are introduced.

This chapter is structured as follows. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 present the vowel and consonant inventories, respectively. Section 2.3, on the allophony of voiceless plosives, describes the glottal stop and the nasalized plosives, which have a special status in the system. Phonological processes like assimilation and aspiration are described in Sections 2.4–2.6. Section 2.7 deals with syllable structure. Suprasegmental features (stress, length, and tone), as well as intonation, are discussed in Section 2.8. In section 2.9, on morphophonemics, the effects of morphological processes on phonology, and vice versa, are described. This includes prosodic effects of morphological processes, vowel identity of epenthetic vowels, morphologically caused allophony, and vowel dissimilation in certain morphemes. Section 2.10, finally, introduces the spelling used in this grammar.

A remark on some symbols used in this chapter is necessary. There are different types of morphological processes (described in in 2.9.1 below and Ch. 3), which have different effects on the structure of a phonological unit. I have chosen to distinguish the processes using spcific symbols, some of them unconventional:

(1)

-	affixation: creates a phonological word
=	internal cliticization: creates a phonological word with deviant prosodic properties
--	external cliticization: does not participate in the phonological domain of the word, but can change its syllable structure
+	undefined combination of morphemes, used in contexts where no specification of the process is required

In addition, a dot is used in certain cases where it is necessary to indicate a syllable boundary. It should also be pointed out that while a colon indicates vowel length in the Movima examples, in the glosses, it indicates that an unsegmented element consists of several segmentable parts.[15]

[15] This use of the colon is adapted from the Leipzig Glossing Rules: http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html

2.1. The vowel inventory

The five vowel phonemes in Movima are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Movima vowel phonemes

i		**u**
e		**o**
	a	

The vowels /e/ and /o/ have qualities that lie between mid-open and mid-close. /e/ seems closer to [ɛ] than to cardinal [e], i.e. [ɛ̨], and /o/ seems closer to [ɔ] than [o], i.e. [ɔ̝], as shown in (2) and (3), respectively.

(2) ['ɗɛ̨:na] /'dɛ:na/ 'my bed'

(3) [hɔ̝'wɔ̝:k^{w}a] /ho'wo:k^{w}a/ 'to cough'

In the phonetic transcription, the symbols [ɛ] and [ɔ] will be used without the diacritics from now on.

The phonemic contrasts between the more closely related vowels are demonstrated by the following pairs.

/o/ vs. /u/:

(4) [ʔɔ'sɔʔ] /o'sok/ DM.p.n
[ʔu'sɔʔ] /u'sok/ DM.p.m

(5) ['ʔaj^{ʔ}ku] /'aj^{ʔ}ku/ 'my aunt'
['ɗajkɔ] /'dajko/ 'to be underneath'

/o/ vs. /a/:

(6) [ʔɔs] /os/ ART.n.p
[ʔas] /as/ ART.n.a

/e/ vs. /.i/:

(7) ['ʔɛlna] /'elna/ 'I give it to X as a present.'
['ʔilna] /'ilna/ 'I spread X in the sun.'

(8) ['hɔʔmɛ] /'hokme/ 'bird, chicken'
['hɔʔmi] /'hokmi/ 'recently'

/ɛ/ vs. /a/:

(9)	['hɛjna]	/'hejna/	'I arrive from X.'
	['hajna]	/'hajna/	DSC
(10)	[pɛ:ɾa]	/'pe:ra/	'reed'
	[pɛ:ɾɛ]	/'pe:re/	'plantain'

2.1.1. Phonemic vowel length

Two types of vowel length can be distinguished in Movima: lengthening due to prosodic factors, described in 2.8.2, and phonemic length. Prosodic lengthening occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word. Phonemic length occurs when a vowel is long in a position where it would be expected to be short, i.e. outside the penultimate-syllable position. Consider the following minimal pairs which illustrate phonemic length. In (11)a and (12)a, the vowel of the first syllable is short, as would be predicted from the lengthening rule (cf. 2.8.2). In (11)b and (12)b, in contrast, the vowel is long, even though it is not in penultimate position.

(11)	a.	[ɗɛ'wahna]	/d**e'**wahna/	'I see X.'
	b.	[ɗɛ:'wahna]	/d**e:'**wahna/	'I see tracks of X.'
(12)	a.	[ɓa'lɔ:si]	/b**a'**lo:si/	'pink'
	b.	[ɓa:'lɔ:si]	/b**a:'**lo:si/	'to be run out of resin'

Vowels can also be short in a position where they would be expected to be long, i.e. in penultimate-syllable position. This is the case in (13)b and (14)b, which contrast with (13)a and (14)a:

(13)	a.	['ʔɛ:ɬan]	/'**e:**ɬan/	'your name'
	b.	['ʔɛɬan]	/'**e**ɬan/	'your comb'
(14)	a.	['hɛmɛs]	/'h**e**mes/	'all the time'
	b.	['hɛ:mɛs]	/'h**e:**mes/	'day'

Many of these cases can be explained, at least historically, by morphophonemics (cf. 2.9 below).

Due to these cases of unpredictable lengthening, I represent vowel length everywhere in the phonemic transcription, no matter whether it is of the phonemic or of the prosodic type.

2.2. The consonant inventory

The consonant phonemes are presented in Table 3. Brackets signal non-native consonants. The question mark next to the glottal stop indicates that its status in the phoneme inventory is not entirely clear (cf. 2.3.3 below).

Table 3. Movima consonant phonemes

	bilabial		alveolar		palatal	velar		glottal
voicing	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
plosives:								
simple	p		t			k	(g)	ʔ(?)
labialized						k^w		
implosive		b		d				
affricate					tʃ			
fricative	(f)	β	s					h
lateral fricative			ɬ					
nasals		m		n				
lateral				l				
approximant								
simple vibrant				r				
glides		w			j			
glottalized								$j^ʔ$

In the remainder of this section, each phoneme is described separately, and contrasted with one or several phonetically similar phonemes in onset and (if existing) coda position. The glottal stop will be discussed separately in 2.3.3.

In cases where the spelling used in the remainder of this book differs from the phonological representation of a phoneme, or where one phoneme is represented by two different symbols in the orthography, this is explicitly indicated (cf. 2.10 for more detailed comments).

/p/

In onset position, /p/ is realized as the voiceless bilabial plosive [p]. In coda position, /p/ is realized as a complex glottal stop with a preceding bilabial closure and a nasal release: [p͡ʔ^m] (described in detail in 2.3.1 below).

/p/ vs. /b/:

(15)	['pajɬim]	/'pajɬim/	‘forest isle’
	['ɓajɬim]	/'bajɬim/	‘field’

/p/ vs. /m/:

(16)	['paʔa]	/'paʔa/	‘my father’
	['maʔa]	/'maʔa/	‘my mother’

(17)	['sup͡ʔᵐna]	/'supna/	'I tie X.'
	['sumna]	/'sumna/	'I shrink X.'

According to its realization, /p/ is orthographically represented as <p> or as <ṁ> in the remainder of this book.

/t/

The phoneme /t/ is realized as the voiceless alveolar stop [t] in onset position, and as a glottal stop with a preceding alveolar closure and a nasal release ([t͡ʔⁿ]) in coda position (cf. 2.3.1).

/t/ vs. /d/:

(18)	['tanna]	/'tanna/	'I cut X.'
	['ɗanna]	/'danna/	'I chew on X.'

/t/ vs. /n/:

(19)	['tɔnna]	/'tonna/	'I repair X.'
	['nɔnna]	/'nonna/	'I breast-feed X.'
(20)	['pɛt͡ʔⁿna]	/'petna/	'I greet X.'
	['pɛnna]	/'penna/	'my landing place'

/t/ vs. /tʃ/:

(21)	['tʃahna]	/'tʃahna/	'I add something to X.'
	['tahna]	/'tahna/	'I smash X.'

According to its realization, /t/ is orthographically represented as <t> or as <ṅ> in the remainder of this book.

/k/

The phoneme /k/ is pronounced as the voiceless velar plosive [k] in onset position. In coda position, it is realized as a glottal stop with a vocalic release, [ʔᵛ] (cf. 2.3.1 below).

/k/ vs. /kʷ/:

(22)	['kanan]	/'kanan/	'your food'
	['kʷa:nan]	/'kʷa:nan/	'your mouth'

/k/ vs. /h/:

(23)	['kajna]	/'kajna/	'my eating place'
	['hajna]	/'hajna/	DSC
(24)	[ɗi'nɔʔ]	/di'nok/	'heavy'
	['ɗi:nɔh]	/'di:noh/	'upper leg'

According to its realization, /k/ is represented as <k> or as <'> in the remainder of this book.

/g/
The voiced velar, non-implosive stop /g/, pronounced [g], only occurs in Spanish loans:

(25)	[ʔaɓɔ'ga:ɗɔ]	/abo'ga:do/	'lawyer'	(Sp. *abogado*)
	[ʔɛntɾɛ'gaɾna]	/entre'garna/	'I hand something over to X.'	(Sp. *entregar*)

/k^{w}/
/k^{w}/ is a voiceless velar stop with simultaneous lip rounding, [k^{w}]. It only occurs in onset position. It does not occur before the rounded vowels, /u/ and /o/.

/k^{w}/ vs. /k/: cf. (22)

/k^{w}/ vs. /w/:

(26)	['k^{w}ahna]	/'k^{w}ahna/	'I give something to X.'
	['wahna]	/'wahna/	'I weed X.'

In the remainder of this book, /k^{w}/ is orthographically represented as <kw>.

/tʃ/
/tʃ/ is an alveopalatal affricate. It only occurs in onset position.

/tʃ/ vs. /t/: cf. (21).

/tʃ/ vs. /s/:

(27)	['tʃujna]	/'tʃujna/	'I thicken X.'
	['sujna]	/'sujna/	'I deprive X of something.'

/tʃ/ is orthographically represented as <ch> in the remainder of this book.

/b/
/b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive with a slightly implosive realization: [ɓ]. It only occurs in onset position.

/b/ vs. /p/: cf. (15)

/b/ vs. /m/:

(28)	['ɓat$\widehat{\text{ʔ}}^{\text{n}}$na]	/'batna/	'I put X on something.'
	['mat$\widehat{\text{ʔ}}^{\text{n}}$na]	/'matna/	'I loosen X.'

/b/ vs. /β/:

(29)	[ɓat$\widehat{\text{ʔ}}^{\text{n}}$na]	/'batna/	'I put X on something.'
	[βat$\widehat{\text{ʔ}}^{\text{n}}$na]	/'βatna/	'my place of appearance'

In some Spanish loans, the Spanish phoneme /β/ is replaced by /b/ in Movima (otherwise by /w/, cf. below):

(30) [ʔaɓɔ'ga:ɗɔ] /abo'ga:do/ 'lawyer' (Sp. *abogado*)

/d/

/d/ is a voiced alveolar plosive with a slightly implosive realization. Like /b/, it only occurs in onset position.

/d/ vs. /t/: cf. (18)

/d/ vs. /n/:

(31)	[ɗa'jaʔ]	/da'jak/	DUR.nst
	[na'jaʔ]	/na'jak/	'where?'

/d/ vs. /r/:

(32)	['ɗɔʔna]	/'dokna/	'I put X on.'
	['ɾɔʔna]	/'rokna/	'I cover X.'

/β/

/β/ is the voiced bilabial fricative [β]. This phoneme is not very frequent in Movima. It occurs only in onset position. As will be shown below (2.9.7), in a reduplication environment, [β] regularly alternates with [ɓ]. Elsewhere, however, /β/ and /b/ are phonemically distinct, as was shown by (29) above.

/β/ vs. /b/: cf. (29)

The contrast between /β/ and /w/ can, for the time being, only be illustrated by the near-minimal pair in (33). Native speakers are aware of the difference between these sounds, a wrong pronunciation being generally noticed and corrected. Stronger evidence for their contrast, however, still needs to be found.

/β/ vs. /w/:

(33)	[la'βik͡ʔᵑkʷa]	/la'βitkʷa/	'superficial skin (e.g. of a fruit)'
	[la:'wit͡ʔⁿ]	/la:'wit/	'soft'

/β/ is orthographically represented as <v> in the remainder of this book. Its allophone [ɓ] is represented as <b>.

/f/

Like the plosive /g/, the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, pronounced as [f], only occurs in Spanish loans:[16]

(34)	[ʔɛnfɛɾ'mɛ:ɾa]	/enfer'me:ra/	'nurse'	(Sp. *enfermera*)
	[pɔɾɔ'fɛsɔɾ]	/poro'fesor/	'teacher'	(Sp. *profesor*)
	[fi'ɗɛjɔ]	/fi'de:jo/	'pasta'	(Sp. *fideo*)

In some cases, however, the Spanish /f/ is replaced by /p/:

(35)	[pɛ'ɾɛ:nɔ]	/pe're:no/	'breaks, mouthpiece of the bridle'	(Sp. *freno*)
	[pi'jɛsta]	/pi'jesta/	'*fiesta*'	(Sp. *fiesta*)

/s/

/s/ is the voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. It occurs both in onset and in coda position. In word-final position, it is sometimes realized as [h] (cf. 2.6 below). However, as shown by (37), it contrasts with /h/ in word-internal coda position.

/s/ vs. /h/

(36)	['sujna]	/'sujna/	'I deprive X of something.'
	['hujna]	/'hujna/	'I pierce X with my finger.'

(37)	[ʔas'ɬaɓaɬ]	/as'ɬabaɬ/	'to sit on the ground'
	[ʔah'ɬaɓaɬ]	/ah'ɬabaɬ/	'to go by foot'

/s/ vs. /ɬ/:

(38)	['samna]	/'samna/	'to weave'
	['ɬap͡ʔᵐna]	/'ɬapna/	'I bathe X.'

(39)	['wasna]	/'wasna/	'I stir X slowly.'
	['waɬna]	/'waɬna/	'I scratch X.'

/h/

The phoneme /h/ is the voiceless glottal fricative [h].

/h/ vs. /s/: cf. (36), (37)

/h/ vs. /ɬ/:

(40)	['hɔjna]	/'hojna/	'the place I am going to'
	['ɬɔjna]	/'ɬojna/	'I dye X.'

[16] Occasionally, this consonant may be pronounced as the bilabial voiceless fricative [ɸ].

(41) ['wahna] /'wahna/ ‘I weed X.’
['waɬna] /'waɬna/ ‘I scratch X.’

/h/ vs. ø:
(42) ['ha:ji] /'ha:ji/ ‘to run’
[ha'la:jih] /ha'la:jih/ ‘to be angry’

/h/ is orthographically represented as <j>.

/ɬ/
The phoneme /ɬ/ is the voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ]. It is distinct from the lateral approximant /l/, as shown by (43) and (44):

/ɬ/ vs. /l/:
(43) [ɬap͡ʔᵐ'ɬap͡ʔᵐ] /ɬap'ɬap/ ‘to bathe’
[lap͡ʔᵐ'lap͡ʔᵐ] /lap'lap/ ‘to bite’

(44) ['ɓa:ɾuɬ] /'ba:ruɬ ‘my tongue’
['ɾulɾul] /'rulrul/ ‘jaguar’

However, in an unstressed voiced environment, it can spontaneously be realized as [l], as in (45):

(45) ['hɔjtʃɛɬis] ~ ['hɔjtʃɛlis] /'hɔjtʃeɬ--is/ ‘They go.’

/ɬ/ vs. /s/: cf. (38), (39)

/m/
This phoneme is always pronounced as the bilabial nasal [m]. It occurs both in onset and in coda position.

/m/ vs. /n/
(46) [na'na:ɾa] /na'na:ra/ ‘I set X free.’
[ma'na:ɾa] /ma'na:ra/ ‘to suffice’

(47) ['ka:ɾam] /'ka:ram/ ‘lizard’
['tʃɔɾan] /'tʃoran/ ‘your eye(s)’

/m/ vs. /p/: cf. (16)

/n/
The phoneme /n/, usually realized as [n], occurs in onset as well as in coda position. In coda position, it assimilates to the following consonant (cf. 2.4).

/n/ vs. /m/: cf. (46), (47)

/n/ vs. /t/: cf. (19), (20)

In the remainder of this book, /n/ is orthographically represented as <n>. In case of bilabial assimilation, it is represented as <m>.

/l/
/l/ is the lateral approximant [l]. It occurs in onset and coda position.

/l/ vs. /ɬ/: cf. (43), (44)

/l/ vs. /r/:

(48)	['pɔla]	/'pola/	'late, later'
	['pɔ:ra]	/'po:ra/	'quickly'

/r/
/r/ is a simple alveolar flap, [ɾ]. In word-initial position, it can have a slightly retroflex pronunciation:

(49)	['ɾɔ:ja] ~ ['ɽɔ:ja]	/'ro:ja/	'house'

/r/ occurs principally in onset position. It occurs in coda position only in Spanish loans (cf. (50)) and in one word of unknown origin (cf. (51)):

(50)	['tʃaɾki]	/'tʃarki/	'dried meat'	(< Sp. *charque*)
	[pɔɾɔ'fɛsɔɾ]	/poro'fesor/	'teacher'	(< Sp. *profesor*)
	[mɔ'tɔɾ]	/mo'tor/	'motorboat'	(< Sp. *motor*)
(51)	[tɔɾ'ɗɛta]	/tor'deta/	'mosquito net'	(< ?)

In certain reduplication contexts, /r/ is realized as [ɗ] (cf. 2.9.7 below). Otherwise, the two are contrastive.

/r/ vs. /d/: cf. (32)

/r/ vs. /l/: cf. (48)

/w/ and /j/
The glides /w/ and /j/ are phonetically non-syllabic realizations of the vowels [u] and [i], respectively. They are analysed as consonants because they occur next to and between vowels (cf. 2.7). The following examples show the occurrence of each glide in coda and in onset position:

(52) ['jɛjna] /'jejna/ ‘I want X.’
[jɛ'jaʔna] /je'jakna/ ‘I don't want anything.’

(53) ['lɛwlɛw] /'lewlew/ ‘to sing’
[lɛ'wa:lɔ] /le'wa:lo/ ‘to pray’

As was argued with regard to (33) above, the phonemic contrast between /w/ and /β/ is problematic. This is supported by the fact that /w/ replaces the Spanish phoneme /β/ in some Spanish loans:

(54) [ka'wa:jɔ] /ka'wa:jo/ ‘horse’ (Sp. *caballo*, [ka'βajɔ])

The phoneme /j/ is orthographically represented as <y> in the remainder of this book.

/jˀ/
This glottalized palatal glide is realized by raising the tongue to the palate and closing the glottis. The sound is phonetically best represented as [jʔ]. It only occurs in coda position and usually after the vowel /a/ (cf. (55)). There is one example of this phoneme occurring after /o/ (cf. (56)):

(55) ['ʔajʔku] /'ajˀku/ ‘my aunt’

(56) [matɔjʔ'ka:ɬɛ] /matojˀ'ka:ɬe/ ‘to swing back and forth’

/jˀ/ vs. /k/
(57) a. ['hajʔⁱ] /'hajˀ/ ‘Go!’
b. ['haʔᵃ] /'hak/ ‘just’

For the contrast between /jˀ/ and /j/, the only evidence that could be found so far is the near-minimal pair in (58):

/jˀ/ vs. /j/
(58) a. ['pajʔna] /'pajˀna/ ‘I smear X with something.'
b. ['ɓajna] /'bajna/ ‘I knock on X.’

The phonetic representation of (57)a shows that in word-final position, the release can be accompanied by a vowel. As is the case with the release vowel of the simple glottal stop, described in 2.3.3 below, this occurs before a pause.

When a base ending in /jˀ/ is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme, it is replaced by the simple glide /j/:

(59) a. ['ʔa**jʔ**ku] /'a**j**ˀku/ ‘my aunt’
b. [ʔa'**j**aʔku] /a'**j**akku/ ‘I have no aunt.’ (/ak/ IRR)

(60) a. ['pa**j**ʔna] /paj^{ʔ}na/ 'I smear X with sth.'
b. [pa'**j**a:ɬɛ] /pa'**j**a:ɬe/ 'I glue something onto X.' (/ɬe/ CO)

(61) a. [ɓa:si'ta**j**ʔ^{i}] /ba:si'taj^{ʔ}/ 'to finish sewing'
b. [ɓa:si'ta**j**ɛɬ] /ba:si'ta**j**eɬ/ 'to finish sewing' (/eɬ/ APPL)

Orthographically, this consonant is represented as <y'> in the remainder of this book.

2.3. The glottal stop and the nasally released glottalized voiceless plosives

Apart from the glottalized palatal glide /j^{ʔ}/ described above, there are three more consonants involving the glottal closure: the simple glottal stop [ʔ] and the voiceless nasally released glottalized plosives [p͡ʔ^{m}] and [t͡ʔ^{n}]. All three are allophones of the voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, as will be shown in 2.3.1. Details on their realization are given in 2.3.2. The status of the simple glottal stop in the consonant system, which is not always clear, is discussed in 2.3.3.

2.3.1. The glottal allophones of /p/, /t/, and /k/

The plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, realized as [p], [t], and [k] in onset position (cf. 2.2), have special allophones in coda position (the dot . represents the syllable boundary):

(62) /k/ → [ʔ] / __ .
/p/ → [p͡ʔ^{m}] / __ .
/t/ → [t͡ʔ^{n}] / __ .

The allophones of /k/ are shown by the pairs in (63) and (64):

(63) /'dukna/ ['ɗu**ʔ**na] 'I grind X.'
/duka'ro:so/ [ɗu**k**a'ɾɔ:sɔ] 'to grind rice'

(64) /ja:'juk/ [ja:'ju**ʔ^{u}**] 'to be well'
/ja:ju'kij^{ʔ}bi/ [ja:ju'**k**ijʔɓi] 'you (pl.) are well'

The allophony of /p/ and /t/ is exemplified by the pairs in (65) and (66), respectively:

(65) /'lapna/ ['la**p͡ʔ^{m}**na] 'I bite X.'
/la'pe:ɬe/ [la'**p**ɛ:ɬɛ] 'to bite'

(66) /'petna/ ['pɛ**t͡ʔ^{n}**na] 'I greet X.'
/pe'te:ɬe/ [pɛ'**t**ɛ:ɬɛ] 'to greet'

The pairs in (67)–(69) show that the phonemic contrast between /p/, /t/ and /k/ is maintained by the coda allophones:

/p/ vs. /k/:

(67)	[lup͡ʔᵐˈlup͡ʔᵐ]	/lup'lup/	‘to dive’
	[luʔᵘˈluʔᵘ]	/luk'luk/	‘rain’

/p/ vs. /t/:

(68)	['lap͡ʔᵐna]	/'lapna/	‘I bite X.’
	['lat͡ʔⁿna]	/'latna/	‘I chop X.’

/t/ vs. /k/:

(69)	['pɛt͡ʔⁿna]	/'petna/	‘I greet X.’
	['pɛʔᵉna]	/'pekna/	‘I lift X.’

The pronunciation of the glottal stop and the nasalized plosives deserves a more detailed description, given in the following section.

2.3.2. The realization of the glottal stop and the nasalized plosives

An important feature of the simple glottal stop [ʔ], which consists of a glottal closure, is that its release can be accompanied by a vowel (“release vowel”) identical to the vowel preceding the stop. This is most common when it occurs in word-final position before a pause, in which case the release vowel can even be lengthened. A pause usually occurs at the end of a clause, as in (70), in enumerations, as in (71), or in situations where the speaker hesitates, as in (72):

(70) /hajna i: **me'rek/**
DSC DM.spk.pl big
[hajna ʔi: **mɛ'rɛʔɛ:**]
‘These are already big.’ {EA, Rezar 021}

(71) /a'ro:so **kʷah'tak** tʃi'naɬa 'pe:re tʃa'ra:je ma'ropa 'ba:ra/
rice maize manioc plantain sugar_cane papaya finish:BE.ntr
[ʔa'ɾɔ:sɔ: **kʷah'taʔa**: tʃi'naɬa:…]
‘Rice, maize, manioc, plantains, sugar cane, papaya, everything!’
{EA, Vida Chaco 013}

(72) /'hojtʃeɬ hak 'isko hak … fi'ja:wu nos wul'najˀɬi/
go:R/R just PRO.pl.a just on_credit obl:ART.n.p sow:DR.1pl
['hɔytʃɛɬ haʔ 'ʔiskɔ ha**ʔa:** fi'ja:wu nɔs wul'najʔɬi]
‘They just left, they just … bought our crops on credit.’ {EA, Vida Chaco 019}

When the glottal stop is not followed by a pause, the release vowel is usually not audible:

(73) /hajna **me'rek** is mahni/
DSC big ART.pl my_child
[hajna **mɛ'ɾɛʔ** ʔis 'mahni]
'My children (were) already big.' {EA, Vida Chaco 060}

In emphatic pronunciation, however, the release vowel can be retained even inside a word:

(74) /luk'tik/ [ˌluʔ**u**'tiʔi:] 'It rains and rains ...'

There is one environment in which the release vowel in word-final position is morphophonologically relevant, namely when it functions as the host of a cliticized element (cf. 3.9). In (75), this is illustrated with the cliticized determiner /s/:

(75) /ko're**k**+s ro:ja/
DM.n.std+DET house
[kɔ'ɾɛ**ʔɛ**s'ɾɔ:ja]
'that house'

The complex consonants [p͡ʔᵐ] and [t͡ʔⁿ], which I will refer to as nasalized stops, are realized as follows. The glottal closure is immediately preceded by an oral closure (bilabial or alveolar, respectively). This closure is maintained during the release of the glottal stop, while the velum is lowered, leading to a voiceless nasal release.

Before a pause, there can be variations in the pronunciation of the glottalized sounds. They are often followed by a voiced syllabic nasal release, reminiscent of the vocalic release of the glottal stop described above:

(76) /ul'kʷat/ [ʔul'kʷat͡ʔn̩] PRO.2sg

Another possible realization of a nasalized plosive before a pause is that of a simple glottal stop with a vocalic release followed by the nasal consonant:

(77) /nih'bet/ [nih'ɓɛʔᵋn] 'mangy'

In the speech of some, especially younger speakers, the nasalized plosives can be replaced by the simple glottal stop (so that, in fact, /p/ and /t/ are realized as [ʔ]):

(78) /'tʃapmo/ ['tʃaʔmɔ] 'bush, forest'
/'betʔi/ ['ɓɛʔʔi] 'savannah, grassland'

The opposition between the three phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ is sometimes neutralized in word-final position. Depending on the speaker, especially [t͡ʔⁿ] and [ʔ] are used interchangeably:

(79) /βeʔe:'pit/ [ˌβɛʔɛ:'pi͡tʔⁿ] ~ [ˌβɛʔɛ:'piʔⁱ] ‘candle’

(80) /to'tʃik/ [tɔ'tʃiʔⁱ] ~ [tɔ'tʃi͡tʔⁿ] ‘small’

Still, in most of these cases, there is clear evidence of the identity of the underlying phoneme. This becomes apparent when a vowel-initial suffix is added, so that the respective phoneme becomes the syllable onset and is realized by its oral allophone. In (81) and (82), the words in (79) and (80) are modified in this way:

(81) /βeʔepi'**t-**a=is/
candle-LV=pl.a
[ˌβɛʔᵉpi'**t**aʔis]
‘their candle’

(82) /totʃitʃi'**k**-a=as/
small:NMZ.N-LV=n.a
[tɔˌtʃitʃi'**k**aʔas]
‘its being small’

For some morphemes ending in a glottal stop, however, there is no such evidence. Here, I take the pronunciation used by my main consultants as basic for the phonemic representation:

(83) /it/ [ʔi͡tʔⁿ] ~ [ʔiʔ] 1intr
/ulkʷat/ [ʔul'kʷa͡tʔⁿ] ~ [ulkʷaʔ] PRO.2sg

2.3.3. The status of the glottal stop [ʔ]

The glottal stop is extremely frequent in Movima. It is the allophone of /k/ in coda position, as described in 2.3.1 above; it occurs as the default onset consonant in word-initial position and between vowels (cf. 2.7); and in addition, there are several cases in which its occurrence cannot be explained. These will be described here.

In onset position, this concerns the occurrence of the glottal stop in “phonologically defective” nouns (nouns which only have two moras, cf. 2.7.4 and **5.1.2**). These nouns have the structure CVʔV. The following are a few examples:

(84) ['kɔʔɔ] ‘tree, firewood’
['βɛʔɛ] ‘fire’[17]
['maʔa] ‘my mother’

The second vowel of these nouns shares some properties with the release vowel, so that the underlying form of the defective nouns can be considered to be /CVk/. However, there is evidence that the second vowel has a proper phonemic status, as I will show below.

[17] Note the similarity with Chiquitano *pe'es* ‘fire’ (Willem Adelaar, p.c.).

First of all, consider the data which support the analysis of the final vowel as a release vowel. As could be seen in the nouns in (84), this vowel is identical to the preceding vowel. Like the release vowel, it is dropped when not followed by a pause. The defective nouns are, therefore, often realized as monosyllabic (cf. (85)). Also, there are certain suffixes before which the final vowel is omitted (cf. (86) and (87)).

(85) [kɔh mɛ'ɾɛʔ **'kɔʔ** nɔsɗɛ:]
ART.n.a big tree there
'the big tree over there' {AH, Dial. EA&AH 037}

(86) [ˌ**maʔ**wa'waŋk^{w}a] 'mother' (my_mother:INSTR)

(87) [ˌ**kɔʔ**ka:'kaʔ^{a}] 'There is no firewood.' (firewood:IRR)

From this perspective, it seems appropriate to analyse the defective nouns as having the structure /kok/, /βek/, /mak/, etc.

However, the final vowel cannot be analysed as a purely phonetic phenomenon, for the following reason. When certain other morphemes are added to a defective noun, the vowel after the glottal stop is retained, lengthened, and can (depending on its position in the word, cf. 2.8.2 below) even be stressed. In (88) and (89), this is shown for noun roots combined with a bound nominal element; in (90), it is shown for a noun combined with a verbalizing voice suffix.[18]

(88) [ˌβɛ**ʔɛ:**'pit͡ʔ^{n}] 'candle' (/pit/ 'BE.half')

(89) [kɔ**'ʔɔ:**βɔs] 'wood' (/βos/ 'BE.wood')

(90) [ma**'ʔa:**na] 'I call her "mother."' (/na/ DR)

Because of cases like these, the second vowel of the phonologically defective nouns is better seen as a vowel phoneme which is dropped in certain environments and retained in others. The glottal stop in these words is, consequently, either a hiatus-resolving device or a consonant in onset position, but not the syllable-final allophone of /k/. The problem posed by the phonologically defective nouns cannot be solved satisfactorily here, so for the time being, I analyse the glottal stop in these words as a full consonant phoneme.[19]

Also in coda position, there are cases in which the occurrence of the glottal stop cannot be explained. Consider the examples in (91) and (92). Here, the glottal stop, which occurs inside a root, is lost when a suffix is attached:

[18] Note, however, that it can also be dropped again when these words are augmented further, for example, when they are combined with an internal clitic. Thus, when marked as possessed, the word in (88) is realized as [**βɛʔ**pi'taʔis] 'their candle' (cf. (81) above).

[19] Another property of the defective nouns is that they do not have the same shape in all environments. When a possessive clitic is attached (cf. Ch. 6.3.2), or when acting as the second part of a compound (cf. 5.2), their form changes from /CVʔV/ to /CVja/.

(91) a. /'hoʔjah/ ['hɔʔjah] 'to arrive'
b. /ho'jahwa/ [hɔ'jahwa] 'my arriving' (/wa/ NMZ)

(92) a. /'peʔres/ ['pɛʔɾɛs] 'sharp'
b. /pe'resni/ [pɛ'ɾɛsni] 'to be/become sharp' (/ni/ PRC)

The glottal stop is not an allophone of /k/ here. This can be seen when these words receive a vowel-initial infix: the glottal stop is not replaced by [k], which would be evidence for allophony (cf. 2.3.1), but it is dropped. In (93), the irrealis marker /ak/ is affixed to the base /hoʔjah/ 'arrive', which subsequently undergoes reduplication (cf. **3.6**):

(93) /ho**j**a:'jak/
[hɔja:'jaʔ[a]]
'Nobody arrives.' {EA 10, 188a}

Another peculiarity of words like those in (91)a and (92)a is that the vowel preceding the glottal stop is often lengthened (cf. (94), (95)). This creates a long, closed syllable, which does not correspond to the general syllable-structure rules of Movima (cf. 2.7). The glottal stop can even be completely replaced by length, as shown in (95):

(94) /'hoʔjah/ ['hɔ:ʔjah] 'arrive'

(95) /'peʔres/ ['pɛʔɾɛs] ~ ['pɛ:ʔres] ~ ['pɛ:ɾɛs] 'sharp'

No explanation for the occurrence of the glottal stop in these environments can be given at this point. I will represent the simple glottal stop in the phonemic transcription when it displays exceptional, possibly prosodically influenced behaviour, as in these examples.

Another environment in which the glottal stop is regularly dropped concerns the masculine, neuter, and plural presential bound pronouns (described in detail in 4.2):

(96) [uʔ]~ [u] masculine
[aʔ]~ [a] neuter
[iʔ] ~ [i] plural

The form with the glottal stop can be seen as underlying, since it also occurs in the corresponding free pronouns (cf. 4.2). The occurrence of the glottal stop in the bound pronouns in (96) is predictable: when the bound pronoun is cliticized to a consonant-final element, the glottal stop is retained (cf. (97)a), and when they are cliticized to a vowel-final element, it is dropped (cf. (97)b). The omission of the glottal stop is probably a consequence of the hiatus-resolving glottal stop which precedes the bound pronoun when it is cliticized to a vowel (cf. 2.7.2): the sequence /VʔVʔ/, with a word-final glottal stop, does not occur.[20]

[20] However, there is no general restriction on a vowel occurring between two glottal stops, provided they form a syllable onset. The following is an example of three cooccurring ʔV-segments: /don/+/.i/+/.i/+/.i/ [dɔnʔi'ʔi:ʔi] 'their (inalienable) blood' (blood+D+INAL+pl). Crucially, the word-final vowel here is a proper morpheme and not the release vowel occurring after the glottal stop in coda position.

(97) a. /ˌkajka'j--**uk**/ b. /'salna--**u**/
MD:eat--m search:DR--m
['kajka'j**uʔ**^{u}] ['salna**ʔu**]
'He eats.' 'I look for him.'

Thus, there are cases in which the realization of the glottal stop in coda position is influenced by the phonetic environment. This behaviour is also special, since it is not found with other phonemes and their allophones.

2.4. Assimilation of nasals

The alveolar nasal phoneme /n/ always assimilates to the following consonant with respect to its place of articulation: it is realized as [m] before a bilabial consonant and as [ŋ] before a velar consonant. This can be represented as follows:

(98) /n/ → [m] / __ C [+bilabial]
→ [ŋ] / __ C [+velar]

The behaviour of /n/ before different consonants is illustrated in (99)a–c:

(99) a. /'e**nt**o/ ['ʔɛ**nt**ɔ] 'to stand obliquely'
b. /'e**np**oh/ ['ʔɛ**mp**ɔh] 'to be made stand'
c. /'e**nk**i/ ['ʔɛ**ŋk**i] 'Stand up!'

Some speakers realize /n/ as [ŋ] in coda position when the following onset consonant is /n/ as well (cf. (100)). This dissimilation signals syllable boundaries.

(100) /'enna/ ['ɛnna] ~ ['ɛŋna] 'where I stand'

Unlike /n/, the bilabial nasal, /m/, does usually not assimilate to its environment. In (101)a, it occurs before the alveolar, and in (101)b, before the velar plosive:

(101) a. /ri**m't**ik/ [ɾi**m**'tiʔ^{i}] 'to do the shopping'
b. /'a**mk**i/ ['ʔa**m**ki] 'Come in!'

In the speech of some speakers, however, /m/ is realized as a velar nasal before a velar consonant, as in (102). Here, /m/ is indistinguishable from /n/.

(102) /'a**mk**i/ ['ʔa**ŋk**i] 'Come in!'

As far as assimilation is concerned, the nasalized coda allophone of /t/, [t͡ʔ^{n}] (cf. 2.3.1), behaves in the same way as the alveolar nasal phoneme /n/: [t͡ʔ^{n}] is realized as [p͡ʔ^{m}] before a bilabial consonant and as [k͡ʔ^{ŋ}] before a velar consonant. Hence, the syllable-final variants of /t/ are as follows:

(103) /t/ → [p͡ʔ^{m}] / __.C [+bilabial]
→ [k͡ʔ^{ŋ}] / __ .C [+velar]
→ [t͡ʔ^{n}] / __ . (elsewhere)

The realization of /t/ as a nasalized stop with simultaneous bilabial and velar closure, respectively, is shown in (104)a and b:

(104) a. /tat'βo:seɬ/ [tap͡ʔ^{m}'βɔ:sɛɬ] 'to fall down'
b. /'batki/ ['ɓak͡ʔ^{ŋ}ki] 'Get seated (on top of something)!'

Note that in cases such as (104)a, the distinction between /t/ and /p/ is neutralized. In contrast, /t/ does not become identical with /k/ before a velar consonant (cf. (104)b), since /k/ is realized as a simple glottal stop and not accompanied by a velar closure.

In cases such as (104)a, where the phonemic distinction between /t/ and /p/ is neutralized, the underlying phoneme can be identified when a vowel-initial morpheme is attached to it (cf. also 2.3.1 above, examples (63)–(69)). In this way, example (105) shows that the morpheme realized as [p͡ʔ^{m}] in (104) is, in fact, /t/:

(105) /tata'βo:seɬ/ [tata'βɔ:sɛɬ] 'I make X fall down.'

2.5. Nasalization of vowels

Nasalization of vowels is not a phonemic phenomenon. Progressive nasal assimilation can occur when the following consonant is a nasal, as in (106), or a nasalized stop, as in (107):

(106) /be'benk^{w}a/ [ɓɛ'ɓɛ̃ɛ̃ŋk^{w}a] 'hide, leather'
(107) /bu'butk^{w}a/ [ɓu'ɓũk͡ʔ^{ŋ}kwa] 'mud'

Only one word contains nasal vowels which are not followed by a nasal or nasalized consonant:

(108) /ho:'hok/ [hɔ̃:'hɔ̃ʔ$^{ɔ̃}$] 'yes'

This interjection is often pronounced with closed lips, so that the vowels are replaced by a syllabic nasal consonant:

(109) [hm̩:'hm̩ʔ^{m}] 'yes'

2.6. Aspiration of /s/ and /ɬ/

The phoneme /s/ can be realized as [h] in coda position. This only concerns the final consonant of the articles (cf. 4.4), shown in (110)a for the article /as/, and of the negative particle /kas/ (cf. 12.5), shown in (110)b.

(110) a. /a**s** 'pa:ko/
ART.n dog
[ʔa**s** 'pa:kɔ] ~ [ʔa**h** 'pa:kɔ]
'the/a dog'

b. /ka**s** 'hojwa/
NEG go:NMZ
[ka**s** 'hɔjwa] ~ [ka**h** 'hɔjwa]
'I don't go.'

The variation of [s] and [h] in these morphemes depends on the speaker. Some speakers consistently pronounce them with a final [h], unless they precedes a word starting in [s] or [tʃ]. In (111), this is shown for the article /is/ before the word /tʃi'naɬa/ 'manioc':

(111) /is tʃi'naɬa/ [ʔi**s** tʃi'naɬa] '(the) manioc'

Other speakers pronounce these words with a final [s] in all environments.

The fact that /s/ and /h/ are otherwise phonemically distinct in coda position, was shown by the minimal pair in (37) above, which is repeated here:

(112) /as'ɬabaɬ/ [ʔas'ɬaɓaɬ] 'to sit on the ground'
/ah'ɬabaɬ/ [ʔah'ɬaɓaɬ] 'to go by foot'

The phoneme /ɬ/ is also often realized as [h]. This is particularly the case when it constitutes the proclitic marking the first person (cf. 4.1). The phoneme /ɬ/ is often realized as [h] when the proclitic occurs before a relational noun (cf. Ch. 6) or before a bivalent verb. These cases are illustrated by (113) and (114), respectively. In both cases, the first person is implicit and therefore not necessarily overtly encoded (cf. 6.1 and 7.4).

(113) /a**ɬ** 'de:na/
ART.n.1 lie:DR
[ʔa**ɬ** 'ɗɛ:na] ~ [ʔa**h** 'ɗɛ:na]
'my bed'

(114) /i**ɬ** 'salna/
1 search:DR
[ʔi**ɬ** 'salna] ~ [ʔi**h** 'salna]
'I look for something.'

However, /h/ and /ɬ/ are phonemically distinct. This becomes apparent when a non-relational noun with a first person singular possessor, as in (115)a, is contrasted with an unpossessed non-relational noun, as in (115)b (cf. also 6.3):

(115) a. /aɬ 'ro:ja/
ART.n.1 house
[ʔa**ɬ** 'ɾɔ:ja]
'my house'

b. /as 'ro:ja/
ART.n house
[ʔa**h** 'ɾɔ:ja]
'the house'; * 'my house'

In contrast to the alternation between [s] and [h] described above, which is primarily speaker-dependent, the alternation between [ɬ] and [h] seems to be a rapid-speech phenomenon. In careful speech, all speakers pronounce the first person proclitic as [ɬ].

2.7. Syllable structure

There are two basic syllable types:

(116) CV (open)
CVC (closed)

Two adjacent consonants can normally only occur when they are distributed over two syllables, i.e., as coda and onset. An exception is when a consonant-final demonstrative is combined with the encliticized determiner /s/, which is, in that context, always realized as [h] (cf. 2.6):

(117) /kal+s/ bote:'lija/
DM.ad.n+DET bottle
[kalhɓɔtɛ:'lija]
'that bottle (near you)'

In Spanish loans, consonant combinations can be retained, as in (118). Usually, however, when a Spanish loan has two adjacent consonants within one syllable, an epenthetic vowel is inserted, as in (119).

(118) /pro'fesor/ [pɾɔ'fɛsɔɾ] 'teacher' < Sp. *profesor*
/'pla:sa/ ['pla:sa] 'square' < Sp. *plaza*

(119) /poro'fesor/ [p**ɔ**ɾɔ'fɛsɔɾ] 'teacher' < Sp. *profesor*
/po'lawta/ [p**ɔ**'lawta] 'flute' < Sp. *flauta*
/po'la:ta/ [p**ɔ**'la:ta] 'money, silver' < Sp. *plata*
/santa 'kurus/ [santa'k**u**ɾus] 'Santa Cruz' < Sp. *Santa Cruz* (place name)

Whether the particular vowel in each case is predictable is a matter of further research.

Likewise, the only prefix, the oblique marker /n/, which consists of a single consonant, is also followed by an epenthetic vowel, which is identical to the vowel of the subsequent syllable. This is described in 2.9.6 below.

In the following two subsections, I will argue that there are no vowel-initial syllables (2.7.1 and 2.7.2).

2.7.1. Vowel-initial elements

As could be observed from the scheme in (116), I consider all Movima syllables consonant-initial. When there is no other consonant in initial position, the glottal stop is preposed. In (120), this is shown for vowel-initial words.[21]

(120)	/'a:na/	['ʔa:na]	'my younger sibling'
	/'e:ɬan/	['ʔɛ:ɬan]	'your name'
	/'o:ma/	['ʔɔ:ma]	'tapir'
	/'i:maj/	['ʔi:maj]	'night'
	/'ultʃaɬ/	['ʔultʃaɬ]	'my in-law'

In Spanish, vowel-initial words are not preceded by a glottal stop (except perhaps when uttered in isolation).[22] When borrowed into Movima, they are adapted to the native pattern by a preceding glottal stop, as is illustrated in (121):

(121)	/empa'na:da/	[ʔɛmpa'na:ɗa]	'empanada'	(Sp. *empanada*)
	/enfer'me:ra/	[ʔɛnfɛɾ'mɛ:ɾa]	'nurse'	(Sp. *enfermera*)
	/abo'ga:do/	[ʔaɓɔ'ga:ɗɔ]	'lawyer'	(Sp. *abogado*)
	/'o:ra/	['ʔɔ:ɾa]	'hour, time of day'	(Sp. *hora*)

All vowel-initial words retain their syllabification domain when combined with another morpheme, i.e., when attached to another base by compounding or incorporation (cf. 3.4, 3.5) or when preceded by a reduplication prefix (cf. 3.7): they always retain the glottal stop. I mark these cases by a dot . in the phonemic representation to indicate the syllable boundary. In (122), this is shown for compounds, and in (123), for words with a reduplication prefix:

(122)	/pek-'.i:maj/	[pɛʔ'ʔi:maj]	'all night'	(all-night)
	/'kem-.eɬ/	['kɛmʔɛɬ]	'my surname'	(inform-BR.name)
	/eɬ-'.o:ra/	[ʔɛɬ'ʔɔ:ɾa]	'what time?'	(what-hour)
(123)	/ew-'.ewwa/	[ʔɛw'ʔɛwwa]	'my being held'	(RED-hold:NMZ)
	/am-'.amwa/	[ʔam'ʔamwa]	'my being put into'	(RED-enter:NMZ)

Some vowel-initial elements which do not occur independently or word-initially, but only suffixed to another base, behave in the same way as full words in compounds, as in (122).

[21] Under this view, the glottal stop is an automatic phenomenon, similar to its occurrence in German. Note, however, that the glottal stop in Movima shares a feature with "real" consonant phonemes in word-initial position. This concerns its distribution over the lexicon. Taken together, the native Movima words here analysed as vowel-initial constitute only approximately 5% of the lexicon, i.e., as much as the average of each group of words with one of the twenty consonants in initial position. Considering these words vowel-initial means that there are extremely few vowel-initial words. In contrast, a count of a German dictionary shows that on an average, each vowel occupies the same space as each group of words with an initial consonant. Thus, for Movima more than for German, it might be possible to claim that the status of the glottal stop in word-initial position is equivalent to that of any other consonant.

[22] Even a hiatus is not resolved by a glottal stop in Spanish, as the following quote confirms: "En una secuencia como *nunc**a** h**e** o**í**d**o** h**a**blar de ellos*, por ejemplo, hay una sucesión de seis vocales, sólo interrumpida por la aproximante [ð]" (D'Intrino et al. 1995: 99; bold print mine).

Most of them are bound lexical elements (cf. 5.3):

(124) /oh/ ‘BE.clothes’
/as/ ‘BE.space’; ‘BE.sugar-cane’

These elements retain their syllabification domain in all environments, regardless of whether the base to which they are attached ends in a vowel (cf. (125)a) or in a consonant (cf. (125)b). Again, this means that they are preceded by the glottal stop.

(125) a. /i'la:-.oh/ [ʔi'la:ʔɔh] ‘to hang up clothes’ (spread:DR-BE.clothes)
b. /'tun-.oh/ ['tunʔɔh] ‘black clothes’ (black-BE.clothes)

In borrowed complex loans, lexical components are marked in this way as well, even though the glottal stop does not occur in Spanish (as shown by the phonetic transcription of the Spanish nouns:

(126) [pandɛ'ʔa:ɾɔs] ‘rice bread’ (Sp. *pan de arroz*, [pandea'ɾos])
[santa'ʔa:na] ‘Santa Ana’ (Sp. *Santa Ana*, [san'ta:na])
[dɛsʔa'ju:nɔ] ‘breakfast’ (Sp. *desayuno*, [desa'juno])

The dummy element /.i/ (cf. 2.9.5) behaves in the same way as a vowel-initial word (cf. (120)) or as a bound nominal elemen (cf. (124)) when attached as a suffix:

(127) a. /'hu:-.i/ ['hu:ʔi] ‘to have been/have to be scolded’ (scold-D)
b. /'nun-.i/ ['nunʔi] ‘bone’ (BR.bone-D)

All other vowel-initial bound morphemes, apart from bound nominal elements and the dummy element /.i/, have a consonant-initial allomorph when attached to a base-final vowel. Their two allomorphs are given in (128)–(131).

(128) /eɬ/ → [ɛɬ] /C__ ‘applicative’
[nɛɬ]/V__

(129) /ak/ → [aʔ]/C__ ‘irrealis’
[kaʔ]/V__

(130) /uk/ → [uʔ]/C__ ‘intensive; phasal aspect’
[kuʔ]/V__

(131) /aj^{ʔ}/ → [aj^{ʔ}]/C__ ‘intensive; phasal aspect’
[kaj^{ʔ}]/V__

Examples (132)a and b illustrate the allomorphy of the applicative suffix /eɬ/ (cf. (128)) attached to a consonant-final and to a vowel-final base, respectively. As can be seen, in the first case (cf. (132)a), the base-final consonant forms the onset of the syllable. In the latter

case (cf. (132)b), the morpheme is represented by a consonant-initial allomorph.

(132)	a.	/holo'bu**.t**-eɬ/	[hɔlɔ'ɓutɛɬ]	'to be stuck in the mud'	(stuck:BR.mass-APPL)
	b.	/amri'ko-**.n**eɬ/	[ʔamɾikɔnɛɬ]	'to be in a bag'	(enter:TRC.bag-APPL)

In contrast to the applicative suffix /eɬ/ in (132), consider (133), which illustrates the suffixation of the homophonous vowel-initial noun root /eɬ/ 'BR.name' (cf. also (120), (122) above). This element retains its syllabification domain after a vowel as well as after a consonant, as indicated by the glottal stop.

(133)	a.	/ke'ma:-.eɬ/	[kɛ'ma:ʔɛɬ]	'I name X.'	(inform:DR-BR.name)
	b.	/'kem-.eɬ/	['kɛmʔɛɬ]	'my surname'	(inform-BR.name)

Thus, some vowel-initial morphemes (lexical elements and the dummy element /.i/) have their own syllabification domain when occurring word-internally. Others, all of them grammatical morphemes, have special allomorphs when occurring after a vowel (cf. (132)).

There are two morphological processes in which a vowel-initial element loses its syllabification domain: cliticization and prefixation of the oblique marker /n/. These processes only occur with referential elements (cf. Ch. 4), many of which contain the dummy element /.i/. No other element can be cliticized or receive the prefix /n/. Let us look at these cases step by step.

First of all, like content words, vowel-initial referential elements are preceded by the glottal stop when occurring independently. In (134), this is shown for the masculine, neuter, and plural absential free pronoun:

(134)	/'usko/	['ʔuskɔ]	'he'	(PRO.m.a)
	/'asko/	['ʔaskɔ]	'it'	(PRO.n.a)
	/'isko/	['ʔiskɔ]	'they'	(PRO.pl.a)

When cliticized to a consonant-final host, in contrast, a vowel-initial referential element is directly attached to the preceding consonant, which then forms the onset of the attached syllable.[23] The same holds when the referential element receives the prefix /n/. Consider the examples of cliticized vowel-initial bound pronouns in (135) and of free pronouns with the prefix /n/ in (136):

(135)	/'kajka.j--us/	['kajkajus]	'He eats.'	(eat--m.a)
	/'a:mo.n--as/	['ʔa:mɔnas]	'It enters.'	(enter--n.a)
	/'hojtʃe.ɬ--is/	['hɔjtʃɛɬis]	'They go.'	(go:R/R--pl.a)

(136)	/'n-usko/	['nuskɔ]	'with him'	(obl-PRO.m.a)
	/'n-asko/	['naskɔ]	'with it'	(obl-PRO.n.a)
	/'n-isko/	['niskɔ]	'with them'	(obl-PRO.pl.a)

[23] This only occurs in external cliticization, represented by two hyphens (--) .

The absence of the glottal stop on a free pronoun after the prefix in (136) shows that its occurrence on a referential elements, as in (134), is a purely phonetic phenomenon. Further evidence of this is that other initial consonants are not omitted when the prefix /n/ is attached: here, an epenthetic vowel is inserted (cf. 2.9.6). In (137) and (138), this contrast is illustrated for the plural article. Example (137) shows the unmarked and the oblique-marked presential article: while the unmarked, vowel-initial form is automatically preceded by the glottal stop, the glottal stop is dropped when the oblique prefix /n/ is attached. When, in contrast, the absential article /kis/ in (138), which is consonant-initial, is marked as oblique, the /k/ is retained, and an epenthetic vowel is inserted to avoid a complex onset.

(137)	a.	/is/	[ʔis]	ART.pl
	b.	/n-is/	[nis]	obl-ART.pl

(138)	a.	/kis/	[kis]	ART.pl.a
	b.	/n-kis/	[n**i**kis]	obl-ART.pl.a

If the glottal stop had the same status as /k/ in (138), the realization of the oblique article in (137)b would be *[niʔis].[24] The fact that this is not the case shows that these elements are vowel-initial, the glottal stop occurring for purely phonetic reasons.

When a vowel-initial referential element is attached to a host ending in a vowel, the glottal stop appears as well. Here, it occurs because of the hiatus:[25]

(139)	/'te:lo--us/	['tɛ:lɔʔus]	'He dances.'	(dance--m.a)
	/alwa'ha=us/	[alwa'haʔus]	'his wife'	(spouse:LV=m.a)
	/sal'na=is/	[sal'naʔis]	'They search for X.'	(search:DR=pl.a)

I will now turn to referential elements which contain the dummy element /.i/ (cf. (127) above). This element is attached to referential elements which consist of a single consonant (cf. 2.9.5) or which have an initial consonant cluster. Only the latter group is of interest here, which consists of the following items:

(140)	/'i-knes/	['ʔiʔnɛs]	ART.f	
	/'i-kne/	['ʔiʔnɛ]	'she (present)'	(PRO.f)
	/'i-sne/	['ʔisnɛ]	'she (absent)'	(PRO.f.a)
	/'i-jˀɬi/	['ʔijˀɬi]	'we (exclusive)'	(PRO.1pl)[26]
	/'i-jˀbi/	['ʔijˀɓi]	'you (pl.)'	(2pl.intr)

The examples in (141) show that the initial /i/ is indeed a dummy element, since it is dropped when these morphemes follow a vowel (cf. 2.9.5). This contrasts with the "real" vowel-initial

[24] I have one example, however, in which a speaker pronounces the oblique-marked neuter article in this way: [**naʔas** 'ɓɛt͡ʔⁿʔi] for /n/+/as 'ɓɛt.i/ 'in the grassland'.

[25] While only external clitics can be attached to a consonant (cf. (136)), both external and internal clitics can be attached to a vowel. The types of cliticization are differentiated by the symbols -- and = , respectively.

[26] The three pronouns in this group can occur both as free and as bound pronouns.

referential elements, which retain their vowel and are separated from a preceding vowel by the glottal stop (cf. (139) above).

(141)	/alwa'ha=kne/	[ʔalwa'haʔnɛ]	'her husband'	(spouse:LV=f)
	/sal'na=jˀɬi/	[sal'najˀɬi]	'We look for X.'	(search:DR=1pl)
	/'te:lo--jˀbi/	['tɛ:lɔjˀɓi]	'You (pl.) dance.'	(dance--2pl.intr)

The forms with the dummy element in (140) can occur independently (as an article, as a free pronoun or as an initial element of a free pronoun), they can be cliticized to a consonant (cf. (142)), or be preceded by the prefix /n/ (cf. (143)). Apart from the fact that the initial vowel is lost when these referential elements are cliticized to a vowel, they behave exactly like other vowel-initial referential elements (cf. e.g. (134)): the initial glottal stop is dropped when they are cliticized to a consonant-final host or when they receive the prefix /n/.

(142)	/'hoʔjah--ikne/	['hɔja˛hiʔnɛ]	'She arrives.'	(arrive--f)
	/'hojtʃeɬ--ijˀɬi/	['hɔjtʃɛ˛ɬijˀɬi]	'We go.'	(go:R/R--1pl)
	/'a:mon--ijˀbi/	['a:mɔ˛nijˀɓi]	'You (pl.) enter.'	(enter--2pl.intr)

(143)	/n-ijˀnes 'kʷe:ja/	[˛nijˀnɛs 'kʷɛ:ja]	'with the/a woman'	(obl-ART.f woman)
	/'n-ijˀɬi/	['nijˀɬi]	'with us'	(obl-PRO.1pl)
	/n-ijˀ'bikʷeɬ/	[nijˀ'ɓikʷɛɬ]	'with you (pl.)'	(obl-PRO.2pl)[27]

The dummy element is best analysed as part of the referential elements here: it is the entire referential element which is cliticized or which receives a prefix, following the same rules as the other vowel-initial referential elements described above. Still, these cases illustrate an interesting property of the dummy element. When suffixed, it retains its syllabification domain (cf. (127)). In contast, when part of a clitic or when preceded by a prefix, it is directly attached to the preceding consonant. Two alternative conclusions are possible here: either, it is the morphological process (cliticization vs. suffixation) which determines whether a vowel-initial element retains its syllabification domain or not, or it is a property of the referential elements that they lose their syllabification domain when attached to a consonant. Since no other elements are phonologically cliticized, and since /n/ is the only prefix, this cannot be decided here.

From the above discussion it follows that there are three types of vowel-initial elements:

1. Vowel-initial words, bound lexical elements, and the dummy element /.i/ when suffixed, are preceded by the glottal stop in all environments, also when suffixed to a consonant.
2. Vowel-initial allomorphs of grammatical morphemes can only be suffixed to a consonant, which forms the syllable onset. When suffixed to a vowel, they are represented by a consonant-initial allomorph.
3. Vowel-initial referential elements are preceded by the glottal stop when appearing independently or after another vowel. When preceded by a consonant (in cliticization, or when prefixed by /n/), this consonant forms the onset.

[27] The free pronoun of the second person plural has a long form, whose first element /ijˀɓi/ is identical to the intransitive bound pronoun (cf. 4.1).

2.7.2. Hiatus resolution

When two vowels occur next to each other, they are separated by the glottal stop. Therefore, when a vowel-initial referential element (type 3 in the above list), which neither has an underlying glottal stop (like the elements of type 1) nor a consonant-initial allomorph (like the elements of type 2), is cliticized to a vowel-final host, it is preceded by the glottal stop. Compare (144)a, where a referential element is cliticized to a consonant which forms the syllable onset, with (144)b, where the marker is cliticized to a vowel, triggering a glottal stop:

(144) a. /'salna=n--us/ ['salnanus] 'You look for him.' (search=2--m.a)
b. /'salna--us/ ['salnaʔus] 'I look for him.' (search--m.a)

An interesting phenomenon can be observed concerning the hiatus-resolving glottal stop when the cliticized pronoun consists of a single vowel. Recall from the discussion of (97)b in 2.2 above that a presential masculine, neuter, or plural bound pronoun cliticized to a vowel-final base consists of a single vowel. When a pronoun of this form occurs after a stressed syllable, as is the case when it is internally cliticized (cf. 3.9.1), it is treated like a release vowel (cf. 2.3.2). That is to say, it can be fully realized, as in (145)a, it can be devoiced, as in (145)b, or it can be omitted altogether, as in (145)c.

(145) /onajɛ'na=u/
know:BE.person:DR=m
'He (present) knows X.'

a. [ʔɔnajɛ'naʔ**u**]
b. [ʔɔnajɛ'naʔ**u̥**]
c. [ʔɔnajɛ'naʔ]

Note that in (145)c, even though the vowel /u/ is dropped, the glottal stop, whose presence was caused by that vowel, is retained. This is significant, as shown in (146) below. Here, the neuter bound pronoun /a/ is omitted (cf. (146)a), but the hiatus-resolving glottal stop (in bold-face) is retained. Since this stop ends up next to the glottal stop preceding the phonologically independent article /os/, the result is a long glottal closure. This indicates that an intervening vowel, namely the presential bound pronoun, has been omitted. In the wrong pronunciation in (146)b, in contrast, the hiatus-resolving glottal stop is omitted together with the bound pronoun, so that only the glottal stop preceding the article /os/ remains. The interpretation here is that the article is cliticized to the verb. This creates a completely different meaning, since the postverbal noun phrase is interpreted as the first argument of the verb (cf. 3.9.1 and 7.1):

(146) /kas dewahna'wa=**a** os ho:'ɬa=a/
NEG see:DR:NMZ=n ART.n.p BR.egg:LV=n
a. [kah ɗɛwahna'wa**ʔ** ʔɔh hɔ:'ɬaʔa]
'It (the hen) didn't see its egg.' {EA, Huevo 010}
b. *[kah ɗɛwahna'waʔɔh hɔ:'ɬaʔa]
('Its egg didn't see X.')

As a final comment on the glottal stop resolving the hiatus, it has to be mentioned that the hiatus in some Spanish loans is not resolved by the glottal stop. Here, the vowels either cooccur or they are separated by a glide. Further research is needed to find out whether it is separated by a glide or whether they cooccur directly.[28] The following are cases in point:

(147) [pi'ɛsta] or [pi'jɛsta] '*fiesta*' (Sp. *fiesta*)
[fi'ɗɛɔ] or [fi'ɗɛjɔ] 'pasta' (Sp. *fideo*)

2.7.3. The distribution of the consonants

All consonant phonemes except /j^{ʔ}/ can occur in onset position. The consonants /b/, /d/, /k^{w}/, /tʃ/, /β/, and /r/ (for exceptions regarding /r/, cf. (50) and (51) in 2.2) occur only in onset, not in coda position. The consonants which occur in coda position are /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /h/, /ʔ/, /j^{ʔ}/, /l/, /ɬ/, /m/, /n/, /j/, and /w/. The phonemes /p/, /t/, and /k/ are realized as glottal consonants in coda position (cf. 2.3.1 above).

The consonantal segments (whether phonemic or not) which can occur in onset as well as in coda position are [m], [n], [l], [ɬ], [h], [ʔ], [w], and [j]. They can produce geminates, realized as a long closure:

(148) [m]+[m] ['ʔammɛ] /'amme/ 'boat, raft'

(149) [n]+[n] [hi'ɾanni] /hi'ranni/ 'pretty'

(150) [l]+[l] [dɛl'lɔ:k^{w}a] /del'lo:k^{w}a/ 'to ask for food'

(151) [ɬ]+[ɬ] [salɛɬ'ɬɛ:na] /saleɬ'ɬe:na/ 'I help X search.'

(152) [h]+[h] [ʔahhɔ'ɾɔ:ɗɔ] /ahhoro:do/ 'to sleep badly'

(153) [ʔ]+[ʔ] ['paʔʔi] /'pak.i/ 'to have been/have to be counted'

(154) [w]+[w] ['kawwɛ] /'kawwe/ 'many people'

(155) [j]+[j] [ʔɔj'jɛ:jɛ] /oj'je:je/ 'my lover'

[28] This can be tested by inserting a vowel-initial infix such as the irrealis marker [aʔ]~[kaʔ] (cf. 3.6).

2.7.4. The structure of independent words

All word classes have to correspond to a minimal size. Particles can be monosyllabic, as shown by (156):

(156) /ban/ ‘but’
/tʃot/ ‘really’
/rej/ ‘again’

Two conjunctions even consist of a single light (i.e., open short) syllable:

(157) /tʃe/ ‘and’
/bo/ ‘because; so that’

There is, in principle, no restriction on the maximum number of syllables a word can contain. Word-forming processes like compounding and noun incorporation can lead to words with up to seven syllables:

(158) /ta.na.ri.sa.tʃa.'je:.pa/ ‘hair dresser’

Content words (nouns and verbs) are minimally disyllabic, and when the word is disyllabic, the first syllable is phonetically heavy (i.e., either closed or open and long). If the first syllable is open, it is automatically lengthened (cf. 2.8.2):

(159) /'to:mi/ ['tɔ:mi] ‘water’
/'hu:βe/ ['hu:βɛ] ‘dugout’
/'ro:ja/ ['ɾɔ:ja] ‘house’
/'k^{w}e:ja/ ['k^{w}ɛ:ja] ‘woman’

Monosyllabic noun roots are augmented in several ways to conform to the required syllable structure of independent content words. Most commonly, they are combined with the dummy element /.i/ (cf. 2.9.5), reduplicated, or combined with the absolute-state suffix /k^{w}a/. Details on this are given in 5.3.2.

A closed class of nouns, already discussed in 2.3.3 above, is formed by seven items which are “defective” with regard to their phonological structure: they only consist of two light syllables (CVCV). These nouns are listed in (160) (cf. also 5.1.2):

(160) /'koʔo/ ['kɔʔɔ] ‘tree, firewood’
/'βeʔe/ ['βɛʔɛ] ‘fire’
/'tʃiʔi/ ['tʃiʔi] ‘excrements’
/'heʔe/ ['hɛʔɛ] ‘my state of being’
/'maʔa/ ['maʔa] ‘my mother’
/'paʔa/ ['paʔa] ‘my father’
/'keʔe/ ['kɛʔɛ] ‘my older sister (respectful address)’

In these nouns, the glottal stop is the onset of the second syllable, and the final vowel is identical to the preceding vowel. They could, therefore, be seen as monosyllabic elements with a final glottal stop a release vowel. However, as was shown in 2.2, this analysis would be inadequate. Thus, the special property of the seven defective nouns is not the number of syllables, since they are disyllabic like other nouns. Rather, their defectiveness arises from the fact that both syllables are light, none of them being lengthened as in the case of other independent nouns of the structure CVCV (cf. (159)).

2.8. Suprasegmental features

In sections 2.8.1–2.8.4, I describe the suprasegmental properties of phonological words. Section 2.8.5 deals with suprasegmental features on clause level, i.e. intonation. Stress and length will furthermore be discussed in 2.9.

2.8.1. Stress

Stress normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word. In (161) and (162), this can be seen from the fact that when a word is augmented, stress shifts to the right:

(161)	/a'waro/	[ʔa'waɾɔ]	'parrot'
	/awa'ro:di/	[ʔawa'ɾɔ:ɗi]	'little parrot'
(162)	/tana'ri:sa/	[tana'ɾi:sa]	'I cut X's hair.'
	/tanarisa'tʃa:je/	[tanaɾisa'tʃa:jɛ]	'to cut people's hair'

Only on words ending the glottal stop or in a nasalized plosive (cf. 2.3.1), stress falls on the last syllable:

(163)	/tʃu:'hat/	[tʃu:'haʔ^{n}]	'*motacú* (palm tree, fruit etc.)'
	/bak^{w}an'jit/	[ɓakwan'jiʔ^{n}]	'underarm'
	/ku:'dup/	[ku:'ɗupʔ^{m}]	'flea'
	/enɬe:'duk/	[ɛnɬɛ:'ɗuʔ^{u}]	'mortar'
	/pa:kona:'nak/	[pa:kɔna:'naʔ^{a}]	'fox'

The presence or absence of the release vowel after a glottal stop (cf. 2.3.2) does not influence the stress pattern:

(164)	/me'rek/	[mɛ'ɾɛʔɛ] ~ [mɛ'ɾɛʔ]	'big'

The assignment of secondary stress is more complicated. Here, the morphological properties of the word play a role. In principle, a word which can occur independently retains its stress pattern also when combined with other morphemes. Consider the stress pattern of the independent noun /iti'la:k^{w}a/ in (165)a and its stress pattern in the compound in (165)b. As

can be seen, it retains its stress pattern, even though main stress is determined by the entire compound.

(165)	a.	/iti'la:k^{w}a/	[ʔiti'la:k^{w}a]	‘man’	
	b.	/itilak^{w}a+n+di'tʃi:je/	[ˌʔitiˌlak^{w}andi'tʃi:jɛ]	‘little boy’	(man + LN + child)

Also in complex words which are not compounds, a potentially independent word retains its stress pattern. Consider the base /tana'ri:sa/ in (166)a–c:

(166)	a.	/tana'ri:sa/	[ˌtana'ɾi:sa]	‘I cut X’s hair.’
	b.	/tanarisa+tʃa:je/	[ˌtanaˌɾisa'tʃa:jɛ]	‘to cut people’s hair’ (cut_hair:DR+DR2:BE.person)
	c.	/tanarisa+tʃaje:+pa/	[ˌtanaˌɾisatʃa'jɛ:pa]	‘hairdresser’ (cut_hair:DR+DR2:BE.person+AG)

It seems that only when a monosyllabic, unstressed element is attached, the base loses its own stress pattern. Consider the loss of stress on the syllable /wa/ in (167)b (repeated from (161) above), and on the syllable /ʔo/ in (168)b:

(167)	a.	/a'waro/	[ʔa'waɾɔ]	‘parrot’	
	b.	/awa'ro:+di/	[ˌʔawa'ɾɔ:ɗi]	‘little parrot'	(parrot+BR.grain)

(168)	a.	/'koʔo/	['kɔʔɔ]	‘tree, firewood’	
	b.	/koʔo:+βos/	[kɔ'ʔɔ:βɔs]	‘wood’	(tree+wood)

The exact conditions for the assignment of secondary stress require further research. Unless necessary for reasons of exposition, I do not represent secondary stress.

In interrogative utterances, stress shifts one position to the left. This is described in 2.8.5 below.

Particles and clitics consisting of a single light syllable do not carry stress in declarative utterances (cf. 2.8.5 for stress on particles and clitics in interrogative sentences).

2.8.2. Length

The general lengthening rules in Movima are as follows:

1. When the penultimate syllable of a word is open, it is lengthened.
2. All other syllables are short.

The following examples illustrate regular vowel lengthening in disyllabic words (169), words with three syllables (170), and a longer, complex word (171):

(169)	/'ro:ja/	[ɾɔ:ja]	‘house’
	/'hi:sim/	[hi:sim]	‘smooth’
	/'bi:haw/	[ɓi:haw]	‘old’

(170)	/a'ja:na/	[ʔa'ja:na]	‘I wait for X.’
	/ba'ba:k^{w}a/	[ɓa'ɓa:k^{w}a]	‘fruit’
	/ko'ri:di/	[kɔ'ɾi:ɗi]	‘stick’

(171)	/itilak^{w}andi'tʃi:je/	[ʔitilak^{w}anɗi'tʃi:jɛ]	‘little boy’

Even though stress and length typically coincide, as in (169)–(171), they are independent features. When the last syllable is stressed, length remains on the penultimate syllable. This can best be seen in words with a final nasalized plosive, which carry stress is on the last syllable (cf. (163) above):

(172)	/tʃu:'hat/	[tʃu:'ha$\widehat{tʔ^{n}}$]	‘*motacú*’
	/ku:'dup/	[ku:'ɗu$\widehat{pʔ^{m}}$]	‘flea’
	/delto:'βet/	[dɛltɔ:'βɛ$\widehat{tʔ^{n}}$]	‘butterfly’

There are quite a few deviations from the lengthening rules stated above. A regular exception from the first rule, i.e., a short open penultimate syllable, occurs when an internal clitic is attached, as will be described in 2.9.1. Also, most disyllabic words ending in the simple glottal stop have a short penultimate syllable:

(173)	/me'rek/	[mɛ'ɾɛʔ^{ɛ}]	‘big’
	/to'tʃik/	[tɔ'tʃiʔ^{i}]	‘small’
	/ka'rak/	[ka'ɾaʔ^{a}]	‘macaw’
	/bi'tok/	[ɓi'tɔʔ^{o}]	‘old person’
	/bu'kak/	[ɓu'kaʔ^{a}]	‘DUR.mov’
	/no'nok/	[nɔ'nɔʔ^{ɔ}]	‘my grandparent’

However, this seems to concern only disyllabic words. Longer words ending in the simple glottal stop are generally lengthened on the penultimate syllable, in line with the basic lengthening rule:

(174)	/enɬe:'duk/	[ɛnɬɛ:'ɗuʔ^{u}]	‘mortar’	(stand:CO:grind)
	/tami:'tik/	[tami:'tiʔ^{i}]	‘to give birth’	(birth:VBZ)
	/deka:'kak/	[ɗɛka:'kaʔ^{a}]	‘nobody lies down’	(lie:IRR)
	/tino:'nak/	[tinɔ:'naʔ^{a}]	‘year’	(sun:?)

As can be seen from the glosses in brackets, these words can be split up into different morphemes. This is probably also true for some disyllabic words ending in a glottal stop whose penultimate syllable is long, as in (175): recurring elements such as /rok/ in the first two words hint at a complex origin of these words (cf. Ch. 5). The last word, /ja:jak/, has probably undergone prefixing CV-reduplication.

(175)	/to:'rok/	[tɔ:'ɾɔʔᵒ]	'inner'	
	/wo:'rok/	[wɔ:'ɾɔʔᵒ]	'my throat'	
	/ku:'tek/	[ku:'tɛʔᵋ]	'long breath'	(long:BE.breath)
	/ja:'jak/	[ja:'jaʔᵃ]	'my uncle'	

Words ending in the lateral fricative often seem to have a short penultimate syllable as well, as shown in (176). Again, there are exceptions to this, as shown in (177). More research is needed here.[29]

(176)	/hem'piteɬ/	[hɛm'pitɛɬ]	'to persist'
	/allo'loseɬ/	[allo'loseɬ]	'to be from the same village'
	/bej'rimeɬ/	[ɓɛj'ɾimɛɬ]	'cheap'

(177)	/'tʃi:heɬ/	['tʃi:heɬ]	'ant'
	/tat'βo:seɬ/	[tap͡ʔᵐβɔ:seɬ]	'to fall down'
	/'tʃo:tʃoɬ/	['tʃɔ:tʃɔɬ]	'hair partition'

Apart from disyllabic words ending in the glottal stop, there is a small number of nouns with three syllables whose penultimate syllable is unexpectedly short (listed in (178)). No explanation can be given for these cases. Also, all demonstratives have a short penultimate syllable. Examples of these are given in (179).

(178)	/a'waro/	[ʔa'waɾɔ]	'parrot'
	/tʃi'naɬa/	[tʃi'naɬa]	'manioc'
	/jo'nali/	[jɔ'nali]	'caiman'
	/hu'jeni/	[hu'jɛni]	'person'
	/ma'ropa/	[ma'ɾɔpa]	'papaya'
	/tor'deta/	[tɔɾ'ɗɛta]	'mosquito net'

(179)	/'kopa/	['kɔpa]	'that (in someone's possession)'	(DM.po.n)
	/ki'niwa/	[ki'niwa]	'her (elevated)'	(DM.el.f)
	/no'kowa/	[nɔ'kɔwa]	'now'	(obl:DM.el.n)

I will now turn to cases which deviate from the second lengthening rule: words which have a long syllable where this is not phonologically predicted. Many of these cases can be explained historically or morphologically (cf. 2.8.3 and 2.9.2 below). The following, however, are examples of native words whose deviating lengthening pattern (long first syllable, short penultimalte syllable) cannot be explained:

(180)	/ma:'juse/	[ma:'jusɛ]	'pineapple'
	/no:'nopa/	[nɔ:'nɔpa]	'sloth'
	/bu:buja'kapa/	[ɓu:ɓuja'ka:pa]	'hurricane'

[29] The fact that words that end in the glottal stop or in the lateral fricative usually have a short penultimate syllable was pointed out to me by Melvin Rossel, a native speaker of Movima.

2.8.3. Stress and length in loans

Spanish loans are, in principle, adapted to the native length and stress rules, with some deviations. In words with a final CVCV sequence whose penultimate syllable is stressed, this syllable is also lengthened, in line with the lengthening rule for native words (cf. (169)-(171) above). Consider (181) for disyllabic loans, and (182) for longer loans:

(181)	/'wa:ka/	['wa:ka]	'cow'	(Sp. *waka*)
	/'pa:ko/	['pa:kɔ]	'dog'	(?[30])
	/'me:sa/	['mɛ:sa]	'table'	(Sp. *mesa*)
	/'o:ro/	['ʔɔ:ɾɔ]	'gold'	(Sp. *oro*)
	/'te:le/	['tɛ:lɛ]	'television'	(Sp. *tele*)
(182)	/empa'na:da/	[ʔɛmpa'na:ɗa]	'empanada'	(Sp. *empanada*)
	/enfer'me:ra/	[ʔɛnfɛɾ'mɛ:ɾa]	'nurse'	(Sp. *enfermera*)
	/abo'ga:do/	[ʔaɓɔ'ga:ɗɔ]	'lawyer'	(Sp. *abogado*)

Thus, in principle, loans undergo the same stress and lengthening rules as native words.

When the stress pattern in Spanish words deviates from the stress pattern of native words, the rules are as follows. When the antepenultimate syllable is stressed originally, a pattern which does not occur in Movima, this syllable is lengthened, while the penultimate syllable is stressed:

(183)	/mu:'sika/	[mu:'sika]	'music'	(Sp. *m**ú**sica*)
	/ele:'sija/	[ʔɛlɛ:'sija]	'church'	(Sp. *igl**e**sia*)
	/kole:'hijo/	[kɔlɛ:'hijɔ]	'school'	(Sp. *col**e**gio*)
	/antiteta:'nika/	[ʔantitɛta:'nika]	'anti-tetanus vaccination'	(Sp. *antitet**á**nica*)

When the last syllable of a Spanish word is stressed, the original stress is retained in disyllabic, but not in longer loans. This is illustrated by (184) and (185), respectively:

(184)	/sen'jor/	[sɛn'jɔɾ]	'mister, lord'	(Sp. *señ**o**r*)
	/mo'tor/	[mɔ'tɔɾ]	'motorboat'	(Sp. *mot**o**r*)
(185)	/poro'fesor/	[pɔɾɔ'fɛsɔɾ]	'teacher'	(Sp. *profes**o**r*)
	/os'pi:tal/	[ʔɔspi:tal]	'hospital'	(Sp. *hospit**a**l*)

There is an intriguing way in which loans are treated differently from native words: all disyllabic loans with the structure CVCV (cf. (181)) retain the long vowel when additional morphemes are added through suffixation or internal cliticization (cf. 2.9.1 below). This is against the second lengthening rule, according to which the lengthening would automatically be lost. The following examples illustrate this:

[30] The etymology of the noun /pa:ko/ 'dog' is not clear. More evidence for its loan status, apart from the fact that its first syllable is never shortened, is found in 5.3.3.

(186)	/'p**a:**ko/	['pa:kɔ]	'dog'
	/p**a:**'ko=us/	[pa:'kɔʔus]	'his dog' (dog=m.a)
	/p**a:**ko-na:'nak/	[pa:kɔna:'naʔ^{a}]	'fox' (dog-PSEU)
(187)	/'w**a:**ka/	['wa:ka]	'cow, cattle, meat'
	/w**a:**'ka=us/	[wa:'kaʔus]	'his cow' (cow=m.a)
	/w**a:**ka-'to:da/	[ˌwa:ka'tɔ:ɗa]	'meat' (cow-BR.piece)
(188)	/'m**o:**to/	['mɔ:to]	'motorbike'
	/m**o:**'to=us/	[mɔ:'tɔʔus]	'his motorbike' (motorbike=m.a)
	/m**o:**to-to'da=us/	[mɔ:tɔtɔ'ɗaʔus]	'his wrecked motorbike' (motorbike-BR.piece=m.a)

In disyllabic loans with a final closed syllable, (CV.CVC), however, the first syllable is not lengthened at all (cf. (184) for stress in /mo'tor/):

(189)	/'salon/	['salɔn]	'gun'	(Sp. *salón*)
	/mo'tor/	[mɔ'tɔɾ]	'motorboat'	(Sp. *motor*)

2.8.4. Tone

There is no lexical tone in Movima. A stressed syllable is associated with a higher pitch. In (190)–(192), low pitch is indicated by L, high pitch by H:

(190)	/a'waro/	[ʔa'waɾɔ]	L-H-L	'parrot'
(191)	/'to:mi/	['tɔ:mi]	H-L	'water'
(192)	/tʃu:'hat/	[tʃu:'hat͡ʔ^{n}]	L-H	'*motacú*'

At the utterance level, however, tone (i.e. intonation) plays an important role, since it marks an interrogative sentence. This is described in the following section.

2.8.5. Intonation

Stress, length and tone play a distinctive role at the utterance level. A declarative utterance is unmarked. Its stress pattern corresponds to the stressed syllables of its words, with main stress on the last stressable syllable. The following examples show utterances with main stress on the penultimate, on the last, and on the antepenultimate syllable. In (193), the stress on the penultimate syllable corresponds to the regular stress pattern (cf. 2.8.1 above). In (194), the last syllable is stressed because of the final nasalized plosive. In (195), the final syllable belongs to an external clitic and does not participate in the stress pattern of the word (cf. 2.9.1 below); this leads to stress on the penultimate syllable.

(193) /bo hajna kal jeɬami'k^{w}**a**nan/
because DSC DM.ad.n pour:DR:BE.water:BEN:DR:2
[ɓɔ ˌhajna kal jɛɬami'k^{w}**a**nan]
'Because you already poured it in.'

(194) /bo ka: nos am'wa=is ka:'w**u**p/
because NEG obl:ART.n.p enter:NMZ=ART.pl mosquito
[ɓɔ 'ka: nɔs amˌwaʔis ka:'w**u**p͡ʔ^{m}]
'So that the mosquitos don't get in.' {EA, Sueño 037}

(195) /bo kah kahaɬe'w**a**=nk^{w}eɬ--is/
because NEG stop:DR:CO:NMZ=2pl--3pl
[ɓɔ 'kah kahaɬɛ'w**a**nk^{w}ɛɬis]
'Because you didn't stop them.' {EA, Dichiyeye 028}

Interrogative utterances, in contrast, are stressed in a fixed position and are also marked by intonation. The basic stress and intonation rule for a yes/no question is the following, to be specified below (H = high tone and stress, M = mid tone and no stress, # = end of utterance, … = no marked tone and no stress):

(196) (…) H M M (…) H M M (…) H M M #

The matrix in (196) is to be interpreted as follows: in a question, stress and high tone fall on the antepenultimate syllable of the entire utterance.[31] The last three syllables of the interrogative utterance participate in this intonation pattern independently of their morphemic status (i.e., particles and clitics are included). The content words that precedes this segment also receive stress and high tone on the antepenultimate syllable. Function words that precede a stressed syllable do not participate in the stress/tone pattern. This is indicated by the dots (…).

Any utterance can be fit into this matrix and is thereby marked as a question. Consider the following examples, in which the declarative intonation (a.) is contrasted with the interrogative intonation (b.):

(197) /kas totʃididi=as rojan/
NEG small:BE.house:NMZ.N=ART.n house:2
a. [kah totʃidɨ'dɨʔah **'ɾɔ**jan]
'Your house is not small.'
b. [kah tɔ 'tʃi dɨ dɨ **'ʔah** ɾɔ jan]
… H M M … H M M
'Is your house not small?'

[31] Deviations, caused by syllable weight, will be dealt with further below.

(198) /purukna=n--ikne/
kiss:2:f
a. [puˈɾuʔna**ˈniʔ**nɛ]
‘You kiss her.’
b. [puɾuʔ **ˈna** niʔ nɛ]
… H M M
‘Do you kiss her?’

(199) /enak nisnanak/
DUR wipe:2:n
a. [ʔɛnaʔˈnisna˛**naʔ**ᵃ]
‘You are wiping it clean.’
b. [ʔɛnaʔ nis **ˈna** na ʔa]
… ... H M M
‘Are you wiping it clean?’

The examples above show that all syllables from the right are counted, independently of their morphological status. In (197), the antepenultimate stressed, high-tone syllable consists of an article, which is normally unstressed. In (198), the three syllables which determine the intonation pattern only consist of a linking vowel and cliticized bound pronouns. In (199), the final syllable is the release vowel following the glottal stop of the presential bound pronoun /ak/, realized as [aʔᵃ].

In contrast to the last three syllables of the utterance, the syllables that precede a stressed syllable can participate in the intonation pattern only if they belong to a content word. A function word or clitic is not stressed and does not receive a marked tone. In the above examples, this concerned the first elements of the utterance. In (200), it concerns the feminine article /iknes/:

(200) /puruknan--iknes alwahan/
kiss:DR:2--ART.f your_spouse
[ˈpuɾuʔ na niʔnɛh ˈʔal wa han]
H M M … H M M
‘Have you kissed your wife?’

A deviation from the intonation rule in (196) occurs when the penultimate syllable of the last content word in the question is heavy, i.e. closed (cf. (201)) or lengthened (cf. (202)). Stress then falls on the penultimate syllable:

(201) /kah ditrimemeɬa as tʃorankʷanto/
NEG expensive:NMZ:LV ART.n hat
[kah ɗiɲɾimɛ ˈmɛ ɬa ʔah tʃɔɾan **ˈkʷan** tɔ]
… H M M ... H (M) M
‘Was the hat not expensive?’

(202) /hajna nisnan as me:sa/
DSC wipe:2 ART.n table
[hajna 'nis nan ʔah **'mɛ:** sa]
… H M M H(M) M
'Have you already wiped the table clean?'

In contrast, a heavy penultimate syllable is not stressed when it is distributed over two phonological words. In (203), the syllable /nik/ is not stressed because its final consonant belongs to an externally cliticized element:

(203) /hajna sehaw**ni--k**ne/
then better:PRC--f
[hajna sɛ 'haw niʔ nɛ]
… H M M
'Is she feeling better now?'

Another feature of interrogative utterances, apart from the intonation pattern, is that long vowels become short, even when they occur before the penultimate syllable position of the word (cf. 2.9). Examples (204)a and b illustrate the declarative and the interrogative version, respectively, of the same sentence.

(204) /hajna ba:lo:mah/
DSC finish
a. [hajnaɓa:'lɔ:mah]
'(We) finish already.'
b. [hajna 'ɓa lɔ mah]
… H M M
'Do (we) finish already?'

The intonation pattern of content questions is slightly different from that of yes/no questions described so far. In content questions, the first syllable of the utterance typically receives a high pitch, and the pitch gets lower towards the end of the utterance. This can roughly be presented as in (205):

(205) /tʃe kemaras rej hampan/
and use_of:ART again do_like:2

˥ ˥ ˦ ˧ ˨ ˩ ˩
[tʃɛ 'kɛ ma ɾah ɾɛj **'ham'pan**]
'And what do you do that for?'

In addition, in content questions, the last two syllables of the utterance typically have equal weight and stress. This could be seen in (205) above and is also illustrated by (206) below.

(206) /ja:jukij^{ʔ}bi mahni/
be_well:2pl my_child
[ja:ju'kijʔɓi **'mah'ni:**]
'How are you, my children?'

2.9. Morphophonemics

This section describes the ways in which the morphology influences, or is influenced by, phonology. Section 2.9.1 presents the phonological effects of the different morphological processes. In 2.9.2, it is shown how the morphological status of certain morphemes can influence the prosodic structure of a word. Elements whose occurrence is conditioned by the phonological environment are described in 2.9.3–2.9.6. Finally, I describe morphologically conditioned allophony (2.9.7) and allomorphy involving vowel dissimilation (2.9.8).

2.9.1. Phonological effects of morphological processes

In Movima, different morphological processes have different, predictable effects on the phonological structure of the elements involved. These are the following, to be described in more detail in Ch. 3:

Process	represented as
1. affixation[32]	-
2. internal cliticization	=
3. external cliticization	--

Through affixation, a word, a bound lexical element, a grammatical element, or the dummy element is attached to a base. The result is a phonological word, as shown in (207), corresponding to the prosodic rules described in 2.8. Exceptions are lexically determined (cf. 2.9.2 below).

(207) a. (/'bo:βe/)$_w$ 'fan made of *motacú* leaves'
b. (/bo'βe:-mo/)$_w$ 'basket made of *motacú* leaves' (fan-BE.basket)

Internal cliticization, a process by which a referential element is identified as representing the first argument of a transitive clause or the possessor of an NP, also creates a phonological word. However, when the penultimate syllable of this word is open, it is always short, against the lengthening rule described in 2.8.2. Consider the examples of internal cliticization in (208), with the stressed syllable in bold-face.

(208) (/ona'**je**na=n/)$_w$ 'You know X.'
(/onaje'**na**=us/)$_w$ 'He knows X.'
(/bajɬi'**ma**=us/)$_w$ 'his field'

[32] Compounding and incorporation are included here, since there are no major phonological differences between these processes.

Regular exceptions from the vowel shortening under internal cliticization shown in (208) concern loans, whose penultimate syllable is never shortened (cf. 2.8.3 above, examples (186)–(188)), and cases with a disyllabic host whose first syllable is a monosyllabic root (cf. 2.9.2 below).

External cliticization, a process which identifies a referential element as representing the absolutive argument of a clause, does not create a phonological word. However, when the cliticized element is vowel-initial and the first element ends in a consonant, this consonant forms the onset of the cliticized element (cf. also 2.7.1):

(209) ((/tih'ka:rim/)$_w$--/us/)$_w$ [tih'ka:ɾi**mus**] 'He works.' (work--m.a)
((/ona'jena=n/)$_w$--/us/)$_w$ [ʔɔna'jɛna**nus**] 'You know him.' (know=2--m.a)

When, in contrast, a vowel-initial referential element is not cliticized, but has its own phonological word status, it is not attached to the preceding consonant. It is preceded by the glottal stop (cf. 2.7.1). Consider the free pronoun /usko/ in (210).

(210) (/tih'ka:rim/)$_w$ (/'usko/)$_w$[tih'ka:rim 'ʔusko] 'He works.'

In the phonological representation, I mark the limit between two phonological words by an empty space.

2.9.2. Morphologically conditioned long vowels

In 2.8.2, the basic rule for prosodic vowel lengthening was presented: in prinicple, the penultimate open syllable of a word is lengthened, unless the word ends in a simple glottal stop, while all other syllables of the word are short. There are, however, deviations from this rule, in part predictable. They occur in the following order:

1. When an internal clitic is attached, the penultimate syllable is short.
2. The penultimate syllable is long when it belongs to a loan or when it is a monosyllabic root.

The first rule was illustrated in 2.9.1 above. The case of loans was shown in 2.8.3. Here, I will argue that other deviant cases are often due to the fact that the irregularly long syllable is the root of the word.

A monosyllabic root always consists of a heavy syllable, i.e. either a closed or a long open syllable. Neither its position in the word nor the presence or absence of an internal clitic influence syllable length in this case. In (211), this is illustrated with respect to the root /de:/ 'lie'. The examples in (211)a show the retention of vowel length before an internal clitic, (211)b the retention of vowel length in initial position of longer words, and (211)c its retention in word-final position.[33]

[33] Historically, the morpheme /de:/ 'lie' probably had the form /deje/ or /daj/; it is pronounced as [ɗɛjɛ] by some speakers when it forms part of demonstratives, e.g. [kɔ'ɗɛ:] ~ [kɔ'dɛjɛ] 'that (nonstanding). The form /ɗaj/ is found before a bound element, as in /daj+'ɬabaɬ/ 'to lie on the ground', and in the durative nonstanding aspect

(211) a. /'**de:**na/ ['ɗɛ:na] ‘my bed’
/'**de:**na=n/ ['ɗɛ:nan] ‘your bed’
/**de:**'na=sne/ [ɗɛ:'nasnɛ] ‘her bed’

b. /**de:**wawan'ra:ni/ [ˌɗɛ:wawan'ɾa:ni] ‘bedstead’
/**de:**'tʃihni/ [ɗɛ:'tʃihni] ‘to sleep together’

c. /ko'**de:**/ [kɔ'ɗɛ:] ‘that (nonstanding)’ (DM.nst.n)
/nos'**de:**/ [nɔs'ɗɛ:] ‘over there’

Other examples of semantically clearly identifiable monosyllabic roots are /ba:/ ‘finish, complete’ (cf. (212)) and /ku:/ ‘long’ (cf. (213)), shown in longer words:

(212) /**ba:**'lo:mah/ [ɓa:'lɔ:mah] ‘to finish’
/**ba:**'lo:si/ [ɓa:'lɔ:si] ‘its resin is finished’
/**ba:**pu'laj^{ʔ}/ [ɓa:pu'laj$ʔ^{i}$] ‘to finish sweeping’
/**ba:**tihkarim'kakaɬ/ [ɓa:tihkaɾim'kakaɬ] ‘to finish working’

(213) /**ku:**'ri:di/ [ku:'ɾi:ɗi] ‘long stick’
/**ku:**'ɬa:ri/ [ku:'ɬa:ɾi] ‘long leg’
/**ku:**'tek/ [ku:'tɛʔ^{ɛ}] ‘long breath’

Some monosyllabic roots can occur in a closed syllable. Only in this case is their vowel shortened. Cases in point are /eɬ/ ‘BR.name’, which has a final consonant, and /k^{w}a/ ‘mouth’, which is followed by the linking nasal when a suffix is attached (cf. 2.9.3). The examples in (214)a and (215)a show that when an internal clitic is attached, the vowel of these roots is long, as is the case with the roots in (211)–(213). This is due to their root status and to the position of the vowel in an open syllable. The examples in (214)b and (215)b show that when the vowel appears in a closed syllable, however, it is short.

(214) a. /**e:'ɬ**asne/
BR.name:LV:f.a
[ʔɛ:'ɬasnɛ]
‘her (absent) name’

b. /'**eɬ**.i/
BR.name:D
['ʔɛɬʔi]
‘my name’

(215) a. /**k^{w}a:**'nasne/
mouth:LN:LV:f.a
[k^{w}a:'nasnɛ]
‘her (absent) mouth’

b. /'**k^{w}a**n.i/
mouth:LN:D
['k^{w}anʔi]
‘my mouth’

Compare these roots to the phonologically similar bases /eɬa/ ‘comb’ (cf. (216)) and /kana/ ‘food’ (cf. (217)), respectively. These roots are disyllabic and therefore obey to the normal

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marker /da'jak/. Similar historical connections could explain the constant retention of vowel length in other monosyllabic roots.

lengthening rules, i.e., when a suffix or internal clitic is attached, their first vowel is shortened. Accordingly, the forms in (216)b and (217)b form minimal pairs with (214)a and (215)a above.

(216)	a.	/'**e:**ɬa/	['ʔ**ɛ:**ɬa]	'comb'
	b.	/**e**'ɬa=sne/	[**ʔɛ**'ɬasnɛ]	'her comb'
(217)	a.	/'**ka:**na/	['**ka:**na]	'my food'
	b.	/**ka**'na=sne/	[**ka**'nasnɛ]	'her food'

The examples in (211)–(215) were clear cases of semantically identifiable roots. There are, however, syllables which behave in the same way, but which are not semantically transparent and cannot, therefore, be clearly identified as roots. Examples are the following:

(218)	**/a:/**	[ʔa:]	('sibling'?)	
	/a:'na=sne/	[ʔa:'nasnɛ]	'her younger sibling'	(/na/ DR)
	/a:ka'ja=sne/	[ʔa:ka'jasnɛ]	'her older sibling'	(/kaj/ INV)
(219)	**/ja:/**	[ja:]	('parent's sibling/sibling's child'?)	
	/ja:'ni:kaj/	[ja:'ni:kaj]	'my nephew, niece'	(/ni/ PRC, /kaj/ INV)
	/ja:'jak/	[ja:'jaʔ^{a}]	'my uncle'	(RED-?)
(220)	**/ja:/**	[ja:]	('submerge'?)	
	/ja:'lo:we/	[ja:'lɔ:wɛ]	'to drink' (/lo/ 'BE.liquid', /we/ 'BE.person')	
	/ja:'ba:kwa/	[ja:'ɓa:kwa]	'to submerge completely'	(/ba:k^{w}a/ 'head')
(221)	**/hi:/**	[hi:]	('artifact'?)	
	/hi:'sa=sne/	[hi:'sasnɛ]	'her toy'	
	/hi:'sa:na/	[hi:'sa:na]	'I make X.'	(-na DR)

Here, several words have the same initial long syllable, and sometimes, other morphemes of the word can be identified. This can be seen as a hint that the first syllable is long because, at least historically, it was the root of the word.

Thus, many words deviate from the canonical lengthening patterns outlined in 2.8.2 above. In some cases, this can be explained synchronically, while in others, this seems to be historically conditioned. From a synchronic point of view, these latter cases have to be seen as a lexical property of the word.

2.9.3. The linking nasal

Some nominal bases with a final vowel are followed by the linking nasal /n/ when a another element is attached. The occurrence of the nasal depends on the last syllable of the base. It generally occurs after bases ending in /wa/, /k^{w}a/, /pa/, /da/, /ra/, /di/, /ri/, /k^{w}i/, /.i/, /ti/, and /tʃi/. This is irrespective of whether the base-final syllable has morphemic status or not. The following examples illustrate this. Note that the linking vowel assimilates to the following

consonant (cf. 2.4).

ending	example		
/wa/	/ari'**wa**-n-mah/ top-LN-VLC	[ʔaɾi'wammah]	‘to be on top’
/k^{w}a/	/ba:**k^{w}a**-n-'jit/ head-LN-?	[ɓakwan'jit͡ʔ^{n}]	‘underarm’
/pa/	/maro**pa**-n-di/ papaya-LN-BR.grain	[maɾɔ'pandi]	‘papaya seed’
/da/	/ra'**da**-n-ɬe/ door-LN-CO	[ɾa'ɗanɬɛ]	‘my door’
/ra/	/lo'**ra**-n-k^{w}a/ BR.leaf-LN-ABS	[lɔ'ɾaŋk^{w}a]	‘leaf’
/di/	/di-'**di**-n-k^{w}a/ RED-BR.grain-LN-ABS	[ɗi'ɗiŋk^{w}a]	‘seed’
/ri/	/tʃo'**ri**-n-pa/ ?-LN-TRC.hand	[tʃɔ'ɾimpa]	‘fingernail’
/k^{w}i/	/lowe-**k^{w}i**-n-'tik/ BR.colour-ABS-LN-VBZ	[lɔwɛk^{w}in'tiʔ^{i}]	‘to make an adornment’
/.i/	/maw-**'.i**-n-k^{w}a/ BR.hunger-D-LN-ABS	[maw'ʔiŋk^{w}a]	‘to be hungry’
/ti/	/ti'**ti**-n-baɬ/ ovenbird-LN-BR.cover	[ti'timɓaɬ]	‘nest of oven bird’
/tʃi/	/naj**tʃi**-n-'lo:wes/ first-LN-BE.shape	[najtʃin'lɔ:wɛs]	‘first day of *fiesta*’

In some cases, the occurrence of the linking nasal is lexically determined. This is to say, some bases receive the linking nasal, even though it does not occur after other bases with the same ending. Such bases are /'k^{w}e:ja/ ‘woman’, /'hokme/ ‘bird’, and /'hu:βe/ ‘dugout’. In (222)–(224)a, examples of these bases with a derivational suffix and the linking nasal are given. The examples in (222)–(224)b show that other bases with the same final syllable (in bold print) are not followed by the linking nasal.

(222) a. /k^{w}e'**ja**-n-poj/ [k^{w}ɛ'jampɔj] ‘female animal’
woman-LN-BR.animal

b. /ro**ja:**-'tik/ [ɾɔja:'tiʔ^{i}] ‘to build a house’
house-VBZ

(223) a. /hu**βe**-n-'tik/ [huβɛn'tiʔ^{i}] ‘to build a dugout’
dugout-LN-VBZ

b. /bo'**βe:**-mo/ [ɓɔ'βɛ:mɔ] ‘*motacú* basket’
fan-BE.basket

(224) a. /hok'**me**-n-loɬ/ [hɔʔ'mɛnlɔɬ] ‘chicken soup’
chicken-LN-BR.water

b. /me'**me:**-di/ [mɛ'mɛ:ɗi] ‘old house’
?-BE.house

Verbal bases do not receive the linking nasal. Compare (222)a above with (225) below:

(225) /k^{w}ej-'a:-poj/ [k^{w}ɛ'ja:pɔj] ‘to follow animals’
follow-DR-BR.animal

After some endings where the linking nasal would be expected, the nasal does not occur. This can be observed most often before the verbalizing suffix /tik/ and may be related to the high productivity of this suffix (cf. 11.5). The following examples show bases ending in /k^{w}a/, /pa/, and /.i/, respectively, to which the suffix /tik/ is attached without a previous linking nasal.

(226) /siɬ-k^{w}a:-'tik/ [siɬk^{w}a:'tiʔ^{i}] ‘to dig a well’
BR.hole-ABS-VBZ

(227) /maw-.i:-'tik/ [mawʔi:'tiʔ^{i}] ‘to starve’
hunger-D-VBZ

(228) /so:pa:-'tik/ [sɔ:pa:'tiʔ^{i}] ‘to make soup’
soup-VBZ

Sometimes, the same form can appear both with and without the nasal, as in the following example:

(229) a. /tobetk^{w}a:-'tik/ ~ b. /tobetk^{w}a**-n**-'tik/
skin:ABS-VBZ skin:ABS-LN-VBZ
[tɔɓɛk͡ʔ^{ŋ}k^{w}a:'tiʔ^{i}] [tɔɓɛk͡ʔ^{ŋ}k^{w}a**n**'tiʔ^{i}]
‘to produce peel’

2.9.4. The linking vowel /a/

Internal clitics require a preceding vowel. If the base ends in a consonant, as in (230) and (231), the linking vowel /a/ is attached before an internal clitic:

(230) /bajɬi'm-**a**=jˀɬi/
field-LV=1pl
[ɓajɬi'majʔɬi]
'our field'

(231) /kajapo'h-**a**=us/
eat:DR:CAU-LV=m.a
[kajapɔ'haʔus]
'He (absent) feeds X.'

The phonological and morphological properties of internal cliticization are discussed in detail in 3.9.1.

2.9.5. The dummy element /.i/

The dummy element /.i/, already discussed in 2.7.1, occurs when prosodic or morphological conditions of a minimal word are not met. It appears as a suffix on some monosyllabic noun roots (cf. 5.3.2), as illustrated by (232). It is also suffixed to bare verb roots, which cannot occur independently (cf. 8.1.5), exemplified by (233). As was shown in 2.7.1, when occurring as a suffix, the dummy element has its own syllabification domain, so that it is always preceded by a glottal stop.

(232) /'bet-.i/ ['ɓɛt͡ʔⁿʔi] 'savannah'

(233) /to'roh-.i/ [tɔ'ɾɔhʔi] 'it has been/has to be dusted'

The element /.i/ furthermore serves as a host for referential elements which require an initial vowel. This concerns referential elements with an initial consonant cluster (cf. (234)), which were discussed in 2.7.1 above, as well as the bound pronouns of first and second person (cf. (235)), which consist of a single consonant:

(234) /knes/ ART.f
/kne/ 'she (present)' (PRO.)f
/sne/ 'she (absent)' (PRO.)f.a
/jˀɬi/ 'we (exclusive)' (PRO.)1pl
/jˀbi/ 'you (pl.)' 2pl.intr

(235) /ɬ/ ‘I; my’ (1)
/t/ ‘I’ (1intr)
/h/ ‘you’ (2intr)

As was shown in 2.7.1 for the referential elements with an initial consonant cluster, the markers of first person are attached to the dummy element when there is no preceding vowel:

(236) /i-ɬ na'na:ra/
D-1 let_loose
[ʔiɬna'na:ɾa]
‘I set it free.’

(237) /i-t be'le:ka/
D-1intr happy
[ʔip͡ʔᵐɓɛ'lɛ:ka]
‘I am happy.’

(238) /i-h hi'wa:wa/
D-2intr come
[ʔihhi'wa:wa]
‘You come.’

When, in contrast, these markers are preceded by a vowel-final word, they do not require the dummy element. Since the attachment of these markers does not influence the phonological form of the preceding word in any respect (stress, vowel length, syllable structure), I represent it here by a plus sign.

(239) /bo+**ɬ** je'ja:poj/
because+1 like:DR:BE.animal
[ɓɔɬjɛ'ja:pɔj]
‘because I like them (animals)’

(240) /hajna+**t** 'potmo/
then+1intr get_up
['hajnap͡ʔᵐ'pɔp͡ʔᵐmɔ]
‘Then I got up.’

When the preceding word ends in /k/, which is realized as the glottal stop, the release vowel is retained, and the bound pronoun is attached to that vowel:

(241) /dik+**ɬ** 'jejnan/
HYP+1 want:DR:2
[ɗi**ʔ iɬ** 'jɛjnan]
‘if we (incl.) want to’

2.9.6. Epenthetic vowels and vowel identity

Oblique case is marked by prefixing the morpheme /n/ to a referential element (an article, a free pronoun, or a demonstrative; cf. Ch 4-Referential elements). Compare the encoding of structural and oblique case in (242)a and b, respectively:

(242) a. /as 'ro:ja/ 'the/a house'
b. /n-as 'ro:ja/ 'in/at etc. the/a house'

When the referential element has a consonant in its onset (which is always /k/, cf. 4.5), an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the oblique marker and the referential element. This vowel is identical to the first or only vowel of the referential element:

(243) a. /kis 'ro:ja/ '(the) houses'
b. /n+kis 'ro:ja/ [nikis 'ɾɔ:ja] 'in/at etc. (the) houses'

(244) a. /kus iti'la:k^{w}a/ 'the/a man'
b. /n+kus iti'la:k^{w}a/ [nukus ʔiti'la:k^{w}a] 'with/for etc. the/a man'

(245) a. /korek/ 'that (standing)' (DM.std.n)
b. /n+ko'rek/ [nɔkɔ'ɾɛʔ^{ɛ}] 'at that (standing)' (obl+DM.std.n)

2.9.7. Allophony in reduplication

The consonant pairs [ɓ], [β] and [ɗ], [ɾ] display some alternation in certain reduplication contexts (for reduplication, cf. 3.7). When an element with the onset [β] or [ɾ] undergoes CV-reduplication, the onset of the source segment is realized as [ɓ] or [ɗ], respectively:

(246) /kaw-ra-'**ɾ**a=as/
much-RED-BE.ntr=n
[kaw**ɾ**a'**ɗ**aʔas]
'its being a lot'

(247) /βe-'**β**esk^{w}a/
RED-BR.rib:ABS
[**β**ɛ'**ɓ**ɛsk^{w}a]
'rib'

The alternation only occurs when a syllable with the continuant in the onset (i.e., /β/ or /ɾ/) is reduplicated. When the onset of the source element is the plosive (/b/ or /d/), the plosive occurs in both the copy and the source:

(248) /be-'betk^{w}a/
RED-BR.flat_flex:ABS
[**ɓ**ɛ'**ɓ**ɛk͡ʔ^{ŋ}k^{w}a]
'hide, leather'

(249) /di-'dink^{w}a/
RED-BR.grain:LN:ABS
[**ɗ**i'**ɗ**iŋk^{w}a]
'grain, seed'

There are cases of CV-reduplication in which the rule of variation does not apply. This concerns lexical elements which seem to contain a fossilized reduplication:

(250) /ri'ri:ja/
[**ɾ**i'**ɾ**i:ja]
'*cuco* (kind of cicada)'

(251) /'rulrul/
['**ɾ**ul**ɾ**ul]
'jaguar'

2.9.8. Vowel dissimilation: the distribution of the allomorphs /uk/ and /aj^{ʔ}/

Two homophonous morphemes, the intensifier and the phasal aspect marker (occurring after a monosyllabic bound verb root; cf. 10.6, 10.7) have two allomorphs: /uk/ and /aj^{ʔ}/. Their distribution is conditioned by dissimilation with the vowel of the preceding syllable: when the preceding vowel is /a/, the allomorph chosen is /uk/, and after /u/, the allomorph is /aj^{ʔ}/. This is illustrated by (252) and (253):

(252) a. /ba:-ta'n-**uk/**
finish-cut-PH
'finish cutting'
b.* /ba:-ta'n-**aj^{ʔ}/**

(253) a. /ba:-pu'l-**aj^{ʔ}/**
finish-sweep-PH
'finish sweeping'
b.* /ba:-pu'l-**uk/**

After all other vowels (/.i/, /e/, /o/), the allomorphs are in free variation:

(254) a. /ba:-ni's-**uk/**
finish-wipe_clean-PH
'to finish wiping clean'
~ b. /ba:-ni's-**aj^{ʔ}/**
finish-wipe_clean-PH

(255) a. /ba:-be'n-**uk**/ ~ b. /ba:-be'n-**aj^{ʔ}**/
finish-paint-PH finish-paint-PH
'to finish painting'

(256) a. /ba:-ɬo'j-**aj^{ʔ}**/ ~ b. /ba:-ɬo'j-**uk**/
finish-dye-PH finish-dye-PH
'to finish dyeing'

2.10. The spelling used in this book

The spelling used in this book is mostly based on the orthography developed by Movima speakers during an alphabetization workshop in 1994 (cf. Ministerio de Educación et al.: 2003). The orthographic representation of the phonemes is as follows:

1. Vowels

/.i/	<i>
/e/	<e>
/a/	<a>
/o/	<o>
/u/	<u>

2. Consonants

/p/	<p> when [p]
	<m̓> when [p͡ʔ^{m}]
/t/	<t> when [t]
	<n̓> when [t͡ʔ^{n}]
/k/	<k> when [k]
	<'> when [ʔ]
/b/	<b>
/d/	<d>
/ʔ/	<'>
/j^{ʔ}/	<y'>
/k^{w}/	<kw>
/tʃ/	<ch>
/β/	<v>
/s/	<s>
/h/	<j>
/ɬ/	<ɬ>[34]

[34] In the official alphabet, which was developed for typewriting, this sound is symbolized by an <l> with two horizontal bars: <ŀ>

/m/ <m>
/n/ <n> when [n] or [ŋ]
/l/ <l>
/r/ <r>
/w/ <w>
/j/ <y>

In the following sections, I will discuss some cases that are not self-explanatory. These concern, in particular, the spelling of the phonemes /p/, /t/, and /k/ (cf. 2.10.1) and of the phonemes /tʃ/, /β/, /h/, and /j/ (cf. 2.10.2). Sections 2.10.3 and 2.10.4 explain in which cases the glottal stop phoneme and its release vowel are orthographically represented. Sections 2.10.5 and 2.10.6 deal with the representation of vowel length and stress, respectively.

2.10.1. The spelling of /p/, /t/, and /k/

These phonemes /p/, /t/, and /k/ are spelled as <ṁ>, <ṅ>, and <’>, respectively, when occurring in word-final position:

(257) /ku:'dup/ → *ku:duṁ* ‘flea’
/tʃu:'hat/ → *chu:jaṅ* ‘*motacú*’
/k^{w}ah'tak/ → *kwajta’* ‘maize’

This spelling was first introduced by Judy & Judy (1962b) and was adopted for the newly developed Movima alphabet. The main reason for retaining this representation in spite of the predictable occurrence of these consonants is that the syllable-final allophones are phonetically very different from the onset allophones, since they contain a glottal closure and, in the case of /p/ and /t/, nasalization.

Moreover, there are some indications that the nasalized plosives are perceived by the speakers as nasal consonants rather than as equivalents of [p] and [t]. First of all, in at least one case, a speaker interpreted a nasalized plosive as a nasal continuant instead of the plosive. This is shown in the phonemic representation of (258)b.

(258) a. /tʃu:'ha**t**mo/ ‘*motacú* almond’ [tʃu:'hap͡ʔ^{m}ɔ]
b. /tʃuha'**t**+ak+mo/ ‘no *motacú* almonds’ [tʃuha'**n**aʔmɔ] (/ak/ IRR)

Second, it is possible that the name of the Bolivian department Beni, where the Movimas live, is based on the Movima word /'bet.i/ (['ɓɛt͡ʔnʔi]) ‘grassland, savannah’, by omitting the simple glottal stop and realizing the nasalized stop as [n].

2.10.2. The spelling of /tʃ/, /β/, /h/, and /j/

The representation of /tʃ/, /β/, /h/, and /j/ as <ch>, <v>, <j>, and <y>, respectively, is based on the Spanish orthography. This spelling is retained because in this way, second-language learners of Movima, who first learn to write in Spanish, have no problem to identify these

consonants. In contrast, especially a phonemic spelling of /h/ and /j/ would be confusing for the learners, since in Spanish, <h> is not pronounced at all and <j> is pronounced as [h].

2.10.3. Representation of the glottal stop

In the orthography, the glottal stop is represented word-internally, but not word-initially or when preceding an enclitic. This is because a word or clitic boundary can always be clearly represented in the morphological notation, while this is not the case with a word-internal element. In the word /mo'.intʃo/ (cf. (259)), for example, the segment [ʔi] is probably the suffixed dummy element /.i/. However, the rest of the word cannot be analysed, so that no morpheme boundary can be represented. Likewise, for the word /des.a'ju:no/ 'breakfast' in (260), there is no synchronic evidence that the element /aju:no/ is a lexical element, which would automaticlly trigger the glottal stop (cf. 2.7.1).

(259) /mo'.intʃo/ [mɔ'ʔintʃɔ] *mo'incho* '*chivé*' (manioc powder)

(260) /des.a'ju:no/ [ɗɛsʔa'ju:nɔ] *des'ayu:no* 'breakfast'

Also in complex words containing vowel-initial elements with a syllabification domain of their own, the glottal stop is represented in the orthography:

(261) /am-'.am-wa/ [ʔam'ʔamwa] *am~'am-wa* 'my being put in' (INV~enter-NMZ)
/il-a:-.oh/ [ʔi'la:ʔɔh] *il-a:-'oj* 'to hang up laundry'
(spread-DR-BE.clothes)

2.10.4. Orthographic representation of the release vowel

The orthographic representation of the release vowel is entirely phonetically based. It is represented wherever it occurs in the spoken data, which is most of all when a clitic is attached to it (cf. (262)a) and before an intonational pause, e.g. at the end of an utterance (cf. (263)a). The release vowel is not represented when it is omitted in the spoken text (cf. (262)b and (263)b).

(262) a. ***kore'e***=*s ro:ya* 'that house' (DM.n.std=DET house)
b. ***kore'*** *nosde:* 'It is (standing) over there.' (DM.n.std there)

(263) a. *..., as si:wa* ***mere'e*** '..., the big spider.' (ART.pl spider big) {EA, Araña 009}
b. *as mere'-si:wa* 'a/the big spider' (ART.pl big-spider)

The disadvantage of this spelling is that it leads to two different representations of identical words, e.g. *kore' ~ kore'e* 'that (standing)' or *mere' ~ mere'e* 'big'. However, this is unavoidable, because the occurrence of the release vowels provides evidence for morphological processes such as clitization (cf. (262)a) and compounding ((263)b). Apart from that, further research may reveal more functions of the release vowel, e.g. on the discourse level, so that it is preferable to keep its representation as close to its actual occurrence as possible.

2.10.5. Representation of vowel length

Vowel length will always be represented orthographically, also when it is predictable from the morphological process in which a word is involved. In (264)a, the bound pronoun /us/ is an external clitic, which means that it does not change the prosodic structure of its host. The word to which it is attached retains its penultimate long vowel. The bound pronoun /us/ in (264)b, in contrast, is an internal clitic, which means that it participates in word prosody. It leads to shortening of the penultimate syllable of its host; however, the new penultimate syllable is not lengthened (cf. also 2.9.1 and 3.9.1). Since the meaning difference is considerable, all long vowels are orthographically represented.

(264) a. *onaye:na--us* [ʔɔna'jɛ:naʔus] 'I know him.'
b. *onayena=us* [ʔɔnajɛ'naʔus] 'He knows X.'

Since all long vowels are represented orthographically, the absence of length marking always indicates a short vowel.

2.10.6. Representation of stress

The representation of stress is, in general, avoided. In the case of the different types of cliticization, where stress is distinctive, the stress pattern of the morphological unit has to be inferred from the cliticization symbol:

(265) a. *dewajna--us* [ɗɛ'**wah**naʔus] 'I see him.'
b. *dewajna=us* [ɗɛwah'**na**ʔus] 'He sees X.'

However, the stress symbol is used to reflect interrogative intonation (cf. 2.8.5):

(266) *jayna bálomaj* 'Have we finished already?'

3 Morphological Units and Processes

This chapter introduces the types of morphemes that exist in Movima, the different morphological processes, and gives an overview of the parts of speech. The morphology is complex, because many words are not composed of a lexical element (the root) and grammatical elements (affixes), but often contain two (or more) elements of lexical origin. Apart from that, some morphemes are attached not according to morphological, but to metric criteria. Further research is needed to establish and schematize the different levels to which the morphological processes apply.

This chapter is structured as follows. The first part describes the main morphological units and processes. The use of the terms "root" and "base" is defined in 3.1. Sections 3.2–3.9 describe the different bound morphemes and morphological processes. These include bound lexical elements (3.3), affixes and affixation (3.4), incorporation (3.5), the different types of reduplication (3.6), and the different types of cliticization (3.8). A pattern characteristic of Movima, which is that certain morphemes can occur twice in a word, is shown in section 3.7.

Section 3.10, which occupies the second half of this chapter, introduces the different parts of speech distinguished in Movima. The main classes are nouns, verbs, and particles. Adjectives constitute a subclass of nouns, and it will be discussed whether question words can be seen as a word class of their own.

3.1. Roots and bases

Roots are those lexical morphemes in Movima that have the potential to occur as the only lexical element in a word.[35] In (1), an example of a verb root is given, *tan-* 'cut', which forms a word together with the direct voice marker *-na*. Example (2) shows the noun root *mori-* in combination with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*.[36]

(1) ***tan-****na*
cut-DR
'I cut X.'

(2) ***mori-****n-kwa*
BR.blossom-LN-ABS
'blossom, flower'

Most verb roots cannot occur independently, but have to combined with another element to form an independent word.[37] When no other morpheme is attached, then a verb root is combined with the dummy element *-'i* (cf. 2.9.5, 8.1.5):[38]

[35] In this respect, roots contrast with lexical elements which can never occur as the only lexical element in a word, described in 3.2.
[36] The element *-n* in (2) is the linking nasal, inserted for phonological reasons (cf. 2.9.3).
[37] However, many historically complex verbs can be considered as independent roots (cf. 3.10.1).

(3) *tan-‘i* ‘to be cut’ (cut-D)
ju:-‘i ‘to be scolded’ (scold-D)
tikoy-‘i ‘to be killed’ (kill-D)

In contrast, many noun roots can constitute independent words by themselves. This is the case with roots that are disyllabic or longer:

(4) *champa* ‘stone’
dawjes ‘deer’
awaro ‘parrot’

Other noun roots, however, cannot occur independently. I call these roots “bound roots”. All monosyllabic noun roots fall in this group, as do some disyllabic roots that denote inalienably possessed entities. Like verb roots, many monosyllabic noun roots are combined with the dummy element *-‘i* in order to form an independent word, as in (5). Others undergo reduplication, as will be shown in 5.3.2.1. Still others can occur as the root of an independent noun when combined with the suffix *-kwa* (cf. 5.3.2.3, 6.5). Some of these are additionally reduplicated. Examples of bound roots in combination with the suffix *-kwa* are shown in (6).

(5) *nun-’i* ‘bone’ (BR.bone-D)
paj-’i ‘dolphin’ (BR.dolphin-D)
kwa-n-’i ‘my mouth’ (BR.mouth-LN-D)

(6) *sił-kwa* ‘hole’ (BR.hole-ABS)
di~di-n-kwa ‘seed’ (RED~BR.grain-LN-ABS)
po~poy-kwa ‘animal’ (RED~BR.animal-LN-ABS)

Some disyllabic noun roots are bound roots as well, i.e., they cannot represent a word by themselves. They all denote inalienably possessed entities: they can form the root of an independent noun only when the noun is marked as possessed (cf. 6.1) or when combined with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*. In (7) and (8), examples of bound disyllabic roots are given that are combined with the suffix *-kwa*.

(7) **to:da* → *toda-n-kwa*
BR.piece BR.piece-LN-ABS
‘piece’

(8) **mo:ri* → *mori-n-kwa*
BR.blossom BR.blossom-LN-ABS
‘blossom, flower’

Bound roots are described in detail in 5.3.2. Possessed bound roots are described in 6.5.

[38] This is only possible for bivalent verb roots, which form the largest class of verb roots (cf. 8.3.1 and Appendix A.III). Other verb roots never occur without a grammatical morpheme.

In Movima, many words contain more than one root. This is generally the result of compounding, as in (9), or incorporation, as in (10). Phasal verbs, illustrated in (11), contain two verbal roots, the first encoding an aspectual category, the latter denoting the event (cf. 10.7).

(9) *wa:ka-to:da*
cow-BR.piece
'beef, meat'

(10) *sal-a-to:wa*
search-DR-path
'to look for a path'

(11) *ba:-pul-ay'*
finish-sweep-INT
'to finish sweeping'

A bound noun root is always glossed as 'BR' to show that the root alone cannot form an independent noun, even though it can be the only lexical morpheme in an independent noun (cf. (5)–(7)). In contrast, when a noun is not glossed by 'BR', such as *to:wa* 'path' in (10), this means that the noun can occur independently. Verb roots are not specifically marked (cf. *pul-* in (11)).

In words containing more than one root, such as (9)–(11), I consider the first root as the principal root, to which another root is subsequently attached. This is because lexical elements that cannot occur as the only lexical morpheme in a word, presented in 3.2 below and, in more detail, in 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, are always the second element in complex words. Roots that occur as the second lexical morpheme within one word, can therefore be seen as secondary elements as well.

A base is any form to which another element can be attached. A base can consist of a root, such as *tikoy-* 'kill' in (12)a, or of a root and one or more additional elements, like *chi-poj-* 'take out' in (12)b, which consists of a root and a causative suffix. In (12)a and (12)b, the direct voice suffix *-na* is attached to these bases. Together with *-na*, these words can form bases for further affixation, too. For example, the nominalizing suffix *-wa* can be added, as in (12)c.

(12) a. *tikoy-na*
kill-DR
'I kill X.'

b. *chi-poj-na*
go_out-CAU-DR
'I take X out.'

c. *chi-poj-na:-wa*
go_out-CAU-DR-NMZ
'my taking X out'

A base can be quite complex, as is illustrated in (13). The structure of the base in (13)a is shown in (13)b.

(13) a. *tan-a-risa-cha-ye:-pa*
cut-DR-BR.hair-DR2-BE.person-AG
'hairdresser'

b. *tan-* ‘cut’
tan-risa ‘to have cut hair’ (cut-BR.hair)
tan-a-ri:sa ‘I cut X’s hair.’ (cut-DR-BR.hair)
tan-a-risa-cha-ye ‘to cut X’s hair’ (cut-DR-BR.hair-DR2-BE.person)
tan-a-risa-cha-ye:-pa ‘person who cuts people’s hair (i.e., hairdresser)’ (cut-DR-BR.hair-DR2-BE.person-AG)

3.2. Bound lexical elements

There is a large number of bound morphemes with lexical content, many of which have a classificatory function. These occur in compounds (cf. 3.4), incorporated into verbs (cf. 3.5), and on certain verbs and adjectives which obligatorily require a bound lexical element (cf. 3.10.4–3.10.6).

Most of these elements are noun roots (cf. 3.1, 5.3.2), since they can also occur as the first lexical element of a noun. Example (14)a shows the bound root *ba* ‘BR.round’ as the second element of a compound, and (14)b shows it as the root of a noun:

(14) a. *mo’incho:**-ba***
chivé-BR.round
‘cake of *chivé*’

b. *ba~**ba:**-kwa*
RED~BR.round-ABS
‘fruit’

Other bound lexical elements, however, cannot function as the root of a word: there is no word of which they constitute the first lexical element, as *ba:* does in (14)b. An example is the element *-vos* ‘BE.wood’, which has to be attached to another base. In (16), it forms a compound with a noun, in (16), it is incorporated into a verb.

(15) *ko’o:**-vos***
tree-BE.wood
‘wood’

(16) *pek-a:-**vos***
lift-DR-BE.wood
‘to lift wood’

These bound elements will be described in more detail in 5.3.4.

A number of bound nominal elements are the result of the truncation of an independent noun, to be discussed in detail in 5.3.3. For example, the noun *po’so* ‘chicha’ has a truncated form *-so*, which can be incorporated into verbs or form a compound with another noun:

(17) *kwajta’**-so***
maize-TRC.*chicha*
‘maize beer’

Some bound elements have a verbal character, since they denote an event. They are found most often in phasal verbs, i.e., in combination with a verb root that indicates phasal aspect. Unlike real verb roots in a phasal verb (cf. also (11) above), a bound element in a phasal verb is not followed by a phasal suffix (such as *-ay'* in (11)). An example of the bound verbal element *-bu* 'BE.eat' is given (18). Phasal verbs are described in 10.8.4.

(18) *ba:**-bu***
finish-BE.eat
'to finish eating'

3.3. Affixes

An affix is a bound grammatical morpheme. Unlike internal clitics, which resemble affixes (cf. 3.9), affixes create a phonological word that follows the stress and lengthening rules outlined in 2.8.1 and 2.8.2. Most affixes in Movima are suffixes. There is one prefix, the oblique marker *n-* (cf. 4.6, 7.6). Two suffixes, *-a* 'DR' and *-ka* 'MLT' can occur as infixes (cf. 3.6 below). There is also one "real" infix whose position is determined by metric properties of the entire base (cf. 3.6 below). In addition, there are several reduplicative affixes, which are essentially prefixing (cf. 3.7 below).

Usually, both the base and the affix retain their phonological shape when combined. Major exceptions are the following. First of all, as was shown in 2.7.1, after a vowel, vowel-initial affixes are represented by a consonant-initial allomorph. Second, the agentive voice marker *-eɬe*, shown in (19)a, loses its final vowel before another suffix, as in (19)b.

(19) a. *lat**-e:ɬe***
chop-AGT
'to chop'

b. *lat**-eɬ**-wa*
chop-AGT-NMZ
'chopping'

Third, the applicative suffix *-eɬ* and the segment /eɬ/ of the agentive suffix *-eɬe* are not overtly realized after a base ending in /ɬ/. This will be described in detail in 9.7.

On some bases ending in /ɬ/, this consonant is omitted before a suffix, as in (20). More research is required here.

(20) a. *ba:ye**ɬ***
hunt
'to hunt'

b. *baye:-wa*
hunt-NMZ
'hunting'

For the time being, I consider all Movima affixes derivational. Some categories often cited as typical examples of inflection, since they are conditioned by their morphosyntactic environment, are not encoded by affixes in Movima: the noun morphology does not contain markers for case or number; in the verb morphology, there are no agreement affixes, and tense, aspect and mood are not systematically encoded by affixes either (cf. Ch. 10 for verbal affixes which involve aspect and mood). Nominal number and person are encoded by pronominal clitics (cf. 4.7), and most TAM categories by particles (cf. Ch. 12). The only

affixes which may be considered inflectional are the markers of direct or inverse voice (cf. 8.1), distributed on the basis of semantic and pragmatic factors. However, I will not enter into this discussion here.

The most important grammatical categories expressed by affixes in Movima include:

(21) *On nominal bases:*
Verbalization
Absolute state

(22) *On verbal bases:*
Nominalization
Voice
Causative
Benefactive, Malefactive
Applicatives
Mood: Irrealis, desiderative, imperative
Phasal Aspect
Multiple event

3.4. Compounding

Compounding (described in detail in 5.2) is very productive in Movima. The first part of a compound can be a noun, an adjective, or a verb root (cf. 3.10). The second part is usually a bound root (cf. 3.1) or another bound nominal element (cf. 3.2), but it can also be a full noun.

The wordhood of a compound is straightforward when the second element cannot occur independently, i.e., when it is a bound nominal element (cf. 5.3), such as the bound root *-buń* in (23):

(23) *mo'incho:-buń*
chivé-BR.mass
'*chivé* mass'

In contrast, when both its elements can function as independent words, the wordhood of a compound is more difficult to determine, since both parts retain their stress pattern. The first element, however, only receives secondary stress:

(24) *wa:ka-ba:ri*
cow-foot
[ˌwa:kaˈɓa:ɾi]
'cow foot'

Clear phonological evidence for the fact that the two words form a compound is when the first element is a native word with an open penultimate syllable, whose length is prosodically conditioned (cf. Ch2-Length). In compounding, this syllable is shortened, since it is not the penultimate anymore (cf. 2.8.2):

(25) a. *bi:jaw* ‘old’
b. *bijaw-kwe:ya* ‘old woman’

(26) a. *ape:re* ‘Apere river’
b. *apere-beń‘i* ‘the lands of the Apere river’

Some compounds can be identified because of an intervening linking nasal (cf. 2.9.3), as in (27), or because of nasal assimilation, as in (28).

(27) *itilakwa-**n**-dichi:ye*
man-LN-child
‘little boy’

(28) *alwambeń-mari:ko*
paper-bag
[ˌʔalwam'ɓɛ**p͡ʔ**$^{\mathbf{m}}$ma'ɾi:kɔ]
‘paper bag’

Since there are many cases which provide phonological evidence for compounding, it can be assumed that two adjacent content words, the second of which is a noun, within one syntactic slot form one single compound. I will come back to this in the analysis of attributive adjectives (cf. 3.10.4 below).

3.5. Incorporation

Noun incorporation, by which a noun or, more commonly, a bound nominal element is inserted into a verb, is very productive as well. There are two types of noun incorporation: argument incorporation and modifier incorporation. Argument incorporation is identified by the fact that the verb contains the bivalent direct voice marker (cf. 8.1.1), but is used intransitively (cf. 7.7 and 9.1):

(29) ***iń*** *sal-**a**-ka:na*
1intr search-DR-food
‘I look for food’ [lit.: “I food-search”]

A verb with an incorporated modifier, in contrast, can appear with any voice marker (cf. 9.2), in which case it is also clearly recognizable as a verb (as in (30)a). It can, however, also appear without a voice affix, which marks the resultative voice (as in (30)b). In this case, it cannot be formally distinguished from an adjective (cf. 3.10.5)

(30) a. *raɬ-a-piń*
tear-DR-BE.half
‘I tear it in the middle.’

b. *raɬ-piń*
tear-BE.half
‘to be torn in the middle’

In certain cases, verb roots, or even full verbs, can be incorporated into a verb. This is very productive with verbs encoding phasal aspect. As is shown in 10.8, three verb roots have been found which, together with an incorporated root and combined with the suffixes *-u'/-ay'* or *-kakaɬ*, create a phasal verb. These roots are *ba:-* 'finish', as in (31) (cf. also (11) above), *nan-* 'set free', as in (32), and *pen-* 'land', as in (33). There may be more. Consider the following examples, with the incorporated verb root in bold-face:

(31) *ba:**-tijkarim**-kakaɬ*
finish-work-PH
'to finish working'

(32) *nan**-sit**-ay'*
let_loose-sew-PH
'to stop sewing (without having finished)'

(33) *pen**-sam**-u'*
land-twist-PH
'to start weaving'

In other cases in which a verb root is apparently incorporated, this, in fact, is rather a case of noun incorporation. For example, the root *joro* 'sleep' is found in the verb *joro:-kwa* 'to sleep' (cf. 8.3.2.1). However, this morpheme has more parallels with a noun root than with a verb root. Like most noun roots, it can constitute an independent word (cf. 3.1), which, like nouns, typically occurs in a noun phrase (cf. 3.10.2). This is shown in (34):

(34) *as* *jo:ro*
ART.n sleep
'(the) sleep, sleepiness'

Therefore, when a root of this type is incorporated, as in (35) below, this can be seen as a case of noun incorporation. In the case of phasal verbs, the difference from verb root incorporation is also apparent from the fact that no suffix is required, unlike the case with incorporated verb roots shown in (31)–(33).

(35) *ba:-jo:ro*
finish-sleep
'to finish sleeping'

The incorporation of verb roots and bound lexical elements into phasal verbs is discussed in more detail in 10.8.

3.6. Infixation and pseudo-infixation

If an infix is defined as an affix that is obligatorily placed inside a root, there are no infixes in Movima. However, there are three types of affixes which occasionally appear inside a (synchronic) root. First of all, there are the direct transitive suffix *-a* and the multiple-event marker *-ka*. These are originally suffixed to the verb root; however, on historically complex, but synchronically unanalysable bases, they are best viewed as infixes. Second, there is the irrealis marker *<a'>*, whose position is prosodically determined. It is infixed not with regard to the root, but with regard to the entire base, namely after the first iambic foot of the base. If the root is longer than just a iambic foot, this morpheme is clearly an infix in the traditional sense, since it splits up the root; but if the root is shorter, so that *<a'>* occurs after the root, this morpheme can be represented as a suffix. Third, prefixing reduplication of a word-final element, a very common process in Movima, also leads to infixation.

In 3.6.1 describes the affixation of the direct voice marker *-a* 'DR' and the multiple-event marker *-ka*. Section 3.6.2 describes the morphological properties of the irrealis marker *<a'>*. An overview of the behaviour of these three morphemes is given in 3.6.3. Infixing reduplication is dealt with further below, in 3.7.2.

3.6.1. Pseudo-infixes: *-a* 'bivalent direct' and *-ka* 'multiple event'

The direct bivalent voice marker *-a* 'DR' occurs in complex verbs. It only occurs after monosyllabic roots with the structure CVC (longer roots and roots consisting of an open syllable take the allomorph *-na*, cf. 8.1.1):

(36) *kok-a:-di*
swallow-DR-BR.grain
'to swallow something small (e.g., a pill)'

In complex bases whose components cannot be semantically identified, this morpheme is better analysed as an infix. This is the case in (37), where the elements *jom-* and *-ni* cannot be clearly identified as separate morphemes:

(37) *jom<a:>ni*
devour<DR>
'I devour it.'

The following are more examples of bases that are not fully analysable morphologically, so that here, too, *-a* is currently best analysed as an infix:[39]

(38)	*basto*	'to be thrown over'	*bas<a:>to*	'I throw it over.'
	chanko	'blanket; to be covered'	*chan<a:>ko*	'I keep it warm.'
	pa'si	'to be turned over'	*pak<a:>si*	'I turn it over.'

[39] This list is not exhaustive. Also, future research may show that many of the bases currently presented as unanalysable are, in fact, segmentable synchronically.

poṅmo	'to be lifted'	*pot<a:>mo*	'I lift it.'
moɬba	'to be entangled'	*moɬ<a:>ba*	'I entangle it.'
taṁvo:seɬ	'to fall down'	*tat<a>vo:seɬ*	'I drop it.'

The suffix *-ka* 'MLT' usually occurs only on complex verbal bases. It occurs directly after the root, including, unlike the affix *-a* 'DR' described above, disyllabic roots:

(39) *achis-ka:-kwa*
sneeze-MLT-BDP
'to be sneezing all the time'

If *-ka* occurs after a monosyllabic root, the base-internal marker *-a* 'DR' described above, which requires second-syllable position, cannot be inserted and has to be replaced by the base-final allomorph *-na*. This is reflected in (40)a vs. b:

(40) a. *tan-**a**-pit-a=n*
cut-DR-BE.half-LV=2
'You cut it through.' {EA, Yuca 003}

b. *tan-**ka**-piṅ-**na**=n*
cut-MLT-BE.half-DR=2
'You cut it in pieces.' {EA, Yuca 006}

Like the morpheme *-a* 'DR' described above, it is more practical to represent this morpheme as an infix when the components of the base are not semantically identifiable. Consider the case of *kayni* 'die' in (41), which is obviously composed of a root *kay* and the verbalizing suffix *-ni* 'PRC' (cf. (41)a). However, as long as the root cannot be semantically identified (it is homophonous with *kay-* 'eat'), the entire form can be viewed as monomorphemic, so that the affix *-ka* has to be represented as an infix (cf. (41)b).

(41) a. *kay-ka:-ni*
die-MLT-PRC
'to die one after the other'

b. *kay<ka:>ni*
die<MLT>
'to die one after the other'

3.6.2. The infix *<a'>* 'irrealis'

Unlike the two morphemes described in the previous section, the position of the morpheme *<a'>* 'IRR' (*<ka'>* after vowels), is determined not by morphological, but by metric factors. Its position depends on the prosodic structure of the base it is attached to: it occurs after the first iambic foot of the base, i.e. after an originally heavy syllable (H), after two light syllables (LL), or after a segment consisting of a light and a heavy syllable (LH).

For its position, only the foot structure of the underived word matters, not that of the word after the marker is attached. Compare the unmodified form in (42)a, where the first syllable is heavy (CVC), with the derived form in (42)b, where the attachment of the irrealis marker leads to a light initial syllable (CV):

(42) a. *puy-na* /'**puj**.na/
hem-DR
'I hem it.'

b. *puy-**a'**-na* /**pu**'.jak.na/
hem-IRR-DR
'I'll hem it.' {EA 13, 291a}

It depends on the morphological structure of the first iambic foot of the base whether the irrealis marker can be represented as a suffix or as an infix: when the first iambic foot is or includes the root, as in (42) above, the irrealis marker is, for the sake of simplicity, better represented as a suffix; when it does not include the root or only a part of it, it has to be represented as an infix. The following are further examples of the position of <*a'*> after the root:

(43) *kas juk-**a'**-kay-a=a*
NEG scold-IRR-INV-LV=n
'It (the animal) has not been scolded.' {JM 17, 039d}

(44) *kas tivij-**a'**-ni*
NEG hurt-IRR-PRC
'[They] don't feel pain.' {AH, Dial. EA&AH 023}

(45) *i'ko ja' łok-**a'**-ka-<ba:~>ba*
PRO.pl just fall-IRR-MLT-<MD~>BR.round
'May they (the fruits) just fall down by themselves.' {JM 18, 089a}

Note in (45) the insertion of the irrealis marker before the suffix *-ka* 'MLT', even though the slot for that suffix is right after the root (cf. 3.6.1). This shows that the irrealis marker is inserted after the other affixes have been attached to the base.

In (46) and (47), examples are given of the irrealis marker occurring after a iambic foot which includes the root plus a derivational morpheme (*-a* 'DR' and *-poj* 'CAU', respectively). For clarity, the base forms are provided as well ((46)a and (47)a, respectively):

(46) a. *iń jił-a:-pa*
1intr grate-DR-BE.manioc
'I grate manioc.'

b. *iń jił-a-**ka'**-pa*
1intr grate-DR-IRR-BE.manioc
'I'll grate manioc.' {EA 14, 112a}

(47) a. *chi-poj-kay*
go_out-CAU-INV
'I am driven out.'

b. *inła kas rey chi-poj-**a'**-kay*
PRO.1sg NEG again go_out-CAU-IRR-INV
'Nobody gets me out of here.' {EA 19, 161}

When the root contains more than two syllables, the irrealis marker has to be represented as an infix (< >), since it is inserted into the root. Consider the following examples (the iambic segment in (48) and (49) is LL, in (50) it is H):

(48) *kas aro**<ka'>**so*
NEG rice<IRR>
'There is no rice.'

(49) *kas iti**<ka'>**lakwa-n-chi:ye*
NEG man<IRR>-LN-BE.child
'There is no little boy.'

(50) *kas en**<a'>**ferme:ra*
NEG nurse<IRR>
'There is no nurse.'

The irrealis marker is generally inserted after reduplication (cf. 3.7) has taken place. In words containing a bimoraic reduplication prefix (CVC~ or CV:~), as in (51), the irrealis morpheme is added directly after the copy, as shown in (51)b. While it does not occur inside the root here, it has to be represented as an infix, too, since it is inserted between two intimately connected elements.

(51) a. *sam~sam-di*
RED~twist-BE.long_thin
'rope'

b. *kas sam**<a'>**sam-di*
NEG RED:twist<IRR>-BE.long_thin
'There is no rope.'

The following is an example that contains prefixing CV-reduplication. Due to this type of reduplication, described in detail in 3.7 below, the first syllable of the base is light, so that the irrealis marker is attached after the second syllable:

(52) a. *ba~ba:-kwa*
RED~BR.round-ABS
'fruit'

b. *kas ba~ba**-ka'**-kwa*
NEG RED~BR.round-IRR-ABS
'There is no fruit.'

The first iambic foot of a base can also consist of a long open syllable, as in the following examples (note that a long syllable is shortened after <*a'*> is attached):

(53) a. *bi:law* 'fish' → b. *bi**<ka'>**law* 'no fish'
kwe:ya 'woman' *kwe**<ka'>**ya* 'no woman'
to:mi 'water' *to**<ka'>**mi* 'no water'
no:no 'domestic animal' *no**<ka'>**no* 'no domestic animal'
ju:ve 'dugout' *ju**<ka'>**ve* 'no dugout'
ro:ya 'house' *ro**<ka'>**ya* 'no house'

When bases like those in (53)a are morphologically augmented, e.g. by affixation or compounding, their first syllable becomes short (cf. 2.8.2). This can be observed in the examples under (54)a and (55)a. When the irrealis marker is added to such a base, it is attached after the "new" iambic foot, i.e. after the second syllable, as shown under (54)b and (55)b:

(54) a. *bilaw-chi:ya*
fish-excrements_of
'fish excrements'

b. *bilaw-**a'**-chi:ya*
fish-IRR-excrements_of
'There are no fish excrements.'

(55) a. *kweya-m-poy*
woman-LN-BR.animal
'female animal'

c. *kweya-n-**a'**-poy*
woman-LN-IRR-BR.animal
'There is no female animal.' {EA 16, 070}

Like the examples of reduplicated bases in (51) and (52) above, examples (54) and (55) show that the affixation of the irrealis marker is the final word-forming process.[40] This also explains why its semantic scope is over the entire word, not only over the preceding segment (cf. also 10.4).

In contrast to the bases in (53)a, which have a long first syllable only when they are not morphologically augmented (as in (54)a and (55)a), there are words whose first syllable always remains long, independently of its position in the word. This concerns loans, words whose first syllable consitutes the root, and some words where this phenomenon cannot be explained synchronically (cf. 2.9.2). Here, the irrealis marker is always attached after the first syllable, regardless of whether the word is morphologically augmented or not. Examples are given in (56) and (57):

(56) a. ***ji:**sa:-na*
make-DR
'I make it.'

b. *ji**<ka'>**sa:-na*
make<IRR>-DR
'I'll make it.'

(57) a. *w**a:**ka-to:da*
cow-BR.piece
'meat'

b. *kas wa**<ka'>**ka-to:da*
NEG cow<IRR>-BR.piece
'There is no meat.'

An interesting case is the minimal pair *dewajna* 'I see X' and *de:wajna* 'I see tracks of X', whose members only differentiated by the length of their first syllable. Accordingly, the position of the irrealis marker is determined by the length of the first syllable:

(58) *kas dewaj-**a'**-na*
NEG see-IRR-DR
'I don't see anything.' {EA 12, 155c}

(59) *kas de**<ka'>**waj-na*
NEG see_tracks<IRR>-DR
'I haven't seen tracks of anything.' {EA 17, 155b}

[40] However, it seems that reduplication can sometimes occur after the infixation of <*a'*> (cf. 3.7.11).

It is also possible for the irrealis marker to be the last element of the word. In this case, the resulting base undergoes infixing CV-reduplication, a process which is described in detail in 3.7 below. In (60) and (61), this is illustrated for the allomorph *<ka'>* on a vowel-final root, and in (62), it is illustrated for the allomorph *<a'>* on a consonant-final root.

(60) *kas jiwa-**<ka:~>ka'***
NEG come-<RED~>IRR
'No one has come.' {EA 19,162}

(61) *kas de-<ka:~>ka'*
NEG lie-<RED~>IRR
'No one is lying down.' {JM 16,169a}

(62) *kas ła<pa:~>p-a'*
NEG bathe<RED~>-IRR
'No one bathed.' {JM16,161}

The consonant-initial allomorph *<ka'>* also occurs after nominal and adjectival roots ending in the simple glottal stop [ʔ]:

(63) *ko'-<ka:~>ka'*
tree-<RED~>IRR
'There are no trees/is no firewood.'

(64) *mere'-<ka:~>ka'*
big-<RED~>IRR
'There is no big one.'

The fact that the consonant-initial allomorph of the irrealis marker occurs after these consonant-final bases is a puzzle. It may be thought that these roots are interpreted as vowel-final due to the underlying presence of the release vowel after the glottal stop (cf. 2.3.2). However, the release vowel is not audible in these forms, and it is not counted as part of the syllable structure; otherwise, the base would consist of three light syllables. No explanation of this phenomenon can be given here.

Some of the bases listed in (53) above can be combined with the irrealis marker in this way, too, i.e., with the irrealis marker attached after the second syllable and reduplicated. For some of these bases, such as *chu:jań*, this is the only way (cf. (65)); others allow two types of irrealis affixation, such as *mi:chi* (cf. (66)):

(65) a. *chu:jań* '*motacú* (tree/nut/leaf etc.)'
b. *chuja**<ta:~>**t-a'* 'There is no *motacú* (tree/nut/leaf etc.).'

(66) a. *mi:chi* ‘cat’
b. *mi**<ka’>**chi*
~ *michi-**<ka:>ka’*** ‘There is no cat.’

These cases can be considered exceptional.

3.6.3. Summary: (pseudo-)infixation

There is no real infixation process in Movima, in the sense that a morpheme is inserted in the root. Rather, the cases of infixation result as a side-effect of two circumstances: first, the fact that some historically complex bases are synchronically not fully analysable, so that a root suffix can be regarded as an infix. This factor is responsible for the appearance of *-a* ‘DR’ and *-ka* ‘MLT’ as infixes. Second, infixation can occur with the irrealis marker *<a’>*, which appears after the first iambic foot of a full word. If this iambic segment does not contain the entire root, the marker has to be interpreted as an infix.

The properties of the three infix-like morphemes are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Properties of the (pseudo-)infixes

morpheme		**properties**
-a	DR	Verbal affix. Base-internal allomorph of *-na* ‘DR’. Occurs after monosyllabic roots; restricted to second-syllable position; cannot occur if this position is occupied by *-ka* ‘MLT’.
-ka	MLT	Verbal affix. Attached after root. Excludes occurrence of *-a* ‘DR’.
<a’>	IRR	Occurs on nouns and on verbs. Allomorph *<ka’>* after vowels. Attached after first bimoraic segment. When this morpheme occurs in base-final position, the word undergoes <CV~>-reduplication.

3.7. Reduplication

3.7.1. General characteristics

Reduplication in Movima (represented by a tilde, ~) has the following basic characteristics:

1. Only the initial or the final element of a base can be reduplicated.
2. The copy immediately precedes the source.

The second characteristic implies that reduplication of the final element leads to infixation. Example (67) shows reduplication of the initial element, which leads to prefixation, and (68) shows reduplication of the final element, leading to infixation.[41]

(67) ***be~****beń-kwa*
RED~BR.flat_flex-ABS
'leather, hide'

(68) *de<**ja:~**>jal*
cook<MD~>
'to cook'

There are three reasons for assuming that reduplication is a prefixing and not a suffixing process. First, reduplication of the base-initial element, as in (67), is more common than reduplication of the base-final element. A suffixing analysis would mean that a monosyllabic element is often split up by an infix, as shown in (69) below (the same word as in (67) above):

(69) * *be<~be>ń-kwa* 'hide'

Second, reduplication always involves minimally the initial CV-segment of the copied syllable, as in (67) and (68) above. A suffixing analysis would simplify the matter for final reduplication on bases with a final open syllable, as shown in (70). With bases with a final consonant, however, this analysis would complicate the matter: it would still involve an infixing process, which would even break up a syllable (71). (The asterisk in both examples indicates that the analysis is inappropriate.)

(70) **mań-lo:**~lo***
undo-BR.liquid~MD
('to melt')

(71) **deja**<ja>**l*
cook<~MD>
('to cook')

[41] When the reduplicated element has an identifiable grammatical function (cf. 3.7.3–3.7.12), then this is reflected in the glosses. Otherwise, reduplicated elements are glossed as RED.

Third, the prefixing analysis is confirmed by the fact that the linking nasal (cf. 2.9.3) never appears between a reduplicated element and its copy. As was stated in 2.9.3, certain endings require the linking nasal before a suffix can be attached. If reduplication were a suffixing process, one would expect the nasal to appear as well. In (72), the second occurrence of the element /di/, one of the elements which require the linking nasal, is followed by the nasal before the suffix *-kwa*. The first occurrence of the element /di/, however, is not followed by the linking nasal. It can, therefore, not be assumed that the second /di/ is suffixed to the first, as in (72)b: the linking nasal would be expected to occur between the two elements, as it would before any other suffix. This analysis is, therefore, marked by an asterisk.

(72) a. ***di~****di-n-kwa*
RED~BR.grain-LN-ABS
'grain, seed'

b. **di~****di****-n-kwa*
BR.grain~RED-LN-ABS

Thus, reduplication is basically a prefixing process, since it is regressive and typically concerns a base-initial segment. Infixation is a secondary effect of regressive reduplication of the final segment. Still, I will distinguish these types by labelling them "prefixing" and "infixing" reduplication, respectively.

In the following section (3.7.2), I will give a brief outline of the segments that can be reduplicated. Subsequently, I describe the most significant functions of reduplication. Sections 3.7.3–3.7.7 illustrate the highly productive functions, which will also be considered in other parts of the grammar, and 3.7.8–3.7.11 give examples of functions which seem to be more marginal, but require further research. There may be more functions of reduplication which have not been observed at this point. Section 3.7.12, finally, gives an overview of the functions of reduplication found so far.

I gloss reduplicated elements as follows: if there is a clearly identifiable grammatical function, this is given in the gloss. When the function is not (unambiguously) clear, or when reduplication only occurs for prosodic reasons, I gloss the element as 'RED'. Reduplication itself is signalled by a tilde (~).

3.7.2. What is reduplicated?

There are four types of reduplication (H = heavy syllable, i.e. CV: or CVC; L = light syllable, i.e. CV):

1. prefixing CV-reduplication
2. prefixing reduplication of bimoraic segment (H or LL)
3. prefixing reduplication of the word-initial iambic foot (H, LL, or LH)
4. infixing CV-reduplication

The following examples illustrate each type.

Prefixing CV-reduplication (cf. also (67) above):

(73) ***a~****'am-wa*
DR~enter-NMZ
/ʔa'ʔamwa/
'my putting X in (sth.)'[42]

Prefixing bimoraic reduplication:

(74) ***sal~****sal-wa*
INV~search-NMZ
'my being searched for'

(75) ***ju:~****ju:-wa*
INV~scold-NMZ
'my being scolded'

(76) ***dewa~****dewaj-na*
RED~see-DR
'I have seen it well.'

Prefixing foot reduplication:

(77) ***wa:~****wa:ka*
POSS~cow
'to own cows'

(78) ***sapa~****sapa:to*
POSS~shoe
'to own shoes'

(79) ***mo'in~****mo'incho*
POSS~*chivé*
'to own *chivé*'

Infixing reduplication:

(80) *kas mowi<ma:~>maj*
NEG Movima<NMZ.N~>
'I am not Movima.'

[42] Recall from 2.7 that all words have a consonantal onset, by default the glottal stop, and this onset participates in reduplication. In (73), the phonological representation clarifies this.

Reduplication covers a wide range of functions in Movima. The most important ones will be described in the following sections, with reference to the chapters in which each function is described in more detail.

3.7.3. Bivalent voice marking

The bivalent voice markers (cf. 8.1.1 and 8.1.2) may be replaced by a reduplication prefix when the verb is further augmented, e.g. by the nominalizing suffix *-wa*. The direct marker *-na* (cf. (81)a) is optionally replaced by a CV-reduplication prefix (cf. (81)b; cf. also (73) above). When an inverse verb, marked by *-kay* in affirmative main clauses (cf. Ch. 8), is further augmented, it undergoes prefixing bimoraic reduplication (cf. (82) and (74) and (75) above).

(81) a. *n-as* *sal-**na**-wa* ~ b. *n-as* ***sa~**sal-wa*
obl-ART.n search-DR-NMZ obl-ART.n DR~search-NMZ
'when I look for X' 'when I look for X'

(82) *n-as* ***sal~**sal-wa*
obl-ART.n INV~search-NMZ
'when X looks for me'

The following text example illustrates the different voice-marking functions of CV- and bimoraic reduplication on a nominalized verb base. In (83)a and c, CV-reduplication indicates the direct voice, while the bimoraic reduplication in (83)b (causing gemination here) indicates inverse voice.

(83) a. *kas* ***ye~**yey-wa* *as* *ney-ni:-wa,* *majni,*
NEG DR~want-NMZ ART.n here-PRC-NMZ my_child
'I don't want to be here, my child, ...'
b. *bo* *toł* *rey* *kas* ***yey~**yey-wa* *kinede:=s* *kwe:ya*
REAS very again NEG INV~want-NMZ DM.nst.f=DET woman
'… because this woman doesn't like me at all …'
c. *che* *rey* *inła* *jema'* *kas* ***ye~**yey-wa*
and again PRO.1sg also NEG DR~want-NMZ
'… and I don't like (her) either.' {EA, Asilo 089-091}

When an inverse verb has a longer base, it undergoes infixing CV-reduplication when a further suffix is attached. This occurs, for example, when the verb has a disyllabic root, as in (84), or when it is morphologically complex, as in (85). In the case of a direct verb with a longer base, the marker *-na* is retained, as will be shown in 8.7.2.

(84) a. *puruń**-kay***
kiss-INV
'X kisses me.'

b. *n-as* *pu**<ru~>**ruń-wa*
obl-ART.n kiss<~INV>-NMZ
'when X kisses me'

(85) a. *net-a-waka-poj**-kay***
drive-DR-cow-CAU-INV
'X makes me drive cattle.'

b. *n-as* *net-a-waka-**<po~>**poj-wa*
obl-ART drive-DR-cow-<INV~>CAU-NMZ
'when X makes me drive cattle'

Interestingly, when the inverse base has a disyllabic root, it can also undergo prefixing bimoraic reduplication, although this is rare. This means that the first two CV-sequences are reduplicated. The form in (86) is semantically equivalent to (84) above:

(86) *n-as* ***puru~****puruń-wa*
obl-ART.n INV~kiss-NMZ
'when X kisses me'

Examples (87)a and b are another illustration of the equivalence of the word form with the CV-infix and the bimoraic prefix:

(87) a. *n-os* *de<**wa~**>waj-wa*
obl-ART.n.p see<INV~>-NMZ
~ b. *n-os* ***dewa~****dewaj-wa*
obl-ART.n.p INV~see-NMZ
'when X saw me' {EC 16, 282}

Based on the fact that bimoraic prefixing reduplication occurs not only with monosyllabic, but also with longer roots, as in (86) and (87) above, it can be assumed that this type of reduplication is the basic means of forming an inverse base for action nominalization, and that infixing reduplication is a later development. In the case of disyllabic roots, such as *puruń-* 'kiss' in (84) and (86) above, or *dewaj-* 'see' in (87) above, phonological reduction of the third syllable may have led to an infixing interpretation. This possible development is illustrated in (88)a–c, with the root represented in bold-face:

(88) a. *puru~**puruń**-wa*
INV~kiss-NMZ
b. *puru~**ruń**-wa*
INV~kiss-NMZ
c. ***pu**<ru~>**ruń**-wa*
kiss<INV~>-NMZ
'X kissing me'

Subsequently, the infixing process may have been extended to more complex bases such as in (85).

The three reduplication processes involved in the voice marking of morphologically augmented verbal bases are summed up in (89) (VB = verb base, μ = mora, σ = syllable):

(89) *-na* → CV~ / VBσ __ NMZ 'DR'

-kay → μμ~ / VBσ(σ) __ NMZ 'INV'
→ <CV~> / VBσσ... __ NMZ 'INV'

For details on the conditions of voice-marking reduplication, cf. 8.7.2.

3.7.4. Nominalization of predicate nominals

The predicate of a subordinate or negative clause is generally nominalized in Movima (cf. 7.12, 7.15, and 11.1).[43] This concerns both verbal predicates as well as predicates that are morphologically nouns, i.e. predicate nominals. Verbal predicates are nominalized through the suffixation of *-wa*. A predicate nominal, in contrast, is marked by infixing reduplication. Example (90) illustrates this for a subordinate clause, which is, in fact, an oblique noun phrase:

(90) *n-os* *tolkos**<ya:~>**ya*
obl-ART.n.p girl<NMZ.N~>
'when I was a girl' [lit. "at my being a girl"]

Example (91) shows the reduplicated noun in a negative clause:

(91) *kas* *ya:lowe-**<pa~>**pa=u*
NEG drink-<NMZ.N~>AG=m
'He's not a drinker.' {EA 9, 146a}

As will be argued in 3.10 below, the fact that predicate nominals are reduplicated when they occur in negative or subordinate clauses, whereas verbal predicates receive the suffix *-wa* in these constructions, is seen as a defining criterion for the morphological distinction between nouns and verbs in Movima.

3.7.5. Marking of inalienable adnominal possession

Infixing reduplication also productively marks inalienable possession on nouns (cf. 6.4.1):

(92) *is* *charaye-**<lo~>**lo=is* *chuydi*
ART.pl syrup-<INAL~>BR.liquid=ART.pl bee
'the honey of the bees'

[43] This is the case except when the predicate contains a negative morpheme.

Since both nominalization (cf. 3.7.4) and adnominal inalienable possession are marked by infixing reduplication, homophonous forms can occur. Consider the possessed noun in (93)a and the negative predicate nominal in (93)b:

(93) a. *is* *charaye-**<lo~>**lo=i*
ART.pl syrup-<INAL~>BR.liquid=pl
'their honey (of the bees)'

b. *kas* *charaye-**<lo~>**lo=i*
NEG syrup-<NMZ.N~>BR.liquid=pl
'It's not honey.'[44] {JM 16, 392a}

Here, the context or the construction (containing an article in (93)a or the negative particle in (93)b) serves to disambiguate the homophonous forms. For a more detailed discussion of nominalized predicates of subordinate and negative clauses, see 7.12 and 7.15, respectively. For a description of the nominalizing processes, see 11.1.

3.7.6. Marking a possessive predicate

A possessive predicate is marked by reduplication of the first iambic foot. This means that when the first syllable of the base is heavy, i.e. either closed or open and long, only this syllable is copied. In contrast, when the first syllable of the base is light, i.e. open and short, the second syllable is also copied entirely, no matter whether it is heavy or light. As a result, the copy consists of minimally two and maximally three moras. This is schematized in (94):

(94) Iambic foot reduplication:

RED~	of base:
H~	H.CV...
LL~	L.L.CV...
LH~	L.H.CV...

These variants are illustrated in (95). Notice that there are two examples of H-reduplication: in (95) a., reduplication concerns a closed, and in (95)b, a long open syllable.

(95)	a.	***kar**~karso:ne*	'to own trousers'	POSS~trousers	(H)
	b.	***wa:**~wa:ka*	'to own cattle'	POSS~cow	(H)
	c.	***sapa**~sapa:to*	'to own shoes'	POSS~shoe	(LL)
	d.	***choran**~chorankwanto*	'to own (a) hat(s)'	POSS~hat	(LH)

In certain cases, the first open syllable of a word can be considered as either heavy or light, the second choice leading to disyllabic (LL or LH) reduplication. In most disyllabic words

[44] In a negative or subordinate clause, the argument is encoded in the same way as the possessor. Therefore, in (93)a, the plural bound pronoun refers to the bees and in (93)b to the honey (a mass noun, cf. 4.7.2).

with an open first syllable, this syllable is long due to prosodic factors (cf. 2.8.2). This prosodic lengthening can be taken into account for reduplication or not. The word *ro:ya* 'house', for example, can be marked for predicative possession in two ways:

(96) a. ***ro:***~*ro:ya* ~ b. ***roya***~*ro:ya*
POSS~house POSS~house
'to own a house'

In contrast, words whose first syllable is always long, e.g. disyllabic loans (cf. 2.9.2), do not permit this variation, since the first syllable is inherently heavy. This is the case with the word *wa:ka* 'cow' (cf. (95)b above), which cannot undergo disyllabic reduplication:

(97) * *waka~wa:ka*
POSS~cow
('to own cows')

Prefixing reduplication marking a possessive predicate can cooccur with infixing reduplication. In (98), an example is given of a possessive predicate formed of a noun marked for inalienable possession (cf. 3.7.5). It is structured as follows. In (98)a, the noun *charayelo* 'honey' is marked by infixing reduplication for inalienable possession, as in (92) and (93)a above, with the possessor expressed by an internally cliticized bound pronoun. In (98)b, the same noun is marked as a possessive predicate by prefixing foot reduplication; its argument is expressed by the externally cliticized bound pronoun (cf. 3.9.2, 7.9.1). In (98)c, finally, the two reduplicative processes occur on the same base: the inalienably possessed noun in (98)a is marked by prefixing foot reduplication, as in (98)b, as a possessive predicate in a relative clause.

(98) a. *charaye**<lo~>**lo=is*
syrup-<INAL~>BR.liquid=pl.a
'their honey (of the bees)'

b. ***chara***~*charaye:-lo--is*
POSS~syrup-BR.liquid--pl.a
'They have honey.' [lit.: "They are honey-owners."]

c. *is* *chuydi* *di'* ***chara***~*charaye-**<lo:~>**lo*
ART.pl bee REL POSS~syrup-<INAL~>BR.liquid
'bees which have (their) honey' [lit.: "which are honey-owners"] {JM 17, 278}

Another case in which both types of reduplication cooccur is when a possessive predicate occurs in a subordinate or negative clause (cf. (99)a and b, respectively). Here, the noun with the foot reduplication undergoes additional infixing reduplication (cf. 3.7.4):

(99) a. *inła* *kas* ***maj~****maj****<ni:~>****ni*
PRO.1sg NEG POSS~my_child<NMZ.N~>
'I don't have children.'

b. *inła* *yey-na* *as* ***maj~****maj****<ni~>****ni*
PRO.1sg want-DR ART.n POSS~my_child<NMZ.N~>
'I want to have children.' {EA 8, 079c}

Note that iambic foot reduplication creates the affirmative counterpart of the negative possessive predicate formed by the irrealis marker *-a'* on nouns (cf. 3.6.2):

(100) *kas* *chara****<ka'>****ye-lo=i*
NEG syrup<IRR>-BR.liquid=pl
'They don't have honey.' {JM 17, 278c}

Interestingly, both processes have in common that the form of the possessive reduplication is determined by the first iambic foot of the base, as is the position of the irrealis marker. It is striking that these morphological processes, which are related in meaning but formally quite distinct, are influenced by the same prosodic feature of the base.

3.7.7. Middle voice marking

Reduplication is also found on verbal bases not modified by an additional affix (unlike the verbs described in 3.7.3). With particular verb roots ("middle roots", cf. 8.3.3) and on many complex bases (cf. 8.4), reduplication marks middle voice, indicating that a single participant undergoes a dynamic event. Monosyllabic roots, which are always bimoraic, are entirely reduplicated (cf. (101)), while disyllabic middle roots undergo infixing CV-reduplication (cf. (102)):

(101) ***tos****~tos*
MD~peel
'to peel' [by itself, e.g. skin]

(102) *ło****<ko:~>****koń*
boil<MD~>
'to boil'

Middle voice marking on a complex base is illustrated by (103):

(103) a. *mań-lo* b. *mań-****<lo:~>****lo*
loosen-BR.liquid loosen-<MD~>BR.liquid
'to have melted' 'to melt'

More examples of the middle voice function of reduplication are given in 8.3.3 and 8.4. In the following sections, I will illustrate some less common functions of reduplication.

3.7.8. Reduplication of bivalent verb roots

Before certain elements, bivalent verb roots (cf. 8.3.1) are entirely reduplicated. Since the cases found so far concern only bimoraic roots (of the structure CVC or CVCV), this can be seen as bimoraic reduplication.

Most bivalent roots are reduplicated when they form a compound together with a bound nominal element (cf. 5.2):

(104) ***is~****'is-ra*
RED~roast-BE.meat
'roasted meat'

(105) ***dan~****dan-so*
RED~chew-TRC.*chicha*
'chewed *chicha*'

Also when combined with the verbalizing suffix *-ni* 'PRC' (cf. 11.9), a bivalent verb root is reduplicated entirely. This construction is not very common and of limited productivity. It requires further research.

(106) ***sal~****sal-ni*
RED~search-PRC
'to search' {GC 10, 151c}

(107) ***aya~****'aya:-ni--i*
RED~wait-PRC--pl
'They waited.' {EA 8, 077}

3.7.9. Reduplication for prosodic well-formedness

Reduplication enables certain noun roots to occur as independent nouns. This concerns bound roots, which do not meet the phonological requirement of an independent noun to have three moras (cf. 2.7.4). Most of them denote inalienably possessed entities. Disyllabic bound roots undergo infixing reduplication when occurring independently:

(108) *as* *lo<**ba:~**>ba*
ART.n BR.body<RED~>
'my body'

A monosyllabic noun root can be reduplicated twice to form an independent noun. Here, I assume prefixing reduplication followed by infixing reduplication (cf. also Ch5-Bound roots). Consider the case of the monosyllabic bound root *du'* 'BR.back' in (109). In (109)a, this root is reduplicated once to form the host for a cliticized bound pronoun, in combination with the

linking vowel *-a* (cf. 3.9.1). In (109)b, it is reduplicated twice, because no bound pronoun and, accordingly, no linking vowel is added (cf. 5.3.2).

(109) a. *as* ***du~****duk-a=n*
ART.n RED~BR.back-LV=2
'your back'

b. *as* ***du~<du:~>****du'*
ART.n RED~<RED~>BR.back
'my back'

Most, but not all, monosyllabic roots are also reduplicated when combined with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* (cf. 5.3.2 and 6.2.3):

(110) ***be~be****ń-kwa*
RED~BR.flat_flex-ABS
'its hide, leather'

3.7.10. Impersonal verbs

Some impersonal verbs contain a reduplicated element. Reduplication could not be established as a productive device here, however. The verb in (111) consists of a root which has undergone foot reduplication (light-heavy):

(111) *dewaj~de:waj*
RED~see
'to be visible'

The following examples may be further illustrations of the same phenomenon, even though they are not fully analysable:

(112) ***de:~****de:ye*
RED~?
'to be visible'

(113) ***o:~****'o:wa*
RED~?
'to be audible' (unanalysable)

This phenomenon requires further investigation.

3.7.11. Emphasis

As may be expected of this process, reduplication can also be used to mark emphasis. However, according to my data so far, this does not seem to be very productive in Movima. The following are examples:

(114) ***paluy~****pa:luy*
RED~cold
'very cold' {EC 16, 295}

(115) ***dewa~****dewaj-na*[45]
EMPH~see-DR
'I see it well.' {EC 16, 297}

(116) *kas* ***ona~****'ona-ka'-ra:-na*
NEG EMPH~know-IRR-BE.ntr-DR
'I know absolutely nothing.' {EC 16, 104b}

Emphatic reduplication seems to be most productive in combination with the irrealis infix *<a'>* (cf. 3.6.2), as in (116) above. Interestingly, it seems to be the case that on verbs with disyllabic roots (such as *ona-* in (116)), the reduplication occurs after the infixation process, while on verbs with monosyllabic roots (such as *sal-* in (117) below), the reduplication also involves the irrealis marker. Consider the simple irrealis verb in (117)a and the reduplicated form in (117)b:

(117) a. *kas sal-a'-na*
NEG search-IRR-DR
'I don't look for anything.'

b. *kas* ***sala'~****sala'-na*
NEG RED~search:IRR-DR
'I look for absolutely nothing.' {EC16, 107}

One of the problems to be investigated here is whether emphatic reduplication is an instance of bimoraic or of foot reduplication. In (115), it is clearly the first bimoraic segment which is reduplicated (in contrast to (111) above), whereas in (116) and in (117), where the irrealis marker is included, it is the first iambic foot.

3.7.12. Summary: the functions of reduplication

The major functions of the four different reduplication processes can be listed as follows:

CV~ = direct voice on augmented bivalent verb root
full word status of a monosyllabic noun root

μμ~ = inverse voice on augmented bivalent verb root
on bivalent verb root when forming a compound
on bivalent verb root when combined with *-ni*
emphasis (?)

[45] In difference to (111) above, the /e/ in the second element is short here. This is due to the fact that here, it is not part of the penultimate syllable, as in (111). Recall from 2.8.2 that an open penultimate syllable is lengthened.

foot~	=	predicative possession impersonal verb (?) emphasis (?)
<CV~>	=	inverse voice on verb with a longer base inalienable possession middle voice nominalization of predicate nominals full word status of prosodically incomplete noun root

3.8. Recursive Derivation

In Movima, a derived base can become the base for further derivational processes. In this way, the same (type of) affix can appear more than once within a word. This concerns, in particular, voice marking: when a bivalent verb, marked by a voice marker, is augmented by an applicative suffix, the resulting base is again marked for voice (cf. also Figure 4 in Ch. 8). Example (118) involves a causative verb with a bivalent base, example (119) involves a verb with the co-participant marker *-łe*. Both contain two instances of the bivalent direct voice marker, realized as *-na*.[46]

(118) *tikoy**-na**-poj**-na***
kill-DR-CAU-DR
'I make X kill Y.' {EA, 12, 041a}

(119) *sal**-na**-łe:**-na***
search-DR-CO-DR
'I help X search Y.' {JM 17, 212r}

Note that the first direct voice marker retains its function in the derived word, since it establishes an undergoer. The second voice marker then establishes a second undergoer participant. More examples of this kind are found in Ch. 9.

[46] This marker has the allomorph *-a* on certain bases (cf. 3.6.1), and it can also be realized as a reduplication prefix (cf. 3.7.3 above).

3.9. Cliticization

In Movima, cliticization is a process that mainly concerns referential elements. Three types of phonological cliticization (cf. Klavans 1985) can be distinguished, which I will refer to as "internal" (cf. 3.9.1), "external" (cf. 3.9.2), and "neutral" (cf. 3.9.3). The difference between the first two types is crucial, since it marks grammatical relations. A referential element attached to a predicate by internal cliticization encodes the transitive argument higher on the animacy hierarchy (ARG_1); when internally cliticized to an NP, the referential element encodes the possessor. Externally cliticized referential elements always encode the absolutive argument of a predicate (cf. 7.2). Neutral cliticization has, in principle, no particular function, but is required by the phonological shape of the morpheme involved.

Since the distinction between internal and external cliticization is morphosyntactically relevant, I represent internal cliticization by an equals sign (=) and external cliticization by two hyphens (--). Neutral cliticization is either not represented at all, or by an equals sign as well (cf. 3.9.3).

While the types of phonological cliticization in Movima described here are cases of encliticization, there is also a class of proclitics, consisting of the articles and of the referential elements of first and second person (cf. 4.4, 4.1, respectively). These elements are best described as syntactic clitics (cf. Klavans 1985), since they have no phonological, but only a functional relationship to the subsequent content word. They are characterized by the fact that maximally particles can occur between them and their syntactic host:

(120) a. ***kos*** *ro:ya*
ART.n.a house
'the/a house'

b. ***kos*** *ney* *ro:ya*
ART.n.a here house
'that house'

In the remainder of this section, I describe the three processes of phonological cliticization in detail.

3.9.1. Internal cliticization

Internal cliticization marks the first transitive argument (ARG_1) of a predicate and the possessor of a noun phrase. The defining characteristics of internal cliticization are as follows:

Internal clitics
1. participate in word stress
2. lead to shortening of a prosodically lengthened vowel
3. require a preceding vowel, which may not be long

In the following paragraphs, I will describe these points in detail. After that, I will discuss some other, more marginal prosodic conditions of internal clitics.

As to 1., when the clitic is syllabic, stress shifts one position to the right, so that it occurs on the penultimate syllable of the entire word form. This can be seen in (121)c, as opposed to (121)a, where there is no clitic, and to (121)b, where there is a non-syllabic internal clitic. The phonetic representation is given in each example, with the stressed syllable in bold-face:

(121)

a.	b.	c.
dewajna	*dewajna=n*	*dewajna=us*
see:DR	see:DR=2	see:DR=m
[ɗɛ'**wah**na]	[ɗɛ'**wah**nan]	[ɗɛwah'**na**ʔus]
'I see X.'	'You see X.'	'He sees X.'

Disyllabic internal clitics usually do not carry stress, so that stress remains on the last syllable of the base, even though this is not the penultimate syllable of the word form. This is illustrated in (122):

(122) *n-os* *asna=kinos* *ay'ku*
obl-ART.n.p home=ART.f.a aunt
[… as'**na**kinos 'ʔaʲʔku]
'in my aunt's house' {EA, Ay'ku I 006}

Occasionally, however, an internal clitic is stressed when an external clitic follows. This is shown in 3.9.2.

The rule in 2. implies that when the penultimate syllable of the host is long due to prosodic lengthening, (cf. 2.8.2), internal cliticization leads to shortening of that syllable. This is independent of the syllabicity of the clitic itself: even the non-syllabic internal clitic *=n* triggers vowel shortening. Consider the verb forms containing a clitic in (123)b and c in contrast to the unmarked verb in (123)a:

(123)	a.	*onara:na*	[ʔɔna'**ɾa:**na]	'I know X.'	(know:BE.ntr:DR)
	b.	*onarana=n*	[ʔɔna'**ɾa**nan]	'You know X.'	(know:BE.ntr:DR=2)
	c.	*onarana=us*	[ʔɔna**ɾa**'naʔus]	'He knows X.'	(know:BE.ntr:DR=m.a)

Exceptions occur when the penultimate syllable of the host is long not for prosodic, but for lexical reasons (cf. 2.9.2). This vowel remains long also before an internal clitic. Example (124) shows the case of a verb whose root consists of a long open syllable, and (125) that of a loan (recall from 2.9.2 that disyllabic loans of the structure CVCV always have a long first syllable). As can be seen, the vowel remains long even though an internal clitic is attached.

(124) *ju:-na=us*
scold-DR=m.a
[**hu:**'naʔus]
'He scolds X.'

(125) *wa:ka=us*
cow=m.a
[**wa:**'kaʔus]
'his cow'

The third defining property of internal clitics is that they can only be attached to a vowel. When the base ends in a consonant, as in (126), the linking vowel *-a* is attached so that it can

serve as a host for an internal clitic. This vowel also participates in the stress rule, i.e., when the clitic is mono- or disyllabic, this vowel receives stress.

(126) *alwaj-a=us*
spouse-LV=m.a
[ʔalwa**'ha**ʔus]
'His wife'

Since they always follow a vowel, vowel-initial internal clitics are always preceded by the hiatus-resolving glottal stop. This could be seen in the phonetic transcriptions of the above examples, e.g. (123)c and (126).

While their participation in the stress pattern makes internal cliticization suffix-like, there are some differences to suffixation (cf. 2.9.1). First of all, the vowel to which the internal clitic is attached is always short. Normally, the penultimate open syllable of a word is long (cf. 2.8.2). Consider the last vowel of the base *dewajna* in (127)a, where an enclitic is attached, and in (127)b, where a suffix is attached:

(127) a. *dewaj**-na**=us*
see-DR=m.a
'He sees X.'

b. *n-os* *dewaj**-na:**-wa*
obl-ART.p see-DR-NMZ
'when I saw X'

Another difference between internal cliticization and suffixation concerns the occurrence of the linking nasal. As was shown in 2.9.3, certain base endings are followed by a nasal before a suffix is added. However, this is not the case when an internal clitic is attached. Consider the example of /k^{w}a/ in (128). This ending is usually followed by a nasal when a suffix is attached, as shown by (128)a. In contrast, an internal clitic is attached directly to the base, as in (128)b.

(128) a. *sił**-kwa-n-ti'***
BR.hole-ABS-LN-VBZ
'to dig a hole'

b. *sił**-kwa=us***
BR.hole-ABS=m.a
'his hole, his well'

There are still more prosodic conditions for the attachment of an internal clitic, depending on the kind of base it is attached to. When the base is a bound noun root with only two moras, it has to be morphologically augmented. On a consonant-final base, this condition is automatically met by the attachment of the linking vowel, as in (129) and (130). When the consonant-final root is monosyllabic, as in (130), the attachment of the linking vowel triggers vowel lengthening (cf. 2.9.2, examples (215) and (216)). In this way, the requirement of three moras is met as well:

(129) *tolej-a=as*
BR.branch-LV=n.a
'its branch'

(130) *e:ɬ-a=n*
BR.name-LV=2
'your name'

When, however, the bound root ends in a vowel, so that no linking vowel is added, it is augmented by reduplication. A root of the structure CVCV undergoes infixing reduplication, as shown in (131). A monosyllabic root is reduplicated twice, first undergoing prefixing and then, presumably, infixing reduplication, as in (132) (cf. also 3.7.9 above):

(131) *lo<we~>we=as*
BR.colour<RED~>=n.a
'its colour'

(132) *ba~<ba~>ba=as*
RED~BR.round<RED~>=n.a
'its fruit'

Note that this only concerns bound roots (cf. 5.3.2), not roots which can function as independent nouns. Due to the shortening of a prosodically long vowel described above, a disyllabic independent nominal base is generally bimoraic after an internal clitic has been added, unless it is a loan or has a monosyllabic root (cf. (124) and (125) above):

(133) a. *ro:ya*
house
'house'

b. *roya=n*
house=2
'your house'

Further examples of the augmentation of bound roots are given in 5.3.2.

Up to now, I only described cases involving internally cliticized bound pronouns. However, noun phrases, whose initial element is an article or a demonstrative determiner (cf. 4.4), can be attached in the same way. Example (134) below shows this for an NP encoding ARG_1 of a transitive clause (cf. 7.2), and (135) for an NP encoding the possessor of a noun (cf. 6.1). In both cases, the encliticized element is an article.

(134) *ona-ra-na=**us*** *itila:kwa*
know-BE.ntr-DR=ART.m man
'The/a man knows X.'

(135) *us* *alwaj-a=**'nes*** *majniwa='ne*
ART.m spouse-LV=ART.f child_of=f
'the husband of her daughter' {EA,Neighbours 011}

The following example shows cliticization of a possessive noun phrase containing a demonstrative. Note that the determining *=s* is attached to the demonstrative by neutral cliticization (cf. 3.9.3):

(136) *us* *alwaj-a=**kine'e**=s* *tolkosya*
ART.m spouse-LV=DM.std.f=DET girl
'the husband of that (standing) young woman' {EA, Neighbours 017}

As was said above, the most important function of internal cliticization is to indicate that the cliticized constituent represents ARG_1 of a transitive clause or the possessor of an NP. This is the crucial difference to external cliticization, described in the following section, which is only used to mark the absolutive argument of a clause.

3.9.2. External cliticization

While internal clitics have some suffix-like features, external clitics rather resemble independent words: in principle, they do not participate in word stress, and they do not require any particular phonological environment. The only sign of phonological cliticization is that, when attached to a consonant, a vowel-initial referential element participates in the syllable structure of the resulting word form. I will describe all these features in detail below. Note, in addition, that external cliticization only occurs with bound pronouns, not with NPs or demonstratives, and that there is no non-syllabic external clitic (such as the internal clitic *=n* encoding the second person singular), since it involves a different set of pronouns referring to speech-act participants (cf. 4.1).

In (137) and (138), it can be seen that an external clitic does, in principle, not influence the prosodic shape of the host: the penultimate vowel of the host remains long, and stress also remains on the penultimate syllable of the host:

(137) *iye:ni--as* [i'**jɛ:**niʔas] 'It moves.' (move--n.a)

(138) *ona-ye:-na--us* [ʔɔna'**jɛ:**naʔus] 'I know him.' (know-BE.person-DR--m.a)

The fact that external cliticization is a phonological process becomes evident when a vowel-initial referential element is attached to a consonant: this consonant forms the onset of the new syllable, as shown by the phonemic transcription of (139).

(139) *joyche**ɬ**--us* /'hoj.tʃe.**ɬ**us/ 'He goes (away).' (go:R/R--m)

A consequence of the participation in syllable structure is the following. When a word-final consonant phoneme has two allophones depending on its position in the syllable (cf. 2.3.1), it is realized as the onset allophone when an external clitic is attached. Compare the verb in (140)a, unmarked for person, with that in (140)b, which is combined with an externally cliticized bound pronoun. The nasalized stop is replaced by the corresponding oral stop:

(140) a. *i**ɬ*** *ju**ɬ**-a:-**piṅ***
1 hug-DR-BE.half
'I hug X around the waist'

b. *i**ɬ*** *ju**ɬ**-a:-**pit**--us*
1 hug-DR-BE.half--m.a
'I held him around the waist.' {Aros II 024}

External cliticization marks the absolutive argument of a clause (ARGintr in an intransitive and ARG_2 in a transitive clause; cf. Ch. 7). Since in a transitive clause, the absolutive argument usually follows ARG_1 (cf. 7.2), an external clitic can be attached to the internally cliticized bound pronoun encoding ARG_1:

(141) *sal-na**=n--us***
search-DR=2--m.a
['salnanus]
'You look for him.'

When attached to a word which already contains an internal clitic, an external clitic can participate in the stress pattern of the resulting form, as shown in (142) and (143). In this case, the preceding internal clitic is exceptionally stressed:

(142) *n-os* *jayna* *ɬe~ɬe'-wa=us--kas*
obl-ART.n.p DSC DR~kick-NMZ=m.a--n.a.OBV
[…ɬɛɬɛʔwa**'ʔus**kas]
'… as he already stamped it [the rice].' {GB, Ganado 101}

(143) *puy-a-ba=is--kas*
roll_up-DR-BR.round=pl.a--n.a.OBV
[pujaɓa**'ʔis**kas]
'They rolled it up.' {GB, Ganado 009}

Normally, however, the external clitic does not participate in the stress pattern:[47]

(144) *bo* *kas* *kaj<a>ɬe-wa=nkweɬ--is*
REAS NEG come_up_to<DR>-NMZ=2pl**--**pl.a
[… kahaɬɛ**'waŋ**kʷɛɬis]
'Because you (pl) didn't stop them!' {EA, Dichiyeye 028}

Externally cliticized referential elements with a final glottal stop (the masculine, neuter, and plural presential bound pronouns; cf. 2.3.3 and 4.2) regularly receive stress, as shown in (145). This is probably due to the fact that a word-final glottal stop generally attracts stress (cf. 2.8.1). In addition, the glottal stop can be followed by the release vowel (cf. 2.3.2), so that the marker can have a disyllabic pronunciation:

(145) *joy-cheɬ--u'* [hɔjtʃɛ**'ɬuʔ**]~[hɔjtʃɛ**'ɬuʔu**] 'He goes (away).' (go-R/R--m)

In contrast to internal clitics, external clitics can be separated from their host. In (146), a noun phrase appears between the host and the bound pronoun encoding the absolutive argument, and in (147), the bound absolutive pronoun is preceded by two particles:

[47] This is in part speaker-dependent. Some speakers tend to let the external clitic participate in the prosody of the word, while others do not.

(146) *yo'-na=is* *pa:ko* ***kas***
catch-DR=ART.pl dog n.a.OBV
'The dogs caught it.' {EA, Jaguar 152}

(147) *łavo:-ni* *ja'* *choń* ***as***
suffer-PRC just HAB n.a
'It just suffers all the time.' {EA, Huevo 018}

It is not clear yet how these cases are best analysed. Clearly, they are not phonologically linked to the preceding element, as is shown by the fact that the final glottalized consonant of *choń* in (147) is not replaced by the syllable-initial allophone [t]. For the time being, I represent the bound pronouns like independent words here.

As was mentioned above, full NPs are not cliticized by external cliticization. Compare the realization of the base /łok'łok/ 'to fall over' in (148)a, where the absolutive argument is realized by a bound pronoun, with its realization in (148)b, where the argument is expressed by a full NP. In (148)a, the bound pronoun shows the features of external cliticization: it changes the syllable structure of the host, and the final consonant of the host is realized as the oral plosive. This is not the case with the article of the full NP in (148)b. The orthographic, phonemic and phonetic representation is given in the examples to show the contrast (different syllable structure, different consonant allophone) between the cliticization and the juxtaposition.

(148) a. *łoʼ~ło**k**--is*
RED~fall--pl
/'łok.ło.**k**is/
['łɔʔłɔ**k**is]
'They fall over.'

b. *łoʼ~łoʼ* *is* *koʼ*
RED~fall ART.pl tree
/łok.'ło**k** .is/
[łɔʔ'łɔ**??**is]
'The trees fall over.'

Thus, while it can be shown that the external clitics are phonologically attached to their host, the attachment is both phonologically and syntactically less tight than that of the internal clitics.

3.9.3. Neutral cliticization

The third type of cliticization does not influence the prosodic structure of the host: stress, vowel length, and syllable structure of the host remain unmodified. This type occurs with referential elements which are attached to the preceding vowel because they cannot form a phonological word, either because they consist of a single consonant or because they have an initial consonant cluster (cf. 2.7.1). The two cases are illustrated in (149) and (150), respectively. I do not mark this type of cliticization in the morphological representation (but cf. below in this section for representation of the cliticized determiner).

(149) *jayn**a*** ***ɬ*** *vel-na* *os* *rey* *kaḿ-piḿ*
DSC 1 look_at-DR ART.n.p again break-BE.half
'Then I looked at the broken (part).' {ER Sapo 016}

(150) *n-as,* *eney,* *dul-na-wa='n**e*** ***'nes*** *ma:ma='ne*
obl-ART.n (filler) visit-DR-NMZ=f ART.f mother_of=f
'… to visit her mother' [lit.: "in her visiting her mother"] {EA, Neighbours 007}

Neutral cliticization involves referential elements that form a syntactic unit with the subsequent content word. For example, the first-person marker *ɬ* in (149) represents the first argument of the predicate *velna* 'look at', but it does not have any particular relationship with the particle *jayna* to which it is phonologically attached. Due to the functional relation with the subsequent content word, most of the elements described here are referred to as "proclitics" in the remainder of this book. In the present section, however, I will concentrate on the way in which these elements are phonologically cliticized to the preceding element.

When the preceding word ends in /k/, realized as [ʔ] (cf. 2.3.1), the first-person marker is attached to the release vowel following the glottal stop (cf. 2.3.2). This is shown in (151) and (152), together with the phonetic realization of the relevant segment:

(151) *os* *pa:ko* *di'**i*** ***ɬ*** *no:no*
ART.n.p dog REL 1 pet
… [ɖiʔ**iɬ** 'nɔ:nɔ]
'the dog which was my pet' {EA, Perro I 002}

(152) *jaysoń* *kino'**o*** ***ɬ*** *dewaj-na*
seem DM.f.a 1 see-DR
… [ki'nɔʔ**ɔɬ**]
'I seem to be seeing her.' {JM 17, 200c}

The retention of the release vowel before a neutral clitic contrasts with internal cliticization (cf. 3.9.1). When an internal clitic follows a base ending in /k/, it is not attached to the release vowel, but to the linking vowel which follows the final consonant. This can be seen in (153)b, where an internal clitic follows a base ending in the glottal stop, shown in (153)a:

(153) a. *kwajta'* 'maize'
b. *kwajta**k**-a=y'ɬi* 'our maize'

The following examples show that, unlike external and internal cliticization, neutral cliticization does not influence the prosody of the host. In (154), which is the phonetic representation of the relevant sequence in (150) above, it can be seen that neutral cliticization does not cause stress shift. The cliticized element is represented in bold-face, and it can be seen that stress does not fall on the penultimate syllable:

(154) ['waʔnɛ**ʔnɛs**]

Also, if this type of cliticization influenced the prosody of the host, a glottalized neutral clitic would be expected to cause stress shift on a polysyllabic host (since all phonological words ending in a glottal or glottalized consonant are stressed on their last syllable; cf. 2.8.1). That this is not the case is shown by (155) and (156), where the encliticized element is the preglottalized nasalized plosive [t͡ʔⁿ], marking the first person. In the phonetic transcription, the stressed syllable is in bold-face. Example (156) also shows that neutral cliticization does not trigger shortening of the penultimate syllable of the host.

(155) *ban jayn**a*** ***ń*** *jo'yaj--iy'ɬi jayna*
but DSC 1intr arrive--1pl DSC
… [**'haj**nat͡ʔⁿ'hɔ:ʔjahijʔɬi]
'But then we arrived.' {EA, Tigre y perro 019}

(156) *n-as rey jayna jiwa:-w**a*** ***ń*** *de<ja:~>jal*
obl-ART.n again DSC come-NMZ 1intr cook<MD~>
… [hi'**wa:**wat͡ʔⁿɗɛ'ha:hal]
'When I come back, I'll cook.' {EA, Programa 007}

Most elements that require a preceding vowel can be combined with the dummy element /i/ (cf. 2.7.1 and 2.9.5). This is usually the case when the preceding word ends in a consonant, as in (157), after a pause, as in (158), but sometimes even when they are preceded by a vowel-final word, as in (159).[48]

(157) *ban **i=ɬ** dewaj-kay--**i='ne***
but D=1 see-INV--D=f
'But she sees me.' {EA, La ciega 036}

(158) *ban inɬa, **i=ɬ** pawa:-na--'ne*
but PRO.1sg D=1 hear-DR--f
'But me, I hear her.' {EA, La ciega 033}

(159) *bo po:raka **i=ń** sit-a:-'oj*
REAS briefly D=1intr sew-DR-BE.clothes
'Because in a moment I was sewing.' {EA, Makina 016}

Neutral cliticization can also be observed with the determining element of the article, *s*. This element is different from the elements described above in three respects: it is never combined with the dummy element /i/, it can only be cliticized to referential elements, and it can even occur after a consonant.

Usually, the determining *s* forms part of the article, as shown in (160). In (161), it is shown that it can also be combined with a demonstrative. Example (162) shows that even when a demonstrative ends /l/, the only final consonant that occurs on demonstratives (cf. 4.3), the

[48] In these examples, I separate the dummy element from the clitic to clarify the point; however, in the remainder of this book, I represent the referential elements as units together with the dummy element.

determining element is cliticized to it.[49]

(160) *a**s*** *roya* 'the/a house' (ART.n house)
*kino**s*** *kwe:ya* 'the/a woman' (ART.f.a woman)

(161) *kore'e=**s*** *ro:ya* 'that house' (DM.std.n=DET house)
*kinede:=**s*** *kwe:ya* 'that (sitting) woman' (DM.nst.f=DET woman)

(162) *kal=**s*** *bote:liya* 'that bottle (near you)' (DM.ad.n=DET bottle)

I represent the cliticization of the determining element by the symbol = , even though it does not influence the prosody of its host. This representation seems appropriate since, in contrast to the pronominal neutral clitic described above, the determining element cannot be attached to just any preceding vowel-final word, only to referential elements. Also, it changes the syntactic status of the host, marking the entire word as a determiner.

For a more detailed description on the form and meaning of all these elements, see Ch. 4.

3.10. Parts of Speech

The major parts of speech that can be distinguished in Movima are nouns, verbs, and particles. Adjectives form a subclass of nouns. Question words, which will also be discussed in this chapter, have some properties that distinguish them from other word classes, but they do not form one homogeneous class.

The distinction between verbs (cf. 3.10.1) and nouns (cf. 3.10.2) can only be made on morphological, not on morphosyntactic grounds: while verbs typically function as predicates and nouns typically as arguments, verbs can function as arguments and nouns can function as predicates, too, without any morphological modification. There are, however, some morphemes that apply only to nouns, but not to verbs. These serve as a criterion for distinguishing the two word classes. Other morphemes can apply to both nouns and verbs, but they usually have different functions depending on the base to which they are attached (cf. 3.10.3).

Adjectives can, according to their morphological form, be split up into two groups: nounlike and verblike adjectives. In general, adjectives are more similar to nouns, since they can be combined with the nominal morphemes. Within the class of nouns, however, they have a special status. Nominal affixes have a different degree of productivity on adjectives than on nouns, and adjectives can only occur as the first part of compounds. Some adjectives can also be formally identical to verbs. The properties of adjectives are discussed in 3.10.4.

The main borderline cases between nouns, verbs, and adjectives, are described in a special section (cf. 3.10.5).

The classification of question words and particles, both highly heterogeneous classes, requires further research. Question words are presented in 3.10.6, particles are briefly characterized in 3.10.7 (and cf. Ch. 12).

[49] In the last case, the determining element is generally pronounced as [h].

Referential elements belong to the most frequent function words in Movima. In 3.10.8, it is shown that the referential elements which can occur as independent words, i.e. free pronouns and demonstratives, share some morphological characteristics with nouns.

In the following sections, I describe the lexical word classes by starting out from semantic prototypes (cf. Givón 2001). From there, I will characterize their typical syntactic functions, and then turn to their distinctive morphological properties. Since nouns, verbs, and particles are also distinguished by phonological characteristics of their roots, these will also be described in the sections on the respective word classes.

3.10.1. Verbs

Verbs prototypically express non-time-stable concepts. Accordingly, the words in (163) can be seen as typical verbs:

(163)	*ja:yi*	'to run'	
	ɬo'~ɬo'	'to fall'	(MD~fall)
	de<ja:~>jal	'to cook'	(cook<MD~>)
	ɬe'-na	'I kick X.'	(kick-DR)
	leve:-na	'I chase X away.'	(chase_off-DR)[50]

A verb typically constitutes the predicate of a clause. This means that it is not preceded by an article and usually occurs in clause-initial position (cf. 7.1).

(164)	***de<ja:~>jal***	*i'nes*	*kwe:ya*
	cook<MD~>	ART.f	woman
	'The woman cooks.'		

(165)	***leve:-na***	*is*	*jo'me*
	chase_off-DR	ART	bird
	'I chase the birds away.'		

However, a verb can also occur in an NP, i.e., in combination with a preceding article (cf. 4.4):[51]

(166)	*kinos*	*de<ja:~>jal*
	ART.f.a	cook<MD~>
	'the woman who cooks'	

(167)	*kis*	*leve:-na*
	ART.pl.a	chase_off-DR
	'the ones I chase away'	

[50] The absence of person marking on a bivalent verb implies the first person singular (cf. 7.4).
[51] See 7.10 and 8.2 for a detailed description of this phenomenon.

As can be observed from the list in (163) above, verbs are typically morphologically complex. Unlike noun roots, most verb roots cannot occur on their own. When unmarked, which is the case when they appear in the resultative voice (cf. 8.1.5), these roots are combined with the dummy element *-'i* (cf. 2.9.5):

(168) *sal-'i* 'to have been/have to be searched'
ju:-'i 'to have been/have to be scolded'
toroj-'i 'to have been/have to be dusted'

There are only a few unanalysable verbs, such as *ja:yi* 'run' in (163). Examples of other verbs of this type, which may be historically complex, include the following (with a tentative morphological analysis, where possible):

(169) *ilo:ni* 'to walk, move forward' (*-ni* 'PRC')
iwa:ni 'to converse' (*-ni* 'PRC')
ya:lo:we 'to drink' (*ya:-* 'under'?, *-lo* 'BE.liquid', *-we* 'BE.person')
jo'yaj 'to arrive'
salmo 'to return'

Thus, while verbs are generally morphologically complex, this is not a defining characteristic that distinguishes them from nouns.

The defining feature of a verb is that it cannot be combined with nominal morphemes (cf. (174) below). Furthermore, verbs are productively combined with typical verbal morphemes, for example:

(170) *-wa* action/state nominalization
-pa agent nominalization
-poj causative
-kwa benefactive
-kał immediative/impossibilitive
-u'~-ay' intensive

3.10.2. Nouns

Nouns prototypically express time-stable concepts. Accordingly, the following can be seen as prototypical Movima nouns:

(171) *champa* 'stone'
ro:ya 'house'
pa:ko 'dog'
kwe:ya 'woman'
chinała 'manioc'
ko'o 'tree'
me:sa 'table'
Leonilda proper name

A noun typically occurs in a noun phrase. A noun phrase is defined by the fact that it contains a determining referential element, usually an article, that specifies gender, number, and deictic properties of the referent (cf. 4.4). In (172), noun phrases are given which contain the above nouns:

(172)	*as*	*champa*	'the/a stone'
	as	*ro:ya*	'the/a house'
	as	*pa:ko*	'the/a dog'
	i'nes	*kwe:ya*	'the/a woman'
	is	*chinała*	'(the) manioc roots'
	as	*ko'o*	'the/a tree'
	as	*me:sa*	'the/a table'
	i'nes	*Leonilda*	'Leonilda'

The occurrence in a noun phrase is not restricted to nouns: verbs can occur in a noun phrase as well, as was shown in 3.10.1. And while this is more typical of verbs, a noun can also occur outside a noun phrase, in which case it functions as a predicate (cf. 7.9.1). In (173)a and b, the noun *kwe:ya* 'woman' is combined with referential elements representing the arguments of the equational clauses.

(173)	a.	*iń*	*kwe:ya*	b.	*kwe:ya--'ne*
		1intr	woman		woman--f
		'I am a woman.'			'She is a woman.'

Since nouns can function as predicates and verbs can occur in noun phrases, the syntactic position is not a defining property of these word classes.

A typical morphological property of nouns is that most of them, unlike most verbs, can consist of a single root. The nouns in (171) and (172) are examples of independent roots. However, since some noun roots cannot occur independently (cf. 3.1, 5.3.2), while some, probably historically complex, verb roots can (cf. 3.10.1 below), this is not a defining characteristic for distinguishing nouns from verbs, either.

The defining characteristic of nouns is that the morphemes in (174) can only be attached to nominal bases, but not to verbs:

(174)	*-ti'*	VBZ	('to make N')
	-maj	VLC	('to be in/on N')
	-ni	PRC	('to be/become N')
	Foot~	POSS	('owner of N')
	<CV~>	NMZ.N	('being N')

The most productive distinction between nouns and verbs is the form that verbal predicates and predicate nominals take in negative or subordinate clauses. When the predicate is a morphological noun, it is marked by infixing reduplication (<CV~>), as in (175)a and b. A

verbal predicate, in contrast, receives the suffix *-wa* in a subordinate or negative clause, as shown in (176)a and b:

(175) a. *n-as* *kwe<ya:~>ya*
obl-ART.n woman<NMZ.N~>
'when I am a woman'

b. *kas* *kwe<ya:~>ya*
NEG woman<NMZ.N~>
'I am not a woman.'

(176) a. *n-as* *iloni:-wa*
obl-ART.n walk-NMZ
'when I walk'

b. *kas* *iloni:-wa*
NEG walk-NMZ
'I don't walk.'

However, while a verb cannot take the nominal suffixes in (174), this does not mean that a base that can be combined with the verbal suffixes in (170) above. Nouns can be combined with these suffixes, even though this is of limited productivity and may be the result of a more complicated process, which can be outlined as follows.

The verbalizing suffix *-ti'*, described in 11.5, is one of the most productive derivational elements. It creates an monovalent verb that denotes a typical activity connected with the entity denoted by the noun:

(177) *iṅ* *roya:**-ti'***
1intr house-VBZ
'I build a house.'

(178) *iṅ* *sutulra:**-ti'***
1intr armadillo-VBZ
'I hunt armadillo.'

Like any other verb, the denominal verbs derived by the suffix *-ti'* can receive additional verb morphology. However, as is also the case with most monovalent voice suffixes, the suffix *-ti'* is omitted before another suffix is attached (cf. 8.7.1 and 11.5). The meaning of the base remains the same as when it contains the verbal suffix *-ti'*. Consider first the examples in (179) of the nominalizing suffix *-wa* (cf. (176)) attached to the bases in (177) and (178) above:

(179) a. *n-as* *roya:**-wa***
obl-ART.n house-NMZ
'when I build a house'
* 'when I am a house'

b. *n-as* *sutulra:**-wa***
obl-ART.n armadillo-NMZ
'when I hunted armadillo'
* 'when I am an armadillo'

Here, the bases *ro:ya-* and *sutulra-* are not nouns, but the verbal bases 'build a house' and 'hunt armadillo', respectively, whose suffix *-ti'* is omitted before further suffixation. When nominal bases occur independently as a predicate, they denotes the state of 'being X' (cf. also (173) above):

(180) a. *a'ko* *ro:ya*
PRO.n house
'That is a house.'
* 'That builds a house.'

b. *a'ko* *sutulra*
PRO.n armadillo
'That is an armadillo.'
* 'That hunts armadillo.'

Consider also the following examples of the base *ro:ya:ti'* 'build a house', reduced to *ro:ya-*, with other verbal suffixes: causative in (181), benefactive in (182), and agent-nominalizing in (183).

(181) *loy* *iɬ* *roya-**poj**-na* *us* *itila:kwa*
ITN 1 house-CAU-DR ART.m man
'I'll have the man build a house.' {JM 18, 175a}

(182) *u'ko=ɬ* *roya-**kwa**-n-kay*
PRO.m.=1 house-BEN-LN-INV
'He builds a house for me.' {HR 14, 145}

(183) *u'ko* *roya:-**pa***
PRO.m house-AG
'He is a house-builder.' {HR 14, 145a}

Thus, even though they seem to be superficially compatible with nominal bases, the suffixes in (170) identify a base as verbal.[52]

An interesting case of words which are considered verbs from the semantic point of view, but which are morphologically nouns, concerns the words *jankwa* 'say' and *jampa* 'do like'. One indication that these are rather nouns than verbs is that, when nominalized, they first undergo verbalization by *-ni* 'PRC':

(184) *n-os* *jankwa-ni:-wa*
obl-ART.n.p say-PRC-NMZ
'when I said …'

The status of these words will be discussed in more detail in 8.5.2.

3.10.3. Morphemes shared by nouns and verbs

While there are morphemes which can be attached only to nouns and morphemes which can be attached only to verbal bases, there are some elements which can occur both on nominal and on verbal bases.

First of all, referential elements (cf. 3.9 above) can be cliticized to verbs as well as to nouns. Internal clitics mark the first argument of a bivalent predicate, as in (185)a, and the possessor

[52] As can be expected, the possibility of verbalizing a noun by *-ti'* can be restricted by semantic factors; i.e., some nouns (e.g. *beńra* 'sky') cannot receive this suffix (cf. 11.2.1), and therefore, cannot be combined with a verbal affix either.

on a noun, as in (185)b. External clitics mark the absolutive argument of verbal as well as nominal predicates, as shown in (186)a and b, respectively:

(185) a. *sal-na=us* 'He looks for X.' (search-DR=m.a)

b. *as pa:ko=us* 'his dog' (ART.n dog=m.a)

(186) a. *iye:ni--as* 'It moves.' (move--n.a)

b. *pa:ko--as* 'It is a dog.' (dog--n.a)

Second, nouns and verbs share some derivational affixes, listed in Table 5.

Table 5. Affixes shared by nouns and verbs

	on verb	**on noun**
voice markers	voice; productive (cf. Ch. 8)	verbalizing; of limited productivity (cf. 11.8)
<*a'*>	irrealis, participant negation (cf. 10.3)	existential negation (cf. 7.15.1)
-wanra	relational NMZ: instrument (cf. 11.4)	nonpossession (cf. 6.3.3)
-ka	multiple event (cf. 10.2)	(multiple occurrence; cf. 10.2)
-eɬ, -ɬe	applicative; co-participant (cf. 9.7–9.8)	possession (cf. 6.4.2)
-kwa	benefactive (cf. 9.4)	absolute state (cf. 6.5)
<CV~>	(several; cf. 3.7)	nominalization, inalienable possession (cf. 3.7)

The first four morphemes in this list have an identical, or at least similar, function on nominal and verbal bases. The last three (*-eɬ/-ɬe*, *-kwa* and infixing CV-reduplication) seem to have different functions depending on the type of base they are attached to. Still, they are listed here in order to show that the presence of one of these morphemes in a word does not identify the word as either a noun or a verb. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that these morphemes have a common origin.

3.10.4. Adjectives

Morphologically, Movima adjectives form a subclass of nouns: they share most properties with nouns, but there are also some features which distinguish them from that word class. Adjectives form a large class; in the current database, there are over 100 elements that can be classed as adjectives. As in the previous sections, I will first describe the semantic and syntactic properties of adjectives and then turn to their morphological characteristics.

3.10.4.1. Semantic characteristics of adjectives

Adjectives describe entities with respect to their size, age, quality, quantity, colour, temperature, state, etc. In (187) and (188), some examples are listed:

(187)

mere'	'big'
tochi'	'small'
bi:jaw	'old'
pa:luy	'cold'
ta:doy	'sweet'
ko'loj	'clean'
cho:'es	'ugly, dirty'
so:roy	'thin'
la:wiń	'soft'
do:koy	'good'
ya:yu'	'fine, well (of health)'

(188)

kaw-ra	'much, many'
bey-ra	'few'
diń-ra	'hard'
mol-ra	'unripe, raw'
mes-ra	'fat'
pola-ra	'new'
tun-ni	'black'
bew-ni	'ripe'

As can be seen, the adjectives in (187) are monomorphemic (though bisyllabic), while those in (188) are morphologically complex. Since the ability of a root to occur independently is characteristic of nouns (cf. 3.10.2 above), I will refer to the first group as "nounlike adjectives". The second group is reminiscent of verbs, which are usually morphologically complex (cf. 3.10.1), so I refer to them as "verblike adjectives". Their similarity to verbs will also be discussed in 3.10.5 below.

Some semantically related adjectives are associated with one particular morphological class. The class of nounlike adjectives contains most monomorphemic native colour terms (except *tun-ni* 'black', which belongs to the second class) and the non-native number terms, from 'five' onwards:

(189)

ra:pal	'red'
se:rej	'yellow'
balo:si	'pink'
su:vuj	'blue'
ta:voj	'white'
no'na	'green'
tu:vus	'grey'

(190) *sinko* ‘five’ (Sp. *cinco*)
seys ‘six’ (Sp. *seis*)
siye:te ‘seven’ (Sp. *siete*)
o:cho ‘eight’ (Sp. *ocho*)
etc.

In contrast, most quantifiers, including the four native number terms shown in (191), belong to the class of verblike adjectives:[53]

(191) *sota’-ra* ‘one’
oy-ra ‘two’
tas-ra ‘three’
oyka:-ra ‘four’

3.10.4.2. Syntactic characteristics of adjectives

The most common syntactic function of adjectives is that of predication, as in (192). However, an adjective can also occur as the head of an NP, as in (193). An NP containing an adjective refers to the entity to which the property is ascribed, not to the property as an abstract concept.[54]

(192) ***pa:luy*** *is* *bari=sne*
cold ART.pl foot=f.a
‘Her feet were cold.’ {EA, Muriendo 005}

(193) *kilno’o=s* ***tochi’i***
DM.f.rtr=DET small
‘that (retreating) small (woman, girl)’ {EA, Huevo 004}

In attributive function, adjectives are found either as part of a compound together with a nominal element (cf. 5.2), or as the predicate in a relative clause. The roots of the group in (188) always occur in a compound (except *tun-* ‘black’ and *bew-* ‘ripe’, which are combined with the verbalizing suffix *-ni* in the absence of a bound nominal element): they are obligatorily combined with a noun or bound nominal element. This is illustrated in (194) for the root *kaw-* ‘much’:

(194) *kaw-tino:na’* ‘many years’
kaw-yemes ‘many days’
kaw-mo ‘many birds’

[53] The numbers ‘one’ and ‘four’ are probably morphologically complex: *sot-a’-ra* (other-IRR-BE.ntr) ‘no other (thing)’ i.e. ‘one’, and *oy-ka:-ra* (two-MLT-BE.ntr) ‘several times two (things)’, i.e. ‘four’. However, I regard these words as lexicalized, especially since the multiple-event marker *-ka* (cf. 3.6.1 and 10.3) normally indicates several instances of an event, not just two.
[54] The abstract property can be denoted when the adjective receives the abstract nominalizing suffix *-wa:nas* (cf. 11.1.6.)

kaw-poy ‘many animals’
kaw-mi ‘much water’

The adjectives in (187) can also be combined with a noun or bound nominal elements, like nouns in compounding:

(195) *bijaw-kwe:ya* ‘old woman’
veynte-ye:mes ‘twenty days’
tochi’-to:da ‘small piece’
mere’-ba ‘big fruit’
cho’es-waj ‘dirty place’

The use of adjective-based compounds is illustrated in (196)–(198):

(196) ***kaw-mo*** *is* *joy-a-ɬe=is*
much-BE.bird ART.pl go-DR-CO=pl.a
‘They caught many birds.’ {EA, Parabas 055}

(197) *i’neɬ* *majni* *jaysoń* ***bijaw-kweya***
ART.f.1 child seem old-woman
‘My daughter is like an old woman.’ {EA, My children 001}

(198) *joy* *koro’* *kos* ***tochi’-toda****-n-a=os* *bote:liya*
SPC DM.a.n ART.n.a small-BR.piece-LN-LV=ART.n.p bottle
n-as *bari=‘ne*
obl-ART.n foot=f
‘Probably she has a small piece of a bottle in her foot.’ {EA, Summary 024}

That they participate in compounding makes adjectives similar to nouns. However, there is a major difference with nouns: in a compound, the adjective (or adjectival root) is always the first and the noun (or bound nominal element) is always the second element. The adjective, therefore, is clearly the modifier of a head noun.

When a noun phrase is modified by a relative clause, the relative clause can contain either the adjective, as in (199), or the head noun, as in (200). The difference between these constructions is discussed in 7.11.

(199) *yey-na* *is* *to:mi* *[di’* *pa:luy]*
want-DR ART.pl water REL cold
‘I want cold water.’

(200) *is* *pa:luy* *[di’* *to:mi]*
ART.pl cold REL water
‘cold water’

Thus, in general, an adjective modifies a noun either by forming a compound with that noun

or by means of a relative clause. However, there seem to be examples of simple juxtaposition, too. These usually involve the adjective *mere'* 'big' or *tochi'* 'small'.

There are three pieces of evidence for the possible juxtaposition of these adjectives with a noun. First of all, in (201), there is phonological evidence against compounding: there is a short pause between the adjective and the adjacent noun, and even the release vowel of the adjective is audible. This may be a case of juxtaposition:[55]

(201) *kire'* *jeyto:va* *is* *am-me=is* *juyeni,*
DM.std.pl lined_up ART.pl enter-BE.person=ART.pl person
di' ***mere'e*** ***ma:kina***
REL big machine
'The vehicles [buses] of the people, which were big machines, were standing in a row.' {EA, In between 160}

The adjectives *mere'* 'big' and *tochi'* 'small' can, furthermore, cooccur with nouns that do usually not occur in compounds in that form. For example, the reduplicated noun *lu'~lu'* 'rain' is usually not found in a compound; normally, only its root, *lu'*, is combined with another base, as shown in (202)a. However, in combination with *mere'*, it always occurs in its full form, as shown by (202)b:

(202) a. *diń-**lu'***
hard-BR.rain
'strong rain'

b. *mere'* ***lu'~lu'***
big RED~BR.rain
'a lot of rain'

The strongest argument that *mere'* and *tochi'* can appear in simple juxtaposition with the noun they modify comes from the fact that they are often found behind the noun, without being connected to it through the relativizer:

(203) *kas* *rey* *tikoy-na:-wa--as,* *os* *si:wa* ***mere'e***
NEG again kill-DR-NMZ--n.a ART.n.p spider big
'I didn't kill it, the big spider.' {EA, Araña 009}

(204) *jayna* *rim-eɬ-na=u* *kos* ***wa:ka*** ***tochi'*** *jayna*
then buy-APPL-DR=m ART.n.a cow small then
'Then he bought a bit of meat.' {EA, Visita 095}

A final feature which points to a different status of these two adjectives as opposed to the others is their function as adverbs: *tochi'* and *mere'* can not only modify nouns, but also other adjectives, as in (205), and verbs, as in (206):

(205) ***tochi'*** *bey-ra* *ja'* *is* *lok-a-ɬe=is*
small few-BE.ntr just ART.pl throw_down-DR-CO=pl.a
'Just a little bit [of fruits] did they shake down.' {EA, Dichiyeye 059}

[55] Still, that these adjectives easily participate in compounding was illustrated in (198), where *tochi'* is combined with a bound root (*toda* 'BR.piece'), which cannot occur independently.

(206) *jayna* *paḿ~paḿ* ***mere'*** *jayna*
DSC MD~sprout big DSC
'Then they grow big.' {EA, Yuca 024}

More research is needed to find out whether there are more adjectives which behave in this way, or whether these two have a special syntactic status, different from nouns and other adjectives.

3.10.4.3. Morphological characteristics of adjectives

The argument that all adjectives (nounlike and verblike) belong to the morphological class of nouns is based on the fact that, unlike verbs, they can be combined with the nominal derivational morphemes listed in (174) above. Most importantly, nominalization of a predicative adjective, as of a predicative noun, is carried out by infixing reduplication. In (207), this is shown for the nounlike, and in (208), for the verblike adjectives:

(207) a. *n-os* *me**<re~>**dek-a=a*
obl-ART.n.p big<NMZ.N~>-LV=n
'when it was big'

b. *n-as* *bi**<ja:~>**jaw*
obl-ART.n old<NMZ.N~>
'when I am old'

(208) a. *n-as* *diń-**<te:~>**tej*
obl-ART.n hard-<NMZ.N~>BE.breath
'when I am strong'

b. *kas* *kaw-ye**<me~>**mes-a=as*
NEG much-BE.day<NMZ.N~>-LV=n.a
'It (was) not (for) many days.'

However, some morphological differences between nouns and adjectives can be discerned. While the other nominal morphemes in (174) can, in principle, be attached to both nouns and adjectives, their productivity varies according to the type of base they are attached to. The verbalizing suffix *-ti'*, which is very productive on nouns, applies only to a limited degree to adjectives. Moreover, the resulting verb seems to be more idiomatic:

(209) *rapal**-ti'***
red-VBZ
'to prepare a red dye'

(210) *bijaw-**ti’***
old-VBZ
‘to make an old person (e.g. a doll by dressing it)’;
~ ‘to get oneself an old man/woman’

In contrast, the verbalizing suffix *-ni*, which typically indicates a process, is far more productively combined with an adjective than with a noun. On some adjectives, it literally indicates a process, as on nouns (cf. 11.9.1). Compare the similar function of *-ni* on nouns ((211)a) and on adjectives ((211)b). Other adjectives always take the suffix *-ni*, and its addition does not create a meaning difference; cases of this type are shown in (212), and the similarity in meaning is illustrated by (213)a and b.

(211) a. *itilakwa:**-ni*** ‘become a man’
*jo’me:**-ni*** ‘become a bird’
*awaro:**-ni*** ‘become a parrot

b. *mere’**-ni*** ‘become big’
*tochi’**-ni*** ‘become small’
*bijaw**-ni*** ‘grow up’ [lit.: “become old”]
*jayaw**-ni*** ‘become/make oneself beautiful’

(212) *pa:luy, paluy**-ni*** ‘cold’
*we’rel, werel**-ni*** ‘dry’
*pe’res, peres**-ni*** ‘sharp’
*ji:ran, jiran**-ni*** ‘pretty’
*diń-ba, diń-ba:**-ni*** ‘hard (a round object)’

(213) a. *jayna* ***pa:luy*** *is bari=sne, chopa=sne,* ***pa:luy***
already cold ART.pl foot=f.a hand=f.a cold
‘Her feet (and) hand were already cold, cold.’ {EA, Muriendo 005}

b. ***paluy-ni*** *as rey ro:ya di’ de:-na=i*
cold-PRC ART.n again house REL lie-DR=pl
‘The house where they lie is cold.’ {EA, Motacu 034}

Thus, while adjectives can be combined with all nominal morphemes, these morphemes can have a different degree of productivity depending on the type of base they are attached to. This can probably be attributed to semantic differences between the two classes.

The point in which adjectives diverge most from nouns is that predicative adjectives are often combined with a special nominalizing suffix *-ɬe* in negative clauses, instead of undergoing infixing reduplication (cf. (207), (208) above):

(214) a. *di:ra* *i:* *mo:* *kaw-**<ra:~>**ra*
still DM.spk.pl yet much-<NMZ.N~>BE.ntr

~ b. *di:ra* *i:* *mo:* *kaw-ra:**-ɬe***
still DM.spk.pl yet much-BE.ntr-NMZ.N
'This isn't much yet.' {EA 19, 284}

On "real" nouns, this suffix does usally not occur spontaneously, even though this is, in principle, possible (cf. also 11.1):

(215) a. *kas* *si**<ba~>**ba=a*
NEG frog<NMZ.N~>=n

~ b. *kas* *siba-**ɬe**=a*
NEG frog-NMZ.N=n
'It's not a frog.' {JM 18, 041}

In contrast, on adjectives in negative clauses, the suffix *-ɬe* often occurs spontaneously, as illustrated by the following text examples:

(216) *kas* *jayaw-**ɬe**=as*
NEG nice-NMZ.N=n.a
'It's not nice.' {EA, Tolkosya II 007}

(217) *peres-**ɬe**=os* *kachi:ra*
sharp-NMZ.N=ART.n.p knife
'The knife was blunt.' {EG, Cazando 083}

(218) *di'* *joy* *do:koy--i'ne* *kabo* *di'* *joy* *kas* *dokoy-**ɬe**='ne*
HYP SPC good--f or HYP SPC NEG good-NMZ.N=f
'… [to find out] whether she is good or whether she is not good.'
{EA, Palomajna 004}

Thus, also where morphology is concerned, adjectives can be considered nouns. There are, however, tendencies which show that they have a special status within that word class: the productivity with which they can be combined with certain nominal morphemes, as well as the semantic effect of that combination, can differ from that of nouns.

So far, I have considered nounlike and verblike adjectives together. In the following section, similarities and differences between verblike adjectives and verbs will be discussed.

3.10.5. Some borderline cases between verbs, adjectives, and nouns

Sections 3.10.1 and 3.10.2 have shown that verbs and nouns, while they share a lot of their properties, can be distinguished by the fact that each class has a specific set of morphemes which is not shared by the other class. The most salient criterion is the form of a predicate in a subordinate or negative clause: a verbal predicate receives the suffix *-wa*, whereas a noun undergoes reduplication or, to a limited degree, receives the suffix *-ɬe* 'NMZ'. According to this criterion, adjectives can be considered a subclass of nouns (cf. 3.10.3).

However, there are cases in which verbs, nouns and adjectives cannot be distinguished by this criterion. This concerns words which consist of a root and a bound nominal element.

As will be explained in 8.1.5 and 8.4, when a complex verbal base, consisting of a verb root and an applicative suffix or a bound element, is unmarked for voice, it automatically denotes the resultative state of an action:

(219) *tan-ri:sa*
cut-BR.hair
'(to be) hair-cut' [i.e., to have short hair because it has been cut]

These verbs can be nominalized either with the verbal nominalizer *-wa* or, like nouns, by infixing reduplication or even by the suffix *-ɬe*. When nominalized by *-wa*, the form denotes the event (cf. (220)), whereas reduplication (cf. (221)a) or suffixation of *-ɬe* (cf. (221)b) indicate that the NP refers to the undergoer of the event.

(220) *kas* *tan-risa**-wa**=sne*
NEG cut-BR.hair-NMZ=f.a
'She doesn't cut her hair/doesn't have her hair cut.' {JM 18, 017a}

(221) a. *kas* *tan-ri**<sa~>**sa=sne*
NEG cut-BR.hair<NMZ.N~>=f.a
~ b. *kas* *tan-risa-**ɬe**=sne*
NEG cut-BR.hair-NMZ.N=f.a
'She doesn't have short hair.' [lit.: "She is not hair-cut."] {JM 18, 017}

In this way, resultative verbs can be morphologically identical to adjectives, a feature typical of these verbs (cf. Haspelmath 1993: 159). Still, verbal bases like the one in (220) and (221) above are morphologically transparent, containing a bivalent root which can also occur without a bound element (cf. 8.3.1). They can also be traced back to their verbal origin because they are productively combined with verbal voice markers, e.g. with the bivalent direct marker *-a* (cf. 8.1.1):

(222) *tan-**a**-risa=sne*
cut-DR-BR.hair=f.a
'She cuts X's hair.'

There are some nouns which have the same structure and can be combined with voice suffixes, too. Consider the case of *do'we* 'my clothes' in (223)a. This relational noun is clearly composed of a verb root and a bound element, as shown by (223)b:

(223) a. *do'we*
clothes
'my clothes'
(~ 'to be dressed')

b. *dok-a:-we*
put_on-DR-BE.person
'I dress X.'

The semantic difference between the noun and the verb is sufficiently distinct that the form in (223)a can be considered a noun (moreover, a relational noun; cf. 6.3). The development from a complex verbal base into a noun is probably due to lexicalization.

More difficult is the distinction between certain complex verbal bases and verblike adjectives (cf. 3.10.4.1, (188) above), which may be purely semantically based. As will be shown in 9.2.8, for many roots obligatorily combined with a bound nominal element, it is not clear whether they can be considered verbal or adjectival roots. This is, in particular, the case when the word can receive a voice marker, which identifies it as a verb. The bivalent direct voice marker *-a ~-na* is especially productive on these words, as shown in (224):

(224) *kaw-**a:**-ra* 'I make a lot of X.'
*pola-ra:-**na*** 'I make X like new.'
*dol-**a:**-ra* 'I fill X.'
*ba:-ra:-**na*** 'I finish X.'
*ona-ra:-**na*** 'I know X.'
*aj-**a:**-ra* 'I narrate about X.'

The words in (224) are bivalent verbs since they contain the direct voice marker. However, for some words in this list, it is extremely unusual to occur with a voice marker: they are usually unmarked for voice. This is the case, for example, with *kaw-ra* 'much, many (things)'. For other words, in contrast, it is quite unusual to occur without a voice marker. This is the case, for example, with *ona-ra:-na* 'know'. It can be unmarked for voice (in which case it is combined with the dummy element *-'i*, as shown in (225)), but this is rare. Like other verbs unmarked for voice, it receives a resultative reading (cf. 8.1.5):

(225) *ona-ra:-'i* 'to be known' {JM 18, 385}

Still other words of this type occur equally often with or without a voice marker. An example is *dol-ra* 'to be full':

(226) *dol-ra* 'to be full (of something)'
dol-a:-ra 'I fill X (of something).'

Also nominalization, usually a straightforward way to distinguish the lexical parts of speech, is no clear indication of the class to which these words belong. They can, in principle, be nominalized like verbs, i.e. by suffixation of *-wa* (cf. (227), or like adjectives, i.e., by

reduplication or suffixation of *-ɬe* (cf. (228)). In the first case, the form denotes the result of an action, while in the latter case, it denotes a property of an entity (cf. also (220), (221) above).

(227) *kas* *dol-ra**-wa**=a*
NEG full-BE.ntr-NMZ=n
'It has not been filled.' {JM 18, 143b}

(228) a. *kas* *dol-**<ra~>**da=a*
NEG full-<NMZ.N~>BE.ntr=n
~ b. *kas* *dol-ra**-ɬe**=a*
NEG full-BE.ntr-NMZ.N=n
'It is not full.' {JM 18, 143a}

Thus, words which obligatorily contain a bound nominal element cannot be classified on morphological grounds as either adjectives or verbs. According to their different combinability properties with other markers, probably purely semantically based, they can be arranged on a scale, shown in Figure 1:

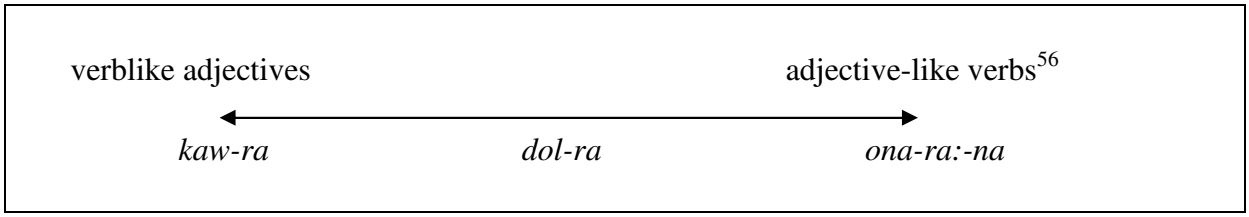

Figure 1. The categorization of words with an obligatory bound element

The fuzzy line between adjectives and verbs unmarked for voice can be explained by the fact that verbs without a voice marker are generally resultative (cf. 8.1.5).

3.10.6. Question words

A question in Movima is marked by a particular intonation pattern, described in 2.8.5. In addition, a content question is typically introduced by one of the following elements:

(229) *naya'* 'where?'
jan- 'which?'
eɬ- 'what?'

The question word *naya'*, the only morphologically simple question word, is illustrated in (230) and (231).

[56] I will not use the term "adjective-like verbs" any further, but treat these words as verbs.

(230) ***naya'*** *kinos* *majniwa=n*
where ART.f.a child_of=2
'Where is your daughter?' {AY 10, 043}

(231) *joychoy* *rey* ***naya'*** *us* *alwaj-a=sne*
SPC:certainly again where ART.m spouse-LV=f.a
'Where might her husband have been?' {EA, In between 227}

While the examples above show this question word as a typical predicate, i.e., in combination with an NP (cf. 7.1), this word can also be directly combined with a morphological verb, as in (232) and (233).

(232) ***naya'*** *bayɬim-na=kus* *Hernan*
where field-DR=ART.m.a Hernan
'Where does Hernan make his field?' {EA, Siripipimmo 002}

(233) ***naya'*** *yeɬ-na=n*
where lodge-DR=2
'Where are you staying?' {EA, Visita 056}

The unclear syntactic status of *naya'* is discussed in 7.14.

The root *jan-* is productively combined with a bound nominal element. It is used to ask for a member of a group of similar entities. The type of entity asked for is indicated by the bound element.

(234) ***jam-ba=****kos* *ta:sa=n*
which-BR.round=ART.n.a cup=2
'Which one is your cup?' {EA 9, 022}

(235) ***jan-ne=****kinos* *de<ja:~>jal*
which-BE.person=ART.f.a cook<MD~>
'Who (of them) was the one who cooked?' {EA 9, 033a}

(236) ***jám-pato=****kis* *sápato=n*
which-TRC.shoe=ART.pl.a shoe=2
'Which ones are your shoes?' {EA 9, 022a}

As is the case with other roots which are obligatorily combined with a bound nominal element, the bound element *-ra* is used when no more specific element is inserted:

(237) *di'* ***ján-ra****=kos* *kwey* *yo'-na*
HYP which-BE.ntr=ART.n.a FOC catch-DR
'What might have been (the thing) that caught [it]?' {EA, Jaguar 075}

When referring to a number or quantity, *jan-ra* receives the multiple-event marker *-ka* (cf. 10.2). It can be translated here as 'how much/many':

(238) *jan-**ka**-tinónak-a=n*
which-MLT-year-LV=2
'How old are you?' {EA 8, 072}

(239) *jan-**ka**-yemes-a=as* *de-ku'-buń-ni-wa=is* *mo'incho chivé*
which-MLT-BE.day-LN=ART.n.a lie-INT-BR.mass-PRC-NMZ=ART.pl
'How many days has the *chivé* been resting?' {EA 9, 019}

(240) *jan-**ka**-yéjcho-kwi=n* *jayna* *n-as* *néy-ni-wa=n*[57]
which-MLT-month-?=2 DSC obl-ART.n here-PRC-NMZ=2
'For how many months have you been here by now?' {EA 9, 018a}

The element *jan-* also occurs in the words *jankwa* 'say' and *jampa* 'do' (cf. 8.5.2), whose final elements, *-kwa* and *-pa*, can be interpreted as the bound noun root 'BR.mouth' and as the truncated form of the word *cho:pa* 'hand', respectively. To illustrated this, in (241) and (242), these words are segmented in this way:

(241) *loy* *lew-a-be:t-eɬ* *os* ***jan-kwa**=n*
ITN sing-DR-BR.flat_flex-APPL ART.n.p which-BR.mouth=2
'I'll read what you have said.' {JM 18, 324a}

(242) *a'ko* *ɬ* ***jam-pa***
PRO.n 1 which-TRC.hand
'That's how I do it.' {JM 16, 115}

As can be argued for *jankwa* and *jampa* (cf. 8.5.2), the question words based on *jan-* can be seen as morphological nouns. They are different from adjectives and verbs composed of a root and an obligatory bound element (cf. 3.10.5) in that they receive person marking by an internal clitic. Evidence for this is the fact that the second person is encoded by *=n*, as in (238) and (240) above, a morpheme which only occurs in the set of internal clitics (cf. 4.1). Also, the clitics are preceded by the linking vowel *-a* when the word ends in a consonant, as in (238) and (239) above.[58] In contrast, for verbs and adjectives, person marking by an internal clitic is only possible when they contain a bivalent voice marker (cf. 8.1). Thus, formally, words with the root *jan-* can be classed as relational nouns (cf. 6.3).

While words with the root *jan-* typically introduce a question, they can also occur in a declarative clause (distinguished from questions by intonation, cf. 2.8.5). The words *jankwa* and *jampa*, usually not used as question words (cf. (241), (242)), provide examples of this. In (243), another example of a word with *jan-* in a declarative clause is given:

[57] The function of the suffix *-kwi* in this context requires further research.
[58] Stress does not help to identify the type of cliticization here, since interrogative sentences have a special stress pattern.

(243) *jayna* ***jan-****ka-poy-a=is* *tami-ɬe-na=as* *rey*
DSC which-MLT-BR.animal=ART.pl birth-CO-DR=n.a again
'It [the cow] had already given birth several times.' {GB, Ganado 069}

Thus, the root *jan-* may not have a specific interrogative function at all, even though it occurs in a particular type of question. This morpheme requires further research.

The root *eɬ-* is used to mark questions which ask for the identity of a person or object. Like *jan-*, it is obligatorily combined with a bound nominal element. However, it seems to be less productive in this respect, and it is never combined with the semantically empty bound element *-ra*. By default, it is combined with the bound root *eɬ* 'BR.name':

(244) *éɬ-eɬ-a=n*
what-BR.name-LV=2
'What's your name?'

(245) ***éɬ-eɬ-a****=as* *kis* *ney* *choń* *eney* *le~lej-vos*
what-BR.name=n.a ART.pl.a here HAB (filler) RED~BE.thorn-BE.wood
di' *ko'o*
REL tree
'What is that tree with the thorns called...' {EA, Jaguar 114}

(246) *isko* *rey,* *eney,* ***éɬ-eɬ-****a=is,* *wo'ray*
PRO.pl.a again (filler) what-BR.name-LV=pl.a vampire
'Those, you know, er, what's their name – vampires.' {EA, Wo'ray 003}

The following examples illustrate *eɬ-* in combination with other bound elements:

(247) ***eɬ-e*** *kwey* *ji:sa:-na*
what-BE.person FOC make-DR
'Who has made it?' {EA 9, 033}

(248) ***éɬ-lomaj*** *os* *la'* *jóyaj-wa=n*
what-BE.time ART.n.p ANT arrive-NMZ=2
'When did you arrive back then?' {EA 9, 017}

(249) *kilay-ni* ***eɬ-tinonak****-a=as*
forget-PRC what-year-LV=n.a
'[I] have forgotten what year it was.' {GC, Marcha 002}

When containing other nouns or bound nominal elements, the question word with *eɬ-* undergoes infixing reduplication, the reason for which is not clear. The following examples illustrate this for the incorporated elements *o:ra* 'hour' (cf. (250)), *poy* 'BR.animal' (cf. (251)) and *lo* 'BR.liquid' (cf. (252)):

(250) *che* *éɬ-'o**<ra~>**da=kos* *kwey* *jóyaj-wa=n* *ney*
and what-hour<RED~>=ART.n.a IMM arrive-NMZ=2 here
'And at what time did you arrive today?' {AH, EA&AH 088}

(251) *eɬ-a'-**<po~>**poy-a=kode:=s* *po~poy-kwa*
what-IRR-<RED~>BR.animal-LV=DM.nst.n=DET RED~animal-ABS
'What animal is that?' {EA 9, 025}

(252) *eɬ-a'-**<lo~>**lo=kis* *da'* *ya:lowe=n*
what-IRR-<RED~>BR.liquid=ART.pl.a DUR.nst drink=2
'What kind of drink are you drinking?' {EA 9, 023}

The function of the irrealis marker *-a'* in (251) and (252) is not clear, either.

The question word *eɬ-eɬ-*, with the bound root *eɬ* 'BR.name' (cf. (244), (245) above) seems to be more lexicalized than the ones containing other bound elements. This is why, outside the present chapter, I represent it as an unanalysable word. For example, the bound root *eɬ* 'BR.name' is not preceded by a glottal stop, in contrast to its occurrence in other constructions. Compare the pronunciation of the question in (253)a with the noun containing the same bound root in (253)b:

(253) a. *éɬ-**eɬ**-a=a* ['ʔɛɬ**ɛɬ**aʔa] 'What is it?'
b. *kem-**'eɬ**-a='ne* [ˌkɛm**ʔɛ'ɬ**aʔnɛ] 'her surname'

Also, the question word *eɬeɬ-* does not necessarily ask for a name. It can be used to ask for more general information, as in (254) and (255):

(254) ***éɬ-eɬ**-a=kos* *jeya=n*
what-BR.name-LV=ART.n.a state_of=2
'What's wrong with you?' {JM, Perro I 029}

(255) *jayɬe* *ona-ra-na=i* ***éɬ-eɬ**-a=kos* *bisapa=kis* *juyeni*
then know-BE.ntr-DR=pl what-BR.name-LV=ART.n.a do:DR=ART.pl.a person
'Then they know what the people are doing.' {EA, Summary 027}

More evidence for the lexicalization of the element *eɬeɬa-* 'what' is provided by the fact that there is an apparently synonymous short form, *ɬeɬa-*:

(256) *éɬeɬa=a,* *eney,* ***ɬéɬa=**is* *siripipimmo,* *ope'e,* *jankwa*
what=n (filler) what=ART.pl *siripipimmo* my_brother say
'What does it mean, what is *siripipimmo*, brother?, I said.'
{EA, Siripipimmo 009}

(257) ***ɬéɬa=**is* *dej-na=n*
what=ART.pl cook-DR=2
'What are you cooking?' {EA 9, 037a}

(258) *joychoy* *rey* ***łełа=os*** *jeya=is*
SPC:certainly again what=ART.n.p state_of=pl.a
'What might have been wrong with them?' {HR, TX 190}

The question marker *eł-* can not only be combined with a bound nominal element, but also with the subordinating particle *jan* 'consequently' (not related to the interrogative root *jan-* described above). In a declarative utterance, this particle introduces an adverbial clause the content of which was explained by the preceding discourse (cf. 7.12.6). The predicate of the subordinate clause introduced by *jan* is nominalized by the suffix *-na* (cf. 11.1.3):

(259) ***jan*** *no-kos* *jiwa**-na**=sne*
CSQ obl-ART.n.a come-NMZ.CSQ=f.a
'That's why she came.' {EA, Visita 090}

When *jan* is attached to the question root *eł-*, as in (260) and (261) below, the syntactic construction is the same as in the declarative clause (cf. (259)), and different from that of questions introduced by *eł-* in combination with a bound nominal element: the word is not followed by an internal clitic, but by an oblique NP (underlined). The root *eł-* in this construction indicates that the speaker does not know the reason for the circumstance described by the subordinate clause.

(260) ***eł-jan*** *no-kos* *sa~sal-na=n*
what-CSQ obl-ART.n.a DR~search-NMZ.CSQ=2
'Why were you looking for X?' {EA 13, 177b}

(261) *ona-ra-na=is* ***eł-jan*** *n-os* *kayni-na=us*
know-BE.ntr-DR=pl.a what-CSQ obl-ART.n.p die-NMZ.CSQ=m.a
'They knew why he died.' {HR, TX 314}

To conclude, Movima does not have a clearly defined category of question words. The elements which typically occur in questions have quite heterogeneous properties, and more research is required as to their exact morphological and syntactic status. Probably the central device for marking an interrogative utterance in Movima is intonation (cf. 2.8.5).

3.10.7. Particles

The class of particles is heterogeneous in their formal and functional properties. It can roughly be subdivided into conjunctions, TAM markers, discourse markers, interjections, and adverbs. They are described in Ch. 12. A more fine-grained distinction requires further research. For the time being, I comprise all independent words which are neither nouns, verbs, adjectives, question words, nor referential elements as particles.

The common property of the approximately 60 elements that fall into this class is that, in contrast with the other parts of speech, they are not morphologically modified. Particles

usually consist of a single root. Some are disyllabic, as in (262). In this class, there are disyllabic words whose first syllable is heavy, as in (262), and others where both syllables are light, as in (262)b. Other function words consist of a monosyllabic root (cf. (263) and (264)), which can even be monomoraic (cf. (264)):

(262) a. *jayna* 'already, then'
o:be 'similar to'
po:ra 'quickly'

b. *tela* 'almost'
jemes 'all the time'
pola 'briefly'

(263) *rey* 'again'
loy 'intentional'
di' 'relativizer; hypothetical'

(264) *che* 'and'
bo 'because, so that'

There is only one element, the ending *-ka*, that can be combined with certain TAM-particles. Particles with the ending *-ka* often occur at the limits of the clause. Compare the particle *kwilka*, occurring at the end of the clause in (265), with the occurrence of *kwil* inside an NP, in (266):

(265) *isko* *dejal-wanra=is* ***kwilka***
PRO.pl.a cook-INSTR:BE.ntr=pl.a REM
'Those were their cooking pans back then.' {HR, TX 268}

(266) *n-os* ***kwil*** *ney-ni-wa=us* *n-as* *łakaḿba*
obl-ART.n.p REM here-PRC-NMZ=m.a obl-ART.n earth
'When He was here on earth back then.' {HR, TX 353}

Even though there are 18 particles which can occur with the element *-ka*, this suffix is not productive. I refer to the particles with *-ka* as the long form and to the particles without that element as the short form.

3.10.8. Referential elements

Referential elements, i.e., pronouns, articles, and demonstratives, described in Chapter 4, form a morphological class of their own. These elements are unique in that they take the oblique-marking prefix *n-* (cf. 4.6 and 7.6). No other word class can receive the oblique prefix. As an illustration, this prefix is attached to a free pronoun in (267), to a demonstrative in (268), and to an article in (269).

(267) *jayna* *rey* *iń* *joy-cheł* ***n-i'ne***
DSC again 1intr go-R/R obl-PRO.f
'Then I left with her.' {BA, TX 105}

(268) *koro'* ***no-kode:*** *kos* *yana:we,* *jankwa=us*
DM.n.a obl-DM.nst.n ART.n.a anaconda say=m.a
'There is an anaconda over there, he said.' {EG, Sicurí 032}

(269) *jayna* *iṅ* *vaye:ɬe* ***n-us*** *pa:pa=y'ɬi*
DSC 1intr look_at.AGT obl-ART.m father_of=1pl
'Then I looked at our father.' {JA, TX 129}

The independent referential elements (free pronouns and demonstratives) are morphologically more nounlike than verblike: they can be nominalized, for example when forming a subordinate predicate, as in (270), or when negated, as in (271) and (272). In order to be nominalized, however, they are first verbalized by the verbalizing suffix *-ni* (cf. 11.9). The following examples illustrate nominalization of free pronouns:

(270) *jo'mi* *n-asko* *to'baycho:-wa* *n-os* ***usko-ni-wa***
only obl-ART.n.a remember-NMZ obl-ART.n.p PRO.m.a-PRC-NMZ
'Only then I realized that it had been him.' {EA, Sueño 182}

(271) *bo* *choy* *rey* *kas* ***inɬa-ni:-wa*** *pa:ko*
REAS certainly again NEG PRO.1sg-PRC-NMZ dog
'Because I'm not a dog!' {EA, Huesos 018}

(272) *bo* *rey* *kas* ***i'ko-ni:-wa*** *rey* *juyeni*
REAS again NEG PRO.pl-PRC-NMZ again person
bo *i'ko* *po~poy-kwa*
REAS PRO.pl RED~BR.animal-ABS
'Because they are not people, they are animals.' {BA, TX 142}

The following example is of a nominalized demonstrative:

(273) *kas* *rey* ***koro'-ni:-wa*** *kos* *rey* *karaye:na*
NEG again DM.a.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a again ask_favour:DR
'There is nobody I can ask a favour.' {NC, Chorankwanto 030}

In (274) and (275), examples are given of nominalized demonstrative adverbs (cf. 4.6):

(274) *jayna* *jo'mi* *jaysoṅ* *veynte-yemes* *as* ***nosde-ni-wa****=sne*
DSC only seem twenty-BE.day ART.n over_there-PRC-NMZ=f.a
'It has been just twenty days now that she is there.' {EA, Asilo 064}

(275) *kas ye~yey-wa as* ***ney-ni:-wa*** *majni, jankwa=sne*
NEG DR~want-NMZ ART.n here-PRC-NMZ my_child say=f.a
'I don't want to be here, child, she says.' {EA, Asilo 089}

Referential elements cannot undergo any other morphological modification apart from the processes described here.

4 Referential elements and deixis

Referential elements are pronouns, articles, and demonstratives. This chapter deals with the morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties of referential elements. Their syntactic distribution and function is described in Ch. 7.

The referential system of Movima distinguishes between speech-act-participants (SAPs) and third persons. For speech-act-participants, the following categories are distinguished:

- first person
- second person
- number

For third persons, the following categories are encoded:

- gender
- number
- presence vs. absence
- existence vs. ceased existence
- visibility
- position
- distance

The present chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.1 describes the formal and semantic properties of the referential elements encoding SAPs. All other sections deal with the referential elements encoding third persons. Sections 4.2–4.6 concentrate on their formal properties, and Sections 4.7–4.10 deal with the semantic and pragmatic categories encoded by the non-SAP referential elements.

4.1. Referential elements encoding first and second person

4.1.1. General properties

SAPs are encoded by free pronouns, proclitic bound pronouns, and enclitic bound pronouns. There are two paradigms of bound pronouns. The forms of Set 1 are used to encode the possessor (cf. 6.1) and the first transitive argument (ARG_1; cf. 7.4, respectively). The pronouns of Set 2 are used to encode the absolutive argument (cf. 7.4). The paradigm is presented in Table 6. Note that the enclitics of Set 1 are internal clitics, while those of Set 2 are external clitics (cf. 3.9).

Table 6. Referential elements of 1st and 2nd person

	free pronoun	**SET 1 (ARG$_1$ and possessor)**		**SET 2 (ARG$_{intr}$)**	
		proclitic	internal clitic	proclitic	external clitic
1st sg	*inɬa*	*(i)ɬ*	–	*(i)ń*	–
1st incl	*i:de*	*(i)ɬ*	*=n*	*(i)ɬ*	–
1st pl	*iy'ɬi*	*(i)ɬ*	*=y'ɬi*	*(i)ń*	*--(i)y'ɬi*
2nd sg	*ulkwań*	–	*=n*	*(i)j*	–
2nd pl	*iy'bikweɬ*	–	*=nkweɬ*	*(i)j*	*--(i)y'bi*

In contrast to the enclitic pronouns (cf. 3.9.1, 3.9.2), the proclitics are not phonologically cliticized to their syntactic host. Usually, they precede the syntactic host directly, as in (1)a, and only a TAM-particle can appear in between, as in (1)b:

(1) a. *kwey* ***iɬ*** *peɬ-a:-cho*
IMM 1 tear-DR-BR.inside

b. ***~iɬ*** *kwey* *peɬ-a:-cho*
1 IMM tear-DR-BR.inside
'I just tore X [e.g. a cloth].'

As was shown in 2.9.5 and 3.9.3, some pronouns are either phonologically cliticized to a preceding element with a final vowel, or they are combined with the dummy element *i* (cf. 2.9.5). This is the case with the proclitics, which consist of a single consonant, and with the enclitics of Set 2, which have an initial consonant cluster. Example (2) shows the vowel-initial form of a Set 2 enclitic after a consonant, and (3) shows the consonant-initial form, which appears after a vowel:

(2) *tijka:ri**m--iy'ɬi***
work--1pl
'We (excl.) work.'

(3) *joro:-kwa**--y'ɬi***
sleep-BDP**--**1pl
'We (excl.) sleep.'

The enclitics of Set 1 have only a consonant-initial form, since they always follow a vowel (cf. 3.9.1):

(4) *kos* *bayɬim**-a=yɬi***
ART.n.a field-LV=1pl
'our field'

The Set 1 enclitic encoding the second person singular is the only non-syllabic enclitic, *=n*:

(5) *kos* *bayɬim-a***=n**
ART.n.a field-LV=2
'your field'

4.1.2. Morphological and semantic properties of SAP referential elements

As can be seen in (6), the free pronouns distinguish five discrete categories of speech-act-participants:

(6) 1st singular *inɬa*
1st plural *iy'ɬi*
1st inclusive *i:de*[59]
2nd singular *ulkwaṅ*
2nd plural *iy'bikweɬ*

In the system of bound pronouns, in contrast, these five persons are not encoded as discrete categories within one single paradigm. This can be seen clearly with the markers of Set 1, which are repeated in Table 7:

Table 7. Bound pronouns of Set 1

	proclitic	internal clitic
1st sg	*(i)ɬ*	–
1st incl	*(i)ɬ*	*=n*
1st excl	*(i)ɬ*	*=y'ɬi*
2nd sg	–	*=n*
2nd pl	–	*=nkweɬ*

It can be seen that the first person has a special status in this paradigm. All persons in which the first person is involved are encoded by the proclitic *(i)ɬ*: first person singular, first person plural ("me and others"), and first person inclusive ("me and you"). The non-first persons, in contrast, are specified by the enclitic markers. Especially the marking of the first person inclusive is significant, because it consists of the combination of the first-person proclitic marker and the enclitic marker of the second person. It is because of this pattern that I do not analyse the first person singular as a zero enclitic, but as not belonging to the enclitic paradigm at all.

When compared to the other non-first persons (including third persons, cf. 4.2 below), the second person of Set 1 also has a special morphological status. First of all, as was mentioned

[59] The first person inclusive not only includes first and second person singular, i.e. 'me and you (sg)', but can refer to more persons, e.g. 'us and you (pl.)'.

above, it is the only non-syllabic enclitic (=*n*). Second, the bound pronoun is not phonologically similar to the free pronoun. In the other persons, there is a relation between the bound and the free pronouns: =*y'ɬi* '1pl' is similar to the free pronoun *iy'ɬi*; =*nkweɬ* '2pl' contains part of the corresponding pronoun *iy'bikweɬ*; and, as will be shown in 4.2 below, there is also a clear morphological relation between the free and bound pronouns encoding third persons. No such resemblance can be seen between the second person singular enclitic =*n* and the corresponding free pronoun *ulkwaǹ*. Hence, the Set 1 paradigm displays a split between the first and non-first persons, and a second split between the second and all other persons.

A third split involves number marking. The plural SAPs are less grammaticalized than the first and second person singular: the bound pronouns are similar or identical to the corresponding free pronouns. The second person plural form =*nkweɬ* even has a transparent internal structure: it is a combination of the second person singular marker =*n* and the second part of the free pronoun *iy'bikweɬ* 'you (pl.)'.[60]

Thus, in the Set 1 paradigm, the first person is encoded by a proclitic, the second person by the enclitic =*n*, and the bound plural forms simply consist of (part of) a free pronoun that is phonologically cliticized. This can be summed up as follows:

(7) Person marking of Set 1:

First person:	proclitic element	*((i)ɬ)*
Second person:	enclitic element	(=*n*)
Plural:	encliticized pronoun	

In the Set 2 paradigm, shown in Table 8, the split between first and second person is less obvious. Here, only the plural forms are encoded by enclitics, which are almost identical to the free pronouns. The second person is, like the first person, encoded by a proclitic.

Table 8. Bound pronouns of Set 2

	proclitic	external clitic
1st sg	*(i)ǹ*	–
1st incl	*(i)ɬ*	–
1st excl	*(i)ǹ*	*--y'ɬi*
2nd sg	*(i)j*	–
2nd pl	*(i)j*	*--y'bi*

The second-person proclitic marker *(i)j* is sometimes hard to distinguish from the first-person inclusive maker of Set 2 and the first-person marker of Set 1, both *(i)ɬ*. This is because these markers can be phonetically similar under certain circumstances. First of all, the identity of the consonant of the second-person marker *(i)j* is not entirely clear: it is sometimes pronounced as [s], so that it is possible that its pronunciation as [h] may be the result of

[60] The ending *-kweɬ* is a plural marker in the imperative form: *us-ki* 'go away!', *us-ki-kweɬ* 'go away (pl.)!' (cf. 8.6).

aspiration (cf. 2.6). Since the phoneme /ɬ/of the proclitic marker *(i)ɬ* is often realized as [h] as well (cf. ibid.), the first person singular of Set 1 is often encoded practically in the same way as the second person singular of Set 2: both are realized as [h]. Consider the pronunciation of the first-person marker of Set 1 (ARG_1) in (8) and the second-person marker of Set 2 (the absolutive argument) in (9):

(8) *loy* ***iɬ*** *ken<a:>pa* *us* *Roman*
ITN 1 inform<DR> ART.m Roman
[lɔj ʔi**h** kɛ'na:pa ...]
'I'll tell Roman.' {EA, Cbba 146}

(9) *jayna* *rey* ***ij*** *das-a:-mo*
DSC again 2intr mow-DR-TRC.bush
[... i**h** ɗa'sa:mɔ]
'Then again you mow.' {EA, Chaco II 040}

Normally, however, no ambiguities arise from this homophony, since there are very few verbs which can be either monovalent or bivalent. The verb in (8) is bivalent, so that the pronoun can only be interpreted as the first person ARG_1, and the verb in (9) is monovalent (due to argument incorporation, cf. 7.7 and 9.1), so that the bound pronoun pronounced as /h/ can only be a marker of second person.

Another problem is that the first person singular of Set 1 and the first person inclusive of Set 2 are marked identically, by the proclitic *(i)ɬ*. Since the absolutive argument (Set 2) is not obligatorily expressed (cf. 7.2), a transitive clause with a first person singular ARG_1 and an intransitive clause with the first person inclusive absolutive argument have the same structure:

(10) ***iɬ*** *tikoy-na*
1 kill-DR
'I kill X.'

(11) ***iɬ*** *joy-cheɬ*
1 go-R/R
'We left.'

All persons being quite clearly distinguished, how can it be explained that these two persons are encoded by homophonous pronouns? The reason can perhaps be found when the encoding of the absolutive argument (ARG_2) in transitive clauses is taken into account. As is shown in 7.4 and 7.5, neither the first nor the second person singular pronoun can be encoded as ARG_2. Therefore, when ARG_1 represents the first person and ARG_2 the second person, the second person is not overtly encoded at all, but implied. This is illustrated in (12):

(12) *loy* ***iɬ*** *sal-na*
ITN 1 search-DR
'I will look for you.'
(other possible reading, depending on the context: 'I will look for it/her/him/them.')

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that when the verb is bivalent and the context is appropriate, a bivalent predicate with the first person as ARG_1 has by default the second person singular as ARG_2. This means that, in a sense, the proclitic marker *(i)ɬ*, if not disambiguated by an enclitic, by default encompasses both the first and the second person. Therefore, with regard to a monovalent verb (cf. (11)), there is only one possible interpretation when this pronoun appears. This is the inclusive reading: "I do X with you".

Thus, the distinction between the categories of speech-act participants in the system of bound pronouns is not very clear-cut. When two homophonous markers belong to different paradigms, as in the case of *(i)ɬ* described above, it is the valency of the verb which determines which person is involved. When they belong to the same paradigm, as is the case with the intransitive second-person singular marker *(i)j* and the intransitive inclusive marker when pronounced as [h], disambiguation can only be provided by the context.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that only the enclitics of Set 1 are grammatically obligatory, whereas the proclitics and the enclitics of Set 2 are not. More details on this are found in 6.2 and 7.2.

4.2. Free and bound personal pronouns of third person

The pronominal paradigm of third persons is given in Table 9.

Table 9. Free and bound personal pronouns of third person[61]

	presential		absential	
	free	bound (enclitic)	free	bound (enclitic)
masc.sg	*u'ko*	*u', u*	*usko*	*us*
fem.sg	*i'ne*	*(i)'ne*	*isne*	*(i)sne*
ntr.sg	*a'ko*	*a', a*	*asko*	*as*
plural	*i'ko*	*i', i*	*isko*	*is*

As the table shows, there are, in contrast to the marking of SAPs described above, no proclitic markers of third person. Neither is there a morphological distinction between the encoding of ARG_1 and of the absolutive argument, the difference being indicated by external versus internal cliticization (cf. 3.9 and 7.2). However, certain features of the third-person referent are morphologically encoded by these pronouns, such as gender, number, and presence or absence (cf. 4.7 and 4.8 below).

In the third person paradigm, the morphological similarity between the free and the bound pronouns can be seen clearly. The only morphological difference is the element *-ko*, which marks the free pronouns (except the feminine form). The free pronouns are generally used for topicalization or focus (cf. 7.3):

[61] Note that when the bound pronouns occur in the obviative form, they are preceded by *k-* (cf. 7.5.2).

(13) *ban* ***i'ne*** *kwey* *jampa,* *kas* *inɬa-ni:-wa* *kwey* *jampa,*
but PRO.f FOC do_like NEG PRO.1sg-PRC-NMZ FOC do_like
bo ***i'ne***
REAS PRO.f
'But she is the one who did it, it wasn't me, it was her.' {EA, La nuera 002}

The bound personal pronouns are attached to a content word either by external or by internal cliticization (cf. 3.9). Example (14) shows internal cliticization of a bound pronoun to a noun, (15) shows internal cliticization of a bound pronoun encoding ARG_1 to a bivalent predicate, and example (16) shows external cliticization of a bound pronoun encoding the absolutive argument of a monovalent predicate.

(14) *as* *bayɬim-a****=is***
ART.n field-LV=pl.a
'their field'

(15) *iń-na****=is*** *is* *sinkwenta-waki:ya*
gather-DR=pl.a ART.pl fifty-calf
'They gathered fifty calves.' {GB, Ganado 041}

(16) *ilo:ni****--is***
walk--pl.a
'They walk.'

In Table 9 above, two alternative forms are given for the presential bound pronouns: one with a final glottal stop and one without a glottal stop. Since the glottal stop is present in the presential free pronouns (e.g. *u'ko* 'he'), I take this to be the underlying form. The presence of the glottal stop in the bound pronoun depends on the final phoneme of the host: when the host ends in a vowel, the glottal stop is omitted (cf. 2.3.3). This can be seen in (17) (internal cliticization) and (18) (external cliticization):

(17) *joy-a-ɬ****e=u***
go-DR-CO=m
'He (present) takes X with him.'

(18) *ilo:n****i--u***
walk--m
'He (present) walks.'

When the bound pronoun is attached to a consonant, which is possible with external cliticization (cf. 3.9.3), the glottal stop is retained:

(19) *jo'ya**j--u'***
arrive--m
'He (present) arrived.'

4.3. The demonstratives

The demonstrative paradigm is more complex than the other paradigms of referential elements. An overview is given in Table 10:[62]

Table 10. The demonstratives

			masc.	fem.	ntr.	plural
SAP-oriented	close to speaker		*u:(ru)*	*i:(ni)*	*ay(ru)*	*i:(ri)*
	close to hearer		*kul(ru)*	*kil(ni)*	*kal(ru)*	*kil(ri)*
positional	standing on ground	(prox.)	*kure'*	*kine'*	*kore'*	*kire'*
		(dist.)	*kulre'*	*kilne'*	*kolre'*	*kilre'*
	non-standing on ground	(prox.)	*kude:*	*kinede:*	*kode:*	*kide:*
		(dist.)	*kulde:*	*kilnede:*	*kolde:*	*kilde:*
	elevated	(prox.)	*kuwa*	*kiniwa*	*kowa*	*kiwa*
	(elev. dist. or otherwise perceived)		*kulwa*	*kilniwa*	*kolwa*	*kilwa*
	temporary possession	(prox.)	*kupa*	*kinipa*	*kopa*	*kipa*
		(dist.)	*kulpa*	*kilnipa*	*kolpa*	*kilpa*
	moving towards speaker		*kula'wa*	*kila'niwa*	*kola'wa*	*kila'wa*
	moving away from speaker		*kulro'*	*kilno'*	*kolro'*	*kilro'*
absential	non-past		*kuro'*	*kino'*	*koro'*	*kiro'*
	past		*uso'*	*isno'*	*oso'*	*iso'*

A demonstrative can function as a pronoun ("demonstrative pronoun"), as a predicate ("demonstrative predicate"), or as a determiner within a noun phrase ("demonstrative determiner"). The first two functions are described in Ch. 7 (7.3.3 and 7.9.4, respectively); the latter function is illustrated in section 4.4 below. The pragmatic categories encoded by the demonstratives are described in detail in section 4.9.

[62] A similar paradigm containing many of these forms is given in Judy & Judy (1967).

4.4. The article and the noun phrase

A noun phrase, which always constitutes an argument of a clause (cf. Ch. 7), consists of minimally a content word and a determining referential element. The determining referential element is typically an article, but it can also be a demonstrative combined with the determining morpheme. I will first describe the article and give then examples of determining demonstratives.

The forms of the article are listed in Table 11.

Table 11. The article

	presential	absential	"past"
masc. sg	*us*	*kus*	*us, (usos)*
fem. sg	*i'nes*	*kinos*	*isnos*
ntr. sg	*as*	*kos*	*os*
plural	*is*	*kis*	*is, (isos)*

The function of the article, aside from identifying a constituent as a noun phrase, is to refer to the concept or entity denoted by the content word of the noun phrase. The content word can be a noun or a verb (cf. 7.10). Example (20) shows a noun phrase (underlined) containing a common noun, (21) a noun phrase containing a proper noun, and (22) shows the case of a noun phrase containing a verb.

(20) *ji:yi* ***kus*** *tami:ba*
cry.MD ART.m.a baby
'The baby cried.' {EA, Desvelada 004}

(21) *jiram-poj-kay* ***as*** *Kochawamba*
pretty-CAU-INV ART.n Cochabamba
'I like Cochabamba.' {EA, Cbba 251}

(22) *ona-ra:-na* ***kos*** *yey-na=sne*
know-BE.ntr-DR ART.n.a want-DR=f.a
'I know what she wants.' {HR 13, 063}

The referent of a noun phrase containing a verb is determined by the voice marker of the verb. In (22), the direct bivalent voice marker *-na* on the verb indicates that the entity referred to by the article is the undergoer of a two-participant event. A more detailed account of this phenomenon is found in 7.10 and 8.2.

The content word in a noun phrase can be modified by a relative clause (cf. 7.11):

(23) ***kus*** *tami:ba* *di'* *majniwa='nes* *ya:ni:kay*
ART.m.a baby REL child_of=ART.f nephew,niece
'the baby who is my niece's son' {EA, Desvelada 005}

In the same way in which the proclitic markers that encode speech-act-participants are syntactic proclitics to the predicate or noun they modify (cf. 4.1), the article is a syntactic proclitic to the content word with which it forms a noun phrase. Between the article and this word, only particles can occur (cf. Ch. 12), as illustrated by (24) and (25):

(24) *is* *nu:<na~>n-a=is* ***choń*** *wa:ka* *di'* *tikoy-na=us*
ART.pl bone<INAL~>-LV=ART.pl HAB cow REL kill-DR=ART.m
nono'
grandparent
'... [which were] always the bones of the cows which my grandfather slaughtered.'
{EA, Dichiyeye 006}

(25) *naya'* *kos* ***nokowa*** ***jayłe*** ***di'*** ***dis*** *wa:ka-wandi*
where ART.n.a right_now then HYP OPT cow-INSTR:BE.house
'And where will the ranch be then?' {GB, Ganado 049}

Some forms of the article are similar, or even identical, to the absential bound pronouns (cf. Table 9 above). However, there is an important phonological difference: the final /s/ of the article is often realized as [h] (cf. 2.6):

(26) *as* *pa:ko* [as pa:kɔ] ~ [ah 'pa:kɔ] 'the/a dog' (ART.n dog)

On bound pronouns, in contrast, this aspiration never occurs. Compare the pronunciation of the article *as* in (27)a with that of the homophonous bound pronoun *as* in (27)b:

(27) a. *łaḿ-na=**as*** *pa:ko*
bite-DR=ART.n dog
[łapʔ͡ᵐ'naʔ**ah**pa:kɔ]
'The/a dog bites X.'

b. *łaḿ-na=**as***
bite-DR=n
[łapʔ͡ᵐ'naʔ**as**]
'It bites X.'

The choice of the two variants of the article is speaker-dependent: some speakers consistently use the aspirated variant, others use most of the time the variant with the final [s], and many use both variants interchangeably. With speakers who always use the aspirated variant, the [s]-final variant appears when the following word begins with a sibilant (/tʃ/ or /s/):

(28) *is* *chinała* [ʔis tʃi'naɬa] '(the) manioc' (ART.pl manioc)

It seems that older speakers mainly use the [s]-final forms. The [s]-final forms as given in Table 11 above are the ones used by Judy & Judy (1967) and were also chosen by the speakers as the standard spelling. They can be seen as underlying, firstly because a final /h/ is

never realized as [s], and secondly because the aspiration seems to be a common phenomenon in the local variety of Spanish as well. However, it is important to keep in mind that the possibility of aspiration is a phonological criterion for distinguishing articles from bound pronouns.

I will now turn to the internal morphological structure of the article. All article forms can be analysed as composed of a syllabic element which specifies semantic and pragmatic features of the referent, and the final element *s*, which has the function of introducing a noun phrase. This analysis is supported by the fact that both elements can occur separately and in combination with other morphemes. The final element *s* can be cliticized to a proximate or positional demonstrative (cf. 4.3 and 4.9.1 below). In this way, the demonstrative acquires a determiner function. Example (29) illustrates the determining function of a speaker-oriented proximate demonstrative:

(29) *ayru=**s*** *as-wa:nas* *neyru,* *kas* *yey-a-waj-wa*
DM.spk.n=DET sit-ABSTR here NEG want-DR-BE.place-NMZ
'This house here, I don't like it.' {EA, Mi casa 003}

Examples (30)–(31) show positional demonstratives as determining referential elements:

(30) *dol-ra* *kode:=**s*** *ro:ya* *n-is* *mo'incho:-buń*
full-BE.ntr DM.nst.n=DET house obl-ART.pl *chivé*-BR.mass
'That house was full of [vessels containing] *chivé* mass.' {EA, Tomina' 067}

(31) *bo* *to**ɬ*** *rey* *kas* *yey~yey-wa* *kinede:=**s*** *kwe:ya*
REAS very again NEG INV~like-NMZ DM.nst.f=DET woman
'... because that woman doesn't like me at all.' {EA, Asilo 090}

Example (32) shows that the demonstrative is an element of the noun phrase, since it encodes the possessor and is attached to the possessed noun by internal cliticization (cf. 3.9.1):

(32) *u'ko* *ulcha**ɬ**-a=**kine'e=s*** *kwe:ya*[63]
PRO.m in_law-LV=DM.f.std=DET woman
'He is the son-in-law of that (standing) woman.' {EA, Neighbours 011}

The absential and the past demonstratives (cf. 4.9.3) do not occur as determiners. They can only function as pronouns or as predicates (cf. 7.3.3 and 7.9.4).

Thus, the final *=s* of the article occurs on other referential elements, converting them into determiners. The first element of the article, in turn, can be combined with the first-person marker *ɬ*, rather than with *=s*, in possessive noun phrases (cf. 4.1):

(33) *a=**ɬ*** *pa:ko*
n=1 dog
'my dog'

[63] In demonstratives that end in a glottal stop, the clitic is attached to the release vowel that follows the glottal stop; cf. 2.3.2, 3.9.3.

The forms of the article presented in Table 11 can, therefore, be split up into two elements. However, the element *aɬ* in (33) still functions as a determiner, even though it lacks the determining morpheme /s/. Possibly, the final /ɬ/ is a conflation of the determiner /s/ and the first-person marker /ɬ/. A solution cannot be proposed here. Therefore, I will not represent the article as consisting of two morphemes: the contexts in which its elements can occur separately from each other are very restricted, and there are cases in which a morphemic analysis is not appropriate, as in (33). Here, the article will be represented as a single form, *aɬ*.

A particle which is formally very similar to the article is the main-clause negative particle *kas*. It looks like the presential neuter article preceded by a *k-*, and it is obligatorily combined with a nominal form, i.e., an action nominal (cf. (34)). Moreover, the first-person marker also replaces the final *s* of this word, in the same way as shown for the article in (33) (cf. (34)b):

(34) a. ***kas*** *joy-wa=n*
NEG go-NMZ=n
'You don't go.'

b. ***kaɬ*** *joy-wa=n*
NEG.1 go-NMZ=2
'We (incl.) don't go.'

The negative particle is described in 12.5.1.

It is crucial to note that the Movima article is neutral with respect to definiteness. When a visible entity is referred to, definiteness is implied by a demonstrative, as in (29)–(32) above. When the referent is absent, definiteness is expressed by the demonstrative adverb *ney* 'here' (from *n-ay* 'obl-DM.spk.n', cf. 4.6) directly after the article, as in (35) and (36):

(35) *inɬa* *ona-di:-na* *kos* ***ney*** *ro:ya,* *ona-waj-na*
PRO.1sg know-BE.house-DR ART.n here house know-BE.place-DR
'I know that house, I know where it is.'

(36) *kus* ***ney*** *don Juan Wali:ma, usko do:koy, dokoy-la:kwa*
ART.m.a here mr Juan Hualima PRO.m.a good good-TRC.man
'This mister Juan Hualima, he is good, he is a good man.' {EA, Dokoylakwa 001}

The same holds for referents which have ceased to exist, as in (37) and (38):

(37) *asko rey jeya=os* ***ney*** *no:no di' pako,*
PRO.n.a again state_of=ART.n.p here pet REL dog
pa:ku'u os no:no
intelligent ART.n.p pet
'That's what my pet dog was like, my pet (dog) was intelligent.' {JM, Perro I 011}

(38) *jiram-poj-kay is* ***ney*** *mońloto*
pretty-CAU-INV ART.pl here earring
'I liked those earrings.'

Referents that are present in the speech situation cannot be marked as definite in this way. This is demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of (39)b, as opposed to (39)a:

(39) a. *jiram-poj-kay* ***os*** ***ney*** *yiṅ-ri:sa*
pretty-CAU-INV ART.n.p here coagulate-hair
'I liked that hairslide (that I used to have).'

b. **jiram-poj-kay* ***as*** ***ney*** *yiṅ-ri:sa*
pretty-CAU-INV ART.n here coagulate-hair
'I like this hairslide (that I'm wearing).' {EA 13, 255b}

4.5. Towards a morphological analysis of the third-person referential elements

When all third-person referential elements are taken together, some morphological patterns can be recognized, even though they are not fully transparent. In this section, I will just point out some morphologically transparent features. Table 12 below gives an overview of the morphological segmentation of the elements, whose separate morphemes, however, cannot always be semantically identified in a straightforward manner. Elements which only appear in certain phonological environments (like *i-* in the feminine form) or which are clearly additional markers (like *-l-* in the distal forms) are given in brackets.

Table 12. Morphological structure of the third-person referential elements[64]

marker	morphemes	masc.	fem.	ntr.	pl.
DM.spk	R (+ ʔ)	u:(-ru)	i:ni	ay(-ru)	i:(-ri)
BP	R+prs	u-ʔ	(i)<ʔ>ne	a-ʔ	i-ʔ
BP.a	R+abs	u-s	(i)<s>ne	a-s	i-s
ART	R+DET	u=s	i<ʔ>ne=s	a=s	i=s
ART.p	R+pst+DET	u-so=s	i<s>n-o=s	o=s	i-so=s
DM.p	R+pst+DM	u-so-ʔ	i<s>n-o-ʔ	o-so-ʔ	i-so-ʔ
PRO	R+prs+PRO marker	u-ʔ-ko	i<ʔ>ne	a-ʔ-ko	i-ʔ-ko
PRO.a	R+abs+PRO marker	u-s-ko	i<s>ne	a-s-ko	i-s-ko
ART.a	abs2+R+DET	k-u=s	k-in-o=s	k-o=s	k-i=s
DM.addr	abs2+R+dst(+?)	k-u-l(-ru)	k-i<l>ni	k-a-l(-ru)	k-i-l(-ri)
DM.a	abs2+R+?+DM	k-u-ro-ʔ	k-in-o-ʔ	k-o-ro-ʔ	k-i-ro-ʔ
DM.po	abs2+R(+dst) +TRC.hand	k-u(-l)-pa	k-i(<l>)ni-pa	k-o(-l)-pa	k-i(-l)-pa
DM.std	abs2+R(+dist.)+std	k-u(-l)-reʔ	k-i(<l>)n-eʔ	k-o(-l)-reʔ	k-i(-l)-reʔ
DM.nst	abs2+R(+dist.)+'lie'	k-u(-l)-de:	k-i(<l>)ne-de:	k-o(-l)-de:	k-i(-l)-de:
DM.el	abs2+R(+dist.)-el?	k-u(-l)-wa	k-i(<l>)ni-wa	k-o(-l)-wa	k-i(-l)-wa
DM.appr	abs2+R+dist.+NEG.N?+?	k-u-l-a'-wa	k-i<l-a'>ni-wa	k-o-l-a'-wa	k-i-l-a'-wa
DM.rtr	abs2+R+dist.+?+DM	k-u-l-ro-ʔ	k-i<l>n-o-ʔ	k-o-l-ro-ʔ	k-i-l-ro-ʔ

[64] Special abbreviations used in Table 12: R=root; BP=bound pronoun; abs=absential; pst=past; dst=distal

The easiest marker to distinguish morphologically is that of gender (cf. 4.7.1). All referential elements are specified for gender by an element which does not occur in the other markers: masculine is indicated by the presence of /u/, feminine by a sequence /i/+/n/+/i/, neuter by either /a/, /o/, or /aj/, and plural by /i/. These elements can be considered the roots of the referential elements, firstly because they appear in all of them and secondly because the simplest markers consist of only these elements. These are the short forms of the speaker-oriented demonstratives:

(40) *u:* DM.spk.m
i:ni DM.spk.f
ay DM.spk.n
i: DM.spk.pl

Another marker which is distinguished relatively easily is the element *-l-*, which is infixed or directly suffixed to the root. This element seems to indicate distance from the speaker. It appears in the addressee-oriented demonstrative and in all distal demonstratives, and furthermore in the demonstratives that indicate movement.

The phoneme /k/ in initial position of all these forms can be analysed as a distal marker, too.[65] Apart from the forms containing *-l-* just mentioned, it also appears in the proximate forms of the positional demonstratives and in the absential article. Since it appears in the proximate demonstratives, it seems to indicate a different type of distance from the speaker than is indicated by *-l-*.

Other clearly identifiable segments are the final element *-ko*, which marks free pronouns, and the final segments of most demonstratives: the element *-ru* ~ *-ri* in the long forms of the proximate demonstratives apparently mark proximity to one of the speech-act participants; the element *-(r)e'* indicates standing position; the element *-de:* indicates nonstanding position; and the element *-pa* indicates temporary possession.[66]

For most of the remaining elements, it seems that no unifying account can be given. For example, the final *s* in the article indicates the determining function of the marker (cf. 4.4 above), but in the pronominal system, *s* indicates absence. The positional demonstratives that encode movement (DM.appr and DM.rtr) are especially troubling: the 'approaching' forms are phonologically similar to the 'elevated distal' forms, with the difference that they contain an element *-a'*, homophonous with the irrealis infix *<a'>* (cf. 3.6, 7.15.1, 10.4). I do not see a relation in meaning here. The 'retreating' demonstrative is, apart from the element *-l-*, similar to the absential demonstrative, and I cannot think of a straightforward relation here, either. Therefore, for the time being I conclude that while historically complex, it is best to consider the referential elements as monomorphemic expressions.

[65] Possibly, the initial *k-* which marks obviative bound personal pronouns (cf. 7.6) is related to this element.
[66] These are the only segments which can directly be related to other morphemes: *-de:* to the verb root: *de:-* 'lie' and *-pa* to the segment *-pa* in *cho:pa* 'hand'. This element appears in many words encoding activity or manipulation, such as *jampa* 'do', and is homophonous with the agent nominalizer *-pa*.

4.6. Oblique marking and demonstrative adverbs

Referential elements are important devices for indicating the transitivity of a clause. As will be described in detail in Ch. 7., an intransitive clause can only contain one core argument, and a transitive clause contains maximally two. All other arguments in a clause are marked as oblique by the prefix *n-*.[67]

The prefix *n-* can be attached to the article of an NP (cf. (41)), free pronouns (cf. (42)), demonstratives (cf. (43)), and even to bound pronouns (cf. (44)):

(41) *iṅ* *joy-cheɬ* ***n-as*** *Tirinra*
1intr go-R/R obl-ART.n Trinidad
'I went to Trinidad.' {HR, TX 045}

(42) *jayɬe* *sutu:k-a--is* ***n-i'ko***
then angry-SNS--pl.a obl-PRO.pl
'They are angry with them.' {EA, Barredoras 007}

(43) *am-a-poj-a=is* ***no-kode:***
enter-DR-CAU-LV=pl.a obl-DM.n.nst
'They put it in there.' {EA, Motacu 011}

(44) *che* *o'o:wa* *is* *ja:<vu:~>buṅ* *di'* *joy* *choy* *kay~kay* ***n-i'***
and audible ART.pl fly<MD~> REL SPC certainly MD~eat obl-pl
'And you could hear the flying [vampires], which probably ate them [the mangos].'
{EA, Wo'ray 002}

On neuter demonstratives and pronouns, oblique marking can create a demonstrative adverb (cf. Diessel 1999). When a demonstrative is marked in this way, it encodes spatial or temporal categories. Its meaning (cf. 4.9 below) can then be broadened, and some forms are clearly lexicalized. The following are examples of demonstratives used for spatial deixis, with the adverbs in bold print (cf. also (43) above).

(45) *n-os* *joy-wa=y'ɬi* *n-as* *ki'laj* ***na-kal*** *n-as*
obl-ART.n.p go-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n far obl-DM.ad.n obl-ART.n
Lapas
La_Paz
'... when we went far away, over there to La Paz.' {GC Marcha 046}

(46) *jo'mi* *rey* *piyesta:-ti'* *rey* ***no-kode:***
recently again *fiesta*-VBZ again obl-DM.nst.n
'Only then did they have the *fiesta* there.' {GC, Marcha 115}

[67] In this terminology, oblique arguments do not belong to the core of the clause.

(47) *jayłe* *iṅ* *pawa:-na* *os* *mo:to* ***no-kolde:***
after_that 1intr hear-DR ART.n.p motorbike obl-DM.nst.d.n
'Then I heard a motorbike over there.' {EA, Visita 023}

When combined with the oblique marker, the speaker-oriented neuter demonstrative changes phonetically: [aj] turns into [ɛj].[68] I consider this oblique-marked form a monomorphemic element.

(48) *jayna* *kaw-tino:na'* *as* *loy* *jiwa-wa=is* ***ney,***
DSC much-year ART.n NEG.SUB come-NMZ=pl here
ney *Santa'a:na,* ***ney****=s* *lo:los*
here Santa_Ana here=DET village
'It has been for many years now that they don't come here, here to Santa Ana, to this village.' {EA, Lonely 004}

The morpheme *ney* has an additional function, which it does not share with the other demonstratives: it marks definiteness on absential or past noun phrases. In this function, it occurs between the article and the lexical element of the noun phrase (cf. 4.4).

Some demonstrative adverbs are clearly lexicalized. This is especially the case with the adverbs *nokowa* 'right now' (based on *kowa*, which indicates elevation) and *nokopa* 'like this' (based on *kopa*, which indicates temporary possession or control; cf. 4.9.2):

(49) *jayna* ***nokopa*** *os* *pa:ko*
DSC like_this ART.n.p dog
'So the dog was like this.' {EA, Tigre y perro 017}

(50) *jayna* ***nokowa*** *chi:~chi* *as* *tami:ba,* *jankwa=sne,*
DSC right_now MD~go_out ART.n baby say=f.a
'Now the baby is coming out, she said.' {JM, Loro 035}

The most frequent distance-encoding demonstrative adverb, *nosde:* 'there', is synchronically unanalysable. Possibly, this form can be analysed as consisting of the oblique marker, the non-existence neuter article *os*, and the verb root *de:-* 'lie':

(51) *n-os-de:*
obl-ART.n.p-lie
'over there'

However, since the meaning of the separate parts is not transparent, I consider this form as simplex from a synchronic perspective.

[68] The relationship between [aj] and [ɛj], and even [ɛ:], can be observed elsewhere, too. For example, the verb root *de:-* 'lie' appears as *day-* when a bound nominal element is attached to it. The demonstrative adverb *no-kode:* is by some speakers realized as *nokodeye*. It can be assumed that a vocalic change has taken place here: [aj] --> [ɛj] --> [ɛ:].

The oblique-marked free pronouns are used as temporal adverbs. Absential pronouns indicate past tense and presential pronouns indicate non-past tense (cf. 4.8 and 4.10 below), as shown by (52) and (53), respectively:

(52) ***n-asko*** *rey dichi<ye:~>ye tochi'*
obl-PRO.n.a again child<NMZ ~> small
'That was when I was a little child.' {EA, Abuelo 011}

(53) *n-as tawa'-ni, jankwa=sne,* ***n-a'ko*** *ji<wa~>wa=sne*
obl-ART.n next_day-PRC say=f.a obl-PRO come<MD~>=f.a
'Tomorrow, she said, it is that she will come.' {EA, Llamada hija 008}

4.7. Semantic categories encoded by the third-person referential elements

As could already be seen from the above tables, all third-person referential elements encode gender, number, and different aspects of the relative location of the referent. To illustrate the formal distinction of gender and number, Table 13 represents the gender/number forms of the presential article, of the absential pronouns, and of the absential demonstratives.

Table 13. The gender/number forms of the presential article, absential bound and free pronouns, and absential demonstratives

	presential article	absential bound pronoun	absential free pronoun	absential demonstrative
masc. sg	*us*	*us*	*usko*	*kuro'*
fem. sg	*(i)'nes*	*(i)sne*	*isne*	*kino'*
ntr. sg	*as*	*as*	*asko*	*koro'*
plural	*is*	*is*	*isko*	*kiro'*

The table shows that singular forms are differentiated for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), while there is only one form expressing plural. The categories are encoded by specific morphemes, which were already mentioned in 4.5 above:

masculine singular: /u/
feminine singular: /i/ and /n/
neuter singular: /a/ or /o/
plural/mass: /i/

In 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 I describe the categories gender and number, respectively, with regard to all these markers, including demonstratives. In 4.8, I describe the pragmatic categories encoded by the personal pronouns and the article, leaving the description of the demonstratives for 4.9 below.

4.7.1. Gender

Gender encoding is semantically based, depending on the animacy and sex of the referent. Human referents are distinguished for gender (cf. (54)a and b). All non-human referents, both concrete and abstract, are classed as neuter, also when they are animate and their sex is known. This is illustrated by (54)c and d:

(54) a. human, masculine

us *itilakwa*	'the/a man'
us *oveniwankwa*	'the/a young man'
us *David*	'David (proper name)'

b. human, feminine

i'nes *kweya*	'the/a woman'
i'nes *tolkosya*	'the/a girl, young woman'
i'nes *Marivel*	'Marivel (proper name)'

c. non-human concrete

as *ko'o*	'the/a tree'
as *wa:ka*	'the/a cow'
as *to:ro*	'the/a bull'

d. abstract

as *ite'niwa:nas*	'(the) life'
as *sasalwa*	'my searching something'
as *je'e*	'my state of being'

A personified animal, for example a pet, can also be assigned gender, provided it is referred to by its proper name. Thus, (55)a is possible, while the combination of a referential element specified for gender with a noun denoting a non-human entity, as in (55)b, has not been found.

(55) a. *i'nes Mari:ka* 'Marica' [name of a parrot]
b. ?*i'nes awaro* 'the/a (female) parrot'

Many nouns denoting humans, like those listed in (54)a and b, designate a particular gender of the referent due to their meaning. Others, however, including most kinship terms, are neutral with respect to gender. The following are examples of this:[69]

(56)

a:na	'younger sibling'
a:kay	'older sibling'
nono'	'grandmother/father'
majni	'son, daughter'

[69] The kinship terms *ma'a* 'my mother', *pa'a* 'my father', *ya:ya'* 'my uncle', and *ay'ku* 'my aunt' are gender-specific.

ona:cho	‘grandchild’
alra	‘friend’
alwaj	‘spouse’
dichi:ye	‘child’
bito’	‘old person’

With these nouns, the sex of the referent is indicated only by the corresponding referential element. This is shown in (57):

(57) a. ***i’nes*** *dichi:ye*
ART.f child
‘the/a girl’

b. ***us*** *dichi:ye*
ART.m child
‘the/a boy’

The neuter referential element can also be used with a noun denoting a human being, thereby usually marking non-specific reference and indicating that the identity of the referent is not relevant to the speaker. This is illustrated by (58) and (59):

(58) *a’ko kwesta jayłe senyo:ra, n-as dum<a>ye-wa=n*
PRO.n hard then madam obl-ART.n find<DR>-NMZ=2
kos *ney tolkosya*
ART.n.abs here girl
‘It’s really hard then, madam, to find this (kind of) girl.’ {EA, Tolkosya II 015}

(59) *pacho̷ł-na=i* ***kos*** *so:te di’ di:ran tochi’ tijka:rim*
focus_on-DR=pl ART.n.a other_person REL still little work
‘They pick out somebody who at least works a bit.’ {HR, TX 381}

Note that in (58), the noun *tolkosya* is combined with the neuter article even though it indicates a feminine referent by itself.

When referring to a specific person, a neuter referential element has a derogatory connotation, as in the following examples:

(60) *jana’pa as vel~vel-wa=n* ***kos*** *kwe:ya*
not_want ART.n INV~look_at-NMZ=2 ART.n.a woman
‘I don’t want that woman to watch us.’ {JM 17, 215}

(61) *jayna* ***asko*** *ji<wa:~>wa ney*
DSC PRO.n.a come<MD~> here
‘Then that [guy] came here.’ {BA, TX 027}

4.7.2. Number

The referential elements specified for gender always indicate a singular entity (see Table 13). The plural form is used with more than one countable referent:

(62) *is itila:kwa* '(the) men'
is kwe:ya '(the) women'
is me:sa '(the) tables'
is mońlo:to '(the) (pair of) earrings'

The plural article cannot be used with action nouns (cf. 11.1). This indicates that the article does not serve as an indicator of any kind of verbal number (such as number of participants or of events; this is done by the verbal affix *-ka*, cf. 10.2).

Apart from nouns denoting countable objects, plural marking is also used with nouns denoting non-countable objects (mass nouns). Examples of mass nouns include:

(63) *to:mi* 'water'
nonlo 'milk'
lo:kwa 'soup'
kokako:la 'Coke'
o:ro 'gold'
alumi:niyo 'aluminium'
lawa:jes 'medicine'
kwajta' 'maize'
kape:vas 'coffee powder'
divemba 'starch'
chinała 'manioc'

In (64)–(66), it is shown that mass entities are referred to by plural referential elements:

(64) *jaysoń* ***nonlo*** ***kis*** *lo~lo-a=**is***
be_like milk ART.pl.a RED~BR.juice-LV=pl
'Its juice [of the manioc] seems to be milk.' {EA, Uso yuca 005}

(65) ***alumi:niyo***, ***isko*** *jayna pola:-ra*
aluminium PRO.pl DSC new-BE.ntr
'Aluminium, that is something new.' {HR, TX 270}

(66) *duk-a:-di* *n-**is*** ***aro:so***
grind-DR-BR.grain obl-ART.pl rice
'I'll grind (the) rice.' {BA, TX 085}

The class of entities conceived of as mass seems to include only palpable and manipulable masses. Other unbounded entities are referred to as singular:

(67) ***as*** *bujru* ‘(the) smoke’
as *łakaḿba* ‘(the) ground’
as *beńra* ‘(the) sky’
as *beń‘i* ‘(the) grassland’

With some mass entities, number marking by the referential element can indicate whether the entity is manipulable or non-manipulable. A case where speakers readily identify a meaning difference created by the use of a plural as opposed to a singular referential element is that of *ko’o* ‘tree; firewood’. The plural referential element indicates that the noun phrase refers either to several trees or to firewood. The singular article, however, can only be used when reference is made to a tree, not to (a piece of) firewood.

(68) a. ***is*** *ko’o* ‘(the) trees; (the) firewood.’
b. ***as*** *ko’o* ‘the/a tree; *(the) firewood’

The following example illustrates another case in which the difference between manipulability and non-manipulability of an entity is indicated by number marking. Example (69)a illustrates the case of a non-manipulable entity (land), and (69)b illustrates the case in which the same noun refers to a manipulable entity (earth, soil):

(69) a. *jiram-poj-kay* ***kos*** ***łakaḿba***
pretty-CAU-INV ART.n.a earth
‘I like the piece of land.’ {EA, Vivienda 020}

b. *dalim-ni* *ja’,* *o:be* ***is*** ***łakaḿba***
tasteless-PRC just like ART.pl earth
‘It’s just tasteless, like earth.’ {EA, Dial.EA&AH 075}

Here, as in (68) above, the noun referring to the non-manipulable entity can be combined with a plural referential element, too. In this case, the entity is conceived as countable, and reference is made to several instances of the entity (‘several pieces of land’ and ‘trees’, respectively.)

The difference in manipulability is also regularly encoded with respect to water: water as a manipulable entity, e.g. the water used for washing or bathing, is referred to as plural (cf. (70)), whereas water as a non-manipulable entity, e.g. in a lagoon, is usually referred to as singular (cf. (71)).[70]

(70) ***is*** ***to:mi*** *di’* *paluy-ni* *di’* *łaḿ-wa-m-mi*
ART.pl water REL cold-PRC REL bathe-NMZ-LN-TRC.water
‘the water, which was cold, which was my bathing water’ {EA, Pierna 039}

[70] The fact that there are two different bound roots denoting water, *-mi* for water as a manipulable (as in (70)) and *-loł* for water as a non-manipulable entity (cf. (71); cf. also 9.2), supports the idea that these different concepts are linguistically differentiated in Movima.

(71) *jara'-loɬ-kay* *usko* *n-**os*** ***to:mi***
throw-BR.water -INV PRO.m.a obl-ART.n.p water
'He threw me in the water.' {EA, Aros 032}

The difference between manipulable and non-manipulable is gradual. When the mass is located in a container, so that it can be perceived as manipulable, it can easily be referred to by the plural form, even though it is the Ground in a motion event.[71] This leads to two apparently equivalent encoding possibilities, as shown by (72)a and b. In contrast, when the term *to:mi* 'water' is used to refer to a larger pond, lake, etc., plural marking is not accepted, as shown by (73)a and b.

(72) a. *tat-a-pa-n-ɬe* *as* *kachi:ra* *n-**as*** ***to:mi***
fall-DR-TRC.hand-LN-CO ART.n knife obl-ART.n water
~ b. … *n-**is*** ***to:mi***
obl-ART.pl water
'I let the knife drop in the water [in the bucket].' {JM 18, 307b}

(73) a. *koro'o* *ɬ* *tat-a:-loɬ* *kos* *kachi:ra* *n-**as*** ***to:mi***
DM.n.a 1 fall-DR-BR.water ART.n.a knife obl-ART.n water
b. *...*n-**is*** ***to:mi***
obl-ART.pl water
'I let the knife drop in the water [of the lagoon, e.g. when cutting reed].'
{JM 18, 307c}

As usual, there are some counter-examples. Especially when reference is made to manipulable water, and the plural article would be expected, it is sometimes encoded as singular.[72]

(74) *to:mi,* ***a'ko*** *sota'-ra* *di'* *yey-na,* ***as*** ***to:mi***
water PRO.n one-BE.ntr REL want-DR ART.n water
'Water, that's the only thing I want (to drink), water.' {EA, Antojos I 016}

A third type of entity encoded as plural, besides plural countable entities and masses, are rolled-up or folded long objects without an internal structure, such as ropes, threads, cables etc. (but not snakes). When rolled up or folded, an entity of this type is usually referred to as plural, as in the following two examples:

[71] My use of the term 'Ground' is based on Talmy (1985: 61): the 'Ground' in a motion event is the reference object with respect to which another object, the 'Figure', moves or is located.

[72] Possibly, number marking in Movima is partly influenced by Spanish (also in the case of the irregularities encountered with the noun *to:mi* 'water'), especially since the stucture of the Spanish noun phrase is similar. This would explain why there is variation in the cases where Movima categorization of nominal concepts is different from that in Spanish (mass nouns are combined with a singular article in Spanish).

(75) *sul-ka-<ba:~>ba* ***is*** ***kab<le~>le****-a=n*[73]
entangle-MLT-<MD~>BR.round ART.pl cable<INAL~>-LV=2
'Your cable is all entangled.' {EA 8, 085}

(76) *pil-ba:-neɬ* ***is*** ***sam-sam-di*** *n-as* *champa*
round-BR.round-APPL ART.pl RED~twist-BE.long_thin obl-ART.n stone
'The rope is rolled up on the stone.' {EA, ph 015}

When not rolled up or folded, these objects can be referred to as singular, as in the following example:

(77) ***as*** ***bujdi*** *baḿ-pa:-neɬ* *n-as* *champa*
ART.n thread put-TRC.stone-APPL obl-ART.n stone
'The thread is put (straight) on the stone.' {GC, ph 003}

However, both singular and plural marking are possible when reference to a long object is made. In the description of a photo, one speaker referred to a rope hanging in several folds as singular (cf. (78)), while another speaker referred to it as plural (cf. (79)):

(78) ***as*** ***sam~sam-di*** ***kowa*** *ol-piń* *n-is*
ART.n RED~twist-BE.long_thin DM.el.n hang-BE.half obl-ART.pl
tolej-a=as *ko'*
BR.branch-LV=ART.n tree
'The rope is hanging from the branches of the tree.' {EA, ph 033}

(79) ***kiwa*** *do'-cho* ***is*** ***so:ga*** *n-as* *tolej-a=as*
DM.el.pl put_on-BR.inside ART.pl rope obl-ART.n BR.branch-LV=ART.n
ko'
tree
'The rope is hanging from the branch of the tree.' {ER, ph 033}

Finally, there are some other nouns which are frequently combined with the plural article, and where this seems to be a lexical property of the noun. For example, nouns based on the bound root *eɬ* 'BR.name' usually cooccur with a plural referential element. This may be because a person usually has more than one name (in lowland Bolivia, a first name and two surnames), as shown in (80):

(80) *jema'* *nati:vo* ***is*** ***e:ɬ****-a='ne,* *Marivel* *Amblo* *Choli:ma*
also native ART.pl BR.name-LV=f Marivel Amblo Cholima
'Her names are native, too: Marivel Amblo Cholima.' {EA, Tolkosya II 010}

[73] Note that the phrase *is kab<le~>le-a=n* 'your cables', uttered spontaneously, is strange in two respects: firstly, the noun is marked as inalienably possessed (cf. 6.4.1), even though there is no inalienable possessive relation (unless the speaker is talking to the machine). Secondly, the linking vowel is attached to a base-final vowel, while normally, it only occurs after a consonant (cf. 3.9.1).

However, even when only one name is referred to, as in the following example, the noun is also marked as plural:

(81) *tomo:re* ***is*** ***e:ɬ****-a=is* *ney* *wu'tu*
tomore ART.pl BR.name-LV=ART.pl here pot
'*Tomore* was the name of those pots.' {HR, TX 265}

Another noun which is usually combined with a plural referential element is *to:wa* 'path':[74]

(82) *man-towaneɬ--iy'ɬi* *n-**is*** ***to:wa***
(shoot)-path:LN:APPL--1pl obl-ART.pl path
'We went onto the path.' {DM, Dawjes 025}

Like the noun *to:mi* 'water', however, *to:wa* 'path' can also be found with the singular article. There is no apparent semantic difference. The following example is from the same text as the previous one, and the described situation is the same.

(83) *jayna* *ń* *chi:~chi--y'ɬi* *rey* *n-**os*** *jayna* ***to:wa***
then 1intr MD~go_out--1pl again obl-ART.n.p DSC path
'Then we went out, when we were looking for the path, onto the path again.'
{DM, Dawjes 014}

The following example shows how another speaker corrects herself by replacing the singular with the plural article. This shows that there is not only variation, but that there can also be some doubt on the part of the speakers which of the forms is correct.

(84) *jayɬe* *jayna* *yoń-cheɬ--is* ***n-os*** ***–*** ***n-is*** ***to:wa***
then DSC turn_back-R/R--pl.a obl-ART.n.p obl-ART.pl path
'So then they turned back on the (sg.), the (pl.) path.' {EA, Ay'ku I 021}

To sum up, plural marking is used to encode

- two or more countable items
- manipulable masses
- rolled-up or folded long objects

Additionally, some nouns are usually combined with the plural article, such as nouns based on the root *eɬ* 'BR.name' and the noun *to:wa* 'path'.

[74] Note that other nouns encoding similar objects are not automatically marked as plural, e.g. *as chora:da* 'the/a road', *as wala:cho* 'the/a stream', etc.

4.8. Pragmatic categories encoded by the third-person referential elements

In addition to the semantic categories described in the previous section, all third person referential elements indicate the accessibility of the referent as perceived by the speaker, both on the spatial and on the temporal level.[75]

I will first describe the spatial categories encoded by the article and the pronouns (cf. 4.8.1), then the temporal categories encoded by the article (cf. 4.8.2). Another effect of accessibility marking, the encoding of evidentiality, is briefly presented in 4.8.3. The pragmatic categories encoded by the demonstratives will be described separately in 4.9 below, and the interaction between the different types of referential elements with respect to the encoding of pragmatic categories is described at the end of this chapter (Section 4.10.).

4.8.1. Presence and absence

The presential and absential forms of the article and the third-person pronouns (free and bound) are given in Table 14.

Table 14. Presential and absential forms of article and third-person pronouns

	presential		absential	
	article	pronoun	article	pronoun
masc. sg	*us*	*u'ko, u', u*	*kus*	*usko, us*
fem. sg	*i'nes*	*i'ne, 'ne*	*kinos*	*isne, sne*
ntr. sg	*as*	*a'ko, a', a*	*kos*	*asko, as*
plural	*is*	*i'ko, i', i*	*kis*	*isko, is*

The choice of a presential or an absential referential element for concrete referents is conditioned by what the speaker considers his or her personal sphere at the place where the conversation takes place.[76] First of all, entities that are near or belong to the speaker's body, as in (85), are always encoded by a presential form:

(85) *kinos majni da' joro:-kwa n-**as** **di:noj***
ART.f.a my_child DUR.nst sleep-BDP obl-ART.n thigh
'My daughter was sleeping on my lap.' {EA, Sueño 142}

[75] The term "accessibility" is used here in a pretheoretical sense and can be understood more or less as follows. On the spatial level, an entity is accessible when it can be physically reached. On the temporal level, something can be thought of as accessible when it can still be influenced in some way. These notions are naturally vague, and a more fine-grained definition lies outside the scope of this book. See 4.8.4 below for further discussion of the categories indicated by the referential elements.

[76] This automatically includes the "sphere" of the addressee as well, unless the conversation is carried out on the telephone. I have no clear examples of reference made during a phone call, but the expectation would be that referents close to the hearer are encoded as absential by the speaker.

The impression gained during elicitation is that the presential forms of the articles and pronouns are used for referents within calling distance.[77] For example, a person in the same house or compound as the speaker, is referred to by a presential referential element, even though s/he may be invisible or not near the speech situation. This was the case with the following utterance:

(86) *iń bele:ka bo jo'yaj* ***us*** *majni di' as-kwa=as Tirinra*
1intr happy REAS arrive ART.m my_child REL sit-?=ART.n Trinidad
'I'm happy because my son has arrived, the one who lives in Trinidad.'
{EA, Antes de fiesta 002}

In contrast, the absential forms are generally used for referents which are perceived as inaccessible, i.e. in the case of concrete, animate referents, outside calling distance:

(87) *loy iɬ sal-na* ***kinos*** *dichi:ye bo kas kino'-ni:-wa*
ITN 1 search-DR ART.f.a child REAS NEG DM.f.a-PRC-NMZ
'I'll look for the girl because she's not here.' {EA 8, 019h}

(88) ***kus*** *pa' kuro' ite'ni ban kuro' n-as soń-lo:los*
ART.m.a my_father DM.m.a be.alive but DM.m.a obl-ART.n other-village
'My father is alive, but he is in another village.' {HR, TX 185f.}

The following example shows that being in the same village is not sufficient for using the presential referential element: here, the absential referential elements are used even in combination with the demonstrative adverb *ney* 'here'.

(89) ***kinos*** *ma' kino' ite'ni, kino' ney n-as ja' lo:los*
ART.f.a my_mother DM.f.a alive DM.f.a here obl-ART.n just village
'My mother is alive, she is right here in the village.' {HR, TX 189}

The presential forms are always used for what can be labelled "absolute concepts". These include spatial categories which do not need to be specified by context, as in (90)–(92) (and the phrase *n-as soń-lo:los* in (88) above):

(90) *ka'de* ***as*** *Kochawamba,* ***a'ko*** *ona-waj-na*
until ART.n Cochabamba PRO.n know-BE.place-DR
'Just Cochabamba, that (place) I know.' {EA, Cbba 232}

[77] For inanimate referents, however, the presential forms are generally used only when the referent is located in sight of the speaker. Thus, a referent higher in the animacy hierarchy is perceived as present more easily than a referent low on the hierarchy. More detailed research is needed to confirm this.

(91) *kwilka, n-os kaw-tinona' jayna, jo'yaj is*
REM obl-ART.n.p much- year DSC arrive ART.pl
*dirinka n-**as** **Apere-ma:to***
gringa obl-ART.n Apere-Mato
'Long ago, many years ago by now, (some) gringas arrived at the Apere-Matos (river fork).' {EM, Gringas I 001}

(92) *n-**as** beń'i isno' isnos tolkosya*
obl-ART.n grassland DM.f.p ART.f.p girl
'In the country, there was a young woman.' {SY, Serpiente 001}

Non-specific places can be referred to by an absential referential element. The following example shows this difference clearly: *Santa Cruz* is a place name and is therefore referred to by the presential article. *Terminal* 'bus station' denotes a place as well, but the specific reference is only clear from the context. Therefore, here the absential article is used.

(93) *iń joy-cheł n-as kaykajałe:-wa no-**kos** **terminal***
1intr go-R/R obl-ART.n meet:DR:APPL-NMZ obl-ART.n.a bus_station
*n-**as** **Santa** **Kurus***
obl-ART.n Santa Cruz
'And I'll go and meet you at the bus station in Santa Cruz.' {EA, Visita 104}

Institutions, such as the church or the school, are referred to by the presential forms as well. Consider (94) and (95):

(94) *os neychi-mo:-n-eł di' aro:so, asko n-**as***
ART.n.p first-TRC.basket-LN-APPL REL rice PRO.n.abs obl-ART.n
ele:siya
church
'The first basket-full of rice, that was for the church.' {GB, Ganado 100}

(95) *ba:ra is oveniwankwa [...] di' vańka:pa*
all ART.pl young_man REL learn
*nosde: n-**as** kole:jiyo*
there obl-ART.n school
'all the boys [...] who studied over there at the school' {HR, TX 087}

The presential forms are also used for generic reference, as in the following examples.

(96) *inła kas rim-eł-na:-wa **is** nun-'i bo*
PRO.1sg NEG trade-APPL-DR-NMZ ART.pl BR.bone-D REAS
kas inła-ni-wa pa:ko n-as dan-a-nun-wa
NEG PRO.1sg-PRC-NMZ dog obl-ART.n chew-DR-BR.bone-NMZ
'I don't buy bones because I'm not a dog to chew bones.' {EA, Huesos 002}

(97) *kas jampa-ni-wa**=i***
NEG do_like-PRC-NMZ=pl
'They (other people) don't do it that way.' {JM 17, 228}

(98) *n-oł dichi<ye:~>ye toł ma'nes-pa:-na **as** **tadoy-ni***
obl-ART.n.p.1 child<NMZ.N~> very tasty-APPL-DR ART.n sweet-PRC
'When I was a child, oh dear how much I liked sweets.' {EA 13, 254}

Thus, the presential forms are used not just for entities close by, but also for certain entities that are absent from the speech situation. In the following sections, it will furthermore become apparent that the presential forms are also used for certain referents out of existence. Therefore, I regard the presential referential elements as pragmatically unmarked.[78]

4.8.2. Existence and ceased existence[79]

The system of referential elements not only encodes the accessibility of a referent on the spatial, but also on the temporal level: it indicates whether the referent still exists at the time of speaking or whether it has ceased to exist. The marking of existence is used to encode tense in discourse in a way similar to verbal tense marking in other languages. In Movima, the only other means of encoding tense apart from the referential elements is by particles (cf. 12.2). Therefore, I refer to the referential elements that indicate ceased existence as "past".[80]

Existence and ceased existence are most clearly indicated by the article and by the demonstratives, because these morpheme classes have special forms for referents that existed in the past, but do not exist anymore on the day of speaking. In the pronominal system, referents that have ceased to exist are encoded by the absential markers. In the present description of the existence-marking function of referential elements, I will concentrate on the article. A brief description of the past demonstratives will be given in 4.9.3 below, and in 4.10, I describe the interaction between the past forms of the article and the demonstratives and the absential forms of the bound and free pronouns.

In order to understand the categories of existence and ceased existence, it is necessary to know the three basic temporal categories distinguished in Movima:

(99)
past	=	up to and into the previous night
immediate past	=	from the night up to the moment of speaking
non-past	=	from the moment of speaking onwards

The general connection between these categories and the category of existence as marked by the article is as follows: the past article is used for referents which existed up to the previous night; the absential article is used for referents which existed on the same day, but do not exist anymore at the moment of speaking; finally, referents which exist at the moment of speaking or will exist in the future are encoded either by the presential or by the absential article,

[78] Morphologically, however, they do not display a marked-unmarked distinction.
[79] Parts of this and the following sections were published in Haude (2004).
[80] The striking property of the Movima article to indicate "past tense" was also noted by R. Judy (1965).

depending on their location and on their perceived accessibility. For convenience, in Table 15, the forms of the article are repeated from Table 11 above. For the presential and absential articles, the temporal categories they encode are additionally indicated.

Table 15. The article

	presential (non-past)	absential (immediate past)	past
masc. sg	*us*	*kus*	*us, (usos)*
fem. sg	*i'nes*	*kinos*	*isnos*
ntr. sg	*as*	*kos*	*os*
plural	*is*	*kis*	*is, (isos)*

As can be seen, the forms of the presential and the past masculine and plural article (*us* and *is*) are homophonous. Still, this is not ambiguous: when the referent is not present in the speech situation, the use of the non-absential form (i.e., *us* or *is*) automatically implies ceased existence. This is illustrated for the masculine form in the following sentences, which relate long-past situations:

(100) ***us*** *pa:toron-a=y'ɬi […], éɬeɬa=us […], Céspedes, Hernan Céspedes*
ART.m landlord-LV=1pl what=m.a Céspedes Hernan Céspedes
'Our boss, what was his name …. Céspedes, Hernan Céspedes.' {EA, Sueño 006}

(101) *jayna dewaj-na* ***us*** *buka' bito' di' ji<wa:~>wa*
DSC see-DR ART.m DUR.move old_person REL come<MD~>
'Then I saw an old man coming.' {EA, Sueño 081}

Furthermore, the articles *us* 'masculine' and *is* 'plural' can be identified as encoding ceased existence when they cooccur with an absential pronoun (e.g., the bound pronoun *=us* in (100)). This is not possible when the referent is located near the speech situation (cf. 4.10 below).

The marked past forms of the masculine and the plural article, *usos* and *isos*, given in brackets, do not occur very often. In the text corpus, the marked past form of the masculine article was only encountered once in a text by an older speaker. The marked past form of the plural article is more common, but it cannot be applied when the referent has simply ceased to exist: it is only used in contexts relating to events that have taken place at least a generation ago. This is the case in the text from which the following examples are taken:

(102) ***isos*** *wa:ka di' chik<a>ye=is neyru=s beń'i di' lol marka*
ART.pl.p cow REL find<DR>=pl.a here=DET grassland REL without brand
'... because the cattle they found on this land, which had no brand ... '
{GB, Ganado 002}

(103) ***isos*** *ve'e-piń* *di'* *jelra=as* *ele:siya*
ART.pl fire-BE.half REL light=ART.n church
'The candles that illuminated the church ...' {GB, Ganado 007}

In elicitation, speakers try to make it clear that the marked plural past article is used in contexts of remote past only. This is shown by their comments on the following, elicited examples. Example (104)a illustrates the use of the unmarked plural article *is* (here combined with the possessive-marking first-person pronoun). According to the speaker, this implies that the grandparents are already dead. In (104)b, the marked past plural article *isos* is used, and according to the speaker, this implies that the grandparents have been dead for so long that they are hardly remembered.

(104) a. *n-os* *choń* *dichi<ye:~>ye* *choń* *pa'kachoɬ-na* ***iɬ***
obl-ART.n.p HAB child<NMZ.N~> HAB visit-DR ART.pl.1
nono'
grandparent
'When I was a child, I always visited my grandparents.' [i.e., they are dead now]

b. … ***isoɬ*** *nono'*
ART.pl.p.1 grandparent
'… my old grandparents' [i.e., it's long ago, I can't remember them]
{EA13, 240f}

However, even when the condition of remote past is met, the plural past article is not applied consistently. In a text which relates events the knowledge of which has been handed down through several generations, the plural noun phrases usually receive the past article (cf. (105)), and sometimes just the presential article (cf. (106)).

(105) ***isos*** *kasi:ki,* ***isos*** *komisa:riyo* *kay<ka>ɬe-na=is--kis*
ART.pl.p cacique ART.pl.p comissioner give<MLT>-DR=pl.a--pl.a.OBV
n-os *wa:ka-to:da*
obl-ART.p cow-BR.piece
'They gave the meat to the caciques, to the comissioners.' {GB, Ganado 080}

(106) ***is*** *kasi:ki che* ***is*** *komisa:riyo* *kay<a>ɬe=is*
ART.pl cacique and ART.pl comissioner give<DR>=pl.a
'They gave (it) to the caciques and to the comissioners.' {GB, Ganado 082}

Thus, the past form of the masculine article is virtually lost, and the past form of the plural article has a special status. It is used much more rarely than the feminine and neuter past articles, and in contrast to these, its use is not obligatory anywhere. When it occurs, it signals a more distant past.

In the remainder of this section, I will give an overview of the ways in which the temporal categories listed in (99) interact with the application of the article. I will first describe the conditions of past marking and then turn to the marking of immediate past.

4.8.2.1. The marking of ceased vs. ongoing existence with concrete referents

The basic property of the existence-marking functions of the article is to indicate the existence or non-existence of the referent at the time of speaking. This can be seen in the following pair of examples:

(107) a. *la'* *iṅ* *jo'yaj* *n-**as*** *as-na*
ANT 1intr arrive obl-ART.n sit-DR
'Some time ago I arrived at home (where I am now).'

b. *la'* *iṅ* *jo'yaj* *n-**os*** *as-na*
ANT 1intr arrive obl-ART.n.p sit-DR
'Some time ago I arrived at home (which doesn't exist anymore).' {EM 13, 199}

Examples (108)–(110) show that the marking of ceased existence is independent from the temporal context. In (108), the presential pronoun *a'ko* indicates a non-past context; in (109), the non-past context is indicated by the absential demonstrative *koro'* and by the absential article *kos*; in (110), it is indicated by the noun phrase *nas tino:na'*. In all three examples, the function of the past article is to indicate that the referent is not in existence at the time of speaking.

(108) *a'ko* *rey* *ɬała-<kwa~>kwa=**os*** ***do'we***
PRO.n again seam-<INAL~>ABS=ART.n.p clothes
'This is the seam of my (former) dress.' {EA 13,291c}

(109) *joy* *koro'* *kos* *tochi'-toda-n-a=**os*** ***bote:liya***
SPC DM.a.n ART.n.a small-BR.piece-LN-LV=ART.n.p bottle
n-as *bari='ne*
obl-ART.n foot=f
'Probably she has a small piece of a (former) bottle in her foot.' {EA, Summary 024}

(110) *bo* *a:lalas* *n-as* *tino:na'* *iṅ* *to'baycho* *n-**isnos***
REAS every_time obl-ART.n year 1intr remember obl-ART.f.p
nono'
grandparent
'Because every year I remember my late grandmother.' {EA 17, 200b}

In (111), an event is narrated that took place the day before:

(111) *ban i'nes ona:cho way-na='ne* ***os*** ***joɬ-kwa***
but ART.f grandchild take_up-DR=f ART.n.p BR.egg-ABS
'But my granddaughter took the egg.' {EA, Huevo 007}

Here, the past article *os* in *os joɬkwa* 'the egg' indicates that the egg is not in existence anymore, the implication being that the child has eaten it up.[81] In contrast, note that the child, *i'nes ona:cho* 'my granddaughter', is referred to by the presential article, since she is in existence and present at the moment of speaking.

Example (112) illustrates the use of the past article in a future context (indicated by the particle *loy*). The past article in *os no:no* indicates that the referent has ceased to exist at the time of speaking.

(112) *aj<a>lo:maj loy* ***os*** ***no:no*** *di' pa:ko*
narrate<DR> ITN ART.n.p pet REL dog
'I'll tell you about my (former, deceased) pet dog.' {JM Perro I,001}

Likewise, existing entities are generally referred to by a non-past (i.e., presential or absential) referential element even in past-tense contexts (indicated in the following examples by the past article).

(113) *n-****os*** *ayloba-wa=y'ɬi nosde:* *n-****as*** *kole:jiyo*
obl-ART.n.p gather-NMZ=1.pl there obl-ART.n school
'when we gathered over there at the school' {HR, TX 345}

(114) *n-****os*** *to<chi~>chik-a=****'nes*** *majni,*
obl-ART.n.p little<NMZ.N~>-LV=ART.f my_child
*as-na=y'ɬi n-****as*** *Peru*
sit-DR=1.pl obl-ART.n Peru
'When my daughter was little, we lived in El Perú.' {EA, Escape Marivel 001}

(115) *jan n-****os*** *rimeɬ-na-na='ne* ***kide:***
CSQ obl-ART.n.p buy-DR-NMZ.CSQ=f DM.nst.pl
'That's why she has bought those [shoes].' {EA, Basket 012}

Here, the presential or absential form is applied according to the criteria described in 4.8.1 above. This means that in principle, neither absolute concepts (such as those encoded by *kole:jiyo* in (113) or *Peru* in (114)), nor referents which are present at the speech situation (such as the speaker's daughter in (114) and (115) or the shoes in (115)), can be referred to by a past article, even in past-tense contexts.

Note that the basic condition for the application of the past article is that the referent must have ceased to exist, as in (108)–(112) above. Entities which have simply lost their function or identity (of the type that can be referred to in English by the prefix *ex-*), are not automatically referred to by the past article in Movima, but according to their physical

[81] This was confirmed by other speakers when asked about this sentence.

presence or absence with respect to the speech situation. This is shown in (116)– (118). The loss of function or identity can be indicated by the lexical aspect of the verb, as in (116), by a past-tense particle, such as *kwil* in (117)a, or by the general context, as in (118).

(116) *bay<a>cho=us* ***as*** ***wa:so***
break<DR>=m.a ART.n glass
'He (absent) has broken the (present) glass.' {EA 6, 162b}

(117) a. *a'ko* *ɬ* *samna:-na* *n-aɬ* ***kwil*** *joro:-na*
PRO.n 1 weave-DR obl-ART.n.1 REM sleep-DR
'That is the place where I weave, where my bedroom used to be.'[82]

b. **nokode:* *n-**os*** *joro:-na*
over_there obl-ART.n.p sleep-DR
[the place is still there!] {JM 17, 206}

(118) ***kinos*** *senyo:ra* *jala:yij* *n-os* *kayni-wa=sne*
ART.f.a madam angry obl-ART.n.p die-NMZ=f.a
'That woman was angry when she died.'
[She died the day before, but is being carried to the cemetery at the time of speaking]
{JM 17, 201}

While it was shown above that the basic criterion for the application of the past article is ceased existence of the referent, there are many cases in which this form of the article is used even though the referent is still in existence at the time of speaking. For example, the car referred to by the past article in (119) still existed somewhere at the actual time of the utterance:

(119) *jayna* *lista* *da'* *n-os* *joyaj-wa=**os*** ***awto*** *jayna*
DSC ready DUR.nst obl-ART.n.p arrive-NMZ=ART.n.p car DSC
'She was ready when the car arrived.' {EA, Asilo 062}

The possibility of variation in the encoding of ceased or ongoing existence depends, on the one hand, on properties of the referent, and on the other hand on the speaker's priorities for tense marking in discourse. The more time-stable the referent and the more relevant it is to the speaker, the less it can be referred to by the past article. Since "absolute" concepts (cf. 4.8 above) are highly time-stable, they are usually not referred to by the past article; examples are the phrases *as kole:jiyo* in (113) and *n-as Peru* in (114) above. Similarly, a human referent is less easily referred to by the past article than a non-human referent. The article is chosen according to the actual existence of the referent, independent of the contextual tense.

The following examples, taken from a text that relates events of about 20 years before, show this clearly. In (120), the speaker's daughter, who is near the speech situation at the moment of speaking, is referred to as present, and in (121) the speaker's husband, not at home

[82] The direct voice marker indicates a location when attached to an inherently monovalent base; cf. 8.1.1, 8.3.2.

at that moment, is referred to as absent. In both examples, the neuter article *os* encodes past existence, since the nouns it is connected with encode less time-stable or less relevant concepts (cf. 4.8.2.2 for tense marking on deverbal nouns).

(120) *sota'-yejcho-kwi* ***'nes*** ***majni,*** *n-**os*** *joy-wa=y'ɬi*
one-moon-? ART.f my_child obl-ART.n.p go-NMZ=1pl
nosde: *n-**os*** *wa:ka-wandi*
there obl-ART.n.p cow-INSTR:BE.house
'My daughter (present) was one month old when we went there to the ranch.'
{EA, Sueño 010}

(121) *jayna* *jisa:-na* ***os*** *kape:-lo,* *ya:lowe-ɬe:-na*
then make-DR ART.n.p coffee-BR.liquid drink-CO-DR
is *tijkarime:ro […]* *che* ***kus*** ***pa:pa=is*** ***majni***
ART.pl worker and ART.m.a father_of=ART.pl my_child
'Then I made coffee, I gave the workers […] and the the father of my children to drink.' {EA, Sueño 024}

To refer to a relevant person with the past article is usually possible only when s/he has been dead for a longer period of time, as in (122):

(122) *n-os* *dichi<ye:~>ye […]* *joy-a-ɬe=sne* ***isnos*** ***nono'***
obl-ART.n.p child<NMZ.N~> go-DR-CO=f.a ART.f.p grandparent
di' *ma:ma=sne* *n-os* *as-na=sne*
REL mother_of=f.a obl-ART.n.p sit-DR=f.a
'When I was a child, my grandmother, who was her [my aunt's] mother, took her to her house.' {EA, Ay'ku I 004}

In this way, when "relevant" referents are concerned, the article is chosen according to the existence of the referent.

When the referent is not relevant to the speaker at the time of speaking, in contrast, the article is generally chosen according to the contextual tense. In (121) above, for example, it can be observed that the noun phrase *is tijkarime:ro* 'the workers' contains the unmarked past article. Despite being homophonous with the presential article, is automatically interpreted as past tense, since the referents are not near the speech situation. It is not known whether the referents are still alive at the time of speaking or not: this is simply irrelevant.

With concrete inanimate referents, whose existence at the time of speaking is generally not relevant, the article is also regularly chosen according to the contextual tense. An example of this was given in (119). The following are more examples in which the article (in bold-face) does not necessarily indicate that the referent has ceased to exist:

(123) *kayɬe-ń* *n-as* *sawi:pa,* *jankwa=us [...]*
give-IMP.INV obl-ART.n machete say=m.a
kwaj-na ***os*** ***sawi:pa***
hand_over-DR ART.n.p machete
'Give me the machete, he said. [...] I handed him the machete.'
{EG, Sicurí 056, 058}

(124) *n-os* *imay-ni* *chi:~chi--y'ɬi* *n-os* *vayeɬ-wa=y'ɬi*
obl-ART.n.p night-PRC MD~go_out--1pl obl-ART.n.p look_at.AGT-NMZ=1pl
n-os ***lo:los***
obl-ART.n.p village
'At night, we went out to have a look around the village.'
{EA, Escape Marivel 027f.}

(125) *kaw-poy* ***is*** ***pa:ko*** *di'* *pa:ko=y'ɬi, che*
much-BR.animal ART.pl dog REL dog=1pl and
ilo:ni--y'ɬi *n-****os*** ***chaḿmo****, che* *man<a>ye=****is*** ***pa:ko*** ***os*** ***rulrul***
walk--1pl obl-n.p forest and find<DR>=ART.pl dog ART.n.p jaguar
'We had many dogs. And we walked in the forest, and the dogs found a jaguar.'
{EA, Tigre y perro 001,002}

In cases like these, the article is the main marker of past tense in discourse. This is best seen in (125) above, which is the beginning of a text. Here, there is no tense particle, so that only the past-tense articles indicate past tense in discourse.

Occasionally, the purpose of encoding discourse tense by the article can go so far that even entities which are in existence, relevant, or present at the speech situation, are referred to by the past article in a past-tense context. In (126), the speaker is referring to his parents, who are still alive at the time of speaking; in (127), the NP *nos asna* 'my home' is marked for past tense, even though the speaker is right there; and in (128), the speaker uses the past-tense article to refer to her own body.

(126) *n-asko* *ela-na=us* *pa'* *isnos* *ma'*
obl-PRO.n.a leave-DR=ART.m my_father ART.f.p my_mother
'At that (time) my father left my mother.' [both absent, but alive] {HR 199}

(127) *ji<wa:~>wa--y'ɬi* *n-****os*** ***as-na****=y'ɬi* *jayna*
come<MD~>--1pl obl-ART.n.p sit-DR=1pl DSC
'We came home already [where we are now].' {EA, Lagartija 007}

(128) *jayna* *n-os* *imay-ni* *jayna* *tivij-ni* ***os*** ***chodo:wi***
DSC obl-ART.n.p night-PRC DSC pain-PRC ART.n.p stomach
'Then at night, my stomach hurt.' {GC Bacho 007}

This shows that speakers can use the device of encoding the non-existence of a referent for discourse purposes. Since in cases like these, the existence of the referents is clear from the

(linguistic or extralinguistic) context, this does not lead to ambiguities.

Thus, while past reference marking is primarily conditioned by the non-existence of the referent at the time of speaking, it can be used to encode discourse tense. More examples of this function of the article will be given in the following subsection.

4.8.2.2. Past vs. non-past marking of temporal and action nominals

The clearest cases of non-time-stable "referents" are times and events. Since they have usually ceased to exist in a past-tense context, they are always referred to by the past-tense article in past-tense discourse. Time categories are usually referred to by noun phrases in Movima, and in negative or subordinate clauses, events are encoded by noun phrases as well (cf. 7.12). The high frequency of these NPs makes the article, primarily an indicator of ceased or ongoing existence of the referent, the main tense marker in Movima.

Examples of past marking of action nominals could be seen in (113)–(115) above. Example (129) shows that the internal temporal structure of an event does not influence the choice of the article. Here, the context indicates that the event of 'holding' is progressive; still, it is combined with the past-tense article, since the entire event takes place in the past.

(129) *che n-**os** jayna **e~'ew-wa=as** os pa:ko,*
and obl-ART.n.p DSC DR~hold-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p dog
jayna jeya=as ney, vol-ye os rulrul
DSC state_of=n.a here turn-BE.person ART.n.p jaguar
'And while it was holding the dog, it [the jaguar] was like this, the jaguar turned around.' {EA, Tigre y perro 014}

The following examples illustrate that presential marking of action nominals indicates non-past tense. It is used for present (cf. (130)), future (cf. (131)), and habitual (cf. (132)) events:

(130) *jayna tojeł po:la **as** **salmo-wa**=nkweł*
DSC very late ART.n return-NMZ=2pl
'You (pl) are coming back very late.' [lit.: "Your returning is very late."]
{EA, Llega Estel 002}

(131) *jayna kas ten<a>panłe:-wa **as** **vat<a>pa:-wa***
then NEG be_able<DR>-NMZ ART.n teach<DR>-NMZ
'[During the *fiesta*] I won't be able to teach you.'
[lit.: "I won't be able of my teaching (you)."] {EA, Programa 006}

(132) *jampa inła choń n-**as** **kay-wa***
do_like:DR PRO.1sg HAB obl-ART.n eat-NMZ
'I always do that when I eat.' [lit.: "... at my eating."] {EA, Dial. EA&EG 083}

Past marking of a temporal noun is illustrated in (133):

(133) *n-**os*** ***tawa'-ni*** *jayna* *n-asko* *rey*
obl-ART.n.p next_day-PRC DSC obl-ART.n.a again
chi:-wa=os *majni*
go_out-NMZ=ART.n.p my_child
'The next day it was that my [deceased] child came out.' {DM, Fracaso 015}

Non-past marking of a temporal noun in a future and a habitual context is shown by (134) and (135), respectively:[83]

(134) *n-**as*** ***tawa'-ni*** *di:ra* *ji<wa:~>wa* *donya* *Ka:te,*
obl-ART.n next_day-PRC still come<MD~> mrs Kate
ji<wa:~>wa *n-**as*** ***tawa'-ni*** *ulkwań*
come<MD~> obl-ART.n next_day-PRC PRO.2sg
'Tomorrow you'll still come, mrs Kate, you'll come tomorrow.' {Programa 002}

(135) *bo* *ja'* *rey* *kas* *sejaw-łe* *n-**as*** *rey* ***tawa'-ni***
REAS just again NEG feel_good-NMZobl-ART.n again next_day-PRC
'Because that [i.e., drinking different kinds of alcohol] is not good the next day.'
{Dial. EA&AH 156}

I will come back to tense marking on temporal and action nominals when discussing the tense-marking function of the absential article below.

4.8.2.3. Summary: the applicability of the past article

Figure 2 shows the possibility of past reference marking in past-tense discourse according to the time stability, relevance, and location of the referent.

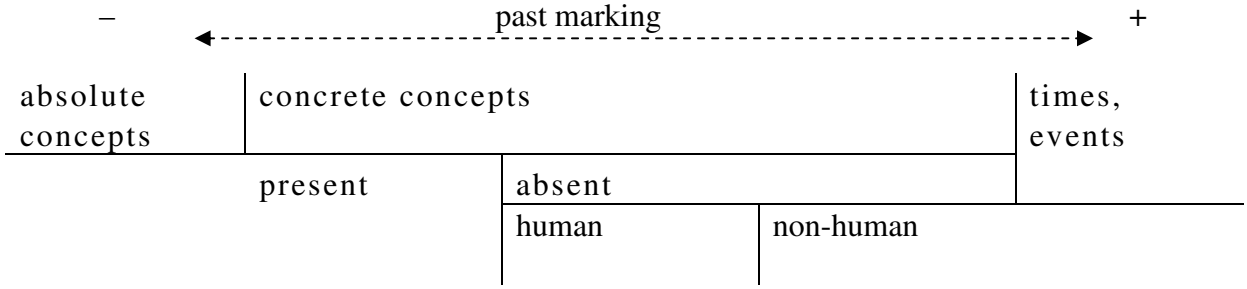

Figure 2. Possible past marking according to the type of referent

[83] The temporal noun is *tawa'-ni* 'next day' in all examples for the sake of presentation. However, the same is true for all other temporal nouns, e.g. *tino:na'* 'year', *imayni* 'night', etc.

4.8.2.4. Immediate past

The absential article also has the potential of indicating a temporal category. This is the case when it refers to times or events, i.e. when it cooccurs with a temporal or action nominal (cf. 4.8.2.2). An absential marker referring to this type of concept indicates that the time or event occurred in the "immediate past", which is the time range from the night before the day of speaking until the moment of speaking (cf. (99)).

Examples (136)a–b illustrate the distinction between past, immediate past, and non-past made by the article when combined with an action nominal (*ji:sana:wa*). The sentences only differ in the form of the article. The speaker's comments are given in square brackets.

(136) a. *jayna iń ba:-lo:maj n-**os** ji:sa-na:-wa aɬ cha'di*
then 1intr finish-BE.time obl-ART.n.p make-DR-NMZ ART.n.1 fence
'I've already finished making my fence.' [long ago]

b. *jayna iń ba:-lomaj no-**kos** ji:sa-na:-wa aɬ cha'di*
then 1intr finish-BE.time obl-ART.n.a make-DR-NMZ ART.n.1 fence
'I just finished making my fence.' [this very moment]

c. *jayna iń ba:-lomaj n-**as** ji:sa-na:-wa aɬ cha'di*
then 1intr finish-BE.time obl-ART.n make-DR-NMZ ART.n.1 fence
'I'll finish making my fence.' [I'm still building it] {EA 13, 250a}

As can be seen from the translation and the comment, the absential article *kos* in (136)b indicates that the event has been concluded, but not as long ago as in (136)a, which contains the past article *os*. In contrast to these two examples, the presential article *as* also clearly implies a temporal category, which is after the moment of speaking (cf. (136)).

The line between the application of the past and the absential article in combination with an action or temporal nominal is quite clear: the past article is used when the time or event referred to occured before the day of speaking, and the absential article is used when it occurred on the same day. This is illustrated by the following excerpts from a text whose time range covers the previous afternoon (cf. (137)) and the day of speaking, including events not long before and after the moment of speaking (cf. (138) and (139), respectively).

(137) Past (previous day):
*jo'yaj--us n-**os** la' walaylo, jayna ɬuvuy-ni*
arrive--m.a obl-ART.p.n ANT afternoon DSC twilight-PRC
***os** joyaj-wa=us*
ART.n.p arrive-NMZ=m.a
'He arrived yesterday afternoon, it was already dusk when he arrived.'
{EA, Alcanzar 003}

(138) Immediate past (earlier on the same day):

che	*no-**kos***	*ima:yoj*	*jayna*	*po'mo--us*	*jayna*
and	obl-ART.n.p	morning	DSC	get_up--m.a	DSC

'And (today) in the morning he got up already.' {EA, Alcanzar 020}

(139) Non-past (later on the same day):

jan	*n-**as***	*loy*	*nokowa*	*ba:lowes-na-na=us*
CSQ	obl-ART.n	NEG.SUB	now	reach-DR-NMZ.CSQ=m.a

'This is why he won't reach [them] now.' {EA, Alcanzar 035}

That the presential article indicates a non-past event with action nominals can be seen when comparing (139) above with (140) below. In (140), the choice of the absential article indicates that the event took place on the same day, but before the moment of speaking.

(140)

jan	*no-kos*	*loy*	*nokowa*	*ba:-lowes-na-na=us*
CSQ	obl-ART.n.a	NEG.SUB	now	finish-BE.time-DR-NMZ.CSQ=m.a

'This is why he hasn't reached [them] now.' {JM 17, 294}

These examples show that the absential article, which indicates physical absence of concrete referents (cf. 4.8.1), indicates a temporal category with nouns encoding times or events.

Alternatively, it could be surmised that there is a connection between the presence or absence of the participant(s) in the event referred to, and the choice of the referential element. However, example (141) below shows that this does not seem to be the case. Even though the actor of the action nominal *onaranawa* 'knowing' is present (as is indicated by the presential bound pronoun *=u*), the noun is combined with the absential article. Likewise, the action nominal *jiwawa* 'coming' receives the presential even though the agent is absent (indicated by the absential bound pronoun *=sne*).

(141)

*yey-na**=u***	***kos***	*ona-ra-na-wa**=u***	*as*	*éɬ-lomaj*
want-DR=m	ART.n.a	know-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ=m	ART.n	what-BE.time
as	*jiwa-wa**=sne***			
ART.n	come-NMZ=f.a			

'He (present) wanted to know when she (absent) will come.' {EA, Llamada 006}

The choice of the articles in this example can only be explained with their tense-marking function. The event of "wanting to know" (the father, who is present, called his daughter on the phone) took place on the day of speaking, therefore the absential article. The event of "coming" takes place in the future, hence the presential article both before the temporal noun *eɬlomaj* 'when' and the action noun *jiwawa=sne* 'her (absent) coming'.

Another point concerning the role of the absential article with action nouns is its behaviour with nominalized verbs of directed motion. Does the absential article perhaps encode spatial location of the actor here, instead of encoding the temporal relation of the event to the moment of speaking? The answer is no, as the following example shows. Here, the agent is the speaker herself and the motion encoded by the verb has led toward the place of speaking.

Still, the article used with the nominalized verb is the absential one, because it indicates immediate past.

(142) *kwey* ***kos*** *joyaj-wa,* *no-kos* *ima:yoj*
IMM ART.n.a arrive-NMZ obl-ART.n.a morning
'I arrived today, in the morning.' {EA, Visita 051}

Thus, when referring to events or times, the absential article has clearly the function of indicating the temporal relation of the time or event with respect to the moment of speaking.

Sometimes the tense-marking function of the absential article can also be discerned when concrete entities are referred to, because it can refer to entities which have ceased to exist before the moment of speaking. Consider the following example:

(143) *jayna* *kiro'* *ka'de* ***kis*** *ka:pe*
DSC DM.a.pl end ART.pl.a coffee
'The coffee is already finished.' {EA 19, 068a}

In (144)a and b, the different forms of the article indicate when the referent has ceased to exist: in (144)a, the absential article can either indicate that the referent (the chicken) is absent or that it has ceased to exist on the day of speaking. For comparison, in (144)b, the past-tense article indicates that the referent has ceased to exist before the day of speaking, as was described in 4.8.2.1. Again, the speaker's comments are given in square brackets.

(144) a. *loy* *iń* *kay~kay* *n-as* *dinoj-a=**kos*** *jo'me*
ITN 1intr MD~eat obl-ART.n thigh-LV=ART.n.a bird
'I'll eat the leg of the chicken.' [when the rest of the chicken is absent, or when the chicken has been eaten up today and only its leg remained] {JM 17, 194d}

b. *loy* *iń* *kay~kay* *n-as* *dinoj-a=**os*** *jo'me*
ITN 1intr MD~eat obl-ART.n thigh-LV=ART.n.p bird
'I'll eat the leg of the chicken.' [the chicken has been eaten yesterday, only its leg remained] {JM 17, 194e}

Occasionally, there are examples which seem to hint at an aspectual instead of a temporal interpretation of the absential referential elements. The following example is taken from a text which describes future events, and the absential article seems to indicate perfectivity:

(145) *pola* *dochi'* *as* *ba:-ra-wa=**kos*** *prosesiyon*
late more ART.n finish-BE.ntr-NMZ=ART.n.a procession
'The procession (on the third day from now) will finish a bit later.'
{EA, Programa 011}

In other places in this text, the noun *prosesyon* receives the presential article, as is expected in future contexts:

(146) *jayna* *iṅ* *joy-cheɬ* *n-**as*** *prosesiyon*
DSC 1.intr go-R/R obl-ART.n procession
'[Tomorrow] I'll go to the procession.' {EA, Programa 006}

Thus, it is possible that in (145), the absential article marks the event as concluded, even though it takes place in the future, whereas the presential article in (146) simply marks it as a future event. However, note that the word *prosesiyon* does not have the formal feature of an action nominal, so that it may fall in a different category.

4.8.3. The absential referential elements as markers of evidentiality

Apart from spatial and temporal categories, the absential referential elements also seem to encode an evidential category. While more detailed research is required here, I will point out some phenomena which suggest this.

First of all, absential referential elements are used with concrete referents whose exact location or existence is not known, even when the referent is believed to be near the speech situation. Consider the following examples:

(147) *koro'* *na-kal* ***kos*** *kucha:ra*
DM.a.n obl-DM.ad.n ART.n.a spoon
'Is the spoon there?' {EA, DEM 089}

(148) *koro'* *joy* ***kos*** *toda-n-kwa* *n-as* *bari='ne, ɬaṅ*
DM.a.n SPC ART.n.a BR.piece-LN-ABS obl-ART.n foot=f EV
'Probably she (present) has a piece (of something) in her foot, don't you think?'
{EA, Dial. 091}

The absential referential elements can also be used to refer to concrete entities not yet in existence at the moment of speaking:

(149) *loy* *iɬ* *ji:sa:-na* ***kiɬ*** *mo'incho*
ITN 1 make-DR ART.pl.a.1 *chivé*
'I'll make my *chivé*.' {EA 12, 197a}

Possibly, the fact that they are used for entities not yet in existence is the reason why the absential referential elements are also used in instructions, as in (150)–(152).

(150) *is-na=n* ***kis*** *di~di-n-kwa*
roast-DR=2 ART.pl.a RED~BR.grain-LV-ABS
'You roast the seeds.' {EA, Lo'im 023}

(151) *ka'de* *as* *ba:-lomaj-wa=n* *no-**kos*** *sota'-ɬim*
until ART.n finish-BE.time-NMZ=2 obl-ART.n.a one-TRC.field
di' *bayɬim-wa:nas*
REL field-ABSTR
'Until you finish one (part of the) field.' {EA, Chaco I 020}

(152) *che* *jayɬe* *jayna* *it-a-ba=n* ***kos*** *ve'e*
and then DSC gather-DR-BR.round=2 ART.n.a fire
'And after that you make a fire.' {LY *chivé* 008}

The connection of absential marking and evidentiality can also be seen with regard to the encoding of abstract concepts. This is only apparent in non-past contexts, since in past-tense contexts, these concepts are automatically referred to by an absential or past article (as shown in the previous sections). Consider the following examples:

(153) *ɬeɬa* ***kos*** *jeya=n*
what ART.n.a state_of=2
'What's the matter with you?' {JM, Perro I 029}

(154) *éɬeɬa* ***kos*** *kemara* *kal=s* *powol*
what ART.n.a what_for DM.ad.n=DET straw_mat
'What is that straw mat for?' {EA 9, 036}

(155) *n-as* *salmo-wa=sne* *joychoy* *rey*
obl-ART.n return-NMZ=f.a probably again
kas *ona-ra-na:-wa* ***kos*** *bis<a:>pa*
NEG know-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ ART.n.a do<DR>
'When she comes back, I don't know what I'll do.' {EA, Vuelta hija 001}

In each of these examples, an abstract concept is referred to: somebody's state of being (cf. (153)), the purpose of an artifact (cf. (154)), and an activity (cf. (155)). The speaker knows that these concepts "exist" or will exist, but does not know their exact identity. Transferred into the spatial domain, this is comparable to the situation when the speaker knows an object to be around, but does not know its exact location (cf. (147) and (148) above).

The examples (156) and (157) below may give a similar impression as (153)–(155) above. Here, however, the absential article appears because the events referred to took place just before the time of speaking. The irrealis mood in these examples, which is reminiscent of the evidential reading described above, is indicated by the counterfactual marker *disoy* in (156) and the verb *kemaye* 'mistakenly take X for something else' in (157).

(156) *disoy* *no-**kos*** *dińkaye-wa=nkweɬ,* *disoy* *di'* *man<a>ye=nkweɬ*
CNTF obl-ART.n.a hurry-NMZ=2pl CNTF HYP meet<DR>=2pl
ney *di:ra*
here still
'If you had hurried, you might perhaps still have met them here.' {EA, Dial. 039}

(157) *kwey iɬ kem<a:>ye* ***kos*** *jo'<me~>me=**kos*** *teḿ-poj-kay*
IMM 1 take_for<DR> ART.n.a bird<NMZ.N~>=ART.n.a scare-CAU-INV
'Just now I thought that it was the chicken that was what scared me.' {EA 13, 242b}

4.8.4. Summary: accessibility marking by the article

As was shown, the referential elements, in particular the article, indicate the location of the referent with respect to both space and time. Two factors play a role here: the physical and temporal presence of the referent, be it concrete or abstract, and its physical and temporal accessibility as perceived by the speaker. With the example of the neuter article, which displays most distinctions since it is combined with concrete as well as abstract nouns, this is schematized in Figure 3:[84]

as	***kos***		***os***
+present	–present	+present	–present
+accessible	+accessible	–accessible	–accessible

Figure 3. The article as a marker of presence and perceived accessibility

The features [+present] and [+accessible], which can only be expressed by the presential article (*as*), apply to entities which are physically present (i.e., in the speaker's surroundings), on the spatial level, and to the time span from the present (the moment of speaking) into the future, on the temporal level. Obviously, Movima categorizes future events as accessible.

The absential article (*kos*) indicates that something is either present or perceived as accessible, but not both. On the spatial level, it can be applied to concepts which are within the surroundings of the speaker, but not accessible (e.g. invisible; cf. (147) and (148)). It can also be applied to concepts which are outside the surroundings of the speaker, but in existence and therefore perceived as accessible (cf. for instance (88)). On the temporal level, the absential article marks the time span on the same day, but before the moment of speaking, as is reflected by its function with temporal and action nouns (cf. 4.8.2.4). Apparently, events that have occurred within this time span are perceived as accessible, even though they do not continue at the present moment.

The category encoded by the past article (*os*), finally, indicates that something is not present and that it is perceived as neither spatially nor temporally accessible. The accessibility feature helps to understand why in Movima, past tense only covers the time span up to the previous evening: what has occurred the day before usually does not affect us as much as what has occurred on the same day, and can therefore be perceived as inaccessible.

[84] The encoding of absolute concepts (cf. 4.8.1) is not provided in this table, since absolute concepts are not subject to deictic criteria.

4.9. Pragmatic properties of the demonstratives

Like the other referential elements, especially the article, the demonstratives categorize the referent with respect to its accessibility in space and time. However, these categories are encoded slightly differently by the demonstratives than by the article. For the presential demonstratives, the referent has to be within reach, looked at or otherwise perceived (heard, smelled, felt) by the speaker. That is to say, it is not enough if the referent is just known to be near the speech situation, as is the case with the other presential referential elements (cf. 4.8.1 above). If these conditions are not met, the absential or past demonstrative is used. Consequently, the absential demonstrative is used even if the referent is near the speech situation, but not in sight. The past demonstrative is different from the past article in that it just indicates that the entity is not located at the same place; this does not necessarily imply that the referent does not exist anymore.

In 4.9.1 and 4.9.2, I describe the presential demonstratives. They form two classes: proximate and positional demonstratives. The proximate demonstratives indicate that the referent is within reach of either the speaker or the addressee, and the positional demonstratives, apart from indicating that the referent is being seen or otherwise perceived, encode certain features of its location and/or position. In section 4.9.3, the absential and past demonstratives are described together. For convenience, the relevant part of the paradigm in Table 10 above is given in each section.[85]

The syntactic distribution of the demonstratives, which, due to is broader than that of the other referential elements (probably due to their broader semantic scope), is described in Chapter 7 (7.3.3, 7.9.4, 7.9.5).

4.9.1. The proximate demonstratives

A first distinction made by the demonstrative system is within small-scale space. It is the distinction between referents prototypically located within reach of the speaker and those prototypically located within reach of the addressee.

Table 16. Proximate demonstratives

	masc.	fem.	ntr.	pl.
close to speaker	*u:(ru)*	*i:ni*	*ay(ru)*	*i:(ri)*
close to addressee	*kul(ru)*	*kilni*	*kal(ru)*	*kil(ri)*

Before turning to the pragmatic distinctions made by these sets of demonstratives, I want to comment briefly on their formal peculiarities. The masculine, neuter and plural forms have a short and a long form, the long form containing the final element *-r*[vowel]. The conditions of application of either of the two forms are not clear. When the speaker-oriented forms appear

[85] For my investigation of the presential demonstratives, I used two elicitation devices from the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Nijmegen): the "Demonstrative Questionnaire" developed by Wilkins (1999) and the "Picture series for positional verbs" developed by Ameka et al. (1999). I tested the system independently with seven speakers.

in determiner function, i.e. with the cliticized determining element (cf. 4.4), usually the long form is used:

(158) *i:ri=s* *kweɬris*
DM.spk.pl=DET *sujo*
'This *sujo* [type of reed].' {EA 6, 119}

The long form is probably used here because the short form together with the determining element (here, *i:=s*) would in some cases be phonologically similar to the presential article (*is* 'ART.pl'). The short form of the speaker-oriented neuter demonstrative, in contrast, is often found in article position, since it is sufficiently distinct from it. Here, it is interchangeable with the long form:

(159) a. ***ay=s*** *do'we* ~ b. ***ayru=s*** *do'we*
DM.spk.n=DET clothes DM.spk.n=DET clothes
'these clothes (I'm wearing)' {EA 7, 084}

Very often, the long and the short form cooccur, in this order. This is a phenomenon which does not occur with any of the other referential elements, and further research is needed to explain it.[86] The following example illustrates it:

(160) *jayna* ***ayru*** ***ay*** *loy-'i*
DSC DM.spk.n DM.spk.n make_ready-D
'This is made ready now.' {EA 7, 037b}

In the case of the feminine forms, which do not have a long and a short variant, the form is simply repeated:

(161) ***kilni*** ***kilni*** *da'* *de:-cheɬ* *n-as* *mo<si~>si=n,*
DM.ad.f DM.ad.f DUR.nst lie-R/R obl-ART.n back<INAL~>=2
kas *dewaj-ná=n--i'ne*
NEG see-DR=2--f
'She is there behind you, don't you see her?' {EA, DEM 031}

The proximate demonstratives are prototypically used to refer to entities that are within reach of either the speaker or the addressee. This includes the body parts of the respective person (cf. (162)), entities in direct contact with the body (in (163), the speaker is holding the object), and entities that are within reach of either speaker or adressee (cf. (161) above and (164) below). In contrast to the other presential demonstratives (cf. 4.9.2 below), the proximate demonstratives do not require that the speaker actually looks at the referent (as shown by (164)).

[86] Possibly, the first element functions as a pronoun and the second as a predicate; cf. 7.9.4.

(162) ***kil*** *su:vuj* *is* *soyła=n,* *bo* *joy*
DM.ad.pl blue ART.pl tooth=2 REAS SPC
ij *kay~kay* *is* *chupe:te* *di'* *su:vuj*
2intr MD~eat ART.pl lollipop REL blue
'Your teeth are blue, surely you have been eating blue lollipops.' {EA, DEM 022}

(163) ***ayru****=s* *kori:di,* *a'ko* *lopa:vos,* ***ayru***
DM.spk.n=DET stick PRO.n manioc_plant DM.spk.n
'This stick, this is a manioc stem, this.' {EA, Yuca 002}

(164) ***ayru*** ***ay*** *n-as* *mo<si:~>si*
DM.spk.n DM.spk.n obl-ART.n lower_back<INAL~>
'It is here behind me.' {EA, DEM 027}

When the referent is within reach of both speaker and addressee (e.g. between them on the table), the speaker-oriented form is used. The situation described in (165) is that of a bottle standing at equal distance from both speaker and addressee:

(165) ***ayru*** ***ay****=s* *bote:liya* *en-cheł* *n-as* *me:sa*
DM.spk.n DM.spk.n=DET bottle stand-R/R obl-ART.n table
'This bottle is standing on the table.' {PM, DEM 025}

In a similar way, when the referent is attached to the addressee's body and the speaker is touching it, the speaker-oriented form is used. This difference is reflected in (166)a and b.

(166) a. *ełeła* ***kalru****=s* *rey* *po~poy-kwa*
what DM.ad.n=DET again RED~BR.animal-ABS
'What animal is that?' [on addressee's shoulder] {EA, DEM 024}

b. *ełeła* ***ayru****=s* *rey* *po~poy-kwa*
what DM.spk.n=DM then RED~BR.animal-ABS
'What animal is this?' [speaker touching animal on addressee's shoulder]
{EA, DEM 024}

Thus, elicitation shows that an entity is typically referred to by a proximate demonstrative when it is within reach of either of the speech act participants. In texts, however, it turns out that especially the speaker-oriented category can be applied in a much broader sense. This is most often the case when people are talked about, as in the following examples:

(167) ***i:ni****=s* *ulchał* *jema'* *jayna* *la'* *iń*
DM.spk.f=DET in_law also DSC ANT 1intr
ba:-ka-wa-n-e:-cheł *n-i'ne*
finish-MLT-NMZ-LN-BE.person-R/R obl-PRO.f
'This daughter-in-law, I have already had discussions with her.' {EA, La nuera 001}

(168) ***i:ni*** *ji<wa:~>wa* *n-as* *dul-na-wa=‘ne* *‘nes* *ma:ma=‘ne*
DM.spk.f come<MD~> obl-ART.n visit-DR-NMZ=f ART.f mother_of=f
‘She [appr. 15 m away] has come to visit her mother.’ {EA, Neighbours 007}

(169) *kuyna:na’* *ja’* ***i:ri=****s* *mo:ra’,* *loy* *iń* *mas-e:ɬe*
play just DM.pl.spk (swearword) ITN 1intr beat-AGT
‘These damned [children] are just playing, I’ll beat [them] up.’ {EA, Dichiyeye 038}

4.9.2. The positional demonstratives

When the referent is out of reach of both the speaker and the addressee, the positional demonstratives are used, presented in Table 17:

Table 17. Movima positional demonstratives

			masc.	fem.	ntr.	plural
Set 1	standing on ground	(prox.)	*kure’*	*kine’*	*kore’*	*kire’*
		(dist.)	*kulre’*	*kilne’*	*kolre’*	*kilre’*
Set 2	not-standing on ground	(prox.)	*kude:*	*kinede:*	*kode:*	*kide:*
		(dist.)	*kulde:*	*kilnede:*	*kolde:*	*kilde:*
Set 3	elevated	(prox.)	*kuwa*	*kiniwa*	*kowa*	*kiwa*
	(elev. dist. or otherwise perceived)		*kulwa*	*kilniwa*	*kolwa*	*kilwa*
Set 4	temporary possession	(prox.)	*kupa*	*kinipa*	*kopa*	*kipa*
		(dist.)	*kulpa*	*kilnipa*	*kolpa*	*kilpa*
Set 5	moving towards speaker		*kula’wa*	*kila’niwa*	*kola’wa*	*kila’wa*
Set 6	moving away from speaker		*kulro’*	*kilno’*	*kolro’*	*kilro’*

The sets of positional demonstratives characterize the referent according to its location and/or position. They can roughly be categorized as follows. Sets 1 and 2 refer to objects located on the ground. Set 3 refers to objects located above the ground (on top of another object or suspended in the air). Set 4 demonstratives refer to objects in temporary possession or under control of a non-speech-act participant. Demonstratives of Set 1 – 4 can be used for stationary as well as for moving referents. Set 5 and 6 indicate both motion and the referent’s orientation relative to the speaker. Apart from the last two sets, there is both a proximal and a distal form of each demonstrative.

Prototypically, the positional demonstratives are used only when the referent is seen or otherwise perceived by the speaker.[87] If this is not the case, an absential demonstrative is used (cf. 4.9.3). The referent does not have to be visible by the addressee. Rather, the positional demonstratives are used to draw the addressee's attention towards the referent:

(170) *ban ena' ń vaye:ɬe bo rey ban-cho os beń'i*
but DUR.std 1intr watch.AGT REAS again bare-BR.inside ART.n.p grassland
*jela, jankwa, ɬań, **kila'wa=s** juyeni.*
come.IMP say EV DM.appr.pl=ART person
[…] vaye:ɬe, chon-lomaj, jankwa='ne.
watch.AGT right-BE.time say=f
di' éɬeɬa=i di' naya' joy-na=i, joy ney jey-na=i nokowa
HYP what=pl HYP where go-DR=pl SPC here far-DR=pl right_now
'But I saw (them) because the countryside was without trees. Come, I said. Look, there are people coming. – You're right, she said. Where may they be going? They must be coming here.' {EA, Cbba 167f.}

In the following subsections, I will describe the way in which the positional demonstratives characterize the referent.

4.9.2.1. On ground: standing vs. non-standing (Set 1 and 2)

When the referent is standing on the ground, it is referred to by a Set 1 demonstrative:

(171) ***kore'*** *en-ɬa:baɬ as bote:liya*
DM.std.n stand-BE.earth ART.n bottle
'The bottle is standing on the ground.' {EA, DEM 045}

When the referent is located on the ground in a non-standing position, it is referred to by a Set 2 demonstrative. This can be a sitting (cf. (172)) or a lying position (cf. (173)):

(172) ***kinede:*** *as-ɬabaɬ*
DM.nst.f sit-BE.earth
'She is sitting on the ground.' {EA, DEM 041a}

(173) ***kode:*** *day-ɬa:baɬ*
DM.nst.n lie-BE.earth
'It is lying on the ground.' {EA, DEM 047}

As can be seen in the examples (171)–(173), the position can be specified by a verb. Not surprisingly, there are restrictions on the positional verbs which can cooccur with a particular demonstrative in a clause (cf. 7.3.3, 7.9.4): the demonstrative cannot cooccur with a verb which encodes a position different from that encoded by the demonstrative. Consider the

[87] In this way, the demonstratives also serve as markers of evidentiality, indicating that the speaker has direct knowledge of the situation.

following examples with demonstratives of Set 1 and Set 2. In the examples, the constructions under a displays the prototypical cooccurrence of the positional demonstrative and a positional verb, while the constructions under b display the illicit cooccurrence.

(174) a. *kore'* *en-cheɬ* b. * *kode:* *en-cheɬ*
DM.std.n stand-R/R DM.nst.n stand-R/R
'It is standing.' {EA, DEM 047}

(175) a. *kode:* *de:-cheɬ* b. * *kore'* *de:-cheɬ*
DM.nst.n lie-R/R DM.std.n lie-R/R
'It is lying.' {EA, DEM 047a}

(176) a. *kode:* *as-cheɬ* b. * *kore'* *as-cheɬ*
DM.nst.n sit-R/R DM.n.std sit-R/R
'It is sitting.' {EA, DEM 043}

The choice between a demonstrative of Set 1 and a demonstrative of Set 2 is determined by two criteria. Firstly, the distinction between vertical and horizontal orientation plays a role. The Set 1 demonstratives are generally applied to entities which have a vertical orientation (cf. (171) above and (177) below).

(177) *as* *enɬe:du'* ***kore'*** *vol-to*
ART.n mortar DM.std.n turn-BE.side?
'The mortar is turned bottom-up.' {GC, DEM 339}

When it has an inherent horizontal orientation, it is referred to by a Set 2 demonstrative:

(178) ***kide:****=s* *sapa:to* *i'ko* *n-ulkwań*
DM.nst.pl=DET shoe PRO.pl obl-PRO.2sg
'Are these shoes yours?' {EA, DEM 059}

Secondly, if the respective entity supports itself on a base, it is referred to by a Set 1 form if it is located on that base; otherwise, the Set 2 form is used. The difference can be seen in (179)a and b, respectively:

(179) a. ***kore'e=s*** *wu'tu* b. ***kode:=****s* *wu'tu*
DM.std.n=DET pot DM.nst.n=DET pot
'that (standing) pot' 'that (lying) pot' [when lying on its side]
{GC, DEM 298}

Especially when the entity stands on its feet, it is referred to by a Set 1 demonstrative. For example, even objects which have an inherent horizontal orientation are referred to by a Set 1 demonstrative when they are standing on their feet:

(180) ***kore'e=ɬ*** *katre* *di'* *de:-na*
DM.std.n=ART.1 bedstead REL lie-DR
'That is my bedstead where I lie down.' {EA, DEM 162}

Likewise, an animal crouching on its feet is referred to by the Set 1 demonstrative (cf. (181)), even though its inherent orientation might be seen as horizontal. In contrast, as is shown in (182), a snake is referred to by the Set 2 demonstrative because it does not move on feet.

(181) ***kore'*** *ilo:ni*
DM.std.n walk
'That (animal) is moving forward.' [also when croaching] {EA, DEM 179}

(182) ***kode:*** *ilo:ni*
DM.nst.n walk
'That (snake) is moving forward.' {EA, DEM 180}

The Set 2 demonstrative is also used when the feet have contact with the ground, but the referent is not supporting itself. This is the case when a person sits on a chair:

(183) ***kinede:*** *as-cheɬ,* *da'a* *dam-na='ne* *i'nes* *majniwa='ne*
DM.nst.f sit-R/R DUR.nst delouse-DR=f ART.f child_of=f
'She is sitting [on a chair] and delousing her daughter.' {EA 9, 020}

Thus, a standing position, as encoded by the demonstratives of Set 1, is defined by verticality and by self-support on a base, ideally feet.

However, a squatting person is referred to as non-standing (cf. (184)a). A Set 1 demonstrative is even unacceptable in this case (cf. (184)b), even though self-support on feet is provided:

(184) a. *kude:* *do'si* *us* *dichi:ye*
DM.nst.m squat ART.m child
'The boy is squatting.'

b.* *kure'* *do'si* *us* *dichi:ye*
DM.std.m squat ART.m child {EA 14, 080}

Here, it seems that the lack of vertical orientation determines the choice of the demonstrative.

Entities which do not have an inherent vertical orientation and no clearly identifiable base are referred to by the Set 2 demonstrative when located on the ground. A ball is a case in point:

(185) ***kode:*** *day-ɬa:baɬ* *as* *pelo:ta*
DM.nst.n lie-BE.earth ART.n ball
'The ball is lying on the ground.'

When reference is made to a mass entity, which does not have an internal orientation, the choice of the demonstrative depends on whether the mass is in a container or not. When spread on the ground, the entity is referred to by the Set 2 demonstrative (cf. (186)). When the entitity is in a container (cf. (187)), the choice of the demonstrative is determined by the position of the container. The following examples illustrate the difference:

(186) ***kide:*** *is* *mo'incho-buń* *il-'i* *n-as* *be~beń-kwa*
DM.nst.pl ART.pl *chivé*-BR.mass spread-D obl-ART.n RED~BR.flat_flex-ABS
'The *chivé* mass is spread on the hide (on the ground).' {GC, DEM 311d}

(187) ***kilre'e***=*s* *to:mi* *en-ɬa:baɬ,* *ban* *kilre'* *kwajles*
DM.std.d.pl=DET water stand-BE.earth but DM.std.d.pl hot
'The water is standing on the ground (in a container), but it is hot.' {EA, DEM 079}

In borderline cases, in which the criteria mentioned above do not clearly apply, there is variation in use of the Set 1 and Set 2 demonstratives. For example, a bottle leaning upside-down inside a basket, is referred to with a Set 1 demonstrative by some speakers (cf. (188)), probably because of its vertical orientation; others use the Set 2 demonstrative (cf. (189)), probably because the bottle does not support itself:

(188) ***kore'*** *n-as* *bovemo:-ba,* *ban* ***kore'*** *poń-res*
DM.std.n obl-ART.n basket-BR.round but DM.std.n ?-BE.bottom
'The bottle is (standing) in the basket, but it is (standing) bottom-up.'
{EA, ph 067}

(189) ***kode:*** *jol-res* *as* *bote:liya* *n-as* *kanasta*
DM.nst.n wrong-BE.bottom ART.n bottle obl-ART.n basket
'The bottle is (lying) bottom-up in the basket.' {ER, ph 067}

Thus, when the referent is located on the ground, its position has to be indicated. The standing position can be seen as marked, since certain criteria have to be fulfilled before the Set 1 demonstrative can be used.

4.9.2.2. On ground vs. elevated (Sets 1, 2 vs. Set 3)

While the demonstratives of Set 1 and Set 2 refer to objects located on the ground, the demonstratives of Set 3 are used when the referent is located not on the ground, but at a higher level. These demonstratives do not indicate the position of the referent. This can be specified by a verb, as in (190)a and b:

(190) a. ***kowa*** *en-cheɬ* *as* *bote:liya* *n-as* *si:ya*
DM.el.n stand-R/R ART.n bottle obl-ART.n chair
'The bottle is standing on the chair.' {EA, DEM 040}

b. ***kowa*** *de:-cheɬ* *as* *bote:liya* *n-as* *si:ya*
DM.el.n lie-R/R ART.n bottle obl-ART.n chair
'The bottle is lying on the chair.' {EA, DEM 040a}

The Set 3 demonstratives are used when the referent is located in such a way that there is no contact with the ground. Ideally, the space between the ground and the referent (or the object on which the referent is placed) can be seen. In (191)a and b, different demonstratives are used according to the fact that in (191)a, the speaker can see the space between the referent and the ground and therefore uses the Set 3 demonstrative, and in (191)b, she looks at the referent from above and cannot see that space, and hence uses the Set 2 demonstrative:

(191) a. ***kowa*** *as* *mi:chi* *n-as* *wanko*
DM.el.n ART.n cat obl-ART.n bench
'The cat is lying on the bench.' [seen from further away] {NG, DEM 227}

b. ***kode:*** *as* *mi:chi* *n-as* *wanko*
DM.nst.n ART.n cat obl-ART.n bench
'The cat is lying on the bench.' [seen from above] {NG, DEM 227a}

An object which is floating or swimming in the water is also referred to by the Set 3 demonstrative, since it is not in contact with the ground:

(192) ***kowa*** *da'* *bań-loɬ* *as* *bote:liya* *n-as* *to:mi*
DM.el.n DUR.nst put-BR.water ART.n bottle obl-ART.n water
'The bottle is floating in the water.' {EA, DEM 127}

(193) ***kowa****=s* *bi:law* *n-is* *to:mi*
DM.el.n=DET fish obl-ART.pl water
'That fish is in the water.' {EA, DEM 122}

In contrast, when the object is on the bottom of the water, it is referred to by a demonstrative of Set 1 or Set 2, as would be expected:

(194) ***kode****:=s* *champa* *n-is* *to:mi*
DM.nst.n=DET stone obl-ART.pl water
'The stone is in the water.' {EA, DEM 123}

When the object on which the referent is located is in contact with or attached to the ground, the speaker can choose between a demonstrative of Set 1 or 2 (cf. (195)a) and a demonstrative of Set 3 (cf. (195)b):

(195) a. *as* *chinaɬa* ***kode:*** *bań-kwanɬe*[88]
ART.n manioc DM.nst.n put-BR.mouth:CO
n-as *bakwa-n-ɬe:-kwa*
obl-ART.n head-LN-CO-ABS
'The manioc root is put (lying) on top of the stump.' {GC ph 023}

b. *as* *chinaɬa* ***kowa*** *bań-kwanɬe*
ART.n manioc DM.nst.n put-BR.mouth:CO
n-as *bakwa-n-ɬe:-kwa*
obl-ART.n head-LN-CO-ABS
'The manioc root is put on top of the stump.' {GC ph 023}

When the referent is located in or on an object which is itself moveable (it can be called "reference object"), the demonstrative is chosen according to the position of this object. This was already illustrated by (186) and (187) above with respect to the encoding of mass entities. The following is an example of a mass entity in a container:

(196) ***kilwa***=*s* *to:mi* *nosde:* *kilwa* *kwajles*
DM.el.d.pl=DET water there DM.el.d.pl hot
'That water [in a pot on a chair] over there is hot.' {EA, DEM 078}

The following example shows that the location of the reference object is relevant also when the referent itself is not visible:

(197) ***kowa***=*s* *bote:liya* *da'* *nokode:* *n-as* *bolso=n*
DM.el.n=DET bottle DUR.nst over_there obl-ART.n bag=2
'The bottle is over there in your bag.' {EA, DEM 133}

Thus, the choice between the Set 1/2 or Set 3 demonstrative depends on the location of the reference object. When the reference object is itself located on the ground, the choice of either the Set 1 or the Set 2 demonstrative depends on the orientation of the referent. This can be seen in the following example:

(198) ***kode:*** *am-choɬ* *as* *bote:liya*
DM.nst.n enter-BR.inside ART.n bottle
n-as *kanasta* *di'* *en-ɬa:baɬ*
obl-ART.n basket REL stand-BE.earth
'The bottle is lying in the basket standing on the ground.' {ER, ph 022}

[88] When forming part of a compound or when incorporated into a verbal base, I do usually not represent the internal structure of complex nouns. The incorporated complex noun *kwanɬe* 'top' in (195)a and b can be split up into *kwa-n-ɬe* (BR.mouth-LN-CO). While it looks similar to the noun *bakwa-n-ɬe:-kwa* 'stump', there is probably no morphological relation. The complex noun *bakwa-n-ɬe:-kwa* 'stump' (literally: "detached head of something"), in turn, may be highly lexicalized; it was not found with any other meaning.

This shows that elevation is generally determined with respect to the ground, not with respect to the moveable object on which the referent may be located.

When a human referent is concerned, this is different. Here, usually the internal orientation of the referent is encoded rather than its location with respect to the ground. This means that a person sitting or standing on a higher level is usually referred to by a Set 1 or Set 2 demonstrative. Examples (199) and (200), respectively, illustrate this.

(199) ***kine'*** *en-cheɬ* *i'nes* *dichi:ye* *n-as* *de:-na*
DM.std.f stand-R/R ART.f child obl-ART lie-DR
'The girl is standing on my bed.' {EA, DEM 115}

(200) ***kinede:*** *de:-cheɬ* *bo* *kas* *mere'* *sejaw-ɬe='ne*
DM.nst.f lie-R/R REAS NEG big recovered-NMZ=f
'She is lying down [on the bed] because she doesn't feel very well.' {EA, DEM 056}

For human referents, a demonstrative of Set 1 or Set 2 can also be used when the referent is standing on an elevated location which is not a typical ground, as in (201):

(201) ***kilne'*** *en-cheɬ* *n-as* *tolej-a=as* *ko'o*
DM.std.d.f stand-R/R obl-ART.n branch-LV=ART.n tree
'The girl is standing on a branch of the tree.' {EA, DEM 115a}

In contrast, the following examples show that when a non-human referent is concerned, a similar situation as the one described in (200) requires encoding by the Set 3 demonstrative, as in (202). The use of the Set 2 demonstrative would be appropriate for a different situation, like the one described in (203), in which direct contact with the ground is provided.

(202) ***kowa*** *de:-cheɬ* *as* *pa:ko* *n-as* *de:-na*
DM.el.n lie-R/R ART.n dog obl-ART.n bed-DR
'The dog is lying on my bed.' [when it is a normal bed] {EA, DEM 043}

(203) ***kode:*** *de:-cheɬ* *as* *pa:ko* *n-as* *de:-na*
DM.nst.n lie-R/R ART.n dog obl-ART.n bed-DR
'The dog is lying on my bed.' [when my bed is on the floor] {EA, DEM 043}

A Set 3 demonstrative can be used, however, for human referents, too. In (204)a, it indicates that the person does not have his feet on the ground, as opposed to the situation described in (204)b:

(204) a. ***kuwa*** *de:-cheɬ* *n-as* *se:le*
DM.el.m lie-R/R obl-ART.n hammock
'He is lying in the hammock.' [with feet in hammock] {GC, DEM 326}

b. ***kude:*** *de:-cheɬ* *n-as* *se:le*
DM.nst.m lie-R/R obl-ART.n hammock
'He is lying in the hammock.' [with feet on the ground] {GC, DEM 326}

Judging from these data, the distinction between the demonstratives of Set 1/2 and 3 is less strict for human referents than for non-human referents, the demonstratives of Set 1 and 2 being more broadly applicable for human referents. An explanation for this can be that for a human referent, the position (standing vs. not-standing) is conceived as more salient or more important than the opposition of their being located on the ground vs. on a higher level.[89]

It has to be pointed out, however, that there is speaker variation with respect to the choice between a demonstrative of Set 1/2 and one of Set 3. This is due to the fact that the forms of Set 1/2 differentiate the inherent position of the referent, while those of Set 3 do not. Some speakers generally prefer to indicate the location of the referent with respect to the ground instead of indicating its inherent position. When referring to a person located on a higher level, these speakers sometimes spontaneously use the Set 3 demonstrative:

(205) ***kiniwa=s*** *dichi:ye* *n-as* *de:-na=n*
DM.el.f=DET child obl-ART lie-DR=2
'The girl is lying on your bed.' {EA, DEM 113}

Other speakers choose the demonstrative according to the inherent position of the referent. These speakers even use a demonstrative of Set 1 or Set 2 spontaneously for an inanimate entity on a higher level, as is illustrated by the following examples:

(206) ***kode:*** *bań-sasa:-neɬ* *bas-to*
DM.nst.n put-TRC.table-APPL ?-BE.side
'It is lying on the table.' {ER, DEM 399}

(207) ***kore'*** *en-cheɬ* *as* *bote:liya* *n-as* *se:le*
DM.std.n stand-R/R ART.n bottle obl-ART.n hammock
'The bottle is standing in the hammock.' {PC, DEM 063}

Apart from the speaker variation with respect to the choice of the demonstrative, the neat categorization system of the positional demonstratives seems to be getting lost. Speakers who are not very fluent anymore avoid these forms. When referring to entities in sight, but out of reach, the absential demonstrative (cf. 4.9.3 below) and the demonstrative adverb *nakal* (cf. 4.6 above) are combined:

[89] Moreover, it seems that with human referents, up to a certain degree the speaker can choose between Set 1/2 and Set 3 demonstratives depending on what s/he wants to emphasize. So for example, one consultant pointed out to me that a baby lying on a table would usually be referred to by *kode:* (Set 2); according to her, however, it is also possible to use *kowa* (Set 3) instead to emphasize that the baby is lying in an unusual place. This may also account for the spontaneous use of the Set 3 demonstrative in (205), since the person is lying not on her own bed, but on somebody else's.

(208) ***koro'*** ***na-kal*** *bań-kwanłe* *n-as* *champa*
DM.a.n obl-DM.ad.n put-BR.mouth:CO obl-ART.n stone
'It is over there on top of the stone.' {DM, ph 003}

For speakers who still make use of the full demonstrative system, this use of the absential demonstrative for an object that one is looking at is absolutely unacceptable.

4.9.2.3. Set 4: temporary possession

The demonstratives of Set 4 refer to entities which are in the temporary possession or under control of a non-speech-act-participant. It can be said, therefore, that these demonstratives indicate the location of the referent not with respect to the ground, but with respect to a person. Consider the following examples:

(209) ***kopa***=*s* *kolcha* *n-u'ko*
DM.po.n=DET blanket obl-PRO.m
'He has the blanket.' [lit.: "That blanket is with him."] {EA, DEM 097}

(210) ***kipa*** *n-i'ne* *is* *dichi:ye*
DM.po.pl obl-PRO.f ART.pl child
'She has the children / the children are with her.' [i.e., at her house] {EA, DEM 094}

As far as the nature of the possible possessor is concerned, it is difficult to find examples where the possessor is not human. In fact, the only one I was able to elicit is the following:

(211) *jayna* ***kipa***=*s* *mąjniwa=as* *manka*
DSC DM.po.pl=DET child_of=ART.n mango
'Now the mango tree has fruits.' {EA, DEM 149}

Rather than e.g. body contact, the crucial criterion for the choice of the possessive demonstratives is a certain kind of control. Hence the unacceptability of applying this set in the following situation:

(212) a. ***kowa*** *bań-bakwa:-neł* *as* *awaro* *n-as* *ba<kwa~>kwa='nes*
DM.el.n put-head-APPL ART.n parrot obl-ART.n head<INAL~>= ART.f
dichi:ye
child
'The parrot is sitting on the girl's head.' {EA, DEM 137}

b. *** *kopa*** …
DM.po.n

4.9.2.4. The distal forms

As could be seen in Table 17 above, the demonstratives of Set 1–4 distinguish between proximity and distance of the referent. The distal forms are marked by the element /l/. In elicitation, anything located more than three meters away from the speaker and out of reach of the addressee is generally referred to by the distal form:

(213) ***kilde:*** *is* *ko'*
DM.nst.d.pl ART.pl tree
'The firewood is over there.' [appr. 6m away] {GC, DEM 290}

Deviations do occur, however, in which entities located closer than three meters are referred to by distal forms, and entities located further away by proximal forms. This can be due to contrastive reference, as in the following example:

(214) ***kolre'e***=*s* *bote:liya* *n-as* *soń-ra*
DM.std.d.n=DET bottle obl-ART.n other-BE.ntr
di' *de-wa-wanra:-ni*
REL lie-?-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'The bottle is standing on the other bed.' {EA, DEM 290}

In spontaneous speech, unlike in elicitation, even for a referent located at about 10 meters of distance (e.g. a person out of earshot), the proximal form can appear. This is the case in the following example (where reference is made to people in the neighbouring yard):

(215) ***kide:*** *da'* *kay~kay* *jayna*
DM.nst.pl DUR.nst MD~eat DSC
'They are already eating.' {EA, Neighbours 009}

The distal forms of Set 3 have a special role in the demonstrative system. On the one hand, in analogy to the other distal demonstratives, they are used to simply indicate further distance of an elevated referent, as illustrated by (216) and (217).

(216) *is* *ba~ba:-kwa* *di'* *bew-ni* ***kilwa***
ART.pl RED~BR.round-ABS REL ripe-PRC DM.el.d.pl
nosde: *ariwa-m-maj*
there top-LN-VLC
'The ripe fruits are up there [out of reach].' {NG, DEM 238}

(217) ***kolwa*** *toje:łe* *as* *kara'a*
DM.el.d.n pass.AGT ART.n red_macaw
'The red macaw is flying by.' {EA, DEM 067}

On the other hand, the distal forms of Set 3 are also used to refer to entities which are not seen, but otherwise perceived (heard, smelled or felt) by the speaker. In this function, it does not matter where the referent, i.e. the source of the sound, smell or sensation, is located, and

whether its location is known at all. Moreover, it does not matter whether there is an identifiable referent at all. The following examples illustrate the use of the elevated distal demonstrative for referents which are heard (cf. (218)), smelled (cf. (219)) and felt (cf. (220) and (221)):

(218) *jiya* *vel-na=n* ***kolwa=s*** *jemes* *kamay-na=as* *pa:ko*
come.IMP look-DR=2 DM.el.d.n=DET repeatedly bark-DR=ART.n dog
'Let's see what that dog is barking about all the time.' (I hear it)
{JM Perro I, 023}

(219) ***kolwa*** *payes-na as momo-wandi:-ni*
DM.el.d.n smell-DR ART.n defecate-INSTR:BE.house-PRC
'The toilet house smells.' (I smell it) {EA, DEM 206}

(220) ***kolwa=s*** *po~poy-kwa* *n-as* *du~<du:~>du'u*
DM.el.d.n-ART RED~BR.animal-ABS obl-ART.n RED~<RED~>BR.back
'There is a bug on my back.' (I feel it) {EA, DEM 187}

(221) *che* ***kolwa*** *rey jayna tivij-ni daya'a*
and DM.el.d.n again DSC pain-PRC DUR.nst
'And now [my leg] hurts again.' (I feel it) {EA, Pierna 041}

However, when the source of the sound, smell or sensation is visible and when the speaker is looking at it, the demonstrative is selected according to the location and position of the source:

(222) ***kode:*** *pawa:-na as mu:sika daya'*
DM.nst.n hear-DR ART.n music ASP.nst
'I hear the music [which comes from the radio on the floor].' {EA, DEM 219}

4.9.2.5. Set 5 and 6: moving referents

The demonstratives of Set 5 and 6 indicate that the referent is visibly moving towards or away from the speaker, respectively.[90] These demonstratives make no distinction between proximity and distance.

(223) *jela,* *jankwa,* *łań* ***kila'wa=s*** *juyeni*
come.IMP say EV DM.appr.pl=DET person
'Come, I said. Look, there are people coming.' {EA, Cbba 168}

[90] There may be still another set of demonstrative within this group: *usro'* (m), *isno'* (f), *osro'* (n), and *isro'* (pl). Morphologically, these forms are obviously composed of the first element of the past and the last element of the absential demonstrative (cf. 4.9.3). In contrast to all other demonstratives, speakers disagree on the acceptability of these forms and on the way in which they are applied. Possibly, they refer to an entity moving at the same distance from the speaker (from side to side), but this could not be confirmed yet. The plural form *isroó* [sic] occurs in the word list of Cardús (1886) as a translation of 'they' ("*ellos*").

(224) ***kulro'*** *joychoy joy-cheɬ n-as Peru, jankwa ɬań inɬa*
DM.rtr.m probably go-R/R obl-ART.n Perú say EV PRO.1sg
'He (moving away) is probably going to [the village of] Perú, I said [in my dream].'
{EA, Sueño 134}

The Set 5 and 6 demonstratives can also be used with stative verbs. Here, they imply that the movement ends in the state denoted by the verb:

(225) ***kulro'*** *en-cheɬ nosde: n-as chora:da*
DM.rtr.m stand-R/R there obl-ART.n street
'He is going over there to stand in the street.' {EA, DEM 051}

Verbs of deictic motion (like 'come' and 'go', 'bring' and 'take') can only cooccur with these demonstratives when the deictic direction corresponds to the one indicated by the demonstrative term:

(226) a. ***kola'wa*** ***jiwa****-ɬe-na='ne as as-wa-wanra-ni*
DM.appr.n come-CO-DR=f ART.n sit-?-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'She is bringing the seat.'

b. ****kola'wa*** ***joy****-a-ɬe='ne*
DM.appr.n go-DR-CO=f {GC, DEM 314}

4.9.3. The absential and the past demonstratives

The absential and past demonstratives are used when the referent is not seen or otherwise perceived by the speaker at the moment of speaking. Their forms are given in Table 18.

Table 18. The absential and past demonstratives

	masc.	fem.	ntr.	plural
absential	*kuro'*	*kino'*	*koro'*	*kiro'*
past	*uso'*	*isno'*	*oso'*	*iso'*

Prototypically, these demonstratives are used as predicates in existential/locative clauses (cf. 7.9.4, 7.9.5).

Since they are used for referents which are out of reach and not seen or perceived, these demonstratives are the only ones that can be negated:

(227) *kas nokowa dejal-wa, jankwa=sne, bo kas*
NEG now cook-NMZ say=f.a REAS NEG
koro'-ni-wa kos wa:ka-to:da
DM.a.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a cow-BR.piece
'I won't cook, she said, because there is no meat.' {GC, Bacho 021}

(228) *kas rey **oso'-ni-wa** os enganyar-kay-a=us*
NEG again DM.p.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p betray-INV-LV=m.a
n-os rey nego:siyo-wa=us, rey kas
obl-ART.n.p again deal-NMZ=m.a again NEG
'You couldn't cheat him in the deal, you couldn't!' {EA, Abuelo 017}

The absential demonstratives are used when the speaker is not looking at or perceiving the referent at the moment of speaking. As my consultants often explained, the use of the absential demonstrative implies that the speaker knows that the described situation holds, e.g. that the referent is at the indicated place (cf. (229), (230)) or that it participates in the event encoded by the verb (cf. (231), (232)).

(229) ***koro'*** *no-kode: kos yana:we, jankwa=us*
DM.a.n obl-DM.nst.n ART.n.a anaconda say=m.a
'There is an anaconda over there.' {EG, Sicurí 032}

(230) ***koro'*** *ney n-as chodowi=as de:-na*
DM.a.n here obl-ART.n stomach=ART.n lie-DR
'It is here under the bed.' [invisible] {EA, DEM 009}

(231) ***koro'*** *toje:ɬe kos kara'a*
DM.a.n pass.AGT ART.n.a red_macaw
'The red macaw is flying by.' [I have just seen it] {EA, DEM 068}

(232) ***kino'*** *il-a:-cho kinos Ernansiya,*
DM.a.f spread-DR-TRC.*chivé* ART.f.a Hernancia
kas joy-wa=n n-os váyeɬ-wa=n
NEG go-NMZ=2 obl-ART.n.p see.AGT-NMZ=2
'Hernancia is spreading *chivé*, didn't you go to have a look?' {EA, Tuncho 049}

Unlike the absential pronouns and articles, the absential demonstratives are also used when the referent is visible, but when the speaker is not looking at it at the moment of speaking. This was the situation described in (233):

(233) ***koro'*** *do'-cho*
DM.a.n put_on-BR.inside
'It is hanging (on a hook).' {GC, DEM 276}

The following example shows that the not-in-sight criterion only concerns the speaker, not the addressee. Here, the addressee answers by using the speaker-oriented proximal demonstrative, which shows that the object is within her reach.

(234) ***Koro'*** *nakal* *kos* *kucha:ra? –* *Ayru* *ay.*
DM.a.n over_there ART.n spoon DM.spk.n DM.spk.n
'Is the spoon there?' – 'It's here.' {EA, DEM 089}

A referent that cannot be seen, but otherwise perceived (cf. 4.9.2.4), can also be referred to by an absential demonstrative. This indicates usually that the sound (or smell, sensation) is not perceived anymore. Consider the following example:

(235) ***koro'*** *o'o:wa* *no-kos* *toje~ł-wa*
DM.a.n audible obl-ART.n.p pass.AGT-NMZ
'I heard it when I just walked by.' {EA, DEM 199}

The same is the case when an object moving in the air is concerned. This kind of object is also referred to by a distal form of Set 3 when the speaker is looking at it. In contrast, when the object is already out of sight, the absential demonstrative is used, as in (236).

(236) ***koro'*** *toje:~łe* *kos* *kara'a*
DM.a.n pass.AGT ART.n.a red_macaw
'The red macaw is flying by.' [we don't see it anymore] {EA, DEM 068}

When the situation is not continuing during the moment of speech or when the speaker does not know if it is continuing or not, the past demonstrative is used. So, for example, the consultant's comment to (237) was that the object was definitely gone:

(237) ***oso'o*** *~ł* *dewaj-na* *bań-sasa:-ne~ł*
DM.p.n 1 see-DR put-TRC.table-APPL
'I saw it on the table.' [but it is not there any more] {ER, DEM 400}

In the case of (238), in contrast, the speaker stated that the object was probably still hanging at the same place, but that she had forgotten where she had hung it up.

(238) ***oso'*** *do'-cho*
DM.p.n put_on-BR.inside
'It was hanging.' [it is still there; I forgot where I hung it up] {GC, DEM 282}

The following sentence illustrates the temporal distinction between the absential and the past demonstrative.

(239) [...] *di'* *joy* ***kiro'*** *ite'ni kabo* *di'* *joy* ***iso'*** *kayni*
[...] HYP SPC DM.a.pl alive or HYP SPC DM.p.pl die
'[You want to see] whether they are alive or whether they have died.'
{EA, In between 088}

4.10. Congruence in semantic and pragmatic categories

All referential elements with the same referent have to be congruent in the semantic and pragmatic features they express. With respect to gender and number, this is straightforward, since all types of referential elements make the same distinctions in these categories. However, the pragmatic categories are not represented equally in the different types of referential elements. The personal pronouns only differentiate between two categories, presence and absence. The article, in addition to these categories, can furthermore encode ceased existence of the referent. The demonstratives, finally, distinguish presence, absence and ceased existence according to different criteria than both the article and the pronouns, probably because they do not only refer to an entity, but also to the motion or position event in which the entity is involved.

If the clause contains a demonstrative, the other referential elements agree with it. That is to say, their selection follows the criteria for the use of the demonstratives. The following examples may serve as an illustration:

(240) ***koro'*** *no-kode:* ***kos*** *yana:we,* *jankwa=us*
DM.a.n obl-DM.nst.n ART.n.a anaconda say=m.a
'There is an anaconda over there.' {EG, Sicurí 032}

(241) ***isno'*** ***isnos*** *bi:jaw* *tipoysu:da* *ena'*
DM.f.p ART.f.p old dressed_in_*tipoy* DUR.std
toɬ *kay~kay* *n-is* *bu~buʼ-kwa*
very MD~eat obl-ART.pl RED~BR.mass-ABS
'There [i.e., in Santa Ana] was an old woman in *tipoy* who was, good grief!, eating mud.'[91] {JA, Tuncho 025}

In (240), the absential demonstrative is used because the speaker cannot see the anaconda, even though it is not far away. The absential article is probably used in agreement with the demonstrative. The speaker in (241) suggests what I might be telling people when I would be back home; she did not imply that the old woman would be dead at that occasion. Thus, the article, like the demonstrative, temporally locates the situation, not the existence of the person referred to.

The personal pronouns, which do not encode the category of past existence, apply the

[91] The *tipoy* is the traditional women's dress of the region, introduced by the Jesuits.

absential form for past reference. This is illustrated by the following examples. Example (242) illustrates the correlation between the past article and the absential bound pronoun. In (243), the past article correlates with the absential free pronoun:

(242) *jayłe* ***os*** *pa:ko* *ima'kwa-ni:-kay**--as***
then ART.n.p dog come_to_meet-PRC-INV--n.a
'Then, the dog came to meet me.' {JM, Perro I 027}

(243) *che di' jinana'* ***asko*** *meskwa-wamba* ***os*** *uye-na=as*
and REL suddenly PRO.n.a fat-INSTR:BR.round ART.n.p guard-DR=n.a
'And it was the pot with fat which it (the dog) was guarding.'
{JM, Perro I 020}

The congruence patterns are summed up in Table 19, with the neuter forms as examples.[92]

Table 19. Congruence in pragmatic categories between the referential elements of third person neuter

	demonstrative	**article**	**bound pronoun**	**free pronoun**
presential	(SAP-oriented or positional)	*as*	*a', a*	*a'ko*
absential	*koro'*	*kos*	*as*	*asko*
past	*oso'*	*os*		

[92] Note that the form *as* represents two homophonous morphemes: the presential neuter article (ART.n) and the absential neuter bound pronoun (n.a). The same homophony exists with the form *us* 'ART.m'/'m.a' and the plural form *is* 'ART.pl'/'pl.a'. Only the feminine presential article, *i'nes*, is different from the absential bound pronoun, *'sne*.

5 Nouns and bound nominal elements

In this chapter, I present the different morphological classes of independent nouns and bound nominal elements in Movima. Independent nouns can be simple or complex. Simple independent nouns, described in section 5.1, are those whose root can occur alone. Some are relational nouns, i.e. inherently possessed, and require person marking when the possessor is a non-first-person (as described in 6.2). If they can occur without further morphology when having a first-person possessor, I consider them as independent nouns, too.

Many independent nouns are compounds. These are described in section 5.2. A compound consists of minimally two lexical elements, the last element typically determining the entity that the compound can refer to. The first element in a compound can be a noun or a nominal, verbal, or adjectival root. The second element can be a full noun or a bound nominal element, a category described in section 5.3.

Bound nominal elements (cf. 5.3) are bound roots, elements that have resulted from the truncation of independent nouns, and elements which do not seem to be synchronically related to an independent noun. Bound roots have the defining property that, although they are found as the base of an independent noun, always require an additional morphological element. The other bound nominal elements can only occur attached to another lexical base. The large and heterogeneous group of bound nominal elements in Movima requires a study of its own, since it relates to lexical semantics, morphosyntax, and syntax. Section 5.3 is only a preliminary overview and discussion of the morphological characteristics of these elements. Some more detailed information on their function when attached to verbs is given, furthermore, in 7.7 and 9.2.

Two topics of nominal morphology are described in other parts of this book: possession, an important factor in the classification of nouns, is described in Ch. 6. The verbalizing suffixes is described in 11.5–11.9.

5.1. Simple nouns

5.1.1. Independent di- and polysyllabic roots

Nouns consisting of a root alone are, at least synchronically, not morphologically analysable. They constitute an open class, of which the following are some examples:

(1)

pe:re	‘plantain’
me:sa	‘table’ (loan)
wu’tu	‘pot’
chinaɬa	‘manioc’
delto:veɲ	‘butterfly’
bito’	‘old person’

Independent nouns are always polysyllabic, but most of them do not have more than two syllables. As was shown in 2.7.4, the first syllable of a disyllabic noun is always heavy (unless the noun ends in the simple glottal stop); when it is an open syllable, it is lengthened. Phonologically defective nouns (cf. 5.1.2) are the only exception from this rule.

Many simple nouns, especially those which consist of more than two syllables, appear to be historically complex. Often, one or more of their parts can be identified as morphemes. The glossing of the following examples illustrates this:

(2) *chorankwanto*
chora-n-kwa-n-to
eye-LN-ABS-LN-BE.side?
'hat'

(3) *oveniwankwa*
ove-ni-wankwa
brave-PRC-INSTR:ABS
'young man'

However, since they are not semantically transparent, I regard these apparently complex nouns as synchronically monomorphemic.

Some disyllabic nouns consist of a reduplicated monosyllabic root (cf. (4)). Through reduplication, the root acquires the canonical, disyllabic structure of an independent noun. Some of these roots can be identified, but most have, up to now, only been found in these nouns.

(4)			
	rul~rul	'jaguar'	(< *wurul-* 'roar')
	ru:~du	'steam'	(cf. *bujru* 'smoke')
	cho:~cho	'hair partition'	(< *cho* 'BR.inside'?)
	lu'~lu'	'rain'	(*luk* 'BR.rain')
	ra:~da	'door'[93]	
	no:~no	'domestic animal'	
	boy~boy	'corn cake'	
	chi:~chi	'peanut'	
	po:~po	'corner'	
	ya:~ya'	'my uncle'	
	no~no'	'my grandfather/-mother'	

Only the root *lu'* 'BR.rain' in the noun *lu'~lu'* 'rain' can clearly be identified as a noun root. It can occur as a bound root attached to another lexical base, as in (5)a, and it can receive a verbalizing suffix, as in (5)b:

[93] This noun may originally have been a bound element that resulted from the truncation of Spanish *trancade**ra*** 'gate', which has undergone the reduplication typical of truncated loans and subsequently developed into an independent noun (cf. 5.3.3 below).

(5) a. *diɲ-lu'* 'heavy rain' (strong-BR.rain)
b. *lu'-ti'* 'to rain' (BR.rain-VBZ)

The other reduplicated nouns always occur in the form given in (4).

Some kinship terms resemble verbs because they seem to contain verbal morphology, in particular, the verbalizing suffix *-ni* (cf. 11.9) and/or a bivalent voice marker (cf. 8.1.1, 8.1.2). The following examples, again, have hypothetical glosses in order to illustrate the point. .

(6) a. *a:-na*
?-DR
'younger sibling'

b. *a:-kay*
?-INV
'older sibling'

(7) a. *ɬi:-ye*
carry-BE.person
'godchild'

b. *ɬi-ye-ni:-kay*
carry-BE.person-PRC-INV
'godparent'

(8) a. *ya:~ya'*
RED~?
'my uncle'

b. *ya:-ni:-kay*
?-PRC-INV
'my nephew, niece'

(9) *maj-ni*
?-PRC
'my son, daughter'

Again, these nouns will be treated as simple roots, even though they may well be historically complex.

5.1.2. Phonologically defective nouns

The closed class of phonologically defective nouns has already been discussed in Ch. 2 (2.3.3, 2.7.4). It consists of seven nouns:

(10) *pa'a* 'my father'
ma'a 'my mother'
ko'o 'tree'
ve'e 'fire'
chi'i 'excrements'
je'e 'my state of being'
ke'e 'my sister (respectful address)'

These nouns are "defective" in that their first syllable is short, so that they only have two moras. As was shown in 2.3.3, these nouns could, in principle, even be interpreted as monosyllabic, the final vowel being the release vowel of the glottal stop. Their actual pronunciation is usually monosyllabic:

(11) *jayna* *buka'* *tan-na=y'ɬi* *is* ***ko'*** *ney*
DSC DUR.mov cut-DR=1pl ART.pl tree here
'We went cutting the trees like this.' {BA, TX 255}

However, as was shown in 2.3.3, this vowel can be lengthened and receive stress before certain suffixes:

(12) *ko'**o:**-vos*
tree-BE.wood
[kɔ'ʔɔ:βɔs]
'firewood'

Thus, these nouns are better analysed as disyllabic, even though the final vowel can be dropped.

Phonologically defective nouns are also exceptional in that they have a special form when attached to another root (cf. 5.2) or when a bound pronoun is attached (cf. 6.3.2). In most cases, the last syllable is replaced by the segment /ja/.[94] Consider the possessed forms in (13)b:

(13)

a.	*ko'o*	'tree, firewood'	b.	*koya=n*	'your tree/firewood'
	ve'e	'fire'		*veya=n*	'your fire'
	chi'i	'excrements'		*chiya=n*	'your excrements'
	je'e	'my state of being'		*jeya=n*	'your state of being'

The nouns *ma'a* 'my mother' and *pa'a* 'my father' behave slightly differently. Instead of receiving the segment /ja/, they undergo reduplication:

(14)

ma'a	'my mother'	*ma:ma=n*	'your mother'
pa'a	'my father'	*pa:pa=n*	'your father'

There are no data in my sample on the behaviour of *ke'e* 'my older sister'.[95]

5.2. Compounding

Many nouns in Movima are complex, i.e. they consist of more than one lexical element. I use the term compounding for the creation of a noun by combining a nominal or verbal base with a noun or bound nominal element. The phonological characteristics of compounds were described in 3.4.

[94] Therefore, it can also be argued that the possessed form is basic and the short, independent form derived.
[95] The male counterpart of this word is *ope'* 'my older brother'.

5.2.1. General characteristics

A Movima compound can consist of a noun or verb root plus a noun or a bound nominal element (i.e., a bound root, a truncated element, or an unanalysable bound element; cf. 5.3).

In most cases, a compound consists of just two elements, but there are cases in which a compound is again combined with a nominal element. Compare the less complex compound in (15)a with the more complex one in (15)b:

(15) a. *moroń-**muń*** 'leaf of the sumuqué palmtree'

b. *moroń-**muń-to*** *di'* *chorankwanto* *jema'* *ji:sa-na=is*
sumuqué-BR.feather-TRC.hat REL hat also make-DR=pl.a
'They also made hats of *sumuqué* leaves.'
[lit.: "hats which are *sumuqué*-leaf-hats"] {NC, Chorankwanto 032}

As illustrated by (15)b, Movima compounds are generally right-headed: the second part determines the type of entity denoted.

Prototypical compounds are composed of two independent nouns:

(16) *tujure-nonlo*
porridge-milk
'porridge with milk' {EA, 15, 080}

(17) *alwambeń-mari:ko*
paper-bag
'paper bag'

(18) *jo'me-m-ba:ri*
bird-LN-ankle
'chicken foot'

Body-part terms, as in (18), are very common as second parts of compounds. When a body-part term contains a bound root (cf. 6.6), only the root appears as the second part of a compound:

(19) *mulu-risa*
curly-BR.hair
'curly-haired'

When the second part of the compound belongs to the class of phonologically defective nouns (cf. 5.1.2), the form which enters in the compound is identical to the possessive base (cf. 6.3.2):

(20) a. *bilaw-chi:ya*
fish-excrements.of
'fish excrements'

b. * *bilaw-chi'i*
fish-excrements

Compare this to the nonpossessed and possessed forms of the noun *chi'i*:

(21) a. *chi'i* 'excrements'

b. *chiya=is* *bi:law*
excrements=ART.pl fish
'excrements of fish'

Most of the time, however, the second part of a compound is not a full noun, but a bound nominal element (cf. 5.3).

(22)	*chujaṅ-di*	'seed of *motacú*' [a palm tree]	(*motacú*-BR.grain)
	chujaṁ-muṅ	'leaf of *motacú*'	(*motacú*-BR.feather)
	chujaṁ-mo	'forest of *motacú* trees'	(*motacú*-TRC.bush)
	chujaṁ-mo	'nut of *motacú*'	(*motacú*-BR.nut)
	chujaṁ-moɬ	'shells of *motacú* nuts'	(*motacú*-BR.shell)

Sometimes, the independent noun and the bound element can be used interchangeably, as shown by (23). The conditions for this are not clear.

(23) a. *is* *itilakwa-n-**chi:ye*** *tochi'i*
ART.pl man-LN-TRC.child small
'(the) little boys' {HR, TX 079}

b. *iṅ* *kuyna:na'* *n-is* *itilakwa-n-**dichi:ye***
1intr play obl-ART.pl man-LN-child
'I played with the little boys.' {EA, Dichiyeye 003}

When the base of a compound is a noun containing the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* (cf. section 5.3.2.3 and 6.5), this suffix can be retained:

(24) *bu~buṅ-kwa-m-vas*
RED~BR.mud-ABS-LN-BR.flour
'"mud-flour"' [i.e. flour made of rotten manioc] {EA, Tuncho 038}

(25) *te~tey-kwa-n-to*
RED~BR.palm_heart-ABS-LN-TRC.hat
'hat made of (leaves from) the palm heart' {JM 18, 032a}

(26) *be~beṅ-kwa-n-ya:ya*
RED~BR.flat_flex-ABS-LN-TRC.chair
'leather chair' {JM 18, 033}

In some compounds containing nouns of this type, however, the suffix *-kwa* is absent, so that the first element in the compound occurs in its possessed form (cf. 6.5). Indeed, the first elements of the compounds in (27) and (29) denote inalienably possessed items (parts of wholes.

(27) *bo~boj-di:noj*
RED~BR.base-BR.thigh
'the base of my leg'

(28) *kos le~lej-vos di' ko'o*
ART.n.a RED~BR.thorn-BE.wood REL tree
'the tree with thorns'

Nounlike adjectives, whose roots can occur independently (cf. 3.10.4), also serve as bases for compounds:

(29) *usko do:koy,* ***dokoy-la:kwa***
PRO.m.a good good-TRC.man
'He is good, he is a good man.' {EA, Dokoylakwa 001}

Some adjectives undergo reduplication before a nominal element is attached. This may be a lexical feature, since some adjectives always undergo this process, while others never do. The word *kilmo* 'naughty' is one of them:

(30) *is ja' kil**<mo~>**mo-si-ne'l, i'ko kilmo di' itila:kwa*
ART.pl just naughty<RED~>-BR.sound-APPL PRO.pl naughty REL man
'And the ones who just have a naughty language, they are naughty men.'
{EA, Dokoylakwa 004}

However, the reduplication can be omitted, as shown in (31)b and (32)b. According to one of my consultants, the reduplicated forms are used more often by older speakers.

(31) a. *son<so~>so-chi:ye* 'silly child' (silly<RED~>-TRC.child)
~ b. *sonso-chi:ye* (silly-TRC.child)

(32) a. *kil<mo~>mo-chi:ye* 'naughty child' (naughty<RED~>-TRC.child)
~ b. *kilmo-chi:ye* (naughty-TRC.child)

5.2.2. Compounds based on verb roots

Compounds can also be formed of a verb root and a bound element. When the verb root denotes a two-participant event, the resulting noun denotes the undergoer of the event. The verb root is usually reduplicated. The following are examples of compounds based on bivalent verb roots:

(33)	*jo:~jo:-mi*	'warm water'	(RED~warm_up-TRC.water)
	sam~sam-di	'rope'	(RED~twist-BE.long_thin)
	dan~dan-so	'*chicha* made of chewed maize'	(RED~chew-TRC.*chicha*)
	is~'is-ra	'roasted meat'	(RED~roast-BE.meat)
	pul~pul-ra	'litter' [lit. "swept-away stuff"]	(RED~sweep-BE.ntr)

Examples (34) and (35) illustrate this type of compound in use:

(34) *ji :sa-na=is* *jema'* *is* *po'so* *di'* ***dan~dan-so***
make-DR=pl.a also ART.pl *chicha* REL RED~chew-TRC.*chicha*
'They also made *chicha* that (was) chewed.' {HR, TX 278}

(35) *os* *sɨɬ-kwa* *di'* *choɲ* *jara'-na-pi-na=y'ɬi*
ART.n.p BR.hole-ABS REL HAB throw-DR-LOC-DR=pl
is ***pul~pul-ra*** *n-as* *lo:los*
ART.pl RED~sweep-BE.ntr obl-ART.n village
'the hole where we always threw what we swept off the yard' {EA, Aros II 028}

However, compounds can also consist of a simple verb root combined with a bound element:

(36)	*non-lo*	'milk'	(suck-BR.liquid)
	choj-lo	'urine'	(urinate-BR.liquid)
	pay-to:wa	'terraplaned road'	(smear-path)
	do'-we	'my clothes'	(put_on-BE.person)

The words in (36) look like resultative verbs containing a classificatory bound element (cf. 9.2.6). Similar to resultative verbs, they can be combined with the direct bivalent voice marker (cf. 8.1.1), as in (37)–(39):

(37) ***non-a:-lo*** *i'nes* *tami:ba*
suck-DR-BR.liquid ART.f baby
'The baby girl sucks breast milk.' {JM 18, 306a}

(38) ***pay-a-to:wa***
smear-DR-path
'to put cement on the road' {JM 18, 014e}

(39) *loy* *iɬ* ***dok-a:-we*** *i'nes* *dichi:ye*
ITN 1 put_on-DR-BE.person ART.f child
'I'll dress the girl.' {JM 18, 184}

More research is needed on compounds with unreduplicated verbal bases.

Another example of verb-based compounds which deviates from the normal type consists of compounds with the verb root *am-* 'enter'. Here, the second element usually denotes the type of entity which enters into something, but the entire compound refers to the container:

(40)	*am-me*	'bus, taxi, boat'	(enter-BE.person)
	am-ka:rim	'container'	(enter-BE.utensiles)
	am-to:mi	'water vessel'	(enter-water)

Verb-based compounds whose second element is a body-part term can be typical exocentric compounds. The base can be a bivalent root, as in (41) and (42), or the root of a verblike adjective, as in (43) and (44):

(41) *tan-risa*
cut-BR.hair
'short-haired, i.e. someone with short hair'

(42) *tos-ba:kwa*
peel-head
'bald, i.e. a bald person'

(43) *ku:-bakwa*
long-head
'long-headed, i.e. someone with a long-shaped head'

(44) *te:-ɬa:ri*
short-leg
'short-legged, i.e. someone with short legs'

5.2.3. Compounds with adjectival roots

Some adjectival roots which form verblike adjectives (cf. 3.10.4) are obligatorily combined with a noun or bound nominal element. Some of the resulting words have verblike properties (they can receive voice marking; cf. 9.2.8). However, they can also be seen as nominal compounds, since they denote a type of entity which is indicated by the second element. The following examples illustrate these roots in a compound with the noun *tino:na'* 'year':

(45)	*che*	*rey*	*jayna*	*toje:ɬe*	*os*	*ney*	***sota'-tino:na'***
	and	again	DSC	pass.AGT	ART.n.p	here	one-year
	'And then that year passed.'						{EM, Gringas I 014}

(46)	***kaw-tino:na'***	*kas*	*jiwa-wa='ne*
	much-year	NEG	come-NMZ=f
	'She didn't come for many years.'		{EA, Neighbours 025}

(47) *yolmoɬ--iy'ɬi, n-asko* ***pola-tino:na'***
stroll--1pl obl-PRO.n.a new-year
'We went for a walk, that (was) at New Year.' {DM, Fracaso 003}

Interrogative bases which are obligatorily combined with a noun or bound nominal element can perhaps be considered as compounds as well (cf. 3.10.6). Here, too, the root indicates the type of entity that is asked for.

(48) ***jam-mo**--a joy*
which-BE.bird--n SPC
'Which bird might it be?' {JA, TX 155}

5.3. Bound nominal elements

5.3.1. Introduction

The present section describes bound nominal elements, mentioned several times in 5.2. Bound nominal elements include noun roots, elements truncated from independent nouns, and elements which do not have a morphological relationship with independent nouns. They participate not only in compounding, as described in 5.2, but also in incorporation in verbs:

(49) *jayna rey kilno' **raɬ-a:-pa** n-is chinaɬa*
DSC again DM.f.rtr tear-DR-BE.manioc obl-ART.pl manioc
'Then again she goes and pulls out manioc.' {EA, Ay'ku II 004}

Furthermore, a bound element occurs on nouns containing the complex instrumental suffix, described in 11.4. In (50), the element *-di* inside the instrumental suffix *-wandi* has the meaning 'house' (cf. 5.3.4).

(50) *joy-a-ɬe=us n-as ɬaḿ-wandi:-ni*
go-DR-CO=m.a obl-ART.n bathe-INSTR:BE.house-PRC
'He carried [the water] to the bath house.' {EA, Tomina' 100}

The bound elements have two main functions: derivational and anaphoric. The derivational function is the only function a bound element can have on a noun, while the anaphoric function is present on non-nominal bases. In (51), the noun *wa:kawandi* 'ranch, corral' is derived through an instrumental suffix containing the bound element *-di* 'BE.house'. In the predicate *veladiwa* 'looking after houses', the same bound element is incorporated as an anaphoric device (cf. 7.7, 9.1).

(51) *sinko-tino:-na'* *os* *vel-a-**di**-wa=y'ɬi*
five-sun-? ART.n.p look_after-DR-BE.house-NMZ=1pl
n-os *wa:ka-wandi*
obl-ART.n.p cow-INSTR:BE.house
'[During] five years we looked after his ranch.' {EA, Cbba 010}

An adjective containing an anaphoric bound nominal element is illustrated in (52). Here, the bound element *-ɬim* 'TRC.field' inside the adjective *polaɬim* establishes an anaphoric relationship with the noun *bayɬimwa:nas* '(unpossessed) field'.

(52) *os* *pola:-**ɬim*** *di'* *bayɬim-wa:nas*
ART.n.p new-TRC.field REL field-ABSTR
'the new field' {GB, Ganado 096}

However, the incorporation of a bound element can clearly have a derivational function on verbs as well. This can be seen in the following example, where the bound root on the verb does not cross-refer to the noun, but modifies the meaning of the verb.

(53) *as-**poy**-e:ɬ-e* *n-is* *kori:di*
sit-BR.animal-APPL-AGT obl-ART.pl stick
'[We] mounted the sticks (the hobby-horses).' {EA, Dichiyeye 013}

The difference between the two functions on verbs is basically captured in the distinction between "argument incorporation" and "modifier incorporation", described in 9.1 and 9.2, respectively.

Several things deserve to be mentioned. First, not only bound elements can be used for compounding or incorporation, but also full nouns (cf. 5.2 on compounding and 7.7., 9.1, 9.2 on incorporation). Second, apart from the bases that are obligatorily combined with a lexical element (cf. 5.2.3, 9.2.8), incorporation or compounding is never grammatically obligatory. The following example illustrates this for argument incorporation. In (54)a, the verb *salna* 'search' contains a root and the direct voice marker only, whereas in (54)b, it additionally contains an incorporated bound element.[96]

(54) a. *loy* *iń* *joy-cheɬ* ***sal-na*** *kis* *ko'o*
ITN 1intr go-R/R search-DR ART.pl.a tree

~ b. *loy* *iń* *joy-cheɬ* ***sal-a:-vos*** *ni-kis* *ko'o*
ITN 1intr go-R/R search-DR-BE.wood obl-ART.pl.a tree
'I'll go and look for trees/firewood.' {EA 10, 150a}

And third, not all nouns are can be represented by a bound nominal element. When incorporated, these occur in their full form:

[96] The valency-decreasing effect of argument incorporation is described in 7.7 and 9.1.

(55) *sota'-**bolivya:no*** *kabo* *di'* *sinkwenta-senta:vo*
one-Boliviano or HYP fifty-cent
'one boliviano or 50 cents' {EA, Antojos I 005}

It is not possible to give a satisfactory account of the function of bound nominal elements within the scope of this work. An adequate description of the system would involve a detailed analysis of a large discourse database, thereby classifying the different types of elements and their occurrence on the different types of bases, the syntactic environment, and also the non-occurrence of bound elements. This would have to be complemented by research on the lexicon: the meaning of the elements involved, both base and bound element, has to be clear, and the lexicalization of certain bases with certain bound elements has to be considered as well.

5.3.2. Bound roots

Bound roots are noun roots which cannot occur independently. Usually, this is due to the fact that they are monosyllabic. These roots either occur in combination with other roots (in compounding or incorporation), or they are otherwise augmented. There are three types of augmentation which enable a bound root to occur as a morphological head: reduplicated, the combination with the dummy element *-'i*, and the combination with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*. These types of augmentation are of limited productivity and mainly depend on the root. I will describe the three processes in turn.

5.3.2.1.Reduplication of relational noun roots

Some noun roots, all of which denote inalienably possessed entities, can only occur as independent nouns when reduplicated. These are the following:

(56) *cho* 'BR.inside'
duk 'BR.back'
loba 'BR.body'
loto 'BR.ear'
lowe 'BR.colour'
mosi 'BR.lower back'

Examples (57)–(59) illustrate the occurrence of these roots attached to a lexical base:

(57) *mere'* *rey* *soń**-lo:ba*** *di'* *do'we=is*
big again other-BR.body REL clothes=pl.a
'a big heap of their clothes' {PM, Empleada 030}

(58) *os* *tochi'* *salon* *bań**-duk**-a=y'ɬi***
ART.n.p small gun put-BR.back-LV=1pl
'The small gun, we had put it on our backs.' {BA, TX 225}

(59) *jayna* *chak-a:**-cho*** *buka'* *kis* *sił-kwa*
DSC pierce-DR-BR.inside DUR.mov ART.pl.a BR.hole-ABS
'Then you go making holes.' {EA, Chaco I 045}

In order to occur as independent nouns, the relational bound roots undergo reduplication. For the disyllabic roots, this is a single infixing reduplication:

(60) *as* *lo**<ba:~>**ba*
ART.n body<RED~>
'my body'

(61) *is* *lo**<to:~>**to*
ART.pl ear<RED~>
'my ears'

(62) *as* *lo**<we~>**we=a*
ART.n colour<RED~>=n
'its colour'

The monosyllabic bound roots, *-duk* 'back' (cf. (63)) and *-cho* 'inside' (cf. (64)) undergo a second reduplication when occurring independently. Since I do not assume that two reduplicative prefixes can cooccur (cf. 3.7.1), my analysis of these forms is that prefixing reduplication comes first, and that the resulting form undergoes infixing reduplication.

(63) *as* *du~<du:~>du'*
ART.n RED~back<RED~>
'my back'

(64) *as* *cho~<cho~>cho=as* *me:sa*
ART.n RED~inside<RED~>=ART.n table
'the underside of the table'

Some nouns encoding inalienably possessed entities can be recognized as historically consisting of a bound root which has been reduplicated in this way. A case in point is the term for 'waist', the root of which has not been found outside this word. The only form in which it occurs is with two reduplications, as in (65).

(65) *as* *kwi~<kwi~>kwi=u*
ART.n RED~<RED~>waist=m
'his waist'

As far as the root *-duk* 'BR.back' is concerned (the only root in this group which consists of a closed syllable), the double reduplication only occurs with the first-person singular possessor, in which case the noun is not combined with an enclitic (cf. 4.1; see also (63) above). When it is combined with an enclitic, which triggers the appearance of the linking vowel *-a*, only one

reduplicated element remains. Since I postulate prefixing reduplication as the earlier process, it is this one which remains:

(66) *as* ***du*~*duk-a=n***
ART.n RED~back-LV=2
'your back'

5.3.2.2.Bound roots with -'i
Some simple nouns consist of a monosyllabic root and the dummy element -*'i*. The following are the cases found so far:[97]

(67) *ris-'i* 'my ankle'
kwa-n-'i 'my mouth' (-*n* 'LN')
chaj-'i 'my breast(s)'
don-'i 'blood'
nun-'i 'bone'
maw-'i 'hunger'
dam-'i 'louse'
rum-'i 'parasite'
kwa'-'i 'night heron'
baw-'i 'night jar'
paj-'i 'dolphin'
beń-'i 'countryside, grassland' (-*beń* 'BR.flat, flexible')

The fact that the element -*'i* is not an integral part of these words, but only serves the purpose of creating a phonologically acceptable independent noun, can be seen when these words form part of a compound (cf. 5.2) or are incorporated (cf. 9.1, 9.2). In this case, usually only the roots remain:

(68) *punta:**-nun***
tip-BR.bone
'the bone from the tip [of the rib cage]' {EA, Huesos 013}

(69) *oy-**baw***
two-BR.night_jar
'two night jars' {JM 18, 109}

(70) *kayni:**-maw***
die-BR.hunger
'to die of hunger' {AH, Dial. EA&AH 131}

[97] All nouns ending in -*'i*, including those whose root is not found in other environments, are listed in Appendix A.I.

Note, however, that not all the nouns in (67) are productively incorporated. Incorporation or compounding is most productive with part-of-whole terms (e.g. *nun* 'BR.bone', cf. (68)). The form in (69) is already considered awkward; and the noun root *paj* 'dolphin' cannot be combined with another base at all:

(71) * *tas-**paj***
three-(BR.dolphin)
('three dolphins')

When the noun root cannot be incorporated, a hyperonym can be incorporated instead (cf. 5.3.2.3), as in (72)a. Verbs and verblike adjectives which incorporate obligatorily can also take the semantically neutral bound element *-ra* 'BE.ntr' (cf. 5.3.4), as in (72)b.

(72) a. *tas-poy* *is* *paj'i*
three-BR.animal ART.pl dolphin
'There are three dolphins.'

~ b. *tas-ra* *is* *paj'i*
three-BE.ntr ART.pl dolphin {JM 18, 101}

The root of the last noun in (67), *beń'i* 'grassland', can be identified as the bound root *beń*, the classificatory element for flat and flexible objects (cf. 5.3.2.3 below). The noun *beń'i*, however, is highly lexicalized, and it cannot be replaced by the root alone:

(73) a. *apere-**beń'i*** 'lands of the Apere (river)'
b. **apere-**beń***

Thus, *beń'i* is best regarded as a disyllabic simple noun, the result of lexicalization.[98]

5.3.2.3.Bound roots with -kwa[99]

Many bound roots occur as the head of an independent noun when combined with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* (sometimes *-kwi*). The core function of this suffix is to indicate that the denoted entity is detached from the entity to which it belongs. This can be seen with some body-part terms whose roots can occur independently:

(74) a. *di:noj* 'my upper leg'
cho:ra 'my eye'
kwinto 'my cheek'
woro' 'my throat'

b. *dinoj-kwa* 'detached leg'
chora-n-kwa 'detached eye'
kwinto:-kwa 'detached cheek'
woro'-kwa 'detached throat, neck'

However, the productivity of *-kwa* with this function is limited. This is also apparent from the fact that some body-part terms with this suffix have a deviant, lexicalized meaning:[100]

[98] This noun may have been the source of the name of the Bolivian department Beni, where the Movimas live.
[99] Roots of this type are listed in Appendix A.II.

(75)	*bari-n-kwa*	'detached leg; pestle'	(foot-LN-ABS)
	mosi:-kwa	'saddle'	(BR.lower_back-ABS)
	chopa-n-kwa	'fork of a branch'	(hand-LN-ABS)
	loto:-kwa	'ear mark (of cattle)'	(BR.ear-ABS)
	ɬew-kwa	'feather crown'	(BR.tail-ABS)

Apart from indicating detachment, the suffix *-kwa* enables a bound root to occur as the head of an independent, non-relational noun. Often, these are inanimate part-of-whole terms. Examples are given in (76); a more complete list of these nouns is found in Appendix A.II.2.

(76)	*mori-n-kwa*	'flower'	(BR.blossom-LN-ABS)
	lora-n-kwa	'leaf'	(BR.leaf-LN-ABS)
	ba~ba:-kwa	'fruit'	(RED~BR.round-ABS)
	di~di-n-kwa	'seed'	(RED~BR.grain-ABS)
	toda-n-kwa	'piece'	(BR.piece-LN-ABS)
	tolej-kwa	'branch'	(BR.branch-ABS)

On some nouns, especially animal names, the root to which the suffix *-kwa* is attached does not seem to denote an inalienably possessed entity. Still, it can be maintained that the suffix marks a non-relational noun. Examples are given in (77) (cf. also Appendix A.II.3).

(77)	*po~poy-kwa*	'animal'	(RED~BR.animal-ABS)
	noɬ-kwa	'mouse'	(BR.mouse-ABS)
	donto:-kwa	'puma'	(BR.puma-ABS)
	la~la'-kwa	'piraña'	(RED~BR.piraña-ABS)

As can be observed, many monosyllabic roots to which this suffix is attached additionally undergo prefixing reduplication (e.g. *po~poy-kwa* 'animal'), while others do not (e.g. *noɬ-kwa* 'mouse'). This seems to be a purely lexical difference.

Compounding and incorporation of bound roots of this type is extremely productive. Semantically, two classes can be distinguished: some bound roots are semantically identical to the independent noun with *-kwa*, while others have a broader meaning than the morphologically corresponding independent noun. The first class is represented in (78); the roots are listed under a, the full nouns under b:[101]

(78)	a.	*boj*	'BR.base'	b.	*bo~boj-kwa*	'trunk'
		duɬ	'BR.root'		*du~duɬ-kwa*	'root'
		lora	'BR.leaf'		*lora-n-kwa*	'leaf'
		losi	'BR.resin		*losi:-kwa*	'resin'

[100] According to Seiler (1983: 25), absolutivization typically entails specialization in meaning. These examples, therefore, show that *-kwa* can safely be analysed as an absolute-state suffix, even though it is not fully productive.

[101] Although they never occur in isolation, I do not attach a hyphen when representing the bound roots because most of them can occur both at the beginning and at the end of a word.

mes	'BR.fat'	*mes-kwa*	'fat'
mo, moɬ	'BR.shell'	*mo~moɬ-kwa*	'shell'
mori	'BR.blossom'	*mori-n-kwa*	'blossom'
muɲ	'BR.feather, palm leaf'	*mu~muɲ-kwa*	'feather; palm leaf'
poy	'BR.animal'	*po~poy-kwa*	'animal'
siɬ	'BR.hole'	*siɬ-kwa*	'hole'
toda	'BR.piece'	*toda-n-kwa*	'piece'

Here, both the bound root and the independent noun are used as hyperonyms. When the bound root forms the second part of a compound, the resulting compound denotes a member of the natural class named by the independent noun with *-kwa*:

(79) *chaɲmo-maj-**poy*** *di'* ***po~poy-kwa***
bush-VLC-BR.animal REL RED~BR.animal-ABS
'animals which (are) forest animals' {EA, Vida chaco 064}

In contrast, nouns which underived encode a member of the class, e.g. animal names, do not occur in a compound with the bound root representing the hyperonym, as shown by (80)b. Here, the bound element can function only as a cross-referencing device, as in (80)a:

(80) a. *tum-**poy*** *as* *pa:ko*
black-BR.animal ART.n dog
'The dog is black.'

b.* *pa:ko:-**poy***
dog-BR.animal
("dog-animal") {ER, FW1 137}

In contrast to the nouns listed in (78)b, whose meaning is equivalent to that of their bound roots (cf. (78)a), many nouns containing the suffix *-kwa* have a more specific meaning than their roots. Consider the following examples:

(81) a.	*ba*	'round, cylindric'	b.	*ba~ba:-kwa*	'round fruit'
				(ba:kwa	'head')
	baɬ	'cover'		*ba~baɬ-kwa*	'nest'[102]
	beɲ	'flat, flexible'		*be~beɲ-kwa*	'hide, leather'
	buɲ	'mud-like'		*bu~buɲ-kwa*	'mud'
	di	'seed-like'		*di~di-n-kwa*	'small seed'
	do	'big, roundish'		*do~do:-kwa*	'big seed'
	lo; loɬ	'liquid; water'		*lo~loɬ-kwa*	'juice'
				lo:-kwa	'stew, soup' (Sp. *locro*)
	vas	'flour-like'		*va~vas-kwa*	'flour'
	vus	'dust-like'		*vus-kwa*	'earth dust'

[102] This includes nests like the "oven" of an ovenbird, a little round hut made of clay.

As can be seen, the roots alone indicate the shape or consistency of an entity, while the independent nouns denote a more specific type of entity. The following are examples of compounds containing bound roots of this type:

(82) a. *kape* ‘coffee (in any form)’
b. *kape:-**lo*** ‘coffee (for drinking)’ (*lo* ‘BR.liquid’)
c. *kape:-**vas*** ‘coffee powder’ (*vas* ‘BR.flour’)

(83) a. *mo’incho* ‘*chivé* (powder of toasted, fermented manioc)’
b. *mo’incho:-**ba*** ‘*chivé* cake’ (*ba* ‘BR.round’)
c. *mo’incho:-**buń*** ‘*chivé* mass’ (*buń* ‘BR.mass’)

Some bound roots can function both as markers of shape/consistency and of natural class. For example, the bound root *ba* ‘BR.round, cylindric’, besides specifying a noun with respect to the shape of the denoted entity (cf. (83)), also denotes the natural class of roundish objects. Accordingly, nouns which by themselves denote a roundish object do not take the suffix *-ba*. Here, as could already be seen in (80)a, the bound root can function as a cross-referencing device on the predicate:

(84) *jayna* *doń**-ba:**-ni* *as* ***maropa***
DSC rot-BR.round-PRC ART.n papaya
‘The papaya is already rotten.’ {JM 3, 283b}

(85) *way-na=‘ne* *os* *sota’**-ba*** *di’* ***joł-kwa***
take_up-DR=f ART.n.p one-BR.round REL BR.egg-ABS
‘She took away the only egg.’ {EA, Huevo 004}

As was already observed by J. Judy (1962) and Grinevald (2002), the bound roots presented here are classificatory elements: they signal the form and consistency and/or the natural class of an entity.

Idiomatic use of these elements is also found. For example, the bound root *di* ‘seed’ sometimes functions as a diminutive suffix (not productively however):

(86) *awaro:-di* ‘little parrot’ (parrot-BR.grain)
siya:-di ‘little chair’ (chair-BR.grain)
walacho:-di ‘little stream’ (stream-BR.grain)

The bound root *toda* ‘BR.piece’ preserves its literal meaning when combined with nouns like those in (87), which denote entities that can be divided into parts:

(87) *wa:ka-to:da* ‘meat; beef’ (cow-BR.piece)
rulrul-to:da ‘jaguar meat’ (jaguar-BR.piece)
bote:liya-to:da ‘piece of glass’ (bottle-BR.piece)
do’ewanoj-to:da ‘piece of cloth’ (cloth-BR.piece)

In the nouns in (88), however, the bound root *toda* 'BR.piece' indicates in a derogatory way that the entity referred to is old.

(88)	*roya-to:da*	'dilapidated house'	(house-BR.piece)
	mo:to-to:da	'wrecked motorbike'	(motorbike-BR.piece)
	sapato-to:da	'old, worn-out shoes'	(shoe-BR.piece)

When the referent can neither be divided nor be described as old, the noun cannot be combined with *toda*:

(89)	**chaḿmo-toda*	(bush-BR.piece)
	**tomi-toda*	(water-BR.piece)
	**bachi-toda*	(nose-BR.piece)

A question which arises with respect to the elements listed in (81) is the following: is the classificatory element (e.g. *ba* 'BR.round) a semantically bleached version of the independent noun (*ba~ba:-kwa* 'fruit')? Or is the narrower semantic scope of the independent noun a result of lexicalization? The first possibility would correspond to the way in which classifier systems usually develop (cf. Craig 1994). However, as was shown above for cases where the suffix *-kwa* derives a noun from an otherwise independent root (cf. (75)), the meaning of the derived noun can be different and more specific than that of the root alone. In analogy to those nouns, I analyse the nouns with *-kwa* containing a classificatory root as lexicalized cases, too:[103]

(90) *ba~ba:-kwa*
RED~BR.round-ABS
'fruit'

5.3.3. Truncation

When combined with another lexical base (in compounding, cf. 5.2, or noun incorporation, cf. 9.1, 9.2), many nouns occur in a truncated form, a phenomenon identified by Grinevald (2002). This concerns a number of indigenous nouns, as well as some loans.

The morphological characteristic of elements truncated from indigenous nouns is that they are homophonous with a particular segment, typically the final syllable, of a corresponding independent noun.[104] The list in (91) contains bound elements that are identical to the final syllable of a semantically similar disyllabic noun. The truncated elements are given under a, the corresponding independent nouns under b, with the relevant segment in bold-face.

[103] However, it seems unlikely that a word for an abstract shape existed before there was a word for 'fruit' in Movima. This is a matter of further research.
[104] This process occasionally creates homophonous bound elements, to be discussed in 5.3.5 below.

(91)	a.	*-do*	‘TRC.plate’	b.	*cha:**do***	‘plate’
		-jeɬ	‘TRC.ant’		*chi:**jeɬ***	‘ant’
		-ɬim	‘TRC.field’		*bay**ɬim***	‘field’
		-mi	‘TRC.water’		*to:**mi***	‘water’
		-mo	‘TRC.bush, forest’		*chaḿ**mo***	‘bush, forest’
		-muj	‘TRC.wind’		*pow**muj***	‘wind’
		-pa	‘TRC.stone’		*cham**pa***	‘stone’
		-pa	‘TRC.hand’		*cho:**pa***	‘my hand’
		-so	‘TRC.*chicha*’		*po’**so***	‘*chicha*’
		-vaw	‘TRC.current’		*sa:**vaw***	‘current’
		-ve	‘TRC.dugout’		*ju:**ve***	‘dugout’
		-ve	‘TRC.fan’		*bo:**ve***	‘fan’

In the case of longer, probably historically complex nouns, truncation is lexically determined. Here, I will first present the different types of truncation and discuss them below.

In the case of longer nouns, the bound element is usually homophonous with the last or the last two syllables. The list in (92) shows truncated instances of the last syllable, that in (93) elements that consist of the last two syllables of the source noun:

(92)	a.	*-cho*	‘TRC.*chivé*’	b.	*mo’in**cho***	‘*chivé*’
		-mo	‘TRC.basket’		*bove:**mo***	‘basket’
		-mo	‘TRC.calabash’		*sapa’**mo***	‘calabash’
		-mo	‘TRC.banana’		*talum**mo***	‘sweet banana’
		-to	‘TRC.hat’		*chorankwan**to***	‘hat’

(93)	a.	*-chiye*	‘TRC.child’	b.	*di**chi:ye***	‘child’
		-lakwa	‘TRC.man’		*iti**la:kwa***	‘man’
		-loto	‘TRC.earring’		*moń**lo:to***	‘earring’
		-mayle	‘TRC.wasp’		*o**mayle***	‘wasp’
		-ridi	‘TRC.stick’		*ko**ri:di***	‘stick’

The truncation of a word-medial element is shown in (94):

(94)	a.	*-kos*	‘girl’	b.	*tol**kos**ya*	‘girl’
		-pis	‘pen’		*la**pis**e:ro*	‘pen’ (Sp. *lapicero*)
		-veń	‘starch’		*di**veń**ba*	‘starch’

Finally, there are some bound elements which coincide with the first syllable of the source noun:

(95)	a.	*po-*	‘straw mat’	b.	***po**wol*	‘straw mat’
		’im-	‘night’		***i:m**ay*	‘night’
		to-	‘side’		***to:**maj*	‘my side’

The formation of bound elements corresponding to loans is a slightly different, but more regular process than that concerning indigenous nouns. As was already described by Grinevald (2002), bound elements originating from loans are always disyllabic. For loans with more than two syllables, this means that the bound element corresponds to the last two syllables of the source noun:

(96)	a.				b.			
		-cha:ra	'spoon'		*ku**cha:ra***	'spoon'	<Sp. *cuchara*
		-pa:to	'shoe'		*sa**pa:to***	'shoe'	<Sp. *zapato*
		-re:ta	'oxcart'		*ka**re:ta***	'oxcart'	<Sp. *carretón*
		-ri:ko	'bag'		*ma**ri:ko***	'bag'	<Sp.? *marico*
		-ro:so	'rice'		*a**ro:so***	'rice'	<Sp. *arroz*
		-su:ka	'sugar'		*a**su:ka***	'sugar'	<Sp. *azúcar*
		-wa:yo	'horse'		*ka**wa:yo***	'horse'	<Sp. *caballo*

The formation of a bound element stemming from a disyllabic loan involves truncation and subsequent reduplication of the last syllable of that noun:[105]

(97)	a.			b.			
		-chichi	'cat'	*mi:**chi***	'cat'	< Sp. *michi*
		-kaka	'cow, meat'	*wa:**ka***	'cow; meat'	<Sp. *vaca*
		-koko	'dog'	*pa:**ko***	'dog'[106]	
		-sasa	'table'	*me:**sa***	'table'	<Sp. *mesa*
		-yaya	'chair'	*si:**ya***	'chair'	<Sp. *silla*
		-yeye	'ox'	*we:**ye***	'ox'	<Sp. *bueyes*

Semantically, truncated elements resemble the bound roots in (78) above: they can be used as hyperonyms, but they are not, like the elements in (81), classifiers of shape or consistency. Furthermore, like the roots in (78), they correspond both morphologically and semantically to one particular independent noun. Consequently, when forming part of a compound, this compound refers to the kind of entity denoted by the source noun of the bound element. This is illustrated by (98)–(99):

(98)			
	*po'**so***	'*chicha*'	
	*kwajta'**-so***	'*chicha* of maize'	(*kwajta'* 'maize')
	*jalala'**-so***	'*chicha* of sweet potato'	(*jalala'* 'sweet potato')
	*dan~dan**-so***	'*chicha* of chewed maize'	(*dan-* 'chew')

(99)			
	*di**chi:ye***	'child'	
	*kweya-n**-chi:ye***	'little girl'	(*kwe:ya* 'woman')
	*itilakwa-n**-chi:ye***	'little boy'	(*itila:kwa* 'man')

[105] The nouns *ra:da* 'door' and *lo:los* 'village, yard, people', which contain reduplication, may have their origin in this process. The noun *lo:los* is apparently a truncated and reduplicated form of the Spanish noun *pueb**los*** 'villages, peoples'; likewise, the noun *ra:da* may originate from the last syllable of the Spanish noun *trancade**ra*** 'gate (of a corral)'. These bound elements may then have developed into an independent noun. Note, however, that *ra:da* 'door' only occurs independently.

[106] The origin of the noun *pa:ko* 'dog' is not clear. In any case, the fact that it undergoes reduplication identifies it as a loan. It also behaves like Spanish disyllabic loans in that its first syllable is never shortened (cf. 2.9.2).

(100) *to:**mi*** ‘water’
*limo:**-mi*** ‘lemonade’ (*li:mo* ‘lemon’)
*narasa:**-mi*** ‘orange lemonade’ (*narasa* ‘orange’)

Sometimes, the compounds are more lexicalized, as in (101), where the first element cannot be clearly identified:

(101) *pow**muj*** ‘wind’
*choy**muj*** ‘north wind’[107] (?*choy*- ‘certainly’)
*ɬo’**-muj*** ‘hurricane’ (?*ɬok*- ‘fall’)

Truncated elements are used most productively for anaphoric purposes. They can, then, cross-refer only to a noun to which they are morphologically related, i.e. the source noun or a noun containing the same element. This is in contrast to the classificatory roots in (81), which classify nominal referents according to the natural class they belong to. Example (102) illustrates the bound element *-mo* on a verb, where it cross-refers to its source noun *chaḿmo*. In (103), we see the same element on a verb again, cross-referring to a compound involving that element as well.

(102) *n-os* *jaysoḿ* *peɬ-a**-mo**-wa=as* *buka’* *os*
obl-ART.n.p seem tear-DR-TRC.bush-NMZ=n.a DUR.mov ART.n.p
*chaḿ**mo***
bush
‘… as it [the jaguar] seemed to be breaking through the forest.’ {EA, Jaguar 112}

(103) *das-a:**-mo*** *os* *[…]* *mere’* *ovempoj**-mo***
mow-DR-TRC.bush ART.n.p big *patujú*-TRC.bush
‘I mowed a big bush [i.e., area] of *patujú*.’ {EA, Jaguar 131}

The treatment of Spanish loans, as well as the fact that some bound elements coincide with the last syllable of a complex independent noun (cf., in particular, *chorankwanto* ‘hat’ in (92)), shows that truncation has, at some point in time, been a productive process. Synchronically, however, this is not the case. This is apparent from the deviating patterns in (93)–(95) and from the fact that nouns cannot be truncated arbitrarily. For example, the noun *maropa* ‘papaya’ cannot be cross-referenced by the element *-pa*, even though it coincides with the final syllable of the independent noun:[108]

(104) **doḿ**-pa**-ni* *as* *maro**pa***
rotten-TRC-PRC ART.n papaya
(‘The papaya is rotten.’)

[107] The noun *ku:juy* ‘south wind’ does not belong to this group.
[108] For a grammatical expression, see (110).

Likewise, truncation of loans is not fully productive. The words in (105) cannot be truncated:

(105)	*elade:ra*	'refrigerator'	<Sp. *heladera*	**-dera*
	kachi:ra	'knife'	<Sp. *cuchillo*	**-chira*
	pi:la	'battery'	<Sp. *pila*	**-lala*
	sema:na	'week'	<Sp. *semana*	**-mana*
	sevo:ya	'onion'	<Sp. *cebolla*	**-voya*
	ta:sa	'cup'	<Sp. *taza*	**-sasa*
	wa:so	'cup, glass'	<Sp. *vaso*	**-soso*
	wanko	'bench'	<Sp. *banco*	**-koko*
	wenta:na	'window'	<Sp. *ventana*	**-tana*

Only occasionally are truncated forms of these loans accepted, as in (106).

(106) *jiwaɬe-ti kos ta:sa, ban sota'-**sasa***
bring-IMP.DR ART.n.a cup but one-TRC.cup
'Bring a cup, but just one (cup)!' {HR 15, 148d}

Nouns which cannot be truncated can be inserted into another base in their full form, as shown by (107)–(109):

(107) *loy iń nis-a-**'elade:ra***
ITN 1intr wipe_clean-DR-refrigerator
'I'll clean the refrigerator.' {EA 13, 162}

(108) *loy iń nis-a-**wenta:na***
ITN 1intr wip_clean-DR-window
'I'll clean the (glass) window.' {EA 13, 163}

(109) *jayna rim-eɬ-na=us kos sota'-**wa:so** di' somoj*
DSC trade-APPL-DR=m.a ART.n.a one-glass REL *somoj*
'Then he buys a glass of *somoj* [a drink].' {EA, Antojos II 017}

When the denoted entity belongs to a particular semantic class represented by a classificatory bound element, however, it is that element which is used for cross-reference. Since the noun *maropa* (cf. (104)) encodes a roundish-shaped fruit, it can be cross-referenced by the bound root *ba*:

(110) *doḿ-**ba:**-ni as maro**pa***
rotten-TRC-PRC ART.n papaya
'The papaya is rotting.'

Thus, while truncation was a productive process at some point in time, this is not the case synchronically.

Still, the patterns behind the (fossilized) truncation processes deserve further investigation. Two approaches have been suggested by previous researchers so far. On the one hand, Grinevald (2002) suggests that it is a process of purely phonological truncation. J. Judy (1962) and Judy & Judy (1967), on the other hand, analyse these elements in general as noun roots, in the same way as those described in 5.3.2. There are arguments in favour of both analyses: while, as has been shown, truncation is the major process at work here, it also seems to be morphologically based. This is suggested by some cases where truncation takes place on morpheme boundaries, even though the source noun is not fully analysable. Consider, for example, the noun *moṅlo:to* 'earring' (cf. (93)). This noun is clearly a lexicalized compound, consisting of an unidentifiable first element and the noun root *loto* 'BR.ear'. The fact that *loto* is clearly a bound root, which can form the root of an independent noun, is shown in (112) (cf. 5.3.2.1):

(111) *moṅ-lo:to* 'earring' (?-BR.ear)

(112) *lo<to:~>to* 'my ear(s)' (ear<INAL~>)

When the noun *moṅlo:to* 'earring' (cf. (111)) is truncated for anaphoric purposes, the final morpheme, and not just the final syllable, is detached from the source noun. This can be seen in (113). Since here, no reference is made to ears, but only to earrings, it is clear that the meaning of the incorporated bound root *loto* is not 'ear', but 'earring'.

(113) *jaṅ-cho-**lo:to*** *is* *moṅ**lo:to***
surround-BR.inside-TRC.earring ART.pl earring
'The earrings were round.' {EA 8, 086}

Example (114), in contrast, illustrates a case in which the same bound root *loto* retains its lexical meaning 'ear'. Here, it is not truncated from the noun *moṅlo:to*, but rather, indicates the affected body part (cf. 9.2.2).

(114) *toje~~ł~~* *deṅ-**loto**:-kay* *is* *moṅlo:to*
very harm-BR.ear-INV ART.pl earring
'The earrings harmed my ears a lot.' {EA 9, 053}

Thus, in cases like (113) we are clearly dealing with truncation. However, the truncation does not take place on purely phonological grounds. Rather, it is an entire morpheme that is used for incorporation, and its meaning is that of the noun it is truncated from. This contrasts with examples like (114), where the same morpheme is incorporated with the meaning that it also has when forming the root of an independent noun. The historical development from a bound root to a truncated element with a different meaning can be represented as in (115), with the bound element *loto* as example:

(115) BR → compounding → lexicalization → truncation
loto 'BR.ear' *moṅ-loto* '(?)-BR.ear' *moṅloto* 'earring' *-loto* 'TRC.earring'

Also on other nouns it can be seen that the truncation occurs at a morpheme boundary. The word *kori:di* 'stick' (cf. (93)) can be split up into the phonologically defective noun *ko'o* 'tree, firewood' and possibly the bound element *-di* 'BE.long, thin, flexible' (cf. 5.3.4 below), which is reduplicated. Again it is the final, reduplicated part which is used as a bound element, and not just the last syllable:

(116) *jayna ja:yi--y'ɬi buka' n-is kawayo-**ridi**=y'ɬi di' **kori:di***
DSC run--1pl DUR.mov obl-ART.pl horse-TRC.stick=1pl REL stick
'Then we went running with our hobbyhorses, which (were) sticks.'
{EA, Dichiyeye 030}

A third example is the noun *mo'incho* '*chivé*' (cf. (92)). This noun contains some recognizable elements: the dummy element *-'i* and the linking nasal; consequently, **mo:'i-* can be analysed as the first, and *-cho*, which functions as the bound element, as the second part of a compound.[109]

Word-internal truncation can be explained by morphological augmentation of the source noun after the bound element has been established. The following examples illustrate a synchronically transparent case. Here, the noun *mo'incho* '*chivé*' receives an additional suffix, *-but* 'BR.mass' (cf. (117)) and *-vas* 'BR.flour' (cf. (118)). Still, the verbs in the clause contain the truncated element *-cho*, which coincides with the final element of the original noun:

(117) *nokowa il-a-**cho**-kaɬ-a='ne ni-kis mo'in**cho-but**-a='ne*
right_now spread-DR-TRC.*chivé*-IM-LV=f obl-ART.pl.a *chivé*-BR.mass-LV=f
'She'll spread her *chivé* mass at once.' {EA 13, 252b}

(118) *loy iṅ dej-a:-**cho** ni-kis mo'in**cho:-vas***
ITN 1intr toast-DR-TRC.*chivé* obl-ART.pl.a *chivé*-BR.flour
'I'll toast manioc flower.' {EA 13, 319}

Note, however, that in the case of these transparent compounds it can also be the final element which is used for cross-referencing, as in (119):

(119) *duk-a-**buṅ** is mo'incho:-**buṅ***
grind-DR-BR.mass ART.pl *chivé*-BR.mass
'to grind *chivé* mass' {JM 18, 257}

Other nouns which involve word-internal truncation are not so transparent. An example is the noun *tolkosya* 'girl', whose corresponding bound element is *-kos*:

[109] This analysis allows a further step: since *chivé*, powder of fermented manioc, is of high cultural importance, the base **mo:-'i* may be historically identical to that of the word ***mowi**:maj* 'Movima'. The final element of this word, *-maj*, in turn, can be identified as the locative verbalizer 'to be in N' (cf. 11.2.2).

(120) *jiran-**kos**-ni*
pretty-TRC.girl-PRC
'pretty girl' {EC 1, 158}

Still, the pattern may be the same as that in (117) and (118) above: the element *-ya* in the noun *tolkosya* 'girl' may be a suffix which, in turn, is a truncated form of *kwe:ya* 'woman'. This is apparent, first of all, from the fact that the noun *tolkosya* can be replaced by the compound *tolkos-kwe:ya*, which shows that there is a morpheme boundary after *kos*. Furthermore, the element *-ya* in the noun *tolkosya* is by some speakers omitted in certain constructions. This can be seen in (121)b as opposed to (121)a, which does not differ in meaning:

(121) a. *n-os* *tolkos<ya:~>**ya***
obl-ART.n.p girl<NMZ.N~>
'when I was a young woman' {EA, My life 002}

b. *n-os* *tol<ko:~>**kos***
obl-ART.n.p girl<NMZ.N~>
'when I was a young woman' {JM, Loro 001}

Hence, the element *-ya* may have been an element which was added after the element *-kos* had been established as the bound element used for anaphoric purposes. It may be related to the element *-ya* in *kwe:ya* 'woman'.

The morphological truncation pattern applying to native nouns may have been extended to loans. For example, the truncation of the loan *lapise:ro* 'pen' (from Spanish *lapicero* 'pen') as *-pis* (cf. (122)) may be due to the fact that the ending *-ero* is recognized as a separate morpheme:[110]

(122) *ayru* *ay* *soń-**pis***
DM.spk.n DM.spk.n other-TRC.pen
'Here I've got another pen.' {EA 8, 080}

Thus, the truncation of polysyllabic loans can be explained by the fact that they probably originate from compounds. This may have been what led J. Judy (1962) and Judy & Judy (1967) to the assumption that these bound elements are actually roots.

What remains to be investigated is whether the truncation of disyllabic loans has a morphological origin as well. This depends on the question of whether these are historically simple nouns or compounds. While most synchronically analysable compounds are longer (cf. 5.2), some disyllabic nouns can still be analysed. The clearest cases are nouns like *nonlo* 'milk' or *chojlo* 'urine', which are obviously composed a verb root (*non-* 'suckle' and *choj-* 'urinate', respectively) and the classificatory bound root *-lo* 'liquid'. Therefore, probably, the cross-referencing bound element *-lo* is better analysed as the classifying bound root, as in (123)a, than as a truncated element, as in (123)b:

[110] Probably , the bound element *-pis* is the result of the truncation of *la:pis* (from Spanish *lapiz*) 'pencil', and this element is also used to cross-refer to the longer word *lapisero* 'pen'.

(123) a. *veyo'**-lo:**-ni* *is* *nonlo*
warm-BR.liquid-PRC ART.pl milk
b. *veyo'**-lo:**-ni* *is* *nonlo*
warm-TRC.milk-PRC ART.pl milk
'The milk is warm.' {EA 9, 054b}

Thus, it may be possible that other synchronically simple nouns are, in fact, old compounds as well, and that the truncation of disyllabic nouns is also morphologically based. Later, this may have developed into a phonological process, which was extended to disyllabic loans.[111]

5.3.4. Other bound nominal elements

There are many bound nominal elements which are not morphologically related to an independent noun: they can neither appear as the only root of a noun, like the bound elements described in 5.3.2, nor are they truncated forms of an independent noun. Therefore, I will simply label them bound nominal elements (BE). The elements that could be semantically identified so far are listed in (124). As can be seen, for some there is a semantically corresponding independent noun, comparable to the truncated bound elements described in 5.3.3.

(124)

-as	'sugar cane'	*chara:ye* 'sugar cane'
-as	'space'?	
-bij	'vessel'	
-Ce[112]	'person'	
-di	'long, thin, flexible'	
-di	'house, enclosed space'	*ro:ya* 'house'
-loł	'water as ground'	*to:mi* 'water'
-lomaj	'time'	
-ła	'pointed'	
-łabał	'earth'	*łakaḿba* 'earth, floor'
-mo	'bird,insect'	*jo'me* 'bird'
-oj	'clothes'	*do'we* 'my clothes'
-pa	'manioc'	*chinała* 'manioc'
-pa	'reed'	*pe:ra* 'reed'
-pit	'half, middle'	
-poj	'bunch (of fruits, e.g. bananas)'	
-ra	'neutral'	
-ra	'meat'	*wa:kato:da* 'meat, beef'
-ra	'firewood'	*ko'o* 'firewood'

[111] Since the truncation process does not apply to all loans, it would be worth investigating at what point in time the different loans (and the cultural items) were introduced. From there, it could be concluded at what time the truncation process was still fully productive.

[112] The onset consonant of this morpheme is often the same as the preceding consonant, e.g. *jan-ne* 'who (i.e., which person'. In other cases, the consonant can be the palatal glide, as in *cho'es-ye* 'ugly (person)', and in still other contexts the consonant is dropped altogether, e.g. *ta:s-e* 'three (people)'.

-si	‘sound’	
-vos	‘wood’	*ko’o* ‘tree, firewood’
-waj	‘place’	

Like the bound roots described in 5.3.2.3, some of the elements in (124) can classify nominal concepts according to their shape, consistency or natural class membership:

(125) *kwajta’**-ɬa***
maize-BE.pointed
‘corn cob’

(126) *ko’o:**-vos***
wood-BE.wood
‘wooden pole, stilt’

(127) *tochi’**-mo***
small-BE.bird
‘chick’

For some of these elements, there exists a corresponding free noun with the same meaning:

(128) *jo’me* (BE.*mo*) ‘bird’
juyeni (BE.*Ce*) ‘person, people’

It seems that some elements can only cross-refer to the corresponding noun given in the list, since they could not be combined with any other noun. This concerns, for example, *-pa* ‘manioc’ and *-‘as* ‘sugar cane’:

(129) *loy iṅ boɬ-a:**-pa** (n-is **chinaɬa**)*
ITN 1intr grate-DR-BE.manioc obl-ART.pl manioc
‘I’ll grate manioc.’ {EA 6, 116}

(130) *loy iṅ tan-a-**’as** (n-is **chara:ye**)*
ITN 1intr cut-DR-BE.sugar_cane obl-ART.pl sugar_cane
‘I’ll cut sugar-cane.’ {EC 13, 182}

Other elements in this list correspond to nouns which contain the same element. The nouns in (131), for example, all contain the bound element *-di* ‘BE.long, thin, flexible’. Some are compounds, others are synchronically unanalysable. The translation of the first element is, if possible, given in brackets.

(131)	*alambre:**-di***	‘wire’	(< Sp. *alambre* ‘wire’)
	*buj**-di***	‘thread’	(?)
	*sam~sam**-di***	‘rope’	(RED~twist)
	*nowe:**-di***	‘necklace’	(?)

*waka:**-di***	‘whip, reins’	(‘cow’)
*mi~mi:**-di***	‘snake’	(RED~?)

Some nouns containing a bound element are highly lexicalized. The nouns in (132) and (133), for example, cannot occur without the bound element *-oj* ‘clothes’. This, again, suggests that many words which are not (fully) analysable are the result of compounding. The glosses in the following examples are merely to show the possible etymologies of the words *do’ewa:noj* ‘cloth’ and *dojnojbeń* ‘piece of cloth’. They do not imply productive word formation.

(132) *do’-e-wa:n**oj***
put.on-BE.person?-INSTR:BE.clothes
‘cloth, material’

(133) *dojnojbeń*
< ? *don**-oj**-beń*
put_on-BE.clothes-BR.flat_flex
‘piece of cloth’

These bound elements are a challenge for further investigation. The scenario that can be imagined is as follows. A lexical element may have been used more often as part of a compound or in an incorporating verb than as an independent noun. A semantically corresponding independent noun may then have been introduced by another process, e.g. by borrowing. The relation between the bound element *-di* ‘house, enclosed space’ and the independent noun *ro:ya* ‘house’, illustrated in (134), may serve as an example.

(134)	*mere’*	***ro:ya***	*jiran**-di:**-ni*	*os*	*rim-eɬ-na=us*
	big	house	pretty-BE.house-PRC	ART.n.p	trade-APPL-DR=m.a
	‘A big, nice house (was what) he had bought.’				{EA, Escape Marivel 004}

While in (134), the bound element *-di* cross-refers to the noun *roya*, there are reasons to assume that the bound element *-di* originally denotes the material of which houses, fences etc. are made. The following nouns denoting house-building materials all contain this element:

(135)	***di**:mas*	‘straw used for thatching (Sp. *sujo*)’
	*aran**di***	‘poles used for house construction (Sp. *chuchío*)’
	*cha’**-di***	‘fence’ (*cha’*- ‘pierce’)
	*ka-vos**-di***	‘sticks for house building (Sp. *curi*)’ (*-vos* ‘BE.wood)
	*pul-a-yayas**-di***	‘*jipurí* (broom of *motacú* leaves)’ (*pul-* ‘sweep’, *-a* ‘DR’)

This suggests that the bound element *-di* does not have a morphological relation to the noun *ro:ya*, even though it can cross-refer to it (cf. (134) above). The noun *ro:ya* ‘house’, in turn, may be a loan (cf. the bound form *-roga* ‘house’ in Guaraní), introduced after the bound element was established.

One bound element deserves particular mention: the semantically neutral element *-ra* and the homophonous elements *-ra* ‘meat’ and ‘firewood’. The neutral element occurs by default

on bases which require the combination with a bound nominal element (cf. 5.2.3, 9.2.8). On these bases, this element is used when the entity is not further specified, as in (136). However, it can also be used instead of a more specific bound element, which would be *poy* 'BR.animal' in (137):

(136) *dol-**ra*** *os* *kare:ta*
full-BE.ntr ART.n.p oxcart
'The oxcart was full.' {EA, Vida chaco 022}

(137) *bo* *kaw-**ra*** *is* *po~poy-kwa* *di'* *kay-wan**ra***
REAS much-BE.ntr ART.pl RED~BR.animal-ABS REL eat-INSTR:BE.ntr
'Because there were many animals for us to eat.' {EA, Vida chaco 070}

An element *-ra* on a base which does not have this requirement automatically has the meaning 'meat' or 'firewood', depending on the context:

(138) *ba:-**ra*** *ona-**ra**-na=is*
finish-BE.ntr know-BE.ntr-DR=pl.a
'They knew everything.' {HR, TX 338}

(139) *loy* *iń* *is-a:-**ra***
ITN 1intr roast-DR-BE.meat
'I'll roast meat.' {EA 12, 325c}

(140) *kilne'* *paj-a-cho-cha:-**ra***
DM.std.d.f split-DR-BR.inside-DR2-BE.firewood
'She's chopping firewood.' {EA 14, 126}

Finally, note that the bound elements are not only nominal, since there is also a small group of bound verbal elements:

(141) *ba:-bu* 'to finish eating' (finish-BE.eat)
ba:-łavij 'to finish bathing' (finish-BE.bathe)

Since these elements occur typically in phasal verbs, where they replace incorporated verb roots, they are discussed in 10.8.4.

5.3.5. Homophony

There is quite a number of homophonous bound elements. Homophony occurs within one morphological class of elements, such as the three morphemes *-mo* in the list in (92), which are truncated forms of nouns ending in the same syllable. When all types of bound elements are taken together, however, the amount of homophony is striking. The following lists summarize some of these cases and provide, where possible, the morphologically related

independent noun. The grouping of some of the elements into possible larger semantic classes is avoided here, since this is a matter of more detailed research.

(142)	*-mo*	1. bird, insect	(no morphologically related independent noun)
		2. basket	(*bove:**mo***)
		3. banana, plantain	(*talum**mo***)
		4. calabash	(*sapa'**mo***)
		5. forest, bush	(*chaḿ**mo***)
		6. case	(<*-mo̷ɬ* 'BR.shell'?)
		7. nut	(<*-mo̷ɬ* 'BR.shell'?)
(143)	*-cho*	1. inside	('BR.inside')
		2. manioc flour	(*mo'in**cho*** 'manioc flour')
		3.creek	(*wala:**cho*** 'creek')
(144)	*-di*	1. seedlike	('BR.grain')
		2. long, thin, flexible	(?)
		3. house	(?)
(145)	*-pa*	1. stone	*(cham**pa**)*
		2. hand	(*cho:**pa***)
		3. manioc	(?)
(146)	*-ra*	1. generic	(when obligatory)
		2. meat	(?)
		3. firewood	(?)
(147)	*-ve*	1. dugout	(*ju:ve* 'dugout')
		2. fan	(*bo:ve* 'fan')

The homophony of different bound elements is normally not a problem, since the context disambiguates between the different possible interpretations of one form. The following elicitation example illustrates how speakers deal with the ambiguity. Here, the meaning of the element *di* was tested. The clause in (148)a was accepted by the speaker, since it contains a disambiguating full noun (*ro:ya* 'house'). Even though grammatically correct, the clause in (148)b was rejected, however. According to the speaker, one would not know whether the proposition was about "a house, a rope, or something else".

(148) a. *ona**-di:**-na kos **ro:ya** di' tavoj**-di***
know-*di*-DR ART.n.a house REL white-*di*
'I know the white house.'

b. *ona**-di:**-na kos tavoj**-di***
know-*di*-DR ART.n.a white-*di*
'I know the white house/rope/….' {EA14, 008d}

More research is needed on some nearly-homophonous bound elements. Some bound elements consisting of a CV-sequence have a semantically similar counterpart which only differs in that it contains an additional syllable-final lateral fricative, /ɬ/. Consider the pairs in (149); the simple forms are listed under a, the corresponding forms with the ending *-ɬ* under b:

(149)	a.	*ba*	'BR.round'	b.	*baɬ*	'BR.cover'
		cho	'BR.inside'		*choɬ*	'BE.between'
		lo	'BR.liquid'		*loɬ*	'BR.water as Ground (non-manipulable)'
		mo	'TRC.bush'		*moɬ*	'TRC.bush'

The elements of each pair are not only phonologically, but also semantically related. The elements under b denote an entity on which something can be located, and this entity is similar to the entity characterized by the corresponding element under a. The following examples illustrates this for *-choɬ* (cf. (150)a) and *-cho* (cf. (150)b):

(150) a. *chut-a-**choɬ**-a=as os pa:ko n-os chowit-a=as*
insert-DR-BE.between-LV=n.a ART.n.p dog obl-ART.n.p armpit-LV=n.a
'It [the jaguar] put the dog under its armpit.' {EA, Tigre y perro 012}

b. *usko buka' chak-a:**-cho***
PRO.m.a DUR.mov pierce-DR-BR.inside
'He goes around making the holes.' {EA, Chaco I 049}

There are indications that the final segment *-ɬ* is a short form of the applicative marker *-eɬ* (cf. 9.8). On verbs with a bound nominal element, this marker indicates that the entity denoted by the bound element is involved in the event as a ground or as an instrument (cf. 9.2.4, 9.2.5):

(151) *joro-poy-**eɬ** as mi:chi n-as pa:ko*
sleep-BR.animal-APPL ART.n cat obl-ART.n dog
'The cat is sleeping on (top of) the dog.' {JM 3, 268}

There is some evidence that the bound nominal element with *-ɬ* is identical in function to the applicative marker. In (152), the short form can be replaced by the long form of the marker (which is *-neɬ* after a vowel):

(152) a. *wes-**mo:ɬ**-e n-as chaḿmo*
break_open-TRC.bush-AGT obl-ART.n bush
~ b. *wes-**mo-ne:ɬ**-e n-as chaḿmo*
break_open-TRC.bush-APPL-AGT obl-ART.n bush
'to open (a path) in the forest' {JM 17, 091e}

Thus, there may be two allomorphs of the applicative morpheme, *-ɬ* and *-eɬ*. A possible problem with this analysis is that the lateral fricative also occurs on the roots of full nouns with *-kwa* (cf. 5.3.2.3):

(153) *ba~**bat**-kwa* ‘nest’
*cho~**chot**-kwa* ‘nut’
*lo~**lot**-kwa* ‘juice’
*mo~**mot**-kwa* ‘shell (e.g. of turtle)’
***sit**-kwa* ‘hole’

These nouns have in common that they denote an entity which either is located in something else (juice, nut) or which serves as a kind of container for something (nest, shell, hole). This common property may be a function of the element *-t*, while the CV element indicates the type of container. However, more research is needed on the internal structure of bound elements before this idea can be confirmed.

6 Possession

This chapter describes the marking of possession on nouns[113]. Possession is a complex issue in Movima. First of all, there is a basic difference between alienable and inalienable possession. Some nouns inherently denote an inalienably possessed entity and others denote an unpossessed entity. I label the first type relational and the second type non-relational nouns. Relational nouns are obligatorily marked as possessed unless the possessor is the first person singular. When non-relational nouns are marked as possessed, this implies alienable possession.

Relational nouns can be overtly marked to denote a nonpossessed or alienably possessed entity. The most common marker for this purpose is the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*, which was already introduced in 5.3.2. Conversely, non-relational nouns can be overtly marked to indicate inalienable possession. Here, the most productive marker is a reduplication infix.

A complication arises from the fact that the suffix *-kwa*, which marks a non-relational noun, is a lexical feature on a number of nouns, namely those which have a bound root (cf. 5.3.2). Here, the suffix *-kwa* is either omitted to create a relational noun, or the entire noun receives infixing reduplication.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 6.1 gives an outline of how possession is indicated in general, namely through an internally cliticized referential element. Sections 6.2–6.5 describe the marking of possession on the different types of nouns in detail. Section 6.6, finally, deals with possessive marking of body-part terms. This group of nouns is described separately because it cuts across the different morphological types, and some of its members have a morphological structure different from that of other nouns. Section 6.7, finally, is a brief summary of the phenomena discussed in this chapter.

6.1. The encoding of possession

Apart from the first person singular, the possessor is encoded by a bound pronoun or article that is internally cliticized to the head noun (cf. 3.9.1). Speech act participants are encoded by the bound pronouns of Set 1 (cf. 4.1.1, Table 6). This means that when the possessor is or includes the first person, it is encoded by a the element *ɬ* attached to the determiner. When it is or includes a non-first person, it is (additionally) encoded by an internally cliticized referential element.[114] The following examples illustrate possessive marking for all persons. For the third person, the masculine absential bound pronoun is chosen.

[113] For predicative possession, see 7.9.5.

[114] The encoding of the possessor is identical to that of ARG_1 in a transitive clause (cf. 7.2).

(1) a. 1st sg *aɬ* *ro:ya*
ART.n.1 house
'my house'

b. 1st pl *aɬ* *roya=**y'ɬi***
ART.n.1 house=1pl
'our (excl.) house'

c. 2nd sg *as* *roya=**n***
ART.n house=2
'your house'

d. 2nd pl *as* *roya=**nkweɬ***
ART.n house=2pl
'your (pl.) house'

e. 1st incl *aɬ* *roya=**n***
ART.n.1 house=2
'our (incl.) house'

f. 3rd m *as* *asna=**us***
ART.n home=m.a
'his house'

As was described in 3.9.1, internal cliticization, represented by an equals sign (=), is defined by some special phonological characteristics:

- An internally cliticized bound pronoun or article participates in word stress.
- Internal clitics are attached to a vowel. When the base ends in a consonant, the linking vowel *-a* is suffixed to it before the clitic is attached.
- In principle, prosodic vowel lengthening in the noun gets lost.

Apart from a bound pronoun, a possessor can additionally be encoded by a free pronoun or an NP. The most productive way to encode the possessor by a free form is the addition of a relative clause containing an oblique-marked pronoun, as in (2).

(2) *oso'* *os* *kawayo=y'ɬi* ***di'*** ***n-iy'ɬi***
DM.n.p ART.n.p horse=1pl REL obl-PRO.1pl
'We had a horse of our own.' [lit.: "There was our horse, which was of us."]
{EA, Cbba 059}

The free pronoun or NP can also occur directly after the possessed noun. This is similar to a free pronoun encoding an argument of a clause, to be described in 7.3. The pronoun or NP can either be unmarked, or it can be marked as oblique. It is not clear what the conditions are for alternative marking, but the choice is not arbitrary. First of all, there are nouns on which the possessor can only be expressed by the oblique pronoun, marked by the prefix *n-* (cf. 4.6), as in (3)a. The use of an unmarked pronoun is ungrammatical, as shown by (3)b.

(3) a. *as* *roya=n* ***n-ulkwaʼ***
ART.n house=2 obl-PRO.2sg
'the house of yours'

b.* *as* *roya=n* ***ulkwaʼ***
ART.n house=2 PRO.2sg {EC 16, 404a}

With other nouns, it is only possible to express the possessor by the unmarked pronoun, as in (4)a, but not by an oblique pronoun. The oblique pronoun can only occur in the relative clause, as in (4)b:

(4) a. *is* *e:ɬ-a=n* ***ulkwaṅ***
ART.pl BR.name-LV=2 PRO.2sg
'the name of yours'

b. *is* *e:ɬ-a=n* ***di'*** ***n-ulkwaṅ***
ART.pl BR.name-LV=2 REL obl-PRO.2sg
'the names of yours' {EA, 19, 266a}

Judging from these examples, it seems that the distinction is conditioned by inherent properties of the noun (cf. 6.2): a non-relational noun such as *ro:ya* 'house' in (3) can only be combined with an oblique-marked possessive pronoun, whereas a relational noun such as *eɬ* 'BR.name' is combined with an unmarked pronoun.[115]

However, the data are contradictory. For instance, the noun *iwaniwansi* 'my way of speaking', a relational noun, is often found with the oblique pronoun, but cannot be combined with the unmarked pronoun (cf. (5)).[116] In contrast, some non-relational nouns, such as *ju:ve* 'dugout', can be combined neither with the unmarked nor, as would be expected, with the oblique pronoun (cf. (6)). And finally, there are nouns which, despite being non-relational, can be combined with the unmarked pronoun (cf. (7)).

(5) a. *as* *iwani-wansi=n* ***n-i:de*** *mowi:maj*
ART.n speak-INSTR:BE.sound=2 obl-PRO.1incl Movima
'the manner of speaking of us Movimas'[117] [i.e., our language] {HR, TX 114}

b.* *as* *iwani-wansi=n* ***i:de*** *mowi:maj*
ART.n speak-INSTR:BE.sound=2 PRO.1incl Movima {EC 16, 405 }

(6) a.* *ayru* *a'ko* *ɬ* *ju:ve* ***inła***
DM.spk.n PRO.n 1 dugout PRO.1sg

b.* *ayru* *a'ko* *ɬ* *ju:ve* ***n-inła***
DM.spk.n PRO.n 1 dugout obl-PRO.1sg
('This is my dugout.') {EA 19, 253}

(7) *i:ri* *i'ko* *lokwa='ne* ***i'ne***
PRO.spk.pl PRO.pl *locro*=f PRO.f
'This is her *locro* soup.' [lit.: "This, it (is) her *locro* soup of hers."] {EA 19, 254d}

[115] This would be a parallel between relational nouns and bivalent verbs (cf. 7.3).
[116] All deverbal instrument nouns are relational, as will be shown in 11.1.6.
[117] As will be shown in 6.2, the encoding of the first person is not obligatory with relational nouns. In (5), therefore, the marker of the first person is omitted, only leaving the second-person marker *=n* to encode the first person inclusive on the noun (cf. 4.1.2).

In all these examples, the version with the relative clause is preferred over the version with the oblique pronoun only. Compare the following three examples with (3), (5), and (6), respectively, above:

(8) *as* *roya=n* ***di'*** ***n-ulkwaṅ***
ART.n house=2 REL obl-PRO.2sg
'the house of yours' [lit.: "the house that is yours"] {EC 16, 406a}

(9) *as* *iwani-wansi=n* ***di'*** ***n-i:de*** *mowi:maj*
ART.n speak-INSTR:BE.ntr=2 REL obl-PRO.1incl Movima
'the manner of speaking of us Movimas' (i.e., our language) {HR, TX 114}

(10) *ayru* *a'ko* *ɬ* *ju:ve* ***di'*** ***n-inɬa***
DM.spk.n PRO.n 1 dugout REL obl-PRO.1sg
'This is my dugout.' {EA 19, 088}

The form with the relative clause is always judged as "the best" by the speakers. The form with the oblique-marked pronoun, which is used, but not preferred in elicitation, may, therefore, be an elliptic version of the relative clause. In order to find out whether this is the case, more nouns have to be tested for their relational status (cf. 6.2). Subsequently, the different constructions in which possessed nouns can occur have to be systematized and tested with all these nouns.

6.2. Types of nouns

As was said in the introduction to this chapter, there are basically two types of nouns in Movima: non-relational nouns, which are not obligatorily possessed, and relational nouns, which are obligatorily possessed. Furthermore, there is a mixed type that combines characteristics of the two: nouns that contain the suffix *-kwa*. These three types of nouns have the following properties:

(11) **a. non-relational noun**s
- denote unpossessed entities when unmarked
- denote alienably possessed entities when combined with a referential element
- are explicitly marked (usually by infixing reduplication) when denoting an inalienably possessed entity

b. relational nouns
- denote inalienably possessed entities, also when not combined with a referential element (this implies a first-person singular possessor)
- are explicitly marked when denoting an unpossessed or alienably possessed entity

c. mixed (nouns with *-kwa*)

- denote unpossessed entities when unmarked
- denote alienably possessed entities when combined with a referential element
- when denoting an inalienably possessed entity, the suffix *-kwa* is either omitted, or the entire noun undergoes infixing reduplication

The following examples illustrate these types. In (12), we see the forms that non-relational nouns can take in the different possessive constructions:

(12) a. unpossessed
is *to:mi*
ART.pl water
'(the) water'

b. alienably possessed
is *tomi**=sne***
ART.pl water=f.a
'her water (e.g., in a jug)'

c. inalienably possessed: infixing reduplication
is *to**<mi~>**mi=as***
ART.pl water<INAL~>=pl.a
'its water (of the river, the well etc.)'

The examples in (13) illustrate relational nouns. Unless specifically marked, for example by the complex suffix *-wawankwa*, as in (13)c., these nouns denote an inalienably possessed item. When the possessor is not overtly encoded, as in (13)a, it is automatically the first person singular.

(13) a. *i'nes* *a:kay*
ART.f older_sibling
'my older sister'

b. *i'nes* *a:kay-a=n*
ART.f older_sibling-LV=2
'your older sister'

c. *i'nes* *a:kay-wa-wankwa*
ART.f older_sibling-?-INSTR:ABS
'the/an older sister (i.e., someone with younger siblings)'

The mixed type, which consists of nouns with the suffix *-kwa*, is illustrated in (14). Nouns with *-kwa* are non-relational, i.e., they denote an unpossessed entity when not combined with a referential element (cf. (14)a), and the internal cliticization of a referential element implies

alienable possession (cf. (14)b). For a noun of this type to denote an inalienably possessed entity, there are two possibilities: either, the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* is omitted, or, as in the case of all other non-relational nouns, the noun undergoes infixing reduplication (cf. (14)c.).[118]

(14) a. unpossessed:
as *mori-n-kwa*
ART.n BR.blossom-LN-ABS
'the/a blossom, flower'

b. alienably possessed:
as *mori-n-kwa=n*
ART.n BR.blossom-LN-ABS=2
'your flower'

c. inalienably possessed:
as *mori-n-a=as*
ART.n BR.blossom-LN-LV=n.a

~ *as* *mori-n-**<kwa~>**kwa=as*
ART.n BR.blossom-LN-<INAL~>ABS=n.a
'its blossom'

The remainder of this chapter describes possessive marking on the different types of nouns in more detail.

6.3. Possessive marking on relational and non-relational nouns

6.3.1. Bases which remain unmodified when marked as possessed

Independent nouns are either non-relational or relational, i.e., they either denote an unpossessed or an inalienably possessed entity. The following are examples of non-relational simple nouns, which form the largest class. When not combined with an internally cliticized referential element (cf. (15)a), these nouns denote an unpossessed entity. The cliticization of a referential element (in (15)b, the bound pronoun *=n* for the second person) implies alienable possession.

(15)	a.	*ro:ya*	'house'	b.	*roya=n*	'your house'
		iṅwa	'big river'		*iṅwa=n*	'your big river'
		champa	'stone'		*champa=n*	'your stone'
		balde	'bucket'		*balde=n*	'your bucket'

[118] Note that *-kwa* is never omitted when there is no internally cliticized referential element, i.e., when the possessor is the first person singular.

lo:kwa	'*locro* soup'	*lokwa=n*	'your *locro* soup'
lo:los	'village, yard'	*lolos-a=n*	'your village, yard'
ju:ve	'dugout'	*juve=n*	'your dugout'

The list in (16) gives examples of relational nouns. In contrast to those in (15), they always denote an inalienably possessed entity or concept. When they occur without an internally cliticized referential element, this implies a first person singular possessor. The list is divided into sections representing the semantic types of relational nouns.[119]

(16) a. most body-part terms (cf. 6.6.1)

bo:sa	'my arm'
bakwanyiń	'my wrist'
dimpa	'my finger'
chodo:wi	'my stomach'

b. some space-relation parts of wholes[120]

tomaj-a=a	'its side' (BR.side-LV=n)
mora=a	'its surface' (face=n)
chodowi=a	'its inside' (stomach=n)

c. all kinship terms

a:na	'my younger sibling'
a:kay	'my older sibling'
nono'	'my grandfather, -mother'
ay'ku	'my aunt'
ya:ni:kay	'my nephew, niece'
alwaj	'my spouse'
majni	'my child'

d. others

do'we	'my clothes'
no:no	'my pet, domestic animal'
bayɬim	'my field'
eɬ'i	'my name'

All these nouns, both non-relational (cf. (15)) and relational (cf. (16)), can be marked for possession without modification of the base. An exception is the kinship term *majni* 'my child' (cf. (16)c). When the possessor is not the first person singular, this noun has the base *majniwa* 'child of':

[119] Action nouns (cf. 11.1.1) and deverbal instrument nouns (cf. 11.1.6) also belong to the class of relational nouns.
[120] These nouns only occur with non-human possessors.

(17) *majniwa=n* ‘your child’

A relational noun has the property that when there is no overt possessor encoding, a first person singular possessor is implied. This can be seen in (18).[121]

(18) *buka’* *joy-a-ɬe=as* ***os*** ***do’we*** *n-os*
DUR.mov go-DR-CO=n.a ART.n.p clothes obl-ART.n.p
kwa:-n-a=as
BR.mouth-LN-LV=n.a
‘It [the cow] was taking my dress with it in its mouth.’ {EA, Cbba 090}

In contrast, a noun is non-relational when it is unmarked for person and clearly does not have a first-person possessor, as can be seen from the translation or the context. Consider the following example, which identifies *lokwa* ‘*locro* soup’ as non-relational:

(19) *iy’ɬi* *jayna* *kas* *nokowa* *kay<a>ɬe-wa=y’ɬi* *no-kos* ***lo:kwa***
PRO.1pl DSC NEG right_now give<DR>-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n.a *locro*
‘We won’t give her *locro* soup anymore from now on.’ {EA, Asilo 017}

The overt marking of the first person singular possessor (through the bound pronoun *=ɬ* cliticized to the article) is not a very strong criterion for identifying a relational noun, however. While overt marking of the first person singular possessor is not grammatically obligatory on relational nouns, it is always possible. For example, the noun *ay’ku* is a relational noun. However, in (20), it is (redundantly) marked as possessed:

(20) *as* *ɬakaḿba,* *a’ko* *n-i’neɬ* *ay’ku* *di’* *bito’o*
ART.n earth PRO.n obl-ART.f.1 aunt REL old_person
‘The land, it (belongs) to my old aunt.’ {EA, Buscar vivienda 006}

Furthermore, as was shown in 2.6, the first-person clitic *=ɬ* is phonologically weak: it is often pronounced as [h], the same consonant that can also represent the final /s/ in the article. Identifying this marker, therefore, can also be an acoustic problem. From the pronunciation of the article *niɬ* in (21), represented by the phonetic transcription in the third line, for example, it is impossible to say whether the noun *chi:loj* ‘provisions’ is a relational noun or not. That the phrase is translated as ‘my provisions’ may be due to contextual inference.

(21) *yey-na=n* *as* *ya:lowe-ɬe-na:-wa* ***n-iɬ*** ***chi:loj*** *di’* *po’so*
want-DR=2 ART.n drink-CO-DR-NMZ obl-ART.pl.1 provisions REL *chicha*
[… ni**h** 'tʃi:lɔh …]
‘Do you want me to give you to drink from my chicha provisions?’ {EA, Sueño 103}

[121] Relational nouns are similar in this respect with bivalent verbs (cf. 7.4), which are not obligatorily marked for the first person ARG_1.

Thus, establishing the obligatoriness of overt first-person marking has to involve elicitation.[122]

Another criterion which identifies a noun as relational is that, when referring to an unpossessed entity, it receives special marking. This is described in 6.3.3.

6.3.2. Possessive marking on phonologically defective nouns

Phonologically "defective" nouns, which only consist of two light syllables, appear in a special form when marked as possessed by an enclitic. When unmarked, as in (22)a, they have the structure CVʔV; when marked as possessed, as in (22)b, they have the structure CV*ya* or are reduplicated, as shown in (22)b (cf. also 5.1.2).

(22)

a.			b.		
	ko'o	'(fire)wood'		*koya=n*	'your firewood'
	ve'e	'fire'		*veya=n*	'your fire'
	chi'i	'excrements'		*chiya=n*	'your excrements'
	je'e	'my state of being'		*jeya=n*	'your state of being'
	ma'a	'my mother'		*ma:ma=n*	'your mother'
	pa'a	'my father'		*pa:pa=n*	'your father'

Like other simple independent nouns, some of these nouns are non-relational and others are relational. For example, the noun *je'e* 'my state of being' as well as the kinship terms *ma'a* and *pa'a* are relational, while *ko'o* '(fire)wood', *ve'e* 'fire' and *chi'i* 'excrements' are non-relational. This is shown in (23) for the noun *chi'i* 'excrements', since without overt marking it can refer to excrements in general:

(23)

is	***chi'***	*di'*	*da'*	*n-os*	*choṅ*
ART.pl	excrements	REL	DUR.nst	obl-ART.n.p	HAB
pul-a-lolos-wa=y'ɬi			*n-os*	*lo:los*	
sweep-DR-yard-NMZ=1pl			obl-ART.n.p	yard	

'the [pig] excrements of all the times when we had swept the yard' {EA,Aros II 032}

Thus, the modified possessive base is a purely formal device without any semantic implications. This is also apparent from the fact that these nouns occur in the short form when the possessor is the first person singular:

(24) *iɬ ko'o* 'my firewood'

[122] On the whole, the first-person proclitic =*ɬ* is applied more regularly as a possessive marker than as a marker of ARG_1 in a transitive clause (cf. 7.4). This may be a signal that the possessive/transitive person-marking paradigm is splitting up into a nominal and a verbal one.

6.3.3. The overt marking of non-relational nouns

Some morphemes overtly mark a noun as non-relational. The most common marker is the suffix *-kwa*. As was already shown in 5.3.2, when occurring on a body-part term, this marker indicates detachment and nonpossession:[123]

(25)	a.	*di:noj*	'my upper leg'	b.	*dinoj-kwa*	'detached leg'
		cho:ra	'my eye'		*chora-n-kwa*	'detached eye'
		kwinto	'my cheek'		*kwinto:-kwa*	'detached cheek'
		woro'	'my throat'		*woro'-kwa*	'detached throat, neck'

As could already be seen in 5.3.2 with respect to bound roots, the suffix *-kwa* occurs on many bases which otherwise cannot occur independently. I will come back to these nouns in 6.5 below.

Another suffix which derives non-relational from relational nouns is the complex instrumental suffix *-wanra* or *-wanrani* (cf. 11.4).[124] With some nouns, this suffix is necessary in order to encode a nonpossessed entity:

(26) *do'we-wanra:-ni*
my.clothes-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'clothes (of someone, not mine)'

(27) *de-wa-wanra:-ni*
lie-?-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'bed, bedstead (not mine)'

(28) *eɬ-wanra*
BR.name-INSTR:BE.ntr
'name'

Consider also the following example, in which the speaker refers to the drawing of a finger with a ring on it:

(29) *kowa* *da'* *as* ***dimpa-n-wanra:-ni***
DM.el.n DUR.nst ART.n finger-LN-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
che *as* *sortija=a*
and ART.n ring=n
'There is a finger and its ring.' {EA12, 285}

Another complex suffix, *-wawankwa*, has the function of converting kinship terms into more general terms. The resulting noun denotes the status of a person as a parent, grandparent etc., without relating that person to another one.[125]

[123] Nonpossession is relevant here. As a speaker pointed out to me, the noun *dimpa-n-kwa* 'detached finger', for example, can only be used when referring to a cut-off finger which is not one's own.
[124] Note, however, that nouns containing the suffix *-wanra* are relational when derived from a verb (cf. 11.1.6).

(30) *ma'-wawankwa* 'mother'
pa'-wawankwa 'father'
nono'-wawankwa 'grandmother/-father'
majni-wawankwa 'son/daughter'

This suffix has only limited productivity with kinship terms. Outside the kinship domain, the only noun it was found with is the bound root *e₺* 'BR.name':

(31) *sal-na=i* *kos* ***e₺-wawankwa*** *di'* *chonlomaj* *mowi:ma*
search-DR=pl ART.n.a BR.name-INSTR:ABS REL really Movima
'They look for a name that is really Movima [i.e., of Movima origin].'
{EA, Tolkosya II 013}

Nouns derived by *-wanrani* or *-wawankwa* cannot enter in a possessive construction:

(32) * *as-wa-wanra-ni**=n***
sit-?-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
('your seat')

(33) * *ma'-wawankwa**=is***
my_mother-INSTR:ABS=pl.a
('their mother') {EC 15, 063}

Thus, relational nouns can be identified, firstly, from the fact that when they are not combined with an internally cliticized referential element, they have an implicit first person singular possessor. Secondly, they require a special suffix in order to refer to an unpossessed entity. Non-relational nouns, in contrast, do not have an implicit first-person singular possessor when occurring without an internally cliticized referential element.

6.4. The marking of inalienable possession

In this section, I describe the modifications which turn a non-relational into a relational noun. As was illustrated briefly in section 6.2, non-relational nouns, in principle, undergo infixing reduplication when denoting an inalienably possessed entity. Apart from this, some of them can be combined with a suffix *-e₺* or *-₺e*, a derivation which indicates a special type of possessive relationship. These processes are described in 6.4.1 and 6.4.2, respectively.

[125] Most often, these nouns are used as an address of respect: *dokoy as ima:yoj n-i'bikwe₺* ***ma'-wawankwa*** 'Good morning to you, mothers!' (good ART.n morning obl-PRO.2pl my_mother-INSTR:ABS)

6.4.1. Infixing reduplication

Infixing reduplication marks a nouns as denoting inalienably possessed entities. The posseive relationship can involve parts of wholes, natural products, material, colours, and also inseparable more abstract concepts. Examples of each of these types are given below:

(34) Parts of wholes:
wa:<ka~>ka=i
cow<INAL~>=pl
'their meat (of the bones)'

(35) Products:

a. *is* *ve'e<vu~>-vus-a=as* *ve'e*
ART.pl fire<INAL~>-BE.dust-LV=ART.n fire
'its ashes (of the fire)'

b. *charaye<lo~>lo=is*
honey<INAL~>=pl.a
'their honey (of the bees)'

(36) Colours:
ba:-ra *as* *balo<si~>si=a*
finish-BE.ntr ART.n pink<INAL~>=n
'Its pink (colour) has worn off.'

(37) More abstract relations:
n-as *yej<cho~>cho=as* *septiyembre*
obl-ART.n month<INAL~>=ART.n September
'in the month of September'

When unmodified, the nouns given above are non-relational:

(38) *as wa:ka* '(the)/a cow; meat'
as nun'i 'the/a bone'
as ko'o:vos '(the) wood'
is ve'e:vus '(the) ashes'
is charaye:lo '(the) honey'
as balo:si '(the) pink (colour)'
as yejcho 'the/a month'
etc.

When nouns like these denote alienably possessed concepts, they remain unmodified (cf. 6.3 above):

(39) *as* *wa:ka=us*
ART.n cow =m.a
'his cow'[126]

For the expression of inalienable possession, the unmodified base is not acceptable. Consider the noun *to:mi* 'water' in the following pair of examples:

(40) a. *kis* *to<mi~>mi=is* *di'* *swe:<ro~>ro=is*
ART.pl.a water<INAL~>=pl.a REL serum<INAL~>=pl.a
'their water which is their serum [of the manioc roots]' {EA, Uso yuca 008}

b. * *kis* *to:mi=is*
ART.pl.a water=pl.a
'their water [of the manioc roots]'

Non-relational nouns can denote both alienably and inalienably possessed entities. The unmodified form unambiguously denotes unpossessed or alienably possessed entities. The reduplicated form unambiguously encodes an inalienably possessed entity.

In contrast, a relational noun can occasionally occur with reduplication. This can create a more idiomatic expression, as in (41). Here, the relational phonologically defective noun *je'e* 'my state of being' undergoes reduplication:

(41) *je<ya~>y-a=u* *u'ko*
state_of<INAL~>-LV=m PRO.m
'his vice, bad habit' {JM 5, 050}

This example shows that the device of reduplication can create a new, idiomatic expression when it does not mark inalienable possession. However, cases like these are rare, and normally, the reduplication of a relational noun is considered ungrammatical. The following form appeared in a text, but was rejected in elicitation:

(42) *?is cho<pa:~>pa* 'my hands' (ART.pl hand<INAL~>)

6.4.2. The applicative suffixes *-eɬ* and *-ɬe* as markers of possessive bases

Apart from infixing reduplication, there is another, far less productive, derivational process which marks a noun as relational. This concerns the suffixation of *-eɬ* 'applicative' or *-ɬe* 'co-participant' to a noun. Normally, these suffixes function as applicative markers on verbs (cf. 9.7, 9.8). On nouns, it seems that they indicate that an entity is possessed which is either normally unpossessed or possessed by a different possessor than usual.

Consider the following examples of the non-relational noun *ra:da* 'door'. In (43), it is unmodified, i.e. not marked as possessed. In (44), it is marked as relational by infixing

[126] While *wa:ka* can mean both 'cow' and 'meat', this noun would not be used to say 'his meat'. For this purpose, a different noun would be used: *wa:ka-toda=us* (cow-BE.piece=m.a).

reduplication: this indicates that its denotatum is inalienably possessed by the house. In (45) and (46), finally, it receives the marker *-ɬe*: this marks the noun as relational, too, but the possessive relation is not an inalienable part-of-whole relation.

(43) *po'-ti* *as* ***ra:da***
close-IMP.DR ART.n door
'Close the door!' {EA 17, 241b}

(44) *as* ***ra<da~>da***=*as* *ro:ya*
ART.n door<INAL~>=ART.n house
'the door of the house' {EA 19, 276}

(45) *po'-ti* *as* ***rada-n-ɬe***=*n*
close-IMP.DR ART.n door-LN-CO=2
'Close your door!' {EA 13, 080}

(46) *loy* *iɬ* *pay-a:-ɬe* *as* *alwambeń* *n-as* ***rada-n-ɬe***
ITN 1 smear-DR-CO ART.n paper obl-ART.n door-LN-CO
'I'll glue the paper onto my door.' {EA 19, 251a}

There is clearly a link between the suffix *-ɬe* on a noun and its applicative function on a verb (cf. 9.7). In both cases, it indicates that there is a "new" participant/possessor, which is less closely related to the event/entity denoted by the base than the "normal" participant/possessor. As an illustration, consider the following example of the marker *-ɬe* on the verb root *kel-* 'open'. The unmarked verb in (47)a takes a "normal" undergoer, a patient; the verb marked by *-ɬe* in (47)b takes an undergoer which is less directly affected by the event. This is similar to the possessive relationship indicated by *-ɬe* in (45) and (46) above, which is less direct than the inalienable relationship in (44).

(47) a. *loy* *iɬ* *kel-na* *as* *ra:da*
ITN 1 open-DR ART.n door
'I'll open the door.'

b. *loy* *iɬ* *kel-a:-**ɬe*** *as* *no:no*
ITN 1 open-DR-CO ART.n pet
'I'll open (the door) for my pet.' {EA 13, 079d}

Hence, the suffix *-ɬe* on nouns can be considered identical to the suffix *-ɬe* on verbs. However, on some nouns, it can be replaced by the applicative suffix *-eɬ*, without a change in meaning.

(48) a. *a'ko* *ɬ* *towa-n-**ɬe***
PRO.n 1 path-LN-CO
~ b. *a'ko* *ɬ* *towa:-n-**eɬ***
PRO.n 1 path-LN-APPL
'It is my path [i.e., the path I use].' {EA 12, 255e}

Like *-ɬe*, the suffix *-eɬ* is found on verbs as well. However, on verbs, it is not an allomorph of *-ɬe* (cf. 9.8). Therefore, it is possible that *-ɬe/-eɬ* on nouns is a different morpheme with two allomorphs. However, until this phenomenon has been investigated more thoroughly, I treat *-ɬe* and *-eɬ* as two different morphemes, identical to the verbal suffixes.

The applicative morphemes only occur on a restricted number of nouns, most of all on some nouns denoting geographic entities and on some body-part terms. The resulting bases always indicate that the entity has a particular function. I will discuss geographical entities (to which I count concepts like 'door' as well) first, and will turn to body-part terms below in this section.

Possession of a geographic entity means that the entity is owned or regularly used by the "possessor". The following are some more examples, in addition to those given above:

(49) *a'ko ɬ ɬakamba-n-**eɬ**-a=n*
PRO.n 1 earth-LN-APPL-LV=2
'This is our land.' {EA 13, 051}

(50) *jayna ń pul-a-lo:los n-os lolos-**eɬ**-a=y'ɬi*
DSC 1intr sweep-DR-village obl-ART.n.p village-APPL-LV=1pl
'Then I swept our yard.' {EA, Sueño 154}

The possessive construction can encode a more abstract relationship between two geographical entities:

(51) *as beń'i-n-**eɬ**-a=as Peru, as apere-beń'i*
ART.n grassland-LN-APPL-LV=ART.n *Perú* ART.n *Apere*-grassland
'The grasslands of (the village) Perú, the Apere (river) land.' {EA, Sueño 002}

This derivation is not obligatory for denoting possession of a geographical entity. The simple nominal base can be used here, too, as the following example shows:

(52) a. *a'ko rada=n ulkwań*
PRO.n door=2 PRO.2sg

~ b. *a'ko rada-n-**ɬe**=n ulkwań*
PRO.n door-LN-CO=2 PRO.2sg
'It is your door.' {EA 12, 256}

The use of this marker seems to depend on the speaker: some speakers use it consistently in the appropriate context, while others do not use it at all to indicate possession of a geographic entity. The following example is from a speaker of this group (compare it with (49) above):

(53) *as ɬakamba=y'ɬi iy'ɬi indi:jena*
ART.n earth=1pl PRO.1pl indian
'the land of ours, the Indians' {GC, Marcha 034}

The affixation of *-eɬ/-ɬe* is not possible on all nouns which denote a geographic entity. On the noun *inwa* 'big river', for example, the use of the suffix is ungrammatical:

(54) **as inwa:-n-eɬ*
ART.n river-LN-APPL
'(my river)' {EA 12, 260a}

However, like all non-relational nouns (cf. 6.3), this noun can receive regular possessive marking:

(55) a. *a'ko=s inwa=y'ɬi*
PRO.n=DET river=1pl
'It's our river.'

I will now turn to the suffixation of *-eɬ/-ɬe* to body-part terms. Here, the suffix creates a noun that is used to denote a part of an inanimate whole. This often leads to lexicalization:

(56) a. *as bo:sa*
ART.n arm
'my arm'

b. *is bosa-**neɬ**-a=as bulu:sa*
ART.pl arm- APPL-LV=ART.n blouse
'the sleeves of the blouse'

c. *as bosa:-**neɬ***
ART.n arm-APPL
'my sleeve' {JM 17, 133a}

Often, the semantic relationship between the noun with *-eɬ/-ɬe* and the source noun is not so transparent. For example, when the noun root *kwa* 'mouth' receives the suffix *-eɬ/-ɬe*, it denotes the top of an object (not an opening). This can be seen in the following examples:

(57) a. *as kwa:-n-a=n*
ART.n BR.mouth-LN-LV=2
'your mouth'

b. *as kwa-n-**ɬe**=as me:sa*
ART.n mouth-LN-CO=ART.n table
'the top of the table' {EA 12, 302a}

c. *as kwa-n-**ɬe**=is mo'incho:-buń*
ART.n mouth-LN-CO=pl.a *chivé*-BR.mass
'the top of the [bucket with the] *chivé* mass' {EA, Tuncho 007}

d. *as* *kwa-n-**ɬe**=as* *ro:ya*
ART.n mouth-LN-CO=ART.n house
'the top of the house.' {EA 12, 302}

When the opening of an object is referred to, the unmarked body-part term for 'mouth' is used:

(58) *as* ***kwa-n**-a=as* *bovemo:-ba*
ART.n BR.mouth-LN-LV=ART.n basket-BE.round
'the opening of the basket' {EA, ph 024}

The productivity of this suffix on other body-part terms, and on other nouns in general, still needs to be tested.

6.5. Nouns with *-kwa* denoting parts of wholes

Many nouns in Movima consist of a bound root that receives the "absolute-state" suffix *-kwa* when occurring independently (cf. 5.3.2). Most of these nouns denote entities which can be inalienably possessed, such as body parts or parts of inanimate wholes. As was mentioned before, at least historically, the suffix *-kwa* probably had the function of indicating detachment of the part from the whole (cf. (25) above). Synchronically, this function of the suffix *-kwa* is not so transparent anymore. However, it still plays a crucial role with regard to possession: it identifies a noun as non-relational.

As was shown in 5.3.2, most monosyllabic roots of nouns with *-kwa* are reduplicated. Furthermore, depending on the phonological form of the preceding syllable, the suffix *-kwa* can be preceded by the linking nasal /n/ (cf. 2.9.3). The following list provides examples of nouns with *-kwa* that encode entities that can be inalienably possessed.[127] The nouns are listed according to their phonological structure, because, as will become apparent below, this is important for possessive marking.

(59) a. CV(~)CVC-kwa

mu~muń-kwa	'feather; palm leaf'
mo~moɬ-kwa	'shell'
be~beń-kwa	'hide'
bo~boj-kwa	'trunk'
te~tey-kwa	'heart (bot.) (*cogollo*)'
lo~loɬ-kwa	'juice'
tolej-kwa	'branch'

[127] Body-part terms ending in *-kwa* are treated separately in section 6.6 below.

b. CV(~)CV-*n*-*kwa*

di~di-n-kwa	‘grain, seed’
mori-n-kwa	‘flower, blossom’
lora-n-kwa	‘leaf’
toda-n-kwa	‘piece’

c. CV(~)CV:-*kwa*

ba~ba:-kwa	‘fruit’
do~do:-kwa	‘large seed’
losi:-kwa	‘resin’

d. CVC-*kwa*

sił-kwa	‘hole, cave’
joł-kwa	‘egg’
vus-kwa	‘dust’

These nouns can have three different possessive bases. First of all, the base can have the form given in (59). Here, the suffix *-kwa* identifies the noun as non-relational, and possessive marking indicates alienable possession (cf. (60)a). When the possessive relation is inalienable, it can be encoded in two alternative ways. Either, the suffix *-kwa* is omitted, as in (60)b, or the suffix is retained and the entire noun undergoes infixing reduplication, as in (60)c.[128]

(60) a. *is di~di-n-kwa=sne* ‘her seeds’
b. *is di~di-n-a=as* ‘its seeds (of the plant)’
c. *is di~di-n-<kwa~>kwa=as* ‘its seeds (of the plant)’

It is important to note that the base for the possessive modification is the complex independent noun, not the simple noun root. When the independent noun contains root reduplication, as is the case with the noun *di~di-n-kwa* ‘grain, seed’, the reduplication is retained, as well as the linking nasal *-n* when this is part of the relational noun.[129] Both of these features do not appear when the root occurs in other environments, e.g. in a compound:

(61) *chujań**-di***
motacú-BR.grain
‘nut of *motacú*’

In the following sections, I will describe the morphological and semantic properties of the three possessive constructions presented in (60) in more detail.

[128] We will see in 6.6.3 that reduplication is the only way to mark body-part terms with *-kwa* as possessed.
[129] The linking nasal is not required before an enclitic; if derived directly from the root, the expected possessed form would be **di~<di~>di=as* ; therefore, the occurrence of the linking nasal in (60)b is due to its being part of the base, and not an effect of the attachment of the enclitic.

6.5.1. No base modification: alienable possession

When the possessive construction with a noun ending in *-kwa* encodes an alienable possessive relationship, the base retains its independent form:

(62) *a'ko ɬ mori-n-kwa*
PRO.n 1 BR.blossom-n-ABS
'It is my flower.' {EA 12, 268a}

Hence, the marking of alienable possession of part-whole terms ending in *-kwa* is identical to that of other non-relational nouns (cf. 6.3). This also concerns nouns which belong to the morphological class of nouns ending in *-kwa* (cf. 5.3.2), but do not denote parts of wholes:

(63) *po~poy-kwa* 'wild animal'
noɬ-kwa 'mouse'
donto:-kwa 'puma'
itila:-kwa 'man'

Since their referents cannot be inalienably possessed, these nouns do not have a special form which denotes inalienable possession, e.g. by omission of the suffix *-kwa*:

(64) a. *a'ko po~poy-kwa='ne i'ne*
PRO.n RED~BR.animal-ABS=f PRO.f
'That's her animal.'

b. * *a'ko po~poy-a='ne i'ne*
PRO.n RED~BR.animal-LV =f PRO.f

In the following sections, I will describe the forms by which these nouns can denote an inalienably possessed entity.

6.5.2. Omission of *-kwa*

When a noun of the type in (59) denotes an inalienably possessed entity, its ending *-kwa* can be dropped to mark inalienable possession, as shown in (65)b.

(65) a. *lora-n-kwa* b. *lora-n-a=a*
BR.leaf-LN-ABS BR.leaf-LN-LV=n
'(loose) leaf' 'its leaf (of the tree)'

Alternatively to dropping the absolute-state suffix, the noun can be marked by infixing reduplication (cf. 6.5.3). This is the only option for body-part terms ending in *-kwa*, as will be shown in 6.6.3.

The omission of *-kwa* does not necessarily imply that the entity referred to is physically attached to the possessor. In (66), for example, reference is made to a fallen leaf:

(66) *a'ko* ***lora-****n-a=kolre'e=s* *manka*
PRO.n BR.leaf-LN-LV=DM.std.d.n=DET mango
'It's a leaf of that mango (tree) over there.' {EA 13, 135b}

The relational noun cannot denote an alienable relationship, as is shown by (67). A nest, as denoted by the noun *babaɬkwa*, can only be inalienably owned by birds and certain other animals. When a person owns a nest, as indicated in (67)a, this can only mean that he or she is in the possession of a bird's nest. Unless a very unusal context is imagined, the inalienable construction in (67)b is ungrammatical, since humans don't build nests.

(67) a. *as* *ba~baɬ-kwa=u*
ART.n RED~BR.cover-ABS=m
'his nest'

b. * *as* *ba~baɬ-a=u*
ART.n RED~BR.cover-LV=m {EA 12, 265c}

There is an important phonological condition for the form of a possessive base when the suffix *-kwa* is dropped: the base to which the internal clitic is attached has to have three moras (cf. 3.9.1). Not all the nouns in (59) above comply with this condition, and they require phonological augmentation. The ways in which different possessive bases are augmented will be described in the following paragraphs.

For bases ending in a consonant (those in (59)a, b, d), the phonological augmentation is achieved by the linking vowel *-a*, which is attached before the cliticized possessive marker. In most cases (the nouns in (59)a and b), this creates a base consisting of three light syllables:

(68) *lo.ra.na=as*
lora-n-a=as
BR.leaf-LN-LV=n.a
'its leaf'

(69) *di.di.na=as*
di~di-n-a=as
RED~BR.grain-LN-LV=n.a
'its seeds'

For nouns with a monosyllabic base, such as *siɬ-kwa* 'hole' and *joɬ-kwa* 'egg' (cf. (59)d), the case is slightly different: the attachment of the linking vowel creates a disyllabic segment. However, recall from 2.9.2 that the vowel of a monosyllabic root is usually long when it occurs in an open syllable, independent of its morphological environment.[130] Consequently, a possessive base consisting of a monosyllabic root and the linking vowel also has three moras, two of which occur on the first long syllable. The long vowel is always clearly audible. Examples are given in (70) and (71):

[130] This phenomenon could already be observed in the case of the root *eɬ-* 'BR.name' in (4) above.

(70) *kis* *mo~moɬ-a=is* ***jo:ɬ-a=is*** *bi:law*
ART.pl.a RED~BR.shell-LV=pl.a BR.egg-LV=ART.pl.a fish
'The shells of the eggs of the fish.' {HR, TX 251}

(71) *che* *o'o:wa* *da'* *n-os* ***si:ɬ-a=as***
and audible DUR.nst obl-ART.n.p BR.hole-LV=n.a
'And [the agouti] could be heard in its cave.' {EA, Jaguar 040}

A question that might be asked is what would happen if the entities denoted by these nouns had a first-person inalienable possessor (given an appropriate context), which would not be encoded by an enclitic and which, therefore, would not trigger the linking vowel. The answer is that even if it were possible for these nouns to denote a part of a human, i.e., a body part, they would not be marked for possession in this way, but by reduplication of *-kwa*. This process is described in 6.5.3, and the marking of body-part terms is described in 6.6.

When the suffix *-kwa* is omitted from a noun whose base has the structure CVCV, as is the case with the nouns in (59)c., the base has to be augmented in a different manner. Due to the vocalic ending of these bases, no linking vowel is attached which could create a base with three moras. In order to achieve the required structure, these bases undergo infixing reduplication. The reduplication creates a base of three syllables to which the enclitic is attached:

(72) *lo.si.si=is*
lo<si~>si=is
resin<RED~>=pl.a
'their resin (of the trees)' {EA 14, 083}

This process is also applied to bases that already contain prefixing reduplication, as is the case for some of the nouns listed under (59)c., e.g. *ba~ba:-kwa* 'fruit'. When the suffix *-kwa* is dropped here to create a possessive base, the remaining base *ba~ba* has to be additionally reduplicated before the possessor is cliticized. This is illustrated by (73):

(73) *jayna* *lok-a:-ɬe* *is* ***ba~<ba~>ba=as*** *ko'*
DSC fall-DR-CO ART.pl RED~<RED~>BR.round=ART.n tree
'I made the fruits fall off the tree.' {JM 16, 372b}

Note that, even though these nouns denote inalienably possessed entities, I analyse the infixing reduplication here as a purely phonological process, not as the marker of inalienable possession described in 6.4.1. This is because, with regard to nouns ending in *-kwa*, the reduplication is only found on bases with the form CVCV. If it were a semantically relevant derivation, the infixing reduplication would be found on the other bases, too.

Other bound roots that denote parts of wholes and display the same behaviour were given in 5.3.2.1. In difference to the bases described here, however, those roots do not normally occur with the suffix *-kwa*.

6.5.3. Retention and reduplication of *-kwa*

Instead of dropping the suffix *-kwa*, as described in the previous section, the nouns ending in *-kwa* (cf. (59)) can undergo infixing reduplication when denoting an inalienably possessed entity. This is the same process as with any other non-relational noun (cf. 6.4.1). As will be shown in 6.6.3, for body-part terms ending in *-kwa*, this is the only option for possessive marking. Since the suffix *-kwa* is the final element of these nouns, this is the syllable that is reduplicated:

(74) *as* *lora-n-<kwa~>kwa=as* *manka*
ART.n BR.leaf-LN-<INAL~>ABS=ART.n mango
'the mango leaf'

(75) *as* *mosi-<kwa:~>kwa*
ART.n BR.lower_back-<INAL~>ABS
'my lower back'

At least synchronically, there does not seem to be a semantic difference between this mechanism and the one described above, which involves the omission of *-kwa*. Both can be used when the referent is physically attached to its possessor as well as when it is detached from it. This is shown by (76)a and b which both equally express inalienable possession:

(76) a. *i'ko* ***lora-n-a****=as* *manka*
PRO.pl BR.leaf-LN-LV-ART.n mango

~b. *i'ko* ***lora-n<kwa~>-kwa****=as* *manka*
PRO.pl BR.leaf-LN<INAL~>-ABS=ART.n mango
'They are mango leaves.' {EA 13, 135c}

However, in elicitation, speakers do employ the different constructions in order to differentiate between the two types of inalienable possession (attachment and detachment). This can be seen in the following examples. In both, variant a. is used to refer to an entity that is still part of a whole, and b. is used for a detached entity:

(77) a. *is* *di~di-n-a=as* *ko'*
ART.pl RED~BR.grain-LN-LV=ART.n tree
'the seeds of the tree [still on the tree]'

b. *is* *di~di-n-<kwa~>kwa=as* *ko'*
ART.pl RED-BR.grain-LN-<INAL~>ABS=ART.n tree
'the seeds of the tree [on the ground]' {EA 13, 131b}

(78) a. *as* *ła~<ła~>ła=as* *do'we*
ART.n RED~<RED~>BR.seam=ART.n clothes
'the seam of my dress'

b. *as* *ɬa~ɬa<kwa~>-kwa=os* *do'we*
ART.n RED~BR.seam<INAL~>-ABS=ART.n.p clothes
'the [loose] seam of my ex-dress' {EA 13, 291c}

It can be assumed that historically, the two types of marking inalienable possession with nouns ending in *-kwa* had the function of differentiating between attached vs. detached inalienable possession. This is because speakers still use this resource, although inconsistently. However, at the present stage of the language, a specific inalienable relation is not connected to a specific possessive form: both are used interchangeably, as was shown in (76). Finally, note that on body-part terms with the ending *-kwa*, this ending is always reduplicated and not dropped. This will be described in the following section.

6.6. Body-part terms

There are different morphological types of nominal bases that denote body parts: simple independent nouns that do not have a special possessed form, complex nouns ending in *-kwa*, bound roots, and roots that receive the suffix *-'i* when functioning as independent nouns. These different types trigger different mechanisms for the formation of possessive constructions.

It is not always possible to separate the four classes of body-part-terms clearly, because some belong to different morphological classes. Table 20 is an attempt to arrange them according to their morphological form. Some terms that are not body-part-terms in the strict sense, but belong to the same morphological class, are also included in the table. It can be seen from the table that the picture is quite complex, since the types of nouns themselves can be, in turn, divided into different subtypes. The types represented in the table will subsequently be characterized in detail.

Table 20. Morphological types of body-part terms[131]

1. simple	**2. reduplication**	**3. ending *-kwa***	**4. ending *-ʻi***
ba:chi ‘my nose’ *ba:ri* ‘my foot’ *ba:ruń* ‘my elbow’ *be:ra* ‘my forehead’ *bo:sa* ‘my arm’ *china:mo* ‘my knee’ *cho:ra* ‘my eye’ *chodo:wi* ‘my stomach’ *di:noj* ‘my thigh’ *dimpa* ‘my finger’ *dimpoj* ‘my toe’ *dinła* ‘my jaw’ *dinsi* ‘my buttocks’ *do’lala* ‘my shoulder’	**2a. Always reduplicated:** *kwi~<kwi:~>kwi* ‘my waist’ *lo<to:~>to* ‘my ear’ *du~<du:~>du’* ‘my back’ *lo<ba:~>ba* ‘my body’	**3a. Bound roots: always contain *-kwa* when occurring independently** *chiraskwa* ‘intestines’ *meskwa* ‘fat’ *mosi:kwa* ‘lower back’ *tobeńkwa* ‘skin’ *vebeskwa* ‘rib’ ?*ba:kwa* ‘head’	**4a. Typically unpossessed** *don’i* ‘blood’ *don<ʻi:~>ʻi* ‘my blood’ *nun’i* ‘bone’ *nun<ʻi~>ʻi* ‘my bone’ (*dam’i* ‘lice’) (*dam<ʻi:>ʻi* ‘my lice’)

[131] Note that native speakers would not be happy with most of the forms in this table: the citation form of a body-part term is always with the second person singular enclitic (=*n*).

soyła ‘my front tooth’ *vi:chi* ‘my collarbone’ *wo:ro’* ‘my throat’ *torindi* ‘kidneys’ (cf. 2b)	**2b. Sometimes reduplicated:** *torin<di:~>di* ‘my kidneys’ *chon<do:~>do* ‘my liver’	**3b. Can also appear without *-kwa*. The suffix indicates detachment.** *ruɬ-kwa* ‘tongue’ *dinoj-kwa* ‘leg’ *chora-n-kwa* ‘eye’ *kwinto:-kwa* ‘cheek’ *ris-kwi* ‘shin’[132] *woro’-kwa* ‘neck’ etc.	**4b. Inherently possessed: bound roots which receive *-‘i* with 1st person sg. possessor** *ruɬ-’i* ‘my tongue’ *ru:ɬ-a=n* ‘your tongue’ (*eɬ-’i* ‘my name’) (*e:ɬ-a=n* ‘your name’) *ris-’i* ‘my ankle’ *ri:s-a=n* ‘your ankle’ *kwa-n-’i* ‘my mouth’ *kwa:-n-a=n* ‘your mouth’ (*-n* ‘LN’) *chaj-’i* ‘my breasts’ *cha:j-a=n* ‘your breasts’ *tey-’i* ‘my penis’ *te:y-a=n* ‘your penis’

6.6.1. Type 1: Simple body-part terms

The nouns in the first column are relational nouns like the ones described in 6.3 above. They always denote an inalienably possessed entity, and when there is no explicit indication of the possessor, this implies a first-person singular possessor.

(79) *aɬ ~ as dimpa* ‘my finger’

Some of these nouns can be derived by the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* in order to refer to a detached body part (cf. 6.6.3 below). Furthermore, in a possessive construction, some nouns can undergo reduplication without there being a semantic difference with the unmarked form (cf. 6.6.2 below).

[132] The suffix *-kwi* is very rare. It seems to be a variant of *-kwa* ‘ABS’.

With some of the relational body-part terms, the attachment of *-kwa* creates a new lexical item whose meaning is derived from that of the body-part term. These derived nouns do not denote body parts:

(80) *bari-n-kwa*
foot-LN-ABS
'handle (of a mortar)'

(81) *chopa-n-kwa*
hand-LN-ABS
'fork (of a branch)'

6.6.2. Type 2. Reduplicated bases

Another type of body-part terms consists of nouns which appear as possessive bases when their last syllable is reduplicated. For some of them, namely those listed under 2a. in Table 20, the reduplication is obligatory because they consist of a bound root (cf. 5.3.2). Other nouns in this group, given under 2b. in Table 20, are non-relational nouns. They require reduplication when denoting an inalienably possessed item (cf. (82)a). The absence of reduplication indicates that the referent is not inalienably possessed (cf. (82)b).

(82) a. *tivij-ni* *is* ***torin<di:~>di***
ache-PRC ART.pl kidney<INAL~>
'My kidneys hurt.' {EA6, 025}

b. *kwey* *iɬ* *rim-eɬ-na* *is* ***torindi***
IMM 1 trade-APPL-DR ART.pl kidney
'I just bought kidneys.' {EA6, 026}

6.6.3. Type 3. Body-part terms with *-kwa*

The nouns in the third column of Table 20 belong to the class of nouns ending in *-kwa*. Again, there are two subgroups of this type. The nouns listed under 3a. always contain the absolute-state suffix. To indicate inalienable possession, they undergo infixing reduplication:

(83) *chi-poj-na=u* *os* ***mes-<kwa~>kwa=is*** *da'ra*
go_out-CAU-DR=m ART.n.p fat<INAL~>-ABS=ART.pl rhea
'He took out the fat of the rheas.' {EA 13, 259}

When the absolute-state suffix is not reduplicated, the noun is considered as referring to an alienably or unpossessed entity. The acceptability of this form depends on the meaning of the noun. By most speakers, the noun form in (84), which denotes a detached head, is not accepted. In contrast, a noun like *meskwa* 'fat', as in (85), is fine, e.g. for fat that is used for cooking.

(84) *?ba:-kwa*
round-ABS
'(loose) head'

(85) *jayna* *bań-loł* *kos* *mes-kwa* *jayna*
DSC put-BR.water ART.n.a fat-ABS DSC
'Then the fat already floats on the water.' {EA, Motacu 028}

When a noun is unacceptable without reduplication, as in (84) above, this does not mean that it cannot be used to refer to a detached body part. A detached body part can be denoted by the reduplicated form when the possessor is specified by a referential element, as in (86). Otherwise, it can be inserted into a compound together with the noun denoting the possessor, as in (87) (cf. 5.2).

(86) *ba<kwa~>kwa=a*
head<RED~>=n
'its head' (also when detached)

(87) *waka-ba:kwa*
cow-head
'head of a cow'

Unlike other part-of-whole terms with the suffix *-kwa* (cf. 6.5), it is not possible for body-part terms to occur without the suffix *-kwa* in the possessive construction. This is shown by (88)b as opposed to (88)a.

(88) a. *as* *tobeń-<kwa~>kwa='ne*
ART.n skin-<INAL~>ABS=f
'her skin'

b. **as* *tobet-a='ne*
ART.n skin-LV=f {EA 12, 275b}

This difference between body-part terms, on the one hand, and nouns that end in *-kwa* and denote inanimate parts of wholes (cf. 6.5), on the other hand, is most obvious when the same noun can denote both a body part and an inanimate part of whole. As shown in (89), when the noun *tobeńkwa* 'skin' refers to a part of an inanimate entity, the absolute-state suffix can be omitted, as described in 6.5.2. This strategy is not possible when a body part is denoted, as was shown by (88)b above.

(89) *as* *tobet-a=as* *ko'*
ART.n skin-LV=ART.n tree
'the bark of the tree'

With regard to part-of-whole possession, the line is clearly drawn between animacy and inanimacy, not between human and non-human. This is shown by the following example. When the body part of an animal is referred to, the noun undergoes infixing reduplication (cf. (90)a); when the same word is used to refer to an inanimate part of whole, the suffix *-kwa* is omitted (cf. (90)b):

(90) a. *as* *mosi<kwa~>-kwa=a*
ART.n lower_back<INAL~>-ABS=n
'its back (e.g. of a cow)'

b. *as* *mosi<si~>=a*
ART.n lower_back<INAL~>=n
'its back (of a chair)'

The nouns listed under 3b. in Table 20 are the relational nouns with which the absolute-state suffix has its original function. On these nouns, the suffix *-kwa* indicates that the body part is detached from the body (cf. also 5.3.2.3). The following examples illustrate this:

(91) a. *ti:vij* *as* ***di:noj***
pain ART.n thigh
'My thigh hurt.' {EA, Pierna 011}

b. *jayna* *pe'-na=y'ɬi* *os* ***dinoj-kwa***
DSC lift-DR=1pl ART.n.p thigh-ABS
'Then we lifted the (cut-off) leg [of the dead tapir].' {EG, Cazando 072}

6.6.4. Type 4: body-part terms with *-'i*

Some body-part terms with a closed monosyllabic root contain the dummy element *-'i*. Again, this class can be divided into two subclasses. The nouns in class 4a. consist of bound roots which, in order to occur as independent nouns, are obligatorily combined with the element *-'i* (cf. 5.3.2.2). These nouns are non-relational, i.e., when not overtly marked as possessed, the denote an unpossessed entity:

(92) *don-'i* 'blood' (BR.blood-D)
nun-'i 'bone' (BR.bone-D)

When these nouns denote an inalienably possessed entity, the possessive base is formed by infixing reduplication (cf. 6.4.1). That is, the ending *-'i* is reduplicated, and unless a pronoun or noun phrase is cliticized, the implied possessor is the first person singular:

(93) a. *don-'i* 'blood' (BR.blood-D)
b. *don-<'i:~>'i* 'my blood' (BR.blood-<INAL~>D)
c. *don-<'i~>'i=n* 'your blood' (BR.blood-<INAL~>D=2)
d. *don-<'i~>'i=i* 'their blood' (BR.blood-<INAL~>D=pl)

Since these nouns, when underived, denote unpossessed entities, it is not surprising that this group also contains a noun which is not a body part at all:

(94) *jaysoń di' kaw-ra iɬ dam-<ʻi:~>ʻi*
seem HYP much-BE.ntr 1 louse-<INAL~>D
'It is as if I had many lice.' {EA 12, 182}

The nouns in 4a. can also be marked for inalienable possession in a different way. In this process, the dummy element is omitted and the linking vowel is attached. The resulting base is marked for inalienable possession by infixing reduplication (cf. 6.4.1). This process, in which the linking vowel participates in the reduplication, has not been observed for any other type of noun. It is shown in (95)a, (96), and (97).[133] Example (95)b illustrates that this type of possessive marking is equivalent to the process described above, which involves retention and reduplication of the dummy element *-ʻi*.

(95) a. *is do:**<na~>n-a**=as lo<ba~>ba=n*
ART.pl blood<INAL~>-LV=ART.n body<INAL~>=2

~ b. *is don-**<ʻi~>ʻi**=as lo<ba~>ba=n*
ART.pl blood-<INAL~>D=ART.n body<INAL~>=2
'the blood of your body' {JM 17, 275}

(96) *as nu:**<na~>n-a**=as bo:sa*
ART.n BR.bone<INAL~>-LV=ART.n arm
'the bone of my arm'

(97) *chi-poj-na kis da:**<ma~>m-a**=i*
go_out-CAU-DR ART.pl.a louse<INAL~>-LV=pl
'I take their lice off.' {EA, Nietos 004}

The nouns listed under 4b. in Table 20 are also bound roots that are combined with the dummy element *-ʻi*. However, in contrast to the ones in 4a. just described, the nouns in 4b. are relational. This means that when they occur with the ending *-ʻi*, the first person singular possessor is implied:

(98) *as ruɬ-'i* 'my tongue'

When these nouns are combined with an internally cliticized referential element, the ending *-ʻi* is omitted. Since the root ends in a consonant, the linking vowel *-a* is attached before a referential element is cliticized:

(99) *as ru:ɬ-a=n* 'your tongue'

[133] The first syllable of the noun is long here because it is open and belongs to a monosyllabic root (cf. 2.9.1).

When the body part occurs detached from the body, the nouns under 4b. are productively combined with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*:

(100) *ruɬ-kwa* 'tongue (cut off a slaughtered animal)'

6.7. Summary

The basic mechanisms of possessive derivation of the different noun types are listed, slightly simplified, in Table 21:

Table 21. Possessive bases according to the noun type (N=noun)

		alienable possession	**inalienable possession**
1.	**non-relational**	N	N<INAL~>
2.	**relational**	+ suffix (INSTR, ABS, other)	N
3.	**mixed**	base-*kwa*	either: base only or: N-*kwa*<INAL~>

Table 21 shows that in its core, adnominal possessive marking in Movima is a straightforward system, having lexical semantics as its basis and overt morphological devices for marking alienable and inalienable possession. Even though the details of the system are complicated, the basic principle is simple. The main distinction is between alienable or non-possession, on the one hand, and inalienable possession, on the other. The underlying factor on which this distinction is based is the meaning of the noun. When the noun is non-relational, i.e., when it normally denotes an unpossessed entity, it undergoes derivation (infixing reduplication or omission of *-kwa*) to denote an inalienably possessed entity. When the underived noun already denotes an inalienably possessed entity, it can only be marked for alienable possession or nonpossession by special derivational devices of limited productivity, such as the suffixes *-kwa*, *-wanrani*, or *-wawankwa* (cf. 6.3).

7 Clause and sentence structure

In this chapter, the most important aspects of simple and complex sentences in Movima are described. Before going into details in the following sections, I want to point out some crucial properties of Movima clause structure.

First of all, Movima has a hierarchical alignment system. There is no case marking and no agreement indicating grammatical relations. Word order is fixed, but it is semantically determined: in a transitive clause, the participant higher in the animacy hierarchy is encoded as the first core argument (ARG_1) and the participant lower in the hierarchy is encoded as the second core argument (ARG_2). The semantic roles of the arguments are indicated by direct or inverse voice marking on the verb, as described in 7.5. An effect of this system is an ergativity split, since the alignment of grammatical relations and semantic roles is switched by the voice markers (cf. 7.5.3).

The fact that due to the hierarchical alignment system, grammatical relations are not distinguished by case marking, agreement, or word order, makes it difficult to attach labels such as "subject" and "object" to the syntactic positions. J. Judy (1965) uses these terms, labelling the first argument in a transitive clause "subject" and the second argument "object". This, however, is a problem in inverse clauses, where, as Judy also points out, the second argument encodes the agent.

Moreover, it can be shown that if anything can be analysed as the subject in Movima, this is not the first, but the second core argument, which represents the undergoer in a direct transitive clause. This becomes apparent from the structure of relative clauses, described in 7.11. In addition, the second, but not the first core argument can be deleted in coordination, which is also a criterion for subjecthood (cf. Keenan 1976). However, it may be misleading to use the term "subject" for the second transitive argument, since it has some untypical properties. In the direct construction, which can be seen as pragmatically less marked since it indicates that the participant higher on the animacy hierarchy acts on the participant lower on the hierarchy, the second argument encodes the undergoer. Also, this argument is not obligatorily realized. To avoid confusion, I use the neutral terms ARG_{intr} for the intransitive argument, ARG_1 for the first transitive argument, and ARG_2 for the second transitive argument. ARG_{intr} and ARG_2 are furthermore subsumed under the term "absolutive argument".

Note, furthermore, that ARG_1, the first argument in a transitive clause, is encoded in the same way as the possessor (cf. 6.1).[134]

This chapter is organized as follows. Sections 7.1–7.8 discuss constituent order, argument encoding, and the assignment of semantic roles in affirmative main clauses. In Sections 7.9–7.10, I describe affirmative main clauses with nonverbal predicates, as well as arguments that contain a verb. In Section 7.11, relative clauses are described. Section 7.12 presents the main

[134] The peculiarities of the Movima system outlined here may arise from the possibility that, at least historically, all clauses are basically equational. Under this view, ARG_1 represents a possessor, and the absolutive argument represents the intransitive subject everywhere. This means that the proposition 'I hit the dog' would in Movima be expressed as 'my hitten one is the dog'. The term "subject" would be uncontroversial then. For an analysis of other languages along these lines, see Sasse 1991.

characteristics of subordinate clauses. Section 7.13 briefly presents possible serial verb constructions in Movima. In Section 7.14, interrogative clauses are briefly illustrated, and Section 7.15, finally, deals with the different negation patterns of main and subordinate clauses.

7.1. Basic clause structure

A Movima clause consists of minimally a predicate. Depending on the valency of the predicate, it can additionally contain either one or two core arguments.[135] A core argument, in my definition, is represented by a noun phrase or pronoun that is not marked as oblique by the prefix *n-*. Taking third-person participants as basic, which I do here for the sake of simplicity, the structure of a simple clause is as follows:[136]

(1) a. intransitive: $PRED_{monovalent}$ (ARG_{intr})

b. transitive: $PRED_{bivalent}$=ARG_1 (ARG_2)

These structures have the following properties. The predicate usually comes first in the clause and indicates whether one or two participants are involved (as discussed in Ch. 8). The encoding of the first core argument in the transitive clause (ARG_1) is identical to the encoding of the possessor (cf. 6.1): it is obligatorily realized, and it is attached to the predicate by internal cliticization, represented by an equals sign (cf. 3.9.1).[137] The intransitive core argument (ARG_{intr}) is not obligatorily realized; neither is the second core argument of the transitive clause (ARG_2).

The predicate is typically a verb (for nonverbal predicates, cf. 7.9 below). The core arguments are expressed by a bound pronoun or by a full NP (cf. Ch. 4). To illustrate this, (2)a and b show the expression of ARG_{intr} by a full NP and a bound pronoun, respectively:

(2) a. *che* ***joy-chet*** *ɬań* *is* *kompanyera=sne*
and go-R/R EV ART.pl colleague=f.a
'And apparently her friends went [there].' {EA, Llamada 018}

b. ***joy-chet*****--*is***
go-R/R--pl.a
'They went.'

[135] Only one case was attested which can possibly be analysed as a ditransitive construction, but which requires further research. This concerns the derivation by the locative suffix *-kwi* (cf. 9.5).

[136] The abbreviations are as follows: PRED=predicate, ARG_{intr}=intransitive argument, ARG_1=first transitive argument, ARG_2=second transitive argument

[137] However, the first person singular ARG_1 is not encoded by an enclitic (cf. 7.4). Therefore, I use the abstract label ARG_1 for this argument, instead of using the term "first argument", which suggests the overt presence of a constituent.

In the following sections, I describe argument encoding in more detail, starting out with the encoding of third-person arguments. The way in which the semantic roles of the transitive arguments are indicated will be discussed in 7.5 below.

7.2. The formal distinction of third-person core arguments

In this section, I describe the ways in which the core arguments of a verb are encoded, starting out with third-person arguments. This includes argument encoding by cliticized elements and by free elements, such as NPs, free pronouns, and demonstratives. The encoding of first and second person arguments is described in 7.4, and the direct/inverse system is described in 7.5. The details of voice and valency marking on the verb are described in Ch. 8.

Third-person core arguments are distinguished by their phonological connection to the predicate. An ARG_1 pronoun or NP is attached as an internal clitic, i.e., it triggers stress shift and requires a preceding vowel (cf. 3.9.1). Example (3) shows internal cliticization of the article of a full noun phrase representing ARG_1 (in bold print). The cliticization of a bound pronoun representing ARG_1 is shown in (4):

(3) *che man<a>ye=**is*** ***pa:ko*** *os* *rulrul*
and meet<DR>=ART.pl dog ART.n.p jaguar
'And the dogs encountered the/a jaguar.' {EA, Tigre y perro 003}

(4) *jayna yey-na=**sne*** *kos* *fo:to=sne*
DSC want-DR=f.a ART.n.a photo=f.a
'Then she wanted her foto.' [i.e., a photo taken of herself] {EA, Visita 108}

The overt realization of ARG_1 is grammatically obligatory.[138] As an illustration, the following example displays a sequence of several transitive clauses, in none of which the ARG_1 is dropped:

(5) *jiwa-łe-na=**'ne**, yo'-na=**'ne** as jo'me, jiwa-łe-na=**'ne**--ka' ney*
come-CO-DR=f catch-DR=f ART.n chicken come-CO-DR=f--n.OBV here
'She brought it, she caught the chicken and brought it here.' {EA Gallina 011f.}

ARG_{intr} and ARG_2 have several encoding properties which distinguish them from ARG_1. Since they share these properties, they can be subsumed under the label "absolutive argument". Their distinctive properties can be described as follows.

First of all, as is indicated by the brackets in (1), the overt realization of the absolutive argument is not grammatically obligatory; it can be omitted when it can be retrieved from the context. This is often the case in clause combinations. Consider the predicates in (6) (bold print) which are not combined with an overt argument, since the argument (underlined) has been established in the preceding clause:

[138] The absence of an encliticized bound pronoun or NP implies that ARG_1 is the first person singular (cf. 7.4).

(6) *che jayna n-os ɬuvuy-ni jayna i'nes majni*
and DSC obl-ART.n.p twilight-PRC DSC ART.f my_child
*jayna ɬaṁ~ɬap--i'ne, **boṅ-'oj-e:ɬe** bo rey*
DSC MD~bathe--f change-BE.clothes-AGT REAS again
*didi' **joy-cheɬ** n-os se:na-wa='ne nosde:*
FRUST go-R/R obl-ART.n.p dinner-NMZ=f there
'And then in the evening, my daughter took a bath (and) changed clothes because (she) wanted to go to her dinner party over there.' {EA, Visita 018f.}

A similar example is (7), which shows that in a transitive clause, ARG_2 (underlined) can be omitted as well. The bivalent predicate that is not combined with an element representing ARG_2 is given in bold print:[139]

(7) *ɬaṁ-na=is--ki'ne, **boṅ-'oj-eɬ-na=is**,*
bathe-DR=pl.a--f.OBV change-BE.clothes-APPL-DR=pl.a
joro-poj-a=is--ki'ne
sleep-CAU-LV=pl.a--f.OBV
'They had bathed her, they had changed [her], they had made her sleep.'
{EA, Escape 081}

When the absolutive argument is overtly realized, its position and formal marking are not as strictly determined as for ARG_1. Its most common position is after the predicate or (in a transitive clause) after ARG_1, as depicted in (1) above. When encoded by a full noun phrase, the absolutive argument is not cliticized. Consider the following examples of an intransitive and a transitive clause, respectively:

(8) *kuyna:na' i'nes dichi:ye*
play ART.f child
'The girl plays.' {LY 2, 046}

(9) *yo'-na='ne as jo'me*
catch-DR=f ART.n bird
'She caught the chicken.' {EA, Gallina 011}

When the absolutive argument is encoded by a bound pronoun, the pronoun is attached to the predicate or to the bound pronoun representing ARG_1 by external cliticization (respresented by a double hyphen, cf. 3.9.2). In the following example of an intransitive clause, there is clear evidence of phonological cliticization, since the final glottal stop of the verb *kuyna:na'* 'play', changes into the syllable-initial allophone [k]:

(10) *kuyna:na**k**--i'ne* 'She plays.' (play--f) {EA, Basket 010}

[139] Obviative marking of bound pronouns will be discussed in 7.5.2 below.

Phonological cliticization of a bound pronoun representing ARG_2 in a transitive clause can best be seen when ARG_1 is an enclitic from the paradigm of speech-act participants (cf. 7.4,), as in the following example. The phonemic representation shows that the bound pronoun *is* 'pl.a' is externally cliticized, the preceding consonant, /ɬ/, forming the syllable onset.

(11) *bo kas kaj<a>ɬe-wa=nkweɬ**--is***
REAS NEG come_up_to<DR>-NMZ=2pl--pl.a
/ka.ha.ɬe.'wan.k^{w}e.**ɬis/**
'Because you didn't stop them!' {EA, Dichiyeye 028}

When ARG_1 in the transitive clause is a third person, the cliticization of the bound pronoun of ARG_2 is not so easy to see. This is because the bound pronoun representing ARG_2 is marked as obviative by the element *k-* (cf. 7.5.2 below), so that it is always consonant-initial in this environment. Therefore, the syllable structure does not change when a third-person bound pronoun is attached.

However, occasionally a third-person bound pronoun representing ARG_2 participates in the stress pattern, and this can be seen as a sign of phonological cliticization. Consider the transitive clause in (12), in which the ARG_2 pronoun does not participate in the stress pattern; in (13), in contrast, which is an example from the same text, the ARG_2 pronoun does participate, so that stress falls on the bound pronoun representing ARG_1. The stressed syllables are given in bold print here.

(12) *joy-cheɬ--us, man-**na**=us--kas*
go-R/R--m.a shoot-DR=m.a--n.a.OBV
'He went, he shot it.' {EG, Sicurí 033}

(13) *man-na=**us**--kas, tikoy-na=**us**--kas*
shoot-DR=m.a--n.a.OBV kill-DR=m.a--n.a.OBV
'He shot it, he killed it.' {EG, Sicurí 024}

The bound pronoun of ARG_2 can also occur after an entire noun phrase representing ARG_1, as in (14) below. Here, no evidence of cliticization can be provided.

(14) *yo'-na is pa:ko <u>kas</u>*
catch-DR ART.pl dog n.a.OBV
'The dogs caught it.' {EA, Jaguar 152}

The bound pronoun can represent a dummy subject of weather verbs:

(15) *jayna jankwa ney, jayna powmuj-tik--<u>as</u> jayna*
DSC say here DSC wind-VBZ--n.a DSC
'Then I said like this, "it is already windy".' {EA, Tomina' 095}

(16) *kwey rey yampa-n-luk--as*
IMM again flash-LN-rain--n.a
'It just rained with lightening.' {EA 12, 008e}

As is the case with all intransitive predicates, the bound pronoun is not obligatory on weather verbs. The examples in (17) show that there is no difference between a weather verb with a bound pronoun and a weather verb without one.[140] Also in (18), the same verb appears first with and then without the bound pronoun.

(17) a. *kolwa* ***powmuj-luk--a'***
DM.el.d.n wind-rain--n
~ b. *kolwa* ***powmuj-lu'***
DM.el.d.n wind-rain
'It is raining (I feel it).' {EA 12, 010}

(18) *che* ***lu'-tik--as*** *che ena' inła, che* ***lu'-ti'***
and rain-VBZ--n.a and DUR.std PRO.1sg and rain-VBZ
che ena' inła loj-a:-'oj n-is do'we, ***lu'-ti'***
and DUR.std PRO.1sg wash-DR-BE.clothes obl-ART.pl clothes rain-VBZ
'And it rained, and I was (standing) …, and it rained, and I was (standing) washing my clothes, it rained.' {EA, Tomina' 086}

In the following section, I describe the representation of the core arguments by a free pronoun or noun phrase in preverbal position.

7.3. The representation of arguments outside the canonical position

Apart from the canonical pattern described above, a core argument can also be encoded by a free pronoun, by an NP, or by a demonstrative in varying positions in the clause. When representing ARG_1, the free element always occurs in addition to the cliticized bound pronoun. The absolutive argument, in contrast, which is not obligatorily represented by a bound pronoun, can also be represented by a free element alone . The representation by a free element outside the canonical position is far more common for the absolutive argument than for ARG_1.

In 7.3.1, I describe the representation of an argument after the predicate, and in 7.3.2, its representation in clause-initial position. Both devices generally have a focussing effect. While the details of their function require further research, some examples contain longer pieces of text to give an idea of their functions. Argument encoding by a demonstrative is more complex and will be dealt with in 7.3.3.

[140] The function of the demonstrative pronoun will be described in 7.3.3 below.

7.3.1. Argument representation by a free form in post-predicate position

As was shown in 7.2 above, in contrast to the representation of ARG_1, the overt representation of the absolutive argument is not obligatory, and an absolutive bound pronoun is phonetically less closely attached to the predicate. The absolutive argument can also be represented by a free pronoun in post-predicate position, instead of a bound pronoun or an NP. This is shown in (19) for an intransitive and in (20) for a transitive clause:

(19) *joy-kał-a=us*[141] *po:ra,* *diń-ka:-ye* *usko*
go-IM-LV=m.a briefly hard-MLT-BE.person PRO.m.a
'He went at once, he was in a hurry.' {EG, Sicurí 044}

(20) *yo'-na=is* *jema'* *che* *joy-a-łe=is* *usko*
catch-DR=pl.a also and go-DR-CO=pl.a PRO.m.a
'They caught [him] too, and carried him.' {EA, Aros II 027}

In both (19) and (20), the free pronoun replaces the bound pronoun (which would be *--us*). Example (21) shows post-predicate encoding of the absolutive argument in an intransitive clause by the free pronoun in addition to the bound pronoun, a construction which can be described as right-dislocation:

(21) *jayna* *jo'yaj--us* *usko*
DSC arrive--m.a PRO.m.a
'So he arrived.' {EA, Cbba 182}

In (22), right-dislocation of the absolutive argument of a transitive clause (ARG_2) is shown. The pause before the NP (indicated by a comma) shows that this is a case of "afterthought topicalization" (Givón 2001: 267).

(22) *joy-a-kwa=is* *u'ko,* *us* *Hernan*
go-DR-BEN=pl.a PRO.m ART.m Hernan
'They went for him, for Hernan.' {EA, Aros 024}

ARG_1 is only rarely represented by an additional element after the predicate. Examples of this are (23) and (24). Note that in (24), the speaker uses the free pronoun to show that she is correcting herself ("it was him who sold it, not her").

(23) *ji:sa-na-kwa-na=u* *u'ko* *ni-kis* *ka:pe='ne*
make-DR-BEN-DR=m PRO.m obl-ART.pl.a coffee=f
'He has made coffee for her.'[142] {EA 14, 061a}

[141] The suffix *-kał* 'IM' triggers internal cliticization of the argument, even though the verb is monovalent; cf. 10.1.1.

[142] The translation was checked several times. Still, it is not clear to me why this sentence does not mean "He has made her coffee for him." Possibly, this has to do with the most straightforward meaning implied by the possessive pronoun *='ne* 'f'.

(24) *jayna rimałe=‘ne os wa:ka, jayna rimałe=us usko*
DSC sell:DR=f ART.n.p cow DSC sell:DR=m.a PRO.m.a
‘Then she sold the cow – then he sold it.’ {EA, Abuelo 045}

Thus, an argument can be encoded by a right-dislocated free element either instead of or in addition to the bound pronoun in canonical position. When it is ARG_1, only the latter construction is possible, since ARG_1 is obligatorily cliticized to the predicate (unless it is the first person singular, which is not encoded by an enclitic; cf. 7.4).

7.3.2. Argument representation by a free form in clause-initial position

There is one clause-initial slot for a free pronoun or NP, which I will refer to as “topic position”. The schematizations in (1) can, therefore, be augmented as follows:

(25) a. intransitive: (TOP) $PRED_{monovalent}$ (ARG_{intr})
b. transitive: (TOP) $PRED_{bivalent}=ARG_1$ (ARG_2)

A free element can occur in topic position either instead of, or in addition to, the postverbal element. As is the case with a free element after the predicate (cf. 7.3.1), argument encoding by a free element in topic position only (fronting) is only possible for the absolutive argument, since ARG_1 is obligatorily encoded by a clitic.

Examples (26) and (27) show absolutive argument encoding by a clause-initial free pronoun in an intransitive and in a transitive clause, respectively. Here, the element in topic position seems to have a topic-resuming function, as is shown by the context given in square brackets.

(26) *asko a:mon n-os i:may jayna*
PRO.n.a enter obl-ART.n.p night DSC
‘That one [cow] came in during the night.’
[after a description of the cow] {EA, Cbba 082}

(27) *jayna asko jam-a-łe=‘ne*
DSC PRO.n.a bind-DR-CO=f
‘That one [mosquito net] she hangs up then.’ [after a description of the mosquito net]
{EG, Alojamiento 035}

The absolutive argument can simultaneously be encoded by a free element in topic and in post-predicate position. This is shown in (28):

(28) *che isne da’ javułna isne*
and PRO.f.a DUR.nst play_wind_instrument PRO.f.a
‘And she was playing [the harmonica; what I used to do before].’ {EA, Organ 028}

The topic position can also be filled by a full NP instead of a free pronoun. This is illustrated by examples (29) and (30) for the absolutive argument in an intransitive clause:

(29) *jayna asko ɬ weleɬ-na che is so:te wele:ɬe*
DSC DM.n.a 1 climb-DR and ART.pl other_person climb.AGT
n-is soń-ra di' tamarindo
obl-ART.pl other-BE.ntr REL tamarind
'Then on that one I would climb, and the others climbed on the other tamarindo trees.' {EA, Dichiyeye 053}

(30) *chumay-na=n nokopa, che jayɬe jayna kis omayle*
smoke_out-DR=2 like_this and then DSC ART.pl.a wasp
ja<vu~>buń n-as ari:wa
fly<MD~> obl-ART.n top
'You smoke it out like this, and then the wasps fly up.' {EA, Miel 003}

The NP representing the absolutive argument can also occur before a free pronoun in topic position. This is best described as left-dislocation, since a pause can often be observed after the initial NP:

(31) *che kus itila:kwa, usko buka' chak-a:-cho*
and ART.m.a man PRO.m.a DUR.move pierce-DR-BR.inside
'And the man, he makes the holes.' {EA, Chaco I 049}

Thus, aside from the canonical encoding described in 7.2, the absolutive argument can be encoded by a free pronoun in post-predicate position (cf. 7.3.1), by a free pronoun or NP in topic position, and it can be encoded more than once in a clause. None of these devices is grammatically obligatory; they serve pragmatic purposes, which need to be investigated further.

The ARG_1 of a transitive clause can be encoded by a free pronoun or NP in topic position as well, but this is less common. The free element then never occurs instead of, but only in addition to the encliticized referential element, since the encliticized referential element is obligatory. The last clause in (32) is an example of this (the forms representing ARG_1 are underlined):

(32) *ja:raɬ os rulrul, jee, jee jampa=as*
fight ART.n.p jaguar ONOM ONOM do_like=n.a
n-os ney yo~yo'-wa=as is pa:ko
obl-ART.n.p here DR~catch-NMZ=n.a ART.pl dog
bo is pa:ko ɬow-na=is os bałew-a=as
REAS ART.pl dog pull-DR=pl.a ART.n.p tail-LV=n.a
'The jaguar fought, it made "heee, heee" as it caught the dogs, because the dogs, they pulled at its tail.' {EA, Jaguar 136f.}

Normally, however, in order for the ARG_1-participant to be encoded by an element in topic position, the focus particle *kaw* (often realized as *kwey*; cf. 12.4) is added (cf. (33)). As will be described in more detail in 7.8 below, this particle has an antipassive-like, valency-decreasing

effect. In this way, the participant which would normally be encoded as ARG_1 is encoded as the absolutive argument (ARG_{intr}), which can easily occur in topic position.

(33) *jayna* *isko* ***kwey*** *ɬań* *ji:sa:-na* *n-os,* *eney,* *bo:da=sne*
DSC PRO.pl.a FOC EV make-DR obl-ART.n.p (filler) party=f.a
'So they organized her party.' {EA, Llamada 027}

7.3.3. Argument representation by a demonstrative

Instead of an NP or a free pronoun, an argument can also be encoded by a proximate or a positional demonstrative (cf. Ch. 4). Two types of argument-representing demonstratives can be distinguished: NPs with a demonstrative determiner (cf. also 4.4), which I label "demonstrative NPs", and demonstratives functioning as pronouns, which I label "demonstrative pronouns".[143] The following is an example of a demonstrative NP with a proximate demonstrative:

(34) *lirij-na* ***ay***=*s* *do'we*
shake-DR DM.spk.n=DET clothes
'I shook my clothes (that I'm wearing).' {EA, Araña 004}

The following are examples of demonstrative pronouns. Example (35) is of a proximate, (36) and (37) are of positional demonstratives.

(35) *i:ni* *ji<wa:~>wa* *n-as* *dul-na-wa='ne* *'nes* *ma:ma='ne*
DM.spk.f come<MD~> obl-ART.n visit-DR-NMZ=f ART.f mother_of=f
'She has come to visit her mother.' {EA, Neighbours 007}

(36) *bo* *jan* *n-os* *rimeɬ-na-na='ne* *kide:*
REAS CSQ obl-ART.n.p buy-DR-NMZ.CSQ=f DM.nst.pl
'... because that's why she has bought those.' {EA, Basket 012}

(37) *kinede:* *ton-a:-'oj,* *che* *da'* *is* *lokwa=sne*
DM.nst.f mend-DR-BE.clothes and DUR.nst ART.pl *locro*=f.a
ɬo<ko:~>koń
boil<MD~>
'She was mending clothes, and her *locro* soup was boiling.' {EA, Ay'ku I 051}

Like the free elements (NPs and free pronouns) described in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 above, a demonstrative pronoun or NP generally encodes the absolutive argument. Example (38) shows ARG_2 of a transitive clause, and (39) shows the argument of an intransitive clause encoded by a demonstrative NP:

[143] In addition, there are "predicative demonstratives", discussed in 7.9.4.

(38) *jay'* *leve-ti* *kolwa=s wa:ka,* *jankwa=us*
go.IMP chase_off-IMP.DR DM.el.d.n=DET cow say=m.a
'Go and chase that cow (which I hear) away, he said.' {EA, Cbba 083}

(39) *jayna* *rey* *kolwa=s wa:ka* *a:mon,* *jay'* *leve-ti*
DSC again DM.el.d.n=DET cow enter go.IMP chase_off-IMP.DR
'I hear that cow enter again, chase it away!' {EA, Cbba 099}

The utterance in (40), produced during elicitation, contains the juxtaposition of an intransitive and a transitive clause. The absolutive argument of both clauses is encoded by an identical demonstrative pronoun, which again shows the structural identity of ARG_{intr} and ARG_2.

(40) *kulre'* *il-a:-'oj,* *kulre'* *dewaj-na*[144]
DM.std.d.m spread-DR-BE.clothes DM.std.d.m see-DR
'He is hanging up the clothes, I see him.' {NG, DEM 254}

This "ergative" argument-encoding pattern by the demonstratives is quite consistent. However, deviations do occur, in which it is ARG_1 of the transitive clause that is encoded by a demonstrative. The clause in (41)a was uttered spontaneously and later confirmed as being perfectly acceptable. The elicited clause in (41)b, constructed according to the more frequent ergative pattern in which ARG_2 is encoded by a demonstrative, was confirmed to be equally possible. The coreferring referential elements are underlined:

(41) a. *jayna* *kine'* *dol-a-mi='ne* *as* *balde*
DSC DM.std.f fill-DR-TRC.water=f ART.n bucket
'She (standing) is already filling the bucket.' {EA 13, 025}

b. *jayna* *kopa* *dol-a-mi='ne* *as balde*
DSC DM.n.po fill-DR-TRC.water=f ART.n bucket
'She is already filling that bucket (which she is holding).' {EA 13, 025c}

Constructions like (41)a, in which the demonstrative encodes ARG_1, are rare. However, this example shows that, although the absolutive-encoding function of the demonstratives is the preferred pattern, it is not the only possible one.

Demonstrative pronouns differ from free personal pronouns in that they co-occur more often with another referential element, such as an NP (as in (41)b above), a bound pronoun (cf. (42)), or a free pronoun (cf. (42), (43)):

(42) *jema'* *kino'* *sal-a-to:mi--sne* *isne*
also DM.a.f search-DR-water--f PRO.f.a
'She is looking for water as well.' {GC 10,153c}

[144] The first person ARG_1 is not overtly encoded (cf. 7.4).

(43) *che* *usko* *kuro'* *mo:* *joyaj-wa,* *jankwa*
and PRO.m.a DM.a.m yet arrive-NMZ say
'And he hasn't arrived yet, I said.' {EA, Visita 040}

The demonstrative pronouns do not seem to have topicalization or focalization as their major function. Rather, their special property, which contrasts with free pronouns, is that they encode imperfective aspect in addition to their deictic function (cf. 4.9). This could be seen, for example, in (40) and (41) above. Accordingly, the positional demonstratives are often found in combination with the durative aspect markers *ena'* 'standing', *da'* 'non-standing' and *buka'* 'moving', as shown in (44)–(46):

(44) *jayłe* *kire'* ***ena'*** *chuk-a:-ba* *is* *kwey n-inła*
then DM.std.pl DUR.std knock_down-DR-BR.round ART.pl FOC obl-PRO.1sg
'So the owners are (standing and) plucking (the fruits).' {EA, Mangas 006}

(45) *kide:* ***da'*** *kay~kay* *jayna*
DM.nst.pl DUR.nst MD~eat DSC
'They are (sitting and) eating now.' {EA, Neighbours 009}

(46) *kolro'* *jay-'as-łe* ***buka'***
DM.rtr.n run-BE.space-AGT DUR.mov
'It is (moving away and) fleeing.' {JA, TX 151}

7.4. Speech act participants (SAPs) as arguments

In general, the rules described in 7.2 for the distinction between a third-person ARG_1 and absolutive argument (ARG_2, ARG_{intr}) hold for speech-act participants (henceforth SAPs) as well.[145] However, there are some important differences between the encoding of SAPs and that of third persons, which will be dealt with in the present and following section:

- There are both pro- and enclitics encoding SAPs.
- There are two different paradigms of markers of ARG_1 and ARG_{intr}.
- Bound pronouns encoding SAPs cannot represent ARG_2.

The paradigm of the free and bound pronouns encoding SAPs is given in Table 22 (cf. also 4.1.1).

[145] Speech-act participants are first and second person singular and plural (cf. 4.1).

Table 22. Referential elements of first and second person (bold = obligatory)

		Set 1: ARG_1		**Set 2: ARG_{intr}**	
	free pronoun	proclitic[146]	internal clitic	proclitic	external clitic
1st sg	*inɬa*	*(i)ɬ*	**–**	*(i)ń*	–
1st incl	*i:de*	*(i)ɬ*	***=n***	*(i)ɬ*	–
1st pl	*iy'ɬi*	*(i)ɬ*	***=y'ɬi***	*(i)ń*	*--(i)y'ɬi*
2nd sg	*ulkwań*	–	***=n***	*(i)j*	–
2nd pl	*i'bikweɬ*	–	***=nkweɬ***	*(i)j*	*--(i)y'bi*

Several phenomena can be observed here: most SAPs are encoded not only by enclitics, but also by proclitics;[147] only the internal clitics (representing ARG_1) are obligatory; there is no enclitic encoding the first person singular ARG_1. I will discuss all these points here, first with respect to the encoding of ARG_1, then with respect to ARG_{intr}. Finally, I will describe the encoding of SAPs by free pronouns.

The structure of clauses with an SAP argument is schematized in (47).

(47) a. intransitive: (TOP) ($ARG_{intr\ [SAP]}$) PRED ($ARG_{intr\ [pl]}$)

b. transitive: (TOP) ($ARG_{1[+1st]}$) PRED=$ARG_{1[+2nd,\ pl]}$ ($ARG_{2\ [3rd]}$)

The schematization in (47) shows that, as with third-person arguments, only the internal clitic of ARG_1 in the transitive construction (cf. (47)b) is grammatically obligatory. In (47)a, it can be seen that in intransitive clauses, the argument is represented by a bound pronoun before the predicate, and only plurality is encoded after the predicate (cf. also 4.1). This is illustrated in (48)a and b for the first person singular and plural, respectively:

(48) a. *iń* *jo'yaj* 'I arrived.'
b. *iń* *jo'yaj--iy'ɬi* 'We (excl.) arrived.'

When ARG_1 of a transitive clause (cf. (47)b) is or includes the first person, i.e., when it is first person singular, first person inclusive, or first plural, it is represented by a bound pronoun before the predicate. In contrast, an ARG_1 including the second person or plural is (additionally) represented by a bound pronoun encliticized to the predicate. This is seen most clearly in the case of the first person plural inclusive, illustrated in (49).[148]

[146] Note that the proclitics are not phonologically connected to their syntactic host (cf. 4.1).
[147] However, the second person can only be encoded by an enclitic.
[148] As was pointed out by Rik van Gijn (p.c.), the fact that unlike non-SAPs, certain SAPs (except a second-person ARG_1) can be encoded by a proclitic leads to a split in constituent order: while the latter construction is predicate-initial (not counting the topic position), the construction with an SAP argument can be argument-initial.

(49) *iɬ* *sal-na=n*
1 search-DR=2
'We (incl.) search.'

Unless encoded by a free pronoun, the second argument of a transitive clause (ARG_2) can only be a third person (cf. 7.5). It is encoded in the way described in 7.2 above, i.e. by a free NP (cf. (50)) or by an external clitic (cf. (51)). In (50) and (51), this is illustrated for a clause with a second-person ARG_1.

(50) *jo'-na=n* *kis* *ko'*
gather-DR=2 ART.pl.a tree
'You gather (the) firewood.' {EA, Chaco I 037}

(51) *rom-a-loɬ-a=n--is*
squeeze-DR-BR.water-DR-LV=2--pl.a
'You press them [the honeycombs] out.' {EA, Miel 031}

When ARG_1 is the first person singular, for which there is no enclitic, the NP (cf. (52)) or bound pronoun (cf. (53)) representing ARG_2 occurs directly after the predicate, if realized at all. The bound pronoun is cliticized to the predicate, as can be seen in (53). Implications of this construction will be commented on further below.

(52) *iɬ* ***ɬaḿ-na*** *is* *ona:cho*
1 bathe-DR ART.pl grandchild
'I bathe my grandchildren.' {EA, Nietos 001}

(53) *bo* *jema'* *iɬ* ***juɬ-a:-pit****--us*
REAS also 1 hug-DR-BE.half--m.a
'Because I also held him around the waist.' {EA, Aros II 024}

When ARG_1 is the first and ARG_2 the second person singular, only the first person can be overtly encoded by a bound pronoun. This results from the fact that a SAP cannot be encoded as ARG_2 by a bound pronoun; even if the Set 2 forms were used to encode ARG_2, they would not be able to express the relation 1>2, since both are represented by a proclitic only, not by an enclitic. The verb *joya:ɬe* 'I take X' in (54) illustrates this:

(54) *di'* *ij* *joy-sicha'kwa,* *jayɬe* *jayna* *choy* *rey* *iɬ* ***joy-a:-ɬe***
HYP 2intr go-DES then DSC certainly again 1 go-DR-CO
'If you want to go, then I'll take (you), of course.' {EA, In between 084}

The only way to express the second person as ARG_2 is by a free pronoun (cf. also 7.5.1). This puts the second person in focus:

(55) *bo* *ulkwaṅ* *yey-na* *as* ***joy-a-ɬe:-wa***[149]
REAS PRO.2 want-DR ART.n go-DR-CO-NMZ
'Because it is you I want to take.' {EA, In between 091}

Since the second person ARG_2 can only be overtly expressed by an emphatic pronoun, this means that it is the default ARG_2 of a verb with a first-person ARG_1. Since it concerns the relation between the speech-act participants, the absence of overt marking in non-emphatic contexts is compensated pragmatically.[150]

I will now give an overview of the conditions for the occurrence of the proclitics, which are not grammatically obligatory. The proclitics of the ARG_1 paradigm, examples of which could be seen in (49), (52) and (53) above, seldom occur in texts. Therefore, a SAP is most often encoded just by the enclitic, as in (56).

(56) ***dajaja***=*y'ɬi* *os* *reti:ro* *n-usko*
ask_for.DR=1pl ART.n.p dismissal obl-PRO.m.a
'We asked him for dismissal.' {EA, Cbba 027}

In the case of the first person inclusive, encoded by the combination of the proclitic marker of the first person (*iɬ*) and the enclitic encoding the second person (=*n*) (cf. (49) above), the optionality of the proclitic leads to ambiguity. Since the proclitic is generally omitted, as illustrated by (57) below, the first person inclusive is often encoded identically to the second person singular. The correct interpretation of constructions like these presumably depends on the context.

(57) *josi:-cheɬ,* ***josi-pa-kay-a=n*** *as* *awaro*
laugh-R/R laugh-APPL-INV-LK=2 ART.n parrot
'The parrot is laughing, it is laughing at us/at you.' {BA 3, 145}

A crucial observation to be made regarding the ARG_1 paradigm is that there is no enclitic marker encoding the first person singular. Since the enclitics encoding ARG_1 are obligatory, this means that the absence of an internal clitic on a bivalent predicate implies the first person singular as ARG_1.[151] Consider the bivalent predicate in (58) (in bold print), where neither the first person ARG_1 nor ARG_2 are overtly realized:

(58) ***liki:-na,*** *che* *taṁ-vo:s-eɬ* *is* *tamarindo* *di'* *bew-ni*
shake-DR and get_down-BE:wood-APPL ART.pl tamarind REL ripe-PRC
'I shook (the branches), and the ripe tamarinds fell down.' {EA, Dichiyeye 061}

[149] In (55), the free pronoun represents ARG_2 of the complement clause with a nominalized predicate, *joyałe:wa* (cf. 7.12.2).
[150] The absence of an element that can represent ARG_2 in the SAP-paradigm is only a problem in the relation 1>2. Elsewhere, the inverse construction is used (cf. 7.5.1). See, furthermore, Section 4.1.2 for a comment on this topic in connection with the identical encoding of the first person singular ARG_1 and the first person inclusive ARG_{intr}.
[151] This is the same phenomenon as found with relational nouns (cf. 6.3.1).

When ARG_2 is overtly expressed in a transitive clause whose ARG_1 is the first person singular, ARG_2 occurs directly after the verb (cf. (52), (53) above). When the first person is not encoded by a proclitic, as is the case in (59) and (60), then ARG_2 is the only overt argument in the clause.

(59) *ena'* ***toroj-na*** *oɬ mari:ko*
DUR:std dust-DR ART.n.p.1 bag
'I was shaking (the dust off) my bag.' {EA, Araña 001}

(60) ***suy-na**--as,* ***bay-a:-ye**--as* *n-os* *ko'o,* ***chi-poj-na**--as*
deprive-DR--n.a hit-DR-BE.person--n.a obl-ART.n.p tree go_out-CAU-DR--n.a
'I took [it] away from (the cow), I hit it (the cow) with a stick, I made it go out.'
{EA, Cbba 091}

Strikingly, the syntactic structure of these clauses is identical to that of an intransitive clause (cf. (1)a). However, there is no ambiguity between an intransitive clause and transitive clauses lacking an overt ARG_1: when the predicate is bivalent and not combined with an internal clitic, it has an implicit first person singular ARG_1 (cf. also 8.1).[152] .

I will now discuss the conditions of occurrence of the absolutive bound pronouns. As with third persons, the encoding of an absolutive SAP argument by an enclitic is not grammatically obligatory. Example (61) is of an intransitive clause whose argument is only expressed by a free pronoun, not by an enclitic.

(61) *jayna* *iy'ɬi* ***ja:yi*** *ɬań,* ***ja:yi***
DSC PRO.1pl run EV run
'Then we ran, (we) ran.' {EA, Dichiyeye 020}

There is, however, a difference in status between the proclitics and the enclitics: the first and second person plural absolutive arguments can only be encoded by a proclitic when at the same time, they are encoded by the enclitic. This is shown by (62).

(62) *che* *lo* *rey* *iń* ***joy-cheɬ**--iy'ɬi*
and ASS again 1intr go-R/R--1pl
'And then we went.' {EA, Cbba 047}

(63) *disoy* *ij* ***ji<wa:~>wa**--y'bi*
perhaps 2intr come<MD~>--2pl
'Perhaps you (pl) come.' {EA, Summary 009}

The occurrence of the enclitic, in contrast, does not depend on the presence of the proclitic. Consequently, the absolutive participant is in most cases encoded by the enclitic only, as in the following examples:

[152] Except in the construction with the focus particle *kaw* (cf. 7.8).

(64) ***joy-cheł***--*iy'ɬi* *n-os* *jayna* *payɬim*
go-R/R--1pl obl-ART.n.p DSC forest_isle
'Then we went to the forest isle.' {EA, Vida Chaco 010}

(65) ***ji<wa:~>wa***--*y'bi* *oy~'oy*
come<MD~>--2pl RED~two
'Did the two of you come?' {EA, La ciega 005}

The reason why the enclitics can occur alone, whereas the proclitics can only occur in combination with the enclitics, is probably that the proclitics are identical for singular and plural. The enclitics, in contrast, indicate both person and number.

Nevertheless, the absolutive proclitics, even though they are not obligatory, occur much more frequently in texts than the ARG_1 proclitics. This is especially striking with regard to the first person singular. In contrast to the first person singular ARG_1 proclitic, the absolutive proclitic occurs in nearly all text examples. This is probably because the first person singular is implicit as ARG_1, but not when it is the absolutive argument. The following examples illustrate the difference.

(66) first person singular absolutive
jayna *ń* ***jo'yaj,*** *jayna* *ń* ***ɬamʹ~ɬamʹ***
DSC 1intr arrive DSC 1intr MD~bathe
'Then I arrived (and) bathed.' {EA, Cbba 070}

(67) first person singular ARG_1
jayna ***kwala:ra*** *os órgano,* *jayna* ***ajpa:-na*** *rey*
DSC hide.DR ART.n.p harmonica DSC put_away-DR again
'Then I hid the harmonica, I put (it) away again.' {EA, Organ 015}

When the context is clear, the absolutive first person singular proclitic can be omitted. This, however, is less common than with the other absolutive proclitics. Usually, it happens only when the absolute argument is encoded by the free pronoun (cf. below). In the following example, the first person is first encoded by the proclitic and then only by the free pronoun:

(68) *jayna, do:koy, jankwa=us, jayna ń* ***jo'yaj,*** *loy inɬa* ***joy-cheł***
DSC good say=m.a DSC 1intr arrive ITN PRO.1sg go-R/R
'Then he said, "okay, now (that) I have arrived, I'll go."' {EA, Cbba 185}

This leads us to the representation of SAPs by a free pronoun. As is the case with non-SAPs (cf. 7.3), a free pronoun representing ARG_{intr} can occur either instead of or in addition to the bound pronoun. The following examples of intransitive clauses show the occurrence of the free pronoun, either before or after the predicate, instead of the proclitic:

(69) *jayna* ***bele:k-a*** *inɬa*
DSC happy-SNS PRO.1sg
'I am happy now.' {EA, Antes de fiesta 041}

(70) *inɬa* ***joy-sicha'kwa*** *n-ulkwaṅ*
PRO.1sg go-DES obl-PRO.2sg
'I want to go with you.' {EA, Jaguar 010}

(71) ***ji<wa:~>wa*** *n-as* *tawa'-ni* *ulkwaṅ*
come<MD~> obl-ART.n next_day-PRC PRO.2sg
'You'll come tomorrow.' {EA, Programa 002}

In the following example, the free pronoun occurs instead of both the pro- and the enclitic. This shows that the free pronouns have a different status than the proclitics, which have to cooccur with the enclitic (cf. (62) and (63) above):

(72) *jo<ya:~>y-a',* *iy'ɬi* *ja'a,* *iy'ɬi* *ja'* ***joy-cheɬ***
go<RED~>-IRR PRO.1pl just PRO.1pl just go-R/R
'Nobody went [there], just us, just we went.' {EA, Cabildo 004}

In (73), the free pronoun representing the absolutive argument occurs in addition to the enclitic bound pronoun:

(73) *iy'ɬi* *ɬaṅ* ***net-a-wa:ka****--y'ɬi*
PRO.1pl EV drive_cattle-DR-cow--1pl
'We drove cattle.' {EA, Dichiyeye 005}

A free pronoun can also cooccur with a proclitic. In (74), the free pronoun occurs after the predicate. In (75), it occurs in topic position. Example (75) also displays the occurrence of the free instead of bound pronoun, as was described above.

(74) *ban* *rey* *iṅ* ***tino:k-a*** *inɬa*
but again 1intr fear-SNS PRO.1sg
'But then, I was scared.' {EA, Jaguar 124}

(75) *inɬa* ***kwe:ya*** *che* *inɬa* *iṅ* ***itila:kwa***
PRO.1sg woman and PRO.1sg 1intr man
'I (was) the woman and I (was) the man.' [i.e., doing both women's and men's work]
{BA, TX 119}

Thus, as is the case with non-SAPs, a free pronoun representing the absolutive argument can occur either in addition to, or instead of, the enclitic pronoun.

The following examples show the representation of ARG_1 by a free pronoun. In contrast to non-SAPs, where this is a rare phenomenon (cf. (23) and (24) above), this occurs quite regularly with SAPs. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that firstly, SAPs are not encoded as ARG_2 of a transitive clause, so that no confusion with the other grammatical relation is possible, and that secondly, SAPs are referentially unambiguous. In (76) and (77), the free pronoun occurs after the predicate, and in (78), it occurs in topic position:

(76) *jayna* ***ona-ra-na=n*** *ulkwaṅ* *n-as* *jayna* *bi<ja~>jaw-a=n*
DSC know-BE.ntr-DR=2 PRO.2sg obl-ART.n DSC old<NMZ.N~>LV=2
'You will know it when you are older.' {HR, TX 204}

(77) *kaw-ra* *is* *wa:ka* *di'* [...] *jayna* ***eyaj-poj-na=y'ɬi*** *iy'ɬi*
much-BE.ntr ART.pl cow REL DSC multiply-CAU-DR=1pl PRO.1pl
'Many (were) the cows that we raised.' {EA, Cbba 012}

(78) *i:de* *pe'ɬeɬe* ***yey-na=n***
PRO.1incl all want-DR=2
'We all want it.' {ER 11, 008}

Still, when a SAP-ARG_1 is represented by a free pronoun in clause-initial position, it is often accompanied by the focus particle *kaw*, which causes an original ARG_1 to be encoded as ARG_{intr} (cf. 7.8). This is the same as with a third person ARG_1 (cf. 7.3.2, example (33)). Consider (79):

(79) *nokowa* *jayna* *inɬa* ***kwey*** ***pul-na***
now DSC PRO.1sg FOC sweep-DR
'From now on, I will be the one who sweeps.' {EA, Antes de fiesta 025}

As a final point, as was mentioned at the beginning of this section, a bound pronoun encoding a SAP cannot represent ARG_2. This will be discussed in the following section (cf. 7.5). However, elicitation shows that a clause-initial free pronoun can represent a SAP as ARG_2. The following is an example of this:

(80) *inɬa* *nokowa* *joy-a-ɬe=n,* *kas* *joy-a-ɬe-wa=n* *kos*
PRO.1sg right_now go-DR-CO=2 NEG go-DR-CO-NMZ=2 ART.n.a
so:te
other_person
'You'll take me with you now, you won't take the other one.' {EA 12, 276c}

7.5. The hierarchical alignment system

In the previous sections, the encoding and differentiation of the arguments was described. The differentiation of the arguments through cliticization is, however, not case marking, since the formal differences in argument encoding do not reflect the semantic roles of the arguments. Rather, Movima displays hierarchical alignment: the distinction between the transitive arguments, ARG_1 and ARG_2, is determined by their position on the animacy hierarchy.[153] The semantic roles of the arguments are indicated by direct or inverse voice marking on the predicate.

[153] I use the term "animcay hierarchy" in the sense of Croft's (2003: 130) "Extended Animacy Hierarchy", i.e., including criteria such as person, topicality, etc.

In the following sections, I first describe the basic characteristics of direct and inverse clauses (cf. 7.5.1), then turn to obviative marking on bound third-person pronouns (cf. 7.5.2), and finally discuss some implications of this system (cf. 7.5.3).

7.5.1. Direct and inverse

Basically, the animacy hierarchy reflected in the Movima system is as follows:

(81) 1sg > 1incl/1excl > 2sg > 2pl > 3hum > 3non-human[154]

This hierarchy determines which participant is represented by which argument in the transitive clause. The participant higher in the hierarchy is encoded as ARG_1, the participant lower in the hierarchy is encoded as ARG_2. The semantic roles of the participants are indicated by direct or inverse voice marking on the predicate (cf. 8.1.1, 8.1.2).[155]

The following examples illustrate the use of these markers in constructions that involve the first person. In each pair of examples, the direct construction, marked by *-a/-na*, is shown under a, and the inverse construction, marked by *-kay*, is shown under b. The first-person ARG_1, if overtly expressed, is underlined.

(82) 1 / 2[156]

a. 1sg = actor, 2sg = undergoer

*kay<**a:**>łe*	*n-i'ko*	*jayna*[157]
give<DR>	obl-PRO.pl	DSC

'I'll give them to you now.' {EA, In between 131}

b. 1sg= undergoer, 2sg = actor

ulkwaṅ	*<u>iɬ</u>*	*kayłe:-**kay***	*n-a'ko*
PRO.2sg	1	give-INV	obl-PRO.n

'You gave me this.' {EA, Solopaye 002}

(83) 1 / 3

a. 1sg = actor, 3hum = undergoer

<u>inła</u>	*jema'*	*ew-**na**--<u>us</u>*
PRO.1sg	also	grasp-DR--m.a

'I held him, too.' {EA, Aros 041}

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[154] More research is needed on the more fine-grained hierarchical distinctions between third-person participants, especially regarding specificity.

[155] J. Judy (1965: 12) analyses the direct construction as "active" and the inverse construction as "passive". In addition, she points out that "first and second person singular and first person plural have no object suffix", so that here "the passive form of the verb is used".

[156] When a transitive clause contains no overt ARG_2, this argument is by default (unless suggested otherwise by the context) the second person singular. An possible explanation for this was put forward in 4.1.2.

[157] The direct marker *-a* is represented as an infix when the verb is not fully analysable (cf. 3.6.1, 8.1.1).

b. 1sg = undergoer, 3hum = actor
bo *jema'* *juɬ-piń-**kay**--us*
REAS also hug-BE.half-INV--m.a
'Because he, too, hugged me around the waist.' {EA, Aros 040}

The following examples are constructions involving second and third person:

(84) 2 / 3
a. 2pl = actor, 3hum = undergoer
jayna *joy-**a**-ɬe=nkweɬ--isne* *nosde:*
DSC go-DR-CO=2pl--f.a there
'Then you (pl) take her there.' {EA, Asilo 016}

b. 2sg = undergoer, 3hum = actor
*joy-ɬe-**kay**-a=n* *u'ko* *n-as* *Peru*
go-CO-INV-LV=2 PRO.m obl-ART.n Perú
'He'll take you to (the village) Perú.' {EA, Cbba 154}

In (85), the different positions of a human and a non-human third person on the hierarchy is illustrated (the treatment of 3rd persons on the same hierarchical level will be shown further below):

(85) 3 hum / 3 nonhum
a. hum = actor, nonhum = undergoer
*tikoy-**na**=sne* *os* *mimi:di*
kill-DR=f.a ART.n.p snake
'She killed the/a snake.' {LY 1, 260a}

b. 3hum = undergoer, 3nonhum = actor
*tikoy-**kay**-a=sne* *os* *mimi:di*
kill-DR.INV-LV=f.a ART.n.p snake
'The/a snake killed her.' {LY 1, 260b}

The inverse construction can also occur when two inanimate participants are involved, as in (86). Here, the inverse construction is probably used because the undergoer is a body part, and body parts can be assumed to be higher on the animacy hierarchy than other inanimate entities.

(86) *aɬ* *risa-<kwa:~>kwa* *ena'* *[…]* *ew-**kay**-a=a* *os*
ART.n.1 BR.hair-<INAL~>ABS DUR.std hold-INV-LV=n ART.n.p
yiń-ri:sa
coagulate-BR.hair
'My hair was held in a knot by a hairpin.' {EA, Aros 022}

While the direct/inverse distinction is generally determined by semantic factors, elicitation has shown that it can also be used for pragmatic purposes, in an active/passive-like manner. The following examples show this. Example (87) illustrates the case in which a second-person actor, in spite of being lower on the hierarchy, is encoded as ARG_1 (underlined), while the first person, which is the higher participant, is encoded as ARG_2 in the direct construction (< = lower than, > = higher than):

(87) direct for actor < undergoer
*inɬa joy-**a**-ɬe=n*
PRO.1sg go-DR-CO=2
'You take me with you.' {EA 12, 276e}

Example (88) shows a similarly unusual inverse construction, with the first-person actor encoded as ARG_2:

(88) inverse for actor > undergoer
*inɬa nuy-vus-eɬ-**kay**-a=n*
PRO.1sg rub_in-BR.dust-APPL-INV-LV=2
'I made you dirty.' {EA 12, 018e}

In cases like these, in which the marking on the verb goes against the animacy hierarchy, the hierarchically higher person (encoded as ARG_2) is always encoded by a free pronoun in topic position (cf. 7.3). It seems, therefore, that this construction is a way to focus on the hierarchically higher person. As was shown in 7.3, it is more difficult to focus on ARG_1 than on the absolutive argument.[158]

It has to be pointed out that whereas cross-linguistically, hierarchical alignment was attested only with dependent person markers up to now (cf. Siewierska 2004: 55), in Movima, also full NPs participate in the direct/inverse system. This is shown in (89) and (90), where both arguments of an inverse clauses are full noun phrases.

(89) *asko bijaw-ni-**kay**-a=is majniwa=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a old-PRC-INV-LV=ART.pl child_of=1pl
os bayɬim-wa:nas ja'a
ART.n.p field-ABSTR just
'Our children were raised just by the field.' {EA, Mi vida 022}

(90) *uso' ela-**kay**-a='nes ma:ma='ne*
DM.p.m leave_behind-INV-LV=ART.f mother_of=f
us pa:pa='ne di' alwaj-a='ne
ART.m father_of=f REL spouse-LV=f
'Her$_i$ mother was left by her$_i$ father, who is her$_j$ spouse.' {EA, Neighbours 029}

[158] Another way to do this is through the detransitivizing construction with *kaw* (cf. 7.8).

7.5.2. Obviative marking

When in a transitive clause, the participant encoded as ARG_1 is or includes a third person (i.e., when it is a third person or the first person plural), a third-person bound pronoun representing ARG_2 is marked by a preceding *k-*.[159] This form can be defined as "obviative": the pronoun marked by *k-* is treated in the same way as participants lower on the animacy hierarchy, i.e., it can only represent ARG_2. The element *k-* on a bound pronun may thus be seen as an overt indicator of a lower position on the hierarchy, which determines direct and inverse marking on the verb (cf. 7.5.1).[160]

Obviative marking could already be observed in some examples given above ((5), (7), (14)). The following examples illustrate obviative marking in the direct construction. The voice markers on the verb are bold, the obviative ARG_2 is underlined:

(91) *jayna* *muy-**a**-kwa=y'ɬi--<u>kisne</u>,*
DSC shut-DR-BR.mouth=1pl--f.a.OBV
'Then we closed her mouth.' {EA, Muriendo 032}

(92) *joy-**a**-ɬe=u--<u>ku'</u>* *che* *i'nes* *alwaj-a=u*
go-DR-CO=m--m.OBV and ART.f spouse-LV=m
'He$_i$ took him$_j$ and his$_i$ wife with him.' {EA, Tomina' 004}

(93) *jayna* *di'* *weleɬ-poj-**na**=is* *pa:ko* *<u>kas</u>*
DSC HYP climb-CAU-DR=ART.pl dog n.a.OBV
'The dogs had probably made it [the jaguar] climb up [a tree].' {EA, Jaguar 113}

Examples (94)–(96) show obviative marking in the inverse construction:

(94) *teń<ka>poj-**kay**-a=y'ɬi--<u>kas</u>*
frighten<MLT>-INV-LV=1pl--n.a.OBV
'It frightened us.' {DM, Dawjes 005}

(95) *che* *jayɬe* *jayna* *lań-**kay**-a=sne--<u>kas</u>*
and then DSC bite-INV-LV=f.a--n.a.OBV
'And then it bit her.' {EA, Lagartija 020}

(96) *jayna* *rey* *alwani-**kay**-a=us--<u>kus</u>* *n-os* *jayna* *naychi*
DSC again talk-INV-LV=m.a--m.a.OBV obl-ART.n.p DSC first
'He had already been spoken to by him first.' {JA, Naye 056}

When two third-person participants cooccur that occupy the same level on the animacy hierarchy, it is hard to predict which one of them is represented by the obviative form. In (92) and (96) above, where both participants are human, the participant encoded as ARG_1 had been

[159] R. Judy (1965: 9) observed that *k-* "is an obligatory introducer for the second suffixial pronoun", and J. Judy (1965: 13) labelled the bound pronouns with *k-* "object pronouns".
[160] Obviative marking may be a metaphoric extension of the function of the element *k-* on absential articles and demonstratives, which indicate absence or ceased existence of the referent (cf. 4.3, 4.4).

introduced as the topic in the previous discourse, so that, as expected, it is not encoded by the obviative pronoun.[161] In (93), in contrast, where both participants are animals, it is the obviative pronoun that refers to the participant that was the topic of the preceding sentence (the jaguar). In (97), the two consecutive sentences are given. The NP and the pronouns referring to the jaguar are underlined:

(97) a. *o'o:wa buka' os rulrul n-os jayoń*
audible DUR.mov ART.n.p jaguar obl-ART.n.p seem
peł-a-mo-wa=as buka' os chamńmo,
tear-DR-TRC.bush-NMZ=n.a DUR.mov ART.n.p bush
jayna di' weleł-poj-na=is pa:ko kas
DSC HYP climb-CAU-DR=ART.pl dog n.a.OBV
'We heard the jaguar as it seemed to be breaking through the bush. The dogs had probably made it climb up [a tree].' {EA, Jaguar 112f.}

The obviative pronoun *kas* referring to the jaguar in (97) (and (93) above) is unexpected, since the jaguar was the topic of the preceding clause. Possibly, this is because a new topic has been introduced by a full NP (*is pa:ko* 'the dogs'). It would have to be tested whether the sentence still makes sense if the NP *is pa:ko* 'the dogs' is replaced by a bound pronoun. This example shows that more research is needed on the exact conditions for the ordering and marking of arguments that represent hierarchically equal participants.

7.5.3. The ergativity split in affirmative main clauses

The hierarchical alignment system in Movima creates a split-ergative pattern. This becomes apparent when an intransitive clause is compared with the direct and the inverse construction, respectively. In both the direct and the inverse pattern, ARG_2 has the same formal properties as ARG_{intr}, as was described in 7.2 above. As far as affirmative main clauses are concerned, when the intransitive construction is compared with the direct transitive construction, this results in an ergative pattern, since ARG_2 is the most patient-like participant (the undergoer). When it is compared with the inverse construction, in contrast, we see an accusative alignment pattern, since ARG_2 is the most agent-like participant (the actor).[162] This is schematized in Table 23:

Table 23. The ergativity split in affirmative main clauses[163]

	ARG_1	**absolutive**
intransitive	–	S
transitive direct	A	U
transitive inverse	U	A

[161] The passive translation of (96) reflects the topicality of ARG_1.
[162] For the different pattern of subordinate and negative clauses, see 7.12 and 7.15, respectively.
[163] The abbreviations in the table are: S=only argument of intransitive clause, A=actor, U=undergoer.

It has to be emphasized, however, that the distinctions between ARG_1 and ARG_2 are not case distinctions. They do not serve to indicate the grammatical relations of the arguments, but are semantically determined, while the semantic roles of the arguments are exclusively indicated by verbal markers. The apparent ergativity split is only a side-effect of this system.

7.6. Oblique arguments

The only case distinction in Movima is made between structural and oblique case. Structural case is unmarked and identifies core arguments. Oblique case is indicated by the prefix *n-* on the referential element (cf. 4.6). Consider the pair of examples in (98), which illustrates the difference between an unmarked (a.) and an oblique-marked (b.) NP:

(98) a. *usko* *bay-a-cho=us* *as wa:so*
PRO.m.a knock-DR-BR.inside=m.a ART.n glass
'He broke the glass.' {EA 6, 162b}

b. *usko* *bay-a-cho=us* ***n-****as wa:so*
PRO.m.a knock-DR-BR.inside=m.a obl-ART.n glass
'He broke X inside the glass.' {EA 6, 162b}

The interpretation of the oblique argument depends on the construction, on the semantic properties of the predicate and the argument, and on the context. To illustrate the variable interpretation of the oblique argument, four clauses are presented in (99) which each contain the same verb, *chi:chi* 'go out', and an oblique argument. The oblique argument encodes a goal in (99)a, a source in b, a temporal adjunct in c, and a purpose in d:

(99) a. *che isne* ***chi:~chi*** ***n-****os chora:da*
and PRO.f.a MD~go_out obl-ART.n.p street
'And she went out into the street.' {GC, Bacho 056}

b. *to:mi os* ***chi:~chi*** ***n-****inɬa*
water ART.n.a MD~go_out obl-PRO.1sg
'It was water what came out of me.' {EA, Cbba 158}

c. *jayna kino'* ***chi:~chi*** ***no-****kos ima:yoj*
DSC DM.f.a MD~go_out obl-ART.n.a morning
'She has gone out in the morning.' {EA, Llegada 003}

d. *jayna rey* ***chi:~chi*** ***n-****as telo-wa=n*
DSC again MD~go_out obl-ART.n dance-NMZ=2
'Then [you] go out [onto the stage] to dance.' {EA, Tolkosya I 033}

The examples in (100) show the same phenomenon with the oblique argument of the monovalent verb *kaykay* 'eat'. In (100)a, the oblique argument is the patient, in b, it is an accompanier, in c., it is a source, and in d., it is a temporal adjunct.

(100) a. *jayna* ***kay~kay*** ***ni-****kis* *cho~choɬ-a=kis* *ney* *ɬo'im*
DSC MD~eat obl-ART.pl.a RED~BR.nut-LV=ART.pl.a here *ɬo'im*
'Then [the macaws] eat the nuts of those *ɬo'im* [trees].' {EA, Lo'im 006}

b. *kide:* *da'* ***kay~kay*** *jayna* ***n-****us* *alwaj-a='ne*
DM.nst.pl DUR.nst MD~eat DSC obl-ART.m spouse-LV=f
'They are eating now with her husband.' {EA, Neighbours 009}

c. *siye:te* *is* ***kay~kay*** ***n-****is* *tochi'* *wu'tu* *ney*
seven ART.pl MD~eat obl-ART.pl small pan here
'It was seven [people] who ate from those small pans.' {PM, Empleada 006}

d. ***kay~kay*** ***n-****as* *tas-lo:maj* ***n-****as* *je:mes*
MD~eat obl-ART.n three-BE.time obl-ART.n day
'[You] eat three times a day.' [lit.: "at three times in the day"] {EA, Asilo 045}

While the above examples all involved intransitive clauses, the following are transitive clauses with an oblique argument. In (101), the oblique NP refers to a location and in (102), to an instrument.

(101) *jayna* *isko* ***yeɬ-na****=us* ***ni-****kis* *to:mi* *ja'a*
DSC PRO.pl.a put_in_liquid-DR=m.a obl-ART.pl.a water just
'Then he simply puts that [ice] in the water.' {EA, Antojos II 003}

(102) ***nis-na****=is* *jayna* ***n-****os* *dojnojbeń*
wipe_clean-DR=pl.a DSC obl-ART.n.p cloth
'They wiped (them) clean with a cloth.' {EA, Parabas 036}

Since a clause in Movima can maximally have two core arguments, as was shown in (1) above, one of the arguments of a verb denoting an event with three participants has to be oblique. Here, it becomes apparent that Movima is a primary-object language (cf. Dryer 1986), since the agent and the recipient are core arguments, while the theme is marked as oblique. This can be seen in (103) and (104):

(103) ***kay<a>ɬe****=us* *os* *pa:ko* ***n-****os* *charke*
give<DR>=m.a ART.n.p dog obl-ART.n.p dried_meat
'He gave the dried meat to the dog.' {JM, Perro II 051}

(104) *jayna* ***chus-pa:-kay****--isne* ***n-****os* *do'we='ne,* *jem-buń*
DSC point-APPL-INV--f.a obl-ART.n.p clothes=f cover-BR.mass
'Then she$_i$ showed me her$_j$ dress – full of mud!' {EA, Escape Marivel 103}

Oblique-marked NPs and pronouns can form ascriptive predicates (cf. 7.9.3) and adverbial clauses (cf. 7.12.3).

Note that in my definition, "oblique arguments" contrast with "core arguments" in Movima. This terminology is not intended as a theoretical statement. It contrasts with Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:29), who make it clear that oblique arguments also belong to the core, so that these terms should not be mutually exclusive. Further research is necessary to show which oblique-marked NPs or pronouns belong to the core in Movima clauses, and which ones are peripheral constituents. A distinction would then have to be made between direct core arguments, oblique core arguments, and peripheral constituents. However, I will not go into this problem here.

7.7. Morphosyntactic effects of argument incorporation

Two types of noun incorporation can be distinguished according to their syntactic effect: argument incorporation and modifier incorporation. In both types, a full noun or a bound nominal element (cf. 5.3) is inserted into a verb. Argument incorporation is morphosyntactically relevant in that it has a valency-decreasing effect, whereas modifier incorporation does not have a morphosyntactic effect. I will describe the morphosyntactic characteristics of the two incorporation types here. Details about the incorporated elements are given in 5.3; details about the way in which they are incorporated are given in 9.1 and 9.2.

Argument incorporation means that a direct bivalent verb incorporates a nominal element that would represent ARG_2 if occurring outside the verb. This process, which can be classified as "Type I" noun incorporation in the classification of Mithun (1984), results in a monovalent verb.

This is illustrated by the following examples. The sentence in (105)a is a simple transitive direct construction: ARG_1 is represented by the first-person proclitic of Set 1 (*iɬ*), ARG_2 (underlined) is represented by an unmarked NP. In (105)b, a classificatory bound element representing ARG_2 (*-ba* 'BR.round') is inserted into the verb. Even though the verb contains the direct voice marker *-a* (the base-internal allomorph of *-na*, cf. 8.1.1), it is monovalent in this construction: the former ARG_1 becomes ARG_{intr} (in the example, the first-person proclitic of Set 2, *iń*), and the NP representing the former ARG_2 is marked as oblique. Example (105)c shows that it is not possible for a verb with an incorporated argument to occur in a transitive construction.[164]

(105) a. *loy* *iɬ* ***chu'-na*** *as manka*
ITN 1 knock_down-DR ART.n mango
'I'll pick the/a mango.'

b. *loy* *iń* ***chuk-a:-ba*** ***n-is manka***
ITN 1intr knock_downt-DR-BR.round obl-ART.pl mango
'I'll pick mangos.'

[164] Exceptions are discussed in 9.1.3.

c. * *loy* *iɬ* ***chuk-a:-ba*** *is manka*
ITN 1 knock_down-DR-BR.round ART.pl mango {JM 18, 379b}

The following examples show the same pattern. In (106)–(107), the incorporated elements are classificatory bound roots (cf. 5.3):

(106) ***duk-a:-di*** ***n-****is aro:so*
grind-DR-BR.grain obl-ART.pl rice
'[I] ground rice.' {BA, TX 085}

(107) *che iń* ***vel-a:-poy****--iy'ɬi* ***n-****is wa:ka*
and 1intr look_at-DR-BR.animal--1pl obl-ART.pl cow
'And we tended the cattle.' {EA, Sueño 003}

In (108)–(110), the incorporated element is a truncated form of the noun (cf. 5.3.3):

(108) *piyesta:-tik--is jayna* ***dan-a:-so****--is* ***n-****is po'so*
fiesta-VBZ--pl.a DSC chew-DR-TRC.*chicha*--pl.a obl-ART.pl *chicha*
'They prepared the *fiesta*, they chewed the *chicha*.' {HR, TX 291}

(109) *bo choy rey* ***ew-a:-mi*** ***n-****is to:mi di' paluy-ni*
REAS certainly again hold-DR-TRC.water obl-ART.pl water REL cold-PRC
'Because, of course, [I] put my hands in cold water.'
(lit.: "... held water which was cold.") {EA, Sueño 029}

(110) *jayna rey* ***il-a:-cho*** ***n-****is mo'incho*
DSC again spread-DR-TRC.*chivé* obl-ART.pl *chivé*
'Then [she] spread *chivé* (mass).' {EA, Ay'ku I 044}

Example (111) illustrates the case of a full incorporated noun (in a subordinate clause; cf. 7.12.3):

(111) *n-os choń* ***pul-a-lolos-wa****=y'ɬi* ***n-****os lo:los*
obl-ART.n.p HAB sweep-DR-yard-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n.p yard
'... when we always swept the yard.'[165] {EA, Aros II 032}

In all the examples given so far, the undergoer is represented by an incorporated noun or bound element and additionally by an independent, oblique-marked NP. This is not consistently so; in (112), for instance, there is no corresponding oblique NP:

[165] Subordinate clauses with nominalized verbs are described in 7.12.

(112) *jayna* *ney=s* *o:ra* *da'* *jayna* ***dej-a-<u>mo'incho</u>***
DSC here=DET hour DUR.nst DSC toast-DR-*chivé*
'At this hour we were already toasting *chivé*.' {EA, Chaco III 021}

The conditions for the occurrence or omission of the NP in a clause containing argument incorporation require further investigation. In elicitation, speakers usually prefer the clause with the oblique NP, considering it "more explicit". It can be expected that the more generic or semantically ambiguous the incorporated element is (cf. 5.3), the more likely it is for the free NP to occur, while with an incorporated full noun (as in (112)), this is not the case (cf. also 9.1). However, there are also examples such as (111), where the free NP cooccurs with a full incorporated noun. This, in turn, may be due to the fact that the story was told to me and not to a native speaker, so that the narrator sought to be as explicit as possible. Future research on the cooccurrence of the incorporated noun and the independent NP will, therefore, have to involve text counts of discourse data which were produced involving native speakers only.

The following examples present further illustration of the use of argument incorporation. Examples (112)–(115) are cases of occurrence of the same noun as incorporated element and as an independent NP in adjacent clauses. In (113), the same verb root (*wul-*) occurs first with an incorporated argument in an intransitive clause, and then with ARG_2 as an independent NP in a transitive clause. Note the different encoding of the second person: in the first clause, in which the verbs contain incorporated arguments, it is encoded as ARG_{intr}, i.e. by the proclitic of Set 2. In the second clause, in which the arguments are not incorporated, the second person is encoded as ARG_1, i.e. by the enclitic of Set 1. From this, the first clause can be identified as intransitive and the second as transitive.

(113) *jayna* *<u>ij</u>* ***wul-a-<u>wa:ris</u>,*** ***wul-a-<u>sani:ya</u>,*** ***wul-a-<u>ma:do</u>,***
DSC 2intr sow-DR-pumkin sow-DR-melon sow-DR-bean
wul-na=<u>n</u> *<u>kis ma:do, sani:ya, lopa:vos</u>*
sow-DR=2 ART.pl.a bean melon manioc_plant
'Then you sow pumpkin, you sow melon, you sow beans; you sow beans, melon, manioc plants.' {EA, Chaco I 072f.}

In (114), the noun *pe:re* 'plantain' is first incorporated and occurs, in the following clause, in a left-dislocated NP.

(114) *di'* *<u>ij</u>* ***wul-a-<u>pe:re</u>,*** *jayna* *<u>kis pe:re,</u>* *<u>isko</u>* ***en-u'-ni***
HYP 2intr sow-DR-plantain DSC ART.pl.a plantain PRO.pl.a stand-INT-PRC
'If you sow plantains, then the plantains, they remain there.' {Chaco II 036}

In the first clause in (115), the noun *pa:di* 'guava' functions as a predicate nominal (cf. 7.9.1). In the second clause, the same noun is incorporated into the verb.

(115) *ja'* ***pa:di*** *is* *rey* *joy-a:-kwa,* ***bak-a-<u>pa:di</u>***
just guava ART.pl again go-DR-BEN poke_at-DR-guava
'It was just guavas I went for, I picked guavas.' {JA, TX 082}

The incorporated nominal element cannot be modified by a relative clause (cf. 7.11 below), as shown by (116). In order to achieve modification or quantification of the incorporated nominal element, an oblique NP has to be added, as in (117).

(116) * *u'ko* ***tikoy-cha-da'ra*** *di'* *oy-ra*[166]
PRO.m kill-DR2-rhea REL two-BE.ntr
('He killed two rheas.') {EA 13, 260e}

(117) *u'ko* ***tikoy-cha-da'ra*** ***n-****is* *oy-ra*
PRO.m kill-DR2-rhea obl-ART.pl two-BE.ntr
'He killed two rheas.' {EA 13, 260e}

In modifier incorporation, the incorporation of the noun or nominal element does not influence the valency of a verb. This is to say, a verb with an incorporated noun or bound element can undergo voice alternations (cf. 9.2). This type of incorporation typically has a limitative function (cf. Mithun & Corbett 1999): in the most typical case, the incorporated element denotes the affected part of the undergoer, as in (118). In (118), it can also be seen that a verb containing the direct voice marker remains bivalent (shown by the proclitic of Set 1 encoding the first person in (118)a); using a pronoun representing ARG_{intr}, as in (118)b (the proclitic of Set 2) is ungrammatical. A verb with an incorporated modifier is usually not combined with a coreferential NP.

(118) a. *loy* *iɬ* ***is-a-kwinto***
ITN 1 roast-DR-cheek
'I'll burn (your) cheek.' [lit.: "I'll cheek-burn you."]

b. **loy* *iń* ***is-a-kwinto***
ITN 1intr roast-DR-cheek
(not appropriate) {EA 12, 325e}

These verbs can be freely marked for voice (cf. Ch. 8 and 9.2). For example, here, unlike in the case of argument incorporation, the direct marker can be omitted, in which case the verb is monovalent:

(119) *iń* *is-kwinto*
1intr roast-cheek
'I burned my cheek.' [lit.: "I got cheek-burnt."]

[166] On certain bases, the direct marker has the form *-cha*; cf. 8.1.1 and 9.1.

7.8. The *kaw*-construction

The preverbal particle *kaw*, often realized as *kwey* (cf. 12.4), is used to put focus on the participant that is encoded as ARG_1 in a transitive clause.[167] As was already mentioned above with regard to examples (33) and (79), the insertion of *kaw* leads to detransitivization. At the same time, the former ARG_1 occurs as a free pronoun in topic position. This is illustrated by the pair in (120), to be commented on below.

(120) a. ***bay-a-cho***=*us* *as* *wa:so*
knock-DR-BR.inside=m.a ART.n glass
'He has broken the glass.'

b. *usko* ***kwey*** ***bay-a:-cho*** *n-as* *wa:so*
he FOC knock-DR-BR.inside obl-ART.n glass
'He has broken the glass.' {EA 6, 162a}

The difference between the constructions in (120)a and (120)b is as follows. Example (120)a is a typical transitive construction (cf. 7.1), the predicate being a bivalent verb, ARG_1 represented by an internally cliticized bound pronoun, and ARG_2 represented by an NP. In (120)b, which has the same propositional content as (120)a, the particle *kaw* is inserted. As a consequence, the clause is intransitive. There is no encliticized referential element representing ARG_1. Instead, the actor is encoded by an unmarked free pronoun and the undergoer by an oblique-marked NP. This is a type of antipassive construction: the original ARG_1 becomes ARG_{intr}, and the original ARG_2 is demoted to the periphery. Still, the verb remains semantically bivalent, as indicated by the direct voice marker *-a* (cf. Ch. 8).

The function of this construction seems to be that the ARG_1 participant in a transitive construction can occur in topic position. Recall from 7.3 above that it is not as common for ARG_1 to occur in this position as for ARG_2 or ARG_{intr}, even though it is not impossible. The following example shows that even in the construction in (120)a, ARG_1 can be encoded as a free pronoun:

(121) *usko* ***bay-a-cho***=*us* *as* *wa:so*
PRO.m.a knock-DR-BR.inside=m.a ART.n glass
'He broke the glass.' {EA 6, 162b}

However, the construction with *kaw*, as in (120)b, is preferred for focalizing ARG_1.

Accordingly, the construction with the focus particle *kaw* is most often used with bivalent verbs. In my text sample, there were only two examples of monovalent verbs (*joycheł* 'go', *alwa:ni* 'talk') with this particle:

(122) *jayna* *isne* ***kwey joy-cheł*** *kaj<a>łe=sne* *no-kos* *terminal*
DSC PRO.f.a FOC go-R/R come_up_to<DR>=f.a obl-ART.n.a bus_station
'Then she will go and meet her at the terminal.' {EA, Dialogue 029}

[167] When pronounced as *kwey*, this particle is homophonous with the particle marking immediate past tense (*kwey* 'IMM'). For a comparison of the two morphemes, see 12.4.

(123) *che rey us, eney, majniwa=sne di' Ismael Ra:po, <u>usko</u> jayna*
and again ART.m (filler) child_of=f.a REL Ismael Rapo PRO.m.a DSC
***kwey alwa:ni** n-is dirinka nas jayna kasteliya:no*
FOC talk obl-ART.pl gringa obl-ART.n DSC Spanish
'And then, er, her son Ismael Rapo, he was the one who talked to the *gringas* in Spanish.' {EM, Gringas I 011}

The following text examples also illustrate the antipassive effect of *kaw* in combination with bivalent verbs. They have the same structure as (120)b above:

(124) *<u>inɬa</u> **kwey** us-na n-os ju:ve*
PRO.1sg FOC move_away-DR obl-ART.n.p dugout
'<u>I</u> pushed the canoe.' {BA, TX 265}

(125) *<u>iy'ɬi</u> **kwey** ji:sa:-na n-os neyru ley di' INRA*
PRO.1pl FOC make-DR obl-ART.n.p here law REL INRA
'<u>We</u> made that INRA law.' {EA, Marcha 006}

(126) *che os alamre, <u>asko</u> ew-kay-a='ne jayna,*
and ART.n.p wire PRO.n.a hold-INV-LV=f DSC
***kwey** ew-na n-os do'we='ne*
FOC hold-DR obl-ART.n.p clothes=f
'And the barbed wire, <u>that</u> held her back then, caught her dress.' {EA, Escape 062}

The following example shows that in this way, the undergoer in the inverse construction can be encoded by a clause-initial free pronoun as well:

(127) *<u>isko</u> **kaw** jiram-poj-**kay** n-os rey je' inɬa*
PRO.pl.a FOC nice-CAU-INV obl-ART.n.p again my_state PRO.1sg
'<u>They</u> liked the way I was.' [lit. "The way I was pleased them]." {HR, TX 048}

Like any oblique argument, the oblique-marked former ARG_2 can be left out. This is the case in the following examples:

(128) *en-cheɬ--iy'bi ja' che <u>inɬa</u> **kwey** man-na*
stand-R/R--2pl just and PRO.1sg FOC shoot-DR
'You just stand still and <u>I</u> shoot (it).' {BA, TX 214}

(129) *che is dichi:ye, <u>isko</u> **kwey** ɬow-na*
and ART.pl child PRO.pl.a FOC pull-DR
'and the children, they pulled (it).' [continuation of (124) above] {BA, TX 266}

(130) *bo* *asko* *ja'* ***kaw*** *lawajes-na,* *os* *ney* *waraṅtey*
REAS PRO.n.a just FOC remedy-DR ART.n.p here toad
'Because just that healed (it), that toad.' {ER, Sapo 021}

It is important to note that in the absence of *kaw*, a bivalent predicate that is not combined with an internally cliticized referential element would be interpreted as having a first person singular ARG_1 (cf. 7.4). Consider the difference between (131)a and b. In (131)a, the bivalent predicate implies the first person ARG_1, so that the person encoded by the free pronoun is automatically interpreted as ARG_2 (in this case, the undergoer). The clause in (131)b differs from (131)a in that it contains the particle *kwey*, which decreases the valency of the predicate. As a result, the free pronoun is ARG_{intr}, and therefore interpreted as the actor in the described event.

(131) a. *ulkwaṅ* *kay-a:-poj* {EA 14, 067}
PRO.2sg eat-DR-CAU
'I feed you.'

b. *ulkwaṅ* ***kwey*** *kay-a:-poj* {EA 14, 067a}
PRO.2sg FOC eat-DR-CAU
'You feed (X).'

7.9. Nonverbal predicates and predicateless clauses

I will now turn to intransitive clauses whose predicate is not a verb or which lack a predicate altogether. While a predicate typically is a verb, it can also be a noun, a demonstrative, or an oblique NP. Movima does not have a copula. Clauses with a nonverbal predicate are equational, existential/locational, and possessive clauses, and they are always intransitive. The core argument of such a clause is expressed in the same way as in intransitive clauses with verbal predicates (cf. 7.2). Furthermore, there are clauses which lack a predicate altogether.

I will first describe predicate nominals (7.9.1), then predicateless clauses (7.9.2), and then turn to predicates consisting of an oblique noun phrase (7.9.3) or of a demonstrative (7.9.4). Section 7.9.5 describes different types of possessive clauses, which include clauses with demonstrative predicates, predicative oblique noun phrases, and a special type of predicate nominal formed by foot reduplication.

7.9.1. Predicate nominals

As was argued in 3.10, a noun is defined mainly by morphological characteristics, e.g. by the combinability with certain verbalizing affixes. Syntactically, there is no major difference between nouns and verbs, since a noun can also function as a predicate (a "predicate nominal").[168] This function is marked by the absence of an article. Since there is no copula in Movima, predicate nominals are used to express equation and proper inclusion.

[168] And see 7.10 for verbs functioning as arguments.

Examples of clauses with predicate nominals are given in (132)–(134). The argument (underlined) is represented by an NP in (132) and (133) and by an externally cliticized bound pronoun in (134).[169]

(132) ***iloni-pa-n-chi:ye*** *toti'* *as dichi:ye*
walk-AG-LN-TRC.child tiny ART.n child
'The boy (is) a little wanderer.' {EA 19, 111}

(133) ***tomo:re*** *is e:ɬ-a=is ney wu'tu*
tomore ART.pl BR.name-LV=ART.pl here pot
'The name of those pots (was) *tomore*.' {HR, TX 265}

(134) ***tolkosya***--*sne* *n-os ney rey joyaj-wa=us*
girl--f.a obl-ART.n.p here again arrive-NMZ=m.a
'She (was) a young woman when he arrived.' {HR, TX 172}

As was shown in 3.10.4, adjectives form a subclass of nouns. However, unlike nouns, they occur more often as predicates than as arguments. Clauses containing an adjectival predicate, then, are typical examples of nonverbal predication:

(135) *bo* ***kwajles*** *kos ba<kwa~>kwa=us*
REAS hot ART.n.a head<INAL~>=m.a
'Because his head was hot.' {EA, Desvelada 008}

Since the argument of an intransitive clause is not obligatorily expressed, a noun alone can constitute an equational clause. This is the case of the noun *mo'incho:buń* '*chivé* mass' in (136):

(136) *jayna kas china<ka'>ɬa, jayna* ***mo'incho:-buń***
DSC NEG manioc<IRR> DSC *chivé*-BR.mass
'(There was) no manioc left, (it was) already *chivé* mass.' {EA,Tomina' 084}

Normally, however, the argument of an equational clause is overtly expressed, as in (132)–(135) above. It is then expressed by a free pronoun or by a demonstrative. Examples of free pronouns in a clause containing a predicate nominal are the following ((137) is repeated from (75) in 7.4):

(137) *inɬa* ***kwe:ya*** *che inɬa iń* ***itila:kwa***
PRO.1sg woman and PRO.1sg 1intr man
'I was the woman and I was the man.' [i.e., doing both women's and men's work]
{BA, TX 119}

[169] In all the examples of predicate nominals presented here, the nominal status of the forms occurring as predicates can be verified by their combinability with nominal morphemes (cf. 3.10). In particular, predicate nominals are reduplicated under negation and in subordinate clauses, whereas subordinated or negated verbal predicates receive the suffix *-wa* (cf. 7.12.1, 11.1.1).

(138) ***A:na*** *i'ne*
Ana PRO.f
'She is Ana.' {EA, Neighbours 014}

The following example shows the representation of the argument by a demonstrative in topic position:

(139) *koro'* ***ji:sa='ne***
DM.a.n toy=f
'She has it as a toy.' [lit.: "It is being her toy."] {NG 10, 066}

A predicate nominal can also be a possessed noun. Examples of this are rare, but they have an interesting structure: a clause with a possessed predicate nominal is syntactically identical to a clause with a baivalent verb. This is because a possessor is encoded in the same way as ARG_1, i.e. by an internally cliticized pronoun or NP (cf. 6.1). Example (140) illustrates this:

(140) *u'ko* ***ulchaɬ****-a=kine'e=s* *kwe:ya* *us* *alwaj-a='nes*
PRO.m in_law-LV=DM.std.f=DET woman ART.m spouse-LV=ART.f
majniwa='ne
child_of=f
'He is the son-in-law of that woman, the husband of her daughter.'
{EA, Neighbours 011}

In (140), we see a predicate (in bold print) preceded by a free pronoun in topic position and followed by two NPs (underlined), the first of which is cliticized to the predicate.[170] The second NP, *us alwaja='nes majniwa='ne* 'the husband of her daughter' is coreferential with the free pronoun (*u'ko*). This is the typical structure of transitive clauses as presented in (25)b above. When the clause in (140) is analysed as a transitive clause, its most literal translation would be "That woman in-laws him, the husband of her daughter". However, due to the clear morphological distinction between nouns and verbs in Movima (cf. 3.10), it would not be synchronically appropriate to analyse the construction with a possessed predicate nominal along the same lines as a transitive clause. Rather, the entire possessed noun should be considered as the predicate. The second NP is then the only argument of the clause, cross-referenced by the free pronoun in topic position.

An important function of predicate nominals is to topicalize a participant by creating a construction that can be considered a cleft. This function is most obvious when the argument NP contains a verb (cf. 7.10, 8.2), because this means that the verb and the noun changed their typical syntactic functions for pragmatic purposes. Usually, the cleft construction also contains a free pronoun in topic position. In (141), a transitive clause of the canonical structure (cf. (141)a) is contrasted with a cleft construction (cf. (141)b):

[170] The cliticization in *kine'e=s* is of the neutral type (cf. 3.9.3). The cliticized *=s* marks the demonstrative *kine'* as a determiner, equivalent to an article (cf. 4.4).

(141) a. *che* ***man<a>ye***=*is* *pa:ko* *os* *rulrul*
and meet<DR>=ART.pl dog ART.n.p jaguar
'And the dogs met a jaguar.' {EA,Tigre y perro 003}

b. *asko* ***rulrul*** *os* *man<a>ye=is* *pa:ko,* *ma'a*
PRO.n.a jaguar ART.n.p meet<DR>=ART.pl dog my_mother
'It was a jaguar that the dogs had met, madam.' {EA, Jaguar 085}

In (141)a, the bivalent verb *manaye* 'meet' is the predicate and the nouns *pa:ko* 'dog' and *rulrul* 'jaguar' occur in the two argument NPs, ARG_1 and ARG_2. In (141)b, in contrast, the noun *rulrul* functions as a monovalent predicate: "(is a) jaguar". Here, the verb *manaye* 'meet' occurs together with its ARG_1 (=*os pa:ko*) in the NP representing the argument of the clause. Since ARG_1 and the possessor are encoded identically, this NP can be considered possessed: "the met (one) of the dogs". This NP is cross-referenced by the free pronoun in topic position: "It was a jaguar, the met one of the dogs."[171]

An alternative way to analyse clauses of the type in (141)b might seem to maintain that the verb *manaye* 'meet' is the predicate and that the noun *rulrul* belongs to the NP representing ARG_2. With the predicate in bold-print and the arguments underlined, this can be represented as in (10). However, this construction would be difficult to explain. Why does the noun *rulrul* 'jaguar' occur before the article? Has it been extracted from its usual position in the NP? And what is the function of the free pronoun in topic position, if ARG_2 is already represented by an NP in preverbal position? Instead of seeking answers to these questions, it is much more likely that clauses of this type are structured in analogy to equational clauses, as described earlier in this section.[172]

(10) *asko* *rulrul os* ***man<a>ye***=*is* *pa:ko,* *ma'a*
PRO.n.a jaguar ART.n.p meet<DR>=ART.pl dog my_mother
'It was a jaguar that the dogs had met, madam.' {EA, Jaguar 085}

The following are more examples of cleft constructions as described here, with the predicate nominal in bold print and the argument NP underlined:

(142) *jaysoń jayna ja' to:mi,* ***to:mi*** *os* *chi: ~chi* *n-inɬa*
seem DSC just water water ART.n.p MD~go_out obl-PRO.1sg
'It was just like water, it was water what came out of me.' {EA, Cbba 158}

(143) ***sota'-ra di' wa:ka*** *os* *jan-ka-rim-eɬ-a=is* *mońlo:to*
one-BE.ntr REL cow ART.n.p which-MLT-trade-APPL-LV=ART.pl earring
'One cow was what the earrings cost.' {EA,Abuelo 022}

(144) ***kaw-mo*** *is* *joy-a-ɬe=is*
much-BE.bird ART.pl take-DR-CO=pl.a
'Many birds did they take with them.' {EA, Parabas 055}

[171] In addition, the word *rulrul* 'jaguar' is emphatically stressed in (141)b, a feature typical of this construction.
[172] For a more detailed description of verbs inside noun phrases, see 7.10 and 8.2.

In these clauses, tense is always indicated by the referential elements, in particular, the article (cf. 4.8–4.10). In (141)–(144) above, the article forms *os* (neuter) and *is* (plural) indicated past tense. Example (145) shows an equational clause in present tense, as indicated by the presential neuter forms of the free pronoun and the article:

(145) *ban* ***a'ko*** *rulrul* ***as*** *kwey-na=is* *pa:ko* *jayna*
but PRO.n jaguar ART.n follow-DR=ART.pl dog DSC
'But it is a jaguar that the dogs are chasing.' {EA, Jaguar 090}

7.9.2. Predicateless clauses (PRO–NP juxtaposition)

There is another type of equational clause, which consists of the juxtaposition of a free pronoun and a full NP. These can be labelled identificational clauses. Consider the following examples:

(146) *ulkwań* *ij* *tera:ni* *bo* *asko* *kos yalowe-wa=n*
PRO.2sg 2intr ill REAS PRO.n.a ART.n.a drink-NMZ=2
ni-kis *to:mi* *di'* *cho'es-ni*
obl-ART.pl.a water REL dirty-PRC
'You are ill because you drank dirty water.' [lit.: "… because that was your drinking of dirty water."] {EA, 9, 201}

(147) *as* *rey* *kwaderno* *asko* *kos mere'* *en-ɬe:-du'u*
ART.n again notebook PRO.n.a ART.n.a big stand-CO-grind
'The notebook, that was the big mortar.' [i.e., I didn't learn things at school, but working at home] {BA, TX 084}

The formal difference between these NPs and the predicate nominals described in 7.9.1 is that instead of a bare noun functioning as a predicate, there is a referential element (the article of the NP), and no overt predication. Here we are dealing with identification instead of predication (cf. Stassen 1997: 10).

The NP in the identificational clause can also contain a verb, such as *teńkapojkay* in (148).

(148) *ji:nana'* *rey* *asko* *to'ba* *ja',* *jo'me,*
MIR again PRO.n.a great_egret just bird
asko *os* ***teń-ka-poj-kay-a****=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a ART.n.p scare-MLT-CAU-INV-LV=1pl
'Surprisingly, it (was) just a Great Egret, (it was) a bird, that (was what) had scared us.' {DM, Dawjes 020, 021}

Compare this construction to the second clause in (149). Here, the verb is the same as in (148) (here without the multiple-event marker *-ka*), but it is not preceded by an article and, therefore, a verbal predicate.

(149) *jayłe rey łań rey ja' vam̨~vam̨ os łań pa:ko n-os beń'i.*
then again EV again just MD~appear ART.n.p EV dog obl-ART.n.pgrassland
*asko łań **tem̨-poj-kay-a=is we:ye***
PRO.n.a EV scare-CAU-INV-LV=ART.pl ox
'Then apparently a dog just appeared in the grassland. That, they say, scared the ox.'
{EA, Ay'ku I 017, 018}

7.9.3. Juxtaposition of pronoun and oblique NP

A clause can also consist of the juxtaposition of a free pronoun and an oblique constituent (cf. 7.6). The oblique constituent (bold) functions here as an ascriptive predicate. Consider the following examples:

(150) *os neychi-mo:-n-eł di' aro:so, asko **n-as ele:siya***
ART.n.p first-BE.basket-LN-APPL REL rice PRO.n.a obl-ART.n church
'The first basket-full of rice, that (was) for the church.' {GB, Ganado 100}

(151) *os be~beń-kwa asko **n-os bombo-n-a=is***
ART.n.p RED~BR.flat_flex-ABS PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p large_drum-LN-LV=pl
*che os ju:di asko **n-os tambor-a=is***
and ART.n.p howler_monkey PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p small_drum-LV=pl
'The leather, that (was) for their large drum, and the howler monkey, that (was) for their small drum.' {ER, Preparations 011}

(152) *isko nosde: **n-as Sékure***
PRO.pl.a there obl-ART.n Sécure
'They (were) from over there, from Sécure.' {GC, Marcha 024}

The predicative function of the oblique NP results from its juxtaposition with a free pronoun, similar to the constructions described in 7.9.2 above.

Juxtaposition of a pronoun with an oblique NP is very frequent when the oblique NP contains an action noun (cf. 11.1). This usually creates time adverbials:

(153) *che asko **n-os jiwa:-wa***
and PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p come-NMZ
'And that (was) when I came.' [lit.: "And that (was) in my coming."]
{EA, In between 027}

(154) *asko **n-os kwale-na:-wa**--as*
PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p lose-DR-NMZ--n.a
'At that (occasion) I lost it.' {DM Fracaso 017}

(155) *asko* ***n-as*** ***vol-ka-ba-loł-wa=as***
PRO.n.a obl-ART.n turn-MLT-BR.round-BR.water-NMZ=n.a
'That was when it was turning round and round in the water.' {EG, Cazando 050}

7.9.4. Demonstratives as predicates

I will now turn to clauses whose predicates consist of demonstratives (demonstrative predicates). These can be characterized as being prototypically existential. In (156) and (157), this is illustrated with an absential and a past demonstrative, respectively:

(156) ***koro'*** *kos si:doj di' a:mon no-koł bayłim*
DM.a.n ART.n.a monkey REL enter obl-ART.n.a.1 field
'There is a monkey that goes onto my field.' {ER, Mono 001}

(157) *che* ***iso'*** *is chinała*
and DM.p.pl ART.pl manioc
'And there was manioc.' {EA, Tomina' 012}

The following examples show existential clauses with positional demonstratives:

(158) *łań,* ***kila'wa=****s juyeni, jankwa*
EV DM.appr.pl=DET person say
'Look, there are people coming.' {EA,Cbba 167}

(159) ***kilwa*** *rey is jo'me ney n-as de:-na, jankwa*
DM.el.d.pl again ART.pl bird here obl-ART.n lie-DR say
'There are (= I can hear) the chickens here where I sleep, I said.' {EA, Gallina 016}

Like all other clause types, a clause headed by a demonstrative predicate can also contain a free pronoun in topic position. This is shown by (161):

(160) *i'ne* ***kine'e***
PRO.f DM.f.std
'It's her.' {EA, Neighbours 008}

(161) *i'ko, jankwa='ne, i'ko* ***kila'wa***
PRO.pl say=f PRO.pl DM.appr.pl
'They, she said, they are coming.' {EA,Cbba 173}

7.9.5. Possessive clauses

I will now turn to possessive clauses. There are three ways of forming a possessive clause in Movima: two in which the possessum is indefinite ("I have an X") and one in which the possessum is definite ("X is mine"). I will refer to these types as "indefinite" and "definite" possessive clauses, respectively (cf. Stassen 2001).

Indefinite possessive clauses are either formed by a demonstrative predicate or by a noun containing iambic foot reduplication. As in existential clauses (cf. 7.9.4), demonstrative predicates in possessive clauses consist of the absential or past demonstrative. The difference with existential clauses is that the NP is marked as possessed (cf. 6.1). The possessive relation encoded in this way is usually alienable. Consider the following examples:

(162) *jema'* ***koro'*** *kos cha'pa=sne* *jema'a*
also DM.a.n ART.n.a walking_stick=f.a also
'She has a walking stick as well.' {EA, Asilo 088}

(163) *kinos* *ma:ma=y'ɬi,* ***oso'*** *os toti' ma:kina=sne* *ɬaṅ*
ART.f.a mother_of=1pl DM.n.p ART.n.p tiny machine=f.a EV
'Our mother, she had a little machine, look.' {EA, Makina 001}

In the second type of indefinite possession, the noun denoting the possessum is a predicate nominal which has undergone iambic foot reduplication (cf. 3.7.2).[173]

(164) *iṅ* ***do'~****do'we-to:da*
1intr POSS~clothes-BR.piece
'I've got my rags on.' {JA 14, 065}

(165) *jayna* *joy-cheɬ* *is* *wa:ka-wandi-m-maj*
DSC go-R/R ART.pl cow-INSTR:BE.house-LN-VLC
di' *[...]* ***pola~****pola:ta*
REL [...] POSS~money
'Then the people of the ranch-people came, who [...] had money.'
{EA,Vida chaco 014f.}

The possessum can be quantified by an oblique noun phrase (cf. 7.6 above and 7.12.3 below):

(166) *u'ko* *tojeɬ* *ji:~ji:sa* ***n-is*** ***kaw-ra***
PRO.m very POSS~toy obl-ART.pl much-BE.ntr
'He has many toys.' [lit.: "He is a toy-owner of many."] {EA 12, 061e}

Unlike the constructions containing a demonstrative (cf. (162), (163) above), in this type of clause, the possessum is the predicate and the possessor is encoded as the argument.

[173] This might be seen as a sort of verbalization. However, in a subordinate clause, a possessive predicate of this type is modified in the same way as a noun, i.e. by infixing reduplication (cf. 11.1.1). Since the modification in subordination (nominalization) is a major criterion for distinguishing nouns from verbs morphologically (cf. 3.10.2), I consider these forms possessive predicate nominals.

However, speakers consider both constructions equivalent:

(167) a. ***koro'*** *koł* *kamiyon*
DM.a.n ART.n.a.1 truck
b. ~ *iń* ***kami~****kamiyon*
1intr POSS~truck
'I have a truck.' {JM 16, 349}

The difference between the possessive construction with a demonstrative and the construction with reduplication rather seems to lie in the discourse-pragmatic domain. It seems that the construction with the reduplicated noun is used to focus on the possessum. An indication of this is that in spontaneous use, the reduplicative construction is found most often in relative clauses (cf. 7.11), as in (165) above and in (168), (169) below:

(168) *oso'* *os* *sił-kwa* *di'* ***tomi~****to:mi*
DM.p.n ART.p.n BR.hole-ABS REL POSS~water
'There was a hole with water in it.' {EA, Escape 086}

(169) *is* *nun-'i* *di'* ***wa:~****wa:ka*
ART.pl bone-D REL POSS~meat
'bones that have meat' {EA 12, 174c}

Definite possession is either expressed by a relative clause (cf. 7.11) or by the predicateless construction with an oblique constituent (cf. 7.9.3). In the latter construction, the possessum is expressed by a free pronoun in topic position and the possessor by the oblique constituent, as in (170) and (171):

(170) *as* *łakaḿba,* *a'ko* ***n-i'neł*** ***ay'ku*** *di'* *bito'o*
ART.n earth PRO.n obl-ART.f.1 aunt REL old_person
'The land, it belongs to my old aunt.' {EA, Buscar viv. 006}

(171) *bo* *asko* ***ni-kis*** ***pul-a-cho:-pa*** *ja'a*
REAS PRO.n.a obl-ART.pl.a sweep-DR-BR.inside-AG just
'Because it belongs to the sweepers only.' {EA, Barredoras 012}

Examples (172) and (173) show that the oblique constituent encoding the possessor can be a free pronoun as well:

(172) *ban* *jayna* *asko* ***n-iy'łi*** *os* *ro:ya*
but DSC PRO.n.a obl-PRO.1pl ART.n.p house
'But it was ours already, the house.' {EA, Escape 009}

(173) *bo* *i'ko* ***n-i'ko***
REAS PRO.pl obl-PRO.pl
'Because they are theirs.' {EA, Mangas 007}

The construction with the possessor encoded by an oblique constituent, as in (170)–(173), is generally restricted to cases in which the possessum is alienably possessed and is not combined with an internal clitic (cf. 6.1). In addition to expressing a possessive relation, this construction also puts focus on the possessor ("they are theirs").

Possessive relative clauses are described in 7.11 below.

7.10. Verbs in NPs

Just as a morphological noun can function as a predicate (cf. 7.9.1), a morphological verb can, in combination with an article, function as a core argument. This is quite common in Movima.[174] Compare the function of the verb *javu:buń* 'fly' in (174)a as opposed to b. Example (174)a represents the canonical clause pattern: the verb *javu:buń* 'fly' is the predicate (in bold print), and the NP *os to'ba* 'the great egret' is its argument (underlined). In (174)b, in contrast, the verb *javu:buń* occurs within the NP (marked by the article, cf. 4.4), which is the argument of the predicate *o'o:wa* 'to be audible'.

(174) a. ***ja<vu:~>buń*** *os to'ba*
fly<MD~> ART.n.p great_egret
'The great egret flew.' {EA, Dawjes 019}

b. *che* ***o'o:wa*** *is* ***ja:<vu:~>buń*** *di' joy choy kay~kay n-i'*
and audible ART.pl fly<MD~> REL SPC certainly MD~eat obl-pl
'And you could hear the flying (ones), which probably ate them.'
[i.e., the vampire bats which ate the mangos] {EA, Wo'ray 002}

The special property of NPs containing a morphological verb is that their referent is a participant of the event encoded by the verb root, not the event itself. In (174)b, it is the participant in the event of flying. In contrast, when the NP refers to the event itself, it contains an action noun (cf. 11.1), as illustrated by (175):

(175) ***kaw-ra*** *os, eney, javu'-wa=is n-as beńra nosde:*
much-BE.ntr ART.n.p (filler) fly-NMZ=pl.a obl-ART.n sky there
'They flew around a lot in the sky up there.' [lit.: "A lot (was) their flying in the sky over there."] {EM, Gringas II 009}

The following examples give a further illustration of the difference between the same verb (*kayni* 'die') functioning as predicate (cf. (176)a), as argument (in the NP with the relative clause in (176)b), and occurring in the nominalized form (cf. (176)c):

[174] Examples were also given in 7.9.1 above, (10)–(145).

(176) a. verb as predicate:
ban *jayna* ***kayni*** *os pa:ko*
but DSC die ART.n.p dog
'But the dog was already dead.' {EG, Cazando 123}

b. verb as argument:
sutu:k-a *us* ***kayni*** *di' pa'a,* ***sutu:k-a***--*us*
be_angry-SNS ART.m die REL my_father angry-SNS--m.a
'My late father was angry, he was angry.'
[lit.: "the dead one who (was) my father was angry.'] {JA, TX 074}

c. nominalized verb as argument:
jayna ***katorse-tinona'*** *os kayni-wa=us*
DSC fourteen-year ART.n.p die-NMZ=m.a
'It's already fourteen years (ago) that he died.'
[lit.: "His dying is already forteen years."] {EA, Ay'ku I 033}

An NP with a verb always refers to the participant which would be encoded as the absolutive argument if the verb were the predicate of the clause. Example (177) contains an NP with a direct bivalent verb, and accordingly, the referent is the undergoer of the event. The clause in (178) contains an inverse verb, so that the NP refers to the actor. Again, the predicates in these examples are given in bold-print and the arguments are underlined.

(177) *do:koy majni, nokowa* ***ɬ rim-eɬ-na*** *is yey-na=n*
good my_child right_now 1 buy-APPL-DR ART.pl want-DR=2
'Good, my child, now I'll buy the ones you want.' {EA, Abuelo 039}

(178) *usko* ***senyor*** *kuɬ lawajes-kay*
PRO.m.a sir ART.m.a.1 remedy-INV
'It was the Lord who healed me.' {EA, Sueño 174}

A bivalent verb in argument function is obligatorily marked for its ARG_1 in the same way as when it functions as a predicate, i.e., ARG_1 is internally cliticized or, if it is a speech-act participant, represented by a bound pronoun of Set 1. Since the encoding of ARG_1 is identical to that of a possessor on a noun (cf. 6.1), these verbs can syntactically be analysed as nouns. From this perspective, monovalent verbs are parallel to non-relational nouns, and bivalent verbs are parallel to relational nouns.

A bivalent verb in argument function can be preceded by the focus particle *kaw* (cf. 7.8). Due to the antipassive-like effect of this particle, the absolutive argument of a verb marked as direct is the actor, not the undergoer. Consequently, the referent of an NP containing *kaw* and a direct-marked verb is the actor.[175] Compare (179)a and b. Example (179)a shows the unmarked construction described above, in which the referent of the NP is the undergoer of the event denoted by the direct-marked verb (i.e., "the things that are known"). In contrast, in

[175] There is no example of this construction containing an inverse verb.

(179)b, the verb within the NP is marked by *kaw*, and the referent of the NP is the actor in the event (i.e., the one who knows).

(179) a. *bo* *kaw-ra* *is* ***ona-ka-ra-na***=*is* *bi:jaw*
REAS much-BE.ntr ART.pl know-MLT-BE.ntr-DR=ART.pl old
'Because the old people know a lot.' [lit.: "Because many (are) the known things of the old people."] {HR, TX 234}

b. *ka:w-e* *is* ***kwey*** ***ona-ra:-na*** *n-as*
much-BE.person ART.pl FOC know-BE.ntr-DR obl-ART.n
chon-si-neɬ
right-BE.sound-APPL
'Many people know the native language.' [lit.: "Many people (are) the ones who know the language."] {HR, TX 030}

The following is another example of a verb in an NP with *kaw*:

(180) *asko* *yana:we* *os* ***kwey*** *yo'-na* *n-os* *ney* *daya'*
PRO.n.a anaconda ART.n.p FOC catch-DR obl-ART.n.p here DUR.nst
'It (was) an anaconda that was holding [the dog] here.' {EG, Sicurí 049}

When the verb in the NP contains an incorporated argument, the referential properties of the NP are slightly different. An NP with such a verb refers to the participant denoted by the incorporated element, not to the participant which is the absolutive argument of the same verb in predicate function. Compare the verb *loja:'oj* as an intransitive predicate in (181)a with the same verb in an argument NP in (181)b:

(181) a. *loj-a:-'oj--is*
wash-DR-BE.clothes--pl.a
'They did the laundry.'

b. ***taḿ-vo:s-eɬ*** *is* *loj-a-'oj-a=is* *juyeni*
get_down-BE.wood-APPL ART.pl wash-DR-BE.clothes-LV=ART.pl person
'The peoples' laundry fell down.' [not: "the people's washing ones fell down."] {EA 19, 156}

As can be seen in (181)b, when a verb with an incorporated argument occurs in an NP, it is even possessed, despite the fact that when functioning as a predicate, it is monovalent (cf. (181)a). The structure of (181)b would be identical if the verb did not have the incorporated element, in which case it would be a simple bivalent verb:

(182) ***taḿ-vo:s-eɬ*** *is* *loj-na=is* *juyeni*
get_down-BE.wood-APPL ART.pl wash-DR=ART.pl person
'The peoples' laundry fell down.' {EA 19, 156}

This shows that more research needs to be done on the morphosyntax of verbs with an incorporated argument and on the role of the direct voice marker in these verbs (cf. 9.1).

7.11. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are the main device for modifying an NP in Movima. A relative clause is introduced by the particle *di'* following the NP that is relativized.[176] Like an independent clause, it consists minimally of a predicate, which can be a verb, a noun, an adjective, or an adverbial clause. Consider the following examples with nouns as relative-clause predicates. In this and the following examples in this section, the main-clause NP is underlined and the relativizer and the relative clause are bold:

(183) *che usko jayna, eney, ji:sa-na=us os nego:siyo*
and PRO.m.a DSC (filler) make-DR=m.a ART.n.p business
n-is juyeni ***di' ita:na' di' ri:ko*** *buka'*
obl-ART.pl person REL white_person REL rich DUR.mov
'And he negotiated with white, rich people.'
[lit.: "... with people who (were) white people, who (were) rich."]
{EA, Abuelo 014f.}

(184) *ju:-kay-a=y'ɬi is bito'* ***di' nonok-a=y'ɬi***
scold-INV-LV=1pl ART.pl old_person REL grandparent-LV=1pl
'Our old grandparents scolded us.' [lit.: "The old ones, who (were) our grandparents, scolded us."] {EA, Dichiyeye 037}

There is no semantic restriction as to which word functions as head and which as the predicate of the relative clause. The following examples show this. In (185), a noun is the head (*dichi:ye* 'child'), and an adjective (*ko'loj* 'clean') is the predicate of the relative clause. In (186), in contrast, the adjective (*cho'es* 'dirty') is the head, and the entity referred to (*to:mi* 'water') is the relative-clause predicate:

(185) *jiram-poj-kay is dichi:ye* ***di' ko'loj***
nice-CAU-INV ART.pl child REL clean
'I like children who are clean.' {EA, Nietos 003}

(186) *jayna jaysoń sota'-sema:na as ya:lowe-wa=y'ɬi*
DSC seem one-week ART.n drink-NMZ=1pl
n-as cho:'es ***di' to:mi***
obl-ART.n dirty REL water
'It seems to be one week already that we drink dirty water.'
[lit.: "... our drinking of dirty (stuff) which is water."] {EA, Agua sucia 001}

[176] When not preceded by an NP, the particle *di'* is an epistemic marker ('hypothetical'), which also introduces conditional clauses (cf. 12.1.5, 12.3.5).

There are indications that the position of the word that denotes the more time-stable concept is semantically determined. In (183) and (185), this can be seen in the main clause, and in (184) and (186), it can be seen in the relative clause. According to the contexts and intonation patterns of the examples, it seems that a relative clause has a restrictive function when it contains a word that denotes a less time-stable concept than the word that functions as the head. In contrast, when the word that denotes the more time-stable concept is the predicate of the relative clause, the relative clause is non-restrictive. Thus, in (183), the relative clause restricts the main clause NP *is juyeni* 'people' to referents which are white and rich. In (185), the relative clause indicates that the group of children referred to is restricted to clean children. In contrast, in (184) and (186), there is no indication of a restrictive function of the relative clause: in (184), the grandparents have been introduced in the preceding discourse, and in (186), water is the discourse topic, so that there is no reason to assume that the dirty stuff one is drinking is water as opposed to something else. In cases like these, the relative construction is a case of non-restrictive modification, the modified noun functioning as the predicate of the relative clause.

The following examples are a further illustration of the semantic function of the position of the content words. Here, the verb *kayni* 'die' belongs to the relative clause in (187) and to the main-clause NP in (188). In (187), the relative clause has a restrictive function: of the different aunts, the one who has died is the topic. In contrast, the construction in (188), *us kayni di'* ('the dead one who'), is a common way to refer to deceased people.

(187) *kinos ney ay'ku* ***di' jayna kayni***
ART.f.a here aunt REL DSC die
'That aunt of mine who has died already.' {EA, Ay'ku I 013}

(188) *us kayni* ***di' nono'*** *[...] kas eskwela-na-wa=us*
ART.m die REL grandparent NEG school-DIR-NMZ=m.a
'My late grandfather [...] hadn't gone to school.' {EA, Abuelo 001}

The predicate of a relative clause can also consist of an oblique NP, as in the second relative clause in (189):

(189) *kas manes-pa-na:-wa* *is ji:sa-na=i* ***di' refresko***
NEG tasty-APPL-DR-NMZ ART.pl make-DR=pl REL soft_drink
di' n-is li:mo
REL obl-ART.pl lemon
'I don't like the drinks of lemon they make.' [lit.: "I don't like what they make, which (are) soft drinks which (are) of lemon"] {EA, Antojos I 002}

As was mentioned in 7.9.5 above, a relative clause with an oblique NP can serve to focus on the possessor of an entity. No distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is made here, as the following examples show. The noun in (190) is alienably possessed and the noun in (191) is inalienably possessed:

(190) *oso'* *os kawayo=y'ɬi* ***di'*** ***n-iy'ɬi***
DM.p.n ART.n.p horse=1pl REL obl-PRO.1pl
'We had a horse of our own.' [lit.: "which was ours"] {EA, Cbba 059}

(191) *ɬa:kwa* *rey* *tojeɬ,* *choy* *rey* *di'* *so:taj--i'ne*
even_more again very certainly again HYP alone--f
no-kos *da'* *de:-na='ne* ***di'*** ***n-i'ne***
obl-ART.n.a DUR.nst lie-DR=f REL obl-PRO.f
'And on top of that, good grief, if only she were alone in a bedroom of her own.'
[lit.: "in a bedroom which were of her"] {EA, Alojamiento 010}

The relativized NP always constitutes the absolutive argument of the relative clause, and it is never overtly present in the relative clause. In the above examples, the relative clauses contain an intransitive predicate, so that the preceding NP is automatically interpreted as ARG_{intr}. When the relative clause is transitive, the grammatical status of the relativized NP is indicated by the voice marker on the verb.

This is illustrated in the following examples. The relativized NP, absent in the relative clause itself, is underlined. In (192)–(194), the verb is marked as direct, which means that the head NP is the undergoer in the relative clause (cf. 8.1.1):

(192) *isos wa:ka* ***di'*** ***chik<a>ye=is*** *neyru=s* *beń'i*
ART.pl.p cow REL find<DR>=pl.a here=DET grassland
'The cows which **they** [i.e., the Movimas] had found in this grassland ...'
{GB, Ganado 002}

(193) *kinos* *alwaj-a=us* ***di'*** ***naye-ɬe-na=us***
ART.f.a spouse-LV=m.a REL marry-CO-DR=m.a
'his wife, whom he had married.' {BA, TX 038a}

(194) *nan-a-ra=os* *pa:ko* *os charke* ***di'*** ***raɬ-a-ɬe=as***
let_loose-DR-BE.ntr=ART.n.p dog ART.n.p dry_meat REL tear-DR-CO=n.a
'The dog let go of the dried meat which it had torn down.' {JM, Perro II 040}

In (195) and (196), the verb is marked as inverse. This indicates that the head is the actor in the relative clause (cf. 8.1.2):

(195) *inɬa,* *kus* *pa:pa=is* *majni,* *che* *is mo:so=us*
PRO.1sg ART.m.a father_of=ART.pl my_child and ART.pl servant=m.a
di' ***alpani-kay-a=us***
REL help-INV-LV=m.a
'Me, the father of my children, and his servants who helped him.'
[or: "his servants whom he was helped by"] {EA, Cbba 053}

(196) *bawra-kay-a=y'ɬi* *us ney juyeni* ***di'*** ***alwani-kay-a=y'ɬi***
pay-INV-LV=1pl ART.m here person REL talk-INV-LV=1pl
'That person who had spoken to us paid us.'
[or: "We were paid by that man by whom we were spoken to."] {EA, Cbba 056}

Another way to encode the head as the actor of a direct-marked verb, in the same way as with independent clauses, is to insert the focus particle *kaw* (cf. 7.8) into the relative clause:

(197) *kilmo isko,* *is juyeni* ***di'*** *jayna* ***kwey*** ***way-na*** ***n-i'ne***
mischieveous PRO.pl.a ART.pl person REL DSC FOC take_up-DR obl-PRO.f
'They (were) bad, the people who had taken her up.' {EA, Escape 094}

(198) *ɬéɬa-ko:* ***di'*** ***kwey*** *rey* ***yo'-na***
what-? REL FOC again catch-DR
'What might be what caught (it)?' {EA, Jaguar 074}

The following example, in which the head of the relative clause is ARG_1, can be regarded as an exception:

(199) *is pa:ko* ***di'*** ***laḿ-na=is***
ART.pl dog REL bite-DR=pl.a
'the dogs that bit [it]' {EA, Tigre y perro 007}

In most cases, it is the absolutive argument of the main clause that is modified by a relative clause. This could be seen in (185), (194), and (196) above, where the main clauses are transitive, and the relative clause modifies the absolutive argument. Relativization of ARG_1, in contrast, is rare. Consider the following example:

(200) *jiwa-ɬe-na=is juyeni* ***di'*** ***wa:~waka-wandi***
come-CO-DR=ART.pl person REL POSS~cow-INSTR:BE.house
'The people who own ranches brought [it].' {EA, Chaco III 048}

Multiple relativization is common. This could already be seen in (183) and (189) above. More examples are given in (201) and (202):

(201) *os sota'-ra* ***di'*** ***pa:ko*** ***di'*** ***al-baycho-ni:-kay***
ART.n.p one-BE.ntr REL dog REL fellow-MST-PRC-INV
kwey-kay *n-as* *beń'i*
follow-INV obl-ART.n grassland
'One dog which accompanied me, followed me into the country.' {BA, TX 143}

(202) *dewaj-kay-a=y'ɬi* *is juyeni* ***di'*** ***yu:ra*** ***di'*** ***peń-na=i***
see-INV-LV=1pl ART.pl person REL Yura REL greet-DR=pl
'We were seen by the Yura[177] people, as they call them.'
[lit.: "... people who (are) Yura that they (are) called by them."] {BA, TX 298}

In multiple relativization, a relative clause either modifies the absolutive argument in the main-clause NP or the (omitted) subject of the preceding relative clause. In (202), for example, the second relative clause modifies the preceding one and not directly the main-clause absolutive NP, because this would not make sense. In (203), both types occur: the first relative clause, containing an adverbial phrase, modifies the main-clause NP, while the subsequent three relative clauses modify the first relative clause.

(203) *pen-cheɬ* *n-os* *wa:ka-wandi* ***di'*** ***ney=s*** ***juyeni***
land-R/R obl-ART.n.p cow-INSTR:BE.house REL here=DET person
di' ***ri:ko,*** ***di'*** ***wa:~wa:ka,*** *jayna* ***di'*** ***pis~pista***
REL rich REL POSS~cow DSC REL POSS~airstrip
'[They] landed on ranches which belonged to those people who are rich, who have cows, and who have airstrips." {EA, Parabas 052}

7.12. Subordinate clauses

7.12.1. General characteristis of subordinate clauses

In most subordinate clauses in Movima, the predicate is transformed into an action noun (cf. 11.1) and forms part of an NP. Since it is an NP, the subordinate clause can either be a complement, i.e. a core argument of the clause (cf. 7.12.2), or an adjunct, i.e. an oblique argument (cf. 7.12.3).

Since a main-clause predicate can consist of a verb as well as of a noun, both these word classes undergo nominalization when they function as the predicate of a subordinate clause. A verb is nominalized by the suffix *-wa*, as shown in (11). A predicate nominal in a subordinate clause is modified by infixing reduplication, as in (12). For a more detailed description of these types of nominalization, see 11.1.

(11) *n-os* *sal-na:**-wa***
obl-ART.n.p search-DR-NMZ
'when I searched for X'

(12) *n-os* *tolkos**<ya:~>**ya***
obl-ART.n.p girl<NMZ.Z~>
'when I was a girl'

[177] I.e., Yuracaré Indians

The predicate of a subordinate clause is a relational noun (i.e., obligatorily possessed; cf. Ch. 6). This implies that, unlike in main clauses, the intransitive argument in a subordinate clause is encoded in the same way as ARG_1. Consider the encoding of the second person in the main clause in (13)a, by the pronoun of Set 2, with its encoding in the subordinate clause (a noun phrase) in (13)b, by the internal clitic of Set 1:[178]

(13) a. ***ij*** *ji<wa:~>wa*
2intr come<MD~>
'you come'

b. *n-as* *jiwa-wa**=n***
obl-ART.n.p come-NMZ=2
'when you come'

Transitive subordinate clauses are not affected in this way, since ARG_1 is encoded in the same way as in the main clause. This can be seen in the main and subordinate direct transitive clause in (204)a and b and in the main and subordinate inverse transitive clause in (14)a and b.[179]

(204) a. *sal-na**=n***
search-DR=2
'You look for X.'

b. *bo* *as* *sa~sal-wa**=n***
REAS ART.n DR~search-NMZ=2
'so that you look for X'

(14) a. *sal-kay-a**=n***
search-INV-LV=2
'X looks for you.'

b. *bo* *as* *sal~sal-wa**=n***
REAS ART.n INV~search-NMZ=2
'so that X looks for you'

The fact that not only a nominalized bivalent, but also a nominalized monovalent predicate in a subordinate clause is possessed, implies that the ergativity split found in affirmative main clauses (cf. 7.5.3) is reversed. The argument of the intransitive clause (in (13)b, the bound pronoun *=n*) is encoded in the same way as the actor in the nominalized direct clause (cf. (204)b) and as the undergoer in the inverse clause (cf. (14)b).[180]

[178] Likewise, the nominalized forms in (11) and (12), unmarked for person, imply the first person singular.
[179] On nominalized verbs, the direct marker *-na* and the inverse marker *-kay* are replaced by CV~ and CVC~, respectively; cf. 8.7.2.
[180] The same phenomenon can be observed in negative main clauses, which also involve nominalization (cf. 7.15).

Table 24. The ergativity split in subordinate clauses

	ARG_1	**absolutive**
intransitive	S	–
transitive direct	A	U
transitive inverse	U	A

In all cases, the subordinate predicate retains its valency. That is, a subordinate bivalent predicate can take an ARG_2 (underlined):

(205) *yey-na* ***as*** ***visitar-na:-wa*** *kus alkaka:ye*
want-DR ART.n visit-DR-NMZ ART.m.a relative
'I want to visit my relative.' [lit.: "I want my visiting my relative."] {EA, Visita 047}

A monovalent nominalized verb, in contrast, even though it resembles a bivalent verb in that its argument is encoded like the transitive ARG_1, remains monovalent. This can be seen from the fact that they can only be combined with an oblique NP:

(206) *yey-na* ***os*** ***bispa-ni:-wa*** ***n-****os* *javuɬna:-wa*
want-DR ART.n.p know-PRC-NMZ obl-ART.n.p play_wind_instrument-NMZ
'I wanted to learn how to play [the harmonica].' [lit.: "I want my-past knowing of my-past playing."] {EA, Organ 013}

Multiple subordination, as in (206), is common. In (206), the main verb *yeyna* 'want' is followed by a complement containing a nominalized verb (*bispani:wa*) which again is followed by an adjunct containing a nominalized verb (*javuɬna:wa* 'my playing'). More examples will be seen below.

It can be observed from the translation in (206) that subordination in Movima has an unusual property: tense as encoded in the subordinate clause indicates tense of the main clause. This is a consequence of the fact that a subordinate clause is formally an NP, and that the article, which marks an NP, obligatorily indicates temporal properties of the referent (cf. 4.8.2, Haude 2004). Since the article is the most regular device of indicating tense, tense-marking particles not being frequent in texts, this means that the temporal properties indicated for the nominalized form in the subordinate clause are also implied for the main clause. Thus, in (206), even though only the NPs are marked by the article for ceased existence of their referents (the events denoted by the nominalized predicates), the main-clause predicate (*yeyna* 'want') is understood as referring to a past-tense event. Likewise, since in (205), the subordinate NP contains the presential article, it is understood that the main-clause predicate (again *yeyna* 'want') refers to a non-past event.

The following sections describe the two main types of subordinate clauses formed by nominalization: complement clauses, which constitute a core argument of the main-clause predicate, and adverbial clauses (or adjuncts), which constitute an oblique argument of the

main-clause predicate. In Chapter 12, the different types of subordinate clauses introduced by clause-combining particles will be described.

7.12.2. Complement clauses

Complementation is when a subordinate clause constitutes a core argument of the main clause. As described above, a complement consists of a noun phrase containing an action nominal (cf. 11.1). It can only be the absolutive argument, i.e., ARG_{intr} or ARG_2. Returning to the simple representation with full NPs as arguments, as given in 7.1 above, this can be schematized as follows:

(207) PRED ARG_{COMPL}
PRED=ARG_1 ARG_{COMPL}

Intransitive clauses with a complement are usually equational, i.e. their predicate is a predicate nominal. The following examples with literal translations illustrate the point:

(208) ***kaw-ra*** *os chu:-na-wa=y'ɬi*
much-BE.ntr ART.n.p poke-DR-NMZ=1pl
'We poked a lot [in the hole].' [lit.: "Our-past poking (was) a lot."] {EA, Jaguar 039}

(209) *jayna tojeɬ* ***pola*** *as salmo-wa=nkweɬ*
DSC very late ART.n return-NMZ=2pl
'You (pl) are back very late.' [lit.: "Your returning (is) already very late."]
{EA, Llega Estel 002}

(210) ***tas-lo:maj*** *as kay-wa=sne n-as je:mes, tas-lo:maj*
three-BE.time ART.n eat-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.n day three-BE.time
'Three times a day she eats, three times.'
[lit.: "Three times (is) her eating in the day."] {EA, Asilo 005}

Transitive clauses whose ARG_2 is a complement NP, in contrast, contain a verbal predicate. A typical example is the verb *yeyna* 'want:DR', as in the following examples (as well as in (205), (206) above):

(211) ***kas ye~yey-wa*** *as ney-ni:-wa, majni*[181]
NEG DR~want-NMZ ART.n here-PRC-NMZ my_child
'I don't want to be here, my child.' [lit.: "I don't want my being here"]
{EA, Asilo 089}

[181] Main-clause negation also involves action nominalization (cf. 7.15.1).

(212) ***yey-na=sne*** *as kay<a>ɬe-wa=sne--kus* *ni-kis* *wa:ka*
want-DR=f.a ART.n give<DR>-NMZ=f.a--m.a.OBV obl-ART.pl.a cow
'She wants to give him cattle.' [lit.: "She wants her giving him cows."]
{EA, Patrona 008}

The following are examples of other verbs taking a complement phrase: *tenapanɬe* 'be able to' in (213), *pawana* 'hear' in (214) (inside an adverbial clause), *jirampojkay* 'be pleased by, like' in (215), and *kema:ye* 'take for' in (216).

(213) ***kas*** *jayna* ***ten<a>pa-n-ɬe:-wa*** *os way-na:-wa os*
NEG DSC be_able<DR>-LN-CO-NMZ ART.n.p take_up-NMZ ART.n.p
tochi'i
small
'I couldn't lift the small one anymore.' {EG,Cazando 080}

(214) *bo ń teń-cheɬ choy rey* ***n-os*** ***pawa-na:-wa***
REAS 1intr scare-R/R really again obl-ART.n.p hear-DR-NMZ
os waray-wa=os pa:ko
ART.n bark-NMZ=ART.n.p dog
'because I was frightened, of course, when I heard the dog bark.' {EG, Sicurí 047f.}

(215) ***jiram-poj-kay*** *os sit-a-'oj-wa*
nice-CAU-INV ART.n.p sew-DR-BE.clothes-NMZ
'I liked to sew.' {EA, Makina 008}

(216) *bo ja' ena'* ***kem<a:~>ye*** *os jayna kayni-wa='ne*
REAS just DUR.std take_for<DR~> ART.n.p DSC die-NMZ=f
'Because I was thinking that she was already dead.' {EA, Escape 090}

More specific complements, preceded by a particle marking the type of complementation, are described in 12.1.

7.12.3. Generic adjunct: oblique NP

The most common way to form an adverbial clause is by adding an oblique-marked NP containing a nominalized predicate. As is the case with simple oblique NPs (cf. 7.6), the function of this adjunct becomes apparent only from the context or from the meaning of the word itself ("absolutive subordination", cf. Longacre & Thompson 1985). Just as an illustration, consider the following simple adjuncts, one of which is a locative, the other a temporal adjunct:

(217) *joy-cheɬ n-as merka:wo*
go-R/R obl-ART.n market
'I went to the market.' {GC, Bacho 023}

(218) *jayna rey nokowa ń joy-cheł n-as tawa'-ni*
DSC again right_now 1intr go-R/R obl-ART.n next_day-PRC
'I'll leave again tomorrow.' {EA, Visita 053}

The most frequent adverbial clauses formed in this way are temporal clauses. Since many examples can be found throughout this book, I will only give one example of a temporal adjunct containing a nominalized verb (cf. (219)) and one of temporal adjuncts with a nominalized predicate nominal (cf. (220)):

(219) *jayna n-os ena' łamń-wa ń to'baycho*
DSC obl-ART.n.p DUR.std bathe-NMZ 1intr remember.MST
'Then, as I was bathing, I remembered.' {EA, Aros II 044}

(220) *inła n-os dichi<ye:~>ye, n-os jayna tochi'*
PRO.1sg obl-ART.n.p child<NMZ.N~> obl-ART.n.p DSC small
tolkos-dichi<ye:~>ye, oso' os organo=us nono'o
girl-child<NMZ.N~> DM.n.p ART.n.p harmonica=ART.m grandparent
'I, when I was a child, when I was already a little girl, my grandfather had a harmonica.' {EA, Organ 002}

The following are examples in which the relation between the clauses is not temporal.
In (221) and (222), the subordinate clause expresses a purpose:

(221) *ji<wa:~>wa--'ne n-os sa~sal-wa='ne us pa:pa='ne*
come<MD~>--f obl-ART.n.p DR~search-NMZ=f ART.m father_of=f
'She came to look for her father.' {EA, Visita 007}

(222) *u'ko kayłe-kay-a=n [...] n-as ja<ya~>yaw-a=as*
PRO.m give-INV-LV=2 obl-ART.n nice<NMZ.N~>-LV=ART.n
tijkarim-wanas-a=n di' ji:sa-na=n
work-ABSTR-LV=2 REL make-DR=2
'He [God] gives you that the work you are doing is beautiful.'
[lit.: "He gives you the beauty of your work that you do."] {EA, Solopaye 008}

When the main verb is a verb of communication, an adverbial clause expresses indirect speech:[182]

(223) ***ken<a>pa**='ne--kus jayna n-os jayna ena'*
inform<DR>=f--m.a.OBV DSC obl-ART.n.p DSC DUR.std
loye-na-pojas-na-wa='ne os kare:ta
get_ready-DR-CAU:INV-DR-NMZ=f ART.n.p oxcart
'She told him that she was having the oxcart made ready.' {EA, Cbba 183}

[182] Note that the verb *jankwa* 'say' (cf. (224), (225)), while taking an ARG_1, never takes an ARG_2: the content of the speech as well as the addressee are oblique arguments; for a discussion of the word *jankwa*, cf. 8.5.2.

(224) ***jankwa=‘ne*** *n-i’nes* *ay’ku* *n-os* *salmo-wa=‘ne* *n-os*
say=f obl-ART.f aunt obl-ART.n.p return-NMZ=f obl-ART.n.p
imay-ni
night-PRC
‘She said to my aunt that she would come back in the evening.’ {EA, Visita 010}

(225) *ban* *rey* ***jankwa*** *n-usko* *no-kos* *choy* *rey* *didi’*
but again say obl-PRO.m.a obl-ART.n.a certainly again FRUST
joy-wa=y’ɬi
go-NMZ=1pl
‘But of course I told him that we really wanted to go.’ {EG, Dialogue 088 }

Note, however, that instead of indirect speech, direct speech is often used. Direct speech is marked by the verb *jankwa* ‘say’ (cf. 8.5.2) before and/or after the cited utterance:

(226) *jayna* *usko* ***jankwa=us,*** *do:koy* *majni,* ***jankwa=us***
DSC PRO.m.a say=m.a good my_child say=m.a
‘Then he said, okay, my child, he said.’ {EA, Abuelo 031}

Other adverbial clauses, specified by a preceding subordinating particle, are described in Chapter 12.

7.13. Serial verb constructions

There are a few instances of serial verb constructions in Movima. First of all, the combination of *joycheɬ* ‘go’ with another verb denotes an event taking place somewhere else, not at the place of the speech act. Note the following examples:

(227) *ɬu:vuy* *jayna* *kas* *ney-ni-wa=‘ne,* *bo* *jayna*
dawn DSC NEG here-PRC-NMZ=f REAS DSC
joy-cheɬ ***kuyna:na’,*** *baske:*
go-R/R play basketball
‘(At) dawn, she wasn’t here anymore, because she had already gone to play, basketball.’ {EA, Basket 004}

(228) *kus* *Ti:to* *kuro’* ***joy-cheɬ*** ***vaye:ɬe***
ART.m.a Tito DM.m.a go-R/R look_at.AGT
‘Tito has already gone to have a look.’ {EG, Dialogue 085}

(229) ***joy-cheɬ*** ***sal-na=n*** *kos* *chaḿmo* *ney=s*
go-R/R search-DR=2 ART.n.a bush here=DET
buka’ *toridi=as* *wala:cho*
DUR.mov bank=ART.n stream
‘You go and look for forest near a riverbank.’ {EA, Chaco I 001}

During elicitation, it often becomes clear that a certain event is described more adequately when the verb *joycheł* is added. This is the case when the event can only be interpreted as taking place at a distance from the speech situation, as in (230).

(230) *loy iń* ***joy-cheł jiwa-ɬe:-na*** *kos do'ewa:noj*
ITN 1intr go-R/R come-CO-DR ART.n.a cloth
'I will go and bring the cloth.' {EA 7, 055}

As far as person marking in this construction is concerned, the following patterns have been found. When *joycheł* is followed by an intransitive verb, there is either no person marking, as in (227) and (228), or the marker occurs on the verb *joycheł*, as in (230), and in the following examples:

(231) *jayna loy jema'* ***joy-cheł--iy'ɬi*** ***joro:-kwa***
DSC ITN also go-R/R--1pl sleep-BDP
'Then we'll go to sleep as well.' {JM, Perro I 043}

(232) *chi:~chi,* ***joy-cheł--i'*** ***yolmoł*** *n-as pla:sa*
MD~go_out go-R/R--pl stroll obl-ART.n square
'They went out to take a walk on the village square.' {EA, Pierna 020}

When *joycheł* is followed by a bivalent verb, this verb is obligatorily marked for ARG_1 (cf. 7.2 above). In this case, the verb *joycheł* is not marked for person. Examples are (229) and (230) above. There is no example in which both verbs are marked by a pronominal enclitic.

When the focus particle *kaw* (cf. 7.8) occurs before the verb *joycheł*, it can have scope over the second verb. This can be seen in (233). Here, the second verb is semantically bivalent (cf. Ch. 8), but syntactically monovalent: it is not marked for ARG_1. However, a contrasting example is (234) (repeated from (122) above), where despite the particle *kaw*, the second verb is combined with an internal clitic encoding ARG_1. The scope of the focus particle here seems to be over the first verb only.

(233) *isne* ***kwey*** ***joy-cheł*** ***joy-a:-ɬe*** *n-os* *as-na=sne*
PRO.f.a FOC go-R/R go-DR-CO obl-ART.n.p sit-DR=f.a
'<u>She</u> went (and) took [her] to her house.' {EA, Llegada hija 009}

(234) *jayna isne* ***kwey joy-cheł kaj<a>ɬe=sne*** *no-kos terminal*
DSC PRO.f.a FOC go-R/R come_up_to<DR> =f.a obl-ART.n.a bus_station
'Then <u>she</u> will go and meet her at the terminal.' {EA, Dialogue 029}

As an alternative to the serial verb construction, the second verb can be nominalized and inserted into an oblique NP (cf. 7.12.3), as in the following example:

(235) *loy iṅ* ***joy-cheł*** *n-as* ***i~'il-wa*** *kis aro:so*
ITN 1intr go-R/R obl-ART.n DR~spread-NMZ ART.n.a rice
'I am going to spread my rice (at another place).' {EA 9, 179c}

Other cases of serial verb constructions occur in imperative and hortative clauses (cf. 8.6). Here, the imperative verb is preceded by a special imperative form of a motion verb: *jay'* 'go' (cf. (236)) and *jela* 'come' (cf. (237)).

(236) ***jay'*** ***jiwa-łe-ti*** *kos salon*
go.IMP come-CO-IMP.DR ART.n.a gun
'Go get the gun!' {EG, Cazando 108}

(237) ***jela*** ***jił-a-pa-ki-kweł***
come.IMP grate-DR-BE.manioc-IMP.MV-2pl
'Come and grate manioc!' {EA, Cicatrices 003}

It is possible that there are more constructions which can be analysed as serial verb construction in Movima, probably involving a motion or posture verb. More research is needed here.

7.14. Questions and answers

As was described in 2.8.5, a question is marked by a particular intonation pattern: in a yes/no-question, the antepenultimate syllable carries stress and high tone. When the penultimate syllable is heavy (i.e., closed or long), stress and high tone are on the penultimate syllable. In a content question, the highest tone is on the first syllable and is lowered towards the end of the utterance.

A yes/no question is exclusively marked by intonation, whereas a content question can, in addition, contain a question word (cf. 3.10.6):

(238) *che* ***naya'*** *kos beṅ'i dis en-na=is*
and where ART.n.a grassland OPT stand-DR=pl.a
'And where is the land where they [the cattle] will stand?' {GB, Ganado 051}

(239) ***jan-ne****=kinos* *de<ja:~>jal*
which-BE.person=ART.f.a cook<MD~>
'Who (of them) was the one who cooked?' {EA 9, 033a}

(240) ***éłeł****-a=kos* *kana=is* *jayna*
what-LV=ART.n.a food=pl.a DSC
'What is it they eat, then?' {AH, EA&AH 129}

However, the question word is not an obligatory marker of an interrogative sentence. Often, the focus of the question is implied, the only question marker being intonation (indicated here

by an accent). For example, the word *kemara* ‘use of’ frequently occurs as the predicate of an interrogative clause (marked by intonation), as in (241). However, that it is not a question word can be seen in (242), where it occurs in a declarative clause, and in (243), where it is preceded by a question word.

(241) ***kémara****=as* *rey* *jampa=n*
use_of=ART.n again do_like=2
‘What do you do that for?’ {EA, Jaguar 163}

(242) *a’ko* ***kemara****=kis* *limosna* *n-as* *mi:sa-wa=n*
PRO.n use_of=ART.pl.a alms obl-ART.n mass-NMZ=2
‘That is what the alms are for when we (incl.) go to mass.’ {EA, Summary 014}

(243) ***ełeł****-a=kos* ***kémara****=kal=s* *powol*
what-LV=ART.n.a use_of=DM.ad.n=DET straw_mat
‘What is that straw mat for?’ {EA 9, 036}

Likewise, the utterances in (244)–(246), which are typical greetings, are only marked as questions by the intonation.

(244) *yá:yu’*
be_well
‘Are you fine?’ [i.e.: How are you?]

(245) *jóy-na=n*
go-DR=2
‘Where are you going?’

(246) *bísapa=n*
do.DR=2
‘What are you doing?’

The questions in (245) and (246) can also be preceded by a question word, as shown by the following examples.

(247) ***naya’*** *jóy-na=n*
where go-DR=2
‘Where are you going?’ {EG 3, 118}

(248) ***ełeł****-a=kos* *loy* *bísapa=n*
what-LV=ART.n.a ITN do:DR=2
‘What are you going to do?’ {EA 9, 013}

Hence, while they serve to specify a content question, question words are not an obligatory part of it.

The syntactic status of the word *naya'* (cf. (238), (247) above) deserves special discussion. First of all, while the words based on *jan-* and *eɬ-* can be identified as the predicate of interrogative sentences, since they are followed by an NP, this is not regularly the case with the word *naya'*: as can be seen in (247) (cf. also 3.10.6), the verb it is combined with is not preceded by an article, as is the case with a noun (cf. (238)). Also, it differs in this respect from the other question words, which are always combined with NPs, even when the NP contains a verb (cf. (239), (240)). Consequently, *naya'* cannot be classified as a typical content word, functioning as either a predicate or an argument. Its status needs to be investigated further.

The word *naya'* has one more peculiarity: when combined with an bound pronoun, the pronoun seems to appear in the obviative form (preceded by *k-*), a form which usually only occurs in a transitive construction (cf. 7.5.2 above). This can be seen in (249) and (250). The simple absential bound pronoun is ungrammatical, as shown in (251).

(249) *kiro'* *naya'--**ki:s**,* *jankwa* *che* *ka<ma:~>may*
DM.pl.a where--pl.a.OBV? say and yell<MD~>
'Where are they?', I said and yelled. {EA, Dichiyeye 026}

(250) *sal-na* *che* *sal-na,* *che* *di'* *joy* *naya'--**kas***
search-DR and search-DR and HYP SPC where--n.a.OBV?
'I search and search, where might it be?' {JM 18, 268}

(251) * *naya'--**as***
where--n.a
('Where is it?') {JM 18, 268a}

At the present moment, the peculiarities of the word *naya'* cannot be explained.

I will now briefly illustrate the way in which answers are given. A content question is usually answered by a full clause:

(252) Q. *naya'* *kus* *májniwa=n*
where ART.m.a child_of=2
'Where is your son?'

A. *kuro'* *n-as* *Santa* *Kurus,* *a'ko* *as-na=us*
DM.m.a obl-ART.n Santa Cruz PRO.n sit-DR=m.a
'He is in Santa Cruz, that is where he lives.' {AY 10, 043a}

The affirmative answer to a yes/no question is usually not the expression *jo:jo'* 'yes' (cf. 12.6), but the repetition of the focalized element of the question (i.e., the predicate or the element in topic position):[183]

[183] This can also be observed in local Spanish: *Ya fuiste? – Fui.* 'Did you already go?' – 'I went.'

(253) Q. *Ah,* ***kúro'o*** – A. ***kuro'***
ah DM.m.a DM.m.a
'Ah, is he there?' – 'He's there.' {EA&EG, Dial. 086}

(254) Q. ***ulkwañ*** *álwaj-a=kus* *Hérnan,* *jankwa='ne*
PRO.2sg spouse-LV=m.a Hernan say=f
'(Are) you Ernan's wife?, she said.'

A. ***inła,*** *jankwa*
PRO.1sg say
'I (am), I said.' {EA, Visita 068f.}

A negative answer to a yes/no question usually consists of or contains the expression *ka:'i* 'no' (cf. 7.15, 12.5):

(255) Q. *che* *kas* *baw-ra-wa=nkweɬ--us*
and NEG cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=2pl--m.a
'And he didn't pay you?'

A. ***ka:-'i,*** *n-os* *rey* *la'* *sa:waro,* *n-os* *la'* *rey*
no-D obl-ART.n.p again ANT Saturday obl-ART.n.p ANT again
pul-eɬ-wa=y'ɬi, *kas* *rey* *baw-ra-wa=y'ɬi*
sweep-AGT-NMZ=1pl NEG again cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=1pl
'No, last Saturday, when we swept last time, [he] didn't pay us.'
{EG&EA, Dial. 005f.}

7.15. Negation

7.15.1. Main clause negation: *kas* + NMZ

In a negative main clause, the predicate is preceded by the negative particle *kas* (cf. 12.5.1). At the same time, the predicate either contains a negative element, or it is converted into a relational noun by action nominalization (cf. 11.1). The latter form is identical to that of verbs in subordinate clauses (cf. 7.12).

The following are examples of negative clauses with verbal predicates. Example (256) illustrates a negative intransitive, (257) a negative transitive direct, and (258) a negative transitive inverse clause. Note that in all cases, the deverbal noun is possessed. This is to say, the intransitive argument and ARG_1 is attached as an internal clitic or, in the case of the first person singular (cf. (258)), it is implied. Hence, in negative main clauses, we find the same reversed ergativity split as described for subordinate clauses in 7.12 above.

(256) *bo* *rey* *choy* *jayna* ***kas*** *joro-**wa**=n*
REAS again certainly DSC NEG sleep-NMZ=2
'Because you probably won't sleep anymore.' {EA, Alojamiento 022}

(257) *jayna* ***kas*** *u~'us-**wa**=as* *as* *ra:da*
DSC NEG DR~move_away-NMZ=n.a ART.n door
'He/she did not push the door anymore.' {EA, Anoche 038}

(258) *ban* ***kas*** *cha'~cha'-**wa*** *is* *wa:ka*
but NEG INV~pierce-NMZ ART.pl cow
'But the cows didn't gore me.' {BA, TX 140}

When the predicate of the negative clause is a morphological noun, i.e., a predicate nominal (cf. 7.9.1), it is either reduplicated or combined with the suffix *-łe* (cf. 11.1). Reduplication is shown in (259) and suffixation of *-łe* in (260):

(259) *bo* *choy* *rey* ***kas*** *dichi**<ye:~>**ye* *kinos* *kwey* *ji:sa:-na,*
REAS certainly again NEG child<NMZ.N~> ART.f.a FOC make-DR
choy *rey* *bi:jaw* *isne* *o:be* *inła*
certainly again old PRO.f.a like PRO.1sg
'Because obviously she is not a child, the one who has made it, but she is obviously old like me.' {EA, Tuncho 032}

(260) *jayoń* *to:mi* *ja',* *to:mi* *os* *chi:~chi* *n-inła,*
seem water just water ART.n.p MD~go_out obl-PRO.1sg
jayna ***kas*** *don-'i-**łe**=os* *chi:~chi*
DSC NEG blood-D-NMZ=ART.n.p MD~go_out
'It was just like water, it was water what came out of me, it wasn't blood anymore what came out.' {EA, Cbba 158f.}

A free pronoun in clause-initial position is negated by first attaching the verbalizing suffix *-ni*, and subsequently nominalizing it by the verbal nominalizing suffix *-wa*. This type of nominalization creates an unpossessed noun (cf. 11.9.4).

(261) ***kas*** *rey* ***i'ko-ni-wa*** *po'so,* *bo* *is* *rey* *po'so* *ma'nes*
NEG again PRO.pl-PRC-NMZ *chicha* REAS ART.pl again *chicha* tasty
'This is not *chicha*, because *chicha* is tasty.' {EA, Sueño 117}

(262) ***kas*** *rey* ***isko-ni-wa*** *ja'* *kań-ka-<cho:~>cho*
NEG again PRO.pl.a-PRC-NMZ just break-MLT-<MD~>BR.inside
is *rey* *lotoba=is,* *bo* *diń-ra*
ART.pl again jug=pl.a REAS hard-BE.ntr
'Those didn't break easily, the jugs, because they were hard.' {HR, TX 258}

As can be seen in (263), the negated free pronoun is often used instead of the negated noun. Consider the different forms in the question and answer:

(263) Q. *as* *nono=n* *di'* *pa:ko,* ***kas*** *tol-ka-ra-na-**<pá~>**pa=a*
ART.n pet=2 REL dog NEG touch-MLT-BE.ntr-DR-<NMZ.N~>AG=n
'Your pet dog, isn't it a thief?' {JM, Perro II 008}

A. *ka:'i,* *as* *pa:ko,* *aɬ* *no:no,* *tojeɬ* *rey*
no ART.n dog ART.n.1 pet very again
kas ***a'ko-ni-wa*** *tol-ka-ra-na:-pa,* *bo* *si'way*
NEG PRO.n-PRC-NMZ touch-MLT-BE.ntr-DR-AG REAS honest
'No, the dog, my pet, it's absolutely not a thief, it's honest.' {JM, Perro II 011}

Furthermore, this negated pronoun is often used for contrastive focus:

(264) *bo* *rey* ***kas*** ***i'ko-ni-wa*** *rey* *juyeni*
REAS again NEG PRO.pl-PRC-NMZ again person
bo ***i'ko*** *po~poy-kwa*
REAS PRO.pl RED~animal-ABS
'Because they are not people, they are animals.' {BA, TX 142}

(265) *ban* ***i'ne*** *kwey jampa,* ***kas*** ***inɬa-ni-wa*** *kwey jampa, bo* ***i'ne***
but PRO.f FOC do_like NEG PRO-PRC-NMZ FOC do_like REAS PRO.f
'But it was her fault, it wasn't my fault, it was hers.' {EA, Nuera 002}

In existential or possessive clauses whose predicate is a demonstrative (cf. 7.9.4 and 7.9.5), the demonstrative is nominalized in the same way as a free pronoun, i.e. by the combination of *-ni* 'PRC' and *-wa* 'NMZ'. The following are examples:

(266) ***kas*** *jayna* ***kiro'-ni-wa*** *kis* *oɬ-ka-ɬe-na=i*
NEG DSC DM.pl.a-PRC-NMZ ART.pl.a hang-MLT-CO-DR=pl
'There are no (people) they hanged anymore.'
[lit.: "Their hanged (ones) are not there anymore."] {HR, TX 385}

(267) ***kas*** *rey* ***oso'-ni-wa*** *os* *enganyar-kay-a=us*
NEG again DM.n.p-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p cheat-INV-LV=m.a
n-os *rey* *nego:siyo-wa=us,* *rey* *kas*
obl-ART.n.p again bargain-NMZ=m.a again NEG
'There was no one who cheated him when he bargained, absolutely not!'
{EA, Abuelo 017}

A possessive predicate (cf. 7.9.5) is either negated by a demonstrative, as described above, or by the irrealis marker <*a'*> (cf. 3.6.2, 10.4), as shown in (268) and (269).[184]

[184] Note that even though the affirmative and the negative form of the possessive predicate are not morphologically similar, there is an interesting parallel. Both the formation of the affirmative predicate by prefixing reduplication (cf. 7.9.5) and that of the negative predicate by infixation of the irrealis marker are applied according to the first iambic foot of the word (cf. 3.6.2, 3.7.6).

(268) *ban rey iy'ɬi* ***kas*** *pola**<ka'>**ta=y'ɬi*
but again PRO.1pl NEG money<IRR>=1pl
'But then, we don't have money.' {EA, Agua sucia 017}

(269) ***kas*** *maj**<a'>**ni,* ***kaɬ*** *al**<a'>**kaka:ye* *inɬa*[185]
NEG my_child<IRR> NEG.1 relative<IRR> PRO.1sg
'I don't have children, I don't have relatives.' {EA, Ciega 009}

Finally, note that the negative particle *kas* can also be left out when the context is clear. The marker on the verb remains:

(270) *pola**<ka'>**ta* *rey*
money<IRR> again
'I don't have money, you know!' {EA, Cbba 198}

(271) *yey-na**-wa**=n* *as* *joy-wa=n* *jankwa=u* *n-inɬa*
want-DR-NMZ=2 ART.n go-NMZ=2 say=m obl-PRO.1sg
'Don't you want to go?, he said to me.' {EA, In between 080}

7.15.2. Negation in subordinate clauses: *loy*

Relative clauses and subordinate clauses that involve nominalization are negated differently from main clauses. Instead of *kas* 'NEG', the negative particle here is *loy* 'NEG.SUB'. The subordinate predicate is only modified under certain circumstances, depending on the construction and on its valency.

When the particle *loy* occurs in a transitive relative clause, the predicate remains unmodified:

(272) *jo'yaj* *kos* *juyeni* ***di'*** ***loy*** *ona-ye-na=i*
arrive ART.n.a person REL NEG.SUB know-BE.person-DR=pl
'Some person arrives who they don't know.' {HR, TX 127}

In an intransitive relative clause, the predicate is nominalized in the same way as a negated main-clause predicate (cf. 7.15.1), as shown in (273). In contrast to negative main clauses, however, the nominalized form is unpossessed.[186]

(273) *n-os* *teres-cho* *ela-na=is*
obl-ART.n.p middle-BR.inside leave_behind-DR=pl.a
os *tolej-kwa* ***di'*** ***loy*** *pay'**-wa***
ART.n.p BR.branch-ABS REL NEG.SUB smear-NMZ
'In the middle they left a branch that wasn't smeared.' {EA, Parabas 020}

[185] In the same way as the article, the negative particle *kas* can be combined with the marker of first person, *ɬ* (cf. 12.5.1).
[186] The same phenomenon occurs in connection with the particles *mo:* 'yet' and *ka'* 'PRCL' (cf. 12.5.)

A subordinate clause with a nominalized predicate is negated by the particle *loy* occurring inside the NP, i.e., between the article and the action noun that represents the predicate. The predicate, i.e. the action noun, retains its form.

(274) *kaw-ra* *os* ***loy*** *dewaj-na-wa=sne* *kinos* *senyo:ra*
much-BE.ntr ART.n.p NEG.SUB see-DR-NMZ=f.a ART.f.a madam
'It has been a long time that she hasn't seen the lady.' {EA, Llegada hija 014}

(275) *a'ko* *jan* *n-as* ***loy*** *ye~yey-na=i*
PRO.n CSQ obl-ART.n NEG.SUB DR~want-NMZ.CSQ=pl
as *koro'-ni-wa=kos* *dul-kay-a=i*[187]
ART.n DM.a.n-PRC-NMZ=ART.n.a visit-INV-LV=pl
'This is why they don't want anyone to visit them.' {HR, TX 126}

[187] See 12.1.7 for adverbial clauses preceded by the particle *jan* and containing action nominalization with *-na* 'NMZ.CSQ'.

8 Valency, voice, and verb classes

The voice and valency system of Movima is a complex topic, and it is impossible, within the limitations of the present work, to provide a full description of its intricacies. The present chapter should be seen as an overview and a basis for further research.

Before describing the voice and valency-marking morphemes and the classes of verbs as defined by their voice and valency properties, some basic concepts need to be introduced.

First of all, a basic difference is made between simple and complex verbal bases. Simple verbal bases consist of a root and voice marking. Complex bases contain at least one other morpheme in addition to the root and to possible voice marking. This can be an incorporated nominal element or a grammatical morpheme, or a combination of several morphemes.

Also, I distinguish three levels of valency: syntactic valency, semantic valency, and inherent valency. These levels are defined as follows:

Syntactic valency
concerns the possible number of core arguments in the clause (cf. Ch. 7). The predicate of a transitive clause (a clause that can contain two core arguments, ARG_1 and ARG_2) is syntactically bivalent; the predicate of an intransitive clause is syntactically monovalent.

Semantic valency
concerns the valency of a voice-marked verbal base. A semantically bivalent verb can be, but does not have to be, the predicate of a transitive clause.

Inherent valency
concerns the valency of a verbal root or base prior to voice marking. It determines the possible voice alternations in which the root or base can participate. The inherent valency of a verb root is specified in the lexicon. The inherent valency of a complex base can be indicated by applicative markers.

The distinction between syntactic and semantic valency is made because a semantically bivalent verb cannot always occur with both its arguments overtly realized. For example, in the construction with the focus particle *kaw* described in 7.8, a semantically bivalent verb is syntactically monovalent. The distinction between semantic and inherent valency is made because not any verb root or base can be combined with just any voice marker. This depends on lexical properties of the root which are to a large extent, but not entirely, semantically based (cf. 8.3).

The basic structure of Movima verbs according to the basic criteria described here is represented in Figure 4.

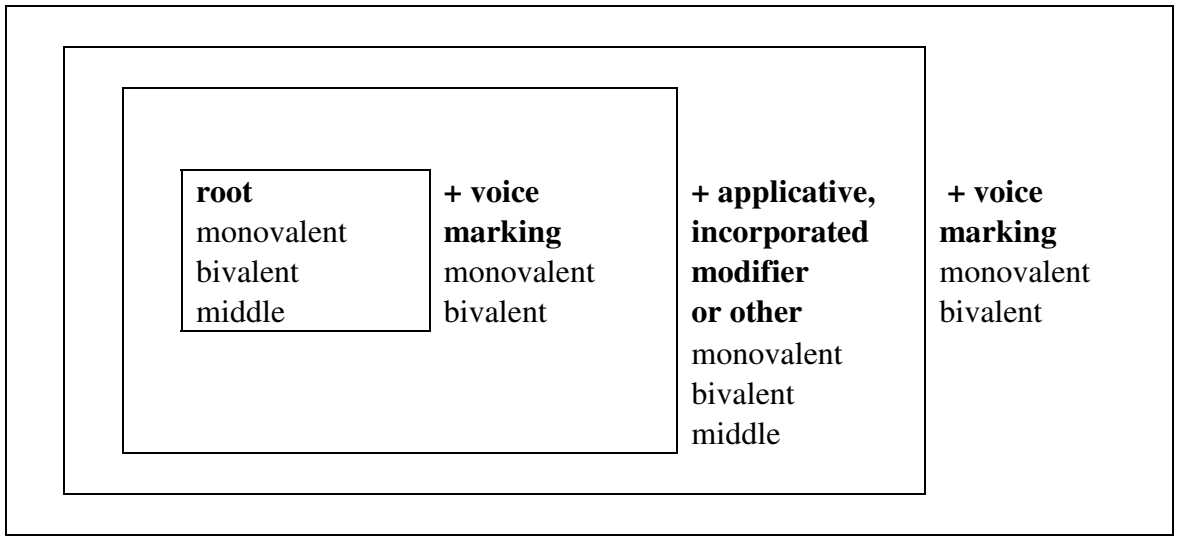

Figure 4. The structure of the Movima verb

Figure 4 is to be read as follows. The core of a Movima verb is, of course, the root, whose inherent valency is monovalent, bivalent, or middle (cf. 8.3). Voice marking (cf. 8.1) creates a semantically monovalent or bivalent simple base, which can constitute an independent verb. A canonical complex base (cf. 8.4) is created when a derivational suffix, such as an applicative, or a modifying element is attached to the simple base. Like the root, the complex base also has an inherent valency. For example, when it contains the causative suffix, it is inherently bivalent. This, again, determines the voice marking the complex base can take. The final voice marking creates a semantically monovalent or bivalent verb.

The structure in Figure 4 is a simplified view of the Movima verb, and more research is needed for a more adequate representation. However, it may serve as an orientation for the discussion in this and the following chapter.

This chapter is structured as follows. Sections 8.1–8.2 describe the major voice-marking devices in Movima. According to their combinability with the voice markers, different classes of verbal roots and bases can be distinguished, described in 8.3–8.5. Section 8.6 illustrates the different imperative suffixes, which are also voice markers and whose choice depends on the verbal base. In 8.7, it is shown what happens to the voice markers when additional suffixes are added to the verb.

8.1. Voice markers

There are different morphemes which indicate the semantic valency of the verb and the semantic role of its absolutive argument. I term them "voice markers", because similarly to e.g. active and passive, they indicate the syntactic status and the semantic role(s) of the argument(s) of the verb.[188] The most productive ones are listed in Table 25.

[188] However, especially in their function on verbs in NPs (cf. 8.2) it can be seen that, rather than indicating voice, these markers actually establish the primary participant of the event; further research may even reveal that they can be traced back to "orientational" nominalizers (Drossard p.c.; cf. Himmelmann 1991 on Tagalog).

Table 25. Basic voice markers

	marker	label	indicates
a.	*-a / -na*	direct	ARG_2 = undergoer
b.	*-kay*	inverse	ARG_2 = actor
c.	*-eɬe*	agentive	ARG_{intr} = actor
d.	*-cheɬ*	reflexive/reciprocal	ARG_{intr} = actor (and undergoer)
e.	*(-ø / -ʻi)*	resultative	ARG_{intr} = undergoer

These morphemes apply to bivalent roots (cf. 8.3.1), which form the largest class of verb roots, to complex bases (cf. 8.4), and to many "middle" roots (cf. 8.3.3). The morphemes in the first two lines in Table 25, *-a / -na* and *-kay*, mark verbs as semantically bivalent. In Table 25, this is shown in the last column, where the morphemes are characterized as indicating the semantic role of ARG_2. The morphemes in the last three lines, from c. through e., mark verbs as monovalent, indicating the semantic role of ARG_{intr}.

Other morphemes which create monovalent verbs and indicate the semantic role of their argument include a reduplicative middle affix, which applies to so-called middle roots and to complex bases (cf. 8.3.3 and 8.4, respectively), and most verbalizing affixes (cf. 11.5–11.7, 11.9). Some verbs do not take voice markers at all (cf. 8.5). All voice morphemes are in complementary distribution.

8.1.1. *-a/-na* (and *-cha*) 'direct'

The elements *-a* and *-na* are allomorphs of the same morpheme, whose basic function is to indicate that the verb is semantically bivalent and that its ARG_2 is the undergoer. It is used when the undergoer is lower on the animacy hierarchy, i.e., when it is a more prototypical undergoer. For this reason, I label this morpheme "direct voice marker". There is a third allomorph of this morpheme, *-cha*, which only occurs in very restricted environments and will be described at the end of this section. First, I will discuss the morphological properties of the allomorphs *-a* and *-na*.

The affixes *-a* and *-na* are in complementary distribution. The allomorph *-a* occurs after a root-final consonant in second-syllable position. It cannot occur in word-final position. Therefore, it occurs only in complex verbs with a monosyllabic, consonant-final root (cf. 3.6.1). Consider the following examples:[189]

(1) *jam-**a:**-ɬe*
bind-DR-CO
'I tie X onto something'

(2) *kay-**a:**-poj*
eat-DR-CAUS
'I feed X.'

[189] Recall from 7.4 that the first person ARG_1 is not obligatorily overtly encoded. Since the verbs presented here are bivalent, the absence of an internally cliticized referential element implies the first person singular as ARG_1.

(3) *am-**a**-riko:-n-eɬ*
enter-DR-TRC.bag-LN-CO
'I put X in the/a bag.'

The allomorph *-na* occurs in base-final position. It is attached to simple roots, because here, there is no base-internal position which could be occupied by *-a*:

(4) *sal-**na*** 'I look for X.'
*toroj-**na*** 'I dust X.'
*dewaj-**na*** 'I see X.'
*entregar-**na*** 'I hand something over to X.'
*interesar-**na*** 'I am interested in X.'
etc.

Note that there are some disyllabic roots which have an /a/ in second-syllable position, but where this element belongs to the root and should not be confused with the direct marker *-a*. Evidence for the fact that the /a/ belongs to the root is that these roots take the same voice markers as the monosyllabic roots displayed in (4); i.e., when marked as direct, these roots take the suffix *-na*. This is shown in (5).

(5) *el**a:-na*** 'I leave X behind.'
*ji:s**a:-na*** 'I make X.'
*ay**a:-na*** 'I wait for X.'
*on**a**-ra:-**na*** 'I know X.' (*-ra* 'BE.ntr)

The allomorph *-na* also occurs when the base is complex, but when its second-syllable position is occupied. This is the case either when the root is disyllabic, as in (6), or when the second-syllable slot is occupied by the multiple-event marker *-ka*, as in (7) (cf. 3.6.1).

(6) ***toroj**-vus-eɬ-**na***
dust-BR.dust-APPL-DR
'I dust it.'

(7) *tan-**ka**-beń-**na***
cut-MLT-BR.flat_flex-DR
'to cut paper or leather into several pieces'

The suffix *-na* also occurs instead of *-a* when the root of a complex base ends in a vowel, so that *-a* cannot be attached for phonological reasons:

(8) *chi-poj-**na***
go_out-CAU-DR
'I make X go out.'

(9) *jo:-mi:**-na***
warm_up-TRC.water-DR
'to warm up water'

The alternation between *-a* and *-na* is summed up in (10).

(10) root alone: suffixation of *-na*
monosyllabic root + further morphemes: insertion of *-a*
disyllabic root + further morphemes: suffixation of *-na*
monosyllabic root + *-ka* + further morphemes: suffixation of *-na*
vowel-final monosyllabic root + further morphemes: suffixation of *-na*

The distribution of *-a* as opposed to *-na* is an indicator of the complexity of a verbal base in cases where its morphemes cannot be identified semantically. This is the case, for example, with the verbs in (11). In some, one of their elements can be identified, in others, this is not possible.

(11)	*basto*	'to be thrown over'	
	jommi	'to be eaten up'	
	pa'-si	'be turned around; turn around'	(*-si* 'BE.position'?)
	poṅ-mo	'to be lifted; to get up'	(*poṅ-* 'lift')
	moɬ-ba	'to be entangled'	(*-ba* 'BR.round')

Like the complex verbs in (1)–(3), these verbs are marked for direct voice by the direct marker *-a* in second-syllable position, which is an indication that they are at least historically complex. However, since it is as yet not possible to tell which of the components of the base contributes what to the meaning of the verb base, the direct marker *-a* can be seen as an infix here (cf. 3.6.1):

(12)	*bas<**a:**>to*	'I throw it over.'
	*jom<**a:**>ni*	'I eat it up.'
	*pak<**a:**>si*	'I turn it around.'
	*pot<**a:**>mo*	'I lift it.'
	*moɬ<**a:**>ba*	'I entangle it.'

There are a few complex verbs with monosyllabic roots which can either receive the base-final suffix *-na* or the base-internal suffix *-a*. A case in point is *bot-* 'change':

(13) a. *loy* *iɬ* *bot**-a**-mi:-n-eɬ* *is* *do'we*
ITN 1 change-DR-TRC.water-LN-APPL ART.pl clothes
~ b. *loy* *iɬ* *boṅ-mi-n-eɬ**-na*** *is* *do'we*
ITN 1 change-TRC.water-LN-APPL-DR ART.pl clothes
'I'll change the water of my laundry.' {EA13, 078a}

Cases like these can be considered marginal.

There is at least one case in which the elements *-a* and *-na* seem to contribute to a semantic opposition. This is the case with the verbs 'buy' and 'sell'. It is difficult to determine the meaning of the root and the function of the applicative suffixes *-ɬe* 'CO' and *-eɬ* 'APPL' (cf. 9.7, 9.8). This case may be highly lexicalized.

(14) a. *rim-eɬ-**na*** 'I buy X.' (trade?-APPL-DR)
b. *rim-**a**-ɬe* 'I sell X.' (trade?-DR-CO)

A striking property of the marker *-na* is that, when attached to inherently monovalent bases (cf. 8.3.2 and 8.5.1), it indicates that the undergoer is a location.[190] The resulting words have a different distribution than those described above. They appear typically in combination with a free pronoun, as in (15) and (16)a, and it is not possible for these verbs to occur as the predicate of a canonical transitive clause (cf. 7.1), as shown by (16)b:

(15) *nosde: a'ko joro-**na**=a*
there PRO.n sleep-DR=n
'There it is where it [the hen] sleeps.' {EA, Gallina 006}

(16) a. *a'ko choń iɬ chi:-**na** ay=s ra:da*
PRO.n HAB 1 go_out-DR DM.spk.n=DET door
'I always go out through this door.' [lit.: "It is always my exit, this door."]

b.* *iɬ chi:-**na** choń ay=s ra:da*
1 go_out-DR HAB DM.spk.n=DET door
'I always go out this door.' {EA 19, 302}

In (17), the locative function of the suffix *-na* on monovalent verbs with an incorporated argument (cf. 9.1) is shown:

(17) *asko yok-a-mo-**na**=is ney=s kara' di' sere:re*
PRO.n.a catch-DR-BE.bird-DR=pl.a here=DET red_macaw REL wild
'That [forest isle] (was) where they caught those wild red macaws.'
{EA, Parabas 016}

Further research is necessary on the syntactic and morphological status of monovalent bases with *-na*.

Usually, the effect of *-na* depends on the base to which the suffix is attached, and therefore, it serves as a criterion for distinguishing root classes (cf. 8.3 below). There is only one example in the database which shows that the suffix *-na* can be ambiguous in this respect, i.e., where on the same root it can either indicate that the undergoer is a patient (cf. (18)) or that it is a location (cf. (19)):

[190] This effect has not been found with the allomorph *-a*.

(18) *tojeɬ**-na*** *os* *karna:ba* *nosde:* *n-as* *Kochawamba*
pass.AGT-DR ART.n.p carnaval there obl-ART.n Cochabamba
'I experienced the carnaval there in Cochabamba.' {EA, Cbba 259}

(19) *asko* *tojeɬ**-na*** *is* *wa:ka*
PRO.n.a pass.AGT-DR ART.pl cow
'That [muddy place] (was) where the cows walked through.' {EA, Jaguar 018}

The direct voice marker *-a/-na* is very productive. To a limited degree, it can also derive direct bivalent verbs from nouns (cf. (20)) or from adjectives (cf. (21)) (cf. 11.8):

(20) *loy* *iɬ* *champa:**-na***
ITN 1 stone-DR
'I'll make X like grinding stone.' {EA 6, 234}

(21) *mere'**-na**=n* *kos* *baɲ-na=is* *di'* *siɬ-kwa*
big-DR=2 ART.n.a put-DR=pl.a REL BR.hole-ABS
'You make the place where it [the honey] is put, which is a hole, bigger.'
{EA, Miel 007}

The direct marker is also attached to verbs borrowed from Spanish:

(22) *entregar**-na*** 'I hand sth. over to X.' (Sp. 'hand over' + DR)
*interesar**-na*** 'I'm interested in X.' (Sp. 'be interested' + DR)
*solisitar**-na*** 'I ask X for something.' (Sp. 'apply for' + DR)

It is necessary to discuss the function of the direct marker in argument incorporation (cf. 7.7 and 9.1). Only a base that contains the direct marker can incorporate the noun that denotes the undergoer. As a consequence of this operation, the resulting verb is monovalent, in spite of containing the direct marker. Examples (23) and (24) illustrate a verb with an incorporated argument where the direct marker is *-a*. In (25), the verb has a disyllabic root, so that the direct marker is the suffix *-na*.

(23) *jayna* *rey* *il**-a:**-cho* *n-is* *mo'incho*
DSC again spread-DR-TRC.*chivé* obl-ART.pl *chivé*
'Then, again, [she] spread the *chivé* (in the sun).' {EA, Ay'ku I 044}

(24) *ena'* *inɬa* *loj**-a:**-'oj* *n-is* *do'we*
DUR.std PRO.1sg wash-DR-BE.clothes obl-ART.pl clothes
'I was washing my clothes.' {EA, Tomina' 086}

(25) *loy* *iɲ* *joy-cheɬ* *leve-mo:**-na*** *n-as* *bayɬim-wa:nas*
ITN 1intr go-R/R chase_off-BE.bird-DR obl-ART.n field-ABSTR
'I'll go and scare the birds away from my field.' {JM 18, 312}

In a verb with an incorporated argument, and only there, the direct marker has a third allomorph: *-cha*, which I gloss 'DR2' for reasons given below. This allomorph appears in verbs with disyllabic roots or complex bases and precedes the incorporated argument. In some verbs with a disyllabic root, this allomorph is found interchangeably with the base-final *-na*. For example, the verb *levemona* in (25) has the alternative form *levechamo*, as in (26).

(26) *loy iń leve**-cha:**-mo n-is jo'me*
ITN 1intr chase_off-DR2-BE.bird obl-ART.pl bird
'I'll chase the chickens away.' {EA 13, 287h}

On other disyllabic roots, only the allomorph *-cha* is allowed in the case of argument incorporation. This is the case, for example, with the root *tikoy-* 'kill':

(27) a. *loy iń tikoy**-cha:**-mo* b. * *tikoy-mo:**-na***
ITN 1intr kill-DR2-BE.bird kill-BE.bird-DR
'I'll kill birds [e.g., slaughter fowls].' {EA 13, 155a}

In examples like (26) and (27), it can be seen that the allomorph *-cha* has the same function as *-a* and *-na* in (23)–(25). Like those allomorphs, it creates a bivalent base which can incorporate the undergoer argument, which again reduces the valency of the verb. However, the marker *-cha* has a special property: it also occurs on bases which are already marked as bivalent. These bases are always complex (cf. 8.4), such as the underlined parts in the following examples:

(28) *os rey waka:-pa di' rey <u>rim-a-ɬe</u>**-cha**-wa:kato:da*
ART.n.p again cow-AG REL again trade-DR-CO-DR2-cow:BR.piece
'… a butcher who would sell meat, you know.' {GB, Ganado 084}

(29) *<u>jiɬ-a-cho</u>**-cha:**-vos n-is ko'o*
grate-DR-BR.inside-DR2-BE.wood obl-ART.pl tree
'[They] sawed wood [into planks].' {EA, Narasa:mes 058}

It can be observed here that the verbs contain two direct markers, *-a* and *-cha*, and it is difficult to identify the function of *-cha*. The bases of the verbs are bivalent, *rimaɬe* 'I sell X' and *jiɬacho* 'I saw X open', and the expectation would be that these bases can incorporate their arguments just in the same way as the simple transitive bases in (23)–(25) above. However, this is not possible: the incorporated argument has to be preceded by *-cha*. Here, this element seems to be simply a morphological linker.

Since *-cha* can occur in alternation with the direct marker *-na* in some cases (cf. (25), (26)), it can be seen as a direct marker. When it occurs after a base with an incorporated argument, however, it does not seem to have any valency-related property. In order to represent this partial similarity with the direct marker, and due to the fact that it is the second voice marker when cooccurring with the direct marker, I label it 'DR2'.

8.1.2. *-kay* 'inverse'

The inverse marker *-kay* is the counterpart to the direct marker *-a/-na* described in the previous section. Like *-a/-na*, *-kay* indicates that the verb is semantically bivalent, but in contrast to the direct markers, it identifies ARG_2 as the actor. Since ARG_2 is lower on the animacy hierarchy than ARG_1, and therefore a less prototypical actor, I label this marker "inverse". Consider the following examples (cf. also 7.5):

(30) *joy choy rey jayna pa-choɬ-**kay**-a=y'ɬi--kas*
SPC certainly again DSC perceive-BR.between-INV-LV=1pl--n.a.OBV
'It [the jaguar] had probably been watching us.' {JA, TX 019}

(31) *bu'ni yo'-**kay**-a=us os rulrul*
perhaps catch-INV-LV-m.a ART.n.p jaguar
'He could have gotten caught by the jaguar.' {EA, Jaguar 213}

The following examples illustrate the opposition of *-kay* with *-na*. In (32) and (33), the verbs from the examples in (30) and (31) occur in the direct voice, marked by *-na*:

(32) *pa-choɬ-**na**=y'ɬi--kas*
perceive-BR.between-DR=1pl--n.a.OBV
'We watched it.'

(33) *yo'-**na**=us os rulrul*
catch-DR=m.a ART.n.p jaguar
'He caught the jaguar.' {EA 7, 161}

The pairs in (35) and (34) show the opposition between *-kay* and the base-internal direct voice marker *-a* on unanalysable complex verbs.[191]

(34) a. *kay**<a>**ɬe=us--kas n-os ney charke*
give<DR>=m.a--n.a.OBV obl-ART.n.p here dried_meat
'He gave it that dried meat [that had fallen down].' {JM, Perro II 051}

b. *bu'ni kayɬe-**kay**-a=n no-kos pola:ta*
perhaps give-INV-LV=2 obl-ART.n.a money
'Perhaps [he] will give you the money.' {EA, Cbba 205}

(35) a. *man**<a>**ye=is pa:ko is o:ma*
meet<DR>=pl.a dog ART.pl tapir
'The dogs found tapirs.' {EG, Cazando 021}

[191] With respect to (34), note that the final element of the verb base, *ye* (in a) and *ne* (in b) can be identified as the bound element *-Ce* 'BE.person', whose initial consonant is conditioned by the environment (cf. 5.3.4).

b. *bu'ni* *n-as* *soń-tino:na',* *iɬ* *manne:**-kay***
perhaps obl-ART.n other-year 1 meet-INV
'Perhaps next year, you'll find me.' {EA, Solopaye 010}

Note that the distribution of the inverse marker is far more restricted than that of *-na* described above: it cannot occur in connection with argument incorporation (cf. 7.7, 9.1), and it cannot occur on monovalent roots (cf. 8.3.2).

Like *-na*, the inverse marker is attached to bivalent Spanish loans when they are used in an inverse context:

(36) *entregar**-kay*** 'X hands sth. over to me.' (Sp. 'hand over' + INV)
*enganyar**-kay*** 'X betrays me.' (Sp. 'betray' + INV)

When futher suffixes are added to an inverse verb, the suffix *-kay* is replaced by prefixing CVC-reduplication, or it is omitted (cf. 8.7.2).

8.1.3. *-eɬe* 'agentive'

The agentive marker *-eɬe* indicates that the verb is monovalent and that its only argument, ARG_{intr}, encodes the actor in the event. It usually implies progressive or habitual aspect, as well as dynamicity:

(37) *che* *usko* *ena'* *ɬow**-e:ɬe,*** *ɬow**-e:ɬe,*** *ɬow**-e:ɬe***
and PRO.m.a DUR.std pull-AGT pull-AGT pull-AGT
'And he was pulling, pulling, pulling [at the dead anaconda].' {EG, Sicurí 027}

(38) *ja:yaw* *sit**-e:ɬe*** *os* *ma:kina*
nice sew-AGT ART.n.p machine
'The machine sewed nicely.' {EA, Makina 019}

Examples (39) and (40) show that the undergoer can be expressed by an oblique argument (underlined).

(39) *jayna* *nokowa* *rey* *i:* *pak**-e:ɬe*** ***n-**as* *ɬakamba***
DSC right_now again DM.spk.pl count-AGT obl-ART.n earth
'Right now they will measure the land.' {GC, Marcha 052}

(40) *raɬ-pit**-e:ɬe*** ***n-**is* *kade:na***
tear-BE.half-AGT obl-ART.pl chain
'[The wild cat] tore its chain.' {EG, Cazando 147}

The only argument of a verb marked by *-eɬe* can never encode the undergoer of the event. This is shown by (41):

(41) *? raɬ-pit-**e:ɬe*** *is* *kade:na*
tear-BE.half-AGT ART.pl chain
'The chain tore (something).'(not: 'The chain tore.') {EC 16, 183}

The agentive marker has some phonological peculiarities. It is reduced to *-eɬ* when another suffix is added, as can be seen in (42) (cf. also 8.7.1). When attached to a base ending in /ɬ/, it is reduced to *-e*, as shown in (43) (cf. also 9.7):

(42) *isne* *jat-**eɬ**-cha-ye:-pa*
PRO.f.a hit-AGT-LK-BE.person-AG
'She is someone who hits people.' {PM, Empleada 046}

(43) *kon-lo:ɬ-**e**--yɬi* *n-os* *jaya:cho*
take_out-BR.water-AGT--1pl obl-ART.n.p swamp
'We got out of the swamp.' {DM, Dawjes 007}

In at least one environment on complex bases, the suffix *-eɬe* occurs as *-ɬe*.[192] This is the case on bases ending in *-as*, shown in (44), a bound element whose meaning is not clear. Like verbs containing the full form *-eɬe*, these verbs denote a one-participant event with an actor.

(44)

*dit-as-**ɬe***	'to speak loudly'	(*diń-* 'hard')
*mu:m-as-**ɬe***	'to get dispersed'	(*mum-* 'to cloud_over')
*jay'-as-**ɬe***	'to flee'	(*jayij* 'run')
*sow-as-**ɬe***	'to creep on the stomach'	(*sow-* ?)

Apart from its phonological peculiarities, the agentive marker also has a slightly different distribution than the other voice markers:

- it is not omitted before nominalization, causativization etc., as is the case with the monovalent markers *-cheɬ* and *-'i* (cf. 8.7.1 below)
- it does not occur on certain bases on which the other markers do occur, e.g., on disyllabic bivalent roots (cf. 8.3.1) or on monosyllabic bivalent roots ending in a vowel

The reason why it is considered as belonging to the same paradigm is that on inherently bivalent roots (cf. 8.3.1), it stands in direct opposition to the other markers given in Table 25 above. I will also discuss this suffix in 9.7.

[192] This is not to be confused with the applicative morpheme *-ɬe* 'CO' described in 9.6: this suffix usually cooccurs with a bivalent voice marker and clearly has an applicative function, which is not the case here.

8.1.4. *-cheɬ* 'reflexive/reciprocal'

The suffix *-cheɬ* indicates that the verb is monovalent and that ARG_{intr} represents both the actor and the undergoer of the event. The pair in (45) shows the contrast between the direct marker *-a* and the reflexive/reciprocal marker *-cheɬ*.[193]

(45) a. *dum**<a:>**ye*
encounter<DR>
'I meet/find X.'

b. *dumme:**-cheɬ***
encounter-R/R
'to meet/find each other'

The exact meaning of *-cheɬ* depends on the type of base to which the marker is attached (cf. 8.3). On roots denoting two-participant events, this marker can either indicate reflexivity, as in (46), or reciprocity, as in (47), depending on the meaning of the verb root and on the context:

(46) *jayna* *way-na* *os* *linterna,* *jel**-cheɬ,*** *don-'i*
DSC take_up-DR ART.n.p lantern light-R/R blood-D
'Then I lifted the lantern, [I] threw light on myself – blood!' {EA, Cbba 108}

(47) *ban* *jayna* *don**-cheɬ**--is*
but DSC hate-R/R--pl.a
'But they already hated each other.' {HR, TX 191}

On inherently monovalent verb roots (cf. 8.3.2), the reflexive marker does not indicate reflexivity or reciprocity. Rather, it indicates that the participant is actively involved in, and generally also in control of, the event:

(48) *joy-cheɬ* 'go'
as-cheɬ 'sit down'
josi:-cheɬ 'laugh'

More on monovalent roots will be said in 8.3.2 below.

8.1.5. Unmarked (*-ø/ -'i*): 'resultative'

Most verbal bases, in particular, bivalent roots and complex bases (cf. 8.3, 8.4), which are productively combined with other voice markers, can also occur without a voice marker. When the base cannot stand alone, e.g. because it consists of a single root, it receives the dummy element *-'i* (cf. 2.9.5).

The absence of a voice marker indicates that the verb is monovalent and that its only argument, ARG_{intr}, has been the undergoer of a previous, externally caused event. The unmarked verb either denotes the result of the event denoted by the verb root or it indicates deontic mood, i.e., that the speaker demands this state to be brought about. The actor is

[193] As in the similar case in (35) above, the final element of the verbal base, *ye* or *me*, can be identified as the bound element *-Ce* 'person'.

neither overtly expressed nor implied.

Consider the following examples, in which the dummy element *-ʻi* contrasts with the direct voice marker *-na*:

(49) a. *i'ko* *yey-**na***
PRO.pl want-DR
'I want that.'

b. *i'ko* *yey-**'i***
PRO.pl want-D
'That is wanted, required.' {EA, Tolkosya II 008}

(50) a. *chi-poj-**na**--as*
go_out-CAU-DR--n.a
'I put it outside.'

b. *chi-poj-**'i**--as*
go_out-CAU-D--n.a
'It has been/has to be put outside.' {JM 17, 151}

While (49) above illustrated the combination of a monosyllabic root with the dummy element, the following examples show that disyllabic verb roots also require morphological augmentation:

(51) *jayɬe* *ela:-**'i**--i* *bo* *kas* *tenapanɬe-wa=n*
then leave_behind-D--pl REAS NEG be_able<DR>-NMZ=2
as *joy-a-ɬe-wa=n--i'i*
ART.n go-DR-CO-NMZ=2--pl
'They have to be left behind then, because you/we (incl.) cannot take them.'
{JM 18, 289}

(52) *jayna* *tikoy-**'i*** *os* *rulrul*
DSC kill-D ART.n jaguar
'The jaguar has been killed.' {JM 18, 202c}

The distribution of *-ʻi* and zero on resultative verbs corresponds to that of the allomorphs of the direct voice marker, *-na* and *-a* (cf. 8.1.1 above), respectively. In (49) and (50) above, it could be seen that a verbal base which takes *-na* as the direct marker is combined with *-ʻi* when unmarked for voice. In contrast, as shown by (53)–(55) below, verbs which take the base-internal allomorph *-a* contrast with verbs which occur without any further element. In (53)a–(55)a, the absence of a voice marker is exceptionally represented as zero, glossed as 'RES' for 'resultative', for the sake of exposition:

(53) a. *laṁ-na=is* *kis* *ko',* *ɬok-**a**-poj-a=is* *kis* *ko'*
chop-DR=pl.a ART.pl.a tree fall-DR-CAU-LV=pl.a ART.pl.a tree
'They chop down the trees, they make all the trees fall.' {EA, Chaco I 014}

b. *jayna* *ɬo'-**ø**-poj* *kis* *ko'*
DSC fall-RES-CAU ART.pl.a tree
'Then the trees are felled/have to be felled.' {EA, Chaco I 016}

(54) a. *dol-**a:**-ra* *os* *bove:-mo*
full-DR-BE.ntr ART.n.p fan-BE.basket
'I filled the basket.' {EA, Dichiyeye 064}

b. *dol-**ø**-ra* *kos* *ro:ya*
full-RES-BE.ntr ART.n.a house
'The house is full.' {EA, Cabildo 008}

(55) a. *jom**<a>**ni=is* *jayna*
eat_up<DR>=pl.a DSC
'They eat it up then.' {EA, Lo'im 016}

b. *ban* *kiwa* *il-na,* *bo* *nokowa* *jom**<ø>**mi*
but DM.el.pl spread-DR REAS right_now eat_up<RES>
'But I have spread it there, because now it will be eaten.'
{EA, Tuncho 037}

The contrast between *-a* and *-ø* as presented in the above examples suggests that there is a zero element 'resultative'. This element can be seen as an allomorph of a base-final resultative suffix *-'i* (cf. (49)–(52)), with which it alternates in the same way as *-a* alternates with *-na* (cf. 8.1.1, (10)). Under this view, the element *-'i* would be analysed not as a dummy, but as an overt resultative morpheme, which has a base-internal zero allomorph.

However, there are reasons for analysing resultative verbs as unmarked for voice. First of all, *-'i* is a dummy element in all other environments in which it occurs (cf. 2.9.5), namely on monosyllabic noun roots, as in (56), and as a host for some phonologically dependent elements, as in (57):

(56) *nun-**'i***
bone-D
'bone'

(57) ***iɬ*** *sal-na*
1 search-DR
'I look for X.'

On verb roots, then, the element *-'i* can be analysed as a dummy element as well, which enables the root to occur independently.[194]

The other reason for not postulating a resultative zero morpheme, as in (53)–(55)), is that there are a number of borderline cases (cf. 3.10.5). These concern words which can take the direct voice marker *-a*, but where the absence of this marker does not seem to imply a resultative state brought about by an external actor. Furthermore, the form without a voice

[194] Note that the dummy element only occurs on monosyllabic noun roots, while it occurs on monosyllabic as well as on disyllabic verb roots (cf. (51), (52)). The reason may be that noun roots, in principle, can.occur independently, as long as they have more than one syllable. Verb roots, in contrast, cannot occur independently, and therefore require a dummy element (cf. 3.1).

marker is often lexicalized. The following examples illustrate these cases.[195]

(58) a. *dol-ra*
full-BE.ntr
'to be full of something'

b. *dol-**a:**-ra*
full-DR-BE.ntr
'I fill X with something.'

(59) a. *do'we*
clothes
'my clothes; to be dressed'

b. *dok-**a:**-we*
put_on-DR-BE.person
'I dress X.'

(60) a. *chanko*
blanket
'blanket; to be covered with a blanket'

b. *chan**<a:>**ko*
blanket<DR>
'I cover X with a blanket.'

It is problematic to assume a zero morpheme on forms like the ones in (58)a–(60)a. Due to the difficulty of drawing the line between words where one can and words where one cannot assume a zero morpheme, I will not assume this anywhere.

It follows from this analysis that the resultative state is not marked in Movima. Furthermore, as will also be shown in 8.3.1, an inherently bivalent base that occurs without voice marking automatically denotes the resultative state.[196]

8.1.6. Lexicalization

On some verbs, the voice marker is lexicalized together with the root to which it is attached. This is seen with the voice markers *-e~~ɬ~~e* and *-na*. Verbs which contain the element *-e~~ɬ~~e*, all of them monovalent, are the following:

(61) *wel**e:~~ɬ~~e* 'to climb'
*vay**e:~~ɬ~~e* 'to watch, look at something'
*toj**e:~~ɬ~~e* 'to pass; to experience'
*pawan**e:~~ɬ~~e* 'to hear'

When these verbs receive the direct marker *-na*, the ending *-e~~ɬ~~e* is retained; due to the subsequent suffix, it is reduced to *-e~~ɬ~~*. Since the bases are monovalent, *-na* establishes a location as undergoer (cf. 8.1.1, 8.3.2):

(62) *jayna* *asko* *~~ɬ~~* *wel**e~~ɬ~~-na*
DSC PRO.n.a 1 climb-DR
'Then that (was) the one on which I climbed.' {EA, Dichiyeye 053}

[195] In particular, verblike adjectives and many verbs that obligatorily take an incorporated modifier do not have a resultative reading when occurring without a voice marker; see 3.10.5, 2.9.2.
[196] Many other bases have an active or dynamic reading when unmarked for voice (cf. 8.3.2–8.3.4).

(63) *kos rey vay**eɬ-na***
ART.n again look_at-DR
'the place where I look at something' {HR, TX 106}

(64) *asko toj**eɬ-na** is wa:ka*
PRO.n.a pass.AGT-DR ART.pl cow
'That (was) where the cows passed through.' {EA, Jaguar 018}

The retention of the ending *-eɬe* before a voice marker shows that on these verbs, the ending *-eɬe* has ceased to function as a voice marker.

Possible lexicalization with the suffix *-na* can be seen with two verbs which, despite containing this ending, usually occur as monovalent predicates. These can also be seen as cases of lexicalization. Two simple verbs of this type are *samna* 'to weave', which is lexicalized from the root *sam-* 'twist' and the direct marker *-na*, and *javuɬna* 'to play a wind instrument'. They can be identified as monovalent because they can only take one core argument and because this argument is encoded as ARG_{intr} (cf. Ch. 7). Consider (65) for *javuɬna* and (66) for *samna*:

(65) *ja' da' ij **javuɬna**, jankwa=isnos nonok-a=y'ɬi*
just DUR.nst 2intr play_wind_instrument say=ART.f.p grandparent-LV=1pl
'You are just playing [the harmonica], nothing else!, said our grandmother.'
{EA, Organ 022}

(66) *pola n-as imay-ni **samna** isne*
late obl-ART.n night-PRC weave PRO.f.a
'Late at night she weaved.' {EA, Ay'ku II 025}

That these verbs are lexicalized together with the ending *-na* can also be seen from the fact that the voice marker *-na* can additionally be suffixed. Since the base is monovalent, the result is a bivalent verb denoting an event with a location as undergoer (cf. 8.1.1, 8.3.2):

(67) *a'ko ɬ samna:**-na***
PRO.n 1 weave-DR
'There I always weave.' {JM 17, 206}

However, these verbs can also occur as syntactically bivalent verbs, as shown by (68) and (69). Here, the ending *-na* functions as a direct voice marker, so that the verbs can be take two core arguments, ARG_2 encoding the patient. In (68), ARG_1 is an internally cliticized bound pronoun, and in (69), it is a pronominal proclitic of Set 1 of the SAP paradigm (cf. 7.4, Table 22).

(68) *jayna **javuɬ-na**=us os organo=us*
DSC play_wind_instrument-DR=m.a ART.n.p harmonica=m.a
'He played his harmonica.' {EA, Organ 005}

(69) *nokowa* *iɬ* ***sam-na*** *kos powol* *bo* *n-ulkwaṅ*
right_now 1 twist-DR ART.n.a straw_mat REAS obl-PRO.2sg
'I'll weave a straw mat for you now.' {EA 19, 246j}

There are also some verbs with incorporated arguments which can be used in transitive clauses, even though they would be predicted to be monovalent (cf. 7.7). They are described in 9.1.3.

8.2. The voice markers on verbs in argument function

In the previous sections, it was stressed that each voice marker indicates the semantic role of the absolutive argument, i.e., ARG_2 of a bivalent and ARG_{intr} of a monovalent predicate. This may seem arbitrary, since the bivalent markers *-a/-na* and *-kay* indicate the semantic role of ARG_1 as well (actor and undergoer, respectively). However, the point becomes clear when verbs in argument function are taken into account, a phenomenon already introduced in 7.10 above. As was said there, the referent of a verbal NP is always the absolutive argument of the verb. The semantic role of this argument is specified by the voice markers. Consider the following examples of monovalent verbs in argument function. In (70), the agentive marker *-e̷ɬe* specifies the referent as the actor:

(70) *kas* *rey* *soka'<te~>te=us* *rey* ***bat-e:ɬe***
NEG again only_person<NMZ.N~>=m.a again put-AGT
'It was not just one (man), you know, who contributed something.'
[lit.: "…who put."] {GB, Ganado 107}

In (71), the reflexive/reciprocal marker also specifies the referent as the actor. Here, the verb root is of the inherently monovalent type, on which the suffix *-cheɬ* indicates agentivity of the participant (cf. 8.3.2):

(71) *pe'ɬeɬe* *jemay* *kwe:ya* *is joy-**cheɬ*** *di'* *kay~kay*
all pure woman ART.pl go-R/R REL MD~eat
'Only women went there to eat.' {EA, Llamada 019}
[lit.: "Only women were the going ones who ate."]

The following examples illustrate the case of resultative verbs in argument function. In (72), the verbal base consists of a simple root, therefore it is augmented by the dummy element *-'i*. In (73), the verb is unmarked for voice. In both cases, the referent of the NP is the element that undergoes the result of the action denoted by the verbal base:

(72) *i:ri* *'i:* *ney* *is kwey dej-**'i*** *di'* *n-i'ne*
DM.spk.pl DM.spk.pl here ART.pl IMM cook-D REL obl-PRO.f
'Here is what has just been cooked for her.' {EA 19, 315d}

(73) *n-os* *bey-ye:mes* *jayna* *ɬ* *vel-na* *os* *rey* *kaḿ-piń*
obl-ART.n.p few-BE.day DSC 1 look_at-DR ART.n.p again break-BE.half
'After a few days I looked at the broken [part].' {ER, Sapo 016}

When bivalent verbs occur in an NP, the voice marker indicates whether the referent is the actor or the undergoer. When the verb is marked as direct, in which case ARG_2 is the undergoer, then this also is the semantic role of the referent of the NP:

(74) *jayna* *da'* *ɬo<ko:~>koń* *is* *dej-**na**=sne* *di'* *lo:kwa*
DSC DUR.nst boil<MD~> ART.pl cook-DR=f.a REL *locro*
'What she was cooking, which was *locro*, was already boiling.' [lit.: "her cooked (stuff), which was *locro*, was already boiling."] {EA, Ay'ku I 048}

(75) *kas* *rey* *kay-wa=as* *n-os* *rey* *en-**a**-ɬa:baɬ*
NEG again eat-NMZ=n.a obl-ART.n.p again stand-DR-BE.earth
'It [the dog] didn't eat, you know, the [things] I put on the ground.' {JM, Perro I 006}

The following examples illustrate an inverse verb in an NP. Since the absolutive argument of an inverse verb encodes the actor in the event, the referent of these NPs is the actor of the event denoted by the verb base.

(76) *jayna* *ji<wa:~>wa* *us* *rey* *yey-kay-a=n* *di'* *naye-sicha'kwa*
DSC come<MD~> ART.m again want-INV-LV=2 REL marry-DES
'The one who wants you, who wants to marry, has already come.' {JA, Naye 052}

(77) *jan-ne* *as* *peń-kay*
which-BE.person ART.n greet-INV
'Who is it that is talking to me?' {EA, Antes de fiesta 008}

From the syntactic point of view, all verbs in argument function can be interpreted as either agentive or objective nominals (cf. Comrie & Thompson 1985: 351ff.), depending on their voice markers. The NPs in (72)–(75) can, then, be translated as objective nouns: "(the) cooked stuff", "the/a broken thing", "her cooked stuff" and "my left-on-ground stuff", respectively. The NPs in (70)–(71) can be seen as agentive nominals: "the/a putter", "the/a goer". And the NPs in (76) and (77) would have to be translated as "the you-wanter who wants to marry" and "the me-greeter", respectively.

A crucial property of these NPs is that the valency of the verb identifies the NP as possessed or unpossessed. An NP containing a verb with a monovalent voice marker is unpossessed, whereas an NP with a bivalent voice marker is possessed. This is due to the fact that ARG_1 of a bivalent predicate is obligatorily encoded, whereas a monovalent predicate does not have an ARG_1, and that the encoding of ARG_1 is identical to possessor encoding.

Thus, while the voice markers indicate the semantic valency of a verb, their other central function is to establish the absolutive argument of the verb, which represents the participant referred to when the verb occurs in an NP. They may even be thought of as nominalizers

which overtly specify the noun as possessed or unpossessed. However, more research is needed to confirm whether the voice markers can synchronically be analysed as nominalizers.

8.3. Classes of verb roots

According to their combinability with and the effect of the voice markers, verb roots fall into three classes. These are characterized not only by formal, but also by semantic and lexical factors. An overview of their formal properties, to be discussed in detail in the remainder of this section, is presented in Table 26.

Table 26. Voice marking properties of verb roots

	-na	***-kay***	***-eɬe***	***-cheɬ***	***unmarked***	***RED~***
bivalent	U=patient	inverse	agentive	refl./rec.	resultative	–
monovalent	U=location	–	–	"active"	–	–
middle	either/or	–	–	(–)	–	+
labile	both	inverse	agentive	refl./rec.	resultative	+

These three root types are described in 8.3.1–8.3.3. An additional small group of labile roots, which fluctuate between the three classes, is described in 8.3.4.

8.3.1. Bivalent roots

The most prominent class, consisting of more than 150 verb roots, is the class of inherently bivalent roots (cf. Appendix A.III). The label is given due to the fact that these roots denote events which prototypically involve two participants, an actor and an undergoer. The following are a few examples of monosyllabic (cf. (78)) and disyllabic (cf. (79)) roots:

(78) *sal-* 'search'
loj- 'wash'
nis- 'wipe clean'
ju:- 'scold'
bań- 'put'
lań- 'bite'
ɬe'- 'kick'

(79) *lirij-* 'shake'
toroj- 'dust'
wuru- 'have a look at'
leve- 'chase away'
ji:sa- 'make'
ela- 'leave behind'

The defining criterion of this class of roots is that in principle, its members can be combined with all five voice markers, the direct marker being *-na* and the unmarked (resultative) form containing the dummy element *-'i*. All voice markers have their prototypical function when combined with these roots. This is illustrated in (80) for the root *sal-* 'search':

(80)	direct:	*sal-na*	'I look for X.'
	inverse:	*sal-kay*	'X looks for me.'
	agentive:	*sal-eɬe*	'to search, be searching'
	reflexive/reciprocal:	*sal-cheɬ*	'to look for oneself/each other'
	resultative/deontic:	*sal-'i*	'to have been/have to be looked for'

The only marker which cannot be attached to all bivalent roots is the agentive marker *-eɬe*, because it cannot be attached to roots with a final vowel.

Since these roots are unmarked when denoting the result of an action (*-'i* being a dummy element, cf. 8.1.5 above), they denote, in fact, a resulting state, and not an event. Hence, they would be more appropriately translated into English by a past participle ('sought', 'washed', etc.). However, for purely practical reasons, I chose the less adequate active translation.

8.3.2. Monovalent roots

The other central class of verb roots is that of inherently monovalent roots, which denote events with prototypically only one participant. This class is much smaller than that of bivalent roots, its core consisting of perhaps a dozen verb roots (cf. Appendix A.IV). Most of them are roots denoting a motion or a position. The following are examples:

(81)	*joy-*	'go'
	as-	'sit'
	en-	'stand'
	de:-	'lie'
	josi-	'laugh'

The defining criterion of these roots is that they can only be combined with two voice markers: the bivalent direct marker *-na* and the reflexive/reciprocal marker *-cheɬ*. Moreover, these markers have a different function here than on other roots: *-na* indicates that the undergoer is a location, *-cheɬ* indicates that there is only one participant, which is actively involved in the event. This is shown in (82):

(82)	a.	*joy-cheɬ*	'go'	b.	*joy-na*	'the place where I go'
		as-cheɬ	'sit (down)'[197]		*as-na*	'the place where I sit; my home'
		en-cheɬ	'stand (up, still)'		*en-na*	'the place where I stand'
		de:-cheɬ	'lie (down)'		*de:-na*	'the place where I lie; my bed'
		josi:-cheɬ	'laugh'		*josi:-na*	'the place where I laugh'

[197] The positional verbs *ascheɬ* 'sit', *encheɬ* 'stand' and *de:cheɬ* 'lie' can denote both the stative and the inchoative event.

While the verbs in (82)a are simple active verbs, those in (82)b are distributionally more similar to nouns (cf. also 8.1.1 above, examples (15) and (16)). When they function as a predicate, their ARG_2 is usually encoded by a free pronoun in topic position, a construction typical also of equational clauses with a predicate nominal (cf. 7.9.1). Examples (83) and (84) illustrate typical constructions with verbs of the type in (82)b.

(83) *che kaɬ am-moɬ-baycho che asko* ***en-na***=*is wa:ka*
and NEG.1 enter-TRC.bush-MST and PRO.n.a stand-DR=ART.pl cow
ena'a
DUR.std
'And I didn't want to go into the forest, and that was where the cattle was.'
[lit.: "... and that was the cattle's place of standing."] {JA, TX 079}

(84) *jayna nosde: a'ko* ***joy-na***=*kis bi:jaw*
DSC there PRO.n go-DR=ART.pl.a old
'Then that is where the old ones go.'
[lit.: "... that is the old (one)'s place of going"] {EA, Asilo 018}

When not occurring in this type of construction, these verbs most often form part of an NP:

(85) *nokowa sal-na='ne kos* ***joy-na***=*'ne di' soń-waj*
right_now search-DR=f ART.n.a go-DR=f REL other-BE.place
'Now she'll look for a different place to go.' {EA, Alojamiento 006}

The suffix *-na* is glossed as 'DR' on these verbs because the locative meaning is determined by the class of the base.[198] A monovalent root can only form part of a "real" bivalent base, which denotes a two-participant event with a patient as undergoer, by the addition of the causative suffix *-poj* (cf. 9.3).

Note that the direct marker *-na* creates a verb that denotes a location not only on monovalent roots, but on all inherently monovalent bases. This includes nouns verbalized by *-ti'*, lexicalized verbs, and verbs with incorporated argument. Examples (86)a and (87)a show nouns verbalized by *-ti'* (cf. 11.5). As can be seen in (86)b and (87)b, where these verbs are combined with the direct marker *-na*, the suffix *-ti'* is dropped before further suffixes, so that it looks as if the voice marker is attached directly to the noun (cf. 3.10.2 and 8.7.1).

(86) a. *joɬ-**ti'***
BR.egg-VBZ
'to lay eggs'

b. *asko joɬ-**na**=a*
PRO.n.a BR.egg-DR=n
'There it [the hen] lays eggs.' {EA, Huevo 006}

(87) a. *bayɬim-**ti'***
field-VBZ
'to build a field'

b. *asko chaḿmo=is os bayɬim-**na**=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a bush=pl.a ART.n.p field-DR=1pl
'It was their forest where we made our field.'
{EA, Vida Chaco 018}

[198] On bivalent roots, the locational meaning is conveyed by inserting the morpeme *-kwi~-pi* before the direct voice marker; cf. 9.5.

Apart from the monovalent roots which take the suffix *-cheɬ* when occurring as the predicate of an intransitive clause, there are monovalent roots which are not combined with *-cheɬ*, but with other, sometimes nonproductive affixes. There seems to be a clear semantic basis for these classes as well. I will briefly illustrate them in the following subsections. Like the roots described here, these roots are defined as monovalent by the fact that the suffix *-na* establishes a location as undergoer.

8.3.2.1. -kwa *'bodily processes'*

Some monovalent roots are regularly combined with the non-productive suffix *-kwa*. The resulting verbs denote events which can be subsumed under the term "involuntary bodily processes":

(88)	*joro:-kwa*	'sleep'
	beysi:-kwa	'dream'
	maw-'i-n-kwa	'be hungry'
	achis-kwa	'sneeze'
	jowo:-kwa	'cough'
	jalay-kwa	'yawn'
	ɬe'-kwa	'have the hickup'[199]
	rosoń-kwa	'pass wind'
	choj-kwa	'urinate'
	momo:-kwa	'defecate'
	lel-kwa	'vomit'
	res-kwa	'burp'

The following examples illustrate their use:

(89)	*chi:~chi--sne*	*n-os*	*i:may*	***choj-kwa***	
	MD~go_out--f.a	obl-ART.n.p	night	urinate-BDP	
	'She went out at night and urinated.'				{SY, serpiente 002}

(90)	*jema'*	*da'*	***rosoń-kwa,***	*puwo:,*	*puwo:*	
	also	DUR.nst	pass_wind-BDP	ONOM	ONOM	
	'[I] was also passing winds, "puwo, puwo".'					{EA, Gallina 004}

That these roots are monovalent can be seen from the fact that when the suffix *-na* is attached, it establishes a location as undergoer, not a patient:[200]

[199] The root *ɬek-* 'kick' is the only one which is also found as a bivalent root (cf. 8.3.1).

[200] However, the root *joro-* 'sleep' can occur with the inverse marker. This has only been found in combination with the particle *mo:* 'not yet' (cf. 12.5.3): *mo:* ***joro:-kay*** *kos jowo-kwa-n-wa* 'My coughing (last night) hadn't let me sleep yet.' (yet sleep-INV ART.n.a sleep-BDP-LN-NMZ)

(91) *asko* *joro-**na**=‘ne* *jayɬe,* *jo:jo’*
DM.n.a sleep-DR=f then yes
‘That (is) where she will sleep then, yes.’ {EA, Alojamiento 011}

These roots have many morphological characteristics of nouns. First of all, some of the roots can occur independently, as nouns (cf. (92)). Like nouns or bound nominal elements, they can also be incorporated (cf. (93)):

(92) *as maw-’i* ‘(the) hunger’ (-*‘i* ‘D’)
as beysi ‘the/a dream’
as jo’wo ‘the/a cough’

(93) *kayni:-maw* ‘to die of hunger’
jayaw-jo:ro ‘to sleep well’

Secondly, there is also a nominal suffix *-kwa* (the absolute-state marker on nominal bases; cf. 5.3.2, 6.5). It is possible that the suffix *-kwa* on the verbs above can be traced back to the same origin.

Another nounlike property of these verbs is that they can be nominalized in the same way as nouns, i.e., not by suffixation of *-wa*, but by reduplication (cf. 3.10.2, 11.1):

(94) *no-koɬ* *maw-’i-n-**<kwa:~>**kwa,* *iṅ* *de<ja:~>jal*
obl-ART.n.a.1 hunger-D-LN-<NMZ.N~>BDP 1intr cook<MD~>
‘When I was hungry, I cooked.’ {JM 18, 114}

Usually, however, under nominalization the suffix *-kwa* is omitted and *-wa* is added, as is the case with other monovalent bases (cf. 8.7.1 below):

(95) *bo* *as* *joro:**-wa*** *jayna*
REAS ART.n sleep-NMZ DSC
‘in order to sleep already’ {EA, Ay’ku II 019}

8.3.2.2. -a *‘sensation’*

Five verb roots were encountered that are regularly combined with a suffix *-a* ‘SNS’, which does not occur on other bases. The resulting verbs denote an emotional or sensory state:

(96) *bele:k-a* ‘to be happy, glad’
sutu:k-a ‘to be angry’
tino:k-a ‘to be scared’
tayo:k-a ‘to feel hot’
jilo:k-a ‘to feel cold’

The following examples illustrate the use of these verbs:

(97) *ban rey iń* ***tino:k-a*** *inła*
but again 1intr fear-SNS PRO.1sg
'But I was scared, you know.' {EA, Jaguar 124}

(98) *jayna* ***bele:k-a*** *is ney bito'o*
DSC glad-SNS ART.pl here old_person
'Then the old people were happy.' {EM, Gringas II 015}

As on other monovalent roots, the direct voice marker *-na* establishes a location as undergoer on these verbs. It is attached to the entire base with *-a*:

(99) *tinok-a:***-na** *jaysoń*
fear-SNS-DR seem
'It seemed that at that place I was scared.' {JA, TX 071}

Like the verb roots combined with *-kwa* described above, these roots may have a nominal origin. This is apparent from the fact that when they do not denote a sensory or emotional state, they are combined with the verbalizing suffix *-ni* (cf. 11.9):

(100) *jaysoń chonlomaj* ***tino'-ni*** *os ney je:mes*
seem really fear-PRC ART.n.p here day
'It seemed as if really that day [Easter Sunday] was frightening.' {HR, TX 356}

(101) ***bele'-ni*** *as ena' kuynana'-wampoy-wa is juyeni*
happy-PRC ART.n DUR.std play-INSTR:BR.animal-NMZ ART.pl person
'It makes one happy that people are playing with animals (at the rodeo).'
{EA 8, 082a}

(102) *bo ay rey jayna* ***jilo'-ni****, bo jayna rey*
REAS DM.spk.n again DSC cold-PRC because DSC again
di'-muj--as la' n-os imay-ni
strong-TRC.wind--n.a ANT obl-ART.n.p night-PRC
'Because it was already cold, because there was a strong wind last night.'
{EA, Antes de fiesta 049}

The combination of these roots with *-ni* is not fully productive, however. For example, the verb root *sutu'* 'to be angry' cannot be combined with *-ni*:

(103) **sutu'-ni* ('to be annoying')

Thus, some of the roots in (96) are lexicalized together with the suffix *-a* 'SNS', since the suffix *-a* cannot be replaced by another suffix.

8.3.3. Middle roots and middle marking

A group of elements with properties of both monovalent and bivalent verb roots consists of roots which occur most often with a reduplication affix. I call them "middle verb roots" because semantically, many of them have typical middle features (cf. Kemmer 1994: 182f.), and morphologically, they have properties of both monovalent and bivalent roots. The list in (104)a presents some monosyllabic, in (104)b some disyllabic roots of this class (a more complete list is given in Appendix A.V):

(104)	a.	*łoʼ-*	'fall'	b.	*dejal-*	'cook'
		łaḿ-	'bathe'		*jiwa-*	'come'
		deń-	'infect'		*javuń-*	'fly'
		kel-	'open'		*łoro-*	'snore'
		sum-	'shrink'		*łokoń-*	'boil'
		kay-	'eat'		*kamay-*	'yell'
		chi-	'go out'		etc.	

Monosyllabic roots are entirely reduplicated, while disyllabic roots undergo infixing reduplication. I analyse the reduplication of monosyllabic roots as prefixing, in analogy to the other reduplication processes found in Movima (cf. 3.7). Examples of monosyllabic reduplicated middle roots are the following:

(105) *n-os la' walaylo, iń* ***łaḿ~łaḿ*** *n-os jayna lasseys*
obl-ART.n.p ANT afternoon 1intr MD~bathe obl-ART.n.p DSC six_o'clock
'Yesterday afternoon, I bathed when it was already six o'clock.' {EA, Pierna 001}

(106) *jayna* ***paḿ~paḿ*** *kos chaḿmo ja' jemes jayna*
DSC MD~sprout ART.n.a bush just CONT DSC
'Then the bush just sprouts again continuously.' {EA, Chaco II 028}

(107) *bo* ***deń~deń*** *is lo<to:~>to n-os do'-na:-wa*
REAS MD~infect ART.pl ear<INAL~> obl-ART.n.p put_on-DR-NMZ
'Because my ears got infected when I put [the earrings] on.' {EA, Abuelo 061}

Examples (108)–(110) illustrate the use of reduplicated disyllabic middle roots:

(108) *loy iń* ***ji<wa:~>wa*** *n-as tawa'-ni n-as ima:yoj*
ITN 1intr come<MD~> obl-ART.n tomorrow-PRC obl-ART.n morning
'I'll come tomorrow in the morning.' {EA, Visita 087}

(109) *che ena'* ***de<ja:~>jal*** *isne che jayna da'* ***ło<ko:~>koń***
and DUR.std cook<MD~> PRO.f.a and DSC DUR.nst boil<MD~>
is dej-na=sne di' lo:kwa
ART.pl cook-DR=f.a REL *locro*
'And she was cooking, and her cooked (stuff), which was *locro*, was boiling.'
{EA, Ay'ku I 048}

(110) *jema'* *da'* *iń* ***ło<ro:~>doń***
also DUR.nst 1intr snore<MD~>
'I was snoring, too.' {EA, Gallina 004}

Elicitation has shown that some of the monosyllabic roots can receive the marker *-cheł* instead of the reduplication. This is illustrated by (111) and (112). There does not seem to be a significant meaning difference, but speakers prefer the reduplicated form.

(111) a. ***kel~kel*** *as* *ra:da*
MD~open ART.n door
~ b. ***kel-cheł*** *as* *ra:da*
open-R/R ART.n door
'The door opened.' {JM 18, 132b}

(112) a. *jayna* *iń* ***sum~sum***
DSC 1intr MD~shrink
~ b. *jayna* *iń* ***sum-cheł***
DSC 1intr shrink-R/R
'I shrink already [of age].' {JM 16, 018b}

Many middle roots, for example those in (113), behave like bivalent roots when combined with *-na*. On them, *-na* creates a "normal" bivalent verb, whose undergoer is a patient and which easily functions as the predicate of a transitive clause.

(113) *lamń-na* 'I bite X.'
łamń-na 'I bathe X.'
kel-na 'I open X.'
pel-na 'I make X flow over.'
ros-na 'I put X (light, fire) out.'
łow-na 'I pull at X.'
sum-na 'I make X shrink (e.g., a straw mat by drying it).'
lew-na 'I read X (e.g., the book).'
chumay-na 'I smoke X out (e.g., a tree trunk with a bee's nest).'

Others middle roots behave like monovalent roots; on them, the marker *-na* creates a verb with a location as undergoer. Consider the examples of *kay-* 'eat' (cf. (114)), *chi:-* 'go out' (cf. (115)), and *dejal-* 'cook' (cf. (116)):

(114) *a'ko* *łań* *joy-na=is,* *a'ko* ***kay-na=is***
PRO.n EV go-DR=pl.a PRO.n eat-DR=pl.a
'There they went, they say, there they ate.'
[lit.: "That (is) their place of going, that (is) their place of eating."]
{EA Llamada 023}

(115) *asko* *choń* ***chi:-na***=*is* *noɬ-kwa*
PRO.n.a HAB go_out-DR=pl.a mouse-ABS
'That [hole] is where the mice always went out.' {EA, Motacu 013}

(116) *vaye:ɬe* *n-os* *doki* *n-os* *choń* ***dejal-na***
look_at obl-ART.n.p fireplace obl-ART.n HAB cook-DR
'[We] looked at the fireplace where I always cooked.' {JM, Perro I 026}

Middle reduplication is productive on complex bases (cf. 8.4 and Ch. 9) as well. The following is an example of the complex verbal base *ta:les-*, which contains the bound nominal element *-les* 'fire':

(117) *ban* *kos* *da'* *ve'* *chu<ma:~>may,* ***ta:<le:~>les***
but ART.n.a DUR.nst fire smoke<MD~> burn_down<MD~>
'But the fire is smoking, burning.' {EA, Miel 011}

Two verbs which belong to the class of monosyllabic middle roots are not really reduplicated, but have a special form when occurring as monovalent predicates:

(118) *a:mon* 'enter'
ji:yi 'cry'

In spite of their deviant middle form, these two verb roots behave morphologically exactly like the other roots of this class. When receiving another suffix, the second syllable is dropped. The verb *a:mon* 'enter' is of the bivalent and *ji:yi* 'cry' is of the monovalent type, as can be seen from their behaviour when combined with *-na*. In (119), *am-na* occurs in an NP referring to a patient, and in (120), *ji:-na* refers to a location.

(119) *oyka-di* *di'* *kwajta'* *kis* ***am-na***=*n* *ja'a*
four-BR.grain REL maize ART.pl.a enter-DR=2 just
'Just four grains of maize (is what) you put in.' {EA, Chaco I 047}

(120) *asko* ***ji:-na***=*as* *jayna*
PRO.n.a cry-DR=n.a DSC
'There it started crying then.' {JM, Loro 059}

8.3.4. Labile roots

As may be expected, some roots belong to more than just one class, probably due to semantic properties. I call them "labile", since they can behave like monovalent or like bivalent roots. Only few clear examples of this were found so far:

(121) *bat-* 'put'
us- 'move away'
am- 'put/go in'

On these roots, the attachment of the suffix *-na* creates a normal bivalent verb with a patient as undergoer:

(122) ***bań-na**=us* *os* *be~beń-kwa* *n-os* *kamaro:te*
put-DR=m.a ART.n.p RED~BR.flat_flex-ABS obl-ART.n.p oxcart_roof?
'He put a hide on the roof of the oxcart.' {EA, Cbba 153}

(123) *che* *jayłe* *jayna* *di'* ***us-na**='ne* *os* *ra:da*
and then DSC HYP move_away-DR=f ART.n.p door
'And then she probably pushed the door.' {EA, Escape 054}

However, the addition of *-cheł* to these roots does not, as on bivalent roots, create a reflexive or a reciprocal, but rather an agentive reading, in the same way as on monovalent roots:

(124) *bań-cheł* 'to get seated on top of sth.' (e.g., a bird)
us-cheł 'to retreat, move away'

In the case of *bań-* 'put', the lability is apparent also from the fact that the attachment of *-na* does not only create a normal transitive verb, as in (122), but can also create a word denoting a location. The correct reading can only be inferred from the context.

(125) *mere'-na=n* *kos* ***bań-na**=is* *di'* *sił-kwa*
big-DR=2 ART.n.a put-DR=pl.a REL BR.hole-ABS
'You make the hole where they put it bigger.'
[lit. "where they put it, which is a hole"] {EA, Miel 007}

8.4. The structure of complex verbal bases

Complex bases are created by a verb root and an applicative affix or an incorporated noun or bound nominal element (cf. Ch. 9). Many complex bases containing an incorporated nominal element are lexicalized, so that their individual parts cannot be semantically identified. Examples were given in (11) and (12) in Section 8.1.1 above.

As to their behaviour with voice markers, complex bases are similar to bivalent and middle roots (cf. 8.3.1, 8.3.3), depending on the morphemes they contain and on their lexical properties. They can take all the voice markers a bivalent root can take, and the direct voice marker *-a/-na* indicates that the undergoer is a patient, not a location. Like middle roots, they can undergo middle reduplication, and they are not easily combined with the reflexive/reciprocal marker.

Consider the following examples of the direct (cf. (126)) and the inverse marker (cf. (127)) on a complex base containing an incorporated bound nominal element:

(126) *iɬ juɬ**-a:-pit**--us*
1 hug-DR-BE.half--m.a
'I held him around the middle.' {EA, Aros II 024}

(127) *bo jema' juɬ**-piń-kay**--us*
REAS also hug-BE.half-INV--m.a
'Because he, too, held me around the middle.' {EA, Aros 040}

The addition of the reflexive marker *-cheɬ* or the agentive marker *-eɬe* to a complex base is possible, but not very common. The reflexive marker is shown in (128) and the agentive marker in (129):

(128) *ɬe'-ka-ye:**-cheɬ** ena' n-as elesiya-ra:da*
kick-MLT-BE.person-R/R DUR.std obl-ART.n church-door
'[The children] are kicking each other repeatedly at the church door.' {HR, TX 306}

(129) *raɬ-pit**-e:ɬe** as pa:ko n-as kadena=a*
tear-BE.half-AGT ART.n dog obl-ART.n chain=n
'The dog tears itself loose from its chain.' {EC 16, 183}

When a complex base is unmarked for voice, this typically denotes the resultative state, as in (130), but it can also have a reflexive/reciprocal meaning, as in (131):

(130) *di' joy jayna koro' **mań-cho***
HYP SPC DSC DM.n.a loose-BR.inside
'[We don't know] if it [the corral] is already pulled down.' {EG, Dial. 103}

(131) ***juɬ-piń** ena'*
hug-BE.half DUR.std
'[They were] hugged around their waists.' [i.e., hugging each other] {BA, TX 173}

Examples (132)a and b show the alternation between the reflexive/reciprocal and the unmarked form. As is the case with middle roots, there is no significant meaning difference, but speakers prefer the unmarked form (cf. (132)b).

(132) a. *loy iń bem-mora:**-cheɬ***
ITN 1intr paint-face-R/R

~ b. *loy iń bem-mo:ra*
ITN 1intr paint-face
'I'll paint my face.' {EA 13, 006e}

Apart from the low frequency and the effect of reflexive/reciprocal marking, a property that

complex bases share with middle roots is that they can be reduplicated.[201] The reduplication indicates that the only argument is the undergoer, as in the unmarked form, but that the event is dynamic:

(133) *che jaɬe jayna mań-**<cho:~>**cho as risa<kwa:>kwa*
and then DSC loose-<MD~>BR.inside ART.n BR.hair<INAL~>
'And then my hair got loose.' {EA, Aros II 041}

(134) *is manka jes-cho**<pa:~>**pa po:ra*
ART.pl mango split-hand<MD~> briefly
'The mango trees break at the fork of the branch in a moment.' {EA, Dichiyeye 072}

The examples in (135) show the three main processes by which a complex base can be marked for voice: a. unmarked, b. by addition of a bivalent marker, and c. by reduplication. This is illustrated for a base consisting of the root *lo'-* 'throw down' and the applicative marker *-ɬe* 'co-participant' (cf. 9.7).

(135) a. *lo'-ɬe is manka*
throw_down-CO ART.pl mango
'The mangos have been knocked down (from the tree, by somebody).'
{EA 16, 141d}

b. *jayna rey i: lok-**a**-ɬe=as is manka*
DSC again DM.spk.pl throw_down-DR-CO=n.a ART.pl mango
'Somebody has already knocked the mangos down.' {EA 16, 141b}[202]

c. *lo'-**<ɬe:~>**ɬe is manka*
throw_down-<MD~>CO ART.pl mango
'The mangos fall down (from the tree, by themselves).' {JM 19, 189c}

In (136), the three processes are illustrated for a lexicalized complex base, whose individual parts cannot be identified semantically (cf. 8.1.1, (11) and (12)):

(136) a. *basto*
lie_on_side
'to be thrown on one's/its side' {EA 17, 002}

b. *bas**<a:>**to*
lie_on_side<DR>
'I throw it over.' {EA 10, 137}

[201] This only happens with bases created by the addition of an incorporated modifier or of the suffix *-ɬe*, but not causative and benefactive bases (cf. Ch. 9).
[202] The neuter absential bound pronoun *=as* here indicates that the referent is not known (cf. 4.7.1).

c. *bas**<to:~>**to*
lie_on_side<MD~>
'to fall on one side after having been standing' {EA 17, 002a}

Note, finally, that not all complex bases can be productively derived by all three processes. In many cases, for example, the reduplicated form does not occur. More research is needed on the internal structure and semantic properties of complex bases.

8.5. Verbs that do not take a voice marker

8.5.1. Monovalent verbs

Quite a number of monovalent verbs do not take a voice marker and have an active reading. This concerns verbs with an incorporated argument (cf. 9.1), denominal verbs (cf. 11.5–11.9), and unanalysable verbs. Unanalysable verbs are often the historical result of derivation. The verbs in (137), for example, clearly have a complex origin, but cannot be analysed synchronically. All of them end in the verbalizing suffix *-ni* (cf. 11.9) and sometimes, other morphemes can also be recognized:

(137) *ilo:ni* 'walk'
iwa:ni 'speak'
alwa:ni 'talk, converse' (*al-* 'fellow-')
de:chijni 'sleep together' (*de:-* 'lie')

Other verbs are composed of a root and one or more bound elements. Still, they are not fully transparent. They share the property that they do not have a voice marker, but do not have a resultative reading either:

(138) *ya:lo:we* 'drink'[203] (*ya:-* 'under?', *lo* 'BR.liquid', *-Ce* 'BE.person')
koma:lo 'swim' (*kom-* 'take out of liquid', *-a* 'DR', *lo* 'BR.liquid')
tijka:rim 'work' (*tij-* 'work at', *-karim* 'BE.utensiles')

On other verbs, the morphological origin cannot be retrieved at all. On the surface, they look like unmarked complex verbs (cf. 8.4). However, they do not denote a resultative state with an undergoer, and they cannot be transformed into a direct bivalent verb by the marker *-a/-na*. Examples of these verbs are the following:

[203] The verb *ya:lo:we* 'drink' is unusual. It is, in principle, monovalent. The actor is expressed by an external clitic or by an SAP pronoun of Set 1, and the undergoer can only be expressed as an oblique argument: *iṅ ya:lo:we n-is po'so* 'I drink (the) *chicha*'. However, when occurring in an NP, the NP refers not to the actor (as it does with other active monovalent verbs), but to the undergoer: *kis ya:lo:we* 'my drink'. Hence, this verb can be seen as syntactically monovalent, but semantically bivalent.

(139) *ja:yi* ‘run’
ja:raɬ ‘fight’
jo’yaj ‘arrive’
te:lo ‘dance’
salmo ‘return’
ba:yeɬ ‘hunt’

8.5.2. The “bivalent” pseudo-verbs: *jankwa* ‘say’ and *jampa* ‘do’

There are two words which seem to be bivalent verbs, because they are mainly used as predicates and the actor is encoded by an internal clitic or, if it is a speech-act participant, by a pronoun of Set 1. However, they do not have a bivalent voice marker, and in fact, they are better analysed as nouns (cf. also 3.10.2). These words are *jankwa* ‘say’ and *jampa* ‘do like’. The following examples illustrate them:

(140) *jayna* ***jankwa*** *ney,* *ɬéɬa* *kos* *yey-na=n*
DSC say here what ART.n want-DR=2
senyo:ra, ***jankwa*** *n-isne*
madam say obl-PRO.f.a
‘Then I said like this: ‘What is it you want, madam, I said to her.’ {EA, Visita 041}

(141) *n-as* *di’* *ye~yey-wa=nkweɬ,* *jayna* *ɬ* *rey* ***jampa=n***
obl-ART.n HYP DR~want-NMZ=2pl DSC 1 again do_like=2
‘If you want (it), then we’ll do it (like that).’ {GB, Ganado 037}

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of these words in an NP. As can be seen, the concepts they denote are the thing being said and the way in which something is done:

(142) *jayɬe* *jayna* *iwa:ni--is* *n-as* *kaste*
then DSC speak--pl.a obl-ART.n Spanish
kos ***jankwa=is*** *no-kos* *chon-sineɬ*
ART.n.a say=pl.a obl-ART.n.a right-BE.language
‘Then they speak in Spanish what they have said in the native language.’
{EA, Antes de fiesta 077}

(143) *joy-a-ɬe=sne* *che* *um-a-ra=sne*
go-DR-CO=f.a and send-DR-BE.ntr=f.a
o:be *os* ***jampa=n*** *kwil* *ulkwaṅ*
like ART.n.p do_like=2 REM PRO.2sg
‘She took them with her and she’ll send them, like you did back then.’
{EA, Visita 112}

If analysed as bivalent verbs, these words are unusual: they do not contain a voice marker, as do all other bivalent verbs, and their undergoer is never overtly expressed. Consequently, they

cannot be used in the inverse voice. It is more adequate to analyse these words not as verbs, but as nouns. This is supported by the way in which they receive further derivational suffixes: they are first verbalized by the suffix *-ni*, and then receive a verbal suffix. The following examples illustrate action nominalization in subordinate clauses (cf. 7.12, 11.1):

(144) *jayna* *n-os* *jankwa-**ni-wa**=‘ne,* *kus* *alkaka:ye ...*
DSC obl-ART.n.p say-PRC-NMZ=f ART.m.a relative
‘Then, as she said “My relative ...” [, then I realized].’ {EA, Visita 055}

(145) *kas* *jampa-**ni-wa**=sne*
NEG do_like-PRC-NMZ=f.a
‘She didn’t do it like that.’ {EA, Siesta 023}

The next example shows the same phenomenon in the imperative form of *jankwa*:

(146) *jankwa-**ni**-ki* *no-kos* *yey-na=n*
say-PRC-IMP.MV obl-ART.n.a want-DR=2
‘Say what you want!’ {JM 17, 208b}

Thus, *jankwa* and *jampa* are, morphologically, nouns rather than verbs. They can be split up into an element *jan* and an element *-kwa* and *-pa*, respectively. The element *jan* may be identical or related to the root *jan-* in question words (cf. 3.10.6). The elements *-kwa* and *-pa* may be related to the noun root *kwa* ‘BR.mouth’ and, by truncation, to the noun *chopa* ‘hand’, respectively.[204] However, these relations are purely etymological. Therefore, I simply translate these words as verbs, i.e. as ‘say’ and ‘do like’, respectively.

8.6. Imperative marking

The imperative suffixes are portmanteau morphemes which indicate voice and imperative mood at the same time. All vowels of a base derived by these suffixes are short. The imperative suffix creating a direct bivalent verb is *-ti*, the suffix creating a monovalent verb is *-ki*. The difference can be seen best with labile roots (cf. 8.3.4), as in (147):

(147) a. *us-**ki*** ‘Get away!’ b. *us-**ti*** ‘Chase X away!’
*am-**ki*** ‘Get in!’ *am-**ti*** ‘Put X in!’
*bań-**ki*** ‘Get seated on it!’ *bań-**ti*** ‘Put X on it!’

In addition, there is an inverse imperative suffix *-do’* or *-ń*, and the verbs *joycheɬ* ‘go’ and *ji<wa:~>wa* ‘come’ have a suppletive imperative form. These forms will be discussed further below.

[204] According to Swintha Danielsen (p.c.), in Arawakan languages it is a widespread phenomenon that the words for ‘say’ and ‘do’ are based on the words for ‘mouth’ and ‘hand’, respectively.

When the addressee is plural, then the second-person plural suffix *-kweɬ* is added to the imperative form.[205] Example (15) shows this for the monovalent, (16) for the bivalent direct imperative verb:

(15) *jayna, jankwa, jayɬe jayna jiwa**-ki-kweɬ** ney*
DSC, say then DSC come-IMP.MV-2pl here
'Okay, I said, so then (you pl.) come here!' {Antes de la fiesta 035}

(16) *jayɬe kempa**-ti-kweɬ** kinos ma:ma=nkweɬ, jankwa=sne*
then inform-IMP.DR-2pl ART.f.a mother_of=2pl say=f.a
'Then tell your (pl.) mother, she said.' {EA, Asilo 015}

The following are examples of the voice-marking function of imperative suffixes on bivalent roots. It can be seen that on bivalent roots, the intransitive imperative suffix *-ki* (cf. (148)b and (149)b) has a reflexive or reciprocal interpretation. The reciprocal use generally employs the plural form (cf. (149)b).

(148) a. *toy**-ti*** 'Cut X!' b. *toy**-ki*** 'Cut yourself!'

(149) a. *tikoy**-ti*** 'Kill X!' b. *tikoy**-ki-kweɬ*** 'Kill each other!'
*sal**-ti*** 'Look for X!' *sal**-ki-kweɬ*** 'Look for each other!'

On monovalent roots, only the monovalent imperative marker *-ki* can be used. Examples (150) and (151) illustrate the imperative suffix on the roots *chi:-* 'go out' and *joro-* 'sleep' respectively.

(150) *jay' chi:**-ki** n-as as-na*
go.IMP go_out-IMP.MV obl-ART.n sit-DR
'Get out of my house!' {JM 16, 338}

(151) *jay' joro**-ki**, jankwa n-os pa:ko*[206]
go.IMP sleep-IMP.MV say obl-ART.n.p dog
'Go to sleep!, I said to the dog.' {JM, Perro I 035}

Examples (152)–(154) show verbs with an incorporated argument. Since these verbs are inherently monovalent (cf. 7.7, 9.1), they can only receive the monovalent imperative marker, in the same way as monovalent roots:

(152) *pul-a-lolos**-ki***
sweep-DR-yard-IMP.MV
'Sweep the yard!' {EA 10, 012a}

[205] On verbs that do not contain the imperative suffix, the second-person plural marker is *=nkweɬ* (cf. 4.1.1).
[206] The imperative form *jay'* will be discussed below.

(153) *dit-a-ve-**ki*** *ney*
hard-DR-TRC.dugout-IMP.MV here
'Dock here!' {BA, TX 310}

(154) *jił-a-pa-**ki**-kweł, jela jił-a-pa-**ki**-kweł*
grate-DR-BE.manioc-IMP.MV-2pl come.IMP grate-DR-BE.manioc-IMP.MV-2pl
'Grate manioc, come and grate manioc!' {EA, Cicatrices 003}

In (155) and (156), imperative marking of monovalent verbs without voice marking (cf. 8.5.1) is shown:

(155) *jay' n-as lo:los, jay' yolmoł-**ki***
go.IMP obl-ART.n village go.IMP stroll-IMP.MV
'Go to the village, go, go for a walk!' {GC, Bacho 053}

(156) *alwani-**ki** n-i'ne*
talk-IMP.MV obl-PRO.f
'Talk to her!' {EA, Jovina 010}

An exception is the monovalent root *joy-* 'go'. Its imperative is formed by the monovalent imperative suffix *-ki*, as in (157). It can also be combined with *-ti*, however, in which case the verb serves as an imperative particle, meaning something like 'go on'. This is shown in (158).

(157) *su:sumariya mora' jay' **joy-ki** nosde:*
Jesus_Mary (swearword) go.IMP go-IMP.MV there
'Jesus Christ, damn it, go over there!' {JM, Loro 056}

(158) *łań ay'ku, **joy-ti** ajlomaj-ki n-os jeya=n*
EV aunt go-IMP.DR narrate-IMP.MV obl-ART.n.p state_of=2
'Look, aunt, go on, tell [us] about what you were like!' {EA, Jovina 005}

The inverse imperative suffix *-do'* or *-ń* indicates that the speaker is affected by the action. The following examples contain the long form, *-do'*:[207]

(159) *jaymoł-**do'**, jankwa=sne*
call-IMP.INV say=f.a
'Call me!, she said.' {EA, Visita 102}

(160) *da' iń tivijni:wa, tarał-**do'** senyor*
DUR.nst 1intr feel_pain heal-IMP.INV sir
'I have pain, heal me, Lord.' {EA, Rezar 050}

[207] Since this element is never followed by another, vowel-initial suffix, it is not possible to tell for sure whether the final consonant is the glottal stop (/k/) or the nasalized plosive (/t/). The representation is chosen according to the pronunciation heard most.

The short form of the inverse imperative can occur after the endings *-ɬe* 'CO' (cf. 9.7) and *-kwa* 'BEN' (cf. 9.4):

(161) *kayɬe-**ń*** *n-as* *sawi:pa,* *jankwa=us*
give:CO-IMP.INV obl-ART.n machete say=m.a
'Give me the machete!, he said.' {EG, Sicurí 056}

(162) *jay' ja:mi-**kwa-ń**, majni, ni-kis oy-balde di' to:mi*
go.IMP fetch_water-BEN-IMP.INV my_child obl-ART.pl.a two-bucket REL water
'Go, my child, and fetch two buckets of water for me!' {EA, Tomina' 097}

However, the suffixes *-ɬe* and *-kwa* can also be followed by the long form after the benefactive marker, as shown by (164)a and b:

(163) a. *kayɬe-**ń*** *n-is* *kana=u*
give.APPL-INV.IMP obl-ART.pl food=m

~ b. *kayɬe-**do'*** *n-is* *kana=u*
give.APPL-INV.IMP obl-ART.pl food=m
'Give me his food!' [so that I can feed him] {JM 17, 134e}

(164) a. *chi-poj-na-**kwa-ń***
go_out-CAU-DR-BEN-IMP.INV

~ b. *chi-poj-na-**kwa-n-do'***
go_out-CAU-DR-BEN-LN-IMP.INV
'Take it out for me!' {JM 17, 121a}

Especially in connection with the benefactive marker, the inverse form of the imperative marker is seen as more polite than the direct form. In many contexts, it is also possible to use the direct form instead of the combination of the benefactive and the inverse suffix. This difference is shown by (165)a and b:

(165) a. *pat-a-poj-**kwa-ń*** *pa'*
sprout-DR-CAU-BEN-IMP.INV my_father
'Make [the crops] sprout for me, father!' {GB, Ganado 093}

b. *pań-**poj-ti***
sprout-CAU-IMP.DR
'Make (it) sprout!' {EC, Ganado 093}

Using the inverse form means that one is asking a favour, whereas the direct form is an order, inappropriate in many contexts. An expression which is also used to ask a favour politely is the not completely transparent form *juma'pojdo'*:

(166) ***jum-a'-poj-do'*** *ve~bel-kwa-ń*
?-IRR?-CAU-IMP.INV DR~look_at-BEN-IMP.INV
'Do me the favour, look after it for me.' {EC, Marcha 007}

As could be observed in many of the examples given in this section, the verb *joycheł* 'go' has a suppletive imperative form: *jay'* 'go!'. This form can occur as a full verb, as it does in its first occurrence in (155) above, but it also co-occurs with another imperative verb, as in its second occurrence in (155) and in the other examples above. In this case, it has the same distribution as the verb *joycheł* 'go' in the serial verb construction described in 7.13. Another suppletive imperative verb form is *jela* 'come!', which is related to *ji<wa~>wa* 'come'.[208] It can occur as a full verb, as in (167) and (168):

(167) ***jela*** *mora'a,* *jankwa=us*
come.IMP (swearword) say=m.a
'Come, damn it!, he said.' {EA, Jaguar 106}

(168) *ka'* *rey* *ij* *ela-kay--iy'bi* *bo* ***jela-kweł*** *neyru*
PROH again 2.intr leave_behind-INV--2pl REAS come.IMP-2pl here
'Don't leave me alone, come here!' {EA, Ay'ku II 015}

Like *jay'*, the verb form *jela* can also cooccur with another imperative verb. In this case, it indicates that the action denoted by the second verb has to be carried out at the place where the speaker is.

(169) ***jela*** *kay-**ki***
come.IMP eat-IMP.MV
'Come and eat!'

(170) *jayna* *usko,* ***jela*** *en-**ki*** *ney,* *jankwa=us*
DSC PRO.m.a come.IMP stand-IMP.MV here say=m.a
'Then he [said]: Come, stand over here!, he said.' {EA, Jaguar 025}

For the prohibitive construction, which is formed differently, see 12.5.4.

8.7. Bases for additional suffixation

Verbs with different valency and voice properties behave differently when they function as bases for further suffixation. In principle, monovalent bases do not have a voice marker then. Verbs with a bivalent marker, in contrast, generally retain this marker. This is then often represented by a reduplication allomorph. I will first describe monovalent and then bivalent bases. Most examples are cases of nominalization, but in principle, the derivation can be of

[208] Note, however, the transparent imperative form of this verb in (15) above.

any type (causative, bene-/malefactive, agent nominalization, etc.). Examples of the behaviour of the base in combination with the other derivational morphemes are given in the sections on the respective morphemes in Chapters 9 and 11.

8.7.1. Additional suffixes on monovalent bases

The dummy element *-'i*, the reflexive/reciprocal marker *-cheɬ*, the suffix *-kwa* 'BDP', middle reduplication, and the verbalizer *-ti'* (cf. 11.5), all of them markers of monovalent verbs, are omitted before additional affixes.

The following examples show resultative verbs nominalized by the suffix *-wa*. In (171), the dummy element *-'i*, which would occur if no other suffix were attached (cf. 8.1.5), is absent. In (172), the base is complex, so that its resultative form is unmarked (cf. 8.1.5). Here, the nominalizing suffix is attached to a base which can also occur independently.

(171) *koro'* *kas* ***ji:sa-wa***=*kos* *si:ya*
DM.n.a NEG make-NMZ=ART.n.a chair
'The chair isn't made.' [i.e. finished, at the carpenter's] {EA 19, 183b}

(172) *kas* ***jaḿ-ɬe-wa***=*as* *pa:ko*
NEG tie-CO-NMZ=ART.n dog
'The dog hasn't been tied (onto something) yet.' {EA 19, 203a}

The reflexive/reciprocal marker *-cheɬ* is lost before another suffix is added. Example (173) shows this for monovalent, (174) for a bivalent root.

(173) *des-cheɬ--us,* *che* *n-os* ***des-wa***=*us,* *[...]*
jump-R/R--m.a and obl-ART.n.p jump-NMZ=m.a
dum-me:-kay *n-as* *ba<kwa:~>kwa*
find-BE.person-INV obl-ART.n head<INAL~>
'He jumped, and as he jumped [lit.: "in his jumping"], he hit me against my head.'
{EA, Golpearse 032}

(174) *jayna* *n-asko* ***don-wa***=*is*
DSC obl-PRO.n.a hate-NMZ=pl.a
'Then that was when they hated each other.' {HR, TX 190}

Likewise, middle roots (cf. 8.3.3) remain bare, i.e. unreduplicated, when further derived:

(175) *ka'de* *as* *jayna* ***paṅ-wa***=*is,* *jayna* *paṅ~paṅ* *nokopa* *jayna*
end ART.n.a DSC sprout-NMZ=pl.a DSC MD~sprout like_this DSC
'When it sprouts [lit.: "until its sprouting"], then it sprouts like this.'
{EA, Chaco I 065}

(176) *bo os* ***jiwa-wa****=sne n-as des'ayuno-wa=sne ney*
REAS ART.n.p come-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.n breakfast-NMZ=f.a here
'[He invited her] to come to have breakfast here.' {EA, Visita 094}

Other monovalent suffixes that are omitted before further derivation are *-kwa* (cf. (177)) and *-ti'* (cf. (17). The latter is a verbalizing suffix on nouns (cf. 11.5), and is mentioned here only for the sake of completeness.

(177) a. ***joro:-kwa***
sleep-BDP
'to sleep'

b. *bo as* ***joro:-wa*** *jayna*
REAS ART.n sleep-NMZ DSC
'... in order to sleep already' {EA, Ay'ku II 019}

(17) a. ***des'ayuno:-ti'***
breakfast-VBZ
'to have breakfast'

b. *n-as* ***des'ayuno-wa****=sne*
obl-ART.n breakfast-NMZ=f.a
'for her having breakfast' (cf. (176))

All other suffixes that mark verbs as monovalent are retained before further suffixes are added. In (178)–(180), it is shown that the suffix *-eɬe* remains (shortened to *-eɬ*):

(178) *n-os la' rey pul-****eɬ-wa****=y'ɬi, kas rey*
obl-ART.n.p ANT again sweep-AGT-NMZ=1pl NEG again
baw-ra-wa=y'ɬi
cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=1pl
'When we last swept, [he] didn't pay us.' {EG, Dialogue 006}

(179) *disoy n-os mas-****eɬ-wa****, ɬaṅ*
perhaps obl-ART.n.p beat-AGT-NMZ EV
'Perhaps if I had beaten [her] up – don't you think?' {EA, Escape 109}

(180) *joy choy il-****eɬ-poj****-na=sne*
SPC certainly spread-CAU-DR=f.a
'She probably has made [her] spread [*chivé*].' {JA, Tuncho 056}

Verbs with the suffix *-a* 'sensation' (cf. 8.3.2.2) also retain this ending:

(181) *jaysoṅ buka' li:<ti:~>ti' iɬ ɬa:ri n-os tinok-****a:****-wa*
seem DUR.mov shake<MD~> ART.pl.1 leg obl-ART.n.p fear-SNS-NMZ
'It seemed that my legs were trembling of fear [lit.: "of my being scared"].'
{EA, Jaguar 125}

Complex monovalent or unanalysable bases also retain their independent form. In (172) above, an example of a resultative, morphologically transparent complex base was given. The following examples illustrate unanalysable complex bases:

(182) *bo* *as* ***bo:te****-wa=n* *nu-kus* *don* *Anto:niyo*
REAS ART.n borrow-NMZ=2 obl-ART.n.a Don Antonio
'… so that you borrow [it] from Don Antonio.' {EG, Sicurí 107}

(183) *chon-si* *as* ***salmo****-wa=is*
right-BE.sound ART.n return-NMZ=pl.a
'They will return [lit.: "their return will be] at noon.' {EA, Tuncho 047}

The verbs *a:mon* 'enter' and *ji:yi* 'cry' (cf. 8.3.3), which look like unanalysable verbs, can in fact be split up into a root and an additional element. This can be seen from the fact that their second syllable is lost when additional suffix is added:

(184) *jayna* *n-os* ***ji:-wa,*** *jayna* *ji:bal* *kempa:-kay--is* *jayna*
DSC obl-ART.n.p cry-NMZ DSC late inform-INV--pl.a DSC
'But then when I cried, then at last they told me.' {EA, Escape 095}

(185) *juḿ-na* *n-os* ***am-wa****=is*
fan-DR obl-ART.n.p enter-NMZ=pl.a
'I fanned them as they entered [into the mosquito nets].' {EA, Narasames 162}

8.7.2. Additional suffixes on bivalent bases

When a bivalent verb receives further morphological modification, the direct bivalent voice marker *-a* is retained, the allomorph *-na* is either retained or replaced by prefixing CV-reduplication, and the inverse marker *-kay* is either replaced by prefixing CVC-reduplication, by infixing reduplication, or it is omitted. Which one of these processes occurs, depends on the type of base the voice markers are attached to.

When attached to a monosyllabic root, the suffix *-na* can be retained or replaced by the reduplication prefix CV~. The following examples involve action nominalization (cf. (186)), benefactive (cf. (187)), and causative (cf. (188)) formation. In each, the variant with *-na* is shown under a and the variant with the reduplication allomorph under b.[209]

(186) a. *n-os* *sal****-na:****-wa*
obl-ART.n.p search-VBL.tr-NMZ
~ b. *n-os* ***sa~****sal-wa*
obl-ART.n.p RED~search-NMZ
'when I looked for X' {GC 10, 149}

[209] Note that the causative and benefactive verbs contain a second voice marker at the end. This is due to their applicative function (cf. 3.8; 9.3, 9.4).

(187) a. *loj-**na**-kwa:-na* *n-is* *chado=n*
wash-DR-BEN-DR obl-ART.pl plate=2
~ b. ***lo~**loj-kwa:-na* *n-is* *chado=n*
DR~wash-BEN-DR obl-ART.pl plate=2
'I'll wash your plates for you.' {JM 18, 237}

(188) a. *loy* *iɬ* *way-**na**-poj-na*
ITN 1 take_up-DR-CAU-DR
~ b. *loy* *iɬ* ***wa~**way-poj-na*
ITN 1 DR~take_up-CAU-DR
'I'll have X bring Y.' {JM 17, 144}

When an inverse verb with a monosyllabic root receives further suffixes, it does not contain the inverse marker *-kay* (cf. 8.1.2), but undergoes CVC-reduplication. Consider the following examples:

(189) *ban* *ney* *kas* ***jań~**jań-wa=sne*
but here NEG INV~hit-NMZ=f.a
'But here [i.e., at that occasion], she didn't hit me.' {PC, Empleada 047}

(190) *bo* *toɬ* *rey* *kas* ***yey~**yey-wa* *kinede:=s* *kwe:ya*
REAS very again NEG INV~want-NMZ DM.nst.f=DET woman
'Because this woman doesn't like me at all.' {EA, Asilo 090}

(191) *kań-chu<ru:~>du* *is* *tochi-n-a=i* *n-as* ***cha'~**cha'-wa=n*
break-BR.tip<MD~> ART.pl small-LN-LV=pl obl-ART.n INV~pierce-NMZ=2
'Their small tips [of the plants] break when they pierce you.' {EA, Kweɬris 011}

When the root is longer, as in (192), or when the verbal base is morphologically complex, as in (193), then the suffix *-na* or its allomorph *-a* are retained.

(192) *loy* *iɬ* *leve-**na**-poj-na* *aɬ* *pa:ko* *n-as* *wa:ka*
ITN 1 chase_away-DR-CAU-DR ART.n.1 dog obl-ART.n cow
'I'll have the dog chase away the cow.' {EA 13, 287a}

(193) *n-os* *tat-**a**-vos-eɬ-wa=as* *os* *charke*
obl-ART.n fall-DR-BE-wood-APPL-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p dried_meat
'when it [the dog] knocked down the dried meat' {JM, Perro II 038}

When an inverse verb with a disyllabic root or a complex base undergoes further derivation, the suffix *-kay* is either replaced by infixing CV-reduplication, or the marker is omitted altogether.[210] The following examples show infixing reduplication indicating inverse voice. In (194), a nominalized inverse verb with a disyllabic root is shown. Example (195) shows a

[210] In 3.7.3, it was shown that infixing reduplication on these bases may have developed from prefixing reduplication of the first CVCV sequence.

nominalized inverse verb with an incorporated modifier (cf. 9.2).

(194) a. *puruń**-kay***
kiss-INV
'X kisses me.'

b. *yey-na as pu**<ru~>**ruń-wa*
want-DR ART.n kiss<INV~>-NMZ
'I want X to kiss me.' {EA 8, 025d}

(195) a. *chuń-chopa**-kay**-a=y'ɬi usko n-is wa:ka*
insert-hand-INV-LV=1pl PRO.m.a obl-ART.pl cow
'He gave us the cows.' {EA, Cbba 018}

b. *n-os jayna chuń-cho**<pa~>**pa:-wa--is n-i'ne*
obl-ART.n.p DSC insert-hand<INV~>-NMZ--pl.a obl-PRO.f
'when they handed her to me' {EA, Escape 105}

Unlike the direct marker *-na*, the suffix *-kay* is never retained before another suffix, even when the root is disyllabic:

(196) * *n-os ela**-kay**-wa--us*
obl-ART.n.p leave_behind-INV-NMZ--m.a
('when he left me') {EC, Balvina 011}

The following examples show complex nominalized inverse-marked verbs that contain an applicative suffix. In (197), this is the causative suffix *-poj*, and in (198), it is the benefactive suffix *-kwa*:

(197) a. *net-a-waka-poj**-kay***
drive-DR-cow-CAU-INV
'X makes me drive cattle.' {EC 17, 147}

b. *n-os net-a-waka-**<po~>**poj-wa*
obl-ART drive-DR-cow-<INV~>CAU-NMZ
'when [he] made me drive cattle' {JA, TX 013}

(198) a. *joy-a-ɬe-kwa-n**-kay***
go-DR-CO-BEN-LN-INV
'X took it with him/her etc. for me.' {EC 16, 038}

b. *jay<a:>moɬ bo as joy-a-ɬe-<**kwa~**>kwa-n-wa*
call<DR> REAS ART.n go-DR-CO-<INV~>BEN-LN-NMZ
nosde: ari:wa n-as Samarkon Sela:da, San Pablo de Sela:da.
there top obl-ART.n San_Marco Celada San Pablo de Celada
'I called [him$_i$] so that he would take [him$_j$] for me up there to San Marco Celada, San Pablo de Celada.' {BA, Balvina 204}

To illustrate the meaning difference between a verb with the direct marker and a verb with a reduplication infix indicating inverse voice, the following examples are the direct variants of the verbs in (194)b and (195)b:

(199) *yey-na=n as puru'-**na**:-wa*
want-DR=2 ART.n kiss-DR-NMZ
'Do you want me to kiss [you]?' {EA 8, 025c}

(200) *n-os chut-**a**-chopa:-wa--is*
obl-ART.n.p insert-DR-hand-NMZ--pl.a
'when I handed X over to them' {EC 17, 160a}

Many verbs, when further augmented, do not have any overt voice marking. This is the case with most monovalent bases, of the type shown in 8.7 above. However, many modified verbs without voice marking have an inverse reading, and reduplication is not accepted on them.[211] Consider the following examples:

(201) *n-os **kempa-wa**=y'ɬi n-os ima:yoj*
obl-ART.n.p inform-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n.p morning
'when [he] told us in the morning ...' {JM, Perro II 048}

(202) *n-as koro'-ni-wa kos ji<wa:~>wa di' sal-kay,*
obl-ART.n DM.n.a-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a come<MD~> REL search-INV
*kas **dumme:-wa***
NEG encounter-NMZ
'When there is someone (who) comes, who looks for me, (he/she) doesn't find me.'
{EA, Mi casa 005}

(203) *jayna n-os **joy-ɬe:-wa** us pa:pa=kis majni*
DSC obl-ART.n.p go-CO-NMZ ART.m father_of=ART.pl.a my_child
'then, when the father of my children took me with him...' {BA, TX 035}

Here, the bases *kempa*, *dumme* and *joyɬe* are unmarked for voice. All three would be marked for direct voice by *-a* in second-syllable position. Thus, these bases look like resultative or reflexive/reciprocal intransitive bases, like those described in 8.7.1 above. Actually, these verbs are ambiguous, and the correct reading depends on the context. In the following

[211] All these are verbs contain the allomorph *-a* when marked as bivalent direct.

example, the reading of the nominalized verb *dummewa* is reciprocal, because the text is about how two people met:

(204) *n-os* *rey* *jayna* ***dumme-wa=is***
obl-ART.n.p again DSC encounter-NMZ=pl.a
'when they met' [not: "when X met them"] {HR, TX 183}

Thus, the fact that some inverse verbs, like monovalent verbs, are not marked for voice when morphologically augmented, can cause ambiguities.

8.7.3. Overview of the morphological effect of additional suffixes

Table 27 gives an overview of the verbal endings which are dropped or modified in a derived form. Below, the oppositions between the base types are illustrated by examples.

Table 27. The modification of verbal base endings before additional suffixes

Verb ending		**becomes**
-na	DR	CV~ (optional)
-kay	INV	CVC~ / ø
-eɬe	AGT	*-eɬ*
-cheɬ	R/R	
-'i	D	
RED~	MD	ø
-kwa	BDP	
-ti'	VBZ	

As can be seen, many verb bases become neutral with respect to voice before other suffixes are added, and more research is needed to find out whether ambiguities arise from this.

I will give a final illustration of the opposition between the different processes. The following examples show different verbal bases that contain the labile root *am-* 'enter', which can participate in all voice-marking derivations. In all examples, the suffix *-wa* 'NMZ' is attached, and it can be seen how voice is expressed on the resulting forms.

In (205), the base contains prefixing CV-reduplication, which identifies it as bivalent direct:[212]

(205) *kas* *tenapanɬe:-wa* *as* ***a~'am-wa***
NEG be_able-NMZ ART.n DR~enter-NMZ
'I can't put X in.' {EA, 19, 094a}

In (206), the prefixing CVC-reduplication identifies the base as inverse:

[212] Since the root *am-* 'enter' is vowel-initial, the word-initial consonant that participates in the reduplication is a glottal stop, which only occurs for phonetic reasons and is not represented orthographically (cf. 2.7.1).

(206) *n-os* ***am~****'am-wa*
obl-ART.n.p INV~enter-NMZ
'when X put me into it' {EC 16, 281}

Example (207) is an illustration of the root *am-* with the agentive suffix *-e*ɬ*e*, which is retained (and reduced to *-e*ɬ) before further suffixation. Here, the verb is monovalent, its only core argument encoding the actor.

(207) *yo'-na=is* *is* *kara'a* *bo* *isko* *ɬań* *n-os,* *eney,*
catch-DR=pl.a ART.pl red_macaw REAS PRO.pl.a EV obl-ART.n.p (filler)
am-e*ɬ**-wa=is*** *n-is* *rim-a-*ɬ*e=is* *di'* *dro:ga*
enter-AGT-NMZ=pl.a obl-ART.pl trade-DR-CO=pl.a REL drug
'They caught the red macaws because those, apparently, (were) for them to put in what they sold, which was drugs.' [i.e., the bird dealers said that they used the macaws for smuggling drugs] {EA, Parabas 003}

In (208), finally, the root *am-* is nominalized without any further voice marking. This creates a monovalent verb, the semantic role of its argument not being specified.

(208) *bo* *as* *jayna* ***am****-wa=sne* *n-os* *de:-wa=sne*
REAS ART.n DSC enter-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.n.p lie-NMZ=f.a
'... in order (for her) to get in, to lie down.' {EA, Lagartija 013}

9 Complex verbal bases: incorporation and applicatives

The main characteristic of complex verbal bases is that they consist of several morphemes and are subject to voice alternations (cf. 8.4). In this chapter, the different kinds of complex bases are presented.

The first part of this chapter deals with the two types of noun incorporation, argument incorporation (cf. 9.1) and modifying incorporation (cf. 9.2). Argument incorporation, already introduced in 7.7, is different from all other derivational processes described in this chapter, since the resulting verb is automatically monovalent and does not participate in voice alternations. It is described here in order to contrast it with modifying incorporation. Modifying incorporation, like the processes described later in this chapter, creates a complex base which undergoes voice and valency alternations (as characterized in Ch. 8).

The other processes which create a complex base can be subsumed under the cover term of applicatives. These morphemes allow a verb to take an additional bivalent voice marker or to take a new participant as a core argument. The most straightforward morphemes of this type are the causative suffix *-poj* (cf. 9.3) and the benefactive and malefactive suffixes *-kwa* and *-bij* (cf. 9.4). The suffix *-kwi* or *-pi* 'LOC', which only occurs on semantically bivalent bases, is clearly an applicative morpheme since it introduces a location as an additional undergoer. Other applicative suffixes are more difficult to describe, since their function can vary according to the base they are attached to. Section 9.6 presents the not very productive applicative suffix *-pa*. Sections 9.7 and 9.8 deal with the applicative suffixes *-ɬe* 'co-participant' and *-eɬ* 'applicative', which seem to be very similar in form and function, but have clearly distinct functional and distributional properties. In 9.8, the agentive voice marker *-eɬe* (cf. 8.1.3), phonologically also very similar to these applicative markers, will be brought up again. An overview of the main properties of these three phonologically similar morphemes is provided in Section 9.9.

Other verbal morphemes, which do not interact directly with the voice and valency properties of the verb and which generally have an aspectual or a modal function, are described in Ch. 10.

9.1. Argument incorporation

Argument incorporation was already introduced in 7.7, with the focus on the syntactic effects of this process. In this section, the process is described from the morphological point of view, starting with the morphological properties of the verbal base into which the nominal element is incorporated (cf. 9.1.1) and then describing to the characteristics of the incorporated element (cf. 9.1.2). Section 9.1.3 illustrates cases of lability, in which a verb with an incorporated argument can occur both in an intransitive and in a transitive clause.

Note that the discussion of argument incorporation is far from exhaustive: since it concerns both morphology and syntax, and since it involves different types of lexical morphemes, this phenomenon requires far more research, beyond the scope of the present work.

9.1.1. The base of the incorporating verb

As was illustrated in 7.7 and 8.1.1, argument incorporation involves the insertion of an absolutive argument into a semantically bivalent base, thereby creating a monovalent verb.[213] The base has to be marked as direct because the incorporated argument is always the undergoer. Also, the base has to denote an action whose undergoer is a patient; verbs with a location as undergoer (cf. 8.1.1, 8.3.2) do not participate in argument incorporation.

Example (1)a shows the direct bivalent verb in a transitive clause, and (1)b shows the verb occurring as a monovalent predicate with the incorporated argument (underlined). Here, the argument can be expressed by an oblique NP; recall from 7.7 that the conditions of appearance of the free NP are not clear.

(1) a. *wul-na=n* *kis* *saniya*
sow-DR=2 ART.pl.a melon
'You sow melon.'

b. *ij* *wul-**a**-<u>saniya</u>* *(ni-kis* *saniya)*
2intr sow-DR-melon obl-ART.pl.a melon
'You sow melon.'

The form and position of the direct voice marker depends on the rules described in 8.1.1. In (1)b, due to the attachment of the noun and the availability of the second-syllable position, the direct voice marker is represented by the base-internal allomorph *-a*. When the second-syllable slot of the base is occupied, the direct voice marker is represented by its base-final allomorph *-na*. This can be seen in (2), where the verb root is disyllabic. Again, the incorporated construction (cf. (2)b) is contrasted with the periphrastic construction (cf. (2)a). Note that in (2)b, the pronoun is not cliticized, since the verb has become monovalent, and the former ARG_1 is the absolutive argument of the intransitive clause. (This shows that the ending *-na*, by itself, does not trigger argument encoding by an internal clitic.)

(2) a. *jara'-na='ne* *is* *mova:-kwa*
throw_away-DR=f ART.pl litter-ABS
'She throws away the litter.'

b. *jara'-<u>mova:</u>**-na*** *i'ne*
throw_away-BR.litter-DR PRO.f
'She throws away the litter.' {EC 1, 324}

On certain bases, the direct marker is represented by its allomorph *-cha* 'DR2' (already introduced in 8.1.1). This concerns complex bases, but also some disyllabic roots which may be historically complex. Examples of these, which stem from spontaneous discourse, are given in (3) and (4):

[213] This is in contrast to modifying incorporation (cf. 9.2), where the resulting complex verb can be modified for voice.

(3) *ya:lowe-cha-rulrullo*
drink-DR2-jaguar:BR.liquid
'to drink tiger milk (hot milk with alcohol)' {AH, EA&AH 107}

(4) *n-as choń tikoy-cha-jo'me:-wa, a'ko choń ja'*
obl-ART.n HAB kill-DR2-bird-NMZ PRO.n HAB just
chon-e:-na as woro-'kwa n-as kay-wa
right-?-DR ART.n throat-ABS obl-ART.n eat-NMZ
'Every time I slaughter chicken, I get only the neck to eat.'
[lit.: "… I go directly for the neck in my eating."] {EA12, 333j}

The following examples illustrate verbs with analysable complex bases that take an incorporated argument. Here, the incorporated argument is always preceded by the suffix *-cha* 'DR2', also when the verb already contains a direct voice marker. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate verbs containing both an incorporated modifier (*-cho* 'BR.inside' and *-píń* 'BE.half', respectively; cf. 9.2) and an incorporated argument.

(5) *i'ne loj-a-cho-cha:-do*
PRO.f wash-DR-BR.inside-DR2-TRC.plate
'She washes dishes.' {EA 14, 031}

(6) *kilniwa lat-a-píń**-cha:**-ra n-is koya='ne*
DM.el.d.f chop-DR-BE.half-DR2-BE.firewood obl-ART.pl tree_of=f
'She is chopping her firewood (I hear her).' {EA 13, 099}

The complex base in (7) contains the marker *-łe* 'co-participant' (cf. 9.7 below):

(7) *rim-a-łe**-cha:**-to kus don Nataniel no-kos*
buy-DR-CO-DR2-TRC.hat ART.m.a Don Nataniel obl-ART.n.a
chorankwanto
hat
'Don Nataniel sold a hat.' {EA 14, 033c sp}

Example (8) shows that complex bases can incorporate complex nouns (here: *wa:ka-to:da* cow-piece, meat):

(8) *oso'-ni-wa os rey waka:-pa di' rey*
DM.n.p-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p again cow-AG REL again
*rim-a-łe**-cha**-wa:kato:da, ka:'i*
trade-DR-CO-DR2-cow:BR.piece no
'There was no butcher who would sell meat, no.' {GB, Ganado 084}

Example (9) shows that the order of incorporated elements is not arbitrary. The element *poy* 'BR.animal' (underlined) denotes the undergoer of the event, the element *-moł* 'TRC.bush' (bold) denotes a place. Therefore, when *poy* is incorporated, as in (9)a, the verb becomes

monovalent. In contrast, when *-moɬ* is incorporated, as in (9)b, the verb remains bivalent; this identifies *-moɬ* as an incorporated modifier (cf. 9.2), creating a verb that can undergo voice alternations. Both can cooccur in the same verb, and then, the modifying element (*-moɬ*) has to come first, as in (9)c; otherwise, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (9)d.

(9) a. *net-a:-poy* *n-is* *wa:ka*
drive-DR-BR.animal obl-ART.pl cow
'to drive cattle'

b. *net-a:-**moɬ*** *is* *wa:ka*
drive-DR-TRC.bush ART.pl cow
'I drive cattle inside the forest.'

c. *net-a-**moɬ**-cha:-poy*
drive-DR-TRC.bush-DR2-BR.animal
'to drive cattle in the forest'

d.* *net-a-poy-cha:-**moɬ***
drive-DR-BR.animal-DR2-TRC.bush {EC, Jovina 069}

However, while verbs with an incorporated argument have many parallels with "normal" monovalent verbs whose argument is or includes the actor (i.e., not resultative verbs), there is one important difference: when a verb with an incorporated argument occurs in an NP, the NP refers to the undergoer, not to the actor, as it would with a ordinary active monovalent verb (cf. 7.10, 8.2). Compare the meaning of the NP with a non-incorporating monovalent verb in (10) with that of the NP with an incorporating verb in (11) (repeated from 7.10):

(10) *kas rey oso'-ni-wa* *os* *ka<ma:>may*
NEG again DM.n.p-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p yell<MD~>
'There was no (one who) yelled.' {HR TX 358}

(11) *taḿ-vo:s-eɬ* *is* ***loj-a-'oj**-a=is* *juyeni*
get_down-BE.wood-APPL ART.pl wash-DR-BE.clothes-LV=ART.pl person
'The peoples' laundry fell down.' (not: "the people's washing ones fell down.")
{EA 19, 156 sp}

The NP in (10) refers to the actor in the event, whereas the NP in (11) refers to the undergoer. However, when functioning as predicates, both verbs encode the actor as the core argument:

(12) ***ka<ma:~>may*** *as pa:ko*
yell<MD~> ART.n dog
'The dog barked.' {EA, Antes de la fiesta 007}

(13) ***loj-a:-oj*** *is juyeni*
wash-DR-BE.clothes ART.pl person
'The people wash clothes.' {EA 19, 012d}

To be able to occur in an NP referring to the actor, a verb with an incorporated argument has to take the nominalizing suffix *-pa*, which creates an agentive noun (cf. 11.2):

(14) *kiro' kis de<ja:~>jal, kiro' kis loj-a-'oj-**pa***
DM.pl.a ART.pl.a cook<MD~> DM.pl.a ART.pl.a wash-DR-BE.clothes-AG
'There are (people who) cook, there are washerwomen.' {EA, Asilo 020}

Thus, argument incorporation creates some patterns which differ from the voice and valency patterns of other verbs. On these grounds, it can be speculated that incorporation belongs to the later processes in the grammar, especially since it occurs after the verb has been assigned a particular valency and voice status.

9.1.2. Properties of the incorporated element

While the previous section described verbal bases that incorporate an argument, the present section discusses the types of elements that can be incorporated in the process of argument incorporation.

At the beginning of this section, examples were given that show that argument incorporation can involve a full noun, such as *saniya* 'melon' in (1), *rulrullo* 'jaguar milk' in (3), or *jo'me* 'bird' in (4). It can also involve a bound nominal element, i.e. a bound root, such as *mova* 'BR.litter' in (2), a truncated form, such as *-do* 'TRC.plate' in (5), or an unanalysable bound element, such as *-ra* 'firewood' in (6). The reasons for the choice of either a full noun or a bound form are not entirely clear. I will outline some basic criteria.

First of all, for some nouns, there exists no corresponding short form, such as a bound root, truncated element, or other. These nouns can only be incorporated in their independent form, as in the following examples:

(15) *n-os choń pul-a-lolos-wa=y'łi n-os lo:los*
obl-ART.n.p HAB sweep-DR-yard-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n.p yard
'always when we swept the yard …' {EA, Aros II 032}

(16) *loy iń nis-a-wenta:na*
ITN 1intr wipe_clean-DR-window
'I'll wipe the window clean.' {EA 13, 163}

Nouns for which there is a corresponding bound form (cf. 5.3) can either be incorporated in their bound or in their independent form. There is no categorial restriction on this: the free noun and the bound element can be semantically equivalent, such as is the case, for example, with *po~poy-kwa* 'animal' and *poy* 'BR.animal' (cf. (17) below), *to:mi* 'water' and *-mi* 'TRC.water', *chinała* 'manioc' and *-pa* 'BE.manioc'. The independent noun can also belong to a taxonomic class which can be represented by a bound element; examples of these are

rulrul ‘jaguar’, which can be replaced by *poy* ‘BR.animal’, or *jo’me* ‘bird’, which can be replaced by *mo* ‘BE.bird’.

In (17), a case where there is a semantically equivalent bound and free form (*poy* and *popoykwa*, respectively), both these forms can be incorporated. The only overt difference between the two constructions is that when the bound form is incorporated, the independent NP can be added as an oblique argument (cf. (17)a). When the independent noun is incorporated, the additional oblique NP is considered awkward (cf. (17)b).

(17) a. *loy* *iń* *sal-a:-poy* *(ni-kis* *po~poy-kwa)*
ITN 1intr search-DR-BR.animal obl-ART.pl.a RED~BR.animal-ABS
‘I’ll look for animals.’

b.*?* *loy* *iń* *sal-a-popoykwa* *ni-kis* *po~poy-kwa*
ITN 1intr search-DR-animal:ABS obl-ART.pl.a RED~BR.animal-ABS
‘I’ll look for animals.’ {EA 9, 045}

The following is an example of both these constructions within one sentence, which occurred in spontaneous discourse. The first part contains a (nominalized) verb with an incorporated bound root (*buń* ‘BR.mud’) and the additional oblique NP *nis bubuńkwa*. Here, the speaker hesitates, not finishing the noun *bubuńkwa* ‘mud’. She replaces the entire subordinate clause by a clause whose predicate contains the full incorporated noun (*bubuńkwa* ‘mud’).

(18) *manes-pa-na=‘i* *as* *kay-a-buń-wa=i* *n-is*
tasty-APPL-DR=pl ART.n eat-DR-BR.mud-NMZ-pl obl-ART.pl
bu~buń-..., *as* *kay-a-bubuńkwa*
RED~BR.mud-… ART.n eat-DR-mud:APPL
‘They like to eat mu-, to eat mud.’ [a joke, speaking about dark *chivé* mass; lit.: “They like the mud-eating of mu-, the mud-eating.”] {JA, Tuncho 022}

One motivation for the incorporation of a full noun instead of the corresponding bound form may be the frequent homophony of bound elements (cf. 5.3.5). So, for example, the bound element *do* can be used to refer to a plate (truncated from *cha:do* ‘plate’) as well to a large round object (related to *do~do:-kwa* ‘big seed’). Accordingly, the verb in (19)a is more specific than the one in (19)b, which can be made specific by adding a full NP:

(19) a. *loy* *iń* *loj-a-cha:do*
ITN 1intr wash-DR-plate
‘I’ll wash the dishes.’

b. *loy* *iń* *loj-a:-do* *(n-is* *cha:do)*
ITN 1intr wash-DR-TRC.plate obl-ART.pl plate
‘I’ll wash the dishes.’ {HR 15, 143}

In some cases, there is a difference in meaning, depending on whether the full noun or the bound element is incorporated; consider the following example, which suggests some

lexicalization when the bound element is incorporated:

(20) a. *sal-a-to:mi*
search-DR-water
'to look for water (for drinking)'

b. *sal-a:-mi*
search-DR-TRC.water
'to search for water underground (in order to dig a well)' {GC 10, 155}

The possibility of incorporating a full noun instead of a bound element into a verb may also depend on the textual frequency of a verb with a particular bound element. This may be related to the degree of institutionalization of the denoted action. For example, the complex verbs in (21) and (22) are very frequent, and they denote institutionalized activities:

(21)	a.	*il-a:-'oj*	'to hang up clothes'	(spread-DR-BE.clothes)
	b.	*loj-a:-'oj*	'to do the washing'	(wash-DR-BE.clothes)
	b.	*sit-a:-'oj*	'to tailor'	(sew-DR-BE.clothes)
(22)	a.	*raɬ-a:-pa*	'to pull out (harvest) manioc roots'	(tear-DR-BE.manioc)
	b.	*boɬ-a:-pa*	'to scrape manioc'	(scrape-DR-BE.manioc)
	c.	*jiɬ-a:-pa*	'to grate manioc'	(grate-DR-BE.manioc)

In contrast, it seems that the full noun is often incorporated when the action denoted by the verb is less closely connected to a specific type of undergoer. For example, the verb root *duk* 'grind' is freely combined with bound elements referring to entities that can be ground. The incorporation of the full noun contrasts these different types of object.

(23)	*duk-a-chinaɬa*	'to grind manioc'	(grind-DR-manioc)
	duk-a-kwajta'	'to grind maize'	(grind-DR-maize)
	duk-a-pe:re	'to grind plantains'	(grind-DR-plantain)
	duk-a-ro:so	'to grind rice'	(grind-DR-TRC.rice)
	etc.		

Grinding, however, the action denoted by verb root *duk-*, is most commonly associated with cereals, e.g. rice. Therefore, it occurs most frequently with the incorporated bound element *di* 'BR.grain':

(24) *duk-a:-di* 'to grind cereals'

Consequently, the less an action is associated with one particular type of undergoer, the more productive full noun incorporation is with the verb denoting this action. Verbs with the root *sal-* 'search' form a good example. The words in (25) are from texts, and elicitation has also

shown that all kinds of nouns can be inserted into a base formed with *sal-* 'search':[214]

(25)	*sal-a-ka:na*	'to look for food'	(*ka:na* 'food')	{EA, Dialogue 109}
	sal-a-ka:ram	'to look for lizards'	(*ka:ram* 'lizard')	{EG, Cazando 005}
	sal-a-pe:re	'to look for plantains'	(*pe:re* 'plantain')	{EG, Cazando 025}
	sal-a-to:wa	'to look for a path'	(*to:wa* 'path')	{DM, Dawjes 014}
	sal-a-ko'o	'to look for firewood'	(*ko'o* 'tree, firewood')	{EA, Patrona 031}

Certain nouns, however, cannot be incorporated. These are nouns with specific reference, like proper names, kinship terms, or relational nouns (Ch. 6). In (26) and (27), the ungrammaticality of verbs with an incorporated relational noun is shown:

(26) * *yey-a-bayɬim*
want-DR-field
('to want/like one's field') {EA 13, 112c}

(27) * *il-a-do'we*
spread-DR-clothes
('to spread one's clothes') {JM 18, 052}

Part of whole terms can only be incorporated as modifiers (cf. 9.2).

To sum up, argument incorporation has the following defining characteristics:

- It only occurs on semantically bivalent bases (containing *-a/-na* 'DR' or *-cha* 'DR2').
- It creates a monovalent verb.
- It is very productive with both full nouns and bound nominal elements.

9.1.3. Lability

While the defining feature of argument incorporation is that of valency reduction, there are examples which show that apparently, some verbs with an incorporated element are labile: they can also be used as the predicate of a transitive clause. Compare the clauses under a. and b. in the following examples. The examples under a. contain intransitive clause with a verb with an incorporated argument, and under b., the same verb occurs in a transitive clause:[215]

(28)	a.	*i'ne*	*det-a:-vas*	*(n-is*	*kwajta'-vas)*
		PRO.f	toast-DR-BR.powder	obl-ART.pl	maize-BR.powder
	~ b.	*i'ne*	*det-a-vas-a='ne*	*is*	*kwajta'-vas*
		PRO.f	toast-DR-BR.powder-LV=f	ART.pl	maize-BR.powder
		'She toasts (the) maize flour.'			{EA 13, 277a}

[214] The case of (17), where the bound root *buń* 'BR.mud' is replaced by a full incorporated noun, may also be explained in this way. Eating mud is not a typical activity, and therefore, the speaker prefers to incorporate the full noun instead of the bound root.

[215] With respect to the transitive clause, my consultant pointed out that it implied that the action would be carried out immediately. Adequate contexts for testing this still need to be found.

(29) a. *loy* *iń* *nis-a-sa:sa* *(n-is* *me:sa)*
ITN 1intr wipe_clean-DR-TRC.table obl-ART.pl table

~ b. *loy* *iɬ* *nis-a-sa:sa* *is* *me:sa*
ITN 1 wipe_clean-DR-TRC.table ART.pl table
'I'll clean the tables.' [e.g., in a restaurant] {EA 13, 160}

The valency alternation of these verbs is confirmed by the applicability of the imperative suffixes (cf. 8.6). Example (30)a illustrates the expected form with the monovalent imperative marker *-ki*. In (30)b, in contrast, the base is marked as bivalent by the direct imperative marker *-ti*, which replaces the direct voice marker *-a*:

(30) a. *det-a-vas-ki* *n-is* *kwajta'-vas*
toast-DR-BR.powder-IMP.MV obl-ART.pl maize-BR.powder

~ b. *deń-vas-**ti*** *is* *kwajta'-vas*
toast-BR.powder-IMP.DR ART.pl maize-BR.powder
'Toast the maize flour!' {EA 19, 036}

A crucial property of syntactically bivalent predicates with an incorporated argument seems to be that the clause obligatorily contains an independent NP representing ARG_2, in addition to the incorporated element. Without this NP, the clause is generally considered ungrammatical. Example (31)a shows a verb with an incorporated argument in an intransitive clause. Here, as in the canonical cases of argument incorporation (cf. 7.7 and 9.1.1), the additional NP is not obligatory. Example (31)b shows the same verb in a transitive clause, identified by the internally cliticized ARG_1 pronoun, *='ne*, and the unmarked NP representing ARG_2. In contrast to ordinary transitive clauses (cf. 7.1), the ARG_2 NP is obligatory here: its omission leads to ungrammaticality, as shown by (31)c.

(31) a. *kine'e=s* *dichi:ye* *chuk-a:-ba* *(n-is* *manka)*
DM.std.f=DET child knock_down-DR-BR.round obl-ART.pl mango
'That girl is knocking down mangos.'

~ b. *kine'e=s* *dichi:ye* *chuk-a-ba='ne* *is* *manka*
DM.std.f=DET child knock_down-DR-BR.round=f ART.pl mango

c. * *kine'e=s* *dichi:ye* *chuk-a-ba='ne*
DM.std.f=DET child knock_down-DR-BR.round=f {JM 19, 025}

The alternation in valency shown in (30) does not apply to all verbs with an incorporated argument. Examples (32) and (33) illustrate cases of incorporating verbs in which the transitive construction is rejected.

(32) a. *iń* *jił-a:-pa* *ni-kis* *chinała*
1intr grate-DR-BE.manioc obl-ART.pl.a manioc
'I grate manioc.'

b.* *ił* *jił-a:-pa* *kis* *chinała*
1 grate-DR-BE.manioc ART.pl.a manioc {EA, 14, 121c}

(33) a. *loy* *iń* *lat-a:-vos* *n-is* *ko'*
ITN 1intr chop-DR-BE.wood obl-ART.pl firewood
'I'll chop the firewood.'

b.* *loy* *ił* *lat-a:-**vos*** *is* *ko'*
ITN 1 chop-DR-BE.wood ART.pl firewood {EC 18, 327}

With respect to the following examples, it is hard to say if these represent cases of argument incorporation. As was tested in elicitation, the verbs here can only be used in transitive clauses, although the incorporated elements clearly indicate the type of undergoer involved in the action ('mud' in (34), 'dust' in (35), and 'animal' in (36)). These may be borderline cases between argument incorporation and classificatory modifying incorporation (cf. 9.2.6 below).

(34) *loj-a-but-a=n* *kis* *mo'incho:-buń*
wash-DR-BR.mass-LV=2 ART.pl.a *chivé*-BR.mass
'You wash the manioc mass.' {EA, Uso yuca 004}

(35) *as* *lu'~lu'* *poy-a-**vus**-a=a* *as* *vus-kwa*
ART.n RED~rain wet-DR-BR.dust-LV=n ART.n BR.dust-ABS
'The rain wets the dust [in the street].' {EG 18, 298a sp}

(36) *bo* *juma-ra=us--kas* *che* *yey-a-**poy**-a=us*
REAS need-BE.ntr=m.a--n.a.OBV and want-DR-BR.animal-LV=m.a
'Because he appreciated it [the dog] and liked (it).' {JM, Perro II 058}

As can be seen, no clear pattern could as yet be discovered which may account for the acceptability of some incorporating verbs in transitive clauses and the inacceptability of others.

An important criterion which needs to be kept in mind when examining the lability of incorporating verbs is the construction in which the verb occurs. As was shown in (11) above, when a verb with an incorporated argument occurs in an NP, the NP is marked as possessed. Since possessive marking is identical to transitive person marking (cf. 6.1 and 7.1, 7.2), this similarity can lead to the conclusion that the verb is bivalent, even though this is not the case. To illustrate the point, example (37)a shows the usual construction with a verb with an incorporated argument in an intransitive clause, as can be seen from the fact that the only core argument is represented by an external clitic. In (37)b, the verb occurs in an NP (underlined), which is marked as possessed by an internal clitic. That this does not imply that the verb can be used as a transitive predicate is shown by the ungrammaticality of (37)c, where the verb

occurs with an internally cliticized pronoun and an NP that is not marked as oblique.

(37) a. *yeɬ-a:**-mi**--'ne* *ni-kis* *to:mi*
pour-DR-TRC.water--f obl-ART.pl.a water
'She poured water (into sth.).'

b. *to:mi* *kis* *yeɬ-a**-mi**='ne*
water ART.pl.a pour-DR-TRC.water=f
'It (was) water she poured (nothing else).'

c. * *yeɬ-a**-mi**='ne* *kis* *to:mi*
pour-DR-TRC.water=f ART.pl.a water {EA 14, 249}

In any case, the apparent lability of some verbs with an incorporated argument requires further investigation. The questions to be answered include:

- Are we dealing with two homophonous bound elements here (comparable to example (38) below)?
- Is it the syntactic construction that makes the difference, e.g., the presence of an independent NP?
- Are these verbs on their way to lexicalization, so that the direct marker is interpreted as a valency marker for the entire verb?

9.2. Modifying incorporation

Modifying incorporation has the defining characteristic of creating a complex base which undergoes voice and valency alternations. Other properties which distinguish this process from argument incorporation are that it has more different functions, not all of them clearly identifiable, that it has a strong tendency towards lexicalization, and that it often involves different bound nominal elements than those occurring in argument incorporation.[216]

Before going into details, compare first the following example of a clause with an incorporated argument (cf. (38)a) with that of a clause with a homophonous incorporated modifier (cf. (38)b):

(38) a. *loy* *iṅ* *il-a:-cho* *n-is* *mo'incho*
ITN 1intr spread-DR-TRC.*chivé* obl-ART.pl *chivé*
'I'll spread the *chivé*.'

[216] Note that the terms "modifying incorporation" or "incorporated modifier" do not imply that the incorporated elements are adjectives. They are nouns or bound nominal elements which modify the meaning of the verb.

b. *loy* *iɬ* *il-a:**-cho*** *as* *sapa'mo*
ITN 1 spread-DR-BR.inside ART.n calabash
'I'll put the calabash with the open side in the sun [so that it dries inside].'[217]
{EA 13, 317b sp}

In (38)a, a case of argument incorporation, the incorporated nominal element *-cho* is a truncation of the noun *mo'incho* '*chivé*' and represents the undergoer of the event. Due to the incorporation of this element, the verb becomes monovalent, which can be seen from the fact that the first-person actor is encoded by a pronoun of Set 2 (*iń*), and that the NP referring to the undergoer is oblique. In (38)b, in contrast, the incorporated element does not represent the undergoer itself, but the inside part of the undergoer participant, with respect to which the action is carried out. Despite the incorporation, the verb remains bivalent: the first-person actor is represented by a pronoun of Set 1 (*iɬ*) and the undergoer is represented by an unmarked NP.

Thus, the main formal criterion for distinguishing modifying from argument incorporation is that when the verb contains the direct voice marker, but is nevertheless monovalent, this is argument incorporation. Furthermore, a verb with an incorporated modifier does not necessarily contain the direct voice marker. Rather, it can, in principle, undergo all voice modifications, described in section 9.2.1.

The subsequent sections describe the types of modifying incorporation that could be identified so far. The most productive process is incorporation of body-part terms (cf. 9.2.2). Some bound elements, which only occur as incorporated modifiers, can also be identified as part-of-whole terms (cf. 9.2.3). Elements denoting the Ground (location or goal) with respect to which an event takes place are also productively incorporated (cf. 9.2.4 below); here, incorporation is always accompanied by the suffixation of the applicative marker *-eɬ*, described in 9.8.3 below. The incorporation of an element indicating an "instrument", i.e., an entitiy which is involved in, but not affected by, the event, is not very productive. The few cases which can be characterized in this way are shown in 9.2.5. Another type of modifying incorporation can be seen as "classificatory" (cf. 9.2.6): here, a classificatory bound element is incorporated which can also be incorporated as an argument; however, the verb does not undergo valency reduction. After this outline of the five basic semantic types identified so far, I briefly discuss cases in which two synonymous elements are used according to the type of incorporation (cf. 9.2.7); cases in which more than one modifying element is incorporated (cf. 9.2.8); bases which obligatorily take an incorporated element (cf. 9.2.9). The problem of lexicalization will be addressed briefly in 9.2.10.

Note, finally, that many elements which I analyse as incorporated modifiers in this grammar cannot as yet be assigned a particular morphological class, and it is even difficult to identify their meaning. I analyse them as incorporated nominal elements because, unlike grammatical suffixes, they are not very productive, and unlike incorporated arguments, they modify the meaning of the verb without influencing its valency, and are not found as independent nouns. In this section, however, I will concentrate on the more transparent cases.

[217] These examples were offered spontaneously by my consultant in order to point out the difference between ***iń*** *ila:cho* and ***iɬ*** *ila:cho*.

9.2.1. Voice alternations of verbs with an incorporated modifier

Since modifying incorporation, unlike argument incorporation, does not by itself have an effect on the valency or voice properties of a verb, verbs with an incorporated modifier can, in principle, undergo all voice alternations. A direct bivalent verb with an incorporated modifier could be seen in (38)b above. The following are examples of a verb with an incorporated modifier (*loto* 'BR.ear') in the inverse voice: in (39), the inverse form is the main-clause predicate, and in (40), it is a nominalized predicate of a subordinate clause, the inverse voice being marked by reduplication (cf. 3.7.3, 8.7.2).

(39) *che* *deń-loto:-kay* *is* *fantasi:ya*
and infect-BR.ear-INV ART.pl costume_jewellery[218]
'And the costume jewellery harms my ears.' [lit.: "… harms me ear-wise"]
{EA, Aros 053}

(40) *che* *is* *o:ro* *kas* *deń**-lo<to~>to:**-wa,* *ka:* *rey*
and ART.pl gold NEG infect-BR.ear-<INV~>-NMZ no again
'And gold doesn't harm my ears, not at all.' {EA, Aros 055}

When a verb with an incorporated modifier does not contain a voice marker, it denotes the resultative state (cf. 8.1.5):

(41) *jayna* ***tam-ba:kwa**,* *jayna* *iń* ***tam-ba:kwa*** *rey* *jayna*
DSC cut-head DSC 1intr cut-head again DSC
'Then [I] will be without head [lit. "head-cut-off"], I'll be without head then.'
[jokingly: when I cut off my head because I don't remember things]
{AH, EA&AH 056}

To illustrate the difference between modifier and argument incorporation, the examples in (42) show that the voice markers of a verb with an incorporated argument cannot be omitted to indicate the resultative state. In (42)a, the canonical construction with an incorporated argument is given. Example (42)b shows that the direct voice marker cannot be omitted from a verb with an incorporated argument. The resultative state can only be expressed by the verb root alone, i.e., combined with the dummy element -*'i*, as in (42)c.

(42) a. *loy* *iń* *tan**-a:-**di* *ni-kis* *aro:so*
ITN 1intr cut-DR-BR.grain obl-ART.pl.a rice
'I'll harvest rice.'

b. **tan-di* *kis* *aro:so*
cut-BR.grain ART.pl.a rice
('The rice is harvested.')

[218] This term is borrowed from Spanish *joyas de fantasía* 'costume jewellery'.

c. ***tan-'i*** *kis* *aro:so*
cut-D ART.pl.a rice
'The rice is harvested.' {NC 15, 036}

Many verbs with an incorporated modifier can also undergo middle reduplication (cf. 8.4):

(43) *jayna* *iń* *ba:-<do:~>don* *ja'* *inła,* *asko=ł* *je'e*
DSC 1intr finish-<MD~>blood just PRO.1sg PRO.n.a=1 my_state
'I was just bleeding to death [lit.: "blood-finishing"], that's how I was.'
{EA, Cbba 111}

Examples (44) and (45) illustrate verbs with an incorporated modifier combined with the reflexive/reciprocal and the agentive marker, respectively. As was already observed in 8.4, the reflexive/reciprocal suffix is rare on complex bases, which preferably occur as resultative or middle verbs (cf. (41) and (43), respectively) when referring to an event in which the actor is affected.

(44) *raɬ-risa:-cheɬ*
tear-BR.hair-R/R
'to pull out each other's hair' {EC, Lo'im 028}

(45) *raɬ-**pit-e:ɬe*** *n-is* *kade:na*
tear-BE.half-AGT obl-ART.pl chain
'[It] tore its chain (in halves).' {EG, Cazando 147}

As far as the verbal roots are concerned that can be combined with a modifying element, these are much more varied than in the case of argument incorporation. Bivalent roots are most productive, but incorporated modifiers also occur regularly with monovalent roots denoting a position (cf. 9.2.4) and with middle roots (such as *deń-* 'infect' in (39) and (40)). An incorporated modifier can also occur in a monovalent verb containing the verbalizer *-ni* (cf. 11.9); here, the element *-ni* is part of the base into which the bound element is inserted, and not a suffix attached afterwards:

(46) a. *bo* *n-os* *kay-wa=sne* *tivij-**chodowi:**-ni* *ɬań*
REAS obl-ART.n.p eat-NMZ=f.a pain-belly-PRC EV
'Because when she ate, apparently here stomach ached.' {EA, Flaca 009}

b.* *tivij-**chodowi***
pain-belly

A crucial fact about verbs with an incorporated modifier is that there are many cases in which the verb root cannot be properly identified, since it cannot occur alone with just a voice marker:

(47) a. *jem-buṅ* ‘to be full of mud’ (cover-BR.mud)
b.* *jem-**na*** (‘I cover X.’) (cover-DR) {EC 16, 201a}

(48) a. *dol-a:-mi* ‘I fill X with water.’ (full-DR-TRC.water)
b.* *dol-**na*** (‘I fill X.’) (full-DR) {JM 18, 143}

These roots can be grouped together with those described in 9.2.9 below, which are obligatorily combined with a bound element.

In the following sections, I give a preliminary classification of the types of elements that can be incorporated as modifiers.

9.2.2. Incorporation of body-part terms

The incorporation of body-part terms is the most transparent type of modifying incorporation: here, a noun is incorporated which can also occur independently. As is illustrated in (49), this process allows the possessor of the body part to be expressed as the absolutive argument. In (49)a, the body-part term occurs in an argument NP, and in (49)b, it is incorporated, so that the possessor occurs in the argument NP:

(49) a. *loy iɬ tan-na as risa-<kwa~>kwa=‘ne*
ITN 1 cut-DR ART.n BR.hair-<INAL~>ABS=f
‘I’ll cut her hair.’

b. *loy iɬ tan-a-**ri:sa** i’nes kwe:ya*
ITN 1 cut-DR-BR.hair ART.f.prs woman
‘I’ll cut the woman’s hair.’ [lit. “I’ll cut the woman with respect to her hair.”]
{EA 14, 241}

Once the body-part term is incorporated, it cannot be expressed by a free NP anymore:

(50) a. *loy iṅ loj-ba:ri*
ITN 1intr wash-foot
‘I’ll wash my feet.’ [lit.: “I’ll foot-wash.”]

b.* *loy iṅ loj-**ba:ri** ni-kis ba:ri*
ITN 1intr wash-foot obl-ART.pl.a foot {EA 9, 048}

When a noun contains the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* when ocurring independently (cf. 6.5), as in (49) above, only its root is incorporated. This is in contrast to argument incorporation, where the full noun can be incorporated (cf. 9.1.2). Example (51)a is of the same pattern as (49)b. Here we see a bivalent verb denoting an action whose undergoer is affected with respect to a particular body part. In (51)b, in contrast, the noun is incorporated together with the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*. The suffix indicates that the noun denotes a separate entity undergoing the action. This is a case of argument incorporation, which has a valency-decreasing effect. As illustrated by (51)c, an unmarked body-part term cannot be incorporated

in this construction, since a relational noun cannot participate in argument incorporation (cf. 9.1.2, examples (26) and (27)).

(51) a. *loy* *i̱ɬ* *is-a-κωιντο*
ITN 1 roast-DR-cheek
'I'll burn your cheek.'

b. *loy* *iń* *is-a-**kwinto:kwa***
ITN 1intr roast-DR-cheek:ABS
'I'll roast [meat of] cheek.'

c. * *loy* *iń* *is-a-**kwinto***
ITN 1intr roast-DR-cheek {EA 12, 325}

The following text examples show verbs with incorporated relational body-part terms.

(52) *bay-ka-mora-na=sne* *usko*
knock-MLT-fact-DR=f.a PRO.m.a
'She hit him repeatedly in the face.' {EA, Golpearse 012}

(53) *jayna* *peń-na--'ne,* *tol-a-**cho:pa**--'ne* *reyka* *jayna*
DSC greet-DR--f touch-DR-hand--f again DSC
'Then I greeted her, I shook hands with her again.' [lit.: "I hand-touched her."]
{EA, Visita 073}

(54) *jayna* *ń* *tivij-**mosi:**-ni,* *tivij-ni* *as*
DSC 1intr pain-BR.lower_back-PRC pain-PRC ART.n
mosi-<kwa:~>kwa
lower_back-<INAL~>ABS
'Then I had pain in my back, my back hurt.' {DM, Fracaso 014}

9.2.3. Other part-of-whole terms as incorporated modifiers

As could be seen in 9.2.2, modifying incorporation can serve the purpose of specifying the affected part of the undergoer of an event. This does not only concern body parts. Typical incorporated bound nominal elements denoting parts of wholes include *-pit* 'half, middle' and *-cho* 'inside'. In (55), examples of verbs with the bound element *-pit* 'half, middle' are given.

(55) *tam-piń* 'to be cut through'
kaḿ-piń 'to be broken (a long object)'
suḿ-piń 'to be tied around the middle'
vi'-piń 'to lie across sth. (e.g. a tree across a road)'
juɬ-piń 'to be hugged around the waist'

The core meaning of the element *-cho* is that the object is affected in such a way that its inside is visible (cf. (38)b above). The following are more verbs containing this element:

(56) *peɬ-cho* 'to be torn open'
eɬ-cho 'to be bitten open (e.g. fruits)'
paj-cho 'to be parted (e.g. a fruit)'
loj-cho 'to be washed inside (e.g. a cup)'
da'-cho 'to be cut open at a surgery'
paj-cho 'to be cut open, in halves'

The meaning of other bound nominal elements found in verbal bases is more difficult to identify. Another bound element denoting a part of whole may be *to* 'BE.side', probably truncated from *to:maj* 'my side'. It occurs in some words whose first part is not semantically identifiable and not productively combined with other bound elements. This is the case, for example, with the roots *bas-* and *nen-* in (57):

(57) *da'* *iṅ* *bas-to* *da'* *nen-to:-na* *ney,* *daya'* *iṅ* *bas-to*
DUR.nst 1intr ?-BE.side DUR.nst ?-BE.side-DR here DUR.nst 1intr ?-BE.side
'I was lying on my side, on my side like this, I was lying on my side.'
{EA, Anoche 012}

There are probably more incorporated elements which denote a part of whole. The elements *-pit* and *-cho* can be seen as prototypical examples.

Verbs containing a bound element denoting a part of whole, including body-parts, are very productive for subsequent argument incorporation (cf. 9.1.1):

(58) *loy* *iṅ* *loj-a-**cho**-cha-**wa:so***
ITN 1intr wash-DR-BR.inside-DR2- glass
'I'll wash the glass inside.' {EA 13, 072b}

(59) *kino'* *tan-a-**risa**-cha:-**ye***
DM.f.a cut-DR-BR.hair-DR2-BE.person
'She is cutting hair.' {EA 13, 270}

9.2.4. Incorporated elements denoting the Ground

Modifying incorporation is very productive for indicating of the Ground (i.e., a goal or location) with respect to which an event takes place.[219] These verbs are generally combined with the suffix *-eɬ*, unless they end in a lateral fricative. In addition, they can be combined with the agentive voice marker *-eɬe*, unlike other verbs with an incorporated modifier. Both these phenomena will be discussed in detail in section 9.8.3 below.

[219] The term Ground is adopted from Talmy (1985); see also Section 4.7.2.

Any noun denoting an entity which can serve as a location or goal of a particular event can be incorporated. Consider the following examples:

(60) *bań-**dimpa:**-neɬ as awaro*
put-finger-APPL ART.n parrot
'The parrot sits on my finger.' {JM, 2 222}

(61) *kas isko-ni-wa rey ja' ena' kamay-**chorada**-neɬ*
NEG PRO.pl.a-PRC-NMZ again just DUR.std yell-street-APPL
'Those were not just yelling in the street.' {HR TX 351}

(62) *jayna dok-a-**chi**-neɬ, pe'-na=y'ɬi os rulrul*
DSC put_on-DR-BR.carrying_pole-APPL lift-DR=1pl ART.n.p jaguar
'Then we put it on a carrying pole, we lifted the jaguar.' {EA, Jaguar 174}

When the incorporated element ends in the lateral fricative /ɬ/, the applicative suffix is omitted (cf. 9.8). Thus, examples (63)–(65) are of the same type as (60)–(62) above.

(63) *bo chut-a:-**choɬ** kos pola:ta ney n-as chocho-ɬa:ri*
REAS insert-DR-BR.between ART.n.a money here obl-ART.n partition-leg
'Because I put the money here between my legs.' {EA, EA&AH 145}

(64) *am-a-**siɬ**-a=is os lume' n-os siɬ-kwa*
enter-DR-BR.hole-LV=pl.a ART.n.p agouti obl-ART.n.p BR.hole-ABS
'They [the dogs] made the agouti go into the hole.' {EA, Jaguar 023}

(65) *asko joy-na ɬań, am-**mo:ɬ**-e n-os sa~sal-wa*
PRO.n.a go-DR EV enter-TRC.bush-AGT obl-ART.n.p DR~search-NMZ
*is wa:ka, neń-ka-**moɬ**-na, neń-ka-**moɬ**-na*
ART.pl cow drive-MLT-TRC.bush-DR drive-MLT-TRC.bush-DR
'That is where I went, I went into the forest when I looked for the cattle, I drove (it) in the forest, I drove (it) in the forest.' {JA, TX 069}

An example where a verb containing an incorporated Ground-denoting bound element additionally incorporates its argument was (9) in 9.1.1 above.

9.2.5. Incorporated elements denoting an instrument

Occasionally, incorporated modifiers are found denoting an entity which is involved in the event, but which is neither a part of the undergoer nor the Ground with respect to which the event takes place. Since it denotes an entity that is involved, but not affected by the event, it can be labelled "instrument". As is the case with incorporated elements denoting the Ground (cf. 9.2.4), the verb receives the applicative marker *-eɬ*. The following examples illustrate this:

(66) *jayna nis-na=is is bari=is di' jayna pay'-**but**-eɬ*
DSC wipe_clean-DR=pl.a ART.pl foot=pl.a REL DSC smear-BR.mud-APPL
n-is bereya:-buń
obl-ART.pl tar-BR.mud
'Then they wiped clean their feet [of the macaws], which were smeared with tar.'
{EA, Parabas 036}

(67) *toroj-**vu:s**-eɬ as me:sa*
dust-BR.dust-APPL ART.n table
'The table is dusted.' [lit.: "The table is dust-dusted off."] {EC 16, 184a}

(68) *loy kos-a-**di:**-neɬ as dojnojbeń*
ITN pull_out-DR-BE.long_thin-APPL ART.n cloth
'I'll pull the threads out of the cloth.' {JM 18, 334}

(69) *damoy-**łoɬ** ney is do'we, il-na--is jayna*
twist-BR.water here ART.pl clothes spread-DR--pl.a DSC
'My clothes were wrung out like this, I spread them (on the line).'{EA, Tomina' 094}

9.2.6. Classificatory incorporation

Often, modifying incorporation involves the incorporation of a classificatory bound nominal element (cf. 5.3.2, 5.3.4) that indicates a physical shape in which an action is carried out or the shape of the product in which the action results. This process can have a similar function as depictive predicates in languages like English. The incorporated bound root *łew* 'BR.tail' in the verb *damoyłewna* 'braid' in (70), for example, indicates that hair is twisted in a such a way that it resembles a tail. And the incorporated bound root *ba* 'BR.round' in (71) indicates that the action of chewing results in a round object.

(70) *damoy-**łew**-na--as kabo di' suḿ-na is risa-<kwa~>kwa=i ney*
twist-BR.tail-DR--n.a or HYP tie-DR ART.pl BR.hair<INAL~>ABS=pl here
'I braid it [lit: "I tail-twist it"] or I tie their hair like this.' {EA, Nietos 005}

(71) *dan-a-**ba**=as os rey do'we*
chew-DR-BR.round=n.a ART.n.p again clothes
'It [the cow] chewed my dress into a ball.' {EA, Cbba 089}

This type of modifying incorporation resembles argument incorporation. The incorporated elements are usually the same as those that can be incorporated as arguments, and in argument incorporation, the type of undergoer is characterized inside the verb. However, like the other types of modifying incorporation, the process discussed here creates verbs that are subject to voice alternations.

Moreover, in difference to argument incorporation, the clause can usually not contain a coreferential noun phrase, since the meaning of the incorporated element is often

metaphorically extended. For example, it would not be possible to replace the incorporated element *-ɬew* in (70) by the noun *ɬe~ɬew-kwa* 'tail' (RED~BR.tail-ABS), since the undergoer of the event is not a tail, but hair. Likewise, the verb *danaba* 'chew into a ball' in (71) does not refer to an action affecting a round object, but to an action that results in a round object.

Argument incorporation is different in this respect, even though it can also have classificatory features. In (72), the incorporated element classifies the patient as a round-shaped object, whose identity is specified by an external NP.

(72) *jiram-poj-kay-a='ne* *tojeɬ* *os* *ɬek-a-**ba**-wa='ne*
pretty-CAU-INV-LV=f very ART.n.p kick-DR-BR.round-NMZ=f
***n-**os* *pelo:ta*
obl-ART.n.p ball
'She liked the kicking of the ball a lot.' {EA, Basket 003}

Examples (73) and (74) illustrate more cases of classificatory incorporation involving the incorporated element *-ba*. Here, it also seems to be the case that the result of the action is a round-shaped object, similar to (71) above.

(73) *che* *jayɬe* *jayna* *it-a-**ba**=n* *kos* *ve'e*
and then DSC gather-DR-BR.round=2 ART.n.a fire
'And then you rake the fire.' {LY *chivé* 008}

(74) *bań-na=is* *os* *bujdi* *n-os* *teres-cho,*
put-DR=pl.a ART.n.p thread obl-ART.n.p middle-BR.inside
*puy-a-**ba**=is--kas*
hem-DR-BR.round=pl.a--n.a.OBV
'They put the thread in the middle, they rolled it.' [when making candles]
{GB, Ganado 009}

Example (75) is interesting in that it oscillates between classificatory incorporation and the incorporation of a Ground-denoting element (cf. 9.2.4). On the one hand, the incorporated element denotes the Ground with respect to which the action is carried out ('to sit on an animal'). This is also signalled by the applicative suffix *-eɬ* (cf. 9.8.3). On the other hand, the incorporated element does not denote the undergoer, but rather specifies the way in which the action is carried out ('as if sitting down on an animal'). Therefore, this is also a case of classificatory incorporation.

(75) *as-**poy**-e:ɬ-e* *n-is* *kori:di*
sit-BR.animal-APPL-AGT obl-ART.pl stick
'We sat on the sticks [i.e., our hobbyhorses].' {EA, Dichiyeye 013}

As this example shows, the different types of modifying incorporation are not always easy to keep apart. Furthermore, not only between the types of modifying incorporation, but also between argument incorporation and classificatory incorporation, there seem to be quite a few borderline cases. The fact that classificatory bound elements can not only represent

incorporated arguments, but are also productively used as modifiers, may be responsible for the apparent lability or irregular valency properties of some incorporating verbs described in 9.1.3 above (in particular, (34)–(36)). It is possible that these cases represent a transition from valency-reducing argument incorporation towards valency-retaining classificatory incorporation, of the kind described by Mithun (1984).

9.2.7. Bound elements that are only incorporated as modifiers

Many elements can be incorporated both in argument and in modifying incorporation. This is, in principle, the case with all elements that denote unpossessed entities, whereas elements that denote inalienably possessed entities, e.g. parts of wholes, can only be incorporated as modifiers. However, some other bound nominal elements are also restricted with respect to the type of incorporation process in which they can participate. In some cases, the same entity is denoted by two different bound nominal elements, depending on the role it plays in the event. The element that denotes an entity in the undergoer role participates in argument incorporation, whereas the element that denotes an entity functioning as instrument, Ground, etc., can only be incorporated as a modifier.

The most prominent example of this contrast is the pair *-mi* 'TRC.water (as undergoer)' and *-loɬ* 'BR.water (as instrument, Ground, etc.)'. The element *-mi* usually only occurs in argument incorporation, as shown in (76)a, whereas *-loɬ* only occurs in modifying incorporation, shown in (76)b.

(76) a. *loy iṅ yeɬ-a:-mi*
ITN 1intr pour-DR-TRC.water
'I'll pour water (into sth.).'

b. *loy iɬ yeɬ-a:**-loɬ***
ITN 1 pour-DR-BR.water
'I'll pour it in the water.'

Elicitation has shown that the element *-mi* can also occur as an incorporated modifier, with the same meaning as *-loɬ* (cf. (77)). However, the form with *-loɬ* is always preferred.

(77) a. *loy iɬ kon-a-mi-neɬ is do'we*
ITN 1 take_out-DR-TRC.water-APPL ART.pl clothes {EA 13, 076j}

~ b. *loy iɬ kon-a**-loɬ** is do'we*
ITN 1 take_out-DR-BR.water ART.pl clothes
'I'll take my laundry out of the water.' {EA 13, 076h}

9.2.8. Incorporation of more than one modifier

Many words can be analysed as containing more than one incorporated modifier. Often, these words are not fully transparent, so that this can be ascribed to lexicalization: a historically complex base incorporates a modifying element.

Examples (78) and (79) are transparent cases, in which the verb is entirely analysable:

(78) *ban di' yo'-kay, man-cho-bakwa-n-ti jankwa*
but HYP catch-INV shoot-BR.inside-head-LN-IMP.DR say
'But if it catches me, shoot it in the head, I said.' {BA, TX 221}

(79) *bo la' cha'-**cho-ba:ri** n-os bote:liya-to:da*
REAS ANT pierce-BR.inside-foot obl-ART.n.p bottle-BR.piece
'Because she has pierced her foot with a piece of glass.' {EA, Summary 022}

The following examples illustrate not fully transparent cases. The verb root *ya:-* always occurs in words which seem to contain at least one incorporated element.[220] In both examples, the first incorporated element is the noun *ba:kwa* 'head', which seems to be lexicalized together with the root since its meaning is not overtly present. In (80), the second element is *-loɬ* 'water as Ground', and in (81), it is *-moɬ* 'bush':

(80) *oy~'oy ya:-**bakwa**-n-**loɬ**--iy'ɬi n-os to:mi*
RED~two under?-head-LN-BR.water--1pl obl-ART.n.p water
'The two of us got submerged in the water.' {EA, Aros II 040}

(81) *bo poraka: ya:-**bakwa**-m-**moɬ**-na=as kos wul-na=n*
REAS quickly under?-head-LN-TRC.bush-DR=n.a ART.n.a sow-DR=2
'Because in an instant it [the forest] covers your crops.' {EA, Chaco II 032}

9.2.9. Bases which obligatorily take an incorporated element

I will now come to those bases which obligatorily contain an incorporated element (also discussed in 3.10.5). Their common features are, first, that they do not occur without an incorporated element, and second, that unless a semantically more specific element is incorporated, the default bound element *-ra* is inserted. Unlike on bases which do not incorporate obligatorily, where its meaning is either 'meat' or 'firewood' (cf. 5.3.4), the element *-ra* is semantically neutral here.

Consider the difference between the verbs in (82), which obligatorily contain a bound nominal element, and those in (83), which incorporate optionally. They are all marked as bivalent by the direct voice marker *-a* or *-na*. It can be seen that in the first group, the element *-ra* is neutral (cf. (82)a), and the bound element cannot be omitted (cf. (82)b). In contrast, in combination with the roots in (83), *-ra* has a specific meaning (cf. (83)a), and the roots can also occur with the voice marker alone (cf. (83)b).

[220] This root also occurs, for instance, in the verb *ya:-loɬ* 'to be under water', and may be identical to the element *ya:-* in *ya:lo:we* 'to drink'.

(82) a. *ona-**ra:**-na* ‘I know X.’
*dol-a:-**ra*** ‘I fill X with something.’
*jum-a:-**ra*** ‘I need X.’

b. * *ona:-na*
* *dol-na*
* *jum-na*

(83) a. *is-a:-**ra*** ‘to roast meat’
*toy-a:-**ra*** ‘to cut meat’
*yey-a:-**ra*** ‘I like the meat/firewood.’[221]

b. *is-na* ‘I roast X.’
toy-na ‘I cut X.’
yey-na ‘I like/want X.’

When an element other than *-ra* is inserted, it has a classificatory function, identifying the type of entity involved in the event:

(84) *jo’mi* *rey* *ona-poy-na* *os* *rulrul*
recently again know-BR.animal-DR ART.n.p jaguar
‘Only then I got to know the jaguar.’ {EA, Jaguar 127}

(85) *rey* *dol-a:-mi* *os* *balde=sne* *che* *rey* *dol-a:-mi*
again full-DR-TRC.water ART.n.p bucket=f.a and again full-DR-TRC.water
jayna *is* *oy-ra* *di’* *n-inła*
DSC ART.pl two-BE.ntr REL obl-PRO.1sg
‘I filled her bucket (with water) and then I filled the two of mine (with water).’
{EA, Narasames 114}

Like other verbs with an incorporated modifier, verbs with an obligatory incorporated element undergo voice alternations. The most common alternation is that between direct and resultative marking, as we will see below. Example (86) shows that they can also undergo middle reduplication:

(86) *dol-<mi:~>mi* *as* *balde*
full-<MD~>TRC.water ART.n bucket
‘The bucket gets full (of water) (by itself).’ {EA 17, 015}

Many words with an obligatory incorporated element are best classified as adjectives (cf. 3.10.4). They usually occur unmarked for voice:

(87) *kaw-ra* ‘much, many’
ba:-ra ‘complete, finished’
mes-ra ‘fat’
pola-ra ‘new’
dol-ra ‘full (of something)’
soṅ-ra ‘another (thing)’

The following examples show that these words can also occur in the direct bivalent form, even though this is not very common for most of them:

[221] While the other verbs in (83)a are cases of argument incorporation, the verb *yey-a:-ra* must be seen as classificatory modifying incorporation (cf. 9.2.6), since it remains bivalent.

(88) *loy* *iɬ* *kaw-a-ra*
ITN 1 much-DR-BE.ntr
'I will make it a lot.' {EA 6, 241}

(89) *loy* *iɬ* *pola-ra:**-na***
ITN 1 new-BE.ntr-DR
'I'll make it like new.' {EA 6, 244}

Others, however, including the verb *ba:-ra* 'complete, finished', are relatively frequently used as a bivalent predicate:

(90) *ka'de as* ***ba:-ra-na**-wa=n* *kos* *wul-na=n*
end ART.n finish-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ=2 ART.n.a sow-DR=2
'[You sow] until you have used up your seeds.' {EA, Yuca 019}

(91) *jema'a ɬ sal-na* *bo* *as* ***ba:-ra-na:**-wa* *kis* *neyru*[222]
also 1 search-DR REAS ART.n finish-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ ART.pl.a here
'I'll look for [those], too, in order to finish them off.' {ER, Mono 005}

However, to analyse the unmarked forms in (87) as resultative is not entirely adequate. First of all, as can be seen in (92)–(95), there is no indication that the denoted state has been brought about by an external actor, as is typically implied in resultative verbs (cf. 8.1.5).

(92) *che* ***kaw-ra*** *is* *ka:wuḿ*
and much-BE.ntr ART.pl mosquito
'And (there were) many mosquitos.' {EA, Narasa:mes 073}

(93) *ban* ***ba:-ra*** *ona-ra:-na*
but finish-BE.ntr know-BE.ntr-DR
'But I know everything.' {BA, TX 076}

(94) *os* ***pola:-ɬim*** *di'* *bayɬim-wa:nas*
ART.n.p new-TRC.field REL field-ABSTR
'the new field' {GB, Ganado 096}

(95) *ena'* ***dol-ye*** *n-is* *oveniwankwa*
DUR.std full-BE.person obl-ART.pl young_man
'[The truck] was full of young men.' {EA, Golpearse 029}

Second, when occurring as subordinate or negated predicates (which involves action nominalization, cf. 11.1), the words of the type shown in (87) usually undergo infixing reduplication or suffixation of *-ɬe*. This is a defining feature of morphological nouns, and

[222] The use of the noun phrase *kis neyru*, consisting of an article and the demonstrative adverb 'here', requires further research.

hence also for adjectives, which form a subgroup of nouns (cf. 3.10.4):

(96) a. *kas* *dol-**<ra~>**da=a*
NEG full-<NMZ.N~>BE.ntr=n

~ b. *kas* *dol-ra-**łe**=a*
NEG full-BE.ntr-NMZ=n
'It isn't full.' {JM 18, 143a}

(97) *jayna* *n-os* *kaw-**<ra~>**da=is* *lopa:vos* *jayna*
DSC obl-ART.n.p much-<NMZ.N~>BE.ntr manioc_plant DSC
jayna *mo'incho:-tik--iy'łi* *jayna,* *rał-a:-pa*
DSC *chivé*-VBZ--1pl DSC tear-DR-BE.manioc
'Then, when the manioc plants were many, then we made *chivé*, we pulled out the manioc.' {EA, Chaco III 015}

In contrast to the complex bases of the type given in (87), a resultative verb is nominalized by the attachment of the suffix *-wa* to the unmarked base (cf. 8.7.1):

(98) *jayna* *asko* *n-os* ***kaḿ-piń-wa**=os* *dinoj-a=sne*
DSC PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p break-BE.half-NMZ=ART.n.p thigh-LV=f.a
'That was when she broke her upper leg.' [lit.: "That (was) in the being broken of her leg.'] {EA, Ay'ku I 029}

Interestingly, some of the adjective-like bases can also be combined with the suffix *-wa* when nominalized. Here, they obviously have a resultative reading:

(99) *kas* ***dol-ra-wa**=a*
NEG full-BE.ntr-NMZ=n
'It hasn't been filled (by anyone).' {JM 18, 143b}

(100) *ka'de* *os* ***ba:-ra-wa**=is* *chinała*
end ART.n finish-BE.ntr-NMZ=ART.pl manioc
'Until the manioc was finished.' {EA, Tomina' 048}

The above examples show that some of the words described in this section can be treated both as verbs and as adjectives or nouns (cf. also 3.10.5).

9.2.10. Lexicalization

I briefly want to address the problem of lexicalization of words containing an incorporated modifier. Synchronically unanalysable complex bases can usually be recognized from the fact that the direct voice marker is realized as the base-internal allomorph *-a* and not as the base-final allomorph *-na*. As long as the morphemes of the verb cannot be identified, however, I treat the voice marker as an infix (cf. also 3.6.1 and 8.1.1). The following are examples of

words which are normally used as nouns, *chanko* ‘blanket’ and *do’we* ‘my clothes’. These seem to be historically complex. They are transformed into bivalent verbs not by the suffix *-na*, but by its allomorph *-a* in second-syllable position (cf. (101)). In contrast, roots which are disyllabic, but not historically complex, receive the base-final direct voice marker *-na* (cf. (102)).

(101) *chan<**a:**>ko* ‘I cover X (with a blanket).’ (blanket<DR> or ?-DR-?)
*dok<**a:**>we* ‘I dress X.’ (clothes<DR>; or: put.on-DR-BE.person)

(102) *tikoy-na* ‘I kill X.’ (kill-DR)

Words which undergo voice alternations, such as the ones in (101), can be classified as historically consisting of a root and an incorporated modifier. However, there are cases of words whose elements seem to be identifiable, but which do not participate in the voice and valency alternations. These are active verbs even though they are unmarked for voice. The two most prominent examples are:

(103) *ya:-lo:-we* ‘drink’ (under?-BR.liquid-BE.person)
tij-ka:rim ‘work’ (work_at-BE.utensiles)

The high degree of lexicalization together with the fact that words can contain more than one lexical morpheme, poses a problem for the morphological analysis in Movima. A far more detailed research on lexical semantics is necessary before a more satisfying morphological analysis of many words can be accomplished.

In the following sections, I describe grammatical morphemes that create complex verbal bases. These can be subsumed under the term “applicatives”, since they allow a verb to take an new core argument or to encode a new participant as a core argument.

9.3. The causative

9.3.1. The causative suffix *-poj*

The causative marker in Movima is *-poj*. It is attached to the derivational bases described in 8.7. This creates an inherently bivalent base, on which valency and voice are indicated by additional voice marking according to the rules described in 8.7.2. To illustrate this, examples (104) and (105) show direct causative verbs and (106) shows an inverse causative verb:

(104) *pok-a:-kwa--is,* *en-**a-poj**-a=is* *n-os* *tinno*
cover-DR-BR.mouth--pl.a stand-DR-CAU-LV=pl.a obl-ART.n.p sun
‘They covered [the *chicha* in the pots], they put [it] in the sun.’ {HR TX 293}

(105) *joy-che**ɬ**--iy’**ɬ**i,* *ela:-na--’ne,* *joro-**poj-na**--’ne*
go-R/R--1pl leave_behind-DR--f sleep-CAU-DR--f
‘We left, I left her behind, I made her sleep.’ {EA, Escape 030}

(106) *jayna* *am-**poj-kay**--is* *n-os* *tordeta*
then enter-CAU-INV--pl.a obl-ART.n.p mosquito_net
'Then they put me under the mosquito net.' {JM, Loro 047}

Monovalent causative verbs are usually resultative, i.e. unmarked or followed by the dummy element *-'i*, as in (107) and (108). The reflexive marker *-cheł*, shown in (109), is rare on a causative verb, and the agentive marker is not found at all.

(107) *jayna* ***káy-poj*** *is* *nó:no*
DSC eat-CAU ART.pl pet
'Have the animals already been fed?' {JM 17, 134h}

(108) *chi-**poj-'i*** *as* *karto:ne*
go_out-CAU-D ART.n box
'The box has been/has to be taken out.' {JM 17, 151}

(109) *kino'* *tijkarim-**poj-cheł***
DM.f.a work-CAU-R/R
'She got herself some work.' [lit.: "She is making herself work."] {JM 17, 314a}

The causative affix can be attached to monovalent bases, as in (104)–(109) above, as well as to bases that are marked as bivalent. Examples (110) and (111) show this for the labile root *us-* 'move off'. In (110), the base is marked as bivalent by the reduplicative direct voice marker (cf. 8.7.2). The direct voice marker *-na* is added to the causative base, indicating that the resulting verb is bivalent. In (111), the base to which the causative suffix is added is monovalent. In (111)a, the causative verb is marked as direct bivalent by the base-internal direct allomorph *-a*, and in (111)b, the omission of a voice marker identifies the verb as resultative.

(110) ***u~**'us-**poj**-na* *as* *pa:ko*
DR~move_away-CAU-DR ART.n dog
'I make X chase the dog away.' {JM 17, 185}

(111) a. *us-**a:-poj*** *as* *pa:ko*
move_away-DR-CAU ART.n dog
'I make the dog move away.' {JM 17, 185a}

b. *jayna* ***us-poj*** *as* *pa:ko*
then move_away-CAU ART.n dog
'The dog has been chased away.' {JM 17, 185d}

Example (112) shows the causative suffix attached to a monovalent base containing the agentive marker *-e**ɬ**e* (shortened to *-e**ɬ***):[223]

(112) *il-e**ɬ**-poj-na=sne*
spread-AGT-CAU-DR=f.a
'She has [her] spread [the *chivé* mass].' {EA, Tuncho 056}

When the causative suffix is attached to a monovalent root or base, this indicates direct causation, i.e., the causer is at the same time the agent. Since the attachment of the causative suffix creates an inherently bivalent base (cf. Ch. 8), the causative verbs are subject to voice alternations. The verbs in (113)–(115) are marked as direct according to the rules given in 8.1.1.

(113) ***ɬok-a-poj****-a=is* *ba:-ra* *kis* *ko'*
fall-DR-CAU-LV=pl.a finish-BE.ntr ART.pl.a tree
'They fell all the trees.' {EA, Chaco I 014}

(114) ***chi-poj-na****=n* *kis* *te~tey-kwa,*
go_out-CAU-DR=2 ART.pl.a RED~palm_heart-ABS
kat-a-ɬe=n--is *no-kos* *ma:ma=is*
break-DR-CO=2--pl.a obl-ART.n.a mother_of=pl.a
'You take out the palm hearts, you break them off their mother (plant).'
{NC, Chorankwanto 006}

(115) *jayna* ***am-a-poj****-a=is* *n-is* *jawla*
then enter-DR-CAU-LV-pl obl-ART.pl cage
'Then they put [the macaws] in the cages.' {EA, Parabas 039}

When a bivalent direct causative verb has a bivalent base, the causer is ARG_1, the agent (causee) is encoded as ARG_2, and the patient is encoded as an oblique argument. This can be seen in (116)b as opposed to the non-causative construction in (116)a:

(116) a. *loy* *iɬ* *leve:-na* *as* *wa:ka*
ITN 1 chase_off-DR ART.n cow
'I'll chase the cow away.'

b. *loy* *iɬ* *leve-na**-poj**-na* *aɬ* *pa:ko* *n-as* *wa:ka*
ITN 1 chase_off-DR-CAU-DR ART.n.1 dog obl-ART.n cow
'I'll have my dog chase away the cow.' {EA 13, 287a}

As can be expected, when the causative verb is marked as inverse, ARG_1 is the causee and ARG_2 the causer:

[223] Note that this is not a contradiction to the fact that a causative verb does not receive the agentive voice marker *-e**ɬ**e*: the causative marker can still be attached to a base that contains the agentive marker.

(117) *a'ko* *ona-ra-na-poj-kay* *n-as* *iwani:-wa* *n-as*
PRO.n know-BE.ntr-DR-CAU-INV obl-ART.n speak-NMZ obl-ART.n
chon-si-neɬ
right-BE.sound-APPL
'That makes me know how to speak the native language.' {HR, TX 109}

In the same way, a bivalent causative verb with a monovalent root (cf. (113)–(115) above) can be combined with a second causative suffix, as shown in (118). This indicates that the agent is, in turn, caused to carry out the event.

(118) *loy* *iɬ* *ɬok-a-**poj-poj**-na* *u'ko* *n-as* *ko'*
ITN 1 fall-DR-CAU-CAU-DR PRO.m obl-ART.n tree
'I'll have him fell the tree.' {EA 12, 051a}

With respect to labile roots or bases, which can be mono- or bivalent (cf. 8.3.4), it is difficult to tell the semantic difference between a bivalent verb containing the causative suffix and a bivalent verb containing the direct voice marker only. It might be expected that the causative form is used when the undergoer is animate or has a larger amount of control. For example, in the causative form in (115) above, the undergoer is animate, while in (119) below, where the root *am-* is combined with the direct marker only, the undergoer is inanimate:

(119) ***am-na**=sne* *no-kos* *balde-to:da* *di'* *peɬ-cho* *ney*
enter-DR=f.a obl-ART.n bucket-BR.piece REL tear-BR.inside here
'She put (it) in an old bucket which is torn here.' {EA, Tuncho 005}

However, the causative form can also be used for inanimate undergoers, as in (120).

(120) *pe'-na=is* *che* *am-a-**poj**-a=is* *n-as* *ro:ya*
lift-DR=pl.a and enter-DR-CAU-LV=pl.a obl-ART.n house
'They [the mice] lifted [the nuts] and put (them) into the house.'
{EA, Motacu 014}

There are at least two roots, *cho'es* 'dirty, ugly' and *jiran* 'pretty', on which the causative seems to have a more idiomatic meaning, and where it usually only occurs in an inverse verb. This is illustrated in (121) and (122).

(121) *jiram-**poj**-kay* *as* *Kochawamba,* *jo:jo'*
pretty-CAU-INV ART.n Cochabamba yes
'I like Cochabamba, I do.' [not: "Cochabamba makes me pretty."] {EA, Cbba 230}

(122) *cho'es-**poj**-kay*
dirty-CAU-INV
'It made me feel sick.' [not: "It made me dirty."] {PC, Empleada 025}

Most of the above examples illustrated the causative suffix in combination with a simple base, consisting of a root or a root plus a voice suffix, thereby creating a complex base. However, the causative suffix can also be attached to a base that is already complex. One example of this could be seen in (118) above. Example (123) shows the causative suffix attached to a complex base containing an incorporated modifier. In (123)a, the base is monovalent, in (123)b, it is bivalent (cf. 8.4):

(123) a. *kaḿ-piń-poj-na*
break-BE.half-CAU-DR
'I let X break (by itself).'

b. *kat-a-piń-poj-na*
break-DR-BE.half-CAU-DR
'I tell X to break it.'

The following is an example of the causative suffix attached to a verb with an incorporated argument:

(124) *duk-a-di-poj-kay-a=y'ɬi* *n-is* *aro:so*
grind-DR-BR.grain-CAU-INV-LV=1pl obl-ART.pl rice
'[He] made us grind rice.' {EA, Dichiyeye 042}

9.3.2. The suffix *-as* 'causative inverse'

As was said in the previous section, when the suffix *-poj* is attached to a bivalent base, the causee is encoded by an unmarked and the patient by an oblique argument.[224] This relation is reversed when an additional suffix is added to the causative base: *-as*, which I call "causative inverse". The pair in (125) illustrates this. In the simple causative construction in (125)a, the causee is encoded by an unmarked NP and the patient by an oblique NP. In (125)b, where the causative verb contains the marker *-as*, the unmarked NP encodes the patient, while the causee is marked as oblique.[225]

(125) a. *jayna* *kino'* *leve-na-poj-na* *kinos* *a:na*
DSC DM.f.a chase_off-DR-CAU-DR ART.f.a younger_sibling
***ni-**kis* *jo'me*
obl-ART.pl.a bird
'I have already made my younger sister chase away the birds [in the field].'
{JM 17, 096h}

[224] This is rare cross-linguistically: in most languages, it is the causee that is marked as oblique (cf. Payne 1997: 180).
[225] Since in both examples, ARG_1 is the first person singular, it is not overtly realized (cf. 7.4).

b. *jayna kiro' leve-na**-poj-as**-na* *kis jo'me*
DSC DM.pl.a chase_off-DR-CAU-CINV-DR ART.pl.a bird
***ni-**kinos a:na*
obl-ART.f.a younger_sibling
'I already have the birds be chased away by my younger sister.' {JM 17, 096ha}

When the verb has a monovalent root or base, the causative suffix *-poj* has to occur twice in the inverse construction. A single occurrence of this suffix in combination with *-as* is ungrammatical:

(126) a. *kay-a-poj-poj-as-na* *kis* *no:no* *n-i'nes*
eat-DR-CAU-CAU-CINV-DR ART.pl.a pet obl-ART.f
majni
my_child
'I had my chickens be fed by my daughter.' {JM 17, 134g}

b. * *kay-a**-poj-as**-na* …
eat-DR-CAU-CINV-DR

In texts, the causative inverse construction is relatively rare. The following example contains this construction:

(127) *jayna n-os walaylo jayna il-na=us is charke,*
DSC obl-ART.n.p afternoon DSC spread-DR=m.a ART.pl dried_meat
*di' il**-poj-as**-na=us jayna, n-os pa:ral*
HYP spread-CAU-CINV-DR=m.a DSC obl-ART.n.p rail
'Then in the afternoon, he spread the dried meat, he probably had it spread (by someone) on the rail.'[226] {JM, Perro II 006}

9.4. Benefactive *-kwa* and malefactive *-bij*

The benefactive suffix *-kwa* and the malefactive suffix *-bij* are attached to the same base type as the causative suffix *-poj* described above (cf. also 8.7). Examples (128) and (129) illustrate the benefactive suffix attached to a direct bivalent base and to a monovalent root, respectively. In both examples, the resulting verb is marked by a bivalent voice marker (*-kay* 'INV' and *-a* 'DR', respectively).

(128) *che pe~peń-kwa-n-kay kus alwaj-a=n*
and DR~greet-BEN-LN-INV ART.m.a spouse-LV=2
'And [you] greet your husband for me.' {EA, Solopaye 028}

[226] In this text, the meat is the topic, not the person who spread it. Therefore, in line with the causative inverse marking, it can be expected that if overtly realized, ARG_2 in this example can only encode the meat (the patient), not the person who spread it (the causee).

(129) *asko* *naɬ-a-kwa=is*
PRO.n.a approach-DR-BEN=pl.a
'That [the tame parrot] was what they [the wild parrots] came closer for.'
{EA, Parabas 026}

Consider also the malefactive suffix *-bij* in (130) and (131), attached to complex bivalent bases (cf. 9.7 for the suffix *-ɬe* 'CO' in (130)). In both examples, the resulting verb is marked as inverse by the suffix *-kay* (cf. 8.1.2).

(130) *doj-a-ɬe-bij-kay-a=us* *a:kay*
steal-DR-CO-MAL-INV-LV=ART.m.a older_sibling
'My older brother was robbed.' {EA 16, 035}

(131) *kat-a-piń-bij-kay* *is* *ona:cho*
break-DR-BE.half-MAL-INV ART.pl grandchild
'My grandchildren broke it (to my disadvantage).' {EA 13, 256a}

As could be observed in (128)–(131), the beneficient or maleficient is encoded as a core argument (ARG_2 in the direct and ARG_1 in the inverse voice). The patient is usually encoded as oblique, as shown by (132):[227]

(132) *rim-eɬ-na-kwa-na=us* *nono'* *n-os*
trade-APPL-DR-BEN-DR=ART.m grandparent obl-ART.n.p
ma:kina='nes *majniwa=us*
machine=ART.f child_of=m.a
'My grandfather bought the [sewing] machine for his daughter.'
[lit.: "… bought his daughter's machine (for her)."] {EA, Abuelo 051}

Even though valency is indicated not by the benefactive/malefactive suffix, but by the voice marker, there is no example in my corpus of a monovalent verb containing one of these suffixes. That is, a verb with the benefactive or malefactive suffix is usually contains direct or inverse voice marking.

The benefactive/malefactive suffixes can occur on a causative base. The reverse order, a causativized benefactive or malefactive base, has not been found.

(133) *loy* *iɬ* *chi-poj-na-bij-na* *us* *dichi:ye* *no-kos*
ITN 1 go_out-CAU-DR-MAL-DR ART.m child obl-ART.n.a
wa:ka-toda=u *di'* *kwey* *ajpa-na=u*
cow-BR.piece=m REL IMM store-DR=m
'I'll take out the boy's piece of meat which he just stored (to his disadvantage).'
{JM 17, 239b}

[227] Example (128), where the patient is encoded as a core argument, seems to present a counterexample. More research is needed here.

(134) *inɬa kay-a-poj-kwa:-na n-is nono=n*
PRO.1.sg eat-DR-CAU-BEN-DR obl-ART.pl pet=2
'I fed your animals for you.' {JM 17, 088b}

Note that, even though these verbs contain two direct voice markers which each establish an undergoer, it is still the beneficient/maleficient participant in the event that is represented by an unmarked NP (cf. also 7.6), while the patient is marked as oblique. Example (135)b, in contrast to (135)a, shows that it is not possible for the patient to be represented by an unmarked NP (but cf. (128)).

(135) a. *loy iɬ kay-a-poj-kwa:-na n-us majniwa=kinos alra*
ITN 1 eat-DR-CAU-BEN-DR obl-ART.m child_of=ART.f.a friend
'I'll feed my friend's son (for her).'

b.* *loy iɬ kay-a-poj-**kwa:**-na **us** majniwa=kinos alra*
ITN 1 eat-DR-CAU-BEN-DR ART.m child_of=ART.f.a friend
{JM 17, 134c}

As was described in 8.6, a benefactive verb can have a special form for the inverse imperative, in which the speaker is the beneficiary of the event. The inverse imperative suffix can have its usual form *-do'*, as in (136), but it is usually realized as *-ṅ*, as in (137).

(136) *joy-kwa-n-do' vayeɬ-ki nosde: po:ra*
go-BEN-LN-IMP.INV look_at-IMP.MV there briefly
'Go for me and have a look there just a minute.' {JM 17, 120}

(137) *jayɬe jayna ken<a>pa-**kwa-ṅ**--kisne*
then DSC inform<DR>-BEN-IMP.INV--f.a.OBV?
'Then you let her know for me.' {EA, In between 119}

9.5. *-kwi* + *-na* 'location'

It was shown in 8.1.1 and 8.3.2 that when attached to an inherently monovalent root or base, the direct marker *-na* indicates that the undergoer is a location, whereas on an inherently bivalent root or base, it indicates that the undergoer is a patient. In (138), this difference is illustrated for the bivalent root *yey-* and the monovalent root *joro-*:

(138) a. *asko yey-**na**='ne*
PRO.n.a want-DR=f
'That (was what) she wanted.' {EA, Abuelo 053}

b. *asko joro-**na**=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a sleep-DR=1pl
'That (was where) we slept.' {EA, In between 151}

On a bivalent base, too, a location can be established as the undergoer. This requires a special operation in addition to the attachment of the direct voice marker. This operation is structurally similar to other applicative derivations, since it involves more than one voice-marking element.[228] First, the base is marked as bivalent direct by the suffix *-na* or by prefixing CV-reduplication (cf. 8.7.2). The suffix *-kwi* or *-pi*[229] is suffixed to this base, and then the direct voice marker is attached again. The following examples show this process for a base with a monosyllabic bivalent root which is marked as bivalent by prefixing reduplication:

(139) *jayna asko to~tos-pi-na=y'ɬi os rulrul, jayna tos-na=y'ɬi*
DSC PRO.n.a DR~peel-LOC-DR=1pl ART.n.p jaguar DSC peel-DR=1pl
'Then that (was the place where) we skinned the jaguar, we skinned it then.'
{EA, Jaguar 193}

(140) *ji:sa:-na kos wolsi:ko, che asko* ***a~'am-pi:-na*** *kos pola:ta*
make-DR ART.n.a pocket and PRO.n.a DR~enter-LOC-DR ART.n.a money
'I make a pocket [in my skirt], and that (is where) I put the money in.'
{EA, EA&AH 146}

In (141) and (142), examples of bivalent bases with a disyllabic root are given, on which the direct voice marker *-na* is retained.

(141) *asko* ***dewaj-na-pi:-na*** *kinos ay'ku*
PRO.n.a see-DR-LOC-DR ART.f.a aunt
'That (was where) I saw my aunt.' {EA, Ay'ku I 037}

(142) *n-os ena'* ***ji:sa-na-pi:-na*** *is des'ayu:no ena'*
obl-ART.n.p DUR.std make-DR-LOC-DR ART.pl breakfast DUR.std
'… at (the place) where I was making brekfast.' {EA, Aros II 019}

Notice that the direct voice marker *-na* cannot be added directly to a base that is already marked for bivalent voice, as in (143). On the other hand, the locative marker *-kwi* cannot be attached to a bare root, as in (144). This shows that the locative marker requires a base that is marked as bivalent, whereas the direct voice marker can only be attached either to a base unmarked for voice or to a base containing the locative marker.

(143) * *a'ko ɬ* ***si~siń-na***
PRO.n 1 DR~sew-DR
('This is the place where I sew.')

[228] The data even suggest that through this operation the verb becomes syntactically trivalent, since the referential element in topic position is not coreferential with ARG_2. This would be the only case of ditransitivity in Movima. Further research is needed here, however.
[229] I only know of one speaker who pronounces this morpheme as *-pi*; she also accepts *-kwi*. Other speakers, in contrast, do not accept the form *-pi*. The reason for this variation is not clear.

(144) * *a'ko ɬ **dejal**-kwi:-na*
PRO.n 1 cook-LOC-DR
('This is the place where I cook.')

9.6. The applicative suffix *-pa*

A few monovalent roots can be combined with a suffix *-pa*, which can be consiedered as an applicative marker. The following is a typical example, with the monovalent root *josi-* 'laugh'. Observe the verb form with the reflexive/reciprocal suffix, which indicates that the verb denotes a one-participant event, and the form with the marker *-pa*, which apparently enables the base to receive bivalent voice marking.

(145) a. *josi:-cheɬ*
laugh-R/R
'to laugh'

b. *josi**-pa:**-na as jankwa=n*
laugh-APPL-DR ART.n say=2
'I laugh at what you are saying.' {HR 14, 129}

The following pair shows the effect of the suffix *-pa* on an adjective:

(146) a. *ma'nes is po'so*
tasty ART.pl *chicha*
'The *chicha* is tasty.' {Ruperta 2, 020}

b. *i'ne manes**-pa**-na='ne is lo:kwa*
PRO.f tasty-APPL-DR=f ART.pl *locro*
'She likes *locro*.' {EC 1, 232}

The suffix *-pa* is not productive, however. The form in (147), with *-pa* on a monovalent verb root, was produced and confirmed by only one speaker and rejected by all others. The function of *-pa*, furthermore, is not entirely clear here.

(147) *? a'ko ɬ joy-pa:-na*
PRO.n 1 go-APPL-DR
'That's where I always like to go.'

It is not clear whether there is a connection between the suffix *-pa* as it occurs in (145) and (146), and the following cases. This is due to the fact that the verb roots in the following examples cannot be clearly identified independently:

(148) *vat-a:-pa*
appear?-DR-APPL?
'I teach X.'

(149) *ken-a:-pa*
?-DR-APPL?
'I inform X about something.'

The element *-pa* is also found with at least the following functions: as an agentive nominalizer (cf. 11.4), as a bound nominal element truncated from *chopa* 'hand' (cf. 5.3.3), and as a bound nominal element denoting manioc. It is not clear whether these markers are related, either synchronically or diachronically.

9.7. *-ɬe* 'co-participant'

Like the causative and benefactive affixes and like incorporated modifiers, the suffix *-ɬe* creates a complex verbal base which can, in principle, undergo all voice alternations. The prototypical function of *-ɬe* is to indicate that an additional participant, labelled "co-participant" here, is involved in the event denoted by the verb root. This additional participant can have different roles, usually depending on the base to which it is attached. I will describe this marker according to the bases to which it is attached.[230]

9.7.1. *-ɬe* on inherently monovalent bases

On inherently monovalent bases, the attachment of *-ɬe* typically indicates that in addition to the actor, another, typically animate participant is actively involved in the event.[231] Verbs with an inherently monovalent base (cf. 8.3.2) augmented by the marker *-ɬe* are usually marked as bivalent (direct or inverse), and the co-participant is encoded as ARG_2.[232]

The following examples show direct bivalent verbs with monovalent roots denoting directed motion, *joy-* 'go' (cf. (150), (151)) and *jiwa-* 'come' (cf. (152), (153)). The verb with the monosyllabic root *joy-* is marked as direct by the base-internal allomorph *-a*, while the verb with the disyllabic root *jiwa-* is the base-final allomorph *-na*. For each verb, an example with an animate and an inanimate undergoer is given. As can be seen, the effect of the suffix *-ɬe* on these verbs is that they indicate an event of accompanied motion, i.e. 'take' and 'bring', respectively.

(150) *yo'-na=is* *jema',* *che* *joy-a-ɬe=is* *usko*
catch-DR=pl.a also and go-DR-CO=pl.a PRO.m.a
'They caught [him] too, and carried him.' {EA, Aros II 027}

(151) *jayna* *joy-a-**ɬe**=n* *jayna* *kis* *pajwe:la*
DSC go-DR-CO=2 DSC ART.pl.a match
'You take your matches with you [to burn the bush].' {EA, Chaco I 026}

(152) *jayna* *way-na--'ne,* *jiwa-**ɬe:**-na--'ne* *jayna* *n-os* *as-na=y'ɬi*
DSC take_up--f come-CO-DR--f DSC obl-ART.n.p sit-DR=1pl
'I lifted her, I took her to our house.' {EA, Escape 106}

[230] Note that this marker, or a homophonous element, also creates relational nouns (cf. 6.4.2).
[231] J. Judy (1962) analyses this suffix as a causative suffix, paraphrased as "to do with". I see its meaning as broader, the causative being one of several possible interpretations, depending on the context.
[232] However, example (171) in 9.7.2 below contains a verb with a monovalent base which undergoes middle reduplication. Here, the co-participant is of a different type, and not actively involved in the event.

(153) *bo* *la'* *jiwa-**ɬe**-na=u* *is* *tij-kakara=a*
REAS ANT come-CO-DR=m ART.pl work_at-utensils=n
'… because [last time] he brought its replacement parts [of the motorbike].'
{EA, Moto 001}

The following are examples of *-ɬe* attached to unanalysable monovalent verbs (cf. 8.5.1) denoting a motion event. Here as well, the derived verbs denote events of accompanied motion.

(154) *loy* *iɬ* *yolmoɬ-**ɬe:**-na*
ITN 1 stroll-CO-DR
'I'll take you for a walk.' {EA14, 202}

(155) *salmo-**ɬe**-ti* *nosde:* *rey* *n-as* *wa:ka-wandi*
return-CO-IMP.DR there again obl-ART.n cow-INSTR:BE.house
'Return with (it) [the cattle] there to the ranch!' {EA, Cbba 177}

(156) *buka'* *jayi-**ɬe**-na=a* *as* *alwambeń-mari:ko*
DUR.mov run-CO-DR=n ART.n paper-bag
'It is running with the paper bag.' [i.e., the chicken got caught with its foot in a paper bag and runs around.] {JA, TX 170}

On other inherently monovalent bases, the suffix *-ɬe* introduces a goal (cf. (157)), a recipient (cf. (158)), or a beneficiary (cf. (159)):

(157) *simɬa-**ɬe:**-na*
whistle-CO-DR
'I whistle for/after X.'

(158) *che* *jayna* *choń* *kamay-**ɬe:**-na* *is* *so:te* *di'* *dichi:ye*
and DSC HAB yelled-CO-DR ART.pl other_person REL child
'And then I always yelled at the other children.' {EA, Dichiyeye 024}

(159) *bo* *as* *dejal-**ɬe**-na:-wa*
REAS ART.n cook-CO-DR-NMZ
'… in order to cook for [her].' {EA, Patrona 022}

Also on nouns verbalized by *-ti'*, a suffix that is omitted before further suffixation (cf. 3.10.2, 8.4, 11.5), the marker *-ɬe* introduces a co-participant who profits from the action. In (160), the entire derivational process is shown. The noun is given in (160)a, the verbalized form with *-ti'* is shown in (160)b, and (160)c shows the attachment of *-ɬe* to this base, from which the verbalizing suffix *-ti'* is dropped.

(160) a. *kape:-lo*
coffee-BR.liquid
'coffee'

b. *kape-lo:-ti'*
coffee-BR.liquid-VBZ
'to make coffee'

c. *kape-lo-**ɬe:**-na*
coffee-BR.liquid-CO-DR
'I make coffee in order to offer [you] some (and to drink together).'

Example (161) is a text example of the same phenomenon on the base *prosesiyon-ti'* 'carry out a procession':

(161) *kos* *joy-na=kinos* *virjen* *n-as*
ART.n.a go-DR=ART.f.a virgin obl-ART.n
*prosesiyon-**ɬe**-na-wa=y'ɬi*
procession-CO-DR-NMZ=1pl
'the (place where) the virgin goes when we do the procession with her.'
{EA, Programa 015}

The monovalent root *kay-* 'eat' together with the marker *-ɬe* has a lexicalized meaning, 'give':

(162) *kay**ɬe:**-kay--isne* *is* *lawa:jes*
give-INV--f.a ART.pl remedy
'She gave me a remedy.' {DM, Fracaso 026}

The examples given so far only concern simple roots to which the suffix *-ɬe* is attached. However, this suffix can also be attached to more complex bases. In (163), an example is given of a monovalent base derived from a bivalent root by the attachment of the voice suffix *-eɬe* 'AGT' (reduced to *-eɬ* before an additional suffix):

(163) a. *iˈn* *sit-e:ɬe*
1intr sew-AGT
'I sew.'

b. *loy* *iɬ* *sit-eɬ-**ɬe:**-na*
ITN 1 sew-AGT-CO-DR
'I'll help X sew.' {EA 14, 219}

The suffix *-ɬe* can also be attached to monovalent bases created by argument incorporation. If not indicated otherwise by the context, the interpretation is that the actor assists the co-participant in the event, as in (164) and (165):

(164) *loy* *iɬ* *rom-a-lo-ɬe:-na* *n-is* *wa:ka*
ITN 1 squeeze-DR-BR.liquid-CO-DR obl-ART.pl cow
'I'll help [you] milk the cows.' {EA 14, 210}

(165) *loy* *iɬ* *raɬ-a-pa-**ɬe:**-na*
ITN 1 tear-DR-CO-DR
'I'll help [you] pull out manioc roots.' {EA 14, 147a }

Example (166) shows that the interpretation of the suffix *-ɬe* can also be more causative-like.

(166) *jot-a-di-**ɬe:**-na* *iɬ* *majni*
collect-DR-BR.grain-CO-DR ART.pl.1 my_child
'I took my children [to the forest] to gather seeds.' {EA 15, 004}

In (167), finally, it is shown that *-ɬe* can be suffixed to very complex intransitive bases, such as verbs with two incorporated nominal elements (cf. 9.1.1 above):

(167) *loy* *iɬ* *paj-a-cho-cha-ra-**ɬe:**-na*
ITN 1 split-DR-BR.inside-DR2-BE.firewood-CO-DR
'I'll help you split firewood.' {EA 14, 218a}

9.7.2. *-ɬe* on inherently bivalent roots and bases

I will now turn to the attachment of *-ɬe* to inherently bivalent roots and bases. Unlike the case of inherently monovalent bases described in 9.7.1, which always receive a bivalent voice marker when combined with *-ɬe*, a verb that results from the attachment of *-ɬe* to a bivalent base can be either monovalent or bivalent. Consider the pairs in (168) and (169). The absence of a voice marker under a. of each pair identifies the verb as monovalent (resultative, cf. 8.1.5), while the direct marker *-a* under b. identifies it as bivalent.

(168) a. *kore'* *ena'* *jam-ɬe* *as* *ko:chi*
DM.std.n DUR.std tie-CO ART.n pig
'The pig is tethered (i.e., tied onto something).' {EA 12, 093}

b. *jam-**a**-**ɬe**=y'ɬi* *is* *wa:ka:-di* *n-is* *kori:di*
tie-DR-CO=1pl ART.pl cow-BE.long_thin obl-ART.pl stick
'We tied the reins onto the sticks [to make hobbyhorses].'
{EA, Dichiyeye 014}

(169) a. *joy* *choy* *sul-ɬe* *is* *mońlo:to* *n-as*
SPC certainly entangle-CO ART.pl earring obl-ART.n
risa-<kwa:~>kwa
hair-<INAL~>ABS
'I guess my earrings had gotten caught in my hair.' {EA, Aros 037}

b. *jayɬe* *sul-**a-ɬe**=a* *os* *mońlo:to*
then entangle-DR-CO=n ART.n.p earring
'Then it [my hair] entangled my earring.' {EA, Aros 045}

These verbs can also undergo middle reduplication:

(170) *jam-<ɬe:~>ɬe*
tie-<MD~>CO
'to get tied onto something' [e.g., by getting caught in a rope attached somewhere]
{EA 19, 195}

(171) *ɬo'-ka-**<ɬe:~>**ɬe*
fall-MLT-<MD~>CO
'to fall down from something (several objects)' [e.g. ripe fruits] {EC 16, 032}

A possible alternative interpretation of these endings may be that they are a result of the combination of *-ɬe* and the agentive voice suffix *-eɬe*, leading to the phonological form /ɬɛ:ɬɛ/. However, no vowel-initial suffix is directly attached to a preceding vowel (cf. 2.7.1), so that this is not a process from which long vowels arise in Movima. The meaning of the forms would be different as well: a verb with the agentive marker *-eɬe* denotes a two-participant event, the actor of which is the only argument. In middle reduplication, however, the only argument of the verb denotes a participant that does not act on another participant, but is itself affected by the event. Therefore, the forms in (170) and (171) are more adequately analysed as containing the reduplicative middle-voice affix.

As on monovalent bases, the attachment of the marker *-ɬe* to a bivalent base indicates that there is an additional participant involved in the event. Here, however, this participant is not actively involved; rather, it is also affected by the denoted event. This participant can then be encoded as ARG_2 instead of the participant which was originally encoded as ARG_2.

The following examples are clear cases of this. In the clauses under a., which contain the simple verb, ARG_2 is the participant directly affected by the event. In the clauses under b., this participant is demoted from the core, but it is still implied: there must be a door which is opened or closed, or a piece of clothing into which something else can be sewn. Here, ARG_2 represents another, less directly affected participant, licensed by the suffix *-ɬe* on the verb.

(172) a. *loy* *iɬ* *kel-na* *as* *ra:da*
ITN 1 open-DR ART.n door
'I'll open the door.'

b. *loy* *iɬ* *kel-a:**-ɬe** *as* *no:no*
ITN 1 open-DR-CO ART.n pet
'I'll open (the door for) my pet.' {EA 13, 079d}

(173) a. *che po'-na os ra:da*
and close-DR ART.n door
'And I had closed the door.' {EA, Escape 038}

b. *po'-**ɬe:**-cheɬ n-os asna=is*
lock-CO-R/R obl-ART.n.p home=pl.a
'[They] locked themselves in in their houses.' {EA, In between 163}

(174) a. *siń-na=sne is do'we=is majniwa=sne*
sew-DR=f.a ART.pl clothes=ART.pl child_of=f.a
'She sewed her children's clothes.' {EA, Ay'ku II 026}

b. *sit-a:-**ɬe** kos siye:re no-kos chor*
sew-DR-CO ART.n.a zip obl-ART.n.a shorts
'I sewed a zip into the shorts.' {EG 16, 027}

However, the suffix *-ɬe* does not always indicate so clearly the promotion of a former non-argument to an unmarked argument of a clause. This depends on the verb root. Often, the same participant which can be encoded as ARG_2 of the underived verb can also be encoded as ARG_2 in the verb with *-ɬe*. Here, the suffix indicates that in addition to the patient, another entity is involved in or affected by the action. This is illustrated in (175). The verb in (175)a consists of a root and a direct marker only, indicating that the undergoer is the only participant affected by the event. In (175)b, the suffix *-ɬe* indicates that not only the undergoer, but also another entity is affected by the action.

(175) a. *tan-na as kori:di*
cut-DR ART.n stick
'I cut the/a stick.'

b. *tan-a:-ɬe as kori:di*
cut-DR-CO ART.n stick
'I cut the/a stick off (the/a tree).'

Many roots are only used in combination with the suffix *-ɬe* 'CO' unless they contain an incorporated modifier. These roots denote events which typically affect more than one entity. For example, the root *doj-* 'steal' never occurs in a simple base (i.e., a verb consisting of the root and voice marking). This is probably because it denotes an action that affects two entities, the stolen object and its owner:

(176) *loy doj-a:-ɬe as chorankwanto=us a:kay*
ITN steal-DR-CO ART.n hat=ART.m older_sibling
'I'll steal my brother's hat.' {EC 16, 034}

The following are examples of roots which cannot, or only with difficulty, occur alone with a voice marker. They are typically combined with the suffix *-ɬe*.

(177) *sul-* 'entangle'
jap- 'encircle, surround'
jam- 'tie, fasten'

dak- ‘cut (a body part)’
rim- ‘trade?’ (in: *rim-ɬe* ‘to be sold’, *rim-a-ɬe* ‘I sell X.’)

Many of these roots can, instead of *-ɬe*, be combined with an incorporated modifier. Compare the function of *-ɬe* in (178)a, which indicates that the affected entity encoded as the absolutive argument is detached from another entity, with that of the bound nominal element *-cho* ‘BR.inside’ in (178)b, which indicates that the entity is affected in a particular way, namely with respect to its inside:

(178) a. *jayna* *dak-a:-ɬe* *os* *dinoj-a=as*
DSC cut-DR-CO ART.n.p thigh-LV=n.a
‘Then I cut its leg off.’ {EG, Cazando 062}

b. *che* *da’**-cho*** *inɬa,* *ban* *isko* *ka:na*
and cut-BR.inside PRO.1sg but PRO.pl.a eat:DR
‘And I was cut open [i.e., operated], but that (food) I ate.’ {EA, Cbba 247}

While the suffix *-ɬe* is usually only attached to simple bases, it can also be attached to a causative base with a monovalent root:

(179) *loy* *iɬ* *kay-a**-poj-ɬe:***-*na*
ITN 1 eat-DR-CAU-CO-DR
‘I’ll help you feed.’ {EA 14, 209}

9.7.3. Verb root combination and incorporation with *-ɬe*: co-event

On some monovalent verb roots, the attachment of the suffix *-ɬe* is possible, but does not introduce another participant. Rather, it forms a base for the incorporation of another monovalent verb root or bound nominal element. The resulting verb denotes two simultaneous events and is always monovalent. Consider the following examples:

(180) *en**-ɬe***-*jo:ro*
stand-CO-sleep
‘to sleep standing’[233] {HR 15, 158}

(181) *joro**-ɬe***-*<ma:~>maw*
sleep-CO-<MD~>hunger
‘to sleep hungry’ {JM 17, 103}

(182) *as**-ɬe***-*jo:si* *i’ne*
sit-CO-laugh PRO.f
‘She sits and laughs.’ {NG 10, 065}

[233] According to the consultant, this used to be said of the former Bolivian president Jaime Paz Estensorro.

The following example is from a text:

(183) *n-os ney da' as-**ɬe**-joro:-wa, da' iṅ as-**ɬe**-jo:ro*
obl-ART.n.p here DUR.nst sit-CO-sleep-NMZ DUR.nst 1intr sit-CO-sleep
'At that occasion [I] was sleeping while sitting, I was sleeping while sitting.'
{EA, Sueño 047}

Two lexicalized nominal expressions which have this structure are presented in (184) and (185). The first element denotes the position in which one carries out the action denoted by the second verb root, which is bivalent (this only occurs in these words). The resulting words are the names of the objects used for these activities, namely a mortar and a grinding basin.

(184) *as rey kwaderno asko kos mere' **en-ɬe:-du'u***
ART.n again notebook PRO.n.a ART.n.a big stand-CO-grind
'My school book, that was the big mortar.' {BA, TX 084}

(185) *che os **as-ɬe:-du'** ney mere' ney os jan-tova=as*
and ART.n.p sit-CO-grind here big here ART.n.p which-wing=n.a
'And the grinding basin, this big was its breadth.' {BA, TX 100}

9.7.4. *-ɬe* on bases containing an incorporated modifier

In a few cases, *-ɬe* is found after an incorporated modifier. In the following words, this is the bound nominal element *-pa*, which I assume to be the truncated form of *cho:pa* 'my hand' (cf. 5.3.3):

(186) a. *ten-a-pa-n-ɬe*
?-DR-TRC.hand-LN-CO
'I can do X.'

b. *tem-pa-n-ɬe*
?-TRC.hand-LN-CO
'[It] can be done.'

(187) *ruj-a-pa-n-ɬe*
bad-DR-TRC.hand-LN-CO
'I hinder X (to do something).'

Here, the function of the suffix *-ɬe* cannot be determined.

The other cases in which *-ɬe* occurs after an incorporated modifier concern words which contain the incorporated noun root *kwa* 'mouth':

(188) *chok-a-**kwa-n-ɬe*** 'I cover X (so that it is invisible).'
*pok-a-**kwa-n-ɬe*** 'I cover X (in a vessel).'
*bat-a-**kwa-n-ɬe*** 'I put X on top of something.'
*vik-a-**kwa-n-ɬe*** 'I put X diagonally on top of something.'

The suffix *-ɬe* clearly has an applicative function here, in that it reassigns the semantic role of the absolutive argument. This can be seen in (189)a–c. In (189)a, where the verb lacks the suffix *-ɬe*, the absolutive argument denotes the vessel, and the incorporated noun root indicates that the vessel is affected with respect to its opening (part-of-whole modifying incorporation, cf. 9.2.2, 9.2.3). In (189)b, the attachment of *-ɬe* allows a new participant to be encoded as the absolutive argument. This construction follows the pattern described in 9.7.2 above for simple bivalent roots (cf. (172)–(174)). In (189)c, it is shown that the absolutive argument of this verb cannot encode the same participant as in the unmarked form, (189)a.

(189) a. *loy* *iɬ* *pok-a:-kwa* *as* *wu'tu*
ITN 1 close-DR-BR.mouth ART.n pan
'I'll cover the pan (with a lid).'

b. *loy* *iɬ* *pok-a-**kwa-n-ɬe*** *is* *lo:kwa*
ITN 1 close-DR-BR.mouth-LN-CO ART.pl *locro*
'I'll cover the (pan with) *locro*.'

c. * *loy* *iɬ* *pok-a-**kwa-n-ɬe*** *as* *wu'tu*
ITN 1 close-DR-BR.mouth-LN-CO ART.n pan {JM 16, 180}

However, an alternative analysis is also possible, which regards the element *-ɬe* as belonging to the incorporated nominal element. It is based on the fact that the word *kwanɬe* can also occur independently with the meaning "surface, top of something". Here, the basic function of the element *-ɬe* is to indicate that there is a particular possessor which is not the natural possessor in the part-of-whole relation (cf. 6.4.2). An illustration is given in (190).

(190) *bań-na=sne* *n-as* *kwa-n-ɬe=is* *mo'incho:-buń*
put-DR=f.a obl-ART.n mouth-LN-CO=ART.pl *chivé*-BR.mass
'She put (it) [a cover] on top of the *chivé* mass.' {EA, Tuncho 007}

Thus, it is possible that in the verbs in (188) and (189), the entire complex noun *kwanɬe* is incorporated into the verb, and that the scope of the suffix *-ɬe* is not over the entire verb. Under this analysis, the structure of the verb *pokakwanɬe* 'cover something inside a container' would be as follows:

(191) *pok-a-[kwa-n-ɬe]*
close-DR-[mouth-LN-CO]
'I cover X (with respect to the opening of its container).'

In conclusion, the suffix *-ɬe* is most productively attached to verb roots and to bases that contain an incorporated modifier (cf. 9.7.1). The cases in which it is attached to a verb with an incorporated modifier are marginal and may be the result of a different morphological process.

9.7.5. Summary: properties of *-ɬe*

A overview of the bases on which *-ɬe* can occur, and of its effects on the different bases, is given in Table 28.

Table 28. The function of *-ɬe* 'CO' on different base types

base	**effect of *-ɬe***
monovalent base (simple or complex)	co-actor
bivalent base (only root)	new ARG_2 (with implied relational object)
monovalent root (stative)	simultaneous event
noun root	alienably possessed

9.8. *-eɬ* 'applicative'

The suffix *-eɬ* (after a vowel, *-neɬ*; in some words *-weɬ*) is in form and function similar to the suffix *-ɬe* described above. Unlike this suffix, however, it only occurs on bases with an incorporated nominal element, and cannot be attached to a simple verb root. In 9.8.1, the function of *-eɬ* on bases with an incorporated argument is discussed. Section 9.8.2 describes its occurrence on verblike adjectives, and in 9.8.3, the attachment of *-eɬ* to verbs with an incorporated modifier is described.

9.8.1. *-eɬ* on verbs with incorporated argument

The attachment of *-eɬ* to a verb with an incorporated argument creates a verb that behaves like a verb with an incorporated modifier (cf. 9.2 above). It can be marked as bivalent by the bivalent voice marker, and the incorporated element specifies the way in which the undergoer encoded by an external argument is affected by the action. Consider the following examples. The verb in (192)a contains a bivalent root and an incorporated argument; the first person bound pronoun of Set 1 identifies it as monovalent. In (192)b and c, the suffix *-eɬ* is attached to the verbal base. The result is a bivalent verb. In (192)b, this can be seen from the unmarked NP and the Set 1 first-person marker. In (192)c, it can be seen from the direct imperative suffix *-ti* (cf. 8.6).

(192) a. *loy iɲ loj-a:-'oj*
ITN 1intr wash-DR-BE.clothes
'I'll wash clothes.'

b. *loy iɬ loj-a-'o:j-**eɬ** us alwaj*
ITN 1 wash-DR-BE.clothes-APPL ART.m spouse
'I'll wash my husband's clothes.' {EA 14, 132}

c. *loj-'oj-**eɬ**-ti* *us* *alwaj-a=n*
wash-BE.clothes-APPL-IMP.DR ART.m spouse-LV-2
'Wash your husband's clothes!' {EA 13, 108}

Verbs marked with *-eɬ* can also receive the inverse marker *-kay*:

(193) *inɬa* *jempiteɬ* *choń* *loj-'oj-**eɬ-kay**-a=n*
PRO.1sg always HAB wash-BE.clothes-APPL-INV-LV=2
'I always for you all the time.' [or: "You are always washed for by me."][234]
{JM 18, 303}

Without a bivalent voice marker, the suffix *-eɬ* cannot be attached to a verb with an incorporated argument:

(194) **toroj-**vu:s-eɬ***
shake_off-BR.dust-APPL
('The dust is shaken off X.')

As was illustrated by (192)b and c, the new ARG_2 of a verb with an incorporated argument and the applicative marker *-eɬ* prototypically denotes the possessor of the entity encoded by the incorporated nominal element. However, this is not necessarily so, as shown by (195) and (196):

(195) *loy* *iɬ* *leve-mo-**neɬ**-na* *as* *bayɬim*
ITN 1 chase_away-BE.bird-APPL-DR ART.n field
'I'll chase the birds off my field.' {EA 14, 028}

(196) *loy* *iɬ* *toroj-jeɬ-**eɬ**-na* *as* *pamba*
ITN 1 dust-TRC.ant-APPL-DR ART.n bread
'I'll shake the ants off the bread.' {EA 13, 023}

Since an absolutive argument is not obligatorily expressed, a verb with *-eɬ* can appear without an ARG_2. As with other bivalent verbs, this participant is then retrieved from the context, and is by default the second person singular (cf. 4.1.2, 7.4):

(197) *loy* *iɬ* *loj-a-'o:j-**eɬ***
ITN 1 wash-DR-BE.clothes-APPL
'I'll wash (your) clothes.' {EA 14, 132a}

The following text example shows how a verb with an incorporated argument, when suffixed by *-eɬ*, is equivalent to a verb with an incorporated modifier (here, a body-part term). In both

[234] Note that this is a highly marked construction, the inverse being used for the relation 1 > 2 (cf. 7.5.1).

cases, the possessor of the affected entity is encoded as ARG_2. The example contains a sequence of five transitive clauses. The predicate of the first clause is a simple bivalent verb (*ɬap-u'-na* 'I wash X well'), followed by three bivalent verbs with an incorporated modifier. The predicate of the last clause is a verb with an incorporated argument and the applicative suffix *-eɬ*.

(198) *ba:-ra* *ɬap-u'-na,* *wichi'-ka-**beń**-na,* *jawo-**bakwa:**-na,*
finish-BE.ntr bathe-INT-DR rub-MLT-BR.flat_flexible-DR soap-head-DR
*loj-a-**ba:kwa*** *jayna,* *boń-**'oj-eɬ**-na*
wash-DR-head DSC change-BE.clothes-APPL-DR
'I bathe them all well, I rub them (their skin), I soap them (their heads), then I wash them (their heads), I change them (their clothes).' {EA, Nietos 002}

I will now turn to the comparison between the suffixes *-eɬ* 'APPL' described here and *-ɬe* 'CO' described in 9.7 above. These suffixes are similar in that they both have and applicative function and can be attached to verbs containing an incorporated argument. However, there is a crucial difference. First of all, observe the different structures of bases containing these suffixes, represented in (199):

(199) a. VR + *-a* + incorporated argument + ***-eɬ*** (described here)
b. VR + *-a* + incorporated argument + ***-ɬe*** + *-na* (cf. 9.7.1 above, (164)–(166))

The two structures are illustrated in (200) and (201). In (200), which corresponds to the pattern in (199)a, the verbal base is put in square brackets in order to illustrate the point that will be discussed below.

(200) *[loj-a-'oj]-ɬe:-na* *kinoɬ* *alra*
wash-DR-BE.clothes-CO-DR ART.f.a.1 friend
'I help my friend do the washing.' {EA, 14, 216}

(201) *loy* *iɬ* *loj-a-'o:j-eɬ* *us* *alwaj*
ITN 1 wash-DR-BE.clothes-APPL ART.m spouse
'I'll wash my husband's clothes.' {EA 14, 132}

In both constructions, a monovalent base that contain an incorporated argument undergoes a valency increase. However, the suffix *-ɬe* 'CO' is attached to a complex verb with an incorporated argument in the same way as to any other monovalent base, as indicated by the square brackets in (200). The direct marker *-na* is then added to create a semantically bivalent verb, so that the newly introduced co-participant can be encoded as ARG_2. The suffix *-eɬ* 'APPL', in contrast, does not take an additional bivalent voice marker. Rather, it demotes the grammatical function of the incorporated element from that of an argument to that of a modifier (cf. 9.2 above). Therefore, on the resulting verb, it is the original bivalent voice marker, obligatory for argument incorporation, that marks the verb as semantically bivalent. However, note that here, this marker cannot be dropped to create a monovalent verb, something which is possible with modifier incorporation.

It might seem an alternative possibility to analyse *-eɬ* 'APPL' as a valency-increasing marker by itself. This is because, as was illustrated by (194), the applicative marker always cooccurs with the bivalent voice marker, so that it is difficult to tell whether it is the voice marker or the applicative marker which is responsible for the valency increase. However, when a different bivalent voice marker is attached, such as the inverse marker (cf. (193)) or the direct imperative marker (cf. (192)c), it is attached in addition to the applicative marker, and not instead of the direct voice marker. This shows that the direct bivalent voice marker is equivalent to the other voice markers in this construction, and that there is no reason to assume that *-eɬ* itself increases the semantic valency of the verb. It only increases the inherent valency of the verb by ascribing a different status to the incorporated element.[235]

9.8.2. *-eɬ* on verblike adjectives

The suffix *-eɬ* is productive on verblike adjectives, which have an obligatory bound element (cf. 3.10.4 and 9.2.9). Here, it also has an applicative function, because it allows a new participant to be expressed as the absolutive argument:

(202) *soṅ**-lolos-eɬ*** *us* *pa'a*
other-village-APPL ART.m my_father
'My father is from another village.' {HR TX 154}

(203) *iṅ* *pola**-loto:-neɬ***
1intr new-TRC.earring-APPL
'I am wearing my new earrings.' {PC 14, 181 sp}

(204) *inɬa-ni-wa* *rey* *kaw**-dam-eɬ***
PRO.1sg-PRC-NMZ again much-louse-APPL
'I am not full of lice.' {EA 9, 109a}

When not combined with the suffix *-eɬ*, these adjectives can only be combined with a referential element coreferential with the incorporated element:

(205) *asko* *soṅ**-lo:los***
PRO.n.a other-village
'That is another country/village.' {EC 17, 080}

(206) *i'ko* *pola**-lo:to***
PRO.pl new-TRC.earring
'They are new earrings.' {JM 18, 245}

When the incorporated element refers to a kind of container (in the broadest sense), the suffix *-eɬ* indicates that the predication is about the contents of the container:

[235] Recall the definition of semantic and inherent valency in the introduction to Chapter 8.

(207) *jayna* *da'* *kaw-**riko-neɬ***
DSC DUR.nst much-TRC.bag-APPL
'Then you have many bags-full.' {EA, Chaco II 012}

(208) *kiwa=s* *charke* *daya'* *oy-**ridi-neɬ***
DM.el.pl=DET dried_meat DUR.nst two-TRC.stick- APPL
'that dried meat, two rails-full'[236] {EG, Cazando 078}

Example (209) again shows the contrast between the presence and the absence of the applicative suffix *-eɬ* on words like these. The adjective lacking the suffix in (209)a denotes the container itself, whereas when combined with the suffix, it denotes the contents of the container.

(209) a. *jayaw-re:ta* b. *jayaw-**reta:-neɬ***
nice-TRC.cart nice-TRC.cart-APPL
'nice oxcart' 'nice cartful' {EC 4, 040}

Words with an incorporated modifier and the applicative suffix are often combined with the suffix *-ni*, whose prototypical function is that of verbalizing nouns and adjectives (cf. 11.9). Its presence on the words here cannot be explained at this point. Consider the following examples:

(210) *ja' rapis-but-eɬ-ni* *n-os* *ja'* *bo:yalo-wa=y'ɬi*
just sour-BR.mud-APPL-PRC obl-ART.n.p just drink_*chivé*-NMZ=1pl
'We just had sour stomachs from just drinking *chivé*.' {EA, Jaguar 205}

(211) *isko* *ja'* *fiyando* *buka'* *pe'-**reta-neɬ-ni***
PRO.pl.a just on_credit DUR.mov whole-TRC.cart-APPL-PRC
'They just went with whole cartfuls [of our crops] on credit.' {EA, Vida chaco 081}

9.8.3. *-eɬ* on bases with an incorporated modifier

The suffix *-eɬ* can occur on certain verbal bases with an incorporated modifier. This is only possible when the incorporated modifier is not a part-of-whole term. When it is a part-of whole term, the suffix *-eɬ* cannot be attached:

(212) a. *loy* *iɬ* *loj-a-ri:sa* b. * *loy* *iɬ* *loj-a-risa:-**neɬ***
ITN 1 wash-DR-hair ITN 1 wash-DR-hair-APPL
'I'll wash your hair.' {EA14, 132b}

In contrast, the affixation of *-eɬ* is obligatory on verbs where the incorporated element denotes a Ground (i.e., location or goal), as shown by (213), and also on verbs with an instrument-like incorporated modifier, as in (214). The valency of the verb is indicated by voice marking.

[236] For preparing dried meat, the raw meat is hung over rails to dry in the sun.

(213) a. *kiwa* *pil-pa-neɬ*
DM.el.pl roll_up-TRC.stone-APPL
'It (a rope) is rolled up on a stone.'

b. **kiwa* *pil-pa*
DM.el.pl roll_up-TRC.stone
{EA 9, 121e}

(214) a. *loy* *iɬ* *nuy-a-vus-eɬ*
ITN 1 get_dirty-DR-BR.dust-APPL
'I'll make X dirty with dust.'

b. **nuy-a:-vus*
get_dirty-DR-BR.dust
{EA 12, 018c}

For phonological reasons, the suffix *-eɬ* is dropped in particular environments where it would be expected. This is the case when the base ends in the lateral fricative /ɬ/. Compare the pairs in (215) and (216). Each verb contains the same verb root and an incorporated element denoting a Ground (cf. 9.2.4). Usually, the suffix *-eɬ* has to be attached in this case, as in the examples under a. When the base ends in the lateral fricative, however, the suffix is ommitted, as in the words under b.

(215) a. *day-tomaj-eɬ*
lie-side-APPL
'to lie next to sth.'

b. *day-ɬabaɬ*
lie- BE.earth
'to lie on the floor'

(216) a. *chuń-tolej-eɬ*
insert-BR.branch-APPL
'to be stuck at the branch'

b. *chuń-choɬ*
insert-BR.between
'to be stuck in between'

The attachment of *-eɬ* to these bases is not possible:

(217) * *loy* *iɬ* *kon-a-lo:ɬ-eɬ*
ITN 1 take_out-DR-BR.water-APPL
('I'll take X out of the water.')
{EA 13, 076j}

Historically, it is possible that the final element /ɬ/ on these bound elements originates from the applicative marker itself. Many semantically related bound nominal elements are distinguished from each other only by the occurrence of the final consonant /ɬ/ on one of them (cf. 5.3). In the following example, the elements *-mo* and *-moɬ*, only distinguished by the final consonant, are even considered semantically equivalent:

(218) a. *wes-mo:ɬ-e* *n-as* *chaḿmo*
break_open-TRC.bush?-AGT obl-ART.n bush

~ b. *wes-**mo-ne:ɬ**-e* *n-as* *chaḿmo*
break_open-TRC.bush-APPL-AGT obl-ART.n bush
'to open a path in the bush [with a machete]'
{JM 17, 091e}

To identify the status of the bound elements ending in a lateral fricative, more research on these elements is necessary. For example, cases like the ones described here, in which the

final fricative can be analysed as an allomorph of *-eɬ* due to the function of the bound element, have to be compared with the bound elements which contain this phoneme also in other environments, e.g. when constituting a root (cf. 5.3.2, Appendix A.II):

(219) *ba~baɬ-kwa* 'nest'
cho~choɬ-kwa 'nut'
mo~moɬ-kwa 'shell'
sineɬ-kwa 'word'

For the time being, however, I maintain the analysis that the bound elements ending in /ɬ/ do not combine with the applicative marker for phonological reasons.

As was said above, and as is the case with all complex bases, the valency of a verb that contains the suffix *-eɬ* is determined by voice marking. The following examples illustrate the contrast between the unmarked (resultative) form, which indicates that the verb is monovalent and that the only participant is the undergoer, and the direct form marked by *-a* or *-na*, which indicates that the verb is bivalent and that ARG_2 is the undergoer.

(220) a. *am-riko:-neɬ*
enter-TRC.bag-APPL
'to be put in the bag'

b. *am-a-riko:-neɬ*
enter-DR-TRC.bag-APPL
'I put X in the bag.'

(221) a. *jolo-but-eɬ*
stuck-BR.mud-APPL
'to be stuck in the mud'

b. *jolo-but-eɬ-na*
stuck-BR.mud-APPL-DR
'I make it get stuck in the mud.' {GC 10, 097}

In accordance with this alternation, verbs with *-eɬ* can take the mono- as well as the bivalent imperative marker:

(222) *as-boj-eɬ-ki* *n-as* *ko'*
sit-BR.base-APPL-IMP.MV obl-ART.n tree
'Sit down on the stump!' {EA 10, 015}

(223) *pil-pa-**neɬ**-ti*
roll_up-TRC.stone-APPL-IMP.DR
'Roll it up on the stone!' {EA 7, 099}

The following examples show inverse bivalent verbs with *-eɬ*:

(224) *chi'-mova-**neɬ**-kay*
find-BR.litter-APPL-INV
'You found me in between the litter.' {EA 19, 020c}

(225) *ka' rey ela-waj-**eɬ**-kay--iy'bi*
PROH again leave_behind-BE.place-APPL-INV--2pl
'Don't leave me!' {EA19, 129}

The attachment of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix to a base with *-eɬ* indicates that the participant is actively involved in the event:

(226) a. *bań-dinoj-**eɬ***
put-thigh-APPL
'[The parrot] sits on my lap.'
{JM 3, 232}

b. *bań-dinoj-eɬ-**cheɬ***
put-thigh-APPL-R/R
'[The parrot] placed itself on my lap.'

The addition of the reflexive/reciprocal marker to a verb with the suffix *-eɬ* is rare, however. Usually, the agentive voice marker *-eɬe* is used to signal active involvement of the participant. This marker is very productively attached to this type of base and needs some more detailed explanation.

First of all, the suffix *-eɬe* is reduced to *-e* when attached to the ending *-eɬ*. The reason is that, like the applicative suffix, it cannot be attached to a base ending in the lateral fricative (cf. (215)b, (216)b). Therefore, its first part *-eɬ* is omitted. This can be seen in the following examples:

(227) a. *am-riko:-neɬ*
enter-TRC.bag-APPL
'to be put in the bag'
{EA 12, 279a}

b. *am-riko-ne:ɬ-e*
enter-TRC.bag-APPL-AGT
'to have gotten into the bag (by itself)'

(228) a. *taḿ-vo:s-eɬ*
get_down-BE.wood-APPL
'to fall down'

b. *taḿ-poy-e:ɬ-e*
get_down-BR.animal-APPL-AGT
'to get down (from a riding animal)'

(229) a. *day-ɬabaɬ*
lie-BE.earth
'to lie on the floor'
(after being put there)

b. *day-ɬaba:ɬ-e*
lie-BE.earth-AGT
'to lie on the floor'
(voluntarily; typically a person or an animal)

According to these examples, it might be assumed that the ending *-e* adds a dynamic feature to a stative verb, so that it is an aspectual rather than a voice marker.[237] However, the analysis of *-e* as an allomorph of the agentive voice suffix *-eɬe* is supported by the fact that a verb with this ending cannot receive an additional voice marker, whereas a verb which only contains the applicative marker can. This contrast is shown in (230):

(230) a. *nuy-a-vu:s-eɬ*
get_dirty-DR-BR.dust-APPL
'I make X dirty with dust.'

b. * *nuy-a-vus-e:ɬ-e*
get_dirty-DR-BR.dust-APPL-AGT
{EA 12, 018c}

[237] This seems to have been J. Judy's (1962) analysis, who apparently saw the endings *-eɬ* "descriptive" and *-eɬe* "active" as a contrasting pair.

The fact that the ending *-e* belongs to the paradigm of voice markers is also shown by the pair in (231). Here, a verb with the direct voice marker is contrasted with a verb containing the same base and combined with the agentive marker. In line with their voice marking, the verb in (231)a is bivalent, and the actor is expressed as ARG_1 by an internally cliticized bound pronoun. The verb in (231)b is monovalent, and the actor is expressed as ARG_{intr} by an externally cliticized bound pronoun.

(231) a. *chok-a-baɬ-a=us*
cover-DR-BR.cover-LV=m.a
'He covered [him].' {BA, TX 295}

b. *cho'-ba:ɬ-e--'ne ɬaṅ*
cover-BR.cover-AGT--f EV
'She covered herself well, she says.' {EA, Alojamiento 013}

Another objection to the analysis of the forms in (227)–(229)b might be that /eɬe/ can be considered as consisting of the agentive marker alone, the applicative suffix not being present at all on these verbs. However, evidence for the fact that *-eɬe* is reduced to *-e* after the lateral fricative is provided by the cases in which for phonological reasons, the applicative marker is omitted (cf. (215)b and (216)b above). When the agentive suffix is attached to these bases, only its final vowel *-e* remains cf. also (231) above):

(232) *man-lo:ɬ-e*
shoot-BR.water-AGT
'to jump into the water'

(233) *am-si:**ɬ-e***
enter-BR.hole-AGT
'to go into the cave'

This shows that the phonological reduction of the agentive marker after the lateral fricative does indeed take place. Since the suffix *-eɬ* itself ends in the lateral fricative, it is no surprise that the agentive marker is also reduced after this suffix. The following is a text example in which both these cases can be observed. In the first verb, *ammo:ɬe*, the suffix is reduced to *-e* after an incorporated element ending in a lateral fricative. In the second verb, *taṁpoye:ɬe*, it is reduced after the applicative suffix *-eɬ*.

(234) *jayna ṅ joy-cheɬ am-mo:**ɬ-e,* taṁ-poy-e:**ɬ-e***
DSC 1intr go-R/R enter-TRC.bush-AGT get_down-BR.animal-APPL-AGT
'Then I went into the forest, I got off the riding animal.' {JA, Jovina 025}

To conclude, a base that contains an incorporated modifier which denotes a Ground or an instrument is obligatorily combined with the applicative marker *-eɬ* (cf. also 9.2.4, 9.2.5 above). The resulting base is similar to a "normal" base that contains an incorporated modifier

(e.g., a part-of-whole term, cf. 9.2 above), and it can, in principle, undergo all voice alternations. When the base ends in a lateral fricative, the suffix is omitted.

9.8.4. Subsequent incorporation

In a few cases, a complex verb with *-eɬ* can be followed by another incorporated element. This is a very restricted context for incorporation. It seems to concern only verbs with an incorporated element denoting an instrument, and the second incorporated element can only be a part-of-whole term:

(235) *dokoy, jay'i, ban ka' rey nuy-vus-**eɬ-kwinto:**-wa*
good go.IMP but PROH again get_dirty-BR.dust-APPL-cheek-NMZ
'Okay, go, but don't get dirty cheeks [from lying drunk on the floor].' {AH 12, 018}

Here, as well as in the simpler forms described in 9.8.3, the valency of the verb is indicated by voice marking. Example (236)a, like (235) above, involves the verb which lacks a voice marker, so that it is monovalent and has a resultative reading. In (236)b, the verb contains the direct marker, which indicates that the verb is bivalent and the absolutive argument is the undergoer of a two-participant event.

(236) a. *ja' rey nuy-vus-**eɬ-ba:mo**--'ne*
just again get_dirty-BR.dust-APPL-knee--f
'She has made her knees dirty.' [lit.: "she got dirty with respect to her knees"]
{EA 12, 034e}

b. *ja' rey nuy-**a**-vus-**eɬ-ba:mo**--'ne*
just again get_dirty-DR-BR.dust-APPL-knee--f
'I made her knees dirty.' {EA 12, 034d}

Nouns which do not encode parts of wholes cannot be incorporated in the base-final slot:

(237) a. *nuy-vus-eɬ as do'we*
get_dirty-BR.dust-APPL ART.n clothes
'My clothes got dirty.'[lit.: "I got dirty with respect to my clothes."]

b. **nuy-vus-**eɬ-do'we***
get_dirty-BR.dust-APPL-clothes {EA 12, 033}

Constructions like these are rare and are not accepted by all speakers.

9.9. Summary: morphemes consisting of *e* and *ɬ*

The morphemes discussed in the previous sections, *-ɬe* and *-eɬ*, and the agentive voice marker *-eɬe* discussed in 8.1.3 and in 9.8 above, are difficult to distinguish due to their phonological similarity, their phonological properties (reduced in certain environments), and their sometimes similar function. Therefore, Table 29 gives a rough overview of their distinctive properties.

Table 29. Central properties of the suffixes *-ɬe*, *-eɬ*, and *-eɬe*

	***-ɬe* CO**	***-eɬ* APPL**	***-eɬe* AGT (voice)**
special phonological property	none	omitted after /ɬ/	not after vowel; loses final /e/ before another suffix; reduced to /e/ after /ɬ/
on bivalent root	ARG_2 encodes the less affected participant; verb implies additional participant	–	ARG_{intr} is actor in one-participant event
on monovalent root	+ bivalent voice marker: co-participant is actively involved	–	–
on verb base with incorporated argument	(same as on monovalent root)	inc. arg. is demoted to inc. mod. → verb becomes bivalent	–
on adjective with bound element	–	new ARG_{intr} is introduced	–
on base with incorporated modifier	–	obligatory when inc. mod. denotes Ground or instrument	agentive voice marker

It can be seen that one distinctive criterion of these suffixes is that there is no environment in which all three can occur. Furthermore, *-eɬe* is different because it is a voice marker; only its phonological properties lead to confusion with the other two suffixes. As far as *-ɬe* and *-eɬ* are concerned, they only share the environment in the case of verbs with incorporated argument.

Here, they are easily distinguished on semantic grounds and also by their effect on valency, as was illustrated by (200) and (201) above.

10 Modal and aspectual morphology

This chapter describes morphemes, most of them verbal affixes, that in principle do not influence the valency of the verb to which they are attached. While its is a very heterogeneous group, most of these morphemes can be described as having an aspectual or a modal function.

The suffix *-kaɬ* (cf. 10.1), which shares some morphological properties with nominalizing morphemes (cf. 11.1), can be seen as an aspectual suffix. It has different functions, depending on the type of base to which it is attached. On derivational bases with specified semantic valency (cf. 8.7), it indicates that the action is carried out immediately or earlier than normal. On inherently monovalent roots, which normally do not serve as derivational bases, *-kaɬ* indicates that the action cannot be carried out. In this last function, *-kaɬ* is related to another suffix, *-nira* (cf. 10.1.4), which, when negated, also indicates an impossibility.

The marker *-ka* 'multiple event' (cf. 10.2.1) indicates that there are several occurrences of the same situation. This affix is inserted after the root on morphologically complex bases. There is an apparently related fossilized morpheme *kaka* (cf. 10.2.2), which occurs in restricted contexts and can also function as a root.

The irrealis infix <*a'*>, with the base-final allomorph -RED~*a'*, (cf. 10.3) is a modal morpheme. In affirmative contexts, it indicates that the situation will occur at some unspecified moment in the future. In negative contexts, it indicates the non-existence of the absolutive participant. In this function, <*a'*> is also found on nouns. Its morphological properties were described in detail in 3.6.2.

The suffix *-na:na'*, for which I adopt Judy & Judy's (1967) term 'pseudo', can also occur on nominal as well as on verbal bases. This suffix is rare, and I will only give a few examples in 10.4.

Section 10.5 focuses on the modal suffixes *-sicha'kwa* 'desiderative' and *-baycho* 'mental state', which usually indicate mental inclinations of the participant. While creating morphological nouns, the words with these suffixes usually function as monovalent predicates.

The intensifying suffix with its two allomorphs, *-u'* and *-ay'* (cf. 10.6), occurs directly on the verb root, which is then followed by eventual further morphemes and by voice markers. A homophonous morpheme also occurs on phasal verbs, described in 10.7.

Section 10.7 describes a complex process by which phasal aspect is expressed. A root or base is attached to a "phasal" verb root, and according to the inherent valency of the incorporated base, either the suffix *-u'/-ay'* or the suffix *-kakaɬ* is attached.

10.1. *-kaɬ* 'immediative' / 'impossibilitive' and *-ni:ra* 'potential'

In this section, two semantically related suffixes are presented. They can be described as indicating an external circumstance of the event denoted by the verb. The suffix *-kaɬ*, described in 10.1.1–10.1.3, indicates that an action or state is carried out or starts earlier than usual, or that it cannot be carried out. These two interpretations are determined by the base to which the suffix is attached. The suffix *-nira* 10.1.4 indicates that a state or event has the

potential to take place. When a verb with this suffix is negated, it has the same meaning as a verb on which *-kaɬ* indicates the impossibility of an event to occur.

Before discussing the semantic properties of these suffixes in more detail, I will describe the specific morphological characteristics of the suffix *-kaɬ*.

10.1.1. Morphological properties of *-kaɬ*

The suffix *-kaɬ* has some unique properties:

- ARG_{intr} is attached as an internal clitic
- on voice-marked bases, it has the meaning "immediately", but
- on bivalent roots, it has the meaning "impossibly"

The first point is illustrated by (1)a. Even though the verb containing the suffix *-kaɬ* is monovalent, the bound pronoun denoting its argument belongs to Set 1 of speech-act participants (cf. 4.1, 7.4), which triggers stress shift and the insertion of the linking vowel *-a*. This is the same type of person marking as found with bivalent verbs (cf. 7.1, 7.4).[238] Example (1)b shows that the use of a bound pronoun from Set 2, an external clitic, is ungrammatical, even though this would be the expected realization of an intransitive argument.

(1) a. *chi-kaɬ-a=**nkweɬ*** *che* *diɲ-ka:-ye--y'bi*
go_out-IM-LK=2pl and hard-MLT-BE.person--2pl
'You (pl.) go out at once and hurry up.'

b. * *chi-kaɬ--**iy'bi***
go_out-IM-LK--2pl {ER 11, 013}

Despite the fact that on verbs with *-kaɬ*, the argument is encoded as if it were the first transitive argument (ARG_1), *-kaɬ* does not increase the valency of the verb. Consider the examples in (2). Example (2)a contains a monovalent predicate denoting a two-participant event. That the predicate is monovalent can be seen from the fact that the actor is encoded by an externally cliticized bound pronoun (*--i'ne*) and the undergoer by an oblique-marked NP (*nis bi:law* 'the fish'). In (2)b, the verb is augmented by the suffix *-kaɬ*; as is the case with most monovalent voice markers, the reduplicative middle marker is omitted in this augmented form (cf. 8.7.1). Crucially, in (2)b, the pronoun that represents the actor is attached by internal cliticization (*-a='ne*), so that the predicate appears to be bivalent. Nevertheless, the undergoer is not expressed as a core argument, as would be the case in a transitive clause. It remains oblique, in the same way as in the underived construction in (2)a.

(2) a. *de<ja~>jal--i'ne* ***n-**is* *bi:law*
cook<MD~>--f obl-ART.pl fish
'She cooks the fish.'

[238] It was also observed by R. Judy (1965: 8) that after the suffix *-kaɬ*, bound pronouns are attached in the same way as to bivalent verbs, even when the verb is monovalent.

b. *dejal-**kaɬ**-a=‘ne* ***n-**is* *bi:law*
cook-IM-LV=f obl-ART.pl fish
‘She cooked the fish at once.’ {EC 16, 209}

Furthermore, when the focus particle *kaw* (often pronounced as *kwey*; cf. 12.4) is added, this does not have an effect on the structure of a verb with *-kaɬ*. Recall from 7.8 that the syntactic valency of a bivalent verb is decreased by *kaw*, so that the former ARG_1 can be represented by a free pronoun in topic position. On a verb with *-kaɬ*, however, the argument is still encoded by an internal clitic. This can be seen in (3).[239]

(3) a. *u’ko* ***kwey*** *joro-**kaɬ**-a=u*
PRO.m FOC? sleep-IM-LV=m
‘He slept early.’

b.* *u’ko* ***kwey*** *joro:-kaɬ*
PRO.m FOC sleep-IM {17, 047 JM}

Bivalent predicates do not undergo any particular change when *-kaɬ* is applied: ARG_1 is an internal clitic, as usual, and ARG_2 is an NP that is not oblique. This is shown in (4):

(4) *nokowa* *il-na-**kaɬ**-a=‘ne* *kis* *mo’incho-but-a=‘ne*
right_now spread-DR-IM-LV=f ART.pl.a *chivé*-BR.mass-LV=f
‘She’ll spread her *chivé* mass early.’ {EA 13, 252a}

The suffix *-kaɬ* shares some properties with the action nominalizer *-wa* (cf. 11.1.1). When example (4) is compared with (2) above, it can be seen that ARG_{intr}, the only argument of the monovalent verb, is encoded in (2) in the same way as ARG_1, the actor of the direct bivalent verb, in (4). Thus, the alignment pattern of an intransitive clause with *-kaɬ* and a direct transitive clause is accusative, unlike the alignment pattern of a direct transitive and an ordinary intransitive clause (cf. 7.5.3). This, together with the fact that a monovalent predicate remains monovalent, is reminiscent of canonical action nominalization (cf. 7.12, 11.1.1). The suffix *-kaɬ* could, therefore, be seen as a nominalizing morpheme.

A further argument for regarding *-kaɬ* as a nominalizing suffix is the behaviour of a verb with this marker under nominalization. Here, it is not directly followed by the nominalizing suffix *-wa*, as is the case with verbs (cf. 3.10.1, 11.1.1). Rather, the verbalizing suffix *-ni* is attached first:

(5) *kas* *dejal-kaɬ-**ni:-wa***
NEG cook-IM-PRC-NMZ
‘I didn’t cook early.’ {JM 17, 054}

[239] However, it is possible that despite the pronoun in topic position, we are dealing not with the focus particle *kaw* here, but with the homophonous tense particle *kwey* (cf. 12.2.1). If this is the case, then it is possible that the focus particle *kaw* does not occur at all in combination with a verb containing *-kaɬ*; further research is needed here.

However, verbs with *-kaɬ* are different from other nominalized forms in that it is not clear how the first person singular is encoded on a monovalent verb marked by *-kaɬ*. The expectation would be that the first person is encoded like a possessor, i.e. by the bound pronoun from Set 1, *iɬ*, instead of the Set 2 pronoun *iń*. However, speakers are not certain about this. The forms are used interchangeably, and often, the Set 2 pronoun is used spontaneously. This was done independently by two speakers in the following example. The clause in (6)a contains the form of Set 2, *iń*, (6)b contains the form of Set 1, *iɬ*:

(6) a. *loy* *iń* *loj-a'-oj-**kaɬ***
ITN 1intr wash-DR-clothes-IM
~ b. *loy* *iɬ* *loj-a-'oj-**kaɬ***
ITN 1 wash-DR-BE.clothes-IM
'I'll wash early.' {EA 8, 136}

Sometimes, the Set 1 form is even rejected, as in the following example, whose morphosyntactic structure is the same as (2):

(7) ***iɬ*** *loj-a-'oj-kaɬ* *n-is* *do'we*
1 wash-DR-BE.clothes-IM obl-ART.pl clothes {EA 8, 136o}

The problem of how the first person is expressed in a clause that contains a verb with *-kaɬ* cannot be solved here. This is especially the case since there are no text examples of a verb with *-kaɬ* which has an overtly expressed first person singular argument. However, the free alternation between *iń* and *iɬ* is not found in canonical cases of nominalization. To analyse *-kaɬ* as a nominalizing suffix, therefore, would not be fully adequate.

10.1.2. *-kaɬ* on voice-marked bases: 'immediative'

Another peculiarity of the suffix *-kaɬ* is that it has two very different meanings, depending on the base it is attached to. On bases that contain voice marking, as described in 8.7, *-kaɬ* indicates that the event denoted by the verb takes place or starts earlier than normal; I will refer to this meaning as "immediative". On unmarked bivalent roots, which can usually not serve as a base for further suffixation, however, it indicates that the action cannot be carried out; I will call this function of *-kaɬ* "impossibilitive". I will here describe the immediative function and turn to the impossibilitive function in 10.1.3.

When *-kaɬ* is attached to a verbal base of the type described in 8.7, it is usually translated by the speakers as "at once" or "early". Most often, the suffix occurs on roots that denote directed motion, as is illustrated by (8)–(10):

(8) *che di'* *chi-**kaɬ**-a='nes* *dichi:ye,* *i'nes* *majni,* *joy-**kaɬ**-a='ne*
and HYP go_out-IM-LV=f child ART.f my_child go-IM-LV=f
'And probably the girl went outside at once, my daughter, she had left at once.'
{EA, Escape Marivel 051}

(9) *jiwa-**kaɬ**-a=y'ɬi jayna joro:-kwa*
come-IM-LV=1pl DSC sleep-BDP
'We came at once and went to sleep.' {EA, Antes de fiesta 090}

(10) *che weleɬ-**kaɬ**-a=as n-iɬ ɬa:ri*
and climb_up-IM-LV=n.a obl-ART.pl.1 leg
'And it [the spider] climbed up my legs at once.' {EA, Araña 002}

Examples of *-kaɬ* on other monovalent bases were given in (2), (3), and (6) above. Example (11) shows a base that consists of a bivalent root with the agentive voice marker *-eɬe* (reduced to *-eɬ*), which creates a monovalent base:

(11) *jayna jayɬe sal-eɬ-**kaɬ**-a=a n-as chaḿmo*
DSC then search-AGT-IM-LV=n obl-ART.n bush
'Then it [the hen] searched at once in the bush [for a place to lay eggs].'
{EA, Huevo 012}

As could be seen in (4) above, *-kaɬ* also occurs on bivalent bases. The following example shows the two forms in which a bivalent base with the direct marker *-na* can occur (cf. 8.1.1): the suffix *-na* can either be retained (cf. (12)a) or it can be replaced by CV-reduplication (cf. (12)b).

(12) a. *kwey iɬ raɬ-**na:-kaɬ** as lopa:vos*
IMM 1 tear-DR-IM ART.n manioc_plant

~ b. *kwey iɬ **ra~**raɬ-**kaɬ** as lopa:vos*
IMM 1 DR~tear-IM ART.n manioc_plant
'I pulled out the manioc plant early today.' {JM 18, 274}

There is no example of *-kaɬ* on an inverse base.

10.1.3. *-kaɬ* on bivalent roots: 'impossibilitive'

Unlike most other suffixes, the suffix *-kaɬ* can be attached to a bivalent root that is unmarked for voice. Recall from 8.1.5 that a bivalent root without a voice marker denotes a resultative state. On an unmarked bivalent root, *-kaɬ* indicates that the event denoted by the verb root cannot be carried out. Usually, but not necessarily, the verb is preceded by the negative particle *kas* (cf. 12.5.1). Consider the following examples, elicited from different speakers:

(13) *raɬ-**kaɬ**-a=as*
tear-IM-LV=n.a
'It [e.g. manioc] can't be pulled out.'
[e.g., because the soil is very hard] {EA 8, 135a}

(14) *(kas) suy-**kaɬ**-a=a*
NEG deprive-IM-LV=n
'It can't be deprived of it.' [i.e., you can't take it away from it.] {HR 15, 098a}

(15) *kas tol-**kaɬ**-a=a*
NEG touch-IM-LV=n
'It can't be touched.' [e.g., because it has spines] {JM 17, 052}

The following example illustrates the contrast between a bivalent root with a direct voice marker, where the suffix *-kaɬ* has the "immediative" meaning (cf. (16)a), and a verb in which the same root occurs without a voice marker, so that the suffix *-kaɬ* adds the "impossibilitive" meaning (cf. (16)b). According to the voice properties of the verb, in the direct transitive clause in (16)a the actor is expressed as ARG_1, and in the intransitive clause in (16)b, the only core argument represents the undergoer.

(16) a. *loj-**na**-**kaɬ**-a='ne*
wash-DR-IM-LV=f
'She washes it early.' {JM 17, 073}

b. *kas loj-**kaɬ**-a=as ra:diyo bo a:mon as to:mi*
NEG wash-IM-LV=n.a radio REAS enter ART.n water
'The radio can't be washed because the water gets in.' {JM 17, 050b}

Complex bases (cf. 8.4) also participate in the contrast between the immediative and the impossibilitive meaning of *-kaɬ*.[240] This contrast is shown in (17), where a verb with the applicative suffix *-ɬe* 'CO' is combined with the suffix *-kaɬ*. In (17)a, the base is marked as bivalent direct by the voice marker *-a*. Here, *-kaɬ* indicates that the event took place immediately. In (17)b, in contrast, the base is unmarked for voice. On this base, the suffix *-kaɬ* indicates impossibility, as is confirmed by the particle *kas*.

(17) a. *jam-**a**-ɬe:-**kaɬ***
tie-DR-CO-IM
'I tied it [the rooster] early (onto sth.).' {JM 18, 273a}

b. *kas jam-ɬe-**kaɬ**-a=a*
NEG tie-CO-IM-LV=n
'It [the rooster] can't be tied (onto sth.)' [e.g., because it is not tame]
{JM 18, 273}

The examples in (18) illustrate the same contrast between the "immediative" and the "impossibilitive" reading of *-kaɬ* with a complex verb containing an incorporated modifier (-C*e* 'person').

[240] Recall from 8.1.5 and 8.4 that like bivalent roots, complex bases that are unmarked for voice generally denote a resultative state.

(18) a. *dum**<a>**ye:**-kaɬ* *jayna*
encounter<DR>-IM DSC
'I find X quickly.' {JM 18, 269a}

b. *kas* *dumme**-kaɬ**-a=as*
NEG encounter-IM-LV=n.a
'It can't be found.' {JM 18, 269}

On middle roots, which combine properties of both mono- and bivalent roots (cf. 8.3.3), as well as on labile roots, which oscillate between mono- and bivalent roots (cf. 8.3.4), the suffix *-kaɬ* can equally add the immediative or the impossibilitive meaning. The impossibilitive, if not apparent from the context, is then indicated by the presence of the particle *kas*. The following examples illustrate this for the middle root *ɬaṁ-* 'bathe'. In (19)a, the suffix *-kaɬ* has the immediative function, since there is no indication of a negative context. In (19)b, the negative particle *kas* marks the clause as negative, so that the suffix *-kaɬ* is interpreted as indicating the impossibility of the event.

(19) a. *ɬaṁ**-kaɬ**-a=a* *kwey* *no-kos* *ima:yoj*
bathe-IM-LV=n IMM obl-ART.n.a morning
'It [e.g. the parrot] bathed early today in the morning.' {JM, 17, 072c}

b. *kas* *ɬaṁ**-kaɬ**-a=a*
NEG bathe-IM-LV=n
'It doesn't let itself be bathed.' {JM, 17, 072}

The following example also shows that the linguistic or extralinguistic context can disambiguate the meaning of *-kaɬ* on a middle root:

(20) a. *jayna* *kolwa=s* *chikwaṁdi* *lew**-kaɬ**-a=a* *n-as* *ɬu:vuy*
DSC DM.el.n=DET *jichitarumá* sing-IM-LV=n obl-ART.n twilight
'That *jichitarumá* (bird) is already singing early in the morning.' {JM 19, 028a}

b. *lew**-kaɬ**-a=a*
sing-IM-LV=n
'It is unreadable.' [putting aside the book] {JM 19, 028}

On labile roots, the attachment of *-kaɬ* has the same effect as on middle roots. In an affirmative context, the root is interpreted as monovalent, and *-kaɬ* adds the meaning "immediately" (cf. (21)a); in a negative context, it is interpreted as bivalent (cf. (21)b):

(21) a. *am**-kaɬ**-a=as*
enter-IM-LV=n.a
'It came in at once.' {EA, Cbba 095}

b. *kas* *am**-kaɬ**-a=a*
NEG enter-IM-LV=n
'It can't be put in.' {EA 19, 094b}

The impossibilitive function of the morpheme *-kaɬ* has a semantic counterpart, the morpheme *-nira* 'potential', which is described in the next section.

10.1.4. *-nira* 'potential'

The suffix *-nira* is rare. It seems to be composed of the verbalizing suffix *-ni* and the semantically empty bound nominal element *-ra* 'BE.ntr'. The resulting word is a morphological noun. It indicates that the event denoted by the verb root has the potential to occur. The following examples illustrate this suffix on a bivalent and a monovalent root, respectively:

(22) *loj-**ni:ra** a'ko*
wash-POT PRO.n
'It can be washed; it's washable' {JM 17, 050a}

(23) *ɬaḿ-**ni:ra** as pa:ko*
bathe-POT ART.n dog
'The dog lets itself be bathed / can be bathed.' {EC, 17, 072d}

The following two text examples also contain this suffix:

(24) *jayna chon-lo:maj ruj-ka-baycho-**ni:ra** jayna*
DSC right-BE.time ruin-MLT-MST-POT DSC
n-as joy-wa=is majniwa=n
obl-ART.n go-NMZ=pl.a child_of=2
'Then really it makes you sad when your children leave.' {EA, Lonely 012}

(25) *mo: joro-kay-a='ne choy rey, mo: joro-**ni:ra***
yet sleep-INV-LV=f certainly again yet sleep-POT
'[The noise] didn't let her sleep, of course, (it is something which) doesn't let one sleep.' {EA, Alojamiento 007}

(26) *josi-pa-**ni:ra** as ja' baw-ka-pa-n-eɬ-wa*
laugh-APPL-POT ART.n just exchange-MLT-TRC.hand?-LN-APPL-NMZ
'It makes one laugh to be exchanging arguments.' {HR 14, 148c}

In a negative clause, a verb with *-nira* is negated like a predicate nominal, i.e., by infixing reduplication (cf. 7.15, 11.1.1). When negated, the function of *-nira* is identical to that of *-kaɬ* on unmarked bivalent roots: it indicates that the event denoted by the verb root cannot occur. Consider the following examples:

(27) a. *kas ɬaṅ-**kaɬ**-a='ne bo tera:ni ja'*
NEG bathe-IM-LV=f REAS ill just

~ b. *kas ɬaṅ-**ni<ra~>da**='ne bo tera:ni*
NEG bathe-POT<NMZ.N~>=f REAS ill
'She cannot be bathed because she is ill.' {JM 17, 304}

(28) a. *kas raɬ-**kaɬ**-a=a*
NEG tear-IM-LV=n

~ b. *kas raɬ-**ni<ra~>da**=a*
NEG tear-POT<NMZ.N~>=n
'You can't tear it [the plant] out.' {JM 17, 075a}

10.2. *-ka* and *kaka* 'multiple event'

10.2.1. The suffix *-ka*

The suffix *-ka* occurs on verbal bases which either contain the verbalizing suffix *-ni* (cf. 11.9) or an incorporated modifier (cf. 9.2). It comes directly after the verb root; on synchronically unanalysable bases, it is inserted as an infix (cf. 3.6.1). The marker *-ka* indicates that the situation denoted by the verbal base occurs repeatedly. This can concern any type of situation, i.e., states, events, processes or actions.

In (29)a, the absence of the suffix *-ka* implies that the resultative state denoted by the verb occurs only once, whereas in (29)b, the presence of *-ka* indicates that there are several instances of the state:

(29) a. *yam-piṅ as do'ewa:noj*
fold-BE.half ART.n cloth
'The cloth is folded (once).'

b. *yan-**ka**:-piṅ as do'ewa:noj*
fold-MLT-BE.half ART.n cloth
'The cloth is folded up (several times).' {EA 7, 100}

The multiple occurrence of an event as indicated by *-ka* is independent of the number of participants. It can either imply "event number" Corbett (2000: 246f.), as in (29)a, where one single participant is involved in several instances of the same situation type. It can also imply "participant number" (cf. ibid), i.e., that each one of several participants is involved in the same situation once. In Movima, these two types can only be distinguished, if at all, by the number marking of the referential element. Examples (30)–(32) illustrate *-ka* as a marker of "event number". Here, one single participant, referred to by a singular NP or pronoun, is involved in several instances of the same type of situation:

(30) *di:ra iye-**ka:**-ni os yonali*
still move-MLT-PRC ART.n.p caiman
'The caiman was still moving.' {EG, Sicurí 083}

(31) *kowa da' lirij-**ka**-mo:-cheł*
DM.el.n DUR:nst shake-MLT-BE.bird-R/R
'It (the bird) is shaking itself.' [lit.: "it is repeatedly-bird-shaking itself"]
{EA 12, 198}

(32) *iń joro-**ka:**-kwa*
1intr sleep-MLT-BDP
'I'm falling asleep all the time.' {EC 10, 168b}

In the following example, the presence of plural referential elements indicates that all participants are involved in the same stative situation:

(33) *dewaj-na kis nuy-**ka**-vus-eł-kwinto day-**ka**-chorada:-neł*
see-DR ART.pl.a get_dirty-MLT-BR.dust-APPL-cheek lie-MLT-street-APPL
'I see (people with) dirty cheeks lying around on the street.'
{AH, EA&AH 108a}

When the verbal base denotes an irreversible event, such as 'explode' (cf. (34)) or 'die' (cf. (35)), the attachment of *-ka* automatically implies that several participants are involved:

(34) *jayna n-as loveł-ni-wa=is, jayna pikpikpikpik*[241]
DSC obl-ART.n cooked-PRC-NMZ=pl.a DSC ONOM
*jayna rał-**ka**-<cho:~>cho kis mo~moł-a=is*
DSC tear-MLT-<MD~>BR.inside ART.pl.a RED~BR.shell-DR=pl.a
'Then, when they are cooked, they go "pikpikpikpik", their shells burst.'
{EA, Lo'im 028}

(35) *kay**<ka:>**ni*
die<MLT>
'to die one ofter the other [e.g. cattle]' {EA 14, 227a}

The above examples were of monovalent predicates. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of *-ka* on bivalent predicates. Here as well, the addition of *-ka* can either imply that the same participant is involved in the event repeatedly or that several participants are involved in the same event. In the latter case, this concerns the participant that is represented as ARG_2.

[241] In this onomatopoeic expression, note the occurrence of [k] in coda position. This is exceptional, since normally, [k] is replaced in this environment by a glottal stop (cf. 2.3.1).

(36) *joḿ-**ka**-ye:-na*
dismiss-MLT-BE.person-DR
'I've dismissed them (several people).'
~ 'I've dismissed X again and again.' {EA 12, 117a}

The following are further examples of bivalent verbs with the marker *-ka*:

(37) *ona-**ka**-waj-na* *n-os* *dichi<ye:~>ye*
know-MLT-BE.place-DR obl-ART.n.p child<NMZ.N~>
'I got to know many places when I was a child.' {HR, TX 054}

(38) *kol-**ka**-sił-na=i* *kis* *kwajta'*
extract-MLT-hole-DR=pl ART.pl.a maize
'They [the birds] pick the maize out of the holes.' {EA, Chaco I 063}

(39) *ban* *taw-**ka**-ra-na=n,* *ka:* *n-as* *ba:-les-wa=is*
but stir-MLT-BE.ntr-DR=2 PRCL obl-ART.n finish-BE.fire-NMZ=pl.a
'But you keep stirring [the nuts] so that they don't burn.' {EA, Lo'im 024}

The multiple-event marker on the verb is not grammatically obligatory. In (40), this can be seen from the fact that the first verb, *ło'poj* 'to be felled', is not marked as a multiple event, even though its absolutive argument is the same as that of the verb *daskato:lej* 'to cut off branches', which contains the suffix *-ka*:

(40) *jayna* ***ło'-poj*** *kis* *ko'* *che* *das-**ka**-to:lej* *jayna*
DSC fall-CAU ART.pl.a tree and mow-MLT-branch DSC
'Then the trees are felled and their branches have to be cut off.' [lit.: "(they) have to be branch-cut-off."] {EA, Chaco I 016}

The sentences in (41)a and b are from the same text and refer to the same event, the cutting up of a manioc stem. Nevertheless, in the first example, the verbs are not marked by *-ka*, whereas in the second, they are:

(41) a. *jayłe* *ney* *tan-na=n* *ney,* *tan-a-pit-a=n,* *tan-a-pit-a=n*
then here cut-DR=2 here cut-DR-BE.half-LV=2 cut-DR-BE.half-LV=2
'Then you cut (it) here, you cut (it), you cut (it) (into pieces).' {EA, Yuca 003}

b. *jayna* *buka'* *tan-**ka**-piń-na=n,* *tan-**ka**-piń-na=n,*
DSC DUR:mov cut-MLT-BE.half-DR=2 cut-MLT-BE.half-DR=2
*tan-**ka**-piń-na=n*
cut-MLT-BE.half-DR=2
'Then you go cutting (it), cutting (it), cutting (it) (into pieces).' {EA, Yuca 006}

The following elicited examples, however, illustrate a meaning difference between the form

with and the form without *-ka*. The verb *as-ɬabaɬ* 'to sit on the ground' is interpreted as inchoative when combined with *-ka*, as in (42)b. When it does not contain the suffix *-ka*, as in (42)a, it is interpreted as stative.

(42) a. *kide:* *ba:-ra* *as-ɬa:baɬ*
DM.nst.pl finish-BE.ntr sit-BE.earth
'They're all sitting on the floor.'

b. *kide:* *ba:-ra* *as-**ka**-ɬabaɬ*
DM.nst.pl finish-BE.ntr sit-MLT-BE.earth
'They're all sitting down on the floor.' [i.e., they sit down one after the other]
{EA 14, 006b}

There is one single instance in which the multiple-event marker was found on a noun:

(43) *buka'* *jaysoń* *is* *tochi'* *siɬ-**ka:**-kwa*
DUR seem ART.pl small BR.hole-MLT-ABS
'They look like little holes.' {EA, 15, 015}

10.2.2. The reduplicated morpheme *kaka*

Some words contain an element *kaka*, apparently a reduplicated version of the multiple-event marker *-ka* described above. The morpheme *kaka* does not indicate the multiple occurrence of an event, but rather the multiple existence of a certain type of entity or concept. The type of entity or concept is denoted by the bound nominal element with which *-kaka* is combined. Consider the relational noun *alkakaye* in (44). It contains the root *al-*, which indicates that the noun denotes an entity that is similar to the possessor. The bound element *-ye* denotes the entity itself, 'person'. The marker *-kaka* indicates that there exist several of these entities. The lexicalized meaning of this word is 'relative'.

(44) *us* *al-kaka:-ye*
ART.m fellow-MLT:RED-BE.person
'my (male) relative'

The element *kaka* is independent of the number of referents of the NP in which it occurs. It indicates that there exist several instances of the denoted type of entities or concepts, from which the NP selects one or more.[242] The noun in (44) can, therefore, be translated as "the/a male one out of my relatives".

In (45) and (46) below, it is shown that a noun containing *kaka* is not inherently plural. In (45), the plural pronoun *isko* indicates that there are several referents out of the group denoted by the word *alkakaye*. In (46), only one entity is selected out of that group, by the singular pronoun *usko*.

[242] As suggested by Hein van der Voort (p.c.), it may be possible to analyse this marker as a "partitive", since it indicates the existence of several entities of the same type out of which one or more are selected.

(45) *isko* *al-**kaka**-ye=kus* *pa:pa=is* *majni*
PRO.pl.a fellow-MLT:RED-BE.person=ART.m.a father_of=ART.pl my_child
'They (were) relatives of the father of my children.' {EA, Vida chaco 016}

(46) *bo* *usko* *ɬ* *al-**kaka:**-ye,* *jankwa*
REAS PRO.m.a 1 fellow-MLT:RED-BE.person say
'Because he (is) my relative, she said.' {EA, Visita 043}

The element *kaka* is either suffixed to a root, as in (45) and (46), or it occurs as a root itself, i.e. as the initial element of a word. The following examples illustrate this:

(47) *n-as* *rey* ***kaka:**-ra* *rey,* *kwayi:-maj* *ja'*
obl-ART.n again MLT:RED-BE.ntr again laziness-VLC just
kos *rey* *je'e*
ART.n.a again state
'Sometimes, you know, I'm just lazy.' {AH, EA&AH 006}

(48) *che* *rey* *is* ***kaka:**-ye* *da'* *kide:*
and again ART.pl MLT:RED-BE.person DUR.nst DM.pl.nst
tawak-e:-ni *jayna* *nuy-vus-eɬ-kwinto*
next_day-BE.person-PRC DSC dirty-dust-APPL-cheek
'And then here and there people are waking up with dirty cheeks [from lying drunk in the street].' {AH, EA&AH 107}

(49) *jayna* *ji:bal* *n-os* ***kaka**-lomaj* *joy* *choy* *rey*
DSC slowly obl-ART.n.p MLT:RED-BE.time SPC certainly again
oso' *os* *po~poy-kwa* *n-asko* *bu'ni* *ɬaɲ*
DM.n.p ART.n.p RED~BR.animal-ABS obl-PRO.n.a perhaps EV
'Then slowly (?) on another occasion there probably was an animal there perhaps, they say.' {JA, TX 070}

Words to which *kaka* is attached as a suffix have characteristics of verblike adjectives (cf. 3.10.4). Like such adjectives, they usually function as predicates. In (50), *-kaka* is attached to the adjectival root *kaw-* 'much':

(50) ***kaw-kaka:-ra*** *os* *chon-lomaj* *ja'* *jeya=y'ɬi*
much-MLT:RED-BE.ntr ART.n.p right-BE.time just state_of=1pl
'Many kinds of things happened to us, really.' {JA, Jovina 106}

The following are examples of *kaka* attached to the verb root *o:-*, whose meaning is not clear:

(51) ***o:-kaka:-ra*** *os* *ji:sa-na=sne*
?-MLT:RED-BE.ntr ART.n.p make-DR=f.a
'She did all kinds of things.' {EA, Ay'ku II 007}

(52) ***o:-kaka-lo:we*** *is* *powol*
?-MLT:RED-BR.colour ART.pl straw_mat
'The straw mats were of all kinds of colours.' {HR, TX 237}

(53) *n-os* *jayna* *jiwa-wa=is* ***o:-kaka-lolos****-eɬ* *nosde:*
obl-ART.n.p DSC come-NMZ=pl.a ?-MLT:RED-village-APPL there
'When the (people) of all kinds of villages there came.' {HR, TX 271}

In (54), finally, *kaka* is attached to the verb root *aj-*, whose meaning is not clear, either:

(54) *kaw-ra* *oɬ* *rey* ***aj-kaka:-ra***
much-BE.ntr ART.n.p.1 again narrate-MLT:RED-BE.ntr
'It was a lot what I have told.' {JA, Jovina 161}

10.3. The irrealis marker <*a'*> or -RED~-*a'*

As described in 3.6.2, the irrealis infix <*a'*>, realized as <*ka'*> after a vowel, is inserted after the first iambic foot of the base. It signals irrealis mood in affirmative contexts and participant negation in negative contexts. As an irrealis marker, it indicates that the speaker considers it unimportant when exactly the event takes place, but assures that it will take place eventually. Consider the following examples of the irrealis marker on monovalent verbs:

(55) *sal****<a'>****mo*
return<IRR>
'I'll be back!'

(56) *dol****-a'****-mi* *as* *balde*
full-IRR-TRC.water ART.n bucket
'May the bucket get full.' [e.g. of water dripping from the roof] {EA 12, 068a}

(57) *ka****<ya:>****y****-a'****,* *a'ko* *nono=n*
eat<RED>-IRR PRO.n pet=2
'May it eat, it's your pet!' [hen picking maize from a basin] {EA 14, 069}

The following examples contain bivalent verbs with the irrealis marker in affirmative clauses:

(58) *inɬa* *kwey* *puy****-a'****-na*
PRO.1sg FOC hem-IRR-DR
'I'll hem it.' [i.e., leave it to me!] {EA 13, 291a}

(59) *jayna choń kilniwa rey n-as ma:kina,*
DSC HAB DM.el.d.f again obl-ART.n machine
*ruj-a-**ka'**-ra mora' as ma:kina*
ruin-DR-IRR-BE.ntr (swearword) ART.n machine
'I hear her again at the machine, damn it, let her just ruin the machine!'
{EA, Makina 013}

Since the irrealis marker has a future implication, it is often combined with the TAM-particles *nokowa* and *loy* (cf. 12.2.4 and 12.3.2, respectively):

(60) *loy iɬ nokowa ji<**ka'**>sa:-na*
ITN 1 right_now make<IRR>-DR
'I'll do it [when I find the time].' {EA 12, 142a}

When the verb is preceded by the negative particle *kas*, the irrealis infix functions as a marker of existential negation: it negates the existence of the primary participant, i.e. the one encoded by the absolutive argument. This is identical to its negative function on predicate nominals (cf. 7.15.1).

(61) *kas tij-**a'**-ka:rim*
NEG work_at-IRR-BE.utensiles
'Nobody is at work.' {EA 13, 230b}

(62) *kas loy dej-**a'**-na*
NEG ITN cook-IRR-DR
'I won't cook anything.' {EA 13, 229}

The following example involves a verb with a monovalent root and the direct voice marker, indicating the location:

(63) *kas rey as-**a'**-na*
NEG again sit-IRR-DR
'I don't have a house, you know.' [lit.: "There is nowhere for me to sit."]
{EA, Mi casa 014}

As with predicate nominals negated by the irrealis marker (cf. 7.15.1), a periphrasic construction with a demonstrative predicate can be used as an alternative. This is shown by (64)b as opposed to a, which contains the irrealis marker.

(64) a. *kas e<na:~>n-**a'***
NEG stand<RED~>-IRR
'No one is standing.'

~ b. *kas* *kiro'-ni-wa* *kis* *en-chet*
NEG DM.pl.a-VBZ-NMZ ART.pl.a stand-R/R
'There is no one standing.' {JM 16, 163}

In spontaneous speech, the negative particle *kas* is often omitted. The negative meaning is then usually apparent from the context. In this case, the irrealis marker implies negation. The following are examples from a dialogue:

(65) *sal**<a'>**mo-kwa:-na* *rey* *jayna*
return<IRR>-BEN-DR again DSC
'There's no one to return for anymore.' {AH, Dial. EA&AH 069}

(66) *suy-**a'**-kay-a=sne*
deprive-IRR-INV-LV=f.a
'Nobody takes [it] away from her.' {AH, Dial. EA&AH 153}

(67) *tivij-**a'**-ni*
hurt-IRR-PRC
'[They] don't feel pain.' [lit: "Nothing hurts."] {AH, Dial. EA&AH 023}

Strikingly, the irrealis marker negates the existence of the participant established by the voice properties of the base (cf. 8.1). Compare, for example, the irrealis forms in (65)–(66) above with the corresponding unmarked forms in (68)–(70), respectively. These take an absolutive argument:

(68) *salmo-kwa:-**na**--sne*
return-BEN-DR--f.a
'I return for her.' [i.e., for her benefit]

(69) *suy-**kay**-a=sne--kus*
deprive-INV-LV=f.a--m.a.OBV
'He takes (it) away from her.'

(70) *tivij-ni--a*
pain-PRC--n
'It hurts.'

In a negative clause, a predicate that contains the irrealis marker cannot cooccur with a pronoun or NP that refers to the participant whose existence is negated. In an affirmative clause, in contrast, a predicate that contains the irrealis marker can cooccur with the absolutive argument. Hence, in addition to the presence or absence of the negative particle *kas*, the realization of the absolutive argument formally identifies an irrealis-marked verb as an affirmative predicate. Compare the negative irrealis clause, marked by *kas*, in (71)a with the affirmative clause, containing a pronoun that encodes the absolutive argument, in (71)b:

(71) a. ***kas*** *rey* *deja<la:~>l-**a'***
NEG again cook<RED~>-IRR
'There is no one who cooks, you know.' {EA 13, 229}

b. *jayna* *isne* *deja<la:~>**l-a'***
DSC PRO.f.a cook<RED~>-IRR
'May she cook, then.' {EA, Cuando vuelva 004}

However, since neither the negative particle nor the absolutive argument are obligatorily overtly expressed, their absence is not an unmistakable signal of either the affirmative or the negative interpretation. The following expression, for example, has two possible interpretations, depending on the context:

(72) *dewaj**-a'**-na*
see-IRR-DR
'I don't see anything.' ~ 'I'll see X (sometime).'

Morphologically, the irrealis marker behaves slightly differently on verbs with monovalent and middle roots (cf. 8.3.2 and 8.3.3, respectively). This may have to do with their inherent valency, but it can also be a purely morphological phenomenon. When the irrealis marker is attached to verbs with monovalent or middle roots, the voice affix, which is normally attached to the root, is lost. This is to say, monovalent verbs lose the reflexive/reciprocal marker *-chel̷*, which indicates agentivity of the participant (cf. 8.1.4, 8.3.2), and verbs with middle roots lose the middle reduplication (cf. 8.3.3). Since only a single iambic element remains, the irrealis marker is attached as a suffix and then reduplicated (cf. 3.6.2). In (57) and (71) above, examples of verbs with middle roots were given, which would have the form *kay~kay* 'to eat' (cf. (57)) and *de<ja:~>jal* 'to cook' (cf. (71)) if not marked as irrealis. The following examples are of irrealis-marked verbs with a monovalent root, which take the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-chel̷* when not marked as irrealis. The verb in *jo<ya:~>y-a'* in (73) would appear as *joy-chel̷* 'go' if not marked as irrealis; the verb *de<ka:~>-ka'* in (74) would appear as *de:-chel̷* 'lie'. An example involving the verb *en-chel̷* 'to stand' was seen in (64) above.

(73) *i'ne* ***jo<ya:~>y-a'*** *n-as* *leve-na-wa='ne*
PRO.f go<RED~>-IRR obl-ART.n chase_away-DR-NMZ=f
'May she go and chase [birds] away [from the field].' {JM 17, 096m}

(74) *kas* ***de<ka:~>-ka'***
NEG lie<RED~>-IRR
'There is no one lying.' {EA 16, 169a}

In contrast, when a verb is marked as irrealis that consist of a monovalent root and the direct voice marker *-na*, which, on these roots, indicates that the undergoer is a location, the voice marker is retained. This is the same type of marking as on verbs containing a bivalent root and

the direct voice marker (cf. e.g. (58) above):

(75) *en-**a'-na**=as* *ko',* *ka'* *rey* *tan-na=n*
stand-IRR-DR=ART.n tree PROH again cut-DR=2
'The tree may remain standing, don't cut (it)!' [lit.: "May (it be) the standing place of the tree, don't cut it!"] {EA 12, 083a}

(76) *de-**ka'**-na* *ja'* *nokopa*
lie-IRR-DR just like_this
'I can just lie (on the ground) like this.' [lit.: "May this be my place of lying."]
{EA 12, 209}

(77) *loy* *iɬ* *as-**a'**-na* *ney* *ja'*
ITN 1 sit-IRR-DR here just
'I'll just sit here.' [lit.: "May I sit (on) this just here"(?)] {EA 12, 210}

10.4. *-na:na'* 'pseudo'

The suffix *-na:na'* can occur on nouns as well as on verbs. It is not very productive and often lexicalized together with the root.[243]

On nouns, the suffixation of *-na:na'* indicates that the denoted entity is reminiscent of the entity denoted by the nominal base, but not identical with it. Therefore, I adopt the gloss 'pseudo' from Judy & Judy (1967). The examples in (78) illustrate this meaning:

(78) *pa:ko-**na:na'*** 'fox' (dog-PSEU)
*kodosi-**na:na'*** 'artificial duck (e.g. of plastic)' (duck-PSEU)
*sapa'mo-**na:na'*** 'small calabash' (SP. *tutumillo*) (calabash-PSEU)

Likewise, on verbs, the suffix *-na:na'* indicates that the action denoted by the verb root is only pretended. The suffix is attached to monovalent roots or bases only, and the resulting verb is monovalent.

(79) *dejal-**na:na'*** *is* *dichi:ye*
cook-PSEU ART.pl child
'The children pretend to be cooking.' [i.e., playing; without really cooking]
{JM 18, 084}

(80) *jayi-**na:na'***
run-PSEU
'to be running without being able to', 'to run slowly' {JM 18, 083b}

[243] This suffix is apparently the result of CV-reduplication of the segment /nak/. However, the only examples that may show an unreduplicated morpheme *-na'* are *tomi:-**na'*** 'wet season' (water-?) and *ita:-**na'*** 'white person' (?-?).

(81) *pul-eɬ**-na:na’***
sweep-AGT-PSEU
‘to pretend to be sweeping’ {JM 18, 085}

These verbs are easily combined with the verbalizing suffix *-ni* (cf. 11.9), whose function is not clear here:

(82) *dejal**-nana’-ni***
cook-PSEU-PRC
‘to pretend to be cooking’ {JM 18, 085a}

(83) *pul-eɬ**-nana’-ni***
sweep-AGT-PSEU-PRC
‘to pretend to be sweeping’ {JM 18, 085}

The fact that verbs containing the suffix *-nana’* are productively combined with the verbalizing suffix *-ni* suggests that *-nana’* creates a noun. However, this is contradicted by the fact that when nominalized in a subordinate clause, the suffix *-wa* is attached to the base ending in *-nana’*, as in (84). Nominal bases would either be verbalized by *-ni* first, or they would undergo reduplication (cf. 11.1.1, 11.9).

(84) *ba:-ra ja’ iɬ jiram-poj-kay os kuy**nana’**-wa*
finish-BE.ntr just 1 pretty-CAU-INV ART.n.p play-NMZ
‘I just liked to play of everything (?).’ {EA, Dichiyeye 002}

There are at least two lexicalized cases, in which the suffix is attached a root that does not occur in any other combination. One is the verb *kuyna:na’* ‘play’ (cf. (85)), the other one is the mirative particle *ji:na:na’* ‘suddenly’ (cf. (86)), which indicates surprise.

(85) *iń kuy**na:na’** n-is itilakwa-n-dichi:ye*
1intr play obl-ART.pl man-LN-child
‘I played with the little boys.’ {EA, Dichiyeye 003}

(86) *ji:**na:na’** ona-ye-na-wa=u*
MIR know-BE.person-DR-NMZ=m
‘He didn’t know [his own daughter]!’[244] {EA, Visita 080}

[244] The negative meaning of this clause is inferred from the nominalization of the predicate and from the context. The clause should contain the negative particle *kas* (cf. 7.15.1, 12.5.1), which can, however, be omitted.

10.5. *-sicha'kwa* 'desiderative' and *-baycho* 'mental state'

The two suffixes *-sicha'kwa* and *-baycho* may be historically complex. In the suffix *-sicha'kwa*, the suffix *-kwa* can be isolated, which may be identical with the suffix *-kwa* 'BDP' (cf. 8.3.2). The element *a'* may originate from the irrealis marker *<a'>* (cf. 10.3). The suffix *-baycho* seems to contain the bound nominal element *cho* 'BR.inside'. However, the meaning of these suffixes does not reflect the meaning of their constituent parts. Therefore, I consider them as monomorphemic.[245]

Both *-sicha'kwa* and *-baycho* are attached to the derivational verbal bases described in 8.7, and they generally create morphological nouns. Evidence for this is provided by the way an action noun is formed (cf. 11.1): like nouns, predicates with these suffixes normally undergo infixing reduplication, as shown by (87) and (88).

(87) *che jayna n-os joł-sicha'**<kwa~>**kwa=as jo'me*
and DSC obl-ART.n.p BR.egg-DES<NMZ.N~>=ART.n.a bird
'And then, as the hen wanted to lay eggs …' {EA, Huevo 009f.}

(88) *jayna kas aj-bay**<cho~>**cho=os waraṅtey*
DSC NEG ?-MST<NMZ.N~>=ART.n.p toad
'Then the toad wasn't calm anymore.' {ER, Sapo 011}

As far as the suffix *-baycho* is concerned, however, there are words containing this element which behave like verbs, because they take the nominalizing suffix *-wa*. The following example shows this:

(89) *kilay-'eł-ni, kał to'-baycho:**-wa***
forget-BR.name-PRC NEG.1 ?-MST-NMZ
'I forgot the name, I don't remember.' {AH, EA&AH 054}

The way in which words that contain one of these suffixes are nominalized seems to be lexically determined. Some words, such as those in (87) and (88), are always nominalized by reduplication, while others, like the one in (89), are always nominalized by the suffix *-wa*.

The suffixes *-sicha'kwa* and *-baycho* are preferably attached to monovalent verbal bases. On bivalent bases, shown in (90) and (91), they are very rare.

(90) *sa~sal**-sicha'kwa***
DR~search-DES
'to want to look for X' {EA 19, 125}

(91) *kas de~dej**-baycho***
NEG DR~cook-MST
'to not want to cook X' [EA 19, 098a}

[245] Also Judy & Judy (1967), who always aim at a very fine-grained morphemic analysis, consider these forms monomorphemic.

Usually, a bivalent root is combined with the agentive voice marker *-eɬe*, which creates a monovalent base, before *-baycho* or *-sicha'kwa* is attached:

(92) *sal-**eɬ-sicha'kwa***
search-AGT-DES
'I want to search.'

The suffix *-sicha'kwa* indicates that the actor wants to or has a physical urge to carry out the action denoted by the verbal base, or that the event is about to happen. The difference is determined by semantic properties of the verbal base. On a base which denotes an action, the suffix indicates a desire. On a base which denotes an event whose only participant is an undergoer, the suffix indicates that the event is about to occur.

The following examples illustrate *-sicha'kwa* as a desiderative marker on actor-oriented bases (cf. also (90) and (92) above):

(93) *inɬa* *joy-**sicha'kwa*** *n-ulkwań*
PRO.1sg go-DES obl-PRO.2sg
'I want to go with you.' {EA, Jaguar 010}

(94) *di:ra mo: naye:-wa--'ne, di:ran vań-ka-pa-**sicha'kwa**--'ne*
still yet marry-NMZ--f still appear-MLT-APPL-DES--f
'She isn't married yet, she still wants to study.' {HR, TX 227}

In (95)–(97), the base denotes an event whose participant is an undergoer. Here, the suffix indicates that the event denoted by the base is about to happen:

(95) *jayoń iń tami-**sicha'kwa**, payes-na jayoń os*
seem 1intr birth-DES feel-DR seem ART.n.p
chi-wa=os majni
go_out-NMZ=ART.n.p my_child
'It seemed like I was about to give birth, I felt as if my child was coming out.'
{EA, Cbba 120}

(96) *jayna kayni-**sicha'kwa** us majni jayna*
DSC die-DES ART.m my_child DSC
'My son was already about to die.' {EA, Cbba 238}

(97) *jayna ɬo'-**sicha'kwa**, bo jayna bi:jaw*
DSC fall-DES REAS DSC old
is ko'o-<vo~>vos-a=a
ART.pl tree-<INAL~>BE.wood-LV=n
'[The house] is already about to fall apart, because its beams are already old.'
{EA, Motacu 005}

The following example illustrates a weather verb, *lu'-ti'* (rain-VBZ), in combination with the desiderative suffix *-sicha'kwa*. Here, this suffix indicates that the event is about to occur. Note that the suffix *-ti'* is dropped before further suffixes (cf. 8.7).[246]

(98) *lu'-**sicha'kwa*** *jayna,* *paya'-ni* *as* *beńra*
rain-DES DSC dark-PRC ART.n sky
'It was already about to rain, the sky was dark.' {EA, Tomina' 080}

A physical urge as indicated by the desiderative suffix is illustrated in (99) and (100). This is an intermediate category between the actor-oriented (cf. (93), (94)) and the undergoer-oriented use (cf. (95)–(97)) illustrated above. The verb roots which are involved here are normally combined with the suffix *-kwa* 'bodily process' (cf. 8.3.2). When the desiderative suffix *-sicha'kwa* is attached, the suffix *-kwa* 'BDP' is dropped.

(99) *jayna* *n-os* *ta:ra:-wa,* *iń* *choj-**sicha'kwa**,*
DSC obl-ART.n.p wake_up-NMZ 1intr urinate-DES
ban *kwayi:-maj* *n-os* *po'mo:-wa*
but laziness-VLC obl-ART.n.p get_up-NMZ
'As I woke up, I had to urinate, but I was too lazy to get up.' {EA, Gallina 013}

(100) *n-as* *jayna* *bań-wiń-wa='ne* *no-kos* *soń-'o:ra,*
obl-ART.n DSC put-BE.beat-NMZ=f obl-ART.n.a other-hour
jayna *ń* *joro-**sicha'kwa***
DSC 1intr sleep-DES
'When the second hour [of the session] starts, I am already tired.'{EA, EA&AH 094}

I will now turn to the suffix *-baycho*. This suffix, which I term "mental state", appears in two different environments. Its function is clearest in negative contexts, where it indicates that the participant is reluctant to carry out the action denoted by the base. Here, the suffix *-baycho* is as productive as *-sicha'kwa*, and the two suffixes clearly contrast in meaning. Compare (101) below with (93) above:

(101) *kas* *joy-**baycho**=sne* *jayna* *ja'a*
NEG go-MST=f.a DSC just
'She just didn't want to go anymore.' {EA, Lagartija 037}

Unlike *-sicha'kwa*, however, the suffix *-baycho* in a negative clause creates a predicate whose argument is expressed like a possessor or like the first argument in a transitive clause (ARG_1). That is, the argument is obligatorily expressed by an internal clitic, as in (101); when the argument is the first person singular, it is optionally encoded by the proclitic element of Set 1, i.e., by *ł* attached to the preceding vowel (cf. 3.9.3, 4.1.2, 7.4):

[246] Note that also in (87) and (95) above, the suffix *-sicha'kwa* is attached to bases from which the verbalizing suffix *-ti'* is dropped. The basic forms of those verbs are *joł-ti'* 'to lay eggs' (egg-VBZ) and *tami:-ti'* 'to give birth' (birth-VBZ), respectively.

(102) *kaɬ* *am-**baycho***
NEG.1 enter-MST
'I don't want to go in.' {EA 6, 101c}

The following examples are further illustrations of the use of *-baycho* in negative contexts. In (103) and (104), the suffix is attached to a middle root. In (103), the negative meaning is inferred from the context, whereas in (104) it is signalled by the particle *kas*:

(103) *isne* *kay-**baycho**=sne,* *bo* *ka:* *n-os* *jemes*
PRO.f.a eat-MST=f.a REAS PRCL obl-ART.n.p CONT
ja' *joy-wa=sne* *n-os* *torina-wa=sne*
just go-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.n.p toilet-NMZ=f.a
'She didn't want to eat, in order not to go to the toilet all the time.' {EA, Flaca 001}

(104) *bo* *ji:yi,* *kas* *non-**baycho**=us*
REAS cry.MD NEG suckle-MST=m.a
'Because [the baby] cried, he did not want the breast.' {EA, Desvelada 014}

The following are examples of *-baycho* on bases with an incorporated argument:

(105) *kas* *jan<a'>pa=sne* *joy* *di'* *pul-a-cho=sne,*
NEG do_like<IRR>=f.a SPC HYP sweep-DR-BR.inside=f.a
pul-a-lo:los, *pul-a-lolos-**baycho**,* *jankwa=sne*
sweep-DR-yard sweep-DR-yard-MST say=f.a
'She probably doesn't want to sweep inside, to sweep the yard, I don't want to sweep the yard, she said.' {EA, Vuelve hija 005}

(106) *kas* *puɬ-a-mo-**baycho*** *alkava:-ni* *rey*
NEG pluck-DR-BE.bird-MST right_now-PRC again
'I don't want to pluck chicken right now, you know.' {EA, Pollos 006}

In affirmative contexts, the suffix *-baycho* behaves differently, and it is even possible that is has a different morphological status. Here, it occurs on roots which usually take an incorporated element instead. Under a of the following examples, the use of *-baycho* is illustrated, and under b, a word is given to illustrate normal incorporation of a bound nominal element on the respective root.

(107) a. *bo* *ja'* *ba:-**baycho*** *n-as* *pul-a-lolos-wa*
REAS just finish-MST obl-ART.n sweep-DR-yard-NMZ
'… because (I am) just tired of sweeping the yard.' {EA, Vuelve hija 006}

b. *ba:-**ra*** 'all' (finish-BE.ntr)

(108) a. *jayna ń jol-**baycho***
DSC 1intr wrong-MST
'I was surprised then.' {EA, Siripipimmo 013}

b. *jol-**res*** 'bottom-up' (wrong-BE.buttocks)

(109) a. *uso' us dichi:ye di' al-**baycho**=kuł majni*
DM.p.n ART.m child REL fellow-MST=ART.m.a.1 my_child
'There was a boy who is a friend of my son's.' {ER, Sapo 001}

b. *al-**ra*** 'friend' (fellow-BE.ntr)

The fact that *-baycho* occurs in the same position here as a bound nominal element suggests that it has a nominal origin, too.

While it is sometimes difficult to isolate the meaning of the root in these verbs, it is clearly the case that predicates with *-baycho* in affirmative contexts denote some kind of mental state or psychological property. This can be seen in (107) and (108) above, as well as in (110)–(112) below:

(110) *dom-**baycho** us dotor*
abhor?-MST ART.m doctor
'The doctor was stingy.' {EA, Cbba 032}

(111) *ruj-ka-**baycho** jayna, ji:yi, łań*
damage-MLT-MST DSC cry.MD EV
'You are sad, you cry, don't you [when you are left alone]!' {EA, Lonely 022}

(112) *jayaw-**baycho** as jasławanra, as chodo:wi*
nice-MST ART.n heart ART.n belly
'My stomach and my belly are calm [when I drink coke].' {EA, Antojos I 007}

Two very frequent words which contain *-baycho* and which clearly denote mental activities are also worth mentioning. These are *pabaycho* 'think' (cf. (113)) and *to'baycho* 'remember' (cf. (114)) These can be considered lexicalized, since their roots are not productively combined with other morphemes.

(113) *di:ran joy choy pa:**baycho** is juyeni, łavo-ka-baycho*
still SPC certainly think ART.pl person suffer-MLT-MST
'At least probably the people think, they feel sad.' {HR TX 398}

(114) *bo ińto'**baycho** choń inła n-ulkwań*
REAS 1intr remember HAB PRO.1sg obl-PRO.2sg
'Because I will always remember you.' {EA, Solopaye 031}

Since all these words involve, to some degree, a mental activity or state, the suffix *-baycho* in these cases can be considered identical to *-baycho* in negative contexts, where it also indicates a (more specific) state of mind.

Note, however, that there is one formal difference between predicates containing *-baycho* in affirmative and in negative clauses. In affirmative use, the suffix *-baycho* creates a predicate whose argument is absolutive, as expected of monovalent predicates. This could be seen, for example, in (108) and (114), where the first person singular is encoded by the bound pronoun of Set 2, *iṅ*.[247] In contrast, in negative contexts, the derived predicate has an internally cliticized argument (cf. (101)–(106)). No explanation for this contrast in person encoding can be given at this point.

10.6. The intensifier *-u'/-ay'*

The suffix *-u'/-ay'* (*-ku'/-kay'* after a vowel) has an intensifying function. It indicates that the action denoted by the verb root is carried out carefully, completely, with more energy, etc. The suffix is very rare in the text data. The following examples are from elicitation, and the consultant provided an adequate context:

(115) *loy iɬ tan-**u'**-na bo ka: n-as ruɬ-a-ra:-wa*
ITN 1 cut-INT-DR REAS PRCL obl-ART.n ruin-DR-BE:ntr-NMZ
'I'll cut it well (= carefully) in order not to destroy it.' {EA 12, 102}

(116) *loy iɬ sil-**u'**-na bo as jiran<ni~>ni=a*
ITN 1 adorn-INT REAS ART.n pretty<NMZ.N~>=n
'I'll adorn it carefully so that it will be pretty.' {EA 12, 148}

(117) *taṁ-vo:s-eɬ bo kaɬ rey bat-**u'**-na:-wa=a*
get_down-BE.wood-APPL REAS NEG.1 again put-INT-DR-NMZ=n
'It fell down because I didn't hang it up well.' {EA 12, 153a}

The intensifying suffix has two allomorphs: *-u'* and *-ay'*. They are illustrated in (118) and (119), respectively.

(118) *jat-**u'**-na*
hit-INT-DR
'I hit X strongly.'

(119) *suy-**ay'**-na*
deprive-INT-DR
'I take (it) away completely from X.'

[247] The word *al-baycho* in (109), to which a referential element is internally cliticized, may seem to be a contradictory example. However, this word occurs in an NP denoting a possessed entity, and the possessor is always internally cliticized.

As was already observed by Judy & Judy (1967: 403), only the verb root *mas-* 'beat' takes yet another allomorph, *-o'*, shown in (120). This allomorph does not occur on any other verb root.

(120) *loy mas**-o'**-na*
ITN beat-INT-DR
'I'll beat X up terribly.' {EA 12, 099a}

The distribution of *-u'* and *-ay'* depends on the (last) vowel of the root (cf. 2.9.8). It is based on maximal distinctness: roots containing /a/ (with the exception of *mas-* 'beat') take the suffix *-u'* (cf. (118)), and those containing /u/ take the suffix *-ay'* (cf. (119)). Roots that contain one of the other vowels, /o/, /e/, or /i/, can take either of the suffixes:

(121) a. *to**s-ay'**-na*
~ b. *to**s-u'**-na*
peel-INT-DR
'I peel it well.' {JM 18, 384}

(122) a. *wer**e**l-ay'**-na*
~ b. *wer**e**l-u'**-na*
dry-INT-DR
'I dry it well [e.g. by putting it outside].' {JM 16, 316}

(123) a. *lir**i**j-ay'**-na*
~ b. *lir**i**j-u'**-na*
shake-INT-DR
'I shake it well.' {JM 16, 331}

When the intensifying suffix is attached to a vowel, it is usually preceded by a /k/, as in (124). On some bases, however, it is preceded by the palatal glide, and the form with /k/ is not accepted, as shown in (125). Possibly, the verb root *leve-* 'chase off' originally had the form *levey-*, which has remained in this derivation.

(124) *jo**-kay'**-na*
~ *jo**-ku'**-na*
heat-INT-DR
'I heat X well.' {JM 16, 322}

(125) a. *loy il leve**-yay'**-na is jo'me*
~ ... *leve**-yu'**-na* ...
ITN 1 chase_off ART.pl bird
'I'll chase away the chickens well.' [i.e., so that they are all gone]

b. * *leve**-kay'**-na*
* *leve**-ku'**-na* {JM 17, 068a}

The intensifying suffix directly follows the verb root. Therefore, it never cooccurs with the base-internal allomorph of the direct marker (*-a*), which can only occur in second-syllable position (cf. 8.1.1). When it cooccurs with the multiple-event marker *-ka* (cf. 10.2.1), the intensifying suffix comes first:

(126) *loy iɬ kel-**u'-ka**-baɬ-na*
ITN 1 open-INT-MLT-BR.cover-DR
'I'll uncover (it) [e.g. the firewood] completely.' {EA 12, 108b}

A base with the intensive marker takes, in principle, the same voice markers as a verb root (cf. 8.1). The above examples all contained the direct voice marker. The following are examples of an intensified verb with the inverse (cf. (127)) and the reflexive/reciprocal marker (cf. (128)):

(127) *sal-**u'-kay***
search-INT-INV
'X searched for me well.' {JM 17, 212j}

(128) *kwey iɬ sal-**u'-cheɬ** che kaɬ dumme-wa=n*
IMM 1 search-INT-R/R and NEG.1 encounter-NMZ=2
'We just searched thoroughly for each other, and [despite this] we didn't meet.'
{JM 17, 212k}

Like on a simple verb root, the resultative is marked by the dummy element *-'i* (cf. 8.1.5):

(129) *sal-**u'-'i***
search-INT-D
'It has been/has to be searched for well.' {JM 17, 212n}

(130) *choy rey lirij-**ay'-'i** i:*
certainly again shake-INT-D DM.spk.pl
'These have to be shaken well, of course.' {JM16, 331}

The agentive marker *-eɬe*, however, has not been found on intensified bases.

The intensifying suffix is most productively combined with bivalent roots. However, in spontaneous speech, it is mainly found with the monovalent positional roots *de:-* 'lie', *as-* 'sit', *en-* 'stand', and *bat-* 'be put', as in the following examples.

(131) *ban jayna ɲ rey de-**ku'**-ni jayna*
but DSC 1intr again lie-INT-PRC DSC
'But I already stayed in bed [i.e., I was ill].' {DM, Fracaso 031}

(132) *n-os* *di:ra* *as-**u'**-wa=kus* *alwaj,* *joy-cheɬ--iy'ɬi*
obl-ART.n.p still sit-INT-NMZ=ART.m.a spouse go-R/R--1pl
'When my husband still lived with me, we went [hunting].' {EG, Sicurí 001}

(133) *bo* *en-**u'**-ni* *kos* *up-a-vos-wanra:-ni*
REAS stand-INT-PRC ART.n.a ?-DR-BE.wood-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'Because the climbing post still stands there.'[248] {EA, Programa 021}

(134) *os* *sota'-ba* *di'* *joɬ-kwa* *di'* *bat-**u'**-ni*
ART.n.a one-BR.round REL BR.egg-ABS REL put-INT-PRC
bo *as* *joɬ-wa=a*
REAS ART.n BR.egg-NMZ=n
'... the one egg that had stayed put so that it [the hen] would lay eggs.'[249]
{EA, Huevo 004f.}

Notice that these bases are usually combined with the verbalizing suffix *-ni*. Since this suffix usually appears on bases which can also appear independently (typically nouns; cf. 11.9), this suggests that the bases in (131)–(134) can also occur alone. However, it is not clear whether this is the case: the forms *enu', asu'* etc. are accepted by some speakers as an answer to a question, as in (135), but rejected by others.

(135) Q. *kino'* *as-**u'**-ni*
DM.f.a sit-INT-PRC
'Is she still there (at that place)?'

A. *lo* *kino'* ***a:s-u'***
ASS DM.f.a sit-PRC
'She'll still be there.' {EC 16, 445}

A base with an intensifying suffix cannot incorporate its argument. This is illustrated in (136). Example (136)a. illustrates the simple intensified verb, (136)b the verb with an incorporated argument, and (136)c the unacceptable intensified base with incorporated argument:

(136) a. *loy* *iɬ* *lirij-**ay'**-na*
ITN 1 shake-INT-DR
'I'll shake it well.' {EA12, 109}

b. *loy* *iɬ* *lirij-**beń**-na*
ITN 1 shake-BR.flat_flex-DR
'I'll shake the paper/cloth/leather.' {EA 12, 198}

[248] This refers to a post that is placed in the middle of the corral for a climbing competition during the village *fiesta*.
[249] One egg has to remain in the hen's nest so that the hen lays eggs again there.

c. * *loy* *iɬ* *lirij**-ay'-beń**-na*
ITN 1 shake-INT-BR.flat_flex-DR
('I'll shake the paper/piece of cloth well.') {EA 12, 198a}

Likewise, it seems that an intensified form cannot incorporate a modifying noun or bound nominal element which denotes a part of whole (cf. 9.2.3). Again, example (137)a illustrates the simple intensified form, (137)b the form with the incorporated noun, and (137)c the unacceptable form which contains both the intensifyer and the incorporated element:

(137) a. *loy* *iɬ* *ben**-u'**-na* *is* *chorimpa=**'ne***
ITN 1 paint-INT-DR ART.pl fingernail=f
'I'll paint her fingernails well/completely.' {EA 12, 227a}

b. *loy* *iɬ* *ben-a**-chorimpa***
ITN 1 paint-DR-fingernail
'I'll paint her fingernails.' {EA 12, 227a}

c. * *ben**-u'-chorimpa***
paint-INT-fingernail
('to paint one's fingernails/have painted fingernails') {EA 12, 227b}

However, the intensifying suffix has been found on verbs which contain a different type of incorporated modifier (perhaps instrumental or classificatory incorporation, cf. 9.2.5, 9.2.6):

(138) *nuy**-ay'**-vus-eɬ*
be_dirty-INT-BR.dust-APPL
'to be very dirty of dust [from lying on the ground]' {EA 12, 161a}

(139) *dek**-u'**-les-ni*
lift?-INT-BE.fire-PRC
'The fire is still glowing.' {EA 12, 203f}

The distribution of the intensifying suffix in verbs with an incorporated element is a matter of further research.

10.7. Phasal verbs

Phasal aspect (inchoative, terminative, completive) can be expressed by three types of complex predicates, listed in (140):

(140) a. Phasal root + root + *-u'/-ay'*
b. Phasal root + complex base + *-kakaɬ*
c. Phasal root + bound lexical element

These patterns have in common that a verb root which expresses an aspectual value incorporates another element, which denotes the event. Depending on the incorporated element, the verb additionally receives a suffix. None of the phasal verbs receives voice marking: they are inherently monovalent. The three patterns in (140)a–c are illustrated (141)–(143). They will be described in greater detail below.

(141) *che jayna* ***ba:-det-u'*** *jayna duńna=n jayna*
and DSC finish-toast-PH then grind-DR=2 DSC
'And when (you) finish toasting, you grind it.' {EA Motacu 025}

(142) *jayna iń* ***ba:-tijkarim-kakaɬ***
DSC 1intr finish-work-PH
'I've already finished working.' {EA, 6, 282}

(143) *jayna* ***ba:-lomaj*** *peʼɬeɬe jayna*
DSC finish-BE.time all DSC
'Then everything is finished.' {EA, Chaco I 021}

10.7.1. Phasal verb roots

The verb roots found so far which can serve as aspectual roots are *ba:-* 'finish, complete', *pen-* 'land', and *nan-* 'let loose'. The root *ba:-* (cf. (141)) is the most productive one, whereas the others were more difficult to elicit.

The lexical meaning of the verb root *ba:-* is that an event has been completed. This root always has to be combined with a bound nominal element that classifies the undergoer of the event (cf. 9.2.6):

(144) *jayna* ***ba:-****mi* *k-is* *to:mi*
then finish-TRC.water obl-ART.pl water
'The water has finished.' {EA 6, 011}

(145) *loy iɬ* ***ba:-****ra:-na*
ITN 1 finish-BE.ntr-DR
'I will complete it.' {EA 7, 095d}

Lexically, the monovalent verb root *pen-* indicates that a flying object (like a plane or a bird) lands on something:

(146) ***pen-****cheɬ--is* *n-is* *tolej-kwa* *di'* *pay'-'i*
land-R/R--pl.a obl-ART.pl BR.branch-ABS REL smear-D
'They [the macaws] landed on the branches which were smeared (with a sticky mass).' {EA, Parabas 028}

When this root takes an incorporated noun or nominal element, this element denotes the ground:

(147) *jap-a-ɬe=as* *os* *lo:los,* ***pen-lo:ɬ-e***
surround-DR-APPL ART.n.p yard land-BR.water-AGT
n-os *wala:cho*
obl-ART.n.p creek
'It [the cow] surrounded the yard, it went into the creek.' {EA, Cbba 094}

The verb root *nan-*, like *ba:-*, is always combined with a bound lexical element. It has the meaning of setting something free or letting it loose.

(148) *che* *iɬ* ***nan-****a:-ra* *os* *po~poy-kwa*
and 1 let_loose-DR-BE.ntr ART.n.p RED~BR.animal-ABS
'And I set the animal free.' {ER, Sapo 016}

When functioning as phasal roots, the meaning of these verb roots is bleached; they only express phasal aspect. For the most frequent phasal root, *ba:-*, this does not entail much of a semantic modification, since as a lexical verb it has no other meaning than that of finishing or completing. Consequently, in a phasal verb, it indicates that the action encoded by the incorporated root is completed, as in the following text examples.

(149) *jayna* ***ba:-das-u',*** *jayna* *laḿ-vo:s-eɬ,* *jayna*
DSC finish-mow-PH DSC chop-BE.wood-APPL DSC
lat-a-vo:s-eɬ *isko* *jayna*
chop-DR-BE.wood-APPL PRO.pl DSC
'Then [they] finish mowing, then [it] gets chopped, then they chop.'
{EA, Chaco I 012}

In contrast, *nan-* as a phasal root indicates that the action has just been interrupted or stopped without having reached a result. This can be seen when contrasting this root (cf. (150)a) with the root *ba:-* in a phasal verb (cf. (150)b):

(150) a. *jayna* *kine'* ***ba:-****tan-u'*
DSC DM.std.f finish-cut-PH
'She has already finished cutting.'

b. *jayna* *kine'* ***nan-****tan-u'*
DSC DM.std.f let_loose-cut-PH
'She has already stopped cutting.' {EA 13, 100}

The non-completive meaning of *nan-* is also apparent from the following text example:

(151) *n-os* *choń* ***nan-****sit-ay'-wa=sne,* *jayna* *inła*
obl-ART.n.p HAB let_loose-sew-PH-NMZ=f.a DSC PRO.1sg
ń *joy-cheł* *jayna* *sit-a:-'oj* *jema',* *préprepreprépréprepre,*
1intr go-R/R DSC sew-DR-BE.clothes also ONOM
n-os *ma:kina=sne*
obl-ART.n.p machine=f.a
'Every time she stopped sewing, I would go and sew as well, "preprepreprepre," on her machine.' {EA, Makina 005}

The root *pen-* marks inchoative aspect of an activity. Consider the following examples:

(152) ***pen-****ła:vi*
land-BE.bathe
'start bathing'

(153) *loy* *iń* ***pem-****pak-u'*
ITN 1intr land-count-PH
'I'll start counting.' [e.g., when it is a lot and the counting will take some time.]
{EA 13, 142a}

As was said above, the roots *nan-* and *pen-* are less productive as phasal verb roots than *ba:-*. The following example shows the inacceptability of the root *pen-* on a verb which can occur with *ba:-*:

(154) a. ***ba:-****toroj-di-na-kakał*
finish-dust-BE.house-DR-PH
'I've finished dusting the house.' {EA 13, 143}

b.* ***pen-****toroj-di-na-kakał*
land-dust-BE.house-DR-PH {EA 13, 143a}
('I've started dusting the house.')

There seem to be more than just these three verb roots which can function as phasal roots. Their occurrence is very rare, however. An example is the complex verbal element *al-piń* 'half-way'.

(155) *jayna* *iń* ***al-piń-****sit-ay'*
DSC 1intr fellow-BE.half-sew-PH
'I've sewn half of it.' {EA 13, 140a}

Other verbs resemble phasal verbs, but are unanalysable at the present stage. Some contain the element *jana'-*, which is not clearly identifiable:

(156) ***jana'****-doy-uk-a=n*
?-lick-PH-LV=2sg
'You're licking it fast [e.g., a sweet].' {EA 13, 228}

(157) ***jana'****-yey-a=n* *n-as* *tijkarim-wa=n*
?-want?-LK=2 obl-ART.n work-NMZ=2
'You work fast.' {EA 13, 228a}

(158) ***jana'****-sam-uk-a=n*
?-weave-DUR-LV=2
'You weave fast.' {EA 13, 228b}

Other morphemes which may (originally) be phasal roots are *aj-* and *ta:-*. Their meaning is not fully clear, either. In (159) and (160), it is shown how they contrast with the root *ba:-* 'finish':

(159) a. ***ba:-****te'*
finish-BE.breath
'to be exhausted'

b. *loy* *iṅ* ***aj-****<te:~>tej*
ITN 1intr ?-<MD~>BE.breath
'I'll rest.'

(160) a. *jayna* *kode:* ***ba:-****les*
DSC DM.n finish-BE.fire
'It [an object] is already burned (completely).' {EA 7, 048c}

b. *kode:* *ja'* ***ta:-****<le:~>les*
DM.nst.n just ?-<MD~>BE.fire
'It [a fire or object] is burning.' {EA 9, 100}

I will now discuss the morphological structure of the entire phasal verb. As could be seen in (140), and as was illustrated by (141)–(143), a phasal verb can contain a simple verb root, in which case it is followed by the phasal suffix. It can contain a complex verbal base, in which case it receives the suffix *-kakaɬ*. Finally, it can contain a bound element, in which case there is no subsequent suffix. I will describe these three patterns in turn.

10.7.2. The phasal suffix *-u'/-ay'*

Phasal verbs with a simple root receive a suffix which has basically the same phonological properties as the intensifying suffix discussed in 10.6. After a root containing the vowel /a/, the suffix is *-u'*, as shown by (161), and after a root containing the vowel /u/, the suffix is *-ay'*, as shown by (162) (cf. also 2.9.8).

(161) a. *jayna iń ba:-tan-**u'***
DSC 1intr finish-cut-PH
'I've already finished cutting it.'

b. **ba:-tan-**ay'*** {EA 13, 018}

(162) a. *ba:-pul-**ay'***
finish-sweep-PH
'to finish sweeping'

b.* *ba:-pul-**u'*** {EA 13, 021}

After any of the other vowels, the phasal can be either *-u'* or *-ay'*, as shown in (163)–(165). In this respect it also resembles the intensifying suffix (cf. (121)–(123) above):

(163) *iń ba:-łoy-**ay'***
~ *iń ba:-łoy-**u'***
1intr finish-dye-PH
'I've finished dying it.' {EA 13, 014}

(164) *jayna kwey iń ba:-ben-**u'***
~ *jayna kwey iń ba:-ben-**ay'***
DSC IMM 1intr finish-paint-PH
'I've finished painting/writing.' {EA 13, 015}

(165) *jayna iń ba:-nis-**u'** n-as me:sa*
~ *jayna iń ba:-nis-**ay'** n-as me:sa*
DSC 1intr finish-wipe_clean-PH obl-ART.n table
'I've already finished cleaning the table.' {EA 13, 012}

There is only one phonological difference with the intensifying suffix: the root *mas-* 'beat' is not combined with a special allomorph *-o'* (cf. 10.6, example (120) above). Instead, like other roots containing /a/, it takes the suffix *-u'*:

(166) *jayna iń ba:-**mas-u'** n-us dichi:ye*
DSC 1intr finish-beat-PH obl-ART.m child
'I finished beating the child.' {EA, 13, 040}

The fact that the root *mas-* 'beat' behaves regularly here, unlike in the case of the intensifying derivation described above, is one reason to consider the phasal suffix as different from the intensifying suffix, even though they may have the same origin. Another reason is that the two can cooccur, as I will show in 10.7.3 below.

The question is what the phasal suffix *-u'/-ay'*, which probably has a common origin with the homophonous intensifying suffix, actually contributes to the phasal verb. One possibility is that it expresses duration: an aspect-neutral verb root is first derived for durative aspect so

that it can, subsequently, be incorporated into a phasal verb. This is suggested by the fact that any verb root can be derived in this way, also those roots which denote inherently punctual (as in (167)) or telic events. The comment of speakers in this case is usually that the event has taken place several times.

(167) *jayna* *iṅ* ***ba:-suy-ay'*** *n-us* *dichi:ye*
DSC 1intr finish-deprive-PH obl-ART.m child
'I've finished taking it away from the boy (repeatedly).' {EA 13, 094a}

If the phasal suffixes imply duration, this may be the historical connection with the intensifying suffixes, which, however, usually do not have a durative meaning.

As was mentioned above, all phasal verbs are monovalent. This can be seen from the fact that these verbs cannot take more than one core argument, which is encoded by an externally cliticized bound pronoun or by a bound SAP-pronoun of Set 2. Also, when marked as imperative, these verbs are combined with the monovalent imperative suffix *-ki*:

(168) *nan-sam-**u'-ki*** *jayna*
let_loose-twist-PH-IMP.MV DSC
'Stop weaving now!' {EA 14, 171a}

Other derivational suffixes are attached to phasal verbs without any internal modification, as is the case with other monovalent bases (cf. 8.7). The following is an example of a nominalized phasal verb (a similar example was given in (151)):

(169) *jayna* *rey* *n-os* *ba:-'il-**ay'-wa**=sne* *n-is* *mo'incho*
DSC again obl-ART.n.p finish-spread-PH-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.pl *chivé*
jayna *rey* *kine'* *it-a:-ba* *n-os* *ve'e*
DSC again DM.std.f gather-DR-BR.round obl-ART.p fire
'Then, when she had finished spreading the manioc mass, she was already preparing the fire.' {EA, Ay'ku I 046}

A phasal verb with a simple verb root can be combined with the applicative suffix *-eɬ*.[250] On these verbs, this suffix indicates that the result of the action is reached, but that the agent is unknown or irrelevant.

(170) *ba:-'il-**uk-eɬ***
*~ ba:-'il-**ay-eɬ***
finish-spread-PH-APPL
'It is spread in the sun.' [no matter who did it] {EA 13, 020a}

[250] Note that when the vowel-initial suffix *-eɬ* follows, the allomorph *-u'* is realized as /uk/; in contrast, the glottal stop of the allomorph *-ay'* in word-final position is dropped: it is realized as /aj/. This is due to the properties of the phoneme /ˈʔ/, described in 2.2.

Like all other bases which contain the applicative marker *-eɬ* (cf. 9.8), a base with this suffix can receive overt voice marking. The addition of the direct voice marker *-na* creates a bivalent phasal verb, as can be seen from the bound first-person pronoun of Set 1, *iɬ*, and the addition of an NP that is not oblique, in (171):

(171) *jayna* *iɬ* *ba:-sit-**ay-eɬ-na*** *as* *do'we=n*
DSC 1 finish-sew-PH-APPL-DR ART.n clothes=2
'I have finished sewing your dress.' {EA 13, 004b}

10.7.3. The phasal suffix *-kakaɬ*

The suffix *-kakaɬ* occurs on phasal verbs with an incorporated complex base and on some verbs with an incorporated monovalent root. No other derivational morphology can be added after this suffix, apart from the nominalizing suffix *-wa*, which can be attached to all verbs.

The following examples show the difference between a phasal verb with an incorporated simple bivalent root and a verb with an incorporated complex base: the simple root takes the phasal suffix *-u'/-ay'*, as in (172)a, while an incorporated complex base is followed by *-kakaɬ*; this is illustrated by (172)b for a complex bivalent base (with an incorporated modifier) and by (172)c for a complex monovalent base (with an incorporated argument, cf. 9.1). The square brackets in (172)b and c indicate the complex bases. Note that the resulting verb is always monovalent, independently of the valency of the incorporated base.

(172) a. *jayna* *kine'* *ba:-lat-**u'***
DSC DM.std.f finish-chop-PH
'She has already finished chopping.'

b. *jayna* *kine'* *ba:-[lat-a-piń]-**kakaɬ***
DSC DM.std.f finish-chop-DR-BE.half-PH
'She has already finished chopping (X) into pieces.' {EA 13, 099a}

c. *ba:-[lat-a-piń-cha-ra]-**kakaɬ***
finish-chop-DR-BE.half-DR2-BE.firewood-PH
'[She] has already finished chopping firewood into pieces.' {EA 13, 099b}

The following example shows that a verb which is combined with the intensifying suffix *-u'/-ay'* can also be incorporated into a phasal verb. As could also be seen in (172)b above, the verb is incorporated together with its bivalent voice marker (here, *-na* 'DR'):

(173) *jayna* *iń* *ba:-[mas-**o'**-na]-kakaɬ*
DSC 1intr finish-beat-INT-DR-PH
'I've finished beating (X) hard.' {EA 13, 040a}

However, note that a simple bivalent root, in contrast, always loses its voice marker when it is incorporated; a simple bivalent verb cannot be incorporated in its entirity, as shown by (174)b:

(174) a. *ba:-**mas**-u'*
finish-beat-PH
'to finish beating'

b. * *ba:-[**mas-na**]-kakaɬ*
finish-beat-DR-PH

A phasal verb with *-kakaɬ* can incorporate a simple root (or unanalysable base), too, as in (175):

(175) *jayna* *n-os* *ba:-**naye**-kakaɬ-wa,* *jayna* *ṅ* *joy-cheɬ*
DSC obl-ART.n.p finish-marry-PH-NMZ DSC 1intr go-R/R
n-us *jayna* *alwaj*
obl-ART.m DSC spouse
'Then when my wedding was over, I went with my new husband.' {JA, Naye 063}

Usually, the incorporated roots in these forms are noun roots, which can cooccur with the verbalizing suffix *-ni*. The incorporated part can either be the root alone or the form containing *-ni*. According to the speakers, there is no difference in meaning. Consider (176)a, where the root alone is incorporated, and (176)b, where it is augmented by the verbalizer *-ni*:

(176) a. *jayna* *iṅ* *ba:-**taraɬ**-kakaɬ*
DSC 1intr finish-recover-PH

~ b. *ba:-**taraɬ-ni**-kakaɬ*
finish-recover-PRC-PH
'I've recovered now.' [lit. "I've finished recovering."] {EA 13, 037}

There are not many examples of a simple monovalent root incorporated in a phasal verb. In general, however, it can be said that phasal verbs with an incorporated monovalent root have yet a different pattern: they do not take a phasal suffix at all. Consider the following examples with the monovalent roots *jo'wo* 'cough' and *joro* 'sleep' (as in the verb *jowo:-kwa* 'cough' and *joro:-kwa* 'sleep', respectively; cf. 8.3.2):

(177) *jayna* *iṅ* *ba:-jo'wo*
DSC 1intr finish-cough
'I have finished coughing.'

(178) *jayna* *iṅ* *ba:-jo:ro*
DSC 1intr finish-sleep
'I have finished sleeping.'

With some of these verbs, it can also be the independent verb form (in this case, *jowo:-kwa* 'cough') which is incorporated. As with all morphologically complex elements incorporated

in phasal verbs, the suffix *-kakaɬ* has to be attached in this case. There does not seem to be a meaning difference between (177) above and the form in (179):

(179) *jayna iṅ ba:-jowo-kwa-n-kakaɬ*
DSC 1intr finish-cough-BDP-LN-PH
'I have finished coughing.' {EA 13, 033c}

However, this alternative does not exist for all verbs that belong to the morphological class of monovalent roots that take the ending *-kwa* 'BDP' (cf. 8.3.2.1). The root *joro* 'sleep', for example, can only be incorporated by itself, as in (178). The incorporation of the full form with the ending *-kwa* is ungrammatical:

(180) **ba:-joro-kwa-n-kakaɬ*
finish-sleep-BDP-LN-PH {EA 13, 034}

There are also verbs in this class that can only be incorporated in their full form, not as a root alone. The verb *achis-kwa* 'sneeze', for example, has to be incorporated entirely, as in (181)a. The incorporation of the root alone is ungrammatical, as is shown by (181)b.

(181) a. *jayna iṅ ba:-'achis-kwa-n-kakaɬ*
DSC 1sg finish-sneeze-BDP-LN-PH
'I've finished sneezing.'

b. **ba:-'achis* {EA 13, 032}

I will return to these forms in 10.7.4 below.

Finally, note that the suffix *-kakaɬ*, even though it looks like the reduplicated form of the suffix *-kaɬ* 'immediative/impossibilitive' (cf. 10.1), differs from this suffix in that the argument is not attached by an internal clitic. Compare the encoding of the first person plural after the phasal suffix in (182) (externally cliticized) with its encoding after the suffix *-kaɬ* in (183) (internally cliticized):[251]

(182) *loy iṅ pen-tijkarim-kakaɬ**--iy'ɬi***
ITN 1intr land-work-PH--1pl
'We'll start working again.' {EA 13, 150}

(183) *jiwa-kaɬ**-a=y'ɬi***
come-IM-LV=1pl
'We came at once.' {EA, Tolkosya I 061}

[251] Note, too, that the first syllable of the suffix *-kakaɬ*, which usually represents the penultimate syllable of the word, is unexpectedly short: /kăkaɬ/. If it were the result of productive reduplication, one would expect it to be long, as in the case of the reduplicated irrealis marker *-ka:ka'* (cf. 10.3).

10.7.4. Bound lexical elements in a phasal verb

At the beginning of this section, the three patterns were presented that can constitute a phasal verb (cf. (140)). Having described phasal verbs that incorporate a verb or a verb root and also contain a suffix, *-u'/-ay'* (cf. 10.7.2) or *-kakaɬ* (cf. 10.7.3), I will now turn to phasal verbs that incorporate a bound lexical element and do not contain a suffix.

Some phasal verbs contain a lexical element that cannot function as a verb root. Semantically, some of these elements correspond exactly to a particular verb root outside a phasal verb. The corresponding verb root, in turn, can usually not be incorporated in a phasal verb. Therefore, these elements can be considered suppletive elements that only occur inside a phasal verb.

Consider example (184). Here, the event of 'bathing' is first expressed by a main-clause predicate, *ɬamɬamˈ* 'bathe', and then by a phasal verb, *ba:ɬavij* 'finish bathing'. As can be seen, the lexical element that denotes the event of 'bathing' in the phasal verb has a different form, *-ɬavij*, than the root of the main verb, *-ɬamˈ*. Furthermore, the phasal verb does not contain a phasal suffix, as it does when it incorporates a verb root (cf. 10.7.2, 10.7.3).

(184) *jayna ńˈ* ***ɬamˈ~ɬamˈ,*** *jayna ba:-**ɬa:vij***
DSC 1intr MD~bathe DSC finish-BE.bathe
'Then I bathed, then I finished bathing.' {EA, Cbba 072}

In Table 30, the elements encountered in phasal verbs are given that have a verb-like meaning, but do not occur as verb roots. Illustrations will be given below.

Table 30. Verblike elements that occur inside phasal verbs

suppletive bound root	related verb root (not inside phasal verbs)	meaning
-bu	*kay-*	'eat'
-ɬavij	*ɬamˈ-*	'bathe'
-wiˈ	*mas- (?)*	'beat'
-loboj	*te:lo*	'dance'
-ris	?	'remove (of fruit)?'

The following examples illustrate phasal verbs with the suppletive roots *-bu* 'eat' (cf. (185)), *-ɬavi* 'bathe' (cf. (184)), and *-wit* 'beat' (cf. (186)):

(185) *n-os ba:-**bu**-wa=sne, jayna tivij-ni os chodowi=sne*
obl-ART.n.p finish-BE.eat-NMZ=f.a DSC pain-PRC ART.n.p belly=f.a
'When she finished eating, her stomach ached.' {EA, Flaca 021}

(186) *pen-ka-**wiˈ**-cheɬ, ɬek-e:ɬe, ɬe'-ka-ye:-cheɬ ena'*
land-MLT-BE.beat-R/R kick-AGT kick-MLT-BE.person-R/R DUR.std
'[The children] start hitting each other, they kick, they are kicking each other (repeatedly).' {HR TX 306}

Usually, the verb root that corresponds to a bound lexical element does not occur inside a phasal verb. Some verb roots, however, can be used instead of the bound element. For example, the verb root *ɬaḿ-* 'bathe' can be used instead of the corresponding bound element root *-ɬavi* (cf. (187) vs. (184) above). In this case, the phasal suffix *-kakaɬ* has to be attached. Note, however, that the phasal verb with the suppletive root is always preferred.

(187) *ba:-**ɬaḿ**-kakaɬ*
finish-bathe-PH
'to finish bathing' {EA 14, 257a}

In contrast, the verb 'eat' needs to be represented by the bound element in the phasal verb, as in (185). The verb root *kay-* cannot be incorporated. The same is true with the bound element *-loboj* 'dance', for which there is no alternative in a phasal verb:

(188) a. *pen-**loboj***
land-BE.dance
'to start dancing'

b. (no alternative)

Most suppletive roots correspond to monovalent verb roots. There is only one suppletive root, *-wiṅ*, which apparently corresponds to a bivalent verb root: *mas-* 'beat'. The two can be used interchangeably in the phasal construction, as (189) shows:

(189) a. *ba:-**wiṅ***
finish-BR:beat

~ b. *ba:-**mas**-u'*
finish-beat-DUR
'finish beating'

However, there is evidence that *-wit* is not directly related to the verb root *mas-* 'beat', but that it rather denotes a punctual event in general. It is used, for example, in the periphrastic inchoative construction (cf. 10.7.5 below):

(190) *loy* *iṅ* *pen-**wiṅ*** *n-as* *toroj-di-na:-wa*
ITN 1intr land-BE.beat obl-ART.n dust-BE.house-DR-NMZ
'I'll start dusting the house.' {EA 13, 143}

A bound element of which no corresponding verb has been found is *-ris*. The meaning of this element is not entirely clear. It is only found in the following context:

(191) *jayna* *ba:**-ris*** *as* *narasa:-mo*
DSC finish-remove? ART.n orange-TRC.bush
'The orange forest is already without fruits.' [i.e., its fruits have finished falling]
{EC 1, 042}

The morphological status of the bound elements described here corresponds to that of bound noun roots or bound nominal elements (cf. 5.3). For example, the phasal verb root *ba:-* 'finish, complete' obligatorily incorporates a bound lexical element (cf. 9.2.8). The incorporated element denotes the situation/entity that is finished or completed. Morphologically, there is no difference between an incorporated nominal element and an incorporated verbal element. Compare the examples in (192)–(194), where the root *ba:-* 'finish' is combined with bound nominal elements, with examples like (184) and (185) above, where the incorporated element corresponds semantically to a verb root:

(192) *ba:**-ra***
finish-BE.ntr
'all (of it)'

(193) *ba:**-mi***
finish-TRC.water
'all water; water is finished'

(194) *ba:**-lomaj***
finish-BE.time
'finish (a situation)'

As will be shown in 10.7.5, the phasal verb *ba:-lomaj* 'finish' (cf. (194)) is used for the periphrastic phasal construction.

Thus, phasal verbs which do not have a phasal suffix are morphologically identical to roots combined with a bound nominal element. Apparently, the roots which can be incorporated in this way are similar to nominal elements. This brings us back to the monovalent roots *jo:ro* 'sleep' and *jo'wo* 'cough' discussed in the previous section (examples (177) and (178)). Apart from the fact that they can occur in a phasal verb without a phasal affix, they have the common property that they typically occur in an NP, i.e. in combination with a preceding article (here, *as* 'ART.n'):

(195) *as jo'wo* '(the) cough'
as jo:ro '(the) sleep'

In contrast, the root *achis-* from the verb *achiskwa* 'to sneeze', which cannot occur alone in a phasal verb (cf. (181)b), also lacks the ability to occur in an NP:

(196) **as achis* (?'(the) sneeze')

This shows that the elements which can be incorporated in a phasal verb of the structure Phasal root – bound element (cf. (140)c) have a nominal character.

10.7.5. Periphrastic phasal constructions

Phasal aspect is often expressed by a more periphrastic construction. For completive aspect, this construction contains the phasal verb *ba:lomaj* 'finish', followed by an adverbial clause:

(197) *n-os* ***ba:-lomaj****-wa=y'ɬi* *n-os*
obl-ART.n.p finish-BE.time-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n.p
tos-na-wa=y'ɬi, *asko* *n-os* *joy-wa=y'ɬi*
peel-DR-NMZ=1pl PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p go-NMZ=1pl
'When we had finished skinning, we left.' {EG, Sicurí 090}

The clauses in (198)a and b show that this periphrastic construction is equivalent to the construction with the incorporated verb or verb root. Both mean 'I've finished making the fire':

(198) a. *jayna* *iń* ***ba:-nayles-eɬ-kakaɬ***
DSC 1intr finish-make_fire-AGT-PH
'I've finished making fire.' {EA 13, 101a}

b. *jayna* *iń* ***ba:-lomaj*** *no-kos* *nay-les-eɬ-wa*
DSC 1intr finish-BE.time obl-ART.n.a make_fire-AGT-NMZ
'I've finished making fire.' {EA 13, 101}

Also when inchoative verbs are elicited, normally a periphrastic construction is used. Here, the main verb consists of the root *pen-* combined with the bound element *-wit* 'beat' (cf. (190) above), and an adverbial clause specifies the event:

(199) *loy* *iń* ***pen-wiń*** *n-as* *toroj-di-na:-wa*
ITN 1intr land-BE.beat obl-ART.n dust-BE.house-DR-NMZ
n-as *as-na*
obl-ART.n sit-DR
'I'll start dusting in my house.' {EA 13, 143}

The periphrastic constructions shown here are much more frequent in texts than the complex phasal verbs. This shows that the phasal verbs may be getting lost, perhaps due to their complexity.

11 Nominalization and verbalization

Nominalization is the morphological transformation of a verb into a noun, and verbalization turns a noun into a verb. The two processes are important indicators for the class to which a word belongs. Only nouns, as defined by their prototypical semantic properties (cf. 3.10), can take the verbalizing suffix *-ti'*, which derives an event-denoting word. Furthermore, when occurring as the predicate of a subordinate clause, verbal predicates and predicate nominals undergo different nominalizing processes. Thus, nominalization and verbalization are a defining criterion for distinguishing nouns and verbs.

In 11.1–11.4, the different nominalizing processes are described. These include several types of action/state nominalization (cf. 11.1), agent or locational nominalization (cf. 11.2), nominalization through attachment of a bound nominal element (cf. 11.3), and the more complex process of instrument nominalization (cf. 11.4).

Sections 11.5–11.9 describe verbalizing affixes. These include the action verbalizer *-ti'* (cf. 11.5), the locative verbalizer *-maj* (cf. 11.6), the directional verbalizer *-na* (cf. 11.7). The marginal verbalizing function of voice markers is illustrated in 11.8. The verbalizing suffix *-ni*, described in 11.9, is not only productive for deriving verbs, but also plays an important role in nominalization.

11.1. Action/state nominalization

Action/state nominalization (short: action nominalization) is the most productive nominalizing process in Movima. It creates a noun that denotes an event or state. In contrast to other nouns, an action/state noun can only occur in an NP or in a negative clause. This is to say, it is either preceded by an article or by a negative particle, but cannot occur independently.[252] Unlike other words derived through nominalization, action nouns cannot be nominalized a second time.

Three subtpyes of action nominalization can be distinguished: canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1), "partial" action/state nominalization, which only occurs in particular types of negative clauses (cf. 11.1.2), and action/state nominalization of "consequence", which only occurs in a subordinate clause introduced by the particle *jan* 'CSQ' (cf. 11.1.3). In Table 31, an overview of the properties of the three types is given. Each type is described in more detail in the following sections.

[252] However, the preceding article or negative particle is occasionally dropped when the context is clear.

Table 31. The types of action/state nominalization

	form	occurs in	on base	resulting noun
canonical (cf. 11.1.1)	*-wa* <RED~> *-ɬe*	negation with *kas*; subordination except when introduced by *jan*	all predicates	relational
partial (cf. 11.1.2)	*-wa* <RED~>	negation with *mo:*, *ka'*, negative relative clauses	only monovalent predicates	non-relational
"con-sequence" (cf. 11.1.3)	*-na*	subordination with *jan* 'consequently'	all predicates	relational

11.1.1. Canonical action/state nominalization

Canonical action nominalization creates a noun that constitutes the predicate of a canonical subordinate clause (cf. 7.12) or of a clause containing the negative particle *kas* (cf. 7.15.1).
As was discussed in 7.12.1, the noun that is created through action nominalization is relational, i.e., obligatorily possessed. The only exception to this concerns nominalized forms that are first verbalized through *-ni* 'PRC', to be discussed in 11.9.4 below.

In (1)–(3), examples are given in which the predicate contains the suffix *-wa*. As can be seen, the predicate is preceded by an article, together with which it constitutes an NP. In (1), the action nominal[253] represents the absolutive argument of a transitive clause. In (2), it is the predicate of a purposive clause, introduced by the particle *bo* (cf. 12.1.4). In (3), the action nominal forms a temporal adverbial clause (cf. 7.12.3).

(1) *ji:-poj-kay as chukul-ni-wa=as woro'*
cry-CAU-INV ART.n itch-PRC-NMZ=ART.n throat
'The itch in my throat makes me cry!' {BA, TX 167}

(2) *is-na=y'ɬi bo os kay-wa=is pa:ko*
roast-DR=1pl REAS ART.n.p eat-NMZ=ART.pl dog
'We roasted (it) [the jaguar meat] so that the dogs could eat.' {EA, Jaguar 197}

(3) *jayna n-os ma~man-**wa**=us, jayna chi:~chi os pa:ko*
DSC obl-ART.n.p DR~shoot-NMZ=m.a DSC MD~go_out ART.n.p dog
'As he shot (it) [the jaguar], the dog came out [of the grip of the jaguar].'
{EA, Tigre y perro 022}

[253] I follow Comrie & Thompson (1985) in labelling the derived word "action noun" and the NP in which it occurs "action nominal".

In (4)–(6), nominalized verbs in negative clauses are shown:

(4) *che kas chi:**-wa**=as*
and NEG go_out-NMZ=n.a
'And it didn't come out.' {EA, Jaguar 041}

(5) *kas rim-eɬ-na:**-wa** is nun-'i*
NEG trade-APPL-DR-NMZ ART.pl bone-D
'I don't buy bones.' {EA, Huesos 003}

(6) *kas dum<a>ye**-wa**=is is we:ye=is*
NEG encounter<DR>-NMZ=pl.a ART.pl ox=pl.a
'They didn't find their ox.' {EA, Alcanzar 007}

I will discuss lexicalized verbs containing the element *-wa* at the end of this section.

Since not only verbs, but also nouns can function as the predicate of an affirmative main clause (cf. 7.9), action nominalization applies to nouns as well. However, when turned into an action noun, a predicate nominal undergoes a different morphological process than a verbal predicate. It undergoes infixing reduplication, or it receives a suffix *-ɬe*. I will first describe nominalization by reduplication. In (7) and (8), adverbial clauses with predicate nominals are shown:[254]

(7) *n-asko rey tolkos**<ya~>**ya=sne*
obl-PRO.n.a again girl<NMZ.N~>=f.a
'That was when she was a girl.' {EA,Ay'ku I 014}

(8) *ona-ye:-na n-os to<**chi~**>chik-a=sne ney*
know-BE.person-DR obl-ART.n.p small<NMZ.N~>-LV=f.a here
'I knew [her] when she was small, like this.' {EG, Dial. 065}

Example (9) shows a predicate nominal in a negative clause:

(9) *jayna kas mo:to-to**<da~>**da=a*
DSC NEG motorbike-BR.piece<NMZ.N~>=n
'It's not a wrecked motorbike anymore.' [i.e., it has been repaired] {EA, Moto 006}

When a possessive predicate, formed by prefixing foot reduplication of a noun (cf. 3.7.6, 7.9.5) occurs in a subordinate or negative clause, it undergoes infixing reduplication as well. The resulting word then contains two reduplicated elements, as shown in (10) and (11). The fact that these predicates are reduplicated, like nouns, and do not nominalized through the suffix *-wa*, like verbs, is a sign that morphologically, possessive predicates are nouns.

[254] Note that action nominals derived from nouns always denote a state, never an action. I use the term "action nominal" here for practical reasons only.

(10) *inɬa yey-na as **maj**~maj**<ni:~>**ni*
PRO.1sg want-DR ART.n POSS~my_child<NMZ.N~>
'I want to have children.' {EA 8, 079c}

(11) *kas jana'pa as **choran**~chorankwan**<to:~>**to*
NEG not_want ART.n POSS~hat<NMZ.N~>
'I don't want to have a hat.' {EA 8, 081c}

As was argued in 3.10.4, adjectives form a subclass of nouns. This can be seen from the fact that when functioning as the predicate of a negative or subordinate clause, adjectives also undergo infixing reduplication. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate this.

(12) *n-os ja**<ya~>**yaw-a=a, a'ko=ɬ as-na, a'ko=ɬ joro:-na*
obl-ART.n.p nice<NMZ.N~>-LV=n PRO.n=1 sit-DR PRO.n=1 sleep-DR
'When it [the old house] was good, that was where I lived, where I slept.'
{JM 16, 251}

(13) *n-as ya**<yu~>**yuk-a=n, kas da' jay<a>moɬ-wa=n*
obl-ART.n fine<NMZ.N~>-LV=2 NEG DUR.nst call<DR>-NMZ=2
is majniwa=n
ART.pl child_of=2
'When you feel good, you are not calling for your children.' {EA, Siesta 019}

However, there is an alternative mechanism by which a predicate nominal can be marked in a negative or subordinate clause, whose applicability indicates a subtle difference between nouns and verbs. This concerns the suffixation of *-ɬe*.[255] Examples (14) and (15) show that reduplication and the suffixation of *-ɬe* are, in principle, equivalent. Due to this equivalence, I also gloss the suffix *-ɬe* as 'NMZ.N'.

(14) a. *kas cho**<'e~>'**es-a=a*
NEG dirty<NMZ.N~>-LV=n

~ b. *kas cho'es-**ɬe**=a*
NEG dirty-NMZ.N=n
'It isn't dirty.' {EA 7, 118c}

(15) a. *n-os ro**<ya~>**ya=a, a'ko ɬ joro:-na*
obl-ART.n.p house<NMZ.N~>=n PRO.n 1 sleep-DR

~ b. *n-os roya-**ɬe**=a a'ko ɬ joro:-na*
obl-ART.n.p house-NMZ.N=n PRO.n 1 sleep-DR
'When it [the shed] was a house, that (was where) I slept.' {JM 16, 252}

[255] There is no evidence for a relationship between this suffix and the applicative marker *-ɬe* 'CO' (cf. 9.7).

While all predicate nominals can be reduplicated in order to function as the predicate of a negative or subordinate clause, the suffix *-ɬe* has a more limited distribution. First of all, the form with *-ɬe* occurs more often in negative than in subordinate clauses. The following example illustrates this. In (16)a, the adjective *tochi'* 'small' occurs in a negative clause with the suffix *-ɬe*. In (16)b, it is shown that in a subordinate clause, this suffix cannot be used. Rather, the reduplicated form has to be used, as shown by (16)c (cf. also (8) above).

(16) a. *kas* *tochi'**-ɬe***
NEG small-NMZ.N
'I am not small.' {JM 16, 253a}

b. * *n-os* *tochi'**-ɬe**,* *asko* *bijaw-ni:-na*
obl-ART.n.p small-NMZ.N PRO.n.a old-PRC-DR
('When I was small, that (was where) I grew up.') {JM 16, 253}

c. *n-os* *to**<chi:~>**chi',* *asko* *bijaw-ni:-na*
obl-ART.n.p small<NMZ.N~> PRO.n.a old-PRC-DR
'When I was small, that (was where) I grew up.' {JM 16, 253b}

Furthermore, nominalization through *-ɬe* is very common on adjectives, while more prototypical nouns are only rarely found with this suffix (cf. 3.10.4.3). The only text example of a noun with the suffix *-ɬe* in a negative clause is given in (17):

(17) *jayna* *kas* *don-'i**-ɬe**=os* *chi:~chi*
DSC NEG blood-D-NMZ.N=n.p MD~go_out
'It wasn't blood anymore what came out.' {EA, Cbba 159}

The reason why in (17), the predicate nominal *don'i* 'blood' is marked by *-ɬe* and not by reduplication, may be that when reduplicated, the word would be homophonous with the inalienably possessed form. Recall from 3.7.5 and 6.4.1 that like action nominalization, inalienable possession is marked by infixing reduplication. This is illustrated in (18) for the same word as in (17) above. The sentence in (18) is the one which follows (17) in the narration.

(18) *ba:-ra* *jayna* *os* *don-**<'i:~>**'i* *jayna*
finish-BE.ntr DSC ART.n.p blood-<INAL~>D DSC
'I had lost all my blood.' [lit: "My blood was finished."] {EA, Cbba 160}

In this particular context, it is possible that the suffix *-ɬe* is used in (17) in order to distinguish the negated predicate nominal from the inalienably possessed noun in (18). However, it can still be concluded that adjectives are more often combined with the suffix *-ɬe* than nouns, especially in negative clauses, so that the tendency to use *-ɬe* on adjectives can be seen as a distinction between the two word classes.

Before concluding the present section, I will briefly discuss verbs that contain the ending *-wa*, but where this element does not have a nominalizing function. Examples include

tivijni:wa ‘feel pain’ (cf. (19)) and *chajani:wa* ‘be ashamed’ (cf. (20)):

(19) *jayna* *tivijni:**wa**--sne* *n-os* *ɬari=sne*
DSC feel_pain--f.a obl-ART.n.p leg=f.a
‘She had already pain in her leg.’ {EA, Lagartija 031}

(20) *jayna* *n-as* *ena’* *kaw-<we~>we=is* *juyeni*
DSC obl-ART.n DUR.std much-<NMZ.N~>BE.person=ART.pl person
jayna *n-as* *chi:-wa=i,* *jayna* *chajani:**wa**--i*
DSC obl-ART.n go_out-NMZ=pl DSC be_ashamed--pl
‘When there are many people when they$_i$ go out [onto the stage], they$_i$ are ashamed.’
{EA, Tolkosya I 028}

When these verbs are nominalized, the nominalizing suffix *-wa* is attached. This shows that *-wa* in (19) and (20) above is not the nominalizing suffix, but part of the verbal base.

(21) *n-as* *tivijniwa-wa=i*
obl-ART.n feel_pain-NMZ=pl
‘when they have pain’ {AH, EA&AH 023}

(22) *kas* *chajani**wa:-wa** *n-inɬa* *n-as* *je’e*
NEG be_ashamed-NMZ obl-PRO.1sg obl-ART.n state_of
‘I am not ashamed of myself, of how I am.’ {HR, TX 088}

While the verb *chajaniwa* ‘be ashamed’ (cf. (20)) always occurs with the ending *-wa*, there is also a verb *tivijni* ‘hurt’, derived from the noun *ti:vij* ‘pain’, which does not contain the ending *-wa*. Here, a difference in meaning can be observed: the argument of the verb *tivijni* ‘hurt’ expresses the body part which hurts, whereas the argument of the verb *tivijni:wa* ‘feel pain’ expresses the person or animal that feels pain. Compare (24) below, which contains the nominalized form of the verb *tivijni* ‘hurt’, with (19) above, which contains the verb *tivijni:wa* ‘feel pain’. Apart from the difference in meaning, ‘hurt’ versus ‘feel pain’, the form in (24) is a relational noun, while the one in (19) above is a monovalent verb.

(23) *tivij-ni* *as* *bari=‘ne*
pain-PRC ART.n foot=f
‘Her foot hurts.’ {EA, Dialogue 020}

(24) *asko* *n-os* *jayna* *tivij-ni-**wa**=os* *dimpoj-a=sne*
PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p DSC pain-PRC-NMZ=ART.n.p toe-LV=f.a
‘That was when her toe hurt.’ {EA, Lagartija 021}

Thus, there is a suffix *-wa*, homophonous with the nominalizer, which has an applicative function, raising a new participant to argument function. However, this suffix does not seem to be productive, since only these two examples were found.

11.1.2. Partial action/state nominalization

Clauses negated through the particles *mo:* 'not yet' or by the prohibitive particle *ka'* 'don't' (cf. 12.5.3 and 12.5.4), as well as negative relative clauses (cf. and 7.15.2 and 12.5.2), also involve action nominalization. However, unlike in clauses negated through the particle *kas* described in the previous section, only monovalent predicates are nominalized in these constructions, whereas bivalent predicates remain unmodified (cf. Ch. 8 for the valency distinction of predicates). Furthermore, unlike in canonical action nominalization, the nominalized predicate in these constructions is not relational. In the remainder of this section, I illustrate this type of nominalization by using examples with the particle *mo:*. For examples with the prohibitive particle *ka'*, see 12.5.4; for examples of negative relative clauses, see 7.15.2 and 12.5.2.

To observe the difference between the treatment of monovalent and bivalent predicates in these constructions, consider the examples in (25)a and b. Here, verbs with the base *jamɬe* 'tied onto something' occur in the *mo:*-construction. While the resultative, monovalent form *jamɬe* 'tied onto something' in (25)a is nominalized, the direct bivalent form *jama:ɬe* 'to tie X onto something' in (25)b is not.

(25) a. ***mo:*** *jam-ɬe:**-wa*** *as* *pa:ko*
yet tie-CO-NMZ ART.n dog
'The dog hasn't been tied (onto something) yet.' {EA 19, 203a}

b. ***mo:*** *iɬ* *jam-a:-ɬe* *as* *pa:ko*
yet 1 tie-DR-CO ART.n dog
'I haven't tied the dog (onto something) yet.' {EA 19, 203}

Nominalization of a bivalent predicate would be ungrammatical in this construction. This is shown by (26), where, as in (25)b above, the predicate is marked as bivalent by the direct voice marker (cf. 8.1.1):

(26) * ***mo:*** *lirij-na:**-wa**--'ne*
yet shake-DR-NMZ--f
('She hasn't shaken it yet.') {EA 19, 146g}

Since a predicate nominal is monovalent (cf. 7.9.1), it is nominalized in a clause with *mo:* 'not yet', *ka'* 'don't', or in a negative relative clause. As in canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1), a predicate nominal in these constructions undergoes infixing reduplication, as in (27)a, or receives the nominalizing suffix *-ɬe*, as in (27)b.

(27) a. *di:ra* *ay* ***mo:*** *to**<ro:~>**ro,* *di:ra* *ay* *tochi'*
still DM.spk.n yet bull<NMZ.N~> still DM.spk.n small

~ b. *di:ra* *ay* ***mo:*** *to:ro:**-ɬe,*** *di:ra* *ay* *tochi'*
still DM.spk.n yet bull-NMZ.N still DM.spk.n small
'This one isn't a bull yet, it's still small.' {EA, 19, 291}

Note that in contrast to canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1), the action nominals in clauses with *mo:* 'not yet', *ka'* 'don't', or in negative relative clauses, are never relational. Consider the nominalized forms in (25)a, (27)a and (27)b: in neither of these examples is the argument attached to the predicate by an internal clitic, as it is in canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1).

Thus, we are dealing here with a type of nominalization that is, in principle, identical with canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1). However, it does not apply to all bases, and it does not create a relational noun. Therefore, I label it "partial nominalization".

11.1.3. *-na* 'action nominalization of consequence'

The nominalizing suffix *-na* only occurs in adverbial clauses introduced by the particle *jan* 'consequently' (cf. 7.12.6), including interrogative clauses introduced by *eɬ-jan* 'why' (cf. 3.10.6). Like canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1), it occurs on monovalent as well as on bivalent predicates. The resulting noun is always relational. Consider the example of a monovalent predicate in (28) and of a bivalent predicate in (29):

(28) ***jan*** *n-os* *joy-**na**=y'ɬi*
CSQ obl-ART.n.p go-DR=1pl
'That's why we went.' {GC, Marcha 050}

(29) *a'ko* ***jan*** *n-as* *loy* *ye~yey-**na**=i*
PRO.n CSQ obl-ART.n NEG.SUB DR~want-NMZ.CSQ=pl
as *eney,* *koro'-ni-wa* *kos* *dul-kay-a=i*[256]
ART.n (filler) DM.a.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a visit-INV-LV=pl
'That is why they don't want anybody to visit them.' {HR, TX 126}

There are not many examples of a predicate nominal in an adverbial clause with *jan*. However, unlike in canonical action nominalization, it seems that not only verbs, but also nouns receive the suffix *-na* in an adverbial clause introduced by *jan*. In (30)a, the adjective *diṅra* 'hard' occurs in such a clause, and it receives the suffix *-na*. When this adjective occurs in a clause with the negative particle *kas*, as in (30)b, it is nominalized through reduplication. This is identical to the way in which other predicate nominals are modified in canonical action nominalization (cf. 11.1.1). It can be concluded from this example that in adverbial clauses introduced by *jan*, predicate nominals behave in the same way as verbal predicates. This is in contrast to canonical action nominalization, where verbs and nouns undergo different processes.

(30) a. ***jan*** *n-os* *diṅ-ra-**na**=is*
CSQ obl-ART.n.p hard-BE.ntr-NMZ.CSQ=pl.a
'That's why they were not hard.' {HR, TX 257}

[256] For the nominalization of the demonstrative predicate, cf. 11.9.4 below.

b. ***kas*** *diɲ-**<ra~>**da=a*
NEG hard-<NMZ.N~>BE.ntr=n
'It is not hard.' {JM 5, 017}

Example (261) shows an interrogative clause introduced by the question word *eɬjan* 'why'. Here, too, the predicate receives the suffix *-na*:

(31) *ona-ra-na=is* *eɬ-**jan*** *n-os* *kayni-**na**=us*
know-BE.ntr-DR=pl.a what-CSQ obl-ART.n.p die-NMZ.CSQ=m.a
'They knew why he died.' {HR, TX 314}

Note that the nominalizing suffix *-na* is not to be confused with the direct voice marker *-na*. It is also attached to verbs containing this suffix, so that the two homophonous morphemes can cooccur:

(32) *jan* *n-as* *ona-waj-**na:-na*** *as* *Kochawamba*
CSQ obl-ART.n know-BE.place-DR-NMZ.CSQ Cochabamba
'That's why I know Cbba.' {EA, Cbba 250}

Verbs that receive the suffix *-na* after being derived through the verbalizing suffix *-ni* 'PRC', are shown in 11.9.4. For more examples of adverbial clauses introduced by *jan*, see 7.12.6.

11.2. *-pa* nominalization of agent or location

When the suffix *-pa* is attached to a monovalent verbal base, it creates a noun that denotes the entity which habitually carries out the action denoted by the base.[257] When *-pa* is attached to a bivalent base, the resulting noun denotes the place where the event took place. Since it is much more common on monovalent bases, I consider agent nominalization as the central function of this suffix. I will first describe its function on monovalent bases and turn to bivalent bases below.

The examples in (33)–(34) show that on monovalent verbal bases, *-pa* indicates that the action is carried out habitually. The bases are monovalent because they contain an incorporated argument (cf. 7.7, 9.1).

(33) *bo* *isne* *jat-eɬ-cha-ye:-**pa***
REAS PRO.f.a hit-AGT-DR2-BE.person-AG
'But she habitually hits people.' [lit.: "She is a people-hitter."]
{PC, Empleada 046}

[257] Apart from the nominalizing suffix described here, there are at least two more suffixes with the form *-pa*: the bound nominal element for 'hand' (truncated from *chopa* 'hand', cf. 5.3.3) and the applicative marker *-pa* (cf. 9.6). While the three morphemes may be related historically, I consider them as homophonous morphemes.

(34) *kay-a-jo**ɬ*****-pa*** *o:be* *is* *ja:ma* *i**ɬ*** *ona:cho*
eat-DR-BR.egg-AG like ART.pl *peni* 1 grandchild
'My grandchildren are egg-eaters, like the *peni* [a type of lizard].' {EA 14, 036}

(35) *bo* *ney* *koro'* *kos* *pa:ko* *di'*
REAS here DM.n.a ART.n.a dog REL
*tol-ka-ra-na:**-pa*** *di'i=**ɬ*** *no:no*
touch-MLT-BE.ntr-DR-AG REL=1 pet
'Because here there is a dog which steals, which is my pet.' {JM, Perro II 016}

A noun formed with *-pa* is also used to refer to a person who carries out the action as his/her job:

(36) *i'ne* *pak-e**ɬ*****-pa***
PRO.f count-AGT-AG
'She (is) an accountant.' {EA 12, 121}

(37) *bo* *rey* *i'ne,* *i'ne* *pul-a-cho:**-pa*** *n-as* *ele:siya*
REAS again PRO.f PRO.f sweep-DR-BR.inside-AG obl-ART.n church
'Because she, you know, she is a sweeping woman in the church.'[258]
{EA, Asilo 010}

(38) *bo* *vat<a>pa-n-cha-ye:**-pa**--is* *ney* *n-us* *pa:'i*
REAS teach<DR>-LN-DR2-BE.person-AG--pl.a here obl-ART.n priest
'Because they (were) teachers here with the priest.' {HR, TX 062}

(39) *oso'-ni-wa* *os* *rey* *waka:**-pa***
PRO.n.p-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p again cow-AG
'There was no butcher.' {GB, Ganado 084}

A deverbal noun with *-pa* does not necessarily denote an actor, as in the above examples. Depending on the semantic properties of the base, it can also denote an undergoer. In the following example, *-pa* occurs on a verb that denotes a process whose only participant is an undergoer. Accordingly, the noun derived through *-pa* denotes the undergoer:

(40) *che* *werel-ni* *os* *powlo,* *che* *kas* *rey* *werel-ni-**<pa~>**pa=as*
and dry-PRC ART.n.p lagoon and NEG again dry-PRC-<NMZ.N~>AG=n.a
'And the lagoon was dry, and it wasn't one which regularly dried out, you know.'
{EG, Sicurí 116}

In contrast to action nominalization, agent nominalization creates a noun that shares all the morphological properties of an underived noun. It can not only occur inside an NP, as in (39), but can also function as the predicate of an affirmative main clause, as in most of the above

[258] In Santa Ana, there is a group of women who sweep the church three times a week.

examples, or as the predicate of a relative clause, as in (35).

When a noun with *-pa* functions as the predicate of a subordinate clause or a clause with the negative particle *kas*, it undergoes infixing reduplication, as in (40) (cf. 11.1.1). This identifies the word derived through *-pa* as a morphological noun; if it were a verb, it would receive the suffix *-wa* in this construction (cf. 11.1.1, 3.10).

When a bivalent base is combined with the agent nominalizer *-pa*, the resulting noun denotes a place. This can be seen in the following examples, where the bases are marked as bivalent by the base-final direct voice marker *-a* or *-na* (cf. 8.1.1):

(41) *ney a'ko choń iɬ dewaj**-na:-pa**--'ne*
here PRO.n HAB 1 see-DR-AG--f
'Here I always see her.' {EA 14, 164d}

(42) *n-os dey**-a-**ɬe:**-pa** is majni*
obl-ART.n.p lie-DR-CO-AG ART.pl my_child
'where I lay down with my children' {JA 14, 190b}

(43) *bo as joy-ɬe:-wa nosde: n-os la'*
REAS ART.n go-CO-NMZ there obl-ART.n.p ANT
*joy**-a**-ɬe:**-pa** n-os terani-wa=n*
go-DR-CO-AG obl-ART.n.p ill-NMZ=2
'… so that I take you there to (the place) where I took you the other time when you were sick.' {BA, TX 287}

It seems that a locational noun derived through *-pa* denotes a place where a situation occurs once, not habitually. This is in contrast to the locational suffix *-kwi* (or *-pi*) on bivalent bases (cf. 9.5) and the direct voice marker *-na* on monovalent bases (cf. 8.1.1, 8.3.2). These suffixes imply that the situation habitually occurs at that place. The contrast is illustrated by the translations of (44)a and b. In (44)a, a verb is marked as a locative expression by the suffix *-pi* 'LOC' (cf. 9.5), which implies that the event occurs habitually. In (44)b, in contrast, the verb is combined with the suffix *-pa*, and this implies that the action occured only once. Note also that when the form with *-pa* denotes a location where the action is carried out habitually, it is often accompanied by the habitual particle *choń*, as in (41) above. This is a further indication that the idea of habituality is not implied in the locational meaning of *-pa*.

(44) a. *a'ko=ɬ lo~loj**-pi:**-na*
PRO=1 DR~wash-LOC-DR
'Here I wash X (habitually).'

b. *a'ko lo~loj**-pa***
PRO.n DR~wash-AG
'Here I washed X (once).' {HR 14, 143}

11.3. Nominalization through a bound nominal element

A verb can be nominalized by attaching a bound nominal element. There are not many examples of this. In (45)b, a complex verb is turned into a noun by the bound nominal element *-ra*:

(45) a. *am-a:-buń*
enter-DR-BE.mass
'I put a mass (e.g. dough) into something.'

b. *as am-a-buń-**ra***
ART.n enter-DR-BR.mass-BE.ntr
'the thing in which I fill in dough etc.' {EA, 8, 120r}

The following example shows that a denominal verb can also be nominalized in this way. In (46)a, the noun *chaḿmo* 'bush, forest' is turned into a verb through the verbalizing suffix *-maj* (cf. 11.6). In (46)b, this form receives the bound root *-poy* 'animal' and refers to animals that live in the bush.

(46) a. *chaḿmo:-maj*
bush-VLC
'to be in the bush'

b. *is chaḿmo-maj-**poy** di' po~poy-kwa*
ART.pl bush-VLC-BR.animal REL RED~BR.animal-ABS
'animals which (are) forest animals' {EA, Vida chaco 064}

11.4. Instrument nominalization

Instrument nominalization is a more complex process. In this section, I will first describe the forms and functions of the suffix that creates an instrumental noun, then the bases to which this suffix can be attached, and finally, I will illustrate the lexicalized and idiomatic uses of instrumental nouns.

11.4.1. The instrumental suffix

Instrument nominalization involves a complex suffix which can be attached to nouns and to verbs. This suffix has the following internal structure:

(47) *-wa*-LN-BE(*-ni*)

The first element of this suffix can be recognized as the nominalizing suffix *-wa* (cf. 11.1.1). This is followed by a bound nominal element (BE), i.e., by a bound root, a truncated element, or a bound element whose origin cannot be defined (cf. 5.3). By default, the instrumental derivation contains the semantically neutral bound element *-ra*. Due to phonological properties of the sequence /wa/, the bound element is preceded by the linking nasal (LN), either *-n-* or *-m-* (cf. 2.9.3). To this complex suffix, the suffix *-ni* 'PRC' can be attached (cf. 11.9.3).

When the complex instrumental suffix is attached to a verbal base, the resulting noun is

relational. This can be seen in (48)a, where a first-person possessor is implied. Attaching the suffix *-ni* to the bound element creates a non-relational noun, as shown by (48)b, where no possessor is implied. Example (48)c shows that the form with the suffix *-ni* cannot be marked as possessed at all.[259]

(48) a. *i'ko* *ya:lowe-wanra*
PRO.pl drink-INSTR:BE.ntr
'This (is) what I drink.'

b. *i'ko* ***ya:lowe-wanra:-ni***
PRO.pl drink-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'This (is) for drinking.' {EA 8, 120b}

c. * *i'ko* ***ya:lowe-wanra-ni=n***
PRO.pl drink-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC=2 {EC 16, 414}

Despite its apparent morphological transparency, I treat the sequence *-wa*-LN-BE as a single complex suffix. There are two reasons for this. First, no other element can be inserted between its individual components. Second, its distribution is slightly different to that of the nominalizing suffix *-wa* alone (cf. 11.1.1). For example, the instrumental suffix can be attached to nouns (cf. below), which is not possible for the nominalizer *-wa* alone. It can also be attached to simple bivalent roots, which is not possible for the nominalizer *-wa*, either (cf. (49)b). Hence, omitting the final sequence -LN-BE creates an ungrammatical word in these cases. This indicates that the element *-wa* is an integral part of the instrumental suffix.

(49) a. *wul-wanra*
sow-INSTR:BE.ntr
'my seeds, crops'

b. * *wul-wa*
sow-NMZ

As can be seen in the template in (47), the instrumental suffix contains a bound nominal element. This element indicates the type of object denoted by the derived noun. As is the case in all environments in which a bound element is obligatory (cf. 9.2.8), the default bound element is *-ra*, which does not specify the type of object.

(50) *kay-wanra*
eat-INSTR:BE.ntr
'food'

(51) *ben-a-beń-wanra*
paint-DR-BR.flat_flex-INSTR:BE.ntr
'pen' {EA 6, 124}

[259] I analyse *-ni* here as the verbalizing suffix *-ni* 'PRC' (cf. 11.9): in the same way in which a monovalent verb cannot take an ARG_1, an instrumental noun with *-ni* cannot take a possessor.

In the following examples, the bound element is chosen according to the type of object denoted:

(52) *iwani-wan**si***
speak-INSTR:BE.sound
'my word, language'

(53) *iwani-wam**ba**:-ni*
speak-INSTR:BR.round-PRC
'telephone'

(54) *toti' nokopa is wu'tu=is di' dejal-wam**bij**-a=sne*
tiny like_this ART.pl pot=pl.a REL cook-INSTR:BE.pan-LV=f.a
'Their pans, which were her cooking pans, were tiny like this. '
{EA, In between 209}

The noun created by the instrumental derivation does not have to be an instrument in the strictest sense. In (55)a, for example, the instrumental meaning is discerned easily, since the noun denotes a kind of tool. In (55)b, the nouns denotes a place rather than an instrument. Depending on the bound element and on the degree of lexicalization, it can just denote an entity roughly associated with the event, as in (56).

(55) a. *as łaḿ-wammi*
ART.n bathe-INSTR:TRC.water
'my bathing water'

b. *as łaḿ-wandi:-ni*
ART.n bathe-INSTR:BE.house-PRC
'the/a bathing shed'

(56) *as bele'-wanyemes*
ART.n glad-INSTR:BE.day
'the/a day of joy' {EA 6, 122}

When the instrumental suffix is attached to a base which is complex itself, the instrumental noun can contain two bound nominal elements. They are represented in bold print in (57):

(57) a. *as am-a-**mi**-wam**ba***
ART.n enter-DR-TRC.water-INSTR:BR.round
'the jug/glass/bucket etc. in which I pour my water'

b. *as am-a-**roso**-wam**mo***
ART.n enter-DR-TRC.rice-INSTR:TRC.calabash
'the gourd in which I put my rice'

c. *as am-a-**ra**-wan**cho**:-ni*
ART.n enter-DR-BE.firewood-INSTR:BR.inside-PRC
'the container where one puts firewood' {EA 8, 120}

Instrumental nouns can participate in compounding with a bound nominal element (cf. 5.2). This, however, seems to occur only with more lexicalized instrumental nouns, like *kaywanra* 'food' (cf. (58)) or *wa:kawandi* 'ranch, corral' (cf. (59)).

(58) a. *kay-wan**ra:-ba***
eat-INSTR:BE.ntr-BR.round
'edible fruits'

b. *kay-wan**ra:-vos***
eat-INSTR:BE.ntr-BE.wood
'tree with edible fruits' {EA 14, 098b}

(59) *wa:ka-wan**di**-m-maj**-ye***
cow-INSTR:BE.house-LN-VLC-BE.person
'person who lives on a ranch'

One instance of the instrumental suffix, which can be considered a subtype of the instrumental derivation, is the complex suffix *-wa:nas* 'ABSTR'. Morphologically, it is the instrumental suffix which contains the bound nominal element *-as*, the meaning of which is not clear. This suffix cannot be followed by the suffix *-ni*. One function of this suffix is to create a word that denotes a place where an action happens:

(60) *loj-a-'oj**-wa:nas***
wash-DR-BE.clothes-ABSTR
'washing place' {EA 13, 224}

(61) *il-a-cho-wa:nas*
spread-DR-TRC.*chivé*-ABSTR
'place where one spreads *chivé*' {EA 13, 317}

(62) *javu'-wa:nas*
fly-ABSTR
'airport'

The other function of the suffix *-wanas* is to create a more abstract noun, as shown in (63):

(63)

as yayu'-wa:nas	'(the) wellness'	(fine-ABSTR)
as kayni-wa:nas	'(the) death'	(die-ABSTR)
as paluy-wa:nas	'(the) cold'	(cold-ABSTR)
as tijkarim-wa:nas	'(the) work, job'	(work-ABSTR)
as dińtej-wa:nas	'(the) strength, courage'	(strong-ABSTR)
as wayes-wa:nas	'(the) respect'	(respect-ABSTR)

etc.

The suffix *-wanas* creates a non-relational noun which can, however, receive possessive marking. Its first occurrence in (64) shows that the unmarked form does not imply a first person singular possessor, as is the case with relational nouns; its second occurrence shows that it can be marked for possession.

(64) *bo* *ja'* *bayɬim**-wa:nas*** *os* *tijkarim**-wanas-a=us***
REAS just field-ABSTR ART.n.p work-ABSTR-LV=m.a
'Because his work (was) just (on) the field.' {EA, Ay'ku I 061}

Sometimes, the suffix *-wanas* is interchangeable with the instrumental complex *-wanra-ni*, which creates a non-relational noun that cannot be marked for possession:

(65) a. *joro-wa:nas*
sleep-ABSTR

~ b. *joro-wanra:**-ni***
sleep-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'something used for sleeping, e.g. a bedstead' {EA 8, 120i}

There is another type of element which can enter the BE-slot of the instrumental suffix: the absolute-state marker *-kwa*. This suffix indicates that the denoted entity is not possessed (cf. 6.3.3):[260]

(66) *ma'-wa-wankwa*
my_mother-?-INSTR:ABS
'mother' (i.e. a woman who has children)

(67) *eɬ-wa-wankwa*
BR.name-?-INSTR:ABS
'name' (i.e., a word which is a name)

11.4.2. The base of the instrumental noun

The instrumental suffix is typically attached to a monovalent verbal base that denotes an action. The resulting noun denotes the instrument by which the action is carried out. The bases in the following examples contain a bivalent root and valency-reducing morphemes. In (68), the base contains the agentive voice marker *-eɬe*, which creates a monovalent verb (cf. 8.1.3). In (69), the base contains an incorporated argument, which also leads to valency reduction.

(68) *lat-eɬ-wanra*
chop-AGT-INSTR:BE.ntr
'my axe'

[260] The ending *-wankwa* is also found on bivalent verb roots. Here, it creates a noun (apparent from the reduplication in a negated clause) which describes a state of the undergoer: *kas mas-wan<kwa~>kwa=u* 'He hasn't been beaten up' (NEG beat-INSTR.ABS<NMZ.N~>=m.a). This construction requires further research.

(69) *sit-a-'oj-wanra*
sew-DR-BE.clothes-INSTR:BE.ntr
'my sewing machine'

The instrumental suffix is rare on bases that contain a bivalent voice marker. Example (70) shows the suffix on a bivalent causative, (71) shows it on a bivalent benefactive base. The direct voice markers of the complex bases are given in bold print.

(70) *i'ko kwey jo~joń-poj-**na-wanra**--us*
PRO.pl FOC DR~collect-CAU-DR-INSTR:BE.ntr--m.a
'These are (the things) I had him collect.' {EA, 14, 125}

(71) *i'ko kwey is-a-ra-kwa-**na-wanra**--'ne*
PRO.pl FOC roast-DR-BE.meat-BEN-DR-INSTR:BE.ntr--f
'This is the meat I have fried for her.' {EA, 19, 316d}

The instrumental suffix can be attached to a bivalent root (cf. 8.3.1) without a voice marker, as in (72). This is not very productive, however. According to (72), it seems that with a bivalent root, which, when unmarked for voice, denotes a resultative state (cf. 8.1.5), the instrumental noun denotes the undergoer of the event. In contrast, on a base that contains a bivalent root combined with the agentive voice marker *-eɬe* (cf. 8.1.3), as in (73), the instrumental noun denotes the tool with which the action is carried out:

(72) *wul-**wanra***
sow-INSTR:BE.ntr
'my seeds, crops'

(73) *wul-eɬ-**wanra***
sow-AGT-INSTR:BE.ntr
'the instrument I use for sowing' {JM 18, 228}

The examples in (72) and (73) suggest that the meaning of the instrumental noun is determined by the orientation of its base: an undergoer-oriented base, e.g. a bivalent root unmarked for voice, results in a noun that denotes the entity undergoing the action, whereas an actor-oriented base, e.g. a base with the agentive voice marker, results in a noun that denotes a more active participant such as a tool.

However, the contrast between the undergoer- and the actor-oriented base that could be seen in (72) and (73) does not seem consistent. In the following examples, the instrumental noun denotes a tool even though its base is an unmarked bivalent root:

(74) *juḿ-wanra*
blow-INSTR:BE.ntr
'fan' [not: the fanned object]

(75) *a'ko* *chu'-wanra*
PRO.n knock_down-INSTR:BE.ntr
'This is my instrument for knocking down fruits.' [not: the knocked-down fruits]
{EC 16, 441}

When an instrumental noun contains a meaningful bound nominal element, i.e., not the default element *-ra*, the type of object denoted depends less on the type of base than in the examples above. For example, the noun *ɬaḿ-wam-mi* (cf. (55)a above) denotes the water for bathing, and *ɬam-wandi:-ni* (cf. (55)b) denotes the bathing shed. Both can be seen as instruments needed for the action, but they are very different kinds of instrument.

On monosyllabic monovalent roots, there is usually an additional element *-wa* before the instrumental suffix. I do not have an explanation for this. It may be a non-productive reduplication of the instrumental suffix, inserted for phonological reasons:

(76) *de:-wa-wanra* 'bed' (someone's, not mine) lie-NMZ-?-INSTR:BE.ntr
as-wa-wanra 'seat'

When a polysyllabic base already contains the ending *-wa*, as a few nouns and verbs do, this ending is omitted:

(77) *kanawamba* < *kana**wa*** + *-wamba*
ochoó + -INSTR:BR.round
'forest isle with *ochoó* trees'

(78) *chajani-wamba* < *chajani**wa*** + *-wamba*
ashamed + -INSTR:BE.round
'shy person'

Nominal bases can also undergo the instrumental derivation, usually with the suffix *-ni*. The resulting noun is always non-relational. Here, the instrumental suffix seems to indicate that the denoted entity has a specific function that still has to be fulfilled:

(79) *karsone-wanoj-ni*
pants-INSTR:BE.clothes-PRC
'pants (e.g., that one is sewing)'

(80) *sortija-wanra-ni*
ring-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'ring' (e.g. in a shop)

Relational nouns (cf. 6.2) are converted into non-relational nouns by the instrumental suffix.

(81)	*nono-wanra*	'pet'	(not mine)	(pet-INSTR:BE.ntr)
	dimpa-n-wanra	'finger'	(general; not mine)	(finger-LN-INSTR:BE.ntr)
	do'we-wanra-ni	'clothes'	(not mine)	(clothes-INSTR:BE.clothes-PRC)
	mora-n-wanra-ni	'one's face, faces'		(face-LN-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC)

11.4.3. Lexicalization and idiomatic use of instrumental nouns

Instrumental nouns are often lexicalized and have a non-transparent meaning:

(82) *al-wambeń*
fellow-INSTR:BR.flat_flex
'paper'

(83) *do'e-wa:noj*
? (< *do'-we* 'put.on-BE.person')-INSTR:BE.cloth
'cloth, material'

Sometimes, the instrumental affix itself has a special meaning, depending on the base to which it is attached. The complex suffix *-wamba* derives an exocentric compound which ascribes a typical property to an entity. It is not clear whether these nouns are relational or not.

(84)	*chajani-wamba*	'shy person'	(*chajaniwa* 'ashamed'-INSTR:BR.round)
	kemaye-łe-wamba	'jealous person'	(take_for-CO-INSTR:BR.round)
	ji-wamba	'crybaby'	(cry-INSTR:BR.round)

The suffix *-wamba* is also productive for giving names to specific forest isles depending on a specific plant or animal of that isle:

(85)	*kana-wamba*	'isle of *ochoó* trees'	(*ochoó*-INSTR:BR.round)
	kara'-wamba	'isle with many macaws'	(red_macaw-INSTR:BR.round)
	rulrul-wamba	'isle with jaguars'	(jaguar-INSTR:BR.round)

All the examples given here show that the instrumental suffix requires more investigation: it can be attached to a broad variety of bases, but not to all bases; it has many semantic possibilities due to its slot for bound nominal elements; it plays an important role in relation to possession, which is a complex issue in Movima anyway (cf. Ch. 6); and, finally, it is frequently highly lexicalized, which makes it hard to identify its functions in different environments.

11.5. Action verbalization: *-ti'*

The nominal suffix *-ti'* is the most productive verbalizing suffix. It derives monovalent verbs from nouns:

(86) *che inɬa jayna des'ayuno:**-ti'**, deń-choɬ-ba:**-ti'***
and PRO.1sg DSC breakfast-VBZ toast-BR.between-BR.round-VBZ
'And I was preparing breakfast, [I] was baking "fritos".'[261] {EA, Aros 018}

As is apparent from (86), the prototypical meaning of the derived verb is that it denotes the production of the object denoted by the nominal base:

(87)	*juve-n-ti'*	'to construct a dugout'	(dugout-LN-VBZ)
	bayɬim-ti'	'to work a field'	(field-VBZ)
	mo'incho:-ti'	'to make *chivé*'	(*chivé*-VBZ)
	roya:-ti'	'to build a house'	(house-VBZ)
	tijerones-ti'	'to make shafts'	(shafts-VBZ)

In many cases, the verb with *-ti'* is lexicalized and denotes the action typically associated with the entity denoted by the base, rather than just the production of that entity. The words in (88) are examples of this:

(88)	*sono-ba:-ti'*	'to dig out turtle eggs'	(turtle-BR.round-VBZ)
	sutulra:-ti'	'to hunt armadillo'	(armadillo-VBZ)
	polawta:-ti'	'to play the flute'	(flute-VBZ)
	mi:sa:-ti'	'to go to mass'	(mass-VBZ)
	wa:ka:-ti'	'to slaughter'	(cow-VBZ)

Some highly lexicalized verbs with *-ti'* do also occur:

(89)	*kweya-n-ti'*	'to chat up to a woman'	(woman-LN-VBZ)
	itilakwa-n-ti'	'to chat up to a man'	(man-LN-VBZ)

With certain bases, the interpretation of the suffix can vary between its basic meaning 'to make' and a more lexicalized meaning. This can be seen in (90):

(90) *kape-lo:-ti'*
coffee-BR.liquid-VBZ
'to make coffee' ~ 'to drink coffee'

The production of an object can also be expressed by the verb *ji:sa:-na* 'I make X'. Possibly, the existence of this construction makes room for the more lexicalized expressions with the suffix *-ti'*. In (91)a, the building of an oxcart is expressed by an entire clause. The

[261] *Fritos* are fried cakes with of wheat flour and cheese.

construction with *-ti'* in (91)b has a far more specific meaning: it denotes the construction of a wheel only.

(91) a. ***jisa:-na*** *kos* *kare:ta*
make-DR ART.n.a oxcart
'I build the/an oxcart.'

b. *kareta:**-ti'***
oxcart-VBZ
'to make an oxcart-wheel'

As could be seen from the examples above, the suffix *-ti'* is extremely productive. However, it cannot be attached to certain nouns that denote entities which cannot be produced or modified in any way:

(92) * *beńra-n-ti'*
sky-LN-VBZ
('to make a sky')

However, the noun *lu'lu'* 'rain', which may be considered as belonging to the same category, is always verbalized by *-ti'*. Possibly, this is because there exists an event that is typically associated with rain:

(93) *lu'-ti'* 'to rain, to be raining' (rain-VBZ)

When a noun denotes an entity that cannot be produced, the suffix *-ti'* indicates that an object similar to that encoded by the noun is produced:

(94) *champa:-ti'*
stone-VBZ
'to make something like a stone' (e.g., a grinding stone of wood)

Nounlike adjectives (cf. 3.10.4) cannot be verbalized by the suffix *-ti'*, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (95). Adjectives can be verbalized by the bivalent direct voice marker *-na* (cf. 11.8 and 8.1.1).

(95) **mere'-ti'* ('to make a big one'?) (big-VBZ)

From the morphological point of view, there are only few restrictions on the kinds of nominal bases to which the suffix *-ti'* can be attached. In (96), the suffix is attached to an instrumental noun (cf. 11.4):

(96) *kuynana'-wampoy-ti'*
play-INSTR:BR.animal-VBZ
'to play with the bulls at the corral' [lit.: "to do something with play-animals"]
{EA, Visita 002}

When *-ti'* is attached to a noun that contains the absolute-state suffix *-kwa*, the suffix *-kwa* is either omitted or retained. This depends on the possessive relationship between the actor and

the entity denoted by that noun. When the relation is that of inalienable possession, the suffix is replaced by the verbalizer, as in (97):

(97)	*mori-n-ti'*	'to blossom [a plant]'	(BR.blossom-LV-VBZ)
	joɬ-ti'	'to lay eggs [a hen]'	(BR.egg-VBZ)
	ba~baɬ-ti'	'to build the nest [a bird]'	(RED~BR.cover-VBZ)

Note here that the verbalizing suffix is not attached to the noun root, but to the base from which the suffix *-kwa* is omitted. Otherwise, the last word in this list would have the form *baɬ-ti'* instead of *ba~baɬ-ti'*.[262]

When there is no relationship of inalienable possession, the absolute-state suffix *-kwa* is retained on these bases:

(98) *mo~moɬ-kwa:-ti'*
RED~BR.shell-ABS-VBZ
'to make shells (i.e., to peel eggs or something similar in order to obtain shells)'

(99) *joɬ-kwa-n-ti'*
BR.egg-ABS-LN-VBZ
'to make an egg'

The denominal verb formed by the attachment of *-ti'* behaves like a monovalent verb. This means that before further suffixes, the ending *-ti'* is dropped (cf. 8.7). The meaning of the base is that of the denominal verb, not that of the noun alone (cf. also 3.10.2).[263] In (100)–(102), this is shown for nominalized forms (cf. also (39) above):

(100)	a.	*joɬ-**ti'***	b.	*n-as*	*joɬ-**wa**=a*	
		egg-VBZ		obl-ART.n	BR.egg-NMZ=n	
		'to lay eggs'		'when it lays eggs'		{EA, Huevo 003}
(101)	a.	*wiskocho:-**ti'***	b.	*bo as*	*wiskocho-**wa**=sne*	
		biscuit-VBZ		REAS ART.n	biscuit-NMZ=f.a	
		'to bake biscuits'		'so that she could bake biscuits'		{BA, TX 096}
(102)	a.	*rulrul-**ti'***	b.	*rulrul-**pa***	*jema'a*	
		jaguar-VBZ		jaguar-AG	also	
		'to hunt jaguars'		'[They] (were) jaguar-hunters, too.'		{BA, TX 270}

Example (103) shows a verbalized noun with the applicative suffix *-ɬe* (cf. 9.7):

[262] This is the same process as that found in possessor encoding on these bases (cf. 6.4.2).
[263] Since the meaning of the verbalizing suffix *-ti'* is retained in these words, while the suffix itself is not overtly present, these cases may be analysed as containing a zero allomorph *-ti'*. Before postulating a zero allomorph here, however, it needs to be investigated whether this is also possible for the other monovalent verbal morphemes that are dropped before further suffixation (cf. 8.7.1).

(103) a. *juve-n-**ti'*** b. *loy* *iɬ* *juve-**ɬe:**-na*
dugout-VBZ ITN 1 dugout-APPL-DR
'to build a dugout' 'I'll help X build a dugout.' {EA 14, 213}

More examples of denominal verbs derived through *-ti'* which are subsequently combined with verbal morphemes were given in 3.10.2.

Even though the suffix *-ti'* is dropped before further suffixes are attached, forms like those in (100)–(103) are not semantically ambiguous. This is because all other verbalizing suffixes are retained before another suffix is added, as will be shown in the following sections. Furthermore, a nominalized predicative noun is never nominalized through the attachment of the suffix *-wa*, but by reduplication (cf. 11.1.1 above). Therefore, the form in (100) cannot mean something like "when it is an egg".

Attaching the nominalizer *-wa* to the verbalizing suffix is ungrammatical:

(104) * *ko'o-ti'-wa*
tree-VBZ-NMZ
'making firewood'

As with monovalent verb roots, the attachment of the direct voice marker *-na* to a verbalized noun creates a bivalent verb that denotes an action whose undergoer is a location, not a patient. This can be seen in (105)–(107):

(105) *n-aɬ* *choń* *ko'o:-**na***
obl-ART.n.1 HAB tree-DR
'at the (place where) I always make my firewood' {EA 6, 235}

(106) *n-as* *wu'tu-**na**=i*
obl-ART.n pot-DR=pl
'at their (place of) making pots'

(107) *asko* *chamḿo=is* *os* *bayɬim-**na**=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a bush=pl.a ART.n.p field-DR=1pl
'It (was) their forest, the (place where) we made our field.' {EA, Vida chaco 018}

Note that these forms, in contrast to the forms nominalized by *-wa* (cf. (100), (101)), can be ambiguous, since nouns can also be verbalized by the direct voice marker (cf. 11.8 below). Here, it is the context which identifies the status of the word.

11.6. Locative Verbalization: *-maj*

Another productive verbalizer is the suffix *-maj*. This suffix creates a monovalent verb which indicates that the participant in the event is located in or on the entity denoted by the nominal base.

(108) *kwil* *inɬa* *iṅ* *beṅ'i-m-**maj***
REM PRO.1sg 1intr grassland-LN-VLC
'Long ago, I (lived) in the country.' {HR, TX 005}

(109) *kajone:-**maj*** *is* *ve'e:-piṅ*
box-VLC ART.pl fire-BE.half
'The candles were in boxes.' {GB, Ganado 019}

(110) *ena'* *inɬa* *da'* *ariwa-m-**maj*** *n-as* *pi'chis*
DUR.std PRO.1sg DUR.nst top-LN-VLC obl-ART.n lean_to
'I was (standing? sitting?) on top of the lean-to.' {EA, Tomina' 089}

The following example shows a locative verb inside an NP:

(111) *che* *jayɬe* *kos* *kana=kis* *chorada-m-**maj*** *ja'a*
and then ART.n.a eat.DR=ART.pl.a street-LN-VLC just
'And then, the food of the people who just (live) in the streets.' [i.e., what do they eat?] {AH, EA&AH 128}

Before further suffixation, the verbalizing suffix *-maj* is retained. The following examples involve nominalized forms:

(112) *jayna* *oy-yemes* *os* *da'* *Peru-**maj**-wa*
DSC two-BE.day ART.n.p DUR.nst Perú-VLC-NMZ
'I had been in El Perú for two days by then.' [lit: "my stay in El Perú (had lasted) two days by then].' {EA, Cbba 195}

(113) *che* *n-asko* *rey* *la'* *Trinra-**maj**-wa='ne*
and obl-PRO.n.a again ANT Trinidad-VLC-NMZ=f
'And that was, of course, when she was in Trinidad then.' {EA, Motacu 011}

(114) *n-os* *jayna* *ṅ* *kawayo-**maj**-wa=y'ɬi*
obl-ART.n.p DSC 1intr horse-VLC-NMZ=1pl
'as we were riding on horses' {JA, TX 136}

The suffixation by the action nominalizer *-wa* shows that *-maj* is clearly a verbalizer and not a locative case marker or something of the kind.

11.7. Directional verbalization: *-na*

A noun which can denote a fixed location can be verbalized by the suffix *-na*. The resulting verbs indicate motion towards the location denoted by the base:

(115) *kuro'* *chaḿmo:**-na***
DM.m.a bush-DIR
'He has gone into the forest.'

(116) *apere:**-na***
Apere-DIR
'to go to the Apere river'

(117) *Lapas**-na***
La.Paz-DIR
'to go to La Paz'

Apart from its form, there is no indication that this suffix is identical to the direct voice marker *-na* (cf. 8.1.1): the derived verb is monovalent, as can be seen from the missing bound pronoun in (115).

In contrast to the verbalizing processes by *-ti'* and *-maj* described above, directional verbalization by *-na* is not very common. Most of the time, the periphrastic construction is used. According to the speaker, the meaning of the clause in (118) is identical to that of (115) above:

(118) *kuro'* *joy-cheɬ* *n-as* *chaḿmo*
DM.m.a go-R/R obl-ART.n bush
'He has gone to the forest.'

Directional verbalization is most often found with a habitual reading, such as 'to go to school', as in (119). However, it can also be used for a concrete action, as in (120):

(119) *isko* *eskwela:**-na*** *neyru*
PRO.pl.a school-DIR here
'They go to school here.' {EA, Tomina' 006}

(120) *loy* *iń* *lolos**-na***
ITN 1intr village-DIR
'I will go into the town center.' {EA 6, 231}

The following sentence illustrates the two verbalizing suffixes *-na* 'DIR' and *-maj* 'VLC':

(121) *kuro'* *ińwa:**-na**,* *juve-m**-maj***
DM.m.a big_river-DIR dugout-LN-VLC
'He has gone to the big river [i.e., the Mamoré], he has gone by canoe.'
{GC 13, 213ja}

Like the locative verbalizing suffix *-maj*, and in contrast with the verbalizer *-ti'*, the directional verbalizer *-na* is retained before another suffix is attached. In (122), this is illustrated with action nominalizer *-wa*:

(122) *ka'de jayna n-os eskwela**-na:-wa***
end DSC obl-ART.n.p school-DIR-NMZ
'… until when I went to school.' {HR, TX 020}

11.8. Verbalization through a voice marker

Nouns can be verbalized through the attachment of the direct bivalent voice marker *-na*.[264] This is very rare and not very productive. Unlike a denominal verb created by the directional suffix *-na* described in 11.7, the resulting verb is bivalent. In elicitation, the translation is such that the action denoted by the derived verb has the effect that something is made similar to the entity denoted by the noun. Compare the effect of the suffixation of *-ti'* in (123)a with that of the suffixation of *-na* in (123)b:

(123) a. *loy iṅ walaydi:**-ti'***
ITN 1intr *sarso*-VBZ
'I'll make a *sarso*.' [a suspended grid for storing food]

b. *loy iɬ walaydi:**-na***
ITN 1 *sarso*-DR
'I will make it like a *sarso*.' {EA 6, 236}

When the suffix *-ti'* also creates a meaning that something is made similar to something else (cf. (94)), the two suffixes differ only in their valency effect:

(124) a. *champa:**-ti'***
stone-VBZ
'to make a stonelike thing'

~ b. *champa:**-na***
stone-DR
'I make X similar to a stone.'

Unlike the verbalizer *-ti'* (cf. 11.5), the voice marker *-na* can verbalize nounlike adjectives:

(125) *loy iɬ mere'**-na***
ITN 1 big-VBZ
'I will make it big.'

[264] It can be expected that, given an adequate context, verbalization by the inverse voice marker *-kay* is equally possible. There is no example of this in my database, however.

11.9. Verbalization of process: *-ni*

Attaching the suffix *-ni* to a word results, in principle, in a monovalent verb. This suffix can be attached to most nouns, to all adjectives, and to some verb roots. Furthermore, it is attached to certain bases, e.g. pronouns, before they can be nominalized.

11.9.1. *-ni* on nouns and adjectives

The prototypical effect of the suffixation of *-ni* is that of deriving a verb which denotes a process: if semantically possible and contextually adequate, it indicates that the entity or state denoted by the base has come or is coming into being. Consider the following examples, where *-ni* is attached to morphological nouns. In (126) and (127), it appears that the suffix creates a verb denoting a process. In (128), in contrast, this seems to be excluded due to the meaning of the base.

(126) *jo'me:**-ni***
bird-PRC
'to turn into a bird' {EC 1, 147}

(127) *sutulra:**-ni***
amardillo-PRC
'It made itself like tatú' {EA 9, 030}

(128) *ana:**-ni**--i*
younger_sibling-PRC--pl
'They are siblings.' {EA 9, 031}

Some nouns contain the suffix *-ni* without an apparent change in meaning or syntactic function:

(129) a. *as* *i:may*
ART.n night
~ b. *as* *imay**-ni***
ART.n night-PRC
'the/a night'

Others do not occur without the suffix *-ni*:

(130) a. *as* *tawa'-ni*
ART.n next_day-PRC
'the next day, tomorrow'
b.* *as* *tawa'*
ART.n next_day

On yet other nouns, the suffixation of *-ni* causes a change in meaning, which cannot, however, be explained by the verbalizing function of the suffix (cf. (131)).

(131) a. *as* *ɬu:vuy*
ART.n twilight
'dawn'

b. *as* *ɬuvuy-ni*
ART.n twilight-PRC
'dusk'

On nounlike adjectives, which can occur without a bound nominal element (cf. 3.10.4), the effect of *-ni* can create a meaning difference, as shown in (132) and (133):

(132) a. *su:vuj* 'blue'
b. *suvuj-**ni*** 'to turn blue'

(133) a. *bi:jaw* 'old'
b. *bijaw-**ni*** 'to grow, get older'

On others, however, the attachment of *-ni* does not create a process-denoting verb. This can be seen in (134) and (135):

(134) *jayna* *jeya=us* *ney,* *ɬaḿ~ɬaḿ* *n-is* *to:mi* *di'* *paluy-**ni***
DSC state_of=m.a here MD~bathe obl-ART.pl water REL cold-PRC
'He was already like this, bathing in the cold water.' {BA, TX 276}

(135) *n-os* *ba:-bu-wa=sne,* *jayna* ***tivij-ni***
obl-ART.n.p finish-BE.eat-NMZ-f.a DSC pain-PRC
os *chodowi=sne,* ***ti:vij*** *os* *chodowi=sne*
ART.n.p stomach=f.a pain ART.n.p stomach=f.a
'When she finished eating, her stomach ached, her stomach ached.' {EA, Flaca 021f.}

On adjectives that contain a bound nominal element, the effect of *-ni* is more pronounced:

(136) *kas* *bew-ni-wa=i,* *bo* *jo'mi* *diḿ-ba:-**ni***
NEG ripe-PRC-NMZ=pl REAS only strong-BR.round-PRC
'They are not ripe, they are still ripening (fruits).' {EA, Mangas 003}

(137) *jayna* *ay* *joḿ-pa:-**ni***
DSC DM.spk.n thick-BE.manioc-PRC
'The manioc is getting thick.' {EA 12, 006a}

(138) *jayna* *kaw-ra:-**ni*** *iɬ* *pola:ta*
DSC much-BE.ntr-PRC 1 money
'My money has become more.' {JM 18, 229}

Some adjectival roots take *-ni* when not combined with a bound element (cf. also 3.10.4):

(139) a. *tun-ni* 'black'
b. *tun-ra* 'black (of meat, firewood)' (*-ra* 'BE.meat,firewood')

(140) a. *bew-ni* ‘to ripen, be ripe’
b. *bew-mo* ‘ripe (of banana)’ (*-mo* ‘TRC.banana’)

Thus, the prototypical function of *-ni* is that of marking a noun or adjective as a monovalent verb that denotes either a state or a process. For a more adequate description of the meaning of this suffix, it might be fruitful to examine its interaction with different aspectual particles.

11.9.2. *-ni* as part of simple intransitive verbs

Some frequently occurring intransitive verbs, which seem to contain a bound element and have the ending *-ni*, have to be considered synchronically simple intransitive verbs. The function of *-ni* cannot be identified here, because these verbs do not refer to a state or process. Furthermore, the elements of the base cannot be sufficiently analysed. These verbs are listed in (141):[265]

(141) *iye:ni* ‘move’
ilo:ni ‘walk, move forward’
iwa:ni ‘talk’
alwa:ni ‘converse’

Another set of intransitive verbs consist just of a monosyllabic root and the suffix *-ni*. In contrast to the verbs in (141) and the adjectives in (140), these verbs do denote a state or process. However, their roots cannot be fully identified either. In the following list, possibly related words or morphemes are given in brackets behind each of these verbs.

(142) *kayni* ‘die’ (cf. *kay~kay* ‘eat’; *kay<a:>łe* ‘give’)
je:ni ‘be ill, feel bad’ (cf. *je’* ‘my state of being’)
mo:ni ‘ripen (of plantains)’ (cf. *-mo* ‘TRC.banana’)
wo:ni ‘swell’ (cf. *wotos-ni* ‘swell’)
sejni ‘ripen (rice, plantains, etc.) (cf. *se:rej* ‘yellow’)

The verbs in (141) and (142) have the further property that the suffix *-ni* is never dropped before another derivational suffix:

(143) ***iwani****-wamba-ni*
talk-INSTR:BR.round-PRC
‘telephone’

(144) ***kayni****-kwa:-na*
die-BEN-DR
‘I die before X.’ [lit.: “I die for X.”] {EA 13, 226a}

[265] J. Judy (1962) analyses these verbs as consisting of a root (*i-* “move” and *al-* “accompany”, respectively), which is followed by a “classifier”, e.g. *-e* “person”, *-lo* “space”.

As was mentioned in 10.7, the suffix *-ni* is also attached to posture verb roots combined with the intensifier *-u'/-ay'* (cf. INT). This creates a durative meaning.

(145) *kinos* *ma'* *jayna* *kino'* *as-u'-**ni*** *ney*
ART.f.a my_mother DSC DM.f.a sit-INT-PRC here
'My mother then stayed here.' {HR TX 192}

Occasionally, the suffix *-ni* is attached to a bivalent root. The root has to be entirely reduplicated. The resulting verb has a durative aspect.

(146) *wał~wał-ni* *bo* *joy* *kiro'* *kaw-ra*
RED~scratch-PRC REAS SPC DM.pl.a much-BE.ntr
kis *dam<'i~>'i='ne*
ART.pl.a louse<INAL~>-f
'[She] is scratching because she must have many lice.' {EA 12, 183}

(147) *asko* *kwey* *jampa* *tojeł* *kos* ***aya~'aya-ni**-wa=y'łi*
PRO.n.a FOC do_like very ART.n.a RED~wait-ITR-NMZ-1pl
'It's the fault of our waiting [that we are late now].' {EG, Dial. 069}

The bases created by *-ni* can be followed by the direct voice marker *-na*. Since the base is monovalent, the resulting form denotes a location. In the case of monosyllabic roots, this can also involve reduplication, as in (149).

(148) *asko* *jayaw-lomaj-**ni-na**=sne*
PRO.n.a nice-BE.time-PRC-DR=f.a
'There she had a good time.' {GC 18, 400}

(149) *n-os* *ena'* *is~'is-**ni:-na*** *ena'*
obl-ART.n.p DUR.std RED~roast-PRC-DR DUR
'[He came into the kitchen] where I was baking [the "fritos"].' {EA, Aros 029}

11.9.3. *-ni* on instrumental nouns: nonpossessed entities

Instrumental nouns derived from verbs by the complex *-wa-n-*BE (cf. 11.4) often contain the suffix *-ni*. Here, the noun retains its nominal status, as shown by (150):

(150) *kowa* *rey* *as* *iwani-wamba:-ni* *n-as* *łavał-kwa*
DM.el.n again ART.n talk-INSTR:BR.round-PRC obl-ART.n wall-ABS
'The telephone is on the wall.' {EA 12, 296}

The basic effect of the suffix *-ni* on this kind of base is that it creates a noun which cannot be marked as possessed. This effect probably has to do with the fact that the suffix originally creates a monovalent verb, which cannot take an internally cliticized argument (ARG_1). In

contrast, nouns derived from verbs through the instrumental suffix without *-ni* usually encode a possessed entity (cf. 11.4). Consider (151)a, where the instrumental noun does not contain the suffix *-ni* and denotes a possessed entity. In contrast, in (151)b, the noun contains the suffix *-ni* and denotes an unpossessed entity.

(151) a. *i'ko* *tijkarim-wanra*
PRO.pl work-INSTR:BE.ntr
'These are my tools'; 'these are the things I work with.'

b. *i'ko* *tijkarim-wanra:**-ni***
PRO.pl work-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'These are tools'; 'these are things to work with.' {EA 8, 120}

The suffix *-ni* usually occurs on instrumental nouns derived from relational nouns (cf. 6.3.3). It is used to refer to unpossessed entities:

(152) a. *is* *do'we*
ART.pl clothes
'my clothes'

b. *is* *do'we**-wanra:-ni***
ART.pl clothes-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC
'clothes'

A verb that contains the suffix *-ni* can receive a bivalent voice marker. This either creates a verb with a patient as undergoer, as in (153), or with a location as undergoer, as in (154). Therefore, these verbs can be classified as labile bases (cf. 8.3.4).

(153) *asko* *bijaw**-ni-kay**-a=is* *majniwa=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a old-ITR-INV-LV=ART.pl child_of=1pl
'That [the crops of the field] was what our children were raised by.'
{EA, Mi vida 022}

(154) *jayna* *nosdeye,* *n-asko* *tarat̵**-ni:-na*** *jayna*
DSC there obl-PRO.n.a healthy-PRC-DR DSC
'There it was that I recovered then.' {GC, Bacho 034}

11.9.4. Nominalization of bases with *-ni*

Some words can only be turned into action nominals (cf. 11.1) if previously verbalized by *-ni*. This concerns pronouns, some adverbs, and some verbs. These words never occur as verbs with *-ni* only: this suffix only appears with an additional nominalizing suffix.

The following examples show a nominalized personal pronoun (cf. (155)), a demonstrative pronoun (cf. (156)), and a demonstrative adverb (cf. (157)):

(155) *kas inɬa**-ni-wa*** *pa:ko* *n-as* *dan-a-nun-wa*
NEG PRO.1sg-PRC-NMZ dog obl-ART.n chew-DR-bone-NMZ
'I am not a dog to chew on bones.' {EA, Huesos 002}

(156) *kas rey oso'**-ni-wa*** *os rey wa:ka di'* *kana=y'ɬi*
NEG again DM.p.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p again cow REL food=1pl
'There was no meat that we could eat.' {EA, Jaguar 203}

(157) *jayna jo'mi jaysoń veynte-yemes as* *nosde**-ni-wa=sne***
DSC recently seem twenty-BE.day ART.n there-PRC-NMZ=f.a
'It's been for just about twenty days by now that she is there.' {EA, Asilo 064}

An adverb which behaves like this is *ka'de* 'end, until':

(158) *n-os* *ka'de**-ni-wa**=is* *jayna*
obl-ART.n.p end-PRC-NMZ=pl.a DSC
'When they [the manioc roots] were finished.' {EA, Tomina' 066}

The "pseudo-verbs" *jampa* 'do' and *jankwa* 'say', which are, in fact, morphological nouns (cf. 8.5.2), can only be nominalized when combined with *-ni*, too:

(159) *jan n-as* *jampa**-ni-na**=is* *bi:jaw*
CSQ obl-ART.n do_like-PRC-NMZ.CSQ=ART.pl old
'That's why the old ones do it like that.' {HR, TX 117}

(160) *bo jan n-os* *jankwa**-ni-na**=as,* *mm*
REAS CSQ obl-ART.n.p say-PRC-NMZ.CSQ=n.a ONOM
'That was why it [the dog] said "mm."' {JM, Perro II 033}

Some monovalent verb roots, especially those that denote a position, can be nominalized with the addition of *-ni*, even though they do not occur alone with that suffix. The resulting word denotes a state. The following examples involve the verb roots *as-* 'sit' (cf. (161)), *de:-* 'lie' (cf. (162)), and *en-* 'stand' (cf. (163)):

(161) *jayna n-os* *as**-ni:-wa*** *n-u'ko*
then obl-ART.n.p sit-PRC-NMZ obl-PRO.m
'… when I already lived with him.' {EA, Aros 008}

(162) *ban kas rey de:**-ni-wa**=is* *n-is* *chora:da*
but NEG again lie-PRC-NMZ=pl.a obl-ART.pl street
'But they don't lie in the streets, of course.' {Dial. EA&AH 138}

(163) *disoy n-as en-**ni-wa**=as ro:ya nosde: n-as kayye*
perhaps obl-ART.n stand-PRC-NMZ=ART.n house there obl-ART.n street
'Perhaps if the house stood over there by the street, …' {EA, Casa 007}

In contrast, when these verbs are nominalized without the addition of *-ni*, they rather have an inchoative reading. Again, the following examples involve the roots *as-* 'sit', *de:-* 'lie', and *en-* 'stand', respectively.

(164) *kas rey daya' **as-wa**=sne n-is majniwa=sne*
NEG again DUR.nst sit-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.pl child_of=f.a
n-os da' alwani-wa=sne n-isko, ka:'i
obl-ART.n.p DUR talk-NMZ=f.a obl-PRO.pl.a no
'She didn't sit down with her children when she talked with them, no.'
{EA, Ay'ku II 037}

(165) *jayna jayłe da' jo'mi yey-na=n as **de:-wa**=n, jo'mi*
DSC then DUR.nst recently want-DR=2 ART.n lie-NMZ=2 recently
'Only then you want to lie down, only then.' {EA, Siesta 016}

(166) *ka'de os jayna **en-wa** ji:bal*
end ART.n.p DSC stand-NMZ slowly
'Until I finally stood still.' {JA, TX 125}

Finally, verbs with the suffix *-kał* 'immediative/impossibilitive' (cf. 10.1) can be nominalized only when they receive the suffix *-ni* first:

(167) *n-as tawa'-ni loy ił dejal-kał bo as*
obl-ART.n next_day-PRC ITN 1 cook-IM REAS ART.n
*kay-**kał-ni-wa**=n*
eat-IM-PRC-NMZ=2
'Tomorrow I'll cook early so that we (incl.)/you can eat early.' {EA 12, 134}

A matter that requires further research is with what bases exactly the nominalization of a verb derived through *-ni* creates a relational or a non-relational noun. It seems that at least pronouns nominalized in this way are non-relational, in contrast to canonical action nominalization. Consider the following examples:

(168) *jankwa=us n-as isko-**ni-wa** o<ye:>ye*
say=m.a obl-ART.n PRO.pl.a-PRC-NMZ two_people<INAL~>
'He said that they were my lovers.' {BA, TX 043}

(169) *n-as **ulkwaṅ-ni-wa** tijka:rim nokowa n-isne*
obl-ART.n PRO.2sg-PRC-NMZ work right_now obl-PRO.f.a
'[She accepted] that you will be the one who works for her from now on.'
{EA, In between 141}

If these action nouns were relational, the nominalized form in (168), for example, would have to be followed by the internal clitic *=is* for the third person plural. Likewise, the noun in (169) would be combined with the internal clitic *=n* for the second person possessor. This does not occur, however. It seems that only pronouns are turned into non-relational action nouns through the attachment of *-ni-wa*, while all other nouns derived through this process are relational.

12 Particles and adverbs

This chapter gives an overview of the morphemes I label particles. For the time being, I comprise under this label all words that are neither verbs, nouns, adjectives, or referential elements. Most of them are clearly function words, while others are perhaps better analysed as adverbs. This is a matter of further research. Also their precise number remains to be established.

Further research is also needed for a more fine-grained account of the properties of these words, especially with regard to their syntactic scope and combinatory possibilities. Note that several particles have different functions in different syntactic environments. I describe these particles according to their respective functions.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 12.1 presents clause-combining particles. These can have a coordinating or a subordinating function. The large group of TAM particles is described in 12.2 and 12.3. It seems possible to separate tense- and aspect marking particles, described in 12.2, from modal and epistemic particles, described in 12.3. A particle which deserves special discussion is the focus particle *kaw*, already introduced in 7.8; its similarities to and differences from the tense particle *kwey* are discussed in 12.4. Section 12.5 deals with negative particles, some of which were already introduced in 7.15 and in 11.1. Some interjections are illustrated in 12.6, and the filler particle *eney*, apparently the only filler in Movima, is presented in 12.7.

12.1. Clause-combining particles

In the present section, I describe the particles that combine main clauses and particles that introduce subordinate clauses. By main clauses, I mean clauses that can in principle occur independently, even they may be semantically dependent on another clause. In contrast, subordinate clauses, which are formally NPs, cannot occur independently (cf. 7.12, 11.1). Some particles have both a coordinating as well as a subordinating function.

The following clause-combining particles will be described in 12.1.1–12.1.8 below:

(1)

che	'and'
kabo	'or'
ban	'but'
bo	'because/so that'
di'	'if'
wa:	'even though'
jan	'that's why'
o:be	'like'

Negative subordinating particles are described at the end of this chapter, in 12.5.

12.1.1. Conjunctive coordination: *che* 'and'

Full clauses can be combined by simple juxtaposition. The following is an example of this, in which the division between the clauses is indicated by a comma, symbolizing a brief pause:

(2) ***che*** *isne* *chi:~chi* *n-os* *chora:da,* *chus-waj-kay*
and PRO.f.a MD~go_out obl-ART.n.p street point-BE.place-INV
n-os *joy-na*
obl-ART.n.p go-DR
'And she went out onto the street (and) showed me where to go.'
{GC, Bacho 056}

Generally, however, the coordinating conjunction *che* 'and' is used, which can combine noun phrases and clauses. Example (3) shows two coordinated NPs, example (4) contains three clauses combined by *che*:

(3) *jayna* *rey* *way-na=sne* *os* *balde* ***che*** *os* *loto:ba*
DSC again take_up-DR=f.a ART.n.p bucket and ART.n.p jug
'Then again she took up the bucket and the jug.' {EA, Ay'ku I 052}

(4) *jayna* *rey* *i'ne* *jo'yaj* ***che*** *de:-cheɬ* ***che*** *joro:-kwa* *i'ne*
DSC again PRO.f arrive and lie-R/R and sleep-BDP PRO.f
'She had arrived already and had gone to bed and was sleeping.' {EA, Anoche 009}

Coordinated clauses are further illustrated by the following examples. While (4) above involved only intransitive clauses, example (5) illustrated transitive–transitive, and (6) and (7) intransitive–transitive coordination:

(5) *dewaj-na=sne* *os* *chora=os* *modinɬa:ris*
see-DR=f.a ART.n.p eye=ART.n.p needle
che *oɬ-na=sne--kas* *n-os* *bujdi*
and hang-DR=f.a--n.a.OBV obl-ART.n.p thread
'She saw the eye of the needle and put the thread through it.' {AY, Algodón 008}

(6) *chon-lo--us* *usko,* *jayi-kwa-n-kay--us* ***che*** *yoń-kay--us*
right-BE.?--m.a PRO.m.a run-BEN-LN-INV--m.a and catch-INV--m.a
'He went straight, he ran towards me and caught me.' {EA, Aros II 020}

(7) *iń* *joy-cheɬ* ***che*** *ɬ* *kaj<a:>ɬe* ***che*** *joy-a:-ɬe* *no-kos* *as-na*
1intr go-R/R and 1 come_up_to<DR> and go-DR-CO obl-ART.n.a sit-DR
'I'll go and meet you and take you home with me.' {EA, Visita 105}

Example (8) shows transitive–intransitive coordination involving omission of the absolutive argument (ARG_{intr} in the second clause), underlined in the first clause:

(8) *jayna* *il-na=as* *tinno* *is* *arandi*
DSC spread-DR=ART.n sun ART.pl bamboo_stick
che *ena'* *boṅ-ka-di:-pi*
and DUR.std change-MLT-BE.long_thin-?
'The sun heats the bamboo sticks and (they) are making a cracking sound.'
{EA 13, 011}

12.1.2. Disjunctive coordination: *kabo* 'or, otherwise'

The particle *kabo* indicates that the second clause presents a possible alternative to the event described in the main clause. It possibly originates from the combination of a negative particle *kas* or *ka:* (cf. 12.5.1) and the conjunction *bo* 'because, so that' (cf. 12.1.4).

(9) *jay'* *ja:mi-ki-kweɬ* ***kabo*** *was-ti-kweɬ* *mora'*
run.IMP fetch_water-IMP.MV-2pl or thresh-IMP.DR-2pl (swearword)
kis *aro:so*
ART.pl.a rice
'Go and fetch water, or thresh the rice!' {EA, Dichiyeye 041}

(10) *mas-ti* *as* *as-wa=n,* ***kabo*** *ij* *áj-ɬabaɬ*
beat-IMP.DR ART.n sit-NMZ=2 or 2intr ?-BE.earth
'Beat your horse! Or are you on foot?' {JA, TX 115}

Often, the particle *kabo* is followed by a clause marked with the hypothetical particle *di'* (cf. 12.1.5 below):

(11) *de-ku'-poj-na=n* *oy-ye:mes* ***kabo*** ***di'*** *tas-ye:mes*
lie-INT-CAU-DR=2 two-BE.day or HYP three-BE.day
'You let (it) rest two or maybe three days.' {EA, Yuca 040}

(12) *joy* *ij* *jempiteɬ* *kuyna:na'* *nosde:,* ***kabo*** ***di'*** *joy* *kas*
SPC 2intr all_the_time play there or HYP SPC NEG
'Maybe you still play [basket ball] there, or maybe you don't.' {EA, Basket 013}

The particle *kabo* can also occur clause-initially.

(13) ***kabo*** ***di'*** *kas* *ba:-lowes-na:-wa* *n-as* *Boco:co,*
or HYP NEG finish-BE.shape-DR-NMZ obl-ART.n Bococo
ba:-lowes-na *n-as* *Palmi:ra*
finish-BE.time-DR obl-ART.n Palmira
'Or if I don't reach (them) at Bococo, I reach them at Palmira.' {EA, Alcanzar 029}

12.1.3. Adversative coordination: *ban* 'but'

The function of this particle is to indicate that the situation described in the second clause stands in contrast to that described in the first:

(14) *yey-na is maropa,* ***ban*** *kas rey miri'-na:-wa os*
want-DR ART.pl papaya but NEG again dare-DR-NMZ ART.n.p
daj-kwa-n-wa
ask-BEN-LN-NMZ
'I wanted the papayas, but I didn't dare to ask.' {DM, Fracaso 012}

(15) *iń pawa-n-e:ɬe* ***ban*** *kas ten<a>panɬe:-wa os rey*
1intr hear-LN-AGT but NEG be_able<DR>-NMZ ART.n.p again
iwani:-wa
speak-NMZ
'I understood [Spanish], but I couldn't speak.' {HR TX 019}

12.1.4. Reason: *bo* 'because/so that'

The particle *bo* between two clauses indicates that the second clause expresses the reason for the event described in the preceding clause ('because').

(16) *kas nokowa dejal-wa, jankwa=sne,*
NEG right_now cook-NMZ say=f.a
bo *kas koro'-ni-wa kos wa:ka-to:da*
REAS NEG DM.a.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a cow-BR.piece
'I won't cook today, she said, because there is no meat.' {GC, Bacho 021}

(17) *i'ne joro-sicha'kwa--'ne jankwa='ne,*
PRO.f sleep-DES--f say=f
bo *kas joro-wa='ne ɬań*
REAS NEG sleep-NMZ=f EV
'She says she is tired, because she hasn't slept, you see.' {EA, Alojamiento 011f.}

When the first clause is negative and the second affirmative, the particle *bo* can express a contrast ('but' or 'instead'):

(18) *kas rey jara'-na-wa=n* ***bo*** *isko rey*
NEG again throw_away-DR-NMZ=2sg REAS PRO.pl.a again
wul-na=n reyka
sow-DR=2 again
'You don't throw (them) away: these you sow again.' {EA, Yuca 037}

(19) *jayna* *kas* *rey* *welel-wa=as* *n-os* *ari:wa,*
DSC NEG again climb_up-NMZ=n.a obl-ART.n.p top
ka:, ***bo*** *en-ɬabaɬ* *os* *rulrul*
no REAS stand-BE.earth ART.n.p jaguar
'It didn't climb up anymore, no, it stood on the ground, the jaguar.'
{EA, Tigre y perro 006}

The particle *bo* can also introduce a subordinate clause, i.e., an NP with a nominalized predicate (cf. 7.12.3). The subordinate clause then expresses the purpose of the event described in the main clause. In the examples, the subordinate clauses are underlined.

(20) *alwani:-kay* ***bo*** *as* *pu~puɬ-wa* *kis* *jo'me*
talk-INV REAS ART.n DR~pluck-NMZ ART.pl bird
'[They] talked to me so that I would pluck the chicken.' {EA, Pollos 003}

(21) *jayna* *i'ne* *dej-na='ne* *is* *o:kaka:-ra* *di'* *ya:lo:we*
already PRO.f cook-DR=f ART.pl all_kind-BE:ntr REL drink
bo *os* *taj-poj-wa=os* *don-'i*
REAS ART.n.p plug-CAU-NMZ=ART.n.p blood-D
'She prepared all kinds of stuff to drink so that my bleeding would be stopped.'
{EA, Cbba 118}

(22) *ken<a:>pa* *us* *Roman* ***bo*** *as* *sal-na-wa=u*
inform<DR> ART.m Roman REAS ART.n search-DR-NMZ=m
kis *we:ye* ***bo*** *as* *joy-ɬe-wa=n* *n-as* *Peru*
ART.pl.a ox REAS ART.n go-CO-NMZ=2 obl-ART.n Peru
'I'll tell Roman that he looks for the ox so that you will be taken to [the village] Perú.' {EA, Cbba 147}

As is generally the case with subordinate clauses, several subordinate clauses introduced by *bo* can occur within one sentence. The following examples illustrate this. In (23), both subordinate clauses are intransitive, and in (24), both are transitive.

(23) *joy-ɬe:-kay* *usko* ***bo*** *os* *vayeɬ-wa,*
go-CO-INV PRO.m.a REAS ART.n.p look_at.AGT-NMZ
bo *os* *o:-ka-baycho:-wa*
REAS ART.n.p ?-MLT-MST-NMZ
'He took me with him so that I could have a look, so that I could distract myself.'
{EA, Cbba 262}

(24) *jampa=as ney jayna, bo os e~'ew-wa=as*
do_like=n.a here DSC REAS ART.n.p DR~grasp-NMZ=n.a
os ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko, ***bo*** *os tikoy-na-wa=as*
ART.n.p head<INAL~>=ART.n.p dog REAS ART.n.p kill-DR-NMZ=n.a
'It did like this, so that it could hold the head of the dog in order to kill it.'
{EA, Tigre y perro 018}

In these examples, there is no formal evidence that indicates whether the second subordinate clause is embedded in the first subordinate clause or directly in the main clause. In (23), the second subordinate clause can be interpreted as being on the same level as the first, whereas in (24), it seems that the second subordinate clause depends on the first.

12.1.5. Conditional clauses: *di'*

Conditional clauses are introduced by the hypothetical particle *di'* (cf. also 12.3.5 below). This particle is probably related to, or even identical with, the homophonous relativizer (cf. 7.11).[266] However, I treat the hypothetical particle and the relativizer as two different morphemes, since their functions seem to be quite different according to the environments in which they occur. The relativizer occurs after an NP, which is modified by the relative clause, and the relative clause may not contain an absolutive argument, which would represent the relativized argument. Example (25) contains a relative clause. The NP which is modified by the relative clause is underlined.

(25) *kiro' kis júyeni* ***di'*** *ja' kayni n-as maw-'i*
DM.a.pl ART.pl.a person REL just die obl-ART.n hunger
'Are there people who simply die of hunger?' {AH, EA&AH 130}

The hypothetical particle, in contrast, is not preceded by an NP, and the clause introduced by it can contain an absolutive argument. The following examples are illustrations of conditional clauses. The conditional clause usually occurs before the main clause.

(26) ***di'*** *yey-na=n ulkwañ, ij ji<wa:~>wa ney n-as as-na*
HYP want-DR=2 PRO.2sg 2intr come<MD~> here obl-ART.n sit-DR
'If you want to, you come here to my house.' {EA, Antes de fiesta 021}

(27) *bo rey* ***di'*** *yeɬ-na n-as soñ-waj,*
REAS again HYP lodge-DR obl-ART.n other-BE.place
jayna rey tera:ni
DSC again ill
'Because if I sleep at the other place, I'll get ill again.' {GC, Bacho 077}

[266] According to Payne (1997: 329), it is typologically not unusual for a conditional clause to resemble a relative clause.

(28) *ban* ***di'*** *iɬ* *rim-eɬ-na,* ***di'*** *koro'* *kos* *rim-wanra,*
but REL 1 trade-APPL-DR REL DM.n.a ART.n.a trade-INSTR:BE.ntr
rim-eɬ-na *is* *Kokako:la,* *Tri:ni,* *Fanta* *rim-eɬ-na*
trade-APPL-DR ART.n.pl Coke Trini Fanta trade-APPL-DR
'But when I buy (it), when I have money, I buy Coke, Trini, Fanta, I buy (it).'
{EA, Antojos I 004}

The hypothetical marker also occurs in subordinate conditional clauses, i.e., noun phrases containing a nominalized predicate. Here, the particle occurs after the article and right before the predicate of the subordinate clause:

(29) *joydi',* *jankwa,* *n-as* ***di'*** *koro'-ni-wa* *kos*
don't_know say obl-ART.n HYP DM.n.a-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a
rim-wanra=n
buy-INSTR:BE.ntr=2
'I don't know, I said, if you have (money) to buy (it).' {EA, Antojos II 011}

(30) *do:koy,* *n-as* ***di'*** *chi:-wa=kos* *rulrul* *ka'*
good obl-ART.n REL go_out-NMZ=ART.n.a jaguar PROH
teń-wa--y'bi
frighten-NMZ--2pl
'Okay, when the jaguar comes out, don't get scared.' {BA, TX 213}

12.1.6. Concession and conditional concession: *wa:*

A concessive clause is a full clause preceded by the particle *wa:*.

(31) *tawa'-ka-chorada-n-eɬ-ni* *kis* *juyeni* *ja',*
next_day-MLT-street-LV-APPL-PRC ART.pl.a person just
di' *i:ri* ***wa:*** *rey* *loy* *rey* *layakwa-n-wa*
HYP DM.spk.pl CONC again NEG.SUB again drunk-LN-NMZ
'The people just wake up in the streets, even if they are not drunk?'
{AH, EA&AH 124}

This particle typically cooccurs with the hypothetical particle *di'* (cf. 12.1.5 above). Usually, *wa:* precedes *di'* (although (31) above may be a contradictory example):

(32) ***wa:*** *rey* ***di'*** *iń* *tera:ni,* *ban* *jayna* *iń* *tijka:rim*
CONC again HYP 1intr ill but DSC 1intr work
'Even though I am ill, I work.' {EA, Patrona 024}

(33) ***wa:*** ***di'*** *kas* *pawa-n-eɬ-wa=as,* *ban* *dewaj-kwi,* *a'ko* *do:koy*
CONC HYP NEG hear-LV-AGT-NMZ=n.a but see-? PRO.n good
'Even if someone doesn't hear, but (if he/she) can see, that's good.'
{EA, La ciega 023}

(34) *n-as* *choy* *rey* *chon-si,* *jayna* *choy* *rey* *ij*
obl-ART.n certainly again right-BE.sound DSC certainly again 2intr
aj<te:~>tej, ***wa:*** *rey* ***di'*** *kas* *koro'-ni-wa* *kos*
rest<MD~> CONC again HYP NEG DM.a.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a
kana=n
eat.DR=2
'At noon you rest, of course, even if you don't have anything to eat.'
{EA, Siesta 001f.}

Another particle occasionally found in this context is *ba'*. According to the speakers, this particle means the same as *wa:*. The following example was given as an illustration:

(35) a. ***wa:*** ***di'*** *rey* *da'* *iń* *joro:-kwa,* *ban* *iɬ* *pawa:-na*
CONC HYP again DUR.nst 1intr sleep-BDP but 1 hear-DR
'Although I may be asleep, I hear (you).'

~ b. ***ba'*** *iń* *joro:-kwa,* *ban* *iɬ* *pawa:-na*
? 1intr sleep-BDP but 1 hear-DR
'Even though I am asleep, I hear (you).' {EA 14, 032b}

However, the following example suggests that *ba'* may also have an emphatic connotation:

(36) *kilno'* *joy-cheɬ* *che* ***ba'*** *tes-cheɬ*
DM.rtr.f go-R/R and ? limp-R/R
'She is going there, and that even though she limps.' {EA, Ay'ku I 053}

12.1.7. The construction with *jan* 'consequently' and *-na* 'NMZ.CSQ'

The particle *jan* introduces an adverbial clause, which is formally an oblique NP (cf. 7.12.3). The special property of this construction is that the predicate of the adverbial clause is not nominalized through *-wa* or reduplication (cf. 11.1.1), but through a suffix *-na*, which only occurs in this particular construction (cf. 11.1.3). Consider the following example:

(37) ***jan*** *n-os* *tes-na=sne,* *bo* *jayna* *rey*
CSQ obl-ART.n.p limp-NMZ.CSQ=f.a REAS DSC again
kaḿ-piń *os* *dinoj-a=sne* *neyru*
broken-BE.half ART.n.p thigh-LV=f.a here
'That's why she limped, because her thigh was broken here.' {EA, Ay'ku I 011}

Often, a clause containing *jan* is preceded by the particle *bo* 'because'. This does not seem to influence the meaning.

(38) *bo* ***jan*** *n-os* *jisa-na-na=is* *enona=y'ɬi*
REAS CSQ obl-ART.n.p make-DR-NMZ.CSQ=ART.pl authority=1pl
os *kwarto-kongre:so*
ART.n.p fourth-congress
'That's why our authorities had the fourth congress.' {EA, Marcha 068}

The clause with *jan* can be used to sum up a larger part of discourse than just the preceding clause. The following are some examples of this.

(39) *asko* *jeya=as,* ***jan*** *n-as* *do~don-**na***
PRO.n.a state_of=n.a CSQ obl-ART.n DR~hate-NMZ.CSQ
us *alwaj*
ART.m spouse
'That's how it was, that's why I hate my husband.' {BA, TX 034}

(40) *jo:jo',* *che* ***jan*** *n-as* *ona-waj-na:-**na***
yes and CSQ obl-ART.n.p know-BE.place-DR-NMZ.CSQ
as *Kochawamba*
ART.n Cochabamba
'Yes, and that's why I know Cbba.' {EA, Cbba 250}

(41) ***jan*** *n-as* *loy* *nokowa*
CSQ obl-ART.n NEG.SUB right_now
*ba:-lowes-na-**na**=us*
finish-BE.shape-DR-NMZ.CSQ=m.a
'That's why he won't reach [them] today.' {EA, Alcanzar 035}

12.1.8. The preposition *o:be* 'like'

The particle *o:be* precedes an NP or a pronoun which denotes an entity with which another entity is compared. Unlike the subordinating particles described above (e.g. *bo* 'so that'), the NP preceded by *o:be* typically contains not a nominalized predicate, but an ordinary noun. This particle is therefore best described as a preposition.

In (42), *o:be* introduces a noun phrase, in (43) a free pronoun, and in (44) a demonstrative (underlined):

(42) *wurul-cheɬ--as* ***o:be*** *is* *bana:ma*
roar-R/R--n.a like ART.pl anteater
'It roared like an anteater.' {EA, Jaguar 088}

(43) *bi:jaw* *isne* ***o:be*** *inɬa*
old PRO.f.a like PRO.1sg
'She is old, like me.' {EA, Tuncho 032}

(44) *jeya=os* *ra:da* ***o:be*** *kore'e*
state_of=ART.n.p door like DM.std.n
'The door was like that one [half-open].' {EA, Escape 038}

In (45) below, the NP following the particle *o:be* contains a nominalized predicate. This clause qualifies the predicate of the preceding clause (*tivijniwa* 'hurting'), which is itself an adverbial clause of the type described in 7.12.3.

(45) *asko* *n-os* *jayna* *tivij-ni-wa=os* *dimpoj-a=sne*
PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p DSC pain-PRC-NMZ=ART.n.p toe-LV=f.a
o:be *as* *laḿ~laḿ-wa=n* *is* *mimi:di* *di'* *chondini:wa*
like ART.n INV~bite-NMZ=2 ART.pl snake REL *yoperojovovo*
'That (was) when her toe hurt, like when a *yoperojovovo* snake bites you.'
{EA, Lagartija 021f.}

12.2. Tense and aspect particles

It is not easy to distinguish the categories tense, aspect and mood as indicated by particles. Temporal and aspectual categories are difficult to distinguish, and some particles with an aspectual function can also be used as markers of mood. Therefore, I subsume tense and aspect particles under one heading, and some of them will be described again in the section on modal and epistemic particles (12.3).

The position of the TAM-particles in the clause, and the relation between their position and their scope, requires further research. It seems that in principle, a particle can occur at any position in the clause:

(46) (**TAM**) TOP (**TAM**) PRED (**TAM**) ARG (**TAM**)

Strikingly, these particles occur very often within an NP, i.e., between the article and the noun:

(47) ART (**TAM**) N

In the following sections, I will indicate for each particle whether it can occur within an NP. Further research is needed to establish the frequency of certain particles in that position, and what this means for their scope properties.

Many TAM-particles have a long form with the ending *-ka*. This form usually occurs at the margins of the clause. The existence of a long form will also be indicated for each particle individually.

The following is a list of the tense-aspect particles, each of which will be illustrated below.

(48)

kwey(ka)	'immediate past'
la'	'anterior'
kwil	'remote past'
nokowa	'right now'
jayna	'discontinuous'
po:ra(ka)	'briefly'
jo'mi	'recently'
ya'ɬe(ka)	'right away'
choṅ	'habitual'
pajas	'in passing'
jemes	'continuously'
di:ra(n)	'still; at least'
rey(ka)	'again'
tela	'almost'
ena'	'durative standing'
da(ya)'	'durative non-standing'
buka'	'durative moving'

12.2.1. *kwey/kweyka* 'immediate past'

The particle *kwey*, with the long form *kweyka*, indicates that an event has been concluded on the day of speaking, but before the moment of speaking (cf. section 12.4 for its distribution in comparison to *kaw,* which is often realized as /k^{w}ej/, too).

(49) ***kwey*** *joy-cheɬ* *us* *pa:pa=kinos* *majni*
IMM go-R/R ART.m father_of=ART.f.a my_child
n-as *ra:diyo* *alwa:ni* *n-isne*
obl-ART.n radio converse obl-PRO.f.a
'Today the father of my daughter went to the radio to talk to her.'
{EA, Llamada 002}

(50) *jo'mi* *jo'yaj--i'* *choy* *rey,* *bo* ***kwey*** *chi:~chi--i*
recently arrive--pl certainly again REAS IMM MD~go_out--pl
'They must have just arrived, because they had gone out (earlier).'
{EA, Neighbours 019}

The marker *kwey* marks the same time span as the absential article with an action noun or a temporal noun (cf. 4.8.2). Accordingly, when a clause with *kwey* also contains an action noun, as in (51), or a temporal noun, as in (52), the noun is always combined with the absential article:

(51) *jayna rey* ***kwey*** *iń joy-cheł* *no-**kos*** *kaj<a>łe:-wa--y'bi*
DSC again IMM 1intr go-R/R obl-ART.n.a come_up_to<DR>-NMZ--2pl
'I already went earlier today to meet you.' {EA, In between 183}

(52) Q. *ła'* *je:mes?*
ANT day
A. ***kweyka*** *no-**kos*** *ima:yoj,* *jo'mi*
IMM obl-ART.n.a morning recently
Q: 'Yesterday?' A: 'Today in the morning, recently!' {EA, Llamada 003f.}

The long form *kweyka* typically occurs at the margins of the clause. In (52) above, it occurs at the beginning, in (53), it occurs at the end of the clause:

(53) *jayna rey iń ba:cho* ***kweyka***
DSC again 1intr diarrhea IMM
'I already had diarrhea again today.' {EA, Agua sucia 025}

The short form *kwey* can also occur at the margins of the clause, as could be seen in (49) above. This form also occurs frequently inside an NP. It shares this property with other tense particles, such as *la'* and *kwil* (cf. 12.2.2 and 12.2.3, respectively). An NP with *kwey* typically contains a temporal noun, as in (54), an action nominal, as in (55), or a morphological verb, as in (56).

(54) *jayaw-yemes kos* ***kwey*** *je:mes*
nice-BE.day ART.n.a IMM day
'It has been a nice day today.' {EA 7, 049a}

(55) *che éł-'o<ra~>da=a* *kos* ***kwey*** *jóyaj-wa=n* *ney*
and what-hour<RED~>=n ART.n.a IMM arrive-NMZ=2 here
'And at what time did you arrive here today?' {AH, EA&AH 088}

(56) *i:ri 'i: ney is* ***kwey*** *dej-'i* *di'* *n-i'ne*
DM.spk.pl DM.spk.pl here ART.pl IMM cook-D REL obl-PRO.f
'Here is what has been cooked for her today.' {EA 19, 315d}

12.2.2. *la'* 'anterior'

The particle *la'* occurs most often inside or next to a noun phrase that contains a temporal or action noun. It indicates the last occasion, before the day of speaking, at which the time or event referred to took place. Hence, expressions such as 'yesterday' or 'last year' are formed with *la'*. When *la'* is combined with a noun phrase, this noun phrase always contains the past article (cf. 4.8.2). The following examples are characteristic occurrences of *la'*:

(57) *jo'yaj--us* *n-os* ***la'*** *walaylo*
arrive--m.a obl-ART.n.p ANT afternoon
'He arrived yesterday afternoon.' {EA, Alcanzar 003}

(58) *jayna* *rey* *di'-muj--as* ***la'*** *n-os imay-ni*
DSC again strong-TRC.wind--n.a ANT obl-ART.n.p night-PRC
'It was very windy last night.' {EA, Antes fiesta 049}

(59) *jayna* *n-os* *rey* ***la'*** *tomi:na',* *ma'a*
DSC obl-ART.n.p again ANT wet_season my_mother
'Then in the (last) wet season, madam, ...' {EA, Tomina' 001}

In (60), the first NP contains a temporal noun, as in the above examples, and the second NP contains a deverbal action noun derived from *pule:ɬe* 'to sweep'.

(60) *ka:'i,* *n-os* *rey* ***la'*** *sa:waro,* *n-os*
no obl-ART.n.p again ANT Saturday obl-ART.n.p
la' *rey* *pul-eɬ-wa=y'ɬi,* *kas* *rey* *baw-ra-wa=y'ɬi*
ANT again sweep-AGT-NMZ=1pl NEG again cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=1pl
'No, last Saturday, when we swept last time, again we weren't paid.' {EG, Dial. 006}

Occasionally, the particle *la'* occurs with a verb, as in the following examples:

(61) *i:ni=s* *ulchaɬ* *jema'* *jayna* ***la'*** *iṅ* *ba:kawane:-cheɬ* *n-i'ne*
DM.spk=DET in_law also DSC ANT 1intr discuss:MLT-R/R obl-PRO.f
'This daughter-in-law, I already had discussions with her [at the last occasion].'
{EA, Nuera 001}

(62) ***la'*** *jaymoɬ-kay* *n-os* *la'* *bu<ra~>da=os* *piyesta*
ANT call-INV obl-ART.n.p ANT front<INAL~>=ART.n.p *fiesta*
'[He] called me just before the last *fiesta*.' {EA, Busc. viv. 012}

12.2.3. *kwil* 'remote past'

Like *la'* 'anterior', the particle *kwil* typically occurs inside or next to an NP, and cooccurs with the past article. It indicates remote past and implies that the entity or state referred to does not exist anymore.

(63) *n-os* ***kwil*** *bayɬim-a=y'ɬi* *rey* *mo:* *maj<a'><ni:~>ni*
obl-ART.n.p REM field-LV=1pl again yet my_child<IRR><NMZ.N~>
'In our [first] field, long ago, I didn't have children yet.' {EA, Chaco III 001}

(64) *joy-a-łe=sne che um-a-ra=sne o:be*
go-DR-CO=f.a and send-DR-BE.ntr=f.a like
os jampa=n ***kwil*** *ulkwań*
ART.n.p do_like=2 REM PRO.2sg
'She took them [the photos] with her and she'll send them, in the same way as you did back then.' {EA, Visita 112}

.

(65) *a'ko baw-choł-kay-a=os ney* ***kwil*** *paro:kiya*
PRO.n cost-BR.between-INV-LV=ART.n.p here REM parish
'That replaced that earlier parish (building).' {HR TX 074}

In the same way as *la'*, the particle *kwil* can cooccur with a verb, as in the following example:

(66) ***kwil*** *inła iń beń'i-m-maj*
REM PRO.1sg 1intr grassland-LN-VLC
'Back then [when I was a child], I lived in the country.' {HR, TX 005}

Example (67) shows that the particles *la'* and *kwil* can cooccur:

(67) *inła la'* ***kwil*** *joy-cheł n-as marcha*
PRO.1sg ANT REM go-R/R obl-ART.n demonstration
'I went to the demonstration back then.' {GC, Marcha 001}

12.2.4. *nokowa* 'right now'

The tense particle *nokowa*, pronounced as ['nɔk^{w}a] in rapid speech, is derived from the demonstrative adverb for elevated objects (*nokowa* 'at that (elevated)'; cf. 4.6). The core function of this particle is to indicate an upcoming event:

(68) *jayna* ***nokowa****, jayna* ***nokowa*** *don-łe*
DSC right_now DSC right_now put_on-CO
jayna ***nokowa*** *chi:~chi as tami:-ba, jankwa=sne*
DSC right_now MD~come_out ART.n birth-BR.round say=f.a
'Right now, right now it will be born, right now the baby will come out!, she said.'
{JM, Loro 034f.}

(69) *ban* ***nokowa*** *n-as imay-ni iń ji<wa:~>wa*
but right_now obl-ART.n night-PRC 1intr come<MD~>
'But I will come tonight.' {EA, Visita 013}

(70) *ban n-as* ***nokowa*** *jiwa-wa=us ney=s agosto*
but obl-ART.n right_now come-NMZ=m.a here=DET August
jayna n-a'ko kempa:-wa--us
DSC obl-PRO.n inform-NMZ--m.a
'But when he comes now in August, that will be when he tells me.'
{EA, Patrona 043}

Typically, *nokowa* is used for events on the same day, as in (68) and (69).

In the examples above, it could be seen that the particle *nokowa* can occur together with a main-clause predicate (cf. (68) and (69)), but also in a subordinate clause, i.e. inside an NP with an action noun (cf. (70)). In both cases, it modifies the predicate, also the nominal form in the subordinate clause.

However, like other particles, *nokowa* can also occur inside a noun phrase with a concrete referent. Here, it can be seen that it does not modify this noun, but the entire clause:

(71) *n-as jayna joyaj-wa=kus* ***nokowa*** *pa:pa=is majni*
obl-ART.n DSC arrive-NMZ=ART.m.a right_now father_of=ART.pl my_child
'When (right_now) the father of my children comes ...' {EA, Buscar vivienda 010}

12.2.5. *jayna* 'discontinuative'

The particle *jayna* is one of the most frequent particles. It can be circumscribed as indicating that a state or event holds when it did not before, or that it occurs or starts earlier than expected.[267] The following examples illustrate this particle in an affirmative and a negative clause, respectively:

(72) *n-asko rey dichi<ye~>ye tochi', ban* ***jayna*** *to'baycho*
obl-PRO.n.a again child<NMZ.N~> small but DSC remember
'That was when I was a little child, but I already noticed it.' {EA, Abuelo 011}

(73) *rey ney* ***jayna*** *kas pawa-n-eɬ-wa='ne*
again here DSC NEG hear-LV-AGT-NMZ=f
'Now she can't hear anymore.' {EA, Abuelo 038}

Very often, the particle *jayna* is used to indicate a sequence of events, in which case it can be translated as 'and then' or 'at that moment'.

[267] In local Spanish, it can almost always be translated by *ya* 'already'.

(74) *che n-os* *salmo:-wa,* ***jayna*** *kwal-a:-ra* *os* *organo,*
and obl-ART.n.p return-NMZ DSC hide-DR-BE.ntr ART.n.p harmonica
jayna *ajpa:-na* *rey*
DSC guard-DR again
'And when I returned, I hid the harmonica at once, I put it away again.'
{EA, Organ 015}

(75) *che* ***jayna*** *ba:-det-u'u,* ***jayna*** *duńʼ-na=n* ***jayna***
and DSC finish-toast-PH DSC grind-DR=2 DSC
'And when [the nuts] have finished toasting, then you grind [them].'
{EA, Motacu 025}

The particle *jayna* often occurs both at the beginning and at the end of the clause. This could be seen in (75), and is also shown by the following examples:

(76) ***jayna*** *ńʼ* *en-cheɬ* ***jayna***
DSC 1intr stand-R/R DSC
'At that moment I stood still.' {EA, Jaguar 092}

(77) ***jayna*** *joy-cheɬ* *rey* *no-kos* *as-na=n* ***jayna***
DSC go-R/R again obl-ART.n.a sit-DR=2 DSC
'Then [when this is finished] you go back home.' {EA, Chaco I 022}

The following example shows that, like other particles, *jayna* can occur inside an NP, even though it modifies the entire clause:

(78) *yey-na='nes* *ma'* *is* ***jayna*** *ney* *mońlo:to*
want-DR=ART.f my_mother ART.pl DSC here earring
'My mother wanted those earrings then.' {EA, Abuelo 028}

In a negative clause, *jayna* adds the meaning of 'not any longer':

(79) ***jayna*** *kas* *dewaj-na:-wa*
already NEG see-DR-NMZ
'I didn't see (you) anymore.' {EA, Antes de fiesta 047}

(80) ***jayna*** ***kas*** *paluy-ni-wa=a* *bo* *veyo'-ni* ***jayna***
DSC NEG cold-PRC-NMZ=n REAS warm-PRC DSC
'It [my leg] wasn't cold anymore because (it) was warm already.'
{EA, Pierna 034}

(81) ***jayna*** ***kas*** *manes-wa=i* *bo* *jaysoń* *ɬakamba-mu:j-eɬ* *ja'a*
already NEG tasty-NMZ=pl REAS seem earth-TRC.wind-APPL just
'It's not tasty anymore, because it just seems to smell of earth.' {AH, EA&AH 071}

12.2.6. *po:ra(ka)* 'briefly'

The adverb *po:ra* or *po:raka* means 'quickly' or 'briefly', depending on the meaning of the predicate with which it cooccurs.

(82) *jayna rey aj<te:>tej--iy'ɬi* ***po:ra***
DSC again rest<MD~>--1pl briefly
'Then we rested a bit.' {EA, Jaguar 190}

(83) *bes-a-ɬe=n, chi-poj-na=n, che jayna way-na=n* ***po:ra***
?-DR-CO=2 go_out-CAU-DR=2 and DSC take_up-DR=2 briefly
'You detach it [the honey from the bee's nest], you take it out, and you take it up quickly.' {EA, Miel 009}

(84) *yey-na=i kos* ***po:raka*** *jiwa-wa=i*
want-DR=pl ART.n.a briefly come-NMZ=pl
bo kos ona-ye-na-wa=i kinos kwe:ya
REAS ART.n.a know-BE.person-DR-NMZ=pl ART.f.a woman
'They wanted to come quickly in order to meet the woman.' {EA, Summary 006}

There is no difference in meaning between the long form *po:raka* and the short form *po:ra*. The long form appears more often before the predicate, while the short form usually appears after it. However, this is not obligatorily so. In the following example, the long form appears first before, then after the predicate, and in (86), the short form appears before the predicate:

(85) ***po:raka*** ***do'-na*** *is do'we. [...]*
briefly put_on-DR ART.pl clothes
do'-na ***po:raka,*** *jayna chi:~chi*
put_on-DR briefly DSC MD~go_out
'I quickly put my clothes on. [...] I put them on quicky, then I went out.'
{EA, Antes de fiesta 010ff.}

(86) *serej-ni ja', bo* ***po:ra*** *paḿ~paḿ kos chaḿmo rey*
yellow-PRC just REAS briefly MD~sprout ART.n.a bush again
'[Your crops] just get yellow, because the bush sprouts quickly again.'
{EA, Chaco II 034}

The particle *po:ra* has not been found inside an NP.

12.2.7. *jo'mi* 'recently'

This adverb emphasizes that something has occurred later than expected or only a short time before the time of reference (the local Spanish equivalent of this is *recién* 'recently, only'):

(87) *ka'de* *as* *rim-eɬ-na:-wa* *kis* *o:ro*
end ART.n trade-APPL-DR-NMZ ART.pl.a gold
jayna ***jo'mi*** *isko* *rey* *nokowa=ɬ* *do'-na*
DSC recently PRO.pl.a again right_now=1 put_on-DR
'Not until I buy golden [earrings], only then I will put those on again.'
{EA, Aros 061}

This particle can also occur inside an NP, as in (88) and (89):

(88) *n-os* ***jo'mi*** *jayna* *tolkos<ya:~>ya*
obl-ART.n.p recently DSC girl<NMZ.N~>
'… when I was only just a girl.' {EA, Aros II 012}

(89) *che* *jayna* *no-kos* ***jo'mi*** *joro:-wa,*
and DSC obl-ART.n.a recently sleep-NMZ
jayna *ji<wa:~>wa* *kis* *rey* *dichi:ye* *di'i* *ɬ* *peń-kay*
DSC come<MD~> ART.pl.a again child REL 1 greet-INV
'And when had just fallen asleep, those children came who called me.'
{EA, Desvelada 002}

12.2.8. *ya'ɬe(ka)* 'right away'

This particle may be characterized as indicating that an event has not occurred in the same way before. Consider the following examples. In (90), the particle indicates that the earrings were the first ones the speaker had as a child. In (91), it indicates that the protagonist just smashes the nuts without waiting for them to dry. In (92), it indicates that at the moment of lying down, the coughing starts.

(90) *bo* ***ya'ɬeka*** *isko=ɬ* *mońlo:to* *n-os* *dichi<ye~>ye*
REAS right_away PRO.pl.a=1 earring obl-ART.n.p child<NMZ.N~>
'Because right from the beginning those were my earrings when I was a child.'
{EA, Aros 056}

(91) *jayna* *kilpa* *taj-na='ne* ***ya'ɬe***
DSC DM.po.pl smash-DR=f right_away
'Now she is already smashing [the nuts] right away.' {EA, Motacu 030}

(92) *n-os* *de:-wa,* ***ya'ɬe*** *iń* *jowo:-kwa* *che iń* *jowo:-kwa*
obl-ART.n.p lie-NMZ right_away 1intr cough-BDP and 1intr cough-BDP
'When I lay down, right away I coughed and coughed.' {EA, Sueño 042}

The particle *ya'ɬe* also appears in farewell greetings of the type in (93). Here, it can be translated as 'not before':

(93) ***ya'ɬe*** *n-as* *tawa'-ni*
right_away obl-ART.n next_day-PRC
'See you tomorrow!' [lit.: 'not before tomorrow!']

The particle *ya'ɬe* has, so far, not been found inside an NP.

12.2.9. *choń* 'habitual'

This adverb indicates that an event takes place habitually. It can occur next to a main-clause predicate, as in (94), but also inside an NP, as in (95) and (96).

(94) *ban* ***choń*** *joy-cheɬ--iy'ɬi* *n-as* *vayeɬ-wa=y'ɬi*
but HAB go-R/R--1pl obl-ART.n look_at.AGT-NMZ=1pl
'But we always go and look after [her].' {EA, Asilo 078}

(95) *che inɬa* *jayna* *n-os* ***choń*** *nan-sit-ay'-wa=sne,*
and PRO.1sg DSC obl-ART.n.p HAB let_loose-sew-PH-NMZ=f.a
jayna *inɬa* *ń* *joy-cheɬ* *jayna*
DSC PRO.1sg 1intr go-R/R DSC
'And I, whenever she stopped sewing, I went there [to sew as well].'
{EA, Makina 005}

(96) *ji:sa-na=y'ɬi* *is* *wa:ka-wandi* *n-os* ***choń*** *lo:los*
made-DR=1pl ART.pl cow-INSTR:BE.house obl-ART.n.p HAB yard
'[When we played] we always built corrals in the yard.' {EA, Dichiyeye 008}

The particle *choń* can also be used emphatically. This is clearest when the narrated event has only occurred once, so that the habitual interpretation is not appropriate. This is the case in the following example:

(97) *che* *asko* ***choń*** *des-kwa-n-kay*
and PRO.n.a HAB jump-BEN-LN-INV
'And it (the anaconda) really jumped at me!' {EA, Cazando 112}

12.2.10. *pajas* 'in passing'

There is only one example of the particle *pajas*, which occurred in a spontaneous utterance:

(98) *loy* ***pajas*** *iɬ* *ken<a:>pa* *us* *Eligardo*
ITN passing 1 inform<DR> ART.m Eligardo
n-as *soń-joy-na:-wa* *n-as* *lasdós*
obl-ART.n other-go-DR-NMZ obl-ART.n two_o'clock
'In passing I'll tell Eligardo that I'll go somewhere else at 2 o'clock.'
(lit.: "… of my other-place going") {HR Dial. 14, 156a}

According to the consultant, this particle indicates that one passes by a place and takes the opportunity to do something there.

12.2.11. *jemes* 'continuously'

The adverb *jemes* (not to confuse with *je:mes* 'day', which has a long first syllable) indicates that an event occurs continuously, or again and again, during a certain stretch of time.

(99) *kémara kwaj* ***jemes*** *ɬów-na-wa=n*
use_of EMPH CONT pull-DR-NMZ=2
'Why on earth are you pulling (at it) all the time?' {EG, Sicurí 038}

(100) ***jemes*** *ja' ji<wa~>wa is enferme:ra n-os de:-na*
CONT just come<MD~> ART.pl nurse obl-ART.n.p lie-DR
'The nurses just came to my bed all the time.' {EA, Cbba 243}

(101) *n-os joy choy ya:-'im-na=as,*
obl-ART.n.p SPC certainly under?-BE.night-DR=n.a
ka<ma:~>may os pa:ko ***jemes***
yell<MD~> ART.n.p dog CONT
'When it was like in the middle of the night, the dog barked all the time.'
{JM, Perro I 018}

This particle has not been found inside an NP.

12.2.12. *di:ra, di:ran* 'still; at least'

The particle *di:ra*, sometimes pronounced as *di:ran*, typically indicates that a state has not changed. In the following examples, it indicates an ongoing state:

(102) *di:ra kino' ite'-ni kinos ma'a*
still DM.f.a life-PRC ART.n.a my_mother
'My mother is still alive.' {BA, TX 056}

(103) *n-os* ***di:ra*** *to<chi~>chik-a=is*
obl-ART.n.p still small<NMZ.N~>-LV=pl.a
'when they were still small' {PC, TX 020}

The particle *di:ra* can also occur inside an NP. It indicates that the properties of the referent still hold at the time of reference:

(104) *jayna* *ta:-ka-kwa-na=i* *is* ***di:ra*** *dochi'-ba*
DSC open?-MLT-BR.mouth-DR=pl ART.pl still unripe-BR.round
'Then they open the still unripe fruits.' {EA, Lo'im 017}

The particle *di:ra* is also often used with the meaning 'at least' or 'fair enough', as in (105)–(107):

(105) *jayna* ***di:ra*** *isko* *choń* *baw-ra-kay-a=y'ɬi*
DSC still PRO.pl.a HAB cost-BE.ntr-INV-LV=1pl
'Then they at least always paid us [in contrast to others].' {EA, Vida chaco 036}

(106) *bo* *a'ko* ***di:ra*** *jey-na* *koɬ* *ka:na*
REAS PRO.n still depart-DR ART.n.a eat:DR
'Because that is where my food comes from [if not from anywhere else].'
{GB, Ganado 094}

(107) ***di:ra*** *kinos* *virjen* *kayɬe-kay-a=sne* *as* *alkaldiya* *n-os*
still ART.f.a virgin give-INV-LV=f.a ART.n municipality obl-ART.n.p
kay-wanra
eat-INSTR:BE.ntr
'At least to the Virgin the municipality has given food [fair enough].'
{GC, Marcha 102}

12.2.13. *rey(ka)* 'again'

The particle *reyka*, in its long form, typically indicates the single repetition of an event. This can be seen in (108) and (109):

(108) *waj-'i* ***reyka,*** *waj-'i*
weed-D again weed-D
'It has to be weeded again, it has to be weeded!' {EA, Chaco II 018}

(109) *jayna* *en-cheɬ* ***reyka,*** *joy-cheɬ*
DSC stand-R/R again go-R/R
'Then I got up again, I went (there).' {GC, Bacho 010}

The short form *rey* is mainly used as a modal particle that indicates that the content of the proposition should be obvious to the hearer, as will be shown in 12.3.1 below. However, in (110) and (111), this form clearly indicates the repitition of an event, similar to (108) and (109) above:

(110) *n-as ima:yoj joy-cheɬ vel-na=n, leve-na=n kis jo'me*
obl-ART.n morning go-R/R look_after-DR=2 chase_off=DR=2 ART.pl.a bird
che n-as ***rey*** *walaylo* [...] *jayna jo'yaj* ***rey*** *is jo'me*
and obl-ART.n again afternoon DSC arrive again ART.pl bird
'In the morning, you go and have a look, you chase away the birds. And in the afternoon [...], the birds come again.' {EA, Chaco I 061f.}

(111) *salmo* ***rey****, salmo* ***rey****, salmo* ***rey***
return again return again return again
'[You] return again, return again, return again [at sowing].' {EA, Chaco I 051}

As could be seen in (110) above, like most TAM particles, the particle *rey* can occur inside an NP.

12.2.14. *tela* 'almost'

This particle indicates that something is about to happen, but does not happen. In contrast to the frustrative particle *didi'* (cf. 12.3.8), *tela* does not imply that the event was consciously intended to occur. The particle *tela* has not been found inside an NP.

(112) *che jayna rey* ***tela*** *wil-kay-a=y'ɬi os dawjes*
and DSC again almost knock_down-INV-LV=1pl ART.n.p deer
'And then we were almost knocked down by a deer.' {DM, Dawjes 002}

(113) ***tela*** *pel-ba-ne:ɬe is ja:vo*
almost spill-BR.round-AGT ART.pl soap
'The soap [in the pan] almost boiled over.' {EG 15, 078}

(114) ***tela*** *pe'-ye:mes os tivijniwa:-wa n-os ney*
almost full-BE.day ART.n.p feel_pain-NMZ obl-ART.n.p here
'I had pain almost all day, at that (time).' {JM, Loro 009}

12.2.15. The durative particles *ena'*, *da(ya)'*, and *buka'*

These three particles indicate duration and, at the same time, the position or motion of the participant:

(115) *ena'* standing
da' or *daya'* sitting or lying
buka' moving (from one place to another)

The first two particles, *ena'* and *da'* or *daya'* (in free variation) are related to the verb roots

en- ‘stand’ and *de:-* ‘lie’.[268] For the form *buka’*, no morphologically similar verb was found.

Like other TAM-particles, these particles cooccur with predicates, but are also found inside an NP. The following examples show them in combination with predicates. The predicate can be a verb that denotes the position or motion implied by the particle, but it can also denote any other type of event. The examples in (116)–(118) contain verbs that also express a motion or position:

(116) *dewaj-na* *inɬa,* ***ena’*** ***en-****cheɬ,* ***ena’*** *vel-na* *isne*
see-DR PRO.1sg DUR.std stand-R/R DUR.std look_at-DR PRO.f.a
‘I saw [her], [I] was standing, I was looking at her.’ {EA, Muriendo 013}

(117) *jayna* ***da’*** ***de:-****cheɬ*
DSC DUR.nst lie-R/R
‘I was resting already.’ {EA, Narasames 191}

(118) *jayna* ***buka’*** *iń* ***joy-****cheɬ--iy’ɬi* ***joy-****cheɬ--iy’ɬi*
DSC DUR.mov 1intr go-R/R--1pl go-R/R--1pl
‘Then we were moving on, moving on.’ {DM, Dawjes 017}

Most often, however, these particles occur with verbs that do not imply a motion or position, as in the following examples:

(119) *iy’ɬi* *raɬ-a:-pa* ***ena’***
PRO.1pl tear-DR-BE.reed DUR.std
‘We (standing) were tearing out (reed).’ {BA, TX 109}

(120) *rim-a:-ɬe* *n-is* *wa:ka-wandi* ***buka’***
trade-DR-CO obl-ART.pl cow-INSTR:BE.house DUR.mov
‘I went about selling at the ranches.’ {NC, Chorankwanto 022}

(121) ***daya’*** *ń* *vol-to* *rey,* *vol-to,* *vol-to*
DUR.nst 1intr turn-BE.side again turn-BE.side turn-BE.side
‘I was (lying and) turning around, around, around.’ {EA, Pierna 048}

These particles can be found inside an NP that contains a concrete noun. In this case, the particles indicate the position or motion of the referent of the NP:

(122) *koro’* *kos* ***ena’*** *balde=n*
DM.n.a ART.n.a DUR.std bucket=2
‘You have a (standing) bucket [with you].’ {EA, Miel 019}

[268] The root *de:-* ‘lie’ is historically related to the root *day-* ‘lie’ (cf. 2.9.2).

(123) *jayna* *n-os* *tojeɬ-wa* *is* ***buka'*** *serera-m-mo*
DSC obl-ART.n.p pass.AGT-NMZ ART.pl DUR.mov wild-LN-BE.bird
di' *sari:di*
REL blue_macaw
'and as the (moving) wild blue macaws passed by …' {EA, Parabas 023}

In (124), there are two different durative markers, *ena'* and *da'*. The particle *ena'* indicates the position of the actor. The particle *da'*, which occurs inside the NP that refers to the undergoer, indicates the position of the referent:

(124) *che inɬa* *[…]* ***ena'*** *vel-na,* *dewaj-na* *os* ***da'*** *rulrul*
and PRO.1sg DUR.std look_at-DR see-DR ART.n.p DUR.nst jaguar
'And I (standing) looked at (it), I saw the (lying) jaguar.' {EA, Jaguar 135}

The particles *ena'* and *daya'* or *da'* are used according to the same criteria as the positional demonstratives of Set 1 and Set 2 (cf. 4.9.2.1). That is, the particle *ena'* occurs under the same conditions as the demonstratives of Set 1 (e.g *kore'* 'DM.std.n'), and the particle *da'* or *daya'* occurs when the referent is sitting or lying, which corresponds to the demonstratives of Set 2 (e.g. *kode:* 'DM.nst.n'). Consequently, in a clause that contains a demonstrative, the durative particle corresponds to the respective demonstrative:

(125) ***kine'e=s*** ***ena'*** *tolkosya* *di'* ***ena'***
DM.std.f=DET DUR.std girl REL DUR.std
kwey *ji:sa:-na* *n-is* *empana:da* *ɬaɲ*
FOC make-DR obl-ART.pl empanada EV
'That (standing) girl who is (standing and) making empanadas, look.'
{EA, Neighbours 003}

(126) ***kinede:*** ***da'*** *as-cheɬ* *i'nes* *dichi:ye* *n-as* *de:-na*
DM.nst.f DUR.nst sit-R/R ART.f child obl-ART.n lie-DR
'The girl is sitting on my bed.' {EA, DEM 041}

The demonstratives of Set 5 and 6 (cf. 4.9.2.5), which indicate motion, cooccur with the durative particle of motion, *buka'*:

(127) ***kolro'*** ***buka'*** *nosde:*
DM.rtr.n DUR.mov there
'It is moving further away over there.' {EA, DEM 159}

As far as the other positional demonstratives are concerned, i.e. those of Set 3 'elevated' or Set 4 'possessed' (cf. 4.9.2.2, 4.9.2.3), the choice of the durative particle depends on the inherent position or motion of the referent. In (128) and (129), the particle *da'* is used, since the referents of the demonstratives are in a non-standing position:

(128) ***kowa*** ***da'*** *bań-łoł* *as* *bote:liya* *n-as* *to:mi*
DM.el.n DUR.nst put-BR.water ART.n bottle obl-ART.n water
'The bottle is floating in the water.' {EA, DEM 127}

(129) ***kopa*** ***da'*** *kay-a-poj-a='ne*
DM.po.n DUR.nst eat-DR-CAU-LV=f
'She is feeding it (sitting).' {EA, DEM 105}

12.3. Modal and epistemic particles

In this section I describe particles that indicate the speaker's attitude towards the contents of the proposition. Many of them are employed to attain a particular effect with the addressee. The following particles will be illustrated in this section:

(130)
rey	'again'
loy	'intentional'
joy(ka)	'speculative'
choy	'certainly'
di'	'hypothetical'
dis	'optative'
disoy	'counterfactual'
didi'	'frustrative'
kwaj	'emphatic'
tojeł	'very'
ja'	'just'
łań	'evidential'

12.3.1. *rey* 'again, obviously'

I consider the particle *rey* in its modal function as identical to the aspectual particle *rey* 'again' described in 12.2.13 above, even though the two may be merely historically related. For the time being, I gloss this word as 'again' everywhere. The only formal difference between the aspectual and the modal particle is that the long form *reyka* can only occur in the aspectual function.

As may have become apparent from previous examples in this book, the particle *rey* is extremely frequent. Its meaning is often not reflected in the English translation, because it is hard to characterize.[269] It can perhaps be said that it is used when the speaker wants to present the contents of the proposition as common knowledge, which may or may not be shared by the addressee. The following examples may serve as an illustration.

[269] In local Spanish, this particle is usually translated as *pues*.

(131) *di'* *oy-ye:mes* *ena'* *wul-a-di-wa=n*
HYP two-BE.day DUR.std sow-DR-BR.grain-NMZ=2
bo ***rey*** *mere'* *kos* *bayɬim-wa:nas*
REAS again big ART.n.a field-ABSTR
'You may be sowing two days, because, you know, a field is big.'
{EA, Chaco I 055}

(132) *oso'-ni-wa* *os* ***rey*** *to:mi* *di'* *ya:lo:we--y'ɬi*
DM.p.n-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p again water REL drink--1pl
'There was no water for us to drink, you know.' {GC, Marcha 037}

(133) *jema'* *iń* ***rey*** *sutu:k-a* *jema'* ***rey***
also 1intr again angry-SNS also again
'I got angry as well, obviously.' {EA, La nuera 004}

Sometimes, it is difficult to tell whether *rey* is a modal particle, indicating that the event should be obvious to the hearer, or an aspectual particle indicating the single repetition of an event. This is the case when the context allows an interpretation like 'again', as in (134):

(134) *ban* *kas* ***rey*** *nan-a-ra:-wa--us* ***rey***
but NEG again let_loose-DR-BE.ntr-NMZ--m.a again
'But I didn't let him go (again/of course).' {EA, Aros 039}

12.3.2. *loy* 'intentional'

When appearing before a main verb, the particle *loy* indicates that the speaker intends to and is about to carry out the action denoted by the verb. This is shown by the following examples.

(135) *dokoy,* ***loy*** *iń* *aj<a>lo:maj* *os* *jeya=is*
good ITN 1intr narrate<DR> ART.n.p state_of=ART.pl
jey-ɬe=n *di'* *iɬ* *nonok-a=n*
far-CO?=2 REL ART.pl.1 grandparent-LV=2
'Okay, I'll tell about what our (incl.) ancestors were like, who were our grandparents.' {ER, Tradiciones 001}

(136) *ona* ***loy*** *pa'-na* *kis* *pul-a-cho:-pa*
let's_see ITN count-DR ART.pl.a sweep-DR-BR.inside-AG
'Let's see, I'll count the cleaning women.' {EA, Barredoras 014}

(137) *a'ko* ***loy*** *bayɬim-na*
PRO.n ITN field-DR
'Here I'll make my field.' {EA, Chaco I 005}

This particle can cooccur with *nokowa* 'right now' (cf. 12.2.4):

(138) ***nokowa*** ***loy*** *iɬ* *ji:sa-na-poj-na*
right_now ITN 1 make-DR-CAU-DR
'Right now I'll have X make (it).' {EA 12, 060}

The particle *loy* never occurs in past-tense contexts. It can occur, however, in contexts implying a more distant future, as in (139).

(139) *n-as* *soṅ-tino:na'* ***loy*** *iɬ* *sal-na*
obl-ART.n other-year ITN 1 search-DR
'Next year I will look for you.' {EA 8, 019r}

The particle *loy* is not an obligatory marker of future tense. This can be seen from the fact that when there is an additional indicator of future, such as the adverbial clause in (139), the particle *loy* is not obligatory. The following is a perfectly acceptable alternative to the utterance in (139) above:

(140) *n-as* *soṅ-tino:na'* *iɬ* *sal-na*
obl-ART.n other-year 1 search-DR
'Next year I will look for (you).' {EA 8, 019r}

Crucially, the intentional particle *loy* does not occur inside an NP. There is another, homophonous particle, which only occurs in relative clauses and subordinate clauses (i.e., NPs with nominalized predicates), where it serves as a negator (cf. 12.5.2 below). It is not clear whether these two particles are related.

12.3.3. *joy(ka)* 'speculative'

The particle *joy* indicates that the speaker is not certain of the truth of the statement.

(141) *jayna* ***joy*** *koro'* *wele:ɬe* *n-as* *ari:wa,* *jankwa=us*
DSC SPC DM.n.a climb.AGT obl-ART.n top say=m.a
'I guess it has already climbed up, he said.' {EA, Jaguar 122}

(142) *bo* ***joy*** *tivij-ni* *kos* *ba<kwa~>kwa=kus* *tami:-ba*
REAS SPC pain-PRC ART.n.p head<INAL~>=ART.m.a birth-BR.round
'Because I guess the baby had a headache.' {EA, Desvelada 007}

(143) ***joy*** *kas* *ji<wa:~>wa--sne,* *jankwa,* *bo* *jilo'-ni--a,* *jankwa*
SPC NEG come<MD~>--f.a say REAS cold-PRC--n say
'I guess she hasn't come because it's cold, I said.' {EA, Antes fiesta 048}

The following is an example of the long form, *joyka*:

(144) *bo* *di:ra* *nokowa* *koro'* *kos* *piyesta*
REAS still right_now DM.n.a ART.n.a *fiesta*
nokowa *ney* ***joyka*** *bu'ni*
right_now here SPC perhaps
'Because now the *fiesta* may perhaps still be going on.' {EA, Summary 020}

The particle *joy* is often combined with other modal particles, for example with *choy* 'certainly', which indicates a higher degree of certainty on the part of the speaker (cf. 12.3.4 below).

Often, *joy* is part of a conditional clause introduced by *di'* (cf. 12.1.5 above):

(145) ***di'*** ***joy*** *jayna* *koro'* *mań-cho,*
HYP SPC DSC DM.n.a loose-BR.inside
kabo ***di'*** ***joy*** *koro'* *en-u'-ni*
or HYP SPC DM stand-INT-PRC
a'ko=ɬ *loy* *ona-ra-na=y'ɬi*
PRO.n=1 ITN know-BE.ntr-DR=1pl
'Whether it [the corral] is already torn down, or whether it is still standing, that's what we will know.' {EG, Dial. 103}

The combination of *joy* and *di'* in the opposite order is a lexicalized expression, 'I don't know':

(146) ***joydi'***, *jankwa,* ***joydi'*** *di'* *joy* *cheɬa--a*
don't_know say don't_know HYP SPC ?--n
'I don't know, I said. I don't know if we should let it go.' {EA, Jaguar 054}

12.3.4. *choy* 'certainly'

The particle *choy* indicates that the speaker is certain of the truth of the statement. This particle never appears alone, but is either preceded by the speculative particle *joy* (cf. 12.3.3) or followed by *rey* (cf. 12.3.1), or it occurs between these particles. In combination with *joy*, it indicates that the speaker does not know for sure, but assumes that what s/he is saying is true. This can be seen in the following examples:

(147) *che* ***joy*** ***choy*** *ji:yi--'ne*
and SPC certainly cry.MD--f
'And she must have cried.' {EA, Escape Marivel 042}

(148) ***joy*** ***choy*** *sul-ɬe* *is* *mońlo:to* *n-as* *risa<kwa:~>kwa*
SPC certainly entangle-APPL ART.pl earring obl-ART.n BR.hair<INAL~>
'My earrings must have got caught in my hair [because I lost one].' {EA, Aros 037}

Possibly, the combination of these two particles is best seen as a single form, *joychoy*. This is suggested by the following example, where the ending *-ka*, which creates the long form of many particles, is added to this sequence:

(149) *pay'-na=is* *n-is* *jaysoń* *jaleya:-buń,* *bereya:-buń*
smear-DR=pl.a obl-ART.pl seem syrup-BR.mass tar-BR.mass
joychoyka
SPC:certainly
'They smeared (it) with what seemed like a syrup, tar probably.' {EA, Parabas 019}

When *choy* is followed (in very few cases, preceded) by *rey* (cf. 12.3.1 above), this combination is best translated as 'of course'. It is often used as an interjection when listening to someone, as in (152).[270]

(150) *bo* *kaj* *rey* *pawa-n-eɬ-wa=sne* ***choy*** ***rey***
REAS NEG again hear-LV-AGT-NMZ=f.a certainly again
'Because she can't hear, of course.' {EA, Asilo 041}

(151) *bo* *rey* *iy'ɬi* *powre--y'ɬi* ***choy*** ***rey***
REAS again PRO.1pl poor--1pl certainly again
'Because we were poor, of course.' {EA, Cazando 012}

(152) ***choy rey*** 'Of course.' 'Sure.'

The following examples show the combination of all three particles, *joy choy rey*: The meaning of this sequence seems to be equivalent to the combination *joy choy* shown in (147) and (148) above.

(153) ***joy*** ***choy*** ***rey*** *ɬo'~ɬok--i'ne* *n-os* *bu~buń-kwa*
SPC certainly again MD~fall--f obl-ART.n.p RED~BR.mass-ABS
'She must have fallen into the mud.' {EA, Escape Marivel 060}

(154) *iń* *ta:ra* *no-kos* ***joy*** ***choy*** ***rey*** *teres-'im* *jayna*
1intr wake_up obl-ART.n.p SPC certainly again middle-BR.night DSC
'I woke up when it must have been around midnight.' {EA, Anoche 002}

12.3.5. *di'* 'hypothetical'

The particle *di'*, homophonous with the (possibly related) relativizer (cf. 7.11), is used when a hypothetical situation is evoked, regardless of whether the situation really takes place or not. The hypothetical particle can be distinguished from the relativizer by the fact that it does not

[270] This is exactly the way in which *pues* is used in the local variety of Spanish.

follow a noun phrase. Rather, like other TAM particles, it occurs inside a noun phrase or next to a predicate. As was shown in 12.1.5, the hypothetical particle can also have a clause-combining function, introducing conditional clauses. In the following examples, it is shown that the modal function of *di'* is different, since it neither combines two clauses, nor does it imply a condition.

(155) *che* ***di'*** *rey ta:ra--'nes mora'a, ta:ra--'ne*
and HYP again wake_up--ART.f (swearword) wake_up--f
'And then (probably) the damned (child) woke up, she woke up.' {EA, Escape 041}

(156) *che asko n-os* ***di'*** *chi:-wa='nes dichi:ye*
and PRO.n.a obl-ART.n.p HYP go_out-NMZ=ART.f child
'And that was (probably) when the child went outside.' {EA, Escape 045)

This particle often occurs inside an NP, as in (156) above, and in the following examples:

(157) *ka: n-as koro'-ni-wa kos* ***di'*** *karaya:na*
PRCL obl-ART.n DM.n.a-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a HYP white_person
di' eney kwey uye:-na n-as ɬakaḿba
REL (filler) FOC stingy-DR obl-ART.n earth
'So that there won't be any white person who is stingy with the land.'
{GC, Marcha 048}

(158) *ruj-ka-baycho-ni:ra--as n-as jiwa-wa kis* ***di'*** *majni*
?-MLT-MST-POT--n.a obl-ART.n come-NMZ ART.pl.a HYP my_child
'It makes me sad when my children come.' {EA, Lonely 002}

(159) *jayna n-as joy-wa kos* ***di'*** *juyeni,*
DSC obl-ART.n go-NMZ ART.n.a HYP person
jayna rey kas kiro'-ni-wa
DSC again NEG DM.pl.a-PRC-NMZ
'Then when a person goes (there), none is left.' {EA, Lo'im 019}

In (160), the hypothetical particle *di'* occurs first inside an NP, and then before an oblique NP:

(160) *kas di:ran rey ja' chok-a-kwanɬe-wa=sne n-os* ***di'***
NEG still again just cover-DR-BR.mouth:CO-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.n.p HYP
lora-n-kwa […] kabo rey ***di'*** *n-is mari:ko di' plastiko*
BR.leaf-LN-ABS or again HYP obl-ART.pl bag REL plastic
'She did not even cover it at least with a leaf or with a plastic bag.'
{EA, Tuncho 006, 008}

As with the other particles, the scope properties of *di'* require further research. Note that the element /di/ also forms part of other particles which have to do with the irrealis mode: *dis*

'optative', *disoy* 'counterfactual', and *didi'* 'frustrative', described in the following sections.

12.3.6. *dis* 'optative'

The particle *dis* is very similar to the hypothetical *di'* (cf. 12.3.5). It indicates irrealis mood, and implies that the speaker wishes the occurrence of an event:

(161) *ma'a* *che* *pa'a* *diyos* *di:ra* ***dis*** *iń* *jayaw-lo:maj*
my_mother and my_father God still OPT 1intr nice-BE.time
n-as *bayɬim,* *n-as* *wul-na*
obl-ART.n field obl-ART.n sow-DR
'Mother and father God, may I at least fare well with my field, with my crops.'
{GB, Ganado 092}

(162) *usko* ***dis*** *rey* *jankwa=n* *kempa:-kay-a=y'ɬi*
PRO.m.a OPT again say=2 inform-INV-LV=1pl
'You should say to him that he might tell us.' {EA, Dial. 087}

(163) *kwaj* *sota'-lo:maj* ***dis*** *daj<a>wa=nkweɬ--us*
EMPH one-BE.time OPT ask<DR>=2pl--m.a
di' *baw-ra-kay-a=nkweɬ--us* *di'* *ka:'i*
HYP paid-BE.ntr-INV-LV=2pl--m.a HYP no
'You should ask him at once if he is going to pay you or not.' {EA, Dial. 004}

(164) ***dis*** *nas* *salmo-wa=os* *kwilka,* *jayoń* *toɬ* *jiran-ni*
OPT obl-ART.n return-NMZ=ART.n REM seem EMPH pretty-PRC
'If the old times returned, that would be so nice!' {HR TX 374}

This particle may be combined with the particle *joy*, together with which it can be seen as one single form. This is described in the following section.

12.3.7. *disoy* 'counterfactual'

The particle *disoy* is probably composed of *dis* 'optative' (cf. 12.3.6) and *joy* 'speculative' (cf. 12.3.3). It occurs in main clauses and can also introduce subordinate clauses. It indicates counterfactuality:

(165) ***disoy*** *kayni* *ɬań* *bo* *je:ni* *ɬań*
CNTF die:PRC EV REAS bad_state EV
'She could have died because she was in a very bad state, they say (but she didn't die).' {EA, Lagartija 044}

When *disoy* introduces an adverbial clause, as in (166)–(168), this is a counterfactual conditional clause:

(166) ***disoy*** *n-as* *ra<pi~>pis-a=i,* *manes-ni*
CNTF obl-ART.n sour<NMZ.N~>-LV=pl tasty-PRC
'If it were sour, [it] would be tasty (but it isn't).' {EA,Tuncho 040}

(167) ***disoy*** *no-kos* *diɲkaye-wa-nkweɬ*
CNTF obl-ART.n.a hurry-NMZ-2pl
disoy *di'* *man<a>ye=nkweɬ* *ney* *di:ra*
CNTF HYP meet<DR>=2pl here still
'If you had hurried, you might still have met them here (but you didn't).'
{EA, Dial. 039}

(168) ***disoy*** *n-os* *des-wa=as,* ***disoy*** *tamɲ-vos-eɬ-kay*
CNTF obl-ART.n.p jump-NMZ=n.a CNTF get_down-BE.wood-APPL-INV
che ***disoy*** *jay-ɬe-mo:-neɬ*
and CNTF run-CO-BE.?-APPL
'If it [the mule] had jumped, it would have thrown me down and run away with its saddle (but it didn't).' {JA, TX 097f.}

(169) *bo* ***disoy*** *n-as* *loy* *lamɲ~lamɲ-wa='ne* *is* *ka:wumɲ*
REAS perhaps obl-ART.n NEG.SUB INV~bite-NMZ=f ART.pl mosquito
disoy *jiwa-ɬe:-na* *ney*
perhaps come-CO-DR here
'Because if the mosquitos didn't bite her, I would bring her here (but they do).'
{EA, Alojamiento 029}

12.3.8. *didi'* 'frustrative'

The particle *didi'* occurs immediately before or after the predicate or inside an NP. It indicates that the actor had the intention of carrying out the action indicated by the verb, but was not able to do so. In most cases, the reason why the action could not be carried out is given in the subsequent discourse, as in (170) and (171)

(170) *che* ***didi'*** *joy-cheɬ--i',* *ban* *jayna* *i'nes* *rey* *Modesta*
and FRUST go-R/R--pl but DSC ART.f again Modesta
di' *pri:ma* *tes-cheɬ--i'ne*
REL cousin limp-R/R--f
'And they wanted to go, but then Modesta, my cousin, she limps.'
{EA, Summary 021}

(171) ***didi'*** *joy-a-ɬe=is--kisne* *jayna* *ospi:tal*
FRUST go-DR-CO=pl--f.a.OBV DSC hospital
ban isne *kas* *joy-baycho--sne*
but PRO.f.a NEG go-MST--f.a
'They wanted to take her to hospital, but she didn't want to go.' {EA, Lagartija 036}

In (172), it can be seen that the frustative particle also has this function in negative contexts. Here, the protagonist does not want to do a certain thing, in this case, to have her birthday party in the neighbouring town. However, the particle *didi'* indicates that she ends up doing it anyway, as is explained in (173).

(172) *isne kas jana'pa=sne ɬaɲ **didi'** os*
PRO.f.a NEG not_want=f.a EV FRUST ART.n.p
kumple'a:niyo=sne nosde:, kas, bo jayna jiwa-sicha'kwa ney
birthday=f.a there NEG REAS DSC come-DES here
'She didn't want to have her birthday party over there, no, because she wanted to come here already.' {EA, Llamada 024f.}

(173) *ban kas ɬaɲ ka'poj-na-wa=kis kompanyera=sne*
but NEG EV not_let-DR-NMZ=ART.pl.a colleague=f.a
di' n-as estu:diyo
REL obl-ART.n study
'But her friends from university did not let her [go].' {EA, Llamada 026}

12.3.9. *kwaj* 'emphatic'

The particle *kwaj* has an emphasizing function. Usually, it precedes the negative particle *kas* (cf. 12.5.1):

(174) *ay, **kwaj** kas joro-wa='ne jankwa='ne beyka*
IJ EMPH NEG sleep-NMZ=F say:DR=f poor
'Oh, she hasn't slept at all, she says, poor thing.' {EA, Alojamiento 018}

(175) *che kas rey jop<a><ka'>ye=yɬi, **kwaj** kas*
and NEG again dispatch<DR><IRR>=1pl EMPH NEG
'And there is no one we could send, no one!' {EG, Dialogue 104}

However, *kwaj* is also found in affirmative contexts:

(176) *che **kwaj** rey raɬ-<cho:~>cho n-os rey*
and EMPH again tear-<MD~>BR.inside obl-ART.n.p again
mas-eɬ-na=is bi:jaw bo dites-wit--is
beat-AGT-DR=ART.pl old REAS hard-BE.hit--pl.a
'And, on top of that, it [the skin] burst open where the old people hit [them], because they hit strongly.' {HR, TX 323}

12.3.10. *tojeɬ* 'very'

The particle *tojeɬ* (pronounced as [tɔɬ] in rapid speech) has an emphasizing function. It is usually translated into local Spanish as *caramba* 'good grief!'. In contrast to the Spanish expression, however, *tojeɬ* is never used as an exclamation of its own.

(177) *ban* ***tojeɬ*** *ba:-ra* *ja'* *sa:-ra-na=as*
but very finish-BE.ntr just damage-BE.ntr-DR=n.a
'Because, good grief!, it [the cow] broke just everything.' {EA, Cbba 078}

(178) *ban* ***tojeɬ*** *dombaycho,* *dombaycho*
but very mean mean
'But, good grief!, [she was] mean, mean.' {PC, Empleada 003}

(179) *a'ko* *mere'* ***tojeɬ*** *chon-lo:maj* *iɬ* *tivij-poj-kay*
PRO.n big very right-BE.time 1 pain-CAU-INV
'This is really what causes me a lot of pain, good grief.' {EA, Ciega 030}

12.3.11. *ja'* 'just'

The particle *ja'* is very frequent. It can be translated as 'just', 'only', 'just like that' or 'nothing else'. The following are some examples:

(180) ***ja'*** *as* *kalye* ***ja'a*** *os* *joro-na=sne*
just ART.n street just ART.n.p sleep-DR=f.a
'Just the street was where she used to sleep.' {EA, Asilo 066}

(181) *ka:'i,* *bo* *choy* *rey* ***ja'*** *tijka:rim* *isne*
no REAS certainly again just work PRO.f.a
'No, because, you know, all she did was work.' {EA, Ay'ku II 024}

(182) *ma'nes,* *jeya=is* *n-is* ***ja'*** *wa:ka*
tasty state_of=ART.pl obl-ART.pl just cow
'It's tasty, just like beef.' {EG, Cazando 011}

12.3.12. *ɬaṅ* 'evidential'

The only evidential marker (apart from the demonstratives, which imply first-hand knowledge; cf. 4.9) is the particle *ɬaṅ*. The central functions of this particle seem contradictory: on the one hand, it is used to indicate that the speaker knows about the event only from hearsay.[271] On the other hand, it is used to catch the hearer's attention, often for things that are being witnessed at the moment of speaking. There seem to be no formal criteria by which these functions can be distinguished. The 'hearsay' function is illustrated by (183)–(185):

[271] In local Spanish, this is expressed by the interjection *dizque* 'they say'.

(183) *che asko jayłe rey* ***łań*** *rey ja' vań~vań*
and PRO.n.a then again EV again just RED~appear
os ***łań*** *pa:ko n-os beń'i*
ART.n.p EV dog obl-ART.n.p grassland
'And then, they say, you know, there just appeared, they say, a dog in the grassland.'
{EA, Ay'ku I 017}

(184) *is bijaw-anti:wo, jankwa=i* ***łań*** *isko ku:-ba:kwa*
ART.pl old-ancestor say=pl EV PRO.pl.a long-head
'The old ancestors, it is said that they had long heads.' {HR TX 439}

(185) *jayna* ***łań*** *rey koro' kos eney nokowa as-na=is bi:jaw*
DSC EV again DM.n.a ART.n.a (filler) right_now sit-DR=ART.pl old
'Now, they say, there is an, er, home for old people.' {EA, Asilo 024}

The other use of this particle, catching the hearer's attention, is illustrated by the following examples. First of all, in (186) and (187), it can be seen that this particle can introduce an oblique NP, so that it seems to function like an imperative verb:

(186) ***łań*** *n-as jeya='ne*
EV obl-ART.n state_of=f
'Look what she's doing!' {EA 13, 121}

(187) ***łań*** *no-kowa=s ba~bał-kwa*
EV obl-DM.el.n=DET RED~BR.cover-ABS
'Look at that nest (in the tree)!' {EA 12, 265}

In the following examples, the speaker is describing a situation and accompanying this with gestures.

(188) *nokopa łań is bosa=sne, beye, beye*
like_this EV ART.pl arm=f.a thin thin
'Her arms (were) like this, look, thin, thin.' {EA, Flaca 033}

(189) *łań kolde:=s yonali, jankwa=us*
EV DM.nst.d.n=DET caiman say=m.a
'Look, that caiman, he said.' {EG, Sicurí 078}

(190) *jampa=as ney ja'* ***łań*** *senyo:ra*
do_like=n.a here just EV madam
'It just did like this, look, madam.' {EA, Tigre y perro 010}

There are two more contexts in which the particle *łań* is used, which are related to its two central functions illustrated above. First of all, interestingly, *łań* is regularly used when events

are narrated that took place in the speaker's childhood or in a dream. This function is possibly related to the indication of hearsay knowledge (cf. (183)–(185)). Example (191) is from a dream narration, example (192) is from a childhood narration:

(191) ***łań*** *jankwa ney inła, yey-na, pa',*
EV say here PRO.1sg want-DR my_father
n-as di' kayłe:-wa, ***łań*** *ił jankwa*
obl-ART.n HYP give-NMZ EV 1 say
'(It seems that) I said like this, "I'd like [some of your *chicha*], father, if you invite me, (it seems that) I said.' {EA, Sueño 104}

(192) *che iy'łi* ***łań*** *net-a-wa:ka--y'łi*
and PRO.1pl EV drive-DR-cow--1pl
'And we (they say) drove the cattle.' {EA, Dichiyeye 005}

The particle *łań* is also used as a tag question, comparable to English 'isn't it?' or 'don't you?'. This function can be seen as similar to the attention-catching function illustrated in (188)–(190) above. The utterance is usually marked as a question by intonation (cf. 2.8.5).

(193) *ja' josi-ka-poj-kay-a=n i'ne* ***łań*** *ay'ku*
just laugh-MLT-CAU-INV-LV=2 PRO.f EV aunt
'She has made us laugh just like that, hasn't she, aunt?' {EA, Tuncho 044}

(194) *disoy n-os mas-eł-wa,* ***łań***
CNTF obl-ART.n.p beat-AGT-NMZ EV
'Perhaps if I had beaten [her] up, don't you think?' {EA, Esc. Mar. 109}

(195) *pola chon-si* ***łań***
late right-BE.sound EV
'It's twelve o'clock already, isn't it?' {EA, Llega Etel 001}

In (196), finally, the speaker uses the particle to draw the attention in a conversation between several people.

(196) *ney,* ***łań****, ay'ku, a'ko naye-na=n, neyru*
here EV aunt PRO.n marry-DR=2 here
'Here, look, aunt, was that here that you married?' {EA, Naye 041}

12.4. The focus particle *kaw*

The construction with *kaw* (often pronounced as *kwey*, see further below) was already discussed in 7.8. It is a focus marker, the most salient property of which is to reduce the valency of a bivalent verb. It thereby enables the former ARG_1 to occur as the absolutive argument in topic position. In addition, *kaw* has another, possessor-marking function. In this section, I will first describe the possessor-marking function of *kaw*. After that, I discuss the difference between this particle and the often homophonous tense particle *kwey* (cf. 12.2.1).

The possessor-marking function of *kaw* may be related to its focalizing function described in 7.8 (and cf. below for further examples). In this function, illustrated in (197) and (198), it precedes a noun which is a generic term for the possessed entity. Together, the two words denote the possessor of the entity. The possessum can be specified by an oblique noun phrase, underlined in the following examples:

(197) *is* *mere'* *ko'* *kis* *neyru,* *ɬo'im,* *ɬo'im-vos*
ART.pl big tree ART.pl.a here *ɬo'im* *ɬo'im*-BE.wood
che *isko* ***kwey*** ***majni*** *ni-kis* *ney* *di~di-n-a=is*
and PRO.pl.a FOC my_child obl-ART.pl.a here RED~BR.grain-LN-LV=pl.a
'Those big trees, *ɬo'im*, *ɬo'im*-trees. And these are the parents of these seeds.'
{EA, Lo'im 001f.}

(198) *isos* *wa:ka* *[...]* *kas* *rey* *tan-loto:-weɬ* *bo* *kas* *rey*
ART.pl.p cow NEG again cut-ear-APPL REAS NEG again
oso'-ni-wa=os ***kaw*** *rey* ***no:no*** *n-isko*
DM.pl.p-PRC-NMZ=ART.n.p FOC again pet obl-PRO.pl.a
'The cows [...] didn't have cut ears because they didn't have an owner.'
[lit.: "there was no domestic-animal-owner of them.'] {GB, Ganado 004}

Curiously, the possessor-denoting expression with *kaw* is most often found as a lexical expression in combination with the oblique-marked first person singular pronoun *inɬa*:

(199) ***kaw*** *n-inɬa*
~ ***kwey*** *n-inɬa*
FOC obl-PRO.1sg
'owner'

Also with this expression, the possessum can be specified by an oblique-marked noun phrase (as in (197) and (198) above):

(200) *bo* *as* *iy'ɬi-ni-wa* ***kwey*** ***n-inɬa*** *n-as* *ɬakaḿba*
REAS ART.n PRO.1pl-PRC-NMZ FOC obl-PRO.1sg obl-ART.n earth
'So that we will be the owners of the land.' {EA, Marcha 030}

(201) *us* ***kwey*** ***n-inɬa*** *n-os* *ro:ya* *kas* *di:ra* *chi:-wa=us*
ART.m FOC obl-PRO.1sg obl-ART.n.p house NEG still go_out-NMZ=m.a
'The owner of the house hadn't left yet.' {EA, Esc. Mar. 007}

The expression *kwey ninła* ‘owner’ occurs twice in (202) below. In this example, it can be seen that the possessive-marking function of *kaw* can sometimes not be formally distinguished from its focus function. Here, it occurs with the word *asna* ‘home’, which is morphologically a verb. I will elaborate on this phrase below.

(202) *di:ra tochi’ kwaj-na=y’ɬi kos sinko-pe:so n-i’nes* ***kwey n-inła***
still small give-DR=1pl ART.n.a five-*peso* obl-ART.f FOC obl-PRO.1sg
n-as to:mi n-as gri:fo, i’ne ***kwey as-na*** *ney,*
obl-ART.n water obl-ART.n tap PRO.f FOC sit-DR here
i’nes Modesta, i’ne ***kwey n-inła*** *n-as to:mi*
ART.f Modesta PRO.f FOC obl-PRO.1sg obl-ART.n water
‘At least we give a small five pesos to the owner of the water of the tap, she is the owner of the house here [lit.: “she is the one who sits here”], Modesta, she is the owner of the water.’ {EA, Agua sucia 020}

The phrase *i’ne kwey asna ney* in this example can be translated in two ways: as ‘she is the one who sits here’ or, more appropriate in this context, as ‘she is the owner of the house here’. The first translation is literal, while the second takes the lexicalized meaning of the word *asna*, ‘home’, as basis. This example, where the category of a word oscillates between verb and noun, shows that possessive marking may have developed out of the focus-marking function.

As could be seen in the examples so far, the focus particle has two variants: *kaw* and *kwey*. Some speakers always use *kwey*, others generally use *kaw* and sometimes *kwey*. When asked, speakers confirm the exchangeability of the forms:

(203) *iy’ɬi* ***kaw*** *sal-na*
~ *iy’ɬi* ***kwey*** *sal-na*
PRO.1pl FOC search-DR
‘We look for it.’ {ER 11, 015}

For the tense particle *kwey* (cf. 12.2.1), there is no variant *kaw*. Therefore, I refer to the focus particle as *kaw*. However, since the two particles are often homophonous, I will point out their differences here.

Apart from the fact that *kaw* can be realized as *kwey*, but not the other way round, the particles differ in that the tense particle *kwey* is realized as *kweyka* in certain cases, as in (204). In contrast, for the particle *kaw* this is not possible, as shown by (205)b.

(204) *bo jayna* ***kweyka*** *ji:sa kos konvokato:riya*
REAS DSC IMM make ART.n.a announcement
‘Because the announcement has already been made.’ {GC, Marcha 080}

(205) a. *i’ne* ***kwey*** *toroj-na n-as ro:ya*
PRO.f FOC dust-DR obl-ART.n house
‘She dusted the house.’

b. *i'ne **kweyka** toroj-na n-as ro:ya
PRO.f FOC dust-DR obl-ART.n house {EA 19, 248b}

The difference between *kaw* and *kwey* can also be seen in the position of the particle and from the behaviour of bivalent verbs. The tense particle *kwey* (cf. (206)) typically occurs in clause-initial position, while in a clause with *kaw*, this position is usually occupied by a free pronoun (underlined):

(206) **kwey** iń ji<wa:~>wa
IMM 1intr come<MD~>
'I came earlier today.' {EA, Visita 031}

(207) jayna isne **kwey** joy-cheł
DSC PRO.f.a FOC go-R/R
'Then she will go.' {EA, Dial. 029}

The particle *kaw* is found most often with bivalent verbs. It reduces the syntactic valency of the verb. This means that the original ARG_1 becomes the intransitive argument, encoded by a free pronoun in topic position. The original ARG_2 becomes an oblique argument, marked by *n-* (cf. 7.6, 7.8). In contrast, with the tense particle, the valency of the verb is retained. The difference can be seen in (208)a and b, respectively:

(208) a. *kaw*: focus, valency reduction:
i'ne **kwey** toroj-na **n-**as ro:ya
PRO.f FOC dust-DR obl-ART.n house
'She has dusted the house.' {EA 19, 248a}

b. *kwey*: no focus, valency retention:
kwey toroj-na='ne as ro:ya
IMM dust-DR=f ART.n house
'She has dusted the house today.' {EA 19, 248b}

The following examples, which are variations of (208)a and b above, show that focus and valency reduction indeed go together. Example (209)a shows that when the verb remains bivalent, ARG_1 cannot be put in focus. Example (209)b, in contrast, shows that when there is no free pronoun in topic position, the valency of the verb cannot be reduced:

(209) a. ungrammatical: focus, no valency reduction:
* i'ne **kwey** toroj-na='ne as ro:ya
PRO.f ? dust-DR=f ART.n house
('She has dusted the house.') {EA 19, 248c}

b. ungrammatical: no focus, but valency reduction:

*	***kwey***	*toroj-na*	***n-****as*	*ro:ya*
	?	dust-DR	obl-ART.n	house

('X has dusted the house today.') {EA 19, 248d}

Another difference between the two constructions concerns intonation. The word *kwey* can only be stressed when it is the tense marker, as in (206). In the case of the focus particle *kaw*, as in (207), stress always falls on the free pronoun, not on the particle.

The question is whether the focus particle *kaw* and the tense particle *kwey* have anything in common, since the focus particle *kaw* is pronounced as *kwey* by many speakers. The translations of some clauses that contain the focus particle suggest that this particle implies past tense as well. A case of this type is given in (210):

(210)

u'ko	***kwey***	*loj-na=u*	*kis*	*sapato=u*
PRO.m	FOC	wash-DR=m	ART.pl.a	shoe=m

'He has just washed his shoes.' {NG 10, 076e}

However, unlike the tense particle *kwey*, the focus particle *kaw* can be found in contexts which exclude a past-tense reading. This can be seen when other tense particles or adverbial clauses are involved. The three following examples are marked for future tense, incompatible with the past-tense particle *kwey*, which implies the occurrence of an event before the moment of speaking. Here, the form *kwey* can only represent the focus particle *kaw*. In (211), the particles *nokowa* 'right now' (cf. 12.2.4) and *loy* 'intentional' (cf. 12.3.2) indicate future tense:[272]

(211)

jayłe	***nokowa***	***loy***	*ney=s*	*imay-ni,*		
then	right_now	ITN	here=DET	night-PRC		
a'ko	***loy***	***nokowa***	***kwey***	*vel-na*	*n-is*	*charke*
PRO.n	ITN	right_now	FOC	look_after-DR	obl-ART.pl	dried_meat

'So now in the night, this [dog] will watch over the dried meat [not the other one].'
{JM, Perro II 020}

In (212), the event referred to is a habitual action, and the particle *nokowa* 'right now' indicates future tense (cf. 12.2.4):

(212)

ka'	*jayna*	*rujalniwa:-wa*	*n-as*	*as-na=n*	
PROH	DSC	be_sorry-NMZ	obl-ART.n	sit-DR=2	
bo	***nokowa***	*jayna*	*inła*	***kwey***	*pul-na*
REAS	right_now	DSC	PRO.1sg	FOC	sweep-DR

'Don't feel sorry about your house, because from now on I will sweep (it).'
{EA, Antes de fiesta 025}

[272] This is one of the very few examples in which *loy* is not combined with the first person, as described in 12.3.2.

In yet another example, future tense is indicated by the adverbial clause *nas tawa'ni* 'tomorrow':

(213) ***n-as*** ***tawa'-ni*** *joy-cheł* *kos* *aviyon* *[...]*
obl-ART.n next_day-PRC go-R/R ART.n.a plane
di' ***kwey*** *way-na* *no-kos* *wa:ka* *nakal* *n-as* *Peru*
REL FOC take-DR obl-ART.n.a cow over_there obl-ART.n Peru
'Tomorrow the plane will leave [...] which (will) take the beef over there to El Perú.'
{EA, Cbba 213}

In all these cases, the form *kwey* clearly represents the focus marker (*kaw*), since its use as a past-tense marker is ruled out by the context.

In order to focus on an argument and to indicate immediate past tense in the same clause, *kaw* and *kwey* can cooccur. This is shown in (214) and (215) below. In (214), the particles can be distinguished by their position. The clause-initial particle is the one that indicates past tense, while the particle following the free pronoun is the focus marker *kaw*, in accordance with the analysis of (206) and (207) above:

(214) ***kwey*** *u'ko* ***kwey*** *puru'-na* *n-i'ne*
IMM PRO.m FOC kiss-DR obl-PRO.f
'He has just kissed her.' {EA 10, 037d}

In (215), the tense particle is clearly identifiable because it occurs in the long form, *kweyka*. The focus particle is in place after the free pronoun.

(215) *inła* ***kwey*** *sal-na* ***kweyka***
PRO.1sg FOC search-DR IMM
'I just looked for it.' {ER 11, 015b}

Example (216) even shows adjacent cooccurrence of the focus marker *kaw*, realized as [kaw], and the tense particle *kwey*:

(216) *i'ne* ***kwey*** ***kaw*** *dewaj-na* *nu-kus* *itila:kwa*
PRO.f IMM FOC see-DR obl-ART.m.a man
'She has seen the man right now.' {EA 7, 057k}

Thus, the particles *kaw* can usually be clearly distinguished from *kwey*, even though the two are often homophonous.

However, there are also cases in which the distinction between the two particles is difficult to draw, and where a more detailed analysis is needed. This is especially the case when *kwey* occurs inside a noun phrase that contains a verb, as in (217):

(217) *jayna* *kas* *oso'-ni-wa* *os* ***kwey*** *sal-na*
DSC NEG DM.n.p-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p FOC search-DR
'There was no one left who would look for (it).' {GC 18, 396}

In this example, the particle inside the NP can be identified as the focus particle *kaw*. This is because the referent of the NP that contains a direct transitive verb, *salna* 'search', is not the undergoer, as would be predicted from the voice marker *-na* (cf. 8.1.1, 8.2), but the actor. This is the typical effect of the focus particle *kaw*, which demotes the former ARG_2 from the clausal core (cf. 7.8). If the focus particle were absent, or if the form *kwey* were the tense marker, then the NP in (217) would denote the undergoer of the event, and the translation of the clause would be 'the (thing) I looked for was not there anymore'.

Example (218) is similar to (217) above. Here, the fact that the particle inside the NP is realized as *kaw* serves as evidence that it is the focus marker and not the tense particle:

(218) *ka:w-e* *is* ***kaw*** *ji:-ba:-na*
much-BE.person ART.pl FOC cry-BR.round-DR
'Many cried for (him).' {GC 18, 394a}

In other cases, where the exchangeability with /kaw/ was not tested, the element *kwey* within an NP rather seems to be the tense particle. For example, in (219) below, the referent of the NP containing a direct bivalent verb is the undergoer. The presence of the element *kwey* does not have the effect of demoting the argument denoting the undergoer, as it does in (217) and (218) above. Therefore, it probably represents the past-tense particle *kwey*.

(219) *i:ri* *i:* *ney* *is* ***kwey*** *dej-na* *di'* *n-i'ne*
DM.spk.pl DM.spk.pl here ART.pl IMM? cook-DR REL obl-PRO.f
'Here is what I have cooked for her.' {EA 19, 315d}

12.5. Negative particles

Negation in Movima is expressed by particles, usually in combination with a morphological modification of the predicate. In most cases, the predicate either contains a negative marker (e.g. the irrealis infix *<a'>*), or it is nominalized. The negative particles, and the types of predicates or clauses they occur with, are listed in (220):

(220)	*kas*	'not'	+	nominalized or negative predicate
	loy	'not'		(in subordinate and relative clauses)
			+	(partial) nominalization
	mo:	'not yet'	+	partial nominalization
	ka'	'don't'	+	partial nominalization
	ka:	'in order not to'	+	adverbial clause

I will illustrate these particles in the following sections.

12.5.1. *kas*: main clause negation

The particle *kas* forms a negative clause (cf. 7.15.1). At the same time, the predicate is morphologically modified. In the canonical negative clause, this is achieved with action nominalization through *-wa* when the predicate is a verb or through infixing reduplication when the predicate is a morphological noun (cf. 11.1.1):

(221) ***kas*** *ona-ye-na-**wa**=sne* *os* *juyeni* *n-as* *Tirinra*
NEG know-BE.person-DR-NMZ=f.a ART.n.p person obl-ART.n Trinidad
'She didn't know anyone in Trinidad.' {EA, Llegada hija 010}

(222) *jelew-'im,* ***kas*** *pa**<ya~>**yak-a=as*
bright-TRC.night NEG dark<NMZ.N~>-LV=n.a
'(It was) a bright night, it wasn't dark.' {EA, Escape 050}

When the predicate in the negative clause already contains a negative affix, it is not additionally nominalized. In (223) and (224), the predicate contains the irrealis infix *<a'>* (cf. 10.3). The predicate in (225) contains the mental-state suffix *-baycho*, which typically has a negative meaning (cf. 10.5).

(223) ***kas*** *rey* *yok-**a'**-na=as* *n-is* *majniwa=a*
NEG again catch-IRR-DR=n.a obl-ART.pl child_of=n
'It [the rat] did not catch any of its [the hen's] children.' {EA, Gallina 020}

(224) *che* *nokowa* ***kas*** *juye**<ka'>**ni*
and right_now NEG person<IRR>
'And now, no one will be there.' {EA, Cabildo 021}

(225) *jayna* *inła* ***kas*** *ney-ni-**baycho***
DSC PRO.1sg NEG here-PRC-MST
'I don't want to be here anymore.' {EA, Cbba 035}

The negative particle *kas* is special in that it resembles very much the neuter article. First of all, it has similar syntactic properties: *kas* precedes a predicate which is nominalized, in the same way in which the neuter article precedes a nominalized predicate in subordinate clauses, shown in (226) and (227):

(226) *bo* ***as*** *ona-ye-**wa**=sne*
REAS ART.n know-BE.person-NMZ=f.a
'so that she might get to know X (a person)'

(227) *n-**as*** *pa**<ya~>**yak-a=as*
obl-ART.n.p dark<NMZ.N~>-LV=n.a
'when it is dark'

Morphologically, the negative particle and the neuter article are similar as well. First of all, both occur before action nouns (cf. 11.1.1):

(228) a. *kas* *chi:-wa=a*
NEG go_out-NMZ=n
'It doesn't come/go out.'

b. *as* *chi:-wa=a*
ART.n go_out-NMZ=n
'its coming/going out'

Second, not only the article, but also the negative particle is phonologically conflated with the first-person marker *ɬ* (cf. 4.4):

(229) a. *kaɬ* *chi:-wa*
NEG.1 go_out-NMZ
'I don't come/go out.'

b. *aɬ* *chi:-wa*
ART.n.1 go_out-NMZ
'my coming/going out'

This morphological parallel with the article suggests that the final element *s* of the negative particle is the same determining element that occurs on the article and on demonstratives, described in 3.9.3 and 4.4.

A third parallel between the negative particle and the article concerns the form of this particle, *kas*, and the organization of the article paradigm (cf. 4.4). Recall from 4.4 that the absential article is always contains an initial *k*; for example, the presential masculine article is *us*, and the absential masculine article is *kus*. The absential neuter article, *kos*, is irregular in that it is not only marked by *k*, but also has a different vowel than the presential neuter article, *as*. The form that would be expected to represent the absential neuter article is *kas*. However, the morpheme *kas* functions as the negative particle. Historically, therefore, it is possible that the negative particle originates from the article paradigm, and that the change **kas* > *kos* resulted from the need to differentiate between negation and the article.

Note that there are several particles that are morphologically and semantically related to the negative particle *kas*: the negative expression *ka:'i* 'no', which is often used in the same way as *kas*; the preclusive particle *ka:* (cf. 12.5.5); and the prohibitive particle *ka'* (cf. 12.5.4).

12.5.2. *loy* negation of subordinate and relative clauses

The function of the negative particle *loy*, not to be confused with the homophonous modal particle *loy* 'intentional' (cf. 12.3.2 above), was already described in 7.15.2. It negates relative and subordinate clauses. In relative clauses, *loy* goes together with partial action nominalization (cf. 11.1.2). This is to say, in negative relative clauses, only monovalent predicates are converted into action nouns, which are non-relational. In subordinate clauses, in contrast, the particle *loy* has no effect on the form of the subordinate predicate.

Examples (230) and (231) show *loy* in a relative clause with a bivalent and with a monovalent predicate, respectively. Note that the bivalent predicate in (230) is not nominalized, whereas the monovalent predicate in (231), which is a noun, receives the suffix *-ɬe* (cf. 11.1):

(230) *koro'* *kos* *ropaje=kinos* *ma:mi* ***di'*** ***loy*** *yey-na=sne*
DM.n.a ART.n.a mosquito_net=ART.f.a mum REL NEG.SUB want-DR=f.a
'There is mum's mosquito net, which she doesn't like.' {EG, Alojamiento 034}

(231) *is* *mońloto-wanra:-ni* *di'* *ja'* *la:ta,* *di'* ***loy*** *rey*
ART.pl earring-INSTR:BE.ntr-PRC REL just metal REL NEG.SUB again
*oro:-**ɬe***
gold-NMZ.N
'earrings that are just (of) metal, that are not (of) gold' {EA, Aros II 055}

The following examples illustrate the particle *loy* in subordinate clauses, which are marked by the article and action nominalization. Note that the predicate, whether monovalent, as in (232), or bivalent, as in (233), occurs in the same form that it would have if the clause were affirmative. In (232), the predicate is a canonical action nominal formed by the suffix *-wa* (cf. 11.1.1). In (233) and (234), the predicate contains the the nominalizing suffix *-na* that is required by the subordinating particle *jan* 'CSQ' (cf. 11.1.3).

(232) *n-os* *jayna* ***loy*** *mere'* *ɬavo-ni-wa=y'ɬi* *jayna*
obl-ART.n.p already NEG.SUB big suffer-PRC-NMZ=1pl DSC
'When we didn't suffer very much anymore.' {Vida chaco 026}

(233) *éɬ-jan* *n-as* ***loy*** *jay<a>moɬ-na=n*
what-CSQ obl-ART.n NEG.SUB call<DR>-NMZ.CSQ=2
kus *pa:toron-a=n*
ART.m.a landlord-LV=2
'Why don't you call our landlord?' {EA, Cbba 197}

(234) *jan* *n-as* ***loy*** *joy-baycho:-na*
CSQ obl-ART.n NEG.SUB go-MST-NMZ.CSQ
'That's why I don't want to go.' {EA, Patrona 034}

12.5.3. *mo:* 'not yet'

The particle *mo:* 'not yet' occurs right before the predicate. It indicates that the event has not occurred at the time of reference, but will, or is expected to, occur later. The time of reference can be the time of speaking or the time of the narrative context. In (235), the time of reference is the time of speaking:

(235) *bo* *rey* *ney* ***mo:*** *rey* *ba:-ra-**wa*** *as* *yejcho*
REAS again here yet again finish-BE:ntr-NMZ ART.n month
'Because now the month hasn't finished yet, you know.' {Dial. EA&AH 104}

In (236), the first ocurrence of *mo:* refers to the time of speaking within the narrative. The second ocurrence, which represents part of a comment made by the narrator, refers to the time of narrative context, in this case the day before the events are narrated:

(236) *che* *usko* *kuro'* ***mo:*** *joyaj**-wa**,* *jankwa,*
and PRO.m.a DM.m.a yet arrive-NMZ say
bo ***mo:*** *joyaj**-wa**--us*
REAS yet arrive-NMZ--m.a
'"And he hasn't arrived yet," I said, because he hadn't arrived yet.' {EA, Visita 040}

In (237), the time of reference is in the past:

(237) *n-os* *kwil* *bayɬim-a=y'ɬi* *rey* ***mo:*** *maj<a'>**<ni:~>**ni*
obl-ART.n.p REM field-LV=1pl again yet my_child<IRR><NMZ.N~>
'When we first had a field, I didn't have any children yet.'
{EA, Chaco III 001}

The particle *mo:* triggers partial nominalization (cf. 11.1.2). When the predicate of the subordinate clause introduced by *mo:* is monovalent, as in (236), it is converted into a non-relational noun through the suffixation of *-wa* or, if it is a noun, through reduplication (cf. (237)). When the predicate of the subordinate clause is bivalent, however, it remains unmodified, as illustrated in (238):

(238) *aya-ti* *bo* ***mo:*** *lirij-na='ne*
wait.DR-IMP.tr REAS yet shake-DR=f
'Wait because she hasn't shaken [the tablecloth] yet.' {EA 19, 146g}

Note that partial nominalization of the predicate (cf. 11.1.2) not only occurs with *mo:* 'not yet', but also with the negative particles *loy* 'NEG' in relative clauses (cf. 12.5.2 above) and *ka'* 'prohibitive' (cf. 12.5.4 below).

12.5.4. *ka'* 'prohibitive'

The particle *ka'* marks the prohibitive construction. It has the same formal properties as *mo:* 'not yet', described above. When the predicate is monovalent, it is nominalized, and when bivalent, it is not. In (239)–(241), the construction is shown with monovalent, nominalized predicates:

(239) ***ka'*** *naɬ-u'**-wa**,* *ka'* *pen-loɬ-wa*
PROH get_close-INT-NMZ PROH land-BR.water-NMZ
'Don't get too close, don't go into the water!' {EG Cazando 115}

(240) ***ka'*** *de:**-wa**--y'bi* *na-kal*
PROH lie-NMZ--2pl obl-DM.ad.n
'Don't (pl.) lie down there!' {EA 19, 234}

(241) ***ka'*** *rey* *kwale:**-wa*** *bo* *j* *salmo*
PROH again lost-NMZ REAS 2intr return
'Don't get lost, you return [here].' {GC, Bacho 057}

A bivalent predicate, in contrast, is not nominalized, as is shown in (242):

(242) ***ka'*** *rey* *iɬ* *ela:-kay--iy'bi* *bo* *jela=kweɬ* *neyru*
PROH again 1 stay_behind-INV--2pl REAS come.IMP=IMP.2pl here
jankwa=sne *ɬań,* *jo:jo'o*
say=f.a EV yes
'Don't leave me, come here instead!, she said (they say), she did.' {EA Ay'ku II 015}

12.5.5. *ka:* 'preclusive'

The particle *ka:* introduces an adverbial clause, i.e., an oblique noun phrase containing a nominalized predicate (cf. 7.12.3). It indicates that the event described in the adverbial clause should be prevented. The following examples illustrate the use of this particle:

(243) *day-a-ra=n* *no-kowa* *ban* *taw-ka-ra-na=n*
lie-DR-BE.ntr=2 obl-DM.el.n but stir-MLT-BE.ntr-DR=2
ka: *n-as* *ba:-les-wa=is*
PRCL obl-ART.n finish-BE.fire-NMZ=pl.a
'You put [the nuts] there [in the coals], but you stir repeatedly, lest they get burned.' {EA, Lo'im 024}

(244) *choń* *iń* *joy-cheɬ* *n-os* *ja:mi:-wa,* ***ka:***
HAB 1intr go-R/R obl-ART.n.p fetch_water-NMZ PRCL
n-os *de<wa~>waj-wa* *is* *juyeni* *n-os* *ro:ya*
obl-ART.n.p see<INV~>-NMZ ART.pl person obl-ART.p house
'I always went to fetch water, so that the people in the house wouldn't see me [play the harmonica]'. {EA, Organ 008}

Often, *ka:* is preceded by the particle *bo* 'REAS', which expresses a purpose when occurring before a noun phrase (cf. 12.1.4 above). This is illustrated in (245):

(245) *jayna* *us-cheɬ* *po:ra,* ***bo*** ***ka:*** *n-as* *mam~man-wa*
DSC move_away-R/R briefly REAS PRCL obl-ART.n INV~bite-NMZ
'Then [I] withdraw quickly so that I don't get bitten.' {EA, Miel 010}

12.6. Interjections

According to Schachter (1985: 58), interjections are "words, often of an exclamatory character, that can constitute utterances in themselves, and that usually have no syntactic connection to any other words that may cooccur with them." In Movima, these include: *jo:jo'* 'yes', *ka:'i* 'no', and *chu'* 'stop it!'. I will illustrate them in turn.

12.6.1. *jo:jo'* 'yes'

This is an affirmative interjection. It can be translated as 'yes'. However, it is normally not used as an answer to a question (cf. 7.14), but as a positive reaction to, or a reinforcement of, the preceding utterance. Example (246) is from a dialogue, and in (247), the speaker reinforces what she has said before:

(246) A. *usko dis rey jankwa=n kempa-kay-a=y'ɬi*
PRO.m.a OPT again say=2 inform-INV-LV=1pl
'You should have said to him that he could tell us.'

B. ***jo:jo'o**, ban rey jankwa n-usko no-kos*
yes but again say obl-PRO.m.a obl-ART.n.a
choy rey didi' joy-wa=y'ɬi
certainly again FRUST go-NMZ=1pl
'Yes, but I told him that we really wanted to go.' {EA&EG, Dialogue 087}

(247) *tes-cheɬ beyka n-os jayna joy-wa=y'ɬi n-os ro:ya,* ***jo:jo'***
limp-R/R poor obl-ART.n.p already go-NMZ=1pl obl-ART.n.p house yes
'[He] limped, poor guy, as we went to the house, really.' {Sicurí 092}

12.6.2. *ka:'i* 'no'

The particle *ka:'i* is used to answer questions negatively (cf. 7.14):

(248) Q. *kas rapál-di-ɬe kós as-na=n*
NEG red-BE.house-NMZ.N ART.n.a sit-DR=2
'Is your house not red?'

A. ***ka:'i**, bo ja' tavoj-di--as*
no REAS just white-BE.house--n.a
'No, it's just white.' {EA 8, 045}

Sometimes, *ka:'i* is used in the same way as *kas* (cf. 12.5.1 above), i.e., in combination with a nominalized predicate (cf. (249)):

(249) *che* ***ka:'i*** *oso'-ni-wa os rim-wanra=y'ɬi*
and no DM.n.p-PRC-NMZ ART.n.p trade-INSTR:BE.ntr=1pl
'And we had no money.' {EA, Vida 020}

The particle *ka:'i* is sometimes realized as *ka:*. Its ending -*'i* can probably be analyzed as the dummy element (cf. 2.9.5). However, I represent this morpheme as monomorphemic, since the element *ka:* normally functions as the preclusive particle (cf. 12.5.5 above).

12.6.3. *chu'* 'stop it!'

This exclamation is used to chase away chicken or to tell someone to stop doing something.

(250) ***chu'***, *ka' tore-na=n as me:sa*
stop.IMP NEG ?-DR=2 ART.n table
'Stop that, don't knock on the table!' {JM 19, 029}

(251) ***chu'*** *na-kal bo po~poy-kwa*
stop.IMP obl-DM.ad.n REAS RED~BR.animal-ABS
'Leave that, it's an animal!' {EC 15, 088}

12.7. The filler particle *eney*

There is one particle used when the speaker does not find the right word: *eney*. This particle occurs most often inside an NP, i.e. after the article, and is also found after the relativizer. Both instances can be found in (252). This is an example in which the speaker looks for a word of Spanish origin, *anteteta:nika* 'anti-tetanus vaccination'.

(252) *jayna ya'łe bań-na=is łań is* ***eney,***
DSC until put-DR=pl.a EV ART.pl (filler)
lawajes-a=sne di' ney, ***eney,*** *ima'kwa as* ***eney,***
remedy-LV=f.a REL here (filler) hinder ART.n (filler)
ka: n-os kayni-wa=sne, di' ja:yaw n-is
PRCL obl-ART.n.p die-NMZ=f.a REL good obl-ART.pl
lań-wankwa n-is mimi:di,
bite-INSTR.ABS obl-ART.pl snake
bań-'i joy choy rey, éłeła=is kis ***eney***
put-D SPC certainly again what=pl.a ART.pl.a (filler)
lawa:jes di' bań-na=is, anteteta:nika di' peń-na=i
remedy REL put-DR=pl.a anti_tetanus REL greet-DR=pl
'Then at once they put, they say, that, **er**, her remedy which, **er**, hinders, **er**, so that she wouldn't die, which is good with snake bites, you probably have to put, what is it called, this, **er**, remedy which they put on it, "anti-tetanus vaccination" is what they call it.' {EA, Lagartija 039}

Possibly, *eney* is a historically complex form, consisting of the demonstrative adverb *ney* 'here' and a preceding element *e*. Judy & Judy (1967) describe an element *e-* that precedes demonstratives. However, this element does not occur in the database used here. If the filler

particle *eney* can indeed be traced back to a demonstrative, then it may be a calque on the Spanish filler particle *este* ‘this (masculine)’.

APPENDIX A.

Specific classes of nouns and verb roots

This appendix contains lists of several morphological and semantic groups of nouns and verb roots that are mentioned in the book.

I. Nouns with a bound root and the dummy element *-ʻi*

(cf. 5.3.2.2)

1. Non-relational

beṅʻi	grassland
don'i	blood
nun'i	bone
maw'i	hunger
dam'i	louse
rum'i	parasite
wa'wa'i	squirrel
paj'i	dolphin
wa''i ~kwa''i	night heron
baw'i	night jar
pa:'i	priest

2. Relational

chaj'i	my breasts
eɬʻi	my name
kwan'i	my mouth
ris'i	my ankle
ruɬʻi	my tongue (also: *ba:ruɬ*)
tey'i	my penis

II. Nouns ending in *-kwa*, by semantic category, in alphabetical order

1. Terms for detached body parts and other nouns based on body-part terms

independent noun	**meaning**	**bound form**
ba:kwa	head	*-ba*
bajasła:kwa	goitre	*?*
bałewkwa	tail	*-łew*
barinkwa	hoof, leg; pestle	*-bari*
bera-n-chinamo:-kwa	kneecap (of cow) (forehead-LN-knee-ABS)	*?*
beveskwa	rib	*-ves/-bes*
chankwa	horn	*?*
chiraskwa	intestines	*-chira*
chorankwa	detached animal eye	*-chora*
chuskwa	mouth (visible part: lips etc.)	*?*
kwinto:kwa	cheek (of cow)	*-kwinto*
loto:kwa	ear mark	(*-loto* ‘ear’)
łewkwa	feather crown (*łew-* ‘BR.tail’)	*?*
meskwa	fat, grease, oil	*-mes*
mosi:kwa	saddle (*-mosi* ‘hip’)	*-mosi*
risa:kwa	hair	*-risa*
rułkwa	tongue	*-ruł*
tobeńkwa	skin	*-beń*
woro’kwa	neck	*-woro’*

2. Other part-of-whole terms

baba:kwa	fruit	*-ba* ‘round’
babałkwa	nest	*-bał* ‘cover’
bobojkwa	trunk	*-boj* ‘base’
chochołkwa	nut	*-choł*
chopankwa	fork of branch	*-chopa*
didinkwa	grain, seed, fruit	*-di*
dodo:kwa	big seed, fruit	*-do*
dudułkwa	root	*-duł*
larujkwa	sawdust	*-laruj*
laviṅkwa	skin (of a fruit)	*-lavit*
lelejkwa	thorn	*-lej*
lolołkwa	juice	*-lo, -loł*
lorankwa	leaf	*-lora*
losi:kwa	resin	*-losi*

lowe:kwa	colour	*-lowe*
*ł*ała:kwa*	rim, seam	*-ł*ała*
*momoł*kwa*	shell (of egg, turtle)	*-moł*
morinkwa	blossom, flower	*-mori*
*mujeł*kwa*	smell	*-mujeł*
*mumuł*kwa*	rice husk	*-muł*
mumuńkwa	feather; palm.leaf	*-mut*
*pojeł*kwa*	bunch (of bananas)	*-poj*
*sił*kwa*	hole, cave	*-sił, -si*
teteykwa	palm heart	*-tey*
tobeńkwa	skin (see above)	*-bet*
todankwa	piece	*-toda*
tolejkwa	branch, twig	*-tolej*
tovaykwa	wing	*-vay*

3. Other nouns with *-kwa* whose roots can be incorporated

bebeńkwa	hide, leather	*-beń*
chichinkwa	carrying pole	*-chi*
lala'kwa	piraña	*-lala*
lodinkwa	drop	*-lodi*
mova:kwa	litter	*-mova*
*noł*kwa*	mouse	*-noł*
popoykwa	animal	*-poy*
*sineł*kwa*	word	*-sineł*
vabaskwa	flour	*-vas*
vuskwa	dust	*-vus*
wawankwa	liana	*-wawa*

4. Others, not (yet) found incorporated

*bakwanł*e:kwa*	stump	
*beteł*kwa*	alga slick (on water)	
chapunkwa	flesh (of human, animal, plant)	
chichiskwa	remains of sieved chicha (Sp. *siripi*)	
dela:kwa	coals	
donto:kwa	puma	
itila:kwa	man	(*-la:kwa*)
koko'kwa	well, puddle	
lo:kwa	*locro* (traditional soup)	(*-loł*)
*ł*avał*kwa*	brick wall; precipice	
*noł*kwa*	rat, mouse	

toto:kwa	adobe
tutu:kwa	sewage
veba:kwa	firebrand
	(cf. *ve'* 'fire', *-ba* 'BR.round')
vovijkwa	maize husk
wawankwa	liana

III. Bivalent verb roots

Properties (cf. 8.3.1):

- largest class
- take the five basic voice markers in prototypical function
- *-na* → undergoer is patient
- can occur unmarked for voice (with -'*i*): resultative state

As in the glossess, these roots are translated by active English verbs even though they rather denote a resultative state (cf. 8.1.5, 8.3.1).

Some can occur in middle verbs and are also listed under Appendix A V.

am-	put in
aya-	wait for
ba'-	pick
baṅ-	put
bay-	knock, hit
ben-	paint, draw, write
bes-	detach, peel
biɬ-	scratch
bi'-	pinch
biriṅ-	rub
bisi'-	hit, reach goal
boɬ-	scrape
boko-	advise
boṅ-	change
chaj-	add
cha'-	pierce
chaw-	stir a dry mass
chil-	give as present, in addition
chiṅ-	paint, colorate
choɬoṁ-	loosen
choko-	stir
chu:-	poke
chu'-	knock down
chus-	take aim
chuy-	enthicken
daj-	lift
da'-	cut open in a surgery
dam-	twist
dan-	chew
das-	chop with machete
dej-	cook
deṅ-	toast
dewaj-	see
do'-	put on
dol-	fill
don-	hate
doy-	lick
du'-	grind
dul-	visit
eɬ-	bite off
el-	give as present
el -	terraplane
ela-	stay behind
ew-	hold
il-	spread
is-	roast
iṅ-	gather, collect; contaminate
ja'-	hit
jam-	tie
jaṁ-	tie, knot
jara'-	throw.away
jaṅ-	hit
jiɬ-	grate
ji:sa-	make
jo:-	heat, warm up
joṅ-	choose, collect
juɬ-	hug
ju:-	punish
jul-	surround (by fence etc.)
juṁ-	fan
jus-	rub in
juy-	pierce with finger
kel-	uncover,open
koɬ-	grind (wood)
koj-	put into
ko'-	swallow
kon-	take out from liquid
kos-	pull out
kul-	find; pick up
kwaj-	give
kwey-	follow
laṁ-	bite
laṅ-	chop
leve-	chase away
lew-	read, sing
liki-	shake somebody
lirij-	shake
loj-	wash
lo'-	throw down
loy-	make ready
luṁ-	dive
ɬaṁ-	bathe
ɬe'-	kick
ɬi:-	carry
ɬow-	tear
ɬoy-	dye
man-	meet; shoot
mas-	beat
maṅ-	loosen
muɬ-	thresh

naɬ-	come close
neṅ-	drive cattle
nis-	wipe clean
oɬ-	hang up on a tip or hook
paɬ-	touch, feel
pa’-	count
pawa-	hear
pay-	cover with mud
peɬ-	tear
pe’-	lift
pel-	fill.up
peṅ-	greet
piɬ-	make a stripe
pil-	surround with ribbon
po’-	close, lock in
poy-	make wet
pul-	sweep
puruṅ-	kiss
raɬ-	tear out
riɬ-	iron
ri’-	smear
ro’-	cover
rom-	press, squeeze
ros-	switch off, wipe out
ruṁ-	sprinkle
sal-	search
sam-	weave, twist
se’-	smoke cigarettes
sel-	make climb
sen-	smell
sil-	adorn
siṅ-	sew
sul-	enredar
sum-	shrink, dry out
suṁ-	bind, tie
suy-	take away
taj-	smash
tan-	cut
taraɬ-	cure
taw-	stir a liquid
tay-	burn
tij-	work.at
tikoy-	kill
tol-	touch
ton-	repair, mend
toroj-	dust
tos-	peel
toy-	cut
tuɬ-	grate
uṁ-	forbid; elevate
us-	put away
vaṅ-	create
vel-	look.after
vi’-	split
voko-	stir
vus-	burn to ashes
waɬ-	scratch
waj-	weed
was-	stir slowly
way-	take
wes-	open violently
wichi’-	rub
wis-	sharpen
wok-	dig
wul-	sow
wuru-	have a look
wutus-	make.sth.sound
ya’-	water
yaṅ-	seat
yeɬ-	pour
yey-	want, love
yiṅ-	coagulate
yo’-	catch

IV. Monovalent roots (cf. 8.3.2)

Properties:

- can only be combined with the voice markers *-chel̷* and *-na*
- *-chel̷* → participant is actively involved/in control
- *-na* → undergoer is patient

Monovalent roots that take *-kwa* 'BDP' (cf. 8.3.2.1) and roots that take *-a* 'SNS' (cf. 8.3.2.2) are not listed here. Lists are given in the respective sections in Ch. 8.

as-	sit
bań-	get seated on something
de:-	lie
des-	jump
en-	stand
josi-	laugh
joy-	go
nał-	come close
pen-	land
sel-	mount
tes-	limp
yeł-	lodge

V. Middle roots (cf. 8.3.3)

Properties:

- can undergo middle reduplication
- most can also function as bivalent roots: *-na* → undergoer is patient
- some behave like monovalent roots (indicated): *-na* → undergoer is location

1. monosyllabic:

che'-	desire	
chi:-	go out;	*chi:-na* 'my exit'
det-	be infected	
kay-	eat;	*kay-na* 'place where I eat'
kel-	open	
ɬaṁ-	bathe	
laṁ-	bite	
lem-	dangle	
lew-	sing	
ɬo'-	fall;	*ɬo'-na* 'place where I fall'
ɬow-	stretch	
luṁ-	dive	
non-	suckle	
paṁ-	grow	
pel-	flow over	
ros-	go out (light, fire)	
sum-	shrink	
vaṅ-	appear	
yiṅ-	coagulate	

1.a irregular:

a:m(on)	enter	
ji:(yi)	cry;	*ji:-na* 'place where I cry'

2. disyllabic:

chumay-	smoke
dejal-	cook
javuṅ-	fly
jiwa-	come
kamay-	scream

kiliṅ-	crack
koroṅ-	stretch
kwiril-	swell
ɬokoṅ-	boil
ɬoroṅ-	snore
tamuṅ-	lift (with wind)
waray-	scream
wurul-	roar

APPENDIX B.

Texts

This appendix contains two texts. The first, “The dog and the jaguar”, is a narration of an incident from real life. The other one is a dialogue that occurred spontaneously during an elicitation session.

1. The dog and the jaguar {EA, Tigre y perro}

Esaltación Amblo Ovales (57), Santa Ana del Yacuma, Bolivia, Juli 2002
Translation: Eligardo Chirimani Malue, Katharina Haude

The following is a narration of an event that occurred to the speaker many years ago.

(1) *kaw-poy* *is* *pa:ko* *di'* *pa:ko=y'ɬi.*
much-BR.animal ART.pl dog REL dog=1pl
'We had many dogs.'

(2) *che* *ilo:ni=y'ɬi* *n-os* *chaḿmo,*
and walk=1pl obl-ART.n.p bush
'And we walked through the forest,'

(3) *che* *manaye=is* *pa:ko* *os* *rulrul.*
and find:DR=ART.pl dog ART.n.p jaguar
'and the dogs found a jaguar.'

(4) *che* *jayna* *sutu:k-a* *os* *rulrul* *n-os* *ɬakaḿba,*
and DSC angry-SNS ART.n.p jaguar obl-ART.n.p ground
'And the jaguar was already angry on the ground,'

(5) *n-os* *cho'es-waj* *di'* *ɬakaḿba* *di'* *chaḿmo,*
obl-ART.n.p dirty-BE.place REL ground REL bush
'on a dirty place, the bushy ground,'

(6) *wawankwa-m-mo.*
liana-LN-BE.bush
'a thicket of lianas.'

(7) *sutu:k-a* *os* *rulrul.*
angry-SNS ART.n.p jaguar
'The jaguar was angry.'

(8) *jayna* *kas* *rey* *weleɬ-wa=as* *n-os* *ari:wa,* *ka:,*
DSC NEG again climb-NMZ=n.a obl-ART.n.p up no
'It didn't climb up again, no,'

(9) *bo* *en-ɬa:baɬ* *os* *rulrul.*
REAS stand-BE.ground ART.n.p jaguar
'because it stood on the ground.'

(10) *che mumeɬe-kay-a=as is pa:ko,*
and encircle.AGT-INV-LV=n.a ART.pl dog
'And it got surrounded by the dogs,'

(11) *is pa:ko di' laḿ-na=is.*
ART.pl dog REL bite-DR=pl.a
'the dogs which bit it.'

(12) *che asko "jeee" jampa=as, "jeee" jampa=as,*
and PRO.n.a ONOM do_like=n.a ONOM do_like=n.a
'And it made "heee", it made "heee",'

(13) *n-os jara-wa=as n-is pa:ko.*
obl-ART.n.p fight-NMZ=n.a obl-ART.pl dog
'as it fought with the dogs.'

(14) *ka'de=a jayna.*
end=n DSC
'So far, then.'

(15) *che jey-na=os pa:ko ney, n-os bu<ra~>da=as,*
and far?=ART.n.p dog here obl-ART.n.p front<INAL~>=n.a
os pa:ko.
ART.n.p dog
'And then a dog came here, in front of the jaguar, the dog.'

(16) *joy-cheɬ os pa:ko n-os ney,*
go-R/R ART.n.p dog obl-ART.n.p here
'The dog went here,'

(17) *che n-os dewaj-na-wa=as os mere' pa:ko,*
and obl-ART.n.p see-DR-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p big dog
'and as it (the jaguar) saw the big dog,'

(18) *jampa=as ney ja' ɬań, senyo:ra, jampa=as ney.*
do_like=n.a here just EV madam do_like=n.a here
'it just did like this, look, madam, it did like this.'

(19) *chut-a-choɬ-a=as os pa:ko n-os chowit-a=as*
insert-DR-BE.inside-LV=n.a ART.n.p dog obl-ART.n.p armpit-LV=n.a
'It put the dog under its armpit'

(20) *che os ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko ney chi:~chi,*
and ART.n.p head<INAL~>=ART.n.p dog here MD~go_out
'and the head of the dog came out here,'

(21) *os ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko.*
ART.n.p head<INAL~>=ART.n.p dog
'the head of the dog.'

(22) *che os chinki=os pa:ko*
and ART.n.p back_part=ART.n.p dog
n-os bu<ra~>da=os rulrul,
obl-ART.n.p front<INAL~>=ART.n.p jaguar
'and the back part of the dog was in front of the jaguar,'

(23) *che os ba<kwa~>kwa=as ney.*
and ART.n.p head<INAL~>=n.a here
'and its head was here.'

(24) *che n-os jayna e~'ew-wa=as os pa:ko,*
and obl-ART.n.p DSC DR~hold-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p dog
'and as it held the dog,'

(25) *jayna jeya=as ney, vol-ye os rulrul.*
DSC state_of=n.a here turn-BE.person ART.n.p jaguar
'it was like this, the jaguar turned around.'

(26) *jampa=as ney, sal-na=as os ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko,*
do_like=n.a here search-DR=n.a ART.n.p head<INAL~>=ART.n.p dog
'It did like this, it searched for the dog's head,'

(27) *bo os jayna yo~yo'-wa=as os*
REAS ART.n.p DSC DR~catch-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p
ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko jayna n-os kwa:-n-a=as.
head<INAL~>=ART.n.p dog DSC obl-ART.n.p BR.mouth-LN-LV=n.a
'in order to catch the dog's head with its mouth.'

(28) *jayna nokopa os pa:ko.*
DSC like_this ART.n.p dog
'So the dog was like this.'

(29) *jampa=as ney jayna,*
do_like=n.a here DSC
'It (the jaguar) did like this then,'

(30) *bo os e~'ew-wa=as os ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko,*
REAS ART.n.p DR~hold-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p head<INAL~>=ART.n.p dog
'in order to grasp the dog's head,'

(31) *bo os tikoy-na-wa=as.*
REAS ART.n.p kill-DR-NMZ=n.a
'in order to kill it.'

(32) *ban jayna jo'yaj--i'ɬi jayna,*
but DSC arrive--1pl DSC
'But by then we arrived,'

(33) *jo'yaj kus, eney, pa:pa=is majni jayna,*
arrive ART.n.a (filler) father_of=ART.pl my_child DSC
'the father of my children arrived,'

(34) *n-os vol-ye-wa=as nokopa,*
obl-ART.n.p turn-BE.person-NMZ=n.a like_this
'as it was turning around like this,'

(35) *n-os didi' yo~yo'-wa=as os*
obl-ART.n.p FRUST DR~catch-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p
ba<kwa~>kwa=os pa:ko
head<INAL~=ART.n.p dog
'as it wanted to catch the dog's head.'

(36) *jayna n-asko po:raka ja:yi=us*
DSC obl-PRO.n.a briefly run=m.a
'Then at that (moment) he ran quickly'

(37) *che man-na=us n-os chocho-bakwa=os rulrul.*
and shoot-DR=m.a obl-ART.n.p inside-BE.head=ART.n.p jaguar
'and shot the jaguar in the ear.'

(38) *jayna kas yo~yo'-wa=as os pa:ko.*
DSC NEG DR~catch-NMZ=n.a ART.n.p dog
'It didn't catch the dog anymore.'

(39) *jayna n-os ma~man-wa=us,*
DSC obl-ART.n.p DR~shoot-NMZ=n.a
jayna chi:~chi os pa:ko.
DSC MD~go_out ART.n.p dog
'As he shot [the jaguar], the dog came out.'

(40) *ite'ni, kas jan<a'>wit-a=as.*
alive NEG damage<IRR>-LV=n.a
'It was alive, it wasn't hurt.'

(41) *ka'de=a.*
end=n
'Here it ends.'

2. Conversation

{Dial. EA&EG}

Context information:

The following is a spontaneous conversation between two sisters, EG and EA, during an elicitation session with EA. Occasionally, I am involved in the conversation as well (KH).

EG earns some money sweeping the church. The conversation starts when she has just arrived at home after sweeping. The priest had promised to pay the sweeping women that day, and she has been waiting for him for quite a while, but he hasn't come down from his room in the parish building.

This is annoying for EG for several reasons: instead of waiting, she would have preferred to go to the corral, where the rodeo took place during the fiesta, to see if it is being torn down; when one helps tearing it down, one receives some beams and planks in turn. And she would also have liked to come home earlier, because there had been visitors. The now adult daughter of a relative had come for the first time, and everyone had been very curious to meet. EA tells EG about the visit, not without pointing out that EG should have tried to come earlier.

The problem of the corral is discussed in 001–022 and 085–106. The middle part, 023–068, is about the visit.

Dial. 001

EG:	*ban*	*rey*	*kas*	*baw-ra-wa=y'ɬi*	*kus*	*pa:'i*
	but	again	NEG	cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=1pl	ART.m.a	priest

'But the priest hasn't paid us, you know.'

Dial. 002

	kas	*rey*	*ta'-baɬ-wa=us*
	NEG	again	get_down-BE.cover-NMZ=m.a

'He didn't come down [from the upper floor of the house].'

Dial. 003

EA:	*kilmo*		*kus*	*rey*	*ney,*			
	mischievous		ART.m.a	again	here			
	bo	*jayna*	*choń*	*ja'*	*kiro'*	*kwal<a>ra=i*	*di'*	*pola:ta*
	REAS	DSC	always	just	DM.pl.a	hide<DR>=pl	REL	money
	di'	*kwaj*	*dajaja=i'ne,*		*eney.*			
	REL	EMPH	ask_for		(filler)			

'(to KH) He's cunning, because they are probably hiding the money that she keeps asking for ...'

Dial. 004

EG:	*jayna*	*ji:bal*	*iń*	*ji<wa:~>wa=y'ɬi*
	DSC	slowly	1intr	come<MD~>=1pl

'Then at last we came.'

Dial. 005
EA: *che kas baw-ra-wa=nkweɬ--us?*
and NEG cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=2pl--m.a
'And he hasn't paid you (pl.)?'

Dial. 006
EG: *ka:'i, n-os rey la' sa:waro, n-os la' rey*
no obl-ART.n.p again ANT Saturday obl-ART.n.p ANT again
pul-eɬ-wa=y'ɬi, kas rey baw-ra-wa=y'ɬi
sweep-AGT-NMZ=1pl NEG again cost-BE.ntr-NMZ=1pl
'No, last Saturday, when we last swept, we didn't get the money.'

Dial. 007
bo jayna rey paspas rey diṅka:ye--y'ɬi
REAS DSC again on_top again hurry--1pl
n-os jiwa-wa=y'ɬi bo os rey choy
obl-ART.n.p come-NMZ=1pl REAS ART.n.p again certainly
jayna joy-wa=y'ɬi
DSC go-NMZ=1pl
'And on top of that, we were in a hurry in order to come, in order to leave already.'

Dial. 008
EA: *choy rey*
certainly again
'Of course.'

Dial. 009
EG: *che kas rey ta'-baɬ-wa=us, joy choy*
and NEG again get_down-NMZ=m.a SPC certainly
'and he didn't come down, probably …'

EA (interrupting): *ɬéɬa=kos mo:ra'a* EG: [inaudible]
what=ART.n.a (swearword) ?
'What an idiot!'

Dial. 010
jayna ṅ ji<wa:~>wa
DSC 1intr come<MD~>
'So we came.'

Dial. 011

che yey-na=y'ɬi *kos* *choy* *rey* *joy-wa=y'ɬi*
and want-DR=1pl ART.n.a certainly again go-NMZ=1pl
kos *vayeɬ-wa=y'ɬi* *nosde:* [EA: *Choy* *rey*].
ART.n.a look_at.AGT-NMZ=1pl there certainly again
'And we wanted to go there, to have a look there [at the corral]. – Of course.'

Dial. 012

EG: *bo* *jankwa* *isnos ...* *bo* *ɬań* *resibyendo* *joychoyka.*
REAS say ART.f.p because EV receiving SPC:certainly
'Because … said …, because it might be that [they] are already receiving.'

Dial. 013

ban *kas* *ona-ra-na-wa=y'ɬi* *choy* *rey* *éɬ-lomaj*
but NEG know-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ=1pl certainly again what-BE.time
di' *joy* *n-as* *tawa'-ni* *kabo* *di'*
HYP SPC obl-ART.n next_day-PRC or HYP
'But we don't know when, of course, whether tomorrow or …'

Dial. 014

EA: *joy* *choy* *disoy* *joy-cheɬ--iy'bi* *che jayɬe* *ona-ra=nkweɬ*
SPC certainly OPT go-R/R--2pl and then know-BE.ntr=2pl
'You should perhaps have gone and then you would know it.'

Dial. 015

EG: *jayna choy* *rey,* *jayna rey* – *hm!*
DSC certainly again DSC again IJ
'By now, of course, now – pah!'

Dial. 016

jayna rey *ay* *no-kos* *rey* *joy* *choy* *lasdo:se.*
DSC again DM.spk.n obl-ART.n.a again SPC certainly twelve_o'clock
'Now it is probably at twelve o'clock.'

Dial. 017

EA: *chonsi* *jayna* *rey,* [to KH:] *éɬ-'o:<ra~>da'* *ma'* *jayna?*
noon already again what-hour<RED~> my_mother already
'It's lunchtime already. [to K] What time is it now, madam?'
[…]

Dial. 018

EG: *che jayna* *kas* *joy-baycho=y'ɬi*
and already NEG go-MST=1pl
'And now we don't want to go anymore.'

Dial. 019

ban yey-na=y'ɬi kos ona-ra-na-wa=y'ɬi choy rey di'
but want-DR=1pl ART.n.a know-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ=1pl certainly again HYP
jayna koro' mań-cho kos wa:ka-wandi
DSC DM.n.a loose-BR.inside ART.n.a cow-INSTR:BE.house
no-kos didi' alpani-wa=y'ɬi [*EA: choy rey*]
obl-ART.n.a FRUST help-NMZ=1pl certainly again
'But we wanted to know, of course, whether the corral has already been torn down, where we wanted to help.' – 'Of course.'

Dial. 020

jayna rey jema' i'nes Modesta di' tes-cheɬ, tivij-ni as bari='ne
DSC again also ART.f Modesta REL limp-R/R pain-PRC ART.n foot=f
'And now Modesta, who limps, too, her foot hurts.'

Dial. 021

EA: *sal-ti kos kana=n, kiro' nakal n-as kosi:na,*
search-IMP.DR ART.n.a eat:DR=2 DM.pl.a over_there obl-ART.n kitchen
bań-na--kis no-kos ari:wa.
put-DR--pl.a.OBV obl-ART.n.a top
'Get your food, it's over there in the kitchen, I put it in a high (place).'

Dial. 022

koro' kos tochi' puń-ka-na=kinos Luci:ya
DM.n.a ART.n.a small leave_over-MLT-DR=ART.f.a Lucía
'There are some left-overs from Lucía.'

Dial. 023

EG: *ji<wá:~>wa* – EA: *ji<wa:~>wa.*
come<MD~> come<MD~>
'(Did she) come?' – '(She) came.'

Dial. 024

EA: *chi-poj-a=sne kos fo:to=kus pa:pa=sne,*
go_out-CAU-LV=f.a ART.n.a photo=ART.n.a father_of=f.a
n-isne, inɬa, Davi:d, Marivel ena'.
obl-PRO.f.a PRO.1sg David Marivel DUR.std
'She took a photo of her father, of her(self), me, David, Marivel.'

Dial. 025

EG: *ban ji<wa:~>wa kus David?*
but come<MD~> ART.m.a David
'So David came?'

Dial. 026

EA: *ji<wa~>wa ney, jayna ona-ye-na=us.*
come<MD~> here DSC know-BE.person-DR=m.a
'He came here, he knows (her) now.'

Dial. 027

dajaja=sne kos nu:mero-teléfono=nes Marivel
ask_for=f.a ART.n.a number-telephone=ART.f Marivel
bo as jay<a>moɬ-wa=sne
REAS ART.n call<DR>-NMZ=f.a
n-as jayna nosde-ni-wa='ne n-as Tirinra.
obl-ART.n DSC there-PRC-NMZ=f obl-ART.n Trinidad
'She$_i$ asked for Marivel's phone number, so that she$_i$ can call (her$_j$) when she$_j$ is over there in Trinidad.'

Dial. 028

che di' joy-sicha'kwa='ne joy-cheɬ--i'ne, jankwa=sne,
and HYP go-DES=f go-R/R--f say=f.a
ken<a>pa=sne, – ken<a>pa='ne
inform<DR>=f.a inform<DR>=f
'And if she$_j$ wants to, she$_j$ goes [to Santa Cruz], she$_i$ said, she$_i$ tells (her) – she$_j$ lets (her) know.'

Dial. 029

che jayna isne kwey joy-cheɬ kaj<a>ɬe=sne
and DSC PRO.f.a FOC go-R/R come_up_to<DR>=f.a
no-kos terminal.
obl-ART.n.a bus_station
'And then she$_i$ will go, she$_i$ will meet (her) at the terminal.'

Dial. 030

bo as jayna joy-a-ɬe-wa=sne no-kos as-na=sne,
REAS ART.n DSC go-DR-CO-NMZ=f.a obl-ART.n.a sit-DR=f.a
jankwa=sne n-i'nes Marivel.
say=f.a obl-PRO.f Marivel
'in order to take (her$_j$) then to her$_i$ home, she$_i$ said to Marivel.'

Dial. 031

EG: *jayna ona-ye-na='ne kus David jema'.*
DSC know-BE.person-DR=f ART.m.a David also
'Now she knows David, too.'

Dial. 032
EA: *jayna toł rey, jayson ja', jayson ja' toł iybikweł,*
DSC very again seem just seem just very PRO.2pl
jankwa=us n-i'neł Marivel.
say=m.a obl-ART.f.1 Marivel
'Now, really – (She) is just, (she) is just like you all, really!, he said to my Marivel.'

Dial. 033
ja' iy'bikweł toł jan-ne='ne,
just PRO.2pl very who-BE.person=f
kinos ay'ku di' Selida toł jan-ne='ne, jankwa=us.
ART.f.a aunt REL Celida very who-BE.person=f say=m.a
'She is just so much like you all, she is so much like aunt Celida!, he said.'

[EG laughs]

Dial. 035
EA: *kay~kay--is.*
MD~eat--pl.a
'They ate.'

Dial. 036
EG: *jankwa='nes Modesta, yey-na kos rey ona-ye-na:-wa*
say=ART.f Modesta want-DR ART.n.a again know-BE.person-DR-NMZ
kinos [EA: *choy rey] majniwa=kus Ernan.*
ART.f.a certainly again child_of=ART.m.a Hernan
'Modesta said: I want to get to know [EA: of course] Hernan's daughter.'

Dial. 037
ban jayna rey kas
but already again NEG
'But now it's too late.'

Dial. 038
EA: *choy rey, disoy jo'mi kos tela joy-wa=sne*
certainly again CNTF recently ART.n.a almost go-NMZ=f.a
'Of course, she has just left, perhaps a little while ago.'

Dial. 039
disoy no-kos diṅkaye-wa=nkweł,
CNTF obl-ART.n.a hurry-NMZ=2pl
disoy di' man<a>ye=nkweł ney di:ra.
CNTF HYP meet<DR>=2pl here still
'Perhaps if you had hurried, perhaps you still would have met (her) here.'

Dial. 040
EG: *asko* *kos* *dela'wa* *aya~'aya-ni-wa=y'ɬi*
PRO.n.a ART.n.a ? RED~wait-PRC-NMZ=1pl
'It was all because we waited so long.'

Dial. 041
EA: *jankwa* *ney,* *che* *mo:* *kiro'* *joyaj-wa=kis* *ney*
say here and yet DM.pl.a arrive-NMZ=ART.pl.a here
'I said like this: and those aren't arriving yet,'

Dial. 042
che *nokwa* *kas* *rey* *dewaj-na-wa=is* *i:nij* *juyeni,* *jankwa.*
and now NEG again see-DR-NMZ=pl.a DM.spk.f person say
che *janwa*
and worse(?)
'And now they won't see this person, I said. And there you go.'

Dial. 043
EG: *disoy* *no-kos* *loy* *aya-na-wa=y'ɬi--kus*
CNTF obl-ART.n.a NEG.SUB wait-DR-NMZ=1pl--m.a.OBV
choy *rey* *disoy.*
certainly again CNTF
'Perhaps if we hadn't waited for him, perhaps.'

Dial. 044
EA: *jo'mi* *kos* *joy-wa=sne* *jayna* *n-os* *ba:-bu-wa=is.*
recently ART.n.a go-NMZ=f.a already obl-ART.n.p finish-BE.eat-NMZ=pl.a
'She has left just now, after they finished eating.'

Dial. 045
ban *choy* *rey* *naya',*
but certainly again where
jaysoń *joy-na=sne* *ni-kis* *so:te* *di'* *alkakaye=sne.*
seem go-DR=f.a obl-ART.pl.a other_person REL relative=f.a
'But where may she be, it seems that she has gone over there to other relatives.'

Dial. 046
jayna *salmo--sne* *nosde:,*
DSC return--f.a there
jayna *ji<wa:~>wa--sne,* *ji<wa:~>wa--is* *jo'mi.*
DSC come<MD~>--f.a come<MD~>--pl.a recently
'She has already returned there, she has come already, they have only just come.'

Dial. 047

ban *ney* *kus* *da'* *David* *bo* *yey-na=us* *choy* *rey*
but here ART.m.a DUR.nst David REAS want-DR=m.a certainly again
kos *ona-ye-na-wa=us--kisne*
ART.n.a know-BE.person-DR-NMZ=m.a--f.a
'But David was here, because of course, he wanted to know her.'

Dial. 048

EG: *ban* *kas* *di:ran* *tivij-jasła-ni-wa=us*
but NEG still pain-heart-PRC-NMZ=m.a
'But at least his stomach doesn't hurt anymore.'

Dial. 049

EA: *ka:,* *bo* *ya:lo:we--us* *łań* *ni-kis* *lawa:jes*
no because drink--m.a EV obl-ART.pl.a remedy
di' *łań* *rey* *bus-ka-pi:-na.*
REL EV again ?-MLT-LOC-DR
'No, because he has taken a remedy which ...(?),'

Dial. 050

che *joy* *choy* *éłeł-a=is* *łań* *rim-eł-na=is,*
and SPC certainly what-LV=ART.pl EV trade-APPL-DR=pl.a
isko
PRO.pl.a
'and whatever it was that they must have bought.'

Dial. 051

kem-a-waj-a=sne *kos* *as-na=sne* *n-as* *Santa* *Kurus,*
inform-DR-BE.place-LV=f.a ART.n.a sit-DR=f.a obl-ART.n Santa Cruz
ona-waj-na *kus* *David*
know-BE.place-DR ART.m.a David
'She indicated the place where she lives in Santa Cruz, David knows it.'

Dial. 052

EG: *loy* *rey* *iń* *kaste!*
ITN again 1intr Spanish
'Well, I'll speak Spanish!'

Dial. 053

EA: *kas chi-poj-na-wa=’ne, daya’ kas bo nokowa,*
NEG go_out-CAU-DR-NMZ=f DUR.nst NEG REAS right_now
bo kas pi<ka’>la=’ne no-kos pola:-ra.
REAS NEG battery<IRR>=f obl-ART-n.a new-BE.ntr
‘She isn’t recording, she isn’t, because right now - because she doesn’t have a new battery.’

[...][273]

Dial. 062

KH [to EG]: *che ulkwań kas ona-ye-na-wa=n?*
and PRO.2sg NEG know-BE.person-DR-NMZ=2
‘And you don’t know (her)?’

Dial. 063

EA: *ona-ye-na-wá=n--isne, kas?*
know-BE.person-DR-NMZ=2--f.a NEG
‘You don’t know her, do you?’ (repeating the question)

Dial. 064

EG: *kas rey ona-ye-na:-wa.*
NEG again know-BE.person-DR-NMZ
‘I don’t know (her).’

Dial. 065

ona-ye:-na n-os to<chi~>chik-a=sne ney
know-BE.person-DR obl-ART.n.p small<NMZ~>LV=f.a here
[EA: *choy rey*].
certainly again
‘I knew here when she was small like this.’ - ‘Of course.’

Dial. 066

ban rey jayna kinos kwe:ya, choy rey jayna kwaj rey.
but again DSC ART.f.a woman certainly again DSC EMPH again
‘But now, the woman, not at all.’

Dial. 067

EA: *bi:jaw jayna.* EG: *bi:jaw jayna, kas ona-ye-na:-wa.*
old DSC old DSC NEG know-BE.person-DR-NMZ
‘[She is] old now.’ - ‘[She is] old, I don’t know [her].’

[273] Here I explain in Spanish that I had already changed the battery and am recording all the time.

Dial. 068

EA: *jayna rey perjudikar-kay--isne n-i'ne jayna*
DSC again hinder-INV--f.a obl-PRO.f DSC
no-kos rey vat<a>pa:-wa--'ne.
obl-ART.n.a again teach<DR>NMZ--f
'Now she$_i$ hindered me with her$_j$ as I was teaching her$_j$.'

Dial. 069

EG: *choy rey jankwa='nes Modesta,*
certainly again say=ART.f Modesta
asko kwey jampa tojeɬ kos aya~'aya-ni-wa=y'ɬi,
PRO.n.a FOC do_like very ART.n.a RED~wait-PRC-NMZ=1pl
jayna ji:bal, jiya!
DSC slowly let's_go
'Of course, that's what Modesta said: It's the fault of our waiting, now at last, let's go!'

[...]

Dial. 085

EG: *kus Ti:to kuro' joy-cheɬ vaye:ɬe.*
ART.m.a Tito DM.a.m go-R/R look_at.AGT
'Tito has gone to have a look.'

Dial. 086

EA: *Ah, kuro'o? –* EG: *kuro'.*
IJ DM.a.m DM.a.m
'Oh, has he?' - 'He has.'

Dial. 087

EA: *usko dis rey jankwa=n kempa-kay-a=y'ɬi.*
PRO.m.a OPT again say=2 inform-INV-LV=1pl
'You should have said to him that he could tell us.'

Dial. 088

EG: *jo:jo'o, ban rey jankwa n-usko*
yes but again say obl-PRO.m.a
no-kos choy rey didi' joy-wa=y'ɬi.
obl-ART.n.a certainly again FRUST go-NMZ=1pl
'Yes, but I told him that we wanted to go.'

Dial. 089

ban jayna rey ka: iɬ joy-wa=y'ɬi.
but DSC again NEG 1 go-NMZ=1pl
'But then of course we didn't go anymore.'

Dial. 090

bo *rey* *jema'a* *i'ne* *tivij-bari:-ni!*
REAS again also PRO.f pain-foot-PRC
'Because her foot hurts!'

Dial. 091

EA: *koro'* *joy* *kos* *toda-n-kwa* *n-as* *bari='ne, ɬaɲ?*
DM.a.n SPC ART.n.a BR.piece-LN-ABS obl-ART.n foot=f EV
'There must be a piece (of something) in her foot, right?'

Dial. 092

koro' *joyka,* *ay* *senyor!*
DM.n.a SPC oh Lord
'Probably, oh dear!'

Dial. 093

EG: *ban* *ku:-siɬ* *joy,* EA: *ku:-siɬ,* *ay!*
but long-BR.hole SPC long-BR.hole IJ
'But deep inside probably!' - 'Deep inside, oh dear!'

Dial. 094

che *kas* *rey* *chi:-wa=a* *n-as* *rey!* *EG:* *ka:* *rey!*
and NEG again go_out-NMZ=n obl-ART.n again no again
'And it doesn't come out from there!' - 'It doesn't!'

Dial. 095

EA: *jo:jo',* *je-ni-wa=a* *n-is* *rey* *le~lej-kwa.*
yes state_of-PRC-NMZ=n obl-ART.pl again RED~thorn-ABS
'Yes, it's not like a thorn.'

Dial. 096

EG: *jan* *n-as* *ja'* *loy* *joy-na=y'ɬi* *rey.*
CSQ obl-ART.n just NEG.SUB go-NMZ.CSQ=1pl again
'That's why we just didn't go, you see.'

Dial. 097

yey-na *kos* *vayeɬ-wa,* *bo* *jankwa=i*
want-DR ART.n.a look_at.AGT-NMZ REAS say=pl
kas *maɲ-cho-wa=os* *wa:ka-wandi*
NEG loose-BR.inside-NMZ=ART.n.p cow-INSTR:BE.house
la' *n-os* *imay-ni*
ANT obl-ART.n.p night-PRC
'I wanted to have a look, because (people) said, the corral hasn't been torn down last night.'

EA: *la'* *ka'i.*
ANT no
'Last [night], no.'

Dial. 098
EG: *vel-na=is,* EA: *choy* *rey,* *bo* *rey* *toɬ* *jayna* *imay-ni.*
look_at=pl.a certainly again REAS again very DSC night-PRC
'They looked at [it]' – 'Of course, because it was already night, of course.'

Dial. 099
EG: *jayna* *choy* *rey* *imay-ni!*
DSC certainly again night-PRC
'It was already night, of course!'

Dial. 100
che *jankwa=i* *di:ra* *ɬaṅ* *koro'* *kos* *nokowa* *piyesta.*
and say=pl still EV DM.a.n ART.n.a right_now *fiesta*
'And they say: the *fiesta* will still be going on, apparently.'

Dial. 101
kas *ona-ra-na-wa=y'ɬi* *choy,* *jayɬe!*
NEG know-BE.ntr-DR-NMZ=1pl certainly then
'We don't know (it), of course, then!'

Dial. 102
EA: *choy* *rey,* *bo* *disoy* *no-kos* *joy-wa=nkweɬ,*
certainly again REAS CNTF obl-ART.n.a go-NMZ=2pl
jayɬe *jayna* *ona-ra-na=nkweɬ.*
then DSC know-BE.ntr-DR=2pl
'Of course, because if you had gone, then you would know (it).'

Dial. 103
EG: *di'* *joy* *jayna* *koro'* *maṅ-cho,*
HYP SPC DSC DM.n.a loose-BE.inside
kabo *di'* *joy* *koro'* *en-u'-ni*
or HYP SPC DM.n.a stand-INT-PRC
a'ko *ɬ* *loy* *ona-ra-na=y'ɬi.*
PRO.n 1 ITN know
'Whether it is already torn down, or whether it is still standing there, that's what we will (?) know.'

Dial. 104

che kas rey jop-a<ka'>-ye=yɬi
and NEG again dispatch-DR<IRR>-BE.person=1pl
kwaj kas koro'-ni-wa.
EMPH NEG DM.n.a-PRC-NMZ
'And we don't have anyone we could send, absolutely nobody.'

Dial. 105

EA: *koro'-ni-wa kos rey dichi:ye.*
DM.n.a-PRC-NMZ ART.n.a again child
'There is no child here.'

Dial. 106

EG: *kwaj ka: rey.*
EMPH NEG again
'Absolutely not.'

Dial. 107

EA: *jayna jay' sal-ti kos kana=n.*
DSC go.IMP search-IMP.DR ART.n.a food=2
'Now go and get your food.'

Dial. 108

kiro' kis tochi' aro:so bey-ra.
DM.a.pl ART.pl.a small rice little-BR.ntr
'There is a little bit of rice.'

Dial. 109

EG: *ona loy sal-a-ka:na.*
let's_see ITN search-DR-food
'Let's see, I'll look for food.'

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Samenvatting

Dit boek is een beschrijving van het Movima, een taal van het Boliviaanse Amazonegebied. Tot nu toe is nog niet bekend of het Movima verwant is aan enige andere taal. Movima wordt nog door ongeveer 1.400 mensen gesproken, die bijna allemaal ouder zijn dan vijftig. Het is dus een ernstig bedreigde taal.

Het Movima is al eerder beschreven door taalwetenschappers van het Amerikaanse Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), Robert en Judith Judy. De belangrijkste resultaten van hun onderzoek waren een grammaticale schets van ongeveer vijftig bladzijden en een woordenlijst. Hoewel dit boek dus niet de eerste beschrijving van het Movima is, is het nu de meest volledige. Bovendien is het, anders dan de grammaticale schets van Judy en Judy, niet gebaseerd op een specifiek theoretisch model. Op deze manier is het breder toegankelijk voor taalwetenschappers van alle theoretische oriëntaties.

De taalgegevens waarop dit boek is gebaseerd werden door de auteur verzameld tijdens vier veldwerkperioden in Bolivia, van in totaal meer dan negen maanden. Het veldwerk werd uitgevoerd in Santa Ana del Yacuma, het centrum van het Movimatalig gebied.

Het boek is opgebouwd als volgt. Hoofdstuk 1, de introductie, beschrijft de achtergrond van het Movima en van het onderzoek. Movima is een van de talen die in de Mojos-savanne worden gesproken. Zoals alle andere groepen in dit gebied, zijn de Movima's rond 300 jaar geleden door de Jezuïeten bekeerd. Tegenwoordig zijn zij grotendeels Katholiek. Zij leven samen met blanke landeigenaren in en om Santa Ana del Yacuma, een stadje dat door de Jezuïeten is gesticht. Over hun oorspronkelijke cultuur en religie is zo goed als niets bekend. Verder wordt in Hoofdstuk 1 beschreven welke eerdere studies er bestaan en hoe het tegenwoordige onderzoek is uitgevoerd.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft het klanksysteem van het Movima. Movima heeft vijf klinkers en twintig medeklinkers met een betekenisonderscheidende status. Verder zijn er medeklinkers die alleen in voorspelbare omgevingen optreden en dus geen betekenisonderscheidende functie hebben. Twee daarvan, gespeld als *m̓* en *n̓*, zijn uiterst zeldzaam in de talen van de wereld: zij bestaan uit een plofklank die zowel een orale als ook een glottale sluiting inhoudt en nasaal wordt losgelaten. In dit hoofdstuk wordt onder andere ook beschreven hoe lange klinkers tot stand komen, en hoe vraagzinnen door intonatie gemarkeerd worden.

Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft de morfeemsoorten en de morfologische processen die in het Movima bestaan. Drie bijzondere kenmerken verdienen het om hier genoemd te worden. Er is een infix, dat niet volgens de morfeemstructuur van het woord ingevoegd wordt, maar volgens de prosodische structuur van het woord: het verschijnt altijd na de eerste jambische voet van het woord. Verder zijn er vier verschillende soorten reduplicatie, die tezamen maar liefst acht verschillende functies hebben. Hier zijn in het bijzonder te noemen de markering van *voice* op een predikaat; nominalisatie; en onvervreemdbar bezit. Het Movima heeft bovendien drie aan de hand van hun fonologisch effect te onderscheiden soorten clitisatie: "intern", "extern", en "neutraal". Interne en externe clitisatie markeren de grammaticale status van de argumenten in de zin, zoals beschreven in hoofdstuk 7.

Verder bevat hoofdstuk 3 een overzicht van de verschillende woordsoorten. De twee belangrijkste woordsoorten zijn werkwoorden en naamwoorden, en zij verschillen vooral door

de morfologische veranderingen die zij kunnen ondergaan. Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden vormen een subgroep van de naamwoorden. Daarnaast is er een grote groep van partikels, en een gesloten groep van referentiële elementen.

Referentiële elementen, het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 4, zijn persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, en lidwoorden. Lidwoorden vormen samen met een naamwoord of een werkwoord een nominaalfrase. De referentiele elementen hebben een bijzondere functie in het Movima: zij geven niet alleen geslacht en getal van de referent aan, maar ook of de referent aanwezig of afwezig is, en of hij nog bestaat op het moment van spreken of niet. Dankzij deze laatste functie zijn de referentiële elementen in het Movima de elementen waardoor tijd wordt uitgedrukt. De aanwijzende voornaamwoorden geven bovendien aan of de referent dichtbij is of ver weg, en of hij/zij staat, ligt, of in de lucht zweeft.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt de morfologische structuur van naamwoorden en van gebonden nominale elementen. Naamwoorden kunnen zowel met andere naamwoorden als met werkwoorden een samengesteld woord vormen. Meestal wordt in dit geval in plaats van het hele naamwoord een korte, "gebonden" vorm gebruikt. Dit kan de wortel zijn, of een element dat van het onafhankelijke naamwoord is afgesplitst, of een heel ander element dat om semantische redenen als nominaal beschouwd kan worden. Het feit dat er veel samenstellingen in het Movima bestaan, die vaak gelexicaliseerd zijn, is een van de redenen waarom veel woorden in het Movima erg complex zijn.

Het aanduiden van bezit of afhankelijkheid van voorwerpen is een belangrijk aspect in het Movima. Dit is beschreven in Hoofdstuk 6. Aan de ene kant zijn er niet-relationele naamwoorden, ofwel woorden die onafhankelijke dingen benoemen. Aan de andere kant zijn er relationele naamwoorden, die onvervreemdbare voorwerpen benoemen, zoals lichaamsdelen. Als niet-relationele naamwoorden op een bepaalde manier veranderd worden, kunnen zij naar een onvervreemdbaar voorwerp verwijzen. En relationele naamwoorden kunnen tevens een bepaald suffix krijgen om naar een voorwerp te verwijzen dat onafhankelijk is. Deze twee mechanismen kunnen achter elkaar op hetzelfde naamwoord worden gebruikt, wat het systeem van bezitsaanduiding erg complex maakt. De eigenaar van een voorwerp wordt door een referentieel element aangeduid. Deze aanduiding is identiek aan de aanduiding van een bepaald argument op een bivalent predicaat, zoals beschreven in hoofdstuk 7.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt de zinsstructuur van het Movima. In een gewone Movima zin komt het predikaat op de eerste plaats en daarna de argumenten. De positie van een element waarop gefocust wordt, bijvoorbeeld een voornaamwoord, is vóór het werkwoord. De volgorde van de argumenten achter het werkwoord wordt bepaald door de graad van animaatheid van de referenten waarna de argumenten verwijzen, d.w.z. of zij mensen, dieren of gewoon voorwerpen zijn. De predikaatmarkeerders "direct" en "inverse" geven aan of de meer animate referent de handelende participant is of diegene die de handeling ondergaat. Als beide argumenten naar iets verwijzen dat op hetzelfde niveau in de hierarchie van animaatheid staat, dan wordt één ervan als "obviatief" gemarkeerd. Het obviatieve argument staat dan op de tweede plaats in de zin.

In het Movima kan het predikaat zowel een werkwoord als een naamwoord zijn. Een naamwoord als predikaat heeft de functie van een zin met 'is' of 'zijn', woorden die in het Movima niet bestaan. Andersom kan ook een argument zowel een naamwoord als een

werkwoord bevatten. Een argument met een werkwoord verwijst naar een bepaalde participant in de situatie, waarvan de semantische rol door het werkwoord expliciet wordt aangegeven.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt verder onder andere relatieve zinnen, ondergeschikte zinnen, vraagzinnen, en ontkenning.

Hoofdstuk 8 t/m 10 behandelen de morfologie van werkwoorden. In Hoofdstuk 8 wordt het systeem beschreven waarmee werkwoorden voor *voice* gemarkeerd worden. *Voice* markering geeft de valentie van een werkwoord aan, d.w.z. hoeveel argumenten een werkwoord kan hebben. Bovendien geeft deze markering aan welke semantische rol door welk argument in de zin gerepresenteerd wordt. De verschillende klassen van werkwoordswortels kunnen worden bepaald aan de hand van welke *voice* markeerders ermee kunnen verschijnen en welk effect zij hebben.

In Hoofdstuk 9 worden morfemen beschreven die het valentiegedrag van werkwoorden beïnvloeden of erdoor worden beïnvloed. Aan de ene kant wordt de valentie van een werkwoord beïnvloed door een geïncorporeerd nominaal element. Dit kan een element zijn dat anders een argument in de zin zou vormen; in dat geval verandert een overgankelijk werkwoord in een onovergankelijk werkwoord. Andere geïncorporeerde nominale elementen modificeren de betekenis van het werkwoord zonder de valentie van het werkwoord te bepalen.

Verder worden in Hoofdstuk 9 zogenaamde “applicatieven” beschreven. Dit zijn morfemen die aangeven dat er nog een participant betrokken is naast de participanten die sowieso op het werkwoord zijn aangeduid. Bijvoorbeeld causatief- en benefactief-markeerders horen tot deze groep, maar ook elementen die minder specifiek aangeven welke rol een bepaalde participant in de gebeurtenis heeft.

Hoofdstuk 10 beschrijft werkwoordsmorfemen die geen directe interactie met de valentie van het werkwoord hebben. Zij hebben allen een aspectuele of modale functie. Sommigen kunnen ook op naamwoorden optreden.

Hoofdstuk 11 behandelt nominalisatie, ofwel de verandering van een werkwoord naar een naamwoord, en verbalisatie, de verandering van een naamwoord naar een werkwoord. Of een woord nominalisatie of verbalisatie kan ondergaan, en ook hoe het proces er dan uit ziet, geeft vaak aan bij welke woordklasse het woord zelf hoort. Bijvoorbeeld kunnen werkwoorden in principe niet geverbaliseerd worden. Een bepaald soort nominalisatie, handelings- of toestandsnominalisatie, heeft een heel belangrijke syntactische functie. Het verandert een predikaat zodanig dat het in een nominaalfrase kan worden gebruikt (zoals in “het lopen”). En een nominaalfrase met een predikaat van dit type kan een ondergeschikte zin voorstellen.

Het Movima heeft veel partikels met belangrijke grammaticale functies. De meeste ervan zijn beschreven in Hoofdstuk 12. De belangrijkste groep bestaat uit partikels die tijd, aspect, en modus aangeven. Dit zijn categorieën die over het algemeen met werkwoorden geassocieërd worden, maar die in het Movima niet of nauwelijks op het werkwoord worden uitgedrukt. Groepen die verder kunnen worden onderscheiden zijn zinverbindende partikels, epistemische partikels, en verschillende partikels die ontkenning aangeven.

Aan het eind bevat het boek een appendix met twee delen. Het eerste gedeelte bevat lijsten met bepaalde groepen van woorden die in het boek worden besproken. Het tweede gedeelte bevat twee Movima teksten, een narratieve tekst en een conversatie, met interlineaire morfeemanalyse en Engelse vertaling.

Curriculum Vitae

Katharina Haude has studied General Linguistics, English Philology and Spanish Philology in Cologne (Germany). In 1996–1997, she participated in the ERASMUS exchange progamme to study Comparative Amerindian Linguistics at Leiden University. She got her university degree in Cologne in 2001. Her master's thesis, a semantic study of the directional suffix *-su* in Aymara, was based on field work in La Paz, Bolivia, in 2000. From February 2001 until October 2005, she held a PhD position at the Spinoza programme "Lexicon and Syntax" at the Linguistics Department of the Radboud University Nijmegen.