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A topic-marking cleft? Analyzing clause-initial pronouns in Movima

(Short title: Analyzing clause-initial pronouns in Movima)

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Abstract

While basic clauses in Movima are predicate-initial, one construction contains an initial free pronoun. Syntactic tests show that this "pronominal construction", rather than resulting from a word-order change, is syntactically complex: The pronoun serves as the predicate and the verb behaves like a relative clause. Such biclausal structures representing a propositionally equivalent alternative to a basic clause are known as clefts.

However, the functions of the pronominal construction contradict those of canonical clefts, which primarily mark argument focus. The free pronoun encodes as a sentence topic a recently introduced discourse referent, about which the verb provides an assertion. Therefore, the pronominal construction challenges common definitions of clefts that link a particular structure to a prototypical function.

Key terms: sentence topic, anaphora, cleft, pronominal predicate, equational clause

1 Introduction[1]

Movima is an unclassified native language of South-Western Amazonia, spoken by about 500 adults in and around the town of Santa Ana del Yacuma in the Bolivian department of Beni. The data on which the present study is based were collected during approximately 15 months of fieldwork between 2001 and 2012, resulting in an annotated corpus of spontaneous discourse of over 30 hours (approximately 26,000 intonation units or 130,000 words).[2]

The syntax of the Movima core clause is predicate-initial, and the language displays the typical properties that are expected of verb-initial languages (see Clemens & Polinsky 2015: 3): In terms of morphosyntactic ordering, there are no postpositions, and the only non-reduplicative prefix in the language, the oblique-marker *nV*-, is functionally comparable to prepositions in other languages; the order of possessive phrases is possessed-possessor; relative clauses follow their head; and incorporated elements follow the verb root. Moreover, there is neither a copula nor a possessive verb, and the most common main-clause alignment pattern is ergative. As we will see in this paper (§3.2), Movima also provides evidence for Myhill's (1985) claim that in verb-initial languages, a verb in non-initial position has a dependent status.

Verb-initial languages are known for being particularly susceptible to pragmatically conditioned word-order changes, which include the expression of an argument in preverbal position (see, among others, Aissen 1992; Downing 1995; Longacre 1995; Payne 1990: 11; Payne 1995). This is also the case in Movima. The present paper discusses one particular case of word-order deviation, labelled "pronominal construction", in which a core argument is

[1] The research on which this paper is based belongs to the program *Investissements d'Avenir*, overseen by the French National Research Agency (LabEx EFL, ANR-10-LABX-0083). Preliminary results of this study were presented at the conference *Information Structure in Spoken Language Corpora 2* in Paris and at the 50th conference of the *Societas Linguisticae Europaea* in Zurich. I wish to thank the participants for their comments, in particular Lena Karssenberg, Anja Latrouite, and Robert Van Valin. Zygmunt Frajzingier, Sonja Gipper, Judith Tonhauser, and Claudia Wegener are acknowledged for discussing my analyses with me. Elisabeth Verhoeven and an anonymous reviewer provided highly valuable comments on a previous version of this paper. Erin Shay kindly volunteered for proof-reading. I would like to express my special gratitude to the speakers of Movima who provided the data that made this research possible. All shortcomings in this paper are entirely my own responsibility.

[2] Fieldwork was financed by the Spinoza project "Lexicon and Syntax" (Radboud University Nijmegen, 2001-2006), by the Movima documentation project of the DoBeS progam (VolkswagenFoundation Az-81914/84349; 2006-2013), and by the ESF-EuroBABEL/DFG project "The Movima Inverse" (HA-5910, 2009-2013).

expressed by a free pronoun in preverbal position. To give a first impression of the phenomenon, the intransitive version of the pronominal construction is illustrated in (1)b, contrasting with the propositionally equivalent basic intransitive clause in (1)a. In the basic clause (1)a, the argument is encoded by a bound pronoun (*--as*; see below for the notation) after the verb; in the pronominal construction (1)b, the argument is encoded by a free pronoun (*asko*) preceding the verb. The English translations of the examples in (1) intend to reflect the effect of the changed syntax.

(1) a. *a:mon--**as***
enter-- 3N.AB
'It came in.' [HRR_2009_tape1_B 291]

b. ***asko*** *a:mon*
PRO.3N.AB enter
'That one came in.' [EAO Cbba 082]

This article provides an analysis of the form and function of the pronominal construction. Section 2 starts out by introducing some central elements of Movima syntax: It describes argument encoding in basic clauses (§2.1) and introduces the pronominal construction (§2.2). Section 3 demonstrates that while the pronominal construction looks like a simple modification of constituent order, such an analysis does not stand up to scrutiny. First of all, embedding reveals that the free pronoun is a predicate (§3.1). Secondly, the verb, while formally identical to a main-clause predicate, shows the syntactic characteristics of a relative-clause predicate (§3.2): It can be detransitivized (§3.2.1) and is negated in a way that is different from that of main predicates (§3.2.2). Therefore, it is argued the construction can syntactically be analyzed as a cleft (§3.3).

On the basis of spontaneous discourse data, Section 4 shows that, unlike what would be expected of a cleft, the function of the pronominal construction is not that of focalization. While the pronominal construction is sometimes used to mark a contrast (§4.1), its main function is to present as a sentence topic a referent that has been introduced immediately before and that is distinct from the discourse participants that are already known from the preceding discourse (§4.2). A glance at intonation supports the claim that the pronoun does not convey a focus reading (§4.3). This means that the cleft we are dealing with here displays a mismatch of form and function, as discussed in Section 5. The reason may be that the pronominal construction is simply an expression of equation, as further research may show.

Still, the findings call for a distinction, in the definition of clefts, between the formal property of clefts as biclausal constructions and the functional dimension of marking a particular pragmatic status.

2 Basic clauses and the pronominal construction

2.1 Argument encoding in basic clauses

A "basic" clause is a clause that is not pragmatically marked and that represents the most frequent clause type in spontaneous discourse. Basic clauses are predicate-initial: A content word, typically a verb, occurs in the initial position of the clausal core, followed by one (or two, if transitive) pronoun(s) or referential phrase(s) expressing the core argument(s). In addition to the core arguments, which are morphologically unmarked, a clause may contain an unlimited number of adjuncts, i.e. oblique-marked nominals. Furthermore, a clause usually contains one or more particles of different types (discourse particles, particles marking tense/aspect/mood/evidentiality, etc.), which can occur anywhere in the clause, even inside a referential phrase or to the left of the predicate. Therefore, the term "clause-initial position" refers to the syntactic position of the core elements and is not necessarily identical with the beginning of the sentence or utterance.

Arguments are expressed either by a pronoun or by a referential phrase (henceforth RP), the latter consisting minimally of a determiner and a content word (possibly accompanied by particles or relative clauses). Example (1)a above contains an intransitive clause with a pronominal argument expression; example (2) shows an intransitive clause whose argument (S) is represented by an RP, consisting of an article and a noun. (Here and in the remainder of the paper, the RP or pronoun that represents the S/OBV argument is inserted in square brackets.)[3] Note that the article does not mark definiteness.

[3] Tense, mood and aspect of the English translations correspond to the context from which the examples were taken, since these categories are not consistently overtly marked in Movima. Some categories that are overtly marked, like presence, absence and ceased existence of referents, or modal values indicated by particles, are not always included in the English translations, since they are not central to the present discussion. The codes in square brackets after the translation indicate the source of the example (in principle speaker, date/title, and number of transcription unit).

(2) *jo'yaj* *[us* *majni=Ø]*
arrive ART.M offspring=1SG
'My son arrived.' [CCT_120907_1 135]

When the S of a basic intransitive clause is represented by a pronoun, the pronoun is attached to the predicate through "external cliticization", as in (3) (see also (1) above). External cliticization (represented by a double hyphen, "--") is characterized by the fact that when the host ends in a consonant, this consonant forms the syllable onset of a vowel-initial enclitic (cf. Haude 2006: 101-103). This resyllabification is what distinguishes external cliticization from the juxtaposition of free morphemes. On the other hand, external cliticization does not affect the stress and lengthening patterns of the host, which is what distinguishes it from so-called "internal cliticization" (see below).

(3) *jo'yaj[--us]* *neyru*
arrive--3M.AB here
'He arrived here.' [EAO_120906_3 007]

Realization of the S is not obligatorily. The predicate alone can constitute a clause, as in (4) (particles, like *jayna* 'then, already' in this example, are common, but not grammatically required).

(4) *jayna* *jo'yaj*
DSC arrive
'Then (he) arrived.' [LTC 020906_5 389]

Transitive clauses are distinct from intransitive clauses in that the predicate must be a verb that is overtly morphologically marked as either direct (DR) or inverse (INV). Transitive clauses contain two arguments, labelled "PROX" and "OBV" for reasons given further below. OBV basically shares its formal and behavioural properties with the S argument of an intransitive clause, described above. PROX has slightly different properties: It is obligatorily expressed, and the bound pronoun or the article of the RP representing this argument is attached to the predicate through "internal cliticization" (marked by " = "). This process involves a modification of the host's prosodic pattern, such as an accent shift; loss of penultimate lengthening; and insertion of an epenthetic vowel /a/ after a consonant-final host

(see Haude 2006: 97-101). The process is analyzed as cliticization rather than suffixation because it involves not only pronouns but also articles (see (7), for example), which belong syntactically to the following content word.

The following examples illustrate the ways in which the arguments of a basic transitive clause are expressed. In (5), PROX is represented by the bound pronoun *=us*, followed by the enclitic *--k-a'* representing OBV.[4] In (6), PROX is represented by the bound pronoun *=us* and OBV remains unexpressed. The encoding of PROX as a full RP, whose article is cliticized to the verb, is shown in (7). This example illustrates at the same time the expression of OBV by a phonologically independent RP, of which we will see more below.

(5) *way-na=us[--k-as]*
grab-DR-3M.AB--OBV-3N.AB
'He grabbed it.' [PMP_HRR_etal_210908 081]

(6) *way-na=as*
grab-DR=3M.AB
'It (i.e. the fox) grabbed (them, i.e. the flowers).' [HRR_2009_tape1_A 173]

(7) *way-na=os pa:kona:nak [os ko'], łat*
grab-DR=ART.N.PST fox ART.N.PST tree EV
'The fox grabbed the tree.' [HRR_2009_tape1_A 527]

The semantic (macro)roles of the arguments, actor (e.g. agent, experiencer) and undergoer (e.g. patient, theme, recipient, stimulus), are indicated by verbal morphology: When a transitive verb is marked as direct, as in (5)–(7) above, this means that PROX represents the actor and OBV the undergoer. When a transitive verb is marked as inverse, this means that the roles of the arguments are reversed, i.e., PROX represents the undergoer and OBV the actor. An example of a clause with an inverse verb is given in (8), translated here as an English passive. Due to the fact that OBV shares its formal properties with S, the direct/inverse alternation leads to a split ergative pattern: Direct clauses pattern ergatively, since the argument that shares its properties with those of S of the intransitive clause is the

[4] The element *k-* on the bound pronoun occurs only when PROX is or includes a third person (see Haude 2006: 279). I therefore analyze it as an obviative marker (which is redundant, since obviation is also indicated by syntactic position; see below).

undergoer; inverse clauses pattern accusatively, since the argument that shares its properties with those of S is the actor (see Haude 2010).

(8) *joyłe-**kay**-a=us* *[os* *diya:volo]*
take-INV-LV=3M.AB ART.N.PST devil
'He was carried away by the devil.' [LYO_250808_2 246][5]

While verbal morphology thus indicates the semantic roles of the arguments, the way in which the arguments are encoded, i.e. as either PROX or OBV, are determined by their (discourse-)referential properties. The PROX function is reserved for the event participant that ranks higher in a hierarchy of person (1>2>3), animacy (human > non-human animate > inanimate), discourse topicality (topical > less topical),[6] and agentivity (actor > undergoer) (see Haude 2014). The terms "PROX(imate)" and "OBV(iative)", borrowed from the Algonquianist terminology (see Hockett 1966), were chosen as labels for the arguments because they reflect the fact that argument encoding depends largely on the referents' semantic and discourse-pragmatic properties.[7]

Example (9) gives an impression of how different discourse participants are encoded in basic clauses in actual speech. The passage stems from a personal anecdote involving a little girl (the speaker's daughter), who leaves the house at night, gets caught in a fence, and is discovered by neighbors, who take her home with them. None of the participants is discourse-new here. The girl (*--k-i'ne*) was the main protagonist from the beginning of the story. The wire (*os alamre*) in which she gets caught was mentioned several sentences earlier (see (39) below). The present passage describes the events from the perspective of the neighbors, whose dialogue was cited just before. Therefore, the neighbors (in bold) are the discourse topic of this passage: After the first intransitive clause (*joychel--is*), where they are referred to by a pronoun representing S (*--is*), they are referred to as PROX (*=is*) of the subsequent

[5] Data with the source indication "LYO" were recorded within the DoBeS project by Silke Beuse in the Movima diaspora settlement of Santa Loma.

[6] I take "discourse topicality" as a gradual notion (comparable to Gundel et al.'s 1993 "givenness"). How the different grades of givenness are distinguished in Movima is a matter for further research; however, it can roughly be stated that what I call a topical referent, or discourse topic, is the entity from whose perspective events are described or that a passage in a text is about.

[7] Adequate alternative terms would be "nonsubject" or "internal argument" for PROX and "subject" or "external argument" for OBV, but their theoretical justification would take too much space and is not needed for the present discussion.

transitive clauses. The girl, in turn, not being the primary discourse topic here, is referred to by a pronoun in OBV position. The fence, finally, is referred to by a full RP, presumably because it is less easily accessible, and in OBV position because it is inanimate (and also less topical; see Haude 2014).

(9) *jayna joy-chel[**--is**], way-na=**is**[--k-i'ne],*
DSC go-REFL/RECP--3PL.AB grab-DR=3PL.AB--OBV-3F
*jayna mat-a-łe=**is** [os alamre],*
DSC loosen-DR-CO=3PL.AB ART.N.PST wire
*jayna joy-a-łe=**is**[--k-i'ne]*
DSC go-DR-CO=3PL.AB--OBV-3F
'Then they went (there), they took her up, then they loosened the wire, then they took her (with them).' [EAO Escape Marivel 075-078]

Thus, the primary discourse topic of a text or text passage is encoded as PROX of a transitive clause. Participants that are less topical or nontopical are encoded as OBV, be it by a pronoun, by an RP, or without an overt expression (see Haude 2014 for further details).

2.2 The pronominal construction

The constituent order of a Movima sentence may deviate from that of a basic clause. A deviation that is particularly frequent, and uncontested by Movima speakers, is the "pronominal construction".[8] Here, the S/OBV argument is represented by a free pronoun in initial position, i.e. before the lexical predicate, after which it is not expressed again.

Table 2 provides an overview of the third-person personal pronouns, which indicate [+/- human], [male/female (for humans)], [singular/plural], and [presence/absence]. The free pronouns (glossed 'PRO' in the examples) are phonologically independent and typically occur in clause-initial position (see §2.2), while the bound forms always appear as (internal or

[8] Other deviations include the initial position of a free pronoun representing PROX or the initial position of an RP encoding either PROX or S/OBV (see Haude to appear *b*). These deviations seem more marginal and are not always accepted as grammatical by the speakers. Their pragmatic functions have not yet been studied in detail. None of them undergoes any of the syntactic effects shown for the pronominal construction.

external) enclitics.[9] The free pronouns, apart from the feminine forms, differ morphologically from the bound pronouns only in that they are disyllabic: They contain the additional ending /ko/.

Table 2. Movima 3rd person pronouns

	free (PRO)		bound	
	presential	absential (AB)	presential	absential (AB)
human male (3M)	*u'ko*	*usko*	*u'*	*us*
human female (3F)	*i'ne*	*isne*	*(i)'ne*	*(i)sne*
non-human (3N)	*a'ko*	*asko*	*a'*	*as*
plural (3PL)	*i'ko*	*isko*	*i'*	*is*

The free pronouns are considered personal pronouns and not demonstratives, even though they contain spatial information. First of all, they have the same semantic properties as the bound forms. Second, demonstratives form a separate set, encoding a large number of fine-grained spatial categories, and the personal pronouns are only marginally related to them morphologically (see Haude 2006: 143-144). Third, the Movima free pronouns encoding first and second person (not treated here) have largely the same syntactic properties as the third-person free pronouns, and elements encoding first and second person generally are not considered demonstratives.

The pronominal construction is illustrated in (10)–(12). The free pronoun represents the single argument of an intransitive predicate in (10), the undergoer of a direct-marked transitive verb in (11), and the actor of an inverse-marked transitive verb in (12).

(10) *[usko]* *jo'yaj*
PRO.3M.AB arrive
'He arrived.' [JGD_130907_tortugas 071]

[9] The bound pronouns are morphologically similar to the articles, but have different distributional and semantic properties. For instance, the article *as* marks presence of the referent and contrasts with the absential article *kos*, while the bound pronoun *as* marks absence of the referent and contrasts with the presential bound pronoun *a'*. Furthermore, in addition to presence and absence, the article marks a temporal category, namely ceased existence of the referent (glossed 'PST'; see Haude 2004).

(11) *[isko]*$_i$ *jayna* *way-na=is*$_j$
PRO.3PL.AB DSC grab-DR=3PL.AB
'Those$_i$ they grabbed$_j$, then.' [Erlan Rojas 255]

(12) *[isne]*$_i$ *bawchoł-kay-a=sne*$_j$
PRO.3F.AB replace-INV-LV=3F.AB
'She$_i$ replaces her$_j$.' [EAO_Barredoras 023]

While the free pronoun is usually not cross-referenced by an element in postverbal position, there are also examples where a coreferential postverbal RP or enclitic pronoun is present, as in (13). Here, further research will show whether this is a case of intraclausal cross-reference or rather the expression of an antitopic (as suggested by the context: see (37) below).

(13) *[asko]* *jemes* *ił* *vel-na=Ø* *[os* *sił-kwa]*
PRO.3N.AB always 1 watch-DR=1SG ART.N.PST hole-ABSL
'I always looked at it, the well.' [Escape Marivel 088]

3 The syntax of the pronominal construction

On first glance, the clause-initial position appears to be a syntactic slot in which an argument can be expressed for discourse-pragmatic purposes, as an alternative to the canonical expression of an argument by a bound pronoun (see Haude 2009). This is a cross-linguistically frequent phenomenon that is particularly common among verb-initial languages, which allow the preverbal expression of an argument even if their basic word order is relatively rigid (see Aissen 1992; Downing 1995; Longacre 1995; Payne 1990: 11; Payne 1995). This phenomenon is often described as a process of "fronting" or "extraction", by which a nominal constituent is "moved" to a preverbal position (see, for example, analyses of similar phenomena in Mayan by Larsen & Norman 1979; Verhoeven & Skopeteas 2015). In many languages, this pattern can simultaneously be observed in focalization, relativization, and Wh-constructions, a phenomenon subsumed under the term "Wh-movement" (Chomsky 1977).

However, when the syntactic behaviour of the constituents of the Movima pronominal construction are analyzed in more detail, it turns out that the changed constituent order is only

a surface appearance. Rather, the pronoun is the main predicate, and the lexical predicate is subordinated to it. Therefore, the pronominal construction can be analyzed as a cleft, despite the absence of any formal marking such as a copula or an overt marker of relativization (accepted as "zero marking" by Harris & Campbell 1995: 153, among others). Support of the cleft analysis is provided in the following subsections: The predicate status of the initial pronoun is demonstrated in §3.1, and the nonfinite properties of the lexical predicate are described in §3.2.

Note that the present discussion is restricted to constructions whose lexical predicate is a verb. Nouns basically show the same syntactic properties (see Haude 2018), but a detailed comparison of verbal and nominal constructions must be left for further research.

3.1 The free pronoun as a predicate: evidence from embedding

Like a verb, a free personal pronoun can occur in an independent intonation unit to express an assertion, as in (14). This is a signal that a pronoun can function as a predicate (see Haude 2018).[10]

(14) *[I'ko], jankwa='ne. [I'ko] kila'wa.*
PRO.3PL say=3F PRO.3PL DEM.PL.APPR
'"It's them," she said. "It's them approaching."' [EAO Cbba 173]

A more important piece of evidence for the predicate status of a free pronoun comes from embedding, i.e. the formation of complement and adverbial clauses, which have the structure of an RP (Haude 2018). The predicate of an embedded clause (in square brackets in the examples below) is nominalized, preceded by an article, and (apart from exceptions, see below) marked as possessed. Example (15) shows an embedded clause with a verbal predicate, which is nominalized with the suffix *-wa* (see Haude 2011).

[10] Free pronouns can also be used without predicate function. As such, they can occur in postverbal position or in coordination (see *che isne* 'and her' in (33)); furthermore, they can function as adjuncts, in which case they are marked as oblique.

(15) *kem<a:>ye=Ø* *[as* *di:ra* *buka'* *iloni-**wa**=n-kweł]*
assume<DR>=1SG ART.N still DUR.MOV walk-NMZ.EV=2-2PL
'I think you will still be walking around (lit.: "I assume your still being walking around").' [ERM_140806_1 0401]

Now, when a pronominal construction is embedded, it is the pronoun, not the verb, that is nominalized. Free pronouns (like other predicates that do not belong to an open class, e.g. locative adverbs and demonstratives; see Haude 2018) are nominalized with the suffix *-niwa*, and are not marked as possessed. Example (16) illustrates an embedded pronominal construction with an intransitive verb. As can be seen, the pronoun, not the verb, is nominalized.

(16) *kem<a:>ye=Ø* *[os* ***a'ko-niwa*** *ja'* *do<wa:~>waj]*
assume=1SG ART.N.PST PRO.3N-VBZ:NMZ just change_place<MD~>
'I thought it (i.e., the hen) had just moved by itself (lit.: "I assumed it being it that just moved").' [EAO Gallina 018]

Negation involves embedding as well. A negative clause is formed with the negative copula *ka*, to which the determining element *=s* is attached (see Haude 2018). It is followed by an embedded predicate that is nominalized in the same way as in complement clauses, as illustrated in (17).

(17) *jayna* *ka=[s* *iloni-**wa**=sne]*
DSC COP.NEG=DET walk-NMZ.EV=3F.AB
'She doesn't walk anymore (lit.: "Her walking is already not").'
[ERM_140806_1 0415]

Negation of the free pronoun in the pronominal construction is illustrated in (18) with a transitive direct verb and in (19) with a transitive inverse verb.

(18) *ban* *ka=[s* *rey* ***a'ko-niwa*** *presentar-na=Ø]*
but NEG=DET MOD PRO.3N-VBZ:NMZ represent-DR=1SG
'But that's not the one I represent.' [JZH_080807 109]

(19) *ka=[s* *rey* ***usko-niwa*** *lawajes-na-poj-as-kay=Ø]*
NEG=DET MOD PRO.3M.AB-VBZ:NMZ heal-DR-CAUS-CAUS.INV-INV=1SG
'It wasn't him who healed me.' [Leonilda_1 319]

Thus, when a pronominal construction is embedded, it is the pronoun, not the verb, that is morphologically marked as the predicate. Consequently, the pronoun can also be regarded as the predicate in the non-embedded pronominal construction, despite the absence of formal evidence as to which of the elements (pronoun or content word) functions as the predicate.

3.2 The verb as a subordinate predicate

If in the pronominal construction, the pronoun is the predicate, what, then, is the status of the verb? Syntactic tests show that, while morphologically identical to a main-clause predicate, the lexical predicate in the pronominal construction has properties that distinguish it from main-clause predicates, but are shared by predicates of relative clauses.

Headed relative clauses are the most productive device for nominal modification in Movima and are thus very frequent (see also, outside this section, examples (36)–**Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.**). Headed relative clauses follow the relativized RP and are introduced by the particle *di'*, without which the sentence would have the structure of a main clause with an initial RP. The relativized argument is gapped, i.e. omitted in the relative clause. A headed relative clause with a direct-marked verb, which relativizes the undergoer argument, is shown in (20), and a relative clause with an inverse-marked verb, which relativizes the actor argument, is shown in (21). (As in the rest of the paper, square brackets in these examples mark the S/OBV argument, i.e. here, the relativized RP.)

(20) *[is* *po~poy-kwa]* ***di'*** *yok-na=us*
ART.PL RED~BR.animal-ABSL REL catch-DR=3M.AB
'the animals that he caught' [HRR_120808-tigregente 376]

(21) *[is* *rey* *mowi:maj]* ***di'*** *manne-kay-a=is*
ART.PL MOD Movima REL meet-INV-LV=3PL.AB
'the Movimas who found them (the Cayuvava Indians)'
[JGD_160808-Fundacion_2 196]

While not preceded by the relativizing particle *di'*, the verb in the pronominal construction shows the same syntactic properties as the predicate of a headed relative clause:

- restriction to S/OBV (§3.2.1)
- negation with *loy* 'NEG.SUB' (§3.2.2)
- (gapping)[11]

In the following subsections, each feature is first illustrated with a headed relative clause and then with a pronominal construction.

3.2.1 Restriction of access and detransitivization

Only S and OBV have access to relativization. To relativize the participant encoded as PROX, a detransitivizing operation is applied, which promotes this argument to the status of S of a derived intransitive clause (Haude 2009).[12] Detransitivization occurs in the corpus only with direct-marked verbs, resulting in an antipassive. The operation is restricted to a limited set of constructions (see Haude to appear *a*) and cannot occur with main-clause predicates.

Detransitivation is signalled by the particle *kwey* (or *kaw*, depending on the speaker) before the verb. In the detransitivized clause, the former PROX is expressed as the S of the now intransitive predicate, while the former OBV is demoted to adjunct status, i.e., marked as oblique if expressed at all. Example (22) illustrates the detransitivized construction: In order to relativize the actor argument, the particle *kwey* is inserted; as a consequence of this, the direct-marked verb cannot take an internal actor enclitic, and the undergoer is represented as an adjunct, i.e. by an oblique-marked RP.

[11] Gapping is a less strong criterion, since, as shown in (13), in the pronominal construction the S/OBV argument is occasionally taken up again, while this is absolutely excluded in a headed relative clause.

[12] While the inverse construction also "promotes" the actor to OBV status, thereby rendering it relativizable (see e.g. in (21)), the inverse is restricted to scenarios in which the undergoer outranks the actor in the referential hierarchy (see Haude 2014). Detransitivation, in contrast, is more broadly applicable to different kinds of scenarios.

(22) *[kine'e=s* *ena'* *tolkosya]* ***di'*** *ena'* ***kwey*** *ji:sa-na*
DEM.F.STD=DET DUR.STD girl REL DUR.STD DETR make-DR
n-*is* *empana:da* *łat*
OBL-ART.PL empanada EV
'that (standing) girl who is making empanadas, you see?' [EAO Neighbours 003]

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate detransitivization in the pronominal construction in an affirmative and in a negative sentence (the latter with a nominalized free pronoun), respectively. In (23), the undergoer is represented by an oblique RP; in (24), the undergoer is not overtly expressed. As will be noted, despite the presence of the direct marker, the verb does not take an internal enclitic.

(23) *[i'ne]* ***kwey*** *way-na* ***n-****os* *joł-kwa*
PRO.3F DETR grab-DR OBL-ART.N.PST egg-ABSL
'She has taken the egg.' [EAO Huevo 016-017]

(24) *ka=[s* *rey* *usko-niwa* ***kaw*** *jiwa-łe:-na]*
COP.NEG=DET MOD PRO.3M.AB-VBZ:NMZ DETR come-CO-DR
'He did not bring (them).' [HRR_120808-tigregente 034]

3.2.2 Negation

Recall from §3.1 (and also example (24)) above that main-clause negation is formed with a negative copula (*ka*) and subsequent embedding, involving the nominalization (and, in the case of content words, possessive marking) of the embedded predicate. Relative clauses are negated differently: Here, a particle *loy* precedes the predicate, and only intransitive predicates are nominalized, without being marked as possessed (see Haude 2006: 319-320). Example (25) shows a negated relative clause with an intransitive verb, (26) shows a negated relative clause with a direct verb, and (27) shows a negated relative clause with an inverse transitive verb.

(25) *[kis* *tolkosya]* ***di'*** ***loy*** *iwani:-wa*
ART.PL.AB girl REL NEG.SUB speak-NMZ.EVT
'the girls who don't speak' [CCT_120907_2 124]

(26) *[kos juyeni]* ***di'*** ***loy*** *ona-ye-na=i*
ART.N.AB person REL NEG.SUB know-CLF.person-DR=3PL
'a person whom they do not know' [Erlan Rojas 127]

(27) *[is ja' wawa-n-kwa]* ***di'*** ***loy*** *tojeł-poj-kay-a=y'łi*
ART.PL just liana-LN-ABSL REL NEG.SUB pass-CAUS-INV-LV=1PL
'the lianas that didn't let us pass' [LYO_250808 136-137]

The lexical predicate of the pronominal construction is negated in the same way, as is shown in (28) with an intransitive verb, in (29) with a direct verb, and in (30) with an inverse transitive verb.

(28) *[u'ko]* ***loy*** *iwani:-wa*
PRO.3M NEG.SUB speak-NMZ.EVT
'He doesn't speak.' [CCT_120907_2 102-104]

(29) *[a'ko]* ***loy*** *ona-ra:-na=Ø*
PRO.3N NEG.SUB know-CLF.NTR-DR=1SG
'I don't know that.' [EMV_Gringas III 011]

(30) *[asko]* ***loy*** *mambaycho-poj-kay-a=is*
PRO.3N.AB NEG.SUB feel_good-CAUS-INV-LV=3PL.AB
'That didn't make them feel good.' [JGD_160808-Fundacion_1 827]

Thus, the verb in the pronominal construction shows a syntactic behaviour that it does not show when it functions as a main-clause predicate, but which it shares fully with the predicate of a relative clause.

3.3 Summary: the pronominal construction as a cleft

Taking together the findings from the preceding subsections, the clause-initial pronoun is a nonverbal predicate, and the verb is the predicate of a relative clause. With these properties, the pronominal construction is syntactically a cleft, as defined by Payne (1997: 278): "A cleft

constituent is a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP_i) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is coreferential with NP_i". In the Movima cleft, Payne's NP_i is represented by a free pronoun, and the relativized NP, i.e. the gapped S/OBV argument of the verb, is coreferential with this pronoun.[13] Together the pronoun and the verb form a biclausal construction that can be used as an alternative to a basic, monoclausal construction with the same propositional content.

4 Discourse functions of the pronominal construction

Like clefts cross-linguistically, the Movima pronominal construction is pragmatically marked, as shown by its relatively low discourse frequency. In the corpus, only 9% of all sentences with third-person arguments (6% of the transitive and 3% of the intransitive verbal sentences) represent the pronominal construction.[14] When one considers only those basic verbal clauses whose S/OBV argument is expressed by a pronoun (as e.g. in (1)a), the difference is less striking, but still observable: 44% of all transitive and 17% of all intransitive sentences with an S/OBV pronoun are pronominal constructions.[15]

Regarding its function, however, the pronominal construction differs strongly from what would be expected of a cleft. Most definitions of cleft constructions (with Payne 1997, cited above, being a notable exception) combine the formal description of the construction with a characterization of its pragmatic function, which is that of marking argument focus. This is stated explicitly, for instance, by Lambrecht (2001: 489):

[13] Other well-known definitions of clefts, e.g. by Hartmann and Veenstra (2013), Hedberg (2000), or Lambrecht (2001), rely on the presence of a copula, which does not exist in Movima. It is possible that the final syllables of the free pronouns (/ne/ on the feminine, /ko/ on all other forms) originate from a predicative, copula-like component, but there is neither diachronic nor synchronic evidence in support of this.

[14] The corpus count of transitive clauses involved 1340 transitive clauses, both main and embedded, with two third-person arguments; of these, 76 are pronominal constructions. The count of sentences with intransitive lexical predicates is less neat, due to the large number of intransitive sentences of different types; at present, a total of 2292 sentences with intransitive predicates have been annotated, of which 77 are pronominal constructions. Predicate nominals were not considered.

[15] I am grateful to E. Verhoeven (p.c.) for pointing out to me that a valid comparison between basic and pronominal constructions should be restricted to sentences with a *pronominal* S/OBV argument expression.

> Cleft constructions are focus-marking devices used to prevent unintended predicate-focus construal of a proposition. Clefts serve to mark as focal an argument that might otherwise be construed as nonfocal, or as nonfocal a predicate that might otherwise be construed as focal, or both.

As will be shown in the following sections, the Movima pronominal construction does not mark argument focus. While it can indicate a contrast between two situations (§4.1), its usual function is to predicate something about a newly introduced discourse participant that is presented as the sentence topic (§4.2).

4.1 Marking a contrast

The pronominal construction can be used to mark a contrast between two situations, as illustrated in (31) and (32). The pronoun refers to a participant that was present during the preceding discourse, and the pronominal construction establishes a direct contrast with the situation described before: in (31), the fact that the speaker (=*Ø*) doesn't sleep, and in (32), the fact that "she" (=*sne*) does not know the rest of the group to which *Gerardo* belongs. In these and following examples, the pronominal construction and its translation are rendered in boldface. Where necessary, translations in parentheses paraphrase context that has been omitted from the original for the sake of space.

(31) *Ay* *senyor,* *ka=s* *joro:-wa=Ø,* *che* ***[usko]*** ***joro:-kwa***
IJ lord NEG=DET sleep-NMZ.EVT=1SG and PRO.3M.AB sleep-BDP
'Oh Lord, I didn't sleep, and **he slept**!' [EAO Cbba 096]

(32) *buka'* *naychi* *[kus* *Gerardo] bo* ***[usko]*** *rey*
DUR.MOV be_first ART.M.AB Gerardo CSL PRO.3M.AB MOD
ona-ye-na=sne
know-CLF.person-DR=3F.AB
'Gerardo went first, because **she knew him**, you see.' [EAO In between 233]

The potentially contrast-marking function of the pronominal construction is also shown in (33). The referent (*us a:na=Ø* 'my younger brother') is introduced by an existential clause, characterized by a demonstrative predicate (*uso'*). It is then taken up anaphorically by a free

pronoun (*usko*) in the pronominal construction. The following sentence also starts with the pronominal construction, but here, the pronoun represents a contrastive topic, since its referent is contrasted with the first person (encoded by a left-dislocated pronoun cross-referencing PROX, a more marginal construction that is not discussed here; see Haude to appear *a*).

(33) *Uso'* *[us* *a:na=Ø]* *(...).*
DEM.M.PST ART.M younger_sibling=1SG
[Usko] ***yey-na=is*** *ja',* *us* *pa'* *che* *isne.*
PRO.3M.AB want-DR=3PL.AB just ART.M my_father and PRO.3F.AB
[Usko] ***yey-na=is,*** *ban* *inKa* *ka=s*
PRO.3M.AB want-DR=3PL.AB but PRO.1SG NEG=DET
janakpa-<ni~>ni:wa=Ø
not_want-<INV~>VBZ:NMZ=1SG
'I had a (lit.: "there was my") younger brother (…). **They only liked him**, my father and her. **They liked him**, but (they) didn't like me. (That's why they sent me to live with my grandmother.)'[16] [MCA_280806_1 037-045]

Thus, the pronominal construction can be involved in an expression of contrast. However, the contrast is usually not restricted to the free pronoun, but is also conveyed by the lexical predicate. Therefore, this is not a case of argument focus.

4.2 Marking a new sentence topic

Most often, the free pronoun has the function of establishing as a sentence topic a discourse participant that was introduced immediately before and that does not persist in the subsequent discourse.[17] That is to say, the pronoun refers anaphorically to an entity that was introduced as "discourse-new" (Prince 1998: 286) in the immediately preceding context. It thereby differs from an enclitic S/OBV pronoun, which includes referents that have a continuous presence in the discourse (e.g. *--k-i'ne* in (9) above). Accordingly, the pronominal construction rarely

[16] The word *janakpa* belongs to a family of "pseudo-verbs" (like *jankwa* 'say' and *jampa* 'do'; see Haude 2006: 352-353) which are, in fact, nonverbal predicates; hence the suffix *-niwa* instead of *-wa*.

[17] For this reason, albeit on a more intuitive basis, the pronominal construction was termed "marked-topic construction" in earlier publications, e.g. Haude (2009).

occurs towards the beginning of a narrative text when only one single protagonist has been established, and it is not used to introduce a new discourse participant; this is usually done with an NP in an existential or other intransitive clause. The examples below illustrate this characterization, with the preceding and subsequent context added between parentheses in the translation line.

In (34) and (35), the referent is introduced into the discourse by an RP (in square brackets) in the sentence preceding the pronominal construction. The translations also contain the continuation of the text, to show that the referent of the pronoun does not become the topic of the subsequent text passage. For instance, in (34), the point is not so much that something happens to the maize balls, but that sweet food could be prepared without sugar. In (35), the young man (=*us oveniwankwa*) is the main protagonist of the story; his father is first introduced with the possessive RP, then taken up by *usko*, and is not mentioned again in the story.

(34) *jisa-na=is*$_i$ *[is deretto]*$_j$, *che* ***[isko]***$_j$ ***dan-na=is***$_i$
make-DR=3PL.AB ART.PL maize_ball and PRO.3PL.AB chew-DR=3PL.AB
'(They toasted the maize.) They$_i$ made maize balls$_j$ and **they$_i$ chewed them$_j$**. (… They chewed them to make them sweet; there was no sugar at that time.)'
[Erlan Rojas 281]

(35) *jayna* *jo'yaj* *[us* *pa:pa=us* *oveniwankwa*$_j$*]*$_i$
DSC arrive ART.M father_of=ART.M young_man
jayna ***[usko]***$_i$ ***bore-kay-a=us***$_j$
DSC PRO.3M.AB defend-INV-LV=3M.AB
'Then the father$_i$ of the young man$_j$ arrived. Then **he$_i$ defended him$_j$**. (Then the cacique decided that they should all go and have a look whether the boy had spoken the truth.)' [HRR_120808-tigregente 153]

Examples (36) and (37) illustrate cases in which the referent of the pronoun is described in a longer text passage prior to the pronominal construction. In (36), the RP *os ma:kina* introduces a referent that is later taken up by the free pronoun. The text is not about a sewing machine, however; it is about the way in which the Whites exchanged goods for the Indians' cattle and land. In (37) (of which (13) above was an excerpt), the referent, a well, is introduced by a demonstrative predicate (*oso'*) in an existential clause. Again, the context

provided in parentheses in the translation line shows that the well is not a new discourse topic, but that the speaker is talking about a more general situation in which the well, i.e. the referent of the free pronoun, does not necessarily play a major role.

(36) *jayna rey yey-na=’ne [os ma:kina] di’ łek-’i (...)*
DSC MOD want-DR=3F ART.N.PST machine REL kick-RES (…)
[asko] yey-na=’ne
PRO.3N.AB want-DR=3F
‘Then again, she wanted a (sewing) machine that was foot-driven (, a machine that is kicked while you’re sewing. Not with the hands, but with the feet. She wanted one because the traders brought a sewing machine as well. She wanted the machine. My grandfather bought the machine for her. Two oxen, two oxen were the price of the machine.) **She wanted it.** (My grandfather bought it for two oxen. Yes, two oxen, that was the price of the machine.)’ [EAO Abuelo 047-053]

(37) *che oso’ [os sił-kwa] di’ tomi~to:mi*
and DEM.N.PST ART.N hole-ABSL REL POSSPRED~water
merek [os sił-kwa], che oso’ os to:mi
big ART.N.PST hole-ABSL and DEM.N.PST ART.N.PST water
[asko] jemes ił vel-na=Ø *[os sił-kwa]*
DEM.N.AB always 1 watch-DR=1SG ART.N.PST hole-ABSL
‘And there was a well that had water. The well was big, and there was water. **I always looked at it**, the well. (I stirred the water with a stick because I thought my daughter had drowned. I cried, I cried.)’ [Escape Marivel 086-088]

Examples (38)–(40) illustrate another common context: Here, the referent is first mentioned by a left-dislocated RP, which is then taken up anaphorically by the free pronoun. (The passage in (39) precedes the passage in (9) above, which is from the same story.)

(38) *(...) ka’de [is tochik dokwe=us] ja’,* ***[isko] ela:ye***
(…) all_there_is ART.PL small clothes=3M.AB just PRO.3PL.AB stay
‘(The boy had been devoured completely by the jaguar.) Just his little clothes, **they had remained.** (So then the young man got scared.)’ [HRR_120808-tigregente 087]

(39) *che* *[os* *alamre],* ***[asko]*** ***ew-kay-a=’ne*** *jayna*
and ART.N.PST wire PRO.3N.AB hold-INV-LV=3F DSC
‘(And there was a fence. And probably she crept through the fence. She fell into the mud.) And the wire (of the fence), **it withheld her**. (It held her dress; and so she couldn’t move on.)’ [Escape Marivel 062]

(40) *bak-kay-a=is* *[os* *sarampiyon]*
get-INV-LV=3PL.AB ART.N.PST measles
che *[os* *sarampiyon],* ***[a’ko]*** ***tikoy-kay-a=is***
and ART.N.PST measles PRO.3N kill-INV-LV=3PL.AB
‘They had gotten the measles, and the measles, **they killed them**. (All of them. Adults and children. So then, the people who found them got scared.)’
[JGD_160808-Fundacion_2 447–448]

The new participant can also be introduced by a demonstrative and/or a free pronoun occurring in a separate intonation unit (see also (14)). In (41), the referent is a plane the speaker had just observed in the sky, triggering an account of the different airlines that had been coming to the village in the past. Example (42) (which includes the context of (23) above) occurred in a similar situation: The proximal demonstrative *i:ni* refers to a girl who was just turning around the corner; the text was not about her, but about the fact that somebody had taken the hen’s last egg from the nest. In (43), finally, the free first-person plural inclusive pronoun *i:de* refers to humans in general, which weren’t mentioned before. (Note that this example represents one of the rare cases in which an actor lower in the animacy hierarchy is encoded as PROX; see Haude 2012).

(41) *che* *jo’mi* *[a’ko* *ay],* *jayna* ***[a’ko]*** ***jo’yaj*** *(...)*
and recently PRO.3N DEM.N.SPK DSC PRO.3N arrive (…)
‘And only now it’s this one here, now **this one comes.** (Now the people are happy.)’
[ERM_150806 536]

(42) *[i’ne,* *i:ni];* ***[i’ne]*** ***kwey*** ***way-na*** ***n-os*** ***joł-kwa***
PRO.3F DEM.F.SPK PRO.3F DETR grab-DR OBL-ART.N.PST egg-ABSL
‘It’s her, this (girl) here; **she has taken the egg**. (And now the hen is suffering.)’
[EAO Huevo 016-017]

(43) *jayna* *ka=s* *ve~vel-wa=a* *is* *pa:ko*
DSC NEG=DET DR~watch-NMZ=3N ART.PL dog
bo *jayna* *[i:de],* ***[i:de]*** ***sal-na=a***
CSL DSC PRO.1INCL PRO.1INCL look_for-DR=3N
'(When a jaguar notices that there are people near), it doesn't watch the dogs anymore, because then it's us (humans), it looks for us (humans). (So then I said to my husband, who was preparing his gun …)' [EAO_tigreyperro_150808 094]

Some of the examples above can convey a focus interpretation, in the sense that the free pronoun refers to a member of a set of potential alternatives. However, this focus reading only involves the expression by which the referent is first introduced. The free pronoun in the pronominal construction itself does not mark argument focus. It only takes up a referent that was not a discourse topic before, and which may or may not have been introduced in the preceding sentence as a focused argument.

With these properties, the free pronoun in the pronominal construction is reminiscent of "anaphoric demonstratives", as found in Dutch and German, which have the effect of excluding one of two possible antecedents as their referent and thereby cause a topic shift (see Comrie 1997; Diessel 1999: 96; Bosch & Hinterwimmer 2016). Like anaphoric demonstratives, the free pronoun in the Movima pronominal construction excludes the discourse topic from its referential scope. Unlike anaphoric demonstratives, however, the free pronoun does not mark a topic shift: After the passage surrounding the pronominal construction, the participant referred to by the pronoun usually does not persist in the subsequent discourse. A persisting discourse referent, in contrast, is encoded by a bound pronoun, as was illustrated in (9) above.

Highly simplified, then, the function of the free pronoun in the pronominal construction can be depicted as in (44). "X" stands for the main protagonist in the story. At some point, another referent, "Y", is introduced, which only persists during a short sequence of the text. This referent is then taken up anaphorically by a free pronoun in the pronominal construction, after which it disappears again from the story. (Needless to say, this oversimplistic representation does not imply that a new referent is obligatorily expressed in the pronominal construction, that there can be no intervening referents, or that the new referent cannot be taken up at all in the subsequent context.)

(44) X ... X ... X ... [Y] ... **PRO** ... X ... X ... X …

4.3 A note on intonation

While a detailed study of the prosody of different syntactic constructions in Movima still waits to be carried out (Haude and Simard in prep.), it can be stated with confidence that in the pronominal construction the free pronoun is never prosodically salient in terms of duration or pitch, so it is not perceived as prominent. This observation supports the finding that the free pronoun in the pronominal construction is not a means to mark argument focus. When occurring in an intonation unit outside the pronominal construction, however (as in (14) above), the free pronoun can mark focus, in which case it is prosodically prominent. This is illustrated by Figure 1, which shows the wave form and pitch (dotted line) of the pronominal construction and the preceding free pronoun in (43). The first occurrence of the pronoun *i:de* in a separate intonation unit receives high pitch. The free pronoun in the pronominal construction (*i:de salna=a*), in turn, is not more prominent than the verb.

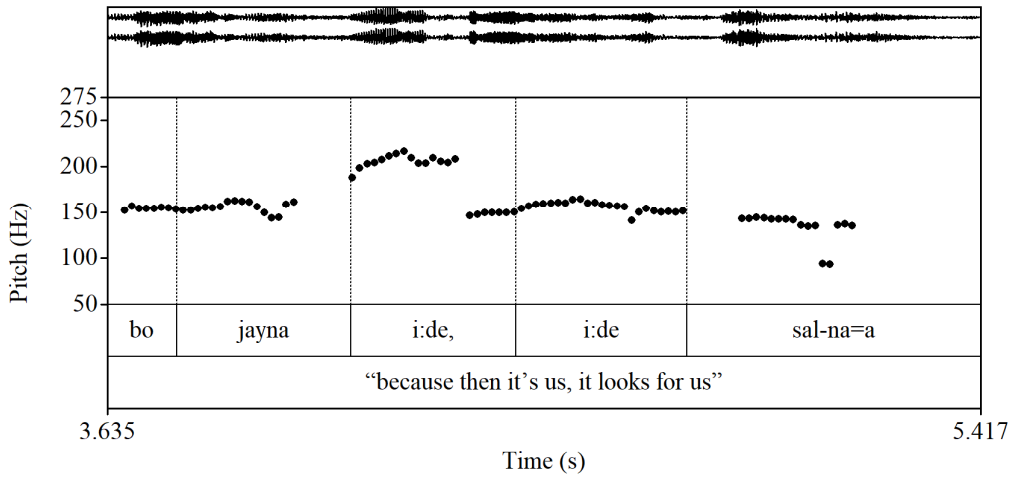

Figure 1. Wave form and pitch representation of (43) (excerpt)

Figure 2 shows that even when the pronominal construction marks a contrast, as in the case of (33) above, this is not reflected by higher prosodic prominence of the free pronoun. Here, the

pronoun *usko* 'him' is part of the same intonation unit as the verb phrase *yey-na=is* 'they like (lit.: want)', but is clearly not prosodically salient with respect to the verb.[18]

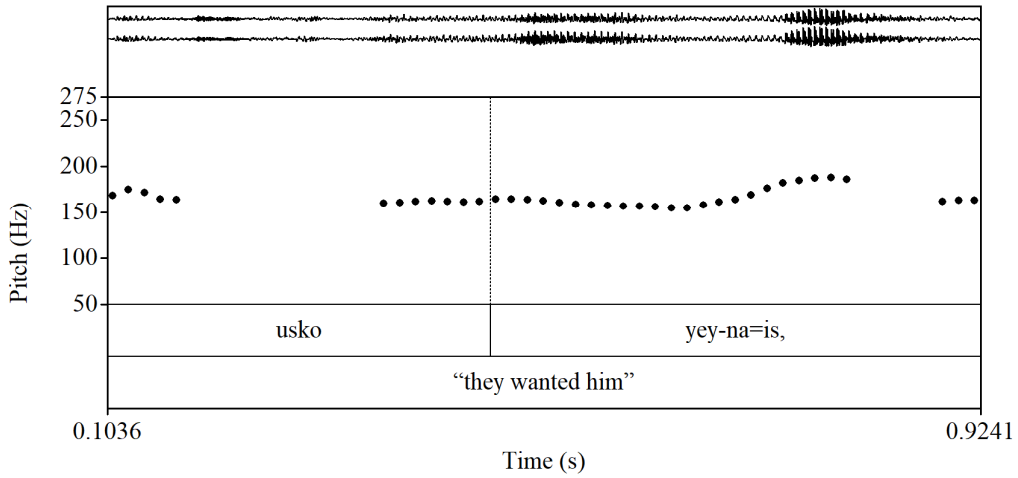

Figure 2. Wave form and pitch representation of (33) (excerpt)

5 Discussion

As was stated above, the Movima pronominal construction can be analyzed as a cleft, for the following reasons:

1) It has a biclausal structure, consisting of a nonverbal (or nonlexical) main predicate with a referring function and a subordinate verbal predicate with a describing/specifying function.
2) It represents a pragmatically marked, but propositionally equivalent, alternative to the basic clause.

In contrast to canonical clefts, however, the pronominal construction does not mark focus. This is confirmed by the prosodic pattern of the construction, in which the pronoun is never prosodically prominent. As was shown in Section 4, the pronoun turns a discourse-new participant into a sentence topic, and the verb asserts the state of affairs in which this sentence topic is involved. Therefore, the pronominal construction can be seen as having a topicalizing rather than a focalizing function.

[18] Thanks to C. Simard (p.c.) for creating the graphs and helping with the analysis.

The fact that clefts, especially those in which the clefted constituent contains a pronoun, can be used for topicalisation is not a new observation: Clefts of this type are known as "informative-presupposition *it*-cleft" (Prince 1978) or "continuous topic cleft" (Huber 2005: 565; Gómez-González 2007; den Dikken 2013: 46), and they are not uncommon. For instance, Dufter (2009: 114), based on a corpus study comparing different cleft types in several European languages, concludes that "the assumption of a one-to-one relationship between syntax and focus–background structure in cleft clauses can not be upheld without risking a considerable ad hoc extenstion of the notion of focus", and that deviations from this pattern are by no means occasional exceptions. Similarly, based on Delin & Oberlander (2005), Hartmann & Veenstra (2013: 20-21) state that "it is quite normal to find clefts in which the cleft phrase is given and the cleft clause presents the new information" (see also Karssenberg 2017: 237 for an overview).

However, these clefts are always described as co-existing alongside the canonical focus-marking cleft, which, in the languages under study, is more basic or unmarked and historically older (Dufter 2009: 112). English non-focalizing clefts, furthermore, are "formally and unambiguously identifiable" (Prince 1978: 899), in that the relative clause does not show the decrease in prosodic prominence that it undergoes in English focus-marking clefts. Den Dikken (2013: 46-47) illustrates the prosodic difference with the examples presented in (45), in which the accentuated phrases are underlined (underlining as in original).

(45) a. Contrastive or stressed-focus *it*-clefts
What got you interested in clefts? – It was <u>Brian's book</u> that got me interested in clefts.

b. Continuous-topic *it*-clefts
Do you know Brian's book? – Yes, in fact it was Brian's book that <u>got me interested in clefts</u>.

The Movima pronominal construction, however, apart from lacking a focus-marking function, shows no observable prosodic variation indicating a potentially different pragmatic interpretation. It is only when the pronoun occurs independently, i.e. without a following lexical predicate in the same intonation unit, that it is prosodically prominent (e.g. the first *i:de* in (43), Figure 1) and can be classified as marking a focus. Hence, even if there are examples in which the pronominal construction can be interpreted as indicating a contrast (§4.1), this is not an effect of marked prosody. Furthermore, when there is a contrast, it is not

restricted to the pronominal referent, but usually also involves the state or event denoted by the lexical predicate.

This apparently puzzling situation – a syntactic cleft that does not have the expected focus-marking function – may find an explanation if nominal predicates are considered. In Movima, there is no copula in affirmative clauses, and equational clauses are formed with a noun (or adjective) in the predicate function. The argument of a predicate-nominal construction is encoded in the same way as in an intransitive verbal clause. Example (46) illustrates a nominal predicate with a pronominal argument.

(46) *rulrul[--as]*
jaguar--3N.AB
'It was a jaguar.' [LYO_250808_2 057-060]

With nominal predicates, the pronominal construction is more frequent than with verbs: In a count of 217 unpossessed nominal predicates with a pronominal argument expression, 75% are pronominal constructions, as in (47). Therefore, also with nominal predicates, the pronominal construction is an alternative to the basic clause pattern, but at least in terms of frequency it is not pragmatically marked (a context-based analysis of nominal predicates in the different constructions has not yet been carried out).

(47) *[asko]* *rulrul*
PRO.3N.AB jaguar
'It was the/a jaguar.' [HRR_120808-tigregente 513]

The unmarked status of the pronominal construction with nominal predicates is even more obvious when possessed nouns and proper nouns are taken into account. These nouns cannot form a clausal predicate combined with a pronominal enclitic, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (48). The pronominal construction is the only possible way to construct an identificational clause whose argument is expressed by a pronoun, as in (49).

(48) **pa:ko=us[--k-as]*
dog=3M.AB-- OBV-3N.AB
Intended meaning: 'It is your dog.' [EAO elicited]

(49) *[isko]* *majniwa=us*
PRO.3PL.AB offspring_of=3M.AB
'They were his children.' [HRR_2009_tape1_B 359]

Thus, the pronominal construction is the default way to form an equational clause with a pronominal argument. From this perspective it is easier to understand why the information structure of the pronominal construction is opposite to that of a canonical focus-marking cleft. In a cleft, the relative clause contains a presupposition, while in an equational clause, the nominal predicate contains the assertion. The cross-linguistically common structural similarity between clefts and equational clauses is very well illustrated by Schachter's (1973: 20) English example *It's the woman who cleans the house*. This sentence is a cleft if it responds, with the appropriate intonation, to the question *Who cleans the house?* However, it is a simple equational clause when answering the question *Who's that?* Under the cleft interpretation, the relative clause contains presuppositional information, while under the monoclausal interpretation, the relative clause conveys the assertion.

In Movima, unlike English, there is no difference in intonation between a pronominal construction with a verb or a pronominal construction with a noun (i.e. an equational clause): in both, the pronoun is perceived as prosodically nonprominent. Therefore, it is possible that the pronominal construction is, in fact, a monoclausal unit rather than a biclausal construction. Still, with the exception of possessed and proper nouns, the pronominal construction always represents an alternative to a basic clause. Moreover, at least when it contains a verb, it is pragmatically marked. Thus, the Movima data are an important contribution to the typological discussion on clefts as well as to cross-linguistic research on the relationship between clefts and equational clauses.

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Abbreviations and special symbols

= ("internal") clitic; -- "external" clitic; ~ reduplication; < > infixation.

1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person; AB=absential; AGT=agentive; ABSL=absolute state; APPL=applicative; APPR=approaching; ART=article; BDP=bodily process; BR=bound root; CAUS=causative; CAUS.INV=inverse causative; CLF=classifier; CNTF=counterfactual; CO=co-participant; CSL=causal; DEF=definite; DEM=demonstrative; DET=determiner; DETR=detransitivizer; DR=direct; DSC=discontinuous; DUB=dubitative; DUR=durative; EV=evidential; EVT=event; F=feminine; FUT=future; HAB=habitual; HYP=hypothetical; IMM=immediately; INAL=inalienable; INV=inverse; INSTR=instrument; INTR=intransitive; IRR=irrealis; ITN=intentional; LN=linking nasal; LOC=location; LV=linking vowel; M=masculine; MD=middle; MLT=multiple event; MOD=modal; MOV=moving; N=neuter

(non-human); NEG=negator; NMZ=nominalizer; NSTD=nonstanding; NTR=neutral; OBL=oblique; OBV=obviative; person; PL=plural; POSSPRED=possessive predicate; PRC=process; PRO=free pronoun; PST=past; REFL/RECP=reflexive/reciprocal; RED=reduplication; REL=relativizer; REM=remote past; RES=resultative; SG=singular; SPK=speaker; ST=state; STD=standing; SUB=of subordinate clause; TR=transitive; VBZ=verbalizer.