AMERINDIA n°35, 2011

Nominalization as a possible source for subordination in Awetí

Sebastian DRUDE

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1. Introduction

This paper describes the different types of nominalizations, on the one hand, and the verbal forms used in subordination, on the other, in Awetí, a Tupian language spoken by ca. 170 people in the Upper Xingu area of Central Brazil. Awetí does not belong to, but is arguably the closest relative of, the well-known Tupí-Guaraní subfamily, the largest branch of the Tupí stock.

Lexical nominalizations are quite common in Awetí, and sometimes fulfill semantic functions typically associated with subordination, as will be shown in section 4. Subordination,[1] in turn, occurs infrequently in natural Awetí speech and texts. Functions typically associated with subordination, such as nominal modification or predicate complementation, are more commonly expressed through either paratactic or nominalization strategies.

[1] I use 'subordination' in the traditional morphosyntactic sense of a clause (an expression that contains a predicate) being syntactically embedded in a larger sentence (as argument, modifier or adjunct or similar). Several of the nominalizations (nouns, understood as lexical words, derived from verbs) in Awetí may fall under 'subordination' in the terminology of certain functional approaches (see, in particular, Cristofaro 2005), but in this paper these two concepts will be kept apart.

In my analysis, the infrequent cases of subordination in Awetí are achieved by means of certain verbal forms which may have developed from older nominalizations. On the other hand, nouns (and in particular nominalizations) often function as predicates, especially in equality and cleft sentences, which have no copula. The focus of the paper is descriptive, giving an overview of a certain area of Awetí grammar. If anything, it rather implicitly argues that it is important to keep formal (morphological) properties apart from syntactic roles the forms may play, and both from functional uses.

I first give an overview of nouns and verbs and their common and particular properties (section 2), and then list all affixes discussed in this paper and briefly comment on their formal (morphological and morpho-phonological) properties (section 3). In section 4, I will discuss the genuine nominalizers (derivative affixes which 'produce' nouns), also with respect to predicative uses of nominalizations. Then I turn to the verbal forms of the subjunctive (section 5), and the gerund (section 6) that display both nominal and verbal properties, tracing a possible diachronic development of these moods. Finally, I present the remaining (subordinating) modal suffixes more briefly in section 7.

2. Background: nouns and verbs in Awetí

Although they clearly form different word classes, nouns and verbs in Awetí share some properties in common. Therefore, for certain forms it is not obvious how they are to be classified, because also nouns can be used predicatively (there is no copular in Awetí). The most important common property is that both nouns and verbs inflect for person, albeit typically with different sets of prefixes. There are, however, several occasions where verb forms show nominal person prefixes. For instance, the sub-class of 'stative verbs' (mostly expressing property concepts) uses most of the nominal prefixes, except for the third person in men's speech (see below). All nominal prefixes also occur in certain verbal moods, which are mostly used in subordinate clauses, which are in the focus of this study. In order to facilitate the understanding of the examples, I start by showing the different patterns of person prefixes.

Person	PPr♂	PPr♀	N♂	N♀	St	Obj.	S	A	Imp[2]
1SG	*atit*	*ito*	*i(t)-*				*a(j)-*	*a(t)-*	
2SG	*'en*		*'e-*[3]				*'e-*	*'e(t)-*	*i- / jo(t)-*
3 / 3 PL	*nã / tsã*	*ĩ / ta'i*	*n(ã)-*	*t- , i-*		—	*o-*	*wej(t)-*	
12	*kajã*		*kaj-*				*kaj-*	*ti(t)-*	
13	*ozoza*		*ozo-*				*ozo-*	*ozoj(t)-*	
2PL	*'e'ipe*		*'e'i-*				*'e'i-*	*pej(t)-*	*pej(t)-*

Table 1: Personal pronouns and prefixes

In Table 1 I list the personal pronouns ('PPr') and the different sets of person prefixes: for nouns (N),[4] stative verbs (St), object marking prefixes for transitive verbs (Obj), subject marking prefixes for intransitive verbs (S) and for transitive verbs (A) and prefixes for the Imperative (Imp, which is semantically rather a 'permissive'). All other verbal prefixes in Table 1 hold for the indicative.

There is a distinction between singular and plural third person pronouns (in both men's and women's speech) but no such distinction in the verb paradigms. All third person noun forms can mean 'his/her/its X' or 'their X', and all verb forms can mean 'he/she/it did X' or 'they did X'. (There is also no number inflection for substantives.) In what follows, I always use the third person singular masculine in the translations.

As can be easily seen, almost everywhere the same prefixes occur with nouns and with stative verbs: *kaj-ty* (1INCL-mother) 'our mother', *kaj-'ay* (1INCL-be.happy) 'we are happy' etc. Only in men's speech there is a difference between the third person prefixes of nouns and those of stative verbs: *nã-ty* (3-mother) 'his mother' *vs*. *i-'ay* (3-be.happy) 'he is happy', while women use *i-ty* 'his mother'.

The same nominal prefixes also occur with transitive verbs where they mark the object. This occurs when the object is higher in a hierarchy of reference where 1 > 2 > 3; if the person of object it is lower, only the

2 The two different singular forms are *i-* for intransitive and *jo-* for transitive verbs.
3 Only before the vowel */a/*, this prefix shows an allomorph *'ej-*.
4 Note that in Awetí, there are differences in the speech of men (marked ♂) and women (♀); see Drude (2002).

subject-marking prefixes occur in the indicative.[5] For instance, *a-tup* means 'I see/saw (you or him)' and *i-tup* means '(you or he) see/saw me'. The second person form *e-tup* is ambiguous and can mean 'you see/saw (him)' or '(he) sees/saw you', but as the first person is higher in the hierarchy than the second, this form cannot mean 'I/we saw you' nor 'you saw me/us'; for these, *a-tup* resp. *i-tup* have to be used.

The subject marking prefixes of active intransitive verbs are often identical in form to those of the 'nominal' series (e.g. *kaj-to* [1INCL-go] 'we go'), except for the prefixes for the first person singular (*a-to* [1-go] 'I go' *vs*. *i-ty* [1-mother] 'my mother') and those of the third person (*o-to* [3-go] 'he goes'). So Awetí may be said to have person-based split-ergativity (first person singular is nominative-accusative, most other persons are ergative). It also has a split-S system due to the contrast of active intransitive verbs *vs*. stative verbs.[6]

Note that several prefixes have two allomorphs: if the following morph (usually, the stem) starts with a vowel, the allomorph ending in a consonant occurs, and vice versa. This holds true for the two third person allomorphs *t-* and *i-* for nouns (in female speech: *t-up* 'his father' but *i-ty* 'his mother', men would use *n-up* and *nã-ty*, respectively) and stative verbs (*t-aty* 'he feels pain' *vs*. *i-'ay* 'he is happy'). The same variation is indicated by phonemes enclosed in parenthesis, such as the (*t*) in the subject marking prefixes for transitive verbs (*a-tup* 'I see' but *at-ap* 'I cut').

In the remaining paragraphs of this section, I summarize the properties which will be used to distinguish nouns from verbs. Syntactically, nouns and verbs have mostly complementary functions. As is to be expected, nouns mostly occur as arguments to verbal predicates or to postpositions.

Most clauses have a predicate nucleus in the form of a finite verb (indicative or subjunctive), possibly a stative verb. These verbal predicates are inflected for person. Subject or object noun phrases need not be present, even if they are not cross-referenced on the verb. Other verbal arguments and adjuncts are introduced by means of postpositions.

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5 There is only one prefix for situations where a third person subject acts on a different third person object, *wej-*; there is no 'passive', i.e., no way of saying "he got/was cut" (abstracting away from the subject); for this end, the reflexive form may be used.

6 In the later chapter I focus mainly on active verbs. Whenever not stated clearly otherwise, the description also holds for stative verbs.

Other common clause types, however, involve nominal predicates. There are no copulas in Awetí in equational sentences such as *'en morekwat* (you chief) 'you are a/the chief'. Topicalized cleft-like sentences involve particles which are largely similar to demonstratives, e.g. *'en kitã morekwat* (you PTL chief) 'it is you who is a/the chief'. The second major constituent in such a cleft-like sentence has to be nominal, possibly a nominalization, as is discussed below in section 3, *cf*. example (15).

Existential sentences can be formed without using the verb form *owpeju* = *o-up-peju* (3-stay-PROG) '[there] is/are [located]', for instance in the question *wan pira'yt?* '[is there] fish?' with the general question particle *wan*; the answer to this question may well be just *pira'yt!* – '[yes, there is / I have] fish', which is not necessarily elliptic for *pira'yt owpeju!*.

Morphologically, besides the person prefixes listed above, nouns have a special 'third person reflexive' (3R) prefix *o-* / *w-* used when the referent of the 'possessor' is identical with the subject (as in, for example, *wej-tup o-ty* [3-see 3R-mother] 'he sees his (own) mother'; *cf*. Latin *suus*, as opposed to *eius*).

Also, nouns in Awetí may take certain suffixes which mark what I analyze as semantic cases: *-(z)an* 'essive', *-(y)wo* 'instrumental / locative' and *-(y)pe* 'diffuse locative'. I earlier analyzed the latter two as postpositions, and they share indeed some properties with these. (Note that they seem not to occur with nouns that refer to humans, possibly mainly for semantic reasons.)

Nouns but not verbs may occur as complements to postpositions some of which are rather abstract and mainly mark 'oblique' complements to certain verbs, in particular *ete* 'about' and *ti* 'from'.

Only nouns can be negated by means of the suffix *-e'ym*. If the original noun designates X, the correspondent form with *-e'ym* designates something or someone which/who is not X (*ok kitã* [house that] 'that is a house' – *og-e'ym kitã* [house-NEG that] 'that is not a house / that is no house'). With person prefixes or a preceding noun referring to a 'possessor', only the relation of belonging-to may be negated. For instance, *it-og-e'ym kitã* (1SG-house-NEG that) 'that is not my house' – but it still may be a house.

Another differential property of nouns is the possibility to take the 'tense'-like suffixes[7] *-(p)ut* 'former' (*og-ut* [house-former] 'a former house', e.g. a place where a house stood, or rests of house building material) and *-(z)an'jap* 'future' (*og-an'jap* [house-future] 'a future house', e.g. a house still in construction).

Verbs, on the other hand, show the following differential properties. Interestingly, they do not inflect for tense. But verbs have a rich system of aspectual, modal and other grammatical categories, many of which are expressed by affixes. The most important categories are the person categories presented above; almost all verbal forms require a person prefix. Closely related are the 'voice' categories 'reflexive' (the prefix *te-* follows the person prefix, which is of the intransitive series, although this category, as the other overtly marked voice categories, only applies to transitive verbs), 'reciprocal' (prefix *to-*) and 'antipassive' (prefix *po(r)-*).

More relevant for our purposes are the categories which are marked by suffixes. One typically verbal suffix is the negation suffix *-(y)ka*. Then there are the aspectual suffixes *-(e)ju* 'progressive' and *-(z)oko* 'imperfective', which follow immediately the stem and distinguish these forms from the unmarked aspect.[8]

Most important for the discussion of this paper are the grammatical moods which are expressed by another and larger set of (final) suffixes. Almost all of them do not combine with the verbal person prefixes but require the same prefixes as occur with nouns, even in third person male speech. Therefore these modal suffixes appear to have a nominalizing function. They typically occur in phrases which appear to be best analyzed as subordinations. These suffixes are discussed in sections 5 to 7.

3. Potential nominalizers and their morpho-phonological properties

For the purposes of this study, I group under the label "potential nominalizer" all affixes that combine with verbal stems[9] and produce forms which are either clearly nominal (they occur primarily as referential expressions) or which combine with nominal person prefixes (often both is

[7] I do not call this 'nominal tense' because this term evokes the impression of inflectional (paradigmatic) categories while these suffixes are rather derivational.

[8] I call the unmarked aspect 'perfective' for its most common semantic functions, at least with active verbs. Indeed, the semantics for all three aspect categories 'progressive', 'imperfective' and 'perfective' may vary, in particular with stative verbs.

[9] It is a peculiar characteristic of Awetí that these affixes also may be added to a verbal stem together with an aspect suffix, although these are by themselves inflectional and not derivational.

the case). Not all of these affixes are synchronically (lexical) nominalizers,[10] hence 'potential'.

The most frequent potential nominalizers identified so far are listed in Table 2.

No.	Act.V.	St.V.	Function	Common Gloss
1	*-ºat*	*i/t-…-(y)tu*	SNR	wh. does X'; 'wh. is/has P
2	*-ºap*	*-(z)am*[11]	CIRCNR[12]	where, how, with that X happened
3	*(e)mĩ-*	—[13]	ONR	wh. is X'ed
4	*-tu/-ºu*	*-(z)ãtu*	ACNNR & SUBJ	the X'ing'; 'that X happens
5	*-ºaw*	*-(z)ãw*	GER	[converb] in order to X
6	*-ºapan*[14]	*-(z)aman*	PURP	so that X happens
7	*-tuwo/-ºuwo*	*-(z)ãtuwo*	COND	if/when X happens
8	*-tiwo*	*-(z)ãtiwo*	ANTM	after X happens
9	*-tuti/-ºuti*	*-(z)ãtuti*	VTT[15]	to avoid that X happens
10	*-e'yman*	*-e'yman*	POSTM	before / without that X happens

Table 2: Potential nominalizers and their functions

At least *-ºat*, *-ºap*, *-(e)mĩ*, and possibly *-ºaw* have cognates reconstructed for Proto-Tupí-Guaraní (*-at*, *-ap*, *-emĩ*, *-ap+wo*) (*cf.* e.g. Jensen 1998), arguably the closest known sister-language of Awetí.

10 Not even as cases of "grammatical nominalization" as defined by Shibatani & Makhashen (2009).

11 I have been able to elicit this suffix, *-(z)am,* only with a few verbs (so far only of human emotions). For many other verbs, such forms are rejected, but forms with aspect affixes and *-ºap* 'CIRCNR' are accepted. The suffix *-(z)am* apparently does not occur in my text corpus, but it may have been confused with *-(z)an* 'ESS' in the transcriptions. The suffix *-(z)an* in turn may be related to both, PTG **-ram* (with *m*) and PTG **-ran(a)* (with *n*). In any case, these affixes and their synchronic and diachronic relations need further research.

12 Several formally intransitive verbs have indeed implicit transitive semantics. The semantic patient is usually referred to by a phrase with the postposition *-ete*. Examples include *tezowatu* 'trust', *motazõtu* 'steal', *mo'atu* 'produce', *ti'ingku* 'speak', *'etu* 'say', *ma'ẽtutewetu* 'forget'. With such verbs, the circumstantial nominalization frequently refers to the semantic patient (i.e., the one who is trusted, or what is stolen, produced, spoken, said or forgotten, respectively). See also example (4).

13 This prefix occurs only with transitive verbs; stative verbs are all intransitive.

14 Note that affix #7 *-ºapan* cannot be analyzed as the combination of affix #2 *-ºap* with the essive case suffix *-(z)an* because the final *p* would be lenited to *w* (such forms with *-ºaw-an* do indeed also exist, and may well be historically related to *-ºapan*). Note, however, that the stative verb allomorph of affix #6, *-aman* (see below) does show a 'lenis' medial *m* (and not *[mp]*, the nasalized allophone of /*p*/).

15 For 'vitative' (Latin *vitare* 'to avoid'), not to be confused with the vetative (=prohibitive). The vitative mood is in a certain way a negated functional equivalent of the gerund in its purposive meaning.

Many suffixes (*-ºat*, *-ºap*, *-ºaw*, *-ºapan*) (and the post-consonant allomorphs of suffixes #4, *-ºu*, #7, *-ºuwo*, and #9, *-ºuti*) begin with the consonant /º/.[16] I use this symbol to represent an abstract phoneme which is phonetically not realized after vowels. After consonants (including glides) it is realized as a voiceless stop which shares its place of articulation with the preceding consonant, that is, as [p] after [p,m,w], as [t] after [t,n,j] and as [k] after [k,ŋ].[17] All the examples below are in orthographic representation, therefore this segment appears as <p>, <t>, or <k>, if it is realized phonetically (even if the preceding consonant is identical), or else not at all (after vowels).

The forms of most of the suffixes for stative verbs show an additional post-root syllable /*zã*/ after vowels or else the nasal vowel /*ã*/ (instead of the abstract stop consonant /º/) and/or additional nasality. This holds not for *-ºat* 'SNR', which is completely different with stative verbs not marked for aspect (*i/t-…-y)tu*[18]), and *-e'yman* 'before/without that', which has only one allomorph for active and stative verbs alike.

Note that the variants for stative verbs do not co-occur with the aspect affixes *-(e)ju* or *-(e)zoko*; with one of these present, the allomorphs used with active verbs do occur also with stative verbs.[19] This holds also for the circumfix *i/t-…-(y)tu* 'SNR': with the aspect suffixes, *-ºat* occurs instead of *-(y)tu*.[20] This is the main reason for considering both functionally equivalent. One might argue that the semantics is so different that a different gloss (e.g., 'property bearer nominalizer') would be justified when this morpheme (in either allomorph) occurs with stative verbs. However, the 'property bearer' is syntactically the subject of the stative verb, as is the agent of active verbs.

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16 Besides this symbol, I follow the established Awetí orthography which is largely phonological and close to the IPA values for the symbols, but rather phonetic for the representation of this abstract consonant. Also the final stops/nasals appear orthographically according to their phonetic realization as <p,t,k>, <m,n,ng> or <w,r,g>. The vowels <e> and <o> are usually pronounced rather open [ɛ,ɔ]. The symbol <y> stands for the high central unrounded vowel /ɨ/, <'> stands for the glottal stop /ʔ/, and <z> stands for a prototypically retroflex and voiced fricative /ʐ/ which is sometimes pronounced without retroflexivity [ʒ] and often somewhat devoiced, coming sometimes close to [ʃ]. Final oral stops, if not lenited, are pronounced without audible release.

17 Phonetically, sequences of two identical stops do not exist in Awetí (the first stop is deleted, as frequently also happens with stops before other consonants, especially in rapid speech). Note that final stops are generally lenited to [β,ɾ,ɣ] before vowels in Awetí, but this does not happen when /º/ is present.

18 I gloss the first part of this circumfix with ">".

19 Due to the particular form of affixes *-ºap/-ºam* 'CIRCNR' 'ONR' and *-ºapan/-(z)aman* 'PURP', I did not opt for analyzing the element *(z)ã* as a separate perfective suffix or a formative part of a special perfective stem form used only with these moods with stative verbs. Note also that the stative verbs maintain their mostly noun-like person prefixes even with the aspect suffixes present, so these are not suffixes which would form active verbs.

20 In such cases, the final *o* of *-(e)zoko* is resyllabified to *w*, and the *u* of *-(e)ju* is deleted.

I show the complementary distribution of the variants *i/t-…-(y)tu* and *i/t-…-ºat* of the suffix 'SNR' with stative verbs (with 'property bearer' semantics) in (1).[21]

(1) Subject (=property-bearer) nominalization of stative verbs

t-er-ytu	*t-er-ezokw-at*	*t-er-ej-at*
>-name-SNR	>-name-IPFV-SNR	>-name-PROG-SNR
a famous one	a (permanently) famous one	a (currently) famous one
083_kamukuaka-2:0534		157_kwat-lang-4:1564

With most affixes in Table 2, the person marking is obligatory, but depending on their occurrence with intransitive or transitive verbs, the nominal prefixes mark different participants. Instead of a person prefix, there may be also an adjacent noun before the verb stem, e.g.: *mõj-kỹj-tat* snake-kill-SNR 'snake-killer', *mõj-kỹj-tu* snake-kill-ACTNR 'the killing of a snake / snakes'. Usually, the function of the person prefix or preceding noun can be described as 'absolutive' – with intransitive verbs, the prefix cross-references the subject, and with transitive verbs, it refers to the object.[22]

For affixes #1-4, for which this absolutive alignment (partially) does not hold or where the prefixes may be absent, Table 3 summarizes the occurrences and reference of the nominal person prefixes or immediately preceding nouns. Intransitive verbs include stative verbs. The dash indicates that the affix #3 'ONR' cannot occur with intransitive verbs.

No.	Affix	Gloss	Referent of personal prefix with:	
			Transitive verb	Intransitive verb
1	*-ºat / i/t-…-(y)tu*	SNR	Object	(*not possible*)
2	*-ºap /-(z)am*	CIRCNR	Object	Subject (*optional*)
3	*(e)mĩ-*	ONR	Subject (*optional*)	–
4	*-tu/-ºu / -(z)ãtu*	ACNNR / SUBJ	Object	Subject

Table 3: Occurrence and reference of person prefixes or preceding nominals

21 As many stative verbs, the verb *tezãtu* 'to be famous' has a nominal root *et* 'name' (the citation form can be analyzed into *t- et -zãtu*, see below section 4). Stative verbs derived from a noun with meaning 'X' have the basic meaning 'to have X', so *tezãtu* is originally 'to have a name', and the noun *terytu* means literally 'one who has a name'. For the first two forms, as elsewhere below, I give a reference to where they occur in the Awetí Documentation (see references). Forms without such reference were elicited.

22 With transitive verbs, however, the 'antipassive' prefix *po(r)-* can occur, which indicates reference of the person prefix to the subject, not object. Examples with the first person singular prefixes and the verb *nãtupu* 'to see': *a-tup* 'I saw …'; *i-tup* '… saw me'; *i-tup-pu* 'that … saw me'; *i-po-tup-pu* 'that I saw …'. See also examples (20a) and (25).

First examples are given in (2), for the transitive verb *nãtupu* ‘to see’, and (3), for the intransitive verb *totu* ‘to go, leave’.

(2) Person prefix reference with transitive verbs

a.	*i-tup-pat*	b. *i-tup-pap*	
	1SG-see-SNR	1SG-see-CIRCNR	
	who sees me	a place/instrument/manner to see me	
c.	*it-emĩ-tup*	d. *mĩ-tup*	e. *i-tup-pu*
	1SG-ONR-see	ONR-see	1SG-see-SUBJ
	what I see	what is seen	that I am seen / that … sees me

(3) Person prefix reference with intransitive verbs

a.	**i-to-at*	b. *to-at*	c. *i-to-ap*
	*1SG-go-SNR	go-SNR	1SG-go-CIRCNR
	—	(one) who goes	a place/instrument/manner for me to go
d.	*to-ap*	e. **mĩ-to*, **it-emĩ-to*	f. *i-to-tu*
	go-CIRCNR	*(1)-ONR-go	1SG-go-SUBJ
	a place/instrument/ manner for going	—	that I go

Forms with potential nominalizers that do not have any prefix or preceding nominal show an initial *t-* with vowel-initial stems: *t-up-pap* (?-stay-CIRCNR) ‘place/tool for being located = container’. This *t-* may be related to the allomorph *t-* of the first part of the circumfix *i/t-…-(y)tu* ‘SNR’, for vowel-initial stems of stative verbs (but note that consonant-initial active verbs do not show an initial *i-* in these nominalizations).

I describe forms with affixes #1-3 *-ºat* ‘SNR’, *-ºap* ‘CIRCNR’ and *(e)mĩ-* ‘ONR’,[23] which I analyze as ‘true’ nominalizers, in the next section, especially looking at uses which correspond to subordination in other languages. Then I dedicate one section each to the affixes *-tu* ‘ACNNR’/‘SUBJ’ and *-ºaw*, ‘GER’ for which it is at first sight difficult to decide whether the forms are nominal or verbal. Finally I describe the remaining affixes and the moods they mark.

4. Nominalizations of agent, patient, circumstance

Forms derived from verbs by means of one of the affixes *-ºat* ‘SNR’, *-ºap* ‘CIRCNR’ and *(e)mĩ-* ‘ONR’ are clearly nouns. These affixes are very productive (they combine with most verbs) and such derived nouns show a high frequency in texts and natural speech.

[23] From now on I use only the most common form for active verbs for referring to the affixes.

In order to prove that the derived forms are indeed nouns, I show that they morphologically combine with most nominal suffixes mentioned above in section 1.

This is demonstrated in (4) for the essive case.[24] In (5), I demonstrate it for the instrumental and locative cases. These are not attested with the affix *-°at* 'SNR', primarily for semantic reasons (nouns with *-°at* 'SNR' usually refer to persons for which instrumental or locative uses are odd). See examples in (6) for cases of nominal negation and in (7) for the 'tense' affixes. The examples in (4) to (7) show derivations from active verbs; in (8) I give some examples with the analogous forms for stative verbs. The examples also show the different functions of person prefixes (or, alternatively, of immediately preceding nominal expressions) with different verb types, presented in Table 3.

(4) Nominalized forms with essive case

a. *ozo-pota-zajung-ka(t)-zan*
13-help-SNR-ESS
as those who helped us
026_autobiogr-2:0169

b. *mi'ing-ka(t)-zan*
tell-SNR-ESS
as teller
083_awaniwani-2:0164

c. *pira'yt kỹj-taw-an*
fish kill-CIRCNR-ESS
as instrument for killing fish

d. *kaj-tezowat-taw-an*
12-believe-CIRCNR-ESS
as someone we trust[25]
083_tawozy-2:1103

e. *it-emĩ-tuw-an*
1SG-ONR-see-ESS
as something I (can) see

(5) Nominalized forms with instrumental / locative and diffuse locative cases

a. *i-kaza-aw-ywo*
1SG-work-CIRCNR-INST
with my work equipment

b. *i-kaza-aw-ywo*
1SG-work-CIRCNR-LOC
= in my working place

c. *it-emĩ-'og-ywo*
1SG-ONR-take.off-INST
using what I took off (filmed)

d. *myzung-kaw-ype*
stamp.foot-CIRCNR-DFLOC
to the fighting place
026_dry_seas2:0331

e. *kara'yput te-taw-ywo*
bird sleep-CIRCNR-LOC
at the place where birds sleep
083_tawozy-5:0378

(6) Nominalized forms negated with *e'ym*

a. *tepyk-kar-e'ym*
take.revenge-SNR-NEG
one who did not take revenge
083_kamukuaka-4:0159

b. *jumem'u-ar-e'ym*
bread eat-SNR-NEG
no bread-eater
157_mamuti-2:1334

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[24] Note that the essive suffix allomorph *-zan* appears also after *-°at*, of which the final */t/* is phonetically deleted (indicated by parentheses). Also, the /°/ is realized as [k] after [ŋ], hence *-°at→-ka(t)*. The final *p* of *-°ap* is lenited before *-an*, like all final consonants *p,t,k* to [w,r,ɣ] respectively before vowels, for instance with suffixes such as *-ywo* etc. Also, the /°/ is realized as [t] after [j], hence *-°ap→-taw*. Similar allophony (*cf.* page 196) occurs in the following examples.

[25] See footnote 12 for the semantics.

c. *it-emĩ-kwawaw-e'ym*
1SG-ONR-know-NEG
what is unknown by me
026_rain_seas2a:0563

d. *o-pepo awykyt-taw-e'ym*
3R-wing (make?)-CIRCNR-NEG
not what is for making his own wing
083_awakap-1:1292

(7) Nominalized forms with 'past' and 'future' suffixes

a. *it-yti'yt kỹj-tat-put*
1SG-o.brother kill-SNR-former
the one who killed my brother
043_autobiogr-2:0114

b. *e-upizũ emĩ-ezut-put pira'yt*
2SG-uncle ONR-bring-former fish
the fish your uncle brought
083_tawozy-3:0791

c. *apaj majõ-aw-ut*
daddy die-CIRCNR-former
the way my father died
010_autobiogr:0578

d. *it-emĩ-kwawaw-an'jap*
1SG-ONR-know-future
what I will know

(8) Nominalized forms of stative verbs with nominal suffixes

a. *i-ta'og-ytu-zan*
>-angry-SNR-ESS
as an angry person

b. *i-tyw-ytu-zan*
>-numerous-SNR-ESS
being many (as such which are many)
old_villages:0546

c. *i-katu-tu-e'ym*
>-good-SNR-NEG
sth. that is not good
026_rain_seas2a:1098

d. *i-tezag-ytu-put*
>-dangerous-SNR-former
a formerly dangerous one
083_enum_taw-1:0305

As mentioned in the last section, forms of stative verbs with the circumstantial nominalizer *-(z)am* are not attested (with or without nominal affixes) in the Awetí text corpus so far. They are also difficult to elicit for stative verbs (again possibly due to semantic reasons).[26] The analogous forms with active verbs, as in (5), are infrequent in the corpus, but unlike for stative verbs, they are easy to elicit and have been observed in spontaneous speech. The form *i-katu-tu-e'ym* in (8) is largely equivalent to the more common form *i-katu-e'ym-ytu*.[27]

Syntactically, the forms with these affixes are found in typical nominal positions, functioning as core arguments or as complements to postpositions. In the corpus of Awetí texts, however, not all forms occur frequently in all positions. Forms with *-°at* 'SNR' most frequently function as a subject argument, and less often as an object, as shown in example (9). Forms with *-°ap* 'CIRCNR' occur most often with postpositions (or with case markers) in an adverbial function; *cf.*(10). An example of a form with

26 The correspondent forms with aspect suffixes, that is, ending in *-ezokwap* or *-ejap*, are equally rare.
27 In order to facilitate the understanding, in in-line examples, Awetí words receive hyphens at morpheme boundaries. An analytic account of the recurrent tendency of the nominal negation suffix *-e'ym* to occur before (at the left of) potential nominalizer suffixes would need a separate study.

(e)mĩ- 'ONR' is given in (11). Nevertheless, these latter forms are less frequently encountered in any of these functions.

(9) Nominalized forms with -°*at* as subject and object

a. *o-tem toa'api-j-at a'yn*
3-leave fight-PROG-SNR PTL
the fighter (the currently fighting one) leaves
026_rain_seas2a:0249

b. *wej-mo-tet tak-kat*
3-CAUS-sleep cry-SNR
she rocked the crying (child) to sleep

(10) Nominalized forms with -°*ap* with postpositions

a. *o-to nã-'apyt pap-pap tsoa*
3-go 3-edge end-CIRCNR towards
went towards the ending of its (the lake's) edge
026_rain_seas2a:1222

b. *o-up-ej-ap kyty*
3-stay-PROG-CIRCNR to
to the place where he is staying
083_awaniwani-6:1103

(11) Nominalized form with *emĩ-* as subject

jawari emĩ-'ywõ-put ne o-mãjõ a'yn
jawari ONR-shoot-former PTL 3-die PTL
the one who was shot by the jawari (i.e., during the jawari festival) died
026_rain_seas3:0557

Some forms with the suffixes -°*ap* 'CIRCNR' and *(e)mĩ-* 'ONR' show formal or semantic properties that indicate processes of lexicalization such as semantic narrowing or intransparency. We give some examples in (12). Example (12a) does not have any prefix although the underlying verb *nã-tomowka-tu* 'tell, inform' (e.g., *wej-tomowka-ju* (3-tell-PROG) '3 is telling, instructing') is transitive. Also, the semantics is arguably rather opaque, although still comprehensible. Just on the contrary, (12b) is a relational noun (with obligatory prefix) although the underlying verb *kytsitse-tu* 'to feel shame' (e.g. *o-kytsitse-ju* [3-feel.shame-PROG] '3 is/are ashamed') is intransitive. Example (12c) shows opaque semantics (*cf. o-ti'ing* 'he speaks') and (12d) has unusual nasality on the verbal root syllable *'u*, which in isolation is oral (*cf. wej-'u* 'he eats') and would continue oral with regular derivation by *(e)mĩ-*. The form of (12e) and (12f) is regular and the semantics still achievable but much narrower than by regular derivation (*cf. o-up* 'he stays', *o-mo'at* 'he produces'). Finally, (12g), very frequent, is a borderline case (*cf. o-tige* 'he sits').

(12) Most common lexicalized nominalized forms

a. *tomowka-ap* — story, myth
tell-CIRCNR — lit. what serves to instruct

b. *X-kytsits-ap* — in-law (husband's sister / wife's brother)
X-feel.ashamed-CIRCNR — lit. what serves to feel shame

c. *ti'ing-kap* — boyfriend / girlfriend / lover
speak-CIRCNR — lit. what serves to speak to

d.	*mi-'ũ* ONR-eat	food lit. what is eaten
e.	*n-up-ap, X-up-ap* X-stay-CIRCNR	place/recipient/container for X lit. instrument/place (for X) to be located, to stay
f.	*mo'at-tap* produce-CIRCNR	sth. made by the community" (in particular, chief's house)
g.	*tig-ap* sit-CIRCNR	bench, stool lit. instrument/place to sit

In this context, it is noteworthy that many nouns denoting key social roles end in *at*, or else in *yt*, also with a final /*t*/, as is the case of several kinship terms, although there is synchronically no related or underlying verbal root. Compare the examples in (13).[28] Similarly, as shown in (14), some socially important places have names ending in *ap* or *am*, and it is not uncommon for place names to end in /*p*/. These forms might originally have developed from nominalizations with *-ᵊat* or *-ᵊap*, or they may show the endings due to analogy with these.

(13) Nouns denoting persons / social roles ending in *at* or *yt*

mo'at 'person', *morekwat* 'chief', *mopat* 'shaman', *...itat* 'master, owner, responsible', *kaminu'at* 'boy', *kunjãkyt* 'girl', *...mẽpyt* 'child (of woman)', *...a'yt* 'son (of man)', *...ati'yt* 'daughter (of man)', *...yti'yt* 'man's older brother', *...ywyt* 'man's younger brother', *...njyt* 'man's sister', *...kywyt* 'woman's brother', *...kypy'yt* 'woman's older sister'

(14) Nouns denoting places ending in *ap, am* or *p*

pepi'ingkap 'village plaza, center', *ototap* 'men's hut', *tam* 'village', *ywirytyp* (name of a former village, related to *ywiryty* 'female belt')

More frequently than in the positions exemplified in (9) to (11), nominalizations occur in equative and cleft clauses, that is, they are used predicatively (less often in existential clauses).[29] Now, nominal predication in such constructions is not uncommon in Awetí and also occurs with simple and common nouns. But still, the predicative uses are remarkable because they seem to be more frequent than the standard nominal uses of these forms.[30] These uses are also remarkable because they often occur

[28] Interestingly, several of these terms are verbal expressions in some languages (see e.g. Evans 2000), i.e., they are cross-linguistically less prototypical nouns.

[29] These are cases of verbless nominal predication: there is no copular or other abstract / semantically weak verb in these constructions. Cleft clauses are typically marked by a particle (which is identical or derived from one of the deictic pronouns) after the clefted nominal: *jatã*, *kitã* or *itã* in men's speech, *uja*, *akyj* or *akakyj* in women's speech.

[30] There were not many examples such as those given in (9) to (11), at least for nominalized forms which are not lexicalized such as those discussed before (12).

instead of clauses with finite predicates, and in certain situations (and/or speech styles) they may even be stylistically preferred. Compare the examples in (15), several of which show the context of word forms already given above in (4)-(8). There are one or two examples for each of the main nominalizations in each of the different predicative functions.

(15) Nominalized forms in predicative use: equative and cleft sentences

a. *Makayryza wazotsu nã-kwawap-pat-put ne*
Bakairi only 3-know-SNR-former PTL
only the Bakairi knew this (lit. only the B. [were] the ones who knew this).
026_rain_seas3:0312

b. *in uja tige-j(u)-at ne*
there this sentar-PROG-SNR PTL
there he is sitting (lit. there (is it that) the sitting one (is)).
083_tawozy-2:1183

c. *jumem 'u-ar-e'ym uja ozoza me, uja*
bread eat-SNR-NEG this we PTL this
we don't have bread, you see (lit. non-bread-eaters [is it] that we [are])
157_mamuti-2:1334

d. *nã-tomowkaw-an jatã it-emĩ-kwawaw-e'ym*
3-tale-ESS this 1SG-ONR-know-NEG
I do not know what his story is (lit. what his story is [is] what is not known by me)
026_rain_seas2a:0563

e. *e'i-kywyt itã jatã i-mo-te-w-atem-pat a'yn ne*
23-brother that this 1SG-CAUS-RFL-CAUS-leave-SNR PTL PTL
your brother [was] it [the one] who makes/made me leave
157_mamuti-1:1495

f. *nã jatã kaj-emĩ-ukã-ju kaj-kwap-pej-aw nã-'apo me*
he that 12-ONR-step-PROG 12-walk-PROG-GER 3-top.of PTL
it is on him that we are stepping, walking on top of him
(lit. he is the one who is stepped on by us, [us] walking on top of him).
043_autobiogr-2:1313

g. *namuput kitã tsãn emĩ-ezut nã-mokang-aw*
result.of that they ONR-bring 3-smoke/dry-GER
that (fish) is what they brought to smoke/dry
026_rain_seas2a:1231

The examples in (15) f+g are particularly remarkable because they contain occurrences of gerund forms / clauses (underlined, see also below, section 5). These verbal forms may function as an adverbial modifier and occur only if their subject agrees with the subject of the main predicate (if this is a finite verb). It may thus be postulated that the nominalized forms 'preserve', so to speak, the property of having a subject, and thus of being able to co-occur with gerunds.

Another possible function of nominalized forms is nominal modification, corresponding to relative clauses in European languages.[31] Examples are given in (16).

(16) Nominalized forms as nominal modifiers ('relative clauses')

a. *koj tawozy watu ti'ing-kat jatã*
there turtle big speak-SNR this
there is the big turtle that speaks, you see
083_tawozy-2:0520

b. *marwatu ozoj-'u pira'yt t-uwur-ytu watu*
catfish 13-ingest fish >-be.big-SNR big
we eat catfish, big fish which is huge
074_birth-2:0497

There are further uses of these nominalized forms, not all of which are completely understood. In several clauses in my corpus the nominalized form seems to function as (or analogous to) a verbal predicate. Compare the examples in (17). (17a) again has a gerund modifying the nominal predicate; in the adjacent sentences (17b+c), the nominalized form varies with a usual finite predicate.

(17) Other predicative functions of nominalized forms

a. *tepyk-ar-e'ym zanu u'wyw-ywo nã-'ywõ-aw*
pay-SNR-NEG too arrow-INST 3-shoot-GER
he did not take revenge too, shooting him with an arrow
083_kamukuaka-4:0159

b. *nãtsu wezanu o-to-tsu ti tan-tat*
like.this again 3R-RECP-like RPRT ran-SNR
[it was] again like this, they ran (lit. runners) one like the other (side by side)
026_dry_seas2:0406

c. *o-to-tsu wene o-tan tsãn a'yn*
3R-RECP-like still 3-ran they PTL
side by side they ran for a while
026_dry_seas2:0409

In sum, forms derived with the affixes -*ºat* 'SNR', -*ºap* 'CIRCNR' and *(e)mĩ-* 'ONR' are nouns by morphological (combination with nominal affixes) and syntactic (nominal uses) criteria specified in section 1, and seem to have been so for quite a long time period, as is indicated by several lexicalizations. Although not subordinate clauses by themselves, lexical nominalizations with these affixes frequently occur in functions that correspond to that of subordinations in other languages (such as the

31 Note that proper adjectives do not exist and that nominal modification is generally rare in Awetí.

predicative and attributive uses exemplified above), and show some verbal features (such as having an 'implicit subject' with gerund verbs).

5. Forms with *-(t)u*: verb forms similar to nouns

The forms discussed in section 4 are – albeit frequently employed as predicates – nominalizations of subject, object, or 'circumstance'. I now turn to forms with the suffix *-tu* 'ACNNR' & 'SUBJ', as shown in Table 2. In isolation, they also may be translated as nominalizations: nominalizations of the action or event.

There is one (infrequent) use of these forms where one could postulate that these forms were indeed nominalizations: when they function as complements to a small set of verbs such as *nã-kwawap-pu* 'to know', *nã-kwakup-pu* 'to want'.[32] Examples are given in (18) below.[33]

(18) Forms with *-tu* as complements analyzed as nouns

a. *apaj tak-keju-tu a'yt a-kwawap*
dad cry-PROG-ACNNR emot 1SG-know
I remember [know] the crying of my dear dad [=that/how my dear dad was crying]
010_autobiogr:0281

b. *wan tut it-a'yt ut-tu pej-kwakup me?*
Q FUT 1SG-son come-ACNNR 23-want PTL
Will you want the coming of my son [=that my son comes]?
157_kwat-lang-5:0069

Although an analysis of these forms as nouns, as indicated by the glosses and translations in (18), does not seem impossible, there are several reasons to believe that the forms with *-tu* are verbal, even in this usage and despite the fact that they only permit the "nominal" person prefixes. For one thing, these forms do not permit the nominal 'tense' suffixes *-put* and *-(z)an'jap*, which are common with the forms discussed in the previous section and which could be expected in sentences like those in (18): The crying of the father in (a) is a past event, and the coming of the son in (b) is a possible future event. Indeed, these forms do not combine with any of the nominal suffixes, nor with postpositions.

Another argument in favor of the verbal character of the forms with *-tu* is that they have full verbal argument structure (while the valency of derived nouns usually is reduced in comparison with that of the underlying

32 See below for these citation forms refering to Awetí verbs (as lexical words) with the suffix *-tu*.
33 There are very few other verbs which can take *-tu*-arguments, for instance *katu-zãtu* 'to be good': *i-katu e-ut-tu* (3-good 2-come-*tu*) 'it is good that you come' or 'your coming is good'.

verb). That is, they take the same complements as the corresponding (underived) finite verb in the indicative, including the subject of transitive verbs, and they can also be modified by adverbs. This is shown in (19a). In (19b) I also give the sentence that immediately follows (19a) in the text. It contains another occurrence of the same root *ti'ing* 'speak'. This occurrence (without any nominal complement) is a lexicalized nominalization ('language', 'speech'), without any required arguments,[34] demonstrating that some *-tu*-forms indeed display some nominal properties and may be lexicalized as nouns. I hold, however, that the form *it-ezo-ti'ing-ku* 'that … teaches me to speak' in (19a) (with the fully realized argument structure of a transitive verb; the object is expressed by the first person singular object prefix on the verb; adverbial adjuncts can be added) is verbal, and therefore forms a subordinate complement phrase.[35] I therefore gloss *-tu* (in (19), after [ŋ], as *-ku*) in this use as 'subjunctive' (SUBJ). This term is here meant to remind that these forms serve to form simple subordinate clauses, similar to the subordinating conjunction "that" in English. There are no semantic-modal implications, for example, with respect to factivity (as occur in many languages with the subjunctive or conjunctive moods).

(19) A transitive form with *-tu* as complement, and a lexicalized noun with *-tu*

a. *ange it-ezo-ti'ing-ku an a-kwawaw-yka*
mom 1SG-COMCAUS-speak-SUBJ not 1SG-know-NEG
I do not remember my mom teaching me to speak (lit. speaking and making me speak)
026_autobiogr-2:0452

b. *nanywo kitã an ti'ing-ku a-kwawaw-yka a'yn ne*
therefore that not speak-ACNNR 1SG-know-NEG PTL PTL
Therefore it is that I do not know the language / speech (well).
026_autobiogr-2:0454

The most frequent use of forms with *-tu* is not subordination but that of main (independent) predicates, and this is another major reason for analyzing these forms as verbal. Indeed, main verbal predicates are almost as frequently forms with *-tu* as usual indicative verb forms.[36] This use of subjunctive forms resemble certain forms in Tupí-Guaranian languages

[34] Note, however, that *ti'ingku* may be used with personal prefixes (*ozoti'ingku* 'our language') or nouns in possessive constructions (*Awytyza ti'ingku* 'the Awetí language') without the alienable possessive marker *-e(')*, as if it was a relational (inherently possessed) noun.

[35] The form belongs to the transitive verb *nezoti'ingku*, literally 'speak and make X speak'. It is derived from the intransitive verb *ti'ingku* 'speak' by means of the COMitative CAUSative prefix *(e)zo(z)-*.

[36] Both types of predicates are equally 'finite': They inflect for person, aspect, negation, and combine with factuality particles. This excludes the analysis of forms with *-tu* as some kind of infinitive.

known as 'indicative 2'.[37] Nevertheless, this resemblance does not justify postulating an additional formal category. All forms with *-tu* that occur as main predicates (in 'indicative 2' function) also can occur as predicates of complement clauses (as 'subjunctive' proper), but the contrary does not hold. Negated forms, such as those formed with the suffix *-e'ympu*, only occur in complement clauses, but not as main predicates. However, I hold as a general principle that any functional category must not be a subset of another but contain at least some unique elements.

The sentences in (20) are an illustrative example of the use of subjunctive forms with *-tu* as main predicates, and how they vary with usual indicative predicates. It is a frequent stylistic pattern in Awetí narratives to repeat a sentence with only slight modifications. Indicative and subjunctive main predicates are often juxtaposed in this stylistic figure. Compare the sentences in (20), which are taken directly from a traditional text with historical content.

Furthermore, the form in (20a) demonstrates the use of the antipassive prefix *po(r)-* (indicating that the preceding noun is the subject, not the object). As this prefix never occurs in nominalizations (i.e., with suffixes #1-3, *-ºat* 'SNR', *-ºap* 'CIRCNR' and *(e)mĩ-* 'ONR'), it is a further indication for the verbal character of the subjunctive forms.

(20) Five consecutive sentences with indicative and subjunctive (kal_azoamujza: 0126-0131)

a. *kara'iwa po-kỹj-oko-tu nanype tsã*
non.indian APASS-kill-IPFV-SUBJ there they
The white kept killing them there.

b. *tsã tokỹj-tu nanype*
they fight-SUBJ there
They fought there.

c. *o-tokỹj nanype tsãn a'yn*
3-fight there they PTL
They fought there.

d. *nãtezak_ti 'yto tsãn ut-tu me*
afraid.of.this then they come-SUBJ PTL
Afraid of this they came then.

e. *Ajkulula pe o-ut tsãn a'yn*
Ajkulula to 3-come they PTL
They came to Ajkulula.

Besides the forms used in subordinate and main clauses, there are forms with *-tu* that can be used as a meta-linguistic device to refer to the

[37] This term was used by Rodrigues in his earlier work (e.g., 1953), who later also applied 'circumstantial'. Jensen (1998) uses 'oblique-topicalized verb', because these forms in Tupí-Guaraní are associated with sentence-initial adverbials. This, however, is not the case in Awetí, where they can occur also without any adverbial expression present, although it may be the case that they are used more often than regular indicative verb forms if (especially sentence-initial) adverbials occur. In any case, the suffixes of Tupí-Guaraní (**-i* after consonants, **-j*, **-w*, or **-n* after vowels) are apparently not cognate to *-tu*.

word as such. These forms are often used as citation forms, best translated by the infinitive in many European languages. Only in this case, a gloss of the suffix as action nominalizer seems justified. These forms show different prefixes depending on verb-class, genderlect, and whether the stem begins with a vowel or consonant.

It is possible, although not compellingly the case, that the subjunctive mood has developed from nominalizations. The series of hypotheses in (21) outline a plausible development path substantiating this general idea, but have yet little independent empirical basis. The postulated stages from (21.1) to (21.11) and hence the translations of the example sentences do not (necessarily) represent the current status of these forms/sentences.

(21) Postulated development path of the subjunctive

1. Abstract nouns were derived by means of *-tu* (or an earlier form), possibly first of intransitive verbs, without person prefixes and with reduced valency, such as now lexicalized forms *ti'ing-ku* (speak-ACNNR) 'speech, language', parallel to nominalizations of agent with *-°at* – e.g. *tan-tat* (run-SNR) 'runner' – and circumstance with *-°ap* – e.g. *tig-ap* (sit-CIRCNR) 'stool'.
2. Derivations from transitive verbs were formed, also with reduced valency but with prefixes or preceding nouns indicating the object, again in analogy to nominalizations of agent and circumstance: *mõj+kỹj-tu* (snake+kill-ACNNR) 'the killing of snakes' in analogy to *mõj+kỹj-tap* (snake+kill-CIRCNR) 'place / time / instrument ... for killing snakes'.
3. The abstract nouns derived from intransitive verbs allowed for prefixes; the 'possessor' of the action is identified with the subject of the underlying verb: *(a-kwawap) 'e-to-tu* ((1SG-know) 2SG-go-ACNNR) '(I know of) your going'.
4. For transitive verbs, the antipassive prefix *po(r)-*, probably an incorporated former generic object, allows for analogous forms with subject / possessor prefixes: *(a-kwawap) 'e-po-kỹj-tu* ((1SG-know) 2SG-APASS-kill-ACNNR) '(I know of) your killing'.
5. The object of underlying transitive verbs can be specified as a regular complement, without a postposition, so the original verbal argument structure is restored: *(a-kwawap) 'e-po-kỹj-tu mõj* ((1SG-know) 2SG-APASS-kill-ACNNR snake) '(I know of) your killing of the/a snake' or even '(I know) you killing the/a snake'.
6. As the lexical semantics is now virtually identical with that of the original verbs, the nominalizations were re-analyzed as finite subordinate predicates and re-integrated into the verbal paradigms as a 'subjunctive' mood: *(a-kwawap) 'e-po-kỹj-tu mõj* ((1SG-know) 2SG-APASS-kill-SUBJ snake) '(I know) that you killed the/a snake'. This is the current situation of several (subordinate) forms with *-tu*.
7. Still today, the forms with *-tu* can only be negated with *-e'ym-* when in subordinate position, making it probable that this function is older, but the

position of the nominal negation prefix before the nominalization suffix indicates that these forms are no usual nominalizations (and perhaps have never been): *(a-kwawap) mõj kỹj-e'ympu 'en* ((1SG-know) snake kill-SUBJ.NEG 2SG) '(I know) that you did not kill the/a snake'.

8. Possibly the use in main clauses arose with impersonal (subject-less) predicates with transitive verbs in existential sentences: *ko'jem tut mõj kỹj-tu* (tomorrow FUT snake kill-SUBJ) 'tomorrow (there will be) a killing of snakes / of the/a snake'.
9. When the subject person is present, first possibly as prefix with intransitive verbs, the existential sentences are functionally equivalent to the usual finite indicative clauses: *ko'jem tut i-to-tu* (tomorrow FUT 1SG-go-SUBJ) 'tomorrow there will be my going' = *ko'jem tut a-to* (tomorrow FUT 1SG-go) 'tomorrow I will go'.
10. Again, as in the case of subordinate forms and possibly by analogy to these, as the propositions are virtually the same, the lexical meaning of the forms in question can easily be re-analyzed as analog, and the forms are perceived as belonging to the same paradigm, also to the subjunctive.
11. As a last step to arrive at the current uses, this mood, which is allowed in main clauses, is extended to transitive verbs which, as in the subordinate cases, now have the same valency, possibly first with the antipassive prefix *po(r)-*: *kat po-kỹj-tu tsã* (animal/spirit APASS-kill-SUBJ they) 'the animal/spirit killed them', then also with pronominal subjects: *pira'yt kỹj-tu ... tsã me* (fish kill-SUBJ … they) 'they … killed fish'.

In sum, forms with *-tu* possibly may have developed out of abstract nominalizations of the action/event, and there are some lexicalized nouns with this suffix. Still, synchronically, forms with *-tu* are a finite verbal mood, 'subjunctive', which most often functions as a main predicate, although the use as predicate in a subordinate clause may be older.

6. Forms with *-aw*: adverbials and grammaticalized converbs

Another class of forms with verbal stems and nominal person prefixes are the forms with suffix #5, *-ºaw* 'GER'. Constructions with these forms can be characterized as in (22).[38]

(22) Characteristics of constructions with the gerund

1. two verb forms co-occur in one clause or sentence;
2. one verb belongs to the gerund – that is, it carries the suffix *-aw* and has nominal absolutive person marking (see section 2);
3. the other ('finite') verb usually is in indicative or subjunctive mood;

[38] This section is a summary of Drude (2011), which the reader is referred to for more details.

4. one verb usually is of a small set of 'weak' verbs of motion or position, in particular (in order of frequency): *to-tu* 'go', *t-ut-u* 'come', *tem-pu* 'go outside', *'e-tu* 'say' or *ti'ing-ku* 'speak', *t-ekozoko-tu* 'live', *t-up-pu* 'stay, be located', *t-etse-tu* 'get into', *n-ezoto-tu* 'go and take O with A', *nawỹj* (a particle) 'lets go', *n-ezut-tu* 'come and bring O with A'; *tire-tu* 'leave', *t-a'am-pu* 'get/stand up', *n-ãzyp-pu* 'to pass by'; *n-ezup-pu* 'stay and make O stay with A';
5. the other ('full') verb usually is a content verb designating an action;
6. Both verbs share their subject; there may me only up to one subject constituent.

In most cases, forms in the gerund are full verbs (usually active verbs, rarely stative verbs) that indicate the purpose of the action expressed by the finite verb, which in this case is usually a semantically weak verb of motion (23a&b). Another common function is to indicate the direction of a movement expressed by the other verb (with one of the weak verbs of motion *to-tu*, *t-ut-tu*, *n-ezo-to-tu*, or *n-ez-ut-tu* in the gerund, *cf*. 23c) or adds aspectual information (longer duration, with weak verbs *t-eko-zoko-tu* or *t-up-pu* in the gerund, *cf*. 23d). Finally, there are some cases where the verb in the gerund expresses the manner or a concomitant action (23e).

(23) Examples with different gerund uses

a. Purposive
a-to-zoko *it-atuk-kaw*
1SG-go-IPFV 1SG-tk.bath-GER
I am going (in order) to take my bath

b. Purposive
aj-ut *e-tup-paw*
1SG-come 2SG-see-GER
I came (in order) to see you

c. Direction of motion
'ytangat *tem-pu* *o-to-aw* *wẽ*
the.first go.out-SUBJ 3-go-GER PTL
The first goes out, going there (thereto).
026_dry_seas2:0329

d. Aspectual semantics
pej-tik-tige *e'i-up-aw* *a'yn!*
2PL-sit-sit 2PL-stay-GER PTL
sit down and stay (i.e., keep seated)! (with reduplication)
026_dry_seas2:0116

e. Manner, concomitant actions
wej-'ataka *ti* *kitã* *noatsat* *o-tan-taw*
3-confront RPRT that combatant 3-run-GER
(They say) he confronted his combatant running.
026_dry_seas2:0384

Gerund constructions are not serial verbs because they show different morphological marking and semantic roles, i.e. the gerund verb is formally marked as 'dependent' on the finite verb. This asymmetric relationship is independent of the linear order: *etupaw ajut* means the same as *ajut etupaw* (*cf*. 23b).

An interesting feature of these gerund constructions is that in several cases the finite and gerund forms may be exchanged ('inverted'): the semantically weak verb (in particular, of motion) is then in the gerund while the main content verb is the finite one. This is the default distribution in the case of direction and aspect uses. But for these and for the purpose use, the inverted (or non-inverted) sentence is well accepted and can be easily elicited. The propositional semantics of the inverted and corresponding non-'inverted' sentences seems to be identical; there are at most stylistic and/or pragmatic differences.

(24) Examples with 'inverting' (*cf*. 23a&b)

a. *aj-atug-oko* *it-to-aw*
1SG-tk.bath-IPFV 1SG-go-GER
I am going (in order) to take my bath

b. *a-tup* *'en* *it-ut-taw*
1SG-see you 1SG-come-GER
I came (in order) to see you'

(25) Text examples without and with 'inverting'

a. *namuput* *kyts-aw* *'yto* *tut* *kujãpuryza* *to-tu* *me*
that cut-GER so FUT women go-SUBJ PTL
So the women will go to cut them (the stones). 042_village:599

b. *wemajãku* *pywo* *tsã* *po-kytse-tu* *o-to-aw* *nã* *me*
3r.basket in they APASS-cut-SUBJ 3-go-GER it PTL
They go to cut them (the stones) into their baskets. 042_village:604

In general, the gerund forms act as adverbial modifiers (heads of adverbial clauses) similar to other gerund or converb constructions in other languages. However, in several uses they appear to have undergone a process of grammaticalization. The gerund verb form is then more closely connected to the finite verb form, sharing with it its aspect, polarity and other features – and allowing for 'inverting' the verbs.[39] In fact, in these

[39] 'Inverting' in this sense (exchange of morphological marking with unchanged semantic roles among the weak and main verb) is not to be confused with inversion (*cf*. the opposition 'direct' *vs*. 'inverse'). Of course, serial verb constructions may or may not allow exchange of order, and in compounds the order usually is meaningful. In the Awetí case, however, the possibility of 'inversion' points at the very close relationship between the two verbal words.

circumstances the weak verb forms behave rather as derivational elements (the syntactic analog to derivational affixes); thus the combination of gerund and finite verb forms are rather forms of new complex (syntactically derived) lexical words.

A possible development path for the gerund might start from the hypothesis that the suffix originated from the combination of the circumstantial nominalizer -°*ap* and the locative suffix -*wo* (formerly possibly a post-position -*βo*):

(26) Possible origin of the gerund suffix:

o-tem-[p]ap-βo > *otempaβo* > *otempawu* > *otempaw*
3R-leave-CIRCNR-at
at the circumstance of his leaving

This possible origin suggests that the earliest meaning was that of manner or a concomitant action, and such gerund constructions are true subordinate adverbial clauses (support for this is that in these cases, negation can apply only to the main or only to the gerund verb).

As a next possible step, verbs of motion would often have been used as gerunds, in particular *to-tu* 'going, leaving from here' and *t-ut-tu* 'coming towards here'. Their semantics would easily have 'bleached out' to indicate only direction (still a possible use of gerund forms). In this function, they could have been re-interpreted as very closely related to the main verb, forming together a single constituent (similar to constructions of main verb + auxiliary, but semantically rather deriving new meanings, similar to the adverb-like verb particles *hin* and *her* in German). That is, the combinations of gerund and finite verb forms are together complex forms a new verb. Grammaticalized in this way, inverting could occur without a propositional semantic change, as we observe today.

The inverted construction could then have given rise to a new function, the purpose meaning, which today is by far the most often found type, see (23), above – and crucially, this type still allows for inverting. That means, in these cases, where inverting is possible, we have complex verb forms such as *aj-ut ... tup-paw* and *a-tup ... i-tut-taw* both meaning 'I came in order to see ...', and both are forms of a verb which is derived from the simple verb *nãtupu* by means of the gerund and forms of the verb *t-ut-tu* (which by itself means 'to come').

The grammaticalization process does not seem to be fully concluded or to have covered all gerund uses. On the contrary, the interpretation of the

gerund as a usual adverbial subordinate clause is often possible and, dependent on the weak verb and the main predicate, might be the preferred one.

7. Other moods with nominal prefixes

As has been mentioned in section 3, there are at least five more grammatical moods in Awetí, the forms of which also take nominal prefixes. I list all allomorphs (mainly, for active and stative verbs) in (26).

(26) Mood suffixes which combine with nominal prefixes

1.	*-ºapan* / *-(z)aman*	purposive mood ('so that / for') (PURP)
2.	*-tuwo/-ºuwo* / *-(z)ãtuwo*	conditional mood ('if / when') (COND)
3.	*-tiwo* / *-(z)ãtiwo*	anterior mood ('after') (ANTM)
4.	*-tuti/-ºuti* / *-(z)ãtuti*	vitative mood ('in order to avoid') (VTT)
5.	*-e'yman*	posterior mood ('before / without that') (POSTM)

As in the case of the subjunctive and gerund forms discussed in the previous two sections, these forms are verbal (belonging to the paradigms of verbs) despite the 'nominal' person prefixes. The main reasons are, again, that these forms do not function as referential expressions but rather as predicates (heads of subordinate clauses), maintaining the valency properties of finite verb forms (and allowing for adverbials, although these are rare). They also do not combine with any of the nominal suffixes presented in section 3. I do not consider it sufficient to analyze them as nouns just because they take nominal prefixes, although it is not excluded that this fact may point at a possible nominal origin of these forms, as has been suggested for the subjunctive and the gerund. On the other hand, the nominal prefixes just may be synchronically the default for all non-indicative moods, possibly in analogy to the subjunctive and/or gerund.

For the purposes of this paper, it shall suffice to show one or two examples for each of these moods, focusing again on the active verbs. It should be stated that for several of these moods, I have only a handful of examples, which, considering the size of the corpus, shows that they are quite rare in natural speech. This illustrates that subordination is not a very frequently used grammatical device in Awetí.

The purposive mood (27 a-b) functions to indicate the purpose of the action expressed by the matrix verb, similar to the most frequent function of the gerund (see previous section). The main difference is that the referent of the subject of the purposive verb form generally is not identical to that of the matrix verb. These forms do not show any sign of

grammaticalization; in particular, no ‘inverting’ is possible (the verb referring to the purpose is in the purposive mood).

(27) Text examples with purposive mood

a. *azoj-kozỹ ĩ me tytapong tem-papan*
13-stir it PTL steam leave-PURP
we stir it (manioc starch soup) so that the steam gets out (it almost boils)
074_manioc-2:0260

b. *kitãtsu e-’j-apan itã kitã i-mowka-apan jatã ’en at-ejõj-tukat ’en ’a*
thus 2-say-PURP PTL this 1SG-inform-PURP PTL you 1SG-call-CAUS you PTL
so that you say so, in order to inform me about this, therefore I made someone call you
083_awaniwani-2:0424

The conditional mood is marked by the suffix *-tuwo* (*-ºuwo* after consonants), which by itself could be the combination of the subjunctive mood marker *-tu*/*-ºu* and the locative suffix *-wo*. While this may be a plausible origin of this affix, synchronically it is a single mood suffix, in analogy to the other suffixes presented in this section and for the same reasons. Its use is often as the predicate of a conditional clause (‘if...’) but can also express plainly temporal clauses (‘when...’).[40] Compare the examples in (28).

(28) Text examples with conditional mood

a. *’ukakyt ti’ing-oko-tuwo kitã nã-to-zoko-tu nãtsoa me*
rooster speak-IPFV-COND PTL 3-go-IPFV-SUBJ there.to PTL
When the rooster crowed he used to go there
083_makawaja-2:1348

b. *kujãze up-eju-tuwo nã-’atu-tu*
tucunaré be-PROG-COND 3-faint-SUBJ
if there is any tucunaré (fish), it faints (and dies)
118_fishing2-fire:0544

The anterior mood can be used for events which have occurred before the event expressed by the matrix clause, so it usually is translated as “after...”. Formally, it resembles the combination of the postposition *ti* with the locative case suffix *-wo*, but this does not make any sense synchronically.

It is remarkable that I find only a hand full of examples of this mood in my corpus. By far more frequent are the (formally related) adverbs *nãzãtiwo*/*ĩzãtiwo* ‘after that’ and *ãtiwo* ‘later’.

40 It may be that the use as conditional can be enforced by the future particle *tut*, possibly even in the past.

(29) Text examples with anterior mood

a. *ipyzu'aryka it-ekozoko-tu a'yt apaj majõ-tiwo a'yn*
sad 1SG-live-SUBJ EMOT dad die-ANTM PTL
I lived sad after my poor dad died
010_autobiogr:0574

b. *kitsaza mo-pap-tiwo me tsãn og-ut apy-tu a'yn ne*
those CAUS-finish-ANTM PTL their house-former burn-SUBJ PTL PTL
after destroying (killing) that people, they burned their former houses
083_awytyza-2:1464

The vitative mood is in a certain way the functional opposite of the purposive: it also indicates a purpose, albeit a negative one. This mood is semantically similar to a certain factuality category, the apprehensive, expressed by the particle *(w)eti* (in main clauses), which may well be partly related to the suffix *-tuti/-ºuti* in question here. There are only a few genuine examples of vitative mood occurrences in the Awetí text corpus.

(30) Text example with vitative mood

o-*majõ-tuti ti kitã nã [an] nanywo kitã o-tomowka-ka w-ekozokw-aw*
3-die-VTT RPRT PTL he [no] therefore PTL 3-tell-NEG 3-live-GER
in order to prevent that he died, therefore they kept not telling him
083_enum_taw-2:0916

Finally, when trying to elicit the Awetí equivalents to sentences with temporal clauses whose events are posterior to that of the matrix clause (in English with the conjunction 'before'), what we get are sentences with clauses the main predicate of which shows the same prefixes as the other moods mentioned before in this section, and a suffix *-e'yman*. That suffix could be analyzed to be internally composed of the nominal negation suffix *-e'ym* and the essive suffix *-an*, which indicates that the meaning is rather 'without that' than 'before', or at least as well. This semantics is confirmed by elicitation and the few text examples, several of which use stative verbs. The suffix also occurs with genuine nouns in a use that is not yet fully understood. Note that in the example in (31) we have the stative verb 'to have children' and not the noun 'son'.[41]

(31) Text example with posterior mood

ta'i a'yr-e'yman o-majõ a'yn
they hv.children-POSTM 3-die PTL
they died without / before having children
010_autobiogr:0849

41 If it was the noun, the translation would rather be '…without being son(s)'

8. Conclusion

This paper has argued that there are two formally distinct devices in Awetí, nominalization (lexical derivation of nouns from verbs, with the suffixes *-ºat* 'SNR', *-ºap* 'CIRCNR', *(e)mĩ-* 'ONR', see section 4, and some with *-tu* 'ACNNR', see section 5) and subordination (embedding of clauses in other clauses; the verbal predicates of the embedded clauses are marked with one of the affixes for subordinating moods, *-tu* 'SUBJ', see section 5, *-ºaw* 'GER', see section 6, *-ºapan* 'PURP', *-tuwo* 'COND', *-tuti* 'VTT', *-tiwo* 'ANTM', and *-e'yman* 'POSTM', see section 7). Of these, *-tu* 'SUBJ' has assumed still another function and is synchronically most often found as a main predicate (section 5) and *-aw* has developed into a device for syntactic derivation (section 6). All of these affixes can be combined only with nominal person prefixes (if any person prefix at all), and all (except *(e)mĩ-* 'ONR', the only prefix) appear with active and stative verbs alike, although different allomorphs of the affixes can occur.

The lexical nominalizations often appear in functions for which other languages employ clauses (in particular, relative clauses): 'who saw him': *nã-tup-pat* (3-see-SNR); 'what he saw': *n-emĩ-tup* (3-ONR-see); etc. Still, there are few or no clear formal characteristics (predicativeness such as modification by adverbials or similar) that would point at these lexical nominalizations (embedded in clauses) to be predicates, and thus, subordinates (in the morphosyntactic use of the term) in Awetí. On the contrary, they can be combined with case suffixes, nominal temporal derivational affixes and some postpositions, which is evidence for their formal status as nouns.

In other cases where English and other languages use subordinate clauses, in particular adverbial clauses, Awetí uses forms that resemble nouns in person marking. However, I argue that these forms are better analyzed as truly verbal, that is, as grammatical moods which carry the meanings which correspond to that of subordinating conjunctions such as *that, in order to, while, when, after* etc.: 'that he saw it' : *nã-tup-pu nã* (3-see-SUBJ 3); 'seeing it, in order to see it': *nã-tup-paw* (3-see-GER); 'for you to see it': *e-po-tup-papan nã* (2-APASS-see-PURP 3); etc. Some of these verbal forms (the subjunctive, gerund, purposive etc. moods) used in subordinate clauses might have historically developed from nominalizations, see sections 4 and 5 for the subjunctive and the gerund; others may take the nominal person prefixes for reasons of analogy.

Except for these nominal person prefixes, they are formally verbal because they do not combine with any of the nominal affixes (case, 'nominal tense',…), or with postpositions. They have the full argument structure (as the indicative forms) and can be modified by adverbs. Functionally, they can be analyzed as full predicates (with additional semantic effects which correspond to subordinating conjunctions in European languages). This all is evidence for regular subordination with rather finite verbs as predicates.

The only forms that present a real difficulty, with respect to the noun-verb distinction, are those with *-tu*. But applying formal and functional criteria, I distinguished cases of nominalization (ACNNR) from the more common cases of subjunctive mode (SUBJ). The difficulties are analogous to those when analyzing, say, the English infinitive or gerund. It is precisely these forms that may have developed from nominalizations, used as complements to verbs such as 'to know' or 'to want', into a subjunctive mode which in turn assumed the capacity to function as a main predicate. The other forms for which a nominal origin is plausible are the gerunds, which probably have developed from a circumstantial nominalization in combination with an instrumental postposition, which explains their frequent use as adverbials.

Abbreviations

1SG=first person singular; 12=first person plural inclusive; 13=first person plural exclusive; 2PL=person second plural; 2SG=second person singular; 3=third person; 3R=third person reflexive; ACNNR=action nominalizer; ANTM=anterior mood; APASS=antipassive; CAUS=causative (derivation); CIRCNR=circumstantial nominalizer; COMCAUS=comitative causative (derivation)=COND: conditional mood; DFLOC=diffuse locative case; EMOT=emotional involvement (particle); ESS=essive case; FUT=future (factuality mood); GER=gerund (mood); INST=instrumental case; IPFV=imperfective aspect; LOC=locative case; NEG=negative; ONR: object nominalizer; POSTM=posterior mood; PROG=progressive aspect; PTL=(unspecified) particle; PURP=purposive (mood); Q=question particle; RECP=reciprocal voice; RFL=reflexive voice; RPRT=reportative particle; SNR=subject nominalizer; SUBJ=subjunctive mood; VTT=vitative mood.

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