Nominalization and Subordination in Awetí

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0. Introduction

This paper describes the different kinds of nominalizations and the main forms used in subordination in Awetí, a Tupian language spoken by ca. 150 people in central Brazil in the Upper Xingu area. 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.

In our analysis, subordination in Awetí is achieved by means of forms which may have developed from nominalizations, but which are synchronously possibly best classified as verbal moods, belonging into the verbal paradigm. On the other hand, nouns (and in particular nouns derived from verbs) often appear as predicates, especially in equality and cleft sentences.

We first give an overview over nouns and verbs and their common and particular properties (section 1) and then list all affixes discussed in this paper and briefly comment on their formal properties (section 2). In the subsequent sections, we will discuss the genuine nominalizers (derivative affixes which 'produce' nouns), also with respect to their predicative uses (section 3), then the affixes for the subjunctive (section 4) and the gerund (section 5), which 'produce' forms which have nominal and verbal properties, and then present the remaining (subordinating) modal suffixes more briefly (section 6).

1. Background: nouns and verbs in Awetí

Although generally clearly different word classes, nouns and verbs in Awetí share some properties, and for certain forms it is not obvious how they are to be classified. 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 there is the sub-class of 'stative verbs'. These use 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 subordination constructions in the focus of this study. In order to facilitate the understanding of the examples, we start by showing the different patterns of person prefixes.

In Table 1 we list the personal pronouns ('PPr') and the different sets of person prefixes: for nouns ('N'), 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 verbal prefixes in Table 1 hold for the Indicative. Note that in Awetí, there are differences in the speech of men (marked '♂') and women (marked '♀') – only in men's speech there is a difference between the third person prefixes of nouns and stative verbs; see Drude (2002). The same nominal prefixes also occur with transitive verbs when these mark the object (this happens when the object is higher in a hierarchy of reference where 1 > 2 > 3; if the person of object it is lower, only the subject-marking prefixes occur in the Indicative). Besides the prefixes for the first person singular, which follow a nominative-accusative pattern, and besides those of the third person, the subject marking prefixes of active intransitive verbs also are also

identical to those of the 'nominal' series. So Awetí may be said to have person-based split-ergativity (in combination with a split-S system due to the existence of stative verbs).

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. 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 for the two third person allomorphs *t-* and *i-* for nouns (in female speech) and stative verbs, and for those which are indicated by phonemes enclosed in parenthesis – such as the (*t*) in the subject marking prefixes for transitive verbs.

Table 1: Personal Pronouns and Prefixes

Person[1]	PPr♂	PPr♀	N♂	N♀	St	Obj.	S	A	Imp[2]
1	*atit*	*ito*		*i(t)-*			*a(j)-*	*a(t)-*	
2		*'en*		*'e-*			*'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)-*	
23		*'e'ipe*		*'e'i-*			*'e'i-*	*pej(t)-*	*pej(t)-*

Besides the 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, *"she sees her (own) mother"*; cf. Latin *suus*, as opposed to *eius*).

We illustrate these patterns with some exemplary paradigms in Table 2: two nouns, two stative verbs, two intransitive ('Itr') and two transitive verbs ('Tr'; other abbreviations as above). For each pair, there is one beginning with a consonant ('C-') and one beginning with a vowel ('V-').

Table 2: Person Paradigms of Nouns and Verbs

	N(C-)	N(V-)	St(C-)	St(V-)	Itr(C-)	Itr(V-)	Tr(C-)	Tr(V-):A	Tr(V-):O
	ty: mother	*up:* father	*'ay:* happy	*aty:* hurt, feel pain	*to*: go	*up*: stay	*pi*: sting	*ap*: cut	
1	*i-ty*	*it-up*	*i-'ay*	*it-aty*	*a-to*	*aj-up*	*a-pi*	*at-ap*	*it-ap*
2	*'e-ty*	*'e-up*	*'e-'ay*	*'ej-aty*	*'e-to*	*'e-up*	*'e-pi*	*'et-ap*	*'e-ap*
3	*nã-ty♂ / i-ty♀*	*n-up♂ / t-up♀*	*i-'ay*	*t-aty*	*o-to*	*o-up*	*wej-pi*	*wejt-ap*	—

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[1] Using traditional European categories, the numerical abbreviations read: "1" First Person Singular, "2" Second P. Singular, "3" Third Person (Singular in the case of pronouns), "12" First P. Plural Inclusive (including the Addressee), "13" First P. Pl. Exclusive (excluding the Addressee), "23" Second P. Plural.

[2] The two different singular forms are *i-* for intransitive and *jo-* for transitive verbs.

12	*kaj-ty*	*kaj-up*	*kaj-'ay*	*kaj-aty*	*kaj-to*	*kaj-up*	*ti-pi*	*tit-ap*	*kaj-ap*
13	*ozo-ty*	*ozo-up*	*ozo-'ay*	*ozo-aty*	*ozo-to*	*ozo-up*	*ozoj-pi*	*ozojt-ap*	*ozo-ap*
23	*'e'i-ty*	*'e'i-up*	*'e'i-'ay*	*'e'i-aty*	*'e'i-to*	*'e'i-up*	*pej-pi*	*pejt-ap*	*'e'i-ap*
3r	*o-ty*	*o-up*							

Besides inflection for person, nouns in Awetí may take certain suffixes which mark what we analyze as semantic cases: *-(z)an* 'ESSive', *-(y)wo* 'INSTrumental / LOCative' and *-(y)pe* 'Diffuse LOCative'. The latter two have until recently been analyzed as postpositions, and they share indeed some properties with these. (Note that they do not occur with nouns that refer to humans, possibly mainly for semantic reasons.)

Nouns may occur as complements to postpositions some of which are rather abstract, mainly marking 'oblique' complements to certain verbs, in particular *ete* 'about' and *ti* 'from'.

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* 'that is a house' – *oge'ym kitã* 'that is not a / no house'). With person prefixes or a preceding noun referring to a 'possessor', only the relation of belonging to may be negated (*itoge'ym kitã* 'this is not my house' – but it still is a house).

Another differential property of nouns is the possibility to take the 'tempus' suffixes *-(p)ut* 'former' and *-(z)an'jap* 'future'. For semantic and functional reasons, we consider these affixes to be derivational rather than to mark genuine (inflectional) nominal tense categories.

Verbs do also not inflect for tense, but have a rich system of grammatical categories, many of which are expressed by affixes. The most important categories are the person categories presented above. Closely related are the 'perspective' categories 'REFlexive' (the prefix *te-* follows the person prefix, which is of the intransitive series, although this category, as the other overtly marked perspective categories, only applies to transitive verbs), 'RECiprocal' (prefix *to-*) and 'AntiPASSive' (prefix *po(r)-*). We also already presented above the special person prefixes used for the IMPerative.

There are also several verbal functional categories which we refer to as 'factuality' categories. These are expressed analytically (by the occurrence of certain particles) and will not further be discussed here. More relevant for our purposes are the categories which are marked by suffixes. These are first of all the aspectual suffixes *-(e)ju* 'PROGressive' and *-(z)oko* 'IMperFectiVe', which follow immediately the stem and distinguish these forms from the unmarked PerFectiVe aspect. Another typically verbal suffix is the negation suffix *-(y)ka*.

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 require the nominal prefixes and occur in phrases which appear to be best analyzed as subordinations. They are discussed in sections 4 to 6.

2. Potential nominalizers and their formal properties

For the purposes of this study, I group under the label "potential nominalizer" all affixes which combine with verbal stems[3] and thus form new words which are either clearly nominal (the word forms occur primarily as referential expressions) or which combine with nominal prefixes (or, often, both). Not all of them are synchronously nominalizers in the sense that the stems formed with these affixes are indeed to be classified as nouns; hence 'potential'.

The most important and frequent potential nominalizers we identified so far are listed in (1) with a short label and possibly an informal gloss indicating their function.

(1) Potential nominalizers with active verbs and their functions

1. ***-ºat*** : agent nominalizer (AGNR)
2. ***-ºap*** : circumstantial nominalizer (of instrument, place, manner...) (CRNR) and with some intransitive verbs also patient nominalizer (PATNR)[4]
3. ***(e)mĩ-*** : patient nominalizer (PATNR)
4. ***-tu/-ºu*** : action nominalizer (ACNNR) **&/** marker of Subjunctive mood (SUBJ)
5. ***-ºaw*** : marker of Gerund mood (GER) **&/** adverbializer ('in order to')
6. ***-ºapan***[5] : marker of Gerund 2 mood (GER2) **&/** adverbializer ('so that / for')
7. ***-tuwo/-ºuwo*** : marker of Conditional mood ('if / when') (COND)
8. ***-tiwo*** : marker of Posterior mood ('after') (POSTM)
9. ***-tuti/-ºuti*** : marker of Vitativ mood ('in order to avoid') (VTT)
10. ***-e'yman*** : marker of Anterior mood ('before / without that') (ANTM)

At least the first three affixes and possibly #5 have cognates in Tupí-Guaranian languages, where these have been reconstructed for Proto-Tupí-Guaraní, arguably the closest known sister-language of Awetí.

Many suffixes (or allomorphs of suffixes #4, #7 and #9, occurring after consonants) begin with the consonant / º/.[6] This abstract phoneme is phonetically not realized after vowels. After consonants (including glides) it is realized as a voiceless stop which shares its the 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]**. Phonetically, sequences of two identical stops do not exist in Awetí (the first stop is deleted, as may also happen with

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[3] 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.

[4] 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'ĕtutewetu*** 'forget'. With such verbs, the circumstantial nominalization may refer also to the semantic patient.

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

[6] Besides this symbol, we 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, <'> 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 devoiced, coming sometimes close to **[ʃ]**. Final oral stops, if not lenited, are pronounced without audible release.

stops before other consonants), but the remaining single segment is not lenited to [*β,ſ,ɣ*], as generally happens with final oral stops before vowels. In the examples below, we represent this segment orthographically, that is, as <*p*>, <*t*>, or <*k*>, if it is realized phonetically, or else not at all.

The forms of the suffixes for stative verbs diverge from those for active verbs listed above in (1). All of the variants following stems of stative verbs, except #1, which is completely different, and #10, *-e'yman*, show an additional syllable */zã/* after vowels or else the nasal vowel */ã/* (instead of the abstract stop consonant */ˀ/*) and/or additional nasality. We list these variants in (2).

(2) Variants of potential nominalizers with stative verbs and their functions

1. *i/t-…-(y)tu* : property bearer nominalizer (PRBNR)[7]
2. *-(z)am*[8] : circumstantial nominalizer (of instrument, place, manner...)
3. – (only with transitive verbs, stative verbs are all intransitive)
4. *-(z)ãtu* : action nominalizer **&/** marker of Subjunctive mood
5. *-(z)ãw* : marker of Gerund mood **&/** adverbializer 'in order to'
6. *-(z)aman* : marker of Gerund 2 mood **&/** adverbializer 'in order to'
7. *-(z)ãtuwo* : marker of Conditional mood ('if / when')
8. *-(z)ãtiwo* : marker of Posterior mood ('after')
9. *-(z)ãtuti* : marker of Advertative mood ('else … may happen / in order to avoid')
10. *-e'yman* : marker of Anterior mood ('before / without that')

Note that the variants listed in (2) do not co-occur with the aspect affixes *-(e)ju* or *-(e)zoko*; with one of these present, the allomorphs listed in (1) do occur.[9] This holds also for the circumfix #1: with the aspect suffixes, *-ˀat* occurs instead of *-(y)tu*.[10] This is the reason for considering both functionally equivalent. However, the semantics is different enough to justify a different gloss 'property bearer nominalizer' when this morpheme (in either allomorph) occurs with stative verbs. In any case, the property bearer is syntactically the subject of the stative verb, as is the agent of active verbs, so the glosses of affix #1 could be unified, glossed as 'Subject-nominalizer'. We show the complementary distribution of the 'property bearer' suffix variants in (3).[11]

(3) Property-bearer nominalization suffixes of stative verbs

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

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[7] We gloss the first part of this circumfix with ">".

[8] We 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 *-ˀap* are accepted. The suffix *-(z)am* apparently does not occur in our text corpus, but it may have been confused with *-(z)an*, which 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.

[9] Due to the particular form of affixes #2 and #6, we did not opt for analyzing the element *(z)ã* as a perfective suffix or a formative part of a special perfective stem form used only with these moods.

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

[11] 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 -zã -tu*, 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, we give a reference to where they occur in the DOBES Awetí archive. The third form was elicited.

Most affixes occur with all transitive, active intransitive and stative verbs. Only affix #3 is, for obvious reasons, restricted to transitive verbs.

With affixes #5–10 in (1) above, 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.) Usually the function can be described as 'absolutive' – with intransitive verbs, the prefix cross-references the subject, and with transitive verbs, it refers to the object. With transitive verbs, however, the 'antipassive' prefix *po(r)-* can occur, which indicates reference to the subject, not object.

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

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

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

Forms with potential nominalizers which do not have any prefix or any preceding nominal show an initial *t-* with vowel-initial stems. This *t-* may be related to the allomorph *t-* of the first part of the circumfix #1, for vowel-initial stems of stative verbs (but note that consonant-initial active verbs do not show an initial *i-*). Also, if the stem begins with a /*p*/, this /*p*/ is changed to an /*m*/ when no prefix or preceding nominal is present, at least if the implied agent is human.[12] In forms with reduplication, this change occurs twice, as well in the reduplicant as in the base of the reduplication.

We describe forms with affixes #1–3, which we analyze as true nominalizers, in the next section, especially looking at uses which correspond to subordination in other languages. Then we dedicate one section each to the affix #4 and to affixes #5 and #6, for which it is at first sight difficult to decide if the forms are nominal or verbal. Finally we describe the remaining moods marked by affixes #7–10.

3. Nominalizations of agent, patient, circumstance

Forms derived from verbs by means of one the affixes #1 to #3 are clearly nouns.

Morphologically, they combine with most nominal suffixes mentioned above in section 1. This is demonstrated in (4) for the Essive case.[13] In (5), we demonstrate it for the instrumental and locative cases. These are not attested, and may be impossible,

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[12] At the beginning of words, this is a morphological process, while at the end of morphemes *[p]* and *[m]* are allophones of an archiphoneme /*P*/, as are *[t]* and *[n]*, and also *[k]* and *[ŋ]*, respectively.

[13] Note that the Essive suffix allomorph *-zan* appears also after *-ºat*, of which the final *t* is deleted. The final *p* of *-ºap* is lenited before *-an*, like all final consonants before other suffixes such as *-ywo* etc.

with affix #1, probably mainly for semantic reasons. See examples in (6) for cases of nominal negation and in (7) for the 'tempus' affixes with affixes #1 to #3. The examples in (4) to (7) show derivations from active verbs; in (8) we 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 as basis for the nominalization.

(4) Nominalized forms with Essive case

ozo-potazajung-ka-zan	*mi'ing-ka-zan*	*pira'yt kỹj-taw-an*
13-help-AGNR-ESS	tell-AGNR-ESS	fish kill-CRNR-ESS
as those who helped us	*as teller*	*as instrument for killing fish*
026_autobiogr-2:0169	083_awaniwani-2:0164	
kaj-tezowat-taw-an	*it-emĩ-tuw-an*	
12-believe-PATNR-ESS	1-PATNR-see-ESS	
as someone we trust[14]	*as something I (can) see*	
083_tawozy-2:1103		

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

i-kaza-aw-ywo	*i-kaza-aw-ywo*	*it-emĩ-'og-ywo*
1-work-CRNR-INST	1-work-CRNR-LOC	1-PATNR-take.off-INST
with my work equipment =	*in my working place*	*using what I took off (filmed)*
myzung-kaw-ype	*kara'yput te-taw-ywo*	
bater.pé-CRNR-DLOC	bird sleep-CRNR-LOC	
to the fighting place	*at the place where birds sleep*	
026_dry_seas2:0331	083_tawozy-5:0378	

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

tepyk-ar-e'ym	*jumem 'u-ar-e'ym*
tk.revenge-ACNR-NEG	bread eat-ACNR-NEG.
one who did not take revenge	*no bread-eater*
083_kamukuaka-4:0159	157_mamuti-2:1334.
it-emĩ-kwawap-e'ym	*o-pepo awykyt-tap-e'ym*
1-PATNR-know-NEG	3R-wing (make?)-CRNR-NEG
what is unknown by me	*not what is for making his own wing*
026_rain_seas2a:0563	083_awakap-1:1292

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

it-yti'yt kỹj-tat-put	*e-upizũ emi-ezut-put pira'yt*
1-o.brother kill-AGNR-former	2-uncle PATNR-bring-former fish
the one who killed my brother	*The fish your uncle brought*
043_autobiogr-2:0114.	083_tawozy-3:0791
apaj majõ-aw-ut	*it-emĩ-kwawap-an'jap*
daddy die-CRNR-former	1-PATNR-know-future
the way my father died	*what I will know*
010_autobiogr:0578	.

(8) Nominalized forms of stative verbs with nominal suffixes

i-ta'og-ytu-zan	*i-tyw-ytu-zan*
>-angry-PRBNR-ESS	>-numerous-PRBNR-ESS
as an angry person	*being many (as such which are many)*
	old_villages:0546

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[14] See table 1 and footnote 4 for the semantics and the label PATNR.

i-katu-tu-e'ym	*i-tezag-ytu-put*
>-good-PRBNR-NEG	>-dangerous-PRBNR-former
sth. that is not good	*a formerly dangerous one*
026_rain_seas2a:1098	083_enum_taw-1:0305

As mentioned in the last section, forms of stative verbs with the circumstantial nominalizer *-(z)am* are apparently not attested (with or without nominal affixes) in the Awetí text corpus so far. They are also, for many stative verbs, difficult to elicit (again possibly due to semantic reasons).[15] The analogous forms with active verbs, see (5), are also not frequent in the corpus, but easy to elicit and do occur in spontaneous speech. The form *ikatutue'ym* in (8) is largely equivalent to the more common form *ikatue'ymytu*.[16]

Syntactically, the forms with affixes #1–3 are found in typical nominal positions, in particular as subject or object to predicates or as complements to postpositions. It does not need much effort to elicit examples for each of these forms in each of the positions. In the corpus of Awetí texts, however, not all forms occur frequently in all positions. Forms with *-°at* are most frequent as subject, less often as object; see the examples in (9). Forms with *-°ap* occur most often with postpositions (or with case markers) in an adverbial function; cf. (10). An example for a form with *(e)mĩ-* is given in (11). Nevertheless, these latter forms are less frequently found in any of these functions.

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

o-tem	*toa'api-j-at*	*a'yn*	*wej-mo-tet*	*tak-kat*
3-leave	fight-PROG-AGNR	PTCL	3-CAUS-sleep	cry-AGNR

the fighter (the currently fighting one) leaves   *she rocked the crying (child) to sleep*
026_rain_seas2a:0249

(10) Nominalized forms with -°ap with postpositions

o-to	*nã-'apyt*	*pap-pap*	*tsoa*	*o-up-ej-ap*	*kyty*
3-go	3-edge	end-CRNR	towards	3-stay-PROG-CRNR	to

went towards the ending of its (the lake's) edge   *to the place where he is staying*
026_rain_seas2a:1222   083_awaniwani-6:1103.

(11) Nominalized form with emĩ- as subject

jawari	*emĩ-'ywõ-put*	*ne*	*o-mãjõ*	*a'yn*
jawari	PATNR-shoot-former	PTCL	3-die	PTCL

the one who was shot by the jawari (i.e., during the jawari festival) died
026_rain_seas3:0557

Some forms with suffixes #2 and #3 show signs of lexicalization. Observe the examples in (12). Example (12a) does not have any prefix although the underlying verb is transitive (and 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 is intransitive. Example (12c) shows opaque semantics and (12d) has unusual nasality on the verbal root syllable, which in isolation is oral (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. Finally, (12g), very frequent, is a borderline case.

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[15] The correspondent forms with aspect suffixes, that is, ending in *-ezokwap* or *-ejap*, are equally rare.

[16] 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.

(12) Most frequent lexicalized nominalized forms
   a. *tomowkap:* "instrument to instruct one another": *story, myth*
   b. *X-kytsitsap:* "circumst. to feel shame": *in-law (husband's sister / wife's brother)*
   c. *ti'ingkap:* "circumst. to speak / what is spoken": *boyfriend / girlfriend / lover*
   d. *mi'ũ:* "what is eaten": *food*
   e. *nupap, X-upap:* "instrument/place (for X) to be, to stay": *place, recipient*
   g. *mo'atap* "sth. made by the community" (in particular, chief's house)
   f. *tigap:* "instrument/place to sit": *bench, stool*

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 synchronously no related or underlying verbal root. Compare the examples in (13). 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*/.

(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")

In sum, forms derived with the affixes #1–3 are nouns by morphological and syntactic / functional criteria, and seem to have been so for quite a long time period.

However, frequently these forms do not occur in the positions exemplified in (9) to (11), but in equative and in particular in cleft clauses, that is, in predicative use (less often in existential clauses).[17] 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.[18] These uses are also remarkable because they often occur 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).

(15) Nominalized forms in predicative use: equative and cleft sentences
   a. *Makayryza   wazotsu   nã-kwawap-pat-put   ne*
   Bakairi   only   3-know-AGNR-former   PTCL
   Only the Bakairi knew this (lit: only the B. [were] the ones who knew this)
   026_rain_seas3:0312

   b. *in   uja   tige-j-at   ne*
   there   this   sentar-PROG-AGNR   PTCL
   There he is sitting (lit: there is this sitting one)
   083_tawozy-2:1183

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[17] 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 deictic pronoun or related form after the clefted nominal: *jatã*, *kitã* or *itã* in men's speech, *uja*, *akyj* or *akakyj* in women's speech.

[18] 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).

c. *«jumem ’u-ar-e’ym   uja   ozoza   me,   uja»*
«bread   eat-AGNR-NEG   this   we   PTCL   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   1-PATNR-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   1-CAUS-REFL-CAUS-leave-AGNR   PTCL   PTCL
your brother [was] it [the one] who makes/made me leave
157_mamuti-1:1495

f. *nã jatã kaj-emi-ukã-ju   kaj-kwap-ej-aw   nã-’apo   me*
he that 12-PATNR-step-PROG   12-walk-PROG-GER   3-top.of   PTCL
*It is on him that we are stepping, <u>walking on top of him</u>. (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   emi-ezut   nã-mokang-aw*
Result.of   that   they   PATNR-bring   3-smoke/dry-GER
That (fish) is what they brought <u>to smoke/dry</u>
026_rain_seas2a:1231

The examples in (15) f+g are particularly remarkable because they contain occur-
rences 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 to be able to co-occur with gerunds.

Another (overall rare) function of nominalized forms is that as nominal modifier, cor-
responding to relative clauses in European languages.[19] 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-AGNR   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-PRBNR   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 our corpus the nominalized form seems to function
as (or analogously to) a verbal predicate, not necessarily in existential but certainly
not in equative clauses. 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.

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

(17) Other predicative functions of nominalized forms

a. *tepyk-ar-e'ym   zanu   u'wyw-ywo   nã-'ywõ-aw*
pay-AGNR-NEG   too   arrow-INSTR   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   HS   ran-AGNR
[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   PTCL
side by side they ran for a while
026_dry_seas2:0409

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

The forms discussed in section 3 are – albeit frequently employed as predicates – nominalizations of subject, object, or 'circumstance'. We now turn to forms with the suffix #4 in the lists in (1) and (2), above, or henceforth just *-tu*. In isolation, they also may be translated as nominalizations: nominalizations of the action or event.

There is one (overall not frequent) use of these forms where one could postulate that these forms were nominalizations: when they function as complements to a small set of verbs such as *nãkwawapu* 'to know', *nãkwakupu* 'to want', or *katuzãtu* 'to be good'.[20] Examples are given in (18) below.

(18) Forms with *-tu* as complements

a. *apaj   tak-eju-tu   a'yt   a-kwawap*
dad   cry-PROG-ACNNRZ   EMOT   1-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-u   pej-kwakup   me?*
Q   FUT   1-son   come-ACNNRZ   23-want   PTCL
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 function. For one thing, these forms do not permit the nominal 'tempus' 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) for functional reasons. Indeed, these forms do not combine with any of the nominal suffixes or with postpositions.

Another argument in favor of the verbal character of these forms is that they have full verbal valency, including the subject of transitive verbs, as shown in (19a). In (19b) we also cite the sentence which in the text immediately follows (19a). It contains an-

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[20] As the reader may have noticed, we refer to Awetí verbs (as lexical words) using citation forms which also contain the suffix *-tu*. This use is related to the Subjunctive / Indicative 2 discussed in this section, but there are some formal differences. For instance, the citation forms of intransitive verbs with vowel-initial stems show an additional *t-*. For transitive verbs, we use the male speech prefix for third person, *n-* before vowels or *nã-* before consonants. Female awetí speakers would use different prefixes, and in the case of verbs with typically human objects, often the Reciprocal prefix *to-* is used.

other occurrence of the same root *ti'ing* 'speak'. This occurrence (without any nominal complement) is a lexicalized nominalization ('language', 'speech'), without any valency,[21] demonstrating that the *-tu*-forms are indeed close to nouns and may be lexicalized as such. We hold, however, that the form *itezoti'ingku* 'that … teaches me to speak' in (19a) is verbal, and forms a subordinated complement phrase.[22] We therefore gloss *-tu* in this use as 'SUBJunctive'.

(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   1-COMCAUS-speak-SUBJ   not   1-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-ACNNRZ   1-know-NEG   PTCL   PTCL

        Therefore it is that I do not know the language / speech (well)

        026_autobiogr-2:0454

Surprisingly, the by far most frequent use of forms with *-tu* is not subordination but that of main (independent) predicates, and this a further major reason for analyzing these forms as verbal. Indeed, verbal predicates are almost as frequently forms with *-tu* as usual indicative verb forms. Although formally identical, it does not seem to be functionally appropriate to label these forms in this use as 'subjunctive'. They rather resemble certain forms known in Tupí-Guaranian languages as 'Indicative 2',[23] and this is the term we apply here.[24]

The sentences in (20) are an illustrative example of the use of forms with *-tu* as Indicative 2, and how they vary with usual Indicative predicates. It is a frequent stylistic pattern in Awetí narratives to repeat almost the same sentence with only slight modifications. The two Indicatives are often applied in this stylistic figure, as in the sentences in (20) which are a direct extract of one historical text.

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), it is a further indication for the verbal character of the Subjunctive / Indicative 2 forms.

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[21] 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.

[22] 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)-*.

[23] This term was used by Rodrigues in his earlier work (e.g., 1953), who later preferred 'circumstantial'. Jensen (1998) uses 'oblique-topicalized verb'. Note, however, that these forms in Tupí-Guaraní are associated with sentence-initial adverbials. This is not the case in Awetí, where they can occur also without any adverbial expression present. It may well be, however, that they are used more often than usual 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 not cognate to *-tu*.

[24] Despite the different glosses, Indicative 2 is not an additional category, but rather a subset of the Subjunctive. All forms with *-tu* that occur as main predicates (in 'Indicative 2' function) also can occur as predicates of complement clauses (as 'Subjunctive'), but the contrary does not hold. Negated forms, for instance, formed with the suffix *-e'ympu*, only occur in complement clauses, but not as main predicates.

(20) **Four consecutive sentences varying between Indicative and Indicative 2**

    a. *kara'iwa   po-kỹj-oko-tu   nanype   tsã.*
       non.indian   APASS-kill-IPFV-I2 there   they
       The white kept killing them there.

    b. *tsã tokỹj-tu nanype.*   **c.** *o-tokỹj   nanype tsãn a'yn.*
       they fight-I2 there   3-fight   there   they PTCL
       They fought there.   *They fought there.*

    d. *nãtezak_ti   'yto tsãn ut-u   me.*   **e.** *Ajkulula pe o-ut   tsãn a'yn.*
       afraid_of_this then they come-I2 PTCL   Ajkulula to 3-come they PTCL
       Afraid of this they came then.   *The came to Ajkulula.*

    kal_azoamujza: 0126 - 0131

Besides the forms used in subordinated and main clauses, there are forms with **-tu** which can be used as a meta-linguistic device to refer to the word as such. These forms are here and elsewhere (e.g., in the dictionary that is being developed) employed as citation form. These forms have no person prefixes, in the case of intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, these forms show the third person prefix **n(ã)-**, in the case of men's speech (**nã-kỹj-tu** 'to kill', **n-ẽtup-u** 'to hear/listen', etc.), or **t-** (before vowels) or **i-** (before consonants) in the female variety (**i-kỹj-tu** 'to kill', **t-ẽtup-u** 'to hear/listen', etc.). Also intransitive verbs with vowel-initial stems show a prefix **t-** in these forms (**t-up-u** 'to stay'), in both genderlects (but no **i-** before consonants: **to-tu** 'to go' etc., not **i-to-tu** *'to go').

It is possible, although not compellingly the case, that the Subjunctive/Indicative 2 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.

(21) **Possible 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** 'speech, language', parallel to derivations with suffixes #1 and #2 (cf. nominalizations of agent – e.g. **tan-tat** 'runner' – and circumstance – e.g. **tig-ap** '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-tap** 'the killing of snakes / the snake(s)' (in analogy to **mõj+kỹj-tap** '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: **(akwawap) 'e-to-tu** '(I know of) your going'.

    4. For transitive verbs, the antipassive prefix po(r)- is developed and allows for analogous forms with subject / possessor prefixes: **(akwawap) 'e-po-kỹj-tu** '(I know of) your killing'.

    5. The object of underlying transitive verbs can be specified as a regular complement without postposition, so the original valency is restored: **(akwawap) 'e-po-kỹj-tu mõj** '(I know of) your killing of the/a snake'.

    6. As the lexical semantics is virtually identical with that of the original verbs, the nominalizations were re-analyzed as finite subordinated predicates and re-integrated into the verbal paradigms as a 'Subjunctive' mode: **(akwawap) 'e-po-kỹj-tu mõj** '(I know) that you killed the/a snake'.

    7. Still today, the forms with **-tu** can only be negated with **-e'ym-** when in subordinated 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 such): *(akwawap) mõj-kỹj-e'ympu 'en* '(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 (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 there will be my going' = *ko'jem tut a-to* 'tomorrow I will go'.

10. As the propositions are virtually the same, the lexical meaning of the forms in question can easily be re-analyzed as identical, and the forms are perceived as belonging to the same paradigm, that is, as an additional verbal mood, Subjunctive / Circumstantial.

11. This mood which is allowed in main clauses is extended to transitive verbs which, as in the subordinated cases, now have the same valency, possibly first with the antipassive prefix *po(r)-*: *kat po-kỹj-tu tsã* 'the animal/spirit killed them', then also with pronominal subjects: *pira'yt kỹj-tu … tsã me* 'they … killed fish'.

5. Forms with *-aw*: adverbials and con-verbs

Another class of forms with verbal stems and nominal person prefixes are the forms with suffix #5, *-ºaw*. Constructions with these forms can be characterized as in (22).[25]

(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 Indicative 2 mood;

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-u* 'stay', *t-etse-tu* 'get into', *n-ezoto-tu* 'go and take O with A', *nawỹj* (a particle) 'lets go', *n-ezut-u* 'come and bring O with A'; *tire-tu* 'leave', *t-a'am-pu* 'get/stand up', *n-ãzyp-u* 'to pass by'; *n-ezup-u* '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 which indicate the purpose of the action expressed by the finite verb, which in this case usually is a weak verb of motion. Another common function is to indicate the direction (with one of the weak verbs of motion *totu*, *tutu*, *nezototu*, or *nezutu* in the gerund) or longer duration (with weak verbs *tekozokotu* or *tupu* in the gerund). Finally, there are some cases where the verb in the Gerund expresses the manner or a concomitant action.

Construção converb com finalidade, intransitivo:
a- to -zoko it- atuk -aw
1- ir -IPFV   1- banhar -GER
estou indo para tomar meu banho ('para eu banhar')

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[25] This section summarizes the article Drude (to appear) to which the reader is referred for more details.

Construção converb com finalidade, transitivo:

aj- ut   e- tup -aw
1- vir   2- ver -GER

eu vim (para) te ver

Construção converb com maneira, intransitivo:

aj- ut   i- tan -taw
1- vir   1- correr -GER

eu vim correndo

De um texto, com subjuntivo e progressivo:

 nãnywã kaj- to -ju   -tu   kaj- atuk -ej   -aw   042_village:0158
por.lá   12- ir -PROG -SUBJ 12- banhar -PROG -GER

por lá estamos indo para tomar nosso banho

Exemplos elicitados e de textos: não-'invertido' e 'invertido':

a- to -zoko   it- atuk -aw   aj- atug -oko it- tw -aw
1- ir -IPFV   1- banhar -GER   1- banhar -IPFV 1- ir -GER

estou indo para tomar meu banho   *estou indo para tomar meu banho*

tsã tige -tu   o- tw -aw   030_male-recl:0659
3PL sentar -SUBJ 3- ir -GER

eles vão para se sentar

namuput kyts -aw 'yto tut kujãpuryza to -tu   me   *042_village:0599*
aquilo   cortar -GER então FUT mulheres   ir -SUBJ DEF

então as mulheres vão para cortar aquilo (os caroços)

wemajãku pywo tsã   po- kytse -tu   o- tw -aw   nã me   *042_village:0604*
suas.cestas dentro 3PL APASS- cortar -SUBJ 3- ir -GER 3   DEF

elas vão para cortá-los para dentro de seus cestos

Até agora, contei a seguinte distribuição de funções semânticas (amostra: 110):

- propósito: 78 (54 *to*, 7 *ut*, 6 *tem*, 2 *a'am*, 2 *nawỹj*, 2 *ezoto*, 1 *ezup*)
- direção: 12 (6 *to*, 5 *ut*, 1 *ezut*)
- maneira: 8 (2 *e'i*, 1 *ekozoko*, 1 *izyp*, 1 *to*, 2 *ut*)
- direção/propósito: 6 (4 *to*, 2 *ut*)
- propósito/maneira: 3 (1 *a'am*, 1 *tem*, 1 *e'i*)
- direção/maneira: 3 (1 *ut*, 1 *up*, 1 *ezoto*)
- vários (destes e outros) duvidosos

Contagem do modo do verbo não-gerúndio:

- 60 indicativo
- 50 circunstancial / subjuntivo
- 3 imperativo (+3 nawỹj, +3 ...apan)
- 1 predicação nominal:

  namuput kitã tsãn   emi- ezut nã- mokang-aw wẽ *026_rain_seas2a:1231*
  aquilo   é.que 3PL OBJNR- trazer 3- curar   -GER DEF

  é aquilo que elas trazem para curá-lo

Contagem do aspecto dos dois verbos:

- 103: ambos perfectivo (não-marcado)
- 7: verbo principal GER e PROG (destes, 2 casos onde ambos PROG)

- 5: verbo principal GER e IPFV (destes, 1 caso ambos IPFV)
- 2: verbo leve GER e PROG
- 2: verbo leve GER e verbo principal IPFV
- 1: verbo principal GER e verbo leve IPFV

Um possível caminho de desenvolvimento:

- Postulo que o signifado de 'maneira' foi o mais antigo.
- As formas **-aw** provavelmente são relacionadas diacronicamente com a nominalização de circunstância (instrumento, lugar, maneira…) e com a posposição de 'locativo difuso'.

  o-tem -ap   βo > o- tem -paβu > otempaw
  3- leave -CIRC   in
  na circunstância de seu sair

1. Modificador adverbial de maneira
2. Modificador adverbial de direção
3. Reinterpretação como con-verbo
4. A estrutura com-verbo pode ser invertida
5. Entra a semântica de propósito
6. No caso de verbos transitivos, a interpretação dissolve o complexo de con-verbo de volta para um modificador
7. Ou mantêm-se a estrutura de con-verbo com verbos diferentes, intransitivo e transitivo

6. Other moods with nominal prefixes

7. Conclusion

- Há muito pouca subordinação em Awetí.
- Predicação nominal é mais freqüente, inclusive com nomes deverbais.
- Nominalizações se re-integraram no verbo.
- 'Nominalizações' servem para fins que em outras línguas seriam encaixadas:
  - ... 'que ele o viu' : *nã-tup-u nã*
  - ... 'quem o viu' : *nã-tup-at*
  - ... 'o que ele viu' : *n-emĩ-tup*
  - ... 'vendo-o, para vê-lo' : *nã-tup-aw*
  - ... 'para você vê-lo' : *e-po-tup-apan nã*

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