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-Guarani 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 prefixes of men’s speech (see below). All 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 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>PPPr ♂♂</th>
<th>PPPr ♂♀</th>
<th>N ♂♂</th>
<th>N ♂♀</th>
<th>St</th>
<th>Obj</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Imp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>atit</td>
<td>ito</td>
<td>i(t)-</td>
<td>a(j)-</td>
<td>a(t)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>’en</td>
<td>’e-</td>
<td>’e-</td>
<td>’e(t)-</td>
<td>i- / jo(t)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3 pl</td>
<td>nà / tsā</td>
<td>i / ta’i</td>
<td>n(ā)-</td>
<td>t- , i-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>wej(t)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kajā</td>
<td>kaj-</td>
<td>kaj-</td>
<td>ti(t)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ozoza</td>
<td>ozo-</td>
<td>ozo-</td>
<td>ozoj(t)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>’e’ipe</td>
<td>’e’i-</td>
<td>’e’i-</td>
<td>pej(t)-</td>
<td>pej(t)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (‘It’r’) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N(C-)</th>
<th>N(V-)</th>
<th>St(C-)</th>
<th>St(V-)</th>
<th>It(C-)</th>
<th>It(V-)</th>
<th>Tr(C-)</th>
<th>Tr(V-):A</th>
<th>Tr(V-):O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ty: mother</td>
<td>up: father</td>
<td>'ay: happy</td>
<td>aty: hurt, feel pain</td>
<td>to: go</td>
<td>up: stay</td>
<td>pi: sting</td>
<td>ap: cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>i-ty</td>
<td>it-up</td>
<td>i-’ay</td>
<td>it-aty</td>
<td>a-to</td>
<td>aj-up</td>
<td>a-pi</td>
<td>at-ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>’e-ty</td>
<td>’e-up</td>
<td>’e-’ay</td>
<td>’e’aj-aty</td>
<td>’e-to</td>
<td>’e-up</td>
<td>’e-pi</td>
<td>’et-ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nà-ty ♂♂ / i-ty ♂♀</td>
<td>n-up ♂♂ / t-up ♂♀</td>
<td>i-’ay</td>
<td>t-aty</td>
<td>o-to</td>
<td>o-up</td>
<td>wej-pi</td>
<td>wejt-ap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2 The two different singular forms are i- for intransitive and jo- for transitive verbs.
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’yym. If the original noun designates X, the correspondent form with -e’yym designates something or someone which/who is not X (ok kitã ‘that is a house’ – oge’yym 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’yym 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)anjap ‘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), ‘RECiprocals’ (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 ‘IMpreFectiVe’, 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 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)
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: marker of Gerund 2 mood (GER2) & adverbializer (‘so that / for’)
7. -tuwo/-ºuwo: marker of Conditional mood (‘if / when’) (COND)
8. -tivo: 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-Guarani, 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/. 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,n]. Phoenetically, 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’, ti’ingku ‘speak’, ‘etu ‘say’, ma’etutewetu ‘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 [pf]).

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 /ʃ/ 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 \([\beta,\gamma,\delta]\), as generally happens with final oral stops before vowels. In the examples below, we represent this segment orthographically, that is, as \(<p>\), \(<\phi>\), 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 \(/\tilde{a}\tilde{a}\) after vowels or else the nasal vowel \(/\tilde{a}\tilde{a}\) (instead of the abstract stop consonant \(/\eta\)) and/or additional nasality. We list these variants in (2).

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

1. \(i/\ldots-(y)tu\) : property bearer nominalizer (PRBNR)\(^7\)
2. \(-(z)am\) : circumstantial nominalizer (of instrument, place, manner...)
3. – (only with transitive verbs, stative verbs are all intransitive)
4. \(-(z)\tilde{a}tu\) : action nominalizer &/ marker of Subjunctive mood
5. \(-(z)\tilde{a}w\) : marker of Gerund mood &/ adverbalizer ‘in order to’
6. \(-(z)aman\) : marker of Gerund 2 mood &/ adverbalizer ‘in order to’
7. \(-(z)\tilde{a}tuwo\) : marker of Conditional mood (‘if / when’)
8. \(-(z)\tilde{a}tiwo\) : marker of Posterior mood (‘after’)
9. \(-(z)\tilde{a}tuti\) : 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, \(-'at\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t-er-ytu</th>
<th>t-er-ezokw-at</th>
<th>t-er-ej-at</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;-name-PRBNR</td>
<td>&gt;-name-IPFV-PRBNR</td>
<td>&gt;-name-PROG-PRBNR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a famous one</td>
<td>a (permanently) famous one</td>
<td>a currently famous one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>083_kamukuaka-2-0534</td>
<td>157_kwat-lang-4-1564</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^7\) 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 \(-'up\) 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 \(\tilde{a}\tilde{a}\) 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 \(tez\tilde{a}tu\) ‘to be famous’ has a nominal root \(et\) ‘name’ (the citation form can be analyzed into \(t\ et\ -z\tilde{a}-tu\), see below section 4). Static verbs derived from a noun with meaning ‘X’ have the basic meaning ‘to have X’, so \(tez\tilde{a}tu\) 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 Aweti 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Transitive verb</th>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-at / i/t- ...(y)tu</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>(not possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ap / -(z)am</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Subject (optional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(e)mī-</td>
<td>Subject (optional)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-tu/-u / -(z)ātu</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Subject (optional)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. In (5), we demonstrate it for the instrumental and locative cases. These are not attested, and may be impossible,
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalized forms</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ozo-potacajung-ka-za</td>
<td>mi’ing-ka-za</td>
<td>pir’a-ty kyi-taw-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalized forms</th>
<th>Instrument / Locative</th>
<th>Diffuse Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-kaza-aw-ywo</td>
<td>i-kaza-aw-ywo</td>
<td>it-emi-taw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myzung-kaw-ype</td>
<td>kara’yput te-taw-ywo</td>
<td>1-work-CRNR-DLOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) Nominalized forms negated with e’ym

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalized forms</th>
<th>Negated forms</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tepyk-ar-e’ym</td>
<td>tenezowat-taw-an</td>
<td>it-em-taw-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk.revenge-ACNR-NEG</td>
<td>1-believe-PATNR-ESS</td>
<td>1-PATNR-see-ESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one who did not take revenge</td>
<td>1-PATNR-take.off-INST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Nominalized forms with ‘past’ and ‘future’ suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalized forms</th>
<th>Past Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it-yti’yt kyi-tat-put</td>
<td>e-upiz Emi-ezut-put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-o.brother kill-AGNR-former</td>
<td>2-uncle PATNR-bring-former fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the one who killed my brother</td>
<td>The fish your uncle brought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) Nominalized forms of stative verbs with nominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalized forms</th>
<th>Stative Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-ta’og-ytu-zan</td>
<td>i-tyw-ytu-zan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as an angry person</td>
<td>as being many (as such which are many)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

14 See table 1 and footnote 4 for the semantics and the label PATNR.
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). 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 *ikatu’ymytyu*.

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 -(º)at are most frequent as subject, less often as object; see the examples in (9). Forms with -(º)ap occur most often with postpositions (or with case markers) in an adverbial function; cf. (10). An example for a form with *(e)m̃i* is given in (11). Nevertheless, these latter forms are less frequently found in any of these functions.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o-tem</th>
<th>toa’api-j-at</th>
<th>a’yn</th>
<th>wej-mo-tet</th>
<th>tak-kat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-leave</td>
<td>fight-PROG-AGNR</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>3-CUSA-sleep</td>
<td>cry-AGNR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the fighter (the currently fighting one) leaves</td>
<td>she rocked the crying (child) to sleep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>026_rain_seas2a:0249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Nominalized forms with -(º)ap with postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o-to</th>
<th>nā’apyt</th>
<th>pap-pap</th>
<th>tsoa</th>
<th>o-up-ej-ap</th>
<th>kyty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-go</td>
<td>3-edge</td>
<td>end-CRNR</td>
<td>towards</td>
<td>3-stay-PROG-CRNR</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>went towards the ending of its (the lake’s) edge</td>
<td>to the place where he is staying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>026_rain_seas2a:1222</td>
<td>083_awaniwani-6:1103.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) Nominalized form with *emi* as subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jawari</th>
<th>emi’-ywō-put</th>
<th>ne</th>
<th>o-mājō</th>
<th>a’yn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jawari PATNR-shoot-former</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>3-die</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the one who was shot by the jawari (i.e., during the jawari festival) died</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>026_rain_seas3:0557</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)m̃i*). 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’yym to occur before (at the left of) potential nominalizer suffixes would need a separate study.
Most frequent lexicalized nominalized forms

- **tomowkap**: “instrument to instruct one another”: story, myth
- **X-kytsitsap**: “circumst. to feel shame”: in-law (husband’s sister / wife’s brother)
- **ti’ingkap**: “circumst. to speak / what is spoken”: boyfriend / girlfriend / lover
- **mi’ū**: “what is eaten”: food
- **nupap, X-upap**: “instrument/place (for X) to be, to stay”: place, recipient
- **mo’atap**: “sth. made by the community” (in particular, chief’s house)
- **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/.

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”, ... mepyt “child (of woman)”, ... a’yt “son (of man)”,
- ... atiyt “daughter (of man)”, ... yti’yt “man’s older brother”, ... ywytyt “man’s younger brother”, ... njyt “man’s sister”, ... kypyt “woman’s brother”, ... kypyt “woman’s older sister”

Nouns denoting places ending in **ap**, **am** or **p**

- pepi’ingkap “village plaza, center”, ototap “men’s hut”, tam “village”, ywirytyt (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). Now, nominal predication in such constructions is not uncommon in Aweti 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. 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).

Nominalized forms in predicative use: equative and cleft sentences

- **Makayryza wazotsu nā-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

- **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).
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 adverbiaal 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, corresponding 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.

\(^{19}\) Note that proper adjectives do not exist and that nominal modification is generally rare in Awetí.
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_kamuuka-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-

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 kitā 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-Guarani 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-Guarani (*-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'wa po-kįj-ok-o-tu nanype tsã.  
   non.indian APASS-kill-IPFV-12 there they  
   The white kept killing them there.

b. tsã tokįj-tu nanype.  
   they fight-12 there  
   They fought there.  

b. o-tokįj nanype tsãn a'yn.  
   fight-3 there they PTCL  
   They fought there.  

c. o-tokįj nanype tsãn a'yn.  
   3-fight there they PTCL  
   They fought there.  

d. natezak ti 'yto tsãn ut-u me.  
   afraid of this then they come-I2 PTCL  
   Afraid of this they came then.  

e. Ajkulula pe o-ut tsãn a'yn.  
   Ajkulula to 3-come they PTCL  
   The came to Ajkulula.

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-kįj-tu ‘to kill’, n-čtup-u ‘to hear/listen’, etc.), or t- (before vowels) or i- (before consonants) in the female variety (i-kįj-tu ‘to kill’, t-čtup-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: mōj+kįj-tap ‘the killing of snakes / the snake(s)’ (in analogy to mōj+kįj-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-kįj-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-kįj-tu mōj ‘(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-kįj-tu mōj ‘(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) mōj-kīj-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 mōj-kīj-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-kīj-tu tsā ‘the animal/spirit killed them’, then also with pronominal subjects: pira’yt kīj-tu … tsā 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, -aw. 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;
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 to-tu, tutu, nezototu, or nezutu in the gerund) or longer duration (with weak verbs tėkozokotu 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’)
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:
nánywã kaj- to -ju -tu kaj- atuk -ej -aw
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
3PL sentar -SUBJ 3- ir -GER
eles vão para se sentar

Contagem do modo do verbo não-gerúndio:
- 60 indicativo
- 50 circunstancial / subjuntivo
- 3 imperativo (+3 naw'yj, +3 ...apan)
- 1 predicação nominal:

Até agora, contei a seguinte distribuição de funções semânticas (amostra: 110):
- propósito: 78 (54 to, 7 ut, 6 tem, 2 a'am, 2 naw'yj, 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 aspecto dos dois verbos:
- 103: ambos perfectivo (não-marcado)
- 7: verbo principal GER e PROG (destes, 2 casos onde ambos PROG)
Um possível caminho de desenvolvimento:

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 mantém-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 frequente, inclusive com nomes deverbaís.
- 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-emã-tup
- ‘vendo-o, para vê-lo’ : nã-tup-aw
- ‘para você vê-lo’ : e-po-tup-apan nã

References
