

### 3 'Derivational verbs' and other multiple-verb constructions in Awetí and Tupí-Guaraní

This study investigates the “gerund” forms in Awetí – they co-occur with finite verbs, sharing their subject. Typically, in gerund constructions (GC), one ‘light’ verb expresses motion or position, and one verb indicates purpose, direction or manner of the situation expressed by the other. Gerund verbs may be converbs (heads of adverbial modifier phrases). However, as the finite and gerund verb often can be exchanged without propositional meaning changes, sometimes the gerund and finite verb form one complex predicate. After a corpus-based investigation of the semantics of GCs and of morpho-syntactic features (aspect, mood, negation), GCs in Awetí are compared to their Tupí-Guaraní equivalents. Finally, a historical development of Awetí’s GC is postulated, and the two structures (adverbials / complex predicates) are made explicit. Importantly, the semantic effect of GCs as complex predicates is derivational. This corroborates the theory that form building, derivation and composition are orthogonal to the morphology–syntax division.

#### 1) Introduction

This paper describes the formal and semantic properties of the ‘gerund’ in Awetí, a Tupian language spoken by ca. 150 people in central Brazil in the Upper Xingu area.<sup>1</sup> Awetí does not belong to, but is arguably the closest relative of the well-known Tupí subfamily, the largest branch of the Tupí family (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup> Together with Mawé, Awetí and Tupí constitute a major branch of Tupí, ‘Mawetí-Guaraní’ (Drude 2006, Drude & Meira in prep., Rodrigues & Dietrich, 1997). We also give an overview of the ‘gerund’ in Tupí-Guaraní languages (§7).

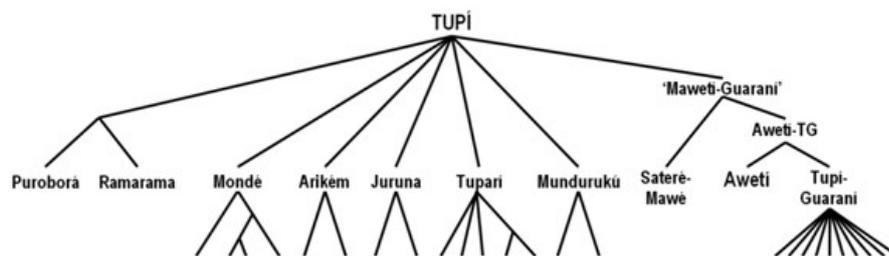


Figure 1: The position of Awetí in the Tupí family

<sup>1</sup> The following analysis is a preliminary result of ten years of work on Awetí, including a total of around fourteen months of fieldwork. From 2001 to 2005, the project was supported by the Volkswagen Foundation within the DOBES (Documentation of Endangered Languages) program, focusing on documenting the language and aspects of the culture. From 2008 on, my research has been supported by a Dilthey-fellowship which again allows me to do fieldwork and to invite speakers to the Museu Goeldi in Belém. I am very grateful for the support by funding agencies, the Museu Goeldi and my Awetí teachers. I also owe thanks to several reviewers of earlier versions of this paper, in particular to the editors and Hein van der Voort. Remaining shortcomings are mine alone.

<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 represents the major branches of the large Tupí family, including recent results by the Tupí Comparative Project at the Museu Goeldi, Belém, Brazil.

This work is based on a rich corpus of Awetí speech data (including more than 80 hours of audio recordings), a large part of which has been transcribed (see *Awetí Documentation* in the references). A major part of the transcribed texts has also been translated. In the transcribed texts, I found more than 900 occurrences of gerund forms (and more than 200 of semantically similar purposive forms). For this study I analyzed and classified a sample of 200 gerund occurrences, allowing me to present quantitative observations and to advance hypotheses on the syntactic structure concerning the different constructions.

After an introduction to nouns and especially to verbs and their moods in Awetí (§2), I give a general description of the gerund constructions (§3) and present a particularly intriguing feature, the possibility to ‘invert’ the finite and gerund verb (§4). In §5, I distinguish different semantic types of constructions involving the gerund, and then (§6) observe the occurrence of mood, aspect and negation in gerund constructions, while in both cases providing a quantitative analysis of my sample of 200 gerund sentences. Finally, in §7 I present related forms and structures reported for Tupí languages, which allows me to present a hypothesis for the development of the gerund in Awetí (§8). My proposal for syntactic structures of gerund sentences (also §8) distinguishes two construction types. In one type the gerund forms are analyzed as converbs in a traditional sense: verbal nuclei of adverbial modifiers (i.e., subordination). The other type of gerund constructions are analyzed as complex predicates (grammaticalized converb constructions) – the syntactic functional equivalent to morphological derivation, by means of verb forms: gerunds as ‘derivational verbs’.

## 2) *Background: Nouns and verbs, and verbal moods in Awetí*

Although nouns and verbs are different word classes in Awetí, they both inflect for person, albeit typically with different sets of prefixes. Nonetheless, there are several circumstances under which the nominal prefixes occur with verbs. For instance, there is the subclass of intransitive ‘stative verbs’ which 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 such as the subjunctive and the gerund, which is in the focus of this study.<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>3</sup> “Gerund” is admittedly a rather unusual term for a mood. I applied this term in Drude (2008a), continuing its widespread use in the description of Tupí-Guaraní languages (starting with Anchieta 1595, continued by Rodrigues 1953, Seki 2000, among others). Rose (2009) argues for the use of “gerundive” in English, but when the choice is between “gerund” and “gerundive”, the Tupí forms resemble rather the Romance “*gerundio*” which developed from the Latin *gerundium* (a “verbal noun” or verb form with noun-like uses similar to those of the infinitive, applied in English to the ‘present active participle’ -ing-forms) than the Latin *gerundivum* (a “verbal adjective” or ‘future passive participle’ with

several aspects of form and distribution, the Awetí patterns are different from those described for Tupí languages. Therefore, and in order to facilitate the understanding of the examples, I show the different patterns of person prefixes in Table 1 and Table 2 below.

In Table 1 I list the personal pronouns and the different sets of prefixes: for nouns (N), stative verbs, object marking prefixes for transitive verbs, subject marking prefixes for (active) intransitive verbs and for (active) transitive verbs and prefixes for the imperative (pragmatically often rather a permissive). Note that in Awetí, there are differences in the speech of men (marked ♂) and women (marked ♀), see Drude (2002). Only in men's speech there is a difference between the third person prefixes of nouns and stative verbs.

Table 1: Personal pronouns and prefixes

| Pers <sup>4</sup> | PPn♂            | PPn♀            | N♂           | N♀            | Stat | Obj. | S            | A               | Imp <sup>5</sup>   |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------|------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1SG               | <i>atit</i>     | <i>ito</i>      | <i>i(t)-</i> |               |      |      | <i>a(j)-</i> | <i>a(t)-</i>    |                    |
| 2SG               | <i>'en</i>      |                 | <i>'e-</i>   |               |      |      | <i>'e-</i>   | <i>'e(t)-</i>   | <i>i- / jo(t)-</i> |
| 3 / 3 PL          | <i>nã / tsã</i> | <i>ĩ / ta'i</i> | <i>n(ã)-</i> | <i>t-, i-</i> | —    |      | <i>o-</i>    | <i>wej(t)-</i>  |                    |
| 1INCL             | <i>kajã</i>     |                 | <i>kaj-</i>  |               |      |      | <i>kaj-</i>  | <i>ti(t)-</i>   |                    |
| 1EXCL             | <i>ozoza</i>    |                 | <i>ozo-</i>  |               |      |      | <i>ozo-</i>  | <i>ozoj(t)-</i> |                    |
| 2PL               | <i>'e'ipe</i>   |                 | <i>'e'i-</i> |               |      |      | <i>'e'i-</i> | <i>pej(t)-</i>  | <i>pej(t)-</i>     |

'Nominal' prefixes, except those for third person, also occur with finite transitive verbs, marking the object. Note that on a transitive verb only one argument, subject or object, may be expressed by a prefix. It will be whichever is 'higher' in a hierarchy of reference, where  $1 > 2 > 3$ , similar to many Tupí-Guaraní (TG) languages (Jensen 1990), but note that no portmanteau-prefixes exist in Awetí. However, differently from TG languages, most subject marking prefixes of active intransitive verbs also are identical to those which mark the object of transitive verbs (the 'nominal' series). Exceptions are the prefixes for the first person singular, which follow a nominative-accusative pattern, and those of the third person. In sum, Awetí may be said to have person-based split-ergativity (see, for instance, Dixon 1994), as some but not all persons show an ergative

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necessitative meaning). See also Haspelmath (1995) on these terms. Other proposed labels such as '(dependent) serial verb' do not seem appropriate, at least for Awetí. For one thing, they refer to syntactic functions rather than verbal categories (as does "converb").

<sup>4</sup> Although I propose a different analysis for the person categories in Awetí and TG (Drude 2008a, Drude 2008b), here and in the glosses I use traditional European person categories for reasons of consistency with other contributions to this volume.

<sup>5</sup> The two different singular forms are *i-* for intransitive and *jo(t)-* for transitive verbs. The plural allomorph *pej(t)-* only occurs with transitive verbs.

pattern, in combination with a split-S or split-intransitive system, due to the opposition of active vs. stative intransitive verbs (see, for instance, Mithun 1991).

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. Several prefixes have phonologically determined allophones: if the following morpheme (usually, the stem) starts with a vowel the allomorph ending in a consonant occurs and vice versa. This is indicated in Table 1 by letters enclosed in parenthesis such as the (*t*) in the subject marking prefixes for transitive verbs. The same conditions determine the selection of one of the allomorphs *t-* or *i-* of the third person prefix for nouns (female variety) and stative verbs.

Besides the prefixes listed in Table 1, nouns have a special 'third person reflexive' prefix *o-* / *w-* used when the referent of the 'possessor' is identical with the subject (as in, for example, "she<sub>1</sub> sees her<sub>1</sub> (own) mother").

I illustrate most of these patterns with some typical paradigms in Table 2: two nouns, two (intransitive) stative verbs, two (active) intransitive and two (active) transitive verbs. 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-)                           | ltr(C-)         | ltr(V-)              | Tr(C-):A              | Tr(V-):A         | Tr(V-):O       |
|-------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
|       | <i>ty:</i><br>'mother'            | <i>up:</i><br>'father'           | <i>'ay:</i><br>'happy' | <i>aty:</i> 'hurt,<br>feel pain' | <i>to:</i> 'go' | <i>up:</i><br>'stay' | <i>pi:</i><br>'sting' | <i>ap:</i> 'cut' |                |
| 1SG   | <i>i-ty</i>                       | <i>it-up</i>                     | <i>i-'ay</i>           | <i>it-aty</i>                    | <i>a-to</i>     | <i>aj-up</i>         | <i>a-pi</i>           | <i>at-ap</i>     | <i>it-ap</i>   |
| 2SG   | <i>'e-ty</i>                      | <i>'e-up</i>                     | <i>'e-'ay</i>          | <i>'ej-aty</i>                   | <i>'e-to</i>    | <i>'e-up</i>         | <i>'e-pi</i>          | <i>'et-ap</i>    | <i>'e-ap</i>   |
| 3     | <i>nā-ty</i> ♂ /<br><i>i-ty</i> ♀ | <i>n-up</i> ♂ /<br><i>t-up</i> ♀ | <i>i-'ay</i>           | <i>t-aty</i>                     | <i>o-to</i>     | <i>o-up</i>          | <i>wej-pi</i>         | <i>wejt-ap</i>   | —              |
| 1INCL | <i>kaj-ty</i>                     | <i>kaj-up</i>                    | <i>kaj-'ay</i>         | <i>kaj-aty</i>                   | <i>kaj-to</i>   | <i>kaj-up</i>        | <i>ti-pi</i>          | <i>tit-ap</i>    | <i>kaj-ap</i>  |
| 1EXCL | <i>ozo-ty</i>                     | <i>ozo-up</i>                    | <i>ozo-'ay</i>         | <i>ozo-aty</i>                   | <i>ozo-to</i>   | <i>ozo-up</i>        | <i>ozoj-pi</i>        | <i>ozojt-ap</i>  | <i>ozo-ap</i>  |
| 2PL   | <i>'e'i-ty</i>                    | <i>'e'i-up</i>                   | <i>'e'i-'ay</i>        | <i>'e'i-aty</i>                  | <i>'e'i-to</i>  | <i>'e'i-up</i>       | <i>pej-pi</i>         | <i>pejt-ap</i>   | <i>'e'i-ap</i> |
| 3R    | <i>o-ty</i>                       | <i>o-up</i>                      |                        |                                  |                 |                      |                       |                  |                |

Awetí has a system of four different types of verb categories expressing modality.<sup>6</sup> a) Polarity (negated forms are marked by certain affixes or particles, depending on other modal categories). b) There are the imperative forms; they are marked by particular person prefixes (see last column in Table 1) and cannot be combined

<sup>6</sup> A preliminary version of this system has been presented in Drude (2008a), and the reader is referred to that paper for details.

with any of the modal suffixes or particles. All other (non-imperative) verb forms are categorized *twice* with respect to modal categories, i.e. they belong to one category each of two modal categorizations: c) factuality (marked by certain second-position particles), and d) grammatical mood (marked by certain suffixes which occur after the aspectual suffix, if any). This modal system of Awetí is graphically summarized in Figure 2.

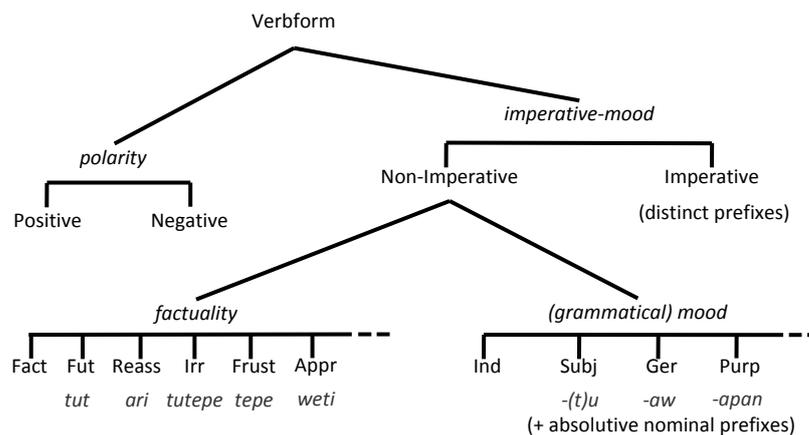


Figure 2: The modal system of verb forms of Awetí

To factuality belong clearly modal categories such as irrealis (expressed by the particle *tutepe*) and frustrative (*tepe*), but also categories which have a strong temporal meaning component: future (*tut*), reassured future (*ari*), and apprehensive future (*weti*). If none of the factuality particles occurs, the form belongs to the category ‘factual’. There may be still other factuality categories (for instance the obligative, marked by *tupene*).<sup>7</sup>

Among the grammatical mood categories are the indicative (without any suffix and with the verbal prefixes shown above in Table 2), the subjunctive, with a suffix *-(t/p/k)u* (henceforth just *-(t)u*, for *-tu* is the allomorph occurring after vowels [or after *n* or *j*]), the ‘gerund’, marked by a suffix *-(t/p/k)aw* (henceforth just *-aw*, for short), and the ‘purposive’, marked by a suffix *-(t/p/k)apan* (henceforth just *-apan*).<sup>8</sup> Most moods other than the indicative take the nominal prefixes (see Table 1), including different prefixes for the third person in men’s and women’s speech.

<sup>7</sup> Here is not the place to discuss whether these particles are indeed verbal auxiliaries or if they are ‘clausal markers’ in some sense, which depends crucially on the theoretical framework.

<sup>8</sup> The purposive is semantically similar to the gerund which also most often has purpose semantics. There are yet other categories belonging to this classification. Functionally they are equivalent to clauses with subordinating conjunctions in European languages, such as conditional / temporal (‘if/when’, suffix *-(t)uwo*), posterior (‘after’, *-tiwo*) and anterior (‘before’ *-e’yman*), and vitative (suffix *-(t)uti*, ‘[in order] to avoid that’, from Latin *vitare* ‘to avoid’, not to be confused with vetative / prohibitive). The vitative mood is in a certain way a negated functional equivalent of the purposive, see (32).

Factuality particles almost never appear in gerund constructions (that is, verb forms in gerund constructions mostly belong to the unmarked ‘factual’ category). Therefore, factuality will not be further dealt with in this paper. The grammatical moods, in turn, have the following major functions.

Verb forms in the indicative usually occur as a predicate in an independent clause. Notice the examples in (1), where each constitutes a grammatical sentence by itself.

- (1) *a-to* – 1-go – ‘I went/go’ (active intransitive)  
*a-tup* – 1-see – ‘I saw/see’ (active transitive, A-marked)  
*i-tup* – 1-see – ‘... saw/see(s) me; I was/am seen’ (active intransitive, O-marked)

Verb forms in the subjunctive (with absolutive person marking by ‘nominal’ prefixes) may occur in subordinate clauses, usually representing the complement of a main verb. Consider the examples in (2).

- (2) *'e-kwawap i-to-tu* – 2-know 1-go-Subj – ‘You know that I go’  
*'e-kwakup i-tup-u nã* – 2-want 1-see-Subj (s)he – ‘You want that (s)he sees me’

However, most of the subjunctive forms may also occur as main predicates,<sup>9</sup> in particular when following adverbial expressions.<sup>10</sup> See the examples in (3).

- (3) [*mimo*] *i-to-tu* – yesterday 1-go-SUBJ – ‘[Yesterday] I went (away)’  
 [*nãnype*] *i-tup-u nã* – there 1-see-SUBJ (s)he – ‘[There] (s)he saw me’

The different functions of the gerund forms as well as their formal properties will be discussed in more detail in following sections.

<sup>9</sup> Analogous forms have been described for Tupí-Guaraní languages (Jensen 1998b, Rodrigues 1953, Seki 2000), occurring in “oblique-topicalized” constructions but apparently not in subordinate clauses. The terms “indicative 2” and “circumstantial” have been used for these forms. In Awetí, the forms in this use do not constitute a separate category distinct from the subjunctive. While some subjunctive forms (in particular, the negated forms with suffix *-e'ympu*) occur exclusively in subordinate use, no such forms occur exclusively in the independent use, so that the putative “circumstantial” category would be a proper subset of the subjunctive.

<sup>10</sup> The subjunctive possibly developed from nominalizations used as subordination. The use as main verbs possibly developed from cleft sentences. That is, the first sentence in (3) would have been originally literally: ‘[it was] yesterday [that] my going [was]’ which developed to ‘it was yesterday that I went’. Now the forms are best analyzed as having been re-integrated into the verbal paradigms (‘yesterday I went’). This may be seen as an extreme case of ‘insubordination’ (Evans 2007). Note that, differently from TG languages (Jensen 1998b), in Awetí subjunctive main clauses can occur without adverbials in first position, or with no adverbial present at all. This is one more reason for not calling the subjunctive forms “circumstantial” or the construction “oblique-topicalized”, as in TG languages.

### 3) *The gerund constructions in Awetí: a general account*

In Awetí, gerund constructions consist mostly of a combination of two verbs: a “content” verb, typically in the gerund, and a (typically finite) “light” verb. In more detail, gerund constructions (“GCs”) in Awetí can be summarized as in (4):<sup>11</sup>

- (4) Characteristics of gerund constructions in Awetí
- two verb forms co-occur in one clause or sentence;
  - both verbs have the same subject;
  - one verb takes the form of a gerund – that is, it carries the suffix *-aw*, and has nominal ‘absolutive’ person marking;<sup>12</sup>
  - the other (‘main’) verb is mostly finite, i.e. in indicative or subjunctive mood;
  - one verb usually is of a small set of ‘light’ verbs of motion, position or direction;
  - the other (‘full’) verb usually is a content verb designating an action;
  - typically, aspect<sup>13</sup> is expressed only once; if aspect markers appear on both verbs, they are identical (see §6 for details);
  - semantically, one of the verbs (which is typically the verb in the gerund) designates a circumstance of the situation expressed by the other (typically, the main) verb, in particular, its purpose, direction or manner (see §5 for details).

For illustration, compare the following examples (5–7).<sup>14</sup> Contrast these with (8), of the purposive mood, which forms a subordinate clause also with purpose semantics. Different from the gerund, however, the subject of purposive clauses is generally not identical with that of the main clause. Thus the purposive and the gerund are semantically close but differ in their structure.

- (5) Gerund construction with purpose semantics, intransitive

*a-to-zoko      it-atuk-aw*  
 1SG-go-IPFV    1SG-bathe-GER  
 I am going (in order) to bathe (i.e., to take my bath)

- (6) Gerund construction with purpose semantics, transitive

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

<sup>11</sup> Most of these characteristics of the gerund can be found also in TG languages; see §7.

<sup>12</sup> By ‘absolutive person marking’ I mean that with intransitive verbs, the person marking refers to the subject, while with transitive verbs, the person marking indicates the object. However, when the transitive verb contains the ‘anti-passive’ prefix *po(r)-*, the person prefix refers to the subject, as in (7).

<sup>13</sup> There are three aspects in Awetí. Progressive forms are marked by a suffix *-(e)j(u)* (henceforth *-ju*), and imperfective are marked by a suffix *-(z)oko*. Unmarked forms are classified as perfective.

<sup>14</sup> Note that these sentences also illustrate the different person markings with transitive and intransitive verbs.

- (7) Gerund construction with manner semantics, intransitive

*o-ut o-tan-taw*  
 3-come 3R-run-GER  
 (S)He came running

- (8) Purposive clause, transitive

*je-zut jomem kaj-por-'u-apan nã*  
 2SG-bring bread 1INCL-apass-ingest-PURP it  
 Bring bread so that we eat it / for us to eat it

The above examples usually have main and gerund verb forms unmarked for aspect (the usual translation in the past reflects the implied perfective aspect).<sup>15</sup> Also, the non-gerund verb form is in the indicative mood. (See §6 for details on TAM marking.) In (9), taken from a text,<sup>16</sup> the non-gerund verb form is in the subjunctive mood and both verb forms are in the progressive aspect. Compare (9) with (5), in which the same verbs occur.

- (9) GC with purpose, in subjunctive and progressive (042\_village:0158)

*nanywã kaj-to-ju-tu kaj-atuk-ej-aw*  
 along.there 1INCL-go-PROG-SUBJ 1INCL-bathe-PROG-GER  
 Along there (that way) we are (always) going to take our bath

There are some rare cases where purposive forms occur as independent predicates. (This never happens with gerund forms.) One of these rare circumstances is in advisory speech (in the sense of “it is [advisable / wise / better / time] for X<sub>sbj</sub> to do Y<sub>pred</sub>”), as in the following two examples in (10). Note that the second sentence in (10) also has an occurrence of the gerund, including the same verbs as in (5) and (9).<sup>17</sup>

- (10) Two adjacent sentences with purposive forms as a main predicate, the latter combining gerund and purposive (026\_dry\_seas2:0098)

“... *kaminu'aza, e'i-mýje-apan ne!*  
 “... children 2PL-wake.up-PURP PTL

*e'i-to-apan e'i-atuk-aw wě! ...*  
 2PL-go-PURP 2PL-bathe-GER PTL ...”

“Children, it is [time...] for you to wake up! It is [time...] for you to go to bathe! ...”

<sup>15</sup> Only the form *atozoko* in (5) is in the imperfective, one main semantic use of which is the intentionnal or inchoative “to be about to do X”.

<sup>16</sup> Most examples in this contribution are taken from the Awetí Corpus (Awetí Documentation 2006). The source is indicated in the heading line of the example, for example in (9) “042\_village:0158”. The part left of the colon indicates the session the text is taken from (here a text by speaker 042 about the Awetí *village*) and the number at the right indicate the second where the cited segment begins (here at 2 minutes and 38 seconds).

<sup>17</sup> Sentences from the Awetí corpus often show final particles such as *me/ne/wě/...* and *a'yn*. These are not yet fully understood. It seems clear, however, that they have no semantic effect on the proposition but are pragmatically significant, probably related to information structure (old/new/(un)expected information). They most probably do not interact with the questions related to GCs discussed here, not even to ‘inversion’ (§4).

The use of the purposive as independent predicate can be seen as a (another) case of ‘insubordination’ (Evans 2007) – apparently, the command is more polite or in other ways pragmatically more appropriate in certain contexts, such as in the public speech of a chief, seen in (10) above. Main clause use of purposive or other moods will not be further discussed in this paper.

As stated above in (4, point 5), usually one of the two verbs in a GC is from a small set of verbs of motion / direction or position, or derived thereof (e.g., ‘bring’, ‘take’). The verbs from this set (as found in the sample of 200 sentences) are listed in (11) together with one particle that has motion semantics.<sup>18</sup>

- (11) ‘Light’ (motion, position, direction etc.) verbs and particle  
*to-tu* ‘go’ (95 cases)  
*t-ut-u* ‘come’ (24 cases)  
*tem-pu* ‘leave, go outside’ (24 cases)  
*'e-tu* ‘say’ or *ti'ingku* ‘speak’ or similar (17 cases)  
*t-ekozoko-tu* ‘live’ (lexicalized imperfective from *tekotu* ‘walk’) (15 cases)  
*t-up-u* ‘stay’ (9 cases)  
*t-etse-tu* ‘enter, get into’ (7 cases)  
*n-ezoto-tu* ‘go and take O with A’ (transitive, derived from *totu*) (7 cases)  
*nawŷj* ‘lets go’ (a particle) (6 cases)

There are 6 cases without any light verb, and about 25 other minor cases such as: *n-ezet-u* ‘come and bring O with A’ (transitive, derived from *t-ut-u*) (5 cases); *tire-tu* ‘leave’ (5); *ta'am-pu* ‘get/stand up’ (3); *nã-zyp-u* ‘to pass by’ (1); *n-ezup-u* ‘stay and make O stay with A’ (transitive, derived from *t-up-u*) (1); etc.

There are several examples where both, the ‘main’ and the gerund verb, are from this set of light verbs (see below, §5). This is why their instances count up to more than 230 in 200 sentences.

The quantities in (11) show clearly that the overwhelming majority of occurrences have a motion verb as the light verb in a construction with the gerund; in particular *to-tu* ‘to go, to leave [a place]’, *t-ut-u* ‘to come’, *tem-pu* ‘to go outside’ and *t-etse-tu* ‘to enter, to get into’ are most common, and one can also add the particle *nawŷj* ‘let’s go’ to these. Together, these five account for more than 75% of all sentences included in the sample. There are some transitive verbs among the light verbs, but, except for *nã-zyp-u*, all of these are derived from one of the basic verbs of motion or position by means of the comitative-causative prefix *(e)z(o)-*.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> When presenting verbs (lexical words), I use the citation form used by Awetí speakers to refer to the lexical word itself. It may contain an initial element *t-* or *n(ã)-* and always has a final morpheme *-(t/p/k)u*, which I separate by hyphens.

<sup>19</sup> Note that also the root of *nã-zyp-u* begins with a /z/, which is very unusual for verb roots and suggests that this verb also goes back to some type of derivation.

#### 4) *Changed roles: 'inverted' gerund constructions*

Although typical, there is no fixed association of the 'light' verb with the 'main' (finite) verb, and the 'full' verb with the verb in the gerund. Indeed, there are many GCs where a 'light' verb is in the gerund. In my sample, I count 81 such cases (40%). These cases of potentially 'inverted' GCs need special attention, in particular when the semantics indicate that the situation described involves an action of motion and a purpose of that motion. Observe the following contrast illustrated in (12) and (13). The underlining indicates the gerund parts of the sentences and their corresponding translation.

(12) Elicited examples of inversion

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. Not 'inverted', = (5)              | b. 'Inverted'                         |
| <i>a-to-zoko it-atuk-aw</i>           | <i>aj-atug-okoit-to-aw</i>            |
| 1SG-go-IPFV 1SG-bathe-GER             | 1SG-bathe-IPFV 1SG-go-GER             |
| I am going (in order) to take my bath | I am going (in order) to take my bath |

(13) Elicited examples of inversion with transitive verbs

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. Not 'inverted', = (6)     | b. 'Inverted'                |
| <i>aj-ut e-tup-aw</i>        | <i>a-tup 'en it-ut-aw.</i>   |
| 1SG-come 2SG-see-GER         | 1SG-see you 1SG-come-GER     |
| I came (in order) to see you | I came (in order) to see you |

I have been unable to identify any significant semantic difference between the two sentences in (12) or (13) and analogous cases. In particular, the propositions of both sentences seem to be identical or largely equivalent. At most, there might be subtle pragmatic differences. Construed 'inverted' sentences (made up from sentences found in text or natural speech) are in most cases judged grammatical and are often uttered without hesitation, affirming that this is 'just the same', or 'just another way' (to describe the same situation). The variation in use seems to be mainly stylistic.

Interestingly, purposive clauses may never be 'inverted'. One factor for this is that 'inversion' needs both verbs to have the same subject.

As will be shown in the next section, one can semantically distinguish different types of GCs. In most cases found in my corpus, if the 'light' verb is in the gerund, the sentence is usually of the 'direction' or 'aspect / aktionsart' semantic type (different from the most frequent 'purpose' type). In these cases inversion generally does change the meaning. But still, at least in the case of many 'purpose' sentences, the differences between 'straight' and 'inverted' sentences are mainly of a stylistic nature. We find these different uses in the Awetí verbal art, showcased in narratives, where parallelisms (that is, repetition of a sentence with only a slight change in form) are used frequently. They possibly foreground or background different aspects of the same event. Alternating between the indicative and subjunctive

(used as main predicate, mentioned in §2) is very frequently applied in this manner, and so is the ‘inversion’ of main and gerund verb. Observe the examples in (14), which are adjacent sentences of a text that describes the village and daily activities such as cutting the pits (extracting the seeds) of *pequi* fruits (*caryocar brasiliense*).

(14) Two (adjacent) sentences of a text, one with inversion  
(042\_village:599&604)

a. *namuput kytse-aw ’yto tut kujãpuryza to-tu me*  
that cut-GER so fut women go-SUBJ PTL  
So the women will go to cut them (the stones)

b. *wemajãku pywo tsã po-kytse-tu o-to-aw nã me*  
3R.basket in they APASS-cut-SUBJ 3-go-GER it PTL  
They go to cut them (the seeds) [putting them] into their baskets

Both sentences in (14) refer to the same situation.<sup>20</sup> However, in the first sentence, the subject (the women) is explicitly mentioned, whereas in the second, the location (basket) is introduced. Beyond this, the occurring elements and their semantic roles are the same – the women (they) go [in order] to cut ‘them’ [the *pequi* nuts] [and put them] (into their baskets).<sup>21</sup>

In particular cases, like those in (12–14), we seem to be confronted with something that is different from an adverbial modifier marked by the gerund. The possibility of inversion suggests the two verb forms are syntactically more closely related, forming a single predicate. In §8, I will make an attempt at representing the syntactic (surface) structure of such sentences.

It would be incorrect, however, to classify all GCs where the light verb is in the gerund as an inversion. There are cases of other semantic types where the gerund verb is always the light verb (see next section), and also, sometimes the motion is indeed the purpose. Take for instance the sentence in (15) which I first took as a case of inversion (as *to-tu* is a more typical light verb than *tige-tu*) but which turned out to be non-inverted.

(15) Purpose with motion verb in gerund (030\_male-recl:0659)

*tsã tige-tu o-to-aw.*  
they sit-SUBJ 3-go-GER  
They sit down (waiting) to go [to fight].

<sup>20</sup> The reader may have noted that in (14), the transitive full verb *nã-kytse-tu* ‘to cut’ appears in both cases without any person prefix. Instead, it follows immediately the direct object *namuput* (an anaphoric pronoun referring to some object mentioned in, or resulting from the activity of, an earlier sentence, in this case, the stones of the *pequi* fruit). In the other sentence, it follows the pronoun *tsã* (this personal pronoun refers to the subject, the women, and not the object due to the occurrence of the ‘antipassive’ prefix *po-*). Similarly, the gerund form of the intransitive verb *to-tu* has no prefix, but is preceded immediately by its subject, the pronoun *tsã*. This resembles, again, the ‘nominal’ genitive construction marked by juxtaposition.

<sup>21</sup> The stones are referred to by the singular pronoun *nã* in (14) because the Plural generally only applies to animate entities.

The context of (15) is that combatants in a ritual sportive fight are seated in a row, awaiting their turn to go to fight with one of the champions. The inversion of this sentence might result in a different semantic content, so here inversion can change the proposition, at least that of the default reading.

### 5) *Semantics of gerund constructions*

The two actions / events, or two aspects of one event encoded by the two verbs (the ‘main’ and the verb in the gerund) are not in an arbitrary relationship with one another. Rather, the GCs semantically (or functionally) group in several distinct types, which often also show different formal properties. True, there are several GCs that are difficult to classify, such that the semantic types may overlap or may have fuzzy boundaries. Nevertheless, I believe that at least most of the uses identified and illustrated in this section are in fact different types, semantically (and in some cases formally, see §8) distinct in the language system of Awetí, and not just, say, artificial byproducts of different translations.

**PURPOSE.** In most cases, the semantics of Awetí sentences with a GC involves ‘purpose’. That is, the light verb expresses an action of motion (go, come etc.) and the full verb expresses some other action that is to occur later in time. The action of motion is done with the intention (to arrive at the place of and) carry out the later action. See example (16), in addition to example (5–7), (9), and (12–15) above.

(16) Purpose of motion (026\_autobiogr-2:0035)

|               |                  |                |                 |             |
|---------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>nanype</i> | <i>ozo-to-tu</i> | <i>ozoetam</i> | <i>jung-kaw</i> | <i>a'yn</i> |
| there         | 1EXCL-go-SUBJ    | 1EXCL.village  | put-GER         | PTL         |

We went there (in order) to establish our village

**DIRECTION.** The second semantic GC type resembles an inversion of the first (purpose) type. Here the light verb of going, coming etc. is in the gerund but the main verb also is a verb of motion. The semantic contribution of the light verb is rather that of indicating the direction (from or towards the place of speech event). The following example (17) was uttered in a house, and ‘there’ refers to the central plaza where the competition takes place.

(17) Direction of motion (026\_dry\_seas2:0329):

|                 |               |                |           |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>'ytangat</i> | <i>tem-pu</i> | <i>o-to-aw</i> | <i>wẽ</i> |
| the.first       | go.out-SUBJ   | 3-go-GER       | PTL       |

The first goes out, going there (thither)

Observe also the two examples in (18) and (19) which are taken from different parts of a text describing the former villages and

migrations of the Awetí. Both have *tire-tu* ‘to leave’ as the full (content) verb.<sup>22</sup>

(18) Direction of motion (old\_villages:0196)

*ozo-tire-tu*            *kujtānype*    *ozo-to-aw*            *a’yn*  
 1EXCL-leave-SUBJ    there            1EXCL-go-GER    PTL  
 We left (from here) going there [to a place called Ywirytyp]

(19) Direction of motion (old\_villages:0469)

*ozo-tire-tu*            *majū*            *ozo-ut-aw*  
 1EXCL-leave-SUBJ    hither            1EXCL-come-GER  
 We left coming here

ASPECT / AKTIONSART. Another GC type, similar to the direction type, comprises sentences where the light verb in the gerund is not a motion verb but *t-up-u* ‘to stay’ or *t-ekozoko-tu* ‘to live’. These sentences carry a meaning ‘to keep doing X’ or ‘to habitually do X for a long time’, that is, the gerund verb contributes rather an aspectual, or better aktionsart-like, meaning. Consider the example in (20), which also exemplifies the occurrence of an imperative (prefix *pej-* instead of *e’i-*) on the main verb, and the one in (21), where the main verb is negated (suffix *-ka* and negation particle *an*).

(20) Aspectual (durative) meaning with *tupu* (026\_dry\_seas2:0116)

*“pej-tiktige e’i-up-aw a’yn!”*  
 2PL-sit            2PL-stay-GER    PTL  
 “sit down and stay (i.e., keep seated)!”

(21) Aspectual (habitual) meaning with *tekozokotu* (043\_autobiogr-2:0307)

*an a-tewi-zoko-ka it-ekozoko-aw a’yn*  
 not 1SG-have.sex-IPFV-neg 1SG-live-GER    PTL  
 I did not have sex for a long while (lit. I had not sex [while] living)

MANNER 1 (concomitant action). A fourth major type of situation represented by GCs in Awetí will be called here ‘manner’. More generally, sentences with manner GCs denote a complex action at a single point in time. In several GCs of this type, one verb expresses an action of speech (say, shout,...), and the other verb indicates a concomitant action, in particular an action of motion. See example (22), which takes place in the same context as, and could be a continuation of, (10).

<sup>22</sup> Note that *t-ut-u* ‘to come’ would not combine with *kujtānype* ‘there(to)’, neither would *to-tu* ‘to go’ combine with *majū* ‘hither’. Similar to the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ in Romanic languages, the semantics of these verbs includes intrinsically the deictic center of the speech act. In these particular examples, a purpose interpretation is theoretically also possible (‘we left in order to go / come’).

## (22) Speech with concomitant actions (several Gerunds)

(026\_dry\_seas2:0055)

“...” *e'i morekwat o-tem-paw a'yn, tsān ezom̃je-aw a'yn,*  
 “...” said chief 3R-leave-GER PTL they wake.up-GER PTL  
 “...” said the chief, leaving (his house), waking them up, ...

*w-ekamaraza ezom̃je-aw a'yn*  
 3R-fellows wake.up-GER PTL  
 ... waking his fellows up

At least for (22), it seems functionally adequate to analyze the gerund constituent as an adverbial modifier of the finite verb. Obviously, there may be more than one adverbial modifier in a sentence, as in (22) above.

There are also examples where the marking of the verbs is inverted (the verb of speech carries the gerund), which poses problems for the analysis of manner CGs as adverbials. Note that, in the inverted sentence in (23), the first (clefted) constituent (double underlined) is a complement of the speech verb (in the gerund), and not of the verb of motion (*tem-pu* ‘to go out of something’).<sup>23</sup> In any case, the structure of sentence (23) needs more study.

## (23) Speech with concomitant action, inverted (026\_rain\_seas2a:0236)

*nā-pe kitā joro'jyt emorekwat tem-pu o-ti'ing-kej-aw wē*  
 3-about is.that joro'jyt chief go.out-SUBJ 3R-speak-PROG-GER PTL  
 It is about it [the ritual] that the joro'jyt<sup>24</sup> chief is speaking as he leaves [his house]

MANNER 2 (manner of motion). A similar but rather rare subtype of GCs with ‘manner’ semantics shows a combination of two motion verbs, none of which belongs to the small set of light motion verbs (go, come etc., or stay). Typically, the gerund verb expresses the manner by which the action of motion is carried out (most commonly, running). See examples (7), above, and (24).

## (24) Manner of motion (026\_dry\_seas2:0384)

*wej-'ataka ti kitā noatsat o-tan-taw*  
 3-confront rpvt that combatant 3-run-GER  
 (They say) he confronted that combatant running

The inversion of the sentence in (24), *otan ti kitā noatsat 'atakaw*, has purpose semantics (‘he ran to meet that combatant’), at least in the default reading. So it seems this type of manner sentences cannot be inverted without affecting its semantics, which suggests that the

<sup>23</sup> The first constituent *nāpe* is clefted by use of the demonstrative *kitā* ‘this’. In the English translation, the speech verb has to be the main verb.

<sup>24</sup> The *joro'jyt* (also name of the swallow bird) is an exchange ritual which can happen informally within a village at any moment when people are interested in exchanging goods, or as a formal intertribal ritual (as in this case), with a specific responsible leader (*morekwat*) and ritual speech.

gerund functions as an adverbial, in accordance with the analysis of (22).

In sentence (25), also with a GC of the manner of motion type, the main verb has been nominalized so that it refers to the patient (a dead person, buried in a former village). This is one of the few examples of a gerund occurring with a non-verbal main predicate, here in a cleft construction.<sup>25</sup>

(25) Manner of motion (with nominalization as predicate) (043\_autobiogr-2:1313)

*nã jatã kaj-emĩ-ukã-ju kaj-kwap-ej-aw nã-'apo me*  
 he is.that 1INCL-patnr-step-PROG 1INCL-walk-PROG-GER 3-top.of PTL  
 It is he that we are stepping on, walking on top of him  
 (lit: It is he who is stepped on by us, [us] walking on top of him)

To get a clearer picture of the types of GCs, it might be useful to quantitatively observe which light verbs are used and which verb form is in the gerund. I count the numbers listed in (26) in my sample of 200 analyzed sentences.

(26) Semantic types and their frequency in the sample of 200 sentences

Purpose: 117 (71 *to-tu*, 17 *tem-pu*, 12 *t-ut-u*, 6 *nawÿj*, 3 *n-ezoto-tu*, 2 *n-ezut-u*, 6 other). In 10 purpose sentences, the light verb is in the gerund (possibly inversion). Several of these have a combination of two light verbs. In all other cases, the light verb is the main verb.

Direction: 26 (16 *to-tu*, 8 *t-ut-u*, 1 *n-ezoto-tu*, 1 *n-ezut-u*). In all direction sentences, the light verb is in the gerund.

Aspect / Aktionsart: 16 (11 *n-ekozoko-tu*, 5 *t-up-u*). In all aspect sentences, the light verb is in the gerund.

Manner: 16 (9 *t-e'i-tu* or similar, the other have a combination of two full verbs or *tan-tu* 'run'). In 10 manner sentences, the light verb is in the gerund.

25 cases need more study, usually more knowledge of the context to be able to classify them (8 between purpose and direction, 8 between purpose and manner, 4 are unclear cases altogether). In most of these sentences, the light verb is in the gerund.

These are the main semantic (or functional) types of GCs that I have been able to distinguish so far. The analysis may be modified as our understanding of the gerund in Awetí grows, but I believe that most of these types are indeed grammatically different one from another.

<sup>25</sup> Note that the nominalized form *kajemükäju* carries progressive aspect marking (aspect marking on de-verbal nouns is a particularity of Awetí), in agreement with aspect marking on the gerund verb *kajkwapejaw*.

## 6) Mood, aspect and negation in gerund constructions

As described above, the gerund construction involves a ‘main’ verb form and a verb form in the gerund. The main verb form belongs to one of various grammatical moods, and both verb forms may be marked for aspect categories. Many of the different possibilities have already been exemplified above, but in this section I try to give a systematic account, making use of the examples found in the corpus. I also present the few cases of negation found so far.<sup>26</sup>

The main verb in a GC is obligatorily inflected for one of various grammatical moods. Their quantitative distribution does not seem to differ much from the typical general distribution of main predicates, except for the fact that only a few cases of nominal predication (that is, with a nominalized – deverbial – predicate) have been found in combination with a gerund form, as in (25) above. In other words, nominal predication appears to be somewhat more frequent in Awetí sentences without GCs than in those with GCs.

- (27) Main verb moods and their frequencies in the sample of 200 sentences  
 94 are in the indicative – see (5), (6), (7), (12a+b), (13a+b), (22), (24) –, including 3,5% of negated main verbs – see (21);  
 81 are subjunctive – see (9), (14a+b), (15–19), (23);  
 10 are imperative – see (8), (20);  
 6 have the exhortative particle *nawỹj* ‘let’s go’ instead of a proper verb;  
 4 have predication with a nominalization of patient – see (25);  
 2 are in the purposive – see the second sentence in (10);  
 3 are unclear.

As the references to examples in (27) indicate, the uses of most moods have been exemplified before. For a case with *nawỹj*, “lets go”, one of a few particles that behave just like a verb form in the imperative, see example (28). Another example of nominal predication with a de-verbal nominalization of the patient in a cleft sentence is given in (29).

- (28) Gerund (purpose meaning) with *nawỹj* (042\_village:0324)  
*nawỹj op 'ok-aw!*  
 let's.go leave take.off-GER  
 Let's go to pick/collect leaves (for storage of manioc starch)!

- (29) Gerund (purpose meaning) with nominal predicate  
 (026\_rain\_seas2a:1231)  
*namuput kitã tsãn emĩ-ezet nã-mokang-aw*  
 that is.that they patnr-bring 3-smoke/dry-GER  
 That [fish] is what they brought to smoke/dry

<sup>26</sup> As said above, the factuality particles are rarely found in sentences with a GC. They do not seem to play any significant role in our understanding of GCs.

The possibility of using the gerund with other predicates than finite verb forms suggests, again, that at least in these cases the gerund is a device to build adverbial modifying phrases. This is different from GCs where there is a very close relation between the two verb forms, which I analyze as complex predicates.

The aspect system of Awetí verbs, marked by two suffixes, is independent from the modal system. In principle, all moods may combine with all three aspects – progressive, imperfective, and perfective (the unmarked aspect). I list the distribution of aspect markings found in my sample in (30).

(30) Aspect categories of gerund & main verb and their frequencies

161 occurrences: both are Perfective (i.e., unmarked, incl. cases of *nawỹj*).

17: one verb or both verbs are in progressive aspect. In the 13 cases with only one verb in progressive, this is in all but one case the gerund verb, mostly *t-up-u*. Usually these GCs are of the aspectual or purpose type. Less often they have manner semantics (with *'e-tu* or seldom another main verb). Cf. examples (9), (23) and (25).

17: one verb or both verbs are in imperfective aspect. This concerns all 15 occurrences of the verb *t-ekozoko-tu* 'to live', a verb which is a lexicalization of the imperfective form of the verb *t-eko-tu* 'to walk'. In GCs, it is hard to decide which of the two verbs is present. Anyway, *t-eko(zoko)-tu* is in all but 2 cases the verb in the gerund, including in all 5 cases where only one verb is in the imperfective.

In the remaining 5 cases the gerund verb is in the Perfective aspect but it is unclear what exactly the main verb is.

Apparently no GCs are attested in which one verb form is marked for the imperfective and the other for the progressive. In the 200 analyzed sentences in the corpus, if only one verb is marked for aspect, it is always the verb in the gerund. However, in (12) only the main verb is marked for imperfective, and such sentences do occur in daily natural speech.

The following example (31) shows the only sentence found so far with a negative gerund form, with the suffix *-e'ympaw*.<sup>27</sup> This sentence is also interesting because it features a reduplication of the verb *t-eko-tu* 'to walk' (instead of the verb *to-tu* 'to go' which usually is used with *pira'yt kyty*<sup>28</sup>). The negated gerund can be elicited but its use is uncommon, especially among the younger speakers.

<sup>27</sup> This suffix formerly may have been analyzable internally into *-e'ym* (nominal negation) and *-aw* (gerund). Observe, however, that the order of *-e'ym* and *-aw* is contrary to the order which would be expected (*\*-awe'ym* or similar) if the gerund was a simple nominalization which then is negated. The same holds for the negated subjunctive, *-e'ympu* (not *\*(tue'ym)*).

<sup>28</sup> The postposition *kyty* 'for/to' which also marks the beneficiary (dative), is in these cases functionally similar to a gerund (as if of a verb 'to fetch'); cf. English *for* in *he went for fish* (= to get fish).

- (31) Negated gerund (with a reduplicated light verb) (043\_autobiogr-2:1061)  
*i-temo'ete-tu wezotsu me, pira'yt kyty it-ekoeko-e'ympaw wě*  
 1SG-get.worse-SUBJ just PTL fish for/to 1-walk/live-GER.NEG PTL  
 I just got worse, without going fishing (lit: ... not walking for fish)

The semantics of the main verb in (31) is not entirely clear, but the GC is apparently to be classified as a case of ‘manner’. – In the semantically different purpose type, negation would entail a meaning such as ‘in order to not...’ or ‘to avoid that’. There is another grammatical mood with exactly that meaning, here labeled ‘vitative’. As noted above, it may be characterized as a negated functional equivalent to a GC with purpose meaning (and even more to the purposive mood, for the subject of the vitative form needs not be identical with that of the main verb). See example (32).

- (32) Negated Purpose with *-(t)uti* (elicited)  
*o-měpyt w-atuk-kuti tājpewo, 'y'apykapye wej-w-atuk nā-ty*  
 3R-child 3R-bathe-VTT at.port, at.faucet 3-CAUS-bathe 3-mother  
 In order to avoid that her child takes his bath at the port, the mother gives him a bath at the faucet

There are several (in my sample, 7) examples with a negated main verb, like (21) (‘I lived without having sex for a long while’). We give another example in (33). But like (31), these are almost all uttered by consultant 043, the oldest Awetí alive, so it could be an individual or generational characteristic. The only gerund sentence with a negated main verb uttered not by consultant 043 has been provided by consultant 026 (also already a great-grand-father). It is shown in (34). Observe that the scope of negation is different in the two examples, (33) and (34), probably because (33) a ‘direction’ sentence and (34) is a ‘manner’ sentence.

- (33) Sentence with negated main verb, negating the whole event  
 (043\_autobiogr-2:1609)  
*an ozo-tire-ka ozo-to-aw wě*  
 not 1EXCL-leave-neg 1EXCL-go-GER PTL  
 We did not leave [this place] [any more], going [away from here]

- (34) Sentence with negated main verb, describing a factual event  
 (026\_rain\_seas2a:1253)  
*an w-age-ka tsã o-ut-aw.*  
 not 3-shout-neg they 3-come-GER  
 They don't shout while they come [i.e., they do come/come indeed]

As will be discussed in more detail in §8, (33) and (34) have quite different syntactic structures. The gerund form in (34) is an adverbial modifier to the main (negated) verb, which alone comprises the scope of negation. In (33), however, the whole sentence is negated; here, the main and gerund verb together form a complex predicate.

## 7) *The Tupí-Guaraní gerund: ‘dependent serial verbs’ or ‘auxiliaries’*

Awetí is not the only Tupian language with a GC. The closest relative to Awetí is the large Tupí-Guaraní (TG) language family (see Jensen 1999 for a general overview). There are descriptions for several of the languages of this family, and there has already been done a good amount of comparative and reconstructive work on this branch of the Tupí family. The most complete overview on reconstructed Proto-Tupí-Guaraní (PTG) morpho-syntax has been presented by C. Jensen (1998b). There she reconstructs forms that are similar to the gerund forms in Awetí as described above, and it is very probable that the forms and constructions have the same origin in the common proto-language “Proto-Awetí-Tupí-Guaraní” and possibly even further back. I here reproduce the paragraphs of Jensen (1998a, p. 529, §6.3, “Dependent serial verbs”):

A serial verb construction in TG languages is one in which two or more verbs having the same subject (S or A) are used within a single clause and are perceived to be part of a single action. The dependent serial verb has been referred to as a gerund (Rodrigues 1953), an auxiliary verb (Harrison 1986), a serial verb (Jensen 1990), and the construction as a whole as a ‘double verb construction’ (Dooley 1991).

The cross-referencing on the dependent serial verb is absolutive, and the verb receives a dependent serial verb suffix, which has three basic allomorphs: *\*-a* after final consonants, *\*-aβo* after a final vowel, *\*-ta* after a final diphthong ending in *\*j*. [...] Particularly common as intransitive serial verbs are ones which indicate position, motion, and direction. These include *\*én~ĩn* ‘be seated’, *\*úβ~júβ* ‘be lying down’, *\*ám* ‘be standing up’, *\*ekó~ikó* ‘be in motion’, *\*tsó* ‘go’, and *\*úr~júr* ‘come’.

Except for the details of the allomorphs reconstructed for PTG, the verb *\*én~ĩn*, which apparently has no cognate in Awetí, and the semantics of *\*úβ~júβ*, the description is directly comparable to the Awetí gerund, in particular to the ‘direction’, ‘aspect / aktionsart’ and maybe the ‘manner’ semantic types. Older descriptive work, for instance, Bendor-Samuel (1972), Harrison (1986) or Kakumasu (1986), focused rather on the form and occurring verbs. More recent work on individual TG languages gives more detailed information about these constructions, in particular their semantics.

The forms that seem to have developed from the PTG forms reconstructed by Jensen vary considerably among the contemporary TG languages (see Jensen 1989). In Paraguayan Guaraní, which lost the syllable-final consonants, they always show a suffix *-vo* (from *\*-aβo*, which is also the probable source of Awetí *-aw*). The allomorphs *-ta* and *-a* are still found in several TG languages such as Asuriní, Kayabí, Parintintins (Jensen 1989). Seki (2000), however, describes four allomorphs for the suffix for the ‘gerund mood’ in Kamayurá, each consisting of only a single consonant (*-m* after vowels, *-t* after */j/*, *-n*

after /j/ if following a nasal vowel, and -p after /w/).<sup>29</sup> The vowels of the suffix seem to have been entirely lost in Kamayurá.<sup>30</sup> The gerund suffix has been even more reduced or even almost completely lost in other TG languages such like Urubu-Kaapor, Chiriguano, Wayãpi or Emerillon.<sup>31</sup>

In most TG languages, the PTG dependent person reference marking of these forms (special ‘coreferential’ prefixes with intransitive stems, and, with transitive stems, ‘nominal’ prefixes always referring to the object) has been replaced in different degrees by ‘nominal’ prefixes (for S and O, ‘absolutive’) or even active verbal prefixes (Jensen 1990, Jensen 1998a). Where both happened completely (loss of final suffix and replacement of dependent by independent person marking), the gerund construction developed into a serial verb construction (carefully argued for Emerillon by Rose 2009). It may be due to this functional proximity that the TG (and PTG) construction, which shows signs of dependency, has been called ‘(dependent) serial verb’ construction (in particular by Jensen 1998b, similarly, for (Paraguayan) Guaraní, Velázquez-Castillo 2004).

Serial verb constructions are not the only possible development resulting from GCs. Several individual descriptions of TG languages speak of ‘auxiliaries’, for instance Kakumasu (1986, secs. 18.2 & 18.8) for Urubu-Kaapor, or, for Guajajara, Bendor-Samuel (1972, sec. 11.1) and Harrison (1986). Also Seki (2000, sec. 3.3.6 & sec. 15) names auxiliaries as one of the uses of gerund forms in Kamayurá, at the same time emphasizing their closeness to serial verbs.

The main functions of the GC in TG languages seem to be directly comparable to several of the different Awetí semantic types discussed in §5. For Guaraní, Velázquez-Castillo (“Vel.-Cast.”, 2004) describes constructions consisting of two verbs, V1 and V2, where V2 carries the suffix -vo.<sup>32</sup> She distinguishes two uses, basically depending on which verb, V1 or V2, is a motion verb. If V1 is a motion verb, she labels the construction as “sequential -vo pattern” and describes the relation between the two co-events as “purpose / intention”. This is directly analogous to the Awetí “purpose” type. Compare the Guaraní example (35) with the Awetí example in (6), for instance.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> At least the two stop allomorphs can be related to the first segment of the Awetí suffix which after glides and nasals manifests itself as a homorganic stop and which inhibits lenition of final stops of the stem (this happens also in the case of the Kamayurá gerund).

<sup>30</sup> In examples, however, frequently allomorphs with an additional /e/ after the consonant occur (e.g., Seki 2000, 314ff).

<sup>31</sup> In Wayãpi, there are few frozen forms with -ta, (Jensen 1989); Rose (2009) reports also some frozen ‘gerundive’ forms and the loss of a stem-final /r/ in Emerillon as remains of the older TG gerund.

<sup>32</sup> She glosses that suffix “SER” “serializer”. She admits, however, that the constructions may not fall under generally accepted narrower definitions of “verb serialization”.

<sup>33</sup> Orthography and morpheme breaks in cited examples are maintained from the original, but glosses are mine. We do not provide glosses for the TG morphemes r-, often called a ‘relational’, sometime a ‘linking’ prefix (see Jensen 1998b), nor -a, the ‘nominal case’ (see Jensen 1998b). The parentheses around -vo in (35) are not explained by Velázquez-Castillo.

(35) Guaraní example with purpose semantics [Vel.-Cast. 2004 (14)]

*Manzanilla guasu r-eká-(vo)-ko a-ju*  
 chamomile big R-search-GER-emph 1-come  
 It is to look for (big) chamomile that I came

If, on the other hand, V2 is a motion verb (or if no motion verb at all is present), Velázquez-Castillo labels the construction as “simultaneous -vo pattern” and the relation between the two co-events as “simultaneity” or “temporal contouring”. This corresponds to the Awetí ‘concomitant action’ type, and possibly the ‘aspect / aktionsart’ type. Compare the two Guaraní examples (36) and (37) with Awetí examples (22) and (20), among others. For (37), where the context is that of a conversation, Velázquez-Castillo states that “the use of *o-hó-vo* is clearly not physical but strictly aspectual”. Although the grammaticalization process concerns a different verb in Guaraní, it appears to be quite similar to the aspectual / aktionsart function of *t-up-u* and *t-ekozoko-tu* in Awetí (see sec. 5).

(36) Guaraní example with concomit. action semantics [Vel.-Cast. 2004 (20)]

*Juan i-rũ-nguéra i-juru-jái ko'ã mba'e o-hendú-vo*  
 Juan 3-companion-PL 3-mouth-open these thing 3-hear-GER  
 Juan's companions had their mouth open as they heard these things

(37) Guaraní example with asp. / akt.art semantics(?) [Vel.-Cast. 2004 (21)]

*o-mbo-hape o-hó-vo Losánto*  
 3-CAUS-path 3-go-GER Losanto  
 Losanto was making (his) way as he went (on) (= little by little)

For Kamayurá, Seki reports several different functions of the ‘gerund mood’, depending on the verb type and semantics of the main and gerund verb, including its use as an independent predicate (in command sentences).<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, the gerund in Kamayurá seems to have developed into a general device to conjoin clauses, even in simple coordination without any specific semantic link (see Seki 2000, p.314f).

There are uses of the gerund in Kamayurá that are directly comparable to Awetí uses. On the one hand, this concerns an “adverbial” use with purpose and manner / concomitant action semantics; the main verb is then a verb of motion. See example (38) and also example (39) which, like others, is reported by Seki to be ambiguous between purpose and manner semantics.

<sup>34</sup> Another function of gerund forms as independent predicates stated by Seki (2000) is “conditional”. Her example (1178) seems to be meant to illustrate this, but remains obscure to me – there are three gerund morphs in that example, one on the main verb (with imperative semantics, judged by the translation) and one each with purposive semantics and one with conditional semantics, both of which, however, appear to be subordinate verbs. Unfortunately, there are several other cases where Seki’s description does not entirely match with her examples.

- (38) Kamayurá example with purpose semantics [Seki 2000 (1183)]

*o-'ut je=r-a'yr-a mo'e-m*  
 3-come 1SG=R-SON-A teach-GER  
 He came (in order) to teach my son

- (39) Kamayurá example with manner & purpose semantics [Seki 2000 (688)]

*a-jot we-maraka-m*  
 1SG-come 1SG-sing-GER  
 I came to sing / singing

On the other hand, Kamayurá Gerunds occur as what Seki calls “auxiliaries”, with aspectual and perhaps directional semantics; the gerund verb is then a verb of motion or body posture. See examples (40) and (41).<sup>35</sup> The example with the Kamayurá verb *eko*<sup>36</sup> is comparable to the Awetí example (21) with its cognate *t-eko-zoko-tu*.<sup>37</sup>

- (40) Kamayurá example w. ‘auxiliary’ (aspectual) function [Seki 2000 (371)]

*Jakui-a 'awyky-me ... o-ko-me ...*  
 Jakui.fluits-A produce-GER ... 3-stay-GER ...  
 He kept producing Jakui fluits

- (41) Kamayurá example w. ‘auxiliary’ (direction?) function [Seki 2000 (1191)]

*o-itse-m o-'ut*  
 3-enter-GER 3-come  
 He entered hither / He came entering

There is a detailed description of serial verb constructions in Emerillon which diachronically developed from GCs by loss of the gerund morphs and of dependent person marking (Rose 2009).<sup>38</sup> But the major semantic uses are still discernable; Rose differentiates between three types: “motion”, “sequential” and “direction serialization”. Several examples of her motion serialization, the most frequent type, are comparable to the Awetí “purpose” type. Rose downplays the “goal” or purpose semantic component because there is a specialized purposive construction in Emerillon (however, this construction has different subjects, and is thus comparable to the Awetí purposive mood).

- (42) Emerillon example with purpose semantics [Rose 2009 (49)]

*o-ho ko-pupe o-tarawadz*  
 3-go field-in 3-work  
 He went to work in the field

<sup>35</sup> Strangely, the auxiliaries in Seki’s examples (406–408), which should illustrate the same function (with body posture verbs), do not show any explicit gerund marking.

<sup>36</sup> Seki glosses this verb as ‘copula’, which, however, is not appropriate for the gerund use of this verb.

<sup>37</sup> Seki (2000) does not explain why in her examples (371–372) of gerund ‘auxiliaries’ with aspect meaning, the main verb carries the gerund marker, too. In (40), I omitted the REPORTATIVE particle *je* and the END-OF-SENTENCE and MALE-SPEAKER particles *ko* and *kwāj*, irrelevant to our discussion.

<sup>38</sup> See also Rose (2003), chap. 13.

Due to a lack of formal criteria (reduced morphology), Rose has difficulties in keeping this type apart from another, rare, use that she calls “sequential serialization”. Some examples, such as (43), are quite comparable to the Awetí “concomitant action” or “manner of motion” types, others, such as (44), are more similar to the Kamayurá sentences of coordination with Gerunds. Thinking of the Awetí and other TG examples, it seems probable that these are in fact several different uses,<sup>39</sup> rather than one very generalized use.

(43) Emerillon example with manner semantics [Rose 2009 (45)]

*si-ze-mim*            *si-nan*  
 1INCL-REFL-hide 1INCL-run  
 We hide running

(44) Emerillon ex. w. sequential / coordination function [Rose 2009 (43)]

*o-pihig-on*    *o-mo-gagua-ŋ*  
 3-catch-PL.S 3-CAUS-grow-PL.S  
 They caught it and raised it

Finally, Rose distinguishes a third semantic type, “direction serialization” which seems to be directly comparable to the Awetí direction type (17–19, 33). Compare her two examples where the second verb expresses “the deictically defined direction towards (...) or away from (...) the point of reference”.

(45) Emerillon example with direction semantics [Rose 2009 (57&58)]

*kaʔi*    *o-wedzu*    *o-ʔu*    -    *kaʔi*    *o-wedzu*    *o-ho*  
 monkey 3-go.down 3-come - monkey 3-go.down 3-go  
 The monkey is coming down. - The monkey is going down

In sum, GCs do exist in TG languages and can be reconstructed for Proto-TG. They are not homogenous, but usually can be classified in different functional or semantic types, most of which correspond quite well with the Awetí semantic types shown in §5. Therefore, it seems probable that several of these different uses are, in fact, rather old.<sup>40</sup> The same holds for the sound shape of the gerund suffix.

## 8) *Development and syntactic structure of the gerund in Awetí*

The gerund morpheme of PTG, in particular the allomorph *-aβo*, seems to be cognate to the Awetí gerund-affix *-aw*. This form, *-aβo*, is itself probably diachronically related to the Awetí and TG

<sup>39</sup> For several examples comparable to (43), Rose’s classification as “sequential” is semantically at least unclear to me.

<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, there is no mentioning of something similar to the Awetí “inversion” (§4) in any TG language we are aware of.

“circumstantial” (instrument, manner, place etc.) nominalizer *-ap* (phonetically *-aβ* before vowels), in combination with the Awetí and TG diffuse locative postposition or case suffix *-wo*.<sup>41</sup> Note that *[β]* and *[w]* are not distinct phonemes in Awetí, and that in Awetí a homorganic stop after nasals and glides occurs not only at the beginning of the gerund suffix but also with the suffix *-ap* (and also with *-at*, the agent nominalizer suffix).<sup>42</sup> So I propose the development of the sound shape outlined in (46), with several steps of assimilation and reduction.<sup>43</sup>

(46) Possible diachronic development of the gerund suffix in Awetí:

*o-tém-[p]ap-βo* → *otémpaβo* → *otémpawu* → *otémpaw*  
 3R-leave-CIRCNR-at  
 ‘at the circumstance of his leaving’

For this probable origin of the gerund affix, I postulate that the ‘manner’ semantics of the GC was primordial and that the original function of the gerund forms was adverbial modification. This use is still present in Awetí, in particular in connection with the speech verbs, cf. examples (22) (‘... said the chief, leaving, waking them up’) and (23) (‘It is about that that the *joro’jyt* chief is speaking as he leaves’), but also otherwise, cf. examples (7) (‘He came running’), (24) (‘He confronted his combatant running’), (25) (‘That we are stepping, walking on top of him’), (31) (‘I just got worse, without going fishing’) and (33) (‘They don’t shout while they come’).

I believe that in this use, the syntactic structure is not to be construed differently from other sentences with an adverbial modifier, besides that the (nucleus of the) adverbial modifier constituent is verbal (that is, it is a subordinated clause).<sup>44</sup> The gerund verb form can itself be modified. I postulate structures such as that indicated in Figure 3.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> By and large the same hypothesis has been proposed by Cabral & Rodrigues (2005).

<sup>42</sup> This may explain also the \**t* in the PTG allomorph “\*-*ta* after a final diphthong ending in \**j*”, reconstructed by Jensen (1998b).

<sup>43</sup> For the first step, note that in Awetí in the case of an encounter of two consonants the first is often deleted, and a final *p* is phonetically lenited to *β* before vowels. Note that several Awetí moods probably developed diachronically from a nominalization in combination with a postposition or case suffix.

<sup>44</sup> As has been said in §1 (cf. in particular Figure 8.2 and discussion there), the gerund forms belong to the verb paradigms, like other grammatical moods used in subordination which developed from nominalizations and postpositional phrases, similar to the development outlined in (46).

<sup>45</sup> I use Integrational Linguistics as theoretical background (cf. Lieb 1983, Lieb 1992, Lieb 2005). I cannot explain any details of that framework here, but the graphical representations should be fairly easy to interpret with the following explanations: The straight lines represent a surface constituent structure where the possible constituents are: Vf = “verb form” (form of a verb); Nf = “noun form”; Ptf = “particle form” (form of a particle word in a broad sense, in particular of adverbs or adpositions, such as the postposition *ti* in Figure 8.3); VGr = “verb group” (all complex constituents the nucleus of which is a verb form or a verb group; in Figure 8.3 the whole gerund constituent is assigned to verb group, as is the whole ‘sentence’); NGr = “noun group” (not present in Figure 8.3); and PtGr = “particle group” (such as the ‘postposition phrase’ *wok ti* in Figure 8.3). — The dotted arrows indicate the grammatical relations (roughly in the traditional sense) that hold

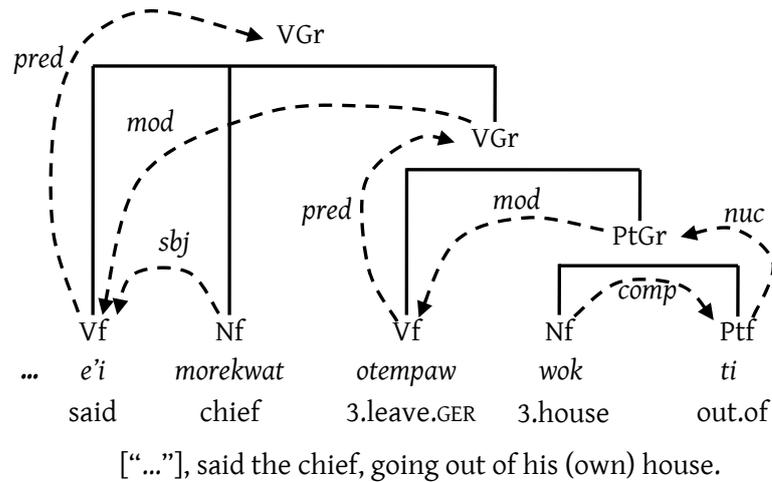


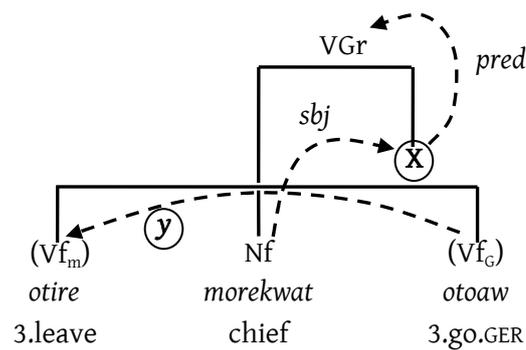
Figure 3: Gerunds as verbal adverbial modifiers

Such constructions as in Figure 3 can be labeled as “converb constructions” in one widely accepted conception where the term “converb” refers broadly to verbal heads of adverbial subordinated clauses, in contrast to relative or complement clauses. For instance, Haspelmath defines converb as “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath 1995). Converb clauses in this sense have a nucleus that is verbal in essence (with preserved predicativity and valency, being part of the paradigm of verb forms, not a derived form), but is ‘non-finite’ or less ‘finite’ (as far as this term applies outside Indo-European). This includes, for instance, the Present Participle (also called gerund, although not to be confused with its use as de-verbal noun) in English in sentences such as *having said this, she left*.

A development towards a more grammaticalized construction in Awetí may have begun with the more frequent use of verbs of motion, in particular ‘go’ and ‘come’, as Gerunds (converbs). Especially in combination with a main verb of motion, their semantics may have ‘bleached’, resulting in indication of only the direction. The relation of these former adverbial modifiers to the main verb would thus have become closer, developing into a structure like in Figure 4.<sup>46</sup>

among the constituents. For instance, in Figure 8.3 occur two arrows labeled *pred* which symbolize two occurrences of the grammatical relation “is predicate of”. So, the *pred*-arrow between the verb form (Vf) *otempaw* and the verb group (VGr) *otempaw wok ti* reads: “the verb form *otempaw* is the predicate of the verb group *otempaw wok ti*”. Also, in Figure 8.3 the verb form *e'i* is identified as the predicate of the verb group *e'i morekwat otempaw wok ti* (the whole ‘sentence’). The predicate relation is a special case of the more general relation *nuc* = “is nucleus of” (for instance, the particle –postposition– *ti* is the nucleus of the particle group *wok ti*). Other relations indicated by arrows in Figure 8.3 are: *mod* = “is modifier of”; *Sbj* = “subject”, a special case of the more general relation *comp* = “is complement of”. The representation of the relational structure apart from the constituent structure (but presupposing it) allows for ‘flat’ trees not restricted to binary bifurcations. The following diagrams are to be understood analogously.

<sup>46</sup> See the last footnote 45 for explanations of the diagrams and abbreviations.



The chief left, going [there]

Figure 4: Gerund as derivational verb indicating direction

In Figure 4 the two verb forms build together a predicate constituent (labeled provisionally “X”),<sup>47</sup> just like switch and off together are the predicate (often called “phrasal verb”) in the English sentence “Switch the light off!” This structure may be present in sentences with ‘direction’ meaning in Awetí, such as in examples (17) (‘the first goes out, going thither’), (18) (‘we left (from here) going there’), (19) (‘we left coming hither’) and (34) (‘we did not leave, going away from here’). It is precisely this structure that could be labeled as a grammaticalized converb construction in a particular sense: the gerund verb functions as “derivational verb” (verb used for derivation), a notion I will briefly clarify and justify in the following paragraphs.

Some authors have recently applied the term “converb” to a nonfinite verb form marked as ‘dependent’ in a monoclausal construction (Aikhenvald 2006, also in the introduction to this volume). In fact, at least some of the types of converb constructions distinguished by Bisang (1995) are probably rather monoclausal (those corresponding to “serial constructions in the narrow sense”) – both verb forms act together as a single predicate. The same holds for the “verbal compound” construction in Wolaitta, which may have developed from a subordinate converb construction, as described by Amha & Dimmendaal (2006): “In the verbal compound type, the converb plus main verb form a unitary complex predicate” (p. 326). In my proposal for this kind of GCs in Awetí, as indicated in Figure 4, I take the notion of “a single predicate” seriously and propose that the two verb forms represent a single constituent that functions as the predicate of one clause.

There are several questions that arise with structures such as the one in Figure 4, in particular: (a) what kind of constituent (indicated by “X” in Figure 4) is the combination of the two verb

<sup>47</sup> Note that discontinuous constituents imply crossing lines in the graphic. The Verb Group (clause) in Figure 8.4 has two sub-constituents, 1) the noun form *morekwat* and 2) the *otire otoaw* part “X”.

forms; and (b) what is the nature of the relation (indicated by “y” in Figure 4) between the gerund verb form “Vf<sub>g</sub>” and the main verb form “Vf<sub>m</sub>”?

Answers obviously will depend on basic theoretical assumptions and the presupposed framework, and this is not the place for a thorough discussion. But here are my answers in general terms. As indicated by the predicate and subject relations in Figure 4, I believe that the two verbs *otire* and *otoaw* function together as one predicate and share their subject complement (remember also that in sentence (34) the negation holds for the complex predicate as a whole). Complementation (such as taking a subject) presupposes valency, which is a feature of lexical words, not of more complex constituents. This is a major reason for assuming that the two phonological words together form a complex verb form. Hence, “X” is to be replaced by “Vf”, form of a verb, in Figure 4. Another argument is that there is never conflicting aspectual marking on the verbs of the gerund (converb) construction – aspect is marked once (usually on the gerund verb), if at all, or, redundantly, twice, but the form never can simultaneously belong to two different aspect categories (see §6).

A second question regards the relation that holds between the two parts inside this single but complex (i.e., multi-word) form of a lexical word, symbolized by the arrow labelled “y”. I see in principle three options, in analogy to the major morphological relations that can hold between morphs in a single word: composition, derivation and inflection.<sup>48</sup> The syntactic equivalent to inflectional affixes are auxiliaries. As shown in the previous section, for several TG languages it has been proposed that the gerund verbs are ‘auxiliaries’. Such an analysis seems somewhat unclear. In particular, one must ask: which functional categories are marked by the occurrence of the ‘auxiliary’? In any case, an analysis as auxiliary verb is inadequate for Awetí, for the following reasons.<sup>49</sup>

If the gerund verbs were auxiliaries, they should be much more frequent, and should appear with arbitrary verbs (at least with verbs of a major class that is not defined by some semantic criterion). Crucially, they would be ‘marking’ some grammatical category, without changing the lexical semantics. This is not the case for the gerund verbs that indicate direction: they are generally rare, are

<sup>48</sup> In the theoretical framework as developed by Lieb (since 1983), there are no *grammatical* relations among the parts of complex word forms; the *functional* ‘relations’ I speak of here, in a rather metaphorical way, are formally accounted for in other parts of the language system.

<sup>49</sup> However, it has frequently been stated that minor components in asymmetrical serial verb constructions may develop into auxiliaries (for instance, Aikhenvald 2006, note 14), and as shown by Bisang (1995), the same may hold for converbs, so it might be that similar (gerund) forms are the source of auxiliaries in those TG languages which have auxiliaries.

restricted to co-occur with verbs of motion, and they make a clear lexical-semantic contribution, unlike grammatical categories would.<sup>50</sup>

Of the two remaining options, analogy with morphological derivation is clearly more appropriate than that of syntactic composition (which may be appropriate for an adequate analysis of at least some cases of symmetrical serial verbs). In particular, only a few verbs occur in the gerund in the direction function (like a closed class of derivational affixes), and they semantically modify the lexical meaning of the other verb ('hither', 'thither'), rather than forming an equal matched part in a construction that combines of two full lexical concepts.

The notorious difficulties in analyzing grammaticalized converb constructions (such as many GCs in TG languages) and asymmetrical serial verb constructions – they are complex unitary predicates but neither contain true auxiliaries nor are they symmetrical combinations of full verbs as would be expected of compounds – may in many cases be solvable if one considers *syntactic derivation* as a further functional construction type.<sup>51</sup>

The development of directional particles from verbs is well attested in other languages, for instance in Toqabaqita, where the verbs 'come' and 'go' grammaticalized into directional particles (Lichtenberk 2006). In German (and similarly in English and other Germanic languages), the directional particles *hin* and *her* can also be analyzed as part of complex verbs ("separable prefixes"). The difference between these syntactic derivational elements in Toqabaqita and Germanic languages and the gerund verb forms in Awetí is that the former are particles (although originally independent verbs or adverbs) while the latter are still (synchronously) verb forms.<sup>52</sup>

In a nutshell, I propose that the grammaticalized GCs in Awetí are the syntactic equivalent to morphological derivation. Hence, *otire otwaw* 'he leaves from here (lit: going)' in Figure 4, or *ozotireka ozotwaw* 'we don't leave from here' in (33), and possibly *ozotire ozotwaw* 'we leave from here' in (18), are forms of a complex verb with the meaning 'to leave (from here to there)'. This complex verb (it may also be called a "periphrastic verb", or "idiom verb") is derived from the simple verb *tire-tu* 'to leave' by syntactic means, more specifically by combination with gerund forms of the light verb *to-tu* 'to go'.

<sup>50</sup> The same semantic effects have been observed with many asymmetrical serial verb constructions. "Motion verbs within asymmetrical SVCs often grammaticalize into directional markers indicating path, source, and trajectory of motion" (Aikhenvald, this volume). See also Bisang (1995) on "directional verbs" in serial and converb constructions.

<sup>51</sup> I have proposed syntactic derivation since the late nineties, published first in (Drude 2004). The underlying conception of form building (in morphology: inflection), derivation & conversion, and composition being orthogonal to morphological and syntactic means of form / word formation has been further developed by Lieb (presented orally 2006) and is currently systematically investigated by Andreas Nolda. See Table 8.3 below.

<sup>52</sup> In turn, many European languages have auxiliary *verbs*, while Awetí (and other Tupí languages, as well as many other languages in the world) has auxiliary *particles* such as *tutepe*, *tepe*, *tut*, *ari* and *weti* which indicate the factuality categories in Awetí, cf. Figure 8.2.

Equally, *ozotiretu ozoutaw* ‘we leave hither (lit: coming)’ in (19) is a form of a verb ‘to leave (from there to here)’ that is derived from the same simple verb *tire-tu* ‘to leave’ by means of gerund forms of the verb *t-ut-u* ‘to come’.

Derivational verbs, then, are verbs of a small class the forms of which are used to build forms of complex (periphrastic) verbs. They have grammaticalized without becoming auxiliaries; instead, they systematically modify the lexical semantics of the underlying content verb they combine with, just as derivational affixes do in morphology.

Hence, typologically, the most relevant aspect of our analysis may be that it suggests that the three main morphological construction types (inflexion, derivation, composition) all have syntactic counterparts, as is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3: Morphological construction types and syntactic counterparts

| Function                             | Morphological means  | Syntactic equivalent   | Syntactic examples   |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--|--|
| Marking of grammatical categories    | inflectional affixes | auxiliary words  | auxiliary verbs in English etc.<br>auxiliary particles in Tupí languages etc.  |
| Modification of lexical meaning      | derivational affixes | [no established general term]; ‘derivational words’ (= grammaticalized ‘conwords’), and possibly many asymmetrical serial verb constructions | derivational prepositions:<br>many verb particles in English & German<br>derivational adverbs:<br>several verb particles in German<br>derivational verbs:<br>some GCs in Awetí |
| Combination of full lexical concepts | composition          | many symmetrical serial verb constructions   | [see this volume on serial verbs, and (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006)]   |

I believe that the very same analysis can also be applied to GCs with ‘aspect’ meaning (or rather: aktionsart, as the focus is on lexical semantics, not aspectual categories). In the aktionsart GCs there are only two derivational verbs (occurring in the gerund), *t-up-u* and *t-ekozoko-tu*,<sup>53</sup> which are used to derive syntactically verbs such as the verb with the meaning ‘to stay seated’ which occurs in (20), derived from the simple verb *tige-tu* ‘to sit’. So structures similar to the one in Figure 4 equally hold true for sentences such as those in (20) (‘sit down and keep seating’) and (21) (‘I lived without having sex’).

As a next step in the development of GCs in modern Awetí, it is possible that GCs started to permit what I call ‘inversion’, without a change of meaning. This would be easily possible for complex

<sup>53</sup> These verbs may occur as independent verbs and then have the meanings ‘to stay’ and ‘to live’, respectively – as derivational verbs, however, they do not have any non-empty lexical meaning (just as auxiliaries don’t have a proper lexical meaning).

(bipartite) forms of a single verb. For instance, the verb ‘to leave (from here to there)’, occurring as *otire otoaw* in Figure 4, could now also occur in a form like *otiraw oto*, both meaning ‘(s)he left from here to there’.

With the ‘light’ verb in the position of the ‘main’ verb (i.e., the verb that is not in the gerund) – and always with the possibility of an interpretation as an adverbial subordinate clause, for instance of ‘manner’ – other verbs could have entered in the position of the gerund verb, giving rise to what I have identified above as ‘purpose’ use, which is today by far the most frequent use of the gerund in Awetí.

Probably, the analysis as a monoclausal ‘converb’ construction holds for most sentences with a gerund with ‘purpose’ semantics (at least with the most frequent light verbs *to-tu* and *t-ut-u*, probably *tem*, and possibly the transitive derivations *n-ezoto-tu* and *n-ezut-u*). But there are challenges to this analysis, especially when only one of the two verbs seems to be complemented or modified. This holds in particular for combinations of a transitive and an intransitive verb such as in the sentences in (13). If the analysis as monoclausal ‘converb’ construction – that is, derivation by syntactic means – is correct, both sentences, inverted and not, would have the same structure, as shown in Figure 5.<sup>54</sup> The complex (derived) verb with the meaning ‘to come to see’ is transitive; the pronoun *tsã* is the direct object of the complex verb form.

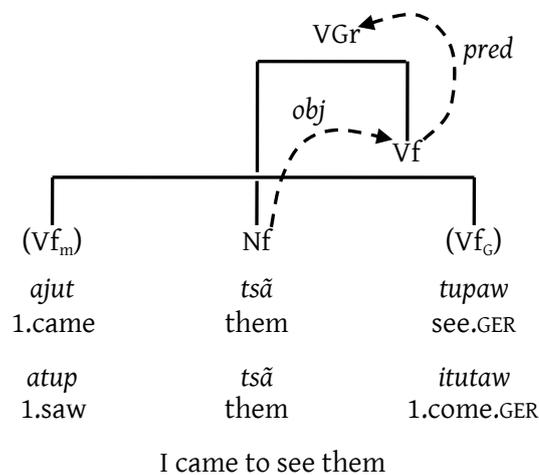


Figure 5: Monoclausal ‘converb’ construction with transitive verb (also inverted)

<sup>54</sup> For explanations of the diagram and the abbreviations, see footnote 45. “obj” reads: “is (direct) object of”. – Note that no formal grammatical relation is assumed between the two parts of the predicate constituent (occurrence of the derived verb form, *ajut tupaw* resp. *atup itutaw*) in Figure 8.5. In the framework used here, this holds generally for complex word forms, because no such relation is needed for semantic composition. The semantic effects of the combination of words into a single complex word form are not determined by semantic interpretation of grammatical relations. – Note again the crossing lines due to discontinuous constituents.

But, probably, the upper, non-inverted, construction in Figure 5 may also be analyzed, at least in some cases, as having a structure like that in Figure 6, where the gerund constituent functions as a purpose-indicating adverbial modifier of the simple verb (*mod*), a structure equivalent to that shown in Figure 3.

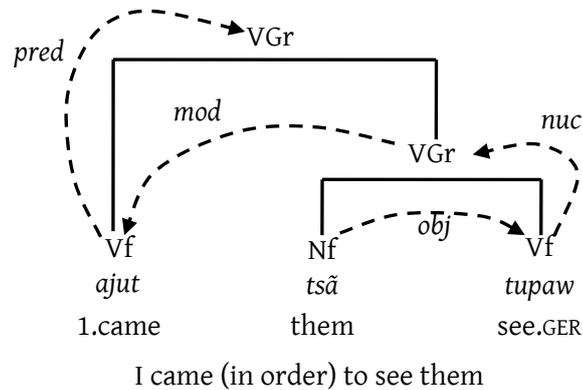


Figure 6: Gerund of a transitive verb as subordinate adverbial modifier

This latter structure is also plausible because of the similarity to structures with the purposive, which in combination with a main verb always function as an adverbial modifier of purpose. That means, for the purposive, only the structure in Figure 3 and Figure 6 is possible.

Although the two syntactic structures in Figures 5 and 6 are quite different, when they apply to the same sequence of word forms, they allow for the semantic construction of propositions that are largely equivalent. However, in one case a new lexical meaning ('to go to see') is obtained by syntactic derivation, whereas in the other case, an analogous effect is achieved through the semantic effects of syntactic modification. Both resulting propositions are nevertheless very similar if not equivalent. This makes it difficult to decide which analysis is more appropriate in each single case, and may be a sign of, or a favourable condition for, language change. In any case, the possibility to invert the main and gerund verbs (apparently not yet attested for other Tupí languages), even when combining verbs of different valency, as shown in Figure 4, indicate that the grammaticalized monoclausal 'converb' constructions (in the sense of derivation by syntactic means, as indicated in Figures 4 and 5), do indeed exist in Awetí.

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