The Morphosyntax of Nominalization in Wayoro (Tupí): a preliminary approach

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to provide a preliminary account of the morphosyntax of nominalization in Wayoro (Tupian family), an endangered language which is situated in the state of Rondônia (Brazil). In this paper I describe some of the morphosyntactic and distributional properties of nouns and verbs. An additional objective of this paper is to examine the nominal and/or verbal properties of the constructions involving the morpheme {-p} 'nominalizer'. The data suggest that there are two kinds of constructions involving the morpheme {-p}: a lexical, or VP nominalization, and a clause nominalization.

KEYWORDS: Wayoro language; morphosyntactic and distributional properties of nouns and verbs; nominalization

RESUMO

 Esta pesquisa tem como objetivo fornecer uma abordagem preliminar sobre a morfossintaxe da nominalização em Wayoro (família Tupi), uma língua ameaçada localizada no estado de Rondônia (Brazil). Neste artigo, descrevo algumas propriedades sintáticas e distribucionais de nomes e de verbos. Outro objetivo deste trabalho é examinar propriedades verbais e/ou nominais de construções que envolvem o morfema {-p} 'nominalizador'. Os dados sugerem que há dois tipos de construções relacionadas ao morfema {-p}: uma nominalização lexical ou de VP e uma nominalização sentencial.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: língua Wayoro; propriedades morfossintáticas e distribucionais de nomes e verbos; nominalização

Introduction

Wayoro is a Tupian language of the Tuparian subfamily (MOORE; GALUCIO; GABAS JR, 2008), which is situated in the Brazilian state of Rondônia (TI Rio Guaporé, Guajará-Mirim, and Alta Floresta d'Oeste). There is a variety of indigenous names to denominate the language, such as Wajuru, Ayuru, Ajuru, Wayoró. However, speakers use Wayoro ([waj.o.ˈɾo] or [ŋgʷaj.o.ˈɾo]) to refer to their language, which is one of the most endangered native languages in Brazil (MOSELEY, 2011), since it is only spoken by 3 (three) people. Furthermore, the new generations are not acquiring Wayoro as their first language. The data for this study were collected in fieldwork on the indigenous land Rio Guaporé (Terra Indígena Rio Guaporé).

Fig. 1. Map of location of TI Rio Guaporé, in Rondônia (Brazil). Adapted from FUNAI, 2017.

The main objective of this study is to describe some of the morphosyntactic and distributional properties of nouns phrases (NPs) and verbs phrases (VPs) in Wayoro and to investigate their behavior in constructions denominated nominalizations in this language.

The sentences that are used as examples in this paper represent data from the following categories: elicitation sessions, individual narratives, traditional stories, accounts of procedural tasks, personal recounts, and published material. The data were

mainly collected during various visits to the Ricardo Franco village (Guajará-Mirim, Rondônia) between 2008 and 2015.

This paper begins with a general characterization of noun phrases and verb phrases in Wayoro (sections 1 and 2). The subsequent section describes two different types of nominalizations in Mekens (another Tuparian language). Finally, in section 4, I describe and analyze constructions involving the Wayoro 'nominalizer' suffix {-p}, comparing it with its cognate in Mekens.

1.   **Noun phrases**

Noun phrases (NPs) have the following distributional properties: NPs can be used as complements of verbs (1a), subjects of verbs (1a-b), complements of postpositions (1c). NPs can also be modified by adjectives (1c), by another NP (b), or by a numeral (1d).

(1)   Distributional properties of NPs

    a.   NP used as a complement

        [awi]   ka-t   yã[1]

        father   eat-NFUT   mother

        'Mommy has eaten daddy.' (*Text*)

    b.   NP used as a subject and NP modified by another NP

        te-tera-t   [mberu   ngõ]

        3COR-go-NFUT   capuchin.monkey   pet

        'The capuchin went.' (*Text)*

    c.   NP modified by an adjective and NP used as the complement of a postposition

        [Ugu   akara]   mbiro   [txi-ndek   ere]

        water   big   have   1PL.INCL-house   LOC

        'There is a river in our village/house.'

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[1] In this paper, I followed the orthographic conventions used to write Wayoro (NOGUEIRA, 2012). Examples originating from natural texts or published materials are followed by the citation of the source.

d.   NP modified by a numeral

aramĩra   [mbogop   ndurut]   tuuwa-t

woman   child   two   give.birth-NFUT

'The woman gave birth to twins.'

Concerning nouns in Wayoro, the bound pronominal markers refer to the possessor of possessive NPs, as in (2). The morpheme {te-} is the cognate of {se-} and {te-}, coreferential in Mekens and Akuntsu (GALUCIO, 2011; ARAGON, 2014), and {te-} reflexive in Tupari (ALVES, 2004).

(2)   Bound pronominal markers as the possessor of possessive NPs

o-tak   'my daughter (man-speaking-term) '

e-tak   'your daughter'

ndeke-tak   'his daughter'

txi-tak   'our daughter (inclusive)'

ote-tak   'our daughter (exclusive)'

djat-tak   'your (plural) daughter'

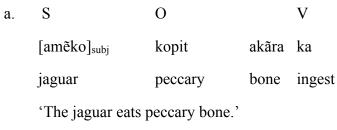ndeat-tak   'their daughter'

(NOGUEIRA, 2013, p.328)

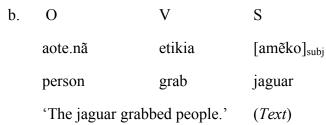ndop$_i$ te$_i$-tak   atinãn

'the father$_i$ is.stingy.about his$_i$ daughter'
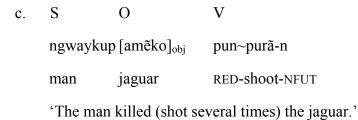
2.   Verbs

2.1.   Word order

Clauses in Wayoro are predominantly SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) (3a, c) or OVS (3b)[2] when transitive and VS (3c) or SV (1b) when intransitive. There is no case marking on the arguments of the clause. Compare the following data, where the same NP, *amẽko* 'jaguar', has different positions:

(3)   Constituent Order

a.   S   O   V

[amẽko]subj   kopit   akãra   ka

jaguar   peccary   bone   ingest

'The jaguar eats peccary bone.'

b.   O   V   S

aote.nã   etikia   [amẽko]subj

person   grab   jaguar

'The jaguar grabbed people.'   (*Text*)

c.   S   O   V

ngwaykup [amẽko]obj   pun~purã-n

man   jaguar   RED-shoot-NFUT

'The man killed (shot several times) the jaguar.'

d.   S   V

[amẽko   peo   mbiro]subj   te-ngõyã-n

jaguar   wing   have   3COR-sit-NFUT

'The jaguar that had wings was sitting.' (*Text*)

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[2] In the data set, the order SVO was not attested to date. I would like to emphasize that Wayoro is a head-final language in both VPs and PPs (cf. Examples (1c), (26))

In Wayoro, OV is an inseparable unit. This is shown in the examples below (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 210-211). Examples (4a, 4b) show that the insertion of an intervening PP within the OV unit is ungrammatical, such as the PP *te-ndaup mẽ* 'to his son', headed by the postposition *mẽ* 'to', as in (4b).

(4)   OV unit in Wayoro

    a.   te-ndaup mẽ   ngwaykup   [uwoy.tũkwa-p   yõã-n]$_{ov}$

       3COR-son to   man   fish.with.fishing.net-p   give-NFUT

       'The man gave a fishing net to his son.'

    b.   *ngwaykup   uwoy.tũkwa-p   te-ndaup   mẽ   yõã-n

       man   fish.with.fishing.net-p 3COR-son   to   give-NFUT

       'The man gave a fishing net to his son.'

2.2.   Personal morphemes

An absolutive morphosyntactic alignment pattern of person morphology is used on verbs. The personal (free) pronouns are used for ergative arguments (A) and are also used optionally for S arguments with intransitive verbs. Prefixes are used for absolutive arguments (S/O) (see below 5-6)[3].

In Tables 1 and 2, I list the inventory of the personal prefixes and personal pronouns:

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[3] Other authors have suggested that the language can also be analyzed as Nominative-Absolutive: "considering the distribution of the pronouns as a whole, this hybrid alignment found in the Tuparian languages is a clear instantiation of the Nominative-Absolutive alignment pattern proposed by Gildea and Castro Alves (2010, in press) for Cariban and Northern Jê Languages. The nominative pattern (free pronouns) co-occurs with the absolutive pattern (argument marking on the verb)" (GALUCIO; NOGUEIRA, in press).

Bound pronouns (prefixes/S and clitics/O arguments)		
	Singular	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ person	*m- ~ o-*	*txi-* (inclusive)
		ote- (exclusive)
2ⁿᵈ person	*e-*	*djat-*
3ʳᵈ person	*te-*	*te-* (Subject)
	y- ~ ndeke-	*y- ~ ndeat-* (Object)

Table 1. Bound pronouns

Free pronouns		
	Singular	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ person	*On*	*txire* *(inclusive)*
		ote *(exclusive)*
2ⁿᵈ person	*Em*	*djat*
3ʳᵈ person	*ndeke*	*ndeat*

Table 2. Free pronouns

The first person morpheme has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs in Wayoro: *o-* before consonant initial stem, *m-* before nasal(ized) vowel initial stem, and *mb-* before oral vowel initial stem. Also, the *o-* allomorph can be nasalized before a nasal consonant. There are some homophonous pronouns[4], but they belong to a different paradigm, as we can see in Table 3.

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[4] These examples may be analyzed as a case of syncretism in pronominal forms. "A syncretism is found when morphemes composed of distinct sets of syn[tactic]sem[antic] features are realized with the same phonological exponent" (EMBICK, 2015, p. 25)

	Free pronouns (S and A arguments)	Bound pronouns (prefixes/S and clitics/O arguments)	
1PL.EXCL	ote	ote-	
2PL	djat	djat-	
3SG	ndeke	ndeke-~dj-~y-	te- (only S argum.)[5]
3PL	ndeat	ndeat-~dj- ~y-	te- (only S argum.)

Table 3. Homophonous pronouns

The third person morpheme has four phonologically conditioned allomorphs: *ndeke-* and *ndeat-* before vowel initial stem, *dj-* before vowel initial stem, and *y-* before nasal(ized) vowel initial stem (see NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 80-81). Also, the third person morpheme does seem to have an indefinite use.

(5)   Paradigm of personal pronouns used in subject of transitive (A) function

  on dj=ipitkwa   "I'll throw something.'

  en dj=ipitkwa   'You threw something.'

  ndeke dj=ipitkwa-t 'He threw something.'

  txire dj=ipitkwa-t 'We (incl.) threw something.'

  ote dj=ipitkwa   'We (excl.) threw something.'

  djat dj=ipitkwa-t 'You threw something.'

  ndeat dj=ipitkwa-t 'They threw something.'

(6)   Paradigm of bounds (clitics) pronouns used in object (O) function

  aramĩra **o**=tigaa-t 'The woman painted me.'

  aramĩra **e**=tigaa-t 'The woman painted you.'

  aramĩra **ndeke**=tigaa-t 'The woman painted him.'

  aramĩra **txi**=tigaa-t 'The woman painted us (incl.).'

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[5] The third person distribution suggests that the language also seems to have a tripartite alignment in which there is A≠S≠P. This suggestion is under examination.

aramĩra	**ote**=tigaa-t	'The woman painted us (excl.).'
ote	**djat**=tigaa-t	'The woman painted you.'
aramĩra	**ndeat**=tigaa-t	'The woman painted them.'

(7)   Paradigm of bounds (prefixes) pronouns used in subject of intransitive verb (S) function

	m-engukwa-t	(on)	'I'm sweating.'
	e-engukwa-t	(en)	'You are sweating.'
(ndeke)	**te**-ngõyã-n		'He is sitting.'
(txire)	**txi**-engukwa-t		'We (incl.) are sweating.'
	ote-engukwa-t	(ote)	'We (excl.) are sweating.'
(djat)	**djar**-engukwa-t		'You are sweating.'
(ndeat)	**te**-ngõyã-n		'They are sitting.'

S or O is always marked regardless of other features (semantic class of the intransitive verb, person hierarchy, etc.), as shown in examples (7) and (8).

(8)   Wayoro (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 159; SANTOS, 2010, p. 132)

a.   ngwaykup   o=toa-t

        man   1SG=see-NFUT

        'The man saw me.'

b.   ndeke=toa-p   nã   on

        3SG=see-p   FUT   1SG

        'I'll see her.'

In addition, as shown in (9), the personal prefixes function as the object, while the free pronouns function as subject, relating to the 1st person singular and the 2nd person singular.

(9) Wayoro transitive verbs

    a.   en   o=tigaa-t

           2SG   1SG=body.paint-NFUT

           'You painted me.'

    b.   on   e=tigaa-t   on[6]

           1SG   2SG=body.paint-NFUT 1SG

           'I painted you.'

    c.   o=puruga-t   en

           1SG=pierce-NFUT   2SG

           'You pierced me.'   (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 155)

    d.   e=puruga

           2SG=pierce/take.virginity

           'Take your virginity.' (Lit: 'Pierce you.')

      Object (O) arguments encoded by personal prefixes do not co-occur with a free pronoun or a NP. As in (10a) and (10b), the object of the transitive verb *ombaa* 'hit' can be a third personal prefix (10a) or a NP (10b), but not both simultaneously.

(10)   Personal prefix or NP as third person object

    a.   y=ombaa-t   on

           3=hit-NFUT   1SG

           'I hit them.'

           (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 68)

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[6] The repetition of the free pronoun is attested only in the 1st person singular as the subject of the transitive verb, but more work is needed to better comprehend this kind of data.

b.   ndaikut   en   [e-men   ombaa]

tomorrow   2SG   2SG-husband kill

"Tomorrow, you will kill your husband." (*Texto*)

The ungrammatical examples below attest that personal prefixes cannot be preceded by co-referential free pronouns or NP in the same function. See examples (11a-b) and (11a'-b').

(11)   Ungrammatical data

a.   Irene   o=tigaa-t

Irene   1SG=body.paint-NFUT

'Irene painted me.'

a'.   *Irene on   o-tigaa-t

Irene   1SG   1SG-body.paint-NFUT (Intended reading: 'Irene painted me.')

b.   mbogop   amẽko   ombaa-t

child   jaguar/dog   hit-NFUT

'The child hit the dog.'

(NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 111)

b'.   *mbogop amẽko   y-ombaa-t

child   jaguar/dog   3-hit-NFUT (Intended reading: 'The child hit the dog.')

Note that, in (12), free pronouns cannot function as the object of a transitive verb.

(12)   Free pronouns cannot function as the object of a transitive verb

a.   Irene   o=tigaa-t

Irene   1SG=body.paint-NFUT

'Irene painted me.'

b.   *Irene   on=tigaa-t

Irene   1SG=body.paint-NFUT (Intended reading: 'Irene painted me.')

In the second person, the personal prefix {e-} co-occurs with the co-referential free pronouns {en}, but it has a very different meaning (13). The NP *Irene* is a vocative

and the clause is reflexive, where the personal prefixes can co-occur with co-referential free pronouns (see also NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 181-217, 2013 for a discussion of reflexive constructions in Wayoro).

(13)   Reflexive construction

    a.   Irene   en   e=tigaa

       Irene   2SG   2SG=body.paint

       'Irene, you will paint yourself?' (Impossible interpretation: 'Irene painted you.')

    b.   aramĩra   e=tigaa-t

       woman   2SG=body.paint-NFUT

       'The woman painted you.'

Intransitive verbs always occur with personal prefixes, as in (14). The prefixes cross-reference a NP or a (free) pronoun, if present.

(14)   Wayoro intransitive verbs (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 70)

    a.   o-tera-t   (on)

       1SG-gosing- NFUT   1SG

       'I went.'

    a'.   *tera-t   on

       1SG-gosing-NFUT   1SG   (Intended reading: 'I went.')

    b.   mbogop   te-enunkara-t

       child   3COR-breath- NFUT

       'The child breathed.'

    b'.   *mbogop   enunkara-t

       child   breath-NFUT (Intended reading: 'The child breathed.')

In addition, note that the prefix {te-} 'coreferential' never co-occurs with a NP object, as in (15).

(15) {te-} 'coreferential' never co-occurs with a NP object (adapted from NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 78)

    a.   *amẽko   te-punkwa-t[7]

           jaguar/dog   3COR-shoot-NFUT

           (Intended reading: '(He) shot the dog.')

    b.   ndeke amẽko   punkwa-t

           3SG   jaguar/dog   shoot-NFUT

           'He shot the dog.'

This distribution, shown in (14), suggests that S argument personal prefixes are agreement morphemes in intransitive clauses, whereas the O personal pronouns are not, since they cannot co-occur with a full DP in object position. This distribution suggests that bound pronouns are functioning as objects rather than agreement. These pronouns can be analyzed as cliticized pronouns.

The same type of analysis was proposed for the Mekens language (also from the Tuparian branch) (GALUCIO, 2001, 2011), as in (16). In Mekens, in the intransitive VPs,

> the person prefix shows person and number agreement with an overt NP subject, if present. […] Transitive VPs are composed of a transitive verb and a direct object, which is realized either by an NP […] or by a personal prefix […], but not both at the same time […]. The subject of transitive clauses is expressed by an NP (either nominal or pronominal) external to the VP. (GALUCIO, 2011, p. 28)

(16) Mekens: intransitive and transitive VPs

    a.   roque se-er-a-t

           roque 3COR-sleep-TH.V-PST

           'Roque slept.'

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[7] The omission of third person, as in (i), is common in subject and object function.

    (i)   e=toa-t
                 2SG-see-NFUT
                 '(He) saw you.'

b.   ameko   aose   so-a-t

jaguar/dog   man/person   see-TH.V-PST

'The jaguar saw the man.'

c.   ameko   i-so-a-t

jaguar/dog   3SG-see-TH.V-PST

'The jaguar saw him/her/it.'

d.   *ameko   aose   i-so-a-t

jaguar/dog   man/person   3SG-see-TH.V-PSTCC(Intended reading:

'The jaguar saw the man.')

2.3.   Tense and aspect

After the verb stem, the morpheme {-t ~ -n} is used to indicate non-future, as in (17).

(17)   Non-future semantic of {-t} suffix

a.   e-ngora   mãyã-n   on   ega

2SG-music   sing-NFUT   1SG   yesterday

'Yesterday, I sang (a song) for you.'

b.   m-emburaa-t

1SG-fly-NFUT

'I'm flying.'

(NOGUEIRA, 2013, p. 330)

c.   djat-paga-t   nen   djat

2PL-get.drunk-NFUT   INTERR   2PL

'Did you (plural) get drunk?' or 'Are you (plural) drunk?'

(NOGUEIRA, 2013, p. 330)

The use of the morpheme {-p}, followed by the morpheme {nã}, is used to refer to the future, as in (18a). In (18b), the non-future suffix {-t} is not permitted since there is a temporal adverb in the sentence: *ndaikut* 'tomorrow'.

(18)   Future semantic of the use of {-p} followed by {nã}

  a.   ndaikut   ngwaikup   te-tera-p   nã

        tomorrow   man   3COR-go-p   FUT

        'Tomorrow, the man will go.'

  b.   *ndaikut   ngwaikup   te-tera-t

        tomorrow   man   3COR-go-NFU

        (Intended reading: 'Tomorrow, the man will go.')

    Following are the aspectual morphemes identified to date: {-rara} to indicate repetition and {-kw} to indicate repetition and intensification (plurality of event). Both morphemes can co-occur with morphemes that indicate tense, as we can see in (19).

(19)   Examples of {-kw} and {-rara} aspectual suffixes

  a.   m-amõy-kw-a-t   on

        1SG-dance-PL-TH.V-NFUT 1SG

        'I'm dancing fast.'

        (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 126)

  b.   aramĩra-ian   atiti   ndet-kw-a-t

        woman-PL   corn   grind-PL-TH.V-NFUT

        'The women are grinding the corn very much.'

        (NOGUEIRA, 2011, p. 137)

  c.   ndat   to-rara-t   on

        snake   see-REP-NFUT 1SG

        'I saw a snake again.'

  d.   Tuero   nder-ara-p   nã   on

        chicha   grind-REP-p   FUT   1SG

        'I'll grind *chicha* (a fermented drink) again.'

According to Galucio (2001, 2014), /-ra/ is a repetitive suffix in Mekens, as in (20).

(20)   Example of {-ra} repetitive suffix in Mekens

        o-so-a-ra   kot

        1SG-bath-TH.V-REP   IM.FUT

        'I will bath (again).'

        (GALUCIO, 2001, p. 92)

2.4.   Transitivization

The causative morpheme {mõ- ~ õ-} adds an external argument to an intransitive verb, turning it into a transitive verb, as shown in (21) (see NOGUEIRA, 2011). The intransitive verb *era* 'to sleep' (21a) receives the 'causative/transitivizer' prefix {mõ-}, and the subject *o-mẽpit* 'my child' functions as the object in the derived verbal construction, as in (21b).

(21)   Example of transitivization in Wayoro (NOGUEIRA, 2011)

    a.   o-mẽpit   te-era-t
         1SG-child   3COR-sleep-NFUT
         'My child slept.'
    b.   aramĩra   o-mẽpit   mõ-era-n

         woman   1SG-child   CAUS-sleep-NFUT

         'The woman made my child sleep.'

We have seen that clitic pronouns may encode objects in transitive verbs. The following examples (22a-b) illustrate that the derived transitive verb with {mõ- ~ õ-} can also have a clitic pronoun functioning as its object.

(22)   Personal prefixes as object of the derived transitive verb

    a.   en   o=mõ-era-n

          2SG   1SG=CAUS-sleep-NFUT

          'You made me sleep.'

    b.   on   e=mõ-era-n

          1SG   2SG=CAUS-sleep-NFUT

          'I made you sleep.'

3.   Nominalization(s) in Tuparian family

In this section, I will briefly present Galucio's analysis of nominalization in Mekens, which will be relevant for the preliminary analyses of Wayoro nominalization, since they are sister languages. Galucio (2011) considers that Mekens has two kinds of nominalization: grammatical and lexical nominalization (SHIBATANI; MARKHASHEN, 2009 apud GALUCIO, 2011). The circumstantial nominalizer {-ap} refers to instrumental and locative nouns (lexical nominalization), as in (23):

(23)   Mekens

    a.   otat   poka-ap

            fire   burn/light-NMLZ

            'match or lighter' (lit. tool (for) lighting the fire)

    b.   ɨkɨ   ekwe-ap

            water   run-NMLZ

            'rapids' (lit. part of a river where the current is swift)

    c.   [o-to-ap]   i-pagop

            1SG-lie-NMLZ   3SG-new

            'My hammock is new.'

In this kind of structure, "[…] person prefix […] functions in the derived noun (phrase) as the possessor of the nominalization" (GALUCIO, 2011, p. 243), such as the prefix {o-} in (23c).

In event nominalization, the circumstantial nominalization combines with postpositions, thereby resulting in postpositional phrases that encode the adverbial modification (GALUCIO, 2011, p. 239-245). In (24), the nominalization functions as the object of the postpositional phrase, headed by the locative postposition *ese*.

(24)   Mekens

[o-ib-ra-ab=ese]   tabir=eri   ka

1SG-come-REP-NMLZ=LOC   field=ABL   go/come

ki-po-e-mot-kwa

1PL.INCL-hand-INTR-make-TR

'When I come back from the field, we will work.'
(Lit. at my coming back from the field, we will work.)
(GALUCIO, 2011, p. 243)

According to Galucio (2011, p. 244)

> In lexical nominalizations, the nominalizer morpheme –ap directly follows the verb root, while in event nominalizing […], the nominalizer appears after the thematic vowel and other inflectional morphemes. Furthermore, the event nominalizing maintains the syntactic properties (specifically the argument structure) of the verb, while the lexical nominalization holds only a morphological and semantic association to the verb root. (GALUCIO, 2011, p. 244).

Therefore, in Mekens, there are two different kinds of nominalization: grammatical and lexical nominalization, which are expressed through the same morpheme, {-ap}. As we will see below, in Wayoro, constructions with {-p} morpheme can refer to a nominalized VP or a clause nominalization.

4.   Wayoro nominalizations with {-p}[8]

According to van Gijn, Haude and Muysken (2011, p. 10-11), nominalization is "probably the most common subordination strategy in South American languages". There is *participant nominalization*, which functions as relative clauses; *event nominalization*, used for complementation, but also for relative and adverbial relations; and *participial nominalization,* in which the nominalizer also encodes a verbal property.

In this section, I will show that constructions with {-p} morpheme can refer to: (i) an instrumental or locative noun (as *ndoap* 'hammock' and *toap* 'mirror'); (ii) an event nominalization. These constructions have different morphosyntactic properties and can also be classified as a nominalized VP or as an aspectual phrase (event or clause nominalization).

4.1.   VP nominalization

Nominalized verbs, like NPs, can be modified by other nouns. For example, in the possessive construction in (25b), the intransitive verb *ndoa* 'to lie down' is nominalized by {-p}, generating the word for 'hammock', and it can subsequently be modified by the noun 'foreigner'. As we saw above in section 1, Wayoro has possessor-possessed word order. In (25b), the nominalized verb is the possessed and in (25c) the possessor. Furthermore, we can also see that the nominalized verb can be modified by an adjective, as in (25d). In this example, *ndoap* 'hammock' is modified by the adjective *txuup* 'wet'.

(25)   Nominalized verbs modified by nouns and by adjectives

    a.   E-ndoa-t   nen

         2SG-lie-NFUT   INTERR

         'Are you lying down?'

    b.   [ngwerep   ndoa-p]   emõ   ponã

         foreigner   lie-NMLZ   EMPH use

         'Just use the foreigner's hammock.'

---

[8] The morpheme {-p} is realized as [-p] after an oral vowel, and as [-m] after a nasal vowel.

(Text)

c. [txi-ndoa-p]   yam

1PL.INCL-lie-NMLZ   rope

'Our hammock cord.'

d. [o-ndoa-p]   txuup

1SG-lie-NMLZ   wet

'My hammock is wet.'

In addition, like nouns, nominalized verbs can be the object of a postposition, as in (21). In this example, the intransitive verb *ngõyã* 'to sit' is nominalized. It has the meaning 'mat', and it is the complement of the postposition *tere.*

(26)   Nominalized verb as complement of postposition

E-ngõyã   [ngõyã-m   tere]

2SG-sit   sit-NMLZ   on

'Sit on the rush mat.'

As noted above, the intransitive verbs *ndoa* 'to lie down' and *ngõyã* 'to sit' can occur without the personal prefixes usually required by intransitive verbs. In the data, causative prefix, tense and aspect morphemes have not been found. A similar pattern is found with lexical nominalization of the transitive verbs *toa* 'to see' (27a) and *puruga* 'to pierce' (27b).

(27)   Transitive nominalized verbs

a.   o-[toa-p]   mbiro

     1SG-see-NMLZ have

     'There is my mirror.'

b.   [puruga-p]   dj-akara   pikam

pierce-NMLZ   3-large   deep

'The hole is large and deep.'

Such lexical nominalizations cannot occur with sentential properties, as with the aspectual suffix *-rara* 'repetition', as shown in the ungrammatical examples (28b, d).

(28)   Wayoro (Nogueira's field notes)

a.   o-ndo-ap   txuup

1SG-lie-NMLZ wet

'My hammock is wet.'

b.   *o-ndo-rara-p   txuup

1SG-lie-REP-NMLZ   wet

c.   e-ngõy-rara-a   ngõyã-m   tere

2SG-sit-REP-IMP   sit-NMLZ   on

'Sit on the mat again.'

d.   *e-ngõy-a   [ngõy-rara-m]   tere

2SG-sit-REP-IMP   sit-REP-NMLZ   on

We can, therefore, analyze such constructions as nominalized VPs, as in (29).

(29)   Lexical nominalization: [NP [VP ndoa] -p]

4.2.   Event or clause nominalization

Another kind of construction involving the {-p} suffix was attested in the corpus. In Wayoro, these constructions can be complement and adverbial clauses that function as clausal arguments and adjuncts, respectively, as in (30) and (31). Despite the absence of the tense suffix {-t} in the data, there are clausal properties, such as the causative prefix (which adds an external argument to an intransitive verb) and the aspectual suffix {-rara} 'repetition'. Also, there are always personal prefixes, if the verb is an intransitive verb. I will now call these constructions clause nominalizations, referring to the same type of phenomenon as event nominalization proposed for Mekens by Galucio (2011).

In (30a-b) below, we can see that the required personal prefix {m-} '1st person singular' of the intransitive verb *mãyã* 'to dance' cannot be absent, such as in any intransitive clause. Personal pronouns, however, never appear. This suggests that there is no agreement among the data.

(30)　　Absence of personal prefix is not permitted in clause nominalization

　　　a.　　on　　　[m-amõyã-m]　　　nĩa-rom　　　on

　　　　　1SG　　1SG-dance-p　　　　want-NEG　　1SG

　　　　　'I, I do not want to dance.'

　　　b.　　*on　　[amõyã-m]　　nĩa-rom　　　on

　　　　　1SG　　1SG-dance-p　　want-NEG　　1SG

　　　　　(Intended reading: 'I, I do not want to dance.')

Lexical nominalization, in contrast, permits the absence of a personal prefix, as we have seen in (21b) and (22).

In (31), the construction involving {-p} presents the aspectual suffix {-rara}, meaning 'repetition'. In (31a), the complement clause functions as the object of the transitive verb. In (31b), the nominalization is used as the complement of the postposition *ere,* and the construction is interpreted as an adverbial clause.

(31)　　Occurrence of {-rara} aspectual suffix in clause nominalization

　　　a.　　[m-amõyã-rara-m]　　nĩa-rom　　　on
　　　　　1SG-dance-REP-p　　　want-NEG　　1SG
　　　　　'I do not want to dance again.' (*Text*)

　　　b.　　y-engu　　　ate　　ka　　　　[nder-ara-p　　ere]
　　　　　3-*chicha*　　?　　ingest　　grind-REP-p　　LOC
　　　　　'Nevertheless, (they) were drinking her *chicha* (a fermented drink), when (they) were making *chicha* again.' (*Text*)

As illustrated by the examples above, these constructions involving {-p} allow the presence of an aspectual suffix.

Finally, causative/transitivizer morphology can also be found in these constructions. In the following examples, the verb *apokaya* 'to arrive' is intransitive, as we attest in (32a). This verb appears with the transitivizer prefix {mõ-} in the complement construction involving {-p} (32b).

(32)   Causative/transitivizer morpheme in clause nominalization

 a. mbogop te-apokaya

   child   3COR-arrive

   'The children arrived.' (*Text*)

 b. txi-mõ-apokaya-p toa-t   on

   1PL.INCL-CAUS-arrive-p see-NFUT 1SG

   'I saw us arrive'. (*Text*)

In this way, clause nominalization in Wayoro is a construction that can have the functional heads AspP (aspectual morphemes) and vP (causative/transitivizer morpheme), which are sentential properties (see sections 2.3 and 2.4).

5.   Final conclusions

My paper began with a presentation of some of the morphosyntactic properties of nouns and verbs in Wayoro. Then I described two kinds of constructions involving the morpheme {-p}, glossed as 'nominalizer' in both cases (NOGUEIRA, 2013, 2014). We have seen some differences between these two constructions. The first set of data has some properties of the nouns (lexical nominalization) and the second set of data has some sentential properties (aspectual nominalization), as in Wayoro's sister language, Mekens.

It is interesting to note that the Karitiana language (also a Tupian language) morphologically differentiates a nominalizer {-pa} from an infinitive {-p} suffix (ROCHA, 2016). These morphemes suggest that the grammatical properties of nominalization and infinitive subordination are related to cognate morphemes in the Tupian family.

Van Gijn, Haude and Muysken (2011, p. 13) claim that "event nominalization in South America often allows for the retention of verbal morphology on the nominalized predicate". One hypothesis to be tested is whether the event/clause nominalization sentences would be an infinitive phrase, since there are sentential properties, such as the causative prefix and aspectual suffix {-rara}. Infinitives are also considered nominal forms of the verb.

Abbreviations

1PL.INCL first person plural inclusive; 1SG first person singular; 2PL second person plural; 2SG second person; 3 third person; 3COR third person co-referential; 3SG third person singular; ABL ablative; CAUS causative; EMPH emphasis; FUT future; IM.FUT immediate future; IMP imperative; INTERR interrogative; INTR intransivizer; LOC locative; NEG negation; NFUT non-future; NMLZ nominalizer; PL plural; PST past; RED reduplication; REP repetition; TH.V theme vowel; TR transitivizer

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