Nominalizations in Tenetehára (Tupi-Guarani)

Nominalizações em Tenetehára (Tupí-Guaraní)

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ABSTRACT: This paper aims to examine the nominalizations in the Tenetehára language (Tupi-Guarani linguistic family) from linguistic data elicited in fieldwork from 2010 to 2019, mainly in the Araribóia Indigenous Land (Maranhão, Brazil). Descriptively the nominalizations fall into five formal types. The first one, with nominalizing suffix {-*haw*}, is used for resultative (instrument, product, place and quality) and event nominalizations from intransitive and transitive verbs. The second type, which corresponds to the occurrence of the morpheme {-*ma'e*} with intransitive verbs, results in participant nominalization which constitutes the subject of the verb. The third type, instantiated by the morpheme {-*har*}, derives participant nominalization constituting the subject of transitive verbs. The fourth and fifth types, with morphemes {*emi-*} and {-*pyr*}, derive nouns from transitive verbs and realize participant nominalizations that correspond to the object of the verb. Across the formal types, the nominalizations share a number of noun-like properties, being able as well to trigger nominal morphology and to perform different syntactic functions, such as subject, object, and adjunct.
KEYWORDS: Tupi-Guarani. Tenetehára. Nominalizations. Deverbal nominals.

RESUMO: O objetivo deste artigo é discutir a nominalização na língua Tenetehára (família linguística Tupí-Guaraní), a partir de dados elicitados durante trabalhos de campo realizados no período de 2009 a 2019, principalmente na Terra Indígena Araribóia (Maranhão, Brasil). Em termos descritivos, as nominalizações subdividem-se em cinco tipos. O primeiro tipo, que se refere ao sufixo {-*haw*}, é utilizado para a nominalização de resultado (instrumento, produto, lugar e qualidade) e de evento de verbos intransitivos e transitivos. O segundo tipo, que corresponde à ocorrência do morfema {-*ma'e*} com verbos intransitivos, produz nominalização de participante, que constitui o sujeito do verbo. O terceiro tipo se utiliza do morfema {-*har*} para gerar nominalização de participante que corresponde ao sujeito dos verbos transitivos. O quarto e o quinto tipos empregam os morfemas {*emi-*} e {-*pyr*} para derivar nomes a partir de verbos transitivos e realizar a nominalização que corresponde ao objeto do verbo. Entre os tipos formais, todas as nominalizações se comportam como os demais sintagmas nominais, podendo também desencadear morfologia nominal e desempenhar diferentes funções sintáticas, tais como: sujeito, objeto e adjunto.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Tupí-Guaraní. Tenetehára. Nominalizações. Nomes deverbais.

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103

Introduction

This paper[1] aims to describe and analyze the nominalized structures in Tenetehára (Tupi-Guarani family). In descriptive terms, there are five nominalizing morphemes that can derive nouns mainly from verbs, although it is also possible to nominalize other grammatical categories. It is interesting to note that, after derivation, they behave like the other nouns in the language, by triggering the same nominal affixes and by the fact that they perform the same syntactic functions typical of nouns.

The linguistic data were obtained in elicitation sessions in fieldwork from 2010 to 2019, mainly in the Araribóia Indigenous Land (Maranhão, Brazil). Furthermore, we consider as a starting point researches already developed on the morphology and syntax of the language (BOUDIN, 1966; BENDOR-SAMUEL, 1972; HARRISON, 1986, 2013; DUARTE, 1997, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009; CARVALHO, 2001; CARREIRA, 2008; CASTRO, 2007, 2017ab; SILVA, 2010; CAMARGOS, 2013, 2016, 2017ab; a.m.o.).

Before presenting the grammatical phenomenon highlighted here, we believe it is necessary to provide some information about the Tenetehára people. First of all, besides to being known as Guajajára, these indigenous people call themselves *Tenetehára*, which, in accordance to Boudin (1966, p. 260), means "the people, the indigenous in general and more specifically the Tembé and Guajajára indigenous people". Regarding the morphological derivation for the word-formation process, we can observe the following analysis[2]:

(1) *t-en-ete-har* → Tenetehára
     3G-be-EMP-NMZ
     "The true people."

[2] Abbreviations and symbols used in this paper: 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; ADPST: attested distant past tense; APASS: antipassive voice; APPL: applicative voice; C: relational prefix marking the contiguity of a determiner; CAUS: causative morphology; COMP: complementizer; COR: coreferential prefix; DPAST: distant past; EMP: emphatic marker; FUT: future tense; G: generic; GER: gerund; IMP: imperative; INCL: inclusive; INT: deontic modality of intention; INTS: intensifier morpheme; ITER: iterative aspect; NC: relational prefix marking the non-contiguity of a determiner; NEG: negation; NMZ: nominalizer/nominalization; PAST: past tense; PROSP: prospective aspect; RECP: reciprocal voice; REFL: reflexive voice; RET: retrospective aspect; SG: singular; TRANSL: translative case.

The term *Tenetehára* includes the Guajajara and the Tembé peoples, which present the following morphological segmentation:

(2) *wazay i-zar*   →   Guajajára
     cocar   3-owner
     "The cocar's owner."

(3) *xi   i-pew*   →   Tembé
     nose   3-flattened
     "The nose is flattened."

According to Camargos (2013, p. 18-19) and Castro (2020), the Tenetehára – Guajajára and Tembé – may also receive nouns that identify the location in which they live, for example: *wàmàiwar wà* "those from the Guamá river", *turiwar wà* "those from the Turiaçu river", *kuripiwar wà* "those from the Gurupi river", *miàriwar wà* "those from the Mearim river", *namàiwar wà* "those from the sea shore (Barra do Corda)", *pinare iwar wà* "those from the Pindaré river", *zutywiwar wà* "those from the Zutiwa river", *murixityw iwar wà* "those from the Buriticupu river", a.m.o.

According to Duarte (1997, 2003, 2007), all indigenous lands inhabited by the Guajajára people are in the central region of the State of Maranhão, more precisely in the regions of the following rivers: Pindaré, Grajaú, Mearim, and Zutiwa. The lands are covered by the high Amazon forests, as well as the cerrado, which are transition forests between the Amazon forests and the cerrado region. The Tembé inhabit the high forests of eastern Pará, in the border with Maranhão. However, part of the Tembé people lives on the right bank of the Gurupi River, in Maranhão.

According to Rodrigues (1984/1985), the Tenetehára language belongs to the Tupi-Guarani family. Therefore, the following languages also have grammatical properties sufficiently analogous to be grouped together. In this sense, Branch IV consists of the following languages: Tocantins Assuriní, Avá-Canoeiro, Parakanã, Suruí and Mudjetíre, Tocantins Suruí, and Tapirapé. It's interesting to note that the Tupi-Guarani family is the one that shows the greatest geographical distribution in lowland South America, since there are languages of such family not only in all regions of Brazil but also in several other Latin American countries, such as: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, French Guiana, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela.

1 Word order and agreement system

In typological terms, the Tenetehára language, as well as the other Tupi-Guarani languages, presents a relatively rich morphological structure, since it is constituted by prefixes and suffixes, which, in general, have the functions of encoding: agreement, causativization, applicativization, reflexivization, antipassivization, nominalization, incorporation, negation, among many others.

Regarding to syntax, the word order in independent clauses is flexible, although the most likely basic word order is VSO PP, as in (4). It should also be noted that, in dependent clauses, the order in this language is SOV, as in (5).

(4)   *o-mono   kuzà   màg   u-memyr ø-pe   a'e*
        3-give   woman   mango 3COR-baby C-to   3
        "The woman gave mango to her baby."

(5)   *a-hem   [awa ka'i   i-zywà   mehe] ihe*
        1SG-arrive   man   monkey 3-arrow COMP   1SG
        "I arrived when the man arrowed the monkey."

Head-final structures are not exclusive to dependent clauses, as we show in the example (5), considering that they are present in postpositional and genitive phrases, as you can see in (6) and (7) respectively.

(6a)   *ka'a   ø-pe*
       jungle   C-to
       "to the jungle"

(6b)   *kuzà   ø-puhe*
       woman   C-with
       "with the woman"

(7a)   *kwaharer   i-po*
       boy   3-hand
       "the boy's hand"

(7b)   *ka'i   i-memy*
       monkey   3-baby
       "the monkey's baby"

According to Duarte (2007), noun phrases in Tenetehára do not receive morphological case to distinguish the syntactic functions of subject and object. These

functions are actually encoded with the agreement sets. For this reason, this language is characterized by head-marking with no dependent-marking. There are at least three agreement sets, as can be seen in the Tables below.

Table 1 – Verbal agreement sets in Tenetehára

	Independent Pronouns	Set 1	Set 2
1SG	*ihe*	*a-*	*he=*
1PL_EXCLUSIVE	*ure*	*uru- ~ oro-*	*ure=*
1PL_INCLUSIVE	*zane*	*xi- ~ za-*	*zane=*
2SG	*ne*	*re-*	*ne=*
2PL	*pe*	*pe-*	*pe=*
3	*a'e*	*u- ~ o- ~ w-*	*i- ~ h-*

Table 2 – Third set of agreement

	Set 3 (*portmanteau*)
1SG → 2SG	*uru-*
1PL_EXCLUSIVE → 2SG	*uru-*
1SG → 2PL	*apu-*
1PL_EXCLUSIVE → 2PL	*urupu-*

The first set corresponds, in independent clauses, to the agreement prefixes that reference the subjects of transitive verbs, as in (8), and subjects of active intransitive verbs, as in (9).

(8a)   ***a****-exak*   *kwaharer*   *ihe*
        1SG-see   boy   1SG
        "I saw the boy."

(8b)   ***ere****-*(*e*)*xak*   *kwaharer*   *ne*
        2SG-see   boy   2SG
        "You saw the boy."

(8c)   ***w****-exak*   *kwaharer*   *a'e*
        3-see   boy   3
        "He/She saw the boy."

(9a)   ***a****-zàn*   *ka'a* *ø-pe*   *ihe*
        1SG-run   jungle C-to   1SG
        "I ran into the jungle."

(9b)   ***ere****-zàn*   *ka'a* *ø-pe*   *ne*
        2SG-run   jungle C-to   2SG
        "You ran into the jungle."

(9c) **u**-*zàn*   *kwaharer*   *ka'a* *ø-pe* *a'e*
      3-run   boy   jungle C-to   3
      "The boy ran into the jungle."

The second set, which is treated as agreement in inverse context by Payne (1994)[3], corresponds to agreement prefixes that reference the objects of transitive verbs, as in (10), and the subject of inactive intransitive verbs, as in (11), in dependent and independent clauses.

(10a) **he**=*r-exak*   *kwaharer*   *a'e*
       1SG=C-see   boy   3
       "The boy saw me."

(10b) **ne**=*r-exak*   *kwaharer*   *a'e*
       2SG=C-see   boy   3
       "The boy saw you."

(10c) *a-hem*   [*kwaharer*   **ne**=*r-exak*   *mehe*] *ihe*
       1SG-arrive   boy   **2SG**=C-see   COMP   1SG
       "I arrived when the boy saw you."

(10d) *a-hem*   [*kwaharer*   *kuzà*   **h**-*exak mehe*] *ihe*
       1SG-arrive   boy   woman   **3**-see COMP   1SG
       "I arrived when the boy saw the woman."

(11a) **he**=*ø-kane'o*   *ihe*
       1SG=C-tired   1SG
       "I am tired."

(11b) **ne**=*ø-kane'o*   *ne*
       2SG=C-tired   2SG
       "You are tired."

(11c) *a-hem*   [**ne**=*ø-kane'o mehe*] *ihe*
       1SG-arrive   **2SG**=C-tired   COMP   1SG
       "I arrived when you were tired."

(11d) *a-hem*   [*kuzà*   **i**-*kane'o*   *mehe*] *ihe*
       1SG-arrive   woman   **3**-tired   COMP   1SG
       "I arrived when the woman was tired."

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[3] Inverse voice markers are traditionally known as relational prefixes. Since this is not the goal of this work, we will not discuss the grammatical status of these morphemes in Tenetehára. We highlight, however, that these relational prefixes are widely discussed in the Tupi-Guarani literature and that several analyses have already been proposed for them. Under a generative perspective, for instance, Duarte (2009, p. 125) suggests that "the occurrence of the prefix {*r-*} should be understood as a reflex of the Absolutive Case valuation operation, which occurs in the *v*P domain".

It should be noted that the second set is also used to refer to the object of postpositions, as in (12), and genitive on nouns, as in (13).

(12a) *u-ze'eg* *awa*   ***he**=ϕ-we* *a'e*
   3-tell   man   **1SG**=C-to 3
   "The man told me."

(12b) *u-ze'eg* *awa*   ***ne**=ϕ-we* *a'e*
   3-tell   man   **2SG**=C-to 3
   "The man told you."

(13a) *u-pyhyk* *kwaharer* ***he**=ϕ-po* *a'e*
   3-catch   boy   **1SG**=C-hand 3
   "The boy hold my hand."

(13b) *u-pyhyk* *kwaharer* ***ne**=ϕ-po* *a'e*
   3-catch   boy   **2SG**=C-hand 3
   "The boy hold your hand."

Considering only these two sets, it is already possible to argue that there is a split-ergative cross-referencing system in an active/inactive distinction in intransitive verbs and an independent/subordinate clauses. For more details, see Duarte (1997, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009), Castro (2007, 2017ab, 2020), Silva (2010), and Camargos (2013, 2016, 2017ab), a.m.o.

The third set, finally, corresponds to the agreement prefixes that simultaneously reference the subject and object of transitive verbs, as we show in (14). Camargos (2017b) treats this third set as syntactic *portmanteau* agreement, since the same morphology can refer to more than one nuclear argument.

(14a) ***uru**-pytywà*   *ihe*
   1SG+2SG-help   1SG
   "I helped you_SINGULAR."

(14b) ***uru**-pytywà*   *ure*
   1PL.EXCL+2SG-help 1PL.EXCL
   "We helped you_SINGULAR."

(14c) ***apu**-pytywà*   *ihe*
   1SG+2PL-help   1SG
   "I helped you_PLURAL."

(14d) **urupu**-*pytywà*   *ure*
       1PL.EXCL+2PL-help   1PL.EXCL
       "We helped you~PLURAL~."

For the purposes of this paper, it is also essential to emphasize that verbs, nouns and postpositions, when they receive the second set, also trigger the relational prefixes. The use and distribution of these relational prefixes (see Table 3) depend on the construction and reference types and the class to which the element belongs (see RODRIGUES, 1953, for Tupinambá).

Table 3 – Relational prefixes

Steams	Contiguity of the determiner	Non-contiguity of the determiner
Initial consonant	*ø-*	*i-*
Initial vowel	*r-*	*h-*

Source: Duarte (2007, p. 39)

In general, their fundamental function is to relate a dependent stem to its determiner. Thus, while the prefixes {*ø-* ~ *r-*} indicate that the dependent theme forms a syntactic constituent with its determiner, the prefixes {*i-* ~ *h-*} denote that the dependent stem and its determiner are not contiguous. Therefore, it can be stated that, based on the contexts of occurrence of these morphemes, the steam can still be classified based on consonant and vowel. Steams with initial consonants receive the prefixes {*ø-* ~ *i-*}, and those with initial vowels receive the prefixes {*r-* ~ *h-*}. This grammatical behavior can be seen in the postpositional and genitive phrases below:

(15a) *he=**ø**-puhe*
       1SG=**C**-with
       "with me"

(16a) *he=**r**-ehe*
       1SG=**C**-about
       "about me"

(15b) *ne=**ø**-puhe*
       2SG=**C**-with
       "with you"

(16b) *ne=**r**-ehe*
       2SG=**C**-about
       "about you"

(15c) *awa*   ***ø**-puhe*
       man   **C**-with
       "with the man"

(16c) *awa*   ***r**-ehe*
       man   **C**-about
       "about the man"

(15d) ***i**-puhe*
       NC-with
       "with him/her/it"

(16d) ***h**-ehe*
       NC-with
       "about him/her/it"

It may be noted that the postpositions in the examples above trigger the relational prefixes of contiguity {∅- ~ *r-*} to indicate the overt realization of the determiner, and the relational prefixes of non-contiguity {*i-* ~ *h-*} to indicate the determiner is not present. However, the nouns curiously have a relatively different grammatical behavior in third person, as we show in the examples below:

(17a) *he=**∅**-hy*
       1SG=**C**-mother
       "my mother"

(17b) *ne=**∅**-hy*
       2SG=**C**-mother
       "your mother"

(17c) *awa*   ***i**-hy*
       man   **3**-mother
       "the man's mother"

(17d) *i-hy*
       3-mother
       "his/her mother"

(18a) *he=**r**-àpuz*
       1SG=**C**-house
       "my house"

(18b) *ne=**r**-àpuz*
       2SG=**C**-house
       "your house"

(18c) *awa*   ***h**-àpuz*
       man   **3**-house
       "the man's house"

(18d) *h-àpuz*
       3-house
       "his/her house"

Note that the nouns trigger the relational prefixes of contiguity {∅- ~ *r-*}, if the determiner is realized by the second set, notably first and second person. When the determiner corresponds to a third person element, the prefixes {*i-* ~ *h-*} occur, even with its contiguity. We would assume that these determiners realizing a third person value are in an apparent contiguity, for this reason the relational prefixes of non-contiguity would emerge. In an alternative analysis, we could assume that the prefixes {*i-* ~ *h-*} denote the property of non-contiguity in postpositions and the third person feature in nouns. It is not our objective to analyze the grammatical status of these prefixes in Tenetehára, although it is important to emphasize that the nominalizations – which are under investigation in this paper – exhibit the same grammatical behavior of nouns.

Furthermore, we assume that the verbs in this language are divided in transitive and intransitive, depending on whether or not they take an object. Moreover, the intransitive predicates split in (i) active intransitive verbs, for inchoative, activity and processual predicates, which generative literature commonly calls unergative and unaccusative verbs, for example: *ata* "to walk", *apyk* "to sit", *zàn* "to run", *por* "to jump", *'ar* "to fall", *mano* "to die", among many others; and (ii) inactive intransitive

verbs, for descriptive and stative meanings, which in some languages are commonly classified as adjectives, for example: *aku* "to be hot", *katu* "to be good", *puràg* "to be beautiful", *pew* "to be short", *pihun* "to be black", among many others.

In the following section, we describe and analyze the nominalizers {*-haw*}, {*-ma'e*}, {*-har*}, {*emi-*} and {*-pyr*}, as well as their respective grammatical functions.

2 Nominalizations in Tenetehára

Based on Rodrigues (1953), Boudin (1966), Bendor-Samuel (1972), Harrison (1986, 2013), Duarte (1997, 2003, 2005, 2007), Carvalho (2001), Carreira (2008), Castro (2007, 2017), Silva (2010), Camargos (2013, 2016, 2017ab), Camargos & Castro (2013) and Castro & Camargos (2015), we present, in the Table 4, the nominalizing morphemes in the Tenetehára language[4].

Table 4 – Nominalizing morphemes in the Tenetehára Language

Nominalizing morpheme	Description
{*-haw*}	It occurs with intransitive and transitive verbs for resultative (instrument, product, place and quality) and event nominalization. In transitive predicates, the object may precede deverbal noun in the syntactic position of determiner.
{*-ma'e*}	It nominalizes intransitive verbs to refer to its subject. The syntactic position of determiner must be empty.
{*-har*}	It nominalizes transitive verbs in order to refer to its subject. The object may precede deverbal noun in the syntactic position of determiner.
{*emi-*}	It nominalizes transitive verbs to refer to its object. The subject may precede deverbal noun in the syntactic position of determiner.
{*-pyr*}	It nominalizes transitive verbs to refer to the initial object. The syntactic position of determiner must be empty.

In the next subsections we analyze each of the morphemes shown in Table 4, in order to discuss their morphosyntactic properties.

2.1 The nominalizer {-haw}

As we show in Table 4, the morpheme {*-haw*}, with its allomorphs {*-haw ~ -aw ~ -paw ~ -taw*}, nominalizes intransitive and transitive verbs in order to denote the resultative (instrument, product, place and quality) and event nominalization. In the example below, the nominalization has the semantic function of place.

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[4] We note that the descriptions presented in Table 4 do not cover all the functions of these nominalizing morphemes. We show here the main properties of each one, which are sufficient in our sense to support the objectives of this paper.

(19a) *u-zahak*   *kuzà*   *a'e*
      3-bath   woman   3
      "The woman took a bath."

(19b) *u-mu-katu*   *awa*   [*kuzà*   *i-zahak-*(*h*)*aw*]   *a'e*
      3-CAUS-good man   woman   3-bath-NMZ   3
      "The man fixed *the women's bathroom* (lit.: the place for the woman to take a bath)."

Note that, in the example (19a), the verb *zahak* "to take a bath" has one nuclear argument, *kuzà* "woman". After nominalization in (19b), the nominalized phrase in brackets refers to the place where the action described by the nominalized event took place. Furthermore, the nominalized predicate realizes the prefix {*i-*} that coreferences the external argument *kuzà* "woman", which occupies its syntactic position of determiner. When the verb is preceded by a first or second person pronouns (Set 2), the relational prefix {*r-* ~ *ø-*} is required, as you can see below:

(19c) *u-mu-katu*   *awa*   [*he=ø-zahak-*(*h*)*aw*] *a'e*
      3-CAUS-good man   1SG=C-bath-NMZ   3
      "The man fixed *my bathroom* (lit.: the place for me to take a bath)."

(19d) *u-mu-katu*   *awa*   [*ne=ø-zahak-*(*h*)*aw*] *a'e*
      3-CAUS-good man   2SG=C-bath-NMZ   3
      "The man fixed *your bathroom* (lit.: the place for you to take a bath)."

It is necessary to emphasize that the realization of the prefixes {*i-* ~ *ø-*} in the nominalized predicates in (19) presents the same grammatical behavior of the nouns, as we showed in the previous section. As you can see below, the nominalizer {*-haw*} still attaches to verbs in order to determine, beyond the place, the instrument denoted by the initial predicate.

(20a) *u-pyur*   *kuzà*   *tyràm*   *zàpehe*   *ø-pupe*   *a'e*
      3-stir   woman   flour   oven   C-in   3
      "The woman stirred the flour in the oven."

(20b) *u-zapo*   *awa*   [*tyràm i-pyur-haw*]   *w-***emi**-(*e*)*r*(*u*)-*iko*   *ø-pe* *a'e*
      3-make   man   flour 3-stir-NMZ   3COR-**NMZ**-APPL-be   C-for 3
      "The man made *the flour stirrer* (i.e. the shovel) for his wife (lit.: the one who is with him)."

In the example (20a), the verb *pyur* "to stir" has two nuclear arguments, namely: *kuzà* "woman" and *tyràm* "flour". In the example (20b), in turn, the nominalized phrase refers to the instrument used to perform the action described by the nominalized event. Furthermore, the nominalized predicate realizes the prefix {*i-*} that coreferences the internal argument *tyràm* "flour", which occupies its syntactic position of determiner. Camargos (2016, p. 123-124) lists a set of deverbal nouns that denote instrument, product and place.

Instrument

(21a) *i-pyhyk-(h)aw*
3-catch-NMZ
"trap"

(21d) *i-mu-ku'i-haw*
3-CAUS-grind-NMZ
"grinder"

(21b) *i-kixi-haw*
3-cut-NMZ
"handsaw"

(21e) *i-mu-ata-haw*
3-CAUS-walk-NMZ
"motor"

(21c) *i-myrà~myràg-(h)aw*
3-step-ITER-NMZ
"stairs"

(21f) *i-mu-wewe-haw*
3-CAUS-fly-NMZ
"paineira (a tree)"

Product

(22a) *i-zegar-haw*
3-sing-NMZ
"song"

(22d) *i-mynyk-(h)aw*
3-dance-NMZ
"party (ritual party of dance)"

(22b) *i-'aw-pupe-haw*
3-hair-lock-NMZ
"hair braid"

(22e) *i-wyra-'u-haw*
3-bird-eat-NMZ
"party (ritual party of moqueado)"

(22c) *i-mai-'u-haw*
3-thing-eat-NMZ
"dish"

(22f) *i-zemaraz-taw*
3-play-NMZ
"toy, games"

Place

(23a) *h-en-(h)aw*
3-sit-NMZ
"chair"

(23d) *h-eko-haw*
3-be-NMZ
"home"

(23b) *i-ker-haw*
3-sleep-NMZ
"bed"

(23e) *i-mai-'u-haw*
3-thing-eat-NMZ
"place to eat"

(23c) *i-zegar-haw*   (23f) *i-zahak-(h)aw*
       3-sing-NMZ   3-bath-NMZ
       "singing place"   "bathing place"

Furthermore, note that the morpheme {*-haw*} also nominalizes the transitive verb *petek* "hit" to denote the event described by the verbal base.

(24a) *u-petek*   *awa*   *zawar*   *a'e*
       3-hit   man   dog   3
       "The man hit the dog."

(24b) *a-exak*   [*zawar*   *i-petek-(**h**)**aw**-(kw)er*]   *ihe*
       1SG-see   dog   3-hit-**NMZ**-RET   1SG
       "I saw *the past event of hitting the dog*."

Note that, in example (24a), the transitive predicate *petek* "to hit" requires the nuclear arguments *awa* "man" and *zawar* "dog". Whereas, after the nominalization process in (24b), *ipetekawer* "the past event of hitting" shows that the morpheme {*-haw*} denotes a nominalization which refers to the event described by the verb. Moreover, the nominalized predicate realizes the prefix {*i-*} that coreferences the internal argument *zawar* "dog", which occupies its syntactic position of determiner. Finally, we see a nominalization in the example below, the meaning of which points to the quality of the subject. This can be observed in the inactive intransitive verb of the original clause, *puràg* "to be beautiful".

(25a) *i-puràg-ete*   *kwaharer*   *a'e*
       3-beautiful-EMP   boy   3
       "The boy is truly beautiful."

(25b) *kwaharer*   *i-puràg-ete-**haw***
       boy   3-beautiful-EMP-**NMZ**
       "The true beauty of the boy."

Since the nominalization with the morpheme {*-haw*} results in some possible semantic structures, it may have an ambiguous interpretation. For illustrative purposes, see the following examples.

(26)   *tàzàhuràn*   *i-zuka-**haw***
       pig   3-kill-**NMZ**
       (i) "The place for killing a pig."
       (ii) "The instrument for killing a pig."
       (iii) "The event of killing a pig."

(27) *aroz   i-mu-wewe-**haw***
      rice   3-CAUS-fly-**NMZ**
      (i) "The place for winnowing the rice."
      (ii) "The instrument for winnowing rice."
      (iii) "The event of winnowing the rice."

However, it is noteworthy that, despite the ambiguity pointed out above, the context will determine if a derivational structure will have the meaning of instrument, place, event or quality, for example. Note that the verbal predicates nominalized through the morpheme {-*haw*} behave like other noun phrases in the language. Thus, they can trigger nominal morphology, as you can see below:

Privative aspect (nominal negation)
(28a) *w-iko   àg   awa   [[yrykaw   h-eta-**'ym-(h)aw**]   ϕ-pe]   a'e*
       3-be   this   man   river   3-have-**NEG-NMZ**   C-in   3
       "That man lived in *a place that has no river*."

(28b) *u-'u   puru-mu'e-ma'e   [pira   taz-**'ym**]   a'e*
       3-eat   person-CAUS-teach-NMZ   fish   chili-**NEG**   3
       "The teacher ate *fish without pepper*."

Retrospective aspect
(29a) *a-exak   [tapixi   i-petek-**(h)aw**-**(kw)er**]   ihe*
       1SG-see   rabbit   3-hit-**NMZ-RET**   1SG
       "I saw *the past event of hitting the rabbit*."

(29b) *a-exak   [tapixi   h-àpuz-**gwer**]   ihe*
       1SG-see   rabbit   3-house-**RET**   1SG
       "I saw the former rabbit house."

Prospective aspect
(30a) *a-exak-putar   [kwaharer   i-zahak-**(h)aw**-**(r)àm**]   ihe   nehe*
       1SG-see-FUT   boy   3-bath-**NMZ-PROSP**   1SG   INT
       "I will see *the future event of bathing the boy*."

(30b) *a-kwaw   [Zahy   i-men-**ràm**]   ihe*
       1SG-know   Zahy   3-husband-**PROSP**   1SG
       "I know *Zahy's future husband*."

It can be noted that morphemes of private, retrospective and prospective aspects can occur not only in nominalized predicates, as in (28a), (29a) and (30a), but also in non-derived nouns, as in (28b), (29b) and (30b). Furthermore, the deverbal nominalization with {-*haw*} can perform several syntactic functions typical of nouns, as in the examples below.

Subject of active intransitive verb

(31) *u-zàn* [*yryk-(h)aw*] *na'arityk-ahy a'e*
3-run flow-**NMZ** fast-**INTS** 3
"*The flow of the river* (i.e. the river) runs quickly."

Subject of inactive intransitive verb

(32) *h-ekuzar-katu* [*i-kixi-haw*] *a'e*
3-cost-**INTS** 3-cut-**NMZ** 3
"*The instrument that cuts* (i.e. the hacksaw) is very expensive."

Subject of transitive verb

(33) *u-mu-kuhem* [*kuzà* *h-exak-(h)aw*] *kwaharer* *a'e*
3-**CAUS**-surprise woman 3-see-**NMZ** boy 3
"*The event of seeing the woman* shocked the boy."

Object of transitive verb

(34) *a-zapo* [*kuzà i-ker-haw*] *tàpuz* *ø-pupe* *ihe*
1SG-make woman 3-sleep-**NMZ** house C-in 1SG
"I made *the sleeping place for the woman* (i.e. the woman's bed) in the house."

Adverbial adjunct

(35) *u-hem* *awa* [[*ka'i* *i-zuka-haw*] *ø-pe*] *a'e*
3-arrive man monkey 3-kill-**NMZ** C-at 3
"The man arrived at *the monkey-killing place*."

Relative clause

(36) *w-exak kwaharer takihe* [*arapuha h-o'o-kwer* *i-kixi-haw*] *a'e*
3-see boy knife deer 3-meat-**RET** 3-cut-**NMZ** 3
"The boy saw the knife, *the one for cutting venison*."

The next subsection aims to investigate the syntactic scope of the nominalizing morpheme {*-ma'e*} in order to demonstrate that it differs to the nominalizer {*-haw*} in the sense that it can only attach to intransitive roots.

2.2 The nominalizer {-ma'e}

The morpheme {*-ma'e*} nominalizes active and inactive intransitive verbs in order to refer to the nuclear argument of the initial verbal predicate. Below, we illustrate the nominalization of the active intransitive verb *zegar* "to sing".

(37a) *u-zegar* *kuzà* *a'e*
3-sing woman 3
"The woman sang."

(37b) *u-hem*   [*u-zegar-**ma'e***]   *a'e*
       3-arrive   3-sing-**NMZ**   3
       "*The one who sings* (i.e. the singer) arrived."

See that, in (37a), the verb *zegar* "to sing" introduces the subject *kuzà* "woman", whereas in (37b) the nominalized predication refers to the agent argument of the initial predication. Consider the example below, with another active intransitive verb that is nominalized.

(38a) *u-zaw*   *ma'eputyr*   *a'e*
         3-bloom   flower   3
         "The flower bloomed."

(38b) *a-exak*   [*u-zaw-**ma'e**-kwer*]   *ihe*
         1SG-see   3-bloom-**NMZ**-RET   1SG
         "I saw *the one that bloomed*."

In sentence (38a), occurs the intransitive verb *zaw* "to bloom" that selects the nuclear argument *ma'eputyr* "flower". In the example (38b), after nominalization, the nominal phrase *uzawma'ekwer* "the one that bloomed" indicates the affected argument of the initial predication that is not nominalized. In the example below, in turn, we show that inactive intransitive verbs can also occur with the nominalizer {*-ma'e*}.

(39a) *h-aime*   *takihe* *a'e*
         3-sharp   knife   3
         "The knife is sharp."

(39b) *a-exak*   [*h-aime-**ma'e***]   *ihe*
         1SG-see   3-sharp-**NMZ**   1SG
         "I saw *the sharp thing*."

In sentence (39a), the intransitive verb *aime* "to be sharp" selects the nuclear argument *takihe* "knife". In the example (39b), after nominalization, the nominal phrase *haimema'e* "the sharp thing" indicates the argument of the initial predication.

In sum, the morpheme {*-ma'e*} nominalizes active and inactive intransitive verbs in order to refer to their subject, as in (37), (38) and (39), respectively. However, this nominalizer is unable to be affixed to transitive verbs, as you can see in the ungrammaticality of the sentences (40b) and (41b).

(40a) *w-exak*   *kuzà*   *zawar*   *a'e*
       3-see   woman   dog   3
       "The woman saw the dog."

(40b) **w-exak-**ma'e***
       3-see-NMZ

(41a) *o-poz*   *kuzà*   *pira*   *a'e*
       3-feed   woman   fish   3
       "The woman fed the fish."

(41b) **o-poz-**ma'e***
       3-feed-NMZ

In fact, it is possible that a transitive verb receives the nominalizer {*-ma'e*}, if it is intransitivized through the addition of the reflexive/reciprocal morphology, as in (42) and (43) below.

(42a) *w-exak*   *kwaharer*   *kuzà*   *h-agapaw*   *r-ehe* *a'e*
       3-see   boy   woman   3-photo   C-in   3
       "The boy saw the woman in the photo."

(42b) *u-ze-(e)xak*   *kwaharer*   *h-agapaw*   *r-ehe* *a'e*
       3-REFL-see   boy   3-photo   C-in   3
       "The boy saw himself in the photo."

(42c) *h-urywete-ahy*   [*u-ze-exak-**ma'e***]   *h-agapaw*   *r-ehe* *a'e*
       3-happy-INTS   3-REFL-see-NMZ   3-photo   C-in   3
       "*The one who saw himself* in the photo is happy."

(43a) *u-petek*   *awa-kwer*   *zawar* *a'e*   *wà*
       3-hit   man-COL   dog   3   PL
       "The men hit the dog."

(43b) *u-ze-petek*   *awa-kwer*   *a'e*   *wà*
       3-RECP-hit   man-COL   3   PL
       "The men hit each other."

(43c) *a-exak*   [*u-ze-petek-**ma'e***]   *ihe*   *wà*
       1SG-see   3-RECP-hit-NMZ   1SG   PL
       "I saw *those who hit each other*."

Finally, note that, in the examples below, the nominalization of verbal predicates by means of the morpheme {*-ma'e*} results in nominal phrases which behave like other noun phrases in the language, triggering nominal morphology, as you can see below:

Privative aspect (nominal negation)

(44) *a-exak*　　　　[*u-zegar-**'ym-ma'e***]　*ihe*
　　　1SG-see　　　3-sing-**NEG-NMZ**　　1SG
　　　"I saw *the one who doesn't sing* (i.e. the non-singer)."

Retrospective aspect

(45) *u-zewyr*　　　[*u-zegar-**ma'e-kwer***]　　*w-eko-haw*　*ø-pe*　*a'e*
　　　3-return　　　3-sing-**NMZ-RET**　　　3COR-be-NMZ　C-to　　3
　　　"*The one who sang* come back to his own home (lit.: the one who belongs to
him)."

Prospective aspect

(46) *u-hem*　　　[*u-zegar-**ma'e-ràm***]　　*a'e*
　　　3-arrive　　　3-sing-**NMZ-PROSP**　　　3
　　　"*The one who is going to sing* has arrived."

Besides, notice that these nominalized predicates exhibit similar syntactic
distribution to the other noun phrases, since they can function as subject, object and
adjunct, as the following examples demonstrate:

Subject of active intransitive verb

(47) *u-'ar*　[*u-zàn-**ma'e**-kwer*]　*yrykaw*　*ø-pupe*　*a'e*
　　　3-fall　3-run-**NMZ**-RET　　　river　　C-in　　　3
　　　"*The one who ran* fell in the river."

Subject of inactive intransitive verb

(48) *i-kàg*　　　[*u-zegar-**ma'e**-kwer*]　*a'e*
　　　3-strong　　3-sing-**NMZ**-RET　　　3
　　　"*The one who sang* is strong."

Subject and object of transitive verb

(49) *u-pytywà*　　[*i-pinim-**ma'e**-kwer*]　[*u-hem-**ma'e**-kwer*]　*a'e*
　　　3-help　　　　3-painted-**NMZ**-RET　　3-arrive-**NMZ**-RET　　3
　　　"*The one who was painted* helped *the one who came*."

Adverbial Adjunct

(50) *u-zapo*　*awa*　*tàpuz*　[[*u-z(e)-er(u)-eko-**ma'e**-kwer*]　*ø-pe*]　*a'e*
　　　3-make　man　house　3-REFL-APPL-be-**NMZ**-RET　　　　C-for　　3
　　　"The man made the house for *the one he had married*."

Relative clause

(51) *kuzà*　[*ka'a*　*r-upi*　*w-iko-**ma'e**-kwer*]　*u-màno*　*a'e*
　　　woman　jungle　C-through　3-be-**NMZ**-RET　　　3-die　　3
　　　"The woman *who was in the woods* died."

The aim of the next subsection is to investigate the syntactic scope of the nominalizer {-*har*} in order to demonstrate that it differs to the nominalizer {-*ma'e*} in the sense that it can only attach to transitive roots.

2.3 The nominalizer {-har}

When the nominalizer {-*har*}, with its allomorphs {-*har ~ -ar ~ -par ~ -tar*}, is affixed to transitive verbs, the result is a nominalized structure with agentive semantic function, as the examples below illustrate.

(52a) *u-pyhyk   kuzà   kwaharer   a'e*
      3-catch   woman   boy   3
      "The woman hold the boy."

(52b) *w-exak   awa   [kwaharer   i-pyhyk-(**h**)**ar-**(**kw**)**er**]   a'e*
      3-see   man   boy   3-catch-**NMZ-RET**   3
      "The man saw *the one who hold the boy*."

It may be noted that in (52a) the transitive verb *pyhyk* "to catch" has two nuclear arguments: *kuzà* "woman" and *kwaharer* "boy". When it receives the suffix {-*har*}, as in (52b), the derived nominal phrase corresponds to the agent subject of the initial predication. It is important to note that the nominalized predicate realizes the prefix {*i-*} that coreferences the internal argument *kwaharer* "boy", which occupies its syntactic position of determiner. When the verb is preceded by a first or second person pronoun (Set 2), the relational prefix {*r- ~ ø-*} is required, as you can see below:

(52c) *w-exak   awa   [he=ø-pyhyk-(**h**)**ar-**(**kw**)**er**]   a'e*
      3-see   man   1SG=C-catch-**NMZ-RET**   3
      "The man saw *the one who hold me*."

(52d) *w-exak   awa   [ne=ø-pyhyk-(**h**)**ar-**(**kw**)**er**]   a'e*
      3-see   man   2SG=C-catch-**NMZ-RET**   3
      "The man saw *the one who hold you*."

In the tradition of descriptive studies of Tupi-Guarani languages, this morpheme, as in examples above, is called the agentive nominalizer. For more details about this, we refer to Rodrigues (1953), Seki (2000), Camargos (2016, 2017ab), Castro (2017ab), among others.

Unlike other nominalizers, the suffix {-*har*} can still nominalize adverbs and postpositional phrases. The result, which can be seen below, is a complex structure that behaves as a noun phrase. In semantic terms, it denotes an element which is involved with the condition expressed by the adverbial phrase or by the postpositional phrase. This morpheme is traditionally called the circumstantial nominalizer.

Adverbial Phrase

(53a) *u-pyhyk   kuzà   h-upi'a   kutàri   a'e*
      3-catch   woman   3-egg   today   3
      "The woman caught the egg today."

(53b) *u-pyhyk   kuzà   [kutàri-**har**]   a'e*
      3-catch   woman   today-**NMZ**   3
      "The woman caught *the thing that is from today*."

Postpositional Phrase

(54a) *w-ekar   awa   arapuha   ka'a   ɸ-pe   a'e*
      3-search   man   deer   jungle   C-in   3
      "The man searched for the deer in the jungle."

(54b) *w-ekar   awa   [ka'a   ɸ-pe-**har**]   a'e*
      3-search   man   jungle   C-in-**NMZ**   3
      "The man searched for *the thing is from the jungle*."

Although the morpheme {-*har*} nominalizes adverbial, postpositional and transitive verbal phrases, it is unable to affix to the intransitive verbs, which can be seen by the ungrammaticality of the examples in (55b) and (56b). However, if these intransitive verbs were transitivized with the applicative morpheme {*eru-*} or the causative morpheme {*mu-*}, it is possible that they are nominalized with the morpheme {-*har*}, as in (55d) and (56d).

(55a) *u-zàn   awa   a'e*
      3-run   man   3
      "The man ran."

(55b) **w-exak   kuzà   [i-zàn-**har**]   a'e*
      3-see   woman   3-run-**NMZ**   3
      "The woman saw *the one who ran*."

(55c) *w-**eru**-zàn   awa   kwaharer   a'e*
      3-**APPL**-run   man   boy   3
      "The man ran with the boy."

(55d) w-exak   kuzà   [kwaharer   h-**eru**-zàn-**har**]   a'e
       3-see   woman   boy   3-**APPL**-run-**NMZ**   3
       "The woman saw *the one who ran with the boy*."

(56a) u-'ar   kwaharer   a'e
       3-fall   boy   3
       "The boy fell."

(56b) *w-exak   kuzà   [i-'ar-**har**]   a'e
       3-see   woman   3-fall-**NMZ**   3
       "The woman saw *the one who fell*."

(56c) u-**mu**-'ar   awa   kwaharer   a'e
       3-**CAUS**-fall   man   boy   3
       "The man dropped the boy."

(56d) w-exak   kuzà   [kwaharer   i-**mu**-'ar-**har**]   a'e
       3-see   woman   boy   3-**CAUS**-fall-**NMZ**   3
       "The woman saw *the one who dropped the boy*."

Finally, note that verbal, adverbial and postpositional phrases, which are nominalized with the suffix {-*har*}, behave like other noun phrases in the language, since they can trigger nominal morphology, which can be seen below:

Privative aspect (nominal negation)
(57) a-kwaw   [zàwàruhu   i-zuka-**'ym**-(**h**)**ar**]   ihe
      1SG-know   jaguar   3-matar-**NEG**-**NMZ**   1SG
      "I know *the one who doesn't kill jaguar*."

Retrospective aspect
(58) a-exak   [he=ø-mu'e-**har**-(**kw**)**er**]   ihe
      1SG-see   1SG=C-teach-**NMZ**-**RET**   1SG
      "I saw *the one who taught me* (i.e. my former teacher)."

Prospective aspect
(59) u-hem   [he=ø-mu'e-**har**-(**r**)**àm**]   a'e
      3-arrive   1SG=C-teach-**NMZ**-**PROSP**   3
      "*The one who will teach me* (i.e. my future teacher) has arrived."

Furthermore, the deverbal nominalization with {-*har*} can perform syntactic functions such as subject, object and adjunct, as seen in the examples below.

Subject of active intransitive verb
(60) u-'ar   [ywate-**har**]   a'e
      3-fall   high-**NMZ**   3
      "*The one from high up* fell."

Subject of inactive intransitive verb

(61) *h-ete-katu* [*ywyra* *r-ehe-**har***] *a'e*
      3-tasty-INTS tree C-in-NMZ 3
      "*The one that is from the tree* is very tasty."

Subject and object of transitive verb

(62) *w-enoz* [*pira* *i-pyhyk-(**h**)**ar**-(kw)er*] [*zàwàruhu* *i-zuka-**har***] *a'e*
      3-call fish 3-catch-NMZ-RET jaguar 3-kill-NMZ 3
      "*The one who caught the fish* called *the jaguar hunter*."

Adverbial Adjunct

(63) *u-me'ekar-putar* *he=r-u* *pape* [[*he=ϕ-mu'e-**har***] *ϕ-pe*] *a'e*
      3-buy-FUT 1SG=C-father notebook 1SG-C-teach-NMZ C-to 3
      "My father is going to buy the notebook for *the one who teaches me* (i.e. my teacher)."

Relative Clause

(64) *u-hem* *he=r-a'yr* [*miar* *i-zuka-**har***] *a'e*
      3-arrive 1SG=C-son hunt 3-kill-NMZ 3
      "My son *who is a wild animal killer* has arrived."

In the next subsection, the syntactic and semantic scope of the nominalizing morpheme {*emi-*} will be investigated, in order to demonstrate that it differs to the nominalizers {*-ma'e*}, {*-haw*} and {*-har*}.

2.4 The nominalizer {emi-}

In contexts where the transitive verb receives the nominalizer {*emi-*}, it becomes a noun phrase, which, descriptively, refers to the initial transitive verb object, as the examples below illustrate:

(65a) *w-ekar* *awa* *ka'i* *a'e*
       3-wait man monkey 3
       "The man waited the monkey."

(65b) *w-exak* *kuzà* [*awa* *h-**emi**-eka-kwer*] *a'e*
       3-see woman man 3-NMZ-wait-RET 3
       "The woman saw *the thing that the man waited*."

As you can see in the example (65a), the verb *ekar* "to wait" selects the subject *awa* "man" and the object *ka'i* "monkey". When it receives the prefix {*emi-*}, as in (65b), the nominal phrase indicates the object of the initial transitive verb. It is important to point out that the prefix {*h-*} references the external argument, which occupies its syntactic position of determiner. Moreover, when the verb is preceded by a

first or second person pronoun (Set 2), the relational prefix {*r- ~ ø-*} is required, as we show in (66).

(66a) *u-zapo-putar   kuzà   wazay   a'e   nehe*
3-make-FUT   woman   headdress   3   INT
"The woman will make the headdress."

(66b) *u-me'ekar-putar   awa   [he=r-**emi**-apo-ràm]   a'e   nehe*
3-buy-FUT   man   1SG=C-**NMZ**-make-PROSP   3   INT
"The man will buy *the thing that will be made by me*."

(66c) *u-me'ekar-putar   awa   [ne=r-**emi**-apo-ràm]   a'e   nehe*
3-buy-FUT   man   2SG=C-**NMZ**-make-PROSP   3   INT
"The man will buy *the thing that will be made by you*."

(66d) *u-me'ekar-putar   awa   [kuzà   h-**emi**-apo-ràm]   a'e   nehe*
3-buy-FUT   man   woman   3-**NMZ**-make-PROSP   3   INT
"The man will buy *the thing that will be made by the woman*."

In the example (66a), we have the transitive predicate *apo* "to make", which selects the subject *kuzà* "woman" and the object *wazay* "headdress". However, in (66b), (66c) and (66d), the verb receives the nominalizer prefix {*emi-*}, generating a noun that refers to the object of the initial transitive verb: *emiaporàm* "the thing that will be made by". Since these derived nouns are preceded by a first and a second person pronoun (Set 2), the relational prefix {*r- ~ ø-*} is required. Finally, in (66d), this derived noun realizes the prefix {*h-*} that coreferences the external argument *kuzà* "woman", which occupies its syntactic position of determiner. In the following we present another example:

(67a) *w-etun   zawar   miar   a'e*
3-smell   dog   hunt   3
"The dog sniffed the hunt."

(67b) *u-wàxi   awa   [zawar   h-**emi**-etu(n)-gwer]*
3-find   man   dog   3-**NMZ**-smell-RET
"The man found *the thing that was smelled by the dog*."

In (67a), there is the transitive predicate *etun* "to smell", which selects the subject *zawar* "dog" and the object *miar* "hunt". In (67b), the verb receives the nominalizing prefix {*emi-*}, generating a nominal predicate that references the object of the initial transitive verb.

Nominalizations from the morpheme {*emi-*} behave similarly to the other noun phrases in the language under analysis, as these nominalizations trigger nominal morphology, as you can see below:

Privative aspect (nominal negation)

(68) *a-pyhyk*   *pira*   [*ne=r-**emi**-pyhyw-**'ym**]   *ihe*
      1SG-catch   fish   2SG=C-**NMZ**-clean-**NEG**   1SG
      "I catch the fish *that you don't clean*."

Retrospective aspect

(69) *a-exak*   [*h-**emi**-(e)r(u)-iko-**kwer***]   *ihe*
      1SG-see   3-**NMZ**-APPL-be-**RET**   1SG
      "I saw *his former wife* (lit.: the one who was with him)."

Prospective aspect

(70) *a-mimoz*   [*kuzà*   *h-**emi**-'u-**ràm***]   *ihe*
      1SG-cook   woman   3-**NMZ**-eat-**PROSP**   1SG
      "I cooked *the woman's future food*."

In addition, the deverbal nominalization with {*emi-*} can perform several syntactic functions, as the examples above show:

Subject of inactive intransitive verb

(71) *u-hapukaz*   [*h-**emi**-(e)r(u)-iko*]   *a'e*   *kury*
      3-scream   3-**NMZ**-APPL-be   3   now
      "*His wife* (lit.: the one who is with him) screams now."

Subject of active intransitive verb

(72) *h-aku*   [*kuzà*   *h-**emi**-'u-ràm*]   *a'e*
      3-hot   woman   3-**NMZ**-eat-PROSP   3
      "*The woman's future food* (lit.: the thing that will be eaten by the woman) is hot."

Subject of transitive verb

(73) *u-**mu**-igo-kar-putar*   [*kuzà*   *h-**emi**-(e)xak-ràm*]
      3-CAUS-be-CAUS-FUT   woman   3-**NMZ**-see-PROSP

      i-ma'e-ahy-ma'e   *romo*   *a'e*   *nehe*
      3-thing-hurt-NMZ   TRANSL   3   INT
      "*The thing the woman will see* will make her sick."

Object of transitive verb

(74) *màràzàwe*   *tuwe*   *n-ere-muaze-kwaw*
      why   EMP   NEG-2SG-carry.out-NEG

      [*ne=r-u*   *h-**emi**-mume'u-ahy-kwer*]   *ne*
      2SG=C-father   3-**NMZ**-tell-INTS-RET   2SG
      "Why don't you follow *the things your father taught you*?"

Adverbial Adjunct

(75) *u-ker*   *awa*   [[*w-**emi**-(e)r(u)-iko*]   *ø-puhe*]   *a'e*
3-sleep   man   3COR-**NMZ**-APPL-ser   C-together   3
"The man lay down with *his wife* (lit.: the one who was with him)."

Relative clause

(76) *u-mu-katu*   *awa*   *pàriràg-(h)aw*   [*w-**emi**-mu-aiw-kwer*]   *a'e*
3-CAUS-good   man   surround-NMZ   3COR-**NMZ**-CAUS-bad-RET   3
"The man repaired the fence *that had been destroyed by himself*."

The next subsection aims to investigate the syntactic scope of the nominalizing morpheme {*-pyr*} in order to demonstrate that it differs to the nominalizers {*emi-*}, {*-ma'e*}, {*-haw*}, and {*-har*}.

2.5 The nominalizer {-pyr}

The morpheme {*-pyr*}, similar to the nominalizer {*emi-*}, has the function of nominalizing transitive verbs. When it is attached to the verb, the nominalized structure refers to the object of the initial predicate, which can be seen in the examples below.

(77a) *u-mu-ku'i*   *awa*   *kape* *a'e*
3-CAUS-powder   man   coffee 3
"The man ground coffee."

(77b) *w-exak*   *kuzà*   [*i-mu-ku'i-**pyr**-(kw)er*]   *a'e*
3-see   woman   3-CAUS-powder-**NMZ**-RET   3
"The woman saw *the thing had been ground* (i.e. the coffee powder)."

In the example (77a), there is the transitive predicate *muku'i* "grind up" which selects the subject *awa* "man" and the object *kape* "coffee". In (77b), the predicate receives the nominalizer suffix {*-pyr*}, generating a noun phrase that refers to the object of the initial transitive verb.

It can be noted that the morpheme {*-pyr*}, similar to the nominalizer {*emi-*}, transforms transitive verbs into noun phrases, contexts in which they refer to the object of the initial predicates. However, the derived noun is unable to license an argument in the syntactic position of determiner, differing from nominalizations with the morpheme {*emi-*}, as the ungrammatical examples show in (78c) and (79c).

(78a) *u-zapo-putar*   *kuzà*   *mynyk-(h)aw-(u)hu*   *a'e*   *nehe*
3-make-FUT   woman   dance-NMZ-INTS   3   INT
"The woman will make a big party."

(78b) *a-kwaw*   [*i-zapo-**pyr**-(r)àm*]   *ihe*
       1SG-know   3-make-**NMZ**-PROSP   1SG
       "I know *what will be made*."

(78c) **a-kwaw*   [*kuzà*   *i-zapo-**pyr**-(r)àm*]   *ihe*
       1SG-know   woman   3-make-**NMZ**-PROSP   1SG
       "I know *what will be made by the woman*."

(79a) *u-mimoz*   *kuzà*   *zytyk*   *a'e*
       3-cook   woman   potato   3
       "The woman cooked the potato."

(79b) *a-exak*   [*i-mimoz-**pyr**-(kw)er*]   *ihe*
       1SG-see   3-cook-**NMZ**-RET   1SG
       "I saw *what was cooked*."

(79c) **a-exak*   [*kuzà*   *i-mimoz-**pyr**-(kw)er*]   *ihe*
       1SG-see   woman   3-cooked-**NMZ**-RET   1SG
       "I saw *what was cooked by the woman*."

For comparison, consider the affixes {*emi-*} and {*-pyr*}. Both morphemes nominalize transitive verbs to make them refer to the object. However, only occurrences with {*emi-*} allow the presence of a determiner, as in the examples presented below.

(80a) *kuzà*   *h-**emi**-apo-ràm*
       woman   3-**NMZ**-make-PROSP
       "That which will be made by the woman."

(80b) *i-zapo-**pyr**-(r)àm*
       3-make-**NMZ**-PROSP
       "That which will be made."

(81a) *kuzà*   *h-**emi**-mimoz-kwer*
       woman   3-**NMZ**-cook-RET
       "That which was cooked by the woman."

(81b) *i-mimoz-**pyr**-(kw)er*
       3-cooked-**NMZ**-RET
       "That which was cooked."

The nominal predicates derived by the suffix {*-pyr*} operate analogously to the other non-derived noun phrases in the language. In this sense, they have the ability to trigger nominal morphology, as you can see below:

Privative aspect (nominal negation)

(82) *a-pyhyk*   *pira*   [*i-py('a)-hyw-**pyr**-'ym*]   *ihe*
     1SG-catch   fish   3-belly-clean-**NMZ-NEG**   1SG
     "I catch the fish *that is not cleaned*."

Retrospective aspect

(83) *a-exak*   [*h-etyk-**pyr**-(**kw**)er*]   *ihe*
     1SG-see   3-throw-**NMZ-RET**   1SG
     "I saw *the thing that was thrown*."

Prospective aspect

(84) *i-kàg*   [*i-zàpixi-**pyr**-(**r**)àm*]   *a'e*
     3-strong   3-tie-**NMZ-PROSP**   3
     "*The one who will be tied up* is strong."

Additionally, the deverbal nominalization with {*emi-*} can occupy several syntactic positions in the sentences. Consider the following examples to follow.

Subject of active intransitive verb

(85) *u-hem*   [*i-zuka-**pyr**-(**r**)àm*]   *a'e*   *kury*
     3-arrive   3-kill-**NMZ-PROSP**   3   now
     "*The one who was going to be killed* arrived now."

Subject of inactive intransitive verb

(86) *h-ehaite*   [*i-zàpixi-**pyr**-(**kw**)er*]   *a'e*
     3-violent   3-tie-**NMZ**-RET   3
     "*The one that was tied* is violent."

Subject of transitive verb

(87) *o-mokon*   [*i-zuka-**pyr**-(**kw**)er*]   *ma'e*   *a'e*
     3-swallow   3-kill-**NMZ**-RET   thing   3
     "*The one who was killed* swallowed something."

Object of transitive verb

(88) *za-iko*   *kakwez*   *i-tym-(h)aw*   *ø-myteromo*
     1INCL-be   DPAST   3-plant-NMZ   C-in.the.middle

     [*i-po'o-**pyr**-(**kw**)er*]   *i-mono'og*   *pà*   *zane*
     3-harvest-**NMZ**-RET   3-gather   GER   1INCL
     "We were in the middle of planting gathering *that which had been harvested*."

Adverbial adjunct

(89) *e-zapo*   *i-puru-mu-nehew-paw*   [[*i-mu-nehew-**pyr***]   *ø-pe*]   *nehe*
     2IMP-make   3-person-CAUS-imprision-NMZ   3-CAUS-imprison-**NMZ**   C-to   INT
     "Make a jail for *the one who can be caught*."

Relative clause

(90) *i-poro-mono-wer   awa   pira [tata   r-ehe   i-mihir-**pyr**-(kw)er] r-ehe*
3-APASS-give-want man   fish   fire   C-in   3-bake-**NMZ**-PASS   C-in

*w-**emi**-(e)r(u)-iko   ∅-pe*
3COR-**NMZ**-APPL-be   C-for
"The man wanted to give fish *that is baked in the fire* to his wife (lit.: the one who is with him)."

In this subsection we investigate the syntactic scope of the nominalizer {-*pyr*}, contrasting with nominalizers {*emi-*}, {-*ma'e*}, {-*haw*}, and {-*har*}. In the next section, we conclude our paper with final remarks.

Final Remarks

This paper aimed to describe and analyze deverbal nominalizations in the Tenetehára language, which are instantiated through the following morphemes: {-*haw*}, {-*ma'e*}, {-*har*}, {*emi-*} and {-*pyr*}. These affixes perform at least the following functions: (i) the morpheme {-*haw*} nominalizes intransitive and transitive verbs for resultative (instrument, product, place and quality) and event nominalizations; (ii) the morpheme {-*ma'e*} nominalizes intransitive verbs to refer to the subject of the initial predicate; (iii) the morpheme {-*har*} nominalizes transitive verbs in order to refer to the subject of the initial predicate; (iv) the morpheme {*emi-*} nominalizes transitive verbs to refer to the object; and (v) the morpheme {-*pyr*} nominalizes transitive verbs to refer to the object. It is important to note that transitive verb nominalized by morpheme {*emi-*} can be preceded by the subject in its syntactic position of determiner, while it is not possible with nominalization with the morpheme {-*pyr*}.

Furthermore, we also presented evidence that the verbal predicates nominalized by means of the listed morphemes behave like the other noun phrases in the language, being able, as well, to trigger the same morphemes typical of non-derived nouns and to perform different syntactic functions, such as subject, object, and adjunct.

Besides, it is important to emphasize that nominalizing morphemes perform an important grammatical role in the classification of verbs in Tenetehára. Thus, the constraints of co-occurrence with specific verbal predicates imposed by the nominalization morphemes are able to reveal how the verbal predicates can be classified. Therefore, the morphemes {-*har*}, {-*pyr*} and {*emi-*} occur exclusively with

transitive verbs, whereas the morpheme {*-ma'e*} only occur with intransitive verbs. The morpheme {*-haw*}, however, affixes both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Additionally, the syntactic position of determiner can be occupied only in nominalizations with {*-haw*}, {*-har*} and {*emi-*}, in the following way: the determiner can be realized by the external argument in nominalizations with {*emi-*} and by the internal argument in nominalizations with {*-har*}. Finally, nominalizations with {*-haw*} present a split grammatical behavior: on the one hand, the determiner can be instantiated by external argument of active intransitive verbs and, on the other hand, this syntactic position can be realized by internal arguments of transitive and inactive intransitive verbs.

Considering the results presented here, we hope that this paper can contribute to future theoretical-descriptive investigations about the Tenetehára language, as well as the other languages of the Tupi-Guarani language family.

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