

## CHAPTER 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES

Allowing a lexical class of words to endorse the syntactic distribution typical of another class *in real time* — *i.e.* as needed in the flow of speech — *and* in maximally compact format — *i.e.* word-size — provides supportive evidence that in some languages verb nominalisation and akin morphological processes cannot be viewed as lexical derivation. The reason for this rests upon two noticeable properties featured by such mechanisms: 1. in the main, the material used to this end appears to be synchronically recycled from genuine inflectional morphology; 2. full productivity, formal regularity and semantic compositionality obtain. The exception is verbalisation (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.2), which uses dedicated class-changing material. Sikuani, thus, supports the notion of *class-changing inflection* put forth by Haspelmath (1996, implementing earlier proposals by both Bally and Tesnière). Living aside verbalisation, it should of course come as a surprise that such a powerful tool remained unused for lexical creation. And actually the case is that, mainly regarding nominalisation, the outputs of 1. and 2., as they turn into frozen new lexical items, is something relatively common.

We detect a case of lexical derivation device as *conversion* when a class change retains the basic form of the word. This is attested, rather scantily, for some word classes (see a few instances of this in chapter 1: WORD CLASSES). In absence of comparative-diachronic evidence one could as well speak of fluidity between distinct classes.

Verbs are the most prolific input of class changes. The bulk of the present chapter will deal with verb nominalisation, a highly intricate matter as far as morphology is concerned. Before that, we will see how we get nouns out of adjectives, as well as adverbs and adjectives out of verbs.

### 1 ADJECTIVE TO NOUN

Adding a gender-class suffix to an adjective yields a noun: **tsikiri-wa**, small-FEMENINE, ‘a little woman’; **tsikiri-pa**, small-FLATOBJECT, ‘a small flat thing’, as such able to host the whole of noun morphology, (1a). The diminutive **-yo** and the collective **-wi** also nominalise adjectives, (b) and (c) respectively. While the basic form of the adjective only allows the attributive position, the nominalised form freely occurs in a noun phrase as either head, (d) or dependent, (e).

- (1) (a) **pa-tsikiri-nü-xi-mü,** **paponare!**  
 PLURAL-small-MASCULINE-DIMINUTIVE PLURAL-2NOMINATIVE YouAllGo!  
 'You-all the small ones, go!'
- (b) **itsa liwaisixi<sub>1</sub> naka<sub>2</sub>-tsipaeba-ø<sub>3</sub>...**  
 when LittleStories 4ACCUSATIVE-tell-3NOMINATIVE  
 'While they were telling us the little stories...'
- ...**tsikiri-yo<sub>4</sub>** **ø<sub>5</sub>-amoneyaba-ø<sub>4</sub>** **piayainü<sub>5</sub>**  
 small-DIMINUTIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-hit-3NOMINATIVE BigOne  
 '...the small one was hitting the big one.'
- (c) [ **wahamonae<sub>1</sub>** **peruhu-wi<sub>2</sub>** **baharapaliwaisi<sub>3</sub>** **ø<sub>3</sub>-bapaeba-ø<sub>2</sub>** ]  
 OurFamily old-COLLECTIVE ThatStory 3ACC-UsedToTell-3NOM  
 'The elders of our family used to tell that story.'
- (d) [ **peruhu-wa-yo<sub>1</sub>** **pexünatoyo<sub>2</sub>** **tuhubü<sub>3</sub>** **ø<sub>3</sub>-haitabiaba-ø<sub>2</sub>** ]  
 old-FEMENINE-DIMINUTIVE daughter armadillo LookAfterITERATIVELY  
 'The old little woman's daughter often went after armadillo.'

The capacity of a nominalised adjective to enter a noun phrase either as head or dependent affords a second option to the attributive function of bound pre-nominal adjectives, compare (2b) to (a), and (d) to (c) (the diminutive is irrelevant): the nominalised adjective occurs as a modifier genitive. The semantic correlates of this second option remain far from clear even under an apposition account (chapter 3: THE NOUN 3). Comparative evidence shows that in genetically related languages the Sikuani pattern illustrated in (b) and (d) is the only possible way for the class of adjectives to enter a noun phrase (Cuiba Maiben in Merchán 2000 590; Hitnü in Lobo-Guerrero & Herrera 2000 621).

- (2) (a) **kae-puyane** 'one arrow'  
 one-arrow
- (b) [ **kae-bo** ] **puyaene** *id.*  
 one-CYLINDER arrow
- (c) **tsikiri-hera-yo** 'small canoe'  
 small-canoe-DIMINUTIVE
- (d) [ **hera-yo** ] **tsikiri-mo-yo** *id.*  
 canoe-DIMINUTIVE small-vehicle-DIMINUTIVE

We now turn to the three class-changes having a verb as source. All that in the following will be said on verbs proper undergoing class-changes obtains as to defective verbs, except, of course, in what concerns mood endings. Verbs proper lose their finiteness exponence, something visible through the form taken by the nominative participant, now belonging to noun morphology, the mood freezing as irrealis, and other categories to be mentioned in 4.3 below).

## 2 VERB TO ADVERB

Converbs are functionally equivalent to adverbs, and somewhat more restricted distributionally: they do not access, whatsoever rarely, the predicate position, and they are, depending on the converb-type, pre-verbal or post-verbal, conveniently dubbed *adverbial* / *auxiliary* respectively. We will here focus on adverbial converbs only.

Adverbial converbs display a suffix **-ya** possibly stemming — as one more instance of the grammaticalisation of space — from the inessive noun-suffix (chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.6). With verbs proper the suffix follows the mood suffix frozen as irrealis. This adverbialisation is open to defective verbs, (3a). The pre-verbal position is predominant, and particles, lexical adverbs, as well as noun phrases can intervene (chapter 2: THE VERB 3). Contrary to auxiliary converbs (chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1), adverbial converbs cannot bear on nominal predicates as in (b), submitted as intending to mean ‘there is a dying deer’ or ‘X is a dying deer’, and rejected by a consultant.

- (3) (a) **yahenü-behe**      **anae-ya**      **na-bihiatane-ø-behe**  
 bogeyman-DUAL    BeInAnAnomalousMentalState-CONV    MIDD-scold-3NOM-DUAL  
 'Both bogeymen vehemently scolded each other.'
- (b) **\*tü-pae-ya**      **owebi**  
 die-IRREALIS-CONVERB    deer

But as well as lexical adverbs can modify a nominal head within a noun phrase (chapter 3: THE NOUN 3) adverbial converbs can do so. This helps to disentangle — at least in part — the puzzling fragment of spontaneous speech in (4). The set-up is a mass murder by poisoning.

- (4) [ **nu-kae-ya** ]<sub>CONV</sub>      **pahiwi** ]<sub>NP...</sub>  
 stand-IRREALIS-CONVERB    ThesePeople  
 'Those who were standing...'
- ...[ **nu-kae-ya** ]<sub>CONV</sub>      **pina**      **tü-pa-nu-ka-ø** ]<sub>VP...</sub>  
 stand-IRREALIS-CONVERB    REPORTATIVE    die-REALIS-STAND-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE  
 '...died standing, they<sub>0</sub> say.'
- ...[ **e-kae-ya** ]<sub>CONV</sub>      **pahiwi** ]<sub>NP ...</sub>  
 sit-IRREALIS-CONVERB    ThesePeople  
 '...those who were sitting...'
- ...[ **e-kae-ya** ]<sub>CONV</sub>      **pina**      **tü-pa-e-ka-ø** ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 sit-IRREALIS-CONVERB    REPORTATIVE    die-REALIS-SIT-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE  
 '...died sitting, they<sub>0</sub> say.'

We know since chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9 that a certain amount of lexical verbs involving spatial meanings can occur as auxiliaries, e.g. **pona**, ‘go, walk’, and body-posture verbs. As auxiliaries, these verbs either keep their spatial dimension or drift toward aspect and modality. Therefore, in order to grant such auxiliaries their primary spatial meaning they must be molded into adverbial converbs, as in

- (5) **po-nae-ya**      **yoroba**    **nakua**  
 go/walk-IRREALIS-CONVERB    inspect    region/world  
 'They inspected the region as they moved on.'

Similarly, the ‘stand’ and ‘sit’ labelled A in (4) are there as adverbial converbs to counteract the aspect / modality readings of the main-verb bound auxiliaries ‘stand’ and ‘sit’ labelled B. First thing. Second, as recalled above, lexical adverbs can modify a nominal head within a noun phrase. Accordingly, the ‘stand’ and ‘sit’ labelled C in (4) are adverbial converb dependents in the noun phrases headed by ‘these people’. We shall, finally, pay attention to the unexpected — and so far unexplained — lack of plural agreement of the body-posture verbs — first and foremost the bound auxiliaries in main verbs — with their nominative argument ‘those’ (see chapter 2: THE VERB 2.2.1.2.4).

### 3 VERB TO ADJECTIVE

A head-bound lexical modifier in a noun phrase was labelled *adjective* in chapter 1: WORD CLASSES 1.2, (6). A verb takes on these position and function, *i.e.* turns into a participle, (7), by way of, again, freezing the mood suffix in its irrealis form, and now prefixing the short person-series — intrinsic linkee — of nouns (chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.2). The person prefix stands for the nominative argument of the verb. A <sup>II</sup>verb also carries the accusative person-series directly retrieved from the finite verb, (c). The head noun is or is not an argument of the verb, be the latter mono- or divalent. See it as argument in (b) and (c), as nonargument in (a) and (d). In the first case the intrinsic linkee prefix and the noun corefer, (b) and (c). (Once again, graceful free translations may be hard to come up with.)

(6) [ [peruhu-]namuto]

old-trail

'old trail'

(7) (a) [ [ta<sub>1</sub>-po-nae-]namuto<sub>2</sub>]

1INTRINSICLINKEE-go-IRREALIS-trail

'my<sub>1</sub> walking trail<sub>2</sub>'

(b) [ [pe<sub>1</sub>-tü-pae-]baxuto<sub>1</sub>]

3INTRINSICLINKEE-want-IRREALIS-leaf

'dead leaf'

(c) [ [pe<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-]petiriwa<sub>1</sub>]

3INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman

'the woman<sub>1</sub> who<sub>1</sub> loves you<sub>2</sub>'

(d) [ [pe<sub>1</sub>-ø<sub>2</sub>-xua-bi-]matakabi<sub>3</sub>]

3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-throw-IRREALIS-jungle

'the day<sub>3</sub> when he<sub>1</sub> abandonned him<sub>2</sub>'

Of course, argument subcategorisation constraints will often play an important rôle in telling apart an argument from a nonargument (a ‘day’ does not ‘abandon’ and so on ; see more on this in chapter 6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.4). Noun morphology occurs freely on [participle + noun] sequences. See case in (8). (For ø<sub>0</sub>- see 4.2.1 below.)

(8) petiriawi<sub>1</sub> pe<sub>1</sub>-ø<sub>0</sub>-hitsi-pae-wahi<sub>2</sub>-tha na<sub>3</sub>-matawahiba-ø<sub>3</sub>

women 3INTRINLINK-3ACC-want-IRR-prayer-SOC MIDDLE-chant-3NOM

'He<sub>3</sub> chanted at himself<sub>3</sub> the prayer<sub>2</sub> for one<sub>0</sub> being loved by women<sub>1</sub>.'

At this point two morphological caveats are in order, both involving the speaker's morphological exponence.

1. In chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.2 we saw that the fourth person ("first inclusive") on <sup>II</sup>nouns alternates between short and long forms **wa-** / **waha-** depending on the mutual mapping between the (set of) referent(s) designated by the whole sequence [prefix-noun] and the prefix itself: **wa-ame**, 'a single mother-in-law for all of us' vs. **waha-ame**, 'a different mother-law for each one of us'. But here the genitive dependent only activates the long prefix **waha-**, in participles as well as in full nominalisation (to be addressed below in 4), (9). That is, even though several referents are involved in the same manner-of-existing, a one-to-one mapping prevails, *i.e.* one instance of the manner-of-existing coupled to one referent.

- (9) **waha-naba-ni-panabo**  
 4POSSESSOR-feed-IRREALIS-glade  
 'the glade where we feed'

\***wa-naba-ni-panabo**

2. In participles based on di- or trivalent verbs, when the *accusative* prefix refers to the speaker, (10), the genitive prefix slot hosting the nominative argument of finite verbs — **pe-** in (7c) and (d) — is preempted by the first / fourth person *genitive* prefix, yielding a literally meaningless combination, (11a). The intrinsic linkee prefix no longer provides any reference to the participant surfacing as nominative in finite verbs. In truth, it is a referentially-void place keeper. Regarding the (finite verb) nominative argument **petiriwa**<sub>1</sub>, 'woman', in (11a), a third person reading obtains, whereas an intended second-person coerces the occurrence of **-mü** from the nonverbal-predicate nominative series, (b), making the whole construction homophonous with the same sequence in predicate position. Of course, the nonverbal-predicate nominative series does not occur when the head noun stands outside the argument sphere, such as **matakabi** in (12 a). As a result, the nominative argument ends lacking any exponence, (b).

Possibly the first-person preemption, odd as it may seem, is a consequence of the potential cost in processing the sequence **ne<sub>1</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-** of (10). (See in 5 below a piece of morphological evidence for this.)

- (10) (a) \***ne<sub>1</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-petiriwa**<sub>1</sub>  
 2INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman  
 intended: 'you<sub>1</sub>, the woman<sub>1</sub> who loves me<sub>2</sub>'
- (b) \***pe<sub>1</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-petiriwa**<sub>1</sub>  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman  
 intended: 'she<sub>1</sub>, the woman<sub>1</sub> who loves me<sub>2</sub>'
- (11) (a) **ta<sub>0</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-petiriwa**<sub>1</sub>  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman  
 'the woman<sub>1</sub> who loves me<sub>2</sub> [lit. ? the woman I loving me].'
- (b) **ta<sub>0</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-petiriwa**<sub>1</sub>-**mü**<sub>1</sub>  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman-2NOMINATIVE  
 'you<sub>1</sub> the woman<sub>1</sub> who<sub>1</sub> loves me<sub>2</sub>' (also: 'you<sub>1</sub> (are) the woman<sub>1</sub> who<sub>1</sub> loves me<sub>2</sub>)'

- (12) (a) \***pe<sub>1</sub>-naka<sub>2</sub>**-rahutsi-xuabi-ya-paebi-matakabi<sub>3</sub>  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-4ACCUSATIVE- give-throw-CONVERB-say-day  
 Intended: 'the day<sub>3</sub> he<sub>1</sub> said he<sub>1</sub> would give it<sub>4</sub> to us<sub>2</sub>'
- (b) **waha<sub>0</sub>-naka<sub>2</sub>**-rahutsi-xuabi-ya-paebi-matakabi<sub>3</sub>  
 4POSSESSOR-4ACC-give-throw-CONVERB-say-day  
 'the day<sub>3</sub> (he<sub>1</sub>) said (he<sub>1</sub>) would give it<sub>4</sub> to us<sub>2</sub>'

(Humans struggling to get a piece of metal from the Master-of-Metal, a rather callous character. He eventually will end vomiting the metal. For the long series **waha-** instead of **wa-** see above *circa* (9).)

A participially-modified noun takes over the distribution of nouns. See it as predicate in (13a), resumed from (11a); argument phrase in (b), resumed from chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.7.1; genitive in (c); and head of a complex noun phrase in (d). In (d) we also notice a [participle + noun] sequence taking itself, in a recursive fashion, a second participle [participle + noun] sequence. Anticipating the next section, let us also observe the genitive nouns aligning the monovalent-verb nominative **Nusalia** of (e) and the divalent-verb accusative **nehuyapihinü** of (f).

- (13) (a) **ta-ne-hitsi-pae-petiriwa-mü**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You are the woman who loves me.'

(Note also the nominative series typical of nonverbal predicates.)

- (b) [**pe<sub>1</sub>-ø<sub>2</sub>-upaxua-bi-metsaha<sub>2</sub>**]<sub>2</sub>                      **hiwi<sub>1</sub>**                      **ba-ø<sub>2</sub>-xane-ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 3INTRINLINK-3ACC-ThrowOneArrow-IRR-tapir    people                      HAB-3ACC-eat-3NOM  
 'People<sub>1</sub> shall eat the tapir<sub>2</sub> (only if the latter was) shot down with a single arrow.'

(See chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.7.1 for the moral-obligation sense of the habitual.)

- (c) [ [**pe<sub>1</sub>-tü-pae-hiwixi<sub>1</sub>**]<sub>1</sub>                      **pe<sub>1</sub>-wonotoxi<sub>2</sub>**]<sub>2</sub>  
 3INTRINLINK-die-IRREALIS-LittlePeople                      3INTRINSICLINKEE-LittleTeeth  
 'the dead people<sub>1</sub>'s teeth<sub>2</sub>'

(Cannibals' collars.)

- (d) [ [ [**pe<sub>1</sub>-sahi-nae-**]**pe<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>1</sub>-wünüho-nae-**]**itane<sub>1</sub>**]  
 3INTRINLINK-BeMissing-IRREALIS-3INTRINLINK-MIDDLE-name-IRREALIS-sign  
 'missing vowels [lit. missing self-naming signs].'

(Metalinguistic vocabulary on morphophonology in a literacy-training context.)

- (e) **Nusalia<sub>1</sub>**    **pe<sub>1</sub>-po-nae-namuto<sub>2</sub>**  
 N.                      3INTRINSICLINKEE-go-IRREALIS-trail  
 'Nusalia<sub>1</sub>'s walking trail<sub>2</sub>'
- (f) **nehuyapihinü<sub>1</sub>**                      **pe<sub>2</sub>-ø<sub>1</sub>-hitsi-pae-petiriwa<sub>2</sub>**  
 YourYoungerBrother    3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-woman  
 'the woman<sub>2</sub> who loves your younger brother<sub>1</sub>'

## 4 VERB TO NOUN

We now address verb nominalisation, which will lead us to tackle the most convoluted morphological aspects of the language. From what was announced at the outset one can surmise that in this section we will handle *grammatical* nominalisation, as it is sometimes called (Shibatani 2018). After showing how simply one gets a fullfledged verb nominalisation out of a participle, I will delve into the retrieval of arguments through both bound morphology and noun phrases. Then the balance between keeping verbal categories / gaining nominal ones will be discussed before reviewing the distribution of nominalisations in the clause and in lower level constituents.

## 4.1 GENDER-CLASS

The same outcome — a noun — is attained through adding gender-class suffixes to a lexical adjective or replacing the head noun in a participial construction with these same suffixes, (14). The animate collective **-wi** serves the same purpose (1 above).

## 4.2 ARGUMENT RETRIEVAL

As we saw concerning participles, verb arguments surface through a mix of nominal and verbal morphology. We will here first review how verb arguments map onto the bound material of the nominalised verb, deferring their lexical retrieval to the discussion on their syntactic distribution. The exposition proceeds as per a verb-valence classification.

The encoding of arguments in nominalisation is achieved under the same morphological conditions as in the participial construction, now having the gender-class suffix instead of the head noun, (14). The gender-class suffix supplies the type of *entity* while the person prefix supplies the *referent*. The same two restrictions mentioned in the prior section regarding the person prefixes — **waha-** instead of **wa-**, and first-person preemption — hold here. Besides **waha-**, the long person-series — semantically possessor — does not occur either as a nominalisation-building component or as a prefix having under its scope the whole nominalisation. One exception will be displayed in example (47) below and discussed in chapter 8: SPEECH-ACT CLAUSE TYPES 3.

## 4.2.1 MONOVALENT VERBS

The nominal person-prefix — intrinsic linkee — stands for the verb's unique argument, (14a) and (b). It is coindexed with the gender-class suffix unless adverse argument subcategorisation conditions prevail, (c). Coindexation provides participant-oriented nominalisations, (14a) and (b). The nonanimate **-hawa** provides nominalisations for 1. manner-of-existing (so called "action" or "action/state" nominalisations; I will use the more accurate *nonoriented nominalisations*), (c); 2. thing-like participants, (d); and 3. locations, (e). Regarding the person-prefix in (c), recall that the nominal and verbal third person allows for a nonreferential reading (chapters 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.2 and 2: THE VERB 2.1.1, respectively).

- (14) (a) **ta<sub>1</sub>-po-nae-nü<sub>1</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-go/walk-IRREALIS-MASCULINE  
 'me the walker'
- (b) **pe<sub>1</sub>-tsaba-nae-bü<sub>1</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-rot-IRREALIS-SPHERE  
 'rotten tuber'

- (c) **pe<sub>0/1</sub>-nakoxi-tsi-hawa<sub>2</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-BePregnant-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE  
 'pregnancy<sub>2</sub>  
 her<sub>1</sub> pregnancy'
- (d) **pe<sub>1</sub>-tsabanae-hawa<sub>1</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-decay-NONANIMATE  
 'rotten thing'
- (e) **pe<sub>1</sub>-namataya-bi-hawa<sub>2</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-'hide-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE  
 'his hideout'

#### 4.2.2 DIVALENT VERBS

The intrinsic-linker prefix and the gender-class suffix remain coindexed and stand for the nominative argument, provided — once more — that the type of entity denoted by the suffix is semantically compatible with the verb nominative argument. (15a) illustrates such agent-oriented nominalisation. The accusative surfaces as in finite verbs. When no such compatibility is at hand we get a manner-of-existing nominalisation, (b). Additionally to what we saw with <sup>1</sup>verbs, the noncoindexation between the intrinsic-linker prefix and the gender-class suffix can also bring forth a patient-oriented nominalisation, (c)-(d). In such cases as (d) with an animate gender-suffix, the only available clues to tell apart patient-orientation from agent-orientation are the verb subcategorisation of arguments and a strong enough discourse context. (No evidence for locative nominalisation is available here.)

- (15) (a) **[ta<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>2</sub>-koni-tsi-wa<sub>1</sub>]<sub>1</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-whip-IRREALIS-FEMENINE  
 'I<sub>1</sub> (woman<sub>1</sub>) the one<sub>2</sub> who whipped you<sub>2</sub> [lit. me<sub>1</sub> your<sub>2</sub> she-whipper]'
- (b) **[pe<sub>0/1</sub>-ø<sub>0/2</sub>-u-bi-hawa<sub>3</sub>]<sub>3</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-go-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE  
 'the sewing<sub>3</sub>  
 the sewing<sub>3</sub> of it<sub>2</sub>  
 his<sub>1</sub> sewing<sub>3</sub>  
 his<sub>1</sub> sewing<sub>3</sub> of it<sub>2</sub>'
- (c) **[ta<sub>1</sub>-ø<sub>2</sub>-koni-tsi-hawa<sub>2</sub>]<sub>2</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-whip-IRREALIS-FEMENINE  
 'the thing<sub>2</sub> I<sub>1</sub> whipped'
- (d) **pe<sub>1</sub>-ø<sub>2</sub>-taha-bi-nü<sub>2</sub>]<sub>2</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-roast-MASCULINE  
 'the grilled one<sub>2</sub> (fish)'

A nominalisation oriented toward a patient high in some scale of animacy draws on two morphological tools. If arguments are all third-person and the patient is human(-like) we have overt voice-switching, likewise with finite verbs. We will get back to such passive nominalisation in chapter 6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.4. Now, if the argument standing for the patient is second person, a nominalisation-specific form of passive is observed. Starting from



(15a), we have the accusative prefix freeze into a nonreferential third-person zero, and the second-person nominative **-mü** is appended to the whole word. (Whereby the construction becomes homophonous with a nominal predicate 'you are the woman who...'. See below examples (24) and chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1.)

- (16) **ta<sub>1</sub>-∅<sub>0</sub>-koni-tsi-wa<sub>2</sub>-mü<sub>2</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-whip-IRREALIS-FEMENINE  
 'you<sub>2</sub> (woman<sub>2</sub>) the one<sub>2</sub> whipped by me<sub>1</sub> [lit. you<sub>2</sub> my<sub>1</sub> whipped woman<sub>2</sub>]'

Something comparable emerges with first person preemption. Likewise in <sup>II</sup>verb-participles, this idiosyncratic pattern deprives the nominative argument of its main reference indexing, the one provided by the prefixed genitive series. The entailed referent is then third person, (17b). As said, to grant a second-person referent, this argument makes use of the nominative suffix on nonverbal predicates, **-mü** in (c). Again, the construction becomes homophonous with a nominal predicate.

- (17) (a) \***ne<sub>1</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-wa<sub>1</sub>** (ne<sub>1</sub>:- second person)  
 \***pe<sub>1</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-wa<sub>1</sub>** (pe<sub>1</sub>:- third person)
- (b) **ta<sub>0</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-wa<sub>1</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-FEMENINE  
 'the woman<sub>1</sub> who loves me<sub>2</sub>'
- (c) **ta<sub>0</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-hitsi-pae-wa<sub>1</sub>-mü<sub>1</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-FEMENINE-2NOMINATIVE  
 'you<sub>1</sub> the woman<sub>1</sub> who loves me<sub>2</sub>'  
 and:  
 'You<sub>1</sub> are the woman<sub>1</sub> who loves me<sub>2</sub>.'

#### 4.2.3 TRIVALENT VERBS

These verbs involve 1. at the semantic level, three participants, an agent, a recipient and a transferred; 2. at the coding level, three arguments, respectively a nominative, an accusative — both accessing verb morphology as well as noun-phrase realisation unmarked for case —, and a third argument circumscribed to case-unmarked noun-phrase realisation (chapters 2: THE VERB 1.3.3 and 4: BASIC CLAUSES 2). Co-indexation between the personal prefix and the gender-class suffix produces agent-oriented nominalisations, as with <sup>II</sup>verbs, (18a). The lack of co-indexation triggers either a manner-of-existing with nonanimate **-hawa**, (b), or a patient-oriented nominalisation with **-hawa** or class-suffixes, (b) and (c). The latter is tantamount to affording the third argument overt exponence, something that finite <sup>III</sup>verbs do not allow in their indexing morphology.

The morphological means to create a recipient-oriented nominalisation when the recipient is high in person / animacy hierarchies, along with granting exponence for a second-person nominative argument under first-person preemption — suffix **-mü** —, mirrors what we have seen in <sup>II</sup>verbs above as regards to patient-nominalisation. I will provide one single illustration of this, (d), to be compared with (a).

- (18) (a) **ta<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>2</sub>-rahu-tsi-wa<sub>1</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-give-IRREALIS-FEMENINE  
 'me<sub>1</sub>-woman<sub>1</sub> giver of it to you<sub>2</sub>'

- (b) **ta<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>2</sub>-rahu-tsi-hawa<sub>3</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-give-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE  
 'my<sub>1</sub> giving (of it) to you<sub>2</sub>  
 my<sub>1</sub> present<sub>3</sub> for you<sub>2</sub>'
- (c) **ta<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>2</sub>-rahu-tsi-bü<sub>3</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-give-IRREALIS-  
 'the tuber<sub>3</sub> I<sub>1</sub> gave you<sub>2</sub>'
- (d) **ta<sub>1</sub>-Ø<sub>0</sub>-rahu-tsi-wa<sub>2</sub>-mü<sub>2</sub>**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-give-IRREALIS-FEMENINE-2NOMINATIVE  
 'you<sub>2</sub>-woman<sub>2</sub> being given (it) by me<sub>1</sub>'

#### 4.3 NOMINAL / VERBAL CATEGORIES

Beyond the accusative series prefix, verbs take along several other typically-verbal bound morphemes when nominalised. Parallely, they capture more nominal morphemes than those heretofore encountered. Exploring this kind of hybridity is the subject of the present section.

We will start out with common semantic categories that at the form level are treated alike in finite verbs and primary nouns. (Recall that a subtype of verbs is defective in that it displays *per se* some nominal properties, chapter 2: THE VERB 1 and 2.1.9; also 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1). From there we will go through common semantic categories treated differently, either in transparently-related or totally distinct ways. Then we can review typically verbal vs. nominal categories, in that order. The inventory will also include categories present on nouns in predicate position. Unfortunately the data do not presently cover all the possibilities that one could want to illustrate. (So as to save space in examples I will downright disregard the mood-ending segmentation and gloss.)

As identically-shaped common categories we have

- *negation*:

- (19) **baharaponü pexanialiwaisi apo-pe-Ø-xinae-nü-Ø**  
 ThatMan NiceTalk NEGATION-3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACC-have-MASC-3NOM  
 'That guy was a tough man [lit. ...wasn't a nice-talk owner].'

(An instance of negation on a nonpredicative noun phrase can be found in chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1.1.)

- *first and second person plural*; in <sup>II</sup>verb nominalisations it keeps its capacity to have scope on either the nominative or the accusative argument:

- (20) **pa<sub>1/2</sub>-ta<sub>1</sub>-ka<sub>2</sub>-konitsi-hawa**  
 PLURAL-3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-whip-NONANIMATE  
 'my whipping of you<sub>2</sub>  
 our<sub>1</sub> whipping of you<sub>2</sub>  
 my whipping of you-all<sub>2</sub>  
 our<sub>1</sub> whipping of you-all<sub>2</sub>'

- *dual* as a kind of singular with third person, but of plural with speech act participants:

- (21) (a) **pe-pitsapae-wa-behe** **nuka-ø-behe**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-GoOut-FEMENINE-DUAL <sup>1</sup>StandSINGULAR-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL  
 'The two who went out are standing (there).'

- (b) **pa-ta-pitsapae-wa-behe** **pa-nubena-hü-behe**  
 PLUR-1INTRINSICLINKEE-GoOut-FEM-DUAL PLURAL-<sup>1</sup>StandPLURAL-1NOM-DUAL  
 'We two who went out are standing (there).'

- *consecutive*, of which the only available evidence is indirect; see it on a participial construction as predicate:

- (22) **ba-peka-kainae-merawi**  
 HABITUAL-CONSECUTIVE-BeCold-night  
 'As a result there exists the cold night.'

- *unexpectedness*

- (23) **pe-ø-kuhuruabi-nü=atha**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-teach-MASCULINE=ADDITIVE  
 'even the male teacher'

Common categories adapting their exponence to verbal / nominal environments and surfacing as nominal in nominalisation emerge as

- *first and second person nominative* suffixes **-nü/-mü**:

- (24) **taha-wa-yo-mü** **tsane...**  
 1POSSESSOR-DIMINUTIVE -FEMENINE-2NOMINATIVE FUTURE  
 'You will be my dear wife,...'

...**ta-ka-asiwa-wa-yo-mü** **tsane**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-CareFor-FEMENINE-DIMINUTIVE-2NOM FUTURE  
 '...you will be my little darling.'

('Care' is a defective verb.)

- *future*, as in the preceding example.

- *auxiliaries*, an interesting case of hybridity; an auxiliary combined with a noun must take the **tša-** converb form (chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1), as does a defective verb (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9). This holds for nominalisations as predicates, (25a). Notwithstanding, the nominalisation word *can* keep the auxiliary in its original bound location, (b) (mood segmentation provided). Speakers seem to construe the same meaning for both forms. (I must add that the alternative (a) / (b) was not tested beyond body-posture auxiliaries.)

- (25) (a) **pe-tsaba-nae-wa** **tša-ru-kae**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-decay-IRREALIS-FEMENINE CONVERB-<sup>1</sup>hang-IRREALIS  
 'there is a woman decaying in the hammock'

- (b) **pe-tsaba-na-ru-kae-wa**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-decay-REALIS- <sup>1</sup>hang-IRREALIS-FEMENINE  
 'idem'

Turning to preserved verbal categories we have

- *middle* as reflexive and reciprocal:

- (26) (a) **ne-na-xuabi-wa**  
 2INTRINSICLINKEE-MIDDLE-throw-FEMENINE  
 'you the lost one (woman) [lit. self-thrown away].'  
 (b) **pe-na-be-hawa**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-MIDDLE-beat-NONANIMATE  
 'brawl'

- *preverbs*; for instance **ka-**, 'holding in one's hands', as instrument in (27):

- (27) **pe-ø-ka-huetsi-hawa**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-HOLDING-sweep-NONANIMATE  
 '(a) brush'

- *replicative*:

- (28) **ta-na-bihiobitae-wa**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-REPLICATIVE-BePOOR-FEMENINE  
 '[...] me too poor woman'

- finally, *incorporated nouns* (chapter 6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.3) are brought along in nominalisation, (a); the presence of incorporation favors the elision of the intrinsic linkee prefix, (b) and (46a) below.

- (29) (a) **pe-koi-xae-wi**  
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-fruit-eat-COLLECTIVE  
 'fruit-eaters (a subclass of birds.)'  
 (b) **xuipa-x-ae-nü**  
 RootSp.-eat-IRREALIS-MASCULINE  
 'chewer of *Banisteriopsis caapi*  
 or  
 a type of shaman'  
 or  
 a jocular moniker for a man'

The acquisition of nominal categories in nominalisation clearly overrides the maintenance of verbal ones. Gender-class suffixes and intrinsic-linkee prefixes need not be mentioned again. Bound morphology contributing to specify a referent appears under the following exponents:

- *demonstrative* prefixes, banning — as on lexical nouns — the occurrence of person prefixes (chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.1):

- (30) **bahara-pa-(*\*pe*-)Ø-nikatsi-hawa**  
 DISTAL-DEMONSTRATIVE-3ACCUSATIVE-cut-NONANIMATE  
 'that (tree) cutting'

- *restrictive*:

- (31) **wü-pe-na-be-hawa** **namatawenena**  
 RESTRICTIVE-3INTRINSICLINKEE-MIDDLE-beat-NONANIMATE LongFor  
 'He longed for one single thing, fight.'

- indefinite / alterity:

- (32) **itsa-pe-apae-ra**  
 INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-3INTRINSICLINKEE-drink-LIQUID  
 'another beverage'

- similitive

- (33) **be-pe-tsikehema-hawa-yo**  
 SIMILATIVE-3INTRINSICLINKEE-BePointless-NONANIMATE-DIMINUTIVE  
 'like a pointless little thing'

(Nun evaluating myth transcriptions; **tsikehema** is a defective verb.)

Not all quantity-denoting morphology is available in the nominalisation data. Discretization — making a spatially-configured object out of a substance — and singularisation — singling an individual out of a class — (chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.2) are readily accomplished by gender-class suffixes. We have the collective, that we have already met above, (29a). Besides that, the suffixes augmentative **-nü** (distributionally distinct from the masculine **-nü**) and diminutive plural **-xi** occur on nominalisations.

- (34) (a) **pe-tsabanae-hawa-nü**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-decay-NONANIMATE-PLURAL  
 'rotten things'
- (b) **pe-ponae-hawa-nü**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-go/walk-NONANIMATE-PLURAL  
 'his departures'
- (c) **pe-tsabanae-hawa-xi**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-decay-NONANIMATE-DIMINUTIVEPLURAL  
 'pustules'

Looking back at how lexical nouns get pluralised, the two ways for doing so on animate generics are the collective, **Sikuani-wi**, 'the Sikuani (as a tribe)', and the replicative plural (glossed AUGMENTER) **-nü**. But the latter only works on individuated nouns, something achieved thanks to gender-class suffixes, thus **Sikuani-wa-nü**, '(an aggregation of) Sikuani

women'. If we assume that a nominalised manner-of-existing is akin to a generic noun, then we can have (35) with the sequence **-wa-nü** in (b), *i.e.* the individual-denoting feminine followed by the replicating plural. When it comes to first and second persons, their prefixes on lexical nouns are pluralised by **pa-**, both possessor and intrinsic-linker series. In chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.2 the examples were **pa-taha-wihanü**, 'our visitor', and **pa-ta-ena**, 'our mother'. Expectedly, the global output is singular. Likewise, the plural of a person prefix on a nominalisation does not impinge on the number of the whole word. Hence, even with a pluralised first / second person, the speaker will have to explicitly quantify the whole nominalisation either as collective or as replicative plural, (36). This means that in (21b) above, renumbered as (37) here, what launches the plural form of the verb 'stand' is not the plural person resulting from **pa-** but the dual on *first* person resulting from **-behe**, as the brackets aim to show.

- (35) (a) **pe-ponae-wi**  
3INTRINLINK-go/walk-COLLECTIVE  
'(group of) walkers'
- (b) **[pe-ponae-wa]-nü**  
3INTRINLINK-go/walk-FEM-AUGMENTER  
'(collection of) walking women'
- (36) (a) **pa-ta-ponae-wi**  
3INTRINLINK-go/walk-COLLECTIVE  
'we (group of) walking women'
- (b) **[pa-[ta-ponae-wa] ]-nü**  
3INTRINLINK-go/walk-FEM-AUGMENTER  
'we (aggregation of) walking women'
- (37) **[pa-ta-pitsapae-wa]-behe**  
PLUR-1INTRINSICLINKEE-GoOut-FEM-DUAL  
'We two who went out are standing (there).'
- [pa-nubena-hü]-behe**  
PLURAL-<sup>1</sup>StandPLURAL-1NOM-DUAL

- *paucal*

- (38) **waha-ka-nakuenebi-hawa-yo-behe**  
4POSSESSOR-HOLDING-work-NONANIMATE-DIMINUTIVE-SET  
'our few tools'

- *nominal tense-aspect* suffix **-mi**:

- (39) **pe-tsabanae-hawa-xi-mi**  
3INTRINSICLINKEE-decay-NONANIMATE-DIMPLUR-OBSOLETE  
'His former pustules turned into fish.'
- duhai**    **naexana**  
fish      TurnInto

- *case markers*:

- (40) **pe-ø-siwapatsi-wi-nexa**  
3INTRINLINK-3ACC-ComeFor-COLL-FINALITY  
'To those who came for (the drink) he served pure cane juice.'
- wüwalapora**    **tobuata**  
OnlyCaneJuice    serve

(Murder by poisoning.)

- *adjective* is the last item of noun morphology to be mentioned here; the behaviour of the adjective respecting the intrinsic-linker prefix seems not to be quite settled: it comes before the prefix, (41a), after it, (b), or simply erases it, (c).

- (41) (a) **pepo-pe-yapütae-wi**  
true-3INTRINSICLINKEE-know-COLLECTIVE  
'true erudite ones'
- (b) **ta-pexania-yakinae-hawa**  
1INTRINSICLINKEE-write-NONANIMATE  
'my nice writing'
- (c) **pexania-xae-nü-yo**  
nice-eat-MASCULINE-DIMINUTIVE  
'apetising little boy'

(Jaguar making plans.)

All in all, nominal bound morphology appears as massively represented in nominalisations, compared with the verbal counterpart (middle, preverbs, habitual, replicative, incorporated noun). This unequivocal nounhood of nominalisations will be confirmed by the syntactic distributions.

Before that, let us say a word on so-called *lexical nominalisation*. No dedicated device for it exists in the language, and accretions to the lexicon of nouns *via* nominalised verbs — altogether not so frequent — boils down to unvarying forms of grammatical nominalisations. Moreover, observable clues pointing to unambiguously lexicalised forms are scarce. And in this matter the semantic intuition of the observer, for instance as it would apply to (42a), is not reliable.

The first characteristic of a lexicalisation is a third-person intrinsic-linker prefix frozen as nonreferential, **pe<sub>0</sub>-**. Morphological irregularities or semantic inconsistencies may be less conjectural clues to lexicalisation: (b) "wrongly" displays realis mood; (c) adds the possessor prefix to the intrinsic-linker prefix of 'thing-to-eat', something proscribed in morphologically active prefixes (4.2 above); and (d), literally 'blower', can also denote a shaman of a different speciality than blowing. Noticeably, the third person **pe-**, typical of lexicalisations, can sometimes revert to its inflectional — referential — status to yield (e) instead of the expected (f). The latter is another instance of an extraneous nominative suffix balancing the intrinsic-linker loss of reference (first-person preemption in 4.2.2), here a consequence of lexicalisation.

- (42) (a) **pe<sub>0</sub>-itane-ikikae-bo**  
3INTRINSICLINKEE-sign-engrave-CYLINDER  
'pencil'
- (b) **pe<sub>0</sub>-tu-x-ane-nü**  
3INTRINSICLINKEE-center/vagina-eat-REALIS-MASCULINE  
'very important man / chief'
- (c) **taha-pe<sub>0</sub>-x-ae-hawa**  
1POSSESSOR-3INTRINSICLINKEE-eat-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE  
'my food'
- (d) **pe<sub>0</sub>-naroho-bi-nü**  
3INTRINSICLINKEE-BlowForHealing-IRREALIS MASCULINE  
'a type of shaman'

- (e) **ne<sub>1</sub>-nahoro-bi-nü** **ka<sub>1</sub>-tsipaeba-tsi** **liwaisi**  
 2INTRINLINK-BlowForHealing-IRREALIS-MASC 2ACC-tell-4NOM story  
 'I told you<sub>1</sub> the story, you-shaman<sub>1</sub>.'
- (f) **[pe<sub>0</sub>-nahorobinü]-mü<sub>1</sub>** 'you-shaman (also: you are a shaman)'  
 shaman-2NOMINATIVE

#### 4.4 SYNTACTIC POSITIONS

Nominalized forms espouse integrally the distribution of nouns, first and above all that of noun-phrase head. Several examples of this capacity in lexically-simple noun phrases have been made available above, *e.g.* (39)-(40). In lexically-complex phrases — adjectives apart — *one* argument of the nominalised verb can be retrieved as a genitive dependent, be it the nominative of a <sup>I</sup>verb, (43a)-(b), the accusative of a <sup>II</sup>verb, (c), or even the third argument of a <sup>III</sup>verb, which, as we know, has no access to indexing on the verb, (d). (As regards coreference links between both components, recall the notion of argument distributed-exponence in chapter 3: THE NOUN 3.1). Given an extremely strong discourse-context — myths, for instance — the <sup>II</sup>verb nominative can surface as genitive, (e). The ergative bias featured by argument lexical-retrieval hence contrasts in a crosslinguistically-common fashion with the accusative alignment of argument indexes on the verb. Clause adjuncts are eligible to the modifier genitive position, (44).

- (43) (a) [ **[Nusalia<sub>1</sub>] pe<sub>1</sub>-ponae-nü<sub>1</sub>** ]  
 N. 3INTRINSICLINKEE-go/walk-MASCULINE  
 'Nusalia the walker'
- (b) [ **[Nusalia<sub>1</sub>] pe<sub>1</sub>-ponae-hawa<sub>2</sub>** ]  
 N. 3INTRINSICLINKEE-go/walk-NONANIMATE  
 'Nusalia's departure'
- (c) [ **[petiriwaxi<sub>1</sub>] pe<sub>2</sub>-ø<sub>1</sub>-hitsipae-nü<sub>2</sub>** ]  
 LittleWomen 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-want-MASCULINE  
 'women's lover'
- (d) [ **[bitsabi<sub>1</sub>] pe<sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>3</sub>-rahutsi-nü<sub>2</sub>** ]  
 bow 3INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-give-MASCULINE  
 'the one<sub>2</sub> who<sub>2</sub> gave you<sub>3</sub> a bow<sub>1</sub>'
- (e) **peruhunü<sub>1</sub> apo-ø<sub>2</sub>-tae-ø<sub>1</sub>...**  
 elder NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-see-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The elder<sub>1</sub> did not see...'
- ...[ **[penakuetonüyo<sub>3</sub>] pe<sub>3</sub>-ø<sub>1</sub>-kotokaewi-hawa<sub>2</sub>** ]  
 LittleBoy 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-follow-NONANIMATE  
 '...the little boy<sub>3</sub> following him<sub>1</sub> [lit. the boy<sub>3</sub>'s pursuit<sub>2</sub> of him<sub>1</sub>].'

(Father denying paternity.)



- (44) [ **[paira yahawa]** **pe-pitsapae-wi**  
 ThisEarth COMITATIVE 3INTRINSICLINKEE-GoOut-COLLECTIVE  
 'the ones (who) originated along with this earth'

Likewise participles, fullfledged nominalizations can occur as modifiers.

- (45) [ **[pe<sub>0/1</sub>-Ø<sub>0/2</sub>-ubi-hawa<sub>3</sub>]** **matakabi**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-sow-NONANIMATE day/time  
 'The day they<sub>1</sub> sowed it<sub>2</sub>. / sowing<sub>0</sub> time'

Outside the noun phrase, nominalisations are found as predicate, (46a), argument of postposition, (b), and case-marked adjunct, (c). A nominative suffix on the latter occurs after the case suffix, (d).

- (46) (a) **ikuli pina nonohi-xae-nü-Ø**  
 MorrocoyTurtle REPORTATIVE chili-eat-MASCULINE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Morrocoy turtle is a chili-eater, they<sub>0</sub> say.'
- (b) **pe<sub>1</sub>-Ø<sub>2</sub>-tahabi-nü<sub>2</sub>** **[yahawa]** **Ø<sub>3</sub>-pueneteta-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3INTRINLINK-3ACC-roast-MASC COMITATIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-LeaveBehind-4NOM  
 'She<sub>3</sub> had been left behind next to the roasted one<sub>2</sub> (fish).'
- (c) **Ø<sub>1</sub>-itaxutotsoniatane-hü<sub>2</sub>** **ta<sub>2</sub>-na-bihiobitae-wa<sub>2</sub>-xae**  
 3ACC-GiveAssistance-3NOM 3INTRINLINK-REPLICATIVE-BePoor-FEM-CAUSE  
 'I<sub>2</sub> do her<sub>1</sub> a service because I<sub>2</sub> am a poor woman too.'
- (d) **ne<sub>1</sub>-Ø<sub>2</sub>-tsekona-nü<sub>1</sub>-xae-mü<sub>1</sub>**  
 2INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-ShotSeveralArrows-MASCULINE-CAUSE-3NOM  
 'because of you<sub>1</sub> (man) having shot a battery of arrows at him<sub>2</sub>'

We will get back to the syntax of fullfledged nominalisations outside the noun phrase in chapter 7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2., where they will be found to occur in argument positions. For now a very special subtype of nominalisation will capture our attention.

## 5 TRUNCATED NOMINALISATIONS

These are nonoriented nominalisations formally hybrid in that they look morphologically like participles — no gender-class suffix — but occur strictly outside the noun phrase. The nominative suffix turns into a third-person dummy totally void of reference. So a truncated nominalisation consists of the mere verb in irrealis mood — for verbs proper — plus three indexes, two potentially referring, the intrinsic linkee and <sup>II</sup>verb-accusative prefixes, and the dereferentialised nominative.

A weakening of the latter restriction results from first-person preemption, given that the intrinsic linkee referent, emptied out by the first person prefix, can no more designate the finite-clause participant in nominative position. (On the long form **taha-** instead of **ta-**, see chapter 8: SPEECH-ACT CLAUSE TYPES 3.)

- (47) **apo-taha-ne-t-ae-mü** **piha?!**  
 NEGATION-1POSSESSOR-1ACCUSATIVE-see-IRREALIS-2NOM IRRITATION  
 'Didn't you see me?!'

Another case of noncanonical referential nominative in a truncated nominalisation will be suggested in chapter 7: **CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.4**, where we will see how massively truncated nominalisations are used in adverbial dependent clauses.

Anticipating that same topic of adverbial clauses, I here provide (48) just in order to record the lack of first-person preemption in a construction where **-pua-** — a temporal morpheme to be addressed in chapter 7: **CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1** — intermediates between the two person prefixes, intrinsic linkee and accusative. The example would thus be the evidence announced above in 3 for the conjecture that the preemption constraint results from morphology-processing limitations on contiguous argument prefixes.

- (48) [**pe<sub>1</sub>**-**pua**-**ne<sub>2</sub>**-**kü-tsi**-**Ø<sub>0</sub>**...  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-PREVIOUSNESS-1ACCUSATIVE-tie-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE  
 ...**xaniawaetsia**    **baha**]                      **ne<sub>2</sub>-humaitsi**-**Ø<sub>1</sub>**: [...]  
 well                      BOUNDARYCROSSING    1ACCUSATIVE-say-3NOMINATIVE  
 '...Having tied<sub>1</sub> me<sub>2</sub> up, he<sub>1</sub> said to me<sub>2</sub>: [...]'

Thanks to the nonreferential nominative suffix, truncated nominalisations are fitted to deliver a manner-of-existing in the guise of an existential predicate, (49a). For the sake of comparison, (b) shows an existential predicate built on a fullfledged nominalisation. Such capacity explains their frequent use inthetic judgments (chapter 9: **THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 3**.) Clearly, given the kind of job that truncated nominalisations do in clause syntax, nothing predisposes them to serve in lexicalisation processes, and this is actually what one discerns in the data.

- (49) (a) [**ne<sub>1</sub>-yaki-nae**]-**Ø<sub>0</sub>**!  
 2INTRINSICLINKEE-engrave-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>1</sub> writing! [more lit.: Your<sub>1</sub> writing!]'  
 (b) [**ne-naxua-bi-wa**]-**Ø<sub>0</sub>=he**!  
 2RELATIONAL-BeLost-VIRTUAL-FEMENINE-3NOMINATIVE=MIRATIVE  
 'Here you are, you the lost one!'

(Girl on the loose.)

## 6 SUMMARY

Avowedly this chapter is not quite a reader-friendly one, a consequence of the exuberant morphology that accomplishes the task of changing the primary syntactic distribution of a given lexical item. A first and paramount appreciation to be made is the inflection-like character of the processes involved — productivity and semantic compositionality. Verbs turn into adverbs — *i.e.* converbs — and adjectives — *i.e.* participles. Adjectives and verbs turn into nouns. The latter procedure is the one that brings in the most complex mechanisms involving word structure, calling upon noun and verb morphology. Truncated nominalisations, which dismiss gender-class morphology, deserve remark on account of their exclusive use as a special kind of predicate.