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A cline between nouns and verbs: Nominalizations in Shiwiar (Chicham)

Abstract: Deverbal nominalizations are often said to occupy an intermediate position between nouns and verbs. Here I describe the morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of three deverbal nominalization strategies in Shiwiar, a Chicham language of Ecuador and Peru. Although nouns and verbs in Shiwiar are clearly distinguished in the grammar, deverbal nominalizations display a combination of both nominal and verbal traits. Furthermore, the three nominalizations types discussed here each have different proportions of noun-like and verb-like characteristics, thereby forming a gradient cline between the two major word classes.

Keywords: nominalization, gradience, word classes, Amazonian languages

1 Introduction

It is well established in the typological literature that deverbal nominalizations in many languages combine the formal and functional properties of both nouns and verbs (Comrie 1976, 2011; Comrie and Thompson 2007; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, 2005). Additionally, different types of nominalizations can be placed on various points of a finiteness scale, with some being more noun-like (e.g. nominalizations that denote arguments of the verb) and others more verb-like (e.g. nominalizations that denote actions/states) (cf. Givón 2001: 26). However, most works that have discussed the mixed nominal and verbal properties of nominalizations have focused largely on action/state nominalizations and have paid less attention to participant nominalizations. In particular, there is little research about the degree to which different types of nominalizations form a gradient morphological, syntactic and semantic cline between prototypical nouns and prototypical verbs in a single language.

In this paper, I will discuss the morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of three deverbal nominalization strategies – two participant nominalizers and one action/state nominalizer – in Shiwiar, a Chicham language

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of eastern Ecuador and northern Peru. In all three cases, the resulting nominalizations have typically nominal attributes, but they also retain different numbers of verbal properties. Therefore, not only do deverbal nominalizations in Shiwiar bridge the divide between nouns and verbs, but each nominalization represents a different point on a gradient continuum spanning the two word classes.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces the Shiwiar language and the sources of data for this work. Section 3 provides background on Shiwiar word classes by highlighting the formal and functional distinction between nouns (3.1) and verbs (3.2). Three different nominalizers are then discussed in Section 4: an agentive nominalizer *-iɲu* (4.1), an action/state nominalizer *-tiɲu* (4.2), and a non-subject nominalizer *-tãĩ* (4.3). Finally, an overview of the arguments in this paper as well as an outlook for future research on this topic can be found in Section 5.

2 The Shiwiar language and sources of data

Shiwiar is a language spoken by around 1,200 people in the lowlands of eastern Ecuador and northern Peru, at the western edge of the Amazon Basin. It belongs to the Chicham (Jivaroan[1]) family along with Achuar, Aguaruna, Shuar, and Wampis (Overall and Kohlberger forthcoming), all of which are closely related. Shiwiar continues to be the primary language of the community and continues to be transmitted to younger generations, but almost all speakers are also fluent in Northern Pastaza Kichwa (a Quechuan language of the IIB subgroup) and, increasingly, in Spanish.

Shiwiar is a highly synthetic language, with a mostly suffixing and encliticizing morphology. The preferred constituent order in the language is SOV, but main clauses exhibit much more flexibility than subordinate clauses. It has nominative-accusative alignment; accusative marking, however, is differential and only applies to objects in specific grammatical contexts. Like most languages of the area, Shiwiar is characterized by complex verbal morphology,

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1 Although the language family has been traditionally known as 'Jivaroan', the Spanish equivalent of the term ('jíbaro') is an offensive word in Ecuador which is strongly disfavored by native speakers of Shiwiar, Shuar and Achuar. A native Shuar linguist proposed 'Chicham' (the word for 'language' in all the languages of the family) as an alternative family name (Katan Jua 2011). Therefore, the language family will be referred to as 'Chicham' in this work.

including the indexing of multiple arguments on the verb, extensive use of TAM categories, pervasive clause linking with switch-reference and, crucially, widespread use of nominalizations for a variety of grammatical functions.

The analysis in this paper is based on data collected by the author during twelve months of fieldwork between 2011 and 2016. Most of the examples are drawn from a recorded corpus of natural connected speech.[2] The remaining examples are taken from the only Ecuadorean Shiwiar dictionary available (Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002). All of the examples have four tiers: a phonetic tier (or an orthographic tier if it is a dictionary example[3]), a morphologically-parsed phonological tier, a glossing tier and a translation. Due to pervasive morphophonological alternations (and idiosyncratic orthographic conventions) in Shiwiar, the first and second tier often differ substantially in form.

3 Shiwiar word classes

Shiwiar has two clearly defined open word classes: nouns and verbs. Adjectives make up a semi-open class, with only few underived members (forming a closed class) but with many which are productively derived from verbs. All other word classes are closed and are made up of relatively few items. These include adverbs, pronouns, numerals, quantifiers, discourse particles, interjections and ideophones.

Although most word classes share some attributes with others (and often overlap in many of their characteristics), nouns and verbs are at opposite ends of the continuum. They are easily distinguishable in both their morphological form and their syntactic function. Table 1 summarizes and compares the properties of canonical (i.e. underived)[4] nouns and verbs.

The following two sub-sections will lay out the morphological and syntactic characteristics of Shiwiar nouns and verbs. The generalizations presented here are true of other members of the Chicham language family as well (cf. Overall 2007 for Aguaruna; Saad 2014 for Shuar).

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2 Most of the corpus (including all the recordings cited in this paper) is currently archived at the Endangered Language Fund. The entire corpus will also be archived in AILLA after the completion of the author's doctoral dissertation.

3 Orthographic examples are presented between angle brackets <>.

4 Throughout this text, the term "canonical" will be used to mean underived.

Table 1: Properties of Shiwiar nouns and verbs.

Word class	Morphological categories marked		Syntactic function and functional slots
Noun	– Diminutive – Possession – Negation – Case – Discourse particles – Copula	**Reference**	– Core/oblique argument – Complement of equative/ attributive clause – Head of NP
Verb	– Valency – Subject and object – Aspect – Negation – Tense – Mood	**Predication**	– Head of predicate

3.1 Nouns

Table 2 shows a condensed morphological template of Shiwiar nouns. Immediately after its root, a noun may take on a diminutive. The subsequent suffixes relate to inflectional processes, including possession (where the marking agrees in person and number with a possessor), negation and case. Finally, a discourse marker or a copula may be encliticized to a noun. Shiwiar does not mark number morphologically on nouns and it does not have any noun classification or gender system.

Table 2: Morphological template of Shiwiar nouns.

0	1	2	3	4	5
ROOT	Diminutive	Possession	Negation	Case	Discourse markers Copula[5]

Beyond their morphological structure, nouns can also be described by their wider syntactic properties. Shiwiar nouns usually appear as core or oblique

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5 The copula in Shiwiar has different forms depending on finiteness, tense, mood and other morphological factors. In present tense declaratives, for example, the copula =*it* is cliticized directly onto a noun; in the past tense, a full copular verb *a-* is used. In this paper, various different allomorphs of the copula are presented, but the reader should be aware that they have the same syntactic and semantic function.

arguments in a clause, or as the complement of an equative or attributive clause.[6] They are the head of an NP: they can be specified by determiners (most often demonstratives and numerals) and modified (most often by adjectives and nominalized relative clauses). For the most part nouns are used referentially (although they occasionally have a predicative function, e.g. when the copula is encliticized onto them).

The noun *haŋkɨ* 'mouth' in (1) exemplifies many of the characteristics listed above. It is used referentially, specified by a demonstrative, and it functions as an oblique instrumental argument of the verb *ju-* 'to eat'. It is also morphologically inflected for first person singular possession and instrumental case, derived with a diminutive and marked with an additive discourse enclitic.

(1)   itjúruk huu haŋɨ́utʃɨrhãĩʃa jusátha.
      itjúruk *hu*   *haŋkɨ́-utʃi-r=hãĩ=ʃa*   *ju-sá-t-ha*
      how   PROX mouth-DIM-1SG:POSS=INS=ADD   eat-PFV-IFUT-1SG
      'How will I ever eat with this, my small mouth?'
                    [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S03-01.wav, traditional narrative, 01:56]

3.2 Verbs

Finite verbs in Shiwiar have the morpheme template shown in Table 3 below. They are obligatorily marked for aspect, subject and mood, but the rest of the categories are optional. The slots closer to the root (−1 to 5) constitute the so-called level I suffixes (following Overall 2007) and they roughly correspond to derivational morphology. Level II suffixes (6 to 8) are inflectional.

Table 3: Morphological template of Shiwiar finite verbs.

−1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Valency	ROOT	Valency	Object	Aspect	Negation	Aspect	Tense	Subject	Mood

Example (2) shows the verb *hapi-* 'to pull' with an applicative valency marker, inflected for perfective aspect, future tense, declarative mood, first person singular subject and second person singular object.

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6 In Shiwiar, equative and attributive clauses can be formed with a copula or by juxtaposition of two NPs.

(2) kwiʃmín hapiɾkítjathamɨ
     kwiʃ-mí=n   hapi-r-kí-tjat-hamɨ
     ear-2SG:POSS=ACC pull-APPL-PFV-FUT-1SG>2SG:DECL
     'I will pull your ear (to your detriment)'
                        [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S01-01.wav, offered example, 08:04]

It is clear from the preceding sections that nouns and verbs in Shiwiar are formally and functionally distinct: both word classes have unambiguous diagnostic characteristics. The only feature that they can share is negation and person and number marking, but even then the morphemes which are used for possession in nouns and for subject/object indexation in verbs are not the same (see Table 4). However, the clear-cut dichotomy between canonical nouns and verbs breaks down when nominalizations are taken into account.

Table 4: Person and number marking on Shiwiar nouns and verbs.[7]

Person/Number	Nouns (Possession)	Finite Verbs (Subject)	Finite Verbs (Objects)
1SG	*-ru*	*-ha*	*-ru/-tu*
2SG	*-rumɨ/-ramɨ*	*-mɨ*	*-rama/-tama*
3SG	*-rĩ*	*-wa*	(no marking)
1PL	*-rĩ*	*-hi*	*-rama/-tama*
2PL	*-rumɨ/-ramɨ*	*-rumɨ*	*-rama/-tama*
3PL	*-rĩ*	*-wa*	(no marking)

Shiwiar has a variety of nominalization strategies but they all involve a derivational suffix being attached to a verb stem at the right edge of the level I slots, replacing slots 6 through 8. This means that nominalized verbs may retain all of the verbal categories that are expressed by morphemes in level I: valency, some argument structure (i.e. an object) and aspect, none of which are categories that are normally marked on a noun. The following section will shed light on the nature of Shiwiar nominalizations by examining the structure and uses of three particular nominalizers, with special attention to their morphological, syntactic and semantic properties.

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7 This is a simplified table and does not include all person/number markers in the language. For a full overview see Kohlberger (forthcoming).

4 Shiwiar nominalizations

4.1 Agentive nominalizer *-iɲu*

The suffix *-iɲu* (with its phonologically conditioned allomorphs *-in* and *-ɲu*) is an agentive nominalizer, i.e. it nominalizes the syntactic subject of an agentive verb and yields a noun which means 'one who "verbs"'. Note that verbs whose syntactic subject is a patient (e.g. in the verbs *kanu-* 'to sleep' or *ha-* 'to die') cannot undergo this type of nominalization. Syntactically, these nominalizations have all the properties of a canonical noun, e.g. they can be used as an argument of a verb (3, 4) or as a complement of an equative construction (5). In the appropriate environments, they are marked for case (3, 4).

(3)   aindzun ʃirman, iákmiɲun waingjáhaj.
     *aintsu=n   ʃirma=n   iákm-**iɲu**=n   wain-kjá-ha-i*
     man=ACC   handsome=ACC   hunt-**AG.NMLZ**=ACC   find-PFV-1SG-DECL
     'I've found a handsome man, a hunter.'
                       [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S05-01, traditional narrative, 02:41]

(4)   isákratɲun niɲumgán puháhaj.
     *isa-krat-**ɲu**=n   niɲuma-ka-n   puha-ha-i*
     bite-INDF.OBJ-**AG.NMLZ**=ACC   marry-PFV-1SG:SS   live:IPFV-1SG-DECL
     'I'm married to a biter.' (From a story in which a woman marries a snake)
                 [Shiwiar corpus, T03-S09-01.wav, traditional narrative, 02:44]

(5)   nuwĩnga náki, aíʃriŋgja takákmin.
     [*nuwĩ=ka   naki*]   [*aiʃ-rĩ=kja   takakm-**in***]
     [wife:3:POSS=TOP   lazy]   [husband-3:POSS=TOP   work-**AG.NMLZ**]
     'The wife was lazy, the husband was a (hard) worker.'
                 [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S03-01.wav, traditional narrative, 00:40]

The suffix is productive and can attach to any agentive verb, but its semantics as an agentive nominalizer make it particularly suited to derive nouns which refer to occupations or common social activities. Many of these nominalizations have become lexicalized nouns. One indication of their lexicalized status is that they are listed as individual words in dictionaries: examples (6) to (8) were taken from Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip's (2002) Shiwiar dictionary.

(6)   <juun iniakratint>
        *húunt   injá-krat-**in***
        big   lead-INDF.OBJ-**AG.NMLZ**
        'leader'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 23]

(7)   <unuikiartint>
        *unuí-kjart-**in***
        teach-INDF.OBJ-**AG.NMLZ**
        'teacher'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 29]

(8)   <wekaint>
        *wɨká-**in***
        travel-**AG.NMLZ**
        'wanderer/traveller'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 30]

The verb stems to which *-iɲu* attaches cannot be marked for aspect. However, they may still contain valency morphology and argument structure. The stems in (4), (6) and (7), for instance, have an indefinite human object suffix *-krat/-kjart*: the nouns in these examples could be translated as 'one who bites someone', 'one who leads someone' and 'one who teaches someone', respectively. This internal morphological structure (which includes typically verbal elements) differentiates Shiwiar nominalizations from underived nouns and sets them between nouns and verbs with regards to the characteristics discussed in Section 2. However, it should be noted that it is unclear how compositional the semantics of that internal morphological structure is synchronically. At least for lexicalized nouns, given their high frequency occurrence, it is likely that speakers learn them as single units and that the original meaning of verbal morphemes (such as the indefinite object marker) has faded.

So far, only referential uses of nominalizations have been described. However, when *-iɲu* nominalizations are used in conjunction with a copula, their function becomes predicative and they express habitual aspect (9–11).

(9)   húundjuwakʃa ɨsámdajʃa, ajámbrin ámjaji níi.
        [*húuntjawaa=k=ʃa   ɨsá-mtai=ʃa*]   [*ajámr-**in***
        [jaguar=RESTR=CONC bite-1/3:DS=ADD] [defend-**AG.NMLZ**
        ***á**-mia-ji   níi*]
        COP-D.PST-3:DECL 3]
        'Even if a jaguar bit her, he used to defend her.'
                        [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-03.wav, traditional narrative, 03:20]

(10) pakí tʃitʃámnaʃ ándin ámjaji.
      pakí   *tʃitʃám=na=ʃ*   *ánt-in*
      peccary + GEN language:3:POSS=ACC=ADD understand-**AG.NMLZ**
      á-mia-ji
      COP-D.PST-3:**DECL**
      'He also used to understand the language of the peccaries.'
                    [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-03.wav, traditional narrative, 05:05]

(11) tʃuú utʃiríhjãj nakúrin ármjaji.
      tʃuú   *utʃi-rĩ-hjãĩ*   *nakúr-in*
      woolly.monkey + GEN child-3:POSS-INS play-**AG.NMLZ**
      á-r-mia-ji
      COP-PL-D.PST-3:**DECL**
      'They used to play with the woolly monkey babies.'
                    [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-04.wav, traditional narrative, 00:32]

The semantics of a habitual predicate are very close to the compositional semantics of an agentive nominalization combined with a copula: saying 'I am a dancer' implies that 'I dance habitually'. For this reason, it can be difficult at first sight to establish whether the *-iɲu* + COP construction is actually a complex predicate in its own right or whether it is simply being interpreted compositionally. Example (12) below is particularly ambiguous when translated into English:

(12) apárka malárianam takákmin asá, Montálvo wajáamjaji.
      [*apá-r=ka*   *malária-nam takákm-in*   *asá*]
      [father-1SG=TOP malaria-LOC work-**AG.NMLZ COP:SBD**]
      [*Montálvo   wajáa-mia-ji*]
      [Montalvo   enter-D.PST-3:DECL]
      (a) 'When my father was a worker in malaria prevention, he went to Montalvo.'
      or: (b) 'When my father used to work in malaria prevention, he went to Montalvo.'   [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S03-03.wav, autobiography, 00:17]

There are, however, clear signs that the *-iɲu* + COP construction has grammaticalized and is not simply a compositional sum of its parts. The first indication of this is that Shiwiar-Spanish bilinguals systematically translate examples such as (12) using the Spanish habitual construction which corresponds to translation (b): *cuando mi papá trabajaba en malaria*. Examples (9), (10) and (11), are also translated in a similar way. More compelling language-internal evidence that the

-*iɲu* + COP construction has grammaticalized is the fact that when this nomi-
nalization appears with the copula, all verbs (not just verbs whose syntactic
subject is an agent) can be derived (13).

(13) ikjám kánin ármjaji.
      ikjám   kán-in   a-r-mia-ji
      forest+LOC sleep-**AG.NMLZ** **COP**-PL-D.PST-3:DECL]
      'They used to sleep in the forest.'   [Fieldnotes, conversation]

Finally, a third observation that supports the analysis that the -*iɲu* + COP con-
struction is a predicate is that -*iɲu* nominalizations never appear with full NP
arguments when they are used referentially. However, note that in example (10),
pakí tʃitʃámi 'the language of the peccaries' is marked as an accusative argument of
the verb *antu-* 'to understand'. The accusative marking can only appear if an NP is
the object of a transitive predicate, which would not be the case if the nominaliza-
tion was being used referentially. This gives strong support to the claim that -*iɲu*
nominalizations are used predicatively when combined with a copula in Shiwiar.

4.2 Action/state nominalizer -*tiɲu*

The suffix -*tiɲu* (with its phonologically conditioned allomorphs -*tin* and -*tɲu*) is
an action/state nominalizer. This is an event nominalization which names the
activity or the state designated by a verb (Comrie and Thompson, 2007: 336). For
this reason, it is not surprising that -*tiɲu* nominalizations are the most commonly
used citation form of verbs in Shiwiar. This can be seen in entries taken from
Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip's (2002) dictionary.

(14) <achiktint>
      atʃĩ-k-tin
      grab-PFV-**AS.NMLZ**
      'to grab'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 19]

(15) <susatint>
      su-sá-tin
      give-PFV-**AS.NMLZ**
      'to give'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 27]

This type of nominalization is much more rarely lexicalized than -*iɲu* nomina-
lizations, but it is used productively and frequently to mark complement

clauses. In the following examples, the nominalized clauses behave syntactically like canonical nouns: they can be the argument of a verb (16–18) and they can be marked for case (16, 18). Note that the reason why the nominalization in (17) is not marked for accusative case, like those in (16) and (18), is due to differential object marking in Shiwiar, whereby an object of a clause is not marked for accusative case if the subject of the verb is second person.

(16)   májkja íin wakɨtkitɲun inindímiats tiármjaji.
[*mái=kja   íi=n   wakɨt-ki-**ɲu**=n]   *inintímja-ts*
[now=TOP   1PL=ACC return-PFV-**AS.NMLZ**=ACC] think-NEG
ti-ár-mia-ji
say-PL-D.PST-3:DECL
'They said that he didn't want (lit. think) to return to us.'
                      [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-03.wav, traditional narrative, 04:20]

(17)   ámɨ̃ awɨmbratin wakɨrakmɨka, amɨ́ka nuŋgá taútmitia.
[*ámɨ̃ awɨ-m-ra-**tin**   wakɨra-k-mɨ-ka*]   [*amɨ́=ka   nunká*
[2SG save-REFL-PFV-**AS.NMLZ** want-SIM-2-COND] [2SG=TOP   ground+LOC
taú-t-m-i-tja]
dig-APPL-REFL-PFV-IMP]
'If you want to save yourself, dig yourself into the ground.'
                      [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-04.wav, traditional narrative, 01:35]

(18)   májtɲun tũhĩãhãj.
*mai-**ɲu**=n   tũhĩ-a-ha-i*
bathe:PFV-**AS.NMLZ**=ACC be.unable-IPFV-1SG-DECL
'I can't bathe.'
                      [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S03-06.wav, traditional narrative, 12:08]

The morphological structure of action/state nominalizations in Shiwiar differs slightly to that of agentive nominalizations. Whereas the latter did not attach to stems marked for aspect, the suffix *-tiɲu* is obligatorily preceded by a perfective aspect morpheme (14)–(20). Valency and object-marking morphology can also be present in the stem (17). Once again, the fact that *-tiɲu* nominalizations exhibit verbal morphology distinguishes them from underived nouns and sets them on a continuum between canonical nouns and verbs.

   Like *-iɲu* nominalizations, *-tiɲu* nominalizations are functionally versatile. When they are used as citation forms of verbs, they are used referentially. However, when they are used in complement clauses, they acquire a much

stronger predicative function. *-tiɲu* nominalizations can also be combined with a copula to form a complex predicate marking deontic modality (19–20).

(19) jamájkja nuŋgá puhustíɲuitmĩ.
      *jamái=ka   nunká   puhu-s-**tíɲu**=**it**-mĩ*
      now=TOP   ground+LOC   live-PFV-**AS.NMLZ**=**COP**-2SG:DECL
      '(From) now (on) you have to live on the ground.'
                          [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S03-01.wav, traditional narrative, 08:43]

(20) májʃa nuŋgá puhúsan ʋikjá wáitnastiɲuithjaj.
      [*mái=ʃa   nunká   puhú-sa-n*]   [*wi=kjá*
      [now=ADD   ground+LOC   live-SBD-1SG:SS] [1SG=TOP
      *wáitna-s-**tiɲu**=**it**-ha-i*]
      suffer-PFV-**AS.NMLZ**=**COP**-1SG-DECL]
      'As I live on the ground now, I have to suffer.'
                          [Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-03.wav, traditional narrative, 08:57]

An important note should be made regarding the form of the morpheme *-tiɲu*. Overall (2007) suggests for another Chicham language, Aguaruna, that this suffix is etymologically made up of the immediate future suffix *-ta* and the agentive nominalizer *-iɲu*. He bases this claim on the observation that in Aguaruna this suffix is a future agentive nominalizer, combining the semantics of its two proposed components. Although this use of *-tiɲu* is not attested in the current Shiwiar corpus, there are some indications that would support this diachronic development. To begin with, future tense verbs in Shiwiar require a perfective stem (see (1)–(2)). This would explain the obligatory perfective morpheme which appears before this suffix. Additionally, it has been well established that there is a close relationship in meaning between deontic modality and future tense (Nordström 2010). This would also help explain why the *-tiɲu* + COP construction has developed deontic semantics.

4.3 Non-subject nominalizer *-tãĩ*

The suffix *-tãĩ* is most succinctly described as a non-subject nominalizer because it nominalizes any argument of a verb (both core and oblique) except for the syntactic subject. It can produce three types of nominalizations identified in Comrie and Thompson's (2007) typology: instrumental (21), objective (22) and locative (23) nominalizations. In (21), the meaning of the noun is derived from the usual instrumental argument of the verb *tsatsa-* 'to sift'; in (22), from the

usual object of the verb *intsa-* 'to wear'; and in (23), from the usual location of the verb *nakuru-* 'to play'. Many of these nominalizations are used frequently and are lexicalized, which is once again shown by the fact that they are listed as nouns in Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip's (2002) dictionary.

(21) <tsatsatai>
      *tsatsá-**tãĩ***
      sift-**NS.NMLZ**
      'sieve'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 28]

(22) <entsatai>
      *intsá-**tãĩ***
      wear-**NS.NMLZ**
      'clothes'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 21]

(23) <nakurutai>
      *nakúru-**tãĩ***
      play-**NS.NMLZ**
      'playing field (for sports)'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 25]

Interestingly, the suffix *-tãĩ* can also be used to derive citation forms for Shiwiar verbs. Although it is much more rarely employed than *-tiŋu* for this purpose (and it was not used at all in elicitation sessions during my own fieldwork), Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip (2002) cite a number of verbs using only the *-tãĩ* nominalization (24). The precise motivation behind choosing one nominalization strategy over the other is unclear. In fact, some verbs are cited twice (with the same translation) using both nominalization strategies (compare (25) to (15)).

(24) <nekatai>
      *neká-**tãĩ***
      know-**NS.NMLZ**
      'to know'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 25]

(25) <sutai>
      *sú-**tãĩ***
      give-**NS.NMLZ**
      'to give'   [Vargas Canus and Tsetsekip 2002: 27]

Just like the two other nominalizations discussed here, *-tãĩ* nominalizations can behave syntactically like canonical nouns. In (26), the noun *wɨkatãĩ* 'vehicle', used in this context to mean 'canoe', is an oblique argument marked with instrumental case. *Kanutãĩ* 'bedroom', in (27), has a diminutive suffix as well as third person possessive morphology.

(26)　ɨndzá wɨkátajhjãj wári wiárɱjaji.
　　　ɨntsá　　　*wɨká-**tãĩ**-hjãĩ*　　　*wári*　　*wɨ-ár-mia-ji*
　　　river+LOC　travel-**NS.NMLZ**-INS　quickly　go-PL-D.PST-3:DECL
　　　'They went quickly by canoe (lit. vehicle) on the river.'
　　　　　　　　　　[Shiwiar corpus, T03-S01-07.wav, personal anecdote, 02:41]

(27)　níiɲa kanútajtʃɨri
　　　níi-nja　　*kanú-**tãĩ**-utʃɨ-rĩ*
　　　3SG-GEN　sleep-**NS.NMLZ**-DIM-3:POSS
　　　'his small bedroom'
　　　　　　　　　　[Shiwiar corpus, T03-S01-04.wav, personal anecdote, 10:12]

In terms of its internal morphology, this type of nominalization does not retain any verbal morphology, unlike the other two nominalizations discussed above. The suffix *-tãĩ* attaches directly to the verbal root.

　　　In addition to the clearly referential uses presented so far, this nominalization also has a predicative function when combined with the copula. Specifically, the *tãĩ* + COP construction is a normative predicate. Normatives are defined here as an "essentially timeless [verb], a statement of 'how we do things'" (Overall 2007: 357). It is used particularly often in procedural texts in the corpus: the examples below stem from utterances where Shiwiar people explain how they normally plant and harvest food from their gardens.

(28)　arár, ʃivjartíkja jutájndjaj.
　　　ará-r　　　*ʃiwjar-tí=ka*　　　*ju-**tã́ĩ**=tj-a-i*
　　　sow-1PL:SS　Shiwiar-SAP=TOP　eat-**NS.NMLZ**=COP-3-DECL
　　　'Having sowed, we, the Shiwiar, normally eat.' [Fieldnotes, conversation]

(29)　hu juráɲʃa jutájndjaj.
　　　hu　　*juránk=ʃa*　　*ju-**tã́ĩ**=itj-a-i*
　　　PROX　fruit=ADD　eat-**NS.NMLZ**=COP-3-DECL
　　　'We, the Shiwiar, normally eat this fruit.'
　　　　　　　　　　[Shiwiar corpus, T01-S02-01.wav, offered example, 57:02]

(30) kutʃi hukír, ahánam wɨtájndjaj.
       [*kutʃi   hukí-r*]   [*ahá-nam   wɨ-tá̃ɨ̃=tj-a-i*]
       [machete take-1PL:SS] [garden-LOC go-**NS.NMLZ**=**COP**-3-DECL]
       'Having grabbed the machete, we, the Shiwiar, normally go to the garden.'
                          [Shiwiar corpus, T03-S10-01.wav, procedural text, 06:18]

This construction is uniquely restricted in a number of ways. Firstly, it always seems to refer to the Shiwiar people as a whole (although this is possibly a confound from the type of procedural text collected in the corpus, which mostly explain common cultural practices of the Shiwiar people). Morphologically, it only appears with third person inflection. Nevertheless, semantically the clauses always have a first person plural referent (because they are uttered by Shiwiar speakers who themselves follow the practices that are being described). This is further supported by the fact that in clause chains, the same-subject switch-reference markers used immediately before the main clause are always inflected for first person plural (28, 30). Finally, objects of this predicate are never marked with accusative case, even when they normally would be according to the conditioning of differential object marking in Shiwiar (29).

5 Conclusion

At first glance, the major word classes in Shiwiar – nouns and verbs – are well-defined in terms of their morphological structure and their syntactic function. They are distinct from one another in almost every respect. However, this is only true if underived nouns and verbs are considered. Nominalized verbs challenge this dichotomy because they share properties with both word classes.

The three nominalizations discussed in this paper have the same basic function of deriving nouns from verbs. In all cases, the resulting nouns can either be used referentially (like canonical nouns) or predicatively (like canonical verbs). When they are used referentially, they can serve as arguments for verbs and they can take on all of the morphological marking that underived nouns take, such as case and discourse marking. All three nominalizations can also be used predicatively when combined with the copula, and in these constructions they each express particular aspectual or modal semantics.

On the other hand, the three nominalizations do not behave in the same way in all contexts. For this reason, the distinction between nouns and verbs in Shiwiar is best thought of as a continuum, with different types of nominalizations at various points between the two canonical (underived) extremes. One area in which this gradience is apparent is the internal structure of each

nominalization: all three contain varying degrees of verbal morphology. The action/state nominalizer *-tiɲu* is the most verb-like in that it can exhibit valency, aspect and object agreement morphology. In contrast, the agentive nominalizer *-iɲu* does not express aspect, but can retain valency and object agreement. Finally, the non-subject nominalizer *-tãĩ* is on the nominal end of the continuum as it cannot have any verbal morphology apart from a verbal root.

This ranking of each nominalization on the continuum is also reflected by their syntactic functions and properties. *-tiɲu* nominalizations are seldom used referentially (and then mostly as citation forms for verbs), whereas they are used predicatively in a number of ways, including expressing complement clauses. Conversely, *-tãĩ* nominalizations are very often used referentially and they behave peculiarly in the rare occasions when they are used as predicates: their objects are not case-marked like they are with canonical verbs. In between the two, *-iɲu* nominalizations are used with similar frequency as referents and predicates, and they behave canonically in either situation.

The data presented in this paper shows that the differences between nouns and verbs is gradually bridged by each of the three nominalizations discussed. The position of each nominalization on the cline matches its function: participant nominalizations (*-tãĩ* and *-iɲu*) are on the nominal end of the continuum whereas event nominalizations (*-tiɲu*) are on the verbal end. Further work should address the specific diachronic (internal and contact-induced) processes that result in the synchronic situation presented here, avoiding rigid categorization and keeping in mind the rich gradience of form and function that is observed.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
AG.NMLZ	agentive nominalization
AS.NMLZ	action/state nominalization
APPL	applicative

CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
COP	copula
D.PST	distant past
DECL	declarative
DIM	diminutive
DS	different subject
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IFUT	immediate future
IMP	imperative
INDF.OBJ	indefinite human object
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalization
NS.NMLZ	non-subject nominalization
OBJ	object
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROX	proximal
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
RESTR	restrictive
SAP	speech act participant
SBD	subordinator
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SS	same subject
TOP	topic

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