

The transcategorial morphology and its relation to the omnipredicative pattern in languages of Tupi-Guarani family



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Problem



- (1) *a-i-xuu*
1.SG.A-3.NA-bite
'I bite him' (Rodrigues 1953, 153)

Transcategorical
mark of internal
argument

- (2) *i-ma'enwar*
3.NA -remember
'he remembers it' (Figueira 1880 [1621], 95; our analysis)

- (3) *pajé-ø* *i-posán*
shaman-RFR 3.NA-medicine
'The shaman has medicine' (lit.: (There is) medicine of the shaman)
(Rodrigues 2001)

- (4) *i-pupe* *t-ere-iesy*
3.NA-inside EXOR-2.A-bake
'that he may bake thee in it' (Anchieta, (1999:170))

Tupinambá

For this purpose



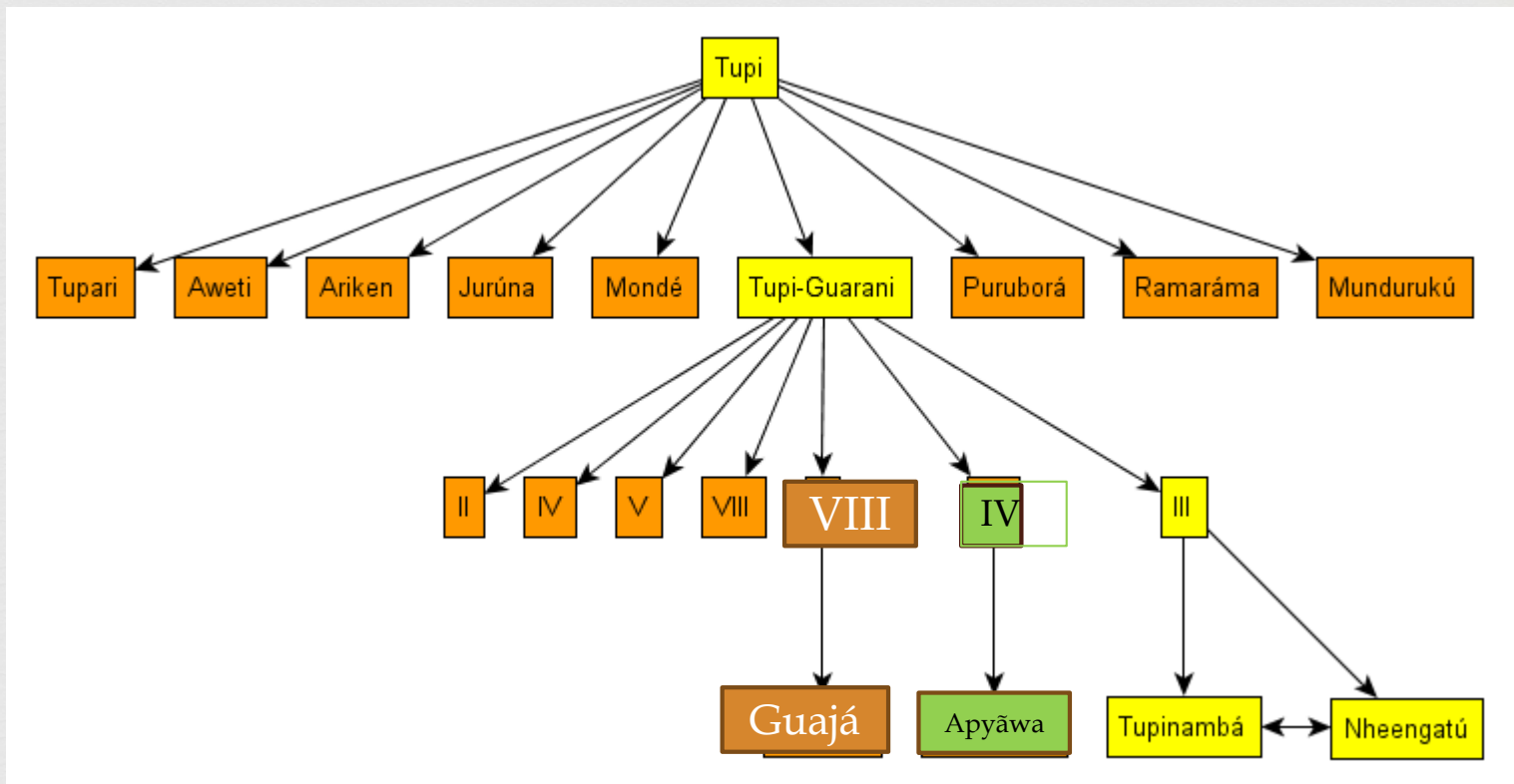
- i. Introduce the four Tupi-Guarani languages;
- ii. Show that these languages can be divided in more omnipredicative languages (more conservative) and less omnipredicative languages (less conservative);
- iii. Show the transcategorial personal morphology in TG languages;
- iv. Show other transcategorial morphological markers;
- v. Defend the hypothesis that the loss of transcategorial morphology is associated to the gradual decreasing in the omnipredicative properties.

Languages



Tupinambá, Apyãwa, Guajá, Nheengatú

Tupi languages

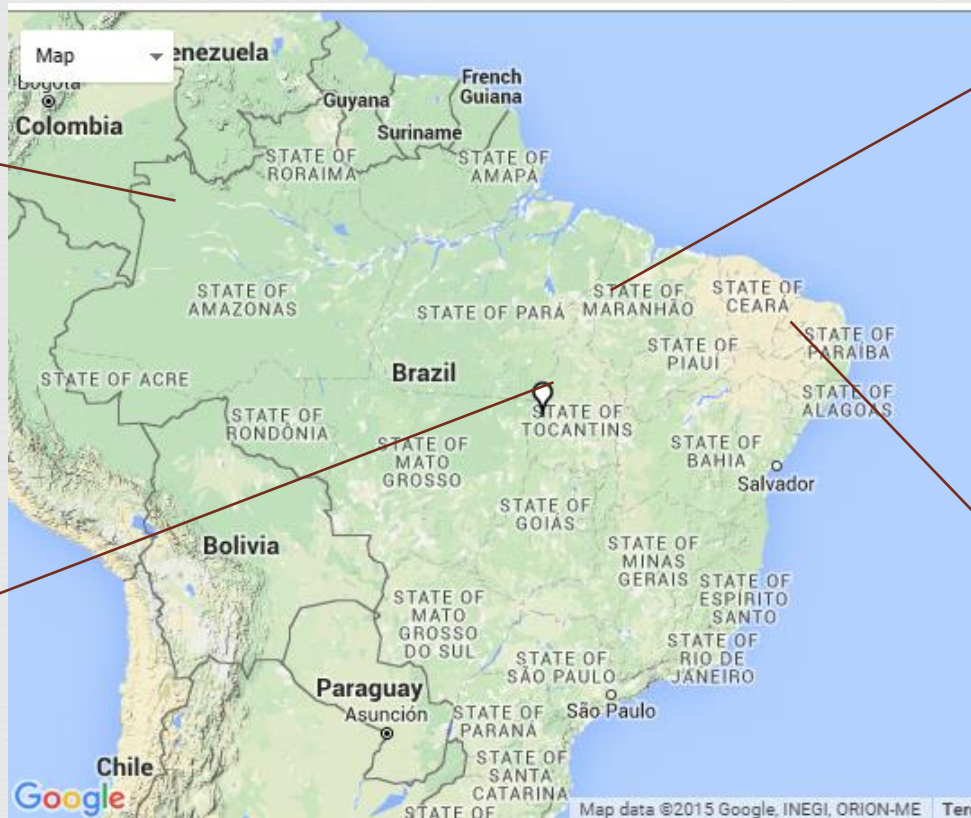


(Rodrigues 1986)

Where?



Nheengatú,
~ 8.000
speakers



Guajá,
500 speakers

Apyãwa,
950 speakers

Tupinambá,
Extinct,
Spoken in
the coast of
Brazil in
16th century

The conservation of omnipredicative features



The case of Tupinambá and Apyãwa

Nouns as predicates



- (5) *xe=∅-kypy'yr* *h-er-a* *iona'i-∅*
1SG.NA=LK-sister 3.NA-name-RFR Iona'i-RFR
'I have sister, her name is Iona'i'
(lit: my sister (exists), her name is Iona'i)

Apyãwa

- (6) *pajé-∅* *i-posáŋ*
Shaman-RFR 3SG.NA-medicine
'The shaman has medicine'
(Rodrigues 2001: 111)

Tupinambá

Verbs as predicates



- (7) *ka'i-∅* *a-xe'eg* *a-ka-wo* *'ywyrã-∅ r-e*
monkey-RFR 3.A-speak 3.CO-be-GER tree-RFR LK-on
'the monkey is speaking on the tree'

Apyãwa

- (8) *a-iur*
1SG.A-come *Tupinambá*
'I came' (Gregório, 1980)

Nouns as arguments



- (9) *xe=ø-kypy'yr-a* *a-xaj'a* *h-a-re* *Apyãwá*
1SG.NA=LK-sister-RFR 3.A-cry 3.NA-go-CONS
'my sister cried after he went away'
- (10) *pajé* *m-osáng-a* *o-j-kuáß*
shaman INDF-medicine-RFR 3.A-3.NA-know
'The shaman knows medicine'
(Rodrigues 2001: 110)
- Tupinambá*

Verbs as arguments



- (11) *xe=∅-xe'eg-a* *mĩ* *i-ãrõãrõ* *Apyãwa*
1SG.NA=LK-speak-RFR HAB 3.NA-be.beautiful
'my speech is always beautiful'
- (12) *sjé=∅-ma?enwár* *ne=r-úr-a* *r-esé*
1SG.NA=LK-remember 2SG.NA-LK-come-RFR LK-of
'My remembering of your arrival'
(Figueira 1687: 157) *Tupinambá*

The loss of omnipredicative features



The case of Guajá and Nheengatú

Verbs as predicates



- (13) *jawaruhu-a* *o-ho*
jaguar-RFR 3.A-go
'the jaguar went away'

Guajá

- (14) *jawarete* *u-su=wã*
jaguar 3SG.A-go-PFV
'The jaguar already went away'

Nheengatú

Nominalized verbs as arguments



(17) *ha= ø-kere-ha-ø*
1.NA=LK-sleep-NMZ-RFR
'my slept was long'

i-muku
3.NA-be.long

Guajá

(18) *u-mu-aiwa*
3.SG.A-CAUS-spoil

ya-manduai-sa
1.PL.A-think-NMZ

'(this) spoiled our thoughts'

Nheengatú

Transcategorial personal morphology



Apyãwa



- (19) *me'i-ø* *i-kywer*
me'i- RFR 3.NA-be.skinny
'Me'i is skinny'
- (20) *i-men-a* *kã'ã-ø* *r-opi* *a-a*
3.NA-husband-RFR forest-RFR LK-PERL 3.A-go
'her husband went to the forest'
- (21) *ã-a* *i-kãty*
1.A-go 3.NA-towards
'I went towards him'

Guajá



- (22) *wari-a* *i-kira* *ajpo* *ka'a-pe*
guariba-RFR 3.NA-to.be.fat maybe forest-LOC
'the guariba may be fat at the forest'
- (23) *a-pyhy* *rawa* *i-xiru-a*
IMP.SG-to.catch bring 3.NA-clothes-RFR
'catch his clothes and bring them'
- (24) *tyrymy* *a-mapy* *i-pepe*
flour IMP.SG-to.put 3.NA-inside
'put the flour inside of it'

Nheengatú



- (25) *i-membira-miri* *puranga*
offspring-DIM be.beautiful
'Her son was beautiful'
- (26) *kurum* *i-kuere=wã*
boy 3.NA-be.tired=PFV
'the boy was already tired'
- (26) *u-pui* *i-ararupi*
3.SG.A-jump 3.NA-over
'he jumped over it'

Partial summary



Languages	Transitive Verb	Stative Intransitive Verb	Noun	Postposition
Tupinambá	Ok	Ok	Ok	Ok
Apyãwa	Ok	Ok	Ok	Ok
Guajá	Ok	Almost all cases	Ok	Ok
Nheengatú	--	Small number of cases	Ok	Ok

Other transcategorial morphological markers



CAUSATIVE

Causative in Tupinambá



(27) *ñán* 'run'

mo-ñán 'make run'

(Rodrigues 1953, p. 135)

(28) *aób* 'clothes'

mo-aób 'to make having clothes'

(Rodrigues 1953, p. 135)

Causative in Apyãwa



- (29) *ã-ma-get* *ãpy* *mori-ø*
1.A -CAUS-sleep before Mori-RFR
'Before that, I will make Mori to sleep'

- (30) *pãxe-ø* *xe=ø-ma-memyr*
shaman-RFR 1.NA=LK-CAUS-offspring
'The shaman made me have a son'

Causative in Guajá



- (31) *i-mymyr-a* \emptyset -*ma*-*kamõ* *araka*
3.NA-child-RFR 3.A-CAUS-breastfeed ATEST
'she breastfed her child'
- (32) *Mihaxa'á- \emptyset* *Amiri-a* \emptyset -*ma*-*pa'aruhu*
Mihaxa'a-RFR Amiri-RFR 3.A-CAUS-be.pregnant
'Mihaxa'a got Amiria pregnant'

Causative
restricted to
verbs

Causative in Nheengatú



(33) *ta-m-baka* *nhaã* *miku*
3PL.A-CAUS-wake DEM monkey
'They wake up that monkey'

(34) *u-mu-tawari* *ainta*
3SG.A-CAUS-tabacoo they
'He blessed them'

Other transcategorial morphological markers



PLURACTIONALITY

Tupinambá



- (35) *oro-po~por*
1EXCL.A-jump~RED
'we jumped one after the other' (Rodrigues, 1981)
- (36) *mytá* 'plataform'
mytá~mytá 'ladder'
(Lemos Barbosa, 1956: 323)

Apyãwa



- (37) *ie-∅* *ã-nopỹ~nopỹ* *i-re-ka-wo* *maj-a*
1SG-RFR 1SG.A-hit~RED 3NA-be.in.moviment-SUB snake-RFR
'I hit the snake repeatedly'

- (38) *'ywyraã-∅* *r-e* *i-xe'eg-i* *wyraã~wyrã-∅*
tree-RFR LK-on 3.A-speak-NMZ bird~RED-RFR
'lots of birds speak on the tree'

Guajá and Nheengatú



- (39) *∅-japi~pi* *haraka* *i-pý-pe*
3.A -kick~RED with 3.N A -foot-LOC *Guajá*
'he kicked (the ball) (being with it) successively'

Pluractionality
restricted to verbs

- (40) *yarwe* *paa* *u-munu~munuka*
be.like.that REP 3SG .A -RED ~cut *Nheengatú*
'They say that he cut [a large amount of piassava tree].'

Other transcategorial morphological markers



AUGMENTATIVE AND DIMINUTIVE

Augmentative in Tupinambá



- (41) *mboj-**usu***
snake-AUM
'big snake' (Lemos Barbosa (1956:62))
- (42) *o-ur-**usu***
3.A-come-AUM
'lots of people came'

Diminutive in Tupinambá



(43) *pitang-i* *pa'i* *Iesu*
child-DIM father Jesus

'the child is the father, Jesus' (Anchieta, 2004:160)

(44) *ko* *putun-a* *r-i* *s-yar-i* *Maria=r-yge* *ø-sui*
this night -RFR LK-LOC 3.A-born- DIM Mary=LK-belly-RFR LK-ABL

'at that night he (the little one) was born from Mary's belly'
(Anchieta, 2004:162)

Augmentative in Apyãwa



- (45) *konomĩ-**o**-∅* *a-nopỹ* *Myrixow-a*
boy-AUM-RFR 3.A-hit Myrixowa-RFR
'the big boy hit Myrixowa'
- (46) *xe=r-opy-∅* *a-pyyk-**oo*** *'ipirã-∅*
1sg.NA=LK-father-RFR 3.A-take-AUM fish-RFR
'my father took lots of fishes'

Diminutive in Apyãwa



(47) *ekwe i-tor-i ne=∅-men-i ne=∅-we ne*
there 3.A-come-MNZ 2sg.A=LK-husband-DIM 2sg.A=LK-for FUT
'there comes a sweet husband for you'

(48) *ã'e a-'o'-i ywãtyr-a r-yãpir-a*
DEM 3.A-eat-DIM flower-RFR LK-nectar-RFR
'it (the bird) eats a little of the flower's nectar'

Augmentative in Guajá



(49) *tatu-hu-a* *a-ika* *ka'a-pe* *jaha*
armadillo-AUM-RFR 1.A-kill forest-LOC I
'I killed (a big specie of) armadillo in the forest'

(50) *i-men-a* *i-ĩ-hy* *i-pe* *awije*
3.A-husband-RFR 3.A-speak-AUM 3.NA-DAT often
'her husband often speaks hard with her'

Diminutive in Guajá



- (51) *jawatara-’i-a* *’y-p-ahar-a*
ariranha-DIM -RFR water-LOC-NM Z-RFR
‘the otter (small specie of ariranha) is from the water’

- (52) *amẽ Junai* *t-i-’iika-’i* *ha= ø-pamẽ*
wait Junai EXO-3.A-speak-DIM 1.N A =LK -with
‘wait for Junai to speak a little with me’

Nheengatú



- (53) *ta-puiri* *paa* *ui-wasu*
3PL.A-roast REP flour-AUM

‘They say that they roasted a lot of flour’.

Augmentative and
Diminutive
restricted to nouns

- (54) *wira-miri* *u-sasa* *igara* *ararupi*
bird-DIM 3SG.A-pass canoe PERL
‘A little bird pass over the canoe’

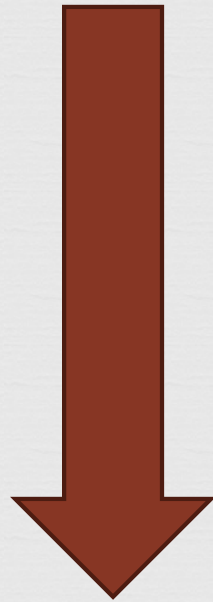
Concluding remarks



Historical



Tupinambá
Apyãwa
Guajá
Nheengatú



The loss of
transcategorial
morphology is
associated with the loss
of ominipredicative
properties

Aõxekãto!

katu!

Kue katu rete!

