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**A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF PARESI-HALITI (ARAWAK)**

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**A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF PARESI-HALITI (ARAWAK)**

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**Dissertation**

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# **A reference grammar of Paresi-Haliti (Arawak)**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisor: Patience Epps

This dissertation is a description of the grammar of Paresi. The Paresi people live in the State of Mato Grosso, near the city of Cuiabá. Paresi belongs to the Arawak family, and it is classified in a branch called *Paresi-Xingu* (Aikhenvald, 1999; Ramirez, 2001). This language is spoken by approximately 2000 speakers. The data for this thesis were collected mostly in the Formoso area.

In this dissertation, I expand on the work of Rowan (1969, 1978, among other works), Silva (2009), and on my own work conducted in my Master's report (Brandão, 2010) in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of aspects of phonology, morphology, and syntax. The grammar is presented in eight chapters and an appendix with text samples. The first chapter includes general information about the speakers and the language. The second chapter describes the sound system. The segmental phonology is simple, with morphophonemic alternations on some roots and morphemes. The third chapter describes the closed words classes (pronouns, demonstratives, indefinites, numerals, quantifiers, postpositions, adverbs, interjections and ideophones). The fourth chapter examines nouns and the structure of noun phrases. The fifth and sixth chapters are descriptions of verb classes, valency, tense, aspect and modality. Verb roots can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. There are three mechanisms to decrease valency and six mechanisms to increase valency. Paresi expresses time through tense, aspect, and temporal adverbs. It also distinguishes three modalities. The seventh chapter is about simple clauses and negation. In this chapter, evidence is presented for describing Paresi as an OV language.

Finally, the eighth chapter, on clause combining, describes coordination and the three types of subordination: relative clauses, complementation and adverbial clauses. Grounded primarily in “basic linguistic theory”, this dissertation uses a Functional-Typological linguistic framework, informed by discussions about particular phenomena in the general linguistics literature.

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## **Abbreviations**

- AFF Affect  
ALL Allative  
ANT Anterior  
ATTR Attributive  
BEN Benefative  
CAUS Causative  
CLF Classifier  
COL Collective  
COM Comitative  
CONT Continuative  
CON Connector  
COP Copula  
DAT Dative  
DEM Demonstrative  
DEP Dependent marker  
DUB Dubitative  
EMPH Emphasis  
EXIST Existential  
FEM Feminine  
FOC Focus  
FUT Future  
FRUST Frustrative  
IFV Imperfective  
INT Interrogative  
INTENS Intensifier  
INSTR Instrument  
INTERJ Interjection  
IRR Irrealis  
LK Linking morpheme  
LOC Locative  
MASC Masculine  
NEG Negative  
MM Middle marker  
NMLZ Nominalizer  
O Object  
ONP Onomatopeia  
PST Past  
PART Particle

PASS Passive  
PL Plural  
PN Proper noun  
POSP Postposition  
POSSED Possessed  
PURP Purposive  
UNPOSS Unpossessed  
RECIP Reciprocal  
REF Reflexive  
RE Repetitive  
SOUR Source  
SUBORD Subordinator  
SUG Suggestion  
TEM Temporal  
TH Thematic Suffix  
TOP Topic  
UNPOSS Unpossessed  
VBLZ Verbalizer

# **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

## **1.0      Introduction**

In this section, I present background information about the Paresi speakers, their society and their language. This socio-cultural description is based on previous literature about the Paresi people and on my own observations during various visits to the Paresi communities.

The Paresi number around 2000 persons (Siasi/Sesai, 2012<sup>1</sup>), approximately 1800 of whom speak Paresi. The Paresi speakers constitute approximately 90% of this population. They live in the State of Mato Grosso (the circled area in Figure 1), approximately 500 km northwest of the city of Cuiabá, in the region of the tributaries of the Juruena, a branch of the Tapajós river. They inhabit the dry and sandy ridges of their landscape, which is a savannah cut through with rivers. There are nine non-contiguous Paresi indigenous territories<sup>2</sup> (Portuguese: Terras Indígenas): Rio Formoso, Utiariti, Estação Parecis, Estivadinho, Pareci, Juininha, Figueira, Ponte de Pedra, and Uirapuru. Paresi<sup>3</sup> (and its variants Parecís or Pareci) is the term used to refer to the Haliti people (as they call themselves). The terms “Paresi-Haliti” or “Haliti-Paresi” are used by some Paresi speakers to refer to the language they speak. I will use the term “Paresi” to refer to both the language and the people. The information provided in this dissertation was gathered during many field trips to three indigenous territories: Rio Formoso, Pareci, and Utiariti.

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<sup>1</sup> Information accessed at: <http://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/paresi>

<sup>2</sup> Indigenous territories are areas inhabited and possessed by indigenous people through a formal process of demarcation by the Brazil government.

<sup>3</sup> The origin of the term “Paresi” is unknown. The term was used for the first time by Antonio Pires Campos in the 18th century.

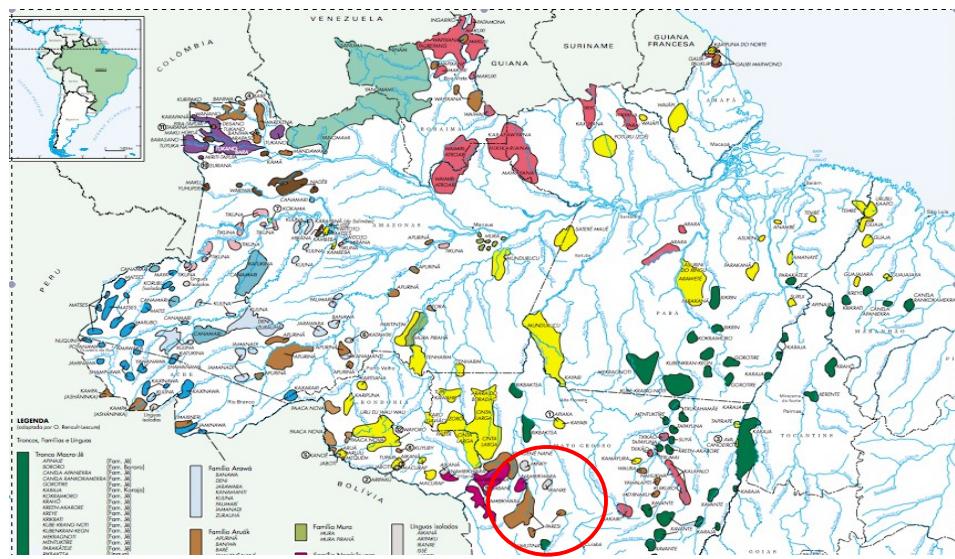


Figure 1: Map of Brazil and localization of the Paresi villages (map from Queixalos & Renault-Lescure, 2000)

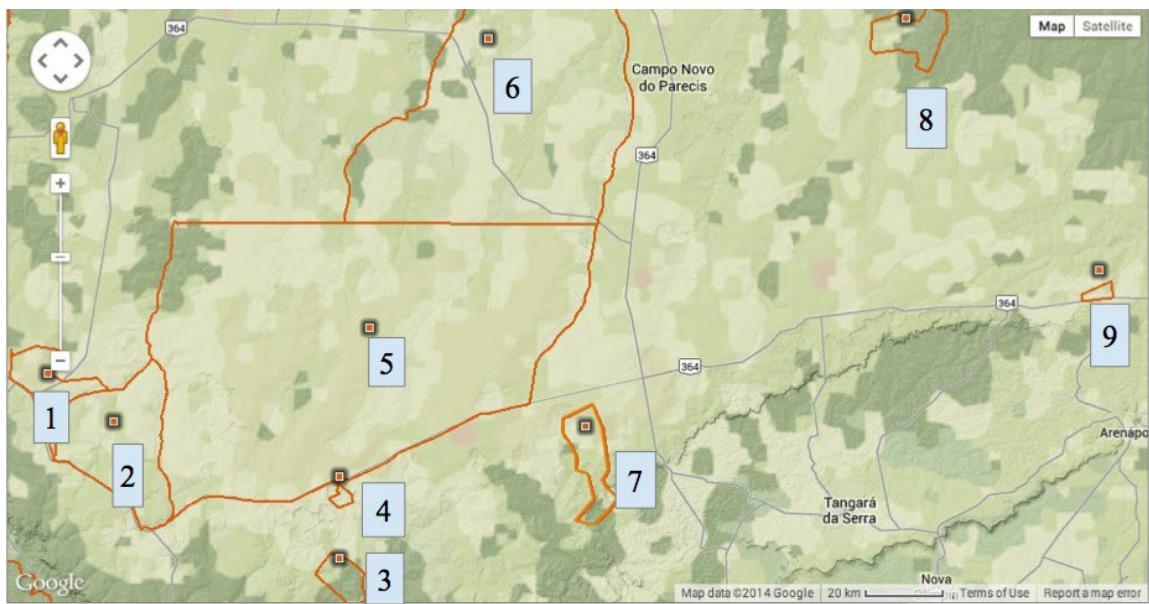


Figure 2: Paresi indigenous territories (from ISA): 1-Uirapuru, 2-Juininha, 3-Figueiras, 4-Estivadinho, 5-Pareci, 6-Utiariti, 7-Rio Formoso, 8-Ponte de Pedra, and 9-Estação Parecis

There are around 146 Paresi people in the Rio Formoso territory, which includes the villages of Formoso (*Hohako*), JM (*Korehete*), Cachoeirinha (*Wamolotse*), Jatobá, and Queimada (*Koteroko*). I gathered most of my data in Formoso, Cachoeirinha, and JM. The territory is located approximately 82 km, or 2 hours by car, from the nearest city, Tangará da Serra. Approximately 50-70 Paresi people live in Formoso and Queimada; while Jatobá has around 30 people, and Cachoeirinha six.

Based on information from ISA, in the eleven villages of the Paresi territory there are around 838 people. I have visited the Rio Verde (*Batsaji*), Manene, and Kotitiko villages. In the Utiariti territory there are 6 villages, around 250 people. In this territory, I only visited the Bacaval village.

### 1.1 Linguistic profile of Paresi

In this section I present a set of Paresi grammar highlights that show what is particularly interesting and significant about the language. I introduce each phenomenon and situate it in its wider grammatical context.

Paresi has 14 consonants and four vowels. Stress is generally not contrastive, and stress assignment depends on syllable weight and number. There are morphophonological processes such as palatalization, coronalization and vowel harmony occurring within morphemes and across morpheme boundaries. The syllable structure is (C)V(V).

Paresi morphology is polysynthetic, head-marking and agglutinative, like other Arawak languages. Its morphology consists of several morphemes with clear-cut boundaries (i.e. there no fused formatives) and some allomorphic variation. Open word classes include nouns and verbs. Closed classes are pronouns, demonstratives, indefinites, numerals, quantifiers, postpositions, adjectives, adverbs, interjections, and ideophones. Verbs, nouns, and postpositions inflect for person. Person marking on the verb is generally determined by the semantic feature of control; agentive verbs take one set of personal clitics and non-agentive verbs take another.

Nominal categories in Paresi are number, classifiers, and nominal tense. Gender is a feature that has been lost; however vestiges can be found only in nominalizations.

Paresi distinguishes singular and plural number on nouns by marking the plural with the suffix *-nae*. Most of the verb morphology consists of suffixes, with only a few prefixes. Verb roots can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. There are three mechanisms to decrease valency: middle voice, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions; and three mechanisms to increase valency: two morphological causatives and one periphrastic causative construction. Similar to most Arawak languages, Paresi distinguishes transitional, imperfective, regressive, and iterative aspects in nonnegative constructions. Paresi exhibits realis/irrealis distinction in the future tense, and a rich modal system, including frustrative, dubitative, irrealis, and desiderative moods.

The syntax of simple and complex clauses were the least studied parts of the Paresi grammar in previous works (Rowan & Burgess, 1969; Derbyshire, 1986; Silva, 2013; for more details see §1.3). Though constituent order is relatively flexible in Paresi (provided the verb does not come first), there is strong evidence from text frequency and interpretation of ambiguous sentences that the default order is SOV. Complex clauses include three types of subordination strategies: nominalization, juxtaposition, and the use of subordinators. The nominalization strategy is used for relative clauses, complement relations, and some adverbial clauses.

Among the typologically interesting aspects of Paresi grammar are its nominal classification system, which exhibits multiple classifiers, similar to other Amazonian languages (see §4.5); the incorporation of postpositions (§5.3.3.3), which may be evidence that postpositions are sources of valency affixes such as applicatives in some Arawak languages (Danielsen, 2011); and nominalization with the suffix *-re* which occurs in lexical (§4.6) and clause nominalizations with different functions (§8.2).

## 1.2 Genetic affiliation

Aikhenvald (2012:32) considers the Arawak family the largest and most widespread in South America, with some 40 languages (Aikhenvald, 1999; Ramirez, 2001). Modern comparative studies on Arawak are Payne (1991); Aikhenvald (1999), Ramirez (2001); and Facundes & Brandão (2011). The first three have presented a largely

similar classification while the last one is a comparison of these works, which points out differences with regard to the internal classification of the groups. Each of these proposals will be considered in turn.

Payne's classification (1991) was based on lexical retention (see classification in Table 1). In this work, 203 items were reconstructed for Proto-Maipuran, an alternative term for Arawak, making use of 24 Arawak languages from all the main branches of the family. Payne then classified these languages into five groups: Western, Central, Southern, Eastern, and Northern, placing Waurá and Paresi in a Central branch because they share the highest number of cognate pairs (out of the whole set).

Aikhenvald (1999) classified all Arawak languages according to their geographic distribution and grouped them into fourteen groups forming two main divisions within Arawak. divided Arawak into two large groups: South and South-western Arawak (with six branches) and North-Arawak (eight branches). She placed Paresi in the South & Southwestern, in a branch called Paresi-Xingu with two subgroups: Xingu and Paresi-Saraveca. She also grouped Enawenê-nawê in the South Arawak branch, but she did so without presenting the data justifying such classification.

Ramirez's classification of 47 Arawak languages (2001) was similar to Payne's (1991) in that it was also based on lexical retention, not geographic proximity. He classified the family into Occidental (with eight branches) and Oriental (with two branches), and grouped Paresi in the Paresi-Xingu branch, in agreement with Aikhenvald (1999). All classifications were preliminary works without evidence from innovations.

Michael (2009) in his review about Ramirez's work has argued that classifications based solely on shared lexical retentions are not reliable, and suggests that future classifications of Arawak should rely on the comparative method for more sound results.

More recent work focusing on the Paresi-Xingu branch (Fabre, 2005; Brandão & Facundes, 2007) places Enawenê-nawê<sup>4</sup> in the same branch as Paresi. Brandão & Facundes (2007) consider Paresi and Enawenê-nawê to form a subgroup since they

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<sup>4</sup> Enawenê-nawê is spoken by some 570 people on the margins of the Iquê river in the Juruema Basin, and in Mato Grosso.

appear to show many cognate pairs. However, since Enawenê-nawê has received limited scholarly attention (Rezende, 2003) this assertion is tentative and more work based on the comparative method needs to be done to cleave Paresi and Enawenê-nawê together in a subgroup to the exclusion of the other Arawak languages in the Xingu territory.

Table 1: Payne's internal classification for 24 languages

<b>I</b>	WESTERN
	Amuesha
	Chamicuro
<b>II</b>	CENTRAL
	Parecís
	Waurá
<b>III</b>	SOUTHERN
	<b>Bolivia-Paraná (subgroup)</b>
	Terêna
	Bauré
	Ignaciano
	<b>Purus</b>
	Piro
	Apurinã
	<b>Campa</b>
	Machiguenga
	Ashéninca
<b>IV</b>	EASTERN
	Palikur
<b>V</b>	NORTHERN
	Wapishana
	<b>Caribbean</b>
	Garífuná
	<b>TA-Arawakan</b>
	Lokono
	Guajiro
	<b>Inland</b>
	<b>North-Amazon</b>
	Resígaro
	<b>Rio Negro</b>
	Achagua
	Cabiyari
	Curripaco
	Piapoco
	Tariano
	Yucuna
	Yavitero

### **1.3 Previous linguistic studies of Paresi**

To date, there has been some documentation of Paresi: a sketch grammar (Rowan & Burgess, 1969 [2009]), a preliminary dictionary based on the variety spoken in the Utariáti area (Rowan & Rowan, 1978 [2001]), other works on phonology by missionaries of SIL (Rowan, 1961, 1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1967, 1972, 1977), and text collections (Rowan, 1983; Rowan & Rowan, 1993, 1994, 1995; Rowan, 1993). Other works on phonology include those by Drude (1995) and Silva (2009). My work on the language includes research on descriptive words (Brandão, 2009), on verb morphology (2010), on causatives (Brandão, forthcoming), and on negation (Brandão, forthcoming), as well as documentary materials. A more recent description is a dissertation on the morphosyntax by Silva (2013). There are also works by Paresi speakers, including undergraduate theses by students in the Licenciatura Indígena Intercultural (Intercultural Indigenous Program, which is equivalent to a US bachelor's degree) at the State University of Mato Grosso (UNEMAT) and other pedagogical materials (Paresi & Januário, 2011)

I will give a brief overview of the main works. Rowan and Burgess (1969) provide a preliminary grammatical description that includes some aspects of discourse, clause, and word structures, in the tagmemic framework. The grammar is not comprehensive, nor does it provide enough examples. Most of the grammar consists of descriptions of forms without information about their use or frequency. Drude (1995) describes the phonetics and phonology of the Waimaré dialect, and Silva (2009) provides a preliminary phonetic and phonological description of the major variants of Paresi based on the Feature Geometry approach. Brandão (2010) gives a preliminary analysis of verbal morphology, including descriptions of verb classes, valency changing mechanisms, tense, aspect, modality, and negation.

Silva (2013) is divided into twelve chapters (not including introduction and conclusion) with three appendices, including a collection of photos, a text, and a preliminary lexicon. He provides an overview of the phonology, and discusses word classes, functional morphemes related to negation, aspect, and mood (TAM). He also

gives some preliminary analyses of the syntax; word order constituency, negation, TAM, types of clauses, and subordinate clauses are addressed. The last chapter provides a formal essay following the minimalism program (Chomsky, 2000).

In this grammar I provide a more thorough treatment of syntax beyond Silva's focus on open and closed classes. Throughout this work, new data will be introduced which do not support some of Silva's analyses. Different analyses were made in this work such as analyses of alienable nouns (§4.3.2), adjectives (which I call classifiers, see §4.5), the suffix *-oa* (§5.3.1.1), TAM suffixes (chapter 6), and constituent order (§7.2.1). Some topics presented here that were not included in his work are coordination and the use of nominalization in all types of subordinate clauses.

#### 1.4 Language variation

Silva (2009) describes two dialectal variants which he calls the minority and majority variants. These variants may be associated with the different social groups of Paresi people. This dissertation describes the Paresi variety spoken by the people in the Rio Formoso area, who speak the majority variety.

Paresi is divided up into six social groups: Waimaré, Kaxiniti, Kozarene, Enomaniere, Warere, and Kawali. In the literature and among the Paresi, the majority variety is related to the Kozarene group while the minority is related to the Waimaré group. However, nowadays the intermarriage of speakers of different groups confounds an easy separation of the speakers into neat dialect groups. Therefore the phonological and lexical variation in the two dialects is no longer related to social grouping, but may be related to geographic distribution (the minority variety is spoken in the Bacaval village, while the majority variety is spoken in the other villages). For more information about the minority variety see Silva (2009) and (Drude, 1995).

Approximately half a dozen or fewer speak the minority variety (only elders are fluent). The Waimaré people live in the Bacaval village, but there are a few people who speak the minority variety (they have higher proficiency in the majority variety). The first language of Waimaré people is Portuguese, and the minority variety is not used in the

everyday life. Some speakers say there is a third variety, the variety spoken by the Kaxiniti people, which is almost extinct, with only one or two speakers remaining (but I have not contacted these people).

It is also interesting to notice a special register, with specialized vocabulary (mostly animal names) used only in formal speech events (Kezomae, 2006). Some examples are the words: *menetse* and *anakitxihore* 'anaconda'; the first name is a common name, and the second one is used only in rituals. This variation may also be associated to the age of the speakers as the younger generations are no longer learning this vocabulary.

### 1.5 Cultural context

In this section, I give a brief overview of some aspects of Paresi culture. Part of the information presented is from the ethnographic study by Costa (1985), one of the principal ethnographical contributions on the Paresi, and from my own experiences in the field. Other important ethnographic, anthropological, and historical works dedicated to the Paresi people are Schmidt (1914, 1943), Métraux (1948), Machado (1994), Bortoleto (1999), Gonçalves (2000), Canova (2003), and Barbio (2005).

From the end of the 18th century there are references to the Paresi people in documents by Portuguese colonizers. Since this period, the contact with non-indigenous people was intense and led to a great socio-cultural impact on the Paresi society.

The language Paresi is most in contact with is Brazilian Portuguese. The first mention of the Paresi people was by Pires Campos, a scout who went to the savanna Chapadão dos Parecis in 1718 in order to capture indigenous people, most likely Kaxiniti Parecis. Campos also met some Indians of the subgroup Waimaré in the northern area of this region. From 1731 until the end of the 19th century, the Paresi people were enslaved to work the mines of Mato Grosso.

In 1884, with a rubber boom, many Paresi people were forcibly exploited by rubber tappers as guides. Because of the high concentration of rubber trees along the rivers where they lived, many Paresi were expelled from their territories. By the 20th century, the Paresi population was almost extinguished by exploitation as labor for

mining and rubber tapping.

Most of the documents from this period come from the 1907 *Relatórios da Comissão Rondon*. Early in the 20th century, a commission led by Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon contacted the Paresi. Colonel Marechal Rondon, who was later the founder of the Indian Protection Service, was responsible for the laying of a telegraphic line west from Cuiabá. He convinced some Paresi to live near the telegraphic lines and to go to the schools and work for him. Later on, the lines were abandoned. Several other contacts followed by missionaries and government organizations such as Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (SPI), and the Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI).

From 1946 until 1973, the missionaries belonging to the Anchieta congregation had control of the Utíariti area. They constructed boarding schools where children were prohibited to speak their native languages. In 1960, a couple of missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) came to live in one of the villages. Rowan and Burgess (1969) said that the Paresi group was made of 450 people at that time.

The Paresi inhabitants were divided in at least three subgroups: Kashíiniti (Kaxiniti), Waimaré, and Korázini (Kozarene) (Métraux, 1948). According to information from elders in the villages there were three more subgroups: Enomaniere, Warere and Káwali. These subgroups were in separate territories but after 1930, the disruptions and relocations following contact with Brazilian society collapsed any former territorial distinctions. The first Paresi subgroups to be in contact with non-Indians were the Waimaré and the Kaxiniti. The Utíariti area, where there are some Waimaré people, was controlled by the Anchieta missionaries from 1946 through 1973. Many Kaxiniti and Waimaré people were taken as slaves, and others were forced to live in the Catholic schools by missionaries.

Costa (1985) stated that the Paresi subgroups autoclassify themselves according to how they maintain their culture. The Kozarene people maintain the traditional practices such as making *chicha* (a traditional beer), *beiju* (a type of flat bread), and using traditional adornments (*cocar* 'adornment made of feathers to put on the head', *xiriba* 'a

traditional skirt made of cotton') in specific situations; in addition they also speak Paresi. On the other hand, the Waimare people are not considered to be real Paresi Indians by other Paresi people because they do not follow their traditional cultural practices any more, and they speak Portuguese as their first language.

These contacts with non-Indians have produced many changes in Paresi society. Nowadays, the majority of the population identifies as Kozarene subgroups. There are still some Waimaré people in Bacaval, Formoso, and Sacre villages, and very few people identified as Kaxiniti. I was not able to attest the existence of descendants of the Káwali people during my field trips and there is only one family of Warére people.

The Paresi people are organized in autonomous communities. Each of these communities has its own leader, the *ezekoahatseti*, who is responsible for the organization of socio-economic activities. The cultivation of cassava and hunter-gathering were important economic activities in the past for the Paresi people. Nowadays, they are secondary activities since the introduction of soybeans and cattle ranching.

Since the 1980s, farmers have grown soybeans in fields close to the Paresi areas. The soybean cultivation has expanded into areas belonging to the Paresi people. The Paresi lost part of their territories, and roads were constructed inside of their lands to facilitate the transportation of soybeans. More recently, some Paresi have leased part of their lands to farmers and have gotten involved in soybean cultivation. Another source of social income are the tolls in the roads passing through their lands. Some Paresi people collect the toll and they share the income among all the members in the communities.

### **1.6 Language contact**

Orlando Rowan stated that there were few bilingual Paresi people during his visits to the area. More recent information from my fieldwork indicates that the majority of the population is bilingual in Paresi and Portuguese, with Paresi as their first language, though the level of bilingualism varies across communities. In Formoso and Rio Verde, people are more fluent in Paresi than Portuguese, whereas Bacaval is shifting to Portuguese, and there have been efforts to revitalize and maintain Paresi there. There are

few cases of inter-ethnic marriage and the number of marriages in which one of the spouses is a non-Indian is increasing (in the Rio Formoso area I know of at least three cases).

According to information I collected in a questionnaire in 2009, the majority of the people in the Formoso area were fluent in Paresi. On the other hand, only some adults and young people were fluent in Portuguese while the children (up to seven years old) and elders were not. However, the proficiency of Portuguese in the Formoso area has increased during the last few years, and now even the children speak Portuguese with fluency.

In general, dominance relation, population sizes, and the degree and duration of bilingualism are some of the relevant factors in a borrowing situation. In the situation of Paresi, only recently has the bilingualism increased. Strong structural linguistic effects have not yet emerged, but they certainly could in the future. Among the five categories of borrowing situations discussed in Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Paresi exhibits casual contact, where there is borrowing of content words for cultural and functional reasons.

### **1.7 Statement of endangerment**

The number of extinct languages has been increasing drastically, and about half of the known languages of the world have vanished in the last 500 years (Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Adelaar (2007:99) stated that all the indigenous languages of South and Central America are considered to be endangered (except Paraguayan Guarani).

In Brazil, there are approximately 155 indigenous languages spoken. Of these, 39 are listed as urgently endangered owing to their lack of transmission and low number of speakers (Moore, 2005). Paresi, compared to other Amazonian languages, is not immediately endangered, but it is still threatened by the lack of transmission to future generations, and by its relatively low number of speakers. Although Paresi is mostly used as the everyday language (in conversation, rituals, to tell stories), language shift toward Portuguese is taking place. There are some situations in which the Paresi need to use the dominant language, such as when they have to go to the city to request health services, to

receive payments or in other situations. One example of this is that Portuguese has been used in the schools as the language of oral instruction; before only the written Portuguese materials were used.

The exposure to Brazilian culture that Paresi have experienced within the last generation has led to extreme changes in their culture and in linguistic styles and registers, which may be considered as a stage preceding a more profound language endangerment. For example, certain genres of ritual languages such as the shamanic offerings to their deities are known only by a few elders.

One positive aspect of language contact is the implementation of programs for bilingual education. These programs aim for an intercultural bilingualism in which the native language is the first language and both languages are regarded equally. Until 1990, in the Formoso village, all the teachers working at the school were non-Indian people. Since then, the Paresi people have begun training in order to become Paresi teachers. Although the children learn how to write in their language and have classes about their mythology, the schools in the villages still have teaching Portuguese as their main goal. For the Paresi people it is important to be involved in the Brazilian society, and learning Portuguese is an instrument to having more access to information and technology (Paes, 2002).

### **1.8 Methods and data collection**

The methodology for collecting and analyzing the Paresi data is based on the traditional methodology of linguistic fieldwork, including best-practice methods of documentation and analysis (such as Simons and Bird, 2003). The data for this grammar was gathered during field trips to the Formoso and Rio Verde villages between 2006 and 2012, totaling 17 months. The longest trips were three to four months in fall of 2011 and summer of 2012.

The area in which I did field work is approximately four hours by car from the city of Tangará da Serra. From there to Formoso, it takes approximately two hours by car, and four to five hours to Rio Verde. Most of the times I have gone to these places, the

Paresi people have given me a ride. The first few times I went to Formoso (between 2006 and 2008) there was no electricity, so they had to use power generators. On those visits, I had to bring solar panels and car batteries in order to use my equipment. Since 2009, they have had electricity and the people have started to buy many electronic devices such as televisions, DVD players, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.

In my day-to-day life in the villages, I spent at least two hours working with consultants, around six hours working on preparing the elicitation tasks, writing or reading about some topic of my dissertation, or doing backups of my data. In addition, it was important to have daily interaction with people in the community, so I reserved time in the evening to spend with them. I listened to their conversations in Paresi, and tried to practice my speaking. I lived with a family in order to be more immersed in the language. They usually do not work in the manioc fields or go hunting, but they have traditional festivals where they have to do these activities. I had many opportunities to participate in and document activities such as working in the manioc field, gathering fruits in the savanna, fishing with the women, and attending festivals. During one naming festival, they gave me the name Aezokero.

All the Paresi speakers in the villages where I worked have agreed in a written document to allow me to work in their villages. In addition to their agreement, I had authorization from the National Foundation of Indigenous people (FUNAI). I worked with at least two speakers in both communities. In most locations there were interested younger people, most of them teachers at the school. There were also speakers, ages 25 to 90, who have worked with me mainly as storytellers for shorter periods of time, typically less than two hours a day. My returning to the communities more than eight times, and the 'giving back' attitude of the project since the beginning has been essential for creating a trusting working relationship with the speakers. Because of this, I also had free access to their communities.

Data were collected in two ways: (i) recording of natural conversation and storytelling sessions and (ii) direct elicitation. I collected a range of naturally-occurring

speech types to transcribe and translate. Some of the Paresi people and I have recorded a variety of discourse forms such as myths, songs, oratory, advice, ritual speech, offering made to deities, and prayers used in particular circumstances and that are known by only a few people elders who are shamans. We recorded speakers in spontaneous conversations to collect words and structures of the language employed in daily communication. Life stories and descriptions of actual events in the village (such as fishing or preparing medicine) have also been important in building a recorded set of diverse genres to inform the grammar.

I have also used direct elicitation based on data gathered from the texts and from questionnaires in order to collect some aspects of the grammar such as paradigms, as well as to collect judgments on the grammaticality and use of possible constructions. For instance, I have used the Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire by Comrie & Smith (1977) to collect general information on syntax such as subordination, and the questionnaire on complement clauses by Hengeveld (2008). I have also collected data on tense and aspect by using the Tense, Aspect, and Mood questionnaire by Dahl (1985). In addition, I have used the Max Planck Institute elicitation materials such as the topological relations (Bowerman & Pederson, 1992), the reciprocity videos (Evans et al., 2004), and the shape classifier task (Seifart, 2003). The elicitation was an ongoing process even when I was not in the field, as there was need for clarification on some items during the writing process. This was done by means of internet or telephone, which are accessible to some of the speakers.

The data have been recorded in digital audio (using a Zoom H4n, a Marantz portable recorder, and a Shure headset microphone) and in digital video (using a digital Sony video camera DCR-SR100, a Canon XA10 HD, and external Seinnheiser microphone). I had access to some equipment from the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi (MPEG) institution and equipment bought during a project funded by the Endangered Language Documentation Programme (ELDP). The data were transferred, catalogued, edited, and transcribed in collaboration with Paresi speakers.

The texts were transcribed in ELAN or Transcriber in order to align the audio with the transcription. I asked my consultants to make the transcriptions in the linguistic programs; consultants who were not familiar with the use of computers transcribed using notebooks and a digital audio player. Consultants who were not comfortable doing the transcription by themselves, either because they were not used to this type of task or have some difficulty working alone, worked with me in sessions repeating each sentence of the text to clarify parts of the recordings that were not intelligible. The recordings were transcribed in the Paresi orthography.<sup>5</sup> The free translations to Portuguese were done by Paresi speakers, then I reviewed the Portuguese translations and translated them to English for the grammar.

The lexical database was compiled by lexical extraction from text corpora by using the linguistic database tool FLEx. The entries have information in fields such as lexeme and citation forms, gloss, grammatical information, notes, source, semantic domain, and variants, as seen in Figure 3.

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<sup>5</sup> The orthography has not yet been standardized. The orthography used in the transcriptions was proposed by teachers in the Rio Verde community, and it is different from the one I am using in the grammar.

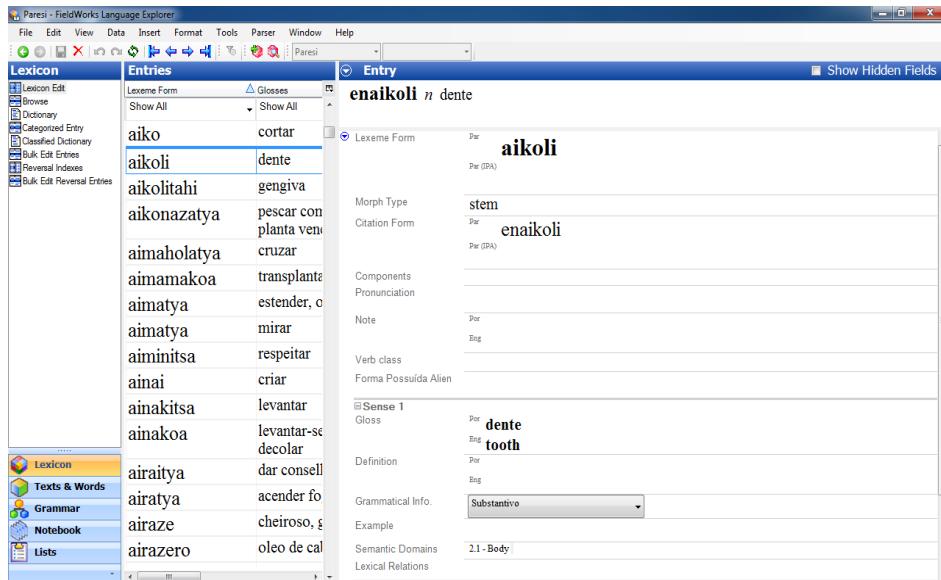


Figure 3: Lexical entry in FLEX

The texts were also analyzed in FLEX, which aids in organizing texts and lexical databases. The analyses have the following: information on morpheme segmentation, gloss, word class, and translation, as shown below in Figure 4.

Text					
<input type="checkbox"/> Par Kokotero <input type="checkbox"/> Eng The story of Kokotero					
	Info	Baseline	Gloss	Analyze	Tagging
<b>1 Word</b>	hatyaotseta	nikare	kokotero	tahi	.
<b>Morphemes</b>	hatyaotseta	nikare	Kokotero	tahi	
<b>Lex. Entries</b>	hatyaotseta	nikare	Kokotero	tahi	
<b>Lex. Gloss</b>	then	like this	mythical figure	about	
<b>Lex. Gram. Info.</b>	PART	PART	n	POSP	
<b>Word Gloss</b>					
<b>Word Cat.</b>	PART	PART	n	POSP	
Free Then, the story of Kokotero is like this					
Note Então, a historia de kokotero é assim					
<b>2 Word</b>	kokotero	tahi	kete	kaotyakene	tahi
<b>Morphemes</b>	Kokotero	tahi	kete	kaoty -ene	tahi
<b>Lex. Entries</b>	Kokotero	tahi	kete	kaotyaka -ene	tahi
<b>Lex. Gloss</b>	mythical figure	about	manioc	appear OBJ	about
<b>Lex. Gram. Info.</b>	n	POSP	n	v	v:Any POSP
<b>Word Gloss</b>					
<b>Word Cat.</b>	n	POSP	n	v	POSP
Free about Kokotero e about the creation of the manioc					
Note sobre kokotero e sobre surgimento de mandioca primeiramente					

Figure 4: Interlinearized text in FLEX

The training of Paresi speakers in language documentation started in 2011. I trained four speakers during workshops. I trained them by teaching them how to use the recording equipment, what to document, and what ethical issues to consider when recording. Some of them were also trained to transcribe and translate texts in ELAN and to use the video editing program Pinnacle Studio. After the training, most of the recordings were done by Noezonakemae. I accompanied him during his work in three villages: Nova Esperança, Bacaval and Kotitiko. In 2013, Noezonakemae and Zezokiware went to the Goeldi Museum in Belém for more training. Twenty-seven DVDs and six CDs were made during the whole documentation project. Copies of all the DVDs and CDs were given to the communities. Figure 5 shows the cover of a DVD:

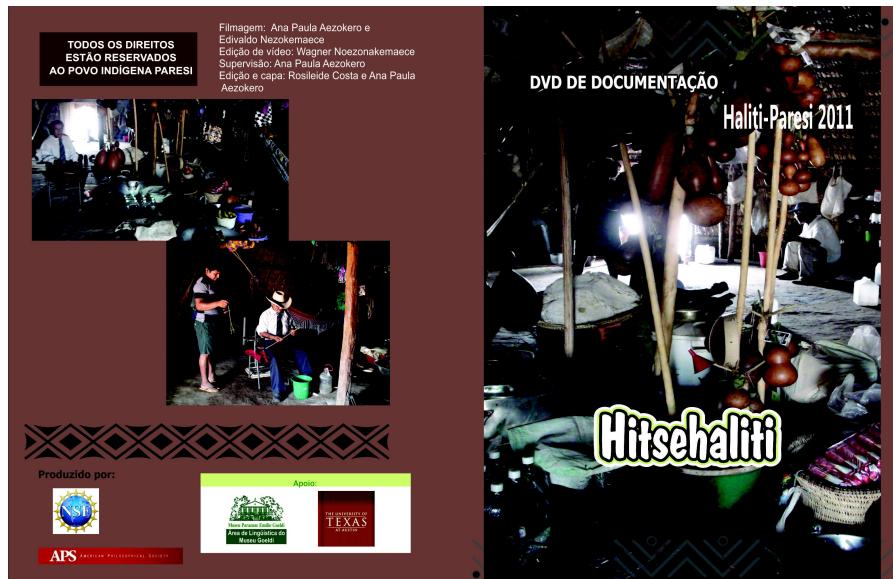


Figure 5: DVD documenting a traditional festival

Nowadays, the Paresi people have a good infrastructure for documentation work. Seven people have received training through documentation projects with me or with Silva, who conducted fieldwork from 2007 to 2012. The schools at the communities where I have been, have computer labs, libraries and teachers who have bachelors' degree

in linguistics and literature (two teachers in one community and one in another). The Formoso village has the equipment used during the ELDP project. Most of the speakers are conscious of the need to preserve this part of their culture, which is in danger of extinction. They are willing to list all of the discourse genres that local people feel are important to document.

To date, in my Paresi database, I have a total of more than 90 hours of recordings, 12 hours of transcribed and translated texts in ELAN (eight transcribed during the ELDP project), approximately 2500 lexical entries, and five hours of texts interlinearized in FLEX. Text metadata information have been recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet (such as the content of the recording, who is participating, etc). The data were organized and archived in the Goeldi Museum and in the Endangered Language Archives (ELAR), and it will be archived also at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA).

The description of Paresi is theoretically informed, and grounded in “basic linguistic theory” (Dryer 2001, 2006; Dixon 2009, 2012). My analysis is based on my original data, especially texts, using a Functional-Typological linguistic framework and informed by discussions about particular phenomena in the general linguistic literature (e.g. Comrie, 1989; Dryer, 2006; Dixon, 2009; Givón, 2001; Miestamo, 2007; Palmer, 1986).

The examples used in the grammar are from texts (coded with the names of the texts) and elicitations, coded as (E). The abbreviations used in the glossing are listed in page xxiv, and the orthographic conventions used are discussed in §2.7.

## Chapter 2 - Phonology

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of Paresi phonology, addressing segmental phonology §2.1, palatalization and neutralization §2.2, previous phonological analyses §2.3, syllable types and structure §2.4, prosody §2.5, morphophonemics §2.6, and orthographic conventions §2.7.

### 2.1 Phonemes

In this section I describe vocalic and consonantal segments.

#### 2.1.1 Vowels

Paresi has four vowel phonemes, as seen in Table 2. Lengthening and nasalization are marginally contrastive (the vowels are between parentheses), as will be described in §2.1.2.3 .

Table 2: Paresi vowel phoneme inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/ (/ĩ:/)		
Mid	/e/ (/ẽ:/)		/o/
Low		/a/	

In Table 3, I give minimal sets to illustrate the contrasts distinguishing the Paresi vowels in oral contexts, see Silva (2009) and (2013) for more examples of minimal pairs).

Table 3: Paresi vowels contrasts in oral contexts

<b>a</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>o</b>
/'wata/ 'type of fruit, jatobá'	/'weta/ 'early'	/'wit̪a/ 'come!'	
/'tiha/ 'it is cold'	/'tihe/ 'bitter'		/'tiho/ 'face'
/'haka/ 's/he worked'	/'heka/ 's/he is drunk'		/'hoka/ 'connective'
/aho/ 'fish stupefying plant'	/e'hoka/ 's/he shattered'	/'ihō/ 'tail'	
/'ira/ 'AFF'		/'iri/ 'grasshopper'	/'airo/ 'type of fruit'
/'hat̪a/ 'that'		/'hati/ 'house'	/'ha't̪io/ '3sg'
/'kala/ 'DUB'		/'kali/ 'frog'	/'kalo/ 'scarlet macaw'
/'awa/ 'NEG'	/'kawe/ 'it hurts'		/'awo/ 'emu'

## 2.1.2 Vowel allophones and vowel processes

### 2.1.2.1 Vowel /a/ and its allophones

The low central vowel /a/ has two allophones: [a] and [ə]. The reduced vowel [ə] occurs in word-final unstressed syllables while the unreduced vowel occurs elsewhere.

#### (1) unreduced and reduced vowels

/a/	[ə]
/'awo/ ['awɔ] 'emu'	/'tema/ ['temə] 's/he ran'
/'abali/ [ə'bali] 'sieve'	/'ha'nama/ [ha'namə] 'three'
/'ha'tsero/ [ha'tserɔ] 'your grandmother'	/'ka'faka/ [ka'fakə] 'yesterday'

The low central vowel /a/ has also an allophone [ɛ] when in a diphthong preceded by a palatalized consonant or palatal consonant, as seen in examples (2a) through (4). There is only one case known where raising occurs outside a diphthong (2). The evidence

for considering [ɛ] to be an allophone of /a/ and not of /e/ comes from the verbs in (3) and (4). The verbs *waiya* 'see' and *waini* 'die' have the vowel /a/ in their roots, which changes to [ɛ] when the consonant /w/ becomes palatal or is palatalized.

(2)

- a. /t̪airi/ [t̪ɛjdi] 'mountain'
- b. /no=timela-θi/ [notimjɛlaʃi] 'my blood'

1sg=blood-POSSED

(3)

- a. /hi=waija/ [hijɛija] 'you saw'

2sg=see

- b. /no=waija/ [nowaija] 'I saw'

1sg=see

(4)

- a. /hi=waini-hena/ [hiwɛjnihena] 'you are going to die'

2sg=die-TRS

- b. /no=waini-hena/ [nowainihena] 'you are going to die'

1sg=die-TRS

### 2.1.2.2 Vowel /o/ and its allophones

The vowel /o/ has three allophones: [o], [u] and [v]. [v] occurs in unstressed final syllables, as shown in (5).

(5) unreduced and reduced vowels

/o/	[v]
/kalore/ [kalo're] 'big'	/tseko/ ['tsekv] 'far away'
/tota/ ['tota] 'flat'	/kalo/ ['kalv] 'scarlet macaw'
/toloko/ [to'lokv] 'whole'	/hito/ ['hitv] 'bow'

[u] occurs when the following vowel is [i] or [u]<sup>6</sup>, when adjacent to a palatalized

---

<sup>6</sup> There may be few exceptions, for example /onore/ [unure] 'heron'.

consonant, or when in a final stressed syllable, [o] occurs elsewhere. Inside the root, regressive assimilation occurs when the vowel assimilates the high feature of the following vowel or palatal consonant, as shown in (6):

- (6) [u]
- a. /owi/ ['uwi] 'snake'
  - b. /t̪iot̪ia/ ['t̪ut̪ie] 'all'
  - c. /ohiro/ [uhi'dju] 'woman'
  - d. /t̪oka/ ['t̪uke] 'he sat'
- (7) [o]
- a. /toka/ ['toke] 'he grabbed'
  - b. /one/['one] 'water'
  - c. /notera/ [no'tere] 'I drank'
  - d. /kalore/ [ka'lore] 'big '

Finally, some speakers of the Formoso community who consider themselves to be descendants of the Waimare or Kaxiniti subgroups use [o] where [u] is used by the majority of the speakers (i.e. descendants of the Kozarene and Enomaniere subgroups). Vowel height assimilation is not found in the speech of Waimare speakers. In (8), the vowel [i] of the proclitic *hi=* does not influence the following vowel [o], as seen in the above example from the majority dialect (90b). More study is needed with Waimare speakers to analyze dialect variation of [o] and [u].

- (8)
- /hi=koloṭia/ [hik̪olo'tia] 'you are fat'  
2sg=be.fat

### 2.1.2.3 Vowel nasality, rhinoglottophilia, and vowel lengthening

There is phonemic contrast between nasal consonants, but there is only marginal phonemic contrast between nasal and oral vowels. According to Silva (2009), nasal vowels occur when they precede a nasal consonant (through nasal spread or assimilation),

or when preceded by the glottal fricative [h], and oral vowels occur elsewhere. However, the analysis of spectrograms of words where nasal vowels are expected to occur adjacent to nasal consonants show that acoustically there is no nasalization. Figure 6 shows that the vowel [e] before the nasal [n] is not nasalized because the F2 of the nasal does not go through the vowel. The same occurs in Figure 7 with the vowel [i] before [n].

(9)

- a. /at<sup>i</sup>amena/ [at<sup>i</sup>amena] 'stick'
- b. /inimatsero/ [inim<sup>i</sup>atsero] 'his mother-in-law'
- c. /monoli/ [munuli] 'termite'

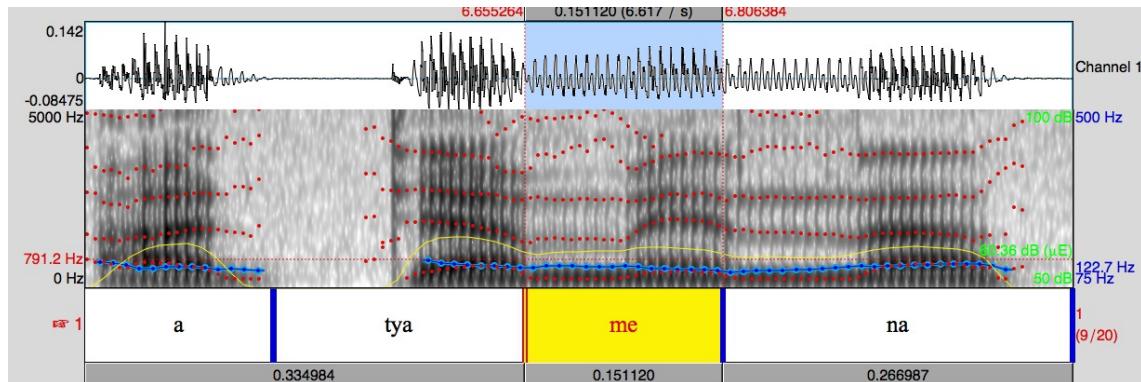


Figure 6: non-nasalized vowel [e] in [me] before nasal

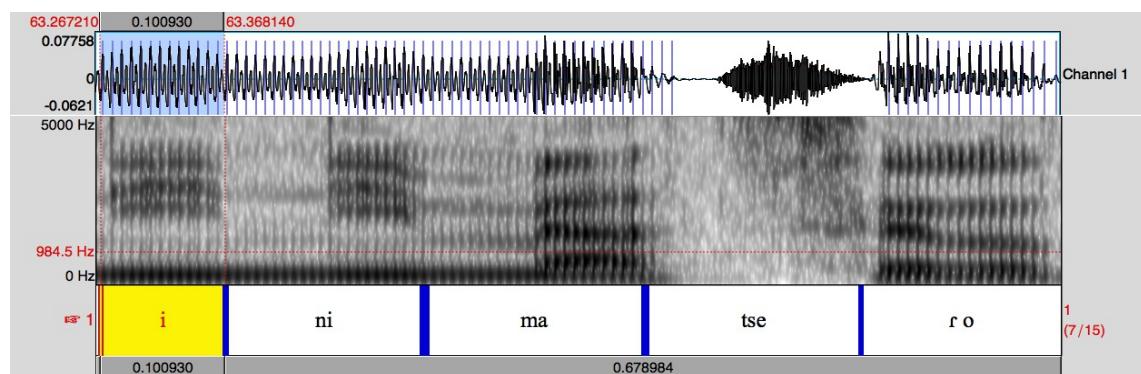


Figure 7: non-nasalized vowel [i] before nasal

Nasal vowels occur only in two contexts, in one there is complementary distribution, and in the other marginal contrast. The first context is adjacent to a glottal fricative in a word-final stressed syllable (Silva, 2009). The glottal fricative at the end of a word produces an effect on the preceding and following vowel similar to nasalization, called rhinoglottophilia. This effect is a type of spontaneous nasalization in which the spectrum of the vowel is changed because of open glottis during the phonation accompanying an [h] or breathy voice (Blevins & Garret, 1992). The spectrograms below show the breathy voice, marked by substantial aperiodic or noisy energy in the signal of the vowels preceding and following [h].

(10)

- a. /maiha/ ['məi̥ihə] 'Neg'
- b. /tiha/ [t̪i̥hə] 'it is cold'
- c. /eje aho/ [eḁ'hu] 'on this way'

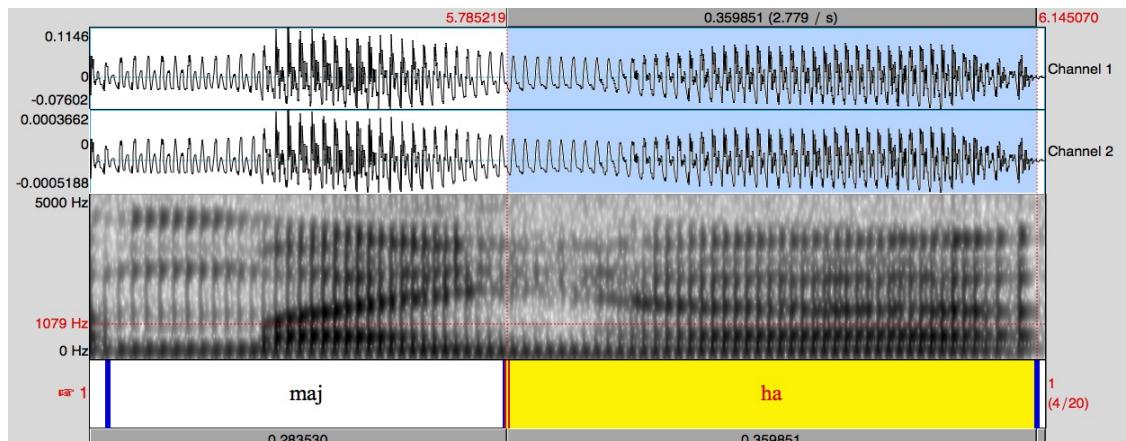


Figure 8: spontaneous nasalization of [a] in [ha]

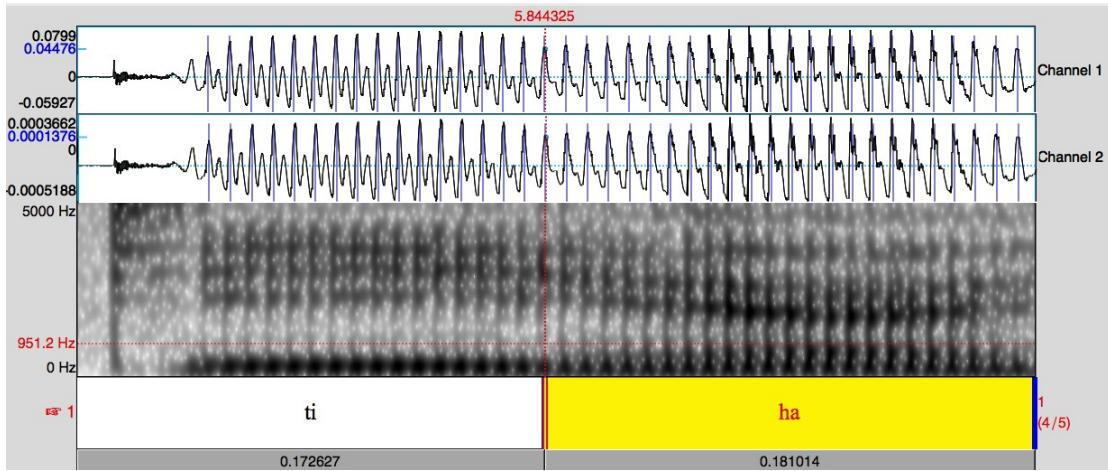


Figure 9: spontaneous nasalization of [a] in [ha]

Nasality and lengthening are used to indicate the physical distance between the speech act participants and the referent in adverbial demonstratives. Some interjections and ideophones also exhibit lengthening and nasalization. Because of these few examples, I consider nasality and lengthening to be marginally contrastive.

(11)

- a. /ita/ 'there (close to speaker and addressee)'
- b. /ita/ [ɪ:tə] 'there distal (far away from speaker and addressee)'

(12)

- a. /eθe/ 'this (close to speaker and addressee)'
- b. /eθe/ [ɛ:ðɛ] 'yonder (far away from speaker and addressee)'

(13)

- a. /tseko/ 'far'
- b. /tseko/ [tsɛ:ko] 'very far away'

In formal speech (as when giving advice), vowels are often nasalized and lengthened at the end of an intonational unit.

- (14)      owene hamahalitinhalo                        **kakoāā**  
           owene ha= ma- haliti -ni -halo =kakoa  
           there 3sg NEG person NMLZ FEM =COM  
           'There, with the non-Paresi person.' (Xihatyoawihaliti)

### 2.1.3 Consonants

Paresi has fourteen consonants (with three additional marginal consonants). The consonant inventory is given in Table 4.

Table 4: Paresi consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	b			t	t̪		k	
Nasal	m			n				
Flap				r				
Lateral approximant					l	(l̪)		
Fricative		f	θ			(ʃ)		h
Affricate				ts		(tʃ)		
Approximant	w					j		

Below, I describe the Paresi consonants. Palatalized consonants (with the exception of [t̪] and [l̪]) occur only when simultaneously preceded by the high front vowel [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i]. Non-palatalized consonants occur elsewhere. Palatalization will be described in §2.2.

#### 2.1.3.1 Stops

There are four stop consonants: /b, t, t̪, k/. The details are under the discussion of each sound. The right-hand column provides minimal pairs or other pairs which show the sounds are contrastive.

### A. /b/

There are two allophones: [b] and [b<sup>j</sup>]. [b<sup>j</sup>] occurs only when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i] (17), while [b] occurs elsewhere, including when [i] both precedes and follows. The voiced bilabial stop [b] in word-initial and medial positions is illustrated in examples (15) and (16). Most of the words with [b] are borrowings from Portuguese, such as *baka* 'pay' and *abowala* 'squash' (from Portuguese *pagar* and *abóbora* respectively).

(15)

- |                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| /baka/ 'pay'                  | /waka/ 'extinguish' |
| /betet <sup>j</sup> a/ 'sell' |                     |
| /biola/ 'guitar'              |                     |
| /boloko/ 'pig'                |                     |

(16)

- |                          |                             |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| /aba/ 'father'           | /awa/ 'stop, don't do this' |
| /abe/ 'grandmother'      |                             |
| /olibijo/ 'type of bird' |                             |
| /tabobokoa/ 'it sank'    |                             |

(17)

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| [b <sup>j</sup> ]      |  |
| /t <sup>j</sup> iriba/ | [t <sup>j</sup> irib <sup>j</sup> e] 'skirt' |

### B. /t/

The voiceless alveolar stop occurs word-initially (18) and medially position (19).

(18)

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| /tane/ 'feather of'      | /θane/ 'go away'                       |
| /tema/ 'run'             | /θema/ 'POSP'                          |
| /timena/ 'heavy'         |  |
| /tokita/ 'he is holding' | /t <sup>j</sup> okita/ 'he is sitting' |

(19)

- |                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| /aitʃota/ 'he is sneezing' | /aitʃɔt̪a/ 'he weeds' |
| /ite/ 'FUT'                |                       |
| /θete/ 'smell bad'         |                       |
| /nototoni/ 'my breast'     |                       |
| /itiho/ 'his face'         |                       |

C. /t̪/

The palatalized alveolar stop occurs in initial (20) and medial positions (21). This consonant does not occur before the anterior vowels [e] and [i], where there is neutralization of [t̪] and [t] in this environment as seen in §2.2.2.

(20)

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| /t̪akoliti/ 'liver' |                   |
| /t̪ota/ 'be over'   | /tota/ 'straight' |

(21)

- |                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| /wat̪ia/ 'hot'        | /wata/ 'type of fruit'     |
| /aitʃot̪a/ 'he weeds' | /aitʃota/ 'he is sneezing' |
| /hit̪o/ 'your mother' | /hito/ 'bow'               |

D. /k/

There are two allophones: [k] and [k̪]. The palatalized counterpart occurs only when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i], while the former occurs elsewhere. The voiceless velar stop [k] occurs in initial and medial positions, as in (22) and (23).

(22)

- |                  |           |               |
|------------------|-----------|---------------|
| /kaka/ 'squeeze' | [kakə]    | /haka/ 'work' |
| /ketse/ 'knife'  | [ketse]   |               |
| /kirane/ 'small' | [kid̪ane] |               |

/koko/ 'my uncle' [koko] /koho/ 'basket'

(23)

/ekanatse/ 'his mouth' [ekanatse]

/tseko/ 'far' [tseko]

/hakero/ 'your grandmother' [hakero]

/makija/ 'night' [maki'ja]

(24)

[kJ]

/irikati/ [idikjati] 'fire'

/nikeret̪a/ [nikjерета] 'stop!'

/naikoli/ [naikjuli] 'my tooth'

### 2.1.3.2 Nasals

E. /m/

There are two allophones of the bilabial nasal: [m] and [m<sup>j</sup>]. [m<sup>j</sup>] occurs when it is both preceded by a [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i] and [m] occurs elsewhere. The bilabial nasal in initial and medial positions is illustrated in examples (25) and (26).

(25)

/maka/ 'hammock' /waka/ 'extinguish'

/mema/ 'ready' /ena/ 'man'

/milikoa/ 'peel'

/moitsati/ 'firewood'

(26)

/kamati/ 'death'

/amematyoa/ 'stop'

/nimi/ 'my cloth'

/hamokene/ 'you put it'

(27)

[m<sup>j</sup>]

- /tim<sup>i</sup>lati/ [tim<sup>i</sup>elati] 'blood'  
 /tim<sup>i</sup>na/ [tim<sup>i</sup>enə] 'heavy'  
 /imot<sup>i</sup>öt<sup>i</sup>a/ [im<sup>i</sup>ut<sup>i</sup>u't<sup>i</sup>a] 'he braided'

#### F. /n/

There are also two allophones of the alveolar nasal: [n] and [ŋ]. Similar to the other phonemes which have a palatalized counterpart, [ŋ] is the allophone which only occurs when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i]. The nasal alveolar in initial and medial position is illustrated in the examples (28) and (29).

(28)

- |                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| /nati <sup>i</sup> / '1sg'        | /hati <sup>i</sup> o/ '3sg' |
| /nemaka/ 'I am sleeping'          |                             |
| /nikare/ 'like this'              |                             |
| /not <sup>i</sup> a/ 'I remember' |                             |

(29)

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| /tanakoliti/ 'cheek'               |  |
| /θane/ 'he went'                   |  |
| /init <sup>i</sup> o/ 'his mother' |  |
| /ekano/ 'arm'                      |  |

(30)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| [ŋ]                                       |  |
| /hinama/ [hina'ma] 'two'                  |  |
| /hatinolatene/ [hatinulatene] 'you sewed' |  |

#### 2.1.3.3 Liquids

##### G. /l/

The lateral approximant occurs only in medial position. The distinction between /l/ and /ɬ/ is neutralized when they are followed by [i], as described in section §2.2.2. The contrast between /l/ and /ɬ/ is also neutralized when between [a] or [o] and [i].

(31)

/walatse/ 'gourd'	/warata/ 'type of bird'
/ali/ 'here'	/ani/ 'wasp'
/holoma/ 'type of tree ( <i>lixeira</i> tree)'	/tororo/ 'throat'
/militi/ 'skin'	

H. /ʃ/

The palatalized lateral approximant occurs only in medial position. [ʃ] was considered an allophone of [l] by other people working on Paresi (see §2.3). However, while [ʃ] could be considered an allophone of [l] when preceded by [i], as in *nokiljako* 'in my nose', because it is also preceded by [a] where regular palatalization process could not explain its palatalized form. This is why I consider this consonant to be a marginal phoneme.

(32)

/alʃako/ 'where'	/ala/ 'FOC'
/halʃare/ 'tripod'	
/nokilʃako/ 'inside of my nose'	
/milʃahotseti/ 'coal'	

I. /f/

There are three allophones: [f], [d], and [dʒ]. [dʒ] occurs only when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i]; the allophone [d] occurs when [i] both precedes and follows; and the flap allophone [f] occurs in initial position and when it is both preceded and followed by a vowel other than [i]. The alveolar flap [f] occurs in initial and medial position as seen in (33) and (34).

(33)

/rota/ 'directly'	/kota/ 'ant'
/rotita/ 'immediately'	

(34)

- /θera/ 'sing'
- /ehare/ 'his body'
- /kerehoti/ 'lip'
- /hakero/ 'your grandmother'
- /tororo/ 'throat'

(35)

- [d̪]
- /afirat̪ia/ [afid̪ia't̪ia] 'clean up'
- /irai/ [id̪ei] 'he talked'
- /koiro/ [kuid̪v] 'fruit sp.'
- [d]
- /t̪airi/ [t̪eidi] 'mountain'
- /θeirita/ [θeid̪ita] 'he is singing'

There is a phonotactic restriction which does not allow the sequence [ri]. When /r/ is both preceded and followed by [i], it has the allophone [d̪]. Then what happens when this phoneme is both preceded by a vowel other than [i] and followed by [i]? The distinction between the phonemes /r/ and /l/ is neutralized in this environment. Neutralization is observed at morpheme boundaries, not inside of the root, and it will be described in §2.2.2. The only contrastive context where the distribution of /r/ overlaps with /l/ is between the vowels [a] and [o]. However, there are very few examples where /r/ occurs with non-front vowels, e.g.: *tororo* 'throat'. It is not clear whether these examples are loans. It may be the case that /r/ and /l/ were allophones of a single historic phoneme, and recently became two different phonemes.

#### 2.1.3.4 Fricatives

J. /f/

There are three allophones of the labiodental fricative: [f], [f̪] and [ɸ]. [f̪] occurs

in the environment in which other palatalized consonants occur (when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i]) while [f] occurs elsewhere. The environment where [ɸ] occurs is not clear. [ɸ] is found in the speech of some speakers in the Formoso area, where [f] is found in the Rio Verde village. It may be the case that there is dialect variation, but more research is needed to confirm this hypothesis. The voiceless labio-dental fricative in initial and medial position is illustrated in examples (36) and (37).

(36)

- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| /faka/ 'be swollen' | /waka/ 'extinguish' |
| /ferakoa/ 'day'     |                     |
| /fihi/ 'straight'   |                     |

(37)

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| /kafaka/ 'yesterday'         |  |
| /nafira/ 'I cleaned up'      |  |
| /afetalat'a/ 'he demarcated' |  |

(38)

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| [f]                                  |  |
| /hifikate/ [hifakate] 'you are full' |  |

## K. /θ/

The alveolar fricative has two allophones: [θ] and [ð]. [ð] occurs between vowels, while [θ] occurs elsewhere. This consonant in word-initial and medial position is illustrated in examples (39) and (40). The phoneme /θ/ cannot occur preceded or followed by [i]. There is neutralization of the phonemes /θ/ and /ʃ/ when /θ/ is followed by [i], and neutralization of /θ/ and /j/ when /θ/ is both preceded by [i] and a vowel other than [i] (see §2.2.2).

(39)

- |                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| /θana/ 'genipap fruit' | /ʃana/ 'wasp' |
|------------------------|---------------|

/θera/ 'he sang' /terə/ 'drink'

/θotjare/ 'deer'

(40)

[ð]

/ahoθa/ [ahoða] 'wolf'

/ahoma/ 'blow'

/aθeθe/ [aðeðe] 'oldest brother'

/eθoa/ [eðoa] 'he fell'

L. /ʃ/

The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative occurs in word-initial and medial position, followed by [a] or [i]. /ʃ/ is not a palatalized allophone of /θ/ when it is followed by [i] because this phoneme also occurs followed by [a]. Similar to the consonant /l̥/, this is a marginal phoneme.

(41)

/ʃana/ 'wasp' /θana/ 'genipap fruit'

/ʃaka/ 'shoot'

/ʃikoke/ 'your uncle'

(42)

/notimelafʃi/ 'my blood'

M. /h/

There are two glottal fricative allophones: the default allophone [h] and the allophone [h̥] which occurs only when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i]. [h] occurs elsewhere. This voiceless fricative glottal in initial and medial position is illustrated in the examples (43) and (44).

(43)

/hati/ 'house'

/heka/ 'he is drunk'

/h̚inoti/ 'neck'

/hoθe/ 'peccary'

(44)

/θekohatseti/ 'leader'

/ah̚ekot̚ia/ 'he thought'

/ih̚i/ 'his rope'

/koh̚o/ 'basket'

(45)

[h̚]

tih̚a [tih̚ɪə] 'be.cold'

tih̚oti [tih̚ɔti] 'face'

### 2.1.3.5 Affricates

N. /ts/

The voiceless alveolar affricate in initial and medial position is illustrated in examples (46) and (47). /ts/ is never followed by /i/, as there is a neutralization of the phonemes /ts/ and /tʃ/ in this environment (see §2.2.2).

(46)

/tsatsalo/ 'bird sp.'

/tsehali/ 'rock'

/tsololoa/ 'he hung up'

(47)

/aitsa/ 'he killed'

/natseka/ 'I dig'

/hitso/ 'you'

O. /tʃ/

The voiceless palato-alveolar affricate occurs in initial and medial position as seen in (48) and (49). This consonant is described in Silva (2009) as an allophone of /ts/ when

it is followed by [i]. I consider /tʃ/ to be a marginal phoneme because it can also be followed by the vowels [a] and [o].

(48)

/tʃabirawata/ 'swallow'

/tʃikiti/ 'excrement'

/tʃolai/ 'type of bird'

(49)

/notʃabowali/ 'my hat'

/notʃiyete/ 'my grandson'

/aitʃota/ 'he is sneezing'

### 2.1.3.6 Approximant

P. /w/

There are two approximant allophones: [w] and [w<sup>j</sup>]. [w<sup>j</sup>] occurs only when it is both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i], while the former occurs elsewhere. The voiced labial-velar approximant in initial and medial position is illustrated in (50) and (51).

(50)

/wamolo/ 'waterfall'

/wenati/ 'life'

/wikaotse/ 'we arrived'

(51)

/θotawa/ 'horn'

/holowe/ 'fly'

/hiwiritse/ 'type of monkey'

/awo/ 'bird sp.'

(52)

[w<sup>j</sup>]

aliwa [aliw<sup>j</sup>a] 'eagle'

Q. /j/

The palatal approximant /j/ occurs in word-medial position, as is illustrated in (53). There is a neutralization of the phonemes /θ/ and /j/ when /θ/ occurs both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i] at morpheme boundaries (see §2.2.2).

(53)

/eje/ 'this'

/ijete/ 'type of armadillo'

/waija/ 'he sees'

#### 2.1.4 Distribution of Consonants

I will describe the restrictions on the distribution and combination of sounds in different morphophonological and syllabic contexts. These restrictions are related to the phonological processes to be described in §2.2.2. Table 5 shows that /l/, /ʃ/, and /tʃ/ have a restricted distribution, which may be evidence of their recent phonemicization in Paresi. The restricted distribution of /f/ may be related to a lenition process (p>h) attested in Arawak languages. According to Silva (2009), /ɸ/ (in my analysis /f/) is the intermediate phase in the lenition process: p>ɸ>h. Therefore, the few words with /f/ would be words that have not yet undergone the final phase of the lenition process.

Table 5: Distribution of consonants<sup>7</sup>

	<b>##_</b>	<b>V_V</b>	<b>_a</b>	<b>_e</b>	<b>_i</b>	<b>_o</b>
b	Y	Y	Y	less common	rare	Y
t	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
t̪	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
k	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
m	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
n	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
r	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y (allophone [d])	Y
l	N	Y	Y	rare	Y	Y
lj	N	Y	rare	N	N	N
f	Y	Y	less common	less common	less common	N
θ	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ʃ	Y	Y	less common	N	Y	N
h	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ts	Y	Y	less common	Y	N	less common
tʃ	Y	Y	rare	N	Y	rare
w	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

As we can see in Table 5, /b/ has a restricted occurrence with vowels, and in general there are few words with this phoneme: loans from Portuguese, kinship terms or body parts, and onomatopoeic words. There are phonological reasons for the absence of combinations such as *t̪i*, *t̪e*, *θi*, and *tsi* (see discussion in the next section).

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<sup>7</sup> The distributions in Table 5 are rare when they occurred only once or twice in my lexicon (~3000 words), and less common when they occurred in fewer than 5 tokens. Y=yes, N=no.

## 2.2 Palatalization and neutralization

### 2.2.1 Allophonic palatalization

The phonemes /b, k, m, n, t, f, h, w/ have two allophones: a) [b, k, m, n, t, f, h, w]; and b) the palatalized allophones: [b<sup>j</sup>, k<sup>j</sup>, m<sup>j</sup>, n<sup>j</sup>, d<sup>j</sup>, f<sup>j</sup>, h<sup>j</sup>, w<sup>j</sup>]. The palatalized allophones occur in the context preceded by a high front vowel [i] and followed by vowels other than the high front vowel in root-internal environments (progressive palatalization), as seen in (54). I consider the analysis of these cases of palatalization as secondary palatalization using the terminology in Bateman (2007), Hall (2000) and Kochetov (1998, 2002). There are no palatalized allophones of these phonemes in word-initial position.

- (54)      C → C<sup>j</sup>/i\_a,e,o
- a. /irikati/      [idik<sup>j</sup>ati] 'fire'
  - b. /θoima/      [θuim<sup>j</sup>a] 'child'
  - c. /irai/      [id<sup>j</sup>ɛi] 'he talked'
  - d. /tiha/      [tih<sup>j</sup>ɛ] 'it is cold'
  - e. /aliwa/      [aliw<sup>j</sup>a] 'eagle'

Palatalization may result from spreading of the [+high] feature to any of the places of articulation (Lahiri & Evers, 1991). In Paresi, we see spreading of the [+high] feature of the vowel [i]. According to the analysis in Silva (2009: 139), based on feature geometry (Clements & Hume, 1995), palatalization is triggered by the spreading of features in the V-Place of the vowel [coronal, -anterior] to the V-place of the consonant target. The only difference in the analyses is the assignment of a [+high] or [-anterior] feature to the triggers.

The spectrograms below show palatalization, where there is some overlap of the consonant and the high front vowel. The palatal gesture begins in the preceding vowel and affects the F2 of the following vowel. This overlap is not seen in the cases where a

vowel follows an underlying palatalized consonant such as /tʃ/, as in Figure 13.

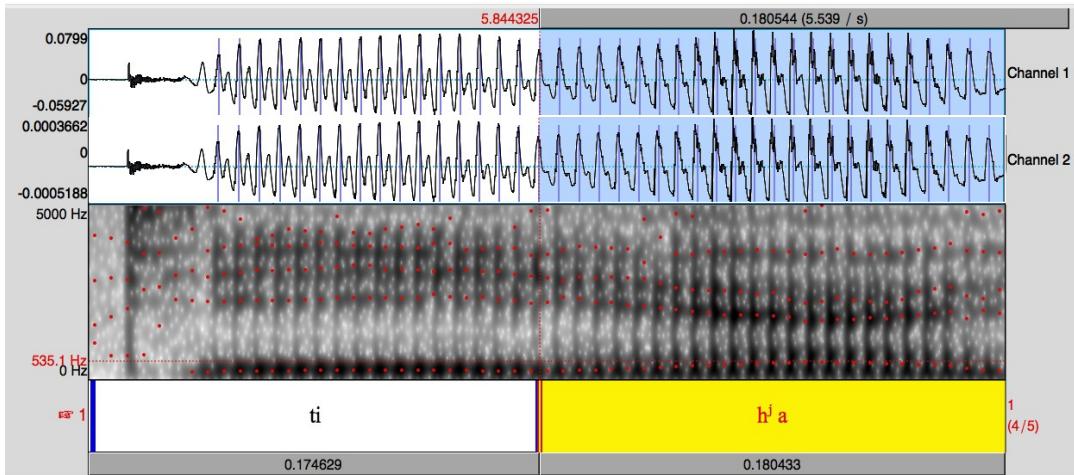


Figure 10: Palatalized glottal fricative

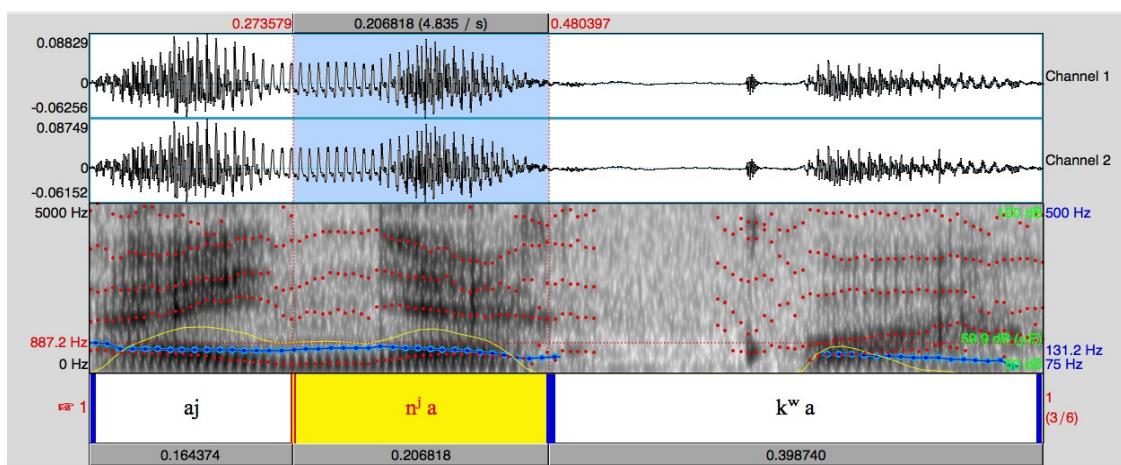


Figure 11: Palatalized alveolar nasal

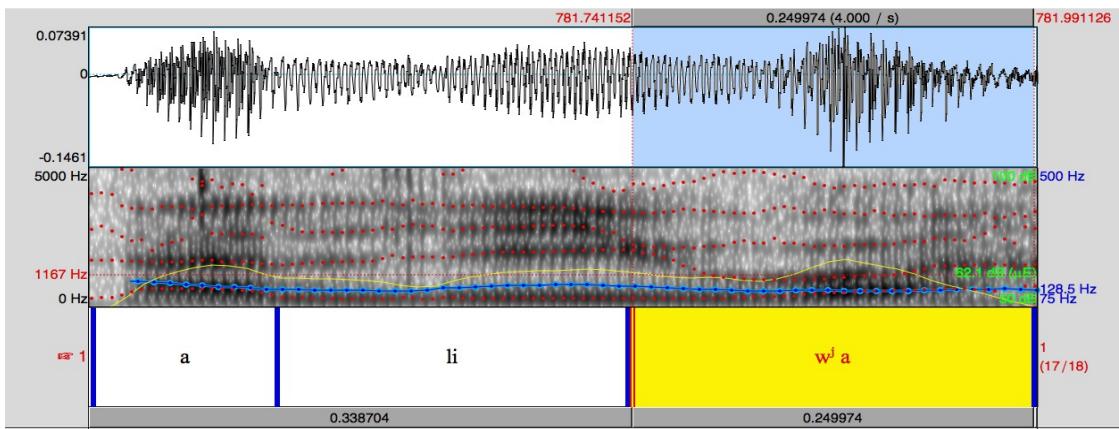


Figure 12: Palatalized approximant

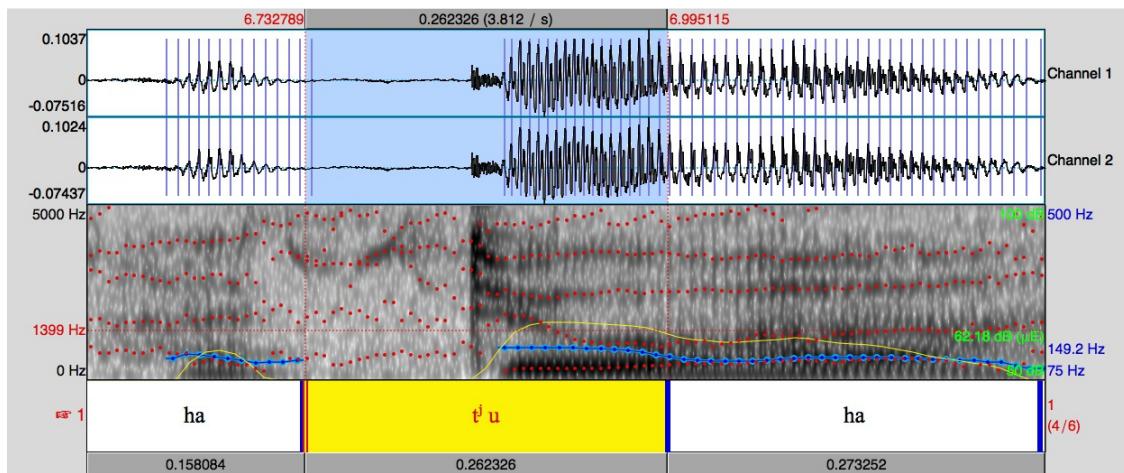


Figure 13: phoneme [t̪i]

Figure 14 shows the consonant [d] is not palatalized when it is preceded by [i]:

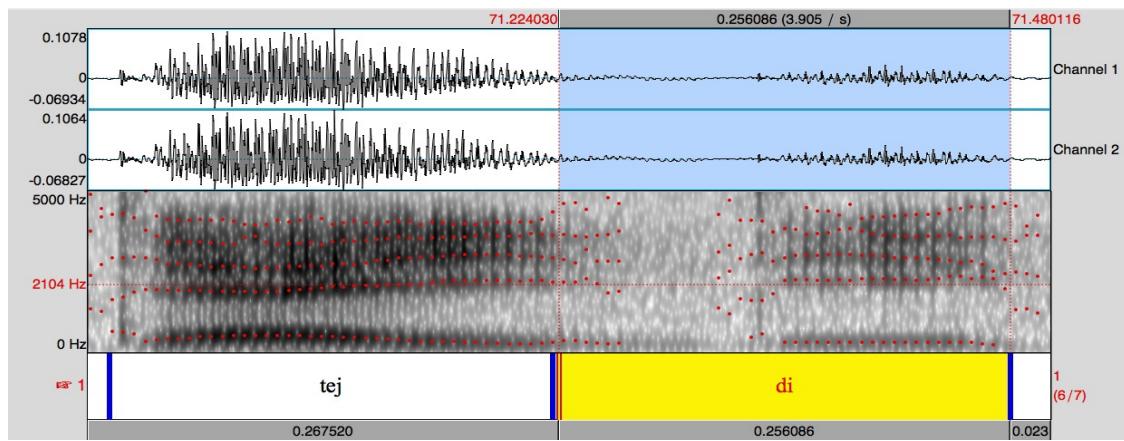


Figure 14: no palatalization of [d]

In (55), the initial consonants of verb roots starting with /b, k, m, n, f, h, and w/ become palatalized by attaching a proclitic with [i], such as the personal pronominal proclitics *hi*= '2sg', *wi*= '1pl', and *xi*= '2pl'. Figures 11 and 12 show spectrograms of (55a) both without and with palatalization of /k/.

(55)

- a. /hi=kanatse/ [hik<sup>i</sup>anatse] 'your mouth'

2sg=mouth

- b. /wi=meta/ [wim<sup>i</sup>et<sup>i</sup>] 'you all disappeared'

2pl=disappear

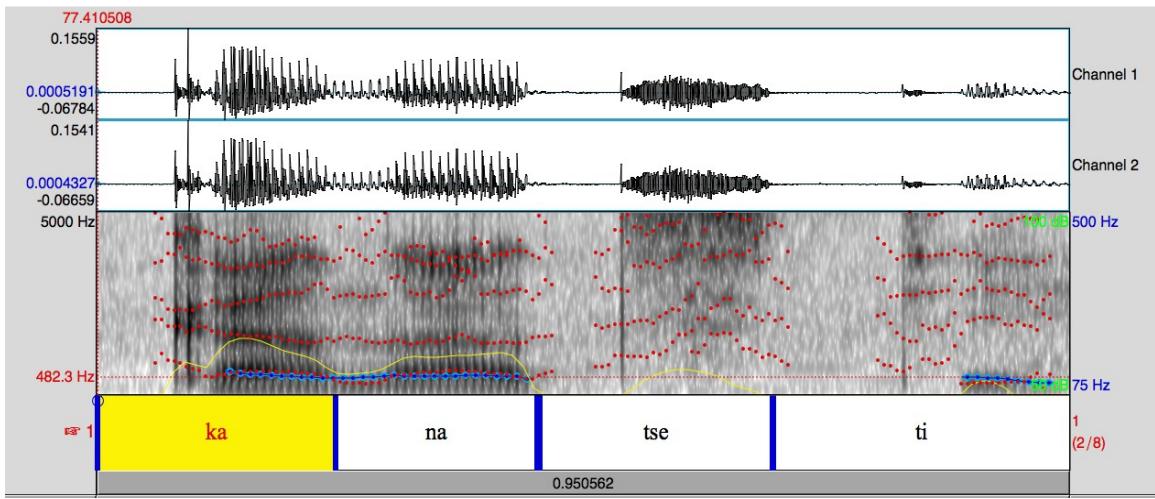


Figure 15: [k] in the beginning of word

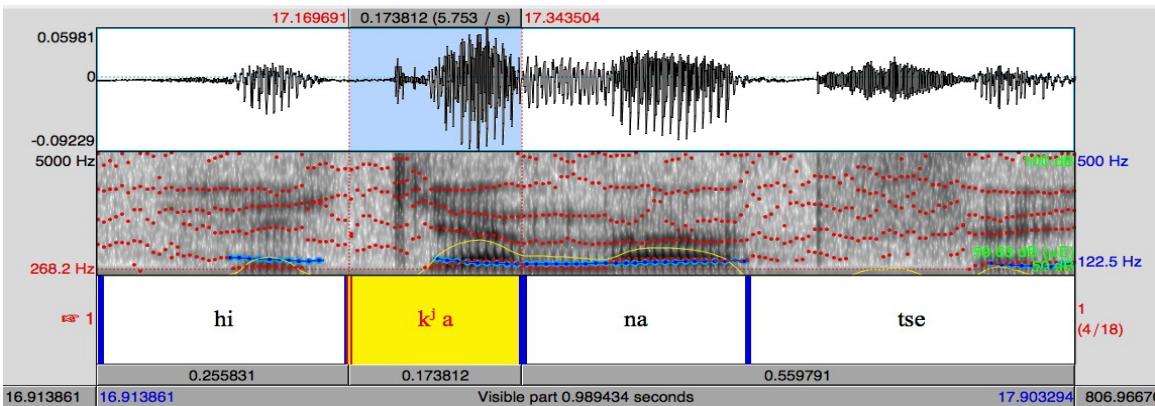


Figure 16: palatalization of [k] following hi=

The only case where there is no secondary palatalization is when the consonant is both preceded and followed by the vowel [i], and the general rule is (56). Silva (2009:160) expands this rule by saying that there is no palatalization when consonants are both preceded by [i] and followed by the vowels [e] or [i], as in the following examples from his thesis in (57).

$$(56) \quad *C^j / i\_i$$

$$(57) \quad *C^j / i\_e$$

a. /tifikere/[tifikere] 'be yellow'

b. /timena/ [timenə] 'be heavy'

His analysis is partly right because there are instances where there is no palatalization of consonants in the /i\_e/ context.<sup>8</sup> For example, when [e] is produced through sandhi processes the palatalization of the consonant does not occur. In the example (58b) the vowel raising of [a] to [e], when the suffix -re is attached, forbids the palatalization of [k]. In (59b), the same process occurs, and /tʃ/ is realized as [t]:

(58)

- a. /tʃika/ [tʃik̩a] 'be.yellow'
- b. /tʃika-re/ [tʃikere] 'one which is yellow' \*[tʃik̩ere]  
be yellow-NMLZ

(59)

- a. /wat̩a/ [wat̩a] 'it is hot'
- b. /wata-re/ [watere] 'the one/thing that is hot' \*[watiere]  
hot-NMLZ

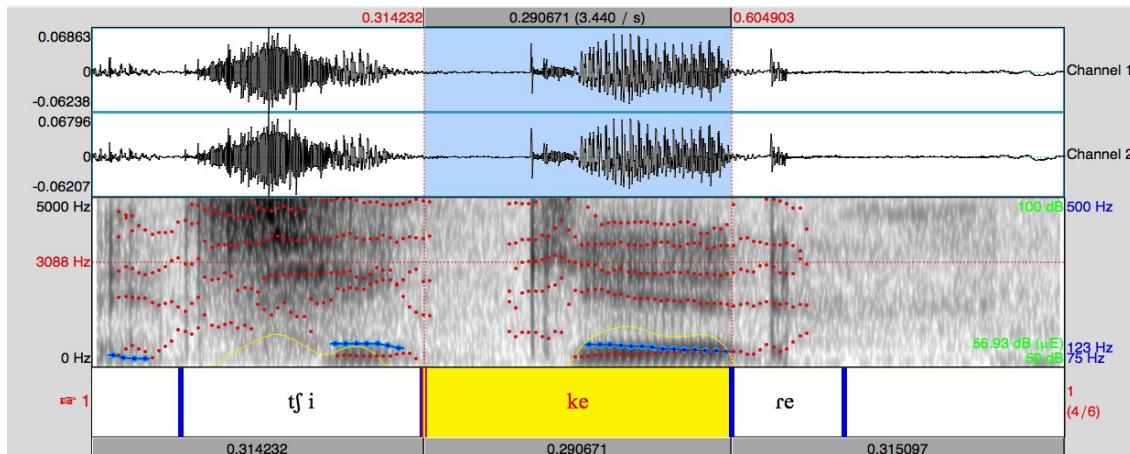


Figure 17: no palatalization of [k]

However, there are instances in my lexicon where consonants are palatalized in this environment. For example, the same word for 'heavy', which was not transcribed with [m̩] in (57), is found with the palatalized consonant.

<sup>8</sup> The palatalized phoneme /tʃ/ does not occur followed by [e], see section 2.2.2.

(60) C<sup>j</sup> /i\_\_e

- a. /timena/ [tim<sup>j</sup>enə] 'be heavy'
- b. /h=imeθa/ [him<sup>j</sup>eðə] 'you gathered'

2sg=gather

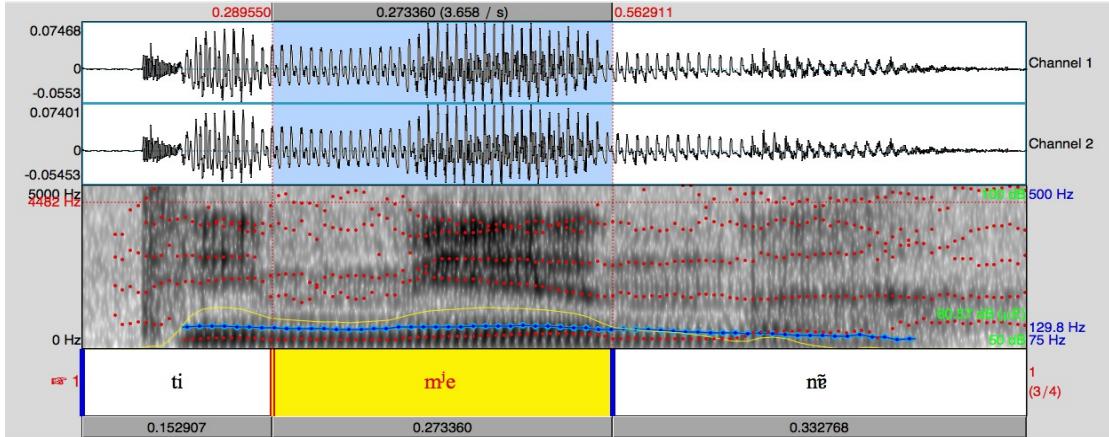


Figure 18: Palatalization in the environment i\_e

Finally, we would expect /ts/ to undergo secondary palatalization after the vowel [i] in words such as *aitsa* 'he killed', if we consider the trigger of palatalization as the preceding vowel [i]. However, there is no sequence \**its<sup>j</sup>* in the language. The same is true of the phonemes /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /θ/ (\*[ʃ], \*[tʃ], \*[θ<sup>j</sup>]). Therefore, secondary palatalization does not affect fricatives nor the phoneme /ti/, as seen in the example (61). In verb roots, the phoneme /ti/ undergoes dissimilation in the same context where other phonemes undergo palatalization (see §2.6.7)

(61)

- a. /wi=tiaoli/ [witi<sup>j</sup>aoli] 'in our forehead'  
1pl=forehead
- b. /i=tia<sup>j</sup>ko/ [it<sup>j</sup>ako] 'his stomach'  
3sg=stomach

In conclusion, we can make the following generalizations: non-fricative

consonants and palatalized consonants (except /t/ and /t<sup>j</sup>/, /l/ and /l<sup>j</sup>/) are in complementary distribution. When consonants are both preceded by [i] and followed by a vowel other than [i], there is secondary palatalization. We see palatalization in both contexts: phonological and morphophonological.

### 2.2.2 Neutralization

As seen below in Table 6, the phonemes /t/ and /t<sup>j</sup>/ have an overlapping distribution. The two phonemes can be preceded by any vowel and followed by [a] or [o]. The palatalization distinction is neutralized for the phonemes /t/ and /t<sup>j</sup>/ before the vowels [i] and [e] because of the phonotactic restriction \*t<sup>j</sup>i/e.

Table 6: distribution of the phonemes /t/ and /t<sup>j</sup>/

	<b>i_</b>	<b>e_</b>	<b>a_</b>	<b>o_</b>
_i	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>
_e	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>	t/ *t <sup>j</sup>
_a	t/ t <sup>j</sup>	t/ t <sup>j</sup>	t/ t <sup>j</sup>	t/ t <sup>j</sup>
_o	t/t <sup>j</sup>	t/ t <sup>j</sup>	t/ t <sup>j</sup>	t/ t <sup>j</sup>

Another case of overlapping distribution is the distribution of the phonemes /l/ and /l<sup>j</sup>. They only overlap in the environment a\_a, as seen in Table 7. Their distribution is more restricted than the distribution of /t/ and /t<sup>j</sup>. The distinction /l/ and /l<sup>j</sup>/ is neutralized in the following environments: a) [l] occurs followed by [i] (\*l<sup>j</sup>i), and in the environments o\_a, a\_o, o\_o; b) [l<sup>j</sup>] occurs both when preceded by [i] and followed by [a].

Table 7: distribution of the phonemes /l/ and /l<sup>j</sup>/

	<b>i_</b>	<b>e_</b>	<b>a_</b>	<b>o_</b>
_i	l/*l <sup>j</sup>	l/*l <sup>j</sup>	l/*l <sup>j</sup>	l/*l <sup>j</sup>
_e	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested
_a	*l/l <sup>j</sup>	Not attested	l/l <sup>j</sup>	l/*l <sup>j</sup>
_o	Not attested	Not attested	l/*l <sup>j</sup>	l/*l <sup>j</sup>

The phoneme /l/ also exhibits overlapping distribution with the phoneme /r/.<sup>9</sup> However, their distribution is neutralized when /r/ is both preceded by /a/ or /o/ and followed by the vowel /i/ (which is the result of vowel harmony /e/ to /i/) at morpheme boundaries.<sup>10</sup> In (62), first vowel harmony raises /e/ to /i/ when the suffixes *-ti* 'UNPOSS' or *-ki* 'CAUS' are attached to the roots, then [ri] changes to [li].

(62)

- a. /initio-hare-ti/ [initiohaliti] 'elder'  
elder-MASC-UNPOSS
- b. /takore-ti/ [takuliti] 'liver'  
liver-UNPOSS
- c. /e-haihare-ki-tsa-h-ene/ [ehaihalikitsa] 'they made him to be shy'  
CAUS-be.shy-CAUS-TH-PL-3O

Other types of neutralization are the alternations between the following phonemes: /ts/ ~ /tʃ/ and /θ/ ~ /ʃ/ before [i], and /θ/ ~ /j/ after [i]. Because of the phonotactic restrictions \*tsi and \*θi in Paresi, the consonants /ts/ and /θ/ undergo palatalization resulting in a palato-alveolar (regressive palatalization). This alternation occurs in morphophonological contexts. Example (63) shows the alternations /ts/ ~ /tʃ/ when the suffix *-ita* 'IFV' is attached to the root.

(63)

- a. /n=aits-ita/ [naitʃita] 'I am killing'  
1sg=kill-IFV
- b. /n=halaitsoa-ita/ [nahalaitʃuita] 'I am jumping'  
1sg=jump-IFV

In (64), the interdental consonant [θ] alternates with [j] when it is after one of the

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<sup>9</sup> The contrast between /l/ and /r/ occurs within the roots.

<sup>10</sup> Other alternations /l/ ~ /r/ are seen in the allomorphy of possessed suffixes (*-la~ra*) and nominalizers (*-lo~ro*), which are discussed in sections §4.3.2 and §4.6.3, respectively.

proclitics with the vowel [i]:<sup>11</sup> In another context, as in (65), the morpheme *-θi* 'POSSED' surfaces as *-ʃi* before [i], in order to avoid the sequence [θi] in the language.

(64)

a. /hi=θane/ [hijane] 'you went away'

2sg=go.away

b. /hi=θera/[hijera] 'you song'

2sg=sing

(65)

a. /no=timela-θi/ [notim̪elaʃi] 'my blood'

1sg=blood-POSSED

b. /no=t̪akoira-θi/ [notakuid̪aʃi] 'my chicken'

1sg=chicken=POSSED

The change of [ts] to [tʃ] is not considered to be neutralization by Silva (2009). He argues that [tʃ] only occurs before [i] and that all exceptions to this generalization are loan words. In my lexicon, there are a few words with [tʃ] before the vowels [a] or [o] which are not loans, such as [tsabidawata] 'swallow' and [tsolai] 'type of bird'. Because of that, words with [tʃ] are not considered to have an underlying form with /ts/ in my analysis. Therefore, I consider that there is neutralization of the phonemes before [i].

### 2.3 Phonological analysis in Rowan & Burgess (1969) and Silva (2009)

The consonant inventory proposed here diverges slightly from Rowan & Burgess (1969) and Silva (2009). Table 8 compares the different phonemic inventories proposed for Paresi<sup>12</sup>. All works agree with regards to the vowel inventory of four segments.

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<sup>11</sup> Silva (2009) considers the change /θ/ to /j/ to be a process of palatalization followed by coronalization (spreading of the V-place of the consonant to its C-place).

<sup>12</sup> R= Rowan, 1969, S= Silva, 2009, B= Brandão.

Table 8: Phonemic inventories proposed for Paresi

	<b>b</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>t̪</b>	<b>k</b>	<b>m</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>r</b>	<b>l</b>	<b>l̪</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>ɸ</b>	<b>θ</b>	<b>ð</b>	<b>s̪</b>	<b>h</b>	<b>ts</b>	<b>tʃ</b>	<b>w</b>	<b>i</b>
R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
S	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
B	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Rowan does not present /f/, /l̪/ and /s̪/ as phonemes. My analysis of [f] and [ɸ] differs from Silva's regarding the choice of which allophone is considered basic. According to Silva (2009), the basic allophone is /ɸ/. I consider [f] to be the basic allophone because it is more often used in the communities. Rowan & Burgess (1969) states that [ɸ] is only present in some varieties. In Formoso, some speakers use [ɸ] and others use [f], and thus far I cannot find a conditioning factor. People who use [ɸ] say they belong to the Waimaré group. In Rio Verde, they use [f], and the majority of the people there say they belong to a different Paresi group called Kozarene.

In addition, the lateral /l/ and the palatalized lateral /l̪/ are considered to be phonemes (similar to /t/ and /t̪/). I do not have minimal pairs distinguishing /l/ and /l̪/, but [l̪] occurs after [a] (e.g.: [al̪ako] 'where', [ala] 'FOC'). The analysis of [l̪] as an allophone of /l/ in contexts after [i] does not account for this other context. Because the distribution of /l̪/ is very restricted I call this a “marginal” consonant.

/s̪/ is another phoneme which is analyzed by others to be a allophone of /θ/. It is a marginal phoneme because I have only one minimal pair ([s̪ana] 'bee' and [θana] 'genipap'), and because the distribution of [s̪] is restricted to contexts before [i] and [a], while [θ] appears before [a], [e], and [o].

## 2.4 Syllable types and structure

In this section, I will describe properties of vowel sequences and syllable types. In Paresi, there are no codas or complex onsets. The attested syllable types are: CV, CVV, VV, and V. The glides /w/ and /j/ can combine with vowels in the sequences jV and wV.

### 2.4.1 Vowel sequences

A vowel sequence consists of two vowels in the same syllable. Table 9 illustrates the vowel sequences which are considered to be diphthongs: /oa/, /ae/, /oe/, /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, and /ao/.

Table 9: vowel sequences

	<b>a</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>o</b>
a	*	ae	ai	ao
e	*	*	ei	*
i	*	*	*	*
o	oa	oe	oi	*

The sequences /oa/, /ae/, and /oe/ can only be analyzed as diphthongs, while the other sequences may be analyzed as either diphthongs or combinations of vowel-glide. The sequence /oa/ is better analyzed as a diphthong and not /wa/. Evidence for this is the deletion of the vowel /a/ in the verb *tvoa* 'come' (e.g.: *tyohena* 'he will come'). If /oa/ were /wa/ the deletion would leave only a consonant, and then this would be the only case of consonant clusters. The vowel sequences /ae/ and /oe/ also must be interpreted as diphthongs. If they were sequences with a final glide, the glide would have triggered the process of palatalization of the phoneme /θ/ to [j] (e.g. /ajθokero/-> [ajjokero]).

(66)

- a. /e'θoa/ [e'ðoa] 'he fell'
- b. /aeθoke'ro/ [aeðo'kero] 'Aezokero (proper name)'
- c. /'koeθa/ ['koeða] 'he laughed'

The examples in (67) illustrate the possible combinations of the adjacent vowels /a/ and /e/ pronounced as one syllable at morpheme boundaries. This is more evidence that the vowel sequence /ae/ is a diphthong and not a vowel-glide sequence. The consonant following the diphthong is not palatalized as it would be if the sequence were /aj/.

(67)

- a. /a-eko-ki-tsa/ [a<sub>v</sub>ekoakitsa] 'he made ran away'  
CAUS-run.away-CAUS-TH
- b. /n=a-eθet=ene/ [na<sub>v</sub>eðetene] 'I smelled it'  
1sg=CAUS-be.smelly=3O

The sequences: /ao/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ei/ are also diphthongs. They are not analyzed as a combination vowel-glide for two reasons. First, they are similar to the other diphthongs seen above. For example, all sequences are heavy syllable with two moras, which attract stress in a word. Second, this analysis would complicate the phonology. The glide in coda position would be the only exception to the restriction of having consonant in coda position. Furthermore, the inventory of vowels would have to comprise only three vowel sequences /oa/, /ae/, and /oe/.

(68)

- a. /ka'mai/ [kamai] 'sun'
- b. /'kaoka/ ['kaoke<sub>v</sub>] 'arrive'
- c. /ko'koi/ [ko'koi] 'hawk'
- d. /'oina/ ['uin<sub>v</sub>a] 'be thirsty'
- e. /mat<sub>v</sub>ei/ [mat<sub>v</sub>ei] 'tripod'

The examples below show more combinations of vowels pronounced in the same syllable at morpheme boundaries.

- a. /a-ijo-heta/ [a<sub>v</sub>ijoheta] 'he made cry'  
CAUS-be.dry-PERF
- b. /a-ot<sub>v</sub>a-ki-tsa/ [a<sub>v</sub>ut<sub>v</sub>akitsa] 'he taught (made remember)'  
CAUS-remember-CAUS-TH

## 2.4.2 Glides

The sequences [jV] and [wV] are better analyzed as glide-vowel combinations, not diphthongs. The glide in the glide-vowel sequence falls within the same syllable as the following vowel, an argument in favor of the diphthong analysis. However, these glides are considered to be consonant segments for two reasons. One piece of evidence is the neutralization of /j/ and /θ/ preceded by [i] at morpheme boundaries (see more discussion in §2.2.2) in (69b). Other evidence is morphophonological. The same set of pronominal proclitics attaches to verb roots beginning with consonants and glides, while another set attaches to vowel-initial verb roots.

(69)

- a. /ijeti/ [i.ji.ti] 'flower'
- b. /hi=θera/ [hi.je.ra] 'you sang'  
2sg=sing

## 2.5 Prosody

### 2.5.1 Stress patterns

In Paresi, word stress has delimitative functions in that it indicates word boundaries. In general, stress occurs in the penultimate syllable of a word. Acoustically, vowel duration may be the main correlate of stress. However, duration may not always be important correlate since in a few examples the stressed vowel is only slightly longer than an unstressed vowel. Experimental data is needed in order to show if duration is a reliable correlate of stress.

The data used for the analysis of stress was gathered in carrier sentences of the type in (70). Further research on stress is needed to collect more words for future experimental data analysis.

- (70) Hiyaya \_\_\_, natyo atyo nowaiya \_\_\_, \_\_\_ zoaha  
'you saw a \_\_\_, I saw a \_\_\_ and a \_\_\_ '

I did not use data from lists of words in isolation because in words in isolation phrasal intonation may interact with stress. A phrasal intonation in Paresi is defined by Silva (2013: 108) as a raising in pitch at the end of a phrase and a lowering at the beginning of the next phrase. In polymorphemic words in isolation, pitch is higher in the suffix, at the end of the word (which is also the end of the intonation phrase). This raising at the end of the word may be perceived as stress. That may explain why Silva (2013) described stress as falling on suffixes. His data come from words in isolation, and he says that the higher pitch in words with suffixes coincides with the primary stress in the last syllable. Contrary to my analysis in which suffixes do not get stress.

### **Stress in monomorphemic words**

Paresi exhibits a penultimate stress pattern, as shown in (71), contrary to the analysis in Silva (2013) where stress is not predictable in monomorphemic words. There are few trisyllabic and polysyllabic noun stems (without any suffixes) and they also follow this pattern. Figure 19 shows that the vowel in the stressed syllable [fa] of the word [kafaka] 'yesterday' is longer than the other vowels.

(71)

- a. toto ['to. to] 'breast'
- b. kafaka [ka.'fa.kə] 'yesterday'
- c. tihanare [,ti.ha.'na.re] 'sorcerer'

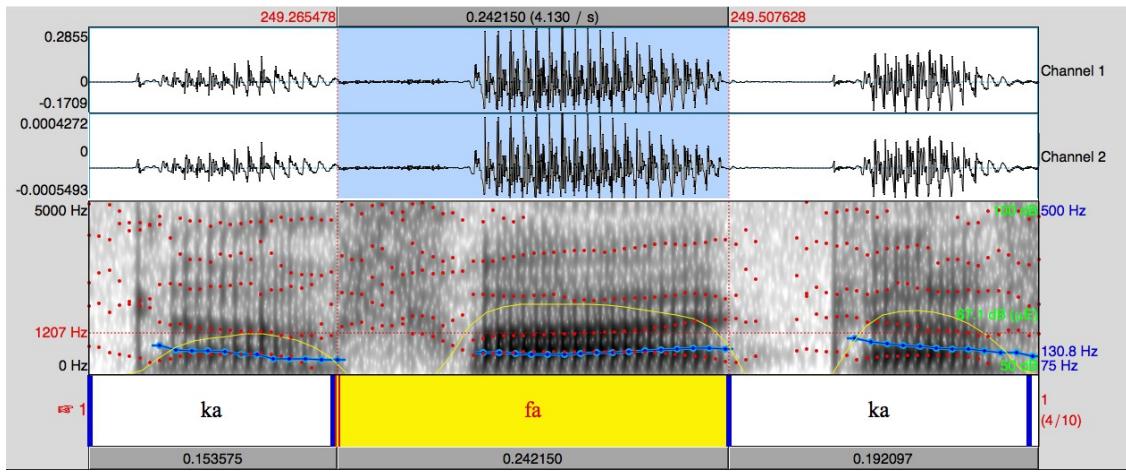


Figure 19: stressed syllable [fa]

However, there are exceptions to this stress pattern. Some words receive stress on the last or antepenultimate syllable. This case can be explained by syllable weight. Paresi exhibits quantity sensitivity, in which stress falls on a heavy syllable with two moras: CVV, as shown in (72).

(72)

- a. kotyoi [ko.'tuj] 'tapir'
- b. irai [i.'d̪εj] 'he told'
- c. alatai [a.la'.tai] 'cascudinho fruit'
- c. ferakoa [fe.ra.'koa] 'in the morning'
- d. kaimare ['kai.ma.re] 'moon'
- e. wainama ['wai.na.mə] 'be. tasty'

Another exception to the penultimate stress pattern is when stress is the only feature marking meaningful contrast in a few pair of nouns. In the first word of each pair, we see a regular pattern of stress, but in the second word of the pair the stress falls on the last syllable. These pairs are presented in (73) (the only examples I have in my corpus).

(73)

- a. ['ma.kə] 'night'

[ma.'ka] 'hammock'

- b. ['ka.he] 'hand '
- [ka.'hi] 'coatamundi'
- c. ['ko.re] 'opossum'
- [ko.'re] 'arrow'
- d. ['ha.re] 'body'
- [ha.'re] 'my son (voc)'
- e. ['ke.tse] 'knife'
- [ke.'tse] 'be.sharp'

Acoustically, Figures 20 and 21 show that the stressed vowel in one pair is longer than the same vowel in the unstressed syllable in the other pair.

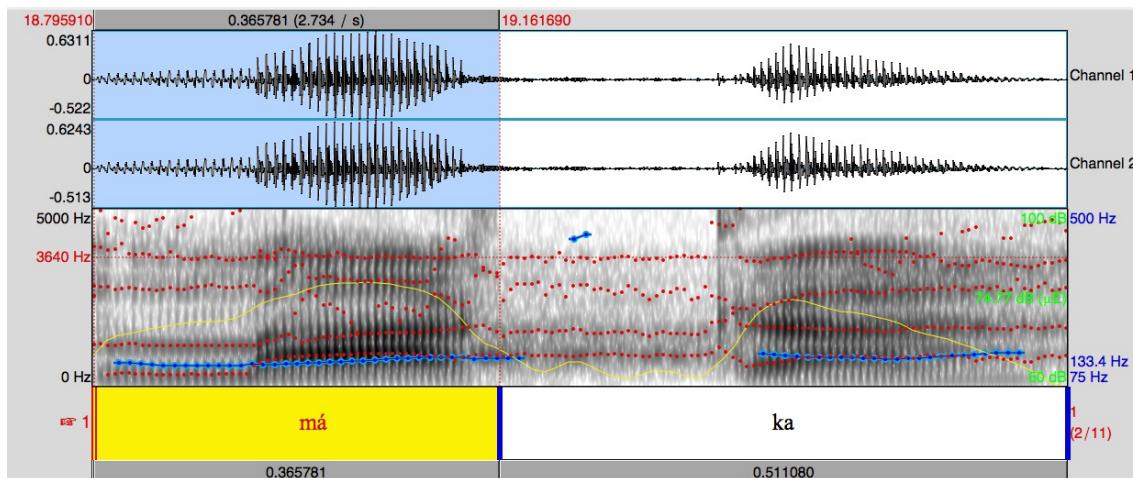


Figure 20: stress in the first syllable ['maka] 'night'

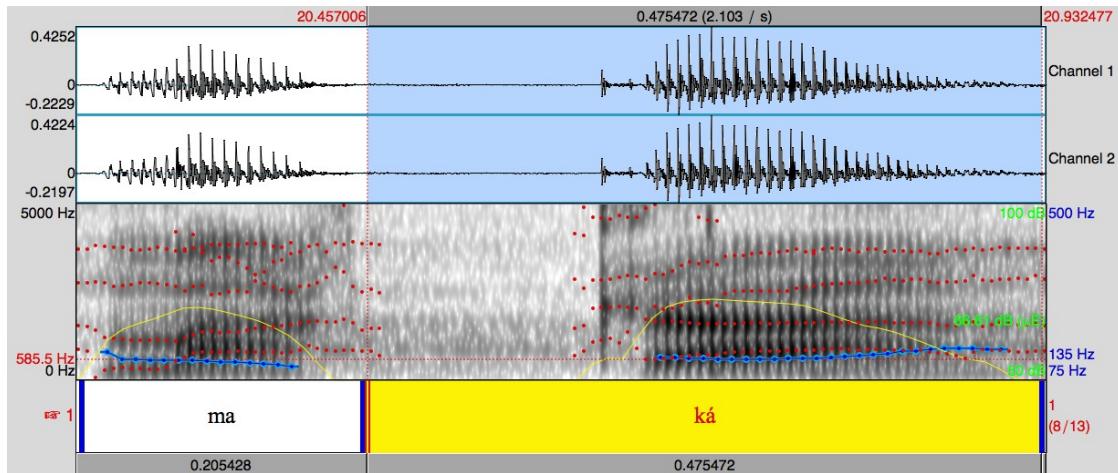


Figure 21: stress in the first syllable [ma'ka] 'hammock'

Stress may also be irregular with a few nouns and verbs. I have no explanation of the assignment of stress in words such as *ohiro* 'woman' and *hinama* 'two' (different from *hanama* 'three' where the stress falls on the penultimate syllable). In example (74), the only examples which may have an explanation are the words *ezanityo* 'wife' and *ezanene* 'husband'. The reason why they get stress on the last syllables *tyo* and *ne* may be because these forms mark gender contrast.

(74)

- a. *hinama* [hi.n̥a.'ma] 'two'
- b. *ezanityo* [,e.ða.ni.'t̊io] 'wife'
- c. *ezanene* [,e.ða.ne.'ne] 'husband'
- d. *ohiro* ['u.hi.d̥iu] 'woman'

There are only two examples of monosyllabic word stems in (75), and these exhibit heavy syllables. Therefore, there is a minimal word requirement that a word should have at least two moras. The root in (75)b only occurs with the thematic suffix *-ka*.

(75)

- a. /'t̊ioa/ ['t̊ioa] 'he came'

- b. /'ao(-ka)/ [aoka] 'think, wish'

### Stress in polymorphemic words

Proclitics, prefixes, and the suffixes *-ti* 'UNPOSS', *-ta* 'IFV', *-nae* 'PL', *-ne* 'POSSED' or *-re* 'NMLZ'<sup>13</sup> are not included in the syllable count that determines the distribution of stress in the preceding syllables, see examples (77) through (79). In example (76), stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable of the root *etse* 'testicle', and it remains on the same syllable when *-ti* 'UNPOSS' is attached.

- |      |                 |                 |                      |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (76) | a. etse         | [e.tse]         | 'testicle of'        |
|      | b. etse-ti      | [e.tse.ti]      | 'testicle'           |
|      |                 |                 | testicle-UNPOSS      |
| (77) | a. nirai        | [ni.'d̥ai]      | 'I said'             |
|      | b. n=irai-ta    | [ni.'d̥ai.ta]   | 'I am saying'        |
|      |                 |                 | 1sg=say-IFV          |
| (78) | a. Ø-i'tyani    | [i.'t̥a.ni]     | 'his son'            |
|      |                 |                 | 3sg=son              |
|      | b. Ø-ityani-nae | [i.'t̥a.ni.nae] | 'his sons'           |
|      |                 |                 | 3sg=son-PL           |
| (79) | a. zaolo        | ['θao.lo]       | 'headdress'          |
|      | b. e=zaolo-ne   | [e.'ðao.lo.ne]  | 'his headdress'      |
|      |                 |                 | 3sg=headdress-POSSED |

The above words have less than three syllables included in the syllable count that determines the distribution of stress, so they only get a primary stress. Words with more than three syllables get a secondary stress. Primary stress is associated with the highest prominence (longer duration) of a syllable, while secondary stress is the lower prominence (but still higher than unstressed syllables). Secondary stress goes two

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<sup>13</sup> In this regards, this analysis diverges from the one in Silva (2013). He affirms that suffixes have their own lexical stress, except *-ti*.

syllables before that syllable with primary stress.

(80)

- a. zekohatse-ti [θe.ko.'ha.tse.ti] 'leader'  
leader-UNPOSS
- b. kahehali-ti [ka.he.'ha.li.ti] 'illness'  
be.ill-UNPOSS

The suffixes *-kala* 'NMLZ', *-hare* 'MASC', and *-hena* 'TRS' have two syllables and they have their own lexical stress on their penultimate syllable, as seen below:

(81)

- a. ma-i-tona-ne-hare [mai.tu.,na.ne.'ha.re] 'one who is paralyzed'  
NEG-CAUS-walk-POSSED-MASC
- b. m-ena-ne-hare-ti [me.,na.ne.'ha.li.ti] 'immortality'  
NEG-life-POSSED-MASC-UNPOSS
- c. e-hana-ne-hare [e.ha.,na.ne.'ha.re] 'his plantation'  
3sg=leaf-POSSED-MASC
- d. ma-waija-ha-kala-hare [ma.,wai.ja.,ka.la.'ha.re] 'one who is blind'  
NEG-see-NMLZ-MASC

Assignment of primary and secondary stress in polymorphemic words may be affected by syllable weight. In (82a), secondary stress falls on the diphthong *ai*, because this is a heavy syllable, and the primary stress shifts from the penultimate syllable *he* to the syllable *ne* (*-re* is not included in the distribution of stress since it is a suffix).

- (82)      iraihenere [i.,d̥ai.he'ne.re] 'what was told'  
talk-TRS-NMLZ

In this work, I will not analyze stress in terms of foot types. Silva (2013) presents an accounting of foot types, saying that Paresi has an iambic stress pattern (where the

rightmost syllable in the feet gets the stress). One of the examples he provides as of the iambic pattern is (83). In (83)b, the stress shifts from the penultimate syllable *fi* to the suffix *-tya* 'TH' when *-ti* 'UNPOSS' is attached. This pattern is different from the one seen with nouns when *-ti* is attached. I cannot confirm that the suffix *-tya* in verbs is included in the distribution of stress or not, because I do not have examples of *-tya* with verbs in carrier sentences. Future research is needed to investigate whether stress in Paresi is better analyzed as trochaic or iambic, and whether there are differences in the stress patterns of nouns and verbs, as seen in English and Nanti (Michael, 2008).

(83)

- a. fitya [('fi.t̪a)] 'he planted'
  - b. fitya-ti [(fi.'t̪a).ti] '(something) planted'
- plant-UNPOSS

## 2.6 Morphophonemics

This section shows phonological processes that only occur only at morpheme boundaries. These processes are: vowel harmony, vowel assimilation, vowel raising, vowel deletion, [j] insertion, palatalization, and depalatalization.

### 2.6.1 Vowel harmony /e/ → /i/

There is alternation /e/ → /i/. There are two contexts in which the process is applied: i) when suffixes with /i/ are attached to roots or suffixes ending with /e/, and ii) when the proclitic *e=* '3sg' attaches to roots beginning with /i/ or a palatalized consonant.

In the first context, the vowel harmony occurs when the vowel /e/ at the end of noun roots or suffixes changes to [i] after the following suffixes are attached: *-ti* 'UNPOSS'<sup>14</sup>, *-hi* 'CLF:long', *-ri* 'CLF:round', and *-ri* 'POSSED'. In (84), there are examples with noun roots. In (85), /e/ in the suffix *-hare* 'MASC' changes to [i] when

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<sup>14</sup> Silva (2009) gives the example *zotse-ti* [θotseti] / eye-UNPOSS 'eye' as the only example in which there is no vowel harmony, contrary to what my data show.

followed by the suffix *-ti*.<sup>15</sup>

- (84) /e/-> [i]

- a. /kahe-ti/ [kahiti] 'hand'  
hand-UNPOSS
- b. /kahe-hi/ [kahihih] 'finger'  
hand-CLF:long.slender
- c. /toto-ne-ri/ [tutuniri] 'nipple'  
breast-POSSED-CLF:round
- d. /no=t̪olohe-ri/ [not̪olohidi] 'my cassava flour'  
1sg=cassava.flour-POSSED

- (85)

- /init̪io-hare-ti/ [init̪iohaliti] 'elder'  
elder-MASC-UNPOSS

The other context where the vowel harmony occurs is when the proclitic *e=* '3sg'<sup>16</sup> is attached to noun roots with a vowel [i] or a palatalized consonant, as seen in the examples below. In (86c), the vowel /e/ changes to [i] before the palatalized consonant [t̪].

- (86)

- a. /e=hino/ [ihinu] 'his neck'  
3sg=neck
- b. /e=kitʃi/ [ikitʃi] 'his foot'  
3sg=foot
- c. /e=t̪ako/ [it̪ako] 'his stomach'  
3sg=stomach

According to Silva (2009: 88), vowel harmony is a phonological process that does

<sup>15</sup> Another change is [hari] to [hali] because [r] does not occur before [i], as discussed in 2.1.3.3 .

<sup>16</sup> This process is relevant only with this proclitic.

not occur only at morpheme boundaries. He says there are no stems where a syllable with [e] is followed by a syllable with [i]. However, I found a few examples of stems showing this environment in (87). Therefore, this process is morphophonological.

(87)

/eteti/ 'flesh'

/katsehi/ 'calf'

### 2.6.2 Vowel assimilation

Vowel assimilation occurs regressively and progressively at the morpheme boundaries, and it is not limited to the syllable immediately before the conditioning vowel. [o] changes to [u] in two contexts: i) in a root when proclitics or suffixes with [i] are attached to them, and ii) in a proclitic, when a root begins with [i]. Examples (88) and (89) are regressive assimilation, while (90) is progressive assimilation. In (88a), the root has a [o] in the syllable *lo* when the enclitic *ene* is attached, but it changes to [u] when *-ita* is attached, as in (88b). In (89a), the root has [o] in the syllable *ko* when the suffix *-re* is attached, and it changes to [u] when *-ti* is attached, as in (89b). In (90b), the proclitic *hi=* triggers vowel assimilation in the two following syllables with the vowel [o].

(88)

a. /ha=nolok=ene/ [hanolokene] 'you pulled it'

2sg=pull=3O

b. /ha=nolok-ita/ [hanulukita] 'you are pulling'

2sg=pull-IFV

(89)

a. /e-t<sup>i</sup>akore/ [et<sup>i</sup>akore] 'his liver'

3sg=liver

b. /t<sup>i</sup>akore-ti/ [t<sup>i</sup>akuliti] 'liver'

liver-UNPOSS

(90)

a. /n=kolot<sup>i</sup>a/ [nakolo'tia] 'I am fat'

1sg=be.fat

- b. /hi=kolot̪a/ [hik̪julu't̪a] 'you are fat'

2s-be.fat

The vowel [o] in the proclitic *no*= '1sg' changes to [u] when it precedes a syllable with [i]:

(91)

- /no=t̪ʃijete/ [nut̪ʃijete] 'my grandson'  
1sg=grandson

### 2.6.3 Vowel raising: /a/ → [e]/[i]

The vowel /a/ at the end of verb roots and of the classifier -za changes to [e] when suffixes with the vowel [e] or [i] are attached to the roots.

(92) shows examples of vowel raising when verb suffixes, such as the completive -*heta*, the transitional -*hena*, the nominalizers -*re* and -*ne*, are attached immediately to the verb roots:

(92)

- a. /hi=tsema-hena/ [hitsemehenə] 'hear!'  
2sg=hear-TRS  
b. /n=ija-heta/ [ijeheta] 'I caught'  
1sg=catch-PERF  
c. /t̪aone-hete-hena/ [t̪aonehetehenə] 'kill!'  
2sg=kill-TRS  
d. /wat̪a-re/ [watere] 'the one who is hot'  
hot-NMLZ  
e. /wija-ne/ [wijene] 'something that is sweet'  
be.sweet-NMLZ

In (93), the last *-hena* suffix influences the preceding suffix *-ita*, which changes to *-ite*. On the other hand, the first occurrence of *-hena* closer to the root neither is affected by the last *-hena* (showing that the regressive assimilation does not influence more than one preceding syllable), nor it influences the root *hikoa* because of the diphthong /oa/.

(93)

- /hikoa-hena-ha-ita-hena-ha/ [hikoahenah**itehenaha**] 'they were arriving'  
show.up-TRS-PL-IFV-TRS-PL

The class of transitive verbs which take the thematic suffixes *-tya* or *-ka* and the verb *kera* seem to be exceptions to the vowel raising process seen above. However, instead of affirming that these transitive verbs are exceptions, one can hypothesize that the thematic suffixes undergo vowel raising, and then they are dropped. For example, the transitive verb *mala* 'pull off' occurs with the thematic suffix *-ka* in (94a). In (94b) the thematic suffix *-ka* may undergo vowel raising to *-ke*, and then is dropped (it cannot co-occur with *-hena*), explaining why [a] in *mala* does not change to [e].

(94)

- a. /mala-ka-h=ene/ [malakahene] 'they pulled it off'  
pull.off-TH-PL=3O
- b. /mala-ka-hena-h-it=ene/ [malahenahitene] 'they will pull it off'  
pull.off-TH-TRS-PL-IFV=3O

The verb *kera* 'burn' can be intransitive or transitive. When in the transitional aspect, the transitive form of this verb does not undergo vowel raising, while the intransitive form does, as seen in (95). This apparent exception can be explained based on analogy to other transitive verbs which take thematic suffixes and do not undergo vowel raising.

(95)

- a. /hi=kera-hena/ [hikera**hena**] 'you are going to burn (something)'

2sg=burn-TRS

- b./kera-hena/ [kerehena] 'it is going to burn'  
burn-TRS

The classifier *-za* (incorporated in the verb) is also influenced by the nominalizer *-re* as in (96)a. Suffixes with the vowel /i/, such as *-hi* 'CLF:long', also influence the change /a/ to [e], as seen in (96b).

(96)

- a. /katjala-θa-re/ [katjalaðere] 'mush'  
sour-CLF:liq-NMLZ
- b. /watj<sup>a</sup>-hi-ri/ [watehidi] 'he is sweating'  
be.hot-CLF:long-CLF:round

In addition, vowel raising is a process which only occurs with verbs, not with nouns. The suffix *-ne* 'POSSED' does not influence the preceding /a/ vowels in the following examples:

(97)

- a. /hi=tjiriba-ne/ [hitjidibjane] 'your skirt'  
2sg=skirt-POSSED
- b. /en=a-wena-ne/ [enawenane] 'his life'  
3sg=?-life-POSSED

Only suffixes can trigger vowel raising. Classifiers ending in /e/, such as *he* 'CLF:powder' and *tse* 'CLF:small', do not trigger assimilation when incorporated into verbs:

- (98) /n=imeθa-tse-tja/ [nimjeðatsetja] 'I gathered seeds (or small things)'  
1sg=gather-CLF:small-TH

#### 2.6.4 Vowel deletion

Vowel deletion can occur in three contexts: i) when suffixes are attached to verb roots ending in /a/, ii) when proclitics are attached to verb roots beginning with vowels, and iii) when the first vowel of a second position clitic coincides with the final vowel of the preceding word.

The verb suffixes *-ita* 'IFV', *-ene* '3O', and *-i* 'CAUS', which end in a vowel, lead to the deletion of the final vowel of verb roots or suffixes ending in /a/, as illustrated in (99). In (99c), we see that the final vowel of the suffix *-ha* 'PL' is dropped when the suffix is followed by one of the suffixes seen above.

(99)

- a. /n=tsema-ita/ [natsemita] 'I am listening'  
1sg=hear-IFV
- b. /no=tera-ene/ [noterene] 'I drank it'  
1sg=drink-3O
- c. /ø-aθa-hena-ha-ita-hena-ha/ [aðehenahitehenaha] 'they asked'  
3sg=ask-TRS-PL-IFV-TRS-PL

The same process is applied to personal proclitics, which lose their vowels when attached to vowel initial roots:

(100)

- a. /no=irai-ita/ [nidjaita] 'I talked'  
1sg=talk-IFV
- b. /na=aiko-tja/ [naikjotja] 'I cut'  
1sg=cut-TH

The process does not affect diphthongs, except in the verb *tyoa* 'come'. The last vowel of the diphthong is dropped when followed by the transitional *-hena*.

(101)

- a. /hi=tioa-hena/ [hitsohena] 'come here!'  
2sg=come-TRS

Another type of vowel deletion occurs with second position clitics. Clitics such as *ite* 'FUT', *ala* 'FOC', have their initial vowel dropped if the preceding word begins with the same vowel.

(102)

- a. /makani ite/ [makanite] 'tomorrow'  
b. /wija ala/ [wijala] 'let's go'

### 2.6.5 [i] insertion

[i] insertion occurs in a few words before /r/ when suffixes are attached to noun or verb roots. [i] is added to trigger the change /r/ to [d], and avoid the sequence *ri*.

(103)

- a. /θera-ita/ [θeidita] 'he is singing'  
sing-IFV  
b. /no=ketse-ri/ [noketseidi] 'my knife'  
1sg=knife-POSSED

In (103a), the final vowel [a] of the stem /θera/ is dropped when the suffix *-ita* is attached (as seen in section 2.6.4 ). Then in order to avoid the sequence *ri* in [θerita], there is an insertion of the vowel [i] before /r/, and the root /θer/ becomes [θeid] (/r/ becomes [d] in the environment i\_i).

(104)

- a. /no=θera-ita/ [noθeidita] 'I am singing'  
1sg=sing-IFV  
b. /no=ter-a-ita/ [noteidita] 'I am drinking'  
1sg=drink-IFV

### 2.6.6 w>j change

The example below is the only example where the glide /w/ changes to [j]. In (108), it is expected that /w/ would become a palatalized consonant [w<sup>j</sup>], as in [hiw<sup>j</sup>eijə]. However, the output is [j] instead of [w<sup>j</sup>].

(105)

- a. /hi=waija/ [hijɛijə] 'you saw'

2s-see

### 2.6.7 Dissimilation: /t<sup>j</sup>/ and /t/ → /ts/

There is a neutralization of the phonemes /t/, /t<sup>j</sup>/ and /ts/. The neutralization occurs when a proclitic with the vowel /i/ is attached to verb roots beginning with /t/ or /t<sup>j</sup>. <sup>17</sup> The phoneme /t<sup>j</sup>/ changes to /ts/ in the environment preceded by a proclitic with /i/ and followed by [a] or [o], while /t/ changes to /ts/ in the environment preceded by a proclitic with [i] and followed by [e].

According to Kochetov (2011), the existence of a process that would produce the reverse effect of place-changing palatalization, such as /t<sup>j</sup>/ to /ts/, is very rare. This type of palatalization is also very rare in Paresi.

(106) [t<sup>j</sup>]--> [ts]/i \_o,a

- a. /hi=t̪aona/ [hitsaune] 'You became'

2sg=become

- b. /hi=t̪oa/ [hitsoa] 'you came'

2sg=come

- c. /hi=t̪oma/ [hitsumə] 'you made'

2sg=make

- d. /hi=t̪oka/ [hitsuke] 'you sat'

2sg=sit

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<sup>17</sup> It is interesting that the consonant /t<sup>j</sup>/ after a proclitic with /i/ was only found in nouns. In general the verbs with initial consonant /t<sup>j</sup>/ take the proclitics *na*=, *wa*=, *za*= instead of *hi*=, *wi*=, *xi*=.

The examples below are the only instances of /t/ changing to /ts/ in my corpus. In (107b) and (107b), -t may be analyzed as a morpheme and not as part of the verb root because causative constructions do not exhibit this morpheme. -t has also a very restricted occurrence (i.e. only in these words).

- (107)     /t/->[ts]/ i\_e
- a. /hi=temaka-hena/                 [hitsemahenə] 'Sleep!'  
2sg=sleep-TRS
  - b. /hi=t-era-hena/                 [hitserahenə] 'drink!'  
2sg=?-drink-TRS
  - c. /hi=t-ekoa/                         [hitsekoə] 'you ran away'  
2sg=?-escape

## 2.7 Orthographic conventions

The working and practical orthographies are shown in Tables 9 and 10. In this dissertation, I will use the working orthography proposed here, based on my phonological analysis. There are two practical orthographies used in the Paresi schools. One orthography was proposed by Rowan & Burgess (1969), and it is used in the Nova Esperança community and in other communities in the same area. However, the communities in the other areas did not accept this orthography. The other orthography was developed by two Paresi teachers Rony Paresi and Angelo Kezomae (2011) in the Rio Verde community (shown in Tables 9 and 10). As seen in Tables 10 and 11, it is an orthography based on the phonetic analysis, where the allophones are also represented.

Table 10: Paresi vowels in the working and practical orthographies

<b>Phoneme (or Allophone)</b>	<b>Working Orthography</b>	<b>Practical Orthography (Paresi &amp; Januario, 2011)</b>	<b>Practical Orthography (Rowan, 2001)</b>
/a/	a	a	a
/e/	e	e	e
/i/	i	i	i
/o/	o	o	o
[u]	o	u	o

Table 11: Paresi consonants in the working and practical orthographies

Phoneme (or Allophone)	Working Orthography	Practical Orthography (Paresi & Januario, 2011)	Practical Orthography (Rowan, 2001)
/b/	b	b	b
/t/	t	t	t
/tʃ/	ty	ty	ty
/k/	k	k	k
/m/	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n
/r/	r	r	r
/l/	l	l	l
/lɪ/	ly	ly	l
/f/	f	f	f
/θ/	z	z	z
/ʃ/	x	j	x
/h/	h	h	h
/ts/	ts	ts	s
/tʃ/	tx	tx	j
/w/	w	w	w
/j/	y	y	y
[b̪]	b	by	b
[k̪]	k	ky	k
[m̪]	m	my	m
[n̪]	n	ny	n
[d̪]	r	dy	r
[d]	r	d	r

The linguistic efforts of the researcher to solve some of the issues related to the orthographic representation are not advanced enough as to have a practical orthography

for all the communities. There are some political aspects in the process that allowed the researcher to only train teachers, so that they can have a better idea of how to write their language. Unfortunately, each community wants to have their dialect written in the way they speak it, and there is no agreement between the communities about the subject. Therefore, there are a number of challenges, but more work on this will be done in future research.

In addition, there is another working orthography proposed by Silva (2009) based on his phonological analysis. In this orthography, the sounds [l̪], [ʃ], and [tʃ] are not represented orthographically because they are not considered to be phonemes in his analysis, and <l>, <z>, <ts> are written instead.

## **Chapter 3 - Morpheme categories and closed word classes**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents types of morphemes and closed word classes in Paresi. It is organized into the following sections: §3.1, morpheme categories, §3.2 pronouns, §3.3 demonstratives, §3.4 indefinites, §3.5 quantification, §3.6 postpositions, §3.7 adjectives and adverbs, §3.8 interjections and ideophones.

### **3.1 Types of morphemes**

Paresi is a relatively polysynthetic and agglutinative language, that is, its words consist of several morphemes with clear-cut boundaries (no fused formatives). It is also worth noting that these morphemes have some allomorphic variation. In the next sections, I will describe the morphophonological criteria for distinguishing words, affixes, clitics, and particles.

#### **3.1.1 Definition of word**

A phonological word in Paresi is defined according to the following features: pause phenomena, stress, and phonotactic constraints.

##### **A) pause phenomena**

Word boundaries may be marked by a pause. Dixon (2003) notes that the pause phenomena are not sufficient to demarcate all phonological words in a language, and this is the case with Paresi.

##### **B) stress**

Primary stress is a relevant cue to identify a word boundary. Phonological words in Paresi have a primary stress in the penultimate syllable. Polymorphemic words can have additional secondary stresses. In general, phonological words coincide with grammatical words. However, stress assignment shows an incongruity between grammatical and phonological words in compounds (see §4.4).

##### **C) phonotactic constraints**

Some of the phonotactic constraints discussed in §2.1.4 (e.g. [l] cannot occur at the beginning of a word, [r] is rare word-initially, etc) and morphophonemic processes seen in 2.6 , such as vowel reduction (which occurs only in word-final positions) help to define the boundaries of the phonological word.

### 3.1.2 Affixes

Affixes can precede (prefixes) or follow a root (suffixes). There are 4 prefixes and approximately 14 suffixes. The prefixes are shown in Table 12:

Table 12: Prefixes in Paresi

<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
a-	causativizer
ka-	attributive
ma-	negative
z-	nominalizer

All prefixes occur with verbs, but *ka-* and *ma-* can also occur with nouns to derive stative predicates. There are five nominal suffixes, including morphemes for possession and plural, as shown in Table 12. The possession markers occur before the plural marker.

Table 13: Nominal suffixes

<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
-ne/-ra/-za	possessed
-ti	unpossessed
-nae	plural

Table 14 shows verbal suffixes including morphemes for aspect, verbal number, and valency-changing morphemes.

Table 14: Verbal suffixes in Paresi

Suffix	Gloss
-ita	progressive
-hena	transitional
-heta	completive
-ka	thematic suffix
-tya	thematic suffix
-kakoa	reciprocal
-i/-ki	causative
-(ty)oa	intransitivizer, reflexive
-wi	reflexive
-ore	emphatic
-ha	plural

In general suffixes are monosyllabic except for some of the aspectual markers, and the reciprocal. The transitional suffix *-hena* can occur more than once in a word (but not contiguously) to indicate the iteration of an action (see more discussion in §6.3).

(1) hikoahenahitehenaha

Ø= hikoa    -**hena** -ha -ita -**hena** -ha  
 3sg come.out TRS PL IFV TRS PL  
 'They kept coming and coming.' (ximatyati)

### 3.1.3 Clitics

Clitics are grammatical words which are not complete phonological words (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2002). The following properties of clitics defined in Zwicky and Pullum (1983) are used here to distinguish clitics from affixes in Paresi: i) clitics have low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, and ii) clitics but not affixes, can be attached to material already containing clitics. There are two types of clitics in Paresi: personal and clausal enclitics.

Person markers exhibit some properties of clitics: they have phonetic boundedness with their host (meaning they cannot receive stress) and they are in an external position relative to prefixes, which appear between the stem and the person marker. They also show variation in the type of hosts they can attach to: nouns, verbs, postpositions, numerals, quantifiers, and a few adverbs.

In Table 15, I present the personal clitics in Paresi. There are two types of proclitics, set A and set B (see discussion in §3.2.1). Personal proclitics from set A are used with nouns (to indicate the possessor) and with postpositions. Set A proclitics also occurs with a few non-agentive verbs, but with one difference: the third person singular is unmarked on verbs, but is marked by *e*=/*i*= on nouns and postpositions. Set B occurs with agentive verbs. The third-person object marker =*ene* is the only object used by verbs of both sets.

Table 15: Person/number clitics in Paresi

<b>Set A</b>	<b>Set B</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
no=	na=	1sg
hi=	ha=	2sg
<i>e</i> = (nouns/postpositions)/Ø=	Ø=	3sg
wi=	wa=	1pl
xi=	za=	2pl
=ene		3O

Other clitics in Paresi are clausal enclitics. They are illustrated in Table 16.

Table 16: Clausal enclitics in Paresi

<b>Form</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
= <i>(i)ya</i>	irrealis
= <i>(i)te</i>	future
= <i>(a)la</i>	focalizer
= <i>(a)tyo</i>	topicalizer
= <i>ene</i>	past

Clausal enclitics are unstressed morphemes, which occur in the second position. As such, they can be attached to different word classes (nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles). In (13), there is an example of the enclitic *ite* 'FUT' attached to an adverb.

- (2) Makanika      *ite*      xiyane      ama?  
                   makani -ka =**ite**    xi= yane mama  
                   tomorrow ?   =FUT 2pl go mom  
                   'Will you all go tomorrow, mom?' (Batsaji iraiti)

In addition to the forms in Table 16, which are disyllabic, enclitics have reduced forms: =*ya* 'IRR', =*te* 'FUT', =*la* 'FOC', =*tyo* 'TOP'. The initial vowel of enclitics is dropped when it is similar to the final vowel of the host, as seen in (14). This morphophonological process of like vowel elision only occurs with clitics.

- (3) Lelite      awitsa naza,      Leli yatyatyo      akota      hoka  
                   Leli =**te**    awitsa n= aza Leli =**ya**   =**tya** =**tyo**    aka -ta      hoka  
                   PN =FUT soon 1sg ask PN =IRR ?   =TOP LOC EMPH CON  
                   waiyehena    ekakoa  
                   waiye -hena e= kakoa  
                   see    TRS 3sg COM  
                   'I will ask Leli later, if she can stay; I can leave the children with her' (Iraeti Batsaji)

In (14), the enclitics =*ya*, =*tya* and =*tyo* pile up. It is possible to combine up to three enclitics. The irrealis enclitic is always closer to the stem when in combination with discourse enclitics such as *ala* and *atyo* while the future enclitic is in the outmost position. The future and irrealis enclitics cannot occur together.

### 3.1.4 Particles

Particles differ from clitics with regards to their integration with the word and their position. These forms are phonologically independent morphemes which have their own stress, whereas clitics are unstressed. They do not take nominal or verbal morphology, and their functions are associated with modality, interrogation, negation, subordination, and discourse. In contrast to the clitics, which appear in second position, particles can occur in clause-initial position (in the case of modal and discourse particles), before the verb (negative and interrogative particles) or in clause-final position (subordinate particles). The particles *hoka* and *hiyeta* can be used as connectors or discourse markers. The different types of particles will be discussed in later sections: modals in 6.4, interrogative *zoana* in 7.4, negatives in 7.6, and subordinate and connector particles in 8.2. In Table 17, I provide a list of particles described in this work.

Table 17: Particles

Form	Function
hatyaotseta	connector
hiyeta	connector
maheta	connector
hoka	connector
ezahe	connector
katsani	desiderative
zakore	frustrative
motya	frustrative
zamani	dubitative
kala	dubitative
maiha	negative
xini	negative
awa	negative
zoana	interrogative

## 3.2 Pronouns

### 3.2.1 Personal clitics

In this section, I describe the person clitics that are associated with the free forms.

The forms of the person clitics are represented in Table 18:

Table 18: Personal proclitics and number

Person	Set A		Set B	
	Singular	Plural <sup>18</sup>	Singular	Plural
1	na=	wa=	no=	wi=
2	ha=	za=	hi=	xi=
3	Ø=	Ø=	Ø=(verbs), e= (nouns)	Ø=(verbs), e= (nouns)

The distribution of the two sets of subject pronominal markers, sets A and B, is determined by semantics of the verb. Agentive verbs take set A markers, while non-agentive verbs take set B for subject marking (see chapter 5); nouns and postpositions take set B for possessor marking (§5.2). The only difference in marking subject and possessor is in the third person, where verbs have zero realization (4), but nouns (5), and postpositions (6) have *e*= (or its allomorphs).

(4) Ø=zaneheta

Ø= zane

3sg go

'He went away.' (E)

(5) etsiri

e= **tsiri**

3sg head

'his head.' (E)

---

<sup>18</sup> Third person plural for verbs is marked by *-ha*, and for nouns is marked by *-ha* or *-nae*. The morpheme *-nae* is a general plural marker that occurs with nouns generally, not just with proclitics.

(6) ekakoa

e= **kakoa**

3sg COM

'With him/her.' (E)

The proclitics have allomorphs where the last vowel of the proclitic is dropped (in first and second persons) or a consonant /n/ is inserted (in third person for nouns) when attached to roots starting with vowels. Then, because the allomorphs for both sets are the same, it is not possible to classify verbs starting with vowels into one of the sets A or B according to the type of proclitics they receive. In Table 19, the allomorphs with vowel-initial roots are shown.

In the first and second persons the clitics vowel is deleted (§2.6.4). In the third person for nouns, the form *e=* alternates with *i=* due to vowel harmony. *e=* has the allomorphes *en=* and *ene=*.<sup>19</sup>

Table 19: Allomorphy in proclitics

	Singular		Plural	
	consonant-initial roots	vowel-initial roots	consonant-initial roots	vowel-initial roots
1	no=/na=	n=	wi=/wa=	w=
2	hi=/ha=	h=	xi=/za=	x=
3	e=~ i= (nouns)/ Ø=	en=~ene=~ini=(nouns)/ Ø=	e=~i= (nouns)/ Ø=...-ha	en=~ene~in=~ini= (nouns), /Ø= ...-ha
anaphoric	ha= (nouns)	h= (nouns)	---	---

The enclitic =*ene* '3O' is the only pronominal form marking an object.<sup>20</sup> Proclitics

<sup>19</sup> The allomorph *ene=* occurs with a few nouns.

<sup>20</sup> Silva (2013: 97) has the form *e=* for third person subject and =<*n*>*e* for third person object. In the object third person an *n* is inserted. He affirms *n*-insertion is a regular process seen also with the third person subject *e=*, which changes to *en=*/*ene=* in vowel-initial roots. Another analysis presented in Rowan & Burgess (1969) considers the third person subject and object to be derived from different forms, *e* and *ene*, respectively. A third analysis considers the original form for third person to be *ene*, and that there was deletion in the third person subject of consonant-initial roots. Data from other Arawak languages in Aikhenvald (1999) show that a form *ni* for third person object is found in most of

are obligatory on verbs and they can be used for subject cross-reference (7). The enclitic for the third person object is not used for cross-reference, therefore a noun phrase cannot co-occur with it, as seen in (8).

- (7) (natyo) nakanakairene  
 natyo no= ka- nakaira =ene  
 1sg 1sg ATTR food 3O  
 'I ate it.' (E)

- (8) nakanakairene (\*kohatse)  
 no= ka- nakaira =ene kohatse  
 1sg ATTR food 3O fish  
 'I ate it (the fish).' (E)

Proclitics occur with non-verbal predicates, on nouns and adjectives or with the copula *tyaona*.

### 3.2.2 The anaphoric *ha=*

The proclitic *ha=*<sup>21</sup> expresses a coreference between the third person possessor and the subject of the clause. It has an endophoric reference, i.e, an expression in the same sentence or previous sentences (Bhat, 2004). Examples (9) and (10) from the same text show that the antecedent of *ha=* in *haiyanene* 'her husband' is *abebe* 'grandmother', which is mentioned in a previous sentence.

- (9) **abebe** ene tem a la, zoare? maha kaolone wityoka hoka  
 abebe ene tem a la zoare maha kaolone w= ityoka hoka  
 grandmother PST run FOC what honey ? 1pl cut, cut down CON  
 nakawitxita  
 na= kawitx -ita  
 1sg shout IFV  
 'My deceased grandmother ran, (and she asked): what (happened)? "We cut kaolone  
 honey", I shouted.' (JT nawenane)

---

these languages. These last two analyses are plausible, but I follow here Rowan & Burgess' analysis because there is no evidence for a historical third person subject form *ene=*.

<sup>21</sup> Aikhenvald (1999: 89) provides the proclitic *ha=* in Paresi as evidence for the proto-Arawak origin form \**pa-* 'impersonal'. The form *pa* is also found in languages such as Bahwana, Guajiro and Wapixtana. Rowan & Burgess (1969) analyzes *ha=* as the third person, and the *e/i=* prefixes as fourth person (or obviative, that is, a non-salient third person referent).

- (10) Hatyaotseta haiyanene ene kohone Ø=kolatya hatyo  
 hatyaotseta **ha**= iyanene ene koho -ne Ø= kolatya hatyo  
 then 3sg husband PST basket POSSED 3sg take 3sg  
 xikako temazaheta, Ø=zane. Wiyane  
 xikako temazaheta, Ø=zane wi= yane  
 period, moment run ? PERF 3sg go 1pl go  
 wahikoaheta hoka Ø=fetatyaha  
 wa= hikoa -heta hoka Ø= fetatyaha -ha  
 1pl come.out, show.up PERF CON 3sg bless PL  
 'Then my grandmother's husband took a basket, ran, and went away. Let's arrive and  
 make an offer.' (JT nawenane)

The examples below from the same text, a narration of the events of *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969), illustrate the use of the anaphoric proclitic *ha*= and the third person *e*=. In (11), *ha*= is used to make cross-reference between the possessor of the dog and the subject of the clause Dirizonae.

- (11) Dirizolitsetxoala fihi Ø=txiya  
**Dirizonae<sub>i</sub>** -li -tse -txoa =la fihi Ø= txiya  
 PN CLF:round CLF:small big =FOC straight 3sg pass  
 hakatxoloza kakoa  
**ha<sub>i</sub>**= katxolo -za kakoa  
 3sg dog POSSED COM  
 'Dirizonae went straight with his (own) dog.' (Dirizonae)

If there are two possible antecedents in the same clause, the antecedent must be the subject. The possessor of *zotawa* 'horn', the form *ha*=, can only have, as its antecedent, the subject of the clause *azama* 'deer', and not the oblique argument expressed by *e*=.

- (12) **azama<sub>i</sub>** ala teko a ekakoa hazotawa heno  
 azama ala teko a e<sub>i/j</sub>\*= kakoa **ha<sub>i/\*j</sub>**= zotawa heno  
 deer FOC run away 3sg COM 3sg horn above, on.the.top  
 Ø=mokene hoka  
 Ø<sub>i/\*j</sub>= moka =ene hoka  
 3sg put 3O CON  
 'The deer<sub>i</sub> ran away with him<sub>j</sub>, he<sub>i/\*j</sub> put him<sub>i/j</sub> [Dirizonae] on his<sub>i/\*j</sub> antlers.'

(Dirizonae)

The following sentence, from the same text, shows the use of the proclitic *e=* instead of *ha=*. The possessor of the dog is not the subject of this sentence (it is the subject of the previous sentence).

- (13) hoka ekatxolozahokotxoala ehakakoaneta  
           hoka e<sub>\*ij</sub>= katxolo -za     -hoko     -txoa =la     e= hakakoa -ne     -ta  
           CON 3sg dog    POSSED CLF:circled big   =FOC 3sg similar POSSED ?  
           Ø=temita  
           Ø= tem -ita  
           3sg run IFV  
           'Then his [= the boy's] dog was running as well.' (Dirizonae)

### 3.2.3 Personal pronouns

The Paresi full pronouns are shown in Table 20. Free forms correspond to bound pronouns plus the form *atyo* (reduced to *tyo*, with an allomorph *tso*).<sup>22</sup> The third person has the same form as the demonstratives *hatyo* and *eze*, which modify nouns (see §3.3). The other personal pronouns cannot modify nouns. Interestingly, *hatyo* is similar to other pronouns because it also corresponds to a bound form, the proclitic *ha=* 'anaphoric third person'. Cross-linguistically it is not uncommon for the third person to be either identical to demonstrative pronouns or derivationally related to them (Bhat, 2004:132).

Table 20: Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	natyo	witso
2	hitso	xitso
3	hatyo, eze	hatyonae, ezeneae

Silva (2013: 183; 194) considers *hatyo* to be a demonstrative distinct from personal pronouns. He supports his analysis with the following arguments: i) *hatyo* takes

<sup>22</sup> The clitic *atyo* is analyzed as a topicalizer by Silva (2009) and later as a focus marker (Silva, 2013). I treat it as a topicalizer.

*-nae* 'PL' with a plural or associative meaning, not for emphasis like pronouns, ii) it can co-occur with other demonstratives, and iii) it can take the comitative *-kakoa*. I have not found strong evidence for considering it to be different from other pronouns. *-nae* has the plural/associative meaning with the third person and not other persons (where it is used for emphasis) because in the other persons the plural is lexicalized. I have also not found examples of *hatyo* or *eze* co-occurring as demonstratives with other demonstratives in my corpus. Furthermore, it is not clear whether pronouns may occur with the postposition *kakoa* 'comitative' similar to *hatyo*, as in (14). There are few examples of this construction in my corpus (they often use the proclitic and the comitative), as seen in (15).

- (14) **hatyonae**    **kakoa**    ali    witso    hoka    witsaonita  
       hatyo -nae    =kakoa    ali    witso    hoka    wi= tyaona -ita  
       3sg    PL    COM    here    1pl    CON    1pl    live    IFV  
       'We came with them to live here.' (Cabeceira do Osso)
- (15) zoaneretya                      hoka    **xitsokakoa**    zakarekarehalotyakakaoita  
       zoana -re    -tya    hoka    xitso -kakoa    wi= karekare -halo -tya -kakoa -ita  
       what    NMLZ    FOC?    CON    2pl    COM    1pl    gossip?    FEM    TH    RECIP    IFV  
       'Why do you all gossip about each other .' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)

Free pronouns marking subject are optional with verbs, and they can co-occur with a coreferential proclitic for emphasis, (16) and (17), for contrastive focus (18), and with the topicalizer *atyo* (19). For emphasis, in general they occur with the emphasis marker *-ta*.

- (16) Q: Maiha iyakatyo                      hiwawa    **hitso**    hiyaneta?  
       maiha =iya -ka =tyo    hi= wawa hitso hi= yane -ta  
       NEG    =IRR    TH =TOP 2sg alone you    2sg go    IFV  
       'Will you not be able to go alone?'

- A: **nattyo** nozaniya  
       nattyo no= zani =ya  
       1sg    1sg go    =IRR  
       'I can go.' (Batsaji iraiti)

- (17) nonityohalitsehehenatyo hoka natyota nonakairi  
 no= nityohaliti -tse -hena =tyo hoka **naty** -ta no= nakairi  
 1sg old.person CLF:small TRS =TOP CON 1sg EMPH 1sg food  
 natawehetehena  
 na= tawe -hete -hena  
 1sg look.for PERF TRS  
 'I was almost an adult, and I already was looking for food myself.' (JT nawenane)

(18) maikatyo hityani kohone **hitso** hakolaheta  
 maika =tyo h= ityani koho -ne hitso ha= kola -heta  
 SUG =TOP 2sg son, daughter basket POSSED you 2sg take PERF  
 hoka hityani hahalota Ø=tyoheta  
 hoka h= ityani hahalota Ø= tyo -heta  
 CON 2sg son, daughter ? 3sg come PERF  
 'You will take your daughter's basket, and your daughter will come back with  
 nothing.' (ketetse)

(19) hoka **naty** atyo nawaiyolore rota kahare zakore  
 hoka naty =atyo na= waiyo -lo -re rota kahare zakore  
 CON 1sg =TOP 1sg= know NMLZ NMLZ fast a.lot FRUST  
 maha iya kalini nopauza aezahetya hoka  
 maha =iya kalini no= pauza a- ezahe -tya hoka  
 NEG =IRR now 1sg= pause THS more.than TH CON  
 nawaiyolota  
 na= waiyo -lo -ta  
 1sg= know NMLZ IFV  
 'I have learned a lot very fast, but now there is no point in increasing (my  
 knowledge), because I won't learn.' (Katom Aug nali)

In addition, free pronouns marking subject must precede the verb (as seen above), and free pronouns marking object must follow the verb.<sup>23</sup>

- (20) baba Ø=aotyaitsa natyo hoka  
       baba Ø= a- otya -i -tsa natyo hoka  
       dad 3sg TH remember CAUS TH 1sg CON  
       'Then my father taught me.' (Katomo nawenane)

(21) \*baba natyo Ø=aotyaitsa hoka  
       baba natyo Ø= a- otya -i -tsa hoka  
       dad 1sg 3sg TH remember CAUS TH CON

<sup>23</sup> The preferred constituent order with full lexical nouns is SOV, as seen in §7.2.1.

'Then my father taught me.' (Katomo nawenane)

Free pronouns on non-verbal predicates are illustrated in affirmative sentences<sup>24</sup> (22) and (23), and also in negative sentences with the negative focus marker *xini* (24).

- (22) ah **natyo** Zomoizokae natyo  
natyo Zomoizokae natyo  
1sg Zomoizokae 1sg  
'Ah, I am Zomoizokae.' (Katomo nawenane)

- (23) **natyo** atyo Enomaniere  
natyo atyo Enomaniere  
1sg FOC Enomaniere  
'I belong to the Enomaniere group.' (Formoso onetse)

- (24) maiba **witso** xini kala zala zamani Ø=malahetene  
maiba witso xini kala zala zamani Ø= mala -heta =ene  
NEG 1pl NEG DUB who DUB 3sg pull.off PERF 3O  
'It was not us, I don't know who pulled it off' (ketetse)

The use of free versus bound pronouns with nominalized verbs depends in part on the type of nominalization. For example, in a non-verbal predicate with the nominalizer *-tiye*, a free pronoun must be used, as in (25). In a nominalized verb form with the nominalizer *-re*, it is necessary to use a bound pronoun, and the free pronoun is optional, as seen in (26).

- (25) **natyo** maotseratya-ti-ye  
natyo maotseratya -ti -ye  
1sg lie UNPOSS NMLZ  
'I am a deceiver.' (E)

- (26) (**natyo**) n=maotseratya-re  
natyo **na=** maotseratya -re  
1sg 1sg lie NMLZ  
'I am the one who deceives.' (E)

Derivational processes applied to nouns are not applicable to pronouns. A number

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<sup>24</sup> The subject free pronoun after the nominal predicate is functioning as an intensifier.

distinction is lexically encoded in pronouns (except third person, see details on number in §4.2). However, the second plural person *xitso* with *-nae* 'PL' can indicate more than two addressees.

### 3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions used to orient and focus hearers' attention on objects or locations in the speech situation, serving specific syntactic functions, and characterized by semantic features relative to a deictic center (Diessel, 1999: 2). In Diessel's typology, Paresi is a language in which the adnominal and the pronominal demonstrative forms are the same (used as independent pronouns in a noun phrase and as modifiers of a noun), and adverbial forms are distinct (as verb modifiers). There are four adnominal demonstratives and five adverbial demonstratives, as shown in Table 21. The deictic feature relative to distance is relevant for all of them, and visibility is relevant only for a few demonstratives. Some of the demonstratives also have a pragmatic function because of their anaphoric use in discourse, such as the discourse deictic demonstratives *ezechare* 'this thing' and *hatyohare* 'that thing', which are derived from adnominal demonstratives. I used Wilkins' demonstrative questionnaire (1999) to identify the uses of demonstratives in Paresi.

Table 21: Demonstratives

	Adnominal Demonstratives					Adverbial Demonstratives		
	Proximal	Medial (near hearer)	Distal	Non-visual		Proximal	Medial	Distal
singular	eze	hatyo	ẽeze	etake	ali	owene,	ita	nali, ūita
plural	ezenae	hatyonae	ẽezenae	etakenae				

### 3.3.1 Adnominal demonstratives

Demonstratives always precede nouns in a noun phrase. They are distinguished for number, as seen in Table 21, and they can also have a classifier attached to them. Semantically, they encode information about the location of the referent relative to a deictic center taking into account the distance and visibility. Below I show the different types of adnominal demonstratives.

#### 3.3.1.1 Proximal demonstrative

The form of the proximal demonstrative is *eze* with its variant *eye*. The demonstrative *eye* is used when the form functions modifying a noun, and *eze* when functioning as a pronoun. The latter is stressed and there is a pause after it, while the former is not stressed and it is pronounced as one phonological word with the noun (29). It refers to a referent within the immediate range of the speaker. In conversation, the form is usually accompanied by a pointing gesture.

- (27) **eze** hibaberaza?

eze hi= babera -za  
this 2sg paper POSSED

'Is this your book? (the book is close to the speaker or in a distance within speaker's reach).' (E)

- (28) **eze eze** koxiye kitxihi etake Celio  
 eze eze koxiye kitxi -hi etake Celio  
 this this partridge foot CLF:long.slender that Celio  
 zamairakihare taitehenatyato  
 z= a- maira -ki -hare taite -hena tyo =tyo  
 2pl THS be.afraid CAUS MASC only TRS ? =TOP  
 'This foot of partridge, this is the one that scares Celio.' (Tolohe)

The demonstrative *eze* does not exhibit agreement in number with the noun head. In (29), the plural occurs in both appositional noun phrases, and in (30) the plural occurs in the demonstrative because it is a noun phrase head. *eze* can also occur with a classifier in an appositional noun phrase, as in (31).

- (29) kala **eyenae** wahetakomaniyereharenae Ø=fitita  
 kala eze -nae w= ahetak maniya -yere -hare -nae Ø= fe -tya -ita  
 DUB this PL 2pl ? side NMLZ 2pl PL 3sg plant TH IFV  
 haka  
 haka  
 cará  
 'I think these ones, our ancestors planted cará.' (Toahiyereharenae-DB)
- (30) **ezenae** hibaberaza?  
 eze -nae hi= babera -za  
 this PL 2sg= paper POSSED  
 'Are these your books?' (E)
- (31) **ezetse** naikoli Ø=kaweta  
 eze -tse n= aikoli Ø= kawe -ta  
 this CLF:small 1sg tooth 3sg hurt IFV  
 'This one, my tooth hurts.' (E)

In addition to the exophoric use of *eze* with reference to entities in the speech situation, the demonstrative also has an endophoric use, referring to elements in the discourse. According to Diessel (1999), endophoric uses can be subdivided into anaphoric, discourse deictics, and recognitional uses. The anaphoric use of *hatyo* and the discourse deictic use of *hatyohare* will be described in §3.3. The demonstrative *eze* is used to activate specific shared knowledge not mentioned in the preceding discourse

(recognitional use). For example, (32) is part of a conversation in which people discussed getting new clothes for a party in the village. The reference to a store known by the Paresi people in that village as *lojinha* ('little store' in Portuguese) is introduced by *eye*:

- (32) **Eye** lojinha    **eye** lojinha    waowitereako  
       eye lojinha    eye lojinha    w= aowi -te -re -ako  
       this little. store this little. store 1pl say IFV NMLZ LOC  
       'It is in this little store we call *lojinha*.' (iraiti Batsaji)

When one of the speakers starts talking about my presence in the house (while I was sleeping on a hammock), she uses the demonstrative *eye* in (33), even though I was not previously mentioned in the discourse. Then someone else arrives in the house and asks her who she is talking about, and again she uses *eye*, and clarifies that she is talking about the non-Indian person.

- (33) Alitatyo                      **eye** Ø=tyaonita    **eye** haloti  
       ali -ta    =tyo    eye Ø= tyaona -ita    eye haloti  
       here EMPH =TOP this 3sg stay    IFV this person  
       'This one is staying here, this Paresi woman.' (iraiti Batsaji)
- (34) Q: zala Ø=nemakakaweta?  
       zala Ø= nema ka kawe -ta  
       who 3sg sleep TH hurt IFV  
       'Who is sleepy?'

- A: **eye** mahalotihalo  
       eye ma- haloti -halo  
       this NEG Paresi FEM  
       'This non-Indian woman' (iraiti Batsaji)

Silva (2013) describes the existence of the form *eege*, saying the *g* indicates a voiced uvular obstruent. He analyzes *eege* as a proximate non-visual demonstrative. If that is the case, then the semantic feature of visibility is not only relevant to differentiate between the two distal forms *eeze* and *etake*, but also the proximate forms *eze* and *eege*. He also mentions the anaphoric demonstrative *eetake*, also not attested in my corpus. I

have not attested the forms *eege* and *eetake* in my texts, and more investigation is needed to confirm the existence of this other demonstrative. Silva concludes that the lengthening of the vowels is related to the feature [-visible]. However, the distal *eeze*, described below, has a long vowel and it indicates a visible referent. The description here then leads to the conclusion that the lengthening of the vowels is not related to visibility, but rather to distance.

### 3.3.1.2 Medial demonstrative: *hatyo*

The form *hatyo* 'that'<sup>25</sup> is a demonstrative that refers to a referent that is near the hearer but away from the speaker. Example shows the hearer was the deictic center.

- (35) **hatyo** hibaberaza?

hatyo hi= babera -za  
that 2sg paper POSSED  
'Is that your book? (the book is in front of the addressee but not within speaker's reach).' (E)

- (36) **hatyo** (or *eeze*) hiyerone?

hatyo **eeze** hi= zero -ne  
that yonder 2sg flute POSSED  
'Is that your flute?' (where the referent is distant from speaker and in front of hearer)  
(E)

It is interesting to notice that both forms *hatyo* and *eeze* are acceptable in (36). *eeze* is used considering the speaker as the deictic center, while *hatyo* can also be used considering that the hearer is close to the referent. Therefore, Paresi has a person-oriented system.

Similar to the demonstrative *eze*, the demonstrative *hatyo* may exhibit number marking (37), and it occurs with classifiers (38) when in an appositional noun phrase .

- (37) **hatyonae** imitinae

hatyo -nae ima -nae  
that PL cloth PL  
'These ones, the clothes.' (E)

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<sup>25</sup> The demonstrative *hatyo* also occurs in cases in which the referent is equidistant from speaker and hearer, or is few meters away from hearer.

- (38) hoka **hatyonatse**               ala   katxolo ani   hiye Ø=kawitxita  
          hoka hatyo -natse           ala   katxolo ani   hiye Ø= kawitx -ita  
          CON that CLF:cylindrical FOC dog   wasp BEN 3sg shout IFV  
          'Then that one, the dog, was barking at the bee (Dirizonae)

The demonstrative *hatyo*<sup>26</sup> more frequently refers to a referent previously mentioned in the discourse.<sup>27</sup> Diessel (1999: 98) states that when a new discourse participant is established as a topic, it is usually tracked by third person pronouns, definite articles, or pronominal affixes on the verb. On the other hand, a discourse participant previously introduced as a topic is tracked by demonstratives when it is brought to focus a second time. In the sentences below from a conversation the new information about *imiti* 'clothing' is introduced in (39), and after they changed the topic, it is brought to the focus of attention again in (40) by the use of *hatyo*.

- (39) Aliako   zalanihare               **haima**   **inimaha**   Ø=kikitsa  
      ali -ako zala -ni -hare ha= ima in= ima -ha Ø= kikitsa  
      here LOC who NMLZ MASC 3sg cloth 3sg cloth PL 3sg separate  
      'Where so-and-so chose his clothes and their clothes.' (Batsaji tahi)

- (40) **Hatyō** imitinae   hitiyyatyo               ezahe maiha nabakaita   hoka  
      hatyo ima -nae hitiya =ya =tyo ezahe maiha na= baka -ita hoka  
      that cloth PL again IRR TOP CON NEG 1sg pay IFV CON  
      nakolatya  
      na= kolatya  
      1sg bring  
      'I will bring those clothes even if I do not pay.' (Batsaji tahi)

In the context as the head of an noun phrase, the demonstratives *eze* and *hatyo* have the function of third person pronouns. Similar to other personal pronouns, they occur with the emphasis marker *-ta*, (41) and (42), or topicalized by *atyo* (43).

<sup>26</sup> This form may have originated from the anaphoric proclitic *ha*= and the topicalizer *atyo*, similar to the free pronouns *natyo* and *hitso*.

<sup>27</sup> Silva (2013) does not call *hatyo* an anaphoric demonstrative, assigning this function to *etake* instead. However, he affirms *hatyo* can be used in the same contexts where *etake* is used, suggesting less of a functional distinction that he has elsewhere asserted.

- (41) Eyeta        tyoa        gravaita        hinamakihenata        tyoa  
     eye -ta        Ø= tya        Ø= grava -ita        hinama -ki        -hena -ta        Ø= tya  
     3sg EMPH 3sg come 3sg record IFV two time TRS EMPH 3sg come  
     gravaita        eye niraini  
     Ø= grava -ita        eye n= irai -ni  
     3sg record IFV this 1sg talk POSSED  
     'She came to record. Twice she came to record my speech.' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (42) **hatyota**        kore        kolatya        hoka        zane  
     hatyo -ta        kore        Ø= kola -tya        hoka        Ø= zane  
     3sg EMPH arrow 3sg take TH CON 3sg go  
     'He took the arrow and went.' (Omati-ZK)

- (43) **hatyonae**        atyo        Ø=tyomita        nomani        matsene  
     hatyo -nae        atyo        Ø= tyoma -ita        n= om ani        matsene  
     3sg PL TOP 3sg make IFV 1sg LK BEN field  
     'They prepared a field for me.' (BO nawenane)

Demonstratives as independent pronouns (head of a noun phrase) are also used in the context of copular or nonverbal predicates, as a means of identification.

- (44) **ezenae**        hitsorareze  
     eze        -nae        hi= tsorare -ze  
     this one PL        2sg soldier NMLZ  
     'These are your soldiers.' (JG nawenane)

- (45) **hatyonae**        baba        mama  
     hatyo -nae        baba        mama  
     3sg PL dad mom  
     'Those are my father and my mother.' (Batsaji tahi)

The demonstratives occur with the nominalizer *-hare* (3.6.4) deriving the forms *ezechare* and *hatyohare*. They are discourse deictic forms that focus the hearers' attention on information expressed by a clause or sentence in the discourse. The difference between the two forms is not clear because both of them are used to track anaphoric information given in a prior clause, as seen in (46) to (48). However, *ezechare* can also be cataphoric, i.e, it can refer to the discourse that follows (48).

- (46) zala iya **ezechare** irai zomana?  
zala iya eze -hare irai z= -om -ana  
who IRR this NMLZ talk 2p LK BEN  
'Who is going to tell you all this thing?' (Omati-ZK)
- (47) aliyakeretala **hatyohare** maiha zala  
aliyakere -ta =la hatyo -hare maiha zala  
how EMPH =FOC that NMLZ NEG who  
Ø=hikoareha enomana, aliyakere ala  
Ø= hikoa -re -ha e= -om -ana aliyakere =ala  
3sg come.out, show.up NMLZ PL 3sg LK BEN how =FOC  
**hatyohare** Ø=tsemahatiye  
hatyo -hare Ø= tsema -ha -ti -ye  
that NMLZ 3sg hear PL UNPOSS NMLZ  
'How did they hear that thing? Nobody arrived to (tell) them, how is that?' (tolohe)
- (48) hoka eaotseta atxiyakehenene Kamaehiye ana  
hoka eaotseta a- txiya -ke -hen =ene Kamaehiye =ana  
CON then THS pass LOC TRS 3O Kamaehiye =BEN  
hetati **eyehare** tohiri abali  
hetati eye -hare tohiri abali  
in.the.old.days this NMLZ type.of.sieve type.of.sieve  
Ø=tyao hetehena  
Ø= tyao -heta -hena  
3sg born PERF TRS  
'Then he passed it to Kamaehiye, in the old days, and *tohiri* and *abali* sieves were born. (Koho)

### 3.3.1.3 Distal demonstrative *ēeze*

The form of the distal demonstrative is *ēeze*. The form is different from the proximate because of the lengthening and nasalization of the first vowel. Lengthening and nasalization contrast is limited only to this form and the form *īita* 'distal adverbial demonstrative'. This demonstrative is used to indicate a referent far away from the speaker and the hearer, not accessible but still visible. I only found examples of *ēeze* in elicitation.

- (49) hiyaya ita **ẽeze** hati  
hi= yaya ita ẽze hati  
2sg see there yonder house  
'Look that house over there.' (E)

- (50) **ẽeze** haira hihairane?  
ẽeze haira hi= haira -ne  
yonder ball 2sg= ball POSSED  
'Is that ball over there yours?' (E)

### 3.3.1.4 Non-visual *etake*

The form of the non-visual distal is *etake*. It refers to a referent that is far away, not accessible to the speaker (and possibly not the hearer), and out of sight.

- (51) eze **etake** zaheza Ø=tyaona  
eze etake zahe -za Ø= tyaona  
this yonder more than ? 3sg COP  
'This one is bigger than that one' (Tolohe)

- (52) **etake** zero Ø=waiyehare  
etake zero Ø= waiyehare  
yonder flute 3sg be.beautiful  
'That flute is beautiful.' (referring to a flute (not visible) behind someone, far away from both the speaker and the hearer, but the speaker knows about the object)

In addition, I have a few examples in which *etake* has a recognitional use, i.e., indicates the hearer is able to identify the referent based on shared knowledge (although usually additional information about the referent may be provided in a relative clause) as illustrated in (47).

- (53) eaotseore **etake** Zaloiya zekane Ø=nitere  
eaotse -ore etake Zaloiya zeka -ne Ø= nea -ita -re  
? EMPH that Zaloiya gift POSSED 3sg say IFV NMLZ  
wezene nafitya  
w= eze -ne na= fe  
1pl father POSSED 1sg plant  
'I planted that gift, of Zaloiya, the one our father talked about.' (tolohe)

I did not find examples in which *etake* is used anaphorically, as presented in Silva (2013). It is not clear in the examples in his work whether *etake* has an anaphoric function because he does not provide examples in which the referent was previously mentioned in the discourse. Furthermore, some of the examples he gives have recognitional uses instead of anaphoric uses. For example, in (54), *etake* can be used, even though the referent was not previously mentioned in the discourse, because the knowledge about the referent is shared by the speech act participants:

- (54) **etake** awo  
 etake awo  
 that emu  
 'That emu.' (context: the one we saw in the savanna)

### 3.3.2 Adverbial demonstratives

There are five locational deictics, indicating the location of an event or situation. In general they occupy the first position in a clause.

#### 3.3.2.1 The proximate *ali* 'here'

In example (55), *ali* is used with the noun *maniya* to indicate direction, similar to a demonstrative. Example (56) shows it in a non-verbal predicate, and (53) in a negative clause, where it can be negated by *maiha* and the negative focus particle *xini*.

- (55) Ø=kolatyahena baba mama **ali** maniya Ø=tyoa  
 Ø= kolatya -hena baba mama ali maniya Ø= tyoa  
 3sg take TRS dad mom here side 3sg come  
 'They took my father and my mother, and they came here, to this side.' (Bacaval tahi)

- (56) Q: **ali** kore hitso azaira?  
 ali kore hitso aza =ira  
 here DUB? 2sg my.elder.sister AFF?  
 'Are you here my dear sister?!'

- A: ha, **ali** natyo kolira  
 ha ali natyo koli =ira  
 AFFIR here 1sg my.young.sister AFF?  
 'Yeah, I am here my sister.' (tolohe)

- (57) maiha **ali** xini Ø=tyaonahitaha  
maiha ali xini Ø= tyaona -h -ita -ha  
NEG here NEG 3sg live PL IFV PL  
'They did not live here.' (Batsaji tahi)

### 3.3.2.2 The medial *owene* and *ita*

The adverbial demonstrative *owene* is used to indicate a medial position between the speaker and the referent, as in examples (58) to (60).

- (58) oweneta Ø=ehokotoita  
**owene** -ta Ø= ehoko -tyoa -ita  
right.here EMPH 3sg lay down MM IFV  
'She is lying down right here.' (Batsaji iraiti)

- (59) hoka maiha oweneze xini estrageiro Ø=zane Ø=tyaona  
hoka maiha **owene** -ze xini estrangeiro Ø= zane Ø= tyaona  
CON NEG right.here NMLZ NEG foreigner 3sg go 3sg live  
'It is why the foreigner does not live close by.' (toahiyereharenae)

- (60) **owene** zoalini toli tyokahitaha  
owene zoare -ni toli tyoka -h -ita -ha  
right.here what NMLZ a lot sit PL IFV PL  
'Right here there is something, a lot of them are sitting' (iraiti Katomo nali)

The demonstrative *ita* also indicates a medial position, and it is used in the same context as *owene*. Example (61) follows the sentence where *owene* occurred, and both have the same referent. The difference may be that in order to use *ita* the referent must be equidistant from both speaker and hearer, while in order to use *owene*, the referent may be close to hearer.

- (61) **ita** tyairi kilihi  
ita tyairi kili -hi  
there mountain nose CLF:thin  
'There on the edge of the mountain.' (iraiti Katomo nali)

- (62) oloniti **ita** badeakore  
     oloniti ita bade -ako -re  
     chicha there bucket LOC.inside NMLZ  
     'The chicha is there in the bucket.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

- (63) ali    hetati                Ø=tyaonehenaha                **ita**    ahoti  
     ali    hetati                Ø= tyaone -hena -ha    ita    aho -ti  
     here in.the.old.days    3sg live    TRS PL    there road UNPOSS  
     kilihi                    maihatyo            alimaniya    xini    **ita**    halakoiya  
     kili -hi                maiha =tyo            ali maniya    xini    ita    halakoiya  
     nose CLF:thin           NEG =TOP            here side        NEG    there other.side  
     maniyatyo  
     maniya =tyo  
     side =TOP

'For the first time, they lived here, but not here on this side, it is there on the other side, on the roadside.' (Batsahi tahi)

### 3.3.2.3 The distal *nali* 'there' and the distal *itä* 'there'

Examples (64) and (65) illustrate the use of *nali* 'there' while (66) and (67) of *itä* 'there'. The difference between the two distals is that *itä* is used when the referent is visible. *itä* has the same vowel lengthening and nasalization as the form *eeze*, and both forms indicate a referent far away from the speaker but visible.

- (64) kala    **nali**    maniya,    **nali**    maniyala  
     kala    nali    maniya    nali    maniya =la  
     DUB    there    side        there    side    =FOC  
     'I think it is there on that side, on that side.' (Bacaval tahi)

- (65) kala    **nali**    witsaona    Ø=tyaonaha    wikakoa  
     kala    nali    wi= tsaona    Ø= tyaona -ha    wi= =kakoa  
     DUB    there    1pl live    3sg live    PL 1pl =COM  
     'We lived there, they lived with us.' (Aug nawenane)

- (66) hatya    kinota,                hakinota                eze    zema    iyatya  
     hatya    kino -ta                ha= kino -ta            eze    =zema    =iya -tya  
     IND1    tree EMPH    3sg tree EMPH    this =COM =IRR ?  
     **itä**                    zema    zoaha    iyatya            Ø=gradiatya    hoka  
     ita                        =zema    zoaha    =iya -tya            Ø= gradia -tya hoka  
     there.distal =COM and =IRR ?    3sg fence.in TH CON  
     'There are some trees there and he can fence it in there.' (tolohe)

- (67) **iita** hiyerone?  
**iita** hi= zero -ne  
there.distal 2sg flute POSSED  
'Is your flute there?' (where the referent is distant from speaker and in front of hearer) (E)

### 3.4 Indefinites

#### 3.4.1 Indefinite demonstratives

There are two indefinite demonstratives *hatya* and *haiya*, which function as independent pronouns and modifiers of a noun. Both indefinite forms are prehead modifiers. They can be pluralized with *-nae* in the two syntactic contexts in which they occur. The indefinite pronoun *hatya*<sup>28</sup> has the meaning 'someone, somebody' when occurring as an independent pronoun, as shown in (68). It also occurs modifying a noun (as a determiner) with the meaning of 'another', as in (69) and (70), or with a meaning similar to a indefinite article, referring to a referent that is not physically present, as in (71).

- (68) **hatya** zema notyaonakoaitaene hoka  
hatya zema no=tyaona -ko a -ita =ene hoka  
IND1 COM2 1sg COP LOC IFV 3O CON  
'Then, I was following someone.' (Kamoro nawenane)
- (69) eze hatyaone ityani Ø=kolatya, maiha **hatya** ityani  
eze ha= tyaone ityani Ø= kolatya maiha hatya ityani  
this 3sg cousin son, daughter 3sg take NEG IND1 son, daughter  
xini zaore Ø=kolatya  
xini zaore Ø= kolatya  
NEG FRUST 3sg take  
'This one took the son of her cousin , it is not another son who she took.' (tolohe)
- (70) **hatya** wenakala tserigao zane tawa enomanaha  
hatya wenakala tserigao Ø= zane Ø= tawa e= nomana -ha  
IND1 village latex 3sg go 3sg look.for 3sg BEN PL  
'And they went to look for latex for them in another village.' (Bacaval tahi)

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<sup>28</sup> The forms *hatya* and *hatyo* '3sg' may be related to the anaphoric *ha=*.

- (71) **hatyo** babera associa&ao maiha nali aka hoka hatyo hatyo  
 hatya babera associa&ao maiha nali aka hoka hatyo hatyo  
 IND1 paper organization NEG LOC have CON that that  
 zaokakatyo imoti certid&ao  
 z= aoka -ka =tyo imoti certid&ao  
 2pl say TH =TOP non-Indian certificate  
 'The organization did not have a document, that one which the non-indigenous people call a certificate.' (Batsaji tahi)

Another indefinite demonstrative is *haiya*, which means 'somebody, something, other' as an independent pronoun, as shown in (72) to (74), or 'some' as a noun modifier, as seen in (75) and (76).

- (72) **haiya** Ø=tyakekota niraini                    **haiya** maiha Ø=tyakekore  
 haiya Ø= tyakeko -ta n= irai -ni                haiya maiha Ø= tyakeko -re  
 IND2 3sg believe IFV 1sg talk POSSED IND2 NEG 3sg believe NMLZ  
 niraini                    **haiya** niraini                tsemehena                hoka  
 n= irai -ni                haiya n= irai -ni           Ø= tseme -hena hoka  
 1sg talk POSSED IND2 1sg talk POSSED 3sg hear TRS CON  
 Ø=kaweta                ihiye  
 Ø= kawe -ta i= hiye  
 3sg hurt IFV 3sg BEN  
 'There are some people who believe in what I say, there are some who do not believe, and some listen to what I say and it hurts them.' (Kamoro nawenane)

- (73) Alatyá natyotya kalini nezanityo            **haiya** ite            iraeti  
 =ala tya natyo -tya kalini n= ezanityo haiya =ite            irae -ti  
 =FOC ? 1sg FOC now 1sg= wife                IND2 =FUT talk UNPOSS  
 hare nawaiyekehala&kaita  
 hare na= waiyekehala& -ita  
 also 1sg= understand IFV  
 'It was me who explained something to my wife, for example words.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

- (74) wihinaeharenae                   Ø=zaneta                   kala     aliyo  
       wi= hinae   -hare   -nae   Ø= zane -ta                   kala     aliyo  
       1pl   relatives MASC PL   3sg go   EMPH   DUB   where  
       Ø=zanetaha                   zoana   Ø=hakahitaha                   zamani   **haiya**   Tangara  
       Ø= zane -ta   -ha   zoana   Ø= ha -h -ita -ha   zamani   haiya   Tangara  
       3sg go   IFV PL   what   3sg work PL IFV PL   DUB   IND2   Tangara  
       Ø=zaneta,                   **haiya** Sapeza Ø=zaneta  
       Ø= zane -ta                   haiya Sapeza Ø= zane -ta  
       3sg go   EMPH IND2 Sapeza 3sg go   EMPH

'Our relatives are going, and I do not know where they are going. I do not know whether they are working. Some people go to Tangará, others go to Sapeza.'  
 (demarcação)

- (75) **haiyanae**   wihinaehare                   kakoa  
       haiya -nae   wi= hinae   -hare -nae =kakoa  
       IND2 PL   1pl   relatives MASC PL   COM  
 'With some of my relatives.' (cabeceira)

- (76) **haiya**   mokotsenae   wihinaehare                   Ø=waini   hitiya  
       haiya   mokotse -nae   wi= hinae   -hare   Ø= waini   hitiya  
       IND2   baby   PL   1pl   relatives MASC   3sg die   also  
 'Some newborns, our relatives, also died.' (cabeceira)

### 3.4.2 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are interrogative-based indefinites, that is, they are formed by using the dubitative *zamani* or the negative *maiha* plus the indefinite forms. They will be described in §7.4.1.

## 3.5 Quantification

### 3.5.1 Numerals

Numerals from one to four are lexical terms<sup>29</sup> (Table 22), while numerals above

<sup>29</sup> Silva (2013) analyzes *hinama* and *hanama* as etymologically composed of *hi*= 'second person' and *ha*= 'third person or other' plus the word *nama* 'quantity'. However, the motivation for the use of *hi*= and *ha*= with these numbers is not clear. Evidence for the word *nama* is its use with *kore* 'arrow', as in the example below:

zane   zakore   hiyaiya                   koren**nama**  
       zane   zakore   hi=   yaiya   kore   -nama  
       go      FRUST   2sg=   see      arrow   quantity?  
 'he went to see the arrows.' (omati-ZK)

four follow a base-five system, using hands, feet, fingers, and toes (see Table 23). Portuguese numerals may be substituted for native numerals, especially above 'four'.

Table 22: Numerals up to four

	<b>Numeral</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1	hatita	one
2	hinama	two
3	hanama	three
4	zalakakoa	four

Numerical terms do not take the plural *-nae*, and the nouns they modify do not bear this morpheme. Syntactically, numerals always precede the noun head, as in examples (77) and (78). They are rarely used alone as the head of a noun phrase, as in (79) and (80).<sup>30</sup> They can also occur with classifiers, as in (79) and (81).

- (77) **hatita** ohiro kakoa  
       hatita ohiro =kakoa  
       one woman COM  
       'With one woman.' (hitsehaliti)

- (78) hamitxini,   **hinama** mitxini  
       ha= mitxini hinama mitxini  
       one? month two month  
       'One, two months.' (JT nawenane)

- (79) **hinamali**              ala konare Ø=noloka  
       hinama -li              ala konare Ø= noloka  
       two CLF:round FOC cará.fish 3sg pull  
       'She caught two cará fishes.' (ximatyati)

- (80) **hatita** waiye aka hare waiyane        Ø=aokaha hoka  
       hatita waiye aka hare waiya -ne        Ø= aoka -ha hoka  
       one good have ? see NMLZ 3sg say PL CON

---

Numerical terms *hatita* and *zalakakoa* may also be analyzed etymologically. *hatita* 'one' is composed of *ha* 'one' plus the morpheme *-tita* whose meaning is unknown; *zalakakoa* 'four' may be analyzed as a form composed by the interrogative *zala* 'who' and the postposition *kakoa* 'comitative', with the meaning of 'with someone'.

<sup>30</sup> The noun phrase with the numeral is in apposition to the noun phrase with the noun *konare*, as shown by the use of the second clitic position *ala* between them.

$\emptyset$ =halaitsaha

$\emptyset$ = halaitsa -ha

3sg leave PL

'They left only a good one to be seen, they said' (emaniya)

- (81) hoka koho kiraneze hanama koatrotatse taita  
hoka koho kirane -ze hanama **koatro** -taotse taita  
CON basket small NMLZ three four CLF:piece only

$\emptyset$ =zaneta

$\emptyset$ = zane -ta

3sg go EMPH

'For a small basket, it takes only three or four pieces.' (koho)

Numerals above five are illustrated in Table 23. The first variant in table was collected with a speaker in the Formoso area, the second one is described in Eazokemae (2006), and the last one in Paresi & Januario (2011). 'Five' is represented with the same form that means 'hand'. 'Six through 'nine' are formed by using the words for 'hand' and 'fingers'. 'Ten is 'two hands' or 'entire, all hands'. From 'eleven' to 'nineteen' they also use the same strategy used from 'six' to 'nine', but in one of the dialects 'feet' and 'toes' are not used. Also, two of the dialects use the classifier *hi* 'CLF: long.slender' to refer to finger.

Table 23: Numerals above four

	<b>Numeral (and Its Variants)</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
5	hakahe hamaniya kahiti halakoa kahiti	one hand one side of the hand one side of the hand
6-9	hakahe (1,2,3,4) <b>hi</b> takoa  halakoa kahiti takoa (1,2,3,4) kahiti hiye	one hand, (1,2,3,4) fingers stand up  one side of the hand, and (1,2,3,4) fingers
10	hinama kahe hinama maniya kahiti mainikere kahiti	two hands two sides of the hands two whole hands
11-14	hinama kahi mainikere (1,2,3,4) <b>hi</b> takoa hinama maniya kahiti (1,2,3,4) <b>hi</b> kitxiti holoi mainikere kahiti takoa (1,2,3,4) <b>kitxiti</b> hiye	two hands (1,2,3,4) fingers stand up two sides of the hands, (1,2,3,4) toes entire hands, (1,2,3,4) toes
15	hinama kahi mainikere hakahe holiniye zoaha  mainikere kahiti takoa halakoa kitxiti hiye	two hands and another hand  entire hands and go to one foot
16-19	hinama kahi mainikere hakahe holiniye zoaha (1,2,3,4) <b>hi</b> takoa  mainikere kahiti halakoa kitxiti takoa (1,2,3,4) kitxiti hiye	two hands and another hand, (1,2,3,4) fingers stand up  entire hands, then go to one foot, (1,2,3,4) fingers of the foot
20	hinamaki kahiti mainikere  mainikere kahiti takoa mainikere kitxiti hiye	two times two hands  entire hands and entire feet
30	hanamaki kahiti mainikere	three times two hands

The numerals in Table 23 are not used in daily life, and the numerals 'five' and 'ten' are rarely used, as seen in (82) and (83). In (84) there is an example of the use of numerals borrowed from Portuguese.

- (82) **hamaniya**    **kahiti**                ohiro    taita    ityani  
     ha= maniya    kahi -ti                ohiro    taita    ityani  
     one side      hand UNPOSS    woman    only      son, daughter  
     'Five daughters, only women.' (Tarsila nawenane)
- (83) **kahiti**                **halakoa**    kahe    haiya,    **kahiti**                **tyotya**  
     kahi -ti                halakoa    kahe    haiya    kahi -ti                tyotya  
     hand UNPOSS    one side    hand    IND2    hand UNPOSS    everything, all  
     'Sometimes five days (one hand), or ten days (all the hands).' (hitsehaliti)
- (84) katseholotyahene        olawahi    zoana    **cinco**,    **seis**,    **sete**    e    **oito**  
     katseholo -tya -ha =ene    olawahi    zoana    cinco    seis    sete    e    oito  
     ?                TH PL 3O    rope        what      five      six    seven    and    eight  
     dia    mokaha,    **oito**    dia    nomitere                atyo  
     dia    moka -ha    oito    dia    nomi -te -re                =atyo  
     day    put    PL    eight    day    say    IFV NMLZ    =TOP  
     'They make a knot in the rope, approximately five, six, seven, eight days.'  
     (hitsehaliti)

Numerals can also occur as non-verbal predicates with or without the incorporated bound noun *-ki* 'day, time', as in (85), where *hinama* 'two' takes the transitional *-hena*.

- (85) Eyeta        Ø=tyoa    Ø=gravaita    hinamakihenata        Ø=tyoa  
     eye -ta        Ø= tyoa    grava -ita    **hinama** -ki -hena -ta Ø= tyoa  
     3sg EMPH    3sg come record IFV two      time TRS ?    3sg come  
     Ø=gravaita    eye niraini  
     Ø= grava -ita eye n= irai -ni  
     3sg record IFV this 1sg talk POSSED  
     'She came to record, twice she came to record my speech.' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (86) wahinamitehena        kalikini    hoka    azeze                atyo  
     wa= **hinama** -ite -hena    kalikini    hoka    azeze                =atyo  
     1pl    two      IFV TRS    now      CON    older.brother    =TOP  
     'Now, there are only the two of us, and my oldest brother.' (Katomo nawenane)

There are no ordinal numerals 'first', 'second', etc. However, the adverb *hetati* 'before, formerly' (87) can be used with the meaning of 'first' (88). In elicitation, I

collected the words *txikinitiye* 'second' and *ehiyetare* 'third' which are derived from the adverbs *txikini* 'behind' and *hiyeta* 'following'

- (87) witsaodini atyo maitsa waiyeze **hetati** ene  
       wi= tsaodi -ni =atyo maitsa waiye -ze hetati =ene  
       1pl health POSSED =TOP NEG good NMLZ in.the.old.days =PST  
       Funai kazaikota witsaodini  
       Funai kazaikota wi= tsaodi -ni  
       Funai take care of 1pl health POSSED  
       'Our health service is not good, before FUNAI (National Indian Foundation) was taking care of our health service.' (Bacaval tahi)

- (88) eze **hetati** witso  
       eze hetati witso  
       this in.the.old.days 1pl  
       'We were the first ones.' (cabeceira)

### 3.5.2 Quantifiers

Paresi has the following non-numeral quantifiers: *tyotya* 'all', *kahare* 'many', *inira* 'few', and *taita* 'only'. Syntactically, quantifiers are very similar to demonstratives because they can occur in two syntactic contexts: as independent pronouns and as modifiers of nouns. However, they are different from demonstratives because they can take personal clitics (which are otherwise found on verbs) when used as a non-verbal predicates .

#### 3.5.2.1 *tyotya* 'all'

The quantifier *tyotya* can precede or follow a noun in the noun phrase. Example (89) illustrates the use of *tyotya* as a noun modifier preceding the noun, and (90) to (92) as an independent pronoun which can be either a subject or an object argument. In (92), *tyotya* occurs with the personal clitic *wi=* '1pl'.

- (89) **tyotya** haliti Ø=tyaonitaene  
       tyotya haliti Ø= tyaon -ita =ene  
       all Paresi.Indian 3sg live IFV PST  
       'All the Paresi people lived there.' (Fenare nawenane)

- (90) kozaka ene aliyerenae      **tyotya**      Ø=zane  
       kozaka =ene ali -yere -nae tyotya      Ø= zane  
       already =PST here NMLZ PL everything, all 3sg go  
       'The people from here, all of them were already gone.' (Katomo nawenane)
- (91) wahakanore hare, fate      hare, **tyotya**      wanitxita  
       wahakanore hare fate      hare tyotya      wa= nitx -ita  
       spider.monkey also tufted.capuchin also everything, all 1pl eat meat IFV  
       'Spider monkey, tufted capuchin monkey, anything, we were eating it.' (JT  
       nawenane)
- (92) wityotya      wahiyokene  
       wi= **tyotya**      wa= hiyok =ene  
       1pl everything, all 1pl suck 3O  
       'We all ate it (the honey).' (JT nawenane)

### 3.5.2.2      *kahare* 'many, a lot'

The quantifier *kahare* can precede (93) or follow the noun (94). It can also occur with countable and uncountable nouns. With uncountable nouns, the quantifier can express an individuation-like meaning, as in (95), where it modifies speech meaning 'many words'. Example (96) is an example where *kahare* functions as an independent pronoun.

- (93) hatyohiyeta **kahare** zoima Ø=tyaonate      hitiya  
       hatyohiyeta kahare zoima Ø= tyaona =te      hitiya  
       then many child 3sg be.born =FUT again  
       'Then, many children were born.' (Batsaji tahi)
- (94) oliti **kahare** Ø=aitsahitaha  
       oliti kahare Ø= aitsa -ha -ita -ha  
       game many 3sg kill PL IFV PL  
       'They killed a lot of game.' (cabeceira)
- (95) ekohena haiya zowakatyatyo      nahekoita      **kahare**  
       eko -hena haiya zowaka tya =tyo n= aheko -ita kahare  
       ? TRS IND2 period ? =TOP 1sg think IFV a.lot  
       wiraene      hatyota      makere Ø=tyaonita  
       w= irae -ne      hatyo -ta      makere Ø= tyaona -ita  
       1pl talk POSSED 3sg EMPH same 3sg live IFV  
       'Then, sometimes I think that a lot of words have the same meaning.' (Kabikule

Daniel iraiti 1)

- (96) **kahare** atyo Ø=hikoaita  
kahare =atyo Ø= hikoa -ita  
a.lot =TOP 3sg come.out, show.up IFV  
'A lot (of them) is coming out'

Similar to *tyotya* 'all', *kahare* can also occur as a non-verbal predicate taking personal clitics (97) and aspect markers (98):

- (97) wikahare  
wi= **kahare**  
1pl a.lot  
'There were a lot of us.' (JT nawenane)

- (98) **kaharehena** haiya haliti, ena, ohiro, zoaha Ø=waiyoreta  
kahare -hena haiya haliti ena ohiro zoaha Ø= waiyore -ta  
a.lot TRS IND2 person man woman and 3sg know IFV  
'Many Paresi people, men, and women, know.' (makani tahi)

### 3.5.2.3 *inira* 'few'

The quantifier *inira*, similar to other quantifiers, can modify a noun or function as an independent pronoun. It precedes the noun in (99), and it occurs as an independent pronoun in (100) and (101). When *inira* functions as an independent pronoun, it can take the plural *-nae* (100).

- (99) hatyaotse himatya zakore ikona howitihare  
hatyaotse h= imatya zakore ikona howitihare  
then 2sg beat.cipó.vine FRUST cipó.vine be.difficult, be.late  
Ø=aitxita **inira** hikonane maiha tyokiya xini  
Ø= aitxi -ta inira h= ikona -ne maiha tyokiya xini  
3sg kill EMPH few 2sg cipó.vine POSSED NEG ? NEG  
Ø=aitsa  
Ø= aitsa  
3sg kill  
'Then you beat the cipó vine, but killing with only a few cipó vine is difficult.'  
(zanekoare)

- (100) waiyehare      Ø=betehena      hoka      Ø=iyahitaha      **iniranae** atyo  
       waiye -hare      Ø= bete -hena      hoka      Ø= iya -h -ita -ha      inira -nae atyo  
       good MASC 3sg sell TRS CON 3sg buy PL IFV PL few PL TOP  
       'They sold beautiful things, but they bought few things.' (Kamoro nawenane)

- (101) nozakaihakatyā      **inira**  
       no= zakaihaka -tya      inira  
       1sg tell.story TH few  
       'I will tell a little bit of the story' (Batsaji tahi)

### 3.5.2.4      *taita* 'only'

The quantifier *taita* can precede or follow the noun in a noun phrase. This quantifier has a different distribution from the other ones because it does not function as a pronoun. The quantifier *taita* only was used as a non-verbal predicate in elicitation (104):

- (102) Gordo taitatyatyote      alita  
       Gordo **taita** tyā =tyo =te ali -ta  
       Gordo only ? =TOP =FUT here EMPH  
       'Only Gordo will be here.' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (103) imoti      **taita** ali      tyona  
       imoti      taita ali      tyona  
       non-Indian only here COP  
       'Here there were only non-Indian people.' (Bacaval)

- (104) hatyo      **taita**  
       hatyo      taita  
       that      only  
       'That is it.' (E)

## 3.6 Postpositions

Paresi has a set of clitics which attach to nouns, and some of them also to personal clitics, and demonstratives, and they bear peripheral grammatical relations. There are two reasons why I consider this class to be postpositions instead of oblique markers in Paresi. First, they are clitics that are not integrated into their host, like suffixes. Secondly, in general, postpositions generally can be conjoined with a noun phrase (108), or take personal clitics (111). Other Arawak languages such as Yine (Hanson, 2010) and Apurinã

(Facundes, 2000) do not have postpositions, instead they have oblique markers. These oblique markers resemble postpositions, but they have phonological and/or syntactic and semantic properties that make them resemble case-markers.

Postpositional phrases often occur at the beginning of the clause, but they can also occur at the end or between the subject and the object, as shown in (105). I have not found cases where the postposition is between a subject or object and the verb. The 17 postpositions attested in my database are listed in Table 24.

- (105)
- (POSP) S V O
  - (POSP) S V (POSP)
  - S (POSP) O V

Table 24: Postpositions

<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
kakoa	instrument, comitative
zema	comitative
ana	dative
hiye	locative, contact
katyahe	under
haliya	close, around
hao	above, over, upward
heno	above, on
koni	among
meketse	in the center
zaihako	behind
ho	at the tip
nali	in
ako	inside
koa	in, on
(oni)ta	source
zeta	allative, goal

Postpositions show more similarity with nouns than verbs, suggesting that postpositions functioning as topological relators may derive from nouns. Almost all the postpositions, except *nali* 'in', *ako* 'inside', and *koa* 'in, on' can take personal clitics. They take set B proclitics, the same set used with all nouns and only some verbs. In addition, they can take the suffix *-i* '1sg' which occurs also with inalienable nouns and a few stative verbs (see §4.3.2). Postpositions belong to a different category from nouns, because they cannot take classifiers, nor can they take the unpossessed or possessed suffixes, like nouns can.

However, the use of body part nouns such as *tyokoli* 'buttocks, in the back', *taho*

'face, in front of, and *tanakoli* 'cheek, on the side of to indicate location without any locative markers is further evidence that some postpositions may be result of a grammaticalization process from nouns. A final bit of evidence for the nominal source is that there are classifiers, such as *ako* and *koa* which have the same form as postpositions (see §3.6)

- (106) hati **tyokoli**  
 hati tyokoli  
 house buttocks  
 'In the back of the house.' (E)

The postpositions *zema* 'comitative', *katyahe* 'under', *haliya* 'around', *koni* 'in the middle of', and *ako* 'inside' can also be incorporated into verbs (§ 5.3.3.3). In (107), the postposition *zema* is incorporated into the verb *tema* 'run':

- (107) natemazematya takoira  
 na= tema =**zema** tya takoira  
 1sg= run =COM2 TH chicken  
 'I ran after the chicken.' (E)

### 3.6.1 Instrumental and comitative =*kakoa*

The postposition *kakoa* has different meanings depending on the animacy of entities. With inanimate nouns, *kakoa* expresses the instrument used by some agent or actor.

- (108) kore **kakoa** waitsa wola  
 kore =kakoa w= aitsa w= ola  
 arrow INSTR 1pl kill 1pl game hunting  
 'We killed our game with an arrow.' (Katomo nawenane)

- (109) mahatyo kore **kakoa** xini haola Ø=aitxita,  
 maha =tyo kore =kakoa xini ha= ola Ø= aitxi -ta  
 NEG =TOP arrow =INSTR NEG 3sg game hunting 3sg kill EMPH  
 tyaho **kakoa** taitatyo haola Ø=aitxita  
 tyaho =kakoa taita =tyo ha= ola Ø= aitxi -ta  
 cudgel =INSTR only =TOP 3sg game hunting 3sg kill EMPH

'It is not with an arrow that he kills his game, it is with a cudgel, that he kills his game.' (Omati)

With animate nouns, *kakoa* has the meaning of 'comitative':

- (110) kala Dirizonae hakatxolozatsehitxo  
 kala Dirizonae ha= katxolo -za -tse -hi -txoa  
 DUB Dirizonae 3sg dog POSSED CLF:small CLF:long.slender big  
**kakoa** Ø=tyaonita  
 =kakoa Ø= tyaona -ita  
 COM 3sg live IFV  
 'Dirizonae was living with his dog.' (Dirizonae)

The postposition *kakoa* may occur with the suffix *-i* '1sg', which also occurs with inalienable nouns and some stative verbs. The suffix *-i* '1sg' and the final vowel *a* (in first or second persons) may be dropped by some speakers. The paradigm for the irregular inflection of *kakoa* is given in Table 25.

Table 25: *kakoa*

	<b>Personal Clitics</b>	<b>Kakoa 'INSTR, COM'</b>
1s	no=	kako(i)
2s	hi=	kako(a)
3s	e=	kakoa
1p	wi=	kako(a)
2p	xi=	kako(a)
3p	e=...-ha	kakoa

- (111) azama ala teko a **ekakoa** hazotawa heno  
 azama ala Ø= teko e= kakoa ha= zotawa heno  
 deer FOC 3sg run away 3sg COM 3sg horn above, on.the.top  
 Ø= mokene hoka  
 Ø= mok =ene hoka  
 3sg put 3O CON  
 'The deer ran away with him, he was in his horns.' (Dirizonae)

The postposition *kakoa* can also occur with demonstratives:

- (112) Ø=homakilitsa      haokola      hoka      **hatyo**      kakoa      aitxita  
       Ø= homa kili -tsa ha= o- kola      hoka      hatyo =kakoa      aitxi -ta  
       3sg stick nose TH      3sg LK arrow CON that      =COM kill      EMPH  
       haola  
       ha= ola  
       3sg game hunting  
       'He passed (the poison) on the tip of the arrow and he killed the game with that.'  
       (omati-ZK)

According to Arkhipov (2009: 238) expressions in which an inanimate entity is carried in close physical contact (such as in English: *He came with a bag*) may receive the same marking used in comitative constructions. In Paresi, the comitative *kakoa* is also used with inanimate referents when they are in close physical contact, the only difference is the addition of the nominalizer *-re*<sup>31</sup>: *kakoare*.

- (113) kore      **kakoare**      terotatyø      wahikoa  
       kore      =kakoa -re      terota      =tyo      wa= hikoa  
       arrow      =COM NMLZ      already      =TOP      1pl come.out, show.up  
       'We already came out with the arrow.' (omati-ZK)

- (114) toahiya      ehalatahe      nityokatsetya      ayo      tsebola  
       toahiya      e= halatahe      n= ityoka -tse      -tya      ayo      tsebola  
       in.the.old.days      3sg rib      1sg cut      CLF:small THS      garlic      onion  
       **kakoare**      naholoka  
       kakoa -re      na= holoka  
       COM NMLZ      1sg cook  
       'In the past, I cut ribs and cook them with garlic and onion.' (Katomo iraiti)

In clauses with the verbs *irai* meaning 'speak', and *iraitseakatya* 'chat', the interlocutor is marked by *kakoa*.

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<sup>31</sup> Unlike the other postpositions in Paresi, which appear to derive historically from nouns, it is most likely that *kakoa* has as its source the reciprocal *-kakoa*. However, it is still not clear why the nominalizer is used with *kakoa* in this construction as nominalizers usually occur only with verbs.

- (115) hawaiyeta      iyaore      Ø=iraita      ekakoa      hoka      maitsa  
       ha= waiye -ta    iya -ore Ø= irai -ta    e= **kakoa** hoka      maitsa  
       2sg be.good IFV    IRR ?      3sg talk IFV    3sg COM      CON NEG  
       Ø=tsemitene  
       Ø= tsem -it      =ene  
       3sg hear IFV  
       'When you speak low to him, he does not hear.' (Katomo iraiti)

There are few examples of *kakoa* being used with the source marker *=(i)ta*.

- (116) Q: zala zema ite hiyaneheta?  
       zala zema ite hi= zane -heta  
       who COM FUT 2sg go PERF  
       'Who did you come back with?'  
       A: Bitxinho kakota  
          Bitxinho **kakoa =ta**  
          Bitxinho COM SOUR  
       'With Bitxinho.' (E)

In addition, *kakoa* may be used with nominalized clauses (§8.2.2.2), as illustrated in (117).

- (117) nahekoita      hitsomehenere      **kakoa**  
       n= aheko -ita    hi= tsome -hene -re      =kakoa  
       1sg think IFV 2sg make, do TRS NMLZ =COM  
       'I was thinking about what you did.' (E)

### 3.6.2 *zema* 'accompanied by, follow (behind)'

The postposition *zema* can also be interpreted as a comitative, meaning 'accompanied by'. In some examples, in addition to the comitative meaning, it means the person is following (behind) someone (119). It is only used with animate nouns.

- (118) waiyehenaya      abebenae      **zema**      nozani  
       waiye -hena =ya    abebe      -nae =zema    no= zan -i  
       see      TRS =IRR      grandmother PL      COM2 1sg go 1sg  
       'I can go with my grandparents.' (Batsaji iraiti)

- (119) nozaniheta                ezema                waiya                maha    Ø=zane  
      no= zan -i    -heta    e= =**zema**    waiya                maha    Ø= zane  
      1sg go 1sg PERF 3sg COM2 see, watch NEG 3sg go  
      Ø=malaita                hekoti  
      Ø= mala -ita            hekoti  
      3sg pull off IFV at least  
      'I will go after her to see, otherwise she will not pull off.' (tolohe)

With personal clitics, *zema* undergoes vowel harmony triggered by the suffix *-i* in the first person, and also palatalization of the initial consonant /θ/ to /ʃ/. As seen with other nouns and verbs beginning with /θ/ (see §2.2.2), there is palatalization /θ/ > [j] when preceded by clitics with the /i/ vowel: *hi=*, *wi=*, and *xi=*. The paradigm for the irregular inflection of *zema* is given in Table 26.

Table 26: *zema*

	<b>Personal Clitics</b>	<b>Zema 'ASSOC'</b>
1s	no=	ximi
2s	hi=	yema
3s	e=	zema
1p	wi=	yema
2p	xi=	yema
3p	e=...-ha	zema

### 3.6.3 *ana* 'dative'

The postposition *ana* is a dative, marking the recipient or benefactor of an action:

- (120) ezahe xityaninae                **ana**                maika                zatxiyakiyahetehena  
      ezahe x= ityani                -nae =ana    maika    za= txiyakiya -hete -hena  
      CON 2pl son, daughter PL DAT SUG 2pl pass.on PERF TRS  
      ehare eakere  
      ehare eakere  
      this so, then  
      'This (the tradition) you all should also pass on to your siblings.' (xihatyoawihaliti)

It can also mark a direction towards someone, similar to an allative, as in (121):

- (121) nanoloka hoka abebe      **ana** nokaokehitita  
       na= noloka hoka abebe      =ana no= kaoke -heta -ita  
       1sg pull CON grandmother DAT 1sg arrive PERF IFV  
       'I pulled it (the fish) and then I arrived to my grandmother's house.' (JT nawenane)

With personal clitics, *ana* has an irregular inflection as shown in Table 27. There is a linking morpheme *-om-* between the clitics and the postposition. According to Silva (2013:295), the diachronic irregularity started in the first person, where the input *no=ani* had an output *no=mani* after the epenthesis of /m/ (a /n/ that assimilated the labial feature of the /o/ vowel). Then the *-om* form in the first person was spread to the other persons by analogy. Epenthesis of /n/ is a process seen also with the proclitics *e=* and *en=* for third person. If it was not for this irregularity, the expected form would be *n=ani*, as the vowels of the clitics are dropped when attached to vowel-initial roots.

Table 27: ana

	<b>Personal Clitics</b>	<b>Ana 'DAT'</b>
1s	n=	om-ani
2s	h=	om-ana
3s	en=	om-ana
1p	w=	om-ana
2p	x=	om-ana
3p	en=...-ha	om-ana

- (122) ha      ite      makani      enatyokoe      Ø=waiya      hoka  
       ha      =ite      makani      en- atyokoe      Ø= waiya      hoka  
       INTERJ FUT tomorrow 3sg grandfather 3sg see      CON  
       Ø=bakatene      **enomana**  
       Ø= baka -tya =ene en= **-om** =ana  
       3sg pay TH 3O 3sg LK DAT  
       'Yes, tomorrow his grandfather is going to see (the cloth) and he will pay it for him.'

(Batsaji iraiti)

- (123) kala hatyaotse trator Ø=iya fazendeiro Ø=itsa **womana**  
          kala hatyaotse trator Ø= iya fazendeiro Ø= itsa w= **-om** =ana  
          DUB then       tractor 3sg buy farmer     3sg give 1pl LK DAT  
          'After that, the farmer bought a tractor and gave to us.' (Katomo nawenane)

### 3.6.4 *hiye* 'benefactive'

The postposition *hiye* 'benefactive' can be used with animate referents of utterance verbs, as illustrated in (124) and (125); with non-verbal predicates related to physical phenomena, as in (126) and (127), or statives, as in (128); and with inanimate referents as in (129) and (130).

- (124) ehareya      haiya zowakiya      niraita      tyotya      haliti  
       ehare =ya      haiya zowakiya      n= irai -ta      tyotya      haliti  
       this =IRR IND2 at this time 1sg talk IFV everything, all Paresi.man  
       haloti      **hiye**  
       haloti      **hiye**  
       Paresi. woman BEN  
       'This (idea) sometimes I talk to everyone, man, woman.' (Kamoro nawenane)
- (125) Ø=zakaihakaita      nohiye  
       Ø= zakaihaka -ita    no= **hiye**  
       3sg tell.story IFV 1sg BEN  
       'She told the story to me.' (JT nawenane)

Silva (2013) called *hiye* 'theme' and said it marks an experiencer. In constructions with statives, the oblique arguments semantically may be considered experiencers.

- (126) ferakoa      **wihiye**  
       ferakoa      wi= hiye  
       in.the.morning 1pl BEN  
       'It is dawn for us.' (JT nawenane)
- (127) tihita      **nohiye**  
       tiha -ita    no= hiye  
       cold IFV 1sg BEN  
       'I am cold (lit.: it is cold for us).' (E)
- (128) kafetyatyo      wainama      **ihiye**  
       kafe =tyo      wainama      i= hiye  
       coffee =TOP    delicious 3sg BEN  
       'The coffee is delicious to him.' (iraiti Katomo nali)

When the postposition occurs with inanimate referents it marks the spatial relation of adhesion involving sticking.

- (129) katxolohokotsetxoa                            tsiri **hiye** ala  
       katxolo -hoko            -tse            -txoa tsiri hiye ala  
       dog      CLF:circled CLF:small big head BEN FOC  
       balazokonatsetxoa                            Ø=kolatyoa  
       balazoko -natse            -txoa Ø= kolatyoa  
       bottle     CLF:long big 3sg get stuck  
       'The head of the dog got stuck in the bottle.' (Dirizonae)

- (130) Q: aliyo        txihotyakalati?  
       aliyo        txihotya -kala    -ti  
       where?      close      NMLZ UNPOSS  
       'Where is the lid?'

- A: balazoko    kanatse    **hiye**  
       balazoko    kanatse    hiye  
       bottle        mouth      BEN

'In the bottle's mouth (E)

### 3.6.5 *nali* 'general location'

The postposition *nali* marks a general location with toponyms, such as the name of a village (131) or the name of a place (132).

- (131) Otoloweke **nali** wiyané watawehírita                            maha iii kahare  
       otoloweke nali wi= yane wa= tawe -hi -ri            -ta maha kahare  
       Otoloweke LOC 1pl go 1pl look.for PL CLF:round IFV NEG a.lot  
       'We went to the Otoloweke village to look for honey and there was a lot.' (JT  
       nawenane)

- (132) Ø=tyaona    postinho            **nali**  
       Ø= tyaona    postinho            nali  
       3sg stay      health.service LOC  
       'He stays in the health service center.' (cabeceira)

It can also occur with a proper noun to indicate the place where the person lives

(133). It is possible that the source of this form is the adverbial demonstrative *nali* 'there', which modifies verbs and generally occurs clause-initially, while the postposition occurs with nouns. Different from other postpositions, *nali* cannot take personal clitics.

- (133) matalotse, hatyo eye Nainae nali atyo eye  
      matalo -tse hatyo eye Nai -nae nali =atyo eye  
      pot CLF:small 3sg this Nair PL LOC =TOP this  
      walitseritse ana wiyaneta  
      walitse -ri -tse =ana wi= yane -ta  
      plastic.container CLF:round CLF:small =BEN 1pl go IFV  
      'We are going in order to get the pot, the plastic container in the Nair family's  
      village.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)

### 3.6.6 *katyape* 'under'

The postposition *katyahe* occurs with inanimate referents to indicate the location 'under'.



Postpositions may have a nominal source, as stated above. However, *katyahe* may originate from the verb *katyaha* 'flatten'. Another possibility is that the verb was derived

from the postposition, but there are no other cases like that in my corpus.

- (137) Ø=katyahatene            Ø=waini    kaitserahare  
Ø= **katyaha** -tya =ene Ø= waini    kaitserahare  
3sg flatten    TH 3O    3sg die    indeed    MASC  
'It flattened him, and indeed he died' (SZ kinohaliti)

### 3.6.7 *hao* 'above, over, upward'

The postposition *hao* means 'above, over, upward' expressing non-contact.

- (138) Q: aliyo        luitxiri?  
aliyo        luitxi -ri  
where.is    light CLF:small  
'Where is the bulb?'
- A: Ø=erahokoita        hainati              **hao**  
Ø= erahoko -ita    haina -ti              =hao  
3sg hang     IFV tripod UNPOSS    over  
'It is hanging over the tripod.' (E)

- (139) **ehao**        Ø=axikatene  
e= hao        Ø= axika -tya =ene  
3sg upward    3sg send    TH 3O  
'He sends it (the ball) up onto him.' (xikonahati)

### 3.6.8 *heno* 'above, on top'

The postposition *heno* is a contact locative meaning 'above, on top'. Here it is important that the figure (the theme or trajector) is in contact with the horizontal surface of the ground (the object with respect to where the theme is located).

- (140) hatyaotsetala,        Ø=tyokehena    zaore    tsehali **heno**    maiyi,  
hatyaotseta =la        Ø= tyoke -hena zaore    tsehali heno    maiyi  
then        =FOC 3sg sit    TRS FRUST rock    on.top INTERJ  
hatyaotseta katyahakoare        Ø=tyaona    tsehali  
hatyaotseta katyaha -koare -re        Ø= tyaona    tsehali  
then        under LOC NMLZ 3sg COP    rock  
'Then, when he sat on top of the rock, and the rock went down.' (Wazare)

- (141) Madia Ivetenae hana **e***heno* kitxiya wiyan  
 Maria Ivete -nae hana e= heno kitxiya wi= yane  
 PN PN PL house 3sg= above, on.the.top until 1pl= go  
 hoka wahaikoaheta zoimanae kakoa  
 hoka wa= haikoa -heta zoima -nae =kakoa  
 CON 1pl= come.back PERF child PL =COM  
 'We went to Maria Ivete's house, to the top. Then we came back with the children.'  
 (emaniya)

### 3.6.9 *henetse* 'in the center on top'

The postposition *henetse* may be derived from *heno* 'above' and *tse* 'classifier:small'. It indicates a location which is in the center and at the same time on top of a flat surface or inside.

- (142) Paula tsehali henetse Ø=tona  
 Paula tsehali **henetse** Ø= tona  
 Paula rock in.the.center 3sg walk  
 'Paula walked over the center of the rock.' (E)
- (143) Ø=waiyehenatyo owi henetsekao enokola  
 Ø= waiye -hena =tyo owi **henetse** -ko a en= o- kola  
 3sg see TRS =TOP snake in.the.center LOC 3sg LK arrow  
 'When he saw the arrow was inside the center of the snake.' (kozeto)

### 3.6.10 *meketse* 'in the center'

The postposition *meketse* indicates a location which is in the center.

- (144) wazalimena **meketse** Ø=zane hiyalatyoa  
 wazali -mena meketse Ø= zane hiyal a -ty -oa  
 jatobá trunk in.the.center 3sg go stick, attach TH MM  
 'He went and he got stuck in the center of the jatobá tree.' (Txinikalore)
- (145) hanamakatse ala atyakatse weteko meketsekao  
 hanama -katse =ala atya -katse weteko **meketse** -ko a  
 three CLF: long =FOC tree CLF: long yard in.the.center LOC  
 'There are three sticks in the center of the yard.' (xikonahati)

### 3.6.11 *zaihako* 'behind'

The postposition *zaihako* means 'behind someone or something'. It is rare in my corpus. The other way to express this location of objects is through the noun *tyokoli*

'buttocks' in a compound with another noun.

- (146) hoka   ako   tyairi   enore               **zaihako**   Ø=zaneha  
      hoka   ako   tyairi   eno -re               zaihako   Ø= zane -ha  
      CON   LOC   mountain tall NMLZ   behind   3sg go   PL  
      'They went and they were behind that tall mountain.' (iyamaka)
- (147) eakere   ala   eakere   ala   nimixita       hatyo  
      eakere   =ala   eakere   =ala   n= imeza -ita   hatyo  
      so, then   =FOC   so, then   =FOC   1sg gather IFV   3sg  
      baiyokatse           kala   nozaihako           Ø=imixita  
      baiyo -katse           kala   no= **zaihako**   Ø= imeza -ita  
      elder CLF: long   DUB   1sg behind   3sg gather IFV  
      'I was gathering (manakata fruit) like this, and the elder was gathering behind me.'  
      (ketetse)

### 3.6.12 *ako* 'inside of a deep container'

The meaning of the postposition *ako* is 'inside of a deep container'. This postposition derives from the classifier *ako* 'CLF: inside.' (see §4.5). As seen in example (150), *ako* cannot be used when the figure is on a concave surface. In the corpus, the only personal proclitic found with it was the third person, as shown in (152).

- (148) Q: aliyo       hiyotoko?  
         aliyo       hiyotoko  
         where.is   cupari.fruit  
         'Where is the cupari fruit?'
- (149) A: kohoako  
         koho =**ako**  
         basket inside  
         'it is inside of the basket.' (E)
- (150) A: \*kohokoa  
         koho =**ko**a  
         basket in  
         'it is in the basket.' (E)
- (151) bonako       Ø=iya   kaloli               Ø=mokita  
      bona =**ako**   Ø= iya   kalo -li               Ø= moka -ita  
      bag   inside 3sg catch big CLF:round 3sg put   IFV  
      'He caught only the big ones (the big fruits) and put (them) inside of his bag.'  
      (ketetse)

- (152) hoka enako maniya atyo zotere  
       hoka en= **ako** maniya atyo zotya -re  
       CON 3sg inside side TOP red NMLZ  
       'And inside it (the fruit), it is red.' (E)

(153) Eye Sandra calçados eye hatyo akotara                      Oseias kitxitini atyo  
       eye Sandra calçados eye hatyo **ako** -ta -ra              Oseias kitxitini =atyo  
       this Sandra shoes     this 3sg     inside SOUR ?              Oseias shoes     =TOP  
       ala        avista Ø=iyita  
       =ala        avista Ø= iy -ita  
       =FOC in cash 3sg buy IFV  
       'It is from the *Sandra calçados* store, it is from there that he bought the shoes for  
       Oseias in cash.' (Batsaji iraiti)

Another use of *ako* is with means of transportation such as by car, bicycle, or motorcycle:

- (154) hoka motoako wiyanenahenahitaha ezema  
       hoka   moto   =ako   wi= yane -hena -h -ita -ha e= =zema  
       CON   motorcycle inside 1pl go TRS PL IFV PL 3sg =COM  
       'And we went following him by motorcycle.' (oloniti tahi)

### 3.6.13 *koa* 'on concave surface'

The postposition *koa* is used to express a configuration where the figure is on a concave surface. The use of *ako* is ungrammatical with *abali* 'sieve' because it cannot be used with referents in a concave surface. This postposition derives from the classifier *koa* 'CLF: flat.' (see §4.5).

- (155) Q: aliyo      hiyotoko?      'Where is the cupari fruit?'  
          aliyo      hiyotoko  
          where.is    cupari.fruit

A: abalikoa    'it is in the sieve.' (E)  
      abali =**ko**a  
      sieve in

A: \*abaliako 'it is inside of the sieve.' (E)  
abali =ako  
sieve inside

- (156) toahiya            ene       atyo       atyoakoa            wakakehitita  
                         toahiya            =ene       =atyo       atyoa            -ko a       wa=       kake       -hitita  
                         in.the.old.days            =PST       =TOP       concave.basket       LOC       1pl       squeeze       AGAIN  
                         'Formerly, we squeezed in the sieve.' (oloniti zaka)

### 3.6.14 *haliya* 'near, next to'

The postposition *haliya* means 'near, next to'.

- (157) nafirahaliyata            hati       **haliya**  
                         na=       fira       =haliya       -ta       hati       =haliya  
                         1sg       clean       =along       IFV       house       near  
                         'I cleaned up next to the house.' (Cotidiano)
- (158) eye       Marinho       neye       Ø=aitsaha       hoka       hatyaotseta       eye       Cirila  
                         eye       Marinho       neye       Ø=aitsa       -ha       hoka       hatyaotseta       eye       Cirila  
                         DEM       Marinho       father       3sg kill       PL       CON       then            DEM       Cirila  
                         hare       ali       maniya       ehaliyaha  
                         hare       ali       maniya       e=       =**haliya**       -ha  
                         also       here       side       3sg near       PL  
                         'Later, after Marinho's father was killed, Cirila came here to be near them.' (Batsaji  
                         tahi)

### 3.6.15 *koni* 'among'

The postposition *koni* means 'among'. The form used with personal clitics is irregular because of the linking morpheme *-ne* (which may be inserted, similar to the linking morpheme *-om* seen with the postposition *ana*), as seen in (159) and in Table 28.

- (159) kozaka       ene       eyehare       mahalithare            **koni**  
                         kozaka       =ene       eye       -hare       ma-       haliti       -hare       =koni  
                         already       =PST       this MASC       NEG person MASC       among  
                         'We were already among these non-Indian people.' (Aug nawenane)
- (160) Jorge americano Ø=itsoahena       winikoni  
                         Jorge americano Ø=       itsoa       -hena       wi=       ni       =**koni**  
                         Jorge americano 3sg come.in TRS       1pl LK among  
                         'Jorge americano joined our group (lit.: came to live among us).' (Kamoro  
                         nawenane)

Table 28: koni

	<b>Personal Clitics</b>	<b>Koni 'among'</b>
1s	no=	nekoni
2s	hi=	nikoni
3s	e=	nekoni
1p	wi=	nikoni
2p	xi=	nikoni
3p	e=...-ha	nekoni

It is possible to argue that the irregularity started in the third person through analogy with nouns such as *koko* 'uncle' (*hikoke* 'your uncle, *enekoke* 'his uncle') where there is a *ne* in the third person. This irregularity then spread to the other persons. In the persons with the vowel *i* the *ne* is realized as *ni* because of vowel harmony. This diachronic explanation is similar to the one provided by Silva (2013) for the *-om* syllable used with the postposition *ana*. The only difference is that with *ana* the irregularity started in the first person and with *koni* in the third person.

### 3.6.16 *onita ~ ta* 'source'

The postposition *onita* and its variant *=ta* indicates the source 'from a location' implying movement as in (161) through (163).

- (161) cidade nonitatyo tseko Ø=tyaonahitaha hoka  
 cidade en= **=onita** =tyo tseko Ø= tyaona -h -ita -ha hoka  
 city 3sg SOUR TOP far 3sg COP PL IFV PL CON  
 'They were far away from the city.' (cabeceira)
- (162) ewaiholokoza Ø=iyaha enonita  
 e= waiholoko -za Ø= iya -ha en= **=onita**  
 3sg tip.arrow POSSED 3sg catch PL 3sg SOUR  
 'They took the tip of the arrow from him.' (Txinikalore)
- (163) Ø=zane wonita kafakiya kafaka kalore notiya  
 Ø= zane w= **=onita** kafaka =iya kafaka kalore no= tiya  
 3sg go 1pl SOUR yesterday IRR? yesterday a.lot 1sg cry  
 'He went away from us (died), and yesterday I cried a lot.' (Enore)

The form *=ta* is used only when no movement is implied, but the source is indicated, as in (164).

- (164) zoimanae      haiya      eye      escolata      kozaka      kalikini      curso  
       zoima -nae      haiya      eye      escola **=ta**      kozaka      kalikini      curso  
       child      PL      IND2      this      school SOUR      already      now      course  
       Ø=tyomita  
       Ø= tyom      -ita  
       3sg make, do IFV

'Some children from this school are already taking courses (at the college).'

(Batsaji tahi)

- (165) Koterokota      maniyata      watsemene  
       Koteroko **=ta**      maniya **=ta**      wa= tsem =ene  
       Koteroko SOUR      side      SOUR      1pl hear 3O  
       'We heard it from (people of) the Koteroko village.' (Tolohe)

The postposition can also occur with other postpositions such as *heno* in (166).

- (166) tsehalihenota      kotehala      Ø=ainakoa  
       tsehali heno **=ta**      kotehala      Ø= ainakoa  
       rock      on.top SOUR      bird      3sg fly  
       'The bird flew from the top of the rock.' (E)

### 3.6.17 *zeta* 'allative'

The postposition *zeta* indicates a movement to a location.

- (167) Fofinho neyenae      azanikitsene      cidade **zeta**  
       Fofinho en= eze      -nae      a- zane -ki      -tsa =ene      cidade      =zeta  
       Fofinho 3sg father PL      TH go      CAUS TH 3O      city      ALL  
       'Fofinho's parents made him to go to the city.' (E)

## 3.7 Adjectives and Adverbs

### 3.7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives form a very small class of just eight words. These are words for dimensions (*kalore* 'big', *kirane* 'small', *wahahare* 'tall'), physical properties (*tihe* 'bitter',

*katyala* 'sour', *timena* 'heavy'), age (*waitare* 'old') and value (*waiye* 'good'). These words share properties with stative verbs in that they take personal proclitics and verb inflection. In (168), the stative verb *kirane* 'small' takes the proclitic *no=* '1sg' from set B. Example (169) shows the stative verb *kalore* 'big' taking the suffix *-ta* 'imperfective' (an allomorph of *-ita* which occurs only with statives) with a meaning of temporariness.

(168) nokirani

<b>no=</b>	<b>kirane</b>
1sg	small
'I am small'	(E)

(169) nozaotsehalitiri

**kaloreta**

no= zaotsehaliti	-ra	kalore	-ta
1sg wound	POSSED	big	PROG
'The wound is big'			

Paresi adjectives can function as modifiers of nouns without any additional morphology, different from verbs which need the nominalizer *-re* to serve this function. Adjectives, as defined by Croft (2000), are prototypically a modifier referring to a property, and will be unmarked in this function.

According to Brandão (2009), Paresi adjectives seem to modify nouns with or without the nominalizer, as in examples (170) and (171) respectively. However, adjectives with a nominalizer are better analyzed as being in an appositional noun phrases than as modifiers of nouns. Evidence for considering this construction as composed of two appositional noun phrases is that both *timenere* and the noun *kaxali* can take the nominal plural *-nae*: *kaxalinae timenerenae* 'the boxes, the ones that are heavy'.

(170) hati kalore tyomaha

hati	kalore	$\emptyset =$	tyoma	-ha
house	big	3sg	make	PL
'They made a big house'				

(171) kaxali timenerenae ezoa

kaxali	timena	-ze	-nae	$\emptyset =$	ezoa
box	heavy	NMLZ	PL	3sg	fall
'The heavy boxes fell down'					

In general, adjectives follow nouns, as seen in (170); examples where they precede nouns are rare, as in (172).

- (172) ehare            kahare    oliti            aitxita            **kalore**    matsene  
ehare            kahare    oliti            Ø= aitxi -ta        kalore    matsene  
for example    a.lot      game hunting    3sg kill    EMPH    big      field  
tyomita  
Ø= tyoma -ita  
3sg make PROG  
'For example, they killed a lot of game, and they made a big field' (toahiyere NB)

### 3.7.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined as “modifiers of constituents other than nouns” (Schachter & Shopen, 2007: 20). In Paresi, they function as modifiers of predicates and as predicate heads. As modifiers, they do not take inflectional morphology, but as predicates they take some verbal morphology such as personal proclitics and aspect marking. Generally, time adverbs are clause-initial, but some of them can also occur before the verb, and few can occur at the end of a clause.

Temporal adverbs are important to give the time reference in a clause. When there are no present or past tense markers, the use of time adverbs is the only indication of time in a clause. Most of these temporal adverbs are monomorphemic, but *kafaka* 'yesterday' and *makani* 'tomorrow' can take the irrealis *iya*, the transitional *-hena*, and the classifier *-tse* 'CLF:small' meaning 'few days' before or after the present time, respectively. Paresi time adverbials are shown in Table 29.

Table 29: Temporal adverbs

Adverb	Gloss
kozaita	today
kalini, kalikini	now, today, nowadays
awitsa	soon
kafaka	yesterday
kafakatse	recently, days ago
makani	tomorrow
makanitse	few days ahead
kamaetali	in another day
weta	early
toahiya	formerly

The adverb *kalini* means 'now, today, nowadays'. It can occur as modifier of a predicate as in (173) and (174), or as a predicate head in nonverbal predicates, as in (175) where it is negated by the negative focus *xini*. There is another form with the same meaning: *kalikini* (176). I have not found differences between *kalini* and *kalikini*, which are described in Silva (2013) to be "today" and "now" respectively.

- (173) **kalini** wiwawa witsaonita witsota  
 kalini wi= wawa wi= tsaona -ita witso -ta  
 today 1pl alone 1pl COP IFV 1pl EMPH  
 'Nowadays we are alone.' (Bacaval tahi)

- (174) hoka **kalini** atyo hamalaka awaezore hoka walolore  
 hoka kalini =atyo ha= malaka awaezore hoka walolo -re  
 CON now =TOP 2sg pull.off awaezore CON rotten NMLZ  
 taitehena  
 taite -hena  
 only TRS  
 'If you pull off the *awaezore* root now there will be only rotten ones.' (tolohe)

- (175) maitsa **kalini** xini iyalahaliti Ø=tyaona maitsa kalini  
       maitsa kalini xini iyalahali -ti Ø= tyaona maitsa kalini  
       NEG today NEG bad.thing UNPOSS 3sg happen NEG now  
       xini  
       xini  
       NEG

'It is not nowadays that bad things happen.' (Aug nawenane)

- (176) **kalikini** ali witsaonita  
       kalikini ali wi= tsaona -ita  
       today here 1pl live IFV  
       'Nowadays we live here.' (cabeceira)

The adverb *kafaka* refers to the day before the utterance time (177). It can also refer to few days before yesterday together with the expression *haiya zowakiya* 'some time' (178).

- (177) **kafakala** wiyaneye eye aidyazeroza maniya  
       kafaka =la wi= yane eye airaze -ro -za maniya  
       yesterday =FOC 1pl go this savory NMLZ CLF:liquid side  
       wimatya  
       w= imatya  
       1pl beat.cipó.vine  
       'Yesterday we went to side of the perfume river to beat cipó vine.' (emaniya-LZ)

- (178) hiyeta haiya zowakiya **kafaka** [...] Timidyo "maiha  
       hiyeta haiya zowakiya kafaka Timidyo maiha  
       ? IND2 period yesterday Timidyo NEG  
       wikanityohalitirire ekohena"  
       wi= ka- inityohare -ti -ri -re eko -hena  
       1pl ATTR be.old UNPOSS ? NMLZ ? TRS  
       'Because of this, the day before yesterday, [...] Timidyo (said): "we do not have any  
       elders.' (Fenare)

For a period further back in the past, the classifier *-tse* 'small' with the meaning of 'few days' is attached to *kafaka* 'yesterday'. It can refer to few days ago, as in (179) where *kafakatse* is used with the meaning 'recently'. It can also refer to years ago, as in (180), where *kafakatse* 'some days in the past' occurs with the expression *kalini witxiyehenere*

*terehokoane* 'the year that just passed' to express the meaning 'two years ago'.

- (179) hatyaotseta **kafakatse** kaitserahare polo base  
           hatyaotseta kafaka -tse kaitsera hare polo base  
           then         yesterday CLF:small EMPH? NMLZ health service center  
           mokotse Ø=tyaonehena Nova Esperança Formoso zoaha  
           mokotse Ø= tyaone -hena Nova Esperança Formoso zoaha  
           baby        3sg become, stay TRS Nova Esperança Formoso and  
           'Then recently there was a small health service center in Nova Esperança and  
           Formoso villages.' (Batsaji tahi)

- (180) Ø=kazakoita ene hoka **kafakatse** **kalini**  
           Ø= kazako -ita =ene hoka kafaka -tse kalini  
           3sg take care IFV =PST CON yesterday CLF:small now  
           witxiyehenere terehokoane  
           wi= txiye -hene -re terehokoane  
           1pl pass TRS NMLZ year  
           'He was taking care of it two years ago.' (Batsaji tahi)

The adverb *kafaka* 'yesterday' occurs in the form *kafakiya* which is rarely found in my corpus. The *iya* may be analyzed as the irrealis marker (similar to the use of *iya* with *makani*). *kafakiya* indicates a period in the past before yesterday:

- (181) kotyatyaore niraene hitiyata ezahe **kafakiya**  
           kotyatya -ore n= irae -ne hitiya -ta ezahe kafaka =iya  
           ?           EMPH 1sg talk POSSED again EMPH CON yesterday IRR?  
           'As I said the day before yesterday.' (tolohe)
- (182) zane wonita **kafakiya** kafaka kalore notiya  
           Ø= zane w= onita kafak =iya kafaka kalore no= tiya  
           3sg go 1pl= SOUR yesterday IRR? yesterday a.lot 1sg= cry  
           'He died (lit.: went from us) some time ago, and yesterday I cried a lot.' (Enore)

There is also only one example where *kafaka* 'yesterday' functions as the head of a predicate, and it takes verb morphology, the transitional *-hena*.

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| (183) kalini aka eye mehezoawiharetere  | <b>kafakehenere</b> |
| kalini aka eye mehezoawi -hare -ita -re | kafake -hene -re    |
| now ? this deceased MASC IFV NMLZ       | yesterday TRS NMLZ  |
| haliti niyatyawini                      |                     |
| haliti niyatya                          |                     |
| person ?                                |                     |

'This deceased one who was buried few days ago.' (Fenare nawenane)

In order to refer to a period in the distant past, another adverb is used: *toahiyva*.

- (184) **toahiya**      ene      atyo      atyoakoa      wakakehitita  
                 toahiya      =ene      =atyo      atyoa -ko a      wa= kake -hitita  
                 in.the.old.days      =PST      =TOP      basket LOC      1pl squeeze REP?  
                 'We squeezed in the sieve in the old days.' (Oloniti zaka)

The adverb *makani* refers to an event that happened posterior to the day of the utterance time (185), and similar to *kafaka* 'yesterday', it can also refer to a time after tomorrow when used with the irrealis *iya* (186) and (187), or the word *kamaitali* 'another day' (188).

- (185) hū ite **makani** enatyokoe waiya hoka  
       hū =ite makani en= atyokoe Ø= waiya hoka  
       INTERJ =FUT tomorrow 3sg grandfather 3sg see CON  
       Ø=bakatene enomana  
       Ø= baka -tya =ene e= nomana  
       3sg pay TH 3O 3sg BEN  
       'Yeah, tomorrow his grandfather will see (the cloth) and will pay for it for him.'  
       (iraiti Batsaji)

- |                         |                |        |              |                       |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (186) <b>makaniyana</b> | ite            | ali    | mahalitihare |                       |
| makani =ya              | =ana           | =ite   | ali          | ma- haliti -hare      |
| tomorrow =IRR           | DAT?           | =FUT   | here         | NEG person MASC       |
| Ø=tyohena               | iraeakatyा     |        | maheta,      | aliyerenae kakoa,     |
| Ø= tyo -hena            | irae -aka -tya |        | maheta       | ali -yere -nae =kakoa |
| 3sg come TRS            | talk ?         | TH     | PURP         | here NMLZ PL =COM     |
| halitinae               | kakoa          | maheta |              |                       |
| haliti -nae             | =kakoa         | maheta |              |                       |
| person PL               | =COM           | PLURB  |              |                       |

'Next week, the non-Indian will come to talk to the people from here' (makani tabi)

- (187) "hakolahena ite **makaniya** hitsota hoka  
       ha= kola -hena =ite makani =ya hitso -ta hoka  
       2sg take TRS =FUT tomorrow =IRR you EMPH CON  
       habakatya," maiha iya waiya maiha nabakaita  
       ha= baka -tya maiha =iya waiya maiha na= baka -ita  
       3sg pay TH NEG =IRR good NEG 1sg pay IFV  
       "You can take (the radio), next time you come you pay" (he said) if it doesn't  
       work, I won't pay.' (ketetse)
- (188) **makani** kamaitalite notyoheta  
       makani kamaitali =te no= tyoa -heta  
       tomorrow another.day FUT 1sg come PERF  
       'The day after tomorrow I will come back.' (Kabikule nawenane)

*kozaita* describes an event that occurred in the same day as the utterance time. It occurs only as a modifier of a predicate in clause-initial position as in (189), and before or after the verb. There are few occurrences of this adverb in my corpus.

- (189) **kozaita** Jatobá txoa hiyane hoka natyo xirahare atyo  
       kozaita Jatobá txoa hi= zane hoka natyo xirahare =atyo  
       today Jatobá AFF 2sg go CON 1sg poor.thing =TOP  
       maiha Jatoba nozaniye hekoti  
       maiha Jatoba no= zane -re hekoti  
       NEG Jatoba 1sg go NMLZ yet??  
       'Today you went to Jatobá, poor thing! I have not gone there yet.' (Kabikule Daniel  
       iraiti 2)

Other temporal adverbs are *awitsa* 'later, soon', *weta* 'early', (*k)ozaka* 'already', and *mene/minita* 'always'. The lists I provided here are as complete as possible with the current corpus, but other temporal adverbs may be identified with further research.

- (190) haze **awitsa**  
       h= aza awitsa  
       2sg ask soon  
       'Ask her later.' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (191) **weta** ali Ø=tyoa xirahalo  
       weta ali Ø= tyoa xira      -halo  
       early here 3sg come poor.thing FEM  
       'Poor girl, she came here early' (iraiti Batsaji)
- (192) **kozaka** Ø=bandonatyaha        ene      tyotya        ene      **kozaka**  
       kozaka Ø= bandona -tya -ha =ene      tyotya        =ene      kozaka  
       already 3sg leave      TH PL =PST everything, all =PST already  
       ene      wenakalati  
       =eene      awenaka  
       =PST      village  
       'Already all of them had left the village.' (Katomo nawenane)

The adverb *mene* 'always' is different from other adverbs because it does not occur clause-initially, as seen in (193). In (194), it has the form *minita* with the progressive marker *-ita*.

- (193) azeze        zema      notyaone      **mene**        hoka      nawaiyore  
       azeze        zema      no= tyaone      mene        hoka      na= waiyore  
       older.brother COM    1sg COP      for.a.long.time CON    1sg know  
       nakatsatyare  
       na= katsa -tyare  
       1sg hunt NMLZ  
       'I was always with my brother in order to learn how to hunt.' (Katomo nawenane)
- (194) ferakoa        komita      ene      atyo      Ø=waiyetahene  
       ferakoa        komita      =ene      =atyo      Ø= waiye      -ita -ha =ene  
       in the morning   almost   =PST      =TOP      3sg see, watch IFV PL  
       **minita**      kalikini      Britonae      finado      Mauricionae      neye  
       minita      kalikini      Brito -nae      finado      Mauricio -nae      neye  
       always      now      Brito PL      decesead      Mauricio PL      father  
       'Almost every day they came to visit them, like the deceased Brito, Mauricio's  
       father.' (Batsaji tahi)

In addition to the words in Table 29, there are items which refer to the times of the day, as shown in Table 30.

Table 30: Times of the day

Form	Composition	Meaning
kozakita	kozaka?-ita already-IFV	dawn
zaoliti	zaoli-ti early in the morning-UNPOSS	early in the morning
kanahe	kanahe	6am
ferakoa	fera-k-oa always?-TH-MM	in the morning
tota hikoa	tota hikoa straight show.up	midday
makakoa	maka-k-oa night-TH-MM?	in the afternoon
waiye makakoane	waiye maka-k-oa-ne good night-TH-MM-POSSED?	3pm
maka, makiya	mak-iya night-?	at night
makatihota	maka-tih-o-ta night-face-?	7pm
waha maka	waha maka long night	9pm
wahazati	waha-za-ti long-?-UNPOSS	midnight
kawero makati ?	kawero maka-ti night-UNPOSS	after midnight

The words in the table above function chiefly to modify verbs or sentences. Some of them are compounds that have a transparent morphology. They also may occur as predicate heads, taking some verb morphology (for example the transitional *-hena*).

To illustrate some of these adverbs, I will show examples from the text *Hitsehaliti* that tells how the Paresi ancestor made their traditional festivals. As seen in (195), (198) and (199), the adverbs *ferakoa* 'day', *wahazati* 'midnight', *totahikoa* 'midday' are used as nonverbal predicates.

- (195) kaoka zoana ferakoahena zamani zoana **maka**  
      kaoka zoana **ferakoa** -hena zamani zoana maka  
      arrive what in the morning TRS DUB what night  
 $\emptyset$ =hikoahena zamani  
 $\emptyset$ = hikoa -hena zamani  
      3sg come.out TRS DUB  
      'The guests may arrive in the morning, or when it is getting dark'
- (196) zoana **zaolitiaka** zamarityo  $\emptyset$ =kaoka harekahare  
      zoana zaolitiaka zamani =tyo  $\emptyset$ = kaoka harekahare  
      what early in the morning DUB =TOP 3sg arrive host  
      'Or very early in the morning'
- (197) tohiyerehare atyo **kozakita**  $\emptyset$ =kaotse hitiya  
      tohiye -re -hare =atyō kozakita  $\emptyset$ = kaotse hitiya  
      in.the.old.days NMLZ MASC =TOP dawn 3sg wake.up again  
      zolihikoaneta  
      zolihi hikoa -ta  
      star? come.out IFV  
      'The ancestors wake up at dawn when the star is coming out'
- (198) wahazatihena hazotokalahare  $\emptyset$ =halaitsa nikahena  
      **wahazati** -hena ha= zotokala -hare  $\emptyset$ = halaitsa nika -hena  
      midnight TRS 3sg ? MASC 3sg leave go.IMP TRS  
      zoimahalitiae nea  
      zoimahaliti -nae nea  
      boy PL say  
      'When it is midnight, he leaves the festival and he says, "keep on guys"'
- (199) totahikoahena kazaloza  $\emptyset$ =moka  
      **totahikoa** -hena kazalo -za  $\emptyset$ = moka  
      midday TRS type.of.manioc CLF:liquid 3sg put  
      'When it is midday he puts chicha of the kazalo cassava [in the middle of the yard].'  
      (hitsehaliti)

The classifier *-tse* 'small' also occurs with the words for the times of the day adding the meaning 'at the beginning', as with *makiya* 'at night', in (200).

- (200) makehena      ala      hoka      tyoka      alyao<sup>t</sup>setyahitaha      ala  
       maka -hena =ala      hoka      tyoka      alyao<sup>t</sup>se -tya -h -ita -ha =ala  
       night TRS      =FOC      CON      sit      ?      TH      PL      IFV      PL      =FOC  
**makiyatsehena**      ala      hoka  
       makiya -tse      -hena =ala      hoka  
       night CLF:small TRS      =FOC      CON  
       'In the night, they were sitting around the fire, when it was getting dark.'  
       (Zatyamare)

The adverb *maka* may also function as a predicate, though this construction is rare and its meaning as a predicate has been difficult to determine.

- (201) maiha, maiha, ira      hoka      nalita      ekakoa      xini      wikaotse  
       maiha      maiha      ira      hoka      nali -ta      e= =kakoa      xini      wi= kaotse  
       NEG      NEG      AFF      CON      there      EMPH      Ø =COM      FOC      1pl      woke.up  
**wimaka**      maheta      xini  
       wi=      maka      maheta      xini  
       1pl      night      PURP      FOC  
       'No, no. We are not there with him inthe morning and at night (lit.: No, no, we are not there with him when we wake up and when we sleep)' (Enore)

I analyze adverbs as a separate class distinct from verbs or nouns. Although some adverbs look like they have frozen verbal morphology (adverbs ending with *-oa*, which resemble the middle voice morpheme), they do not take most of the verbal morphology which is typical of verbs, such as personal clitics and valency-changing morphology, and they function differently. Some adverbs look like nouns, as for example *wahazati* 'midnight', where *-ti* resembles the unpossessed marker used with nouns, and it can be used as an argument in the clause, as in (202). However, adverbs cannot be pluralized, nor can they take postpositions like nouns can.

- (202) **wahazati** hikoahena      wihiye  
       wahazati      hikoa      -hena      wi= hiye  
       midnight      show.up      TRS      1pl      BEN  
       'The midnight is coming.' (E)

In the lexicon Silva (2013) provides, the words *ferakoa* and *maka* are listed as

verbs meaning 'grow light' and 'grow dark' respectively, while *makiya* and *wahazati* are listed as nouns meaning 'night' and 'midnight' respectively. However, in the examples I have, the noun *zatini* 'night' occurs instead of *makiya*, as shown in (203). It is possible that *makiya* can also occur in this context but more work is needed to clarify this.

- (203) maiha notemaita            hinama **zatini**  
      maiha no= tema -ita    hinama zatini  
      NEG 1sg sleep IFV two      night  
      'I have not slept for two nights.' (E)

### 3.7.3 Relation between adverbs, adjectives and stative verbs

Stative verbs and adjectives in Paresi can modify nouns as well as other verbs, functioning as manner adverbs or adverbs of intensity. The most common adjectives modifying other verbs in my corpus are: *kalore* 'big', *waiye* 'good', and *waha* 'long'; the most common stative verbs in this function are: *kinatya* 'be strong', *hazerore* 'be fast', *howitihare* 'be difficult'. As adverbs, they precede the verb they modify as shown in the examples below from (205) to (208), and follow the verb when they are used as modifiers, as in (204) (§5.2.1.3). This is also attested by Silva (2013:336) who says statives at the left of a predicate can only modify the predicate, not the noun.

- (204) wenakalati                    **kalore**  
      wena -kala -ti                kalore  
      life NMLZ UNPOSS big  
      'The village was big' (Bacaval)

- (205) notyokeheta,                **kalore** notiyahena            nozahekoli  
      no= tyoke -heta    kalore    no= tiya -hena    no= z=        aheko -li  
      1sg sit            PERF big    1sg cry TRS    1sg NMLZ? think POSSED  
      txiyahaotya        natyo  
      txiyahao -tya      natyo  
      exceed TH        1sg  
      'I sat and I was crying a lot, I was thinking too much.' (Tolohe)

- (206) kala    **waiye**    witsaonita  
      kala    waiye    wi= tsaon -ita  
      DUB    good    1pl COP IFV  
      'I think we are doing well.' (Bacaval tahi)

- (207) **kinatya** Ø=hoholaita  
 kinatya Ø= hoholati -ita  
 be.strong 3sg wind IFV  
 'It is blowing strongly.' (zanekoare)

- (208) **hazerore** wamiyatya  
 hazero wa= miya -tya  
 be.fast 1pl finish TH  
 'We finished very fast.' (ketetse)

Similar to other adverbs, statives and adjectives in this function may also occur clause-initially (209), and can occur with the transitional *-hena* (210). The example in (211) is the only example (in my corpus) of a adjective that occurs following the modified verb.

- (209) **kalore** hakita  
 kalore Ø= haka -ita  
 big 3sg work IFV  
 'You work a lot.' (JG nawenane)

- (210) eze ekoihiakotaty matsakare **kalorehena** Ø=fakita  
 eze ekoihiako ta =tyo matsakare kalore -hena Ø= faka -hena  
 this groin SOUR TOP EMPH? big TRS 3sg swell TRS  
 ihiyе aoka ezanene  
 i= -hiye aoka e= zanene  
 3sg BEN say 3sg husband  
 'Her husband said that she said her groin is really swollen.' (Katomo Aug nali)

- (211) Hatyaotseta wiyanе Kyaoro nali witsaona **waha**  
 hatyaotseta wi= yane Kyaoro nali wi= tyaona waha  
 then 1pl go Kyaoro.village LOC 1pl stay long  
 'We went to Kyaoro and we stayed there a long time.' (JT nawenane)

### 3.8 Interjections and ideophones

#### 3.8.1 Interjections

According to Ameka (2006:743), interjections are “words that conventionally constitute utterances by themselves and express a speaker's current mental state or

reaction towards an element in the linguistic or extralinguistic context". Formally, in Paresi, interjections do not take affixes and are generally monomorphemic. This class includes words expressing emotions, response words, words directed at animals, and words and expressions used in specific ritual contexts.

### 3.8.1.1 Words expressing emotions

The form *aka* or *akāi* pronounced with a nasalized vowel is used to express pain:

- (212) tyaonehitiya,                   Ø=hikoahitiya                   okoati  
       tyaone           -hitiya Ø= hikoa                   -hitiya okoa -ti  
       become, stay again 3sg come.out, show.up again jealous UNPOSS  
       natyokoere                           Ø=militsehityakakoahena  
       n= atyokoe           -re Ø= militse -hi                   -tya -kakoa -hena  
       3sg grandfather NMLZ 3sg scratch CLF:long.slender TH REC TRS  
       waiye   **aka**           **akaka**  
       waiye aka  
       good INTERJ  
       'The chief of the jealousy came out (of the stone). He came out scratching  
       himself up, ouch!' (Wazare)

The form *kaxiani* is the only interjection with more than two syllables. It is an exclamation of indignation, worry, or sadness.

- (213) **kaxiani!** nikare zakore nali Ø=tyaonahita  
       kaxiani nikare zakore nali Ø= tyona -ha -ita  
       INTERJ like this FRUST LOC 3sg live PL IFV  
       'Well, unfortunately they are living like this.' (tolohe)
- (10) natyotya namaikohalo,                   **kaxiani** maiha zakore  
       natyo -tya n= amaikohare -halo kaxiani maiha zakore  
       1sg FOC 1sg be.sad FEM INTERJ NEG FRUST  
       'I am very sad, well, no, unfortunately (this happened).' (tolohe)

The interjection *hiii* pronounced with an extra-long vowel expresses anger, as when someone gets in trouble.

- (214) **hiiiii** watsero nola  
 hiiiii w= atsero en= ola  
 INTERJ 1pl grandmother 3sg game  
 $\emptyset$ =hikoakihitita  $\emptyset$ =neaha ihiye  
 $\emptyset$ = hikoa -ki -heta -ita  $\emptyset$ = nea -ha i= hiye  
 3sg come.out, show.up CAUS PERF IFV 3sg say PL 3sg BEN  
 'Damn! it is your fault to let the game of our grandma to go away, he said to him.'  
 (Txinikalore)

The interjection *eh* is commonly used to express surprise, astonishment in reference to a bad or unpleasant event.

- (215) hakakotyatyo  $\emptyset$ =waiyehena  
 haka -ko -tya =tyo  $\emptyset$ = waiye -hena  
 move.with.the.hands LOC TH TOP 3sg see TRS  
 hanatyoretse **eh!** nonatyore  
 ha= natyore -tse eh no= natyore  
 3sg brother-in-law, cousin CLF:small INTERJ 1sg brother-in-law, cousin  
 kafahare  
 ka- fahare  
 ATTR enemy  
 'He moved along the floor and saw his brother-in-law, "Oh no! My brother-in-law  
 was killed" (Txinikalore)

The interjection (*hi*)*txe* is used to express amazement when something smells good (216), tastes delicious, or when something or someone has a good appearance (217).

- (216)  $\emptyset$ =neaha hoka, aizetya, **hitxe!**  
 $\emptyset$ = nea -ha hoka aize -tya hitxe  
 3sg say PL CON smell TH INTERJ  
 'They said and when he smelled it, wow!' (kani zaka)
- (217) hiyaiya **hitxe!**  $\emptyset$ =waiyehalo waiye tsaiane  
 hi= yaiya hitxe  $\emptyset$ = waiyehalo waiye tsaia -ne  
 2sg see INTERJ 3sg be.beautiful good skirt POSSED  
 'Look, wow! It is beautiful, their skirts looks good.' (hitsehaliti)

The interjection *hohoho* is an exhortation of happiness used in traditional

festivals, for example, when drinking *chicha* or at the end of a traditional song.

- (218) eaotsetya Kaliberotya Ø=neatya hahatsahena Ø=nea  
eaotsetya Kalibero -tya Ø= nea -tya ha= hatsa -hena Ø= nea  
here Garimpeiro FOC 3sg say FOC 2sg try TRS 3sg say  
**hohohoho**  
hohohoho  
INTERJ  
'Here, Garimpeiro said, "try! hohohoho" he said (before drinking chicha).'  
(Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

### 3.8.1.2 Response words

The forms *hãa* or *hñ*, both with nasalized vowels, are used for agreement or to show that the hearer is listening. In the conversation below, the daughter is telling the mother the date of a party in the village, and the mother responds with *hãa* showing agreement with what the daughter said.

- (219) D: sexta-feiratya, maiha maihala hoka sexta maiha quinta  
sexta-feira -tya maiha maiha =la hoka sexta maiha quinta  
Friday FOC NEG NEG =FOC CON Friday NEG Thursday  
ala  
=ala  
=FOC  
'It is on Friday, no, it cannot be on Friday, I think it is on Thursday'

M: **Hãa**  
hãa  
INTERJ

'Yeah (iraiti Batsaji)

The interjection *ká* with a rising intonation is used to express admiration or happiness in reference to something good that was said. For example, in (220), the grandfather (G) shows his admiration for the bravery of the three children (C) who want to kill the *Txinikalore* monster.

- (220) C: Txinikalore    waitsa    no atyo  
               Txinikalore    w= aitsa    atyo  
               Txinikalore    1pl kill    grandfather  
               'We will kill the Txinikalore'

G: **ká!**  
     ká  
     INTERJ

'Oooh!' (Txinikalore)

In (221), the husband (H) expresses his happiness when he learns his cousin is female and that she will be his wife.

- (221) H: zoare    Ø=tyaona    nakero    koko    ityani?  
               zoare    Ø= tyaona    n= akero    koko    ityani  
               what    3sg be        1sg aunt    uncle    son, daughter  
               'What is the child of my aunt and uncle?

A: ohiro    mokotse  
     ohiro    mokotse  
     woman    baby

'It is a female'

- (222) H: **ká!**    nezanityo    ite    Ø=tyaona    taitatyo    hoka  
               ká        n= ezanityo    =ite    Ø= tyaona    taita    =tyo    hoka  
               INTERJ    1sg wife        =FUT    3sg COP    only    =TOP    CON  
               Ø=peditxita    Ø=tyaona  
               Ø= peditya -ita    Ø= tyaona  
               3sg ask.for IFV    3sg born  
               "Ooh! Then she is going to be my wife", since the moment she is born, he asks  
               her.' (Toahiyerehare-DB)

The interjection *ihooo* is the hosts' response to their guests in a traditional festival.

- (223) **ihooo!**    nita    **ihooo!**    zeaira    Ø=iraehena    Ø=halaitsa  
               ihooo    nita    ihooo    z= nea ira    Ø= irai -hena    Ø= halaitsa  
               INTERJ    say    INTERJ    2pl say AFF    3sg talk TRS    3sg leave  
               'Ihooo! says (the host), when (the guest) begins and finishes his speech.'  
               (hitsehaliti)

### 3.8.1.3 Words directed at animals

The interjection *hāi* is a conventionalized form directed at dogs with the meaning 'get out!'. In (224), the woman (W) asks the man (M) to take the dogs out of the house:

- (224) W: Eye toli hahikoatya  
eye toli ha= hikoa -tya  
this pile 2sg come.out, show.up TH  
'Take out this pile (of dogs)'

M: **hāi!**

'Get out! (to the dogs).' (iraiti Batsaji)

### 3.8.2 Ideophones

Ideophones are defined as words that vividly represent sounds/sensory events (Voeltz & Hatz, 2001). As defined by Dingemanse (2009), ideophones differ from interjections because they are not 'response cries', that is, they do not index stances to events in the immediate context of the speech event (similar to direct reactions). In Paresi, phonologically, they can exhibit vowel lengthening and nasalization (as seen also with interjections), and usually there is reduplication of syllables (except when the action referred to by the ideophone is punctual). Ideophones appear in a post-verbal position, and sometimes before the quotative verb *nea* 'say'. Only the ideophone *tsaboo* occurs as a predicate.

Another characteristic is that these words are often used in storytelling. Most of the examples I found in my corpus come from two main traditional stories: *Txinikalore* (*Txinikalore* is a monster who killed the parents of three children who later exact their revenge), and *Wazare*, the Paresi creation myth. All of these forms are sound-related, as will be illustrated below. Except for the widely-used *zoi zoi* and *tsoboo*, ideophones do not appear to be conventionalized and may be spontaneously created by speakers. In Table 31, I present a list of the ideophones found in my corpus.

Table 31: Ideophones

Ideophone	Gloss
kē kē	shooting with an arrow
zoi zoi	shooting
tsobooo	jump into the water
tsai	cutting with a knife
tsok tsok	cutting with an axe
taĩ taĩ	beating (with a hard outer layer)
zūñ	scattering
tūh	throwing down
kiooo	cracking
tok	breaking
tobi tobi	water dripping
wididi wididi	thunder rumbling
txi txi txi	imitating a bat sound

The ideophone *kē kē* is used to describe the action of shooting with an arrow and *zoi zoi* describes the action of shooting in general. In the examples (226) and (227), *zoi zoi* is used by different speakers, therefore it is a conventionalized form. In the first two examples they describe the sound of shooting an arrow, and in (227) *zoi zoi* was also used by another speaker to describe the sound of shooting a gun.

- (225) enotsetseharehena    Ø=zanehitaha  
 eno -tse    Ø= zane -h -ita -ha  
 high CLF:small    3sg go PL IFV PL  
 Ø=kaokehena    Ø=xakatetya  
 Ø= kaoke -hena    3sg arrive TRS    3sg house PL    3sg shoot ? TH  
 waiya    kē kē  
 Ø= waiya  
 3sg see  
 'They went up and then other Indians arrived shooting at his house *kē kē'*

(Txinikalore)

- (226) Ehare kohezanityotse aokahiteriya watomitya                       ako itse atyo  
ehare kohezanityotse aoka -hiteriya wa= tomitya                       ako itse atyo  
this type.of.bird say ?                              1pl wound with an arrow ? ? TOP  
watomitxita    **zoi zoi** wakeratita  
wa= tomitya    -ita                              wa= kera -tya -ita  
1pl wound with an arrow IFV                       1pl burn TH IFV  
'We shot these birds, which they say are *Kohezanityotse*, *zoi zoi* and then we burnt  
[the birds].' (JT nawenane)
- (227) waiya                   **zoi zoi**  
Ø= waiya  
3sg see  
'[I shot with a gun] *zoi zoi*.' (Katomu nali)

The ideophone *tsoboo* is also a conventionalized ideophone, the only one in my corpus that occurs as a predicate, referring to the sound and action of jumping into the water:

- (228) tehena Ø=zane Ø=owehena Ø=txiyeta toli   **tsoboo**  
te -hena Ø= zane Ø= owe -hena Ø= txiye -ta toli  
? TRS 3sg go 3sg ? TRS 3sg pass IFV pile  
'He went and the pile (of fishes) were passing, and then *tsoboo*.' (ikona)

The form *tsai* is used in one narrative to describe the sound associated with the action of cutting something with a knife-like instrument, as in (229), while *tsok tsok* is used in another narrative told by another speaker, to describen cutting with an axe (230). The type of instrument used in the action is lexically encoded in the verb, but the ideophones emphasize it.

- (229) Ø=irikohitiya           **tsai**  
Ø= iriko hitiya  
3sg cut again  
'He cut again *tsai!*' (Txinikalore)

- (230) Ø=iyeħeta      **tsok tsok** Ø=ityoka  
      Ø= iye -heta                           Ø= ityoka  
      3sg catch PERF                           3sg cut, cut down  
      'He caught (the axe) *tsok tsok* cutting the buriti tree.' (JT nawenane)

The form *taĩ taĩ* occurs to represent the action of beating something with a hard outer layer, such as a coconut as in example (231):

- (231) Ø=etolitsoa      nomita      hoka      Ø=mokohenaha  
      Ø= etolitsa -oa      nomi -ta      hoka      Ø= moko -hena -ha  
      3sg lay down MM      say IFV CON      3sg hit TRS PL  
      olokolitse,              tamakolitse      Ø=mokotya      **taĩ, taĩ**  
      olokoli -tse              tamakolitse      Ø= mokotya  
      bacuri.fruit CLF:small type.fruit      3sg beat  
      'They were lying down, cracking the bacuri and the *tamakolitse* fruits *taĩ taĩ*'  
      (Txinikalore)

Other non-conventionalized sound-related ideophones are noises for scattering *zozoka* or throwing something down *tūh*:

- (232) eaotseta hakomatala      Ø=zozoka      waiya      **zūū**  
      eaotseta ha= komata -la      Ø= zozoka      Ø= waiya  
      then      3sg beans POSSED 3sg scatter 3sg see  
      hatawaneha      tsiri      Ø=ezoartsaha      waiya      **tūh!**  
      ha= tawane -ha      tsiri      Ø= ezoa -e      -tsa -ha      Ø= waiya  
      3sg victim PL      head 3sg fall CAUS TH PL 3sg see  
      'Then he scattered his beans *zūū* and he threw down the head of his victim *tūh*'  
      (Txinikalore)

In addition, ideophones can occur with the quotative verb *nea* 'say', as seen in the examples below. The ideophone *kiaooo* is a noise for cracking (233), and *tok* for breaking (234):

- (233) kala ekanoliakoha emazatyaha waiya  
       kala e= kano -li      -ako      -ha e= maza -tya -ha Ø= waiya  
       DUB 3sg arm CLF:round CLF:inside PL 3sg be.weak TH PL 3sg see  
       Ø=taika **kiaooo kiaooo** nea Ø=tyaona Ø=mokaha  
       Ø= taika                      nea Ø= tyaona Ø= moka -ha  
       3sg shatter                  say 3sg COP 3sg put PL  
       'Then, the branches of the trees were weak and they started to crack *kiaooo kiaooo*.'

(Wazare)

- (234) zoare halani Ø=tiyakoita nomanikoahaliranae  
       zoare halani Ø= tiya -ko -ita no= manikoahali -nae  
       what ?      3sg cry LOC IFV 1sg ? PL  
       notaholoni              Ø=nita ena **tok** akaĩ  
       no= taholo -ni           Ø= nita ena        akaĩ  
       1sg ?      POSSED 3sg say man            INTERJ  
       'Why my dears are crying inside of me? the man said, and then *tok* ouch!'

(Txinikalore)

Other ideophones in my corpus are: *tobi tobi*, used when water is dripping (235), *wididi wididi*, for a noise like thunder rumbling (236), and *txi txi txi* which imitates the sound bats make (237).

- (235) Koima neiye hoka Ø=aimazaty a one hoka **tobi tobi**  
       Koima nea hoka Ø= aimaza -tya one hoka  
       Koima say CON 3sg catch TH water CON  
       Ø=nehena hoka one tohi hiye noxiti  
       Ø= nea -hena hoka one tohi =hiye noxiti  
       3sg say TRS CON water drop =BEN ?  
       'He said Koima, and he caught the water drop, and when the water is *tobi tobi*, it is  
       the drop of water flute.' (iyamaka-BO)

- (236) Ø=airirikoita **wididi wididi** Ø=nita  
       Ø= aiririko -ita                      Ø= nea -ita  
       3sg make.noise IFV                  3sg say IFV  
       'It was making a noise widdi, widdi.' (Wazare)

- (237) Ø=iyehenahitene                   Ø=herawatya  
      Ø= iye -hena -hit =ene   Ø= herawatya  
      3sg catch TRS PERF 3O   3sg take.out. from.hole  
      Ø=iyehenahitene                   ezotse,      hiyahakoatyá           **txi txi txi**  
      Ø= iye -hena -hit =ene   e= zotse hi= yahakoa -tya  
      3sg catch TRS PERF 3O   3sg eye    2sg look      TH  
      Ø=nea  
      Ø= nea  
      3sg say  
      'They got it (the arrow) back and pulled her eyes out, "look: *txi txi txi*", they said  
      (imitating bats).' (Txinikalore)

## **Chapter 4 - Nouns and nominal morphology**

### **4.0 Introduction**

In this chapter the noun class, nominal morphology, and the noun phrase will be defined and described structurally and functionally. Nouns in Paresi exhibit distinctions in number and types of possession. They can also function as arguments of predicates or postpositions. First I present a definition of noun root and noun stem, then I describe the nominal category of number (§4.2). Then, I describe the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in §4.3, the process of noun compounding in §4.4, noun classification in §4.5, and nominal derivation in §4.6. The noun phrase is discussed in §4.7. Noun incorporation will be described in another chapter §5.3.3.1.

### **4.1 Noun roots and stems**

#### **4.1.1 Noun roots**

Noun roots can occur without modification, or be bound, if they only occur with other morphemes like possessor marker or another nominal root (see inalienable nouns §4.3.1).

Most of the nouns are two syllable roots, and there are few nominal roots with more than three syllables. Some of these longer roots have reduplicated syllables (as the example *kololokare* 'type of anu bird'). Longer roots appear to be fossilized root-suffix combinations. For example, *tamitsone* 'sister-in-law', *hawaretse* 'peccary', and *tanakoli* 'cheek' appear to contain the possessed suffix *-ne* and the classifiers *-tse* 'CLF:small' and *-li* 'CLF:round', respectively, see Table 32 for more examples.

Table 32: roots with a lexicalized suffix

<b>Bound Roots</b>	<b>Translation</b>	<b>Unbound Roots</b>	<b>Translation</b>
<b>tanakoli</b>	cheek	txikolomo	night owl
<b>tamitsone</b>	sister-in-law (of a woman)	kalowero	type of hummingbird
<b>mahiyatse</b>	heart	hawaretse	peccary
<b>ximalini</b>	young brother	kololokare	type of anu bird

There are a few phonological restrictions at the beginning of words, as for example, few noun roots begin with the syllables *e*, *wi* or *xi*. These restrictions may be due to their similarity with personal clitics *wi*= '1pl', *xi*= '2pl' and *e*= '3sg'.

#### 4.1.2 Inherent reduplication

The noun roots listed below involve repetition of phonological segments in which it is not possible to identify the meaning of the reduplicated form. The process generally occurs with onomatopoeic forms that denote animals (specially birds). According to the traditional definition of reduplication these reduplicated form are not “true reduplication”.

This definition excludes forms which do not have non-reduplicated counterparts. Paresi, then, has cases of lexicalized reduplication in which non-reduplicated forms either have been lost or never existed, as is often the case with symbolic (often onomatopoeic) reduplicative forms. Inherent reduplication concerns these reduplicated forms where no independent base can be identified (Van der Voort and Gomez, forthcoming). Therefore I treat the reduplicated forms in Paresi as “inherent reduplication”.

In Table 32, I give some examples of inherent reduplication.

Table 33: Inherent reduplication

Reduplicated Forms	Gloss
tarotaro	Southern Lapwing (Portuguese: 'quero-quero')
tolotolo	type of hummingbird
towitowi	type of hawk
tokotokore	type of hawk
tamotamo	type of bird ( <i>jacu</i> )
zozokoko	cicada
zokozoko	ant
koxikoxi	type of monkey
malamala	lung

#### 4.1.3 Noun Stems

A noun stem is formed by a noun root and possessed suffixes (§4.3.2) and/or nominalizer suffixes. The structure of the noun word is shown in (1). The noun word includes the possessor, the noun stem, the plural and/or postpositions. This is illustrated in example (2).

(1) Possessor+[{ROOT +{UNPOSS/ POSSED} }<sub>stem</sub>+PL+POSP

(2) hakohonenaekakoa                   kakoa  
      ha= koho -ne       -nae =kakoa  
      3sg basket POSSED PL COM1  
      'With her baskets.' (ketetse)

## 4.2 Number

### 4.2.1 The plural/associative *-nae*

In Paresi, plural forms of nouns and nominal forms may be marked by the form *-nae*. However, the plural is only obligatorily marked with humans, as in (3) through (5). The morpheme *-nae* may also be used as an associative.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Silva (2013) calls it “augmentative collective”. He says that it refers only to a group of four or more elements. Because of this, he does not consider *-nae* to be a plural.

(3) hatyaotseta owa                nozakaitere                eye    ohironae  
     hatyaotseta owa                no= zakai -te -re        eye    ohiro    **-nae**  
     then            right now? 1sg tell IFV NMLZ this woman PL  
     kaiyanene                kaitsaniha                        hoka  
     ka-    iyanene    ka-    itsani                -ha    hoka  
     ATTR husband    ATTR son, daughter PL    CON  
     'Then, as I just said, the women married and they had children.' (Batsaji tahi).

(4) zatsemehena                ira                        zoimanae  
     za=    tseme -hena    =ira                        zoima    **-nae**  
     2pl= hear    TRS    =AFF, small? child    PL  
     'Listen, children!' (Iheroware)

(5) ehare namoheta                niraini                        malo                zoimanae  
     ehare na= mo -heta    n=    irai -n                -i    malo                zoima    **-nae**  
     this 1sg= put PERF 1sg= talk POSSED 1sg my daughter child PL  
     hare zoimanae                notxiyetenae  
     hare zoima    **-nae**    no= txiyete    **-nae**  
     also child PL    1sg= grandson PL  
     'This is my speech, my daughter, my children, my grandsons.' (xihatyoawihaliti)

In contrast to the collective *toli* (see 4.2.2), *-nae* when occurring with humans does not have a collective meaning. For example, in (6), the noun *haliti* 'Paresi person' is used with *toli* meaning 'spatially contiguous group of people', while with *-nae* (7) the meaning is non-collective, i.e., it refers to the Paresi individuals in each village (therefore a non-contiguous group) who are working in the health service system.

(6) Ø=tanatyoa                Ø=waiyehena                haliti    **toli**  
     Ø= tanatyoa                Ø= waiye    -hena haliti    toli  
     3sg turn the head to look 3sg see, watch TRS person COL  
     tximahitsekoni  
     tximahitse -koni  
     faint?            in.the.middle.of  
     'He looked around, and he saw a group of people who fainted (inside of the rock).' (Wazare)

(7) eye    halitinae                hakitere                        ehare    kahehaliti    tahi    kakoa  
     eye    haliti    **-nae**    haki -te -re        ehare    kahehaliti    =tahi    =kakoa  
     this    person PL    work IFV NMLZ this    illness    =about    =COM  
     'With these Paresi people who are working in the health system.' (makani tahi)

Plural marking is not obligatory with nouns referring to animals or inanimates. These are more frequent with the collective *toli*. (8) and (9) illustrate the occurrences of the plural with nouns for animals: *awo* 'emu' and *kohatse* with *-nae*. Examples (9) and (10) illustrate occurrences of the plural with nouns for inanimate referents: *iye* 'flower' and *kahe* 'hand'. In (9) *kohatsenae* 'fish (PL)' refers to animals that perform human actions in a myth, as seen in (9).

- (8) eze matsekoa kalokoa hoka wiyanekoaita hoka  
     eze matse -ko a kalo -ko a hoka wi= yanekoa -ita hoka  
     this field LOC big LOC CON 1pl hunt in the savanna IFV CON  
     wiyayaka oliti awonae  
     wi= yaya -ka oliti awo -nae  
     1pl see, watch ? game hunting emu PL  
     'This field is very large, then we go hunt, we look for game, such as emus.' (cabeceira do Osso)
- (9) kohatsenae Ø=nehena zoana kore witsaona?  
     kohatse -nae Ø= nea -hena zoana kore wi= tsaona  
     fish PL 3sg say TRS what DUB? 1pl live  
     'The fish asked themselves "what should we do?" .' (ikona)
- (10) Eyaotseta iyitinae Ø=imezehena  
     eyaotseta iye -ti -nae Ø= imeza -hena  
     then flower UNPOSS PL 3sg gather TRS  
     'Then he gathered flowers.' (Wazare)
- (11) nokahenae  
     no= kahe -nae  
     1sg= hand PL  
     'my hands (E)

In general uncountable or mass nouns do not occur with *-nae*. The noun *one* 'water' is pluralized only when taking the classifier *-za* meaning 'river': *onezanae* 'rivers'. Demonstratives (12) (see §3.3) do not take the plural when in a noun phrase modifying a noun, even when the nouns themselves are marked with *-nae*. They only take plural when functioning as the head of an noun phrase, as in (13) to (15). Numerals are not marked for

the plural, and they do not require a pluralized noun (see § 3.5.1).

- (12) **ēeze**    hatinae    hiyaiyeta?  
ēeze    hati    -nae    hi=    yaiye -ta  
yonder    house    PL    2sg=    see    IFV  
'Are you seeing those houses over there.' (E)

- (13) **ezenae**    hibaberaza?  
eze -nae    hi=    babera -za  
this PL    2sg=    paper    CLF:liquid  
'Are these, your books?' (E)

- (14) ezahiya    ehare    witsora                         **ezeharenæ**                        wiraiheta  
ezahiya    ehare    witso =ra                         eze    hare    -nae    w=    irai    -heta  
?            this    1pl    =AFF, small                     this    NMLZ    PL    1pl    talk    PERF  
kalikiniyolo,    kalikiniyerenæ                        ana    maitsa    iya    Ø=tyakekota  
kalikini iyolo    kalikini -yere    -nae    ana    maitsa    =iya    Ø= tyakeko -ta  
now    NMLZ    now    NMLZ    PL    BEN    NEG    =IRR    3    believe    IFV  
'Even if we had told to these ones, the youth of today, they would not believe it.'  
(TJA.1011)

- (15) zoimanae    haiya    eye    escolatya    kozaka    kalikini    curso  
zoima -nae    haiya    eye    escola -tya    kozaka    kalikini    curso  
child    PL    IND2    this    school FOC    already    now    course  
Ø=tyomita                        haiyanæ                        odontologia  
Ø= tyom    -ita    haiya -nae    odontologia  
3sg make, do    IFV    IND2    PL    dentistry  
'From this school there are other children already taking a university course and  
others are studying dentistry.' (Batsaji tahi)

In addition, the plural marker must occur with the demonstrative *hatyo* when functioning as third person for plural reference, as in (16). The plural may also occur with other persons such as the second person plural *xitso* (17). However, plural marking is optional in these cases (and is used to emphasize plurality of the reference (see §3.2.3) since the plural is lexically specified in personal pronouns.

- (16) **hatyonæ**    atyo    Ø=tyomita                        nomani  
hatyo -nae    =atyo    Ø= tyom    -ita    no= mani  
3sg    PL    =TOP    3sg make, do    IFV    1sg    BEN  
'They made it for me.' (BO nawenane)

- (17) xitsonae        kotxitseratse    iranae        iyatya        zaitsa        Txinikalore?!
- xitso    **-nae**    kotxitseratse    =ira    -nae    =iya    -tya    z=    aitsa    Txinikalore  
 you all PL    fragile                    AFF? PL    =IRR?    ?    2pl kill    Txinikalore
- 'You all who are fragile, you all killed Txinikalore?!" (Txinikalore)

Only one interrogative pronoun, *zala* 'who', which refers to humans can take the plural (18). Nominalizations, as in (19) and (20), and nominalized headless relative clauses which refer to both animates (21) and inanimates also take the plural.

- (18) zalanae        zamanite        Ø=tyohena?  
 zala    **-nae**    zamani =te        Ø= tyo    -hena  
 who PL    DUB    =FUT    3sg come TRS  
 'Who are the ones coming?' (makani tahi)

- (19) Ø=tyohenaha        ite        Ø=iraehenaha  
 Ø= tyo    -hena -ha =ite        Ø= irae -hena -ha  
 3sg come TRS PL =FUT    3sg talk TRS PL  
 zaotyakitsatiyena        ozaka  
 za-    otya    -ki    -tsa -ti    -ye    **-nae**    ozaka  
 NMLZ remember CAUS TH UNPOSS NMLZ PL    already  
 waiyoreterenae        kakoa    hoka  
 waiyore -te    -re    -nae =kakoa    hoka  
 know    IFV NMLZ PL =COM    CON  
 'They come to talk with the teachers who already have knowledge.' (makani tahi)

- (20) tyotya        Fomosokoa        Formosoyerena        hiye  
 tyotya        Fomoso -ko        Formoso -yere    **-nae**    hiye  
 everything, all Formoso LOC Formoso NMLZ PL    BEN  
 nokanalyaotseharehena  
 no= kanalyaotse -hare -hena  
 1sg attend    MASC TRS  
 'I attended all the people from the Formoso village.' (Kamoro nawenane)

- (21) wiyeyehenerenae        Ø=nemakahitaha  
 wi= waiya -hena -re    **-nae**    Ø= nema -ka -ha -ita -ha  
 1pl see    TRS NMLZ PL    3 sleep TH PL IFV PL  
 'The ones who we saw are sleeping.' (E)

The suffix *-nae* can also be used with an associative meaning with kinship terms

or proper names indicating members of a family or group, as in (22) through (24).

- (22) waiyehenaya abebenae zema nozani  
waiye -hena =ya abebe -nae zema no= zan -i  
good TRS =IRR grandmother PL COM 1sg go 1sg  
'I can go with my grandparents (=my grandmother and my grandfather).' (iraiti  
Batsaji)
- (23) Maria Ivetenae hana eye eheno kitxiya wiyanne  
Maria Ivete -nae hana eye e- heno kitxiya wi- yane  
Maria Ivete PL house DEM 3sg above, on.the.top until 1pl go  
hoka wahaikoaheta zoimanae kakoa  
hoka wa= haikoa -heta zoima -nae =kakoa  
CON 1pl come.back PERF child PL =COM  
'We will go until the house of Maria Ivete's family, on the way up. Then we come  
back with the children.' (emaniya)
- (24) hatyo zowakiya Katxiniti, Waimarenae, watonitatyo  
hatyo zowakiya Katxiniti Waimare -nae wa= ton a -ita =tyo  
3sg at this time Katxiniti Waimare PL 1pl walk IFV TOP  
ezowakiya tseko  
ezowakiya tseko  
period, time far  
'In this period, we the Katxiniti and the Waimare were used to walking long  
distances.' (Formoso onetse)

#### 4.2.2 The collective *toli*

A collective morpheme indicates that a group of items is considered together rather than individually (Corbett, 2000:118). The collective *toli*<sup>33</sup> is used to indicated the collective nature of a group or pile of spatially contiguous things. The collective *toli* follows the noun. The source of this form probably is the noun (*e*)*toli* 'all, pile', as in (25) and (26).

- (25) **etoli** wawenakala witso Enomaniere  
etoli wa= wenakala witso Enomaniere  
all 2pl village 1pl Enomaniere  
'All the land was our village, ours, of we the Enomaniere.' (Formoso onetse)

<sup>33</sup> Silva (2013: 193) considers *toli* a noun meaning 'group'. I agree that there is a noun *etoli* meaning 'pile, group' which is the source of the collective. However, distributional evidence suggests that *toli* has also been grammaticalized as a quantifier.

- (26) Eye **toli** hahikoatya  
 eye toli ha= hikoa -tya  
 this all 2sg come.out, show.up TH  
 'Take these piles out of here' (iraiti Batsaji)

Collectives may co-occur with number markers, they are never obligatory, and they are typically formed from nouns low on the Animacy Hierarchy (Corbett, 2000:118). The collective *toli* can be used with kinship terms, both when referring to humans (27) and animals (28). It can also be used with nouns referring to animals, as shown in (29) and (30). In the same text from where the expression *kohatse toli* 'pile of fish' in (30) comes, the form *kohatse* 'fish' is also used with the plural *-nae*. The difference of using *toli* or *-nae* may be related to the numbers of elements in a group (*toli* is used with a larger number). The difference may also be related to how the speaker wishes to conceive the noun phrase, as one thing, i.e. *kohatse-nae* was a group of individuated fish talking to each other, while *kohatse toli* is some undifferentiated mass of fish. In (31), *toli* occurs without a noun, and the last vowel of the collective is lengthened to express the surprise of seeing the large amount of tapirs.

- (27) wiyané wimatyá hoka ohiro **toli**  
 wi= yane w= ima tya hoka ohiro toli  
 1pl= go 1pl= beat.cipó.vine CON woman COL  
 maimahiro  
 ma- ima -hi -ro  
 NEG cloth ? NMLZ  
 'We went to beat cipó vine, and a group of women were naked.' (JT )

- (28) ekaliyehokotse atyo ala haiyanityo nali oza  
 e= kali -ye -hoko -tse atyo ala ha= iyanityo nali oza  
 3sg frog POSSED CLF:circled CLF:small TOP FOC 3sg wife LOC ?  
 zane kaokeheta haitsanitsehi **toli** kakoa  
 zane kaoke -heta ha= itsani -tse -hi toli kakoa  
 go arrive PERF 3sg son, daughter CLF:small CLF:slender COL COM  
 Ø=waiyahena  
 Ø= waiya -hena  
 3sg see TRS  
 'His small frog was already there with its wife and children, and they saw them.'

(Dirizonae)

- (29) Hatyaotseta oli            **toli**    kokoaha    Ø=kaokahenahitaha  
hatyaotseta oli            toli    kakoa -ha Ø= kaoka -hena -ha -ita -ha  
then            capybara COL COM PL 3sg arrive TRS PL IFV PL  
'They arrived with a lot of capybaras.' (JT nawenane)

- (30) kohatse    **toli**    nita            fehanaita  
kohatse    toli    nea -ita    fehana -ita  
fish        a lot    say IFV    bless IFV  
'“The pile of fish”, he says blessing.' (ikona)

- (31) Waiya    zaore        hoka        kakoha    ehare        hatiri            waiya  
waiya    zaore        hoka        kakoha    ehare        hati -ri            waiya  
see        FRUST        CON        go.up        this        house CLF:round    see  
zaore        hoka        ezanene        **toliiii**  
zaore        hoka        e= zanene        toli  
FRUST        CON        3sg husband    COL  
'When they went up to the roof of the house, they saw her husband, and a lot (of  
tapirs).' (kotyoi zaka)

In addition, the collective *toli* is used with mass nouns that can be grouped together in a pile, as in (32). Some substances, such as *one* 'water', can only bear *toli* if they appear with the marking of possession, forcing an interpretation of 'water' as 'a container of water' (33).

- (32) alotso    kozeto    hare    **toli**    kazafityakita  
alotsos    kozeto    hare    toli    ka-    za= fitya -k    -ita  
rice        corn        CON        COL    ATTR 2pl plant PASS IFV  
'A bunch of rice and corn is being planted by you all.' (fenare nawenane)

- (33) nonixi            **toli**  
n= one -xi            toli  
1sg water POSSED COL  
'My piles of (bottles of) water.' (E)

#### 4.3 Possession

Paresi distinguishes between types of alienable and inalienable possession. Nouns

can be classified into three types: inalienable (bound nouns), alienable nouns, and non-possessable nouns. In Paresi, alienable nouns are more morphologically marked than inalienable ones in possessive constructions. This morphological marking follows a prediction by Haiman (1983:795) that “in no language will the phonological expression of inalienable possession be bulkier than that of alienable possession”.

#### 4.3.1 Inalienable nouns

Inalienable nouns are inherently possessed: they must take a possessor (a personal clitic or another nominal root) when possessed, or the unpossessed suffix *-ti* when unpossessed. These nouns are also bound nouns, in the sense that they do not occur as free constituents. Inalienably possessed nouns only appear without the unpossessed marker *-ti* when in compounds with other nouns. (see §4.4). In a compound, the possessor, a noun, precedes the possessed noun which is the head of the noun phrase, as seen in (34). The possessors can also be personal clitics, and the same forms used with nouns to mark possessors mark the subjects of set B verbs (except for the third person, see §3.2.1). These forms are shown in Table 34.

- (34) Mazazalane tsiri  
 Mazazalane tsiri  
 Mazazalane head  
 'Mazazalane's head.' (Wazare)

Table 34: Personal clitics

Person	Singular		Plural	
	consonant-initial roots	vowel-initial roots <sup>34</sup>	consonant-initial roots	vowel-initial roots
1	no=	n=	wi=	w=
2	hi=	h=	xi=	x=
3	e=/i=	en=/in=, ene=/ini=	e=/i=	en=/in=, ene=/ini=

Semantically, inalienable nouns include nouns for kinship terms, body or plant

<sup>34</sup> For more details on the allomorphy of personal clitics see §3.2.1.

parts, personal belongings, and a few other nouns. They have unpossessed forms with the suffix *-ti* (or *-kati* 'UNPOSS' for kinship terms). (35) illustrates the inalienable nouns *atsero* 'grandmother', *ihō* 'tail', *tsiri* 'head', and *tinihe* 'ear' possessed by the third person.

- (35) zoare kore wakolatya watsero Alaoliro waiyane  
 zoare kore wa= kolatya w= atsero Alaoliro waiya -ne  
 what DUB? 1pl take 1pl grandmother PN see NMLZ  
 katorenae? ekokore inihokatse, etsiri, itinihe  
 katore -nae e= koko -re in= **ihō** -katse e= **tsiri** i= **tinihe**  
 brother PL 3sg uncle ? 3sg tail CLF: long 3sg head 3sg ear  
 wakolatya  
 wa= kolatya  
 1pl take

'What are we going to take for our grandma Alaoliro to see, my brothers? We will take our uncle (Txinikalore) with us: his tail, his head, and his ear.' (Txinikalore)

In (36), the inalienable noun *aikoli* 'tooth' is used with the unpossessed suffix *-ti*:

- (36) aikoliti tahi Ø=aowita  
 aikoli **-ti** tahi Ø= aowita -ita  
 tooth UNPOSS about 3sg tell IFV  
 'It is about a tooth that she is talking.' (iraiti Katomo)

Body parts are illustrated in Table 35, and personal belongings in Table 36, with the possessor *e=*~*i*= '3s' and the unpossessed marker *-ti*.

Table 35: (Un)possessed body parts

Possessor '3s'	Gloss	Unpossessed Form	Gloss
<i>e=kahe</i>	'his hand'	<i>kahi-ti</i>	'hand'
<i>i=niho</i>	'his tail'	<i>ihō-ti</i>	'tail'
<i>i=kitxi</i>	'his foot'	<i>kitxi-ti</i>	'foot'
<i>e=tsiri</i>	'his head'	<i>tsiri-ti</i>	'head'
<i>i=tinihe</i>	'his ear'	<i>tinihi-ti</i>	'ear'
<i>e=malamala</i>	'his lung'	<i>malamala-ti</i>	'lung'
<i>e=totone</i>	'his breast'	<i>totoniti</i>	'breast'

Table 36: (Un)possessed personal belongings

Possessor '3s'	Gloss	Unpossessed Form	Gloss
en=eare	his name	ealit-i	name
e=neta	his necklace	neta-ti	necklace
e=watyahala	his bracelet	watyahala-ti	bracelet
e=zawa	his axe	zawa-ti	axe
ini=tinihare	his pot	tinihali-ti	pot
in=ihiri	his blanket	ihiri-ti	blanket
en=olone	his chicha	oloni-ti	chicha

Silva (2013) treats kinship terms as inherently possessed, i.e., without unpossessed forms. However, speakers gave the unpossessed forms shown in Table 37. Kinships terms do not occur in their unpossessed forms with the unpossessed suffix *-ti* like other nouns (e.g.: \**txiyityo-ti* 'granddaughter'). However, in elicitation, speakers provided unpossessed kinship terms with *-kati* (see Table 37). This form may be segmented into two suffixes, one is the suffix *-ka*, which does not occur with other inalienable nouns, and the other is the unpossessed suffix *-ti*. The meaning of *-ka* is not clear.

Table 37: (Un)possessed kinship terms

Possessor '3s'	Gloss	Unpossessed Form	Gloss
i=txiyityo	his granddaughter	txiyityo-ka-ti	granddaughter of someone
e=zaitso	his niece	zaitso-ka-ti	niece of someone
i=tyaonero	his cousin	tyaonero-ka-ti	cousin of someone
ene=koke	his uncle	koko-ka-ti	uncle of someone
in=ityo	his mother	nityo-ka-ti	mother of someone

In addition to possessors and the unpossessed form, inalienable nouns can also take another suffix when possessed. The agreement suffix *-i* '1 sg' co-occurs with the first person proclitic *no=*, and it is attached to some inalienable nouns, postpositions and a

few stative verbs. This suffix is attached to inalienable nouns<sup>35</sup> ending with the vowel /a/<sup>36</sup> or /e/ (with some exceptions). The final the vowels /a/ and /e/ are deleted when the suffix is attached (§2.6.4), as shown in Table 38.

Table 38: Inalienable nouns taking -i

Unpossessed Forms	Gloss	Possessor '1s'	Basic Possessed Forms (with Persons Other Than The First)
malamala-ti	'lung'	no=malamal-i	malamala
otya-ti	'nail'	n=ot-i	otya
henetala-ti	'spine'	no=henetal-i	henetala
neta-ti	'necklace'	no=nit-i	neta
watyahala-ti	'bracelet'	no=watyahal-i	watyahala
zawa-ti [totoniti]	'axe'	no=zaw-i	zawa
totone-ti [totoniti]	'breast'	no=toton-i	totone
tamitsone-ti [tamitsoniti]	'niece'	no=tamitson-i	tamitsone
zera-kala-ti	'instrument'	no=zera-kal-i	zera-kala
tona-kala-ti	'vehicle'	no=tona-kal-i	tona-kala

The words *ola* 'game' and *ima* 'clothing' are also in this group. However, their unpossessed forms are not \**ola-ti* and \**ima-ti* as expected; instead their forms are *oli-ti* and *imi-ti*. A possible explanation for this irregularity is that the suffix *-i* was lexicalized in the unpossessed forms of these words (\**olati* → *oliti* (from *noli* 'my game'), \**imati* → *imiti* (from *nimi* 'my clothing')).

Finally, a few inalienable nouns have a suppletive unpossessed form. Table 39 shows the suppletive possessed forms of the nouns *irikati* 'fire' and *hati* 'house' and of some vocative kin terms (which are always unpossessed).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Silva (2013) analyzes this form as person agreement marker for the first person in alienable nouns. In contrast to his analysis, I consider *-i* to be part of the possessed forms.

<sup>36</sup> Instrumental nominalizations are also in this group because the last vowel of the instrumental nominalizer *-kala*.

<sup>37</sup> Not all vocative kin terms have a suppletive possessed form, such as *aze* 'my oldest brother (voc.)', and *en=azenanane* 'his oldest brother'.

Table 39: Suppletive unpossessed forms

Possessor '3s'	Gloss	Unpossessed Form	Gloss
in=itima	his fire	irika-ti	fire
e=hana	his house	ha-ti	house
en=eze	his father	aba	dad
in=ityo	his mother	ama	mom
i=tyani	his son	hare	son

#### 4.3.2 Alienable nouns

Alienable nouns are free noun roots that are optionally possessed, and do not occur with the unpossessed marker *-ti* (with few exceptions). When they are possessed, they must occur with the possessor and one of the three subsets of possessed suffixes shown in Table 40. The choice of the subsets of possessed suffixes is in part semantically conditioned. The three suffixes show grammatically conditioned allomorphy in which the first person singular differs from the other persons. The morpheme *-za* changes to *-xi*, *-la* to *-li* and *-ne* to *-ni*. This allomorphy in the first person also appears with the phonologically conditioned allomorph *-ra* described in the next paragraph, but not with *-ye*, and it is not clear what motivates the exception.

Table 40: Examples with *-xi~za*, *-li~la*, and *-ni~ne*

Possessor		/maha/	/kozeto/	/haira/
1s	no=	/no=maha-xi/	/no=kozeto-li/	/no=haira-ni/
2s	hi=	/hi=maha-za/	/hi=kozeto-la/	/hi=haira-ne/
3s	e=	/e=maha-za/	/e=kozeto-la/	/e=haira-ne/
1p	wi=	/wi=maha-za/	/wi=kozeto-la/	/wi=haira-ne/
2p	xi=	/xi=maha-za/	/xi=kozeto-la/	/xi=haira-ne/
3p	e=	/e=maha-za/	/e=kozeto-la/	/e=haira-ne/

The analysis presented here is different from the one in Silva (2013). In his work, he considered the alienable nouns to be less morphologically marked. According to him,

they take the possessors and the agreement suffixes *-i* and *-e*. In addition, the consonants occurring before the agreement suffixes *n*, *z*, *r*, and *l* are called latent consonants, which he considers part of the root, surfacing only when the suffixes are attached to the roots.<sup>38</sup> Here is an example illustrating his analysis:

(37) nohitone

no=	hito< n >	-i
1sg	bow	conc.1sg
'my bow.' (Silva, 2013:159)		

(38) ehitone

e=	hito< n >	-e
3sg	bow	conc
'his bow.' (Silva, 2013:159)		

The suffix *-i*, which Silva treated as first person agreement marking, is phonologically conditioned in inalienable nouns, as in §4.3.1. In alienable nouns, there is no phonological condition based on the root ending, as there is a consonant between the root ending and /i/ (the consonants /n/, /θ/, /r/, /l/). One hypothesis is that the /i/ diachronically was an agreement suffix for the first person with all nouns, postpositions and stative verbs, but today /i/ does not indicate first person in all nouns; its occurrence is restricted to roots or suffixes ending in /a/, or in /e/ (with exceptions).<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the analysis of latent consonants neither takes into account the neutralization between /l/ and /r/ after /e/ which only occurs at morpheme boundary, nor does it accounts for the semantic conditions (described below) driving the choice among the alienable suffixes.

Payne (1991: 378-379) reconstructed five genitive suffixes for Proto-Arawak which he named Proto-Maipuran: \*-ne, \*-te, \*-re, \*-i> -e, and \*-Ø. According to Payne, \*-ne is the most common possessive suffix and \*-te applies to a more restricted set of nouns, while the other suffixes are quite restricted. The only clear reflex of these in Paresi is *-ne*. According to Aikhenvald (2012: 167) these allomorphs tend to be

<sup>38</sup> He does not present a motivation for considering them part of the root.

<sup>39</sup> To differentiate noun roots ending with *a* from verb roots, which generally end in *a*.

semantically conditioned across Arawak languages, such that some suffixes apply to cultural artifacts, others to animates, others to loanwords, and so on). However, in Paresi, the choice of suffixes is not completely determined by semantic principles. Animacy may determine the suffix choice; most animate nouns take the possessed suffix *-za*, though inanimate *waiholoko* 'the tip of an arrow' and *tsehali* 'stone'). Nouns referring to inanimates take the suffix *-ne*. Other nouns take *-la*.

In addition, the two possessed suffixes *-za* and *-la* also show phonologically conditioned allomorphy in all persons. The phonologically conditioned allomorphy occurs when nouns ending with the /i/ vowel appear with the *-ye* suffix instead of *-za*. Palatalization changes /θ/ to /j/, triggered by the final high vowel, and raising of the vowel /a/ to /e/ results in *-ye*. Nouns ending in the front vowels /i/ or /e/, in the group taking *-la*, instead exhibit the allomorph *-ra*, as illustrated in Table 41.<sup>40</sup>

Table 41: Examples with -ye and -ri/-ra

Possessor		/koili/	/ketse/	/etseti/
1s	no=	/no=koili-ye/	/no=ketse-ri/	/n=etseti-ri/
2s	hi=	/hi=koili-ye/	/hi=ketse-ra/	/h=etseti-ra/
3s	e=	/e=koili-ye/	/e=ketse-ra/	/en=etseti-ra/
1p	wi=	/wi=koili-ye/	/wi=ketse-ra/	/w=etseti-ra/
2p	xi=	/xi=koili-ye/	/xi=ketse-ra/	/z=etseti-ra/
3p	e=	/e=koili-ye/	/e=ketse-ra/	/en=etseti-ra/

I will introduce each morpheme and give more examples in Tables 42 to 44. Table 42 shows some examples of 45 nouns in my corpus that take the suffix *-za* ~ *-ye*. As illustrated in (39), the alienable noun *maha* 'honey' requires the suffix *-za* when possessed, and it occurs unmarked when unpossessed, as in (40):

<sup>40</sup> This allomorphy may be due to neutralization between /l/ and /r/ when it is both preceded by [a] or [o] vowels and followed by [i], an environment which occurs in the first person, and may have been spread by analogy to the other persons.

- (39) wiya wimahaza wiyeheha  
       wiya wi= maha -za      w= iye -heta  
       let's.go 1pl honey POSSED 1pl catch PERF  
       'Let's go get our honey again.' (JT nawenane)

- (40) **maha** aka kala  
       maha aka kala  
       honey have DUB  
       'I think there is honey.' (JT nawenane)

Table 42: Possessed head marker -za

Unpossessed Form	Gloss	Basic Possessed Form	Possessed Form With 1 <sup>st</sup> Person
halawa	kind of bird	halawa-za	no=halawa-xi
maha	honey	maha-za	no=maha-xi
olo	money	olo-za	n=olo-xi
konare	type of fish	konare-za	no=konare-xi
kono	cotton	kono-za	no=kono-xi
ohiro	woman	ohiro-za	n=ohiro-xi
waiholoko	head of an arrow	waiholoko-za	no=waiholoko-xi
alohe	<i>araticuna</i> fruit	alohe-za	n=alohe-xi
koili	parakeet	koili-ye	no=koili-ye
kali	frog	kali-ye	no=kali-ye
tsehali	stone	tsehali-ye	no=tsehali-ye

Table 43 shows examples of nouns with the suffix *-la~ra*. There are approximately 25 words in my corpus in this group.

Table 43: Possessed head marker -la

Unpossessed Form	Gloss	Basic Possessed Form	Possessed Form With 1 <sup>st</sup> Person
ahite	annatto	ahita-la	n=ahita-li
kozeto	corn	kozeto-la	no=kozeto-li
txihoho	steamed bun	txihoho-la	no=txihoho-li
komata	bean	komata-la	no=komata-li
ketse	knife	ketse-ra	no=ketse-ri
tolohe	manioc flour	tolohe-ra	no=tolohe-ri
waikohe	land	waikohe-ra	no=waikohe-ri
kohatse	fish	kohatse-ra	no=kohatse-ri
etseti	egg	etseti-ra	n=etseti-ri

- (41) eaotseta hakomatala                      Ø=zozoka Ø=waiya zomm!  
eaotseta ha= komata -la                      Ø= zozoka Ø= waiya  
then        3sg beans POSSED    3sg scatter    3sg look  
'Then he scattered his beans, and look *zomm!*' (Txinikalore)

Table 44 illustrates nouns with the suffix *-ne*. There are approximately 25 nouns in this group in my corpus.

Table 44: Possessed head marker -ne

Unpossessed Form	Gloss	Basic Possessed Form	Possessed Form With 1 <sup>st</sup> Person
balatohe	plate	balatoahe-ne	no=balatoahe-ni
aho	cipó vine	aho-ne	n=aho-ni
baiyeta	blanket	baiyeta-ne	no=baiyeta-ni
ohairo	duck	hairo-ne	no=hairo-ni
hito	bow	hito-ne	no=hito-ni
haira	ball	haira-ne	no=haira-ni
weteko	yard	weteko-ne	no=weteko-ni
halate	comb	halate-ne	no=halate-ni
txiriba	skirt	txiriba-ne	no=txiriba-ni
kawalo	horse	kawalo-ne	no=kawalo-ni
koho	basket	koho-ne	no=koho-ni
matalo	pot	matalo-ne	no=matalo-ni
warekoaho	stream	warekoaho-ne	no=warekoaho-ni

- (42) baba enetya nakolaheta hikohone  
 baba =ene -tya na= kola -heta hi= koho -**ne**  
 dad =PST FOC 1sg take PERF 2sg basket POSSED  
 'My deceased dad said: I will take your basket.' (ketetse)

Loan words can take the suffixes *-za* or *-ne* depending on the animacy of the referents, with *-ne* taken by inanimates and *-za* by animates (except *kama-za* 'my bed'). (see Table 45).

Table 45: Loan words

Unpossessed Form	Gloss	Basic Possessed Form
bota	boot	bota-ne
tsako	plastic bag	tsako-ne
kama	bed	kama-za
boloko	pig	boloko-za
kabala	goat	kabala-za
katxolo	dog	katxolo-za
bowi	ox	bowi-ya

It is important to notice that the forms of the possessed suffixes *-za* and *-ri* are homonymous with the classifiers *-za* 'CLF:liquid' and *-ri* 'CLF:round'. With a few nouns, the choice of suffix may also be conditioned semantically by the shape or consistency of the possessed referent. For example, the noun *maha* 'honey' may take the possessive suffix *-za* because it has a liquid consistency, same as *warekoahoza* 'stream' and *timelaza* 'blood'. Nouns whose referents have a round shape (mainly vegetables) such as *kozeto* 'corn' and *komata* 'beans' take *-la/-li* (or *-ra/-ri*).

On the other hand, homonymy avoidance delimits the possibilities of occurrences of possessed suffixes. Alienable nouns do not take possessed forms that make them similar to inalienable noun roots ending with syllables *za*, *la*, or *ne*. For example, the alienable noun *matse* 'ground' has the possessed form: *matse-za*. This noun root cannot take the suffix *-ne*, otherwise the form derived will be homophonous with the inalienable noun *matsene* 'field'.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Though 'someone's ground' is a tempting etymology for 'field', *matsene* cannot be analyzed as *matse-ne* synchronically since as an inalienable noun, it accepts the unpossessed suffix, i.e. *matsene*-UNPOSS.

Table 46: Restrictions on possessed suffixes

Noun Root	Basic Possessed Form	Gloss
matsene	matsene	field
matse	matse-za, *matse-ne	ground
olone	olone	chicha beverage
olo	olo-za, *olo-ne	money

Generally, each noun regularly occurs with a particular possessed suffix. However, in elicitation speakers also accepted the uses of about twenty nouns with other possessed suffixes, without a change in the meaning. In Table 47, examples of these nouns are given (the first possessed form is the most common one). There is no general consistency among speakers about using these nouns with more than one suffix. For example, one speaker accepted the uses of *halate-ne* and *halate-za* as the possessed forms of *halate* 'comb', but another speaker only accepted *halate-ne*, the most common form. There may be subtle differences in meaning depending on the choice of the suffix, for example, the noun *zoima* 'child' with *-la*, as in *no=zoima-li* 'my child', which has a different meaning with *-ne*, as in *no=zoime-ne* 'my childhood'.

Table 47: Nouns taking more than one POSSED suffix

Unpossessed Form	Gloss	Basic Possessed Forms
txiriba	skirt	txiriba-ne, -za, -la
weteko	yard	weteko-ne, -za, -la
warekoaho	stream	warekoaho-ne, -za,
olawahi	rope	olawahi-za (/olawahi-ye/), -ne, -la
komata	beans	komata-la, -za, -ne

There are other irregularities to the pattern seen. The obligatorily possessed nouns in Table 48 take one of the three possessed suffixes *-za*, *-la*, *-ne* when possessed, and they take the unpossessed suffix *-ti* when unpossessed. Among these nouns, there are nominalized verbs (nominalized by a zero morpheme, see § 4.6.1), as shown in (43).

Table 48: Nouns taking the POSSED and UNPOSS suffixes

Unpossessed Form	Gloss	Basic Possessed Forms
timela-ti	blood	timelaza
kama-ti	deceased	kamane
aho-ti	path	ahora
wena-ti	life	(a)wenane
zera-ti	song	zera-ne
tona-ti	walking	tona-ne
irai-ti	speech	irae-ne

- (43) iniratyo                        kaomakita,                        ehare                erati  
       inira                =tyo        ka-        oma        -k        -ita        ehare        era        -ti  
       small quantity    =TOP        ATTR        make, do    PASS        IFV        this                drink        UNPOSS  
       maheta  
       maheta  
       PURP  
       'A small quantity (of chicha beer) is made, when it is for drinking.' (Oloniti zaka)

Table 49 shows another irregularity: nouns that take the unpossessed suffix and the possessed suffixes *-ra* or *-ne* at the same time.<sup>42</sup> The change in the form indicates the change in the semantic possession of the nouns from a inherent possession to conferred ownership. For example, the noun *ete-ti* 'meat' is the unpossessed form of the inalienable noun *ete* 'flesh of', and it takes the suffix *-ra* to form *ete-ti-ra* 'meat of someone'. The suffix *-ra* is used with body parts, and *-ne* with personal belongings. As a non-prototypical body part, 'blood' may receive either suffix.

Table 49: nouns taking both *-ti* and possessed suffixes

Basic Possessed Form	Gloss
ete-ti-ra	meat that belongs to me (that I am eating)
etse-ti-ra	egg that belongs to me (that I own)
tsiri-ti-ra	head that belongs to me (of an animal that I killed)
timela-ti-ni/ra	blood that belongs to me (of the animal I killed)

<sup>42</sup> This is a near exhaustive list in my corpus, but there may be more nouns.

Another irregularity is that a few alienable nouns referring to objects take the suffix *-tini*, which may be analyzed as the unpossessed suffix *-ti* and the possessed suffix *-ne*. They are derived from the inalienable body-part nouns referring to where these objects are worn.

Table 50: Personal belonging taking *-tini*

<b>Basic Possessed Forms</b>	<b>Morphological Gloss</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
hotse-ti-tini /hotsetine/	leg-UNPOSS-POSS	my pants
kitxi-ti-tini /kitxitine/	foot-UNPOSS-POSS	my shoes
kahi-ti-tini /kahititine/	hand-UNPOSS-POSS	my ring

Finally, there is only one unpossessed suppletive form of an alienable noun.

Table 51: Suppletive form

<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Person Possessed Form</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Unpossessed Form</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
in=ita	his hammock	maka <sup>43</sup> (*ita)	hammock

#### 4.3.3 Non-possessed nouns

Non-possessed nouns include proper names of people (*Zezokiware*, *Aezokero*, *Kezokero*, *Kezokenaece*) or of places (*Batsaji*, *Hohako*, *Owihoko*), and natural elements (e.g.: *kamae* 'sun', *kaimare* 'moon', *zoretse* 'star'). Natural elements may be possessed in some contexts; for example, *zoretse* 'star' can be optionally possessed (*no=zoretse-ri*) if it refers to a drawing of a star or an artefact in the form of a star. Therefore, the constraint is related to the pragmatics.

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<sup>43</sup> The word *maka* is related to the word *amaca* 'fish net' in Taíno (an Arawak language) which is the origin of the word *hamaca* 'hammock' in Spanish.

#### 4.3.4 The possessive constructions with *ka-*

Another way to express possession in Paresi is the use of constructions with the attributive prefix *ka-*. In Paresi, *ka-*-derivation is used to derive predicates, as with predicative kinship possession (44). According to Aikhenvald (2012), one of the most stable functions in Arawak languages is that the prefix *ka-*, which can derive possessive adjectives and predicates. I will describe possessive predicates with *ka-* in 7.3.3.

- (44) hatyaotseta owa nozakaitere eye ohironae  
hatyaotseta owa no= zakai -ita -re eye ohiro -nae  
then right now 1sg tell IFV NMLZ DEM woman PL  
kaiyanene kaitsaniha hoka  
**ka-** iyanene **ka-** itsani -ha hoka  
ATTR husband ATTR son, daughter PL CON  
'Then, as I just said, the women got married (lit. got a husband) and had children.'  
(Batsaji tahi)

#### 4.4 Nominal compounds

Compound nouns are nouns composed of two or more noun roots, which can be unbound or bound. All pairings of bound and unbound nouns (i.e. bound-bound, bound-unbound) are possible. The unbound-bound combination, in which the bound noun has a classifying function (§4.4.1), is the most common type. The three types of compounds are illustrated in (45) through (48). In compounds, the first noun is the modifier and the second one the head. In compounds in which both nouns are bound roots, if the second bound root is vowel-initial, then a consonant /n/ is used as a morpheme linking the nouns (47). The only example I have of a compound with three bound roots is in (48).

- unbound-unbound compound
- (45) kamae kokoiya 'harpy eagle'  
kamae kokoi  
sun hawk

unbound-bound compound

- (46) zohityakate 'cashew tree'  
zohitya -kate  
cashew tree.of

bound-bound

- (47) etsiri nahi 'his skull (lit.: bone of the head)'  
e= tsiri n- ahi  
3sg head.of LK bone.of

- (48) atya kanohi 'branch of the tree'  
aty a kano -hi  
tree.of arm.of CLF:long.thin

Considering a definition of phonological word based on stress domain (Dixon, 2003), compounds with free nouns form two phonological words because they maintain their lexical stress in both nouns. Compounds with only bound nouns, in which the second noun has a classifying function, form just one phonological word. The main stress is the stress of the classifying bound root, while the stressed syllable in the first noun receives a secondary stress (see §2.5).

Only the second noun in the compound can be marked for plural, as in (49) and (50). With regards to inalienability, I have a few examples of alienably possessed compounds, and they take the possessed suffix *-za/-ye* on the second noun, as in (51) and (52).

- (49) kamae kokoiyanae  
kamae kokoi **-nae**  
sun hawk PL  
'harpy eagles'

- (50) zohityakatenae  
zohitya -kate **-nae**  
cashew tree.of PL  
'cashew trees'

- (51) nokamae      kokoiyaxi  
       no= kamae      kokoya -za  
       1sg sun      hawk    POSSED  
       'my harpy eagles'

- (52) ehana      tyokoliye  
       e= hana      tyokoli -ye  
       3sg house    buttocks POSSED  
       'the back of his house'

Semantically, compounds may express a possessor-possessed, part-whole or entity-property relationship. In (53), the possessor-possessed relationship is illustrated where the first noun is the possessor and the second the possessed.

- (53) Fabio    ene    matsene  
       Fabio =ene    matsene  
       Fabio PST    field  
       'The field of the deceased Fabio.' (ximatyati)

Paresi also exhibits the possessive mechanism for meronymy (part-whole relation), in which the first noun refers to the 'whole' and the second one to the 'part'.<sup>44</sup> Body parts are used metaphorically referring to a part of an inanimate referent, and even to the spaces associated with those body parts. In (54) the word for 'arm' has its meaning expanded to refer to 'branch'; in (55) and (56) b the body parts *tyokoli* 'buttocks' and *kilihi* 'nose' had their meaning expanded to refer to the spatial relations 'back' and 'side'. However, only the plant parts *-tse* 'seed.of,' *-hi* 'fiber.of,' and *-li* 'fruit.of' have a metaphorical use (see description in §4.5).

- (54) atya    kanohi                  'branch of the tree.' (lit.: the arm of the tree)  
       atya    kano -hi  
       tree    arm CLF:long.thin

- (55) hati                            tyokoli    'the back of the house.' (lit.: the buttocks of the house)  
       ha    -ti                        tyokoli  
       house UNPOSS    buttocks

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<sup>44</sup> Meronymy has been widely reported across lowland South American languages including Toba, Pilagá (Klein, 2000: 84-5), and Hup (Epps, 2008).

- (56) ahoti                kilahi                'roadside.' (lit.: the nose of the road)  
       aho -ti              kili -hi  
       path UNPOSS    nose CLF:long.thin

Other compounds express entity- property relationship, as in examples (57) to (59). The first noun is the entity and the second noun is the property/modifier.

- (57) ena    mokotse    'boy'  
       ena    mokotse  
       man    baby  
(58) txini    ena    'male jaguar'  
       txini    ena  
       jaguar    man  
(59) mawiye    hotere    'nambu-preto bird'  
       mawiye    hotya -re  
       macucu.bird    be.dark NMLZ

#### 4.4.1 *Types of compounds*

There are two types of compounds in Paresi: lexicalized and productive compounds. The first type includes exocentric compounds (with a meaning distinct from the meaning of their parts) and compounds formed by a noun and a word from another class. Productive compounds, on the other hand, are formed by a noun and a classifying bound noun.

Exocentric compounds have meanings totally or partially different from the meanings of their parts (Aikhenvald, 2007). In Paresi, these compounds are generally names for animals, as shown in examples from (60) to (63). The semantic relationship the in the compound are not entirely transparent (except in (60) where 'emu's gut' metaphorically refers to the shape of the snake).

- (60) awo    natxihi                'cobra-cipó snake (lit.: 'emu's gut')  
       awo    n-    atxi    -hi  
       emu    LK    stomach CLF:long.thin
- (61) Kamaiye    kahi    'tráira fish.' (lit.: 'the hand of Kamaiye')  
       Kamaiye    kahi  
       Kamaiye    hand

- (62) txihali kokoini                   'gaviãozinho bird.' (lit.: 'hawk of the beetle')  
      txihali kokoi -ni  
      beetle hawk POSSED?
- (63) ohiro aotse 'womanizer.' (lit.: 'the place of the woman')  
      ohiro aotse  
      woman place

Another type of lexicalized compounds are formed by a noun, joined with a verb, a postposition, or ideophone. In compounds with verbs, the verb comes first and the noun is either a body part, (64) and (65), or the noun *one* 'water' (66). The whole compound is nominalized by the nominalizers *-re* or *-kala* 'instrumental nominalizer'. In (65), a noun combines with a postposition, and in (66) with an ideophone:

- (64) alijo zolakitakotyoakalati  
      alijo z- ola ki- tako -tyoa -kala -ti  
      where.is NMLZ tie ? waist INTR NMLZ UNPOSS  
      'Where is my belt?' (E)
- (65) kano katyahe 'armpit'  
      kano katyahe  
      arm under
- (66) one talolo 'thunder'  
      one talolo  
      water ideo.noise

Finally, productive compounds, in which the second noun is a classifying bound noun, show a high degree of productivity in the lexicon. In Paresi, these nouns refers to plant parts (with the exception of *walahi* 'vein of' and *tane* 'feather of'). In Table 52 bound nouns that refer to plant parts and body parts are illustrated.

Table 52: plant and body parts

Bound Nouns	Gloss
mena	stalk of, stem
tyahare	'root of'
walahi	'vein of'
hana	'leaf of'
tane	'feather of'
kino	'log'
tyatya	'bark of'
iye	'flower of'
mili	'skin of'
ri	'fruit of'
tse	'seed of', 'tuber of'
hi	'fiber of'

Compounds involving plant parts are fairly productive. Sets based on the first noun exhibit whole-part relationship (67), while sets based on the second noun exhibit property-entity relationship. (68) is a property-entity relationship in the sense that they are types of leaves which are used for different functions.

(67) *zohitya* 'cashew'

zohitya	cashew
zohitya-mena	cashew stem
zohitya-tyahare	cashew root
zohitya-hana	cashew leaf
zohitya-tyatya	cashew bark

(68) *hana* 'leaf.of'

aty-a-hana	tree leaf
zohitya-hana	cashew leaf
walahare-hana	justaconteira tree leaf
katyola-hana	mangaba leaf
takola-hana	bamboo leaf

One example of a classifying bound noun within the semantic domain of body parts is *tane* 'feather.of' (69).

- (69) *tane* 'feather.of'

awo-tane	emu feather
oloho-tane	vulture feather
tyakoira-tane	chicken feather
kolata-tane	partridge feather
kokoi-tane	hawk feather

The classifying bound noun *mili* 'skin of' can be used metaphorically to refer to a thin things. In (70), with the noun *zotse* 'eye' it means 'eyelid' or a 'contact lens'. However its metaphorical usage is not productive.

- (70) *mili* 'skin.of'

zotyare-mili	skin of a deer
zotse-ti-mili	contact lens, eyelid

A few classifying bound plant part terms have undergone semantic extension, and they originated forms that have different semantic and morphosyntactic properties (see §4.5). For example, in (71), the form *-ri* does not mean 'fruit of', as the bound noun *-ri* mentioned above. It refers instead to round objects.

- (71) totoniri                    'nipple'  
       totone **ri**  
       breast CLF:round

#### 4.5 Noun classification

In Paresi, there are classifying morphemes used to categorize a nominal referent. They can be part of a compound, be incorporated into a verb, and occur also with numerals and demonstratives. A few classifying morphemes originate from classifying bound nouns (plant part terms) which had their meaning metaphorically extended. I consider these forms to be classifiers following the main literature on the types of nominal classification systems (Dixon, 1986; Payne, 1987; Derbyshire & Payne, 1990; Grinevald, 2000; Aikhenvald, 2000; and Grinevald & Seifart, 2004). Dixon (1986) provides properties distinguishing noun classes from classifier systems, while Grinevald (2000) and Aikhenvald (2003) propose a typology of classifiers. Payne (1987) and

Derbyshire & Payne (1990) are the first works which discuss the multiple classifier systems found in Amazonian languages.

In Grinevald (2000), classifiers are placed at an intermediate stage in a lexicogrammatical continuum of systems (2000:55). At the grammatical end are gender and noun class systems, such as the noun class systems of Bantu languages. At the other end of the continuum, the lexical end, are measure terms and class terms, as for example, class terms in the Tai family (DeLancey, 1986). Grinevald (2000) considers classifiers to be “overt systems of nominal classification of clear lexical origin used in specific morphosyntactic constructions” (2000:61), and she proposes the following types: numeral, noun, genitive, verbal, and deictic (demonstrative/article) classifiers. She also mentions the co-occurrence of types (the case of multiple classifier systems).

Nominal classification systems of Amazonian languages generally share areal features such as having classifying morphemes with derivational and agreement functions (Aikhenvald, 2000; Grinevald & Seifart, 2004). In Paresi, the primary functions of classifiers are derivational and anaphoric (with numerals, relative clause, and the anaphoric proclitic *ha=*). Agreement is a marginal function of Paresi classifiers (see discussion in §4.5.2.1.4).

#### **4.5.1.1 Morphology and semantics of classifiers**

Semantically, classifiers in Paresi express general properties of the entities they classify, such as shape, consistency or dimension. The first three classifiers in Table 51 are derived from plant-parts bound nouns: *-tse* 'CLF:small' from *-tse* 'seed of', *-hi* 'CLF:long,thin' from *-hi* 'fiber of', and *-li* 'CLF:round' from *-li* 'fruit of'. In contrast to the bound nouns, classifiers cannot be possessed. Classifiers are used metaphorically with nouns referring to plant parts, body parts, objects, animals and humans (only *-katse* and *-natse* are used with human referents). The salient physical properties of plant parts are mapped onto other semantic fields: shape (including flexibility, size, mass, linearity), dimension and consistency. Table 53 shows the sets of classifiers in Paresi.

Table 53: The set of classifiers

Classifier	Gloss
tse	small, headwater
hi	long, slender, flexible (vine-like)
li	round
he	powder
natse	long horizontally, cylindrical, three-dimension
katse	thin, rigid, long vertically (stick-like)
za	liquid; speech
hoko	circled, three-dimension
taotse	piece, one-dimension
koa	flat surface , one-dimension
ako	inside of a hollow, three-dimension

The classifier *-li~-ri* 'CLF:round.' (*-ri* after high vowels), can occur with body parts, as in (72) and (73), or objects that have a 'roundish, fruit-like shape', as in (74) and (75).

- (72) totoniri                    'nipple'  
 totone **-li**  
 breast CLF:round
- (73) kanoli                    'forearm'  
 kano **-li**  
 arm CLF:round
- (74) keteri                    'cassava cake'  
 kete      **-li**  
 cassava CLF:round
- (75) niheri                    'nest'  
 nihe **-li**  
 nest CLF:round

The classifier is lexicalized in some body part nouns and in a few nouns referring to animals (*katseri* 'calf', *tseiri* 'head,' *wairi* 'deer', *zonoiri* 'coral snake').

The classifier *-hi* 'long, slender' also occurs with body parts, as in (76) and (77), or objects that have a long, slender, flexible, vine-like shape, as in (78) and (79).

- (76) atxihi 'intestine'  
atxi -**hi**  
stomach CLF:long.thin
- (77) kitxihi 'bird leg'  
kitxi -**hi**  
foot CLF:long.thin
- (78) olawahi 'rope'  
olawa -**hi**  
tucum CLF:long.thin
- (79) makalatyakalatihi 'clothes-line'  
makala -tya -kala -ti -**hi**  
be.dry TH NMLZ UNPOSS CLF:long.thin

The classifier occurs lexicalized in some nouns for body parts, animals and objects (*halatahit* 'rib', *tararahiti* 'trachea', *zozohi* 'earthworm', *kamaiyekahi* type of fish, *awiyahi* 'needle').

The classifier *-tse* 'CLF:small' can be used as a derivational device, as a diminutive referring to referents who are small, or it can refer to headwaters. This classifier refers only to size while *-li* refers to size and dimension. In examples (80) through (82), *-tse* derive words whose referents have a small size.

- (80) txinitse 'cat'  
txini -**tse**  
jaguar CLF:small
- (81) zomotse 'small *beiju* (flat bread)'  
zomo -**tse**  
beiju CLF:small
- (82) koretse 'bullet'  
kore -**tse**  
arrow CLF:small

This classifier is more semantically transparent and productively used as a diminutive. In examples (83) through (86), it indicates that these referents are smaller

than the average. It may be used with body parts, animals and objects.

- (83) aikolitse 'small tooth'

aikoli **-tse**

tooth CLF:small

- (84) watalitse 'small wrist/arm'

watyali **-tse**

wrist CLF:small

- (85) zokozokotse 'small ant sp.'

zokozoko **-tse**

ant CLF:small

- (86) matalotse 'small pot'

matalo **-tse**

pot CLF:small

The classifier *-tse* can occur with other classifiers even though the co-occurrence of more than one classifier in the same word does not occur with other classifiers. This is evidence that *-tse* is acting as a diminutive marker, and not as a classifier in these cases. In example (87), both the frog and his children are small in size but they have different shapes. In order to show the difference in shape, the classifiers *-hoko* (referring to the shape of the frog) and *-hi* (referring to the slender/thin shape of a tadpole) are used. *-tse* occurs after *-hoko* because the inverse order gives another meaning (that a small object is around something); while in *haitsanitsehi*, it is before *-hi*.

- (87) ekaliyehokotse atyo ala haiyanityo nali oza

e= kali -ye **-hoko** **-tse** atyo ala ha= iyanityo nali oza  
3sg frog POSSED CLF:circled CLF:small TOP FOC 3sg wife LOC ?

zane kaokeheta haitsanitsehi toli kakoa

zane kaoke -heta ha= itsani **-tse** **-hi** toli kakoa

go arrive PERF 3sg son, daughter CLF:small CLF:slender COL COM

Ø=waiyahena

Ø= waiya -hena

3sg see TRS

'His small frog was already there with his wife and his children, they saw them.'

(Dirizonae)

In addition, *-tse* is used to refer to headwaters. It is commonly used with the noun *one* 'water' or with river names, as in (88) and (89).

- (88) onetse                    'headwater'  
       one    **-tse**  
       water CLF:small

- (89) halohalotse              'headwater of the Figueira river'  
       halohalo    **-tse**  
       fig.fruit CLF:small

The classifier is lexicalized in nouns referring to body parts, animals and of natural elements (e.g.: *zotse* 'eye' and *kaolitse* 'knee', *wamotse* 'armadillo sp.', *hawaretse* 'peccary', *zoretse* 'star').

The classifier *-katse* is used with nouns referring to humans, body-parts, or things that have a thin, rigid, long, and vertical "stick-like" dimension. The classifier occurs lexicalized in the word *tsekatseti* 'hair'.

- (90) baiyokatse              'elder who is tall and thin'  
       baiyo    **-katse**  
       elder CLF:long

- (91) niyalitsekatse            'long pubic hair'  
       niyali    **tsé**            **-katse**  
       body.hair CLF:small CLF:long

- (92) inihokatse              'his tail'  
       in-    iho    **-katse**  
       3sg arrow CLF:long

- (93) hatikatse              'rafter'  
       hati    **-katse**  
       house CLF:long

- (94) kotazakatse            'mainstay of the house'  
       kotaza    **-katse**  
       mainstay CLF:long

The classifier *-natse* may have its source in the noun *natse* 'pestle'. It is used with to derive words whose referents are things that have a cylindrical, long horizontal, three-dimension 'pestle-like' dimension, as in (95). In (96) and (97), its use with the nouns is optional, and it has an augmentative meaning, indicating the referents are bigger than the average (*-natse* is in opposition to *-tse*).

- (95) korenatse 'gun'

kore **-natse**

arrow CLF:cylindrical

- (96) molonenatse 'back'

molone **-natse**

back CLF:cylindrical

- (97) balazokonatse 'bottle'

balazoko **-natse**

bottle CLF:cylindrical

The classifier occurs with the nouns *ohiro* 'woman' or *ena* 'man' in compounds with animal nouns referring to the gender of the animal (98). The classifier is lexicalized in a few animals names (*halanatse* 'dog', *kaimalonatse* 'type of rat')

- (98) txini ohiرونatse 'a female jaguar'

txini ohiro **-natse**

jaguar woman CLF:cylindrical

The classifier *taotse* may have as its origin the noun *taotse* 'flat piece of wood', and it is used to refer to a flat pieces of something.

- (99) imititaotse 'cloth'

imi -ti **-taotse**

cloth UNPOSS CLF:piece

- (100) talaretaotse 'part of the dam'

talare **-taotse**

dam CLF:piece

- (101) hatitaotse                    'tent'  
       hati   **-taotse**  
       house CLF:piece

The classifier *ako* may be derived etymologically from the noun *ako* 'depth', and it is used with body parts and plant-parts, that have a internal cavity, three-dimension shape. This classifier is homophonous with the postposition *ako* used to indicate a location inside of a container.

- (102) kilako                        'nostril'  
       kili   **-ako**  
       nose CLF:inside

- (103) tanakoako                    'inside of the ear'  
       tanako   **-ako**  
       ear       CLF:inside

- (104) atyanatseako                'hole of the tree'  
       atyat   **-natse**              **-ako**  
       tree     CLF:cylindrical CLF:inside

The classifier *-ako* is not productive in compounds. It is lexicalized only in two body part nouns: *koloako* 'throat', *tyako* 'stomach', and in the name of the Formoso village *Hohako* (which is located in a valley).

The other classifiers do not have a clear lexical origin. The classifier *-he* is used with things that have a 'powder-like' consistency.<sup>45</sup> It is not as productive as the other classifiers, as seen in the examples below. This classifier is lexicalized in the words: *tyolohe* 'cassava flour' and *waikohe* 'sand'.

- (105) waikohe                        'sand'  
       waikoa   **-he**  
       ground, land CLF:powder

- (106) axiyehe                        'tobacco powder'  
       axiye   **-he**  
       tobacco CLF:powder

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<sup>45</sup> Silva (2013) mentions a similar form *-he* used in borrowings from Portuguese for things which have a concave-like shape. The only such example in my corpus is *balatoahe* 'plate.' (<Port. *prato*).

The classifier *-hoko* may have as its source the noun *hoko* 'beam of a circled object'. It is used with objects that have a circled or hollow shape. It occurs lexicalized only in the name of a community, *Owi hoko*.

- (107) korehoko                    'bow'  
       kore    **-hoko**  
       arrow CLF:circled
- (108) talahokotyoare                    'fence'  
       tala      **-hoko**      -tyoa -re  
       protect CLF:circular INTR NMLZ

There is no known lexical origin for the classifier *-za~-ya*, which is used to refer to liquids and to speech. In (109) and (110), *-za* refers to (fermented) juice of fruits and vegetables, and in (112) and (113), it refers to significant named rivers.

- (109) wenoreza                    'pineapple chicha'  
       wenore      **-za**  
       pineapple CLF:liq
- (110) kazaloza                    '*kazalo* cassava chicha'  
       kazalo      **-za**  
       type.of.cassava CLF:liq
- (111) oneza                    'river'  
       one      **-za**  
       water CLF:liq
- (112) airazeroza                    'the Perfume river'  
       airaze      -ro      **-za**  
       be.smelling NMLZ CLF:liq
- (113) kotyoiya                    'Tapir river'  
       kotyoi      **-za**  
       tapir      CLF:liq

The 'liquid' classifier can also be used with inanimate referents (in particular from

the Paresi mythology) to refer to a speech about them, stories or song, as seen in (114) and (115).

- (114) kozetoza            'corn *chicha*/ story of the corn'  
     kozeto **-za**  
     corn    CLF:liq
- (115) tsehalityatyakoza        'the song about the crack in the stone (an origin myth)'  
     tsehali tyatya **-za**  
     stone bark    CLF:liq

The classifier *koa*<sup>46</sup> is another classifier that does not have a known lexical origin, and is used to refer to flat things. In contrast to *-ako*, it is used with body parts, and things that have a flat surface.

- (116) kahekao            'palm'  
     kahe **-koa**  
     hand CLF:flat
- (117) abalikoa            'sieve (flat sieve type)'  
     abali **-koa**  
     sieve CLF:flat
- (118) enokoa            'sky'  
     eno    **-koa**  
     height CLF:flat

Another use of *-koa* is with nouns that refer to an open space<sup>47</sup>, as shown in (119) to (121).

- (119) matsekoa            'ground (open space)'  
     matse **-koa**  
     ground CLF:flat
- (120) wenakalakoa            'village'  
     wenakala -kala **-koa**  
     village    NMLZ CLF:flat

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<sup>46</sup> Similar to *-ako*, there is a postposition related to this classifier which is used to indicate a location on a flat surface.

<sup>47</sup> Paresi villages often consist of a number of houses arranged about a large cleared field.

- (121) initimakoa                    'his place (where he burned= a swidden field)'  
       in= itima **-ko**  
       3sg fire CLF:flat

The classifier *-ko* occurs lexicalized in the nouns *zana* 'genipap fruit' and *tsakore* 'Macaúba palm' deriving names of villages: *Zanakoa* and *Tsakoreko*.

#### 4.5.2 Function of classifiers and the typology of classification

As was mentioned in the introduction of this section, the use of classifiers in derivational and agreement functions is common among Amazonian languages. In this section, I provide a description of the morphosyntactic contexts in which classifiers occur in Paresi (see Table 50): with nouns, verbs, numerals and demonstratives. I also describe anaphoric and agreement functions. In addition, I present a general discussion on how the Paresi nominal classification system fits into the Amazonian language model, and offer some comparative notes on the nominal classification systems of other Arawak languages.

##### 4.5.2.1.1 Nominal roots

Classifiers function as derivational elements, and they may be lexicalized in nouns for introduced cultural items. They derive nouns from other nouns, as in (122) to (124), or from stative verbs (125). In examples (122) and (123), the classifier *-natse* does not modify the noun *kore* 'arrow', referring to the shape of the arrow (if so, it would be optional), but instead it refers to the shape of the gun or the bullet, respectively.

- (122) korenatse                    'gun'  
       kore **-natse**  
       arrow CLF:cylindrical

- (123) koretse                      'bullet'  
       kore **-tse**  
       arrow CLF:small

- (124) itimaza                    'gasoline'

itima -za

fire CLF:liq

- (125) wiyeri                    'candy'

wiya            -li

be.sweet CLF:round

#### 4.5.2.1.2 Verb roots

Classifiers can be incorporated into verbs (see noun incorporation §5.3.3.1), similar to how inalienable nouns referring to body and plant parts can be incorporated. The incorporation of classifiers is very productive. This type of incorporation does not change the valency of the verb, and is rare with intransitive verbs. The incorporated classifier may be accompanied by the external noun phrase, but once it is identified in the discourse, only the incorporated classifier is sufficient. Example (126) shows the incorporation of the classifier *-natse* 'CLF: cylindrical' into the intransitive verb *tyoka* 'sit', in which the classifier indexes the subject of the verb. Classifiers can also be used as nominalizers, deriving nouns from stative verbs, as in (127).

- (126) hahanahaliya            tyokanatseta

ha= hana haliya Ø= tyoka -natse            -ta

3sg house along 3sg sit CLF:cylindrical IFV

'The dog is sitting close to the house.' (S)

- (127) wiyeri                    'candy'

wiya            -li

be.sweet CLF:round

#### 4.5.2.1.3 Numerals and demonstratives

In Paresi, numerals and demonstratives can occur with a classifier. There are three construction types: (i) the head noun and the head modifier are marked with the classifier (128); (ii) or only the noun head occurs with the classifier (the optionality of the classifier in the modifier is marked by the parentheses in *hanamataotse* 'three pieces'); or (iii) only the modifier occurs with the classifier, as shown in (129) through the optional

use of the noun *atyakatse* 'stick'.

- (128) atyataotse hanama(**taotse**)  
 atya -taotse hanama -taotse  
 tree CLF:piece three CLF:piece  
 'Three pieces of wood.' (E)
- (129) eze hanamakatse (**atyakatse**)  
 eze hanama -katse atya -katse  
 this three CLF: long tree CLF: long  
 'These are three sticks.' (xikonahati)

Generally in texts, classifiers occur with demonstratives and numerals. In (130), *-tse* 'CLF:small' occurs with the demonstrative *eze* 'this', and in (131) the classifier *-li* 'CLF: round' occurs with the numeral *hinama*. In (132), the classifier *-tse* 'CLF:small' occurs with the numerals *hanama* 'three' and *quattro* 'four'.

- (130) **ezetse** naikoli Ø=kaweta  
 eze -tse n= aikoli Ø= kawe -ta  
 this CLF:small 1sg tooth 3sg hurt IFV  
 'This tooth hurts.' (E)
- (131) hinamali ala konare Ø=noloka  
 hinama **-li** ala konare Ø= noloka  
 two CLF:round FOC cará.fish 3sg pull  
 'She pulled two cará fish.' (ximatyati)
- (132) katseze hanamatse quatrotse hare  
 ka- tse -ze hanama **-tse** quattro **-tse** hare  
 ATTR seed NMLZ? three CLF:small four CLF:small CON  
 katse  
 ka- tse  
 ATTR seed  
 'It has seeds, three, four seeds.' (E)

A classifier can occur as a modifier of an noun phrase. In (133), the classifier *-li* 'CLF:round' appears with the adjective *kalo* 'big' in a noun phrase headed by the nominalization, which is in apposition to the noun phrase *manakata* 'type of fruit' (see adjectives in §3.7). In (134), the classifier *-li* also functions as the modifier of the noun

phrase headed by the nominalization.

- (133) wiyané manakata kaloliro wahiyoka  
wi= yane manakata kalo -li -ro wa= hiyoka  
1pl go type.of.fruit big CLF:round NMLZ 1pl suck  
'We are going to chew only the big ones, the manakata fruits.' (ketetse)
- (134) nehena nea mokohenene konaho konaho  
nea -hena nea Ø= moko -hena =ene konaho konaho  
say TRS say 3sg hit TRS =3O yam yam  
zotyaliro  
zotya -li -ro  
be.red CLF:round NMLZ  
'He said (it), and then the red yam hit him.' (wenakalati-AF)

#### 4.5.2.1.4 *Agreement-like function*

In Paresi, the agreement-like function (when the classifier occurs in the modifier, as seen above) is rare in texts. It is possible to find a classifier marked on both the head noun and the modifier, as in (128) and (129) above. However, the classifier on the modifier is not obligatory, as seen in (49). Instead of analyzing it as agreement within in the noun phrase, I prefer to analyze the noun and the modifier to be in different noun phrases headed by the classifier (see apposition of noun phrases in §4.7.1.1). Thus Paresi's behavior is distinct from that of other Amazonian languages such as Miraña (Grinevald & Seifart, 2004) where agreement is obligatory and the classifying morpheme occurs on all modifiers of a noun in an noun phrase. In other languages, such as Hup (Epps, 2008), classifiers also show a marginal agreement-marking function similar to the one found in Paresi.

#### 4.5.2.1.5 *Anaphoric reference*

In Paresi, the major use of classifiers is the anaphoric one. Classifiers occur in constructions with numerals, as in (135), with headless relative clauses (136), and with the proclitic *ha*= meaning '3sg' or 'one, 'other', as shown in (137). According to Grinevald & Seifart (2004), Amazonian classifier systems exhibit discursive and anaphoric functions (Grinevald & Seifart 2004: 282).

- (135) hanamakatse kiraneze  
 hanama -**katse** kirane -ze  
 three CLF:long small NMLZ  
 'Three small sticks.' (E)
- (136) eze zoahatya kinatere eze celio  
 eze zoaha -tya kina -te -re eze  
 this and ? be.strong IFV NMLZ this  
 zamairakitsatsehare eze  
 z- a- maira -ki tsa -tse -hare eze  
 NMLZ CAUS be.afraid CAUS CLF:small MASC this  
 katyatyalaliro eze zotyakatsero  
 ka- tyatya -la -**ri** -ro eze zotyia -**katse** -ro  
 ATTR bark POSSED CLF:round NMLZ this be.red CLF: long NMLZ  
 eze  
 eze  
 this  
 'This is also strong, this is the one who scares Celio, which has hard bark and it is red.' (tolohe)

(137)

a. ha= <b>li</b> one-CLF:round 'one round thing'	b. ha= <b>tse</b> one-CLF: small 'one small thing'
c. ha= <b>natse</b> one-CLF:cylindrical one cylindrical/long thing (basket, corn ear, dog, etc)	d. ha= <b>katse</b> one-CLF:long 'one stick-like thing'
e. ha= <b>za</b> other-river 'other river'	f. ha= <b>ako</b> other-CLF:inside 'other village'

For example, in one text, the noun *kozeto* 'corn' was mentioned for the first time in (138), and then four lines later *hatse* 'one small thing' was used to make reference to a part of that referent (139):

- (138) **kozeto** tximate koni  
 kozeto tximate koni  
 corn pile? in.the.middle.of  
 'A pile of corn.' (Kozeto)

- (139) Ø=motehekoatyā hoka Ø=nitsa, kala Ø=nita ene  
  Ø= mo -tya -hekōa -tya hoka Ø= nitsa kala Ø= nea -ita =ene  
  3sg put TH REP TH CON 3sg eat.meat DUB 3sg say IFV =PST  
**hatse**                         Ø=hololo  
  ha= -tse                         Ø= hololo  
  3sg CLF:small 3sg drop  
  'He was crunching it and eating, and then he dropped a grain (of corn)'(Kozeto)

One discourse function of classifiers is to highlight certain properties of a modified referent. This function is also present in Paresi. The example in (140) illustrates the use of classifiers to highlight the shape properties of pieces of wood in an elicitation task (where the consultant had to describe objects seen in the pictures):

- (140) hatya atyali                         hatya atyakatse                         Ø=zokolatyoita,                 hatya  
  hatya atya **-li**                         hatya atya **-katse**                         Ø= zokolotyo -ita                 hatya  
  IND1 tree CLF:round IND1 tree CLF: long 3sg attach IFV IND1  
  atyali   Ø=zokolotyoita                         meketse,                                 hatya  
  atyā **-li**                                     Ø= zokolotyo -ita                         meketse                                 hatya  
  tree CLF:round 3sg attach IFV in the middle of IND1  
  atyataotse                                     Ø=ehokotyoita  
  atyā **taotse**                                 Ø= ehoko -tyoa -ita  
  tree CLF:piece 3sg lay down INTR IFV  
  'One round thing is attached to a stick, the other one is in the middle of the round  
  thing, and the other lies down in the middle of the flat piece of wood.' (E)

#### **4.5.2.1.6 Properties of Paresi classifiers and the typology of noun classification systems**

Table 54 compares the properties of classifiers in Paresi to the properties of nominal classification systems in Grinevald (2000: 62). This table shows that Paresi shows almost all the properties of classifier systems. Classifiers do not occur with all nouns, like noun classes; they are independent of grammatical categories such as number and gender. However, classifiers in Paresi, unlike in other Amazonian languages, do not constitute an open system.<sup>48</sup> Paresi exhibits a small number of classifiers (only 11) compared to the number of classifiers in other languages, such as the Arawak language

<sup>48</sup> The bound noun *mili* 'skin of' is used metaphorically, and its use may become productive similar to classifiers.

Baure which has around 40 (Danielsen, 2008). Classifiers are also bound forms occurring with other nouns or numerals in compounds, they are not affixed to a noun. Because of their anaphoric function, classifiers occur as the head of the noun phrase, as seen above. Their function as agreement markers is marginal, though classifiers can occur more than once in a noun phrase, agreement is not obligatory. Arguments also are rarely cross-referenced on the verb when a classifier is incorporated.

While Paresi's classifiers behave differently from the typical classifiers described in Grinevald (2000), they are also distinct from class terms as she describes them. Class terms involve more semantic fields than seen in Paresi's classifiers (beyond fauna, flora and body parts), do not incorporate in the verb, and are not used with agreement-like functions. Paresi classifiers fit more neatly in the typology of Aikhenvald (2003), in which classifying morphemes used in different morphosyntactic environments are treated as a type called "multiple classifiers".

Table 54: The Paresi nominal classification system compared to the typology of classification (Grinevald, 2000: 62)

Properties	Paresi	Grinevald, 2000		
		Class Terms	Typical CLF	Noun Class
natural elements as source meaning (fauna, fauna and other nature elements)	Y	N	Y/N	N
classify all nouns in the language	N	N	N	Y
classifying morphemes form a closed system	Y/N	Y	N	Y
fused with other grammatical categories (number, case)	N	N	N	Y
bound morpheme	Y	Y/N	N	Y
agreement	Y/N	N	N	Y
occur with nominal roots	Y	Y	Y	Y
occur with verbs	Y	N	Y	N
occur with numeral/demonstrative	Y	N	Y	Y
"anaphoric"	Y	N	Y	N
derive nouns from nouns	Y	Y	N	N
derive nouns from verbs nominalising	Y	N	N	N

#### **4.5.2.1.7 Comparative note**

Most of the Arawak languages mark a distinction between two nominal genders: feminine and non-feminine (sometimes masculine). In addition, they have also multiple classifier systems, especially the North-west Arawak languages, such as Tariana, Baniwa of Içana and Kurripako, and Resígaro (Aikhnevald, 2012: 295). South Arawak languages (e.g.: Baure, Terena, Waurá, Paresi, Asheninka) also have classifiers which occur with numerals, verbs and nouns.

Apurinã seems to have an incipient classifier system. This language has bound nouns recurrently used in the formation of other nouns and incorporated into verbs (Facundes, 2000). Facundes does not call them classifiers because they are more like class term, and he calls them “classificatory nouns” (CNs). In contrast to classifiers in Paresi, CNs are bound nouns with metaphorical usage, and they only occur with nouns and verbs.

Did Proto-Arawak have classifiers? Payne (1991) reconstructs a few candidates. One of these, *\*ba* 'one', apparently had the function of a noun classifier in Proto-Arawak. Others have lexical noun reflexes in some Arawak languages and noun classifying morphemes as reflexes in other languages, suggesting that the lexical noun is probably the source of the classifying morpheme. Since classifiers are readily grammaticalized from lexical nouns in some languages, a few sets of modern reflexes of classifiers is not evidence for reconstructing a classifier system in the protolanguage. It remains to be demonstrated conclusively that there were a classifier system found in Proto-Arawak.

#### **4.6 Nominal derivation**

Paresi has at least eight strategies for deriving nouns from verbs. Nouns may be derived by one of the suffixes in Table 46, each of which will be discussed in turn in this section.

Table 55: Derivational suffixes

Affixes	Semantics
-Ø	event
z-	result
-re	agent
-tiye	agent
-hare, -halo	agent
-kala	instrument, location
-iyere	location
-ka	passive

#### 4.6.1 Event nominalization: -Ø

Agentive intransitive and transitive verb roots may act as nouns without an explicit nominalizer morpheme. They bear morphology of inalienability, occurring with the unpossessed suffix *-ti*, and with the personal clitics and the possessed suffix *-ne* when possessed. The derived nouns refer to events, or to the result of a process,<sup>49</sup> as in (141) and (142).

Table 56: Event nominalization

Verb	Gloss	Unpossessed Derived Noun	Gloss	Basic Possessed Derived Noun
kaotse	wake up	kaotse-ti	act of waking up	kaotse-ne
zera	sing	zera-ti	song	zera-ne
irai	talk	irai-ti	speech	irae-ne
mairatya	fish	mairatya-ti	act of fish	mairatya-ne
xaka	shoot	xaka-ti	act of shooting, shot	xake-ne

<sup>49</sup> Silva (2013:164) considered the unpossessed suffix *-ti* to be a thematic nominalizer. In the analysis presented here *-ti* is not considered a nominalizer, and I do not use the label “nominalization of theme”. The zero nominalization described here and Silva’s nominalization of theme refer to the same type of nominalization.

- (141) ehare **iraiti** totahota enomana, zomana  
 ehare irai -ti tota aho -ta en= om ana z= om ana  
 DEM talk UNPOSS straight road IFV 3sg ? BEN 2pl LK BEN  
 hoka waiye  
 hoka waiye  
 CON good  
 'It is good that this speech is clear to her, and to you all.' (xihatyoawihaliti)
- (142) eaotseta kozeto kaotyakehena hetati zowakiya eze  
 eaotseta kozeto kaotyake -hena hetati zowakiya eze  
 then corn show.up TRS in.the.old.days at this time this  
**zeratite** hitiya Ø=tyaona  
 zera -ti =te hitiya Ø= tyaona  
 sing UNPOSS =FUT also 3sg become  
 'Then, the first corn originated in the old days, and there is also a song about it.'  
 (kozeto)

#### 4.6.2 Result nominalizer *z-*

In general the nominalizer prefix *z-x-zo-* occurs with stative verbs, in order to derive non-process nouns (abstract inalienably possessed nouns), and with a few agentive verbs to derive a noun that refers to the result of an action. It is not a productive process. The prefix co-occurs with the unpossessed suffix *-ti* or the possessed suffix *-ne*, as shown in Table 57.<sup>50</sup> The use of this nominalizer with some agentive verbs is not clear. Another intriguing fact is that the verb *holikoa* 'dance' is an exception that can occur with or without the prefix without a change of meaning.

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<sup>50</sup> The examples in Table 57 come from elicitation. Only *zaotyakitsati* 'teaching' was observed in texts.

Table 57: Result nominalization

Verb	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
amaikoahare	be sad	z-amaikohali-ti	sadness
kiya	be black	z-a-kiya-tya-ti	blackness
ehare	be angry	z-ehali-ti	anger
aitsa	kill	z-aitsa-ti	killing
ezoa	fall	z-ezoa-ti	fall
holikoa	dance	zo-holikoa-ti	dance
aotyakitsa	teach	z-aotyakitsa-ti	teaching

(143) Hatyo **zaotyakitsati**

hatyo z- a- otya -ki -tsa -ti      tahi atyo ite  
 DEM NMLZ TH remember CAUS TH UNPOSS about =ATYO =ITE  
 Ø=iraehenaha hoka  
 Ø= irae -hena -ha hoka  
 3sg talk TRS PL CON

'They will talk about the training (of the teachers).' (makani tahi)

Silva (2013:166) says that the occurrence of the nominalizer depends on the thematic role of the predicates and their readings. He gives examples of two verbs that can occur with or without the prefix *z-* with a change in meaning: *otya* 'remember' and *iwini* 'breathe'. According to him, verbs with an agent argument do not take the prefix when the nominalization refers to an event or theme (its default reading), only when it refers to a non-event.<sup>51</sup> For example, the verb *otya* 'remember', a verb with an experiencer and theme argument, when used as a noun can have the form *otya-ti* meaning 'the act of remembering.' (event reading), or *z-otya-ti* meaning 'memory' (non-event reading). Verbs with only an experiencer argument have the opposite behavior. For instance, *iwini*

<sup>51</sup> How one could classify a verb when it has an experiencer or theme argument is not clear in Silva (2013).

'breathe' has an experiencer argument, then *iwiniti* refers to a non-event 'breath' and *ziwiniti* refers to the event 'breathing (metaphorically: 'another stage in life').

The analysis where nouns with *z-* refers to the result of an action, may account for the derived nouns presented in his work: *zazati* 'question', *zotyati* 'memory', and *ziwiniti* 'breath'.

He also argues that the verb *holikoa* 'dance' has the form *zoholikoati* when used by elders because they do not participate in the action; dancing is a non-event for them. According to him, another *z*-less form, *holikoati*, is used by young people because dancing for them is an event, a *baile* 'dance'. However, in my corpus both forms were given by people of all ages. In conclusion, there is no consensus about the pragmatic and the semantic issues involved in the uses of *z-*.

Other types of derivation have as their stems a verb root and the *z-* prefix and *-ti* morphemes (e.g.: *zaotyakitsatiye* 'teachers'), as described below.

#### 4.6.3 Agent nominalizer *-re*

The suffix *-re* is used to derive nouns from intransitive and transitive verbs and adjectives. The derived nouns refer to the agent of the verb event. There are some instances of allomorph alternation of the suffix *-re*, as shown in Table 58:

Table 58: Allomorphs of the agent nominalizer *-re*

<b>Masculine</b>	<i>-ye/ i_#</i>
	<i>-ze/e_#</i>
	<i>-re/elsewhere</i>
<b>Feminine</b>	<i>-ro/i,e_#</i>
	<i>-lo (elsewhere)</i>

The morpheme *-re* 'NMLZ' has the allomorph: *-ze* after roots ending with high vowels. In (145c), *-ze* is after the vowel /i/, then /θ/ is palatalized to [j].

- (144)
- a. /ʃaka-re/ [ʃakare] 'shooter (M)'

shoot-NMLZ (M)

- b. /kirane-θe/ [kidjaneðe] 's/he is small'

small-NMLZ

- c. /θani-ti-je/ [ðanitije] 'the one who will go'

go-UNPOSS-NMLZ

The allomorphs *-lo* and *-ro* mark feminine forms. The morpheme *-lo* has an allomorph *-ro* after roots ending with front vowels. In (146c), *-ro* is after the vowel /i/, then /r/ is palatalized to [d̪].

- (145)
- a. /ʃaka-lo/ [ʃakalo] 'shooter (F)'

shoot-NMLZ (F)

- b. /e=waira-t̪a-tse-ro/ [e=waira-t̪a-tse-ro] 'his/her nurse'

3sg=cure-TH-NMLZ-F

- c. /ka-it̪ani-ro/ [ka-itsani-d̪u] 'she has children'

ATTR-offspring-NMLZ (F)

Derived nouns with *-re* may be possessed by taking the personal clitics and the forms *-tse* for masculine and *-tsəro* (for feminine).

Table 59: Possessed nominalizations

Verb	Gloss	Possessed Form	Gloss
kolatya	bring, take	e=kolatya- <b>tse</b> /e=kolatya- <b>tse-ro</b>	his/her taker
wairatya	cure	e=wairatya- <b>se</b> /e=wairatya- <b>tse-ro</b>	his/her nurse
anaitya	raise	e=zanaitya- <b>tse</b> / e=zanaitya- <b>tse-ro</b>	his/her father-in-law

- (146) makani tyohena ekolatyatse maheta  
       makani tyo -hena e- kolatya -tse maheta  
       tomorrow come TRS 3sg take NMLZ PURP  
       'Tomorrow he is going to come to take her (lit.: to be her taker).' (Enore)
- (147) inityotxoatyo hazotokatse waiye moheta  
       in= ityo -txoa =tyo ha= zo- toka -tse waiye mo -heta  
       3sg mother AFF FOC 3sg NMLZ hold NMLZ good put REG  
       'Her mother took care of the one who held her (lit.: her holder).' (waikoakore)

The suffix *-re* and its feminine counterpart *-lo*, when occurring alone, derive nouns that may be used as an argument in a predicate, as a modifier of another noun, as a head of a predicate, as a complement of a negation, or with the postposition *kakoa*.

Table 60: nominalizer *-re*

Verb	Gloss	Derived Form (M)	Derived Form (F)	Gloss
tema	run	tema- <b>re</b>	tema- <b>lo</b>	the one who runs, runner
xaka	shoot	xaka- <b>re</b>	xaka- <b>lo</b>	the one who shoots, shooter
fehanatya	bless	fehanatya- <b>re</b>	fehanatya- <b>lo</b>	the one who blesses
zaneckoatya	hunt	zaneckoatya- <b>re</b>	zaneckoatya- <b>lo</b>	the one who hunts, hunter
wairatya	cure	wairatya- <b>re</b>	wairatya- <b>lo</b>	the one who cures

In examples (148) and (149), the derived nouns are arguments of a predicate.

- (148) zaneckoatyareharenae, Ø=zanehena awo Ø=aitsehena  
       zane -ko- -tya -re -hare -nae Ø= zane -hena awo Ø= aitse -hena  
       go CLF:place TH NMLZ MASC PL 3sg go TRS emu 3sg kill TRS  
       ikiyerezehare nakakatya nanitxita  
       kiya -re -ze -hare n= kaka -tya n= nitx -ita  
       be.black NMLZ NMLZ ? 1sg squeeze TH 1sg eat meat IFV  
       'When the ones who hunt went to kill emu, I would squeeze the black thing (emu's

gut), and eat.' (JT nawenane)

- (149) hatyaotseta Funai Ø=itsoahena ehare wairatyalo hare  
hatyaotseta Funai Ø= itsoa -hena ehare waira -tya **-lo** hare  
then FUNAI 3sg come.in TRS DEM cure TH NMLZ also?  
kakoa  
kakoa  
COM  
'Then FUNAI came with the one who cures.' (Batsaji tahi)

Agent nominalizations with *-re* may be in apposition to other nouns, as in (150) and (151). The object argument of the nominalized verb occurs in the position of the possessor in a possessive construction.

- (150) oliti nixakare  
oliti ni- xaka **-re**  
game 1sg shoot NMLZ  
'I am the one who shoots game.' (Katomo nawenane)

- (151) Ø=hotikihenatyo hatya ohiro kahe irikotyare  
Ø= hotiki -hena =tyo hatya ohiro kahe iriko -tya **-re**  
3sg show TRS =TOP IND1 woman hand cut TH NMLZ  
'When the other showed (it), the one with the cut of a woman's hand.' (kani)

Adjectives and stative verbs (most of them ending in the vowel *e*, with few exceptions) take the allomorph *-ze*, as in (152) to (154).

Table 61: The nominalizer *-re* with stative verbs and adjectives

Adjective/ Statives	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
kirane	small	kirane- <b>ze</b>	the one or thing that is small
kalore	big	kalore- <b>ze</b>	the one or thing that is big
waiye	good	waiye- <b>ze</b>	the one or thing that is good
timena	heavy	timene- <b>re</b>	the one or thing that is heavy
kolotya	be fat	kolote- <b>re</b>	the one that is fat
irihare	be.smart	irihare- <b>ze</b>	the one that is smart
kawinihare	be fast	kawinihare- <b>ze</b>	the one that is fast
hawarehare	be different	hawarehare- <b>ze</b>	the one or thing that is different

- (152) maiha zoare aka festa zaoka zoimanae kiranezenae  
maiha zoare aka festa z= aoka zoima -nae kirane -**ze** -nae  
NEG INT LOC party 2pl say child PL small NMLZ PL  
itxoita  
itxo -ita  
come.in IFV  
'The children, the small ones, won't have something to wear at the party.' (iraiti  
Batsaji)
- (153) eye atyo haliti waiyeze  
eye atyo haliti waiye -**ze**  
DEM FOC Paresi good NMLZ  
'This is the one who is a good person.' (ZK nawenane)
- (154) ohiro koloterenae teko  
ohiro kolotya -**re** -nae teko  
woman be.fat NMLZ PL run.away  
'The women who are fat ran away.' (E)
- (155) hawarehareze fehanati tyaonita  
hawarehare -**ze** fehanati tyaona -ita  
be.different NMLZ prayer COP IFV  
'The prayer was different'

In (146), the nominalized verb is the head of the predicate. Interestingly, the nominalized verb retains its verb morphology, expressing its subject through the pronominal clitic *na*= (which is attached to verbs), in contrast to the form *-tiye*, which is used with a free pronoun (§4.6.4).

- (156) namaotseratyare                    'I am the one who lies'  
       na= maotsera -tya -re  
       1sg lie              TH NMLZ

In addition, the nominalizer *-re* can occur as a complement of a negative predicate, as seen in (157) and (158). Its feminine counterpart *-lo* is also used in these contexts, as in (158), where the speaker refers to a woman.

- (157) aliyakeretala                        hatyohare maiha zala  
       aliyakere -ta        =la        hatyohare maiha zala  
       how                  EMPH        =FOC        this            NEG        who  
       Ø-hikoareha                             enomana,                        aliyakere        ala  
       Ø- hikoa                -re        -ha            e-        nomana            aliyakere        =ala  
       3sg come.out, show.up    NMLZ    PL            3sg        BEN            how            =FOC  
       hatyohare                Ø-tsemahatiye  
       hatyohare                Ø- tsema -ha -ti        -ye  
       this                    3sg hear    PL        UNPOSS    NMLZ  
       'How they did hear/know about it? nobody arrived for them, how is this?' (tolohe)
- (158) ityaninae                        zaore        Ø=watyalitene                maiha  
       ityani                -nae        zaore        Ø= watyali        -tya -ene    maiha  
       son, daughter    PL        FRUST        3sg intervene    TH    3O        NEG  
       Ø=tsemalo  
       Ø= tsema -lo  
       3sg hear            NMLZ  
       'Her daughters call out to her attention but she does not listen to them.' (tolohe)

Finally, the nominalizer *-re* can be found with the postposition *kakoa* in noun phrases in which its meaning is not clear. The nominalizer *-re* can also occur with a verb in subordinate clauses (see § 8.2).

- (159) kore kakoare terotatyō wahikoa  
           kore kakoa -re terota =tyo wa= hikoa  
         arrow COM NMLZ already? FOC 1pl come.out  
       'We already came out with the arrow.' (omati-ZK)
- (160) toahiya ehalatahe nityokatsetya ayo tsebola  
       toahiya e= halatahe n= ityoka -tse -tya ayo tsebola  
       in.the.old.days 3sg rib 1sg cut CLF:small TH garlic onion  
       kakoare naholoka  
       kakoa -re n= holoka  
       COM NMLZ 1sg cook  
       'In the old days, I would cut its rib out and cook it with garlic and onion.' (iraiti  
       Katomo nali)

#### 4.6.4 Human agent nominalizer *-tiye*

Intransitive and transitive verbs and adjectives can be used as nouns with the unpossessed marker *-ti* and the agent nominalizer *-re~ye*. The nominalization refers to someone who is a specialist (e.g.: *zaotyakitsatyatiye* 'teacher'), or is very good at doing the action or refer to someone who happens to do something.

Table 62: Agent nominalizer

Verb	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
aotyakitsa	teach	z-aotyakitsa-tya- <b>ti-ye</b>	teacher
moko	hit	moko-tya- <b>ti-ye</b>	one who hits someone
tsema	hear	tsema- <b>ti-ye</b>	one who hears something
maotsera-tya	lie	maotsera-tya- <b>ti-ye</b>	one who lies to someone
zane	go	zani- <b>ti-ye</b>	one who goes

Nominalizations with *-tiye* may be possessed. They are alienable nouns that take the possessed suffix *-ri~ra*, as illustrated in the elicited example in Table 63.<sup>52</sup> The nominalizer *-re* does not occur in the possessed construction. Instead the morpheme *-ha*,

<sup>52</sup> The exception is the nominalized form *zaotyakitsatiye* 'teacher', which has as its possessed form: *zaotyakitsatse*.

whose meaning is not clear, precedes *-ti*.

Table 63: Possession of nominalizations with *-tiye*

Verb	Gloss	Possessed Form	Gloss
tema	run	no=tema-tya-ha-ti-ri	my runner
zanekoatya	hunt	no=zanekoatya-ha-ti-ri	my hunter
xaka	shoot	e=xaka-tya-ha-ti-ra	his/her shooter
waira	cure	e=waira-tya-ha-ti-ra	his/her doctor

The form *-tiye* can be used to derive nouns from adjectives. The form *-ha*, seen with the possessed forms above, also occurs with these nominalizations. More research needs to be done to clarify the meaning of *-ha*.

Table 64: *-tiye* with adjectives

Adjective	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
wahahare	tall, long	wahahare-ha-tiye	the one who is tall, long
kirane	small	kirane-ha-tiye	the one who is small
kalore	big	kalore-ha-tiye	the one who is big

The human agent nominalizations may occur as an argument of a predicate, as shown in (161), or as a nominal predicate, as in (162).

- (161) Ø=tyohenaha      ite      Ø=iraehenaha  
       Ø= tyo   -hena -ha =ite      Ø= irae -hena -ha  
       3sg come TRS PL =FUT 3sg talk TRS PL  
       zaotyakitsatiyena      ozaka  
       za-     otya      -ki      -tsa -ti      -ye      -nae      ozaka  
       NMLZ remember CAUS TH UNPOSS NMLZ PL already  
       waiyoreterenae      kakoa      hoka  
       waiyore -te   -re   -nae   =kakoa      hoka  
       know      IFV NMLZ PL   =COM      CON

'They come to talk with the teachers who already have knowledge.' (makani tahi)

- (162) Eye Ronisotyatyō zanitiye, eye  
 eye Roniso -tya =tyo zane -ti -ye eye  
 DEM Ronilson FOC =TOP go UNPOSS NMLZ DEM  
 wahakatyatiye zema  
 waha -ka -tya -ti -ye zema  
 wait PASS? TH UNPOSS NMLZ COM  
 'Ronilson is the one going with the people who wait (for money in the road).' (Iraiti  
 Batsaji)

#### 4.6.5 Nominalizer *-hare/-halo*

The suffixes *-hare* and *-halo* are used as agent nominalizers to derive nouns referring to humans from stative predicates with the prefix *ma-*. The nominalizer *-hare* is used for masculine and *-halo* for feminine. In Table 65, there are examples of nominalized stative predicates.

Table 65: Nominalized verbs with *-hare*

Verb	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
aheko	think	ma-z-aheko-la <sup>53</sup> -hare	one who does not think
tona	walk	ma-e-tona-ne-hare	paralyzed person (one who does not walk)
tsema	listen	ma-tsema-ne-hare	obstinate (one who does not listen)
zera	sing	ma-zera-ne-hare	one who does not sing

- (163) mazahekolahare haiyanityo Ø=mokohekoatyā  
 ma- z- aheko -la -hare ha= iyanityo Ø= moko -heko -tya  
 NEG NMLZ think POSSED NMLZ 3sg wife 3sg hit REP? TH  
 'The one who does not think hit his wife.' (Enore)

The nominalized *-hare* can also co-occur with the negative prefix *ma-* in nouns and stative verbs to derive negative nouns or nominal predicates (164) and (165).

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<sup>53</sup> The morphemes *-ra* and *-za* are possessed suffixes.

Table 66: More examples with -hare

Noun/stative Verbs	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
waikohe	land	ma-waikohe-ra-hare	the one without land
babera	paper	ma-babera-za-hare	the one without paper
ezanityo	wife	ma-iyanityo-hare	the one without wife
kirane	small	ma-kirane-hare	the one/thing that is not small
timena	heavy	ma-timena-hare	the one/thing that is not heavy

- (164) Kaliniya      hekota                katxolo    maiyanityohare  
       kalini =ya    heko                -ta        katxolo    ma-    iyanityo    **-hare**  
       now    =IRR    time, period    IFV        dog        NEG    wife        NMLZ  
       tyotya                hazerore    iya        haiya        toli        kakoa        ozaka  
       tyotya                hazero        =iya        haiya        toli        =kakoa        ozaka  
       everything, all    be.fast        =IRR        IND2        a lot        =COM        already  
       tyaonehitiya  
       tyaona    -hitiya  
       stay        AGAIN  
       'If this "dog" (someone's nickname) was not married now, soon he would stay with  
       a lot of women again.' (Kabikule tahi)
- (165) matimenahare                kore        hoka  
       ma-    timena    **-hare**                kore        hoka  
       NEG    heavy        NMLZ                DUB        CON  
       'It is not heavy.' (E)

A few other nouns in Table 67 exhibit the form *hare*, but they are not clearly derived nouns.<sup>54</sup> It may be possible that the nominalizer is lexicalized in these forms, and that their only function is to mark the gender of their referents: *-hare* for masculine and *-halo* for feminine.

<sup>54</sup> The root of the morpheme *-hare* may be same as for the noun *haliti* 'person' (which can be decomposed as root *hare* and the unpossessed suffix *-ti*).

Table 67: Masculine -hare and feminine -halo

Noun (M)	Noun (F)	Gloss
aha?-hare	aha-halo	her brother; his sister
hareka?-hare	hareka-halo	host

#### 4.6.6 Instrument nominalizer *-kala*

The suffix *-kala* applies to intransitive and transitive verbs to derive a noun denoting an instrument, and it has also a secondary meaning of location. This is a very productive way to form neologisms for newly introduced cultural items. These derived nouns are inalienable nouns taking the unpossessed *-ti*, and the personal clitics when possessed.

Table 68: Instrument nominalizer -kala

Verb	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
zera	sing	zera-kala-ti	instrument or place used for singing
tona	walk	tona-kala-ti	car, bus (vehicle)
malaloa	float	malaloa-kala-ti	life ring
tsema	hear	tsema-ka-tya-kala-ti	phone
koaha	bathe	koaha-kala-ti	place to bathe (bathroom)

- (166) aliyo      tsemakatyakalati?  
      aliyo      tsema -ka -tya **-kala** -ti  
      where.is    hear ?    TH INST UNPOSS  
      'Where is the phone (the thing used for hearing).' (E)

- (167) aliyo      zairatyakalati?  
      aliyo      zaira -tya **-kala** -ti  
      where.is    write TH INST UNPOSS  
      'Where is the pen/pencil (thing used for writing)?'

The secondary meaning of location is disambiguated when the noun is used with the bound noun *-otse* 'place', which does not take *-ti*.

Table 69: nominalizations with *-otse*

Verb	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
zera	sing	zera-kala-otse	place used for singing
tona	walk	(ene)tona-kala-otse	place where one walks
malaloa	float	malaloa-kala-aotse	place where someone floats
tsema	hear	(e)tsema-ka-tya-kala-otse; tsema-ka-tya-kala-tya-otse	public phone, where someone listens
koaha	bathe	koaha-kala-otse	place where the person bathes

#### 4.6.7 Locative nominalizer *-(i)yere/-iyo*lo

The suffix *-iyere/-iyolo* derives nouns from other nouns (168) and (169), and adverbs (170) or adverbial demonstratives (171) with the meaning of 'someone who is from'.

- (168) eye hare wenakalatiyere zoimanae  
 eye hare awenaka iyere zoima -nae  
 this ? village NMLZ child PL  
 awaiyolinikitsaha maheta  
 a- waiyoli -ni -ki -tsa -ha maheta  
 THS know NMLZ CAUS TH PL PURP  
 'To teach the children from this village.' (makani tahi)

- (169) tyotya witso Owihihokoyerenaenae ene  
 tyotya witso Owihihoko **-iyere** -nae ene  
 everything, all 1pl Owihihoko NMLZ PL PST  
 'It is all over, we were from the Owihihoko village.' (JT nawenane)

- (170) maiha kaliniyere zoimahaliti zoare hekoti  
maiha kalini iyere zoima -hali -ti zoare hekoti  
NEG now NMLZ child MASC UNPOSS what ?  
waiyehetere  
waiye -heta -re  
good REG NMLZ  
'The youth from the new generation (people from now) does not worry about anything.' (Fenare nawenane)

- (171) hoka Formoso maniya notyaona kalore nasofretya naliyerenae  
hoka Formoso maniya no=tyaona kalore n= sofre -tya nali -yere -nae  
CON Formoso side 1sg live big 1sg suffer TH there NMLZ PL  
kakoa ekohena  
kakoa eko -hena  
COM ? TRS  
'Then I suffered a lot, and I went to live in the Formoso village with the people from there.' (Kamoro nawenane)

#### 4.6.8 Passive nominalizer: *-ka*

The nominalizer *-ka* (or *-ki* for first person) derives nouns from transitive and ditransitive verbs. The derived nominal of a transitive verb refers to an event where the entity involved is a patient, as in (172) and (173), while the nominalization of a ditransitive verb refers to an event where the entity involved is a recipient (174).

Table 70: Nominalizations with *-ka*

Verb	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
aotyakitsa	teach	z-otykitsa-ka	education of someone
fitya	plant	z-a-fitya-ka	planting of something, burying of someone
kera	burn	keratya-ka	burning of something
aoka	say	z-aoka-ka	saying about someone

- (172) owene wamotse                         hiyaikehehalone                         maheta  
      owene wamotse                         hi= ezaika -he                     -halo -ne             maheta  
      there type of armadillo                 2sg split                     CLF:powder FEM POSSED     PURP  
      hetati                                     zowakiya                         hiyafityaka                         zowakiya  
      hetati                                     zowakiya                     hi= y- a- fitya **-ka**             zowakiya  
      in.the.old.days at this time             2sg NMLZ THS plant NMLZ                     at this time  
      'Here, you split the *tatu-bola* armadillo, as in the old days when you were buried.'

(Toahiyere-DB)

- (173) eye        atyo        oneza                         tawazematyaka  
      eye        =atyo        one        -za                     Ø= tawa        =zema -tya **-ka**  
      DEM        =TOP        water      POSSED             3sg look.for =COM TH NMLZ  
      'It is like hunting (of fish) in the water.' (Zanekoare-FO)

- (174)       nozaotyakitsaki                                 zematy,                     maiha,  
      no= z-       a-        otya                     -ki        -tsa **-ki**                     =zema   =tyo     maiha  
      1sg NMLZ THS remember CAUS TH NMLZ                     =COM =TOP NEG  
      notyaonita  
      no= tyaon -ita  
      1sg live IFV  
      'I am not living according to what I was taught.' (BO nawenane)

In Brandão (2010), I had a different analysis from the one presented here because I described *-ka* as a passive marker. My previous analysis was based only on examples such as in (176), in which there is an attributive prefix *ka-* in the nominalized constructions. The two constructions are contrasted above. I am now following Silva (2013) who calls *-ka/-ki* a recipient nominalizer.<sup>55</sup> Comparing (175) to (176), one notices that the first one is a predicate with the nominalized verb as its head. The second one is a predicate with the attributive *ka-*. In order to be used in a predicate construction such as in (176), the nominalized verb has to take the attributive *ka-*, which derives verbs from nouns (see §7.3.3).

- (175) nixakaki                             owene  
      n= i- xaka **-ki**                     owene  
      1sg ? shoot NMLZ here  
      'My shot is here.' (E)

<sup>55</sup> Rowan (1969:73) mentioned the existence of *-ka/-ki* used with nominal derived forms with a meaning of receptive.

- (176) komita ene nokaxakaki  
komita ene no= ka- xaka **-ki**  
almost PST 1sg ATTR shoot NMLZ  
'I almost was shot (lit.: I almost had my shot).' (E)

## 4.7 The structure of noun phrases

### 4.7.1 Noun phrase and noun modification

This section describes the structure and organization of the noun phrase in Paresi. A basic structure template for the noun phrase is in (177). Demonstratives (Dem), lexical possessors (POSS), pronouns (PRO), numerals (Num) and quantifiers (Quant) precede the head noun.<sup>56</sup> Nominalized verbs (Nom), including the ones in nominalized relative clauses modifying a noun, follow it. Nouns functioning as modifiers in compounds may precede or follow the noun. Nouns, demonstratives, and quantifiers can be the head of a noun phrase.

- (177) NP → (Dem)(POSS)(PN)(Num)(Quant)(Nom) N (Nom)

Each type of element mentioned in the template, except modifiers following the noun, can occur only once in a noun phrase. In texts, the occurrence of more than one element other than the head noun in a noun phrase is rare. In (178) the demonstrative and numeral co-occur in the same noun phrase.

- (178) **hatyo hinama** ohiro Ø=zaneheta  
hatyo hinama ohiro Ø= zane -heta  
that two woman 3sg go PERF  
'Those two women went away.' (E)

#### 4.7.1.1 Appositional noun phrases

Nouns modifying other nouns can form appositional noun phrases.<sup>57</sup> Appositional modifiers are elements which, from a syntactic point of view, are not part of the phrase containing the head noun, but are co-referential (i.e., they must refer to the same entity as

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<sup>56</sup> The quantifier *kahare* may follow nouns.

<sup>57</sup> Another strategy for noun-noun modification is compounding (§4.5).

the other members in the appositional construction (Rijkhoff, 2002:22)). In (179), the main noun phrase is *Anita* and *ezanityo* 'his wife' is in apposition.

- (179) **baba João Garimpeiro Anita** **ezanityo**  
 baba João Garimpeiro Anita =la e= ezan ityo  
 dad PN PN =FOC 3sg wife  
 'My father, who is João Garimpeiro, and Anita, his wife.' (Batsaji tahi)

Another piece of evidence that two noun phrases are appositional in Paresi is the use of the discourse markers *atyo* 'topic' and *ala* 'focus' between them (in the example above there is a focus marker after the noun phrase *Anita*). These markers are phrase boundary markers, always occurring in second position in a clause. They cannot occur after the first element of the noun phrase, only after the noun phrase.

- (180) **hatyo hinama ohiro atyo Ø=zaneheta**  
 hatyo hinama ohiro =atyo Ø= zane -heta  
 that two woman =TOP 3sg go PERF  
 'Those two women went away.' (E)
- (181) \***hatyo atyo hinama ohiro Ø=zaneheta**  
 hatyo =atyo hinama ohiro Ø= zane -heta  
 that =TOP two woman 3sg go PERF  
 'That two women went away.' (E)

Numerals and quantifiers can occur clause-initially (in a focused/topicalized position) in a appositional noun phrase. Example (182) shows the numeral *hinama* 'two' with a classifier followed by the focus marker *ala*. Example (183) shows the topicalizer *atyo* following the quantifier *kahare* 'a lot'.

- (182) **hatyatsetala mamala mairatya hoka**  
 hatyatseta =la mama =la Ø= mairatya hoka  
 then =FOC mom =FOC 3sg= fish CON  
**hinamali ala konare noloka**  
 hinama -li =ala konare Ø= noloka  
 two CFL.round =FOC cará fish 3sg= pull  
 'Then, my mother fished, and she got two cará fishes.' (ximatyi)

- (183) hoka hatyaotsetatyo nikare tyaonahitaha hoka **kahare**  
           hoka hatyaotseta =tyo nikare Ø= tyaona -h -ita -ha hoka kahare  
         CON then         =TOP like this 3sg= live PL IFV PL CON a.lot  
       atyo **ehare haliti** tyoa hikoahitaha  
       =atyo ehare haliti Ø= tyoa Ø= hikoa -h -ita -ha  
       =TOP this person 3sg= come 3sg= come.out, show.up PL IFV PL  
     enomana tsekotare  
     e= nomana tseko -ta -re  
     3sg= BEN far source NMLZ  
     'They lived like this, but other people came from far away and came for them'  
     (Batsaji tahi)

#### 4.7.1.2 Coordination of noun phrases

The domain of noun phrase coordination is considered to be a sentence describing a single event predicated simultaneously by two participant referents, which are conceived of as separate individuals (Stassen, 2001:1105). Paresi uses the coordinate and the comitative strategies for coordination of noun phrases. In the coordinate strategy, two linking devices are employed: juxtaposition, and the markers *zoaha* or *hare*, and in the comitative strategy, the comitative *kakoa* is used.

Juxtaposition is said to occur more often in enumeration or noun phrase-pairs which habitually go together, forming a whole (Stassen, 2001). This tendency is also seen in Paresi, as illustrated by the examples (184) and (185).

- (184) **haiyanityo, haitsaninae** aitsa miyatya eye  
       ha= iyanityo ha= itsani -nae Ø= aitsa miyatya eye  
       3sg= wife    3sg= son, daughter PL 3sg= kill finish this  
       atyo mazahekolahare  
       =atyo ma- z- aheko -la -hare  
       =TOP NEG NMLZ think POSSED MASC  
     'Without thinking he killed his son and wife.' (Enore)

- (185) eaotseta **Wazoliye**, **Kerakoama**, **Alaoliyo** enokoa zane  
eaotseta Wazoliye Kerakoama Alaoliyo enokoa Ø= zane  
then PN PN PN sky 3sg= go  
menanehalo menanehare kalini hekota  
Ø= menane -halo Ø= menane -hare kalini heko -ta  
3sg= be.immortal FEM 3sg= be.immortal MASC now time, period IFV  
tyaonahitaha nea  
Ø= tyaona -h -ita -ha Ø= nea  
3sg= live PL IFV PL 3sg= say  
'Then, Wazolie, Kerakoama and Alaolidyo went to live in the sky to be immortal,  
and they live there until today, he said' (Txinikalore)

In (184), the noun phrase-pair *haiyanityo* 'his wife' and *haitsaninae* 'his children' are juxtaposed, and other pairs conceived as a concept unit, such as *baba* 'my father' and *mama* 'my mother', often occur juxtaposed. In (185), juxtaposition is used for enumeration of the main characters of the story, Wazoliye and Kerakoama are brothers and Alaoliyo is their grandmother. Interestingly, an noun phrase-noun phrase pair when first introduced in a text may be coordinated by a marker, but after the first mention it is coordinated by juxtaposition (similar to a pair which habitually go together).

- (186) hoka **Preto**, **Poniya** zoahala tyohenahitita  
hoka Preto Poniya zoaha =la Ø= tyo -hena -hit -ita  
CON PN PN and =FOC 3sg= come TRS PERF IFV  
wiyema hoka menetse haliya zane tityoaha  
wi= yema hoka menetse =haliya Ø= zane Ø= tityoa -ha  
1pl= COM CON anaconda =near, next to 3sg= go 3sg= stand.up PL  
hoka kawitsahitaha  
hoka Ø= kawitsa -h -ita -ha  
CON 3sg= shout PL IFV PL  
'Preto and Poniya were coming behind us, and they went close to the anaconda,  
then they were shouting.' (ximatyati)

- (187) maiha zoare aka hatyo **Preto, Poniya** aitsareha hoka  
maiha zoare aka hatyo Preto Poniya Ø= aitsa -re -ha hoka  
NEG what have 3sg PN PN 3sg= kill NMLZ PL CON  
tyohenahitaha  
Ø= tyo -hena -h -ita -ha  
3sg= come TRS PL IFV PL  
'Poniya and Preto were not killing fishes, so they came back.' (ximatyati)

Noun phrase coordination is often marked by coordinators postposed to the second noun phrase. In general, the coordinator *zoaha* is used when there is coordination of two noun phrases (188), when three or more noun phrases are coordinated, in enumeration, *hare* is used (189), but there are exceptions, as seen in (190). Example (191) shows that a plural marker can be attached to the coordinator indicating that the coordinated noun phrases form a large phrase unit.

- (188) Boneca Zeneia **zoaha** nikala hehana  
Boneca Zeneia zoaha nika =la Ø= hehana  
PN PN and ? =FOC 3sg= get.lost  
'Boneca and Zenéia got lost.' (ximatyati)
- (189) posto farmacia escola **hare** ainakehenaha  
posto farmacia escola hare Ø= ainake -hena -ha  
health.center pharmacy school also 3sg= stand.up, fly TRS PL  
'They built a health center, a pharmacy and a school.' (Batsaji tahi)
- (190) baba, mama, azeze, noximalonzi **zoaha**  
baba mama azeze no= ximalo -n -i zoaha  
dad mom older.brother 1sg= youngest sister POSSED 1sg and  
wiwawa ali witsaona  
wi= wawa ali wi= tsaona  
1pl= be.alone here 1pl= live  
'My father, my mother, my oldest brother and my youngest sister, we lived here alone here.' (Bacaval wenakalati)
- (191) tohino manakata, zohitya **harencae** imezaha  
tohino manakata zohitya hare -nae Ø= imeza -ha  
meladinho.fruit type.of.pitomba cajuzinho.fruit also PL 3sg= gather PL  
'They gathered *meladinho*, *pitomba* and *cajuzinho* fruits.' (cabeceira do osso)

Stassen (2001) classifies coordination constructions according to the number of conjunctions into two types: monosyndetic, constructions with one conjunction marker, and polysyndetic constructions, with two conjunction markers. He points out that monosyndetic postponing of conjunction markers, as seen in Paresi, is not common, and that these constructions may originate from polysyndetic constructions in which one of the markers was optionally deleted. That may be the case for Paresi, because there are a few occurrences in which *hare* occurs after each coordinated noun phrase, as in (192).

- (192) wahakanore    **hare**, fate                      **hare**, tyotya                      wanitxita,  
       wahakanore    hare    fate                      hare    tyotya                      wa= nitx    -ita  
       spider.monkey also    tufted.capuchin also    everything, all 1pl eat meat IFV  
       wazolo    **hare**  
       wazolo    hare  
       wolf    also  
       'We were used to eating everything: spider monkey, tufted capuchin monkey, and  
       wolf.' (JT nawenane)

Both coordinators *hare* and *zoaha* also function as sentence adverbials meaning 'also, as well'. Stassen (2001) points out that a common source of coordinator markers are sentential adverbials, and that may be the case in Paresi. Examples (193), (194) and (195) illustrate their uses as sentential adverbials. In the last example, both occur at the end of the clause.

- (193) Hatyo iyatyatyo                      ali    hoka    tyoma                      **hare** nakairati,  
       hatyo    =iya    -tya    =tyo    ali    hoka    Ø=    tyoma    hare    nakaira -ti  
       3sg    =IRR TH    =TOP here CON 3sg= make, do also food    UNPOSS  
       zoare iyatyatyo                              hahekotya  
       zoare    =iya    -tya    =tyo    h=    aheko -tya  
       INT    =IRR TH    =TOP 2sg think TH  
       'If she is here she will make also food, and then you won't worry about anything.'  
       (Batsaji iraiti)

- (194) Katsani **zoaha** notyoa hoka maihatyola Sandra ako ababa  
 katsani zoaha no= tya hoka maiha =tyo =la Sandra ako ababa  
 DESID and 1sg come CON NEG =TOP =FOC PN LOC dad  
 iyare avalizatya nomani  
 iyare avaliza -tya no= mani  
 name vouch.for TH 1sg BEN  
 'I wanted to go as well, maybe my father will vouch for me at Sandra.' (Batsaji  
 iraiti)
- (195) zoalinihare tyaconahitaha enomana,  
 zoalini -hare Ø= tyaona -h -ita -ha e= nomana  
 like this NMLZ 3sg= live PL IFV PL 3sg= BEN  
 hokakahitaha, kakamanehitaha **hare**  
 Ø= hokaka -h -ita -ha ka- kama -ne -h -ita -ha hare  
 3sg= be.sick PL IFV PL ATTR death POSSED PL IFV PL also  
**zoaha**  
 zoaha  
 and  
 'Anything can happen to him, they may get sick and they may also die.' (cabeceira  
 do osso)

Finally, there are few instances of noun phrase coordination in which the comitative *kakoa* is used. The comitative occurs with noun phrase-pairs with kinship relationship, in cases where juxtaposition was expected, such as: *baba* 'my father' and *mama* 'my mother', *ezanityo* 'wife' and *ityani* 'son, daughter', as seen in (196). It can also occur in cases where *hare* would otherwise be used, as in (197).

- (196) kolatyahene mama haiyanene **kakoa**  
 Ø= kolatya -h =ene mama ha= iyanene =kakoa  
 3sg= take PL =3O mom 3sg= husband =COM  
 iximarene Joãozinho  
 i= ximare -ne Joãozinho  
 3sg= young.brother POSSED PN  
 'They took them, my mother with her husband, and his young brother Joãozinho.'  
 (Bacaval wenakalati)

- (197) kalini ali escola nakordenaita, natyo, Duzanil hare, seis  
 kalini ali escola na= kordena -ita natyo Duzanil hare seis  
 now here school 1sg= IFV 1sg PN also six  
 professornae **kakoa** ali wahakita  
 professor -nae =kakoa ali wa= hak -ita  
 teacher PL =COM here 1pl= work IFV  
 'Today I am the coordinator in the school; I, Duzanil, and six teachers are working here.' (cabeceira do osso).

Disjunction of noun phrases is similarly encoded through juxtaposition. In (198) there is one such example.

- (198) hoka koho kiraneze hanama, koatrotaotse taita  
 hoka koho kirane -ze hanama koatro -taotse taita  
 CON basket small NMLZ three four CLF:piece only  
 $\emptyset$ =zaneta  
 $\emptyset$ = zane -ta  
 3sg go EMPH  
 'For a small basket, it takes only three or four pieces.' (koho)

## Chapter 5 - Verb classes and adjusting valency

### 5.0 Introduction

Prototypical members of the Paresi verb class receive affixes or clitics indicating tense, aspect, mood, polarity, valence-changing operations, and person/number of subject(s) and object(s). Syntactically, these verbs can be the heads of predicates without additional coding. In Paresi, verb roots can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. There are three mechanisms to decrease valency: the middle voice form *-oa*, the reflexive *-wi*, and the reciprocal *-kakoa*, as well as four mechanisms to increase valency: three morphological causatives, and one periphrastic causative construction.

### 5.1 Verb structure and the thematic suffixes

A verb can consist of a basic or a derived form. Verbs can be derived from nouns through the causativizer prefix *a-* (§5.3.2.2) or the attributive marker *ka-* (§7.3.3). Most of the verb morphology consists of suffixes.

The order of affixes on roots is given below (obligatory elements are in boldface):

- (1)
1. attributive *ka-* or negative *ma-*
  2. **personal proclitics**
  3. causative *a-*
  4. **ROOT**
  5. classifiers/ incorporated nouns/ postpositions
  6. thematic suffixes
  7. causative *-ki*
  8. middle voice *-oa* or reciprocal *-kakoa*
  9. aspect markers
  10. plural *-ha*
  11. third person enclitic *=ene*

The suffixes closest to the root are thematic suffixes, followed by valency changing morphemes (reciprocal, middle voice, causative), aspect morphemes and verbal plural. Of the 15 suffixes, only up to 7 can co-occur in a verbal word, as in (2):

- (2) kehezaharetyoahetehenahene

Ø= keheza -hare -tya -oa -hete -hena -ha =ene  
 3sg feel.good MASC TH MM PERF TRS PL 3O  
 'They will be feeling better.' (E)

Some verbs have bound roots that must occur with suffixes called thematic suffixes. 'Thematic suffix' is a term used in the literature on the Arawak family to "gloss affixes which have little, if any, semantic content" (Wise, 1990:90) but are required to complete the verb base. The selection of the appropriate thematic suffix depends on arbitrary classes of roots. The thematic suffixes (-*tya*~-*tsa* and -*ka*) are suffixes that attach to the verb root to form a base before they receive other suffixes such as the tense/aspect/mood suffixes. They may be analyzed as lexicalized with the roots, as seen in example (3). However, this analysis does not account for the fact that they never appear with the suffix -*heta* 'completive' or -*hena* 'transitional'.<sup>58</sup> For example, the verb *zakaihaka* 'tell story' occurs with the thematic suffix -*tya* in (5a) and without it in (5b).

- (3) kala nozakaihakatyा

kala no= zakaihaka -tya  
 DUB 1sg tell.story TH  
 'I will tell a story.' (Wazare)

- (4) nozakaihakaheta

no= zakaihaka -heta  
 1sg tell.story PERF  
 'I will tell the story.' (JT nawenane)

The distribution of the suffixes appears to be related to the transitivity of the verb: -*tya* occurs with transitive and ditransitive verbs, as seen in Table 71, while -*ka* can occur with the intransitive verbs *haka* 'work' and *nemaka* 'sleep', or transitive verbs. The choice

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<sup>58</sup> Silva (2013) considers them to be perfective markers, see discussion in §6.3.

of which transitive verbs take *-tya* and which take *-ka* appears to be arbitrary. There is no root which can appear with either *-tya* or *-ka* as alternating possibilities.

Table 71: Verb roots that carry *-tya*~*-tsa*

<b>Bound Root<sup>59</sup></b>	<b>Root With <i>-tya</i></b>	<b>Meaning</b>
zakaihaka	zakaihakatya	tell story
axika	axikatya	send
feta	fetatya	offer
emolo	emolotya	curve
hala	halatya	paint
iriko	irikotya	cut, break
aihono	aihonotya	cover
aikitsa	aikitsa	grate
aima	aimatya	put, give
etolitsa	etolitsa	lie down

Another use of *-tya* is with intransitive or transitive verbs borrowed from Portuguese. *-ka* is not used with these words.

Table 72: Borrowed verbs that take *-tya*

<b>Paresi Verb</b>	<b>Portuguese Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
batxiyatya	passar	walk around
cometsatyatya	começar	start
estudatya	estudar	study
reclamatya	reclamar	complain
berekotya	pregar	fasten with nails

Examples with the suffix *-ka* are shown in Table 73. The verb root cannot occur without a suffix. In the examples (5) and (7), the verbs occur with *-ka*, but in (6) and (8) they do not, since the thematic suffix cannot co-occur with suffixes *-hena* and *-heta*.

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<sup>59</sup> These roots do not occur without the thematic suffix or aspect markers.

Table 73: Verb roots that carry -ka

Bound Root	Form	Meaning
ha	haka	work
mala	malaka	pull off
nema	nemaka	sleep
hiyo	hiyoka	suck
miliri	milirika	hold
oliri	olirika	stroke
tsetse	tsetseka	chew
owi	owika	spill
aoko	aokoka	breastfeed
atyo	atyoka	swallow

- (5) Wiyaneta      **wahaka**      Paula, maika hehokotyoa  
       wi= yane -ta    wa= ha    **-ka**    Paula    maika    h= ehoko    -ty    -oa  
       1pl    go    IFV    1pl    work    TH    Paula    SUG    2sg    lie.down    TH    MM  
       'Let's work, Paula, you can lie down.' (iraiti JM)
- (6) witsota      watsociaçäone      zema      nikare  
       witso -ta      wa= tsociaçäo      -ne      =zema      nikare  
       1pl    EMPH    1pl    organization    POSSED    =COM    like this  
       waiyateretyo           hoka      **hahena**           wikakoa  
       waiya -tya -re      =tyo      hoka      Ø= ha      -hena      wi= =kakoa  
       see    IFV    NMLZ    =TOP    CON    3sg    work    TRS    1pl    =COM  
       'We followed the organization that started to work with us.' (Batsaji tahi)
- (7) hiyane      hakawitsahene      **malakahenete**  
       hi= zane    ha= kawitsa -h =ene    Ø= mala    **-ka** -h =ene =te  
       2sg    go    3sg shout    PL 3O    3sg pull.off    TH PL 3O    =FUT  
       miyatenete  
       Ø= miya -tya =ene =te  
       3sg finish    TH    3O    =FUT  
       'Go call them to pull off everything.' (tolohe)

- (8) ali mainikereta watxikinityatyo kala  
 ali mainikere -ta wa= txikini -tya =tyo kala  
 here whole EMPH 1pl behind TH =TOP DUB  
**malahenahitene**  
 $\emptyset$ = mala -hena -hit =ene  
 3sg pull.off TRS PERF 3O  
 'It was whole, they pulled it off behind us' (ketetse)

## 5.2 Verb classes

Verbs can be identified according to their valence in Paresi and the semantic role of their subjects. In terms of valence, verbs can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. In terms of the semantic role of their subjects, Paresi verbs exhibit an agentive-patientive system. I will also describe the copula *tyaona*, the existential verb *aka*, and the quotative verb *nea* which have some grammatical differences from intransitive and transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs can be further classified as agentive or non-agentive verbs depending on the type of personal proclitics they take. I identify two sets of proclitics, set A and set B, which differ according to the semantic role of subjects. Table 74 illustrates the pronominal markers in set A and B.

Table 74: sets of proclitics in Paresi

	<b>Set A</b>	<b>Set B</b>
1sg	na=	no=
2sg	ha=	hi=
3sg	$\emptyset$ =	$\emptyset$ =
1pl	wa=	wi=
2pl	za=	xi=
3pl	$\emptyset$ =...-ha	$\emptyset$ =...-ha

Semantically, there are two basic groups of intransitive Paresi verbs: i) active/control verbs which take set A; and ii) non-control verbs which take set B. In the first group are verbs whose participants are actors (which perform, effect, instigate, or control the situation denoted by the predicate). In the second group are verbs whose

participants are undergoers or lack control, because the participants of these verbs refer to property concepts and to some events that are not performed or controlled by the participant (such as ‘die’, ‘wake up’, ‘sleep’).<sup>60</sup> The first class of verbs I call active/agentive verbs and these take set A proclitics, and the second class I call non-agentive verbs and these take set B proclitics. It’s mostly in intransitive verbs that we see sets A and set B distinction, which is typical of agentive systems cross-linguistically. This analysis supersedes Brandão (2010) where I proposed that verbs taking set B were stative verbs, while verbs taking set A were active verbs. In that earlier analysis I analyzed the form *a-* in the proclitics of set A as an active morpheme based on the fact that *a-* is an active morpheme in other Arawak languages. However, this analysis is not accurate because the morpheme *a-* does not occur in the third person proclitic.

### **5.2.1 Intransitive Verbs**

Intransitive verbs require one syntactic argument. They are classified in two classes: intransitive verbs which take set A markers and intransitive verbs which take set B markers. These classes are morphologically and semantically different, as will be shown below.

#### **5.2.1.1 Intransitive agentive verbs**

Most of the intransitive verbs are in this class. They have participants who are agents or performers of a controlled action. The notion of actor or agent is here understood as “a participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate” and undergoer or patient as a participant who does not perform, instigate, control the situation (Mithun, 1991: 516). Morphologically, they take the set A proclitics. Table 75 shows some examples of this type of intransitive verbs (some of them are not clearly control-oriented, as I will discuss below).

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<sup>60</sup> A similar case of prefix choices based on the semantic feature of agentivity is found in Pilaga, Guaykuruan family (Vidal, 2008). According to Donohue & Wichmann (2008), this type of semantic alignment where there are two different markers (or sets of markers) which can both be used for A or S is typologically unusual.

Table 75: agentive intransitive verbs

Verb	Meaning
kawitsa	shout
hikoa	come out
tona	walk
aitxotya	weed
maira	fish
holikoa	dance
heka	get drunk
tityoa	stand up
meholokoa	kneel down
talirikoa	slip
waiyore	know
tonokoa	cough

Examples (9) and (10) show that only one set can be used with each verb root.

- (9) Hatyaotsetala        wiyaneheta,        wiyaneheta,        wiyan  
       hatyaotseta =la      wi= yane -heta    wi= yane -heta    wi= yane  
       then                  =FOC 1plB go    PERF 1plB go    PERF 1plB go  
**wahikoaheta**  
       wa= hikoa              -heta  
       1plA come.out, show.up PERF  
       'Then we went, went, and we arrived.' (JT nawenane)

- (10) \***wihikoaheta**  
       wi= hikoa              -heta  
       1plB come.out, show.up PERF

In the case of word forms that start with vowels, it is difficult to identify which group they belong to based on the morphology. That is because the last vowels of proclitics are dropped, and it is not possible to identify whether the vowel was a *a* (from set A) or *i* (from set B). I classify them based on their semantics.

Positional verbs such as *tityoa* 'stand up' and *meholokoa* 'kneel down', and the

motion verb *talirikoa* 'roll down' are also in this set. Perception verbs may lack volition and not be subject to control, but the subject of the verb *waiyore* 'know' which also means 'learn' has volition, as in (11). The involuntary bodily process verb *tonokoa* 'cough' in (12) is a spontaneous behavior, but it also falls in this class regardless of whether the action is done on purpose or accidentally. These examples suggests that the class is not completely consistent semantically because the subject participant of verbs in this set may be performers with or without control. However, participants of verbs which take set B markers must lack control.

- (11) azeze            zema     ite       nozanita        nozoiminita  
       azeze            zema     =ite      no=    zan -ita    no=    zoimi -ni    -ta  
       older.brother    COM     =FUT     1sgB go    IFV    1sgB child   NMLZ IFV  
       hoka   **nawaiyore**  
       hoka   na=    waiyore  
       CON    1sgA learn  
       'Since I was a child I would go with my oldest brother, then I learned (how to hunt).'  
       (Katomo nawenane)
- (12) **natonokoa**  
       na=   tonokoa  
       1sgA cough  
       'I coughed.' (E)

### 5.2.1.2        Intransitive non-agentive verbs

Verbs in this class have a participant who is an undergoer or lacks control. Semantically, they are verbs denoting states and time-stable concepts, while agentive verbs in the first group denote events. These verbs take proclitics from set B. Brandão (2010) classified intransitive verbs into two groups: standard intransitive and descriptive intransitive verbs. The descriptive verbs included only verbs denoting a property. Verbs denoting states such as *naka* 'be hungry' and verbs taking the gender suffixes (*-hare* for masculine and *-halo* for feminine) were not included in this class. However, because they have the same morphosyntactic behavior, I have considered descriptive verbs and verbs denoting states here to be in one group of stative intransitive verbs. Other intransitive verbs taking set B proclitics have an undergoer participant but they are not stative, and

form another group of non-stative intransitive verbs taking set B.

### 5.2.1.3 Stative intransitive verbs

Stative intransitive verbs are verbs semantically different from other intransitive verbs. They refer to color, states, some values and physical properties. Descriptive words referring to dimension, age, certain values and physical properties are adjectives and are described in §3.7.

Stative verbs referring to physical properties may take gender marking *-hare* 'MASC' or *-halo* 'FEM', as seen in Table 76.

*Table 76: stative intransitive verbs*

wahahare	be tall
mazahare	be lazy
waxirahare	be ugly
ihalahare	be happy
tifalo	be pregnant
maira	be afraid

- (13) wityotya kaharehena kalore **namaikohareta** haiya zowakiya  
 wi= tyotya kahare -hena kalore n= amaiko -hare -ta haiya zowakiya  
 1pl die.out a.lot TRS a.lot 1sg be.sad MASC IFV IND2 at this time  
 kala  
 kala  
 DUB  
 'We are dying out, and I am very sad sometimes.' (Kamoro nawenane)

- (14) maha kinatyā zolotyakere xini  
 maha kina -tya zolotya -ke -re xini  
 NEG be.strong TH grate ? NMLZ NEG  
**ximazahareta** neatyala hatxiyete hiye  
 xi= mazahare -hare -ta nea -tya =la ha= txiyete =hiye  
 2pl= be. lazy MASC IFV say FOC =FOC 3sg= grandson =BEN  
 'It is not hard to grate; you are lazy", she said to her grandson.' (tolohe)

- (15) iyakare niheri                        wahikoa                        hoka, **wimaira**,  
     iyakare nihe -ri                        wa= hikoa                        hoka wi= maira  
     alligator nest CLF:round 1pl come.out, show.up CON 1pl be.afraid  
     wamairatya    maheta ala    wiyan  
     wa= mairatya    maheta ala    wi= yane  
     1pl fish       PURP FOC 1pl go  
     'We found an alligator nest, then we were afraid and went fishing.' (JT nawenane)

A small group of stative intransitive verbs take the suffix *-i* for the first person subject.<sup>61</sup> Table 77 illustrates these verbs.

Table 77: stative intransitive verbs taking *-i* '1sg'

Verb	Meaning
naka	be hungry
hokaka	be sick
kolotya	be fat
wawa	be alone
kirane	be small
nira	be thin
maloka	be warm

- (16) kalore nokanakairi                        hoka    maiha    **nonaki**  
     kalore no=    ka-    nakairi    hoka    maiha    no=    naka    -i  
     a.lot    1sgB= ATTR food    CON    NEG    1sgB= be hungry 1sg  
     maheta  
     maheta  
     PURP  
     'I ate a lot to not be hungry.' (E)

- (17) natyo    kalore    **nokoloti**  
     natyo    kalore    no=    kolot -i  
     1sg    a.lot    1sgB= be.fat 1sg  
     'I got very fat.' (E)

A few stative intransitive verbs refer to physical condition, such as *watya* 'be hot',

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<sup>61</sup> This suffix also occurs with inalienable nouns and some postpositions.

*tihā* 'be cold'. They take a beneficiary marked by the postposition *hiye*, but not an overt pronominal subject form.

- (18) **tihā**      wihiyē  
       tihā      wi=    hiye  
       be.cold    1plB BEN  
       'It is cold for us.' (E)

- (19) **watya**    nohiye  
       watya    no=    hiye  
       hot        1sgB BEN  
       'It is hot for me.' (E)

#### 5.2.1.3.1 Non-stative non-agentive verbs

Other verbs taking set B markers are some body process verbs ('cry', 'vomit', 'laugh'), as shown in Table 78, and examples (20) and (21). These are usually uncontrolled events. In addition, events which are not performed, effected, instigated or controlled by the participant, such as 'die', also take set B markers:

Table 78: Non-stative verbs taking set B

tiya	cry
txiraka	vomit
koeza	laugh
waini	die
nemaka	sleep
tyoka	sit
tekoā	run away
zane	go
tyoa	come
kaoka	arrive
txiya	pass
kaotse	wake up
kaitxihini	dream

- (20) kafaka      kalore      **notiya**  
           kafaka      kalore      no=      tiya  
           yesterday    a.lot      1sgB= cry  
           'Yesterday I cried a lot.' (Enore)
- (21) hihokaka      zamani, **hiwaini**      zamani, zoana      kawe  
       hi=      hokaka      zamani      hi=      waini      zamani      zoana      kawe  
       2sgB= be.sick      DUB      2sgB= die      DUB      INT      hurt  
       hamokoa      zamani  
       ha=      mok -oa      zamani  
       3sgAg= put      MM      DUB  
       'Or you get sick or you die, or he may get hurt.' (toahiyere-NB)

The use of both sets of proclitics with a given verb root is not possible. For example, the verbs *naka* 'be hungry' and *tiya* 'cry' are assigned to set B and cannot be used with set A:

- (22) a. **nonakita**  
       no=      naka      -ita  
       1sgB be.hungry IFV  
       'I am hungry.' (E)
- b. **\*nanakita**  
       na=      naka      -ita  
       1sgA be.hungry IFV

- (23) a. **notiya**  
       no=      tiya  
       1sgB cry  
       'I cried.' (E)
- b. **\*natiya**  
       na=      tiya  
       1sgA cry

The verbs *kaotse* 'wake up' and *kaitxihini* 'dream' are grouped as non-agentive related verbs denoting events. The verbs *nemaka* 'sleep'<sup>62</sup> *tyoka* 'sit' and *tekoia* 'run away',<sup>63</sup> *zakaihaka* 'tell a story' (which is formed by the noun *zaka* 'story'), and the

<sup>62</sup> It has an allomorph *temaka* in persons other than the third person, and it may be derived from the noun *maka* 'night'

<sup>63</sup> Diachronically, *tyoka*, *temaka*, and *tekoia* may be derived verbs from nouns formed by the prefixes *ty-* and *t-*. One evidence is that their causative forms with the causative *-ki* do not exhibit *ty-* or *t-*:

directed motion verbs which have a inherently specified direction: *zane* 'go', *kaoka* 'arrive', *tyoa* 'come'.<sup>64</sup>

When stative verbs are causativized by *a-*, as seen in (25) and (26), the vowel of the proclitic forms of set B is dropped. One hypothesis is that this process may have been the source of proclitic forms of set A which all have the vowel *a*. One can analyze the *a* in the set A markers as a fossilized form of the causative prefix *a-*. It cannot be analyzed as a separated morpheme anymore because it does not occur in the third person of set A markers. Active verbs with set A markers have a participant with control.

(24) **nozotyali**

no= zotya -li  
1sgB be.red CLF:round  
'I got red (accidentally).' (E)

(25) **nazotyatyoa**

no= a- zotya -tyoa  
1sgB CAUS be.red MM  
'I got myself red (I painted myself).' (E)

(26) **noniri**

no= nira  
1sgB be.thin  
'I am thin.' (E)

(27) **naniratene**

no= a- nira -tya =ene  
1sgB CAUS be.thin TH 3O  
'I made him get thin.' (E)

### 5.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs may take two syntactic arguments in Paresi. As such, they differ from intransitive verbs with respect to pronominal marking in that they can take the enclitic *=ene* for third person. There are no object pronominal markers in the other persons; independent pronouns are used instead. Table 79 illustrates some transitive verbs.

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*aokakitsa* 'he made him sit', *aemakitsa* 'he made him sleep' and *ekoakitsa* 'he made him run away'.

However, synchronically the prefixes are already lexicalized in non-causative forms.

<sup>64</sup> Other motion verbs such as *tema* 'run' and *tona* 'walk' are in the group of verbs taking set A proclitics.

Table 79: Some transitive verbs

Verb	Meaning
aitsa	kill
aihonotya	cover
zawatyा	throw
aikotya	cut
atyoka	swallow
halaitsa	leave

Examples of transitive verbs are given in (28) to (30):

- (28) hatyo kamati natxikiniyeta atyo marinho neye  
       hatyo kama natxikini -ye -ta =atyo marinho neye  
       that death after NMLZ EMPH =TOP PN father  
       **aitsaha** natxikinitala  
       Ø= aitsa -ha natxikini -ta =la  
       3sg kill PL after IFV =FOC  
       'After that death, and after they killed Marinho's father...' (Batsaji tahi)
- (29) waihalatya                   **aitsene**  
       waihalatya                   Ø= aitsa =ene  
       shoot with an arrow    3sg kill 3O  
       'He shot an arrow and killed him.' (iyamaka)
- (30) awaira                      atyo      **hazawahena**              emena  
       awa =ira                    =atyo     ha=      zawa -hena   e=    mena  
       NEG =AFF, small          =TOP     2sgA= throw TRS   3sg= trunk  
       enaoitsetara               hamilirihetene  
       en= aotse -ta =ra        ha=      miliri -het    =ene  
       3sg= place IFV =AFF, small 3sgAg= hold PERF =3O  
       'Don't throw the trunk! leave it in its place.' (Enore)

Most of the transitive verbs can take either one or two core arguments freely, but these are not cases of ambitransitivity. They take one argument when the object is implicit or dropped. In (31), the object of *waiya* 'see' (*inima* 'his cloth') is implicit because it was mentioned in a previous sentence.

- (31) Hom ite makani enatyokoe waiya hoka bakatene  
      hom ite makani en= atyokoe Ø= waiya hoka baka -t =ene  
      yeah FUT tomorrow 3sg grandfather 3sg see CON pay TH 3O  
      enomana  
      e= nomana  
      3sg BEN  
      'Yeah, tomorrow his grandfather will go see (the cloth) and pay him for it.' (iraiti  
      Batsaji)

All transitive verbs take proclitics from set A, with few exceptions. One exception is the perception verb *waiya* 'see', which semantically lacks control, and that is why it takes set B proclitics. Other exceptions are agentive verbs derived from nouns which have lexicalized the attributive *ka-*, as *kanakaira* 'eat', as in (32). The verb *kaiwa* 'steal' may also contain a lexicalized *ka-* in spite of its apparent status as an agentive verb since it also takes set B proclitics. Other exceptions are the verbs *terा* 'drink' (34) and *tyoma* 'make' (32).<sup>65</sup>

- (32) nakairala            **witsoma**        hoka        **wikanakaira**  
      nakaira =la        wi= tyoma        hoka        wi= ka-        nakaira  
      food        =FOC        1pl make        CON        1pl ATTR food  
      'I made food for us to eat.' (E)
- (33) namaotseratya            hoka        **nokaiwene**  
      na=        maotsera -tya        hoka        no=        kaiw =ene  
      1sgA= lie        TH        CON        1sgB= steal =3O  
      'I lied and I stole it.' (E)
- (34) zama        howikihiitiya            nomani        kafe        hoka        **notera**  
      zama        h=        owiki -hitiya        no=        mani        kafe        hoka        no=        terा  
      give        2sg= pour again        1sgB= BEN coffee        CON        1sgB= drink  
      'Pour coffee for me and I will drink.' (iraiti Katomo)

In Table 80, adapted from Mithun (1991:524), I summarize the distribution of pronominal markers (Sets A and B) according to the semantic features of eventhood and control. The Table shows that control may be a relevant feature since stative verbs and the

<sup>65</sup> These two last examples have lexicalized prefixes *ty-* and *t-* which do not occur in the causative forms, as seen in the previous section with the intransitive verbs *tyoka* 'sit' and *tekoā* 'run away'.

transitive verb *waiya* 'see', whose participants have the feature [- control], take set B markers; while verbs whose participants have the semantic feature of control, the majority of transitive verbs and intransitive verbs in line d (which have some control: *waiyezehare* 'be a nice person' and *waiyezehekola* 'be prudent'), take set A proclitics. Table 81 summarizes the distribution of pronominal forms according to control.

Table 80: Summary of the distribution of markers (Mithun, 1991:524)

		Paresi proclitic set
a.	+ event 'jump', 'run.' (exception directed motion verbs like 'go') + control	A
b.	+ event 'vomit' - control	B
c.	+ event 'die' - control	B
d.	- event 'be prudent', 'be patient' + control	A
e.	- event 'be tall', 'be strong' - control	B
f.	- event 'be sick', 'be tired' - control	B

Table 81: Distribution of pronominal forms

	[+control]	[-control]
transitives	mostly A	mostly A
intransitives	set A	set B

### 5.2.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs are verbs that have two core arguments in addition to the subject (Haspelmath, 2013). Paresi does not exhibit ditransitive verbs in terms of two required objects. The only occurrence of three arguments with the verb *aotyakitsa* 'teach'

in my corpus is given in (35), but there are verbs which may take a theme argument and a recipient or addressee argument. The occurrence of an overt third argument with these verbs is rare; usually only one of the arguments is mentioned and the other one is implicit (because it was already mentioned in the discourse). The theme is coded like a monotransitive verb's patient and the recipient is coded by a postposition, and both can be expressed either by a lexical argument or a pronominal marker. In my corpus there are only three ditransitive verbs: *aotyakitsa* (*a-otya-ki-tsa/CAUS-remember-CAUS-TH*) 'teach', *hotikitsa* 'show', and *itsa* 'give'.

- (35) hiyane Kamaehiye nali hoka **aotyakitsa**  
     hi= zane Kamaehiye nali hoka Ø= a- otya -ki -tsa  
     2sg= go PN LOC CON 3sg CAUS remember CAUS TH  
     xitso hanama katyahero abali, tohiri zaira  
     xitso hanama katyahen -ro abali tohiri zaira  
     you all three under NMLZ flat shape sieve type of sieve draw  
     'You three go to Kamahiye for him to teach you [how to make] abali and tohiri  
     sieves.' (Iheroware)
- (36) hoka okoi halatehenan hoka **hotikitsene** enomana  
     hoka okoi Ø= halate -hena hoka Ø= hotikits =ene e= om ana  
     CON INTERJ 3sg hatch TRS CON 3sg show 3O 3sg LK BEN  
     'Then, it hatched and he showed it to him.' (JT nawenane)
- (37) notyaona ezahe ehare iraeti waiyeze haiya zowaka  
     no= tyaona ezahe ehare irae -ti waiye -ze haiya zowaka  
     1sg live CON this talk UNPOSS good NMLZ IND2 period  
     **nitxita** enomana maiha tyakekoahitaha  
     n= itsa -ita e= om ana maiha Ø= tyakek -oa -h -ita -ha  
     1sg give IFV 3sg LK BEN NEG 3sg believe MM PL IFV PL  
     niraini  
     n= irai -n -i  
     1sg talk POSSED 1sg  
     'I lived there and gave them good ideas (speech), but they did not believe in my  
     speech.' (Kamoro nawenane)
- (38) wairati harenae **itsaha** enomana  
     waira -ti hare -nae Ø= itsa -ha e= om ana  
     cure NMLZ also PL 3sg give PL 3sg LK BEN  
     'They also gave him medicine.' (JG nawenane)

### 5.2.4 Copula *tyaona*

The copula *tyaona* can be used with nouns, location arguments, and stative verbs. In nominal predicates, it has an aspectual meaning 'become'. In that sense, *tyaona* is similar to a semi-copula, as defined by Hengeveld (1992), which can never be left out without changing the meaning of the clause in nominal predicates.<sup>66</sup>

The example (39) shows a nominal predicate with two juxtaposed nouns, and the copula at the end. In (40), the copula occurs with the personal clitic *no*= '1sg'. The copula can also take aspectual markers as seen in (39) -*ita* 'IFV', (40) -*hena* 'TRS', and (41) -*ita* 'IFV'. In (41), the adverb is followed by the noun phrase and the copula.

- (39) hatyo zekohatseti tyaonita  
       hatyo zekohatseti Ø= tyaona -ita  
       3sg leader      3sg COP IFV  
       'He became a leader.' (Demarcação)

- (40) professor notyaonehena  
       professor no= tyaona -hena  
       teacher 1s COP TRS  
       'I became a teacher.' (Batsaji tahi)

- (41) owene Tyabikolotsenae tyaonita  
       owene Tyabikolatse -nae Ø= tyaona -ita  
       there PN           PL 3sg COP IFV  
       'Tyabikolatse's family is there inside of the house.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti)

In existential and locative predicates, the copula *tyaona* is used in texts only with the third person. These predicates have the same argument structure as other *tyaona* clauses: a theme argument (entity), a location argument, and the copula. Freeze (2001) points out the similarity between locative and existential predicates cross-linguistically.

- (42) abebe        ene ala   iyamaka   hanako    tyaonita  
       abebe        ene ala   iyamaka   hana -ko   Ø= tyaona -ita  
       grandmother PST FOC sacred.flute house LOC 3sg COP IFV  
       'My deceased grandmother was in the house of the sacred flute' (JT nawenane)

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<sup>66</sup> It has a different behavior in other predicates.

- (43) eye walaharekate, walaharekate, weteko  
 eye walahare -kate walahare -kate weteko  
 this justaconteira.tree CLF:long justaconteira.tree CLF:long yard  
 kilihí tyaponita  
 kili -hi Ø= tyona -ita  
 nose CLF:long.slender 3sg COP IFV  
 'This is a justaconteira tree on the side of the road.' (E)
- (44) wenakalati tyona kalikini kekoare kalikini polo base ali  
 awenaka tyona kalikini kekoare kalikini polo base ali  
 village become, stay now grow? now health.service here  
**tyaponita** kalikini escola  
 Ø= tyona -ita kalikini escola  
 3sg COP IFV now school  
 'Recently the village has been growing, there is a health service building and a school.' (Batsaji tahi)

I did not find negative existential clauses with *tyona* in my corpus. Elicitation has shown that Paresi employs the particle *maiha* 'NEG' and the verb *aka* 'exist' in this type of construction (see example in the next section). The copula can be used with almost all types of predicates, except for possessive predicates, which take the prefixes *ka-* or *ma-*. The origin of the copula is the verb *tyona* which has the meanings 'live, be born, stay, become, happen'. Therefore, the most probable source for the copula is *tyona* as a dynamic verb meaning 'happen, become', and the evidence for this is that it still means 'become' with nominal predicates. Stassen (1997) mentions dynamic verbs with meanings like these as one of the common sources of copular verbs.

### 5.2.5 Existential copula verb *aka*

One of the strategies to form existential constructions is the use of the existential copula verb *aka*. The copular verb occurs with one argument that may be a noun or a stative verb. It can take aspect markers similar to the copula *tyona*, but it cannot take personal proclitics. Another difference is that *aka* 'exist' is restricted to negative clauses. The only example from text in a declarative clause is in (46). In addition, *aka* does not occur with the nominalizer *-re* in negative clauses (see §7.6) while the copula *tyona* and

other verbs do occur with this nominalizer in negative clauses.

- (45) oloniti **aka**

oloniti aka

chicha exist

'There is chicha.' (E)

- (46) kala kozaka kamae tyaona mokaha kozakita morezalo

kala kozaka kamae tyaona Ø= moka -ha kozakita morezalo

DUB already sun COP 3sg put PL ? fog

**akehena** hoka wetekokoa zane tityoa Wazare

aka -hena hoka weteko -ko Ø= zane Ø= tityoa Wazare

exist TRS CON yard LOC 3sg go 3sg stand.up PN

'The sun had already gone, and there was fog, and Wazare went to stand up in the yard.' (Wazare)

- (47) kala ehare mahalitihare witsekore atyo ezowakiya, maiha **aka**

kala ehare ma- haliti -hare witsekore atyo ezowakiya maiha aka

DUB this NEG person MASC goods TOP period NEG exist

'Then at that time there were no non-Indian goods.' (Kamoro nawenane)

### 5.2.6 The quotative verb *nea*

The verb *nea* is used only in the context of quotations, which function as its complement. There are not many studies that make distinction between general speech verbs and quotative verbs. Quotative verbs are defined by Güldemann (2008:82) as specialized forms for the quotation context which outside reported discourse have no use at all. They have restrictions and irregularities which are not shared with standard verbs, and can have weaker phonological substance.

The quotative verb *nea* inflects for person, as seen in Table 82. The verb presents suppletive forms in the first persons singular and plural, which is the kind of irregularity that can be expected from a quotative verb.

Table 82: inflection for person with the verb *nea*

Form	Gloss
nomi/nita	I said
h=eya/	you said
Ø-nea	he/she said
w=ita	we said
z=ea	you all said
Ø-nea-ha	they said

The verb *nea* 'say' differs from speech verbs (such as *irai* 'talk') because it takes a quotation (48), but not a pronominal proclitic or noun phrase as the object argument (49). Furthermore, *nea* 'say' does not occur in negative clauses.

- (48) baba "iyalahaliti" nea  
     baba iyalahaliti Ø= nea  
     father dumb 3sg say  
     'My father said: "dumb things" '(E)/ \*"My father said dumb things'
- (49) \*baba neaene  
     baba Ø= nea =ene  
     father 3sg say 3O  
     'My father said it.' (E)
- (50) baba iraetene  
     baba Ø= irae =ene  
     father 3sg talk 3O  
     'My father told it.' (E)
- (51) \*maiha neaze  
     maiha nea ze  
     NEG say NMLZ  
     'It was not said' (E)

Valency-changing morphology or thematic suffixes do not occur on the verb *nea*. The form with the thematic suffix *-tya* (\**nea-tya*) is not grammatical, nor is the form with the middle voice *-oa* (\**nea-tyoa*). The only cases with derivational morphology found are: *e-nea-re* (3sg=say-NMLZ) 'his name'; and *a-he-neza-tya* (CAUS-?-say-TH) 'shout'. Syntactically, the quotative verb *nea* directly follows the quoted material.

(52) watsero	nola							
w= atsero	n= ola							
1pl grandmother	1sg game hunting							
hikoakihitita		neaha	ihiye					
Ø= hikoa	-ki	-heta	-ita	Ø= nea	-ha	i= hiye		
3sg come.out, show.up	CAUS	PERF	IFV	3sg say	PL	3sg BEN		
"You let the game of our grandmother to go away", they said to him'								

In (52), the form *nea* is followed by a postpositional phrase which characterizes the addressee of the quoted speech.

Another use, which is metapragmatic, is the report of nonspeech sounds or nonreferential speech such as nonhuman sounds (a use similar to the verb *go* in English):

(53)	hiyahakoatya	txi-txi-txi	nea					
	hi= yahakoa	-tya		Ø= nea				
	2sg look	TH	3sg say					

'(They were playing) Look, and it went like txi-txi-txi.' (Txinikalore)

### 5.3 Valency-changing mechanisms

There are three mechanisms to decrease valency: reflexive, middle voice and reciprocal, while to increase valency there are three morphological causatives and one periphrastic causative construction. Many Amazonian languages exhibit more valency-increasing operations than valency-decreasing ones (Aikhenvald, 2000), as is the case with Paresi.

#### 5.3.1 Valency decreasing mechanisms

##### 5.3.1.1 Middle marker *-oa*

The suffix *-oa* was described by Brandão (2010) as an intransitivizer occurring with anticausative verbs and with a reflexive function.<sup>67</sup> Here I expand my analysis by

<sup>67</sup> In the analysis presented in Silva (2013: 280) *-oa* is considered to be an anticausative marker. He gives one example of anticausativization with the pair *taika* 'break (tr.)/*taikoa* 'break (intr.)'. The other example given with the pair *toka* 'hold'/*tokoa* 'stick' is actually not a case of anticausativization

presenting other types of verbs taking this suffix, and I argue that it is better to call it a middle voice (Joshua Birchall, p.c., 2013).

The suffix *-oa* marks the inactive and inchoative form of verbs, that is, verbs whose meaning excludes the causing agent, and present the situation as occurring spontaneously (Haspelmath, 1993). Table 83 shows a list of transitive and inchoative pairs.<sup>68</sup> The Table was based on the list with 31 verb pairs of inchoative/causative alternations given in Haspelmath (1993). Most of the verbs in this group exhibit the *-k(a)* or *-ty(a)* thematic marker.

Table 83: transitive/ inchoative alternations

Transitive Form	Meaning	Intransitive Form
ehaika	spill	ehaikoa
eheka	split	ehekoia
ehoka	shatter	hokoa
taika	break	taikoa
halalaka	tear	halalakoa
holoka	boil	holokoa
aolika	untie	aolikoa
tsewaoka	melt	tsewaokoa
matxiholatya	open	matxiholatyoa

Some examples of transitive verbs are given below with their intransitive counterparts. In (54), the verb *matxiholatya* 'open' occurs with *-oa* to derive the intransitive verb *matxiholatyoa* 'open'. More examples of transitive and intransitive pairs are given in (55) and (57).

- (54) a. **namatxiholatya**      hatikanatse  
 na= ma- txihola -tya hati kanatse  
 1sg NEG door TH? house mouth  
 'I opened the door of the house.' (E)

---

(because *tokoa* does not refer to a spontaneous event).

<sup>68</sup> This is not an exhaustive list because the derivation with *-oa* is a productive process.

b. hatikanatse **matxiholatyoa**

hati kanatse ma- txihola -tya **-oa**  
 house mouth NEG door TH MM  
 'The door of the house opened.' (E)

- (55) a. kalikini hanatyore Alalaimore kakoa alakaretse niye  
 kalikini ha= natyore Alalaimore kakoa alakaretse niye  
 now 3sg brother-in-law Alalaimore COM alakaretse flower  
 hoko hiye mahiyenae **hiyalatyahitaha** nea  
 -hoko hiye mahiye -nae Ø= hiyala -tya -h -ita -ha Ø= nea  
 CLF:circled BEN bat PL 3sg stick TH PL IFV PL 3sg say  
 'Now he is with his brother-in-law Alalaimore sticking bats in the alakaretse  
 flowers, he said.' (Tzinikalore)

- (56) b. wazalimena meketse zane **hiyalatyoa** hatyo alama  
 wazali -mena meketse Ø= zane Ø= hiyala -ty **-oa** hatyo alama  
 jatobá.tree trunk middle 3sg go 3sg glue TH MM 3sg swarm  
 ikawa  
 i= kawa  
 3sg become  
 'He went to the middle of the jatobá tree and got stuck, then he became a swarm.'  
 (Tzinikalore)

- (57) a. tanorehana wenakalati eheno kalore  
 tanorehana wena -kala -ti e= heno kalore  
 PN life NMLZ UNPOSS 3sg= above, on.the.top a.lot  
 murão **atxika** tyomaha porteira  
 murão Ø= atxika Ø= tyoma -ha porteira  
 wall 3sg stick 3sg make, do PL gate  
 'Above the Tanorehana village they put up a wall and they made a gate'  
 (demarcação)

- (58) b. xahena zakore monoli kaliro ana  
 Ø= xa -hena zakore monoli ka- -li -ro =ana  
 3sg shoot TRS FRUST termite ATTR CLF:round NMLZ =BEN  
 enokola zane **atxikoahenere** txan  
 en= o- kola Ø= zane Ø= atxik **-oa** -hene -re  
 3sg= LK arrow 3sg go 3sg stick MM TRS NMLZ  
 'He shot the termite and the arrow got stuck and went like txan' (Wazare)

Examples (59) to (61) show a reflexive meaning with grooming or body care

verbs, and example (62) illustrates a change of body posture verb and its transitive counterpart in (63).

(59) **halahalotyoaheta**,

$\emptyset$ = hala -halo -ty -**oa** -heta  
3sg paint FEM TH MM PERF

**tilikoatairatsetyoaheta**

$\emptyset$ = tilikoa taira -tse -ty -**oa** -heta  
3sg comb fringe CLF:small TH MM PERF

**fehanahalotyoahetehena**

$\emptyset$ = fehana -halo -ty -**oa** -hete -hena  
3sg bless FEM TH MM PERF TRS

'She painted herself, combed her hair, and blessed her own body.' (kani zaka)

(60) nikala nixakene nikala **nolokehetyoatxoa**

nika =la ni- xak =ene nika =la  $\emptyset$ = nolokehe -tya -**oa** -txoa  
? =FOC 1sg shoot 3O ? =FOC 3sg drag TH MM ?

'I shot it (the tapir) and it dragged.' (Katomo nali)

(61) hatyoharekakoa **hafehanaharetyoa** hoka

hatyohare -kakoa ha= fehana -hare -tya -**oa** hoka  
that COM 2s bless corpo TH MM CON

himamiyene hitsaona oliti aitsaha  
hi= ma- miya =ene hi= tyaona oliti  $\emptyset$ = aitsa -ha  
2s NEG finish 3O 2s COP game 3sg kill PL

'If you bless yourself with this, then you will kill game.' (zanekoare)

(62) katxolo **etolitsoa**

katxolo  $\emptyset$ = etolitsa -**oa**  
dog 3sg lie down MM  
'the dog lay down.' (E)

(63) **netolitsa** katxolo

n= etolitsa katxolo  
1sg lie down dog  
'I laid the dog down.' (E)

Table 84 shows a list of transitive verbs taking *-oa* and their intransitive counterparts, which indicate reflexive action towards oneself.

Table 84: Verb roots that carry -(ty)oa

<b>Transitive Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Intransitive Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
etolitsa	lie down	etolitsoa	lie oneself down
emolotya	curve	emolotyoa	be bent
halatya	paint	halatyoa	be painted
tilikoa	comb	tilikoatyoa	be combed
fehanatya	bless	fehanatyoa	bless oneself
nolokehe	drag	nolokehetyoa	drag oneself
txiraka	vomit	txirakalitsoa	vomit
zozoka	spill	zozokalitsoa	have dysentery
hiyalatya	glue	hiyalatyoa	get stuck to oneself
irikotya	cut, break	irikotyoa	get cut
ityoka	cut down	ityokoa	get cut down
tyaloka	bite	tyalokoa	get bitten
aikotya	cut	aikotyoa	get cut
atxika	stick	atxikoa	get stuck
motoka	drill	motokoa	get drilled
erahoka	hang	erahokoa	be hanged

The middle voice morpheme can also occur with intransitive verbs without an unmarked counterpart (deponent verbs). These verbs with lexicalized *-oa* are related to changes of posture, and movements of the body with or without change of position. See more examples of deponent verbs in Table 85, and in the examples below.

- (64) **meholokoahena** hoka eaotse hokolanatse  
 meholokoa -hena hoka e= -aotse h= o- kola -natse  
 knee.down TRS CON 3sg= place where 2sg= LK arrow CLF:long  
 hatolokonatsetya [eye zaiyako totakotsetereako]  
 ha= tolоко -natse -tya eye zaiyako totakotse -te -re -ako  
 3sg= hole CLF:long TH this type.of trap ? IFV NMLZ LOC  
 hamoka hixaka  
 ha= moka hi= xa -ka  
 3sg= put 2sg= shoot TH  
 'Only when you are kneeling down can you move and put the rifle in the place  
 where the trap has a hole; then you shoot.' (zanekoare-FO)
- (65) inityo tiyahaloakatyā **ehaikoa** waiyehenatyo  
 in= ityo tiya -halo -aka -tya e= haikoa Ø= waiye -hena =tyo  
 3sg mother cry FEM ? TH 3sg turn.back 3sg see TRS =TOP  
 koloho atyo txiyahotya  
 koloho =atyo Ø= txiyahotya  
 forest =TOP 3sg exceed  
 'His mother was crying and and she turned back to see, and the forest was too thick  
 to see through.' (kokotero)
- (66) Hatyaotseta **wahaikoaheta** hoka hatyo ahota nikare  
 hatyaotseta wa= haikoa -heta hoka hatyo aho -ta nikare  
 then 1pl come.back PERF CON that path EMPH like this  
 kazaza hiye wiyanē tyalakoa heko wiye  
 kazaza =hiye wi= yane tyalakoa heko wi= ye  
 type.of.root =BEN 1pl= go floodplain time 1pl= see  
 'Then we came back, and we went to the floodplain to see the *kazaza* root.' (JT  
 nawenane)

Table 85: deponent verbs with lexicalized -oa

ezoa	fall
haikoa	come back
halaitsoa	jump
hawinitsoa	breath
hikoa	show up
iraitsekoa	gossip
itsoa	come in
kenekoa	go up
mazakoa	swim
meholokoa	knee down
mitikoa	go down
tekoa	go away
tityoa	stand up
tyoa	come
ehaikoa	turn back

The polysemy of a verbal marker being used for different valency-decreasing functions (passive, reflexive, anticausative, reciprocal, middle voice) is widely reported (Shibatani, 1985; Haspelmath, 1987; Kemmer, 1993, 1994; Kazenin, 2001). According to Kemmer (1994), middle voice forms are associated with the classes of verbs mentioned above which take *-oa*: grooming or body care verbs, verbs of body motion without change of position, verbs of change in posture, translational motion verbs, emotion and cognition middles (such as being angry, and thinking), and spontaneous events. The only group of verbs taking this suffix in Paresi which do not fit into this classification are action verbs such as 'cut', 'bite' and 'hang' which are interpreted with a reflexive meaning when they appear with the middle voice suffix in Paresi.

The main semantic characteristic shared by all verbs marked by the middle voice form is affectedness of the subject. The difference between reflexives and middle voice

forms is that the latter indicates two semantic roles of initiator and endpoint referring to a single holistic entity, while in the former the initiator acts on itself just as it would act in another entity (Kemmer, 1994: 207). At this stage I can only elaborate on the hypothesis that *-oa* was historically a reflexive marker that had its function extended to mark middles. As seen in the next section, there is a coreferential marker also used to mark reflexivization. Further study comparing the middle voice and the reflexive is required.

### 5.3.1.2 Reflexive/coreferential marker

Reflexive markers indicate that the agent and another argument in a event are coreferential, i.e, they are the same entity (Kemmer, 1994; Frajzyngier, 1999; Kazenin, 2001). In Paresi, this coreferential function is expressed by the reflexive suffix *-wi*. The reflexive *-wi* is also a marker of coreferentiality.

Examples (67) to (71) show transitive and ditransitive verbs taking the reflexive.<sup>69</sup> With ditransitive verbs such as *aotyakitsa* 'teach' and *hotikitsa* 'show' *-wi* indicates the agent is coreferential with the beneficiary/recipient, as seen in (70) and (71).

(67) nawaiyetyoawi

n= awaiye -tya -oa **-wi**  
1sg like TH MM REF  
'I like myself.' (E)

(68) aikotyoawi

Ø= aiko -tya -oa **-wi**  
3sg cut TH MM REF  
'He cut himself.' (Rowan, 1978: 36)

(69) aolikoawiha

Ø= aolikoa -tyoa **-wi** -ha  
3sg untie MM REF PL  
'They untied themselves.' (E)

(70) naotyakitsoawi

n= aotyaki -tya -oa **-wi**  
1sg teach TH MM REF  
'I taught myself.' (E)

---

<sup>69</sup> I have not found the marker functioning as a reflexive in texts, only as a co-reference marker.

- (71) nahotikitsoawi  
 na= hotiki -tya -oa **-wi**  
 1sg show TH MM REF  
 'I showed it to myself.' (E)

Because reflexivization involves the affectedness of the subject in addition to coreferentiality, verbs taking the reflexive *-wi* may also exhibit the middle marker *-oa* (seen in the previous section). An important difference between *-oa* and *-wi*, is the use of the latter only with verbs whose event has a high degree of "distinguishability of participants" (Kemmer, 1993). This is illustrated by the ungrammaticality in (72)b of *-wi* with a change of position verb such as *etolitsa* 'lie down'.

- (72) a. netolitsoa  
 n= etolitsa -oa  
 1sg lie.down MM  
 'I laid myself down.' (E)  
 b. \*netolitsowi  
 n= etolitsa -oa **-wi**  
 1sg lie.down MM REF  
 'I laid myself down.' (E)

However, the difference between using only *-(ty)oa* or using *-(ty)oawi* with a given stem is unclear, as seen in (73) and (74) where the addition of *-wi* appears to not influence the interpretation. One possibility is that *-wi* here is an emphatic marker of coreferentiality.

- (73) nairikotyoawi  
 n= airiko -tya -oa **-wi**  
 1sg cut TH MM REF  
 'I cut myself.' (E)
- (74) nairikotyoa  
 n= airiko -tya -oa  
 1sg cut TH MM  
 'I cut myself.' (E)

Marking coreferentiality is the main function of *-wi*. This may be its original

function which was expanded to mark reflexives. Evidence for this is its use to indicate coreference between the subject of a complement-taking predicate and the subject of the complement predicate, as shown in (75) and (76). Payne (1997) mentions similar uses of reflexives for coreference in Yup'ik Eskimo and Yagua.

- (75) winityohalitira                       xiyazatya                       zahatsakoawi  
       wi= nityohaliti =ra                   xi= yaza -tya   za= hatsaka -oa -wi  
       1pl= old.person =AFF, small   2pl= sing? TH   2pl= try      MM SS  
       'Try to sing with our elder.' (xihatyoawihaliti)
- kafaka           nozani           nixakene           naokowi           ene  
   kafaka           no= zani       ni- xak       =ene   n= aoka -wi   =ene  
(76) yesterday   1sg go        1sg shoot           1sg say     SS   =PST  
       'Yesterday I wanted to go to shoot it.' (Katomo nali)

### 5.3.1.3 Reciprocal

The reciprocal occurs in what Evans et al. (2004) call “canonical reciprocal events”: situations with two participants where the subevents are simultaneous and symmetrical (binary relation in which **a** stands to **b** and **b** to **a**). The marker of reciprocity in Paresi is the suffix *-kakoa* as in the examples:

- (77) **zakolohekaoaheta**                       hitso  
       Ø= zakolo -hekoaheta hitso  
       3   hug      DISTR REG 2sg  
       'He starts to hug you.' (kani zaka)
- (78) **zakolokakoa**  
       Ø= zakolo -kakoa  
       3sg hug      REC  
       'They hugged each other.' (E)

The reciprocal can also be used with more than two participants. In (79), the plural set (referring to a group of people simultaneously hugging each other in pairs) is marked twice by the plural marker *-ha* on the verb. However, two participants can also be marked only once with the plural marker *-ha*. In (80) there is no plural marking on the verb, but the subject noun is marked by the plural *-nae*.

(79) **zakolohalotyakakoahitaha**

$\emptyset$ = zakolo -halo -tya -kakoa -ha -ita -ha  
 3sg hug FEM TH REC PL IFV PL  
 'They (many pairs of people) hugged each other.' (E)

- (80) hiyeta      hatyokoniyeta      toahiyereharenae      irikotya  
 hiyeta      hatyo koni      -zeta toahiyere -hare -nae  $\emptyset$ = iriko -tya  
 therefore    that in.the.middle from ancestors MASC PL 3sg cut TH  
 hoka **xakakakoita**  
 hoka  $\emptyset$ = xaka -kakoa -ita  
 CON 3sg shoot REC IFV  
 'Then, also the ancestors cut (it) to shoot each other.' (Txinikalore)

The reciprocal can also be found with ditransitive verbs. With these verbs, the reciprocal marking on the verb indicates the coreference of the subject and the recipient. The direct object may not be overtly expressed in the clause.

- (81) eye nahetakota      tempone      zoakiyere      atyo  
 eye nahetakota -ta      tempo -ne      zoaka iyere atyo  
 this before EMPH time NMLZ TEMP from TOP  
 itsakakoahitaha      ozakolohalo      ozakerehare  
 $\emptyset$ = **itsa** -kakoa -ha -ita -ha ozakere -halo ozakere -hare  
 3sg give REC PL IFV PL ancestor FEM ancestor MASC  
 'Before my time, the ancestors were used to giving (their daughters) to each other.'  
 (Toahiyereharenae-DB)

- (82) haliti      zako      Jura      Kabikule      zoaha  
 haliti      zako      Jura      Kabikule      zoaha  
 person language PN PN and  
 aotyakitsakakoahitaha  
 $\emptyset$ = aotyakitsa -kakoa -ha -ita -ha  
 3sg teach REC PL IFV PL  
 'Jura and Kabikule taught each other the Paresi language.' (E)

The suffix *-kakoa* can also occur with few agentive intransitive verbs such as *tema* 'run' (83) and *halaitsa* 'jump' (84), which refer to interactive activities. In this case, the suffix is not decreasing valency. In addition, *-kakoa* occurs semi-lexicalized together with the lexical verb roots *aitsa* 'kill' in *aitsakakoa* 'fight' (85), *waiya* 'see' in *waiyakakoa*

'visit' (86), and *tyaona* 'stay, become' in *tyaonakakoa* 'get marry' (87).

(83) temakakoaha

tema -**kakoa** -ha

run REC PL

'They ran after one another.' (E)

(84) halaitsakakoaha

halaitsa -**kakoa** -ha

jump REC PL

'jump on top of each other.' (E)

(85) haiyanae hitiya aitsakakoa nikare hare hatyo marinho neye  
haiya -nae hitiya aitsa -kakoa nikare hare hatyo marinho neye  
IND2 PL also kill REC like this also 3sg PN father  
eye  
eye  
this

'Others also killed each other, like they did to Marinho's father.' (Batsaji tahi)

(86) maiha haliti waiyakakoare

maiha haliti Ø= waiya -kakoa -re

NEG Paresi.person 3sg see REC NMLZ

'The Paresi people do not see each other.' (JG nawenane 1)

(87) maiha atyo nikare xini toahiya toahiyehalo toahiyehare atyo  
maiha atyo nikare xini toahiya toahiyehalo toahiyehare atyo  
NEG TOP like this NEG formerly formerly FEM formerly MASC TOP  
**tyaonakakoa** ihalahalo ihalaharetatyo  
Ø= tyaona -kakoa -hena Ø= ihala -halo Ø= ihala -hare -ta =tyo  
3sg stay REC TRS 3sg happy FEM 3sg be.happy MASC IFV =TOP  
'Formerly, it was not like this; when the ancestors got married, they were happy.'  
(Kamoro nawenane)

Finally, the reciprocal can express one of its participants by a separate comitative argument, in what Nedjalkov (2007) calls “discontinuous reciprocal constructions”, as in (88) and (89).

- (88) waikoakore **kakoa** aitsakakoaha minita hoka  
       waikoakore =kakoa Ø= aitsa -kakoa -ha minita hoka  
       Indian       =COM 3sg kill REC PL always CON  
       kazaiheratyoaheta  
       kazaihera -ty -oa -heta  
       be.invisible? TH MM PERF  
       'They were always fighting with each other, with the Nambikwara, and he became invisible.' (iyamaka-BO)
- (89) maitsa tsekotseta atihotyakakoahena Warere  
       maitsa tseko -tse -ta a- tiho -tya -kakoa -hena Warere  
       NEG far CLF:small IFV CAUS face TH REC TRS 3sg  
       **kakoa** Warere hitiya atyo aihikoane  
       =kakoa Warere hitiya =atyo a- i= hikoa -ne  
       =COM 3sg again =TOP CAUS ? come.out, show.up POSSED  
       hikoa nali  
       Ø= hikoa nali  
       3sg come.out, show.up LOC  
       'They did not go far; they met with Warere again and Warere let them out (of the stone).' (Wazare)

The reciprocal has the same form as the instrumental/comitative *kakoa* (§3.6.1). The form *kakoa* may be further analyzed as formed by reciprocal *-kak* and the middle voice form *-oa*. Then, one can hypothesize that the use of the two forms has a reciprocal function which was expanded to a comitative/instrumental function. Silva (2013) describes the reciprocal construction as a cliticization of the postposition *kakoa*. Considering this analysis, then the comitative *kakoa* would have developed into a reciprocal which is not common cross-linguistically. Nedjalkov (2007) shows sociative and comitative functions are often developed from reciprocal markers. Wise (1990) reconstructs \**k<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>* for the reciprocal marker of Proto-Arawak. She also suggests that \**k<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>* changed from a reciprocal marker to comitative or causative in some languages. Paresi appears to be a case of just such a language.

### 5.3.2 Valency increasing mechanisms

In Paresi, there are the following strategies for increasing valency: lexical causatives, the causative morphemes *a-~e-* and *-(k)i*, periphrastic causative constructions with the verb *moka* 'put', and incorporation of postpositions.

#### 5.3.2.1 Lexical causatives

Considering the definition of lexical causatives by Dixon (2000), which defines them as pairs of different lexemes in a causative relation (where one is caused and the other uncaused), we find in Paresi the following pairs of lexical causative verbs: *waini* 'die' and *aitsa* 'kill', *meta* 'lose (tr.)' and *hehana* 'get lost (intr.)'.

#### 5.3.2.2 Causatives *a-~e-* and *-(k)i*

The causative prefix *a-~e-* (see Table 85) and the causative suffix *-ki* co-occur obligatorily with intransitive agentive verbs (examples 1 to 6 in Table 86), intransitive non-agentive non-stative verbs (7 to 11), stative verbs, and transitive verbs as shown in Table 89. The causative suffix *-ki* has a variant *-i* given by some speakers.

Table 86: Intransitive verbs causativized by the morpheme -(k)i

	<b>Verb Root</b>	<b>Causative Form</b>
	tema 'run'	<b>a-tema-ki-tsa</b>
1.	halaitsoa 'jump'	<b>a-halaitsoa-ki-tsa</b>
2.	heka 'be drunk'	<b>a-heka-ki-tsa</b>
3.	holikoa 'dance'	<b>a-holikoa-ki-tsa</b>
4.	haka 'work'	<b>a-haka-ki-tsa</b>
5.	ainakoa 'flight'	<b>aina-ki-tsa</b>
6.	katse 'be alive'	<b>a-katse-ki-heta</b> 'resurrect'
7.	koeza 'laugh'	<b>a-koeza-ki-tsa</b>
8.	kaoka 'arrive'	<b>e-kaoka-ki-tsa</b>
9.	teko'a 'run away'	<b>a-eko'a-ki-tsa</b> 'scare away'
10.	nemaka 'sleep'	<b>a-emaka-ki-tsa</b> 'make sleep/ put to sleep'

In these constructions, the new participant is the causer in subject function, and the original subject of the underived intransitive verb is the causee in object function of the causativized verb. The verbs derived from this process are transitives.

- (90) owitenehena nikatyo notehene nikatyote hoka  
       owitene -hena nika =tyo n= otoka -hene nika =tyo =te hoka  
       near     TRS ?     =TOP 1sg hold TRS ?     =TOP =FUT CON  
       naekoakitxitene  
       n= **a-** ekoia **-ki** -tx -it =ene  
       1sg CAUS run away CAUS TH IFV 3O  
       'I was coming close, I was almost getting it, but I caused (the animal) to run away.'  
       (Katomo nawenane)
- (91) kala aitsahenene, hoka akatsekihetene  
       kala aitsa -hen =ene hoka **a-** katse **-ki** -het =ene  
       DUB kill TRS OBJ CON CAUS be.alive CAUS PERF 3O  
       'He killed them, but they were resurrected.' (Wazare)
- (92) enakolini aemakakihenahene  
       e= nakolini **a-** emaka **-ki** -hena -h =ene  
       3sg= lap CAUS sleep CAUS TRS PL =3O  
       'They made him sleep.' (Enore)

Some verbs such as *fira* 'be clean', *iyo* 'dry', *horera* 'be wet', and *kiya* 'be black' rarely take the causativizer *-ki*. Silva (2013) calls the verbs *fira* 'be clean', *iyo* 'dry', *horera* 'be wet', and *waiye* 'be good' anti-causative verbs that cannot take *-ki*. I have only attested these verbs with *-ki* in elicitation, and there was disagreement among speakers about the grammaticality of these constructions.

Stative verbs can occur with both causatives *a-* and *-ki*, or only with *a-*. Some examples of stative verbs occurring with causatives are shown in Table 87. The derived verbs are transitive verbs.

Table 87: Intransitive verbs with the morphemes a- and -(ty)a

Verb root	Causative a-	Gloss	Causatives a- and -ki	Gloss
kiya 'be black'	a-kiya-tya	'make black'	a-kiya-ki-tsa	'make black'
zotya 'be red'	a-zotya-tya	'make red'	a-zotya-ki-tsa	'make red'
maza 'be soft'	e-maza-tya	'become soft'	e-maza-ki-tsa	'soft'
watya 'be hot'	e-watya-tya	'become hot'	e-watya-ki-tsa	'heat'
iyo 'be dry'	a-iyo-heta	'make dry'	----	---
kaitsa 'be full'	a-kaitse-tya	'fill'	----	---
fira 'be clean'	a-fira-tya	'clean'	----	---
hawahare 'be different'	e-hawahare-tya	'make different'	----	---

The two first verbs in the Table, *kiya* 'be black' and *zotya* 'be red', can occur with or without *-ki* constructions without a change in meaning, as in (93). The two other verbs, *maza* 'be soft' and *watya* 'be hot' also occur with or without *-ki* but there is a difference in meaning when the subject is non-volitional. (94) is similar to (93), showing that when the subject is a volitional entity *-ki* is optional, but *-ki* cannot occur when the subject is non-volitional (95).

- (93) ohiro akiyatya katxolo *or*  
      ohiro **a-** kiya -tya katxolo  
      woman CAUS be.black TH dog  
      ohiro akiyakitsa katxolo  
      ohiro **a-** kiya -ki -tya katxolo  
      woman CAUS be.black CAUS TH dog  
      'The woman blackened the dog.' (E)

- (94) nawatyakitsa matalo *or*  
      n= **a-** watya -ki -tya matalo  
      1sg CAUS be.hot CAUS TH pot  
      newatyatya matalo  
      n= **e-** watya -tya matalo  
      1sg CAUS be.hot TH pot  
      'I heated the pot' (E)

- (95) irikate ewatyatya                    matalo \* irikate ewatyakitsa matalo  
        irikate Ø= e-    watya -tya matalo  
        fire    3sg CAUS be.hot TH pot  
        'The fire heated the pot' (E)

The four remaining verbs in the Table cannot occur with the causative *-ki*. A plausible explanation why *-ki* does not occur with these stative verbs is that the causer of causative constructions with *-ki* must be an agent-like volitional entity. Statives have experiencer subjects, which are less likely to have control in the causative situations in which it is involved. In examples (96) and (97), only *a-* is used, and the causeer can be a volitional entity or not. However, in (98), the causer is a non-volitional entity, and therefore *-ki* is ungrammatical.

- (96) kamae aiyoheta                    imiti  
        kamae a-    iyo    -heta imi -ti  
        sun    CAUS be.dry REG cloth UNPOSS  
        'The sun dried my cloth.' (E)
- (97) Paula aiyoheta                    imiti  
        Paula a-    iyo    -heta imi -ti  
        PN    CAUS be.dry REG cloth UNPOSS  
        'Paula dried my cloth.' (E)
- (98) \*kamae aiyohetakitsa                    imiti  
        kamae a-    iyo    -heta -ki    -tsa imi -ti  
        sun    CAUS be.dry REG CAUS TH cloth UNPOSS  
        'The sun dried my cloth.' (E)

Other stative verbs formed by the gender markers *-hare* and *-halo*, such as the verbs in Table 88, may occur with the causative *-ki* when they are nominalized. There is no marking of nominalization, but the forms are nominal because they exhibit the possessed marker *-ne~ni*.

Table 88: Verbs taking -ne 'POSSED'

Verb Root	Causative Form
waxirahare 'be ugly'	<b>a-</b> waxirahali-ni- <b>ki</b> -tsa
haihalahare 'be happy'	<b>a-</b> haihalahali-ni- <b>ki</b> -tsa
okoare 'be jealous'	<b>a-</b> okoali-ni- <b>ki</b> -tsa 'make jealous'
waiyore 'know'	<b>a-</b> waiyoli-ni- <b>ki</b> -tsa 'make know.' (learn)
tyoka 'sit'	<b>a-</b> oka-ni- <b>ki</b> -tsa 'make sit'

- (99) eye hare wenakalatiyere zoimanae  
 eye hare awenaka iyere zoima -nae  
 this also village NMLZ child PL  
 awaiyolinikitsaha maheta  
**a-** waiyoli -ni      **-ki**      -tsa -ha maheta  
 CAUS know POSSED CAUS TH PL PURP  
 'To make our children in the village learn.' (makani tahi)

- (100) maka hoka eze hazoimerezaha nakolini  
 maka hoka eze ha= zoime -re -za -ha nakolini  
 night CON this 3sg= child NMLZ POSSED PL lap  
 aokanikihenahene  
**a-** oka -ni      **-ki**      -hena -h =ene  
 CAUS sit POSSED CAUS TRS PL =3O  
 'When it is night, they make him sit on the lap of his youngest brother' (Enore)

The verbs *kera* 'burn', *maza* 'be soft and *kaitse* 'be full' are exceptions because they do not take the prefix *a-*. In (101), the verb *kera* 'burn' occurs as an intransitive verb and as a transitive verb in (102), with a third-person causer. The only difference is the use of the thematic suffix *-tya* in the transitive form. The thematic suffix does not occur with transitive verbs when the transitional and regressive aspect markers appear on the verb, but a difference is still made between the two constructions. Observe that there is vowel change in the last vowel of *kera* from [a] to [e] because of vowel harmony in the intransitive form (103). However, in the transitive form (104), there is no vowel change.

- (101) baba      nokolanatse      kera  
       baba      nokola    natse      Ø= kera  
       father     arrow    CLF:long    3sg burn  
       'My father's rifle burned.' (Fenare)
- (102) taika      hanatse      nikare      keratene      hoka  
       Ø= taika     ha=    natse      nikare      Ø= kera -tya =ene    hoka  
       3sg break    3sg    CLF:long    like this    3sg burn    TH 3O    CON  
       nixita  
       Ø= nitsa -ita  
       3sg nitsa IFV  
       'He broke (it) like this, he roasted it, and he ate.' (Kozeto)
- (103) matsene    kerehena  
       matsene    Ø= kera -hena  
       field        3sg burn TRS  
       'The field is going to burn.' (E)
- (104) eye    wihana      kerahenaha      oropa      keratyahitaha  
       eye    wi=    hana      kera -hena -ha    oropa      kera -tya -h -ita -ha  
       this    1pl=   house    burn TRS    PL    type of bee    burn TH    PL IFV PL  
       'They were burning oropa bees, and they burned our house.' (Fenare)

The prefix *e-* is a variant of *a-* found with some intransitive verbs, most of them statives, as in Table 85. The only verb occurring with *e-* which does not accept *a-* is *kaiyaza* 'be dirty'. Silva (2013) also reports the verbs *mazahare* 'be lazy', *maiylare* 'melt', and *kaye* 'flower' as verbs that can only take *e-*.

Table 89: Verbs taking a~e-

Verbs	Gloss
maza	'be soft'
kaitse	'be full'
kaoka	'arrive'
watya	'be hot'
wahahare	'be tall'
waka	'extinguish'
kaotse	'wake up'

Rowan & Burgess (1969) described the prefix *a-* in some cases as a transitivizer, and in other cases as a verbalizer. The prefix *a-* was analyzed by Brandão (2010) as an active morpheme, and by Silva (2013) as a transitivizer. Here I prefer to analyze *a-* as a general causativizer. The prefix *a-* is not a transitivizer because it also occurs with transitive verbs, as seen above. Neither is it appropriate to call it an active morpheme because *a-* does not occur with all or most of the active verbs like active suffixes in Guajiro (Alvarez, 2004) and Trinitario (Rose, 2010). The causative *a-* may be related to the form *a* of set A proclitics which occur with active verbs.

Wise (1990) says that the prefix *a-/e-/i-* occurs in most of the Arawak languages meaning 'causative/ verbalizing/ transitivizing/ thematic'. The causative suffix *-cho* in Trinitario (Rose, 2010) has similar functions: it causativizes stative verbs, verbalizes nouns (causativizes nouns), and occurs as an active suffix, which she hypothesizes is a lexicalized causative.

Transitive verbs such as the ones seen in Table 90 can also be used with both causativizers. In these constructions, the causer takes the subject function, the causee (original subject) is in the object function, and the original object moves out to a peripheral function marked by the postposition *kakoa*. I only found transitive verbs taking the causative affixes in elicitation. The derived verbs are potentially ditransitives.

Table 90: Transitive verbs causativized by the morphemes *a-* and *-ki*

<b>Verb Roots</b>	<b>Causative Form</b>
moko 'hit'	<b>a-moko-(tya)-ki-tsa</b> 'make hit'
zalawa 'swing'	<b>a-zalawa-ki-tsa</b>
waiya 'see'	<b>a-waiya-ki-tsa</b> 'make see'
ityoka 'cut'	<b>a-x-ityoka-ki-tsa</b> 'make cut'
kanakaira 'eat'	<b>a-kanakaira-ki-tsa</b> 'make eat'

- (105) nakanakairakitsa zoima  
 n= a- kanakaira -ki -tsa zoima  
 1sg= CAUS eat CAUS TH child  
 'I made the child eat.' (E)
- (106) natyo nanikaetsene kotoyi nete kakoa  
 natyo na= nika -i -ts =ene kotoyi nete =kakoa  
 1sg 1sg= eat CAUS TH =3O tapir flesh, meat =COM  
 'I made him eat tapir meat.' (E)
- (107) natyo nazaitaksitsene  
 natyo n= a- z= aitsa -ki -ts =ene  
 1sg 1sg= CAUS NMLZ kill CAUS TH =3O  
 'I made (the poison) to kill him.' (E)

The suffix *-ki* can also be used to convey the sociative type of causation as pointed out by Brandão (2010). According to the semantic continuum of causatives in Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), there is an intermediate category in the scale of causatives between direct and indirect types of causation, the sociative causative (which itself can be divided into three types: joint-action, assistive, and supervision). The causative *-ki* is not a dedicated sociative causative marker as described by Rose and Guillaume (2007). The sociative causative may be included within the *-ki* constructions. For example, in (108), the sentence may have two possible meanings: one in which the causer does not participate in the action, and the other one in which the causer accompanies the causee in the action (joint-action situation).

- (108) inityo zoima aetonakitsa  
 inityo zoima a- -e ton a -ki -tsa  
 mother child CAUS ? walk CAUS TH  
 'The mother made her child walk.' (by asking her to walk) / The mother made her child walk (by walking with the child)' (E)

The causative *a-* is also found with two verbs derived from nouns (in Table 76) and is productive with verbs taking the middle *-oa*.

- (109) awaikoakoretyoa  
 a- waikoakore -tya -oa  
 CAUS non-Paresi Indian TH MM  
 'Become a Nambikwara person.' (E)
- (110) awaiyeharetyoa  
 a- waiyehare -tya -oa  
 CAUS be.beautiful TH MM  
 'become beautiful.' (E)

Table 91: verbs derived from nouns

noun root	Gloss	Derived Verb	Gloss
itxo	hoe	a-itxo-tya	weed
tiho	face	a-tiho-tya	meet

### 5.3.2.3 Periphrastic causative

Periphrastic causatives are formed via the causative verb *moka* 'put'. This type of construction is rare, with only one example from texts (111). Further research is needed to be done in order to analyze the use of this construction in texts. Periphrastic causatives are often used with stative verbs. The causee maintains its original function as subject of the complement clause, and the causative verb *moka* functions as a manipulative complement-taking predicate occurring at the end of the clause.

- (111) (kazatya) [wimatahoko] **moka**  
 kazatya wi= matahoko Ø= moka  
 jacuba 1pl be.dizzy 3sg put  
 'it (the *jacuba* drink) made us dizzy.' (JT nawenane)
- (112) amama [namaikohalo] **moka**  
 amama n= amaiko -halo Ø= moka  
 my mother 1sg= be.sad FEM 3sg put  
 'my mother made me be sad' (E)

In elicitation, there are examples of periphrastic constructions with transitive verbs. Purposive clauses marked by the subordinator *maheta* are employed for causation. The causee, as seen above in complement clauses, maintains its function as a subject in the purposive clause, but it is also marked as the object of the causative verb *moka*.

- (113) ena **moka** kirakaharenæ [one tera maheta]  
       ena Ø= moka kirakahare -nae one Ø= tera maheta  
       man 3sg put animal PL water 3sg drink PURP  
       'The man made the animals drink water.' (E)
- (114) Kezo **moka** natyo [naholoka kohatse maheta]  
       Kezo Ø= moka natyo na= holoka kohatse maheta  
       PN 3sg put 1sg 1sg= cook fish PURP  
       'Kezo made me cook fish.' (E)

The only example I have of a ditransitive verb used with *moka* is *aotyakitsa* 'teach' in (115). In (115) there are two coordinated clauses. The causee functions as the object in the first clause with the verb *moka*, and as the subject of the second clause.

- (115) hamoka natyo hoka naotyakitsa xitso haliti  
       ha= **moka** natyo hoka n= aotya -ki -tsa xitso haliti  
       2s put 1s CON 1sg remember CAUS TH 2pl Paresi  
       niraine  
       in= irai -ne  
       3s talk POSSED  
       'You made me teach you all the Paresi language.' (E)

### 5.3.3 Incorporation

A noun, a classifier, and a postposition can be combined with a verb in order to derive a verb stem.

#### 5.3.3.1 Noun incorporation

In Paresi, only inalienable nouns referring to body parts, the noun *aho* 'road', and classifiers may be incorporated into intransitive and transitive verbs. They incorporate immediately following the verb root, before aspect suffixes and the middle *-oa*:

(116)

proclitic	verb root	CLF/ incorporated noun	thematic suffixes	aspect markers	middle voice

The object of transitive verbs are incorporated, as seen in (117) to (120). There is external possession, also called "the manipulation of case" by Mithun (1984), in which

the possessor of the incorporated noun becomes an object, and the valency remains the same. (117) is an analytical construction, and the (external) possessor is indicated by the proclitic *no*=. The derived verb in (121) is a lexical compound which has the idiomatic meaning 'punish (lit.: pull the neck)'.

- (117) a. keratyaha                nohake  
       Ø= kera -tya -ha    no= **kahe**  
       3sg burn TH PL    1sg hand  
       'They burned my hands.' (E)
- b. kerakahitsaha                natyo  
       Ø= kera **kahe** -tya -ha    natyo  
       3sg burn hand TH PL    1sg  
       'They burned my hands.' (E)
- (118) waiyakahitsa                natyo  
       Ø= waiya **kahe** -tya    natyo  
       3sg see      hand TH    1sg  
       'He saw my hands.' (E)
- (119) mokokaheta                natyo, hatinihare                iyita                hoka,  
       Ø= mokotya **kahe** -ta    natyo    ha= tinihare    Ø= iya    -ita    hoka  
       3sg hit        hand IFV    1sg     3sg= container    3sg catch IFV    CON  
       hatyaotseta    nowaini      komita    ene  
       hatyaotseta    no= waini      komita    =ene  
       then            1sg= die        almost    =PST  
       'He hit my hand and caught my container, then I almost died.' (JT nawenane)
- (120) himahakalone                haokowita                hoka, maiha  
       hi= ma- ha -ka -lo -ne        h= aokowi -ta    hoka    maiha  
       2sg NEG work TH NMLZ POSSED    2sg want    IFV    CON    NEG  
       hitso    kahane    holatihotya        hita    nohiye    hoka  
       hitso    kahane    h= ola **tiho** -tya    h= ita    no= =hiye    hoka  
       you    EMPH?    2sg tie face TH    2sg say    1sg =BEN    CON  
       'If you wanted to be a good worker, nothing (would have happened), you said to  
       me: "tie up [tucum fiber] in your face".' (ketetse)

- (121) tyaonita            hoka    kakanotirirehare  
       Ø= tyaona -ita    hoka    kakanotirire -hare  
       3sg live    IFV    CON    ?            MASC  
       nolokahinohetehenene  
       Ø= noloka **hino** -hete -hen =ene  
       3sg pull    neck    PERF    TRS =3O  
       'They were with *kakanotirire* and they were punished.' (Formoso onetse)

In (123), because the subject and the possessor are coreferential, the possessor is not expressed. The derived verb is an intransitive marked by the middle *-oa*. This process of possessor raising in incorporation is also found in Nanti (Michael, 2006).

- (122) natihaka      nohake  
       na= tiha    no= **kahe**  
       1sg wash    1sg hand  
       'I washed my hands.' (E)

- (123) natihakahitsoa  
       na= tiha    **kahe** -tya -oa  
       1sg wash hand TH MM  
       'I washed my hands (lit. I hand-washed myself).' (E)

- (124) naikokahitsoa  
       n= aiko    **kahe** -tya -oa  
       1sg wash hand TH MM  
       'I cut my hand.' (E)

- (125) nahorerakitxitsoa  
       na= horera **kitxi** -tya -oa  
       1sg wet    foot TH MM  
       'I wet my foot.' (E)

In the literature about noun incorporation (Baker, 1988; Mithun, 1984), it has been argued that patients are more likely to be incorporated. Because of that, the direct object of a transitive verb can be incorporated, but the subject may be not. In Paresi, only the direct object of a transitive verb can be incorporated with transitive verbs, and incorporation of nouns with intransitive verbs is rare. There are two nouns which can be incorporated into intransitive verbs but they function are more like semantic locatives, not subjects. These nouns are *aho* 'path' and *kilihi* 'nose' in the metaphoric sense of 'on the

edge'. Their incorporation of into verbs such as *tiya* 'cry', *kawitsa* 'shout', and *tona* 'walk' is very productive.

- (126) hoka hatyaotsetala, tiyahotya zaneheta, zane  
       hoka hatyaotseta =la Ø= tiya **aho** -tya Ø= zane -heta Ø= zane  
       CON then =FOC 3sg cry path TH 3sg go PERF 3sg go  
       tyokeheta hati tyokoli hoka  
       Ø= tyoke -heta ha tyokoli hoka  
       3sg sit PERF house buttock CON  
       'And then he went along the path crying and went to sit behind the house.'  
       (txinikalore)
- (127) nakaweahotya natema  
       na= kawe **aho** -tya na= temा  
       1sg shout path TH 1sg run  
       'I ran shouting along the path' (E)
- (128) tonakilihitsa  
       Ø= tona **kilihi** -tya  
       3sg walk nose TH  
       'He walked on the edge.' (Rowan, 2001: 70)

Stative verbs can occur with an incorporated noun in nominalizations, as in (129) and (130).

- (129) Hatyohare mawaiyekaiyehehare hoka zane  
       hatyohare ma- waiye **kaiyehe** -hare hoka Ø= zane  
       that one NEG good head MASC CON 3sg go  
       hawaretere itsene  
       haware -te -re itsa =ene  
       be.different IFV NMLZ give 3O  
       'That one, the one who is not good of his head, went and gave (the container) to a  
       different one (house).' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)
- (130) hatyaotsetala zane zaneta ene ala  
       hatyaotseta =la Ø= zane Ø= zane -ta =ene =ala  
       then =FOC 3sg go 3sg go EMPH =PST =FOC  
       tikore zotyakiliyetxoala  
       tikore zotya **kili** -ye -txoa =ala  
       giant anteater be.red nose NMLZ ? =FOC  
       'Then he went and he found the red-nosed giant anteater.' (waikoakore)

### 5.3.3.2 Incorporation of classifiers

Incorporation of classifiers is a productive process. In general, the noun or pronoun to which the classifier refers is not expressed in the sentence. Contrary to incorporation of nouns, it is not possible to create a semantically equivalent paraphrase of a verb with a classifier, as a verb whose classifier is not incorporated, as in (133).

- (131) aikonatsetyahene  
 $\emptyset = \text{aiko} \quad \text{-natse} \quad -\text{tya} \quad -\text{h} \quad =\text{ene}$   
 3sg cut CLF:long TH PL  
 'They cut his hair.' (Txinikalore)
- (132) aikotyaha hitsekatse  
 $\emptyset = \text{aiko} \quad -\text{tya} \quad -\text{ha} \quad \text{hi=} \quad \text{tsekatse}$   
 3sg cut TH PL 2s hair  
 'They cut his hair.' (E)
- (133) \*aikotyaha ekatse  
 $\emptyset = \text{aiko} \quad -\text{tya} \quad -\text{ha} \quad \text{e=} \quad \text{katse}$   
 3sg cut TH PL 3s CLF:long  
 'They cut his hair.' (E)

Classifiers provide semantic information about the verb argument related to shape or consistency. They are rarely found with intransitive verbs, and the classifiers found with intransitive verbs in the corpus cross-reference the subject. For example, in (134) *-tse* refers to *Nilva*. The verb argument may not be expressed in the clause, as in (135) where *-natse* refers to a dog.

- (134) Nilva itsoatsehena  
 Nilva  $\emptyset = \text{itsoa} \quad -\text{tse} \quad -\text{hena}$   
 Nilva 3sg come.in CLF:small TRS  
 'Nilva (the short woman, in a pejorative sense) is coming in.' (E)
- (135) hahanahaliya tyokanatseta  
 $\text{ha=} \quad \text{hana} \quad \text{haliya} \quad \emptyset = \text{tyoka} \quad \text{-natse} \quad -\text{ta}$   
 3sg house along 3sg sit CLF:cylindrical IFV  
 'The dog is sitting close to the house.' (S)

In (136), the classifier is attached to a stative verb, and the subject is not expressed in the noun phrase (the classifier has no cross-reference).

- (136) bonako      Ø-iya      kaloli      Ø=mokita  
       bona -ko      Ø= iya      kalo -li      Ø= moka -ita  
       bag LOC      3sg catch big CLF:round 3sg put IFV  
       'He is putting only the ones (the *manakata* fruits) that are big inside of the bag.'  
       (ketetse)

Incorporated classifiers may refer also to an oblique argument indicating location.

- (137) wiyané      wakoahazatya      minita ala  
       wi= yane wa= koaha -za -tya minita ala  
       1pl go 1pl take a bath CLF:liquid TH always FOC  
       'We always went to bathe in the river.' (JT nawenane)

With transitive verbs, classifiers are used for indexing a direct object on the verb.

- (138) shows -tse 'CLF:small' occurring on the verb and on the object. In general, there is no cross-reference because the object can be omitted, as in (139).

- (138) halakoa      iya      hityokatsetya      mairokatse  
       halakoa      =iya      h= ityoka -tse -tya mairoka -tse  
       one side      =IRR      2sg cut      CLF:small TH cassava CLF:small  
       kakoare  
       kakoa -re  
       COM NMLZ  
       'They cut the cassava into small pieces (to cook) with it (the tapir meat).' (iraiti Katomo)

- (139) eaotseta      Ø-aikohokotyahene,  
       eaotseta      Ø= aiko -hoko -tya -h =ene  
       then      3sg cut CLF:circled TH PL 3O  
       Ø-aikonatsetyahene  
       Ø= aiko -natse -tya -h =ene  
       3sg cut CLF:long TH PL 3O  
       'Since then, they cut their hair in a short and circled way.' (Txinikalore)

Similar to what was seen with intransitive verbs, classifiers can index the oblique argument of transitive verbs referring to manner (140), location (141), or instrument (142):

- (140) hatyo ponte wiyané wezoakiheta moto-serra kakoa  
       hatyo ponte wi= yane w= ezoa -ki -heta moto-serra =kakoa  
       that bridge 1pl go 1pl fall CAUS PERF chainsaw =COM  
       wirikotsekoatene  
       w= iriko **-tse** -koá -tya =ene  
       1pl cut CLF:small CLF:flat? TH 3O  
       'We went to knock down that bridge, we cut it into small pieces with a chainsaw.'

(demarcação)

- (141) inityohaloti inityohalitihenaha  
       inityo -hare -ti inityo -halo -ti -hena -ha  
       old.person MASC UNPOSS old.person FEM UNPOSS TRS PL  
       Ø=xakazatya minita  
       Ø= xaka **-za** -tya minita  
       3sg shoot CLF:liquid TH always  
       'When they were growing up they always fished with arrows.' (Kokotero)
- (142) komita Ø=tonohityakakoa  
       komita Ø= tono **-hi** -tya -kakoa  
       almost 3sg perforate CLF:long.slender TH REC  
       'They almost perforated each other (with a knife).' (tolohe)

There are a few compounds which are lexicalizations of verbs with incorporated classifiers, as in the examples in Table 72:

Table 92: lexicalization of noun-verb compound

Verb	Gloss
ola- <b>hoko</b> -tya tie-CLF:circular-TH	tie game in a bundle
ola- <b>hi</b> -tse-tya tie-CLF:long.thin-CLF:small-TH	collect in a bundle
toloka- <b>hoko</b> -tya dig-CLF:circular-TH	roast in the ashes
aiko- <b>tse</b> -tya cut-CLF:small-TH	cut in small pieces
taika- <b>tse</b> -tya breakCLF:small-TH	fracture

### 5.3.3.3 Incorporation of postpositions

The incorporation of postpositions may increase the valency of intransitive verbs, or result in a rearrangement of argument structure of transitive verbs<sup>70</sup> (they rarely make transitive verbs into ditransitives). Incorporation of postpositions in Paresi is not very productive, and it only occurs with obliques indicating location. I will not consider the forms incorporated to be applicatives because an applicative promotes a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct to core-object argument (Peterson, 2007), and incorporation of postpositions in Paresi does not necessarily promote an argument to core status. Generally applicative forms are different from postpositions, but in Paresi the incorporated forms are identical to the postpositions.

Of the 17 postpositions described in §3.6, only five of them appear incorporated into verbs in my corpus: *zema* 'with', *katyahe* 'under', *haliya* 'around', *koni* 'in the middle of', and *ako* 'inside'. Similar to noun incorporation, they incorporate following the verb root or thematic suffix, and before aspect markers. When postpositions are incorporated into transitive verbs, a copy of the postposition may occur on the oblique argument, and in a few cases (with the postpositions *zema* and *katahe*) the oblique argument may be promoted to object position (a rearranging valency mechanism).

#### Incorporation of (*a)ko* 'inside'

The meaning of *ako* is 'be inside of a container'. (143) illustrates a construction where the noun phrase *tinihaliti* is accompanied by the locative *ako* in a transitive sentence. In (144), *ako* is incorporated into the verb *moka* 'put', but the noun phrase *tinihaliti* cannot be analyzed as an object of the transitive clause. As it will be seen with the postpositions *zema* and *katahe*, when the oblique is promoted to core status, the object of the non-incorporated construction becomes an oblique argument marked by the postposition *kakoa*.

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<sup>70</sup> The only exception is the incorporation of *koni*.

- (143) namoka        kotyoi    nete    tinihalitiako  
       na=    moka    kotyoi    nete    tinihare    ako  
       1sg=    put      tapir    meat    container LOC

'I put tapir meat in the container.' (E)

- (144) namokakotya                kotyoi    nete    tinihaliti  
       na=    moka    ako    -tya    kotyoi    nete    tinihare  
       1sg=    put    LOC TH    tapir    meat    container

'I put tapir meat in the container.' (E)

In the example (145), the postposition *ako* is incorporated into the verb *waiya* 'see'; however, the peripheral argument *haboatanetxoako* is not promoted to the object position, as shown by the postposition marker on the oblique argument. This type of construction is commonly found in texts.

- (145) Dirizonae    ala        haboatanetxoako                zaore  
       Dirizonae    =ala        ha=    boata    -ne        -txoa    **-ko**    zaore  
       Dirizonae    =FOC        3sg    boot    POSSED    big    LOC    FRUST  
       waiyakotya                maiha    zoare    hekoti  
       Ø=    waiya    **-ko**    -tya    maiha    zoare    hekoti  
       3sg see    LOC TH    NEG    INT    at least  
       'Dirizonae was looking for (it) even inside of the boot, but there was nothing there.' (Dirizonae)

(146) is an example featuring an intransitive verb. Notice that the first vowel of the postposition is the same vowel ending the verb root, and there is vowel deletion, leading to the form *tiyako*, instead of \**tiyaako*.

- (146) zoare    halani        notyonakirinae                tiyakotita  
       zoare    halani        no=    tyonakiri    -nae    Ø=    tiya    **-ko**    -tya    -ita  
       INT    ?                1s    descendant PL    3sg cry    LOC TH    IFV  
       notaholoni                nityako  
       no=    taholo    -ni        ni=    tyako  
       1s    toy?    POSSED    1sg stomach  
       'What are my descendants, toys crying inside of my stomach?' (Txinikalore)

I found one example where the postposition is lexicalized with the verb: *hiyalako* 'fill.' (lit.: 'stick inside of'):

- (147) ewalolonetse                            atyo                    hiyalakohitita  
       e= walolo -ne                    -tse                    =atyo                    Ø= **hiyala** -ko            -hit            -ita  
       3sg rotten POSSED CLF:small            =TOP                    3sg stick LOC PERF IFV  
       'He fills rotten teeth.' (Katomo nali)

### Incorporation of *zema*

The postposition *zema* has a general spatial meaning of being on the opposite side of someone as seen from the speaker's point of view, when incorporated into a verb. The incorporation of *zema* has only been attested with transitive verbs in texts, but it can be incorporated into intransitive verbs in elicitation. It increases the valency of intransitive verbs. In (148), there is an example with a non-incorporated construction, where the postposition *zema* occurs with the noun *tyakoira* 'chicken', and in (149) it occurs incorporated into the verb *tema* 'run'. In (150) *zema* is incorporated into the intransitive verb *wahakotya* 'look', and the oblique argument of the verb is then marked by the object enclitic =*ene*, promoting the oblique to the object position. Example (151) shows incorporation into transitive verbs, where the oblique argument was promoted to object direct, and the object of the non-incorporated construction became an oblique argument (marked by the postposition *kakoa*).

- (148) natema                    takoira                    **zema**  
       na= tema                    takoira                    =zema  
       1sg= run                    chicken                    =COM2  
       'I ran after the chicken.' (E)
- (149) natemazematya                            takoira  
       na= tema =**zema**            tya                    takoira  
       1sg= run                    =COM2 TH                    chicken  
       'I ran after the chicken.' (E)

- (150) wiyanetatyā haki waterehokoa hotyatya hatsero  
       wi= yane -ta -tya haki waterehokoa hotyatya h= atsero  
       1pl go IFV FOC once look back ? 2sg grandmother  
       ene totohare ala zane nawahakozemahene  
       =ene totohare =ala Ø= zane na= wahakotya =zema -h =ene  
       =PST first =FOC 3sg go 1sg look =COM2 PL 3O  
       ala  
       =ala  
       =FOC  
       'Once we were going, when I looked back, first I saw your deceased grandma. I  
       saw that she was going away.' (Ketetse)

- (151) nazawazematya Jurandir haira kakoa  
       na= zawa =zema -ita Jurandir haira =kakoa  
       1sg= throw COM2 IFV PN ball =COM  
       'I threw the ball behind Jurandir.' (PAGRSS27Mar1204.10)

The incorporation of *zema* has a more lexicalized meaning with the verbs *tiya* 'cry' meaning 'cry behind someone's back (because the person is leaving)' (152), *tsema* 'hear, listen to' meaning 'listen to something carefully' (153), and *tawazematya* 'hunt, look for someone' (154).

- (152) nityani tiyazematya natyo  
       n= ityani tiya =zema -tya natyo  
       1sg son, daughter cry =COM2 TH 1sg  
       'My son cried behind me.' (E)

- (153) nitatyā notsemazemahenene  
       Ø= nita -tya no= tsema zema -hena =ene  
       3sg say EMPH 1sg listen COM2 TRS 3O  
       'He was talking and I was listening to him.' (Kabikule)

- (154) tawazematya maiha zalanae hekoti waiye  
       Ø= tawa =zema -tya maiha zala -nae hekoti waiye  
       3sg look.for COM2 TH NEG INT PL at least good  
       kehalakehetere  
       kehalaka -hete -re  
       know REG NMLZ  
       'Nobody knows how to hunt well.' (Zanekoare)

- (155) eye hare niyatsehare                    xikakoiya            ehare  
       eye hare n= iyatse -hare            xikako =iya            ehare  
       this also 1sg= be.alive? MASC        period =IRR            this  
       zatawazematyá                            natyo                hoka  
       za= tawa =**zema** -tya                natyo                hoka  
       2pl= look.for =COM2 FOC        1sg                CON  
       nokazakaihаниhetehenaiya                    hitso            nali  
       no= ka- zakaiha -ni                -hete -hena =iya        hitso            nali  
       1sg= ATTR tell                NMLZ            PERF TRS =IRR        you            LOC  
       notxi  
       notxi  
       my grandson  
       'If you all look for me while I am alive, I will tell you, my grandson' (toahiyere-DB)

### Incorporation of *koa*

The postposition *koa* 'on (a flat surface)' is rarely found incorporated into verbs; I only have one example from texts (159). It does not affect the valency of transitive verbs (unlike *ako*), but in (156) there is promotion of the oblique argument to an object position with an intransitive verb.

- (156) nemakakoita                    nokamaxikoa  
       nema -ka -ita        no= kama -xi            **-koá**  
       sleep TH IFV        1sg bed                POSSED LOC  
       'He is sleeping in my bed.' (E)
- (157) nemakakoita                    nokamaxi  
       nema -ka **-koá** -ita        no= kama -xi  
       sleep TH LOC IFV        1sg bed                POSSED  
       'He is sleeping in my bed.' (E)
- (158) Oloniti                        aiyalaharetyá                    hoka            ehaikakoatyá  
       oloniti                        a-                iyalahare -tya        hoka        Ø= ehaika    **-koá** -tya  
       chicha.beverage            CAUS            be.rotten FOC        CON        3sg pour out LOC FOC  
       kotyo  
       kotyo  
       type.of.container  
       'The *chicha* drink was rotten and then they threw it out of the container.' (E)

- (159) ekahainakoalaha tyoka  
 e= ka- haina -ko<sup>a</sup> =la -ha Ø= tyoka  
 3sg= ATTR tripod LOC FOC? PL 3sg sit  
 waiyatsekoatya  
 Ø= waiya -tse -ko<sup>a</sup> -tya  
 3sg see CLF:small LOC TH  
 They made the tripod, and they saw he was sitting on it.' (Txinikalore)

### Incorporation of *koni*

The postposition *koni* 'among' may be incorporated into intransitive or transitive verbs, with the more restricted meaning 'in the field or forest'. There is no rearrangement of arguments in transitive clauses, and there is no promotion of obliques to core status. In (160), the postposition occurs with the noun *kozeto*, and in (161) it is incorporated into the intransitive verb *tona* 'walk' in the same text.

- (160) hiyeta tohiyereharenae awatyo kozeto  
 hiyeta tohiye -re -hare -nae awa =tyo kozeto  
 therefore formerly NMLZ MASC PL NEG =TOP corn  
**koni** hatona hikawa nita  
 koni ha= tona hi= kawa Ø= nea -ita  
 in.the森林 3sg= walk 2sg= transform 3sg say IFV  
 'Because of this, the ancestors (said): he cannot walk in the cornfield, you undergo  
 a transformation.' (kozeto)
- (161) eaotseta iki toli kozeto nea, tonakonitsa  
 eaotseta toli kozeto Ø= nea Ø= tona **koni** -tsa  
 then a lot corn 3sg say 3sg walk in.the森林 VBLZ  
 zanehena  
 Ø= zane -hena  
 3sg go TRS  
 'Then he said: "iki! a lot of corn!". He was walking in the forest, and he went.'  
 (kozeto)

Examples (162) and (163) show that when *koni* is incorporated, there is no rearrangement of arguments. *zanekonitsa* 'hunt in the forest (lit.: 'go in the forest') is the only example in my corpus of a lexicalized verb with *koni*, as seen in (164).

- (162) kolohokoni zaore atyo hoka  
 koloho koni zaore =atyo hoka  
 forest in.the森林 FRUST =TOP CON  
 watomekonitsa wiyaneta makiya  
 wa= tome koni -tsa wi= yane -ta makiya  
 1pl= hunt with an arrow in.the森林 VBLZ 1pl= go IFV at night  
 wiyaneta watonakonitsa wiyaneta  
 wi= yane -ta wa= tona koni -tsa wi= yane -ta  
 1pl= go IFV 1pl= walk in.the森林 VBLZ 1pl= go IFV  
 'It was only forest, but we were hunting with arrows in the forest. We went at night  
 to walk in the forest.' (Fenare nawenane)
- (163) Kalini Owihoko nali kohetseti ehave wata hare  
 kalini Owihoko nali kohetseti ehave wata hare  
 now Owihoko LOC savanna this jatobá also  
 wikanakairakonitsa, wakeratyá iya hoka  
 wi= kanakaira koni -tsa wa= kera -tya =iya hoka  
 1pl= eat in.the森林 VBLZ 1pl= burn TH =IRR CON  
 watomityá, watomityá iya kotehala  
 wa= tomityá wa= tomityá =iya kotehala  
 1pl= hunt with an arrow 1pl= hunt with an arrow =IRR bird  
 'Then in the Owihoko village, there was only savanna, we were eating jatobá fruit,  
 and hunting birds with arrows.' (JT nawenane)
- (164) zanekonitsaha iya hoka hozore, kalahi,  
 Ø= zane koni -tsa -ha iya hoka hozore kalahi  
 3sg go in.the森林 TH PL catch CON type.of.fish type.of.fish  
 kazaza  
 kazaza  
 type.of.arrowroot  
 'We hunted in the forest, and we caught *hozore*, and *kalahi* fish and *kazaza* root.'  
 (JT nawenane)

### **Incorporation of *haliya***

The postposition *haliya* 'near, next to' also occurs incorporated into intransitive or transitive verbs. Similar to *koni*, it does not affect the valency of the verb.

- (165) natemita weteko **haliya**  
 na= tem -ita weteko =haliya  
 1sg= run IFV yard =near, next to  
 'I ran around the yard.' (E)

- (166) natemahaliyatita weteko  
     na= temo =**haliya** -tya -ita weteko  
     1sg= run =near, next to TH IFV yard  
     'I ran around the yard' (E)

(167) hiyane hamairahaliyatya  
     hi= yane ha= maira =**haliya** -tya  
     2sg= go 2sg= fish =near, next to FOC  
     'You go fishing around the village.' (Toahiyere-DB)

(168) ainaihenahene, kala inityohalititsehena  
     Ø= ainai -hena -ha =ene kala Ø= inityohare -tse -hena -ha  
     3sg raise TRS PL =3O DUB 3sg old.person CLF:small TRS PL  
     hoka tomihaliyatayhitaha  
     hoka Ø= tomi =**haliya** -tya -ha -ita -ha  
     CON 3sg hunt with an arrow =near, next to TH PL IFV PL  
     'He raised them, and when they were adults, they were hunting with bows and  
     arrows (caçada infantil)

(169) nazawahaliyatya veneno  
     na= zawa =**haliya** -ta veneno  
     1sg throw =near, next to IFV poison  
     'I threw poison all along the field.' (E)

Example (170) below shows a copy of the incorporated postposition in the oblique argument.



## Incorporation of *katyahe*

The only two examples of *katyahe* 'under' incorporated into verbs in my corpus are (171) and (172), where it is incorporated into transitive verbs. Elicited example (173) is interesting because it illustrates the promotion of an oblique argument into the direct object position, while the original direct object becomes an oblique argument marked by the postposition *kakoa*. More work is needed to investigate how productive this type of

<sup>71</sup> construction is with *katyahe* and other postpositions.<sup>71</sup>



## Grammaticalization of postpositions into applicatives

According to Peterson (2007), a possible source of applicatives is zero anaphora: the omission of an object which is given information. In these cases, the postposition may be cliticized to the verb because of pragmatic reasons, such as to make an oblique a salient argument in the discourse. This may be the explanation for the incorporation of postpositions in Paresi, but further research is needed to describe the pragmatic factors determining the preference for an incorporated construction instead of a non-incorporated one.

Other Arawak languages also exhibit incorporation of postpositions, such as Waurá and Guajiro (Aikhenvald, 2001). Danielsen (2011) reports the grammaticalization of adpositions into valency increasing verbal affixes (applicatives) in Arawak languages.<sup>72</sup> The Paresi data supports Danielsen's claim that adpositions grammaticalized

<sup>71</sup> The same construction, where the object becomes an oblique, is also seen in Silva (2013: 262) with the incorporation of the postposition *zema*: nazawazematyā Jurandir haira kakoa  
na= zawa =**zema** -ita Jurandir haira =kakoa  
1sg= throw COM2 IFV PN ball =COM  
'I threw the ball behind Jurandir.' (PAGRSS27Mar1204.10)

<sup>72</sup> She argues that the marking of semantic roles shows a tendency towards a north-south split. Most of the southern Arawak languages have applicatives such as languages from the Campa subgroup and other

into applicatives in the Arawak family through incorporation.

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languages such as Bauré, Terena and Trinitário. The northern Arawak languages mark indirect object and oblique semantic roles with postpositions. Southern Arawak languages such as Paresi, Waurá and Guajiro are languages that make use of both strategies, in the case of locative semantic roles: the use of postpositions on nouns and the incorporation of postpositions into the verb.

## Chapter 6 - Tense, reality status, aspect and modality

### 6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe tense, reality status, aspect, and modality in Paresi. First, I describe Paresi as a tensed language with past and future markers in § 6.1. In § 6.2, I describe the realis-irrealis distinction. In § 6.3, the four aspect markers are presented: imperfective, perfective, transitional, and iterative, and in § 6.4, I describe the frustrative, dubitative, and desiderative modalities.

### 6.1 Tense

The term tense used here refers to “a grammaticalized expression of location in time” (Comrie, 1985: 9). Paresi is a language that has morphosyntactic Tense marking, showing overt marking of past (*ene*) and future (*ite*), but not present time. Even though these markers can be present, most of the temporal information is conveyed by adverbs.

#### 6.1.1 Past *ene*

The clitic *ene* refers to an event which took place before the moment of reference or utterance. Examples (1) to (4) show the use of *ene* in prototypical occurrences of past. (1) and (2) refer to the recent past. In (3), *ene* refers to some years ago when people moved out from the Formoso village, and in (4) it refers to the lives of the Paresi's ancient ancestors. The clitic *ene* is rarely found indicating the tense of clauses in texts, and is used only when no other time reference is available in the discourse. In the sparse context of elicitation, the clitic is more frequently used.

- (1) Q: zoare Luciano tyomita kafaka?  
zoare Luciano Ø= tyoma -ita kafaka  
what PN 3sg do IFV yesterday  
'What was Luciano doing yesterday? (E)

- A: zane mairatita **ene**  
 $\emptyset$ = zane  $\emptyset$ = maira -tya -ita =ene  
 3sg go 3sg fish TH IFV =PST  
 'He was fishing.' (E)

(2) kazakoita **ene** hoka kafakatse kalini  
 $\emptyset$ = kazako -ita =ene hoka kafaka -tse kalini  
 3sg take.care IFV =PST CON yesterday CLF:small now  
 witxiyehenere terehokoane  
 $wi$ = txiye -hene -re terehokoane  
 1pl= pass TRS NMLZ year  
 'He was taking care the year before last.' (Batsaji tahi)

(3) Elizabeth taitehena **ene** tyaconita  
 Elizabeth taite -hena =ene  $\emptyset$ = tyacona -ita  
 PN only TRS =PST 3sg live IFV  
 'Only Elizabeth was living here then.' (Katomo nawenane)

(4) hahekoiya **ene** atyo toahiya wenati tyacona womana  
 $ha$ = heko -iya ene atyo toahiya wena -ti  $\emptyset$ = tyacona w= om mana  
 3sg time ? PST TOP formerly life UNPOSS 3sg COP 1pl LK BEN  
 kalikini atyo wityotya  
 kalikini atyo  $wi$ = tyotya  
 now TOP 1pl die.out  
 'Formerly our lives were different, but today we are dying out.' (Kamoro  
 nawenane)

In Brandão (2010), I described *ene* as an Anterior marker, indicating an aspect referring to events in the past that have relevance for the present. The examples below are cases where *ene* was described as Anterior. In these cases, the situation is located prior to the reference point, similar to the pluperfect in English. In this grammar, I treat *ene* as tense, following Rowan & Burgess (1969) and Silva (2013). The clitic *ene* can be used both for past relative to utterance time or to reference time. In (5), the running is marked with *ene* because that action in the past was relevant for their arrival.

According to Dahl (1985), the role of past depends on its interaction with other categories. In Paresi, most of the text examples of *ene* are instances where there is no other indication of time reference, such as a temporal adverb (7). When there are other ways to mark time reference, there is no need to use *ene*. In examples (8) and (9), the adverbs *kafaka* and *toahiya* are used, and there is no marking of past.

- (7) hoka maiha wawaiyoreze hoka wahiyokene komita  
       hoka maiha wa= waiyore -ze hoka wa= hiyok =ene komita  
       CON NEG 1pl= know NMLZ CON 1pl= suck =3O almost  
       **ene** wiwaini  
       =ene wi= waini  
       =PST 1pl= die  
       'We did not know, we ate it, and almost died.' (JT nawenane)

(8) eze toli atyo **kafaka** wiyyaya  
       eze toli =atyo kafaka wi= waiya  
       this a.lot =TOP yesterday 1pl see  
       'Yesterday, we saw many people.' (T. JUS-AUG-ALI. 100410)

(9) **toahiya** atyo kalore tyomitaha  
       toahiya =atyo kalore Ø= tyom -ita -ha  
       formerly =TOP a.lot 3sg make IFV PL  
       menehitatyo  
       mene -h -ita =tyo  
       for.a.long.time PL IFV FOC  
       'Formerly, they were always making a lot of it (of the chicha).' (Oloniti zaka)

The particle *ene* generally occurs in second position, and can attach to nouns, verbs, and adverbs.<sup>73</sup> It is widely used to mark nominal past in most of the cases in discourse referring to people who are deceased, as in (10) to (12), or to a previous state of inanimate referents (13).<sup>74</sup> The nominal tense functions independent of the tense of the clause, providing local information to the noun (Nordlinger & Sadler, 2004). While *ene* is most commonly found with kinship terms, it can also occur with non-kin terms and proper nouns.

- (10) mama **ene** atyo kaearetya natyo  
      mama =ene =atyo ka- eare -tya natyo  
      mom =PST =TOP ATTR name TH 1sg  
      nozoiminita  
      no= zoimi -ni -ta  
      1sg child NMLZ IFV  
      'It was my deceased mother who gave me a nickname.' (Katomo nawenane)
- (11) nali nika Fabio **ene** matsene xityokalaotse  
      nali nika Fabio =ene matsene x= ityoka -la otse  
      LOC ? PN =PST field 2pl= cut down POSSED place  
      hekotata  
      heko -tata  
      period IFV  
      'There it was the late Fabio's field, the place where we cut down once.' (ximatayati)
- (12) Hatyaotseta ha haiyanene **ene** kohone kolatya  
      hatyaotseta ha ha= iyanene =ene koho -ne Ø= kolatya  
      then                   3sg= husband =PST basket POSSED 3sg take  
      hatyo xikako temazaheta, zane, wiyanne  
      hatyo xikako temazaheta, zane, wiyanne  
      that period, moment run ? PERF 3sg go 1pl= go  
      wahikoaheta hoka fetatyaha  
      wa= hikoa -heta hoka Ø= fetatyaha -ha  
      1pl= come.out, show.up PERF CON 3sg bless PL  
      'My deceased husband took a basket, ran, and we went, arrived and they  
      blessed (the honey).' (JT nawenane)

<sup>73</sup> As seen in § 6.1.2, the future *ite* can also be used with nouns, but it has a different distribution.

<sup>74</sup> When used with animates, this morpheme can only indicate that the animate is deceased, and cannot indicate a previous state of the animate in a function similar to English ex-

- (13) wiwaikohera                    **ene**            wawenakala            **enela**            kalini  
       wi= waikohe -ra              =ene            wa= wenakala            =ene =la            kalini  
       1pl= land            POSSED            =PST            1pl= village            =PST =FOC            now  
       eye ah Zokozokoreze  
       eye Zokozoko -re -ze  
       this PN            NMLZ            NMLZ  
       'What used to be our land and village, now is the Zokozoko's place.' (Formoso  
          onetse)

### 6.1.2 Future *ite*

The future clitic (*i*)*te* refers to events taking place after the moment of utterance. It occurs in second position following adverbs, as in (14), interrogative words in questions (15), verbs, and nouns (16). The short form *te* is used after words ending in /i/. In (16), *te* follows the proper noun *Leli*. The future clitic and the transitional *-hena* are commonly used in the same sentence.

- (14) Makaniyana                    **ite**            ali            mahalitihare  
       makani =ya =na =ite        ali            ma- haliti -hare  
       tomorrow =IRR ? =FUT here        NEG person MASC  
       tyohena                        iraiyakaty            maheta  
       Ø= tyoa -hena Ø= irai -aka -tya        maheta  
       3sg come TRS        3sg talk ? TH        PURP  
       'Next week, the non-Indian will come to talk.' (makani tahi)

- (15) Q: zoare                    **ite**            hiximarene                    tyomita  
       zoare =ite                hi= ximarene                Ø= tyom -ita  
       what =FUT 2sg= youngest brother        3sg do IFV  
       wahikoahenere                        hoka?  
       wa= hikoa                        -hene -re        hoka  
       1pl= come.out, show.up TRS        NMLZ        CON  
       'What will your brother be doing when we arrive? (E)

- A: hafirahaliyaita                    **ite**  
       ha= fira =haliya -ita =ite  
       3sg= clean =near, next to IFV =FUT

'He will be cleaning up the field (E)

- (16) Lelite awitsa naza, Leli yatyatyo akota hoka  
 Leli =te awitsa n= aza Leli =ya =tya =tyo aka -ta hoka  
 PN =FUT soon 1sg ask PN =IRR FOC =TOP LOC EMPH CON  
 waiyehena ekakoa  
 Ø= waiye -hena e= kakoa  
 3sg good TRS 3sg COM
- 'I will ask Leli later, if she is in the house, then it will work for her.' (Iraeti Batsaji)

Similar to *ene*, *ite* can also follow a noun, functioning as a floating clitic. However, its use involves non-local interpretation, that is, it refers to the tense of the clause as a whole, contrary to what was seen with *ene*. This nominal tense is only rarely found in texts, as in (17) through (19):

- (17) kala hatyaotse trator iya fazendeiro itsa womana, xitso  
 kala hatyaotse trator iya fazendeiro Ø= itsa w= om- mana xitso  
 DUB then tractor IRR farmer 3sg give 1pl LK BEN you all  
**ite** tratorista nea hatyotere tomahetene  
 ite tratorista Ø= nea hatyo -tya -re Ø= toma -het =ene  
 FUT tractor.driver 3sg say that ? NMLZ 3sg take PERF 3O  
 'Then the farmer gave us a tractor, and he said, "You all will be tractor drivers",  
 and then he took it back.' (Kamoro nawenane)
- (18) imotikonite witsaonehenen nali  
 imoti koni =te wi= tsaone -hena nali  
 non-Indian among =FUT 1pl= stay TRS LOC  
 'We are going to stay among the non-Indian people.' (JG nawenane 2)
- (19) hihitseteharete zawahena  
 hi= hitsete -hare =te Ø= zawa -hena  
 2sg= get.rid.of? MASC =FUT 3sg throw TRS  
 hinatyorete himatiye kakoa  
 hi= natyore =te himati -ye =kakoa  
 2sg= brother-in-law, cousin =FUT ? NMLZ =COM  
 kakatseakotya hitso  
 ka- katse -ako -tya hitso  
 ATTR be.alive LOC FOC you  
 'You are going to get rid of it, and your brother-in-law is going to resurrect you with  
*himatiye*.' (iyamaka-BO)

The clitic *ite* is not syntactically obligatory in a sentence. Once the future clitic is introduced in the discourse, the future temporal information can be provided by aspect markers or temporal adverbs. In example (20), the transitional suffix *-hena* (§6.3.3) is indicating that the action has not yet ended. In negative sentences, the use of the Irrealis marker (§6.2) more often indicates the future as shown in (21). Future tense can also be indicated only by adverbials such as *makani* 'tomorrow' as in (22).

- (20) tyohena hoka waiyoreha  
     Ø= tyoa **-hena** hoka Ø= waiyore -ha  
     3sg come TRS CON 3sg know PL  
     aotyaitsha wiyoimalanae  
     Ø= a- otya -i -tsa -ha wi= yoima -la -nae  
     3sg THS remember CAUS TH PL 1pl child POSSED PL  
     maheta  
     maheta  
     PURP  
     'They are coming to study and to teach our children.' (makani tahi)
- (21) mahaya nakikitxoita nomi  
     maiha =ya na= kikitsoa -ita no= nea  
     NEG =IRR 1sg move.out IFV 1sg say  
     'I said, "I will not move out!" (JG nawenane)
- (22) kahare **makani** notyoma naokowita  
     kahare makani no= tyoma n= aokow -ita  
     a.lot tomorrow 1sg make 1sg want IFV  
     'Tomorrow I would like to do many things.' (cotidiano)

The future *ite* can also be used to refer to immediate or non-immediate future. Example (23) was uttered in a text where the speaker talks about a project planned for the following year. Examples (25) and (26) illustrate *ite* referring to a non-immediate future. Example (24) refers to a distant future. When the time is the non-immediate future, usually temporal adverbial words are also used in the sentence or discourse such as *mitxini* or *mês* (from Portuguese) 'month' and *terehokoane* 'year'.

(23)	eye	wawenakala	<b>ite</b>	tyaohena	hatyo	tehitiya
	eye	wa= wenakala	=ite	Ø= tyaona	-hena	hatyo
	this	1pl= village	=FUT	3sg happen	TRS	3sg

hoka

hoka

CON

'This project will also happen again in this village.' (makani tahi)

(24)	eye	wawenane	<b>ite</b>	maitsa	makani	tyotya
	eye	wa= wena -ne	=ite	maitsa	makani	Ø= tyotya
	this	1pl= life POSSED	=FUT	NEG	tomorrow	3sg die.out
	xini	xitxiyetenae		ityaninae		<b>ite</b>
	xini	xi= txiyete -nae		ityani	-nae	=ite
	NEG	2pl= grandson PL		son, daughter	PL	=FUT SUG

waiyehetehena

Ø= waiye -hete -hena

3sg see PERF TRS

'Tomorrow this (way of) life will not die out, your grandsons, siblings will see it.'

(xihatyoawihaliti)

(25)	hoko	um	<b>m��s</b>	<b>ite</b>	ali	hatyaha	nea
	hoko	um	m��s	=ite	ali	h= atyaha	Ø= nea
	CLF:circled	one	month	=FUT	here	2sg= wait	3sg say

'You have to wait one month', he said.' (JG nawenane 2)

Cross-linguistically, the semantics of the future involves actions that are planned, suggesting that intention is part of its prototype (Dahl, 1985: 105), which raises the question of whether future time reference should be subsumed under tense or mood in general. This is specially the case when a marker may look like a prototypical future but is only applied to planned or intended future events. Paresi provides such a problem for the categorization of *ite*. The clitic *ite* is described here and in Rowan & Burgess (1969) as a future marker, whereas Silva (2013) analyzes it as an intentional modal marker.

According to Dahl, the future prototype involves 'intention', but non-intentional future events can also be labeled as future. In Paresi, *ite* does not refer only to intentional future events. In (26), the future marker is used in a 'pure prediction'.

- (26) enenaharenae      iya      atyo      makani      oneza  
       enenahare -nae   =iya      =atyo      makani      one -za  
       ?                  PL           =IRR      =TOP      tomorrow      water POSSED  
       ahalaitsoa       aokowi      makani      atyo      **ite**      one  
       a-                halaitsoa   Ø= aokowi      makani      =atyo      =ite      one  
       CAUS jump       3sg want      tomorrow      =TOP      =FUT      water  
       weheza  
       wehe -za  
       be.cold CLF:liq  
       'Tomorrow he will want to jump into the water, but the water is going to be cold.'  
       (E)

Though Paresi's present tense has no phonological exponent, I do not analyze a null Present morpheme since, as was seen in (8) and (22) above, verbs referring to past or future action can also appear without tense marking.

## 6.2 Reality status: irrealis *iya*

In Paresi, there is a system for marking reality status in which irrealis is marked by *iya* and realis is unmarked. Irrealis is used for counterfactual, concessive conditional, and negative clauses in the future. My analysis is based on Elliot (2000) and Michael (forthcoming) who argue for the realis-irrealis distinction to be a grammatical category of "reality status". Other works on Paresi (Rowan & Burgess, 1969; Silva, 2013) treat *iya* as a conditional marker.

The Irrealis marker occurs in negative clauses in the future (27), or with a deontic meaning (28):

- (27) maihayatyatyo      naihonotitene      waiye hareclamatya  
       maiha =**ya** -tya =tyo      n= aihono -t -it =ene waiye ha= reclama -tya  
       NEG =IRR TH =TOP 1sg cover TH IFV 3O good 3sg complain TH  
       hitsoheta      hoka  
       hi= tyoa      -heta hoka  
       2sg come.back PERF CON  
       'I won't cover your food because when you arrive you will complain.' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (28) mahaya holatita natyo!  
maiha =ya h= olatya -ita natyo  
NEG IRR 2sg tie IFV 1sg  
'You should not tie me up!' (JG nawenane)
- (29) hakolahena ite makaniya hitsota hoka  
ha= kola -hena =ite makani =ya hi= tyoa -ta hoka  
3sg take TRS =FUT tomorrow =IRR 2s come EMPH CON  
habakatyा, maiha iya waiye maiha nabakaita  
ha= baka -tya maiha =iya waiye maiha na= baka -ita  
3sg pay TH NEG =IRR good NEG 1sg pay IFV  
'You can take it (the radio). Tomorrow when you come you can pay. If it doesn't work, then I won't pay.' (ketetse)

Example (30) illustrates *iya* in counterfactual clauses. In a negative counterfactual condition, *iya* can occur with the negative particle *awa*, illustrated in (31). In this example, the clitic *iya* occurs both in the protasis and the apodosis (sentence in which the consequence is expressed). (32) is an example of *iya* in a concessive clause.

- (30) nokaoloxiye iya hoka nakolatene  
no= ka- olo -ye iya hoka n= kolatya -ene  
1s ATTR money POSSED IRR CON 1s take 3sO  
'If I had money, I would take it.' (E)
- (31) awaiya wimesane namalahitita hoka  
awa =iya wi= mesa -ne na= mala -hit -ita hoka  
NEG =IRR 1pl table POSSED 1sg pull.away PERF IFV CON  
hatyokoa iya waterehokene haka  
hatyo -ko a =iya waterehokoa =ene haka  
3sg LOC =IRR look.back? 3O move.with.the.hands  
wamokene  
wa= mok =ene  
1pl put 3O  
'If I had not removed our table we would put manioc pulp on it.' (ketetse)

- (32) [hatyo imitinae hitiyayatyo      **ezahe** maiha nabakaita      hoka]  
 hatyo ima -nae hitiya =iya =tyo ezahe maiha na= baka -ita hoka  
 that cloth PL again =IRR TOP CON NEG 1sg pay IFV CON  
 nakolatya, maiha zoare ako festa zaoka zoimanae  
 na= kolatya maiha zoare ako festa z= aoka zoima -nae  
 1sg bring NEG INT LOC party 2pl say child PL  
 kiranezenae itxoita  
 k- ira -ne -ze -nae Ø= itsoa -ita  
 ATTR AFF? POSSED NMLZ PL 3sg= come.in IFV  
 'Even if I do not pay for the clothes, I will bring [them] otherwise the children  
 won't have clothes to wear at the party' (iraiti Batsaji)

Paresi does not exhibit a 'prototypical' reality system, i.e., a system in which reality status is an obligatorily marked feature realized in all types of constructions, and whose marking patterns according to the notional definition of these categories. Thus, in a prototypical reality system, realis marking is expected in an affirmative imperative, but not in a negative imperative (Bybee et al., 1994). Bybee et al. (1994) and others, such as Palmer (2001), consider reality status a modal category and not a grammatical category because the distribution of unrealis forms across languages do not fit into the notional definitions. Paresi is one more example of a language in which unrealis is not used in as many contexts as might be expected.

On the other hand, Michael (forthcoming), argues for the validity of the reality status as a grammatical category by providing examples from Nanti and diachronic evidence. Michael affirms that the semantics of realis and unrealis marking in Kampa languages are very similar. Other non-Kampa Arawak languages, such as Baure and Ignaciano also exhibit a reality status system where conditional, counterfactual and negative clauses are marked by the same morpheme. Data from Paresi also supports the evidence for the historical stability of the reality status system at least in the Southern Arawak branch, which as Michael points out, runs counter to Bybee's analysis of reality status as "a post-hoc label for fortuitous formal similarities in the marking of certain modal notions" (forthcoming: 21).

## 6.3 Aspect

Aspect is traditionally described as “reference to the internal structure of a situation” (Comrie, 1976: 6). In broader definitions such as Smith (1997), “aspect” includes viewpoints (imperfective versus perfective) and situation types (beginning, end, state, and duration). In this description of Paresi I consider the viewpoints, with a few considerations about situation types where it is concerned. Paresi marks four aspects: imperfective, perfective, transitional, and iterative.

### 6.3.1 Imperfective *-ita*

The imperfective aspect presents information about the boundedness of a situation in the sentence, specifically that there is no information about the initial and final endpoints (Smith, 1997). In Paresi, the imperfective *-ita* indicates an unbounded situation. Examples of prototypical uses of the imperfective in the present, past, and future are given in (33) through (38).

- (33) Q: zoare hiximarene                    tyomita                    kalikini?  
zoare hi= ximarene                    Ø= tyom -ita            kalikini  
what 2sg= youngest brother            3sg do            IFV        now  
'What is your brother doing right now?

- A: moitsati etalakita  
moitsati Ø= etalaka -ita  
firewood 3sg split IFV  
'He is splitting the firewood.' (E)

- (34) zoimanae haiya eye escolata kozaka kalikini curso  
zoima -nae haiya eye escola -ta kozaka kalikini curso  
child PL IND2 this school ? already now course  
tyomita  
Ø= tyom -ita  
3sg do IFV  
'There are other children from this school already taking a course.' (Batsaji tahi)

- (35) Q: zoare Luciano tyomita kafaka?  
zoare Luciano Ø= tyom -ita kafaka  
what PN 3sg do IFV yesterday  
'What was Luciano doing yesterday?

A: zane mairatita ene  
 $\emptyset$ = zane  $\emptyset$ = maira -t -**ita** =ene  
 3sg go 3sg fish TH IFV =PST  
 'He was fishing.' (E)

(36) tyomita ene ala hoka kala Iheroware ezoa  
 $\emptyset$ = tyom -**ita** =ene =ala hoka kala Iheroware  $\emptyset$ = ezoa  
 3sg make IFV =PST =FOC CON DUB Iheroware 3sg fall  
 enomana  
 en= om ana  
 3sg LK BEN  
 'He was making (a sieve) and Iheroware descended to him.' (Iheroware)

(37) Q: zoare ite hiximarene tyomita  
 zoare =ite hi= ximarene  $\emptyset$ = tyom -**ita**  
 what =FUT 2sg= youngest brother 3sg do IFV  
 wahikoahenere hoka ?  
 wa= hikoa -hene -re hoka  
 1pl= come.out, show.up TRS NMLZ CON  
 'What will your brother be doing when we arrive?'

A: hafirahaliyaita ite  
 ha= fira =haliya -**ita** =ite  
 3sg= clean =around IFV =FUT  
 'He will be cleaning up the field.' (E)

(38) maika xiyanehena, xiyane zahikoa,  
 maika xi= zane -hena xi= zane za= hikoa  
 SUG 2pl go TRS 2pl go 2pl come.out, show.up  
 xiyaiya ezanityo taita ite tyaonita  
 xi= yaiya ezanityo taita =ite  $\emptyset$ = tyaona -**ita**  
 2pl see, watch wife only =FUT 3sg COP IFV  
 'Go, when you all go, and when you all arrive, you will see that only his wife is  
 there...'

For identifying the morpheme *-ita* as imperfective, I considered the use of this morpheme in *when*-clauses, as suggested by Smith (1997: 65): "Despite the flexibility of *when*, the sequential reading does not arise for sentences with imperfective in the main sentence." In (39), the main clause event is in progress at the same time as the when-clause event, showing that the imperfective viewpoint excludes an endpoint.

- (39) kafaka nohanako nokaokeheta hinama babera  
       kafaka no= han -ako no= kaoke -heta hinama babera  
       yesterday 1sg= house LOC 1sg= arrive RE two paper  
       zairatitya  
       zaira -tya **-ita**  
       write TH IFV  
       'When I arrived at home, he was writing two letters.' (E)

Therefore, *-ita* is not a progressive and *-hena* is not an imperfective, contra (Brandão, 2010). The imperfective *-ita* can also occur with stative verbs, and progressives usually do not occur with statives. With semelfactive verbs, such as *tonokoa* 'cough', the interpretation is of a repeated action (*tonokita* 'he is coughing many times').

- (40) wityotya kaharehena kalore namaikohareta  
       wi= tyotya kahare -hena kalore na= maiko -hare **-ta**  
       1pl die.out a.lot TRS a.lot 1sg sad MASC IFV  
       'Many of us are dying out, I am very sad.' (Kamoro)

- (41) waha kala notemaita nokirahareta hoka  
       waha kala no= tema **-ita** no= kirahare -hare **-ta** hoka  
       long.time DUB 1sg run IFV 1sg be.tired MASC IFV CON  
       'He was sleeping all day, because he was tired.' (cotidiano)

The morpheme *-ita* occurs very frequently with negative sentences in the past reference time, as in (42) and (43). In the present, nonfinite clauses are used instead. That may be because of the idea that a negative state is continuing in the past.

- (42) maiha wainita tihenare maiha wainakatere  
       maiha waini **-ta** tihenare maiha waina -ka -te -re  
       NEG die IFV sorcerer NEG die TH IFV NMLZ  
       'He did not die; a sorcerer does not die.' (JT nawenane)

- (43) barato nika hatyohare mezatse hoka maiha wiyyita  
       barato nika hatyohare meza -tse hoka maiha w= iya **-ita**  
       cheap ? this table CLF:small CON NEG 1pl buy IFV  
       'This table is cheap, but we did not buy it.' (ketetse)

A morpheme *-tata* 'continuative' is mentioned in Rowan (2001). The instances of

*tata* in the corpus show that this form may be better analyzed as two morphemes: the imperfective -(i)*ta* and the emphatic marker *-ta*:

- (44) eye Hanawareko<sup>a</sup> maniya nozoimatata  
      eye Hanawareko<sup>a</sup> maniya no= zoima -ta -ta  
      this PN              side 1sg= child IFV EMPH  
      'When we were in Hanawareko<sup>a</sup> I was still a child.' (BO nawenane)'
- (45) kalinitya Bahowanonae nemakitata  
      kalini -tya Bahowan<sup>a</sup> -nae nema -k -ita -ta  
      now FOC PN        PL sleep TH IFV EMPH  
      'Now the Bahowan<sup>a</sup>s are still sleeping.' (iyamaka-BO)

### 6.3.2 Perfective *-heta*

The suffix *-heta*<sup>75</sup> indicates bounded events, particularly actions which are repeated or restored, implying a return to a state or location (towards a deictic center). This aspect is generally used with telic verbs, such as *kaoka* 'arrive', *tyoa* 'come', *zane* 'go', and *hikoa* 'come out'.<sup>76</sup> Brandão (2010) considered *-heta* a Completive marker, but the emphasis is on the endpoint of the situation, not on the completion of the action. The examples below show the use of *-heta* to indicate endpoints (46), a return to a state through repetition of the action (47), and (48) indicates restored state without repetition:

- (46) abebe            ene        iyeheta                    natyo    hoka    ainaihena  
      abebe            =ene        Ø= iye    **-heta**            natyo    hoka    Ø= ainai -hena  
      grandmother    =PST        3sg catch PERF            1sg        CON    3sg raise TRS  
      natyo  
      natyo  
      1sg  
      'My deceased grandmother caught me and raised me.' (JT nawenane)
- (47) tyotya            akere    zakore            iya        hoka    ainakoaheta  
      Ø= tyotya        akere    zakore            =iya        hoka    Ø= ainakoa **-heta**  
      3sg die.out      seem     FRUST            =IRR        CON    3sg stand.up PERF  
      tyotya            akere    zakore            iya        hoka    ainakoaheta            zoaha  
      Ø= tyotya        akere    zakore            =iya        hoka    Ø= ainakoa -heta    zoaha  
      3sg die.out      seem     FRUST            =IRR        CON    3sg stand.up PERF    and

<sup>75</sup> There is a variant *-hete* due to a vowel harmony process (see §2.6.3).

<sup>76</sup> The morpheme *-heta* is lexicalized with the verb *zane* 'go' giving the meaning 'go away'.

tyaonita

Ø= tyaona -ita

3sg happen IFV

'It seems it will die out, but it gets up. It seems it will die out, and it gets up again, and it is how that goes.' (Bacaval)

- (48) fehanatyā hoka nawaiyeheta  
Ø= fehana -tya hoka na= waiye **-heta**  
3sg bless TH CON 1sg= good PERF  
'They blessed me and I got well.' (Fenare nawenane)

In addition to the return to a state, *-heta* also has a spatial meaning, indicating a motion to some point and then a return to the original location. In (49), the interpretation is that they go to the field, and they come back to their original location, and this explains why the suffix *-heta* is used.

- (49) kala matsenekoa wiyanē wamalaka ketetse  
kala matsene -koā wi= yane wa= mala -ka kete -tse  
DUB field LOC 1pl go 1pl pull.off TH manioc CLF:small  
wikaokeheta  
wi= kaoke **-heta**  
1pl arrive PERF  
'When we go to the field, we pull up manioc, then we go back home and peel it.' ..

(T. I. 071508)

- (50) naestudaheta hoka Jorge ezoaheta wonita  
na= estuda -heta hoka Jorge Ø= ezoa **-heta** w= onita  
1sg study PERF CON PN 3sg fall PERF 1pl SOUR  
'I decided to study again when Jorge went away from us.' (Kamoro nawenane)

It is likely that the origin of *-heta* is the verb *aiheta* 'come' which is described by Rowan (2001), but this verb form was not recognized by speakers. If this is indeed the origin of this morpheme, then the original meaning of the morpheme *-heta* is spatial. I called this morpheme 'perfective' in order to account for the cases where it does not impart a spatial meaning.

The transitional *-hena* may be combined with the perfective suffix *-heta*,

indicating an action which has started again as in (51), or is ongoing in the past (52), or when in the imperative (53).

- (51) txiyaka natxikini kala naestuda**hetehena**, kala dois ano taita  
 $\emptyset$ = txiya -ka natxikini kala na= estuda -hete -hena kala dois ano taita  
 3sg pass ? after DUB 1sg study REG TRS DUB two year only  
**naestudaheta**  
 na= estuda -heta  
 1sg study REG  
 'After some time passed, I started to study again, I have studied for two years.'
- (52) kawiyatyah**etehenala** ani ala kaotsekoatyyaha hoka  
 kawiya -tya -hete -hena =la ani ala kaotse -ko -tya -ha hoka  
 shout TH PERF TRS =FOC wasp FOC wake.up LOC TH PL CON  
 'They were shouting again, and they woke the wasp up' (Dirizonae)
- (53) nonanohi witya nonanohi xiye**hetehena**, paula  
 no= nanohi witya no= nanohi x= iya -hete -hena paula  
 1sg= rope go.IMP 1sg= rope 2pl= catch PERF TRS PN  
 'Come get my rope back, Paula.' (xihatyoawihaliti)

### 6.3.3 Transitional *-hena*

The suffix *-hena* is used in situations where an action has just started, or has not started yet.<sup>77</sup> The general meaning of the morpheme is to indicate that there will be a change or transition, hence the term “transitional”. It is used in future, past, and present reference time, as in (54) through (56) respectively. The most frequent use is with the future reference indicating an action that has not yet started. The suffix may occur twice on one of the verbs to indicate iteration of an action, as in (57).

- (54) Makanitya wiyanehena  
 makani -tya wi= zane **-hena**  
 tomorrow FOC 1pl go TRS  
 'Tomorrow we are going.' (Batsaji iraiti)

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<sup>77</sup> In Silva (2013), *-hena* is analyzed as a continuous progressive in the terminology used by Comrie (1985), and it is glossed as an imminent marker. However, *-hena* is not used in prototypical contexts where the imperfective (or progressive in Comrie's terminology) *-ita* is used. Rowan & Burgess (1969) also state that the transitional *-hena* in Paresi is a progressive marker.

- (55) Tropico kazaikohena                    witso za kahare haliti  
       Tropico Ø= kazaiko **-hena**            witso za kahare haliti  
       PN      3sg take care of TRS            1pl                  a.lot      person  
       wainita  
       Ø= waini -ta  
       3sg die IFV  
       'The Tropico started taking care of us, but a lot of people were dying.' (Bacaval  
       tahi)
- (56) wikaokehena                    wihinaiharenae:                    zoana  
       wi= kaoke **-hena**            wi= hinae -hare -nae            zoana  
       1pl= arrive TRS            1pl= relatives MASC PL INT  
       xitsaonita?  
       xi= tsaona -ita  
       2pl= become IFV  
       'When we arrive, our relatives [say]: "how are you all?" (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)
- (57) hikoahenahitehenaha  
       Ø= hikoa **-hena** -ha -ita **-hena** -ha  
       3sg come.out TRS    PL IFV TRS    PL  
       'They kept coming and coming.' (ximatyati)

The transitional *-hena* is also used with achievement verbs, such as *kaoka* 'arrive' to indicate that the change is imminent. The transitional can mark a change of a state (inchoative) as seen in (59), or the beginning of an action as seen in example (55) above. In (60), it is used in an *after*-clause with a sequential reading, implying that the event in the main clause started after the event in the *after-clause*.

- (58) avião                    kaokehena  
       avião                    Ø= kaoka **-hena**  
       airplane    3sg arrive TRS  
       'The airplane is arriving [about to arrive].' (Rowan, 1978: ix)
- (59) nihalaharehena  
       n= ihalahare **-hena**  
       1sg be.happy TRS  
       'I became happy.' (E)

- (60) baba waini hoka, imoti koni notyaohena  
       baba Ø= waini hoka imoti =koni no= tyaona **-hena**  
       father 3sg die CON non-Indian among 1sg live TRS  
       'After my father died, I started to live with the non-Indians.' (JG nawenane)

In addition, the suffix *-hena* is used in nominalized subordinate clauses (§8.2), as in (61):

- (61) kozaita Jatobá wiyané tinihaliti zahita  
       kozaita Jatobá wi= zane tinihaliti zahita  
       today Jatobá 1p go pot ?  
       wiyeakahenere zowaka  
       wi= waiyaka **-hena** -re zowaka  
       1p look.around TRS NMLZ time  
       'Today we went to the Jatobá village to look for the pot.'

### 6.3.4 Iterative *-hitiya*

The morpheme *-hitiya* indicates that an action is repeated in a specific occasion. The repetition can be once (62), or several times, as shown by the repetition in (64) of the action in (63). It is different from the perfective *-heta* because it does not imply a return.

- (62) Hatyohekota ala wiyané**hitiya**  
       hatyohekota =ala wi= yane hitiya  
       then =FOC 1pl= go ITER  
       'Then we went again.' (JT nawenane)
- (63) haiyalitsekatsene  
       ha= iyalí -tse -katse -ne  
       3sg= body hair CLF:small CLF:long POSSED  
       kawakatseronae aikawatayaha hoka  
       kawa -katse -ro -nae a- i- kawa -tya -ha hoka  
       transform CLF: long NMLZ PL CAUS ? transform TH PL CON  
       atxikatetyaha mokotyaha zaore hoka zaore  
       Ø= atxika -te -tya -ha Ø= mokotya -tya -ha zaore hoka zaore  
       3sg stick ? TH PL 3sg hit TH PL FRUST CON FRUST  
       tsekoata hawaretse tyaona  
       tseko a -ta hawaretse Ø= tyaona  
       far ? IFV? peccary 3sg become  
       'Their pubic hair changed, they stuck [it into him], and when they hit (the hair),  
       unfortunately they spread all over and became a peccary.' (iyamaka-BO)

- (64) mokohenehitiya eye haiyalitsenae  
  Ø= moko -hene -hitiya eye ha= iyali -tse -nae  
  3sg hit TRS ITER this 3sg= body hair CLF:small PL  
  kawakatseronae atxikatehenahitiya hoka  
  Ø= kawa -katse -ro -nae Ø= atxika -te -hena -hitiya hoka  
  3sg transform CLF: long NMLZ PL 3sg stick ? TRS ITER CON  
  mokohenahitiya hamanoza kakoa  
  Ø= moko -hena -hitiya ha= mano -za =kakoa  
  3sg hit TRS ITER 3sg= cudgel? POSSED =COM  
  'They took their pubic hair and they stuck it again, and they hit [the hair] with  
  their cudgel' (iyamaka-BO)

The source of the suffix *-hitiya* may be the sentence adverbial *hitiya* 'also'.

- (65) ha alite            **hitiya** atyo        mahalitiharenae  
       ha ali =te        hitiya =atyo        ma- haliti        -hare    -nae  
       here =FUT        also        =TOP        NEG non-Indian MASC PL  
       ahekoita            ehave        haliti        nawenane            tahi  
       Ø= aheko -ita        ehave        haliti        na= wena -ne        =tahi  
       3sg think IFV this person 1sg= life POSSED =about  
       'The non-Indians are also thinking about another project for the Paresi people that  
       may happen in the Rio Verde village.' (makani tahi)

(66) eye wawenakala        ite        tyaohena            hatyote        **hitiya**  
       eye wa= wenakala =ite        Ø= tyaona -hena        hatyo =te        hitiya  
       this 1pl= village        =FUT        3sg become TRS        that =FUT        also  
       hoka  
       hoka  
       CON  
       'This project will also happen in our village.' (makani tahi)

There are frequent combinations of TAM morphemes. According to Silva (2013: 237) frequent combinations include *hitiya* following any morpheme (*heta-hitiya*, *hena-hitiya*) and *-heta* preceding any morpheme (*heta-ita*, *heta-hitiya*, *heta-hena*). The morphemes *-ita* and *-hena* cannot precede other morphemes (\**ita-hitiya*, \**ita-heta*, \**ita-hena*, \**hena-ita*, \**hena-heta*) with the exception of *hena-hitiya*. In Table 93, I show these combinations, and add two other combinations that I found in my corpus. As seen in the

table, *-hena* can precede *-ita* when a plural suffix occurs between them (in: *-hena-h-ita*). The imperfective *-hena* can also follow *-ita* when it is reduplicated in the verb (in: *hena-ite-hena*).

Table 93: Aspect suffix combinations

	<b>-ita</b>	<b>-hena</b>	<b>-heta</b>	<b>-hitiya</b>
<i>-ita</i>	---	Yes	Not attested	Not attested
<i>-hena</i>	Yes	---	Not attested	Yes
<i>-heta</i>	Yes	Yes	---	Yes
<i>-hitiya</i>	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested	---

## 6.4 Modality

The term modality is used here to refer to a semantic and grammatical notion that can be expressed through verb inflection (mood), modal verbs or particles (Nordström, 2010: 16). Paresi distinguishes frustrative, dubitative, and desiderative modalities, which are expressed through particles.

Table 94: Markers of modality and evidentiality in Paresi

<b>Form</b>	<b>Function</b>
zaore, zakore	frustrative
motya	frustrative
zamani	dubitative (high uncertainty)
kala	dubitative (moderate certainty)
katsani	desiderative

### 6.4.1 Frustratives *zaore* and *motya*

#### Frustrative *zaore*

The frustrative marker *zaore* indicates the goal of an action was not achieved.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Silva (2013:365) uses another label for this marker: 'counterfactual conditional'; however the definition he provides is the same as mine: "zakore conveys that an intention or judgement of the speaker about the value of an assertion was frustrated".

The form *zakore* is in free variation with *zaore*. In example (67), the action is intended, but is not possible, and is not finished. The particle *zaore* occurs before the clause expressing the undesired situation. In examples (68) to (70) the action is finished but did not have the expected outcome. The frustrative is widespread across Amazonia and occurs in most Arawak languages (Aikhenvald, 1999). A frustrative marker is commonly used in counterfactual contexts in South American languages (Mueller, 2013: 159), but that is not the case of *zaore* in Paresi.

- (67) kakikitsakeheta                   **zaore**    waohena        acordo        tyoma  
       ka-    kikitsa -ke -heta    zaore        w= aoka -hena    acordo        Ø= tyoma  
       ATTR separate TH PERF FRUST 1p say TRS agreement 3sg make  
       wikakoa    nikarehareta                  wasofrehiitiya    hoka  
       wi= kakoa    nikare -hare -ta    wa= sofre hitiya hoka  
       1pl COM like this MASC IFV 1pl suffer ITER CON  
       'We wanted to kick him out but he made an agreement with us, and we are suffering  
       like this.' (JM iraiti)
- (68) aizehenahitehena                   **zakore**       mataka,       mataka  
       Ø= aize -hena -h- -ite -hena    zakore       mataka       mataka  
       3sg smell TRS PL IFV TRS       FRUST       tasteless      tasteless  
       kanitse                               tyaona  
       kani           -tse                   Ø= tyaona  
       pequi.fruit CLF:small   3sg COP  
       'They smelled it (in vain), but the pequi seed was not sweet-smelling.' (kani)
- (69) kazatya witserehena                   **zakore**       ahekaetsa                   witso  
       kazatya wi= tsere -hena zakore a-   heka -e   -tsa witso  
       jacuba 1pl drink TRS FRUST CAUS be.drunk CAUS TH 1pl  
       'We were drinking jacuba, and unfortunately we got drunk.' (JT nawenane)
- (70) ezoa,       ezoahena                   **zaore**       kohatsenae    teke       toka  
       Ø= ezoa   Ø= ezoa -hena    zaore       kohatse -nae    teke       Ø= toka  
       3sg fall   3sg fall    TRS       FRUST       fish       PL                   3sg hold  
       zokowiye  
       zokowiye  
       mythical figure  
       'It fell, it fell. When he (Zokowiye) fell, the fish held him.' (ikona)

### Frustrative *motya*

The particle *motya* is another frustrative marker which indicates that one's internal assumptions based on visual evidence turned out to be wrong. The particle *motya* is a particle occurring before the clause expressing the assumption of the speaker. In (71), someone thought a person was Kabikule, but when he saw the person closely, it turned out that he was Kabikule's son, Jura. In (72), a deer's horn was mistaken for a branch. (73) is used in a context in which the speaker saw that the sky was cloudy, and thought it was going to rain, but it did not. Example (74) illustrates an example in which the assumption that a man was the killer turned out to be wrong.

- (71) Jura **motya** Kabikule  
      Jura motya Kabikule  
      PN FRUST PN  
      'Jura looks like Kabikule (Jura has an appearance or behavior similar to Kabikule).' (E)
- (72) atya taona **motya** ala azama zotawa atya taona aowita hoka  
      atyta taona motya ala azama zotawa atya taona aowita hoka  
      tree branch FRUST FOC deer (cervo) deer tree branch think CON  
      tokoitene ala  
      Ø= toko -ita =ene ala  
      3sg hold IFV 3O FOC  
      'The branch looked like the horn of a deer, he thought, and he was holding it.'  
      (Dirizonae)
- (73) **motya** atyo ite onehena wihiye  
      motya atyo ite one -hena wi= hiye  
      FRUST TOP FUT water TRS 1pl BEN  
      'Apparently it was going to rain (but it did not).' (E)
- (74) sarampo aitsa zoimahalotinae kala ityaninae  
      sarampo Ø= aitsa zoima -halo -ti -nae kala ityani -nae  
      measles 3sg kill child FEM UNPOSS PL DUB son PL  
      hoka hatyo hiyeta **motya** hatyo aitsene aoka  
      hoka hatyo hiyeta motya hatyo Ø= aitsa =ene Ø= aoka  
      CON then FRUST 3sg 3sg kill 3O 3sg say  
      'The measles killed the children, but he has thought it was that man who killed their siblings.' (Batsaji tahi)

### 6.4.2 Dubitatives

Epistemic modality indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition (Bybee et al., 1994: 179). In Paresi, the following markers are used to express doubt: *zamani* and *kala*.

#### *zamani*

The particle *zamani* is used to indicate uncertainty. It may occur twice in clauses expressing alternatives, as in (77) to (79). The particle *zamani* occurs after the word being questioned or in doubt. In some of the examples the interrogative *zoana* (71) and the question word *zoare* (73) occur but they are not interrogative sentences.

- (75) zala niraene           **zamani?**  
       zala in= irai -ne       zamani  
       INT 3s say NMLZ DUB  
       'Who is saying?' (Tolohe)
- (76) Sandro **zamani** Valeria kakoa kaitsani           aokaha  
       Sandro zamani Valeria kakoa ka- itsani       Ø= aoka -ha  
       PN      DUB     PN      COM   ATTR son, daughter 3sg say PL  
       'They are saying that Valeria is pregnant by Sandro (but I doubt he is the father).'  
       (Tolohe)
- (77) zoana waiyoreha           **zamani**   maiha **zamani**  
       zoana Ø= waiyore -ha zamani   maiha zamani  
       INT 3sg learn PL DUB   NEG DUB  
       'I don't know whether they learned or not.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)
- (78) kaoka zoana ferakoahena           **zamani**   zoana makahikoahena  
       kaoka zoana ferakoa -hena zamani   zoana maka hikoa -hena  
       arrive INT morning TRS   DUB   INT night come TRS  
       **zamani**  
       zamani  
       DUB  
       'Maybe they will arrive in the morning or maybe it will be in the afternoon.'  
       (Hitsehaliti)

- (79) wiraitsekoala, aliyakere **zamani** haferakene witsaonita,  
 w= iraitseko =la aliyakere zamani ha= ferakene wi= tyona -ita  
 1p conversation FOC how DUB 3s day 1p live IFV  
 zoare **zamani** witsomita  
 zoare zamani wi= tyoma -hena  
 INT DUB 1p do TRS  
 '[She wants to know] our conversation, how we live our daily routine, what we do.'

(Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

### Dubitative *kala*

The dubitative *kala*<sup>79</sup> indicates probability of happening (more certain than *zamani*). This dubitative occurs in the first position in a clause, and may occur in traditional narratives when the speaker does not want to express complete certainty about how the events are presented in the story.

- (80) **Kala** Enoharetse tyaonita eye hawawaharenae  
 kala Enoharetse tyaona -ita eye ha= wawa -hare -nae  
 DUB PN live IFV this 3sg= be.alone MASC PL  
 'Enoharatse was already living alone here (I think).' (Wazare)

In examples (81) through (83), the speakers are making assumptions about the information. The particle *kala* is not related to indirect evidentiality because its use does not entail that the speaker did not directly experience the event.

- (81) **kala** maiha eharezza wiyakaihakaita Paula hiye  
 kala maiha ehare -za wi= zakaihaka -ita Paula hiye  
 DUB NEG this story 1p tell.story IFV Paula BEN  
 'Maybe we should not tell this story to Paula.' (zanekoare)
- (82) **kalatyo** nowawitehena iniranae notita ehare  
 kala =tyo no= hawawa -ita -hena inira -nae n= otya -ita ehare  
 DUB FOC 1sg only IFV TRS few PL 1s remember IFV this  
 'It is likely that I am the only one who remembers parts of this (story).' (Kozeto)

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<sup>79</sup> Again the terminology here is different from that of Silva (2013). He uses the term “potential” instead of dubitative. The clitic *ala* is described as an alternative form of *kala* in interrogative sentences. I am not describing *ala* as a variant of *kala* because *ala* is not restricted to dubitative contexts and occurs outside interrogative contexts.

- (83) maihaloore                waiyeze                kalaore                mataka        nomi  
maiha =la    -ore            waiye -ze            kala -ore            mataka        no= nea  
NEG    =FOC    EMPH            good    NMLZ            DUB    EMPH            unsavor    1s    say  
zaore  
zaore  
FRUST

'It is not good for eating, maybe he is flavorless, I said.' (ketetse)

#### 6.4.3 Desiderative *katsani*

The desiderative *katsani* is a particle which indicates a wish or desire in the first person. It occurs at the beginning of the clause expressing the desire.

- (84) **katsani** zoaha notyoa        hoka        maihatyola                Sandra        ako        ababa  
katsani    zoaha    no= tyoa        hoka        maiha =tyo    =la            Sandra        ako        ababa  
DESID    and    1sg come CON NEG    =TOP =FOC PN                LOC        dad  
iyare                avalizatya                nomani  
Ø= iya    -re        Ø= avaliza    -tya    no= mani  
3sg buy NMLZ    3sg vouch.for TH    1sg BEN  
'I also wanted to go. Doesn't my father buy at Sandra's? They can vouch for me.'  
(iraiti Batsaji)

- (85) hikoahenaha                hoka        **katsani**        maiha  
Ø= hikoa    -hena    -ha        hoka        katsani        maiha  
3sg show.up TRS    PL    CON        DESID        NEG  
zanehenahitaha                naokare                nowawiro  
Ø= zane    -hena    -ha    -ita    -ha    n=    aoka    -re        no=    wawi    -ro  
3sg go    TRS    PL    IFV    PL    1sg=    say    NMLZ    1sg=    be.alone    NMLZ  
notyaonita  
no=    tyaon    -ita  
1sg=    live    IFV  
'When they arrived, I did not want them to go away because I was living alone.'  
(Fenare nawenane)

## **Chapter 7 - Simple clauses and negation**

### **7.0 Introduction**

This chapter describes the structure of basic clauses and negative clauses. In §7.1 I describe grammatical relations. In §7.2, I start by describing clause structure and constituent ordering within a clause. §7.3 focuses on the different types of non-verbal predicates. Then, I describe the strategies used to mark interrogatives §7.4, command constructions §7.5, and negatives §7.6.

### **7.1 Grammatical relations**

In Paresi, word order and the obligatory use of a subject help identify and define the subject, object, and oblique arguments. The grammatical alignment is nominative-accusative and there is no morphological case marking. Some of the common ways that grammatical relations are overtly encoded in the world's languages include word-order, verb-agreement, and nominal case morphology (Andrews, 2007). Pronominal marking in Paresi does not involve overt coding properties. Paresi, in this respect, is different from the majority of the Arawak languages, e.g. Apurinã and Yine, which use overt coding properties such as the pronominal marking system of subjects and objects on the verb.

#### **7.1.1 Core arguments**

There is cross-referencing between a subject noun phrase and a personal proclitic on the verb (1), but often the subject noun phrase is not overt (2). There is no cross-referencing between an object noun phrase and the only object personal enclitic *ene* '3O' (3). The clitic *ene* is only used when the object noun phrase is not mentioned in the sentence.

- (1) **natyo nozaniya**  
 natyo no= zani =ya  
 1sg 1sg go =IRR  
 'I am going alone.' (Batsaji iraiti)
- (2) (natyo) no=kanakairene  
 natyo no= ka- nakaira =ene  
 1sg 1sg ATTR food 3O  
 'I ate it.' (E)
- (3) nokanakairene kohatse  
 no= -ka nakaira =ene (\*kohatse)  
 1sg ATTR food 3O fish  
 'I ate it (the fish).' (E)

Subjects precede the predicate, though pragmatic conditions may override this (see §7.2.1.1). Subjects are obligatory in a predicate whereas objects are usually omitted after the first mention if they can be easily recovered from the discourse. Personal pronouns functioning as objects must follow the predicate (as the preferred SOV only order applies to overt non-pronominal objects).

### 7.1.2 Oblique arguments

Oblique arguments are marked by postpositions in Paresi and are always optional. They can have one of the following semantic roles: instrumental, comitative, dative, and locative. They often occur at the beginning of a clause, but they can occur in any position. An example of oblique argument with the instrumental *kakoa* is shown in (4) (see §3.6).

- (4) kore **kakoa** waitsa wola  
 kore =kakoa w= aitsa w= ola  
 arrow INSTR 1pl kill 1pl game hunting  
 'We killed our game with an arrow.' (Katomo nawenane)

## 7.2 Clause structure

A simple clause in Paresi must contain a predicate, which may be verbal or non-verbal. Verbal predicates have a personal clitic attached to a verb (5), or the clitic may

have no phonological form like the 3sg clitic in (6). It is also possible to find co-occurrence of a personal clitic and a coreferential independent noun phrase (a noun or independent pronoun) in pre-predicate position (7).

(5) **nokaoki**

no= kaoka

1sg arrive

'I arrived'

- (6) eaotsetatyo      harekahare      Ø=kaoka  
eaotseta    =tyo      harekahare      Ø= kaoka  
then        =TOP      host              3sg arrive  
'Then the host arrives.' (hitsehaliti)

(7) **natyο nozaniya**

natyο    no= zani    =ya

1sg      1sg go    =IRR

'I am going alone.' (Batsaji iraiti)

Transitive clauses require one more argument in the clause expressing the object; however, it is rare to find two noun phrases in the same clause, which is not surprising given the cross-linguistic findings that suggest that the appearance of two full noun phrases in a transitive clause is marked (Mithun, 1987; Dryer, 1997). In Paresi, sentences with two noun phrases occur once the participants are introduced in the discourse, and their reference is expressed by means of personal clitics or independent pronouns. The examples in (8) and (9) show that noun phrases can precede or follow the verb, and that there is no marking in the verb signaling the subject or the object. In (9), there is a second-position clitic *ala* 'FOC' after *katxolohokotsetxoa* 'small dog' which indicates that the object noun phrase is in focus position. In §7.2.1.1, I will describe the pragmatic parameters which are relevant for constituent ordering.

- (8) [sarampo]<sub>NP</sub> [aitsa]<sub>V</sub>    [zoimahalotinae]<sub>NP</sub>  
sarampo      Ø= aitsa    zoima -halo -ti      -nae  
measles      3sg kill    child FEM UNPOSS PL  
'The measles was what killed our children.' (Batsaji tahi)

- (9) hatyonatse        ala [katxolohokotsetxo]NP        **ala** [ani]NP  
     hatyo -natse        ala katxolo -hoko        -tse        -txoa ala ani  
     that CLF:long FOC dog        CLF:circled CLF:small big        FOC wasp  
     [xakatetya]  
     xaka -te -tya  
     shoot ? TH  
     'Meanwhile the wasp was stinging the dog, that long one.' (Dirizonae)

Example (10) shows that it is possible to drop both subject and object noun phrases when the object is third person. However, in other persons, an object personal proclitic is required. In (11) we see an object noun phrase, which cannot be omitted since the object is not third person. If the object noun phrase is an independent pronoun, then it must follow the predicate, as shown in (11) and (12).

- (10) waholokene,        wanitsene  
       wa= holoka =ene wa= nitsa =ene  
       1pl cook 3O 1pl eat 3O  
       'We cooked it, and we ate it.' (ximatyati)
- (11) baba aotyaitsa        natyo hoka  
       bab<sup>a</sup> Ø= a- otya        -tsa natyo hoka  
       dad 3sg CAUS remember TH 1sg then  
       'Then my father taught me.' (Katomo nawenane)
- (12) \*baba natyo aotyaitsa        hoka  
       bab<sup>a</sup> natyo Ø= a- otya        -tsa hoka  
       dad 1sg 3sg CAUS remember TH then  
       'Then my father taught me.' (Katomo nawenane)

Ditransitive clauses may have a third noun phrase expressing the oblique argument, which is a beneficiary or maleficiary (13). However, in general, only two noun phrases are expressed in the clause (14):

- (13) hixirone enana itsa natyo  
       hi= xirone ena =ana Ø= itsa natyo  
       2sg sister man =BEN 3sg= give 1sg  
       'Your sister gave me to the man.' (Enore)

- (14) hamokotse ala itsaha enomana hoka haiyanityo haliyeta  
     ha= mokotse ala Ø= itsa -ha en= om ana hoka ha= iyanityo haliye -ta  
     3sg baby FOC 3sg give PL 3sg LK BEN CON 3sg wife along IFV  
     tyaonahokotyoa  
     Ø= tyaona -hoko -tyoa  
     3sg= become, stay CLF:circled INTR  
     'They gave him a puppy, and he (the frog) stayed together with his wife.'  
     (Dirizonae)

### 7.2.1 Constituent order

The constituent order is relatively flexible in Paresi, as long as the verb does not come first, in clauses in which both subject and object are expressed as lexical noun phrases.<sup>80</sup> The default word order is SOV. Four orders are attested in Paresi texts: SOV, SVO, OSV and OVS.<sup>81</sup> The order VOS, which is not attested here with sentences where both noun phrases were nouns, has been attested by Derbyshire (1986) analyzing data published by Rowan (1966, 1979). Since Derbyshire counts free pronouns as constituents for the purposes of identifying word orders, all possible word orders are said to occur.

The example in (15) shows the subject preceding the object when both are pre-verbal (SOV).

- (15) [paula]<sub>NP</sub> [iyakaniti]<sub>NP</sub> [hotikitsa]<sub>V</sub> hoka nowaiyita  
     paula iyakane -ti Ø= hotikitsa hoka no= waiyi -ta  
     Paula picture UNPOSS 3sg show CON 1sg see, watch IFV  
     'Paula showed pictures, and I was looking at them.' (Cotidiano)

In (16), the object is preceding the subject when both are pre-verbal (OSV):

- (16) zane ala hikoaheta "maiha, [nezanityo]<sub>NP</sub>  
     Ø= zane =ala Ø= hikoa -heta maiha n= ezanityo  
     3sg go =FOC 3sg come.out, show.up PERF NEG 1sg wife  
     [nityaninae]<sub>NP</sub> [waikoakore]<sub>NP</sub> [aitsa]<sub>V</sub>"  
     n= ityani -nae waikoakore Ø= aitsa  
     1sg son, daughter PL non-Paresi.Indian 3sg kill  
     'He went, arrived (and said): "no, non-Paresi Indians killed my wife and sons".'  
     (Enore)

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<sup>80</sup> As seen above, independent pronouns have a tendency to come after the verb.

<sup>81</sup> The other verb-initial orders VSO and VOS were attested only in elicitation.

(17) shows pre-verbal subject and post-verbal object (SVO):

- (17) [sarampo]<sub>NP</sub> [aitsa]<sub>V</sub> [zoimahalotinae]<sub>NP</sub>  
sarampo Ø= aitsa zoima -halo -ti -nae  
measles 3sg kill child FEM UNPOSS PL  
'Measles killed our children.' (Batsaji tahi)

In (18), the object precedes while the subject follows the verb (OVS):

- (18) kala [koloho]<sub>NP</sub> [miyatya]<sub>V</sub> [mahalitihare]<sub>NP</sub> hoka  
kala koloho Ø= miya ma- haliti -hare hoka  
DUB forest 3sg finish NEG person MASC then  
'Then the non-Indian destroyed the forest.' (Kamoro nawenane)

In this section, I provide two arguments for considering SOV the default word order: constituent order in ambiguous sentences and frequency distribution. Where semantic and pragmatic context cannot disambiguate grammatical roles, the default interpretation is SOV. The interpretation is that the first noun phrase is always the subject.

- (19) zoimahaliti zoimahaloti waiya  
zoimahaliti zoimahaloti Ø= waiya  
boy girl 3sg see  
'The boy saw the girl' / \*'the girl saw the boy.' (E)

- (20) zoimahaloti zoimahaliti waiya  
zoimahaloti zoimahaliti Ø= waiya  
girl boy 3sg see  
'The girl saw the boy' / \*'the boy saw the girl.' (E)

- (21) kokoi owi tyaloka  
kokoi owi Ø= tyaloka  
hawk snake 3sg bite  
'The hawk bit the snake' / \*'the snake bit the hawk.' (E)

In contexts where it is possible to disambiguate through semantics or pragmatics, such as in (22) and (23), the meaning is the same regardless of the order.

- (22) ena balazoko waiya  
       ena balazoko Ø= waiya  
       man bottle     3sg see  
       'The man saw the bottle.' (E)
- (23) balazoko ena waiya  
       balazoko ena Ø= waiya  
       bottle     man 3sg see  
       'The man saw the bottle'/\* 'the bottle saw the man.' (E)

Frequency is an important parameter in determining basic word order in a language (Dryer, 1997), but not the most important one. As discussed by Mithun (1987), the rarity of constructions with both lexical noun phrases cannot provide a strong statistical evidence of basic word order. However, I will present a frequency count as an additional argument to establish SOV as the basic constituent order. Contrary to my analysis, Silva (2013) reports that the most frequent constituent orders in texts are SVO and OSV.<sup>82</sup> A possible explanation for why Silva found more SVO sentences is because, like Derbyshire (1986), he did not exclude free pronouns (which always follow the verb) in his counting.

The frequency count was based on 18 texts (2507 sentences): 4 traditional narratives, 4 personal narratives, 1 procedural text, 5 other types of narratives (including narratives in which there are some descriptions), and 4 dialogs. There was no preference for one word order depending on the genre, hence they are considered together.

Table 95 shows the frequency of pre-verbal and post-verbal objects. For this count I had a total of 155 sentences with both an overt subject and object (including 23 sentences with subject and object noun phrases). Pre-verbal objects are more frequent than post-verbal objects (almost twice more).

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<sup>82</sup> Silva does not describe the size or arrangement of the corpus used for counting and does not report figures indicating how frequent each order is in his corpus.

Table 95: Frequency of pre-verbal and post-verbal objects

<b>OV</b>	<b>VO</b>	<b>Total</b>
103	53	155
66%	34%	100%

In the other count, only sentences with subject and object noun phrases were considered. The number of sentences with both lexical subjects and objects was 23, only approximately 1% of the sentences in the corpus used for the counting. Table 96 shows the types of constituent orders in these 23 sentences and their frequencies:

Table 96: Frequency distribution of constituent order in sentences with lexical NPs

<b>SOV</b>	<b>OSV</b>	<b>SVO</b>	<b>OVS</b>	<b>Total</b>
13	6	3	1	23
57%	26%	13%	4%	100%

As seen in Table 96, type SVO is less than half as frequent as either the SOV or OSV orders. The subject occurs in pre-verbal position, except for three sentences (two intransitives and one transitive-OVS). When counting clauses for Table 96, I did not consider sentences with a complement clause as the object (complement clauses precede main clause).

In agreement with the evidence from constituent order frequency and ambiguous sentence interpretation, Paresi shows a typological profile similar to the OV or verb-final languages discussed by Greenberg (1963) and Dryer (1992). The subject almost always precedes the object (there is only one exception) in line with Greenberg's first principle (1963:77). The ordering relations in verb-final languages are also found in Paresi: manner adverbs tend to precede the verb, genitives precede nouns, and there are postpositions rather than prepositions.

### 7.2.1.1 Pragmatic parameters relevant for constituent ordering

The present work describes word order by considering pragmatic parameters such as new and old information. Based on the pragmatic parameters for constituent ordering across languages in Mithun (1987), I identified four which are relevant for Paresi are: old versus new information; newsworthiness, topic shift, and contrast. The clause-initial position correlates with new information, newsworthiness, topic shift and contrast, and the post-verbal is associated with old information.

#### Old versus new information

In general, the subject is expressed by a personal clitic attached to the verb. When the subject expresses new information, it occurs in pre-verbal position, a position of focus (leading to an SOV or SVO order). Consider the following passage from a text. The speaker was telling a personal narrative, and in (24) he talks about getting honey. In (25), he then starts talking about what the ancestors used to do when they got honey. The ancestors here are new information. Topic shift is also indicated with (a)tyo.

- (24) nonityohalitihena hoka, wiyanet, wataweheri konitsa  
no= nityohaliti -hena hoka wi= yane wa= tawe -heri koni -tsa  
1sg old.person TRS CON 1pl go 1pl look.for ? in.the.middle.of TH  
iya atyotyo ene wiyaneta hoka maha kahiyalakatse  
iya atyotyo ene wi= yane -ta hoka maha kahiyalakatse  
IRR grandpa PST 1pl go IFV CON honey type.of.bee  
ityoka  
Ø= ityoka  
3sg cut, cut down  
'I was an adult, and we went to look for honey, and my deceased grandpa cut down  
some honey of the *kahiyalakatse* bee.' (JT nawenane)
- (25) Ozakereharenaetyatyo maha ityohena hoka ah  
ozakerehare -nae -tya =atyoy maha Ø= ityo -hena hoka  
ancestor PL ? =TOP honey 3sg cut, cut down TRS CON  
fetazaita  
Ø= feta -za -ita  
3sg bless POSSED IFV  
'The ancestors when they got honey they would give an offering' (JT nawenane)

## Newsworthiness

The subject noun phrase may also be focused even though the information was already given in order to emphasize the principal information. In (26), the topic of the narrative is the *iyamaka* 'sacred flute', and the information given is that it is not good for women to see the sacred flute. The same information is given again in (27), and *ohironae* 'women' appears in the preverbal position (leading to an SVO order).

- (26) maiha ohiro kakoa waiyakere xini zotenetyoa  
maiha ohiro =kakoa waiya -ke -re xini zotene -ty -oa  
NEG woman =COM see ? NMLZ NEG ? TH INTR  
waini aka ihozare walihitse nihozala kakoare tyona  
waini aka ihozare walihitse nihozala =kakoa -re tyona  
die have spell ? spell =COM NMLZ become  
iyamaka no nozae  
iyamaka no nozae  
sacred.flute my grandson  
'One cannot see the sacred with a woman, one can die, the flute has the spell of walihitse.' (iyamaka-BO)
- (27) hatyaotseta eye **ohironae** maitsa waiyare iyamaka ezahe  
hatyaotseta eye ohiro -nae maitsa waiya -re iyamaka ezahe  
then this woman PL NEG see NMLZ sacred.flute CON  
hetati zowakiya  
hetati zowaka -iya  
in.the.old.days period ?  
'Since the old days, women cannot see the sacred flute.' (iyamaka-BO)

Another case is when both subject and object noun phrases express new information. Then, the main information comes first. The following passage is from a personal narrative, in which the speaker is talking about what happens when he was young. Again the information offered by both noun phrases in (29) are new, but the object noun phrase *wihalanatse* 'our dog' is the most important information (as they did not expect the anaconda to attack their dog). The object noun phrase is preposed to the subject in the focus position (OSV order).

- (28) Hoka nonityohalitinatse kaitserreharehena ala hoka  
       hoka no= nityohaliti -natse kaitser -hare -hena ala hoka  
       CON 1sg old.person CLF:cylindrical EMPH MASC TRS FOC CON  
       wiyaneta wiyanetala hoka  
       wi= yane -ta wi= yane -ta =la hoka  
       1pl go IFV 1pl go IFV =FOC CON  
       'I was already an adult and we went'
- (29) mama Bojoza zoimahalonetse enazenane Kaniyo  
       mama Bojoza zoimahalo -ne -tse en= azenane Kaniyo  
       mom Bojoza girl POSSED CLF:small 3sg elder brother Kaniyo  
       harenae wiyaneta **wihalanatse** menetse toka olatya  
       hare -nae wi= yane -ta wi= halanatse menetse Ø= toka Ø= ola -tya  
       also PL 1pl go IFV 1pl dog anaconda 3sg hold 3sg tie TH  
       'My mother Boja was young and along with my brother Kaniyo we went, and an  
       anaconda held our dog and tied him up.' (JT nawenane)

### Topic shift

A new topic occurs in the focus position. In (30), the speaker was telling how he went to gather mangos, and in (31), he shifted the topic. Both subject and object are new information, but the new topic (the subject) *Paula* precedes the object (SOV).

- (30) oh mangala wiyanetala wezoitsa hoka wahiyota  
       manga =la wi= yane w= ezo -i -tsa hoka wa= hiyo -ta  
       mango =FOC 1pl go 1pl fall CAUS TH CON 1pl suck IFV  
       'We went to get mangos and we ate them.' (Cotidiano)
- (31) hatyaotsetala makehenetala kaitserreharehena ala hoka **Paula**  
       hatyaotseta =la make -hena kaitser -hare =ala hoka Paula  
       then =FOC evening TRS EMPH ? =FOC then PN  
       iyakaniti hotikitsa hoka nowaiyita  
       iyakane hotikitsa hoka no= waiyi -ta  
       picture show CON 1sg see, watch IFV  
       'Then, it was getting really dark and Paula showed pictures; and I was looking at  
       them.' (Cotidiano)

In another passage of a dialog, the speakers were talking about someone, saying she was lazy. Then, they shift the topic to talk about a table, and *wimezane* 'table' is

preverbal (OV order).

- (32) Boneca hamazahalone                        tekoá                        zane  
     Boneca ha= maza -halo -ne                Ø= tekoá                Ø= zane  
     PN     3sg be.lazy FEM POSSED    3sg run away    3sg go  
     'Boneca was lazy and she ran away' (ketetse)

- (33) awaiya                        **wimezane**                        namalahitita                        hoka  
     awa =iya                wi= meza -ne                na= mala -hit -ita                hoka  
     NEG =IRR                1pl table POSSED            1sg pull.off PERF IFV                CON  
     hatyokoa     iya     waterohokene                haka  
     hatyo -koá    =iya    waterohoko =ene            Ø= haka  
     3sg LOC =IRR ?                3sO     3sg move.with.the.hands  
     wamokene  
     wa= mok =ene  
     1pl put 3sO  
     'If I did not pull off our table, we would put manioc pulp on it.' (ketetse)

In the same dialog, (34) shows that when the topic shifts from *meza* 'table' to *wityatyalati* 'our bark'. The object noun phrase then precedes the subject and the verb (OSV).

- (34) hazerore wamiyatya                        **wityatyatiraira**                        hatya  
     hazerore wa= miya -tya    wi= tyatya -la                -ti                        hatya  
     be.fast    1pl finish TH    1pl bark POSSED UNPOSS IND1  
     zawahetehena  
     Ø= zawa -hete -hena  
     3sg throw PERF TRS  
     'We finished fast; someone has to throw away our bark.' (ketetse)

### Contrast

The constituents representing a focus of contrast come first in the clause regardless of whether or not they are new topics or new information. The following passage illustrates the contrast between *initima milyahotse* 'hot coal' and *initima niyehe* 'ash': both are in focus position preceding object and verb (SOV order).

- (35) **initima** **milyahotse** imoti kiyere ikawehena  
 tima milyahotse imoti kiye -re i= kawe -hena  
 fire hot coal non=Indian be.black NMLZ 3sg transform TRS  
**initima** **niyehē** imoti iyomere enokola kerene  
 ini= tima niyehē imoti iyoma -re en= o- kola kere -ne  
 3sg fire ash non-Indian be.white NMLZ 3sg LK arrow burn NMLZ  
 ihitone kerene waikoakore mololo Kaiyabo  
 i- hitone -ne kere -ne waikoakore mololo Kaiyabo  
 3sg bow POSSED burn NMLZ Indian ? PN  
 ikawehena  
 i= kawe -hena  
 3sg transform TRS  
 'The hot coal transformed into black people and the ash transformed into white people, the bow transformed into Indians.' (Txinikalore)

In (36), a passage from a narrative, the subject *ohironae* 'women' (also new information) is used in contrast to *enanae* 'man' in the following SOV clause. The clitic *atyo* 'TOP' occurs marking the focus position.

- (36) ferakoa **ohironae** atyo hakohone kolatya  
 ferakoa ohiro -nae =atyo ha= koho -ne Ø= kolatya  
 in the morning woman PL =TOP 3sg basket POSSED 3sg take  
 matsenekoa zane kenaiki iya, **enanae** hoka weteko  
 matsene -ko a Ø= zane kenaiki =iya ena -nae hoka weteko  
 field LOC 3sg go starch =IRR man PL CON yard  
 afirakoaheta  
 a- fira -ko a -heta  
 CAUS clean LOC PERF  
 'In the morning, the women take their basket, and go to the field to get starch, and the men clean up the yard.' (hitsehaliti)

The following passage is from a narrative about a boy, his dog and their frog. The speaker tells what happened when the boy and his dog went to look for the frog. The contrastive entities are the boy *Dirizonae* (37) and *katxolo* 'dog' (38), and both are old information in the narrative. Because *katxolo* is a contrastive entity (contrasting with the

boy) it is focused, marked by the clitic *ala* 'FOC' in (38). The order is OSV in (37) and (38).

- (37) Dirizonaelitse                ala    kakohita                ehare    atyanatseako  
             Dirizonae -li -tse                ala    Ø= kakoha -ita    ehare    atya -natse    ako  
             PN                                    CLF:small    FOC    3sg go.up    IFV    this    tree    CLF:long LOC  
             kakoeta                            tawita                        kali  
             k-                                    ako                            -ita    Ø= tawa    -ita    kali  
             ATTR    LOC.inside    IFV    3sg look.for    IFV    frog  
             'Dirizonae went up and he was looking for the frog inside of the hole (in the tree)'
- (38) hatyonatse                ala    [katxolohokotsetxo]<sub>NP</sub>                ala    [ani]<sub>NP</sub>  
             hatyo -natse                ala    katxolo -hoko                -tse                        -txoa    ala    ani  
             3sg    CLF:long    FOC    dog                            CLF:circled    CLF:small big    FOC    wasp  
             [xakatetya]<sub>V</sub>  
             Ø= xaka -te -tya  
             3sg shoot ? TH  
             'Meanwhile the wasp was biting the dog, that long one.' (Dirizonae)

### 7.3 Non-verbal predicates

Noun phrases or adverbs can function as heads of non-verbal predicates. The following types of predicates will be discussed here: nominal, locational/existential, and possessive predicates. In these constructions, two noun phrases are juxtaposed, the second being the main predicate. In addition, Paresi has a copula: *tyaona* 'become'.

#### 7.3.1 Nominal predicates

There are two types of nominal predicates: proper inclusion (or identification) and equative clauses (Payne, 1997). The proper inclusion asserts that an entity belongs to the class of items specified in the predicate. For example, the identity statement ("That's a N"), which in Paresi involves demonstrative *eze~eye* 'this', or *hatyo* 'that', or a pronoun, and a nominal predicate (with a pause between the two), as in (39) and (40). The subject of the nominal predicate can be marked by *atyo* 'TOP', *ala* 'FOC' or *-tya* 'EMPH', as illustrated from (41) to (44).

- (39) eye, Buritiza  
 eye Buriti -za  
 this PN CLF:liquid  
 'This is the Buriti river.' (cabeceira)
- (40) eze, kozeto kaotyakene  
 eze kozeto kaotyaka -ne  
 this corn show.up POSSED  
 'This is the story of corn.' (kozeto tahi)
- (41) eze **atyo** hati atxikoaliro  
 eze atyo hati atxikoaliro  
 this TOP house rafter  
 'This is a rafter of the house.' (CN)
- (42) hoka hatyo **atyo** haliti zaolone, owene  
 hoka hatyo atyo haliti zaolo -ne owene  
 CON that TOP Paresi.person headdress POSSED there  
 'That is the real headdress of the Paresi people there' (omati-ZK)
- (43) eye **ala** notahi  
 eye ala no= tahi  
 this FOC 1sg about  
 'This is about me' (JT nawenane)
- (44) ezetya mahiye kaolihi nea  
 eze -tya mahiye kaoli -li Ø= nea  
 this FOC bat knee CLF:long.thin 3sg say  
 'This is the knee of the bat, he said.' (omati-ZK)

Another type of nominal predicate construction is the equative clause. Equative clauses are clauses which assert that an entity is identical to the entity in the nominal predicate. The same strategy used in proper inclusion is found to equate two full nouns.

- (45) wazolo neare txowaware  
 wazolo neare txowaware  
 wolf name wolf  
 The (other) name of the wolf is *txowaware* (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)
- (46) notxiyete kore iyawitsekohare  
 no= txiyete kore iyawitseko -hare  
 1sg grandson DUB? hunter MASC  
 'My grandson is a hunter.' (JT nawenane)

- (47) wicketsera                atyo koretahera  
       wi= ketse -ra            atyo koreta -hera  
       1pl knife POSSED TOP bamboo ?  
       'Our knife was made of bamboo.' (JT nawenane)

Aspect markers and personal clitics only occur with nouns related to the phases of life including *mokotse* infancy, '*zoimahaliti*' childhood' and *nityohaliti* 'adulthood'. In (48), *inityohaliti* 'adulthood' is a nominal predicate which takes the personal clitic *no*= '1sg' and transitional *-hena*.

- (48) nonityohalitihena  
       no= inityohaliti -hena  
       1sg old.person TRS  
       'I was becoming an adult.' (JT nawenane)

However, aspect markers and personal clitics can combine with nominal predicates which have a modifier (a numeral or a quantifier) as the head of the noun phrase. (49) illustrates the predicative use of the numeral *hinama* 'two', taking the personal clitic *wa*= '1pl', and the transitional *-hena*. Nominal predicates only require a copula when there is aspectual marking and pronominal clitics, unless the head of the nominal predicate is a quantifier.

- (49) wahinamitehena            kalikini hoka azeze                atyo  
       wa= hinama -ite -hena    kalikini hoka azeze                =atyo  
       1pl two IFV TRS now CON older.brother =TOP  
       'Now it is only the two of us, me and my older brother.' (Katomo nawenane)

The negation in nominal predicates is formed by using the particle *maiha* and the negative focus *xini*, as described in § 7.6.2.

### 7.3.2 Locational/existential predicates

The same juxtaposition strategy used in nominal predicates is used in locative and existential predicates. I only found five examples of juxtaposition among locative and existential predicates, because the most common strategy is the use of the copula *tyaona*

(see §5.2.4). The theme may precede the location (50) or follow it (53).

- (50) oloniti ita baldeakore  
     oloniti ita balde -ako -re  
     chicha there bucket LOC NMLZ  
     'The *chicha* is there in the bucket' (Kabikule)

(51) hoka hatyo hiyetatatyola eze hitsaonero  
     hoka hatyo hiyeta -ta =tyo =la eze hi= tsaonero  
     CON 3sg therefore IFV =TOP =FOC this 2sg= cousin  
     alimaniya  
     ali maniya  
     here side  
     'Therefore it is because of this that your cousin is here on this side.' (Katomo Aug  
     iraiti)

(52) alita natyo  
     ali -ta natyo  
     here EMPH 1sg  
     'I am here.' (E)

(53) owi henetsekoaa enokola  
     owi henetse -koaa en= kore -la  
     snake on.top LOC 3sg arrow POSSED  
     'His arrow was on the snake.' (kozeto)

(54) kakohala hatyo Koitiwere enohenola zanetaene  
     Ø= kakoha =la hatyo Koitiwere eno -heno =la Ø= zane -ta  
     3sg go.up =FOC that PN high on.the.top =FOC 3sg go IFV  
     =ene, tai irikotyahala etseiri  
     ene Ø= iriko -tya -ha =la e= tseiri  
     PST 3sg cut TH PL =FOC 3sg head  
     'He went up, Koitiwere was at the top, and they went and they cut his head *tai*!'  
     (Txinikalore)

In the following example, the noun phrase head of the locative predicate is the classifier *-tse* 'CLF:small'.

I am describing clauses that are translated into Portuguese and English as existential predicates in the same section with locative predicates because they exhibit the same juxtaposed structure in Paresi: a theme followed by a location. Existential clauses without a location argument are formed by the existential verb *aka* (see §5.2.5), or the copula *tyaona*. Hengeveld (1992) points out that in many languages existential constructions correspond to some locative construction, and this is certainly the case for Paresi. (56) illustrates an existential clause formed by two juxtaposed nouns.

- (56) Kalini Owihoko nali kohetseti  
       kalini Owihoko nali kohetseti  
       now   Owihoko LOC savanna  
       'Then in the Owihoko village there is savanna.' (JT nawenane)

### 7.3.3 Possessive predicates

In Paresi, there are possessive clauses formed by the attributive prefix *ka-* (see §4.3.4) or the negative *ma-* (see §7.6.6). I treat *ka-* as an attributive prefix following Aikhenvald (1999:99). These constructions occur with all nouns, including alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. The nominalizers *-re~ye* (for masculine) and *-lo* (for feminine) can be used when it is important to mention the gender of the subject. In (59), the information about the gender is lexical (the word *ohiro* 'woman'), and therefore the gender marking is not needed. In (60), it is known by the discourse context, therefore the nominalizer is not used.

(57) **nokaitsaniro**

no= ka- itsani -ro  
1sg ATTR son, daughter NMLZ  
'I have children.' (E)

(58) **maiha nokaitsaniro**

maiha no= ka- itsani -ro  
NEG 1sg ATTR son, daughter NMLZ  
'I do not have children' (E)

(59) hatyaotseta owa nozakaitere eye ohironae  
hatyaotseta owa no= zakai -ita -re eye ohiro -nae  
then right now 1sg tell IFV NMLZ this woman PL  
kaiyanene, kaitsaniha hoka  
ka- iyanene ka- itsani -ha hoka  
ATTR husband ATTR son, daughter PL CON  
'Then, as I just said, the women got married (lit. got a husband) and had children.'

(Batsaji tahi)

(60) kalini nokatxiyete hoka notxiyete nohaliye  
kalini no= ka- txiyete hoka no= txiyete no= haliye  
now 1sg ATTR grandson CON 1sg grandson 1sg along  
tyaonita  
 $\emptyset$ = tyaona -ita  
3sg live IFV  
'Now I have grandsons, and my grandson lives with me.' (Katomo nawenane)

(61) **nokakawaloniye**

no= ka- kawalo -ni -ye  
1sg ATTR horse POSSED MASC  
'I had a horse.' (Kotitiko wenakalati)

(62) **wimamahaza**

wi= ma- maha -za  
1pl NEG honey POSSED  
'We had no honey.' (JT nawenane)

As seen in the above examples, there are two strategies for forming the negative possessive constructions, one with the negative *maiha* and the attributive *ka-*, as in (58), and the other one with the negative *ma-*, as in (62). The difference between them is that the latter refers to a more permanent or less temporary state, while the former refers to a

temporary state (see §7.6.6).

## 7.4 Interrogative clauses

Interrogatives are associated with the speech act of requesting information. I will discuss question-word interrogatives, then polar interrogatives, then I will show how question words are formed from the interrogative particle used to mark polar interrogatives, and then how interrogative alternatives are formed.

### 7.4.1 Question-word (constituent) interrogatives

Question-word or constituent interrogatives are sentences which expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation (Payne, 1997). The use of interrogative words in sentence-initial position is obligatory. These sentences can also be marked by rising intonation at the beginning of the clause (as is the case with polar interrogative sentences). These interrogative words are provided in Table 97.

Table 97: Interrogative words

Form	Gloss
zala	'who?'
zoare	'what?'
aliyo	'where is?'
alyako	'where, at what location?'
aliyakere	'how?'
otene	'when?'

#### ***zala* 'who'**

*Zala* is an interrogative pronoun used for human referents, as illustrated below:

- (63) **Zala** nemakakaweta?

zala nemaka kawe -ta  
who sleep hurt IFV  
'Who is sleepy?' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (64) **zala** nika aikoli aromaita?  
 zala nika aikoli aroma -ita  
 who ? tooth fix IFV  
 'Who is having his tooth fixed?' (Katomo nali)
- (65) **zala** hatyo axita hitso?  
 zala hatyo aza -ita hitso  
 who that ask IFV you  
 'Who was asking you?' (Katomo Aug iraiti)
- (66) zakaihakaty, Bikirita nehena: "**zala** ityani eze?"  
 Ø= zakaihaka -tya Bikirita Ø= nea -hena zala ityani eze  
 3sg tell TH PN 3sg say TRS who son, daughter this  
 'He told a story and Birikita asked "whose son is he"?' (tolohe)

### **zoare 'what, which'**

*Zoare* 'what, which' can be used as an interrogative pronoun, as seen in (67) and (68), or as a modifier of a noun, as shown in (69).

- (67) **zoare** hamairaita nozai?  
 zoare ha= maira -ita nozai  
 what 2sg= fish IFV my nephew  
 'What are you fishing my nephew?' (iyamaka)
- (68) **zoare** kore wakolatya watsero Alaoliro waiyane  
 zoare kore wa= kolatya w= atsero Alaoliro waiya -ne  
 what DUB 1pl take 1pl grandmother Alaoliro see NMLZ  
 katorenae?  
 katore -nae  
 brother PL  
 'What will we take to show to our grandma Alaoliro, my brothers?' (Txinikalore)
- (69) **zoaretaty** zokolata notxi Wakomo, Wazoliye,  
 zoare -ta -tya zo= kola -ta notxi Wakomo Wazoliye  
 what EMPH ? 2pl= arrow EMPH my.grandson PN PN  
 Kerakoama?  
 Kerakoama  
 PN  
 'What types of arrows, my grandsons Wakomo, Wazoliye, Kerakwama?'  
 (Txinikalore)

A postpositional or adverbial phrase can be questioned, as shown in (70) and (71). The postposition or adverbial particle occurs after the question-word.

- (70) **zoarekakoa** kani zezoakiheta natyo zaoka?  
 zoare =kakoa kani z= ezoa -ki -heta natyo z= aoka  
 what COM ? 2pl fall CAUS PERF 1sg 2pl= say  
 'With what can you all make me go down again? (Iheroware)
- (71) **zoare maheta** koreta xirikoita nozaitsenae?  
 zoare maheta koreta x= iriko -ita no= zaitse -nae  
 what PURP bamboo 2pl= cut IFV 1sg= nephew PL  
 'Why are you cutting bamboo, my nephews?' (Txinikalore)

In constituent interrogatives involving nominal predicates, the question-word is clause-initial, but may also be clause-final, as in (74), where the noun is focused in clause-initial position. The questioned nominal form may be a demonstrative (72) or a full noun (73).

- (72) **zoare** hare Jucilene?  
 zoare ehare Jucilene  
 what this? PN  
 'What is this, Jucilene? (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)
- (73) **zoare** neare areka?  
 zoare en= eare are -ka  
 what 3sg name ? DUB?  
 'What is your name? (ximatyati)
- (74) kazatarene ala **zoare?**  
 kazatarene ala zoare  
 ? FOC what  
 'Kazatarene, what is it?' (Kabikule-Daniel iratiti 2)

### *aliyo, alyako 'where is', 'where'*

There are two adverbial interrogative forms used for questioning a location: *aliyo* and *alyako*. Either of them can be used in verbal predicates, *aliyo* meaning 'where is' and *alyako* 'where'. Only *aliyo* can be used in nominal predicates without the copula, as seen in (77).

- (75) **aliyo** nemaita?  
 aliyo Ø= nema -ita  
 where.is 3sg sleep IFV  
 'Where is she sleeping?' (iraiti Batsaji)
- (76) **aliyo** /**alyako** atyo ala Bere zane ?  
 aliyo alyako =atyo =ala Bere zane  
 where.is where =TOP =FOC PN go  
 'Where did Pedro go?' (AL)
- (77) **aliyo** /\***alyako** zawati?  
 aliyo alyako zawati  
 where.is where axe  
 'Where is my axe?' (JT nawenane)
- (78) **alyako** ite witsaohena?  
 alyako =ite wi= tyaona -hena  
 where =FUT 1pl stay TRS  
 'Where will we stay?' (Formoso onetse)
- (79) **alyako** ala koreta tyaona abe Alaoliyo? 'Where is  
 alyako =ala koreta Ø= tyaona abe Alaoliyo  
 where =FOC bamboo 3sg COP grandma PN  
 the bamboo, grandma Alaolidyo?

### *aliyakere 'how'*

The interrogative adverb *aliyakere* is used to question a manner. Examples (80) and (81) illustrate its use.

- (80) zaneha **aliyakerete** witsaona? wiyekehate waini,  
 Ø= zane -ha alyakere =te wi= tsaona wi= yekohatse Ø= waini  
 3sg go PL how =FUT 1pl= COP 1pl= chief 3sg die  
**aliyakerete** witsaonehena nea hoka  
 alyakere =te wi= tsaona -hena Ø= nea hoka  
 how =FUT 1pl= COP TRS 3sg say CON  
 'They went and he said: "How are we going to be? Our boss died. How are we going to be?"' (Bacaval wenakalati)

- (81) **aliyakeretala** hatyohare? maiha zala  
 aliyakere -ta =la hatyohare maiha zala  
 how EMPH =FOC this NEG who  
 hikoareha enomana  
 Ø= hikoa -re -ha e= nomana  
 3sg come.out, show.up NMLZ PL 3sg= BEN  
 'How is this? Nobody came for them.' (tolohe)

The responses to content questions are declarative clauses with the questioned information fronted (82), or only a word that provides the information asked (83).

- (82) A) zoaretatya zokolata notxi Wakomo,  
 zoare -ta -tya z= o- kola -ta notxi Wakomo  
 what EMPH ? 2pl= LK arrow EMPH my.grandson PN  
 Wazoliye, Kerakoama?  
 Wazoliye Kerakoama  
 PN PN  
 'What types of arrows, my grandsons Wakomo, Wazoliye and Kerakwama?'  
 (Txinikalore)
- B) Zolotoherare Eyahezare Zaolowirokatseta wokolata  
 Zolotoherare Eyahezare Zaolowiro -katse -ta wo= kola -ta  
 PN PN PN CLF:long ? 1pl= arrow EMPH  
 nea  
 Ø= nea  
 3sg say  
 'Our arrows are made of *zolotoherare*, *eyahezare*, *zaolowiro*, he said.'  
 (Txinkalore)

- (83) A) aliyo atyo ala Bere zane?  
 aliyo =atyo =ala Bere zane  
 onde? =TOP =FOC Pedro go  
 'Where did Pedro go?' (Batsaji iraiti)

B) Tangará! eye babera hare toli tyomitere ala waiya  
 Tangará eye babera hare toli Ø= tyoma -ite -re =ala Ø= waiya  
 PN this paper ? a lot 3sg do IFV NMLZ =FOC 3sg see  
 maheta  
 maheta  
 PURP

'Tangará city! He went to see the paperwork he is doing.' (Batsaji iraiti)

#### 7.4.1.1 Complex question words

Complex question words are formed by the interrogative particle *zoana*, as shown in Table 98.

Table 98: Complex question words

Form	Gloss
zoana zowaka	'when?'
zoana heko	'at what moment?'
zoanere	'how much?'
zoanama	'how many?'
zoanere hoka	'why?'

The question word *zoanere* 'how much' is formed by the interrogative *zoana* and the nominalizer *-re*. The question words *zoana* or *zoanere* together with the connector *hoka* means 'why' (87). *Zoanama* 'how many' has a suffix *-ma* whose meaning is not clear, but may mean 'quantity' (85). The form *zoana heko* 'when' includes the noun *heko* 'moment' (86).

- (84) **zoanere** koho?  
 zoane -re koho  
 INT NMLZ basket  
 'How much is the basket?' (E)

- (85) kirakahare awitxiraore **zoanamala?**  
 kirakahare awitxira -ore zoanama =la  
 animal wait.IMP EMPH how many =FOC  
 'Animals, wait, how many...?' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

- (86) **zoana heko** ala ehokotyoita?  
 zoana heko =ala Ø= ehoko -tyoa -ita  
 INT time =FOC 3sg lay down INTR IFV  
 'When is he lying down?' (Txinikalore)
- (87) **zoanere** ala **hoka** Owihoko kaiyaretyaha ali?  
 zoane -re ala hoka Owihoko ka- iyare -tya -ha ali  
 INT NMLZ FOC CON Owihoko ATTR name VBLZ PL here  
 'Why is it named Owihoko?' (JT nawenane)

#### 7.4.1.2 Indefinite pronouns

The same interrogative forms can be used as indefinite pronouns together with the dubitative *zamani* or the negative *maiha*. Table 99 shows the indefinite pronouns derived from interrogative words.

Table 99: Indefinite pronouns

Paresi	Some-series	No-series
person	zala zamani	maiha zala
thing	zoare zamani, zoalini	maiha zoare
place	aliyo zamani	maiha alyako
time	not attested	maiha zoana heko
manner	aliyakere zamani	maiha alyakere

In (88), the interrogative *zoare* is used with the negative particle meaning 'nothing'. In (89), *zoare* takes the suffix *-ni* having a meaning of 'something':

- (88) kawiyatyahitaha zaore ala maiha **zoare** tsemareha  
 Ø= kawiya -tya -h -ita -ha zaore ala maiha zoare Ø= tsema -re -ha  
 3sg shout TH PL IFV PL FRUST FOC NEG what 3sg hear NMLZ PL  
 hekoti hoka  
 hekoti hoka  
 at least CON  
 'They were shouting, but unfortunately they did not hear anything.' (Dirizonae)

- (89) owene **zoalini** toli tyokahitaha  
 owene zoare -ni toli Ø= tyoka -h -ita -ha  
 there what ? a lot 3sg sit PL IFV PL  
 'There is a lot of something sitting there.' (Katomo nali)

### 7.4.2 Polar interrogatives

In Paresi, polar questions are expressed by using a rising intonation at the left edge of the clause or less frequently the interrogative particle *zoana*. Generally the focused questioned argument is fronted, and the verb is clause-final, as shown in the examples below. In declarative clauses, the intonation is flat with some rising in stressed syllables of words carrying important information. In imperatives the intonation is rising towards the right edge of the clause (see §7.5).

Examples of polar questions are given in (90) to (93). (90) questions time; (91) questions the agent of the action; (92) questions an action, and (93) a location.

- (90) **makanika**        ite,        xiyané,        ama?  
             makani -ka        =ite        xi= yane mama  
             tomorrow DUB =FUT 2pl go mom  
             'Will you all go tomorrow, mom? '(Batsaji iraiti)

- (91) **xitso**, kafaka        xitxiyehitita?  
             xitso kafaka        xi= txiya -hitita  
             2p yesterday 2p pass again  
             'Was it you all, who passed yesterday?' (Kabikule-Daniel iratiti 2)

- (92) Dorala        ozaka        zaneheta?  
             Dora =la        ozaka        Ø= zane -heta  
             PN =FOC already 3sg go PERF  
             'Has Dora already gone? (Katomo nali)

- (93) **nali**        kotyoí        aitsaha?  
             nali        kotyoí        Ø= aitsa -ha  
             there        tapir        3sg kill PL  
             'Did they kill a tapir there?' (Katomo nali)

In polar interrogatives involving nonverbal predicates, there may be a demonstrative and the noun (94), or only an adverb and a focus marker (95).

- (94) catxibo, hatyotyore        catxibo?  
             catxibo hatyo =tyo -re        catxibo  
             pipe that =TOP NMLZ pipe  
             'Pipe, is that a pipe? (Katomo Aug iraiti)

- (95) nalitatala?
- nali -ta -ta =la  
 there IFV EMPH =FOC  
 'Is she still there?' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)

*zoana*

The particle *zoana* is an interrogative particle used in formulaic questions, in complex question words (see next section), and in interrogative alternatives (see §7.4.3). There are only a few examples of *zoana* in polar questions in my corpus, as in (98) and (99), so it is not clear when *zoana* can be used in this function.

- (96) **zoana** ite wikoke wamoka?  
 zoana =ite wi= koke wa= moka  
 INT =FUT 1pl= uncle 1pl= put  
 'What are we going to do with our uncle?' (iyamaka)
- (97) **zoana** xitsaonita?  
 zoana xi= tyaona -ita  
 INT 2pl= COP IFV  
 'How are you all?' (Kabikule-Daniel irati1)
- (98) **zoana** hiya iyamaka?  
 zoana hi= iya iyamaka  
 INT 2sg catch flalte  
 'Did you get the flute?' (iyamaka)
- (99) **zoana** Dora zaneheta?  
 zoana Dora Ø= zane -heta  
 INT PN 3sg go PERF  
 'Did Dora go away?' (E)

Negative polar questions exhibit the negator *maiha* and the nominalizer *-re* or the progressive *-ita* similar to how declarative clauses exhibit negation, as shown in examples (101) and (102):

- (100) hakolatene haokowi?  
 ha= kolatya =ene h= aoka -wi  
 2sg take 3sO 2sg say SS  
 'Do you want to take it?' (E)

- (101) **maiha** hakolatene haokowiye?  
maiha ha= kolatya =ene h= aoka -wi -ye  
NEG 2sg take 3O 2sg say SS NMLZ  
'Don't you want to take it?' (ketetse)
- (102) **maiha** baba tyoita **maiha** nita?  
maiha baba Ø= tya -ita maiha Ø= nea -ita  
NEG father 3sg come IFV NEG 3sg say IFV  
'Didn't she ask whether my father didn't come?' (Kabikule-Daniel irati 2)

Polar questions are answered by the interjection *hă* 'yeah' and/or the repetition of the questioned verbal predicate in order to confirm the information. Negative answers simply use the negative particle *maiha* (104).

- (103) A) awitxita ite tyoheta?  
awitsa -ita =ite Ø= tya -heta  
soon IFV =FUT 3sg come PERF  
'Is he coming today?' (Batsaji iraiti)
- B) tyoheta ite  
tyoa -heta =ite  
come PERF =FUT  
'He is coming.' (Batsaji iraiti)
- (104) hokatyá hitso hazolotya hoka zoana waitare ala  
hoka -tya hitso ha= zolotya hoka zoana waitare =ala  
CON FOC you 3sg grate CON INT ? =FOC  
malahityá  
Ø= mala -hi -tya  
3sg pull.off CLF:powder TH  
Q: 'And did you grate? Did you all pull off again?'  
maiha  
maiha  
NEG  
A: 'No.' (Tolohe)

#### 7.4.3 Interrogative alternatives

Interrogative alternatives are formed by the interrogative particle *zoana* and the epistemic *zamani* 'DUB' after each noun questioned. In (105) *zamani* occurs after the

nouns *zotyare* 'deer' and *awo* 'emu'. Another construction with *zoana* and the dubitative *kore* is (106).

- (105) hatyo iya hiyaiya zaore tota **zoana** zotyare **zamani**  
       hatyo =iya hi= yaiya zaore tota zoana zotyare zamani  
       3sg =IRR 2sg= see FRUST straight INT deer DUB  
       awo **zamaniya?** owene txiyehena maotikone  
       awo zamani =iya owene Ø= txiya -hena maotikone  
       emu DUB =IRR there 3sg pass TRS stupid  
       'You see it straight and you will see it, is it a deer or an emu? there, it is passing stupidly (zanekoare-JT)

- (106) **zoana** oloniti haokita one **kore?**  
       zoana oloniti h= aoka -ita one kore  
       what chicha 2sg say IFV water DUB?  
       'Do you want *chicha* or water?' (E)

#### 7.4.4 Questions used for greetings

Questions are also used for greetings. The most frequent ones are below. (107) is a morning greeting, and is used to greet visitors when they arrive in another village.

- (107) **zoana** hitsaonita?  
       zoana hi= tyona -ita  
       what 2sg COP IFV  
       'How are you?' (E)
- (108) **zoaneretya** xitso?  
       zoana -re -tya xitso  
       what NMLZ FOC? 2p  
       'How are you all doing?' (Kabikule-Daniel iratiti 2)
- (109) hikaotse?  
       hi= kaotse  
       2sg awake  
       'Are you awake?' (Katomo nali)
- (110) xikaoka?  
       xi= kaoka  
       2p arrive  
       'Did you all arrive?' (E)

## 7.5 Commands

### 7.5.1 Basic commands

There is no dedicated imperative morpheme, except for a few verbs that have suppletive imperative stems. Either a verb marked for transitional aspect and a personal clitic or a construction using the verb *zane* 'go' and another verb is used. What makes commands different from non-command sentences is intonation. The intonation changes according to the type of command. Invitation and request exhibit rising intonation, while order exhibit rapidly descending intonation. In (111), someone was offering me some soda. (112) is a polite request addressed to the young people and children who were in the house where the storyteller was telling traditional narratives. In general, polite requests are formed by using the transitional *-hena* plus *ira*, which may be an affective marker, or by using the expression *haiya hoka*.<sup>83</sup>

- (111) hitserehena!        hoka        hifakate  
hi= tsere -hena        hoka        hi= fakate  
2sg= drink TRS        CON        2sg= full  
'Drink to get satisfied!' (Katomo Aug iraiti)
- (112) zatsemehena        =ira!        zoimanae  
za= tseme -hena        ira        zoima -nae  
2pl= hear TRS        AFF?        child PL  
'Listen children!' (Iheroware)

Both (113) and (114) are requests made during a conversation.

- (113) hiyane        one        hakolaheta!        hoka        notera  
hi= zane        one        ha= kola -heta        hoka        no= tera  
2sg go        water        3sg bring PERF        CON        1sg drink  
'Go bring some water for me to drink!' (tolohe)

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<sup>83</sup> The clitic *ira* occurs with nouns and verbs in polite requests and in other contexts to express speakers' sympathy for the entity they refer to. It is not clear whether this is an affective marker or not.

- (114) hiyane      hakawitsahene!      malakahenete  
       hi= zane    ha= kawitsa -ha =ene Ø= malaka -hena =ene =te  
       2sg go      2sg shout    PL 3O    3sg pull.off TRS 3O FUT  
       miyatenete  
       Ø= miya -tya =ene  
       3sg finish TH 3O  
       'Go call them to finish pulling it off!' (tolohe)

Some speakers use the forms *haiya hoka* or *haokariya hoka* for a polite request, where *haiya* may be the proclitic *ha*= 'you' and *iya* is a irrealis marker while *hoka* is a connector (115); and *haokariya* is *haoka* 'you want' plus the irrealis. However, this construction is rare and occurred only in elicitation; the form found in texts was the use of transitional aspect and the morpheme *ira*. More research is need to know how these forms are indirect strategies for expressing wishes.

- (115) haiya      hoka    cafe    hitsoma    womana  
       ha= iya      hoka    cafe    hi= tyoma    w= om ana  
       2sg IRR    CON coffee 2sg make    1pl LK BEN  
       'Please, you should make some coffee for us.' (E)

Orders (impolite requests) are marked prosodically by a rapidly descending pitch and lengthening of the last vowel; these primarily affect the last syllable of the clause. Example (116) is a quotation of an order made during an argument. (117) is an order made by the shaman, who was very upset.

- (116) hatyaotseta "S. hiyanehetehaa!      nikareta  
       hatyaotseta S. hi= yane -hete -hena nikare -ta  
       then      PN 2sg= go    PERF TRS stop    EMPH  
       hairawaiyaitsa      natyo!"  
       h= airawaiyai -tsa    natyo  
       2sg= blame      TH 1sg  
       'Then: "Go away, S., stop blaming me.' (tolohe)

- (117) Joao Antonio itse ene xiyané wairati hana xiya! hoka  
 Joao Antonio itse ene xi= yane waira hana x= iya hoka  
 PN give PST 2pl go medicine leaf 2pl catch CON  
 noliriheta xiyanaira  
 n= oliri -heta xi= z- ainai -ra  
 1sg apply PERF 2pl NMLZ raise POSSED  
 'The late João Antonio: go catch the medicinal leaf! because I will apply (the medicine) to the body of the one you raised.' (JT nawenane)

In addition, there are suppletive imperative verb forms. Table 100 shows the suppletive forms I found in my corpus. The suppletive forms, different from verbs in commands seen above, do not have a person clitic indicating second person singular or plural. Another difference is that they do not need to be in the transitional aspect, and can be unmarked for aspect (118) or else have the regressive marker, as in the examples below.

Table 100: Suppletive forms of verbs for imperative

Verb Root	Imperative
itsa 'give'	zama
tyoa 'come'	witya
wahatya 'wait'	awitxira
nika 'come'	nikahena

- (118) **zama** howikihiya nomani kafe! hoka notera  
 zama h= owika -hitiya no= mani kafe hoka no= tera  
 give. IMP 2sg pour AGAIN 1sg BEN coffee CON 1sg drink  
 'Give me; pour some coffee for me to drink!' (Katomo nali)
- (119) **zamehena** nomani noherokoli!  
 zame -hena no= mani no= heroko -li  
 give. IMP TRS 1sg= BEN 1sg= drink POSSED  
 'Give me my *chicha*.' (hitsehaliti)

- (120) tiyahotya,                   **zameheta**                   hiyaitso!                   zoana                   nikare  
      Ø= tiya aho -tya           zame           -heta           hi= yaitso           zoana           nikare  
      3sg cry path TH           give. IMP   PERF           2sg niece           INT           ?  
      hiyaitso           hiye           hiwakatsehe  
      hi= yaitso           =hiye           hi= wakatsehe  
      2sg niece           =BEN           2sg mistreat  
      'She was crying along the path, (and he said:) "Give me your niece, you are  
      mistreating her.' (ketetse)
- (121) **witya**           hitserehena!           coca   kakoare  
      witya           hi= tera -hena   coca   kakoa -re  
      come. IMP   2sg   drink TRS   coca   COM NMLZ  
      'Come to drink with coke.' (Katomo Aug nali)'
- (122) **wityahenaira!**                   kazokohatya           natyo   nea  
      witya           -hena =ira           kazokoha -tya   natyo   Ø= nea  
      come.IMP   TRS   =AFF, small ?           TH   1sg           3sg say  
      'He said "Come, they are beating me".' (waikoakore)
- (123) hitsohena           koko!   **awitxira!**   nozaitsenae           nea  
      hi= tyoa -hena   koko   awitxira   no= zaitse -nae   Ø= nea  
      2sg= come TRS   uncle   wait.IMP   1sg= nephew PL   3sg say  
      'Come my uncle! (the uncle said) wait! my nephew.' (Txinikalore)

The imperative form *nikahena* 'move.IMP' is formed by the verb *nika* 'come' and the transitional *hena*. However, I have not glossed the imperative form as 'come.IMP' because it does not imply venitive motion, only motion, meaning 'move, act'. A frequent use of *nikahena* is when people are cheering for their soccer team, and they say to the players: *nikahena, nikahena!* 'move, move!'

- (124) **nikahena**           katorenae,   wahikoahena                   matse  
      nika           -hena   katore -nae   wa= hikoa           -hena   matse  
      move.IMP   TRS   brother PL   1pl   come.out, show.up TRS   field  
      waiyakitiya  
      waiyakitiya  
      world  
      'Move my brothers, we will come out of this field.' (Wazare)

- (125) eaotseta **nikahena** zoimahalitinae nea  
       eaotseta nika -hena zoimahaliti -nae Ø= nea  
       then move.IMP TRS boy PL 3sg say  
       'Then he said: "Move, boys!"' (hitsehaliti)

### 7.5.2 Hortatives

Commands addressed to the first person inclusive use a construction with the verb *wiya* 'let's go'. The form *wiya* may be used with the regressive, and it is andative (away from the point of reference) motion, while the form *witya* (second person imperative verb), seen above, implies venitive motion (toward the point of reference).

- (126) **wiya** wiyaiya!  
       wiya wi= yaiya  
       let's go 1pl see, watch  
       'Let's go see.' (ketetse)
- (127) **wiya** wimahaza wiyeheta  
       wiya wi= maha -za w= iye -heta  
       let's go 1pl honey POSSED 1pl catch PERF  
       'Let's go catch our honey.' (JT nawenane)
- (128) nanoloka kalahi hoka **wiyaheta** watsero ana witsa  
       na= noloka kalahi hoka wiya -heta w= atsero ana w= itsa  
       1sg pull pacu.fish CON let's go PERF 1pl grandmother BEN 1pl give  
       hoka holoka hoka, wanitsa  
       hoka Ø= holoka hoka wa= nitsa  
       CON 3sg cook CON 1pl eat meat  
       'I got a pacu, let's go give it to my grandma. She will cook and we will eat.' (JT  
           nawenane)

A description of negative imperatives is shown in §7.6.5.

### 7.6 Negation

There are two primary ways of expressing negation in Paresi; one is syntactic (by using the particles *maiha* or *maitsa*) and the other is morphological (by the prefix *ma-*). The alternation between these strategies appears to be conditioned by semantic factors. The derivational negator *ma-* is very productive in Paresi, and it is a form attributed to Proto-Arawak (Payne, 1991; Michael, forthcoming). Interestingly, the tense and/or aspect

of the sentences are important in determining the type of negative construction that will occur in Paresi, including whether it will have a non-nominalized or nominalized verb. Finally, there is a structural difference between the simple and complex negative clauses found in conditional constructions.

### 7.6.1 Standard negation

Standard negation, i.e. negation in declarative main clauses, is expressed in Paresi with the particle *maiha* or its variants *maha* (a fast-speech variant) and *maitsa*. The forms *maiha* and *maitsa* can be analyzed as being formed by the prefix *ma-* plus an unknown form *iha* and *itsa* historically. Examples (129) through (130) illustrate the positive clauses and their negative counterparts, with the intransitive verb *waini* 'die', and the transitive verbs *aitsa* 'kill' and *tyakeko* 'believe'.

(129) *waini*

$\emptyset = waini$

3sg die

'He died.' (E)

(130) **maiha** *wainita*,      *tihenare* *maiha* *wainakatere*

*maiha*  $\emptyset = waini$  -ta    *tihenare* *maiha*  $\emptyset = waina$  -ka -te -re

NEG 3sg die IFV sorcerer NEG 3sg die TH IFV NMLZ

'He did not die; a sorcerer does not die.' (JT nawenane)

(131) *aitsahene*

$\emptyset = aitsa$  -h =ene

3sg kill PL =3O

'He killed them.' (E)

(132) **maiha** *aitsahitene*

*maiha*  $\emptyset = aitsa$  -h -it =ene

NEG 3sg kill PL IFV =3O

'He did not kill them.' (iyamaka)

(133) *haiya* *tyakekota*      *niraini*      *haiya* **maiha**

*haiya*  $\emptyset = tyakeko$  -ta    n= irai -n -i *haiya* *maiha*

IND2 3sg believe IFV 1sg talk POSSED 1sg IND2 NEG

*tyakekore*      *niraini*

$\emptyset = tyakeko$  -re    n= irai -n -i

3sg believe NMLZ 1sg talk POSSED 1sg

'There are some who believe in what I say. Others do not believe in what I say.'

(Kamoro nawenane)

The negator *maiha* is preverbal, occurring immediately before the verb, as seen in the examples above, or before the object. The negative clauses are not identical to their positive counterparts. In (130) and (132), they exhibit the progressive aspect. (133) shows a verb with the nominalizer *-re*.

Paresi is a language which exhibits two types of asymmetrical negation constructions (Miestamo, 2005): paradigmatic and constructional asymmetries. Paradigmatic asymmetries are related to the aspectual restrictions, and constructional asymmetries are related to the loss of finite morphology and the use of the nominalizer.

In nonnegative sentences there are two possible tense markers, *ene* and *ite*, and four aspects: the transitional which is marked by the suffix *-hena*, example (134), the imperfective marked by *-ita* (135), the regressive marked by *-heta* (§6.3.2), and the iterative *hitiya*:

- (134) nazehenene                  *ite*  
n= aza -hena =ene    **ite**  
1sg ask TRS 3O      **FUT**  
'I will ask it.' (E)

- (135) naxitene  
n= aza **-ita** =ene  
1sg ask **IFV** 3O  
'I am asking it.' (E)

In negative constructions, the future can be indicated either by the future marker *ite* or the irrealis mood which is marked by the clitic *iya*. Apparently there is no semantic difference between the two constructions.

- (136) **maiha ite**    zawaiyoloka                  hekoti    nokakoi  
maiha ite    z= a-    waiyo -lo   -ka hekoti    no= kakoa  
NEG FUT 2p CAUS know FEM ? at least 1sg COM  
'You all will never learn with me.' (Tarsila nawenane)

- (137) **maihayatyatyo** naihonotitene waiye hareclamatya  
 maiha =ya -tya =tyo n= aihono -t -it =ene waiye ha= reclama -tya  
 NEG =IRR TH =TOP 1sg cover TH IFV OBJ good 3sg complain TH  
 hitsoheta hoka  
 hi= tyoa -heta hoka  
 2sg come.back PERF CON  
 'I won't cover your food because when you come back you will complain.' (iraiti  
 Batsaji)

In addition to the change in the future tense, the difference between aspect markers is neutralized. Negated finite verbs, when marked for aspect, will be in the imperfective aspect.<sup>84</sup> The unmarked form is not permitted, as shown in (139). The form *-ita* must be used in negative clauses, as in (138) and (140). This type of asymmetry, in which a contrast in values for a grammatical category is lost in negative clauses, is treated as paradigmatic asymmetry by Miestamo (2005).

- (138) kalini Xiokonda niraene taita **maiha** tsemahitaha  
 kalini Gioconda n= irae taita maiha Ø= tsema -h **-ita** -ha  
 now Gioconda 3sg talk only NEG 3sg hear PL **IFV** PL  
 aoka haiyane niraene tyotya  
 Ø= aoka haiya ini- irae -ne tyotya  
 3sg say IND2 3sg talk POSSED everything, all  
 tsemahitaha aoka  
 Ø= tsema -h **-ita** -ha Ø= aoka  
 3sg hear PL IFV PL 3sg say  
 'They did not hear just Gioconda's conversation. They heard all other  
 conversations.' (Tolohe)

- (139) \*kalini Xiokonda niraene taita **maiha** tsemaha aoka  
 kalini Gioconda n= irae taita maiha Ø= tsema -ha Ø= aoka  
 now Gioconda 3sg talk only NEG 3sg hear PL 3sg say  
 'They did not hear just Gioconda's conversation'

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<sup>84</sup> Silva (2013) reports that the neutralization does not occur in subordinate clauses, except with unaccusative verbs.

- (140) kafaka Quirino ali tyoa hoka **maiha**  
           kafaka Quirino ali tyoa hoka maiha  
           yesterday Quirino here come CON NEG  
           emezanetse                                      naxitene  
           e= meza -ne           -tse                n= aza **-ita** =ene  
           3sg table POSSED CLF:small 1sg ask **IFV** 3sO  
           'Yesterday Quirino came here, and I did not ask him for the table.' (ketetse)

Paresi also exhibits another type of asymmetry called constructional asymmetry, in which some grammatical categories (such as tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality) found in affirmative clauses cannot be expressed in negative clauses (Miestamo, 2005:112). In Paresi, the negated verb may lose its finiteness by taking the nominalizing suffix *-re* or *-ze*, as in (141). Interestingly, constructions with *-re* exhibit a habitual or temporally non-specific meaning, contrary to clauses with *-ita*, seen above.

- (141) barato nika hatyohare mezatse                   hoka maiha wiyare  
           barato nika hatyohare meza -tse           hoka **maiha** w= iya **-re**  
           cheap ?     this                   table CLF:small CON NEG 1pl buy NMLZ  
           'This type of table is cheap, but we do not buy it.' (ketetse)
- (142) barato nika hatyohare mezatse                   hoka maiha wiyita  
           barato nika hatyohare meza -tse           hoka **maiha** w= iya **-ita**  
           cheap ?     this                   table CLF:small CON NEG 1pl buy IFV  
           'This type of table is cheap, but we did not buy it.' (ketetse)

With stative verbs, the difference is that negative clauses with *-re* (or its variants) have a permanent meaning, while the ones with *-ita* have a transitory meaning:

- (143) ketse mawehare                           maiha waiyeze  
           ketse ma- we -hare           maiha Ø= waiye **-ze**  
           knife NEG sharp MASC NEG 3sg good **NMLZ**  
           'The knife is not sharp; it is not good.' (ketetse)
- (144) witsaodini                               maitsa waiyeta  
           wi= tsaodi -ni           maitsa Ø= waiye **-ta**  
           1pl= health NMLZ NEG 3sg good **IFV**  
           'Our health is not good.' (Bacaval)

The particle *maiha* is also used with stative verbs derived by the attributive *ka-*. The clause exhibits constructional asymmetry, using the nominalizer *-re*. However, another strategy is also used: negation through the prefix *ma-* 'negative' with the gender markers *-hare* 'MASC' or *-halo* 'FEM', as seen in (147) and (148). There is a slightly difference in meaning between sentences (146) and (147) which will be discussed in the section about the negative prefix *ma-* in §7.6.6.

- (145) ezawa      **maiha** kakanohiye  
       e= zawa      maiha    ka-    kano -hi      **-re**  
       3s bunch      NEG      ATTR arm    CLF:long NMLZ  
       'It has bunch, but it does not have branch.' (E.)
- (146) **maiha** nokaitansiye  
       maiha    no= ka-    ityani **-re**  
       NEG      1sg ATTR son    NMLZ  
       'I do not have children (temporarily).' (E.)
- (147) maitsanihalo  
       **ma-** ityani -halo  
       NEG son    FEM  
       'One who does not have children'/ 'she does not have children'/ 'my children do not exist.' (E.)
- (148) kalini hekota katxolo maiyanityohare      tyotya hazerore iya haiya  
       kalini hekota katxolo **ma-** ezanityo -hare      tyotya hazerore iya haiya  
       now    time    dog      **NEG** wife    MASC all    fast      IRR IND2  
       toli kakoa ozaka tyaonehitiya  
       toli kakoa ozaka Ø= tyaona hitiya  
       a lot COM already 3sg COP AGAIN  
       'At that time Dog (the nickname of a person) was without a wife, soon he would be with a lot of (women) again.' (Kabikule)

In other Arawak languages which employ negative auxiliaries (such as Achagua and Bare), finiteness asymmetries are related to the loss of inflection of the negative auxiliary (Michael, forthcoming). That is not the case with Paresi, and further research will be carried out to explain these asymmetries.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Miestamo (2005) analyzes negative markers as uninflected auxiliaries (a negative verbal finite asymmetry), and argues that the presence of the negator forces the verb to take a nominalized form. In

One exception to these asymmetries are the existential predicates expressed by the existential verb *aka*. There is no special negative existential, and the verbal negator *maiha* negates the existential predicate. Croft (1991) observes that languages commonly lack a special negative existential. There is no neutralization of aspects and the nominalizer *-re* is not used.

- (149) **maiha** kamatihera **aka**  
       maiha kamatihera aka  
       NEG iron EXIST  
       'There are no tools.' (iraiti JM)

### 7.6.2 Negation in nonverbal clauses

The negative particle *maiha* is used in transitive and intransitive clauses and in negative non-verbal predicates. In this section, I will describe negation in non-verbal predicates without a copula verb.

In nominal predicates, the negative particle *maiha* occurs obligatorily with the negative focus *xini* following the nominal head, as in (150) through (152). The same construction occurs with locational predicates, as in (153).

- (150) **maitsa** atyo alitereze hekoti wairatyare **xini**  
       maitsa atyo alitere -ze hekoti wairatyare xini  
       NEG TOP true NMLZ at least shaman NEG  
       'It is not true; he is not a shaman.' (Kamoro nawenane)
- (151) **maiha** wiwaikohera hekoti **xini**  
       maiha wi= waikohe -ra hekoti xini  
       NEG 1pl= land POSSED at least NEG  
       'It is not even our land.' (BO nawenane)
- (152) **maiha** hinama mitxini **xini**, hinama kaimare  
       maiha hinama mitxini xini hinama kaimare  
       NEG two month NEG two moon  
       'It is not two months; it is two moons.' (JT nawenane)

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Paresi, I consider *maiha* to be a particle rather than an auxiliary because its presence does not lead the verb to lose its finiteness in all cases, since the progressive can also be used with negated verbs.

- (153) ali hetati tyaonehenaha ita ahoti  
      ali hetati Ø= tyaone -hena -ha ita aho  
      here in.the.old.days 3sg live TRS PL right here path  
      kilihi                      **maihatyo** alimaniya **xini** ita  
      kili -hi                  maiha =tyo ali maniya xini ita  
      nose CLF:long.slender NEG =TOP here side NEG right here  
      halakooya maniyatyo  
      halakooya maniya =tyo  
      other side =TOP
- 'For the first time, they came to live here, but not here; it was there at the other side of the road' (Batsaji tahi)

Non-verbal predicates which are formed with the copula *tyaona* are negated by *maiha*, and these negated clauses always occur with the nominalizer *-re*. (154) illustrates a negative locational predicate while (155) and (156) illustrate negative existential predicates.

- (154) **maihat** ali tyaonare  
      maiha -ta ali tyaona **-re**  
      NEG EMPH here COP NMLZ  
      'He is not here.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)
- (155) ikiyawa hatyo escola za **maitsa** aldeia tyaonare ali  
      ikiyawa hatyo escola za maitsa aldeia tyaona **-re** ali  
      ? 3sg school NEG village COP NMLZ here  
      'If it was not for that school, there would not be a village here.' (Bacaval wenakalati)
- (156) **maiha** alimaniya ezowaka kalore cidade tyaonare  
      maiha ali maniya ezowaka kalore cidade tyaona **-re**  
      NEG here side period, time a.lot city COP NMLZ  
      'At that time there was no big city on this side.' (cabeceira do osso)

### 7.6.3 Negation of constituents

In order to negate a part of a proposition, the particle *maiha* immediately precedes the constituent to be negated. The particle *xini*, a negative focus marker, follows this constituent, as shown in (157), where the particle precedes the proper noun *Wazare*. In (158), there is also the focalizer *-tya*.

- (157) **maiha** atyo Wazare **xini**, Wazare zoimereza Mazare atyo aimahenene  
maiha atyo Wazare xini Wazare zoimereza Mazare atyo aimahenene  
NEG TOP Wazare NEG Wazare ? Mazare TOP ? TRS 3O  
aokaha  
aoka -ha  
say PL

'It was not Wazare, it was Mazare who caught it, they say.' (Wazare)

- (158) Helena taitatya aitereze **maihatya** Branco, **maihatya**  
Helena taita -tya aitere -ze maiha -tya Branco maiha -tya  
PN only FOC it.is.true NMLZ NEG FOC PN NEG FOC  
Bolika **xini**  
Bolika xini  
PN NEG

'It is true that it was only Helena, it was not Branco or Bolika.' (Tolohe)

#### 7.6.4 Negation in interrogatives

Interrogative sentences exhibit negation in the same way as declarative clauses: they can occur with the imperfective or with a nonfinite verb marked by *-re*. Example (159), which is a negation of (160) shows negation with the nominalizer *-re*, and example (161), which is a negation of (162), with the imperfective (*-i*)ta.

- (159) **maiha** hakolatene haokowiye?  
maiha ha= kolatya =ene h= aoka -wi -ye  
NEG 2sg take 3O 2sg say SS NMLZ  
'Don't you want to take it?' (ketetse)

- (160) hakolatene haokowi?  
ha= kolatya =ene h= aoka -wi  
2sg take 3O 2sg say SS  
'Do you want to take it?' (E)

- (161) **maiha** iyakatyō hiwawa hitso hiyaneta?  
maiha =iya -ka =tyo hi= wawa hitso hi= yane -ta  
NEG =IRR DUB =TOP 2sg alone you 2sg go IFV  
'Won't you be able to go alone?' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (162) hiwawa hiyaneta?  
hi= wawa hi= yane -ta  
2sg alone 2sg go IFV  
'Did you go alone?' (E)

### 7.6.5 Prohibitive constructions

Commands have no dedicated imperative marker in non-negative sentences: they either take the transitional *-hena* or occur with the verb motion *zane* (as seen in §7.5). The two strategies used to form a prohibitive construction are completely different from the non-negative commands: i) the use the particle *maiha* with the irrealis *iya*, as in examples (163) to (165); or ii) the use of the particle *awa*, as in (166) to (169).<sup>86</sup>

The first strategy is similar to standard negation. The use of the irrealis marker leads to two possible meanings for the sentence, a deontic meaning 'one should not do' or a future meaning. The intonation is the same rising intonation used for invitation and requests.

- (163) **maiha iyatya** himahateneta!  
 maiha =iya -tya hi= ma- hatene -ta  
 NEG =IRR FOC 2sg NEG work IFV  
 'You cannot stay without working!' (ketetse)
- (164) mama ene nehena: "**maiha iya** hiyaneta!"  
 mama =ene nea -hena maiha =iya hi= yane -ta  
 mom =PST say TRS NEG =IRR 2sg go IFV  
 'My mother said, "You won't go!" (Aug nawenane)
- (165) **mahaya** holatita natyo!  
 maiha =ya h= olatya -ita natyo  
 NEG IRR 2sg tie IFV 1sg  
 'You should not tie me up!' (JG nawenane)

Constructions with the particle *awa* differ from both standard negation and positive imperatives as they do not require the verb to be in the transitional aspect nor use the motion verb *zane*. They have also rising intonation similar to standard negation with *maiha*, and feature a lengthening of the last vowel. Constructions with *awa* and the clitic *ira* and the transitional *-hena* are advice. The use of *ira* also makes the constructions a more "polite" prohibition. The intonation in (169) is different from that of (166) and (167), it is flatter and similar to declarative clauses.

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<sup>86</sup> The particle *awa* is not an exclusive prohibitive particle. It also has another use with the irrealis in counterfactual clauses (see §7.6.7).

- (166) **awaa! awaa!** waiya      nokoiliye      haitsa  
       awa      awa      waiya      no= koili      -ye      h= aitsa  
       NEG      NEG      see, watch      1sg parakeet POSSED      2sg kill  
       'Don't do it! Don't do it! You will kill my parakeet.' (ketetse)
- (167) **awa**      hiwatyalii!  
       awa      hi= watyali  
       NEG      2sg handle  
       'Don't handle it!' (Katom Ag iraiti)
- (168) **awa**      ixikako kirakahare xirai!  
       awa      ixikako kirakahare x- irai  
       NEG      period bullshit      2p nephew  
       'Don't say bullshit during this period!' (Festa)
- (169) ihiye      atyo      iraita      **awairatyo**      iniyalahare  
       i=      =hiye      =atyo      irai -ta      awa =ira      =tyo      iniyalahare  
       3sg= =BEN =TOP talk IFV NEG =AFF? =TOP ?  
       xitsomehena!      awatyo!  
       xi=      tsome -hena      awa =tyo  
       2pl= make, do TRS      NEG =TOP  
       'He told him: don't do something bad! Don't do it!' (Toahiyere-NB)

### 7.6.6 The prefix *ma-*

In Paresi, nouns and stative verbs can take the prefix *ma-* to derive privative stative predicates. This prefix can also be used as a means of negating subordinate clauses (see §7.6.7) In (170a), *ka-* 'attributive'<sup>87</sup> derives a stative verb from the inalienable noun *ityani* 'son, daughter', and (170b) shows its negative counterpart with the negative *ma-*. The negative verbs derived by the prefix *ma-* indicate that the subject of the predicate does not possess the root from which the predicate is derived.

- (170) a. kaitsaniro  
       ka-      ityani      -ro  
       ATTR son, daughter FEM  
       'She has a son/daughter.' (E)
- b. maitsani(halo)ha  
       **ma-**      itsani      -halo      -ha  
       NEG son, daughter FEM PL  
       'They do not have children.' (E)

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<sup>87</sup> See description of *ka-* in §7.3.3.

(171) a. nokaketserahare

no= ka-      ketse -ra      -hare  
1sg ATTR knife POSSED MASC  
'I have knives.' (E)

b. nomaketserahare

no= **ma-**    ketse -ra      -hare  
1sg NEG knife POSSED MASC  
'I do not have knives' (E)

(172) illustrates a privative stative predicate derived from the stative verb *airaze* 'be savory':

(172) a. airaze

airaze  
be.savory  
'Sweet-smelling'

b. mairazehare

**m-**    airaze                  -hare  
NEG be.savory, delicious NMLZ  
'It is not sweet-smelling.' (E)

The privative derivational negator *ma-* is common in Arawak languages, but its distribution in Paresi is different from that in other languages. In Tariana, for example, the negative *ma-* occurs with obligatorily possessed nouns and numerous stative verbs, as a counterpart of the attributive *ka-*. In Apurinã, a Southwestern Arawak language, the negative marker occurs only with objective descriptive intransitive verbs.

In Table 101 provide lists of nouns and stative verbs that can take *ma-* deriving private stative predicates. These predicates can also function as nouns when used with the possessed marker *-ne*.

Table 101: privative stative predicates

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
ityani	son	ma-itsani-halo	not having a son
haliti	Paresi person	ma-haliti-hare	not being a Paresi person
inityo	mother	ma-nityo-hare	not having a mother
etonane	walking	ma-e-tona-ne-hare <sup>88</sup>	be paralyzed (lit.: not being able to walk)
hiyokaka	edible thing	ma-hiyoka-ka-hare	not be edible
kirane	be small	ma-kirane-hare	not being small
waiye	be good	ma-waiye-ze	not being good

The difference in meaning between choosing to use the syntactic strategy (the *maiha* particle) or the derivational/morphological strategy (the *ma-* negator) is a temporal difference. In (173) and (174), the difference is that in the first (a) sentences, the statement is temporary while in the second (b) sentences, it is a permanent state. Michael (forthcoming) identifies similar temporal differences between prohibitive and standard negation in other Arawak languages as well. For example, in languages such as Wapishana and Wayuu, *ma-* occurs in active verbs as a negative habitual (similar to the example in (174)). In §7.6.9, the co-occurrence of the two forms, *ma-* and *maiha* will be described.

- (173) a. **maiha** nokaitaniye  
       maiha no= ka- ityani -re  
       NEG 1sg ATTR son NMLZ  
       'I do not have children.' (E.)
- b. maitsanihalo  
       **ma-** ityani -halo  
       NEG son FEM  
       'One who does not have children'/ 'She does not have children (E)

<sup>88</sup> Note that in order for an active verb to take *ma-*, it needs to be nominalized. In the example *mahiyokakahare*, also the verb *hiyoka* is first nominalized with the passive nominalizer *-ka* before receiving the prefix *ma-*.

- (174) a. **maiha** tsemare  
       maiha Ø= tsema -re  
       NEG 3sg listen NMLZ  
       'He does not listen.' (E)
- b. matsemanehare  
       **ma-** tsema -ne           -hare  
       NEG listen POSSED MASC  
       'One who does not listen, stubborn person'/ 'He is stubborn.' (E)

Inherently negative lexemes in Paresi may contain the negative morpheme *ma-*, such as the lexemes *maotikone* 'dumb' and the verb *maotseratya* 'lie'. However, these roots are bound, and do not occur without *ma* in any other contexts.

#### 7.6.7 Negation in complex clauses

In most subordinate clauses negation is expressed by using the clausal negator *maiha* similar to standard negation. Negation can occur independently in main or embedded clauses, as seen in (175) and (176):

- (175) nowaiya [maiha waiye hakita]  
       no= waiya maiha waiye Ø= haka **-ita**  
       1sg see NEG good 3sg work **IFV**  
       'I saw that he did not do a good job.' (E)
- (176) **maiha** nowaiyita [waiye haka]  
       maiha no= waiya **-ita** waiye Ø= haka  
       NEG 1sg see **IFV** good 3sg work  
       'I did not see that he did a good job.' (E)

Relative clauses undergo negation by means of the clausal negator *maiha* (with or without the negative focus *xini*) or the negative prefix *ma-*. In (177), the relative clause *zanehenerenae* is preceded by *maiha* and followed by *xini*. In elicitation, the negative prefix *ma-* was also used in a purpose clause, as in (179), though the required context was difficult to invent.

- (177) koko Xiro atyore zane batsaji hikoahena, [maiha  
           koko Gildo =atyo -re Ø= zane batsaji Ø= hikoa -hena maiha  
           uncle Gildo =TOP NMLZ 3sg go Rio Verde 3sg show.up TRS NEG  
           tyore zanehenerenae xini]  
           =tyo -re Ø= zane -hene -re -nae xini  
           TOP NMLZ 3sg go TRS NMLZ PL NEG  
           'It was my uncle Gildo who showed up in the Rio Verde village, it was not the  
           ones who went from here.' (tolohe)
- (178) nitsa ite kawalo [ohiro maiyanetere]  
       n= itsa ite kawalo ohiro ma- iya -ne -ita -re  
       1sg give FUT horse woman NEG buy NMLZ? IFV NMLZ  
       'I will give her the horse that the woman did not buy.' (E)
- (179) wakolatya nakairati homana himahokaka  
       wa= kolatya nakaira -ti h= om- =ana hi= ma- hokaka  
       1pl= bring food UNPOSS 2sg= LK =BEN 2sg= NEG be.sick  
       maheta  
       maheta  
       PURP  
       'We brought this food for you to not get sick' (E)

Cross-linguistically, expressions with the verbs *think*, *believe*, and *want* are more likely to exhibit negative transport. That is, they present the negation of subordinated clauses in which the negator of the embedded clause is attached to the verb in the higher clause. In Paresi, there is negative transport only with the verb *aoka* 'say'. (180) illustrates an example with the verb *awita* 'say', in which the negator precedes the verb *tiha* 'wash' in the embedded clause. In (181), the negation occurs in the main complement-taking predicate *aoka* 'say', which receives the nominalizer *-re*, not in the verb *zane* 'go'.

- (180) motyatyo [maiha Maria tihita] nawita  
       motya =tyo maiha Maria Ø= tiha -ita n= awita  
       FRUST =TOP NEG PN 3sg wash IFV 1sg= say  
       'I thought that Maria did not wash the clothes (lit.: 'I say to myself: "Maria did not  
       wash the clothes").' (E)

- (181) hikoahenaha                    hoka katsani **maiha** [zanehenahitaha]  
      Ø= hikoa -hena -ha hoka katsani maiha Ø= zane -hena -h -ita -ha  
      3sg show.up TRS PL CON DESID NEG 3sg go TRS PL IFV PL  
      naokare                            nowawiro                            notyaonita  
      n= aoka **-re**                    no= wawi -ro                    no= tyaon -ita  
      1sg= say NMLZ 1sg= be.alone NMLZ 1sg= COP IFV  
      'When they showed up I did not want them to go away because I was alone. (lit.:  
      'When they showed up I said that they should not go away because I was alone. )'  
      (Fenare nawenane)

The negation of real conditions (182) and of hypothetical clauses is expressed by using the negative particle *maiha*, as in standard negation. The irrealis *iya* occurs in the protasis of counterfactual clauses (183).

- (182) [**maihatya** ite                    zatsemita                    hoka]                    tyotyata  
      maiha -tya =ite                    za= tsem -ita                    hoka                            tyotyata -ta  
      NEG FOC =FUT                    2pl= listen IFV                    CON                            everything, all EMPH  
      ite                                ezanityo                            kakoa,                            nityani                            kakoa                            preso  
      =ite                                ezanityo                            =kakoa                            n= ityani                            =kakoa                            preso  
      =FUT                              wife                                =COM                                1sg= son, daughter                    =COM                            arrested  
      hiyane                            ala                                hoka  
      hi= yane                            =ala                                hoka  
      2sg= go                            =FOC                            CON  
      'If you don't listen, you will be arrested with your wife and siblings.' (JG  
      nawenane)
- (183) [**maiha iya**                    wabrigatyare                    hoka]                    **maiha iya**                    zoare  
      maiha =iya                        wa= briga -tya -re                    hoka                            maiha =iya                            zoare  
      NEG =IRR                            1pl fight TH NMLZ                    CON                            NEG                            =IRR                            INT  
      demarcação tsaitxita    womana  
      demarcação tsai -tx -ita    w= om- ana  
      demarcation issue TH IFV                            1pl LK BEN  
      'If we did not fight for it, the demarcation would not have been issued to us.'  
      (demarcação)

In negative counterfactual clauses, the negative particle *awa* occurs before or after the irrealis marker *iya*, as seen in (184) and (185).

(184) [iyan =iya =IRR katyatere katyate non=Indian non=Indian	awa awa NEG hoka] -re NMLZ	imoti imoti non=Indian hekota hoka time	Taviano Taviano Taviano Taviano Taviano Taviano	kolatyahitene Ø= kolatya -h -it =ene 3sg take PL IFV tyaonahitaha tyaona -h -ita -ha kalini live PL IFV PL now 'If they were not taken away by the non-Indian Taviano, they would still be living here now.' (formoso onetse)
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(185) [awaiya awa =iya NEG =IRR hatyokoa hatyo -ko 3sg LOC	wimezane wi= meza -ne 1pl table POSSED iyan =iya ?	namalahitita na= mala -heta -ita 1sg pull.up REG IFV haka wamokene haka wa= mok =ene move 1pl put 3O	hoka] hoka CON CON CON 'If I did not pull up our table, we would move and put [things] on it.' (ketetse)
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(186) wakobratita wa= kobra -t -ita 1pl= charge TH IFV hoka] hoka ma- zaima -ne CON NEG gift	[awaiya awa =iya NEG =IRR mazaimanehare -hare POSSED MASC	witso haliti witso haliti 1pl person degratsaiya de graça =iya for-free =IRR	indio kabixinae indio kabixi -nae PN PL kalini hatyo kalini hatyo now that
'Today we are charging [a toll], if it were not for us Kabixi Indians, today that road would be free'			

### 7.6.8 Negative indefinites

Paresi forms negative indefinites by using the standard negation particle *maiha/maitsa* to negate indefinite pronouns (see §7.4.1), which cross-linguistically is the most common strategy of forming negative indefinites, according to Kahrel (1996). These indefinite pronouns can also be used in questions as interrogative pronouns: *zala* 'who', *zoare* 'what', and *zoana* 'what'. In (188), *maiha* appears twice, the first *maiha* negates the verb *haka* 'work' and the second one occurs with *zoare* meaning 'nothing'.

- (187) maiha atyo **zala** iraezeha ekakoa  
      maiha =atyo zala Ø= irae -ze -ha e= =kakoa  
      NEG =TOP INT 3sg talk NMLZ PL 3sg =COM  
      'Nobody talks to him.' (iraiti-JM)

- (188) maiha maiha **zoare** hakare  
      maiha maiha zoare haka -re  
      NEG NEG INT work NMLZ  
      'They did not do anything.' (iraiti-JM)

- (189) maiha **zoana** witsaonare  
      maiha zoana wi= tsaona -re  
      NEG INT 1pl COP NMLZ  
      'We did not do anything.' (Kamoro nawenane)

### 7.6.9 Double negation

There are cases of double negation when the particle *maiha* negates a privative stative predicate already negated by *ma-*. The double negation results in a positive meaning, with the negative focus *xini* emphasizing it. Example (190) illustrates the use of *maiha* and two privative stative predicates *mazotyare* 'not-red' and *mairazehare* 'not-smelling'. The speaker chose the use of double negation, instead of non-negation, because he wants to emphasize the change of state of the red, sweet-smelling pequi fruit which loses its color and fragrance.

- (190) maiha zotere, maiha zotere, awaiya hoka **maiha**  
      maiha zotya -re maiha zotya -re awa =iya hoka maiha  
      NEG red NMLZ NEG red NMLZ NEG =IRR CON NEG  
      mazotyare **maiha** mairazeharene **xini**  
      **ma-** zotya -re maiha **ma-** airaze hare -ne xini  
      NEG be.red NMLZ NEG NEG sweet-smelling MASC NMLZ NEG  
      tyaona  
      tyaona  
      COP  
      'It is not red, it is not red. If it was not that, it would be very red and sweet-smelling  
      (lit.: it would not be non-red and not-smelling).' (kani)

In the next example, the positive clause with the attributive *ka-* is used (191), and then the speaker negates the privative stative predicate in order to emphasize that they were really sad (192).

- (191) kirakoane                witsaona  
           k-      irakoane    wi= tsaona  
           ATTR have.pity 1pl live  
           'We were sad.' (Aug nawenane)

- (192) **maiha** mairakoanehare                **xini**        witsaona  
           maiha    **ma-**    irakoane   -hare        xini        wi= tsaona  
           NEG      NEG have.pity MASC   NEG        1pl COP  
           'We were very sad (lit.: our sadness was not a little bit)'(Aug nawenane)

In (193), the speaker uses the privative stative predicate, and then in (194), he/she negates the privative predicate.

- (193) matsemakahare                xini        iraiti  
           ma-    tsema   -ka    -hare        xini        irai   -ti  
           NEG hear PASS MASC   NEG talk UNPOSS  
           'The saying that was never heard.' (Iheroware)

- (194) maiha   matsemakahare                xini        zakaihakere  
           maiha    ma-    tsema   -ka    -hare        xini        zakaihake   -re  
           NEG      NEG hear PASS MASC   NEG tell.story NMLZ  
           'the stories [they] told should be heard' (lit.: 'the stories [they] told should not never  
           be heard'). (Iheroware)

## Chapter 8 - Clause combining

### 8.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe coordination and the three types of subordination: relative clauses, complementation and adverbial clauses. Coordination involves juxtaposition and the use of the connector *hoka*. Subordination strategies are nominalization, juxtaposition, and the use of subordinating particles. The nominalization strategy is used for all types of clauses, while juxtaposition (parataxis) is used for coordination, complement relations, and for adverbial clauses (with the connector *hoka*), see Table 102. Nominalization is a common subordination strategy used in South American languages, and nominalization and juxtaposition are common among the Arawakan languages according to Van Gijn et al. (2011).

The description of certain constructions as involving coordination or subordination is not always straightforward in Paresi. For example, complement clauses and some adverbial clauses with *hoka* are syntactically juxtaposed, with no marking of subordination, similar to coordination constructions. However, semantically these clauses are dependent.

Table 102: Types of clause combinations and their encoding

	NMLZ	Juxtaposition	hoka	hiyeta	ezahe	maheta
coordination		*	*			
relative clause	*					
complementation	*	*				
reason	*	*	*	*		
conditional	*	*	*			
concessive conditional		*	*		*	
purpose	*					*

## 8.1 Event coordination

Coordination “refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units are combined and have the same semantic relations” (Haspelmath, 2007:1), and neither clause is syntactically dependent on the other. They can be expressed through juxtaposition in Paresi or by the use of the connector *hoka*. The semantic relation expressed by event coordination are conjunction, adversative coordination, and disjunction.

As seen in §4.7.1.1, the coordination of noun phrases is expressed by juxtaposition, and the same strategy is used for event coordination. These constructions express ordered events that are in succession and occur always in that order, as seen in (1), or occur at the same time, as in (2).

- (1) Hatyaotseta kolahenahitaha, keralihenahetene, èei  
hatyaotseta Ø= kola -hena -h -ita -ha Ø= kera -li -hena -het -ene  
then 3sg= take TRS PL IFV PL 3sg= burn ? TRS PERF 3O  
waiyehareheta  
Ø= waiye -hare -heta  
3sg= good MASC PERF  
'They took him, burned him (with leaves to cure), and he got better' (JT  
nawenane)
- (2) eakere ala eakere ala nimixita, hatyo  
eakere =ala eakere =ala n= imeza -ita hatyo  
like.this =FOC like.this =FOC 1sg gather IFV that  
baiyokatse kala nozaihako imixita  
baiyo katse kala no= zaihako Ø= imeza -ita  
elder CLF:long DUB 1sg behind 3sg= gather IFV  
'I was gathering there like this, and that old lady was gathering behind me.'  
(ketetse)

The connector *hoka* is also used to express temporal ordering of events (3) through (5) or unordered events (6). It either follows the first pair of coordinated clauses as in (3) and (5), each coordinated clause as in (4), or else only occurs after the last coordinated clause as in (6).

- (3) Hatyaotsetala witsaohena mene **hoka**, nikare  
 hatyaotseta =la wi= tyaoa -hena mene hoka nikare  
 then =FOC 1pl stay TRS for.a.long.time CON like this  
 wakenekoa, witsoheta kalini halohalotse  
 wa= kenekoa wi= tyoa -heta kalini halohalo -tse  
 1pl go.up 1pl come PERF now fig.tree CLF  
 'Then, we stayed there for some time, and we went away to the Figueira  
 headwater.' (JT nawenane)
- (4) awitsa ite nozani nowaiya **hoka**, nozani  
 awitsa =ite no= zan -i no= waiya hoka no= zan -i  
 soon =FUT 1sg go 1sg 1sg see CON 1sg go 1sg  
 nawahatene **hoka**, nixakene  
 na= waha -tya -ene hoka ni= xaka =ene  
 1sg long.time TH 3O CON 1sg shoot 3O  
 'Today I will go there to see, and then I will wait, and I will shoot it.' (Katom  
 iraiti)
- (5) hatyohekotala wazerore ainakoa **hoka**, zane  
 hatyohekota =la wazerore ainakoa hoka Ø= zane  
 then =FOC type.of.owl fly CON 3sg= go  
 'Then the owl flew and went away' (Dirizonae)
- (6) kahare ala waitsa, holokihityala, wanitsala,  
 kahare =ala w= aitsa holokihitya =la wa= nitsa =la  
 a.lot =FOC 1pl= kill cook meat =FOC 1pl= eat meat =FOC  
 wanitsa, fetatyahala **hoka**  
 wa= nitsa Ø= fetatyahala =la hoka  
 1pl= eat meat 3sg= bless PL =FOC CON  
 'We killed a lot, he cooked, we ate and offered.<sup>89</sup> (emaniya)

Adversative and contrast relationships do not have dedicated markers, and may be expressed by juxtaposed clauses, though the frustrative *zaore* is frequently present and leads to an adversative interpretation. Examples without the frustrative such as in (9) and (10) are rare.

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<sup>89</sup> Offerings are generally made of cooked food before people eat.

- (7) Dirizonae ala haboatanetxoako **zaore**  
 Dirizonae ala ha= boata -ne -txoa -ko zaore  
 Dirizonae FOC 3sg boot POSSED big LOC FRUST  
 waiyakotya, maiha zoare hekoti  
 $\emptyset$ = waiya -ko -tya maiha zoare hekoti  
 3sg= see LOC TH NEG INT at least  
 'Dirizonae was looking inside of the boot, but there was nothing.' (Dirizonae)

- (8) eaotseta ena halakoare Kerakoama **zaore**  
 eaotseta ena halakoa -re Kerakoama zaore  
 then man one side NMLZ PN FRUST  
 xahenene, ekoatene  
 $\emptyset$ = xa -hena =ene  $\emptyset$ = ekoatya =ene  
 3sg= shoot TRS =3O 3sg= make.mistake =3O  
 'Then from the side of the man, Kerakoama shot, but he missed' (Txinikalore)

- (9) barato nika hatyohare mezatse hoka maiha  
 barato nika hatyohare meza -tse hoka **maiha**  
 cheap ? this table CLF:small CON NEG  
 wiware  
 $w$ = iya -re  
 1pl buy NMLZ  
 'This type of table is cheap but we do not buy it.' (ketetse)

- (10) "korenatse harenaete xitseheta" neaha,  
 kore -natse hare -nae =te x= itse -heta  $\emptyset$ = nea -ha  
 arrow CLF:long also PL =FUT 2pl= give PERF 3sg= say PL  
 nozani  
 $no$ = zan -i  
 1sg= go 1sg  
 'They said: "Give us the rifle!", but I went away.' (JG nawenane)

In examples (11) and (12), a counter expectation or contrast is marked by the frustrative *zaore* in the first clause preceding the connector *hoka*.

- (11) abebe inityohalotihena, **zaore** **hoka** maitsa witso  
 abebe inityohaloti -hena zaore hoka maitsa witso  
 grandmother elder.female TRS FRUST CON NEG 1pl  
 akere atyo akai neare]  
 akere =atyo nea -re  
 similar, the.same.as =TOP say NMLZ  
 'My grandmother is an old lady but she does not (say) *akai* (when complaining of

pain like we do).' (Enore)

- (12) makehenatse                       ako     kamaehena     iyatyatyo               hitso  
make -hena -tse                       ako     kamae -hena     =iya -tya =tyo     hitso  
evening TRS     CLF:small LOC     sun     TRS     =IRR TH     =TOP 2sg  
hoka     hamalaka     iyatya,           **zaore**     **hoka**     haiya     zowaka  
hoka     ha= malaka     =iya -tya     zaore     hoka     haiya     zowaka  
CON     3sg= pull.off     =IRR FOC     FRUST     CON     IND2 period  
txiwalo     kahare]  
txiwalo     kahare  
mosquito     a.lot

'You can pull off in the evening or afternoon, but sometimes there are a lot of mosquitos.' (tolohe)

The disjunction of clauses or phrases may also be indicated by juxtaposition with the epistemic modality of uncertainty *zamani*.<sup>90</sup> In (14), there is an example of interrogative disjunction using the dubitative (*k*)ore.

- (13) hihokaka     **zamani**, hiwaini     **zamani**, zoana     kawe  
hi=     hokaka zamani     hi= waini zamani zoana kawe  
2sg= be.sick DUB     2sg= die     DUB     INT     hurt  
hamokoa                               **zamani**  
ha=     mok -oa     zamani  
3sg= put     INTR     DUB  
'Either you get sick, or you die, or you may get hurt.' (toahiyere-NB)
- (14) one     haokita     oloniti     **ore**     haokita?  
one     h= aoka -ita     oloniti     ore     h= aoka -ita  
water 2sg= say IFV chicha DUB     2sg= say IFV  
'Would you like chicha or water?'(E)

## 8.2 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are formed either through the combination of two finite clauses or through nominalization. The three types of subordinate clauses are: relative, complement, and adverbial clauses. All three types can use the nominalization strategy. Complement and adverbial clauses can also be formed through the combination of two

<sup>90</sup> For details on modality see §6.4.

finite clauses.

Relative clauses can be marked for tense, aspect, mood, and negation (see chapter 6), but the marking is slightly different from that seen in main clauses. Nominalized relative clauses can be preceded by determiners, or occur with the nominal number marking *-nae*. There are two types of nominalizations used in these clauses: one with *-re* (in which aspect is marked); and the other without overt nominalization (the nominalized form occurs with the possessed marker *-ne* and no aspect is marked). Complement clauses in paratactic constructions differ from main clauses because they are usually unmarked for aspect and tense. Nominalized complement clauses can be marked for aspect and occur with the postposition *kakoa*. Nominalized adverbial clauses are unmarked for aspect, contrary to what occurs in other types. More detailed discussion is given in the sections below.

### 8.2.1 Relative clauses

In Paresi, predicates in relative clauses (henceforth RC) are nominalized. These constructions occur with the verbal suffix *-re* (for masculine referents) or *-lo* (for feminine referents) which is a marker of nominalization. There are headed and headless RCs. It seems there is no essential distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.

Nominalizations functioning as an argument of a clause are different from other types of nominalizations (seen in chapter 4). The nominalization involved in RC is an intermediate form between lexical nominalization and verb forms, similar to gerunds in English, see (15). By intermediate form I mean the nominalized RCs take morphology of both lexical nominalizations and verbs. The nominalizer *-re* occurs in both types of nominalizations, but nominalized RCs take aspect markers (the most common are the transitional *-hena* and the imperfective *-ita* (15c); the regressive is rarely found in texts with RCs) and personal marking used with verbs.

- (15) a.  $\emptyset = moko\text{-}tya$  'he hit'  
           3sg=hit-TH  
       b. moko-re 'beat'  
           hit-NMLZ  
       c. moko-hene-re 'the one who was hit'  
           hit-TRS-NMLZ

Headless RCs have the same structure of headed RCs, except that they lack a nominal head. They occur as the subject of the main clause as in (16), or as the object as in (17). In (16) the plural marker *-nae* attached on the nominalization replaces the head noun. Example (18) shows that a headless RC can function as a recipient, being marked with the postposition. Headless RCs are more common than headed RCs.

- (16) [tyotya **tyoketerenae**] maiha waiyeze aoka  
       tyotya tyoke -ta -re -nae maiha waiye -ze Ø= aoka  
       all sit IFV NMLZ PL NEG good NMLZ 3sg= say  
       'He said, "All the ones who are sitting are not good people".' (E)

(17) [nenatyolo kokotero nola  
       nenatyolo Kokotero n= ola  
       ? mythical figure 3sg= game hunting  
**anitsazatitere]** waitsa ah  
       a- nitsa -za -tya -ite -re w= aitsa  
       CAUS eat.meat CLF:liq TH IFV NMLZ 1pl= kill  
       'We kill the one who is eating the food of Kokotero.' (SZ kinohaliti)

(18) [netati nitsa **naokowitere ana**]  
       neta -ti n= itsa n= aokowi -te -re =ana  
       necklace UNPOSS 1sg= give 1sg= want IFV NMLZ =BEN  
       zaneheta  
       zane -heta  
       go PERF  
       'The one I will give the necklace to went away.' (E)

Examples (19) and (20) have two noun phrases in apposition. The apposition is clear in (19) where *kamati* 'death' and *wainihenere* 'the one who die' with the adverb *kafaka* 'yesterday' between them. The evidence for the apposition in (20) and (21) is the pause between the two noun phrases. The headless RC in (22) is a dislocated topic

referring to the noun phrase *mama* 'mom'.

- (19) kalini kamati, kafaka [wainihenere,] tyoa,  
       kalini kama kafaka Ø= waini -hene -re Ø= tyoa  
       now death yesterday 3sg= die TRS NMLZ 3sg= come  
       hikoa hoka  
       Ø= hikoa hoka  
       3sg= come.out, show.up CON  
       'The deceased, the one who died recently, came and showed up.' (JT nawenane)
- (20) eye koko Taronha ene, [Bocanho aitsehenere] hiyeta,  
       eye koko Taronha =ene Bocanho Ø= aitse -hene -re hiyeta  
       this uncle PN =PST PN 3sg= kill TRS NMLZ therefore  
       haxakakakoaha hoka maihatya waiyeze hiyeta  
       ha= xaka -kakoa -ha hoka maiha -tya waiye -ze hiyeta  
       3sg= shoot REC PL CON NEG FOC good NMLZ therefore  
       xini, ali tyoa  
       xini ali Ø= tyoa  
       NEG here 3sg= come  
       'My deceased uncle Taronha, the one who Bocanho killed, they shot each other  
       and that was not good, he came here' (Kotitiko wenakalati)
- (21) mainikereta kotypatya ita awaezore,  
       mainikere -ta kotypatya ita awaezore  
       whole EMPH ? there awaezore  
       [walolohenere] mainikere  
       Ø= walolo -hene -re mainikere  
       3sg= be.rotten TRS NMLZ whole  
       'It is whole, that *awaezore* there, the one whole is rotten.' (tolohe)<sup>91</sup>
- (22) hatyaotseta mamatyø tyaonehetehena wihamiya  
       hatyaotseta mama =tyø Ø= tyaona -heta -hena wi= =hamiya  
       then mom =TOP 3sg= live PERF TRS 1pl= =near, next to  
       [kirawanetere] natyo]  
       Ø= kirawane -te -re natyo  
       3sg= argue IFV NMLZ 1sg  
       'Then my mother came to live together with us, the one who fought with me.'  
       (Kotitiko wenakalati)

Headed RCs may be externally or internally headed. In externally headed RCs,

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<sup>91</sup> All relative clauses, complements and adverbial clauses in the examples are in square brackets.  
     Negation in complex clauses is described in §7.6.7.

RCs follow the head noun in the main clause. These clauses most frequently exhibit the imperfect or progressive aspects (marked by *-hena* and *-ta* respectively). In (23), the relative clause is formed with *-ita* and *-re*.

- (23) setila nali kafaka nozekohatse eye radio  
 setila nali kafaka no= zekohatse eye radio  
 Citylar store LOC yesterday 1sg chief this radio  
**[nadevetitere]** nozani nowaiyita  
 na= deve -t -ite -re no= zan -i no= waiye -ta  
 1sg owe TH IFV NMLZ 1sg go 1sg 1sg see IFV  
 'Yesterday, I went to see the manager of the Citylar store and this radio that I owe.'  
 (Ketetse)

There are also RCs headed by the demonstrative *eze* 'this'. There are a few examples of this type, and to date there is no evidence of a formal or semantic difference that these RCs headed by a demonstrative form a distinct class of RC as in Polish, where demonstrative pronouns head distinct "light-headed" (Citko, 2004).

- (24) ahekoita tyomaha maheta, **eze**  
 Ø= aheko -ita Ø= tyoma -ha maheta eye  
 3sg= think IFV 3sg= make PL PURP this  
**[hakiterenae]** [kahehaliti **hakiterenae**]  
 Ø= haki -te -re -nae kahehaliti Ø= haki -te -re -nae  
 3sg= work IFV NMLZ PL illness 3sg= work IFV NMLZ PL  
 kakoa] tehiya ahekotyahitaha  
 =kakoa =te hitiya Ø= aheko -tya -h -ita -ha  
 =COM =FUT again 3sg= think TH PL IFV PL  
 'They are thinking about the ones who work with illness (in the health service),  
 and they are thinking about this project.' (makani tahi)
- (25) hoka maha hakakoare notyomitaa, **eze**  
 hoka maha hakakoa -re no= tyoma -ita eze  
 CON NEG similar NMLZ 1sg= make IFV this  
**[nowaiyehetehenerenae]** notyomeheta  
 no= waiye -hete -hene -re -nae no= tyoma -heta  
 1sg= see PERF TRS NMLZ PL 1sg= make PERF  
 'Therefore I could not make them all, only the ones I know I am making.' (omati-  
 ZK)

### 8.2.1.1 Position of the RC with respect to the head

In externally headed relative clauses, the relativized noun appears to the right of the RC, as shown in (26) (where the head *kawalo* 'horse' is external to the RC). This type of construction is more common than internally headed RCs.

- (26) nowaiya            **kawalo** [ohiro      iya      iyehenere]  
no= waiya            kawalo    ohiro      =iya      iye -hene -re  
1sg= see, watch      horse      woman     =IRR     buy TRS NMLZ  
'I saw the horse the woman is going to buy' (E)

Internal RCs have the head noun within the RCs, and they precede the main clauses. This type of RC was only observed in elicitation. In (27), the head is *ena* 'man' which also is in the RC functioning as the object. The preferred constituent order in internal RCs is SOV (but not the only one).

- (27) [ohiro    **ena**    waiyehenere]                iya      kawalo  
ohiro    ena    Ø=    waiye -hene -re    Ø=    iya    kawalo  
woman   man   3sg= see    TRS   NMLZ   3sg= buy   horse  
'The man who the woman saw bought the horse.' (E)

When verbs are not marked for the future tense, it may be hard to determine whether the head noun is inside or outside of the RC. The head noun *kawalo* can be analyzed as an object in focus position (before the subject) in the main clause (28), or it can be inside of the RC (29). However, there is evidence that the head is outside the RC when the main clause is in the future. In the future, the second position clitic *ite* 'FUT' occurs after the second noun phrase in the clause. In (30), the clitic occurs after *kawalo* indicating that this noun phrase is in the main clause. If *kawalo* 'horse' were inside of the RC, the clitic would occur after *ena* 'man'.

- (28) [ohiro    waiyehenere]                **kawalo** ena    iya  
ohiro    Ø=    waiye -hene -re    kawalo    ena    Ø=    iya  
woman   3sg= see    TRS   NMLZ   horse    man   3sg= buy  
'The man bought the horse that the woman saw.' (E)

- (29) [ohiro waiyehenere **kawalo**] ena iya  
      ohiro Ø= waiye -hene -re kawalo ena Ø= iya  
      woman 3sg= see TRS NMLZ horse man 3sg= buy  
      'The man bought the horse that the woman saw.' (E)
- (30) [ohiro waiyehenere] **kawalo** ite ena iya  
      ohiro Ø= waiye -hene -re kawalo ite ena Ø= iya  
      woman 3sg= see TRS NMLZ horse FUT man 3sg= buy  
      'The man will buy the horse that the woman saw.' (E)

### 8.2.1.2 The role of the relativized noun within the RC

In this section, I describe the role of the relativized noun within the relative clause. The relativized noun can function as a subject, an object, or an oblique. When the relativized noun's role is indirect object or oblique, the preferred strategy is the internally headed RC.

*Relativized noun is the subject of the relative clause*

Examples in (31) to (32) illustrate when the relativized noun's role is the subject of the RC. In (31), the relativized noun is the subject of the RC and also of the main clause. In (32), the relativized noun is the subject of the RC, and the object of the main clause.

- (31) eye nityani ene [wainihenere,] eye Nego  
      eye n= ityani ene Ø= waini -hene -re eye Nego  
      this 1sg= son, daughter PAST 3sg= die TRS NMLZ this PN  
      neye ene, hare kaitsani  
      neye =ene hare ka- itsani  
      father =PST also ATTR son, daughter  
      'My son who died, Nego's father, also had sons.' (Tarsila nawenane)
- (32) nowaiya ohiro [mokohenolo ena]  
      no= waiya ohiro Ø= moko -tya -hene -re ena  
      1sg see woman 3sg= hit TH TRS NMLZ man  
      'I saw the woman who hit the man.' (E)

*Relativized noun is the object of the relative clause*

The examples in (33) to (36) illustrate when the relativized noun's role is as the object of the RC. In (33), the relativized noun is both the object of the RC and of the

main clause. Either object (direct object or recipient/beneficiary) of a ditransitive clause may be relativized, but I have not found examples of this in texts. In (34), the head noun *netati* 'necklace' is the theme, placed inside of the RC, and it is the subject of the main clause.

- (33) nokaokiheta zoima [namokohenere]  
no= kaoka -heta zoima Ø= mokotya -hene -re  
1sg arrive PERF child 3sg= hit TRS NMLZ  
'I found the child, the one that I hit.' (E)
- (34) [ena itsehenere **netati** ohiro ana] waiyehare  
ena Ø= itsa -hena -re netati ohiro ana waiyehare  
man 3sg= give TRS NMLZ necklace woman BEN be.beautiful  
'The necklace that the man gave to the woman is beautiful.' (E)

In (35), the recipient in the RC is the object of the main clause, and therefore, it is not marked with the benefactive. However, in another construction, the recipient has the benefactive postposition *ana*, evidence that it is inside of the RC (36).

- (35) maiha nowaiyehitita **zoimahaliti** [olo Kezo  
maiha no= waiye -heta -ita zoima -hali -ti olo Kezo  
NEG 1sg see PERF IFV child MASC UNPOSS money Kezo  
axikahenere]  
Ø= axika -hene -re  
3sg= send TRS NMLZ  
'I have not seen the boy to whom Kezo sent money.' (E)
- (36) [Kezo itsehenere olo zoimahaliti  
Kezo Ø= itse -hene -re olo zoima -hali -ti  
Kezo 3sg= give TRS NMLZ money child MASC UNPOSS  
**ana]** maiha nowaiyehitita  
=ana maiha no= waiye -hit -ita  
=BEN NEG 1sg see PERF IFV  
'I have not seen the boy to whom Kezo gave money.' (E)

#### *Relativized noun is oblique in a relative clause*

In elicitation, a relativized noun has been seen to function as an oblique argument in the RC. In (37), the head noun *atyakatse* 'stick' is inside the RC exhibiting the

comitative marker *kakoa*, and it is the object of the main clause. This example shows that the internally headed RC cannot follow the main clause, only an externally headed RC can be in that position. In (39), the head noun *atyakatse* 'tree' is outside the RC.

- (37) [at�akatse      **kakoa**      nehohenere      txihore]  
       atya -katse      =kakoa      n=      echo      -hene -re      txihoo -re  
       tree CLF: long      =COM      1sg shatter TRS NMLZ door NMLZ  
       nakeratya  
       na= kera -tya  
       1sg burn TH  
       'I burned the stick I broke the door with.' (E)
- (38) \*nakeratya      [at�akatse      kakoa      txihore  
       na= kera -tya      atya -katse      =kakoa      txihoo -re  
       1sg burn TH      tree CLF: long      =COM      door NMLZ  
       nehohenere]  
       n=      echo      -hene -re  
       1sg shatter TRS NMLZ
- (39) nakeratya      **atyakatse**      [txihore      nehohenere]  
       na= kera -tya      atya -katse      txihoo -re      n=      echo      -hene -re  
       1sg burn TH      tree CLF: long      door NMLZ      1sg shatter TRS NMLZ  
       'I burned the stick I broke the door with.' (E)

A headless RC can also function as a comitative (40).

- (40) nozaniheta      [hakitere      kakoa]  
       no= zane -heta      Ø= haka -ite -re      =kakoa  
       1sg go      PERF      3sg= work IFV NMLZ      =COM  
       'I went away with the one who works.' (E)

In examples (41) to (42), the nominalized clauses express the time when an event happens but they are not considered adverbial clauses. Their structure is similar to the one seen above for relative clauses. They are relative clauses which modify the head nouns *zowaka* or *heko* 'moment'.

- (41) nali kotoyi ali zowaka [nixahenere] nika  
 nali kotoyi ali zowaka ni= xa -hene -re nika  
 there tapir here time 1sg= shoot TRS NMLZ ?  
 ita ezoa  
 ita ezoa  
 right here fall

'The tapir is there, at the time when I shot it, it fell down over here.' (Katomo nali)

- (42) [wamokazahenere] heko kahare kolomi  
 wa= moka -za -hene -re heko kahare kolomi  
 1pl= put CLF:liquid TRS NMLZ moment a.lot type.of.fish  
 wiyaiya hoka  
 wi= yaiya hoka  
 1pl= see CON

'At the moment we were beating the fish toxin we saw a lot of *kolomi* fish.'

(ximatyati)

Therefore, there are few restrictions on the role of the relativized noun in the RCs. A relativized noun can have the role of an oblique and all roles to the left of it in the Keenan and Comrie (1977) accessibility hierarchy in (43).

- (43) Subject>Direct Object>Indirect Object>Oblique>Genitive>Object of Comparison

Example (44) shows that a reading in which the possessor is the relativized noun with a headed RC is not possible. The relativized noun must be the noun *halanatse* 'dog' possessed by *ohiro* 'woman'.

- (44) **ohiro** halanatse, [tyalohenere] Justino,] waini  
 ohiro halanatse Ø= tyalo -hene -re Justino Ø= waini  
 woman dog 3sg= bite TRS NMLZ Justino 3sg= die  
 'The woman's dog that bit Justino died'/\*The woman whose dog bit Justino died.'  
 (E)

### 8.2.2 Complementation

I follow Cristofaro (2003:95) in defining complementation as relations which "link two subordinate clauses such that one of them [the main one] entails that another one [the dependent one] is referred to", since this definition is more appropriate for Paresi

than Noonan's (2007) more restrictive definition of complementation as when a notional sentence or predication functions as an argument of a predicate (Noonan, 2007). Based on the morphology of the complement types, there are two types of complementation in Paresi: paratactic complementation and nominalized complements. All classes of complement-taking predicates occur in paratactic complementation. Most of them may also occur with nominalized complements, but this complementation strategy was found only in elicitation. Complement predicates are generally unmarked for aspect (but there are a few exceptions) because time reference is marked in the complement-taking predicate. However, more work about which TAM markers can occur in these predicates still needs to be done.

### **8.2.2.1 Paratactic complementation**

Paratactic complements exhibit the following characteristics according to Noonan (2007: 65): (i) they do not have any marking of coordination or subordination; (ii) each verb phrase contains a fully inflected verb; (iii) no special verb forms are used; and (iv) the predicate may agree with the subject, but does not form a constituent with it (as with serial verbs). Structurally, complementation is distinct from coordination by the fact that a complement clause functions as an argument of the verb in the main clause. As I will discuss below, constructions with the complement-taking predicates *aheko* 'think', *waiyore* 'know, learn', *waiya* 'see', *tsema* 'hear', and *maotsera* 'lie' (in examples (64) and (67)) are not clearly complementation because the predicates do not require a complement, and syntactically they look like coordination constructions. Paratactic complements occur with all types of complement-taking predicates: utterance verbs, predicates of propositional attitude, knowledge, desiderative, immediate perception, pretence and achievement. The word order of constituents in complements tend to be verb final, the same tendency that is seen in main clauses.

#### *Utterance verbs, propositional attitude and desiderative predicates*

Paratactic complementation is found with both direct and indirect quotation.

Direct quotation precedes complement-taking predicates. The verbs used in quotation are the quotative verb *nea* and the verb *aoka* 'say' (which can also be used as a propositional attitude or desiderative predicate<sup>92</sup>). The quotative verb *nea* always requires a complement clause, as seen in (45) and (46). In (46), *irai* 'talk' is also used, but this verb does not require a complement; the complement clause is required by the verb *nea* at the end. The complements precede the complement-taking predicates.

- (45) [“korenatse            harenaete            xitseheta!”]            neaha,  
       kore -natse        hare -nae =te        x=    itse -heta        Ø=    nea -ha  
       arrow CLF:long      also PL        =FUT        2pl= give PERF        3sg= say PL  
       nozani  
       no=    zan -i  
       1sg= go 1sg  
       'They said, "Give us the rifle!", but I went away' (JG nawenane 1)
- (46) hoka    iraihitiya    [“hiyane        wiyeta            nola  
       hoka    irai -hitiya    hi=    zane    wi=    yeta            n=    ola  
       CON    talk again    2sg= go        1pl= sacred.flute    1sg= game hunting  
       hamaira            nozai            Koima!”]    nea  
       ha=    maira            nozai            Koima        Ø=    nea  
       3sg= be.afraid    my nephew    PN            3sg= say  
       'And he said again, "My nephew Koima, go fishing for the food of our sacred  
       flute!"' (iyamaka-BO)

The verb *aoka* 'say' is used in both direct (47) and indirect quotations (48).

- (47) ["zoimahaloti            waini"]            aokaha  
       zoimahalo -ti            Ø=    waini        Ø=    aoka -ha  
       girl            UNPOSS    3sg= die        3sg= say    PL  
       'They said "she died when she was a girl".' (Katom Aug nali)
- (48) ali    baba    tyaona    aoka  
       ali    baba    tyaona    Ø=    aoka  
       here    dad    become    3sg= say  
       'My father said he was born here' (Bacaval wenakalati)

The verb *aoka* 'say' is used as a propositional attitude predicate with the meaning

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<sup>92</sup> The verb *awita* 'think, want' can also be used with these predicates. Its origin may be the form *aoka*. They are interchangeable as propositional or desiderative predicates.

'say to oneself'.<sup>93</sup> The complements precede the complement-taking predicate, as seen in (49) and (50). In (51), the use of the noun *ezahekola* 'his/ their thought' in the beginning of the clause is also indication that *aoka* means 'say to oneself'.

- (49) [zeneia Ponenga zoaha nikala bitxo] waokita, bitxo  
 Zeneia Ponenga zoaha nika =la bitxo w= aoka -ita bitxo  
 PN PN and ? =FOC beast 1pl= say IFV beast  
 ala waokahene  
 =ala w= aoka -h =ene  
 =FOC 1pl= say PL =3O  
 'We thought that Zeneia and Ponenga were beasts, we thought it' (lit.: 'We said:  
 "Zeneia and Ponenga are beasts", we said it). (ximatyati)
- (50) hoka [imoti atyo ite nokakeako hatyo documento  
 hoka imoti =atyo =ite no= kahe -ako hatyo documento  
 CON non-Indian =TOP =FUT 1sg= hand LOC that document  
 aakahitere itsa] naokita  
 Ø= aoka -h -ite -re Ø= itsa n= aok -ita  
 3sg= say PL IFV NMLZ 3sg= give 1sg= say IFV  
 'I thought the non-Indian will give me that document, the one he talked about, in  
 my hand.' (lit.: 'I said: "the non-Indian will give me that document, the one he  
 talked about, in my hand"') (JG nawenane 2)
- (51) [ezahekola hiye motya fila tyotya]  
 e= z= aheko -la =hiye motya fila tyotya  
 3sg= NMLZ think POSSED =BEN FRUST line die.out  
 aakahitaha  
 Ø= aoka -h -ita -ha  
 3sg= say PL IFV PL  
 'They thought to them "maybe the line will be over", they thought.' (lit.: 'Their  
 thought to them "maybe the line will be over", they said') (Katomo Aug nali)

Another use of the verb *aoka* 'say' is as a desiderative complement-taking predicate. It takes the subject coreference marker *-wi*, which is not used when *aoka* is used in a utterance or propositional attitude predicate. The complement-taking predicate and the complement may have a different subject, as shown in (52) and (53), or the same

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<sup>93</sup> It is common to use the verb 'say' for 'think' in cultures where people do not tend to speculate about others' internal states.

subject, as in (54) and (55). In the latter, there is a cross-reference marker *-wi*. Complements precede the complement-taking predicates.

- (52) [kala nenani tahi nozakaihakaheta xihiyē] zaoka  
       kala nawenane tahi no= zakaihaka -heta xi= hiye z= aoka  
       DUB life about 1sg tell REG 2pl BEN 2pl say  
       'So, you all want me to tell you all the story of my life.' (lit.: 'So, you all said that I should tell you all the story of my life') (Fenare nawenane)
- (53) [witsaona] aokahitaha, xitsotatyo maiha  
       wi= tsaona Ø= aoka -h -ita -ha xitso -ta =tyo maiha  
       1pl= stay 3sg= say PL IFV PL you all EMPH =TOP NEG  
       zoare zaoka, mahatyatyo  
       zoare z= aoka maha -tya =tyo  
       what 2pl= say NEG FOC =TOP  
       'They want us to stay, but you all do not want us to.' (lit.: 'They said we should stay, but you all do not want us to'.) (iraiti JM)
- (54) [kalini bazerenae kolatya natyo] aokowihena hoka  
       kalini bazere -nae Ø= kolatya natyo Ø= aoka -wi -hena hoka  
       now priest PL 3sg= take 1sg 3sg= say SS TRS CON  
       'Then the priest wanted to take me.' (lit.: 'Then the priest said that he will take me.)  
       (JT nawenane)
- (55) [marechal Rondon ityani kakoa nirai]  
       marechal Rondon ityani =kakoa n= irai  
       marshal PN son, daughter =COM 3sg= talk  
       naokowita  
       n= aoka -wi -ita  
       1sg= say SS IFV  
       'I want to talk to the sons of marshal Rondon' (lit.: 'I said I will talk to the sons of marshal Rondon.') (JG nawenane 2)

Another alternative to express the notion of wanting is by means of the desiderative particle *katsani*, as in (56). In general *katsani* is used when the reference is the first person (57), but it can also be used with third person (58). The desiderative may also be used in the complements of the predicate *aoka*.

- (56) **katsani** Paula olo itsa nomani  
       katsani Paula olo Ø= itsa no= mani  
       DESID Paula money 3sg= give 1sg= BEN  
       'I wanted Paula to give me money.' (E)
- (57) **[katsani** Paula olo itsa nomani] naokita ene  
       katsani Paula olo Ø= itsa no= mani n= aoka -ita =ene  
       DESID Paula money 3sg= give 1sg= BEN 1sg= say IFV =PST  
       'I wanted Paula to give me money; I said.' (E)
- (58) **[katsani** Jurandir nozaniheta] aokita  
       katsani Jurandir no= zane -heta Ø= aok -ita  
       DESID PN 1sg= go REG 3sg= say IFV  
       'Jurandir wants me to go away; he said.' (E)

In negative constructions with *aoka*, the negation is in the main clause and not in the embedded one. In general, verbs in negative clauses are marked as nonfinite by the nominalizer *-re*. The main predicate of complement clauses is also marked by this nominalizer in negative clauses. In (59), the negation is in the main complement-taking predicate *aoka* 'say' which receives the nominalizer *-re*; if the negation were in the verb *zane* 'go', the form would be *naoka*.

- (59) maiha [zanehitaha] naokare  
       maiha Ø= zane -ha -ita -ha n= aoka -re  
       NEG 3sg= go PL IFV PL 1sg say NMLZ  
       'I do not want them to go.' (Fenare nawenane)

In addition to the verb *aoka*, the propositional attitude predicate *aheko* 'think' may appear with a complement clause, as in (60).

- (60) nahekoita [kafaka Jura weta kaoka]  
       n= aheko -ita kafaka Jura weta Ø= kaoka  
       1sg= think IFV yesterday PN early 3sg= arrive  
       'I think Jura arrived early yesterday/ I think; Jura arrived early yesterday.' (E)

#### *Predicates of knowledge*

The predicate of knowledge *waiyore* 'know, learn' may occur with another clause

but it does not require a complement, nor is there a marker of dependency. The classification of a construction as a complement clause is not always straightforward. Syntactically, constructions like the ones in (61) and (62) may be analyzed as coordination by juxtaposition. On the other hand, *waiyore* occurs with juxtaposed clauses that function as its semantic arguments. Therefore, these clauses may be treated as *waiyore*'s complements.

- (61) ah [tyotya                notyomita]                nawaiyolo  
           tyotya                no= tyomi -ta            na= waiyo -lo  
           everything, all    1sg= make IFV            1sg= know NMLZ  
           'Ah, I know how to make everything/ Ah, I know; I make everything.' (Tarsila  
           nawenane)
- (62) wawaiyore    atyo [wola                waitxita]  
           wa= waiyore atyo w= ola                w= aitx -ita  
           1pl know      TOP 1pl game hunting 1pl kill IFV  
           'We learned how to kill game/ We learned; we killed game.' (JT nawenane)

#### *Immediate perception, achievement and pretence predicates*

The following perception predicates may be analyzed as occurring with complements: *waiya* 'see' and *tsema* 'hear'. On one hand, one could argue that the embedded clause functions semantically as an argument of the main clause. On the other hand, these constructions do not show any marking of subordination, like coordination, and the verbs do not require a complement. In the examples below, both translations provided are possible. The same occurs with the achievement predicate *otya* 'remember', as in (66) and (67).

- (63) kawitxitala                hoka    hatyo    Preto    atyola  
           Ø= kawitsa -ita =la    hoka    hatyo    Preto =atyo =la  
           3sg= shout    IFV =FOC CON    that    PN    =TOP =FOC  
           waiyehena                [menetse    haliya                Poniya    tityoa]  
           Ø= waiya -hena    menetse    =haliya                Poniya Ø= tityoa  
           3sg= see    TRS    anaconda    =near, next to    PN    3sg= stand.up  
           hoka    kawitxita  
           hoka    Ø= kawitsa -ita  
           CON    3sg= shout    IFV  
           'She was shouting, Preto saw Poniya standing very close to the anaconda and

shouting./ She was shouting, Preto saw; Poniya was standing very close to the anaconda and shouting.' (ximatyati)

- (64) nowaiyita [maiha hokakita xini]  
no= waiya -ita maiha Ø= hokaka -ita xini  
1sg see IFV NEG 3sg= be.sick IFV NEG  
'I saw that he is not sick./ I saw; he is not sick.' (E)
- (65) watsema [zane mairatyaha]  
wa= tsema Ø= zane Ø= maira -tya -ha  
1pl hear 3sg= go 3sg= fish TH PL  
'I heard they went fishing./ I heard; they went fishing.' (E)
- (66) noteheta nika [maiha nitxita presente ama  
n= otya -heta nika maiha n= itx -ita presente mama  
3sg= remember PERF ? NEG 1sg= give IFV gift mom  
ana]  
=ana  
=BEN  
'I remember that I did not give a gift to my mom./I remember; I did not give a gift to my mom .' (E)
- (67) maotseratita nika [hatyola zola waita  
Ø= maotsera -t -ita nika hatyo =la z= ola waita  
3sg= lie TH IFV ? 3sg =FOC 2pl= game hunting ?  
aokowital]  
aokow -ita  
want IFV  
'I was lying that he knew about the game./ I was lying; he knew about the game.'
- (Katomo Aug iraiti)

One piece of evidence that a construction of this type may actually be coordination comes from examples such as (68) and (69). It is possible to have a pronominal object marker attached to the verb. The pronominal object marker cannot co-occur with the object noun phrase, and therefore the following clause cannot be interpreted as a complement.

- (68) nowaiyitene [maiha hokakita xini]  
no= waiya -ita =ene maiha Ø= hokaka -ita xini  
1sg see IFV 3sO NEG 3sg= be.sick IFV NEG  
'I am seeing it; he is not sick' (E)
- (69) namaotseratene [maiha natyo xini nokaiwene]  
na= maotsera -t =ene maiha natyo xini no= kaiwa =ene  
1sg= lie TH =3O NEG 1sg NEG 1sg= steal =3O  
'I denied it; I stole it.' (E)

### 8.2.2.2 Nominalized complements

In Paresi, two types of nominalizations can be used as a complement strategy: nominalization with no overt morpheme and with the nominalizer *-re*. Examples of these constructions were only rarely found in my text corpus, and the examples below come from elicitation. Almost all types of complement-taking predicates occur with nominalizations: utterance verbs, propositional attitude predicates, predicates of knowledge, desiderative, immediate perception, and pretence predicates (one exception may be achievement predicates<sup>94</sup>).

Complement predicates nominalized with *-re* are structurally similar to RCs because they can also take the aspect markers *-hena* 'TRS' or *-ita* 'IFV'. However, different from RCs, nominalized verbs functioning as complements can take the postposition *kakoa* 'comitative'. The other type of nominalization is the zero nominalization. This nominalized form occurs with the possessed marker *-ne*. The only verbs in my corpus which can occur with *-ne* when functioning as complements are the following: *maira* 'fish', *kaoka* 'arrive', *haka* 'work', *hikoa* 'show up', and *zane* 'go.' (see examples (74), (77), and (78)). It is not clear why only this small set of verbs can take *-ne* (not *-re*). Silva (2013) mentions that only unergative verbs can function as a complement of a predicate. Furthermore, unaccusative verbs such as *kaoka* 'arrive' would occur as complements if they were nominalized and with the postposition *-kakoa*. As seen in the examples below, unaccusative verbs such as *hokaka* 'be sick' do occur as complements of

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<sup>94</sup> I have not found examples with this predicate in the texts.

predicates (84). And other kinds of verbs beyond unaccusative verbs can be nominalized and take *kakoa* (73).

#### *Utterance verbs and desiderative predicates*

Nominalizations using both zero nominalization and *-re* strategies were attested with the utterance predicates *aoka* 'say', in (70) and (71), and *irai* 'talk', in (72) and (73). Both types of nominalization may occur with the comitative *kakoa*, as in (70) and (73). The use of the postposition in these contexts is not clear, and further research will clarify its function.

- (70) naokita [waiye wetonane kakoa]  
 n= aok -ita waiye w= e= ton a -ne =kakoa  
 3sg say IFV good 1pl ? walk POSSED =COM  
 'I hope our journey goes well' (E)
- (71) [nimezani manakata] aokita  
 n= imeza -n -i manakata Ø= aok -ita  
 3sg= gather POSSED 1sg type.of.fruit 3sg= say IFV  
 'He wants the fruit I gathered.' (E)
- (72) Kafaka Célio hiye nirai [nahahenere]  
 kafaka Célio =hiye n= irai na= ha -hene -re  
 yesterday PN =BEN 1sg= talk 1sg= work TRS NMLZ  
 'Yesterday I told Celio that I was working.' (E)
- (73) kafaka nirai Maria hiye [tehohenere kakoa]  
 kafaka n= irai Maria =hiye Ø= teho -hene -re =kakoa  
 yesterday 1sg talk Maria =BEN 3sg= smoke TRS NMLZ =COM  
 'Yesterday I told Maria that he was smoking.' (E)

#### *Propositional attitude predicates*

Nominalizations created by both zero nominalization and *-re* can occur in complements of the propositional attitude *aheko* 'think' and *tyaiko/tyakeko* 'believe'. It is interesting to note that the verb *kaoka* 'arrive' may be nominalized and used with the possessed *-ne* (74), but *tyoma* 'make' cannot, as shown in (76). The zero nominalization in (74) is different from the nominalization in (75) because it does not take aspect

markers, and the predicate exhibits a pronominal clitic used only with nouns *e*= '3sg'. All complement predicates nominalized by zero nominalization have the possessed marker *-ne*. The postposition *kakoa* can occur with both nominalizations, as in (75) and (78).

- (74) nahekoita [ekaokene ite weta]  
 n= aheko -ita e= kaoka -ne =ite weta  
 1sg= think IFV 3sg= arrive POSSED =FUT early  
 'I think his arrival will be early.' (E)
- (75) nahekoita [hitsomehenere (kakoa)]  
 n= aheko -ita hi= tsome -hene -re =kakoa  
 1sg think IFV 2sg make TRS NMLZ =COM  
 'I was thinking about what you did.' (E)
- (76) \*nahekoita hitsomene  
 n= aheko -ita hi= tsome -ne  
 1sg= think IFV 2sg= make POSSED
- (77) nahekota emairatyane weta  
 n= aheko -tya e= maira -tya -ne weta  
 3sg= think TH 3sg= fish TH POSSED early  
 'I think that he will fish early.' (E)
- (78) maiha notyaikore [Celio hatene kakoa]  
 maiha no= tyaiko -re Celio ha -te -ne =kakoa  
 NEG 1sg= believe NMLZ Celio work ? POSSED =COM  
 'I do not believe Celio will work.' (E)

#### *Predicates of knowledge and immediate perception predicates*

The complement-taking predicate *waiyore* 'know' can also take nominalizations as complements. Example (79) illustrates a zero nominalization complement and the postposition *kakoa*. The other two examples are similar to RCs with ambiguous interpretations. Further research will test whether these ambiguous clauses are complement clauses (by *kakoa* being able to appear after the nominalization), or relative clauses, which cannot have *kakoa* after the nominalization.

- (79) maiha nozanita festa, maiha nawaiyoreze  
maiha no= zan -ita festa maiha na= waiyo -re -ze  
NEG 1sg= go IFV party NEG 1sg= know NMLZ NMLZ  
[ihikoane kakoa]  
i= hikoa -ne =kakoa  
3sg= come.out, show.up POSSED =COM  
'I won't go to the party because I don't know if she will be there.' (E)
- (80) a. nawaiyoretyatyo [ena waiyehenere zoima]  
na= waiyore -tya =tyo ena Ø= waiye -hene -re zoima  
1sg know TH =TOP man 3sg= good TRS NMLZ child  
'I know that the man saw the child'  
b. nawaiyoretyatyo ena [waiyehenere zoima]  
na= waiyore -tya =tyo ena Ø= waiye -hene -re zoima  
1sg know TH =TOP man 3sg= good TRS NMLZ child  
'I know the man who saw the child.' (E)
- (81) a. wawaiyore [oliti aitsehanere]  
wa= waiyore oliti Ø= aitse -hene -re  
1pl= know game hunting 3sg= kill TRS NMLZ  
'We knew that he killed game'  
b. wawaiyore oliti [aitsehanere]  
wa= waiyore oliti Ø= aitse -hene -re  
1pl= know game hunting 3sg= kill TRS NMLZ  
'We knew the game that he killed.' (E)

Immediate perception predicates also take nominalized forms which occur with the possessed marker *-ne*, as in (82) and (83). The ambiguity seen above with the nominalizer *-re* does not occur with immediate perception predicates because nominalized forms with *-ne* cannot be interpreted as RCs. (84) shows a headless RC with the nominalizer *-lo* (the feminine form of *-re*). This construction is not a complement, as shown by the ungrammaticality of its use with the postposition *kakoa* (85).

- (82) nowaiya [nohokakini]  
no= waiya no= hokaka -ne -i  
1sg see 1sg be.sick POSSED 1sg  
'I saw that I am sick.' (E)

- (83) natsema [hiyanene]  
na= tsema hi= yane -ne  
1sg= hear 2sg= go POSSED  
'I heard that you are going away.' (E)
- (84) nowaiyita [hokakihenelo]  
no= waiyi -ta Ø= hokane -hene -lo  
1sg see IFV 3sg= be.sick TRS FEM  
'I saw the one who is sick.' (E)
- (85) \*nowaiyita [hokakihenolo] kakoa  
no= waiyi -ta Ø= hokane -hena -lo =kakoa  
1sg see IFV 3sg= be.sick TRS FEM =COM  
'\*I saw that the woman is sick.' (E)

#### *Pretence predicates*

I have a few examples in the corpus of pretence predicates taking nominalizations as complements, as in (86). It appears with a complement nominalized by zero nominalization.

- (86) namaotseratyा [nozanini wenakalati]  
na= maotsera -tya no= zane -ne -i awenaka  
1sg= lie TH 1sg= go POSSED 1sg village  
'I lied about going to the village.' (E)

### 8.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are dependent clauses that correspond to the circumstances under which the main clauses take place (Cristofaro, 2003: 155). In Paresi, structurally, subordinate clauses use the same two types of structures seen in complement clauses: clause combination of two finite structures and nominalized adverbial clauses. Semantically, adverbial clauses are used to express simultaneity, reason, condition, counterfactual, concessive condition, and purpose. Concessive condition and purposive clauses can be used with both structures.

#### 8.2.3.1 Clause combination of two finite structures

In this section, I will describe four types of adverbial clauses formed by the combination of two finite structures: reason, condition, concessive condition, and purpose

clauses. At first it is not easy to describe whether these constructions involve coordination or subordination. Syntactically, they show symmetry, that is, the two clauses have the same status, with no marking of subordination. However, semantically the clause with the connector is dependent.

### Reason clauses

Reason clauses are linked by the connectors *hiyeta* and *hoka*. The clause preceding the connector *hiyeta* is a reason clause, which can either follow or precede the matrix clause. The morpheme *hiyeta* has two functions: as a connector in subordinate clauses, and as a discourse particle meaning 'then'. Silva (2013:414) says *hiyeta* occurs to the left of the subordinate clause. However, in the examples where *hiyeta* is clause-initial, *hiyeta* is better analyzed as a discourse particle, and not as a subordinate connector. The dependent clause with *hiyeta* can also occur by itself, but *hiyeta* has a different meaning in this context: "Then she was already there".

- (87) [nali terota tyaonita      **hiyeta**,] waiyolo      natyo  
       nali terota Ø= tyaona -ita      hiyeta Ø= waiyo -lo      natyo  
       LOC already 3sg= COP IFV      because 3sg= know FEM 1sg  
       akereta  
       akere      -ta  
       the.same.as IFV  
       'Because she was already there, she knows as much as I do.' (E)

Another connector used with reason clauses is *hoka*. These constructions are syntactically similar to the coordinated clauses described with *hoka* in §8.1. In the examples below, the clauses with *hoka*<sup>95</sup> express a motivating event. In general they follow the matrix clause.

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<sup>95</sup> The morpheme *hoka* also occurs clause-initially as a discourse particle meaning 'then'. Contrary to the analysis here, Silva (2013: 416) analyzes *hoka* clause-initially as indicator of sequence, and *hoka* in clause-final position as indicator of conclusion.

- (88) awaizore hiteretya waiye malakaka  
 awaizore h= ita -re -tya Ø= waiye malaka -ka  
 type of yuca 2sg say NMLZ?? TH 3sg= good pull.off TH  
 [ehaotatse **hoka**]  
 Ø= ehaota -tse hoka  
 3sg= be.on.surface CLF:small CON  
 'This one that you say it is *awaizore*, it is good to pull up, its roots are on the surface.' (tolohe)

(89) maihatyo zala wihiyе, zala hekoti  
 maiha =tyo zala wi= =hiye zala hekoti  
 NEG =TOP who 1pl= =BEN who at least  
 kanaliyaotseze wihiyе [maihatyo haliti  
 Ø= kanaliyaotse -ze wi= =hiye maiha =tyo haliti  
 3sg= look.after NMLZ 1pl= =BEN NEG =TOP Paresi.person  
 koni xini **hoka**]  
 koni xini hoka  
 among NEG CON  
 'Nobody looked after us, we were not among our people.' (Fenare nawenane)

(90) [kala eye kolaliye kalore seguraita neaha **hoka**,]  
 kala eye kolaliye kalore Ø= segura -ita Ø= nea -ha hoka  
 DUB this grass a.lot 3sg= hold IFV 3sg= say PL CON  
 maitsa atxohaliyatyre  
 maitsa Ø= atxo =haliya -tya -re  
 NEG 3sg= weed =along TH NMLZ  
 'They said this grass was holding (the sand), and they did not weed around.'

## Conditional clauses

In Paresi, conditionals do not have a dedicated marker. Rowan & Burgess (1969) and Silva (2013) analyzed the clitic *iya* (or its reduced form *ya*) as a conditional marker. As discussed in Brandão (2010), I consider the clitic to be an irrealis marker because it also occurs in negation (see §7.6). Another argument against the conditional analysis is that *iya* only occurs in counterfactual and concessive conditions, not in all conditional.

The connector *hoka* follows the conditional clause (similar to the constructions seen above in reason clauses), as seen in (91) and (92), which refer to habitual or generic

situations, and (93) which refers to a past situation:

- (91) txinitse te militsa hitso [iniho hanoloka  
 txini -tse =te militsa hitso in= iho ha= noloka  
 jaguar CLF:small =FUT scratch you 3sg= tail 3sg= pull  
**hoka]**  
 hoka  
 CON

'The cat is going to scratch you if you pull his tail.' (E)

- (92) [irikati aotse hikahe hamoka **hoka]**  
 irika -ti -aotse hi= kahe ha= moka hoka  
 fire UNPOSS place where 2sg= hand 3sg= put CON  
 hikerali  
 hi= kera -li  
 2sg= burn CLF:round

'If you put your hand in the fire, you will get burnt.' (E)

- (93) [aitereze tyoma **hoka]** waiye kaitsehare  
 aitere -ze Ø= tyoma hoka Ø= waiye kaitsehare  
 it.is.true NMLZ 3sg= do CON 3sg= good EMPH  
 'If she really did it, then she will get better.' (E)

Examples (94) and (95) are examples of unreal conditions which refer to hypothetical situations. Like clauses with real conditions they do not occur with the irrealis marker.

- (94) aze “nixakenetya ite” nea owano  
 azeze ni= xaka =ene -tya =ite nea owano  
 older.brother 1sg= shoot =3O FOC =FUT say do.not.know  
 kato [waiya hekoatene **hoka]**  
 kato Ø= waiya h= ekoat =ene hoka  
 my.brother 3sg= see 2sg= get.wrong =3O CON  
 hemahakaitseretya witso  
 h= e= ma- hakaitse -re -tya witso  
 2sg= CAUS NEG ? NMLZ TH 1pl  
 'My brother said: "I will shoot him", I do not know brother, if you get it wrong,  
 we are in trouble.' (kozeto)

- (95) [awitsa ite nowaiyehitiyene **hoka**] nazene  
 awitsa =ite no= waiya hitiya =ene hoka n= aza =ene  
 soon =FUT 1sg see again 3O CON 1sg ask 3O  
 'If today I go there again, I will ask him about it.' (ketetse)

Unreal conditions in which one guesses what will happen are called predictive, and are marked with the irrealis *iya*, as shown in the examples below. These clauses are marked for irrealis aspect differently from independent clauses and the dependent clauses seen above (which do not occur with *iya*).

- (96) [hatyo **iyatayatyo ali hoka**] tyoma hare nakairati  
 hatyo =iya -tya =tyo ali hoka tyoma hare nakaira -ti  
 3sg =IRR TH =TOP here CON make also food UNPOSS  
 'If she is here, then she will cook food.' (iraiti Batsaji)
- (97) [nozaneheta **iya hoka**] Onizokae amaikohare  
 no= zane -heta =iya hoka Onizokae amaiko -hare  
 1sg= go PERF =IRR CON PN be.sad MASC  
 'If I go away, Onizokae will get sad.' (E)

### **Concessive condition**

Concessive conditional clauses describe a situation in which the main clause event would not be expected. These clauses use the connector *ezahe* in preverbal position.

- (98) [hatyo imitinae hitiyayatyo **ezahe** maiha nabakaita hoka]  
 hatyo ima -nae hitiya =iya =tyo ezahe maiha na= baka -ita hoka  
 that cloth PL again =IRR TOP CON NEG 1sg pay IFV CON  
 nakolatya, maiha zoare ako festa zaoka zoimanae  
 na= kolatya maiha zoare ako festa z= aoka zoima -nae  
 1sg bring NEG INT LOC party 2pl say child PL  
 kiranezenae itxoita  
 k- ira -ne -ze -nae Ø= itsoa -ita  
 ATTR AFF? POSSED NMLZ PL 3sg= come.in IFV  
 'Even if I do not pay for the clothes, I will bring [them] otherwise the children  
 won't have clothes to wear at the party' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (99) [alita ite **ezahe** nowawi notyaona] maiha [alita  
 ali -ta ite ezahe no= wawa -i no= tyaona maiha ali -ta  
 here EMPH FUT CON 1sg be.alone 1sg stay NEG here EMPH  
 nakikitsoa nea  
 na= kikitsoa Ø= nea  
 1sg move.out 3sg= say  
 'Even if I stay alone here, I will not move away' (Bacaval wenakalati)

### Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses are followed by the connector *maheta*<sup>96</sup> in Paresi. In (100) through (103), there are examples of purposive clauses with different and same subjects.

- (100) kalikini ehare niraeheta [era notxikolaharenae  
 kalikini ehare n= irae -heta era no= txikolahare -nae  
 now this 1sg talk PERF ? 1sg descendant PL  
 tsemeheta **maheta]**  
 Ø= tsema -heta maheta  
 3sg= hear PERF PURP  
 'I am telling this now so my descendants can listen to it.' (hitsehaliti)
- (101) [owene xiyayene **maheta] nakolaita**  
 owene xi= yaya =ene maheta na= kola -ita  
 there 2pl see 3O PURP 1sg bring IFV  
 'There it is, I brought it for you all to see it.' (Wazare)
- (102) [ako zane tokehaliyatya **maheta] zane**  
 ako Ø= zane Ø= toma =haliya -tya maheta Ø= zane  
 LOC 3sg= go 3sg= kill.bird =along TH PURP 3sg= go  
 'He went to kill birds.' (katomo Aug nali)
- (103) wakolatyatnakairati homana himahokaka  
 wa= kolatya nakaira -ti h= om- =ana hi= **ma-** hokaka  
 1pl= bring food UNPOSS 2sg= LK =BEN 2sg= NEG be.sick  
**maheta**  
 maheta  
 PURP  
 'We brought this food so you don't get sick' (E)

Rowan & Burgess (1969: 28) mentions another purposive conjunction *ira* which

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<sup>96</sup> The morpheme *maheta* can also be used in an independent clause with a different meaning, as in *hi=tsera maheta / 2sg=drink PURP* 'It is for you to drink'.

was not found in the Paresi varieties I studied. Instead a similar form *era* was found only rarely in texts. The morpheme *era* precedes a purposive clause, as in (104). It is not clear whether *era* is a purposive marker<sup>97</sup> because it can also co-occur with *maheta*, as seen above in (100). (105) and (106) show that they may be interchangeable without change in meaning. One hypothesis is that *era* is a formal subordinator form used in traditional texts and spells, as was suggested by one of the speakers.

- (104) hatyaotseta, nikahena koko mazazalane, ainakoahena [era  
       hatyaotseta nika -hena koko mazazalane ainakoa -hena era  
       then ? TRS uncle type.of.bird stand.up, fly TRS ?  
       witsera woloza]  
       wi= tsera w= olo -za  
       1pl drink 1pl chicha CLF:liq  
       'Then, come uncle Mazazalane! stand up to drink chicha!' (Wazare)
- (105) nozane namairatya [makani nokanakairi kohatse  
       no= zane na= maira -tya makani no= ka- nakairi kohatse  
       1sg= go 1sg= fish TH tomorrow 1sg= ATTR food fish  
       **maheta]**  
       maheta  
       PURP  
       'I will go fishing so I can eat fish tomorrow.' (E)
- (106) nozane namairatya [era makani nokanakairi  
       no= zane na= maira -tya era makani no= ka- nakairi  
       1sg= go 1sg= fish TH ? tomorrow 1sg= ATTR food  
       kohatse]  
       kohatse  
       fish  
       'I will go fishing so I can eat fish tomorrow.' (E)

### 8.2.3.2 Nominalized adverbial clauses

Subordinate clauses used for simultaneity, counterfactual condition, concessive condition, and purpose clauses are formed by using the nominalization strategy. Similar to complement clauses, there are two types of nominalizations which can occur with these clauses: zero nominalization and nominalization with *-re*.

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<sup>97</sup> One hypothesis is that *era* is a archaic form used in formal discourse and dropped out of everyday speech.

## Simultaneity

The morpheme *-natse* functions as a simultaneity marker in nominalized clauses with *-re*, as illustrated in examples (107) through (109).

- (107) haikoheta                haikohetehitiya                zakore [kala  
Ø= haikoa    heta    haikoa    heta    hitiya    zakore    kala  
3sg= come.out REG come.out REG again FRUST DUB  
haikohetehenerenatse]                iximarene                akohitsa  
haikoa    -heta -hena -re    -natse i= ximarene                akohitsa  
come.out REG TRS NMLZ SIM    3sg youngest.brother make.small.gap  
'He came back, but when her youngest brother came back, the hole was small.'

(Wazare)

- (108) [memakerenatse]                atyo                maiha                wahatse  
memaka -re    -natse =atyo                maiha                waha    -tse  
quiet    NMLZ SIM    =TOP    NEG                be.long CLF:small  
tyaonare                hoka                hikoare  
Ø= tyaona -re    hoka    Ø= hikoa                -re  
3sg= COP    NMLZ CON    3sg= come.out, show.up NMLZ  
'When it is quiet, it does not take too long and he arrives.' (Katomo nali)
- (109) [nohaikoahenerenatse]                olo                itsa                nomani  
no= haikoa    -hene -re    -natse =olo                itsa    no= mani  
1sg= come.back TRS NMLZ SIM    money                give    1sg= BEN  
'When I came back he gave me the money' (E)

## Counterfactual clauses

The clitic *iya* occurs in the second position in the first clause (regardless of whether the first clause is the protasis or the apodosis) in counterfactual clauses which express unreal conditions that did not or could not really happen. Different from the other clauses with *hoka* seen above, counterfactual clauses may exhibit a nominalized verb form, with the nominalizer *-re* marking the subordination. Negative counterfactual conditions occur with finite clauses, and it is unclear if nominalized constructions can also be used in negation.

- (110) nozani            iya        [nimatyare                              **hoka**,]  
no= zan -i        =**iya**       n= imatyare            -re              hoka  
1sg= go 1sg       =IRR        3sg= beat.cipó.vine **NMLZ**      CON  
nokirahalo  
no= kira           -halo  
1sg= be.tired FEM  
'If I went to beat fish toxin, I would be tired.' (E)
- (111) [documento ala        kaokehenahetere                              **hoka**]  
documento =ala        Ø= kaoke -hena -hete -re              hoka  
document =FOC 3sg= arrive TRS PERF **NMLZ**      CON  
waganhatya           olo  
wa= ganha -tya olo  
1pl= win TH money  
'If our documents had been found, we would have earned money.' (E)

The irrealis *iya* may occur in both sentences, but it is optional in the matrix clause:

- (112) [notyomariya                              **hoka**] nowaini        (iya)  
no= tyoma -re        =**iya**       hoka       no= waini       =**iya**  
1sg= do        **NMLZ** =IRR      CON       1sg= die       =IRR  
'If I had done this, I would have died' (E)

The morpheme *eko* was described by Rowan (1969: 26) as a counterfactual marker. This marker appears in the corpus, as in examples (113) through (115). However *eko* does not contribute to the conditional meaning and can be left out of the clause. The morpheme *eko* also occurs in contexts other than in counterfactual clauses, as in (115). The meaning of *eko* is not clear , but it could be a variant of *hekoti* which means 'at least'.

- (113) [aliya        koezahalitsaha,        ekoyatya        txiyareha  
ali        =ya        Ø= koeza -hali -tsa -ha **eko** =ya -tya        Ø= txiya -re        -ha  
here =IRR 3sg= laugh ?      TH PL ? IRR FOC? 3sg= pass NMLZ PL  
tyotya           hoka] koezahalitsaheneyatya  
tyotya           hoka Ø= koeza -hali -tsa -hene =ya -tya  
everything, all CON 3sg= laugh ?      TH TRS =IRR FOC  
'Here, they would have laughed at her, if all of them had passed, they would have  
laughed at her.' (iraiti Batsaji)

- (114) [eko nika iyatyo newaoka ewatyalitse  
 eko nika =iya =tyo n= ewaoka e= watiali -tse  
 ? ? =IRR =TOP 1sg tie.tucum.fiber 3sg wrist CLF:small  
 hiye nakatilikare hoka]...  
 =hiye na= katilika -re hoka  
 =BEN 1sg tie NMLZ CON  
 'If I had got the fiber and tied up on her arm....' (ketetse)
- (115) kalikini atyo **eko** witsotehena wawahatya pedage  
 kalikini =atyo eko witso =te -hena wa= waha -tya pedagio  
 now =TOP ? we =FUT TRS 1pl= long.time TH toll  
 hoka **eko** wikaoloxita  
 hoka eko wi= ka- olo -x -ita  
 CON ? 1pl= ATTR money POSSED IFV  
 'Today, we are waiting for the toll and at least we have a little money'  
 (Demarcação)

### Concessive conditional

Concessive conditional clauses are marked by the connector *ezahē*. The examples below illustrate concessive conditional clauses formed through nominalization with *-re* when they have different subjects (116) or same subject (117).

- (116) [ezahiya inira hitserare hoka]  
**ezahē** =iya inira hi= tsera -re hoka  
 CON =IRR small.quantity 2sg= drink NMLZ CON  
 kirawaneha hitsō  
 Ø= kirawane -ha hitsō  
 3sg= argue PL you  
 'Even if you drink only a little bit, they will argue with you' (E)
- (117) [ezahē maiha hawaiyetyarene hoka] waiye  
**ezahē** maiha h= awaiyetya -re =ene hoka waiye  
 CON NEG 2sg= like NMLZ 3O CON good  
 hamokene  
 ha= moka =ene  
 2sg= put 3O  
 'Even if you do not like him, you should treat him well' (E)

### Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses with non-finite verbs exhibit a nominalized verb form, with no

nominalizer marker but showing nominal (un)possessed forms, as in (118) through (121).

- (118) hafitya natyo [hitemahahalone **maheta**]  
     ha= fitya natyo hi= temaha -halo -ne maheta  
     3sg plant 1sg 2sg be.soft? FEM POSSED PURP  
     'Bury me in a place where my body can be soft.' (kokotero)

(119) maika konare aitsehena [itsene  
     maika konare Ø= aitsa -hena itse -ne  
     SUG cará fish 3sg= kill TRS give POSSED  
     nohalateni **maheta**]  
     no= halate -n -i maheta  
     1sg comb POSSED 1sg PURP  
     'Also ask my father to kill cará fish and give them to me for my comb.'  
     (kokotero)

(120) makani tyohena [ekolatyatse **maheta**]  
     makani Ø= tya -hena e= kolatya -tse maheta  
     tomorrow 3sg= come TRS 3sg= bring POSSED PURP  
     'Tomorrow he will come to take her.' (Enore)

(121) iniratyō kaomakita, [ehare erati  
     inira =tyo ka- oma -k -ita ehare era -ti  
     small quantity =TOP ATTR make PASS IFV this drink UNPOSS  
     **maheta**,] inira kaomakita  
     maheta inira ka- oma -k -ita  
     PURP small quantity ATTR make, do PASS IFV  
     'Today it is made a small quantity [of chicha], when it is for drinking, it is a small  
     quantity.' (oloniti)

## Chapter 9 - Final considerations

In this chapter, I highlight the major contributions of this work. Among the major interesting typological features of Paresi are palatalization of consonants, a noun classification system with multiple classifiers, a verb classification based on agentivity, middle voice marking, the incorporation of postpositions, reality status, and interesting strategies used for coordination and subordination. Except for postposition incorporation and palatalization, these features were not described in previous works.

The phonology was the most studied part of the language to date. The palatalization phenomena were described here and in Silva (2013). The palatalization pattern shows a mixture of primary and secondary place effects, with different conditions on the targets, triggers, and directions of the process.

Another salient feature of Paresi is the noun classification system (§4.5). The morphemes treated here as classifiers were previously described as adjectives in Silva's work. Classifiers are classifying morphemes that refer to the consistency or shape of their referents and can be used with demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, nouns, and verbs. Labelling these morphemes as either class terms or classifiers, using common criteria in the literature, is not straightforward because they share semantic properties with class terms of Grinevald's classification (2000) but have additional morphosyntactic properties, such as their “agreement-like” function and the property of being incorporated into verbs.

The language has also a verb classification depending on the choice of proclitics (§5.2). One set of proclitics is used for agentive verbs and another for non-agentive verbs. The classification is largely, though not completely semantically based. The presence of two sets that can mark both A-subjects or S-subjects is a unusual across languages (in Arawak languages usually one set is for A-subjects and the other for S-subjects).

The relations among the middle voice *-oa* and the coreferential marker *-wi*, and the reciprocal *-kakoa* and the comitative *kakoa* are very interesting from a historical point

of view (§5.3). The morpheme *-oa* may have been a historical reflexive marker which is used today as a middle voice marker with inchoative, body posture and motion verbs. The coreferential *-wi* acquired properties of a reflexive marker. The reciprocal *-kakoa* may be the source of the comitative *kakoa* based on comparative historical evidence, when more commonly postpositions become a reciprocal suffixes.

In the section about incorporation of postpositions (§5.3.3.3), I showed that Paresi postpositions are incorporated into verbs and are not applicative morphemes. The postposition incorporation may or not result in the promotion of oblique argument to a core status. Future work is needed to study the semantic effects of this incorporation.

Another typological contribution of this work was the description of the irrealis marker *iya* (§6.2). One could have analyzed *iya* as a counterfactual mood used in the contexts of counterfactual, concessive condition and negatives in the future. However, I decided to treat it as a reality status marker and not as mood based on Michael's (forthcoming) study of the reality status in Southern Arawak.

The last chapter on complex clauses was the first preliminary analysis of Paresi syntax which described nominalization and juxtaposition as strategies for subordination in all three types of subordinate clauses. I presented a discussion about the difficulty of establishing the difference between coordination and subordination constructions in Paresi. Some complement clauses formed by paratactic constructions are syntactically similar to coordinated clauses, but they are analyzed as a semantic complement of the predicate. Adverbial clauses with two finite structures also look like coordinated clauses, and the only indicator of subordination is the semantic relation between these clauses and their main clauses.

## Texts

### Batsaji tahi story

1 a eye wenakalati tahi      kalikini inira      nawaiyolini  
eye awenaka =tahi      kalikini inira      na= waiyoli -ni  
this village =about now      small quantity 1sg= know NMLZ  
nowaiyani      kitxiya .  
no= waiya -ni      kitxiya  
1sg= see NMLZ until

Today I am going to tell you a little history of this village until the time I got to witness and as far as I know.

2 nozakaihakatya      inira      maheta      eye      wenakalatya      atyo  
no= zakaihaka -tya      inira      maheta      eye      wenakala -tya =atyo  
1sg= tell      TH      small quantity PURP      this      village FOC =TOP  
hetati .  
hetati  
in.the.old.days

I will tell a little bit of the story of this village in the old days.

3 a kala mile      novecentos e      cinquenta e      nove atyo  
kala mil      novecentos e      cinquenta e      nove =atyo  
EVID thousand nine hundred and fifty      and nine =TOP  
hetati .  
hetati  
in.the.old.days

I think in the year of nineteen fifty-nine, in the old days.

4 baba João garimpeiro Anita      ezanityo .  
baba João garimpeiro Anita =la      ezanityo  
dad PN      PN FOC wife

My father, who is João garimpeiro, and his wife, who is Anita.

5 a Maximiano dona Petromilia zoahatyo  
Maximiniano dona Petromilia zoaha =tyo  
PN lady PN and =TOP

and Maximiano and dona Petromilia

6 maiha ali xini tyaconahitaha eye  
maiha ali xini tyacona -h -ita -ha eye  
NEG here NEG live PL CONT PL this  
ikinozatse Tabira nihozozoako  
i= kino -za -tse Tabira n= ihozozoako  
3sg= tree POSSED CLF.small PN 3sg= neck  
aokahitere nali ene atyo tyaconahitaha  
aoka -h -ite -re nali =ene =atyo tyacona -h -ita -ha  
say PL CONT NMLZ LOC =PST =TOP live PL CONT PL

They did not live here, they lived there, more down where it is called the Tabidya's neck.

7 hoka hatyo zowaka mile novecentos eye ahoti txiya .  
hoka hatyo zowaka mil novecentos eye ahoti txiya  
CON that period thousand nine hundred this road pass

about nineteen hundred this road passed.

8 hoka hatyaotsetaty o eye ezoimalanae kalini Jofena  
hoka hatyaotseta =tyo eye e= zoima -la -nae kalini Jofena  
CON then =TOP this 3sg= child POSSED PL now PN  
Justino .  
Justino  
PN

After that these youths such as jovenal and justino.

9 a hatyo zoimanae hatyo Tabira nihohozozo akota ali  
hatyo zoima -nae hatyo Tabira n= ihozozo ako -ta ali  
that child PL that PN 3sg= neck LOC source here  
eye ahoti waiye kahare tyoaha haikoahaha minita hoka .  
eye aho waiye kahare tyoa -ha haikoa -ha -ha minita hoka  
this road good a.lot come PL come.back PL PL always CON

Those children from Tabira often came here because of this road.

10 hatyaotseta hetati ali kawenakarehenaha  
hatyaotseta hetati ali k- awenaka -re -hena -ha  
then in.the.old.days here ATTR village NMLZ IFV PL

after that for the first time, they made their village in that place.

11 hatyonae baba mama  
hatyo -nae baba mama  
that PL dad mom

Those ones are my father and my mother.

12 hatyo Maximiano Fakianonae Justinonae neye Petromilia ala  
hatyo Maximiniano Fakiano -nae Justino -nae neye Petromilia =ala  
that PN PN PL PN PL father PN =FOC  
ezanityo  
ezanityo  
wife

Maximiano with his wife Petromilia, Antonio e Justino with their families.

13 hoka alihena hatyo hoka eye finado Siarencio velho eye  
hoka ali -hena hatyo hoka eye finado Siarencio velho eye  
CON here IFV that CON this deceased PN elder this  
haiyanityo dona Apolonia  
ha= iyanityo dona  
3sg= wife lady

when they were here, and decesead Siarencio with his wife dona Apolonia

14 eye Mariquinha velha ala hatyo a a  
eye Mariquinha velha =ala hatyo  
this PN elder =FOC that

the elder Mariquinha

15 Siarencio velho nahahalo zoaha ali maniya tyoa  
Siarencio velho n= ahahahalo zoaha ali maniya tyoa  
PN elder 1sg= sister of a man and here side come  
hetati tyaonehenaha  
hetati tyaone -hena -ha  
in.the.old.days live IFV PL

since the beginning Siarencio and his sister came here, they lived here in the old days.

16 ali hetati tyaonehenaha ita ahoti  
ali hetati tyaone -hena -ha ita aho  
here in.the.old.days become IFV PL right here road

kilihi	maihatyo	alimaniya	xini	ita
kili -hi	maiha =tyo	ali maniya	xini	ita
nose CL.long.slender	=TOP	here side	NEG	right here
halakoiya	maniyatyo			
halakoiya	maniya =tyo			
on the other side	side =TOP			

For the first time, they came to live here, but not here; it was there in the other side of the road.

17 ohitsali		kohini neahitahatyo		hoka
ohitsa	-li	nea -h -ita -ha =tyo		hoka
morcegueira tree	POSSED	say PL CONT PL =TOP		CON
hohitsali	taitatyo	hatyo halakoiya	maniya	
hohitsali	taita =tyo	hatyo halakoiya	maniya	
morcegueira tree	only =TOP	that on the other side	side	
firakoatyo	maihatyo	kalikiniye	akere	xini
fira -ko a =tyo	maiha =tyo	kalikini -ye	akere	xini
clean LOC =TOP	NEG =TOP	now NMLZ	similar, the.same.as	NEG

where it is called "mocegueiro" tree, where there has only "mocegueiro" tree, it was clean not as it is now.

18 tyaonita		hoka hatyaotse hetati		tyaonaha
tyaona -ita		hoka hatyaotse hetati		tyaona -ha
live CONT	CON	then in.the.old.days	become PL	
tyaonehenaha	baba	mama kalikini		
tyaone -hena -ha	baba	mama kalikini		
become IFV PL	dad	mom now		

first my father and my mother lived there, as they live until today.

19 a mama ximalonenae		Natalia Terezinha Inez hare
mama ximalo -ne -nae		Natalia Terezinha Inez hare
mom youngest sister POSSED PL	PN	PN PN also
hatyaotseta hetati		
hatyaotseta hetati		
then in.the.old.days		

The sisters of my mother, Natalia, Terezinha and Inez they also (lived there).

20 kaiya kaiyaneneha                    hatyo ohironae  
       ka- iyanene -ha                    hatyo ohiro -nae  
                  ATTR husband PL            that woman PL  
 zakomaniyala                            kahare haliti eye  
 z-        ako maniya =la                kahare haliti eye  
 NMLZ LOC side        =FOC a.lot      person this  
 wihaomaniyatarenae                    hikoahitaha  
 wi=    =hao maniya -tare -nae        hikoa                    -h -ita    -ha  
 1pl=   =above side                        PL come.out, show.up PL CONT PL  
 enomana .  
 e=       nomana  
 3sg= BEN

because they married, people from other places were used to visit them.

21 kalikini a a a hatyaotseta kaiyanenehenaha .  
       kalikini                            hatyaotseta ka- iyanene -hena -ha  
       now                                  then                            ATTR husband IFV PL

Then they got married.

22 kalikini Okoizare ala                hatyo fi a a Natalia kakoa  
       kalikini Okoizare =ala                hatyo                        Natalia =kakoa  
       now        PN                            =FOC                        that                        PN                            =COM  
 tyaonehena .  
 tyaone -hena  
 become IFV

Okoizare married Natalia.

23 Bokaino ala                        Terezinha kakoa                tyaonehena  
       Bokaino =ala                        Terezinha =kakoa                tyaone -hena  
       PN                                    =FOC                            PN                            =COM                            become IFV  
 Iyomowekatare                            atyo                            Bokaino ene                ezowakiya                hoka  
 Iyomoweka -ta -re                        =atyo                        Bokaino =ene                ezowakiya                hoka  
 Sacre I village SOUR NMLZ =TOP      PN                            =PST                        period, time CON  
 Tanorehanatare                            Okoizare .  
 Tanorehana -ta -re                        Okoizare  
 cabeceira do osso village SOUR NMLZ PN

Dito Bokainyo married Terezinha, he was from the Iyomoweka and Okoizare was from Tanorehana.

24	hatyaotseta	eye	Naciso	iximaloneha		kakoa	Inez
	hatyaotseta	eye	Naciso	i= ximalo	-ne	-ha	=kakoa Inez
	then	this	PN	3sg= youngest sister	POSSED	PL	=COM PN
	kakoa	tyaonehena					
	=kakoa	tyaone	-hena				
	=COM	become	IFV				

After this, Narciso married Inez, the youngest sister.

25	hatyaotsetatyo	a	a	hekota	wenati	tyaonita	
	hatyaotseta	=tyo		heko -ta	wena	tyaona -ita	
	then	=TOP		time, period	CONT	life	live CONT
	kalikini	ikinoza		kaitserehare	ala	kalikini	Marinho
	kalikini	i= kino	-za	kaitsere -hare	=ala	kalikini	Marinho
	now	3sg= tree	POSSED	EMPH MASC	=FOC	now	PN
	neye	ene	tyaonita				
	neye	=ene	tyaona	-ita			
	father	=PST	live	CONT			

After that, this coexistence remains today, but the father of Marinho lived down here.

26	hoka	hatyaotseta	eye	Marinho	neye	aitsaha	hoka	hatyaotseta
	hoka	hatyaotseta	eye	Marinho	neye	aitsa -ha	hoka	hatyaotseta
	CON	then	this	PN	father	kill PL	CON	then
	eye	Cirila	hare	ali	maniya	ehaliyaha		
	eye	Cirila	hare	ali	maniya	e= =haliya -ha		
	this	PN	also	here	side	3sg= =near, next to	PL	

Then, after Marinho's father was killed, Cirila came here to be near them.

27	tyoa	tyaonehetehena		kalini	Marinho	zoimene	Maria	
	tyoa	tyaone -hete	-hena	kalini	Marinho	zoime -ne	Maria	
	come	live	RE	now	PN	child	POSSED	PN
	Helena	zoimene		hare	tyoa	tyaonehetehena	ali	maniya .
	Helena	zoime -ne		hare	tyoa	tyaone -hete	-hena	ali maniya
	PN	child	POSSED	also	come	live	RE	IFV here side

They came to live here on that side, in the time Marinho and Maria Helena were children.

28	hoka	hatyaotsetatyo		nikare	tyaonahitaha		hoka	kahare
	hoka	hatyaotseta	=tyo	nikare	tyaona -h -ita	-ha	hoka	kahare
	CON	then	=TOP	like this	live	PL CONT PL	CON	a.lot

atyo ehare haliti tyoa hikoahitaha enomana  
 =atyo ehare haliti tyoa hikoa -ha -ita -ha e= nomana  
 =TOP this person come show.up PL CONT PL 3sg= BEN  
 tsekotare  
 tseko -ta -re  
 far SOUR NMLZ

They lived like this, but other people came from far away and arrived for them.

29 ezahé kalini baba hinaeharenæe eye kalikini Txakino  
 ezahé kalini baba hinae -hare -nae eye kalikini Txakino  
 CON now dad relatives MASC PL this now PN  
 hotyalinæ finado Tawari, finado capitão Marco familiane  
 hotyali -nae finado Tawari finado capitão Marco familia -ne  
 group PL deceased PN deceased captain PN family POSSED

As for example, the families of my parents, of Txakinyo, of Tawari and of the deceased captain Marco.

30 ferakoa komita ene atyo waiyetahene minita  
 ferakoa komita =ene =atyo waiye -ta -h =ene minita  
 in the morning almost =PST =TOP see CONT PL =3O always  
 kalikini Britonæ finado Mauricionæ neye  
 kalikini Brito -nae finado Mauricio -nae neye  
 now PN PL deceased PN PL father

Almost every day they came to visit them, like the deceased Brito, Mauricio's father.

31 e hare atyo enatyore tyare hoka tya ali  
 e hare =atyo e= natyore tyare hoka tya ali  
 and also =TOP 3sg= brother-in-law, cousin ? CON come here  
 waiyahitene komita ene atyo fera  
 waiya -h -it =ene komita =ene =atyo fera  
 see, watch PL CONT =3O almost =PST =TOP always  
 hikoahitaha enomana  
 hikoa -h -ita -ha e= nomana  
 come.out, show.up PL CONT PL 3sg= BEN

Their brother-in-law were coming to visit them, they were coming almost every day.

32 hoka ali atyo nikareze atyo hatyo wanone  
 hoka ali =atyo nikare -ze =atyo hatyo wano -ne  
 CON here =TOP like this NMLZ =TOP that year POSSED

owa	nakaiyaretitere	wanone	mile
owa	na= ka- iyare t -ite -re	wano -ne	mil
right now	1sg= ATTR name CONT NMLZ	year POSSED	thousand
novecentos	e sessentatatyo	hati hetati	ali
novecentos	e sessenta -ta =tyo	ha hetati	ali
nine hundred	and sixty EMPH =TOP	house in.the.old.days	here
tyaona			.
tyaona			
become			

Here was this way since nineteen sixty in that year, that I had just talked about, there was only one house.

33	hatyaotsetala	a hatyo kamati natxikiniyeta	atyo
	hatyaotseta =la	hatyo kama natxikini -ye -ta	=atyo
	then =FOC	that death after, behind NMLZ EMPH	=TOP
Marinho	neye aitsaha	natxikinitala	.
Marinho	neye aitsa -ha	natxikini -ta =la	
PN	father kill PL	after, behind CONT	=FOC

Then after that death, and after they killed the father of Marinho

34	hetati	ezaher baba hoka haliti	
	hetati	ezaher baba hoka haliti	
	in.the.old.days	CON dad CON person	
	aimitikoaharehetehena	hetati	kaolonehena
a-	i= mitikoa -hare -hete -hena	hetati	kaolone -hena
CAUS	3sg= go.down MASC RE IFV	in.the.old.days	have a feast IFV

For the first time, my father had a great feast and brought people for the first time.

35	hatyo aitsakatyaha	nomitere	zowakaty
	hatyo aitsa -ka -tya -ha	nomi -te -re	zowaka =tyo
	that kill PASS PL	say CONT NMLZ	period =TOP
hetati	eye mahaliti	hare kahehare	eye sarampo
hetati	eye ma- haliti	hare kahehare	eye sarampo
in.the.old.days	this NEG person	also illness	this measles
aokahitere		hikoa	
aoka -h -ite -re		hikoa	
say PL CONT NMLZ	come.out, show.up		

as I was saying, at the time that they killed for the first time appeared white a man's disease, which is called the measles.

36 eye wawenakalakoa maniya hoka komita ene  
 eye w= awenaka -la -ko a maniya hoka komita =ene  
 this 1pl= village POSSED LOC side CON almost =PST  
 haliti mehotya nimenekotyo tyotyatyo zoimahaloti  
 haliti mehotya nimeneko =tyo tyotya =tyo zoimahare  
 person decimate EMPH =TOP everything, all =TOP boy  
 zoimahaliti kahare atyo waini .  
 zoima -hali -ti kahare =atyo waini  
 child MASC UNPOSS a.lot =TOP die

in area of our villages, many girls and boys died, almost everyone.

37 hatyohare hiyeta ite hitiya eye haiyanae  
 hatyohare hiyeta =ite -hitiya eye haiya -nae  
 this therefore =FUT ITER this some PL  
 ahanalotyare ahanaretyarenae, haiyanae ite  
 a- hanalo -tya -re a- hanare -tyare -nae haiya -nae =ite  
 CAUS sorcerer FOC NMLZ CAUS sorcerer NMLZ PL some PL =FUT  
 hitiya hatyohare hakamane hitiya ite hitiya .  
 -hitiya hatyohare ha= kama -ne hitiya =ite -hitiya  
 ITER this 3sg= death POSSED therefore =FUT ITER

Because of these, some accuse others of witchcraft, and others accuse because of the death of family members.

38 haiyanete hitiya aitsakakoa nikare hare hatyo Marinho  
 haiya -nae =te hitiya aitsa -kakoa nikare hare hatyo Marinho  
 some PL =FUT also kill REC like this also that PN  
 neye eye .  
 neye eye  
 father this

Others also killed each other, like they did to Marinho's father.

39 sarampo aitsa zoimahalotinae kala ityaninae  
 sarampo aitsa zoima -halo -ti -nae kala ityani -nae  
 measles kill child FEM UNPOSS PL EVID son, daughter PL  
 hoka hatyo hitiya motya hatyo aitsene aoka hoka hatyo  
 hoka hatyo hitiya motya hatyo aits =ene aoka hoka hatyo  
 CON that therefore INFR that kill =3O say CON that  
 hitiya nikarehare zane tyaona .  
 hitiya nikare -hare zane tyaona  
 therefore like this NMLZ go become

the measles killed the children, and apparently it was him (a person) who killed their siblings, he thought.

40	a	katawaneakatyaha		hoka	nikare	nikare	atyo	tyaona
	ka-	tawane	-aka	-tya	-ha	hoka	nikare	nikare
	ATTR	victim	?	TH	PL	CON	like this	=atyo
	wenati	hatyaotseta	ezah					tyaona
	wena	hatyaotseta	ezah					
	life	then		CON				

And killed, and so was well after that companionship.

41	eye,	eye	mahaliti	hare	hoka	txiyeta		
	eye	eye	ma-	haliti	hare	hoka	txiye	-ta
	this	this	NEG	person	also	CON	pass	CONT

And also the non-Indian man passed .

42	hatyaotsetatyo	eye	mahalithare		ehare	haliti		
	hatyaotseta	=tyo	eye	ma-	haliti	-hare	ehare	haliti
	then	=TOP	this	NEG	person	MASC	this	person
	waikoherakoa		maniya	tyaonehena		ezah	bazere	harenae
	waikohe	-ra	-ko	maniya	tyaone	-hena	ezah	bazere
	land	POSSED	LOC	side	become	IFV	CON	hare -nae
	hoka						father	also PL
	hoka							
	CON							

after that the non-Indians, for example priests, began to address the issue of indigenous lands.

43	hekota	tyaonahitaha		katsani	eye	ali	eye	
	heko	-ta	tyaona	-h	-ita	-ha	katsani	eye
	time, period	CONT	live	PL	CONT	PL	DESID	ali
	xikakorenae		tyotya		hekota			eye
	xi=	kako	-re	-nae	tyotya		kolatya	here
	2pl=	COM	NMLZ	PL	everything, all	time, period	CONT	this
	Tyairiti	maniya	aokowiyahitaha				take	this
	Tyairiti	maniya	aokowi	=ya	-h	-ita	-ha	
		side	want	=IRR	PL	CONT	PL	

they stayed there and the people who lived there, they wanted to take to Utiariti.

44 hoka hatyaotsetatyo  
 hoka hatyaotseta =tyo  
 CON then =TOP

Then

45 kala sesseenta oito sessenta e nove hare atyo alimaniya  
 kala sessenta oito sessenta e nove hare =atylo ali maniya  
 EVID sixty eight sixty and nine also =TOP here side  
 eye Aloizo  
 eye Aloizo  
 this PN

I think it was nineteen sixty eight or nine, there this Aloizo

46 kala eye tyoheta mahalitihare koni maniyata  
 kala eye tyo -heta ma- haliti -hare koni maniya -ta  
 EVID this come RE NEG person MASC among side CONT  
 kalikini Vilhena maniyata  
 kalikini Vilhena maniya -ta  
 now PN side CONT

he came from the middle of the non-Indian man right there from Vilhena.

47 tyoa hetati ali hikoaheta hatyaotseta eye  
 tyoa hetati ali hikoa -heta hatyaotseta eye  
 come in.the.old.days here come.out, show.up RE then this  
 ezaenaetyatseritse  
 e- z- aenae -tya -tse -ri -tse  
 CAUS NMLZ raise FOC POSSED CL.round CLF.small

he arrived here, after that the person who adopted him

48 João bonito hare ali hikoahetehena hoka  
 João bonito hare ali hikoa -hete -hena hoka  
 PN also here come.out, show.up RE IFV CON  
 hatyaotsetatyo hitsoakehenahitehenaha tyaonahitaha  
 hatyaotseta =tyo hitsoake -hena -h -ite -hena -ha tyaona -h -ita -ha  
 then =TOP a lot IFV PL CONT IFV PL live PL CONT PL

João Bonito also moved here and after that they increased.

49	hatyaotseta	owa	nozakaitere		eye	ohironae
	hatyaotseta	owa	no= zakai -te -re		eye	ohiro -nae
	then	right now	1sg= tell CONT NMLZ	this	woman	PL
	kaiyanene	kaitsaniha		hoka		
	ka- iyanene	ka-	itsani -ha	hoka		
	ATTR husband	ATTR son, daughter	PL	CON		

Then, as I just told, the women married and they had children.

50	kahare	akekoarenekihetehena		eye	hare	haliti
	kahare	a- kekoare -ne -ki -hete -hena		eye	hare	haliti
	a.lot	CAUS grow POSSED CAUS RE IFV	this	also	person	
	ali	wenakalati	hatyaotseta			
	ali	awenaka	hatyaotseta			
	here	village	then			

After this people here have increased here.

51	hatyo	nazakaiterenae		hetati		
	hatyo	na= zakai -te -re -nae		hetati		
	that	1sg= tell CONT NMLZ PL	in.the.old.days			

what I had told before.

52	eye	mazekohatsehare		atyo	ezowaka	tyaonahitaha
	eye	ma- zekohatse -hare	=atyo	ezowaka	tyaona -h -ita -ha	
	this	NEG chief	MASC	=TOP	period, time	live PL CONT PL
	ezowakatyo	ala	ezekohatseha		nimeneko	ehare kalikini
	e= zowaka	=tyo	=ala	e= zekohatse -ha	nimeneko	ehare kalikini
	3sg= period	=TOP	=FOC	3sg= chief	PL EMPH	this now
	missionário					
	missionário					
	missionary					

in that time, they lived without boss, their boss was the missionaries.

53	kalikini	Iyomeweke	nali	ala	Jorge	tyaonita
	kalikini	Iyomeweke	nali	=ala	Jorge	tyaona -ita
	now	Sacre I village	LOC	=FOC	PN	live CONT
	Olandola	hatyo	Tanorehana		maniya	hoka SPI nea
	Orlando =la	hatyo	Tanorehana		maniya	hoka SPI nea
	PN	=FOC	that	cabeceira do osso village	side	CON PN say

hoka  
hoka  
CON

Jorge was in sacre 1 and Orlando was at the Cabeceira do osso village, and also in this period there was SPI.

54 kalikini FUNAI wenekoare hetati hatyo zowaka SPI  
kalikini FUNAI wenekoa -re hetati hatyo zowaka SPI  
now PN NMLZ in.the.old.days that period PN  
zaore atyo tyaonita hoka maihatyo haliti kakoa ehare  
zaore =atyo tyaona -ita hoka maiha =tyo haliti =kakoa ehare  
FRUST =TOP live CONT CON NEG =TOP person =COM this  
wenakalati xini tyaonita  
awenaka xini tyaona -ita  
village NEG live CONT

by this time, the SPI watched over in place of funai but they did not stay in the village with the Indians.

55 e hadadene Cuiaba atyo tyaonita nali  
e ha= cidade -ne Cuiaba =atyo tyaona -ita nali  
AND 3sg= city POSSED PN =TOP live CONT LOC  
atyo ehare kalikini akerezeta zala  
=atyo ehare kalikini akere -ze -ta zala  
=TOP this now similar, the.same.as NMLZ CONT who  
irihareze hoka  
irihare -ze hoka  
be.smart NMLZ CON

It is in his town in Cuiaba, if someone was smart as today...

56 maihatyo zala procura maihatya zala zane kaokareha  
maiha =tyo zala procura maiha -tya zala zane kaoka -re -ha  
NEG =TOP who search NEG FOC who go arrive NMLZ PL  
enomana azare ehare zoali hare tyaonehena ehare  
e= nomana aza -re ehare zoali hare tyaone -hena ehare  
3sg= BEN ask NMLZ this what ? live IFV this  
iniyalahare imoti mohenahene hoka maihatyo  
in= iyalahare imoti mo -hena -h =ene hoka maiha =tyo  
3sg= be.rotten non-Indian put IFV PL =3O CON NEG =TOP

No one looks for them, no one goes where they are, they do not ask questions when the

non-Indian man comes into conflict with them.

57 zala zema tyaonareha hatyaotsetatyo eye baba hare  
zala =zema tyaona -re -ha hatyaotseta =tyo eye baba hare  
who =COM2 become NMLZ PL then =TOP this dad also  
ezahe mahalithare hatyo Cuiaba zane hetati ehare  
ezahe ma- haliti -hare hatyo Cuiaba zane hetati ehare  
CON NEG person MASC that PN go in.the.old.days this  
zoalinihare  
zoalini -hare  
like this MASC

They did not follow anyone, after that my father started going to cuiabá and see some things.

58 ehare imoti fazendeiro hetati itsoahena hoka maiha  
ehare imoti fazendeiro hetati itsoa -hena hoka maiha  
this non-Indian farmer in.the.old.days come.in IFV CON NEG  
wainamahare mokarehene hatyaotsetatyo  
wainama -hare moka -re -h =ene hatyaotseta =tyo  
be.delicious MASC put NMLZ PL =3O then =TOP  
nikarehareze tyaona  
nikare -hare -ze tyaona  
like this MASC NMLZ become

as the farmers are non-Indians, when they come in they do not let them quiet, and that was what happened.

59 hatyaotsetatyo kaharehetehena eye owa  
hatyaotseta =tyo kahare -hete -hena eye owa  
then =TOP a.lot RE IFV this right now  
nozakaitere familialae atyo kaiyanityo  
no= zakai -te -re familia -nae =atyo ka- iyanityo  
1sg= tell CONT NMLZ family PL =TOP ATTR wife  
kaitansi hoka hatyaotsetatyo hitsoakehenahitaha  
ka- itsani hoka hatyaotseta =tyo hitsoake -hena -h -ita -ha  
ATTR son, daughter CON then =TOP a lot IFV PL CONT PL

after that the families, that I had commented, they began to marry and the population increased.

60 hoka kafaka maniyatse eye FUNAI atyo eye  
 hoka kafaka maniya -tse eye FUNAI =atyo eye  
 CON yesterday side CLF.small this PN =TOP this  
 wiwaikoheratyo foi demarcado mile novecentos e  
 wi= waikohe -ra =tyo foi demarcado mil novecentos e  
 1pl= land POSSED =TOP was demarcated thousand nine hundred and  
 oitenta zowakatyo  
 oitenta zowaka =tyo  
 eighty period =TOP

few time ago, it was funai which demarcated our land, in nineteen eighties.

61 eye demarcação oitenta e um zowaka FUNAI hetati  
 eye dermacação oitenta e um zowaka FUNAI hetati  
 this dermacation eighty and one period PN in.the.old.days  
 hitsoahena criahena kalikini posto Fomoso nali .  
 h= itsoa -hena cria -hena kalikini posto Formoso nali  
 2sg= come.in IFV IFV now health center PN LOC

This demarcation was in eighty-one, when the Funai came and built a health center in the Formoso village

62 kalikini PI Paresi neaha hoka eye Salto nali hatyaotseta eye  
 kalikini PI Paresi nea -ha hoka eye Salto nali hatyaotseta eye  
 now PN PN say PL CON this PN LOC then this  
 PI Zotyare neaha hoka hatyo Tanorehana eye akiti  
 PI Zotyare nea -ha hoka hatyo Tanorehana eye akiti  
 PN PN say PL CON that cabeceira do osso village this place  
 hanama akiti  
 hanama akiti  
 three place

As they say, PI (indigenous center) Paresi there in the Salto da mulher village, PI Zotyare, and in the Cabeceira do osso village, there are three places.

63 ezowaka hetati FUNAI demarcahenan hatyaotseta FUNAI  
 ezowaka hetati FUNAI demarca -hena hatyaotseta FUNAI  
 period, time in.the.old.days PN demarcate IFV then PN  
 itsoahena ehare .  
 itsoa -hena ehare  
 come.in IFV

For the first time FUNAI entered and demarcated.

64 wairatyalo            hare    kakoa    ehare    escola    hare    hetati  
       wairatya -lo      hare    =kakoa    ehare    escola    hare    hetati  
       cure    NMLZ    also    =COM    this    school    also    in.the.old.days  
       mohenaha  
       mo -hena -ha  
       put IFV PL

with nurse, and they built a school for the first time.

65 posto            farmacia    escola    hare    ainakehenaha  
       posto            farmacia    escola    hare    ainake    -hena -ha  
       health center    pharmacy    school    also    stand.up, fly IFV PL

they built a health center, pharmacy and school.

66 escola    zaore    atyo    hatyo    zowaka    ainakitsaha  
       escola    zaore    =atyo    hatyo    zowaka    aina    -ki    -tsa -ha  
       school    FRUST    =TOP    that    period    stand.up, fly CAUS TH PL  
       hoka    maihatyo    komitaene    registrado    xini  
       hoka    maiha =tyo    komita =ene    registrado    xini  
       CON    NEG    =TOP    almost    =PST    registered    NEG

in this time, they built a school, but it was not registered.

67 kalatyo            aliyakereze            zamani    hoka    maihatyo    registrado  
       kala    =tyo    aliyakere -ze            zamani    hoka    maiha =tyo    registrado  
       EVID =TOP    how    NMLZ    DUB    CON    NEG    =TOP    registered  
       xini    ezahe    atyo    zoima    estudatya    hoka  
       xini    ezahe    =atyo    zoima    estuda -tya    hoka  
       NEG    CON    =TOP    child    study TH    CON

even though the children studied, I do not know the reason why they were not enrolled.

68 maihatyo            komitaine            waiyekelakere            ehare    historico  
       maiha =tyo    komita =ene    waiye kehala -ke -re    ehare    historico  
       NEG    =TOP    almost PST    good fun ?    NMLZ    this    transcript  
       escolartyo    ala    maiha    itsareha  
       escolar =tyo    =ala    maiha    itsa -re -ha  
       school =TOP    =FOC    NEG    give NMLZ PL

Almost was not perfectly correct, maybe they did not give transcripts.

69 kalatyo            ehare    alfabetizatyahitaha            taita    hatyo  
       kala    =tyo    ehare    alfabetizatya            -h    -ita    -ha    taita    hatyo  
       EVID    =TOP    this    teach to read and write    PL    CONT    PL    only    that  
 zowaka  
 zowaka  
 period

I think they taught how to read and write.

70 hatyaotsetatyо            nikare    hare    hatyaotseta    demarcação    tyaona  
       hatyaotseta    =tyo    nikare    hare    hatyaotseta    dermacação    tyaona  
       then            =TOP    like this    also    then            dermacation    become  
 hatyaotse    atyo    ezahe    haliti    hoka    kahare    atyo    kaokita    ali  
 hatyaotse    =atyo    ezahe    haliti    hoka    kahare    =atyo    kaok    -ita    ali  
 then            =TOP    CON    person    CON    a.lot    =TOP    arrive    CONT    here  
 wenakalati    hoka  
 awenaka    hoka  
 village    CON

And so, after the demarcation happened, many people came here.

71 hatyaotsetatyо            hatyo    FUNAI    hitsо    natxikini  
       hatyaotseta    =tyo    hatyo    FUNAI    hitsо    natxikini  
       then            =TOP    that    PN    you    after, behind

After FUNAI came.

72 hetati            kala    mile            novecentos    e    noventa    quatro    atyo  
       hetati            kala    mil            novecentos    e    noventa    quattro    =atyo  
       in.the.old.days    EVID    thousand    nine hundred    and    ninety    four    =TOP  
 hetati  
 hetati  
 in.the.old.days

I think it was in nineteen ninety four.

73 eye    escola    tyaonehena,    escola    tyaonehena  
       eye    escola    tyaone    -hena    escola    tyaone    -hena  
       this    school    become IFV    school    become IFV

this school was built

74 kala hetati através da prefeitura kalikini cacique Fakiano  
 kala hetati através da prefeitura kalikini cacique Fakiano  
 EVID in.the.old.days through of city hall now leader PN  
 owa niraitere familiare hatyo toli atyo  
 owa nirai -te -re familia -ne hatyo toli =atyo  
 right now talk CONT NMLZ family POSSED that a lot =TOP  
 tyotya ali tyaonahitaha  
 tyotya ali tyaona -h -ita -ha  
 everything, all here live PL CONT PL

The first school through the city hall, at that time the chief Faquiano, as I had mentioned earlier, and all the families lived here.

75 a a a hatyo toli atyo tyaoni ali .  
 hatyo toli =atyo tyaoni ali  
 that a lot =TOP live here

All lived there.

76 hoka hatyo cacique Fakiano hetati lutatya hoka prefeitura  
 hoka hatyo cacique Fakiano hetati luta -tya hoka prefeitura  
 CON that leader PN in.the.old.days fight TH CON city hall  
 consiguetsa escola municipal Zozoitero .  
 conseguir -tya escola municipal Zozoitero  
 get TH school municipal PN

the chief Faquiano fought through City Hall and got the municipal school Zozoitero.

77 hoka maiha aliitere xini aotyakixita  
 hoka maiha aliye -re xini a- otya -ki -tx -ita  
 CON NEG where? NMLZ NEG CAUS remember CAUS TH CONT  
 hoka professor Valdemar bororo hetati a .  
 hoka professor Valdemar bororo hetati  
 CON teacher PN in.the.old.days

It was not the people from here who were teaching, it was valdemar Bororo teacher who was the first one.

78 aotyakihena hoka hatyaotsetatyo .  
 aotyaki -hena hoka hatyaotseta =tyo  
 teach IFV CON then =TOP

he began teaching after that.

79 eye cometsatya tyaonehenen escola hatyaotseta kala  
 eye cometsa -tya tyaone -hena escola hatyaotseta kala  
 this begin TH become IFV school then EVID  
 haterehokoane txiyaretse akere aotyaitsa hoka  
 haterehokoane txiya -re -tse akere aotyai -tsa hoka  
 year pass NMLZ similar, the.same.as teach TH CON  
 ezowaka a a  
 ezowaka  
 period, time

And so this school began, I think he taught a year and half.

80 Nilce owa nozakaitere Aloizo hityani  
 Nilce owa no= zakai -te -re Aloizo h= ityani  
 PN right now 1sg= tell CONT NMLZ PN 2sg= son, daughter  
 hetati professora tyaonehenen .  
 hetati professora tyaone -hena  
 in.the.old.days teacher become IFV

the first time was Nilce teacher, daughter of Aloízio.

81 hatyaotseta kalikini kitxiya hatyo professora tyaonita  
 hatyaotseta kalikini kitxiya hatyo professora tyaona -ita  
 then now until that teacher live CONT  
 hekota maiha zaore atyo aotyakihetere  
 heko -ta maiha zaore =atyo aotyaki -he -te -re  
 time, period CONT NEG FRUST =TOP teach RE CONT NMLZ  
 kalikini hoka coordenadoratyo tyaona  
 kalikini hoka coordenadora =tyo tyaona  
 now CON coordinator =TOP become

After that until today she is a teacher, she is no longer teaching but today she is coordinator.

82 hatyo eye niraitere noventa quatro  
 hatyo eye nirai -te -re noventa quatro  
 that this talk CONT NMLZ ninety four  
 natxikitayto criahena projeto tucum nea hoka .  
 natxikini -ta =tyo cria -hena project tucum nea hoka  
 after, behind EMPH =TOP create IFV projeto PN say CON

What I was talking about, after the year ninety-four the project tucum was created.

83 a nivel de magisterio            kahare    hetati            haliti    zanehena  
       a nivel de magisterio            kahare    hetati            haliti    zane -hena  
       on the professorship level    a.lot      in.the.old.days    person    go    IFV

for the first time many paresi were on the professorship level.

84 hoka    hatyaotsetatyo            tyaona    hatyaotsetatyo            kozaka  
       hoka    hatyaotseta =tyo        tyaona    hatyaotseta =tyo        kozaka  
       CON    then                        =TOP     become    then                =TOP    already  
       kaharetyo        ali    haliti    kahare    atyo    ehave    movimento    tyaona  
       kahare =tyo        ali    haliti    kahare    =atyo    ehave    movimento    tyaona  
       a.lot    =TOP    here    person    a.lot    =TOP    this    movement    become  
       hoka    .  
       hoka  
       CON

after this, there are a lot of people here.

85 hatyo    hiyeta            kahare    zoima    tyaonatehitiya            hoka    quarta  
       hatyo    hiyeta            kahare    zoima    tyaona    =te    hitiya    hoka    quarta  
       that    therefore            a.lot    child    become    =FUT    again    CON    fourth  
       série    miyatya    hoka    maiha    haliyakere                            tyaonare  
       série    miyatya    hoka    maiha    =haliya            -ke    -re    tyaona    -re  
       grade    finish    CON    NEG    =near, next to    TH    NMLZ    become    NMLZ  
       hoka  
       hoka  
       CON

Then, many children were born. Furthermore, when they finished the fourth grade, there was no way to continue their studies.

86 hatyaotseta    hetati            primeiro    ano    prefeitura    wiyanne    waza  
       hatyaotseta    hetati            primeiro    ano    prefeitura    wi= yane    w= aza  
       then                                in.the.old.days    first    year    city hall    1pl= go    1pl= ask  
       wityotya                        kabitaonae    ezahe    professorae    hoka    .  
       wi= tyotya                        kabitao -nae    ezahe    professor -nae    hoka  
       1pl= everything, all    captain PL    CON    teacher    PL    CON

Then for the first time, all of us, leaders and teachers, went to the town hall to address the issue of high school.

87 tyaona hoka eko waconsiguetsa escola municipal  
 tyaona hoka eko wa= conseguir -tya escola municipal  
 become CON ? 1pl= get TH school municipal  
 fundamental hetati tyaonehena,  
 fundamental hetati tyaone -hena  
 elementary school in.the.old.days become IFV

That happened until we got the municipal school, the elementary school.

88 hoka hatyaotseta nikarehare zetate hitiya kahare  
 hoka hatyaotseta nikare -hare zeta =te hitiya kahare  
 CON then like this NMLZ ALL =FUT also a.lot  
 zoimanae oitava miyatya hoka maiha haliyakere  
 zoima -nae oitava miyatya hoka maiha =haliya -ke -re  
 child PL eighth finish CON NEG =near, next to TH NMLZ  
 estudatyare hoka  
 estudatya -re hoka  
 study NMLZ CON

after that, it was the same thing, many children finished the elementary school, and they could not study more.

89 a eye ensino médio neahitere segundo grau .  
 eye ensino médio nea -h -ite -re ensino médio  
 this high school say PL CONT NMLZ high school

the high school called segundo grau

90 kazako hoka nikarehare zeta kaconsiguetsaka  
 kazako hoka nikare -hare zeta ka- consiguetsa -ka  
 take care CON like this NMLZ ALL ATTR get PASS  
 kaconsiguetsaka  
 ka- consiguetsa -ka  
 ATTR get PASS

we went to ask and we got it again.

91 hoka kalikini ali wenakalatita zoimanae  
 hoka kalikini ali wenakala -ti -ta zoima -nae  
 CON now here village UNPOSS CONT child PL  
 estudaita  
 estuda -ita  
 study CONT

Today children are studying here in the village itself.

92	zoimanae	haiya	eye	escolata	kozaka	kalikini	curso
	zoima -nae	haiya	eye	escola -ta	kozaka	kalikini	curso
	child PL	some	this	school SOUR	already	now	course
	tyomita	haiyanae		odontologia			
	tyom -ita	haiya -nae					
	make, do	CONT	some	PL			

Some children from this school are already taking courses, some (are doing) dentistry (at the college).

93	haiyanae	tecnico de enfermagem	hatyo	owa	niraitere
	haiya -nae	tecnico de enfermagem	hatyo	owa	nirai -te -re
	some PL	practical nurse	that	right now	talk CONT NMLZ
	professornae	tyotya	formado	a nível de terceiro grau	
	professor -nae	tyotya	formado	a nível de terceiro grau	
	teacher PL	everything, all	graduated	graduate school	

And others study practical nurse, as I had commented before, all teachers are trained, or have a Bachelor.

94	tyotya	formado	ha	hatyo	professornae
	tyotya	formado	ha	hatyo	professor -nae
	everything, all	graduated	that	teacher PL	
	aotyakitxitare			hoka	nikarehare atyo
a-	otya -ki -tx -ita -re			hoka	nikare -hare =atyo
CAUS	remember CAUS	TH	CONT	NMLZ CON	like this NMLZ =TOP
	tyaona				
	tyaona				
	become				

Teachers who are formed are teaching are, that is what happened.

95	hoka	eye	saudetyo	kafaka
	hoka	eye	sauda =tyo	kafaka
	CON	this	health =TOP	yesterday

The health issue now

96	a	maniyatse	hetati	instituto	tropico	neareze
		maniya -tse	hetati	instituto	tropico	nea -ze
		side CLF.small	in.the.old.days	institute	PN	name NMLZ

hatya instituição itsoa hoka maiha waiye hakita wikakoa  
 hatya instituição itsoa hoka maiha waiye ha -ita wi= =kakoa  
 a institution come.in CON NEG good work CONT 1pl= =COM

First entered an institution called Tropic which did not work well with us.

97 kahare ehare zoima tifalo inityohaliti wainita hoka  
 kahare ehare zoima tifalo inityohare waini -ta hoka  
 a.lot this child be.pregnant old.person die CONT CON

many children, pregnant women and elderly were dying.

98 witsota watsociaçâone zema nikare  
 witso -ta wa= tsociação -ne =zema nikare  
 we EMPH 1pl= association POSSED =COM2 like this  
 waiyateretyo hoka hahena wikakoa  
 waiya -te -re =tyo hoka ha -hena wi= =kakoa  
 see, watch CONT NMLZ =TOP CON work IFV 1pl= =COM

We followed the organization that started to work with us.

99 ano dois mili dois zowaka ainicia tyaonehena hetati  
 ano dois mili dois zowaka iniciar tyaone -hena hetati  
 year two thousand two period begin become IFV in.the.old.days  
 associação halitinae hatyota coodenção de saude criatya  
 associação haliti -nae hatyo -ta coodenção de saude cria -tya  
 association person PL that EMPH coordination of health create TH  
 hoka hahena  
 hoka ha -hena  
 CON work IFV

In the year two thousand and two that halitinae association was created and through this the coordination of health, and it started working.

100 hoka hatyaotseta eko waiya ene zaneta  
 hoka hatyaotseta eko waiya =ene zane -ta  
 CON then see, watch =PST go EMPH  
 witsaudeni haliti kahekoita tyaonita  
 wi= tsaude -ni haliti kahe ko -ita tyaona -ita  
 1pl= health NMLZ person hand LOC CONT become CONT

halitita codenaita, halitita  
 haliti -ta coodenar -ita haliti -ta  
 person EMPH coordinar CONT person EMPH

Then the indigenous health was going very well, and was in the hands of indigenous and the indigenous coordinated.

101 kazakoita ene hoka kafakatse kalini  
 kazako -ita =ene hoka kafaka -tse kalini  
 take care CONT =PST CON yesterday CLF.small now  
 witxiyehenere terehokoane  
 wi= txiye -hene -re terehokoane  
 1pl= pass IFV NMLZ year

He was taking care of it befoe last year ago.

102 a mahaliti hare ehawareharetya hateniti  
 ma- haliti hare e- hawarehare tya ha -te -ni -ti  
 NEG person also CAUS be.different work ? NMLZ UNPOSS  
 ehare hateniti goveno .  
 ehare ha -te -ni -ti  
 this work ? NMLZ UNPOSS

The non-Indian man changed the system of work.

103 politica de governo nikare mokakaty a associaçao  
 politica de governo nikare moka -ka -tya hoka associaçao  
 policy of the government like this put PASS TH CON association  
 aitere  
 aitere  
 it.is.true

is the policy of the government that did it, in fact the association.

104 alitere atyo ekoamaniyaha paticipatya chamamento  
 alitere =atyo e= koa maniya -ha participar -tya chamamento  
 it.is.true =TOP 3sg= CLF.inside side PL participate TH call  
 publico nea hitere hoka .  
 publico nea h= ite -re hoka  
 public say 2sg= say NMLZ CON

in fact also attended a public call.

105 hatya, hatya .  
hatya hatya  
a a

other, other.

106 hatya zoalini, hatya .  
hatya zoalini hatya  
a like this a

other and other

107 a hatya babera associação maiha nali aka hoka hatyo hatyo  
hatya babera associação maiha nali aka hoka hatyo hatyo  
a paper association NEG LOC have CON that that  
zaokakatyo imoti certidão .  
z= aoka -ka =tyo imoti certidão  
2pl= say TH =TOP non-Indian certificate

The organization did not have any document, that one which the non-indigenous people call certificate

108 neahitaha hoka maiha hatyo certidão aka seba  
nea -h -ita -ha hoka maiha hatyo certidão aka seba  
say PL CONT PL CON NEG that certificate have PN  
neareze hatyo certidão hoka hatyo hiyeta maiha associação  
nea -ze hatyo certidão hoka hatyo hiyeta maiha associação  
name NMLZ that certificate CON that therefore NEG association  
aliyakere zoalini hitita hoka  
aliyakere zoalini hitita hoka  
how like this CON

The association does not have this certificate called seba, and just because of that the association has no way to work.

109 kalikini mawaiye kehalaka ehare saude hatene  
kalikini ma- waiye kehala -ka ehare saude ha -te -ne  
now NEG good fun TH this health work ? NMLZ

Today messed health work.

110	tyaona	hoka	owa	nowaitere		oitenta	noventa
	tyaona	hoka	owa	no= wai	-te	-re	oitenta noventa
	become	CON	right now	1sg= see, watch	CONT	NMLZ	eighty ninety
	dois	mili	dois	taita	dois	mili	dois taita
	dois	mili	dois	taita	dois	mili	dois taita
	two	thousand	two	only	two	thousand	two only

It was thus in eighty, ninety, only two thousand and two.

111	dois	mili	dois	taita	come	halitita	
	dois	mili	dois	taita	começar	haliti	-ta
	two	thousand	two	only	begin	person	EMPH

In two thousand and two was the indigenous own their on began.

112	ehare	cota	ehare	haka	hatyaotseta	ehare	polo base
	ehare	cota	ehare	ha -ka	hatyaotseta	ehare	polo base
	this	quota	this	work TH	then	this	health center
	ahekotya	hoka	tyoma				
	aheko	-tya	hoka	tyoma			
	think	TH	CON	make			

and started working and made the health center.

113	hanamakiti	tyoma	hanamakiti	Bacava	nali	hetati	
	hanama	-kiti	tyoma	hanama	-kiti	Bacaval	nali
	three	place	make, do	three	place	PN	LOC in.the.old.days
	hatyaotseta	Rio Verde	hatyaotseta	Três lagoa			
	hatyaotseta	Rio Verde	hatyaotseta	Três lagoa			
	then	PN	then	PN			

it was done in three places, first in Bacaval, then Rio Verde village, after this in Três lagoas.

114	hatyaotseta	kafakatse		kaitsere	hare	polo base	mokotse
	hatyaotseta	kafaka	-tse	kaitsere	hare	polo base	mokotse
	then	yesterday	CLF.small	EMPH	also	health center	baby
	tyaonehena	Nova esperança		Formoso	zoaha		
	tyaone	-hena	Nova esperança	Formoso	zoaha		
	become	IFV	PN	PN	and		

Then recently there was a small health center in Nova Esperança and Formoso villages.

115	kozaka	tyotya	hatyonae	kaomaka	natxikini
	kozaka	tyotya	hatyo -nae	ka- oma -ka	natxikini
	already	everything, all	that PL	ATTR make, do TH	after, behind
eakere	hare	mawaiye	kehalaka	kalikini witsaudeni	
eakere	hare	ma- waiye	kehala -ka	kalikini wi= tsaude -ni	
so, then	?	NEG good	fun TH	now 1pl= health NMLZ	
tahi	hoka	haiyanae	komitaine	maiha waiye kehalakere	
=tahi	hoka	haiya -nae	komita =ine	maiha waiye kehala -ke -re	
=about	CON	some PL	almost	NEG good fun TH NMLZ	
hoka					
hoka					
CON					

after all that has been done, now the health system is messy, many people do not understand the fact that is happening.

116	witso	wiyaiyetene	atyo	hoka	kalore
	witso	wi= yaiye -tya =ene	=atyo	hoka	kalore
	we	1pl= see TH =3O	=TOP	CON	a.lot
wamaikohareta		hekota		walutaita	
w= amaiko -hare -ta		heko -ta		wa= luta -ita	
1pl= be.sad MASC CONT		time, period	CONT	1pl= fight CONT	
walutatya	ite	ate o	fim ,		
wa= luta -tya =ite		ate			
1pl= fight TH =FUT		until			

We who are seeing that, we are very sorry, we are still fighting, we will fight until the end.

117	hoka	nikarehareze	atyo	tyaona	eye
	hoka	nikare -hare -ze	=atyo	tyaona	eye
CON	like this	MASC NMLZ	=TOP	become	this

And so was all the events.

118	a	wenakalati	tyaona	kalikini	kekoare	kalikini	polo base	ali
		awenaka	tyaona	kalikini	kekoare	kalikini	polo base	ali
		village	become	now		now	health center	here
tyaonita		kalikini	escola					
tyaona -ita		kalikini	escola					
live	CONT	now	school					

Recently the village has been growing, there is a health service building and a school.

119 primeiro, segundo grau kitxiya kakoare tyaona ezahe  
 primeiro ensino médio kitxiya =kakoa -re tyaona ezahe  
 first high school until =COM NMLZ become CON  
 haiyanae halitinae hoka kaxiyehareze ali  
 haiya -nae haliti -nae hoka ka- xiye -ha -re -ze ali  
 some PL person PL CON ATTR thing PL NMLZ NMLZ here  
 tyanonita  
 tyona -ita  
 live CONT

Until the elementary and the high school and the people who live here have their own objects.

120 a a ezahe ehare mahalitihare nitimazahi  
 ezahe ehare ma- haliti -hare nitima -za -hi  
 CON this NEG person MASC fire POSSED CL.long.slender  
 hoka kakoare eye wenakalati tyona nikare atyo  
 hoka =kakoa -re eye awenaka tyona nikare =atyo  
 CON =COM NMLZ this village become like this =TOP

today even the power of the non-Indian man there is in this village.

121 eye nakiti atyo eye eye natyo akiti atyo nozakai eye  
 eye akiti =atyo eye eye natyo akiti =atyo no= zakai eye  
 this place =TOP this this 1sg place =TOP 1sg= tell this  
 nowaiyani  
 no= waiya -ni  
 1sg= see, watch NMLZ

This is a part that I told until where I got to witness.

122 kitxiya alite hitiya natyo notyaona hatyo taita eye  
 kitxiya ali -te hitiya natyo no= tyona hatyo taita eye  
 until here CONT also 1sg 1sg= become that only this  
 nozakaita  
 no= zakai -ta  
 1sg= tell CONT

that is it, I am also living here, and that is it.

123 tyotya .  
 tyotya  
 everything, all

## The story of Kokotero

1 hatyaotseta nikare Kokotero tahi  
hatyaotseta nikare Kokotero =tahi  
then like this mythical figure =about

Then, the story of Kokotero is like this

2 Kokotero tahi kete kaotyakene tahi  
Kokotero =tahi kete kaotyak =ene =tahi  
mythical figure =about manioc show.up =3O =about

about Kokotero e about the creation of the manioc

3 kala eyaotseta hetati zowakiya  
kala eyaotseta hetati zowakiya  
EVID then in.the.old.days at this time

So in the old days

4 kala koerekama ityani kamozalikoa kamalahitsoa  
kala koerekama ityani kamozalikoa kamalahitsoa  
EVID mythical figure son, daughter mythical figure mythical figure  
ityani .  
ityani  
son, daughter

then Koerekama's son, son of Kamazalikoa and Kamalahitsoa

5 Zokowiye Zakoemalo  
zokowiye Zakoemalo  
mythical figure mythical figure

Zokowiye, Zakoemalo

6 kala warekoaho , Kokotero warekoahone  
kala warekoaho Kokotero warekoaho -ne  
EVID place to bathe mythical figure place to bathe POSSED  
tyaonita mitikoa nihatyaka wayetene  
tyaona -ita mitikoa nihatyaka waiya -tya =ene  
become CONT go.down always see, watch TH =3O

Kokotero always saw them when she was going down to the place where they bath

7 kala haliti tihoretseranae  
kala haliti tiho -re -tse =ira -nae  
EVID person face NMLZ CLF.small =AFF, small PL

So, it looked like human's face

8.1 mitikoahena hoka Kokotero niyalitsekatse  
mitikoa -hena hoka Kokotero iyali -tse -katse  
go.down IFV CON mythical figure body hair CLF.small CLF. long  
mawekolone niyotyako neaya halaitsoa  
ma- wekolone niyo tyako nea -ya halaitsoa  
NEG fertile be.dry belly say jump

Kokotero! sterile! dry placenta, and then they went down jumping

8.2 ezoahenahita ezoahita  
ezoa -hena -h -ita ezoa -h -ita  
fall IFV PL CONT fall PL CONT

they start to fall, they fell

9 nikare mitikoahenaiya hoka Kokotero  
nikare mitikoa -hena =iya hoka Kokotero  
like this go.down IFV =IRR CON mythical figure  
niyalitsekatse  
iyali -tse -katse  
body hair CLF.small CLF. long

When she was going down they always were saying: long pubic hair of Kokotero!

10.1 niyotyako !  
niyo tyako  
be.dry belly

dry placenta!

10.2 mawekolone !  
ma- wekolone  
NEG fertile

sterile!

11.1 niyalitsekatse !  
 iyali -tse -katse  
 body hair CLF.small CLF.long

long pubic hair of Kokotero!

11.2 neaya hoka inihatya-ne kitxiako hokorone halaitsoa  
 nea =ya hoka i= nihatya -ne kitxi aka halaitsoa  
 say CON 3sg= cross POSSED foot LOC jump  
 ezoahenahita ezoahita  
 ezoa -hena -h -ita ezoa -h -ita  
 fall IFV PL CONT fall PL CONT

and then they went down into the mud, in her way

12 eaotsa , kenekoaheta , zoare zamani kala ,  
 eaotsa kenekoa -heta zoare zamani kala  
 then go.up RE what DUB EVID  
 wihatyane kitxioita haliti tihoretsenae  
 w= ihatya -ne -kitxio -ita haliti tiho -re -tse -nae  
 1pl= cross POSSED CONT person face NMLZ CLF.small PL

then she went up like: "I don't know what it is, it is going down in our path, it looks like human face, all the time I go there"

13 namitikoa nihatya , waiye zotyane  
 na= mitikoa nihatya waiye z- otya -ne  
 1sg= go.down always good NMLZ remember POSSED  
 otyahitaha nomawekoloni Kokotero ,  
 otya -h -ita -ha no= ma- wekolon -i Kokotero  
 remember PL CONT PL 1sg= NEG fertile 1sg mythical figure  
 niyalitsekatse , mawe mawekolone ,  
 iyali -tse -katse mawe ma- wekolone  
 body hair CLF.small CLF.long NEG fertile  
 niyotyakotse neahitaha ranae otyahitaha  
 niyo tyako -tse nea -h -ita -ha otya -h -ita -ha  
 be.dry belly CLF.small say PL CONT PL remember PL CONT PL  
 nomawekoloni no , nezanene Zatyamare  
 no= ma- wekoloni no n= zanene -ne Zatyamare  
 1sg= NEG 1sg= husband POSSED mythical figure

All the time I go there, they know and they say that I am sterile, that I have dry placenta, long pubic hair, my husband Zatyamare

14 eaotseta maihatya hotitene nezanityo  
eaotseta maiha -tya h= ot -it =ene n= ezanityo  
then NEG 2sg= remember CONT =3O 1sg= wife

Kokotero

Kokotero

mythical figure

Well then, my wife, Kokotero, you did not guess

15 atyotare nokamani  
=atyo -tare no= kamani  
=TOP 1sg= defunct

This is the deceased

16 Koerekamae ityani , Kamalahitsoa , Kamozalikoni ala  
koerekamae ityani Kamalahitsoa Kamozalikoni =ala  
mythical figure son, daughter mythical figure mythical figure =FOC  
ta witsaona hatyotare Zokowiye Zakoimalo .  
ta wi= tsaona hatyotare zokowiye  
1pl= become mythical figure

The children of Koerekamae, Zokowiye and Zakoimyalo were generated with other women, and Kamalahitsoa Kamozalikoni

17 akaretyahene nomani  
a- karetya -h =ene no= mani  
? PL =3O 1sg= BEN

Handle them with xiri for me

18 nozoloehiye nokonarexi na wetsehare  
no= zolowahi -ye no= konare -xi na wetse -hare  
1sg= type of fish POSSED 1sg= cará fish POSSED MASC  
maheta nea hoka hoka zane hiyahene karetyahene  
maheta nea hoka hoka zane h= iya -h =ene karetya -h =ene  
PURP say CON CON go 2sg= catch PL =3O ? PL =3O

Then said they handle them with xiri to be fishers of my jananqueza fish, my cará fish

19 eaotseta anaehenahene  
eaotseta ainai -hena -h =ene  
then raise IFV PL =3O

Well then, they began to raise them

20	inityohaloti	inityohalitihenaha	xakazatya	minita	.
	inityohare	inityohare	-hena -ha	xaka -za	-tya minita
	old.person	old.person	IFV PL	shoot CLF.liquid	TH always

When they were growing up they always fished with the arrow

21	eaotseta	,	kala	Kokotero	Zatyamare	ityani	haterore
	eaotseta		kala	Kokotero	Zatyamare	ityani	haterore
	then		EVID	mythical figure	mythical figure	son, daughter	only
	katiholatetse			,	katiholatetse		kaka !
	ka-	tiho -la	-te -tse		ka-	tiho -la -te -tse	kaka
	ATTR	face POSSED		CLF.small	ATTR	face CLF.small	a lot

So Kokotero and Zatyamare had only one daughter, who was full of warts

22	waya	zaore	ala	hatyoira	taitala	
	waiya	zaore	=ala	hatyo =ira	taita =la	
	see, watch	FRUST	=FOC	that =AFF, small	only =FOC	
	ityaniha					.
	ityani	-ha				
	son, daughter	PL				

He saw...but he had only one daughter

23	aba	nea	zakore	ya	haneze	hiye	miyatya	taita
	baba	nea	zakore	ya	ha= neze	=hiye	miyatya	taita
	dad	say	FRUST	IRR	3sg= father	=BEN	finish	only
	enomana							.
	e=	nomana						
	3sg=	BEN						

She said "father", but he only whistle to her

24	hamiyahazalako		atyo	hare	nita	malo	nita
	ha= miyahazalako		=atyo	hare	nea -ita	malo	nea -ita
	3sg=		=TOP	son	say CONT	daughter	say CONT
	ihiye						.
	i=	=hiye					
	3sg=	=BEN					

Though the whistle, he said "son and daughter"

25	hoka	zokowiye	Zakoimalo	atyo	aba	nehenan	hoka
	hoka	zokowiye		=atyo	baba	nea -hena	hoka
	CON	mythical figure		=TOP	dad	say IFV	CON
	malo	, hare	nita	ihiye	.		
	malo	hare	nea -ita	i=	=hiye		
	daughter	son	say CONT	3sg=	=BEN		

When Zokowiye and Zokoimalo said: father, he answered "son and daughter"

26	eaotseta	kala	kirakoanehena	ihiye	.
	eaotseta	kala	kirakoane -hena	i=	=hiye
	then	EVID	sad	IFV	3sg= =BEN

Then, she was sad

27	hafitya	natyo	ama	Kokote	hawaiyeheshalone
	ha= fe	natyo	mama	Kokote	ha= waiye -he -halo -ne
	3sg= plant	1sg	mom	mythical figure	3sg= good FEM POSSED
	maheta	.			
	maheta				
	PURP				

Bury me in a place where my body can be soft.

28	hafitya	natyo	hitemahahalone	maheta
	ha= fe	natyo	hi= temaha -halo -ne	maheta
	3sg= plant	1sg	2sg= FEM POSSED	PURP

29	nohinoli	kitxiya	hafitya	natyo	nozamatsehare	Ohitsaretse
	no= hino -li	kitxiya	ha= fe	natyo	no= zamatsehare	
	1sg= neck	until	3sg= plant	1sg	1sg= creator	
	kino	ama	Kokote			
	kino	mama	Kokote			
	tree	mom	mythical figure			

bury up my body to my neck, in the trunk of Ohitsaretse

30	maitsa	baba	Zatyamare	azare	natyo	.
	maitsa	baba	Zatyamare	aza -re	natyo	
	NEG	dad	mythical figure	ask NMLZ	1sg	

Because my father zatyamare does not answer me

31	aba	nomi	zakore	amiyatita	taita	nomani	.
	baba	nomi	zakore	amiya -tya -ita	taita	no= mani	
	dad	say	FRUST	whistle TH CONT	only	1sg= BEN	

[She said "father", but he only whistle to her

32	Zakoimalo	Zokowiye	hiye	taita	hare	malo	nita	nea
	Zokowiye	=hiye	taita	hare	malo	nea	-ita	nea
	mythical figure	=BEN	only	son	daughter	say	CONT	say
	hoka	zane	fetene	.				
	hoka	zane	=ene					
	CON	go	plant	=3O				

He answered only to Zakoimyalo and Zokowiye "daughter and son". So she was buried.

33	zane	zakore	waiya	maitsa	.
	zane	zakore	waiya	maitsa	
	go	FRUST	see, watch	NEG	

She was looking and nothing

34	maitsano	ama	Kokote	marehareta	.
	maitsa -no	mama	Kokote	mare -hare -ta	
	NEG	mom	mythical figure	itching MASC	
	nozamatsehare		nokakoare	.	
	no= zama -tse -hare		no= =kakoa -re		
	1sg=	MASC	1sg= =COM NMLZ		

Nothing happened to my body, mother Kokotero

35	maliritseta		nototoniritse					
	maliri -tse	-ta	no= toto -n -i -ri -tse					
	CLF.small	CONT	1sg= breast POSSED CAUS CL.round CLF.small					
	nokozoniritse		nokakoare		no	ama	Kokote	
	no= kozon -i -tse		no= =kakoa -re		no	mama	Kokote	
	1sg= vagina	1sg CLF.small	1sg= =COM NMLZ		mom	mythical figure		

Nothing happened to my breast nor to my private parts, mother Kokotero

- |    |                  |       |       |       |       |     |      |
|----|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|
| 36 | haimamakoatya    | natyō | maiha | ehare | toli  | ako | ama  |
|    | h= aimamakoa tya | natyō | maiha | ehare | toli  | ako | mama |
|    | 2sg= transfer    | 1sg   | NEG   | this  | a lot | LOC | mom  |
|    | Kokote           | nea   | .     |       |       |     |      |
|    | Kokote           | nea   |       |       |       |     |      |
|    | mythical figure  | say   |       |       |       |     |      |

Transfer me, I do not want to be in the middle of holes, mother Kokote

- |    |      |        |                |   |      |            |        |   |
|----|------|--------|----------------|---|------|------------|--------|---|
| 37 | zane | zakore | fehitiyene     | , | zane | waiya      | zakore | . |
|    | zane | zakore | fe -hitiy =ene |   | zane | waiya      | zakore |   |
|    | go   | FRUST  | plant ITER =3O |   | go   | see, watch | FRUST  |   |

She was burying her (Kokotero) again, then looked

- |    |        |    |      |                 |
|----|--------|----|------|-----------------|
| 38 | maitsa | no | ama  | Kokote          |
|    | maitsa | no | mama | Kokote          |
|    | NEG    |    | mom  | mythical figure |

There is nothing, mother kokotero

- |    |                         |           |                     |               |
|----|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|---------------|
| 39 | marehareta              | nokakoi   | nozamatsehare       |               |
|    | mare -hare -ta          | no= kakoi | no= zama -tse -hare |               |
|    | itching MASC            | 1sg= COM  | 1sg=                | MASC          |
|    | malihitseta             |           | nototoniritse       |               |
|    | mali -hi                | -tse      | -ta                 | no= toto -tse |
|    | itching CL.long.slender | CLF.small | 1sg= breast         | CLF.small     |
|    | nokozoniritse           |           | nokakoare           | no ama        |
|    | no= kozon -i            | -tse      | no= =kakoa -re      | no mama       |
|    | 1sg= vagina 1sg         | CLF.small | 1sg= =COM NMLZ      | mom           |

Nothing happened to my breast nor to my private parts, mother Kokotero

- |    |                  |       |              |      |     |   |
|----|------------------|-------|--------------|------|-----|---|
| 40 | haimamakoatya    | natyo | haetawaretse | kino | nea | . |
|    | h= aimamakoa tya | natyo | haetawaretse | kino | nea |   |
|    | 2sg= transfer    | 1sg   |              | tree | say |   |

She said "transfer me"

- 41 haimamakoatene zakore , zane zakore waiya maiha  
   h= aimamakoa t =ene zakore zane zakore waiya maiha  
   2sg= transfer =3O FRUST go FRUST see, watch NEG

no ama Kokote  
 no mama Kokote  
 mom mythical figure

She was transferred, but when she went looking (Zakoimalo):nothing, mother Kokote

42 marehareta nokakoi nozamatsehare ,  
 mare -hare -ta no= kakoi no= zamatsehare  
 itching MASC 1sg= COM 1sg=  
 maliritseta nototoniritse  
 mali -tse -ta no= toto -tse  
 itching CLF.small 1sg= breast CLF.small  
 nokozoniritse no ama  
 no= kozon -i -tse no mama  
 1sg= vagina 1sg CLF.small mom

Nothing happened to my breast nor to my private parts, mother Kokotero

43 haimamakoatya natyo , hamitikoaheta nokakoi ,  
 h= aimamakoa tya natyo ha= mitikoa -heta no= kakoi  
 2sg= transfer 1sg 3sg= go.down RE 1sg= COM  
 koloho timenere koni .  
 koloho timene -re koni  
 forest heavy NMLZ among

Transfers me down into heavy woods

44 hafitya natyo , koko Yono initima aotse , Alakaretse  
 h= a- fe natyo koko Yono tima aotse Alakaretse  
 2sg= CAUS plant 1sg uncle fire place  
 kerehena aotse nea .  
 kere -hena aotse nea  
 burn IFV place say

45 eaotseta , zane fetene , wainamihare nokakoi  
 eaotseta zane =ene wainamihare no= kakoi  
 then go plant =3O be.quiet 1sg= COM  
 nozamatsehare no ama Kokote  
 no= zama -tse -hare no mama Kokote  
 1sg= MASC mom mythical figure

So, she was buried. "I feel resigned, mother Kokote"

46	kala	hiyaneta	,	awaira	hehaikoita
	kala	hi=	-ta	awa =ira	h= ehaiko -ita
	EVID	2sg=	go	CONT	NEG =AFF, small 2sg= turn, pour out CONT
	hatxikini		maniya	itita	nakawihena
	h= atxikini		maniya	itita	=ite na= kawi -hena
	2sg= after, behind		side		=FUT 1sg= shout IFV
	neratsehare				
	n= era	-tse	-hare		
	1sg= drink	CLF.small	MASC		

You can go, do not look back! If so, I will scream the cry of those who will drink me  
"yuhoho!"

47	yohoho	,	zerare	malyaotse	kawiyala
			zera -re	malyaotse	kawiyatya =la
			sing NMLZ	type of flute	shout =FOC
	nakawiyahena		ama	Kokote	.
	na= kawiyatya	-hena	mama	Kokote	
	1sg= shout	IFV	mom	mythical figure	

the cry of malyaotse singer, I will scream kokote mother

48	maika	baba	Zatyamare	tyomehena	, atyo tyomehena
	maika	baba	Zatyamare	tyome -hena	=atyo tyome -hena
	SUG	dad	mythical figure	make, do IFV	=TOP make, do IFV
	nokahakali		maheta	, maika timare	tyomehena
	no= kaha	-kal	-i	maika	timare tyome -hena
	1sg= NMLZ	1sg	PURP	SUG	make, do IFV
	nozaikitsakali			maheta	.
	no= z-	aikitsa	-kal	-i	maheta
	1sg= NMLZ	grate	NMLZ	1sg	PURP

49	baba	Zatyamare	ama	Kokote	nea .
	baba	Zatyamare	mama	Kokote	nea
	dad	mythical figure	mom	mythical figure	say

My father Zatyamare, mother Kokote

50 eaotseta maikaira                    baba Zatyamare  
      eaotseta maika =ira                    baba Zatyamare  
      then      SUG =AFF, small        dad mythical figure

Then ask my father Zatyamare

51 wamotse aitsehena , itsenira                    nomani  
      wamotse aitse -hena                itse -n =ira                no= mani  
      sow bug kill IFV                    give =AFF, small        1sg= BEN  
      nozaikehehaloni                    maheta  
      no= zaikehehalo -n                -i                    maheta  
      1sg=                                POSSED 1sg PURP

Asks the father Zatyamare, sow bug for me to beautify me

52 maikara                    baba Zatyamare                    aitsehena hozore  
      maika =ra                    baba Zatyamare                    aitse -hena hozore  
      SUG =AFF, small        dad mythical figure                kill IFV type.of.fish  
      itsenira                    nomani                            notimi                    kitxi maheta nea  
      itse -ni                =ra                    no= mani            no= tim -i                kitxi maheta nea  
      give NMLZ =AFF, small    1sg= BEN                    1sg= fire CAUS                    PURP say

53 eaotseta maika baba Zatyamare                    aitsehena hotxika  
      eaotseta maika baba Zatyamare                    aitse -hena hotxika  
      then      SUG dad mythical figure                kill IFV piraputanga fish  
      itsene                    nomani  
      itse -ne                no= mani  
      give POSSED 1sg= BEN

Also asks the father to kill Zatyamare piraputanga and give to me

54 notxikerehaloni                    maheta ama Kokote nea  
      no= txika -halo -n -i            maheta mama Kokote nea  
      1sg= be.yellow FEM POSSED 1sg PURP mom mythical figure say  
      , eaotseta maika wamoliye aitsehena itsene nomani  
      eaotseta maika wamoliye aitse -hena itse -ne no= mani  
      then      SUG lambari fish kill IFV give POSSED 1sg= BEN  
      notiholahaloni                    maheta  
      no= tihola -halo -n -i            maheta  
      1sg= be.green FEM POSSED 1sg PURP

She said to yellow my body, mother Kokote, also asks to kill green lambari fish, and gives me to green my body

55 ama Kokote nea , eaotseta maika .  
mama Kokote nea eaotseta maika  
mom mythical figure say then SUG

She said "mother Kokotero, asks him

56 wakamo aitsehena itsene nomani  
wakamo aitse -hena itse -ne no= mani  
tuvira fish kill IFV give POSSED 1sg= BEN  
nozaiwezaiwetoani maheta .  
no= zaiwezaiwetoa -n -i maheta  
1sg= something used to ventilate POSSED 1sg PURP

to kill (fish) Tuvira, and give it to me for my beauty

57 maika konare aitsehena itsene nohalateni  
maika konare aitse -hena itse -ne no= halate -n -i  
SUG cará fish kill IFV give POSSED 1sg= comb POSSED 1sg  
maheta .  
maheta  
PURP

Also ask my father to kill cará fish and give me in order to be (used as) my comb

58 molotya aitsehena itsene nomani ,  
molotya aitse -hena itse -ne no= mani  
cascudo fish kill IFV give POSSED 1sg= BEN  
notxikoetonone maheta .  
no= txikoetonone maheta  
1sg= PURP

Also kill cascudo fish, and gives me

59 txiweatya aitsehena itsene nomani  
txiweatya aitse -hena itse -ne no= mani  
bagre fish kill IFV give POSSED 1sg= BEN  
nobalatoahini maheta ama Kokote nea .  
no= balatoahi -n -i maheta mama Kokote nea  
1sg= dish POSSED 1sg PURP mom mythical figure say

60 eaotseta zanehetehena .  
eaotseta zane -hete -hena  
then go RE IFV

Then she went away

61 inityo Kokote tsemehenatyo Yohoho , zerare  
ityo Kokote tseme -hena =tyo Yohoho zera -re  
mother mythical figure hear IFV =TOP sing NMLZ  
kawiyala kawiyahena  
kawiyatya =la kawiyatya -hena  
shout =FOC shout IFV

The Kokote mother heard the cry of Yuhōhō, the cry of singer

62 inityo tiyahaloakatyā ehaikoa waiyehenatyo  
ityo tiya -halo -aka -tya chaik -oa waiye -hena =tyo  
mother cry FEM TH turn, pour out MM see, watch IFV =TOP  
koloho atyo txiyahotya  
koloho =atyo txiyahotya  
forest =TOP surpass, exceed

His mother was crying and and she turned back to see, and the forest was too thick to see through

63 eaotseta mai neheta .  
eaotseta mai neheta  
then

At the same time the plant went down

64 akohakakoanetseta tyaoneheta  
akohakakoane -tse -ta tyaone -heta  
be a bit short CLF.small CONT become RE

It became short

65 awa iya hoka kete iya wahahare tyaona .  
awa =iya hoka kete =iya wahahare tyaona  
NEG =IRR CON manioc =IRR long become

If was not this, the cassava would get high

66 eakere kete kaotyakene tahi .  
eakere kete kaotyak =ene =tahi  
so, then manioc show.up =3O =about

67 eaotseta kete tyaothena .  
eaotseta kete tyao -hena  
then manioc become IFV

So it was born cassava

68 eaotseta eye tahita manatyare .  
eaotseta eye =tahi -ta mana tya -re  
then this =about EMPH deliver a speech NMLZ

Then, this same story has also a song

69 manatita haolone nezaka kakoa  
mana -t -ita ha= olone nezaka =kakoa  
deliver a speech TRAN CONT 3sg= chicha.drink news =COM  
kaokehena eye tahita manaita  
kaoke -hena eye =tahi -ta mana -ita  
arrive IFV this =about EMPH deliver a speech CONT  
toahiyerehare  
toahiyeh -re -hare  
in.the.old.days NMLZ MASC

The elders sing when they invite guests

70 kalikini atyo manati tyotya  
kalikini =atyo mana -ti tyotya  
now =TOP deliver a speech UNPOSS everything, all  
kamiyane  
ka- miyatya -ne  
ATTR finish POSSED

Today this song just came to the end

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