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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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A reference grammar of Paresi-Haliti (Arawak)

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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.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Tables.....	xvii
List of Figures.....	xxi
Abbreviations.....	xxii
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Linguistic profile of Paresi.....	4
1.2 Genetic affiliation.....	5
1.3 Previous linguistic studies of Paresi.....	9
1.4 Language variation.....	10
1.5 Cultural context.....	11
1.6 Language contact.....	13
1.7 Statement of endangerment	14
1.8 Methods and data collection.....	15
Chapter 2 - Phonology.....	22
2.0 Introduction.....	22
2.1 Phonemes.....	22
2.1.1 Vowels.....	22
2.1.2 Vowel allophones and vowel processes.....	23
2.1.2.1 Vowel /a/ and its allophones.....	23
2.1.2.2 Vowel /o/ and its allophones.....	24
2.1.2.3 Vowel nasality, rhinoglottophilia, and vowel lengthening.....	25

2.1.3 Consonants.....	29
2.1.3.1 Stops.....	29
2.1.3.2 Nasals.....	32
2.1.3.3 Liquids.....	33
2.1.3.4 Fricatives.....	35
2.1.3.5 Affricates.....	38
2.1.3.6 Approximant.....	39
2.1.4 Distribution of Consonants	40
2.2 Palatalization and neutralization.....	42
2.2.1 Allophonic palatalization.....	42
2.2.2 Neutralization.....	49
2.3 Phonological analysis in Rowan & Burgess (1969) and Silva (2009).....	51
2.4 Syllable types and structure.....	52
2.4.1 Vowel sequences.....	53
2.4.2 Glides.....	55
2.5 Prosody.....	55
2.5.1 Stress patterns.....	55
2.6 Morphophonemics.....	62
2.6.1 Vowel harmony /e/ → /i/.....	62
2.6.2 Vowel assimilation.....	64
2.6.3 Vowel raising: /a/ → [e]/[i].....	65
2.6.4 Vowel deletion.....	68
2.6.5 [i] insertion.....	69
2.6.6 w>j change.....	70
2.6.7 Dissimilation: /tj/ and /t/ → /ts/.....	70

2.7 Orthographic conventions	71
Chapter 3 - Morpheme categories and closed word classes.....	75
3.0 Introduction.....	75
3.1 Types of morphemes.....	75
3.1.1 Definition of word.....	75
3.1.2 Affixes.....	76
3.1.3 Clitics.....	77
3.1.4 Particles.....	80
3.2 Pronouns.....	81
3.2.1 Personal clitics.....	81
3.2.2 The anaphoric ha=.....	83
3.2.3 Personal pronouns.....	85
3.3 Demonstratives.....	89
3.3.1 Adnominal demonstratives.....	90
3.3.1.1 Proximal demonstrative.....	90
3.3.1.2 Medial demonstrative: hatyo.....	93
3.3.1.3 Distal demonstrative ēeze.....	96
3.3.1.4 Non-visual etake.....	97
3.3.2 Adverbial demonstratives.....	98
3.3.2.1 The proximate ali 'here'.....	98
3.3.2.2 The medial owene and ita	99
3.3.2.3 The distal nali 'there' and the distal ñita 'there'.....	100
3.4 Indefinites.....	101
3.4.1 Indefinite demonstratives.....	101
3.4.2 Indefinite pronouns.....	103
3.5 Quantification.....	103
3.5.1 Numerals.....	103
3.5.2 Quantifiers.....	108

3.5.2.1 tyotya 'all'.....	108
3.5.2.2 kahare 'many, a lot'.....	109
3.5.2.3 inira 'few'.....	110
3.5.2.4 taita 'only'.....	111
3.6 Postpositions.....	111
3.6.1 Instrumental and comitative =kako.....	114
3.6.2 zema 'accompanied by, follow (behind)'.....	117
3.6.3 ana 'dative'.....	118
3.6.4 hiye 'benefactive'.....	120
3.6.5 nali 'general location'.....	121
3.6.6 katyaha 'under'.....	122
3.6.7 hao 'above, over, upward'.....	123
3.6.8 heno 'above, on top'.....	123
3.6.9 henetse 'in the center on top'.....	124
3.6.10 meketse 'in the center'.....	124
3.6.11 zaihako 'behind'.....	124
3.6.12 ako 'inside of a deep container'.....	125
3.6.13 koa 'on concave surface'.....	126
3.6.14 haliya 'near, next to'.....	127
3.6.15 koni 'among'.....	127
3.6.16 onita ~ ta 'source'.....	128
3.6.17 zeta 'allative'.....	129
3.7 Adjectives and Adverbs.....	129
3.7.1 Adjectives.....	129
3.7.2 Adverbs.....	131
3.7.3 Relation between adverbs, adjectives and stative verbs.....	141
3.8 Interjections and ideophones.....	142
3.8.1 Interjections.....	142
3.8.1.1 Words expressing emotions.....	143

3.8.1.2 Response words.....	145
3.8.1.3 Words directed at animals.....	147
3.8.2 Ideophones	147
Chapter 4 - Nouns and nominal morphology.....	153
4.0 Introduction.....	153
4.1 Noun roots and stems.....	153
4.1.1 Noun roots.....	153
4.1.2 Inherent reduplication.....	154
4.1.3 Noun Stems.....	155
4.2 Number.....	155
4.2.1 The plural/associative -nae.....	155
4.2.2 The collective toli.....	160
4.3 Possession.....	162
4.3.1 Inalienable nouns.....	163
4.3.2 Alienable nouns	167
4.3.3 Non-possessed nouns.....	176
4.3.4 The possessive constructions with ka-.....	177
4.4 Nominal compounds	177
4.4.1 Types of compounds.....	180
4.5 Noun classification.....	183
4.5.1.1 Morphology and semantics of classifiers.....	184
4.5.2 Function of classifiers and the typology of classification.....	193
4.5.2.1.1 Nominal roots.....	193
4.5.2.1.2 Verb roots	194
4.5.2.1.3 Numerals and demonstratives.....	194
4.5.2.1.4 Agreement-like function.....	196
4.5.2.1.5 Anaphoric reference.....	196
4.5.2.1.6 Properties of Paresi classifiers and the typology of noun classification systems.....	198

4.5.2.1.7 Comparative note.....	200
4.6 Nominal derivation.....	200
4.6.1 Event nominalization: -Ø.....	201
4.6.2 Result nominalizer z-.....	202
4.6.3 Agent nominalizer -re.....	204
4.6.4 Human agent nominalizer -tiye.....	210
4.6.5 Nominalizer -hare/-halo.....	212
4.6.6 Instrument nominalizer -kala.....	214
4.6.7 Locative nominalizer -(i)yere/-(i)yolo.....	215
4.6.8 Passive nominalizer: -ka.....	216
4.7 The structure of noun phrases.....	218
4.7.1 Noun phrase and noun modification.....	218
4.7.1.1 Appositional noun phrases.....	218
4.7.1.2 Coordination of noun phrases.....	220
Chapter 5 - Verb classes and adjusting valency.....	226
5.0 Introduction.....	226
5.1 Verb structure and the thematic suffixes.....	226
5.2 Verb classes.....	230
5.2.1 Intransitive Verbs.....	231
5.2.1.1 Intransitive agentive verbs	231
5.2.1.2 Intransitive non-agentive verbs	233
5.2.1.3 Stative intransitive verbs.....	234
5.2.1.3.1 Non-stative non-agentive verbs.....	236
5.2.2 Transitive verbs.....	238
5.2.3 Ditransitive verbs.....	241
5.2.4 Copula tyaona.....	243
5.2.5 Existential copula verb aka.....	244
5.2.6 The quotative verb nea.....	245

5.3 Valency-changing mechanisms.....	247
5.3.1 Valency decreasing mechanisms.....	247
5.3.1.1 Middle marker -oa.....	247
5.3.1.2 Reflexive/coreferential marker.....	254
5.3.1.3 Reciprocal.....	256
5.3.2 Valency increasing mechanisms.....	260
5.3.2.1 Lexical causatives.....	260
5.3.2.2 Causatives a~e- and -(k)i	260
5.3.2.3 Periphrastic causative.....	268
5.3.3 Incorporation.....	269
5.3.3.1 Noun incorporation.....	269
5.3.3.2 Incorporation of classifiers.....	273
5.3.3.3 Incorporation of postpositions	276
Chapter 6 - Tense, reality status, aspect and modality.....	286
6.0 Introduction.....	286
6.1 Tense.....	286
6.1.1 Past ene.....	286
6.1.2 Future ite.....	290
6.2 Reality status: irrealis iya.....	294
6.3 Aspect.....	297
6.3.1 Imperfective -ita.....	297
6.3.2 Perfective -heta.....	300
6.3.3 Transitional -hena.....	302
6.3.4 Iterative -hitiya.....	304
6.4 Modality.....	306
6.4.1 Frustratives zaore and motya.....	306
6.4.2 Dubitatives.....	309
6.4.3 Desiderative katsani.....	311

Chapter 7 - Simple clauses and negation.....	312
7.0 Introduction.....	312
7.1 Grammatical relations.....	312
7.1.1 Core arguments.....	312
7.1.2 Oblique arguments.....	313
7.2 Clause structure.....	313
7.2.1 Constituent order.....	316
7.2.1.1 Pragmatic parameters relevant for constituent ordering.....	320
7.3 Non-verbal predicates.....	325
7.3.1 Nominal predicates.....	325
7.3.2 Locational/existential predicates.....	327
7.3.3 Possessive predicates.....	329
7.4 Interrogative clauses.....	331
7.4.1 Question-word (constituent) interrogatives.....	331
7.4.1.1 Complex question words.....	336
7.4.1.2 Indefinite pronouns.....	337
7.4.2 Polar interrogatives.....	338
7.4.3 Interrogative alternatives	340
7.4.4 Questions used for greetings.....	341
7.5 Commands.....	342
7.5.1 Basic commands.....	342
7.5.2 Hortatives.....	346
7.6 Negation.....	346
7.6.1 Standard negation	347
7.6.2 Negation in nonverbal clauses.....	352
7.6.3 Negation of constituents.....	353
7.6.4 Negation in interrogatives.....	354
7.6.5 Prohibitive constructions.....	355
7.6.6 The prefix ma-.....	356

7.6.7 Negation in complex clauses.....	359
7.6.8 Negative indefinites	362
7.6.9 Double negation.....	363
Chapter 8 - Clause combining.....	365
8.0 Introduction.....	365
8.1 Event coordination.....	366
8.2 Subordinate clauses.....	369
8.2.1 Relative clauses.....	370
8.2.1.1 Position of the RC with respect to the head.....	374
8.2.1.2 The role of the relativized noun within the RC.....	375
8.2.2 Complementation.....	378
8.2.2.1 Paratactic complementation.....	379
8.2.2.2 Nominalized complements.....	386
8.2.3 Adverbial clauses.....	390
8.2.3.1 Clause combination of two finite structures.....	390
8.2.3.2 Nominalized adverbial clauses.....	396
Chapter 9 - Final considerations.....	401
Texts.....	403
References.....	445

List of Tables

Table 1: Payne's internal classification for 24 languages.....	8
Table 2: Paresi vowel phoneme inventory.....	22
Table 3: Paresi vowels contrasts in oral contexts.....	23
Table 4: Paresi consonants.....	29
Table 5: Distribution of consonants.....	41
Table 6: distribution of the phonemes /t/ and /ti/.....	49
Table 7: distribution of the phonemes /l/ and /li/.....	49
Table 8: Phonemic inventories proposed for Paresi.....	52
Table 9: vowel sequences.....	53
Table 10: Paresi vowels in the working and practical orthographies.....	72
Table 11: Paresi consonants in the working and practical orthographies.....	73
Table 12: Prefixes in Paresi.....	76
Table 13: Nominal suffixes.....	76
Table 14: Verbal suffixes in Paresi.....	77
Table 15: Person/number clitics in Paresi.....	78
Table 16: Clausal enclitics in Paresi.....	79
Table 17: Particles.....	80
Table 18: Personal proclitics and number.....	81
Table 19: Allomorphy in proclitics.....	82
Table 20: Personal pronouns.....	85
Table 21: Demonstratives.....	90
Table 22: Numerals up to four.....	104
Table 23: Numerals above four.....	106
Table 24: Postpositions.....	113
Table 25: kakoa.....	115

Table 26: zema.....	118
Table 27: ana.....	119
Table 28: koni.....	128
Table 29: Temporal adverbs.....	132
Table 30: Times of the day.....	138
Table 31: Ideophones.....	148
Table 32: roots with a lexicalized suffix.....	154
Table 33: Inherent reduplication.....	155
Table 34: Personal clitics.....	163
Table 35: (Un)possessed body parts	164
Table 36: (Un)possessed personal belongings	165
Table 37: (Un)possessed kinship terms.....	165
Table 38: Inalienable nouns taking -i	166
Table 39: Suppletive unpossessed forms.....	167
Table 40: Examples with -xi~-za, -li~-la, and -ni~-ne.....	167
Table 41: Examples with -ye and -ri/-ra.....	169
Table 42: Possessed head marker -za.....	170
Table 43: Possessed head marker -la.....	171
Table 44: Possessed head marker -ne.....	172
Table 45: Loan words.....	173
Table 46: Restrictions on possessed suffixes.....	174
Table 47: Nouns taking more than one POSSED suffix.....	174
Table 48: Nouns taking the POSSED and UNPOSS suffixes.....	175
Table 49: nouns taking both -ti and possessed suffixes.....	175
Table 50: Personal belonging taking -tini.....	176
Table 51: Suppletive form.....	176
Table 52: plant and body parts.....	182

Table 53: The set of classifiers.....	185
Table 54: The Paresi nominal classification system compared to the typology of classification (Grinevald, 2000: 62).....	199
Table 55: Derivational suffixes.....	201
Table 56: Event nominalization.....	201
Table 57: Result nominalization.....	203
Table 58: Allomorphs of the agent nominalizer -re.....	204
Table 59: Possessed nominalizations.....	205
Table 60: nominalizer -re.....	206
Table 61: The nominalizer -re with stative verbs and adjectives.....	208
Table 62: Agent nominalizer.....	210
Table 63: Possession of nominalizations with -tiye.....	211
Table 64: -tiye with adjectives.....	211
Table 65: Nominalized verbs with -hare.....	212
Table 66: More examples with -hare.....	213
Table 67: Masculine -hare and feminine -halo.....	214
Table 68: Instrument nominalizer -kala.....	214
Table 69: nominalizations with -otse.....	215
Table 70: Nominalizations with -ka.....	216
Table 71: Verb roots that carry -tya~tσα.....	228
Table 72: Borrowed verbs that take -tya.....	228
Table 73: Verb roots that carry -ka.....	229
Table 74: sets of proclitics in Paresi.....	230
Table 75: agentive intransitive verbs.....	232
Table 76: stative intransitive verbs	234
Table 77: stative intransitive verbs taking -i '1sg'.....	235
Table 78: Non-stative verbs taking set B.....	236

Table 79: Some transitive verbs.....	239
Table 80: Summary of the distribution of markers (Mithun, 1991:524).....	241
Table 81: Distribution of pronominal forms.....	241
Table 82: inflection for person with the verb nea.....	246
Table 83: transitive/ inchoative alternations.....	248
Table 84: Verb roots that carry -(ty)oa	251
Table 85: deponent verbs with lexicalized -oa.....	253
Table 86: Intransitive verbs causativized by the morpheme -(k)i.....	260
Table 87: Intransitive verbs with the morphemes a- and -(ty)a.....	262
Table 88: Verbs taking -ne 'POSSED'.....	264
Table 89: Verbs taking a~e-.....	265
Table 90: Transitive verbs causativized by the morphemes a- and -ki.....	266
Table 91: verbs derived from nouns.....	268
Table 92: lexicalization of noun-verb compound.....	275
Table 93: Aspect suffix combinations.....	306
Table 94: Markers of modality and evidentiality in Paresi.....	306
Table 95: Frequency of pre-verbal and post-verbal objects.....	319
Table 96: Frequency distribution of constituent order in sentences with lexical NPs.....	319
Table 97: Interrogative words.....	331
Table 98: Complex question words.....	336
Table 99: Indefinite pronouns.....	337
Table 100: Suppletive forms of verbs for imperative.....	344
Table 101: privative stative predicates.....	358
Table 102: Types of clause combinations and their encoding.....	365

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Brazil and localization of the Paresi villages (map from Queixalos & Renault-Lescure, 2000).....	2
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.....	3
Figure 3: Lexical entry in FLEEx.....	19
Figure 4: Interlinearized text in FLEEx.....	19
Figure 5: DVD documenting a traditional festival.....	20
Figure 6: non-nasalized vowel [e] in [me] before nasal.....	26
Figure 7: non-nasalized vowel [i] before nasal.....	26
Figure 8: spontaneous nasalization of [a] in [ha].....	27
Figure 9: spontaneous nasalization of [a] in [ha].....	28
Figure 10: Palatalized glottal fricative.....	43
Figure 11: Palatalized alveolar nasal.....	43
Figure 12: Palatalized approximant.....	44
Figure 13: phoneme [ʈ].....	44
Figure 14: no palatalization of [d].....	45
Figure 15: [k] in the beginning of word.....	46
Figure 16: palatalization of [k] following hi=.....	46
Figure 17: no palatalization of [k]	47
Figure 18: Palatalization in the environment i_e.....	48
Figure 19: stressed syllable [fa].....	57
Figure 20: stress in the first syllable ['maka] 'night'.....	58
Figure 21: stress in the first syllable [ma'ka] 'hammock'.....	59

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 Onomatopoeia
PST Past
PART Particle

PASS Passive
PL Plural
PN Proper noun
POSP Postposition
POSED 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, 2012¹), 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 territories² (Portuguese: Terras Indígenas): Rio Formoso, Utiariti, Estação Parecis, Estivadinho, Pareci, Juininha, Figueira, Ponte de Pedra, and Uirapuru. Paresi³ (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.

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

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

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

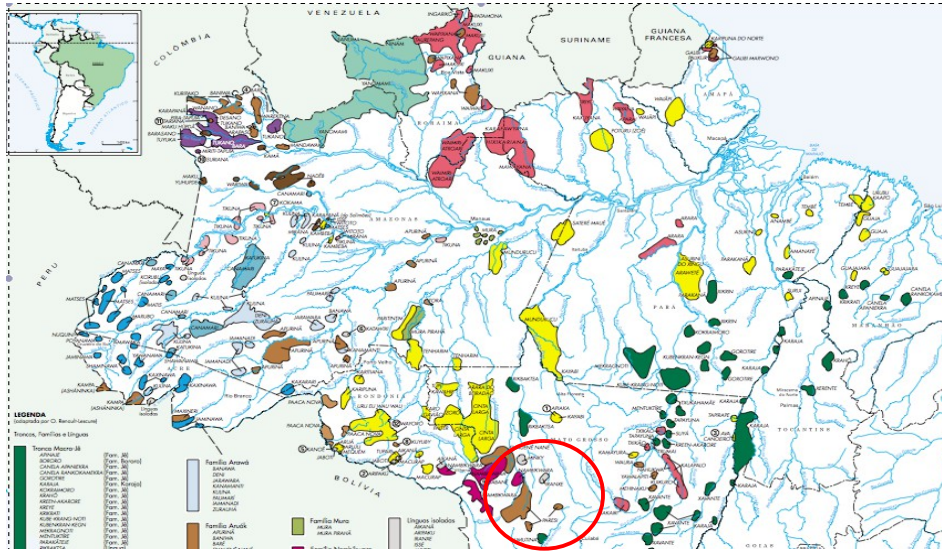


Figure 1: Map of Brazil and localization of the Paresi villages (map from Queixalos & Renault-Lescure, 2000)

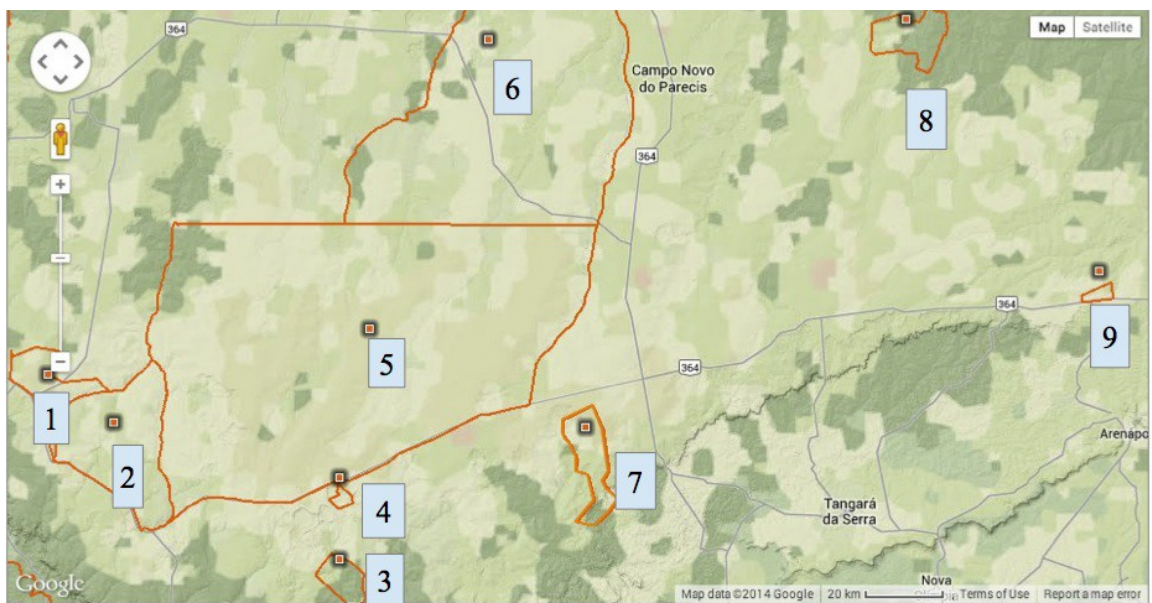


Figure 2: Paresi indigenous territories (from ISA): 1-Uirapuru, 2-Juininha, 3-Figueiras, 4-Estivadinho, 5-Pareci, 6-Utiariti, 7-Rio Formoso, 8-Ponte de Pedra, and 9-Estação Parecis

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-nawê⁴ in the same branch as Paresi. Brandão & Facundes (2007) consider Paresi and Enawenê-nawê to form a subgroup since they

⁴ 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

- I WESTERN**
 - Amuesha
 - Chamicuro
- II CENTRAL**
 - Parecís
 - Waurá
- III SOUTHERN**
 - Bolivia-Paraná (subgroup)**
 - Terêna
 - Bauré
 - Ignaciano
 - Purus**
 - Piro
 - Apurinã
 - Campa**
 - Machiguenga
 - Ashéninca
- IV EASTERN**
 - Palikur
- V NORTHERN**
 - Wapishana
 - Caribbean**
 - Garífuna
 - TA-Arawakan**
 - Lokono
 - Guajiro
 - Inland**
 - North-Amazon**
 - Resígaro
 - Rio Negro**
 - 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 Utiariti 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), Bortoletto (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 to 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 Utiariti 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: Kashíniti (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 Utiariti 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 autclassify 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 descendents 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 Guaraní).

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, cataloged, 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.⁵ 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.

⁵ 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.

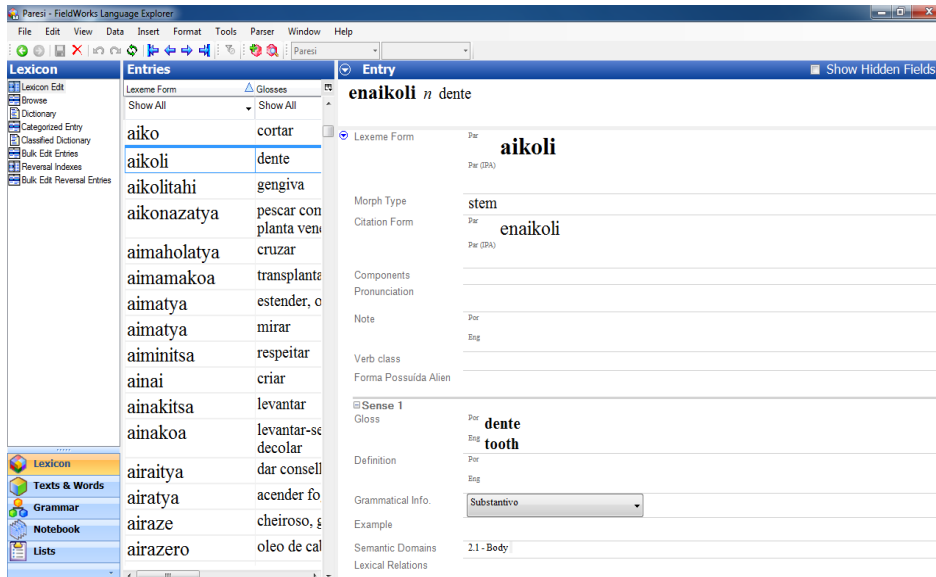


Figure 3: Lexical entry in FLEEx

The texts were also analyzed in FLEEx, 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.

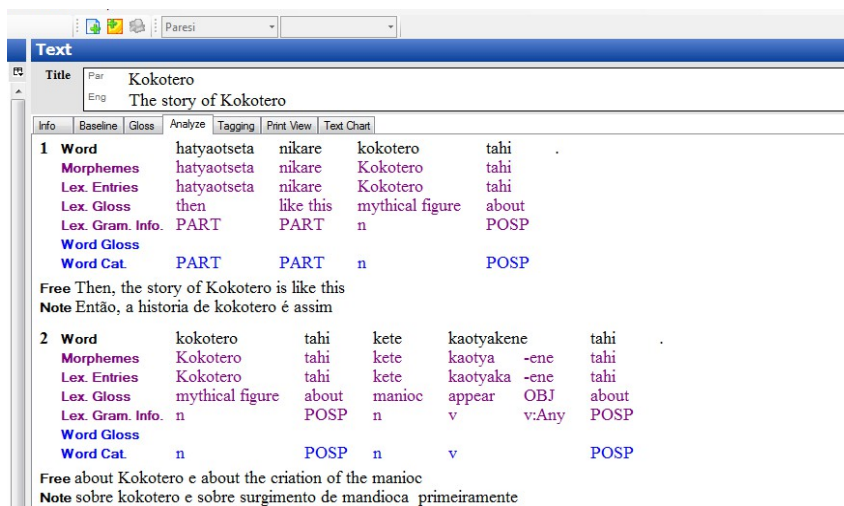


Figure 4: Interlinearized text in FLEEx

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 Noezionakemae. I accompanied him during his work in three villages: Nova Esperança, Bacaval and Kotitiko. In 2013, Noezionakemae 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:

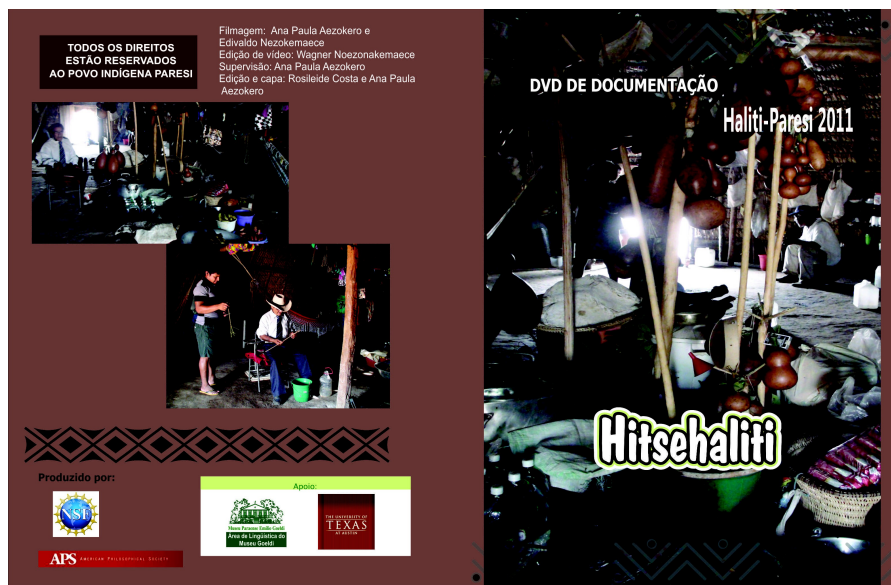


Figure 5: DVD documenting a traditional festival

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 FLEEx. 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

a	e	i	o
/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'	/iho/ '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 [ɐ]. The reduced vowel [ɐ] occurs in word-final unstressed syllables while the unreduced vowel occurs elsewhere.

(1) unreduced and reduced vowels

/a/	[ɐ]
/awo/ [a'wɔ] 'emu'	/tema/ [t̪emɐ] 's/he ran'
/abali/ [a'bali] 'sieve'	/ha'nama/ [ha'namɐ] 'three'
/ha'tsero/ [ha'tserɔ] 'your grandmother'	/ka'faka/ [ka'fakɐ] '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. /tʰairi/ [tʰɛjɔɾi] 'mountain'
 b. /no=timela-θi/ [notimʲɛlafɪ] 'my blood'
 1sg=blood-POSSED

(3)

- a. /hi=waija/ [hiɛija] 'you saw'
 2sg=see
 b. /no=waija/ [nowaija] 'I saw'
 1sg=see

(4)

- a. /hi=waini-hena/ [hiwʲɛjnihena] '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 [ɔ]. [ɔ] occurs in unstressed final syllables, as shown in (5).

(5) unreduced and reduced vowels

/o/	[ɔ]
/kalore/ [kalɔ're] 'big'	/tsekɔ/ ['tsekɔ] 'far away'
/tota/ ['tota] 'flat'	/kalɔ/ ['kalɔ] 'scarlet macaw'
/toloko/ [to'lokɔ] 'whole'	/hito/ ['hitɔ] 'bow'

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

⁶ 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. /tʰotʰa/ ['tʰutʰɛ] 'all'
 - c. /ohiro/ [uhi'dʒu] 'woman'
 - d. /tʰoka/ ['tʰukɛ] 'he sat'
- (7) [o]
- a. /toka/ ['tokɛ] 'he grabbed'
 - b. /one/ ['one] 'water'
 - c. /notera/ [no'terɛ] 'I drank'
 - d. /kalore/ [ka'lore] 'big'

Finally, some speakers of the Formoso community who consider themselves to be descendents of the Waimare or Kaxiniti subgroups use [o] where [u] is used by the majority of the speakers (i.e. descendents 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=kolotʰa/ [hikiolo'tʰa] '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. /atʰamena/ [atʰamena] 'stick'
- b. /inimatsero/ [inimʰatsero] 'his mother-in-law'
- c. /monoli/ [munuli] 'termite'

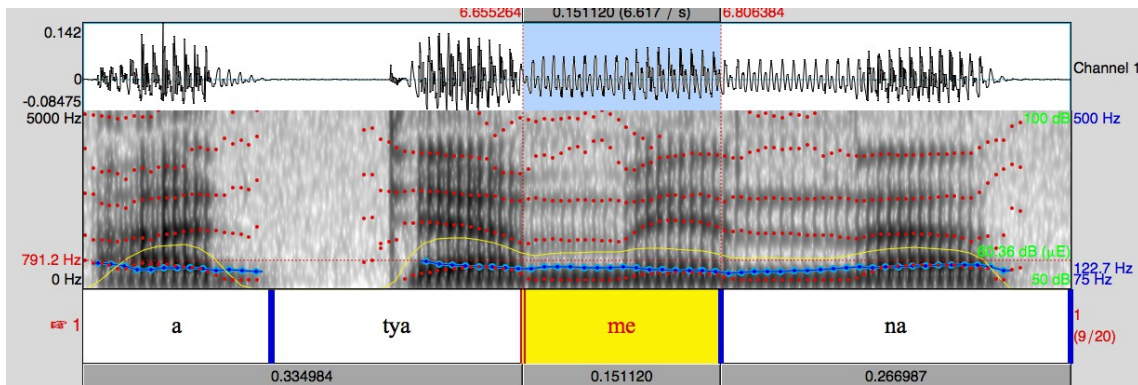


Figure 6: non-nasalized vowel [e] in [me] before nasal

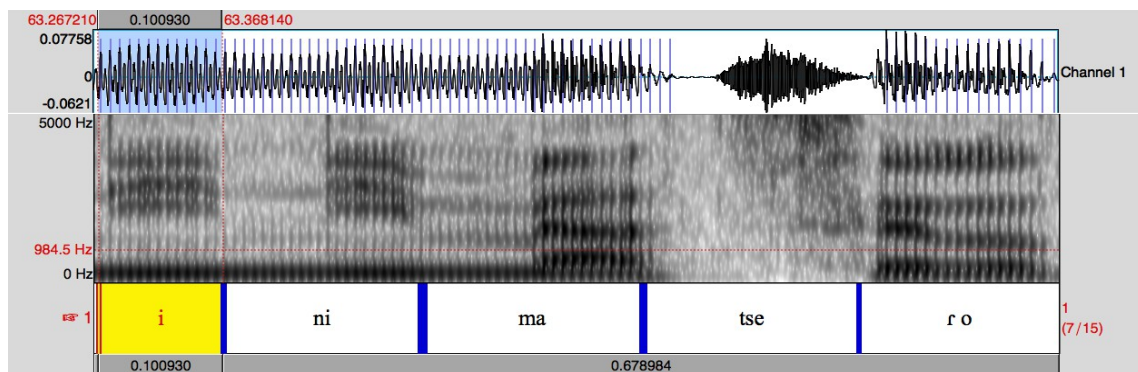


Figure 7: non-nasalized vowel [i] before nasal

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 rhinolottophilia. 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/ ['mæi̯hə] 'Neg'
- b. /tiha/ [ti̯'hia] 'it is cold'
- c. /eje aho/ [eə'hʉ] 'on this way'

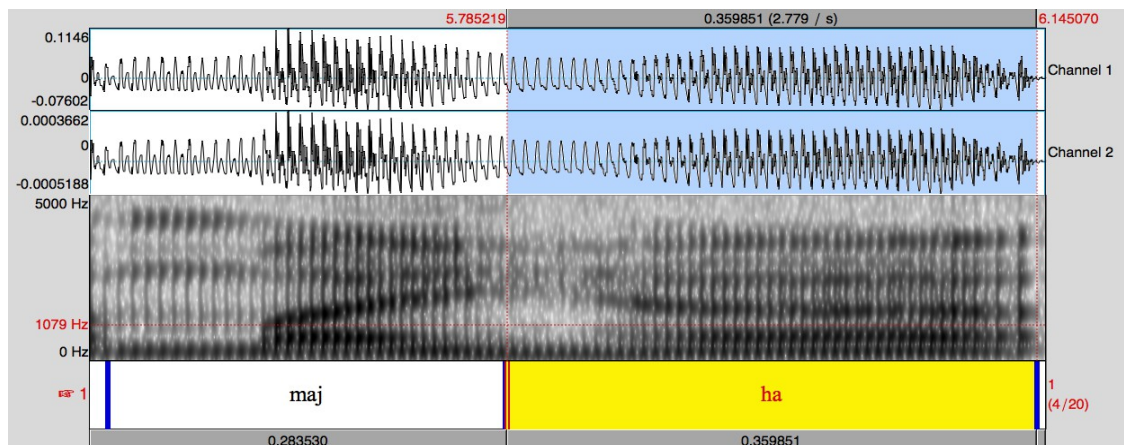


Figure 8: spontaneous nasalization of [a] in [ha]

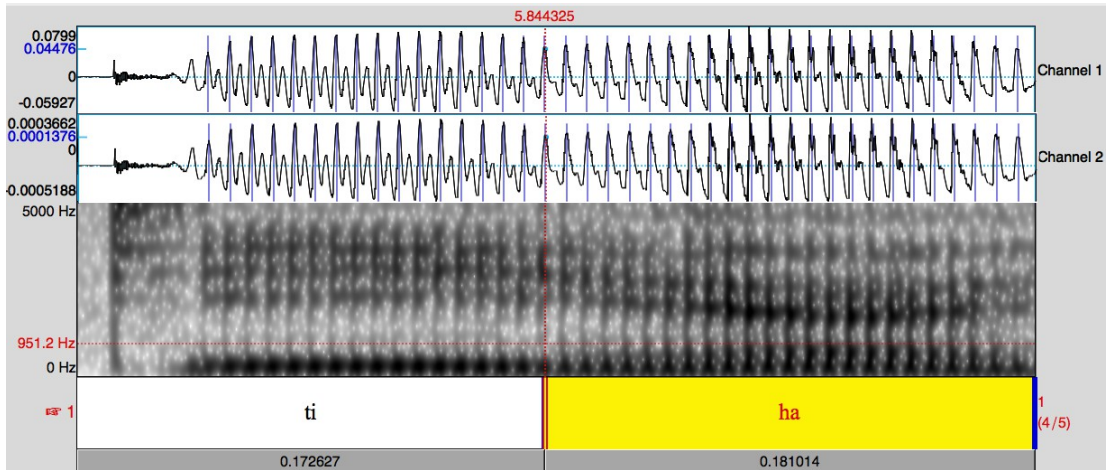


Figure 9: spontaneous nasalization of [a] in [ha]

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/ [ĩ:tə] 'there distal (far away from speaker and addressee)'

(12)

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

(13)

- a. /tseko/ 'far'
- b. /tseko/ [tsẽ: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 hamahalitinihalo **kakoãã**
 owene ha= ma- haliti -ni -halo =kakoã
 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	tʃ		k	
Nasal	m			n				
Flap				r				
Lateral approximant				l	(lʲ)			
Fricative		f	θ		(ʃ)			h
Affricate				ts	(tʃ)			
Approximant	w						j	

Below, I describe the Paresi consonants. Palatalized consonants (with the exception of [tʃ] and [lʲ]) 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, tʃ, 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 [bʲ]. [bʲ] 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'
/betetia/ 'sell'	
/biola/ 'guitar'	
/boloko/ 'pig'	

(16)

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

(17)

	[bʲ]
/tʃiriba/	[tʃiribʲe] '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'	/tʰokita/ 'he is sitting'

(19)

/aitfota/ 'he is sneezing'

/aitfoʈa/ 'he weeds'

/ite/ 'FUT'

/θete/ 'smell bad'

/nototoni/ 'my breast'

/itiho/ 'his face'

C. /tʃ/

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 [tʃ] and [t] in this environment as seen in §2.2.2.

(20)

/tʃakoliti/ 'liver'

/tʃota/ 'be over'

/tota/ 'straight'

(21)

/watʃa/ 'hot'

/wata/ 'type of fruit'

/aitfoʈa/ 'he weeds'

/aitfota/ 'he is sneezing'

/hitʃo/ 'your mother'

/hito/ 'bow'

D. /k/

There are two allophones: [k] and [kʲ]. 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' [kəkə]

/haka/ 'work'

/ketse/ 'knife' [ketse]

/kirane/ 'small' [kidiane]

/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'

/nikeretia/ [nikiereta] 'stop!'

/naikoli/ [naikʲuli] 'my tooth'

2.1.3.2 Nasals

E. /m/

There are two allophones of the bilabial nasal: [m] and [mʲ]. [mʲ] 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)

[mʲ]

/timalati/ [timⁱɛlati] 'blood'

/timena/ [timⁱɛnɛ] 'heavy'

/imotiotia/ [imⁱutiu'tia] 'he braided'

F. /n/

There are also two allophones of the alveolar nasal: [n] and [ɲ]. Similar to the other phonemes which have a palatalized counterpart, [ɲ] 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)

/natio/ '1sg'

/hatio/ '3sg'

/nemaka/ 'I am sleeping'

/nikare/ 'like this'

/notia/ 'I remember'

(29)

/tanakoliti/ 'cheek'

/θane/ 'he went'

/initio/ 'his mother'

/ekano/ 'arm'

(30)

[ɲ]

/hinama/ [hiɲa'ma] 'two'

/hatinolatene/ [hatipulatene] 'you sewed'

2.1.3.3 Liquids

G. /l/

The lateral approximant occurs only in medial position. The distinction between /l/ and /li/ is neutralized when they are followed by [i], as described in section §2.2.2. The contrast between /l/ and /r/ 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 (lixeira tree)'	/tororo/ 'throat'
/militi/ 'skin'	

H. /lʲ/

The palatalized lateral approximant occurs only in medial position. [lʲ] was considered an allophone of [l] by other people working on Paresi (see §2.3). However, while [lʲ] 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)

/alʲako/ 'where'	/ala/ 'FOC'
/halʲare/ 'tripod'	
/nokilʲako/ 'inside of my nose'	
/milʲahotseti/ 'coal'	

I. /r/

There are three allophones: [r], [d], and [dʲ]. [dʲ] 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 [r] occurs in initial position and when it is both preceded and followed by a vowel other than [i]. The alveolar flap [r] 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)

[dʲ]

/afiratia/ [afidʲa'tia] 'clean up'

/irai/ [idʲei] 'he talked'

/koiro/ [kuidʲɔ] 'fruit sp.'

[d]

/tairi/ [tʲeidi] 'mountain'

/θeirita/ [θeidita] '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 [d]. 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], [fʲ] and [ϕ]. [fʲ] 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'

/afetalatia/ 'he demarcated'

(38)

[f]

/hifakate/ [hiɸakate] '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'

/tera/ 'drink'

/θotʰare/ '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 /lʲ/, this is a marginal phoneme.

(41)

/ʃana/ 'wasp'

/θana/ 'genipap fruit'

/ʃaka/ 'shoot'

/ʃikoke/ 'your uncle'

(42)

/notimelaʃi/ 'my blood'

M. /h/

There are two glottal fricative allophones: the default allophone [h] and the allophone [hʲ] 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'

/hinoti/ 'neck'

/hoθe/ 'peccary'

(44)

/θekohatseti/ 'leader'

/ahəkotia/ 'he thought'

/ihi/ 'his rope'

/koho/ 'basket'

(45)

[h]

tihā [tih^hɛ] 'be.cold'

tihoti [tih^hoti] '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 [wⁱ]. [wⁱ] 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)

[wⁱ]

aliwa [aliwⁱɛ] '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 /li/, /f/, 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), /ϕ/ (in my analysis /f/) is the intermediate phase in the lenition process: p>ϕ>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 consonants⁷

	##_	V_V	_a	_e	_i	_o
b	Y	Y	Y	less common	rare	Y
t	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
tʃ	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 *vi*, *ve*, *θi*, and *tsi* (see discussion in the next section).

⁷ 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, ʀ, f, h, w/ have two allophones: a) [b, k, m, n, ʀ, f, h, w]; and b) the palatalized allophones: [bʲ, kʲ, mʲ, nʲ, dʲ, fʲ, hʲ, wʲ]. 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 → Cʲ/i_a,e,o
- a. /irikati/ [idikʲati] 'fire'
 - b. /θoima/ [θuimʲa] 'child'
 - c. /irai/ [idʲei] 'he talked'
 - d. /tiha/ [tihʲɛ] 'it is cold'
 - e. /aliwa/ [aliwʲa] '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 /tʲ/, as in Figure 13.

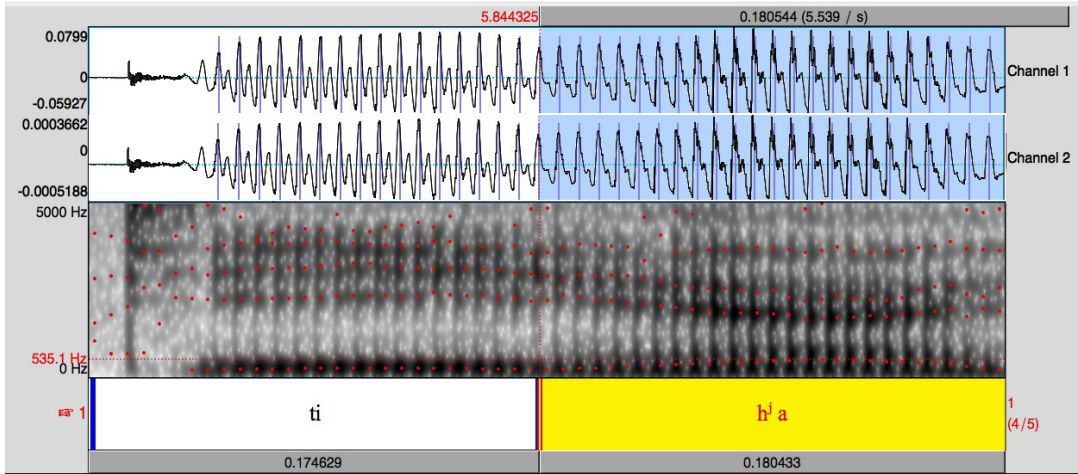


Figure 10: Palatalized glottal fricative

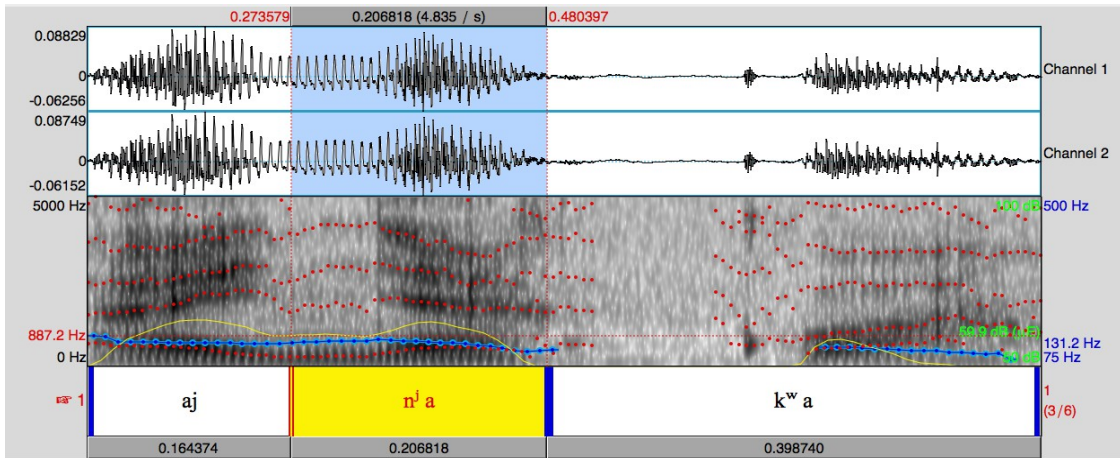


Figure 11: Palatalized alveolar nasal

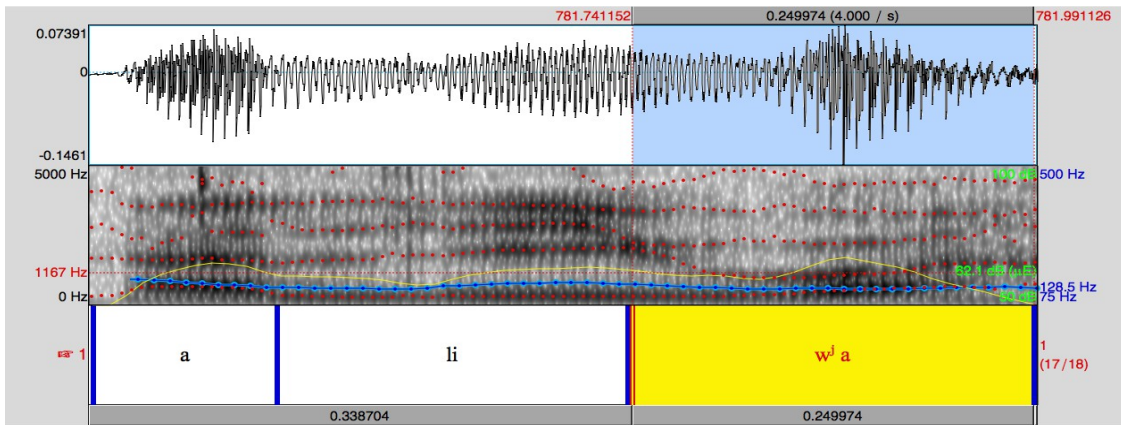


Figure 12: Palatalized approximant

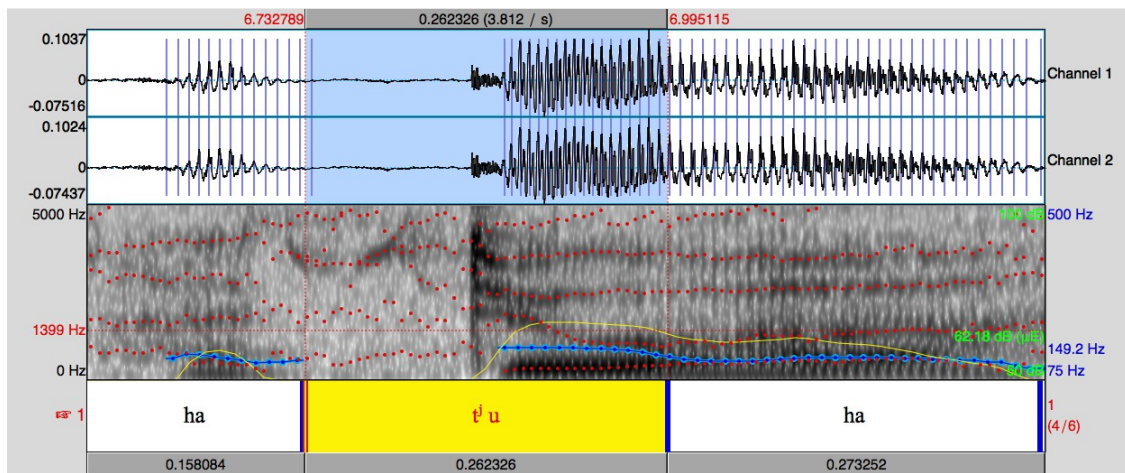


Figure 13: phoneme [tʲ]

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

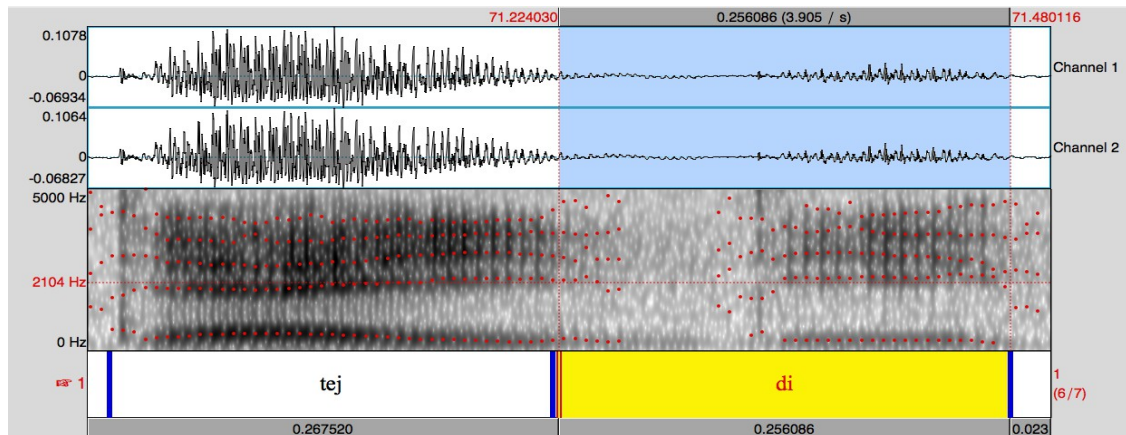


Figure 14: no palatalization of [d]

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/ [hikʰanatse] 'your mouth'

2sg=mouth

b. /wi=meta/ [wimʲetə] 'you all disappeared'

2pl=disappear

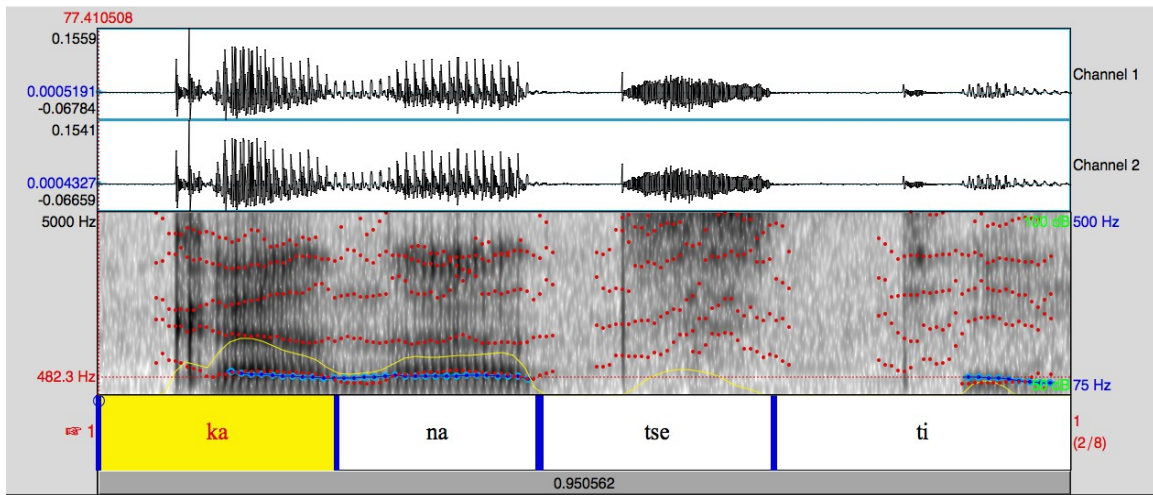


Figure 15: [k] in the beginning of word

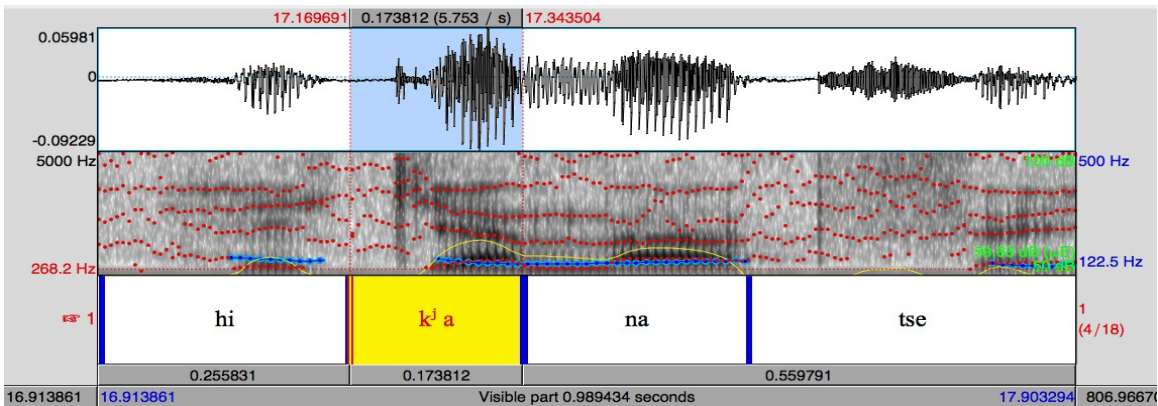


Figure 16: palatalization of [k] following hi=

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) *C^j / i__i

(57) *C^j / i__e

a. /tʃikere/[tʃikere] '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.⁸ 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 /t/ is realized as [t]:

(58)

a. /tʃika/ [tʃikʲa] 'be.yellow'

b. /tʃika-re/ [tʃikere] 'one which is yellow' *[tʃikʲere]

be yellow-NMLZ

(59)

a. /watʲa/ [watʲa] 'it is hot'

b. /wata-re/ [watere] 'the one/thing that is hot' *[watʲere]

hot-NMLZ

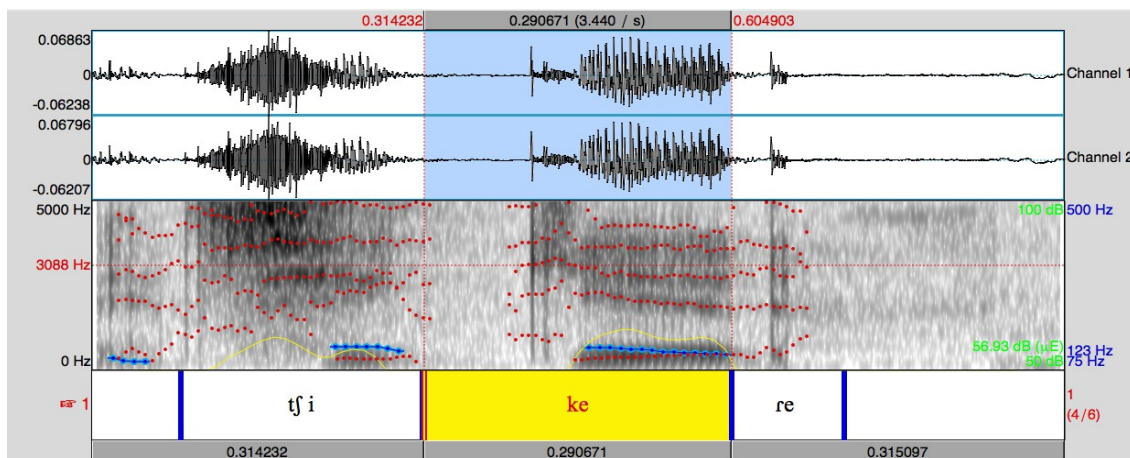


Figure 17: no palatalization of [k]

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 [mʲ] in (57), is found with the palatalized consonant.

⁸ The palatalized phoneme /tʲ/ does not occur followed by [e], see section 2.2.2.

- (60) C^j /i__e
- a. /timena/ [tim^jenə] 'be heavy'
- b. /h=imeθa/ [him^jieðv] 'you gathered'
- 2sg=gather

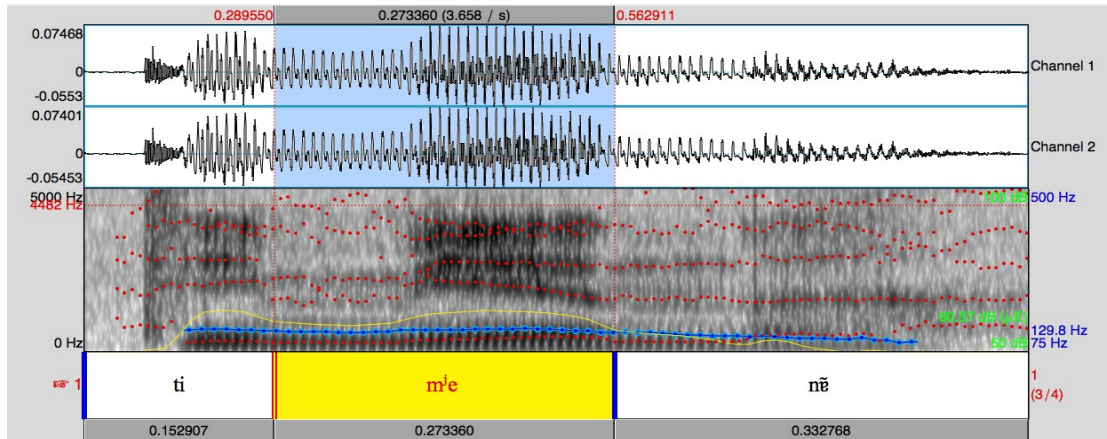


Figure 18: Palatalization in the environment i_e

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^j* in the language. The same is true of the phonemes /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /θ/ (**[ʃ^j]*, **[tʃ^j]*, **[θ^j]*). Therefore, secondary palatalization does not affect fricatives nor the phoneme /tj/, as seen in the example (61). In verb roots, the phoneme /tj/ undergoes dissimilation in the same context where other phonemes undergo palatalization (see §2.6.7)

- (61)
- a. /wi=tʰaoli/ [witʰaoli] 'in our forehead'
- 1pl=forehead
- b. /i=tʰako/ [itʰako] 'his stomach'
- 3sg=stomach

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

consonants and palatalized consonants (except /t/ and /tʃ/, /l/ and /lʃ/) 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 /tʃ/ 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 /tʃ/ before the vowels [i] and [e] because of the phonotactic restriction **tʃi/e*.

Table 6: distribution of the phonemes /t/ and /tʃ/

	i_	e_	a_	o_
_i	t/ *tʃ	t/ *tʃ	t/ *tʃ	t/ *tʃ
_e	t/ *tʃ	t/ *tʃ	t/ *tʃ	t/ *tʃ
_a	t/ tʃ	t/ tʃ	t/ tʃ	t/ tʃ
_o	t/tʃ	t/ tʃ	t/ tʃ	t/ tʃ

Another case of overlapping distribution is the distribution of the phonemes /l/ and /lʃ/. They only overlap in the environment a_a, as seen in Table 7. Their distribution is more restricted than the distribution of /t/ and /tʃ/. The distinction /l/ and /lʃ/ is neutralized in the following environments: a) [l] occurs followed by [i] (**li*), and in the environments o_a, a_o, o_o; b) [lʃ] occurs both when preceded by [i] and followed by [a].

Table 7: distribution of the phonemes /l/ and /lʃ/

	i_	e_	a_	o_
_i	l/*lʃ	l/*lʃ	l/*lʃ	l/*lʃ
_e	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested
_a	*l/lʃ	Not attested	l/lʃ	l/*lʃ
_o	Not attested	Not attested	l/*lʃ	l/*lʃ

The phoneme /l/ also exhibits overlapping distribution with the phoneme /r/.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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. /tiakore-ti/ [tiakuliti] '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

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

¹⁰ 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]:¹¹ 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/ [hiʃane] 'you went away'
2sg=go.away

b. /hi=θera/ [hiʃera] 'you song'
2sg=sing

(65)

a. /no=timela-θi/ [notimʲɛlaʃi] 'my blood'
1sg=blood-POSSED

b. /no=ʔakoira-θi/ [notʲakuidʲaʃi] '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 [tʃabidawata] 'swallow' and [tʃolai] '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 Paresi¹². All works agree with regards to the vowel inventory of four segments.

¹¹ 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).

¹² R= Rowan, 1969, S= Silva, 2009, B= Brandão.

Table 8: Phonemic inventories proposed for Paresi

	b	t	tʰ	k	m	n	r	l	ɭ	f	ɸ	θ	ð	ʃ	h	ts	tʃ	w	i
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/, /lʲ/ and /ʃ/ 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 /lʲ/ are considered to be phonemes (similar to /t/ and /tʰ/). I do not have minimal pairs distinguishing /l/ and /lʲ/, but [lʲ] occurs after [a] (e.g.: [alʲako] 'where', [ala] 'FOC'). The analysis of [lʲ] as an allophone of /l/ in contexts after [i] does not account for this other context. Because the distribution of /lʲ/ is very restricted I call this a “marginal” consonant.

/ʃ/ 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 ([ʃana] 'bee' and [θana] 'genipap'), and because the distribution of [ʃ] 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

	a	e	i	o
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 *tyoa* '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-ekoa-ki-tsa/ [a_ekoakitsa] 'he made ran away'
CAUS-run.away-CAUS-TH
- b. /n=a-eθet=ene/ [na_ēdetene] '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/ [kamaɪ] 'sun'
b. /'kaoka/ ['kaokə] 'arrive'
c. /ko'koi/ [ko'koi] 'hawk'
d. /'oina/ ['uin̩a] 'be thirsty'
e. /mat̩ei/ [mat̩ei] 'tripod'

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

- a. /a-ijo-heta/ [a_ijoheta] 'he made cry'
CAUS-be.dry-PERF
- b. /a-ot̩a-ki-tsa/ [a_ut̩akitsa] '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'

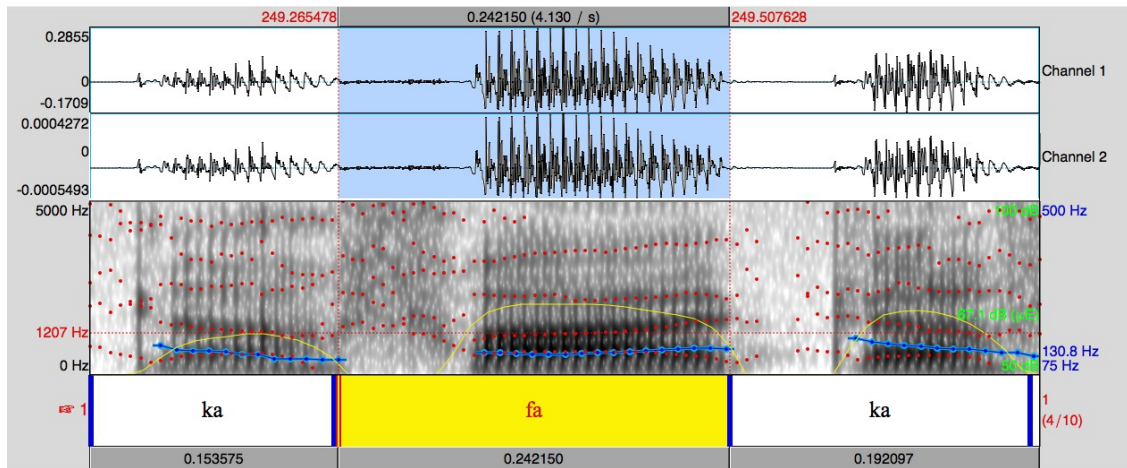


Figure 19: stressed syllable [fa]

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.'tɨj] 'tapir'
- b. irai [i.'dɛj] '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.mɛ] '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.kɐ] '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.

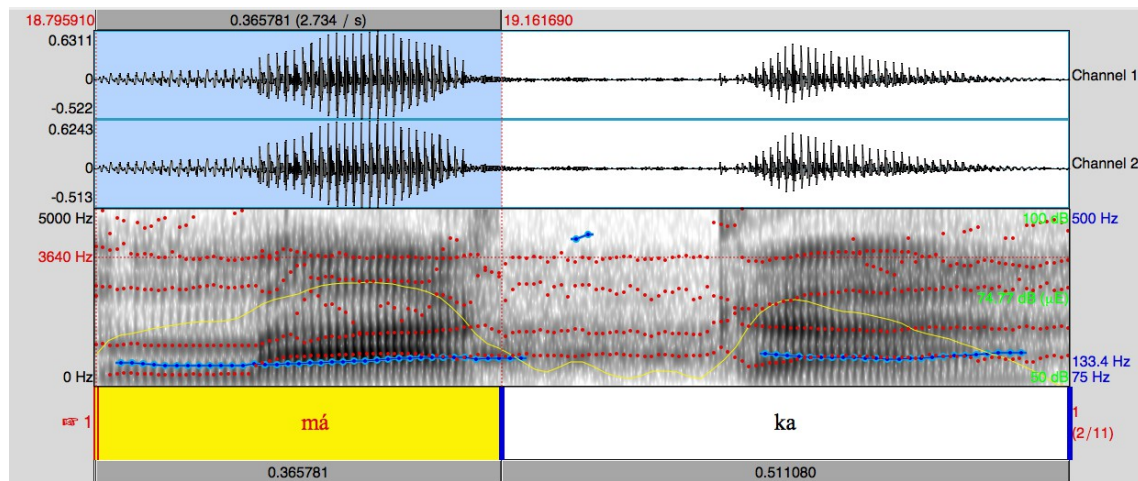


Figure 20: stress in the first syllable ['maja] 'night'

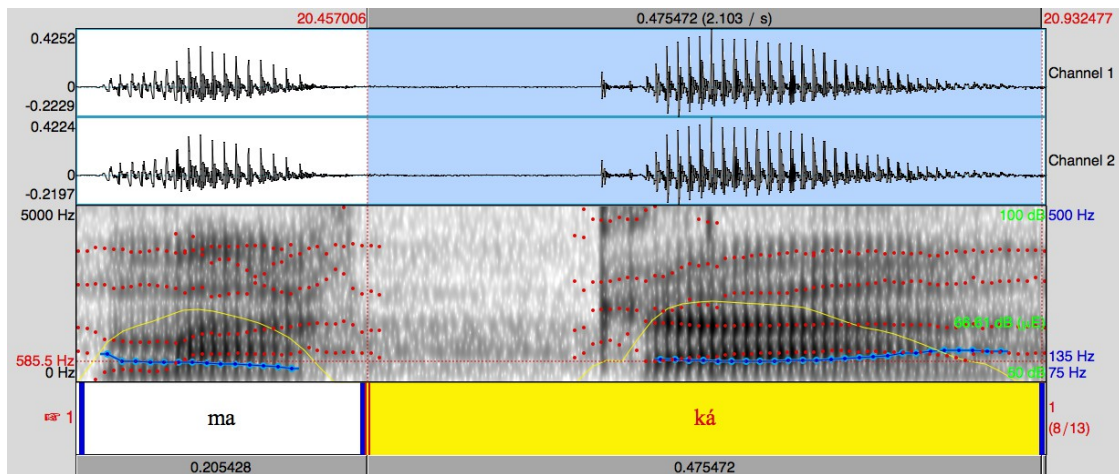


Figure 21: stress in the first syllable [ma'ka] 'hammock'

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.n'a.'ma] 'two'
- b. *ezanityo* [,e.ða.ni.'tjo] 'wife'
- c. *ezanene* [,e.ða.ne.'ne] 'husband'
- d. *ohiro* ['u.hi.dju] '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. /'tjoa/ ['tjoa] 'he came'

b. /'ao(-ka)/ [ˈaoka] 'think, wish'

Stress in polymorphemic words

Proclitics, prefixes, and the suffixes *-ti* 'UNPOSS', *-ta* 'IFV', *-nae* 'PL', *-ne* 'POSSED' or *-re* 'NMLZ'¹³ 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. <i>etse</i> | [ˈe.tse] | 'testicle of.' |
| | b. <i>etse-ti</i> | [ˈe.tse.ti] | 'testicle' |
| | testicle-UNPOSS | | |
| (77) | a. <i>nirai</i> | [ni.ˈdʲai] | 'I said' |
| | b. <i>n=irai-ta</i> | [ni.ˈdʲai.ta] | 'I am saying' |
| | 1sg=say-IFV | | |
| (78) | a. <i>Ø-i'tyani</i> | [i.ˈtʲa.ni] | 'his son' |
| | 3sg=son | | |
| | b. <i>Ø-ityani-nae</i> | [i.ˈtʲa.ni.nʲae] | 'his sons' |
| | 3sg=son-PL | | |
| (79) | a. <i>zaolo</i> | [θao.lo] | 'headdress' |
| | b. <i>e=zaolo-ne</i> | [e.θao.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

¹³ In this regard, 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. ,d'ai.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.ti̯a)] 'he planted'
 - b. *fitya-ti* [(fi.ti̯a).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'¹⁴, *-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

¹⁴ 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*.¹⁵

(84) /e/-> [i]

a. /kahe-ti/ [kahiti] 'hand'

hand-UNPOSS

b. /kahe-hi/ [kahihi] 'finger'

hand-CLF:long.slender

c. /toto-ne-ri/ [tutuniri] 'nipple'

breast-POSSED-CLF:round

d. /no=t̥olohe-ri/ [not̥olohidi] 'my cassava flour'

1sg=cassava.flour-POSSED

(85)

/init̥o-hare-ti/ [init̥ohaliti] 'elder'

elder-MASC-UNPOSS

The other context where the vowel harmony occurs is when the proclitic *e* = '3sg'¹⁶ 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 [t̥].

(86)

a. /e=hino/ [ihinu] 'his neck'

3sg=neck

b. /e=kit̥i/ [ikit̥i] 'his foot'

3sg=foot

c. /e=t̥ako/ [it̥ako] 'his stomach'

3sg=stomach

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

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

¹⁶ 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 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-tʰakore/ [etʰakore] 'his liver'

3sg=liver

b. /tʰakore-ti/ [tʰakuliti] 'liver'

liver-UNPOSS

(90)

a. /n=kolotʰa/ [nakolo'tʰa] 'I am fat'

- 1sg=be.fat
 b. /hi=kolotʰa/ [hikʰuluʰtʰa] '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=tʰijete/ [nutʰijete] '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/ [hitsemehenɛ] 'hear!'
 2sg=hear-TRS
 b. /n=iʝa-heta/ [ijeheta] 'I caught'
 1sg=catch-PERF
 c. /tʰaone-hete-hena/ [tʰaonehetehenɛ] 'kill!'
 2sg=kill-TRS
 d. /watʰa-re/ [watere] 'the one who is hot'
 hot-NMLZ
 e. /wiʝa-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/ [hikoahenahite**hena**ha] '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 *kerā* 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/ [malak**a**hene] 'they pulled it off'
 pull.off-TH-PL=3O

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

The verb *kerā* '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=kerā-hena/ [hiki**er**ahena] '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. /katiala-θa-re/ [katialaðere] 'mush'

sour-CLF:liq-NMLZ

b. /wat'a-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=tʃiriba-ne/ [hitʃidib'ane] '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-t'a/ [nim'eðatset'a] '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/ [nid'aita] 'I talked'
 1sg=talk-IFV
- b. /na=aiko-t'a/ [naikio't'a] '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=t'oa-hena/ [hitsohana] '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/ [noðeidita] 'I am singing'
 1sg=sing-IFV
b. /no=tera-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^j], as in [hiw^jɛijɐ]. However, the output is [j] instead of [w^j].

(105)

- a. /hi=waija/ [hiɛijɐ] 'you saw'
2s-see

2.6.7 Dissimilation: /t/ and /t/ → /ts/

There is a neutralization of the phonemes /t/, /tʲ/ and /ts/. The neutralization occurs when a proclitic with the vowel /i/ is attached to verb roots beginning with /t/ or /tʲ/.¹⁷ The phoneme /tʲ/ 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 /tʲ/ to /ts/, is very rare. This type of palatalization is also very rare in Paresi.

(106) [tʲ]--> [ts]/i _o,a

- a. /hi=tʲaona/ [hitsaunɐ] 'You became'
2sg=become
- b. /hi=tʲoa/ [hitsoa] 'you came'
2sg=come
- c. /hi=tʲoma/ [hitsumɐ] 'you made'
2sg=make
- d. /hi=tʲoka/ [hitsukɐ] 'you sat'
2sg=sit

¹⁷ It is interesting that the consonant /tʲ/ after a proclitic with /i/ was only found in nouns. In general the verbs with initial consonant /tʲ/ 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 (107a) 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/ [hitsemahenɐ] 'Sleep!'
 2sg=sleep-TRS
- b. /hi=t-era-hena/ [hitserehenɐ] 'drink!'
 2sg=?-drink-TRS
- c. /hi=t-ekoa/ [hitsekoa] '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 accepted 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

Phoneme (or Allophone)	Working Orthography	Practical Orthography (Paresi & Januario, 2011)	Practical Orthography (Rowan, 2001)
/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
/tʰ/	ty	ty	ty
/k/	k	k	k
/m/	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n
/r/	r	r	r
/l/	l	l	l
/li/	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
[bʲ]	b	by	b
[kʲ]	k	ky	k
[mʲ]	m	my	m
[nʲ]	n	ny	n
[dʲ]	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 [l], [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

Form	Meaning
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 13. The possession markers occur before the plural marker.

Table 13: Nominal suffixes

Form	Meaning
-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
-kako	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

∅= hiko **-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

Set A	Set B	Gloss
no=	na=	1sg
hi=	ha=	2sg
e= (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

Form	Gloss
=(i)ya	irrealis
=(i)te	future
=(a)la	focalizer
=(a)tyo	topicalizer
=ene	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** ako -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 ¹⁸	Singular	Plural
1	na=	wa=	no=	wi=
2	ha=	za=	hi=	xi=
3	∅=	∅=	∅=(verbs), e= (nouns)	∅=(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) ∅=zaneheta
 ∅= zane
 3sg go
 'He went away.' (E)

(5) etsiri
 e= **tsiri**
 3sg head
 'his head.' (E)

¹⁸ 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=*.¹⁹

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.²⁰ Proclitics

¹⁹ The allomorph *ene=* occurs with a few nouns.

²⁰ 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) nokanakairene
 natyo no= ka- nakaira =**ene**
 1sg 1sg ATTR food 3O
 'I ate it.' (E)

(8) nokanakairene (*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=*²¹ 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**_i ene tema ala, zoare? maha kaolone wityoka hoka
 abebe ene tema ala 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=*.

²¹ 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 Wapixana. Rowan & Burgess (1969) analyzes *sha=* 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**_i= iyanene ene koho -ne Ø= kolatya hatyo
 then 3sg husband PST basket POSSED 3sg take 3sg
 xikako temazaheta, Ø=zane. Wiyane
 xikako tema -za -heta Ø= zane wi= yane
 period, moment run ? PERF 3sg go 1pl go
 wahikoaheta hoka Ø=fetatyaha
 wa= hikoa -heta hoka Ø= fetatya -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 fihī Ø=txiya
Dirizonae_i -li -tse -txoa =la fihī Ø= txiya
 PN CLF:round CLF:small big =FOC straight 3sg pass
 hakatxoloza kakoa
ha_i= 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**_i ala tekoa ekakoa hazotawa heno
 azama ala tekoa **e**_{*i/j}= kakoa **ha**_{i/*j}= zotawa heno
 deer FOC run away 3sg COM 3sg horn above, on.the.top
 Ø=mokene hoka
 Ø_{i/*j}= moka =ene hoka
 3sg put 3O CON
 'The deer_i ran away with him_j, he_{i/*j} put him_{*i/j} [Dirizonae] on his_{i/*j} 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_{*ij}= 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 *atyö* (reduced to *työ*, with an allomorph *tso*).²² The third person has the same form as the demonstratives *hatyö* and *eze*, which modify nouns (see §3.3). The other personal pronouns cannot modify nouns. Interestingly, *hatyö* 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	natyö	witso
2	hitso	xitso
3	hatyö, eze	hatyönae, ezenae

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

²² The clitic *atyö* 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 *-kako*. 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 *kako* '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) **hatyona** **kako** ali witso hoka witsaonita
 hatyo -nae =kako 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 **xitsokako** zakarekarehalotyakakaoita
 zoana -re -tya hoka xitso -kako wi= karekare -halo -tya -kako -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 *aty* (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: **natyo** nozaniya
 natyo no= zani =ya
 1sg 1sg go =IRR
 'I can go.' (Batsaji iraiti)

- (17) nonityohalilitsehenatyo hoka natyota nonakairi
no= nityohaliti -tse -hena =tyo hoka **natyo** -ta no= nakairi
1sg old.person CLF:small TRS =TOP CON 1sg EMPH 1sg food
natawehetehehena
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 **natyo** atyo nawaiyolore rota kahare zakore
hoka natyo =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.' (Katomo Aug nali)

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

- (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

²³ 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 sentences²⁴ (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) maiha **witso** xini kala zala zamani Ø=malahetene
maiha 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

²⁴ 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 *ezehare* '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	ēeze	etake	ali	owene, ita	nali, ñita
plural	ezenae	hatyonae	ēezenae	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 tya =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= ahetako 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 kawē -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 *eēge*, saying the *g* indicates a voiced uvular obstruent. He analyzes *eēge* 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 *ēeze* and *etake*, but also the proximate forms *eze* and *eēge*. He also mentions the anaphoric demonstrative *eetake*, also not attested in my corpus. I

have not attested the forms *eēge* 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 *ēeze*, 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'²⁵ 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 **ēeze**) hiyerone?
 hatyo **ēeze** 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 *ēeze* are acceptable in (36). *ēeze* 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)

²⁵ 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*²⁶ more frequently refers to a referent previously mentioned in the discourse.²⁷ 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) **Hatyo** imitinae hitiyayatyo 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 a 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 *atyō* (43).

²⁶ This form may have originated from the anaphoric proclitic *ha=* and the topicalizer *atyō*, similar to the free pronouns *natyo* and *hitso*.

²⁷ 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= tyoa Ø= grava -ita hinama -ki -hena -ta Ø= tyoa
 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 *ezehare* 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, *ezehare* can also be cataphoric, i.e. it can refer to the discourse that follows (48).

- (46) zala iya **eze**hare 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= hioa -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=tyaohetehena
 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 *ēze*

The form of the distal demonstrative is *ēze*. 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 *īta* '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 *ēze* in elicitation.

- (49) hiyaya ita **ēeze** hati
 hi= yaya ita ēze hati
 2sg see there yonder house
 'Look that house over there.' (E)
- (50) **ēeze** haira hihairane?
 ēeze 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=ehokotyaita
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 estrangeiro 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 *ĩta* 'there'

Examples (64) and (65) illustrate the use of *nali* 'there' while (66) and (67) of *ĩta* 'there'. The difference between the two distals is that *ĩta* is used when the referent is visible. *ĩta* has the same vowel lengthening and nasalization as the form *ẽeze*, 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 ?
ĩta 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*²⁸ 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 an indefinite article, referring to a referent that is not physically present, as in (71).

- (68) **hatya** zema notyaonakoaitaene hoka
 hatya zema no= tyaona -koa -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)

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

- (71) **hatya** babera associação maiha nali aka hoka hatyo hatyo
 hatya babera associação maiha nali aka hoka hatyo hatyo
 IND1 paper organization 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 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) Alatyā natyotyā kalini nezanityo **haiya** ite irāeti
 =ala tyā natyo -tyā kalini n= ezanityo haiya =ite irae -ti
 =FOC ? 1sg FOC now 1sg= wife IND2 =FUT talk UNPOSS
 hare nawaiyekehalakaita
 hare na= waiyekehalaka -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 terms²⁹ (Table 22), while numerals above

²⁹ 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 kore**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

	Numeral	Gloss
1	hatita	one
2	hinama	two
3	hanama	three
4	zalakakoa	four

Numeral 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).³⁰ 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

Numeral 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'.

³⁰ 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.

Ø=halaitsaha

Ø= halaitsa -ha

3sg leave PL

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

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

Ø=zaneta

Ø= 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

	Numeral (and Its Variants)	Gloss
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) hi 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) hi takoa hinama maniya kahiti (1,2,3,4) hi kitxiti holoi mainikere kahiti takoa (1,2,3,4) kitxiti 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) hi 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: *tyotyā* '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 *tyotyā* 'all'

The quantifier *tyotyā* can precede or follow a noun in the noun phrase. Example (89) illustrates the use of *tyotyā* 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), *tyotyā* occurs with the personal clitic *wi=* '1pl'.

(89) **tyotyā** haliti Ø=tyaonitaene
 tyotyā 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 wahi yokene
 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 zowakatyatyona 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= hiko -ita
a.lot =TOP 3sg come.out, show.up IFV
'A lot (of them) is coming out'

Similar to *tyotyā* '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.'
(zaneakoare)

(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) nozakaihakatya **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** tya =tyo =te ali -ta
 Gordo only ? =TOP =FUT here EMPH
 'Only Gordo will be here.' (iraiti Batsaji)

(103) imoti **taita** ali tyaona
 imoti taita ali tyaona
 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

Form	Meaning
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', *tihō*

'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 hakatxolozatsehixoa
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*

	Personal Clitics	Kakoa 'INSTR, COM'
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 tekoka ekakoa hazotawa heno*
azama ala Ø= tekoka 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*³¹: *kakoare*.

- (113) kore **kakoare** terotatyo 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*.

³¹ 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 kakoita
 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/ > [ʃ] 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*

	Personal Clitics	Zema 'ASSOC'
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) ezahē xityaninae **ana** maika zatxiyakiyahetehena
ezahē 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*

	Personal Clitics	Ana 'DAT'
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) katxolohokotsetxoá tsiri **hiye** ala
katxolo -hoko -tse -txoa tsiri hiye ala
dog CLF:circled CLF:small big head BEN FOC
balazokonatsetxoá Ø=kolatyóá
balazoko -natse -txoa Ø= kolatyóá
bottle CLF:long big 3sg get stuck
'The head of the dog got stuck in the bottle.' (Dirizonáe)

- (130) Q: aliyo txihotyakalati?
aliyo txihotyá -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** wiyane watawehirita máhá iii kahare
otoloweke nali wi= yane wa= tawe -hi -ri -ta máhá 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=tyaóna postinho **nali**
Ø= tyaóna 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 *katyahe* 'under'

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

- (134) kaniritse **katyahe**
 kani -ri -tse katyahe
 pequi.fruit CLF:round CLF:small under
 'Under the pequi tree.' (Wazare)
- (135) kahainakoatya hoka hatyo **katyahe** Ø=tyoka
 ka- haina -koa -tya hoka hatyo katyahe Ø= tyoka
 ATTR tripod LOC TH CON 3sg under 3sg sit
 Ø=etolitsoaha
 Ø= etolits -oa -ha
 3sg lay down MM PL
 'They made a tripod, and they sat and lay down under it.' (txinikalore)
- (136) akoka katyahe eye makolitsa wetekonetya
 ako -ka katyahe eye makolitsa weteko -ne -tya
 inside TH under DEM type of armadillo land POSSED TH
wikatyahe
 wi= katyahe
 1pl under
 'Inside, under, there is the armadillo's territory, under us.' (iyamaka-BO)

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 kaitserhare
 Ø= **katyaha** -tya =ene Ø= waini kaitser -hare
 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 -koa -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 **eheno** kitxiya wiyane
 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 henetsekoa enokola
 Ø= waiye -hena =tyo owi **henetse** -koa 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 hiyala -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 meketsekoa
 hanama -katse =ala atya -katse weteko **meketse** -koa
 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 =**koa**
 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 zotyā -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 wiyanehenahitaha 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: abalikoā 'it is in the sieve.' (E)
 abali =**koa**
 sieve in

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

- (156) toahiya ene atyo atyo**ako**a wakakehitita
toahiya =ene =atyo atyoa -koa 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 mahalitihare **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

	Personal Clitics	Koni 'among'
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 POSSEDED 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 (*tibe* '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

no= kirane
1sg small
'I am small' (E)

(169) nozaotsehalitiri

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

Parsi 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), Parsi 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 Ø= tyoma -ha
house big 3sg make PL
'They made a big house' (E)

(171) kaxali timenerenae ezoa
kaxali timena -ze -nae Ø= ezoa
box heavy NMLZ PL 3sg fall
'The heavy boxes fell down' (E)

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** wiyane 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** [...] Timidyó "maiha
 hiyeta haiya zowakiya kafaka Timidyó maiha
 ? IND2 period yesterday Timidyó 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, [...] Timidyó (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** kaitserhare polo base
 hatyaotseta kafaka -tse kaitser 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 ezahē **kafakiya**
 kotyatya -ore n= irae -ne hitiya -ta ezahē 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 **kafakehenere**
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: *toahiya*.

(184) **toahiya** ene atyo atyoakoa wakakehitita
toahiya =ene =atyo atyoa -koa 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) hũ ite **makani** enatyokoe waiya hoka
hũ =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) **makaniyana** ite ali mahalitihare
makani =ya =ana =ite ali ma- haliti -hare
tomorrow =IRR DAT? =FUT here NEG person MASC
Ø=tyohena iraeakatyā 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 PURP
'Next week, the non-Indian will come to talk to the people from here.' (makani tahi)

(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
=ene 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 deceased 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 hiko	tota hiko 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-tiho-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
Ø=hikoahena zamani
Ø= hikoahena -hena zamani
3sg come.out TRS DUB
'The guests may arrive in the morning, or when it is getting dark'
- (196) zoana **zaolitiaka** zamanityo Ø=kaoka harekahare
zoana zaolitiaka zamani =tyo Ø= kaoka harekahare
what early in the morning DUB =TOP 3sg arrive host
'Or very early in the morning'
- (197) tohiyerehare atyo **kozakita** Ø=kaotse hitiya
tohiye -re -hare =atyo kozakita Ø= kaotse hitiya
in.the.old.days NMLZ MASC =TOP dawn 3sg wake.up again
zoli hikoahena
zolihi hikoahena -ta
star? come.out IFV
'The ancestors wake up at dawn when the star is coming out'
- (198) wahazatihena hazotokalahare Ø=halaitsa nikahena
wahazati -hena ha= zotokala -hare Ø= halaitsa nika -hena
midnight TRS 3sg ? MASC 3sg leave go.IMP TRS
zoimahalitinae nea
zoimahaliti -nae nea
boy PL say
'When it is midnight, he leaves the festival and he says, "keep on guys"'
- (199) totahikoahena kazaloza Ø=moka
totahikoa -hena kazalo -za Ø= 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 alyaotsetyahitaha ala
 maka -hena =ala hoka tyoka alyaotse -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 in the 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 hikoahena -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 nozahekali
 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.' (zaneakoare)

(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 an 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 ekoihiakotatyo matsakare **kalorehena** Ø=fakita
 eze ekoihiako ta =tyo matsakare kalore -hena Ø= faka -hena
 this groin SOUR TOP EMPH? big TRS 3sg swell TRS
 ihiye 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 wiyane 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= hikoahitiya -hitiya okoa -ti
 become, stay again 3sg come.out, show.up again jealous UNPOSS
 natyokoere Ø=militsehityakakoahena
 n= atyokoe -re Ø= militse -hi -tya -kakoahena
 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= tyaona -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) **hiiii** watsero nola
 hiiii w= atsero en= ola
 INTERJ 1pl grandmother 3sg game
 Ø=hikoakihitita Ø=neaha ihiye
 Ø= hikoia -ki -heta -ita Ø= 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) hakakotyatyto Ø=waiyehena
 haka -ko -tya =tyo Ø= 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) Ø=neaha hoka, aizetya, **hitxe!**
 Ø= 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!** Ø=waiyehalo waiye tsaiane
 hi= yaiya hitxe Ø= 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 *hũ*, 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=halaita
 ihooo nita ihooo z= nea ira Ø= irai -hena Ø= halaita
 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 *hãi* 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= hikoá -tya
this pile 2sg come.out, show.up TH
'Take out this pile (of dogs)'

M: **hãi!**

'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)
zũũ	scattering
tũh	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) enotsetsharehena Ø=zanehitaha
 eno -tse -tse -hare -hena Ø= zane -h -ita -ha
 high CLF:small CLF:small MASC TRS 3sg go PL IFV PL
 Ø=kaokehena waikoakore ehanaha Ø=xakatetya
 Ø= kaoke -hena waikoakore e= hana -ha Ø= xaka -te -tya
 3sg arrive TRS Indian 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*.' (Katomo 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 describe 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=iyeheta **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 *tũh*:

(232) eaotseta hakomatala Ø=zozoka waiya **zũũ**
 eaotseta ha= komata -la Ø= zozoka Ø= waiya
 then 3sg beans POSSED 3sg scatter 3sg see
 hatawaneha tsiri Ø=ezoaetsaha waiya **tũh!**
 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 *zũũ* and he threw down the head of his victim *tũh*!
 (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 kiaoooo** 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=aimazatya 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, hiyahakoatya **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, *tamitstone* '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

Bound Roots	Translation	Unbound Roots	Translation
tanakoli	cheek	txikolomo	night owl
tamitsone	sister-in-law (of a woman)	kalowero	type of hummingbird
mahiyatse	heart	hawaretse	peccary
ximalini	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}]_{stem}+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.³²

³² 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 -koa kalo -koa 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 a 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 **ezeharenae** wiraiheta
 ezahiya ehare witso =ra eze hare -nae w= irai -heta
 ? this 1pl =AFF, small this NMLZ PL 1pl talk PERF
 kalikiniyolo, kalikiniyerenae 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.'
 (T.JA.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 haiyanae 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) **hatyonae** 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
 zaotyakitsatiyenae 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 Formosoyerenae hiye
 tyotya Fomoso -koa 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 wiyane
 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= tona -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*³³ 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)

³³ 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) wiyane wimatya 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 kaoketheta 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** kakoaha 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 **toli**
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
alotso 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 ³⁴	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

³⁴ 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', *iho* '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= **iho** -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
e=kahe	'his hand'	kahi-ti	'hand'
i=niho	'his tail'	iho-ti	'tail'
i=kitxi	'his foot'	kitxi-ti	'foot'
e=tsiri	'his head'	tsiri-ti	'head'
i=tinihe	'his ear'	tinihi-ti	'ear'
e=malamala	'his lung'	malamala-ti	'lung'
e=totone	'his breast'	totoniti	'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 nouns³⁵ ending with the vowel /a/³⁶ 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 'Is'	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	'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 *oliti* and *imiti*. 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).³⁷

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ Instrumental nominalizations are also in this group because the last vowel of the instrumental nominalizer -kala.

³⁷ 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.³⁸

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).³⁹ 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 **-∅*. 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

³⁸ He does not present a motivation for considering them part of the root.

³⁹ 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 41.⁴⁰

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):

⁴⁰ 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 wiyeheta
 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 st 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 st 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 st 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'.⁴¹

⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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)

⁴² 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*

Basic Possessed Forms	Morphological Gloss	Gloss
hotse-ti-tini /hotsetine/	leg-UNPOSS-POSS	my pants
kitxi-ti-tini /kitxitine/	foot-UNPOSS-POSS	my shoes
kahi-ti-tini /kahitine/	hand-UNPOSS-POSS	my ring

Finally, there is only one unpossessed suppletive form of an alienable noun.

Table 51: Suppletive form

3 rd Person Possessed Form	Gloss	Unpossessed Form	Gloss
in=ita	his hammock	maka ⁴³ (*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.

⁴³ 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'
atya 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 kokoiya **-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'.⁴⁴ 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) 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

⁴⁴ Meronymy has been widely reported across lowland South American languages including Toba, Pilagá (Klein, 2000: 84-5), and Hup (Epps, 2008).

- (56) ahoti kilihi '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 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 'traíra 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) aliyo zolakitakotyokakalati
aliyo 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 refer 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'

atya-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 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 lexico-grammatical 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 (*halatahiti* '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) watyalitse '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) niyalitsekats 'long pubic hair'
 niyali **tse** **-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 ohironatse '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'
atya -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.⁴⁵ 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

⁴⁵ 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, *Owihoko*.

(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*⁴⁶ 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) *kahekoa* '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 space⁴⁷, as shown in (119) to (121).

(119) *matsekoa* 'ground (open space)'

matse **-koa**

ground CLF:flat

(120) *wenakalako* 'village'

wenakala *-kala* **-koa**

village NMLZ CLF:flat

⁴⁶ Similar to *-ako*, there is a postposition related to this classifier which is used to indicate a location on a flat surface.

⁴⁷ 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 -koa*
 3sg fire CLF:flat

The classifier *-koa* occurs lexicalized in the nouns *zana* 'genipap fruit' and *tsakore* 'Macaúba palm' deriving names of villages: *Zanakoa* and *Tsakorekoa*.

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 *quatrotse* '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** quatro -**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 a 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) wiyane 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 zotya **-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= li one-CLF:round 'one round thing'	b. ha= tse one-CLF: small 'one small thing'
c. ha= natse one-CLF:cylindrical one cylindrical/long thing (basket, corn ear, dog, etc)	d. ha= katse one-CLF:long 'one stick-like thing'
e. ha= za other-river 'other river'	f. ha= ako 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=motehekoatya hoka Ø=nitsa, kala Ø=nita ene
 Ø= mo -tya -hekoa -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= zokoloty -ita hatya
 IND1 tree CLF:round IND1 tree CLF: long 3sg attach IFV IND1
 atyali Ø=zokolotyoyita meketse, hatya
 atya **-li** Ø= zokoloty -ita meketse hatya
 tree CLF:round 3sg attach IFV in the middle of IND1
 atyataotse Ø=ehokotyoyita
 atya **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.⁴⁸ Paresi exhibits a small number of classifiers (only 11) compared to the number of classifiers in other languages, such as the Arawak language

⁴⁸ 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, flora 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,⁴⁹ 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

⁴⁹ 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 57.⁵⁰ 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.

⁵⁰ 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** tahi atyo ite
 hatyo z- a- otya -ki -tsa -ti tahi =atyo =ite
 DEM NMLZ TH remember CAUS TH UNPOSS about TOP FUT
 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.⁵¹ 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*

⁵¹ 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*

Masculine	-ye/ i_#
	-ze/e_#
	-re/elsewhere
Feminine	-ro/i,e_#
	-lo (elsewhere)

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/ [kidʲaneθe] '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 [dʲ].

- (145)
- a. /ʃaka-lo/ [ʃakalo] 'shooter (F)
shoot-NMLZ (F)
- b. /e=waira-tʃa-tse-ro/ [e=waira-tʃa-tse-ro] 'his/her nurse'
3sg=cure-TH-NMLZ-F
- c. /ka-itʃani-ro/ [ka-itsani-dʲu] '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 *-tsero* (for feminine).

Table 59: Possessed nominalizations

Verb	Gloss	Possessed Form	Gloss
kolatya	bring, take	e=kolatya-tse / e=kolatya-tse-ro	his/her taker
wairatya	cure	e=wairatya-se / e=wairatya-tse-ro	his/her nurse
anaitya	raise	e=zanaitya-tse / e=zanaitya-tse-ro	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-re	tema-lo	the one who runs, runner
xaka	shoot	xaka-re	xaka-lo	the one who shoots, shooter
fehanatya	bless	fehanatya-re	fehanatya-lo	the one who blesses
zanekoatya	hunt	zanekoatya-re	zanekoatya-lo	the one who hunts, hunter
wairatya	cure	wairatya-re	wairatya-lo	the one who cures

In examples (148) and (149), the derived nouns are arguments of a predicate.

- (148) zanekoatyareharenae, Ø=zanehena awo Ø=aitsehena
 zane -koa -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
 ikiyerezhare 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?
kako
kako
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=hotikihenatyō hatya ohiro kahe irikotyare
Ø= hotiki -hena =tyō 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- ze	the one or thing that is small
kalore	big	kalore- ze	the one or thing that is big
waiye	good	waiye- ze	the one or thing that is good
timena	heavy	timene- re	the one or thing that is heavy
kolotya	be fat	kolote- re	the one that is fat
irihare	be.smart	irihare- ze	the one that is smart
kawinihare	be fast	kawinihare- ze	the one that is fast
hawarehare	be different	hawarehare- ze	the one or thing that is different

(152) maiha zoare ako festa zaoka zoimanae kiranezenae
 maiha zoare ako 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 koloterenaе tekoa
 ohiro kolotya -**re** -nae tekoa
 woman be.fat NMLZ PL run.away
 'The women who are fat ran away.' (E)

(155) awarehareze fehanati tyaonita
 awarehare -**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 terotatyo 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- ti-ye	teacher
moko	hit	moko-tya- ti-ye	one who hits someone
tsema	hear	tsema- ti-ye	one who hears something
maotsera-tya	lie	maotsera-tya- ti-ye	one who lies to someone
zane	go	zani- ti-ye	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 63.⁵² The nominalizer *-re* does not occur in the possessed construction. Instead the morpheme *-ha*,

⁵² The exception is the nominalized form *zaotyakitsatiye* 'teacher', which has as its possessed form: *zaotyakitsatse*.

- (162) Eye Ronisotyatyo 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 ⁵³ -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=mokohekoatya
 ma- z- aheko -la -**hare** ha= iyanityo Ø= moko -hekoa -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).

⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁴ 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)
malaloo	float	malaloo-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/-(i)yolo*

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 wenakalati**yere** 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 Owihokoyerenae ene
 tyotya witso Owihoko **-iyere** -nae ene
 everything, all 1pl Owihoko NMLZ PL PST
 'It is all over, we were from the Owihoko 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-otyakitsa-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 zematyo, 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.⁵⁵ 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)

⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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 an noun phrase. In texts, the occurrence of more than one element other than the head noun in an 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.⁵⁷ 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

⁵⁶ The quantifier *kahare* may follow nouns.

⁵⁷ 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) hatyaotsetala mamala mairatya hoka
 hatyaotseta =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.' (ximatyati)

(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= hikoahitaha -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, Alaoliro** enokoa zane
 eaotseta Wazoliye Kerakoama Alaoliro 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 *huitsaninae* '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 Alaoliro 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, noximaloni **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 **harenae** 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 postposing 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**, tyotyta wanitxita,
 wahakanore hare fate hare tyotyta 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 hahekotyta
 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= tyoa 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) zolinhare tyaonahitaha enomana,
 zolini -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
Ø=zaneta
Ø= 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 *-kako*, 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 *-kako*
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'.⁵⁸ For example, the verb *zakaihaka* 'tell story' occurs with the thematic suffix *-tya* in (5a) and without it in (5b).

- (3) kala nozakaihakatya
 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

⁵⁸ 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*

Bound Root⁵⁹	Root With <i>-tya</i>	Meaning
zakaihaka	zakaihakatya	tell story
axika	axikatya	send
feta	fetatya	offer
emolo	emolotyā	curve
hala	halatya	paint
iriko	irikotyā	cut, break
aihono	aihonotyā	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*

Parsi Verb	Portuguese Verb	Gloss
batxiyatya	passar	walk around
cometsatya	começar	start
estudatyā	estudar	study
reclamatya	reclamar	complain
berekotyā	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*.

⁵⁹ 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 watsociaçãoe zema nikare
 witso -ta wa= tsociação -ne =zema nikare
 1pl EMPH 1pl organization POSSED =COM like this
 waiyateretyo hoka **hahena** wikakoa
 waiya -tya -re =tyo hoka Ø= ha -hena wi= =kako
 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 watzikinityatyo kala
 ali mainikere -ta wa= txikini -tya =tyo kala
 here whole EMPH 1pl behind TH =TOP DUB
malahenahitene
 Ø= 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

	Set A	Set B
1sg	na=	no=
2sg	ha=	hi=
3sg	Ø=	Ø=
1pl	wa=	wi=
2pl	za=	xi=
3pl	Ø=...-ha	Ø=...-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’).⁶⁰ 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).

⁶⁰ 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, wiyane
 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 kinatya zolotyakere xini
 maha kina -tya zoloty -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 wiyane
 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.⁶¹ 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',

⁶¹ This suffix also occurs with inalienable nouns and some postpositions.

tiha 'be cold'. They take a beneficiary marked by the postposition *hiye*, but not an overt pronominal subject form.

(18) **tiha** wihye
 tiha 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
tekoa	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',⁶² *tyoka* 'sit' and *tekoa* 'run away',⁶³ *zakaihaka* 'tell a story' (which is formed by the noun *zaka* 'story'), and the

⁶² It has an allomorph *temaka* in persons other than the third person, and it may be derived from the noun *maka* 'night'

⁶³ Diachronically, *tyoka*, *temaka*, and *tekoa* 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'.⁶⁴

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.

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.

⁶⁴ 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
zawatya	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
 enaotsetara 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 take 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 *tera* 'drink' (34) and *tyoma* 'make' (32).⁶⁵

- (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 howikihitiya nomani kafe hoka **notera**
 zama h= owiki -hitiya no= mani kafe hoka no= tera
 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

⁶⁵ 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 *tekoa* '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: *waiyehare* 'be a nice person' and *waiyehokola* '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 katyahe -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 halatehena 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 ezahē ehare irāeti waiyeze haiya zowaka
 no= tyaona ezahē ehare irāe -ti waiye -ze haiya zowaka
 1sg live CON this talk UNPOSS good NMLZ IND2 period
nixita 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.⁶⁶

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)

⁶⁶ 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
 kilihi tyaonita
 kili -hi Ø= tyaona -ita
 nose CLF:long.slender 3sg COP IFV
 'This is a justaconteira tree on the side of the road.' (E)

(44) wenakalati tyaona kalikini kekoare kalikini polo base ali
 awenaka tyaona kalikini kekoare kalikini polo base ali
 village become, stay now grow? now health.service here
tyaonita kalikini escola
 Ø= tyaona -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 *tyaona* 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 *tyaona* which has the meanings 'live, be born, stay, become, happen'. Therefore, the most probable source for the copula is *tyaona* 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 *tyaona*, 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 *tyaona* 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 -koa 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 mahalithare 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 iratene
 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.⁶⁷ Here I expand my analysis by

⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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	ehekoa
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 *toko*a does not refer to a spontaneous event).

⁶⁸ 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.' (Txinikalore)
- (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.'
 (Txinikalore)
- (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**,

Ø= hala -halo -ty -**oa** -heta
3sg paint FEM TH MM PERF

tilikoatairatsetyoaheta

Ø= tilikoa taira -tse -ty -**oa** -heta
3sg comb fringe CLF:small TH MM PERF

fehanahalotyoahetehena

Ø= 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 Ø= nolokehe -tya -**oa** -txoa
? =FOC 1sg shoot 3O ? =FOC 3sg drag TH MM ?

'I shot it (the tapir) and it dragged.' (Katomo nali)

(61) hatyoharekako **hafehanaharetyoa** hoka

hatyohare -kako 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 Ø= 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 Ø= 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

Transitive Form	Meaning	Intransitive Form	Meaning
etolitsa	lie down	etolitsoa	lie oneself down
emoloty	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
irikoty	cut, break	irikotyoa	get cut
ityoka	cut down	ityokoa	get cut down
tyaloka	bite	tyalokoa	get bitten
aikoty	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= toloko -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.' (zaneakoare-FO)

- (65) inityo tiyhaloakatya **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 wiyane tyalakoa heko wiyeya
 kazaza =hiye wi= yane tyalakoa heko wi= yeya
 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.⁶⁹ 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) *aikotyaoawi*

Ø= *aiko -tya -oa -wi*
 3sg cut TH MM REF
 'He cut himself.' (Rowan, 1978: 36)

(69) *aolikoawiha*

Ø= *aoliko -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)

⁶⁹ I have not found the marker functioning as a reflexive in texts, only as a co-reference marker.

- (71) nahotikitsoawi
 n= 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. netolitsa
 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)oaawi* 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) nairikotyowai
 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 *-kako* as in the examples:

- (77) **zakolohekoaheta** hitso
 Ø= zakolo -hekoa -heta hitso
 3 hug DISTR REG 2sg
 'He starts to hug you.' (kani zaka)
- (78) **zakolokakoa**
 Ø= zakolo -kako
 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**

Ø= zakolo -halo -tya -kako -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 Ø= iriko -tya
therefore that in.the.middle from ancestors MASC PL 3sg cut TH

hoka xakakakoita

hoka Ø= xaka -kako -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
Ø= **itsa** -kako -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

Ø= aotyakitsa -kako -ha -ita -ha

3sg teach REC PL IFV PL

'Jura and Kabikule taught each other the Paresi language.' (E)

The suffix *-kako* can also occur with few agentive intransitive verbs such as *tema* 'run' (83) and *halaita* 'jump' (84), which refer to interactive activities. In this case, the suffix is not decreasing valency. In addition, *-kako* occurs semi-lexicalized together with the lexical verb roots *aita* 'kill' in *aitsakako* 'fight' (85), *waiya* 'see' in *waiyakako*

'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

halaita **-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 toahiye -halo toahiye -hare atyo
 NEG TOP like this NEG formerly formerly FEM formerly MASC TOP
tyaonakakoahena 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^hak^h* for the reciprocal marker of Proto-Arawak. She also suggests that **k^hak^h* 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*

	Verb Root	Causative Form
	tema 'run'	a-tema-ki-tsa
1.	halaitsoa 'jump'	a-halaitsoa-ki-tsa
2.	heka 'be drunk'	a-heka-ki-tsa
3.	holikoa 'dance'	a-holikoa-ki-tsa
4.	haka 'work'	a-haka-ki-tsa
5.	ainakoa 'flight'	aina-ki-tsa
6.	katse 'be alive'	a-katse-ki-heta 'resurrect'
7.	koeza 'laugh'	a-koeza-ki-tsa
8.	kaoka 'arrive'	e-kaoka-ki-tsa
9.	tekoa 'run away'	a-ekoa-ki-tsa 'scare away'
10.	nemaka 'sleep'	a-emaka-ki-tsa '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-** ekoa **-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 causee 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'	a-waxirahali-ni-ki-tsa
haihalahare 'be happy'	a-haihalahali-ni-ki-tsa
okoare 'be jealous'	a-okoali-ni-ki-tsa 'make jealous'
waiyore 'know'	a-waiyoli-ni-ki-tsa 'make know.' (learn)
tyoka 'sit'	a-oka-ni-ki-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 *ker*a 'burn', *maz*a 'be soft and *kaitse* 'be full' are exceptions because they do not take the prefix *a-*. In (101), the verb *ker*a '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 *ker*a 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
 nitxita
 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 stative, 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', *maiya* '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 it is 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*

Verb Roots	Causative Form
moko 'hit'	a-moko-(tya)-ki-tsa 'make hit'
zalawa 'swing'	a-zalawa-ki-tsa
waiya 'see'	a-waiya-ki-tsa 'make see'
ityoka 'cut'	a-x-ityoka-ki-tsa 'make cut'
kanakaira 'eat'	a-kanakaira-ki-tsa '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 kotyoi nete kakoia
 natyo na= nika **-i** -ts =ene kotyoi nete =kakoia
 1sg 1sg= eat CAUS TH =3O tapir flesh, meat =COM
 'I made him eat tapir meat.' (E)
- (107) natyo nazaitsakitsene
 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 tona **-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** kirakaharenae [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
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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) natiha 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= tema
 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
Ø= aiko **-natse** -tya -h =ene
3sg cut CLF:long TH PL
'They cut his hair.' (Txinikalore)
- (132) aikotyaha **hitsekatse**
Ø= aiko -tya -ha hi= tsekatse
3sg cut TH PL 2s hair
'They cut his hair.' (E)
- (133) *aikotyaha **ekatse**
Ø= aiko -tya -ha e= 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 Ø= itsoa **-tse** -hena
Nilva 3sg come.in CLF:small TRS
'Nilva (the short woman, in a pejorative sense) is coming in.' (E)
- (135) 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)

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) wiyane 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 wiyane 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** -koa -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- hoko -tya tie-CLF:cicular-TH	tie game in a bundle
ola- hi -tse-tya tie-CLF:long.thin-CLF:small-TH	collect in a bundle
toloka- hoko -tya dig-CLF:circular-TH	roast in the ashes
aiko- tse -tya cut-CLF:small-TH	cut in small pieces
taika- tse -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 verbs⁷⁰ (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*.

⁷⁰ 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) namokakotyia 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
 waiyakotyia 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 descendents, 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	e= walolo -ne -tse	=atyo	atyo hiyalakohitita
	3sg rotten POSSED CLF:small	=TOP	Ø= hiyala -ko -hit -ita
	'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	takoirā	zema	
na=	tema	takoirā	=zema
1sg=	run	chicken	=COM2
'I ran after the chicken.' (E)			

(149) natemazematya	takoirā	
na=	tema = zema	tya takoirā
1sg=	run =COM2 TH	chicken
'I ran after the chicken.' (E)		

- (150) wiyanetatya 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) nitatya 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
 zatawazematya natyo hoka
 za= tawa =zema -tya natyo hoka
 2pl= look.for =COM2 FOC 1sg CON
 nokazakaihanihetehenaiya 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 **-koa**
 sleep TH IFV 1sg bed POSSED LOC
 'He is sleeping in my bed.' (E)
- (157) nemakakoita nokamaxi
 nema -ka **-koa** -ita no= kama -xi
 sleep TH LOC IFV 1sg bed POSSED
 'He is sleeping in my bed.' (E)
- (158) Oloniti aiyalaharetya hoka ehaikakoatya
 oloniti a- iyalahare -tya hoka Ø= ehaika **-koa** -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 -**koa** =la -ha Ø= tyoka
 3sg= ATTR tripod LOC FOC? PL 3sg sit
 waiyatsekoatya
 Ø= waiya -tse -**koa** -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 tohiyeharenae 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 forest 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 forest 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 forest FRUST =TOP CON
watomekonitsa wiyaneta makiya
wa= tome **koni** -tsa wi= yane -ta makiya
1pl= hunt with an arrow in.the forest 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 forest 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 ehare wata hare
kalini Owihoko nali kohetseti ehare wata hare
now Owihoko LOC savanna this jatobá also
wikanakairakonitsa, wakeratya iya hoka
wi= kanakaira **koni** -tsa wa= kera -tya =iya hoka
1pl= eat in.the forest VBLZ 1pl= burn TH =IRR CON
watomitya, watomitya iya kotehala
wa= tomitya wa= tomitya =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 forest 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= tema =**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 inityohalititsehenaha
 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 tomihaliyatyahitaha
 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 (çaçada 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.

(170) ah nafirahaliyata hati haliya
 na= fira =**haliya** -ta ha =**haliya**
 1sg clean =near, next to IFV house =along
 'I cleaned around the house.' (cotidiano)

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

construction is with *katyahe* and other postpositions.⁷¹

- (171) kaniritse **katyahe**
kani -ri -tse katyahe
pequi.fruit CLF:round CLF:small under
'under the *pequi* tree.' (Wazare)
- (172) ali awo nitsakatyahitita katyola
ali awo Ø= nitsa **katyahe** -tya -ita katyola
here emu 3sg eat under TH IFV mangava.fruit
'The emu was eating the mangava fruit under (the mangava tree).' (Kotitiko
wenakalati)
- (173) zomotse kakoa namokakatyahita matyai
zomotse =kakoa na= moka **katyahe** -ita matyai
flat bread =COM 1sg= put under IFV tripod
'I put the flat bread under the tripod' (E)

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.⁷² The Paresi data supports Danielsen's claim that adpositions grammaticalized

⁷¹ The same construction, where the object becomes an oblique, is also seen in Silva (2013: 262) with the incorporation of the postposition *zema*: 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)

⁷² 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.

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**
 Ø= zane Ø= maira -tya -ita =ene
 3sg go 3sg fish TH IFV =PST
 'He was fishing.' (E)
- (2) 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 the year before last.' (Batsaji tahi)
- (3) Elizabeth taitehena **ene** tyaonita
 Elizabeth taite -hena =ene Ø= tyaona -ita
 PN only TRS =PST 3sg live IFV
 'Only Elizabeth was living here then.' (Katomo nawenane)
- (4) hahekoiya **ene** atyo toahiya wenati tyaona womana
 ha= heko -iya ene atyo toahiya wena -ti Ø= tyaona 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.

- (5) temita **ene** ala tyairikilihitse ala
 Ø= tem -ita ene ala tyairi kili -hi -tse ala
 3sg run IFV PST FOC mountain nose CLF:long.slender CLF:small FOC
 hikoa
 Ø= hikoa
 3sg come.out, show.up
 'He had been running, and he arrived at the edge of the mountain.' (Dirizonae)
- (6) namairaita **ene,** kalahihitxoā
 na= maira -ita =ene kalahi -hi -txoa
 1sg= fish IFV =PST type.of.fish CLF:long.slender big
 nanoloka hoka natema, nakenekoaheta
 na= noloka hoka na= tema na= kenekoa -heta
 1sg= pull CON 1sg= run 1sg= go.up PERF
 'I was fishing, I caught *kalahi*, and then I ran, going up.' (JT nawenane)

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 wahiyoġene komita
 hoka maiha wa= waiyore -ze hoka wa= hiyoġ =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** wiyaya
 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.⁷³ 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).⁷⁴ 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.' (ximatyati)
- (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, wiyane
 hatyo xikako tema -za -heta Ø= zane wi= yane
 that period, moment run ? PERF 3sg go 1pl= go
 wahikoaheta hoka fetatyaha
 wa= hikoaheta -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)

⁷³ As seen in § 6.1.2, the future *ite* can also be used with nouns, but it has a different distribution.

⁷⁴ 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 iraiyakatya 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= hioa -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 ako -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 works 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 witsaonehena 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 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
 aotyaisaha wiyoiimalanae
 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 **ite** tyaohena hatyo tehitiya
 eye wa= wenakala =ite Ø= tyaona -hena hatyo =te hitiya
 this 1pl= village =FUT 3sg happen TRS 3sg =FUT again
 hoka
 hoka
 CON
 'This project will also happen again in this village.' (makani tahi)
- (24) eye wawenane **ite** 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 **ite** maika
 xini xi= txiyete -nae ityani -nae =ite maika
 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 **mês** **ite** ali hatyaha nea
 hoko um mê =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 naihonoritene 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
 habakatya, 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 -koa =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 irrealis forms across languages do not fit into the notional definitions. Paresi is one more example of a language in which irrealis 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 irrealis 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
 Ø= zane Ø= maira -t **-ita** =ene
 3sg go 3sg fish TH IFV =PST
 'He was fishing.' (E)

(36) tyomita ene ala hoka kala Iheroware ezoa
 Ø= tyom **-ita** =ene =ala hoka kala Iheroware Ø= 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 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?'

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 Ø= 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 nokaokheheta 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) wityotyā kaharehena kalore namaikohareta
 wi= tyotyā 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 wainakaterē
 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 wiyita
 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 Hanawarekoa maniya nozoimatata
 eye Hanawarekoa maniya no= zoima -ta -ta
 this PN side 1sg= child IFV EMPH
 'When we were in Hanawarekoa I was still a child.' (BO nawenane)
- (45) kalinitya Bahowanonae nemakitata
 kalini -tya Bahowano -nae nema -k -ita -ta
 now FOC PN PL sleep TH IFV EMPH
 'Now the Bahowanos are still sleeping.' (iyamaka-BO)

6.3.2 Perfective *-heta*

The suffix *-heta*⁷⁵ 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'.⁷⁶ 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

⁷⁵ There is a variant *-hete* due to a vowel harmony process (see §2.6.3).

⁷⁶ 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) fehanatya 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 wiyane wamalaka ketetse
 kala matsene -koa wi= yane wa= mala -ka kete -tse
 DUB field LOC 1pl go 1pl pull.off TH manioc CLF:small
 wikaokheheta
 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 naestudah**hete****hena**, kala dois ano taita
 Ø= txiya -ka natxikini kala na= estuda -hete -hena kala dois ano taita
 3sg pass ? after DUB 1sg study REG TRS DUB two year only
 naestudah**heta**
 na= estuda -heta
 1sg study REG
 'After some time passed, I started to study again, I have studied for two years.'

- (52) kawiyatyah**hete****henala** ani ala kaotsekoatyaha hoka
 kawiya -tya -hete -hena =la ani ala kaotse -koa -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 xiyeh**hete****hena**, 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.⁷⁷ 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)

⁷⁷ 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) wikaokhehena 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 wiyane tinihaliti zahita
 kozaita Jatobá wi= zane tinihaliti zahita
 today Jatobá 1p go pot ?
 wiyeyakahenere 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 wiyane**hitiya**
 hatyohekota =ala wi= yane hitiya
 then =FOC 1pl= go ITER
 'Then we went again.' (JT nawenane)
- (63) haiyalitsekatsene
 ha= iyali -tse -katse -ne
 3sg= body hair CLF:small CLF: long POSSED
 kawakatseronae aikawatyaha 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= mokotyaha -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) mokohene**hitiya** eye haiyalitsenae
 Ø= moko -hene -hitiya eye ha= iyali -tse -nae
 3sg hit TRS ITER this 3sg= body hair CLF:small PL
 kawakatseronae atxikatehen**hitiya** hoka
 Ø= kawa -katse -ro -nae Ø= atxika -te -hena -hitiya hoka
 3sg transform CLF: long NMLZ PL 3sg stick ? TRS ITER CON
 mokohen**hitiya** 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 ehare haliti nawenane tahi
 Ø= aheko -ita ehare 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 tyaoheha hatyote **hitiya**
 eye wa= wenakala =ite Ø= tyaoheha -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

	-ita	-hena	-heta	-hitiya
<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

Form	Function
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.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ 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 wasofrehitiya 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
 atya 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 hikoahena
 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= iraitsekoa =la aliyakere zamani ha= ferakene wi= tyaona -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*⁷⁹ 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 ehareza 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.' (zaneakoare)
- (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)

⁷⁹ 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) maihalaore 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= hiko -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) **natyo nozaniya**

natyo 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]_{NP} [aitsa]_V [zoimahalotinae]_{NP}
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 [katxolohokotsetxoa]_{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]_V
 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
 baba 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
 baba 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.⁸⁰ The default word order is SOV. Four orders are attested in Paresi texts: SOV, SVO, OSV and OVS.⁸¹ 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]_{NP} [iyakaniti]_{NP} [hotikitsa]_V 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]_{NP}
 Ø= zane =ala Ø= hikoaheta -heta maiha n= ezanityo
 3sg go =FOC 3sg come.out, show.up PERF NEG 1sg wife
 [nityaninae]_{NP} [waikoakore]_{NP} [aitsa]_V"
 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)

⁸⁰ As seen above, independent pronouns have a tendency to come after the verb.

⁸¹ 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]_{NP} [aitsa]_V [zoimahalotinae]_{NP}
 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]_{NP} [miyatya]_V [mahaliti]_{NP} 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.⁸² 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).

⁸² 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

OV	VO	Total
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

SOV	OSV	SVO	OVS	Total
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, wiyane, 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 atyotyō ene wiyaneta hoka maha kahiyalakatse
 iya atyotyō 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) **Ozakereharenaetyatyō** maha ityohena hoka ah
 ozakerehare -nae -tya =atyō maha Ø= ityō -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 kaka waiyakere xini zotenetyoa
 maiha ohiro =kaka waiya -ke -re xini zotene -ty -oa
 NEG woman =COM see ? NMLZ NEG ? TH INTR
 waini aka ihozare walihitse nihozala kakoare tyaona
 waini aka ihozare walihitse nihozala =kaka -re tyaona
 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 kaitsereharehena ala hoka
 hoka no= nityohaliti -natse kaitserere -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 wiyane 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 makehena kaitserehare ala hoka **Paula**
 hatyaotseta =la make -hena kaitserere -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 tekoa zane
Boneca ha= maza -halo -ne Ø= tekoa 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 -koa =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 *wityatyالاتي* 'our bark'. The object noun phrase then precedes the subject and the verb (OSV).

(34) hazerore wamiyatya **wityatyالاتيرaira** 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 niyehe imoti iyomere enokola kerene
 ini= tima niyehe 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- hito -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 -koa Ø= zane kenaiki =iya ena -nae hoka weteko
 field LOC 3sg go starch =IRR man PL CON yard
 afirakoaheta
 a- fira -koa -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]NP ala [ani]NP
 hatyo -natse ala katxolo -hoko -tse -txoa ala ani
 3sg CLF:long FOC dog CLF:circled CLF:small big FOC wasp
 [xakatetya]V
 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) wiketsera 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 hiyatatatyola 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 henetsekoa enokola
 owi henetse -koa 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 locatival predicate is the classifier *-tse* 'CLF:small'.

- (55) awaezore hiteretya waiye malakaka
 awaezore h= ite -re -tya waiye Ø= malaka -ka
 type.of.root 2sg= say NMLZ TH good 3sg pull.up TH
 ehaotatse hoka
 e= hao -ta -tse hoka
 3sg on.the.surface IFV CLF:small CON
 'They are saying that it is *awaezore* plant. It is good to pull up because its root is on the surface.' (tolohe)

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 nokaitaniro**
 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, kaitaniha 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
 Ø= 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
<i>zala</i>	'who?'
<i>zoare</i>	'what?'
<i>aliyo</i>	'where is?'
<i>alyako</i>	'where, at what location?'
<i>aliyakere</i>	'how?'
<i>otene</i>	'when?'

zala 'who'

Zala is an interrogative pronoun used for human referents, as illustrated below:

- (63) **Zala** nemakakaweta?
zala nemaka kawē -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) zakaihakatya, 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) **zoaretatya** 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 nozaitse?
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 Alaoliro? 'Where is
 alyako =ala koreta Ø= tyaona abe Alaoliro
 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? wiyekohatse waini,
 Ø= zane -ha aliyakere =te wi= tsaona wi= yekohatse Ø= waini
 3sg go PL how =FUT 1pl= COP 1pl= chief 3sg die
aliyakerete witsaonehena nea hoka
 aliyakere =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= hiko -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 ehokotyaita?
 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 aliyakere

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, xiyane, 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** kotyoi aitsaha?
nali kotyoi 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 flute
 '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= tyoa -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 *hã* '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= tyoa -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) hokatya hitso hazolotya hoka zoana waitare ala
 hoka -tya hitso ha= zolotya hoka zoana waitare =ala
 CON FOC you 3sg grate CON INT ? =FOC
 malahitya
 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 txyehena maotikone
 awo zamani =iya owene Ø= txyia -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 (zaneakoare-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= tyaona -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*.⁸³

(111) hitserehena! hoka hifakate
 hi= tserere -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)

⁸³ 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. hiyanehetehenaa! 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 xiyane wairati hana xiyaa! hoka
 Joao Antonio itse ene xi= yane waira hana x= iya hoka
 PN give PST 2pl go medicine leaf 2pl catch CON
 noliriheta xiyainaira
 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** howikihitya nomani kafe! hoka notera
 zama h= owika -hitya 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!** nozaitse 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= hiko -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*

Ø= *waini*
3sg die
'He died.' (E)

(130) **maiha** *wainita*, *tihenare maiha wainakatere*
maiha Ø= *waini -ta* *tihenare maiha* Ø= *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*

Ø= *aitsa -h =ene*
3sg kill PL =3O
'He killed them.' (E)

(132) **maiha** *aitsahitene*
maiha Ø= *aitsa -h -it =ene*
NEG 3sg kill PL IFV =3O
'He did not kill them.' (iyamaka)

(133) *haiya tyakekota niraini haiya maiha*
haiya Ø= *tyakeko -ta* *n= irai -n -i* *haiya maiha*
IND2 3sg believe IFV 1sg talk POSSED 1sg IND2 NEG
tyakekore niraini
Ø= *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*.

Parsi 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) **mai**hayatyatyo naihonoritene 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.⁸⁴The 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 **mai**ha 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 **mai**ha 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'

⁸⁴ 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** nokaitsaniye
 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 tyotyia hazerore iya haiya
 kalini hekota katxolo **ma-** ezanityo -hare tyotyia 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.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ 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)

Parsi, 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
 halakoiya maniyatyo
 halakoiya 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) **maihata** 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 aima hena =ene
 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** iyakatyo 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 of 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).⁸⁶

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.

⁸⁶ 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!' (Katomo 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'⁸⁷ 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. **maitساني(halo)ha**
ma- itsani -halo -ha
 NEG son, daughter FEM PL
 'They do not have children.' (E)

⁸⁷ 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 ⁸⁸	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** nokaitsaniye
 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)

⁸⁸ 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= hikoahena -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 *tihita* '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= tihita -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= hikoah -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) [**maiha**tya 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) [iya awa imoti Taviano kolatyahitene
 =iya awa imoti Taviano Ø= kolatya -h -it =ene
 =IRR NEG non=Indian Taviano 3sg take PL IFV
 katyatere hoka] hekota iya tyaonahitaha kalini
 katyate -re hoka heko -ta =iya tyaona -h -ita -ha kalini
 non=Indian NMLZ CON time IFV =IRR 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)

(185) [awaiya wimezane namalahitita hoka]
 awa =iya wi= meza -ne na= mala -heta -ita hoka
 NEG =IRR 1pl table POSSED 1sg pull.up REG IFV CON
 hatyokoa iya waterohokene haka wamokene
 hatyo -koa =iya waterohoko =ene haka wa= mok =ene
 3sg LOC =IRR ? move 1pl put 3O
 'If I did not pull up our table, we would move and put [things] on it.' (ketetse)

(186) wakobratita [awaiya witso haliti indio kabixinae
 wa= kobra -t -ita awa =iya witso haliti indio kabixi -nae
 1pl= charge TH IFV NEG =IRR 1pl person Indian PN PL
 hoka] mazaimanehare degratsaiya kalini hatyo
 hoka ma- zaima -ne -hare de graça =iya kalini hatyo
 CON NEG gift POSSED MASC for-free =IRR now that
 rodovia txiyeta
 rodovia Ø= txiye -ta
 road 3sg pass IFV
 '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

Parsi 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** iraezaha 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** mairazehare **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, èèi
 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= tyaona -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.' (Katomo
 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 waita, 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= fetatya -ha =la hoka
 1pl= eat meat 3sg= bless PL =FOC CON
 'We killed a lot, he cooked, we ate and offered.'⁸⁹ (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.

⁸⁹ 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
 waiyakotyā, maiha zoare hekoti
 Ø= 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
 Ø= xa -hena =ene Ø= ekoatyā =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
 wiyare
 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 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)

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 =atyō 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*.⁹⁰ 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

⁹⁰ 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-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) [*tyoty tyoketerena*] *maiha waiyeze aoka*
 tyoty tyoke -ta -re -nae maiha waiye -ze \emptyset = 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 -kako -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 kotyatya ita awaezore,
mainikere -ta kotyatya 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.'⁹¹
- (22) hatyaotseta mamatyo tyaonehetehena wihaliya
hatyaotseta mama =tyo Ø= tyaona -heta -hena wi= =haliya
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,

⁹¹ 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, eye
 Ø= aheko -ita Ø= tyoma -ha maheta eye
 3sg= think IFV 3sg= make PL PURP this
[hakiterenaē] [kahehaliti **hakiterenaē**
 Ø= haki -te -re -naē kahehaliti Ø= haki -te -re -naē
 3sg= work IFV NMLZ PL illness 3sg= work IFV NMLZ PL
 kakoa] tehitiya 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 notyomita, eze
 hoka maha hakakoa -re no= tyoma -ita eze
 CON NEG similar NMLZ 1sg= make IFV this
[nowaiyehetehenerenaē] notyomeheta
 no= waiye -hete -hene -re -naē 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) **[atyakatse kakoa nehohenere txihore]**
 atya -katse =kakoa n= eho -hene -re txiho -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 [atyakatse kakoa txihore
 na= kera -tya atya -katse =kakoa txiho -re
 1sg burn TH tree CLF: long =COM door NMLZ
 nehohenere]
 n= eho -hene -re
 1sg shatter TRS NMLZ
- (39) nakeratya **atyakatse** [txihore nehohenere]
 na= kera -tya atya -katse txiho -re n= eho -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 kotyoi ali zowaka [nixahenere] nika
 nali kotyoi 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 predicate⁹²). 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”.' (Katomo 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

⁹² 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'.⁹³ 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 nokaheako hatyo documento
 hoka imoti =atyo =ite no= kahe -ako hatyo documento
 CON non-Indian =TOP =FUT 1sg= hand LOC that document
 aokahitere 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
 aokahitaha
 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

⁹³ 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 [tyotyā notyomita] nawaiyolo
 tyotyā 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 ?
 aokowita]
 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 predicates⁹⁴).

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

⁹⁴ 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= tona -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) nahekotya 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= tyaike -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= hiko -ne =kako
 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. nawaiyoretyaty [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. nawaiyoretyaty 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. waiyore [oliti aitsehenere]
 wa= waiyore oliti Ø= aitse -hene -re
 1pl= know game hunting 3sg= kill TRS NMLZ
 'We knew that he killed game'
- b. waiyore oliti [aitsehenere]
 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= hokake -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= hokake -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) namaotseratya [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*⁹⁵ express a motivating event. In general they follow the matrix clause.

⁹⁵ 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 wihye, zala hekoti
maiha =tyo zala wi= =hiye zala hekoti
NEG =TOP who 1pl= =BEN who at least
kanaliyaotseze wihye [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 atxohaliyatyare
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.'
(iraiti-JM)

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 **iyatyaty** 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 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*⁹⁶ 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 tomehaliyatya **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) 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 so you don't get sick' (E)

Rowan & Burgess (1969: 28) mentions another purposive conjunction *ira* which

⁹⁶ 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 marker⁹⁷ 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*.

⁹⁷ One hypothesis is that *era* is an 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= imatya -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= watyali -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 *ezahe*. 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]
ezahe =iya inira hi= tsera **-re** hoka
CON =IRR small.quantity 2sg= drink NMLZ CON
kirawaneha hitso
Ø= kirawane -ha hitso
3sg= argue PL you
'Even if you drink only a little bit, they will argue with you' (E)
- (117) [ezahe maiha hawaiyetyarene hoka] waiye
ezahe 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= tyoa -hena e= kolatya -tse maheta
 tomorrow 3sg= come TRS 3sg= bring POSSED PURP
 'Tomorrow he will come to take her.' (Enore)
- (121) iniratyo 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 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 *-kako* and the comitative *kako* 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 *-kako* may be the source of the comitative *kako* 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 Anitala 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 tyaonahitaha eye
 maiha ali xini tyaona -h -ita -ha eye
 NEG here NEG live PL CONT PL this
 ikinozatse Tabira nihozoako
 i= kino -za -tse Tabira n= ihozoako
 3sg= tree POSSED CLF.small PN 3sg= neck
 aokahitere nali ene atyo tyaonahitaha
 aoka -h -ite -re nali =ene =atyo tyaona -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 hatyaotsetatyo 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= ihohozozo 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 deceased 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	NEG =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 -koa =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 hikoah -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 hatyaotsetaty a a hekota wenati tyaonita
 hatyaotseta =tyo heko -ta wena tyaona -ita
 then =TOP time, period CONT life live CONT
 kalikini ikinoza kaitserhare ala kalikini Marinho
 kalikini i= kino -za kaitser -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 IFV 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 hiko -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 ezahe kalini baba hinaeharenae eye kalikini Txakinio
 ezahe kalini baba hinae -hare -nae eye kalikini Txakinio
 CON now dad relatives MASC PL this now PN
 hotyalinae finado Tawari, finado capitão Marco familiare
 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 Britonae finado Mauricionae 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 tyoa ali
 e hare =atyo e= natyore tyare hoka tyoa 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
 hiko -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 ezahe baba hoka haliti
hetati ezahe baba hoka haliti
in.the.old.days CON dad CON person
aititikoaharehetehehena 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 zowakatyo
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 hiko
aoka -h -ite -re hiko
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 wawenakalakoā maniya hoka komita ene
 eye w= awenaka -la -koa maniya hoka komita =ene
 this 1pl= village POSSED LOC side CON almost =PST
 haliti mehotya nimenekotyō tyotyatyō zoimahaloti
 haliti mehotya nimeneko =tyō tyotyā =tyō zoimahare
 person decimate EMPH =TOP everything, all =TOP boy
 zoimahaliti kahare atyo waini .
 zoima -hali -ti kahare =atyō 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 hiyeta ite hitiya .
 -hitiya hatyohare ha= kama -ne hiyeta =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 haiyanaete hitiya aitsakakoā nikare hare hatyo Marinho
 haiya -nae =te hitiya aitsa -kakoā 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 hiyeta motya hatyo aitsene aoka hoka hatyo
 hoka hatyo hiyeta motya hatyo aits =ene aoka hoka hatyo
 CON that therefore INFR that kill =3O say CON that
 hiyeta nikarehare zane tyaona .
 hiyeta 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 =atyo tyaona
 ATTR victim ? TH PL CON like this like this =TOP become
 wenati hatyaotseta ezahe
 wena hatyaotseta ezahe
 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 mahalitihare ehare haliti
 hatyaotseta =tyo eye ma- haliti -hare ehare haliti
 then =TOP this NEG person MASC this person
 waikoherakoa maniya tyaonehena ezahe bazere harenae
 waikohe -ra -koa maniya tyaone -hena ezahe bazere hare -nae
 land POSSED LOC side become IFV CON father also PL
 hoka
 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 ali eye
 time, period CONT live PL CONT PL DESID this here this
 xikakorenae tyotya hekota kolatyaha
 xi= kako -re -nae tyotya heko -ta kolatya -ha
 2pl= COM NMLZ PL everything, all time, period CONT take PL
 Tyairiti maniya aokowiyahitaha
 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 =atyo 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 hikoaheta -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 hikoaheta -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 Iyomoweke nali ala Jorge tyaonita
 kalikini Iyomoweke 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 hacidadene 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 mahalitihare 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 familiana atyo kaiyanityo
 no= zakai -te -re familia -nae =atyo ka- iyanityo
 1sg= tell CONT NMLZ family PL =TOP ATTR wife
 kaitsani 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 demarcação oitenta e um zowaka FUNAI hetati
 this demarcation eighty and one period PN in.the.old.days
 hitsoahena cria hena 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 demarcação 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 waiyekehalakere 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 hatyaotsetatyo nikare hare hatyaotseta demarcação tyaona
 hatyaotseta =tyo nikare hare hatyaotseta demarcação tyaona
 then =TOP like this also then demarcation 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 hatyaotsetatyo hatyo FUNAI hitso natxikini
 hatyaotseta =tyo hatyo FUNAI hitso 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 quatro =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 niraite 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 aliyere xini aotyakitxita
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 tyaonehena 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 tyaonehena .
 hetati professora tyaone -hena
 in.the.old.days teacher become IFV

the first time was Nilce teacher, daughter of Aloizio.

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 coordenadoraty 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
 natxikinitatyo 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 ehare movimento tyaona
 kahare =tyo ali haliti kahare =atyo ehare 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 wiyane 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 professoae 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
 professionae tyotyia formado a nível de terceiro grau
 professor -nae tyotyia 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 tyotyia formado ha hatyo professornae
 tyotyia formado ha hatyo professor -nae
 everything, all graduated that teacher PL
 aotyakititare 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 saude =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 watsociação 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 coodenação de saude criatya
associação haliti -nae hatyo -ta coodenação 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 before last year ago.

102 a mahaliti hare ehawareharetia 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 mokakatya hoka associação
 politica de governo nikare moka -ka -tya hoka associação
 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 ekoamanyaha 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 hetati
 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 kaitserere hare polo base mokotse
 hatyaotseta kafaka -tse kaitserere 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 tyotyā hatyonaē kaomaka natxikini
 kozaka tyotyā hatyo -naē 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 haiyanaē komitainē maiha waiye kehalakere
 =tahi hoka haiya -naē komita =inē 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 =kako -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
 tyaonita
 tyaona -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 tyaona nikare atyo
 hoka =kako -re eye awenaka tyaona 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= tyaona 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 criation 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 Kamazaliko 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 niyalitsekatsé
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
niyalitsekatsé
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 niyalitsekatsé !
 iyali -tse -katse
 body hair CLF.small CLF. long

long pubic hair of Kokotero!

11.2 neaya hoka inihatyane kitxiako hokorone halaitsoa
 nea =ya hoka i= nihatya -ne kitxi ako 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 eaotseta , kenekoaheta , zoare zamani kala ,
 eaotseta kenekoa -heta zoare zamani kala
 then go.up RE what DUB EVID
 wihatyanekitxixoitá haliti tihoretsenae
 w= ihatya -ne -kitxixo -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 nihatyaka , waiye zotyane
 na= mitikoa nihatyaka 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
 niyalitsekatsé , 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 Koerekoamae ityani , Kamalahitsoa , Kamozaalikoni ala
 koerekoamae ityani Kamalahitsoa Kamozaalikoni =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 Kamozaalikoni

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 hatyoirira 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 nehena 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 Zakoimalo 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 hawaiyehalone
 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 maitzano ama Kokote mareharetta
 maitsa -no mama Kokote mare -hare -ta
 NEG mom mythical figure itching MASC
 nozamatsehare nokakoare .
 no= zama -tse -hare no= =kakoare -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= =kakoare -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 natyo maiha ehare toli ako ama
 h= aimamakoa tya natyo 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= =kakoare -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 ite nakawihena
 h= atxikini maniya itita =ite na= kawii -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 kawayala
 zera -re malyaotse kawayatya =la
 sing NMLZ type of flute shout =FOC
 nakawiyahena ama Kokote
 na= kawayatya -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 maheta 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 pirapotanga 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
 kawayala kawayahena .
 kawayatya =la kawayatya -hena
 shout =FOC shout IFV

The Kokote mother heard the cry of Yuhōhō, the cry of singer

62 inityo tiyhaloakatya ehaikoa waiyehenatyo
 ityo tiya -halo -aka -tya ehaik -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 tyao hena
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
toahiye -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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