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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.
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Abbreviations

AFF Affect
ALL Allative
ANT Anterior
ATTR Attributive
BEN Benefactive
CAUS Causative
CLF Classifier
COL Collective
COM Comitative
CONT Continuative
CON Connector
COP Copula
DAT Dative
DEM Demonstrative
DEP Dependent marker
DUB Dubitative
EMPH Emphasis
EXIST Existential
FEM Feminine
FOC Focus
FUT Future
FRUST Frustrative
IFV Imperfective
INT Interrogative
INTENS Intensifier
INSTR Instrument
INTERJ Interjection
IRR Irrealis
LK Linking morpheme
LOC Locative
MASC Masculine
NEG Negative
MM Middle marker
NMLZ Nominalizer
O Object
ONP Onomatopeia
PST Past
PART Particle
PASS Passive
PL Plural
PN Proper noun
POSP Postposition
POSSED Possessed
PURP Purposive
UNPOSS Unpossessed
RECIPI Reciprocal
REF Reflexive
RE Repetitive
SOUR Source
SUBORD Subordinator
SUG Suggestion
TEM Temporal
TH Thematic Suffix
TOP Topic
UNPOSS Unpossessed
VBLZ Verbalizer
Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.0 Introduction

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

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

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\(^1\) 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

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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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I WESTERN</strong></td>
<td>Amuesha, Chamicuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II CENTRAL</strong></td>
<td>Parecis, Waurá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III SOUTHERN</strong></td>
<td>Bolivia-Paraná (subgroup): Terêna, Bauré, Ignaciano, Purus: Piro, Apurinã, Campa: Machiguenga, Ashéninca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV EASTERN</strong></td>
<td>Palikur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V NORTHERN</strong></td>
<td>Wapishana, Caribbean: Garífuna, TA-Arawakan: Lokono, Guajiro, Inland: North-Amazon: Resígaro, Rio Negro: Achagua, Cabiyari, Curripaco, Piapoco, Tariano, Yucuna, Yavíteró</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 autoclassify themselves according to how they maintain their culture. The Kozarene people maintain the traditional practices such as making *chicha* (a traditional beer), *beiju* (a type of flat bread), and using traditional adornments (*cocar* 'adornment made of feathers to put on the head', *xiriba* 'a
traditional skirt made of cotton') in specific situations; in addition they also speak Paresi. On the other hand, the Waimare people are not considered to be real Paresi Indians by other Paresi people because they do not follow their traditional cultural practices any more, and they speak Portuguese as their first language.

These contacts with non-Indians have produced many changes in Paresi society. Nowadays, the majority of the population identifies as Kozarene subgroups. There are still some Waimaré people in Bacaval, Formoso, and Sacre villages, and very few people identified as Kaxiniti. I was not able to attest the existence of 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 Guarani).

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

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

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

1.8 Methods and data collection

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

The area in which I did field work is approximately four hours by car from the city of Tangará da Serra. From there to Formoso, it takes approximately two hours by car, and four to five hours to Rio Verde. Most of the times I have gone to these places, the
Paresi people have given me a ride. The first few times I went to Formoso (between 2006 and 2008) there was no electricity, so they had to use power generators. On those visits, I had to bring solar panels and car batteries in order to use my equipment. Since 2009, they have had electricity and the people have started to buy many electronic devices such as televisions, DVD players, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.

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

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

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

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

The data have been recorded in digital audio (using a Zoom H4n, a Marantz portable recorder, and a Shure headset microphone) and in digital video (using a digital Sony video camera DCR-SR100, a Canon XA10 HD, and external Seinnheiser microphone). I had access to some equipment from the Museu Paraense Emilio 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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.
The texts were also analyzed in FLEX, which aids in organizing texts and lexical databases. The analyses have the following: information on morpheme segmentation, gloss, word class, and translation, as shown below in Figure 4.
The training of Paresi speakers in language documentation started in 2011. I trained four speakers during workshops. I trained them by teaching them how to use the recording equipment, what to document, and what ethical issues to consider when recording. Some of them were also trained to transcribe and translate texts in ELAN and to use the video editing program Pinnacle Studio. After the training, most of the recordings were done by Noezonakemae. I accompanied him during his work in three villages: Nova Esperança, Bacaval and Kotitiko. In 2013, Noezonakemae and Zezokiware went to the Goeldi Museum in Belém for more training. Twenty-seven DVDs and six CDs were made during the whole documentation project. Copies of all the DVDs and CDs were given to the communities. Figure 5 shows the cover of a DVD:

![Figure 5: DVD documenting a traditional festival](image)

Nowadays, the Paresi people have a good infrastructure for documentation work. Seven people have received training through documentation projects with me or with Silva, who conducted fieldwork from 2007 to 2012. The schools at the communities where I have been, have computer labs, libraries and teachers who have bachelors' degree.
in linguistics and literature (two teachers in one community and one in another). The Formoso village has the equipment used during the ELDP project. Most of the speakers are conscious of the need to preserve this part of their culture, which is in danger of extinction. They are willing to list all of the discourse genres that local people feel are important to document.

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

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

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


Chapter 2 - Phonology

2.0 Introduction

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

2.1 Phonemes

In this section I describe vocalic and consonantal segments.

2.1.1 Vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>(iː/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>(eː/)</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'wata/ 'type of fruit, jatobá'</td>
<td>/weta/ 'early'</td>
<td>/wit/a/ 'come!'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'tiha/ 'it is cold'</td>
<td>/tihe/ 'bitter'</td>
<td>/tiho/ 'face'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'haka/ 's/he worked'</td>
<td>/heka/ 's/he is drunk'</td>
<td>/'hoka/ 'connective'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'a/ 'fish stupefying plant'</td>
<td>/e'hoka/ 's/he shattered'</td>
<td>/'iho/ 'tail'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'ira/ 'AFF'</td>
<td>/'iri/ 'grasshopper'</td>
<td>/'airo/ 'type of fruit'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'hat/a/ 'that'</td>
<td>/'hati/ 'house'</td>
<td>/'ha'to/ '3sg'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'kala/ 'DUB'</td>
<td>/'kali/ 'frog'</td>
<td>/'kalo/ 'scarlet macaw'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'awa/ 'NEG'</td>
<td>/'kawe/ 'it hurts'</td>
<td>/'awo/ 'emu'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>[ɐ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'awo/ ['awɔ] 'emu'</td>
<td>/tema/ ['teme] 's/he ran'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'abali/ [a'balı] 'sieve'</td>
<td>/ha'nama/ [ha'namę] 'three'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ha'tsero/ [ha'tsero] 'your grandmother'</td>
<td>/ka'faka/ [ka'fakę] 'yesterday'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. /tairi/ [tɛjqdɪ] 'mountain'
b. /no=timela-θi/ [notimɛlafɪ] 'my blood'
   1sg=blood-POSSED

(3)

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

(4)

a. /hi=waini-hena/ [hiwɛjnihena] 'you are going to die'
   2sg=die-TRS
b. /no=waini-hena/ [nowainihena] 'you are going to die'
   1sg=die-TRS

2.1.2.2 Vowel /o/ and its allophones

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

(5) unreduced and reduced vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>[ʊ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kalore/[kalo're] 'big'</td>
<td>/tseko/ ['tsektɔ] 'far away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tota/ ['tota] 'flat'</td>
<td>/kalo/ ['kalɔ] 'scarlet macaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/toloko/ [to'lukɔ] 'whole'</td>
<td>/hito/ ['hito] 'bow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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/ [unuɾe] 'heron'.

24
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)  

\[ \text{[u]} \]

a. /owi/ ['uwi] 'snake'
b. /tʲotʲa/ ['tʲutʲɐ] 'all'
c. /ohiro/ [uhi'du] 'woman'
d. /tɨka/ ['tukɐ] 'he sat'

(7)  

\[ \text{[o]} \]

a. /toka/ ['tokɐ] 'he grabbed'
b. /one/['one] 'water'
c. /notera/ [no'teɾɐ] 'I drank'
d. /kalore/ [ka'loɾe] '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=kolotʲa/  
[hik'olo'tɨa] 'you are fat'
2sg=be.fat

2.1.2.3  \textbf{Vowel nasality, rhinoglottophilia, and vowel lengthening}  

There is phonemic contrast between nasal consonants, but there is only marginal phonemic contrast between nasal and oral vowels. According to Silva (2009), nasal vowels occur when they precede a nasal consonant (through nasal spread or assimilation),
or when preceded by the glottal fricative [h], and oral vowels occur elsewhere. However, the analysis of spectrograms of words where nasal vowels are expected to occur adjacent to nasal consonants show that acoustically there is no nasalization. Figure 6 shows that the vowel [e] before the nasal [n] is not nasalized because the F2 of the nasal does not go through the vowel. The same occurs in Figure 7 with the vowel [i] before [n].

(9)

a. /at'ama/ [at'ama] 'stick'
b. /inimatsero/ [inim'atsero] 'his mother-in-law'
c. /monoli/ [munuli] 'termite'

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

Figure 7: non-nasalized vowel [i] before nasal
Nasal vowels occur only in two contexts, in one there is complementary distribution, and in the other marginal contrast. The first context is adjacent to a glottal fricative in a word-final stressed syllable (Silva, 2009). The glottal fricative at the end of a word produces an effect on the preceding and following vowel similar to nasalization, called rhinoglotophelia. 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/ \([məi\hat{a}] 'Neg'\)
b. /tiha/ \([tɪ\hat{h}\hat{a}] 'it is cold'\)
c. /eje aho/ \([eə\hat{hu}] 'on this way'\)

Figure 8: 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/ [ĩːtɐ] 'there distal (far away from speaker and addressee)'

(12)

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

(13)

a. /tseko/ 'far'
b. /tseko/ [tsẽːko] '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 **kakoāā**
    owene hα= ma- haliti -ni -halo =kakoā
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʲ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>(lʲ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>(ʃ)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>(tʃ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below, I describe the Paresi consonants. Palatalized consonants (with the exception of [tʲ] 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, tʲ, 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 \([bi]\). \([bi]\) 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 \textit{baka} 'pay' and \textit{abowala} 'squash' (from Portuguese \textit{pagar} and \textit{abóbora} respectively).

(15)

/\textit{baka}\textit{/} 'pay' \quad /\textit{waka}/ 'extinguish'/
/\textit{betet}\textit{a}/ 'sell'/
/\textit{biola}/ 'guitar'/
/\textit{boloko}/ 'pig'/

(16)

/\textit{a}\textit{ba}/ 'father' \quad /\textit{awa}/ 'stop, don't do this'/
/\textit{abe}/ 'grandmother'/
/\textit{koli}\textit{bijo}/ 'type of bird'/
/\textit{tabo}\textit{boko}\textit{a}/ 'it sank'/

(17)

/\textit{b}\textit{i}/
/\textit{t}\textit{firi}\textit{ba}/ \quad [\textit{t}\textit{firi}\textit{ba}] 'skirt'/

B. /t/

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

(18)

/\textit{tane}/ 'feather of' \quad /\textit{0ane}/ 'go away'/
/\textit{tema}/ 'run'/
/\textit{timena}/ 'heavy'/
/\textit{tokita}/ 'he is holding' \quad /\textit{ti\textit{okita}}/ 'he is sitting'
(19)
/aitʃotə/ 'he is sneezing' /aitʃotə/ 'he weeds'
/ite/ 'FUT'
/θetə/ 'smell bad'
/notoʃoni/ 'my breast'
/itiho/ 'his face'

C. /tʲ/
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 [tʲ] and [t] in this environment as seen in §2.2.2.

(20)
/takoliti/ 'liver'
/tota/ 'be over' /tota/ 'straight'

(21)
/waʃta/ 'hot'
/aitʃotə/ 'he weeds' /aitʃotə/ 'he is sneezing'
/hitəo/ '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' [kake] /haka/ 'work'
/ketse/ 'knife' [ketse]
/kirane/ 'small'[kiʃane]
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]

32
/timalati/ [timɛlati] 'blood'
/timena/ [timɛnɛ] 'heavy'
/imotio/ [imutu'ṭa] '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)
/natö/ '1sg'
/ható/ '3sg'
/nemaka/ 'I am sleeping'
/nikare/ 'like this'
/notöa/ 'I remember'

(29)
/tanakoliti/ 'cheek'
/θane/ 'he went'
/inìto/ 'his mother'
/ekano/ 'arm'

(30)
[n]
/hinama/ [hiına'ma] 'two'
/hatìnolatene/ [hatijnulatene] 'you sewed'

2.1.3.3 Liquids

G. /l/

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

I. /ɾ/

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

[d]
/afirat’a/ [afidita] 'clean up'
/irai/ [idlei] 'he talked'
/koiro/ [kuido] 'fruit sp.'

There is a phonotactic restriction which does not allow the sequence [ri]. When /ɾ/ 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 /ɾ/ 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 /ɾ/ overlaps with /l/ is between the vowels [a] and [o]. However, there are very few examples where /ɾ/ occurs with non-front vowels, e.g.: tororo 'throat'. It is not clear whether these examples are loans. It may be the case that /ɾ/ 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], [ɾ] and [φ]. [f] 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'
/afetalatja/'he demarcated'

(38)
[f]
/hifakate/[hifakate] 'you are full'

K. /θ/

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

(39)
/θana/'genipap fruit' /ʃana/'wasp'

36
/θera/ 'he sang'  /tera/ 'drink'
/θotare/ '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)
/jana/ 'wasp'  /θana/ 'genipap fruit'
/jaka/ 'shoot'
/jikoke/ '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'
/hinot/i 'neck'
/hoθe/ 'peccary'

(44)
/θekohatseti/ 'leader'
/ahcekot/a/ 'he thought'
/iθi/ 'his rope'
/koho/ 'basket'

(45)

[hi]

tiθa [tiθe] 'be.cold'
tiθoti [tiθoτi] 'face'

2.1.3.5 Affricates

N. /ts/

The voiceless alveolar affricate in initial and medial position is illustrated in
demonstrations (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'

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)
/tʃəbərawata/ 'swallow'
/tʃiki/ 'excrement'
/tʃolai/ 'type of bird'

(49)
/noʃəbowali/ 'my hat'
/noʃəiyete/ 'my grandson'
/aiʃəota/ 'he is sneezing'

2.1.3.6 Approximant

P. /w/

There are two approximant allophones: [w] and [wʲ]. [wʲ] 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'
/wikəotse/ 'we arrived'

(51)
/θotawə/ 'horn'
/holowe/ 'fly'
/hiwiritse/ 'type of monkey'
/awo/ 'bird sp.'

(52)
[w]
aliwa [aliwə] '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 /lʲ/, /ʃ/, and /tʃ/ have a restricted distribution, which may be evidence of their recent phonemicization in Paresi. The restricted distribution of /f/ may be related to a lenition process (p>h) attested in Arawak languages. According to Silva (2009), /ɸ/ (in my analysis /f/) is the intermediate phase in the lenition process: p>ɸ>h. Therefore, the few words with /f/ would be words that have not yet undergone the final phase of the lenition process.
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 /tʃi, te, ði/, and /tsi/ (see discussion in the next section).

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.

---

**Table 5: Distribution of consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V_V</th>
<th>_a</th>
<th>_e</th>
<th>_i</th>
<th>_o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>less common</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʲ</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
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<td>lʲ</td>
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<td>rare</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>less common</td>
<td>less common</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>θ</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>less common</td>
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<td>rare</td>
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<td>w</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Palatalization and neutralization

2.2.1 Allophonic palatalization

The phonemes /b, k, m, n, r, f, h, w/ have two allophones: a) [b, k, m, n, r, 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 → C/i_a,e,o
  a. /irikati/ [idikʲati] 'fire'
  b. /θoima/ [θuimʲa] 'child'
  c. /rai/ [idʲɛi] 'he talked'
  d. /tiha/ [tihʲɐ̃] '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 [t]

Figure 14 shows the consonant [d] is not palatalized when it is preceded by [i]:
In (55), the initial consonants of verb roots starting with /b, k, m, n, f, h, and w/ become palatalized by attaching a proclitic with [i], such as the personal pronominal proclitics \(hi\) = '2sg', \(wi\) = '1pl', and \(xi\) = '2pl'. Figures 11 and 12 show spectrograms of (55a) both without and with palatalization of /k/.

(55)
a. /hi=kanatse/ [hik\textsuperscript{anatse}] 'your mouth'
   2sg=mouth
b. /wi=meta/ [wim\textsuperscript{et}ə] 'you all disappeared'
   2pl=disappear

Figure 14: no palatalization of [d]
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) *Cʲ/i_i_

(57) *Cʲ/ i__e

a. /tʃikere/ [tʃikere] 'be yellow'

b. /timena/ [timent] 'be heavy'
His analysis is partly right because there are instances where there is no palatalization of consonants in the /i_e/ context. 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 /ti/ is realized as [t]:

(58)

a. /tʃi/ [tʃikə] 'be yellow'
b. /tʃika-re/ [tʃikere] 'one which is yellow' *[tʃikere]

be yellow-NMLZ

(59)

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

hot-NMLZ

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.

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8 The palatalized phoneme /tʲ/ does not occur followed by [e], see section 2.2.2.
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/ in the language. The same is true of the phonemes /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /θ/ (*[ʃ], *[tʃ], *[θ] ). Therefore, secondary palatalization does not affect fricatives nor the phoneme /t/, as seen in the example (61). In verb roots, the phoneme /t/ undergoes dissimilation in the same context where other phonemes undergo palatalization (see §2.6.7)

(61)

a. /wi=tǝoli/ [witǝoli] 'in our forehead'
   1pl=forehead
b. /i=tǝako/ [itǝako] 'his stomach'
   3sg=stomach

In conclusion, we can make the following generalizations: non-fricative
consonants and palatalized consonants (except /t/ and /tʲ/, /l/ and /lʲ/) 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 /tʲ/ 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 /tʲ/ before the vowels [i] and [e] because of the phonotactic restriction *tʲ/i/e.

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

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<td>_o</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
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</table>
The phoneme /l/ also exhibits overlapping distribution with the phoneme /ɾ/. However, their distribution is neutralized when /ɾ/ 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. In (62), first vowel harmony raises /e/ to /i/ when the suffixes -ti 'UNPOSS' or -ki 'CAUS' are attached to the roots, then [ɾi] changes to [li].

(62)
a. /initʃ-o-hare-ti/ [initʃohaliti] 'elder'
   elder-MASC-UNPOSS
b. /tʃakore-ti/ [tʃakuliti] 'liver'
   liver-UNPOSS
c. /e-haihare-ki-tsa-h-ene/ [ehaihalikitsa] 'they made him to be shy'
   CAUS-be.shy-CAUS-TH-PL-3O

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

(63)
a. /n=aits-ita/ [naitʃita] 'I am killing'
   1sg=kill-IFV
b. /n=halaitsoa-ita/ [nahalaitʃuita] 'I am jumping'
   1sg=jump-IFV

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

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9 The contrast between /l/ and /ɾ/ occurs within the roots.
10 Other alternations /l/ ~ /ɾ/ 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]: In another context, as in (65), the morpheme -θi 'POSSED' surfaces as -ʃi before [i], in order to avoid the sequence [θi] in the language.

(64)  
a. /hi=θane/  [hijane] 'you went away'
    2sg=go.away  
b. /hi=θera/ [hijera] 'you song'
    2sg=sing

(65)  
(65)  
11  
a. /no=timela-θi/  [notimʲɛlaʃi] 'my blood'
    1sg=blood-POSSED  
b. /no=tʲakoira-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.

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

Table 8: Phonemic inventories proposed for Paresi

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</tbody>
</table>

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 /tʲ/). 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.

/f/ 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 ([fana] 'bee' and [θana] 'genipap'), and because the distribution of [f] is restricted to contexts before [i] and [a], while [θ] appears before [a], [æ], 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: CVC, 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

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<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>a</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ao</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oa</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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'θua/ [e'doa] '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/.

53
The sequences: /ao/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ei/ are also diphthongs. They are not analyzed as a combination vowel-glade 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/.

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

54
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 collected 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 [ˈto. to] 'breast'
b. kafaka [ka.'fa.kɐ] 'yesterday'
c. tihanare [,ti.ha.'na.re] 'sorcerer'
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.'tʲu.j] 'tapir'
b. irai [i.'dʲɛj] 'he told'
c. alatai [a.la'.tai] 'cascudinho fruit'
d. ferakoa [fe.ra.'koa] 'in the morning'
e. kaimare [kai.ma.re] 'moon'
f. wainama [wai.na.mɐ] '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.ˈka] 'hammock'
b. [ˈka.he] 'hand'
   [ka.ˈhi] 'coatamundi'
c. [ˈko.re] 'opossum'
   [ko.ˈre] 'arrow'
d. [ˈha.re] 'body'
   [ha.ˈre] 'my son (voc)'
e. [ˈke.tse] 'knife'
   [ke.ˈtse] 'be.sharp'

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

Figure 20: stress in the first syllable ['maka] 'night'
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 [ˌe.ða.ni.'tʲo] 'wife'
c. ezanene [ˌe.ða.ne.'ne] 'husband'
d. ohiro ['u.hi.dᵘ] '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'
Stress in polymorphemic words

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

(76)  a. etse ['e.tse] 'testicle of.'
     b. etse-ti ['e.tse.ti] 'testicle'

     testicle-UNPOSS

(77)  a. nirai [ni.'dʲai] 'I said'
     b. n=irai-ta [ni.'dʲai.ta] 'I am saying'

     1sg=say-IFV

(78)  a. Ø-i'tyani [i.'tʰa.ni] 'his son'

     3sg=son

     b. Ø-ityani-nae [i.'tʰa.ni.nʲae] 'his sons'

     3sg=son-PL

(79)  a. zaolo ['θao.lo] 'headdress'

     b. e=zaolo-ne [e.'dθao.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 regards, this analysis diverges from the one in Silva (2013). He affirms that suffixes have their own lexical stress, except -ti.
syllables before that syllable with primary stress.

(80)

a. zekohatse-ti [ˌθe.ko.'ha.tse.ti] 'leader'
   leader-UNPOSS
b. kahehali-ti [.ka.he.'ha.li.ti] 'illness'
   be.iill-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 [ˌmai.tu.ˌna.ne.'ha.re] 'one who is paralyzed'
   NEG-CAUS-walk-POSSED-MASC
b. m-ena-ne-hare-ti [me.ˌna.ne.'ha.li.ti] 'immortality'
   NEG-life-POSSED-MASC-UNPOSS
c. e-hana-ne-hare [ˌe.ha.ˌna.ne.'ha.re] 'his plantation'
   3sg=leaf-POSSED-MASC
d. ma-waija-ha-kala-hare [ma.ˌwai.ja.ˌka.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 [iˌdai.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.tʲa)] 'he planted'

b. fitya-ti [(fi.'tʲa).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.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{enumerate}
\item /e/-&gt; [i] \\
\hspace{1em} a. /kahe-ti/ [kahi] 'hand'  
\hspace{1em} \hspace{1em} hand-UNPOSS \\
\hspace{1em} b. /kahe-hi/ [kahihi] 'finger' 
\hspace{1em} \hspace{1em} hand-CLF:long.slender \\
\hspace{1em} c. /toto-ne-ri/ [tutuniɾi] 'nipple' 
\hspace{1em} \hspace{1em} breast-POSSED-CLF:round \\
\hspace{1em} d. /no=tʲolohe-ri/ [notʲolohidi] 'my cassava flour' 
\hspace{1em} \hspace{1em} 1sg=cassava.flour-POSSED
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item /initʲo-hare-ti/ [initʲohaliti] 'elder' 
\hspace{1em} elder-MASC-UNPOSS
\end{enumerate}

The other context where the vowel harmony occurs is when the proclitic \( e = '3sg' \textsuperscript{16} \)
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 [t].

\begin{enumerate}
\item /e=hino/ [ihinu] 'his neck' 
\hspace{1em} 3sg=neck \\
\item /e=kitʃi/ [ikutʃi] 'his foot' 
\hspace{1em} 3sg=foot \\
\item /e=tᵃako/ [itᵃako] 'his stomach' 
\hspace{1em} 3sg=stomach
\end{enumerate}

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

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

\textsuperscript{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-tʲakoɾe/ [etakore] 'his liver'
   3sg=liver
b. /tʲakoɾe-ti/ [takuliti] 'liver'
   liver-UNPOSS

(90)
a. /n=kolotʲa/ [nakoloṯa] 'I am fat'
1sg=be.fat
b. /hi=kolot'a/ [hik\ulu't\a] '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=tʃijete/       [nutʃijete] '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/  [hitsemehene] 'hear!'
   2sg=hear-TRS
b. /n=ija-heta/     [ijeheta] 'I caught'
   1sg=catch-PERF
c. /t瞬间-hete-hena/  [t瞬间ehetehene] 'kill!'
   2sg=kill-TRS
d. /wat瞬间-re/    [watere] 'the one who is hot'
   hot-NMLZ
e. /wija-ne/       [wijene] 'something that is sweet'
   be.sweet-NMLZ
In (93), the last -hena suffix influences the preceding suffix -ita, which changes to -ite. On the other hand, the first occurrence of -hena closer to the root neither is affected by the last -hena (showing that the regressive assimilation does not influence more than one preceding syllable), nor it influences the root hikoa because of the diphthong /oa/.

(93) /hikoa-hena-ha-ita-hena-ha/ [hikohenahitohena] 'they were arriving'
    show.up-TRS-PL-IFV-TRS-PL

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

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

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

(95) a. /hi=kera-hena/ [hikeraahena] 'you are going to burn (something)'
2sg=burn-TRS
b./kerja-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. /katʃala-tha-re/ [katʃalɑðeɾe] 'mush'
   sour-CLF:liq-NMLZ
b. /watʃa-hi-ri/ [watʃhiɾi] '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/ [hitʃidibane] '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-tʰa/ [nimɛdɔatʃa] '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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(99)</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>personal proclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /n=tsema-ita/</td>
<td>natsemita</td>
<td>'I am listening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg=hear-IFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /no=tera-ene/</td>
<td>noterene</td>
<td>'I drank it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg=drink-3O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. /ø-aθa-hena-ha-ita-hena-ha/</td>
<td>aðehenahitēnaha</td>
<td>'they asked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg=ask-TRS-PL-IFV-TRS-PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(100)</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>personal proclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. /no=irai-ita/</td>
<td>nidʲaita</td>
<td>'I talked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg=talk-IFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. /na=aiko-tᵃ/</td>
<td>naikʲotᵃ</td>
<td>'I cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg=cut-TH</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 /ɾ/ when suffixes are attached to noun or verb roots. [i] is added to trigger the change /ɾ/ 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 /θeɾa/ is dropped when the suffix -ita is attached (as seen in section 2.6.4 ). Then in order to avoid the sequence ri in [θeɾita], there is an insertion of the vowel [i] before /ɾ/, and the root /θeɾ/ becomes [θeid] (/ɾ/ 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 [wʲ], as in [hiwʲɛiɲ]. However, the output is [j] instead of [wʲ].

(105)

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

2.6.7 Dissimilation: /tʲ/ 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/.\(^7\) 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)  \([t]-->[ts]/i_\_o,a\)

a. /hi=tᵃοna/  [hitsaunɐ] 'You became'
   2sg=become
b. /hi=tοa/  [hitsoa] 'you came'
   2sg=come
c. /hi=tʰɔma/  [hitsumɐ] 'you made'
   2sg=make
d. /hi=tɵka/  [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=.

70
The examples below are the only instances of /t/ changing to /ts/ in my corpus. In (107b) and (107b), -t may be analyzed as a morpheme and not as part of the verb root because causative constructions do not exhibit this morpheme. -t has also a very restricted occurrence (i.e. only in these words).

(107) /t/ --\[ts\]/

a. /hi=temaka-hena/ [hitsemahenə] 'Sleep!'  
   2sg=sleep-TRS
b. /hi=t-era-hena/ [hitserehenə] '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

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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, [ɾ] 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>causativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ne/-ra/-za</td>
<td>possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>unpossessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nae</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ita</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hena</td>
<td>transitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-heta</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>thematic suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tya</td>
<td>thematic suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kakoa</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i/-ki</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(ty)oa</td>
<td>intransitivizer, reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ore</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

3.1.3 Clitics

Clitics are grammatical words which are not complete phonological words (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2002). The following properties of clitics defined in Zwicky and Pullum (1983) are used here to distinguish clitics from affixes in Paresi: i) clitics have low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, and ii) clitics but not affixes, can be attached to material already containing clitics. There are two types of clitics in Paresi: personal and clausal enclitics.
Person markers exhibit some properties of clitics: they have phonetic boundedness with their host (meaning they cannot receive stress) and they are in a 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no=</td>
<td>na=</td>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi=</td>
<td>ha=</td>
<td>2sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e= (nouns/postpositions)/Ø=</td>
<td>Ø=</td>
<td>3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi=</td>
<td>wa=</td>
<td>1pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi=</td>
<td>za=</td>
<td>2pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ene</td>
<td></td>
<td>3O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=_(i)ya</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=_(i)te</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=_(a)la</td>
<td>focalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=_(a)tyo</td>
<td>topicalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yatatyo 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
    waiy -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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hatyaotseta</td>
<td>connector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiyeta</td>
<td>connector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maheta</td>
<td>connector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoka</td>
<td>connector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezahe</td>
<td>connector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katsani</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zakore</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motya</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamani</td>
<td>dubitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>dubitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maiha</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xini</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoana</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>na=</td>
<td>wa=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ha=</td>
<td>za=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ø=</td>
<td>Ø=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(4) Ø=zaneheta
    Ø= zane
    3sg go
    'He went away.' (E)

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

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.
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 allomorphs en= and ene=.19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consonant-initial roots</td>
<td>vowel-initial roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no=/na=</td>
<td>n=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hi=/ha=</td>
<td>h=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e=~ i= (nouns)/Ø=</td>
<td>en=<del>ene</del>ini=(nouns)/Ø=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anap horic</td>
<td>ha= (nouns)</td>
<td>h= (nouns)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(8) nonakanakairene  (*kohatse)  
n= 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 correference between the third person possessor and the subject of the clause. It has an endophoric reference, i.e., an expression in the same sentence or previous sentences (Bhat, 2004). Examples (9) and (10) from the same text show that the antecedent of ha= in haiyanene 'her husband' is abebe 'grandmother', which is mentioned in a previous sentence.

(9) abebe,  ene  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  
a=  kawitx  -ita  
1sg  shout  IFV  
'My deceased grandmother ran, (and she asked): what (happened)? “We cut kaolone honey”, I shouted.' (JT nawenane)

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 ha= as the third person, and the e/i= prefixes as fourth person (or obviative, that is, a non-salient third person referent).
(10) Hatyaotseta haiyanene ene kohone Ø=kolatya hatyo
Hatyaotseta ha= iyanene ene koho -ne Ø= kolatya hatyo
then 3sg husband PST basket POSSED 3sg take 3sg
xikako temazaheta, Ø=zane. Wiyane
xikako tema -za -heta Ø= zane wi= yane
period, moment run? PERF 3sg go 1pl go
wahikoaheta hoka Ø=fetatyaha
wa= hikoa -heta hoka Ø= fetatyara -ha
1pl come.out, show.up PERF CON 3sg bless PL
'Then my grandmother's husband took a basket, ran, and went away. Let's arrive and
make an offer.' (JT nawenane)

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

(11) Dirizolitsetxoala fihi Ø=txiya
Dirizonae,-li tse -txoa =la fihi Ø= txiya
PN CLF:round CLF:small big =FOC straight 3sg pass
hakatxoloza kaka
ha= katxolo -za kaka
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, ala tekoa ekakoa hazotawa heno
azama ala tekoa e_vj= kaka ha_vj= zotawa heno
dereer FOC run away 3sg COM 3sg horn above, on.the.top
Ø=mokene hoka
Ø_vj= moka =ene hoka
3sg put 3O CON
'The deer, ran away with him, he, put him*ij [Dirizonae] on his*i,j antlers.'
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 e hakakoaneta
    hoka e\(-ij\)= kaxolo -za -hoko -txoa =la e= hakakoa -ne -ta
    CON 3sg dog POSSED CLF:circled big =FOC 3sg similar POSSED ?
    Ø=temita
    Ø= tem -ita
    3sg run IFV

'Then his [= the boy's] dog was running as well.' (Dirizonae)

3.2.3 Personal pronouns

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

Table 20: Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>natyo</td>
<td>witso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hitso</td>
<td>xitso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hatyo, eze</td>
<td>hatyonae, ezenae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[\text{Table 20: Personal pronouns}\]

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Person} & \text{Singular} & \text{Plural} \\
\hline
1 & natyo & witso \\
2 & hitso & xitso \\
3 & hatyo, eze & hatyonae, ezenae \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

\[\text{Silva (2013: 183; 194) considers \textit{hatyo} to be a demonstrative distinct from personal pronouns. He supports his analysis with the following arguments: i) \textit{hatyo} takes}\]

\[^{22}\] The clitic \textit{atyo} is analyzed as a topicalizer by Silva (2009) and later as a focus marker (Silva, 2013). I treat it as a topicalizer.
-nae 'PL' with a plural or associative meaning, not for emphasis like pronouns, ii) it can co-occur with other demonstratives, and iii) it can take the comitative -kakoa. I have not found strong evidence for considering it to be different from other pronouns. -nae has the plural/associative meaning with the third person and not other persons (where it is used for emphasis) because in the other persons the plural is lexicalized. I have also not found examples of hatyo or eze co-occurring as demonstratives with other demonstratives in my corpus. Furthermore, it is not clear whether pronouns may occur with the postposition kakoa 'comitative' similar to hatyo, as in (14). There are few examples of this construction in my corpus (they often use the proclitic and the comitative), as seen in (15).

(14) hatyonae kakoa ali witsi hoka witsaonita
    hatyo -nae =kakoa ali witsi hoka wi= tyo =ita
    3sg PL COM here 1pl CON 1pl live IFV
    'We came with them to live here.' (Cabeceira do Osso)

(15) zoaneretya hoka xitsokakoa zakarekarehalotyakakaoita
    zoana -re -tya hoka xitso -kakoa wi= karekare -halo -tya -kakoa -ita
    what NMLZ FOC? CON 2pl COM 1pl gossip? FEM TH RECIP IFV
    'Why do you all gossip about each other.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 2)

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

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

    A: natyo nozaniya
    natyo no= zani =ya
    1sg 1sg go =IRR
    'I can go.' (Batsaji iraiti)
I was almost an adult, and I already was looking for food myself.' (JT nawenane)

'You will take your daughter's basket, and your daughter will come back with nothing.' (ketetse)

'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

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 sentences \(^{24}\) (22) and (23), and also in negative sentences with the negative focus marker \(xini\) (24).

\[(22)\] ah \texttt{natyo Zomoizokae natyo} \\
\[\text{natyo Zomoizokae natyo}\] 1sg Zomoizokae 1sg \\
'Ah, I am Zomoizokae.' (Katomo nawenane)

\[(23)\] \texttt{natyo atyo Enomaniere} \\
\[\text{natyo atyo Enomaniere}\] 1sg FOC Enomaniere \\
'I belong to the Enomaniere group.' (Formoso onetse)

\[(24)\] \texttt{maiha witso xini kala zala zamani O=malahetene} \\
\[\text{maiha witso xini kala zala zamani O= mala -heta =ene}\] 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).

\[(25)\] \texttt{natyo maotseratya-ti-ye} \\
\[\text{natyo maotseratya -ti -ye}\] 1sg lie UNPOSS NMLZ \\
'I am a deceiver.' (E)

\[(26)\] \texttt{(natyo) n=maotseratya-re} \\
\[\text{natyo na= maotseratya -re}\] 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 an 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adnominal Demonstratives</th>
<th>Adverbial Demonstratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>Medial (near hearer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>eze</td>
<td>hatyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ezenae</td>
<td>hatyonae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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)
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) eze eze koxiye kitxihi etake Celio
eze eze koxiye kitxi -hi etake Celio
this this partridge foot CLF:long,slender that Celio
zamairakihare taitehenateyato
2pl THS be.afraid CAUS MASC only TRS ? =TOP
'This foot of partridge, this is the one that scares Celio.' (Tolohe)

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  *eye* lojinha  waowitereako

    eye  lojinha  eye  lojinha  w= aowi -te -re -ako
    this  little. store  this  little. store  1pl say  IFV  NMLZ  LOC

'It is in this little store we call *lojinha*.' (iraiti Batsaji)

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

(33) Alitatyo  *eye* Ø=tyaonita  *eye* haloti

    ali  -ta  =tyo  eye  Ø= tyaona -ita  eye  haloti
    here  EMPH  =TOP  this  3sg  stay  IFV  this  person

'This one is staying here, this Paresi woman.' (iraiti Batsaji)

(34) Q: zala  Ø=nemakakaweta?

    zala  Ø= nema ka  kawe -ta
    who  3sg  sleep  TH  hurt  IFV

'Who is sleepy?'

A: *eye* mahalotihalo

    eye  ma- haloti -halo
    this  NEG  Paresi  FEM

'This non-Indian woman' (iraiti Batsaji)

Silva (2013) describes the existence of the form *eege*, saying the *g* indicates a voiced uvular obstruent. He analyzes *eege* as a proximate non-visual demonstrative. If that is the case, then the semantic feature of visibility is not only relevant to differentiate between the two distal forms *ēeze* and *etake*, but also the proximate forms *eze* and *eege*. He also mentions the anaphoric demonstrative *eetake*, also not attested in my corpus. I
have not attested the forms *eege* and *eetake* in my texts, and more investigation is needed to confirm the existence of this other demonstrative. Silva concludes that the lengthening of the vowels is related to the feature [-visible]. However, the distal *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
    '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
    '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.
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** \(\emptyset=\) \(\kappa\) \(\kappa\) 
    ali -ako zala -ni -hare ha= ima in= ima -ha \(\emptyset=\) \(\kappa\) \(\kappa\) 
    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 an noun phrase, the demonstratives *eze* and *hatyo* have the function of third person pronouns. Similar to other personal pronouns, they occur with the emphasis marker -*ta*, (41) and (42), or topicalized by *atyo* (43).

\(^{26}\) This form may have originated from the anaphoric proclitic *ha*= and the topicalizer *atyo*, 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.
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.

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 **ezehare** irai zomana?  
zala iya eze -hare irai z= -om -ana  
who IRR this NMLZ talk 2p LK BEN  
'Who is going to tell you all this thing?' (Omati-ZK)

(47) aliyakeretala **hatyohare** maiha zala  
aliyakere -ta =la hatyo -hare maiha zala  
how EMPH =FOC that NMLZ NEG who  
Ø=hikoareha enomana, aliyakere ala  
Ø= hikoa -re -ha e= -om -ana aliyakere =ala  
3sg come.out, show.up NMLZ PL 3sg LK BEN how =FOC  
**hatyohare** Ø=tsemahatiye  
hatyo -hare Ø= tsema -ha -ti -ye  
that NMLZ 3sg hear PL UNPOSS NMLZ  
'How did they hear that thing? Nobody arrived to (tell) them, how is that?' (tolohe)

(48) hoka eaotseta atxiyakehenene Kamaehiye ana  
hoka eaotseta a- txiya -ke -hen =ene Kamaehiye =ana  
CON then THS pass LOC TRS 3O Kamaehiye =BEN  
hetati **eyehare** tohiri abali  
hetati eye -hare tohiri abali  
in.the.old.days this NMLZ type.of.sieve type.of.sieve  
Ø=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 ēeze**

The form of the distal demonstrative is ēeze. The form is different from the proximate because of the lengthening and nasalization of the first vowel. Lengthening and nasalization contrast is limited only to this form and the form īita 'distal adverbial demonstrative'. This demonstrative is used to indicate a referent far away from the speaker and the hearer, not accessible but still visible. I only found examples of ēeze in elicitation.
(49) hiyaya ita ēeze hati
   hi= yaya ita ēeze 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= kolaty -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)
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=ehokotyoita
owene -ta Ø= ehoko -tyoa -ita
right.here EMPH 3sg lay down MM IFV
'She is lying down right here.' (Batsaji iraiti)

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

(60) owene zoalini toli tyakahitaha
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 Õ=tyaonehenaha ita ahoti
ali hetati Õ= tyaone -hena -ha ita aho -ti
here in.the.old.days 3sg live TRS PL there road UNPOSS
kilihimaihatyoialimaniyxiniita 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 ïita 'there'
Examples (64) and (65) illustrate the use of nali 'there' while (66) and (67) of ïita 'there'. The difference between the two distals is that ïita is used when the referent is visible. ïita has the same vowel lengthening and nasalization as the form ëeze, 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 Õ=tyaonaha wikakoa
kala nali wi= tsaona Õ= 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 ?
ïita zema zoaha iyatya Õ=gradiatyahoka
ita =zema zoaha =iya -tya Õ= 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) ṭita hiyerone?
    ṭita 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 has the meaning 'someone, somebody' when
occurring as an independent pronoun, as shown in (68). It also occurs modifying a noun
(as a determiner) with the meaning of 'another', as in (69) and (70), or with a meaning
similar to a indefinite article, referring to a referent that is not physically present, as in
(71).

(68) hatya zema notyaonakoitaene 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=.
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).

(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)

(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
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) **haiya** ite iraeti
=ala tya natyo -tya kalini n= ezanityo haiya =ite irae -ti
=FOC ? 1sg FOC now 1sg= wife IND2 =FUT talk UNPOSS
hare 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) wihinaeharenæ  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  korenama
  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  hatita</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  hinama</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  hanama</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  zalakakoa</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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). 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 waiya -ne Ø= aoka -ha 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'.

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 koatroaotse 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

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

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**
kahí -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**
katscholo -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
'Ve were the first ones.' (cabeceira)

3.5.2 Quantifiers

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

3.5.2.1 tyotya 'all'

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

(89) tyotya    haliti    Ø=tyaonitaene
        tyotya    haliti    Ø=tyaon   -ita   =ene
     all   Paresi.Indian   3sg   live   IFV   PST
'All the Paresi people lived there.' (Fenare nawenane)
(90) kozaka ene aliyerenae tyotya $\varnothing$=zane
kozaka =ene ali -yere -nae tyotya $\varnothing$= zane
already =PST here NMLZ PL everything, all 3sg go
'The people from here, all of them were already gone.' (Katomo nawenane)

(91) wahakanore hare, fate hare, tyotya wanitxita
wahakanore hare fate hare tyotya wa= nitx -ita
spider.monkey also tufted.capuchin also everything, all 1pl eat meat IFV
'Spider monkey, tufted capuchin monkey, anything, we were eating it.' (JT
nawenane)

(92) wityotya wahiyokene
wi= tyotya wa= hiyok =ene
1pl everything, all 1pl suck 3O
'We all ate it (the honey).' (JT nawenane)

3.5.2.2 kahare 'many, a lot'

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

(93) hatyohiyeta kahare zoima $\varnothing$=tyaonate hitiya
hatyohiyeta kahare zoima $\varnothing$= tyaona =te hitiya
then many child 3sg be.born =FUT again
'Then, many children were born.' (Batsaji tahi)

(94) oliti kahare $\varnothing$=aitsahitaha
oliti kahare $\varnothing$= aitsa -ha -ita -ha
game many 3sg kill PL IFV PL
'They killed a lot of game.' (cabeceira)

(95) ekohena haiya zowakatyato nahekoita kahare
eko -hena haiya zowaka tya =tyo n= aheko -ita kahare
? TRS IND2 period ? =TOP 1sg think IFV a.lot
wiraene hatyota makere $\varnothing$=tyaonita
w= irae -ne hatyo -ta makere $\varnothing$= tyaona -ita
1pl talk POSSED 3sg EMPH same 3sg live IFV
'Then, sometimes I think that a lot of words have the same meaning.' (Kabikule
Daniel iraiti 1)

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

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

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

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

3.5.2.3  **inira** 'few'

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

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

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

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', *tiho*
'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', *coni* '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  takoir ap
    na=  tema =*zema*  tya takoir a
    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 hakatxolozatsehitxoa
dirizonae dog -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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal Clitics</th>
<th>Kakoa 'INSTR, COM'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>no=</td>
<td><em>kako(i)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>hi=</td>
<td><em>kako(a)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>e=</td>
<td><em>kakoa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>wi=</td>
<td><em>kako(a)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>xi=</td>
<td><em>kako(a)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>e=...-ha</td>
<td><em>kakoa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(111) azama ala tekoa **ekakoa** hazotawa heno
azama ala Ø= tekoa 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*: *kakoare*.

(113) kore kakoare terotaty o 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.
When you speak low to him, he does not hear.' (Katomo iraiti)

There are few examples of kakoa being used with the source marker =\(\text{it}a\).

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

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.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal Clitics</th>
<th>Zema 'ASSOC'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>no=</td>
<td>ximi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>hi=</td>
<td>yema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>e=</td>
<td>zema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>wi=</td>
<td>yema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>xi=</td>
<td>yema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>e=...-ha</td>
<td>zema</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6.3 *ana* 'dative'

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

(120) ezahe xityaninae *ana* maika zatxiyakiyahetehena
    ezahe x= ityani -nae =ana maika za= tsiyakiya -hete -hena
    CON 2pl son, daughter PL DAT SUG 2pl pass.on PERF TRS
    eakere    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):
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Clitics</th>
<th>Ana 'DAT'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s n=</td>
<td>om-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s h=</td>
<td>om-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s en=</td>
<td>om-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p w=</td>
<td>om-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p x=</td>
<td>om-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p en=-...-ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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)
'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).

Silva (2013) called hiye 'theme' and said it marks an experiencer. In constructions with statives, the oblique arguments semantically may be considered experiencers.
When the postposition occurs with inanimate referents it marks the spatial relation of adhesion involving sticking.

(129) katxolohokotsetxoa  tsiri  hiye  ala
dog  CLF:circled  CLF:small big  head  BEN  FOC
katxolo  -hoko  -tse  -txoa  tsiri  hiye  ala

'In the bottle's mouth (E)

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

A: balazoko  kanatse  hiye
balazoko  kanatse  hiye
bottle  mouth  BEN

'In the bottle's mouth (E)

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

(131) Otoloweke  nali  wiyane  watawehirita  maha  iii kahare
Otoloweke  nali  wi= yane  wa= tawe  -hi  -ri  -ta  maha  kahare
Otoloweke  LOC  1pl  go  1pl  look.for  PL  CLF:round IFV  NEG  a.lot
'He stays in the health service center.' (cabeceira)

It can also occur with a proper noun to indicate the place where the person lives
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
waliitseritse ana wiyaneta
waliitse -ri -tse =ana wi= yane -ta
plastic.container CLF:round CLF:small =BEN 1pl go IFV
'Ve 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 Ə=tyoka
kak- haina -koa -tya hoka katyahe Ə= tyoka
ATTR tripod LOC TH CON 3sg under 3sg sit
Ə=etolitsaoha
Ə= 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
wikatyaha
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=katyhatene  Ø=waini  kaitserahare
   Ø= katyaha -tya =ene  Ø= waini  kaitse  -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=axikutene
    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) hatyaotseta,  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  katyakopare  Ø=tyaona  tsehali
    hatyaotseta  katyaha -ko -re  Ø= tyaona  tsehali
    then  under  LOC NMLZ  3sg COP  rock
    'Then, when he sat on top of the rock, and the rock went down.' (Wazare)
(141) Madia Ivetenae hana e\textit{heno} kitxiya wiyane
Maria Ivete -nae hana e= heno kitxiya wi= yane
PN PN PL house 3sg= above, on.the.top until 1pl= go
hoka wahaikoha\textit{heta} zoiman\textit{ae} k\textit{kaoa}
hoka wa= \textit{haikoa} -\textit{heta} zoima -nae =\textit{ka\textit{kaoa}}
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 \textit{henetse} 'in the center on top'

The postposition \textit{henetse} may be derived from \textit{heno} 'above' and \textit{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 \textit{henetse} \(\emptyset\)=tona
Paula tsehali \textit{henetse} \(\emptyset\)= tona
Paula rock in.the.center 3sg walk
'Paula walked over the center of the rock.' (E)

(143) \(\emptyset\)=waiyehenatyo \(\emptyset\)= owi \textit{henetseko\textit{a}} enokoloa
\(\emptyset\)= waiye -\textit{hena} =\textit{tyo} owi \textit{henetse} -\textit{ko\textit{a}} en= o- kola
3sg see TRS =TOP snake in.the.center LOC 3sg LK arrow
'When he saw the arrow was inside the center of the snake.' (kozeto)

3.6.10 \textit{meketse} 'in the center'

The postposition \textit{meketse} indicates a location which is in the center.

(144) wazalimena \textit{meketse} \(\emptyset\)=zane hiyalatyoa
wazali -mena \textit{meketse} \(\emptyset\)= 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 \(\textit{ala} \textit{atyakatse} \textit{weteko} \textit{meketseko\textit{a}}
hanama -katse \(\textit{ala} \textit{atya} -katse \textit{weteko} \textit{meketse} \textit{-ko\textit{a}}
three CLF: long =FOC tree CLF: long yard in.the.center LOC
'There are three sticks in the center of the yard.' (xikonahati)

3.6.11 \textit{zaihako} 'behind'

The postposition \textit{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 \textit{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 zotya -re
    CON 3sg inside side TOP red NMLZ
    'And inside it (the fruit), it is red.' (E)

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

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

(154) hoka motoako 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: abalikoa 'it is in the sieve.' (E)
    abali =koa
    sieve in
A: *abalialako 'it is inside of the sieve.' (E)
    abali =ako
    sieve inside
Formerly, we squeezed in the sieve.' (oloniti zaka)

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

'We were already among these non-Indian people.' (Aug nawenane)

'Jorge americano joined our group (lit.: came to live among us).' (Kamoro nawenane)
Table 28: koni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Clitics</th>
<th>Koni 'among'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s no=</td>
<td>nekoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s hi=</td>
<td>nikoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s e=</td>
<td>nekoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p wi=</td>
<td>nikoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p xi=</td>
<td>nikoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p e=...-ha</td>
<td>nekoni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
city 3sg POSSED 3sg catch PL 3sg SOUR
'They took the tip of the arrow from him.' (Txinikalore)

(163) Ø=zane wonita kafakiya kafaka kalore notiya
Ø= zane w= =onita kafaka =iya kafaka kalore no= tiya
3sg go 1pl SOUR yesterday IRR? yesterday a.lot 1sg cry
'He went away from us (died), and yesterday I cried a lot.' (Enore)
The form =*ta* is used only when no movement is implied, but the source is indicated, as in (164).

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

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

(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 azaniitsene cidade *zeta*
  Fofinho en= eze -nae a- zane -ki -tsa =ene cidade =zeta
  Fofinho 3sg father PL TH go CAUS TH 3O city ALL

'Fofinho's parents made him to go to the city.' (E)

3.7 Adjectives and Adverbs

3.7.1 Adjectives

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

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

(169) nozaotsehalitiri  
kaloretan  
no= zaotsehaliti -ra kalore -ta  
lsg wound POSSED big PROG  
'The wound is big' (E)

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

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

(170) hati kalore tyomaha  
hati kalore Œ= tyoma -ha  
house big 3sg make PL  
'They made a big house' (E)

(171) kaxali timenerenae ezoa  
kaxali timena-ze -nae Œ= 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) 

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ehare} & \quad \text{kahare} & \quad \text{oliti} & \quad \text{aitxita} & \quad \text{kalore} & \quad \text{matsene} \\
\text{for example} & \quad \text{a.lot} & \quad \text{game hunting} & \quad 3\text{sg kill} & \quad \text{EMPH} & \quad \text{big} & \quad \text{field} \\
\text{tyomita} & \quad \text{0} & \quad \text{tyoma} & \quad -\text{ita} \\
3\text{sg make} & \quad \text{PROG} \\
\end{align*}\]

'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 \textit{kafaka} 'yesterday' and \textit{makani} 'tomorrow' can take the irrealis \textit{iya}, the transitional \textit{-hena}, and the classifier \textit{-tse} 'CLF:small' meaning 'few days' before or after the present time, respectively. Paresi time adverbials are shown in Table 29.
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** 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)
'It is not nowadays that bad things happen.' (Aug nawenane)

'Nowadays we live here.' (cabeceira)

The adverb *kafka* 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).

'Yesterday we went to side of the perfume river to beat cipó vine.' (emaniya-LZ)

'Because of this, the day before yesterday, [...]' Timidyo (said): “we do not have any elders.' (Fenare)

For a period further back in the past, the classifier *-tse* 'small' with the meaning of 'few days' is attached to *kafka* '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*
Beepoko 'the year that just passed' to express the meaning 'two years ago'.

(179) hatyaotseta kafakatse kaitserehare 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. Theiya may be analyzed as the irrealis marker (similar to the use ofiya with makani). kafakiya indicates a period in the past before yesterday:

(181) kotyatyaore niraene hitiyata ezahe kafakiya
kotyatya -ore n= irae -ne hitiya -ta ezahe kafaka =iya
? EMPH 1sg talk POSSED again EMPH CON yesterday IRR?
'As I said the day before yesterday.' (tolohe)

(182) zane wonita kafakiya kafaka kalore notiya
Ø= zane w= onita kafak =iya kafaka kalore no= tiya
3sg go 1pl= SOUR yesterday IRR? yesterday a.lot 1sg= cry
'He died (lit.: went from us) some time ago, and yesterday I cried a lot.' (Enore)

There is also only one example where kafaka 'yesterday' functions as the head of a predicate, and it takes verb morphology, the transitional -hena.
In order to refer to a period in the distant past, another adverb is used: *toahiya.*

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).

'Yeah, tomorrow his grandfather will see (the cloth) and will pay for it for him.' (iraiti Batsaji)
“You can take (the radio), next time you come you pay” (he said) if it doesn't work, I won't pay.’ (ketetse)

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.

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.
(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 decesead Mauricio PL father
   'Almost every day they came to visit them, like the deceased Brito, Mauricio's father.' (Batsaji tahi)

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

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

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.
The guests may arrive in the morning, or when it is getting dark.

'Or very early in the morning'

The ancestors wake up at dawn when the star is coming out.'

'When it is midnight, he leaves the festival and he says, “keep on guys”’

'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).
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.

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.

In the lexicon Silva (2013) provides, the words *ferako* 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 an stative verbs

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

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

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

(206) kala waiye witsaonita
    kala waiye wi= tsaoon -ita
    DUB good 1pl COP IFV
    'I think we are doing well.' (Bacaval tahi)
(207) **kinatya**  Ø= hoholaita  
  kinatya  Ø= hoholati -ita  
  be.strong  3sg wind  IFV  
  'It is blowing strongly.' (zanekoare)

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

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

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

(210) eze ekoihia yotatyo matsakare kalorehena  Ø=fakita  
  eze ekoihia ko ta =tyo matsakare kalore -hena  Ø= faka -hena  
  this groin SOUR TOP EMPH? big TRS 3sg swell TRS  
  ihiye aoka ezanene  
  i= -hiiye 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, $\emptyset$=hikoahitiya okoati
  tyaone -hitiya $\emptyset$= hikoa -hitiya okoa -ti
  become, stay again 3sg come.out, show.up again jealous UNPOSS
  natyokoere $\emptyset$=militsehityakakoa(hena
  n= atyokoe -re $\emptyset$=militse -hi -tya -kakoa -hena
  3sg grandfather NMLZ 3sg scratch CLF:long. slender TH REC TRS
  waiye aka akaka
  waiye aka
  good INTERJ

'The chief of the jealousy came out (of the stone). He came out scratching himself up, ouch!' (Wazare)

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

(213) kaxiani! nikare zakore nali $\emptyset$=tyaonahita
  kaxiani nikare zakore nali $\emptyset$= 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.
'Damn! it is your fault to let the game of our grandma to go away, he said to him.'

(Txinikalore)

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

(215) hakakotyatyo

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 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 *hû*, 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-feira, 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 *kà* 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 ihoooi is the hosts' response to their guests in a traditional festival.

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

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

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

M: hāi!

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

3.8.2 Ideophones

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideophone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kē kē</td>
<td>shooting with an arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoi zoi</td>
<td>shooting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsobooo</td>
<td>jump into the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsai</td>
<td>cutting with a knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsok tsok</td>
<td>cutting with an axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāĩ tāĩ</td>
<td>beating (with a hard outer layer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zūũu</td>
<td>scattering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūũh</td>
<td>throwing down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiooo</td>
<td>cracking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tok</td>
<td>breaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobi tobi</td>
<td>water dripping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wididi wididi</td>
<td>thunder rumbling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txi txi txi</td>
<td>imitating a bat sound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(225) enotsetseharehena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eno</th>
<th>-tse</th>
<th>-tse</th>
<th>-hare</th>
<th>-hena</th>
<th>Ò= zane</th>
<th>-h</th>
<th>-ita</th>
<th>-ha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>CLF:small</td>
<td>CLF:small</td>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>TRS</td>
<td>3sg go</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>IFV</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ò=kaokehena</td>
<td>waikoakore</td>
<td>ehanaha</td>
<td>Ò=xakatetya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(225) enotsetseharehena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ò=</th>
<th>kaoke</th>
<th>-hena</th>
<th>waikoakore</th>
<th>e=</th>
<th>hana</th>
<th>-ha</th>
<th>Ò= xaka</th>
<th>-te</th>
<th>-tya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>arrive</td>
<td>TRS</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TH</th>
<th>waiya</th>
<th>kē</th>
<th>kē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ò=</td>
<td>waiya</td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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)
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) 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)
Then, the branches of the trees were weak and they started to crack *kiaoo kiaooo.*

(Wazare)

(234) *zoare halani* Ø=tiyakoita nomanikoahiranae
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 wididi, wididi.' (Wazare)
They got it (the arrow) back and pulled her eyes out, “look: txi txi txi”, they said (imitating bats).” (Txinikalore)
Chapter 4 - Nouns and nominal morphology

4.0 Introduction

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

4.1 Noun roots and stems

4.1.1 Noun roots

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Reduplicated Forms</strong></th>
<th><strong>Gloss</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarotaro</td>
<td>Southern Lapwing (Portuguese: 'quero-quero')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolotolo</td>
<td>type of hummingbird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towitowi</td>
<td>type of hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokotokore</td>
<td>type of hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamotamo</td>
<td>type of bird (<em>jacu</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zozokoko</td>
<td>cicada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zokozoko</td>
<td>ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koxikoxi</td>
<td>type of monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malamala</td>
<td>lung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kkoa
    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

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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.

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Then, as I just said, the women married and they had children. (Batsaji tahi).

Listen, children! (Iheroware)

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. (Wazare)
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 iiyitinae Ø=imezechena**
    **eyaotseta iye -ti -nae Ø= imeza -hena**
    then flower UNPOSS PL 3sg gather TRS

'Then he gathered flowers.' (Wazare)

(11) **nokahenae**
    **no= kahe -nae**
    1sg= hand PL

'my hands (E)

In general uncountable or mass nouns do not occur with *-nae*. The noun *one 'water'* is pluralized only when taking the classifier *-za* meaning 'river': *onezanae 'rivers'*.

Demonstratives (12) (see §3.3) do not take the plural when in a noun phrase modifying a noun, even when the nouns themselves are marked with *-nae*. They only take plural when functioning as the head of an noun phrase, as in (13) to (15). Numerals are not marked for

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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 hibabaeraزة?
   eze -nae hi= babera -za
   this PL 2sg= paper CLF:liquid
   'Are these, your books?' (E)

(14) ezahiya ehare witsora ezecharenae 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.'
   (TJA.1011)

(15) zoimanae haiya eye escolatya kozaka kalikini curso
    zoima -nae haiya eye escola -tya kozaka kalikini curso
    child PL IND2 this school FOC already now course
    Ø=tyomita 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 nomanani
    hatyo -nae =atyo Ø= tyom -ita no= mani
    3sg PL =TOP 3sg make, do IFV 1sg BEN
    'They made it for me.' (BO nawenane)
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=tyohenah
   zala -nae zamani =te Ø=ryo -hena
   who PL DUB =FUT 3sg come TRS
   'Who are the ones coming?' (makani tahi)

(19) Ø=tyohenaha ite Ø=iraehenha
   Ø=ryo -hena -ha =ite Ø=ra -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 Fomosoka Formosoyerenae hiye
   tyotya Fomoso -koa Formoso -yere -nae hiye
   everything, all Formoso LOC Formoso NMLZ PL BEN
   nokanalyaotsharehena
   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 Ivet PL house DEM 3sg above, on.the.top until 1pl go
     hoka wahai koaheta zoimanae kako
     hoka wa= haikoa -heta zoima -nae =kako
     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 tol

A collective morpheme indicates that a group of items is considered together rather than individually (Corbett, 2000:118). The collective *toli* 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.
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 (toni is used with a larger number). The difference may also relate 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) wiyanε 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 POSSESS CLF:circled CLF:small TOP FOC 3sg wife LOC ?
    zane kaokeheta haitsanitsehi toli kako
    zane kaoke -heta ha= itsani -tse -hi toli kako
    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.'
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consonant-initial roots</td>
<td>vowel-initial roots(^{34})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no=</td>
<td>n=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hi=</td>
<td>h=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e=/i=</td>
<td>en=/in=, ene=/ini=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor '3s'</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e=kahe</td>
<td>'his hand'</td>
<td>kahi-ti</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=niho</td>
<td>'his tail'</td>
<td>iho-ti</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=kitxi</td>
<td>'his foot'</td>
<td>kitxi-ti</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=tsiri</td>
<td>'his head'</td>
<td>tsiri-ti</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=tinihe</td>
<td>'his ear'</td>
<td>tinihi-ti</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=malamala</td>
<td>'his lung'</td>
<td>malamala-ti</td>
<td>'lung'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=totone</td>
<td>'his breast'</td>
<td>totoniti</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 36: (Un)possessed personal belongings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor '3s'</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>en=eare</td>
<td>his name</td>
<td>ealit-i</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=neta</td>
<td>his necklace</td>
<td>neta-ti</td>
<td>necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=watyahala</td>
<td>his bracelet</td>
<td>watyahala-ti</td>
<td>bracelet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=zawa</td>
<td>his axe</td>
<td>zawa-ti</td>
<td>axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ini=tinihare</td>
<td>his pot</td>
<td>tinihali-ti</td>
<td>pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in=ihiri</td>
<td>his blanket</td>
<td>ihiri-ti</td>
<td>blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en=olone</td>
<td>his chicha</td>
<td>oloni-ti</td>
<td>chicha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor '3s'</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i=txiyityo</td>
<td>his granddaughter</td>
<td>txiyityo-ti</td>
<td>granddaughter of someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=zaitso</td>
<td>his niece</td>
<td>zaitso-ti</td>
<td>niece of someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=tyaonero</td>
<td>his cousin</td>
<td>tyaonero-ti</td>
<td>cousin of someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ene=koke</td>
<td>his uncle</td>
<td>koko-ti</td>
<td>uncle of someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in=ntyo</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>ntyo-ti</td>
<td>mother of someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to possessors and the unpossessed form, inalienable nouns can also take another suffix when possessed. The agreement suffix -i '1 sg' co-occurs with the first person proclitic no=, and it is attached to some inalienable nouns, postpositions and a
few stative verbs. This suffix is attached to inalienable nouns ending with the vowel /a/ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed Forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Possessor '1s'</th>
<th>Basic Possessed Forms (with Persons Other Than The First)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malamala-ti</td>
<td>'lung'</td>
<td>no=malamal-i</td>
<td>malamala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otya-ti</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
<td>n=ot-i</td>
<td>otya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henetala-ti</td>
<td>'spine'</td>
<td>no=henetal-i</td>
<td>henetala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neta-ti</td>
<td>'necklace'</td>
<td>no=nit-i</td>
<td>neta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watyahala-ti</td>
<td>'bracelet'</td>
<td>no=watyahal-i</td>
<td>watyahala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zawa-ti</td>
<td>'axe'</td>
<td>no=zaw-i</td>
<td>zawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totone-ti</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
<td>no=toton-i</td>
<td>totone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamitsone-ti</td>
<td>'niece'</td>
<td>no=tamitson-i</td>
<td>tamitsone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zera-kala-ti</td>
<td>'instrument'</td>
<td>no=zera-kal-i</td>
<td>zera-kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona-kala-ti</td>
<td>'vehicle'</td>
<td>no=tona-kal-i</td>
<td>tona-kala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words ola 'game' and ima 'clothing' are also in this group. However, their unpossessed forms are not *ola-ti and *ima-ti as expected; instead their forms are oli-ti and imi-ti. A possible explanation for this irregularity is that the suffix -i was lexicalized in the unpossessed forms of these words (*olati → oli (from noli 'my game'), *imati → imiti (from nimii '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'.

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Table 39: Suppletive unpossessed forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor '3s'</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in=iti</td>
<td>his fire</td>
<td>irika-ti</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=hana</td>
<td>his house</td>
<td>ha-ti</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en=eze</td>
<td>his father</td>
<td>aba</td>
<td>dad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in=ityo</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=tyani</td>
<td>his son</td>
<td>hare</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>/maha/</th>
<th>/kozeto/</th>
<th>/haira/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>/no=maha-xi/</td>
<td>/no=kozeto-li/</td>
<td>/no=haira-ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>/hi=maha-za/</td>
<td>/hi=kozeto-la/</td>
<td>/hi=haira-ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>/e=maha-za/</td>
<td>/e=kozeto-la/</td>
<td>/e=haira-ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>/wi=maha-za/</td>
<td>/wi=kozeto-la/</td>
<td>/wi=haira-ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>/xi=maha-za/</td>
<td>/xi=kozeto-la/</td>
<td>/xi=haira-ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>/e=maha-za/</td>
<td>/e=kozeto-la/</td>
<td>/e=haira-ne/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\footnote{He does not present a motivation for considering them part of the root.}

Here is an example illustrating his analysis:

(37) nohitone
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n} & \text{o} = \text{hito} & <\text{n}> & -i \\
1\text{sg} & \text{bow} & \text{conc.1sg} & 'my bow.' (Silva, 2013:159)
\end{align*}
\]

(38) ehitone
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e} & \text{= hito} & <\text{n}> & -e \\
3\text{sg} & \text{bow} & \text{conc} & 'his bow.' (Silva, 2013:159)
\end{align*}
\]

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/, /ɾ/, /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).\footnote{To differentiate noun roots ending with a from verb roots, which generally end in a.}

Furthermore, the analysis of latent consonants neither takes into account the neutralization between /l/ and /ɾ/ after /e/ which only occurs at morpheme boundary, nor does it accounts for the semantic conditions (described below) driving the choice among the alienable suffixes.

Payne (1991: 378-379) reconstructed five genitive suffixes for Proto-Arawak which he named Proto-Maipuran: *-ne, *-te, *-re, *-i> -e, and *-Ø. According to Payne, *-ne is the most common possessive suffix and *-te applies to a more restricted set of nouns, while the other suffixes are quite restricted. The only clear reflex of these in Paresi is -ne. According to Aikhenvald (2012: 167) these allomorphs tend to be
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>/koili/</th>
<th>/ketse/</th>
<th>/etseti/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s no=</td>
<td>/no=koili-ye/</td>
<td>/no=ketse-ri/</td>
<td>/n=etseti-ri/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s hi=</td>
<td>/hi=koili-ye/</td>
<td>/hi=ketse-ra/</td>
<td>/h=etseti-ra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s e=</td>
<td>/e=koili-ye/</td>
<td>/e=ketse-ra/</td>
<td>/e=etseti-ra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p wi=</td>
<td>/wi=koili-ye/</td>
<td>/wi=ketse-ra/</td>
<td>/w=etseti-ra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p xi=</td>
<td>/xi=koili-ye/</td>
<td>/xi=ketse-ra/</td>
<td>/z=etseti-ra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p e=</td>
<td>/e=koili-ye/</td>
<td>/e=ketse-ra/</td>
<td>/en=etseti-ra/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ɾ/ 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 wiyehe
  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Basic Possessed Form</th>
<th>Possessed Form With 1st Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halawa</td>
<td>kind of bird</td>
<td>halawa-za</td>
<td>no=halawa-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maha</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>maha-za</td>
<td>no=maha-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olo</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>olo-za</td>
<td>n=olo-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konare</td>
<td>type of fish</td>
<td>konare-za</td>
<td>no=konare-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kono</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>kono-za</td>
<td>no=kono-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohiro</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>ohiro-za</td>
<td>n=ohiro-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiholoko</td>
<td>head of an arrow</td>
<td>waiholoko-za</td>
<td>no=waiholoko-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alohe</td>
<td>araticuna fruit</td>
<td>alohe-za</td>
<td>n=aloh-e-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koili</td>
<td>parakeet</td>
<td>koili-ye</td>
<td>no=koili-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>kali-ye</td>
<td>no=kali-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsehali</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>tsehali-ye</td>
<td>no=tsehali-ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Basic Possessed Form</th>
<th>Possessed Form With 1st Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahite</td>
<td>annatto</td>
<td>ahita-la</td>
<td>n=ahita-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kozeto</td>
<td>corn</td>
<td>kozeto-la</td>
<td>no=kozeto-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txihoho</td>
<td>steamed bun</td>
<td>txihoho-la</td>
<td>no=txihoho-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komata</td>
<td>bean</td>
<td>komata-la</td>
<td>no=komata-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketse</td>
<td>knife</td>
<td>ketse-ra</td>
<td>no=ketse-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolohe</td>
<td>manioc flour</td>
<td>tolohe-ra</td>
<td>no=tolohe-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waihohe</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>waihohe-ra</td>
<td>no=waihohe-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohatse</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>kohatse-ra</td>
<td>no=kohatse-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etseti</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>etseti-ra</td>
<td>n=etseti-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(41) eaotseta hakomatatala 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'! (Txinikalare)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Basic Possessed Form</th>
<th>Possessed Form With 1st Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balatohe</td>
<td>plate</td>
<td>balatoahe-ne</td>
<td>no=balatoahe-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aho</td>
<td>cipó vine</td>
<td>aho-ne</td>
<td>n=aho-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baiyeta</td>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>baiyeta-ne</td>
<td>no=baiyeta-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohairo</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>hairo-ne</td>
<td>no=hairo-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hito</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>hito-ne</td>
<td>no=hito-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haira</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>haira-ne</td>
<td>no=haira-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weteko</td>
<td>yard</td>
<td>weteko-ne</td>
<td>no=weteko-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halate</td>
<td>comb</td>
<td>halate-ne</td>
<td>no=halate-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txiriba</td>
<td>skirt</td>
<td>txiriba-ne</td>
<td>no=txiriba-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawalo</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>kawalo-ne</td>
<td>no=kawalo-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koho</td>
<td>basket</td>
<td>koho-ne</td>
<td>no=koho-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matalo</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>matalo-ne</td>
<td>no=matalo-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warekoahoho</td>
<td>stream</td>
<td>warekoahoho-ne</td>
<td>no=warekoahoho-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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).
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 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.
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'.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Basic Possessed Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>timela-ti</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>timelaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kama-ti</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>kamane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aho-ti</td>
<td>path</td>
<td>ahora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wena-ti</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>(a)wenane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zera-ti</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>zera-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona-ti</td>
<td>walking</td>
<td>tona-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irai-ti</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>irae-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(43) iniratyo
  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Possessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ete-ti-ra</td>
<td>meat that belongs to me (that I am eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etse-ti-ra</td>
<td>egg that belongs to me (that I own)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsiri-ti-ra</td>
<td>head that belongs to me (of an animal that I killed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timela-ti-ni/ra</td>
<td>blood that belongs to me (of the animal I killed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{42}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Possessed Forms</th>
<th>Morphological Gloss</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hotse-ti-tini/hotsetine/</td>
<td>leg-UNPOSS-POSS</td>
<td>my pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitxi-ti-tini/kitxitine/</td>
<td>foot-UNPOSS-POSS</td>
<td>my shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahi-ti-tini/kahititine/</td>
<td>hand-UNPOSS-POSS</td>
<td>my ring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 51: Suppletive form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Person Possessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unpossessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in=ita</td>
<td>his hammock</td>
<td>maka43 (*ita)</td>
<td>hammock</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nozakaitre eye ohironae
    hatyaotseta owa no= zakai -ita -re eye ohiro -nae
    then right now lsg tell IFV NMLZ DEM woman PL
    kaiyanene kaitasaniha hoka
    *ATTR iyanene *ATTR itsani -ha hoka
   husband 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
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'
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'.

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
    atya kano -hi
    tree arm CLF:long.thin
    'branch of the tree.' (lit.: the arm of the tree')

(55) hati tyokoli
    ha -ti tyokoli
    house UNPOSS buttocks
    'the back of the house.' (lit.: the buttocks of the house')

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

4.4.1 *Types of compounds*

There are two types of compounds in Paresi: lexicalized and productive compounds. The first type includes exocentric compounds (with a meaning distinct from the meaning of their parts) and compounds formed by a noun and a word from another class. Productive compounds, on the other hand, are formed by a noun and a classifying bound noun.

Exocentric compounds have meanings totally or partially different from the meanings of their parts (Aikhenvald, 2007). In Paresi, these compounds are generally names for animals, as shown in examples from (60) to (63). The semantic relationship the in the compound are not entirely transparent (except in (60) where 'emu's gut' metaphorically refers to the shape of the snake).

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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 zolakitakotyoakalati
    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 ide.noise

Finally, productive compounds, in which the second noun is a classifying bound noun, show a high degree of productivity in the lexicon. In Paresi, these nouns refers to plant parts (with the exception of *walahi 'vein of'* and *tane 'feather of'`). In Table 52 bound nouns that refer to plant parts and body parts are illustrated.
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'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Nouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zohitya</td>
<td>cashew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zohitya-mena</td>
<td>cashew stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zohitya-tyahare</td>
<td>cashew root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zohitya-hana</td>
<td>cashew leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zohitya-tyatya</td>
<td>cashew bark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(68) hana 'leaf of'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Nouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atya-hana</td>
<td>tree leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zohitya-hana</td>
<td>cashew leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walahare-hana</td>
<td>justaconteira tree leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katyola-hana</td>
<td>mangaba leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takola-hana</td>
<td>bamboo leaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One example of a classifying bound noun within the semantic domain of body parts is tane 'feather of' (69).
The classifying bound noun *mili 'skin of' can be used metaphorically to refer to a thin things. In (70), with the noun *zotse 'eye' it means 'eyelid' or a 'contact lens'. However its metaphorical usage is not productive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*tane 'feather.of'</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awo-tane</td>
<td>emu feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oloho-tane</td>
<td>vulture feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyakoira-tane</td>
<td>chicken feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolata-tane</td>
<td>partridge feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokoi-tane</td>
<td>hawk feather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*mili 'skin.of'</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zotyare-mili</td>
<td>skin of a deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zotse-ti-mili</td>
<td>contact lens, eyelid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(71) totoniri 'nipple'

totone CLF:round

totone *ri

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.
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', tsei 'head', wairi 'deer', zonoi '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).
The classifier occurs lexicalized in some nouns for body parts, animals and objects (halatahiti 'rib', tararahiti 'trachea', zozohi 'earthworm', kamaiyekahi type of fish, awiyahih '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) ekiyehokotse 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=awaiyahena
    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 -tse 'headwater'
   one -tse
   water CLF:small

(89) halohalotse -tse '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 -katse 'elder who is tall and thin'
    baiyo -katse
    elder CLF:long

(91) niyalitsekatse -katse 'long pubic hair'
    niyali tse -katse
    body.hair CLF:small CLF:long

(92) inihokatse -katse 'his tail'
    in- iho -katse
    3sg arrow CLF:long

(93) hatikatse -katse 'rafter'
    hati -katse
    house CLF:long

(94) kotazakatse -katse '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 ohiornatse '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
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

  kili -ako
  nose CLF:inside

(103) tanakoako

  tanako -ako
  ear CLF:inside

(104) atyanatseako

  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. 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

  waikoa -he
  ground, land CLF:powder

(106) axiyeha

  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, Owi hoko.

(107) korehoko 'bow'
kore -hoko
arrow CLF:circled

(108) talahokotyoare 'fence'
tala -hoko -tyoa -re
protect CLF:circular INTR NMLZ

There is no known lexical origin for the classifier -za~ya, which is used to refer to liquids and to speech. In (109) and (110), -za refers to (fermented) juice of fruits and vegetables, and in (112) and (113), it refers to significant named rivers.

(109) wenoreza 'pineapple chicha'
wenore -za
pineapple CLF:liq

(110) kazaloza 'kazalo cassava chicha'
kazalo -za
type.of.cassava CLF:liq

(111) oneza 'river'
one -za
water CLF:liq

(112) airazeroza 'the Perfume river'
airaze -ro -za
be.smelling NMLZ CLF:liq

(113) kotyoiya 'Tapir river'
kotyo -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 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 space, as shown in (119) to (121).

(119) matsekoa  'ground (open space)'
    matse  -koa
    ground  CLF:flat

(120) wenakalakoa  'village'
    wenakala -kala  -koa
    village  NMLZ  CLF:flat

---

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.
The classifier -kəa occurs lexicalized in the nouns zana 'genipap fruit' and tsakore 'Macaúba palm' deriving names of villages: Zanakoə and Tsakorekəa.

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 -nətse 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.

(121) initimakoə 'his place (where he burned= a swidden field)'
in= itima -kəa
3sg fire  CLF:flat

(122) kore-nətse  'gun'
kore  -nətse
arrow  CLF:cylindrical

(123) kore-tse 'bullet'
kore  -tse
arrow  CLF:small
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
    wiya -li
    be.sweet CLF:round 'candy'

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 hanama katse (atyakatse)
    eze hanama -katse atya -katse
this 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 quatro '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 quatro tse 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 an noun phrase. In (133), the classifier -li
'CLF:round' appears with the adjective kalo 'big' in a noun phrase headed by the
nominalization, which is in apposition to the noun phrase manakata 'type of fruit' (see
adjectives in §3.7). In (134), the classifier -li also functions as the modifier of the noun
phrase headed by the nominalization.

(133) 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
zamirakitsatehare 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   | b. ha=tse   |
| one-CLF:round | one-CLF: small |
| 'one round thing' | 'one small thing' |
| c. ha=natse | d. ha=katse |
| one-CLF: cylindrical | one-CLF: long |
| one cylindrical/long thing | 'one stick-like thing' |
| (basket, corn ear, dog, etc) | |
| e. ha=za | f. ha=ako |
| other-river | other-CLF: inside |
| 'other river' | '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)
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=zokolotyoita, hatya hatya atya -li hatya atya -katse Ø= zokolotyo -ita hatya IND1 tree CLF:round IND1 tree CLF: long 3sg attach IFV IND1 atyali Ø=zokolotyoita meketse, hatya atya -li Ø= zokoloto -ita meketse hatya tree CLF:round 3sg attach IFV in the middle of IND1 atyataotse Ø=ehokotyoita 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. Paresi exhibits a small number of classifiers (only 11) compared to the number of classifiers in other languages, such as the Arawak language.

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48 The bound noun *mili* 'skin of' is used metaphorically, and its use may become productive similar to classifiers.

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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), the 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Paresi</th>
<th>Class Terms</th>
<th>Typical CLF</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>natural elements as source meaning (fauna, flora and other nature elements)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classify all nouns in the language</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classifying morphemes form a closed system</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fused with other grammatical categories (number, case)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bound morpheme</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agreement</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occur with nominal roots</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occur with verbs</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occur with numeral/demonstrative</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“anaphoric”</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derive nouns from nouns</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derive nouns from verbs nominalising</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-</td>
<td>result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-re</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tiye</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hare, -halo</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kala</td>
<td>instrument, location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iyere</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unpossessed Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Basic Possessed Derived Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaotse</td>
<td>wake up</td>
<td>kaotse-ti</td>
<td>act of waking up</td>
<td>kaotse-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zera</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>zera-ti</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>zera-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irai</td>
<td>talk</td>
<td>irai-ti</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>irae-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mairatya</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>mairatya-ti</td>
<td>act of fish</td>
<td>mairatya-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaka</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>xaka-ti</td>
<td>act of shooting, shot</td>
<td>xake-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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** tota hoka DEM talk UNPOSS straight road IFV 3sg ? BEN 2pl LK BEN enomana, zomana aho -ta en= om ana z= om ana
            -ri -ti tota hoka waiye
            -ri -ti tota hoka waiye
            CON good
            'It is good that this speech is clear to her, and to you all.' (xihatyoawihaliti)

(142) eaotseta kozeto kaotyake hetai hetati zowakiya eze then corn show.up TRS in.the.old.days at this time this
            zera -ti 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-** 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amaikoahare</td>
<td>be sad</td>
<td>z-amaikohali-ti</td>
<td>sadness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiya</td>
<td>be black</td>
<td>z-a-kiya-tya-ti</td>
<td>blackness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehare</td>
<td>be angry</td>
<td>z-ehali-ti</td>
<td>anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitsa</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>z-aitsa-ti</td>
<td>killing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezoa</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>z-ezoa-ti</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holikoa</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>zo-holikoa-ti</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aotyakitsa</td>
<td>teach</td>
<td>z-aotyakitsa-ti</td>
<td>teaching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>-ye/ i, #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ze/e, #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-re/elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>-ro/i,e, #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-lo (elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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].

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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 /i/ is palatalized to [dʲ].

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kolatya</td>
<td>bring, take</td>
<td>e=kolatya-tse /e=kolatya-tse-ro</td>
<td>his/her taker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wairatya</td>
<td>cure</td>
<td>e=wairatya-se /e=wairatya-tse-ro</td>
<td>his/her nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaitya</td>
<td>raise</td>
<td>e=anaitya-tse / e=anaitya-tse-ro</td>
<td>his/her father-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Form (M)</th>
<th>Derived Form (F)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tema</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>tema-re</td>
<td>tema-lo</td>
<td>the one who runs, runner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaka</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>xaka-re</td>
<td>xaka-lo</td>
<td>the one who shoots, shooter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fehanatya</td>
<td>bless</td>
<td>fehanatya-re</td>
<td>fehanatya-lo</td>
<td>the one who blesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zanekoatya</td>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>zanekoatya-re</td>
<td>zanekoatya-lo</td>
<td>the one who hunts, hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wairatya</td>
<td>cure</td>
<td>wairatya-re</td>
<td>wairatya-lo</td>
<td>the one who cures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(148) zanekoatya reharenae, 0=zanehena awo 0=aitsehena
    zane -koa -tya -re -hare -nae 0= zane -hena awo 0= aitse -hena
    go CLF:place TH NMLZ MASC PL 3sg go TRS emu 3sg kill TRS
    ikiyerezehare nakakatya nanitxita
    kiya -re -ze -hare n= kaka -tya n= nitx -ita
    be.black NMLZ NMLZ ? 1sg squeeze TH 1sg eat meat IFV
    'When the ones who hunt went to kill emu, I would squeeze the black thing (emu's
gut), and eat.' (JT nawenane)

(149) hatyaotseta Funai Ø=itsoahena ehare wairatyalo hare
hatyaotseta Funai Ø= itsoa -hena ehare waira -tya -lo hare
then FUNAI 3sg come.in TRS DEM cure TH NMLZ also?
kakoa
kakoa
COM
'Then FUNAI came with the one who cures.' (Batsaji tahi)

Agent nominalizations with -re may be in apposition to other nouns, as in (150) and (151). The object argument of the nominalized verb occurs in the position of the possessor in a possessive construction.

(150) oliti nixakare
oliti ni-xaka -re
game 1sg shoot NMLZ
'I am the one who shoots game.' (Katomo nawenane)

(151) Ø=hotikihenatyo hatya ohiro kahe irikotyare
Ø= hotiki -hena =tyo hatya ohiro kahe iriko -tya -re
3sg show TRS =TOP IND1 woman hand cut TH NMLZ
'When the other showed (it), the one with the cut of a woman's hand.' (kani)

Adjectives and stative verbs (most of them ending in the vowel e, with few exceptions) take the allomorph -ze, as in (152) to (154).
Table 61: The nominalizer -re with stative verbs and adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective/Statives</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kirane</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>kirane-ze</td>
<td>the one or thing that is small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalore</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>kalore-ze</td>
<td>the one or thing that is big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiye</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>waiye-ze</td>
<td>the one or thing that is good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timena</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>timene-re</td>
<td>the one or thing that is heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolotya</td>
<td>be fat</td>
<td>kolote-re</td>
<td>the one that is fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irihare</td>
<td>be.smart</td>
<td>irihare-ze</td>
<td>the one that is smart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawinihare</td>
<td>be fast</td>
<td>kawinihare-ze</td>
<td>the one that is fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawarehare</td>
<td>be different</td>
<td>hawarehare-ze</td>
<td>the one or thing that is different</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 koloterenae tekoa
ohiro kolotya -re -nae tekoa
woman be.fat NMLZ PL run.away
The women who are fat ran away.' (E)

(155) hawarehareze fehanati tyaoita
hawarehare -ze fehanati tyaoa -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= maotsa -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) aliyakere talal a hatyohare maiha zala
aliyakere -ta =la hatyohare maiha zala
how EMPH =FOC this NEG who
Ø-hikoareha enomana, aliyakere ala
Ø- hiko Ø-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= watyal -tya -ene maiha
son, daughter PL FRUST 3sg intervene TH 3O NEG
Ø=tsemalø
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 kako -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.: zaotyakitsatyiye 'teacher'), or is very good at doing the action or refer to someone who happens to do something.

Table 62: Agent nominalizer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aotyakitsa</td>
<td>teach</td>
<td>z-aotyakitsa-tya-ti-ye</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moko</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>moko-tya-ti-ye</td>
<td>one who hits someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsema</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>tsema-ti-ye</td>
<td>one who hears something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maotsera-tya</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>maotsera-tya-ti-ye</td>
<td>one who lies to someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zane</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>zani-ti-ye</td>
<td>one who goes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\(^\text{52}\) The nominalizer -re does not occur in the possessed construction. Instead the morpheme -ha,

\(^\text{52}\) The exception is the nominalized form zaotyakitsatyiye 'teacher', which has as its possessed form: zaotyakitsatxe.
whose meaning is not clear, precedes -tī.

Table 63: Possession of nominalizations with -tiye

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tema</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>no=tema-tya-ha-ri</td>
<td>my runner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zanekoatya</td>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>no=zanekoatya-ha-ri</td>
<td>my hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaka</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>e=xaka-tya-ha-ra</td>
<td>his/her shooter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waira</td>
<td>cure</td>
<td>e=waira-tya-ha-ra</td>
<td>his/her doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form -tiye can be used to derive nouns from adjectives. The form -ha, seen with the possessed forms above, also occurs with these nominalizations. More research needs to be done to clarify the meaning of -ha.

Table 64: -tiye with adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wahahare</td>
<td>tall, long</td>
<td>wahahare-ha-tiye</td>
<td>the one who is tall, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirane</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>kirane-ha-tiye</td>
<td>the one who is small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaleore</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>kaleore-ha-tiye</td>
<td>the one who is big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The human agent nominalizations may occur as an argument of a predicate, as shown in (161), or as a nominal predicate, as in (162).

(161) Ø=tyohenaha    ite     Ø=iraehenaha  
Ø= tyo -hena -ha =ite Ø= irae -hena -ha  
3sg come TRS PL =FUT 3sg talk TRS PL  
zaoityakitsatienae ozaka  
zato - 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)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aheko</td>
<td>think</td>
<td>ma-z-aheko-la(^{53})-hare</td>
<td>one who does not think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>ma-e-tona-ne-hare</td>
<td>paralyzed person (one who does not walk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsema</td>
<td>listen</td>
<td>ma-tsema-ne-hare</td>
<td>obstinate (one who does not listen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zera</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>ma-zera-ne-hare</td>
<td>one who does not sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun/stative Verbs</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waikohe</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>ma-waikohe-ra-hare</td>
<td>the one without land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babera</td>
<td>paper</td>
<td>ma-babera-za-hare</td>
<td>the one without paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezanityo</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>ma-iyanityo-hare</td>
<td>the one without wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirane</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>ma-kirane-hare</td>
<td>the one/thing that is not small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timena</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>ma-timena-hare</td>
<td>the one/thing that is not heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 takoa ozaka
tyotya hazero =iya haiya toli =kakoa ozaka
everything, all be.fast =IRR IND2 a lot =COM already
tyaoehitiya
tyaoan -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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (M)</th>
<th>Noun (F)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aha?-hare</td>
<td>aha-halo</td>
<td>her brother; his sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hareka?-hare</td>
<td>hareka-halo</td>
<td>host</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zera</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>zera-kala-ti</td>
<td>instrument or place used for singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>tona-kala-ti</td>
<td>car, bus (vehicle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaloa</td>
<td>float</td>
<td>malaloa-kala-ti</td>
<td>life ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsema</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>tsema-ka-tya-kala-ti</td>
<td>phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koaha</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>koaha-kala-ti</td>
<td>place to bathe (bathroom)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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)?p
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zera</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>zera-kala-otse</td>
<td>place used for singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>(ene)tona-kala-otse</td>
<td>place where one walks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaloa</td>
<td>float</td>
<td>malaloa-kala-aotse</td>
<td>place where someone floats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsema</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>(e)tsema-ka-tya-kala-otse; tsema-ka-tya-kala-tya-otse</td>
<td>public phone, where someone listens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koaha</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>koaha-kala-otse</td>
<td>place where the person bathes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 wenakalatiyere zoimanæ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eye</th>
<th>hare</th>
<th>wenakala</th>
<th>iyere</th>
<th>zoima</th>
<th>nae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```plaintext
awaïyolinikitsahana maheta
a- waïyoli -ni -ki -tsa -ha maheta
THS know NMLZ CAUS TH PL PURP
'To teach the children from this village.' (makani tahi)
```

(169) **tyotya witsi Owihokoyerəe nae**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tyotya</th>
<th>witsi</th>
<th>Owihoko</th>
<th>iyere</th>
<th>nae</th>
<th>ene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>everything, all 1pl</td>
<td>Owihoko</td>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Very all over, we were from the Owihoko village.' (JT nawenane)
(170) maiha kaliniyere zoimaliti 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 nasofreya 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aotyakitsa</td>
<td>teach</td>
<td>z-otyakitsa-ka</td>
<td>education of someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitya</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>z-a-fitya-ka</td>
<td>planting of something, burying of someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kera</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>keraty-ka</td>
<td>burning of something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoka</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>z-aoka-ka</td>
<td>saying about someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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)

Rowan (1969:73) mentioned the existence of -ka/-ki used with nominal derived forms with a meaning of receptive.
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. 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 0=zaneheta
hatyo hinama ohiro 0= zane -heta
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. Appositional modifiers are elements which, from a syntactic point of view, are not part of the phrase containing the head noun, but are co-referential (i.e., they must refer to the same entity as

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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 *ezanito* 'his wife' is in apposition.

(179) **baba João Garimpeiro Anita an** ezanito  
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)
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, haitsaninæ 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)
Then, Wazolie, Kerakoama and Alaoliro went to live in the sky to be immortal, and they live there until today, he said' (Txinikalore)

In (184), the noun phrase-pair haiyanityo 'his wife' and haitsaninae 'his children' are juxtaposed, and other pairs conceived as a concept unit, such as baba 'my father' and mama 'my mother', often occur juxtaposed. In (185), juxtaposition is used for enumeration of the main characters of the story, Wazoliye and Kerakoama are brothers and 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).

(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 -hale Ø= menane -hare kalini Ø=eko -ta 3sg= be.immortal FEM 3sg= be.immortal MASC now time, period IFV tyaonahitahaa nea Ø= tyona -h -ita -ha Ø= nea 3sg= live PL IFV PL 3sg= say 'Then, Wazolie, Kerakoama and Alaolidyoyo went to live in the sky to be immortal,' (Txinikalore)

(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= tityo -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.' (cabeceria 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**, tyotya wanitxita, wahakanore hare fate hare tyotya wa= nitx -ita spider.monkey also tufted.capuchin also everything, all 1pl eat meat IFV wazolo **hare** wazolo hare wolf also 'We were used to eating everything: spider monkey, tufted capuchin monkey, and wolf.' (JT nawenane)

Both coordinators *hare* and *zoaha* also function as sentence adverbials meaning 'also, as well'. Stassen (2001) points out that a common source of coordinator markers are sentential adverbials, and that may be the case in Paresi. Examples (193), (194) and (195) illustrate their uses as sentential adverbials. In the last example, both occur at the end of the clause.

(193) Hatyo iyatyatyo ali hoka tyoma **hare** nakairati, hatyo =iya -tya =tyo ali hoka Ø= tyoma hare nakaira -ti 3sg =IRR TH =TOP here CON 3sg= make, do also food UNPOSS zoare iyatyatyo hahekotya zoare =iya -tya =tyo h= aheko -tya INT =IRR TH =TOP 2sg think TH 'If she is here she will make also food, and then you won't worry about anything.'

(Batsaji iraiti)
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).

(194) Katsani zoaha notyoa hoka maihayola 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 noman i iyare avaliza -tya no= mani name vouch.for TH 1sg BEN
'I wanted to go as well, maybe my father will vouch for me at Sandra.' (Batsaji iraiti)

(195) zoalinihare tyaonahitaha enomana, zoalini -hare Ø= tyaona -h -ita -ha e= nomana like this NMLZ 3sg= live PL IFV PL 3sg= BEN hokakahitaha, kakamanehitaha hare Ø= hokaka -h -ita -ha ka- kama -ne -h -ita -ha hare 3sg= be.sick PL IFV PL ATTR death POSSED PL IFV PL also zoaha zoaha and 'Anything can happen to him, they may get sick and they may also die.' (cabeceira do osso)

(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 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 -kakoa, as well as four mechanisms to increase valency: three morphological causatives, and one periphrastic causative construction.

5.1 Verb structure and the thematic suffixes

A verb can consist of a basic or a derived form. Verbs can be derived from nouns through the causativizer prefix a- (§5.3.2.2) or the attributive marker ka- (§7.3.3). Most of the verb morphology consists of suffixes.

The order of affixes on roots is given below (obligatory elements are in boldface):

(1)
1. attributive ka- or negative ma-
2. personal proclitics
3. causative a-
4. ROOT
5. classifiers/ incorporated nouns/ postpositions
6. thematic suffixes
7. causative -ki
8. middle voice -oa or reciprocal -kakoa
9. aspect markers
10. plural -ha
11. third person enclitic =ene
The suffixes closest to the root are thematic suffixes, followed by valency changing morphemes (reciprocal, middle voice, causative), aspect morphemes and verbal plural. Of the 15 suffixes, only up to 7 can co-occur in a verbal word, as in (2):

(2) kehezahareyoahetehetahene
    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'. 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

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Root</th>
<th>Root With -tya</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zakaihaka</td>
<td>zakaihakatya</td>
<td>tell story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axika</td>
<td>axikatya</td>
<td>send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feta</td>
<td>fetatyaa</td>
<td>offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emolo</td>
<td>emolotya</td>
<td>curve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hala</td>
<td>halatya</td>
<td>paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iriko</td>
<td>irikotya</td>
<td>cut, break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aihono</td>
<td>aihonotya</td>
<td>cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aikitsa</td>
<td>aikitsa</td>
<td>grate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aima</td>
<td>aimatya</td>
<td>put, give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etolitsa</td>
<td>etolitsa</td>
<td>lie down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paresi Verb</th>
<th>Portuguese Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>batxiyatya</td>
<td>passear</td>
<td>walk around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cometsatya</td>
<td>começar</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estudatya</td>
<td>estudar</td>
<td>study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reclamatya</td>
<td>reclamar</td>
<td>complain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berekotya</td>
<td>pregar</td>
<td>fasten with nails</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Root</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>haka</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala</td>
<td>malaka</td>
<td>pull off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nema</td>
<td>nemaka</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiyo</td>
<td>hiyoka</td>
<td>suck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miliri</td>
<td>milirika</td>
<td>hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oliri</td>
<td>olirika</td>
<td>stroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsetse</td>
<td>tsetseka</td>
<td>chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owi</td>
<td>owika</td>
<td>spill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoko</td>
<td>aokoka</td>
<td>breastfeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atyo</td>
<td>atyoka</td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 watsociaçãone 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= =kakoa
   see IFV NMLZ =TOP CON 3sg work TRS 1pl =COM
   'We followed the organization that started to work with us.' (Batsaji tahi)

(7) hiyane hakawitsahene **malakahenete**
   hi= zane ha= kawitsa -h =ene Ø= mala -ka -h =ene =te
   2sg go 3sg shout PL 3O 3sg pull.off TH PL 3O =FUT
   miyatenete Ø= miya -tya =ene =te
   3sg finish TH 3O =FUT
   'Go call them to pull off everything.' (tolohe)
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>na=</td>
<td>no=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>ha=</td>
<td>hi=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>Ø=</td>
<td>Ø=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>wa=</td>
<td>wi=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>za=</td>
<td>xi=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>Ø=...-ha</td>
<td>Ø=...-ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’). The first class of verbs I call active/agentive verbs and these take set A proclitics, and the second class I call non-agentive verbs and these take set B proclitics. It's mostly in intransitive verbs that we see sets A and set B distinction, which is typical of agentive systems cross-linguistically. This analysis supersedes Brandão (2010) where I proposed that verbs taking set B were stative verbs, while verbs taking set A were active verbs. In that earlier analysis I analyzed the form $a-$ in the proclitics of set A as an active morpheme based on the fact that $a-$ is an active morpheme in other Arawak languages. However, this analysis is not accurate because the morpheme $a-$ does not occur in the third person proclitic.

5.2.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs require one syntactic argument. They are classified in two classes: intransitive verbs which take set A markers and intransitive verbs which take set B markers. These classes are morphologically and semantically different, as will be shown below.

5.2.1.1 Intransitive agentive verbs

Most of the intransitive verbs are in this class. They have participants who are agents or performers of a controlled action. The notion of actor or agent is here understood as “a participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate” and undergoer or patient as a participant who does not perform, instigate, control the situation (Mithun, 1991: 516). Morphologically, they take the set A proclitics. Table 75 shows some examples of this type of intransitive verbs (some of them are not clearly control-oriented, as I will discuss below).

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A similar case of prefix choices based on the semantic feature of agentivity is found in Pilaga, Guaykuru 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kawitsa</td>
<td>shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hikoa</td>
<td>come out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitxotya</td>
<td>weed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maira</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holikoa</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heka</td>
<td>get drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tityoa</td>
<td>stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meholokoa</td>
<td>kneel down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talirikoa</td>
<td>slip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiyore</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonokoa</td>
<td>cough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (9) and (10) show that only one set can be used with each verb root.

(9) Hatyaotsetala  wiyaneheta,  wiyaneheta,  wiyaneheta
    hatyaotseta =la\ wi= yane -heta\ wi= yane -heta\ wi= yane
    then =FOC 1plB go  PERF 1plB go  PERF 1plB go
    wahikoheta
    wa= hikoa -heta
    1plA come.out, show.up PERF
    'Then we went, went, and we arrived.' (JT nawenane)

(10) *wihikoheta
    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 suggest 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= zoomi -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 nawnane)

(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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 76: Stative intransitive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wahahare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazahare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waxirahare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihalahare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tifalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 zolotya -ke -re xini NEG be.strong TH grate ? NMLZ NEG
**ximazahareta** neatyala hatxiyete hiye
xi= mazahare -hare -ta nea -tya =la ha= txiyete =hiye 2pl= be. lazy MASC IFV say FOC =FOC 3sg= grandson =BEN
'“It is not hard to grate; you are lazy”, she said to her grandson.' (tolohe)
A small group of stative intransitive verbs take the suffix -i for the first person subject. Table 77 illustrates these verbs.

Table 77: stative intransitive verbs taking -i '1sg'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naka</td>
<td>be hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokaka</td>
<td>be sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolotya</td>
<td>be fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawa</td>
<td>be alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirane</td>
<td>be small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nira</td>
<td>be thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maloka</td>
<td>be warm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I ate a lot to not be hungry.' (E)

'A few stative intransitive verbs refer to physical condition, such as watya 'be hot',
tiha 'be cold'. They take a beneficiary marked by the postposition hiye, but not an overt pronominal subject form.

(18) tiha wihyi
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiya</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txiraka</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koeza</td>
<td>laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waini</td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemaka</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyoka</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekoa</td>
<td>run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zane</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyoa</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaoka</td>
<td>arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txiya</td>
<td>pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaotse</td>
<td>wake up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitxihini</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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', tyoka 'sit' and tekoa 'run away', zakaihaka 'tell a story' (which is formed by the noun zaka 'story'), and the

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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-:

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directed motion verbs which have a inherently specified direction: *zane* 'go', *kaoka* 'arrive', *tyoa* 'come'.

When stative verbs are causativized by *a-* , as seen in (25) and (26), the vowel of the proclitic forms of set B is dropped. One hypothesis is that this process may have been the source of proclitic forms of set A which all have the vowel *a*. One can analyze the *a* in the set A markers as a fossilized form of the causative prefix *a-*. It cannot be analyzed as a separated morpheme anymore because it does not occur in the third person of set A markers. Active verbs with set A markers have a participant with control.

(24) **nozotyali**
   no= zotya -li
   1sgB be.red CLF:round
   'I got red (accidentally).' (E)

(25) **nazotyatyoa**
   no= a- zotya -tyoa
   1sgB CAUS be.red MM
   'I got myself red (I painted myself).' (E)

(26) **noniri**
   no= nira
   1sgB be.thin
   'I am thin.' (E)

(27) **naniratene**
   no= a- nira -tya =ene
   1sgB CAUS be.thin TH 3O
   'I made him get thin.' (E)

5.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs may take two syntactic arguments in Paresi. As such, they differ from intransitive verbs with respect to pronominal marking in that they can take the enclitic =ene for third person. There are no object pronominal markers in the other persons; independent pronouns are used instead. Table 79 illustrates some transitive verbs.

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*aokakitsa* 'he made him sit', *aemakitsa* 'he made him sleep' and *ekoakitsa* 'he made him run away'. However, synchronically the prefixes are already lexicalized in non-causative forms.

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*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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aitsa</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aihonotya</td>
<td>cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zawatya</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aikotya</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atyoka</td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halaitsa</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
\textbf{aitsa}ha 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 \textbf{aitsene}
waihalatya Ø= aitsa =ene
shoot with an arrow 3sg kill 3O
'He shot an arrow and killed him.' (iyamaka)

(30) awaira atyo \textbf{hazawahena} emena
awa =ira =atyo ha= zawa -hena e= mena
NEG =AFF, small =TOP 2sgA= throw TRS 3sg= trunk
enaotsetara hamilirihtene
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 \textit{waiya 'see'} (\textit{inima 'his cloth'}) is implicit because it was mentioned in a previous sentence.
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=  moatsera -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

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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: *waiyezehare* 'be a nice person' and *waiyezehekola* 'be prudent'), take set A proclitics. Table 81 summarizes the distribution of pronominal forms according to control.

Table 80: Summary of the distribution of markers (Mithun, 1991:524)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Paresi proclitic set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. + event 'jump', 'run.' (exception directed motion verbs like 'go') + control</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. + event 'vomit' - control</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. + event 'die' - control</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. - event 'be prudent', 'be patient' + control</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. - event 'be tall', 'be strong' - control</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. - event 'be sick', 'be tired' - control</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 81: Distribution of pronominal forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[+control]</th>
<th>[-control]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transitives</td>
<td>mostly A</td>
<td>mostly A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitives</td>
<td>set A</td>
<td>set B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: aotykitsa (a-otya-ki-]<tsa/CAUS-remember/CAUS-TH) 'teach', hotikitsa 'show', and itsa 'give'.

(35) hiyane Kamaehiye nali hoka aotykitsa
   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 katyahë -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 ezahe ehare iraeti waiyeze haiya zowaka
no= tyaona ezahe ehare irae -ti waiye -ze haiya zowaka
1sg live CON this talk UNPOSS good NMLZ IND2 period
nitxita enomana maiha tyakekoahitaha
n= itsa -ita e= om ana maiha Ø= tyakek -oa -h -ita -ha
1sg give IFV 3sg LK BEN NEG 3sg believe MM PL IFV PL
niraini
n= irai -n -i
1sg talk POSSED 1sg
'I lived there and gave them good ideas (speech), but they did not believe in my
speech.' (Kamoro nawenane)

(38) wairati harenae itsaha enomana
waira -ti hare -nae Ø= itsa -ha e= om ana
cure NMLZ also PL 3sg give PL 3sg LK BEN
'They also gave him medicine.' (JG nawenane)
5.2.4 Copula tyona

The copula *tyona* can be used with nouns, location arguments, and stative verbs. In nominal predicates, it has an aspectual meaning 'become'. In that sense, *tyona* 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 \(\emptyset=\) tyona -ita
    3sg leader 3sg COP IFV
    'He became a leader.' (Demarcação)

(40) professor notyaonehena
    professor no= tyona -hena
    teacher 1s COP TRS
    'I became a teacher.' (Batsaji tahi)

(41) owene Tyabikolotsenae tyaonita
    owene Tyabikolatse -nae \(\emptyset=\) 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 *tyona* is used in texts only with the third person. These predicates have the same argument structure as other *tyona* 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 \(\emptyset=\) 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.
I did not find negative existential clauses with tyona in my corpus. Elicitation has shown that Paresi employs the particle maiha 'NEG' and the verb aka 'exist' in this type of construction (see example in the next section). The copula can be used with almost all types of predicates, except for possessive predicates, which take the prefixes ka- or ma-. The origin of the copula is the verb tyona which has the meanings 'live, be born, stay, become, happen'. Therefore, the most probable source for the copula is tyona as a dynamic verb meaning 'happen, become', and the evidence for this is that it still means 'become' with nominal predicates. Stassen (1997) mentions dynamic verbs with meanings like these as one of the common sources of copular verbs.

5.2.5 Existential copula verb aka

One of the strategies to form existential constructions is the use of the existential copula verb aka. The copular verb occurs with one argument that may be a noun or a stative verb. It can take aspect markers similar to the copula tyona, but it cannot take personal proclitics. Another difference is that aka 'exist' is restricted to negative clauses. The only example from text in a declarative clause is in (46). In addition, aka does not occur with the nominalizer -re in negative clauses (see §7.6) while the copula tyona and
other verbs do occur with this nominalizer in negative clauses.

(45) oloniti aka
    oloniti aka
    chicha exist
    'There is chicha.' (E)

(46) kala kozaka kamae tyaona mokaha kozakita morezalo
    kala kozaka kamae tyaona Ø= moka -ha kozakita morezalo
    DUB already sun COP 3sg put PL ? fog
    akchena 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nomi/nita</td>
<td>I said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h=eya/</td>
<td>you said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-nea</td>
<td>he/she said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w=ita</td>
<td>we said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z=ea</td>
<td>you all said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-nea-ha</td>
<td>they said</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb *nea* 'say' differs from speech verbs (such as *irai* 'talk') because it takes a quotation (48), but not a pronominal proclitic or noun phrase as the object argument (49).

Furthermore, *nea* 'say' does not occur in negative clauses.

(48) baba "iyalahaliti" nea  
baba iyalahaliti Ø= nea  
father dumb 3sg say  
'My father said: “dumb things” *(E)/ *'My father said dumb things'  

(49) *baba neaene  
baba Ø= nea =ene  
father 3sg say 3O  
'My father said it.' *(E)*

(50) baba iraetene  
baba Ø= irae =ene  
father 3sg talk 3O  
'My father told it.' *(E)*

(51) *maiha neaze  
maiha nea ze  
NEG say NMLZ  
'It was not said' *(E)*

Valency-changing morphology or thematic suffixes do not occur on the verb *nea*. The form with the thematic suffix *-tya* (*nea-tya*) is not grammatical, nor is the form with the middle voice *-oa* (*nea-tyoa*). The only cases with derivational morphology found are: *e-nea-re* (3sg=say-NMLZ) 'his name'; and *a-he-neza-tya* (CAUS-?-say-TH) 'shout'.

Syntactically, the quotative verb *nea* directly follows the quoted material.

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(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. Here I expand my analysis by

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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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Intransitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ehaika</td>
<td>spill</td>
<td>ehaikoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eheka</td>
<td>split</td>
<td>ehekoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehoka</td>
<td>shatter</td>
<td>hokoao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taika</td>
<td>break</td>
<td>taikoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halalaka</td>
<td>tear</td>
<td>halalakoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holoka</td>
<td>boil</td>
<td>holokoao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoliKA</td>
<td>untie</td>
<td>aolikoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsewaoka</td>
<td>melt</td>
<td>tsewaokoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matxiholatya</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>matxiholatyoa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of transitive verbs are given below with their intransitive counterparts. In (54), the verb matxiholatya 'open' occurs with -oa to derive the intransitive verb matxiholatyoa 'open'. More examples of transitive and intransitive pairs are given in (55) and (57).

(54) a. namatxiholatya hatikanatse
    na= ma- txihola -tya hati kanatse
    1sg NEG door TH? house mouth
    'I opened the door of the house.' (E)

(because tokoa does not refer to a spontaneous event).

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 hiyalatyoa 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)

b. wazalimena meketse zane hiyalatyoa hatyo alama
            wazali -mena meketse Ø= zane Ø= hiyala -tya -oa hatyo alama
            jatobá.tree trunk middle 3sg go 3sg glue TH MM 3sg swarm
            i= kawa
            3sg become
            'He went to the middle of the jatobá tree and got stuck, then he became a swarm.'
            (Txinikalore)

(56) a. tanorehana wenakalati e= 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)

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**,

\[ \text{Ø} = \text{hala} \quad \text{-h} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-oa} \quad \text{-heta} \]

3sg paint FEM TH MM PERF

**tilikoatairatsetyoaheta**

\[ \text{Ø} = \text{tilikoa} \quad \text{taira} \quad \text{-tse} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-oa} \quad \text{-heta} \]

3sg comb fringe CLF:small TH MM PERF

**fehanahalotyoahetehena**

\[ \text{Ø} = \text{fehana} \quad \text{-h} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-oa} \quad \text{-hete} \quad \text{-hena} \]

3sg bless FEM TH MM PERF TRS

'She painted herself, combed her hair, and blessed her own body.' (kani zaka)

(60) **nikala** **nikakene** **nikala** **nolokehetyoatxoa**

\[ \text{nika} = \text{la} \quad \text{ni-} \quad \text{xak} = \text{ene} \quad \text{nika} = \text{la} \quad \text{Ø} = \text{nolokehe} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-oa} \quad \text{-txoa} \]

? =FOC 1sg shoot 3O ? =FOC 3sg drag TH MM ?

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

(61) **hatyoharekakoa** **hafhanaharetyoa**

\[ \text{hatyohare} \quad \text{-kakoa} \quad \text{ha} = \text{fehana} \quad \text{-h} \quad \text{tya} \quad \text{-oa} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{koka} \quad \text{hoka} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{2s} \quad \text{bless} \quad \text{corpo} \quad \text{TH} \quad \text{MM} \quad \text{CON} \]

**himamiyene** **hitaona** **oleti** **aitsaha**

\[ \text{hi=} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{miya} = \text{ene} \quad \text{hi=} \quad \text{tyaona} \quad \text{oliti} \quad \text{Ø} = \text{aitsa} \quad \text{-ha} \]

2s \text{NEG} \quad \text{fin} \quad \text{sh} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{2s} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{game} \quad \text{3sg} \quad \text{kill} \quad \text{PL}

'If you bless yourself with this, then you will kill game.' (zanekoare)

(62) **katxolo** **etolitsosa**

\[ \text{katxolo} \quad \text{Ø} = \text{etolitsa} \quad \text{-oa} \]

dog 3sg lie down MM

'the dog lay down.' (E)

(63) **netolitsa** **katxolo**

\[ \text{n=} \quad \text{etolitsa} \quad \text{katxolo} \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Intransitive Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etolitsa</td>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>etolitsoa</td>
<td>lie oneself down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emolotya</td>
<td>curve</td>
<td>emolotyoa</td>
<td>be bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halatya</td>
<td>paint</td>
<td>halatyoa</td>
<td>be painted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilikoia</td>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tilikoatyoa</td>
<td>be combed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fehanatya</td>
<td>bless</td>
<td>fehanatyoa</td>
<td>bless oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nolokehe</td>
<td>drag</td>
<td>nolokehetyoa</td>
<td>drag oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txiraka</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>txirakalitsoa</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zozoka</td>
<td>spill</td>
<td>zozokalitsoa</td>
<td>have dysentery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiyalatya</td>
<td>glue</td>
<td>hiyalatyoa</td>
<td>get stuck to oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irikotya</td>
<td>cut, break</td>
<td>irikotyoa</td>
<td>get cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ityoka</td>
<td>cut down</td>
<td>ityokoa</td>
<td>get cut down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyaloka</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>tyalokoa</td>
<td>get bitten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aikotya</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>aikotyoa</td>
<td>get cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atxika</td>
<td>stick</td>
<td>atxikoa</td>
<td>get stuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motoka</td>
<td>drill</td>
<td>motokoa</td>
<td>get drilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erahoka</td>
<td>hang</td>
<td>erahoko</td>
<td>be hanged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The middle voice morpheme can also occur with intransitive verbs without an unmarked counterpart (deponent verbs). Theses 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.
"Only when you are kneeling down can you move and put the rifle in the place where the trap has a hole; then you shoot." (zanekoare-FO)

'His mother was crying and and she turned back to see, and the forest was too thick to see through.' (kokotero)

'Then we came back, and we went to the floodplain to see the kazaza root.' (JT nawenane)
Table 85: deponent verbs with lexicalized -oa

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ezoa</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haikoa</td>
<td>come back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halaitsoa</td>
<td>jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawinitsoa</td>
<td>breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hikoa</td>
<td>show up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iraitsekoa</td>
<td>gossip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itsoa</td>
<td>come in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenekoa</td>
<td>go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazakoa</td>
<td>swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meholokoa</td>
<td>knee down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitikoa</td>
<td>go down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekoa</td>
<td>go away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tityoa</td>
<td>stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyoa</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehaikoa</td>
<td>turn back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 an 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. With ditransitive verbs such as aotyakitsa 'teach' and hotikitsa 'show' -wi indicates the agent is coreferential with the beneficiary/recipient, as seen in (70) and (71).

(67) nawaiyetyoawi
   n= awaiye -tya -oa -wi
   1sg like   TH MM REF
   'I like myself.' (E)

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

(69) aolikoawihia
   Ø= aolikoa -tyoa -wi -ha
   3sg untie MM REF PL
   'They untied themselves.' (E)

(70) naotyakitosawi
   n= aotyaki -tya -oa -wi
   1sg teach TH MM REF
   'I taught myself.' (E)

---

I have not found the marker functioning as a reflexive in texts, only as a co-reference marker.
Because reflexivization involves the affectedness of the subject in addition to coreferentiality, verbs taking the reflexive -\text{wi} may also exhibit the middle marker -\text{oa} (seen in the previous section). An important difference between -\text{oa} and -\text{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 -\text{wi} with a change of position verb such as \textit{etolitsa} 'lie down'.

(72) a. netolitsoa
\begin{verbatim}
 n= etolitsa -oa
 lsg lie.down MM
 'I laid myself down.' (E)
\end{verbatim}

b. *netolitsowi
\begin{verbatim}
 n= etolitsa -\text{wi}
 lsg lie.down MM REF
 'I laid myself down.' (E)
\end{verbatim}

However, the difference between using only -(ty)oa or using -(ty)oawi with a given stem is unclear, as seen in (73) and (74) where the addition of -\text{wi} appears to not influence the interpretation. One possibility is that -\text{wi} here is an emphatic marker of coreferentiality.

(73) nairikotyoawi
\begin{verbatim}
 n= airiko -tya -oa -\text{wi}
 lsg cut TH MM REF
 'I cut myself.' (E)
\end{verbatim}

(74) nairikotyoa
\begin{verbatim}
 n= airiko -tya -oa
 lsg cut TH MM
 'I cut myself.' (E)
\end{verbatim}

Marking coreferentiality is the main function of -\text{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 xiyazatyaxahatsakoawi
    wi= nityohaliti =ra xi= yaza -tya za= hatsaka -oa -wi
    1pl= old.person =AFF, small 2pl= sing? TH 2pl= try MM SS
    'Try to sing with our elder.' (xihatyoawihaliti)

kafaka nozani nixakene naokowi ene
kafaka no= zani ni- xak =ene n= aoka -wi =ene

(76) yesterday 1sg go 1sg shoot 1sg say SS =PST
    'Yesterday I wanted to go to shoot it.' (Katomo nali)

5.3.1.3 Reciprocal

The reciprocal occurs in what Evans et al. (2004) call “canonical reciprocal events”: situations with two participants where the subevents are simultaneous and symmetrical (binary relation in which a stands to b and b to a). The marker of reciprocity in Paresi is the suffix -kakoa as in the examples:

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

(78) zakolokakoa
    Ø= zakolo -kakoa
    3sg hug REC
    'They hugged each other.' (E)

The reciprocal can also be used with more than two participants. In (79), the plural set (referring to a group of people simultaneously hugging each other in pairs) is marked twice by the plural marker -ha on the verb. However, two participants can also be marked only once with the plural marker -ha. In (80) there is no plural marking on the verb, but the subject noun is marked by the plural -nae.
(79) zakolohalyakakoahitaha
 Ø= zakolo -halo -tya -kakoa -ha -ita -ha
 3sg hug FEM TH REC PL IFV PL
 'They (many pairs of people) hugged each other.' (E)

(80) hiyeta hatyokoniyeta toahiyereharenæ 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 -kakoa -ita
 CON 3sg shoot REC IFV
 'Then, also the ancestors cut (it) to shoot each other.' (Txinikalore)

The reciprocal can also be found with ditransitive verbs. With these verbs, the
reciprocal marking on the verb indicates the coreference of the subject and the recipient.
The direct object may not be overtly expressed in the clause.

(81) eye nahetakota tempone zoakiyere atyo
 eye nahetakota -ta tempo -ne zoaka iyere atyo
 this before EMPH time NMLZ TEMP from TOP
 itsakakoahitaha ozakolohalo ozakerehare
 Ø= itsa -kakoa -ha -ita -ha ozakere -halo ozakere -hare
 3sg give REC PL IFV PL ancestor FEM ancestor MASC
 'Before my time, the ancestors were used to giving (their daughters) to each other.'
 (Toahiyereharenæ-DB)

(82) haliti zako Jura Kabikule zoaha
 haliti zako Jura Kabikule zoaha
 person language PN PN and
 aotyakitsa kakoahitaha
 Ø= aotyakitsa -kakoa -ha -ita -ha
 3sg teach REC PL IFV PL
 'Jura and Kabikule taught each other the Paresi language.' (E)

The suffix -kakoa can also occur with few agentive intransitive verbs such as
tema 'run' (83) and halaitsa 'jump' (84), which refer to interactive activities. In this case,
the suffix is not decreasing valency. In addition, -kakoa occurs semi-lexicalized together
with the lexical verb roots aitsa 'kill' in aitsakakoa 'fight' (85), waiya 'see' in waiyakakoa
'visit' (86), and *tyaona* 'stay, become' in *tyaonakakoa* 'get marry' (87).

(83) *temakakoaha*

  *tema* -**kakoa** -ha
  run REC PL
  'They ran after one another.' (E)

(84) *halaitsakakoaha*

  *halaitsa* -**kakoa** -ha
  jump REC PL
  'jump on top of each other.' (E)

(85) *haiyanae hitiya aitsakakoa nikare hare hatyo marinho neye*

  *haiya* -**nae** hitiya aitsa -**kakoa** nikare hare hatyo marinho neye
  IND2 PL also kill REC like this also 3sg PN father
  eye
  eye
  this
  'Others also killed each other, like they did to Marinho's father.' (Batsaji tahi)

(86) *maiha haliti waiyakakoare*

  *maiha* haliti Ø= waiya -**kakoa** -re
  NEG Paresi.person 3sg see REC NMLZ
  'The Paresi people do not see each other.' (JG nawenane 1)

(87) *maiha atyo nikare xini toahiya toahiyehalo toahiyehare atyo*

  *maiha* atyo nikare xini toahiya toahiye -**hale** toahiye -**hare** atyo
  NEG TOP like this NEG formerly formerly FEM formerly MASC TOP
  *tyaonakakoahena ihalahalo ihalaharetatyo*
  Ø= tyaona -**kakoa** -hena Ø= ihalahalo Ø= ihalahale -**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).
"They were always fighting with each other, with the Nambikwara, and he became invisible."

"They did not go far; they met with Warere again and Warere let them out (of the stone)."

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*\(^b\)ak\(^h\) for the reciprocal marker of Proto-Arawak. She also suggests that *k*\(^b\)ak\(^h\) 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 \( a-\sim e- \) and \(-(k)i\), periphrastic causative constructions with the verb \textit{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: \textit{waini} 'die' and \textit{aitsa} 'kill', \textit{meta} 'lose (tr.)' and \textit{hehana} 'get lost (intr.)'.

5.3.2.2 Causatives \( a-\sim e- \) and \(-(k)i\)

The causative prefix \( a-\sim e- \) (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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Causative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tema 'run'</td>
<td>a-tema-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. halaitsoa 'jump'</td>
<td>a-halaitsoa-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. heka 'be drunk'</td>
<td>a-heka-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. holikoa 'dance'</td>
<td>a-holikoa-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. haka 'work'</td>
<td>a-haka-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ainakoa 'flight'</td>
<td>aina-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. katse 'be alive'</td>
<td>a-katse-ki-heta 'resurrect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. koeza 'laugh'</td>
<td>a-koeza-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. kaoka 'arrive'</td>
<td>e-kaoka-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. tekoa 'run away'</td>
<td>a-ekoa-ki-tsa 'scare away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. nemaka 'sleep'</td>
<td>a-emaka-ki-tsa 'make sleep/ put to sleep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 aitsehanene, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Causative a-</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causatives a- and -ki</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiya 'be black'</td>
<td>a-kiya-tya</td>
<td>'make black'</td>
<td>a-kiya-ki-tsa</td>
<td>'make black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zotya 'be red'</td>
<td>a-zotya-tya</td>
<td>'make red'</td>
<td>a-zotya-ki-tsa</td>
<td>'make red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maza 'be soft'</td>
<td>e-maza-tya</td>
<td>'become soft'</td>
<td>e-maza-ki-tsa</td>
<td>'soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watya 'be hot'</td>
<td>e-watya-tya</td>
<td>'become hot'</td>
<td>e-watya-ki-tsa</td>
<td>'heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyo 'be dry'</td>
<td>a-iyo-heta</td>
<td>'make dry'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaisa 'be full'</td>
<td>a-kaitse-tya</td>
<td>'fill'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fira 'be clean'</td>
<td>a-fira-tya</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawahare 'be different'</td>
<td>e-hawahare-tya</td>
<td>'make different'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
The four remaining verbs in the Table cannot occur with the causative -ki. A plausible explanation why -ki does not occur with these stative verbs is that the causer of causative constructions with -ki must be an agent-like volitional entity. Statives have experiencer subjects, which are less likely to have control in the causative situations in which it is involved. In examples (96) and (97), only a- is used, and the causeer can be a volitional entity or not. However, in (98), the causer is a non-volitional entity, and therefore -ki is ungrammatical.

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.
The verbs *kera* 'burn', *maza* 'be soft and *kaitse* 'be full' are exceptions because they do not take the prefix *a-*.

In (101), the verb *kera* 'burn' occurs as an intransitive verb and as a transitive verb in (102), with a third-person causer. The only difference is the use of the thematic suffix *-tya* in the transitive form. The thematic suffix does not occur with transitive verbs when the transitional and regressive aspect markers appear on the verb, but a difference is still made between the two constructions. Observe that there is vowel change in the last vowel of *kera* from [a] to [e] because of vowel harmony in the intransitive form (103). However, in the transitive form (104), there is no vowel change.
The prefix ᵇ- is a variant of ᵇ- found with some intransitive verbs, most of them statives, as in Table 85. The only verb occurring with ᵇ- which does not accept ᵇ- is kaiyaza 'be dirty'. Silva (2013) also reports the verbs mazahare 'be lazy', maiyare 'melt', and kaye 'flower' as verbs that can only take ᵇ-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maza</td>
<td>'be soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitse</td>
<td>'be full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaoka</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watya</td>
<td>'be hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahahare</td>
<td>'be tall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>'extinguish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaotse</td>
<td>'wake up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Roots</th>
<th>Causative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moko 'hit'</td>
<td>a-moko-(tya)-ki-tsa 'make hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zalawa 'swing'</td>
<td>a-zalawa-ki-tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiya 'see'</td>
<td>a-waiya-ki-tsa 'make see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ityoka 'cut'</td>
<td>a-x-ityoka-ki-tsa 'make cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanakaira 'eat'</td>
<td>a-kanakaira-ki-tsa 'make eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nakanakairakitsa
n= a- kanakaira -ki -tsa zoima
1sg= CAUS eat CAUS TH child
'I made the child eat.' (E)

natyo nanikaetsene
natyo na= nika -i -ts =ene kotoi nete =kakoa
1sg 1sg= eat CAUS TH =3O tapir flesh, meat =COM
'I made him eat tapir meat.' (E)

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).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itxo</td>
<td>hoe</td>
<td>a-itxo-tya</td>
<td>weed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiho</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>a-tiho-tya</td>
<td>meet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proclitic</th>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>CLF/ incorporated noun</th>
<th>thematic suffixes</th>
<th>aspect markers</th>
<th>middle voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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) mokakaheta 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)
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) natihakahitsoa
na= tiha  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) naikakahitsoa
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 kilhi '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 =tiya aho -tya =zane -heta =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 =zane Ø= zane Ø= zane -ta =ene =ala
then =FOC 3sg go 3sg go PERF =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)

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5.3.3.2 Incorporation of classifiers

Incorporation of classifiers is a productive process. In general, the noun or pronoun to which the classifier refers is not expressed in the sentence. Contrary to incorporation of nouns, it is not possible to create a semantically equivalent paraphrase of a verb with a classifier, as a verb whose classifier is not incorporated, as in (133).

(131) aikonatsetyahene
\[ \emptyset = \text{aiko} \text{-natse} \text{-tya} \text{-h} \text{=ene} \]
3sg cut CLF:long TH PL
'They cut his hair.' (Txinikalore)

(132) aikotyaha hitsekatse
\[ \emptyset = \text{aiko} \text{-tya} \text{-ha} \text{hi= tsekats} \]
3sg cut TH PL 2s hair
'They cut his hair.' (E)

(133) *aikotyaha ekatse
\[ \emptyset = \text{aiko} \text{-tya} \text{-ha} \text{e= katse} \]
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
\[ \text{Nilva} \ \emptyset = \text{itsoa} \text{-tse} \text{-hena} \]
\[ \text{Nilva} \ 3sg \text{come.in} \text{CLF:small} \text{TRS} \]
'Nilva (the short woman, in a pejorative sense) is coming in.' (E)

(135) hahanahaliya tyokanatseta
\[ \text{ha=} \text{hana haliya} \ \emptyset = \text{tyoka} \text{-natse} \text{-ta} \]
3sg house along 3sg sit CLF:cylindrical IFV
'The dog is sitting close to the house.' (S)

In (136), the classifier is attached to a stative verb, and the subject is not expressed in the noun phrase (the classifier has no cross-reference).
(136) bonako Ø-iya kaloli Ø=mokita
bona -ko Ø= iya kalo -li Ø= moka -ita
bag LOC 3sg catch big CLF:round 3sg put IFV
'He is putting only the ones (the manakata fruits) that are big inside of the bag.'
(ketetse)

Incorporated classifiers may refer also to an oblique argument indicating location.
(137) wiyan e 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 mairok a -tse
one side =IRR 2sg cut CLF:small TH cassava CLF:small
kakoare
kako a -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 wezoakaheta moto-serra kakoa
hatyo ponte wi= yane w= ezoa -ki -heta moto-serra =kakoa
that bridge 1pl go 1pl fall CAUS PERF chainsaw =COM
wirikotekoatene
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=xakatya 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ola-hoko-tya tie-CLF:cicular-TH</td>
<td>tie game in a bundle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ola-hi-tse-tya tie-CLF:long,thin-CLF:small-TH</td>
<td>collect in a bundle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toloka-hoko-tya dig-CLF:circular-TH</td>
<td>roast in the ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiko-tse-tya cut-CLF:small-TH</td>
<td>cut in small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taika-tse-tya breakCLF:small-TH</td>
<td>fracture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5.3.3.3 Incorporation of postpositions

The incorporation of postpositions may increase the valency of intransitive verbs, or result in a rearrangement of argument structure of transitive verbs\(^{70}\) (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) namokakotya kotyoi nete tinihaliti
na= moka ako -tya kotyoi nete tinihare
1sg= put LOC TH tapir meat container
'I put tapir meat in the container.' (E)

In the example (145), the postposition *ako* is incorporated into the verb *waiya* 'see'; however, the peripheral argument *habotanetxoako* is not promoted to the object position, as shown by the postposition marker on the oblique argument. This type of construction is commonly found in texts.

(145) Dirizonae ala haboatanetxoako zaore
Dirizonae =ala ha= boata -ne -txoa -ko zaore
Dirizonae =FOC 3sg boot POSSED big LOC FRUST
waiyakotya maiha zoare hekoti
Ø= waiya -ko -tya maiha zoare hekoti
3sg see LOC TH NEG INT at least
'Dirizonae was looking for (it) even inside of the boot, but there was nothing there.' (Dirizonae)

(146) 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'): 277
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*).

(147) ewalolonetse atyo hiyalakohitita
    e= walolo -ne -tse =atyo Ø= hiyala -ko -hit -ita
    3sg rotten POSSED CLF:small =TOP 3sg stick LOC PERF IFV

'He fills rotten teeth.' (Katomo nali)

(148) natema takoiria zema
    na= tema takoiria =zema
    1sg= run chicken =COM2

'I ran after the chicken.' (E)

(149) natemazematya takoiria
    na= tema =zema tya takoiria
    1sg= run =COM2 TH chicken

'I ran after the chicken.' (E)
'Once we were going, when I looked back, first I saw your deceased grandma. I saw that she was going away.' (Ketetse)

'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).

'My son cried behind me.' (E)

'He was talking and I was listening to him.' (Kabikule)

'Nobody knows how to hunt well.' (Zanekoare)
(155) eye hare niyatsehare xikako iyaihara
  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
nokazakaihinetenenaiya 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 ehaikakoaty
  oloniti a- iyalahare -tya hoka O= ehaika -koa -tya
  chicha.beverage CAUS be.rotten FOC CON 3sg pour out LOC FOC
  kotyo
ekotyo
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 Õ= tyoka
3sg= ATTR tripod LOC FOC? PL 3sg sit
waiyatsekoatya
Õ= 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 tohiyereharenæ 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 Õ= 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 Õ= nea Õ= tona koni -tsa
then a lot corn 3sg say 3sg walk in.the.forest VBLZ
zanehena
Õ= 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 inityohalitsehenaha
 Ø= ainaî -hena -ha =ene kala Ø= inityohare -tse -hena -ha
3sg raise TRS PL =3O DUB 3sg old.person CLF:small TRS PL
hoka tomihaliyatayihataha
hoka Ø= tomi =haliya -tya -ha -ita -ha
CON 3sg hunt with an arrow =near, next to TH PL IFV PL
'He raised them, and when they were adults, they were hunting with bows and
arrows (caçada infantil)

(169) nazawahaliyatya veneno
na= zawa =haliya -ta veneno
1sg throw =near, next to IFV poison
'I threw poison all along the field.' (E)

Example (170) below shows a copy of the incorporated postposition in the
oblique argument.

(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 \[\text{katyahe}\]
    kani \[-ri\] \[-tse\] \[\text{katyahe}\]
    pequi.fruit CLF:round CLF:small under
    'under the *pequi* tree.' (Wazare)

(172) ali awo nitsakatyahitita \[\text{katyola}\]
    ali awo \(\check{=}\) nitsa \[\text{katyahe}\] -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 \[\text{katyahe}\] -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

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\(^{71}\) 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

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languages such as Bauré, Terena and Trinitário. The northern Arawak languages mark indirect object and oblique semantic roles with postpositions. Southern Arawak languages such as Paresí, 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.
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)
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.
'He had been running, and he arrived at the edge of the mountain.' (Dirizonae)

'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.

'We did not know, we ate it, and almost died.' (JT nawenane)

'Yesterday, we saw many people.' (T. JUS-AUG-ALI. 100410)
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
nozoininita
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 =ene 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= hikoa -heta hoka Ø= fetaty a -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 wagenakala 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= hikoa -hene -re hoka
1pl= come.out, show.up TRS NMLZ CON
'What will your brother be doing when we arrive? (E)

A: hafirahaliyaita ite
ha= fira =haliya -ita =ite
3sg= clean =near, next to IFV =FUT

'He will be cleaning up the field (E)
(16) Lelite awitsa naza, Leli yatyatyo akota hoka
Leli =te awitsa n= aka 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= kaka
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, xitos
kala hatyaotse trator iya fazendeiro Ø= itsa w= om- mana xitos
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 kaka
hi= natyore =te himati -ye =kaka
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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tyohena} & \text{hoka} & \text{waiyoreha} \\
\text{Ø= tyoa} & \text{hoka} & \text{Ø= waiyore} & \text{-ha} \\
3\text{sg come} & \text{TRS} & 3\text{sg know} & \text{PL} \\
\text{aotyatsaha} & \text{wiyoimalanae} \\
\text{Ø= a-} & \text{otya} & \text{-i} & \text{-tsa} & \text{-ha} & \text{wi= yoima} & \text{-la} & \text{-nae} \\
3\text{sg THS remember} & \text{CAUS} & \text{TH} & \text{PL} & \text{1pl child} & \text{POSED} & \text{PL} \\
\text{maheta} & \text{maheta} & \text{PURP} \\
\end{array}
\]

'They are coming to study and to teach our children.' (makani tahi)

(21)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mahaya} & \text{nakikitxoita} & \text{nomi} \\
\text{maiha =ya} & \text{na= kitksoa} & \text{-ita} & \text{no= nea} \\
\text{NEG =IRR} & \text{1sg move.out} & \text{IFV} & \text{1sg say} \\
\text{I said, 'I will not move out!' (JG nawenane)}
\end{array}
\]

(22)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kahare} & \text{makani} & \text{notyoma} & \text{naokowita} \\
\text{kahare} & \text{makani} & \text{no= tyoma} & \text{n= aokow} & \text{-ita} \\
\text{a.lot} & \text{tomorrow} & \text{1sg make} & \text{1sg want} & \text{IFV} \\
\text{Tomorrow I would like to do many things.' (cotidiano)}
\end{array}
\]

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  tyao  hatyo  tehitiya
eye wa= wena  =ite  Ø=  tyao  -ena  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
waiehetehena
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  mês  =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 wawenane 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'.

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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):

(26) enenaharenæ iya atyo makani oneza
    enenahare -nae =iya =atyö makani one -za
    ? PL =IRR =TOP tomorrow water POSSED

ahalitsoa aokowi makani atyo ite one
a- halitsoa Ø= aokowi makani =atyö =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)

(27) maihayatyato naihonotitene waiye hareclamatya
    maiha =ya -tya =tyo n= aihono -t -it =ene waiye ha= reclama -tya
    NEG =IRR TH =TOP 1sg cover TH IFV 3O good 3sg complain TH

    hitsoheta hoka
    hi= tyoa -heta hoka
    2sg come.back PERF CON

'I won't cover your food because when you arrive you will complain.' (iraiti Batsaji)
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.

(28) mahaya holatita natyo!
    maiha =ya h= olaty -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 =ite makani =ya hi= tyoa -ta hoka

    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
    haty=ko a =iya waterehokoa =ene haka
    3sg LOC =IRR look.back? 3O move.with.the.hands

    wamokene
    wa= mok =ene
    1pl put 3O

    'If I had not removed our table we would put manioc pulp on it.' (ketetse)
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 validy 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 -ïta

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 -ïta 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 -ïta kalikini
   'What is your brother doing right now?'
   A: moitsati etalakita
      moitsati Ø= etalaka -ïta
      firewood 3sg split IFV
      'He is splitting the firewood.' (E)

(34) zoimanae haiya eye escolata kozaka kalikini curso
tyomita
   Ø= tyom -ïta
   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 -ïta kafaka
   '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.
kafaka nohanako nokaokeheta hinama babera
kafaka no= han -ako no= kaoke -heta hinama babera
yesterday 1sg= house LOC 1sg= arrive RE two paper
zairatitya nohanako
no= 1sg=
han
house
-ako
LOC

nokaokeheta
no= 1sg=
kaoke
arrive
-heta
RE

hinama
hinama
two

babera
babera
paper

zairatitya

write
TH
IFV

'Then 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 tonkoa 'cough', the
interpretation is of a repeated action (tonokita 'he is coughing many times').

wityotya kaharehena kalore namaikohareta
wi= tyotya kahare -hena kalore na= maiko -hare -ta
1pl die.out a.lot TRS a.lot 1sg sad MASC IFV

'Many of us are dying out, I am very sad.' (Kamoro)

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.

maiha wainita tihenare maiha wainakatere
maiha waini -ta tihenare maiha waina -ka -te -re
NEG die IFV sorcerer NEG die TH IFV NMLZ

'He did not die; a sorcerer does not die.' (JT nawenane)

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 -heta⁷⁵ 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) aibebe ene iyeheta natyo hoka ainaihena
    aibebe =ene Ø= iye -heta natyo hoka Ø= aina -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= aina -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= aina -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'.

---

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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
wikaokeheta
wi= kaoke -heta
1pl arrive PERF
'When we go to the field, we pull up manioc, then we go back home and peel it.'

(T. I. 071508)

(50) naestudaheta hoka Jorge ezoaheta wonita
na= estudu -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 naestudahetehena, 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 naestudaheta
na= estuda -heta
1sg study REG
'After some time passed, I started to study again, I have studied for two years.'

(52) kawiyatyahetehenała 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' (Dirizoneae)

(53) nonanohi witya nonanohi xiychetehena, 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. 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) Makaniyatya 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.
'The Tropico started taking care of us, but a lot of people were dying.' (Bacaval tahi)

'When we arrive, our relatives [say]: “how are you all?”' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

'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.

'The airplane is arriving [about to arrive].' (Rowan, 1978: ix)

'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 ?
  wiwiyakahenere 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 wiyanechitiya
  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
  kawakatserone aiakawatya hoka
  kawa -katse -ro -nae a- i- kawa -tya -ha hoka
  transform CLF: long NMLZ PL CAUS ? transform TH PL CON
  atxikatetya mokotyaha zaore hoka zaore
  Ø= atxika -te -tya -ha Ø= mokotya -tya -ha zaore hoka zaore
  3sg stick ? TH PL 3sg hit TH PL FRUST CON FRUST
  tsekoata hawaretse tyaona
  tseko a -ta hawaretse Ø= tyaona
  far ? IFV? peccary 3sg become
  'Their pubic hair changed, they stuck [it into him], and when they hit (the hair),
  unfortunately they spread all over and became a peccary.' (iyamaka-BO)
mokohenehitiya  eye  haiyalitsenae
Ø= moko -hene -hitiya  eye  ha= iyali  -tse  -nae
3sg hit  TRS  ITER  this  3sg= body hair  CLF:small  PL
kawakatserona  atxikatehena hitiya  hoka
Ø= kawa  -katse  -ro  -nae  Ø= atxika  -te  -hena  -hitiya  hoka
3sg transform  CLF: long  NMLZ  PL  3sg stick  ?  TRS  ITER  CON
mokohena hitiya  hamanoza  kako
Ø= moko  -hena  -hitiya  ha= mano  -za  =kako
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'.

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)

eye wawenakala  ite  tyao hena  hatyote  hitiya
eye  wa= wenakala  =ite  Ø= tyaoa  -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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ita</th>
<th>-hena</th>
<th>-heta</th>
<th>-hitiya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ita</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hena</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-heta</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hitiya</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zaore, zakore</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motya</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamani</td>
<td>dubitative (high uncertainty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>dubitative (moderate certainty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katsani</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.1 Frustratives zaore and motya

Frustrative zaore

The frustrative marker zaore indicates the goal of an action was not achieved.78

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78 Silva (2013:365) uses another label for this marker: 'counterfactual conditional'; however the definition he provides is the same as mine: “zkore conveys that an intention or judgement of the speaker about the value of an assertion was frustrated”.

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The form \textit{zakore} is in free variation with \textit{zaore}. In example (67), the action is intended, but is not possible, and is not finished. The particle \textit{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 \textit{zaore} in Paresi.

(67) kakikitsakeheta \textbf{zaore} waohena accordo tyoma ka- kikitsa -ke -heta \textit{zaore} w= aoka -hena accordo Ø= tyoma
ATTR separate TH PERF FRUST lp say TRS agreement 3sg make wikakoa nikarehareta wasofrehiyiya hoka wi= kakaok ni kare -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 \textbf{zakore} mataka, mataka Ø= aize -hena -h -ite -hena \textit{zakore} mataka mataka
3sg smell TRS PL IFV TRS FRUST tasteless tasteless kanitse tyaona kani -tse Ø= tyaoana pequi.fruit CLF:small 3sg COP

'They smelled it (in vain), but the pequi seed was not sweet-smelling.' (kani)

(69) kazatya witserehena \textbf{zakore} ahekaetsa witso kazatya wi= tse -hena \textit{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 \textbf{zaore} kohatsena teke toka Ø= ezoa Ø= ezoa -hena \textit{zaore} kohate -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 aza amazama zotawa atya taona aowita hoka atya taona motya aza amazama 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 wihiyenomotya atyo ite one -hena wi= hiyena
FRUST TOP FUT water TRS 1pl BEN
'Apparently it was going to rain (but it did not).' (E)

(74) sarampo aitsa zoimahalotinae kala ityaninaesarampo Ø= aitsa zoima -hala -ti -nae kala ityani -nae
measles 3sg kill child FEM UNPOSS PL DUB son PL
hokahatyohiyetamotya hatyohiyetahatyohiyetamotya Ø= aitsa =ene Ø= aoka
hokahatyohiyetamotya hatyohiyetahatyohiyetamotya Ø= aitsa =ene Ø= aoka
CON then FRUST 3sg 3sg kill 3O 3sg say
'The measles killed the children, but he has thought it was that man who killed their siblings.' (Batsaji tahi)
6.4.2 Dubitatives

Epistemic modality indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition (Bybee et al., 1994: 179). In Paresi, the following markers are used to express doubt: zamani and kala.

zamani

The particle zamani is used to indicate uncertainty. It may occur twice in clauses expressing alternatives, as in (77) to (79). The particle zamani occurs after the word being questioned or in doubt. In some of the examples the interrogative zoana (71) and the question word zoare (73) occur but they are not interrogative sentences.

(75) zala niraene zamani?
zala in= irai -ne zamani
INT 3s say NMLZ DUB
'Who is saying?' (Tolohe)

(76) Sandro zamani Valeria kakoa kaitsani aokaha
Sandro zamani Valeria kakoa ka- itsani Ø= aoka -ha
PN DUB PN COM ATTR son, daughter 3sg say PL
'They are saying that Valeria is pregnant by Sandro (but I doubt he is the father).'
(Tolohe)

(77) zoana waiyoreha zamani maiha zamani
zoana Ø= waiyore -ha zamani maiha zamani
INT 3sg learn PL DUB NEG DUB
'I don't know whether they learned or not.' (Kabikule Daniel iraiti 1)

(78) kaoka zoana ferakoahena zamani zoana makahikoahena
kaoka zoana ferakoa -hena zamani zoana maka hikoa -hena
arrive INT morning TRS DUB INT night come TRS
zamani
zamani
DUB
'D 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 tyona -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.' (zanekoare)

(82) **kalatyo** nowawitehena iniranae notita ehare
 kala =tyo no= hawawa -ita -hena inira -nae n= otya -ita ehare
 DUB FOC 1sg only IFV TRS few PL 1s remember IFV this
 'It is likely that I am the only one who remembers parts of this (story).' (Kozeto)

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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.
'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.

(83) **maiha** -ore **waiye** -ze **kala** -ore **mataka** no= nea

'it is not good good, perhaps he is flavorless, I said.'

(84) **katsani** zoaha no= tyo ha maiha =tyo =la Sandra ako ababa

'I also wanted to go. Doesn't my father buy at Sandra's? They can vouch for me.'

(85) **hikoahenaha** -ha **katsani** maiha

'When they arrived, I did not want them to go away because I was living alone.'
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.
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) no kaoki
   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 katzolohokotsetxoa '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)
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).

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):

(9) hatyonatse  ala [katxolohoksetxoa]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  
[xakateteyat]v  
xaka -te -tya  
shoot ? TH  
'Meanwhile the wasp was stinging the dog, that long one.' (Dirizonae)

(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)

(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.' (Dirizonsae)

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.\(^\text{80}\) The default word order is SOV. Four orders are attested in Paresi texts: SOV, SVO, OSV and OVS.\(^\text{81}\) 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]\(\text{NP}\) [iyakaniti]\(\text{NP}\) [hotikitsa]\(\text{V}\) hoka nowaiyita

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]_\text{NP}\)

Ø= zane =ala Ø= hikoa -heta maiha n= ezanityo 3sg go =FOC 3sg come.out, show.up PERF NEG 1sg wife

[nityaninae]\(\text{NP}\) [waikoakore]\(\text{NP}\) [aitsa]\(\text{V}\)"

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 [mahalitihare]_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) zoimahalotii  zoimahaliti  waiya
    zoimahalotii  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.
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. 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).

---

For example:

(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)

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OV</th>
<th>VO</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SOV</th>
<th>OSV</th>
<th>SVO</th>
<th>OVS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 atyotyo ene wiyaneta hoka maha kahiyalakatse
iya atyotyo ene wi= yane -ta hoka maha kahiyalakatse
IRR grandpa PST 1pl go IFV CON honey type.of.bee
ityoka
Ø= ityoka
3sg cut, cut down
'I was an adult, and we went to look for honey, and my deceased grandpa cut down some honey of the kahiyalakatse bee.' (JT nawenane)

(25) Ozakereharenanyaetyayo maha ityohena hoka ah
ozakerehare -nae -tya =atyo maha Ø= ityo -hena hoka
ancestor PL ? =TOP honey 3sg cut, cut down TRS CON
fetazaita
Ø= feta -za -ita
3sg bless POSSED IFV
'The ancestors when they got honey they would give an offering' (JT nawenane)

320
Newsworthiness

The subject noun phrase may also be focused even though the information was already given in order to emphasize the principal information. In (26), the topic of the narrative is the iyamaka 'sacred flute', and the information given is that it is not good for women to see the sacred flute. The same information is given again in (27), and ohironae 'women' appears in the preverbal position (leading to an SVO order).

(26) maiha ohiro kakoa waiyakere xini zotenetyoa
maiha ohiro =kakoa waiya -ke -re xini zotene -ty -oa
NEG woman =COM see ? NMLZ NEG ? TH INTR
waini aka ihozare walihitse nihozala kakoare tyaona
waini aka ihozare walihitse nihozala =kakoa -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 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).

321
(28) Hoka nonityohalitinatse kaitsereharehena ala hoka
hoka no= nityohaliti -natse kaisere -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 wiyanetala hoka
hare -nae wi= yane -ta wi= halanatse menetse Ø= toka Ø= ola -tya
also PL 1pl go IFV 1pl dog anaconda 3sg hold 3sg tie TH
'My mother Boja was young and along with my brother Kaniyo we went, and an
anaconda held our dog and tied him up.' (JT nawenane)

**Topic shift**

A new topic occurs in the focus position. In (30), the speaker was telling how he
went to gather mangos, and in (31), he shifted the topic. Both subject and object are new
information, but the new topic (the subject) *Paula* precedes the object (SOV).

(30) oh mangala wiyanetala wezoitsa hoka wahiyota
manga =la wi= yane w= ezo -i -tse 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 kaitsereharehena ala hoka *Paula*
hatyaotseta =la make -hena kaisere -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 wityatyalati 'our bark'. The object noun phrase then precedes the subject and the verb (OSV).

(34) hazerore wamiyatya wityatyalatiraira 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).
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.

'I 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
kakoeta _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 [katxolahokotsetxoanp] _ala [ani]np
hatyo -natse _ala katxolo -hoko -tse -txoa _ala _ani
3sg CLF:long FOC dog CLF:circled CLF:small big FOC wasp
[kataketyav]
Ø= xaka -te -tya
3sg shoot ? TH
'Meanwhile the wasp was bitting 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).
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)
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), *nityohaliti* 'adulthood' is a nominal predicate which takes the personal clitic *no* = '1sg' and transitional -*hena*.

(48) *nonityohalitihena*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no=</th>
<th>nityohaliti</th>
<th>-hena</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>old.person</td>
<td>TRS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wa=</th>
<th>hinama</th>
<th>-ite</th>
<th>-hena</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>IFV</td>
<td>TRS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kalikini</th>
<th>hoka</th>
<th>azeze</th>
<th>atyo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>older.brother</td>
<td>=TOP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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*
The theme may precede the location (50) or follow it (53).

(50) oloniti ita baldeakore
    oloniti ita balde -ako -re
    chicha there bucket LOC NMLZ
    'The chicha is there in the bucket' (Kabikule)

(51) hoka hatyo hiyetatatyola eze hitsaonero
    hoka hatyo hiyeta -ta =tyo =la eze hi= tsaonero
    CON 3sg therefore IFV =TOP =FOC this 2sg= cousin
    alimaniya
    ali maniya
    here side
    'Therefore it is because of this that your cousin is here on this side.' (Katomo Aug iraiti)

(52) alita natyo
    ali -ta natyo
    here EMPH 1sg
    'I am here.' (E)

(53) owi 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 locative predicate is the classifier -tse 'CLF:small'.

328
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
   now Owihoko nali kohetseti
   '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) nokaisaniro
no= ka- itsani -ro
1sg ATTR son, daughter NMLZ
'I have children.' (E)

(58) maiha nokaisaniro
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, kaitasaniha 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
tyaoita
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zala</td>
<td>'who?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoare</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliyo</td>
<td>'where is?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alyako</td>
<td>'where, at what location?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliyakere</td>
<td>'how?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otene</td>
<td>'when?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*zala* 'who'

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

(63) **Zala nemakakaweta?**
    zala nemaka kawe -ta
    who sleep hurt IFV
    'Who is sleepy?' (iraiti Batsaji)
(64) **zala** nika aikoli aromaita?
zala nika aikoli aroma -ita
who ? tooth fix IFV
'Who is having his tooth fixed?' (Katomo nali)

(65) **zala** hatyo axita hitso?
zala hatyo aza -ita hitso
who that ask IFV you
'Who was asking you?' (Katomo Aug iraiti)

(66) zakaihaktya,
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 nozaitsenae?
    zoare maheta koreta x= iriko -ita no= zaitse -nae
    what PURP bamboo 2pl= cut IFV 1sg= nephew PL
    'Why are you cutting bamboo, my nephews?' (Txinikalare)

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
    ala FOC what
    'Kazatarene, what is it?' (Kabikule-Daniel iraiti 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?  
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 **aliyakere**te witsaona? wiyekohatse waini,  
Ø= zane -ha alyakere =te wi= tsaona wi= yekohatse Ø= waini  
3sg go PL how =FUT 1pl= COP 1pl= chief 3sg die  
**aliyakere**te witsaonehena nea hoka  
alyakere =te wi= tsaona -hena Ø= nea hoka  
how =FUT 1pl= COP TRS 3sg say CON  
'They went and he said: “How are we going to be? Our boss died. How are we going to be”?' (Bacaval wenakalati)
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 ? 2plLK 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 О= 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zoana zowaka</td>
<td>'when?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoana heko</td>
<td>'at what moment?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoanere</td>
<td>'how much?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoanama</td>
<td>'how many?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoanere hoka</td>
<td>'why?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paresi</th>
<th>Some-series</th>
<th>No-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>zala zamani</td>
<td>maiha zala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>zoare zamani, zoalini</td>
<td>maiha zoare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>alyo zamani</td>
<td>maiha alyako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>not attested</td>
<td>maiha zoana heko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner</td>
<td>alyakere zamani</td>
<td>maiha alyakere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 laa maiha zoare tsemareha
 Ø= kawiyi -tya -ha -ha zoare laa maiha zoare Ø= tsemie -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.' (Dirizona)

(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) *makani*ka 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)
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). The 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 flaute
'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= kolutya =ene h= aoka -wi
2sg take 3sO 2sg say SS
'Do you want to take it?' (E)
(101) **maiha** hakolatene haokowiye?
    maiha  ha= kolya =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
'I am 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 txiyehena maotikone
awo zamani =iya owene Ø= txiya -hena maotikone
emu DUB =IRR there 3sg pass TRS stupid
'You see it straight and you will see it, is it a deer or an emu? there, it is passing stupidly (zanekoare-JT)

(106) *zoana* ononiti haokita one *kore*?
    *zoana* ononiti 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= tsere -hena hoka hi= fakate
  2sg= drink TRS CON 2sg= full
  'Drink to get satisfied!' (Katomo Aug iraiti)

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

Both (113) and (114) are requests made during a conversation.

(113) **hiyane** one hakolaheta! hoka notera
  hi= zane one ha= kola -heta hoka no= tera
  2sg go water 3sg bring PERF CON 1sg drink
  'Go bring some water for me to drink!' (tolohe)

---

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.  hiyanehetehena!  nikareta
  hatyaotseta  S.  hi=  yane  -hete  -hena  nikare  -ta
then  PN  2sg=  go  PERF  TRS  stop  EMPH
hairawaiyitsa  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- aina -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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itsa 'give'</td>
<td>zama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyoa 'come'</td>
<td>witya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahatya 'wait'</td>
<td>awitxira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nika 'come'</td>
<td>nakahena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(118) zama howikihitya nomani kafe! hoka notera
zama h= owika -hitiya no= mani kafe hoka no= tera
give. IMP 2sg pour AGAIN 1sg BEN coffee CON 1sg drink
'Give me; pour some coffee for me to drink!' (Katomo nali)

(119) zamehena nomani noherokoli!
zame -hena no= mani no= heroko -li
give. IMP TRS 1sg= BEN 1sg= drink POSSED
'Give me my chicha.' (hitsehaliti)
(120) tiyahotya, zameheta hiyaitso! zoana nikare
Ø = tiya aho -tya zame -heta hi= yaitso zoana nikare
3sg cry path TH give. IMP PERF 2sg niece INT ?
hiyaitso hiye hiwakatsehe
hi= yaitso =hiye hi= wakatsehe
2sg niece =BEN 2sg mistreat
'She was crying along the path, (and he said:) “Give me your niece, you are mistreating her.’ (ketetse)

(121) witya hitserehena! coca kakoare
witya hi= tera -hena coca kakoa -re
come. IMP 2sg drink TRS coca COM NMLZ
'Come to drink with coke.’ (Katomo Aug nali’)

(122) wityahena! kazo kohatya natyo nea
witya -hena =ira kazo koha -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 nae
hi= tyoa -hena koko awitxira no= zaitse -nae Ø= nea
2sg= come TRS uncle wait.IMP 1sg= nephew PL 3sg say
'Come my uncle! (the uncle said) wait! my nephew.’ (Txinikalore)

The imperative form nikahena 'move.IMP' is formed by the verb nika 'come' and the transitional hena. However, I have not glossed the imperative form as 'come.IMP' because it does not imply venitive motion, only motion, meaning 'move, act'. A frequent use of nikahena is when people are cheering for their soccer team, and they say to the players: nikahena, nikahena! 'move, move!' (124)

nikahena katorenae, wahikoahena matse
nika -hena katore -nae wa= hikoa -hena matse
move.IMP TRS brother PL 1pl come.out, show.up TRS field
waiyakitiya waiyakitiya
world
'Move my brothers, we will come out of this field.’ (Wazare)
(125) eaotseta **nikahena** zoimahalitinae nea
eaotseta nika -hena zoimahaliti -nae Ø= nea
then move.IMP TRS boy PL 3sg say
'Then he said: “Move, boys!”’ (hitsehaliti)

7.5.2 Hortatives

Commands addressed to the first person inclusive use a construction with the verb *wiya* 'let's go'. The form *wiya* may be used with the regressive, and it is andative (away from the point of reference) motion, while the form *witya* (second person imperative verb), seen above, implies venitive motion (toward the point of reference).

(126) *wiya* wiyaiya!
    *wiya* wi= yaiya
    let's go 1pl see, watch
    'Let's go see.' (ketetse)

(127) *wiya* wimahaza *wiya*
    *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 *wiya* 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.'
The negator *maiha* is preverbal, occurring immediately before the verb, as seen in the examples above, or before the object. The negative clauses are not identical to their positive counterparts. In (130) and (132), they exhibit the progressive aspect. (133) shows a verb with the nominalizer *-re*.

Paresi is a language which exhibits two types of asymmetrical negation constructions Miestamo, 2005): paradigmatic and constructional asymmetries. Paradigmatic asymmetries are related to the aspectual restrictions, and constructional asymmetries are related to the loss of finite morphology and the use of the nominalizer.

In nonnegative sentences there are two possible tense markers, ene and *ite*, and four aspects: the transitional which is marked by the suffix *-hena*, example (134), the imperfective marked by *-ita* (135), the regressive marked by *-heta* (§6.3.2), and the iterative *hitiya*:

(134) nazehenene
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)
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.\(^{84}\) The unmarked form is not permitted, as shown in (139). The form -ita must be used in negative clauses, as in (138) and (140). This type of asymmetry, in which a contrast in values for a grammatical category is lost in negative clauses, is treated as paradigmatic asymmetry by Miestamo (2005).

(138) kalini Xiokonda niraene taita \textbf{maiha} tsemahitaha
    kalini Gioconda n= irae taita maiha \(\text{Ø}=\) tsema -h -\textbf{ita} -ha
    now Gioconda 3sg talk only \textbf{NEG} 3sg hear PL \textbf{IFV} PL
    aoka haiyane niraene tyotya
    \(\text{Ø}=\) aoka haiya ini- irae -ne tyotya
    3sg say \textbf{IND2} 3sg talk \textbf{POSSED} everything, all
    tsemahitaha aoka
    \(\text{Ø}=\) tsema -h -\textbf{ita} -ha \(\text{Ø}=\) 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 \textbf{maiha} tsemaha aoka
    kalini Gioconda n= irae taita maiha \(\text{Ø}=\) tsema -ha \(\text{Ø}=\) aoka
    now Gioconda 3sg talk only \textbf{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.
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= tsao di -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) kalinihekota  katxolo  maiyanityohare  tyotya  hazerore  iya  haiya
    kalinihekota  katxolo  ma-  ezanityo -hare  tyotya  hazerore  iya  haiya
    now  time  dog  NEG  wife  MASC  all  fast  IRR  IND2
    toli  kaka  ozaka  tyaonehiya
    toli  kaka  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

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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 kamathihera aka**
    maiha kamathihera 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)

---

Paresi, I consider *maiha* to be a particle rather than an auxiliary because its presence does not lead the verb to lose its finiteness in all cases, since the progressive can also used with negated verbs.
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) **maiha** tali 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*. 

---

353
(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 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). 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 iyatyaa 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
'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.

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
Nama Nama 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!
Nama hi= watyali
NEG 2sg handle
'Don't handle it!' (Katomo Ag iraiti)

(168) **awa** ixikako kirakahare xirai!
Nama ixikako kirakahare x- irai
NEG period bullshit 2p nephew
'Don't say bullshit during this period!' (Festa)

(169) **ihiye** atyo iraita **waairatyo** iniyalahare
*i= ahiye =atyo irai -ta awa =ira =tyo iniyalahare
3sg= =BEN =TOP talk IFV NEG =AFF? =TOP ?
xitsomehena! awatyo!
i= 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 etsyani '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- etsyani -ro
    ATTR son, daughter FEM
    'She has a son/daughter.' (E)

b. maitani(halo)ha
    *ma- etsyani -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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ityani</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>ma-itsani-halo</td>
<td>not having a son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haliti</td>
<td>Paresi person</td>
<td>ma-haliti-hare</td>
<td>not being a Paresi person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inityo</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ma-inityo-hare</td>
<td>not having a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etonane</td>
<td>walking</td>
<td>ma-boton-ne-hare</td>
<td>be paralyzed (lit.: not being able to walk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiyokaka</td>
<td>edible thing</td>
<td>ma-bonokaka-hare</td>
<td>not be edible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirane</td>
<td>be small</td>
<td>ma-kirane-hare</td>
<td>not being small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiye</td>
<td>be good</td>
<td>ma-waiye-ze</td>
<td>not being good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference in meaning between choosing to use the syntactic strategy (the *maiha* particle) or the derivational/morphological strategy (the *ma-* negator) is a temporal difference. In (173) and (174), the difference is that in the first (a) sentences, the statement is temporary while in the second (b) sentences, it is a permanent state. Michael (forthcoming) identifies similar temporal differences between prohibitive and standard negation in other Arawak languages as well. For example, in languages such as Wapishana and Wayuu, *ma-* occurs in active verbs as a negative habitual (similar to the example in (174)). In §7.6.9, the co-occurrence of the two forms, *ma-* and *maiha* will be described.

(173) a. *maiha* nokaitaniye
    *maiha* no= ka- ityani -re
    NEG Isg 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)

---

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-*.
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.
It was my uncle Gildo who showed up in the Rio Verde village, it was not the ones who went from here.' (tolohe)

'I will give her the horse that the woman did not buy.' (E)

'We brought this food for you to not get sick' (E)

Cross-linguistically, expressions with the verbs *think, believe,* and *want* are more likely to exhibit negative transport. That is, they present the negation of subordinated clauses in which the negator of the embedded clause is attached to the verb in the higher clause. In Paresi, there is negative transport only with the verb *aoka 'say'*. (180) illustrates an example with the verb *awita 'say'*, in which the negator precedes the verb *tiha 'wash'* in the embedded clause. In (181), the negation occurs in the main complement-taking predicate *aoka 'say'*, which receives the nominalizer -*re*, not in the verb *zane 'go'*. 

'I thought that Maria did not wash the clothes (lit.: 'I say to myself: “Maria did not wash the clothes”').' (E)
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** tyatya ite zatsemita hoka] tyotyata
maiha -tya =ite za= tsem -ita hoka tyotya -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.'

In negative counterfactual clauses, the negative particle *awa* occurs before or after the irrealis marker *iya*, as seen in (184) and (185).
"If they were not taken away by the non-Indian Taviano, they would still be living here now." (formoso onetse)

"If I did not pull up our table, we would move and put [things] on it." (ketetse)

'Today we are charging [a toll], if it were not for us Kabixi Indians, today that road would be free'

7.6.8 Negative indefinites

Paresi forms negative indefinites by using the standard negation particle maiha/maitsa to negate indefinite pronouns (see §7.4.1), which cross-linguistically is the most common strategy of forming negative indefinites, according to Kahrel (1996). These indefinite pronouns can also be used in questions as interrogative pronouns: zala 'who', zoare 'what', and zoana 'what'. In (188), maiha appears twice, the first maiha negates the verb haka 'work' and the second one occurs with zoare meaning 'nothing'.
(187) maiha atyo zala iraezeha ekakoa
maiha =atyo zala Ø= irae -ze -ha e= =kakoa
NEG =TOP INT 3sg talk NMLZ PL 3sg =COM
'Nobody talks to him.' (iraiti-JM)

(188) maiha maiha zoare hakare
maiha maiha zoare haka -re
NEG NEG INT work NMLZ
'They did not do anything.' (iraiti-JM)

(189) maiha zoana witsaonare
maiha zoana wi= tsaona -re
NEG INT 1pl COP NMLZ
'We did not do anything.' (Kamoro nawenane)

7.6.9 Double negation

There are cases of double negation when the particle *maiha* negates a privative stative predicate already negated by *ma-* . The double negation results in a positive meaning, with the negative focus *xini* emphasizing it. Example (190) illustrates the use of *maiha* and two privative stative predicates *mazotyare* 'not-red' and *mairazehare* 'not-smelling'. The speaker chose the use of double negation, instead of non-negation, because he wants to emphasize the change of state of the red, sweet-smelling pequi fruit which loses its color and fragrance.

(190) maiha zotere, maiha zotere, awaiya hoka maiha
maiha zotya -re maiha zotya -re awa =iya hoka maiha
NEG red NMLZ NEG red NMLZ NEG =IRR CON NEG
mazotyare maiha mairazeharene xini
ma- zotya -re maiha ma- airaze hare -ne xini
NEG be.red NMLZ NEG NEG sweet-smelling MASC NMLZ NEG
tyona 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NMLZ</th>
<th>Juxtaposition</th>
<th>hoka</th>
<th>hiyeta</th>
<th>ezahe</th>
<th>maheta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coordination</td>
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<td>relative clause</td>
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<td>concessive conditional</td>
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<td>purpose</td>
<td>*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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, ëei 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 waiyhareheta Ø= waiye -hare -heta 3sg= good MASC PERF 'They took him, burned him (with leaves to cure), and he got better' (JT nawanane)

(2) eakere =ala eakere =ala nimixita, hatyo like.this =FOC like.this =FOC 1sg gather IFV that baiyokatse kala nozaihako imixita elder CLF:long DUB 1sg behind 3sg= gather IFV 'I was gathering there like this, and that old lady was gathering behind me.' (ketetse)

The connector *hoka* is also used to express temporal ordering of events (3) through (5) or unordered events (6). It either follows the first pair of coordinated clauses as in (3) and (5), each coordinated clause as in (4), or else only occurs after the last coordinated clause as in (6).
(3) Hatyaotsetala witsaohena mene hoka, nikare
hatyaotseta =la wi= tyaoa -hena mene hoka nikare
then =FOC 1pl stay TRS for.a.long.time CON like this
wakenekoa, witsoheta kalini halohalotse
wa= kenekoa wi= tyoa -heta kalini halohalo =tse
lpl 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 òte 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= wa ha -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' (Dirizoneae)

(6) kahare ala waitsa, holokihityala, wanitsala,
kahare =ala w= aitsa holokihitya =la wa= nitsa =la
a.lot =FOC 1pl= kill cook meat =FOC 1pl= eat meat =FOC
wanitsa, fetatyahala hoka
wa= nitsa Ø= fetaty -ha =la hoka
1pl= eat meat 3sg= bless PL =FOC CON
'Ve killed a lot, he cooked, we ate and offered.' (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
waiyakotya, 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 halako -re Kerakoama zaore
then man one side NMLZ PN FRUST
xahenene, ekoatene
Ø= xa -hena =ene Ø= ekoatya =ene
3sg= shoot TRS =3O 3sg= make.mistake =3O
'Then from the side of the man, Kerakoama shot, but he missed' (Txinikalore)

(9) barato nika hatyohare mezatse hoka maiha
barato nika hatyohare meza -tse hoka maiha
cheap ? this table CLF:small CON NEG
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 inityohalotí -hena zaore hoka maitsa witso
grandmother elder.female TRS FRUST CON NEG 1pl
akere atyo akai neare]
akere =atyo nea -re
similar, the.same.as =TÖP 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
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.' (toloho)

The disjunction of clauses or phrases may also be indicated by juxtaposition with the epistemic modality of uncertainty zamani. 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
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. Ø=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)  [tyotya tyoketerenae] maiha waiyeze aoka
    tyotya tyoke -ta -re -nae maiha waiye -ze Ø= aoka
    all sit IFV NMLZ PL NEG good NMLZ 3sg= say
  'He said, “All the ones who are sitting are not good people”.’ (E)

(17)  [nenatyolo kokotero nola
    nenatyolo Kokotero n= ola
      ? mythical figure 3sg= game hunting
  anitsazatitere] waitsa ah
    a- nitsa -za -tya -ite -re w= aitsa
    CAUS eat.meat CLF:liq TH IFV NMLZ 1pl= kill
  'We kill the one who is eating the food of Kokotero.’ (SZ kinohaliti)

(18)  [netati nitsa naokowitere ana]
    neta -ti n= itsa n= aokowi -te -re =ana
    necklace UNPOSS 1sg= give 1sg= want IFV NMLZ =BEN
    zaneheta
    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 wainhenere '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 aitsehenera hiyeta,]
eye koko Taronha =ene Bocanho Ø= aitse -hene -re hiyeta
this uncle PN =PST PN 3sg= kill TRS NMLZ therefore
haxakakakoaha hoka maihatya waiyeze hiyeta
ha= xaka -kakoa -ha hoka maiha -tya waiye -ze hiyeta
3sg= shoot REC PL CON NEG FOC good NMLZ therefore
xini, ali tyoa
xini ali Ø= tyoa
NEG here 3sg= come
'My deceased uncle Taronha, the one who Bocanho killed, they shot each other
and that was not good, he came here' (Kotitiko wenakalati)

(21) mainikereta kotyatya ita awaezore,
mainikere -ta kotyatya ita awaezore
whole EMPH ? there awaezore
[walolohenera] mainikere
Ø= walolo -hene -re mainikere
3sg= be.rotten TRS NMLZ whole
'It is whole, that awaezore there, the one whole is rotten.' (tolohe)\(^{91}\)

(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
[kirawanetera natyo]
Ø= kirawane -te -re natyo
3sg= argue IFV NMLZ 1sg
'Then my mother came to live together with us, the one who fought with me.'
(Kotitiko wenakalati)

Headed RCs may be externally or internally headed. In externally headed RCs,

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\(^{91}\) 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 -\textit{hena} and -\textit{ta} respectively). In (23), the relative clause is formed with -\textit{ita} and -\textit{re}.

(23) setila nali kafaka nozekohatse eye radio
setila nali kafaka no= zekohatse eye radio
Citylar store LOC yesterday 1sg chief this radio
\textbf{[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 \textit{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, \textbf{eye}
\(\emptyset=\) aheko -ita \(\emptyset=\) tyoma -ha maheta eye
3sg= think IFV 3sg= make PL PURP this
\textbf{[hakiterenae,]} [kahehaliti \textbf{hakiterenae}]
\(\emptyset=\) haki -te -re -nae kahehaliti \(\emptyset=\) haki -te -re -nae
3sg= work IFV NMLZ PL illness 3sg= work IFV NMLZ PL
kakoa] tehitiya ahekotyahitaha
=kakoa \(=\) te hitiya \(\emptyset=\) 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, \textbf{eze}
hoka maha hakakoa -re no= tyoma -ita eze
CON NEG similar NMLZ 1sg= make IFV this
\textbf{[nowaiyehetehenerenae]} notyomeheta
no= waiye -hete -hene -re -nae no= tyoma -heta
1sg= see PERF TRS NMLZ PL 1sg= make PERF
"Therefore I could not make them all, only the ones I know I am making." (omati-ZK)

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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]
o=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)
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
this 1sg= son, daughter PAST 3sg= die TRS NMLZ this PN
neye ene, hare kaitsani
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 itshehenere netati ohiro ana] waiyehare  
en= 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 itshehenere olo zoimahaliti]  
Kezo Ø= itse -hene -re olo zoima -hali -ti  
Kezo 3sg= give TRS NMLZ money child MASC UNPOSS  
an=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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>atyakatse</th>
<th>kakoa</th>
<th>nehohenere</th>
<th>txihore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atya -katse</td>
<td>=kakoa</td>
<td>n= eho -hene -re</td>
<td>txiho -re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree CLF: long</td>
<td>=COM</td>
<td>1sg shatter TRS NMLZ</td>
<td>door NMLZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakeratya</td>
<td>na= kera -tya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg burn TH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I burned the stick I broke the door with.' (E)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(38)  

*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nakeratya</th>
<th>atyakatse</th>
<th>kakoa</th>
<th>txihore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na= kera -tya atya -katse</td>
<td>=kakoa</td>
<td>txiho -re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg burn TH tree CLF: long</td>
<td>=COM</td>
<td>door NMLZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nehohenere</td>
<td>n= eho -hene -re</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg shatter TRS NMLZ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nakeratya</th>
<th>atyakatse</th>
<th>txihore</th>
<th>nehohenere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na= kera -tya atya -katse</td>
<td>txiho -re</td>
<td>n= eho -hene -re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg burn TH tree CLF: long</td>
<td>door NMLZ</td>
<td>1sg shatter TRS NMLZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I burned the stick I broke the door with.' (E)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A headless RC can also function as a comitative (40).

(40)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nozaniheta</th>
<th>hakitere</th>
<th>kakoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no= zane -heta</td>
<td>Ø= haka -ite -re</td>
<td>=kakoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg go PERF</td>
<td>3sg= work IFV NMLZ</td>
<td>=COM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I went away with the one who works.' (E)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'.
'The tapir is there, at the time when I shot it, it fell down over here.' (Katomo nali)

'At the moment we were beating the fish toxin we saw a lot of kolomi fish.'

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).

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**

Paractatic complementation is found with both direct and indirect quotation.
Direct quotation precedes complement-taking predicates. The verbs used in quotation are the quotative verb \textit{nea} and the verb \textit{aoka} 'say' (which can also be used as a propositional attitude or desiderative predicate\textsuperscript{92}). The quotative verb \textit{nea} always requires a complement clause, as seen in (45) and (46). In (46), \textit{irai} 'talk' is also used, but this verb does not require a complement; the complement clause is required by the verb \textit{nea} at the end. The complements precede the complement-taking predicates.

(45) \[
\text{["korenatse harenaete xitseheta!"] neaha, kore -natse hare -nae =te x= itse -heta Ø= nea -ha
arrow CLF:long also PL =FUT 2pl= give PERF 3sg= say PL nozani
no= zan -i
1sg= go 1sg
'They said, “Give us the rifle!”', but I went away' (JG nawanane 1)
\]

(46) \[
hoka irai hitiya ["hiyane wiyeta nola hoka irai -hitiya hi= zane wi= yeta n= ola CON talk again 2sg= go 1pl= sacred.flute 1sg= game hunting hamaira nozai Koima!’] nea
ha= maira nozai Koima Ø= nea
3sg= be.afraid my nephew PN 3sg= say
'And he said again, “My nephew Koima, go fishing for the food of our sacred flute!”' (iyamaka-BO)
\]

The verb \textit{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 \textit{aoka} 'say' is used as a propositional attitude predicate with the meaning

\textsuperscript{92} The verb \textit{awita} 'think, want' can also be used with these predicates. Its origin may be the form \textit{aoka}. They are interchangeable as propositional or desiderative predicates.
'say to oneself'. 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 nokheako 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

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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 xihiyen] zaoka
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] aokabitaha, 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, mahatayeto 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 niri] naokowita
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.
In negative constructions with *aoka*, the negation is in the main clause and not in the embedded one. In general, verbs in negative clauses are marked as nonfinite by the nominalizer *-re*. The main predicate of complement clauses is also marked by this nominalizer in negative clauses. In (59), the negation is in the main complement-taking predicate *aoka* 'say' which receives the nominalizer *-re*; if the negation were in the verb *zane* 'go', the form would be *naoka*.

(59) maiha [zanehitaha] naokare
maiha Ø= zane -ha -ita -ha n= aoka -re
NEG 3sg= go PL IFV PL 1sg say NMLZ
'I do not want them to go.' (Fenare nawenane)

In addition to the verb *aoka*, the propositional attitude predicate *aheko* 'think' may appear with a complement clause, as in (60).

(60) nahekoita [kafaka Jura weta kaoka]
n= aheko -ita kafaka Jura weta Ø= kaoka
1sg= think IFV yesterday PN early 3sg= arrive
'I think Jura arrived early yesterday/ I think; Jura arrived early yesterday.' (E)

*Predicates of knowledge*

The predicate of knowledge *waiyore* 'know, learn' may occur with another clause
but it does not require a complement, nor is there a marker of dependency. The classification of a construction as a complement clause is not always straightforward. Syntactically, constructions like the ones in (61) and (62) may be analyzed as coordination by juxtaposition. On the other hand, *waiyore* occurs with juxtaposed clauses that function as its semantic arguments. Therefore, these clauses may be treated as *waiyore*'s complements.

(61) ah [tyotya notyomita] nawaiyolo
tyotya no= tyomi -ta na= waiyo -lo
everything, all 1sg= make IFV 1sg= know NMLZ
'Ah, I know how to make everything/ Ah, I know; I make everything.' (Tarsila nawenane)

(62) wawaiyore atyo [wola waitxita]
wa= waiyore atyo w= ola w= aitx -ita
1pl know TOP 1pl game hunting 1pl kill IFV
'We learned how to kill game/ We learned; we killed game.' (JT nawenane)

*Immediate perception, achievement and pretence predicates*

The following perception predicates may be analyzed as occurring with complements: *waiya* 'see' and *tsema* 'hear'. On one hand, one could argue that the embedded clause functions semantically as an argument of the main clause. On the other hand, these constructions do not show any marking of subordination, like coordination, and the verbs do not require a complement. In the examples below, both translations provided are possible. The same occurs with the achievement predicate *otya* 'remember', as in (66) and (67).

(63) kawitxitala hoka hatyo Preto atyola
Ø= kawitsa -ita =la hoka hatyo Preto =atyo =la
3sg= shout IFV =FOC CON that PN =TOP =FOC
waiyehena [menetse haliya Poniya tityo]a
Ø= waiya -hena menetse =haliya Poniya Ø= tityo
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.
8.2.2.2 Nominalized complements

In Paresi, two types of nominalizations can be used as a complement strategy: nominalization with no overt morpheme and with the nominalizer -re. Examples of these constructions were only rarely found in my text corpus, and the examples below come from elicitation. Almost all types of complement-taking predicates occur with nominalizations: utterance verbs, propositional attitude predicates, predicates of knowledge, desiderative, immediate perception, and pretence predicates (one exception may be achievement predicates). Complement predicates nominalized with -re are structurally similar to RCs because they can also take the aspect markers -hena 'TRS' or -ita 'IFV'. However, different from RCs, nominalized verbs functioning as complements can take the postposition kakoa 'comitative'. The other type of nominalization is the zero nominalization. This nominalized form occurs with the possessed marker -ne. The only verbs in my corpus which can occur with -ne when functioning as complements are the following: maira 'fish', kaoka 'arrive', haka 'work', hikoa 'show up', and zane 'go.' (see examples (74), (77), and (78)). It is not clear why only this small set of verbs can take -ne (not -re). Silva (2013) mentions that only unergative verbs can function as a complement of a predicate. Furthermore, unaccusative verbs such as kaoka 'arrive' would occur as complements if they were nominalized and with the postposition -kakoa. As seen in the examples below, unaccusative verbs such as hokaka 'be sick' do occur as complements of

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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 \(e = '3\text{sg}'\). All complement predicates nominalized by zero nominalization have the possessed marker \(-ne\). The postposition \textit{kakoa} can occur with both nominalizations, as in (75) and (78).

(74) \[\text{nahekoita} \ [\text{ekaokene} \ \text{ite} \ \text{weta}] \]
\[\text{n=} \ \text{aheko} -\text{ita} \ e=} \ \text{kaoka} -\text{ne} \ \text{=} \text{ite} \ \text{weta} \]
\[\text{1sg=} \ \text{think} \ \text{IFV} \ 3\text{sg=} \ \text{arrive} \ \text{POSSED} \ \text{=} \text{FUT} \ \text{early} \]
'I think his arrival will be early.' (E)

(75) \[\text{nahekoita} \ [\text{hitsomehenere} \ \text{(kakoa)}] \]
\[\text{n=} \ \text{aheko} -\text{ita} \ \text{hi=} \ \text{tsome} -\text{hene} -\text{re} \ \text{=} \text{kakoa} \]
\[\text{1sg=} \ \text{think} \ \text{IFV} \ 2\text{sg=} \ \text{make} \ \text{TRS} \ \text{NMLZ} \ \text{=} \text{COM} \]
'I was thinking about what you did.' (E)

(76) \[\text{*nahekoita} \ \text{hitsomene} \]
\[\text{n=} \ \text{aheko} -\text{ita} \ \text{hi=} \ \text{tsome} -\text{ne} \]
\[\text{1sg=} \ \text{think} \ \text{IFV} \ 2\text{sg=} \ \text{make} \ \text{POSSED} \]

(77) \[\text{nahekotya} \ \text{emairatyane} \ \text{weta} \]
\[\text{n=} \ \text{aheko} -\text{tya} \ e=} \ \text{maira} -\text{tya} -\text{ne} \ \text{weta} \]
\[\text{3sg=} \ \text{think} \ \text{TH} \ 3\text{sg=} \ \text{fish} \ \text{TH} \ \text{POSSED} \ \text{early} \]
'I think that he will fish early.' (E)

(78) \[\text{maiha} \ \text{notyaikore} \ [\text{Celio} \ \text{hatene} \ \text{kakoa}] \]
\[\text{maiha} \ \text{no=} \ \text{tyaiko} -\text{re} \ \text{Celio} \ \text{ha} -\text{te} -\text{ne} \ \text{=} \text{kakoa} \]
\[\text{NEG} \ \text{1sg=} \ \text{believe} \ \text{NMLZ} \ \text{Celio} \ \text{work?} \ \text{POSSED} \ \text{=} \text{COM} \]
'I do not believe Celio will work.' (E)

\textit{Predicates of knowledge and immediate perception predicates}

The complement-taking predicate \textit{waiyore} 'know' can also take nominalizations as complements. Example (79) illustrates a zero nominalization complement and the postposition \textit{kakoa}. The other two examples are similar to RCs with ambiguous interpretations. Further research will test whether these ambiguous clauses are complement clauses (by \textit{kakoa} being able to appear after the nominalization), or relative clauses, which cannot have \textit{kakoa} after the nominalization.
(79) maiha nozanita festa, maiha nawaiyoreze
maiha no= zan -ita festa maiha na= waiyo -re -ze
NEG 1sg= go IFV party NEG 1sg= know NMLZ NMLZ
[ihikoane kakoa]
i= hikoa -ne =kakoa
3sg= come.out, show.up POSSED =COM
'I won't go to the party because I don't know if she will be there.' (E)

(80) a. nawaiyoretyatyo [ena waiyehenere zoima]
na= waiyore -tya =tyo ena Ø= waiye -hene -re zoima
1sg know TH =TOP man 3sg= good TRS NMLZ child
'I know that the man saw the child'
b. nawaiyoretyatyo ena [waiyehenere zoima]
na= waiyore -tya =tyo ena Ø= waiye -hene -re zoima
1sg know TH =TOP man 3sg= good TRS NMLZ child
'I know the man who saw the child.' (E)

(81) a. wawaiyore [oliti aitsehenere]
wa= waiyore oliti Ø= aitse -hene -re
1pl= know game hunting 3sg= kill TRS NMLZ
'We knew that he killed game'
b. wawaiyore 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 ungrammaticalcy of its use with the postposition kakoa (85).

(82) nawaiya [nohokakini]
no= waiya no= hokaka -ne -i
1sg see 1sg be.sick POSSED 1sg
'I saw that I am sick.' (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* express a motivating event. In general they follow the matrix clause.

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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.
This one that you say it is **awaizore**, it is good to pull up, its roots are on the surface.’ (tolohe)

'Nobody looked after us, we were not among our people.' (Fenare nawenane)

'They said this grass was holding (the sand), and they did not weed around.'

**Conditional clauses**

In Paresi, conditionals do not have a dedicated marker. Rowan & Burgess (1969) and Silva (2013) analyzed the clitic *iya* (or its reduced form *ya*) as a conditional marker. As discussed in Brandão (2010), I consider the clitic to be an irrealis marker because it also occurs in negation (see §7.6). Another argument against the conditional analysis is that *iya* only occurs in counterfactual and concessive conditions, not in all conditional.

The connector *hoka* follows the conditional clause (similar to the constructions seen above in reason clauses), as seen in (91) and (92), which refer to habitual or generic
situations, and (93) which refers to a past situation:

(91) txinitse te militsa hitso [iniho hanoloka
txini -tse =te militsa hitso in= iho ha= noloka
jaguar CLF:small =FUT scratch you 3sg= tail 3sg= pull
**hoka**]
hoka
CON
'The cat is going to scratch you if you pull his tail.' (E)

(92) [irikati aotse hikahe hamoka **hoka**]
irika -ti -aotse hi= kahe ha= moka hoka
fire UNPOSS place where 2sg= hand 3sg= put CON
hikerali
hi= kera -li
2sg= burn CLF:round
'If you put your hand in the fire, you will get burnt.' (E)

(93) [aitereze tyoma **hoka**] waiye kaitshare
aitere -ze Ø= tyoma hoka Ø= waiye kaitshare
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 witsa
h= e= ma- hakaitse -re -tya witsa
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)
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*).

Concessive condition

Concessive conditional clauses describe a situation in which the main clause event would not be expected. These clauses use the connector *ezahê* in preverbal position.

'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)
'Even if I stay alone here, I will not move away' (Bacaval wenakalati)

**Purposive clauses**

Purposive clauses are followed by the connector *maheta* in Paresi. In (100) through (103), there are examples of purposive clauses with different and same subjects.

(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

(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

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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'*. 

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was not found in the Paresi varieties I studied. Instead a similar form *era* was found only rarely in texts. The morpheme *era* precedes a purposive clause, as in (104). It is not clear whether *era* is a purposive marker\(^{97}\) 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 ainako -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 namairaty [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 namairaty [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= iximarene akohitsa
come.out REG TRS NMLZ SIM 3sg youngest.brother make.small.gap
'iHe 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
hyaonare hoka hikoare
Ø= hyaona -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.
The irrealis *iya* may occur in both sentences, but it is optional in the matrix clause:

(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

'Iif 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 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'.

(112)  [notyomariya  hoka]  nowaini  (iya)
      no=  tyoma  -re  =iya  hoka  no=  waini  =iya
      1sg=  do  NMLZ  =IRR  CON  1sg=  die  =IRR

'Iif I had done this, I would have died' (E)

(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)
If I had got the fiber and tied up on her arm...' (ketetse)

Today, we are waiting for the toll and at least we have a little money'

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).

'Even if you drink only a little bit, they will argue with you' (E)

'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 a unusual across languages (in Arawak languages usually one set is for A-subjects and the other for S-subjects).

The relations among the middle voice -oa and the coreferential marker -wi, and the reciprocal -kakoa and the comitative kaka 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.
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.

I will tell a little bit of the story of this village in the old days.

I think in the year of nineteen fifty-nine, in the old days.

My father, who is João garimpeiro, and his wife, who is Anita.

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and Maximiano and dona Petromilia

6 maiha ali xini tyaoahitaha eye
   maiha ali xini tyaoa -h -ita -ha eye
   NEG here NEG live PL CONT PL this

ikinozatse Tabira nihozozoako
i= kino -za -tse Tabira n= ihozozoako
3sg= tree POSSED CLF.small PN 3sg= neck
aokahitere nali ene atyo tyaonahitaha.
aoka -h -ite -re nali =ene =atyo tyaoa -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 hatyaotsetayo 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 nihozozo akota ali
   hatyo zoima -nae hatyo Tabira n= ihozozo ako -ta ali
   that child PL that PN 3sg= neck LOC source here
eye ahoti waiye kahare tyoahaha 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.
Those ones are my father and my mother.

Maximiano with his wife Petromilia, Antonio e Justino with their families.

when they were here, and decesead Siarencio with his wife dona Apolonia

the elder Mariquinha

since the beginning Siarencio and his sister came here, they lived here in the old days.
For the first time, they came to live here, but not here; it was there in the other side of the road.

where it is called "mocegueiro" tree, where there has only "mocegueiro" tree, it was clean not as it is now.

first my father and my mother lived there, as they live until today.

The sisters of my mother, Natalia, Terezinha and Inez they also (lived there).
because they married, people from other places were used to visit them.

Then they got married.

Okoizare married Natalia.

Dito Bokainyo married Terezinha, he was from the Iyomoweka and Okoizare was from Tanorehana.
After this, Narciso married Inez, the youngest sister.

After that, this coexistence remains today, but the father of Marinho lived down here.

Then, after Marinho's father was killed, Cirila came here to be near them.

They came to live here on that side, in the time Marinho and Maria Helena were children.
They lived like this, but other people came from far away and arrived for them.

As for example, the families of my parents, of Txakinyo, of Tawari and of the deceased captain Marco.

Almost every day they came to visit them, like the deceased Brito, Mauricio's father.

Their brother-in-law were coming to visit them, they were coming almost every day.
Here was this way since nineteen sixty in that year, that I had just talked about, there was only one house.

Then after that death, and after they killed the father of Marinho

For the first time, my father had a great feast and brought people for the first time.
in area of our villages, many girls and boys died, almost everyone.

Because of these, some accuse others of witchcraft, and others accuse because of the death of family members.

Others also killed each other, like they did to Marinho's father.
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 x= kako -re -nae tyotya heko -ta kolaty -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 Utiairiti.
Then

I think it was nineteen sixty eight or nine, there this Aloizo

he came from the middle of the non-Indian man right there from Vilhena.

he arrived here, after that the person who adopted him

João Bonito also moved here and after that they increased.
Then, as I just told, the women married and they had children.

After this people here have increased here.

In that time, they lived without boss, their boss was the missionaries.
Jorge was in sacre 1 and Orlando was at the Cabeceira do osso village, and also in this period there was SPI.

by this time, the SPI watched over in place of funai but they did not stay in the village with the Indians.

It is in his town in Cuiaba, if someone was smart as today...

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
  bez.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 familianae 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.
few time ago, it was Funai which demarcated our land, in nineteen eighties.

This demarcation was in eighty-one, when the Funai came and built a health center in the Formoso village.

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.

For the first time FUNAI entered and demarcated.
with nurse, and they built a school for the first time.

they built a health center, pharmacy and school.

in this time, they built a school, but it was not registered.

even though the children studied, I do not know the reason why they were not enrolled.

Almost was not perfectly correct, maybe they did not give transcripts.
I think they taught how to read and write.

And so, after the demarcation happened, many people came here.

After FUNAI came.

I think it was in nineteen ninety four.

this school was built
The first school through the city hall, at that time the chief Faquiano, as I had mentioned earlier, and all the families lived here.

All lived there.

The chief Faquiano fought through City Hall and got the municipal school Zozoitero.

It was not the people from here who were teaching, it was Valdemar Bororo teacher who was the first one.
And so this school began, I think he taught a year and half.

the first time was Nilce teacher, daughter of Aloízio.

After that until today she is a teacher, she is no longer teaching but today she is coordinator.

What I was talking about, after the year ninety-four the project tucum was created.
for the first time many paresi were on the professorship level.

Then, many children were born. Furthermore, when they finished the fourth grade, there was no way to continue their studies.

Then for the first time, all of us, leaders and teachers, went to the town hall to address the issue of high school.
That happened until we got the municipal school, the elementary school.

after that, it was the same thing, many children finished the elementary school, and they could not study more.

the high school called segundo grau

we went to ask and we got it again.
Today children are studying here in the village itself.

Some children from this school are already taking courses, some (are doing) dentistry (at the college).

And others study practical nurse, as I had commented before, all teachers are trained, or have a Bachelor.

Teachers who are formed are teaching are, that is what happened.

The health issue now
First entered an institution called Tropic which did not work well with us.

many children, pregnant women and elderly were dying.

We followed the organization that started to work with us.

In the year two thousand and two that halitinae association was created and through this the coordination of health, and it started working.
Then the indigenous health was going very well, and was in the hands of indigenous and the indigenous coordinated.

He was taking care of it before last year ago.

The non-Indian man changed the system of work.

is the policy of the government that did it, in fact the association.

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.
It was thus in eighty, ninety, only two thousand and two.

In two thousand and two was the indigenous own their on began.

and started working and made the health center.

it was done in three places, first in Bacaval, then Rio Verde village, after this in Três lagoas.

Then recently there was a small health center in Nova Esperança and Formoso villages.
after all that has been done, now the health system is messy, many people do not understand the fact that is happening.

We who are seeing that, we are very sorry, we are still fighting, we will fight until the end.

And so was all the events.

Recently the village has been growing, there is a health service building and a school.
Until the elementary and the high school and the people who live here have their own objects.

today even the power of the non-Indian man there is in this village.

This is a part that I told until where I got to witness.

that is it, I am also living here, and that is it.
The story of Kokotero

1 hatyaotseta nikare Kokotero tahi .
   hatyaotseta nikare Kokotero =tahi
then like this mythical figure =about

Then, the story of Kokotero is like this

2 Kokotero tahi kete kaotyakene tahi .
   Kokotero =tahi kete kaotyak =ene =tahi
mythical figure =about manioc show.up =3O =about

about Kokotero e about the creation of the manioc

3 kala eyaotseta hetati zowakiya .
   kala eyaotseta hetati zowakiya
   EVID then in.the.old.days at this time

So in the old days

4 kala koerekama ityani kamozalikoa kamalahitsoa
   kala koerekama ityani kamozalikoa kamalahitsoa
   EVID mythical figure son, daughter mythical figure mythical figure
ityani .
ityani
son, daughter

then Koerekama's son, son of Kamazalikoa and Kamalahitsoa

5 Zokowiye Zakoemalo .
   zokowiye Zakoemalo
mythical figure mythical figure

Zokowiye, Zakoemalo

6 kala warekoaho , Kokotero warekoahone
   kala warekoaho Kokotero warekoaho -ne
   EVID place to bathe mythical figure place to bathe POSSED
   tyaonita mitikoa nihatyaka wayetene .
tyaona -ita mitikoa nihatyaka waiya -tya =ene
become CONT go.down always see, watch TH =3O
Kokotero always saw them when she was going down to the place where they bath

7 kala haliti tihoretseranae .
  kala haliti tihore -re -tse =ira -nae
  EVID person face NMLZ CLF.small =AFF, small PL

So, it looked like human's face

8.1 mitikoahena hoka Kokotero niyalitsekatse ,
  mitikoa -hena hoka Kokotero iyali -tse -katse
  go.down IFV CON mythical figure body hair CLF.small CLF. long
mawekolone niyotyako neya halaitsoa .
ma- wekolone niyo tyako nea -ya halaitsoa
NEG fertile be.dry belly say jump

Kokotero! sterile! dry placenta, and then they went down jumping

8.2 ezoahenahita ezoahita .
  ezoa -hena -h -ita ezoa -h -ita
  fall IFV PL CONT fall PL CONT

they start to fall, they fell

9 nikare mitikoahenaiya hoka Kokotero
  nikare mitikoa -hena =iya hoka Kokotero
  like this go.down IFV =IRR CON mythical figure
niyalitsekatse .
iyali -tse -katse
body hair CLF.small CLF. long

When she was going down they always were saying: long pubic hair of Kokotero!

10.1 niyotyako !
  niyo tyako
  be.dry belly

dry placenta!

10.2 mawekolone !
  ma- wekolone
  NEG fertile

sterile!
11.1 niyalitsekatse iyali body hair -tse CLF.small -katse CLF. long

long pubic hair of Kokotero!

11.2 neaya hoka inihatyane kitxiako hokorone halaitsoa nea =ya hoka i= nihatyae -ne kitxi ako halaitsoa say CON 3sg= cross POSSED foot LOC jump
ezoahenaita ezoahita -h -ita
ezoa -hena -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
wihatyaneikitxixoita haliti tiho -re -tse -nae.
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
niyalitsekatse , mawe mawekolone , iyali -tse -katse mawe ma- wekolone body hair CLF.small CLF. long NEG fertile
niyotyakotse neahitaha ranae otyahitaha niyo tyako -tse nea -h -ita -ha otya -h -ita -ha be.dry belly CLF.small say PL CONT PL remember PL CONT PL
nomawekoloni no , nezanene Zatyamare .
no= ma- wekoloni no n= zanene -ne Zatyamare
1sg= NEG 1sg= husband POSSED mythical figure

All the time I go there, they know and they say that I am sterile, that I have dry placenta, long pubic hair, my husband Zatyamare
Well then, my wife, Kokotero, you did not guess

This is the deceased

The children of Koerekamae, Zokowiye and Zakoimyalo were generated with other women, and Kamalahitsoa Kamozalikoni

Handle them with xiri for me

Then said they handle them with xiri to be fishers of my jananqueza fish, my cará fish
Well then, they began to raise them

20 inityohaloti inityohalitihenaha xakazatya minita .
inityohare inityohare -hena -ha xaka -za -tya minita
old.person old.person IFV PL shoot CLF.liquid TH always

When they were growing up they always fished with the arrow

21 eaotseta , kala Kokotero Zatyamare ityani haterore
 eaotseta kala Kokotero Zatyamare ityani haterore
 then EVID mythical figure mythical figure son, daughter only
 katiholatetse , katiholatetse kaka !
 ka- tiho -la -te -tse ka- tiho -la -te -tse kaka
 ATTR face POSSED CLF.small ATTR face CLF.small a lot

So Kokotero and Zatyamare had only one daughter, who was full of warts

22 waya zaore ala hatyoira taitala
 waiya zaore =ala hatyo =ira taita =la
 see, watch FRUST =FOC that =AFF, small only =FOC
 ityaniha .
 ityani -ha
 son, daughter PL

He saw...but he had only one daughter

23 aba nea zakore ya haneze hiye miyatya taita
 baba nea zakore ya ha= neze =hiye miyatya taita
dad say FRUST IRR 3sg= father =BEN finish only
 enomana .
e= nomana
3sg= BEN

She said "father", but he only whistle to her

24 hamiyahazalako atyo hare nita malo nita
 ha= miyahazalako =atyo hare nea -ita malo nea -ita
 3sg= =TOP son say CONT daughter say CONT
 ihiye .
i= =hiye
3sg= =BEN

Though the whistle, he said "son and daughter"
When Zokowiye and Zokoimalo said: father, he answered "son and daughter"

Bury me in a place where my body can be soft.

bury up my body to my neck, in the trunk of Ohitsaretse

ask my body. 
Because my father zatyamare does not answer me

31 aba nomi zakore amiyatita taita nomanifi . baba nomi zakore amiyata -tya -ita taita no= mani dad say FRUST whistle TH CONT only 1sg= BEN

She said "father", but he only whistle to her

32 Zakoimyalo 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 maitisa . zane zakore waiya maitisa go FRUST see, watch NEG

She was looking and nothing

34 maiti sano ama Kokote marehareta maitisa -no mama Kokote mare -hare -ta NEG mom mythical figure itching MASC nozamatsehare nokakoare n= zama -tse -hare no= =kakoa -re 1sg= MASC 1sg= =COM NMLZ

Nothing happened to my body, mother Kokotero

35 maliritseta nototoniritse maliri -tse -ta no= toto -n -i -ri -tse CLF.small CONT 1sg= breast POSSED CAUS CL.round CLF.small nokozoniritse nokokoare no ama Kokote no= kozon -i -tse no= =kakoa -re no mama Kokote 1sg= vagina 1sg CLF.small 1sg= =COM NMLZ mom mythical figure .

Nothing happened to my breast nor to my private parts, mother Kokotero
Transfer me, I do not want to be in the middle of holes, mother Kokote

She was burying her (Kokotero) again, then looked

There is nothing, mother kokotero

Nothing happened to my breast nor to my private parts, mother Kokotero

She said "transfer me"
She was transferred, but when she went looking (Zakoimalo): nothing, mother Kokote

42 marehareta nokakoi nozamatsehare, mare -hare -ta no= kaki 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= kaki 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= kaki 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
hatzikini maniya itita ite nakawihena
h= atzikini maniya itita =ite na= kawi -hena
2sg= after, behind side =FUT 1sg= shout IFV
neratsehare
n= era -tse -hare
1sg= drink CLF.small MASC

You can go, do not look back! If so, I will scream the cry of those who will drink me "yuhoho!"

47 yohoho, zerare malyaotse kawiyala
zera -re malyaotse kawiyatya =la
sing NMLZ type of flute shout =FOC
nakawiyahena ama Kokote
na= kawiyatya -hena mama Kokote
1sg= shout IFV mom mythical figure

the cry of malyaotse singer, I will scream kokote mother

48 maika baba Zatyamare tyomehena, atyo tyomehena
maika baba Zatyamare tyome -hena =atyo tyome -hena
SUG dad mythical figure make, do IFV =TOP make, do IFV
nokahakali maheta, maika timare tyomehena
no= kaha -kal -i 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
Then ask my father Zatyamare

Asks the father Zatyamare, sow bug for me to beautify me

Also asks the father to kill Zatyamare pirapotanga and give to me
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
bargé 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
Then she went away

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

His mother was crying and and she turned back to see, and the forest was too thick to see through

At the same time the plant went down

It became short
If was not this, the cassava would get high

66  eakere  kete  kaotyakene  tahi .
    eakere  kete  kaotyk  =ene  =tahi
    so, then  manioc  show.up  =3O  =about

67  eaotseta  kete  tyaohena .
    eaotseta  kete  tya  -hena
    then  manioc  become  IFV

So it was born cassava

68  eaotseta  eye  tahita  manatyare .
    eaotseta  eye  =tah  -ta  mana  tya  -re
    then  this  =about  EMPH  deliver a speech  NMLZ

Then, this same story has also a song

69  manatita  hao  olone  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  =tah  -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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