EXPRESSION OF THE THIRD PERSON IN THE PARKATÊJÊ LANGUAGE[1]

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Abstract: *This article presents a detailed description of the distinct ways of indexing a third-person pronominal referent on Parkatêjê verbs. Parkatêjê is a Jê language belonging to the Timbira Dialectal Complex, and spoken in the Southeast part of the State of Pará (Brazil). The motivation to investigate this specific topic was that it had not been the focus of a thorough analysis in the previous studies on the language (FERREIRA, 2003; ARAÚJO 1989). Based on morphosyntactic, phonotactic and historical-comparative criteria, we describe the several forms of expressing the third person with verbs in Parkatêjê, and propose a revised list of Parkatêjê personal pronouns, which includes the forms for third-person singular and plural. In addition, we compare the pattern of verbal third person expression of Parkatêjê to the patterns found in other Northern Jê languages, such as Mẽbẽngokrê, Krahô, Pykobjê and Apãniekrá.*

Resumo: *Este artigo apresenta uma descrição detalhada das formas distintas de expressão do referente pronominal de terceira pessoa dos verbos em Parkatêjê, uma língua Jê pertencente ao Complexo Dialeto Timbira, falada na região sudeste do estado do Pará (Brasil). A motivação para investigar este tópico específico deve-se ao fato de ele não ter sido tratado em detalhes nos estudos anteriores sobre a língua (FERREIRA, 2003; ARAÚJO 1989). Com base em critérios morfossintáticos, fonotáticos e histórico-comparativos, descrevemos as diversas formas de expressar a terceira pessoa com verbos em Parkatêjê e propomos uma lista revisada de pronomes pessoais de Parkatêjê, que inclui as formas para terceira pessoa do singular e do plural. Além disso, comparamos o padrão de expressão da terceira*

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pessoa verbal de Parkatêjê com os padrões encontrados em outras línguas Jê do Norte, como Mẽbẽngokrê, Krahô, Pykobjê e Apãniekrá.

1. Introduction

Pronouns have been traditionally defined as words that substitute nouns (BHAT, 2004, p.1). However, such description is not broadly accepted, due to the fact that certain pronouns - especially some personal pronouns - cannot substitute indiscriminately *any* noun. This paper examines the personal pronouns in Parkatêjê, focusing on the expression of the third person.

The Parkatêjê language belongs to the group of Northern Jê languages, and integrates the Timbira Dialectal Complex along with other languages such as Krahô, Krinkati, Apãniekrá-Canela, Ramkokamekrá-Canela, Pykobjê-Gavião, Krenjê and Apinajé. It is spoken in the Southeastern region of Pará (Brazil) in a community located near the municipality of *Bom Jesus do Tocantins,* on the margins of the highway BR-222. According to previous works by Ferreira (2003), this language possesses free and bound personal pronouns, which distinguish first, second and third person, and three numbers (singular, dual and plural).

This article is a revised and expanded version of the analysis presented by Ribeiro-Siva (2016) in her Master Thesis. It describes the several forms of expressing the third person with verbs in Parkatêjê, and proposes a revised list of Parkatêjê personal pronouns, which includes the forms for third-person singular and plural. This topic had not been dealt with details in the previous studies on this language (NEVES, 2012; FERREIRA, 2003; ARAÚJO, 1977, 1989). In order to further the analysis of the third person markers in Parkatejê, in addition to the existing studies on this topic (ARAÚJO, 1989; FERREIRA, 2003), we also take into account information from other languages of the Macro-Jê family, such as Apãniekrá (CASTRO ALVES, 2004), Pykobjê (AMADO, 2003), Mẽbẽngokrê (SILVA, 2001), and Krahô (SOUZA, 1989).

The article is organized in the following way. Section 2 presents methodology of data collection and analysis. Section 3 addresses the morphological, syntactic and distributional features of personal pronouns in Parkatêjê, as well as the differences between free and bound pronominal forms. Section 4 analyses the expression of the

third person in Parkatêjê verbs, based mainly on morphosyntactic, phonotactic and historical-comparative criteria. In section 5, a revised table of personal pronouns is proposed for Parkatêjê, including a morphological distinction for three persons (first, second and third), and two numbers (singular and plural). Section 6 presents a summary of the main advances in the analysis of third person pronominal referents in the Parkatêjê verbs. The distribution of the pronouns according to a combination of their grammatical functions and the verb tenses that had been previously described by Ferreira (2003) is confirmed and refined.

2. Data and methodology

The methodology of collection and analysis of the linguistic data was the habitual one used in linguistic description: field research, analysis of the obtained material, its organization and comparison with data of other Macro-Jê languages that belong to the Complexo Dialetal Timbira, namely Apãniekrá, Pykobjê, Krahô and also Mẽbẽngokrê (Jê family, but not CDT). We followed a typological-functional theoretical perspective (COMRIE, 1989; DIXON, 1994; SHOPEN, 2007; HASPELMATH, 2013, 2014), and the analysis of pronouns is especially based on the work of Bhat (2004). We also resorted to the principles of historical-comparative linguistics (HOCK, 1991), when relying on data from the related languages, mentioned above, as additional arguments for some of the analyses proposed in this article, based on the similarities found between these languages.

The corpus used for this article is composed of 372 sentences and consists of three sets: i) a set of data in audio format (WAV), kindly provided by Marilia Ferreira and Cinthia Neves, from different moments of their research with the Parkatêjê language, ii) a set of data collected in April of 2015 by Nandra Ribeiro-Silva & Marílila Ferreira, iii) and a third set of data collected in November 2015 by Nandra Ribeiro-Silva. The recordings were made using a Zoom H4n recorder and two head microphones (Shure wh20).

In all sentences there are occurrences of pronouns in various grammatical relations: intransitive subject, subject, transitive subject, transitive object, indirect object, bitransitive. The corpus also includes 03 short texts, obtained specifically to analyze the topic in question, in semi-controlled elicitations. The data collected were transcribed with

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the help of speakers of Parkatejê, the Transcriber and Praat softwares were used to facilitate the selection of the desired sections for analysis, and visualization of acoustic parameters.

The Parkatejê data presented in this article is organized into three rows. The first is the phonological transcription of the sentence in Parkatejê, following the notation for morpheme-by-morpheme interlinearization according to the Leipzig glossing rules[2], in which words are separated by spaces and morphemes by hyphens (-). The second line is used to identify the glosses, which include the translation of each lexical or grammatical item. The third line contains the free translation of the example in Portuguese. In cases where we are not clear about the specific gloss of an item or morpheme, we have indicated it with a question mark (?) in the correspondent gloss line. The examples referring to the other languages of the Macro-Jê family, taken from other authors, were transcribed in their original format.

Data were collected from four male informants: a 90-year-old speaker, who at the time of the fieldwork was the oldest speaker in the community, and fluently spoke the language of Parkatêjê. Sadly, he passed away in October of 2016. The second informant was a community teacher, approximately 69 years old. He teaches Parkatêjê to children at the Pĕmptykre school. He had left the indigenous village at the age of eight to live with the family of an employee from the National Bureau for Indigenous Affairs (FUNAI) in the mid-1960s, having returned to his community when he was around twenty years old. The two other informants are younger and are also both fluent speakers of Parkatêjê.

3. Personal pronouns and morphosyntactic alignment in Parkatêjê

Pronouns have been conventionally classified as a closed part-of-speech class, and defined as a word that can substitute a noun or noun phrase, and which include various subtypes, namely *personal*, *reflexive*, *reciprocal*, *demonstrative*, *indefinite*, and *relative pronouns* (SCHACHTER AND SHOPEN, 2007, p.24). However this definition is not consensual. For Bhat (2004, p.1), the category of pronouns, especially personal pronouns, does not replace nouns, but instead expresses the roles of the participants in the speech act. As for the subcategory of personal pronouns, different authors tend to propose a subdivision, grouping together first and second persons, distinct from

third person. Bhat (2004, p.66) uses the term 'personal pronouns' to refer only to first and second personal pronouns, and the term 'proformas' to refer to all other types of pronouns, which may include the third person.

First and second person pronouns are used to indicate the roles of the speakers in the speech act – namely 'speaker' and 'listener', respectively – and their involvement in the events, while the proformas (including the third person) are used to locate participants in events, with reference to the context of speech. Specific characteristics of personal pronouns and the distinct behavior of first/second persons as opposed to third person may be related to this functional distinction.

For instance, according to Ferreira (2003), the Parkatêjê language presents free and bound personal pronouns. While both series distinguish between first, second and third person, first and second persons behave differently from the third person. Only first and second persons receive case and number (singular, dual and plural) marking. As for the morphosyntactic alignment of argument roles (S, A, O), Parkatêjê exhibits a complex system conditioned by the semantic nature of the verb and by tense, aspect and mood (TAM) categories (FERREIRA, 2003). Morphosyntactic alignment is related to the concept of grammatical relations and refers to the way a language treats the different arguments of a verb, that is, how the two arguments of a transitive verb – A (the agentive argument), P or O (the more patient-like argument) – align with S, the sole argument of an intransitive verb (DIXON, 1994; SIEWIERSKA, 2013). The question is then which of the arguments (S, A and O) are coded identically and which are coded differently (COMRIE, 2013), and this coding of arguments may be defined morphologically, on the basis of nominal case marking and person indexation on the verb, and also syntactically through word order configuration.

Parkatêjê is one of many languages that show a complex organization of the S, A, O arguments, having more than one alignment pattern. It presents a sort of split transitivity conditioned by the tense and aspect features. There is one alignment pattern with past perfective clauses and a distinct pattern with non-past non-perfective clauses. In the past perfective, the A argument of a transitive verb, is encoded by bound pronouns and receives a portmanteau postposition

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te (singular)/**tem** (plural) that is analyzed as an ergative case marker used only in the perfective aspect past tense. According to Araújo (1989, p.54) the particle *te* can be construed as an ergative case-marker, since it occurs exclusively with A arguments and never with the S or the O arguments. However, since *te* occurs only in the past tense/perfective aspect, and since its position coincides with that of the future-tense marker *-ka*, one may argue that it is a tense marker, which is undoubtedly the origin of this marker that nowadays also mark the ergative argument. Observe the tense-marking pattern below:

1) wa   mũ   Marabá   wỳr   mõ
  1SG   DIR   Marabá Posp   to go
  'I go to Marabá'.

                                      (FERREIRA, personal database)

 2) wa   mũ   Marabá   wỳr   mõrõ
  1SG DIR   Marabá POSP   to go.PAST
   'I went to Marabá'.

                                        (FERREIRA, personal database)

3) wa   ka   mũ   Marabá   wỳr   mõ
  1 SG   FUT   DIR   Marabá POSP   to go
  'I will go to Marabá'

                                        (FERREIRA, personal database)

4) wa   tep   krẽ
  1 SG   fish   to eat
   'I eat fish'

                                        (FERREIRA, personal database)

5) i-te   tep   krẽre
  1SG-ERG   fish   eat. PAST
   'I ate fish'

                                        (FERREIRA, personal database)

6) wa   ka   tep   krẽ
  1 SG FUT   fish   eat
  'I will eat fish'.

(FERREIRA, personal database)

7) i-kahàk
  1-be.bad
 'I am bad (person)'

(FERREIRA, personal database)

8) i-te   a-pupũn
  1-ERG 2-see-PAST
  'I saw you'.

(FERREIRA, personal, database)

9) a-te   i-pupũn
  2-ERG 1-see-PAST
 'You saw me'

(FERREIRA, personal database)

The argument of active intransitive verbs (Sa) is encoded by a free pronoun and does not receive a postpositional case-marker. The argument of the stative intransitive verb (So) and the patientive argument (O) of a transitive verb are encoded by bound pronouns, and do not receive a case-marker either. The alignment pattern in past perfective sentences is, thus, partially ergative, as summarized below:

> **A ǂ Sa ǂ (So = O)**

In non-past tense non-perfective aspect, there is a different alignment, which is evidenced only by means of the pronominal form used (bound *versus* free), since none of the verbal arguments receive case markers in this tense aspect. Subjects of transitive verbs (A) and subjects of active intransitive verbs (Sa) are encoded by free pronouns, whereas stative intransitive subjects (So) and objects of transitive verbs (O) are encoded by bound pronouns. None of these arguments receives case markers in the non-perfective non-past tense. This amounts to an active alignment pattern, as below:

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$$(A = Sa) \ddagger (So = O)$$

As can be observed from the previous discussion, the distribution of the two series (free and bound) of personal pronouns with the verbs is directly related to morphosyntactic alignment patterns found in the language. Free personal pronouns always occur in subject position, as arguments of active intransitive verbs (S_a) and as subjects of transitive verbs (A). According to Ferreira (2003, p.62), these pronouns consist of a basic series, which combines with a formative particle *mẽ* in order to mark the plural form, as illustrated in example (10).

(10)   *ka*   ***mẽ***   *i-pupun*
          2sg   *pl*   *1-to see*
        'You see me'

(FERREIRA, 2003, p.56)

In the syntactic structures of Parkatêjê, bound personal pronouns are prefixed to a lexical core. They are used as arguments of inactive intransitive verbs (So), as the transitive O or as subject of transitive verbs (A arguments). When used as A arguments*,* bound pronouns are marked by the postposition ***te (singular)/tem (plural)*** in the past tense perfective aspect, thus, exhibiting a partial Ergative/Absolutive pattern, as mentioned above.

(11) *i- jirot*
       1- to be weak
       'I am weak'

(FERREIRA, personal database)

(12) *a-te*   *i-kaprêprêk*
       2-ERG   1-to hit.PAST
       'You hit me (a lot)'

(FERREIRA, personal database)

(13) mẽØ-tem   jaxu   pyr
       PL   3-ERG.PL deer   to kill. PAST
        'They killed deer'

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, personal database)</div>

The next section discusses and analyzes the expression of the third person in Parkatêjê. The analysis is mainly grounded in morphosyntactic criteria, however some cases required us to refer to phonotactic aspects and to historical-comparative evidence in order to account for the emergence of the third person forms.

4. Expressing the third person in Parkatêjê

This section approaches the different form(s) of expressing the third person in Parkatêjê. The choice of third person marking is defined accordingly to morphosyntactic properties of the clause, such as the grammatical function of the core arguments and TAM features. We start by presenting the personal pronouns in the function of subjects of transitive (A) and intransitive verbs (S). Then, we present the arguments in favor of a future tense free subject pronoun *kê*. Next the morphosyntactic properties and distribution of the morphemes ***h-, i-, ku-, m-*** as bound third person objects (O) and stative subjects (So) are presented, and the section ends with morphemes ***tam*** and ***ku-*** third person distant past subject and object markers, respectively.

Pronominal subjects of transitive verbs in the past tense are encoded by the series of bound pronouns, followed by the postposition *te* 'ergative', as shown in examples (14) to (17). Examples (15) and (17) confirm that a third person is not overtly marked in the past tense, as had been described by Ferreira (2003).

(14) *i-te*   *kõkõn*   *kahek*
      1SG-ERG   gourd   break
      'I broke the gourd'.
                          (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(15) *Ø-te*   *kõkõn*   *kahek*
      3-ERG   gourd   break
      'He broke the gourd'
                          (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(16) *i-te*   *põhy*   *kẽnkẽn*
      1SG-ERG   corn   break

'I broke corn'

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(17)   *Ø-te   põhy   kẽnkẽn*
      3-ERG   corn   break
      'He broke corn'

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

With plural subjects, the postposition ***te*** is substituted by ***tem/mẽ*** as shown in examples (18) to (21), cf. Ferreira (2003).

(18)   *Ø-**te**   ropkror   pupũn*
      3-ERG   spotted.jaguar   see
      'He saw the spotted jaguar'.

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(19)   *Ø-**tem**   ropkror   pupũn*
      3-ERG.PL   spotted. Jaguar see
      'They saw the spotted jaguar.

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(20)   *Ø-**te**   krat   jakre*
      3-ERG   gourd   show
      'He showed the gourd'.

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(21)   *Ø-**mẽ**   kõkõn   kahek*
      3-PL   gourd   break
      'They broke the gourd'

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

On the other hand, in the present tense, transitive subjects are marked by the series of free pronouns, and they do not take the case marker ***te/tem***, as shown in examples (22) and (23). Example (23) shows that a third person referent is not marked in the present tense either.

(22)   *wa   a-pupũ*

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> 1SG   2-see
> 'I see you'

(23)   ***Ø***   *i-pupun*
          3   1-see
          'He sees me'

Intransitive verbs fall into two categories: active verbs and stative verbs. Active verbs are shown in examples (24) and (25) and occur with free pronouns, whereas stative or non-active verbs, shown in examples (26) and (27), occur with bound pronouns. As it can be seen in the following examples, similarly to the pattern described for transitive subjects above, in the present tense the third person is not marked with intransitive subjects either.

(24)   ***wa***   *apa*   *ajhêre*
          1SG   apa   run
          "I run".

(25)   ***Ø***   *apa*   *ajhêre*
          3   apa   run
          'He run'.

(26)   ***a-****mpej*
          2-be.good
          'You are good '.

(27)   ***Ø-mpej***
          3-be.good
          'He is good'.

Ferreira (2003, p.119) had described the particle **ka** as a near future marker, occurring immediately after the subject, that is, in second position in a sentence. The following examples illustrate the distribution of this morpheme with first and second persons, respectively in (28) and (29).

(28)   **wa**   ka   pỳka   pê   nõ   hõ
       1SG   FUT   land   LOC   lay. Down   sleep
       'I will sleep on the ground'.
<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.119)</div>

(29)   **ka**   ka   kãmtayho   mpey-ti
       2SG   FUT   write   be.beautiful- EMP
       'You will write very beautifully'.
<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.119)</div>

The morpheme **kê** occurs in the same position as the first and second person pronouns. We observe in examples (30) to (32) that the morpheme **kê** occurs as a free pronoun, followed by the future marker **ka** in second position, and takes the role of the third-person subject with transitive and intransitive verbs.

(30)   **kê**   ka   kãm   kwa   hõ   ku-krẽ
       3   FUT   LOC   QUANT give   3-eat
       'She/he will allow him to eat'.
<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(31)   **kê**   ka   a-kot   mõ
       3   FUT   2-WITH   go
       'She/he will go with you'.
<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(32)   **kê**   ka   mũ   pỳp
       3   FUT   DIR   fall
       'He will fall'.
<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

The use of the morpheme **kê** as third-person subject has also been observed in the two contexts shown in examples (33) and (34):

(33)   **kê**   ka   mũ   **mẽntia**   pra
        3   FUT   DIR   woman   walk
        'The woman will walk'. *lit.* 'She, the woman will walk.'
                                  (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(34)   **ta**   **kê**   ka   kury   pĩ
        rain   3   FUT   fire   extinguish
        '[The rain], it will extinguish the fire'.
                                    (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

We observe in sentences (33) and (34) that the nominal subject – **mẽntia** 'woman' and **ta** 'rain', respectively – co-occurs with the third person pronominal subject (**kê**). In example (33), the third-person pronoun **kê** in first position is co-referent with the nominal subject **mẽntia** 'woman'. The second position particle **ka** encodes the future tense. In example (34), the nominal subject appears topicalized to the left. This type of construction is found in other languages of the Timbira Complex, for instance in Apãniekrá, as shown in example (35):

(35)   *intuw*   *ke*   *há*   *ropkror*   *pupu*
        Young person   3   IRR   spotted.jaguar   see
        'The young man, he will see the spotted jaguar'.
                                    (CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.95)

It is worth pointing out that Parkatêjê has an *irrealis* mood morpheme which is homophonous to the third person free pronoun (FERREIRA, personal notes). As illustrated in examples (36) and (37) this morpheme should not be confused with the third person free pronoun since it shows distinct morphosyntactic and distributional properties:

(36)   *wa*   *a-kãm*   *kuhõ*   **kê**   *kukrẽ*
        1SG   2-LOC   give   IRR   eat
        'I will let you eat'.

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(37) **kê**   *anã*   *mpa*   *pyren*   *jakry*
    IRR   mother 2INCL PYREN happy
    'For your mother to be happy about us'.

A third-person free pronoun, cognate to the **kê** '3rd person' in Parkatêjê, and used in a similar construction in the future tense has also been described for other languages of the Timbira Complex. That is the case, for instance, in Apãniekrá (CASTRO ALVES, 2004), Krahô (SOUZA, 1989) and Pykobjê (AMADO, 2004).

In Apãniekrá, the third-person subject expressed by the free pronoun **kê** is followed by the morpheme **ha**, which is analyzed by Castro Alves (2004) as *irrealis*. This morpheme seems to correspond to the Parkatêjê morpheme **ka,** which is analyzed as future tense marker by Ferreira (2003). Note how examples (38) and (39) drawn from Apãniekrá compare to the Parkatêjê examples (30) to (32) above.

(38) **ke**   *ha*   *kanã*   *kura*
    3   IRR   snake   kill
    'He will kill the snake'.

                        (CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.35)

(39) **ke**   *ha*   *hũmre*   *kwyr*   *pỳ*
    3   IRR   man   manioc   get
    'The man will get manioc'.

                        (CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.66)

In Krahô, the morpheme **ke** is considered a non-perfective nominative pronoun. This pronoun occurs in the **A** position of transitive verbs and the **S** position of intransitive verbs, when sentences do not indicate a perfective action, as shown in examples (40) and (41).

(40) **kê**   *ha*   *pi*   *kahek*
    3   FUT   firewood   break
    'He will break firewood'.

<div align="right">(SOUZA, 1989, p.17)</div>

(41) **kê**   *kʰra*   *pym*
      3   FUT   fall
      'He/She will fall'.

<div align="right">(SOUZA, 1989, p.81)</div>

In Pykobjê, Amado (2004) registers the occurrence of a particle **ki** which expresses the third person in future tense sentences, as shown in examples (42) and (43).

(42) **ki**   *ha*   *mẽ*   *rop*   *koran*
      3   FUT   PL   jaguar   kill
      'They will kill the jaguar'.

<div align="right">(AMADO, 2004, p.69)</div>

(43) **ki**   *ha*   *kʰwyr*   *ki*
      3   FUT   manioc   grate
      'He will grate manioc'.

<div align="right">(AMADO, 2004, p.70)</div>

Thus, based on language internal evidence combined with the comparative evidence, we analyze the morpheme **kê**, in Parkatêjê, as a third-person free pronoun, used as subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, but restricted to the future tense.

Ferreira (2003) reports that Parkatêjê free pronouns occur neither as the direct object (O) of transitive verbs nor as the sole argument of stative verbs (**So**). These functions are expressed by bound pronouns directly prefixed to the verb roots. We address now the morphosyntactic properties and distribution of the morphemes **i-**, **m-, n-, h-** and **ku-** which are analyzed here as bound pronominal forms used to express the third person in the functions of object (O) and stative subject (So).

Ferreira (2003) described the morpheme **i-** as a first person prefix and the morpheme **a-** as a second person prefix in Parkatêjê, as shown in examples (44) and (45), respectively.

(44) *ka*   *i-pupun*

2SG   1-see
'You see me'.

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.164)</div>

(45)   *wa*   *ka*   ***a-**krẽ*   *inũare*
       1SG   FUT   2-eat   NEG
       'I will not eat you'.

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.109)</div>

However, when describing the Ku-verbs, Ferreira (2003, p.108) shows in the data the occurrence of i-, but did not define at that time such a form as a third-person mark.

Nevertheless, we have identified in our corpus sentences where the morpheme *i-* also functions as third person, either performing the role of object (O) or that of stative intransitive subject (So), as demonstrated bellow[3]. This morpheme *i-*, homophonous to the first person morpheme, appears as a third person object (O) marker in examples (46) to (48), and third person stative intransitive subject *(So)*, in examples (49) and (50).

(46)   *wa*   *i-te*   ***i-**pĩr*
       1SG   1-ERG   3-kill.with arrow.PAST
       'I killed him'.

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.108)</div>

(47)   *ita*   *wa*   *i-te*   ***i-**pyr*
       DEM   1SG   1-ERG 3-pick.PAST
       'That stick over there I picked it'.

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(48)   *Cinthia*   *te*   ***i-**pĩr*
       Cinthia   ERG   3- kill.with arrow.PAST
       'Cinthia killed him with an arrow'.

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(49)   *mũ*   *Ø-te*   *kay*   *i-pỳr*
       DIR   3-ERG   knife   3-picked
       'She picked the knife'

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(50) *aikre pĩn   **i**-pỳp*
      House LOC   3-fall.PAST
      'He fell from the top of the house'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

Interestingly enough, examples (46) and (47) show two occurrences of a morpheme *i*- in the same sentence. In the first occurrence, the *i*- appears with the ergative case morpheme referring to the first person subject (A), and in the second occurrence the *i*- is prefixed to the verb and refers to the third person object (O).

As already presented in section 2, the Parkatêjê speakers who provided us with data for this article belong to three very different age ranges: a 90-year-old speaker, an approximately 69-year-old speaker and two younger speakers also fluent in Parkatêjê.

What is relevant here is that only the eldest speaker used a form *i*- to refer both to the first person (A) followed by the ergative marker, and also to a third person *O* and *So*. On the other hand, the three younger speakers used the morpheme *i*- only to refer to the first person, while the third person was not explicitly marked in their speeches.

The motivation for the analysis presented here comes from comparative data from two sister languages, all belonging to the same subgroup of Parkatêjê, the Complexo Dialetal Timbira. In other languages from the Timbira Complex, such as Apãniekrá and Krahô, there is a morpheme *iʔ*- that occurs as third-person object (O), examples (51) and (55), subject of the non-active intransitive verb (So), examples (52) and (54), and possessive pronoun, example (53):

      Apãniekrá
(51) ***iʔ**-kura*
      3-kill
      'Kill him'.

(CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.32)

(52) *ku-te   pap   to   **iʔ**-mpej*
      3-ERG   jirau   CAUS   3-be.good

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'He fixed the *jirau*'.

<div align="right">(CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.58)</div>

Krahô

(53) *ku-te*   **iʔ-prõ**   *mã*   *pĩ*   *kahek*
 3-POST   3-wife   POST firewood   break
.PAST

'He broke and gathered firewood for his wife'.

<div align="right">(SOUZA, 1989, p.26)</div>

(54) *ku-te*   *pye*   *kãm* **iʔ-pãm**
 3-POST   ground POST 3-fall.PAST

'She was the one who fell on the ground'.

<div align="right">(SOUZA, 1989, p.42)</div>

(55) **iʔ-kumrã**
 3-wash

'Wash (him)'.

<div align="right">(SOUZA, 1989, p.64)</div>

The Apãniekrá and Krahô third-person morpheme **iʔ-** and the Parkatêjê third person **i-** are clearly cognates. The only difference between them is the absence of glottal stop in Parkatêjê. Thus, the comparative data is used as evidence for the historical development and current distribution of the **i-** personal pronominal forms in Parkatêjê, following the principles of the historical comparative method (HOCK, 1991). Thus, based on the occurrence of the two homophonous morphemes **i-** to express first and third person, and the existence of a similar morpheme **iʔ-** for the third person in other languages of the Timbira Complex, we can infer that there is a process of linguistic change still underway in Parkatêjê[4].

Parkatêjê underwent the following historical change affecting the morpheme **i-** (cf. RIBEIRO-SILVA, 2016): a first phase where there was contrast between first and third person markers (1st phase), the loss of contrast have resulted in a merger of the two morphemes that became homophonous (2nd phase). In a third phase still under way, contrast is regained by loss of the third person marker (3rd phase).

	1ª phase	2ª phase	3ª phase
1st person	i-	i-	i-
2nd person	a-	a-	a-
3rd person	iʔ	i-	Ø-

Table 1. Proposed development of first, second and third bound pronouns in Parkatêjê (RIBEIRO-SILVA, 2016)

The forms **m-** and **n-** are also described here as possible allomorphs of the third person morpheme **i-**. In certain sentences containing the verb **pra** 'wake up', the prefix **m-**, appears as a third-person object. Compare the paradigm of this verb for first and second persons in examples (56) and (57) to sentences (58) to (61) which clearly show the morpheme **m-** occurring as a third-person object. The **m-** occurs before the initial bilabial consonant */p/*, and its distribution parallels that of the 1st and 2nd person morphemes in (56) and (57).

(56) *Maria pê i-pra*
Maria PD *1-*wake up
'Maria woke me up (long ago)'.
(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(57) *wa ka pa a-pra*
1SG FUT EMP *2-*wake up
'I will wake you up'.
(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(58) *wa ka Jonhapa m-pra*
1SG FUT Jonhapa 3-wake up
'I will wake Jonhapa up'.
(NEVES, field notes, 2014)

(59) *i-te m-prar*
1-ERG 3- wake up.PAST
'I woke her up'

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(NEVES, field notes, 2014)

(60)　*i-te*　*Cinthia* ***m-****prar*
　　　1-ERG　Cinthia 3-wake up.PAST
　　　'I woke Cinthia up'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(61)　*wa*　*amjĩ*　*kot*　*to*　***m-****pra*
　　　1SG　REFL　COM　CAUS　3-wake up
　　　'I myself woke her up'

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

Our analysis of ***m-*** as an allomorph of the third person morpheme ***i-*** is also supported by comparative data from other languages of the Timbira Complex, which show a similar distribution of cognate morphemes. Popjes and Popjes (1986, p.175), for instance, described the morpheme ***im-*** in the language Krahô, as one of the three allomorphs of the third-person prefix, (62) a (63). Similarly, in the language Apãniekrá, there is a morpheme ***im-*** also indicating a third person argument, according to the examples (64) to (65).

> ***Krahô***
> *(62)*　*im-prar*　　　*tỳj*
> 　　　　3-run　　　　strong.well
> 　　　　'He runs well'.

(POPJES and POPJES, 1986, p.173)

(63)　***im****-pyn*
　　　3-carry
　　　'He carried it'.

(POPJES e POPJES, 1986, p.195)

> ***Apãniekrá***
> (64)　***im****-pen*
> 　　　3-carry
> 　　　'He carried it'.

(CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.32)

(65)   *im*-put
       3-neck
       'his neck'

<div align="right">(CASTRO ALVES, 2004, p.31)</div>

Parkatêjê has yet another allomorph that functions as a third-person argument. The nasal alveolar consonant *n-* functions as third person. So, as shown in examples (66) and (67), which can be contrasted to (68) for a paradigmatic comparison.

(66)   *Nazaré i-kãm n-kryk*
       Nazaré 1-LOC   3-be.mad / be.angry
       'Nazaré is mad at me"

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(67)   *mũ   i-kãm n-krykti*
       ?   1-LOC   3-be.mad / be.angry
       '(He/she) is mad at me'

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(68)   *mũ   a-kãm i-krykti*
       ?   2-LOC   1-be.mad / be.angry
       'I am mad at you'

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

Similar distribution occurs in the Krahô and Pykobjê languages. In the former, the nasal consonants occur preceded by the vowel *i-*, examples (69) and (70), and in the latter the vowel *e-*, precedes the nasals, example (71).

(69)   *in*-to   *cara*
       3-eye   widens
       'His eye widens (in fear)'.

<div align="right">(POPJES e POPJES, 1986, p.173)</div>

(70)   *cu-te   in*-xer
       3-ERG   3-pinch
       'He pinched her'.

(POPJES e POPJES, 1986, p.173)

(71)   ***en***-*to*
        3-eye
        'his eye'

(AMADO, 2004, p.75)

In a study about third person inflection in Jê languages, Salanova (2011, p.21) identifies the third person prefixes ***ih-*** and ***in-*** in the Timbira dialectal complex, with three important characteristics. One of these characteristics is their distribution. Each form is specific to a given verbal theme, that is, ***ih-*** and ***in-***will most certainly not occur with the same verb. A second feature is that such third person markers are optional, that is, the third person can be Ø. The third feature is that the ***ih-*** and ***in-*** do not occur with certain verbal themes. The ***in-*** appears before some of the verbs that begin with /p/, /t/ and /k/, and ***ih-*** appears before the other verbs that begin with /p/, /t/, /k/, and also before verbs beginning with any other consonant. This description points to the fact that there is some lexical conditioned allomorphy which drives the choice of these third person morphemes in Jê languages.

For Parkatêjê, we postulate that the distribution of these two alomorphs, ***m-*** and ***n-,*** is partially phonologically motivated. The ***m-*** morpheme occurs with verbal roots starting with the bilabial occlusive consonant /***p***/, and, the morpheme ***n-*** occurs in the other environments, both assuming the function of third-person object. In that case, it would be an allomorph of the third person morpheme ***i-***. Though an allomorph ***im-*** and ***in-*** of the third person morpheme was described for Kraho by Popjes and Popjes (1986), an allomorph ***m-*** and ***n-*** '3.person' has not been described in any of the studies about the Timbira languages we have had contact with throughout the elaboration of this paper.

The morpheme ***h-*** functions as a third person bound pronominal form marking the object (O) and the stative intransitive subject (So). Examples (74) to (76) illustrate the use of the morpheme ***h-*** as third person object (O) and example (77) illustrate its use as stative intransitive subject (So), before vowels.

(74) *ĩntʃum*   *te*   ***h****-itep*
      Father (1st person)   ERG   3-cut
      'My father cut (it/them)'.

                                        (FERREIRA, 2003, p.102)

(75) *pê*   *pia*   *mũ*   ***h****-apron*   *mũ*   *mẽ*   *to*
      mõ   *amʒiʒõʒe*
      PD   DUB   DIR   3-pick   DIR   PL   do
      go   REFL.grab
      'They say he went to pick them and they went grabbing the hands of the sun'.

                                        (FERREIRA, 2003, p.256)

(76) *wa*   *ikrekrere*   *nã*   *amkro* *mã*   *kutʃi*   *nã*
      apu   ***h****-amã*
      1SG   clean   SS   sun   LOC   place   SS
      CONT   3-watch
      'I will clean it, place it in the hot sun and watch it'.

                                        (FERREIRA, 2003, p.255)

(77) *pê*   *aiku*   *kri*   *apu*   ***h****-ape*
      PD   REM   there   CONT   3-work
      'It seems he remained working there'.

                                        (FERREIRA, 2003, p.253)

The above examples show the pronominal third-person morpheme ***h-*** occurring with vowel initial verb stems. The ***h-*** morpheme also occurs with consonant initial verb stems. However, in these cases we observed the presence of a vowel *õ,* between ***h-*** and the first consonant of the verb root, as shown in examples (78) to (80).

(78) *mũ*   *i-te*   *mẽ*   ***h****õ-pun*
      DIR   1-ERG   PL   3-see
      'We saw him'.

                                   (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(79) *pê*   *pia*   *katʃer*   *kãm*   *aiku*   ***h****õ-pa*
      PD   DUB   moon   LOC   REM   3-worry

'They saID the moon became worried about him'

(FERREIRA, 2003, p.250)

(80) *mũ   mẽkwỳ j-ukaprĩti   mẽkwỳ **hõ-tfỹ***
      DIR   some   REL-be.generous   some   3-BE.selfish
      '(In the indigenous village, there are PEOPLE) some
generous, some selfish'.

(FERREIRA, 2003, p.131)

As discussed in Ribeiro-Silva (2016), in order to explain the observed data, a first hypothesis consisted in considering the vowel *õ* as part of the verb root, as indicated by the morpheme segmentation shown in example (81).

(81) *h-õpun*
      3-see
      'saw him'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

This hypothesis implies the existence of a specific group of verb roots, which take this vowel in their bases only under certain circumstances, since there are examples of at least some of the verb roots shown in the above sentences without the vowel *õ-*, as shown in (82) and (83). One such a circumstance that would require the alternate verb root would be when the object is a pronominal third-person. This explanation is ruled out as inappropriate since it would require the speaker to memorize all the verbal forms in which such a base alteration would take place (RIBEIRO-SILVA, 2016).

(82) *i-te   a-pupũn   inũare*
      1-ERG   2-see   NEG
      'I did not see you'.

(FERREIRA, 2003, p.196)

(83) *piare   te   i-pupũn*
      Piare   ERG   1-see
      'Piare saw me'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(84) *i-j-*   *ukaprĩn*-*ti*
      1-REL   - be.kind   -INTENS
      'I am kind'.

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.195)</div>

On the other hand, an allomorphic alternation in the pronoun form, **h-/ hõ-**, has the advantage that it does not presupposes a series of irregular verb roots and, thus, would not require the speaker to memorize all verbal forms that show the vowel in their roots when used with a third person O or So. The more logical explanation for this alternation comes from the phonotactics of the language. The morpheme **h-** is a bound pronominal form used to express the third person in Parkatêjê and presents the allomorphy **h- ~ hõ**-, whereas **hõ**- occurs before consonants and **h-** before vowels.

According to Araújo (1989, p.24), the syllabic patterns for Parkatêjê are complex and the type of syllable defines the conditions and constrains for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the segments in certain positions. Araújo (*ibid.*) proposes the following syllable patterns for a Parkatêjê: V, VC, CV, CCV, CVC, CCVC, CCVCC. Although Parkatêjê admits sequences of consonants in syllabic onset, the specific sequence of consonants **hp, ht, htʃ, hk** is not possible. According to Araújo (*ibid.*), the only possible sequences of consonants are **kr, kw, pr, mr, kt, mx, nt, mp**. For this reason, a linking vowel *(õ)* would be required when the morpheme **h-** is followed by a consonant, thus, generating the allomorphy **h- ~ hõ**-. If there is no linking vowel, the sequence **h-** + consonant will be an ill-formed syllable according to the phonotactic standards of the language. In that case, the speaker only needs to know the phonotactic rule that triggers the alternation between **h-** and **hõ-** whenever the third-person morpheme is followed by a verb root starting with a consonant.

There is a morpheme **ku**- that has been described for several languages of the Timbira Complex with similar properties and distribution, all of which are related to third person referents. Ferreira (2003) described the occurrence of a morpheme **ku-** in Parkatêjê as restricted to a specific verbal category, similarly to what occurs in other languages from the Timbira Complex, in which the cognate

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morpheme only occurs with certain verb classes. The group of verbs that occurs with *ku-* include the following: *ku-*pĩ 'kill with arrow'; *ku-*krẽ 'eat'; *ku-*pỳ 'pick, buy'; *ku-*prã 'remove the cover from the *kia* of the *kuputi*'[5]; *ku-*pa 'carry'; *ku-*ku 'eat'; *ku-*pã 'smell', *ku-*hô 'eat.without.much.chewing (fish, *ingá, cupuaçu, açaí, bacaba*)', *ku-*hõ 'give', *ku-*nĩ 'practice.sex' (FERREIRA, 2003. p.104-105). The morpheme *ku-* was described (*ibid*.) as occurring in complementary distribution with the O argument of the verb root. In other words, when the O argument is expressed in the sentence, the morpheme *ku* is omitted and vice-versa. This situation may be observed by contrasting examples (85) and (86). The morpheme *ku* is expressed in (86), and the nominal O argument is not, since it has shifted from its original position, as shown in example (86)[6].

(85) *wa   i-te   kro   pĩr*
      1SG   1-ERG   pig   kill.PAST
      'I killed pig'.

                                    (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(86) *pê   pỳt   ku-pĩ*
      PD   sun   3[7]-kill
      'The sun picked her to take'.

                                    (FERREIRA, 2003, p.105)

New data analyzed for this paper suggest the morpheme *ku-* functions as a third-person object marker, corroborating Ferreira's hypothesis previously stated in her doctoral thesis (FERREIRA, 2003), as illustrated below in examples (87) to (88):

(87) *wa   ka   ku-krẽ*
      1SG   FUT   3-eat
      'I will eat (something)'.

                                    (RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(88) *yatfy   (wa)   i-te   ku-pĩr*
      Deer   1SG   1-ERG   3-kill.with.arrow
      'Deer, I killed it'.

                                    (FERREIRA, 2003, p.173)

Note that the morpheme **ku-**, in the object position, presented in the examples above, occurred in the same position as the first and second person prefixes, according to examples (89) and (90).

(89)   *wa*   *ka*   *a- krẽ*   *inũare*
        1SG   FUT   2-eat   NEG
        'I will not eat you'.

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.109)</div>

(90)   *ka*   *ka*   *hey*   *nã*   *i- krẽ*
        2sg   fut   lie   ss   1-eat
        'You will lie (to me) and eat me'

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.251)</div>

Resorting again to comparative data, we note that Salanova (2011, p.89) presents an analysis of the morpheme *ku* in Mẽbẽngokrê as an accusative third person prefix, since its functions are identical to the other prefixes in all contexts. Two properties of the Mẽbẽngokrê morpheme *ku* are decisive for this analysis. The first one is that *ku* appears exactly where other person prefixes appear. The second one is that the morpheme presents partial agreement with the second argument (the subject) of the transitive verbs. For the author, most words receive inflection, however the occurrence of the third person is not marked. In addition, for a small class of transitive verbs and postpositions, the third-person prefix, marking the direct object, is encoded by the *ku* morpheme, only in the finite verbal form.

The occurrence of a morpheme **ku-** and its correlation to the expression of the third person has also been attested in other languages of the Timbira Dialectal Complex, such as Krahô (POPJES E POPJES, 1986), Apinajé (OLIVEIRA, 2003), and Apãniekrá (CASTRO ALVES, 2004). In all these languages, and also in Parkatêjê, the relation of the morphemes **ku-** and **i-** or its variations has been confirmed. Ferreira (2003) had already drawn attention to the variation of the morphemes **i-** and **ku-** in Parkatêjê, indicating that it could be related to some sort of agreement strategy. This oscillation between the use of **ku-** or **i-** was also identified in the data collected

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for the present analysis. Observe examples (91) and (92), where the same verb allows the two forms.

(91) *i-te*   **ku**-*pỳr*
      1-ERG   3-pick.PAST
      'I picked her'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(92) *i-te*   **i**-*pỳr*
      1-ERG   3-pick.PAST
      'I picked her'

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

When we consider data from other languages of the Timbira Complex, we observe that the oscillation between **ku-** and **i-** has also been noted. For instance, for Apãniekrá, Castro Alves (2004, p.105) describes the existence of a quite significant subcategory of transitive verbs that agree with the third-person prefix **ku-** and another subcategory of verbs that agree with the third-person prefix **i-**. Nevertheless, the author reports that it was not possible to identify the semantic feature, which aggregated these verbs into distinct and opposed categories.

In reference to Apinajé, Oliveira (2003) postulates that the occurrence of the morpheme **ku-** is limited to monosyllabic verb roots, while the morpheme **i-** occurs in the other cases. In Krahô, according to Popjes and Popjes (1986), the morpheme **cu-** is regarded as a third-person prefix, which occurs in non-past tense, in alternation with morphemes **im-**, **in-** or **ih-**.

Unlike what has been described for Apãniekrá and Apinajé, in Parkatêjê it looks like there is no opposition between two verb classes according to their distribution with morphemes **ku-** or **i-** – one taking the morpheme **ku-** and the other taking the morpheme **i-** – since both morphemes have been attested with the same verbs. So far, however, we have not been able to determine the criteria defining the use of one or the other morpheme. In any event, taken together, the data at hand allow us to postulate that the morpheme **ku-** functions as a third-person object in an apparent free variation with the morpheme **i-** in certain constructions.

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EXPRESSION OF THE THIRD PERSON IN THE PARKATÊJÊ
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Our data set shows this same morpheme **ku-**, functioning as third-person object also in distant past tense clauses, as shown in examples (93) and (94). These examples provide evidence that the morpheme **ku-** occurs in the third-person object position in distant past, which is marked by the particle *pê*. It must be emphasized that, in example (93) the object appears twice, as an overt nominal argument and as a bound pronoun prefixed to the verb.

(93) *wa*   *pê*   *Jonhapa*   **ku**-*pra*
      1SG   PD   Jonhapa   3-acordar-PAS
      'Eu acordei Jonhapa (há muito tempo)'
                                      (RIBEIRO-SILVA, 2015)

(94) *wa*   *pê*   **ku**-*pra*
      1SG   PD   3-acordar. PAS
      'Eu o/a acordei (há muito tempo)'
                                      (RIBEIRO-SILVA, 2015)

Before presenting the expressions of third person that occur in the distant past tense in Parkatejê, it is necessary to reanalyze the structural features associated with past tense clauses. Ferreira (2003, p.118) affirms that there are at least two distinct past tense structures in Parkatêjê: a recent past and a distant past. The author describes two different ways to refer to the recent past. The first form has no specific marker, but consists of the combination of the perfective aspect in sentences containing active intransitive verbs. The alternation of long or brief forms of the verbs is associated with this tense/aspect distinction, as shown in examples (95) and (96):

(95) *mẽ*   *mpi*   **to**
      PL   man   dance
      'The men dance'.
                                      (FERREIRA, 2003, p.118)

(96) *mẽ*   *mpi*   **tor**
      PL   man   dance-Past
      'The men danced'.
                                      (FERREIRA, 2003, p.118)

The second form of marking the recent past tense involves the use of the morpheme *te*. According to Araújo (1989, p.54) the particle *te,* demonstrated in example (97), is a "past tense and/or complete action aspect marker and occurs only when the subject is the agent or doer of a verbal action", that is, it is a *portmanteau* morpheme since it combines different morphological information. Because it occurs only with transitive verb subjects and not with intransitive verb subjects, it may also be considered an ergative case marker. Nonetheless, it is also interpreted as a recent past tense and perfective aspect marker, as it is used solely with this specific tense and aspect.

With respect to distant past, according to Araújo (1989), it is lexically marked by the temporal argument *ajkumê* 'formerly'. In this case, as the notion of past is already expressed by the time adverb, there is no morphological tense marker in the sentence, as shown in example (97):

(97) **ajkumẽ**   *mamkatêjê*   *mpokahônxà*   *pupu*   *inõre*
      formerly   the.first   pot   see   NEG
      'Formerly, our grandparents did not know pot'.
                                          (FERREIRA, 2003, p.117)

Yet, Ferreira (2003) described the particle *aiku* as an indication of distant past in Parkatêjê, as shown in the example (98) below.

(98) *pê*   *nare*   *ʒohʒi* **aiku** *i-mã*   *ku-hõr*
      PD   literally Jorge   REM   1-DAT   3-give.PAST
      'This was literally how Jorge gave me (money)'.
                                          (FERREIRA, 2003, p.118)

Popjes and Popjes (1986, p.128-129) maintain that in Canela-Krahô, the distant past is indicated by the particle *pê* in addition to the short form of the verb. Ferreira (2003) refers to the existence of a particle *pê*, in Parkatêjê, that is comparable to the one registered in Canela-Krahô. Notwithstanding the author points out that "this particle seemed to refer to discourse" (p.118), considering that the morpheme *pê* always occurs in the beginning of the sentence along with the evidentials. See example (99) below.

(99) | *pê* | *pia* | *aiku* | *kẽm* | *ka* | *ka* | *apiri* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *nẽʒawər* | | | | | | |
| PD | DUB | REM | POST | you | FUT | ITER | ask |

'It is said the sun (said): you will ask again'

(FERREIRA, 2003, p.247)

We corroborate the hypothesis raised by Ribeiro Silva (2016) that the Parkatêjê language employs two distant or remote past tense markers: a lexical one indicated by the time adverb ***aiku***, and a grammatical one indicated by the morpheme ***pê***. In that case, we foreseen that it would be possible to have sentences with both morphemes, and also sentences with only one of them, since indication of tense could be done either lexically or morphologically. We tested this hypothesis by investigating the distribution of these two morphemes. Our language samples show the particle ***pê*** co-occurring with ***aiku,*** as the example (100) shows:

(100) | *mamkatêjê* | *nã* | ***aiku*** | *mẽ* | *aipẽn* | *to* | *nã* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *amjĩ* | *jarẽ* | *wa* | | | | |
| ancient.people | SS | REM | PL | RECP | CAUS | SS |
| REFL | tell | 1SG | | | | |

pê	*kitare*	***aiku***	*mẽ*	*kampa*	*toipa*	*nã*	*wa*
mẽ	*harẽ*						
PD	ASS	REM	PL	listen	??	SS	1SG
PL	tell						

'My ancient people told [stories] to one another, I myself listened to them and tell[what they told]'.

(FERREIRA, field notes, 2009)

It has also been found that the particle ***pê*** alternates with the particle ***aiku*** in the same context, as shown in examples (101) and (102).

(101) | *mẽikwy* | *pê* | *mamkatêjê* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Relative | PD | people.ancient |

'My relatives were ancient people'

(FERREIRA, field notes, 2009)

(102)   *mẽikwy*   *aiku*   *mẽ*   *hitỳjre*
         Relatives   REM   PL   strong
         'My relatives were strong, brave'.

(FERREIRA, field notes, 2009)

We have also registered the distant past tense marker morpheme **pê** occurring after the free pronouns, as shown in examples (10) and (104). These sentences are contrasted to others in the recent past tense, as in examples (105) and (106).

(103)   *wa*   *pê*   *ropkror*   *pupũn*
         1SG   PD   spotted. Jaguar see
         'I saw the spotted jaguar (a long time ago)'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(104)   *ka*   *pê*   *kro*   *pir*
         2SG   PD   pig   kill.with.arrow-Past
         'You killed pig (a long time ago)'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(105)   *i-te*   *ropkror*   *pupũn*
         1-ERG spotted.jaguar   see-Past
         'I saw the spotted jaguar'.

(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)

(106)   a-*te*   *kro*   *pĩr*
         2-ERG pig   kill.with.arrow-Past
         'You killed pig'.

(FERREIRA, 2003, p.108)

Considering examples (103) to (106), we maintain that the particle **pê** is a morphological distant/remote past tense marker, whereas **aiku** is a distant/remote past lexical morpheme, such as, for instance, a time adverb. Observe in example (100), that the morpheme **aiku** is followed by the plural morpheme **mẽ**. Our hypothesis, following what has been suggested by Ferreira's observation, is that the time adverb

ajkumẽ described by Araújo (1989) is, in fact, *aiku + mẽ* 'remotely + pl'. In this sense, the interpretation of *pê*, as a distant past marker is completely acceptable, being able to account for both the co-occurrence of *pê* with *aiku*, and the alternated use of *pê* and *aiku*. That is to say, the use of the grammatical distant/remote past morpheme *pê* is compatible to its use simultaneous with *aiku*. Likewise, the individualized use of one of the forms to indicate distant/remote past tense at a time – grammatical marker *pê* or lexical adverb *aiku* – is also possible.

We now turn to the description of third person subjects in distant past tense clauses. The Parkatêjê language presents a system of demonstrative pronouns organized accordingly to a parameter that takes into account the relative distance between speaker and listener, and performs several grammatical functions: S, A and O (FERREIRA, 2003, p.66). Parkatêjê speakers tend to say that *i-ta* refers to something or someone that is near the speaker, while *a-ta* refers to something or someone that is far from the speaker, but still within the speaker's scope of vision, and *ta ~ tam* refers to something or someone who is effectively distant, as demonstrated in table (01).

Table 01: demonstrative pronouns from Parkatêjê

Classification Parameter (distance from speaker)	*Demonstrative*
Next to speaker - singular	ata
Next to speaker - plural	itaʒe
Distant, but visible to speaker	ata
Distant from speaker	ta ~ tam

Source: adapted from Ribeiro-Silva (2016), based on data from Ferreira (2003)

According to Ferreira (2003, p.66), at times, the demonstrative *ta* may be used as an expression of the third person, if the pragmatic context is clear to the speaker. See example (107).

(107) **ta**   pê   i-mã   toho

3   PD 1-DAT   cut.bangs

'He cut my bangs'.

<div align="right">(FERREIRA, 2003, p.68)</div>

In our analyzed corpus, we have also observed the demonstrative pronoun *tam* expressing the third-person subject in distant past tense, and in contrast with the unmarked third-person subject in recent past, according to examples (108) to (111).

(108) *Ø-te* *ri* *to* *hõkô*
   3-ERG EMP make thing.liquid
   'He made pepper sauce'. (recent past)

<div align="right">(NEVES, field notes, 2015)</div>

(109) ***tam*** *pê* *to* *hõkô*
   3 PD make thing.liquid
   'She made sauce (long ago)'. (distant past)

<div align="right">(NEVES, field notes, 2015)</div>

(110) *Ø-te* *kro* *pĩr*
   3-ERG pig kill.with.arrow
   'He killed the pig with arrow'

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

(111) ***tam*** *pê* *kro* *pĩr*
   3 PD pig kill.with.arrow
   '(long ago) He killed the pig with arrow'.

<div align="right">(RIBEIRO-SILVA, field notes, 2015)</div>

In examples (109) and (111), the demonstrative *tam* occurs as a third-person subject free pronoun, in the distant past. In recent past, on the other hand, the third person is unmarked (*Ø-)* and only the ergative morpheme *te* occurs, as shown in examples (108) and (110), above. Note that the morpheme *tam* in (109) and (111) occurs in a similar context to that of the morpheme *ta* in example (107), expressing the third person subject.

5. Revised set of personal pronouns in Parkatêjê

Given all the expressions of third person described in this paper, we propose a table of personal pronouns for Parkatêjê, in which pronouns distinguish morphologically three persons (first, second and third), and two numbers (singular and plural). The distribution of the pronouns is motivated by a combination of their grammatical functions and the verb tenses, which is reflected in the way the table 06 was designed: Active verbs subject (A, Sa) in non-past tense; Active verbs subject (A, Sa) in the past tense; Stative verbs subject (So) and Object (O).

Table 02: Personal pronouns in Parkatêjê

	Active verbs subject (A, Sa) in non-past tense		Active verbs subject (A, Sa) in the past tense		Inactive verbs subject (So)	Object (O)
	Future	*Present*	*Recent*	*Distant*		
	Free Pronoun		*Bound Pronoun*	*Free Pronoun*	Bound Pronoun	
1st SG	wa		i-	wa	i-	
2nd SG	ka		a-	ka	a-	
3rd SG	Kê	ø	ø-	tam ~ ta	h-/ i-/ ku-/m-	
1st incl. PL	mpa		mpa=tem	?	mpa-	
1st excl.pl	wa= mẽ		i-tem	?	mẽ i-	
2nd PL	ka= mẽ		mẽ a-	ka	mẽ a-	
3rd PL	kê= mẽ	mẽ= ø	mẽ ø-	tam ~ ta	mẽ h-/ i-/ ku-	

In terms of the expression of third-person in Parkatêjê, table (06) shows:

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✓ Active verbs subject (A, Sa) in non-past tense distinguishes the third-person expression according to future and present tenses. In the present tense, the third-person singular is unmarked (Ø), in contrast with the future tense in which the third person is expressed by the free morpheme **kê**.

✓ Active verbs subject (A, Sa) in the past tense are expressed according to a subdivision of tense: in the recent past they are expressed by a bound pronoun and in the distant past by a free pronoun. In the case of third person, it is unmarked (Ø) in the recent past, and it is expressed by the demonstrative **ta/tam** in the distant past.

✓ Stative verbs subjects (So) and transitive objects (O) are identically marked by bound pronouns, in past and non-past tenses. Four morphemes are used to express the third person in the singular form: **h-/ i-/ ku-/m-/n-**. Although the choice of the morphemes seems to be lexically conditioned, there are not enough evidence, so far, to allow us to define the contexts in which each one is employed. Only the morpheme **m-** and **n-** seems to be a phonologically conditioned allomorph of **i-**.

✓ The analysis of Table 02 shows that the two homophonous morphemes i-, which indicate first and third persons, also occur in the first and third person plural, but in this case preceded by the particle mẽ. As described in the course of this article, the morpheme i-, which marks the third person SO or O, is cognate to the morpheme iʔ- (i followed by a glotal stop) in the other languages of the Timbira complex and has undergone a process of linguistic change (both at the phonological and morphological levels), and in the latter the change concerns the person's inflexion (3rd > 1st) and the number marking (singular and plural).

6. Final remarks

This article presented the morphosyntactic strategies employed for expressing the pronominal third person with verbs in the Parkatêjê language. Our results deepen the existing analysis of Parkatêjê, indicating the different manifestations of the third person, in contrast

to the expression of first and second persons, and contribute to fill in the gap about the specific ways of expressing third person pronominal referents in the Parkatejê verbs. The previous major works on the language (ARAÚJO, 1989; FERREIRA, 2003) had not given a thorough analysis of this topic.

The expressions of third person are described and classified in terms of their syntactic functions: Active verbs subjects (A, Sa) in non-past tense, that is, in present and future tenses; active verbs subjects (A, Sa) in the recent and distant past tenses; stative verb subjects (So) and transitive objects (O).

Third-person active verb subjects (A, Sa) are unmarked (Ø) in the present and marked by the morpheme *kê* (free pronoun) followed by the future tense marker *ka* in the future. In the past tense, the expression of third person subjects of active verbs (A, Sa) is conditioned by the subcategory of past tense: recent past and distant past. In the recent past, the third person is not explicitly marked *(Ø)*, however, in the distant past the demonstrative pronoun *ta/tam* takes on the function of the third person argument, as previously mentioned by Ferreira (2003).

Third person stative verb subjects (So) and transitive objects (O) are expressed by the bound pronouns *h- ~ hõ / i-/ ku-/m-/ n-*. The morpheme *h-* refers to the third person object, and presents two allomorphs {*h-* and *hõ-*}, which are chosen accordingly to the language's phonotactic restrictions. The allomorph *h-* occurs with verb roots starting with vowels, whereas the allomorph *hõ*- occurs with verb roots starting in consonants. This alternation arises due to a ban on the occurrence of the consonantal syllabic sequence - *hp, ht, htʃ, hk*.

We have also described a morpheme *i-* 'third person', homophonous to the morpheme *i-* 'first person'. The occurrence of a cognate morpheme *iʔ-*, in other languages of the Timbira Complex, and in the current variation registered nowadays in Parkatêjê, led to hypothesis that there is a linguistic change underway in the language. There is a verifiable oscillation in the use of the morpheme *i-* according to the age of the speakers. Older speakers still use it to express the third-person object, depending on the context, whereas younger speakers do not use it. Instead, they adopt the unmarked (zero) third person.

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The morpheme ***ku-*** has also been described as a third-person pronoun, functioning as So and O, and occurring also in the distant past followed by the particle ***pê*** 'remote past'. Another descriptive contribution of this article was the identification of the morpheme ***m-*** and ***n-*** as an allomorph of the morpheme ***i-*** before bilabial stops. We observed that ***m-*** and ***n-*** functions as third person object (O), in complementary distribution with ***i-*** 'third person'.

The use of different forms to express the third person pronominal verb arguments in Parkatêjê are defined according to specific contexts and morphosyntactic parameters involving grammatical functions and TAM nuances. This system illustrates a typologically interesting case of pronominal verb argument marking, and one that will certainly bring up very interesting implications to linguistic theories. In closing, we shall remark that the historical approach attempted in this study has been crucial to unveil the hypothesis raised about the expression of third person in Parkatêjê.

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Notas

_____

1SG   first person singular
2SG   Second person singular
3SG   Third person singular
A   Transitive subject
CAUS   Causative
COM   Comitative
CONT   Continuous
DAT   Dative
DEM   Demonstrative
DIR   Directional
DUB   Dubitative
ERG   Ergative
ERG.PL Plural ergative
FUT   Future

INTENS Intensifier
IRR   Irrealis
LOC   Locative
NEG   Negation
O   Direct object
PD   Distant past
PL   Plural
POSP   Postposition
QUANT Quantitative
REC   Reciprocal
REFL   Reflexive
REL   Relational
REM   Remote
As   Subject of intransitive active verb
SG   Singular
SO   Subject of intransitive stative verb
SS   Identical subjects

[2] The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. Available at <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. Acessed on 2019-02-24.

[3] Ferreira (2003, p.107, examples 168-171) had also indicated some occurrences of *ku-* and *i-* related to the 3rd person.

[4] This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the variation is done accordingly to the age of the speakers. The morpheme **i-** as a third person marker has fallen into disuse by younger speakers, only the elders still use it to refer to a third person argument, depending on the context (2nd phase), as it was shown in examples (46) and (50) above. On the other hand, younger speakers have gone to the third phase, in which third person is omitted (Ø).

[5] *Kuputi* is a cake made with cassava or corn, which can be stuffed with various kinds of game meat. The *kuputi* is wrapped with guarumã leaves and baked in a special type of stone oven, which is covered with soil and straw.

[6] Ferreira (2003) affirms that it is possible to draw a parallel reasoning considering the occurrence of the morpheme **ku-** and the relational prefixes. Strictly speaking, there is a similar relationship between these two types of morphemes and their adjacent elements. The two constructions (the use of morpheme **ku-** and the use of relational prefixes) are mechanisms managed by the language in order to restructure its grammatical interfaces when one of the arguments of the predicate is not explicit in the sentence.

[7] This morpheme was glossed as NCO 'non-contiguous object' in the original work (FERREIRA, 2003, p.173). We have changed it to 3 'third person' in accordance to the analysis put forward in this paper.