CANELA-KRAHÔ*

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0 INTRODUCTION

The Ramkokamekra Canela are part of the Jê linguistic family, spoken on the great central plateau of Brazil. Other Jê-speaking people include the Timbira, Apinaje, Xerente, Xavante and Kajapo, located mostly south west of the Canela (Nimuendajú 1946, Crocker 1961).

The Canela language is spoken with minimal dialect variations by three separate groups. The Ramkokamekra Canela live in a village of about 800 people about 50 miles south of Barra do Corda, Maranhão. About 350 Apanjekra Canela live 30 miles west of the Ramkokamekra Canela village. Some social interaction occurs, and there have been a few cases of intermarriage. The language is also spoken by the 900 Krahô of Northern Goias, over 200 miles south west of the two Canela villages. There has been no social interaction to speak of in recent years between the Krahô and the Canela villages.

The total number of speakers is thus around 2000. Bilingualism and acculturation vary from village to village as well as between age groups and between sexes. Generally the most bilingual are the young men in their teens and early twenties. In the Ramkokamekra village at least 70 people can read and write, at least to some extent, in Portuguese and in Canela. There has been extensive contact for over 50 years with the surrounding Portuguese speaking Brazilian population. The Canela-Krahô have, however, been able to preserve their culture and life style, customs and language, to a remarkable degree. Although both bilingualism and acculturation are increasing in all locations, thus far the changes are relatively small. Both groups appear to be growing economically dependent on the government.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE OR CLAUSE
1 Word order

There are 10 clause types: six verbal clause types and four non-verbal. They are distinguished on the basis of their obligatory constituents. In the listing that follows, the constituents appear in their normal, unmarked order. Following the discussion of the ten clause types (sects. 1.1 - 1.10), there is a summary of basic word order patterns (sect. 1.11) and a description of peripheral clause constituents (sect. 1.12).

1.1 Transitive. Differences between this clause type and the other types are most clearly seen in the past tense forms. The clause nucleus consists of a

subject, a past tense marker, a direct object, and a verb. The subject may be either a pronoun, a noun phrase or a prefix attached to the past indicative tense marker *te*. (See sect. 16 for free and bound pronouns).

If the subject is a noun phrase, the tense marker *te* occurs immediately following it, without a prefix. The object may be a noun phrase or a person prefix bound to the verb. There is one subgroup of transitive verbs where the object in the third person is not overtly marked by a prefix. The long form of the verb occurs with the past tense. (See sect. 23). The examples that follow include some with present and future tenses also.

(1)   wapo   te   i-xec
         knife   PAST   1-cut
         'The knife cut me.'

(2)   co he!   que   ha   wapo   a-xec
         warning   3   FUT   knife   2-cut
         'Careful, the knife will cut you!'

The following examples show the object unmarked.

(3)   i-te   hūhkàr
         1-PAST   3 +buy
         'I bought it.'

(4)   wa   ha   pĩxô   jūhkà
         1   FUT   fruit   buy
         'I will buy fruit.'

(5)   hūmre   te   cakwĩn
         man   PAST   3 +beat
         'The man beat it.'

(6)   hūmre   apu   a-cakwĩ
         man   CONT   2-beat
         'The man is beating you.'

(7)   cu-te   hitep
         3- PAST   3 +cut
         'He cut it.'

(8)   ca pĩ   jitep
         2   wood   cut
         'You cut wood.'

The following examples show the object as a noun phrase.

(9)   i-te   pĩxô   jũhkàr
         1-PAST   fruit   buy
         'I bought fruit.'

(10)   hũmre   te   rop   cakwĩn
         man   PAST   dog   beat
         'The man beat the dog.'

(11)   cu-te   pĩ   jitep
         3- PAST   wood   cut
         'He cut the wood.'

See sect. 23 for the morphophonemic rules which explain the initial j/h and
x/h alternations. The following examples show the object as a prefix on the
verb.

(12)   i-te   a-pupun
         1-PAST   2-see
         'I saw you.'

(13)   a-te   ih-kre
         2-PAST   3- plant
         'You planted it.'

The quotative is another type of transitive sentence (see sect. 14).

1.2 Stative transitive.   This is a special form of transitive, directly related to
the Stative clause (see sect. 1.5). It has most of the formal characteristics
described above for transitive clauses, including the same word order, object
noun phrase or verb prefix, and subject noun phrase or prefix. In this case,
however, the postposition (to which the subject prefix may attach) can be
either *te* or *mã*. When *te* occurs it carries the meaning 'habitual state' not 'past
tense' as in the non-stative transitive clauses. When *mã* occurs it means
'temporary state'. Both *te* and *mã* occur with the same meanings in simple
stative clauses (sect. 1.5). Free pronoun subjects do not cooccur with the
prefixed *te* and *mã*.

(14)   i-te   hũpa
         1-HAB   3 +fear
         'I live afraid of it.'

(15)   a-te   amji   kĩn
         2-HAB   self   like
         'You always like yourself' or 'You are a happy person.'

(16)   cu-te   rop   japê
        3- HAB   dog   pity
        'He always has pity on the dog' or
        'He wants the dog near him.'

(17)   hũmre   ata   te   rop   kĩn
        man   that   HAB   dog   like
        'That man (habitually) likes dogs.'

(18)   i-mã   a-kĩn
        1-TEMPRY   2-like
        'I like you.'

(19)   i-mã   rop   kĩn
        1-TEMPRY   dog   like
        'I like the dog.'

1.3 Pseudo-transitive.   This clause has some characteristics of a transitive construction and some of an intransitive. The subject and past tense marker *te* occur exactly as described above for transitive clauses, and the long form of the verb occurs. The person prefix of the verb, however, agrees with the subject, and what is semantically the direct object is expressed as an oblique object, by means of a noun phrase or person prefix followed by one of the relators: *to*, *mã*, *kam*.

The verbs which govern *mã* are those where a human object would be expected, e.g. 'divorce', 'teach', 'play with', etc. The verbs which govern *to* appear to be those where a non-human object would be expected, e.g. 'steal', 'trade', 'rip', 'scratch', etc. These two postpositions *mã* and *to* occur in peripheral clause constituents to signal 'benefactive' and 'instrument' respectively.

(20)   a-te   po   kam a-catōc
        2-PAST   deer   at   2-shoot
        'You shot (at) the deer.'

(21)   ca ha   po   kam a-catōc
        2   FUT   deer   at   2-shoot
        'You will shoot (at) the deer.'

(22)   i-te   a-mã   i-cator
        1-PAST   2-to   1-arrive
        'I found you (arrived to you).'

(23)   a-te   carà cahàcre   to   a-pijapar
        2-PAST   goats   INST   2-raise
        'You raised goats.'

1.4 Intransitive.   The clause nucleus consists of a subject and a verb. The
subject may be a free subject pronoun, a noun phrase, or a person marker
prefixed to the verb. With the majority of intransitive verbs, the long form of
the verb (see sect. 23) occurs in the past tense, and the subject is prefixed to
the verb, unless it is a noun phrase. With a small sub-class of irregular
intransitive verbs, the long form of the verb does not occur in the past tense
unless the verb is non-final in the verb phrase. When the short form of the
verb occurs, the subject may be a free pronoun or noun phrase.

(24)   i-rĩt
         1-see
         'I saw.'

(25)   capi   jàpir
         Capi   climb
         'Capi climbed.'

(26)   pê   capi   api
         DP   Capi   climb
         'Capi climbed (long ago).'

(27)   a-jõt
         2-sleep
         'You slept.'

(28)   a-mõr   nare
         2-go   NEG
         'You did not go.'

(29)   ihnõ kam   ca mõ
         yesterday   2   go
         'You went yesterday.'

(30)   i-crer
         1-sing
         'I sang.'

(31)   pê   ca   cre
         DP   2   sing
         'You sang (long ago).'

1.5 Stative.   The simple stative clause contains a verb that has a single,
uninflected form (contrast the stative transitive, described above, where the
verb is inflected for person of the object). The subject and postpositions which
cooccur with it are the same as for the stative transitive, and the same set of

verb roots occurs in both constructions. Each member of the set can cooccur with both *te* 'HAB' and *mã* 'TEMPRY' (cf. (33) and (34)).

(32)   cu-te   kry
        3- HAB   cold
        'He is always cold/chilly/feverish.'

(33)   i-   te   pa
        1-   HAB   afraid
        'I am always afraid.'

(34)   i-mã   pa
        1-TEMPRY   afraid
        'I am afraid (right now).'

(35)   a-mã   prãm
        2-TEMPRY   hungry
        'You are hungry.'

(36)   i-mã   kry
        1-TEMPRY   cold
        'I'm cold.'

1.6 Adjectival.   The distinguishing characteristic of the adjectival clause is the class of verb: all members of the class occur also as adjectives in noun phrases and as adverbial modifiers in verb phrases (see sects. 15.3, 18.6 and 19). As verbs in adjectival clauses they are always inflected, by means of a prefix, for person of the subject. A free form subject may also occur.

(37)   in-tyt
        3- narrow
        'It/he/she is narrow.'

(38)   rop   im-pej
        dog   3- good
        'The dog is good.'

(39)   i-pahàm
        1-ashamed
        'I am ashamed.'

    The four non-verbal clause types are distinguished by the presence or absence of a subject and, when it occurs, the means by which it is related to the predicate complement.

1.7 Equational.   The equational clause consists of a subject and a complement. The subject may be a noun phrase or a demonstrative. The complement is a noun phrase.

(40)   ita   kẽn
        DEM   stone
        'This is a stone.'

(41)   ata-jê   ahkrare
        DEM-PL   children
        'Those are children.'

(42)   pur   i-   tekjê
        field   1-   possession
        'The field is mine.'

(43)   ita   i-pur
        DEM   1-field
        'This is my field.'

1.8 Identificational.   The identificational clause also consists of subject and complement, but in this case there is a relator postposition *pê*, which functions as a copula. It follows the subject, which may be a noun phrase or a prefix attached to *pê*. The complement is a noun phrase.

(44)   capi   pê   mehĩ
        Capi   COP   Indian
        'Capi is an Indian.'

(45)   i-pê   capi
        1-COP   Capi
        'I am Capi.'

(46)   a-pê   hakrỳj   catê
        2-COP   rich   NOMLZR
        'You are a rich person.'

When the noun *haprỳ/japrỳ* 'name' is the subject, the form of the relator copula is *te* rather than *pê*, and the complement is a proper name.

(47)   haprỳ   te   capi
        name   COP   Capi
        'His name is Capi.'

(48)   hũmre   japrỳ   te   capi
        man   name   COP   Capi
        'The man's name is Capi.'

(49) i-japrỳ   te   capi
      1-name   COP   Capi
      'My name is Capi.'

1.9 Existential.   The existential clause consists of a complement and a subject, occurring in that order. The complement may be a person prefix, a noun phrase or a locative phrase, followed by one of the relators *mã*, *ri* or *kam*. The relator *mã* is used for persons, and *ri* and *kam* indicate location. The subject is a noun phrase.

(50) pur   kam   põhy
      field   RELTR   corn
      'There is corn in the field.'

(51) ahkêt   kam   patti
      bushes   RELTR   snake
      'There is a snake in the bushes' or
      'There are snakes in the bush.'

(52) cu-   ri   cô
      there-   RELTR   water
      'There is water.'

(53) i-mã   põhy
      1-RELTR   corn
      'I have corn.'

(54) capi   mã   catõc
      Capi   RELTR   gun
      'Capi has a gun.'

(55) cu-mã   pĩ
      3- RELTR   wood
      'He has wood.'

(56) cu-   ri   pĩ
      there-   RELTR   wood
      'There is wood.'

The English gloss 'has/have' may be misleading--the emphasis in Canela is not on possession but on existence or availability.

1.10 Temporal.   The temporal clause consists of a single uninflected word.

(57) awa
      night
      'It is night.'

(58)   cacro
        hot
        'It is hot.'

(59)   awcapàtkô
        dark
        'It is dark.'

(60)   hamre
        finished
        'It is finished.'

1.11 Basic word order.   The basic word order for both main and
subordinate clauses may be summarized as follows:

- transitive and stative transitive: subject-object-verb
- pseudo-transitive: subject-oblique object-verb
- intransitive, stative and adjectival: subject-verb
- equational and identificational: subject-complement
- existential: complement-subject

For the purpose of focus or emphasis the object in transitive clauses may be
fronted, and phonologically dislocated by pause, and the verb prefix then
occurs. Since there are several other ways to mark emphasis (see sect. 16) this
fronting of the object is rare, being found most often in the context of
correcting a misunderstanding in the minds of the hearers.

(61)   i-te   po   curan
        1-PAST   deer   kill
        'I killed a deer.'

(62)   po,   wa i-te   ih-curan
        deer,   1 1-PAST   3- kill
        'It was a deer I killed.'

1.12 Peripheral clause level constituents.   There are eight peripheral clause
level constituents. All but two, aspect and manner, are marked by
postpositions. Time commonly occurs clause initial. The other seven elements,
location, benefactive, instrument, directional, comparison, manner and aspect,
commonly occur between the subject and the object in transitive clauses,
between the subject and the verb in other verbal clauses, and before the first
nuclear element in non-verbal clauses. These peripheral elements may occur,
subject to certain semantic constraints, in all clause types.
    Directional words and phrases are usually found in intransitive clauses with
intransitive verbs of movement. They usually precede the verb.

The normal maximum number of peripheral constituents in a clause is four. This number is further reduced to two if they take the form of long phrases or a series of phrases. The number of constituents occurring between the subject and the object or verb does not normally exceed two. When the number is more than two, the preferred ordering is as follows: time precedes the subject; location and instrument follow the verb; benefactive, comparison, aspect and manner are not normally found either before the subject or after the verb.

In transitive clauses the object is normally followed by the verb.

(63) wa ha pur kam cu-mã pĩ jakep
      1   FUT field in 3- for wood cut
      'I will cut wood for him in the field.'

(64) apẽ na wa ha pur kam cu-mã pĩ jakep
      morning in 1 FUT field in 3- for wood cut
      'I will cut wood for him in his field tomorrow.'

(65) apẽ na wa ha pur kam cu-mã pĩ jakep,
      morning in 1 FUT field in 3- for wood cut

      wakỳ to
      axe with
      'I will cut wood for him in his field tomorrow with an axe.'

(66) caxwa ri wa ha in-to kaj na aracri cu-pê
      night at 1 FUT 3- eye away from quietly 3- MAL

      pĩ jakep, pur kam
      wood cut field in
      'I will quietly cut wood from his field tonight without him
      seeing it (taking it away from him, for his negative benefit).'

2 Parataxis

Both phrases and clauses may be juxtaposed.

2.1 Phrases.   There is juxtaposition of both noun phrases and adverbial phrases. This juxtaposition occurs both before and after the verb.

(67) i-te amji kam awke to, hàkati imput na
      1-PAST self at left with snake neck around

      i-pyr
      3-grab
      'I grabbed the snake around the neck with my left hand.'

(68)   wa tẽ,   i-jàpên   xà   wỳr,   cãn   japrãr   wỳr
       1 go   1-work   NOMLZR to   cane weed   to
       'I went to work, to my cane weeding.'

(69)   hã,   me   i-kra,   me   i-wawỳ,   ca   me   amji
       hey, PL   1-child   PL   1-son in law   2   PL   self

       mã   harẽ,...
       to   say
       'Hey, my children and my sons-in-law, you say to yourselves,...'

Phonological dislocation occurs when the phrases are long or when they occur following the verb. Such dislocation is to the right, toward the end of the clause, following the verb. Normally, discontinuous juxtaposition is limited to one phrase after the verb.

(70)   harkwa   mã   xa,   kẽn   kre   kam
       mouth   to   stand   hill hole   in
       '(He) stood in the opening of the cave.'

Discontinuous sequences are common, especially sequences involving locative or time phrases. The function of juxtaposed phrases is commonly one of modification, that is, each phrase narrows the spectrum of meaning of the previous phrase.

(71)   kẽn   kam hikwa,   kẽn   kre   kam
       hill in   live   hill hole   in
       '(He) lived in a cave in the hills.'

(72)   caxwa   ri   hỹrmã   me   mõ,   awcahti   xà   wỳr
       night   at   to him   PL   go   midnight   NOMLZR toward
       'They went to him at night, before midnight.'

In (72), *hỹrmã* is a frozen form meaning literally 'there where he is.'
   Phrase parataxis can occur in subordinate clauses but is not as common there as in main clauses.

(73)   i-te   a-te   ihmutri,   capi   jũrkwa   ri,   a-kra
       1-PAST   2-PAST   there   Capi   house   at   2-child

       cahhyr   na   a-pupun
       beat   SUBORD   2-see
       'I saw you beat your child there at Capi's house.'

2.2 Clauses.   There is also juxtaposition of clauses, the function being either coordination or subordination. Juxtaposed clauses are coordinate in function in a listing of activities, all going on more or less at the same time, or within the same time period, though not necessarily in the order stated.

(74)   wa apu   amrã,   apu   i-toj,   apu   ajhu,   apu
         1   CONT   cry   CONT   1-jump   CONT   stumble   CONT

         amji   jàmī,   ajco   apu   amrã
         self   bury   HAB   CONT   cry
         'I continually cried and jumped and stumbled and threw
         earth on myself, (I used to be) crying all the while.'

Juxtaposed clauses may also involve a subordinate relationship, e.g. result or reason:

(75)   pê   wa i-pỳm,   pê   inxê   ty
         PAST   1 1-fall   PAST   mother   die
         'My mother died when I was born.'

(76)   wa ha   ma   ajcahu,   i-mã   hūpati
         1   FUT   away   run   1-TEMPRY   3+fear
         'I will run away because I'm afraid of it.'

3 Ellipsis

Any clause constituent other than the verb phrase and the indirect object with its postpositions can be omitted when it is recoverable from the general context.

The deleted element is marked as a prefix on the verb if it is the object, or the subject of an intransitive clause, and on the tense marker if it is the subject of a transitive clause:

(77)   hūmre   te   po   curan
         man   PAST   deer   kill
         'The man killed the deer.'

(78)   cu-te   po   curan
         3- PAST   deer   kill
         'He killed the deer.'

(79)   cu-te   ih-curan
         3- PAST   3- kill
         'He killed it.'

Certain elements, such as instrument, may also be omitted under identity in coordination.

(80) cu-te   wapo   pyr   ne   to   po   curan
      3- PAST   knife   take   and   INST   deer kill
      'He took the knife and killed the deer with it.'

The verb phrase can be replaced by a dummy verb, which consists of the (main) verb *to* 'do, make' and *hajȳr/hane* 'thus'.

(81) a-te   pur   pôc,   wa i-te   ita   to   hajȳr
      2-PAST   field   burn   1 1-PAST   this   do   thus
      'You burned off your field and I did likewise.'

(82) quê ha   capi   pur   to   cuto,   wa ha   hanea
      3   FUT   Capi   field REL   set fire   1   FUT   thus

      ita   to   hane
      this   do   thus
      'Capi will set fire to his field and I will do the same.'

When the context is very specific as in the case of responses to questions, even the verb phrase can be omitted.

(83) jū kam   ca tē?   pur   wỳr
      where   2 go?   field   to
      'Where are you going? To the field.'

The verb may also be omitted from the subordinate clause in causative sentences or indirect commands.

(84) i-te   jaco   jõ   na   i-prõ   to   ihtỳj
      1-PAST   Jaco   food   about 1-wife   SUBORD   assign
      'I assigned my wife to (prepare) Jaco's food.'

(85) wa ha   capi   pī   na   cu-mẽ
      1   FUT   Capi   wood   about 3- throw (order)
      'I ordered Capi to (cut) the wood.'

The verb of the quotation formula that introduces direct speech can also be omitted (see sect. 14).

4 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed by an invariable form *amji* 'REFLX (= self)'.

(86)   wa   amji   cakwĩn
         1   REFLX   hit
         'I hit myself.'

(87)   a(pu)   me   amji   cakwĩn
         CONT   3PL   REFLX   hit
         'They are hitting themselves.'

The following examples show the reflexive element in various coordinate and subordinate clauses.

(88)   wa ha   ikre   wỳr tẽ ne   amji   cakrê
         1 FUT   house   to go and REFLX   scratch
         'I will go home and scratch myself.'

(89)   jaco   te   pĩ   jakôt,   cu-te   amji   mã   hakep
         Jaco   PAST   wood   pile up   3- PAST REFLX   for cut

         atajê
         DEM
         'Jaco piled up the wood he cut for himself.'

The reflexive is always controlled by the subject and can function as either a direct object or an oblique object (benefactive, addressee, locative):

(90)   i-te   amji   pytàr
         1-PAST   REFLX   defend
         'I defended myself.'

(91)   cu-te   amji   mã   pĩ   jakep
         3- PAST   REFLX   for wood   cut
         'He cut wood for himself.'

(92)   capi   amji   mã   ih-cakôc
         Capi   REFLX   to   3- speak
         'Capi speaks to himself.'

(93)   i-te   ih-curan   ne   amji   cacẽc   rũm   hir
         1-PAST   3- kill   and REFLX   back   toward   put
         'I killed it and put it behind myself.'

Reflexives may also occur in nominalizations.

(94)   me   amji   pupun   catê-   jê
        PL   REFLX   see   NOMLZR-   PL
        'acquaintances, neighbors, people who know themselves'
        (i.e. people who have gone through hard times, have suffered
        troubles)

(95)   amji   kam hapac   xà
        REFLX   at   hear   NOMLZR
        'self hearing thing (thought, idea, custom, lifestyle)'

Reciprocity is expressed by an invariable form *ajpēn* commonly in conjunction with the plural *me*, meaning each other, and functions much as the reflexive *amji*. It is controlled by the subject and functions as the direct object or oblique constituent.

(96)   jaco   me   capi   te   pī   hêre   jakep   ne   me   to
        Jaco   and   Capi   PAST   wood   twig   cut   and   PL   INST

        ajpēn   caprêc
        RECIP   beat
        'Jaco and Capi cut twigs and beat each other with (them).'

(97)   jaco   me   capi   ajpēn   mā   pī   jakep
        Jaco   and   Capi   RECIP   for   wood   cut
        'Jaco and Capi cut wood for each other.'

(98)   jaco   me   capi   te   pī   hêre   jakep   ame   to
        Jaco   and   Capi   PAST   wood   twig   cut   3PL   INST

        ajpēn   cahhyr prãm   te
        RECIP   beat   want   because
        'Jaco and Capi cut twigs because they wanted to beat
        each other with (them).'

5 Passives

There are no passive constructions.

6 Causatives

Any verb can be made causative by the use of the transitive verb *to/ton* 'make/do'. The verb to be made causative is placed in a subordinate clause, which is marked as such by the postposition *na*, and which immediately precedes the causative verb.

The direct object of the causative verb agrees with the subject of the verb in the subordinate clause. In the case of the third person, the direct object marker

on the causative verb is zero (see (100) and sect. 23). When the verb in the subordinate clause is transitive, the subject is omitted.

(99)   capi   te   i-jõt   na   i-to
        Capi   PAST   1-sleep   SUBORD   1-make
        'Capi made me sleep.'

(100)   i-te   i-prõ   jàpên   na   ton
        1-PAST   1-wife work   SUBORD   3+make
        'I made my wife work.'

(101)   pahhi   amji   kĩn   na   me pa-   to
        chief   REFLX   like   SUBORD   PL 1INCL- make
        'The chief makes us have a festival/enjoy ourselves.'

(102)   quê   ha   pahhi   me pa-   mã amji   kĩn- ti
        3   FUT   chief   PL 1INCL- for REFLX   like-much

        na   me pa-   to
        SUBORD   PL 1INCL-make
        'The chief will make us very happy/have a festival.'

(103)   capi   te   i-pej   na   i-ton
        Capi   PAST   1-good   SUBORD   1-make
        'Capi made me good.'

7 Comparatives and equatives

Comparatives are expressed by means of postpositional phrases. Equatives and similitives are expressed by verbal predications.

Comparison is expressed by two postpositions which follow the standard of comparison. They are *hirô pê* 'more than', and *hapyre mã* 'less than'.

The subject or item to be compared occurs clause initial and it is followed by the standard of comparison, which is followed by the postposition, followed by the rest of the clause.

(104)   jaco   capi   jirô   pê   cati
        Jaco   Capi   more   than   big
        'Jaco is bigger than Capi.'

(105)   capi   kryt   jirô   pê   hĩ   to   in-toj
        Capi   Kryt   more   than   body   INST   3- jump
        'Capi jumps better than Kryt.'

(106)   kryt   jaco   japyre mã   in-crire
        Kryt   Jaco   less   than   3- small
        'Kryt is smaller than Jaco.'

Tense markers or relators occur following the subject and before the standard of comparison.

(107)   capi   te   kryt   jirô   pê   pĩ   jakep
         Capi   PAST   Kryt   more   than   wood   cut
         'Capi cut more wood than Kryt.'

(108)   kryt   mã   capi   japyre   mã   rop   kĩn
         Kryt   TEMPRY   Capi   less   than   dog   like
         'Kryt likes the dog less than Capi.'

(109)   quê   ha   kryt   jirô   pê   pĩ   jakep
         3   FUT   Kryt   more   than   wood   cut
         'He will cut more wood than Kryt.'

Comparison is also expressed by the postposition *kĩn te* 'unfavorable comparison'. The standard of comparison occurs clause initial followed by the postposition, followed by the subject or item to be compared, followed by the rest of the clause.

(110)   capi   kĩnte   kryt   crire
         Capi   COMPAR   Kryt   small
         'Kryt is small in (unfavorable) comparison to Capi.'

(111)   capi   kĩnte   kryt   te   pĩ   crêre   ne   hakep
         Capi   COMPAR   Kryt   PAST   wood   few   and   cut
         'Kryt cut few trees in (unfavorable) comparison to Capi.'

(Numerals and quantifiers like *crêre* 'few' act like verbs and always require to be separated from another verb by *ne* 'and').

Equation is treated by linking the two nouns in a coordinate noun phrase which is both the subject of a main clause in which the verb is *ipipẽn* 'be equal' and of a subordinate clause which contains the attribute or action being compared. In the case of an active verb, the subordinator is *to*. Within context the attribute can be omitted.

(112)   capi   me   kryt   cati   pipẽn
         Capi   and   Kryt   big   equal
         'Capi and Kryt are equally big.'

(113)   capi   me   kryt   te   pĩ   jakep   to   me   i-pipẽn
         Capi   and   Kryt   PAST   wood   cut   SUBORD   PL   3-equal
         'Capi and Kryt cut wood equally.'

(114) capi   me   kryt   me   in- toj   to   me   i-pipēn
       Capi   and   Kryt   PL   3- jump   SUBORD   PL   3-equal
       'Capi and Kryt jump equally.'

The coordinate noun phrase can occur not only as a subject as in the examples above but also as a direct object and as a benefactive adjunct.

(115) jaco   te   rop   me   ropo   curan   to   i-pipēn
       Jaco   PAST   dog   and   cat   kill   SUBORD   3-equal
       'Jaco killed equal numbers of dogs and cats.'

(116) jaco   te   rop   me   ropo   curan   xà   ita   to
       Jaco   PAST   dog   and   cat   kill   NOMLZR   DEM   SUBORD

       i-pipēn
       3-equal
       'Jaco killed the dog and cat in the same way (equally).'

(117) jaco   te   pa   me   capi   mā hãmjõr   to   i-pipēn
       Jaco   PAST   1EXCL and   Capi   to pay   SUBORD   3-equal
       'Jaco paid me and Capi the same (equally).'

Similarity between two items, where the similarity is expressed by a stative verb, is treated as follows: the item being compared for similarity occurs clause initial, and is followed by the copula *pê*, which is followed by the standard of similarity, which is followed by the verb *hūràc pyràc* 'be similar'.

(118) capi   pê   kryt   pyràc
       Capi   COP   Kryt   similar
       'Capi is like Kryt.'

(119) a-pê   hūràc
       2-COP   3+similar
       'You are like him.'

(120) capi   pê   kryt   cati   pyràc
       Capi   COP   Kryt   big   similar
       'Capi is as big as Kryt.'

A stative or adjectival verb may follow the standard of similarity and is then followed by the verb *hūràc/pyràc* (120).

Similarity between two items, where the similarity is expressed by an active verb, is treated as follows: the item being compared for similarity occurs clause initial, and is followed by the postposition *te*, which is followed by a subordinate clause containing an active verb and the subordinator *to*, which is

followed by the standard of similarity (either a nominal or verb prefix) and the main verb *hũràc/pyràc* 'be similar'.

(121) i-te   i-picahur   to   a-pyràc
       1-HAB   1-run   SUBORD   2-similar
       'I am like you in running.'

(122) a-te   a-toj   to   i-pyràc
       2-HAB   2-jump   SUBORD   1-similar
       'You jump like me, the same as I.'

(123) capi   te   pĩ   jakep   to   kryt   pyràc
       Capi   HAB   wood   cut   SUBORD   Kryt   similar
       'Capi cuts wood like Kryt does.'

Similarity can also be expressed by a single clause, using the inflected postposition *cuxà* 'like'. The subject or item being compared for similarity occurs clause initial, followed by the standard of similarity and the postposition, followed by the verb.

(124)   wa ha   a-cuxà   apê
        1 FUT   2-like   work
        'I will work like you.'

The standard of similarity can be displaced rightward, to follow the verb.

(125)   i-te   to hajỹr   ne   i-jàpên,   a-cuxà
        1-PAST   do thus   and   1-work   2-like
        'I worked in the same way as you did.'

There is also a clause level particle *quêt* which denotes superiority of the subject, leaving the standard of comparison implied and unstated.

(126)   wa ha   quêt   po   cura
        1 FUT   COMPAR   deer   kill
        'I however (in positive comparison to others) will
        kill the deer.'

8 Coordination

8.1 Clause coordination.   Clauses may only be conjoined in chronological order. They are conjoined in three ways: with the conjunctions *ne* and *mã* and by juxtaposition. (For functions of juxtaposition other than coordination, see sect. 2).

The choice of conjunction depends on the tense of the verbs in the two clauses and the person of the subject. When the subject of two or more consecutive clauses is the same, they are joined by the conjunction *ne*. The conjunction can be omitted when the first clause is in the past tense and the second in the future, as in (139).

(127)   capi   te   po   curan   ne   quê ha   cuku
         Capi   PAST   deer   kill   and 3   FUT   3+eat
         'Capi killed a deer and will eat it.'

When (1) the subject of the second clause is third person and not coreferential with the subject of the first clause, (2) the second clause is not in the future tense, and (3) there is no time phrase initially in the second clause, then the clauses are joined by the conjunction *mā*.

(128)   a-te   po   curan   mā capi   apu   cuku
         2-PAST   deer   kill   and Capi CONT   3+eat
         'You killed a deer and Capi is eating it.'

(129)   capi   apu   ajcahu   mā hĩxi   apu   nõ
         Capi   CONT   run   and his wife   CONT   lie down

         ne   gõr
         and   sleep
         'Capi is running and his wife is lying down and sleeping.'

(130)   i-te   a-pupun   mā capi   te   hanea   ne   a-pupun
         1-PAST   2-see   and Capi PAST   also   and 2-see
         'I saw you and Capi also saw you.'

This is the basic pattern, although there are certain additional constraints having to do with the combination of tenses and the presence or absence of time phrases second clause initial.

The conjunction *ne* is also used to join two clauses when they have different tenses, though in chronological order ((131) and (133)), and when a time word occurs second clause initial (135). If the person of the subject in the second clause is either first or second person and the tense is non-future (first clause is past and second is present) the conjunction *ne* freely fluctuates with juxtaposition ((131)-(132) and (133)-(134)).

(131)   capi   te   po   curan   ne   wa   apu   cuku
         Capi   PAST   deer   kill   and 1   CONT   3+eat
         'Capi killed the deer, and I'm eating it.'

(132)   capi   te   po   curan,   wa apu   cuku
        Capi   PAST   deer   kill   1 CONT   3+eat
        'Capi killed the deer, I'm eating it.'

(133)   i-te   pĩ   jakep   ne ca apu   hakôt
        1-PAST   wood   cut   and 2   CONT   3+pile up
        'I cut the wood and you are piling it up.'

(134)   i-te   pĩ   jakep,   ca   apu   hakôt
        1-PAST   wood   cut   2   CONT   3+pile up
        'I cut the wood, you are piling it up.'

(135)   i-te   po   curan   ne apẽ   na quê ha cuku
        1-PAST   deer   kill   and tomorrow   on 3   FUT 3+eat
        'I killed a deer and tomorrow he will eat it.'

The clauses are also joined by juxtaposition when both clauses are in the past tense:

(136)   i-te   po   curan, a-te   ih-krẽr
        1-PAST   deer   kill   2-PAST   3- eat
        'I killed the deer, you ate it.'

Clauses of which both verbs are in the future tense are joined through juxtaposition.

(137)   wa ha   po   cura,   que ha   cuku
        1 FUT   deer   kill   3   FUT   3+eat
        'I will kill a deer, he will eat it.'

(138)   quê ha   ta   iwrỳc   jicu,   wa ha   awjahê
        3   FUT   rain   fall   stop   1   FUT   hunt
        'When it stops raining, I will hunt.'

Also where there is no time word second clause initial, and the second clause is in the future tense, the clauses are joined through juxtaposition. Compare (135) where there is a time word with (139):

(139)   cu-te   po   curan, quê ha   ih-krẽ
        3- PAST   deer   kill   3   FUT   3- eat
        'He killed the deer and he will eat it.'

The conjunction *cakrô* carries the idea 'but, although, in spite of, contrary to expectation'. It may join any verbal clauses, irrespective of tense.

(140) i-jàpên   cati   cakrô,   cu-te   nee   i-mã   hàmjõr
       1-work   big   but   3- PAST   NEG   1-to   pay

       nare
       NEG
       'Although I worked hard, he didn't even pay me.'

(141) ca ha   ajcahu   cakrô,   ca ha   a-cator   nare
       2   FUT run   but   2   FUT   2-arrive   NEG
       'You will run but you will not arrive.'

The negative construction *nee...nare* carries the idea of 'but, not even'. This construction is used only in the second clause (see sect. 12, also (140)), and may follow the conjunctions *ne* and *mã* 'and':

(142) i-picahur   ne   nee   i-cator   nare
       1-ran   and   NEG   1-arrive   NEG
       'I ran but didn't (even) arrive.'

(143) capi   te   pahhi   mã   hàpên   mã   nee   cu-te
       Capi   PAST   chief   for   work   and   NEG   3-PAST

       cu-mã   hàmjõr   nare
       3- to   pay   NEG
       'Capi worked for the chief but he didn't even pay him.'

The negator *nare* functions as a conjunction carrying the meaning 'or if not, then'. In this usage, *nare* occurs between the two clauses, and the intonation pattern usually associated with negation does not occur (see sect. 12 for normal use of *nare* with special intonation and the long form of the verb):

(144) ca ha   pur   wỳr tẽ,   nare ca ha   krĩ
       2   FUT field   to go   NEG   2   FUT   village

       wỳr tẽ
       to go
       'You will go to the field or if not you will go to the village.'

(145) ca ha   pur   wỳr a-tẽm   nare,   ca ha
       2   FUT field   to 2-go   NEG   2   FUT

       krĩ   wỳr tẽ
       village   to go
       'If you do not go to the field, you will go to the village.'

(146) wa ha   ita   kam i-tẽm   nare   na,   wa ha
       1 FUT   today   on 1-go   NEG   SUBORD   1 FUT

       apẽ   na tẽ, nare,   wa ha   amcro   nõa   na tẽ
       tomorrow   on go   NEG   1 FUT   day   other   on go
       'If I don't go today, I will go tomorrow, or if not,
       then I'll go another day.'

More than two clauses may be coordinated by *ne, mã* and juxtaposition, and these then carry no semantic load other than simple conjunction and subject/tense contrast. The conjunction is repeated each time, except that lists of actions sometimes occur as juxtaposed clauses (see sect. 2).

Syntactic coordination which expresses a semantic function of subordination does not extend over more than two clauses.

(147) i-te   po   curan,   ne   ih-krẽr,   ne   i-crer
       1-PAST   deer   kill   and 3- eat   and   1-sang
       'After killing the deer, I ate it and sang.'

In the second or following clauses the subject and object free forms can be omitted if they are the same in both clauses. In transitive clauses the subject-tense relator *te* is omitted. The verb and the verb phrase level subject marker *apu* 'CONTINUATIVE', cannot be omitted. Verb prefixes may not be omitted.

8.2 Phrase coordination.   Nouns may be coordinated into noun phrases with two or more heads linked by the conjunction *me*, which is phonologically linked to the head preceding it.

(148) wa apu   põhy tepti   me, kwỳr   jakare   me, arỳjhy
       1 CONT   corn red   and manioc white   and rice

       kre
       plant
       'I'm planting red corn, white manioc and rice.'

(149) capi   me   kryt   ma   tẽ
       Capi   and   Kryt   away   go
       'Capi and Kryt go away.'

When the idea of accompaniment is in focus, the conjunction *me* follows the second head.

(150) capi   kryt   me   krĩ   wỳr   tẽ
       Capi   Kryt   and   village   to   go
       'Capi went to the village with Kryt.'

I do not know of any constraints on the types of noun phrases that may be coordinated. Thus, a simple noun and a complex nominalized clause can be linked by the conjunction *me* 'and':

(151)   jaco   me   pahhi   kôt   me   ipa   catê- jê   te
            Jaco   and   chief   after   PL   follow   NOMLZR-PL   PAST

            po   pupun
            deer   see
            'Jaco and the chief's followers saw a deer.'

9 Pragmatic and discourse characteristics

In other parts of this paper there is discussion of a number of discourse-conditioned phenomena: ellipsis and dummy verb (sect. 3), various types of anaphora (sect. 13), free form pronouns used for emphasis (sect. 16), certain anaphoric uses of demonstratives and cooccurring postpositions (sect. 16), and the fronting and left-dislocation of the direct object, with cooccurrence of a pronominal copy prefixed to the verb, for purpose of focus and emphasis (sect. 1).

Here I discuss ways in which foregrounding and backgrounding is distinguished in Canela narrative discourse. These terms, for the two principal types of discourse information, are used here in much the same way as by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and many others: foregrounding consists of main events that are important to the narrator's purpose, whereas backgrounding includes both events and nonevents that generally support the foregrounded material but are not themselves part of the main thread of the discourse, e.g. setting, evaluation, description, reference to custom, flashback, recapitulation.

The two types of information are distinguished primarily by contrasting aspect particles and past tense markers, and the (irregular) use of the long form of verbs (foregrounded) and the short form of verbs (backgrounded). Customary/habitual aspect is marked by *hōt pê* (foregrounded) and *ajco* (backgrounded). The regular past tense form *te* ('recent' in sect. 18.1) is used in foregrounded, and a special form *pê* 'DISTANT PAST' in backgrounded, sections of the discourse. The long form of the verb is used in foregrounded clauses even when it occurs clause final, thus over-riding the usual syntactic conditioning (see sect. 23). The short form of the verb is found in backgrounded clauses, except when the continuative aspect particles *apu* and *ame* occur.

Two examples are given below to show contrasting foregrounded and backgrounded sequences from two texts. Single parentheses signal foregrounding, and square brackets backgrounding (the specific devices are thus marked in the Canela, and the whole sections in the English translation):

(152) [pê]   meh-te   jitep,   [pê]   [ajco]   me
       DP   PL- 3+shin   cut   DP   CUST   PL
                               (invariable
                               form)

       [ajhu]   [pê]   ma   [pra]   ne   [ajco]   [api]
        run   DP   away   run   and   CUST   climb
       (short   (short   (short
        form)   form)   form)

       ne   tàkamry   (cu-te)   me   to   ih-rwên
       and   slowly   3- PAST   PL   INST   3- few
                                                 (invariable
                                                 form)

       to   mõ.   ne   me   hàhtô   ne   me
       INST   go   and   PL   many   and   PL
              (invariable
              form)

       mõ ne   (cu-te)   me   kam   me   (ih-tēm)
       go and   3- PAST   PL   LOC   PL   3-begin
       (invariable   (long
       form)   form)

       [It cut their shins and they used to stumble. It used to
       run away and climb up.] (Slowly they became fewer. And
       many of them went and began to attack it.)

(153) ne   pea   (cu-te)   cama   ah-na   me   (irẽn)   ne   me
       and   then   3- PAST   only   it-to   PL   put in   and   PL
                                                       (long
                                                       form)

       ih-cucàc,   ne   nee   me   to   ih-kà   caxàr
       3- singe   and   NEG   PL   INST   3- skin   take off
        (invariable   (long
        form)   form)

       nare   ȳhȳ,   [pê]   [ajco]   mam   cama   me   pryre
       NEG   yes   DP   CUST   first   only   PL   animal

ih-cucàc.	pea	(cu-te)	kwỳr	kam	me	cu-mā
3- singe	then	3- PAST	manioc	in	PL	3- to
(invariable						
form)						

ih-cupu
3- wrap
(invariable form)

'(Then they just put it into the fire and singed off the hair. They didn't even take the skin off.)'
'[Yes, long ago they used to only singe the skin.]
(And then they wrapped it in manioc.)'

10 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are marked by an overall interrogative intonation pattern (sect. 22) and a question word which occurs clause initial. Any constituent of the sentence may be questioned.

Polar (yes-no) questions are marked by the interrogative marker *xà* which occurs sentence initial. The sentence constituents remain in their normal order and a polar question intonation pattern occurs.

(154) a-te   po   curan
      2-PAST   deer   kill
      'You killed a deer.'

(155) xà a-te   po   curan
      Q 2-PAST deer   kill
      'Did you kill a deer?'

(156) capi   pejti
      Capi   good
      'Capi is well.'

(157) xà capi   pejti
      Q   Capi   good
      'Is Capi well?'

Most constituents have a corresponding interrogative constituent which then occurs initially in the clause. If the constituent in question does not have a corresponding interrogative morpheme, as for example, aspect morphemes, the element is moved into initial position in the clause and is preceded by the interrogative marker *xà*.

(158)   cu-te   ramã   pĩ   jakep
            3- PAST   already   wood   cut
            'He already cut the wood.'

(159)   xà ramã   cu-te   pĩ   jakep
            Q   already   3- PAST   wood   cut
            'Did he already cut the wood?'

The interrogative markers for the subject are:

     jũm (mã) - 'who, human, singular'
     jũmjê - 'who, human, plural'
     ampo (mã) - 'what, non-human'

In the past tense in transitive clauses *mã* follows the tense marker *te*.

(160)   jũm mã   ata
            who   DEM
            'Who is that?'

(161)   ampo mã   ata
            what   DEM
            'What is that?'

(162)   jũm te mã   ita   ton
            who PAST   DEM   do/make
            'Who made/did this?'

(163)   ampo te mã   ita   ton
            what PAST   DEM   do/make
            'What did this?'

The interrogative markers for the object are:

     jũm - 'whom, human, singular'
     jũmjê - 'whom, human, plural'
     ampo - 'what, non-human'

(164)   jũm   ca   a-te   hõmpun
            what   2   2-PAST   see
            'Whom did you see?'

(165)   ampo   ca   ha   krẽ
            what   2   FUT   eat
            'What will you eat?'

The interrogative markers for destination are:

jũ ri ri - 'where to, specific destination'
jũ kam mã - 'where to, general destination'
jũ pĩn - 'where from'
jũ cajpuw - 'what destination' or 'what course'

(166) jũ ri   ri   capi   mõ
       where to   Capi   go
       'Where is Capi going?'

(167) jũ   kam mã capi   mõ
       where   to   Capi   go
       'Where is Capi going?'

(168) jũ   pĩn   ca   mõ
       where   from   2   go
       'Where are you coming from?'

The interrogative marker for time is *jũ caxuw*.

(169) jũ caxuw   ca   ha   tẽ
       when   2   FUT go
       'When are you going?'

(170) jũ caxuw   ca   a-cator
       when   2   2-arrive
       'When did you arrive?'

The interrogative marker for location in verbal clauses is *jũ ri ri* and in equative clauses is *jũ ri mã*.

(171) jũ ri ri   capi   xa
       where   Capi   stand
       'Where is Capi standing?'

(172) jũ ri mã   capi
       where   Capi
       'Where is Capi?'

Interrogative markers for reason are:

ampo na - 'why'
ampo na mã - 'emphatic why'
ampo na ri - 'emphatic why'

ampo cwỳrjapê ri - 'intensified why, for what reason'
ampo caxuw mã - 'intensified why, for what purpose'

(173)   ampo na   cu-te   to   hajỹr
        why   3- PAST   do   thus
        'Why did he do that?'

(174)   ampo caxuw mã   cu-te   pĩ   ita   jakep
        why (purpose) 3- PAST   wood DEM   cut
        'Why on earth did he cut this wood?'

The interrogative marker for manner or state is *jũ mã mã...te*, where *jũ mã mã* occurs clause initial and *te* occurs clause final.

(175)   jũ mã mã   cati te
        how   big
        'How big is it?'

(176)   jũ mã mã   a- te
        how   2-
        'How are you?'

(177)   jũ mã mã   ahna   hõ   pore te
        how much   3   POSSN   money
        'How much does it cost? (how much is its money?)'

(178)   jũ mã mã   hõmpun xà te
        what   saw   NOMLZR
        'What manner of thing was seen?'

Only main clause constituents may be questioned.
The constituents of a noun phrase may be questioned with question markers *jũm...mã* and *ampo...mã*, where *jũm* or *ampo* occur clause initial preceding the noun phrase and *mã* following the noun phrase.

(179)   jũm jõ   rop te mã   a-xar
        who POSSN   dog PAST   2-bite
        'Whose dog bit you?'

(180)   jũm to mã   cu-mã   hà
        who eye   3- to   hurt/sick
        'Whose eye is sore/hurting?'

(181)   ampo pĩ mã   prĩn   jõ   pĩ   ita
        what wood   piqui POSSN   wood DEM
        'What kind of wood is "piqui" wood?'

The noun phrase of postpositional phrases may be questioned by the markers *jūm mā ri* 'to whom' and *jūm na ri* 'about whom'.

(182) capi te   prejaka   mã ih-cakôc
       Capi PAST Prejaka   to 3- speak
       'Capi spoke to Prejaka.'

(183) jūm mã ri capi   cakôc
       to   whom Capi   speak
       'To whom did Capi speak?'

(184) jūm   na ri   cu-te   ih-cukij
       about whom 3- PAST   3- ask
       'Whom did he ask about?'

(185) jūm   mã ri capi   cakôc   xà te
       about   what Capi   speak   NOMLZR
       'What did Capi speak about?'

The construction *jūm mā ri...te* in (185) has not been completely analyzed as yet, but it is probably related to the common idiomatic question *jū mā ri cute* 'what happened?'.

Answers to polar questions take no special form. Commonly, the clause is repeated, leaving out the interrogative marker and the question intonation pattern. An affirmative *ỹhỹ* or negative *quê* usually precedes the answer to polar questions.

(186) xà capi te   po   curan
       Q   Capi PAST deer   kill
       'Did Capi kill a deer?'

(187) ỹhỹ,   cu-te   ih-curan
       yes   3- PAST   3- kill
       'Yes, he killed it.'

Answers are often minimal, being only:

   ỹhỹ - 'yes'
   quê - 'no'
   pỳpỹn - 'don't know'
   hāpà - 'no', which is used most often within a
              discourse where the narrator asks a question for
              rhetorical effect and then answers it himself
              negatively.

Answers to non-polar questions normally occur without any special intonation pattern. The element on which the question focusses tends to be fronted in the answer.

(188)   jũ   pĩn   ca   tẽ
         where   from   2   go
         'Where are you coming from?'

(189)   pur   pĩn   wa   tẽ
         field   from   1   go
         'I'm coming from the field.'

Compare the unmarked clause:

(190)   wa   pur   pĩn   tẽ
         1   field   from   go
         'I'm coming from the field.'

11 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are marked by omission of the subject and by the imperative intonation pattern (sect. 22). Imperatives occur only in the second person, singular and plural. The positive and negative forms of the imperative sentence are basically the same. The negator *nare* is added after the verb to negate the sentence, and the normal negation intonation pattern occurs (see sect. 12). The negator *nare* causes the verb to be non-final in the clause, so that the long form of the verb occurs (ex. (194) and sect. 23).

(191)   po   cura
         deer   kill
         'Kill the deer!'

(192)   pahhi   kĩn
         chief   like
         'Like the chief!'

(193)   cre
         sing
         'Sing!'

(194)   rop   to   a-jàpêt   nare
         dog   OBL.OM   2-startle   NEG
         'Don't startle the dog!'

(195)   a-tỳj
         2-strong
         'Be strong!'

With certain verbs the person-marking prefix is obligatory, whatever the mood ((194) and (195)). Other verbs have two forms, one with the prefix and the other without, and the imperative form for these verbs is always the one without the prefix.

Common negative responses to imperatives are:

(196)   wa   kra
           1   NEG
           'No, I won't!'

(197)   quê,   wa ha   ton   nare
           NEG   1   FUT   do   NEG
           'No, I won't do it.'

For use of another form of negative response to imperative, *wỳr*, see sect. 12.

Hortatives differ from the imperatives by the presence of the obligatory first person inclusive *cu* (dual), or *cu me* (plural). There is a special form of persuasive or cajoling hortative, marked by *ne* (200):

(198)   cu   pa-htỳj
           1INCL   1- strong
           'Let's be strong.'

(199)   ha   cu   me po   cura
           ATTN 1INCL   PL   deer   kill
           'Hey, let's kill a deer.'

(200)   ha   cu   ne
           ATTN 1INCL   PERSUASIVE
           'Hey, let's go, okay?'

The negative form of the hortative follows the same pattern as the negative imperative form, i.e. the negator *nare* follows the verb.

(201)   cu   rop to   pa-   jàpêt   nare
           1INCL   dog OBL.OM   1INCL-startle   NEG
           'Let's not startle the dog.'

(202)   cu   pan-   crer   nare
           1INCL   1INCL- sing   NEG
           'Let's not sing.'

A positive response to the hortative takes the form:

(203)   ha   cu   mēr
         ATTN   1INCL   then
         'Let's go then.'

12 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by means of the negator *nare*. Negation sentences expressing imperative or hortative mood and negative responses to imperatives have distinct intonation patterns (see sect. 22). The negator occurs at the end of the sentence, that is, following the verb.

(204)   cu-te   po   pupun   nare
         3- PAST   deer   see   NEG
         'He did not see a deer.'

The negator affects the form of the verb in that it may be preceded only by the long form (see sect. 23). Any constituent may be negated, subject, object, indirect object, verb or any of the peripheral constituents, and the negator usually follows the constituent to which it refers. Any word may be negated: verbs, nouns, including nominalized verbs, pronouns, aspect or manner markers, etc. When constituents which are marked by a postposition are negated, the negator most commonly follows the postposition:

(205)   hȳrmā   nare
         to him   NEG
         'not to him, not in his direction'

(206)   krī   kam   nare
         village   in   NEG
         'not in the village'

(207)   mehī   nare
         Indian   NEG
         'not an Indian'

(208)   ihkàhhôc   to   hahkre   catê   nare
         book   INST   teach   NOMLZR   NEG
         'not a teacher'

(209)   ahtūm   nare
         later   NEG
         'short time (not a long time)'

Occasionally the negator precedes the postposition (214), when it appears to reflect a subtle distinction in meaning.

In a sentence the non-verbal constituents are commonly negated by placing them clause initial and then negating the verb. Compare the normal order of the positive statement (210) with the corresponding negative statement in which the focus of the negation is on the instrument phrase (211):

(210)   wa   ha   catōc   to   po   cura
         1   FUT   gun   INST deer kill
        'I will kill the deer with a gun.'

(211)   catōc   to   wa ha   po   curan   nare
         gun   INST   1   FUT   deer   kill   NEG
        'I won't kill the deer with a gun.'

An element of the clause may be negated more than once with the result being positive.

(212)   cu-mā   amji kīn   nare   nare
         3- TEMPRY   happy   NEG   NEG
        'He is not unhappy (he is happy).'

(213)   ca   ha   gūpar   nare   nare
         2   FUT   listen   NEG   NEG
        'You will not not listen (you will listen).'

Strings of two or three phrases or nouns can be negated.

(214)   i-te   catōc   me   cuhê   me   kô   me   wapo   nare
         1-PAST   gun   and   bow   and   club   and knife   NEG

         kam   po   curan
         OBL.OM deer   kill
        'I didn't kill the deer with a gun, bow, club or
        knife (but I killed it).'

To negate only the instrument but not the verb, the clause retains its normal order. The negator follows the instrument and precedes the postposition *kam*, which has the meaning 'instrumental' in (214) - (216).

(215)   wa   ha   catōc   nare   kam   po   cura
         1   FUT   gun   NEG   OBL.OM deer   kill
        'I will kill a deer without a gun.'

This can also be negated entirely by negating the verb.

(216)   wa ha   catõc   nare kam   po   curan   nare
         1   FUT   gun   NEG   OBL.OM deer   kill   NEG
         'I won't kill a deer without a gun.'

There are several other more specific negators. There is a way of using *nare* in combination with the negator *nee* which negates the verb and carries the idea 'not even'. The *nee* follows the subject (see also sect. 8).

(217)   capi   nee   pur   wỳr   ih-tẽm   nare
         Capi   NEG   field   to   3- go   NEG
         'Capi did not even go to the field.'

The negative response to an imperative or hortative is expressed by the negator *wỳr*. It can be used to refer to any person.

(218)   wỳr   wa ha   to
         NEG   1   FUT   do
         'I won't do it.'

(219)   wỳr   quê ha   hane
         NEG   3   FUT   thus
         'He won't do that (like that).'

To a suggestion that someone go out and kill a deer without using a gun, the response would be:

(220)   wỳr   wa ha   catõc   nare kam   po   cura
         NEG   1   FUT   gun   NEG   OBL.OM deer   kill
         'I can't kill a deer without a gun.'

To playfully contradict a statement of fact, the expression *quê, hõto pê* is used.

(221)   -I saw you in town yesterday.
         -quê, hõto pê!
         -not so!

To contradict a statement of fact by lying, or to contradict a wrong statement, the negator *quê* occurs as the first element in the response.

(222)   quê,   wa nee   curi   i-tẽm   nare
         no   1   NEG   there   1-go   NEG
         'No, I didn't go there.'

A class of verbs takes the particle *nõ*, which both negates and nominalizes the verb. Most frequently the augmentative *ti* or the diminutive *re* is suffixed to the particle *nõ*.

(223)   *hũpar*   - 'obey'   *hũpar nõ*   - 'a disobedient person'
          ipicahur   - 'run'   *ipicahur nõti*   - 'non-runner'
          increr   - 'sing'   *increr nõre*   - 'non-singer'

13 Anaphora

Deletion is one means of anaphoric reference in Canela. Certain items may be omitted if the context carries the meaning. Third person morphemes are often omitted in this way (see sects. 3 and 23):

(224)   cu-te   wapo   pyr   ne   Ø-to   ih-curan
         3- PAST   knife   take   and   3-INST   3- kill
         'He took the knife and killed it with (it).'

(225)   capi   pur   wỳr   tẽ   ne   Ø-kam   hàpên
         Capi   field   to   go   and   3-in   work
         'Capi went to the field and worked in (it).'

A system of personal pronouns is also used as a means of anaphoric reference. Complete lists of free and bound form are given in sect. 16. The reflexive and reciprocal pronouns *amji* and *ajpẽn* (described in sect. 4) are also a means of anaphoric reference.

(226)   capi   te   amji   cakwĩn
         Capi   PAST   self   hit
         'Capi hit himself.'

(227)   jaco   te   po   pupun   ne   ih-curan
         Jaco   PAST   deer   see   and   3- kill
         'Jaco saw the deer and killed it.'

(228)   jaco   te   po   pupun   ne   amji   mã   ih-curan
         Jaco   PAST   deer   see   and   self   for   3 -kill
         'Jaco saw the deer and killed it for himself.'

(229)   capi   te   po   curan,   quê   ha   cuku
         Capi   PAST   deer   kill   3   FUT   3+eat
         'Capi killed the deer and will eat it.'

(230)   capi   te   po   curan,   ih-krẽr   xà   caxuw
         Capi   PAST   deer   kill   3- eat   NOMLZR   PURP
         'Capi killed the deer for food.'

A verb may be replaced by a dummy (pro-verb) or be deleted altogether, under conditions described in sect. 3.

Location pronouns commonly occur with the postposition *ri* or *mã* indicating place. The free form *he* which frequently follows location pronouns indicates that the location is in sight of both the speaker and the hearer, and the speaker may even be pointing to it.

curi - 'there, at previously stated location'
hỹrmã - 'there, to a previously identified person'
atari - 'there, further away'
itari - 'here, closer by'
ihmutri - 'over there'
ihmutxà he - 'over there, look'

All of the above means are used to express anaphora with the antecedent preceding. They may be used in any syntactically appropriate situation.

(231) capi   te   jaco   pupun   ne   cu-   te   pahhi   mã
       Capi   PAST   Jaco   see   and   3(C)-PAST   chief   to

       harẽn   quê   pahhi   te   ih-   kẽn   mã
       3(J)+tell   so that   chief   PAST   3(J)- bad   OBL.OM

       mẽn   prãm   te   harkwa   kôt
       throw   want   because   3(C)+word   after
       'Because Capi wanted the chief to make trouble for
       him (Jaco) he spied on Jaco and told the chief.'

Capi as the subject is referred to by *cu* in the second clause and zero in the displaced adjunct at the end of the sentence. Jaco as object is referred to by zero in the second clause and *ih* in the third.

14 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are marked by postpositions and one free form word, and by a subordinate clause intonation pattern (sect. 22).

The postpositions *na* and *to* are commonly used as general subordinators; *te* 'because' occurs mainly with the verb *prãm* 'want'.

(232) wa i-xà   na   apu   i-jũjahêr   to   mõ
       1 1-sick   SUBORD   CONT   1-hunt   SUBORD   go
       'I went hunting when (while) I was sick.'

(233) jaco   me   capi   te   pĩ   hêre   jakep   ame   to
       Jaco   and Capi   PAST   wood twig   cut   3PL   INST

       ajpēn   cahhyr   prãm   te
       RECIP   beat   want   because
       'Jaco and Capi cut twigs because they wanted to
       beat each other with them.'

The word *incwỳrjapê* 'reason', can be used with two distinct intonation patterns (see sect. 22): in one, it is phonologically a part of the preceding clause and functions like a subordinator; and in the other it is phonologically bound to the clause which follows, functioning more like a sentence connective.

(234) i-mã   hūpa   incwỳrjapê   i-picahur
       1-TEMPRY   3+fear   reason   1-run
       'I feared it, therefore I ran.'

Skewing occurs between syntax and semantics. What is syntactically the main verb is often semantically the subordinate verb and vice versa.
This occurs most often when a syntactically main verb is a verb of motion.

(235) cu-te   pĩ   jakep   to   mõ
       3- PAST   wood   cut   SUBORD   go
       'He went along cutting wood.'

The syntactically subordinate verb *jakep* 'cut' is semantically the main verb, whereas the syntactically main verb *mõ* 'go' is semantically the subordinate verb.
In indirect speech quotation the postposition *na* occurs most commonly. It occurs as the final element of the indirect quotation.

Indirect statement:

(236) cu-te   i-mã   amji   jarēn,   cu-mã   a-kĩn
       3 -PAST   1-TEMPRY   self   told   3- TEMP   2-like

       na
       SUBORD
       'He told me that he likes you.'

Indirect question:

(237)   a-mã   jũri   i-tẽm   xà   ita   na   i-jahkre
        2-TEMPRY   where   1-go   NOMLZR   this   SUBORD   1-learn

        pej
        well
        'You know where I am going.'

Indirect commands have the same syntactic form as causatives (see sect. 6).
The postposition *na* occurs most frequently; the purpose word *caxuw* also
occurs.

(238)   cu-te   a-mõr   na   a-mã   harkwa
        3- PAST   2-go   SUBORD   2-OBL.OM   order
        'He ordered you to go.'

(239)   cu-te   a-mõr   xà   caxuw   a-mãn
        3- PAST   2-go   NOMLZR   PURP   2-command
        'He commanded you to go.'

(240)   cu-te   a-mõr   xà   na   a-mãn
        3- PAST   2-go   NOMLZR   SUBORD   2-command
        'He commanded you to go.'

Complement clauses occur with the verb of the subordinate clause in the
long form and marked with *na*.

(241)   wa jũm   pupu   i-picahur   na
        1   someone   see   3-run   SUBORD
        'I see someone running.'

Direct quote complements are marked by the word *hajy̆r/hane* 'thus', which
occurs following the quote, from which it is marked off intonationally. The
quote is preceded by the introductory quotation formula, which is a complete
transitive clause in itself.

(242)   cu-te   i-mã   harkwa   ton,   i-mã   a-kĩn,
        3- PAST   1-to   word   make   1-TEMPRY   2-like

        hane
        thus
        'He said to me, "I like you." '

The verb of the quotation formula can be omitted.

(243)   cu-te   i-mã,   i-mã   a-kĩn,   hane
        3- PAST   1-to   1-TEMPRY   2-like   thus
        'He said to me, "I like you." '

Direct quotes are much more common than indirect quotes.

SYNTAX OF PHRASE TYPES

15 Noun phrase structure

15.1 Marking for case.   There are several morphological ways for distinguishing the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases. Peripheral clause constituents with noun phrases have one of the set of postpositions described in sect. 17, representing various semantic distinctions. Certain occurrences of subject also require specific postpositions.

The subject of verbs denoting feelings such as fear, hunger, attraction, lust, cold, etc. is marked by one of two postpositions: *mã* indicates 'temporary state' and *te* 'habitual state'.

(244)   i-mã   kry
        1-TEMPRY   cold
        'I'm cold.'

(245)   rop   ita   mã   hũpa
        dog   this   TEMPRY   3+fear
        'This dog is afraid of it.'

(246)   cu-mã   a-kĩn
        3- TEMPRY   2-like
        'He likes you.'

(247)   cu-te   prãm
        3- HAB   hungry
        'He is habitually hungry.'

(248)   capi   te   hõ   ita   xen
        Capi   HAB   food   this   lust
        'Capi lusts for this food habitually.'

(249)   i-te   hũpa
        1-HAB   3+fear
        'I live afraid of it.'

The subject in identificational clauses is marked with the postposition *pê*, which seems to function as a copula.

(250)   i-pê   mehĩ
         1-COP   Indian
         'I'm an Indian.'

(251)   humre   ita   pê   hah-kre   kêatre
         man   this   COP   ear-hole   badly
         'This man is ignorant.'

The subject of transitive verbs is marked by *te* 'PAST' when the action is in the past (see sect. 1).

(252)   i-te   cu-mã   hõr
         1-PAST   3- to   3+give
         'I gave it to him.'

(253)   a-te   catõc   to   po   curan
         2-PAST   gun   INST   deer   kill
         'You killed the deer with a gun.'

(254)   cu-te   i-pê   põhy   jàhkĩj
         3- PAST   1-from   corn   steal
         'He stole the corn from me.'

Elsewhere, the subject is not morphologically marked, and the direct object is also not marked. The syntactic function of noun phrases is distinguished primarily by word order (sect. 1).

15.2 Genitives.   Nouns are divided into two classes:
  a) Inalienably possessed nouns occur with obligatory possessor person prefixes or free form nominal possessors. Most of these nouns denote body parts or kinship relationships. For possessor prefix forms, see sect. 16.
  In inalienably possessed noun phrases, the possessor is followed directly by the possessed.

(255)   i-to
         1-eye
         'my eye'

(256)   capi   to
         Capi   eye
         'Capi's eye'

(257)   me   pan-   quêtjê
         PL   1INCL-   forefathers
         'our forefathers'

(258)   a-quêtti
         2-uncle
         'your uncle'

(259)   pah-   kra
         1INCL-   child
         'our child'

(260)   capi   kra
         Capi   child
         'Capi's child'

(261)   in-to
         3- eye
         'his eye'

b) Alienably possessed nouns can occur without a possessor.

(262)   *pĩ*   'wood'
         tôn   'armadillo'
         pry   'path'

In alienably possessed noun phrases, the possessor is followed by the
possession marker *hõ/jõ*, which is followed by the possessed item.

(263)   i-jõ   wapo
         1-POSSN   knife
         'my knife'

(264)   capi   jõ   pur
         Capi   POSSN   field
         'Capi's field'

(265)   hõ   pur
         3+POSSN   field
         'his field'

Non-specific possession of inalienably possessed nouns is not common, but
may be shown by the use of the first person inclusive prefix *pa*, or the plural
form *me pa*, or with the plural form alone: *me, meh, mem, men*.

(266)   *pan-to* 'our eyes, eyes, one's eyes'
         me pan-to jaxàjre 'eye diseases'
         men to jaxàjre 'eye diseases'

Non-specific possession of a few inalienably possessed nouns is shown by
the non-specific indefinite third person prefix *ah*:

ahkrare 'children', cf. *ihkrare* 'his children'

15.3 Modifiers.   Nouns may be modified as follows:
a) with an adjective, which is an adjectival verb stem.

(267)   rop   pej
         dog   good
         'good dog'

(268)   rop   nõ
         dog   another
         'a dog (one of a number of dogs)'

b) with demonstratives *ita* 'this', *itajê* 'these', *ata* 'that', *atajê* 'those'.

(269)   rop   ita
         dog   this
         'this dog'

(270)   hũmre   ata-jê
         man   that-PL
         'those men'

c) with specifiers, where both the specifier and the specified are nouns. The
specifier is followed by the specified item, which is a more generic term.

(271)   prĩn   pàr
         piqui   tree
         ' "piqui" tree'

(272)   crow   kô
         burity   grove
         ' "burity" grove'

There is a subtype of the specifier noun phrase in which the specifier is
linked to the specified item by the postposition *te*. The relationship to the
specified item is to specify the material out of which the specified item is
made.

(273)   carẽc   te   pryre
         clay   **SPECFR**   animals
         'clay animals'

d) with the particle *xwỳ* 'deceased'.

(274)   a-quêt   xwỳ
         2-uncle DECEASED
         'your late uncle'

e) with the particle *kwỳj* 'female name'.

(275)   pyt   kwỳj
         sun   FEM
         'Sun girl (i.e. girl named Sun)'

f) with a relative clause, in which the head noun either occurs within the relative clause (276) or precedes it (277). The relative clause may be extraposed, as in (277). The relative clause is signalled by an obligatory demonstrative (*ita*, *ata*, etc.) occurring after it. This demonstrative functions as a relative pronoun corresponding to the head noun. There are no restrictions on the syntactic function of the head noun.

(276)   i-te   hũmre   te   rop   curan   ita   pupun
         1-PAST   man   PAST   dog   kill   DEM   see
         'I saw the man who killed the dog.'

(277)   wa i-te   rop   pupun,   capi   te   ih-curan   ata
         1   1-PAST   dog   see   Capi   PAST   3- kill   DEM
         'I saw the dog Capi killed.'

(278)   i-te   hũmre   pê   rop   curan   ata   pupun
         1-PAST   man   MAL   dog   kill   DEM   see
         'I saw the man whose dog I killed.'

(279)   i-te   hũmre   mã   rop   curan   ata   pupun
         1-PAST   man   BEN   dog   kill   DEM   see
         'I saw the man for whom I killed the dog.'

The preferred ordering of modifiers is as follows:

1st order (these could cooccur):

    xwỳ   'deceased marker'
    kwỳj   'female name'

2nd order - adjective (*pej*, *tỳj*, etc.), or relative clause
3rd order - demonstrative (*ita*, *ata*, etc.)

Other than first order modifiers, not more than one of each type can cooccur.

A noun or coordinate noun may be followed by up to three modifiers of different types. The usual limit is two modifiers.

(280)   pê   a-quêt   xwỳ   pej- ti   ata   garē
        DP   2-uncle DECEASED good- very   DEM   2+tell
        'Your late, very good uncle, that one, told about you.'
        (*garē* is a contraction of *a-jarē* '2-tell'.)

(281)   rop   tyc   ataje
        dog   black   those
        'those black dogs'

(282)   i-te   hũmre   xwỳ   tỳj   ita   pupun
        1-PAST   man   DECEASED strong DEM   see
        'I saw this late strong man.'

(283)   i-te   hũmre   xwỳ   pê   rop   curan   ita   pupun
        1-PAST   man   DECEASED DP   dog   kill   DEM   see
        'I saw the late man whose dog I killed.'

15.4 Nominalizations.   Verbs are nominalized in several ways:
   a) with the nominalizer *xà*, which denotes a thing, place or an event.

(284)   i-cator
        1-arrived
        'I arrived.'

(285)   i-cator   xà
        1-arrived   NOMLZR
        'my arrival'

(286)   wa   apu   tep   pro
        1   CONT   fish   catch
        'I'm catching fish.'

(287)   tep   pro   xà
        fish   catch   NOMLZR
        'fish net, or fishing place'

   b) with the nominalizer *catê* (plural *catêjê*), which denotes the agent/doer of the action. This is usually human, but occasionally refers to an animal when such is in the agent role.

(288)   i-te   pryti   jamār
         1-PAST   cows   look after
         'I looked after cows.'

(289)   pryti   jamār   catê
         cows   look after   NOMLZR
         'one who looks after cows (cowboy)'

(290)   i-picahur   catê
         3-run   NOMLZR
         'runner'

   c) with the 'size' suffixes *re* 'diminutive' and *ti* 'augmentative'. These may nominalize any verb phrase which denotes a person; *re* occurs more frequently than *ti*.

(291)   im-prar   tỳj
         3- run   strong/well
         'He runs well.'

(292)   im-prar   tỳj-   re
         3- run   strong-   DIMIN
         'He's a good runner.'

(293)   im-prar   tỳj-   re   ita   ma   tē   ne   po   cura
         3- run   strong-   DIMIN   DEM   away go   and   deer   kill
         'This good runner goes away and kills a deer.'

(294)   in-to   cara
         3- eye   widen (in fear)
         'His eye widens (in fear).'

(295)   in-to   cara-   re
         3- eye   widen-   DIMIN
         'a person who is afraid'

   d) with the negative nominalizer *nõ* which nominalizes a certain class of verbs denoting a person while at the same time negating the meaning of the verb.

(296)   *hũpar*   'obey'   *hũpar nõ*   'disobedient person'
         ipicahur   'run'   *ipicahur nõ*   'non-runner'

(See also sect. 12).

e) with the postposition *xi* which denotes a person who is an expert or one who habitually practices the action of the verb.

(297) apu   a-hêj   cf.   (298) a-hêj   xi
       CONT   2-lie   2-lie   NOMLZR
       'You are lying.'   'You are a liar.'

(299) a-kên   cf.   (300) a-kên   xi
       2-bad   2-bad   NOMLZR
       'You are bad.'   'You are a bad
                                                person'

Two classes of verb have an agentive nominalized form which does not correspond to any of the above ways of nominalizing. The verb in its long form and with a third person prefix may have a nominalized meaning, as well as its normal active verb meaning. It then carries the meaning of an act done by the agent.

(301) capi   te   hàpên
       Capi   PAST   work
       'Capi worked.'

(302) capi   ma   hàpên   wỳr   tẽ
       Capi   away   work   to   go
       'Capi goes to his work.'

(303) cu-te   hàhkre   cf.   *hàhkre*   'his planting'
       3- PAST   plant
       'He planted.'

(304) *ipicxar*   'He laughed' or 'his laughing'
       apicahur   'You ran' or 'your running'

Two nominalizations may occur on the same verb. The meaning is carried by the last one to occur.

(305) *ihhêj*   'He lies.'
       ihhêj xi xà   'his lie'
       ihhêj xi   'He is a liar.'

16 Pronoun system

The pronoun system has both bound and free definite personal pronouns. There are also indefinite personal pronouns which differentiate between specific, non-specific, negative indefinite and plural. There are also demonstrative, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.

16.1 Personal pronouns.   The   same   bound   prefix   forms   occur   for   verbal
object and subject markers, and for nominal possessors. There are no gender or
class distinctions, but there is a distinction between first person inclusive and
exclusive. The system is as follows:

i-	'1 exclusive'
pa-, pah-, pam-, pan-	'1 inclusive'
a-	'2'
ih-, in-, i-, cu-, ∅-	'3'

Any prefix on verbs or relators can be pluralized by the plural free form *me* or
one of its variants (sect. 18.4).

(306)   i-te   capi   pupun
         1-PAST   Capi   see
         'I saw Capi.'

(307)   capi   te   i-pupun
         Capi   PAST   1-see
         'Capi saw me.'

(308)   capi   te   i-mã   harẽn
         Capi   PAST   1-to   3+told
         'Capi told it to me.'

(309)   capi   te   me   i-pupun
         Capi   PAST   PL   1-see
         'Capi saw us (exclusive).'

There is also a set of free form pronouns which may occur as subject:

wa	'1 exclusive, unmarked'
pa	'1 exclusive, emphatic'
cu	'1 inclusive'
ca	'2'
que	'3'
ta	'3 emphatic'
je	'2 or 3, relative'

(310)   ha   cu   jê   ne   po   nõ   cura
         hey   1INCL   relative   and   deer   a   kill
         'Hey, relative, let's go and kill a deer.'

(311)   i-te   jê   me   po   nõ   curan
         1-PAST   relative   and deer a   kill
         'My relative and I killed a deer.'

These free forms are not obligatory, but occur in certain discourse situations which have not been fully studied yet. It appears they may be omitted when the subject is clear from the immediate context, and marked by a prefix on the tense postposition, verb or relator.

(312)   (wa)   i-te   po   pupun (optional)
         1   1-PAST   deer see
         'I saw a deer.'

(313)   wa po   pupu (obligatory)
         1   deer   see
         'I see a deer.'

The emphatic forms of the subject pronoun cooccur with the unmarked forms. The emphasis is commonly contrastive.

(314)   wa ha   po   cura
         1   FUT   deer kill
         'I will kill a deer.'

(315)   pa,   wa ha   po   cura
         1   1   FUT   deer kill
         'I will kill a deer (emphatic).'

(316)   wa ha   pa po   cura
         1   FUT   1   deer   kill
         'I will kill a deer (emphatic).'

The following types of indefinite pronoun occur:

- specific indefinites: the free forms *jũm* 'someone' and *ampo* 'something'. These forms are also used as interrogative pronouns, with the meanings 'who' and 'what' respectively (sect. 10).

(317)   jũm   jàpên   xà
         someone   work   NOMLZR
         'someone's work'

(318)   i-te   ampo   pupun
         1-PAST   something   see
         'I saw something.'

- non-specific indefinite: the 1st person inclusive *pa-*:

(319) *pa-nto*   'our eyes, one's eyes, eyes'
       pa-xà   'our sickness/disease'
       pan-to xà   'eye diseases'

- negative indefinite: the negator *nee jŭm...nare*:

(320) nee   jŭm   te   po   curan   nare
       NEG   someone PAST   deer   kill   NEG
       'No one killed a deer.'

The plural free form *me* with the third person automatically refers to animate beings in general, to human beings more specifically, and most specifically to Indians:

       ihcunea   'all of it'
       kēn cunea   'all the stones'
       mehcunea (me ihcunea)   'all the Indians/people/animate beings'

16.2 Demonstrative pronouns:

       ita   'this'   *ata*   'that'
       itajê   'these'   *atajê*   'those'

They may be used both independently and adjectivally:

(321) ita   pī   (322) pī   ita
       DEM   wood   wood   DEM
       'This is wood.'   'this wood'

(323) atajê   kēn   (324) kēn   atajê
       DEM   stone   stone   DEM
       'Those are stones.'   'those stones'

These demonstrative pronouns are also used to indicate previous reference in discourse. In this case the demonstrative pronoun is used in conjunction with some sort of relator. The following examples refer to previous statements in the discourse:

       ita na   'in reference to this'
       ita cwỳrjapê   'because of this'

(325)   capi te hàpên cati, ne cute amji mã pur catia nõr.
         ita cwỳrjapê quê ha cumã hõa to hõ.
         'Capi worked hard and put in a huge field for himself.
         Because of this he will have plenty of food.'

16.3 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns   (see sect. 4):

amji and *ajpēn* respectively

16.4 Interrogative pronouns   (see sect. 10):

jūm	'who, singular'
jūmjê	'who, plural'
ampo	'what'

16.5 Relative pronouns.   These take the form of demonstratives and are described in sect. 15.3.

17 Adpositional phrase structure

The language is postpositional.

Postpositions are not normally separated from the noun phrase although some rare irregular occurrences have been noted. They cannot occur as independent forms.

Postpositions relate to people, things, actions and locations. Below they are listed in the third person inflected form, with a hyphen separating the third person prefix from the stem ($\emptyset$ indicates a zero third person marker):

cu-mã	'for, to, for his benefit' (benefactive)
cu-pê	'from, to his loss, to his negative benefit' (malefactive)
cu-ri	'there' (locative)
cu-rūm	'toward there' (directional)
cu-mam	'before it'
cu-na	'in front of it'
cu-te	'he' (transitive past tense, or stative habitual)
ih-kôt	'after it'
ih-pīn	'from there' (locational source)
ah-na	'about it'
$\emptyset$-to	'with it'
$\emptyset$-kam	'in, into, at it'
$\emptyset$-wỳr	'toward it'

Postpositional phrases can be modified by another postpositional phrase ((327 and 328)).

(326) wa ha   capi   mã ampo   gõ
       1 FUT Capi   to something   give
       'I will give something to Capi.'

(327) wa ha   capi   mã pit   mã   ampo   gõ
       1 FUT Capi   to only   OBL.OM   something   give
       'I will give something to Capi only.'

(328) a-te   wapo   to   pit   mã   carà   curan
       2-PAST   knife   INST   only   OBL.OM   deer   kill
       'You killed the deer with only a knife.'

(329) wa ha   pur   kam apê
       1 FUT field in work
       'I will work in the field.'

(330) wa ha   curi   apê
       1 FUT there   work
       'I will work there.'

(331) jũ   pĩn   ca tẽ
       where   from   2   go
       'Where are you coming from?'

18 Verb and verb phrase structure

See sect. 23 for some general morphological characteristics of verbs.

18.1 Tense.   Tense in Canela is marked as follows:

(1) Future tense is expressed by the morpheme *ha*, which occurs following the subject (*ha* fluctuates between dialects with *kra*).

(332) ca ha   a-mã   ih-kĩn
       2   FUT 2-TEMPRY   3- like
       'You will like him.'

(333) quê ha   i-mã catõc
       3   FUT 1-to gun
       'I will have a gun.'
       (literally, 'It, a gun will be to me.')

(334) capi   quê ha   rop   cakwĩ
       Capi   3   FUT dog   beat
       'Capi will beat the dog.'

(2) Recent past is expressed in transitive clauses by the postposition *te* 'PAST', which follows a free form subject or has the subject person prefix attached to it, and which always has the long form of the verb cooccurring with it. In intransitive clauses recent past is only partially marked: when the verb is clause final, the long form of the verb occurs (except for a small sub-class of intransitive verbs, see sect. 1.4); when the verb is not clause final, the long form always occurs anyway, whatever tense is to be understood, so intransitive verbs then are not morphologically marked for tense (see sect. 23):

(335)   i-te   rop   cakwĩn
        1-PAST   dog   beat (long form)
        'I beat the dog.'

(336)   capi   jàpir
        Capi   climb (long form)
        'Capi climbed.'

(3) The distant past tense is indicated by *pê* 'DP' and the short form of the verb (see sects. 9 and 23).

(337)   pê   wa rop   cakwĩ
        DP   1   dog   beat
        'Long ago I beat the dog.'

In this paper, 'PAST' always refers to recent past and 'DP' to distant past.

(4) Present tense is not morphologically marked.

18.2 Aspect.   Aspect in a clause is expressed by certain verb forms and/or particles or postpositions. The aspectual distinctions in the language are as follows:

(1) Continuous action:

  - *apu* 'continuing', a particle.

(338)   apu   i-cakôc
        CONT   1-speak
        'I am speaking.'

  - *to mõ* 'to go along doing for the duration of a process'. The subordinative postposition *to* is preceded by an active verb and followed by the uninflected verb of motion *mõ*.

(339)   wa pĩ   jakep   to   mõ
         1   wood   cut   SUBORD go
         'I go along cutting wood (as part of the process of
         preparing a field).'

Other ways of expressing continuous action, involving an active verb and
postposition, followed by another verb, are:

    - *to ipa* 'to live doing the action'.

(340)   wa kwỳr   kur   to   ipa
         1   manioc eat   SUBORD live
         'I live eating manioc/always eat manioc.'

    - *to incràn* and *kam incrà* 'to continue the action'.

(341)   a-cakôc   to   a-crà
         2-speak   SUBORD 2-continue
         'You continue to speak.'

(342)   capi   te   rop   kĩn   kam   in-crà
         Capi   HAB   dog   like   SUBORD 3- continue
         'Capi continues to like the dog.'

(2) Completed action (all particles):

    - *ramã* 'already completed'.

(343)   i-te   ramã   pĩ   jakep
         1-PAST already   wood   cut
         'I already cut the wood.'

    - *curmã* 'just now completed'.

(344)   i-te   curmã   pĩ   jakep
         1-PAST now   wood   cut
         'I just now cut the wood.'

    - *cormã* 'still to be completed'.

(345)   wa ha   cormã   pĩ   jakep
         1   FUT   still   wood   cut
         'I will still cut the wood.'

- *par* 'all'.

(346)   i-te   i-jõ   krẽr   par
         1-PAST   1-food   eat   all
         'I ate all my food.'

- *partu* 'altogether, completely' (limited to transitive verbs).

(347)   i-te   i-jõ   krẽr   partu
         1-PAST   1-food   eat   completely
         'I ate all my food completely.'

(3) Habitual (particles or postpositions):

- *hãn ne* 'customary', and
- *hõt pê* 'customary'.

(348)   xã hõt pê   a-mã   wakỳ
         Q   CUST   2-to   axe
         'Do you usually have axes?'

- *te* 'habitual, permanent' (with stative verbs only, see sect. 1).

(349)   cu-te   rop   kĩn
         3- HAB   dog   like
         'He is a dog lover.'

- *ajco* 'used to, customary' (with distant past only).

(350)   pê   wa ajco   apu   to   hane
         DP   1 CUST   CONT   do   thus
         'I always used to do that.'

(4) Iterative:

- *hipêr* 'repeated'.

(351)   hipêr   i-mã   harẽ
         REPET   1-to   say
         'Tell me again' or 'Say it again for me.'

There are also verbs which have special forms for inherently repetitive aspect:

single action	repeated action	
ihcakwĩn	*ihcahhyr*	'hit it'
hàr	*incjêj*	'enter'
ihcuran	*hipej*	'kill it'
hàr	*incjên*	'put it in'
mēn	*irēn*	'throw it down'

Another class of verbs marks inherently repetitive aspect by duplication of the stem:

ihhãhãc	'hiccup'
ihpecpec	'drip'
caprêprêc	'whip'
ihpỳpỳm	'fall repeatedly, stumble, several items one after another'

The other two aspects are expressed by inflected verbs.

(5) Ingressive:

    - *kam ihtēm*, *kam tē* 'begin' (literally, *kam* 'SUBORD' and *tē* 'go').

(352)   quê   ha   ih-cakôc   kam   tē
    3   FUT   3- speak   SUBORD   go
    'He will begin to speak.'

(353)   capi   mã   rop   kĩn   te   kam   ihtēm
    Capi   TEMPRY   dog   like   PAST   SUBORD   3+go
    'Capi began to like the dog.'

(6) Terminative:

    - *hicu* 'stop'.

(354)   cu-te   ih-cakôc   jicu
    3- PAST   3- speak   stop
    'He stopped speaking.'

    - *hipêj* 'finish'.

(355)   cu-te   ih-cakôc   jipêj
    3- PAST   3- speak   finish
    'He finished speaking.'

- *ihhi* 'stop'.

(356)   i-te   to   ih-kīn   hi
         1-PAST   OBL.OM   3- like   stop
         'I stopped liking him.'

- *krã cura(n)* 'finish'.

(357)   i-te   i-jàpên   krã curan
         1-PAST   1-work   finish
         'I finished my work.'

18.3 Mood. See also sect. 10 for interrogative and sect. 11 for imperative. Further study is needed for the understanding of some modal distinctions: conditional involves the use of the future tense marker, and debitive has to do with the tense marker *te*, the descriptive *ihtỳj* and the nominalization marker *xà*, but these constructions have not yet been adequately analyzed, and are not discussed further here.

Inflected verb forms express some modal types:

- optative: *prãm* 'want', *caca* 'not want, hate, dislike'.

(358)   i-mã   põhy   kre   prãm
         1-TEMPRY   corn   plant   want
         'I want to plant corn.'

(359)   wa põhy kre   caca
         1   corn plant hate/dislike
         'I don't want/I hate to plant corn.'

- degree of certainty: *tỳj* 'be certain'.

(360)   wa ha   i-tỳj   apê
         1   FUT   1-certain   work
         'I will definitely work.'

Particles are more often used to express modal values:

ma apu	'emphatic certainty' (commonly used with *caca* 'hate')
ahnaa	'confirmation' (usually with *ita* or as *tahnaa*, see below)
awki	'doubt, possibility'
mãrmã	'maybe'

xwỳmā	'possibly might'
ajkī	'possibly'
pijamā	'possibly'

Some examples are:

(361) wa ma apu   põhy   kre   caca
       1 EMPH.CERT corn   plant   hate
      'I really hate to plant corn.'

(362) mãrmā   quê   ha   apê
      maybe   3   FUT   work
      'Maybe he will work.'

(363) xà   ca   ha   pijamā   apê
      Q   2   FUT   possibly   work
      'Are you possibly going to work?'

Exclamative expressions which reflect modal values are:

co	'Careful'
co he	'Take care! Look out!'
ajco	'Remember! (what I told you and be careful)'
ampeaj kam	'That's right! Truly!'
tahnaa	'That's right!'

18.4 Person and number. See sect. 16 for a listing of the person-marking prefix forms. Person prefixes on the verb agree with the subject (pseudo-transitive, intransitive and adjectival verbs) or the object (transitive and stative transitive verbs). (See sect. 1 for other examples).

(364) capi   apu   ih-cakôc
      Capi   CONT   3- speak
      'Capi is speaking.'

(365) capi   te   a-pupun
      Capi   PAST   2-see
      'Capi saw you.'

Number is sometimes expressed by the particle *me* (*meh*, *mem*, *men*) 'plural', usually where the referent is human and, more specifically, Indian (see sect. 16.1). The particle precedes the subject prefix in intransitive clauses and the object prefix or free object in transitive clauses. The context alone indicates whether the subject or the object is being pluralized.

(366)   rop   kwỳ   te   cukôj   cãmxar
         dog   GRP   PAST   monkey   bite
         'The dog pack bit the monkey.'

(367)   hũmre te   rop   kwỳ   cahhyr
         man   PAST   dog   GRP   beat
         'The man beat the dogs.'

(368)   hũmre te   me rop   cahhyr
         man   PAST   PL dog   beat
         'The men beat the dog.'

Number is also expressed by numerals, quantifiers and demonstratives. These more clearly indicate to which constituent the plural form refers.

pyxit	'one'	*ipijakrut*	'two'
inkrê	'three, many'	*kwỳ*	'some, group'
nõ	'one of'		

The suffix *jê* pluralizes certain nominalized nouns and the demonstratives: *atajê* 'those', *itajê* 'these'.

kẽn itajê 'these stones'	*kẽn ita* 'this stone'
ihcakôc catêjê 'orators'	*ihcakôc catê* 'orator'

18.5 Voice, valency   (1) An adjectival or intransitive verb may be formed into a transitive or pseudo-transitive verb respectively, by means of the postposition *to* 'INST':

- *haka* (adjectival) 'it is white'.

(369)   i-te   to   haka
         1-PAST   3+INST   3+white
         'I whitened it with (it).'

(370)   i-te   to   a-jaka
         1-PAST   3+INST   2-white
         'I whitened you with (it).'

(371)   i-te   haka   xà   to   ikre   jaka
         1-PAST   white NOMLZR   INST   house   white
         'I whitened the house with whitener (paint).'

The above three examples indicate that the use of *to* as a transitivizer with adjectival verbs results in a fully transitive clause (*te* 'PAST' cooccurs with object-marking prefixes, see sect. 1.1).

- *irīt* (intransitive) 'he looked'.

(372) cu-te   to   i-rīt
       3-PAST   3+INST   3-look
       'He looked with it.'

- *atēm* (intransitive) 'you went'.

(373) a-te   penhôc   cucwỳr- ti   to   a-tēm
       2-PAST   rubber   wheeled-big   INST   2-go
       'You went in the rubber wheeled thing/truck.'

Examples (372) and (373) show that *to* with intransitive verbs results in a pseudo-transitive clause (*te* 'PAST' cooccurs with subject agreement prefixes, see sect. 1.3).

(2) There is a sub-class of verbs which have stems that are inherently neutral and which may be formed into either transitive or intransitive stems through morphophonological processes. This is explained in sect. 23.

18.6 Modifier.   Adjectival verbs occur in their uninflected forms as modifiers of other (inflected) verbs (see sect. 15.3 for a similar modifier function in noun phrases):

ihcuran pej	'(someone) killed it well'
intoj pej	'he jumped well'
ihkīn hi	'he stopped liking'
ihkrēr jicu	'he stopped eating'

19 Adjective phrase structure

The possible combinations of modifier sequences in noun phrases are discussed in sect. 15.3. Both adjectives (in noun phrases) and adjectival verbs can be followed by the suffixes *ti* 'augmentative' and *re* 'diminutive'. The suffixes primarily modify the adjective/verb but in the case of *re* the noun is often modified as well.

(374) rop   ita   im-pej- ti
       dog   DEM   3- good-AUG
       'This dog is very good.'

(375)   wapo   ita   im-pej- re
        knife   DEM   3- good-DIMIN
        'This knife is a good little one.'

(376)   rop   pej- ti   ih-tyc
        dog   good-AUG   3- dead
        'The very good dog is dead.'

20 Adverb phrase structure

There are no phrasal constructions with adverb heads.

21 PARTICLES

There are no particles other than conjunctions (sect. 8) interrogative markers and response words (sect. 10), and negation words (sect. 12).

22 PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of Canela are described and given in the standard phonetic representations of Pike (1947). The practical orthographic symbols used in this paper are given in parentheses following the phonetic symbol. For a fuller description, see Popjes and Popjes (1971).

Consonants

There are three voiceless unaspirated stops at the following positions:

    labial - p (p)
    alveolar - t (t)
    velar - k (c,qu)

These all have voiced allophones occurring syllable initial in unstressed syllables following voicing, and syllable final preceding voicing.

There are two voiceless aspirated stops at the following positions:

    alveolar - ts (x) (affricate)
    velar - k^h (k)

There are three voiced nasal occlusives at the following positions:

    labial - m (m)
    alveolar - n (n)
    velar - ŋ (g)

There are four non-occlusives at the following positions:

    labial - v (w)
    alveolar - l (r)
    palatal - y (j)
    velar - h (h)

l (r) is a voiced alveolar lateral which has a flap allophone which occurs intervocalic, utterance initial and following consonants; y (j) is a voiced frictionless palatal continuant which has a fronted, alveolar grooved fricative allophone [z] which occurs final in consonant clusters and initial in stressed syllables; and h (h) is a voiceless frictionless continuant which has two allophones, a front velar fricative [x] which occurs before high oral vowels and a glottal stop [ʔ] which occurs syllable final preceding consonants.

Vowels

  All vowels are voiced. There are five front unrounded vowels (three oral and two nasal) at the following positions:

    i (i) high close oral
    e (ê) mid close oral
    ɛ (e) low open oral
    ĩ (ĩ) high close nasalized
    ɛ̃ (ẽ) low open nasalized

There are five back unrounded vowels at the following positions:

    ï (y) high close oral
    ë (ỳ) mid close oral
    ɛ̈ (à) low open oral
    ĩ̈ (ỹ) high close nasalized
    ɛ̈̃ (ã) low open nasalized

There are five back rounded vowels at the following positions:

    u (u) high close oral
    o (ô) mid close oral
    ɔ (o) low open oral
    ũ (ũ) high close nasalized
    ɔ̃ (õ) low open nasalized

There are two low open central rounded vowels:

a (a) oral
ã (ã) nasalized

Syllable patterns

Syllable patterns are as follows: V, VC, CVV, CVC, CCV, CCVV, CCVC.
Stress falls on the final syllable of nouns and verbs (and most other words) in isolation.

Vocalic release of consonants

All consonants, except k^h(k), ts(x), ŋ(g) and h(h) have a vocalic release utterance final, and in some dialects also utterance medial. The occurrence and strength of this release varies and fluctuates freely between dialects. The quality and occurrence of the release are predictable: v(w) and y(j) syllable final always occur with release, the quality of which is as follows:

v(w) has a low central vowel quality [a];

y(j) has a high front vowel quality [i], except when the y(j) follows i in which case its release has a low central vowel quality [a].

All other consonants have a release which has the quality of the preceding vowel, except when the vowel is a, in which case it releases into a high front vowel, [i]. None of these releases are written in the practical orthography.

Long vowels contrast with short vowels, but their occurrence is fairly rare, and in the practical orthography vowel length is written only when it is the only distinguishing feature between two otherwise identical words:

mā 'benefactive' and māā 'rhea'
caxwa 'night' and caaxwa 'salt'
pê 'DP' and pêê 'until'
te 'PAST' and tee 'in vain'

Intonation patterns

Some common intonation patterns are illustrated below.

Declarative:

(377)   a-te po curan 'You killed the deer.'

Polar interrogative:

(378)   xà a-te po curan 'Did you kill the deer?'

WH-Interrogative:

(379) jũm mã ata 'Who is that?'

(380) ampo ca ha krĕ 'What will you eat?'

(381) jũm jõ rop te mã a-xar 'Whose dog bit you?'

Imperative:

(382) po cura 'Kill the deer!'

Negative imperative/hortative:

(383) rop to a-jàpẽt nare 'Don't startle the dog!'

Cajoling hortative:

(384) ha cu ne 'Hey, let's go, okay?'

Response to imperative (negative):

(385) wa kra 'No, I won't.'

(386) quê wa ha ton nare 'No, I won't do it.'

Hortative:

(387) ha cu me po cura 'Hey, let's kill a deer.'

Subordinate:

(388) wa i-xà na apu i-jũjahêr to mõ

'When I was sick, I went hunting.'

Reason sentence (subordinate):

(389) i-mã hũpa incwỳrjapê i-picahur

'Because I feared it, I ran.'

Reason sentence (coordinate):

(390)   i-mã hũpa incwỳrjapê i-picahur

     'I feared it, therefore I ran.'

23 MORPHOLOGY

This section discusses some general morphological characteristics of verbs (see sect. 18 for treatment of particular verb and verb phrase categories).

Nearly all verb stems have two morphemic shapes, a long form and a short form. A few verbs have only a single form, e.g. *hitep* 'cut', *cucàc* 'singe'. For those with two forms, the long occurs whenever the tense is (recent) past, and elsewhere whenever the verb stem is non-final in the verb phrase. (There is a small sub-class of intransitive verbs which have the long form in the past tense only when the stem is non-final, see sect. 1.4). The short form of the verb occurs elsewhere. Examples:

long form	short form	
ihcuran	*ihcura*	'(someone) kills it'
ton	*to*	'(someone) makes it'
ihcahhyr	*ihcahhy*	'(someone) whips it'
cator	*cato*	'he arrives'

Examples of the long form are:

(391)   ca   a-te   ton
       2   2-PAST   make/do
     'You made/did it.'

(392)   a-mã   ton   prãm
       2-TEMPRY make want
     'You want to make it.'

(393)   quê   ha   ton   pyrentu
       3   FUT   make immediately
     'He will make it immediately.'

Examples of the short form are:

(394)   pê   ca to
       DP 2   make
     'You made it long ago.'

(395)   quê   ha   to
            3   FUT   make
            'He will make it.'

One set of transitive verbs has four forms with changes which occur stem initial. When the object is not specified in the clause, the normal long and short forms occur; with a specified object, a second set of long and short forms occurs.

Unspecified Object		Specified Object		
long form	short form	long form	short form	
hõmpun	*hõmpu*	*pupun*	*pupu*	'see it'
hũpa	*hũpa*	*cupa*	*cupa*	'fear it'
hũxwỳr	*hũxwỳ*	*pyxwỳr*	*pyxwỳ*	'set it up'
hũnar	*hũna*	*pynar*	*pyna*	'follow it'

The following morphophonological rule operates throughout a major part of the language: j and x occurring phrase medial become h phrase initial.

(396)   po xũmre   'male deer'   hũmre   'male, man'
       pjên xôm   'grains of sand'   hôm   'kernels'

(397)   cu-te   ampo   japrôr   cu-te   haprôr
       3-PAST   something   buy   3-PAST   3+buy
       'He bought something.'   'He bought it.'

(398)   ijõ rop   'my dog'   hõ rop   'his dog'
       ijàpên   'I worked'   hàpên   'he worked'

There are three verb classes in Canela: (1) Verbs which are intrinsically transitive and cannot be detransitivized:

     ihcura(n)   'kill it'   *hõmpu(n)*   'see it'
     ihcakwĩ(n)   'hit it'   *cakê(n)*   'scratch it'

(2) Verbs which are intrinsically intransitive and cannot be transitivized:

     irĩt   'see'   *ijỹr*   'sit'

(3) Verbs which are intrinsically neutral and have both transitive and intransitive forms:

Neutral Root		Intransitive		Transitive
		long form	short form	
japrỳ	'name'	*ipijaprỳ*	*ajprỳ*	*haprỳ*
jahêr	'chase'	*ipijahêr*	*ajhê*	*hahêr*
jaxwỳ	'spill'	*ipijaxwỳr*	*ajxwỳ*	*haxwỳ*
japjê	'track'	*ipijapjêr*	*ajpjê*	*hapjê*
japu	'fight'	*ipijapu*	*ajpu*	*hapu*

The generalized rules for forming the actual verbs from the root are:

- add prefix *ipi-* for intransitive long form
- apply metathesis to initial syllable for intransitive short form
- apply the j → h rule (see earlier in this section) for transitive form.

Transitive verb roots are divided into five sub-classes on the basis of the form of the third person prefix:

(i)   (zero) '3'

(399)   hihê
        3+close
        'Close it.'

(400)   cakwī
        3+beat
        'Beat it.'

(ii)   *ih-* '3'

(401)   ih-cura
        3- kill
        'Kill it.'

(402)   ih-cahhy
        3- whip
        'Whip it.'

(iii)   *in- /im-* '3' (phonologically predictable within the sub-class, *im-*
preceding p,   *in-* elsewhere)

(403)   cu-te   in-xêr
        3- PAST   3-pinch
        'He pinched her.'

(404)   im-pỳn
        3- carry
        'He carried it.'

(iv)   *i-* '3'

(405)   cu-te   i- pĩr
        3- PAST   3-choke
        'He choked it.'

(v)   *cu-* '3' - this occurs with one sub-set of roots only with the non-past
tenses; (zero), *im-*, *in-* or *ih-* occur with past tense

(406)   ca   ha   cu-xi
        2   FUT   3- put down
        'You will put it down.'

(407)   a- te   hir
        2- PAST   3+put down
        'You put it down.'

(408)   ca   ha   kẽn   xi
        2   FUT   stone   put down
        'You will put the stone down.'

(409)   ca   ha   cu-pỳ
        2   FUT   3- carry
        'You will carry it.'

(410)   a- te   im-pỳn
        2-PAST   3- carry
        'You carried it.'

Intransitive verb roots are divided into four sub-classes on the basis of the
form of the third person prefix:

(i)   (zero) '3'

        nõr   'He lay down.'

Some members of this class have different stem-initial syllables for the long and short forms:

> *hà/a*
>> *hàpên*   'He worked.'
>> *apê*   'Work.'
> *hàh/ah*
>> *hàhtêp*   'He approached.'
>> *ahtêp*   'Approach.'
> *hū/aw*
>> *hūjahêr*   'He hunted.'
>> *awjahê*   'Hunt.'

The *hà*, *hàh*, and *hū* forms of the stem occur in the long form of the verb.

(ii)   *ih-* '3'
>> *ih-tor*   'It flew.'

Some members of this class do not have the third person prefix in the past tense when the verb is final in the clause:

(411)   ihnõ   kam   capi   tẽ
>> yesterday   on   Capi   go
>> 'Capi went yesterday.'

(412)   ih-tẽm   nare
>> 3- go   NEG
>> 'He did not go.'

(iii)   *in-/im-* '3'
>> *in-crer*   'He sang.'
>> *im-pàt*   'It broke.'

(iv)   *i-* '3'
>> *i-rīt*   'He saw.'

Some members of this class have different stem-initial syllables for the long and short forms:

(413)   i- pīntuw
>> 3- change
>> 'He changed.'

(414) quê ha antuw
       3   FUT change
       'He is going to change.'

Adjectival verb roots occur in adjectival clauses and some transitive clauses, and also as modifiers in noun phrases and verb phrases (sects. 15.3 and 18.6):

(415) rop ita ih-kên
       dog DEM 3- bad
       'This dog is bad.'

(416) i- te   rop ita kên
       1-PAST   dog DEM bad
       'I did bad to the dog (hurt it).'

Adjectival verb roots are divided into four sub-classes on the basis of the occurrence of the third person prefix:

(i)   (zero) '3'
       catac   'It is split.'
       hàprê   'It is wild.'

(ii)   *ih-* '3'
       ihtỳj   'He is strong.'

(iii) *in-/im-* '3'
       in-cryc   'He is angry.'
       im-pej   'He is good.'

(iv)   *i-* '3'
       i-rã   'He is dirty.'

Stative verb roots occur in stative and stative transitive clauses. They have a single uninflected form (no person prefixes) in stative clauses, but are inflected with the object marking prefix in the transitive clause:

(417) i-mã   pa
       1-TEMPRY   afraid
       'I am afraid.'

(418) i-mã   hũpa
       1-TEMPRY   3+fear
       'I am afraid of it.'

24 IDEOPHONES

Ideophones are not common, occurring at a ratio of only one to every 100 clauses.

They are of two types:

(1)   a small class, the members of which act as verbs semantically, some occurring in place of the verb, some in addition to the verb.

(2)   a larger class, the members of which have other more specific meanings, mainly of an exclamatory nature.

There are no variations from the normal phonology, other than intonation.

Examples of (1):

    cyt 'shoot with bow and arrow, the arrow glancing off the target'

(419)   i-te   cyt,   cyt,   cyt
             1-PAST   shoot   shoot   shoot
             'I shot and shot (but missed).'

    cru 'enter quickly'

(420)   wa   ikre   mã cator   pê   i-te   cru   ne   i-xàr
             1   house   to   arrive   DP   1-PAST   quick   and   1-enter
             'I arrived at the house and entered quickly.'

    uu 'last a long time'

(421)   quê   ha   uu   ne   hamre   nare
             3   FUT   long   and   finish   NEG
             'It will be a long time before it is finished
             (it will last a long time).'

Examples of (2):

    hatititi! 'ouch!' (when hot only)
    an! 'wow!' (at bad happening)
    paw! 'wow!' (at large size or quantity)
    akỳ! 'ouch!' (pain of cut, blow etc.)

NOTES

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