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CANELA-KRAHŌ*

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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 Goiás, 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 hũhkâr
1-PAST 3+buy
'I bought it.'
- (4) wa ha pĩxô jũhkâ
1 FUT fruit buy
'I will buy fruit.'
- (5) hũmre te cakwĩn
man PAST 3+beat
'The man beat it.'
- (6) hũmre apu a-cakwĩ
man CONT 2-beat
'The man is beating you.'
- (7) cu-te hitop
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 pìxò jùhkàr
1-PAST fruit buy
'I bought fruit.'
- (10) hùmre te rop cakwìn
man PAST dog beat
'The man beat the dog.'
- (11) cu-te pī 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 *mā*. When *te* occurs it carries the meaning 'habitual state' not 'past tense' as in the non-stative transitive clauses. When *mā* occurs it means 'temporary state'. Both *te* and *mā* occur with the same meanings in simple stative clauses (sect. 1.5). Free pronoun subjects do not cooccur with the prefixed *te* and *mā*.

- (14) i-te hūpa
1-HAB 3+fear
'I live afraid of it.'
- (15) a-te amji kīn
2-HAB self like
'You always like yourself' or 'You are a happy person.'

- (16) cu-te rop japè
3- HAB dog pity
'He always has pity on the dog' or
'He wants the dog near him.'
- (17) hùmre ata te rop kīn
man that HAB dog like
'That man (habitually) likes dogs.'
- (18) i-mā a-kīn
1-TEMPRY 2-like
'I like you.'
- (19) i-mā rop kīn
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*, *mā*, *kam*.

The verbs which govern *mā* 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 *mā* 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-mā 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-rīt
1-see
'I saw.'
- (25) capi jāpir
Capi climb
'Capi climbed.'
- (26) pē capi api
DP Capi climb
'Capi climbed (long ago).'
- (27) a-jōt
2-sleep
'You slept.'
- (28) a-mōr nare
2-go NEG
'You did not go.'
- (29) ihnō kam ca mō
yesterday 2 go
'You went yesterday.'
- (30) i-crer
1-sing
'I sang.'
- (31) pē 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 *mā* '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-mā pa
1-TEMPRY afraid
'I am afraid (right now).'
- (35) a-mā prām
2-TEMPRY hungry
'You are hungry.'
- (36) i-mā 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 kēn
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 mehī
Capi COP Indian
'Capi is an Indian.'

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

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

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

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

(48) hūmre japrj te capi
man name COP Capi
'The man's name is Capi.'

(49) i-japrj 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 *mā*, *ri* or *kam*. The relator *mā* is used for persons, and *ri* and *kam* indicate location. The subject is a noun phrase.

(50) pur kam pōhy
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 cō
there- RELTR water
'There is water.'

(53) i-mā pōhy
1-RELTR corn
'I have corn.'

(54) capi mā catōc
Capi RELTR gun
'Capi has a gun.'

(55) cu-mā pī
3- RELTR wood
'He has wood.'

(56) cu- ri pī
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, I 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-mā pī jakep
I FUT field in 3- for wood cut
'I will cut wood for him in the field.'
- (64) apē na wa ha pur kam cu-mā pī jakep
morning in I FUT field in 3- for wood cut
'I will cut wood for him in his field tomorrow.'
- (65) apē na wa ha pur kam cu-mā pī jakep,
morning in I FUT field in 3- for wood cut
wakÿ 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-pē
night at I FUT 3- eye away from quietly 3- MAL
pī 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, hākati 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 tē, i-japēn xà wūr, cān japrār wūr
 I go 1-work NOMLZR to cane wood to
 'I went to work, to my cane weeding.'
- (69) hā, me i-kra, me i-wawū, ca me amji
 hey, PL 1-child PL 1-son in law 2 PL self
 mā harē,...
 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 mā xa, kēn 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) kēn kam hikwa, kēn kre kam
 hill in live hill hole in
 '(He) lived in a cave in the hills.'
- (72) caxwa ri hūrmā me mō, awcahti xà wūr
 night at to him PL go midnight NOMLZR toward
 'They went to him at night, before midnight.'

In (72), *hūrmā* 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 jūrkwā 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 amrā, apu i-toj, apu ajhu, apu
 I CONT cry CONT 1-jump CONT stumble CONT
 amji jānī, ajco apu amrā
 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) pē wa i-pūm, pē inxē ty
 PAST 1 1-fall PAST mother die
 'My mother died when I was born.'
- (76) wa ha ma ajcahu, i-mā hūpati
 I 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-curān
 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 *hajyr/hane* 'thus'.

- (81) a-te pur pôc, wa i-te ita to hajyr
 2-PAST field burn I 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 I 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 wȳr
 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 jō na i-prō to ihtȳj
 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-mē
 I 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 cakwin
 I REFLX hit
 'I hit myself.'
- (87) a(pu) me amji cakwin
 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 wȳr tē ne amji cakrē
 I FUT house to go and REFLX scratch
 'I will go home and scratch myself.'
- (89) jaco te pī jakôt, cu-te amji mā hakep
 Jaco PAST wood pile up 3- PAST REFLX for cut
 atajē
 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 pytār
 1-PAST REFLX defend
 'I defended myself.'
- (91) cu-te amji mā pī jakep
 3- PAST REFLX for wood cut
 'He cut wood for himself.'
- (92) capi amji mā ih-cakōc
 Capi REFLX to 3- speak
 'Capi speaks to himself.'
- (93) i-te ih-curan ne amji cacēc rūm 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 *ajpên* 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 pî hère jakep ne me to
 Jaco and Capi PAST wood twig cut and PL INST
 ajpên caprêc
 RECIP beat
 'Jaco and Capi cut twigs and beat each other with (them).'
- (97) jaco me capi ajpên mā pî jakep
 Jaco and Capi RECIP for wood cut
 'Jaco and Capi cut wood for each other.'
- (98) jaco me capi te pî hère jakep ame to
 Jaco and Capi PAST wood twig cut 3PL INST
 ajpên cahhyr prâm 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-jôt na i-to
 Capi PAST 1-sleep SUBORD 1-make
 'Capi made me sleep.'
- (100) i-te i-prô jâpên na ton
 1-PAST 1-wife work SUBORD 3+make
 'I made my wife work.'
- (101) pahhi amji kîn 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- mā amji kîn- 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 mā* '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 hî to in-toj
 Capi Kryt more than body INST 3- jump
 'Capi jumps better than Kryt.'
- (106) kryt jaco japyre mā 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 pī jakep
Capi PAST Kryt more than wood cut
'Capi cut more wood than Kryt.'

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

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

Comparison is also expressed by the postposition *kīn 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 kīnte kryt crire
Capi COMPAR Kryt small
'Kryt is small in (unfavorable) comparison to Capi.'

(111) capi kīnte kryt te pī 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 *ipipên* '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 pipên
Capi and Kryt big equal
'Capi and Kryt are equally big.'

(113) capi me kryt te pī jakep to me i-pipên
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-pipên
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-pipên
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-pipên
3-equal
'Jaco killed the dog and cat in the same way (equally).'

(117) jaco te pa me capi mā hāmjör to i-pipên
Jaco PAST IEXCL 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 *hūrâc pyrâc* 'be similar'.

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

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

(120) capi pê kryt cati pyrâc
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 *hūrâc/pyrâc* (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 *hūràc/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 pī 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 hajyr 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 *mā* 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 hīxi apu nō
Capi CONT run and his wife CONT lie down
ne gōr
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 pī 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 pī 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 apē na quē 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-krēr
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) quē ha ta iwryc jicu, wa ha awjahē
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, quē ha ih-krēr
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-japên cati cakrô, cu-te nee i-mā hãmjôr
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 *mā* '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 mā hãmên mā nee cu-te
Capi PAST chief for work and NEG 3-PAST

cu-mā hãmjôr 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 wÿr tē, nare ca ha krī
2 FUT field to go NEG 2 FUT village

wÿr tē
to go
'You will go to the field or if not you will go to the village.'
- (145) ca ha pur wÿr a-tēm nare, ca ha
2 FUT field to 2-go NEG 2 FUT

krī wÿr tē
village to go
'If you do not go to the field, you will go to the village.'

- (146) wa ha ita kam i-tēm nare na, wa ha
 I FUT today on I-go NEG SUBORD I FUT
 apē na tē, nare, wa ha amcro nōa na tē
 tomorrow on go NEG I 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*, *mā* 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-krēr, ne i-crer
 I-PAST deer kill and 3- eat and I-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 pōhy tepti me, kwȳr jakare me, arȳjhy
 I CONT corn red and manioc white and rice
 kre
 plant
 'I'm planting red corn, white manioc and rice.'
- (149) capi me kryt ma tē
 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 krī wȳr tē
 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 *hôt pé* (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 form) (short form) (short form)
- ne tàkamry (cu-te) me to ih-rwên
 and slowly 3- PAST PL INST 3- few
 (invariable form)
- to mō. ne me hàhtô ne me
 INST go and PL many and PL
 (invariable form)
- mō ne (cu-te) me kam me (ih-tēm)
 go and 3- PAST PL LOC PL 3-begin
 (invariable form) (long 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 (irēn) 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 form) (long form)
- nare ȳh̄y, [pê] [ajco] mam cama me pryre
 NEG yes DP CUST first only PL animal

ih-cucàc. pea (cu-te) kwyr kam me cu-mà
 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 ramā pi jakep
3- PAST already wood cut
'He already cut the wood.'
- (159) xà ramā cu-te pī jakep
Q already 3- PAST wood cut
'Did he already cut the wood?'

The interrogative markers for the subject are:

- jūm (mā)* - 'who, human, singular'
jūmjê - 'who, human, plural'
ampo (mā) - 'what, non-human'

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

- (160) jūm mā ata
who DEM
'Who is that?'
- (161) ampo mā ata
what DEM
'What is that?'
- (162) jūm te mā ita ton
who PAST DEM do/make
'Who made/did this?'
- (163) ampo te mā ita ton
what PAST DEM do/make
'What did this?'

The interrogative markers for the object are:

- jūm* - 'whom, human, singular'
jūmjê - 'whom, human, plural'
ampo - 'what, non-human'

- (164) jūm ca a-te hōmpun
what 2 2-PAST see
'Whom did you see?'
- (165) ampo ca ha krē
what 2 FUT eat
'What will you eat?'

The interrogative markers for destination are:

- jū ri ri* - 'where to, specific destination'
jū kam mā - 'where to, general destination'
jū pin - 'where from'
jū cajpuw - 'what destination' or 'what course'

- (166) jū ri ri capi mō
where to Capi go
'Where is Capi going?'
- (167) jū kam mā capi mō
where to Capi go
'Where is Capi going?'
- (168) jū pin ca mō
where from 2 go
'Where are you coming from?'

The interrogative marker for time is *jū caxuw*.

- (169) jū caxuw ca ha tē
when 2 FUT go
'When are you going?'
- (170) jū caxuw ca a-cator
when 2 2-arrive
'When did you arrive?'

The interrogative marker for location in verbal clauses is *jū ri ri* and in equative clauses is *jū ri mā*.

- (171) jū ri ri capi xa
where Capi stand
'Where is Capi standing?'
- (172) jū ri mā capi
where Capi
'Where is Capi?'

Interrogative markers for reason are:

- ampo na* - 'why'
ampo na mā - 'emphatic why'
ampo na ri - 'emphatic why'

ampo cwɔrjapɛ ri - 'intensified why, for what reason'

ampo caxuw mā - 'intensified why, for what purpose'

- (173) *ampo na cu-te to hajɔr*
 why 3- PAST do thus
 'Why did he do that?'
- (174) *ampo caxuw mā cu-te pī 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 *jū mā mā...te*, where *jū mā mā* occurs clause initial and *te* occurs clause final.

- (175) *jū mā mā cati te*
 how big
 'How big is it?'
- (176) *jū mā mā a- te*
 how 2-
 'How are you?'
- (177) *jū mā mā ahna hō pore te*
 how much 3 POSSN money
 'How much does it cost? (how much is its money?)'
- (178) *jū mā mā hōmpun 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 *jūm...mā* and *ampo...mā*, where *jūm* or *ampo* occur clause initial preceding the noun phrase and *mā* following the noun phrase.

- (179) *jūm jō rop te mā a-xar*
 who POSSN dog PAST 2-bite
 'Whose dog bit you?'
- (180) *jūm to mā cu-mā hà*
 who eye 3- to hurt/sick
 'Whose eye is sore/hurting?'
- (181) *ampo pī mā prīn jō pī 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 mā ih-cakôc*
 Capi PAST Prejaka to 3- speak
 'Capi spoke to Prejaka.'
- (183) *jūm mā 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 mā 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 *ȳhȳ* 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) *ȳhȳ, cu-te ih-curan*
 yes 3- PAST 3- kill
 'Yes, he killed it.'

Answers are often minimal, being only:

ȳhȳ - 'yes'

quê - 'no'

pȳpȳn - '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) jū pīn ca tē
where from 2 go
'Where are you coming from?'

(189) pur pīn wa tē
field from 1 go
'I'm coming from the field.'

Compare the unmarked clause:

(190) wa pur pīn tē
I 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 kīn
chief like
'Like the chief!'

(193) cre
sing
'Sing!'

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

(195) a-tīj
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
I NEG
'No, I won't!'

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

For use of another form of negative response to imperative, *wýr*, 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-htīj
IINCL 1- strong
'Let's be strong.'

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

(200) ha cu ne
ATTN IINCL 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-jāpēt nare
IINCL dog OBL.OM IINCL-startle NEG
'Let's not startle the dog.'

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

A positive response to the hortative takes the form:

- (203) ha cu mēr
ATTN INCL 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) h̄ymā 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 catôc to po cura
1 FUT gun INST deer kill
'I will kill the deer with a gun.'
- (211) catôc 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 catôc 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 catôc 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 catōc 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 wȳr ih-tēm 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 *wȳr*. It can be used to refer to any person.

- (218) wȳr wa ha to
 NEG 1 FUT do
 'I won't do it.'
- (219) wȳr quē 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) wȳr wa ha catōc 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 *quē, hōto pē* is used.

- (221) -I saw you in town yesterday.
 -quē, hōto pē!
 -not so!

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

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

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

- (223) *hūpar* - 'obey' *hūpar nō* - 'a disobedient person'
ipicahur - 'run' *ipicahur nōti* - 'non-runner'
increr - 'sing' *increr nōre* - '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 wȳr tē ne Ø-kam hāpēn
 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 *ajpēn* (described in sect. 4) are also a means of anaphoric reference.

- (226) capi te amji cakwīn
 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 mā 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, quē ha cuku
 Capi PAST deer kill 3 FUT 3+eat
 'Capi killed the deer and will eat it.'
- (230) capi te po curan, ih-krēr xā 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 *mā* 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'
hŷrmā - '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 mā
 Capi PAST Jaco see and 3(C)-PAST chief to
 harēn quē pahhi te ih- kēn mā
 3(J)+tell so that chief PAST 3(J)- bad OBL.OM
 mēn prām te harkwa kōt
 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 *prām* 'want'.

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

- (233) jaco me capi te pī hēre jakep ame to
 Jaco and Capi PAST wood twig cut 3PL INST
 ajpēn cahhyr prām te
 RECIPI beat want because
 'Jaco and Capi cut twigs because they wanted to
 beat each other with them.'

The word *incwŷrjapē* '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-mā hūpa incwŷrjapē 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 pī jakep to mō
 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 *mō* '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-mā amji jarēn, cu-mā a-kīn
 3 -PAST 1-TEMPRY self told 3- TEMP 2-like
 na
 SUBORD
 'He told me that he likes you.'

Indirect question:

- (237) a-mā jūri i-tēm 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-mōr na a-mā harkwa
 3- PAST 2-go SUBORD 2-OBL.OM order
 'He ordered you to go.'
- (239) cu-te a-mōr xà caxuw a-mān
 3- PAST 2-go NOMLZR PURP 2-command
 'He commanded you to go.'
- (240) cu-te a-mōr xà na a-mān
 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 jūm pupu i-picahur na
 1 someone see 3-run SUBORD
 'I see someone running.'

Direct quote complements are marked by the word *hajyr/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-mā harkwa ton, i-mā a-kīn,
 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-mā, i-mā a-kīn, 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: *mā* indicates 'temporary state' and *te* 'habitual state'.

- (244) i-mā kry
 1-TEMPRY cold
 'I'm cold.'
- (245) rop ita mā hūpa
 dog this TEMPRY 3+fear
 'This dog is afraid of it.'
- (246) cu-mā a-kīn
 3- TEMPRY 2-like
 'He likes you.'
- (247) cu-te prām
 3- HAB hungry
 'He is habitually hungry.'
- (248) capi te hō ita xen
 Capi HAB food this lust
 'Capi lusts for this food habitually.'
- (249) i-te hūpa
 1-HAB 3+fear
 'I live afraid of it.'

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

- (250) i-pê mehi
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-mā hōr
1-PAST 3- to 3+give
'I gave it to him.'
- (253) a-te catōc to po curan
2-PAST gun INST deer kill
'You killed the deer with a gun.'
- (254) cu-te i-pê pōhy jàhkīj
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) Alienable possessed nouns can occur without a possessor.

- (262) pī 'wood'
tôn 'armadillo'
pry 'path'

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

- (263) i-jō wapo
1-POSSN knife
'my knife'
- (264) capi jō pur
Capi POSSN field
'Capi's field'
- (265) hō 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 nō
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) hūmre 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) prīn pâr
pīqui tree
'"pīqui" 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) carêc 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 hūmre 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-curān ata
I 1-PAST dog see Capi PAST 3- kill DEM
'I saw the dog Capi killed.'

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

(279) i-te hūmre mā 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 garê
 DP 2-uncle DECEASED good- very DEM 2+tell
 'Your late, very good uncle, that one, told about you.'
 (garê is a contraction of a-jarê '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 *nō* 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 nō 'disobedient person'
 ipicahur 'run' ipicahur nō '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 wÿr tē
 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>i-</i>	'1 exclusive'
<i>pa-, pah-, pam-, pan-</i>	'1 inclusive'
<i>a-</i>	'2'
<i>ih-, in-, i-, cu-, θ-</i>	'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-mā harên
 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:

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

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

- (311) i-te jè me po nō curan
 I-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)
 I I-PAST deer see
 'I saw a deer.'
- (313) wa po pupu (obligatory)
 I 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
 I FUT deer kill
 'I will kill a deer.'
- (315) pa, wa ha po cura
 I I FUT deer kill
 'I will kill a deer (emphatic).'
- (316) wa ha pa po cura
 I FUT I deer kill
 'I will kill a deer (emphatic).'

The following types of indefinite pronoun occur:

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

- (317) jūm jāpēn xà
 someone work NOMLZR
 'someone's work'
- (318) i-te ampo pupun
 I-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 jūm...nare*:

- (320) *nee jūm 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:

- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------------|---------|
| <i>ita</i> | 'this' | <i>ata</i> | 'that' |
| <i>itajê</i> | 'these' | <i>atajê</i> | 'those' |

They may be used both independently and adjectivally:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (321) <i>ita pī</i>
DEM wood
'This is wood.' | (322) <i>pī ita</i>
wood DEM
'this wood' |
| (323) <i>atajê kēn</i>
DEM stone
'Those are stones.' | (324) <i>kēn atajê</i>
stone DEM
'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:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ita na</i> | 'in reference to this' |
| <i>ita cwyrjapê</i> | 'because of this' |

- (325) *capi te hâpên cati, ne cute amji mǎ pur catia nôr.*
ita cwÿrjapê quê ha cumā hōa to hō.
 '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 *ajpên* respectively

16.4 Interrogative pronouns (see sect. 10):

<i>jūm</i>	'who, singular'
<i>jūmjê</i>	'who, plural'
<i>ampo</i>	'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 (∅ indicates a zero third person marker):

<i>cu-mǎ</i>	'for, to, for his benefit' (benefactive)
<i>cu-pê</i>	'from, to his loss, to his negative benefit' (malefactive)
<i>cu-ri</i>	'there' (locative)
<i>cu-rūm</i>	'toward there' (directional)
<i>cu-mam</i>	'before it'
<i>cu-na</i>	'in front of it'
<i>cu-te</i>	'he' (transitive past tense, or stative habitual)
<i>ih-kôt</i>	'after it'
<i>ih-pîn</i>	'from there' (locational source)
<i>ah-na</i>	'about it'
<i>∅-to</i>	'with it'
<i>∅-kam</i>	'in, into, at it'
<i>∅-wÿr</i>	'toward it'

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

- (326) *wa ha capi mǎ ampo gō*
 1 FUT Capi to something give
 'I will give something to Capi.'
- (327) *wa ha capi mǎ pit mǎ ampo gō*
 1 FUT Capi to only OBL.OM something give
 'I will give something to Capi only.'
- (328) *a-te wapo to pit mǎ 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) *jū pîn ca tē*
 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-mǎ ih-kîn*
 2 FUT 2-TEMPRY 3- like
 'You will like him.'
- (333) *quê ha i-mǎ catōc*
 3 FUT 1-to gun
 'I will have a gun.'
 (literally, 'It, a gun will be to me.')
- (334) *capi quê ha rop cakwī*
 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 cakwī*
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 cakwī*
DP I 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 mō* '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 *mō*.

(339) *wa pī jakep to mō*
I 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 kwÿr kur to ipa*
I 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 kīn kam in-crà*
Capi HAB dog like SUBORD 3- continue
'Capi continues to like the dog.'

(2) Completed action (all particles):

- *ramā* 'already completed'.

(343) *i-te ramā pī jakep*
1-PAST already wood cut
'I already cut the wood.'

- *curmā* 'just now completed'.

(344) *i-te curmā pī jakep*
1-PAST now wood cut
'I just now cut the wood.'

- *cormā* 'still to be completed'.

(345) *wa ha cormā pī jakep*
I FUT still wood cut
'I will still cut the wood.'

- *par* 'all'.

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

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

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

(3) Habitual (particles or postpositions):

- *hān ne* 'customary', and
 - *hōt pê* 'customary'.

- (348) xā hōt pê a-mā 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 kīn
 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 I CUST CONT do thus
 'I always used to do that.'

(4) Iterative:

- *hipēr* 'repeated'.

- (351) hipēr i-mā harē
 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	
<i>ihcakwīn</i>	<i>ihcahhyr</i>	'hit it'
<i>hār</i>	<i>incjēj</i>	'enter'
<i>ihcuran</i>	<i>hipej</i>	'kill it'
<i>hār</i>	<i>incjēn</i>	'put it in'
<i>mēn</i>	<i>irēn</i>	'throw it down'

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

<i>ihhāhāc</i>	'hiccup'
<i>ihpecpec</i>	'drip'
<i>caprēprēc</i>	'whip'
<i>ihpypym</i>	'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) quē ha ih-cakōc kam tē
 3 FUT 3- speak SUBORD go
 'He will begin to speak.'

- (353) capi mā rop kīn 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-cakōc jicu
 3- PAST 3- speak stop
 'He stopped speaking.'

- *hipēj* 'finish'.

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

- *ihhi* 'stop'.

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

- *krā cura(n)* 'finish'.

- (357) i-te i-jâpên krā 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 *ihijj* 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: *prâm* 'want', *caca* 'not want, hate, dislike'.

- (358) i-mā pōhy kre prâm
1-TEMPRY com plant want
'I want to plant corn.'

- (359) wa pōhy kre cacā
1 com plant hate/dislike
'I don't want/I hate to plant corn.'

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

- (360) wa ha i-tj 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'
- mārmā* 'maybe'

- xwýmā* 'possibly might'
- ajki* 'possibly'
- pijamā* 'possibly'

Some examples are:

- (361) wa ma apu pōhy kre cacā
1 EMPH.CERT com plant hate
'I really hate to plant corn.'

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

- (363) xā 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 cãmxaar
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.

<i>pyxit</i>	'one'	<i>ipijakrut</i>	'two'
<i>inkrê</i>	'three, many'	<i>kwỳ</i>	'some, group'
<i>nô</i>	'one of'		

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

<i>kên itajê</i>	'these stones'	<i>kên ita</i>	'this stone'
<i>ihcakôc catêjê</i>	'orators'	<i>ihcakôc catê</i>	'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 transitivity marker with adjectival verbs results in a fully transitive clause (*te* 'PAST' cooccurs with object-marking prefixes, see sect. 1.1).

- *irît* (intransitive) 'he looked'.

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

- *atêm* (intransitive) 'you went'.

- (373) a-te penhôt cucwỳr- ti to a-têm
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):

<i>ihcuran pej</i>	'(someone) killed it well'
<i>intoj pej</i>	'he jumped well'
<i>ihkîn hi</i>	'he stopped liking'
<i>ihkrêr jicu</i>	'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 (î) high close nasalized
ẽ (ë) low open nasalized

There are five back unrounded vowels at the following positions:

ĩ (y) high close oral
ë (ÿ) mid close oral
ẽ (à) low open oral
ĩ (ÿ) high close nasalized
ẽ (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 (û) high close nasalized
õ (ô) 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) jüm mā ata 'Who is that?'
- (380) ampo ca ha krē 'What will you eat?'
- (381) jüm jō rop te mā a-xar 'Whose dog bit you?'

Imperative:

- (382) po cura 'Kill the deer!'

Negative imperative/hortative:

- (383) rop to a-jäpēt narē '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) quē wa ha ton narē '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-jūjahēr to mō
'When I was sick, I went hunting.'

Reason sentence (subordinate):

- (389) i-mā hūpa incwyrjapē i-pica hur
'Because I feared it, I ran.'

Reason sentence (coordinate):

(390) i-mā hūpa incwŷrjapē i-picanur

'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', *cucac* 'sing'. 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	
<i>ihcuran</i>	<i>ihcura</i>	'(someone) kills it'
<i>ton</i>	<i>to</i>	'(someone) makes it'
<i>ihcahhyr</i>	<i>ihcahhy</i>	'(someone) whips it'
<i>cator</i>	<i>cato</i>	'he arrives'

Examples of the long form are:

(391) ca a-te ton
2 2-PAST make/do
'You made/did it.'(392) a-mā ton prām
2-TEMPRY make want
'You want to make it.'(393) quē ha ton pyrentu
3 FUT make immediately
'He will make it immediately.'

Examples of the short form are:

(394) pē ca to
DP 2 make
'You made it long ago.'(395) quē 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	
<i>hōmpun</i>	<i>hōmpu</i>	<i>pupun</i>	<i>pupu</i>	'see it'
<i>hūpa</i>	<i>hūpa</i>	<i>cupa</i>	<i>cupa</i>	'fear it'
<i>hūxwŷr</i>	<i>hūxwŷ</i>	<i>pyxwŷr</i>	<i>pyxwŷ</i>	'set it up'
<i>hūnar</i>	<i>hūna</i>	<i>pynar</i>	<i>pyna</i>	'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 xūmre 'male deer' hūmre 'male, man'
pjèn xôm 'grains of sand' hôm 'kemels'(397) cu-te ampo japrôr cu-te haprôr
3-PAST something buy 3-PAST 3+buy
'He bought something.' 'He bought it.'(398) ijō rop 'my dog' hō rop 'his dog'
ijàpèn 'I worked' hàpèn 'he worked'

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

<i>ihcura(n)</i>	'kill it'	<i>hōmpu(n)</i>	'see it'
<i>ihcakwī(n)</i>	'hit it'	<i>cakē(n)</i>	'scratch it'

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

<i>irīt</i>	'see'	<i>ijŷr</i>	'sit'
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(3) Verbs which are intrinsically neutral and have both transitive and intransitive forms:

Neutral Root		Intransitive		Transitive
		long form	short form	
<i>japɾy</i>	'name'	<i>ipijapɾy</i>	<i>ajpɾy</i>	<i>hapɾy</i>
<i>jahêr</i>	'chase'	<i>ipijahêr</i>	<i>ajhê</i>	<i>hahêr</i>
<i>jaxwɿ</i>	'spill'	<i>ipijaxwɿr</i>	<i>ajxwɿ</i>	<i>haxwɿ</i>
<i>japjê</i>	'track'	<i>ipijapjêr</i>	<i>ajpjê</i>	<i>hapjê</i>
<i>japu</i>	'fight'	<i>ipijapu</i>	<i>ajpu</i>	<i>hapu</i>

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-pÿn*
3- carry
'He carried it.'

(iv) *i-* '3'

- (405) *cu-te i- pîr*
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 kên xi*
2 FUT stone put down
'You will put the stone down.'

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

- (410) *a- te im-pÿn*
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'
- nôr* 'He lay down.'

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

<i>hà/a</i>	
<i>hàpên</i>	'He worked.'
<i>apê</i>	'Work.'
<i>hàh/ah</i>	
<i>hàhtêp</i>	'He approached.'
<i>ahtêp</i>	'Approach.'
<i>hū/aw</i>	
<i>hūjahêr</i>	'He hunted.'
<i>awjahê</i>	'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) *ihnō* *kam capi tē*
yesterday on Capi go
'Capi went yesterday.'

- (412) *ih-tēm* *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) *què* *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'
ih-tỳj 'He is strong.'
- (iii) *in-/im-* '3'
in-cryc 'He is angry.'
im-pej 'He is good.'
- (iv) *i-* '3'
i-rā '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-mā* *pa*
1-TEMPRY afraid
'I am afraid.'

- (418) *i-mā* *hūpa*
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 mā 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) què 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):

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

NOTES

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