

Jamamadi Noun Phrases

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Abstract

This paper is a description of Jamamadi¹ noun phrases following the Amazon Languages Project outline.

In the noun phrases presented, case marking for direct object has several functions. Besides resolving ambiguity in the clause itself, it has an indirect function beyond the clause in the topical structure of the paragraph.

Nouns may be modified by adjectives, nonfinite verbs or other nouns. Most modifiers have masculine and feminine forms and must agree in gender with their head noun. Other nonfinite verb forms that do not change for gender agreement are action nominalizations and function as nominal constituents of the clause.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe Jamamadi noun phrases. A complete description of the syntax of Jamamadi is planned, of which this paper is a part.

Two characteristics of the Jamamadi language are illustrated in this description. The first is the multiple functions of various suffixes and clitics. The second is extensive gender agreement of verbs with their subjects and of modifiers with their head elements. The object case marker is an example of the first, and noun modifiers (including relative clauses) are examples of the second. Nominalized verbs, however, are conspicuous for their lack of gender agreement. This lack is a key in determining that these forms are action nominalizations. They function as objects, subjects, or appositives in the clause.

SYNTAX OF PHRASE TYPES

15. Noun phrase structure

15.1 Marking for case

Case marking for direct object is a clitic *-ra* occurring on the direct object constituent of a clause. Its presence or absence is determined by both grammatical and pragmatic structuring. Its most frequent and primary function is to resolve potential ambiguity by identifying the object constituent. Indirectly, it may also function in the topical structure. In restricted environments, it may also co-occur with emphatic or contrastive elements.

15.1.1 Obligatory presence

Since OSV is the unmarked word order, a SOV word order requires the case marker be added to the object in order to identify it as object.

Whenever either the subject or object is a free pronoun, the pronoun immediately precede the verb. If the pronoun is the direct object, the clitic -ra will be added to identify it as the object.

- (1) B3
 yome oda-ra kiyoa-marō;
 jaguar(f) us-obj follow(f)-eye=wit(f)³
 The jaguar followed us;

Also, two nominals ordered SOV require the case marker on the object. The SOV order itself establishes the subject as a paragraph level, marked topic in a pragmatic sense. In this clause, the presence of the object case marker indirectly functions in the pragmatic structuring. The object itself, when marked with -ra is never topic.

- (2) B50
 idi Aniso yome-ra weye-ne,
 the Arniso(m) jaguar(f)-obj carried-sc(m)
 Arniso carried the jaguar.

- (3) C33
 Tati badi-ra awa-ma-tee-bona-ne.
 Tati(m) his=father(m)-obj see-again-fact-purpose(m)-comment(m)
 Tati purposed to see his father again.

As in the following SOV clause, the -ra clitic has an allomorph -a whenever it follows the syllable ri.

- (4) R107
 Yowaho kobaya atori-a ita, Yowaho.
 John(m) wild=pig(f) skin(f)-obj skinned, John
 John skinned the wild pig.

The object case marker is also obligatory anytime the subject constituent is omitted from the clause. The omission of the subject is a pragmatic indicator of a continuing paragraph level topic. The case marker on the object identifies it as object.

- (5) B51
 yome-ra ka-ka-me,
 jaguar(f)-obj carrying-motion-back(m)
 (he) carried back the jaguar,

In the following example two direct objects occur with -ra.

- (6) 19.6
 yoso-ri bidi-ra kosi-ne-ra
 younger=brother-own(m) his=son(m)-obj whipped-sc(m)-obj

wee-ne-mona-ne .

bawl=out-sc(m)-eye=wit(m)-comment(m)

He bawled out his younger brother who whipped his (the younger brother's) son.

(Younger brother's son is also the older brother's son in their kinship system.)

The first -ra occurs with 'son' in the SOV ordered clause, 'younger brother (who) whipped his son'. The second -ra occurs with 'whipped' indicating the entire clause to be the direct object of 'bawled out'. The second occurrence is required because the subject of the larger clause is not overtly expressed and is only indicated by gender agreement in the verb.

15.1.2 Obligatory absence

The object case marker is obligatorily absent whenever the former object of the verb becomes the grammatical subject by changing the verb to a passive construction. This is signalled by gender agreement with the topic (the former object) and a hi affix in the verb if the agent is third person. Independent clauses retain their normal unmarked word order of Patient (former O)- Agent (former S)-Verb (ex.7,8,9). Relative clauses are ordered Actor-Patient-Verb (ex.10).

- (7) 5.221
kawi idi Birinawa sika-hi-ka-nise nafe,
liquor(f) the Birinawa(m) pour=out-agent-container-down=on(f) all(f)
The liquor was poured out (by) Birinawa, all of it.

- (8) 5.223
namidi kasasa yai-hi-na-kosa-mata-ne.
neck(m) liquor(f) bit-agent-sc-in=two-supp(m)-comment(m)
His neck (throat) was bitten in two by liquor supposedly.

- (9) 8.2.6: 7
me me moa-hi-ka-na-mina-mar-o-a.
they(f) them(f) wake=up-agent-instru-sc-morning eye=wit(f)-contrast
but they (the pigs) were awakened by them (hunters) at daybreak

A common use of the passive is to make the nominal constituent of the main clause the subject (or head noun) of the relative clause.

- (10) Con1255
Yana awa bono koro-hi-wite Habi kaba-ra.
Jon(m) tree fruit(f) threw-agent-away(f) Happy(f) eat(f)-decl
Happy (a dog) ate the fruit (that) was thrown away by Jon.

In the above, 'fruit' is the direct object of the main clause and the subject of the relative clause by use of the passive construction.

15.1.3 Frequent presence

Except for the preceding criteria for the obligatory presence or absence of the object case marker, its presence or absence in other environments is not as predictable or consistent from one telling to another.

Since the case marker occurs primarily in situations of potential ambiguity, its use with the me 'pluralizer' and me 'they' is frequent in order to avoid confusion between the two meanings.

Since a fronted subject (before the object) may have its pluralizer displaced to just before the verb, i.e. SOpluralizerV (see ex. 78), confusion is averted by the object marker as in the following:

- (12) 8.2.1.49
fai awi-ra yomahi me moa-ka-na-marō-m.
so tapir-obj dog Pl woke=up-dual-sc-eye=wit-identity
And so the dogs woke up the tapir.

Without the object marker, the clause could be: *'the dog woke up the tapirs.'

However, whenever both subject and object constituents are nominals and one is pluralized with me, the case marker will occur even if there is no ambiguity.

- (13) R106,107
bani me atori-a Yowaho ite-mari-m.
meat pl skin(f)-obj John skin-eye=wit-identity
John cut the skins off the animals.

The object case marker will also almost always occur whenever the subject constituent is me 'they'.

- (14) 8.2.6.66
fai kona-ra me dima-marō-m.
so fish=poison-obj they dipped-eye=wit-identity
And so they dipped fish poison.

- (15) 9:41
bani-ra me nofa-ra-mone-ni.
meat-obj they like-neg-hear=say-comment
They (little fish) don't like meat.

- (16) R108
wafa me-ra me doka,
monkey pl-obj they burn=hair=off
They burned the hair off the monkeys,

- (17) 8:30
 awa-ya oda-ra me yoko-ka-na
 pole-instru us-obj they push-instru-sc
 They pushed us with a pole (push of war game).

15.1.4 Frequent absence

In contrast to the preceding co-occurrence of -ra with me 'they', -ra will not normally occur if the subject is any other pronoun.

- (18) 19:86
 me hiyari o-ka-mita,
 them storying I-secretly-heard
 I secretly heard the storying of them.
- (19) 19:14
 owa de yoba,
 me you(pl) visit
 you visit me
- (20) Kimi 167
 tiwa oda awa-ma-bani.
 you we (excl) see-again-will
 we will see you again.
- (21) 8.2.6.5
 me oda kiyoa-maro-ma-ra
 them we follow-eye=wit-info-contrast
 but did we follow them?
- (22) S25
 yifo de afo-ki-ya-hi
 fire you (pl) blow-instr-delay-imp
 You blow on the fire.
- (23) S21
 yoihi tao-ti-ka-na-hi
 monkey shoot-you-instr-sc-imp
 You shoot the monkey
- (24) B77
 aba bidi me ai waka-na-mata-hi
 fish small pl we(incl) grab-sc-intent-iap
 Let's grab at little fish.
- (25) 8.2.2.2.
 wati bono oda ti-tii-toha-ro-ni
 arrow shaft we redup-slash-state-recent-comment
 We habitually cut arrow shafts.
- (26) 8.2.5.53
 wafa me o-na-ka-wa
 monkey pl I-cause-motion-return
 I brought the monkeys back.

Whenever two nominal and singular number constituents occur in the normal OSV word order, the object case marker is normally absent, (see 15.1.1 for SOV order and 15.1.3 for plurals)

- (27) B29
 yomahi di Aniso kara-ne,
 jaguar the Aniso misfire-ac
 Arniso misfired (at the) jaguar.
- (28) S41
 yoihi Madoki doke-mari-m.
 monkey Madoki burn=hair=off-eye=wit-identity
 Madoki burned the hair off the monkey.

15.1.5 Infrequent usage

Exceptions to the preceding norms of usage can usually be explained by pragmatic motivations.

15.1.5.1 Transition

As seen in sections 15.1.1, one of the indirect functions of the case marker is to aid in establishing and maintaining the subject-actor as topic. It does this primarily by its occurrence in SOV and OV clauses. Once a subject is established as topic, however, the object marker may reoccur in a O-raSV ordered clause if the topic remains the same. Usually this O-raSV clause occurs as a topic closure or as a transition to a new sub topic, parenthesis, or quotation.

- (29) 17.65
 sofa-ra di Sikito kaa-ne-bona-ne.
 sorva-obj the Chiquito chop-sc-purpose-comment
 Chiquito purposes to cut sorva (to pay for the radio).

Chiquito was introduced 15 clauses earlier as topic and is not mentioned again by name until this clause at the close of the topic.

- (30) 15.24
 di Atimero sofa-ra kemo-ne-mona-ne yama-ya. Sofa-ra
 the Artimero sorva-obj hid-sc-hear=say-comment jungle-loc Sorva-obj
 di Atimero kemoi.
 the Artimero hid
 Artimero hid the sorva in the jungle. Artimero hid the sorva.

Artimero is reestablished as topic in the first clause. The second clause, ordered O-raSV, is a transition preceding 9 clauses of quotation by another man directed to Artimero.

- (31) 17.38, 43
 Bahika fowa-ra haa-ne-mona ... farina-ra di Ina
 Bahika raw-manioc-obj call-sc-hear=say ... farinha-obj the Ina
 sira-na-ya
 toasted-sc-loc
 Bahika asked for manioc ... When Ina had toasted the farinha (manioc meal),

The first clause establishes Bahika as topic for the next five clauses. The final clause above ordered O-raSV indicates a transition point with Ina as a subtopic. Bahika returns as topic yet another five clauses later.

15.1.5.2 Emphasis

The case marker may also co-occur with emphatic or contrastive elements. It may sometimes (but not always) indicate a highly informative, emphasized, or contrastive focus element.

It may occur with the first object if the clause is ordered OSVO. The object following the verb is a repetition for emphasis, a clarification, or more specific designation of the first object.

- (32) 13.70
 keyehe-ra Mowasi hiri-ne-no-ra, keyehe.
 lie-obj Mowasi tell-sc-verified-contrast, lie
 But Mowasi told a lie.
- (33) B80
 teme me-ra di Aniso sobo-ne-mari-ka, teme madi,
 teme pl-obj the Aniso pulledrout-sc-eye=wit-event. teme beings,
 wake madi, yerene madi,
 wake beings, yerene beings,
 Aniso pulled out teme fish, that is, teme fish, wake fish, and yerene fish.

Occasionally, the object marker occurs on both objects to avoid ambiguity as to the case of the element following the verb.

- (34) 8.5.96
 yoso-ri-a yose-mari-m, Tobi-ra
 younger=brother-own-obj sent-eye=wit-identity, Tobi-obj
 (He) sent his younger brother, Tobi.

There is a corresponding omission of the case marker if the clause is ordered OSVS, in which the subject rather than the object is clarified after the verb.

- (35) 12.41
 Kabikana hinaka aso ka-nika-bone-ni, Bowatimaha.
 fishhook his aunt instru-buy-purpose-comment, Bowatimaha
 His aunt, Bowatimaha, will buy fishhooks.

It is also used with lists and other items that are contrasted, singled out, or specified.

- (36) D195-197
 Yoriaho biha-ra kama, koyo-ra fadi kama,
 Juliao kara-obj plant, macaxeira-obj his=wife plant,
 kana-ra Yoriaho kama-ne-bona-ne
 cane-obj Juliao plant-sc-purpose-comment
 Juliao (will) plant kara, his wife (will) plant macaxeira, and Juliao will plant cane.

The reverse ordering SOV in the first clause indicates Juliao as topic. The objects in the three clauses are a list of informative focus items.

- (37) 11.2, 8, 10
 bobo hinama-ra di Hobi daa-ne ... bobo manaki-ra oda
 candy just-obj the Hobi give-sc ... candy price-obj we
 a-ani-toha-ro-a yama ra di Hobi daa-re.
 redup-work-state-recent-contrast thing obj the Hobi give-neg
 Hobi only gives candy but we work for the price of candy ... Hobi gives nothing.

In the above, Hobi had been previously introduced as topic and is maintained as such throughout the paragraph. That he gives out just candy (for work) and later is said to give nothing is a further specification and serves to emphasize the little or nothing payment he gives. The object marker in clauses 1 and 3 could be interpreted as simultaneously maintaining Hobi as topic, although the norm would be to omit the nominal 'Hobi' from the clause. However, the 'we' subject in clause 2 is incidental and an unlikely candidate for topic.

- (38) 18.56
 aba me Makarida ati ka-ware, aba me one-ra di
 fish pl Makarida voice container-boil, fish pl other-obj the
 Bowatima ka-wari.
 Bowatima container-boil
 Magarida said she (would) boil the fish, Bowatima (would) boil the other fish.

- (39) 12.39
 sibati yome-ni manaki hemedo-ra Tatiwake haa,
 banana swallow-nom price medicine-obj Tatiwake call,

kabikana-ra di Nene haa-ne-mona-ne.
 fishhook-obj the Nene call-sc-hear=say-comment
 For the banana eating price Tatiwake asked for medicine, Nene asked for
 fishhooks.

The object is not always emphasized, however, when occurring with the object marker. In SOV and OV clauses it is often given and highly predictable information (15.1.1). Its emphatic usage is mainly in OSV clauses.

Contrastive or emphasized objects, however, are not the only elements that can be contrasted. The subjects and verbs of clauses may also be emphasized and contrasted. Since the position of subject pronouns is fixed by the grammar, a reverse ordering for a marked pronominal topic is not possible as it is for nouns. The use of the object marker on the object before such marked pronominal subject topics is the only indicator.

- (40) R20-22
 wafa me-ra me ta-tao, me kana-na, me-ra
 monkey pl-obj they redup-shoot, they run-sc, them-obj
 yete-o-hare.
 hunt-I-one
 (When) they shoot monkeys, they (monkeys) run, I alone hunt then (with a blowgun).

The -ra in the first clause is in line with normal usage, -ra before the subject pronoun 'they' (sec.15.1.3). The -ra in the third clause indicates a highly contrastive subject 'I'.

- (41) 14.102
 aba me-ra ebe-o-ne-ne, aba me-ra o-wati
 fish pl-obj divide-I-ac-subj, fish pl-obj my-liver
 ebe-nofa-ri-ni.
 divide-like-neg-comment
 I should divide the fish, my liver doesn't want to divide the fish (share it with others).

Here the contrast is between what 'I' should do, and what I don't want to do. 'My liver' functions as a first person pronoun, i.e. fixed pro-verb word order.

- (42) 15.15
 owa-ra ti-kaye-tee-ni-ra.
 me-obj you-lie-custom-confirmed-contrast
 But you lied to me.

The context of the above was 'I would marry your sister, you would marry my sister (implied - you married someone else), so you lied to me.'

(43) 15.32
 ratena daa-ti-na-me, yara-ra tao-o-ka-riyahi.
 flashlight give-you-sc-return, outsider-obj shoot-I-instru-neq=imp(threatening)
 You give the flashlight back, (or) I will have to shoot the outsider (implied - don't
 make me shoot him).

(44) Hara 193, 194
 tikoto-ra o-wi-ni; tikoto-ra o-wa-ra-wi-ra.
 Your=daughter-obj I-see-comment; your=daughter-obj I-see-neg-doubt-contrast
 Did I see your daughter? I didn't see your daughter.

The above example, a paired positive and negative statement, is a common device to indicate a denial or other strongly negative statement. Not always is the object marker used, however. Other indicators in the verb can be used to indicate contrasts and comparisons. -m on the verb can indicate a contrastive or emphasized participant, and -ra on the verb can indicate a contrastive verbal element. Both of these suffixes have other components of meaning as well. A denial without the object case marker can be as follows:

(45) A21, 22
 me o-wa-ro-m; me owi awira-ro-a.
 they I-see-recent-identity; they seeing neg-recent-comment
 Did I see them? I didn't see them, (or) Were they (the pigs) seen by me?
 They were not seen by me.

With a first person agent, the form of the passive is ambiguous. However, two clauses preceding this pair, the form is clearly passive with the pigs as topic. The nominalized verb owi and the negative verb awira are also used frequently with the passive.

In summary, the object case marker is obligatorily present in SOV and OV ordered clauses. It is obligatorily absent in passive constructions.

It is almost always present before the pronoun me 'they' as subject or with pluralized nominal subjects or objects. It is almost always absent before any other subject pronoun except me 'they'.

Normally with a OSV word order in which both Subject and Object are singular nominals, the object marker does not occur. Its infrequent use in this context indicates either a transition or an emphasized or contrastive object.

If the subject is a first or second person pronoun, the object marker may indicate an emphasized or contrastive subject. In all the examples found, the object was a nominal element.

The case marker has a dual function of resolving ambiguity and/or indicating directly or indirectly a marked topic or emphasized element. Only in its co-occurrence with me 'they' as subject does its use seem arbitrary. Much of the time its use here is also to resolve possible confusion with the me 'pluralizer'. It may also be that a subject 'they' usually indicates a weak kind of contrast with 'I' or 'we' in first person texts This blending of the two functions may account for its almost 100% co-occurrence with me 'they' and indicate a nearly total grammaticalization of its use in this context.

15.2 Genitives

Genitive phrases are ordered: possessor followed by the possessed. A possessive clitic ka is added to the word that indicates the possessor.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------|------|-----------|------|
| (46) | yara-ka | kimi | (47) | Bada-ka | kimi |
| | foreigner-poss | corn | | Bada-poss | corn |
| | the foreigner's | corn | | Bada's | corn |

The possessive clitic may also occur before a pronoun.

- (48) D58
koriwa-ka me
Curia-poss they
those of the Curia (River)

The possessive clitic may be added to a purpose clause.

- (49) D67
fowa yana-bona-ka nano
manioc squeeze-purpose-poss squeezer
for the Manioc to be squeezed, (its) squeezer

It may also be added to an embedded independent clause.

- (50) D105
tamakori tao-ti-ka-ni-mone-ka hawi-ya
monkey shoot-you-instru-sc-hear=say-poss trail-loc
(where you shot the monkey) trail or where you shot the monkey, its trail

The set of possessive pronouns that may occur before nouns are:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|--|--------|---------------|
| (51) | SG | | PL | |
| | oka | my | oda-ka | our exclusive |
| | tika | your | ai-ka | our inclusive |
| | hika | his | de-ka | your |
| | hinaka | his (before noun beginning with a vowel) | me-ka | their |

- (52) oka kimi
my corn

The possessive pronouns may also stand alone in answer to a question.

(53) oka amani.
mine identity
It's mine.

(54) oda-ka amani.
ours-poss identity
It's ours.

First person possessed kinship names are preceded by the possessive oka with some morphophonemic changes before words beginning with a.

(55) oka dao
my son

*oka ato	-	okoto	my daughter
*oka ami	-	okomi	my mother
*oka abi	-	okobi	my father
*oka ayo	-	okoyo	my older brother
*oka adi	-	okadi	my older sister
*oka asima	-	oka sima	my younger sister

oka yibote
my wife

The second person possessive pronoun is usually omitted before the following kinship terms:

(56) ami	(your)	mother
abi	(your)	father
ayo	(your)	older brother
adi	(your)	older sister
asima	(your)	younger sister

The second person possessive pronoun is used, however, before the following:

(57) tika dao	your son
tikoto	your daughter
tika yibote	your wife

Third person possessed kinship names have different noun forms and most do not have possessive pronouns preceding them. These forms assume the ego of the kinship term to be the same as the topic of conversation. For instance, 'his son' means the son of the man I'm talking about, not someone else's son.

(58)	bidi	(his/her) aon
	bide	(his/her) daughter
	madi	(his/her) mother
	badi	(his/her) father
	anodi	(his/her) older brother
	yosori	(his/her) younger brother
	fadi	(his) wife
	maki	(her) husband (also means just 'man')
	hinakadi	(his/her) older sister
	hinakasima	(his/her) younger sister

Body parts are marked for possession with a set of free pronouns and omit the possessive clitic ka. This same set is also used as direct object pronouns.

(59)	SG		PL	
	owa	my	oda	our (exclusive)
			ai	our (inclusive)
	tiwa	your	de	your
	#	his/her	me	their

Body parts may be possessed by a noun or a pronoun.

(60)	me narabo	(61)	hiyama yoto
	their ears		wild=pig intestines

Possession of body parts with a pronoun or noun is obligatory except when referring to a marked topic. Reference to the body part of a deer, for example, could be as follows if the deer were already established as topic.

(62)	tati
	(his/her) head

If the deer were not the topic, reference to his head would require a noun possessor, since there is no pronominal form.

(63)	bado tati
	deer head

The owa and tiwa forms are often assimilated to the words they modify, especially if the nouns begin with m or w.

(64)	owa mano	--	omono	my arm
	tiwa wati	--	tiwati	your liver
	owa wati	--	owati	my liver

The owa 'my' and tiwa 'your' forms may optionally replace the oka and tika forms respectively before certain nouns of masculine gender.

- (65) owa yifo owa yobe
 my hammock my house

If a possessed kinship word occurs with a body part the ka possessive is used before the kinship term, as normal.

- (66) Con1644
 okadao namidi
 my=son's neck

A particular possessive is:

- (67) hidi oni
 its=owner's name

Certain items may also be possessed by a suffix on the head noun. This construction is limited to a few lexical items but regularly occurs with the following:

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| (68) Con619 | (69) Hara54 |
| tiwa yoka-ri | yoka-ri |
| your urine-your=own | urine-her=own |

Certain body parts (those ending in o or whose first vowel is e) change their form for a feminine third person singular possessor (i.e.her).

- | | | |
|----------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (70) | | FEMININE, THIRD PERSON SINGULAR |
| iso | shin of leg | isi her leg |
| bako | chest | baki her chest |
| narabo | ear | narabi her ear |
| noko | face | noki her face |
| yoto | intestines | yoti her intestines |
| doro | insides | dori her insides |
| mano | arm | mani her arm |
| fanako | thigh | fanaki her thigh |
| mete | hip | mate her hip |
| teme | foot | tame her foot |
| temeribo | ankle | tameribi her ankle |

A girl, whose name is reported by others to be Tameribi, will give her own name as Temeribo, following the above pattern.

Other parts of items follow a similar pattern.

(71)		3RD FEM SG	
	ataro	atori	skin
	habo	habi	root
	noko	noki	seed
	ede	ade	plant stalk
	faso	fasi	leaf

15.3 Modifiers

Noun modifiers (other than possessives) which precede the noun are limited to an article occurring only before proper nouns and a demonstrative.

(72)	idi Mano (extremely slow speech)	di Mano (normal speech)
	the Mano	the Mano

(73)	Con1631
	ha, tika bora
	that, your clothes

Other noun phrases are ordered, noun plus modifier. The modifier agrees in gender with the first noun.

A pluralizer only occurs with animate nouns and usually follows the noun.

(74)	arakawa me	(75)	Bada me
	chicken pl		Bada they
			Bada and his companions

'Woman' and 'man' have different forms in the plural and co-occur with the pluralizer me. In these phrases the pluralizer precedes the noun.

(76)	S	PL	(77)	S	PL
	fana	me fanawi		maki	me makidi
	woman	pl women		man	pl men

The pluralizer may occur displaced from the noun when the clause is ordered SOV.

(78)	19.29
	di Yowaho-ta sofa-ra me kaa
	the John-only sorva-ra they chop
	Just John's group (will) cut sorva

Two nouns, one of which is a part of the other are ordered: whole followed by its part. Of the nouns that have a masculine and feminine form, the second noun agrees in gender with the first noun.

(79) Con1625
masaroka ede
banana(m) plant(m)

(80) sofa ade
sorva(f) plant(f)

(81) bani hefene
game=animal(m) egg(m)

(82) arakawa hife
chicken(f) egg(f)

(83) kimi noko
corn(m) seed(m)

(84) faha noki
water(f) seed(f)
cloud

In the following noun phrases, the second noun is something added to or in some way for the benefit of the first noun. The second noun agrees in gender with the first.

(85) foari bodi tene
underarm(m) bare medicine(m) deodorant

(86) ido tahi
sore(f) medicine(f)

(87) oka bani manaki
my meat(a) price(a)

(88) oka sibati manakone
my banana(f) price(f)

(89) rina manakone
thread(f) price(f)

There are a limited number of adjective-like words which follow the noun they modify and may agree in gender with it. Only a few of these modifiers have different form for gender. Their semantic relationship to their noun is 'what kind'. Most of these modifiers can also be used as nouns in other contexts.

(90) bora isi
cloth(f) leg(f)
men's trousers

(91) bora nemehe
cloth high
shirt

(92) bora makidi
cloth men's

(93) bora bote
cloth old
old clothes

(94) yara fana
foreigner woman
a foreigner who is a woman

(95) yifo towe
hammock bad
a no good hammock

(96) abariko yati
moon new
new moon

(97) yobe bidi
house(m) small(m)
small house

(98) yima bide
knife(f) small(f)

Noun phrases may be expanded with more than one type of modifier and more than one of the same kind.

- (99) tika awa bono noki (100) yifo madone bote
 your tree fruit seed hammock rope old
 the seed of your fruit and old hammock rope
- (101) Con3008 (102)
 Yana teme-ka okoma me ha, metero owa manakone
 Jon foot-poss flea pl that meter other price
 Jon's foot fleas the price of that other meter (of cloth)
- (103) yati bide-ka adami webote-ya
 Apurinã daughter-poss hill big-loc
 at the big hill of the Apurinã's daughter (name of stream)

Like the pluralizer, parts of the noun phrase may be displaced from its head.

- (104) 8.2.1.118
 yara rifi-ra ati daa-ne.
 outsider rifle-obj voice give-sc
 The outsider said he would give a rifle (outsider's voice gave a rifle).

Most descriptive words are inflected as complete verb words. Some of these verb roots occasionally occur as modifiers. Numbers are often used as modifiers.

- (105) Con 1430
 abariko fame aba-ya
 moon(m) two(m) dead-loc
 when two moons are dead (passed)

Other descriptive verb roots may be used in an uninflected form to modify a noun indicating 'what kind'.

- (106) Con682
 Yobeto hawi isini tii-hi-na-ba-mani?
 Bob trail small cut-agent-sc-fut-prediction
 Will a small trail be cut by Bob?

This same verb root when inflected indicates 'how much' - a little.

- (107) Con2569
 awa nafe waa-na na-ra
 tree large stands-sc does-declarative
 a large tree stands (there)

The inflected form would indicate 'how much' - a lot.

When a verb modifies a noun, as in a relative clause, restricted forms of the verb are used. The form is almost always only a root, or one with one or more added stem and/or restricted base affixes. The inflectional suffixes of verification and perspective do not occur. The verb form, however, must agree in gender with its noun head by vowel changes in its root and/or affixes.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-------|---------------------|---------------------|
| (108) | root only | | (109) | stem | |
| | kiyoi | kiyoa | | o-ka-raboi | o-ka-raboa |
| | follow(m) | follow(f) | | I-instru-blowgun(m) | I-instru-blowgun(f) |
-
- | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------------|
| (110) | base | |
| | ka-ki | ka-ke |
| | motion-near(m) | motion-near(f) |

Occasionally such a clause includes a suffix of completed aspect.

- (111) haroi-naho
boil(m)-completed(m)
- hibati me-ka bani haroi-naho me kabi-ra.
before they-poss meat(m) boiled(m)-completed(m) they(f) eat-decl
Before, they ate their boiled meat (meat that had been boiled).

Nouns modified by a relative clause are ordered: noun plus modifying verb. The verb must agree in gender with the noun it modifies. Other constituents of the relative clause almost always precede the noun. The modifying verb indicates 'which one' or 'what kind'.

- (112) S32
yoihi ka-ki tao-o-ka-na-marom.
monkey(m) motion-near(m) shoot-I(f)-instru-sc-eye=wit(f)-identity
I shot the monkey that came near (one of a group).

The absence of the repetition of 'monkey' just before the verb 'to shoot' argues for this to be one clause. The 'monkey that came near' is then the object of 'shoot'. It is not a two clause sentence, 'the monkey came and I shot (it)'. Unless the object is a marked topic (with corresponding gender agreement in the verb), it is not omitted from the clause.

- (113) S117.118
kobaya ki-fawa-maki tao-o-ka-ne.
wild=pig(m) motion-water-following(m) shoot-I(f)-instru-sc(m)
The wild pig that came to the water was shot at by me.

Masculine agreement on the main verb indicates 'wild pig' as subject.

(114) R17
 wafa o-ka-raboa sona-maro-m.
 monkey(f) I(f)-instr-blowgun(f) fell-eye=wit(f)-identification
 The monkey that was blowgunned by me fell.

(115) R25
 Sabano-ka-ri o-ka-raboi sone-mari-m.
 Sabano=tree-area-person(m) I(f)-instr-blowgun(m) fell(m)-eye=wit(m)-identity.
 The one in the Sabano tree that was blowgunned by me fell.

The above two examples (114, 115) could be interpreted as strictly a cause-effect relationship. Cause-effect can be indicated by gender agreement on a verb stem of the first clause. Also in example (114) the feminine gender of both constituents makes the subject ambiguous. I have chosen the relative clause interpretation because the m verb ending has an identifying function of singling one out from a group. Monkeys are always found in groups as they were in this text.

The form of the verb in a relative clause is indistinguishable internally from most independent medial clauses which express sequential or cause-effect relationships with its following clause. However, a noun with its modifying relative clause is always the subject (examples 113, 114, 115) or object (examples 111, 112) of its following clause. Occasionally, a relative clause, as a direct object constituent of the following clause, is so marked with the object case marker as the following:

(116) 8.2.6.23
 idi Kitari (wati dama-o-ka-ne-ra
 the Kitari(m) arrow(m) hold=in=hand-I(f)-instru-sc(m)-obj
 soba-ka-na-ki) kana-ni to-ko-maki-mari-ka
 pulled=out-container-sc-? run-nom away-motion-following(m)-eye=wit(m)-event(m)
 Kitari, having pulled out an arrow that was held by me, running, went after (the pigs).

In the above, the dependent clauses are in parenthesis. 'An arrow that was held by me' is marked with the ra case marker to indicate it as the object of 'having pulled out'. See example (6) for another instance of case marking on a relative clause.

The head noun of the relative clause is always the subject or object of the main clause. In the relative clause itself, the head noun must always be the subject of the modifying verb. The verb is made passive, if necessary to comply with this restriction. In all the instances found to date, the object-as-topic (subject of passive verb) occurs just before the verb that modifies it. APV is the reverse of the normal unmarked word order, OSV. Passive independent clauses are usually ordered Patient-Actor-Verb.

(117) con1
 okobi Yobeto merasia daa-hi-na-ro, mona-ni.
 my=father(m) Bob(m) watermelon(f) give-agent-sc-expla(f), grow-comment(f)
 The watermelon (seeds) that was given (to) my father (by) Bob, is growing.

In this sentence the recipient and the agent precede the subject of the passive verb. An explanatory suffix is also added to the verb.

- (118) R51, 52
 wafa o-ka-raboi o-di-ma-mati-a.
 monkey(m) I(f)-instru-blowgun(m) I(f)-pick=up-back-must(f)-declarative
 I must go back and pick up the monkey that was blowgunned by me.

See example (9) for another instance of a passive relative clause.

In the two instances found to date of a transitive relative clause modifying its actor-subject, the order is the same as for the passive relative clause: Actor-Patient-Verb.

- (119) S100
 yome kobaya me-ra kiyoi ka-ki-fawe-mari
 jaguar(m) wild=pigs plural(f) follow(m) motion-near-water(m)-eye=wit(m)
 faha-ya.
 stream-loc
 The jaguar (that) chased the pigs came to the water.

See also example (6).

An intransitive relative clause as the subject constituents of a transitive clause is as follows:

- (120) B85.86
 imati foye-nao owa-ra.
 electric=eel(m) lying=in(m)-completed(m) me-obj
 yiri-ka-ne-mari-ka
 shock-instru-sc(m)-eye=wit(m)-event(m)
 An electric eel that had been lying in (the hole) shocked me.

A descriptive verb as a relative clause is as follows:

- (121) D129
 Hisiri bide-ya fowa iso kibe weye-ni
 basket small-loc manioc(m) cuttings(ra) filled(m) carry-nom
 o-ka-timi-a
 I-motion-upstream(f)-declarative
 Carrying manioc cuttings, which filled the little basket, I went upstream.

15.4 Nominalizations

There are three main types of nominalizations: full nouns derived from verbs, personalized (the one), and verbals (action nominalizations).

Certain verbs may be changed into full nouns by changing some of all of their vowels to e.

- (122) Yama siri-ni -- sire
 things cold-comment coldwave
 It is cold. coldwave
- (123) yama hiwi-ni -- mahi hewene
 thing hot-comment sun heat
 It is hot. the sun's heat
- (124) yama komi-ni -- kome /yama kome
 thing hurt-comment pain /malaria
 It hurts.
- (125) tafa -- tefe
 eat food

Other verbs can form nouns by reduplicating the first syllable.

- (126) kaba -- ka-kaba
 eat (chew) food

Other verbs add a suffix.

- (127) ani -- anihi
 work work thing
 something to work with (tool, etc)

Another type of nominalization combines a place or a state with a participant.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (128) ka-wita-ware
confined-sit-one(f)
the one confined to sitting (referent is a
feminine jaguar) | (129) sabano-ka-ri
Sabano=tree-area=of-personalizer
the one in the sabano tree (referent
is a masculine monkey) |
|---|--|

A verbal (participle, gerund or infinitive) consists of a verb root (minimal form) or a verb stem (maximum form), both of which are usually modified by a vowel change, depending on their morpheme class. Unlike relative clauses they are never marked for gender agreement.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| (130) | base form of verb | nominalized form |
| | class 1 (none found) | |
| | class 2 kaba eat | kabi eating |
| | class 3 koma hurt | komai hurting |
| | class 4 wato know | wato knowing |
| | class 5 (none found) | |
| | class 6 post person roots | |
| | soko wash | sokoni washing |

These verbals may also add person markers and other stem affixes in their formation. Motion verbs add a directional affix (a base suffix). The vowel changing rules apply to the last affix.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (131) o-wi
I-seeing | (132) ka-tafi
instru-eating
eating with a fork or spoon |
| (133) ka-mi
coming-back | (134) to-ki
away-going |
| (135) o-ko-misi
I-going-upstream | |

No other affixation occurs except the object case marker where appropriate.

Post person roots, when adding a person marker in its nominalized stem formation, may transpose the person marker to pre-position (before the root) as a free pronoun. All the examples found were also intransitive and co-occurring with a main verb that could not take a person marker.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (136) owa kana-ni
I running-nom | owa amo-ni
I sleeping-nom |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|

Verbals may occur as subject, object, or appositive (adverbial of manner) in a clause. Gender agreement marked in the main verb is with the subject of the verbal whether expressed or unexpressed, but there is no gender marking in the verbal itself. The verbal form is often used to avoid mentioning the person or thing that is topic. The combinations of verbals and the independent verbs, which follow, are restricted.

Examples of a verbal occurring as the direct object of a main verb are as follows: Its relationship with the independent verb is one of range.

- (137) 1489, 90
fare, Yobeto yama mama-ni-ra watoi, yama mama-ni-ra
so, Bob(m) thing fix-nom-obj knows(m) thing fix-nom-obj
watoi-monaha.
know(m)-hear=say(m)
And so, Bob knows the fixing of the thing (how to fix it), I've heard he knows the fixing of the thing.

- (138) 2507
me-ka hawi tii-ni o-wa-maka-mati-a.
they-poss trail(f) cutting-nom I(f)-see-?-intent(f)-declarative
I must go see their trail cutting.

- (139) 2389,90
 Tibi haa-ni wara-hi-re, yawa-mise-ne.
 Stevie(m) calling-nom grab-agent-neg(m), angry-rising(m)-comment(m)
 (His father's) calling was not grabbed (was ignored) by Stevie, (so) he (his father) is
 angry.

The relation between the two clauses is specific condition-result. The ordering of the first clause is like that of the relative clause, Actor-Patient-Verb.

- (140) 2701
 ratena dama-ni ki-kita-hi.
 flashlight(f) holding-nom redup-strong-imp(f)
 Steady the holding of the flashlight.

This could be a relative clause 'steady the flashlight that (you) are holding'. If so the previous restriction of the head noun being the subject of the relative clause would not hold.

- (141) S15
 yima kobo-ka-ni wato-ra.
 knife arrive-instru-nom know-neg
 The knife didn't know how to arrive. (They were trying to jab at fish with knives,
 but they didn't succeed)

- (142) 9.22
 me kami ti-wi-ni?
 they coming you-see-comment
 Did you see their coming?

The speaker of the above question already knew they had come. He wanted to know if the addressee had seen them arrive.

- (143) 2316
 afo-ni o-wato-tee-ni.
 blowing-nom I-know-fact-comment(f)
 I know (flute) blowing (how to play a flute).

A verbal occurring as manner is an action occurring simultaneously with the independent verb action by the same actor. Both verbs are actions and the second is a motion verb.

- (144) con 14
 madi haa-ni ka-ki-ne.
 spirit(m) calling-nom motion-near-comment(m)
 The spirit, calling, is coming.

See also example 116.

A verbal as manner may also occur with a pronoun as subject. In the next example, the subject 'I' occurs with the main verb. The verbal diwani is a post person transitive root and the main verb may take the person marker.

- (145) S39
 yoihi diwa-ni o-ko-ma.
 monkey(m) carrying=an=shoulder-nom I(f)-motion-back(f)
 Carrying the monkey, I came back.

See example (121).

In the following two examples, the pronoun subject precedes the post person, intransitive verbal. Since the main verb has the affix to, it can not take a bound person marker.

- (146) S125
 owa kana-ni yama-to-na
 we(f) running-nom jungle-away-sc(f)
 We, running, jungled (went into the jungle).

- (147) 8.2.6.24
 owa kana-ni to-ko-make
 I(f) running-nom away-motion-following(f)
 I, running, took off following.

A verbal may occur as the subject constituent of the clause. Both the verbal and the independent verb involve only one action or state. The independent verb is either an aspect or a verb of quantity. The independent verb agrees in gender with the subject of the verbal, whether or not the subject is expressed overtly in the clause.

- (148) 1249
 Sabira, amise-ka bora soko-ni hawa-toi-raniha?
 Sabira, stepmother—poss clothes washing-nom finish-state-is=it=not
 Sabira, your step mother's clothes washing is finished, isn't it?

- (149) 1843
 yama wiye soko-ni hawa-oha-ni.
 thing container washing-nom finish-I=state-comment
 The dish washing has been finished by me.

Examples (148, 149) occur with to(h)i / oha, indicating a state or point in a process. The person 'I' in 'oha' is out of focus, but probably not a true passive.

- (150) 2014
 bidi wama-ni ewene hawa-toi-a.
 little=one make-nom center=pole finish-state-loc
 When the making of the center pole of the little house is finished.

A verbal as subject of the main verb may have a pronoun as its own subject. These pronouns are of the same possessive set that occur with body parts and certain masculine nouns. This same set are also object pronouns and rarely use as free subject pronouns (see 15.2). They usually precede the verbal as would be normal for either the subject or a possessive.

One example of the subject pronoun occurring between the verbal and the main verb would seem to argue against the verbal and the main verb being one verb phrase.

- (151) 8.2.2.6
 wati bono tii-ni. oda hawa-to-ne.
 arrow(m) shaft(m) cutting-nom we(f) finish-state-sc(m)
 The arrow shaft cutting was finished by us. *We finished cutting the arrow shafts.
- (152) 1597
 me afi-ni hawa-toi-ya
 they bathing-nom finish-state-loc
 when their bathing is finished
- (153) 3020
 tiwa tafi hawa-toi-ya
 you eating finish-state-loc
 when your eating is finished
- (154) 806
 hawi tii-ni hawa-toi
 trail cutting-nom finished-state
 when the trail cutting is finished
- (155) 3062
 de-ra me kosi-ni i-isi-nofa-ra-ni
 you=pl-obj they spanking-nom redup-a=little-aug-neg-comment
 their spanking of you wasn't just a little
- (156) 288
 de haa-ni fawa-ni-mako-ni
 you calling-nom lose-sc-derogatory-comment
 your calling, quit it
- (157) 536
 owa niki-ni eya-na-ni
 I pinching-nom this=many-sc-comment
 my pinching, this many

- (158) 118
 abi owa-ra wee-ni i-isi-nofe-ra
 your=father(m) me-obj bawl=out-nom redup-a=little-aug(m)-declarative
 your father (will) bawl me out, a very little bit
- (159) 2763
 ohi-ni i-isi-ra-mane
 crying-nom redup-a=little-neg-information(m)
 the crying (of Jon) is not a little bit
- (160) 1451
 owa amo-ni dami-a
 I sleep-nom many-loc
 when my sleeping is many
- (161) 1454
 owa amo-ni dama-mata-tee-ba-ra
 I sleeping-nom many-intent-custom-fut-declarative
 my sleeping is planned to be many
- (162) 2168
 hirini i-isi-ni-ne-ni.
 burning(f) redup-a=little-sc-continuative-comment(f)
 The burning is a little bit. (slowly burning)

A verbal always occurs before the negative verb awiri. This is one of two major ways to express negation. This kind of negative emphasizes the negative fact or state and is used primarily in situations of contrast or clarification or with a marked topic. There is a corresponding de-emphasis on the action as an action or on the actor. This construction is the negative counterpart of tohi 'state' and tee 'fact'. Usually the negative verb is the only new information in the clause.

- (163) 2361
 Nadimi bao-ra kabi awira-ni.
 Nadimi(f) bread-obj eating didn't-comment(f)
 Nadimi's eating the bread, didn't happen.

The next clause says 'she's only holding it in her hand.'

- (164) 1110
 de-ka kadere o-yabi awira-ni.
 you-poss arrow I-take=out didn't-comment(f)
 My taking out your arrow didn't happen.

The next sentence says 'I was only teasing.'

- (165) 1721
 soko-ni awiri-ni?
 washing-nom neg-comment
 To wash, no? (you didn't want the spoon washed? -asking for clarification)

The following are verbals with a passive construction.

- (166) 1742
 o-wi awire-mata-amane
 I(f)-seeing neg-before=my=time(m)-information(m)
 (a dinosaur) seen by me, has not been, it was before my time.
- (167) 1743
 kabi awi-tere-amane.
 eaten neg-never(m)-information(m)
 It (dinosaur) has never been eaten or the eating (of dinosaur) has never been.

The following is with a descriptive verb.

- (168) 2045
 yawari sini awi-tere-ne
 fruit=name(m) sweetness neg-never(m)-comment(m)
 The sweetness of the yawari fruit doesn't exist.

The motion verb ka is always negativized with awiri. It can have a variety of base suffixes in its nominalization.

- (169) 1641
 kaho ka-maki awisare-ne.
 Carlos(m) motion-following neg=not=yet(m)-comment(m)
 Carlos coming back hasn't happened yet.

Other affixes that can occur in the verbal form of ka 'motion' are:

- | | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|
| (170) 2198
ka-ki
motion-nearby | (171) 2347, 2599
ka-mi
motion-back | (172) 1369
to-ki
away-motion |
| (173) 971
to-ko-maki
away-motion-following | (174) 2154
o-ko-misi awiri-ni.
I-motion-up=to neg-comment
My coming up (on your lap) is not (possible). | |

This implies inability rather than lack of volition. The next clause was, 'You pick me up'.

Whenever the motion verb ka, a pre-person root, adds the affix 'quickly', it forms its nominalized form like a post-person root by adding ni.

- (175) 2992
 me ka-ma-kabote-ni awira-ni-ni.
 they(f) motion-back-quickly-nom neg-confirmed(f)-comment(f)
 Their coming back quickly hasn't happened (since they haven't arrived yet.)
- (176) 582
 ka-maki-kabote-ni awi-ba-ra-ni
 motion-following-quickly-nom neg-fut-neg-comment(f)
 (She) will not be coming back quickly.
- (177) 424
 wayoma-ya o-fani awira-maró-ni.
 song=time-loc I-marrying neg-long=ago-comment(f)
 At the song time my marrying (marriage) didn't happen.
- (178) 2171
 Hirini yaki awira-ro-ni.
 burning walking didn't-recently(f)-comment(f)
 The spreading of the burning didn't materialize.

In summary, tense, aspect, verification, and perspective suffixes occur with the negative independent verb. Person markers, when present, occur with the verbal. Nominalized motion verbs can include directionals and manner affixes.

FOOTNOTES

1 Jamamadi is an Arawakan language spoken by an unknown number of people along the Purús River in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. The dialect under study consists of about 200 speakers located above the town of Lábrea. Data were gathered during field trips from 1963 to 1984 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in accordance with a contract with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro and by permission of the Fundação Nacional do Índio. I also wish to thank David Fortune, Robert Dooley, and Desmond Derbyshire for their advice and instruction given in a field workshop in Porto Velho, Rondônia, Brazil.

2 The phonemes of Jamamadi are vowels a e i o, voiceless stops t k, preglottalized voiced stops b d, fricatives f, s, nasals m n ɲ (the latter frequently dropping from an unstressed syllable leaving only nasalization), resonants w r ɣ. The phoneme /s/ is [tʂ] word initially, /f/ is [p], /r/ is [l] initially and before front vocoids and [r] elsewhere. Vowels following nasals /n/, /m/ and /ɲ/ are nasalised. Stress alternates on every other syllable starting with the first. Sentence stress falls on the verb root and modifies the alternating stress pattern in some words.

3 Key to abbreviations in the gloss translation:

(f)	feminine	loc	locative
(m)	masculine	neg	negative
decl	declarative	nom	nominalizer
excl	exclusive	obj	object
eye=wit	eye witness	pl	plural
fut	future	poss	possessive
imp	imperative	redup	reduplication
incl	inclusive	sc	stem closure
info	information	supp	supposition
instru	instrument		