

Syntax of the Phrase Types in Canamari

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Introduction

Canamari (Kanamaré, Kanamari) is spoken by approximately 1.000 Indians located along the upper reaches of the Juruá, Xeruá, Tarauacá, Jutai, and Itacuaí Rivers in Amazonas, Brazil. Alfred Métraux classified Canamari as Catukinan.

Bilingualism

Canamari-Portuguese bilingualism is limited to the use of bartering terms or "small talk" with Brazilians in the area, merchants and government representatives. Apart from this Canamari is spoken exclusively within the culture.

Phrases are units of modification, coordination, apposition, and preposition. Potentially they consist of two or more words, including nuclear and peripheral items. Long phrases are not common in Canamari. Usually a minimal expression of the phrase is used, i.e. item and possessor is the usual manifestation of the possessive phrase.

15. Noun Phrase Structure

15.1 Marking for case

There is no direct marking on the nouns itself. However, there is an indirect marking on the verb construction for distinguishing the syntactic functions of a noun phrase. The marking occurs with subject-function in the transitive clause.

The inflection is expressed through preverbal clitic pronouns. The pronominal bound form, which expresses agreement with the subject, occurs in word initial position.

- (1) inu nhama ma- pu mawa bara
far then they- eat their animal
Far away then they eat their animals.
- (2) Pajaham nhama tso- koni -tikok tsabo
later then we- word -know future
Later then we will know (the) language.

If the subject is represented through a proper noun or noun phrase, the verb agreement is expressed through proclitic na-. In this construction no distinction is made between singular and plural.

- (3) proper noun:
Aro na- nobu
name 3NP- reign
Aro reigns.
- (4) Noun Phrase singular:
atsa pamah na- tikok
my father 3NP- know
My father knows (it).
- (5) Noun phrase plural:
o tukuna hinuk na- wunimdak idik
other Indian plural 3-NP- remember you
The other Indians remember you.

There is no marking of noun phrase in object-function.

15.2 Genitives

There is no distinction between temporary v. permanent, present v. past, specific v. non-specific possession. However, distinction is made between alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession includes human and non-human body parts, inseparable parts of things (like a handle of a basket), certain kinship terms and -wadik 'name'. Inalienable possessions are signalled by bound possessive pronouns which occur as prefixes to the possessed item. (see section 16.3)

Alienable possession is expressed through free pronouns which occur adjectivally in a possessive noun phrase construction. The possessive noun phrase consists of an optional referent, obligatory genitive and optional possession. The genitive precedes the possessed item in the noun phrase construction.

- (6)
- | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|
| atsa hak | inowa hak | awa hak |
| my house | your house | his/her house |
| my house | your (sg) house | his/her house |
| itsowa hak | idiki nawa hak | mawa hak |
| our house | your (pl) house | their house |
| our house | your (pl) house | their house |

The head of the construction (possessed item) can be optionally omitted in context, so that the genitive is the only manifestation of the noun phrase.

- (7) Whose house is it?
Response:
atsa
mine
mine.

When the referent is represented through a singular proper noun or a noun phrase, there occurs between the genitive NP and the possessed item the NP-agreement possessive pronoun nawa.

- (8) Poroya nawa wapah
name 3NP-POS dog
Poroya's dog.
- (9) inowa pamah nawa wapha
your father 3NP-POS dog
Your father's dog.

- (10) ma- wabara hinuk nawa wapah
 their husband plural 3NP-POS dog
 Their husband's dog.

15.3 Modifiers

The head of a modified noun phrase can be filled by a common noun, proper noun, nominalized verb or nominalized adjective. Modifiers occur in the following obligatory ordering: demonstrative and indefinite pronouns occur adjectivally preceding the head noun.

- (11) tiyam itsaroh o tukuna
 this woman other man
 this woman other men

Following the head are adjective, quantifier, or pluralizer.

- (12) itsaroh baknim kaitsa ayuhtunim
 woman pretty box lots-of
 the pretty woman lots of boxes.

Pluralizer hinuk occurs with certain kinship terms and proper nouns, nuk occurs with other nouns which can take plural.

- (13) pok nuk ma- wabara hinuk
 canoe plural their- husband plural
 the canoes their husbands

When pluralizer hinuk occurs with proper nouns, it changes its meaning to 'others'.

- (14) Kitsarak hinuk
 name plural
 Graham and the others...

A modifying numeral may precede or follow the head noun. It precedes the head when the head is represented by a common noun and follows the head when the head is represented by a compound noun or noun phrase with preceding modifiers tiyam, tuwum 'demonstratives' or o 'indefinite pronouns'.

- (15) ikik a- opu takara -po obowa
 one her- baby=son chicken -egg two
 one baby/one little boy two chicken eggs

More than one modifier may occur:

- (16) tiyam itsaroh baknim (17) tiyam itsaroh bak tihtam anim
 this woman pretty this woman pretty very be
 this pretty woman This woman is very pretty.

- (18) o tukuna wamamnim
 other Indian strong/healthy
 another strong/healthy Indian

For nominalized verb or adjective as head noun see section 15.4

Relative clauses may occur as modifiers also. The head nouns precedes the relative clause. The personal pronoun anham 'he,she' also serves as the only relative pronoun in Canamari. At this point of research, it seems that only third person is relativized. See also section 16.6.

- (19) inu tsirorokanim anham a- pu -nim
 far type-of-grass which he- eat -DIS
 Far away is a type of grass which he eats.

The relative pronoun may also occur in sentence final position.

- (20) ma- mam nimbaktih ta'anham totsawa na- nobu -nim anham
 they- do all thing chief 3NP- command -DIS which
 They will do all things which the chief commanded.

Coordination of noun phrases is quite common in Canamari. The coordinate noun phrase consists of two or more noun phrases of equal syntactic status.

An optional grouping of all the referente may occur preceding or following the listing.

- (21) preceding grouping:
 ayuhtu anim dom
 many are fish

listing:

mamuru, tsapakom, dom-nhanim, numoi-nuk, kariwiri
 matrixã, small=fish, cat=fish, tiny=fish, big=fish

There are many types of fish: matrixã, a type of small fish, catfish, another type of tiny fish and a type of big fish.

- (22) listing:
 adu Madawí Bahi Madawi-Nhanim Koriya
 I Paul Bahi Luis Chico

grouping following:

tsímko na adik a- katu anim
 five PROM we he- with be
 I, Paul, Bahi, and Chico, the five of us were with him.

15.4 Nominalization

There are two types of nominalization: nominalization of the verb and nominalization of the adjective. The nominalization of verbs is manifested through verbal suffix -nham which is added to the verb stem. Nominalization is more frequent with transitive verbs. Tense and aspect

are not affected by nominalization. There is no restriction on the syntactic functions of these nominalized constructions on the clause level compared with the function of minimum noun phrases. They can function as subject or object in main clauses.

- (23) dom -ma -nham hinuk wa- o -ji tu da
 fish -get -NOM plural O- drink -DIR ? again
 The fishermen came to drink again.
- (24) tso- nakibak -tu kotu anham koni- mapikam -tu -nham
 we- like -NEG also that word- hear -NEG -NOM
 We do not like that not-listener 'one who does not listen'.
- (25) ihta -tsik -nham na- tatam nhama a- nobu
 firewood -chop -NOM 3NP- to then he- send
 He sent them to the wood chopper.
- (26) anham tori -bu -nham nawa hak tiyam anim
 that basket -make -NOM his house this be
 This is that basket maker's house.

Nominalization of adjectives is manifested by discontinuous affix a...nim. There is no restriction on the syntactic function of these nominalized constructions.

- (27) a- bak -nim tso- wu
 NOM- good -NOM we- want
 The good one we want.
- (28) da'am nhama a- tsahim -nim
 go=away then NOM- fat -NOM
 The fat one went away then.
- (29) a- konama -nim nawa tsawahmini tiyam anim
 NOM- sick -NOM his food this be
 This is the food of the sick one.

16. Pronoun system

Canamari employs personal, indefinite, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, and relative pronouns. There are neither case distinctions nor distinctions in respect to gender or person inclusive vs. exclusive.

16.1 Personal pronouns occur in free and bound form.

The bound form as inflection through prefixation on the verb construction.

person		free subject/object	bound inflection to verb/subject
1st	singular	adu	i- hi- y-
	plural	adik	tso-
2nd	singular	idik	no-
	plural	idiki	na-
3rd	singular	anham	a- ha-
	plural	anham hinuk nuk	ma-

Free pronouns occur in syntactic functions as subject and object. The bound form only occurs as subject.

Free pronoun as subject:

- (30) tsamahdak oma nimwu adu tsabo
 clothes buy want I future
 I want to buy clothes.

Free pronoun as object:

- (31) o tukuna na- wunimdak idik
 other Indian 3NP- remember you
 Other Indians remembered you.

Bound pronoun as subject:

- (32) ma- tikok -tu
 they- know -NEG
 They do not know (it).

Personal pronouns do not occur with verbs of events of nature such as him 'to rain', wánim 'to blow/wind', or kipom' obahi 'to flower'.

Only the free form of personal pronouns occurs with intransitive motion verbs such as da'am 'to go away', dadohi 'to run', or kimhi 'to return'. Only the bound form of personal pronouns occurs with perception verbs such as -pikam 'to hear', or -hik 'to see'.

However, both free and bound form maintain reference of participants in text.

In first person narratives, free pronouns occur as first introductions of first person participants, which may be singular or plural.

- (33) Tiyaham da'am adu tsabo
 tomorrow go=away I future
 Tomorrow I will go away.

After the first introduction, free pronouns can be omitted and occur only in the following situations in text:

1. In all clauses marked with positive evaluation particles na . . . tso or with progressive aspect.

(34) damwam nhama am na adik tso
 fly then be EVAL we EVAL
 Then we flew.

(35) Kirim -na nhama adik anhumdak anhumdak anhumdak
 walk=across=land DIR then we walk walk walk
 Then we walked over land, walked, walked, and walked.

2. As contrastive (re)introduction:

(36) Kirimi nhama dadoham . . . adu -ti nhama ha'am
 name then go=uphill . . . I -only then stay
 Graham went uphill . . . only I stayed.

3. As re-orienting or updating identification of participants at the beginning of a new major section in discourse, i.e. leaving an established spatial setting:

(37) kimhi -na nhama adik tso
 return -DIR then we closure
 Then we returned.

4. As more participants appear at a certain place in a text, they tend to be referred to more by free pronouns:

(38) Makona na- ta nhama kitam adik tso . . . tsakarona
 name 3NP- at then sleep we closure . . . narcotic=drink
 o nhama adik
 drink then we
 We stayed overnight at Makona's place (many other Indians were there also) and we drank narcotics.

Bound forms occur elsewhere.

In third person narratives participants are introduced by noun phrases. As long as the participant stays in focus, the noun phrase can be omitted and reference is maintained by the bound form of personal pronouns. There is no reorienting or updating of participants at new sections. However, in most cases new participants are introduced at such a point.

(39) Anim anham -ti tunim Tamakori. anham -ti -ti awa natsi
 first he -only long=ago name he -only -only his corn
 a- bohi anham nhama a- pu -ti -nim anham -ti -ti
 he- plant which then he- eat -only -DIS he -only -only
 First Tamakori was alone. Very much alone he planted his corn which he then ate all by himself also.

16.2 Indefinite pronouns occur in Canamari only as quantifiers.

Employed are: wa 'ikik 'something', oikinuk 'everyone else', and o 'others/someone else'.

- (40) o na- ama watahi hina jibo
 someone=else 3NP- for water get please
 Please, go and fetch some water for someone else also.
- (41) da'am nhama oikinuk kotu wa
 go=away then everyone also future
 Everyone else will go away also.

16.3 Possessive pronouns occur as adjectival possessives in free and bound form.

The bound occurs as prefixes to the possessed item.

possessor (person)		free possessive (alienable possession)		bound possessive inalienable possession)
1st	singular	atsa		i- hi- y-
	plural	itsowa		tso-
2nd	singular	inowa		no-
	plural	idiki nawa		na-
3rd	singular	awa		a- ha-
	plural	mawa		ma-
NP		nawa		na-

The free form of possessives occurs with alienable possession in a possessive noun phrase construction (see section 15.2). The bound form occurs with inalienable possession which includes human and non-human body parts, inseparable parts of thing (like the handle of a basket), certain kinship terms, and -wadik 'name'.

human		animate		non-animate
ipam	my arm	–		–
nopam	your arm	–		–
apam	his/her arm	apam	its foreleg	apam its handle
tsopam	our arm(s)	–		–
idiki napam	your (pl) arms	–		–
mapam	their arm(s)	mapam	their forelegs	mapam their handle(s)

When a possessor is represented through a proper noun or a noun phrase, the possessed noun takes the prefix na- or free possessive nawa. No distinction between singular or plural is made.

- (42) proper noun:
 Aro na- piya
 name 3NP- son
 Aro's son
- (43) Noun phrase singular:
 atsa pamah na- piya
 my father 3NP- son
 my father's son

- (44) Noun phrase plural:
 itsaroh nuk na- tso
 woman plural 3NP- daughter
 the daughters of the women

16.4 Demonstrative pronouns are used to indicate or specify things or persons referred to. Only tiyam 'this' and tuwum 'that' are employed and are generally defined by their nearness to the speaker. There is no distinction for number categories as for personal pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns can be used adjectivally (see section 15.3) or independently as gestural deictics to point out objects.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (45) tiyam y- owu
this I- want
This (pointing to the item) I want. | (46) tuwum bak nimkanaham
that good superlative
That (pointing to item) is the best. |
|--|--|

There are no reflexive or reciprocal pronouns in Canamari.

16.5 Interrogative pronouns are: hanhamtu 'what/who/whom', hanimtu 'what (re: proper noun)', hatu 'where' hanhamatu 'why', hanim na (noun) -tu 'whose' (inalienable possession), hanim nawa (noun) -tu 'whose' (alienable possession) (see section 16.3), na'animmtam 'when', and naitam 'how', (see also section 10).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (47) hatu idik wa
where you future
Where are you going? | (48) na'animmtam idik da'am wa
when you go=away future
When are you going? |
|---|--|

16.6 Relative pronouns relate a subordinate clause to a phrase or clause. Only anham is used, covering the areas of meaning of 'who/whom/what/which', and 'that'. (see also section 15.3)

- (49) ma- mam nimbaktih ta'anham totsawa na- nobu -nim anham
 they- do all thing chief 3NP- command -DIS which
 They will do all things which the chief commanded.

Anham may also be employed to relate a complement clause to the main clause.

- (50) A- wunimdak a- piya na- ama a- tohoki -nham anham
 he- remember his- son 3NPPOS for he- say -NOM what
 He remembered what he had said to his son.

17. Adpositional phrase structure

All adpositions are postpositions in Canamari. The postpositional phrase consists of a proper noun or a noun phrase followed by a postposition.

Two sets of postpositions take inflection signalled through person prefixation:

Person prefixes are as follows:

1st person	singular	i- hi- y-
	plural	tso-
2nd person	singular	no-
	plural	na-
3rd person	singular	a- ha-
	plural	ma-

The inflected postposition may occur without noun phrase: (51)

- (51) Homara -pa nimwu adu no- katu
 toy -play want I you- with
 I want to play with you.

In one set of the postpositions the meaning is changed through the inflection:

<u>with inflection</u>			<u>without inflection</u>		
-ama	'for'	benefactive	ama	'for'	purpose/specification
-ta	'of/from'	source	ta	'at'	location
-tom	'to'	transference	tom	'on'	location
-katu	'with'	accompaniment (co-agent/patient)	katu	'with'	instrument
-wa-	'with'	accompaniment (walking only)	wa-	'alongside'	riverbank/path

(wa- obligatorily suffixes -na or -ji 'direction of motion')

- (52) Kati na- katu pamah wa- o kotu
 name 3NP- with father O- drink also
 Father and Kati drank it.

- (53) tsowi katu mi owurahi
 axe with hole chop
 (He) chopped a hole with an axe.

With the exception of -wa 'with' inflected postpositions can be incorporated into the verb construction (see also section 18.7).

In another set of postpositions, the meaning is not changed through inflection. Part of this set obligatorily takes directional suffixes -na and -ji 'direction of motion'.

postposition			suffix - <u>na</u> / <u>-ji</u>
naki	'in'	location	yes
to	'in'	location	no
towi	'beside'	location	no
konamtom	'beside'	location	no
omkana	'in front'	location	no
pori	'behind'	location	yes
opoto-	'under'	location	yes

postposition			suffix <u>-na</u> / <u>-ji</u>
takoda	'between'	location	yes
okotutu	'above'	location	yes
pato-	'to'	direction	yes
tatam	'to'	direction	no
motsa-	'behind'	position/time	yes

Postpositions can also express direction of motion. Some have inherent direction of motion, i.e. tatam 'to' implies direction of motion away from the spatial setting.

(54) atsa nhama na- tatam nhama a- na adu wa
 my mother 3NP- to then go DIR I future
 I will go to my mother.

(55) inowa hak tatam nhama a- na adu wa
 your house to then go DIR I future
 I will go to your house.

Other postpositions are without inherent direction in the stem and obligatorily suffix -na and -ji to express a variety of relationships, i.e. pato- 'to'.

(56) destination of motion:
 Jaimi na- pato -na nhama a- nobu
 name 3NP- to -DIR then he- send
 Then he sent (us) to Jim.

(57) location:
 hak pori -na hak pori -ji
 house behind -DIR house behind -DIR
 There behind the house. Here behind the house.

(58) position and time:
motsa- 'behind/later' is ambiguous as to locational or temporal reference. It has a meaning of 'behind' when it refers to position and a meaning of 'later' when it refers to time:

motsa -na	motsa -ji
behind -DIR-away	behind -DIR-toward
Walk behind someone going away/ arrive there later.	Walk behind someone coming here/ arrive here later.

(59) Means of travel:

The postpositions naki 'in' and tom 'on' with directional suffixes -na and -ji express direction of motion combined with the means of travelling:

pok naki -na	omam tom -na
canoe in -DIR	wood on -DIR
go away by canoe	go away on crutches

The third set of postpositions take neither inflection nor suffixation for direction of motion.

They are as follows:

orom	'with'	accompaniment (in respect to food)
ikina	'with'	accompaniment (mixed into/with food)
patom	'on top of something'	location
wakonaki	'middle of something/inside'	location
tsinaki	'middle of river/path'	location
tatamnim	'from'	direction

(60) bari paranim pu na adik tso tawabi orom
 banana ripe eat EVAL we closure farinha with
 We ate ripe bananas with farinha.

(61) atsóka ikina nhama tso- mam, tso- mirikmirik
 sugar with then we- do, we- knead
 Then we put in sugar, we kneaded it (into the dough).

Postposition phrases can be modified by the suffix -ti 'only' which occurs on the postposition. Exceptions are orom/ikina 'with' and tatamnim 'from'.

(62) Kariwa koni katu -ti am na nuk i- katu -hoki
 Brazilian word with -only be EVAL they I- with -speak
 Only in Portuguese did I converse with the others (them).

18. Verb or Verb phrase structure

In Canamari verb structure subject, action before motion, oblique object, direct object can be expressed through prefixation to the verb stem in that order, however, no more than three prefixes can co-occur. Intransitive verbs do not take any prefixation. The incorporation of direct object and postpositions affects the valency of the verb. (see section 18.5)

Motion/direction, distributive/continuative/repetitive aspect, -ti 'only', and either negative or intentive mood occur as suffixes to the verb stem, again in the order listed. No more than three suffixes can co-occur. As ambifixes occur the adverbs 'always' tu-(verb stem)-ti and 'never' tu-(verb stem)-tu.

The verb phrase, which functions as the predicate of a clause, typically consists of a head followed by adverbial modifiers, non-inflected verbs(s) and enclitics of tense/aspect/mood. If modifier ariki 'nearly' occurs, it precedes the head. Modifier panim 'already' may precede or follow the head.

This overall pattern of the verb phrase can be formulated as follows: (adv. modifier) indep. verb (adv. modifier) (non-inflected verb) (adv. modifier) (enclitic of tense/ aspect/mood). The components following the head of the verbal phrase occur either contiguously to the verb or in clause final position. Examples to illustrate this are given in the respective categories.

A second overall pattern is simply a cluster of independent verbs.

(63) Kirim-na nhama adik anhumdak anhumdak anhumdak
 walk=across=land-dir then use walk walk walk
 'Then we walked over land, walked, walked and walked.'

(64) ta'anham nuk -ti am ma- mam wa- pu -nim wa- o
 thing plural -only be they- do O- eat -DIS O- drink

ohuk

get=married

(These) things only they do. (They) eat, drink, and get married.

18.1 Canamari does not have tense in the sense of verbal inflection. Time words, time phrases, particles and contextual clues are the devices of relating the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance 'now'.

Distinction is made between future and non-future in that only future has clause final tense particles. Non-future, past and present, are only marked through time words or time phrases which usually occur in clause initial position. A very distant past (historical time) is marked through tobowa in clause medial position. Besides time words and time phrases, future may also be marked with particles t_{sa} or wa in clause final position. However, not all clauses with future meaning have a particle or time word. t_{sa} is employed at the beginning of a future oriented text and occurs within the text when "new information" is introduced. wa occurs at other times when the narrator chooses to verify that the event will take place in the future. (Further research needs to be done on particles t_{sa} and wa).

(65) Tiyahamtam na awiyaum wauk -ji nimkimam
 early/morning PROM airplane arrive -DIR quickly
 Early in the morning the airplane arrived. (Only through context is it known that the airplane had arrived, brought visitors and had left again).

(66) pidah -ti am tobowa watahi warah tu tso
 tiger -only be historical water own ? closure
 In ancient times only the tiger owned the water.

(67) Tiyaham tso -pu -na adik tsabo
 tomorrow pupunha -eat -DIR we future
 Tomorrow we will go away to eat pupunha.

(68) Tú adik tso -pu -na wa
 there we pupunha -eat -DIR future
 Far away we will go to eat pupunha.

18.2 Aspect

1. Distributive aspect describes some activity dispersed in space or time, i.e. distributive in space or continuative in time. It is signalled through the verb suffix -nim. The narrator may

choose to view an event from two different directions. He may see the action as an event to which different actors contribute:

- (69) bak tihtam na nuk bo haihai -pa -nim
good very PROM they do chant -sing -DIS
They sang the chants very well.

One action: singing, chanting
Different actors: many Indians

The narrator may see a single actor carrying out a distributive action. The actor might, for example, share or divide something among several or many; or he might also impart or communicate information to several or many:

- (70) i- pu -tu nhama i-da- nuhuk -nim dom miwara
i- eat -NEG then I-before=leaving- give -DIS fish type=of=fish
ma- tom
they- to
I did not eat then. Before leaving I gave my fish miwara to them.

One actor: narrator (in this text)
Distributive action: give away fish to many

Or alternatively, the narrator may choose to express the distributive idea in reference to time only.

- (71) Tatamtih ha'a -nim am na adu tso
there stay -DIS be EVAL I EVAL
There I stayed (for several days and nights).

2. Perfective aspect is signaled by the unmarked form of the basic verb. It neither describes duration of an event nor focuses on a specific part of it. Instead, the event is viewed as a whole unit.

- (72) adu nhama tam totikik awiyaum naki
I then here enter airplane in
Then here I entered (got into) the airplane.

3. Iterative aspect occurs only as explanatory information of a main event in discourse. The action verb occurs in the main event line in its basic form (without aspect suffix) and is then repeated three times, employing the suffix -nim.

- (73) bohi nhama bohi -nim bohi -nim bohi -nim
plant them plant -REP plant -REP plant -REP
Then (they) plant, plant, plant and plant.

4. Progressive aspect describes an uninterrupted activity which is extensive in time and increases in difficulty as the action is progressing. Progressive aspect occurs as explanatory

information in discourse and is signaled by repeating the verb in its basic form two or three times.

- (74) kirim -na nhama adik anhumdak anhumdak
walk=across=land -DIR then we walk walk
Then we walked over land, walked, walked and walked.

5. Recurrent aspect is employed when a previous action recurs. It occurs in the main event line of narrative discourse.

- (75) tú Tsirimkau-Nówo kitam kotu da
there name-of-place sleep also again
There at Seringal Novo (we) slept again.

18.3 Mood/Modality

1. Indicative mood is signalled by lack of morphological mood marking and by indicative intonation which is characterized by a falling pitch on the last syllable of the indicative clause.

- (76) kitsarak hinuk -ti dam tom tóna
name plural -only trail on stay=overnight
Only Graham and the others stayed overnight on the trail.

2. Dubitative mood expresses a doubt or lack of sureness as to whether an action has taken place, is taking place, or will take place. It also expresses doubt in regards to knowledge about a fact. Doubt about actions in the past and present are expressed through nihu; doubt about future actions is expressed through niwahu. Both are sentence-final particles.

- (77) kaki naki tu na nihu
break inside - PROM dubitative
It seems it is broken inside. (referring to a thorn in the foot).

- (78) anim pok warah -tu amti adik niwahu
first canoe have- NEG be we dubitative
(I) doubt that we will have a canoe at first.

3. Intentive mood expresses determination as to what one purposes to do. It is signaled by the verb suffix -hu.

- (79) mawa hunu'am ma- bu -hu
their flute they- make -intentive
They intended to make their flutes.

4. Contrafactive mood expresses the idea that the actual fact is contrary to whatever was expected to exist or to happen. In other words, whatever the opinion was as to an expected event or state, it was mistaken. It is signalled by the particle ru which follows directly after the element which expresses the expected event or state.

- (80) itsonim pajati am -ti ki ru tu tso
 world only=one=type be -only PROM contrafactive ? closure
 We were the only ones in this world. (we thought, but we were mistaken)

5. Imperative mood contains jussive, polite, prohibitive and hortative as subdivisions. The imperative is the mood of an utterance which expects an activity as its response. Jussive (peremptory) mood is signalled by the particle tso. (see section 11)

- (81) da'am tso
 go=away jussive
 Go away!

Polite imperative mood is signalled through the particle jibo 'please'

- (82) da'am jibo
 go=away please
 Please, go away!

The prohibitive imperative mood is signalled through the auxiliary verb nimwu 'want' and future particle tσα. Even though no negative is expressed overtly, a negative meaning of 'don't' is implied.

- (83) jam nimwu idik tσα
 run=away want you future
 Don't you run away.

Hortative imperative mood is signalled through the particle tso also. However, the speaker includes himself choosing first person plural as the subject.

- (84) kirak, natsi hi -na adik tso, ija
 name corn get -DIR we hortative brother
 Kirak, let us go and get corn, brother.

6. Interrogative mood consists of polar and non-polar questions. Polar questions are signalled by the particule ki preceding the subject of the clause. (see section 10)

- (85) wa- pu ki idik
 object- eat polar you
 Do you eat?

Non-polar questions are manifested by question words, which occur in clause initial position.

- (86) hanhamtu tso- ma -nim wa Tamakori
 what we- do -DIS future (name)
 What are we going to do, Tamakori? (see also section 16.5)

18.4 Person, Number and Gender.

Verb agreement is in the categories of person and number. Person categories are first, second, and third person; number categories are singular and plural. There is no other agreement such as gender. Person markers occur as free and bound pronouns. (see also section 16.1) The bound form occurs as inflection through prefixation to the verb. Person and number agree with the subject.

(87) tsowunimdak idiki tsabo
we-remember you (pl) future
We will remember you (plural).

(88) a- nakibak tihtam adik tso
he- like/love very we closure
He likes us very much.

If the subject occurs as a full noun phrase, the agreement prefix is na. In this construction, no distinction is made between singular and plural.

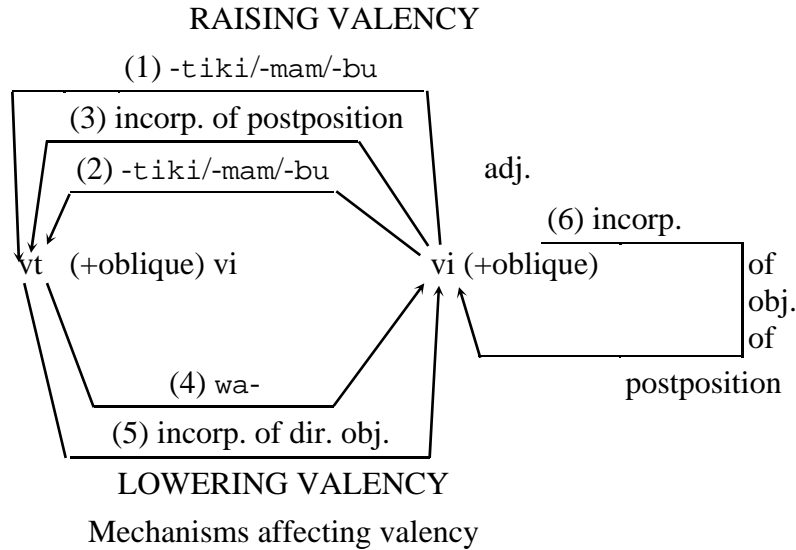
(89) proper noun:
Aro na- tikok nimbaktih
(name) 3NP know all
Aro knows {it} all.

(90) singular: NP:
atsa pamah na- kanaro -titok
my father 3NP remember we
Other Indians remember us.

Neither direct object, indirect object, nor any other grammatical relation besides subject is cross-referenced by verbal agreement.

18.5 Valency and valency changes

The three types of verbs intransitive, transitive, and distransitive undergo valency changes through prefixation, suffixation, and incorporation. Both raising and lowering valency occurs.



For the purpose of investigating mechanisms affecting valency, it is convenient to temporarily ignore the question of whether oblique arguments that occur with (otherwise) intransitive or transitive verbs are obligatory, because these mechanisms operate on both obligatory and optional oblique arguments. This treatment, therefore, does not distinguish between ditransitive verbs (which have both an obligatory direct object and an obligatory oblique argument object) and transitive verbs with an optional oblique argument; both would be vt + oblique.

18.5.1 Certain adjectives can be made into a transitive verb, adding an agent, by combining with either the causative suffix -tiki or one of the stems -bu or -mam 'make'.

- (92) bak beautiful/nice
bak ki am omam omam i- bak -tiki
 good PROM be log log I- beautiful/nice- cause
 The log looks nice. I cause the log to look nice (I squared the log)

- (93) bakna well (re: health)
bakna ki am tukuna
 well PROM be Indian
 The Indian is well.

tukuna -bauh na- bakna -tiki tukuna konamanim
 Indian -witch=doctor 3NP- well- cause Indian sick
 The witch doctor cures sick Indians.

- (94) nok 'angry'
nok ki am atsa wapah
 angry PROM be my dog
 My dog is angry

opatsim na- nok -bu atsa wapah tso
 child 3NP- angry -make my dog closure
 The child made my dog angry.

- (95) tsuram 'dry'
tsuram ki am bara -hai
 dry PROM be wild -meat
 The wild meat is dry.

burihnim to nhama bara -hai ma- tsuram -mam
 sunshine in then wild -meat they- dry -make
 (A long time ago) they dried the wild meat in the sun.

18.5.2 Similarly, an intransitive can be made into a transitive verb, adding an agent, by combining with either the causative suffix -tiki or one of the verb/stems -bu or -mam 'make'.

- (96) timhi nhama awiyaum
 come=down then airplane
 The airplane comes down/lands.

piróto na- timhi -mam -dak nhama awiyaum
 piloto 3NP- come=down -make -while=going then airplane
 The pilot made the airplane come down (slowly) (preparing to land).

- (97) omotoh -tu nhama awa tsamahdak
 fit -NEG then her clothes
 Her clothes do not fit correctly.

a- motoh -bu nhama awa tsamahdak
 she- fit=correctly -make then her clothes
 She made her clothes fit correctly.

- (98) kitam opatsim ki am a- kitam -tiki nhama opatsim
 sleep child PROM be she- sleep -cause then child
 The child sleeps. She caused the child to sleep.

18.5.3 An intransitive verb with an oblique object can, if the postposition is of the inflectable kind, (see section 17), be made into a transitive verb by incorporating the postposition; the oblique object of the intransitive verb becomes the direct object of the transitive verb. As a result, the transitive verb contains a morphological signal of the case-role of its direct object. This mechanism is obligatory. Starred (*) examples are ungrammatical.

- (99) hoki nhama Tamakori * a- hoki nhama i- tom
 speak then (name) * we- speak then I- to
 Then Tamakori spoke. Then he said to me.

a- to- hoki nhama adu
 he- goal- say then I
 Then he said to me.

- (100) hoki nhama adu * i- hoki nhama Hobito na- katu
 speak then I * I- speak then name 3NP- with
 Then I spoke. Then I conversed with Robert.

tatamtih nhama Hobito i- katu -hoki
 There then Robert I- with -speak
 There then I conversed with Robert.

- (101) jam nhama itsaroh * a- jam nhama tso- ta
 run=away then woman * she -run then we- off
 The woman ran away. She ran away from us.

a- ta- jam nhama adik
 she- source- run=away then we
 She ran away from us.

18.5.4 A transitive verb can be made into an intransitive verb, losing its direct object, by incorporating the dummy object prefix wa-. No patient is then referred to.

- (102) tsamahdak koji nhama Komoko wa- koji ki am
 clothes wash then name O- wash PROM be
 Komoko washed clothes then. She is washing.
- (103) tatamtih nhama ma- pu bari wa- pu nhama nuk
 there then they eat banana O- eat then they
 There then they ate bananas. Then they ate.

18.5.5 Similarly, a transitive verb can be made into an intransitive verb, by incorporating its direct object noun, if that object is nonreferential (nonspecific). In that case, this mechanism is obligatory.

- (104) i- tikok no- koni i- koni -tikok
 I- know your- language I- language- know
 I know your language. I know (a/the) language.
- (105) bara -wadik nhama Tamakori na- banimam
 animal -name then name 3NP- mix=up/change
 Tamakori mixed up/changed the names of the animals.

Tamakori na- wakik -banimam
 name 3NP- name -mix=up/change
 Tamakori did some name- changing.

18.5.6 An intransitive verb with an oblique object of range can incorporate that oblique object (the object of a inflected postposition); it remains intransitive. This mechanism is obligatory if the oblique object is nonreferential (nonspecific).

(106) Paramtsítsiko na- kanaro -bu i - pan tom
 name 3NP- design- make my- arm on
 Francisco wrote (made designs) on my arm.

Paramtsítsiko na- pam -kanaro -bu
 name 3NP - arm -design- make
 Francisco wrote (made designs) on arm(s).

18.5.7 These valency-affecting mechanisms can be applied successively on a verb.

(107 a)

tiyam kanaro baknim nhama Paramtsítsiko na- bu i-
 this design good then name 3NP- make my
 pam tsuruh tom
 arm left on
 Francisco made this good design on my left arm.

(107 b)

Paramtsítsiko na- kanaro -bu i- pam tsuruh tom
 name 3NP- design -make my- arm left on
 Francisco made designs ou my left arm.

(107 c)

Paramtsítsiko na- pam -kanaro -bu
 name 3NP- arm design make
 Francisco made design(s) (on) arm(s).

18.5.8 There are no passives in Canamari.

18.6 Other Catagories

18.6.1. Adverbial modifiers

Verbs can be modified by adverbs. ariki 'nearly/just about' occurs preceding the head verb; panim 'already' may occur in pre- or postverbal position.

(108) ariki taitam japa anha
 nearly arrive/come clan woman
 The clan=woman nearly arrived. / She was just about to arrive.

(109) panim kimhi -na
 already return -DIR
 (They) already left/returned.

(110) mawa homo ma- totsik -na panim
 their hammock -they- fasten -DIR already
 They fastened their hammocks already.

(111) tsuku nimwuti Ita'i
 die nearly name
 Ita'i nearly died.

(112) ma- tikok nimbak
 they- know certainly
 They certainly knows (it).

(113) da'am nimkimam
 leave/go=away quickly/soon
 (They) left quickly. / They left soon.

18.6.2. Prominence-indicating particles ki and na.

The particle ki gives prominence to one element in a clause expressing a concept. The particle na gives prominence to a whole clause expressing an event. Even though both particles need to be seen in context, they are included here as isolated examples, as they are also part of the verb phrase construction.

(114) nuhuk ki nhama jinhíro wa- mam a- hom
 give/sell PROM then money o - make it-exchange
 I will sell it in exchange for money. (usually this product is made for private use only)

(115) tú nhama adik dom -ma -na na adik
 there/far then we fish -get -DIR PROM we
 There we were, we fished.

(Usually fishing is an every-day-activity. Here is a special occasion described: after a strenuous trip over several weeks, fishing seemed to be a welcome activity.)

18.6.3 Motion categories.

Verbs can also be categorized into motion and non-motion verbs. Motion verbs can be subdivided into verbs with inherent direction of motion in the stem i.e. dadoham 'go up steps', or verbs without inherent direction in the stem, which obligatorily suffix one of the directionals -na or -ji 'away from or towards a spatial setting', i.e. to-na 'go away', to-ji 'come here'. A set of non-motion verbs takes suffixes of directions -na and -ji to imply prior motion in the direction of the location where the action is expected to take place; i.e. oma-ji 'come here to buy'. The same set of verbs may also take suffixes -dak and -dakji expressing motion simultaneous with action of the verb; i.e. ohik-dak 'search while going', ohik-dakji 'search while coming'. The directional system, which is rather involved, is discussed in detail in Here and There in Canamari, Groth, 1977,

18.7 **Incorporation.** See section 18.5 Valency and valency changes.

18.8 Auxiliary verb system

18.8.1 Auxiliary verb nimwu 'want' occurs in the verb phrase construction following the head. Nimwu expresses a wish or desire in respect to an action or state. ('to want something tangible' is expressed through the verb owu, i.e. paum owu adu 'bread want I').

Nimwu takes the suffixation of the head verb of a verb construction.

- (116) paum oma nimwu adu tso
bread buy want I closure
I want to buy bread.
- (117) da'am nimwu -tu tukuna tso
go=away want -NEG Indian closure
The Indian does not want to go.
- (118) tukuna nhama i- katu -hoki nimwu -nim
Indian then I- with -talk want -DIS
I want to converse with the Indians.
- (119) watahi o nimwu -ti adu
water drink want -only I
I only want to drink water.

The verb phrase may also be expanded through further adverbial modifiers.

- (120) a- dahu nimwu dirim
he- take=away want very=much
He wants very much to take it away.

Nimwu may be dislocated to the right if the narrator chooses to modify the head verb of the verb phrase.

- (121) a- tikok nimbak nimwu dirim
he- know certainly want very=much
He wants very much to know for sure.

18.8.2 Auxiliary verb nhohimtu 'not able to' occurs in the verb phrase constructions following the head verb. Nhohimtu expresses a natural lack of sufficient power, resources, or capacity. It shows the inability of the actor to perform a certain action, that is, it expresses limitation in nature.

- (122) tso- kajohdak -puni nhohimtu na amtinim
we- placenta -remove not=able=to PROM NEG=EVAL
We were not able to remove the placenta.

18.8.3 Auxiliary verb am 'be' is the main copulative or equative verb. Its main function is to relate other elements, especially subject and complement.

- (123) nok ki am
angry PROM be
(He) is mad/angry.

Am occurs with distributive suffix -nim 'distributive in space and continuative in time. It becomes anim and occurs as copulative verb.

- (124) Horom anim burihnim
hot be=DIS sunshine
It is hot in the sunshine.

Am also take negative suffixes -tu or -tamtam.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (125) Batih am -tu Tamakori
today be -NEG name
Not today, Tamakori. | (126) tukuna -naham am -tamtam
Indian -less be -NEG
There are not very few Indians. |
|---|---|

Am occurs with suffix -ti 'only'

- (127) tsawahmini ohik ki am -ti kotu
food search PROM be -only also
He is only looking for food also.

Am occurs with anim in tailing. It takes sentence final position for clarification and identification of participants in cases of potential ambiguity.

- (128), am na tukuna anim
...., be PROM Indian be
...., It is the Indian (meaning: it is still the Indian I am talking about).

Am occurs in verb phrase constructions with positive evaluation marker na ... tso, which combines highlighting of an event with the personal involvement of the speaker or participant in focus.

- (129) To dajoram am na adik tso
inside enter be EVAL we EVAL
We went inside (the airport building).

Am occurs in verb phrase constructions with future marker tso/-wa

- (130) doi jíya nhama tatamtih am adik tsa
two day then there be we future
There we will be for two days.

- (131) i- paka -na nhama a- warah na- tom am wa
I- leave -DIR- then its- owner 3NP- at be future
I will leave (it) with its owner.

Am occurs with historical time marker tobowa

- (132) o paiko -ti ya -tu am tobowa tso
 other man -only afraid -NEG be historical=time closure
 One other man only was not afraid.

The unmarked order is am tobowa. However, in verb phrase constructions with ki 'prominence' (see section 18.6) or with dirim 'very much', am occurs in verb phrase-final position.

- (133) ihtakirakom komhu ki tobowa am
 otter lie PROM historical be
 The otter lied.

Am occurs as closure of direct speech in historical text.

- (134) ..., am tobowa kodakpaja
 ..., be historical vulture
 ..., said the vulture.

Further research on am remains to be done.

19. Adjective phrase structure

An adjective phrase consists of the adjective and optional modifiers which follow it. There are two types of adjective modifiers: intensifying adverbs and the superlative.

19.1. Intensifying adverbs.

Adjectives with an intensifying adverb can occur either in a noun phrase construction or a descriptive clause.

- (135) Anintam nok tihtam nhama a- wahara ...
 then angry very then her- husband ...
 Then her husband is very angry.

- (136) Pajaham nhama waik bak tihtam tso- pa -nim
 later then song good very we- sing -DIS
 Later then we sang very good songs.

- (137) wah nhanim tintam ki am
 lake big very PROM be
 It is a very big lake.

- (138) tomah tihtam nimbak anham tori am tso
 heavy very certainly/really that basket be closure
 That basket is certainly very heavy.

19.2. The superlative.

This modifier is the enclitic nimkanaham 'superlative'.

- (139) kodoh nimkanaham Dori anim
tall superlative name be
Dori is the tallest.
- (140) tiyam bak nimkanaham anim
this good superlative be
This (pointing) as the best. (tiyam is in focus here)

20. Adverb phrase structure

There are two types of adverb phrases: the adverb time phrase and the adverb location phrase.

20.1. The adverb time phrase occurs as a modified phrase or in the construction with enclitic particles nim...anim 'when'.

20.1.1 The modified adverb time phrase consists of an adverb of time optionally followed by another adverb as modifier. The adverb time phrase occurs in clause-initial or clause-final position.

- (141) bakna adu tso batih
well I closure now
I am well now (after being sick).
- (142) tiyahamtam nimbak dom -ma -na adik tsabo
tomorrow=early really fish -get -DIR we future
Tomorrow morning real early we will go fishing.

20.1.2 The adverb time phrase occurs also in a construction with enclitic particles -nim...anim 'when'.

The head adverb occurs in phrase initial position.

- (143) otiya -nim anim haihai -pa nhama adik
evening when when chant -sing then we
When it is evening we chant.

This construction can be expanded by embedding a noun phrase.

- (144) batih -nim wuni opurudak anim tukuna bauhnam tokak
now -when river dried=up when Indian field cut-underbrush
Now, in dry season, Indians cut the underbrush in their (new) fields.

20.2. The adverb location phrase consists of an adverb optionally followed by the postposition katu 'with'. The adverb location phrase occurs in sentence initial position

- (145) tatamtih katu nhama Tsamta Mariya wauk -na
there at then (name- of-place) arrive -DIR
There at Santa Maria we arrived then.

ABBREVIATIONS

3NP	3rd person noun phrase agreement	NOM	nominalizer
3NPPOS	3rd person noun phrase possessive	NP	noun phrase
DIR	direction	O	object
DIS	distributive aspect	POS	possessive
EVAL	evaluation	PROM	prominence
NEG	negative	REP	repetitive

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