



# **PAYA KUNA**

## **AN INTRODUCTORY GRAMMAR**

D. Keith Forster

**PAYA KUNA**  
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D. Keith Forster

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this grammar is to help any interested person learn to speak and understand Paya Kuna, which is spoken by the people of Paya, Pucuru, and Capetí in the Darién province of the Republic of Panama and in the Kuna settlements of Arquía and Kudi on the Colombian side of the border. This volume deals with some of the most basic characteristics of Kuna pronunciation and grammar, and it provides appendices on various topics and a fairly extensive Paya Kuna vocabulary. Many important characteristics are not discussed in this volume, but hopefully, after mastering these first twenty lessons the student will be equipped to continue self-directed language learning. The grammar was designed primarily for use in a classroom where the teacher is a native speaker of Kuna, but it also lends itself to learning Kuna in the informal situation of a Paya Kuna village. Each section is not meant to be covered in a single class period, but normally consists of a dialogue, pronunciation notes, notes on cultural etiquette, grammar aspects and exercises, and vocabulary items for memorization. Emphasis is put on learning by mimicking in chorus and alone until the speech patterns become automatic, thus, using a conversational approach to learning a language. An attempt is made throughout to not only explain and drill the forms discussed, but also to enable language students to know in which situational contexts their use is appropriate. An effort was also made to show the inseparability of the Kuna language from its socio-cultural context.

## THE PAYA KUNA ALPHABET

To simplify reference, Paya Kuna will be referred to as “Kuna.” For pedagogical purposes some modifications of the official Kuna alphabet have been employed in the spelling of Kuna words in the body of the text. In the vocabulary in Volume 3, if the official spelling differs from the practical one adopted for this grammar, it is given in square brackets.

### The Kuna sounds

<b>Kuna sound</b>	<b>Kuna example</b>		<b>Corresponding Spanish Sound</b>		<b>Similar English Sound</b>
a	achu	‘dog’	animal	‘animal’	ahh!
b	oba	‘corn’	oveja	‘sheep’	--
ch	machi	‘boy’	ocho	‘eight’	chain
chw	chwa	‘to fish’	tachuela	‘tack’	actual
d	nade	‘went’	todo	‘all’	this
dw	twadwa	‘raven’	Eduardo	‘Edward’	dwarf
e	ebe	‘to leave behind’	veo	‘I see’	late
g	tage	‘come!’	pagó	‘he/she paid’	--
gw	kollogwad	‘yellow’	agua	‘water’	language
i	ina	‘medicine’	igual	‘equal’	beet
j	ichejul	‘many’	ají	‘chili pepper’	hoot
k	nika	‘to have’	coco	‘coconut’	kick
kw	kwa	‘seed’	cuarto	‘room’	quack
l	moli	‘tapir’	alas	‘wave’	least
ll	alle	‘to laugh’	--	--	--
m	mimi	‘to divide’	mamá	‘mother’	meat
mm	mimmi	‘baby’	--	--	--
mw	mwimwi	‘owl’	muebles	‘furniture’	--
n	nana	‘mother’	naranja	‘orange’	nap
nn	inna	‘chicha’	--	--	--
o	ochi	‘sweet’	olvidar	‘to forget’	open
p	apa	‘boa’	--	--	pop
r	mara	‘thunder’	caro	‘expensive’	latter (Am.)
rr	arri	‘iguana’	carro	‘car’	--
s	sae	‘yesterday’	saber	‘to know’	swing
ss	kissi	‘sap of a tree’	--	--	--
t	atal	‘five’	arte	‘art’	atire
tw	twiskal	‘chest’	santuario	‘sanctuary’	tweet

u	<b>ue</b>	‘hot’	<b>uva</b>	‘grape’	<b>noodle</b>
w	<b>we</b>	‘that’	<b>huevo</b>	‘egg’	<b>wait</b>
y	<b>yala</b>	‘hill’	<b>llamar</b>	‘to call’	<b>yes</b>
zh	<b>azhu</b>	‘nose’	<b>yo (Argentinian)</b>	‘I’	<b>azure</b>



# 1 BASIC GREETINGS AND TAKING LEAVE

## 1.1 Dialogue

When you first encounter a Kuna speaker, it is important to establish rapport. The first step is the use of greetings and leave-takings appropriate to the occasion. One of the common formats for greeting and leave-taking is given in this Dialogue.

Upon arrival:

- |    |           |                    |  |
|----|-----------|--------------------|--|
| 1. | Visitor:  | Anná. <sup>1</sup> | ‘Hello.’   |
| 2. | Villager: | Mai./Chi.          | ‘I’m home (masculine)/I’m home (feminine).’ (see I.D.1.) |
| 3. | Visitor:  | An pe taktani.     | ‘I’ve come to see you.’                                  |
| 4. | Villager: | Ajáj. Toge.        | ‘Come in.’   |
| 5. | Visitor:  | Nabiri.            | ‘Okay.’  |
| 6. | Villager: | Chigwe.            | ‘Sit down.’  |
| 7. | Visitor:  | Nabiri.            | ‘Okay.’  |

Upon departure:

- |    |           |       |              |
|----|-----------|-------|--------------|
| 8. | Visitor:  | Nade. | ‘I’m going.’ |
| 9. | Villager: | Eye.  | ‘Yes’        |

## 1.2 Pronunciation

### 1.2.1 Intonation (Ex. 1–2)

In learning another language as an adult, you will have to break one set of habits and acquire a new set as required by the new language. One of the first is intonation, the “tune” of what is being said, since Kuna intonation differs from that of English or Spanish. Learning the intonation patterns is very important to your future control of the language. Learn them at the beginning so you do not have to unlearn wrong patterns later.

#### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher (not another student) as he says Dialogue 1.1 by humming the intonation patterns (“tune”).

**Note:** Humming the intonation patterns should be done **before any** attempt is made to master the individual (segmental) sounds.

Attention should be paid to pitch, intensity, rhythm, etc. In short, mimic everything you can say with your mouth still firmly shut! **Further practice** can be gained by mimicking the teacher under your breath, while he is working with other students. Do **not** mimic other students.

#### Exercise 2. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 1.1. Pronounce the individual sounds as best you can without 1) slowing down or, 2) losing the intonation pattern.

**Note:** If you have trouble with a particular sound, you should master the sound by using the drills designed specifically for the sound, not by trying to master it in the dialogue.

---

<sup>1</sup> Stress or accent is not normally written in Kuna, but is marked here on some words to help the beginning student.

### 1.2.2 Consonant pronunciation

The pronunciation of Kuna consonants is distinct from both English and Spanish. In English and Spanish, for example, the difference between **b** and **p**, **d** and **t**, and **g** and **k** is voicing. For example, contrast the two English words ‘bad’ and ‘pat’. Place a finger gently at your voice box (larynx) and say aloud the words ‘bad’ and ‘pat’ slowly. You will note that your voice box vibrates for all three sounds **b**, **a**, **d**, in the word ‘bad’. For the word ‘pat’ the voice box does not vibrate for the sounds **p** or **t**, but only for the sound **a**. That is to say, the vowel **a**, and the consonants **b** and **d** are voiced and, thus, contrast with **p** and **t**, which are **not** voiced (voiceless).

Now say the words ‘got’ and ‘cot’ with your finger on your larynx in the same manner as above. In this example, you will find that your voice box vibrates for **g** and **o**, but not for **c** or **t**. In other words, the English consonant **g** is voiced and the consonants **c/k** and **t** are voiceless.

In Kuna, however, the difference between the consonants **b** and **p**, **d** and **t**, and **g** and **k** is not voicing versus voicelessness, but rather a contrast between a gentle, relaxed way of holding the parts of the mouth which form the sounds versus a firm, tight way of doing so. Accordingly, consonants in Kuna are classified into two groups, **lenis** (relaxed) versus **fortis** (tight) consonants (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 for a more detailed description of fortis sounds).

Lenis consonants are written **b**, **d**, **g**, **n**, **zh**, **r**, **l**, **m**, and **s**.<sup>2</sup> Lenis consonants in Kuna are pronounced by keeping the lips and tongue **very** relaxed. Outsiders, especially English speakers, tend to pronounce lenis consonants with the lips, tongue, or glottis quite taut or tight. Sometimes an outsider’s vocal apparatus is so taut that the consonant produced is no longer lenis, and miscommunication may ensue.

### 1.2.3 Pronunciation of individual vowel and lenis consonant sounds

In order to speak Kuna fluently, it is important to be able to pronounce vowel and lenis consonant sounds well.

#### 1.2.3.1 Pronunciation of vowels

Kuna has five vowels, **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, and **u**. The pronunciation of the vowels is the same as the pronunciation of the vowels in Spanish. The sounds exist in English too.

#### Examples

Kuna		Spanish		English
1. nana	‘mother’	animal	‘animal’	ahh!
2. ege	‘to open’	veo	‘I see’	late
3. ina	‘medicine’	igual	‘equal’	beet
4. oba	‘corn’	olvidar	‘to forget’	open
5. ulu	‘canoe’	uva	‘grape’	noodle

#### 1.2.3.2 Pronunciation of the lenis consonants **b**, **d**, and **g**

As with all lenis consonants, **b**, **d** and **g** are pronounced in a very gentle way with the vocal apparatus very relaxed.

##### 1) The lenis consonant **b**

In Kuna, the **b** is very soft and gentle, similar to the Spanish **b**. It is formed by bringing the lips together in such a relaxed way and so gently that they barely touch, if indeed they touch at all. English speakers tend to make the sound **b** very hard when they see the written symbol or when they try to repeat a Kuna word. Practice saying a very relaxed **b** in the following exercise.

#### Exercise 3. Pronunciation of lenis **b** drill

The teacher says the word and the student repeats the word mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation. This exercise may be repeated several times.

<sup>2</sup> Labialized lenis consonants (**dw**, **gw**, **mw** and **zw**) are discussed in 4.2.3.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: oba
	Student: oba
1. oba	‘corn’
2. abi	‘only that (one)’
3. ebe	‘to leave behind’ <sup>3</sup>
4. ebu	‘to touch’
5. ibi	‘what?’
6. iba	‘day’
7. obe	‘to bathe’
8. obo	‘will bathe’
9. uba	‘brother-in-law’
10. abe	‘blood’

### 2) *The lenis consonant d*

In Kuna, the lenis consonant **d** is also pronounced in a very relaxed way. The tongue is held very gently and it barely touches, if indeed it touches at all, the back of the teeth in the pronunciation of **d**. The point of contact, i.e., the point of articulation, is similar to that of the sound **d** in Spanish. The English point of articulation is the ridge behind the teeth and consequently English speakers must practice two new techniques in pronouncing the Kuna sound **d**, the relaxed tongue, and the dental point of articulation.

Practice saying a very relaxed **d** in the following exercise.

#### **Exercise 4.** Pronunciation of lenis **d** drill

The teacher says the word and the student repeats the word, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation. This exercise may be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: nade
	Student: nade
1. nade	‘went’
2. ade	‘he/she/it/that’
3. ede	‘he himself’
4. odo	‘to put inside’
5. ado	‘(yes) that’s the one’

### 3) *The lenis consonant g*

In Kuna, the lenis consonant **g** is also pronounced in a very relaxed way; the tongue barely touches the velum, if it touches at all. Practice saying a very relaxed **g** in the following exercise. Spanish speakers must practice making **every g** relaxed.

#### **Exercise 5.** Pronunciation of lenis **g** drill

The teacher says the word and the student repeats it, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation. This exercise may be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: pega
	Student: pega
1. pega	‘to you’
2. aga	‘to him’
3. age	‘to vomit’
4. igi	‘how’

---

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this grammar uninflected verb forms are glossed as infinitives.



- |        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| 5. oge | ‘to light’        |
| 6. ogu | ‘to get ready’    |
| 7. uge | ‘to have a fever’ |

**Exercise 6.** Pronunciation of lenis **g** before vowels **e** and **i**

The teacher says the word and the student repeats it, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ege

Student: ege

- |          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| 1. ege   | ‘to open’         |
| 2. age   | ‘to vomit’        |
| 3. oge   | ‘to light’        |
| 4. ige   | ‘to forget’       |
| 5. uge   | ‘to have a fever’ |
| 6. ugin  | ‘in (the) nest’   |
| 7. igi   | ‘how?’            |
| 8. wegid | ‘that kind’       |

**1.2.3.3 Vowel length**

Now that you are hearing the gentle, relaxed way in which lenis consonants are pronounced, you will, with practice, begin to realize that the vowel preceding the lenis consonant tends to be held longer, or is more drawn out than other vowels. This drawing out of the vowel preceding a lenis consonant is called **vowel length**.

In syllables occurring after the stressed syllable, vowel length is not as noticeable as it is in the stressed or pre-stressed syllables.

In two and even three-syllable words, vowel length is easier to hear. In words of more than three syllables, vowel length is minimized to the point of non-existence due to the phenomenon of **word timing**, a characteristic of Kuna speech. The speaker attempts to complete the utterance of a word, whether it has two or eight syllables, in the same block of time so that short words are said rather slowly, while long, multi-syllable words are said very quickly. Thus, word timing allows for vowel length preceding lenis consonants in short two or three-syllable words, but words of four or more syllables are said so quickly that vowel length tends to disappear altogether.

The recognition of vowel length comes with practice and will be discussed again in 2.2.4. At this time, however, it will help you to pronounce words more correctly if you are aware of, and work toward, drawing out the vowels (lengthening them) before lenis consonants. In the following exercise, concentrate on vowel length preceding the lenis consonant.

**Exercise 7.** Vowel length before lenis consonants

The teacher says the word and the student repeats it, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation of the vowels. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: oba

Student: oba

- |         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| 1. oba  | ‘corn’                |
| 2. iba  | ‘day’                 |
| 3. uba  | ‘brother-in-law’      |
| 4. ege  | ‘to open’             |
| 5. aga  | ‘to him’              |
| 6. oge  | ‘to light (a candle)’ |
| 7. nade | ‘went’                |
| 8. odo  | ‘to put inside’       |

**Exercise 8.** Vowel length

The teacher says at random the words listed in Exercises 3 through 6, and the student repeats the words, mimicking as closely as possible both the lenis consonant and the vowel length.

**1.2.3.4 Pronunciation of the other lenis consonants n, zh, r, l and s**

The other lenis consonants **n, zh, r, l, m,** and **s** are also pronounced with a very relaxed vocal apparatus.

*1) The lenis consonant n*

In Kuna, the lenis consonant **n** is pronounced, as it is in Spanish, with the tongue at the back of the teeth. The position of the tongue in Kuna is different from the position used in the pronunciation of **n** in English. English speakers must practice the pronunciation of the Kuna **n**.

**Exercise 9.** Pronunciation of the lenis consonant **n**

The teacher says the words in the exercise and the student repeats them after the teacher, mimicking as well as possible the lenis consonant **n**.

**Example** Teacher: nana

Student: nana

1. nana 'mother'
2. nane 'to walk'
3. ono 'to find'
4. ina 'medicine'
5. nade 'went'

*2) The lenis consonant zh*

The lenis consonant **zh** is pronounced like the **z** in the English word 'azure', the **j** in the French name *Jacques* 'Jack', and the **y** of *yo* 'I' in Argentinian Spanish.

**Exercise 10.** Pronunciation of the lenis consonant **zh**

Look at each of the following words as the teacher reads them. Mimic the teacher by reading each word after him.

**Example** Teacher: azhu

Student: azhu

1. azhu 'nose'
2. azha 'dregs'
3. ezha 'machete'
4. ozhi 'pineapple'
5. izhe 'taboo'
6. izho 'to destroy'
7. nuzha 'egg'
8. nuzhu 'worm'
9. uzhu 'agouti'
10. mazhi 'plantains'

*3) The lenis consonant r*

The lenis consonant **r** in Kuna is pronounced like the single **r** in Spanish, as found in the word *caro* 'expensive'. This flapped **r** is similar to the way in which some English speakers pronounce the **tt** in 'matter' or 'latter'. The tongue very quickly and firmly touches the ridge behind the teeth.

In some dialects of English, the speaker drops or barely pronounces a lenis **r** occurring at the end of a word or syllable. The speakers of that English dialect need to pay particular attention to the pronunciation of lenis **r** when it occurs word or syllable final.

The lenis consonant **r** sometimes is pronounced without any voicing. This makes it sound something like an **l** to English or Spanish speakers. This **l** is called a voiceless flapped **l** (written **l**).

**Example**    **nabiri** or **nabili**                      ‘good/okay’

**Exercise 11.** Pronunciation of the lenis consonant **r**

The teacher says the words in the exercise and the student repeats them after the teacher, mimicking as closely as possible the lenis consonant **r**.

**Example**    Teacher: mara

Student: mara

1. mara            ‘thunder’
2. pure            ‘to wrap around’
3. turwa          ‘rubbish’
4. ira              ‘hira palm’
5. piri             ‘top of \_\_\_\_’
6. ire              ‘to recede’
7. yoroku        ‘noon’

**Exercise 12.** Pronunciation of word or syllable-final lenis **r**

The teacher says the words in the exercise and the student repeats them after the teacher, paying particular attention to pronounce correctly the lenis **r** at the end of the words or syllables.

**Example**    Teacher: tar

Student: tar

1. tar              ‘him’
2. tiur             ‘sabaletta (a species of fish)’
3. chamur        ‘intestines’
4. arki             ‘huacuco (a species of fish)’
5. purwa         ‘wind’
6. turwa         ‘rubbish’
7. chapur        ‘forest’

*4) The lenis consonants **l**, **m**, and **s***

In Kuna, the lenis consonant **m** is pronounced approximately as it is in English and Spanish. The position of the tongue in pronouncing **s** is more like English than Spanish; that is, the tip of the tongue is further back. On the other hand, the tongue tip touches the teeth in pronouncing **l** so that it is more like Spanish than English.

**Exercise 13.** Pronunciation of the lenis consonants **l**, **m**, and **s**

The teacher says the words in the exercise and the student repeats them after the teacher, mimicking as closely as possible the lenis consonants.

**Example**    Teacher: mola

Student: mola

1. mola            ‘cloth/blouse’
2. olo              ‘gold’
3. ome             ‘woman’
4. nana            ‘mother’

5. is            'star'  
6. aswe        'avocado'

### 1.2.3.1 Pronunciation of semivowels

Kuna has three semivowels, **j**, **w**, and **y**. A lengthened vowel precedes a semivowel.

#### 1) Pronunciation of semivowel **j**

The **j** in Kuna is pronounced the same as an **h** in English and as a **j** in some dialects of Spanish.

#### Exercise 14. Pronunciation of semivowel **j**

Mimic the teacher by reading each of the following words aloud after the teacher has said them. (Stress has been marked in certain cases to help the student.)

**Example**    Teacher: nejul

Student: nejul

1. nejul            'not going to go'
2. noja            'rose'
3. wiji            'to know'
4. weje            'that's enough'
5. jaj            '(marks rhetorical and challenging questions)'
6. ajáj            'agreement'
7. aje            'to there'
8. totójul        'big'
9. tikájul        'far'
10. ichéjul       'many'

#### 2) Pronunciation of semivowel **w**

The **w** in Kuna is pronounced the same as an English **w** or as the **hu** of *huevo* 'egg' in Spanish.

#### Exercise 15. Pronunciation of the semivowel **w**

The teacher says the following words and the student repeats each word after the teacher.

**Example**    Teacher: wal

Student: wal

1. wal            'pole/tobacco'
2. we            'that'
3. wini           'beads'
4. welwel        'toucan'
5. waga           'outsider'
6. wawadun     'bananas'
7. urwe          'angry'
8. ibiwa         'what's wrong'
9. aswe          'avocado'
10. chowal       'firewood'

#### 3) Pronunciation of the semivowel **y**

The semivowel **y** is pronounced the same as the English **y** in the word 'yes' or the same as the **ll** in the Spanish word *llamar* 'to call' in many dialects.

**Examples**

1. yala 'hill'
2. yarta 'to deceive'

**1.3 Culture****1.3.1 Visiting**

When you go visiting in a Kuna town, it is customary to call out at the door of the house and wait for an invitation before entering. The host or hostess will probably invite you to sit down. He/she will indicate where you are to sit (normally on a **kana** 'bench'). Visiting chiefs or male dignitaries may be invited to sit in (actually astride) a hammock. If you are not offered a seat, it means you are not welcome. You should make an attempt to either increase rapport or state your business right away, in spite of the cool reception. If you are accepted, you should exchange pleasantries before discussing business.

**1.4 Grammar****1.4.1 Mai versus chi**

In Paya Kuna<sup>4</sup> there is a distinction made in the term used to refer to the location or presence of a man, versus the location or presence of a woman. The term **mai** 'to be (here/there/at home)' is used by both men and women to refer to a man's presence, whereas the term **chi** 'to be (here/there/at home)' is used by both men and women to refer to the presence of a woman (see 6.4.1). Thus, if you are a man and are referring to your own presence, you always use the term **mai**. If, however, you are a woman referring to your own presence, you will always use the term **chi**.

**Examples**

1. Mai. '(I, a man) am (here/at home).'
2. Mai. '(He) is (here/at home).'
3. Chi. '(I, a woman) am (here/at home).'
4. Chi. '(She) is (here/at home).'

**1.4.2 Use of personal pronouns**

The first and second person personal pronouns **an** 'I/me (direct object)' and **pe** 'you' closely parallel the English use of personal pronouns.<sup>5</sup> The first and second person plural pronouns **annal** 'we/us (direct object)' and **pemal** 'you' also parallel English usage. The third person pronouns **ad** 'he/she/it' or 'him/her/it (direct object)' and **amal** 'they/them (direct object)' have a more restricted use than in English. In the case of the early language learning process, however, **ad** 'he/she/it' and **amal** 'they' may be used as a third person pronoun in many situations. (The pronouns are discussed more completely in 20.4.)

**Examples**

1. **An chi** 'I (a lady) am (here).'
2. **An mai**. 'I (a man) am (here).'
3. **An pe** taktani. 'I am coming to see you.'

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<sup>4</sup> This distinction does not exist in San Blas Kuna.

<sup>5</sup> The first person pronoun is actually **ann** (fortis nasal) or **anni**, but is written **an** wherever the shortened form occurs to conform to the spelling in general use.

**1.5 Vocabulary**

1. mai	'to be (here/at home with reference to a man)'
2. chi	'to be (here/at home with reference to a woman)'
3. an	'I/me'
4. pe	'you'
5. ad	'he/she/it' or 'him/her/it' (used in a restricted sense)
6. anmal	'we/us'
7. pemal	'you (plural)'
8. amal	'they/them'
9. anná	'Hello.' (visitor's greeting)
10. tog(e)	'to enter'
11. chigwe	'to sit down'
12. nade	'I am going'
13. eye	'yes'
14. chuli	'no'
15. nabiri	'good/fine/okay'

## 2 BASIC NEEDS EXPRESSED: FOOD AND SHELTER

### 2.1 Dialogue

Upon arrival in a Kuna village, an outsider usually has a need: food, shelter, a place to sleep. Ways for expressing it are illustrated in this dialogue.

- |              |                             |                                      |
|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Visitor:  | Anná.                       | ‘Hello!’                             |
| 2. Villager: | Ajáj. Ibi pei? <sup>6</sup> | ‘Okay. What do (you) want?’          |
| 3. Visitor:  | An sagla takpi.             | ‘I want to see the chief.’           |
| 4. Villager: | Ibiga?                      | ‘What for?’                          |
| 5. Visitor:  | An mas tubi.                | ‘I want to cook food.’               |
| 6. Villager: | Pe mas nika?                | ‘Do you have food?’                  |
| 7. Visitor:  | Chuli. An kallin pakpi.     | ‘No. I want to buy a chicken.’       |
| 8. Villager: | Nabiri. Nemalo.             | ‘Okay. Let’s go (to see the chief).’ |
| 9. Visitor:  | Nuedi.                      | ‘Good.’                              |

They leave together.

### 2.2 Pronunciation

#### 2.2.1 Intonation (Ex. 1–3)

Every time you say something, you say it with a “tune” (intonation). Basic intonation patterns for statements, questions, commands, etc., should be automatic. The patterns become automatic only as you spend time mimicking the Kuna speakers with whom you come in contact.

#### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

First mimic the teacher as he says Dialogue 2.1 by humming the “tune” (intonation patterns). **Practice makes perfect.** Mimic under your breath while the teacher works with other students.

#### Exercise 2. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 2.1, pronouncing the individual sounds as closely as possible without 1) slowing down, or 2) losing the intonation pattern.

#### Exercise 3. Intonation of ‘I want to \_\_\_\_.’

Mimic the teacher by humming the intonation of the following:

- |                     |                              |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. An mas kumpi.    | ‘I want to eat food.’        |
| 2. An mas pakpi.    | ‘I want to buy food.’        |
| 3. An mas ukpi.     | ‘I want to sell food.’       |
| 4. An mas tubi.     | ‘I want to cook food.’       |
| 5. An mas chubi.    | ‘I want to fetch food.’      |
| 6. An kallin pakpi. | ‘I want to buy a chicken.’   |
| 7. An nuzha pakpi.  | ‘I want to buy eggs.’        |
| 8. An mol pakpi.    | ‘I want to buy cloth/molás.’ |
| 9. An kachi pakpi.  | ‘I want to buy a hammock.’   |
| 10. An ogob pakpi.  | ‘I want to buy coconut(s).’  |

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<sup>6</sup> ei is pronounced like ay in ‘pay’ in English or as in ‘comisteis’ ‘you (plural) ate’ in Spanish.

### 2.2.2 Fortis consonants

In 1.2.2., the contrast between lenis consonants and fortis consonants was introduced. Fortis consonants in Kuna are written **p, t, k, ch, mm, nn, ss, ll, and rr.**<sup>7</sup>

### 2.2.3 Pronunciation of individual fortis consonant sounds (Ex. 4–8)

The parts of the vocal apparatus used in the pronunciation of fortis consonants are the same as those used for the lenis consonant counterparts. The difference in pronunciation lies in the fact that the vocal apparatus is kept very taut or tense in the pronunciation of fortis consonants. They are much stronger sounds than their lenis counterparts.

#### 2.2.3.1 Pronunciation of fortis consonants p, t, k, and ch

The fortis consonants **p, t, k,** and **ch** are said in such a way that it almost sounds as though there is a pause or hesitation before the following vowel.

##### 1) Pronunciation of the fortis consonant p

In Kuna, the fortis consonant **p** is a very strong, well-articulated, vigorous sound. The lips are held firmly together, and the **p** is said so strongly it almost “pops”. The **p** is still voiceless though, and is not aspirated (see discussion below on aspiration).

##### 2) Pronunciation of the fortis consonant t

The fortis consonant **t** is a very strong, well-articulated sound. The tongue is held firmly against the back of the teeth. The **t** sound is almost spit out, it is so vigorous, but it is not aspirated.

##### 3) Pronunciation of the fortis consonant k

The fortis consonant **k** is also a strong sound in which the tongue is held firmly against the velum; it is released very forcefully, but without aspiration.

##### 4) Unaspirated stops p, t, and k

The fact that the fortis consonants **p, t,** and **k** are unaspirated is a potential problem for English speakers. Aspiration is the little puff of air English speakers use in saying the consonants **p, t,** and **c/k** in such words as ‘par’ ‘tar’ and ‘car’. Aspiration of a consonant may be detected by dangling a thin piece of paper in front of the mouth as a word is said. The paper will flutter slightly if a puff of air was used in the pronunciation of the consonant, that is to say, if the consonant was aspirated. Generally the **t** in ‘star’ is unaspirated for English speakers. Spanish speakers do not aspirate the consonants **p, t,** or **k.**

#### Exercise 4. Pronunciation of unaspirated fortis consonants p, t, and k

The teacher repeats the following words. The student holds a thin piece of paper in front of his mouth and repeats each word after the teacher. The student is to practice saying the words without making the paper flutter. Now the teacher will repeat the words in groups of three, reading across the columns. The student, still holding the piece of paper in front of his mouth, will repeat the groups of three words after the teacher.

**Example 1** Teacher: paba

Student: paba

**Example 2** Teacher: paba      tada      kana

Student: paba      tada      kana

1. paba	‘father’	2. tada	‘elder’	3. kana	‘bench’
4. pebe	‘forehead’	5. tete	‘puppy’	6. kepe	‘first’
7. piti	‘which?’	8. tije	‘to the river’	9. kilu	‘uncle’
10. pone	‘going to cry’	11. toto	‘small’	12. kobe	‘to drink’
13. puna	‘girl’	14. tutu	‘soft’	15. kunne	‘going to eat’

<sup>7</sup> Labialized fortis consonants are discussed in 4.2.3.



### 5) Pronunciation of the fortis consonant **ch**

In Kuna, the fortis consonant **ch** is a very vigorous sound made by holding the tongue in approximately the same position as for **ch** in English or Spanish. The sound is like that of an English-speaking child making the sound of a very energetic steam engine, “CH-ch-ch-ch, CH-ch-ch-ch”.

#### **Exercise 5.** Pronunciation of the fortis consonants **p, t, k, and ch**

The teacher says the word and the student repeats it, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation.

**Example** Teacher: napa

Student: napa

1. napa ‘earth’
2. opas ‘crossed over (river)’
3. mata ‘lake’
4. iti ‘this’
5. kaka ‘mouth’
6. akan ‘axe’
7. acha ‘honey’
8. ochi ‘sweet’

### 2.2.3.2 Pronunciation of the fortis consonants **mm, nn, and ss**

The fortis consonants **mm, nn, and ss** are drawn out more, or held slightly longer than their lenis counterparts.

They are pronounced with very taut or tight vocal apparatus. The **mm** and **ss** use the same vocal apparatus as is used in the English **m** and **s**. Similarly to its lenis consonant counterpart, the **nn** is pronounced by placing the tongue tip at the back of the teeth rather than at the alveolar ridge as in English. As you learn to pronounce the fortis **mm, nn, and ss**, it might help to think in terms of your vocal apparatus getting “stuck” on the sound for an instant before it can complete the word.

#### **Exercise 6.** Pronunciation of the fortis consonants **mm, nn, and ss**

The teacher says the word and the student repeats it, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation.

**Example** Teacher: amma

Student: amma

1. amma ‘aunt’
2. mimmi ‘baby’
3. inna ‘chicha’
4. punnu ‘tail’
5. panne ‘hummingbird’
6. kissi ‘sap (of a tree)’

### 2.2.3.3 Pronunciation of the fortis consonant **ll**

The **ll** in Kuna is not pronounced as the **ll** of *calle* ‘street’ in Spanish. Rather, it is pronounced as a very firm, vigorous **l** in Spanish, i.e., the tongue tip touches the teeth. In pronouncing the **ll**, the sound is drawn out, or “stuck,” to the extent that there is almost a pause before the following vowel.

#### **Exercise 7.** Pronunciation of the fortis consonant **ll**

The teacher reads the list of words in the exercise and then reads each word again and the student repeats the word, mimicking as closely as possible the teacher’s pronunciation.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: alle
	Student: alle
1. alle	‘to laugh’
2. olli	‘mud’
3. melle	‘don’t’
4. ollo	‘empty’
5. kullu	‘ravine/hollow’

#### 2.2.3.4 Pronunciation of the fortis consonant **rr**

In Kuna, the fortis consonant **rr** never occurs at the beginning of words. Although **rr** occurs in Spanish in such words as *carro* ‘car’ and *perro* ‘dog’, it is not used in English, and is, therefore, difficult for the English speaker to master. He usually refers to it as a rolled or trilled **r**. The time an English speaker comes closest to saying **rr** is when he is cold and exclaims, “Br-r-r!”, or when he is imitating a diesel truck and says, “R-r-r-rum, r-r-r-rum!” It is best to practice saying **rr** in isolation first and then to practice saying it in words.

#### Exercise 8. Pronunciation of the fortis consonant **rr**

The teacher says a word from the list below and the student repeats it concentrating on rolling the **rr**.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: arri
	Student: arri
1. arri	‘iguana’
2. marra	‘guava/jungle ice cream (a species of fruit)’
3. irr-ir <sup>8</sup>	‘cricket’
4. arrad	‘blue’
5. orro	‘arrow’

#### 2.2.4 Vowel length (Ex. 9)

In 1.2.3.3, it is noted that in the case of a lenis consonant the vowel before it is drawn out, held, or lengthened. In the case of a fortis consonant, however, the vowel before it is not drawn out, that is, it is short. It is about the same as most English and Spanish vowels in normal speech. The vowel before a fortis consonant is always short, even if it is in a stressed syllable, or if it is in the syllable before a stressed syllable.

In order to know how long a vowel should be, train yourself to zero in on the following consonant. If the following consonant is a fortis consonant **p, t, k, ch, mm, nn, ss, ll, or rr**, the vowel will be short (that is to say a normal length). If the following consonant is a lenis consonant **b, d, g, zh, m, n, s, l, or r** or a semivowel **j, w, or y**, the vowel is lengthened.

#### Exercise 9. Pronunciation of short vowel preceding a fortis consonant.

The teacher reads aloud the list of words while the student reads along silently. The teacher then pronounces each word and the student repeats it after the teacher.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: apa
	Student: apa
1. apa	‘boa’
2. napa	‘earth’
3. achu	‘dog’
4. machi	‘boy’
5. iti	‘this’
6. mata	‘lake’

---

<sup>8</sup> Fortis consonants syllable and word final are written with a single symbol by convention.

7. nika	'have'
8. uko	'will give/sell'
9. olli	'mud'
10. alle	'laugh'
11. amma	'aunt'
12. mimmi	'baby'
13. kunne	'going to eat' (see 2.2.6)
14. panne	'hummingbird'
15. arri	'iguana'
16. marra	'guava/jungle ice cream (a species of fruit)'
17. kissi	'sap (of a tree)'

### 2.2.5 Distinguishing between fortis and lenis consonants (Ex. 10–27)

The distinction between fortis and lenis consonants in normal conversation is often difficult to hear. Two clues may help:

- The quality of the consonant  
Listen for the articulation of the consonant. Is it tense? The tense articulation indicates a fortis consonant. Is it relaxed? The relaxed articulation indicates a lenis consonant.
- The quality of the vowel  
Listen for the vowel length. Is the vowel clipped short? A short vowel accompanies a fortis consonant. Is the vowel drawn out? A lengthened vowel usually accompanies a lenis consonant.

#### Exercise 10. Distinguishing between lenis **b** and fortis **p**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **naba** or B: **napa** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

1. apa	'boa'	A: naba	'gourd'
2. tapa	'bushmaster'	B: napa	'earth'
3. tupu	'island'		
4. chapi	'tree'		
5. A or B			
6. epis	'to count'		

#### Exercise 11. Distinguishing between lenis **b** and fortis **p**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **naba** or B: **napa** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

1. abe	'blood'	A: naba	'gourd'
2. paba	'father'	B: napa	'earth'
3. tuba	'rope, thread'		
4. tubi	'want to cook'		
5. A or B			
6. chabe	'to keep/store'		

#### Exercise 12. Distinguishing between lenis **d** and fortis **t**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **madu** or B: **matu** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

1. nade	'went'	A: madu	'bread'
2. ede	'he himself'	B: matu	'palm trunk'
3. pedin	'you (on the other hand)'		

4. chedo 'late afternoon'
5. A or B
6. pude 'bottle'

**Exercise 13.** Distinguishing between lenis **d** and fortis **t**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **madu** or B: **matu** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |                 |         |              |
|-----------|-----------------|---------|--------------|
| 1. ata    | 'to respect'    | A: madu | 'bread'      |
| 2. mata   | 'lake'          | B: matu | 'palm trunk' |
| 3. mete   | 'to throw away' |         |              |
| 4. iti    | 'this'          |         |              |
| 5. A or B |                 |         |              |
| 6. utu    | 'to inject'     |         |              |

**Exercise 14.** Distinguishing between lenis **g** and fortis **k**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **naga** or B: **naka** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |                  |         |                  |
|-----------|------------------|---------|------------------|
| 1. chaka  | 'parent-in-law'  | A: naga | 'foot'           |
| 2. iko    | 'thorn/needle'   | B: naka | 'mouth of river' |
| 3. nika   | 'to have'        |         |                  |
| 4. uko    | 'will sell/give' |         |                  |
| 5. A or B |                  |         |                  |
| 6. akan   | 'axe'            |         |                  |

**Exercise 15.** Distinguishing between lenis **g** and fortis **k**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **tage** or B: **take** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |            |         |           |
|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| 1. naga   | 'foot'     | A: tage | 'to come' |
| 2. nega   | 'house'    | B: take | 'to see'  |
| 3. chiga  | 'beard'    |         |           |
| 4. choge  | 'to say'   |         |           |
| 5. A or B |            |         |           |
| 6. mage   | 'to paint' |         |           |

**Exercise 16.** Distinguishing between lenis **zh** and fortis **ch**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **achu** or B: **azhu** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |           |         |        |
|-----------|-----------|---------|--------|
| 1. machi  | 'boy'     | A: achu | 'dog'  |
| 2. ochi   | 'sweet'   | B: azhu | 'nose' |
| 3. kucha  | 'ate'     |         |        |
| 4. acha   | 'honey'   |         |        |
| 5. A or B |           |         |        |
| 6. kachi  | 'hammock' |         |        |

**Exercise 17.** Distinguishing between lenis **zh** and fortis **ch**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **nuchu** or B: **nuzhu** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |              |          |         |
|-----------|--------------|----------|---------|
| 1. mazhi  | 'platano'    | A: nuchu | 'child' |
| 2. ozhi   | 'pineapple'  | B: nuzhu | 'worm'  |
| 3. nazhi  | 'claw'       |          |         |
| 4. izhe   | 'taboo'      |          |         |
| 5. A or B |              |          |         |
| 6. chuzhu | 'little boy' |          |         |

**Exercise 18.** Distinguishing between lenis **zh** and fortis **ch**

The teacher chooses a word at random from the list below and says it. The student must say whether the consonant in the middle of the word is fortis (strong) or lenis (soft).

**Example** Teacher: achu  
Student: fortis

- |            |           |            |              |
|------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| 1. achu    | 'dog'     | 2. azhu    | 'nose'       |
| 3. ochi    | 'sweet'   | 4. ozhi    | 'pineapple'  |
| 5. machi   | 'boy'     | 6. mazhi   | 'plantains'  |
| 7. nuchu   | 'child'   | 8. nuzhu   | 'worm'       |
| 9. acha    | 'honey'   | 10. azha   | 'dregs'      |
| 11. iche   | 'few'     | 12. izhe   | 'taboo'      |
| 13. pichis | 'broken'  | 14. tazhi  | 'opossum'    |
| 15. kachi  | 'hammock' | 16. ezha   | 'machete'    |
| 17. chuchu | 'ear'     | 18. chuzhu | 'little boy' |
| 19. wachi  | 'watch'   | 20. nazhi  | 'claw'       |

**Exercise 19.** Distinguishing between lenis **m** and fortis **mm**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **mimi** or B: **mimmi** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |          |          |             |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------------|
| 1. amma   | 'aunt'   | A: mimi  | 'to divide' |
| 2. kammu  | 'flute'  | B: mimmi | 'baby'      |
| 3. kamme  | 'paddle' |          |             |
| 4. imme   | 'full'   |          |             |
| 5. A or B |          |          |             |
| 6. immis  | 'today'  |          |             |

**Exercise 20.** Distinguishing between lenis **m** and fortis **mm**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **mimi** or B: **mimmi** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |                         |          |             |
|-----------|-------------------------|----------|-------------|
| 1. ome    | 'woman'                 | A: mimi  | 'to divide' |
| 2. mam    | 'manioc'                | B: mimmi | 'baby'      |
| 3. nama   | 'to sing'               |          |             |
| 4. omo    | 'to arrive (elsewhere)' |          |             |
| 5. A or B |                         |          |             |
| 6. emi    | 'to clear'              |          |             |

**Exercise 21.** Distinguishing between lenis **n** and fortis **nn**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **ina** or B: **inna** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |          |           |         |            |
|----------|-----------|---------|------------|
| 1. yannu | 'peccary' | A: ina  | 'medicine' |
| 2. punnu | 'tail'    | B: inna | 'chicha'   |

- |           |               |
|-----------|---------------|
| 3. kunnu  | 'rubber'      |
| 4. panne  | 'hummingbird' |
| 5. A or B |               |
| 6. chunna | 'true'        |

**Exercise 22.** Distinguishing between lenis **n** and fortis **nn**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **pane** or B: **panne** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |                  |          |               |
|-----------|------------------|----------|---------------|
| 1. nana   | 'mother'         | A: pane  | 'tomorrow'    |
| 2. nono   | 'head'           | B: panne | 'hummingbird' |
| 3. nunu   | 'rotten'         |          |               |
| 4. noni   | 'arrived (here)' |          |               |
| 5. A or B |                  |          |               |
| 6. kana   | 'bench'          |          |               |

**Exercise 23.** Identification of fortis and lenis nasals **m**, **mm** and **n**, **nn**

The teacher dictates a random listing of the words below and the student is to write down whether the nasal consonant in the middle of the word is fortis or lenis.

- |                |                   |           |                        |  |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------|------------------------|--|
| <b>Example</b> | Teacher (says):   | ome       |                        |  |
|                | Student (writes): | lenis     |                        |  |
| 1. amma        | 'aunt'            | 2. mama   | 'manioc'               |  |
| 3. mimmi       | 'baby'            | 4. mimi   | 'to divide'            |  |
| 5. kamme       | 'paddle'          | 6. ome    | 'woman'                |  |
| 7. kummake     | 'to burn'         | 8. namake | 'to sing'              |  |
| 9. tummad      | 'big'             | 10. mami  | 'to lie down (plural)' |  |
| 11. yannu      | 'peccary'         | 12. nana  | 'mother'               |  |
| 13. punnu      | 'tail'            | 14. punu  | 'daughter'             |  |
| 15. kunnu      | 'rubber'          | 16. nunu  | 'rotten'               |  |
| 17. inna       | 'chicha'          | 18. ina   | 'medicine'             |  |
| 19. kannan     | 'again'           | 20. kana  | 'bench'                |  |

**Exercise 24.** Distinguishing between lenis **l** and fortis **ll**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **olo** or B: **ollo** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |              |         |         |
|-----------|--------------|---------|---------|
| 1. kollo  | 'ripe'       | A: olo  | 'gold'  |
| 2. pilli  | 'cross-beam' | B: ollo | 'empty' |
| 3. kullu  | 'hollow'     |         |         |
| 4. alle   | 'to laugh'   |         |         |
| 5. A or B |              |         |         |
| 6. olli   | 'mud'        |         |         |

**Exercise 25.** Distinguishing between lenis **l** and fortis **ll**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **kolo** or B: **kollo** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |          |            |          |             |
|----------|------------|----------|-------------|
| 1. tola  | 'catfish'  | A: kolo  | 'will call' |
| 2. eli   | 'to clean' | B: kollo | 'ripe'      |
| 3. kwili | 'parakeet' |          |             |
| 4. moli  | 'tapir'    |          |             |

5. A or B
6. mola 'cloth'

### Exercise 26. Distinguishing between lenis **r** and fortis **rr**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **mara** or B: **marra** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |          |          |   |
|-----------|----------|----------|---|
| 1. morro  | 'turtle' | A: mara  | 'thunder'                                     |
| 2. purru  | 'dust'   | B: marra | 'guava/jungle ice cream (a species of fruit)' |
| 3. arri   | 'iguana' |          |   |
| 4. arrad  | 'blue'   |          |   |
| 5. A or B |          |          |   |
| 6. orro   | 'arrow'  |          |   |

### Exercise 27. Distinguishing between lenis **r** and fortis **rr**

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **puru** or B: **purru** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted.

- |           |                 |          |                    |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|--------------------|
| 1. ire    | 'to recede'     | A: puru  | 'to spin (cotton)' |
| 2. piri   | 'top of ____'   | B: purru | 'dust'             |
| 3. mara   | 'thunder'       |          |                    |
| 4. mure   | '(tide) rises'  |          |                    |
| 5. A or B |                 |          |                    |
| 6. amuru  | 'dirty (water)' |          |                    |

#### 2.2.6 Consonant clusters (Ex. 28)

A consonant cluster in Kuna is a group of two consonants, usually different, occurring next to each other. Although **ch**, **chw**, **dw**, **gw**, **kw**, **ll**, **mm**, **mw**, **nn**, **rr**, **ss**, **sw**, **tw**, **zh**, and **zhw** are written as two or three consonants, they each represent a single sound and, consequently, are not referred to as consonant clusters.

In Paya Kuna, a consonant cluster is either lenis or fortis. If the first consonant of the cluster is lenis, the second is also lenis. If the first consonant is fortis, the second is also fortis. Consequently, most suffixes have both fortis and lenis forms.

#### Examples

1. **mak** + **-bi/-pi** = **makpi** 'want to sew'  
**but**
2. **tig** + **-bi/-pi** = **tigbi** 'want to plant'

In the case of a consonant cluster which includes **ll**, **mm**, **nn**, **rr**, or **ss**, these fortis consonants are written with single rather than double letters. The accompanying fortis consonant indicates the **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**, or **s** to be a fortis sound. However, in the case of a stem-final fortis **nn** followed by a suffix initial **n** as in **-ne** 'immediate future' the normal pronunciation is the same as for a single fortis **nn**. Thus, **kunne** may mean 'going to eat' (**kunn(e)** 'to eat' + **-ne** 'immediate future') or 'to eat'. The context is usually adequate for determining which of the two meanings is intended.

**Example 1** pinche 'for nothing/in vain'

The fortis consonant **ch** indicates to the reader that the **n** is actually the fortis consonant **nn** and that the vowel is short.

**Example 2** pinzhe 'to think'

The lenis consonant **zh** indicates to the reader that the **n** is indeed the lenis consonant **n** and that the vowel is long.

**Exercise 28.** Pronunciation of lenis and fortis consonant clusters

The teacher reads the following list of words aloud as the student reads the list silently. The teacher then reads each word separately and the student mimics the teacher aloud, giving special attention to the lenis and fortis consonant clusters and to the preceding vowels.

**Example**     Teacher: pinche  
                   Student: pinche

- |            |                  |
|------------|------------------|
| 1. pinche  | ‘for nothing’    |
| 2. pinzhe  | ‘to think’       |
| 3. kumpi   | ‘to want to eat’ |
| 4. ambe    | ‘ten’            |
| 5. ampe    | ‘sister-in-law’  |
| 6. tampe   | ‘cold (people)’  |
| 7. mambak  | ‘with manioc’    |
| 8. ampak   | ‘with me’        |
| 9. anbak   | ‘with a branch’  |
| 10. nanbak | ‘with mother’    |

**2.3 Culture**

When you arrive in a Kuna village, you should ask to see the chief before you conduct **any** business. If the chief is out of town, there is a designated replacement who should be seen. The chief should be:

1. told who you are.
2. told the purpose of your visit.
3. told whether you are there to represent your own business or the affairs of another.
4. told who sent you. (Any letter of introduction should be shown.)
5. told of any needs you have which the village can supply (housing, guides, etc.).
6. asked for permission before you carry on any negotiations in the village.

In response to the above, the chief will designate people to help you or will advise you that you are at liberty to negotiate on your own. If something requires community approval, the chief will call a meeting. He will advise you of the decisions taken at the meeting.

**2.4 Grammar****2.4.1 Word order (Ex. 29–30)**

Most languages allow for some variation in the normal word order for specific reasons. In Kuna, the normal word order is different from Spanish or English. Normal word order in the transitive sentence is subject, object, predicate.

**Example**

Subject	Object	Predicate
An	ogob	kumpi.
I	coconut	eat-want-to
‘I want to eat coconut.’		

**Exercise 29.** Word order -- object substitution drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it. The teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.



**Examples** Teacher: An kallin pakpi.  
 Student: An kallin pakpi.  
 Teacher: An nuzha pakpi.  
 Student: An nuzha pakpi.

- |                     |                             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. An kallin pakpi. | ‘I want to buy a chicken.’  |
| 2. An nuzha pakpi.  | ‘I want to buy eggs.’       |
| 3. An mol pakpi.    | ‘I want to buy cloth.’      |
| 4. An kachi pakpi.  | ‘I want to buy a hammock.’  |
| 5. An ogob pakpi.   | ‘I want to buy coconuts.’   |
| 6. An mas kumpi.    | ‘I want to eat plantains.’  |
| 7. An ua kumpi.     | ‘I want to eat fish.’       |
| 8. An chan kumpi.   | ‘I want to eat meat.’       |
| 9. An mam kumpi.    | ‘I want to eat manioc.’     |
| 10. An aswe kumpi.  | ‘I want to eat an avocado.’ |

**Note 1:** Phonological Changes

In forming words, it is important to realize that if certain consonants occur before certain other consonants, the first consonant changes: **n** (**nn**: see section 2.2.6) becomes **m** if it occurs before **p**.

**Example** **kun + -pi = kumpi** ‘want to eat’

**Note 2:** Concept of Plural

In Spanish and English, in most cases, the speaker **must** distinguish between singular and plural, e.g., the speaker **must** choose between **boy** and **boys**, **egg** and **eggs**, etc. In Kuna, this is not so. The speaker does not **need** to distinguish (and generally does not distinguish) between singular and plural. The concept of plural and the means of distinguishing plural from singular is dealt with in Lesson 13.4.3.

**Exercise 30.** Direct object substitution drill

The teacher repeats the frame and then says any word from the list below. The student then substitutes the word in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: An kallin pakpi.  
 Teacher: mola  
 Student: An mola pakpi.  
 Teacher: An mola pakpi.  
 Teacher: ogob  
 Student: An ogob pakpi.

- Frame** An \_\_\_\_ pakpi. ‘I want to buy \_\_\_\_.’
- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. kallin  | ‘chicken’ |
| 2. nuzha   | ‘egg’     |
| 3. padu    | ‘duck’    |
| 4. chin    | ‘pig’     |
| 5. mam     | ‘manioc’  |
| 6. ogob    | ‘coconut’ |
| 7. aswe    | ‘avocado’ |
| 8. wawadun | ‘bananas’ |
| 9. mol     | ‘cloth’   |
| 10. kachi  | ‘hammock’ |
| 11. win    | ‘beads’   |
| 12. tub    | ‘thread’  |

### 2.4.2 Desiderative (Ex. 31–35)

Desires can be divided into two areas. One either wants to **do** something (desiderative action) or wants to **have** something (desiderative state).

#### 2.4.2.1 Desiderative action

In Kuna, the desire to **do** something is expressed by adding the suffix **-bi/-pi** to the verb.

**An** + (noun)<sup>9</sup> + **verb** + **-bi/-pi** ‘I want to \_\_\_\_.’

#### Example

An	ogob	kumpi.
I	coconut	eat-want-to
‘I want to eat coconuts.’		

#### Exercise 31. Desiderative action frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it. The teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: An ogob kumpi.  
 Student: An ogob kumpi.  
 Teacher: An ogob tigbi.  
 Student: An ogob tigbi.

- |                    |                              |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. An ogob kumpi.  | ‘I want to eat a coconut.’   |
| 2. An ogob tigbi.  | ‘I want to plant a coconut.’ |
| 3. An ogob chubi.  | ‘I want to fetch a coconut.’ |
| 4. An ogob chikpi. | ‘I want to cut a coconut.’   |
| 5. An ogob pakpi.  | ‘I want to buy a coconut.’   |

#### Exercise 32. Desiderative action substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and then selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word given for the verb in the frame.

**Examples** Teacher: An mol pakpi.  
 Teacher: mak  
 Student: An mol makpi.  
 Teacher: An mol makpi.  
 Teacher: chik  
 Student: An mol chikpi.

**Frame** An mol \_\_\_\_ + -bi/-pi. ‘I want to \_\_\_\_ a blouse.’

1. pak	‘to buy’
2. uk	‘to sell’
3. chu	‘to fetch, to choose’
4. mak	‘to sew’
5. chik	‘to cut out’
6. yo	‘to put on’
7. echu	‘to take off’
8. chabo	‘to put away’

<sup>9</sup> Here and elsewhere, parentheses indicate that an element such as noun or subject or a sound, e.g., **e** in **kunn(e)** is optional or that it is omitted under certain circumstances.

9. enuk 'to wash'  
10. pipis 'to fold'

**Exercise 33.** Desiderative action, varied substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and then selects a word from the list below which can be substituted in the object or verb position of the frame and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the correct place in the frame. Random choice of a noun or a verb by the teacher is important.

**Examples** Teacher: An ogob pakpi.  
Teacher: ua  
Student: An ua pakpi.  
Teacher: An ua pakpi.  
Teacher: kun  
Student: An ua kumpi.

<b>Frame</b>	An ogob pakpi.	'I want to buy a coconut.'
1. ogob	'coconut'	
2. kallin	'chicken'	
3. ua	'fish'	
4. arri	'iguana'	
5. aswe	'avocado'	
6. pak	'to buy'	
7. chik	'to cut'	
8. chu	'to fetch'	
9. kun	'to eat'	
10. tu	'to cook'	

**2.4.2.2 Desiderative state**

In Kuna, the desire to **have** something is expressed by the verb **pei** 'to want'.

**Example**

An	ogob	pei.
I	coconut	want
'I want a coconut.'		

**Exercise 34.** Desiderative state frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it. The teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: An ogob pei.  
Student: An ogob pei.  
Teacher: An tulub pei.  
Student: An tulub pei.

1. An ogob pei. 'I want coconuts.'
2. An tulub pei. 'I want lobsters.'
3. An ti pei. 'I want water.'
4. An mani pei. 'I want money.'
5. An wawadun pei. 'I want bananas.'

**Exercise 35.** Desiderative state substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the object position of the frame.

**Examples** Teacher: An mol pei.

Teacher: nuzha

Student: An nuzha pei.

Teacher: An nuzha pei.

Teacher: ti

Student: An ti pei.

<b>Frame</b>	An mol pei.	'I want a blouse/cloth.'
1. ti		'water'
2. nuzha		'egg'
3. chin		'pig'
4. kallin		'chicken'
5. mam		'manioc'
6. ogob		'coconut'
7. aswe		'avocado'
8. wawadun		'banana'
9. mol		'cloth'
10. kachi		'hammock'
11. win		'beads'
12. tub		'thread'

## 2.5 Vocabulary

Memorize the following words.

1. mas	'food/plantain'
2. ogob	'coconut'
3. ua	'fish'
4. ti	'water'
5. madun	'plantain chicha'
6. kallin	'chicken'
7. nuzha	'egg'
8. mol	'cloth/blouse'
9. arri	'iguana'
10. aswe	'avocado'
11. kun	'to eat'
12. kob	'to drink'
13. pak	'to buy'
14. chik	'to cut'
15. tig	'to plant'
16. tu	'to cook'
17. chu	'to fetch'
18. pei	'to want/desire to have'

## 3 CONVERSATIONAL REPLIES

### 3.1 Dialogue

The following dialogue will help you to be able to have a simple conversation with people. It introduces some of the basic replies you can use to keep a simple conversation going.

- |     |           |                          |                                    |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1.  | Visitor:  | ¿Ig oipos? <sup>10</sup> | ‘How are you this morning?’        |
| 2.  | Villager: | Ampala. ¿Pedin?          | ‘So-so (the same), and you?’       |
| 3.  | Visitor:  | Nued. ¿Pe ne?            | ‘Good. Are you going (somewhere)?’ |
| 4.  | Villager: | Eye. Immis.              | ‘Yes, right away.’                 |
| 5.  | Visitor:  | ¿Pe mas chikne?          | ‘Are you going to cut plantains?’  |
| 6.  | Villager: | Eye. ¿Pedin?             | ‘Yes, and you?’                    |
| 7.  | Visitor:  | Chuli. An sagla takne    | ‘No, I’m going to see the chief.’  |
| 8.  | Villager: | ¿Ibiga?                  | ‘What for?’                        |
| 9.  | Visitor:  | An itojul.               | ‘I didn’t hear/understand.’        |
| 10. | Villager: | Akalchul.                | ‘Never mind.’                      |
| 11. | Visitor:  | Nabirdo. An negwelo.     | ‘Okay then, I’m going for awhile.’ |
| 12. | Villager: | Ajáj.                    | ‘Okay.’                            |

### 3.2 Pronunciation

#### 3.2.1 Intonation (Ex. 1–2)

As you learn to speak Kuna, it is important that you learn to mimic the intonation of a Kuna speaker. The correct intonation pattern becomes automatic as you spend time with Kuna people, listening for the way they say sentences and trying to mimic them. Do the following exercises, listening carefully to the intonation patterns of the questions and answers, and mimicking the intonation as closely as possible.

#### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher as he says Dialogue 3.1 by humming the intonation. Especially concentrate on the intonation patterns of the questions and answers.

**Overlearn:** Mimic under your breath while the teacher works with other students.

#### Exercise 2. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in the above dialogue, formulating the individual sounds as closely as possible without 1) slowing down, or 2) losing the intonation pattern.

#### 3.2.2 Pronunciation of consonant cluster with lenis consonant **g** or fortis consonant **k** before nasals **m** and **n** (Ex. 3)

The nasals **m** and **n** following a lenis consonant **g** do **not** change the quality of the **g**. The **g** is still said in a relaxed, soft manner and the preceding vowel is lengthened.

**Examples**    chig + **-ne** = chigne            ‘going to sit’  
                  tig + **-mal** = tigmal            ‘(they) plant’

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<sup>10</sup> **oi** is pronounced like **oy** in ‘boy’ in English or like ‘hoy’ ‘today’ in Spanish. **Igi** ‘how’ is contracted to **ig** in this greeting.

The nasals **m** and **n** following a fortis consonant **k**, however, **change** the quality of the **k**. The **k** remains a fortis sound but is pronounced as a hard **g** sound. The hard **g** sound is used in the English word ‘bigness’ and in the Spanish word *gorra* ‘cap’. In the case of a consonant cluster of **k** before nasals **m** and **n**, the vowel preceding the cluster is short. In this way the identity of the fortis **k** is clarified.

**Examples**    **chik** + **-ne** = **chikne**            ‘going to cut’  
                   **pak** + **-mal** = **pakmal**            ‘(they) buy’

### **Exercise 3.** Pronunciation of consonant cluster lenis **g** or fortis **k** and nasals **m** or **n**

The teacher reads through the list of words aloud while the student reads the words silently. The teacher reads each word and the student mimics the teacher, being careful to pronounce as closely as possible the lenis **g** and fortis **k** before the nasals **m** and **n**.

**Example**    Teacher: **chikne**  
                   Student: **chikne**

1. **chikne**                    ‘going to cut’
2. **chigne**                    ‘going to sit down’
3. **makne**                    ‘going to sew’
4. **magne**                    ‘going to paint’
5. **chikmal**                    ‘(they) cut’
6. **chigmal**                    ‘(they) sit (down)’
7. **makmal**                    ‘(they) sew’
8. **magmal**                    ‘(they) paint’

### **3.2.3 Intonation patterns of questions and answers (Ex. 4–10)**

In Kuna, questions and answers have different intonation patterns.

#### **3.4.2.2 Intonation pattern of answers**

As you get into the Kuna language and people try to get to know you, you will find that your early conversations are primarily question and answer interactions. Both the questions and the answers in Kuna have specific intonation patterns. For the purpose of these lessons, consider the normal pitch to be that of a statement.

#### **Exercise 4.** Answer intonation drill

The teacher says Dialogue 3.1 and the student reads the dialogue, humming the intonation quietly as the teacher reads aloud. Pay special attention to the intonation and pitch of the answers.

#### **3.2.3.2 Intonation pattern of questions**

A question has a different intonation pattern from a statement. The actual order of words in a question which requires a yes/no answer is the same order as for a statement. Because the word order does not vary, it is important that you learn the intonation patterns for questions versus statements in order to distinguish a question from an answer.

In Kuna, the pitch at which the question is said is higher than the pitch of a statement. The last word of a question is even higher pitch than the rest of the question and then the pitch of that word falls off quickly.

#### **Exercise 5.** Yes/no question intonation drill

Mimic the intonation of the teacher by humming the the intonation of the following questions.

1. *¿Pe mas chikne?*                    ‘Are you going to cut plantains?’
2. *¿Pe mol pakne?*                    ‘Are you going to buy cloth?’
3. *¿Pe ogob tigne?*                    ‘Are you going to plant the coconut?’
4. *¿Pe ua tune?*                    ‘Are you going to cook the fish?’
5. *¿Machi ob kunne?*                    ‘Is the boy going to eat the corn?’
6. *¿Machi chowal chikne?*                    ‘Is the boy going to cut the firewood?’

**Exercise 6. Yes/No question intonation pattern drill**

The teacher drills the class using Sentences 1–5 below as yes/no questions.

**Example** Teacher: *ɿ*Machi ob kunne?

Student: *ɿ*Machi ob kunne?

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>ɿ</i> Machi ob kunne?    | ‘Is the boy going to eat corn?’           |
| 2. <i>ɿ</i> Machi mas chikne?  | ‘Is the boy going to cut plantains?’      |
| 3. <i>ɿ</i> Machi immal amine? | ‘Is the boy going to hunt (something)?’   |
| 4. <i>ɿ</i> Machi ina komne?   | ‘Is the boy going to drink the medicine?’ |
| 5. <i>ɿ</i> Machi ul chune?    | ‘Is the boy going to fetch the canoe?’    |

**Note:** The lenis consonant **b** becomes **m** when it occurs before **n**

**Example** **kob** + **-ne** = **komne** ‘going to drink’

**Exercise 7. Statement intonation pattern drill**

The teacher drills the students using Sentences 1–5 below as statements.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ob kunne.

Student: Machi ob kunne.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Machi ob kunne.    | ‘The boy is going to eat corn.’           |
| 2. Machi mas chikne.  | ‘The boy is going to cut plantains.’      |
| 3. Machi immal amine. | ‘The boy is going to hunt (something).’   |
| 4. Machi ina komne.   | ‘The boy is going to drink the medicine.’ |
| 5. Machi ul chune.    | ‘The boy is going to fetch the canoe.’    |

**Exercise 8. Question and statement contrast**

The teacher says one of the sentences above. The student has to identify whether the teacher has uttered a question or a statement and writes “question” or “statement” on his answer sheet.

**Examples** Teacher (says): *ɿ*Machi immal amine?

Student (writes): question

Teacher (says): Machi mas chikne.

Student (writes): statement

If difficulty is experienced by the student in hearing the differences in the exercise, then the student should practice Exercise 9.

**Exercise 9. Question and statement contrast**

The student should listen while the teacher repeats Sentences 1–5 in Exercise 6 above. The teacher then inserts the following sentence between Sentences 4 and 5 as a statement (A) or as a question (B). The student has to tell the teacher which has been used -- a question or a statement. The exercise should be repeated several times.

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A. Machi ua makne.          | ‘The boy is going to spear fish.’ |
| B. <i>ɿ</i> Machi ua makne? | ‘Is the boy going to spear fish?’ |

**Exercise 10. Question and statement contrast**

Repeat Exercise 9 using the statements in Exercise 7. Again, the student needs to distinguish whether the statement (A) or the question (B) has been inserted.

**Note:** After Exercises 9 and 10 are successfully completed, Exercise 8 should be repeated.

**3.2.4 Pronunciation of consonants at the beginning of a word**

At the beginning of a word, the difference between fortis and lenis disappears. For convenience we have written the consonants as **p, t, k, ch, m, n, l,** and **s**.

**Examples**

1. **paba** 'father'
2. **tada** 'grandfather/elder'
3. **kobe** 'to drink'
4. **chobe** 'to make'
5. **sagla** 'chief'
6. **mama** 'manioc'
7. **nana** 'mother'
8. **lele** 'shaman (uses black magic)'

**Note:** The lenis consonant **r** does not occur at the beginning of words.

**3.2.5 Pronunciation of monosyllabic words (Ex. 11)**

Monosyllabic words are words which have only one syllable. Kuna words which are made up of only one vowel and one consonant, or of only one vowel are pronounced by lengthening the vowel. When such monosyllabic words are said in isolation or at the end of a sentence, the tone slides down (down glides).

**Examples**

1. **ti** 'water'
2. **an** 'branch'
3. **u** 'nest'

**Exercise 11. Pronunciation of monosyllabic words**

The teacher says a word from the list below, and the student repeats the word after the teacher, mimicking as closely as possible the down glide in these monosyllabic words.

**Example** Teacher: ti

Student: ti

1. **ti** 'water'
2. **no** 'frog'
3. **ka** 'hot peppers'
4. **pe** 'you'
5. **ku** 'louse'
6. **ma** 'to peck'
7. **ne** 'Go!'
8. **ni** 'moon'
9. **po** 'to cry'
10. **tu** '(species of) armadillo'
11. **a** 'that'
12. **e** 'his/her/its'
13. **u** 'nest'

**3.3 Culture**

When people first meet, there is usually an exchange of questions which helps the people become acquainted. Cultures differ as to the questions which may be politely asked in such a situation.

Questions about where you have come from and where you are going are quite acceptable in Kuna. The question, "When are you leaving?" is also often asked. That question does not have the same negative connotation it does in English, but rather implies the idea of, "How long are you staying?" Questions concerning your parents, brothers and sisters, and wife/husband and children are bound to follow.



In Kuna, it is quite acceptable to ask the price of items bought. If the item was a gift there is no need to disclose the value.

Great care should be taken when inquiring about the success of a hunting or fishing trip. Direct questions concerning the kill or the catch may be interpreted as a request/demand to share in the proceeds. It is much more acceptable to ask what happened on the trip than to ask what was killed or caught.

## 3.4 Grammar

### 3.4.1 Yes/No questions

As stated in 3.2.3.2, the order of words in a question requiring an **eye** ‘yes’ or **chuli** ‘no’ answer is the same as the order of the words in a statement. In conversation, a question is distinguished from a statement by intonation. In writing, a question is distinguished from a statement by punctuation (question marks).

**Example**     ¿Pe mas tune?                    ‘Are you going to cook?’

### 3.4.2 Verb tense aspect - immediate future (Ex. 12–16)

When an event is viewed by the speaker as being imminent (the action will undoubtedly take place), the tense-aspect<sup>11</sup> used is called the immediate future. In using the immediate future, keep two things in mind: the immediate future suffix is added to the verb and a time reference must be either stated or implied.

#### 3.4.2.1 Immediate future suffix

The immediate future is formed by adding the suffix **-ne** to the verb stem.

**Example**     **kun** + **-ne** = **kunne**                    ‘going to eat’

The Kuna immediate future parallels the English construction ‘going to...’ and the Spanish construction ‘ir a...’.

**Example**     An ua kunne.                    ‘I am going to eat fish.’

#### Exercise 12. Immediate future frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it. The teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. The exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples**     Teacher: Machi ob tigne.                    ‘The boy is going to plant corn.’  
                      Student: Machi ob tigne.  
                      Teacher: Machi ob emine.                    ‘The boy is going to weed corn.’  
                      Student: Machi ob emine.

1. Machi ob tigne.                    ‘The boy is going to plant corn.’
2. Machi ob emine.                    ‘The boy is going to weed corn.’
3. Machi ob weine.                    ‘The boy is going to harvest corn.’
4. Machi ob chune.                    ‘The boy is going to fetch corn.’
5. Machi ob kunne.                    ‘The boy is going to eat corn.’

#### Exercise 13. Immediate future frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame.

---

<sup>11</sup> Most tense-aspect suffixes in Kuna indicate primarily the duration, rather than the time, of an action. For convenience, they are termed “tense-aspect” or frequently, simply as “aspect.”

<b>Examples</b>	Teacher: Machi ob tigne.	‘The boy is going to plant corn.’
	Teacher: kun	‘to eat’
	Student: Machi ob kunne.	‘The boy is going to eat corn.’
	Teacher: Machi ob kunne.	‘The boy is going to eat corn.’
	Teacher: chu	‘to fetch’
	Student: Machi ob chune.	‘The boy is going to fetch corn.’
	1. pak	‘to buy’
	2. kun	‘to eat’
	3. emi	‘to weed’
	4. tig	‘to plant’
	5. wei	‘to harvest’
	6. chu	‘to fetch’
	7. uk	‘to sell’
	8. tu	‘to cook’
	9. che	‘to carry’

#### **Exercise 14.** Immediate future varied substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame, selects a word from the list below which can be substituted in the frame and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the correct place in the frame. Random choices of a noun or a verb by the teacher is important.

<b>Examples</b>	Teacher: An ogob pakne.	‘I am going to buy coconuts.’
	Teacher: ua	‘fish’
	Student: An ua pakne.	‘I am going to buy fish.’
	Teacher: An ua pakne.	‘I am going to buy fish.’
	Teacher: kun	‘to eat’
	Student: An ua kunne.	‘I am going to eat fish.’

<b>Frame</b>	An ogob pakne.	‘I am going to buy coconuts.’
	1. ogob	‘coconut’
	2. kallin	‘chicken’
	3. ua	‘fish’
	4. arri	‘iguana’
	5. aswe	‘avocado’
	6. pak	‘to buy’
	7. chik	‘to cut’
	8. chu	‘to fetch’
	9. kun	‘to eat’
	10. tu	‘to cook’

#### **3.4.2.2 Time reference with the immediate future**

A time reference which may be implied or specified, is needed in the use of the immediate future.

##### *1) Implied time reference*

In the case of the implied (unspecified) time reference, the listener understands the time to be the time the speaker made his statement. The preceding examples and exercises fall into this category.

**Example** An ua pakne. ‘I am going to buy fish.’

In this example, the listener understands that the speaker is going to buy fish right now (at this time of speaking).

## 2) Specified time reference

The speaker must specify the time an action will take place, if the action is not going to take place at the time he is speaking. This is done by the use of a time word **at the beginning** of the sentence.

**Example** Pan an mol makne. 'Tomorrow I am going to sew a blouse.'

### Exercise 15. Time reference varied substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student substitutes the word in the frame.

**Examples** Teacher: An mol makne. 'I am going to sew a blouse.'  
 Teacher: pan 'tomorrow'  
 Student: Pan an mol makne. 'Tomorrow I am going to sew a blouse.'  
 Teacher: An mol makne. 'I am going to sew a blouse.'  
 Teacher: achul 'day after tomorrow'  
 Student: Achul an mol makne. 'The day after tomorrow I am going to sew a blouse.'

**Frame** An mol makne. 'I am going to sew a blouse.'

1. kujal 'later'
2. chedo 'in the afternoon'
3. wakur 'in the morning'
4. yoroku 'at noon'
5. pan 'tomorrow'
6. achul 'day after tomorrow'

### Exercise 16. Immediate future drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the desiderative form. The student replies in the form of a statement using the **-ne** form. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An ob kumpi.  
 Student: An ob kunne.

1. Pan an ob tigbi. 'Tomorrow I want to plant corn.'
2. Achul an ob emibi. 'Day after tomorrow I want to weed corn.'
3. Kujal an ob pakpi. 'Later I want to buy corn.'
4. Yoroku an ob chubi. 'At noon I want to fetch corn.'
5. Pan an ob weibi. 'Tomorrow I want to harvest corn.'

### 3.4.3 Intransitive sentence word order

In Kuna, the normal word order for an intransitive sentence is subject, then predicate. This is similar to the word order in intransitive sentences in English.

#### Example

Subject	Predicate
An	abarmane.
I	run-going-to
'I am going to run.'	

### 3.4.4 Long and short forms of words

Many (but **not** all) Kuna words have a short form and a long form. The short form of a word is made by dropping the final vowel.

A few short forms end in one of the fortis consonants which is represented by a double symbol, such as **nn**. By convention, a single symbol is used to represent the word final fortis consonant in cases in which the double symbol is used in other positions in the word.

**zh/ch** become **ss/s** respectively, in word final position (4.2.5), but both are written **s**.

#### Examples

1. b	nab	naba	‘gourd’
2. p	nap	napa	‘earth’
3. d	tad	tada	‘grandfather’
4. t (no known example)			
5. g	nag	naga	‘foot’
6. k	nak	naka	‘mouth of river’
7. n	pun <sup>1</sup>	punu	‘daughter/girl’
8. nn	pun <sup>1</sup>	punnu	‘tail’
9. m	mam	mama	‘manioc’
10. mm (no known example)			
11. l	ol	olo	‘gold’
12. ll (no known example)			
13. r	mar	mara	‘thunder’
14. rr	or	orro	‘arrow’
15. s	kis	kisi	‘pus’
16. ss	kis	kissi	‘sap of a tree’
17. zh	nus	nuzha	‘egg’
18. ch	nus	nucha	‘worm’

#### 3.4.5 Contrast of subject

As you begin hearing and using Kuna, you may notice that a Kuna person sometimes adds the suffix **-din**<sup>2</sup> to pronouns, proper names and nouns. This suffix is used to mark a change or a contrast of subjects (see Appendix E).

##### 3.4.5.1 Change of subject

A common use of the change of subject suffix is the exchange of greetings. One person may ask, “How are you?” Then the other person answers, “I am fine. How are you?” In this case, the **you** refers back to the first speaker. The subject of the dialogue has changed. A Kuna speaker would signal such a change of subject by the use of the suffix **-din**.

#### Example

Visitor :	¿Pe igi oipos?	‘How are you this morning?’
Villager:	Ampala. ¿Pedin?	‘So-so. And you?’

##### 3.4.5.2 Contrast of subject

Kunas also use the suffix **-din/-tin** to mark a contrast between what two subjects are doing.

<b>Example</b>	Machidin ua makne.	‘On the one hand, the boy is going to spear fish.’
	Omedin ua tune.	‘On the other hand, the woman is going to cook fish.’

<sup>1</sup> Helps for distinguishing between short and long fortis consonants at the end of words are given in 4.2.2.

<sup>2</sup> **-din** becomes **-tin** after a fortis consonant.

### 3.5 Vocabulary<sup>14</sup>

1. apta(ke)	‘to wait’
2. kujal(e)	‘later’
3. An itojul(i).	‘I don’t understand.’
4. An wichul(i).	‘I don’t know.’
5. An wichi.	‘I don’t know (which).’
6. ampala	‘so-so/the same’
7. nued(i)	‘good/thank you/fine’
8. ajáj	‘okay’
9. akalchul(i)	‘never mind’
10. ampayo	‘not yet’
11. immis(i)	‘now’
12. pan(e)	‘tomorrow’
13. achul(e)	‘day after tomorrow’
14. yoroku	‘noon’
15. chedo	‘afternoon’
16. wakur(u)	‘morning’
17. ezha, es	‘machete’
18. koe	‘deer’
19. achu	‘dog’
20. arki	‘huacuco fish’
21. ul(u)	‘canoe/box/cupboard/suitcase’

---

<sup>14</sup> Beginning with this lesson, both the long and short forms of words—where two exist—are given in the vocabulary. Parentheses enclose the vowel that is dropped for the short form. If the consonant changes, the two forms are separated by commas.

## 4 QUESTIONS

### 4.1 Dialogue

Question words are extremely useful in finding your way among strangers in a new place. When you have only partial control of the language, you can question someone until you fully understand what they have been saying. By fully using the question words—several of which are included in Dialogue 4.1—you can continue a conversation for a reasonable time, even though you have very little control of the language. They also help the language learner to become better acquainted with the language and culture.

Wife to her husband about visitors in their village:

- |     |          |                      |                                 |
|-----|----------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1.  | Wife:    | ¿Toa noni?           | ‘Who has arrived?’              |
| 2.  | Husband: | Waga.                | ‘An outsider!’                  |
| 3.  | Wife:    | Mmm. ¿Inkwa noni?    | ‘Hmm. When did he arrive?’      |
| 4.  | Husband: | Immis.               | ‘Today./Just now.’              |
| 5.  | Wife:    | Immis. ¿Ibi pei?     | ‘Oh, today. What does he want?’ |
| 6.  | Husband: | Chuli. Kinki pakcha. | ‘Nothing. He bought a gun.’     |
| 7.  | Wife:    | Mmm. ¿Igi mani?      | ‘Hmm. How much?’                |
| 8.  | Husband: | An wichul.           | ‘I don’t know.’                 |
| 9.  | Wife:    | ¿Pia pakcha?         | ‘Where did he buy it?’          |
| 10. | Husband: | Teal.                | ‘Downriver.’                    |
| 11. | Wife:    | Mmm.                 | ‘Hmm.’                          |

### 4.2 Pronunciation

#### 4.2.1 Intonation (Ex. 1–2)

In section 3.2.3 the intonation pattern of questions requiring yes/no answers is discussed. Other types of questions are discussed in this lesson (see 4.4.3 for grammatical explanations). Become familiar with the correct intonation of questions by doing the following exercises.<sup>15</sup>

##### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 4.1 by humming the intonation. Pay special attention to acknowledgement of the answer to a question.

##### Exercise 2. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 4.1, formulating the individual sounds as closely as possible without 1) slowing down, or 2) losing the intonation pattern.

#### 4.2.2 Pronunciation of consonants at the end of words (Ex. 3)

Most of the time, the fortis and lenis difference between consonants at the end of words is maintained. Often, however, it is very difficult to hear.

##### Examples

- |        |               |        |          |
|--------|---------------|--------|----------|
| 1. nab | ‘gourd’       | 2. nap | ‘earth’  |
| 3. tub | ‘rope/thread’ | 4. tup | ‘island’ |

---

<sup>15</sup> Since most intonation patterns are quite difficult to describe adequately and there is a great deal of variation according to the focus of emphasis of an individual speaker, we have not described most of the patterns, but emphasized mimicking the teacher or a tape for acquiring good intonation.

Suggestions to help distinguish lenis from fortis consonants at the ends of words are:

**Suggestion 1:** Listen carefully to the vowel before the consonant. The vowel before a lenis consonant is longer than the vowel before a fortis consonant.

**Suggestion 2:** Listen to the long form of the word (see 3.4.4) in order to help clarify whether the final consonant is lenis or fortis.

### Examples

1a. nab	naba	‘gourd’
b. nap	napa	‘earth’
2a. tag	tage	‘to come’
b. tak	take	‘to see’
3a. an	ana	‘branch’
b. an	anni	‘I’

**Suggestion 3:** At the end of words, lenis sounds are made in a relaxed way and fortis sounds are made in a tense way. By watching the speaker’s mouth, you will get a clue to the identity of the final lenis or fortis consonant. For example, watch the speaker’s mouth as he says the word **nab** ‘gourd’, and then as he says the word **nap** ‘earth’. The **b** of **nab** is said with relaxed lips and they barely close at the end of the word. The **p** of **nap** is said with tense, tight lips which snap shut.

### Exercise 3. Pronunciation of word-final consonants

The teacher reads aloud at random one of the following words. Without looking at the book, the student says/writes whether the final consonant is fortis or lenis. The lesson may be repeated with the student writing down the final letter of each word read by the teacher.

**Example** Teacher: tub

Student: lenis/b

1. tub	‘rope/thread’	2. tup	‘island’
3. nab	‘gourd’	4. nap	‘earth’
5. nag	‘foot’	6. nak	‘mouth of river’
7. mag	‘to paint’	8. mak	‘to sew’
9. tag	‘to come’	10. tak	‘to see’

### 4.2.3 Pronunciation of labialized consonants (Ex. 4–7)

There are seven labialized consonants: **kw**, **gw**, **tw**, **dw**, **chw**, **zhw**, and **mw**. These are not considered to be consonant clusters, but rather to constitute single sounds. **Kw** and **gw** are fairly frequent, the others are very rare. The labialized consonants **only** occur at the beginning of a syllable. There are equivalents for most of the labialized consonant sounds in both English and Spanish.

#### 4.2.3.1 Pronunciation of labialized consonants for English speakers

1. **kw** is pronounced like **qu** in ‘quiet/quick’.
2. **gw** is pronounced like **gu** in ‘language’.
3. **tw** is pronounced like **tu** in ‘tweet’.
4. **dw** is pronounced like **du** in ‘dwarf’.
5. **chw** is pronounced like **tu** in ‘actual’.
6. **zhw** is pronounced like **su** in ‘casual’.
7. **mw** does not occur in English, but there should be no difficulty in producing this sound.

### 4.2.3.2 Pronunciation of labialized consonants for Spanish speakers

In order to find an equivalent to the Kuna labialized consonants, the **u** in the following Spanish examples must be treated virtually as an onglide, rather than as a full vowel. The onglide sound may be achieved by pronouncing the Spanish examples fairly quickly:

1. **kw** is pronounced almost like **cu** in *cuarto* ‘room’.
2. **gw** is pronounced almost like **gu** in *agua* ‘water’.
3. **tw** is pronounced almost like **tu** in *santuario* ‘sanctuary’.
4. **dw** is pronounced almost like **du** in *Eduardo* ‘Edward’.
5. **chw** is pronounced almost like **chu** in *tachuela* ‘tack’.
6. **zhw** does not occur in Spanish.
7. **mw** is pronounced almost like **mu** in *muebles* ‘furniture’.

**Note:** The difference between **gwa** and **wa** is often difficult for a Spanish speaker to control. For that reason, **gwa** and **wa** are drilled in the following exercises.

#### Exercise 4. gwa versus wa distinction drill

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **ibiwa** or B: **ibigwa** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted. The drill should be repeated several times.

- |           |                         |           |                    |
|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 1. piawa  | ‘Where has it gone to?’ | A: ibiwa  | ‘for what reason?’ |
| 2. turwa  | ‘rubbish’               | B: ibigwa | ‘how many days?’   |
| 3. purwa  | ‘wind’                  |           |                    |
| 4. tewa   | ‘perhaps’               |           |                    |
| 5. A or B |                         |           |                    |
| 6. owanma | ‘to shiver/shake’       |           |                    |

#### Exercise 5. gwa versus wa distinction drill

The teacher says the list of words inserting either A: **ibiwa** or B: **ibigwa** in position 5. The student must say whether choice A or choice B was inserted. The drill should be repeated several times.

- |              |   |           |                    |
|--------------|---|-----------|--------------------|
| 1. akwa      | ‘rock/stone’                            | A: ibiwa  | ‘for what reason?’ |
| 2. pukwa     | ‘to be sitting (plural - see 13.4.3.2)’ | B: ibigwa | ‘how many days?’   |
| 3. purkwal   | ‘paralyzed’                             |           |                    |
| 4. kollogwad | ‘yellow’                                |           |                    |
| 5. A or B    |   |           |                    |
| 6. chibugwad | ‘the white ones’                        |           |                    |

#### Exercise 6. gwa versus wa distinction drill

The teacher dictates a random listing of the words in Exercises 4 and 5 and the student writes whether the word contains a **gwa** or a **wa**.

#### Exercise 7. wa pronunciation drill

Practice reading aloud the following words, having the teacher check your performance.

- |            |                         |
|------------|-------------------------|
| 1. wala    | ‘trunk’                 |
| 2. waga    | ‘outsider’              |
| 3. wawadun | ‘bananas’               |
| 4. wanagak | ‘door’                  |
| 5. walpa   | ‘three’                 |
| 6. piawa   | ‘Where has it gone to?’ |
| 7. turwa   | ‘rubbish/sweepings’     |
| 8. purwa   | ‘wind/clouds’           |



9. tewa 'perhaps'  
10. owanma 'to shiver/shake'

#### 4.2.4 Pronunciation of transitional w

In many dialects of Kuna, there tends to be a transitional **w** sound when the vowels **u** or **o** are followed by the vowels **a** or **e**

- **ua** 'fish' is pronounced **uwa**.
- **ue** 'hot' is pronounced **uwe**.
- **toa** 'Who?/Whom?' is pronounced **towa**.
- **koe** 'deer' is pronounced **kowe**.

#### 4.2.5 Fluctuation and phonological changes of fricatives, affricates and the semi-vowel j

The fricatives and affricates in Kuna are **ch**, **zh**, **s**, **ss** and the semi-vowel **j**. There is fluctuation between them according to the preference of the speaker, their position in the word or syllable, or the other consonant in the cluster. Following are some of the general rules governing the fluctuation of these consonants.

##### 4.2.5.1 ch/s word initial

There is fluctuation between the use of **ch** and **s** at the beginning of a word. Some general rules will help clarify their use.

**Rule 1:** Where there is fluctuation between **ch/s** word initially, the generally preferred pronunciation for a word or sense of a word has been chosen as the criteria for determining the correct spelling of the word.

**Rule 2:** Almost all words are written with **ch** word initially on the basis of Rule 1.

**Example** chuli 'no'

**Rule 3:** If the first vowel in a word is an **a**, the preceding fricative is often written **s**.

**Example** sate/chage 'nothing'

**Rule 4:** In some cases where a word beginning with **ch/s** has two distinct meanings, the distinction is made more clear by retaining an initial **ch** for one meaning and **s** for the other.

**Examples** sagla/chagla 'chief/hair'

- **sagla** 'chief' is the preferred spelling (although **chagla** 'chief' is also correct).
- **chagla** 'hair' is the preferred spelling (although **sagla** 'hair' is also correct).

**Rule 5:** Some words are always pronounced and written with an **s** word initially.

**Example** sae 'yesterday'

**Rule 6:** Some words are always written with an **s** word initially, according to their preferred pronunciation.

**Example** sabured 'skirt'

##### 4.2.5.2 ch/zh syllable final

**ch** and **zh** become **ss** and **s**, respectively, at the end of a syllable and are both written **s** in this position.

- **nuzhu** becomes **nus** 'worm' in its short form.
- **ochi** 'sweet' becomes **ostigid** 'a sweetened thing/sugar'.

**Note:** In the case of **ostigid** 'a sweetened thing/sugar', one knows that the **s** is actually a fortis **ss** because the following consonant **t** is fortis and therefore, the **s** is also fortis.

##### 4.2.5.3 Addition of suffixes which begin with a fricative/affricate/semi-vowel j

Suffixes beginning with **ch/zh/j** are added to words according to the following rules.

**Rule 1:** The form of a suffix beginning with **ch/zh/j** varies according to the particular final consonant or vowel which occurs in the word in which the suffix is added.

- The **ch** form of the suffix is added to a word ending in a fortis consonant.

**Example**    nap ‘earth’ + **-che** = **napche** ‘to the earth’

- The **zh** form of the suffix is added to a word ending in a lenis consonant.

**Example**    neg ‘house’ + **-zhe** = **negzhe** ‘to the house’

- The **j** form of the suffix is added to a word ending in a vowel.

**Example**    ya ‘hole’ + **-je** = **yaje** ‘to the hole’

**Rule 2:** If the addition of a suffix results in bringing any two fricatives or a fricative and affricate together, the two parts contract to **ch**.

**Example**    wis ‘to know’ + **chuli** ‘no’ = **wichuli** ‘don’t know’

**Note:** It should be noted that although suffixes that begin with **ch** are common in the Paya Kuna dialect, the cognate forms usually begin with **s** in the San Blas and Bayano dialects. In those dialects, **ch** sometimes occurs intervocalically, but **j** never occurs.

### 4.3 Culture

In Kuna, if someone answers a question you have asked, it is polite to acknowledge the answer before you ask another question. Such expressions as **ajáj**, **aaaa**, **eye** ‘yes’, are used to acknowledge the answer to a question (see 11.4.3.1).

Most Kunas have a Spanish name and a Kuna name; they prefer to use their Spanish names with outsiders and for doing business. If you are referring to a Kuna while you are in conversation with someone, or if you need to attract the attention of a Kuna, it is more polite to refer to him by his role in society (e.g., **sagla** ‘chief’) or by his kinship to someone (e.g., **Luis pab** ‘Louis’ father’, **Alvaro machi** ‘Alvaro’s son’), than directly by name. It is not polite to ask someone his Kuna name. Even if you know an individual’s Kuna name, you should use his Spanish name to refer to him. Only if/when in conversation with you, the Kuna people refer to someone by his Kuna name, are you at liberty to use his Kuna name.

## 4.4 Grammar

### 4.4.1 Verb tense in completive aspect

When an event is viewed by the speaker as being completed, i.e., the action has been finished, the aspect used is called the completive. This aspect roughly parallels the English past tense and the Spanish *tiempo preterito*. In using the completive aspect, you must keep in mind 1) the form of the verb used, and 2) that the time reference must be either stated or implied.

### 4.4.2 Verb form in completive aspect (Ex. 8–10)

The completive aspect is formed by adding one of the following four forms of the completive suffix to the verb stem.

- **-cha** follows a fortis consonant.
- **-zha** follows a lenis consonant.
- **-s** follows a vowel. It may be word final or followed by other suffixes.
- **-ja** follows a vowel preceding certain suffixes such as **-l** ‘when’, **-n(a)** ‘contrary to fact’, or **-d** ‘nominalizer’.

**Examples**

- |                                |                      |                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. An                          | mol                  | <b>pakcha.</b>   |
| I                              | blouse               | buy-completive   |
| 'I bought a blouse.'           |                      |                  |
| 2. An                          | madun                | <b>kobzha.</b>   |
| I                              | chicha               | drink-completive |
| 'I drank chicha.'              |                      |                  |
| 3. Ti                          | nos.                 |                  |
| river                          | rise-completive      |                  |
| 'The river rose.'              |                      |                  |
| 4. Ti                          | nojal ...            |                  |
| river                          | rise-completive-when |                  |
| 'When the river had risen ...' |                      |                  |

**Exception:** **kun** + **-cha** = **kucha** 'ate' This irregular form should be memorized.

**Exercise 8.** Completive aspect frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: An mol pakcha.  
 Student: An mol pakcha.  
 Teacher: An mol chikcha.  
 Student: An mol chikcha.

- |                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. An mol pakcha.             | 'I bought a blouse.'   |
| 2. An mol chikcha.            | 'I cut out a blouse.'  |
| 3. An mol ukcha.              | 'I sold a blouse.'     |
| 4. An mol makcha.             | 'I sewed a blouse.'    |
| 5. An mol enukcha.            | 'I washed a blouse.'   |
| 6. An ua <sup>16</sup> chwas. | 'I caught a fish.'     |
| 7. An ua chus.                | 'I fetched the fish.'  |
| 8. An ua tus.                 | 'I cooked the fish.'   |
| 9. An ua ches.                | 'I carried the fish.'  |
| 10. An ua chabos.             | 'I put away the fish.' |

**Exercise 9.** Completive aspect substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame. The teacher selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame, adding the completive aspect.

**Examples** Teacher: An mol pakcha.  
 Teacher: uk  
 Student: An mol ukcha.  
 Teacher: An mol ukcha.  
 Teacher: echu  
 Student: An mol echus.

---

<sup>16</sup> See 4.2.4, note on transitional w.

- |           |                |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1. pak    | 'to buy'       |
| 2. uk     | 'to sell'      |
| 3. chik   | 'to cut (out)' |
| 4. enuk   | 'to wash'      |
| 5. mak    | 'to sew'       |
| 6. chu    | 'to fetch'     |
| 7. che    | 'to carry'     |
| 8. yo     | 'to put on'    |
| 9. echu   | 'to take off'  |
| 10. chabo | 'to put away'  |

**Exercise 10.** Completive aspect stimulus response drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of a yes/no question. The student replies using the correct form of the completive aspect suffix. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: *¿Ome sabured pakne?*  
 Student: *Chuli. Pato mol pakcha.*

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <b>Frame</b> Chuli. Pato mol ____. | 'No, (she) already ____ a blouse.'          |
| 1. <i>¿Ome sabured pakne?</i>      | 'Is the woman going to buy the skirt?'      |
| 2. <i>¿Ome sabured enukne?</i>     | 'Is the woman going to wash the skirt?'     |
| 3. <i>¿Ome sabured chune?</i>      | 'Is the woman going to fetch the skirt?'    |
| 4. <i>¿Ome sabured makne?</i>      | 'Is the woman going to sew the skirt?'      |
| 5. <i>¿Ome sabured chikne?</i>     | 'Is the woman going to cut out the skirt?'  |
| 6. <i>¿Ome sabured chabone?</i>    | 'Is the woman going to put away the skirt?' |
| 7. <i>¿Ome sabured ukne?</i>       | 'Is the woman going to sell the skirt?'     |
| 8. <i>¿Ome sabured amine?</i>      | 'Is the woman going to look for the skirt?' |

**4.4.3 Content Questions (Ex. 11–18)**

Content questions are questions which require something other than yes/no answers (see 3.2.3.2). The information required is signalled in English by a question word such as "Who?," "What?," "When?," etc. In Kuna, there are three types of content questions: amplificatory questions, topic-establishing questions, and confirmation questions.

**4.4.3.1 Amplificatory questions**

Amplificatory questions are asked about a topic that may be already under discussion, or so obvious that it requires no introduction. Most of the time, more information is being sought about the action referred to in the discussion at hand. For example, the questioner may want to know who did the action, or when the action happened. In dealing with amplificatory questions, two things must be remembered: the intonation pattern of the question and the formation of the question.

*1) Intonation pattern of amplificatory questions*

Amplificatory questions have a characteristic intonation pattern. Do the following exercise to familiarize yourself with this pattern.

**Exercise 11.** Intonation of amplificatory questions drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: *¿Pia ne?*  
 Student: *¿Pia ne?*

- |                  |                                    |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. ȷPia ne?      | ‘Where are/is (you/he) going?’     |
| 2. ȷIbi chobzha? | ‘What did (you/he) make?’          |
| 3. ȷIgi choge?   | ‘What (how) do/does (you/he) say?’ |
| 4. ȷToa noni?    | ‘Who arrived?’                     |
| 5. ȷInkwa noni?  | ‘When did (you/he) arrive?’        |

## 2) Form of amplificatory questions

To form an amplificatory question, the appropriate question word is used and the verb about which more information is wanted is repeated. The subject is usually omitted.

### Exercise 12. Amplificatory questions frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: ȷToa chikcha?  
 Student: ȷToa chikcha?  
 Teacher: ȷIbi chikcha?  
 Student: ȷIbi chikcha?

- |                    |                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. ȷToa chikcha?   | ‘Who cut (it)?’                    |
| 2. ȷIbi chikcha?   | ‘What did (he) cut?’ <sup>17</sup> |
| 3. ȷInkwa chikcha? | ‘When did (he) cut (it)?’          |
| 4. ȷPia chikcha?   | ‘Where did (he) cut (it)?’         |
| 5. ȷIgi chikcha?   | ‘How did (he) cut (it)?’           |

### Exercise 13. Amplificatory questions substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects a word from the list below, which can be substituted in the frame, and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the correct place in the frame.

**Examples** Teacher: ȷToa makcha?  
 Teacher: ibi  
 Student: ȷIbi makcha?  
 Teacher: ȷIbi makcha?  
 Teacher: inkwa  
 Student: ȷInkwa makcha?

**Frame** ȷ\_\_\_\_ makcha? ‘\_\_\_\_ did (she) sew (it)?’

1. pia	‘Where?’
2. inkwa	‘When?’
3. ibi	‘What?’
4. igi	‘How?’
5. toa	‘Who?’

### Exercise 14. Amplificatory questions, varied substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects a word from the list below which can be substituted in the frame and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the correct place in the frame.

---

<sup>17</sup> Here and throughout this grammar, where no subject is overtly indicated by a noun or pronoun, an appropriate pronoun is supplied. In another context, it might be a different one.

<b>Examples</b>	Teacher: ȷToa chikcha?	‘Who cut (it)?’
	Teacher: ibi	
	Student: ȷIbi chikcha?	‘What did (he/she) cut?’
	Teacher: ȷIbi chikcha?	
	Teacher: pak	
	Student: ȷIbi pakcha?	‘What did (he/she) buy?’
<b>Frame</b>	ȷ_____ chikcha?	‘_____ cut (it)?’
1. toa		‘Who?/Whom?’
2. ibi		‘What?’
3. inkwa		‘When?’
4. pia		‘Where?’
5. igi		‘How?’
6. chik		‘to cut (you)’
7. kun		‘to eat’
8. chu		‘to fetch’
9. pak		‘to buy’
10. tig		‘to plant’

#### 4.4.3.2 Topic-establishing questions

The topic of a question is the person or thing to whom/which the question refers. It is very important in Kuna that the topic of a question be clear. If the person or thing to whom/which the question refers is not presently being talked about, **or** if the topic is not obvious, it must be stated before the question itself. If the topic of a question is obscure and it is not stated, the listener may not understand the question.

For example, if you suddenly ask, “Where is he going?,” your listener will invariably reply, “Where is **who** going?” By asking this question, the listener has tried to establish the topic of your question. In other words, the topic of the question was unclear. Once the listener has understood the topic, he will answer the question. Three things must be kept in mind in using topic-establishing questions: the intonation pattern of the question, the order of the sentence, and the form of the topic.

##### 1) Intonation of a topic-establishing question

Topic-establishing questions have a characteristic intonation pattern. Do the following exercise to familiarize yourself with this pattern.

#### Exercise 15. Topic-establishing question drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher: ȷWaga, pia ne?	‘Where is the outsider going?’
	Student: ȷWaga, pia ne?	
1. ȷWaga, pia ne?		‘Where is the outsider going?’
2. ȷMachi, ibi chobzha?		‘What did the boy make?’
3. ȷSagla, igi choge?		‘What does the chief say?’
4. ȷKinki, igi mani?		‘How much was the gun?’
5. ȷSagla, inkwa noni?		‘When did the chief arrive?’
6. ȷPedrode, toa sakis?		‘Whom did Peter hit?’

##### 2) Form of a topic-establishing question

The topic of a question is stated first in the topic-establishing question. The topic is followed by 1) the appropriate question word, and 2) a verb.

**Examples**

1. ¿Waga, pia ne? ‘The outsider, where is he going?’ or ‘Where is **the outsider** going?’
2. ¿Punu, pia chi? ‘Daughter, where is she?’ or ‘Where is (my) **daughter**?’

**3) Form of the topic**

Many nouns have long and short forms (see 3.4.4. and Appendix A). One of the times the long forms is used is in establishing the topic of a question.

**Examples**

1. **mol** becomes **mola** ‘cloth/blouse’
2. **pab** becomes **paba** ‘father’

You must memorize the nouns which have two forms and the ones which do not. Some hints which will help you learn some nouns which do not have short forms are:

1. A noun is almost never shortened if the short form would introduce ambiguity.
2. Nouns which have a consonant cluster (two consonants together) before the final vowel, cannot be shortened.

**Examples**

1. **arki** ‘huacuco fish’
2. **sagla** ‘chief’

**Exercise 16. Topic-establishing question frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

- Examples** Teacher: ¿Waga, ibi pakcha?  
 Student: ¿Waga, ibi pakcha?  
 Teacher: ¿Machi, ibi pakcha?  
 Student: ¿Machi, ibi pakcha?

1. ¿Waga, ibi pakcha? ‘What did the outsider buy?’
2. ¿Machi, ibi pakcha? ‘What did the boy buy?’
3. ¿Ome, ibi pakcha? ‘What did the woman buy?’
4. ¿Sagla, ibi pakcha? ‘What did the chief buy?’
5. ¿Tada, ibi pakcha? ‘What did the elder buy?’
6. ¿Mola, igi mani? ‘How much is the cloth?’
7. ¿Ua, igi mani? ‘How much is the fish?’
8. ¿Oba, igi mani? ‘How much is the corn?’

**Exercise 17. Topic-establishing questions, varied substitution frame drill**

The teacher says the frame and selects a word from the list below which can be substituted in it and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the correct place in the frame. Random choice of a noun or a question word by the teacher is important.

- Examples** Teacher: ¿Tule, ibi chobzha?  
 Teacher: pia  
 Student: ¿Tule, pia chobzha?  
 Teacher: ¿Tule, pia chobzha?  
 Teacher: sagla  
 Student: ¿Sagla, pia chobzha?

<b>Frame</b>	¿Tule, ibi chobzha?	‘What did the Kuna make?’
1. toa	‘Who?/Whom?’	
2. ibi	‘What?’	
3. inkwa	‘When?’	
4. pia	‘Where?’	
5. igi	‘How?’	
6. tule	‘Kuna’	
7. ome	‘woman’	
8. sagla	‘chief’	
9. machi	‘boy’	
10. waga	‘outsider’	

#### 4.4.3.3 Confirmation (please repeat) questions

Structurally, confirmation questions are the same as the amplificatory questions. However, their purpose is different. A confirmation question acknowledges that the narrator has already given the information asked for by the listener. The listener has missed the information for some reason or another, so he asks for a repeat. The confirmation question is signalled by a distinctive intonation pattern. The question basically says: “I know you already said this, but would you please say it again?” Do the following exercise to familiarize yourself with the intonation pattern.

#### Exercise 18. Confirmation question drill

The teacher says Sentence 1a and then leads the class in asking the confirmation question 1b. The class repeats the question after the teacher, being careful to mimic the intonation pattern. The teacher then replies to the question by repeating Sentence 1a. Continue to practice the intonation pattern of confirmation questions by doing the following dialogue-type exercises.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher (speaking as narrator):	Tule ogob pakcha.
	Teacher (leading the class as listener):	¿Ibi pakcha?
	Student (mimicking the teacher as listener):	¿Ibi pakcha?
	Teacher (speaking as narrator, in answer to confirmation question):	Tule ogob pakcha.
1a. Narrator:	Tule ogob pakcha.	‘The Kuna bought coconuts.’
b. Listener:	¿Ibi pakcha?	‘Bought what?’
2a. Narrator:	Tule ogob pakcha.	‘The Kuna bought coconuts.’
b. Listener:	¿Toa pakcha?	‘Who bought (them)?’
3a. Narrator:	Machi arri makcha.	‘The boy shot an iguana.’
b. Listener:	¿Ibi makcha?	‘He shot what?’
4a. Narrator:	Machi arri makcha.	‘The boy shot an iguana.’
b. Listener:	¿Toa makcha?	‘Who shot (it)?’
5a. Narrator:	Tad ul ukcha.	‘The elder sold a canoe.’
b. Listener:	¿Ibi ukcha?	‘He sold what?’
6a. Narrator:	Tad ul ukcha.	‘The elder sold a canoe.’
b. Listener:	¿Toa ukcha?	‘Who sold it?’



## 4.5 VOCABULARY

1. toa	‘Who?/Whom?’
2. ibi	‘What?’
3. inkwa	‘When?’
4. pia	‘Where?’
5. igi	‘How?’
6. wag(a)	‘outsider’
7. tule	‘Kuna/person’
8. ome	‘woman/wife’
9. machered(i)	‘man/husband’
10. machi	‘boy’
11. pun(a)	‘girl’
12. mimmi	‘little girl, baby’
13. sagla	‘chief’
14. tad(a)	‘elder’
15. pab(a)	‘father’
16. nan(a)	‘mother’
17. mu	‘matron/grandmother’
18. mani	‘money’
19. mam(a)	‘manioc’
20. nab(a)	‘gourd’

## 5 TRADE LANGUAGE

### 5.1 Dialogue

Trade often brings people of different languages and cultures together. The following dialogue is typical in such situations.

A villager comes up to a trader selling goods:

- |     |           |   |  |
|-----|-----------|---|--|
| 1.  | Villager: | ¿Igi kude?  | ‘How are you?’   |
| 2.  | Trader:   | Nued. ¿Pedin?   | ‘Fine, and you?’   |
| 3.  | Villager: | Ampala. ¿Ibi nika (uked)?                                       | ‘So-so. What do you have to sell?’                           |
| 4.  | Trader:   | Mola, ezha, palu; tegine akwati.                                | ‘Cloth, machetes, salt and kerosene.’                        |
| 5.  | Villager: | ¿Igi mani?  | ‘How much?’  |
| 6.  | Trader:   | ¿Piti?  | ‘Which?’   |
| 7.  | Villager: | Esdina.   | ‘The machetes.’  |
| 8.  | Trader:   | Karta kabo.   | ‘Two dollars.’   |
| 9.  | Villager: | Mmm. ¿Paludin?  | ‘Hmm; and the salt?’   |
| 10. | Trader:   | Manigwen.   | ‘One <i>real</i> (nickel).’                                  |
| 11. | Villager: | Ajáj. An akwati pei.<br>Galongwen, tongwen eg<br>maniatal, jaj? | ‘Okay. I want kerosene. A gallon (costs) \$.75, doesn’t it?’ |
| 12. | Trader:   | Eye.  | ‘Yes (that’s right).’  |
| 13. | Villager: | An galongwen pakne tegil.                                       | ‘Okay then, I’ll buy a gallon.’                              |
| 14. | Trader:   | Ajáj.   | ‘Fine.’  |

Money and kerosene change hands.

- |     |           |                |                              |
|-----|-----------|----------------|------------------------------|
| 15. | Villager: | Pela. An nebi. | ‘That’s all. I’ll be going.’ |
| 16. | Trader:   | Ajáj.          | ‘Okay.’                      |
| 17. | Villager: | Nade.          | ‘Good-bye.’                  |
| 18. | Trader:   | Eye.           | ‘Good-bye.’                  |

### 5.2 Pronunciation and Intonation (Ex. 1–4)

#### 5.2.1 Conversation

Increase your ability to control the intonation patterns of Kuna conversation by doing the following drills.

##### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 5.1 by humming the intonation. Pay special attention to the intonation differences between questions and answers.

##### Exercise 2. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 5.1 doing your best to formulate individual sounds 1) without slowing down, or 2) without losing the intonation pattern.

#### 5.2.2 Listing

Listing has a special intonation pattern which needs to be learned.

### Exercise 3. Listing intonation pattern

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class hums the intonation; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class hums the intonation, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Mola, ezha, palu; tegine akwati.                     | ‘Cloth, machetes, salt; and kerosene.’                           |
| 2. Ogoba, mama, aswe; tegine mazhi, oba, wawadun.       | ‘Coconuts, manioc, avocados; plantains, corn and bananas.’       |
| 3. Pedro, Luis, Ricardo; tegine Alberto, Toni, Ilberto. | ‘Peter, Louis, Richard; Albert, Tony and Gilbert.’               |
| 4. Koe, yannu, chule; tegine chigli, kwama, nalu.       | ‘Deer, peccary and paca; turkey, pheasant, and macaw parrot.’    |
| 5. Kwinub, tiur, arki; tegine tola, puga, chwegob.      | ‘Sabalo, sabaletta, huacuco, catfish (all are species of fish).’ |

### Exercise 4. Listing pronunciation drill

Mimic the teacher as he repeats Sentences 1–5 of Exercise 3 above. You should take care to maintain rhythm and pitch as you formulate the sounds of the words. Try not to distort the intonation pattern.

## 5.3 Culture

Kunas are vitally interested in buying and selling. Bargaining does not play a big role in the culture. Most things have a “going price.”

They often want to know the cost of your possessions and it is quite acceptable to discuss prices freely. The outsider is expected to remember what he paid for the clothes he is wearing or any of his tools or equipment. However, it is also acceptable not to know the cash value of gifts you have received.

Sometimes Kunas do not like for you to disclose the price of something they have sold to you. When others ask the price you gave for an item you bought in the village you may refer them to the seller. If nobody in the present company knows the person who sold you the item, you may disclose the price, but not the name of the person from whom you bought it.

If Kunas are buying or selling small items (e.g., fish hooks, buttons) the items are usually counted in groups of fives.

## 5.4 Grammar

### 5.4.1 Numbers (Ex. 5–15)

The numeral system in Kuna is complex. The numbers themselves are not difficult, but the system of prefixes is difficult to control.

#### 5.4.3.3 Basic number stem

The basic number stems of Kuna are used in counting items in much the same way as items are counted in Spanish and English. The stems, however, are never used by themselves; they always occur with a prefix (see 5.4.1.3). It is important to memorize the basic number stems.

- |              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| 1. -gwen(na) | ‘one’   |
| 2. -bo       | ‘two’   |
| 3. -pá       | ‘three’ |
| 4. -bake     | ‘four’  |
| 5. -atal(e)  | ‘five’  |
| 6. -nerkwa   | ‘six’   |
| 7. -kugle    | ‘seven’ |
| 8. -pabak(e) | ‘eight’ |

- |                |          |
|----------------|----------|
| 9. -bakebak(e) | ‘nine’   |
| 10. -ambe      | ‘ten’    |
| 11. -tula-     | ‘twenty’ |

#### 5.4.1.2 Word order of the number phrase

Unlike English or Spanish, the numeral in Kuna is used after the noun: noun + (prefix + number stem).

**Example** nuzha + (kwa- + -bake) = nuzha kwabake ‘four eggs’

#### 5.4.1.3 Numeral prefixes

In Kuna, you must use one of the many numeral prefixes with the number stem. These prefixes are divided into four main groups according to how a Kuna perceives the item he is counting, or according to the complexity of the number:

1. Group I Shape of object prefixes
2. Group II Complex number-building prefixes
3. Group III Measurement-related prefixes
4. Group IV Time-related prefixes

In this lesson, Group I and Group II prefixes are discussed; Group III and Group IV prefixes are discussed in Lesson VII.

##### 1) Group I. Shape of object prefixes

When a speaker describes a single object he uses a prefix which reflects the speaker’s view of the shape of that object. There are several such shape prefixes.

##### a) *Ka-*

**Ka-** is the most general of the number prefixes based on the shape of an object. It is usually used for longish, non-flat objects such as leaves (mango, plantain, etc.), canoe poles, needles (for sewing and injections), and (a stack of) dollar bills (see 7.4.1.3).

**Ka-** is also used in cases in which no other shape distinction seems to fit. A tip for language learners is: When in doubt, try **ka-**, it just may work!

##### Examples

1. es **kapá** ‘three machetes’
2. aktigal **kabo** ‘two canoe poles’
3. tagar **kabo** ‘two wild banana leaves’
4. iko **kapá** ‘three needles’
5. karta **kabo** ‘two dollar bills’
6. nalas kagan **kabo** ‘two orange leaves’

##### b) *Wala-/wal-*<sup>18</sup>

**Wala-/wal-** is used in describing people and animals and anything which transports people such as cars, planes, and boats. It is used for such elongated objects as plantain, manioc, and jungle ice cream (guava). It is also used for any long, thin pole from which the branches have been removed such as house poles, logs and in counting spirit beings and God.

---

<sup>18</sup> Actually, several of the terms which are treated here as shape prefixes can occur alone as noun stems or in compound forms with other noun roots. For example, **wala-/wal-** occurs with **ezha/es** ‘iron/machete’ in **eswal** ‘spear’ When it occurs alone, **wala/wal** means ‘pole/trunk/main river’.

The prefix **wala-/wal-** may be used in either the short or the long form in counting between one and four items. The long form, **wala-**, is used when the number is in focus, that is, when the number is the important part of the sentence. Only the long form, **wala-**, is used in counting five or more items.

### Examples

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. tule <b>walpá</b> / tule <b>walapá</b>     | ‘three people’      |
| 2. tule <b>walbake</b> / tule <b>walabake</b> | ‘four people’       |
| 3. achu <b>walanerkwa</b>                     | ‘six dogs’          |
| 4. kukualed <b>walaatal</b>                   | ‘five planes’       |
| 5. mas <b>walbake</b> / <b>walabake</b>       | ‘four plantains’    |
| 6. puwal <b>walpá</b> / <b>walapá</b>         | ‘three house poles’ |
| 7. Pab Tummad <b>walgwen</b> chi.             | ‘One God exists.’   |
| 8. mas <b>walakugle</b>                       | ‘seven plantains’   |

### Exercise 5. Drilling numerals frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

- Examples** Teacher: Tule walgwen nad.  
 Student: Tule walgwen nad.  
 Teacher: Tule walbo nad.  
 Student: Tule walbo nad.

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Tule walgwen nad.     | ‘One person went.’   |
| 2. Tule walbo nad.       | ‘Two people went.’   |
| 3. Tule walpá nad.       | ‘Three people went.’ |
| 4. Tule walbake nad.     | ‘Four people went.’  |
| 5. Tule walaatal nad.    | ‘Five people went.’  |
| 6. Tule walanerkwa nad.  | ‘Six people went.’   |
| 7. Tule walakugle nad.   | ‘Seven people went.’ |
| 8. Tule walapabak nad.   | ‘Eight people went.’ |
| 9. Tule walabakebak nad. | ‘Nine people went.’  |
| 10. Tule walaambe nad.   | ‘Ten people went.’   |

### c) *Kwa-*

**Kwa-** is used in describing objects that are more or less round, such as fruits (oranges) and the sun. It is also used to count birds and insects. It is used for spools of thread, and kernels of rice.

### Examples

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. nalas <b>kwanerkwa</b>                  | ‘six oranges’          |
| 2. kallin <b>kwabo</b>                     | ‘two chickens’         |
| 3. kwi <b>kwakugle</b>                     | ‘seven mosquitos’      |
| 4. tub <b>kwabo</b>                        | ‘two spools of thread’ |
| 5. Tad <b>kwagwenna</b> chi. <sup>19</sup> | ‘There is one sun.’    |

### Exercise 6. Drilling numerals substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher counts one and the student repeats one. The teacher and student count two through ten in unison. This exercise should be repeated several times.

---

<sup>19</sup> **kwagwenna** is the long form of **kwagwen** ‘one’ used in this case for emphasis.

**Example** Teacher: Kallin kwagwen ukcha.

Student: Kallin kwagwen ukcha.

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Kallin kwagwen ukcha.    | ‘(He) sold one chicken.’    |
| 2. Kallin kwabo ukcha.      | ‘(He) sold two chickens.’   |
| 3. Kallin kwapá ukcha.      | ‘(He) sold three chickens.’ |
| 4. Kallin kwabake ukcha.    | ‘(He) sold four chickens.’  |
| 5. Kallin kwaatal ukcha.    | ‘(He) sold five chickens.’  |
| 6. Kallin kwanerkwa ukcha.  | ‘(He) sold six chickens.’   |
| 7. Kallin kwakugle ukcha.   | ‘(He) sold seven chickens.’ |
| 8. Kallin kwapabak ukcha.   | ‘(He) sold eight chickens.’ |
| 9. Kallin kwabakebak ukcha. | ‘(He) sold nine chickens.’  |
| 10. Kallin kwaambe ukcha.   | ‘(He) sold ten chickens.’   |

d) *Mata-*

**Mata-** is used to describe flat and laminated objects such as boards, sheets of paper, and books; it is also used for bead necklaces or a set of wrist beads.

**Examples**

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. karta <b>matabo</b>  | ‘two books’           |
| 2. ulgo <b>matabo</b>   | ‘two boards’          |
| 3. wini <b>matabake</b> | ‘four bead necklaces’ |

**Exercise 7. Drilling numerals substitution frame drill**

Using the frame, the teacher counts one and the student repeats one. The teacher and student count two through ten in unison. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Kwaderno matagwen pakpi.

Student: Kwaderno matagwen pakpi.

Teacher and Student (in unison): Kwaderno matagwen pakpi.

- |                                |                                      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Kwaderno matagwen pakpi.    | ‘(He) wants to buy one notebook.’    |
| 2. Kwaderno matabo pakpi.      | ‘(He) wants to buy two notebooks.’   |
| 3. Kwaderno matapá pakpi.      | ‘(He) wants to buy three notebooks.’ |
| 4. Kwaderno matabake pakpi.    | ‘(He) wants to buy four notebooks.’  |
| 5. Kwaderno mataatal pakpi.    | ‘(He) wants to buy five notebooks.’  |
| 6. Kwaderno matanerkwa pakpi.  | ‘(He) wants to buy six notebooks.’   |
| 7. Kwaderno matakugle pakpi.   | ‘(He) wants to buy seven notebooks.’ |
| 8. Kwaderno matapabak pakpi.   | ‘(He) wants to buy eight notebooks.’ |
| 9. Kwaderno matabakebak pakpi. | ‘(He) wants to buy nine notebooks.’  |
| 10. Kwaderno mataambe pakpi.   | ‘(He) wants to buy ten notebooks.’   |

e) *Koa-/ko-*

**Koa-/ko-** applies to articles viewed in fixed lengths such as skirts, hammocks, blouses and shirts. Portions of meat are also counted with the prefix **koa-/ko-**. The short form **ko-** is used for items numbering between one and three. The long form **koa-** is used to describe items numbering four or more.

**Examples**

- |                             |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| 1a. sabured <b>kogwen</b>   | ‘one skirt’      |
| b. sabured <b>koanerkwa</b> | ‘six skirts’     |
| 2a. kachi <b>kobo</b>       | ‘two hammocks’   |
| b. kachi <b>koakugle</b>    | ‘seven hammocks’ |

- |                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 3a. yogal <b>kopá</b>    | ‘three shirts’         |
| b. yogal <b>koapabak</b> | ‘eight shirts’         |
| 4a. mol <b>kobo</b>      | ‘two blouses’          |
| b. mol <b>koaambe</b>    | ‘ten blouses’          |
| 5a. chan <b>kogwen</b>   | ‘one portion of meat’  |
| b. chan <b>koanerkwa</b> | ‘six portions of meat’ |

### Exercise 8. Drilling numerals substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher counts one and the student repeats one. The teacher and student count two through ten in unison. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Sabured kogwen takcha.
	Student:	Sabured kogwen takcha.
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	Sabured kogwen takcha.
1.	Sabured kogwen takcha.	‘(She) saw one skirt.’
2.	Sabured kobo takcha.	‘(She) saw two skirts.’
3.	Sabured kopá takcha.	‘(She) saw three skirts.’
4.	Sabured koabake takcha.	‘(She) saw four skirts.’
5.	Sabured koaatal takcha.	‘(She) saw five skirts.’
6.	Sabured koanerkwa takcha.	‘(She) saw six skirts.’
7.	Sabured koakugle takcha.	‘(She) saw seven skirts.’
8.	Sabured koapabak takcha.	‘(She) saw eight skirts.’
9.	Sabured koabakebak takcha.	‘(She) saw nine skirts.’
10.	Sabured koaambe takcha.	‘(She) saw ten skirts.’

### f) *Chagla-/chal-*

**Chagla-/chal-** is used to describe flowering shrubs and other plants. It is also used to describe any tree, either standing or felled, which still has its branches. The short form **chal-** is used for items numbering one to three, and the long form **chagla-** is used to describe items numbering four or more.

### Examples

- |                               |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1a. chowal <b>chalgwen</b>    | ‘one tree’              |
| b. chowal <b>chaglanerkwa</b> | ‘six trees’             |
| 2a. chia <b>chalbo</b>        | ‘two chocolate trees’   |
| b. chia <b>chaglakugle</b>    | ‘seven chocolate trees’ |
| 3a. kunnu <b>chalpá</b>       | ‘three rubber trees’    |
| b. kunnu <b>chaglapabak</b>   | ‘eight rubber trees’    |
| 4a. ogob <b>chalgwen</b>      | ‘one coconut tree’      |
| b. ogob <b>chaglabakebak</b>  | ‘nine coconut trees’    |
| 5a. chu <b>chalgwen</b>       | ‘one igarron tree’      |
| b. chu <b>chaglaambe</b>      | ‘ten igarron trees’     |

### Exercise 9. Drilling numerals substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher counts one and the student repeats one. The teacher and student count two through ten in unison. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Ogob chalgwen tigne.
	Student:	Ogob chalgwen tigne.
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	Ogob chalgwen tigne.

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ogob chalgwen tigne.      | ‘(He) is going to plant one coconut palm.’    |
| 2. Ogob chalbo tigne.        | ‘(He) is going to plant two coconut palms.’   |
| 3. Ogob chalpá tigne.        | ‘(He) is going to plant three coconut palms.’ |
| 4. Ogob chaglabake tigne.    | ‘(He) is going to plant four coconut palms.’  |
| 5. Ogob chaglaatal tigne.    | ‘(He) is going to plant five coconut palms.’  |
| 6. Ogob chaglanerkwa tigne.  | ‘(He) is going to plant six coconut palms.’   |
| 7. Ogob chaglakugle tigne.   | ‘(He) is going to plant seven coconut palms.’ |
| 8. Ogob chaglapabak tigne.   | ‘(He) is going to plant eight coconut palms.’ |
| 9. Ogob chaglabakebak tigne. | ‘(He) is going to plant nine coconut palms.’  |

g) *Chagla-*

**Chagla-** is used to describe the quantity of some banana-like plants. It is used to describe any number of these plants; the short form **chal-** is not used. **Chagla-** is also used in counting stalks of bananas.

**Examples**

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. mas <b>chagla</b> gwen  | ‘one plantain plant or stalk of bananas’   |
| 2. mas <b>chaglanerkwa</b> | ‘six plantain plants or stalks of bananas’ |

**Exercise 10.** Drilling numerals substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher counts one and the student repeats one. The teacher and student count two through ten in unison. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Mas chaglagwen nika.
	Student:	Mas chaglagwen nika.
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	Mas chaglagwen nika.

- |                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Mas chaglagwen nika.    | ‘(He) has one stalk of bananas.’    |
| 2. Mas chaglabo nika.      | ‘(He) has two stalks of bananas.’   |
| 3. Mas chaglapá nika.      | ‘(He) has three stalks of bananas.’ |
| 4. Mas chaglabake nika.    | ‘(He) has four stalks of bananas.’  |
| 5. Mas chaglaatal nika.    | ‘(He) has five stalks of bananas.’  |
| 6. Mas chaglanerkwa nika.  | ‘(He) has six stalks of bananas.’   |
| 7. Mas chaglakugle nika.   | ‘(He) has seven stalks of bananas.’ |
| 8. Mas chaglapabak nika.   | ‘(He) has eight stalks of bananas.’ |
| 9. Mas chaglabakebak nika. | ‘(He) has nine stalks of bananas.’  |
| 10. Mas chaglaambe nika.   | ‘(He) has ten stalks of bananas.’   |

h) *Kia-/ki-*

**Kia-/ki-** is used to describe the number of individual threads or strands. A good example is in counting the strands of beads in a necklace, or the ropes supporting a hammock, or the strips of reeds used in basket weaving. The short form is used for items numbering between one and three, and the long form is used for items numbering four or more.

**Examples**

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. win <b>kibo</b>     | ‘two strands of beads’  |
| 2. win <b>kiabake</b>  | ‘four strands of beads’ |
| 3. tub <b>kipá</b>     | ‘three ropes’           |
| 4. tub <b>kiakugle</b> | ‘seven ropes’           |

i) *Uka-*

**Uka-** is used to describe a number of individual fish. It is often used in describing the number of fish caught in a day. It is also used to describe pieces of fish, for example, “He has three fish fillets.”



**Examples**

1. arki **ukakugle** 'seven huacuco fish'
2. kwinub **ukaambe** 'ten sabalo fish'
3. ua **ukapá** 'three fillets of fish'

**Exercise 11.** Numeral agreement substitution drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame, selecting the correct numeral prefix for the word involved.

- Examples** Teacher: Tule walbo takcha.  
Teacher: sabured  
Student: Sabured kobo takcha.  
Teacher: Sabured kobo takcha.  
Teacher: mol  
Student: Mol kobo takcha.
1. kallin 'chicken'
  2. kwaderno 'notebook'
  3. tule 'people'
  4. mas 'plantain plants'
  5. sabured 'skirt'
  6. karta 'dollar bill'
  7. chowal 'tree'
  8. ua 'fish'
  9. win 'strand of beads'
  10. es 'machete'

**2) Group II. Complex number-building prefixes**

Numbers over ten in Kuna are "built" by the addition of prefixes to the basic number stems.

**a) Numbers eleven to nineteen**

The numbers twelve to nineteen are formed by a phrase in which **-ambe** 'ten' with the appropriate prefix is followed by the prefix **kaka-** with a basic number stem from two to nine. To form eleven, the basic number stem **-gwen** 'one' is prefixed by **kaka-** and suffixed by **-chak**. The phrase may be summarized as follows: (number prefix + **-ambe**) + (**kaka-** + basic number stem).

1. -ambe **kakagwenchak** 'eleven'
2. -ambe **kakabo** 'twelve'
3. -ambe **kakapá** 'thirteen'
4. -ambe **kakabake** 'fourteen'
5. -ambe **kakaatal** 'fifteen'
6. -ambe **kakanerkwa** 'sixteen'
7. -ambe **kakakugle** 'seventeen'
8. -ambe **kakapabak** 'eighteen'
9. -ambe **kakabakebak** 'nineteen'

**Examples**

1. sabured koambe kakapá 'thirteen skirts'
2. nalas kwaambe kakakugle 'seventeen oranges'
3. chowal chaglaambe kakaatal 'fifteen trees'

**Exercise 12.** Drilling numerals substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher says Sentence 1, the student repeats it, and the teacher and the student repeat Sentence 1 in unison; the teacher says Sentence 2, the student repeats it, and the teacher and the student repeat Sentence 2 in unison, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Mas walaambe kakagwenchak pakcha.
	Student:	Mas walaambe kakagwenchak pakcha.
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	Mas walaambe kakagwenchak pakcha.
	1. Mas walaambe kakagwenchak pakcha.	‘I bought eleven plantains.’
	2. Mas walaambe kakabo pakcha.	‘I bought twelve plantains.’
	3. Mas walaambe kakapá pakcha.	‘I bought thirteen plantains.’
	4. Mas walaambe kakabake pakcha.	‘I bought fourteen plantains.’
	5. Mas walaambe kakaatal pakcha.	‘I bought fifteen plantains.’
	6. Mas walaambe kakanerkwa pakcha.	‘I bought sixteen plantains.’
	7. Mas walaambe kakakugle pakcha.	‘I bought seventeen plantains.’
	8. Mas walaambe kakapabak pakcha.	‘I bought eighteen plantains.’
	9. Mas walaambe kakabakebak pakcha.	‘I bought nineteen plantains.’

**Exercise 13.** Numerals substitution frame drill

The teacher says Phrase 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Phrase 2 and the class repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Examples</b>	Teacher:	arki ukaambe kakagwenchak
	Student:	arki ukaambe kakagwenchak
	Teacher:	arki ukaambe kakabo
	Student:	arki ukaambe kakabo
	1. arki ukaambe kakagwenchak	‘eleven huacuco fish’
	2. arki ukaambe kakabo	‘twelve huacuco fish’
	3. arki ukaambe kakapá	‘thirteen huacuco fish’
	4. arki ukaambe kakabake	‘fourteen huacuco fish’
	5. arki ukaambe kakaatal	‘fifteen huacuco fish’
	6. arki ukaambe kakanerkwa	‘sixteen huacuco fish’
	7. arki ukaambe kakakugle	‘seventeen huacuco fish’
	8. arki ukaambe kakapabak	‘eighteen huacuco fish’
	9. arki ukaambe kakabakebak	‘nineteen huacuco fish’

## b) Numbers twenty and over

The Kuna counting system is based on the numbers ten and twenty. The affix **-tula-** ‘twenty’ is used in conjunction with the appropriate numeral prefix.

Kunas describe large quantities of items by stating the multiple of twenty plus the number of extra items from one to nineteen prefixed by **kata-** (and followed by **-chak** in the case of ‘\_\_\_\_ one’): (number prefix **-tula-** basic number stem) (**kaka-** number one to nineteen).

In other words, the number forty-two is described as “two twenties, plus two”; fifty-six is described as “two twenties, plus sixteen”; and eighty-four is described as “four twenties, plus four”.

**Examples**

1. karta katulagwen	‘twenty dollars’
2. tule walatulagwen kakagwenchak	‘twenty-one dollars’
3. mas walatulabo kakagwenchak	‘forty-one plantains’
4. sabured koatulagwen kakaambe kakabo	‘thirty-two skirts’

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. nalas kwatulaatal      | ‘one-hundred oranges’    |
| 6. tub kiatulabo kakaambe | ‘fifty strands of beads’ |

**Exercise 14.** Complex number frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher says Phrase 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher and the student say Phrase 1 in unison. The teacher says Phrase 2 and the student repeats it; the teacher and the student say Phrase 2 in unison. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Examples</b>	Teacher:	tule walatulagwen
	Student:	tule walatulagwen
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	tule walatulagwen
	Teacher:	tule walatulagwen kakagwenchak
	Student:	tule walatulagwen kakagwenchak
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	tule walatulagwen kakagwenchak

- |                                   |             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. tule walatulagwen              | ‘20 people’ |
| 2. tule walatulagwen kakagwenchak | ‘21 people’ |
| 3. tule walatulagwen kakabo       | ‘22 people’ |
| 4. tule walatulagwen kakapá       | ‘23 people’ |
| 5. tule walatulagwen kakabake     | ‘24 people’ |
| 6. tule walatulagwen kakaatal     | ‘25 people’ |
| 7. tule walatulagwen kakanerkwa   | ‘26 people’ |
| 8. tule walatulagwen kakakugle    | ‘27 people’ |
| 9. tule walatulagwen kakapabak    | ‘28 people’ |
| 10. tule walatulagwen kakabakebak | ‘29 people’ |
| 11. tule walatulagwen kakaambe    | ‘30 people’ |

**Exercise 15.** Complex number frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher says Phrase 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher and the student say Phrase 1 in unison. The teacher says Phrase 2 and the student repeats it; the teacher and the student say Phrase 2 in unison. The teacher and the student continue through the exercise.

- |  |               |
|--|---------------|
| 1. kallin kwatulagwen kakaambe kakaatal    | ‘35 chickens’ |
| 2. kallin kwatulagwen kakaambe kakanerkwa  | ‘36 chickens’ |
| 3. kallin kwatulagwen kakaambe kakakugle   | ‘37 chickens’ |
| 4. kallin kwatulagwen kakaambe kakapabak   | ‘38 chickens’ |
| 5. kallin kwatulagwen kakaambe kakabakebak | ‘39 chickens’ |
| 6. kallin kwatulabo                        | ‘40 chickens’ |
| 7. kallin kwatulabo kakagwenchak           | ‘41 chickens’ |
| 8. kallin kwatulabo kakabo                 | ‘42 chickens’ |
| 9. kallin kwatulabo kakapá                 | ‘43 chickens’ |
| 10. kallin kwatulabo kakabake              | ‘44 chickens’ |

## c) Numbers one-hundred and over

The numbers 100 to 999 are viewed from a base of twenty **-tula-**. The basic form of **tulaatal** ‘five twenties/one hundred’ is followed by the number prefix **ila-** ‘times’, and the appropriate basic number stem in describing units of hundreds (see 7.4.1.1). for further discussion of **ila-**).

**Example 1**

- |                   |                                  |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. tulaatal       | ‘five twenties/100’              |
| 2. tulaatal ilabo | ‘five twenties, times two/200’   |
| 3. tulaatal ilapá | ‘five twenties, times three/300’ |

- |                        |                                  |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 4. tulaatal ilabake    | ‘five twenties, times four/400’  |
| 5. tulaatal ilaatal    | ‘five twenties, times five/500’  |
| 6. tulaatal ilanerkwa  | ‘five twenties, times six/600’   |
| 7. tulaatal ilakugle   | ‘five twenties, times seven/700’ |
| 8. tulaatal ilapabak   | ‘five twenties, times eight/800’ |
| 9. tulaatal ilabakebak | ‘five twenties, times nine/900’  |

**Example 2**

- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| 1. tulaatal ilabo kakagwenchak            | ‘201’ |
| 2. tulaatal ilanerkwa kakatulabo kakaambe | ‘650’ |
| 3. tulaatal ilakugle kakatulapá kakabo    | ‘762’ |

## d) Spanish loan words in the numeral system

Due to the complexity of the numerical system, Spanish loan words are generally preferred for large numbers. The loan words are used as number prefixes.

**Example 1**

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| 1. siento- | ‘one-hundred’  |
| 2. mil-    | ‘one-thousand’ |
| 3. milyon- | ‘one million’  |

**Example 2**

- |                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. masde, sientokugle | ‘700 plantains’   |
| 2. masde, milpá       | ‘3,000 plantains’ |
| 3. kartade, milyonpá  | ‘\$3,000,000.00’  |

**5.4.2 Listing**

Things and events in Kuna are listed in their long form, and the conjunction **teginé** ‘and’ is used to group them into shorter segments. There is a special intonation pattern for listing which is drilled in Exercises 3 and 4.

**Teginé** ‘and’ is also used during a pause in listing. Sometimes a speaker does not complete a list, but uses the term **egmal** ‘rest, remainder’ to indicate that the list is incomplete.

**5.4.2.1 Normal grouping**

Although it is not a hard and fast rule, lists are usually sectioned into groups of three items separated by the conjunction **teginé** ‘and’.

**Example**

Pedro, Luis, Ricardo; **teginé** Alberto, Toni. ‘Peter, Louis, Richard **and** Albert, Tony.’

**5.4.2.2 Hesitancy**

Anytime a speaker hesitates to think of the next item on the list, he will use the conjunction **teginé** ‘and’ in the pause as he thinks. Sometimes a speaker will use the conjunction **teginé** ‘and’ between each item in a list for emphasis.

**Example**

Pedro ... **teginé** Luis ... **teginé** Ricardo. ‘Peter **and** Louis **and** Richard.’

**5.4.2.3 Incomplete listing**

When a speaker chooses not to name the rest of the items on a list, **egmal** ‘others’ is added to the end of the sentence.

**Example**

Pedro, Luis, Ricardo, **teginé egmal**. ‘Peter, Louis, Richard **and the rest**.’

## 5.5 Vocabulary

1. -gwen	'one'
2. -bo	'two'
3. -pá	'three'
4. -bake	'four'
5. -atal	'five'
6. -nerkwa	'six'
7. -kugle	'seven'
8. -pabak	'eight'
9. -bakebak	'nine'
10. -ambe	'ten'
11. -tula-	'twenty'
12. tegine	'and'
13. egmal	'the remainder, the rest'
14. karta	'dollar bill/letter/book'
15. kwaderno	'notebook'
16. kachi	'hammock'
17. sabured	'skirt'

## 6 POSITIONAL WORDS

### 6.1 Dialogue

The position of a person or thing is very important in Kuna. Everything in a Kuna's world is considered to be either lying, sitting, standing (leaning), suspended, or on "all fours," as illustrated in the following dialogue.

A visitor comes to pick up a fishing spear he has arranged to borrow.

- |     |           |                          |  |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|--|
| 1.  | Visitor:  | Anná.                    | 'Hello.'                                   |
| 2.  | Villager: | Mai./Chi.                | 'I'm home.'                                |
| 3.  | Visitor:  | ¿Ibi chenai?             | 'What are you doing?'                      |
| 4.  | Villager: | Chuli. Pinche chi.       | 'Nothing. I'm just sitting.'               |
| 5.  | Visitor:  | Mmm. ¿Mimmidin?          | 'Uh huh. And the baby?'                    |
| 6.  | Villager: | Kammai.                  | 'She is (lying) sleeping.'                 |
| 7.  | Visitor:  | Ajáj. ¿Pe omedin?        | 'Oh. And your wife?'                       |
| 8.  | Villager: | Mas tuji.                | 'She is just cooking.'                     |
| 9.  | Visitor:  | Mmm. Eswaldin, ¿pia mai? | 'Hmm. Where is (lying) the fishing spear?' |
| 10. | Villager: | Webal kwichi.            | 'It is (standing) over there.'             |
| 11. | Visitor:  | Nuedi.                   | 'Thank you.'                               |

The visitor gets up, takes the spear and starts to leave.

- |     |           |        |                    |
|-----|-----------|--------|--------------------|
| 12. | Visitor:  | Kujal. | '(See you) later.' |
| 13. | Villager: | Eye.   | 'Okay.'            |

### 6.2 Pronunciation

It is important that the student studying Kuna continue to practice the general conversational intonation as well as give special attention to the intonation of a disclaimer response.

#### 6.2.1 Conversational intonation (Ex. 1–2)

Practice your ability to carry on a normal conversation in Kuna by drilling the intonation patterns.

##### Exercise 1. Intonation practice

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 6.1 by humming the intonation. Pay special attention to the acknowledgements of a comment such as **ajáj**, **mmm**, **eye**.

##### Exercise 2. Pronunciation practice

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 6.1, formulating the individual sounds as closely as possible without 1) slowing down, or 2) losing the intonation pattern.

#### 6.2.2 Disclaimer (nothing-special-is-happening) response (Ex. 3)

It is very common to use the disclaimer response intonation (see 6.4.3) in reply to routine questions such as: 'What have you been doing?', 'What are you going to do?', 'Where have you been?', and 'Where are you going?'. The pitch of a disclaimer response is higher than that of a normal reply and there is also a tendency to laryngealize the utterance, i.e., there is a different kind of vibration of the vocal cords.

##### Exercise 3. Disclaimer response intonation

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the class repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the class repeats it, etc.. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: Chuli. An pinche chi.  
 Student: Chuli. An pinche chi.  
 Teacher: Chuli. An pe aptaji.  
 Student: Chuli. An pe aptaji.

1. Chuli. An pinche chi. 'Nothing. I'm just sitting.'
2. Chuli. An pe aptaji. 'Nothing. I'm (just) waiting for you.'
3. Chuli. An pe taktani. 'Nothing. I'm (just) coming to visit you.'
4. Chuli. An ul obirne. 'Nowhere. I'm (just) going to take the canoe around (to the other side of the peninsula).'
5. Chuli. An kamne. 'Nothing. I'm (just) going to go to sleep.'

### 6.3 Culture

Gestures and habits vary from culture to culture. It is important to identify with the culture you are studying by learning common gestures, such as the way the people point at things and the way they count on their fingers.

#### 6.3.1 Pointing

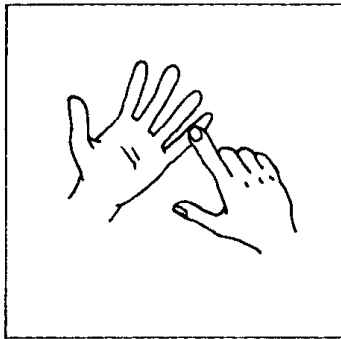
Kuna people point at objects or people by facing the object/person, giving a quick uplift of the chin in that direction, and raising the lower lip slightly.

#### 6.3.2 Counting with fingers

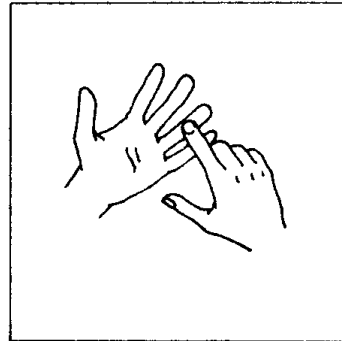
The numbers 1–5 are counted by holding the left hand, palm up. The right index finger is laid across the successive fingers one at a time, starting with the little finger.

The numbers 6–10 are counted by holding the right hand palm down. The left thumb is laid across the successive fingers, starting with the thumb.

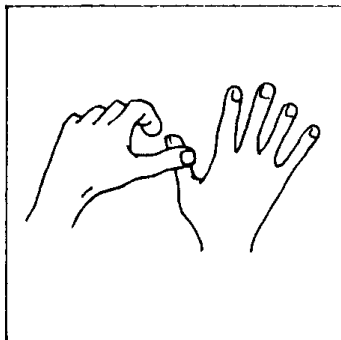
Example Figure 1. Finger Counting



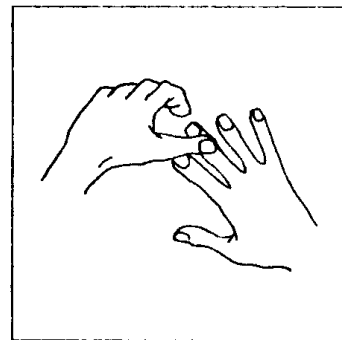
Count "one"



Count "two"



Count "six"



Count "eight"

## 6.4 Grammar

### 6.4.1 Positional verbs (Ex. 4–5)

In English/Spanish it is relatively easy to talk about the general location or presence of a person or object by using the verb 'to be' or *estar*.

#### Examples

English	Spanish
1. The spear <b>is</b> on the floor.	El chuzo <b>está</b> en el piso.
2. The spear <b>is</b> against the wall.	El chuzo <b>está</b> recostado a la pared.
3. The basket <b>is</b> on the floor.	La canasta <b>está</b> en el piso.

You will note in the above examples that the same verb, (is), is used throughout the English examples to refer to general location of the object. The verb *está* is used throughout the Spanish examples.

A Kuna speaker, however, must choose one from several positional verbs to refer to the general location and position of a person or object. The above English/Spanish examples require three different positional verbs to be said in Kuna.

#### Examples

1. Eswal	napkin	<b>mai.</b>
spear	on-the-ground	is-(lying)
'The spear is lying on the ground.'		



2. Eswal            ilagin            **kwichi**.  
 spear            on-the-wall      is-(leaning/standing)  
 ‘The spear is leaning against the wall.’
3. Karpa            napkin            **chi**.  
 basket            on-the-ground    is-(sitting)  
 ‘The basket is sitting on the ground.’

The general location of a person/object is always viewed in light of his/its position. There are five basic potential positions—lying, sitting, hanging (suspended), standing, and “on all fours”—each of which is indicated by one of five<sup>20</sup> positional verbs. When a Kuna speaks of the location of a person/object, he must choose the positional verb which, in his point of view, reflects the position of the person/object.

#### Examples

1. Aktigal **mai**.            ‘The canoe pole **is** (lying) there.’  
 2. Nalas **chi**.            ‘The orange **is** (sitting) there.’  
 3. Mol **nai**.            ‘The blouse **is** (hanging) there.’  
 4. Eswal **kwichi**.        ‘The spear **is** (standing up) there.’  
 5. Koe **un**.            ‘The deer **is** (on all fours) there.’

#### 6.4.1.1 Positional verbs with reference to objects

Various situations or objects indicate to a Kuna speaker the specific positional verb which ought to be used.

##### 1) Mai

In general, the positional verb **mai** refers to objects which are “lying down.” An object which occurs with the verb **mai** is generally a long object. From the viewpoint of a Kuna speaker, a long object cannot generally be doubled (bent) into a sitting position. It is either **mai** ‘lying’ or **kwichi** ‘standing’.

#### Examples

1. Eswal **mai**.            ‘The spear is (lying) (on the floor).’  
 2. Aktigal **mai**.        ‘The canoe pole is (lying) (on the floor).’

##### 2) Chi

In general, the positional verb **chi** refers to objects which are “sitting.” An object which occurs with the verb **chi** is generally a squat object. The objects may be either large or small.

#### Examples

1. Karpa **chi**.            ‘The basket is (sitting) there.’  
 2. Nalas **chi**.            ‘The orange is (sitting) there.’  
 3. Kan **chi**.            ‘The bench is (sitting) there.’  
 4. Pude **chi**.            ‘The bottle is (sitting) there.’  
 5. Esmed **chi**.          ‘The pot is (sitting) there.’

##### 3) Nai

In general, the positional verb **nai** refers to objects which are “hanging” or “suspended.” Any object which is hung from rafters, as well as boats and planes which are viewed as being suspended (presumably in water or air) occur with the positional verb **nai**.

---

<sup>20</sup> A sixth positional verb, **ti**, which involves motion, is dealt with in 18.4.2.

**Examples**

1. Mol **nai**. 'The clothes are (hanging) there.'
2. Kachi **nai**. 'The hammock is (hanging) there.'
3. Kukualed **nai**. 'The plane is (suspended) there.'
4. Choul **nai**. 'The boat is (suspended) there.'

Another use of the positional verb **nai** is in the case of some items being left over out of a group.

**Examples**

1. Nuzha ampa **nai**. 'There are (still some) eggs (left over).'
2. Yannu ampa **nai**. 'There are (still some) peccary (left in the herd).'

## 4) Kwichi

In general, the positional verb **kwichi** refers to objects which are standing up/leaning against something. Nonrigid items cannot "stand" and consequently never occur with the positional verb **kwichi**.<sup>21</sup>

**Examples**

1. Eswal **kwichi**. 'The spear is (standing) there.'
2. Pagla **kwichi**. 'The main house pole is (standing) there.'

## 5) Un

**Un** is used to describe something which is viewed as being "on all fours."

**Examples**

1. Koe wegin **un**. 'The deer is (on all fours) there.'
2. Achu wegin **un**. 'The dog is (on all fours) there.'

**6.4.1.2 Variation in choice of positional verbs**

Usually it is fairly easy to choose the correct positional verb as you view an object from a Kuna person's point of view. Sometimes, however, the choice of position may vary according to the situation or to the viewpoint of the speaker at the moment.

**Examples**

1. Mol **nai**. 'The blouse is (hanging) there.'
2. Mol **mai**. 'The blouse is (folded flat and lying) there.'
3. Mol **chi**. 'The blouse is (sitting) there (on a temporary basis).'
4. Mol **pukwa**.<sup>22</sup> 'The blouse is (in a heap) there.'

**6.4.1.3 Positional verbs with reference to people**

Although any of the positional verbs may be used on occasions with reference to people, the verbs **mai** and **chi** are most commonly used.

1) *Idiomatic use of mai/chi*

In the Paya Kuna dialect,<sup>23</sup> there is an idiomatic distinction made between the positional verb used to refer to the physical presence (location) of a man versus that of a woman. The positional verb **mai** is almost always used to refer to the location of a man or a boy, and the positional verb **chi** is almost always used to refer to the location of a woman or a girl.

<sup>21</sup> **kwichi** is actually a compound verb derived from **kwi** 'to stand' + **-s** 'completive' + **chi** 'to sit'. Note that **s + ch** becomes **ch**.

<sup>22</sup> The plural of positional verbs is discussed in 13.4.3.2.

<sup>23</sup> The San Blas dialect uses **mai** for both male and female.

**Examples**

1. Tad **mai**. 'The grandfather is (at home/present).'
2. Machi **mai**. 'The boy is (at home/present).'
3. Mu **chi**. 'The grandmother is (at home/present).'
4. Pun **chi**. 'The girl is (at home/present).'

According to tradition, this distinction stems from the ancient times when a man always received guests while lying in his hammock (**mai**), while women were seated on benches (**chi**) to receive guests.

**2) Position in focus with reference to people**

Although by far the most common use of positional verbs for men and women is **mai** and **chi**, respectively, occasionally the situation demands that another one be used.

If, in the mind of the speaker, the position of the person is in focus, the construction parallels the Spanish/English construction lying, sitting, standing/leaning, hanging/suspended, or "on all fours." It is helpful to be aware of some examples of situations in which a position is in focus and, consequently, a positional verb other than **mai/chi** is used.

**Situation 1**

A man has been sick and lying in his hammock for days. A visitor comes to call. The sick man is feeling a little better and is even **sitting up** on a bench. The fact that the man is sitting is very important to the visitor because he had not expected that turn of events. The person responding to the visitor's opening remarks might say:

Tad **chi**. 'The elder one is **sitting**.'

**Situation 2**

A woman is very sick and lying in a hammock. The important information is that the woman is so sick she is lying down. Relatives may say to visitors:

Nan **mai**. 'Mother is **lying (down)**.'

**3) Temporary presence**

If the presence of a man is temporary, the positional verb **chi** may be used.

**Examples**

1. Machi **chi**. 'The boy is here (temporarily).'
2. An machered neggin **chi**. 'My husband is (temporarily) in the house.'

**4) Positional verb mai referring to a person's status**

**Mai** is used in speaking of a person's status or position in the community. To form the status construction, the suffix **-ga** is added to the status position.

**Examples**

1. Pedro saglaga **mai**. 'Peter is the chief.'
2. Alvaro tummadga **mai**. 'Alvaro is the leader.'

**5) Positional verb nai referring to allegiance**

**Nai** is used to show allegiance of one person to another. The suffix **-bal** is added to the name of the person to whom allegiance is shown.

**Examples**

1. Pedro anbal **nai**. 'Peter is for me.'
2. Juan, Luisbal **nai**. 'John is for Louis.'

**Exercise 4. Idiomatic use of mai/chi drill**

The teacher says one of the words in the following list. Using the word the teacher has said, the student completes a sentence with the idiomatic form of **mai/chi**.

Example	Teacher: Ome
	Student: Ome chi.
1.	ome ‘woman’
2.	pun ‘daughter’
3.	machi ‘boy’
4.	tad ‘elder’
5.	Luis ‘Louis’
6.	María ‘Mary’

**Exercise 5. Positional verb viewpoint drill**

If practical, the teacher should carry out the following drill. The purpose of the drill is to help the student learn how a Kuna would view the position of an object. The teacher points to an object. The student replies, inserting in the frame below the positional (**nai, mai, chi, kwichi** or **un**) that a Kuna would use, viewing the object involved.

**Example** Teacher: (points to a cord hanging down from the roof)  
Student: We, wegin **nai**.

**Frame** We, wegin \_\_\_\_\_. ‘That **is** (lying, sitting, standing, hanging, on all fours) over there.’

**Note:** Ten to fifteen items should be used, if possible. The drill should be repeated several times until the student is able to anticipate the Kuna viewpoint of an object’s position.

**6.4.2 Present progressive tense-aspect (Ex. 6–9)**

When an event or action is viewed by the speaker as being in progress, the aspect of the verb is present progressive. The present progressive parallels the Spanish/English construction *Estoy comiendo*. ‘I am eating.’ In Kuna, the present progressive is formed by suffixing one of the positional verbs **-mai, -chi, -nai, or -kwichi** to the verb stem.

**6.4.2.1 General use of the present progressive**

In general, the positional verb used to form the present progressive reflects the position of the person/thing doing the action.

**Examples**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1a. Mimmi kamma <b>mai</b> . <sup>24</sup> | ‘The baby is (lying) sleeping.’                                  |
| b. Mimmi kab <b>zhi</b> .                  | ‘The baby is (sitting in a chair) sleeping.’                     |
| c. Wag kab <b>gwis</b> . <sup>25</sup>     | ‘The outsider is (standing/leaning against something) sleeping.’ |
| 2a. An mas kunch <b>i</b> .                | ‘I am (sitting) eating.’   |
| b. An mas kunk <b>wis</b> . <sup>5</sup>   | ‘I am (standing) eating.’  |
| 3. Kukualed kukun <b>ai</b> .              | ‘The plane is (suspended) flying.’                               |

It is important to note that the present progressive suffix **-chi**, changes its form according to the final vowel or consonant of the verb stem:

- **-chi** occurs following fortis consonants.
- **-chi** becomes **-zhi** following lenis consonants.
- **-chi** becomes **-ji** following vowels.

<sup>24</sup> **b** becomes **m** before **m** or **n**. For example, **kab** + **-mai** = **kammai** ‘is sleeping’.

<sup>25</sup> **-gwis** and **-kwis** are short forms of **kwichi** ‘to be standing’.

**Examples**

- |                     |                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. An mas kunchi.   | ‘I am (sitting) eating.’   |
| 2. An madun kobzhi. | ‘I am (sitting) drinking.’ |
| 3. An mas tuji.     | ‘I am (sitting) cooking.’  |

**6.4.2.2 Active/passive involvement in present progressive tense**

A Kuna speaker often makes a distinction between a person actively engaging in an action, versus someone who is passively involved in an action. If the speaker is focusing on the idea that the person is actively or passively involved in an action, rather than on the action itself, the positional verbs **nai** and **chi** are used as present progressive suffixes. The suffix **-nai** ‘hanging/suspended’ is used to indicate that a person is actively involved in an action. The actor may be standing, sitting or lying, but he is actively involved.

**Examples**

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. An mol maknai.       | ‘I am <b>actively</b> (sitting) sewing a blouse.’                  |
| 2. Machi karro nudanai. | ‘The boy is <b>actively</b> (lying down underneath) fixing a car.’ |

The present progressive tense suffix **-chi** is used if an actor is passively involved in an action, regardless of a standing, sitting, or lying position. If, for example, a woman is standing passively watching food cook, but is not stirring it, or doing anything to the fire, a Kuna speaker would use the present progressive suffix **-chi/-zhi/-ji**. Or, if a man is lying under a car, passively looking at it, but he is not actively involved in doing anything, the present progressive suffix **-chi/-zhi/-ji** could be used.

**Examples**

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Ome mas tuji.      | ‘The woman is <b>passively</b> (possibly standing) cooking food.’           |
| 2. Tule karro takchi. | ‘The man is <b>passively</b> (possibly lying underneath) looking at a car.’ |
| 3. An aros takchi.    | ‘I am <b>passively</b> (possibly standing) looking at the rice.’            |

**6.4.2.3 Temporary action sense of -gwis/-kwis**

The temporary nature of an action in progress can be indicated by using **-gwis/-kwis** in a secondary sense. In this case the suffix **-gwis/-kwis**<sup>26</sup> is added to the short form of the verb stem.

**Examples**

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. An nuskan takkwis. | ‘I am looking after the children <b>for the moment</b> .’ |
| 2. An itigin meggwis. | ‘I am living here <b>temporarily</b> .’                   |

**Exercise 6. Present progressive aspect frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**     Teacher: An ua kunnai.  
                   Student: An ua kunnai.

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. An ua kunnai.     | ‘I’m eating fish.’                              |
| 2. An ua maknai.     | ‘I’m spearing fish.’                            |
| 3. An ua chwanai.    | ‘I’m catching fish.’                            |
| 4. An karta takchi.  | ‘I’m just sitting looking at/reading a letter.’ |
| 5. An karta nermaji. | ‘I’m just sitting writing a letter.’            |
| 6. Machi kammai.     | ‘The boy lies sleeping.’                        |
| 7. Machi atamai.     | ‘The boy lies awake.’                           |
| 8. Machi ullukumai.  | ‘The boy lies resting.’                         |

<sup>26</sup> **purkwis** ‘died’ and **nakwis** ‘to ascend/go up’ are not derived in this way.

**Exercise 7.** Present progressive aspect substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame.

**Examples** Teacher: An mol paknai.  
 Teacher: uk  
 Student: An mol uknai.  
 Teacher: An mol uknai.  
 Teacher: chik  
 Student: An mol chiknai.

**Frame** An mol paknai. 'I'm buying a blouse.'

1. pak 'to buy'
2. uk 'to sell'
3. chik 'to cut'
4. chu 'to fetch'
5. enuk 'to wash'
6. mak 'to sew'
7. yo 'to put on'
8. echu 'to take off'
9. chabo 'to put away'

**Exercise 8.** Present progressive aspect substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame, using the appropriate positional suffix.

**Examples** Teacher: Machi kammai.  
 Teacher: apta  
 Student: Machi aptamai.  
 Teacher: Machi aptamai.  
 Teacher: purpurma  
 Student: Machi purpurmanai.

**Frame** Machi \_\_\_\_\_. 'The boy is \_\_\_\_ing.'

1. kab 'to sleep'
2. apta 'to wait'
3. purpurma 'to cough'
4. ata 'to awaken'
5. ob 'to bathe'

**Exercise 9.** Present progressive aspect stimulus response drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of a yes/no question. The student replies using a different verb with the present progressive aspect. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: ¿Pe mol paknai?  
 Student: Chuli. An sabured uknai.  
 Teacher: ¿Pe sabured uknai?  
 Student: Chuli. An mol maknai.

**Frame** Chuli. An mol/sabured \_\_\_\_\_. 'No. I'm \_\_\_\_ing a blouse/skirt.'

1. pak 'to buy'
2. chik 'to cut'

- |          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| 3. uk    | ‘to sell’     |
| 4. enuk  | ‘to wash’     |
| 5. mak   | ‘to sew’      |
| 6. chu   | ‘to fetch’    |
| 7. chabo | ‘to put away’ |
| 8. echu  | ‘to take off’ |

### 6.4.3 Disclaimer (nothing-special-is-happening) response (Ex. 10)

It is very common that on a chance meeting or casual visit a Kuna will ask the person he sees a general question such as, ‘What are you doing?’, ‘Where have you been?’, or ‘What are you going to do?’. The response is often a nothing-much type of an answer, a disclaimer response. The disclaimer response states what the person is doing or where he is going in a manner that suggests that the activity is routine, nothing special. **Pinche** ‘for nothing/for no special purpose’ is an optional feature of a disclaimer response. It serves to heighten the disclaimer.

#### Exercise 10. Disclaimer response drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of a yes/no ‘doing’ question. The teacher also says the verb that occurs in brackets below. The student replies to the question by using the verb (in brackets) which the teacher has said in the form of a disclaimer response. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pe mas kunnai?

Teacher: tu

Student: Chuli. (Pinche) an mas tuji.

**Frame** Chuli. (Pinche) an \_\_\_\_ chi. ‘No. I’m just \_\_\_\_ing.’

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. ¿Pe mas kunnai? (tu)    | ‘Are you eating the food? (cook).’             |
| 2. ¿Pe mol maknai? (nerma) | ‘Are you sewing a blouse? (drawing a design).’ |
| 3. ¿Pe aros emina? (tak)   | ‘Are you weeding the rice? (inspecting).’      |
| 4. ¿Pe ul chomnai? (nuda)  | ‘Are you making a canoe? (repair).’            |
| 5. ¿Pe mol uknai? (oyo)    | ‘Are you selling a blouse? (show).’            |

## 6.5 Vocabulary

- |                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. karpa         | ‘basket’                   |
| 2. pinche        | ‘in vain/for nothing’      |
| 3. mak(e)        | ‘to pierce/sew/spear’      |
| 4. chwa(e)       | ‘to fish (with a line)’    |
| 5. eswal(a)      | ‘spear (for fishing)’      |
| 6. nai           | ‘to be (hanging up/down)’  |
| 7. chi           | ‘to be (sitting)’          |
| 8. mai           | ‘to be (lying)’            |
| 9. kwichi        | ‘to be (standing/leaning)’ |
| 10. un           | ‘to be (on all fours)’     |
| 11. tak(e)       | ‘to see/inspect’           |
| 12. kab(e)       | ‘to sleep’                 |
| 13. ata(ke)      | ‘to awaken’                |
| 14. purpurma(ke) | ‘to cough’                 |
| 15. azhu kol(e)  | ‘to snore’                 |
| 16. che          | ‘to do/carry’              |
| 17. enuk(e)      | ‘to wash/scrub’            |
| 18. ob(e)        | ‘to bathe’                 |
| 19. asmi(e)      | ‘to sneeze’                |

## 7 BUYING AND SELLING

### 7.1 Dialogue

Useful expressions for buying and selling are illustrated in the following dialogue.

- |    |           |                        |                              |
|----|-----------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Villager: | Tegidde. <sup>27</sup> | ‘So, what’s new (with you)?’ |
| 2. | Trader:   | Ampala. ¿Pedin?        | ‘So-so. And you?’            |
| 3. | Villager: | Nued. ¿Pe palu nika?   | ‘Fine. Do you have salt?’    |
| 4. | Trader:   | Eye. ¿Melu pei?        | ‘Yes. How much do you want?’ |
| 5. | Villager: | Paketegwen an pakne.   | ‘I’ll buy one packet.’       |
| 6. | Trader:   | Nabirde.               | ‘Okay then.’                 |

Money and salt exchange hands.

- |     |           |                                     |  |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 7.  | Villager: | ¿Ostigidin?                         | ‘And sugar?’                             |
| 8.  | Trader:   | Eye. Libergwen, manibake.           | ‘Yes. Twenty cents per pound.’           |
| 9.  | Villager: | Nabirde. An liberatal pakne.        | ‘Okay then, I’ll buy five pounds.’       |
| 10. | Trader:   | Ajáj. Karta kagwen tegil.           | ‘Okay. That will be one dollar.’         |
| 11. | Villager: | ¡Aajo! An mani nikchul.             | ‘Oh dear! I don’t have (any) money.’     |
| 12. | Villager: | An mani amine, ¿ito?                | ‘I’m going to get some, you understand?’ |
| 13. | Trader:   | Eye. ¿Inkwa tanibalo? <sup>28</sup> | ‘Yes. When will you come back?’          |
| 14. | Villager: | Immis-immis. An negwelo.            | ‘Right away. I’ll be away for a moment.’ |
| 15. | Trader:   | Eye.                                | ‘Okay.’                                  |

The villager leaves to fetch the money and returns shortly.

- |     |           |                                      |   |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 16. | Villager: | Tanibal. An, pe ampa penkil.         | ‘(Here I) come again. I still owe you (money).’ |
| 17. | Trader:   | Eye. ¿Pe an pennukne?                | ‘Yes. Are you going to pay me?’                 |
| 18. | Villager: | Eye. (He gives the money.)<br>¿Unni? | ‘Yes. (Is that) enough?’                        |
| 19. | Trader:   | Unni. Pela.                          | ‘It’s enough. It’s finished (we’re square).’    |
| 20. | Trader:   | ¿Pe mas uked nika?                   | ‘So, are you selling plantains?’                |
| 21. | Villager: | Eye. ¿Melu pakpi?                    | ‘Yes. How many do you want to buy?’             |
| 22. | Trader:   | Milbo.                               | ‘Two-thousand.’                                 |
| 23. | Villager: | ¿Igi manide?                         | ‘How much will you pay for them?’               |
| 24. | Trader:   | Tula-atal, karta kabo eg<br>tongwen. | ‘\$2.50 per hundred.’                           |
| 25. | Villager: | Nabirde. ¿Inkwa pei?                 | ‘Fine, so when do (you) want (them)?’           |
| 26. | Trader:   | Chedo.                               | ‘This evening.’                                 |
| 27. | Villager: | ¿Igi wachi nai?                      | ‘What time is it?’                              |
| 28. | Trader:   | Wachilpabak eg abal.                 | ‘8:30 a.m.’                                     |
| 29. | Villager: | Nabirde. Kujal tegil.                | ‘Okay. So (I’ll see you) later, then.’          |
| 30. | Trader:   | Eye.                                 | ‘Okay.’   |

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>28</sup> -o is used to refer to an action to be performed in the future. This suffix is discussed further in 10.4. -bal is used to indicate repetition of an action, e.g., **tanibal** ‘come again’. This suffix is also discussed further in 10.4.3.1.



## 7.2 Pronunciation

### 7.2.1 Intonation (Ex. 1)

#### Exercise 1. Intonation pattern drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 7.1 by humming the intonation patterns. Think the words as you hum them. Pay special attention to the intonation change between questions and answers.

### 7.2.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 2–3)

#### Exercise 2. Pronunciation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 7.1, formulating the individual sounds the best you can without 1) slowing down, or 2) losing the intonation pattern.

#### Exercise 3. Dialogue drill

Practice carrying on a normal conversation, using the correct intonation patterns by doing the following exercise:

Dramatize Dialogue 7.1 with the teacher playing the role of the villager and the student playing the role of the trader. Repeat the exercise with the student as villager and the teacher as trader. After the teacher has done the dialogue a couple of times, allow two students to dramatize the dialogue. While the students are dramatizing the dialogue, the teacher should note the sentences which are most difficult for the student and work on the intonation of those sentences at a later time. Use Kuna-like gestures while dramatizing the dialogue.

### 7.2.3 Unit price intonation pattern (Ex. 4–5)

When quoting a price per unit in Kuna, the unit is given first followed by a drop in pitch. The price is given in the lower pitch.

#### Exercise 4. Unit price intonation pattern

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student hums the intonation; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student hums the intonation, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Yardagwen, karta kagwen.            | ‘One dollar per yard.’                   |
| 2. Kogwen, karta kapá.                 | ‘Three dollars per length.’              |
| 3. Libergwen, maniatál.                | ‘Twenty-five cents per pound.’           |
| 4. Bultogwen, karta kanerkwa.          | ‘Six dollars per lot.’                   |
| 5. Galonkwen, karta kagwen eg tongwen. | ‘One dollar and fifty cents per gallon.’ |

#### Exercise 5. Unit price intonation pattern

Mimic the teacher as he repeats Sentences 1–5 of Exercise 4 above. You should take care to maintain the rhythm and the pitch as you formulate the sounds of the words. Try not to distort the intonation pattern.

## 7.3 Culture

In carrying out business, Kunas usually buy and pay for one item at a time. This practice is common in many parts of the world. The price of sugar, for instance, is discussed and agreed upon. The sugar is paid for, handed over to the buyer, and any change is given. You are then ready to buy or sell the next item.

As you become more integrated into the Kuna culture, you will occasionally find yourself involved in situations which are embarrassing to you or to your Kuna associates. One such embarrassing situation is related in Dialogue 7.1. The villager discovered when he went to pay for some merchandise that he had left his money at home. A Kuna would feel very embarrassed on discovering his error. The most inoffensive way of handling an embarrassing situation in a culture other than your own is to ignore the situation and carry on as though nothing unusual had happened. Avoid using smiles or quips in such situations. People tend to be doubly sensitive to embarrassment in front of people from another culture. If the embarrassing situation is ignored it is much easier for the embarrassed party to regain his composure.

## 7.4 Grammar

### 7.4.1 Numbers (Ex. 6–19)

In 5.4.1., basic number stems, the word order of the number phrase, and numeral prefixes from Group I (Shape of object prefixes) and Group II (Complex number-building prefixes) are discussed. Prefixes from Group III (Measurement-related prefixes) and Group IV (Time-related prefixes) are also in constant use in the Kuna counting system.

Measurement-related prefixes and time-related prefixes are vital to your control of the numerical system in Kuna.

#### 7.4.1.1 Group III. Measurement-related prefixes

Measurement-related prefixes are used to describe collective nouns or quantitative measurements such as pounds, bushels, herds. The measurement-related prefixes attach to any basic number stem as the shape of object prefixes. There are several measurement-related prefixes.

##### 1) Karpa-

**Karpa-** literally means ‘basket’ and is used to describe the quantity of crops harvested in a day or the total crop harvested. It is used to describe crops collected in baskets such as **oba** ‘corn’, **chia** ‘cocoa’, **aros** ‘rice’, **aswe** ‘avocado’, and **mam** ‘manioc’.

##### Examples

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Oba <b>karpa</b> bo an chus.                  | ‘I harvested (fetched) two baskets of corn.’ |
| 2. Aros <b>karpa</b> ambe an chus. <sup>29</sup> | ‘I harvested (fetched) ten baskets of rice.’ |

##### 2) Kuk-/kuku-

**Kuk-/kuku-** is used to describe bundles of elongated objects such as leaves (thatch) for roof building. Bundles numbering from one to three use the short form **kuk-**, and bundles numbering four or more use the long form **kuku-**.

##### Examples

- |                            |                                       |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. tagar <b>kuk</b> gwen   | ‘one bundle of wild banana leaves’    |
| 2. tagar <b>kuk</b> bo     | ‘two bundles of wild banana leaves’   |
| 3. tagar <b>kukuk</b> ugle | ‘seven bundles of wild banana leaves’ |

##### 3) Tan-/tana-

**Tan-/tana-** is used to describe fields or farms. If a person has fields of rice planted in two different locations, **tan-** is the prefix used to count the fields. **Tan-** is also used to describe a stand of reeds used in basket weaving. The short form **tan-** is used to count items numbering from one to three and the long form **tana-** is used to count four or more items.

##### Examples

- |                                  |                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Negchaled <b>tan</b> bo.      | ‘(There are) two fields.’          |
| 2. Kaie negchaled <b>tan</b> pá. | ‘(There are) three cane fields.’   |
| 3. Nagwal <b>tana</b> nerkwa.    | ‘(There are) six stands of reeds.’ |

##### 4) Tak-

**Tak-** is used to describe a bunch of coconuts on a stalk, or a hand of bananas or plantains.

---

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix E for an explanation of the word order in these two examples.

**Examples**

1. Ogob **takbo**. (There are) two stalks of coconuts.'
2. Wawadun **taknerkwa**. (There are) six hands of bananas.'

## 5) Il-/ila-

**Il-/ila-** is used to describe the number of times an action is performed or an event occurs. It is also used to count rows of crops. The short form **il-** is used to count one to three items, and the long form **ila-** is used to count four or more items.

**Examples**

1. **Ilbo** an takcha. 'I saw it two times.'
2. **Ilanerkwa** an takcha. 'I saw it six times.'

**Exercise 6. Measurement prefix il-/ila- frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the student and the teacher say Sentences 1–10 in unison. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ilgwen arpi.  
Student: Ilgwen arpi.  
Teacher and Student (in unison): Ilgwen arpi.

1. Ilgwen arpi. (He) went once.'
2. Ilbo arpi. (He) went twice.'
3. Ilpá arpi. (He) went three times.'
4. Ilabake arpi. (He) went four times.'
5. Ilaatal arpi. (He) went five times.'
6. Ilanerkwa arpi. (He) went six times.'
7. Ilakugle arpi. (He) went seven times.'
8. Ilapabak arpi. (He) went eight times.'
9. Ilabakebak arpi. (He) went nine times.'
10. Ilaambe arpi. (He) went ten times.'

## 6) Chog-/choga-

**Chog-/choga-** is used to describe sets of things or groups of items. It can be used to describe the number of ways an idea may be correctly expressed or the number of expressions. Herds of animals or flocks of birds are counted by using this prefix. The short form **chog-** is used to count items (groups) of one to three and the long form is used to count items (groups) of four or more.

**Examples**

1. **Chogpá**. (There are) three ways of saying it.'
2. Immal **chogabake**. (There are) four groups of different kinds of animals.'
3. Yannu **chogbo**. (There are) two **yannu** herds.'
4. Padu **chogpá**. (There are) three flocks of ducks.'
5. Sapat **chogabake**. (There are) four groups (piles) of shoes (of different kinds: sandals, sneakers, boots).'

## 7) Tar-

**Tar-** is used to describe a basic measured unit of an item. **Tar-** is usually used in the selling of cloth.

**Examples**

1. Mol **tarpá**. (There are) three lengths of cloth.'
2. Mol **tarpabak**. (There are) eight lengths of cloth.'

**Exercise 7. Drilling numerals substitution frame drill**

Using the frame, the teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it. The teacher and the student say Sentences 1–10 in unison. This exercise may be repeated several times.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Mol tarbo takne.
	Student:	Mol tarbo takne.
	Teacher and Student (in unison):	Mol tarbo takne.
1.	Mol tarbo takne.	‘(She) will look at two lengths of cloth.’
2.	Mol tarpá takne.	‘(She) will look at three lengths of cloth.’
3.	Mol tarbake takne.	‘(She) will look at four lengths of cloth.’
4.	Mol taratal takne.	‘(She) will look at five lengths of cloth.’
5.	Mol tarnerkwa takne.	‘(She) will look at six lengths of cloth.’
6.	Mol tarkugle takne.	‘(She) will look at seven lengths of cloth.’
7.	Mol tarpabak takne.	‘(She) will look at eight lengths of cloth.’
8.	Mol tarbakebak takne.	‘(She) will look at nine lengths of cloth.’
9.	Mol tarambe takne.	‘(She) will look at ten lengths of cloth.’
10.	Mol tarambe kakkabo takne.	‘(She) will look at twelve lengths of cloth.’

**8) Out-of-culture measurement unit prefixes**

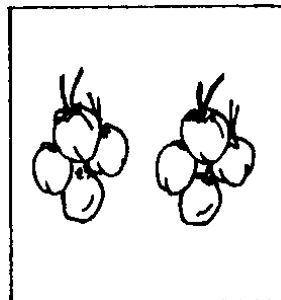
Kunas sometimes use measurement units from outside their culture to describe various items. Some out-of-culture measurement unit prefixes include: **yarta-** ‘yard’, **metro-** ‘meter’, and **liber-** ‘pound’. These prefixes are used with basic number stems to describe quantities of various items such as cloth, sugar, and flour.

**Examples**

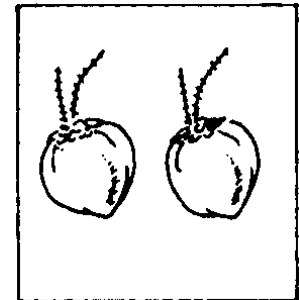
- |    |                            |   |
|----|----------------------------|---|
| 1. | Mol <b>yarta</b> bo pei.   | ‘I would like (to buy) two yards of cloth.’ |
| 2. | Ostigid <b>liber</b> gwen. | ‘(There is) one pound of sugar.’            |

**7.4.1.2 Illustrated comparisons of Group I and Group III number prefixes****1) ogob ‘coconut’**

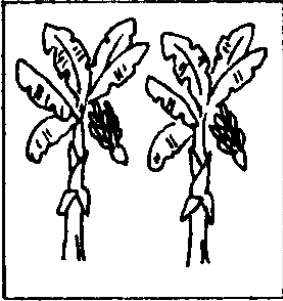
ogob **chalbo** ‘two coconut palms’



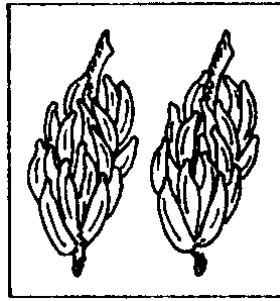
ogob **takbo** ‘two bunches of coconuts’



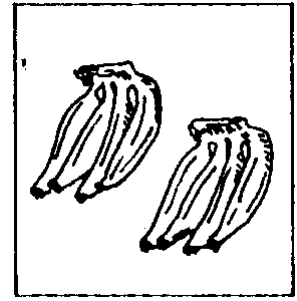
ogob **kwabo** ‘two coconuts’

2) **mas** 'plantains'

mas **chaglabo** 'two  
plantain plants'



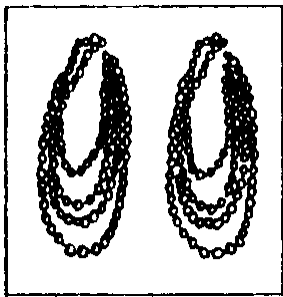
mas **chaglabo** 'two  
stalks of plantain'



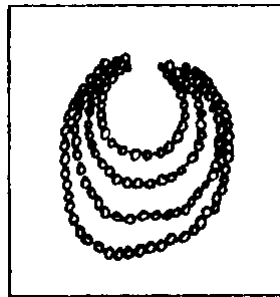
mas **takbo** 'two hands of  
plantain'



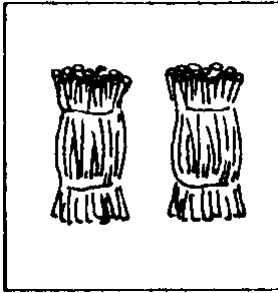
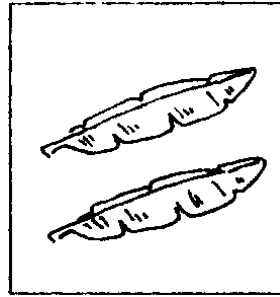
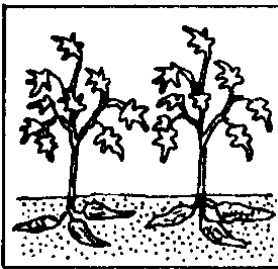
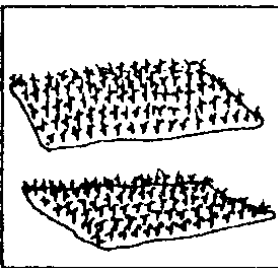
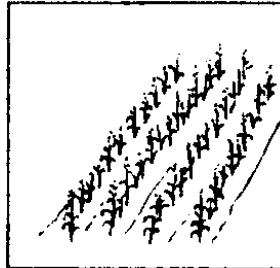
mas **walbo** 'two  
plantains'

3) **win** 'beads'

win **matabo** 'two bead  
necklaces'



win **kiabake** 'four  
strands (strings) of  
beads'

4) **tagar** 'wild banana leaves'tagar **kukbo** 'two bundles of thatch'tagar **kabo** 'two leaves of wild banana'5) **mam** 'manioc'mam **chaglabo** 'two manioc plants'mam **walbo** 'two manioc tubers'6) **negchaled** 'fields'ob negchaled **tanbo** 'two fields of corn'ob **ilabake** 'four rows of corn'**Exercise 8.** Numeral prefix substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects a word from the list below to substitute in the frame and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame, selecting the correct collective noun or measurement prefix for the object involved.

**Examples** Teacher: Ob karpapá takcha.  
 Teacher: chin  
 Student: Chin chogpá takcha.  
 Teacher: Chin chogpá takcha.  
 Teacher: wawadun  
 Student: Wawadun walpá takcha.

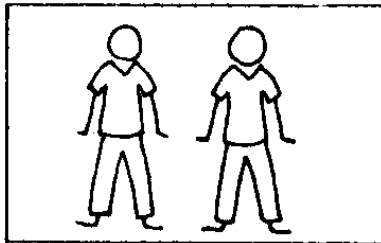
**Frame** Ob karpapá takcha. '(She) saw three baskets of corn.'

- |              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. ob        | 'corn'              |
| 2. tagar     | 'wild banana plant' |
| 3. chin      | 'pig herd'          |
| 4. wawadun   | 'banana'            |
| 5. ostigid   | 'sugar'             |
| 6. chia      | 'cocoa'             |
| 7. win       | 'bead necklaces'    |
| 8. negchaled | 'fields'            |

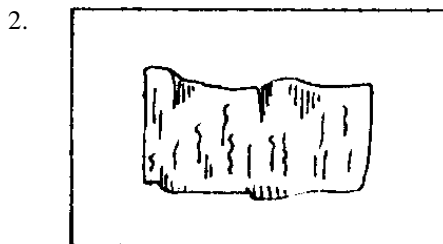
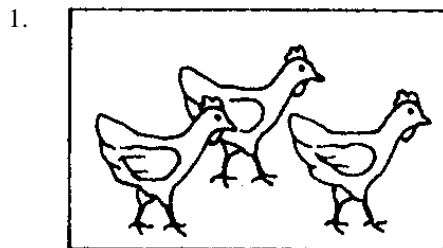
**Exercise 9.** Numerals formation drill

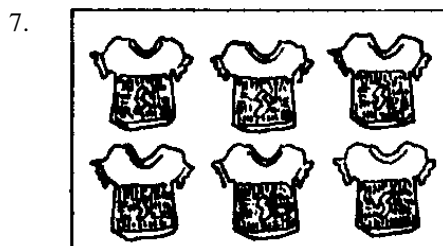
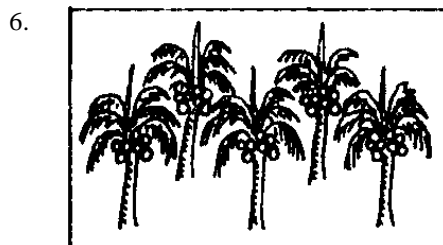
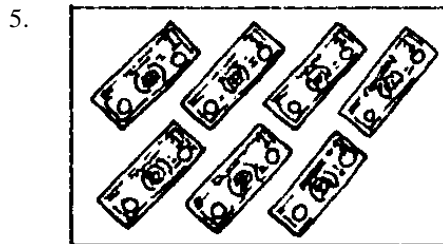
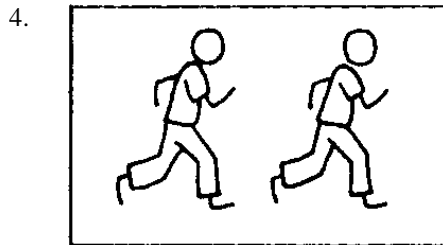
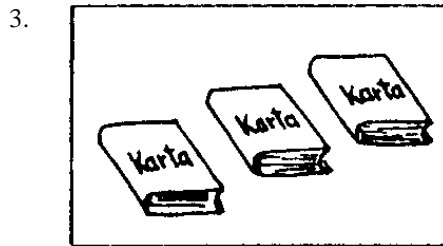
The student looks at the picture and says a phrase describing it.

**Example** Figure 2.



Student: Tule walbo.





### 7.4.1.3 Money units

Money units function in a different way from other measurement prefixes and need to be discussed individually. The five prefixes and/or words used to describe money by the Kunas of the Darién are:

- |          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| 1. mani- | 'five cents/one nickel' |
| 2. ton-  | 'fifty cents'           |
| 3. karta | 'dollar bills'          |



4. olmani- 'dollar bills'  
5. tula- 'twenty'

These five terms form the basis of the five-way distinction used to describe money units below.

1) *Money unit prefixes used to describe quantities less than one dollar*

Two prefixes used by Darién Kuna for money valued at less than one dollar are **mani-** 'five cents/nickel' and **ton-** 'fifty cents'.

a) **Mani-** 'coin'

**Mani-** 'five cents/one nickel' is the smallest unit of money used for trade in the Darién.<sup>30</sup> In describing the cost of items valued between five and forty-five cents, the Kunas describe the cost as a multiple of five cent pieces. For example, if an item costs twenty-five cents, the Kunas would interpret the cost of the item as five five-cent units, or five nickels. The prefix **mani-** uses two forms of the numeral phrase. If an item costs from five to thirty cents (i.e., one to six nickels), the form of the numeral phrase is **mani-** + basic number stem.

If the item costs from thirty-five to forty-five cents (seven to nine nickels), the form of the number phrase is **mani-** + **kwa-**<sup>31</sup> + basic number stem.

**Example**

1. **manibake** '20 cents (four five-cent units)'  
2. **maniatal** '25 cents (five, five-cent units)'  
3. **manikwakugle** '35 cents (seven, five-cent units)'  
4. **manikwapabak** '40 cents (eight, five-cent units)'

**Exercise 10.** Money unit drill

The teacher writes on the board one of the money quantities listed in the lesson. The teacher then says the Kuna money unit. The student repeats the money unit after the teacher. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<b>Examples</b>	Teacher (writes):	5¢
	Teacher (says):	manigwen
	Student (says):	manigwen
	Teacher (writes):	10¢
	Teacher (says):	manibo
	Student (says):	manibo
1. 5¢	manigwen	'five cents'
2. 10¢	manibo	'ten cents'
3. 15¢	manipá	'fifteen cents'
4. 20¢	manibake	'twenty cents'
5. 25¢	maniatal	'twenty-five cents'
6. 30¢	maninerkwa	'thirty cents'
7. 35¢	manikwakugle	'thirty-five cents'
8. 40¢	manikwapabak	'forty cents'
9. 45¢	manikwabakebak	'forty-five cents'

<sup>30</sup> **mani kollogwad** 'cent' (lit., yellow money) is used only in the city and in larger towns.

<sup>31</sup> **kwa-** is a Group I shape prefix (see 5.4.1.3).

b) *Ton-* ‘fifty cents’

**Ton-** is used to describe units of fifty cents. The most common use of the prefix **ton-** is in the description of an item which costs fifty cents, **tongwen**. Very occasionally other number stems are added to the prefix **ton-** and are used to describe values which are multiples of fifty cents. The numeral phrase is formed by **ton-** + basic number stem.

**Examples**

1. **tongwen** ‘fifty cents (one fifty-cent unit)’

Rarely used forms include:

2. **tonbo** ‘one dollar (two fifty-cent units)’  
 3. **tonpá** ‘one dollar, fifty (three fifty-cent units)’  
 4. **tonbake** ‘two dollars (four fifty-cent units)’

2) *Money unit terms used to describe quantities of one dollar or more*

Two terms used by the Kuna in the Darién to describe money valued at more than one dollar are **karta** ‘dollar bill’ and **olmani-** ‘gold sovereign’.

**Karta** ‘dollar bill’ is the word used to describe dollar bills in Kuna. It actually means ‘paper/book’. The form used to describe the denomination of a dollar bill or the price of an item is **karta** + **ka-** (or **mata-**<sup>32</sup>) + basic number stem.

Although either **ka-** or **mata-** may be used in the numeral phrase, **ka-** is more common. The word **karta** is usually used to describe denominations of money valued at less than ten dollars. However, this is not always the case. When the term **karta** is used to describe denominations of twenty or more, the Group I prefixes, **ka-** and **mata-** are not usually used.

**Examples**

1. **karta kagwen** ‘one dollar’<sup>33</sup>  
 or  
**karta matagwen**  
 2. **karta kabo** ‘two dollars’  
 or  
**karta matabo**  
 3. **karta katulabo** ‘forty dollars’  
 or  
**karta matatulabo**  
 or  
**karta tulabo**

**Olmani-** ‘gold sovereign dollar bills’ is another money unit prefix. The form used to describe the denomination of a bill or the price of an item is **olmani-** + basic number stem.

This prefix is usually used to describe denominations of more than ten dollars, although occasionally one dollar amounts are described by this prefix.

<sup>32</sup> **ka-** and **mata-** are Group I shape prefixes (see 5.4.1.3).

<sup>33</sup> Sometimes the loan word *balboa* or *dólar* is used in the place of **karta**. If an item was purchased in Colombia, the word *peso* might be used.

**Examples**

1. **olmani**gwen/**olmani**gwenchak 'one dollar'
2. **olmani**ambe 'ten dollars'
3. **olmani**tulagwen kakaambe 'thirty dollars'

**Exercise 11.** Drilling numerals substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it. Then the teacher and student say Sentence 1 in unison. The teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it. Then the teacher and student say Sentence 2 in unison, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

- Examples**
- |                                  |              |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Teacher:                         | karta kagwen |
| Student:                         | karta kagwen |
| Teacher and Student (in unison): | karta kagwen |
| Teacher:                         | karta kabo   |
| Student:                         | karta kabo   |
| Teacher and Student (in unison): | karta kabo   |
1. karta kagwen 'one dollar'
  2. karta kabo 'two dollars'
  3. karta kapá 'three dollars'
  4. karta kabake 'four dollars'
  5. karta kaatal 'five dollars'
  6. karta kanerkwa 'six dollars'
  7. karta kakugle 'seven dollars'
  8. karta kapabak 'eight dollars'
  9. karta kabakebak 'nine dollars'
  10. karta kaambe 'ten dollars'

**Exercise 12.** Numeral agreement substitution frame drill

Using the frame, the teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. The teacher and the student say the succeeding sentences in unison.

- Example**
- |                                  |                           |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Teacher:                         | karta kaambe kakagwenchak |
| Student:                         | karta kaambe kakagwenchak |
| Teacher:                         | karta kaambe kakabo       |
| Student:                         | karta kaambe kakabo       |
| Teacher and Student (in unison): | karta kaambe kakapá       |
1. karta kaambe kakagwenchak 'eleven dollars'
  2. karta kaambe kakabo 'twelve dollars'
  3. karta kaambe kakapá 'thirteen dollars'
  4. karta kaambe kakabake 'fourteen dollars'
  5. karta kaambe kakaatal 'fifteen dollars'
  6. karta kaambe kakanerkwa 'sixteen dollars'
  7. karta kaambe kakakugle 'seventeen dollars'
  8. karta kaambe kakapabak 'eighteen dollars'
  9. karta kaambe kakabakebak 'nineteen dollars'

**3) Complex amounts in money phrases**

The description of a price may require one, two or three of the money unit categories, **mani** 'five-cent unit', **ton-** 'fifty-cent unit', and/or **karta/olmani-** 'dollar bills'. The conjunction **eg** 'and/in addition to' is used to join the parts of a complex money phrase.

**Example**

karta	kapá	eg	tongwen	eg	maniatál
dollars	three	and	fifty-cents	and	five-nickels
‘three dollars and seventy-five cents’					

**Eg** ‘and’ may be omitted from the number phrase. Following are suggestions for the inclusion or omission of **eg** ‘and’ in the complex money phrase.

Use **eg** ‘and’ with complex dollar quantities. If the dollar quantity is a number from 11–19 or not a multiple of ten, **eg** ‘and’ is used before the unit of cents.

**Examples**

1. karta katulagwen kakabo **eg** tongwen ‘\$22.50’
2. karta kaambe kakapá **eg** maniatál ‘\$13.25’
3. karta tulagwen tongwen ‘\$20.50’
4. karta katulagwen kakaambe **eg** maninerkwa ‘\$30.30’
5. karta tulapá tongwen ‘\$60.50’

Use **eg** ‘and’ in a three-category money phrase. A money phrase which includes three categories of money units (**mani-**, **ton-** and **karta/olmani-**) separates the **mani-** from the **ton-** category by the use of **eg** ‘and’.

**Examples**

1. karta kabo, tongwen **eg** manipá ‘\$2.65’
2. karta katulapá kakabake tongwen **eg** manibo ‘\$64.60’

**Eg** ‘and’ is seldom used in a two-part money phrase. A money phrase which includes only two categories of money units (**mani-** + **ton-** or **karta** + **ton-** or **karta** + **mani-**) tends not to use the conjunction **eg** ‘and’.

**Examples**

1. karta kabo, tongwen ‘\$2.50’
2. tongwen manibake ‘\$.70’

Use **eg** ‘and’ in the case of hesitancy. **Eg** ‘and’ is used in a money phrase in which the speaker hesitates as he tries to recall the particular quantity. In this circumstance, **eg** ‘and’ may be used between any of the parts of the money phrase.

**Examples**

1. karta kagwen **eg** ... manibo ‘\$2.10/\$2.00 and ... 10¢’
2. karta tulagwen **eg** ... tongwen **eg** manipá ‘\$20.65/\$20.00 and ... 65¢’
3. tongwen **eg** ... maniatál ‘75¢/50¢ and ... 25¢’

**4) Unit price phrase**

In buying and selling, a useful expression is the cost of a single item, the unit price. The unit price phrase in Kuna is expressed by saying the appropriate number prefix + **-gwen** ‘one’ + the cost of the item.

**Examples**

1. ka- + -gwen, manibo kagwen, manibo ‘one for 10¢’
2. ko- + -gwen, karta kabo kogwen, karta kabo ‘one length for \$2.00’

It is common to use out-of-culture measurement units (see 7.4.1.1) in describing unit prices.

**Examples**

1. yartagwen, karta kabo **eg** tongwen ‘one yard for \$2.50’
2. liberatal, karta kagwen ‘five pounds for \$1.00’

**Exercise 13.** Money units frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: Kagwen manigwen.  
 Student: Kagwen manigwen.  
 Teacher: Kagwen manibo.  
 Student: Kagwen manibo.

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1. Kagwen manigwen.                         | ‘One for 5¢’     |
| 2. Kagwen manibo.                           | ‘One for 10¢’    |
| 3. Kagwen manipá.                           | ‘One for 15¢’    |
| 4. Kagwen manibake.                         | ‘One for 20¢’    |
| 5. Kagwen maniatal.                         | ‘One for 25¢’    |
| 6. Kagwen maninerkwa.                       | ‘One for 30¢’    |
| 7. Kagwen manikwakugle.                     | ‘One for 35¢’    |
| 8. Kagwen tongwen.                          | ‘One for 50¢’    |
| 9. Kagwen tongwen eg manigwen.              | ‘One for 55¢’    |
| 10. Kagwen tongwen eg manibo.               | ‘One for 60¢’    |
| 11. Kagwen karta kagwen.                    | ‘One for \$1.00’ |
| 12. Kagwen karta kagwen eg manigwen.        | ‘One for \$1.05’ |
| 13. Kagwen karta kagwen eg manibo.          | ‘One for \$1.10’ |
| 14. Kagwen karta kabo eg manibo.            | ‘One for \$2.10’ |
| 15. Kagwen karta kabo eg tongwen eg manibo. | ‘One for \$2.60’ |

**Note:** Remember that **eg** ‘and’ in the above examples is optional.

**Exercise 14.** Money units formation drill

The teacher writes on the blackboard any number in numerals. The student says the number in the frame.

**Example** Teacher (writes): \$1.50  
 Student (says): Libergwen, karta kagwen tongwen.

**Frame** Libergwen, \_\_\_\_\_. ‘\_\_\_\_\_ per pound.’

**7.4.1.4 Group IV. Time-related prefixes**

Units of time such as days, weeks, and years are described by time-related prefixes. The description of months and hours is somewhat different from the construction of other time units.

*1) Days, weeks, and years*

Days, weeks, and years are described by the use of time-related prefixes **iba-** ‘day’, **tummi-** ‘week’, and **pirka-** ‘year’. Time-related prefixes attach to any basic number stem to form a time-related number: time-related prefix + basic number stem.

**Examples**

1. **ibanerkwa** ‘six days’
2. **tummibo** ‘two weeks’
3. **pirkaambe** ‘ten years’

**Exercise 15.** Time-related prefix substitution frame drill

The teacher says the frame and the student repeats it. The teacher selects a word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame.

- Examples**
- Teacher: An tummipá megne.  
 Student: An tummipá megne.  
 Teacher: iba-  
 Student: An ibapá megne.  
 Teacher: An ibapá megne.  
 Student: An ibapá megne.  
 Teacher: -bake  
 Student: An ibabake megne.

<b>Frame</b>	An tummipá megne.	'I'm going to stay three weeks.'
1. iba-		'day'
2. -bake		'four'
3. tummi-		'week'
4. -atal		'five'
5. pirka-		'year'
6. -nerkwa		'six'
7. iba-		'day'
8. -kugle		'seven'
9. -bo		'two'
10. -pabak		'eight'

## 2) Months

The time-related number phrase used to describe months differs from other time-related number phrases and parallels the number phrases used for Group I and Group II number prefixes (see 5.4.1.3). The Kuna word for "month" is **ni**. **Ni** 'month' is a concrete noun which comes from the word **ni** 'moon'. Since Kunas personalize the word **ni** 'moon/month', the Group I number prefix **wal-/wala-** is used in the number phrase. The time-related number phrase for month is formed by **ni** + (**wal-** + basic number stem).

### Examples

1. **ni walpá** 'three months'
2. **ni walanerkwa** 'six months'

### Exercise 16. Time-related prefix substitution frame drill

The teacher says the frame and the student repeats it. The teacher selects a basic number stem from the list below. The student substitutes the selected basic number stem into the frame.

<b>Frame</b>	Ni wal <b>bo</b> gin an ne.	'I am going in two months.'
1. -bo		'two'
2. -pá		'three'
3. -bake		'four'
4. -atal		'five'
5. -nerkwa		'six'
6. -kugle		'seven'
7. -pabak		'eight'
8. -bakebak		'nine'
9. -ambe		'ten'
10. -ambe kakagwenchak		'eleven'

### Exercise 17. Time-related prefix substitution frame drill

The teacher says the frame and the student repeats it. The teacher selects a time-related prefix from the list below and says it. The student substitutes the selected time-related prefix into the frame.

**Example** Teacher: Achu ibapá nika.  
 Student: Achu ibapá nika.  
 Teacher: ni  
 Student: Achu ni walpá nika.

<b>Frame</b>	Achu ibapá nika.	'The puppy (dog) is three days old.'
1. ni		'month'
2. -bake		'four'
3. tummi-		'week'
4. -bo,		'two'
5. pirka-		'year'
6. -gwen		'one'
7. iba-		'day'
8. -nerkwa		'six'

### 3) Hours

Hours in a day may be referred to by time words formed from the time-related prefix **wachil-** 'o'clock' or by the use of a specific time word.

Specific hours may be described by a time-related number which is formed by adding a basic number stem to the time-related prefix **wachil-** 'o'clock': **wachil-** + basic number stem. This description of time is closely associated with the actual time on a clock.

#### Examples

1. **wachilpá** 'three o'clock'
2. **wachilkugle** 'seven o'clock'

Half hours are described by using the time-related number **eg** 'and' + **abal** 'half'.

**Example** wachilbo **eg abal** 'two-thirty o'clock'

Irregular times tend to be described with a combination of Kuna and Spanish loan words. A Kuna time-related number describes the hour. Minutes are described by either using the Spanish loan word *minuto* as a prefix to a basic number stem, or by using the basic number stem alone.

#### Examples

1. wachilbo minutoambe kakaatal '2:15'
2. wachilbo tulagwen kakaatal '2:25'
3. wachilpá minutoatal '3:05'
4. wachilbake tulabo kakaatal '4:45'

Irregular time-related phrases for times past the half hour can be shortened somewhat by using a phrase: (**minuto-** + basic number stem) + **napi** 'short of' + (**wachil-** + basic number stem + **kugal** 'to become').

#### Examples

1. minutoatal napi wachilbo kugal 'five minutes short of two o'clock/1:55'
2. minutoambe kakaatal napi wachilpá kugal 'fifteen minutes short of three o'clock/2:45'

### Exercise 18. Time-related prefix changed frame drill

The teacher says Phrase 1 and the student repeats it. The teacher and the student repeat Phrase 1 in unison. The same is done for the succeeding sentences.

**Example** Teacher: wachilgwen  
 Student: wachilgwen  
 Teacher and Student (in unison): wachilgwen

1. wachilgwen	‘one o’clock’
2. wachilbo	‘two o’clock’
3. wachilpá	‘three o’clock’
4. wachilbake	‘four o’clock’
5. wachilatal	‘five o’clock’
6. wachilnerkwa	‘six o’clock’
7. wachilkugle	‘seven o’clock’
8. wachilpabak	‘eight o’clock’
9. wachilbakebak	‘nine o’clock’
10. wachilambe	‘ten o’clock’
11. wachilambe kakagwenchak	‘eleven o’clock’
12. wachilambe kakabo	‘twelve o’clock’

### Exercise 19. Time-related prefix drill

The teacher writes the time in numerals on the blackboard and says the time in Kuna. The student repeats the time in Kuna. This exercise should be repeated several times.

1. ‘3:00 o’clock’	wachilpá
2. ‘4:55 o’clock’	minutoatal napi wachilatal gugal
3. ‘2:15 o’clock’	wachilbo minutoambe kakaatal
4. ‘10:00 o’clock’	wachilambe
5. ‘5:30 o’clock’	wachilatal eg abal
6. ‘1:20 o’clock’	wachilgwen minutotulagwen
7. ‘6:50 o’clock’	minutoambe napi wachilkugle gugal
8. ‘7:30 o’clock’	wachilkugle eg abal
9. ‘8:30 o’clock’	wachilpabak eg abal
10. ‘9:30 o’clock’	wachilbakebak eg abal

#### 7.4.2 Time words

Kunas often describe time by the use of time words which parallel a general time of day rather than a specific hour on the clock. Such words tend to describe time in relation to the sun in a similar way to the English words “noon”, “afternoon”, and “mid-morning”. Some examples of the more common time words are listed here and should be memorized. Other time words are listed in Appendix D. The time words are used at the beginning of a sentence as described in Lesson 3.4.2.2.

Following is a listing of the common time words:

1. oipos	‘dawn’
2. wakur	‘morning’
3. yoroku	‘noon’
4. chedo	‘evening’
5. neggabgwen	‘midnight’
6. mutik	‘night’
7. ibgin	‘day’

#### 7.4.3 Quantity-related questions (Ex. 20)

Quantity-related questions are the questions one uses to learn the quantity of an item which is being spoken of or asked for. Quantity-related questions can be asked by using the general term **melu** ‘How much?’ or by the use of a quantity-related question number phrase, using the suffix **-bigwa**.



### 7.4.3.1 Melu 'How much?'

**Melu** 'How much?' is a question word which is used in order to question the quantity of an item which is being requested or spoken of. It is a general term and can be used with all classes of items.

#### Examples

- |                         |                                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ¿Melu pei?           | 'How many (do you want)?'      |
| 2. ¿Nuzhade, melu napi? | 'How many eggs are you short?' |

### 7.4.3.2 -bigwa 'How many?'

A quantity-related question number is formed by using the suffix **-bigwa**. The suffix **-bigwa** is added to the number prefix which applies to the item being discussed: (¿number prefix + **-bigwa**?).

#### Examples

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. ¿Masde, walabigwa?      | 'How many plantains (are there)?'         |
| 2. ¿Ibabigwa peine?        | 'How many days are you going to stay?'    |
| 3. ¿Kwabigwa nalas nika?   | 'How many oranges do you have?'           |
| 4. ¿Karta, kabigwa nika?   | 'How much money do you have?'             |
| 5. ¿Tagarde, kukbigwa pei? | 'How many bundles of thatch do you want?' |
| 6. ¿Wachilbigwa?           | 'What time is it?'                        |

### Exercise 20. Time-related prefix stimulus response drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of a question. The student responds using the correct form of the numeral.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Ibabigwa megne?

Student: Ibabake megne.

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. ¿Ibabigwa megne?     | 'How many days are you going to stay?'   |
| 2. ¿Tummibigwa megne?   | 'How many weeks are you going to stay?'  |
| 3. ¿Ni walabigwa megne? | 'How many months are you going to stay?' |
| 4. ¿Pirkabigwa megne?   | 'How many years are you going to stay?'  |
| 5. ¿Wachilbigwa megne?  | 'How many hours are you going to stay?'  |

### 7.4.3.3 Igi 'How much (money)?'

**Igi** 'How much?' is a question word which is used to find out how much an item costs. The quantity-related question phrase is formed by adding the word **mani** 'money' after the word **igi** 'How much?': **igi + mani**.

#### Examples

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ¿Kartade, igi mani?         | 'How much is the book?'        |
| 2. ¿Masde, walaatal, igi mani? | 'How much are five plantains?' |

## 7.5 Vocabulary

- |                       |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1. -ambe kakagwenchak | 'eleven'    |
| 2. -ambe kakabo       | 'twelve'    |
| 3. -ambe kakapá       | 'thirteen'  |
| 4. -ambe kakabake     | 'fourteen'  |
| 5. -ambe kakaatal(e)  | 'fifteen'   |
| 6. -ambe kakanerkwa   | 'sixteen'   |
| 7. -ambe kakakugle    | 'seventeen' |
| 8. -ambe kakapabak    | 'eighteen'  |
| 9. -ambe kakabakebak  | 'nineteen'  |

10. mutik	'nighttime'
11. piti	'Which?'
12. melu	'How much?'
13. -bigwa	'How many?'
14. eg	'and/in addition to'
15. wachil-	'hour'
16. iba	'day'
17. tummi	'week'
18. ni wal-/wala-	'month'
19. pirka-	'year'
20. nika	'to have'
21. palu	'salt'
22. ostigid(i)	'sugar'
23. An negwelo.	'I'm going for a little while'
24. penkil(e)	'to owe'
25. pennuk(e)	'to pay (what is owing)'
26. unni	'enough/adequate'
27. pela	'finished/account is settled'
28. uk(e)	'to sell/give'
29. abal(a)	'half'

## 8 CONVERSATIONAL POINTERS

### 8.1 Dialogue

1. Visitor:	¿Ig oipos?	‘How (are you this) morning?’
2. Villager:	Ampala. ¿Pedin?	‘So-so, and you?’
3. Visitor:	Nued. ¿Pede pia ne?	‘Fine. Where are you going?’
4. Villager:	Chapurbal ne.	‘I’m going to the jungle.’
5. Visitor:	Mmmm. ¿Ibi chene?	‘Oh. What are you going to do?’
6. Villager:	Immam amine.	‘(I’m) going to hunt.’
7. Visitor:	¿Opakal?	‘Across the river?’
8. Villager:	Eye.	‘Yes.’
9. Visitor:	Ajáj. ¿Pabde?	‘Uh huh. (Where is your) father?’
10. Villager:	Nakwal, aros taknai.	‘Upriver, looking after (his) rice.’
11. Visitor:	Mmmm. ¿Nandin?	‘Yes, and your mother?’
12. Villager:	Neggin chi.	‘She’s in the house.’
13. Visitor:	Nan chi. ¿Machidin?	‘(So) she’s home. And the boy?’
14. Villager:	Teal, ua chwanai.	‘Downriver, fishing.’
15. Visitor:	Mmmm.	‘Oh.’
16. Villager:	¿Pedin?	‘And you?’
17. Visitor:	An chowal chune.	‘I’m going to fetch firewood.’
18. Villager:	¿Pia? ¿Tuppall?	‘Where? On the peninsula?’
19. Visitor:	Chuli. An igalbal ebes.	‘No. I left (it) on the trail.’
20. Villager:	Ajáj. An nebi ito.	‘(I see.) I wish to go, (you) understand.’
21. Visitor:	Eye.	‘Yes (fine).’

### 8.2 Pronunciation and Intonation

It is important to be aware of the correct intonation pattern used at different times throughout a Kuna conversation.

#### 8.2.1 Response by repetition

One form of acknowledging or responding to what has been said is to repeat the information (usually in summary form). Response by repetition has a special intonation pattern such as the pattern heard in Dialogue 8.1, utterance 13.

#### 8.2.2 Yielding-the-floor response (Ex. 1–4)

There is a particular intonation pattern which signals, “I have no more to say on that subject, you may change the subject now.” (see Dialogue 8.1, utterance 15). By means of this intonation signal:

- You will know when you can start talking without appearing to be impolite by interrupting.
- You will be able to indicate to your listener when he may start talking without the possible embarrassment of interrupting you.

#### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 8.1 by humming the intonation patterns. Pay special attention to the intonation pattern of repetition response (utterance 13) and the yielding-the-floor response (utterance 15).

**Exercise 2. Pronunciation drill**

Mimic the teacher in Dialogue 8.1, formulating the individual sounds as closely as possible without 1) slowing down, or 2) losing the intonation pattern.

**Exercise 3. Dialogue drill**

Dramatize Dialogue 8.1 with two students playing the roles. The teacher should check for 1) correct intonation patterns, 2) correct pronunciation, and 3) Kuna-like gestures.

**Exercise 4. Problem drill**

Drill the problem sentences, sounds, and gestures encountered in Exercise 3 above.

**8.3 Culture**

You already know how important it is to exchange greetings when you encounter a Kuna in or around the village. Failure to greet people you pass in a Kuna village in the Darién indicates lack of acceptance or displeasure.

You will certainly experience times, however, when you will want to do more than just greet the person. Perhaps you will wish to establish an acquaintance or start a conversation. In such situations the use of questions is very helpful. Questions concerning the person's family (Are you married? Do you have brothers/sisters? Do you have children?) are acceptable. Questions concerning birthplace, what he is doing, where he is going or where he lives are also acceptable and are very good conversation openers.

You must be careful to avoid certain areas of conversation which a person would find threatening to his people or himself. For instance, detailed questioning about tribal ceremonies and customs should be withheld until you are sure you have established mutual respect with the person.

**8.4 Grammar: Location**

Every event or object can be described as being located in a certain place. A person may speak of an object as being in a general area, such as, "in the woods", or he may speak of the object as being in a specific area in the woods such as, "under the tree (in the big woods)". Whether the person chooses to speak of the general location (broad setting) or the specific location (narrow setting) is dependent on how the speaker views the object (speaker's viewpoint) or what he thinks the listener needs to know about the object.

**8.4.1 Locative suffixes (Ex. 5–7)**

This distinction between broad and narrow settings in Kuna is a very important one because a different suffix is used with the noun. For a broad setting, **-bal/-pal** is attached to the noun; for a narrow setting, **-gin/-kin** occurs.

**8.4.1.1 Broad setting**

The general area in which an action takes place is called the broad setting. For example, a person may say he left a deer **in the forest**. He does not specify exactly where in the forest the deer was left, but refers to the general (broad) setting, the forest. A broad setting in Kuna is indicated by adding the suffix **-bal/-pal** to the word which refers to location.

**Examples**

1. Sagla koe chapur**bal** ebes.                    'The chief left the deer in the forest.'
2. Tibal nad.                                        'He went to (the general area of) the river.'

**8.4.1.2 Narrow setting**

A specific area within a larger (broad) setting is called the narrow setting. With reference to the example of the man who left a deer in the forest, the man could have said he left the deer **under the cedar tree** in the forest. The **cedar tree** is the narrow, specific setting within the broad setting. A narrow setting in Kuna is indicated by adding **-gin/-kin** to the word which refers to location.

**Example** Nan neggin chi. 'Mother is at the house.'

From the viewpoint of the speaker, the house is a specific area within the broad setting of the village.

**Exercise 5.** Location (broad setting) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: Machi yannu chapurbal ebes.  
 Student: Machi yannu chapurbal ebes.  
 Teacher: Machi yannu igalbal ebes.  
 Student: Machi yannu igalbal ebes.

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Machi yannu chapurbal ebes. | 'The boy left the peccary in the jungle.'    |
| 2. Machi yannu igalbal ebes.   | 'The boy left the peccary on the trail.'     |
| 3. Machi yannu tuppal ebes.    | 'The boy left the peccary on the peninsula.' |
| 4. Machi yannu kullubal ebes.  | 'The boy left the peccary on the bank.'      |

**Exercise 6.** Narrow setting location frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Examples** Teacher: Machi eswal neggin ebes.  
 Student: Machi eswal neggin ebes.  
 Teacher: Machi eswal akwagin ebes.  
 Student: Machi eswal akwagin ebes.

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Machi eswal neggin ebes.      | 'The boy left his fishing spear at home'          |
| 2. Machi eswal akwagin ebes.     | 'The boy left his fishing spear on the stone.'    |
| 3. Machi eswal ulgin ebes.       | 'The boy left his fishing spear in the canoe.'    |
| 4. Machi eswal mesagin ebes.     | 'The boy left his fishing spear on the table.'    |
| 5. Machi eswal kukualedgin ebes. | 'The boy left his fishing spear in the airplane.' |

**8.4.1.3 Distinction of -bal/-pal versus -gin/-kin**

In many cases, the choice of **-bal/-pal** versus **-gin/-kin** depends upon the viewpoint of the speaker in a particular situation. For example, if the speaker is talking about the chief being in Panama and the viewpoint of the speaker is that the chief is **somewhere** in the broad setting of Panama, **-bal/-pal** will be used.

**Example**

Sagla Panamabal mai. 'The chief is (somewhere) **in** Panama.'

If, however, the viewpoint of the speaker is that the chief is in Panama as opposed to Colón or some other town in the Republic of Panama (i.e., he is pinpointing a location in the Republic), the suffix **-gin/-kin** is used.

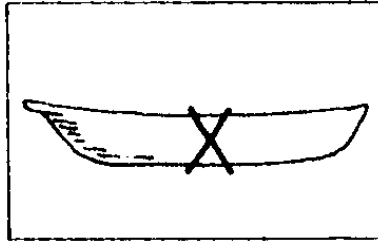
**Example**

Sagla Panamagin mai. 'The chief is **at** Panama.'

**Exercise 7.** Location viewpoint drill

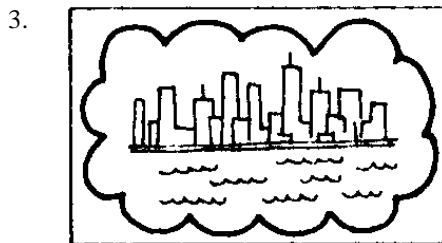
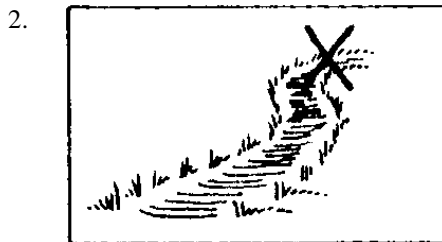
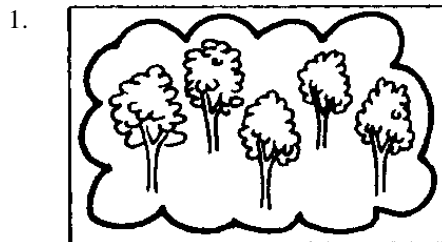
The student looks at the picture and says a phrase describing it. (X is to be interpreted as a narrow setting and the wavy circle as a broad setting.)

**Example** Figure 3.



Student: Es ulgin mai.

**Frame** Es \_\_\_\_ mai. 'The machete is \_\_\_\_.'



### 8.4.2 Locative phrases (Ex. 8)

Certain geographical features (rivers, mountains, sea) may be incorporated into locative phrases. These phrases may be used to refer to a broad or narrow setting by the addition of the locative suffix.

#### 8.4.2.1 Aspects of topographical features

Description of location becomes more precise when a speaker refers to certain aspects of a topographical area such as a river, mountain or sea instead of simply referring to the feature itself.

#### 8.4.2.2 Formation of locative phrases

The locative phrase is formed by adding a word specifying an aspect of the topographical feature to the topographical feature itself. It is followed by a locative suffix: topographical feature + (aspect of feature + locative suffix **-bal/-pal** or **-gin/-kin**).

**Examples**

- |                            |            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| 1. ti + nak + <b>-kin</b>  | ti nakkin  | ‘at the mouth of the river’  |
| 2. yal + pir + <b>-gin</b> | yal pirgin | ‘at the top of the mountain’ |

**8.4.2.3 Aspects of topographical features**

Following is a listing of the common aspects of rivers:

- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. tuk     | ‘source’  |
| 2. nak     | ‘mouth’   |
| 3. akpirid | ‘bend’    |
| 4. wirzho  | ‘stretch’ |

**Examples**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Ul ti nakkin mai.                               | ‘The canoe is at the mouth of the river.’                      |
| 2. Machi eswal ti akpirchidgin <sup>34</sup> ebes. | ‘The boy left the spear at the bend in the river.’             |
| 3. Machi eswal ti wirzho bal ebes.                 | ‘The boy left the spear on the straight stretch of the river.’ |

Following is a listing of the common aspects of mountains and hills:

- |            |                     |
|------------|---------------------|
| 1. pir     | ‘summit/crest’      |
| 2. nag     | ‘foot’              |
| 3. abalgin | ‘between (valleys)’ |
| 4. tarbal  | ‘valley’            |

**Examples**

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Machi eswal yal pirgin ebes. | ‘The boy left the spear at the top of the mountain.’  |
| 2. Machi eswal yal naggin ebes. | ‘The boy left the spear at the foot of the mountain.’ |
| 3. Machi eswal yal tarbal ebes. | ‘The boy left the spear in the valley.’               |

Following is a listing of the common aspects of the sea:

- |           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| 1. kakpal | ‘shore’ |
| 2. kakkin | ‘beach’ |

**Examples**

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Machi eswal termal kakbal ebes. | ‘The boy left the spear on the shore.’ |
| 2. Machi eswal termal kakgin ebes. | ‘The boy left the spear at the beach.’ |

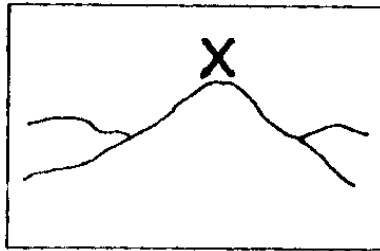
**Exercise 8. Aspects of topographical features drill**

The student looks at Picture 1 in Figure 4 while the teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it. The student looks at Picture 2 while the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. (X is to be interpreted as a narrow setting and the wavy circle as a general setting.)

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<sup>34</sup> **akpirid** ‘bend’ becomes **akpirchidgin** ‘at the bend’ or **akpirididgin** ‘around the bend’; **akpirid** ‘bend’ also refers to trails.

**Example** Figure 4.



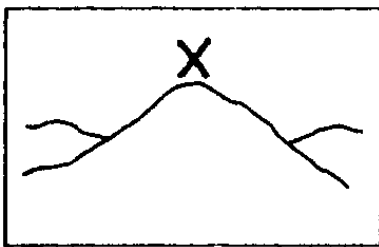
pir 'summit'

Teacher: Yal pirgin chi.

Student: Yal pirgin chi.

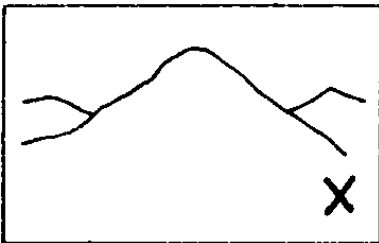
**Frame** \_\_\_\_ chi. '(It) is \_\_\_\_.'

1.



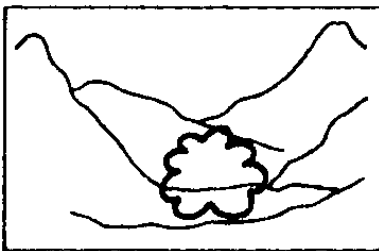
pir 'summit'

2.



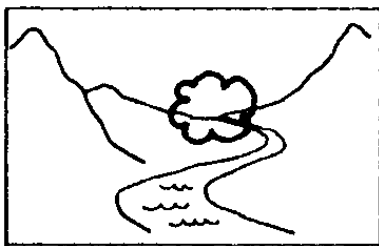
nag 'foot'

3.



tar 'valley'

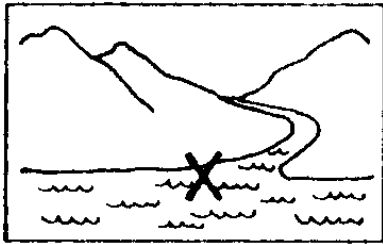
4.



tuk 'source'

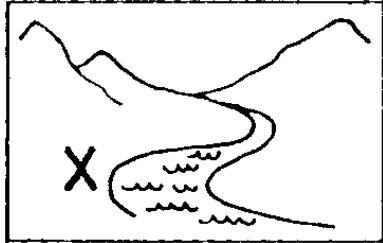


5.



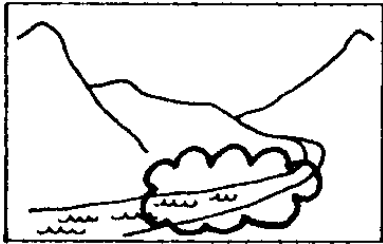
nak 'mouth'

6.



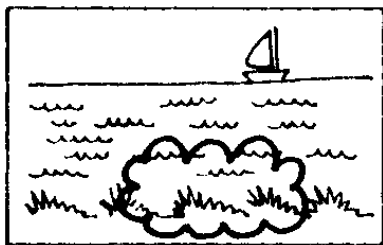
akpirchid 'at the bend'

7.



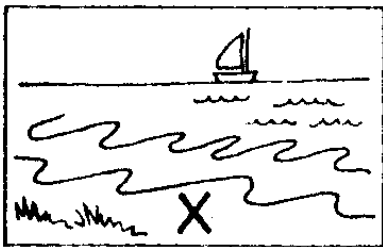
wirzho 'stretch'

8.



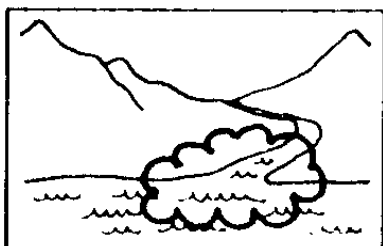
kak 'shore'

9.



kak 'beach'

10.



nak 'mouth'

#### 8.4.2.4 Proper names of topographical features

The specific name of a river or mountain may be substituted for the word **ti** ‘river’ or **yal** ‘mountain’. For example, rather than say, **ti tuk** ‘source of the river’, you may wish to say **Pay tuk** ‘source of the Paya River’.

#### Examples

1. Eswal Pay tukbal ebes. ‘(He) left the spear at the source of the Paya River.’
2. Eswal Inaganya wirzhobal ebes. ‘(He) left the spear at the Inaganya stretch of the river.’

#### 8.4.3 Adverbs of location (Ex 9–11)

Some locative concepts are communicated by the use of an adverb of location instead of by the addition of a locative suffix to a noun.

Adverbs of location are used to define one location with reference to another location (reference point). In Spanish and English, another location is referred to by using a preposition before the noun which serves as its reference point: *atras de la casa* ‘behind the house’ or *abajo de la mesa* ‘below the table’. In Kuna, an adverb of location follows the noun which serves as its reference point.

#### Examples

1. neg cholbal ‘behind the house’
2. kan ulpal ‘under the bench’

In the list of examples of adverbs of location below, it may be noted that some of the adverbs incorporate a locative suffix (**-bal/-pal** or **-gin/-kin**) and some do not. The form of adverbs of location is fixed and needs to be learned.

##### 8.4.3.1 Adverbs of location which usually occur with stated reference point

- 1a. nikpa ‘above’
- b. ulpal<sup>35</sup> ‘below’
- 2a. cholbal ‘behind’
- b. innik ‘in front of’
- 3a. tikalbal ‘beside, near to’ (**tikalgin** ‘on the side of’)
- b. kakpal ‘near the edge of’
- 4a. yabal ‘inside’ (**yagin** ‘in the hole’)
- b. magarbal ‘outside (something)’
- 5a. nuechik ‘on the right’
- b. chapilechik ‘on the left’
- 6a. ulupkin ‘inside (of one, i.e., seat of emotions)’
- b. abalgin ‘among, in the midst of’

#### Examples

1. Es karpa **nikpa** nai. ‘The machete is hanging **above** the basket.’
2. Es karpa **ulpal** nai. ‘The machete is hanging **below** the basket.’
3. Es karpa **cholbal** nai. ‘The machete is hanging **behind** the basket.’
4. Es karpa **innikin** nai. ‘The machete is hanging **in front of** the basket.’
5. Es karpa **tikalbal** nai. ‘The machete is hanging **beside** the basket.’
6. Es karpa **kakbal** mai. ‘The machete is (lying) **on the edge of** the basket.’
7. Es karpa **yabal** mai. ‘The machete is (lying) **inside** the basket.’
8. Es karpa **magarbal** mai. ‘The machete is (lying) **outside** of the basket.’
9. Es karpa **nuechik** mai. ‘The machete is (lying) **on the right-hand side of** the basket.’

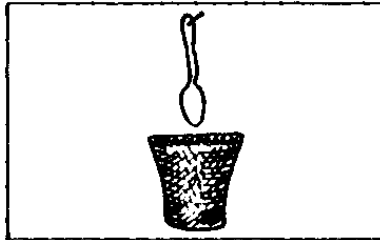
<sup>35</sup> Note carefully the difference between **ul** + **-bal**, = **ulbal**, ‘at (broad) the canoe’ and **ulpal** ‘below’.

10. Es karpa **chapilechik** mai. 'The machete is (lying) **on the left-hand side of** the basket.'
11. An **ulupkin** pinzhe. 'I think **deep inside** me (**within my heart**).'
12. Ome tule **abalgin** chi. 'The woman is sitting **among** the people.'

**Exercise 9.** Adverb of location drill

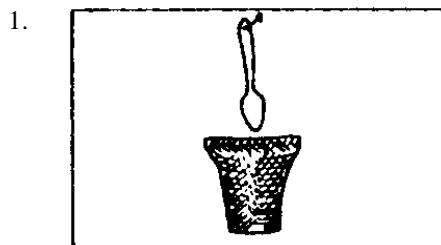
The student looks at Picture 1 in Figure 5 while the teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it. The student looks at Picture 2 while the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Example** Figure 5.



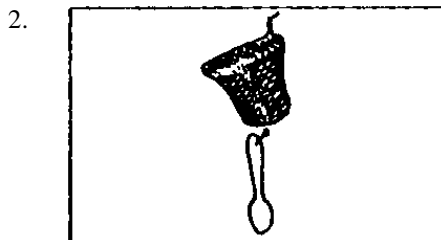
Teacher: Kuchar karpa nikpa nai.

Student: Kuchar karpa nikpa nai.



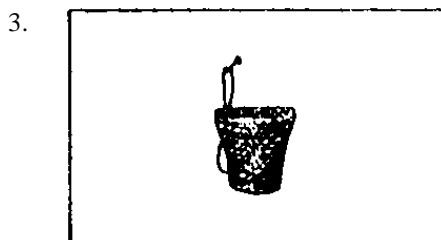
Kuchar karpa nikpa nai.

'The spoon is hanging above the basket.'



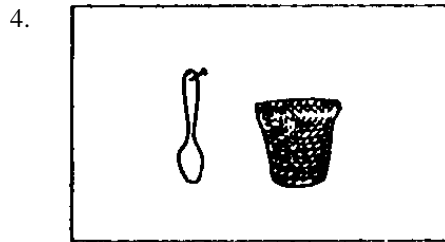
Kuchar karpa ulpal nai.

'The spoon is hanging below the basket.'



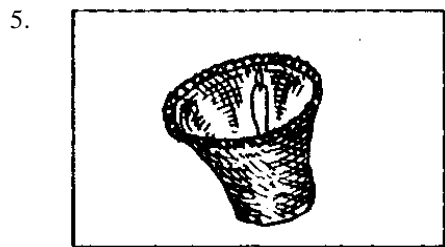
Kuchar karpa cholbal nai.

'The spoon is hanging behind the basket.'



Kuchar karpa tikalbal nai.

'The spoon is hanging beside the basket.'



Kuchar karpa yabal nai.

'The spoon is hanging inside the basket.'

### 8.4.3.2 Locative adverbs

These words differ from the above which usually occur without a stated reference point in that one does not usually express their reference point by means of a noun. When the point of reference is intrinsic to the adverb, e.g., **ulak** 'deep (in the jungle)' or when it is assumed from the context, e.g., **panna** 'far (from the place I was talking about)'. The following adverbs of location may be used without stating the reference point.

### 8.4.3.3 Adverbs of location which usually occur without a stated reference point

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 1a. nakwal  | 'upstream/upriver'                                 |
| b. teal     | 'downstream/downriver'                             |
| 2a. opakal  | 'on the other side/across'                         |
| b. itichik  | 'on this side'                                     |
| 3a. nappal  | 'near the ground' ( <b>napkin</b> 'on the ground') |
| b. ulak     | 'deep (in the jungle)'                             |
| 4a. itiki   | 'nearby'   |
| b. tikajul  | 'far (not nearby)'                                 |
| c. panna    | 'far'  |
| d. pannajul | 'close by'   |
| 5. assapin  | 'face-to-face'                                     |
| 6. magadbal | 'outdoors/in the sky'                              |

### Examples

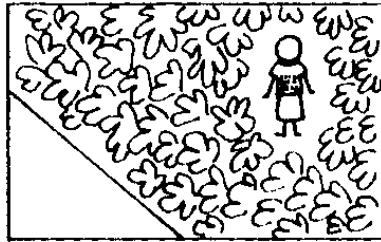
- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Ome <b>nakwal</b> chi.   | 'The woman is <b>upriver</b> .'                    |
| 2. Ome <b>teal</b> chi.     | 'The woman is <b>downriver</b> .'                  |
| 3. Ome <b>opakal</b> chi.   | 'The woman is <b>across</b> (the river).'          |
| 4. Ome <b>itichik</b> chi.  | 'The woman is <b>on this side</b> (of the river).' |
| 5. Ome <b>ulak</b> chi.     | 'The woman is <b>deep</b> (in the jungle).'        |
| 6. Ome <b>itiki</b> arpi.   | 'The woman journeyed <b>nearby</b> .'              |
| 7. Ome <b>tikajul</b> arpi. | 'The woman journeyed <b>faraway</b> .'             |
| 8. Ome <b>panna</b> arpi.   | 'The woman journeyed <b>faraway</b> .'             |

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 9. Mol <b>nappal</b> nai.           | 'The blouse is hanging <b>near the ground</b> .'                                     |
| 10. Anmal <b>assapin</b> mas kunne. | 'We're going to eat <b>face-to-face</b> .'   |
| 11. <b>Nikpa</b> nai.               | '(It) is hanging up <b>above</b> .'  |
| 12. <b>Teal</b> nad.                | '(It) went <b>downstream</b> .'  |
| 13. Machi <b>tikajul</b> arpi.      | 'The boy went (journeyed) <b>faraway</b> (from the place to which I was referring).' |

**Exercise 10.** Adverbs of location without stated reference point

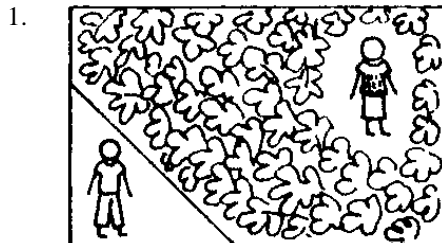
The student looks at Picture 1 in Figure 6 while the teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it. The student looks at Picture 2 while the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it.

**Example** Figure 6.



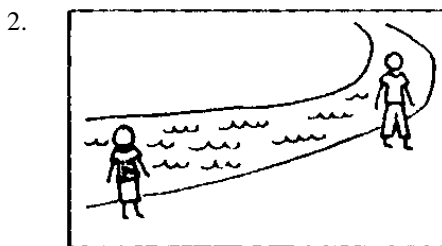
Teacher: Ome ulak chi.

Student: Ome ulak chi.



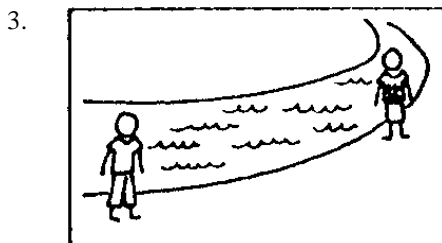
Ome ulak chi.

'The woman is deep (in the forest).'



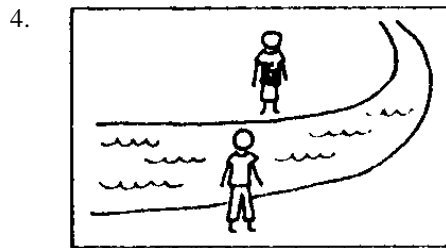
Ome teal chi.

'The woman is downriver.'



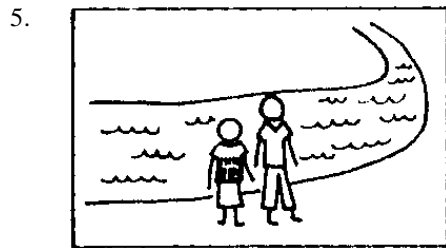
Ome nakwal chi.

'The woman is upriver.'



Ome opakal chi.

‘The woman is across (the river).’



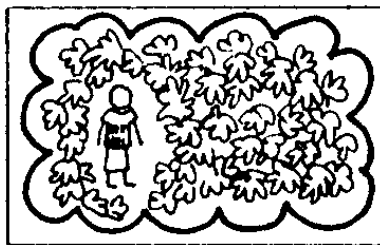
Ome itichik chi.

‘The woman is on this side.’

**Exercise 11.** Adverbs of location drill

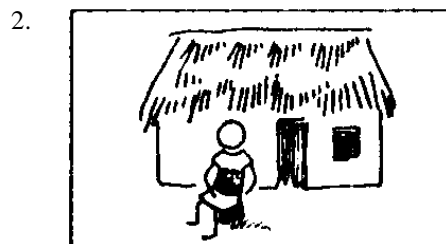
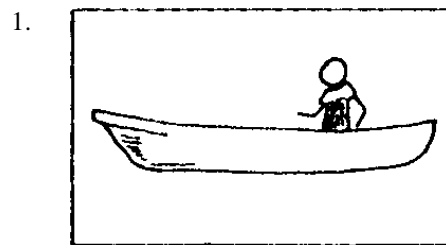
The student looks at the picture and says a phrase describing it. (X is to be interpreted as a narrow setting and the wavy circle as a general setting.)

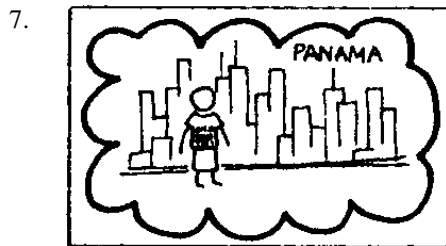
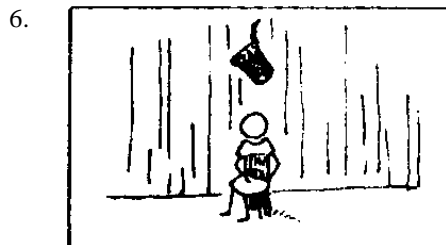
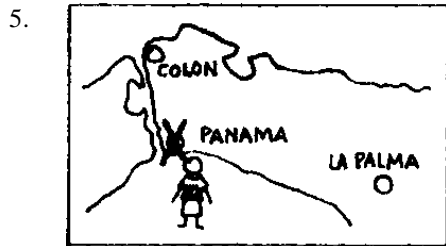
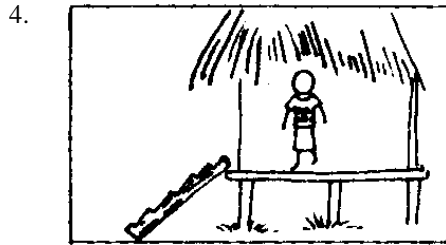
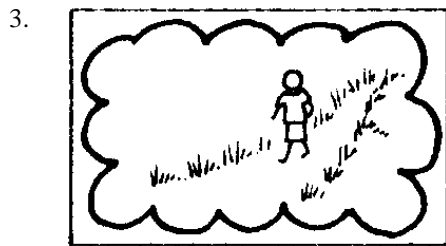
**Example** Figure 7.



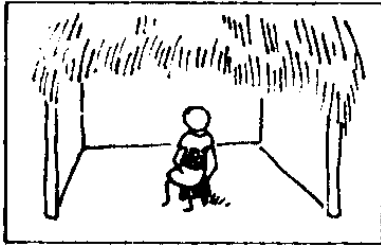
Student: Ome chapurbal chi.

**Frame** Ome \_\_\_\_ chi. ‘The woman is \_\_\_\_.’

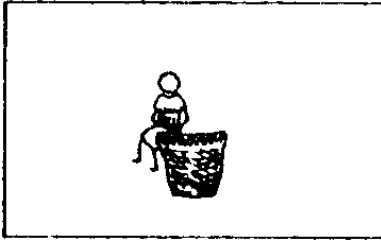




9.



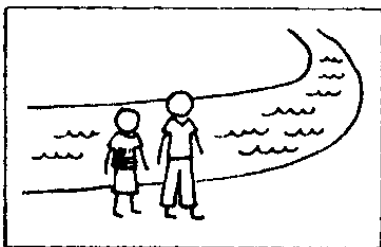
10.



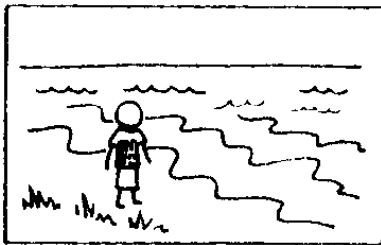
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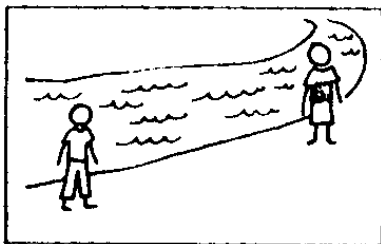
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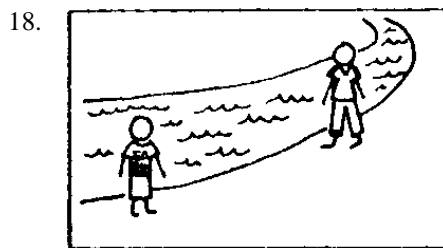
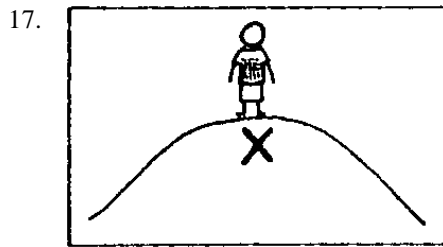
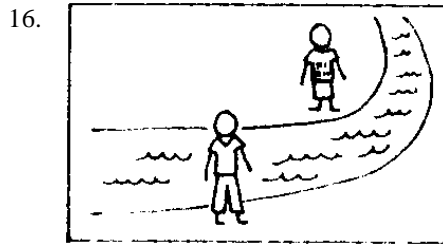
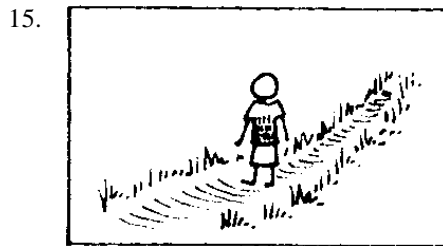
13.



14.







## 8.5 Vocabulary

- |                    |                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. nikpa           | 'above'                            |
| 2. ulpal(i)        | 'below'                            |
| 3. cholbal(i)      | 'behind'                           |
| 4. innik(i)        | 'in front of/level with'           |
| 5. tikalbal(i)     | 'beside'                           |
| 6. kakpal(i)       | 'on the edge of'                   |
| 7. yabal(i)        | 'inside'                           |
| 8. magarbal(i)     | 'outside'                          |
| 9. nuechik(i)      | 'on the right'                     |
| 10. chapilechik(i) | 'on the left'                      |
| 11. ulupkin(e)     | 'inside (of one)/seat of emotions' |
| 12. abalgin(e)     | 'among/in the midst of'            |
| 13. nakwal(e)      | 'upriver/upstream'                 |

14. teal(e)	‘downriver/downstream’
15. opakal(e)	‘on the other side of/across’
16. itichik(i)	‘on this side of’
17. ulak	‘deep (in the jungle)’
18. itiki	‘nearby’
19. tikajul(i)	‘faraway’
20. panna	‘faraway’
21. nappal(i)	‘near the ground’
22. assapin(i)	‘face-to-face’
23. chapur(u)	‘forest/jungle’
24. igal(a)	‘trail/path’
25. tup(u)	‘island/peninsula’
26. kullu	‘bank (of river)/hollow/ravine’
27. nak(a)	‘mouth (of river)’
28. tuk(u)	‘source/headwaters (of river)’
29. nag(a)	‘foot’
30. purwa	‘wind’
31. yal(a)	‘mountain/hill’
32. termal(a)	‘sea/ocean’
33. kuchar(a)	‘spoon’

## 9 BASIC HEALTH/MEDICAL DISCUSSION

### 9.1 Dialogue

Even though many Kuna villages are isolated, many have government community health facilities. The villagers come to seek medical advice and basic medicine from these clinics.

Mother and children come to see the nurse at the government clinic.

- |     |                 |                             |   |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1.  | Village mother: | ¿Mu, ig oipos?              | ‘Grandmother (respected older lady), how are you this morning?’ |
| 2.  | Nurse:          | Nued. ¿Pedin?               | ‘Fine. And you?’  |
| 3.  | Village mother: | Ampala.                     | ‘So-so.’  |
| 4.  | Nurse:          | Ajáj. ¿Nuskandin?           | ‘Uh huh. And the children?’                                     |
| 5.  | Village mother: | ¡Aiii! Pun tummaddin ye.    | ‘Oh dear! Big daughter is sick.’                                |
| 6.  | Nurse:          | ¿Ye? ¿Ibi nika?             | ‘Sick? What does she have?’                                     |
| 7.  | Village mother: | Ugenai. Sabal nunma.        | ‘Fever. Her stomach hurts.’                                     |
| 8.  | Nurse:          | Mmmm. ¿Inkwagus?<br>¿Mutik? | ‘Mmmm. When? Last night?’                                       |
| 9.  | Village mother: | Immis. Teob oipoja.         | ‘She awoke with it.’  |
| 10. | Nurse:          | Ajáj. ¿Sagla nunma?         | ‘Uh huh. Does she have a headache?’                             |
| 11. | Village mother: | Chuli.                      | ‘No.’   |
| 12. | Nurse:          | Mmmm. ¿Sabalnai?            | ‘Does she have diarrhea?’                                       |
| 13. | Village mother: | Eye.                        | ‘Yes.’  |
| 14. | Nurse:          | ¿Ibigwa tije nad?           | ‘How many times has she gone to the river?’                     |
| 15. | Village mother: | Ilnerkwa.                   | ‘Six times.’  |
| 16. | Nurse:          | Ajáj. ¿Agnai?               | ‘Uh huh. Has she been vomiting?’                                |
| 17. | Village mother: | Chuli. ¿Pe ina nika?        | ‘No. Do you have any medicine?’                                 |
| 18. | Nurse:          | Eye. ¿Pe ina pei?           | ‘Yes. Would you like medicine?’                                 |
| 19. | Village mother: | Udanna.                     | ‘Bring it!’   |

Child begins to cry.

- |     |                     |                                |   |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 20. | Nurse (soothingly): | Chuli. Ina kakpijuli. Ochigwa. | ‘No. The medicine is not bitter, it’s sweet.’ |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|

Child takes the medicine.

- |     |                 |                                 |  |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 21. | Nurse:          | Nabiri. Yoroku, kannan tagbalo. | ‘Okay. Come back at noon.’               |
| 22. | Village mother: | Ajáj. Pun totodin yemo.         | ‘Okay. But little daughter is sick too.’ |

- |     |                 |                  |                             |
|-----|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 23. | Nurse:          | Aaaa. ¿Ibi naka? | ‘Oh. What does she have?’   |
| 24. | Village mother: | Imia kinnid nai. | ‘She (has) pink (red) eye.’ |
| 25. | Nurse:          | Ajáj.            | ‘Oh.’                       |

Nurse applies eye ointment.

- |     |                 |                                |                                 |
|-----|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 26. | Nurse:          | Nabiri. Yoroku kannan tagbalo. | ‘Okay. Come back at noon, too.’ |
| 27. | Village mother: | Eye.                           | ‘Okay.’                         |

Mother sits for a few moments while her little girl recovers from the ointment.

- |     |                 |           |                        |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 28. | Village mother: | Nade, mu. | ‘Goodby, grandmother.’ |
| 29. | Nurse:          | Eye.      | ‘(Yes) Goodby.’        |

## 9.2 Pronunciation: Tracking and Mimicry (Ex. 1–3)

One of the most useful tools for learning the language is a device called “tracking.” Tracking is instantaneously mimicking a speaker. As the speaker starts to talk you mimic everything he says, keeping two or three syllables behind him all the time. You should concentrate mainly on the rhythm and pitch patterns as you track, approximating the consonant and vowel sounds as well as you can without losing speed.<sup>36</sup>

Obviously, you have to be discrete in using this tracking to learn the language in a live situation. “Live” tracking, tracking actual conversation of your Kuna friends, is best. It is probably better to tell your Kuna friends what you are doing and why you are tracking their speech. Track in a very subdued voice. If there is objection to it, stop at once and restrict your tracking to willing friends or tapes.

Tracking tapes is also useful. If you track the same text (story or conversation) over and over it will help you master the patterns. You should try to track different types of conversations, stories and speech styles since each has its own characteristic pattern. Pitch, rhythm, speed, intensity, crescendo and decrescendo, range of tone, and other more subtle features blend until each type of talking has its own distinctive “tune” or set of “tunes.”

Types of intonation include: question-answer, travelogue, folktale, description, explanation, teaching, exhorting, procedural explanation, argument, etc. You should track one type at a time until the patterns are learned.

### Exercise 1. Tracking drill

Track the teacher as he says Dialogue 9.1. Be sure to keep within two or three syllables behind him at all times. The exercise should be repeated several times.

### Exercise 2. Intonation drill

Dramatize the above Dialogue 9.1 with two students playing the roles of the nurse and the mother. The teacher will be listening and checking for 1) correct intonation patterns, 2) correct pronunciation, and 3) correct gestures.

### Exercise 3. Intonation drill

Drill the problem sentences, sounds, and gestures encountered in Exercise 2 above.

## 9.3 Culture

The concepts of the origin of sickness, the treatment of the sick and the philosophy of medicine vary from culture to culture. Kuna tradition says that all sickness is from God’s house and it is usually sent to someone as a punishment for misdeeds done by either the sick person or his family.

<sup>36</sup> Healey, Alan. 1975. *Language Learner's Field Guide*. SIL, Papua New Guinea.

People who are very ill remain in their hammocks. Generally speaking, the wife or the mother of the sick person caters to his/her needs. Should both adults of a household be sick, the female children may help with their care. Mothers of the sick people also help. If neither adult has parents, and the children are unable to help, the responsibility does not naturally rest on any nonfamily member.

Medicine is usually dispensed by an **ina tule** ‘medicine man/shaman’ who uses a variety of jungle herbs in conjunction with chants, burning incense, and sometimes wooden dolls to treat illnesses. (The **ina tule** never uses his skills to cause illness or death.) If there is no **ina tule** and one of the family members knows the appropriate jungle herb, he may administer it.

Medicine is considered to fall into three categories of strength: 1) the least potent, a poultice or ointment for external use, 2) the next most effective, a potion to be ingested, and 3) the most potent, a solution in which to bathe.

The sick may eat/drink what they prefer. If a food produces a bitter taste, it is considered contraindicated for the sick person during that particular disease. With certain herbal medicines, the patient may not eat or drink certain things; with others, he cannot bathe. When a Kuna receives medicine from an outsider he will often ask, “May I eat/drink/bathe when I take this?”

As barriers of communication and geography are broken down by means of radio and airplane, Kuna people are becoming more exposed to western medicine and medical facilities. In Panama today, many Kuna villages have small government-run clinics administered by trained local (often Kuna) medical auxiliaries. Serious cases may be flown to the provincial capitals or Panama City in government or commercial planes.

## 9.4 Grammar

### Adjectives

Adjectives in Kuna, as in Spanish and English, are modifiers of a person or object and are used in conjunction with the noun in order to describe it more fully. Most Kuna adjectives are part of a noun phrase and convey a concept similar to the English/Spanish adjectival concept. Since some aspects of negation of adjectives and of Kuna color are unique, they are described apart from the general discussion on adjectives. The formation of attributive and existence sentences is also unique.

#### 9.4.1 Word order of a noun phrase (Ex. 4–5)

A noun phrase may consist of a noun, adjective and suffix, or of a noun modifying another noun.

##### 9.4.1.1 Position of adjective in noun phrase

In Kuna, unlike English, the adjective is placed after the noun.

**Example** Karpa **tummad** chi. ‘A large basket is (sitting) there.’

##### 9.4.1.2 Position of suffixes

Up to this point, suffixes which are used in conjunction with a noun have always been attached to the noun.

#### Examples

1. **neggin** ‘in the house’
2. **ulgin** ‘in the canoe’
3. **¿Masde**, igi mani? ‘The plantains, how much are they?’

However, when the noun is modified by an adjective (e.g., ‘small’, ‘red’), the noun plus the adjective is considered as one unit (a noun phrase) in Kuna, and the suffix is added to the end of the noun phrase: noun + (adjective + suffix).

#### Examples

1. **neg totogin** ‘in the little house’
2. **ul tummadgin** ‘in the big canoe’

### 9.4.1.3 Noun modified by another noun

One noun may be used to modify another noun when it is necessary to talk about a specific part of a whole object. In this case, the (whole) object precedes the part of the object.

#### Examples

1. kallin nono                    ‘chicken head’
2. ti nak                            ‘river mouth’

Sometimes one noun is used to modify the meaning of the other noun. In this case the modifying noun comes first.

#### Examples

1. ormaked neg                    ‘meeting house’
2. ulmol ul                        ‘sail boat’
3. nono kal                        ‘skull bone’

### Exercise 4. Noun phrase varied substitution drill

The teacher says the frame and then a word from the list below. The student repeats the frame, inserting the adjective said by the teacher.

- Examples**
- Teacher: Machi ul tummad takcha.  
 Teacher: pin  
 Student: Machi ul pin takcha.  
 Teacher: Machi ul pin takcha.  
 Teacher: olobi  
 Student: Machi ul olobi takcha.

**Frame**            Machi ul \_\_\_\_ takcha.            ‘The boy saw \_\_\_\_ canoe.’

1. tummad                    ‘big’
2. toto                        ‘small’
3. pin                         ‘new’
4. chered                    ‘old’
5. olobi                      ‘empty’
6. ena                        ‘full’
7. nued                      ‘good’
8. istar                      ‘bad’
9. karki                      ‘expensive’
10. muis                     ‘inexpensive’

### Exercise 5. Noun phrase suffix drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 in which the suffix is attached to the noun. The teacher then says the adjective. The student responds by inserting the adjective with the proper suffix into the sentence. The drill should be repeated several times.

- Example**
- Teacher: Es ulgin mai.  
 Teacher: toto  
 Student: Es ul totogin mai.

- 1a. Es ulgin mai.                    ‘The machete is in the canoe.’
- b. toto                              ‘small’
- 2a. Es mesagin mai.                ‘The machete is on the table.’
- b. kinnid                            ‘red’
- 3a. Pundin nad.                      ‘The girl (on the one hand) went.’
- b. tummad                         ‘big’

- |                       |                                       |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 4a. Machidin pes.     | ‘The boy (on the other hand) stayed.’ |
| b. toto               | ‘little’                              |
| 5a. Machi yalbal nad. | ‘The boy went to the mountain.’       |
| b. tummad             | ‘big’                                 |

#### 9.4.1.4 Limitation of the noun phrase

In general, a Kuna noun phrase may contain only one adjective. (A means of modifying a noun with more than one adjective is discussed in 9.4.4.3) There is, however, an exception. Occasionally, a noun and adjective are so closely associated in the mind of the speaker that they are considered one concept. Take, for example, the English words “pink eye.” Although the phrase “pink eye” is made up of two words, actually only one idea, a type of disease, is communicated.

The Kuna words **tule tummad** ‘leader’ are an example of two words conveying one concept. A noun phrase which contains two words but one concept may be further modified by a number.

**Example** **Tule tummad walpá** nad. ‘The three leaders went.’

#### 9.4.2 Negation of adjectives (Ex. 6)

Although most negated adjectives function as do negated adjectives in English and Spanish, there is an idiomatic use of the negated adjective which is unique in Kuna (discussed below in 2). With few exceptions, the negation of an adjective varies according to whether the adjective ends in a vowel or a consonant.

##### 9.4.2.1 Formation of negated adjectives

Negated adjectives are formed by the use of the negative suffix: **-chuli/-zhuli/-juli**.

##### 1) Negation of adjectives ending in a consonant

Adjectives that end in a consonant are negated by use of the negative forms **-chuli/-zhuli** following the adjective.

##### Examples

- |                        |            |
|------------------------|------------|
| 1a. chered             | ‘old’      |
| b. chered <b>zhuli</b> | ‘not old’  |
| 2a. nued               | ‘good’     |
| b. nued <b>zhuli</b>   | ‘not good’ |

##### 2) Negation of adjectives ending in a vowel

Adjectives that end in a vowel are negated by the addition of **-juli** to the adjective.

##### Examples

- |                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|
| 1a. kollo            | ‘ripe’      |
| b. kollo <b>juli</b> | ‘not ripe’  |
| 2a. toto             | ‘small’     |
| b. toto <b>juli</b>  | ‘not small’ |

##### 3) Exception in negated adjective formation

Two common exceptions in the formation of negated adjectives ending in a consonant involve the words **tummad** ‘big’ and **muis** ‘cheap’. In the case of the former, the consonant is dropped and the negative suffix **-juli** is added to the adjective. In the case of the latter, **s + ch** becomes **d**.

##### Examples

- |                      |           |
|----------------------|-----------|
| 1a. tummad/tummadi   | ‘big’     |
| b. tumma <b>juli</b> | ‘not big’ |

- 2a. muis 'inexpensive'  
 b. muiduli 'not inexpensive'

### 9.4.2.2 Common significance of negated adjectives

The most common meaning of a negated adjective is similar to the meaning of the negated adjective in English/Spanish.

#### Examples

- 1a. istar 'bad'  
 b. istarchuli 'not bad'  
 2a. olobi 'empty'  
 b. olobijuli 'not empty'

When it has this meaning, the first syllable of the negative suffix tends to be stressed.

**Example** olobijúli 'not empty'

### 9.4.2.3 Idiomatic use of negated adjectives

Sometimes the use of a negated adjective does more than simply negate an attribute. When a person chooses to use the negated form of certain adjectives in preference to an existing antonym, a very intense antithesis is communicated. In this case, the use of the negated adjective completely eliminates any characteristic of the concept negated.

#### Examples

1. iche 'a little'  
 2. ichejuli 'not a little (a lot)'

In this construction, the syllable preceding the negative suffix tends to be stressed.

**Example** ichéjuli 'not a little (a lot)'

The intensification of antithesis is a phenomenon which occurs only with certain adjectives. Some adjectives that are used to intensify antithesis are in the following list.

#### Examples

	Direct Translation	Idiomatic Significance
1. totojuli	'not small'	'big'
2. purwijuli	'not tiny'	'large'
3. tutujuli	'not soft'	'hard'
4. tinnajuli	'not dry'	'damp/wet'
5. karkijuli	'not expensive'	'inexpensive'
6. muiduli	'not cheap'	'expensive'
7. ichejuli	'not a little'	'a lot'
8. tikajuli	'not nearby'	'far away'

### Exercise 6. Negated adjective drill

The teacher says Sentence 1. The student responds by repeating the modified noun with the negated form of the adjective and omitting the verb used in Sentence 1. The succeeding sentences are drilled in a similar fashion.

**Examples** Teacher: Ul toto nai.  
 Student: Ul totojuli.  
 Teacher: Win purwi pukwa.  
 Student: Win purwijuli.

1. Ul toto nai. 'A small boat is (there).'  
 2. Win purwi pukwa. 'Tiny beads are (sitting) (there).'



- |                       |                                   |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3. Neg tika chi.      | ‘The house is (sitting) nearby.’  |
| 4. Mol karki pakcha.  | ‘I bought expensive cloth.’       |
| 5. Ochi tutu kunnai.  | ‘I am eating a soft candy.’       |
| 6. Sabured tinna nai. | ‘The sabured is (suspended) dry.’ |

### 9.4.3 Colors (Ex. 7–10)

Color plays a very important role in Kuna culture and the Kuna concept of color varies considerably from the English/Spanish view. Therefore, a brief overview of the Kuna color system is given here for the language learner.<sup>37</sup>

Truly beautiful colors from a Kuna standpoint are colors which are classified as “pure” colors. Each of the five “pure” colors has a name:

- |              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| 1. kinnid    | ‘red’    |
| 2. kollogwad | ‘yellow’ |
| 3. arrad     | ‘blue’   |
| 4. chibu     | ‘white’  |
| 5. chichid   | ‘black’  |

All other colors are inferior and less highly valued. The five pure colors comprise the base points of a two-way color distinction; spectral colors and shades of intensity.

#### 9.4.3.1 Spectral colors

Spectral colors are those colors which occur on a color spectrum. The primary colors on the spectrum have specific names, others are given coined names.

##### 1) Primary color names

The primary colors, in the order in which they are listed below, comprise the base and mid-points of the Kuna color spectrum. They are all pure colors and, therefore, highly valued, but red is the most appealing of all:

- |                            |          |
|----------------------------|----------|
| 1. kinnid                  | ‘red’    |
| 2. kollogwad <sup>38</sup> | ‘yellow’ |
| 3. arrad                   | ‘blue’   |

##### 2) Coined terms for color

Secondary colors between the base and mid-points on the spectrum, that is, those such as orange, green, and violet, do not have specific names, and are often referred to by coined terms that may vary from one speaker to another. The coined term is derived from the name of a familiar object of similar color plus a color suffix **-gid**.

#### Examples

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. kwili apchal <b>gid</b> | ‘the color of parakeet feathers (lime green)’ |
| 2. chapkale <b>gid</b>     | ‘the color of a leaf (green)’                 |

<sup>37</sup> A more-detailed discussion of Kuna color perspective is found in “Spectral colors and intensity in Paya Kuna color terminology”, Wilma Forster, forthcoming.

<sup>38</sup> Although **kollogwad** ‘yellow’ is a coined term derived from **kollo** ‘ripe’ plus **-gwad**, it usually occurs in this form, but sometimes in a given context a yellow object may be referred to simply as **kollo** ‘yellow’. All Kunas use this term for “yellow” and treat it as a pure color. In phrases such as **kollo chibugwad** ‘whitened yellow’ note that **-gwad** is attached to the modifier rather than to **kollo**.

### 9.4.3.2 *Shades of intensity*

The pure colors white and black serve as the reference points for indicating intensity of all the spectral colors. Lighter or darker colors can be referred to by the addition of all degrees of shades ranging from white through various shades of gray to black. Unlike English/Spanish, the degrees of shade intensity are assigned specific names.

#### Examples

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. chibugwad   | ‘whitish’       |
| 2. allulugwad  | ‘grayish white’ |
| 3. purrugwad   | ‘grayish’       |
| 4. kuturrugwad | ‘grayish black’ |
| 5. chichigwad  | ‘blackish’      |

### 9.4.3.3 *Interpretation of color*

As shown in the preceding paragraphs, Kunas refer to the color of an item which is interpreted as black, white, primary or secondary, by a specific name or by a coined term. The colors of other items, such as maroon, steel blue, or pastels which are not intrinsic to a color spectral chart, are interpreted in terms of shade of intensity. Such colors may be named only for the specific shade of intensity and the presence of a spectral color may be ignored in the naming. On the other hand, the color may be referred to by modifying the shade of intensity with the word for the appropriate spectral color.

For example, a pastel pink may be referred to as **chibugwad** ‘whitish’, **kinnid chibugwad** ‘whitish red’, or **islub chibugwad** ‘the whitened color of wild plum’. Another example is navy blue. Navy may be referred to as **kuturreged** ‘grayish black’, **arrad kuturreged** ‘blackish blue’, or **purrin kuturreged** ‘the grayish-black color of a blue bird’.

### 9.4.3.4 *Equivalent color suffix*

Many colors do not fit easily into the two-way system of color distinctions: spectral and shades of intensity. Kunas refer to colors which are similar to their view of a “pure” color, or like another familiar object, or in the general area of a shade of intensity by using an equivalent suffix attached to the color term. Equivalent suffixes include:

- -gid(i)/-kid(i) ‘the kind of’
- -gwad(i)/-kwad(i) ‘has the quality/characteristic of’
- -tiki/-diki<sup>39</sup> ‘on the side of/leans toward’
- -jaled(i)/-chaled(i)/-zhaled(i) ‘at the point of becoming’
- -yob(i) ‘like’
- -ged(i)/-ked(i) ‘being \_\_\_\_’
- -takleged(i)/-dageleged(i)\* ‘\_\_\_\_ looking’

#### Examples

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. pukwagid       | ‘a kind of ñampi (purple)’                    |
| 2. kinnigwad      | ‘has the quality of red’                      |
| 3. arraddiki      | ‘on the side of a blue (color)’               |
| 4. kollodikigwad* | ‘leaning toward the characteristic of yellow’ |
| 5. chibujaled     | ‘at the point of becoming white’              |
| 6. arradzhaled    | ‘at the point of becoming blue’               |
| 7. chiayob        | ‘chocolate-like’                              |

---

<sup>39</sup> Intervocally these forms begin with **t**, however, they begin with a **d** following lenis consonants (same=\*).

8. kuturreged<sup>40</sup> 'being grayed'  
 9. kinnidakleged 'red looking'

### 9.4.3.5 Color questions

In addition to content questions discussed in Section 4.4.3, there is a color question. A color question is used to inquire about the color of an object and is formed by the use of the word **¿Igid?** 'What color (is it)?'

#### Examples

1. ¿Molde, igid? 'The mola, what color (is it)?'  
 2. ¿Ulde, igid? 'The canoe, what color (is it)?'  
 3. ¿Mol igid? 'What color cloth?'

#### Exercise 7. Pure color drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it. The student repeats Sentence 1, changing to the **-ne** 'going to ...' form. The student then repeats Sentence 1, changing to the **-cha** 'completed aspect' form. The teacher says Sentence 2, etc.

**Example** Teacher: An mol kinnid pakpi.  
 Student: An mol kinnid pakpi.  
 Student: An mol kinnid pakne.  
 Student: An mol kinnid pakcha.

1. An mol kinnid pakpi. 'I want to buy red cloth.'  
 2. An mol kollo pakpi. 'I want to buy yellow cloth.'  
 3. An mol arrad pakpi. 'I want to buy blue/green cloth.'  
 4. An mol chibu pakpi. 'I want to buy white cloth.'  
 5. An mol chichid pakpi. 'I want to buy black cloth.'

#### Exercise 8. Equivalent color suffix drill

The teacher says the shade of Color Suffix 1 below. Then the teacher says the colors A–E one by one. The student adds Suffix 1 to each of the colors said by the teacher. The teacher says the shade of Color Suffix 2. Then the teacher says the colors A–E one by one. The student adds Suffix 2 to each of the colors said by the teacher, etc.

**Examples** Teacher: -gwad  
 Teacher: chibu  
 Student: chibugwad  
 Teacher: chichid  
 Student: chichigwad  
 Teacher: kinnid  
 Student: kinnigwad  
 Teacher: -takleged  
 Teacher: chibu  
 Student: chibutakleged  
 Teacher: chichid  
 Student: chichitakleged

1. -gwad A. chibu  
 2. -takleged B. chichid  
 3. -yob C. kinnid

<sup>40</sup> **kuturre** 'gray-black' becomes **kuturru** before **-gwad**, but remains **kuturre** before **-ged**.

4. -tiki

D. kollo

E. arrad

**Exercise 9.** Color question drill

The teacher inserts one of the words below into the frame. The student responds by asking a color question, using the word the teacher said. The teacher replies to the student by inserting the word used modified by one of the colors A–E. This exercise may be repeated with the role of teacher and student reversed.

**Example** Teacher: An **mol** nika.  
 Student: ¿**Mol** igid?  
 Teacher: An **mol kinnid** nika.

**Frame** Teacher: An \_\_\_\_ nika.  
 Student: ¿\_\_\_\_ igid?  
 Teacher: An (**noun**) (**color**) nika.

1. mol	‘blouse’	A. kinnid	‘red’
2. ul	‘canoe’	B. kollogwad	‘yellow’
3. yogal	‘shirt’	C. arrad	‘blue’
4. karta	‘book’	D. chibu	‘white’
5. atued	‘blanket’	E. chichid	‘black’
6. sapat	‘shoes’		
7. achu	‘dog’		
8. moli	‘horse/tapir’		

**Exercise 10.** Shade of intensity naming drill

Each student should obtain a color sample chart from a local paint dealer. The student should write the names of ten of the colors on the chart. The color names assigned to paint samples should subsequently be discussed in class.

**9.4.4 Attributive sentence (Ex. 11–14)**

The Kuna formation of an attributive sentence differs from the Spanish/English equivalent, *el está chiquito* ‘he is small’ in that only the noun and adjective are used; the verb (*ser/estar* ‘to be’) is omitted.

**Example** Ul toto. ‘The canoe (is) small.’

**9.4.4.1 Intonation of the attributive sentence**

The intonation pattern of an attributive sentence differs from that of a transitive or intransitive statement. There is a pause between the noun and the adjective. The pitch of the final syllable of the noun is raised, and the pitch of the final syllable of the adjective is lowered.

**Exercise 11.** Attributive frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times. The intonation is the crucial part of this drill.

**Examples** Teacher: Machi orojuli.  
 Student: Machi orojuli.  
 Teacher: Kukualed totojuli.  
 Student: Kukualed totojuli.

1. Machi orojuli.	‘The boy is very tall.’
2. Kukualed totojuli.	‘The plane is large.’
3. Mimmi ye.	‘The baby is sick.’
4. Akwa chellele.	‘The rock is hard.’
5. Tule chered.	‘The Kuna (person) is old.’

**Exercise 12.** Attributive sentence drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of a noun phrase. The student replies in the form of an attributive sentence.

**Example** Teacher: An win purwi pei.

Student: Win purwi.

- |                            |                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. An win purwi pei.       | ‘I want small beads.’       |
| 2. An ina kakpi kobzha.    | ‘I drank bitter medicine.’  |
| 3. An wawadun kollo kucha. | ‘I ate ripe bananas.’       |
| 4. An mol karki pakcha.    | ‘I bought expensive cloth.’ |
| 5. An machi orojul takcha. | ‘I saw a very tall boy.’    |

**9.4.4.2 Establishment of attributive sentence topic**

If it is necessary to establish the topic (see Appendix E.1) of an attributive sentence, the suffix **-de/-te** is added to the noun.

**Example** Machide orojuli. ‘The boy is very tall.’

**Exercise 13.** Topic establishing frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times. The student should concentrate on the attributive sentence intonation pattern while doing this drill.

**Examples** Teacher: Machide orojuli

Student: Machide orojuli.

Teacher: Kukualedde totojuli.

Student: Kukualedde totojuli.

- |                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Machide orojuli.     | ‘The boy is very tall.’     |
| 2. Kukualedde totojuli. | ‘The plane is large.’       |
| 3. Mimmide ye.          | ‘The baby is sick.’         |
| 4. Akwade chellele.     | ‘The rock is hard.’         |
| 5. Tulede cheredi.      | ‘The person (Kuna) is old.’ |

**9.4.4.3 Use of attributive sentence with noun phrase**

As is mentioned in this lesson (see 9.4.1), a noun phrase may contain only one adjective. A noun may be modified with two adjectives by incorporating a noun phrase into an attributive sentence.

**Example**

- |                      |                               |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Mol kinnid karki. | ‘The red cloth is expensive.’ |
| 2. Mol karki kinnid. | ‘The expensive cloth is red.’ |

As may be seen in the above example, one adjective follows the noun and the one selected as attribute or stated adjective follows the first adjective. In this type of attributive sentence, intonation is vital to communication. The pause between the two adjectives is very important.

**Exercise 14.** Noun phrase in an attributive sentence frame drill:

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it. This exercise should be repeated several times. Pay special attention to the intonation.

**Example** Teacher: Mol kinnid karki.

Student: Mol kinnid karki.

- |                       |                               |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Mol kinnid karki.  | ‘The red cloth is expensive.’ |
| 2. Akan tummad karki. | ‘The big axe is expensive.’   |

- |                    |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3. Ul pin karki.   | ‘The new canoe is expensive.’ |
| 4. Ina arrad ochi. | ‘The blue medicine is sweet.’ |
| 5. Es toto nued.   | ‘The little knife is nice.’   |

### 9.4.5 Useful expressions for personal needs

It is important to be able to use two common expressions for personal needs and to be able to determine by questioning, how a person feels. Although they are expressed by an adjective, a noun is used in Kuna for “hungry” and “thirsty” and, frequently, “sick” is expressed by a noun.

#### 9.4.5.1 Hunger and thirst

Only one word, **ukul/ukulu** is used to describe both hunger and thirst in Kuna.

##### Example

An ukul nika. ‘I am hungry/thirsty.’ (lit.: ‘I have hunger/thirst.’)

#### 9.4.5.2 Sickness

Various Kuna words refer to being sick, however; the most common are the adjective **ye** ‘sick’ and the noun **poni** ‘sickness’. The term **poni** also means ‘problem’.

##### Examples

- |                         |                                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. An <b>ye</b> .       | ‘I am sick.’                   |
| 2. An <b>poni</b> nika. | ‘I have (a) sickness/problem.’ |

#### 9.4.5.3 General health question

There are two common questions that may be used to refer to the general state of a person’s health or well being.

##### Examples

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 1. ¿Ibi nika? | ‘What is the matter?/What (disease) do you have?’ |
| 2. ¿Igi ito?  | ‘How do you feel?’                                |

### 9.4.6 Suffix of excess *-rba*<sup>41</sup>

An expression which parallels the English construction ‘(one) who \_\_\_\_ excessively/in excess’ is conveyed by adding the suffix **-rba** to the long form of the verb stem.

##### Examples

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. We tule kal nikar <b>ba</b> .    | ‘That person is excessively (extremely) strong.’                       |
| 2. We tule kwallu nikar <b>ba</b> . | ‘That person is excessively fat.’                                      |
| 3. We tule mas kunner <b>ba</b> .   | ‘That person is a glutton.’ (lit.: ‘He eats excessively.’)             |
| 4. We tule ua chwaer <b>ba</b> .    | ‘That person is a fanatic fisherman.’ (lit.: ‘He fishes excessively.’) |

### 9.4.7 Existence sentence (Ex. 15)

An existence sentence parallels the Spanish/English construction, *Hay elefantes*. ‘There are elephants’. It confirms or negates the existence of something. The Kuna existence clause is formed by stating the noun which exists, followed by the verb **nika** ‘to have’. Generally speaking, **nika** is used in the same sense of a person/animal owning or possessing something. In the case of possession, an owner, and sometimes the object owned, are named with the verb.

---

<sup>41</sup> **-rba** is actually derivational suffix **-r** ‘adjectivizer’ (used with a verb) plus **-ba** ‘adjective intensifier’. For example, **yer** ‘fine/good’ and **yerba** ‘very good’.

**Examples**

1. An nika. 'I have (it).'
2. An mani nika. 'I have money.'

In the case of an existence sentence, only the object which exists occurs with the verb **nika** 'to have'. Usually the context makes the meaning of an existence sentence clear.

**Example** Mani nika. 'There is money.'

**Exercise 15.** Existence sentence listing drill

Track the teacher as he says the sentences below. The teacher says the whole utterance and the student repeats it.

1. Koe nika, yannu nika, chule nika; tegine achu parpad nika, chapurbal. 'There are deer, peccaries, pacas, and jaguars in the jungle.'
2. Kwinub nika, tiur nika, tola nika; tegine arki nika, tigin. 'There are sabalos, sabalettas, catfish and huacucos in the river.'
3. Mas nika, mam nika, moe nika; tegine aswe nika, choneggin. 'There are plantains, manioc, squash and avocados in the kitchen.'

**9.5 Vocabulary****9.5.1 Colors (# 1–6)**

1. kinnid(i) 'red'
2. kollogwad(i) 'yellow'
3. arrad(i) 'blue'
4. chibu 'white'
5. chichid(i) 'black'
6. igid(i) 'what color'

**9.5.2 Size (# 7–11)**

7. orojul(i) 'tall'
8. tummadi(i) 'big'
9. toto 'small'
10. yeskwa 'medium'
11. purwi 'small particle-like' (e.g., 'beads')

**9.5.3 Quality (# 12–13)**

12. tutu 'soft/weak'
13. chellele 'hard'

**9.5.4 Age (# 14–15)**

14. pin(i) 'new'
15. chered(i) 'old'

**9.5.5 Temperature (# 16–19)**

16. ue 'hot'
17. tampe 'cold (people only)'
18. tamipá 'cold (things only)'
19. ue-ue 'lukewarm'

**9.5.6 Humidity (# 20–21)**

20.	wartik(u)	‘wet’
21.	tinna	‘dry’

**9.5.7 Condition (# 22–27)**

22. nued(i) <sup>42</sup>	‘good’
23. istar(a)	‘bad’
24. nunu	‘rotten/damaged’
25. kollo	‘ripe’ (see 2)
26. tullud	‘unripe’
27. kwachelle	‘partially ripe’

**9.5.8 Body needs (# 28–29)**

28. ukul(u)	‘hunger/thirst’
29. imme	‘full (satisfied)’

**9.5.9 Capacity (# 30–31)**

30. olo(bi)	‘empty’
31. ena	‘full’

**9.5.10 Price (# 32–33)**

32. karki	‘expensive’
33. muis	‘cheap’

**9.5.11 Food (# 34–38)**

34. make	‘raw’
35. tuled(i)	‘cooked’
36. nariles	‘smoked’
37. kummajad(i)	‘burnt’
38. japan(na)	‘smells’

**9.5.12 Quantity (# 39–42)**

39. iche	‘few’
40. ichejul(i)	‘many’
41. pukider(a)	‘lots of/much’
42. wilubbal(i)	‘moderate quantity’

**9.5.13 Useful expressions (# 43–45)**

43. Yoroku, kannan tagbalo.	‘Come back again at noon.’
44. Yoroku, kannan tagbalmogo.	‘Come back again at noon, too.’
45. Muichuli.	‘It will take/be a long while.’

---

<sup>42</sup> **nuejuli** ‘not completely ruined/not serious’ and **nuedchuli** ‘not good (bad)’





### 10.3 Culture

A Kuna is expected to ask for permission from the chief, in order to go on a trip. Permission is usually requested at a town meeting. If, however, the necessity for the trip is urgent, the permission may be given at any time. In requesting permission for the trip, the person is expected to give the destination and purpose of the trip, and the length of time he expects to be away from the village.

When there is a message to be sent, the chief asks someone to hand-carry the message. The chief may only request, he cannot demand, that someone take the message.

A Kuna, generally, does not travel alone. He travels with one or more companions. This aspect of the culture is an important one to you, especially if you are requesting that a job be done in another area, or if you are requesting a guide. A Kuna guide expects a companion to go with him, in order that he does not need to return from your destination alone. Both the guide and the companion are given wages.

## 10.4 Grammar

### 10.4.1 Verb tense-aspect (future) (Ex. 4–7)

An action that will occur at a future time is viewed as either occurring at an unspecified “sometime” in the future, or at a specific time. Actions which occur at an unspecified time in the future use the future suffix **-o** attached to the verb stem (or the verb stem with any of the appropriate suffixes listed in Section 10.4.5). Actions that occur at a specific time use the immediate future aspect suffix **-ne** (see 3.4.2).

#### 10.4.1.1 Future suffix

When the time of the future action is unspecified, (“sometime”), the future suffix **-o**<sup>43</sup> is added to the verb stem or the verb stem with any of the appropriate suffixes (see 10.4.5).

#### Examples

1. An nao.                    ‘I will go (sometime).’
2. An kabi kobo.            ‘I will drink coffee (sometime).’

#### Exercise 4. Future suffix frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**     Teacher: An nao.  
                   Student: An nao.

1. An nao.                    ‘I will go.’
2. An kabo.                   ‘I will sleep.’
3. An kobo.                   ‘I will drink.’
4. An poo.                    ‘I will cry.’
5. An purko.                 ‘I will die.’

#### Exercise 5. Future suffix drill

The teacher says the verb stem and the student adds the future aspect suffix to the verb stem.

**Example**     Teacher: eli  
                   Student: elio

1. eli                            ‘to clean’
2. aptake<sup>44</sup>                    ‘to wait’

<sup>43</sup> The long form of this suffix is **-oe**.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix G.

- |        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| 3. chi | ‘to be (sitting)’ |
| 4. tu  | ‘to cook’         |

#### 10.4.1.2 Immediate future suffix in contrast with the future suffix

In referring to actions which will take place in the future it is important that you understand the situations in which the immediate future suffix **-ne** is indicated versus the situations in which the future suffix **-o** is indicated.

When the time of a future action is specified, the immediate future suffix **-ne** is added to the verb. The time may be specified, for example, **pan** ‘tomorrow’ or **ibaboje** ‘in two days’, or it may be understood to refer to the time the speaker is speaking.

##### Examples

- |                                  |                               |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Yoroku, an mas <b>kunne</b> . | ‘At noon, I am going to eat.’ |
| 2. Nan mas <b>tune</b> .         | ‘Mother is going to cook.’    |

(The use of the immediate future suffix **-ne** indicates that the time refers to the time of the utterance, i.e., “now”.)

- |                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 3. Nan mas <b>tuo</b> . | ‘Mother is going to cook.’ |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|

(The use of the future suffix indicates that the time is unspecific, i.e., “sometime”.)

When a time word is used it usually means that the action will take place at a specific time in the future. However, occasionally a person wishes to communicate that “sometime” during a stated period of time, an action will take place. In this case, although the time is specified, the future suffix **-o** is added. This construction is very rare.

##### Examples

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. <b>Pane</b> an kabi kobo. | ‘Tomorrow (sometime) I will drink coffee.’       |
| 2. <b>Chedo</b> an mas tuo.  | ‘This evening (sometime) I will cook plantains.’ |

#### 10.4.1.3 Future of positional verbs

The future of positional verbs is formed by adding the future suffix **-o** to the short form of the positional verb. Thus, when **nai**, **mai**, **ti**, etc., refer to a position or state rather than an action, they do not occur with **-ne** ‘immediate future’.

##### Examples

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. An webal <b>maio</b> .             | ‘I will be there.’                                  |
| 2. Eswal ilagin <b>kwichio</b> .      | ‘The spear will be standing by the wall.’           |
| 3. Pirkagwenche pe ampak <b>tio</b> . | ‘In a year’s time, you will be (go about) with me.’ |

#### Exercise 6. Immediate future suffix review drill

Review the discussion of the immediate future suffix in Section 3.4.2. Do as many of the exercises as are necessary to reinforce the use of **-ne**, paying special attention to the need for a specific time reference.

#### Exercise 7. Immediate future versus future suffix drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says the time word and the student makes a sentence using the time word and changing the verb of Sentence 1 to a verb which uses the immediate future suffix. Sentence 2 is drilled in a similar manner.

**Example** Teacher: An nao.  
 Student: An nao.  
 Teacher: pan  
 Student: Pan an ne.<sup>45</sup>

1a. An nao.	‘I will go.’
b. pan	‘tomorrow’
2a. Ome mas tuo.	‘The woman will cook food.’
b. chedo	‘afternoon’
3a. Machi cho chiko.	‘The boy will cut wood.’
b. kujal	‘later’
4a. Juan aros tako.	‘John will look at the rice.’
b. wakur	‘morning’
5a. An machered mas tigo.	‘My husband will plant plantains.’
b. achul	‘day after tomorrow’
6a. Anna mol enuko.	‘Anne will wash clothes.’
b. pan	‘tomorrow’

#### 10.4.2 Including an additional participant in an action (Ex. 8–9)

##### 10.4.2.1 Participants viewed individually

You may wish to refer to a participant performing an action with others, yet wish to view his participation separately from the participation of the others.

In English, one way of doing this is to name the new participant, the action, and the word “too” or “also” in a separate sentence. For example, “John went. Peter went, too.” Or it can be expressed in a sentence such as, “John went, and Peter also.”

##### 1) Reasons for viewing participants individually

There are several reasons for viewing participants individually.

###### a) Afterthought

One of the most common reasons for viewing a participant in an action individually is the need for an afterthought. That is to say, you may start out by saying, “John went.” Then you remember about Peter and add as an afterthought, “Peter went too.”

###### b) Separate roles

A more important reason for viewing a participant in an action individually is that you want your hearer to keep sight of the different roles of the characters. An example of this is found in the story, *Little Red Riding Hood*: “Little Red Riding Hood went on to grandmother’s house. The wolf went, too.”

In this example, there is a desire to keep the role of the heroine separate from the role of the villain.

###### c) Individual actions

Another reason for viewing the participants of an action separately is that, for some reason, it is important to emphasize that the added participant also participated in the action. This may be accomplished in English by use of the word “both” or “all.” For example, “John and Mary **both** went.” or “Peter, John and Mary **all** went.”

---

<sup>45</sup> Ne, when used as the verb stem, means ‘going to go’; when it is suffixed to another stem it means ‘going to \_\_\_’.

## 2) Including an additional participant construction

In Kuna, to refer to an additional individual participant who also performed the action, a separate sentence is used. That sentence restates the participant, and the action, and adds the suffix **-mo** to the verb referring to the action.

### Example

Juan nad. Pedro nanmo.<sup>46</sup> 'John went. Peter went too.'

#### a) Including an additional participant in an attributive sentence

In the case of an attributive sentence, where no verb is expressed, the suffix **-mo** attaches to the attribute.

### Example

Pedro orojuli. Juan orojulmo. 'Peter is tall. John is tall too.'

#### b) Including an additional participant in a conversational exchange

In conversation, if you wish to include somebody else in the action to which the previous speaker just referred, repeat the verb he used and add **-mo** to it.

### Examples

1. John: An ne. 'I am going to go.'
2. Mary: An nemo. 'I am going to go, too.'

## 10.4.2.2 Participants viewed as a group

At times, it is necessary to group the different participants together and treat them as if they had acted as a unit. For example, "John and Mary went."

There are at least two constructions for viewing participants as a group. Reference to participants as a group usually occurs in answer to a question or in making a statement.

### 1) Answer to a question

In Kuna, when an answer to a question includes a group of participants, the construction is handled by giving the name of one participant, the name of the other participant, the number of participants, and the verb: participant + participant + number of participants + verb.

### Example

Juan, María; walbo nad. 'John, Mary; two went. (John and Mary went.)'

### 2) Statement

If, however, you were merely stating that John and Mary went, you would use a generic term to include the people in the group, a verb, the name of a participant, the name of another participant, the number of people and a verb: generic term + verb; name of participant, name of other participant; number of participants + verb.

The generic term in this construction may be **tulemal** 'people', **amal** 'they', or the number which represents the participants such as **walbo** 'two people'.

### Examples

1. Tulemal nade; Juan, María; walbo nade. 'People went; John, Mary; two went. (John and Mary went.)'
2. Amal nade; Juan, María; walbo nade. 'They went; John, Mary; two went. (John and Mary went.)'
3. Walbo nade; Juan, María; walbo nade. 'Two went; John, Mary; two went. (John and Mary went.)'

---

<sup>46</sup> **d** becomes **n** before **m**.

**Exercise 8. -mo frame drill**

In the following exercise, treat the participants as individuals, and include them in the same action. The teacher says Sentence 1. The teacher then names another participant to be added to the same action. The student responds by including both participants as individuals in the same action.

**Example** Teacher: Ome mol makne.

Teacher: pun

Student: Ome mol makne. Pun mol maknemo.

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1a. Ome mol makne.      | ‘The woman is going to sew a blouse.’     |
| b. pun                  | ‘girl’                                    |
| 2a. Tad immal amine.    | ‘The elder is going to hunt (something).’ |
| b. machi                | ‘boy’                                     |
| 3a. Sagla ua chwane.    | ‘The chief is going to fish.’             |
| b. machi                | ‘boy’                                     |
| 4a. Macheded mas kunne. | ‘The man is going to eat.’                |
| b. ome                  | ‘woman’                                   |

**Exercise 9. Viewing participants as a group drill**

In the following exercise, treat the participants as a group and include them in the same action. The teacher says Sentence 1, then gives another participant to be added to the same action. The student responds by including both participants as individuals in the same action.

**Example** Teacher: Ome mol makne.

Teacher: pun

Student: Ome , puna;<sup>47</sup> walbo mol makne.

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1a. Ome mol makne.      | ‘The woman is going to sew a blouse.’     |
| b. pun                  | ‘girl’                                    |
| 2a. Tad immal amine.    | ‘The elder is going to hunt (something).’ |
| b. machi                | ‘boy’                                     |
| 3a. Sagla ua chwane.    | ‘The chief is going to fish.’             |
| b. machi                | ‘boy’                                     |
| 4a. Macheded mas kunne. | ‘The man is going to eat food.’           |
| b. ome                  | ‘woman’                                   |

**10.4.3 Associating one action with another action****10.4.3.1 Associating two different actions or repeating the same action**

Two different, but approximately simultaneous actions, may be brought together by adding the suffix **-bal/-pal** to the second verb. The English equivalent of this construction is “too” or “also.”

**Example**

Machi mas kunne. Kabi komne**bal**.

‘The boy is going to eat food. (He) is going to drink coffee **too**.’

The suffix **-bal** can also be added to a verb in order to refer to an action which is repeated. The English equivalent to this construction is the word “again.”

---

<sup>47</sup> This construction uses a listing pattern, and the long form of the word is used (see 5.4.2).

**Examples**

1. Machi atas. Mas kunne**bal**. 'The boy awakened. (He) is going to eat **again**.'
2. Machi nad**bal**. 'The boy went **again**.'

**10.4.3.2 Associating different actions which occur in a time sequence**

If one action does not take place until the other action is at least started, the two actions are joined by the conjunction **tegin** 'then'.

**Examples**

1. Machi mas kunne. **Tegin** ua chwane. 'The boy is going to eat. **Then** he is going fishing.'
2. Pab chapur kugne. **Tegin** aros tigne. 'Father is going to burn fields. **Then** he is going to plant rice.'

**10.4.4 Repetition of an attribute (state) (Ex. 10–11)**

In an attributive sentence, if the state referred to by the attribute is repeated, the suffix **-bal/-pal** is attached to the attribute (adjective).

**Example** Mimmi yeb**al**. 'The baby is sick **again**.'

**Exercise 10. Repetitive action frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An mas kunne**bal**.  
Student: An mas kunne**bal**.

1. An mas kunne**bal**. 'I am going to eat food **again**.'
2. An ob tigne**bal**. 'I am going to plant corn **again**.'
3. An ua tune**bal**. 'I am going to cook fish **again**.'
4. An mas kuchab**al**. 'I ate food **again**.'
5. An ob tizhab**al**. 'I planted corn **again**.'
6. An ua tus**bal**. 'I cooked fish **again**.'
7. An mas kump**al**o. 'I will eat food **again**.'
8. An ob tighb**al**o. 'I will plant corn **again**.'
9. An ua tub**al**o. 'I will cook fish **again**.'
10. An palu nikip**al**. 'I have salt **again**.'

**Exercise 11. Stimulus response drill**

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of a statement. The student responds using the **-bal/-pal** 'again' form.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ul chomne.  
Student: Machi ul chomne**bal**.

1. Machi ul chomne. 'The boy is going to make a canoe.'
2. Ome mol makcha. 'The woman sewed a blouse.'
3. Wag ostigid nika. 'The outsider has sugar.'
4. Machi aswe chus. 'The boy fetched an avocado.'
5. Pun mu kolne. 'The girl is going to call grandmother.'
6. Sagla koe mecha. 'The chief killed a deer.'
7. Wag noni. 'The outsider arrived.'
8. Mimmi ye. 'The baby is sick.'

### 10.4.5 Order of suffixes following the verb (Ex. 12–13)

It is important to recognize that suffixes occur in a specific order following the verb stem. To make the order of suffixes easier to remember, suffixes are grouped below and the groups are numbered in the order in which they appear following the verb stem. Group I comes directly after the verb stem, Group II follows Group I, etc:<sup>48</sup>  
verb + Group I<sup>49</sup> + Group II + Group III + ...

- Group I - immediate future suffix **-ne** (see 3.4.2 and 10.4.1), completive aspect suffix **-che/-zhe/-je** (see 4.4.1), present progressive (see 6.4.2) and desiderative **-bi/-pi** (see 2.4.2). (See also Appendix F for alternate order of **-bi/-pi**.)
- Group II - group marker suffix **-mal** (see 8.4.3.1)
- Group III - **-bal/-pal** ‘again’ (see 10.4.3 and 10.4.4)
- Group IV - **-mo** ‘too’ (see 10.4.2.1)
- Group V - future suffix **-o** (see 10.4.1.1 and 10.4.1.2)

#### Examples

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Verb + Group I + Group III<br>Ome mol pak <b>chabal</b> .                         | ‘The woman <b>bought</b> cloth <b>again</b> .’                                 |
| 2. Verb + Group III + Group IV<br>Juan ne <b>balmo</b> .                             | ‘John is going to go <b>again too</b> .’                                       |
| 3a. Verb + Group I + Group III + Group IV<br>An mol mak <b>nebalmo</b> .             | ‘ <b>I am going to</b> sew <b>again too</b> .’                                 |
| b. Pan an mas kun <b>nebalmo</b> .   | ‘Tomorrow I <b>am going to</b> eat plantains <b>again too</b> .’               |
| 4. Verb + Group III + Group V<br>Machi tag <b>balo</b> .                             | ‘The boy <b>will</b> come <b>again</b> .’                                      |
| 5. Verb + Group IV + Group V<br>An mas kun <b>mo</b> .                               | ‘ <b>I will</b> eat <b>again (sometime)</b> .’                                 |
| 6. Verb + Group I + Group II + Group III<br>Machergandin yannu amine <b>balmal</b> . | ‘The men are ( <b>all</b> ) <b>going to</b> go hunting peccary <b>again</b> .’ |
| 7. Verb + Group II + Group III + Group IV<br>Machimaldina ne <b>malbalmo</b> .       | ‘The boys are ( <b>all</b> ) going to go <b>again too</b> .’                   |

#### Exercise 12. Grouping of suffixes

The most common grouping of suffixes is the grouping of Groups I, III, and IV. For that reason, we will drill these groups in the following exercise.

- The student says Sentence a.  
Tad cho chikne. ‘The grandfather is going to cut firewood.’
- Add Sentence b saying that the participant b is also going to perform the action of Sentence a.  
Tad cho chikne. Machi cho chiknemo. ‘The grandfather is going to cut firewood. The boy is going to cut firewood, too.’
- Construct Sentence c which says that participant b is going to repeat his action.  
Machi cho chiknebal. ‘The boy is going to cut firewood again.’
- Repeat Sentences a and b, inserting Sentence d, which says that participant a is going to repeat his action, then adding Sentence c, modified to say that participant b is going to repeat his action, also.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix M, for a list of all the verb suffixes treated in this grammar.

<sup>49</sup> Groups I and V are mutually exclusive: one or the other may occur, but both may not occur in a given verb.



Tad cho chikne. Machi cho chiknemo. Tad cho chiknebal. Machi cho chiknebalmo.	‘Grandfather is going to cut firewood. The boy is going to cut firewood also. The grandfather is going to cut firewood again. The boy is going to cut firewood again too.’
1a. Tad cho chikne.	‘The elder is going to cut firewood.’
b. machi	‘boy’
c. chikne	‘cut’
d. tad	‘elder/grandfather (indicating respect rather than kinship)’
2a. Mu kachi chobzha.	‘Grandmother made a hammock.’
b. amma	‘aunt’
c. chobzha	‘made’
d. mu	‘grandmother’
3a. Pun ua tubi.	‘The girl wants to cook fish.’
b. ome	‘woman’
c. tubi	‘wants to cook’
d. pun	‘girl’

### Exercise 13. -bal/-mo/-din selection drill

Consider the following sentences as a continuous story, but with many of the connectives missing. Fill the blank spaces with the suffix **-bal**, **-mo**, or **-din** where appropriate, i.e., not every word will need to have a suffix.

**Example** Student: Sae sagla koe mecha.  
Machid**in** koe mecham**o**.  
Kujal machi koe mechab**al**.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Sae sagla koe mecha.            | ‘Yesterday the chief killed a deer.’       |
| 2. Machi____ koe mecha_____.       | ‘As for the boy, he also killed a deer.’   |
| 3. Kujal machi____ koe mecha_____. | ‘Later, the boy killed a deer again.’      |
| 4. Sagla____ koe mecha_____.       | ‘The chief killed a deer again too.’       |
| 5. Ome____ mol makcha_____.        | ‘The woman sewed a mola.’                  |
| 6. Pun____ mol makcha_____.        | ‘As for the girl, she also sewed a mola.’  |
| 7. Machi____ toto____ ye_____.     | ‘The little boy is sick.’                  |
| 8. Mimmi____ ye_____.              | ‘As for the little girl, she is sick too.’ |
| 9. Immisdin, mimmi ye_____.        | ‘Today, the little girl is sick again.’    |

#### 10.4.6 Vocative

The vocative has no special form in Kuna.<sup>50</sup> The use of the vocative closely parallels its use in English.

##### 10.4.6.1 Vocative sentence initial

The vocative occurs at the beginning of the sentence if the speaker wants to call the attention of the person to whom he wishes to speak.

**Example** ¿Machi, pia ne? ‘Young fellow, where are you going?’

##### 10.4.6.2 Vocative sentence final

The vocative occurs at the end of the sentence if it is to confirm that what was said was directed to a certain person.

<sup>50</sup> **Nanu** is an exception; it is an alternative long form for the word **nana** ‘mother’, which is used only as a vocative to express very intense emotion.

**Example** An ne, tada. 'I am going, sir.'

Long and short forms of words may be used as a vocative. Long forms usually indicate intense emotion such as fear, frustration, or anger.

**Example** ¡Paba, an tobe! 'Father, I'm frightened!'

When employing a vocative, it is more common to use the role, status, or kinship term for a person, than his proper name.

**Example** Yai, an ne. 'Older brother, I am going.'

#### 10.4.7 Indirect object (Ex. 14)

The indirect object in Kuna functions in approximately the same way that it does in English. For example, "I gave the ball **to** the boy" specifies the person to whom the ball was given as the boy (indirect object).

In Kuna, the indirect object usually occurs after the subject and before the direct object and verb in transitive sentences, or before a verb of "saying." It is marked by the addition of the suffix **-ga/-ka** to the noun, proper name or pronoun.

##### Examples

1. An **pega** mol ukcha. 'I gave the blouse to you.'
2. An **machiga** chogzha. 'I said (it) to the boy.'

If, however, the indirect object is in focus, it occurs after the verb.

##### Examples

1. An mol ukcha, **pega**. 'I gave the cloth to **you**.'
2. An chogzha, **machiga**. '(I said (it) to **the boy**. (I told **the boy**.)'

#### Exercise 14. Indirect object substitution frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame. The teacher selects a word from the list below that can be substituted in the frame and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the correct place in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: An pega chegar ukcha.

Teacher: ai

Student: An aiga chegar ukcha.

**Frame** An \_\_\_\_-ga/-ka chegar ukcha. 'I gave matches to \_\_\_\_.'

1. pe 'you'
2. pab 'father'
3. nan 'mother'
4. mu 'grandmother/respected older lady'
5. tad 'grandfather/respected older man'
6. ai 'friend'

#### 10.4.8 Affected (interested) object

A common usage of the suffix **-ga/-ka** is in a situation that affects the present speaker in a similar way to which it affected the original speaker. For example, when the original speaker says things are going well with him, the present speaker may say, "It is going well with me, too."

**Example** Nuedmoga. 'It is going well **with me, too**.'

If the effect is to occur in the future, the **-moga** becomes **-mogo**.

**Example** Nuedmogo. 'It will go well **with me, too**.'

### 10.4.9 Habitual aspect<sup>51</sup> (Ex. 15–16)

Certain events that we speak of happen regularly; they are habits, or customary. “Tigers eat deer.” is an example of an habitual action. The event of a tiger eating deer is not a one-time event, but rather something that happens all the time, habitually. In English, the present tense of the verb is used to describe habitual actions. In Kuna, the short form of the verb stem is used alone without any suffix.

**Example** Achu parpad koe **kun.** ‘Tigers eat (habitually) deer.’

#### Exercise 15. Habitual aspect frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tule ua kun.

Student: Tule ua kun.

- |                    |                                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Tule ua kun.    | ‘Kunas eat fish.’                |
| 2. An ina che.     | ‘I practice medicine.’           |
| 3. An mol pak.     | ‘I (always) buy blouses.’        |
| 4. An nugal unke.  | ‘I (always) pull teeth.’         |
| 5. An ome mol mak. | ‘My wife (always) sews blouses.’ |

#### Exercise 16. Habitual aspect drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student changes it to the habitual aspect form of the verb and adds the word **pane-pane** ‘everyday’.<sup>52</sup>

**Example** Teacher: Machi ua kucha.

Student: Machi pane-pane ua kun.

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. Machi ua kucha.  | ‘The boy ate the fish.’                  |
| 2. Tad ua chwas.    | ‘The elder caught fish.’                 |
| 3. Pun mol enukcha. | ‘The girl washed the clothes.’           |
| 4. Mu mol makne.    | ‘The old lady is going to sew a blouse.’ |
| 5. Ome mas tus.     | ‘The woman cooked food.’                 |

### 10.4.10 Adverbs (Ex. 17–18)

Adverbs in Kuna, as in English, modify the verb; but their position in the sentence is different from English word order. In Kuna, they occur after the subject and before the indirect or direct object: subject + adverb + indirect object + direct object + verb.

Subtle nuances of meaning are achieved by changing this basic word order and are discussed in later lessons.

#### Example

Pab **pirkin** machi pilal. ‘The father loves the boy very much.’

#### Exercise 17. Adverbial word order frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

<sup>51</sup> Other uses of the habitual aspect are discussed in Section 12.4.1.2 and 19.4.9

<sup>52</sup> In this grammar all reduplicated adverbs are written with a hyphen.

**Example** Teacher: Machi kueye-kueye ua kucha.

Student: Machi kueye-kueye ua kucha.

- |                                   |                                       |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Machi kueye-kueye ua kucha.    | ‘The boy ate the fish quickly.’       |
| 2. Ome kueye-kueye mol makcha.    | ‘The woman made the blouse quickly.’  |
| 3. Pun kueye-kueye esmed chus.    | ‘The girl fetches the pot quickly.’   |
| 4. Machi kueye-kueye ti opas.     | ‘The boy crossed the river quickly.’  |
| 5. Ome kueye-kueye yogal enukcha. | ‘The woman washed the shirt quickly.’ |

### Exercise 18. Adverbial word order substitution drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it, adding the adverb **kueye-kueye** ‘quickly’. After the student and the teacher have worked through all the sentences one time, they repeat the exercise using the adverb **pinna-pinna** ‘slowly’.

**Example** Teacher: Machi es chune.

Student: Machi kueye-kueye es chune.

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. Machi es chune.     | ‘The boy is going to fetch the machete.’ |
| 2. Machi karta nermas. | ‘The boy wrote a letter.’                |
| 3. Ome mas chikcha.    | ‘The woman cut plantains.’               |
| 4. Tad karpa chobzha.  | ‘The elder made a basket.’               |
| 5. Machi ina kobzha.   | ‘The boy drank the medicine.’            |

## 10.5 Vocabulary

- |                    |                              |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. immal(a)        | ‘thing/animal’               |
| 2. chog(e)         | ‘to say’                     |
| 3. toaga           | ‘to whom/for whom’           |
| 4. ibiga           | ‘why’                        |
| 5. kol(e)          | ‘to call/shout’              |
| 6. chob(e)         | ‘to make’                    |
| 7. nama(ke)        | ‘to sing’                    |
| 8. nerma(ke)       | ‘to write/draw’              |
| 9. ye              | ‘sick’                       |
| 10. ami(e)         | ‘to hunt’                    |
| 11. emi(e)         | ‘to clean/weed (in a field)’ |
| 12. nug(a)         | ‘name’                       |
| 13. ai             | ‘friend’                     |
| 14. abe            | ‘blood’                      |
| 15. akte(e)        | ‘to descend/go down’         |
| 16. chabo(e)       | ‘to keep/put away’           |
| 17. mar(a)         | ‘thunder’                    |
| 18. po             | ‘mist/cloud’                 |
| 19. kwi            | ‘mosquito’                   |
| 20. neg(a)         | ‘house/place, field’         |
| 21. ti wi(e)       | ‘to rain’                    |
| 22. amma           | ‘aunt’                       |
| 23. achu parpad(i) | ‘jaguar/ocelot’              |
| 24. akwati         | ‘kerosene’                   |
| 25. ina            | ‘medicine’                   |
| 26. inna           | ‘chicha’                     |

27. pilal	'to love'
28. akwa	'stone/rock'
29. kana	'bench/chair'
30. kakpi	'bitter'
31. ochi	'sweet'
32. kueye-kueye	'quickly'
33. pinna-pinna	'slowly'

# 11 CONVERSATION CONTINUANCE

## 11.1 Dialogue

One of the main goals in speaking Kuna is to be able to maintain a conversation. The following dialogue gives some examples of ways to do so, considering yourself as the outsider or visitor in a Kuna village.

Traveller returns after a visit to the city.

- |    |            |                         |  |
|----|------------|-------------------------|--|
| 1. | Visitor:   | ¿Kep noni?              | ‘Have you just arrived?’                 |
| 2. | Traveller: | Eye.                    | ‘Yes.’                                   |
| 3. | Visitor:   | ¿Pe nued arpi?          | ‘Did you have a good trip?’              |
| 4. | Traveller: | Nueddo.                 | ‘(Yes) it was fine.’                     |
| 5. | Visitor:   | Ajáj. ¿Pe urpade?       | ‘Oh! (What about) your younger brother?’ |
| 6. | Traveller: | Nonimo.                 | ‘He is back too.’                        |
| 7. | Visitor:   | Mmmm. ¿Pe kinki pakcha? | ‘Mmmm. Did you buy a (hunting) rifle?’   |
| 8. | Traveller: | Pakchado. Aptagwel.     | ‘Yes, I bought (one). Wait a minute.’    |

The traveller gets up and gets out his new hunting rifle to show his friend.

- |     |                                       |   |   |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 9.  | Visitor<br>(inspecting<br>the rifle): | Ma-a-achi. Kinki nued. ¿Igi<br>manijun? | ‘Wow! It’s a good gun. How much did it cost?’ |
| 10. | Traveller:                            | Karta tula atal ilabo.                  | ‘\$200.00’                                    |
| 11. | Visitor:                              | Ai-yai-yai. Mani tummad.                | ‘Yikes! That’s a lot of money.’               |

He gives the gun back.

- |     |            |                 |                         |
|-----|------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 12. | Visitor:   | ¿Pia pe pakcha? | ‘Where did you buy it?’ |
| 13. | Traveller: | Chinnogin.      | ‘From the Chinaman.’    |
| 14. | Visitor:   | A-a-a-a.        | ‘Oh!’                   |

The visitor then goes on to ask about the trip itself.

## 11.2 Pronunciation: Intonation of Conversation Sustainers (Ex. 1–3)

Conversation sustainers are comments or acknowledgements made by the listener in response to the speaker. They communicate to the speaker that the listener is taking in what is being said and that the speaker should keep talking. These sustainers tend to be short, often a single word or sound. English uses such conversation sustainers as, ‘Oh! Is that so!’, ‘Really!’, and ‘Mmmm!’ Conversation sustainers have a characteristic long-drawn-out intonation pattern.

### Exercise 1. Dialogue intonation drill

Mimic the teacher as he says Dialogue 11.1. Great care should be taken to draw out the conversation sustainers to their proper length.

### Exercise 2. Dialogue 11.1 dramatization

Dramatize Dialogue 11.1 with two students playing the different roles. The teacher assists the student by encouraging correct pronunciation of words and appropriate use of gestures and facial expressions.

### Exercise 3. Review

Discuss and drill any difficulties experienced in Exercises 1 and 2 above.

### 11.3 Culture

Kuna people love to hear **all** the details of a trip. The recounting of a trip requires certain compulsory “ingredients.” First, you must tell the situation which gave rise to the trip. This is followed by mentioning one by one each person of any consequence who accompanied you. After the people are listed, the number of people in the party (including the unnamed people, usually children) is stated.

You must then refer to the point of origin of the trip and the time of day that you departed on your journey. Not everyone owns a watch and consequently a general, rather than a specific time is adequate. The weather and trail conditions are not usually mentioned.

Most of the trails radiating out from the village have certain recognized “checkpoints.” It is necessary to tell the approximate time you arrived at and departed from each of these points. It is also necessary to state what, if any, refreshments you had at the “checkpoint.” Rivers of any size are always considered checkpoints. The river crossing is described in detail. Any wildlife spotted or shot in the jungle which would have been good for food is always mentioned. Where possible, the sighting of wildlife is related to known landmarks. Unusual dangers encountered are also described. Fallen trees do not usually elicit comment, except where a windstorm has uprooted many trees and the trail is blocked for over fifty yards or so.

Other people met on the trail and the purpose of their trip are mentioned. Often a speaker merely surmises their reason for travelling. As in the case of people travelling with the speaker, all significant people passed on the trail are listed by name, role or description. At the end of the list, the total number in the party (including unlisted people) is given. Details such as getting wet, blisters, and other minor mishaps are not usually mentioned.

None of the recognized “checkpoints” can be omitted. In territory unfamiliar to the listener, the narrator can choose his own “checkpoints.”

Arrival at the destination lets your listener know you are nearing the end of the story. The time of arrival at the destination is very important to the listener. All the people expected to be at the destination are mentioned as being present/absent and well/ill. It is important to state where you stayed, how long you remained there and when you started back. The return journey may be described in great detail just as the outward journey was described; or only the arrival time at home need be mentioned. A yielding-the-floor expression tells the audience the story is over.

### 11.4 Grammar

An analysis of Kuna conversation reveals that a conversation may be generally divided into several parts. The ability to carry on a conversation and keep it going is a very important aspect of language learning. As you learn to carry on longer and longer conversations with the Kuna people, your understanding of the language and of the people themselves will increase dramatically.

You will usually find that your early attempts at making conversation result in fairly short dialogues. This may become frustrating. To help you begin using the art of conversation, plan ahead! Before going to visit, think out a topic of conversation and plan the words you will use. Some insight into various elements of Kuna conversation will help you plan a conversation and help you use your knowledge of the language.

A Kuna conversation is generally made up of several elements. Greetings are exchanged before any topic is discussed and then a topic must be established. Once a conversation is underway, the Kuna people use various sounds, words, phrases, and intonation to indicate whether the speaker wishes to keep talking on the same topic (sustaining the topic), keep talking but change the topic (holding the floor), allow someone else to speak about the topic (yielding the floor), or that he has finished speaking (waiving the floor). It is important to leave the room, thus, ending conversation, by using an appropriate farewell. In summary, elements of a Kuna conversation include:

1. Greeting
2. Establishment of topic
3. Sustaining the topic
4. Holding the floor





### 6) *Greeting to a passerby*

People in a house often call to a passerby in greetings using such expressions as the following:

- ʔPia ne?                      ‘Where are you going?’
- ʔPia ti?                      ‘Where have you been?’
- A person returning from his field, or from fishing/hunting may be greeted with the following:
- ʔKep tani?                    ‘Are you just now (for the first time) getting back?’

#### 11.4.1.4 *Greeting exchanges used as a traveller returns from a trip*

The greeting exchange with a person just returning from a trip varies according to whether the traveller is greeting the villager, the villager is greeting the traveller, or the traveller is already at home and receiving callers.

#### **Examples**

Traveller greets a villager:

- |               |                 |                                  |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Traveller: | ʔPemal pukwade? | ‘You who are here, how are you?’ |
| 2. Villager:  | Pukwamala.      | ‘We are here, and we are fine.’  |

Villager greets a traveller:

- |               |        |                |
|---------------|--------|----------------|
| 3. Villager:  | ʔTani? | ‘You’ve come?’ |
| 4. Traveller: | Eye.   | ‘Yes.’         |

Traveller at home receiving callers:

- |               |        |                   |
|---------------|--------|-------------------|
| 5. Caller:    | ʔNoni? | ‘You’ve arrived?’ |
| 6. Traveller: | Eye.   | ‘Yes.’            |

#### 11.4.2 **Establishment of topic (Ex. 4)**

The topic of a conversation must be established. It is usually established by a question as discussed in Section 4.4.3.2. If the topic of the conversation is not implicit in the situation, the person who begins the conversation must clearly set the topic or other people involved in the conversation will not know what is being discussed. A topic-establishing question uses a specific intonation pattern, order of sentence, and also the long form of the topic. Such suffixes as **-din/-tin**, **-de/-te** may be used to establish a topic, as discussed in Lesson III.D.5.

#### **Exercise 4. Review**

Review the use of topic-establishing questions in Section 4.4.3.2 and the use of topic-establishing suffixes **-din/-tin** and **-de/-te** in 3.4.5 and Appendix E.

#### 11.4.3 **Sustaining the topic**

In Kuna, as in most languages, a listener encourages a speaker to keep talking by interjecting appropriate short comments or sounds when the speaker pauses. If such conversation sustainers are not forthcoming, the speaker assumes his listener is bored and he stops talking. It is vital for a language learner to learn to control conversation sustainers. In general, they are short, easy-to-learn expressions, and since the language learner may find he has difficulty adding information to a conversation, he will find the use of one or more of the several categories of conversation sustainers invaluable in keeping people talking.

##### 11.4.3.1 *Neutral conversation sustainers*

Neutral conversation sustainers have a general, nonspecific meaning. They can be inserted “correctly” almost anywhere in a conversation.

#### 1) **Mmmm**

**Mmmm** signals ‘I’m listening/I’m registering what you said.’ By varying the intonation to a sustained, high pitch, the meaning may become more specific, for example, “Is that so!”

In early stages of language learning, **Mmmm** is a most useful conversation sustainer. When you don't really know what is being said, the neutral form of **Mmmm** should be used at the place you **think** is the end of the information unit, for example: "The man went to town." **Mmmm**. "He bought a gun."

2) Aaaa

**Aaaa** means 'I'm assimilating the information you are telling me.' It may be used when you are being told something, such as the symptoms of a sickness or the news that someone has arrived in town.

3) Ajáj

**Ajáj** may be used to indicate 'I've grasped the information and am basically accepting/agreeing with it.'

4) Napíra

**Napíra** 'very well', is stronger agreement and is often used at each stage of unfolding plans, proposals, etc.

### 11.4.3.2 Conversation sustainers which convey strong emotional overtones

Conversational sustainers which convey strong emotional overtones are not neutral and show fairly strong sentiment on the part of the listener.

1) Aaiii

**Aaiii** denotes sympathy towards the person in distress about whom the speaker is talking. The distress is usually that of physical pain or heartbreak.

2) Aajo

**Aajo** also denotes sympathy, but the distress here is usually loss or damage to physical property or a setback or frustration in plans.

### 11.4.3.3 Conversation sustainers that convey surprise

Astonishment or amazement at what has been said is conveyed by these conversation sustainers.

1) Maa-chi

**Maa-chi** 'Wow!' (lit.: "Boy!") is a drawn-out expression of the word **machi** 'boy'. It is used to respond to the description of any event or thing of unusual nature, for example, a huge fish, a narrow escape.

2) Chunna

**Chunna** 'Really!' parallels the English usage fairly closely.

### 11.4.3.4 Negative conversation sustainer responses

Sometimes a conversation sustainer is a negative response.

1) Chuli

**Chuli** 'no' is used in disagreement and/or denial.

2) Jáj

**Jáj** is made by a quick contraction of the diaphragm and expresses displeasure or disgust. It is used to show strong disagreement with what is being said.

### 11.4.3.5 Question words used as conversation sustainers

Question words, such as **toa** 'Who?', **ibi** 'What?', **inkwa** 'When?', **igi** 'How?', and **pia** 'Where?' are interjected at various points in the speaker's conversation to show interest and to encourage the speaker to go into more detail.

### 11.4.3.6 Confirmation questions used as conversation sustainers

Often a listener will echo a confirmation question back at the speaker. Confirmation questions are a useful sustainer when the speaker is indulging in graphic descriptions. These are discussed in Section 4.4.3.3.

### 11.4.3.7 Echoing (repeating) used as conversation sustainers

Echoing or repeating the last phrase or an emphasized word or phrase is very common and is used extensively. The listener repeats the emphasized phrase verbatim with a questioning intonation. Observe and copy the intonation of this echo.

## 11.4.4 Holding the floor

There are times when a speaker has to stop speaking and pause to think, remember, or recollect, but he still wants to continue to speak. As in other languages, Kuna has several words that signal this “I want to hold the floor” expression.

### 11.4.4.1 General holding-the-floor expressions

#### 1) Iwen

¿**Iwen?** ‘Who/What was it?’ is used during a pause in conversation when you need to remember something, but you plan to continue speaking. When you cannot remember who, what, where (**iwengin** or **iwenbal**), etc., you just say **iwen** and that indicates that you plan to continue speaking. If you say, “**Iwen ... iwen ... iwen ...**”, the listener is usually prompted to help you and give you the word or idea you have forgotten.

#### 2) Te

**Te** ‘then/and’ is used when you hesitate or get stuck between sentences. A long drawn-out **Teee** can give you quite a bit of time to collect your thoughts.

### 11.4.4.2 Limited holding-the-floor expressions

#### 1) Tegin

**Tegin** ‘and’ is used to list things or people (see 5.4.2). The use of **tegin** ‘and’ indicates that your list is still not complete.

#### 2) Eg

**Eg** ‘and/in addition to’ is used in hesitating as you count money (see 7.4.1.3). It can also be used to hold-the-floor, for example, when you say, “In addition (**eg**) ...”

## 11.4.5 Yielding-the-floor

There are times in the conversation when a change of speaker is permitted. By using a yielding-the-floor expression, the speaker indicates it is now polite for someone else to speak. At other times, an interjection by another speaker is an interruption. As in any other language, Kuna has ways of signalling the accepted times to change speakers.

### 11.4.5.1 Yielding-the-floor questions

One of the most common signals and one which clearly signals that the floor is now free for another speaker, is the use of a question.

One situation, however, in which a question does not indicate a yielding of the floor is the case of rhetorical questions used for rebuke. The speaker does **not** want the listener to answer a rhetorical question. This type of question is clearly marked by **jaj** which is added to the end of the question.

#### Example

Angry father to his son:

¿Pe es chapurbal ebes? ¿**Jaj?** ‘You left the machete in the jungle, didn’t you!’

### 11.4.5.2 Yielding-the-floor expressions

#### a) *Mmmm*

**Mmmm** is said with a long drawn-out sound and a final low pitch which signals that the speaker has now finished what he wants to say and the floor is open.

#### b) *Teobi*

**Teobi** ‘that’s all (thus only)’ is used by the speaker at the end of an account of a trip or incident that has happened. The expected response to **teobi** is **Ajáj**, **Aaaa**, or **Mmmm**.

#### c) *Teob ito*

**Teob ito** ‘thus (it was), you understand’ is a variation of **teobi** ‘that’s all’. The speaker says, “This is the way it was” to make sure the listener heard and understood his comments. The expected response to **teob ito** is **Ajáj** and/or another yielding-the-floor expression.

#### d) *Teje*

If the speaker views what he has told you as being selected from a larger corpus (body) of information, he will often close with **teje** ‘thus far (to there)’. The expected response would be **ajáj**, or another yielding-the-floor expression.

#### e) *Ajáj*

**Ajáj** ‘agreement’ is often used to terminate an answer to a question, as though the speaker was saying, “That’s my answer and I agree with it.” The expected response is **ajáj** or another yielding-the-floor expression.

#### f) *Pitogwa*

**Pitogwa** ‘Listen/Heed!’ is used at the end of a speech or exhortation. The expected response would be **yerba** ‘good’ with a final quickly raised pitch which leaves the floor open.

#### g) *Pitomalgo*

**Pitomalgo** ‘let’s all listen to/heed (this)’ is also used at the end of a speech, or exhortation. The expected response to this is **yerba** ‘good’ with a final quickly raised pitch which leaves the floor open.

#### h) *Pela*

**Pela** ‘finished’ is used to terminate a meeting, discussion, work party, etc. The expected response is **ajáj** or **napíra**.

Although there are other more complex endings, they usually contain at least one of the above.

### Examples

Speaker:

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Teje unila an chogdo.           | ‘To here, is all I say.’                      |
| 2. Egdin bal chummakedbal nikchul. | ‘I have nothing further to say.’              |
| 3. Teob ito.                       | ‘That’s it/thus it was, you hear/understand.’ |

Listener:

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| 4. Ajáj. Mmmm. | ‘Oh! Mmmm. (floor is open for anyone to speak).’ |
|----------------|--|

### 11.4.6 Waiving the floor

Often a speaker is speaking to a group of people, but one of the people is the real object of his comments or the listeners have a known order of rank which dictates who may take the floor first. If on the speaker’s yielding-the-floor, the main person spoken to or the status person wishes to leave the floor “free,” he may do so by using the the waiving-the-floor expression.

### 11.4.6.1 *Yerba*

**Yerba** ‘good’ is used to express approval of a formal speech, exhortation, etc., and is usually made by the person of highest status in the group and chorused by the rest of the listeners.

### 11.4.6.2 *Other waiving-the-floor expressions*

All other waiving-the-floor expressions are based on the long **Mmmm**.

#### 1) Mmmm

The elongated **Mmmm** response by the listener is his waiver of the right to the floor.

#### 2) Teobi, mmmm

**Teobi, mmmm** ‘so that is how it was, oh!’ is used in response to a **teob** conclusion. The **teobi** is said echo fashion.

#### 3) Ajáj, mmmm

**Ajáj, mmmm** ‘agreement’ is used with closures other than **teob**.

### 11.4.7 *Farewell (Ex. 5–14)*

When all the topics of the conversation have been handled and it is time for people to take their leave, farewells are said. Generally speaking, the person leaving nods farewell or points a finger in farewell to all people present in order of decreasing social status.

#### 11.4.7.1 *General farewell*

**Nade** ‘goodbye’ may be used on all occasions. It is used regardless of whether this is the last planned contact of the day or not.

#### 11.4.7.2 *Farewell with intended return the same day*

##### 1) Kujal

**Kujal** ‘later’ is used when the person expects to see the person he is leaving again that day.

##### 2) Negwelo

**Negwelo** ‘I’m going for a little while’ implies an immediate return.

#### 11.4.7.3 *Farewell with intended return the following day*

##### 1) Panmalo/panmal

**Panmalo/panmal** ‘until tomorrow’ is used as the last expected farewell of the day.

##### 2) Panzhe

**Panzhe** ‘that’ll be all until tomorrow’ is used as the last farewell of the day when something has been left incomplete because of time, weariness or some other reason. The intention is to continue the activity or conversation the following day.

#### 11.4.7.4 *Farewell until sometime in the future*

In the case of farewell until some future date, **-che/-je/-zhe** ‘until’ is added to the time word which represents the time that is expected to elapse before the next meeting.

#### Examples

- Ibabakeje.                      ‘Until four days’ time’
- Yolzhe.                         ‘Until summer.’

### 11.4.7.5 *Intent to leave*

Some farewells indicate that the speaker is intending to leave the location of the conversation. These farewells may or may not be followed by farewell terms, **kujal**, **panmal**, etc.

#### Examples

- Ne. 'I'm about to go.'
- Nebi. 'I want (need) to leave.'

### 11.4.7.6 *Response to farewells (Ex. 5–14)*

All farewells are responded to by one of two words: **Eye**. 'Yes.' or **Ajáj**. 'agreement'.

#### Exercise 5. Greeting drill

The teacher describes the situation. The student provides a suitable greeting.

**Example** Teacher: A man sees a young man with a machete in his hand passing the house.

Student: ¿Pia ne? 'Where are (you) going?'

1. You see your neighbor early in the morning.
2. You announce your arrival as you step off the airplane.
3. You arrive at a neighbor's house to visit.
4. You see a friend re-entering the village.
5. On the day of your arrival, you go and visit someone you have not seen since you left.
6. You go home to fetch something and then return to your neighbor's house.

#### Exercise 6. Establishing the topic

The teacher gives a word or situation. The student establishes it or something to do with it as a topic of conversation.

**Example** Teacher: Pab

Student: ¿Pabde? '(How is your) father?'

Teacher: You are watching a man make something.

Student: ¿Ibi chomnai? 'What are (you) making?'

- 1a. Mola. 'Cloth.'
- b. Mani. 'Money.'
2. You hear the arrival of an outboard motor.
3. Mimmi. 'Baby girl.'
4. You are looking for the chief.
5. Peter is going on a trip. Richard is standing nearby.
6. You can't remember what you've done with your machete, so you ask your wife/husband.
7. The child says his father is not at home so you inquire about his mother.
8. A boy returns with a fishing spear over his shoulder.
9. You are told your neighbor has been bitten by a snake.
10. Oba. 'Corn.'

#### Exercise 7. Hearing conversation sustainers

The teacher writes a selection of conversation sustainers on the blackboard and plays the tape of a story told by him and commented on ("sustained") by another Kuna. The teacher points out the "sustainer" as it is said. The student should actively listen, noting and learning 1) **when** the response is made, 2) **what** "sustainers" are used, 3) the **variation** (same "sustainer" not usually used twice in a row), and 4) trying to **anticipate** when it will be used and what will be used.

**Exercise 8.** Producing conversation sustainers

The teacher retells the story on tape or verbally. The class attempts to “sustain” (comment) as he speaks.

**Exercise 9.** Producing conversation sustainers

The teacher retells the story on tape or verbally, but selects a student to “sustain” (comment) as he speaks.

**Exercise 10.** Holding-the-floor sustainer selection drill

The student repeats the sentence selecting **iwen**, **te**, **tegin**, or **eg** in the blank space.

**Example** Sentence: An \_\_\_\_ chapurbal ne.

Student: An iwenbal chapurbal ne.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. An ____ chapurbal ne.                              | ‘I’m going to go to the jungle.’                                |
| 2. Ome mol makcha. ____ . Tegin mas tus.              | ‘The woman sewed the blouse. Then she cooked the food.’         |
| 3. Tulemal nade. Pedro ____ Juan, Ricardo. Walpá nad. | ‘People went. Peter, John and Richard. The three of them went.’ |
| 4. Tongwen ____ maninerkwa.                           | ‘Eighty cents.’   |
| 5. ____ . We pab nade.                                | ‘His father went.’  |
| 6. Machi ____ koe makcha.                             | ‘The boy shot a deer.’  |
| 7. Ua, chana, ____ aros kucha.                        | ‘(We) ate fish, meat and rice.’                                 |
| 8. Karta kabo ____ tongwen.                           | ‘Two dollars and fifty cents.’                                  |
| 9. Anmal yannu takchabal. ____ . Kwabo makchabal.     | ‘We saw the peccaries again. We killed two more.’               |
| 10. ____ . Mesagin chi.                               | ‘(It) is on the table.’   |

**Exercise 11.** Yielding-the-floor production drill

The teacher tells the student what kind of story or speech that he (the student) is supposed to be concluding. The teacher then asks, “How would you close it (yielding-the-floor)?”

**Example** Teacher: “You are concluding an account of a trip to San Blas.”

Student: Teobi. ‘That’s how it was.’

1. You are finishing a speech in a town meeting.
2. You are finishing an account of the difference between two kinds of armadillos.
3. You are terminating an answer to a question.
4. You are finishing the account of what happened during the earthquake.
5. You are finishing a folk story of an incident in the life of a deer.
6. You have just finished commenting on how you are.
7. You are finishing explaining something to your listener.
8. You have finished giving instructions to a work crew.
9. You have finished reading a chapter of a book to someone.
10. You are finishing telling what happened when you were in the city.

**Exercise 12.** Waiving-the-floor production drill

The teacher gives a closure. The student responds leaving the floor open.

**Example** Teacher: Teobi. ‘That’s how it was.’

Student: Teobi. Mmmm. ‘So that’s how it was.’

1. ¿Pito? ‘Do you hear/understand?’
2. Mmmm. ‘Mmmm.’
3. Ajáj. ‘agreement’
4. ¡Pitomalgo! ‘You all listen!’

5. Teje. 'As far as there.'  
 6. ¡Pito! 'Listen!'

**Exercise 13.** Farewell response drill

The teacher gives the farewell and the student responds.

- Example** Teacher: Nade. 'Goodbye.'  
 Student: Eye. 'Yes.'
1. Panmal. 'Until tomorrow.'  
 2. Kujal. 'Later.'  
 3. Nebi. 'I want (need) to go.'  
 4. Negwelo. 'I'm going for a little while.'  
 5. Ne. 'I'm going to go.'  
 6. Panzhe. 'That's all until tomorrow.'

**Exercise 14.** Farewell production drill

The teacher gives the situation. The student gives the farewell and the teacher responds.

- Example** Teacher: You plan to see me the next time, tomorrow.  
 Student: Panmal. 'Until tomorrow.'  
 Teacher: Eye. 'Yes.'

1. You finish a language session with your teacher.
2. You are going home to fetch an item to show your friend.
3. You use a break in the conversation to leave.
4. You have someone waiting for you at home.
5. You plan to see each other again next dry season.
6. You plan to be away for three weeks.
7. You call out as you leave.
8. You are going home to bed.
9. You call out as you pass a house on leaving.
10. Someone calls you home for something.

**11.4.8 Obligatory answers to questions and proposals**

Kuna tends to be more explicit than English/Spanish. A real question must be answered or a proposal responded to by the listener before he can pose a counter question or counter proposal. The listener, however, is allowed to ask for further information or clarification before answering the main question or proposal.

**Example**

1. Speaker A: ¿Inkwa pe nao? 'When are you going?'  
 2. Speaker B: ¿Piaje? '(Going) where?'  
 3. Speaker A: Negzhe. 'Home.'  
 4. Speaker B: Pane. 'Tomorrow.'

**11.5 Vocabulary**

1. urpa 'younger brother (of a boy)/younger sister (of a girl)'  
 2. yai 'brother/older sister (of a girl)'  
 3. chak(a) 'parent-in-law'  
 4. nono 'head'  
 5. ¿Ig oipos? 'How are you this morning?/Good morning!'  
 6. ¿Igi kude? 'How are (things)?'



- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 7. ¿Tegidde?            | ‘What’s new?/Hi!’                                 |
| 8. Napíra               | ‘Very well.’                                      |
| 9. Chunna.              | ‘Really!’   |
| 10. ¿Iwen?              | ‘What’s his name?/Who was it? ...?’               |
| 11. ¿Iwenbal?/¿Iwengin? | ‘Where was it again ...?’                         |
| 12. te                  | ‘then/and’  |
| 13. chia                | ‘cocoa/chocolate’                                 |
| 14. negwelo             | ‘(I’m) going for just a minute (a little while).’ |
| 15. Teobi.              | ‘That’s all.’                                     |
| 16. Teob ito.           | ‘Thus (it was) you understand.’                   |
| 17. Teje.               | ‘Thus far (to there).’                            |
| 18. Pitogwa.            | ‘Listen!’   |
| 19. Pitomalgo.          | ‘Let’s all listen to (this).’                     |
| 20. kabi                | ‘coffee’  |
| 21. Yerba.              | ‘Good!’   |
| 22. choneg              | ‘kitchen’   |
| 23. chowal              | ‘log/firewood/fallen tree’                        |
| 24. Panmal.             | ‘See you tomorrow.’                               |
| 25. Ne.                 | ‘I am about to go/going.’                         |

## 12 EVENT TIME-COMMUNICATION

### 12.1 Dialogue

In almost every Kuna conversation, it is important to communicate the time at which events took place. Ways of doing so are illustrated in This dialogue:

The men are in a town meeting discussing when to thatch a house. Pedro speaks:

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Nabirté.                        | ‘Well then.’   |
| 2. Immis an chowal amidi.          | ‘Today I looked for firewood.’                             |
| 3. Pandin, an aros tigne.          | ‘Tomorrow, I’m going to plant rice.’                       |
| 4. Achuldin, an ua makne, nakwal.  | ‘The day after tomorrow, I’m going to spear fish upriver.’ |
| 5. Ibapaje, anmal nabir neg makel. | ‘In three days’ time we can thatch the house.’             |
| 6. Teob an chog.                   | ‘That’s what I say.’                                       |

Juan speaks:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 7. Nabirté.  | ‘Well now.’  |
| 8. Immis an immal amidi.                           | ‘Today I went hunting.’                                    |
| 9. Wis mecha: koe walgwen, tegin chigli kwagwendo. | ‘I killed something (a little): a deer and a wild turkey.’ |
| 10. Pandin, an tagar chwane.                       | ‘Tomorrow, I’m going to collect wild banana leaves.’       |
| 11. Kukpo ampa napi, takcha.                       | ‘I still lack two bundles, you see.’                       |
| 12. Tummigwengus an yegus.                         | ‘(This is because) a week ago I got sick.’                 |
| 13. Immis kep wisgad.                              | ‘Today I’m feeling better for the first time.’             |
| 14. Ibapaje nabir neg makel.                       | ‘It will be fine to thatch the house in three days’ time.’ |
| 15. Itos. Ajáj.                                    | ‘That’s all.’  |

The chief speaks (in summary):

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 16. Itosmal.           | ‘Listen, all of you.’                         |
| 17. Ibapaje neg makne. | ‘In three days’ time we’ll thatch the house.’ |

All the men speak (in chorus):

- |            |         |
|------------|---------|
| 18. Yerba. | ‘Fine.’ |
|------------|---------|

### 12.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–3)

The goals of this section are to master the intonation patterns of sentences which contrast with each other. For example, in English a speaker may contrast events on two different days, “Today I ... Tomorrow I ...” using a changed intonation pattern to emphasize the contrast of activities. On the other hand, in Kuna the contrastive suffix **-din/-tin** is used to contrast clauses, phrases, and words, and a characteristic intonation pattern accompanies these utterances. These characteristic intonation patterns and change of pitch which occur with **-din/-tin** are drilled in this section.

#### Exercise 1. Tracking the dialogue

Track the teacher as he says Dialogue 12.1. Be sure to keep within two or three syllables behind him at all times. Repeat this exercise several times.

### Exercise 2. Dramatizing the dialogue

Dramatize Dialogue 12.1, with the student playing the role. The teacher is to check for:

1. correct intonation patterns,
2. correct pronunciation, and
3. correct gestures.

Kuna hand gestures are usually made with the wrist muscles relaxed; an English speaker, in contrast, has his wrist muscles tensed when he makes hand gestures.

### Exercise 3. Drill of problem areas

Drill the problem sounds, sentences and gestures encountered in Exercise 2.

## 12.3 CULTURE

The Kuna culture has a highly developed democratic system. Any adult man or woman has the right to speak at length on any subject in a town meeting. The protocol of town meetings is quite rigid and it is helpful for the outsider to be aware of certain rules which Kunas observe in their meetings.

The order in which people speak is strictly adhered to. The order is: village leaders in order of status, older men (**tadgana**), younger men (**machimala**), male outsiders, older women, younger women, female outsiders.

Before the meeting, you are expected to advise the chief, who calls the meeting, of any subject you wish to have discussed. At that time, you must also discuss any questions the chief might have concerning the subject you wish discussed.

Normally, the chief will call on you, the outsider, to speak when your item on the agenda is reached. Once you have presented your case, it is not polite to interrupt another speaker who is speaking to your subject. If you feel you need to answer a certain objection or correct a misunderstanding, you may ask the chief for permission to speak again before further discussion takes place.

At the close of the discussion, the chief will announce to you the official acceptance or rejection of your proposal/request. It is not proper for you, as an outsider, to speak on any subject which does not directly involve you or the people you represent. Visiting Kunas from outside the community have the same rule imposed upon them.

If you wish to be excused from a meeting which you are expected to attend, you must inform the chief or the **chawal ibed** deputy. He is the person who officially notified you of the time and place of the meeting.

## 12.4 Grammar

### 12.4.1 Time-setting

Establishing the time or setting of an event is very important. Temporal expressions may relate an event to the time the **speaker is speaking**. Such expressions serve the same purpose as the English time words “yesterday” or “tomorrow.” They may also relate the time of an event to another event. English examples of this type of construction include the first clause, i.e., subordinate sentence, of a sentence which begins, ‘When...’, for example, “**When Judy came**, Mary set the table.” Another example is, “When the sun shines, I will go swimming.”

Time expressions (word/phrase/subordinate sentence) usually<sup>53</sup> occur at the beginning of the sentence in Kuna.

#### 12.4.1.1 *Relating the event to the present (Ex. 4–11)*

In this section, we deal with relating the time an event takes place with the present, the time that the speaker is speaking, i.e., whether the time reference is past, present, or future.

---

<sup>53</sup> Time expressions occasionally occur after the subject or at the end of the sentence, as discussed in 12.4.1.a.3, both in b) and c).

### 1) Past time reference

When the event to which the speaker is referring happened before the time of his speech, it has a past time reference. The past time reference can be expressed by the use of (simple) adverbs of time, or by the formation of complex time words. In independent simple sentences, the completive suffix **-cha/-zha/-s/-ja** usually occurs on verbs with a past time reference.

#### a) Use of (simple) adverbs of time

In Kuna, adverbs of time can be used to express time periods from the immediate past, **immis-immis** ‘just now’ to **asto** ‘the day before yesterday’; or they can be used to express more general past, times such as **mutik** ‘at night’.

#### Examples

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <b>Immis-immis</b> an chunkal chikcha. | ‘Just now I cut my hand.’                  |
| 2. <b>Sae</b> an mol makcha.              | ‘Yesterday I sewed a blouse.’              |
| 3. <b>Asto</b> an ua chwanad.             | ‘The day before yesterday I went fishing.’ |

#### b) Forming complex time words

Specific concepts that are further into the past than “the day before yesterday” are formed by attaching an adverb of time (**iba** ‘day’, **tummi** ‘week’, **ni** ‘month’, **pirka** ‘year’) to a number suffix and the suffix **-gus/-kus**.<sup>54</sup> adverb of time + number suffix + **-gus/-kus**.

#### Examples

- |                 |               |                              |                  |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. <b>iba</b>   | + <b>pá</b>   | + <b>-gus = ibapagus</b>     | ‘three days ago’ |
| day             | three         |                              |                  |
| 2. <b>pirka</b> | + <b>gwen</b> | + <b>-gus = pirkagwengus</b> | ‘one year ago’   |
| year            | one           |                              |                  |

### Exercise 4. Time setting in the past frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Sae an karpa chobzha.

Student: Sae an karpa chobzha.

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Sae an karpa chobzha.      | ‘Yesterday, I made a basket.’            |
| 2. Sae an noni. <sup>55</sup> | ‘Yesterday, I arrived.’                  |
| 3. Sae an koe mecha.          | ‘Yesterday, I killed a deer.’            |
| 4. Asto an karpa chobzha.     | ‘Day before yesterday, I made a basket.’ |
| 5. Asto an noni.              | ‘Day before yesterday, I arrived.’       |
| 6. Asto an koe mecha.         | ‘Day before yesterday, I killed a deer.’ |
| 7. Wakur an karpa chobzha.    | ‘In the morning, I made a basket.’       |
| 8. Wakur an noni.             | ‘In the morning, I arrived.’             |
| 9. Wakur an koe mecha.        | ‘In the morning, I killed a deer.’       |
| 10. Mutik an kabis.           | ‘At night, I slept.’                     |

### Exercise 5. Complex past time word frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<sup>54</sup> **-gus** follows lenis consonants and vowels, **-kus** follows fortis consonants (see 7.4.1.4.).

<sup>55</sup> **noni** ‘arrived’ includes inherently the completive aspect.

**Example** Teacher: Ibapagus an karpa chobzha.

Student: Ibapagus an karpa chobzha.

- |                                     |                                      |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Ibapagus an karpa chobzha.       | ‘Three days ago, I made a basket.’   |
| 2. Ibabakegus an karpa chobzha.     | ‘Four days ago, I made a basket.’    |
| 3. Ibaatalgus an karpa chobzha.     | ‘Five days ago, I made a basket.’    |
| 4. Ni walagwengus an karpa chobzha. | ‘One month ago, I made a basket.’    |
| 5. Ni walabogus an karpa chobzha.   | ‘Two months ago, I made a basket.’   |
| 6. Ni walapagus an karpa chobzha.   | ‘Three months ago, I made a basket.’ |
| 7. Tummibogus an karpa chobzha.     | ‘Two weeks ago, I made a basket.’    |
| 8. Tummigwengus an karpa chobzha.   | ‘One week ago, I made a basket.’     |
| 9. Pirkanerkwagus an karpa chobzha. | ‘Six years ago, I made a basket.’    |
| 10. Pirkabogus an karpa chobzha.    | ‘Two years ago, I made a basket.’    |

### Exercise 6. Time setting in the past, stimulus-response drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies. The teacher repeats the question and the student replies with an earlier setting. This drill may be repeated using other questions listed below.

**Examples** Teacher: ¿Inkwa noni?

Student: Immis. ‘today’

Teacher: ¿Inkwa noni?

Student: Sae. ‘yesterday’

Teacher: ¿Inkwa noni?

Student: Asto. ‘day before yesterday’

Teacher: ¿Inkwa noni?

Student: Ibapagus. ‘three days ago’

The teacher should tell the student when to change from **iba** ‘day’ to **tummi** ‘week’ or to **ni** ‘month’ or **pirka** ‘year’.

- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ¿Inkwa noni?    | ‘When did (you) arrive?’       |
| 2. ¿Inkwa nade?    | ‘When did (you) leave (here)?’ |
| 3. ¿Inkwa chobzha? | ‘When did (you) make (it)?’    |

### 2) Future time reference

When the event to which the speaker is referring will take place after the time of his speech, it has a future time reference. The future time reference may be expressed by the use of adverbs of time, or by the formation of complex future time words.

#### a) Use of adverbs of time

In Kuna, temporal adverbs are used to express time in the immediate future, **immis-immis** ‘just now’,<sup>56</sup> **kujal** ‘later’, and as far into the future as **achul** ‘day after tomorrow’ or they may be used to express more general future times such as **ibegwenche** ‘until some day’.

#### Examples

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <b>Kujal</b> an mas kunne.    | ‘ <b>Later</b> , I am going to eat.’                             |
| 2. <b>Pan</b> an mol makne.      | ‘ <b>Tomorrow</b> , I am going to sew a blouse.’                 |
| 3. <b>Achul</b> machi ua chwane. | ‘ <b>The day after tomorrow</b> the boy is going to go fishing.’ |

<sup>56</sup> The word **immis-immis** ‘just now’ may refer to either past or future events, depending upon the form of the verb.

## b) Forming complex future time words

Time concepts that are further in the future than “the day after tomorrow” may be expressed by attaching an adverb of time (**iba** ‘day’, **tummi** ‘week’, **ni** ‘month’, or **pirka** ‘year’), a number suffix and the suffix **-che/-zhe/-je**:<sup>57</sup> adverb of time + number suffix + **-che/-zhe/-je**:

**Examples**

1. <b>iba</b>	+ <b>nerkwa</b>	+ <b>-je</b> = <b>ibanerkwaje</b>	‘in six days’
day	six		
2. <b>tummi</b>	+ <b>pabak</b>	+ <b>-che</b> = <b>tummipabakche</b>	‘in eight weeks’
week	eight		
3. <b>pirka</b>	+ <b>atal</b>	+ <b>-zhe</b> = <b>pirkaatalzhe</b>	‘in five years’
year	five		

**Exercise 7.** Time setting in future frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Pan an ne.  
Student: Pan an ne.

1. Pan an ne.	‘Tomorrow, I’m going to go.’
2. Pan an karpa chomne.	‘Tomorrow, I’m going to make a basket.’
3. Pan an immal amine.	‘Tomorrow, I’m going to go hunting.’
4. Achul an ne.	‘Day after tomorrow, I’m going to go.’
5. Achul an karpa chomne.	‘Day after tomorrow, I’m going to make a basket.’
6. Achul an immal amine.	‘Day after tomorrow, I’m going to go hunting.’
7. Kujal an ne.	‘Later, I’m going to go.’
8. Kujal an karpa chomne.	‘Later, I’m going to make a basket.’
9. Kujal an immal amine.	‘Later, I’m going to go hunting.’
10. Chedo an immal amine.	‘At dusk, I’m going to go hunting.’

**Exercise 8.** Time setting in the future stimulus-response drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies. The teacher repeats the question and the student replies with a later setting. This drill may be repeated using other questions listed below.

**Examples** Teacher: ¿Inkwa ne?  
Student: Ampayo. ‘Not yet.’  
Teacher: ¿Inkwa ne?  
Student: Pan. ‘Tomorrow.’  
Teacher: ¿Inkwa ne?  
Student: Achul. ‘Day after tomorrow.’  
Teacher: ¿Inkwa ne?  
Student: Ibapaje. ‘In three days’ time.’

The teacher should tell the student when to change from **iba** ‘day’, to **tummi** ‘week’, or to **ni** ‘month’, or **pirka** ‘year’.

1. ¿Inkwa ne?	‘When are you going?’
2. ¿Inkwa immal amine?	‘When are you going to go hunting?’
3. ¿Inkwa ul chomne?	‘When are you going to build the canoe?’

<sup>57</sup> **-che** follows a fortis consonant, **-zhe** follows a lenis consonant, **-je** follows a vowel.

**Exercise 9.** Complex future time expression frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ibabaje an karpa chomne.<sup>58</sup>

Student: Ibabaje an karpa chomne.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ibabaje an karpa chomne.        | ‘In three days’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’   |
| 2. Ibabakeje an karpa chomne.      | ‘In four days’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’    |
| 3. Ibaatalzhe an karpa chomne.     | ‘In five days’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’    |
| 4. Tummigwenche an karpa chomne.   | ‘In one weeks’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’    |
| 5. Tummiboje an karpa chomne.      | ‘In two weeks’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’    |
| 6. Ni walagwenche an karpa chomne. | ‘In one months’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’   |
| 7. Ni walaboje an karpa chomne.    | ‘In two months’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’   |
| 8. Ni walapaje an karpa chomne.    | ‘In three months’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’ |
| 9. Pirkaboje an karpa chomne.      | ‘In two years’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’    |
| 10. Pirkanerkwaje an karpa chomne. | ‘In six years’ time, I’m going to make a basket.’    |

3) *Position of time expressions in a sentence*

Time expressions (word/phrase/clause) usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. They may, however, occur after the subject of the sentence or at the end of the sentence.

**Examples**

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. <b>Mutik</b> an ne.    | ‘ <b>Tonight</b> , I am going to go.’  |
| 2. Antin <b>mutik</b> ne. | ‘I am going to go <b>tonight</b> .’    |
| 3. An ne, <b>mutik</b> .  | ‘I am going to go -- <b>tonight!</b> ’ |

## a) Time expressions at the beginning of a sentence

As discussed in Section 12.4, a time expression most commonly occurs at the beginning of a sentence. This sentence initial position is indicated in certain situations.

• **Setting**

When you wish to orient your listener as to “when” an event took place or will take place, the time expression occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

**Example** Sae an karpa chobzha. ‘**Yesterday** I made a basket.’

• **Connectives**

If you choose to organize your story chronologically, thus, developing the story around the time certain events happened/will happen, time expressions become the “glue” that holds the story together. The time expression is the connective which joins one thought or sentence to the former one. If the time expression is a connective, it occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

**Example**

**Martesgin**<sup>59</sup> anmal noni. **Pangin** anmal  
 immal aminade. ‘**Tuesday** we arrived. The **next day** we went hunting  
 (animals).’

<sup>58</sup> **b** becomes **m** before **n**, for example: **chob** + **-ne** = **chomne** ‘going to make’.

<sup>59</sup> Days of the week are Spanish loan words. **Tummi** ‘Sunday’ is a Kuna term whose primary meaning is ‘week’.

- Answers to questions

Time expressions used to answer time-related questions such as: ¿**Inkwa?** ‘When?’ occur at the beginning of the sentence.

**Examples**

1. ¿**Inkwa** pe ne? ‘When are you going?’
2. **Pan** an ne. ‘I am going **tomorrow**.’

- Topic

When the time expression is the topic of the conversation, it occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

**Examples**

1. **Pan** an ne. ‘**Tomorrow** I am going (referring to what the person plans to do tomorrow).’
2. **Ai yegualil** an ina che. ‘**When a friend becomes sick**, I give him his medicine.’

- Contrast of time of distinct events

Occasionally, a situation arises in that an event that happened (will happen) in one time period is contrasted with what happened (will happen) in another time period. When the time of distinct events are contrasted, the time expressions occur at the beginning of the two sentences describing the events.

**Example**

**Pandin** an aros tigne. **Achuldin** an ua makne. ‘**Tomorrow**, I’m going to plant rice. The **day after tomorrow** (on the other hand), I’m going to spear fish.’

b) Time expressions used after the subject

If a time expression is used as an adverb to limit the scope of the action by stating when it took place (or will take place), the time expression occurs after the subject of the sentence. This parallels the time expression occurring after the verb in English, “I will go at 3 o’clock.”

**Example** Antin **pan** ne. ‘I am going tomorrow.’

If there is more than one adverbial expression occurring after the subject, the time expression occurs immediately following the subject. This word order is different from English word order.

**Example** Antin **pan** negzhe ne. ‘I am going home tomorrow.’

**Exercise 10.** Time frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An pan negzhe ne.  
Student: An pan negzhe ne.

1. An pan negzhe ne. ‘I am going home tomorrow.’
2. An sae akan pakcha. ‘I bought an axe yesterday.’
3. Sagla immis noni. ‘The chief arrived today/just now.’
4. An achul ob tigne. ‘I am going to plant corn day after tomorrow.’
5. Machi asto kueye- kueye koe mecha. ‘The boy quickly killed the deer the day before yesterday.’

**Exercise 11.** Time expression substitution drill

The teacher says the frame and selects a time expression. The student then inserts the time expression in the correct form of the frame.



**Example** Teacher: An sae wag takcha.  
 Teacher: achul  
 Student: An achul wag takne.

<b>Frame</b>	An ____ wag takcha.	‘I saw the outsider ____.’
	An ____ wag takne.	‘I am going to see the outsider ____.’
1. sae		‘yesterday’
2. asto		‘day before yesterday’
3. akpene		‘long ago’
4. achul		‘day after tomorrow’
5. kujal		‘later’
6. pan		‘tomorrow’
7. immis		‘now (referring to past or future)’

c) Time expressions at the end of a sentence

Occasionally a time expression occurs at the end of a sentence in the postpredicate position (see 17.4) The time expression in this position is being emphasized by the speaker.

**Example**

Machi nakwal ua makne, **pane**. ‘The boy is going to spear fish upriver **tomorrow**.’

**12.4.1.2 Relating an event to another event (Ex. 12–26)**

As indicated (see 7.4.1.4), the time of an event may be referred to by an exact time, for example, **wachilbo** ‘two o’clock’. It may also be referred to by using an adverb of time, **sae** ‘yesterday’, or a complex time word **ibabakegus** ‘four days ago’ (see 7.4.1.4). Another way of referring to the time of an event (Event A) is by referring to the time of another event (Event B), that is known to the listener. That other event (Event B), may be referred to by use of a time-reference suffix or time conjunction, or by means of prior condition suffixes.

1) *Time-reference suffix*

The time-reference suffix is used to relate the time of one event which happened in the past to the time of another.

For instance, the listener knows the time at which Event B took place. He does not know the time at which Event A occurred. By telling the listener that, “at the same time as Event B took place, Event A also took place,” the speaker may establish the time of Event A. Relating the times of past events parallels the English construction, “at the time that/when....”

The speaker may refer to the time of Event A either by adding the time-reference suffix **-un** to the verb of Event B; by use of the time-reference conjunction **teun** ‘at the time that all that happened’, which refers to the series of actions that together comprise Event B (see 7.4.1.1) by the use of the time-reference suffix **-tu/-du** ‘before’; or by use of a time-reference conjunction **cholbal** ‘after’ or **iktual** ‘before’.

a) Time-reference suffix **-un** ‘at the time when’

The speaker may refer to Event B with a short phrase such as, ‘the house burned’, and then add the suffix **-un**<sup>60</sup> to the verb in order to say, ‘**at the time when** the house burned’.

**Examples**

1. An neg kummaj**un**<sup>61</sup> an mani pega ukcha. ‘**At the time that** I burned my fields, I gave you the money.’
2. An mol makcha**un** tub kinnid periangus. ‘**At the time that** she was sewing a blouse, she lost her thread.’

<sup>60</sup> The time-reference suffix **-un** is followed by a pause before the utterance is continued. Because the pause is intrinsic in the suffix **-un** punctuation by a comma is not necessary.

<sup>61</sup> The completed aspect **-s** becomes **-j** before the suffix **-un**.

**Exercise 12.** Time-reference suffix frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, and on through the following sentences through Sentence 5. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An neg kummajun machi anka chogzha.

Student: An neg kummajun machi anka chogzha.

1. An neg kummajun machi anka chogzha. 'At the time that I burned the field, the boy told me.'
2. An nugal unkenaiun machi anka chogzha. 'At the time that I pulled teeth, the boy told me.'
3. An mas kuchaun machi anka chogzha. 'At the time that I ate, the boy told me.'
4. An karpa chobzhaun machi anka chogzha. 'At the time that I made the basket, the boy told me.'
5. An maiun machi anka chogzha. 'At the time that I was (at home), the boy told me.'

**Exercise 13.** Time-reference suffix drill

The teacher says the sentence. The student changes the sentence by adding the time-reference suffix **-un** to the verb and adding, **An nad**. 'I went.' This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Machi mas kucha.

Student: Machi mas kuchaun an nad.

1. Machi mas kucha. 'The boy ate the food.'
2. Ome mol makcha. 'The woman sewed the blouse.'
3. Machi tulub pakcha. 'The boy bought the lobster.'
4. Machi ul chobzha. 'The boy made the canoe.'
5. Wag kallin pakcha. 'The outsider bought the chicken.'

**Exercise 14.** Time-reference suffix drill

Repeat Exercise 14 with the student providing an appropriate main clause, that is instead of the **An nad**. 'I went.' suggested in the above exercise.

b) Time-reference conjunction **teun** 'at the time when that was happening'

The times of contemporary events may be related by the use of the time-reference conjunction **teun** 'at the time all that happened'. **Teun** is a compound word comprised of the back reference **te** 'all of that' and **-un** 'at the time that'. **Teun** basically sums up all the isolated incidents of Event B. That is to say, often the speaker wants to give several pieces of information about Event B in a series of sentences. The speaker may then summarize all the events relating to Event B with the back reference **te** 'all of that' and add the suffix **-un** to form the time-reference conjunction **teun** 'at the time all that was happening'.

**Example**

**Teun** an chule takcha. 'At the time when all that was happening, I saw a paca.'

The following examples will help clarify the use of **teun**.

**Examples**

The man saw a paca at the time when he was planting rice. The speaker could summarize Event B by, 'I was planting rice',

- 1a. An aros tignai**un** an chule takcha. 'At the time when I was planting rice, I saw a paca.'

Or the speaker could give several parts to Event B and then summarize them by using the time-reference conjunction **teun**.

- b. An aros ya chenai. 'I was making holes for the rice.'
- c. Nuskandin aka todonai. 'The children were playing around.'
- d. An omedin<sup>62</sup> aros tignai. 'My wife was planting the rice.'

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of **an** as a possessive pronoun, see Lesson 13.4.2.1.

- e. **Teun** an chule takcha. 'At the time when all of that was going on, I saw the paca.'

The lady lost her thread when she was sewing. The speaker could summarize Event B with 'I was sewing',

- 2a. An mol maktiun an tub periangus 'At the time when I was sewing, I lost my thread.'

or the speaker could tell several things that were happening in connection with Event B, and then summarize all those happenings with the time-reference conjunction **teun**.

- b. An mol makchi. 'I was sewing a mola.'  
 c. An omeganbak chunmanai. 'I was talking with the women.'  
 d. Nuskandin aka todonai. 'The children were playing around.'  
 e. **Teun** an tub periangus. 'At the time when all that was going on, I lost the thread.'

When the people were running back and forth trying to rescue things from the burning house, the man lost his keys from his pocket. The speaker could summarize Event B with 'The house was burning.',

- 3a. Neg kummajun an yabe periangus. 'At the time when the house was burning, I lost my keys.'

or the speaker could mention several things that were going on in connection with Event B, and summarize them with the conjunction **teun**.

- b. Mu neg kummas. 'Grandma's house was burning.'  
 c. An abarmanai. 'I was running.'  
 d. Immal oninai. 'I was rescuing things.'  
 e. **Teun** an yabe periangus. 'At the time all that was going on, I lost my keys.'

An outsider stole a canoe while the Kunas were in a meeting. The speaker could summarize Event B with 'We were all in a meeting.',

- 4a. Anmal ormanaiun wag ul aturchas. 'At the time that we were all in a meeting, the outsider stole a canoe.'

or the speaker could mention several things that were going on in connection with Event B, and summarize the whole event with the conjunction **teun**.

- b. Ormaked neggin pukwamal. 'Everybody was in the meeting house.'  
 c. Pel pukwamal. 'Everybody was there.'  
 d. Sagla chunmanai. 'The chief was speaking.'  
 e. Pel itomala. 'Everybody was listening.'  
 f. **Teun** wag ul aturchas. 'At the time when all that was going on, the outsider stole the canoe.'

The lady saw a boa while she was in her house. The speaker could summarize Event B with 'I was at home.',

- 5a. An neggin chiun apa takcha. 'At the time when I was at home, I saw a boa.'

or the speaker could mention several things that were going on in connection with Event B, and summarize it all with the conjunction **teun**.

- b. An neggin chi. 'I was at home.'  
 c. An mas tunai. 'I was cooking food.'  
 d. Nuskan aka todonai. 'The children were playing about.'  
 e. An machered karpa chomnai. 'My husband was making a basket.'  
 f. Pun tummad upchan purenai. 'My oldest daughter was spinning cotton.'  
 g. **Teun** an apa takcha. 'At the time all that was going on, I saw a boa.'

### Exercise 15. Paragraph intonation drill

The teacher reads Examples 1b-e, 2b-e, 3b-e, 4b-f, and 5b-g above. The student must pay special attention to the intonation patterns of the paragraphs.

c) Time-reference suffix *-du/-tu* ‘before’ and *cholbal* ‘after’

The time one event happened/will happen may be established by saying that it happened before/after some other known event. This is achieved by adding the suffix **-tu/-du** ‘before’ to the verb or by adding the word **cholbal** ‘after’ following the verb. This construction functions in the same way as **-un** ‘at the time that’ (see 12.4.1.2.1-a).

**Examples**

1. An yo mas kunneddu, sagla noni. ‘I had not yet eaten (**when/before**) the chief arrived.’
2. An mas kunchad **cholbal**, sagla noni. ‘**After** I had eaten, the chief arrived.’

If the two events differ only as to who is involved, but the actions are the same, then reference is made by adding **-du/-tu** ‘before’ or **cholbal** ‘after’ to the people doing the action.

**Examples**

1. An pedu ne. ‘I’m going to go on **ahead** of you.’
2. An pe **cholbal** ne. ‘I’m going to go **after** you.’

**Exercise 16. Time-reference conjunction drill**

The teacher reads the following questions to the student and the student replies to the questions by using “b” part of the situational examples with the time-reference conjunction *teun* (see 12.4.1.2.1b).

- Example** Teacher: ¿Chulede, inkwa pe takcha? ‘When did you see the paca?’  
 Student: An aros ya chenai. ‘I was making holes for the rice.’  
 Student: Nuskandin aka todonai. ‘The children were playing around.’  
 Student: An omedin aros tignai. ‘My wife was planting the rice.’  
 Student: **Teun** an chule takcha. ‘**At the time when all that was going on**, I saw the paca.’
1. ¿Chulede, inkwa pe takcha? ‘When did you see the paca?’
  2. ¿Tubde, inkwa pe perianzhas?<sup>63</sup> ‘When did you lose the thread?’
  3. ¿Yabede, inkwa pe perianzhas? ‘When did you lose the key?’
  4. ¿Ulde, inkwa wag aturchas? ‘When did the outsider steal the canoe?’
  5. ¿Apade, inkwa pe takcha? ‘When did you see the boa?’

d) Time-reference conjunctions *cholbal* ‘after’ and *iktual* ‘before’

There are two other time-reference conjunctions which occur frequently. Their function is basically the same as that of **teun**. They refer, however, to a period of time either preceding or subsequent to the main event.

**Examples**

1. **Te iktual**, an mol pakcha. ‘**Before all that happened**, I bought a blouse.’
2. **Te cholbal**, María negzhe nad. ‘**After all that happened**, Mary went home.’

2) *Prior conditions*

The concept of a prior condition is widely used in Kuna. The time that an event (Event A) took place/will take place is established by relating it to the time of another event (Event B). In this case, the agent of Event A cannot, or has chosen not to act, until the **prior condition** of Event B has taken place. This parallels the English construction, “When the taxi comes, Paul will leave.” (In other words, Paul, the agent in Event A, will not, or has chosen not to go, until Event B, the taxi’s arrival, takes place.)

Kunas are very sensitive as to the sense in which Event B is a prior condition for Event A. They make a distinction between conditions that the speaker imposes which would otherwise not affect the performance

<sup>63</sup> Note the distinction between **periangus** ‘(become) lost’ and **perianchus** ‘lost (misplaced)’.

of Event A in the least (“independent prior conditions”), and those that in some sense are vitally tied to the performance of Event A (“dependent prior conditions”).

The difference between these two types of prior conditions is very subtle, and we will attempt to explain the difference by contrasting examples. In its simplest form, it is the difference between saying, “When the taxi comes, Paul will leave the house (e.g., on foot).” and “When the taxi comes, Paul will leave the house (in it).”

In Sentence 1, Paul could as easily have picked some other time to leave the house, e.g., “At 3:45 p.m., Paul will leave.” (Paul’s leaving is **independent** of the taxi coming, but Paul has chosen to wait until the taxi comes before leaving.)

In Sentence 2, however, Paul cannot possibly leave in the taxi until the taxi is there. (Paul’s leaving is **dependent** on the taxi’s coming because, for some reason, Paul cannot go by any other means.)

Now consider some more subtle examples:

### Examples

1. “When I arrived home, I ate some food.”

The above condition can be considered in two ways:

- Independent prior condition: “I was carrying some food with me, but I arbitrarily decided not to eat it until I arrived home.”
- Dependent prior condition: “My arriving home was a necessary precondition to my eating the food (e.g., that is where the food was).”

2. “When you go to eat, I will read my book.”

The above condition can be considered in two ways:

- Independent prior condition: “I will arbitrarily set the time when I start reading as the time you go to eat. I could as easily have said, ‘In twenty minutes, I will read my book.’”
- Dependent prior condition: “You came here to talk to me, so it would be inappropriate/rude/absurd to read my book just now. I’ll wait until you go to eat before I read my book.”

3. “When you are ready to sleep, take this medicine.”

The above condition can be considered in two ways:

- Independent prior condition: “I am thinking of the time you are going to sleep as a convenient time to take the medicine.” Or you could say, “There is no special time in which you need to take this medicine, but when you go to sleep would be as good a time as any.”
- Dependent prior condition: “In some sense, it is important to the taking of this medicine that you be ready to go to sleep (e.g., maybe it is a sleeping pill and would not help you at another time of day).”

Kunas use different suffixes to express the subtle difference between dependent prior conditions and independent prior conditions, so it is important that you are aware of this difference.

#### a) Independent prior condition

In the independent prior condition construction, Event A could normally take place at any time, for it really has no logical connection at all with Event B. Event A is independent of the performance of Event B. However, the speaker chooses to define the time at which Event A happened or will happen, by relating it to the performance of Event B. When the condition for Event B to take place is viewed as being independent of the performance of Event A, the suffix **-dgin** is added to the Event B verb.

### Examples

1. An kukaledgin kukunaidgin

‘When I (will) am flying in the plane,

← Event B →

mas kunne.

I am going to eat.’

← Event A →

In the example above, we are to understand that, theoretically, “I” could have eaten at any time. However, “I” have chosen to eat at the specific time that “I” am in the plane.

2. Mas kunnoed**gin**                      iti ina kobo.  
 ‘When you eat your food,              take that medicine.’

← Event B →                      ← Event A →

From the example above, we are to understand that the particular medicine is the kind that may be taken at any time, however, mealtime is as good a time as any to take it.

The independent prior condition may be used to refer to past or future situations. Although a verb tense-aspect suffix may be used in both Event A and Event B clauses, the time frame (future or past) of Event B is signalled by Event B.

- Event A immediate future aspect/completive aspect verb) occurring with Event B (completive aspect/positional verb)

When the Event A verb is either immediate future aspect or completed aspect, the Event B verb may be a completive aspect ( **-cha/-zha/-ja**) or one of the positional (**chi, mai, nai, kwichi, un**) verbs. The aspect of the Event A verb indicates whether the Event B verb is to be interpreted in the future or in the past.

### Examples

1. An mas kuchadgin, an machi tak**ne**.              ‘When I **will** have (**finished**) eaten, I’m **going to** see the boy.’  
 2. An mas kuchadgin, an machi tak**cha**.              ‘When I **had** (**finished**) eating I **saw** the boy.’

In the examples above, both Event B verbs are completive aspect. Because, in Example 1 the Event A verb is immediate future aspect (“I’m going to see”), a listener knows that the Event B should be interpreted in the future sense of a completive aspect verb, i.e., “When I (**will**) have finished eating, I’m **going to** see the boy.”

In Example 2. the Event A verb is (past) completive aspect. The listener knows that the Event B verb is to be interpreted in a past framework, i.e., “When I (**had**) finished eating, I **saw** the boy.”

The interpretation of the past or future significance of positional Event B verbs is also signalled by the aspect of the Event A verb.

### Examples

- 1a. An mas kunaidgin, an machi tak**ne**.              ‘When I (**will be**) am (actively involved in) eating, I **am going to** see the boy.’  
 b. An mas kunaidgin, an machi tak**cha**.              ‘When I **was** (actively involved in) eating, I **saw** the boy.’  
 2a. María mas kunchidgin, Luis machi tak**ne**.              ‘When Mary is (**will be**) eating, Louis **is going to** see the boy.’  
 b. María mas kunchidgin, Luis machi tak**cha**.              ‘When Mary **was** (sitting) eating, Louis **saw** the boy.’  
 3a. José kachigin kammaidgin, an machi tak**ne**.              ‘When Joseph is (**will be**) sleeping in the hammock, I **am going to** see the boy.’  
 b. José kachigin kammaidgin, an machi tak**cha**.              ‘When Joseph **was** sleeping in the hammock, I **saw** the boy.’  
 4a. Anmal mas kumpukwadgin, machi noni**ko**.              ‘When we (**will be**) are eating, the boy **will** arrive.’  
 b. Anmal mas kumpukwadgin, machi noni.              ‘When we **were** (sitting) eating, the boy **arrived**.’  
 5a. Anmal mas kuchadgin, an **ne**.              ‘When we (**will**) have eaten, I **am going to** go.’  
 b. Anmal mas kuchadgin, an **nade**.              ‘When we **had** eaten, I **went**.’

- Event A (immediate future aspect) occurring with Event B (immediate future aspect)

If Event A will take place when the Event B activity is imminent, the immediate future aspect suffix **-ne** is used in both Event A and Event B clauses.

**Examples**

1. An nan taknedgin, Pedro cho chikne. ‘When I am going to go and see my mother, Peter **is going to** go cut firewood.’
2. Marla mas tunedgin, an omne. ‘When Mary is going to cook, I **am going to** bathe.’

- Event A (future aspect) occurring with Event B (future aspect)

If Event A will take place at some unspecified time (“sometime”) in the future when the Event B activity will take place, both events use the future aspect verb suffix **-o/-oe**. The independent prior condition suffix **-dgin** is added to the long form of the future aspect suffix **-oe**.

**Examples**

1. Mas kunnoedgin, iti ina kobo. ‘(Sometime later) when he is (**will be**) eating, (he) **will** take the medicine.’
2. An ol pakoedgin, an mol tako. ‘(Sometime later) when I **will** buy a nose ring, I **will** look at cloth.’

- Event A (habitual/completive aspect verb) occurring with Event B (gerundive verb form)

Habitual activity in Event A is usually indicated by the gerundive form (see XVIII.D.3) of the Event A verb. Occasionally, however, the completed aspect suffix in the Event A clause occurs with the gerundive form of the Event B verb.

**Examples**

1. An immal amiedgin, an koe **tak**. ‘On hunting animals, deer are seen.’
2. Cho chikedgin, Pablo machi tak**cha**. ‘On cutting wood, Paul **saw** a boy.’

**Exercise 17. Independent prior condition frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Mas kunchidgin an machiga chogzha.

Student: Mas kunchidgin an machiga chogzha.

1. Mas kunchidgin an machiga chogzha. ‘While (I was) eating (some) food, I told the boy.’
2. An kukualedgin kukunaidgin an mas kunne. ‘While I am (will be) flying in the airplane, I’m going to eat (some) food.’
3. Mas eminaidgin an chikles. ‘While (I was) weeding the plantain (palms), I cut (myself).’
4. Sagla chogchadgin an nad. ‘When the chief had spoken, I left.’
5. Mol pakchadgin an nad. ‘When I had bought the mola, I left.’
6. Mas kunnedgin an nad. ‘When (he) went to eat, I left.’

**Exercise 18. Independent prior condition drill**

The teacher says the sentence and the student changes the sentence to a subordinate sentence with **-dgin** and adds the independent sentence **An ne**. ‘I’m going to go.’ This exercise should be repeated substituting **An nad**. ‘I went.’ for **An ne**. ‘I’m going to go.’

## b) Dependent prior condition

On occasion, the performance of Event A is dependent on Event B happening for its fulfillment.

**Examples**

1. “When the taxi comes, Paul will leave (in it).”
2. “When I have finished the mola, I will sell it to you.”

In Example 1, for some reason, it is essential that Paul leave in the taxi. Because he must leave **in** the taxi, he cannot leave until the taxi arrives. That is to say, Paul’s leaving (Event A) is dependent on the arrival of the taxi (Event B) for it to be able to happen.

In Example 2, presumably, it is necessary to finish the mola before you can sell it. Hence the fulfillment of Event A is dependent on the completion of Event B.

Kunas not only distinguish between independent and dependent prior conditions, they also use different suffixes for past or future dependent conditions.

- Future dependent prior condition

When the future Event A is dependent on Event B for its fulfillment, the future dependent prior condition suffix **-I** is added to the Event B verb. The Event B verb uses the completive aspect or immediate future aspect form. The completive suffix **-s** becomes **-ja** before the future dependent prior condition suffix **-I**. The Event A verb uses the immediate future aspect or future aspect form of the verb or the command form (see 15.4.1).

### Examples

- |                        |                     |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Kukualed tanikil    | an ne.              |
| ‘When the plane comes, | I’m going (in it).’ |
| ← Event B →            | ← Event A →         |

From the above example, we are to understand that “I” for some reason must go in the plane. Therefore it is necessary that the plane come (Event B) before I may leave (Event A). That is to say, “my” leaving is dependent on the arrival of the plane.

- |                                   |             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 2. Pe igal emijal                 | an ne.      |
| ‘When you have cleared the trail, | I will go.’ |
| ← Event B →                       | ← Event A → |

From the above example, we are to understand that for some reason (possibly the trail at the moment is so overgrown that travel is impossible), the trail must be cleared (Event B) before “I” may travel (Event A). That is to say, “my” leaving (Event A) is dependent on the clearing of the trail (Event B).

### Exercise 19. Future dependent prior condition frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Example** Teacher: Pe kammel ina pel kobo.  
Student: Pe kammel ina pel kobo.

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Pe kammel ina pel kobo.         | ‘When you are going to go to sleep, drink all of the medicine.’ |
| 2. Pe mas kunnel an karta apchone. | ‘When you are going to eat (food), I’m going to read a book.’   |
| 3. Pe mas kuchal an karta apchone. | ‘When you have eaten (food), I’m going to read a book.’         |
| 4. Kukualed tanikil an ne.         | ‘When the airplane comes, I’m going to go.’                     |
| 5. Pe immal aminel an nemo.        | ‘When you go hunting, I’m going to go too.’                     |

### Exercise 20. Future dependent prior condition frame drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student changes it into a sentence which contains a future dependent prior conditional clause and adds the main clause **an ne** ‘I’m going to go’. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Pe mas kucha.  
Student: Pe mas kuchal an ne.

- |                       |                                    |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Pe mas kucha.      | ‘You ate food.’                    |
| 2. Pe mol makne.      | ‘You are going to sew a blouse.’   |
| 3. Pe ua tune.        | ‘You are going to cook fish.’      |
| 4. Pe ul chobzha.     | ‘You made the canoe.’              |
| 5. Wag kallin pakcha. | ‘The outsider bought the chicken.’ |



**Exercise 21.** Future dependent prior condition spontaneous frame drill.

Repeat Exercise 21, but use an independent sentence other than **an ne** 'I'm going to go'.

**Exercise 22.** Completive aspect -s to -ja drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student changes it into a sentence with a future dependent prior conditional clause adding a main clause **an ne** 'I'm going to go'.

**Example** Teacher: Pe ua tus.

Student: Pe ua tujal an ne.

1. Pe ua tus. 'You cooked the fish.'
2. Ti nos. 'The river rose.'
3. Yannu nas. 'The peccaries passed by.'
4. Pe ob chus. 'You fetched the corn.'
5. Pe mol ches. 'You took the blouse.'

- Past dependent prior condition

When the past Event A was dependent on Event B for its fulfillment, the past dependent prior condition suffix **-gu/-ku** is added to the Event B verb. **-gu** is used following lenis consonants and vowels, and **-ku** is used following fortis consonants. The completive suffix (**-cha/-zha/-ja/-s**) may precede **-gu/-ku**. Event A verb uses the completive aspect form.

**Examples**

1. An negzhe nonigu an mas kucha.  
'When I arrived home, I ate some food.'

← Event B →

← Event A →

From the above example, we are to understand that for some reason, "I" did not eat until I got home (possibly "I" had no food on the trip). That is to say, "my" eating (Event A) was dependent on my arrival home (Event B).

2. An kinki elisgu an immal aminad.  
'When I had cleaned the gun, I went hunting.'

← Event B →

← Event A →

From the above example, we are to understand that for some reason (possibly the gun cannot shoot anymore until it is cleaned), "I" cannot go hunting until the gun is cleaned. That is to say, "my" going hunting (Event A) is dependent on "my" cleaning the gun (Event B).

**Exercise 23.** Past dependent prior condition frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Examples** Teacher: An mas kuchagu an nadbal.

Student: An mas kuchagu an nadbal.

1. An mas kuchagu an nadbal. 'Having eaten the food, I left.'
2. An mol makchagu an wagga ukcha. 'Having sewed the blouse, I sold (it) to the outsider.'
3. An mas tusgu an machiga ukcha. 'Having cooked the food, I gave (it) to the boy.'
4. An kallin pakchagu an nad. 'Having bought the chicken, I left.'
5. An koe makchagu an nadbal. 'Having shot the deer, I went (on) again.'

**Exercise 24.** Past dependent prior condition drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student changes it to a **-gu** clause and adds the main clause **an nad** 'I went'. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Machi mas kucha.

Student: Machi mas kuchagu an nad.

- |                        |                                  |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Machi mas kucha.    | 'The boy ate (some) food.'       |
| 2. Ome mol makcha.     | 'The woman sewed a mola.'        |
| 3. Machi tulub pakcha. | 'The boy bought a lobster.'      |
| 4. Machi ul chobzha.   | 'The boy made a canoe.'          |
| 5. Wag kallin pakcha.  | 'The outsider bought a chicken.' |

**Exercise 25.** Past dependent prior condition spontaneous drill

Repeat Exercise 25, but use an independent sentence other than **an ne** 'I'm going to go' or **an nad** 'I went'.

**Example**

Ome ua tus. 'The woman cooked the fish'

becomes

Ome ua tusgu an ua kucha. 'The woman having cooked the fish, I ate the fish.'

**Exercise 26.** Choice between past and future dependent prior conditions (**-gu** and **-I**)

The teacher selects a sentence from those listed below and says it. The student repeats the sentence adding the correct form of the dependent clause, **An a neg omosgu/omojal** ... 'When I arrived/arrive at that place, ...'

**Example** Teacher: An mas kucha.

Student: An an neg omosgu an mas kucha.

- |                        |                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. An mas kucha.       | 'I ate (food).'                   |
| 2. An saglaga chogo.   | 'I will tell the chief.'          |
| 3. An achu amine.      | 'I am going to look for the dog.' |
| 4. An nan takcha.      | 'I saw (my) mother.'              |
| 5. An mol pakcha.      | 'I bought cloth.'                 |
| 6. An nan takne.       | 'I am going to see (my) mother.'  |
| 7. An mas kunne.       | 'I am going to eat (food).'       |
| 8. An achu amis.       | 'I looked for the dog.'           |
| 9. An saglaga chogzha. | 'I told the chief.'               |
| 10. An mol pakne.      | 'I am going to buy cloth.'        |

**12.5 Vocabulary**

- |                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. win(i)         | 'beads'                |
| 2. immis-immis(i) | 'right now'            |
| 3. immichal       | 'just now'             |
| 4. untargus(a)    | 'a while ago'          |
| 5. akpene         | 'long ago'             |
| 6. sae            | 'yesterday'            |
| 7. asto           | 'day before yesterday' |
| 8. polegu         | 'pre-dawn'             |
| 9. oipoja/oipos   | 'dawn'                 |
| 10. nap(a)        | 'earth/ground/soil'    |
| 11. kannan        | 'again'                |

12. kinki	'rifle/gun'
13. kep(e)	'first'
14. negkapgwen	'midnight/post-midnight'
15. kammu	'flute(s)'
16. eli(e)	'to clean/erase/wash'
17. ibgin	'daytime'
18. wiji/wis	'to know'
19. wawadun	'banana'
20. napi	'last/lacking'
21. mak	'to thatch; to pierce/sew/spear/shoot'
22. wis	'a little/something'
23. no	'to rise (river)/err/stop work'
24. wei	'to harvest'
25. noni	'to arrive (here)'
26. aka	'that same place'

## 13 COMMUNICATING COMMUNITY TOGETHERNESS

### 13.1 Dialogue

An important feature of Kuna culture is that of working together as a community. The following dialogue (primarily a monologue) by the chief is an explanation of a workday.

Chief (showing a visitor how Kunas work together as a community):

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Immis, Pay tolganmal pel pistagin arpanani.          | ‘Today, all Payaites (those who live in Paya) are working on the airstrip.’ |
| 2. Macherbandin pista eminani; esgin.                   | ‘The men are cutting (cleaning) the airstrip with machetes.’                |
| 3. Omegandin turwa minani; chowalgin.                   | ‘The women are raking off the cuttings with (long) sticks.’                 |
| 4. Machimaldin ya enzhenani e palagin.                  | ‘The boys are filling holes with their shovels.’                            |
| 5. Machimal pimaladdin tikalbal ya akinani; ti ariogal. | ‘Other boys are digging a canal on the side for drainage.’                  |
| 6. Punamaldin neggin pukua; purwigan takpukmal.         | ‘The girls are at home, looking after the little ones.’                     |
| 7. Teob, annal pel puge-puge arpanani.                  | ‘That’s the way we work together.’  |
| 8. Teob, igal nued, takcha.                             | ‘It (this way) is a good custom, (you) see.’                                |

Visitor:

9. Ajáj. ‘That’s right!’

### 13.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–2)

The overall intonation pattern of the chief’s speech in the above dialogue is important. There are three parts to the speech:

1. Assertion or statement (Sentence 1)
2. Examples or details (Sentences 2–6)
3. Summary or evaluation (Sentences 7–8).

This overall pattern of giving information is very common. It is essential that the **overall** intonation pattern be mastered.

#### Exercise 1. Tracking drill

Track the teacher as he says Dialogue 13.1. Repeat the exercise until the intonation pattern is mastered.

#### Exercise 2. Dialogue memorization drill

Memorize Dialogue 13.1, using the correct intonation pattern. The teacher will check the intonation. The student should correct errors by repeating Exercise 1. Any attempt to repeat sentences in isolation will change the intonation pattern and thwart the purpose of these exercises.

### 13.3 Culture

Community work is an important feature of Kuna culture. Projects such as keeping the town free of weeds and leaves, the trails clear, the river free of debris, and building the school are the work of the entire community. The community also works on certain projects for individuals, such as house building and roof thatching.

In community projects, each member is expected to contribute as he is able. The bulk of heavy work is carried by the young men. The boys contribute within their limits of experience and endurance. The old men give advice and work within the physical limitations of their age. Since each individual is expected to work to his full capacity, everyone is considered to be fully productive. This attitude towards productivity is important for outsiders to understand. Practically, it means that each worker who is working on a work party for an outsider should receive the same remuneration, whether he is a young man who has done heavy work all day, or an old man who has only given advice and passed an occasional tool to the working men. Because each has worked to his individual capacity, each deserves the same wage. (Small boys, however, are sometimes paid less.)

Sickness or an urgent need to supply the family with food are valid excuses for not being present in a work party. The chief or his designate in charge of a project must be informed of the proposed absence in advance. On the day following his return from a trip, a person is excused from community and family work responsibilities. Visitors to the village are not obligated to help in community work parties, although they may stand on the sidelines and watch the activities. Villagers who have been excused from the work party may go to the location of the work project and chat or watch progress.

## 13.4 Grammar

### 13.4.1 Male/female distinction

Although gender is not marked in Kuna, if there is a need to indicate male or female, the word **ome** 'woman/female' or the word **machered** 'man/male' precedes the word to be modified. That is, gender is indicated in the form of a possessive construction as in 13.4.2 below. People, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, and certain plants that have separate male and female counterparts may be described in this way.

#### Examples

1. tule **ome** 'woman'
2. kallin **machered** 'rooster'
3. chigli **ome** 'wild turkey hen'
4. kwarkwad **ome** 'female papaya tree'

### 13.4.2 Possessives (Ex. 3–5)

The concept of possession in Kuna is expressed by using the name of the possessor or a pronoun which refers to him, with or without a possessive suffix.

#### 13.4.2.1 Pronoun of noun referring to the possessor without possessive suffix

When possession is expressed by the name of the possessor, the possessor or a pronoun without a possessive suffix, the possessed item follows.

#### Examples

1. An **achu** neggin mai. 'My dog is at home.'
2. Pab **achu** neggin mai. 'Father's dog is at home.'
3. Pedro **achu** neggin mai. 'Peter's dog is at home.'

### Exercise 3. Possessive substitution drill

The teacher says the sentence and selects a word from the list and says it. The student substitutes the selected word in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: An pega an mol ukcha.

Teacher: nan

Student: An pega nan mol ukcha.

**Frame** An pega \_\_\_\_ mol ukcha. 'I gave you \_\_\_\_'s clothes.'

1. an 'I/my'
2. pe 'you/your'

- |          |                     |
|----------|---------------------|
| 3. a     | ‘that/one’s’        |
| 4. nan   | ‘mother/mother’s’   |
| 5. Pedro | ‘Peter/Peter’s’     |
| 6. e     | ‘his/her/its/their’ |

### 13.4.2.2 Possessive suffix **-gad/-kad** in an equative sentence

Possession in an equative sentence is expressed by saying the object possessed, followed by the noun or pronoun that refers to the possessor to which the possessive suffix **-gad/-kad** is attached.

#### Examples

- |                             |                                       |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Achu <b>ankad</b> .      | ‘The dog is <b>mine</b> .’            |
| 2. Achu pab <b>gad</b> .    | ‘The dog is <b>father’s</b> .’        |
| 3. Neg kalling <b>gad</b> . | ‘The house is the <b>chicken’s</b> .’ |

If ownership is being emphasized the long form of the suffix is used.

**Example** Achu Pedrog**adi**. ‘The dog is Peter’s.’

### 13.4.2.3 Possessive pronoun with a possessive suffix

A possessive phrase paralleling the English construction “\_\_\_\_\_ of mine/yours/his/its” can be formed by stating the object possessed, followed by the noun or pronoun that refers to the possessor to which the possessive suffix **-gad/-kad** is attached.<sup>64</sup>

#### Examples

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Es <b>ankad</b> neggin mai.       | ‘A machete <b>of mine</b> is in the house.’ |
| 2. An karta Pedrog <b>ad</b> takcha. | ‘I saw the book <b>of Peter’s</b> .’        |

### 13.4.2.4 Possessive questions

Questions of possession are formed by adding the possessive suffix **-gad/-kad** to a question word.

#### Examples

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. ¿Toag <b>ad</b> ? | ‘Whose (is it)?’            |
| 2. ¿Ibig <b>ad</b> ? | ‘To what (does it belong)?’ |

### 13.4.2.5 Extended use of **-gad/-kad**

**-gad/-kad** is used in the sense of ‘made of some type of material’.

#### Examples

- |                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. chowalg <b>ad</b> | ‘wooden’       |
| 2. ezhag <b>ad</b>   | ‘made of iron’ |

### Exercise 4. **-gadi/-kadi** drill

The teacher asks the question and the student answers the question, selecting an answer from the list below.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Achude, toagadi?  
Student: Angadi.

#### Answers

- |       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| 1. an | ‘I’                    |
| 2. mu | ‘older respected lady’ |

---

<sup>64</sup> The variation in word order in which the possessive **-gad/-kad** form precedes the noun indicates that the focus is on the possessive word. For example, **Ankad ul cheles**. ‘(It was) **my** canoe that was washed away.’ but **Ul ankad cheles**. ‘My **canoe** was washed away.’

3. pab 'father'  
4. machi 'boy'

### Questions

1. ¿Achude, toagadi? 'To whom does the dog belong?'  
2. ¿Ozhide, toagadi? 'To whom does the pineapple belong?'  
3. ¿Sapatte, toagadi? 'To whom does the shoe belong?'  
4. ¿Esmemme, toagadi? 'To whom does the pot belong?'  
5. ¿Negde, toagadi? 'To whom does the house belong?'

### Exercise 5. -gad/-kad drill

The teacher asks the question and the student answers, selecting an answer from the list below.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Toagad kallin wakís?

Student: Nangad.

### Answers

1. pe 'you'  
2. tad 'elder'  
3. nan 'mother'  
4. pun 'girl'

### Questions

1. ¿Toagad kallin wakís? 'Whose chicken disappeared?'  
2. ¿Toagad ul cheles? 'Whose canoe washed away?'  
3. ¿Toagad akan wegin kwichi? 'Whose axe is standing over there?'  
4. ¿Toagad mol enukchales? 'Whose clothes were washed?'  
5. ¿Toagad esmed, itide? 'Whose pot is this?'

### 13.4.3 Concept of pluralization (Ex. 6–18)

In Kuna, there is not necessarily anything in a noun or in most verbs which would tell you whether it is singular or plural. Generally speaking, you understand that a noun/verb is singular or plural from the context of the sentence or from the situation.

In the case of nouns, however, there are two suffixes, **-gan(a)/-kan(a)** and **-mal(a)**, which are added in certain situations to indicate that the speaker is referring to more than one individual.

Positional verbs have a plural form and the suffix **-mal(a)** may be added to a verb to indicate that “everyone” is included in an action.

#### 13.4.3.1 Inclusion markers

There are two suffixes in Kuna which are used to indicate that various individual nouns are being associated. The suffix **-gan(a)/-kan** is used for a class of nouns, whereas **-mal** tends to parallel the English construction “a group of...”

##### 1) Status class marker -gan(a)/-kan(a)<sup>65</sup>

Several individuals who have reached a certain status in life or degree of accomplishment may be classified by the addition of the suffix **-gan(a)/-kan(a)** to the noun which refers to the status of the individual person. The status class marker **-gan/-kan** refers almost exclusively to people.<sup>66</sup> Only certain words which refer to people may be used with the suffix **-gan/-kan**. (See the list below.)

<sup>65</sup> **-gan(a)** follows lenis consonants and vowels. **-kan(a)** follows fortis consonants.

<sup>66</sup> See 13.4.3.1–7).

The use of **-gan/-kan** does not parallel the use of the English plural. It is closer to the English construction “a class of ...” because of the manner in which it refers only to a general class of people who have achieved a certain social prestige in Kuna society. The English example of the difference between “women” and “**THE** women” may help to make the use of **-gan/-kan** clear. “Women” refers to all women, whereas “**THE** women” refers to a special class of women who may be singled out for their particular specialty or social status. “**THE** women” closely parallels the Kuna construction formed by the use of **-gan/-kan**.

### Examples

1. **omegan** ‘women’

**Omeگان** are all the women who have reached the stage or class where they are considered “women”.

2. **tulegan** ‘people/Kuna who have a specialty’

**Tuleگان** is not used to include all Kuna people. It is used only to refer to those who are recognized as having sufficient knowledge in a field to be considered experts. They are generally accepted as being proficient in one or more areas: medicine, history, culture, music, etc.

People who are literate and write letters on their own account would not be considered “**tuleگان**.” Those who read letters to, or write letters for the town would be considered “**tuleگان**.”

An interesting use of the status class marker **-gan/-kan** is with the word **tol** ‘inhabitant’. The word **tolگان** ‘inhabitants’ may be added to the name of a town to indicate that these people have the status of being inhabitants of the town.

**Example** Pay tolgan ‘inhabitants of Paya’

#### a) Words that take *-gan/-gana*

1. tule	<b>tuleگان</b>	‘people/Kunas who have a speciality’
2. tol	<b>tolگان</b>	‘inhabitants’
3. tummad	<b>tummagan</b> <sup>67</sup>	‘chiefs, important ones’
4. tad	<b>tadگان</b>	‘elders/forefathers’
5. cheled	<b>chelegان</b>	‘old experienced men/(lit.: old ones)’
6. mu	<b>mugان</b>	‘matrons/old respected women’
7. machered	<b>machergان*</b>	‘men’
8. pab	<b>pabگان</b>	‘parents (of one particular child)’
9. ome	<b>omeگان</b>	‘women’
10. nan	<b>nانگان</b>	‘mothers/parents’
11. nuchu	<b>nusگان</b>	‘children’
12. purwi <sup>68</sup>	<b>purwگان</b>	‘little ones (children)’
13. wagwa	<b>wagwagan</b>	‘grandchildren/descendants’

#### b) Words that cannot take *-gan/-gana*

- |                        |                             |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. machi <sup>69</sup> | ‘boy/young man/son’         |
| 2. puna**              | ‘girl/young woman/daughter’ |
| 3. waga                | ‘outsider’                  |

<sup>67</sup> Memorize these irregular forms of the **-kan/-kana** constructions (also \*).

<sup>68</sup> **purwi** ‘a very small object’ always uses the suffix **-gan/-gana** when it refers to children.

<sup>69</sup> The forms **machigan** ‘young man’ and **punagan** ‘young woman’ are no longer in use; however, occasionally the long forms **machigana** ‘young men’ and **punagana** ‘young women’ are heard at town meetings. They are used to give instructions to those who are at the stage of being youths (e.g., **Machigana chogo**. ‘Instruct the young men.’) (also \*).



4. amma 'aunt'  
5. kil 'uncle'

### Exercise 6. Status class suffix **-gan/-kan** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tummagan noni.  
Student: Tummagan noni.

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Tummagan noni.       | 'The big ones (chiefs) arrived.'            |
| 2. Tadgan teob chogzha. | 'The elders said this.'                     |
| 3. Nuskan tanimo.       | 'The children are coming too.'              |
| 4. Machergan arpane.    | 'The men are going to work.'                |
| 5. Omegan neg turwine.  | 'The women are going to sweep the village.' |

### Exercise 7. Status class suffix **-gan/-kan** substitute frame drill

The teacher repeats the frame and selects any word from the list below and says it. The student then substitutes the word in the frame.

**Examples** Teacher: Tulegan noni.  
Teacher: pab  
Student: Pabgan noni.  
Teacher: Pabgan noni.  
Teacher: machered  
Student: Machergan noni.

**Frame** \_\_\_\_ noni. 'The \_\_\_\_ arrived.'

1. tule	'person/Kuna'
2. tummad	'the big one (chief)'
3. tol	'inhabitant'
4. tad	'grandfather'

### 2) Group marker **-mal(a)**

The suffix **-mal(a)** added to a noun groups several individuals (people or things). This construction parallels the English construction "a group of ..." and may be used with nouns referring to people, animals, birds or things. As in English, the grouping of individual people/things by use of the **-mal(a)** construction is not a permanent grouping, but for some reason the members included in the group are associated in a particular situation.

#### Examples

1. machimal 'group of boys'  
This is used for a "group of boys" in contrast to "(all the) boys."  
2. yannumal '(a herd of) peccaries'  
A group can be referred to by their spokesman + **-mal**.

#### Example

Pedromal 'Peter and the others (i.e., Peter and those included with him)'  
When the suffix **-mal(a)** is used with certain classes of people, an idiomatic derogatory meaning is communicated.

**Example**

**Pabmal** keg pega chunmake. (In annoyance): ‘Your parents haven’t taught you (any manners).’  
Other words which have a derogatory connotation<sup>70</sup> when used in conjunction with **-mal(a)** are:

- |               |                |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1a. ome       | ‘woman’        |
| b. omemal     | ‘women’        |
| 2a. nan       | ‘mother’       |
| b. nanmal     | ‘mothers’      |
| 3a. nanzhel   | ‘grandma’      |
| b. nanzhelmal | ‘grandmothers’ |
| 4a. pabzhel   | ‘grandfather’  |
| b. pabzhelmal | ‘grandfathers’ |

**Exercise 8.** Group marker **-mal(a)** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times as a group and with individual students.

**Example** Teacher: Tulemal noni.

Student: Tulemal noni.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Tulemal noni.                     | ‘(A group of) Kunas arrived.’                                     |
| 2. Wagmal kallin pakcha.             | ‘(A group of) outsiders bought a chicken.’                        |
| 3. Machimal tagar chwas.             | ‘(A group of) young men gathered thatch.’                         |
| 4. Punamal madun ogobzha; tulemalga. | ‘(A group of) girls gave chicha to (a group of) people to drink.’ |
| 5. Tulemal nos.                      | ‘(A group of) people have stopped (left off working).’            |

**Exercise 9.** Group marker **-mal(a)** drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, changing the subject to the **-mal(a)** form.

**Example** Teacher: Tule noni.

Student: Tulemal noni.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Tule noni.         | ‘People arrived.’                         |
| 2. Machi yannu amine. | ‘The young man is going to hunt peccary.’ |
| 3. Achu mutik kolmas. | ‘The dog barked (last) night.’            |
| 4. An nade.           | ‘I left.’                                 |
| 5. Chikwi ob mas.     | ‘The bird (ate) pecked the corn.’         |

*3) Position of inclusion markers*

The suffixes **-mal(a)** and **-gan/-kan** attach to the noun stem. All other noun suffixes follow these suffixes.

*4) Use of -gan/-kan versus -mal*

Any of the words which take **-gan/-kan** can also take **-mal(a)**. The question arises, “When do I choose **-gan/-kan** and when do I choose **-mal(a)**?”

- a) **-gan/-kan** is used to refer to a class of people who are proficient in a certain area, or who have reached a particular social status.

**Example**

Machergan ormanemal. ‘The men are going to meet.’

<sup>70</sup> When the words **omemal** ‘female’ and **machermal** ‘male’ are used to refer to the sex of animals and/or birds, they do not have a derogatory connotation. For example, **yannu omemal** ‘peccary sows’ and **kallin machermal** ‘roosters’.

“Machergan” refers to people who have the social prestige of being men. **-gan/-kan** is generally used only for people. It groups a class of people together, rather than describing a temporary grouping.

b) **-mal(a)** is used to refer to a group of people or things as a unit. These people or things are grouped on a temporary basis for some reason or another and parallels the English construction, “a group of ...”

### Examples

1. Tulegan noni. ‘People (**who are specialists in a field**) arrived.’
2. Tulemal noni. ‘(**A group of**) people arrived.’

### Exercise 10. -mal(a) versus -gan/-kan selective choice drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student adds the suffix **-mal(a)** or **-gan/-kan** to the subject of the sentence, as the sense of the sentence requires.

**Example** Teacher: Mached noni.

Student: Machergan noni.

1. Mached noni. ‘The man arrived.’
2. Tule noni. ‘The Kuna person arrived.’
3. Ome turwa mine. ‘The woman is throwing out the rubbish.’
4. Achu chule kas. ‘The dog caught a paca.’
5. Machi yannu amine. ‘The boy is going to hunt peccary.’

### 5) Use of -mal(a) with -gan/-kan

Sometimes it is necessary to speak of a group of people who have a certain status, skill, or class. To form this construction, you add the short form of **-gan/-kan** to the noun stem and then add **-mal(a)**: noun + **-gan/-kan** + **-mal(a)**.

### Example

Pay tolganmal pistagin arpananimal. ‘(A group of) Paya inhabitants are working on the airstrip.’

In this case, the phrase **Pay tolganmal** refers to a group of people who qualify in the class of inhabitants of Paya.

### 6) Use of -mal with -mal(a)

Occasionally, it is necessary to say, “a group of groups.” This construction is formed by adding the short form of **-mal** to the noun stem and then repeating **-mal(a)**.

### Examples

1. Tulemalmal pukwa. ‘Small groups of people from among the (larger) group of people were sitting around.’ or ‘Small clusters of people (from among the larger group) were sitting around.’
  2. Immalmalmal webal kagan mamal. ‘Clusters of animals are grazing over there.’
- Example 2 above is a very rare construction.

### Exercise 11. -ganmal/-kanmal frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Pay tolganmal pistagin arpananimal.

Student: Pay tolganmal pistagin arpananimal.

1. Pay tolganmal pistagin arpananimal. ‘A group of Paya inhabitants are all working on the airstrip.’
2. Macherganmal kullubal taim takcha. ‘A group of men saw the alligator on the bank.’
3. Nuskanmal escuela magarbal tedomanimal. ‘A group of children are playing outside the school.’

### 7) Use of *-gan/-kan* with species of animals and plants

In rare cases, the suffix **-gan/-kan** is used with words other than<sup>71</sup> those which refer to people. This construction is usually associated with the concept of location, and may be rendered in English by “among the \_\_\_\_\_”

#### Examples

1. **yannugan** ‘a place where peccaries gather’
2. **nagwalgan** ‘a place with many stands of hiraca reeds’

Because this construction refers to a location, it may be used with the locative suffixes **-gin/-kin** and **-bal**:  
noun + **-gan/-kan** + **-bal** or **-gin/-kin**.

#### Examples

1. An es ebes **masgangin**. ‘I left the machete among the plantains.’
2. An es iges **yannuganbal**. ‘I forgot my machete where the peccaries were.’
3. **Chugangin** koe chu kwa ma. ‘Deer eat igarón seeds among the igarón.’

### 13.4.3.2 Plural verb forms

Verb forms in Kuna generally do not indicate whether the subject is singular or plural. However, there are two exceptions: 1) positional (“to be”) verbs have both a singular and a plural form, and 2) the inclusive marker **-mal(a)** may be attached to a verb to indicate that the subject is plural.

#### 1) Positional (“to be”) verbs

The following five positional (“to be”) verbs (of Section 6.4.1) have distinct singular and plural forms. The appropriate singular or plural forms are used also when the verbs function as present progressive suffixes.

#### Examples

Singular	Plural	
1. mai	mami	‘to lie down’
2. nai	nani	‘to hang/do actively’
3. chi	pukwa	‘to sit/do passively’
4. kwichi	pukwa	‘to stand’
5. un	unmal <sup>72</sup>	‘to be “on all fours”’

When the subject of these positional verbs is singular, the singular form of the verb is used. The plural form of the verbs is used when appropriate, even if the subject does not include the suffixes **-gan/-kan** or **-mal(a)**.

#### Examples

1. Tule arpanani. ‘The people are working.’
2. Tulemal arpanani. ‘The group of people are working.’
3. Tulegan arpanani. ‘Its people (who are specialists) are working.’

### Exercise 12. nani/mami/pukwa frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<sup>71</sup> For example, **kagan** ‘foliage’.

<sup>72</sup> Note that the pluralization of the positional verb **un** ‘on all fours’ is formed by the addition of the group marker **-mal(a)**.

**Example** Teacher: Nuskan kammami.  
Student: Nuskan kammami.

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Nuskan kammami.           | ‘The children are sleeping.’           |
| 2. Yegusmalad kachigin mami. | ‘The sick ones are lying in hammocks.’ |
| 3. Chigli pukwa.             | ‘Wild turkeys are there.’              |
| 4. Mol mesagin pukwa.        | ‘The clothes are on the table.’        |
| 5. Eswal magarbal pukwa.     | ‘The spears are standing outside.’     |
| 6. Tulemal arpanani.         | ‘The group of people are working.’     |
| 7. Nuskan todonani.          | ‘The children are playing.’            |

### Exercise 13. nani/mami/pukwa substitution drill

The teacher says the sentence in the singular and the student repeats it, changing it to the plural form.

**Example** Teacher: Tule arpanai.  
Student: Tule arpanani.

- |                              |                                       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Tule arpanai.             | ‘The person/Kuna is working.’         |
| 2. Yannu chowal mali kunnai. | ‘The peccary is eating a root.’       |
| 3. Karpa chi.                | ‘The basket is (there).’              |
| 4. Mol neggin chi.           | ‘The cloth is at home.’               |
| 5. Es mesa ulpal mai.        | ‘The machete is under the table.’     |
| 6. Mimmi kammai.             | ‘The baby is sleeping.’               |
| 7. Eswal wegin kwichi.       | ‘The spear is standing there.’        |
| 8. Chia tuppai kwichi.       | ‘The cocoa tree is on the peninsula.’ |

### 2) Use of group marker *-mal* with verbs

When **-mal** is added to the verb, it indicates that the whole group to which the subject refers performed the action of the verb at the same time, i.e., all the members are included in the action.

#### Example

Tule nan**mal**. ‘The people **all** left (at the same time).’

This does not have the same meaning as **Tule pel nade**. ‘All the people left (at various times).’ Rather, it indicates that the whole group performed the action of the verb at the same time.

### Exercise 14. Group marker **-mal** with verb frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tulemal arpananimal.  
Student: Tulemal arpananimal.

- |                          |                                 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Tulemal arpananimal.  | ‘The people are all working.’   |
| 2. Nuskan todonanimal.   | ‘The children are all playing.’ |
| 3. Machimal nanmal.      | ‘The boys all went.’            |
| 4. Machergan ormapukmal. | ‘The men are all in a meeting.’ |
| 5. Wagi ob masmal.       | ‘The parrots all ate the corn.’ |

Note the suffix order, that **-mal** inclusive occurs after the aspect markers **-ne**, **-cha**, **-nani**, etc., but before **-bal** ‘again’ or **-mo** ‘too’. It is in Group II.

#### Example

Machimal mas kuch**malbal**. ‘The boys all ate food again.’

### Exercise 15. Group marker **-mal** with verb drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it using the **-mal** form.

**Example** Teacher: Anmal mas kunne.

Student: Anmal mas kunnemal.

- |                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Anmal mas kunne.   | ‘We are going to eat.’      |
| 2. Machimal ua kucha. | ‘The boys ate fish.’        |
| 3. Yannu pato nad.    | ‘The peccaries left.’       |
| 4. Wag tani.          | ‘The outsiders are coming.’ |
| 5. Tulemal mol ukcha. | ‘The people sold blouses.’  |

**Exercise 16. -mal(a) versus -gan/-kan selection drill**

The student says the sentence, adding **-gan**, **-mal** or nothing in the blank, as best fits the sense (meaning) of the sentence.

**Example** Sentence: Tule\_\_\_\_ noni.

Student: Tulemal noni.

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Tule____ noni.          | ‘People/Kunas arrived.’                           |
| 2. Nus____ todonani.       | ‘The children are playing.’                       |
| 3. Ome____ neg turwine.    | ‘The women are going to sweep the village.’       |
| 4. Chikwi____ ob mas.      | ‘Some birds ate the corn.’                        |
| 5. Yannu____ nas.          | ‘The peccaries passed.’                           |
| 6. Machi____ ua makne.     | ‘The boys are going to spear fish.’               |
| 7. Tad____ pel wis.        | ‘The elders know everything (are knowledgeable).’ |
| 8. Ome____ mol enukcha.    | ‘Some women wash clothes.’                        |
| 9. Ua____ yapa mae.        | ‘The fish won’t bite.’                            |
| 10. Wag____ kallin pakcha. | ‘A group of outsiders bought a chicken.’          |

**Exercise 17. Group marker -mal with verb selection drill**

The student says the sentence adding **-mal** or nothing in the blank space, as best fits the sense (meaning) of the sentence.

**Example** Sentence: Tulemal arpanani\_\_\_\_\_.

Student: Tulemal arpananimal.

- |                            |                                 |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Tulemal arpanani_____.  | ‘The people are all working.’   |
| 2. Omegan mol makcha_____. | ‘The women all sewed blouses.’  |
| 3. Omegan mol makcha_____. | ‘The women sewed blouses.’      |
| 4. Nuskan todonani_____.   | ‘The children are all playing.’ |
| 5. Pel nad_____.           | ‘Everybody went (at once).’     |
| 6. Machimal ua kucha_____. | ‘The boys ate fish.’            |

**Exercise 18. Status class -gan/-kan and group marker -mal with noun and verb selection drill**

The student says the sentence, adding a plural marker **-gan/-kan** or **-mal**, a group marker **-mal**, or nothing in the blank spaces in each sentence.

**Example** Sentence: Tule\_\_\_\_ arpanani\_\_\_\_\_.

Student: Tulemal arpananimal.

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Tule____ arpanani_____.          | ‘A group of people are all working.’     |
| 2. Machi____ yannu____ mecha_____.  | ‘The boys all killed peccaries.’         |
| 3. Nus____ neggin____ kammami_____. | ‘The children are sleeping at home.’     |
| 4. Wag____ kallin____ pakcha_____.  | ‘The group of outsiders bought chicken.’ |
| 5. Macher____ ormapuk_____.         | ‘The men are all in a meeting.’          |
| 6. Ome____ mas tunne_____.          | ‘The women are all going to cook food.’  |

### 13.4.4 Verb *ku* ‘to happen/become’

The use of the verb **ku** ‘to happen/become’ parallels the English construction, “(An event) happened.” Various verbal suffixes may be added to **ku** to give shades of meaning.

#### Examples

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. ʔIgi <b>kude</b> ?      | ‘What has happened?’                   |
| 2. ʔIgi <b>kunani</b> ?    | ‘What is (things are) happening?’      |
| 3. ʔIgi <b>kudi</b> ?      | ‘How did you behave/react/respond?’    |
| 4. ʔIgi <b>kus</b> ?       | ‘How did it happen?’                   |
| 5. ʔIgi <b>an kuo</b> ?    | ‘What will happen to me (externally)?’ |
| 6. ʔIgi <b>ankin kuo</b> ? | ‘What will happen to me (internally)?’ |
| 7. Teob <b>kus</b> .       | ‘That is what happened.’               |

The verb **ku** may be used as a suffix **-ku/-gu** which attaches to an adjective or to another verb in order to form a construction paralleling the English construction, “to become...”.

#### Examples

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. An <b>yegus</b> .      | ‘I <b>became sick</b> .’                                |
| 2. Mol <b>tinkus</b> .    | ‘The clothes <b>became dry</b> .’                       |
| 3. An es <b>amigual</b> . | ‘I <b>came to be (became) looking for</b> the machete.’ |

The discussion of **-ku/-gu** as a past dependent prior condition is found in Section 12.4.1.2.2-B.

#### Example

Neg omos**gu**, tulemal pukwa. ‘When I arrived at the place, the people were there.’

### 13.4.5 Conjunctions

There are only a few commonly used conjunctions in Kuna. In general speech or storytelling, a conjunction or a subordinate clause (see 12.4.2.1b) is used at the beginning of almost every sentence. Several common conjunctions are discussed. Many of them are based on **te** ‘then’.

#### 13.4.5.1 Sequential conjunction *tegin(e)* ‘and then’

**Tegin(e)** ‘and then’ is used to indicate either temporal sequence (one action following another) or logical sequence (one idea following another).

#### Examples

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <b>Tegin</b> sagla immal aminad. | ‘ <b>Then</b> the chief went hunting.’ |
| 2. <b>Tegin</b> sagla us abingus.   | ‘ <b>Then</b> (he) met an agouti.’     |
| 3. <b>Tegin</b> ilgwen imas.        | ‘ <b>Then</b> (he) shot once.’         |
| 4. Mecha.                           | ‘(He) killed (it).’                    |

In the above examples, the speaker viewed the events of the sequence as following one after another in a time sequence. Each separate event began with the word **tegin** ‘then’. The speaker viewed the shooting, **Tegin ilgwen imas**, and the killing in the last sentence **Mecha**, as a single main action, not as a sequence of actions and, therefore, did not use the conjunction **tegin**.

The speaker could have chosen to consider the two last actions **imas** ‘shot’ and **mecha** ‘killed’ as separate and used the conjunction in the last sentence.

#### Examples

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <b>Tegin</b> sagla immal aminad. | ‘ <b>Then</b> the chief went hunting.’ |
| 2. <b>Tegin</b> sagla us abingus.   | ‘ <b>Then</b> (he) met an agouti.’     |
| 3. <b>Tegin</b> ilgwen imas.        | ‘ <b>Then</b> (he) shot once.’         |

4. **Tegin** tar mecha. 'Then (he) killed it.'

**Tegine**, the long form of **tegin**, tends to be used in adding onto something already said such as in listing.<sup>73</sup>

**Example**

An immal pakcha; aros, palu, **tegine** kwallu. 'I bought some things, rice, salt, **and** oil.'

**13.4.5.2 Variations of tegin(e)**

1) *tegin kep*

**Tegin kep** 'then only/only after that' is used to make the present event a clear sequel to the previous event, that is to say, only after the one event happened did the actor continue with the sequence.

**Examples**

1. Antin wis mas kucha. 'I had a (little) bite to eat.'
2. **Tegin keb** an nadbal. '**Only then** did I go on again.'

2) *tegin and tebal*

**Tegin** 'that is where' and **tebal** 'that is where' may be used as locatives to refer back to a narrow or broad setting (see 8.4.1) in adverbial clauses of location.

**Examples**

1. Machi sae koe mechadgin, **tegin** an es onos. 'At the place where the boy killed the deer, is where (the exact spot) I found the machete.'
2. Pukur igitalbal, **tebal** an ti. 'Along the Pucuru trail, that is (more or less) where I was.'

3) *tegidgin*

The conjunction, **tegidgin** 'at the same time' is used to indicate simultaneous action.

**Examples**

1. **Tegin** koe tigin arkwasgu, **tegidgin** an imas. '**Then** as the deer fell into the water, **at that moment**, I fired.'
- 2a. Sagladin, anche ekichis. 'The chief asked me.'
- b. **Tegidgin** an nega chogal. '**At that precise moment**, I told (the chief) himself.'

**13.4.5.3 Change-of-direction marker tenal**

**Tenal** 'but' marks a change in the direction that a sequence of events or ideas are taking or it may mark an unexpected outcome or response. Thus, it may be used when the expected result is not achieved. It may also be used to modify a general statement. **Tenal** 'but' is not used to contrast or indicate one thing as opposite from another. The contrastive construction uses the suffix **-din/-tin** (see Appendix E.4).

**Examples**

1. Pedro Panamaje nebi **tenal** adin igital ma nikchul. 'Peter wants to go to Panama **but** he does not have permission.'
2. An immal paknade, **tenal** an kwen immal pakchajul. 'I went to buy (some) things **but** I did not buy anything.'
- 3a. Koedin igitalgin un. 'The deer was standing on the trail.'
- b. **Tenal** antin kwen imachul. '**But** I did not shoot.'
- c. Antin pala saté. 'I had no bullet.'

---

<sup>73</sup> See Section 5.4.2.



#### 13.4.5.4 *Change-of-topic marker te choggudin(a)*

**Te choggudin(a)** ‘then I have something else to say’ is frequently used in long teaching discourses to mark a shift from one topic to another.

##### Examples

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | ...Nuskandin e pabgandin atakenab.                      | ‘...Children ought to respect their parents.’   |
| 2. | <b>Te choggudina</b> Pab Tummaddin anmalga igal ebes... | ‘ <b>Then I have something else to say:</b> the Big Father left us our traditions...’ |

#### 13.4.5.5 *Result conjunction tegil*

Certain situations lead to or make possible a subsequent action. The conjunction **tegil** ‘so (then)’ may come before or after the subsequent action to relate the action to the preceding one.

##### Examples

- |    |                      |   |
|----|----------------------|---|
| 1. | <b>Tegil</b> an ne.  | ‘ <b>So then</b> I am going to go (now).’ |
| 2. | An ne <b>tegil</b> . | ‘I am going to go <b>then</b> .’          |

This construction differs from the assertive (emphatic) construction formed by the addition of the suffix **-do/-to** (see Appendix E.6).

**Example** An nedo. ‘**I am** going to go.’

It also differs from the consequential action formed by the addition of the consequential suffix **-chun/-zhun/-jun** to the verb (see 19.4.5).

**Example** An nejun. ‘**Consequently**, I am going to go.’

#### 13.4.5.6 *Concessive conjunction yabli*

In order to express the concept that in spite of what has/will happen, an event has/will take(n) place, the adverb **yabli** ‘in spite of/even though/nevertheless’ is used. It usually occurs before the subject in a concessive clause although it may occur after it in the adverbial position in a simple sentence. **Yabli** may also be used to express the English concept, “whether...” or “whether ... happens, still ... (is going to happen).”

##### Examples

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | <b>Yabli</b> an neelen, antin machi pentachulin.                                 | ‘ <b>Even though</b> I were to go, I wouldn’t help the boy.’                                       |
| 2. | Antin <b>yabli</b> nad.  | ‘I went <b>nevertheless</b> .’   |
| 3. | <b>Yabli</b> an chunma, <b>yabli</b> an yakir pes, tulemal an kwen ibzhachulmal. | ‘ <b>Whether</b> I talked (or) <b>whether</b> I remained silent, <b>still</b> nobody believed me.’ |

**Yabli** ‘nevertheless’ is used following **tenal** ‘but’ when the event is not expected to occur because of the adverse circumstances.

**Example** Ti winai, **tenal yabli** an nad. ‘It was raining **but nevertheless**, I went.’

#### 13.4.5.7 *Explanation introducer immidin*

**Immidin** ‘now/now then’ is used to introduce an explanation.

**Example** **Immidin** pedin wis antin ne juli. ‘**Now (to explain)** you know I am not going.’

#### 13.4.5.8 *Reason-result construction with ulgin*

One event may take place **because of** another. The reason for action adverb **ulgin** may be used in a clause of reason, or to initiate a sentence which is the result of a previous sentence.

The reason clause is marked by using the nominalizer suffix **-d/-t** with the verb, followed by the word **ulgin**. This clause may occur in either the adverbial or postpredicate position.

**Examples**

1. Jaime pe chogzhad **ulgin** nad. 'Jim left/went **because of** what you said.'  
 2. Jaime nad, pe chogzhad **ulgin**. 'Jim left/went **because of** what you said.'

Sometimes the reason is given in one sentence and is followed by a sentence which gives the resultant action. This second sentence is introduced by either **a ulgin** 'because of that' or **te ulgin** 'because of that very thing'.

**Examples**

- 1a. Antin ye. 'I am sick.'  
 b. **A ulgin** an arpachuli.<sup>74</sup> '**Because of that**, I did not work.'  
 2a. Pe chogzha. 'You told (it).'  
 b. **Te ulgin** an nejudi. '**Because of that very thing**, I am not going to go.'

*1) Extended use of ulgin*

**Ulgin** 'because of' is also used to express the fault of someone or conversely, in a good sense, 'by virtue of (someone)'.

**Examples**

1. Motordin pe **ulgin** iskus. '**(It was)** your **fault** that the outboard motor broke.'  
 2. An pe **ulgin** abonoles. 'I was rescued **by/because of** you.'

*2) Other similar constructions*

There are two other words which contrast with **ulgin** in some constructions: **anal** 'in the place of' and **nuggin** 'by/in the authority of/name of'. The three are contrasted in the following sentences.

**Examples**

1. An poni nikad **ulgin** purkwene.<sup>75</sup> 'I am going to die **because of** the disease I have.'  
 2. Pedro an **anal** neg kweburga immal paknao. 'Peter will go **in my place** to buy things for the town.'  
 3. Antin sagla **nuggin** immal imako. 'I will do it **by the authority of** the chief.'

**13.4.5.9 Cause-effect construction ulal**

One event may be caused by another. This differs from reason in that the reason may have prompted or influenced the course of action, but it did not actually cause it or bring it about. Cause is marked by **ulal** 'the cause of'. It almost always occurs together with the appropriate demonstrative **a** or **te**. The cause sentence occurs first. The next sentence is introduced by **a ulal** 'that is why/the cause of' or **te ulal** 'that is exactly why/the cause of'.

**Examples**

- 1a. Telefono iskus. 'The telephone is out of order.'  
 b. **A ulal** keg an pebak chunma. '**That is why** I can't talk with you.'  
 2a. Pedin wis chapidin akangin aglas. 'You know (that) the tree fell on the axe.'  
 b. **Te ulal** pe anka akan pid pakenab. '**That's exactly why** you have to buy me another one.'

**13.4.5.10 Logical outcome**

An event may be anticipated and a certain cause of action embarked on accordingly. In expressing this idea, the anticipated situation is given in one sentence. The subsequent action embarked on is introduced by **al** 'this leads/led to'.

**Examples**

1. Pedro pe yartakojob. 'Peter says he is going to deceive/cheat you.'  
 2. **Al** an iktual pega chogdani. '**This led** me **to** come and tell you beforehand.'

<sup>74</sup> **arpas** 'worked' + **chuli** 'not' = **arpachuli** 'did not work'.

<sup>75</sup> For verb ending in **-kwe**, see Appendix H.

### 13.5 Vocabulary

1. turwa	‘trash/garbage/rubbish’
2. mi	‘to throw out/away, to pour/run out’
3. tolgan	‘inhabitants’
4. tummagan	‘leaders/chiefs’
5. tadgan	‘elders/forefathers’
6. mугan	‘respected older women’
7. pabgan	‘parents’
8. nangan	‘parents’
9. nuskan	‘children’
10. purwigan	‘children/little ones’
11. wagwagan	‘grandchildren/descendants’
12. pato	‘already’
13. kilu	‘uncle’
14. turwi(e)	‘to sweep’
15. orma	‘to have a (town) meeting’
16. mami	plural of positional verb <b>mai</b> ‘to be/lie’
17. nani	plural of positional verb <b>nai</b> ‘to be/hang’
18. pukwa	plural of positional verb <b>chii</b> ‘to sit’ and <b>kwichii</b> ‘to be/stand’
19. sate	‘none/nothing’
20. yannu	‘peccary ( <i>puerco monte</i> )’
21. ya	‘hole’
22. acha	‘honey’
23. ima(ke)	‘to do/shoot’
24. chegar	‘matches’
25. ku	‘to be/happen’

## 14 SOCIAL INTERACTION

### 14.1 Dialogue

The early conversation of a casual social call often revolves around what the respective host and guest have done during the day.

- |               |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|
| 1. Visitor:   | ¿Pia pe ti?                                  | ‘Where did you go?’  |
| 2. Villager:  | Antin, an <sup>76</sup> chapurbal ti, ubbak. | ‘I went to the jungle with my brother-in-law.’                       |
| 3. Visitor:   | ¿Ibi chedi?                                  | ‘What did you do?’   |
| 4. Villager:  | An ila chwadi, matabake an chwas.            | ‘I got chonta palm, four of them.’                                   |
| 5. Visitor:   | Teobi. ¿Ibiga?                               | ‘Is that so? What are they for?’                                     |
| 6. Villager:  | Neg chobgal, ubgad.                          | ‘For building a house, my brother-in-law’s.’                         |
| 7. Visitor:   | Aaaa. ¿Pe immal takcha?                      | ‘Oh! Did you see anything (wildlife)?’                               |
| 8. Villager:  | Chuli. Pinche chigli takcha, kwagwen.        | ‘No, only one turkey.’   |
| 9. Visitor:   | ¿Makcha?                                     | ‘Did you kill (it)?’   |
| 10. Villager: | Makchado. Tegin tapa igalbal maibali.        | ‘(Yes), I killed it. Then we saw a bushmaster (snake) on the trail.’ |
| 11. Visitor:  | ¿Chunna?                                     | ‘Really!’  |
| 12. Villager: | Eye. Tenal an ub tar mecha, esgin.           | ‘Yes. But my brother-in-law killed it with a machete.’               |
| 13. Visitor:  | ¡Ai-yai-yai!                                 | ‘Yikes!’   |
| 14. Villager: | Teob ankin gus.                              | ‘That’s what happened to me!’  |
| 15. Visitor:  | Ajáj.  | ‘A-hah!’   |

### 14.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–4)

Visiting is the heart of social interaction. Concentrate on sounding natural by drilling and redrilling conversational patterns such as those found in Dialogue 14.1. Note the difference between a formal, laryngealized, nothing-much-happened, disclaiming response (see 16.4.3) intonation and a relaxed, more intimate, and common intonation.

#### Exercise 1. Tracking

Track the teacher as he says Dialogue 14.1. Be sure to keep within two or three syllables behind him at all times. Repeat this exercise several times, concentrating on the common intonation pattern.

#### Exercise 2. Dramatizing the dialogue

Dramatize Dialogue 14.1 with the student playing the role. The teacher is to check for:

1. correct common intonation patterns,
2. correct pronunciation, and
3. correct gestures.

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<sup>76</sup> A common feature of Kuna is the repetition of the subject. This is similar to the English construction, “**As for me**, I went to the jungle.”

**Exercise 3. Problem sounds drill**

Drill the problem sounds, sentences and gestures encountered in Exercise 2 above.

**Exercise 4. Laryngealization drill**

Repeat Exercises 1 and 2 above using a laryngealized intonation and pronunciation such as described in the disclaimer intonation discussion (see 6.2.2).

**14.3 Culture**

Often during the course of a conversation your host's wife will bring a drink of **madun** 'chicha'. **Madun** is a very tasty drink made from boiled, ripe plantains and sugar cane juice. It is often flavored with chocolate. You should take the bowl offered to you. Sometimes you will go visiting just after you have eaten a meal. It is polite to decline the drink, or drink only part of it as you explain to your hostess that you are very sorry, but you have just eaten.

As you drink the **madun**, your hostess, or the lady who brought you the drink, will stand on the sidelines. It is customary to drink the full bowl down without a pause. When you finish, hold the bowl away from you slightly. This gesture will indicate to the hostess that you are done and that she may take your cup. It would be impolite for her to leave you holding an empty cup/bowl. The lady will take it back to the kitchen, wash it, and serve the next person.

As you give the bowl back it is appropriate to signal your appreciation with **nuedi** 'thank you/good' or even a simple **ajáj** '(acknowledgement)'. If the woman fails to notice that you are holding out the bowl to be taken, you may say **murruk** 'bowl' to draw her attention to it.

Correct etiquette dictates that the male visitors be served first, starting with the most important man present. If there is no clear difference in social status, older men are served first in order of decreasing age. If status or age differences are unclear, you may start at one end of the room and go around offering the various people in attendance a drink. The host is served after the men visitors have been served. Boys are served next, then the women, and finally the girls.

When guests are served a meal, they are allowed to eat alone. The hostess hovers in the sidelines to be available to cater to any needs which may arise. The host does not eat with the guests. Conversation during meals is minimal.

**14.4 Grammar****14.4.1 Inceptive aspect -al(i) (Ex. 5–6)**

The inceptive aspect **-al(i)** is suffixed to verbs to refer to the beginning/starting of an action. It parallels the English construction "began to ..."

**Examples**

- |                |                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Mimmi poal. | 'The baby <b>began</b> to cry.' |
| 2. Ti wial.    | 'It <b>began</b> to rain.'      |

**Exercise 5. Inceptive aspect -al(i) frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Example**     Teacher: Mimmi poal.  
                   Student: Mimmi poal.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Mimmi poal.        | 'The baby began to cry.'                          |
| 2. Ti wial.           | 'It began to rain.'                               |
| 3. Ome pato mas tual. | 'The woman has already started to cook the food.' |
| 4. Ti noal.           | 'The river is starting to rise.'                  |

5. Machergan pato neg emial. 'The men have already begun to clean the town.'

### Exercise 6. Inceptive aspect **-al** stimulus response drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student replies using the **-al** form of the verb in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Ome ampayo mas tu?

Student: Chuli. Ome pato mas tual.

**Frame** Chuli. \_\_\_\_ pato \_\_\_\_-al.

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. ¿Ome ampayo mas tu?     | 'Is the woman not cooking the food yet?'        |
| 2. ¿Ti ampayo no?          | 'Is the river not rising yet?'                  |
| 3. ¿Tad ampayo neg chob?   | 'Is the elder not building (his) house yet?'    |
| 4. ¿Mu ampayo upchan mag?  | 'Is the grandmother not dyeing the cotton yet?' |
| 5. ¿Machi ampayo igal emi? | 'Is the boy not clearing the trail yet?'        |

### 14.4.2 Preparatory aspect **-chogall-zhogall-jogal** (Ex. 7–8)

If the action is about to begin rather than actually starting, the suffix **-chog/-zhog/-jog** is inserted before **-al(i)**. The preparatory aspect parallels the English construction "about to ...", "ready to ..." etc.

#### Examples

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Antin pato nejogal.   | 'I'm already <b>about to</b> go.'               |
| 2. Tad karpa chobzhogal. | 'Grandfather is <b>about to</b> make a basket.' |
| 3. Ome mol chikchogal.   | 'The woman is <b>about to</b> cut cloth.'       |

### Exercise 7. Preparatory aspect frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Example** Teacher: Antin pato nejogal.

Student: Antin pato nejogal.

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Antin pato nejogal.      | 'I'm already about to leave.'                                    |
| 2. Ina dule iko yojogal.    | 'The doctor is about to give the injection (put in the needle).' |
| 3. Machi pato ua kunchogal. | 'The boy is about to eat the fish.'                              |
| 4. Ome mol makchogal.       | 'The woman is about to sew the blouse.'                          |
| 5. Antin pato ob tighogal.  | 'I'm already about to plant corn.'                               |

### Exercise 8. Preparatory aspect substitution frame drill

The teacher says the frame and selects a verb from the list below and says it. The student substitutes the **-chogal/-zhogal/-jogal** form of the verb in the frame and says it.

**Example** Teacher: Ome mol pakchogal.

Teacher: chik

Student: Ome mol chikchogal.

**Frame** Ome mol \_\_\_\_-chogal. 'The woman is about to \_\_\_\_ the blouse.'

- |          |                       |
|----------|-----------------------|
| 1. pak   | 'buy'                 |
| 2. nerma | 'write/draw a design' |
| 3. chik  | 'cut'                 |
| 4. mak   | 'sew'                 |
| 5. yo    | 'put on'              |
| 6. echu  | 'take off'            |
| 7. enuk  | 'wash'                |
| 8. owei  | 'hang out'            |

9. ami 'look for/get out'  
10. chabo 'put away'

#### 14.4.3 Habitual aspect condition (Ex. 9–10)

Some events happen habitually (“all the time”), but only under certain conditions, for example, “When it rains, the roof always leaks.” That is to say, the roof does not always leak, but every time, or whenever it rains, the roof leaks. To form this construction, Kunas add the suffix **-alil**<sup>77</sup> to the conditional verb. In the case of this habitual aspect condition, the main Event A (the roof leaks) habitually happens whenever Event B (rain) occurs.

##### Example

Ai yegualil, an ina che. 'Whenever (my) friend is sick, I administer medicine.'

##### Exercise 9. Habitual aspect condition frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ai yegualil, an ina che.

Student: Ai yegualil, an ina che.

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ai yegualil, an ina che.         | 'Whenever (my) friend gets sick, I administer medicine.' |
| 2. Ti wialil, an wartiku.           | 'When it rains, I get wet.'                              |
| 3. Neg kwebur emialil, pel arpa.    | 'Whenever the town is cleaned, everyone works.'          |
| 4. An abarmakalil, pirkin anwimake. | 'When I run, I perspire a lot.'                          |
| 5. Ome ua tualil an ua kun.         | 'When the woman cooks fish, I eat it.'                   |

##### Exercise 10. Habitual aspect condition drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student changes it into an **-alil** (customary condition) form and adds the independent sentence **an ina che** 'I do medicine'.

**Example** Teacher: Ai yegus.

Student: Ai yegualil, an ina che.

**Frame** \_\_\_\_-alil an ina che.

- |                     |                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Ai yegus.        | '(A) friend is sick.'               |
| 2. Nuskan aglas.    | 'Children tripped (and fell).'      |
| 3. Pe kummas.       | 'You were burnt.'                   |
| 4. Nuskan chikleja. | 'The children were cut.'            |
| 5. Machi ugene.     | 'The boy is going to have a fever.' |

#### 14.4.4 Response to the habitual aspect condition (Ex. 11)

In the most common use of the habitual aspect condition, the actor in the independent clause habitually responds to the situation presented by the condition. This parallels the English construction, “Whenever ..., I (always)....”

Some other responses to the habitual aspect condition occur with irregularity (“seldom/usually”) and some responses occur with regularity (“every time/every other time”).

##### 14.4.4.1 Irregular response to habitual aspect condition

When the response to the habitual aspect condition is irregular, an appropriate adverb is used to modify the verb in the independent sentence. Appropriate adverbs include: **tigujal** 'usually', **impagin** 'often' and **impakwa** 'seldom/rarely'.

<sup>77</sup> **-alil** is made up of the inceptive aspect **-ali** plus the prior conditional suffix **-I** (see 12.4.1.b).

**Examples**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. An ai yegualil, an <b>tigujal</b> ina che. | ‘When my friend gets sick, I <b>usually</b> administer medicine.’      |
| 2. An ai yegualil, an <b>impagin</b> ina che. | ‘When my friend gets sick, I <b>often</b> administer medicine.’        |
| 3. An ai yegualil, an <b>impakwa</b> ina che. | ‘When my friend gets sick, I <b>occasionally</b> administer medicine.’ |

**14.4.4.2 Regular response to habitual aspect condition (Ex. 11)**

When the response to the habitual aspect condition is regular, the nominalized form of the verb stem in the conditional clause is followed by the appropriate adverbs. The shape of the adverb (with the exception of “every time”) varies according to the appropriate number stem used. For example, **ilbal** ‘every time’, **il-ilbogin** ‘every second (other) time’, and **il-ilpagin** ‘every third time’.

**Examples**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. An ai yegued <b>ilbal</b> , an ina che.          | ‘ <b>Every time</b> my friend gets sick, I administer medicine.’                       |
| 2. An machi uged <b>il-ilbogin</b> , nono pirpirma. | ‘ <b>Every other time</b> my son has a fever, he gets dizzy (lit.: his head wanders).’ |

**Exercise 11. Habitual aspect condition drill**

The teacher selects a sentence below and says it. The student substitutes the sentence in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: Macheder mas emis.

Student: Macheder mas emijad ilbal, adin ukul nika.

**Frame** \_\_\_\_-d ilbal, adin ukul nika. ‘Every time \_\_\_\_, he/she is hungry/thirsty.’

- |                       |                                      |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Macheder mas emis. | ‘The man cleared the plantains.’     |
| 2. Machi ua makti.    | ‘The boy speared fish.’              |
| 3. Pun mas tus.       | ‘The girl cooked food.’              |
| 4. Ome neg turwis.    | ‘The woman swept the house.’         |
| 5. Tad neg chobzha.   | ‘The elder built/worked on a house.’ |

**14.4.5 Conditional with -le (Ex. 12)**

A conditional sentence parallels the English construction “If..., then...”. It is constructed by adding the suffix **-le** to the long form of the verb stem or to the suffixed verb in the conditional clause. This construction is used when the speaker is uncertain whether or not a condition will be fulfilled.

**Examples**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. An mol pake <b>le</b> , an pega uko.                                      | ‘ <b>If</b> I buy cloth, I’ll give (it) to you.’                      |
| 2. Anmal yannu makmal <b>ale</b> , anmal wis chan pega ukmogo. <sup>78</sup> | ‘ <b>If</b> we shoot a peccary, we will give you a little meat, too.’ |

**Exercise 12. Conditional -le frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Example** Teacher: An mol pakele, an mol kinnid pako.

Student: An mol pakele, an mol kinnid pako.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. An mol pakele, an mol kinnid pako. | ‘If I buy cloth, I’ll buy red (cloth).’       |
| 2. An ul ukele, an ul toto uko.       | ‘If I sell a canoe, I’ll sell the small one.’ |

<sup>78</sup> The indirect object **pega** occurs after the direct object **chan** in this example, in order to focus more attention on the one receiving the meat than on the meat itself.



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3. An mas tuele, an aros tuo.          | ‘If I cook (food), I’ll cook rice.’          |
| 4. An mas kunnele, an arri chan kunno. | ‘If I eat (food), I’ll eat iguana meat.’     |
| 5. Pe chapurbal neele, an bebak nao.   | ‘If you go to the jungle, I’ll go with you.’ |

#### 14.4.6 Purpose suffix *-gal/-kal* (Ex. 13–15)

The purposive suffix *-gal/-kal* is added to the verb stem of a purpose clause in order to express the purpose for the action of the independent sentence. It may also be added to certain verbs to form a noun which serves as the tool with which to perform the action of the verb.

There are three types of purpose clauses; a straightforward explanation of the purpose of the action in the main clause, a reference to the event that it is hoped will be precipitated by the action in the main clause, and a reference to the event which it is hoped will be prevented by the action in the main clause.

##### 14.4.6.1 Purpose clause - explanation of action

One type of purpose clause is formed by adding the purposive suffix *-gal/-kal* to the verb (stem) of the (purpose) clause. This type of purpose construction is used to give a straightforward explanation of the purpose or desired goal of the action in the independent sentence. It parallels the English construction, “He went shopping to buy shoes.” In this construction, the focus is on the independent sentence. The speaker wishes to express one main idea, but adds the purpose construction to give additional background information. Hence, the purpose clause does not advance the listener to the next step in the story/explanation/argument, but rather gives the motive for the main action.

Although a purpose clause may occur in the adverbial position in a sentence, it usually occurs at the end of a sentence in the postpredicate position (see 17.4.1).

##### Examples

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Machimal ya akinai, ti ariogal.     | ‘The boys are digging a ditch (hole), to let the water flow (out).’ |
| 2a. Nandin mol makcha, manigin ukegal. | ‘Mother sewed a blouse to sell for money.’                          |
| b. Nandin manigin ukegal mol makcha.   | ‘Mother sewed the blouse to sell it for money.’                     |

When the subject and/or object of the purpose clause is the same as that of the independent sentence, it is not repeated in the purpose clause.

##### Example

An mol pakcha, nanga ukegal. ‘I bought cloth (for me) to give (it) to Mother.’

However, if the subject of the main clause becomes the indirect object of the purpose clause, it must be repeated with the suffix *-ga/-ka*.

##### Example

An ina pakcha, nan **anka** madu chobgal. ‘I bought yeast, for Mother to make bread **for me**.’

##### 14.4.6.2 Purpose clause - event precipitated by action of independent sentence

Another type of purpose clause expresses the event which, it is hoped, will be precipitated by the action in the independent sentence. This clause begins with **meke** ‘in order that’ and the purposive suffix *-gal/-kal* is added to the verb.

The purpose clause marked by **meke** ‘in order to’ focusses more attention on the purpose than on the main action. It expresses the desired outcome or result (as yet unfulfilled) of the main action. It is part of the mainline information and advances the story/explanation/argument another step in the logical progression.

The **meke** form of a purpose clause almost always occurs in the postpredicate position. Even though the subject may be the same in both clauses, it must be stated in both clauses.

**Examples**

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | Antin pe pabga mani palmine, <b>meke</b> adin Panamaje taggal.  | ‘I am going to send money to your father, <b>in order that</b> he will come to Panama.’ |
| 2. | Antin immis mani amine, <b>meke</b> an pan nabir immal pakegal. | ‘I am going to get money today, <b>so that</b> I can buy (some) things tomorrow.’       |

In order to understand the change of focus given by the use of the word **meke**, contrast Example 1 above with the following sentence, in which the purpose of sending money is explained, rather than focussing on the goal of having your father come to Panama.

**Example**

Antin pe pabga mani palmine, adin Panamaje taggal.	‘I am going to send money to your father, <b>to/for him</b> to come to Panama.’
--	---

**14.4.6.3 Purpose clause - event prevented by independent sentence action**

This third type of purpose clause expresses the event which, it is hoped, will be averted/prevented by the action in the independent sentence. This clause begins with the adverb **melle** ‘don’t’ and the purposive suffix **-gal/-kal** is added to the verb. This parallels the English construction “in order not to....”

**Example**

Pe anka chogo, <b>melle</b> an ige gal.	‘You tell me, <b>in order that</b> I will <b>not</b> forget.’
---	---

**Exercise 13. Purposive suffix -gal/-kal frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Sagla mani ukcha, ob pakegal.  
Student: Sagla mani ukcha, ob pakegal.

- |    |                                |   |
|----|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Sagla mani ukcha, ob pakegal.  | ‘The chief gave (me) money in order to buy corn.’                         |
| 2. | An ne, immal pakegal.          | ‘I am going, in order to buy something.’                                  |
| 3. | Machimal ya kinai, ti ariogal. | ‘The boys are digging a ditch, in order for the water to flow (away).’    |
| 4. | An akan amine, tad ul chobgal. | ‘I am going to look for an axe in order for grandfather to make a canoe.’ |
| 5. | An kal palmis, nudagal.        | ‘I sent the radio, in order to repair it.’                                |

**Exercise 14. Purposive suffix -gal/-kal drill**

The teacher reads the pair of sentences. The student makes the second sentence into a purpose clause by using **-gal/-kal**.

**Example** Teacher: Machi kinki pakcha.  
Teacher: Machi immal amine  
Student: Machi kinki pakcha, immal aminegal.

- |     |                       |  |
|-----|-----------------------|--|
| 1a. | Machi kinki pakcha.   | ‘The young man bought a gun.’              |
| b.  | Machi immal amine.    | ‘The young man is going to go hunting.’    |
| 2a. | Ome mol makcha.       | ‘The woman sewed a blouse.’                |
| b.  | Ome mol ukne.         | ‘The woman is going to sell the blouse.’   |
| 3a. | Tad koe mecha.        | ‘The elder killed a deer.’                 |
| b.  | Tad koe kunne.        | ‘The elder is going to eat the deer.’      |
| 4a. | Tule tagar chwas.     | ‘The people gathered thatch.’              |
| b.  | Tule neg makne.       | ‘The people are going to thatch a house.’  |
| 5a. | Machi nagwal chikcha. | ‘The young man cut rushes.’                |
| b.  | Machi karpa chomne.   | ‘The young man is going to make a basket.’ |

**Exercise 15.** Purposive suffix **-gal/-kal** with **meke** or **melle**

The teacher says the sentence and then says either **meke** or **melle**. The student uses the frame to make a sentence incorporating the sentence said by the teacher as a purpose clause.

**Example** Teacher: An ne.  
Teacher: melle  
Student: Pe anka chogo, melle an negal.

**Frame** Pe anka chogo: **meke/melle** \_\_\_\_-gal. ‘Please tell me so that I will/won’t \_\_\_\_.’

- |                         |                                       |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. An ne.               | ‘I am going.’                         |
| 2. Machi e urpa pentas. | ‘The boy helped his younger brother.’ |
| 3. An pega mol ukcha.   | ‘I sold the blouse for you.’          |
| 4. An mas kunne.        | ‘I am going to eat.’                  |
| 5. An machi odurtas.    | ‘I punished the boy.’                 |

**14.4.6.4 Noun of purpose (implement)**

An implement or tool used in performing a certain task or action may be referred to by adding the suffix **-gal/-kal** to the verb stem that describes the action itself.

**Examples**

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1a. turwi   | ‘to sweep’  |
| b. turwigal | ‘broom’   |
| 2a. igmu    | ‘to burrow’   |
| b. igmugal  | ‘(type of) hoe (for burrowing in the earth) (Spanish: <i>coa</i> )’ |

This device for naming implements cannot be used for all implements. Some forms are unacceptable, and some are never used. It is very useful, however, in describing a tool foreign to the culture.

**14.4.7 Accompaniment suffix -bak/-pak (Ex. 16–19)**

In English, the preposition “with” is used to refer to accompaniment. For example, “I ate fish **with** (accompanied by) my wife.” or “I ate fish **with** (accompanied by) rice.” In Kuna, the concept of accompaniment is rendered by the suffix **-bak/-pak** attached to the noun. The **-bak/-pak** form of a word occurs in the same place in a sentence as an adverb.

**Examples**

- |                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. An aro <b>zbak</b> ua kucha. | ‘I ate fish <b>with</b> rice.’    |
| 2. An ome <b>zbak</b> ua kucha. | ‘I ate fish <b>with</b> my wife.’ |

If an adverb also occurs, one could say: subject + adverb + accompaniment + object + verb.

**Example**

An kueye-kueye aro**zbak** ua kucha. ‘I quickly ate the fish **with** (my) rice.’

However, because of information overload (see Section 17), the preferred construction is: subject + adverb + object + verb + accompaniment.

**Example**

An kueye-kueye ua kucha, aro**zbak**. ‘I quickly ate the fish **with** my rice.’

**-bak/-pak** may also be used to associate the subject or object of the sentence with another person.

**Examples**

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. An saglab <b>ak</b> ai nued.     | ‘I am a good friend <b>of the chief</b> .’ |
| 2. Pablo saglab <b>ak</b> aichulid. | ‘Paul is an enemy <b>of the chief</b> .’   |
| 3. Pedro saglab <b>ak</b> istargad. | ‘Peter is opposed <b>to the chief</b> .’   |

However, note the following exception in an equative sentence.

4. Juan saglabakad. 'John is an ally/companion **of the chief.**'

Kinship terms are not stated this way, but rather with possessive phrases (see 13.4.2).

### Examples

1. Pablo Juan urpa. 'Paul is John's younger brother.'  
 2. Pablo Juan e<sup>79</sup> urpa. 'Paul is younger brother to John.'

In a transitive sentence, the accompaniment element is potentially ambiguous, i.e., it might not be clear whether the additional person is accompanying the subject or the object. Thus, in a sentence such as **Juan Pedrobak machi sakis**. 'John with Peter boy hit.' one might wonder whether John and Peter hit the boy, or John hit the boy and Peter. The ambiguity is normally avoided by a pause after the subject (indicated by a comma) or by adding the topic marker **-din/-tin** after the subject.

### Examples

1. Juan, Pedrobak machi sakis. 'John hit the boy and Peter.'  
 2. Juan Pedrobak, machi sakis. 'John and Peter hit the boy.'  
 3. Juandin Pedrobak machi sakis. 'As for John, (he) hit the boy and Peter.'  
 4. Juan Pedrobakdin machi sakis. 'As for John and Peter, (they) hit the boy.'

### Exercise 16. Accompaniment frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Machi pabbak immal aminai.  
 Student: Machi pabbak immal aminai.

1. Machi pabbak immal aminai. 'The boy is hunting (something) with (his) father.'  
 2. Pun nanbak ti chune. 'The girl is going to fetch water with (her) mother.'  
 3. Tad machibak ul chomne. 'The elder is going to make a canoe with the boy.'  
 4. An arosbak ua kucha. 'I ate fish with rice.'  
 5. Sagla Pedrobak machi palmis. 'The chief sent the boy with Peter.'

### Exercise 17. Accompaniment substitution drill

The teacher says the frame and then selects a word from the list below and says it. The student substitutes the word in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: An pabbak ne.  
 Teacher: machi  
 Student: An machibak ne.

- Frame** An \_\_\_\_-bak ne. 'I am going to go with \_\_\_\_.'  
 1. pab 'father'  
 2. nan 'mother'  
 3. machi 'boy'  
 4. ub 'brother-in-law'  
 5. Pedro 'Peter'

### Exercise 18. Accompaniment substitution drill

The teacher says the frame and selects a word from the list below and says it. The student repeats the frame, substituting the word selected into the frame.

---

<sup>79</sup> e is the third person possessive pronoun (see 13.4.2.1).

**Example** Teacher: An uabak aros kucha.  
 Teacher: aswe  
 Student: An aswebak aros kucha.

**Frame** An \_\_\_\_-bak aros kucha. 'I ate rice with \_\_\_\_.'

1. ua 'fish'
2. chan 'meat'
3. pirijol 'beans'
4. aswe 'avocado'
5. nuzha 'egg'

### Exercise 19. -bak/-pak versus -gin/-kin

The student says the sentence filling in **-bak/-pak** or **-gin/-kin** according to the sense of the sentence.

**Example** Sentence: An aros \_\_\_\_ chan kucha.  
 Student: An arosbak chan kucha.

1. An aros \_\_\_\_ chan kucha. 'I ate meat with rice.'
2. An es toto \_\_\_\_ chan chikcha. 'I cut the meat with a knife.'
3. An pab \_\_\_\_ yannu makne. 'I am going to hunt peccary with father.'
4. An akan \_\_\_\_ chowal marrine. 'I am going to split firewood with an axe.'
5. An kwallu \_\_\_\_ ua tipene. 'I am going to fry fish with oil.'
6. An machi \_\_\_\_ ua kucha. 'I ate fish with the boy.'

#### 14.4.8 Instrument and means (Ex. 20–24)

The description of an action may be modified by referring to the implement or instrument used to perform the action, for example, “with a hammer” or “with a machete.” An action also may be described in terms of the means used to perform it, such as “by sea” or “by air.” The implement/instrument and the means use different suffixes; the specific suffix **-gin/-kin** and the general suffix **-bal/-pal**, respectively. These are additional uses of the specific and general locative suffixes **-gin/-kin** and **-bal/-pal** of Section 8.4.1.

##### 14.4.8.1 Instrument suffix -gin/-kin

An object such as an implement or tool is often used to carry out an action. This tool is called the instrument. In English, the instrument occurs with the preposition “with”, the same preposition as used to indicate accompaniment (see 14.4.7). For example, “I ate rice **with** (by means of) a fork.” and “I ate rice **with** (accompanied by) my wife.” In Kuna, however, the instrument is marked by the suffix **-gin/-kin** added to the noun, or to the last member of the instrumental noun phrase (see 9.4.1.2). The instrument is placed in the adverbial position or just after it.

##### Examples

1. Machi eswal**gin** nakpe mecha. 'The boy killed the snake **with a spear**.'
2. Machi es tummad**gin** nakpe mecha. 'The boy killed the snake **with a big machete**.'
3. Machi kueye-kueye eswal**gin** nakpe mecha. 'The boy quickly killed the snake **with a spear**.'

In some cases, the use of the instrument suffix **-gin/-kin** parallels more closely the English construction “by \_\_\_\_” or “for \_\_\_\_.” Vehicles of transportation and the medium of exchange/purchase are generally considered as instruments.

##### Examples

1. Machi **ulgin** ne. 'The boy is going **by** (in a) car.'
2. Juan kukualed**gin** noni. 'John arrived **by** (in the) plane.'
3. An manig**in** es pakcha. 'I bought the machete **with** (for) money.'

**Exercise 20.** Instrument frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An esgin mas chikcha.

Student: An esgin mas chikcha.

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. An esgin mas chikcha.       | 'I cut the plantains with a machete.'      |
| 2. An akangin chowal chikcha.  | 'I cut the log with an axe.'               |
| 3. An eswalgin ua makcha.      | 'I speared the fish with a fishing spear.' |
| 4. An ikogin iko unnus.        | 'I pulled out the thorn with a needle.'    |
| 5. Machi kuchargin aros kucha. | 'The boy ate the rice with a spoon.'       |

**Exercise 21.** Instrument substitution drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it adding the instrument in each case.

**Example** Teacher: An mas chikcha.

Student: An esgin mas chikcha.

- |                          |                                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Instrument: <b>es</b>    | 'machete'                             |
| 1a. An mas chikcha.      | 'I cut plantains.'                    |
| b. An neg emine.         | 'I am going to clean the town.'       |
| c. An tagar chwas.       | 'I gathered thatch.'                  |
| Instrument: <b>kinki</b> | 'gun'                                 |
| 2a. An koe mecha.        | 'I killed a deer.'                    |
| b. An ua makcha.         | 'I speared a fish.'                   |
| c. Machi yannu makne.    | 'The boy is going to kill a peccary.' |

**Exercise 22.** Instrument substitution drill

The teacher says the frame and selects an instrument from the list below. The student repeats the sentence substituting the selected instrument in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: Machi eswalgin ua makcha.

Teacher: es

Student: Machi esgin ua makcha.

**Frame** Machi \_\_\_\_-gin ua makcha. 'The boy speared a fish with a \_\_\_\_.'

- |            |                                 |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. es      | 'machete'                       |
| 2. chowal  | 'pole/stick of wood'            |
| 3. aktigal | 'pole for poling a canoe'       |
| 4. kinki   | 'gun'                           |
| 5. eswal   | 'spear'                         |
| 6. cherwal | 'pole (used for house rafters)' |

**14.4.8.2 Means suffix -bal/-pal**

The description of an action may be modified by referring to the method used to perform the action. In this case, the method refers to one means of doing an action as opposed to any other means. For example, a person may arrive "by plane" as opposed to "by car" or "by ship". The means usually parallels the English construction "by (means of) \_\_\_\_" and is formed by adding **-bal/-pal**<sup>80</sup> to the instrument noun.

<sup>80</sup> An exception for using **-bal/-pal** for means is the word **nagap** 'by/on foot'.

**Examples**

- |                                |                                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Pedro igal <b>bal</b> noni. | ‘Peter arrived <b>by</b> trail.’ |
| 2. María t <b>ibal</b> nad.    | ‘Mary went <b>by</b> river.’     |

**14.4.8.3 Use of -gin/-kin versus -bal/-pal**

The use of the instrument versus the means suffix indicates whether the speaker is focussing on the specific instrument which is doing the action, for example, an airplane, or whether he is focussing on one means of accomplishing an action instead of another.

**Examples**

- |                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1a. kukualed <b>gin</b> | ‘in a plane’      |
| b. kukualed <b>bal</b>  | ‘by air/by plane’ |
| 2a. choul <b>gin</b>    | ‘in a ship’       |
| b. choul <b>bal</b>     | ‘by ship’         |

Things sent with people use the means suffix **-bal/-pal**.

**Examples**

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mani Pedro <b>bal</b> noni.        | ‘The money arrived <b>with</b> Peter.’           |
| 2. An pe <b>bal</b> immalmal palmine. | ‘I am going to send the things <b>with</b> you.’ |

**Exercise 23. -bal/-pal versus -gin/-kin selection drill**

The student reads the sentence supplying the missing suffix **-bal/-pal** or **-gin/-kin**.

**Example** Student: Pedro igal**bal** noni.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Pedro igal____ noni.              | ‘Peter arrived by trail.’                   |
| 2. Mani an____ noni.                 | ‘The money arrived with me.’                |
| 3. Sagla choul____ karta palmis.     | ‘The chief sent the letter by boat.’        |
| 4. Tad termal____ nad.               | ‘The elder went by sea.’                    |
| 5. Chulub ul____ noni.               | ‘The police arrived by canoe.’              |
| 6. Antin nag____ ne.                 | ‘I am going by foot.’                       |
| 7. An korreo____ peje karta palmine. | ‘I am going to send you a letter by mail.’  |
| 8. An Luis____ immalmal palmine.     | ‘I am going to send the things with Louis.’ |
| 9. Saglagan igal____ nanmal.         | ‘The chiefs went by trail.’                 |
| 10. Tad kukualed____ nad.            | ‘The elder left by plane.’                  |

**14.4.8.4 Other uses of -bal/-pal and -gin/-kin**

The specific and general instrument suffixes may be used to indicate “source of” with nominalized adverbs. They are also used in discussing an object of conversation and the object of faith and trust.

*1) Source*

The source from which something is obtained is also marked by **-gin/-kin** and **-bal/-pal**, depending on whether it is specific or general, respectively. This parallels the English construction “(to get) from....”

**Examples**

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. An pab <b>gin</b> mani amis.   | ‘I got the money <b>from</b> father.’    |
| 2. An chapur <b>bal</b> tub amis. | ‘I got the vine <b>from</b> the jungle.’ |

*2) Nominalized adverbs with instrument and means suffixes*

In general, both in Kuna and English an adverb modifies an action. For example, “The boy pulled the nail out **forcefully**.” In Kuna, however, adverbs may also be used as instrument or means. This construction is

formed by adding the nominalizing suffix **-d**<sup>81</sup> to the long form of the adverb and adding the instrument or means suffix.

An adverbial instrument is formed with the suffix **-gin/-kin**. This instrument is used to describe the manner in which an action is carried out in a particular situation. For example, a child may forcefully grab a toy from his brother. He could have taken the toy gently, but he did not, he did it **by force**.

A general adverbial instrument or means is formed by using the suffix **-bal/-pal** attached to the nominalized long form of the adverb. This instrument is used to describe the manner in which an action must be done because of the situation. For example, a nail may be so firmly fixed in a board that it is necessary to use force in order to remove it. The nail cannot be removed in any other way.

### Examples

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1a. Machi <b>kantik</b> immal imas.                                 | ‘The boy did something <b>forcefully</b> (destructively).’                   |
| b. Machi e urpagin kantikid <b>gin</b> eskoro amis.                 | ‘The boy grabbed the nail <b>by</b> force from his younger brother.’         |
| c. Machi kantikid <b>bal</b> alamanai eskoro unkegal. <sup>82</sup> | ‘The boy strived <b>with</b> (all his) might in order to pull out the nail.’ |
| 2a. Machi <b>pinna</b> immal imas.                                  | ‘The boy did it <b>gently/slowly</b> .’                                      |
| b. Machi e urpagin pinnagwad <b>gin</b> eskoro amis.                | ‘The boy took the nail <b>with</b> care from his little brother.’            |
| c. An pinnagwad <b>bal</b> Pablobak chunmas, melle ampak urwegal.   | ‘I talked soothingly with Paul, so that he wouldn’t be angry with me.’       |
| 3a. Pedro <b>otukal</b> immal imas.                                 | ‘Peter did it <b>secretly</b> .’   |
| b. Pedro otukaled <b>gin</b> immal imas.                            | ‘Peter did it <b>by</b> stealth.’  |
| c. Jaime otukaled <b>bal</b> immal aturchas.                        | ‘Jim stole it <b>with</b> the utmost secrecy.’                               |

### Exercise 24. Adverbs **-gin/-kin** and **-bal/-pal** drill

The student reads the sentence adding the necessary suffix (if any) in the indicated position.

**Example** Student: Nan kantik kolnai.

Student: Pab tadgin akan amis.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Nan kantik____ kolnai.                  | ‘Mother is calling loudly.’                                 |
| 2. Pab tad____ akan amis.                  | ‘Father got the axe from the elder.’                        |
| 3. Sagla pe____ chunmas.                   | ‘The chief talked about you.’                               |
| 4. An sagla____ ibzhe.                     | ‘I believe what the chief says.’                            |
| 5. Machi e urpa____ kantik____ eswal amis. | ‘The boy took the spear by force from his younger brother.’ |
| 6. Pedro otukal____ nad.                   | ‘Peter went secretly.’                                      |
| 7. Pedro chapur____ nagwal amis.           | ‘Peter got the reeds in the jungle.’                        |
| 8. Puna, e nan____ ibzhe.                  | ‘The girl trusts her mother.’                               |
| 9. Antin pinna____ nanga chogo.            | ‘I’ll tell mother gently.’                                  |
| 10. Wag otukal____ kallin aturchas.        | ‘The outsider stole the chicken with the utmost secrecy.’   |

### 3) Object of trust

In Kuna, there is a distinction made between trusting or believing a person and trusting or believing what a person says.

<sup>81</sup> See 18.4.1.

<sup>82</sup> See 14.4.6 for purpose clauses.



**Examples**

- |                                    |                                   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. An pe <b>gin</b> ibzhe.         | ‘I believe <b>in</b> you.’        |
| 2. An Pab Tummad <b>gin</b> ibzhe. | ‘I believe <b>in</b> God.’        |
| 3. An pe <b>bal</b> ibzhe.         | ‘I believe in what you say.’      |
| 4. An Pab Tummad <b>bal</b> ibzhe. | ‘I believe in what God has said.’ |

Although the term “to obey” sounds **almost** identical to “to believe what (you) say”, the construction is actually quite different.

**Examples**

- |                            |                                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. An pe palli ibzhe.      | ‘I <b>obey</b> you.’                 |
| 2. An pe <b>bal</b> ibzhe. | ‘I <b>believe in what you say</b> .’ |

**14.4.9 Speaking verbs (Ex. 25)**

There are four commonly used speaking verbs:

- |           |                |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1. chog   | ‘to say/tell’  |
| 2. chunma | ‘to talk’      |
| 3. ekis   | ‘to ask’       |
| 4. kol    | ‘to call (to)’ |

**14.4.9.1 Indirect object of speaking verbs**

The indirect object (the person addressed) of each of the speaking verbs listed above uses different suffixes so that the specific suffix used with each speaking verb must be memorized:

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. ____- <b>ga/-ka</b> chog       | ‘to say <b>to</b> (someone)’                |
| 2. ____- <b>bak/-pak</b> chunma   | ‘to talk <b>with</b> (someone)’             |
| 3. ____- <b>zhe/-che/-je</b> ekis | ‘to ask <b>of</b> (someone)’                |
| 4. ____- <b>zhe/-che/-je</b> kol  | ‘to call <b>to</b> (someone at a distance)’ |

**Examples**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1a. Sagla <b>anka</b> chogzha.              | ‘The chief told (said <b>to</b> ) me.’       |
| b. An pe <b>ga</b> chogo.                   | ‘I’ll tell (say <b>to</b> ) you.’            |
| 2a. An pab <b>bak</b> chunmas.              | ‘I talked <b>with</b> father.’               |
| b. Sagla <b>ambak</b> chunmane.             | ‘The chief is going to talk <b>with</b> me.’ |
| 3a. An tad <b>zhe</b> ekichis.              | ‘I asked the elder.’                         |
| b. Pedro sagla <b>je</b> ekisbi.            | ‘Peter wants to ask the chief.’              |
| 4a. Ome pun <b>zhe</b> kocha. <sup>83</sup> | ‘The woman called ( <b>to</b> ) the girl.’   |
| b. An pe <b>je</b> kolo.                    | ‘I’ll call ( <b>to</b> ) you.’               |

**Exercise 25. Speaking verb indirect object selection drill**

The teacher says the sentence and then selects another speaking verb and says it. The student repeats the sentence changing the verb and giving the correct form of the indirect object. This exercise should be repeated several times.

- Example**     Teacher: An machiga chogzha.  
                   Teacher: chunmas  
                   Student: An machibak chunmas.

---

<sup>83</sup> **kol** becomes **kocha** in the completed aspect.

**Speaking verbs**

- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1. chog   | ‘to say’  |
| 2. chunma | ‘to talk’ |
| 3. ekis   | ‘to ask’  |
| 4. kol    | ‘to call’ |

**Sentences**

- |                                    |                                      |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. An machiga chogzha.             | ‘I told the boy.’                    |
| 2. An peje kolo.                   | ‘I’ll call you.’                     |
| 3. Machi saglaje ekisne.           | ‘The boy is going to ask the chief.’ |
| 4. Ome punzhe kocha. <sup>84</sup> | ‘The woman called the girl.’         |
| 5. Nan ammbak chunmas.             | ‘Mother talked with auntie.’         |

**14.4.9.2 Subject matter of speaking verbs**

When the subject matter of a speaking verb<sup>85</sup> involves a person or the things a person said, the specific or general instrument suffixes are used.

The specific instrument suffix **-gin/-kin** is attached to the pronoun or name of the person being talked about and around whom the conversation revolves.

**Examples**

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Anmal <b>pegin</b> chunmas. | ‘We talked <b>about</b> you.’           |
| 2. Sagla nangin chunmas.       | ‘The chief talked <b>about</b> Mother.’ |
| 3. María Silviagin chunmas.    | ‘Mary talked <b>about</b> Silvia.’      |

The general instrument suffix **-bal/-pal** is used to refer to what a person talked about rather than talking about the person. The suffix is attached to the name or pronominal reference to the person.

**Example** Anmal **pebal** chunmas. ‘We talked **about what you said.**’

Word order dictates that the subject matter of the conversation comes after the person spoken to and before the verb.

**Examples**

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. An saglabak <b>pegin</b> chunmas. | ‘I talked <b>to</b> the chief <b>about</b> you.’ |
| 2. An tummadga <b>pebal</b> chogzha. | ‘I told the leader <b>what you had said.</b> ’   |

Some further examples may help to clarify the use of a person as an indirect object, as the topic of conversation or as the one who said something.

**Examples**

The speaker reports the person to the chief, probably for allegedly bad behavior:

- |                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1a. An saglaga <b>pe</b> chogzha. | ‘I told the chief <b>on</b> you.’ |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

The speaker tells the chief details about a person or the details about an incident involving a person:

- |                                     |                                      |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| b. An saglaga <b>pegin</b> chogzha. | ‘I told the chief <b>about</b> you.’ |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

The speaker tells the chief what the person said:

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| c. An saglaga <b>pebal</b> chogzha. | ‘I told the chief <b>what you said.</b> ’                                |
| 2a. An saglaje pe ekichis.          | ‘I asked the chief your whereabouts. (lit.: I asked the chief for you.)’ |

<sup>84</sup> The completed aspect of the verb **kol** ‘to call’ is **kocha**.

<sup>85</sup> See 14.4.7.

- b. An saglaj**e** pegin ekichis. 'I asked the chief **about** you (in general, How are you?, etc.)'
- c. An saglaj**e** pebal ekichis. 'I asked the chief **about what** you said.'

#### 14.4.10 Direct speech

The clause with a verb of speaking, for example, "He said,..." almost always precedes the quotation (what is said).

Occasionally, the response to a question or proposal will precede the clause of speaking, as seen in the boy's response to the chief in the following example.

##### Example

- |                          |                                      |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Sagla machiga chogal: | 'The chief began to say to the boy,' |
| 2. --Pe negzhe nao.      | ""Go home!""                         |
| 3. --Nabir-- Nega chog.  | ""Fine!" the boy replied to him.'    |
| 4. --Pedrodin ampak nao. | ""Peter will go with me.""           |

#### 14.4.11 Verbs of thinking

In Kuna, three different verbs are used which can be translated by the English verb, "to think." A difference is made between an opinion held, the process of thinking (cogitating) and surmise.

##### 14.4.11.1 Opinion

The position/opinion of the speaker on a particular topic/situation is stated by using the habitual aspect of "to think/say" followed by a direct or indirect quote, which is the stated position/opinion of the speaker.

**Example** Antin **chog**: "Nabir."<sup>86</sup> 'I **think** that is fine.'

##### 14.4.11.2 Process of thinking

The process of thinking is expressed by the verb **pinzhe** 'to think (about)'. The verb is preceded by the thought which is marked by the specific or general suffix **-gin/-kin** or **-bal/-pal** (see 14.4.8.1–4).

**Example** An nangin **pinzheji**. 'I am **just thinking about** Mother.'

##### 14.4.11.3 Surmise

Surmise is expressed by the verb **ebinzhe** 'to think/surmise'. The content of the surmise is followed by the **ebinzhe** clause.

##### Example

Pabdin pato Pukurgin omos, an **ebinzhe**. 'I **think** Father would have already arrived in Pucuru (by now).'

#### 14.4.12 Exclusive noun suffix **-bi/-pi** (Ex. 26–27)

The use of the exclusive noun suffix **-bi/-pi** parallels the English construction 'only (a certain thing)', such as found in the sentence, "I eat **only** cooked plantains." This exclusive construction is used only with the noun phrase and is achieved by adding **-bi/-pi** to the last word of the noun phrase, either a noun, an adjective, or a pronoun.

##### Examples

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. An chiglibi takcha.    | 'I saw <b>only</b> wild turkeys.'                    |
| 2. Macherganbi ormanemal. | ' <b>Only</b> the men are all going to the meeting.' |

<sup>86</sup> Note that punctuation calls for no new paragraph for the content of a thought.

- |                                     |                                       |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 3. Mol kinnid <b>bi</b> , an pei.   | ‘I want <b>only</b> red cloth.’       |
| 4. Yannu omemal <b>bi</b> an mecha. | ‘I killed <b>only</b> the wild sows.’ |
| 5. Amp <b>i</b> koe takcha.         | ‘ <b>Only</b> I saw the deer.’        |

**Exercise 26.** Exclusive suffix **-bi/-pi** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Chiglibi pukwa.  
Student: Chiglibi pukwa.

- |                                    |                                       |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Chiglibi pukwa.                 | ‘Only wild turkeys are there.’        |
| 2. An nalu kinnid <b>bi</b> mecha. | ‘I killed only red macaw parrots.’    |
| 3. Wag <b>bi</b> noni.             | ‘Only outsiders arrived.’             |
| 4. An palubi pak <b>cha</b> .      | ‘I bought only salt.’                 |
| 5. Machergan <b>bi</b> ormanemal.  | ‘Only the men are all going to meet.’ |

**Exercise 27.** Exclusive suffix **-bi/-pi** drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, using the exclusive suffix **-bi/-pi** form.

**Example** Teacher: Chigli pukwa.  
Student: Chiglibi pukwa.

- |                                |                                      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Chigli pukwa.               | ‘The wild turkeys are there.’        |
| 2. Tule tupkin mai.            | ‘Kunas live on the island.’          |
| 3. Machi nuzha uk <b>cha</b> . | ‘The boy sold eggs.’                 |
| 4. Machi kan chob <b>bi</b> .  | ‘The boy wants to make stools.’      |
| 5. Wag kallin kump <b>i</b> .  | ‘The outsider wants to eat chicken.’ |

**14.4.13 Exclusive action adverb unila ‘only’ (Ex. 28)**

The exclusive action adverb **unila** ‘only’ indicates that only the particular action mentioned in the sentence is carried out. The exclusive adverb is placed in the adverbial position in the sentence.

**Example** Antin **unila** murruk ebus. ‘I **only/just** touched the cup.’

Contrast the above example with the following:

**Example** Antin murruk**pi** ebus. ‘I touched **only/just** the cup.’

The first example illustrates the way the adverb excludes any other action. The person “only touched” the cup, he did not move it or break it. The second example illustrates that it was “only the cup” that was touched, not the saucer or the glass.

**Exercise 28.** Exclusive action versus exclusive noun phrase contrast drill

The teacher says the sentence and then says a word or phrase from the sentence, which is to be made exclusive. The student repeats the sentence adding the exclusive noun suffix **-bi/-pi** or the exclusive adverb **unila** ‘only’ in the appropriate position. This exercise should be repeated as necessary.

**Examples** Teacher: An koe takcha.  
Teacher: koe  
Student: An ko**bi** takcha.  
Teacher: An koe tak**cha**.  
Teacher: tak**cha**  
Student: An unila koe tak**cha**.

- |                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. An koe tak <b>cha</b> .   | ‘I saw a deer.’           |
| 2. An chigli me <b>cha</b> . | ‘I killed a wild turkey.’ |

- |                          |                             |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3. An mol kinnid pakcha. | 'I bought red cloth.'       |
| 4. An ob tigne.          | 'I am going to plant corn.' |
| 5. An pega ua uko.       | 'I will give you fish.'     |

### 14.5 Vocabulary

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. nakpe                 | 'snake'                                 |
| 2. mes                   | 'to kill'                               |
| 3. akan                  | 'axe'                                   |
| 4. ampayo                | 'not yet'                               |
| 5. iko                   | 'thorn/needle'                          |
| 6. un(ke)                | 'to pull out'                           |
| 7. aktigal               | 'punt/pole for poling a canoe'          |
| 8. kukualed              | 'airplane'                              |
| 9. nagap                 | 'by/on foot'                            |
| 10. kantikid             | 'to be strong'                          |
| 11. kug(e)               | 'to burn/scald'                         |
| 12. tipe                 | 'to fry'                                |
| 13. kwallu               | 'oil/fat'                               |
| 14. palmi(e)             | 'to send'                               |
| 15. ub                   | 'brother-in-law'                        |
| 16. purkwe <sup>87</sup> | 'to die'                                |
| 17. turwigal             | 'broom'                                 |
| 18. igmugal              | 'a digging tool (Spanish: <i>coa</i> )' |
| 19. chigli <sup>*</sup>  | 'wild turkey'                           |
| 20. nalu <sup>*</sup>    | 'macaw (guacamayo) parrot'              |

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<sup>87</sup> These items have been encountered in previous lessons, but have not been required memory work until now (also \*).

## 15 COMMANDS

### 15.1 Dialogue

The giving of orders and commands is important in every culture. Each culture has “acceptable” ways to give a command, which may vary according to the situation or the relationship of the speaker to the listener.

1. Chief:            ¡Machi, tag!                           ‘Boy, come (here)!’

The boy comes to the chief.

2. Boy:             Ajáj.   ‘Yes.’  
3. Chief:           An pabbak chunmabi. Pabga   ‘I want to talk to your father. (Go and) tell him.’  
                          chogo.  
4. Boy:             Nabiri.                                       ‘Okay.’

The boy goes off to find his father.

5. Boy:             Sagla chog: “Tago.” Pebak   ‘The chief says to come. He wants to talk to you.’  
                          chunmabijog.  
6. Father:          Ajáj.                                       ‘Oh.’

The father was holding a small child and puts him down. The mother speaks to the child.

7. Mother:          ¡Nen!<sup>88</sup>                                     ‘Come! (baby talk)’

The child ignores the mother.

8. Mother:          ¡Tage!                                     ‘Come! (exasperated)’

The child goes to the mother.

9. Father:          Sagla taknegwel.                       ‘(I’m) going to go see the chief a minute.’  
10. Mother:         Eye.                                       ‘Yes.’

The father goes to see the chief. After formalities are exchanged, the conversation continues.

11. Chief:          Nabirde. An pei, pe wis an   ‘Okay. I would like you to help me. Please lend me  
                          pentako. Anka ul tummad   (your) big canoe.’  
                          wis ololchao, itos.  
12. Father:         ¿Inkwa pe pei?                       ‘When do you want (it)?’  
13. Chief:          Pan, wakur.                               ‘Tomorrow morning.’  
14. Father:         Nabiri.                                   ‘That’s fine.’  
15. Chief:          Ajáj.                                       ‘Good.’

The conversation proceeds to other topics.

### 15.2 Pronunciation

#### 15.2.1 Intonation of commands (Ex.1–2)

The intonation pattern of commands is closely related to the emotional climate of the situation and to the force with which the speaker wishes to deliver the command. The more “strong” the command, the more harsh and strident the intonation becomes.

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<sup>88</sup> **nen** ‘come’ is a command form of the motion verb **ne** ‘to go’ and is used only with young children.

**Exercise 1. Intonation drill**

Dramatize Dialogue 15 with the student playing different roles.

**Exercise 2. Problem solving drill**

Discuss and drill any problems encountered in Exercises 1 and 2 above.

**15.2.2 Intonation of a sentence containing the reported speech suffix -chog/-zhog/-jog**

In considering the intonation pattern of sentences using the reported speech suffix **-chog/-zhog/-jog**, it is important to note that the suffix is attached to the quote without any pause or break in the utterance. For example, note Sentence 5 in Dialogue 15.1.

**15.3 Culture**

The force with which you give a command in Kuna varies according to the relative status of the speaker to the hearer. This, in turn, is dependent on such criteria as age (elder to younger, younger to elder), social status (chief to one of his people, one of the people to their chief), and the respect the speaker owes the hearer. If you are in a position where you must give a command, and you are in doubt as to the force of command, you may politely use, it is best to use a polite, less forceful form.

**15.4 Grammar****15.4.1 Commands: Direct/Polite (Ex. 3–21)**

As it has already been expressed, commands or requests vary in force. The relative force of the command is not only conveyed by intonation, as seen in Section B, but is also expressed by the grammatical structure chosen.

There are three degrees of forcefulness in Kuna commands: 1) polite command, 2) strong command, and 3) very polite command.

The three degrees of commands may be expressed in singular form or group form and each may be positive or negative.

**15.4.1.1 Polite commands**

Polite commands in Kuna are used when the speaker is directing an order to someone of equal status or where the difference in status is overlooked to assure compliance with the command. The polite form is also used when a situation is not urgent. It is the most common command form in Kuna and parallels the Spanish/English command, *Hágame el favor de...* 'Please ...'.

*1) Verb form of a polite command*

The polite command is formed by adding the suffix **-o** to the verb stem.<sup>89</sup>

**Examples**

- |                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Anka uko.   | 'Please give it to me.' |
| 2. Anche tago. | 'Please come to me.'    |

*2) Additional information in a polite command*

Additional information, such as a phrase to clarify the purpose of an action or goal of a motion, is mandatory<sup>90</sup> in a polite command. Or, a polite command may include a direct object, indirect object, or some other phrase. The subject is rarely stated. Word order of a polite command follows normal pattern; that is to say, the additional information always precedes the verb.

<sup>89</sup> Although the verb of the polite command is the same as the verb form with the future aspect, the two meanings may generally be distinguished because no subject occurs in the polite command.

<sup>90</sup> Very occasionally, no additional information is used with a polite command and the verb is used alone.

**Examples**

1. Ina kobo. 'Please drink the medicine.'
2. Anka uko. 'Please give (it) to me.'
3. Negzhe nao. 'Please go home.'

Very rarely is the subject of a polite command clarified by using the vocative form of the subject (see 10.4.6).

**Example** Naná, anka ua uko. 'Mother, please give me the fish.'

**Exercise 3. Polite command frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Anche tago.

Student: Anche tago.

1. Anche tago. 'Please come to me.'
2. Negzhe nao. 'Please go home.'
3. Ina kobo. 'Please drink the medicine.'
4. Iti kunno. 'Please eat this.'
5. Wegin chigo. 'Please sit there.'

**Exercise 4. Polite command situational drill**

The teacher selects one of the situations listed below and says it to a student. The student responds by giving a suitable command selected from those listed below. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: You want somebody to come to you.

Student: Anche tago.

**Situation**

1. You want somebody to come to you.
2. You want somebody to tell you something.
3. You want somebody to give something to Mother.
4. You want somebody to go home.
5. You want somebody to eat what you are offering him.

**Command**

1. Anche tago. 'Please come to me.'
2. Nanga uko. 'Please give (it) to Mother.'
3. Negzhe nao. 'Please go home.'
4. Iti kunno. 'Please eat this.'
5. Anka chogo. 'Please tell me.'

**Exercise 5 Strong/polite command transform drill**

The teacher selects and says one of the strong commands from those listed below. The student changes the command to the more polite form. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ¡Ne, negzhe!

Student: ¡Negzhe nao!

1. ¡Ne, negzhe! 'Go home!'
2. ¡Chig, wegin! 'Sit there!'
3. ¡Uk, anka! 'Give (it) to me!'
4. ¡Chog, pabga! 'Tell (your) father!'
5. ¡Ne, nanbak! 'Go with (your) mother!'



**Exercise 6.** Commands which state a subject

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student rephrases it using a subject (vocative). The teacher says Sentence 2 and the student changes it, etc.

**Example**     Teacher: Negzhe nao.  
                   Student: Pedro, negzhe nao.

**Vocative:** Pedro

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Negzhe nao.   | ‘Go home.’            |
| 2. Anka tub uko. | ‘Give me the thread.’ |
| 3. ꞑChed, nanga! | ‘Take it to Mother!’  |
| 4. ꞑWijir!       | ‘Look out!’           |
| 5. ꞑNe, nanbak!  | ‘Go with Mother!’     |

**15.4.1.2 Strong commands**

Strong commands in Kuna are used when the speaker is giving a command to someone of lower status or age than himself. In the case of a strong command, the speaker has the right to expect the hearer to comply with the command because of the relationship between the two parties. The strong command is also used in situations of anger, frustration or emergency when protocol tends to be brushed aside, due to the emotion of the moment.

Strong commands are formed by using one of two verb forms. Additional information (other than the verb) that is included in the command, varies according to the situation. When a command must be repeated, a repeated command suffix **-ma** is added to the verb.

*1) Verb form in strong command*

The short or the long form of a verb stem may be used in a strong command.

## a) Short form of verb stem in strong command

The short verb stem may be used as a strong command.

**Examples**

- |          |         |
|----------|---------|
| 1. ꞑNe!  | ‘Go!’   |
| 2. ꞑTag! | ‘Come!’ |
| 3. ꞑKun! | ‘Eat!’  |

## b) Long form of the verb stem in a strong command

The long form of a verb stem may also be used in a strong command. The two forms are used interchangeably; however, the long form is preferred in situations where the speaker is:

1. Angry or exasperated.
2. Repeating the command because of non-compliance.
3. Some distance away from the person he/she is addressing.

**Examples**

- |                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| 1. ꞑNe! <sup>91</sup> | ‘Go!’   |
| 2. ꞑTage!             | ‘Come!’ |
| 3. ꞑKunne!            | ‘Eat!’  |

Note the situations in the following examples:

---

<sup>91</sup> **ne** is a contracted form of **nee** which rarely, if ever, occurs in isolation.

**Examples**

A mother speaks angrily to her child.

1. ¡Tage!                   ‘Co-o-o-ome!’

A father speaks to his child.

- 2a. ¡Tag!                   ‘Come!’

The child makes no move to comply with the command, so the father speaks again.

- b. ¡Tage!                   ‘Co-o-o-ome!’

The chief calls to a boy in the distance.

3. Machi, ¡Tage!           ‘(Hey) Boy, come!’

## 2) *Additional information included in a strong command*

In contrast to the polite command, a strong command is usually comprised of only a verb. It keeps additional elements to a minimum. Additional information may be used to intensify the command or to clarify a certain aspect of the command.

### a) Intensification of strong command

When a speaker wishes to make a certain aspect of command more forceful, that aspect is added to the command in the normal word order. That is to say, it precedes the verb. When the subject of the command is made more forceful, the vocative<sup>92</sup> form is used. It may be either the long or short form.

**Examples**

1. ¡**Machi**, tage!           ‘**Boy**, come!’  
 2. **Negzhe** ne.           ‘Go **home**.’  
 3. **Machi, negzhe** ne.   ‘**Boy**, go **home**.’

### b) Clarification in strong command

Should a certain aspect of the command be ambiguous in a situation, the ambiguity may be clarified by stating the aspect in a postpredicate position after the verb (see 17.4.1).

**Examples**

1. ¡Ne, negzhe!           ‘Go home!’  
 2. ¡Tage, machi!       ‘Come, boy/son!’  
 3. ¡Cheddago, ina!      ‘Bring it, the medicine!’

## **Exercise 7. Strong command frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**   Teacher: ¡Tag!  
               Student: ¡Tag!

1. ¡Tag!           ‘Come!’  
 2. ¡Ne!           ‘Go!’  
 3. ¡Kob!          ‘Drink!’  
 4. ¡Kwisku!      ‘Stand up!’  
 5. ¡Chig!         ‘Sit down!’

---

<sup>92</sup> See 10.4.6.

**Exercise 8. Strong command situational drill**

The teacher selects a situation and gives it to the student. The student responds by giving a suitable command selected from those listed below. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: You want somebody to come to you.

Student: ¡Tag!

**Situation**

1. You want somebody to come.
2. You want somebody to eat something.
3. You want somebody to take something somewhere or to someone.
4. You want to warn somebody of danger.
5. You want somebody to take medicine.
6. You want somebody to leave.
7. You want somebody to drink something.
8. You want somebody to bring something to you.
9. You want somebody to choose something.

**Command**

- |            |                              |
|------------|------------------------------|
| 1. ¡Tag!   | ‘Come!’                      |
| 2. ¡Kob!   | ‘Drink!’                     |
| 3. ¡Wijir! | ‘Look out!/Be careful!’      |
| 4. ¡Ne!    | ‘Go!’                        |
| 5. ¡Ched!  | ‘Take/bring (it somewhere)!’ |
| 6. ¡Kun!   | ‘Eat!’                       |
| 7. ¡Chu!   | ‘Take (it)!’                 |

**Exercise 9. Strong command situational drill for widening vocabulary**

The teacher selects a situation and gives it to the student. The student responds by giving a suitable command selected from those listed below. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: You want somebody to sit down.

Student: ¡Chig!

**Situation**

1. You want somebody to sit down.
2. You want somebody to give something to you.
3. You want somebody to tell you something.
4. You want somebody to lie down.
5. You want somebody to get out of the way.
6. You want somebody to be quiet.
7. You want to chase a dog away.
8. You want somebody to stand up.

**Command**

- |             |                       |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1. ¡Chig!   | ‘Sit down!’           |
| 2. ¡Aknir!  | ‘Get out of the way!’ |
| 3. ¡Uk!     | ‘Give (it)!’          |
| 4. ¡Kwisku! | ‘Stand up!’           |
| 5. ¡Chog!   | ‘Tell (me)!’          |
| 6. ¡Poki!   | ‘Be quiet!’           |

7. ¡Meg!                    ‘Lie down!’  
 8. ¡Kueye!                ‘(To a dog) Shoo! Scat! (lit.: quickly).’

c) Repeated command suffix *-ma*<sup>93</sup>

When a speaker realizes that a strong command he has given is not heeded, he may repeat the identical command adding the repeated command suffix **-ma** to the verb for emphasis. The repeated command suffix **-ma** parallels the English phrase, “I told you to ...!”

**Examples**

Mother speaks to her child.

1. ¡Kwisku!                ‘Stand up!’

The child does not respond and the mother speaks again.

2. ¡Kwiskuma!            ‘(I told you to) stand up!’

**Exercise 10.** Repeated command suffix **-ma** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**    Teacher: ¡Kwiskuma!

              Student: ¡Kwiskuma!

1. ¡Kwiskuma!            ‘Stand up, I said!’  
 2. ¡Mellema!            ‘Don’t (do it), I said!’  
 3. ¡Kobma!                ‘Drink it, I said!’  
 4. ¡Chuma!                ‘Take it, I said!’  
 5. ¡Chogma!              ‘Tell (me), I said!’

**Exercise 11.** Stimulus response drill with repeated command suffix **-ma**

The teacher selects and gives a command from the list below and the student rephrases the command using the **-ma** form.

**Example**    Teacher: ¡Kwisku!

              Student: ¡Kwiskuma!

1. ¡Kwisku!            ‘Stand up!’  
 2. ¡Kob!                ‘Drink!’  
 3. ¡Chu!                ‘Fetch (it)!’  
 4. ¡Chog!              ‘Say (it)!’  
 5. ¡Kun!                ‘Eat!’  
 6. ¡Chig!              ‘Sit down!’

d) Respectful form of strong commands

A respectful attitude can be maintained when using a strong command form by adding the suffix **-ra** to the long form of the strong command (long form of the verb stem).

**Example**    ¡Togera!                    ‘Do come in!’

---

<sup>93</sup> **-ma** is an intensifier suffix and may be added to the end of other verb forms (following all other suffixes) to intensify the action. Experience will help you to understand situations in which the suffix **-ma** is appropriate. It is not a common suffix.

### 15.4.1.3 Very polite commands

A very polite command in Kuna is an even more polite form than the polite command. The speaker still expects the action to be carried out, but phrases the command in a most courteous, tactful, polite manner. The very polite command also tends to be used to coax a friend into doing something.

#### 1) Verb form of a very polite command

A very polite command may be formed in one of three ways:

- a) Insert the suffix **-gwel/-kwel** between the verb stem and the future aspect suffix **-o** of the polite command form. No subject is used. In the case of the verb **ne** 'to go', the request command form is **negwelo**, that is to say, the polite command form of the verb, **nao**, is not used in this construction.

#### Examples

1. An pentakkwelo.                                    'I would like you to be so kind as to help me.'
2. Anche taggwelo.                                   'I would like you to be so kind as to come to me.'

- b) Use the future aspect form of the verb preceded by the word **wis** 'a little'. In this case (as in future statements), the subject is included. The intonation pattern of a command is used.

**Example**    Pe **wis** an pentako.                    'I would like you to be so kind as to help me.'

- c) Use both the word **wis** 'a little' and the suffix **-gwel/-kwel** with the future aspect of the verb. That is to say, **wis** precedes the verb and the suffix **-gwel/-kwel** is inserted before the future aspect suffix **-o** in the verb. The subject is included.

**Example**    Pe **wis** an pentakkwelo.            'I would like you to be so kind as to help me.'

#### 2) Additional information stated in the request

As stated above, a subject must be used when the word **wis** 'a little' is used in the request command. The subject precedes **wis** and the rest of the very polite command follows normal word order. **Wis** can be repeated before the verb to make the request very polite: vocative + subject + **wis** + indirect object + direct object + verb (+ **-gwel/-kwel**) (+ **-o**).

#### Example

Pedro, pe **wis** anka ina (**wis**) ukkwelo.            'Peter, I would like it if you would give me the medicine.'

#### 3) Questioning request

When the speaker is not sure whether or not the listener can meet a request, he uses a questioning request. This construction is formed by using the word **wis** 'a little' with the suffix **-ji** following the future suffix. A question intonation pattern is used (see 3.2.3). The use of **-ji** expects a positive (yes) answer.

**Example**    ¿An **wis** pentakoji?                    'Would you be so kind as to help me?'

#### Exercise 12. **wis** very polite command frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**    Teacher: Pedro, pe **wis** an pentako.

Student: Pedro, pe **wis** an pentako.

1. Pedro, pe **wis** an pentako.                    'Peter, I would like you to please help me.'
2. Nestor, pe **wis** negzhe nao.                    'Nestor, I would like you to please go home.'
3. Amma, pe **wis** nanbak nao.                    'Aunt, I would like you to please go with Mother.'
4. Luis, pe **wis** anche tago.                    'Louis, I would like you to please come to me.'
5. María, pe **wis** anka tub uko.                    'Mary, I would like you to please give me some thread.'

**Exercise 13. -gwel/-kwel very polite frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Pedro, an pentakkwelo.

Student: Pedro, an pentakkwelo.

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Pedro, an pentakkwelo.   | ‘Peter, I would like you to please help me.’            |
| 2. Nestor, negzhe negwelo.  | ‘Nestor, I would like you to please go home.’           |
| 3. Amma, nanbak negwelo.    | ‘Aunt, I would like you to please go with Mother.’      |
| 4. Luis, anche taggwelo.    | ‘Louis, I would like you to please come to me.’         |
| 5. María, anka tub ukgwelo. | ‘Mary, I would like you to please give me some thread.’ |

**Exercise 14. wis and -gwel/-kwel request frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Pedro, pe wis an pentakkwelo.

Student: Pedro, pe wis an pentakkwelo.

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Pedro, pe wis an pentakkwelo.   | ‘Peter, I would like you to please help me.’            |
| 2. Nestor, pe wis negzhe negwelo.  | ‘Nestor, I would like you to please go home.’           |
| 3. Amma, pe wis nanbak negwelo.    | ‘Aunt, I would like you to please go with Mother.’      |
| 4. Luis, pe wis anche taggwelo.    | ‘Louis, I would like you to please come to me.’         |
| 5. María, pe wis anka tub ukgwelo. | ‘Mary, I would like you to please give me some thread.’ |

**Exercise 15. Command selection drill**

The teacher selects and says a situation from those listed below. The student replies, selecting the correct command form of the verb **tag** ‘to come’.

**Example** Teacher: You want a child some distance away to come.

Student: ¡Tage!

1. You want a child some distance away to come.
2. You want the chief to come over to you.
3. You want a friend to come.
4. You want someone to come urgently.
5. You want to coax a reluctant friend to come.

**15.4.1.4 Indirect command**

The word **meke** ‘to let/allow’ is used in an indirect command that parallels the English construction, “Let him/her/it do \_\_\_\_” or “Allow him/her/it to do \_\_\_\_.” **Meke** ‘to let/allow’ follows a vocative (if used) and comes at the beginning of a direct command construction to form an indirect command.

**Examples**

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Pedro, <b>meke</b> chi.         | ‘Peter, <b>leave it</b> (alone).’      |
| 2. Puna, <b>meke</b> (machi) tago. | ‘Daughter, <b>let</b> (the boy) come.’ |

**Exercise 16. Indirect command drill**

The teacher says the command and the student replies, using the **meke** form as in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: Tago.

Student: Meke machi tago.



**Exercise 17.** Exclusive strong command frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ¡Pemal, negzhe nemal!

Student: ¡Pemal, negzhe nemal!

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. ¡Pemal, negzhe nemal!       | ‘You (all), go home!’                          |
| 2. ¡Pemal, saglaga chogmal!    | ‘You (all), tell the chief!’                   |
| 3. ¡Pemal, ormanegzhe chedmal! | ‘You (all), take (them) to the meeting house!’ |
| 4. ¡Pemal, aknirmal!           | ‘You (all), move back!’                        |
| 5. ¡Pemal, saglaga itomal!     | ‘You (all), listen to the chief!’              |

**Exercise 18.** Inclusive strong command form

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ¡Nemal!

Student: ¡Nemal!

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. ¡Nemal!                  | ‘Let’s go!’                               |
| 2. ¡Aknirmal!               | ‘Let’s get out of the way!’               |
| 3. ¡Saglaga itomal!         | ‘Let’s listen to the chief!’              |
| 4. ¡Ormaked negzhe chedmal! | ‘Let’s take (them) to the meeting house!’ |
| 5. ¡Neg elimal!             | ‘Let’s clean the town!’                   |

**Exercise 19.** Inclusive polite command frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Nemalo.

Student: Nemalo.

- |               |                             |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Nemalo.    | ‘Let’s go.’                 |
| 2. Aptamalo.  | ‘Let’s wait.’               |
| 3. Arbamalo.  | ‘Let’s work.’               |
| 4. Itomalo.   | ‘Let’s listen.’             |
| 5. Aknirmalo. | ‘Let’s get out of the way.’ |

**15.4.1.6 Negative commands**

In Kuna, negative commands are given by either the use of a negative command word or by using **melle** ‘don’t’ before any command form.

*1) Negative command words*

There are several words in Kuna which may be used in isolation and which are strong negative commands. These negative command words are used in the same situations as their English/Spanish counterparts.

**Examples**

- |              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| 1. ¡Melle!   | ‘Don’t!’         |
| 2. ¡Mellema! | ‘Don’t, I said!’ |
| 3. ¡Kusma!   | ‘Stop it!’       |
| 4. ¡Ogus!    | ‘That’s enough!’ |

*2) Negative commands*

Any command may be made negative by placing the word **melle** ‘don’t’ before the command.



**Examples**

- |                       |                                     |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. ¡Melle tag!        | ‘Don’t come!’                       |
| 2. Melle negzhe nao.  | ‘Please <b>don’t</b> go home.’      |
| 3. Melle wis negwelo. | ‘(Be so kind as) <b>not</b> to go.’ |

**Exercise 20. Melle negative command frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Melle nao.  
Student: Melle nao.

- |                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1. Melle nao.   | ‘Don’t go.’            |
| 2. Melle chogo. | ‘Don’t tell (anyone).’ |
| 3. Melle kobo.  | ‘Don’t drink (it).’    |
| 4. ¡Melle po!   | ‘Don’t cry!’           |
| 5. ¡Melle ebu!  | ‘Don’t touch!’         |

**Exercise 21. Negative command stimulus response drill**

The teacher selects a command from those listed below and says it. The student gives the negative form of the command in reply.

**Example** Teacher: Negzhe nao.  
Student: Melle negzhe nao.

- |                  |                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Negzhe nao.   | ‘Please go home.’              |
| 2. Ina kobo.     | ‘Please take the medicine.’    |
| 3. Anka chogo.   | ‘Please tell me.’              |
| 4. Machiga uko.  | ‘Please give (it) to the boy.’ |
| 5. Mani chabo-o. | ‘Please put away the money.’   |

**15.4.2 Negatives (Ex. 22–30)**

The basic and most common negative word in Kuna is **chul/chuli** ‘no’ (see 3.4.1.). This word may also be used as a negative suffix **-chul/-zhul/-jul**<sup>94</sup> attached to certain words, phrases or sentences. There are also other negative words which are used in certain situations.

**15.4.2.1 Basic negative word chuli ‘no’**

The basic negative word **chuli/chul** ‘no’ may be used alone as a negative exclamation, or it may be used within a sentence. **Chuli/chul** ‘no’ is used to respond negatively to a question asked, or a statement made to negate a fact or action mentioned in the/a previous sentence, or to negate a certain adverb or adjective used in a/the previous sentence.

*1) Forms of the basic negative word chuli ‘no’*

When used alone, the basic negative word **chuli** ‘no’ may occur in one of three forms:

a) *Chul* ‘no’

**Chul** ‘no’ is the most common form of the basic negative word. It is used in response to a question which requires a negative answer. In other words, it is used to deny that the action in the question is going to take place.

---

<sup>94</sup> **-chul** follows fortis consonants, **-zhul** follows lenis consonants, and **-jul** follows vowels.

**Examples**

- |            |                  |
|------------|------------------|
| 1. ¿Pe ne? | ‘Are you going?’ |
| 2. Chul.   | ‘No.’            |

b) *Chuli* ‘no’

**Chuli** ‘no’ is a more emphatic form of the basic negative word and is used as a more emphatic denial in response to the same situations for which you would reply with **chul** ‘no’.

**Examples**

- |                        |                             |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. ¿Pedro Pucurche ne? | ‘Is Peter going to Pucuro?’ |
| 2. ¡Chuli!             | ‘No!’                       |

c) *Chula* ‘no’

**Chula** ‘no’ is a very rare form of the basic negative word. It is used in reference to an action of the past and parallels the English construction, “never, not a chance.” It is often used as a response to consistent teasing or persistent accusation and gives the response the flavor of “not only is that not true, it never was true either!”

**Examples**

- |                                |                                   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ¡An akande, pedin tar chus! | ‘You took my axe!’                |
| 2. ¡Chula!                     | ‘No (I did nothing of the kind)!’ |

2) *Basic negative word used in a sentence*

Any form of the basic negative word **chul/chuli/chula** ‘no’ may be used in a sentence to deny that an adverb or adjective used in the/a previous sentence is valid. In this construction, the sentence is reiterated. The subject must be emphasized by the addition of the topic marking suffix **-din/-tin** or by the use of the demonstrative adjective **we** ‘that’. A form of the word **chul/chuli/chula** is used at the end of the sentence to negate the adjective/adverb.

**Examples**

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Uade, totó.                             | ‘The fish is small.’             |
| 2. Uadin, toto <b>chul</b> . <sup>95</sup> | ‘The fish is <b>not</b> small.’  |
| or   |                                  |
| <b>We</b> ua, toto <b>chul</b> .           | ‘That fish is <b>not</b> small.’ |

**Exercise 22. Chul** ‘no’ denial stimulus-response drill

The teacher selects a sentence and says it. The student replies denying the statement.

**Examples** Teacher: Uade, totó.

Student: Uadin, toto chul.

- |                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Uade, totó.   | ‘That fish is small.’   |
| 2. Molde, muis.  | ‘That cloth is cheap.’  |
| 3. Manide, unni. | ‘That money is enough.’ |
| 4. Akande, nued. | ‘That axe is good.’     |
| 5. Ulde, tummad. | ‘That canoe is big.’    |

**15.4.2.2 Basic negative suffix -chul(i)/-zhul(i)/-jul(i)**

The basic negative suffix **-chul(i)/-zhul(i)/-jul(i)** may be added to certain words in order to negate the word itself or it may be used to negate an entire sentence.

---

<sup>95</sup> This construction is the negation of the adjective and does not carry the antithetic connotation of the suffixed word (see 9.4.2.3).

1) *Basic negative suffix -chul(i)/-zhul(i)/-jul(i) 'no' negating a word*

As discussed in Section 9.4.2, the negative suffix **-chul(i)**/**-zhul(i)**/**-jul(i)** may be used to negate specific words such as adjectives or adverbs. The basic negative suffix **-chul(i)**/**-zhul(i)**/**-jul(i)** is added to an adjective to give a negative answer to a question, to intensify antithesis or to provide an antonym for an adjective which does not have an antonym.

**Examples**

- |                      |                               |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. toto <b>juli</b>  | 'not small (emphatic: large)' |
| 2. kakpi <b>juli</b> | 'not at all bitter (sweet)'   |
| 3. tikalbal          | 'nearby'                      |
| becomes              |                               |
| tik <b>ajul</b>      | 'not near (far)'              |

2) *Basic negative suffix -chul(i)/-zhul(i)/-jul(i) 'no' negating a sentence*

A Kuna sentence is negated by adding the basic negative suffix **-chul(i)**/**-zhul(i)**/**-jul(i)** 'no' to the verb.<sup>96</sup> The long form has a more emphatic connotation than the short. The suffix is attached to the verb stem or immediately following the aspect suffix, for example, the desiderative suffix **-bi/-pi** (see 2.4.2.1).

**Examples**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. An immal pak <b>chul</b> .              | 'I did <b>not</b> buy a thing.'           |
| 2. An mol pei <b>chuli</b> . <sup>97</sup> | 'I <b>do not</b> want cloth.'             |
| 3. An mol pei <b>chul</b> .                | 'I do <b>not</b> want cloth.'             |
| 4. An nan takch <b>ajul</b> .              | 'I did <b>not</b> see Mother.'            |
| 5. Anmal yannu gwen takch <b>ajulmal</b> . | 'We did <b>not</b> see a single peccary.' |
| 6. An neb <b>ijul</b> .                    | 'I <b>don't</b> want to go.'              |

**Exercise 23. -chul/-zhul/-jul negation of sentence frame drill**

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise is repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An nejul.  
Student: An nejul.

- |                               |                            |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. An nejul.                  | 'I am not going to go.'    |
| 2. An mas kuch <b>ajul</b> .  | 'I didn't eat (any) food.' |
| 3. An mol pakch <b>ajul</b> . | 'I didn't buy cloth.'      |
| 4. An tub pei <b>chul</b> .   | 'I don't want thread.'     |
| 5. An neb <b>ijul</b> .       | 'I don't want to go.'      |

**Exercise 24. -chul/-zhul/-jul negation of sentence stimulus response drill**

The teacher selects a sentence from those listed below. The student responds by giving the negative form of the sentence.

**Example** Teacher: An ne.  
Student: An nejul.

- |                             |                                     |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. An ne.                   | 'I'm going to go.'                  |
| 2. Machi ua chw <b>as</b> . | 'The boy caught a fish.'            |
| 3. Tad es pak <b>pi</b> .   | 'The elder wants to buy a machete.' |

<sup>96</sup> After the diphthongs **ai**, **ei**, and **oi**, **-chul(i)** occurs rather than **-jul(i)**. In fact, the **-ch** form of any suffix having an alternate beginning in **ch** would occur after these diphthongs.

<sup>97</sup> The verb stem **pei** 'to want to have (something)' expresses a desiderative state (see 2.4.2.2).

4. An mani pei. 'I want money.'  
 5. An karpa chobcha. 'I made a basket.'

Note that **s + ch/j = ch**, for example, **chwas + -jul = chwachul**.

### 15.4.2.3 Other negative words

Several other words used in a sentence give the sentence a negative meaning.

#### 1) Negative command melle 'don't'

The negative command **melle** 'don't' is discussed in Section 15.4.1.6.

#### 2) Negative desiderative action yapa 'don't want to'

As has been mentioned (see 15.4.2.2.2, Example 6), a desiderative action may be negated by adding the basic negative suffix **-chul/-zhul/-jul** to the verb. The desiderative action may also be negated by use of an adverb **yapa** 'don't want to' in the adverbial position after the subject and before the object, if there is one. The adverb **yapa** 'don't want to' has a stronger negative connotation than does the desiderative action suffix **-bi/-pi** and **-chul/-jul**.

**Example** An **yapa** mol **pak**. 'I don't want to buy cloth.'

### Exercise 25. Yapa negative desiderative action frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An yapa ne.  
 Student: An yapa ne.

1. An yapa ne. 'I don't want to go.'  
 2. An yapa mantur kun. 'I don't want to eat roasted plantain.'  
 3. An yapa mol pak. 'I don't want to buy cloth.'  
 4. An yapa ina kop. 'I don't want to take (drink) the medicine.'  
 5. An yapa wartiku. 'I don't want to get wet.'

### Exercise 26. Yapa negative desiderative action stimulus response drill

The teacher selects a sentence and says it. The student responds using the negative form with **yapa**.

**Example** Teacher: An nebi.  
 Student: An yapa ne.

1. An nebi. 'I want to go.'  
 2. An ua kumpi. 'I want to eat fish.'  
 3. An saglabak chunmabi. 'I want to talk to the chief.'  
 4. An ul nudabi. 'I want to repair the canoe.'  
 5. An chagla chikpi. 'I want to have my hair cut.'

#### 3) Negative adverb yo 'not yet'

The negative adverb **yo** 'not yet' or 'before he/she/it (had) ...' is used as an adverb in a subordinate sentence. **Yo** 'not yet' is when the action in the independent sentence precedes that of the subordinate sentence. That is to say, **Kuna** negates an action by using **yo** 'not yet' to indicate the concept that before something happened, the action in the independent sentence took place.

**Example** An **yo** nadgu, an mas kucha. 'Before I left, I ate (some) food.'

### Exercise 27. Yo 'not yet' stimulus response drill

The teacher gives the sentence. The student responds using the **yo** form of the subordinate sentence.

**Example** Teacher: Machi nadgu an mas kucha.  
Student: Machi yo nadgu an mas kucha.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Machi nadgu an mas kucha.            | ‘When the boy left, I ate (some) food.’                            |
| 2. Pun mol pakchagu an nad.             | ‘When the girl bought cloth, I left.’                              |
| 3. Kukualed nonigu machi pistabal arpi. | ‘When the plane arrived, the boy went to the airstrip (and back).’ |
| 4. An tian omosgu an yannu takcha.      | ‘When I reached the stream, I saw the peccaries.’                  |
| 5. An nadel an mol pako.                | ‘When I leave, I will buy cloth.’                                  |

#### 4) Negative adverb ampa ‘still’

The adverb **ampa** ‘still’ may be used to compound with the adverb **yo** ‘not yet’ to form the negative expression **ampayo** ‘still not’. It may also be used in conjunction with the word **owed** ‘away/delayed’ to form the negative expression **ampa owed** ‘still delayed’. **Ampayo** and **ampa owed** may be used to indicate that an action has still not happened. It may be used in answer to the question, “Are you ready?”

#### Examples

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Andin <b>ampayo</b> mas kun. | ‘I <b>still</b> have <b>not</b> eaten.’ |
| 2a. ¿Pedin pato ogus?           | ‘Are you all ready?’                    |
| b. <b>Ampayo.</b>               | ‘ <b>Not yet.</b> ’                     |
| 3a. ¿Pabde mai?                 | ‘Is father home?’                       |
| b. <b>Ampa owed.</b>            | ‘He is <b>still delayed.</b> ’          |

#### Exercise 28. Ampayo ‘not yet’ negative adverb stimulus response drill

The teacher selects a question and asks it. The student replies using the **ampayo** ‘not yet’ negative adverb.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pedin pato ne?  
Student: Andin ampayo ne.

- |                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. ¿Pedin pato ne?         | ‘Are you going already?’            |
| 2. ¿Pedin pato mol pakcha? | ‘Have you already bought cloth?’    |
| 3. ¿Pedin pato pel apchos? | ‘Have you already read it all?’     |
| 4. ¿Pedin pato mas kucha?  | ‘Have you already eaten (food)?’    |
| 5. ¿Pedin pato mas tus?    | ‘Have you already cooked the food?’ |

#### Exercise 29. Ampa owed ‘still delayed’ negative adverb frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student replies with the frame; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student replies with the frame, etc.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pab mai?  
Student: Ampa owed.

- |                           |                                  |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>Frame</b> Ampa owed.   | ‘He/she is still away.’          |
| 1. ¿Pab mai?              | ‘Is father home?’                |
| 2. ¿Nande?                | ‘(Where is) mother?’             |
| 3. ¿Machide pato noni?    | ‘Has the boy arrived already?’   |
| 4. ¿Mu chi?               | ‘Is grandma home?’               |
| 5. Kilde Pucur akar noni? | ‘Has Uncle arrived from Pucuro?’ |

#### Exercise 30. Negative stimulus drill

The teacher selects a sentence from the list below and says it. The student replies with the appropriate negative form.

**Example** Teacher: An win pakpi.  
Student: An yapa win pak.

- |                            |                                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. An win pakpi.           | ‘I want to buy beads.’            |
| 2. We moldin chered.       | ‘That cloth/blouse is old.’       |
| 3. An kullubal eswal ebes. | ‘I left the spear on the bank.’   |
| 4. An akan pei.            | ‘I want an axe.’                  |
| 5. ¡Nao!                   | ‘Go!’                             |
| 6. Kartagin nermako.       | ‘Write in the book.’              |
| 7. ¿Pe immal pakne?        | ‘Are you going to buy something?’ |
| 8. Mol pato tinkus.        | ‘The clothes are already dry.’    |
| 9. Ina kobo.               | ‘Drink the medicine.’             |
| 10. We esdin an pei.       | ‘I want that machete.’            |

### 15.4.3 Reported speech suffix **-chog/-zhog/-jog** (Ex. 31)

When a speaker wishes to report to the listener what a third party has said, he adds the reported speech suffix **-chog/-zhog/-jog**<sup>98</sup> directly to the verb used by the third party

#### Examples

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Adin, nebijul <b>zhog</b> .         | ‘He says he does not want to go.’ |
| 2. Adin, pato mas kuchaj <b>jog</b> .  | ‘He says he has already eaten.’   |
| 3. Adin, melle immal pak <b>chog</b> . | ‘Don’t buy anything, he says.’    |

#### Exercise 31. Reported speech suffix **-chog/-zhog/-jog** intonation frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Saglade pebak chunmabijog  
Student: Saglade pebak chunmabijog.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Saglade pebak chunmabijog.        | ‘The chief says that he wants to speak to you.’       |
| 2. Machide pebak nebijog.            | ‘The boy says he wants to go with you.’               |
| 3. Nande moldin karkijog.            | ‘Mother says that the cloth is expensive.’            |
| 4. Ammade mol yapa pako <b>jog</b> . | ‘Auntie says that she doesn’t want to buy the cloth.’ |
| 5. Pedrode nejul <b>zhog</b> .       | ‘Peter says that he isn’t going to go.’               |

## 15.5 Vocabulary

- |               |                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ¡Ne!       | ‘Go!’                           |
| 2. ¡Tag(e)!   | ‘Come!’                         |
| 3. ¡Chig!     | ‘Sit down!’                     |
| 4. ¡Nen!      | ‘Come! (baby talk)’             |
| 5. ¡Ched!     | ‘Bring/take (it)!’              |
| 6. ¡Udanna!   | ‘Bring (what was offered)!’     |
| 7. ¡Wijir(a)! | ‘Be careful/look out!’          |
| 8. ¡Agnir(i)! | ‘Move away/Get out of the way!’ |
| 9. ¡Poki!     | ‘Quiet!’                        |
| 10. ¡Kueye!   | ‘Shoo! (to a dog)’              |
| 11. ¡Kueye!   | ‘Quickly!’                      |

<sup>98</sup> **-chog** follows a fortis consonant, **-zhog** follows a lenis consonant, and **-jog** follows a vowel.

12. ¡Melle!	‘Don’t (do that)!’
13. ¡Meke chi!	‘Leave it alone!’
14. ¡Kusma!	‘Stop it!’
15. ¡Ogus!	‘That’s enough!’
16. Ogus.	‘Ready.’
17. Nemalo.	‘Let’s go.’
18. Aptakkwelo.	‘Wait (a minute).’
19. chula	‘never/not a chance’
20. yapa	‘don’t want to’
21. yo	‘not yet’
22. ampa	‘still’
23. owed(i)	‘(is) away/delayed’
24. alamanai	‘to strive’
25. apcho(ge)	‘to read’

## 16 RETELLING DETAILED ACCOUNTS

### 16.1 Dialogue

Kunas often visit other villages. On the traveler's arrival back home, it is customary for him to give a detailed account of his trip.

Traveler returns after a trip to the next village.

- |     |           |  |  |
|-----|-----------|--|--|
| 1.  | Villager: | ¿Pede?   | '(How are) you?'   |
| 2.  | Traveler: | An wis arpi, ¡machi! <sup>99</sup>   | 'I've been on a trip, man!'  |
| 3.  | Villager: | Aaa.   | 'Oh.'  |
| 4.  | Traveler: | Sae an Pukurbal arpi, pirkal.  | 'Yesterday, I went to Pucuru, there and back.'   |
| 5.  | Villager: | ¿Pirkale?  | 'There and back?'  |
| 6.  | Traveler: | Pirkaldo. Polego an nad, neg akar. An nad Tipirche, Tipir wachilnerkwa, an chog. | 'There and back, I tell you. I left before dawn from home. I reached the Tipiri (river) at 6:00 a.m., I think.'    |
| 7.  | Villager: | Mmm.   | 'Wow.'   |
| 8.  | Traveler: | Nadegu ... muroje, muroje wachilpabak an omos.                                   | '(I) went on to the boundary which I reached at 8:00 a.m.'   |
| 9.  | Villager: | ¿Agin kobzha?  | 'Did you have (something) to drink there?'   |
| 10. | Traveler: | Eye, wis kobzha. Madunbi kobzha, itos.   | 'Yes, I did. I drank some plantain chicha (you understand).'   |
| 11. | Villager: | Ajáj.  | 'Yes.'   |
| 12. | Traveler: | Madun kobzhagu, wis ullukus. Tegin nadbal.                                       | 'Having drunk the chicha, I rested a bit. Then I went on again.'   |
| 13. | Villager: | ¿Immal takcha?   | 'Did you see any animals?'   |
| 14. | Traveler: | ¿Piawa? ¡Sate!   | 'Where (on earth) (had they all gone)? Not a thing!'   |
| 15. | Villager: | ¡Aajo!   | 'Oh dear!'   |
| 16. | Traveler: | Nade-nade-nade. ... Tapaliche. Tad ampa tikajul itos.                            | '(I) went on and on and on to the Tapalisa (river). It was still early, you understand (lit.: sun still not far).' |
| 17. | Villager: | Ajáj.  | 'Yes.'   |
| 18. | Traveler: | Tapalis opas.  | '(I) crossed the Tapalisa (river).'  |
| 19. | Villager: | ¿Ti amuru?   | 'Was the water cloudy?'  |
| 20. | Traveler: | Chuli. Ti, titirí. A ti nochul, takcha.  | 'No. The water was <b>clear</b> . That river had not risen, you see.'  |
| 21. | Villager: | Ajáj.  | 'Oh.'  |
| 22. | Traveler: | Tapalis opasgu, nadbal. Wachilambe kakagwenchak Pukurche, an omos.               | 'Having crossed the Tapalisa, I went on and arrived at Pucuru at 11:00 a.m.'                                       |
| 23. | Villager: | Aaa.   | 'Mmm.'   |
| 24. | Traveler: | Neg omosgu an sagla takti.   | 'Having arrived, I went to see the chief.'   |

<sup>99</sup> **machi** 'man/boy' in this case is used in the vocative form as an exclamation. It parallels the English construction, "Man! You should have seen...".



25. Villager: ¿Mai adin? 'Was he home?'
26. Traveler: Maido. An targa karta ukcha. 'Yes, he was. I gave him the letter.'
27. Villager: Mmm. 'Aha.'
28. Traveler: An sagla neggin kobzhabali, wis kalmako, tegin an nad. 'I had (some more) to drink, visited a bit, and then left.'
29. Villager: ¿Piaje? 'Where (did you go) to?'
30. Traveler: Iwenche ... Pedro negzhe. Adin maijuli. Adin immal aminade. 'To what's-his-name's ... to Peter's house. But he wasn't home. He had gone hunting.'
31. Villager: Aaa. 'Oh.'
32. Traveler: Tegin an nadbal, neg ilbal kalmadi. Yorokudin an saglaje nadbal. Sagladin anka mas kunned ukcha. 'I went on again, (I went) visiting from house-to-house. At noon I went back again to the chief's. He gave me some food.'
33. Villager: ¿Ibi kucha? 'What did (you have to) eat?'
34. Traveler: Ua, arosbak. 'Fish with rice.'
35. Villager: ¡Ajáj! 'Wow!'
36. Traveler: Mas kuchagu an nade, kannan. 'Having eaten, I left (to come) back.'
37. Villager: ¿Igi wachi ali? 'What time did you leave?'
38. Traveler: Wachilgwen omodani an chog. 'It was almost 1:00 p.m., I'd say.'
39. Villager: Mmm. 'Mmm.'
40. Traveler: Pukur aligu an kueye-kueye al, Tapaliche. Opas. Tad ampa abala. 'Leaving Pucuru, I walked quickly (until) I got to the Tapalisa (river). (I) crossed. It was still early.'
41. Villager: Aaa. 'Oh.'
42. Traveler: Albal. Ali, ali, ali... ¡Mmmm! Anchik an koebi an taknoni, igalgin un. 'I came on again. I walked and walked and walked... Wow! There was a deer standing right on the trail.'
43. Villager: ¡Máchi! 'You don't say! (lit.; Boy!)
44. Traveler: Imas. "Toas". Koe aka ne olas. Purkwís. '(I) shot. "Bang". The deer dropped -- dead.'
45. Villager: ¿Mecha? '(You) killed (it)?'
46. Traveler: ¡Mechado! 'Sure did (kill it)!'
47. Villager: ¿Piade? 'Where was it (that you killed it)?'
48. Traveler: Murro omopen. Tegin an koe mecha. 'I killed it almost at the boundary.'
49. Villager: Ajáj. ¿Pe koe agin ebes? '(I see). Did you leave it there?'
50. Traveler: Chuli. An ilgwen koe cheial. 'No. I brought it straight (home).'
51. Villager: Aaaa. 'Aha.'
52. Traveler: Teakar an algu, Tipirche. Tipirche nonigu tegin napi komnoni. 'I came on again to the Tipiri (river). Having arrived at the Tipiri, I had my last drink (of chicha).'
53. Villager: ¿Pe agin untar ullukus? 'Did you rest there a long time?'

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 54. Traveler:                                  | Chuli. Pato neg chedodani itos. Kueye an alchun, abarmakal-abarmakal, negzhe. | ‘No. It was already starting to get dark, you understand. I came on quickly, (almost) running (all the way) home.’ |
| 55. Villager:                                  | Mmm.  | ‘(I see).’   |
| 56. Traveler:                                  | Wachilnerkwa an noni. Teob an arpi.   | ‘I arrived (back) at 6:00 p.m. That’s how my trip was.’  |
| 57. Villager and Traveler (speaking together): | Mmmmm.  | ‘Mmmmm.’   |

## 16.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–4)

As you do the following exercises, concentrate on using correct intonation patterns. You will find that your audience will really appreciate hearing all the details of any trip you make, no matter how brief the trip was. Retelling the events of even a short jaunt into the jungle will provide excellent language practice. Work hard on the intonation patterns in the following exercises so that you will be able to recount your trips in traditional Kuna style. Your audience will be thrilled.

### Exercise 1. Tracking

Track the teacher and his assistant (if available) as they say Dialogue 16.1. Concentrate on the overall intonation patterns of the entire speech and responses.

### Exercise 2. Dialogue dramatization

Dramatize Dialogue 16.1 with two students playing the roles of Traveler and Villager.

### Exercise 3. Problem solving exercise

Discuss and drill any problems encountered in Exercise 2 above.

### Exercise 4. Tracking

Listen to tapes of travel stories and track them, in order to thoroughly master the intonation patterns.

## 16.3 Culture

Kunas divide the **pirka** ‘year’ into two seasons: **yol(a)** ‘dry season/summer’ and **tigin** ‘wet/rainy season’. It may also be divided into twelve months, each of which has a name:

<b>ni wilub</b>	<b>‘calendar’</b>
1. Yol ni	‘January (lit.: sunny moon)’
2. Arri ni	‘February (lit.: iguana moon)’
3. Neg kummaked ni	‘March (lit.: burning field moon)’
4. Ob maked ni	‘April (lit.: corn planting moon)’
5. Nus maked ni	‘May (lit.: caterpillar-laden moon)’
6. Mazhal ni keped	‘June (lit.: first white cane moon)’
7. Mazhal ni chobalid	‘July (lit.: latter white cane moon)’
8. Chua ni	‘August (lit.: fruit moon)’
9. Tulgab ni	‘September (lit.: tree with light yellow flower moon)’
10. Kig ni	‘October (lit.: a species of vine with a white flower moon)’
11. Ina ni	‘November (lit.: tree with red flower moon)’
12. Yol omojad ni	‘December (lit.: summer-has-arrived moon)’

The phases of the moon are:

- |                              |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. ni toto                   | ‘new moon’      |
| 2. ni yoroku                 | ‘first quarter’ |
| 3. ni tarno                  | ‘full moon’     |
| 4. ni yoroku tenal tarnochik | ‘last quarter’  |

These phases are carefully noted because they affect the timing of certain activities, for example, insect damage to thatch yet to be gathered is more extensive when the moon is full, so thatch tends to be gathered at times other than full moon.

The only day of the week to have a special name is **tummi** ‘Sunday’.

Spanish influence has resulted in the use of Kuna names for the following national holidays:

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Pab purkwijad ibe  | ‘Good Friday (lit.: the day of God’s death)’ |
| 2. Pab mimmilejad ibe | ‘Christmas (lit.: the days of God’s birth)’  |
| 3. Yol aktejid        | ‘New Year (lit.: the falling of summer)’     |

## 16.4 Grammar

### 16.4.1 Motion verbs (Ex. 5–13)

One of the most useful sets of verbs in any language is the motion verbs. Two aspects important to the discussion of motion verbs are the reference point and the scope of the movement. Reference point will be discussed as it relates to the motion verbs **ne** ‘to go’ and **tag** ‘to come’. Other motion verbs are described as directional and non-directional verbs in the discussion of scope of the movement.

#### 16.4.1.1 Reference point of motion

Motion verbs deal with leaving one location and approaching another. **Ne** ‘to go’ implies that a location is left, and **tag** ‘to come’ implies that a location is being approached. The location referred to by the motion verb is the reference point of motion.

In certain circumstances, the Kuna view of the reference point is different from the English view. The Kuna viewpoint varies from being used in conversation to being used in narration.

#### 1) Reference point of speaker in conversation

In discussing the Kuna view of the reference point, it is important to be aware of two types of use in conversation. This use may involve motion on the part of one of the speakers, or it may involve motion of a third party.

#### a) Conversation involving motion of one of the speakers

In conversation, if one of the speakers is involved in the motion being discussed, the speaker must always adopt his present location as the reference point. He views the motion as either approaching or departing from his present location. The original speaker’s location is **his** reference point, and the replying speaker’s location is **his** reference point.

As in English, when the motion is moving away from both speakers, they use a form of the verb **ne** ‘to go’. Following are some examples of present situations:

#### Example

Speaker 1 wants Speaker 2 to come to him.

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. ¡ <b>Tage!</b>     | ‘Come!’  |
| 2. Eye. <b>Natab.</b> | ‘Okay. I am coming (lit.: I am going).’ <sup>100</sup> |

<sup>100</sup> Some of the English translations of the situations are awkward due to the fact that the English concept of reference point in that situation is different from the Kuna one.

In the light of his own (Speaker 1) location, he sees the motion as approaching his reference point (Speaker 1's location). He, therefore, uses a form of the motion verb **tag** 'to come'. Speaker 2, on the other hand, perceives the motion in light of his own reference point (location), and sees the motion as leaving or going from the reference point. Speaker 2, therefore, responds with a form of the verb **ne** 'to go'.

#### Example

Speaker 1 wants to go to Speaker 2.

1. Apta. An peje **natab**. 'Wait. I'm going to you.'
2. **Tago**, tegil. 'Come then.'

In this situation, Speaker 1 views the motion as leaving his reference point and uses a form of the verb **ne** 'to go'. Speaker 2, on the other hand, views the motion as approaching his reference point and uses a form of the verb **tag** 'to come'.

#### Example

Speaker 1 wants Speaker 2 to go to Location X.

1. Pe **nao**. 'Go away.'
2. Eye, an **natab**. 'Okay, I am going.'

In this situation, both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 view the direction of motion as being away from their own reference point. In this case, both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 use a form of the motion verb **ne** 'to go'.

Following are some examples of future situations:

#### Example

In his own house, Speaker 1 asks Speaker 2 to come again the next day.

1. Pan, pe **tagbalo**. 'Tomorrow, come again.'
2. An **tanibal**. 'I'll come again.'

In this situation, Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 both view the future motion as approaching his present location and both speakers use a form of the motion verb **tag/tani** 'to come'.

#### Example

At Speaker 2's house, Speaker 1 asks Speaker 2 to come to his (Speaker 1) house the following day.

1. Pe pan anche **nao**. 'Tomorrow go to me.'
2. Eye, peje **ne** tegil. 'Yes, I will go to you then.'

In this situation, both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 view the future motion as moving away from their present location. Both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 use a form of the verb **ne** 'to go'.

#### Example

At the house of Speaker 1 or Speaker 2, Speaker 1 asks Speaker 2 to go to Location X.

1. Pe pan saglaje **nao**. 'Tomorrow go to the chief.'
2. Nabir. An pan **ne** tegil. 'Okay. Tomorrow I'll go then.'

Again, in this situation Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 view the motion as being away from their present position and use a form of the verb **ne** 'to go'.

#### b) Conversation involving motion of a third party

A third party may be discussed in conversation. In the case of the third party, either leaving or approaching one of the speakers, the speaker adopts his own reference point as the reference point of motion. The case of the third party going to a location other than one of the speakers' locations, is considered a third person narrative and is discussed in section 16.4.1.1 in 2. of this lesson. Following is an example of motion involving a third party:

#### Example

Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 are talking (from a distance) and a person approaches Speaker 1.

1. Carlos anche **tani**. 'Charles is coming to me.'
2. Eye, peje **natap**. 'Yes, (he) is going to you.'

**Example**

Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 are talking (from a distance) and a person approaches Speaker 2.

1. Carlos peje **ne**. 'Charles is going to you.'
2. Eye, anche **tani**. 'Yes, (he) is coming to me.'

If, on the other hand, the person is approaching the location where Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 are (standing), both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 use a form of the verb "to come". This is similar to the English construction.

**Example**

Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 are talking and a person approaches the general location where Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 are (standing).

1. Carlos anmalzhe **tani**. 'Charles is coming toward us.'
2. Eye, anmalzhe **tani**. 'Yes, (he) is coming toward us.'

2) *Reference point in narrative*

The perception of reference point of motion in the case of a narrative is somewhat different from the reference point in conversation. The material presented in the narrative may involve relating a tale from the past or predicting an event in the future.

For purposes of this discussion, a narrative may be considered to be composed of various parts, much like the scenes of a play. There is an introduction, then various scenes, and finally, a conclusion.

In discussing the view of reference point of motion in narrative, it is important to consider both third and first person narrative.

## a) Reference point in first person narrative

In the case of a first person narrative, as with English and Spanish, the reference point of the introduction and conclusion are always the present location of the speaker. However, as in English/Spanish, but differing from the situation of a Kuna conversation in which the reference point is fixed, the reference point of the various scenes in the play vary according to the speaker's choice. They are not necessarily influenced by the speaker's present position. He may choose a reference point of the intermediate scenes according to the scene he wishes to highlight. Following are some situational examples:

**Example**

Speaker 1 is in the city, telling of his trip from the village.

While narrating the story of his trip, Speaker 1 views the introduction and conclusion of the narration in light of his present location and, therefore, refers to having **left** from the village and **come** to the city (his present location).

The reference point of the motion verbs in the other scenes reflects the speaker's interpretation of events which happened along the way. He may, for example, choose as a reference point Dog River. Speaker 1 may talk about **leaving** or **approaching** Dog River. The reference point within the scenes of the story are not related to the speaker's present position, but vary according to his choice of reference point.

**Example**

Speaker 1 is back in the village telling of a trip he made to the city.

Again, as with English and Spanish, the reference point of motion of the introduction and conclusion is related to the present location of the speaker. The reference points of the intermediate scenes are determined by the choice of the speaker.

## b) Reference point of third person narrative

In the case of third person narrative (the speaker is not involved in the motion), the reference point for the introduction, conclusion and intermediate scenes of the narrative may be the present location of the third party or it may be another location which the speaker considers to be the reference point of the scene.

It should be noted that in the case of a conversation in which the speakers are talking about a third party,<sup>101</sup> the situation is basically a third person narrative in which the speaker is not involved in the motion. In this case, the speaker chooses the location of the third party at the time of the beginning of the motion as the reference point.

### Example

Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 are talking about a person moving to Location X.

1. Carlos X-che **ne**. 'Charles is going to X.'
2. Eye, Carlos X-che **ne**. 'Yes, Charles is going to X.'

As in English and Spanish, the reference point of motion of Charles is considered by Speaker 1 and Speaker 2 to be Charles' present location. Speaker 1's form of the verb **ne** 'to go' is used to indicate that Charles is departing from the reference point.

#### 16.4.1.2 Forms of *ne* 'to go' and *tag* 'to come'

The verbs **ne** 'to go' and **tag** 'to come' are somewhat irregular in their form. The most common forms are listed below:

verb form	<b>ne</b>	'to go'	<b>tag</b>	'to come'
1. immediate future aspect	<b>ne</b>	'going to go'	<b>taniko</b>	'going to come'
2. completed aspect	<b>nad(e)</b> <sup>102</sup>	'went'	<b>taniki</b>	'have come'
3. future aspect	<b>nao</b>	'will go'	<b>tago</b>	'will come'
4. progressive aspect	<b>natab</b>	'going'	<b>tani</b>	'coming'
5. desiderative	<b>nebi</b>	'want to go'	<b>tagbi</b>	'want to come'
6. obligatory	<b>nenab</b>	'have/ought to go'	<b>tagenab</b>	'have/ought to come'
7. strong command	¡ <b>Ne!</b>	'Go!'	¡ <b>Tag(e)!</b>	'Come!'
8. polite command	<b>nao</b>	'please go'	<b>tago</b>	'please come'
9. command to a child	<b>nen</b>	'come (baby talk)'		

Following are some examples of useful "to go" verbs:

1. ¿Inkwa pe **ne**? 'When are you going to go?'
2. Sagla chapurbal **nad**. 'The chief has gone to the jungle.'
3. Sagla pato **nade**. 'The chief has already left.'
4. ¿Inkwa pe Panamabal **nao**? 'When will you go to Panama?'
5. An negzhe **natab**. 'I'm on my way home.'
6. An pebak **nebi**. 'I want to go with you.'
7. An **nenab**. 'I have/ought to go.'
8. ¡Negzhe **ne!** 'Go home!'
9. Pe wis negzhe **nao**. 'Please go home.'
10. ¡Mastad, **nen!** 'Little boy, come!'
11. Yannudin wakur **nas**. 'The peccaries passed by (here) this morning.'

Following are some examples of useful "to come" verbs:

1. ¿Kukualedde, inkwa **taniko**? 'When is the airplane going to come?'
2. ¿Inkwa **taniki**? 'When did (you) come?'
3. An wichul inkwa **tagodewa**. 'I don't know whether (he) will come.'
4. Wag **tani**. 'Outsiders are coming.'

<sup>101</sup> See 16.4.1.1 and 1).

<sup>102</sup> **nas** parallels the English phrase "passed by."

**Exercise 5.** Conversation involving motion of one of the speakers frame drill

The teacher divides the class into two sections. The teacher says Sentence 1a and then leads one section of the class in saying Sentence 1a; the teacher says Sentence 1b and then leads the other section of the class in replying to Sentence 1a with Sentence 1b.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Anche tago.
	Section 1 of students led by teacher:	Anche tago.
	Teacher:	An natab.
	Section 2 of students led by teacher:	An natab.
	1a. Anche tago.	‘Come to me.’
	b. An natab.	‘I am going.’
	2a. An peje natab.	‘I am going to you.’
	b. Nabir, anche tago, tegil.	‘Good, come to me, then.’
	3a. Pan pe tagbalo.	‘Tomorrow you come again.’
	b. An tanibal.	‘I will come again.’
	4a. Pan pe saglaje nao.	‘Tomorrow you go to the chief.’
	b. Nabir, an ne.	‘Good, I am going.’
	5a. Pe nao.	‘You go.’
	b. Eye, an natab.	‘Yes, I am going.’

**Exercise 6.** Reference point of motion stimulus response drill

The teacher says Sentence 1a. The student replies with Sentence 1b, supplying the correct form of the verb in the blank space (see Appendix J for answers).

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	Anche tago.
	Student:	Ajáj. An <b>natab</b> .
	1a. Anche tago.	‘Come to me.’
	b. Ajáj. An ____.	‘Yes. I am ____.’
	2a. ¿Ibiga taniki?	‘Why are you coming?’
	b. An mol pak ____.	‘I am ____ to buy cloth.’
	3a. ¿Pia pe ne?	‘Where are you going?’
	b. An saglaje ____.	‘I am ____ to the chief.’
	4a. ¿Inkwa pe itigin tagbalo?	‘When are you going to come here again?’
	b. Pan an ____.	‘Tomorrow I will ____.’
	5a. ¿Pan pe neggin maio?	‘Tomorrow are you going to be home?’
	b. Eye, pe wis an tak ____.	‘Yes, ____ and see me a little.’

**Exercise 7.** Reference point of conversation **ne/nebi** 'going to/want to go' drill

The teacher selects a sentence from those listed below and reads it. The student replies, using the correct form of the frame.

<b>Example</b>	Teacher:	An chapurbal ne.
	Student:	An chapurbal nebimo.
<b>Frame</b>	An ____ nebimo.	‘I want to go to ____ too.’
	1. An chapurbal ne.	‘I’m going to the jungle.’
	2. Sagla Panamabal ne.	‘The chief is going to Panama.’
	3. Pedro pistabal ne.	‘Peter is going to the airstrip.’
	4. Nan tuppal ne.	‘Mother is going to the peninsula/island.’
	5. Pab obganbal ne.	‘Father is going to the cornfield.’

**Exercise 8.** Reference point in conversation **natab** ‘going’ stimulus response drill

The teacher reads Sentence 1a and the student replies with Sentence 1b; the teacher reads Sentence 2a and the student replies with Sentence 2b, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ȷTage!

Student: Natab.

- |                             |                                     |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1a. ȷTage!                  | ‘Come!’                             |
| b. Natab.                   | ‘I’m going.’                        |
| 2a. ȷInkwa pe chapurbal ne? | ‘When are you going to the jungle?’ |
| b. Pato natab.              | ‘(I’m) already on my way.’          |
| 3a. ȷPia pe ne?             | ‘Where are you going?’              |
| b. An peje natab.           | ‘I’m coming to you.’                |
| 4a. Sagladin, pato ogus.    | ‘The chief is all ready to go.’     |
| b. Nabirde. Antin natab.    | ‘Good. I’m going.’                  |
| 5a. ȷInkwa pe an pentakne?  | ‘When are you going to help me?’    |
| b. An immis natab.          | ‘I’m coming now.’                   |

**Exercise 9.** Reference point of motion in conversation situational response drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student selects a suitable reply from those listed below and says it. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ȷTage!

Student: Natab.

**Answer**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Chuli.        | ‘No.’                    |
| 2. Kujal.        | ‘Later.’                 |
| 3. (Pato) natab. | ‘(Already) on ____ way.’ |
| 4. ampayo        | ‘not yet’                |
| 5. (Pato) tani.  | ‘____ coming already.’   |
| 6. (Pato) ne.    | ‘____ going already.’    |
| 7. (Pato) nad.   | ‘____ went already.’     |

**Statement/Question**

- |                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. ȷTage!                | ‘Come!’                       |
| 2. ȷPe ne?               | ‘Are you going?’              |
| 3. ȷSagladin?            | ‘(How about) the chief?’      |
| 4. Pan, pe an negzhe ne. | ‘Tomorrow, come to my house.’ |
| 5. ȷInkwa tani?          | ‘When is (he/you) coming?’    |

**Exercise 10.** Motion verb situational response drill

Using the sentences and replies given in Exercise 9, the teacher reads Sentence 1 and the student gives a suitable reply. Any of the suggested replies or other suitable reply may be given. The teacher repeats Sentence 1 and the student gives a different but suitable answer. The teacher then repeats Sentence 1 a third time and the student gives yet another suitable answer. The teacher then moves on to Sentence 2 and the process is repeated.

**Exercise 11.** Reference in conversation involving a third person **tani** ‘coming’ stimulus response drill

The teacher reads Question 1a and the student gives Reply 1b; the teacher reads Question 2a and the student gives Reply 2b, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ȷToa tani?

Student: Wag tani.



- |                     |                                   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1a. ¿Toa tani?      | ‘Who’s coming?’                   |
| b. Wag tani.        | ‘An outsider is coming.’          |
| 2a. ¿Inkwa tani?    | ‘When is (he) coming?’            |
| b. Immis tani.      | ‘(He) is coming now.’             |
| 3a. ¿Pia akar tani? | ‘Where is (he) coming (from)?’    |
| b. Igalbal tani.    | ‘(He) is coming along the trail.’ |
| 4a. ¿Toabak tani?   | ‘Who is (he) coming with?’        |
| b. Omebak tani.     | ‘(He) is coming with his wife.’   |
| 5a. ¿Ibiga tani?    | ‘Why is (he) coming?’             |
| b. Mol paktani.     | ‘(He) is coming to buy a blouse.’ |

### Exercise 12. tani ‘coming’ response drill

The teacher repeats the questions in Exercise 11 and the student replies to the question using the first person pronoun and verb.

### Exercise 13. Reference point of third person narrative **ne/nad** ‘going to go/went’ transform drill

The teacher gives the stimulus in the form of the questions listed below. The student uses the frame to reply to the question. The teacher then selects another question and the student replies to it using the reply frame.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pablodin chapurbal ne?  
Student: Pablodin pato nad.

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Frame</b> ____ pato nad. | ‘ ____ already went.’             |
| 1. ¿Pablodin chapurbal ne?  | ‘Is Paul going to the jungle?’    |
| 2. ¿Anadin obganbal ne?     | ‘Is Anne going to the cornfield?’ |
| 3. ¿Pedrocin Pukurbal ne?   | ‘Is Peter going to Pucuru?’       |
| 4. ¿Machidin tibal ne?      | ‘Is the boy going to the river?’  |
| 5. ¿Sagladin Panamabal ne?  | ‘Is the chief going to Panama?’   |

#### 16.4.1.3 Scope of movement

It is helpful to divide the motion involved in a roundtrip journey into stages or phases:

- Phase 1 - departure from a point of origin
- Phase 2 - movement from point of origin towards a destination
- Phase 3 - arrival at the destination or a major intermediate point
- Phase 4 - leaving on the return journey
- Phase 5 - returning from the destination
- Phase 6 - arriving back at the original point of departure.

These phases of motion are referred to as the scope of movement. The narration of every journey involves some or all of these phases, sometimes various activities are related, also which tools place during a phase, especially phase 2 and phase 5, are at the destination before starting the return journey.

Languages differ in the phases of motion included in each motion verb, i.e., in the scope of movement encompassed by certain verbs.

Verbs whose scope of movement includes only Phases 1 through 3 or Phases 4 through 6 are called uni-directional verbs. Verbs whose scope includes Phases 1 through 6 are called bi-directional. Some motion verbs, termed nondirectional, do not indicate a direction of motion.

#### 1) Uni-directional verbs

Most Kuna motion verbs are uni-directional, i.e., they involve only one direction of movement. As previously noted, in order to understand the use of specific motion verbs, it is necessary to consider both the reference point of the motion and the scope.

## a) Uni-directional motion verbs with origin/destination reference point

• *ne*

**Ne** 'to go' is a uni-directional verb which indicates movement away from the reference point. In English, the scope of the verb 'to go' includes only Phases 1 and 2. Take, for example, the English sentence, "He **went** to town and bought some salt." The "went" of the example tells the English speaker that the person not only left his point of origin, but that he also arrived at the destination and was able to "buy salt". If this sentence were to be used in a Kuna situation, the verb **ne** 'to go' would indicate that the person had left his place of origin and journeyed away from it. Another verb would need to be used to indicate that the person arrived at his destination. Spanish tends to use a second verb for Phase 3 as well, *El fue al pueblo. Al llegar allá ...* 'He went to the village. On arriving there...'

**Example** Sagla Pukurbal **nad**. 'The chief **went** to Pucuru.'

**Nad** includes Phase 1 (left point of origin) and Phase 2 (moved towards destination point).

• *tag*

**Tag** 'to come' is a uni-directional verb which indicates movement towards a reference point. It can refer to Phase 5, return motion towards the point of origin. Other verbs must be used in Kuna to indicate leaving the destination point on the return trip and also for arrival back at the point of origin.

**Example** Anche **tago**. 'Come to me.'

• *al*

**Al** 'to come away from' is a uni-directional verb which indicates return movement from the reference point by leaving the destination on the return trip. **Al** usually only refers to Phase 4, although affixed forms such as **albal** can occur in Phase 5.

**Example** Pedro Yabis akar **al**. 'Peter **came away from** Yavisa.'

• *omo*

**Omo** 'to arrive' is a uni-directional verb which refers to arrival at/approach to the reference point, destination (other than the point of origin), or an important intermediate point. It refers only to Phase 3.

**Example** Luis Panamaje **omos**. 'Louis **arrived** at Panama.'

• *noni*

**Noni** 'to arrive (from somewhere else)' is a uni-directional verb which refers to arrival at the reference point of the speaker. It may be used to refer to Phase 6 in a round-trip story that arrives back at the speaker's location.

**Example** Tummagan **noni**. 'The chiefs **arrived**.'

The following summary of these uni-directional verbs of motion may help clarify their use:

Phase 1 and 2	Sagla <b>nad</b> .	'The chief left.'
Phase 3	Sagla Pukurche <b>omos</b> .	'The chief arrived at Pucuru.'
Phase 4	Sagla Pukur akar <b>al</b> .	'The chief came away from Pucuru.'
Phase 5	Sagla <b>tani</b> .	'The chief is coming.'
Phase 6	Sagla <b>noni</b> .	'The chief arrived (here).'

## b) Uni-directional motion verb with actor as reference point

Some uni-directional motion verbs take as their reference point the present location of the actor, whereas in English, the reference point of those verbs may be the other person involved in the motion (conversation).

- *tog*

**Tog** ‘to enter’ is a uni-directional verb which refers to going from the outside to the inside. That is to say, the present location of the actor is the reference point. The use of **toge** ‘enter’ parallels the English use of the word “enter”. It does not imply the directional concept of motion found in the alternative English expressions “**come in**” or “**go in**,” which use a location other than that of the actor as the reference point.

- *no*

**No** ‘to exit’ is a uni-directional verb which refers to going from the inside to the outside. The present location of the actor is the reference point. The use of **no** parallels the English use of the word “exit.” It does not imply the directional concept of motion found in the alternative English expressions “**go out**” or “**come out**.”

- *Other uni-directional verbs*

Other uni-directional verbs which use the present location of the actor as their reference point are:

- |          |                             |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| 1. chu   | ‘fetch/take’                |
| 2. chei  | ‘bring/take (away)’         |
| 3. nakwe | ‘go up/come up/ascend’      |
| 4. akte  | ‘go down/come down/descend’ |

c) Motion verbs *arkwa* ‘to fall’ and *agla* ‘to fall over’

The Kuna use of the verbs **arkwa** ‘to fall’ and **agla** ‘to fall (over)’ encompasses two aspects of the English word “to fall.”

- *arkwa*

**Arkwa** ‘to fall’ is used when a free fall is involved. That is to say, the whole person/object lands in a lower position than it originally had.

**Example** An **arkwas**. ‘I **fell (out of a tree/down a river bank)**.’

- *agla*

**Agla** ‘to fall (over/down)/stumble’ is used when a person or thing topples over and lands in a position on the same level as it was originally.

**Example** An **aglas**. ‘I **fell (stumbled)** (over a stone on the ground).’

2) *Bi-directional verbs*

Some verbs are bi-directional and indicate travel to and from a destination. **Arpi** ‘to go and return’ is a common bi-directional verb. **Arpi** may be used to describe a situation where the motion goes from a reference point, to another point and back to the reference point. It may also be used to describe a motion which involves leaving a location, going to a reference point, and returning to the original location.

**Examples**

The reference point is the speaker’s location, and the actor went from the reference point and returned to it.

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Sagla Pukurbal <b>arpi</b> . | ‘The chief went to Pucuru (from here) and returned (here). The chief has been to Pucuru.’ |
|---------------------------------|---|

The reference point is the speaker’s location. The actor came from somewhere else to the reference point and returned to the point of origin.

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 2. Sagla pato itije <b>arpi</b> . | ‘The chief has been (here) already (and returned to the point of origin).’ |
|-----------------------------------|--|

3) *Non-directional verbs*

As with English and Spanish, Kuna has many motion verbs which do not imply direction, such as **abarma** ‘to run’, **tomoma** ‘to swim’ and **nane** ‘to walk’.

**Example** Mimmi **pipirma**. ‘The baby is wandering around.’

#### 4) *Scope of movement illustrated in Dialogue 16.1*

The use of the appropriate verb for each stage of a journey is shown in the following breakdown of Dialogue 16.1.

Sentences 1–5 summarize the trip and, therefore, the bidirectional verb **arpi** occurs.

In Sentence 6, **nad** occurs as the narration of the story begins.

**Omos** appears in Sentence 8, where the traveller reaches an important intermediate point.

In Sentence 12b, **nad** appears again as the journey continues; and in Sentence 16, it is reduplicated (Phase 2) as he goes on and on.

In Sentence 22a, **nad** marks leaving (Phase 1) a second intermediate point and in Sentence 22b, **omo** indicates arrival at the destination (Phase 3).

Sentences 23 through 25 describe movement and other activities within the area of the destination.

As he leaves on the return journey, **nad** appears first in Sentence 36 and is followed in Sentence 40 by **al** (Phase 4).

**Albal** ‘come away from again’ occurs in Sentence 42 to indicate Phase 5 and **algu** and **alchun** in Sentences 52 and 54 to indicate the continuation of Phase 5.

In Sentence 56, as he arrives back at the original point of departure (Phase 6), **noni** appears and is followed by **arpi** to signal the completion of the round trip.

#### 16.4.2 Adverbs of duration of stay

There are two adverbs which indicate the duration of stay at a particular location: **meg** ‘to stay’ and **pirkal** ‘not to stay (go/come and return right away)’.

##### Example

Airplane pilot speaks to chief.

1. An **pirkal** tani. ‘I’ve come (**but not to stay**).’

or

2. An **meg** tani. ‘I’ve come (**to overnight**).’

#### 16.4.3 Goal of motion (Ex. 14–17)

Except for non-directional verbs, motion is always towards some location, i.e., goal of the motion, and away from a source, i.e., point of origin. However, in any given sentence the goal and/or source may be implied. Furthermore, they may be either a general area or direction, or a specific point in a general area. That is, they may be either general or specific.

##### 16.4.3.1 General area goal

If the motion is towards a general area, for example, the jungle versus a specific tree in the jungle, the general goal suffix **-bal/-pal** is added to the noun. This is the same as the locative suffix for a broad setting described in Section 8.4.1.1).

**Example** Sagla chapur**bal** nad. ‘The chief went to the jungle.’

In the speaker’s view, the jungle represents a general area, rather than a specific point.

### 16.4.3.2 Specific goal

If the motion is towards what is viewed as a specific point within a general setting, such as a home within a town, the specific goal suffix **-che/-zhe/-je**<sup>103</sup> is added to the noun.

**Example** Sagla neg**zhe** nad. 'The chief went home.'

The suffix **-che/-zhe/-je** is also used in the sense of 'as far as'.

**Example**

An sagla neg**zhe** arpi. 'I went **as far as** the chief's house./I went **to** the chief's house.'

### 16.4.3.3 General direction words

Sometimes a general direction word, rather than a general or specific area is used as the goal of motion. These general direction words do not use the goal suffixes **-bal/-pal** or **-che/-zhe/-je**. Some general direction words include:

- |                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. nakwal          | 'up (river)'         |
| 2. teal            | 'down (river)'       |
| 3. opakal          | 'across (the river)' |
| 4. nuechik         | 'right-hand side'    |
| 5. chapilechik     | 'left-hand side'     |
| 6. tad nakwechik   | 'east'               |
| 7. tad arkwanechik | 'west'               |

#### Exercise 14. General goal suffix **-bal/-pal** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An chapurbal ne.

Student: An chapurbal ne.

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. An chapurbal ne.    | 'I'm going to go to the jungle.'                    |
| 2. An tibal ti.        | 'I've come from the river.'                         |
| 3. Machi Pukurbal nad. | 'The boy went to Pucuru.'                           |
| 4. Tad Pay tukpal ne.  | 'The elder is going to the head of the Paya River.' |
| 5. Ome Panamabal ne.   | 'The woman is going to go to Panama.'               |

#### Exercise 15. General goal suffix **-bal/-pal** frame drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies using the **-bal/-pal** suffix to state the goal of motion.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pia ne?

Student: Chapurbal ne.

- |           |          |
|-----------|----------|
| 1. chapur | 'jungle' |
| 2. ti     | 'river'  |
| 3. Pukur  | 'Pucuru' |
| 4. igal   | 'trail'  |
| 5. Panama | 'Panama' |

#### Exercise 16. Specific goal suffix **-che/-zhe/-je** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

---

<sup>103</sup> **-che** follows fortis consonants, **-zhe** follows lenis consonants, and **-je** follows vowels.

**Example** Teacher: An negzhe nad.

Student: An negzhe nad.

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. An negzhe nad.    | ‘I went home.’                                |
| 2. An Paluje arpi.   | ‘I went (and came back) as far as Palu.’      |
| 3. An tije ne.       | ‘I am going to go as far as the river.’       |
| 4. An ti nakche ti.  | ‘I’ve been as far as the mouth of the river.’ |
| 5. An yal pirche ne. | ‘I am going to the top of the hill.’          |

### Exercise 17. Specific goal suffix **-che/-zhe/-je** drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies using the **-che/-zhe/-je** specific goal suffix to describe the goal of motion.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Piaje arpi?

Student: Negzhe arpi.

- |            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| 1. neg     | ‘house’                   |
| 2. ti      | ‘river’                   |
| 3. yal pir | ‘top of the hill’         |
| 4. Pukur   | ‘Pucuru’                  |
| 5. ti tuk  | ‘headwaters of the river’ |

#### 16.4.4 Source of motion (Ex. 18–19)

The location at which a motion originates is called the source of motion. The source of motion is described by using the source of motion word **akar** ‘from’ following the locative word without a locative suffix.

**Example** Machi Pukur **akar** noni. ‘The boy arrived **from** Pucuru.’

If a person has a choice of going via Route X or via Route Y when travelling from Point A to Point B, the way he chooses is the path of motion and is marked by the suffix **-chik/-zhik** ‘via’.

**Example** Sagla Pukur**zhik** noni. ‘The chief arrived **via** Pucuru.’

### Exercise 18. Source of motion **akar** ‘from’ frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An neg akar tani.

Student: An neg akar tani.

- |                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. An neg akar tani.    | ‘I am coming from home.’      |
| 2. An ti akar tani.     | ‘I am coming from the river.’ |
| 3. An nakwal akar tani. | ‘I am coming from upriver.’   |
| 4. An Panama akar tani. | ‘I am coming from Panama.’    |
| 5. An Pukur akar tani.  | ‘I am coming from Pucuru.’    |

### Exercise 19. Source of motion **akar** ‘from’ frame drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies using the word **akar** ‘from’ following the locative word.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pia akar tani?

Student: Chapur akar tani.

**Frame** ¿Pia akar tani?

- |           |             |
|-----------|-------------|
| 1. chapur | ‘jungle’    |
| 2. ti     | ‘river’     |
| 3. teal   | ‘downriver’ |
| 4. Panama | ‘Panama’    |

### 16.4.5 Other action verbs with verbs of motion (Ex. 20)

Another action may accompany or follow a motion.

#### 16.4.5.1 Action accompanying motion

An action which occurs at the same time as a motion parallels such English constructions as, “He came singing.” or “She left skipping.” In Kuna, these are formed by the reduplicated short form of the action verb stem followed by the appropriate form of a motion verb.

#### Examples

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Nubi ichoma-ichoma nade. | ‘The rabbit went jumping (away).’ |
| 2. Puna nama-nama noni.     | ‘The girl arrived singing.’       |

#### 16.4.5.2 Another action following motion

When another action is subsequent to/or the purpose of a motion, the short form of the action verb stem is followed by the appropriate motion verb which is attached to it.

#### Examples

- |                                  |                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Machered ua <b>chwanade</b> . | ‘The man <b>went to fish</b> .’    |
| 2. An mol <b>paktani</b> .       | ‘I <b>came to buy</b> cloth.’      |
| 3. An mol <b>pakti</b> .         | ‘I <b>have been to buy</b> cloth.’ |

### Exercise 20. Action verbs with verbs of motion

The teacher says the sentence. The student selects one of the suggested action verbs and uses it in a duplicated form in a sentence to indicate that the action and the motion occur concurrently. This exercise should be repeated with the student adding the action verb to the verb of motion to indicate that the action follows the verb.

- Examples**
- |          |                    |
|----------|--------------------|
| Teacher: | An nade.           |
| Student: | An nama-nama nade. |
| Teacher: | An nade.           |
| Student: | An namanade.       |

#### Verb

- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. nama    | ‘to sing’ |
| 2. ua chwa | ‘to fish’ |
| 3. ichoma  | ‘to jump’ |

#### Sentence

- |               |                                |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. An nade.   | ‘I went.’                      |
| 2. Mu ne.     | ‘The old lady is going to go.’ |
| 3. Cesi noni. | ‘Cesi arrived.’                |
| 4. Luis arpi. | ‘Louis went and came back.’    |
| 5. Machi ti.  | ‘The boy has been there.’      |

## 16.5 Vocabulary

- |             |                            |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1. naja/nas | ‘passed by’                |
| 2. ne       | ‘going to go’              |
| 3. nao      | ‘will go’                  |
| 4. tag(e)   | ‘to come’                  |
| 5. tani     | ‘is coming’                |
| 6. noni     | ‘arrived (here)’           |
| 7. omo(e)   | ‘to arrive somewhere else’ |

8. pirkal	'to (go/come) but not to stay'
9. no(e)	'to go out/leave/arise'
10. akpir tani	'to come but not to stay'
11. al(i)	'to leave (towards setting/speaker)'
12. tog(e)	'to enter'
13. arpi	'to journey (go and come back)'
14. akar(a)	'from'
15. nane	'to walk'
16. abarma(ke)	'to run'
17. tomoma(ke)	'to swim'
18. ichoma(ke)	'to jump'
19. nebi	'to want to go'
20. natab	'going/coming'
21. pipirma	'to wander/spin around'
22. tagbi	'to want to come'
23. taniki	'to have come'
24. taniko	'going to come'
25. noniki	'to have arrived'
26. noniko	'will arrive'
27. megwe	'to stay/live'
28. kalma(ke)	'to visit'
29. titir(i)	'clear/transparent'
30. amur(u)	'cloudy/murky'
31. arkwa(e)	'to fall'
32. agla(e)	'to fall over'



## 17 TELLING STORIES

### 17.1 Dialogue

Relating personal experiences and stories plays an important role in Kuna social life.

A man in the city is telling about the events which transpired during his trip to town. He speaks to the audience:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Antin Pay akar nos, al.  | ‘I left Paya, I came away.’   |
| 2. Anmal walpá, ante tegin chulubde tegin wag walgwenbal, yal okpinal tani. | ‘There were three of us, myself, a policeman, and an outsider who came from Colombia (lit.: the other side of the mountain).’ |
| 3. Adin chog, ede IRHEgin arpa, Panamagin.                                  | ‘The outsider said that he worked for IRHE in Panama.’  |
| 4. Pel ukles anmal walpá.   | ‘There were three of us all told.’  |
| 5. Tegin anmal nos Pay akar wachilpabakkin.                                 | ‘We left Paya at eight o’clock.’  |
| 6. Anmal kep pela-pela almal, Pay akar; limiteje, wachilbakebakkin nonimal. | ‘We left Paya and travelled fast; we arrived at the boundary at nine o’clock.’  |
| 7. Tegin immal kwen takchajulgus; igalbal.                                  | ‘We didn’t see anything (wildlife) along the way.’  |
| 8. Kep limitegin wis ampa ampagusmalbal icheal, minuto atal.                | ‘We stayed at the boundary for a little while, about five minutes.’   |
| 9. Kep tegin nanmalbal, Tapaliche.  | ‘Then only did we go on again, to the Tapalis River.’   |
| 10. Igalbal immal kwen takchajulgusbal.                                     | ‘We didn’t see anything on the trail again.’  |
| 11. Anmal Tapalis omosmalgu wachilambe eg abal.                             | ‘When we arrived at Tapalis it was half past ten.’  |
| 12. Degin wis ampagusmalbal, wis tibi kobzhamalbal.                         | ‘We stayed there awhile again, and again we drank a little water.’  |

The traveller then went on to tell of the remainder of his trip.

### 17.2 Pronunciation

#### 17.2.1 Story-telling intonation (Ex. 1–3)

A fascinating tale may be turned into a dull account simply because of a flat, unexpressive intonation pattern. Learning good story-telling intonation patterns is very difficult under classroom conditions. Your success in mastering the art of story-telling will depend on applying yourself to mimicking. Take every possible opportunity to track or silently mimic people as you sit listening to them tell stories.

#### Exercise 1. Tracking

Track the teacher as he says Dialogue 17.1.

#### Exercise 2. Dialogue dramatization

The student should dramatize Dialogue 17.1 to the class. Pay special attention to the pauses and the crescendos.

#### Exercise 3. Problem-solving drill

Discuss and drill any problems encountered in Exercises 1 and 2 above.

### 17.2.2 Good story-telling style

There are several phonological features which mark good story-telling style.

#### 17.2.2.1 Pauses

Extra long pauses are used by a good storyteller 1) to dramatize the change of scene (“stage”), and 2) to create suspense.

#### 17.2.2.2 Onomatopoeic words

Many Kuna people are superb storytellers. A good storyteller sprinkles onomatopoeic expressions throughout the story; birds trill, motors roar, bees buzz. For example, the sound of the flapping wings of a bird may be described as: **mer-mer-mer-mer-mer-mer...**

Two common onomatopoeic expressions are **toas** and **mok**. **Toas** is used to dramatize shots (in a hunting story) or a banging sound. **Mok** is used to dramatize a collision between objects.

Onomatopoeic words are used at climactic points in the relating of stories or exciting events.

#### Examples

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1a. Yannu anche abarmanoni.             | ‘The peccary came charging towards me.’                       |
| b. <b>Toas</b> , an imas.               | ‘ <b>Bang!</b> I shot (it).’                                  |
| 2a. Ai korkidin olligin e nugal yoles.  | ‘Friend pelican’s beak slammed into the mud.’                 |
| b. ¡ <b>Motok! Mer-mer-mer-mer</b> pes. | ‘ <b>Thud!</b> (His wings went) <b>whir-whir-whir-whir.</b> ’ |
| c. Keg kuku; kales, ai korkide.         | ‘He could not fly; friend pelican was stuck fast.’            |

#### 17.2.2.3 Stress switch

An action may be dramatized and intensified by a change of stress. This intensification is achieved by changing a lenis consonant to fortis, and stressing the final syllable of the emphasized word.

#### Examples

- |             |            |         |          |                            |
|-------------|------------|---------|----------|----------------------------|
| 1. Purkwis. | ‘It died.’ | becomes | Purkwís. | ‘It dropped dead.’         |
| 2. chibu    | ‘white’    | becomes | chipú    | ‘snow-white’               |
| 3. Nade.    | ‘He went.’ | becomes | Naté.    | ‘He took off/disappeared.’ |

#### 17.2.2.4 Rapid repetition in an undertone

Sometimes a verb is repeated very rapidly several times in a row, in almost an undertone, and then it fades away to virtual silence.

#### Example

Nade-nade-nade-nade... ‘He went on and on and on and on (until)...’

Rapid repetition is used in two ways:

1. to skim over uninteresting episodes to the next point of interest, and
2. to build suspense before an unexpected dramatic incident.

#### 17.2.2.5 Interjections

Interjections by the narrator indicate his personal sentiments or emotional attitude toward the situation and help to set the stage for the story.

#### Examples

- |                      |                                 |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ai-yai-yai        | ‘(reflects great distress)’     |
| 2. máchi             | ‘(reflects surprise/disbelief)’ |
| 3. chuli-chuli-chuli | ‘(reflects shock/disagreement)’ |
| 4. mantur            | ‘(reflects surprise/disbelief)’ |

### 17.3 Culture

Kuna culture prescribes a listener's code of etiquette. As a language learner, you will undoubtedly have many opportunities to hear fascinating tales from your Kuna friends. A person listening to a story is expected to interject appropriate responses, conversation sustainers (see XI.D.3.), in order to assure the storyteller of your continuing interest.

In meetings, if the speaker has exceeded the time due him according to his status, he is "talked down". The older men start talking to each other getting louder and louder until the speaker is drowned out. Occasionally this happens if nobody agrees with the speaker. Even then, normally he has a fair hearing and only gets "talked down" when he starts to reiterate what he has already said.

### 17.4 Grammar

In this lesson, we discuss the postpredicate position in the sentence. In Kuna, information which is to be highlighted or which is to be made more clear, is placed at the end of a sentence. Thus, a sentence can comprise either a simple sentence or a simple sentence followed by a postpredicate element. Any **one** element of a given sentence may appear in this position.

The postpredicate element is usually separated from the main part of the sentence by a semi-colon in writing; in speaking, there is a slight pause before it. This element is said with a different intonation pattern than the pattern used in the main sentence.

#### 17.4.1 Uses of postpredicate position (Ex. 4)

The postpredicate position is used for highlighting or emphasis, for redistribution of information in order to avoid information overload, or for clarifying.

##### 17.4.1.1 Highlighting or emphasis

Information which the speaker feels needs further **emphasis** or highlighting may be placed in the postpredicate position. For example, we will examine the following sentence.

##### Example

Machi nakwal chule amine, **mutik**. 'The boy is going to hunt paca upriver **tonight**.'

In English and Spanish, the speaker may emphasize one element of a sentence by putting a heavy stress on the word to be emphasized as it is spoken. In Kuna, emphasis may be placed on any of the words in the sentence by placing that word after the predicate. In the example, the word **mutik** 'tonight' is emphasized.

##### 17.4.1.2 Information overload

Kuna places a limit on the number of elements that can be placed in one sentence, including the number of adjectives or adverbs modifying a given element. An item of information which exceeds the limit of pieces of information permitted in a Kuna sentence, i.e., the information overload, may be placed in the postpredicate position. If the information overload exceeds one item, the information should be distributed between two or more sentences.

A chronic error made by people learning to speak Kuna is that of trying to place all the information relative to a situation into one sentence. A similar situation arises in English and Spanish when a speaker strings many clauses, adjectives, or adverbs together without pausing or changing emphasis. In either case, the listener becomes confused and does not understand the sentence.

##### 1) Element overload

In general, Kuna is limited to three or four elements in a single sentence. The essential information is put in the simple sentence and the most important item of the secondary information is put in the postpredicate position.

Examine the following example. The English sentence contains five items of information which are usually too many for a simple sentence in Kuna. One item may be put in the postpredicate position or two sentences may be used.

**Example**

1	2	3	4	5
The boy	is going to give	the cloth	to the woman	tonight.

The essential information, that is the basic elements (“the boy is going to give the cloth”), should be placed in the simple sentence. The speaker must choose the item of more importance to him from the two remaining items (“tonight” and “to the woman”). The more important item is placed in the postpredicate position, the other item is placed in the simple sentence. Following are two examples of how the sample English sentence could be rendered in Kuna.

**Example**

1	4	3	2	5
Machi	omega	mol	ukne;	<b>mutik.</b>
The boy	to the woman	cloth	is going to give	tonight

**Example**

5	1	3	2	4
<b>Mutik</b>	machi	mol	ukne;	omega.
tonight	the boy	cloth	is going to give	to the woman

2) *Modifier overload*<sup>104</sup>

In most cases in Kuna, only one modifier of a noun or verb may be used in the simple sentence. Two adjectives or adverbs used to modify a single element are treated as modifier overload and one of them is placed in the postpredicate position.

**Examples**

A **big black** canoe arrived.

1. Ul **tummad** noni; ul **chichidi**. ‘A **big** canoe arrived; a **black** canoe.’
2. Ul **chichid** noni; ul **tummad**. ‘A **black** canoe arrived; a **big** canoe.’

**17.4.1.3 Clarifying**

The postpredicate position may be used to clarify the statement in the simple sentence. Clarification is achieved by stating additional information which will help to avoid ambiguity, an afterthought, or additional information after the speaker has hesitated.

1) *Avoiding ambiguity*

Sometimes a speaker, in the process of saying a sentence, will realize that his meaning has been obscure, and he will add a word following the predicate to avoid ambiguity or to clarify the intended meaning.

**Example** An ul pei; ul kinnigwad. ‘I want the canoe; **the red canoe.**’

2) *Afterthought*

Occasionally, a speaker will add information in this position as an afterthought. Such a thought is sometimes added to forestall an expected objection by the listener, by clarifying the intended meaning.

**Example**

Kujal, an pe pennuko ... chedo, itos. ‘Later I will pay you back; ... (pause) ... **this afternoon**, you understand.’

<sup>104</sup> See 9.4.4.3.

### 3) *Hesitancy*

At other times, the postpredicate position is used to fill in information after the speaker pauses because he has momentarily forgotten or omitted an item. In such instances, a generic (non-specific) term may occur in the main sentence and a specific term after the predicate.

#### **Example**

1. ¿Toa nad? 'Who went?'
2. ... Iwen nad; ... m-mmm Pedro. '(Thinking) So-n-so went; ... m-mmm Peter.'

#### **Exercise 4.** Postpredicate position intonation drill

##### Stage 1 - Mimicking

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student hums the tune; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student hums the tune, etc.

##### Stage 2 - Tracking

The student tracks the teacher as he says Sentence 1; the student tracks the teacher as he says Sentence 2, etc.

##### Stage 3 - Frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc.

**Example** Teacher: Tule noni; tule walapá.

Student: Tule noni; tule walapá.

1. Tule noni; tule walapá. 'Three people arrived.'
2. Machi ne; immal amine. 'The boy is going **to hunt**.'
3. Ul noni; ul tummadi. 'The **big** canoe arrived.'
4. Anka chogbalo; pinna. 'Tell me again **slowly**.'
5. Machi mol ukcha; nanga. 'The boy gave the cloth **to (his) mother**.'

#### **17.4.2 Guidelines for placing elements in the postpredicate position (Ex. 5–28)**

For purposes of discussion, the elements of the simple sentence are divided into two classes: basic and peripheral. Basic elements are the subject, the direct object (in transitive sentences), and the predicate. All other elements of the simple sentence are peripheral: indirect object; locative, goal and time words and phrases; and adjectives and adverbs.<sup>105</sup>

The guidelines for placing both peripheral and basic elements in the postpredicate position are similar. Those for placing peripheral elements tend to be more general, however, and are, therefore, dealt with before the more specific ones for basic elements. If the same guideline applies to a basic element, it is included in this section. Guidelines specific to basic elements are discussed in Lesson XVIII.D.5. When a peripheral element is to be placed in the postpredicate position for purposes of highlighting or clarifying, it may be handled in one of four ways.

##### **17.4.2.1 *Peripheral element omitted in the main clause and unexpanded in the postpredicate position***

The preferred way to highlight any peripheral element is to omit it entirely from the simple sentence and place it after the predicate in the form it would have appeared in the simple sentence. This is, of course, the only option apart from adding another sentence for including an element which would result in information overload.

---

<sup>105</sup> It could be argued that locative and goal words and phrases are basic elements of sentences with motion or positional verbs and that the indirect object is a basic element with a ditransitive verb. However, we have chosen to treat as peripheral any nominal element in which a suffix indicates its function. By this criterion, only subject and object, and possibly vocative, are basic nominal elements.

**Examples**

Indirect object:

1. An mol ukcha; **nanga**. 'I gave the cloth to **Mother**.'

Time word:

2. An ne; **mutik**. 'I am going **tonight**.'

Locative word:

3. Koe un; **chapurbal**. 'A deer is **in the jungle**.'

Goal word:

4. An ne; **negzhe**. 'I am going to go **home**.'

Adverb:

5. Machi ne; **kueye-kueye**. 'The boy is going to go **quickly**.'

**Exercise 5.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element omission) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An mol ukne; nanga.

Student: An mol ukne; nanga.

1. An mol ukne; nanga. 'I am going to give the cloth to Mother.'
2. An ne; negzhe. 'I'm going to go home.'
3. Machi immal amine; chapurbal. 'The boy is going hunting in the jungle.'
4. Tule noni; Pukur akar. 'The people have arrived from Pucuru.'
5. An cho chikne; akangin. 'I am going to cut firewood with an axe.'

**Exercise 6.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element omission) transform drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it moving the peripheral element from the simple sentence to the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: An nanga mol ukcha.

Student: An mol ukcha; nanga.

1. An nanga mol ukcha. 'I gave Mother the cloth.'
2. Machi negzhe nad. 'The boy went home.'
3. Ozhi igalgin pukwa. 'The pineapples are in the path.'
4. Machergan kullubal arpanani. 'The men are working on the (river) bank.'
5. Kukualed Panama akar tani. 'The plane is coming from Panama.'
6. Machi ulgin nad. 'The boy went by canoe.'
7. Machi opakal aros tigne. 'The boy is going to plant rice across (the river).'
8. Sagla sae arpi. 'The chief went (and came back) yesterday.'
9. Ome ankin mol pakcha. 'The woman bought the cloth from me.'
10. Machi pabbak immal amine. 'The boy is going hunting with (his) father.'

**17.4.2.2 Element stated in an expanded or unexpanded form in the simple sentence and repeated in the same form in the postpredicate position**

**Examples**

1. Machi **nanga** ua ukcha; **nanga**.<sup>106</sup> ‘The boy gave **Mother** the fish.’
2. Machi **Panamabal** ne; **Panamabal**. ‘The boy is going to go **to Panama**.’

Similarly, when a peripheral element is modified by an adjective, the noun, adjective and suffix may all be repeated in the postpredicate position.

**Examples**

1. Tad **machi tummadga** es ukcha; **machi tummadga**. ‘The elder gave the machete to the **big boy**.’
2. Ome **choneg tummadzhe** nad; **choneg tummadzhe**. ‘The woman went to the **big cookhouse**.’

**Exercise 7.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element repetition) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ome macheredga ua tus; macheredga.

Student: Ome macheredga ua tus; macheredga.

1. Ome macheredga ua tus; macheredga. ‘The woman cooked fish **for (her) husband**.’
2. Machi chapurbal arpi; chapurbal. ‘The boy has been **to the jungle**.’
3. Wag teal akar tani; teal akar. ‘The outsider has come **from downriver**.’
4. Machi aktegalgin ua makcha; aktegalgin. ‘The boy speared the fish **with his punt**.’
5. Mu negzhe nad; negzhe. ‘The old lady went **home**.’

**Exercise 8.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element repetition) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it adding the peripheral element in the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: Machi nanga ua ukcha.

Student: Machi nanga ua ukcha; nanga.

1. Machi nanga ua ukcha. ‘The boy gave (his) mother the fish.’
2. Machi igalbal koe takcha. ‘The boy saw a deer on the trail.’
3. Kukualed Panama akar tani. ‘The plane is coming from Panama.’
4. Machi yal pirezhe nad. ‘The boy went to the top of the hill.’
5. Machi esgin mas chikcha. ‘The boy cut the plantains with a machete.’

Likewise, the subject may be restated, either in the long or short form. When the sentence is an assertion about the identity of the subject, one of the topic marking suffixes **-din/-tin** or **-de/-te** tends to be attached, as in Sentences 3 and 4 of Exercise 9.

**Examples**

1. Pab ye; **paba**. ‘**Father** is sick.’
2. Nan mas chikti; **nan**. ‘**Mother** cut plantains.’

**Exercise 9.** Postpredicate position (subject repeated) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<sup>106</sup> The distinction between sentences 1 and 2 below is very slight:

1. Machi ua ukcha; **nanga**. ‘The boy gave the fish **to Mother**.’
2. Machi **nanga** ua ukcha; **nanga**. ‘The boy gave **Mother** the fish.’

Sentence 2 places a somewhat stronger emphasis on the indirect object than does Sentence 1.

**Example** Teacher: Kukualed nade; kukualed.  
Student: Kukualed nade; kukualed.

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Kukualed nade; kukualed.   | ‘The <b>airplane</b> left (went).’                               |
| 2. Pab ye; pab.               | ‘ <b>Father</b> is sick.’  |
| 3. Mude, kachi chomnai; mude. | ‘ <b>The old lady</b> is making a hammock.’                      |
| 4. Omedin mas tunai; omedin.  | ‘The <b>woman</b> (on the other hand) is cooking food.’          |
| 5. Urpa ina kobdani; urpa.    | ‘ <b>The younger sister/brother</b> has come to drink medicine.’ |

### Exercise 10. Postpredicate position (subject repeated) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it repeating the subject in the postpredicate position. The teacher then repeats the correct answer after the student. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Wag nade.  
Student: Wag nade; waga.  
Teacher: Wag nade; waga.

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Wag nade.          | ‘The outsider left.’                     |
| 2. Pab anka es ukcha. | ‘Father gave me the machete.’            |
| 3. Machi ob chunad.   | ‘The boy went to fetch corn.’            |
| 4. Nandin chi.        | ‘Mother (on the other hand) is at home.’ |
| 5. Yannu nas.         | ‘The peccaries passed by.’               |

Similarly, either the long or short form of the direct object may be used in the postpredicate position, but the use of the long form in the main part of the sentence occurs only when an adult is speaking to a very small child.

### Examples

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. An <b>ob</b> chune; <b>ob</b> .   | ‘I am going to fetch <b>corn</b> .’            |
| 2. An <b>ob</b> chune; <b>oba</b> .  | ‘I am going to fetch <b>corn</b> .’            |
| 3. An <b>oba</b> chune; <b>oba</b> . | ‘I am going to fetch <b>corn</b> (baby talk).’ |

### Exercise 11. Postpredicate position (object repetition) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An ob chune; ob.  
Student: An ob chune; ob.

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. An ob chune; ob.        | ‘I am going to fetch <b>corn</b> .’        |
| 2. Machi arri amine; arri. | ‘The boy is going to hunt <b>iguana</b> .’ |
| 3. An arki makne; arki.    | ‘I am going to spear <b>huacuco</b> .’     |
| 4. Tad ul chobzha; ulu.    | ‘The elder made a <b>canoe</b> .’          |
| 5. Ome mol makcha; mola.   | ‘The woman sewed a <b>blouse</b> .’        |

### Exercise 12. Postpredicate position (object repetition) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, repeating the object in the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: An ob chune.  
Student: An ob chune; ob.

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. An ob chune.        | ‘I am going to fetch corn.’                |
| 2. Machi palu pakcha.  | ‘The boy bought salt.’                     |
| 3. Pun ua kucha.       | ‘The girl ate fish.’                       |
| 4. Mu kachi chomne.    | ‘The old lady is going to make a hammock.’ |
| 5. Machi tagar chwane. | ‘The boy is going to gather thatch.’       |



### 17.4.2.3 *Element stated in unexpanded or expanded form in the simple sentence and in an expanded form in the postpredicate position*

#### 1) *Element modified by one adjective or a more specific term*

A peripheral element may occur in unmodified form, but with any required suffix, in the simple sentence and be repeated in the postpredicate position followed by an adjective to which the suffix is attached, or it may be repeated and followed by a more specific term, as in Sentence 4 of Exercise 13.

#### **Exercise 13.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element expanded) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Pab machiga es ukcha; machi tummadga.

Student: Pab machiga es ukcha; machi tummadga.

- |    |                                       |  |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Pab machiga es ukcha; machi tummadga. | ‘Father gave the boy a machete; to the big boy.’           |
| 2. | Machi ulgin nad; ul arradgin.         | ‘The boy went by canoe; in the blue canoe.’                |
| 3. | Machi esgin neg emis; es pingin.      | ‘The boy cleaned the field with a machete; a new machete.’ |
| 4. | Sagla sae arpi; sae wakur.            | ‘The chief went yesterday; yesterday morning.’             |

#### **Exercise 14.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element expanded) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, expanding the peripheral element in the postpredicate position by using one of the suggested expansions below.

**Example** Teacher: Nan punga mol ukcha.

Student: Nan punga mol ukcha; pun tummadga.

#### **Expansion**

- |    |             |            |
|----|-------------|------------|
| 1. | tummad      | ‘big’      |
| 2. | arrad       | ‘blue’     |
| 3. | aluminyogad | ‘aluminum’ |

#### **Statement**

- |    |                            |   |
|----|----------------------------|---|
| 1. | Nan punga mol ukcha.       | ‘Mother gave the girl cloth.’                       |
| 2. | Tad kukualedgin noni.      | ‘The elder arrived by plane.’                       |
| 3. | Ua pormogin pukwa.         | ‘The fish are in the pot.’                          |
| 4. | Machi negzhe immal pelene. | ‘The boy is going to carry the thing to the house.’ |
| 5. | Ome neg akar tani.         | ‘The woman is coming from the house.’               |

The subject likewise, may be highlighted by stating it in an unexpanded form in the simple sentence and in an expanded form in the postpredicate position. The expanded form of the subject after the predicate includes: subject accompanied by an adjective (long or short form) which is modified by an adverb; subject accompanied by a duplicated adjective (long or short form); or subject accompanied by a second adjective.

#### **Example**

Ul noni; ul **tummad**. ‘A **big** canoe arrived. (lit.: the canoe arrived; the **big** canoe).’

When the adjective in the postpredicate position is a numeral, the subject may be omitted if the number prefix unambiguously refers to it (see Sections 5.4 and 7.4). The long or short form of the numeral prefix may be used.

#### **Examples**

- |    |                         |                         |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Tule noni; tule walapá. | ‘Three people arrived.’ |
| 2. | Tule noni; walapá.      | ‘Three people arrived.’ |
| 3. | Tule noni; walpá.       | ‘Three people arrived.’ |

**Exercise 15.** Postpredicate position (subject expansion) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ul noni; ul tummadi.

Student: Ul noni; ul tummadi.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Ul noni; ul tummadi.                  | ‘The <b>big</b> canoe arrived.’                |
| 2. Koe wakis; koe chapinni.              | ‘The <b>young</b> deer escaped.’               |
| 3. Wag nad; waga chowidi.                | ‘The <b>tall</b> outsider left.’               |
| 4. Wagi ob mas; wagi ichejuli.           | ‘ <b>Many</b> parrots ate the corn.’           |
| 5. Chapi kullubal kwichi; chapi tummadi. | ‘A <b>big</b> tree grows on the (river) bank.’ |

**Exercise 16.** Postpredicate position (subject expansion) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, expanding the subject by using one of the suggested expansions below.

**Example** Teacher: Ul noni.

Student: Ul noni; ul tummad.

**Expansion**

- |           |        |
|-----------|--------|
| 1. tummad | ‘big’  |
| 2. arrad  | ‘blue’ |
| 3. nued   | ‘good’ |

**Statement**

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Ul noni.              | ‘The canoe arrived.’                    |
| 2. Tud neg tikalbal nis. | ‘The flower grew beside the house.’     |
| 3. Kukualed aktes.       | ‘The plane landed.’                     |
| 4. Motor nakwis.         | ‘The outboard canoe went/came upriver.’ |
| 5. Chikwi purkwis.       | ‘The bird died.’                        |

Similarly, the direct object may be stated in an unexpanded form in the simple sentence and in an expanded form in the postpredicate position in order to highlight or clarify it. The adjective which modifies the direct object and occurs in the postpredicate position may occur in its long or short form. If two forms exist for that particular adjective, the long form is more descriptive.

**Example**

Machi **ul** pakcha; **ul tummadi**. ‘The boy bought a **big** canoe.’

The speaker of this example wishes you to realize that the canoe purchased was a big canoe. The emphasis is on the description of the canoe.

The short form of an adjective which has a long/short form is used to **classify** the noun it modifies. It gives a similar connotation as the English phrase, “one of the items classified as the \_\_\_\_ (big, fat, little, etc.) ones.”

**Example**

Machi **ul** pakcha; **ul tummad**. ‘The boy bought a canoe, one of the big ones.’

The speaker of this example wishes you to realize that the canoe purchased was one of the big ones. The emphasis is on the group to which/from which the object belongs/was chosen.

The difference in meaning between sentences using the long and short form of a certain adjective is very slight; however, it is helpful to be aware of this shade of meaning.

**Exercise 17.** Postpredicate position (object expansion) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul chobzha; ul toto.  
Student: Tad ul chobzha; ul toto.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Tad ul chobzha; ul toto.        | ‘The elder made a <b>small</b> canoe.’           |
| 2. Ome ob chus; ob chellele.       | ‘The woman fetched <b>mature (hard)</b> corn.’   |
| 3. Achu chule kas; chule tadagwad. | ‘The dog caught a <b>huge</b> paca.’             |
| 4. Wag mas pakpi; mas kollo.       | ‘The outsider wants to buy <b>ripe</b> bananas.’ |
| 5. Ome mol ukcha; mol kollogwad.   | ‘The woman sold a <b>yellow</b> blouse.’         |

### Exercise 18. Postpredicate position (object expansion) substitution drill

The teacher gives the sentence and the student repeats it, expanding the object by using one of the suggested expansions. The teacher then repeats the correct answer using the chosen expansion.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul pakcha.  
Student: Tad ul pakcha; ul tummadi.  
Teacher: Tad ul pakcha; ul tummadi.

- |                        |                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Tad ul pakcha.      | ‘The elder bought a canoe.’  |
| <b>Expansion</b>       | 1. tummad ‘big’              |
|                        | 2. kinnid ‘red’              |
|                        | 3. nued ‘good’               |
| 2. Machi ua makcha.    | ‘The boy speared fish.’      |
| <b>Expansion</b>       | 1. ukabo ‘two (fish)’        |
|                        | 2. ichejul ‘a lot’           |
|                        | 3. tummad ‘big’              |
| 3. Ome mol pakcha.     | ‘The woman bought cloth.’    |
| <b>Expansion</b>       | 1. kinnid ‘red’              |
|                        | 2. tataragwa ‘thin’          |
|                        | 3. nued ‘good’               |
| 4. Machi koe makcha.   | ‘The boy shot a deer.’       |
| <b>Expansion</b>       | 1. kallagwa ‘thin’           |
|                        | 2. kwallu nikarba ‘very fat’ |
|                        | 3. yeskwagwad ‘medium-sized’ |
| 5. Machi es periangus. | ‘The boy lost the machete.’  |
| <b>Expansion</b>       | 1. chered ‘old’              |
|                        | 2. nugal nikad ‘sharp’       |
|                        | 3. iskujaled ‘broken’        |

### 2) Element modified by two adjectives

In English, any noun may be modified by two adjectives. In Kuna, if an element is to be modified by two adjectives, both modifiers do not occur in the simple sentence (see 17.4.1.2). The speaker must determine which adjective is more important to him. The element and the less important adjective to which the appropriate suffix is attached are placed in the simple sentence. Then the element and the more important adjective to which the appropriate suffix is attached are placed in the postverbal position, further modifying the element without information overload.

#### Examples

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Sagla ul <b>tummadgin</b> nade; ul <b>kinnidgin</b> . | ‘The chief went in a big <b>red</b> canoe.’ |
|--|---|
- The speaker chose to emphasize **kinnid** ‘red’ rather than **tummad** ‘big’.
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 2. Tad ul <b>tummad</b> pakcha; ul <b>kinnid</b> .  | ‘The elder bought a big <b>red</b> canoe.’          |
| 3. Tad ul <b>tummad</b> pakcha; ul <b>kinnidi</b> . | ‘The elder bought a big canoe; a <b>red</b> (one).’ |

**Exercise 19.** Postpredicate position (second adjective with element) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, using a second adjective (from the suggested ones in the list below) in the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: Ul tummad noni.

Student: Ul tummad noni; ul kinnidi.

**Expansion**

- |             |        |
|-------------|--------|
| 1. kinnid   | ‘red’  |
| 2. chellele | ‘hard’ |
| 3. nued     | ‘good’ |

**Statement**

- |                                   |                                       |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Ul tummad noni.                | ‘A big canoe arrived.’                |
| 2. Machi ob ichejul chus.         | ‘The boy fetched lots of corn.’       |
| 3. Sagla kabaston chowid chobzha. | ‘The chief made a long baton.’        |
| 4. Ome mol toto makcha.           | ‘The woman made a small blouse.’      |
| 5. Nap chunnad pistagin nai.      | ‘There is real soil on the airstrip.’ |

In some cases, one or two adjectives are needed to specifically classify a generic term, thus in a sense, becoming part of the actual name of the element. In this case, the long form of the adjective is descriptive and the short form is a classification of the object.

**Example**

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. achu               | ‘carnivorous animal’   |
| 2. achu parpad        | ‘spotted carnivorous animal (ocelot)’                                |
| 3. achu parpad tummad | ‘large spotted carnivorous animal (either a jaguar or a big ocelot)’ |

**Example**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Machi achu parpad mecha; <b>achu tummad.</b>  | ‘The boy killed a jaguar (class of animal).’ |
| 2. Machi achu parpad mecha; <b>achu tummadi.</b> | ‘The boy killed a big ocelot.’               |

**Exercise 20.** Postpredicate position (second adjective with direct object) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul tummad pakcha; ul kinnidi.

Student: Tad ul tummad pakcha; ul kinnidi.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Tad ul tummad pakcha; ul kinnidi.        | ‘The elder bought a big <b>red</b> canoe.’        |
| 2. Ome mol kinnid pakcha; mol nuedi.        | ‘The woman bought <b>good</b> red cloth.’         |
| 3. Ome mas ichejul tus; mas nugu kullegedi. | ‘The woman cooked lots of <b>delicious</b> food.’ |
| 4. Machi wag chowid takcha; wag istara.     | ‘The boy saw a tall, <b>wicked</b> outsider.’     |
| 5. Machi achu parpad mecha; achu tummadi.   | ‘The boy killed a <b>large</b> (spotted) jaguar.’ |

**3) Element modified by a modified adjective**

Occasionally, the adjective which describes an element is itself modified by an adverb such as **yer** ‘very’ or **pezhe** ‘too’. Or sometimes the attribute of the adjective is enhanced (intensified) by repetition. An element thus modified appears in the simple sentence with the unmodified adjective and the appropriate suffix (if any) and then in the postpredicate position it is repeated and followed by the adjective modifier (adverb or repeated adjective), the adjective and the appropriate suffix. Modified adjectives tend to occur only in the postpredicate position.

**Examples**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Sagla <b>ul totogin</b> nade; <b>ul yer totogin.</b> | ‘The chief left in a <b>very small</b> canoe.’ |
|---|--|

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 2. | Sagla <b>ul tummadgin</b> nade; <b>ul tummad-tummadgin</b> . | ‘The chief left in a <b>really big canoe</b> .’   |
| 3. | <b>Ul tummad</b> noni; <b>ul yer tunkus</b> .                | ‘A <b>very big canoe</b> arrived. (lit. the big canoe arrived, the very grown one).’    |
| 4. | <b>Ul tummad</b> noni; <b>ul tummad-tummad</b> .             | ‘The <b>very big canoe</b> arrived. (lit.: the big canoe arrived, the big, big canoe).’ |

**Exercise 21.** Postpredicate position (repeated adjective with direct object) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul tummad-tummad.

Student: Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul tummad-tummad.

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul tummad-tummad.       | ‘The elder made a really big canoe.’                         |
| 2. | Ome mol kinnid pakcha; mol kinnid-kinnid.      | ‘The woman bought a pure red piece of cloth.’                |
| 3. | Machi karpa toto chobzha; karpa toto-toto.     | ‘The boy made a really small basket.’                        |
| 4. | Wag wawadun kollo pakpi; wawadun kollo-kollo.  | ‘The outsider wanted to buy really ripe bananas.’            |
| 5. | Wag kullubal ul nungus ebes; ul nungus-nungus. | ‘The outsider left a very rotten canoe on the (river) bank.’ |

An adjective is normally **only** modified by an adverb when it has been mentioned by a previous speaker and the present speaker wishes to intensify and/or clarify the attribute of the adjective. For example, a speaker may say, “Did he make a big canoe?” The reply may intensify the adjective by saying, “He made a **very** big canoe.” or “He made a big canoe, a very big one.”

Long and short forms of the modified adjectives and the evaluation classification suffix **-gwa/-kwa** may be used where applicable (see 18.4.5.2 and also for cases in which just the modified adjective may occur in the postpredicate position).

**Examples**

Adjective modified by an adverb

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul <b>yer</b> tummad. | ‘The elder made a <b>very</b> big canoe.’                                 |
| 2. | Tad ul toto chobzha; <b>yer</b> toto.        | ‘The elder made (in my opinion) a <b>very</b> small canoe.’               |
| 3. | Tad ul toto chobzha; <b>yer</b> totogwad.    | ‘The elder made (in my opinion) (one of the) <b>very</b> small canoe(s).’ |

**Examples**

Adjective modified by duplication

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul <b>tummad-tummad</b> .  | ‘The elder made a <b>very</b> big canoe.’                                 |
| 2. | Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul <b>tummad-tumma</b> di. | ‘The elder made (one of the) <b>very</b> big canoe(s).’                   |
| 3. | Tad ul tummad chobzha; <b>tummad-tummad</b> .     | ‘The elder made (in my opinion) a <b>very</b> big canoe.’                 |
| 4. | Tad ul toto chobzha; <b>toto-totogwadi</b> .      | ‘The elder made (in my opinion) (one of the) <b>very</b> small canoe(s).’ |

**Exercise 22.** Postpredicate position (modified adjective with direct object) response drill

The teacher says the question and the student answers it using a modified direct object in the main clause and an adjective modified by an adverb in the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Tad ul tummad chobzha?  
Student: Eye. Tad ul tummad chobzha; ul yer tummad.

**Adverb**

1. yer ‘very (good)’
2. pezhe ‘very (bad)’

**Question**

1. ¿Tad ul tummad chobzha? ‘Did the elder make a big canoe?’
2. ¿Wagde, win arrad ukcha? ‘Did the outsider sell blue beads?’
3. ¿Machide, mas kollo chikcha? ‘Did the boy cut ripe plantains?’
4. ¿Omede, mol kinnid pakpi? ‘Did the woman want to buy red cloth?’
5. ¿Wagde, motor iskus ukcha? ‘Did the outsider sell the broken motor?’

**17.4.2.4 Element stated in a non-specific form in the simple sentence and in a specific form in the postpredicate position**

Occasionally, when the term for an element is momentarily forgotten, a non-specific (generic) term with the appropriate suffix occurs in the simple sentence and the specific term and suffix occur after the predicate. Such generic terms as **immal** ‘thing/animal’ **tule** ‘people’ and **iwen** ‘what’s-his-name/what-you-call-it’ are often thus used. In such a case, however, the preferred construction is to omit a peripheral element from the simple sentence and include it only in the postpredicate position.

**Exercise 23.** Postpredicate position (peripheral element specific term) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An iwenga mol pakcha; Pedroga.  
Student: An iwenga mol pakcha; Pedroga.

1. An iwenga mol pakcha; Pedroga. ‘I bought cloth for what’s-his-name, Peter.’
2. An tuleje ekisne; saglaje. ‘I am going to ask a Kuna, the chief.’
3. An iwengin es onos; ulgin. ‘I found the machete, m-mmm, in the canoe.’
4. Wag iwen akar tani; Pukur akar. ‘The outsider came from m-mmm, from Pucuru.’
5. Ua iwengin pukwa; mesagin. ‘The fish is on the ... on the table.’

In the case of the subject, the generic-specific construction is sometimes deliberately used to withhold information and thus highlight it after the predicate. Either the long or short form (if available) may be used for the subject when it occurs after the predicate.

**Examples**

1. Immal noni; nu. ‘A **dove** arrived (lit.: something arrived, a dove).’
2. Iwen noni; Pablo. ‘**Paul** arrived (lit.: someone arrived, Paul).’
3. Tulemal arpi; Pay tolgan. ‘**The people from Paya** went and came back (lit.: some people went and came back, the Paya inhabitants).’

**Exercise 24.** Postpredicate position (subject specific) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Immal noni; chule.  
Student: Immal noni; chule.

1. Immal noni; chule. ‘Something arrived, a paca.’
2. Chikwi pistagin pukwa; taki-taki. ‘Birds are on the airstrip, gallito del agua (species of bird).’

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 3. Ua yapa mae; kwinuba.      | ‘The fish won’t bite, the sabalos.’       |
| 4. Tule pato nade; machimala. | ‘The people have already left, the boys.’ |
| 5. Tule noni; saglagana.      | ‘People have arrived, chiefs.’            |

**Exercise 25.** Postpredicate position (subject specific) substitution drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student selects an appropriate specific subject from the list below and puts it in the postpredicate position of the sentence.

**Example** Teacher: Tule ormapukwa.  
Student: Tule ormapukwa; macherganbi.

**Subject**

- |                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. macherganbi | ‘only the men’          |
| 2. omegan      | ‘the women/girls’       |
| 3. punamal     | ‘the young women/girls’ |
| 4. nuskan      | ‘the children’          |

**Statement**

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Tule ormapukwa.    | ‘The people are discussing (in a meeting).’ |
| 2. Tule neg turwinai. | ‘The people are sweeping the town.’         |
| 3. Tule mol enuknai.  | ‘The people are washing clothing.’          |
| 4. Tule turtanai.     | ‘The people are learning.’                  |

**Exercise 26.** Postpredicate position (subject generic) drill

The teacher gives the sentence and the student substitutes a generic subject in the main part of the sentence and moves the specific subject to the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: Chule noni.  
Student: Immal noni; chule.

**Subject**

- |          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| 1. immal | ‘things/animal’   |
| 2. tule  | ‘person/people’   |
| 3. iwen  | ‘what’s-its-name’ |

**Statement**

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Chule noni.         | ‘The paca arrived.’                     |
| 2. Nuskan todonani.    | ‘The children are playing.’             |
| 3. Machergan arpanani. | ‘The men are working.’                  |
| 4. María mol enuknai.  | ‘Mary is washing clothes.’              |
| 5. Chigli namanai.     | ‘The wild turkey is calling (singing).’ |
| 6. Yannu nas.          | ‘The peccary passed by.’                |

Similarly, a direct object may be highlighted by stating it in a generic term in the simple sentence and stating a specific term in the postpredicate position. Such a generic term as **immal** ‘animal’ may be used. The long or short form of the specific noun may be used where applicable. The short form of the specific term refers to a class of objects whereas the long form refers to an animal within the class.

In many cases, however, the specific form of the object is not withheld because of a desire to emphasize the object, but rather the generic form accompanied by a verb may convey a single concept. One such phrase is **immal pak** meaning ‘to shop’ rather than ‘to buy something’; similarly **immal amine** means ‘to hunt’ rather than ‘to look for something’. In sentences using the generic term and accompanying verb to convey a single concept, the purpose of the postpredicate position is clarification.

**Examples**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Machi immal amine; chul. <sup>107</sup> | ‘The boy is going to hunt for (the class of monkeys known as) spider monkeys.’ |
| 2. Machi immal amine; chulu.               | ‘The boy is going to hunt for (a) spider monkey.’                              |

**Exercise 27.** Postpredicate position (specific object) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ua makcha; arki.  
Student: Machi ua makcha; arki.

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Machi ua makcha; arki.   | ‘The boy speared fish, huacuco.’         |
| 2. Tad iwen mecha; koe.     | ‘The elder killed a deer.’               |
| 3. Wag immal pakpi; kwallu. | ‘The outsider wants to buy cooking oil.’ |
| 4. Ome mas tus; kwam.       | ‘The woman cooked pheasant.’             |
| 5. Machi chapi olas; urwal. | ‘The boy felled a cedar tree.’           |

**Exercise 28.** Postpredicate position (specific object) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, adding a specific object and repeating the object in the postpredicate position, using one of the specific objects suggested below.

**Example** Teacher: Machi immal tigne.  
Student: Machi immal tigne; ob.

**Object**

- |           |                 |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. koe    | ‘deer’          |
| 2. kwinub | ‘sabalo (fish)’ |
| 3. ob     | ‘corn’          |

**Statement**

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Machi immal tigne.     | ‘The boy is going to plant something.’          |
| 2. Machered immal makcha. | ‘The man shot/speared something.’               |
| 3. Machi immal chus.      | ‘The boy fetched something.’                    |
| 4. Wag iwen pakcha.       | ‘The outsider bought a “what-do-you-call-it”.’  |
| 5. Tad iwen kumpi.        | ‘The elder wants to eat “what-do-you-call-it”.’ |

**17.5 Vocabulary**

- |                |                            |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. turta(ke)   | ‘to learn’                 |
| 2. pele        | ‘to carry to/leave behind’ |
| 3. ozhi        | ‘pineapple’                |
| 4. oyo(e)      | ‘to show’                  |
| 5. yeskwa      | ‘medium’                   |
| 6. nugal nikad | ‘sharp’                    |
| 7. chowid      | ‘tall’                     |
| 8. yer         | ‘good/very’                |
| 9. pezhe       | ‘very (bad)’               |
| 10. ekis       | ‘to ask’                   |
| 11. ono        | ‘to find’                  |
| 12. yo         | ‘to put on’                |

<sup>107</sup> **chul(u)** ‘spider monkey’ and **chule** ‘paca’ should be distinguished carefully. There is no short form of **chule**.



13. opa(ke)	'to cross over'
14. waki	'to escape/run away'
15. chapi	'tree'
16. chikwi	'small bird'
17. todo	'to play'
18. arpa	'to work'
19. kwallu nikarba	'very fat'
20. tagar	'thatch (wild plantain leaves)'
21. tadagwad(i)	'huge (lit.: a granddaddy size)'
22. tataragwa	'thin/flimsy'
23. kalla	'thin/boney'
24. tunkus	'full grown/big'
25. nalas	'orange (fruit)'

## 18 SITUATIONAL EXPLANATION

### 18.1 Dialogue

It is common for a visitor from outside the village to ask a string of questions on arrival. Most of these are the standard questions asked on arrival at someone's house.

After greeting the house owner, the visitor begins a conversation by asking routine questions.

- |     |          |  |  |
|-----|----------|--|--|
| 1.  | Visitor: | ¿Pede?   | '(What have) you been doing?'  |
| 2.  | Host:    | Oipos an mai, an. Tegin an wis ua makti; nakwal.           | 'At dawn I was home. Then I went spear fishing upriver.'   |
| 3.  | Visitor: | ¿Pe walgwen ti?  | 'Did you go alone?'  |
| 4.  | Host:    | Machibak an ti; machi tummadbak.                           | 'I went with (my) son; my eldest son.'   |
| 5.  | Visitor: | M-mmm.   | 'Oh.'  |
| 6.  | Host:    | Anmal Pachulbal arpi.                                      | 'We went up the Pachul River.'   |
| 7.  | Visitor: | Ajáj.  | 'I see.'   |
| 8.  | Host:    | An wis mecha; uka tulagwen.                                | 'I/we speared (killed) a few, twenty.'   |
| 9.  | Visitor: | ¿Arkibi?   | '(All) huacucos?'  |
| 10. | Host:    | Arkibido. Te akar an mai. An kwen aknidijulqus. Mai, anni. | '(Yes) they were all huacucos. I've been (at home) since. I didn't go anywhere else. I (stayed) home.' |
| 11. | Visitor: | ¿Pe pabdin?  | 'And your father?'   |
| 12. | Host:    | Chapurbal ti; ul chobgal.                                  | '(He) went to the jungle to make a canoe.'   |
| 13. | Visitor: | A-aaa. ¿Pe omedin?   | 'Oh! And your wife?'   |
| 14. | Host:    | Adin punubak ob chudi; ob.                                 | 'She went with (my) daughter to fetch <b>corn</b> .'   |
| 15. | Visitor: | Ajáj.  | 'Oh!'  |

They go on to discuss other things.

### 18.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–3)

Concentrate on improving the intonation of a sentence in which an element is in postpredicate position. Remember to pay special attention to timing. Pauses and accelerated sections should be carefully drilled.

#### Exercise 1. Mimicking

Mimic the teacher as he says Dialogue 18.1. Pay special attention to the postpredicate position and the pause preceding it.

#### Exercise 2. Dramatizing dialogue

Dramatize Dialogue 18.1. First the teacher and a student should take the roles and then two students should take the roles.

#### Exercise 3. Problem solving drill

Discuss and drill problems in Exercises 1 and 2.

### 18.3 Culture

Kuna culture and tradition are taught to the people of all ages as the chiefs chant or relate traditional beliefs and code of ethics at town meetings held in the **ormaked neg** 'meeting house'. At the town meetings an outsider

may start to develop an appreciation for the Kuna system of values. Town meetings not only give the language learner an opportunity to hear the language spoken, thus reinforcing intonation patterns, but the teachings in the meetings also help the outsider to understand the way Kunas view situations and how they interpret life in general.

In the home, the child is taught the responsibilities and practical skills of a Kuna way of life. Children learn to help at an early age and parents start to entrust children with jobs and responsibilities commensurate with their ages. They start by carrying simple messages or little things to other family members or relatives. Later they deliver messages throughout the village. Simple chores like throwing out the garbage or washing dishes start the children in the chores of running a house.

The girls learn from their mothers and older female relatives to care for the smaller children. They help in the preparation of food, peeling plantains or cleaning fish. The girls also go out with the women to plant or harvest crops or gather kindling wood.

As the boys grow older, they accompany their fathers or older male relatives to the fields where they learn all that is involved in the cultivation of crops. Trips to the jungle teach them about hunting and the habits of wildlife. A conscientious father uses trips to teach about jungle resources, building supplies, tools, medicines or other needs of everyday life. River trips teach canoe handling and fishing techniques.

In the home, boys learn the art of making tools, baskets, and musical instruments (flutes and rattles).

Because much of the teaching is by practical example and situational explanation, the language learner should avail himself of any invitation to watch, learn and appreciate the various skills.

## 18.4 Grammar

### 18.4.1 Nominalization (Ex. 4–5)

Verbs may be nominalized by the addition of the suffix **-d**.

#### Examples

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1a. kob                        | ‘to drink’                               |
| b. kobed                       | ‘a drink/something to drink’             |
| 2a. namake                     | ‘to sing/chant’                          |
| b. namaked                     | ‘a song/chant/something sung or chanted’ |
| 3a. Sagla tulemal namaked wis. | ‘The chief knows the Kuna chants.’       |

#### 18.4.1.1 Use of nominalized forms

A nominalized form of a verb may be used as a noun. The examples above parallel the English construction, “something to (verb).” It may also be used to refer to a person/animal who is doing the verb which is used. This parallels the English construction, “the person/animal who is (verb)-ing.”

#### Examples

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. kukualed onaned | ‘pilot (lit.: the person who is causing the airplane to go)’ |
| 2. arpamalad       | ‘workers (lit.: the people who are working)’                 |
| 3. immal taked     | ‘manager (lit.: the person who is watching (it))’            |
| 4. achu neg taked  | ‘watch dog’  |

A nominalized verb may also be used in a construction which parallels the English relative clause in the sentence, “The boy **who cut his hand**, is the one I saw.” In the Kuna phrase **chunkal chiked** ‘who cut his hand’, the nominalized form of the verb **chik** ‘to cut’ is used as a relative clause.

#### Examples

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Machi <b>chiklejad</b> nad.       | ‘The boy <b>who had been cut</b> went.’       |
| 2. Machi <b>nono kochad</b> arpanai. | ‘The boy <b>who hit his head</b> is working.’ |

### 18.4.1.2 Addition of suffixes to nominalized verb form

Any noun suffixes may be added to the nominalized verb form.

#### Examples

1. An ul nudajad**gin** nad. 'I went **in** the canoe which had been repaired.'
2. An tule sae nonikid**bak** nad. 'I went **with** the person who arrived yesterday.'

#### Exercise 4. Nominalization suffix **-d** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Machi esgin chiklejad noni.

Student: Machi esgin chiklejad noni.

1. Machi esgin chiklejad noni. 'The boy who was cut with a machete arrived.'
2. ¿Pe immal uked nika? 'Do you have things to sell? (Do you have something which is to sell?)'
3. Mas nugu kulleged an pakcha. 'I bought delicious food. (I bought food which tastes good.)'
4. An tule nonikidbak nad. 'I went with the one who arrived.'
5. Pe chogchadyob an imas. 'I did it as you said. (I did it like that which you said.)'

#### Exercise 5. Nominalization suffix **-d** substitution drill

The teacher selects one of the phrases below and says it. The student substitutes the **-d** form of the phrase in the frame. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: ua kuchamala

Student: An ua kuchamalad takcha.

- |              |                               |                                 |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>Frame</b> | An ____ takcha.               | 'I saw the one who/which ____.' |
| 1.           | ua kuchamala                  | '(they) ate fish'               |
| 2.           | motor onane                   | 'causes the outboard to run'    |
| 3.           | immal uk                      | 'sell something'                |
| 4.           | ul pakcha                     | 'bought a canoe'                |
| 5.           | immal aturchas <sup>108</sup> | 'stole something'               |
| 6.           | ti nos <sup>108</sup>         | 'river rose'                    |

### 18.4.2 Positional verb of motion (Ex. 6)

In Lesson 6, the positional verbs **mai** 'to be (lying)', **chi** 'to be (sitting)', **nai** 'to be (hanging)', **kwichi** 'to be (standing)', and **un** 'to be (on all fours)' are discussed. These five verbs all refer to a stationary position. When a position involves movement, the positional verb **ti** 'to have been (somewhere)' is used.<sup>109</sup>

**Example** Chapurbal an **ti**. 'I **have been to** the jungle.'

#### Exercise 6. Positional verb of motion **ti** 'to have been (somewhere)' stimulus response drill

The teacher asks Question 1 and the student replies using the positional verb of motion **ti** 'to have been (somewhere)'.

<sup>108</sup> The suffix **-d** always attaches on to the long form of the previous suffix, e.g., **aturchas/aturchaja** becomes **aturchajad** and **nos/noja** becomes **nojad**.

<sup>109</sup> The positional verb **ti** 'to have been (somewhere)' is used in the past; **tio** 'to be (going to be somewhere)' in the future; and **ta** 'to (go about doing habitually)' in an habitual sense.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pe chapurbal ne?  
Student: Chuli. An pato chapurbal ti.

<b>Frame</b>	Chuli. An pato ____ ti.	‘No. I have already been to the ____.’
	1. ¿Pe chapurbal ne?	‘Are you going to go to the jungle?’
	2. ¿Pe negzhe ne?	‘Are you going to go home?’
	3. ¿Pe tibal ne?	‘Are you going to go to the river?’
	4. ¿Pe mas kunne?	‘Are you going to eat (some) food?’
	5. ¿Pe immal amine?	‘Are you going to go hunting?’

### 18.4.3 Gerundial verb form (Ex. 7)

The gerund in English is formed by adding the ending **-ing** to the verb stem, whereas in Kuna it is composed of the long form of the verb stem, that is to say, the verb stem which has the **-e**. There is no tense aspect suffix in the Kuna gerund.

The gerund is able to act like a noun, for example, “The doing of it is difficult.” In Kuna, as in English, the gerund focuses on the type of action, versus the doing of the action. Take for example the two phrases, “to plant rice” and “rice planting”. The first phrase tends to focus on the doing of the action, whereas the second phrase tends to focus on the act itself.

#### Examples

- |                   |                                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. An cho chike.  | ‘I have been firewood cutting.’ |
| but               |                                 |
| 2. An cho chikti. | ‘I have been to cut firewood.’  |

Following are illustrations of the lack of time aspect suffix:

#### Examples

- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 1a. ¿Pia pe ne?  | ‘Where are you going?’ |
| b. Mas chike.    | ‘Plantain cutting.’    |
| 2a. ¿Ibi chenai? | ‘What are you doing?’  |
| b. Mas chike.    | ‘Plantain cutting.’    |
| 3a. ¿Pia pe ti?  | ‘Where have you been?’ |
| b. Mas chike.    | ‘Plantain cutting.’    |

### Exercise 7. Gerund stimulus-response drill

The teacher asks one of the three questions listed below and then selects one of the verbs listed below and says it. The student replies to the teacher’s question using the gerund, i.e., **-e** form of the verb in the frame. This exercise should be repeated several times, changing the frame to some other suitable one.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pia pe ne?  
Teacher: chik  
Student: Mas chike.

**Frame** Mas \_\_\_\_-e. ‘Plantain \_\_\_\_-ing.’

#### Questions

- |                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1. ¿Pia pe ne?  | ‘Where are you going?’ |
| 2. ¿Pia pe ti?  | ‘Where have you been?’ |
| 3. ¿Ibi chenai? | ‘What are you doing?’  |

#### Verbs

- |         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| 1. chik | ‘to cut’       |
| 2. pak  | ‘to buy’       |
| 3. uk   | ‘to sell/give’ |
| 4. met  | ‘to throw out’ |

- |         |                 |
|---------|-----------------|
| 5. tig  | ‘to plant’      |
| 6. tak  | ‘to see’        |
| 7. tu   | ‘to cook’       |
| 8. kun  | ‘to eat’        |
| 9. enuk | ‘to wash’       |
| 10. chu | ‘to fetch/take’ |

#### 18.4.4 Qualitative suffix *-gwa/-kwa*

The qualitative suffix *-gwa/-kwa* is used to identify/describe an object by its nature/quality and parallels the English construction ‘a \_\_\_\_ one’. This suffix may be added to some nouns and many adjectives; one must learn which forms are acceptable and which are not, since there are no general rules.

##### Examples

- |                            |                                       |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. We omegwa e mimmi akwe. | ‘A female (one) cares for the young.’ |
| 2. Machi orokwagwa.        | ‘The boy is (a) short (one).’         |

The suffix *-d(i)* may be added to the *-gwa/-kwa* form of a word and has the effect of the definite English article “the”.

##### Examples

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Antin omegwad(i) pakcha.      | ‘I bought <b>the</b> female (of a pair).’  |
| 2. Pe anka es orokwagwad(i) uko. | ‘Please give me <b>the</b> short machete.’ |

#### 18.4.5 Postpredicate position of basic elements (Ex. 8–20)

In Lesson XVII, general guidelines for using the postpredicate position were discussed. In this lesson, guidelines specific to the basic elements of the sentence -- subject, direct object, and predicate -- are discussed.

##### 18.4.5.1 *Subject may be omitted in the simple sentence and unexpanded in the postpredicate position*

If the subject is omitted in the main clause, a very rare occurrence, it is stated in the postpredicate position accompanied by one of the topic marking suffixes: *-de/-te* or *-din/-tin* (see Appendix E, 1 and 4).

##### 1) *Subject omitted from simple sentence and stated in postpredicate position in answer to question*

One situation in which the subject is omitted in the main part of the sentence and stated in the postpredicate position is in answer to a question. If the replier wishes to emphasize the subject as he replies to a question, he may do so by omitting it in the main part of the sentence and stating it, accompanied by the suffix *-din/-tin*, in the postpredicate position.

##### Examples

- |                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1a. ¿Pia pe ne?         | ‘Where are you going?’      |
| b. Chapurbal ne; antin. | ‘I am going to the jungle.’ |
| 2a. ¿Piade?             | ‘Where (is he)?’            |
| b. Nad; Luisdin.        | ‘ <b>Louis</b> , went.’     |

##### 2) *Subject omitted from simple sentence and stated in postpredicate position in storytelling*

Another situation in which the subject is omitted from the main part of the sentence, but occurs in the postpredicate position is in the midst of the narration of a story or a tale of activities. This situation is dictated by the rules of storytelling and discourse structure. In a story, when the subject is omitted in the main part of the sentence and stated in the postpredicate position, it is accompanied by the topic marking suffix *-de/-te* (see Appendix E).

### Examples

On a peccary hunt, the hunters had tried to head off the animals and to arrive at another point before the animals did. On their arrival at the expected meeting place, they discover...

1. Pato nas; yannude. 'The peccaries have already gone by.'
2. Mutik, nakwal chule amine, machide. 'Tonight the boy is going to hunt paca upriver.'

#### 18.4.5.2 Direct object stated in main clause, and only adjective stated in the postpredicate position

When the speaker wishes to highlight/clarify an evaluation of a direct object, **only** the direct object is stated in the main clause and **only** the adjective is stated in the postpredicate position. In other words, when the speaker wishes to give **his** opinion of the object, its relative size, quantity or relative weight, etc., **only** the adjective occurs in the postpredicate position. All adjectives are not of an evaluatory nature. Those which are not evaluatory (e.g., colors) may not occur alone in the postpredicate position.

If the evaluatory adjective is descriptive, the short form is used, and the stress changes to the last syllable of the adjective. Derived adjectives do not change their stress.

### Examples

1. Tad ul chobzha; totó. 'The grandfather made the canoe (what in my opinion is) **small**.'
2. Antin mol pakcha; tatár. 'I bought a **flimsy** (piece of) cloth.'
3. Tad ul chobzha; ul yer tummad. 'The elder made a **very big** canoe.'
4. Machi koe makcha; kallagwa. 'The boy killed a (in my opinion) **thin** deer.'

When a speaker highlights an object and evaluates it in terms of the class of similar objects to which it belongs, the suffix **-gwa/-kwa** is added to the adjective. Some adjectives may not take the suffix, e.g., **tummad** 'big'.

### Examples

1. Tad ul chobzha; totogwa. 'The elder made (what in my opinion is) a (one of the) small (ones) canoe.'
2. Machi koe makcha; kallagwa. 'The boy shot (what in my opinion is) (one of the) small deer.'

### Exercise 8. Postpredicate position (object evaluation) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul chobzha; totó.

Student: Tad ul chobzha; totó.

1. Tad ul chobzha; totó. 'The elder made the canoe (in my opinion) small.'
2. Machi koe makcha; kallagwad. 'The boy shot (in my opinion) a thin deer.'
3. Machi karpa chobzha; túmmad.<sup>110</sup> 'The boy made (in my opinion) a large basket.'
4. Tad yannu mecha; kwallu nikarba. 'The elder killed (in my opinion) a fat peccary.'
5. Machi ua makcha; ichejul. 'The boy caught (in my opinion) lots of fish.'

### Exercise 9. Postpredicate position (object evaluation) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

<sup>110</sup> The intense form of **tummad** 'big' is **túmmad**. Heavy stress and an elongated **mm** signals the emphatic form.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul chobzha; totogwa.

Student: Tad ul chobzha; totogwa.

- |    |                                     |   |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Tad ul chobzha; totogwa.            | ‘The elder made a canoe of the small kind (in my opinion).’   |
| 2. | Machi koe makcha; kallagwa.         | ‘The boy shot a deer of the thin kind (in my opinion).’       |
| 3. | Machi karpa chobzha; totogwa.       | ‘The boy made a basket of the small kind (in my opinion).’    |
| 4. | Tad yannu mecha; kwallu nikarbagwa. | ‘The elder killed a peccary of the fat kind (in my opinion).’ |

### **Exercise 10.** Postpredicate position (object evaluation) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, adding the **-gwa/-kwa** form of a suitable evaluation from those suggested below.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul chobzha.

Student: Tad ul chobzha; totogwa.

#### **Evaluation**

- |    |       |  |
|----|-------|--|
| 1. | toto  | ‘small (of the small kind, in my opinion)’ |
| 2. | kalla | ‘thin (of the thin kind, in my opinion)’   |

#### **Statement**

- |    |                      |                               |
|----|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | Tad ul chobzha.      | ‘The elder made a canoe.’     |
| 2. | Machi koe makcha.    | ‘The boy shot a deer.’        |
| 3. | Machi karpa chobzha. | ‘The boy made a basket.’      |
| 4. | Tad yannu mecha.     | ‘The elder killed a peccary.’ |
| 5. | Machi ua makcha.     | ‘The boy speared a fish.’     |

### **Exercise 11.** Postpredicate position (object evaluation) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, adding an evaluation (in his opinion) from those suggested below.

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul chobzha.

Student: Tad ul chobzha; totó.

#### **Evaluation**

- |    |        |                         |
|----|--------|-------------------------|
| 1. | totó   | ‘small (in my opinion)’ |
| 2. | túmmad | ‘big (in my opinion)’   |
| 3. | iché   | ‘few (in my opinion)’   |

#### **Statement**

- |    |                      |                                 |
|----|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | Tad ul chobzha.      | ‘The elder made (a) canoe.’     |
| 2. | Machi koe makcha.    | ‘The boy shot a deer.’          |
| 3. | Machi karpa chobzha. | ‘The boy made a basket.’        |
| 4. | Tad yannu mecha.     | ‘The elder killed (a) peccary.’ |
| 5. | Machi ua makcha.     | ‘The boy speared (a) fish.’     |

#### **18.4.5.3 Postpredicate position of expansion of predicate**

The predicate may be highlighted/clarified in one of the following ways:



1) *Predicate may be stated in the minimum form of a motion verb in the simple sentence and in an expanded form in the postpredicate position*

The predicate may be stated in the minimum form of a motion verb (see 16.4.1), **ne** 'to go' or **tag** 'to come' in the main part of the sentence and expanded by either stating the object and other verb suffixed by a motion verb or by stating the object and the gerundial form of another motion verb.

The predicate **cannot** be omitted from the main part of the sentence and occur only in the postpredicate position of the sentence. Furthermore, this is the only situation in which the direct object is omitted from the main part of the sentence. This construction emphasizes the purpose of the motion.

**Examples**

1. Machi **ne**; immal amine.                    'The boy is going to **hunt** (something).'
2. Machi **ne**; immal amie.                    'The boy is going to go **hunting** (something).'

**Exercise 12.** Postpredicate position (predicate expansion) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**     Teacher: Machi nad; immal aminad.  
                   Student: Machi nad; immal aminad.

1. Machi nad; immal aminad.                    'The boy went to hunt.'
2. Ome ne; mol pakne.                        'The woman is going to buy cloth.'
3. Tad nad; aros taknad.                        'The elder went to look after (his) rice.'
4. Ome tani; mol maktani.                        'The woman is coming to sew a blouse.'
5. Pab nad; mas chiknad.                        'Father went to cut plantains.'

**Exercise 13.** Postpredicate position (predicate expansion) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, expanding the predicate in the postpredicate position by selecting one of the suggested expansions below.

**Example**     Teacher: Machi ne.  
                   Student: Machi ne; ina komne.

**Expansion**

1. mas kun                                        'to eat food'
2. immal pak                                    'to buy something/to shop'
3. ina kob                                        'to take/drink medicine'

**Statement**

1. Machi ne.                                    'The boy is going to go.'
2. Ome tani.                                    'The woman is coming.'
3. Tad ti.                                        'The leader has been (somewhere).'
4. Mu nad.                                      'The old lady went.'

**Exercise 14.** Postpredicate position (gerund) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example**     Teacher: Machi ti; mas chike.  
                   Student: Machi ti; mas chike.

1. Machi ti; mas chike.                        'The boy has been cutting plantains.'
2. Pun nad; mol make.                        'The girl went to sew a blouse (lit.: blouse sewing).'
3. Ome tani; mas kunne.                        'The woman is coming to eat (lit.: food eating).'

- |    |                        |   |
|----|------------------------|---|
| 4. | Tad ne; karta nermake. | ‘The elder is going to go to write a letter (lit.: letter writing).’      |
| 5. | Machi arpi; ina kobe.  | ‘The boy went (and returned) to take medicine (lit.: medicine drinking).’ |

**Exercise 15.** Postpredicate position (gerund) transform drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, expanding the predicate by using the gerundial form of the verb from the suggested list below in the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ne.  
Student: Machi ne; mas chike.

**Expansion**

- |    |          |                    |
|----|----------|--------------------|
| 1. | mas chik | ‘to cut plantains’ |
| 2. | mas kun  | ‘to eat plantains’ |
| 3. | mol mak  | ‘to sew a blouse’  |

**Statement**

- |    |           |                                  |
|----|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | Machi ne. | ‘The boy is going to go.’        |
| 2. | Ome nad.  | ‘The woman went.’                |
| 3. | Pun ti.   | ‘The girl has been (somewhere).’ |
| 4. | Mu tani.  | ‘The older woman is coming.’     |

2) *Predicate may be highlighted/clarified by stating the verb in the main clause and by stating an adverb or goal of action with or without the verb in the postpredicate position*

The predicate may be highlighted/clarified by stating any verb in the main clause and by stating only an adverb in the postpredicate position. It may also be clarified by stating an adverb or goal of motion and repeating the verb in the postpredicate position. Note carefully that verbs which occur in the main clause using **-bal/-pal** or **-mo** cannot be highlighted/clarified in this way.

**Examples**

- |    |                                    |   |
|----|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Machi ne; kueye-kueye ne.          | ‘The boy is <b>going to go quickly</b> .’   |
| 2. | Machi nade; negzhe nade.           | ‘The boy <b>went home</b> .’                |
| 3. | Pab ye; ichejul ye.                | ‘Father is <b>very sick</b> .’              |
| 4. | Tad arpanai; pinna- pinna arpanai. | ‘The elder is <b>working very slowly</b> .’ |

**Exercise 16.** Postpredicate position (predicate adverbial expansion) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ne; kueye-kueye.  
Student: Machi ne; kueye-kueye.

- |    |                        |                                  |
|----|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | Machi ne; kueye-kueye. | ‘The boy is going to go quickly’ |
| 2. | Mu kolo; pinna-pinna.  | ‘The old lady will call softly.’ |
| 3. | Ome chunmas; ichejul.  | ‘The woman talked a lot.’        |
| 4. | Tad nad; iktual.       | ‘The elder went (on) ahead.’     |
| 5. | Machi ti; untargus.    | ‘The boy has been a while ago.’  |

**Exercise 17.** Postpredicate position (predicate adverbial expansion) drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it, expanding the predicate by means of an adverb selected from one of those suggested below and stating it in a highlighting/clarifying position.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ne.  
Student: Machi ne; kueye.

**Expansion**

- |            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| 1. kueye   | ‘quickly’       |
| 2. pinna   | ‘slowly/softly’ |
| 3. ichejul | ‘much’          |

**Statement**

- |                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Machi ne.            | ‘The boy is going to go.’   |
| 2. Ome mol makcha.      | ‘The woman sewed a blouse.’ |
| 3. Tad kolnai.          | ‘The elder is calling.’     |
| 4. Sagla chunmanai.     | ‘The chief is talking.’     |
| 5. Machi karpa chobzha. | ‘The boy made baskets.’     |

**Exercise 18.** Postpredicate position (predicate adverbial expansion) drill

Do Exercise 17, repeating the predicate in the postpredicate position.

**Example** Teacher: Machi ne.  
Student: Machi ne; kueye ne.

3) *Predicate may be stated in a generic form in the main clause and in a specific form in the postpredicate position*

The predicate may be stated in a generic form accompanied by the generic form of the direct object in the main clause, and then stated in a specific form accompanied by the specific form of the direct object in the highlighting/clarifying position. In using this form of the predicate, you must be extremely careful to select a generic form of the verb which is compatible with the specific form of the verb. For example, you cannot use **che** ‘to do’ in the main clause with the verb **kun** ‘to eat’ in the postpredicate position.

The form of the verb in the postpredicate position may be either the same as the form of the generic verb, or it may be in the gerundial form.

**Examples**

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ome immal chene; mol makne. | ‘The woman <b>is going to sew</b> a blouse.’           |
| or                             |  |
| 2. Ome immal chene; mol make.  | ‘The woman is (in the act of) <b>sewing</b> a blouse.’ |

**Exercise 19.** Postpredicate position (specific predicate) frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ome immal chene; mol makne.  
Student: Ome immal chene; mol makne.

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ome immal chene; mol makne.      | ‘The woman is going to do something: sew a blouse.’       |
| 2. Machi immal chene; karpa chomne. | ‘The boy is going to do something: make a basket.’        |
| 3. Tad immal chedi; ul chobdi.      | ‘The elder did something: made a canoe.’                  |
| 4. Ome immal imane; mas kunne.      | ‘The woman is going to do something: eat food.’           |
| 5. Machi immal imane; ina komne.    | ‘The boy is going to do something: drink medicine.’       |
| 6. Ome immal chene; mol make.       | ‘The woman is going to do something: blouse-sewing.’      |
| 7. Machi immal chene; karpa chobe.  | ‘The boy is going to do something: basket-making.’        |
| 8. Tad immal chedi; ul chobe.       | ‘The elder did something: canoe-building.’                |
| 9. Ome immal imane; mas kunne.      | ‘The woman is going to do something: (food) eating.’      |
| 10. Machi immal imane; ina kobe.    | ‘The boy is going to do something: drinking of medicine.’ |

**Exercise 20.** Postpredicate position emphasis drill

The teacher gives the element to be emphasized and repeats (as an example) the sentence with the emphasized element in the postpredicate position. From then on the teacher gives the element to be emphasized. The student gives the sentence, with the emphasized element in the postpredicate position. The teacher repeats the answer. The teacher gives the next element to be emphasized and so on. **Examples**      Teacher: nakwal

Teacher: Machi chule amine; nakwal.

Teacher: chule

Student: Machi nakwal immal amine; chule.

Teacher: Machi nakwal immal amine; chule.

Teacher: machi

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Machi nakwal chule amine.       | ‘The boy is going hunting paca upriver.’             |
| <b>Emphasis</b>                    |  |
|                                    | 1. nakwal      ‘upriver’                             |
|                                    | 2. chule      ‘paca’                                 |
|                                    | 3. machi      ‘boy’                                  |
| 2. Chedo, machi nanga mol ukcha.   | ‘At dusk, the boy gave (his) mother the cloth.’      |
| <b>Emphasis</b>                    |  |
|                                    | 1. chedo      ‘afternoon/dusk’                       |
|                                    | 2. nanga      ‘to (his) mother’                      |
|                                    | 3. machi      ‘boy’                                  |
|                                    | 4. mol      ‘cloth’                                  |
| 3. Machi opakal aros tigne.        | ‘The boy is going to plant rice across (the river).’ |
| <b>Emphasis</b>                    |  |
|                                    | 1. opakal      ‘across (the river)’                  |
|                                    | 2. machi      ‘boy’                                  |
|                                    | 3. aros tig      ‘to plant rice’                     |
| 4. Ome negzhe ostikid pelene.      | ‘The woman is going to carry the sugar home.’        |
| <b>Emphasis</b>                    |  |
|                                    | 1. negzhe      ‘(to) home’                           |
|                                    | 2. ome      ‘woman’                                  |
|                                    | 3. ostikid      ‘sugar’                              |
| 5. Wakur, machi ankin palu pakcha. | ‘(This) morning, the boy bought salt from me.’       |
| <b>Emphasis</b>                    |  |
|                                    | 1. wakur      ‘morning’                              |
|                                    | 2. ankin      ‘from me’                              |
|                                    | 3. palu      ‘salt’                                  |

**18.5 Vocabulary**

- |               |                           |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. aturcha    | ‘to steal’                |
| 2. imia       | ‘eye’                     |
| 3. chuchu     | ‘ear’                     |
| 4. uaya       | ‘ear canal/hole’          |
| 5. azhu       | ‘nose’                    |
| 6. kaka       | ‘mouth’                   |
| 7. chunkal(a) | ‘hand’                    |
| 8. uka        | ‘skin’                    |
| 9. apkan      | ‘body’                    |
| 10. nugal     | ‘tooth’                   |
| 11. ko        | ‘finger/toe’              |
| 12. tub(a)    | ‘vine/thread/rope/string’ |
| 13. tud(u)    | ‘flower’                  |

14. tiwal(a)	'main river'
15. tian	'creek/stream'
16. melu	'How much?'
17. tenal	'but'
18. neba	'plain/valley'
19. mata	'lake/flat (thing)'
20. unila	'only'
21. alle	'to laugh'
22. po	'to cry'
23. ata(ke)	'to respect'
24. ulgo	'board'
25. pilal	'to love'
26. nugu kulle	'delicious/good to eat'

## 19 KUNA SPEECH TYPES

### 19.1 Monologue

Kuna leaders regularly call the people together in the meeting house. There they make speeches, giving instructions to their people about their traditions and way of life.

The chief is speaking to the people in the meeting house.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Immisde an pemalga chunmane; tulemal nued nanemal.                                    | ‘Now I’m going to talk to you (about) people behaving well.’   |
| 2. Nuekwá tiil, ¿ip nuedchulchi?   | ‘When (we) walk well, it is a good thing, is it not?’  |
| 3. Anmal pel napíra tiil ip nueganbi.  | ‘When we all behave correctly, everything (is) well.’  |
| 4. Tule nanga ip choge nikchulil, saglagan ip choge nikchul.                             | ‘When people have nothing to say against me, the leaders have nothing to say (against me).’  |
| 5. Kwendin yoskudago; immal aturchedi, immal chikedi, yosku nanedi, anmal kwen peichuli. | ‘Some (people) will come (to the place where they) err, such as stealing something, cutting something (which belongs to another), or behaving badly, we don’t want any of that.’ |
| 6. Napíra tiil ip nuedi.   | ‘When walking correctly, it is good.’  |
| 7. Te choggudin nue itomal.  | ‘Then I say, listen well, ...’   |

The chief goes on with his speech.

### 19.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–4)

Each type (genre) of speech (discourse) has its own intonation pattern. Monologue 19.1 is an example of a teaching type of speech.

#### Exercise 1. Intonation drill

Hum the intonation patterns of Monologue 19.1 as the teacher says the monologue.

#### Exercise 2. Mimicking drill

Mimic the teacher as he says Monologue 19.1. Try to keep pace with the teacher as he says the monologue and mimic the intonation patterns to the best of your ability.

#### Exercise 3. Intonation of teaching speech

Practice the intonation pattern of Sentence 5 of Monologue 19.1 until this teaching intonation pattern is mastered.

#### Exercise 4. Problem solving drill

Discuss and drill any problem areas of intonation in Exercises 1 through 3 above.

### 19.3 Culture

There are four levels of language in Kuna speech:

1. colloquial speech (informal speech)
2. **chunmaked** ‘(formal speech)’
3. **namaked** ‘(chants)’
4. **kolmaked** ‘(shouting chants)’

The **kolmaked** is used exclusively in certain ceremonies.

Traditionally, Kuna chiefs have chanted the instructions and insights into the culture which they have given their people in meetings. The chants (**namaked**) are couched in archaic and figurative language which is difficult for the majority of the people to understand. One person, the **arkal**, is appointed to the task of repeating the chief's chant in more understandable, though formal, language (**chunmaked**), so that the people will understand what was being taught.

In some areas, chanting is dying out. In these areas the leaders talk directly to the people.

## 19.4 Grammar

### 19.4.1 Obligation (Ex. 5–6)

Obligation parallels the English construction, “ought to ...” or “have to ...”. This concept is expressed by adding the obligatory suffix **-nab** to the long form of the verb stem.

#### Example

Nuskan e pabgan atakenab. ‘Children **ought to** respect their parents.’

#### Exercise 5. Obligation frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: Ome mas tuenab.

Student: Ome mas tuenab.

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ome mas tuenab.           | ‘The woman has to cook the food.’          |
| 2. An nenab.                 | ‘I have/ought to go.’                      |
| 3. Pe an pennukenab.         | ‘You have to pay me.’                      |
| 4. Nuskan e pabgan atakenab. | ‘Children ought to respect their parents.’ |
| 5. Pe anka chogenab.         | ‘You need to tell me.’                     |

#### Exercise 6. Obligation stimulus response drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies using the obligation **-nab** form.

**Example** Teacher: ¿Pe ne?

Student: Antin nenab.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. ¿Pe ne?            | ‘Are you going?’                                |
| 2. ¿Pe kai chune?     | ‘Are you going to fetch sugar cane?’            |
| 3. ¿Pe saglaga chogo? | ‘Will you tell the chief?’                      |
| 4. ¿Pe neg chomne?    | ‘Are you going to build a house?’               |
| 5. ¿Pe ina too?       | ‘Will you take (swallow) the medicine (pills)?’ |

### 19.4.2 Non-obligatory expressions

Several adverbial expressions may be used to indicate that an action was done without obligation or duress.

#### 19.4.2.1 an/pe/a itoleged ‘my/your/his/hers/its own desire (lit.: feeling)’

**Example** Machi a itoleged nad. ‘The boy went **of his own desire**.’

#### 19.4.2.2 pinche ‘just (without duress or purpose)’

When used to refer to an action executed without duress it is generally said with a disclaimer intonation (see 6.2.2).

**Example** Machi **pinche** yogal pakcha. ‘The boy **just** bought the shirt (on a whim).’

### 19.4.2.3 naga/aga tukin ‘of my/one’s own free will’

**naga/aga tukin** ‘of my/one’s own free will’ is further discussed in Section 20.4.6.2.

#### Example

Punadin **aga tukin** mol ukcha. ‘The girl sold the blouse **herself** (of her own volition).’

### 19.4.3 Futility

An event or action may be perceived as being done in vain. This concept of futility is expressed by the adverb **pinche** ‘in vain/for nothing’ which, in this usage, normally occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

#### Examples

1. **Pinche** an ti. ‘I went **for nothing**.’
2. **Pinche** an ul chobzha. ‘I **might as well have not** made the canoe.’

However, when used as an adverb of futility, **pinche** occasionally occurs in the adverbial position.

**Example** Antin **pinche** mani amidi. ‘I went **in vain** for the money.’

**Pinche** can also mean ‘just (for no reason/purpose)’. Intonation, context and word order provide clues to which meaning it has.

#### 19.4.3.1 Intonation clue

A disclaimer intonation (see 6.2.2) indicates “just (without real purpose)” whereas a frustrated intonation indicates the sense of “in vain”.

#### 19.4.3.2 Contextual clue

If the speaker has indicated that some purpose gave rise to the action, the word **pinche** would have an “in vain” connotation. If you surmise from the context that the action had no specific purpose, the connotation of **pinche** is “just (for no reason/purpose)”.

#### 19.4.3.3 Word order clue

When **pinche** occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it invariably means “in vain”.

### 19.4.4 Ability (Ex. 7–9)

Expressions which deal with a person’s ability to carry out an action parallel the English expression, “to be able to....” In Kuna, various words are used to describe innate ability, capacity to perform, and an acquired skill.

#### 19.4.4.1 Ability in the five senses (innate ability)

The five basic senses are described in Kuna by two verbs: **tak** ‘to see’ (**atak** ‘to look at’) and **ito** ‘to hear/feel/taste/smell’. The ability to use the senses is expressed by the use of the verb **mag** ‘to be able to’ which usually precedes the verb of sense.

#### Examples

1. Machi toto **mag** take. ‘The little boy **is able to** see.’
2. Machi **mag** atak. ‘The boy **is able to** look at (things).’
3. Punadin **mag** ito. ‘The girl **can** hear/feel/smell/taste.’

Conversely, innate inability to use the senses is expressed by **aku** ‘to be unable to’.

#### Examples

1. Punadin **aku** immal tak. ‘The girl is blind (unable to see anything).’
2. Machidin **aku** ito. ‘The boy doesn’t understand/hear (lit.: unable to understand/hear). The boy is deaf.’



#### 19.4.4.2 Capacity to perform an action

One may have the capacity to perform an action, but actually carrying it out may depend on the desire of the actor. To express the capacity to perform an action, the adverb **nabir** 'to be able' is used before the action verb. Conversely, the adverb **keg** 'to be unable to' indicates that the actor has the capacity to perform the action but for some reason he is unable to do so in a given situation.

##### Examples

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mimmi <b>nabir</b> nane.     | 'The little girl <b>can</b> walk.'           |
| 2. Machi <b>keg</b> pe pentako. | 'The boy will <b>be unable to</b> help you.' |

**Nabir** 'to be able to' and **keg** 'to be unable to' are also used referring to permission: **nabir** 'to be allowed/permitted to' or **keg** 'to not be allowed/permitted to'.

##### Examples

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Machergandin <b>nabir</b> we tak.  | 'The men <b>are allowed to</b> look at that.'                         |
| 2. Omegandin <b>keg</b> we tak; izhe. | 'The women <b>are not allowed to</b> look at that (it is forbidden).' |

#### 19.4.4.3 Learned ability

Where knowledge is a prerequisite for performance, the verb **wis** 'to know how to' is used. Conversely, **wichul** 'to not know how to' is used to indicate lack of knowledge. **Wis/wichul(i)** may be used alone or together with a verb specifying the skill. The short form of the verb stem specifying the skill is used.

##### Examples

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1a. ¿Punadin <b>wis</b> mas tu?       | 'Does the girl <b>know how to</b> cook?'             |
| b. ¿ <b>Wis</b> , (adin)?             | '(She) <b>knows</b> .'                               |
| 2a. ¿Machidin <b>wis</b> tomoma?      | 'Does the boy <b>know how to</b> swim?'              |
| b. <b>Wichul</b> .                    | '(He) <b>does not know how</b> .'                    |
| 3. Taddin <b>wis</b> neg chob.        | 'The elder <b>knows how to</b> build a house.'       |
| 4. Machidin <b>wichul</b> kammu ogol. | 'The boy <b>doesn't know how to</b> play the flute.' |

#### Exercise 7. Ability frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An tule kaka mag ito.  
Student: An tule kaka mag ito.

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. An tule kaka mag ito.      | 'I can understand Kuna.'                            |
| 2. Machi chikwi mag take.     | 'The boy can recognize the bird.'                   |
| 3. Pabzhel aku ito.           | 'Grandfather can't hear.'                           |
| 4. Wag aku atak.              | 'The outsider is blind (unable to look).'           |
| 5. Mimmi nabir nane.          | 'The baby girl can walk.'                           |
| 6. Machergan nabir immal tak. | 'Men are allowed to see it.'                        |
| 7. Machi keg pe pentako.      | 'The boy won't be able to help you.'                |
| 8. Puna keg mol uko.          | 'The girl can't sell the blouse.'                   |
| 9. Puna wis mas tu.           | 'The girl knows (how) to cook.'                     |
| 10. Kil wis kammu ogol.       | 'Uncle knows (how) to play the flutes.'             |
| 11. Antin wichul motor onane. | 'I don't know (how) to operate the outboard motor.' |
| 12. Pedro wichul ul chob.     | 'Peter doesn't know (how) to make a canoe.'         |

#### Exercise 8. Ability stimulus response drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student replies using **mag**, **aku**, **nabir**, or **keg** as the situation requires.

**Example** Teacher: Machi itos.  
Student: Machi aku itos.

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Machi itos.          | ‘The boy understood.’                    |
| 2. Machimal puna takne. | ‘The boys are going to see the girl.’    |
| 3. Tule ua kun.         | ‘People eat fish.’                       |
| 4. Wag challi mejo.     | ‘The outsider will kill the woodpecker.’ |
| 5. Ome wag kaka ito.    | ‘The woman understands Spanish.’         |

**Exercise 9.** ‘(Don’t) know how to’ stimulus response drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student replies using **wis/wichul**

**Example** Teacher: Tad ul chobzha.  
Student: Tad wis ul chob.

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Tad ul chobzha.     | ‘The elder made a canoe.’                 |
| 2. Machi kammu ogolne. | ‘The boy is going to play the flutes.’    |
| 3. Puna mol nermas.    | ‘The girl drew the design on the blouse.’ |
| 4. Pab karpa chobzha.  | ‘Father made a basket.’                   |
| 5. Nan kachi chobo.    | ‘Mother will make a hammock.’             |

**19.4.5 Consequence of action (Ex. 10–11)**

Certain actions or events result in succeeding event(s) as a consequence of the situation which they bring about. The succeeding event is introduced in English by the phrase “and consequently”. Generally speaking, in Kuna, the first event is stated in one sentence and the consequential event is stated in the next sentence which begins with the conjunction **tegin** ‘and then’. The consequential suffix **-chun/-zhun/-jun**<sup>111</sup> is added to the verb.

**Examples**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Sagla maichuli.                           | ‘The chief was not home.’                |
| 2. <b>Tegin</b> antin kannan negzhe nadzhun. | ‘ <b>Consequently</b> I went back home.’ |

**Exercise 10.** **-chun/-zhun/-jun** frame drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student repeats it; the teacher says Sentence 2 and the student repeats it, etc. This exercise may be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An nadzhun.  
Student: An nadzhun.

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. An nadzhun.             | ‘So I left.’                           |
| 2. Wagi ob machun.         | ‘So the parrots ate the corn.’         |
| 3. Ome upchan purenaichun. | ‘So the woman is spinning the cotton.’ |
| 4. An karta nermanejun.    | ‘So I’m going to write a letter.’      |
| 5. An mas kunnejun.        | ‘So I’m going to eat (some) food.’     |

**Exercise 11.** **-chun/-zhun/-jun** substitution frame drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it substituting it in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: An kannan nadbal.  
Student: An yannu mecha. Tegin an kannan nadbalchun.

**Frame** An yannu mecha. Tegin \_\_\_\_-chun. ‘I killed a peccary. So then \_\_\_\_.’

- |                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. An kannan nadbal.     | ‘I went back again.’          |
| 2. An negzhe yannu ches. | ‘I carried the peccary home.’ |

<sup>111</sup> The final **n** of the consequential suffix is a fortis consonant **nn** written as **n** by convention.

- |                             |                                     |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 3. An yannu pid makchabal.  | ‘I shot another peccary too.’       |
| 4. An pega chan uktani      | ‘I’m bringing you meat.’            |
| 5. An chapurbal yannu ebes. | ‘I left the peccary in the jungle.’ |

### 19.4.6 Causative (Ex. 12)

A causative action is one which the subject causes someone else to perform; it parallels the English construction “to cause (someone) to”. In Kuna, the causative is formed by adding the causative prefix **o-** to the verb stem. Most, although not all, verbs may use the causative prefix. Certain related concepts which in English are expressed by two separate verbs, are expressed in Kuna by the verb and by the verb plus the causative prefix.

#### Examples

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1a. turta                       | ‘to learn’                                  |
| b. <b>odurta</b> <sup>112</sup> | ‘to teach (lit.: to cause to learn)’        |
| 2a. kun                         | ‘to eat’                                    |
| b. <b>okun</b>                  | ‘to feed (lit.: to cause to eat)’           |
| 3a. kob                         | ‘to drink’                                  |
| b. <b>ogob</b> <sup>113</sup>   | ‘to give a drink (lit.: to cause to drink)’ |
| 4a. Kallen <b>oge</b> .         | ‘Light the lamp./Switch on the light.’      |
| b. Kallen <b>okin</b> .         | ‘Put out the lamp./Switch off the light.’   |

#### Exercise 12. o- substitution frame drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it using the causative **o-** form in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: An ti kobo.  
Student: An machi ti ogobo.

- Frame** An machi \_\_\_\_ o- \_\_\_\_ . ‘I \_\_\_\_ cause the boy to \_\_\_\_.’
- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. An ti kobo.   | ‘I’ll drink water.’   |
| 2. An ua kucha.  | ‘I ate fish.’         |
| 3. An turtane.   | ‘I’m going to learn.’ |
| 4. An tomomanai. | ‘I am swimming.’      |
| 5. An nane.      | ‘I walk.’             |

### 19.4.7 Causative commands

The formation of commands which cause another person to do an action varies according to the type of verb used.

#### 19.4.7.1 Intrinsically causative verbs

Verbs which are intrinsically causative may be used in causative commands without affixation.

#### Example

Anche machi palmidago. ‘**Send** the boy to me (lit.: make the boy come to me).’

#### 19.4.7.2 Verbs with a causative form

Verbs with a causative form (see 19.4.6) may also be used in a causative command.

<sup>112</sup> **t** initial becomes lenis **d** in **odurta** ‘to teach’.

<sup>113</sup> **k** initial becomes lenis **g** in **ogob** ‘to cause to drink’.

**Example** Machi ina ogobo. 'Make the boy drink the medicine.'

### 19.4.7.3 Verb ima 'to make' in causative command

If a verb is not intrinsically causative and has no causative form, the imperative form of the verb **ima** 'to make' is used. The purpose suffix **-gal/-kal** is added to the verb which is to be carried out. The action verb plus **-gal/-kal** is followed by the actor and subsequently by **imako** 'make'.

#### Example

(Pe) neg chobgal machi imako. '(You) make the boy build the house.'

Note the difference in word order. In this example, **machi**, the one caused to do the action, precedes "to make" while the object of building occurs in the normal order for a direct object. On the other hand, in the example for Exercise 12, **machi** occurs in the normal order for an indirect object but without the suffix **-ga/-ka**.

### 19.4.7.4 Prevention of causative action

To prevent an action from being caused, the word **melle** 'do not' is used to begin the causative command sentence.

#### Examples

1. **Melle** machi palmidago. 'Don't send the boy.'
2. **Melle** machi ina ogobo. 'Don't make the boy drink the medicine.'
3. **Melle** neg chobgal machi imako. 'Don't make the boy build the house.'

### 19.4.8 Impersonal passive suffix **-le/-lle** (Ex. 13)

The impersonal passive construction in which the actor (agent) is not named parallels the English construction as in, "The boy was cut". It is formed by adding the passive suffix **-le/-lle** to the short form of the verb stem. **-le/lle** precedes such verbal suffixes as **-cha/-zha/-ja** and **-ne** and **-al**. The lenis consonant **-le** follows a lenis consonant or a vowel. The fortis consonant **-lle** follows a fortis consonant but is written as a single **-le** by convention. It is important to note the difference between **-le/-lle** 'impersonal passive' and the conditional suffix **-le** 'if' which attaches to the long form of the verb stem or preceding suffix and occurs **after** aspect and most other verbal suffixes. Because the conditional suffix attaches to the long form of the verb (i.e., follows a vowel) a fortis form does not occur.

#### Example

Machimal chiklesmalbalile, an pe odurtako. 'If the boys are cut again, I will punish you.'

In this example, the first **-le** is the passive suffix, and the second is the conditional suffix.

#### 19.4.8.1 Passive suffix **-le/-lle** with completed aspect **-s**

The short form of the completed aspect **-s** often occurs with the passive suffix **-le/-lle**.

#### Examples

1. Machi chikles. 'The boy was/is cut.'
2. Koe makles. 'The deer was/is shot.'

#### 19.4.8.2 Pseudo-passive

The passive suffix **-le/-lle** may be used alone with a verb stem or it may occur with the suffix **-ge** to form a pseudo-passive in which no specific event is referred to.

##### 1) Passive suffix **-le/-lle** used alone

The passive suffix **-le/-lle** when used alone with the verb stem denotes the habitual aspect of a passive concept.

**Example** We nugu kulle.<sup>114</sup> ‘That is good (when) eaten.’

## 2) Passive suffix -le/-lle used with -ge

The combination suffix **-lege/-llege** denotes quality.

### Examples

1. We nugu kullege. ‘That is good eating.’
2. We mol nugu taklege. ‘That blouse is good looking.’

### Exercise 13. Passive -le frame drill

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it using the passive form **-le**.

**Example** Teacher: Mas tunai.  
Student: Mas tulenai.

1. Mas tunai. ‘(I’m) cooking food.’
2. Teob chog. ‘That’s what (he) says.’
3. We kartagin nabir nerma. ‘You can write on that paper.’
4. Pato ukcha. ‘(He’s) already sold (it).’
5. Esgin chikcha. ‘(He) cut (it) with a machete.’

### 19.4.9 Habitual behavior aspect

People have habitual patterns of behavior, doing certain actions frequently or with some degree of regularity. This habitual behavior is expressed by the addition of the suffix **-da/-ta** ‘behave habitually’ to the verb stem.

#### Examples

1. An ua kunta. ‘I often/regularly eat fish.’
2. An igeta. ‘I often/regularly forget.’

This construction differs from the habitual aspect (see 10.4.9) in that it implies that an action is done with regularity, whereas the habitual aspect (without **-da/-ta**) refers to an act which is done and implies that there are other similar acts which are not done.

#### Example

Antin ua **kun**, tenal an apa chan **kunchul**. ‘I (do) eat fish but I don’t eat boa meat.’

### 19.4.10 Past progressive suffix -ap ‘has/have been \_\_\_\_ing’ (Ex. 14)

An action may be viewed as past progressive, i.e., as having been in progress but now terminated, as illustrated by the English sentence, “I have been swimming (said after one has left the water)”. In the past progressive, the focus is on the activity and contrasts with a construction in which the focus is on the motion (going/coming) as illustrated by the sentence, **An obti**. ‘I have been to bathe.’ (see 18.4.2). The past progressive is marked by the suffix **-ap** attached to the shortened verb stem.

#### Examples

1. An obap. ‘I have been bathing.’
2. Ome mas chuap. ‘The woman has been fetching plantains.’
3. An tulemalzhe ekisap. ‘I have been asking people.’

An irregular occurrence of the past progressive suffix **-ap** is **nagap** ‘on foot’ (see 14.4.8.2 note).

<sup>114</sup> The verb **kun/kunne** ‘to eat’ is irregular. Its short form ends in a fortis consonant which is written as a single consonant by convention. With the addition of the passive suffix **-le/-lle** the fortis suffix is used and the **nn** drops off to become **kulle**. Similarly, with the addition of the completive aspect **-cha**, **kun/kunne** ‘to eat’ becomes **kucha**.

When the past progressive suffix is added to the past form of the motion verb **ne** ‘to go’, the resultant form **natab**<sup>115</sup> ‘in the process of going/on (my) way’ indicates that motion has already been initiated. The suffix **-ap** does not occur with the motion verb **tag** ‘to come’.

### Example

A man is travelling from Paya to Pucuru. On the trail, someone asks where he is going.

1. Inquirer:     ¿Pia ne?                   ‘Where are you going?’
2. Traveller:    Pukurche **natab**.       ‘I am on my way to Pucuru.’

### Exercise 14. Past progressive **-ap** drill

The teacher asks the question and the student replies using the **-ap** form in the frame.

**Example**     Teacher: ¿Pe ampak kallin pakne?

Student: Chuli. An pato kallin pak**ap**.

- Frame**   Chuli. An pato \_\_\_\_-ap.       ‘No, I have already been \_\_\_\_.’
1. ¿Pe ampak kallin pakne?           ‘Are you going with me to buy chickens?’
  2. ¿Pe tibal omne?<sup>116</sup>               ‘Are you going to bathe at the river?’
  3. ¿Pe mas chikne?                   ‘Are you going to cut plantains?’
  4. ¿Pe tagar chwane?               ‘Are you going to gather thatch?’
  5. ¿Pe ua makne?                   ‘Are you going to spear fish?’

#### 19.4.11 Naming

Even though there are cultural restrictions on eliciting and calling people by their Kuna name (see Section 4.3), you as an outsider will be asked your name. The noun/verb **nuga** ‘name/to name’ is used to elicit or declare a name, to name a person or object, or to do something under someone’s authority (“in the name of”).

#### Examples

1. ¿Igi pe **nuga**?                   ‘What is your **name**? (lit.: How are you named?)’
2. Antin **nug** Pablo.               ‘My name is Paul. (lit.: I am **named** Paul.)’
3. Antin, an machi Pedro **nugzhas**.   ‘I called/**named** my son Peter.’
4. An sagla **nuggin** pega chog.       ‘I tell you **in the name of** (**under the authority of**) the chief.’

##### 19.4.11.1 Other naming expressions

When a person is named or appointed to a position, the position to which he is appointed is stated as an indirect object, the name of the appointee is stated, followed by the verb **odo** ‘to cause to enter/appoint’.

**Example**     Tulemal saglaga Juan **odos**.   ‘The people appointed John as chief.’

When one person substitutes for another, the substitute is named first, followed by the name of the one substituted for, the adverb **anal** ‘instead of’, the position treated as indirect object and the verb **pei** ‘to remain’.

#### Example

Pedro, Pablo **anal** tummadga pes.       ‘Peter remained (was left) in charge in Paul’s place.’

##### 19.4.11.2 ¿Igi pimal? ‘What do we/they call it?’

This expression is used to ascertain the correct term/way of saying something, i.e., to elicit new language data.

<sup>115</sup> Irregular.

<sup>116</sup> The **b** of **ob** ‘to bathe’ becomes **m** before the **n**, **omne** ‘to go to bathe’.

### 19.4.11.3 ¿Wede igi nug? ‘What is its name?/What is it called?’

This expression is used to identify the kind (species) of a plant, animal, bird, or fish. It is used to identify the creature, not to ascertain the correct way to say something.

### 19.4.12 Comparison (Ex. 15)

The comparison of people/objects/actions may be made on the basis of their similarities or their differences. Various constructions are used according to the qualities being compared.

#### 19.4.12.1 Contrast

Contrast of one person/object with another or of the actions of two people is handled by adding the topic-establishing suffix **-din/-tin** to each of the items to be contrasted. Often the conjunction **tenal** ‘but’ is used to join the two sentences of comparison.

#### Example

Pedin ne. (Tenal) antin peine. ‘You (on one hand) are going. (But) I (on the other hand) am staying.’

#### 19.4.12.2 Difference

When two people/objects are different but only one is mentioned overtly, the adverb **akal** ‘different’ is used. It may be used in stative and non-stative sentences; it may be repeated to indicate “all different kinds” as in **akal-akal** ‘all different kinds’.

#### Examples

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Itidin wis <b>akal</b> .                  | ‘This one is <b>slightly different</b> .’                        |
| 2. We yannudin <b>akal</b> .                 | ‘That peccary is <b>different</b> .’                             |
| 3. Immalmal <b>akal-akal</b> chapurbal nika. | ‘There are <b>all different kinds of</b> animals in the jungle.’ |
| 4. Ome mol <b>akal-akal</b> nika.            | ‘The woman has <b>all different kinds of</b> cloth.’             |

#### 19.4.12.3 Similarity

The adverb **yopí** ‘the same’ is used to describe a person/object which remains unchanged. It may be used alone without naming the person/object when the reference is obvious from the context.

#### Examples

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Wedin <b>yopí</b> takle. | ‘That looks (exactly) <b>the same</b> .’ |
| 2. Ampa <b>yopí</b> .       | ‘(It is) still <b>the same</b> .’        |

The suffix forms **-yob(i)** ‘like’ or **-yopí** ‘exactly like’ may be added to the noun or pronoun to which a person or object is being compared.

#### Examples

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Pe machi <b>peyopí</b> takle. | ‘Your son looks <b>exactly like you</b> .’ |
| 2. Pedin <b>tuleyob</b> chunma.  | ‘You speak <b>like (a) Kuna</b> .’         |

#### 19.4.12.4 Same size comparison

A person/thing may be said to be the same size as another by adding the suffix **-un** ‘as big/little as’ to the person/thing to which the subject is compared.

#### Examples

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Pedrodin e pab <b>un</b> .       | ‘Peter is <b>as big as</b> his father.’          |
| 2. Maríadin e nan <b>un</b> kudani. | ‘Mary is getting <b>as big as</b> (her) mother.’ |

### 19.4.12.5 Degrees of comparison

In English, degrees of comparison are made by comparing one person/thing to another by means of an adjective. Two persons/things may be compared by using the suffix **-er** or the word “more” attached to the adjective (e.g., “bigger”). A comparison may be made between three or more people/objects by adding the suffix **-est** or the word “most” to the adjective (e.g., “biggest”).

In Kuna, degrees of comparison are made by using the word **pul** ‘more/most’ which precedes the attribute (adjective) being compared. The person/object compared occurs first in the sentence, with or without the topic-establishing suffix **-din/-tin**. The person/object with whom/which it is compared is accompanied by the indirect object suffix **-ga/-ka** which, in this instance, parallels English “than.” Or, as in Example 3 below, the person/object with whom/which it is compared may be omitted.

#### Examples

- |                                     |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Antin chowid.                    | ‘I am tall.’                        |
| 2. Antin pega <b>pul</b> chowid.    | ‘I am taller <b>than</b> you.’      |
| 3. Antin <b>pul</b> chowid.         | ‘I am the tallest.’                 |
| 4. Antin egmalga <b>pul</b> chowid. | ‘I am taller <b>than</b> the rest.’ |

The word **pul** ‘more/most’ may be used also to modify the objects in a sentence expressing possession.

**Example** An pega **pul** mani nika. ‘I have **more** money than you.’

#### Exercise 15. Comparison drill

The teacher says Sentence 1 and the student compares the subject of the sentence to Peter, substituting the correct form of the sentence in the frame.

**Example** Teacher: Pablo chowid.  
Student: Pablo Pedroga pul chowid.

**Frame** \_\_\_\_ Pedroga pul \_\_\_\_.

- |                    |                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Pablo chowid.   | ‘Paul is tall.’          |
| 2. Machi kalla.    | ‘The boy is thin.’       |
| 3. Tad chered.     | ‘The elder is old.’      |
| 4. Tule mani nika. | ‘The people have money.’ |
| 5. Mimmi toto.     | ‘The baby is small.’     |

## 19.5 Vocabulary

- |                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. ti           | ‘to have been (somewhere)’ |
| 2. abinke       | ‘to meet’                  |
| 3. amma         | ‘aunt’                     |
| 4. kil(u)       | ‘uncle’                    |
| 5. (kal)gwennad | ‘relative’                 |
| 6. mete         | ‘to throw out’             |
| 7. ampe         | ‘sister-in-law’            |
| 8. ub(a)        | ‘brother-in-law’           |
| 9. ario         | ‘to flow’                  |
| 10. madu        | ‘bread’                    |
| 11. yosku       | ‘to err’                   |
| 12. tegin       | ‘then’                     |
| 13. yogal       | ‘shirt’                    |
| 14. chuba       | ‘jacket’                   |
| 15. garson      | ‘trousers’                 |



16. sapat	'shoes'
17. tel	'underskirt'
18. nachi(ke)	'to put'
19. mantur(u)	'roasted plantain/disbelief/surprise'
20. murruk(u)	'bowl/cup'
21. oturta	'to teach/punish'
22. mag	'to paint/apply make up'
23. ta(e)	'to behave'
24. punu	'daughter'
25. pirkin	'much/a lot'
26. oge	'to light/switch on'
27. okin	'to put out/switch off'

## 20 CLASSIFICATIONS

### 20.1 Folktale

The following text is titled Koe Igala ‘The Story of Deer’.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Nabirde.   | ‘Fine.’  |
| 2. An igal wis onakwia.   | ‘I’ll tell a story.’   |
| 3. Immi taklegu, koe igala.   | ‘Now it will be the story of Deer.’  |
| 4. Te taklegu, koe mai chogeye.   | ‘Deer was living there, it is told.’   |
| 5. Koe maidginye, achu pukmai chogeye takcha.                               | ‘When Deer was alive, Tiger lived with him (you) see.’   |
| 6. Koe maigu, takal, achu yer immal make.                                   | ‘When Deer was alive, you’ll realize, Tiger did well preying on animals.’  |
| 7. Takal, koe yer immal makmo.  | ‘You’ll realize, Deer did well preying on animals, too.’   |
| 8. Te ibagwenkine koega chogal:   | ‘Then one day (Tiger) said to Deer:’   |
| 9. --Pe nemogoye, immal aminaiye.   | “‘You go too (and) hunt for animals.’”   |
| 10. Tegin naelye. <sup>117</sup>  | ‘(So) then (Deer) started off.’  |
| 11. Nadgu, koe pinzhealye: “¿Igi immal makel nabirtibaye?” koe pinzhadiye.  | ‘Having left, Deer began to think, “How will I perhaps be able to kill an animal?” he thought.’                    |
| 12. Koe pinzheal: “Nugal chulbalye, an nazhi satebali.                      | ‘Deer thought, “(I have) neither teeth nor do I have claws.’   |
| 13. ¿Igi immal kaotibeye?” un <sup>118</sup> pinzhealye.                    | ‘How could I perhaps catch (any) animal?” he thought.’   |
| 14. Tegin igalbal chigwichun, takenye, chowal piligin chigwis takenye.      | ‘So then he sat down along the trail (you) see, he sat down on a (fallen) tree trunk (you) see.’                   |
| 15. Tegin un chidgine immal noni, takenye.                                  | ‘While Deer was sitting something arrived (you) see.’  |
| 16. Takalgu nu takenye.   | ‘It turned out it was a dove (you) see.’   |
| 17. Nu chunmakalchun takenye, unga immal onual, takenye.                    | ‘(So) the dove began to talk (you) see, he began to suggest something to Deer (you) see.’                          |
| 18. Immal onualgua, choggua;  | ‘Having thought he’d found a solution,’  |
| 19. --Nabir-- chogeye:  | “‘Alright”, he said,’  |
| 20. --We an pega uko takenye, immal makegal takenchogye.                    | “‘I’ll give you this (you see) to kill animals (you) see” (he) said.’  |
| 21. Koe nabir chog:   | ‘Deer agreed saying,’  |
| 22. --¿Igi an chaoye?   | “‘What shall I do?””   |
| 23. --Weob oyos pe chaoye, immal pega purko, takenye, --immal chog takenye. | “‘You should point like this, (then) the animal will drop dead (die) for you (you) see,” the dove said (you) see.’ |
| 24. Tegin koe chus takenchog, koe yer itos takenye.                         | ‘The deer took (this idea) (I) say (you) see; Deer felt good (you) see.’   |
| 25. Tegin alchun takenye.   | ‘So then (Deer) left (you) see.’   |
| 26. Algu, igalbal immal takal, takenye; chigli takaldoye.                   | ‘Having come away, along the trail he saw something (you) see, it was a wild turkey (you) see.’                    |

<sup>117</sup> Irregular: **ne** + **-al** = **nael** ‘begin to go’.

<sup>118</sup> Deer is referred to by his normal posture **un** ‘on all fours’, i.e., the “four-footed one”.

27. Unila oyos takenye, makchaye. ' (Deer) only pointed (you) see, and (he) killed (it). '
28. Tegin aka anchik immal takalbal takenye. ' Then further on he saw something again, (you) see. '
29. Mechabal, takenye, wedarmal mecha itoleye. ' (He) killed (it) too, (you) see, peccaries (it is) understood. '
30. Negzhe nonigu, immal untar mecha itoleye. ' (By the time he) arrived home, he had killed many creatures (it is) understood. '
31. Tegin neg tikalbal omosgu achu chunmamai takenchogye: ' Then when Deer was almost home, Tiger was talking, (he) said, you see, '
32. --Koe kad immal maktebaliye. ' "Deer has been catching and killing creatures. '
33. Koe nazhi chulité, nugal satetéye. ' (But) Deer doesn't have claws, he doesn't have teeth. '
34. ¿Igi immal kaoye? --achu chunmamaiye. ' How does he catch anything? " Tiger was saying. '
35. Tegin negzhe nonigu, negzhe un tononiyea, immal taká takenye. ' Then arriving home, Deer entered the house, loaded with prey (you) see. '
36. Tegin un maichun takenye. ' Then Deer stayed at home (you) see. '
37. Omegan immal taken nai takenye. ' The women looked after things (you) see. '
38. Immal echiknaichun. ' (They) cut up the animals. '
39. Omegan kwen mas tued nai takenye. ' Some women who cooked were there (you) see. '
40. Mas tunaiye. ' They were cooking the food. '
41. Mas ogus takenye. ' The food was ready (you) see. '
42. Mas ogusgua, immi koe chog takenye. ' When the food was ready, Deer now says (you) see. '
43. --Immi ampak assapin mas kunmala takenye --koe chog. ' "Now let's eat face-to-face (you) see." Deer said (you) see. '
44. Tegin mas kullegal takenye, koe achubak assapin takenye a kumpuk takenye. ' In order to eat the food (you) see, Deer and Tiger came face-to-face (you) see and ate it together (you) see. '
45. Te kumpukwadgine immi achu ekisalchun takenye: ' At that same meal together, Tiger asked (Deer) (you) see. '
46. --¿Igi pe immal makcha? Takenye --achu ekisalchun takenye. ' "How did you kill the animals? (you) see," Tiger asked (you) see. '
47. Tegin koe choge: ' Then Deer said, '
48. --Nabir takenye, ' "Fine (you) see, '
49. immal nika takenye, immal makegal takenye; ' (I) have something (you) see, something with which to kill (you) see, '
50. tegin immal mak takenye. ' (it's) with that I kill (my prey) (you) see. "'
51. Achu chog: ' Tiger says, '
52. --An takpi --takenye. ' "I want to see (this)," (you) see. '
53. Ka chog: ' (Deer) says to (Tiger), '
54. --¡Chul! --takenye. ' "No!" (you) see. '
55. Tegine oyoalchun takenye, amichunye, wegin immal mak takenye. ' And pointing, (Deer) hunted (you) see and killed (his prey) with this (you) see. '
56. Tegi achu takchijun takenye. ' With this, Tiger was sitting watching (Deer) (you) see. '
57. Tegin takchidgin takenye koe kin istar pinzhealchunye. ' When Tiger saw (this) (you) see Deer started to hate Tiger. '
58. Kin oyos imas chualiye. ' (Deer) pointed at (Tiger) as he had been doing. '

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 59. Achu yok purkwis takenye.                          | ‘Tiger died instantly (you) see.’                               |
| 60. Tegin achu ome kwakialchun,<br>abarmachun takenye. | ‘Then Tiger’s wife became frightened (and) ran away (you) see.’ |
| 61. Teje igal.   | ‘That’s the story.’   |

## 20.2 Pronunciation (Ex. 1–4)

The purpose of this section is to help the student enhance his storytelling style. What can be accomplished in class in this area is limited, however, features of style can be pointed out and discussed. Practice outside the classroom is essential.

Note the intonation features of the introduction to the story. Note how to build suspense by pausing at intervals. Practice the drama of the climax and the wind-down of the story.

### Exercise 1. Tracking drill

Track the teacher as he tells the folktale, keeping within two or three syllables at all times.

### Exercise 2. Tracking drill

Track the teacher as he tells other short folktales. Try to pick out features which you will be able to practice incorporating into your own storytelling.

### Exercise 3. Oral reading of folktales

Students should take turns reading the folktale consecutively in order to practice correct intonation and gestures.

### Exercise 4. Problem drill

The teacher should discuss and demonstrate any portions of the folktale which the students found particularly difficult to master.

## 20.3 Culture

Although there is much that is universal in the environment of human beings anywhere in the world, there is much that is different, and even similar phenomena may be perceived differently. Hence, culture has a different set of criteria for classifying the various phenomena in its inanimate and animate surroundings. The Kuna classification of the universe varies from both English and Spanish classifications.

The universe is divided into three parts: **neg nikpa** ‘heavens (lit.: world above)’, **napa** ‘the earth’, and **neg ulpalid** ‘nether world (lit.: world below)’. Both **neg nikpa** and **neg ulpalid** are considered to have eight levels. Birds and planes are said to fly **nappali** ‘near the earth’ or **neg magadbal** ‘in the sky’. The concept of underground is expressed by **nap ulak** ‘below the ground’. Within **napa** ‘the earth’ both inanimate and animate objects are referred to by the generic term **immal** ‘things’. This term is also used as the generic term for inanimate things, whereas the generic term for animate beings is a modified form: **tulad immal**; plant life is referred to as **pulgan ina**. Animate creatures, **tulad immal**, are divided into **tule** ‘people’ and **immal tul** ‘non-human living things’.

**Tule** ‘people’ are sub-divided into two main groups: **tule** ‘people’, which refers primarily to the Kunas themselves and secondarily, to other Indian groups; and **wag(a)** ‘outsiders’.

**Wag(a)** ‘outsiders’ are again sub-divided into three groups; **wag(a)** ‘Latins, including southern Europeans’, **merki** ‘North Americans and northern Europeans’, and **igles** ‘West Indians’.

**Imm al tul** ‘non-human life’ is divided into three groups: **imm al (tul)**<sup>119</sup> **tigined** ‘water creatures’, **imm al (tul)** **napkined** ‘land creatures’, and **imm al (tul)** **kukualed** ‘flying creatures’.

It is the sub-divisions under the **imm al tulad** that vary most from English/Spanish divisions. Reptiles are classified according to where they spend their time. Consequently, **taim** ‘alligator’ and **tin** ‘caiman’ are

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<sup>119</sup> **tul** may be stated or omitted.

classified as **immal tigned** ‘water creatures’, whereas **nakpe** ‘snake’ is classified as **immal napkined** ‘land creature’.

**ua** ‘fish’ are classified as **immal tigned** ‘water creatures’; in the generic sense **ua** covers fish and crustaceans such as **tulub** ‘lobster’, **pusku** ‘shrimp’, and **poi** ‘snails’. **ua** ‘fish’ may be divided into **termal ua** ‘sea fish’ and **tiwal ua** ‘river fish’. Another classification is: **ua tutud** ‘soft fish’, i.e., fish with skin and scales, and **ua chelled** ‘hard fish’, i.e., fish with hard shells such as the **arki** ‘huacuco’.

Non-food items tend to be divided into generic classifications such as **chikwi** ‘small birds’ or **achu** ‘carnivorous animals (generic)’.<sup>120</sup> Within these classifications, many of the animals have specific names such as **kwili** ‘parakeet’ or **achu parpat** ‘jaguar’.

Edible creatures, on the other hand, tend to be referred to by specific, rather than generic terms, e.g., **koe** ‘deer’ and **chigli** ‘wild turkey’.

Insects are usually referred to as **immal** ‘things’ or by a specific name if one exists, e.g., **kenu** ‘ticks’ and **kwi** ‘mosquitos’. They are not subdivided into flying/land/water classifications. Plants are classified as **chapi** ‘trees’, **tub** ‘vines’ or **kagan** ‘shrubs and smaller plants’.

Inanimate things may be divided on the basis of what they are made of, what they are used for, or their usual location.

#### Examples

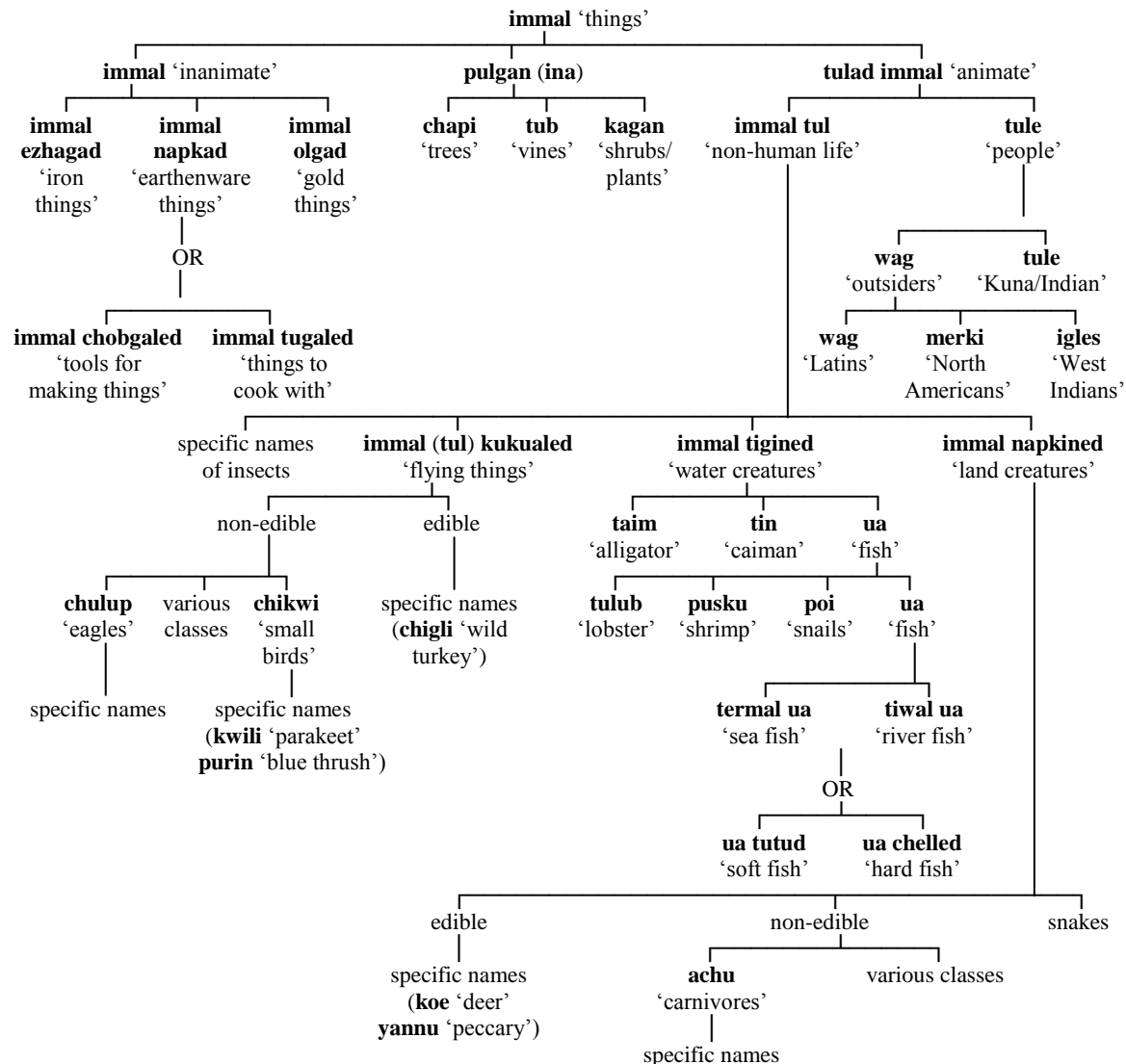
- |                     |                                      |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1a. immal ezhagad   | ‘things of iron/steel’               |
| b. immal napkad     | ‘things of earthenware’              |
| c. immal olgad      | ‘things of gold’                     |
| 2a. immal chobgaled | ‘things to make things with (tools)’ |
| b. immal tugaed     | ‘things to cook with’                |

Another way of classifying all **immal** is by whether or not they are **immal chapurbalid** ‘things from the jungle’ or not. This term refers primarily to jungle fauna, but also may refer to jungle flora.

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<sup>120</sup> Where a word in Kuna has both specific and generic meanings, the specific sense is the one which a Kuna speaker generally thinks of first, for example, **achu** ‘dog’.

Figure 8. PAYA KUNA CLASSIFICATION OF THINGS



## 20.4 Grammar

### 20.4.1 Pronouns

Although there is a brief discussion of pronouns in Lesson I, there are several other pronominal forms not yet mentioned and other aspects of pronominal usage important for the language learner.

#### 20.4.1.1 Third-person pronouns

Third-person pronouns are used to refer to people or objects, and the rules for using each of the different third-person forms are quite different from English or Spanish.

##### 1) Topical third-person pronoun

When the third-person pronoun refers to the topic of conversation, the specific pronoun is determined by its function in the sentence.

## a) Topical subject

When the topic of conversation is the subject of the sentence, **ad(e)** 'he/she/it' or **amal(a)** 'they' is used.

**Examples**

1. ¿**Ade** pia nad? 'Where did **he** go?'
2. **Amal** pato nanmal. '**They**'ve already left.'

## b) Topical non-subject

When the topic of conversation is **not** the subject of the sentence, the third-person pronoun **tar** is used plus the appropriate suffix if one is required.

**Example** An **targa** chogzha. 'I said to **him**.'

2) *Non-topical third-person pronoun*

When the subject is not the topic, it is possible to leave out the pronouns which refer to the subject. Elsewhere in the sentence a non-topic element may be referred to by a pronoun.

## a) Non-subject, non-topic in the first-person narrative

In first-person narrative, the third-person pronoun **ne** accompanied by the appropriate suffix is used everywhere in the subject position.

**Examples**

1. An **ne** mecha. 'I killed **it**.'
2. An **nega** chog. 'I said **to him**.'

## b) Non-subject, non-topic in third-person narrative

In third-person narrative, the pronoun **te** is used to refer to the direct object.

**Examples**

1. Pablo **te** mecha. 'Paul killed **it** (that same one).'
2. An **te** ukcha. 'I sold **it** (that same one).'

In the case of the indirect object, the indirect object suffix **-ga** occurs alone without an accompanying pronoun.

**Example** Luis **ga** chogal. 'Louis began to say **to him**.'

3) *Continuity of paragraph topic*

The topic of a conversation (discourse) tends to occur as the subject of the sentences throughout the paragraphs that make up the conversation. Sometimes, however, the topic of the conversation becomes the direct or indirect object of a sentence. In English, the passive voice is used to indicate that the topic in that particular sentence is not the actor, "John **was hit by** a car."

In Kuna, when the topic of the conversation becomes the direct/indirect object of one of the sentences, it is placed in the first position of the sentence and there is a slight pause before the remainder of the utterance is said. The third person pronoun **tar** accompanied by the appropriate suffix occurs in the object position.

**Example** **Juan**, achu **tar** kucha. '**John** was bitten by the dog.'

When the topic of a paragraph is not the topic of the conversation nor the subject in a given sentence, it is placed at the beginning of the sentence followed by a slight pause; there is no pronoun in the object/indirect object position.

**Example** Anita, achu kucha. 'Anita was bitten by the dog.'

### 20.4.1.2 Pronominal reference

In Kuna, a third-person pronoun can only be used once or twice before the noun to which the pronoun refers must be repeated. Where ambiguity could arise, the noun is preceded by **te** 'that same' to ensure that the listener realizes the reference is to the same person/object as before.

#### Example

Ome noni. Te omedina, Luis e nan itos. 'A woman arrived. That same woman (is) Louis' mother (you) understand.'

### 20.4.1.3 Subject in indirect speech

In indirect speech, the person being quoted is referred to by the pronoun **ede** or **e** plus the appropriate suffix. The suffix **-chog/-zhog/-jog** attaches to the verb which describes the action of the person under discussion (see 15.4.3).

#### Examples

1. **Ede** nejog. ' (He) said (that) **he** is going.'
2. Sagla chog Pedro, ede ne(jog). 'The chief said that Peter was going.'

### 20.4.2 First-person exclusive subject pronoun

The first-person exclusive pronoun **nan**<sup>121</sup> is used by the speaker to refer to himself and those accompanying him in an action, but to exclude the people/person to whom he is speaking. When the addressee is included, the suffix **-mal** is added to the first-person pronoun **an**.

#### Examples

1. **Nanmal** pato mas kucha. 'We (not you) already ate the food.'
2. **Anmal** pato mas kucha. 'We (including you) already ate the food.'

### 20.4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are used to point out a person/thing to whom/which the speaker is referring, in a manner similar to the English demonstratives "this" and "that."

In Kuna, they may be used in isolation as pronouns or as adjectives preceding the noun to which they refer; or they may be suffixed and function as adverbs. They have a restricted use in discourse situations.

There are four demonstrative pronouns in Kuna: **iti**, **we**, **a** and **te**. **Iti** 'this' and **we** 'that' are used to refer to people/things that are within seeing distance of the speaker (in the speaker's presence), **a** 'that' refers to a person/thing outside the speaker's setting (presence), and **te** 'that same' is used to reinforce a back reference and confirm that the same person/object is being referred to as was previously mentioned.

The demonstratives frequently occur at the beginning of a sentence, since the item they refer to is often topic.

#### Examples

1. **Iti** (mol) an pakne. 'I am going to buy **this** (blouse) (which is right here).'
2. **We** (mol) an pakchul. 'I won't buy **that** (blouse) (over there).'
3. **A** (tule) odurtalegenab. '**That** person (who is not here) should be punished.'
4. ... ¿Ibi nika **tede**? '... What's wrong with **that** (person about whom we have been talking)?'
5. Pe **iti** uko. 'Sell **this**.'

<sup>121</sup> The final **n** of **nan** is fortis **nn** but is written as a single letter by convention (see 2.2.3.4 footnote 8).



### 20.4.3.1 Demonstrative adjectives

A demonstrative used as an adjective precedes the noun to which it refers. Often this person/item is not only topic, but is also being singled out or contrasted with another. In this case, the noun is suffixed with the topic marker **-tin/-din** (see Appendix E).

#### Examples

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. <b>Iti moldin</b> nued.     | ‘ <b>This blouse</b> (is) good.’        |
| 2. <b>We esdin</b> nugal nika. | ‘ <b>This machete</b> (is) sharp.’      |
| 3. Pe <b>we</b> tulega chogo.  | ‘Tell <b>that</b> person (over there).’ |

### 20.4.3.2 Demonstrative adverbs

The locative suffixes **-gin/-kin** and **-bal/-pal** (see Section 8.4) may be attached to any of the demonstrative pronouns to give the connotation of a narrow or broad setting adverb.

#### Examples

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Es <b>itigin</b> mellemai. | ‘The machete is (lying around) <b>right here</b> .’           |
| 2. Es <b>wegin</b> mellemai.  | ‘The machete is (lying around) <b>right over there</b> .’     |
| 3. Es <b>webal</b> mellemai.  | ‘The machete is (lying around) <b>somewhere over there</b> .’ |

### 20.4.3.3 Forward and backward reference to demonstration

The suffix **-ob**<sup>122</sup> may be added to the demonstrative pronouns **we** ‘that’ and **te** ‘that same’ to express a concept similar to the English “like that” or “in that manner”.

**Weob** ‘like this’ is used to refer forward to what is going to be said or demonstrated, or to what has **just** been demonstrated. **Teob** ‘like that’ is used to refer backwards to what was said.

#### Examples

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. <b>Weob</b> be imako. | ‘Do it <b>like this</b> .’                |
| 2. <b>Teob</b> be imako. | ‘Do it <b>like that</b> (as I told you).’ |

### 20.4.3.4 Specific use of we and a in discourse

During a conversation or speech, that is to say, in discourse and in a written text, the demonstrative pronoun **we** ‘that’ is used as an adjective before the noun plus suffix **-din/-tin** to refer to the topic under discussion.

Non-topic people/things are referred to by the demonstrative pronoun **a** ‘that’ before the noun. **Te** ‘that same’ is used to refer to a previously mentioned non-topic item where ambiguity might arise from the use of several successive third-person pronouns. In such cases, the listener might understand the speaker to be introducing other actors/objects into the story.

#### Examples

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <b>We</b> tuledin, tule nued.       | ‘ <b>That</b> person (about whom we are speaking) is a good person.’ |
| 2a. Machidin yannu takcha.             | ‘The boy saw a peccary.’   |
| b. A yannudin igalgin mellemai.        | ‘ <b>That</b> peccary was sprawled out on the trail.’                |
| c. <b>Te</b> yannudin purkwis, takcha. | ‘ <b>That same</b> peccary was dead, (you) see.’                     |

## 20.4.4 Indefinite and indeterminate pronouns

### 20.4.4.1 Indefinite pronouns

The third-person pronoun **amal** ‘they’ (see 1.4.2 and 8.4.3) may be used to refer to unknown or unspecified people.

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<sup>122</sup> **-ob(i)** is a contracted form of **-yob(i)** ‘like’ (see 19.4.12.3).

**Examples**

1. *¿Toa chogzha?* ‘Who said (it)?’
2. **Amal.** ‘They (unspecified) (did).’

**20.4.4.2 Indeterminate pronouns**

In Paya Kuna, there are several universal or indeterminate pronominal forms. **Meke toa tule** ‘anyone’ refers to all the people.

**Example**

**Meke toa tule** nabir kukualedgin tog. ‘Anybody may go into the (any) airplane.’

**Meke ibi tule** ‘anyone (of a certain group)’ refers to anyone from among a certain group.

**Example**

**Meke ibi tule** nabir togo. ‘Any (of them) may go in.’

Another universal or indeterminate pronominal form is **meke igi** ‘however/in whatever way’.

**Example**

**Meke igi** pe chobbiel, ampa tutujul. ‘Whatever way you might want to make it, it is still difficult.’

Another universal or indeterminate pronominal form is **meke pia** ‘wherever’.

**Example**

**Meke pia** an nao, an kwen tobzhul. ‘Wherever I go, I’m not at all afraid.’

Another universal or indeterminate pronominal form is **meke inkwa** ‘whenever’.

**Example**

**Meke inkwa** pe anche kolo. ‘Call me **anytime**.’

**20.4.5 Reference to group members**

Several words may be used to refer to one/various/all members of a group.

a. **walgwen** ‘a/one’ is used to refer to a single person/thing who/which is part of a larger group.

**Examples**

1. Tule **walgwen** mai. ‘There was (lived) **a** person.’
2. Tule **walgwen** noni. ‘**A/one** person arrived.’

b. **walgwenna** ‘alone’ refers to one person to the exclusion of others.

**Example**

Tule **walgwenna** noni. ‘The person arrived **alone**. (One **lone** person arrived.)’

c. **te** ‘that same’ (see 20.4.3) is used to refer to the same person(s)/thing(s) which was/were referred to previously.

**Example**

**Te** tule kannan nadbal. ‘**That (same)** person went back again.’

d. **wal-walgwen** ‘some’ is used to refer to some people/things from a group.

**Example**

Tule **wal-walgwen** yapa ne. ‘**Some** people don’t want to go.’

e. **pid** (**pimalad**) ‘another (others)’ is used to describe others, not necessarily all others, from a group.

**Examples**

1. Tule **pid** noni. ‘**Another** person arrived.’
2. Tule **pimalad** pes. ‘(Still) **others** remained (behind).’

f. **kwentin ... kwentin** ‘some ... ; some ...’ is used to contrast one sub-group with another sub-group.

**Example**

**Kwentin** ua kumpi; **kwentin** chuga. ‘**Some** (a group) want to eat fish; **some** (want to eat) crab.’

g. **kwentin ... piddin/pimaladdin**<sup>123</sup> ‘some ... others ...’ is usually used in a situation of a more marked contrast between two parts of a group than is referred to by **kwentin ... kwentin** ‘some ... ; some ...’.

**Example**

**Kwentin** ua kumpi tenal **pimaladdin** chul. ‘**Some** want to eat fish while **others** don’t.’

h. **egmal** ‘the rest/remainder’ refers to the balance of the group.

**Example**

**Egmal** kalin chan kumpi. ‘The **rest** want to eat chicken (meat).’

i. **pel/pel kwapa** ‘all’ refers to the entire group.

**Example**

**Pel kwapa** kabe kobzha. ‘**Everyone/all** drank coffee.’

j. **pelchal** ‘almost all’ includes all but a few of a group.

**Example**

Tule **pelchal** pukwa. ‘**Almost everyone** was there.’

k. **sate** ‘nobody/nothing’ excludes the entire group.

**Example**

Tule **sate** pe pentagal. ‘There is **nobody** to help you.’

l. **nikchulchal** ‘almost no one/none’ excludes all but a few from the group.

**Example**

Tule **nikchulchal** mani ‘**Almost no** people have money. (**Almost no one** has money.)’

Another way of excluding the entire group is with the expression **nikchul** ‘not one’.

**Example**

Tule **kwen nikchul** pe pentagal. ‘There is **not a single** person to help you.’

### 20.4.6 Reflexive pronouns

In Kuna, as in English, reflexive pronouns are used to indicate that an actor is doing an action to himself/herself/itself. Reflexive pronouns are also used in a construction which indicates volition. There are two reflexive pronouns: **naga** ‘myself’ and **aga** ‘yourself/himself/herself/itself’ and these follow the noun or pronoun referring to the subject of the sentence.

**Examples**

1. Antin **naga** chikcha. ‘I cut myself.’
2. ¿Pedin **aga** chikcha? ‘Did you cut yourself?’
3. Machi **aga** chikcha. ‘The boy cut himself.’

#### 20.4.6.1 Group marker with reflexive pronoun

When a reflexive pronoun is used to refer to a group of people/things who are doing the action to themselves, the group marker **-mal** (see 13.4.3) is added to the noun or pronoun which refers to the participants. It is also added to the verb.

---

<sup>123</sup> **kwentin**, **piddin** and **pimaladdin** are formed by adding the topic-establishing suffix **-din/-tin** to an indefinite pronoun stem.

**Examples**

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Anmal naga pezhe chikchamal. | ‘We (including you) cut ourselves badly.’ |
| 2. Nanmal naga chikchamal.      | ‘We (excluding you) cut ourselves.’       |
| 3. ¿Pemal aga chikchamal?       | ‘Did you (plural) cut yourselves?’        |
| 4. Machimal aga chikchamal.     | ‘The boys cut themselves.’                |

When the people in the group are acting reciprocally, i.e., doing the action to each other, the actors are stated with the group marker **-mal**. The third-person reflexive pronoun is followed by the repeated third-person pronoun which has the group marker **-mal**. The verb also has the group marker **-mal** added.

**Examples**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. ¿Pemal aga emal-emal chikchamal?                | ‘Did you cut each other?’                                       |
| 2. Machimal aga emal-emal chikchamal.              | ‘The boys cut each other.’                                      |
| 3. Tulemal aga emal-emal chogalmal pede tule nued. | ‘The people said among themselves that you were a good person.’ |

When there are two actors acting one toward the other, the third-person reflexive pronoun is used. It is followed by the second participant in the action to which the accompaniment suffix **-bak/-pak** has been added. The group marker suffix **-mal** is added to the verb.

**Example** Pun aga machibak sakismal. ‘The girl and boy hit each other.’

**20.4.6.2 Volition**

The Kuna construction which parallels the English phrase, “of his own volition,” is expressed by using the appropriate reflexive pronoun followed by **tukin** (see 20.4.8).

**Examples**

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. An naga tukin nad.         | ‘I went myself (of my own free will).’                      |
| 2. Machi aga tukin es pakcha. | ‘The boy bought the machete himself (of his own volition).’ |

**20.4.7 Affirmation****20.4.7.1 Contrastive affirmation**

A speaker may affirm one idea/action in contrast with another. For example, in the case of “the youth doesn’t know how to make a canoe, but the elder does,” the (village) elder’s skill is affirmed in contrast to the youth’s lack of experience. This concept is expressed in Kuna by the contrastive affirmation suffix **-diji/-tiji**.

**Example**

Machi wichul ul chob tenal taddiji.	‘The youth doesn’t know how to make a canoe but the elder <b>does</b> .’
-------------------------------------	--

**20.4.7.2 Emphatic affirmation**

In English, a speaker may affirm that it was indeed the subject who did the action by stressing a reflexive pronoun which refers to the actor or he may affirm the carrying out of the verb by stressing the verb itself. The verb may also be affirmed by the use of an adverb such as “really, truly, indeed.”

In Kuna, the subject may be affirmed by adding the affirmation suffix **-d(e)/-t(e)** to the first-person and second-person pronoun subject and **-de/-te** to nouns referring to all other subjects. It may also be affirmed by the use of the adverb **chunnad** ‘(it was) really (I/you/he/we/they)’.

**Examples**

- |                    |                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Annid takcha.   | ‘I saw (it) <b>myself</b> .’         |
| 2. ¿Ped takcha?    | ‘Did you see (it) <b>yourself</b> ?’ |
| 3. Machide takcha. | ‘The boy saw it <b>himself</b> .’    |
| 4. Ade takcha.     | ‘He saw (it) <b>himself</b> .’       |



3. An motor pin nikalen,  
‘If I were to have a new motor,

3) *Conditional clause:*

long form of present progressive + **-le** + **-n**

**Examples**

1. Pedro mas kunchiilen,  
‘If Peter had remained (continued) eating,
2. Machi toto kammaiilen,  
‘If the little boy had remained sleeping,

4) *Conditional clause:*

long form of stative verb + **-le** + **-n**

**Examples**

1. José eswal nikalen,  
‘If Joseph had a spear,
2. Mol webal naiilen,  
‘If the blouse were hanging there,

5) *Conditional clause:*

long form (**nee**) of immediate future + **-le** + **-n**

**Examples**

1. An mas kunneelen,  
‘If (I) were going to eat,
2. An mol pakneelen,  
‘If I were going to buy cloth,

6) *Conditional clause:*

long form of completive aspect + **-le** + **-n**

**Example**

An ua pakchalen,  
‘Were I to buy fish,

an Panamaje naoen  
I would go to Panama.’

*Main clause:*

completive aspect + **-n**

kukualed takchajulin.  
he would not have seen the plane.’  
tadbak nadzhulin  
he would not have gone with Grandfather.’

*Main clause:*

immediate future + **-n**

ua maknen  
he would go to spear fish.’  
wartikunen.  
it would get wet.’

*Main clause:*

future (long form) + **-n**

naga mas chedoen.  
I would have brought food for myself.’  
an pega pakmogoen.  
I would have bought (some) for you, as well.’

*Main clause:*

long form of future + **-n**

an pega ukoen.  
I would give you (some).’

**Exercise 5. Contrary-to-fact -n stimulus response drill**

The teacher says the sentence and the student repeats it changing it to a contrary-to-fact situation. This exercise should be repeated several times.

**Example** Teacher: An nel,<sup>125</sup> an wartikuo.

Student: An neelen, an wartikuoen.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. An nel, an wartikuo.              | ‘When I go I will get wet.’                           |
| 2. An ua pakchal, an pega uko.       | ‘When I have bought fish, I will give you (some).’    |
| 3. An mol pakel, an mol kinnid pako. | ‘When I buy cloth, I will buy red cloth.’             |
| 4. Machi ua chwanel, pe nabir nao.   | ‘When the boy goes fishing, you may go.’              |
| 5. María tub nikal, mol makne.       | ‘When Mary has thread, she is going to sew a blouse.’ |

**20.4.8.2 Polite contradiction**

In Kuna, a polite contradiction of a statement parallels the English construction, “If that had been true/so, (this) would have been fine/okay.”

<sup>125</sup> nel is a contracted form of the long form of nele.

**Example**Nabiriddin<sup>126</sup> nabirin.

‘It would be fine, if that were so.’ (Lit.: ‘Were it fine, it would be fine.’)

**20.4.8.3 Wishing (optative)**

The English concept of wishing is expressed in Kuna by the use of a contrary-to-fact conditional clause accompanied by the adverb **nabirin** ‘it would be good’ in the main clause. This construction basically parallels the English expression “It would be nice to/for ...” or “I wish for/to ...”. As in English, the Kuna optative construction is used in situations which are much less likely to materialize than are situations which employ the desiderative suffix **-bi/-pi** ‘to want to ...’ (see Section 2.4.2).

**Examples**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. An motor pin nikalen, <b>nabirin</b> .            | ‘I wish I had a new motor. (Lit.: If I were to have a new motor, it would be good.)’       |
| 2. An motor pin nikuja <b>len</b> , <b>nabirin</b> . | ‘I wish I had had a new motor. (Lit.: If I had had a new motor, it would have been good.)’ |
| 3. An mas kuchalen, <b>nabirin</b> .                 | ‘I wish had eaten. (Lit.: If I had eaten it would have been nice.)’                        |

The optative construction is also used to wish something for someone else and parallels the English construction, “May you....”

**Examples**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Pe nugujalen, nabirin.               | ‘May you get well.’  |
| 2. Pab Tummad be nugu takelen, nabirin. | ‘May God bless you. (Lit.: It would be well if God would look well on you.)’ |

**20.4.8.4 “Almost, but not quite”**

An event which almost transpired, but did not, is described by using the immediate future suffix **-ne** followed by the contrary-to-fact suffix **-n**.

**Examples**

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Machi iche napi purkwen <b>en</b> . | ‘The boy <b>almost</b> died.’       |
| 2. Mu aglen <b>en</b> .                | ‘The old woman <b>almost</b> fell.’ |

**20.4.9 Past perfect aspect suffix -n**

The past perfect aspect parallels the English construction, “he had previously finished eating,” in contrast to the completive aspect which parallels, “he finished eating.” The past perfect is formed by adding the suffix **-n** after the completive suffix. This **-n** should be distinguished carefully from the one occurring in contrary-to-fact constructions (see 20.4.8).

**Example**

Amal iktual pato mas kuchan.

‘They had already eaten beforehand.’

Note that with the positional verbs **nai**, **mai**, **ti**, etc., the perfective form with **-n** means that the position has since terminated. In the case of the suffix form **-nai**, **-di/-ti**, etc., the action in progress has since terminated.

**Examples**

- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ¿Pia pe tin?    | ‘Where <b>had</b> you been?’   |
| 2. Pabdin main.    | ‘Father <b>had</b> been home.’ |
| 3. An mas kunnain. | ‘I <b>had</b> been eating.’    |

<sup>126</sup> In this irregular case, the final **n** of **nabirin** becomes **d** before the suffix **-din**.

### 20.4.10 Probability/possibility

Events, actions, and people/things may be described in terms of probabilities or possibilities.

If an event is probably true/going to happen, the suffix **-chulchi/-julchi** ‘Is it not?’ is added to the verb of the main sentence.

#### Examples

1. *¿Pe nejulchi?* ‘You are going, are you not?’
2. *¿Pabdin nadchulchi?* ‘Father went, did he not?’

When an action or noun (phrase) is described as a probability, the suffix **-dewa/-tewa**<sup>127</sup> is added to the verb or noun (phrase).

#### Examples

1. *¿Pe anka immal chedodewa?* ‘Will you **probably** bring something for me?’
2. *An manigin uknedewa.* ‘I’m **probably** going to sell (it) for money.’
3. *An mol pakne; kinnidewa.* ‘I’m going to buy cloth; **probably** red cloth.’

If something is a possibility and by no means certain, the suffix **-dowa/-towa** ‘possibly’ is added to the appropriate verb or noun (phrase).

#### Examples

1. *¿Pe mol paknedowa?* ‘Are you **perhaps/possibly** going to buy blouses?’
2. *An Pedro panamabal takodowa.* ‘I will **perhaps** see Peter in Panama.’
3. *An wichi toa sagla palmine; Pedrodowa.* ‘I don’t know whom the chief is going to send, Peter **perhaps.**’

The suffix **-wa** is also added to question words to indicate possibility.

#### Examples

1. *¿Pia?* ‘Where?’
2. *¿Inkwa?* ‘When?’
3. *¿Ibi?* ‘What?’
4. *¿Piawa?* ‘Where could it (**possibly**) be?’
5. *¿Inkwa?* ‘When could it (**possibly**) happen?’
6. *¿Ibiwa?* ‘What’s wrong? (Lit.: What **possibly**?)’

### 20.4.11 Alternatives

The stating of alternatives in Kuna is complex: both of the alternatives are stated. Several ways are used to express alternatives.

#### 20.4.11.1 Alternatives in postpredicate position

A main sentence, either a statement or question, which gives rise to the alternatives is stated with the probability/possibility suffix **-dewa/-tewa** attached to the verb. The two alternatives with the suffix **-dewa/-tewa** ‘perhaps’ attached to each one, are stated in the postpredicate position. When the alternative is more remote the suffix **-dowa/-towa** is used.

#### Examples

1. *Antin wichul inkwa tanidewa; pandewa (o)<sup>128</sup> achuldewa.* ‘I do not know when (he) is coming **perhaps; perhaps** tomorrow (or) **perhaps** the day after tomorrow.’

<sup>127</sup> The suffix **-dibe/-tibe** ‘perhaps’ is used rarely in the Paya Kuna dialect although it is common in the San Blas dialect. It is limited to already hypothetical situations. For example, *¿Ibi an immal kaotibe?* ‘How **could I perhaps** catch something?’ (see #13 of Section 20.1).

<sup>128</sup> The Spanish *o* ‘or’ has been borrowed into the language and is used often between alternatives.



2. An wichul; Pedro tanidowa (o) chuldowa. 'I don't know; Peter is coming **perhaps** or not (**perhaps**)'

### 20.4.11.2 Chulil

The adverb **chulil** 'if not' may be used to express an alternative. In this case, two sentences are used; the first gives one alternative, the second begins with **chulil** and provides the other alternative.

#### Example

Sagla **pan** noniko. **Chulil, achul.**

'The chief will arrive **tomorrow**. **If not**, then the **day after tomorrow**.'

### 20.4.11.3 Alternative choice

When a speaker is deciding on a choice of two actions or people, the choice is indicated by two questions; the first poses the choice involved with or without **-dewa/-tewa**, the second states the two alternatives each accompanied by **-dewa/-tewa** 'perhaps'.

#### Examples

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 1a. | ¿Igi an chao?                                     | 'What shall I do?'   |
| b.  | ¿An naodewa (o) chuldewa?                         | 'I should go <b>perhaps</b> or not <b>perhaps</b> ?'             |
| 2a. | ¿Toa an palmine(dewa)?                            | 'Whom should I send (perhaps)?'                                  |
| b.  | ¿Pedrodewa (o) Pablodewa?                         | 'Peter <b>perhaps</b> or Paul <b>perhaps</b> ?'                  |
| 3a. | ¿Mol igid an pako?                                | 'What color (of) cloth will I buy?'                              |
| b.  | Antin mol kinnid paknedewa (o) mol kollogwaddewa. | 'I will buy red cloth <b>perhaps</b> or yellow <b>perhaps</b> .' |

### 20.4.12 Types of text

There are several types of text, each of which is used in a different setting and deals with different areas of types of speech.

#### 20.4.12.1 Narrative text

A narrative text relates events and stories of everyday life.

#### 20.4.12.2 Explanatory text

This type of text involves explanations and descriptions of situations or things. It is used to explain various aspects of the culture or tradition.

#### 20.4.12.3 Argumentative text

This type of text differs from the explanatory text in that it portrays pros and cons, and there is an attempt to convince the audience of accepting what is being proposed.

#### 20.4.12.4 Hortatory text

Hortatory texts are used in teaching and exhortation and not only involve the do's and don'ts of everyday life, but also talk about the consequences of actions, good and bad.

#### 20.4.12.5 Procedural text

Procedural texts are step by step how-to-do-it instructions.

Each type of text has its own characteristics. Recognizing the different types will help in separating the different "rules" governing each type of text.

### 20.4.13 Discourse markers

It is not long before an outsider notices that in formal speech and to a lesser extent, in everyday speech, there is a handful of words which literally pepper the Kuna discourse. These words are discourse markers and are difficult for outsiders to understand and control. The purpose of this section is to help the student at least be aware of these forms and their function.

#### 20.4.13.1 Function of discourse markers<sup>129</sup>

Some markers indicate the attitude of the speaker towards his audience and include: **-ye**, **-do**, **-a**, **jaj**, and **-chulchi**.

Other markers indicate how the speaker is relating what he is saying to his audience and include: **itos**, **takcha**, **takenye**, **chogeye**, **takenchogye**, **chogchundo**, and **itoleye**.

#### 20.4.13.2 Distribution of discourse markers

Discourse markers are inserted at the end of a thought which usually coincides with the end of a sentence. The speaker may also insert them just prior to the postpredicate position or at the end of each of several coordinate clauses.

#### Examples

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Pe wis an pentakoye.  | ‘Oh please, help me.’   |
| 2. Koe nad <b>takenye</b> , immal aminad <b>takenye</b> .                      | ‘Deer went ( <b>you</b> ) see, hunting animals ( <b>you</b> ) see.’   |
| 3. Omegan immal taked nai <b>takenye</b> , immal echiknaichun <b>takenye</b> . | ‘The women who looked after things were there ( <b>you</b> ) see, (and) they cut up the meat ( <b>you</b> ) see.’ |

See also sentences 37 and 38 in section A of this lesson.

#### 20.4.13.3 Specific markers

##### 1) -ye

The marker **-ye** ‘supplicatory/non-authoritative’ has the effect of making the speaker “talk-up” to his listener. The clearest example of the use of **-ye** is when someone is pleading for something, or talking to someone of much higher rank or status (see 20.1, Sentence 12).

**Example** Pe wis an pentakoye. ‘Oh please, please help me.’

This **-ye** marker is used in storytelling and usually occurs as part of another discourse marker, e.g., **takenye** ‘appeal for credibility’. In this sense, there is still an element of a plea to the listener (see **takenye** in 8 below).

##### 2) -do/-to

The marker **-do/-to** ‘assertion’ has been discussed in Appendix E, 5 and 6. However, it retains its assertive flavor when used as part of other discourse markers, e.g., **chogchundo** (see 20.1, Sentence 6).

#### Example

Tadgan maidgin teob kuschogchundo. ‘That’s what happened when the ancestors were alive.’

##### 3) -a

The tone of the marker **-a** ‘explanatory’ is more neutral and there is no assertion or defensiveness. It is often used in teaching situations (see 20.1, Sentence 2).

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<sup>129</sup> It is difficult to ascribe a specific meaning to the discourse markers.

**Example** An wis igal onakwia. ‘(Explaining) I’m going to tell you a story.’

#### 4) jáj

Although **jáj** ‘challenge’ is often used to make a real question (one that expects an answer) into a rhetorical question (one that doesn’t expect an answer), in a wider sense, it is used to challenge the listener to dispute or contradict what he has said.

**Example** ¿Inkwa pe takcha, **jáj**? ‘When did you see (it), (go on tell me)?’

#### 5) -chulchi/-zhulchi/-julchi

When the speaker feels that the audience is in agreement with him, the appeal for agreement is a mere formality and the point will be willingly conceded, the suffix **-chulchi/-zhulchi/-julchi** ‘Isn’t that so?’ is used (see Monologue 19.1, Sentence 2).

**Example**

Teun Pedro maimo**julchi**. ‘At that time Peter was home, wasn’t he? (Everybody knows he was.)’

#### 6) itos

The marker **itos** ‘(you) understand’ is used to mark explanatory comments of background or additional information (see Dialogue 15.1, Sentence 11).

**Example** An pega ochi ukmogo **itos**. ‘I’ll give you a candy too, (you understand).’

#### 7) takcha/taikcha

The marker **takcha/taikcha** ‘you understand’ is also used to appeal/ask for understanding. However, **takcha** is used with mainline information such as the main points of an argument, or an important explanation on which the outcome of the story is dependent (see Section 20.1, Sentence 5).

**Example**

An pega mani uko, anka immal pakegal , **takcha**. ‘I’ll give you some money, see, to buy me something.’

#### 8) takenye

The marker **takenye** ‘appeal for credibility’ is used when the speaker is appealing for the believing support of the listener(s). It is used extensively in storytelling and in narrating of personal or reported experiences (see 20.1, Sentence 17).

**Example** Teun achu mai **takenye**. ‘At that time tiger was living/at home (you) see.’

#### 9) takenchogye

The marker **takenchogye** ‘(appeal) for credibility of what was said’ has the same meaning as **takenye** except that it relates to what was said instead of what happened (see 20.1, Sentence 20).

**Example**

Koe chogal: --An ne tegil, **takenchogye**. ‘Deer said, “I’m going then,” (you understand that he said it).’

#### 10) chogeye

The marker **chogeye** ‘it is said’ is used when the speaker disclaims any responsibility for what is said. It is usually assumed to be fiction (see 20.1, Sentence 4).

**Example** Koe mai **chogeye**. ‘Once upon a time, deer was living/at home.’

*11) chogchundo*

The expression **chogchundo** ‘it is said and it is supposed to be true’ is used when the speaker is claiming what he said to be true but at the same time he is not accepting the responsibility for what is being said.

**Example**

Tadgan maidgin teob kus**chogchundo**. ‘That’s what happened when the ancestors were alive.  
(They say it is true.)’

*12) itoleye*

The speaker is advising his listener that the statement **itoleye** ‘it is understood’ is surmise on the part of someone other than himself (see 20.1, Sentence 30).

**Example** Koe untar immal mecha **itoleye**. ‘Deer killed many creatures (it is) understood.’

## 20.5 Vocabulary

1. Nabiriddin, nabirin.	‘It would be fine if that were so.’
2. nikchulchal	‘almost none’
3. pelchal	‘almost all’
4. pul	‘more/most’
5. pel kwapa	‘all’
6. pel ukles	‘all told/counted’
7. kwentin ... pimaladdin	‘some ... others’
8. kwentin ... kwentin	‘some ... some’
9. kwaki	‘to be frightened’
10. wal-walgwen	‘some’
11. weob(i)	‘like this’
12. wisgad	‘got better/well’
13. mellemai	‘lying around’
14. walgwen(na)	‘alone’
15. impagin	‘often’
16. impakwa	‘seldom’
17. ilbal(i)	‘each/in turn’
18. iktual(i)	‘beforehand’
19. ige	‘to forget’
20. chulub(a)	‘hawk/police’
21. epis(e)	‘to count’
22. ebu(e)	‘to touch’
23. esmed(i)	‘pot’
24. echik(e)	‘to cut up’
25. ege	‘to open’

## APPENDIX A: LONG AND SHORT WORD FORMS

In Kuna, many words and suffixes (though not all) have long and short forms. That is to say, certain words or suffixes occur in various specific situations with the final vowel and in others it is deleted, without altering the meaning of the word or suffix. The use of the short form of words/suffixes is more common, while the use of the long form is more restricted. The number of words/suffixes which have both long and short forms varies according to the class of word; these are listed in Section 1 below. General rules for predicting which words/suffixes have a long or short form are given in Section 2, and rules governing the use of the long form are given in Section 3.

### 1. Number Of Long/Short Forms In The Different Word Classes

- |                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| a. Verb stems   | all have long/short forms  |
| b. Nouns        | many have long/short forms |
| c. Conjunctions | most have long/short forms |
| d. Suffixes     | most have long/short forms |
| e. Adjectives   | few have long/short forms  |
| f. Adverbs      | few have long/short forms  |
| g. Pronouns     | few have long/short forms  |

### 2. Prediction of words which have a long/short form

Research to date has failed to reveal hard and fast rules for determining words with both long and short forms, with the exception of verb stems which all have long and short forms. In the final analysis, it is necessary simply to learn the words that have two forms and the words which do not. Some general rules will guide you in predicting which words are likely to have two forms.

**Rule 1:** All verb stems may be shortened.

#### Examples

1. ono(e) 'to find'
2. eli(e) 'to clean'

**Rule 2:** A word cannot end in a consonant cluster.<sup>130</sup> If dropping the final vowel would cause the word to end in a consonant cluster, the final vowel may not be dropped. That is to say, the word has no short form. This rule is true without exception.

#### Examples

1. arki 'huacuco (species of fish)'
2. chigli 'turkey'

**Rule 3:** Most three-syllable words have a short form

#### Examples

1. apchala apchal 'fur/feather'
2. tatara tatar 'thin/flimsy'

**Rule 4:** If a fortis consonant precedes the final vowel, the final vowel is not usually dropped, i.e., such words generally do not have a short form.

#### Examples

1. mata 'lake'

---

<sup>130</sup> Double or triple-letter symbols for a single sound (**ch**, **ll**, **mm**, **nn**, **rr**, **ss**, and **zh**) and the labialized consonants (**chw**, **dw**, **gw**, **kw**, **mw**, **tw**, and **zhw**) are not considered to be consonant clusters.

- 2. **amma** 'aunt'
- 3. **achu** 'dog'

There are, however, exceptions:

- 4. napa nap 'earth'
- 5. punnu pun<sup>131</sup> 'tail'
- 6. anni an<sup>131</sup> 'I'

**Rule 5:** In most cases a noun with a lenis final consonant has a short form.

#### Examples

- 1. ana an 'branch'
- 2. mola mol 'blouse'

Exceptions to this rule include:

- 3. tola 'catfish'
- 4. moli 'tapir'

Some nouns of this type, which potentially have long and short forms, have two distinct, but often related, meanings. Often a long form is reserved to indicate the less commonly used sense of the word, and the short form the more common sense.

#### Examples

- 1. ulu 'canoe/box (cupboard, suitcase)'
- ul 'canoe'
- ulu 'box/cupboard/suitcase'
- 2. naba 'domestic/wild gourd tree'
- nab 'domestic gourd tree'
- naba 'wild gourd tree'
- 3. ezha 'machete/iron'
- es 'machete'
- ezha 'iron'

If the short form of two words would be identical, thus resulting in ambiguity, the more common word has both long and short forms and the other word is not shortened.

#### Examples

- 1. mola mol 'blouse/cloth'
- 2. moli -- 'tapir'

**Rule 6:** Words ending in two vowels have no short form except in the case of verb stems.

#### Examples

- 1. chia 'cocoa'
- 2. koe 'deer'

### 3. Use of the long form versus the short form

The long, rather than the short, forms of words are used only in certain contexts that are discussed below. Otherwise, the short form occurs. With few exceptions, suffixes are added to the short form of words or other suffixes.

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<sup>131</sup> **nn** is written **n** word final by convention.

**Examples** neg(a) + -gin(e) = **neggin(e)** ‘in the house’  
 nebal(i) + -mo = **nebalmo** ‘to go again also’

### a. Long forms

The long forms of words are used in the following contexts.

#### 1) *Emphasis*

The main use of the long form is for emphasis in various situations. In the case of a suffixed word, the long form of the final suffix is used.

#### Examples

1. Nana. ‘MOTHER’
2. ¡Tummagana! ‘The chiefs!’

#### 2) *Topic establishing*

The long form of a word is used to establish the topic of a question or statement.

#### Examples

1. ¿Paba, pia nad? ‘Where did **father** go?’
2. Antina, an<sup>132</sup> ne. ‘**I** am going.’

#### 3) *Emphatic answers*

Emphatic, single word answers to questions occur in the long form.

#### Examples

1. ¿Toa koe makcha? ‘Who shot the deer?’  
Anni. ‘**I** did.’
2. ¿Pedin machi takcha? ‘Did you see the boy?’  
¡Chuli! ‘No!’

#### 4) *Attribute of attributive or equative sentence*

If the attribute of an attributive or equative sentence is emphasized, the long form is used (see 9.4.4).

#### Examples

1. Ul tummadi. ‘The canoe is **big**.’
2. (People looking at photographs): Wedin paba. ‘That’s **Father**.’

#### 5) *Vocative*

The emphatic, long form of the vocative is used when the person is at a distance, or when the speaker is exasperated.

#### Examples

1. ¡Nana! ‘Mo-o-other!’
2. ¡Punu! ‘Dau-au-aughter!’

#### 6) *Clarification*

The long form of a word is used to clarify a situation and to prevent ambiguity concerning which item is under discussion (see 17.4.2.3).

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<sup>132</sup> When the topic is established with the suffix **-din(a)** (see Appendix E), the unsuffixed noun or pronoun is often repeated in the main body of the sentence.

**Example**

An ul pakcha, ul tummadi.            ‘I bought a canoe, the **big** canoe.’

**7) Listing**

In general, for each item in a list the long form is used, except for the last item where the short form occurs if such exists (see 5.4.2).

**Example**

Antin immal pakcha: mola, iko, tegine tub.            ‘I bought some things: cloth, needles, and thread.’

**8) Hesitation**

When a person hesitates, in order to recall a forgotten word or name, the long form of the word is used (see 17.4.1.3 and 17.4.2.4).

**Example**

Antin iwen takcha, iwenna ... Pedro.            ‘I saw what’s-his-name, ah-ah-ah ... Peter.’



## APPENDIX B: FINGER NOMENCLATURE

Fingers are named as follows:

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. ko mimmi       | 'little finger'      |
| 2. ko mimmi palid | 'ring/fourth finger' |
| 3. ko tummad      | 'middle finger'      |
| 4. ko chowid      | 'index finger'       |
| 5. ko nan         | 'thumb'              |

## APPENDIX C: COUNTING MONEY

1. manigwen	‘\$ .05¢’
2. manibo	‘\$ .10¢’
3. manipá	‘\$ .15¢’
4. manibake	‘\$ .20¢’
5. maniatál	‘\$ .25¢’
6. maninerkwa	‘\$ .30¢’
7. manikwakugle	‘\$ .35¢’
8. manikwapabak	‘\$ .40¢’
9. manikwabakebak	‘\$ .45¢’
10. tongwen	‘\$ .50¢’
11. tongwen (eg) manigwen	‘\$ .55¢’
12. tongwen (eg) manibo	‘\$ .60¢’
13. tongwen (eg) manipá	‘\$ .65¢’
14. tongwen (eg) manibake	‘\$ .70¢’
15. tongwen (eg) maniatál	‘\$ .75¢’
16. tongwen (eg) maninerkwa	‘\$ .80¢’
17. tongwen (eg) manikwakugle	‘\$ .85¢’
18. tongwen (eg) manikwapabak	‘\$ .90¢’
19. tongwen (eg) manikwabakebak	‘\$ .95¢’
20. karta kagwen	‘\$ 1.00’
21. karta kagwen (eg) manigwen	‘\$ 1.05’
22. karta kagwen (eg) tongwen (eg) manigwen	‘\$ 1.55’
23. karta katulagwen	‘\$ 20.00’
24. karta katulagwen (eg) manigwen	‘\$ 20.05’
25. karta katulaatal	‘\$100.00’
26. karta sientogwen	‘\$100.00’

## APPENDIX D: TIME WORDS

1. neg polegu	'pre-dawn'	(about 4 a.m.)
2. neg oipos	'dawn'	(about 5:30 a.m.)
3. wakur	'morning'	(about 7–8 a.m.)
4. tadabala	'mid-morning'	(about 9–10 a.m.)
5. yorokudani	'late morning'	(about 11 a.m.)
6. yoroku	'noon'	(12 noon)
7. tad akpinial	'early afternoon'	(about 1 p.m.)
8. tad nued akpid	'mid-afternoon'	(about 3 p.m.)
9. tad nued onad	'late afternoon'	(about 5 p.m.)
10. chedo	'evening'	(about 7 p.m.)
11. chedogwen	'late evening'	(about 9–10 p.m.)
12. neggabgwen kudani	'almost midnight'	(about 11 p.m.)
13. neggabgwen	'midnight'	(12 midnight)
14. neggabgwen akpinial	'past midnight'	(about 1 a.m.)
15. neggabgwen akpid	'wee morning hours'	(about 2–3 a.m.)

## APPENDIX E: TOPICS OF CONVERSATION

### 1. Establishing the topic

The suffix **-de/-te** is used to establish or set the topic of a conversation. When a situation is obvious, two people can start talking about it without setting the topic of the conversation. For example, if a person arrives limping, the other person is likely to ask, “What happened?” He does not need to say something like, “Concerning your limping, ...” in order to get the conversation focused on the person’s sore leg. The situation makes the nature of the opening question obvious. Often, however, a person wishes to start talking about something that is not obvious, or about a topic which has not been mentioned earlier in the conversation. Possibly he wishes to ask about someone who is not present. The person who is starting to talk about a new topic adds the suffix **-de/-te** to the item or name of the person which is now in focus.

#### Examples

1. ¿Pedro**de**, pia nad? ‘And concerning Peter, where did he go?’
2. ¿Mas**de**, igi mani? ‘And concerning plantains, how much are they?’

A common use of **-de** is in the greeting, **tegidde** ‘So what’s new with you?’ In this case, the topic is changed to the person who is arriving.

The affected object suffix **-ga/-ka** (see 10.4.8) may be added to the **-de/-te** form when appropriate.

**Example** Antega, an weli. ‘As for me, I’m happy.’

### 2. Progression of topic

In conversation, a speaker generally moves from one aspect (stage) of a subject to another. For example, in selling, the salesman and buyer might first discuss the price. Once the price has been settled, he will move on to discuss the time the goods are to be delivered. The suffix **-de/-te** serves to mark the point at which the conversation progresses from one point to the next point (stage). The speaker often marks the end of one stage of the conversation by saying **nabirde** ‘okay’. **Nabirde** ‘okay’ is formed by adding the topic marker **-de/-te** to the word **nabir** ‘fine’. It is similar to the English expression, “Fine. Now then about the ...”. That is to say, **-de/-te** is used to indicate that one part (stage) of the topic (price) has been handled, and we are now ready to discuss the next part of the arrangement (time of delivery of the goods).

### 3. Allegation

The suffix **-de/-te** may be used as an allegation, but it may not be used as an affirmation.

#### Examples

1. Wag an es aturchas**de**. ‘The outsider stole (allegation) my machete.’
2. Wag an es aturcha**do**. ‘The outsider did steal (affirmation) my machete.’

### 4. Complete change of topic

The suffix **-din/-tin** is used to indicate a complete change of topic, for example, when the subject is changed from **palu** ‘salt’ to **ostigiddin** ‘sugar’ in Dialogue 7.1, sentence 7. The use of **-din/-tin** is discussed in Section 3.4.5.

### 5. Conclusion

The suffix **-do/-to** indicates the conclusion (resolution) of a conversation and is equivalent to the English expression, “Let’s go, then.” or to the Spanish expression, “*Vamos pues.*”

**Example** Nemaldo. 'Let's go, then.'

## 6. Affirmation

The suffix **-do/-to** is also used to affirm something.

**Example** An wichuldo. 'I **do** not know.'

## 7. Word order

The normal word order in Kuna is subject + object + predicate.

**Example** Omedin we mol pakcha. 'The woman bought that blouse.'

"The woman" in the above example is not only the subject of the sentence, but also the topic of the conversation as indicated by the topic-establishing suffix **-din**.

In another situation, it might be the blouse which is under discussion, and the speaker merely comments on the fact that the woman bought it. In that case, the topic of conversation is the blouse and a Kuna speaker would change the word order of the sentence by putting the topic (the blouse) first; i.e., topic (object) + subject + predicate.

The topic is always first in a Kuna sentence (following any setting or conjunction), and usually occurs with a topic-establishing suffix **-din/-tin**.

### Example

We moldin, ome pakcha.

'That blouse was bought by the woman. (Lit.: As for the blouse, the woman bought (it).')

In summary, it may be said that when the subject of the sentence is not the topic of conversation, the normal word order is rearranged and the topic is positioned at the beginning of the main part of the sentence.

## APPENDIX F: FURTHER NOTES ON *-BAL/-PAL*

When the suffix **-bal/-pal** is used in conjunction with the desiderative suffix **-bi/-pi**, the order of the suffixes varies according to the significance of the utterance. That is to say, the order of suffixes varies according to the focus of the desire.

### 1. Desire to repeat an action

In order to express a desire to repeat an action, the suffix **-bal/-pal** precedes the desiderative **-bi/-pi**.

**Example** Machi mas kun**palbi**. ‘The boy **wants** to eat **again**.’

### 2. Repeated desire

When it is the desire which is repeated, rather than the action, the desiderative **-bi/-pi** precedes **-bal/-pal**.

**Example** Machi mas kump**ibal**. ‘The boy **again wants** to eat.’

### 3. Use of *-bal/-pal* in repeated incident

Occasionally, it is necessary to repeat an entire incident. In this case, each repeated verb in the incident uses the **-bal/-pal** suffix.

#### Examples

##### Incident 1

- 1a. Tule immal takcha. ‘The man saw an animal.’
- b. Tegine immal makcha. ‘And (he) shot it.’

##### Incident 2

- 2a. Kujal tule immal takch**abal**. ‘Later, the man saw the animal again.’
- b. Tegine makch**abal**. ‘And again (he) shot it.’

## APPENDIX G: IRREGULAR VERBS WITH LONG FORM **-KE**

The long form of most verb stems is achieved by the addition of **-e** to the shortened verb stem, for example, **pak(e)** ‘to buy’ and **no(e)** ‘to rise’. Short verb stems which end in **-ma** or **-ta**<sup>133</sup> are lengthened by the addition of **-ke**.

### Examples

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. abarma(ke) | ‘to run’   |
| 2. nerma(ke)  | ‘to write’ |
| 3. ima(ke)    | ‘to do’    |
| 4. apta(ke)   | ‘to wait’  |
| 5. penta(ke)  | ‘to help’  |

When other suffixes are added, **-k** is retained in some cases and dropped along with **e** in other cases.

### Examples

- |              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| 1. imako     | ‘will do’        |
| 2. aptako    | ‘will wait’      |
| 3. nermakal  | ‘begin to write’ |
| 4. abarmakal | ‘begin to run’   |
| 5. aptakal   | ‘begin to wait’  |
| 6. nermas    | ‘wrote’          |
| 7. pentas    | ‘helped’         |
| 8. ¡Nerma!   | ‘Write!’         |

With the present progressive, there is a difference in meaning between the long form, which seems to indicate “on a continuing basis,” and the short form, which simply means the action is in progress.

### Example

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. An pe pentanai.      | ‘I am helping you.’                        |
| 2. ¿Pe Pedro pentaknai? | ‘Are you helping Peter (from day to day)?’ |

Following is a comparison of regular and irregular verb forms:

Form	Regular verb	-ke verb
gerundial	pake	nermake
habitual	pak	nerma
desiderative	pakpi	nermabi
completed	pakcha	nermas
immediate future	pakne	nermane
future	pako	nermako
present progressive	paknai	nermanai
past progressive	pakap	nermakap
inceptive aspect	pakal	nermakal
preparatory aspect	pakchogal	nermajogal

<sup>133</sup> Note that the **-k** is part of the short form in some verbs; compare, for example, **tak(e)** and **ta(e)**:

tak(e)	‘to see’	mak(e)	‘to pierce/sew/shoot’
ta(e)	‘to behave’	ma(e)	‘to peck (for food)’
tag(e)	‘to come’	mag(e)	‘to paint’

prior condition  
conditional  
passive

**pakel**  
**pakele**  
**pakle**

**nermakel**  
**nermakele**  
**nermale**



## APPENDIX H: IRREGULAR VERBS WHICH END IN **-KWE**

Verbs that end in **-kwe** are not completely regular.

### Examples

1. **nakwe** 'to go up/overcome'
2. **onakwe** 'to lift up'
3. **purkwe** 'to die'
4. **akwe** 'to provide for'

In the future polite command, the **-kwe** becomes **-k** and **-o** is added.

### Examples

1. **nako** 'will go up'
2. **purko** 'will die'

In the inceptive aspect, past progressive, completive and passive forms **-kwe** becomes **-kwi**. A general rule is that if the action is viewed as at least partially realized, the **-kwi** form is used, except in the case of the present progressive where the **-kwe** form is kept.

### Examples

1. **nakwial** 'begin to climb/go up'
  2. **akwiap** 'was providing for'
  3. **purkwis** 'died/dead'
  4. **onakwiles** 'lifted up'
- but
5. **nakwemai** 'going up (river, by canoe)'

Following is a comparison of regular and irregular verb forms:

<b>Form</b>	<b>Regular verb</b>	<b>-kwe verb</b>
gerundial	pake	nakwe
habitual	pak	nakwe
desiderative	pakpi	nakwebi
completive	pakcha	nakwis <sup>134</sup>
immediate future	pakne	nakwene
future	pako	nako*
present progressive	paknai	nakwenai
past progressive	pakap	nakwiap*
inceptive aspect	pakal	nakwial*
preparatory aspect	pakchogal	nakwejogal
prior condition	pakel	nakwel
conditional	pakele	nakwele
future passive	paklego	nakwilego*
past passive	pakles	nakwiles*

---

<sup>134</sup> irregular form, \* other irregular forms.

## APPENDIX I: SOLUTION TO EXERCISE 14 (see 10.4.5)

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Sae sagla koe mecha.      | ‘Yesterday the chief killed a deer.’          |
| 2. Machidin koe mechamo.     | ‘As for the boy, he also killed a deer.’      |
| 3. Kujal machi koe mechabal. | ‘Later, the boy killed a deer again.’         |
| 4. Sagla koe mechabalmo.     | ‘The chief killed a deer again too.’          |
| 5. Omedin mol makcha.        | ‘The woman (on the other hand) sewed a mola.’ |
| 6. Pundin mol makchamo.      | ‘As for the girl, she also sewed a mola.’     |
| 7. Machi totodin ye.         | ‘The little boy, on the other hand, is sick.’ |
| 8. Mimmidin yemo.            | ‘As for the little girl, she is sick too.’    |
| 9. Immisdin, mimmi yebal.    | ‘Today, the little girl is sick again.’       |

## **APPENDIX J: ANSWERS TO EXERCISE 6 (in section 16.4.1.2)**

- 1b. Ajáj an **natab**.
- 2b. An mol **paktani**.
- 3b. An saglaje **natab/ne**
- 4b. Pan an **taniko**.
- 5b. Eye, pe wis an **taknao**.

## APPENDIX K: ORDERING OF STORY INTRODUCTIONS

In Kuna, the introduction to a story or the relating of an event is presented in a set order: topical information, identificational information, descriptive information, evaluatory information and summary information. The story introduction must be presented in the pre-determined order in order, to ensure that the listener will understand the nature of the story.

### 1. Topical information

The first item of information given in the introduction to a story is the topic in which the bare topic (person/thing/action) is introduced.

### 2. Identificational information

The second item of information given in the introduction to the story is information which will identify the specific person/thing/action mentioned as the topic.

### 3. Descriptive information

Any elaboration or description of the topic (person/thing/action) is given next.

### 4. Evaluatory information

Any evaluation of the topic (person/thing/action) is given as the fourth item.

### 5. Summary information

A summary statement of some sort is then needed to summarize and warn the listener that the introduction is finished and that the story proper is about to begin.

#### Example

Immal noni. Chule noni; taikcha. Chule, yer tunku. Chule nabir kunned. Ad noni.

Topical information

1. Immal noni. 'An animal arrived.'

Identificational information

2. Chule noni, takcha. 'It was a capybara, you see.'

Descriptive information

3. Chule, yer tunku. 'The capybara was very big.'

Evaluatory information

4. Chule nabir kunned. 'It would be good to eat.'

Summary information

5. Ad noni. 'That is what arrived.'

## APPENDIX L: A PROGRESSION OF CONTRARY-TO-FACT EXAMPLES<sup>135</sup>

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. An ua chwanen.       | 'I was going to go fishing (but never went).'      |
| 2. An ua chwanejogalin. | 'I was about to go fishing (but I did not leave).' |
| 3. An ua chwanaden.     | 'I went to go fishing (but never got there).'      |
| 4. An ua chwajogalin.   | 'I was about to fish (but did not).'               |
| 5. An ua chwaapin.      | 'I went fishing (but I did not catch anything).'   |
| 6. An ua chwajan.       | 'I almost caught a fish.'                          |

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<sup>135</sup> Adapted from and used by permission of Professor Lino Smith Arango.

## APPENDIX M: LONG AND SHORT FORMS OF SUFFIXES

Long form	Short form	Meaning/function
-a	-	'explanatory'
-ali	-al	'inceptive'
-api	-ap	'past progressive'
-baka/-paka	-bak/-pak	'accompaniment'
-bali/-pali	-bal/-pal	'general setting/means'
-bie/-pie	-bi/-pi	'desiderative'
-bi/-pi	-	'exclusive'
-bukwa/-pukwa	-buk/-puk	plural of stative verbs <b>chi</b> 'sit' and <b>kwichi</b> 'stand'
-cha/-zha	-s	'completive'
-che/-zhe/-je	-	'goal'
-chii/-zhii/-jii	-chi/-zhi/-ji	'sitting/passively'
-chiki/-zhiki	-chik/-zhik	'via'
-chog/-zhog/-jog	-	'about to ...'
-chuli/-zhuli/-juli	-chul/-zhul/-jul	'negative'
-chunna/-zhunna/-junna	-chun/-zhun/-jun	'resultative'
-dae/-tae	-da/-ta	'habitual behavior'
-dago/-tagoe	-dago/-tago	'will come to'
-dani/-tani	-	'about to (state)'
-de/-te	-	'topic establishing'
-dewa/-tewa	-	'probability'
-di	-d	'nominalizer'
-di/-ti	-	'stative involving motion'
-diki/-tiki	-dik/-tik	'on the side of/leans towards'
-dina/-tina	-din/-tin	'contrast/topic change'
-dibe/-tibe	-	'hypothetical form of <b>-dewa/-tewa</b> '
-do/-to	-	'assertion'
-dowa/-towa	-	'possibly'
-du/-tu	-	'before'
-e	-	'gerundive'
-ga/-ka	-	'indirect object'
-gadi/-kadi	-gad/-kad	'possessive/made of'
-gala/-kala	-gal/-kal	'purpose'
-gana/-kana	-gan/-kan	'status class marker'
-ge/-ke	-	'quality (on passive)'
-gidi/-kidi	-gid/-kid	'similar color/appearance'
-gine/-kine	-gin/-kin	'specific setting/instrument'
-gua/-kua	-gu/-ku	'past dependent prior condition'
-gwa/-kwa	-	'quality (things)'
-gwichi/-kwichi	-gwis/-kwis	'standing'

<b>Long form</b>	<b>Short form</b>	<b>Meaning/function</b>
-l	-	'future dependent prior condition'
-le	-	'conditional'
-le	-	'passive'
-ma	-	'verb intensifier'
-maii	-mai	'be lying/permanent'
-mala	-mal	'group marker'
-mami	-	'plural of <b>-mai</b> '
-moga	-mo	'too (realized)'
-mogo	-mo	'too (unrealized)'
-na	-n	'contrary to fact'
-na	-n	'past perfect aspect'
-nabi	-nab	'obligation'
-nade	-nad	'went to'
-naii	-nai	'hanging/actively'
-nani	-	'plural of <b>-nai</b> '
-nee	-ne	'going to'
-noni	-	'arrived to'
-oe	-o	'future/polite command'
-ra	-	'respectful strong command'
-rba	-	'excessive'
-uni	-un	'on all fours'
-uni	-un	'same size/time'

# APPENDIX N: LANGUAGE LEARNING

## A. Learning Outside the Classroom

The lessons in this grammar were designed mainly for classroom use. For the student who is learning the language living among the people, or for those who wish extra or further study of the language, the questions arise:

1. "How do I learn outside of the classroom?"
2. "How do I go beyond the information in these lessons?" (The learner will inevitably find that he wants to know much more on some topics.)

This appendix is an attempt to answer these questions.

### 1. Goal of language learning

The ultimate goal of language learning is to be completely bilingual; to be able to say anything you want to express with all the nuances of meaning and shades of emotion with as much facility as you can in your first language (mother tongue). Although few people really achieve this goal, it is something for which we should all aim. However, for our encouragement along the way, there are various stages (levels) of achievement. The following is one scheme:

Stage 1: When you are able to greet people and say goodbye.

Stage 2: When you are also able to exchange pleasantries.

Stage 3: When you are able to parrot fixed phrases, dealing with essential needs such as food, shelter, a guide, directions, basic buying and selling.

Stage 4: When you are able to communicate effectively in the specialized areas where you have most contact such as medical, trade, teaching or work projects.

Stage 5: When you are able to communicate, generally, in all common aspects of everyday life with a limited number of verb aspects (tenses).

Stage 6: When you are able to control reasonably well most normal grammatical relationships such as cause-effect, time, location, condition, purpose, ability, possibility and motion verbs.

Stage 7: When you are fluent in any non-abstract area up through Stage 6 and reasonably control focus and emphasis.

Stage 8: When you are able to talk about the abstract, present an argument, use figures of speech, etc.

Stage 9: When you are able to discuss emotions, values, and able to discuss life from the Kuna philosophical viewpoint.

Goal: Absolute bilingualism.

### 2. Problem of adult language learning

A child will learn three or four languages without difficulty. Any new sound, word or grammatical construction gets added to his repertoire. It will take him a while to separate out the systems of each language entirely. This he will do provided he is exposed to environments where only one system is present. (Otherwise, he fails and this leads to the formation of a Creole.)

By adulthood, however, the limited repertoire of sounds, words and grammatical systems of the mother tongue has become so habitual (automatic) that they have formed almost a **closed** system. It takes will power, determination and effort to learn new distinctions, new patterns, and new words. Adults do not enjoy repeating, repeating and repeating things. But this is what it takes for the new sounds, words, and grammatical patterns to become **automatic**. This is the only way to become fluent.

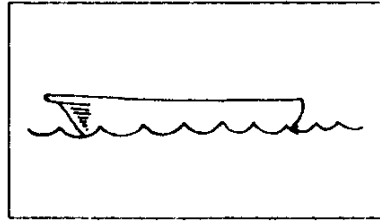
Now, there are ways of making the repetition more palatable, e.g., It is much better to "become fluent" in a prepared conversation by visiting a dozen homes and saying it in each home, than saying it to yourself twelve times at your desk. (Besides, hopefully, the people you visit will correct you.)



### 3. Speaking a language

In order to speak a language, you have to “think” that language. You need to “see” in that language and you need to “visualize” in that language. You should **never translate** into that language from the mother tongue or bridge language. To illustrate this, when you see:

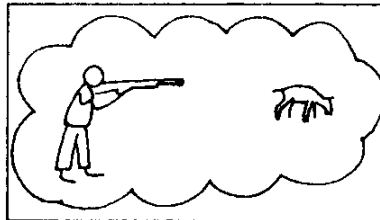
Figure 9.



you think **ulu**, not “canoe”.

When you visualize:

Figure 10.



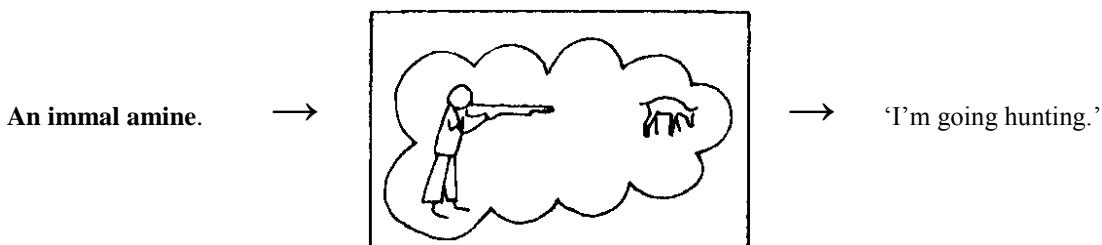
you think **An immal amine**, not “I’m going to hunt.”

You should never translate “I” as **ani**, “am going to” as **-ne**, or “hunt” as **ami**, because **often** you will end up with a mismatch, such as **An** (omitted) **amine** in which **immal** ‘thing, animal’ has been omitted. It is also very difficult to translate quickly enough.

### 4. Translation

Where you have to translate/interpret for someone else, then you proceed:

Figure 11.



And, thus, we have: words → visualize → words, but **not**:

An immal amine → I thing going to look for

(i.e., **not**: words → words).

## B. Steps in Learning<sup>136</sup>

In order to really learn something in Kuna, you have to go through five steps in the learning process.

### 1. Awareness

First, you need to be made aware of the existence of a particular sound, word, grammatical construction or intonation pattern and its meaning. You have to learn to “hear” (recognize) it in a particular context. For example, you find out (become aware) that **toa** means “who” and start to “hear” (recognize) it when it is used in an amplificatory question (see Section 4.4.3.1).

**Example**     ¿**Toa** nade?                             ‘**Who** went?’

### 2. Reproduction

Then, you have to learn to reproduce (say) **automatically** the same particular sound, word, grammatical construction, or intonation pattern in that particular context. For example, you practice using **toa** ‘who’ in amplificatory questions until you can do so without even thinking about it.

### 3. Variation

Next, you learn to modify (vary) what you have just learned in section 2 above, in the same context. For example, you discover that by adding **-ga** to **toa** ‘who’ (modifying it), you get **toaga** ‘to, for whom’. Also, you discover that by adding **-bak** to **toa** ‘who’ (another modification), you get **toabak** ‘with whom’ which you can now use in the same context (amplificatory questions).

#### Examples

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. ¿ <b>Toa</b> ob chus?    | ‘ <b>Who</b> fetched the corn?’              |
| 2. ¿ <b>Toaga</b> ob chus?  | ‘ <b>For whom</b> did (he) fetch the corn?’  |
| 3. ¿ <b>Toabak</b> ob chus? | ‘ <b>With whom</b> did (he) fetch the corn?’ |

### 4. Limited Control

Then you learn to control what you have learned in other limited contexts. For example, you move from controlling **toa** ‘who’ only in amplificatory questions, to controlling **toa** ‘who’ in topic questions and confirmation questions though all in the limited context of questions.

#### Examples

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. ¿ <b>Toa</b> koe makcha?        | ‘Who killed the deer?’                 |
| 2. ¿Koe de, <b>toa</b> tar makcha? | ‘Who killed the deer?’                 |
| 3. ¿ <b>Toa</b> makcha?            | ‘Who (did you say) killed (the deer)?’ |

### 5. Complete control

Finally, you learn to control what you are learning in **any** context and use it automatically whenever you need it to communicate what you want to say. For example, you learn to use **toa** elsewhere in the language.

**Example**     Meke **toa** tule tani.                     ‘Let anybody come.’

## C. What You Have To Do To Succeed

Robert Gunn (personal communication) suggests there are three essential requirements for success: 1) speak the language, 2) keep others talking, and 3) plan your contacts.

### 1. Speak the language

Speak Kuna, only Kuna, all the time in the presence of Kunas.

<sup>136</sup> Larson, Donald N. and Smalley, William A. (1972). *Becoming Bilingual, A Guide To Language Learning*. New Canaan, Connecticut. *Practical Anthropology*, pp. 147–150.

### **a. Reason**

This forces you to do several things:

1. Use what you know of the language.
2. Expand the areas of language that you need most.
3. Decrease the use of the national language, which helps you to start “thinking” in Kuna.
4. Usage helps the words and patterns you employ to become more automatic.

### **b. Problem**

Speaking only Kuna will increase cultural stress.<sup>137</sup> It is important to note that cultural stress is different from culture shock inasmuch as it affects **everybody** who lives in a culture other than their own. The frustration of trying to communicate in a language you do not control increases your stress load. This is especially true in the early days but will decrease as your ability to speak Kuna increases. In addition, moving around in a minefield of unknown cultural booby traps in the form of gestures, attitudes and nuances of spoken clues, is also very stressful. You should be aware of how to recognize and deal with this problem. There is much written on this subject which would be of help. In light of this problem, the rule of “speak Kuna and only Kuna” should be modified.

For instance, depending upon your intended length of stay, stress tolerance, etc., “only Kuna” might have to be modified to “only Kuna for X number of hours per day.” Preferably you should state when this should be, e.g., 12:00 noon - 8:00 p.m. (the busy visiting time). It will take discipline even to do this, but the effort will be worth it. Cultural relaxation, such as light reading or music is good after the end of the designated period for speaking.

### **c. Setting the limit on speaking only Kuna**

There are three ways in which you can limit (modify) the rule of “speak only Kuna, always.” Again, you need to remember that you are looking for the **minimum** number of exceptions to this rule that will allow you to work and live within your limitations (of your stress load, etc.).

#### *1) Time*

You should set what portion of the day you will relax the rule of speaking Kuna only, e.g., after 8:00 p.m. By this time most visitors are gone. If there are still some around, you don't have to force yourself to keep speaking Kuna if you get “stuck.”

Relaxing the rule does not mean that you revert to Spanish completely, but means that you allow yourself to indulge in using a Spanish sentence here or there, or to express a point you aren't yet able to do in Kuna.

#### *2) Geographic location*

You may decide to make exceptions on the basis of physical location. For example, you may decide that if you visit a Kuna, you will **only** speak Kuna. If he visits you, there may be times when you will allow him to address you in Spanish.

#### *3) Situation*

You need to list the situations under which you will allow yourself to relax the rule of speaking only Kuna. For example, a reasonable exception would be during an emergency—medical or otherwise. You need to decide what your rules are going to be in the presence of a Kuna, plus a person who doesn't understand only Kuna.

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<sup>137</sup> For further discussion of this problem read "Stress producing factors in cultural adjustment" by Wayne T. Dye (1974) *Missiology* 2 (1):61-77.

### ***d. The necessity of setting a limit to the exceptions***

You are human, and unless you set a limit to your “exceptions,” you will find that you start to use the language less and less. It **is** hard to speak Kuna all the time and experience the frustration of not being able to communicate properly, but this “forcing” of yourself to speak it will **make** you use what you know and “dig” for what you don’t know. Therefore, adhere rigidly to your limits!

## **2. Keep others talking**

In learning Kuna, an important part of the process is “listen, listen, listen.”

### **a. Reason**

This is useful in several ways:

1. Hearing the language in its natural context gives good reliable correlation between the situation and the appropriate intonation, grammar and vocabulary.
2. You increase your ability to divide up a torrent of speech into meaningful pieces so that you understand what is being said.
3. You increase your ability to visualize the situation under discussion without having to go through some intermediate language.
4. Constantly hearing the intonation and grammatical patterns tends to reinforce them in your own mind.
5. Hearing a word used in different contexts helps define the area of meaning of a word, e.g., **neg** is found to mean “house or building.” It is also used to refer to the “village” (as opposed to the surrounding countryside) or a “field.” It is also used as a “place” in general.

### **b. Problem**

The problem is that in Kuna, like most languages, you have to show your interest in what is being said by responding in the appropriate way, or the person will feel that you aren’t interested and stop talking. In Kuna, this is done by so-called **conversation sustainers** such as **mmmm**, **ajáj**, or repeating the last important phrase of what was being said. These conversation sustainers should be used right from the beginning, starting with the more simple neutral ones such as **mmmm** and injecting them at random until you can distinguish the appropriate places to use them.

## **3. Plan your contacts**

We have probably all, at some time or another, experienced the embarrassment of being with somebody, either in or outside of our own culture, when neither we nor they knew what to say. The memory of the heavy and embarrassing silence tends to stay with one a long while.

The way to avoid this is to plan your contact with the other person. If the person comes to see you, run through your prepared conversation and allow him to say what he wants to say. As soon as the conversation shows signs of winding down, you should be ready with some planned activity such as looking at a magazine or photos with him or having him watch you make something.

When you visit another person, have a conversation prepared, even if it is only two or three exchanges to start with. Once you have said what you prepared and the conversation shows signs of slowing down, say goodbye and leave right away. The people you visit might think your visit short, but that is better than the embarrassment (to them) of a long silence.

## **D. Techniques**

### **1. Listening**

Kuna culture offers tremendous opportunities for listening. The culturally acceptable loudness level (norm) for Kuna is loud; i.e., it is much more culturally acceptable to speak in a clear, loud voice than in English. To talk in subdued tones would indicate that possibly you are trying to hide from others what you are saying. That would mean, by implication, you are not speaking well of others.

### **a. Opportunities**

#### *1) Visiting*

Visiting can be used for listening (hearing the language) practice.

#### a) Visiting others

As you make your round of visiting each day (Kunas appreciate a daily visit), follow one of the other men (or women) from house to house. This is quite acceptable and affords you the opportunity of hearing the same person relate the same content (the day's activities) to house after house. Then, the next day, follow someone else.

When someone has arrived from a trip, go and visit him and stay around as he relates his trip over and over again to a succession of visitors.

#### b) Visitors to your house

After normal courtesies have been extended, often the visitor will visit or talk with only one member of your family. The inactive member can then listen and get in hearing practice without having to worry about replying, e.g., the husband listens as the wife takes care of medical needs. Or the wife listens as the man talks with her husband.

If your visitors have been given photos or magazines to look at, you can listen as they discuss it among themselves.

#### *2) Meetings*

The village meetings give a great opportunity for listening. The temptation is to switch off when you can't understand. However, by concentrating, you can learn much of teaching style and patterns. You can learn discussion patterns too. Occasionally, if a problem arises with somebody violating the law and customs of the people, you can hear accusations, denials and counter-accusations and authoritative judicial announcements as the chief acts as judge.

You cannot concentrate for hours on end. Nobody can. So, when you feel your concentration slipping, "switch off" the speaker and relax your mind. After a break of about five minutes, "switch on" again and start listening. Stretching your legs and a breath of fresh air can help too. You will notice it is quite cultural to excuse yourself from the meeting for a couple of minutes.

#### *3) Work parties*

Kunas are a community-oriented society and as such, often work together doing house-building, town clean-up, etc. By taking part in these, you can obtain excellent opportunities for listening.

It is quite cultural to be present at a work party and not lift a finger to help, if you are not one of those assigned to the job. If, however, the whole community is involved, it is better to join in as you can.

### **b. Methods**

#### *1) Tracking*

The most profitable way is to track the speaker. This device is fully discussed in Section 9.2.

#### *2) Active listening*

A less profitable way is to listen **actively**. Sometimes it's just not wise to track the speaker, so this is the best you can do. Think about what you are hearing. Don't only pay attention to the content (or meaning) of what is being said, but also to the way it is said. Sometimes you should concentrate on **everything** that is being said. Other times you should select a **particular feature** and zero in on that, e.g., where a listener inserts a conversation sustainer, or if there is some pattern to how one of them is used.

### 3) *Passive listening*

This is just listening to what is being said, without thinking about the intonation, grammatical construction used, etc. This does not mean that you have “switched off” the speaker. It means that you listen to the speaker, like you listen to English, to hear what he is saying.

### **c. Noting the setting**

This is as important as the tracking or listening itself. It’s no use knowing patterns of intonation, grammar, etc., if you don’t know when to use them. So, whenever you are listening, notice the following:

1. What incident triggered what the speaker is saying? Was it a question? Was it an allegation? Was it what happened? Was it what the speaker had failed to do?
2. What is the speaker’s emotional attitude? Is he happy, sad, angry, afraid or doubtful? Is he defensive, aggressive, involved, neutral or trying to disassociate himself from something?
3. What is the relative status between the speaker and the listener? Is the speaker of higher or lower status? Is the difference in status being ignored or even reversed?
4. Is the speaker using his authority or trying to manipulate someone? Is he only pleading?
5. Is he serious or speaking in jest?

### **d. Gestures**

Note the accompanying gestures and facial expressions.

## **2. Expanding your knowledge of Kuna**

It is helpful if you can use Kuna as soon as possible to further your knowledge of the language. In order to do this, there are certain expressions that need to be memorized right away.

### **a. Language learning expressions**

#### 1) *Speaking Kuna*

- |                                  |                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. An wichul tule kakpal chunma. | ‘I don’t know how to speak Kuna.’  |
| 2. An wis itos, iche.            | ‘I only understand a little.’      |
| 3. Anni turtabi, tule kakpal.    | ‘I want to learn Kuna.’            |
| 4. Anka tule kakabal chunma.     | ‘Please speak to me in Kuna.’      |
| 5. Anka tule kakbalbi chunma.    | ‘Please speak to me only in Kuna.’ |
| 6. Melle anka wag kakbal chunma. | ‘Don’t speak Spanish to me.’       |

#### 2) *Elicitation*

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 7. ¿Ibi wede?                       | ‘What is that?’                        |
| 8. ¿Itide, ibi?                     | ‘What is this?’                        |
| 9. ¿Igi pemal ... pimal, pe kakbal? | ‘How do you say ... in your language?’ |
| 10. ¿Igi chogle, wede?              | ‘What does that mean?’                 |
| 11. ¿Ibi chenai?                    | ‘What are/is (you/he) doing?’          |

#### 3) *Other expressions useful in elicitation*

The “wh” question words, e.g., **who, what, where, when, how** are discussed in Lesson IV.

- |                   |                                       |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 12. ¿Ibi chomnai? | ‘What are/is (you/he) making?’        |
| 13. ¿Ibi imanai?  | ‘What are (you) doing?’               |
| 14. ¿Igi takle?   | ‘What does it look like?’             |
| 15. ¿Igi kullege? | ‘What does it taste like (eating)?’   |
| 16. ¿Igi koblege? | ‘What does it taste like (drinking)?’ |

17. ¿Pia ne? 'Where are you going?'  
 18. ¿Pia ti? 'Where have you been?'

#### 4) Repetition

19. An itojul. 'I don't understand.'  
 20. ¿Ibi chogzha, wede? 'What did he say?'  
 21. An igija. 'I forget.'  
 22. Kannan anka chogbalo. 'Please repeat it for me.'  
 23. Pinna anka wis choggwelo. 'Please say it slowly for me.'

#### 5) Accuracy

24. Anka chogo, an nojal. 'Tell me when I make a mistake.'  
 25. Pedin anka chogo. 'You say it to me.'  
 26. ¿Inikigwa? 'Correct (the same)?'

### b. Eliciting information<sup>138</sup>

#### 1) Questions

This is the most common and easiest way of getting information, whether in a formal language session or a casual contact. However, you need to follow up on your first question: e.g., if you saw a pig and asked, ¿Ibi wede? 'What is that?' then if feasible, you should follow it up with a whole string of questions, such as:

2. ¿Ibi kun? 'What does it eat?'  
 3. ¿Pia mai? 'Where does it live?'  
 4. ¿Toagad? 'Whose is it?'  
 5. ¿Ibi chenai? 'What is it doing?'  
 6. ¿Igi talde, igi pe ebinzhe? 'What do you think, how does it look?'

This type of questioning will do several things for you:

1. It may produce **new** vocabulary.
2. It will reinforce **old** vocabulary.
3. It will help you determine the usage of words. You will discover that chickens don't **kun** 'eat' food but that they **ma** 'peck' food.
4. It will help you build up **vocabulary according to topic** (according to semantic field). This means that you will become familiar with many of the words associated with "pigs" in the above example. That means that the next time you are out on a walk, you will not only be able to comment ¡**Pe take, china!** 'Look, pigs!' but you will be able also to comment on their size, color, activity, likes and dislikes, what they taste like, etc.
5. By using the new word in several questions, you will **learn** it.

#### 2) Error technique

The idea here is to use a totally wrong word in the place of the item you wish to know. Hopefully, you will be corrected and, thus, supplied with the word, e.g., if you saw a guacamayo parrot flying overhead and you wanted to know what it's called, you say, "Look at that **pig** up there!" The person will invariably reply, "That's not a **chin** 'pig', that's a **nalu** 'guacamayo parrot'." Or, "He's cooking in the river" would

<sup>138</sup> For further discussion of this subject, read "Eliciting Vocabulary, Meaning and Collocations" by John Beekman (1968), *Notes on Translation* 29:1-11; and *Language Learners Field Guide* by Alan Healey (1975), Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea, Summer Institute of Linguistics.

bring a reply of, “No, (he’s) **tommomanai** ‘swimming’.” You can use anything that doesn’t make sense in the situation.

### 3) *Observation*

You can expand your knowledge of the language by observing what is said in a given situation. However, this is fairly risky as your interpretation of the situation may be completely erroneous. However, it is **very** useful in checking information elicited previously, especially that gathered in formal, artificial situations.

### 4) *Use of pictures*

By looking at pictures with a Kuna visitor, either photos or magazines, you can glean valuable insights into Kuna. One good method is to discuss what you are looking at in a magazine with your visitor as a planned activity during his visit.

### 5) *Use of texts*

Increased fluency and naturalness can be acquired by memorizing short texts. A text may be a conversation (dialogue) between two people or a single person (monologue) telling of an event or expressing an opinion on a subject.

The language learner will find it very helpful to use a short text that deals with his surroundings or situation and to visiting throughout the village using the memorized text with the people he meets. He should write out the text he plans to use. He may develop it from a short conversation that he has heard/recorded. He should read the text aloud to a close Kuna friend who is willing to check it for accuracy before it is memorized.

The following guidelines in text making may prove helpful:

1. The text should be short! Early texts for the purpose of memorization should be no more than three or four exchanges. After some degree of fluency is achieved, the texts may be lengthened.
2. The subject matter should be relevant to your situation.
3. The text should be as natural as possible. The ideal source is a type of spontaneous conversation between two people.
4. Intonation should always be learned first. Individual sounds, meanings of words or grammatical constructions are secondary.
5. After the text has been mastered and used several times in a natural situation, the language learner should start substituting other vocabulary items, a few at a time, making sure the intonation pattern and speed are maintained.
6. Once substitution has been mastered, try jotting down several pieces of information about a single subject. Organize the information into a single text. Be sure to check the text you develop with a Kuna friend who is willing to check your text for naturalness and accuracy.
7. Use one text type at a time (see Section 20.4.12).

## 3. Speaking Kuna

Speak, speak, speak! Use every opportunity you can. Work hard to control the conversation signals and sustainers in Section 11.2.

### a. *Correcting*

It is important that the people correct you **all** the time. Now this is hard to do.

#### 1) *From your viewpoint*

##### a) *Pride*

It is hard for anyone to be constantly corrected. It’s humiliating. But you have to put your pride in your pocket and take correction.



### b) Discouragement

Constant correction can be discouraging. However, if you realize and **accept** the fact that **anyone** (and that includes you) has to be corrected many times before he can reasonably expect to be able to control a grammatical construction, then there is no need for discouragement. If the **rate** of correction is dropping for the same construction, then progress is being made and **that** is nice to know.

### c) Being corrected when you are right

Sometimes you will be corrected when you are **sure** you are right. Don't argue with the person correcting you. Make the correction. Most of the time, there is some factor you have either forgotten about or don't yet know exists. For instance, if the word order suddenly changes, it is probably because of a change of focus or emphasis, or the need to keep track of the "theme" or "topic" of the paragraph. Remember, Kuna speak the language correctly, even though they may not be able to adequately explain it (even as we cannot always adequately explain what is happening in English).

#### 2) From their viewpoint

1. They don't wish to embarrass or discourage you.
2. They get tired of correcting the same thing.
3. They forget that you really want them to correct you. So, you need to constantly remind your friends to help you by correcting you.

### **b. Try to make full use of your knowledge**

1. Consciously try to make use of your full repertoire of grammatical constructions.
2. Try to make full use of your vocabulary on a given topic.
3. As you progress in the language, try to be more expressive. Try to bring out the emphasis and focus you want to get across to your listener. Learn to be more graphic in your description of exciting events.

### **c. Keep going**

If you start to speak on something and you run into trouble, e.g., you've forgotten a vocabulary item, you run into a situation where you don't know what the grammatical structure is, don't give up without a fight. Try one or several of the following:

1. Try to receive prompting by using **iwen ... iwen** (see Section 11.4.4.1).
2. Admit to a poor memory: ¡**Aai! An igija**. 'Oh dear! I forget.'
3. Try the error technique (see Appendix N).
4. Try a descriptive phrase or sentence instead of a word.
5. Try dramatization, if practical.

Above all, be able to laugh at yourself and at your mistakes. It is much more fun that way, and besides, you will provide a lot of local entertainment.

### **d. Evaluate yourself**

Think about your trouble spots. These may be areas where you get "stuck" or even areas where you are constantly corrected. This is a good indication that here is an area that you need a lot, yet don't control. It makes good sense to make such an area the next one that you find out about and learn.

## **4. Planning**

If you are going to learn Kuna, it takes discipline and planning. This involves not only your study program, but also your living program. If you don't keep mentally and physically fit, your learning ability will be impaired.

### **a. Living**

Long extended periods of exposure to culture stress tend to be cumulative. Although you may "stick it out," productivity drops and it would be far more profitable to go "out" a week or two and then be fresh again.

The endurance of the family is based on the tolerance of the weaker member. This is often the wife, because the stress load of the wife is much greater than that of the husband. She has to carry dual roles of family and work. Then, in addition, the effect of living in a different culture is a far greater stress in her carrying out her role as wife and mother, than on the husband in his role as bread-winner and family man.

Desire, or willingness, to live among people of a different culture does not enable one to escape most of the pressures of culture stress. Excessive stress often results in one or more of a vast selection of physical disorders. In summary: Deal with culture stress, or it will deal with you!

### ***b. Time***

In setting up your daily or weekly schedule, be flexible enough to avoid frustration and disciplined enough to achieve success. Try to fit your daily schedule to the cultural pattern of the people. For instance, have your time for visiting in the late afternoon and your time for study and planning in the morning when the people are away in their fields. Any daily schedule should include:

#### ***1) Time with the people***

Time spent in visiting is not only good for your relationship with the people, but can be valuable language-learning time.

#### ***2) Study time***

Time needs to be set aside for memorization, processing information, planning and preparing for “talking” on your visits.

#### ***3) Other work time***

This includes teaching and medical programs, etc.

#### ***4) Family time***

There is a real need, because of demands by the people, to guard against neglecting the family. Here, you can use the Kuna cultural pattern to good effect. For instance, you can have family fun on your own at the river, swimming and playing (it is cultural to respect a family’s privacy). You can also have family time by extending the time it takes to eat your meals (it is cultural to leave and stay away while people are eating).

#### ***5) Your “own” time***

You (husband or wife) need time to be on your own for quiet reflection, etc.

#### ***6) Living time***

Living away from the city takes more time for chores, maintenance, etc. This fact has to be recognized and planned for.

The above list is not in order of importance or priority. All the items need to be included. None can be left out.

### ***c. Planning your contacts with people***

Plan what the contact is going to be: a visit, or work party, or meeting, etc. Based on the type of contact, think of what opportunities there are likely to be for hearing or speaking or learning in Kuna. In view of the opportunities that are likely to be available, think of what learning devices you will be able to use:

#### ***1) Hearing***

1. Tracking
2. Active listening
3. Passive listening

#### ***2) Talking***

4. Conversing and speaking

### 3) *Investigating*

#### 5. Questioning

#### 6. Recording and writing what is said.

Having decided which learning devices you will probably be able to use, in addition to the general use of tracking, talking, etc., think of what special features of the intonation, sounds, and grammar you need to concentrate on.

In view of what features you want to concentrate on, think of what topics you think it would be helpful to steer the discussion or conversation towards, if given the opportunity.

Assuming that you have an opportunity to steer the conversation, think through how you will achieve this.

Now that you have decided what you need to do, write it down and familiarize yourself with it.

Then think through the whole contact, writing down what you need by way of greeting; establishing topic; your contribution by way of conversation; some of the “sustainers” you will probably need and closures.

Plan what you intend to do when the conversation winds down. If it is a planned activity, make sure all the necessary preparations are made.

Plan your exit.

### **d. Plan your investigation of Kuna**

In planning further investigation of Kuna, there are several factors to be taken into account:

#### 1) *Need*

If you have a situation in which you can't express yourself correctly, cropping up several times in a row, then this is the logical area to investigate next. For instance, if you have difficulty in expressing when an incident will/did take place, then it would be good to investigate time phrases and clauses.

#### 2) *Variations*

Try to **systematically** work through the variations of what you have discovered under #1 above. For instance, after having discovered how to say: “Yesterday, I....,” systematically think through “tomorrow,” “day before yesterday,” “day after tomorrow,” “three days ago,” “in three days’ time,” “last week,” “next week,” etc., and try to find out the forms for these.

#### 3) *Relationships*

After dealing with pressing problems, work through a list of universal grammatical relationships<sup>139</sup> and see which ones you can handle. Next, make a list of what would appear to be the most useful for you to use. Then use this as a basis for your investigation.

### **e. Process**

Plan for the following stages in investigation:

1. gather data
2. hypothesize (guess what the grammar rule is)
3. check your hypothesis

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<sup>139</sup> Some books dealing with grammatical universals from which you can extract a list:

Beekman, John & Callow, John (1974). *Translating the Word of God*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House.

Chafe, Wallace L. (1970). *Meaning and the structure of Language*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Grimes, Joseph E. (1975). *The Thread of Discourse*. The Hague: Mouton.

Longacre, R.E. (1976). *An anatomy of speech notions*. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press.

4. if wrong, form a new hypothesis and check again
5. if correct, write up the rule
6. learn the rule
7. **use** and practice the construction

### **5. Gathering and processing information**

There are several books which adequately deal with this subject and it is beyond my purpose here to deal extensively with this subject. However, there are two cardinal rules worth repeating:

#### **a. Write it down**

When you gather information (language data), write it down. Otherwise, you (in common with humankind) **will** forget it.

#### **b. Filing**

The information written down must be filed in such a way as you can readily “find” it.

#### **c. Rate**

**Don't** gather information faster than you can digest (process) it, or it **will** drown you. For example, don't sit down and gather 100 new words. Just take 5–10 new words, write them down, check their meaning, learn them and use them. Then, and only then, gather another 5–10 new words or one grammatical device and assimilate that.

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