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Grammar of the Siona Language, Colombia, South America

By

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ABSTRACT
Alva Lee Wheeler

The grammar of the Siona language, Colombia, South America is oriented to the tagmemic school of linguistics. Special attention has been given to the grammatical role of constituents in terms of their particular structural level (sentence, clause, phrase, word, etc.). Relationships between structural levels are stated on the assumption that a complex constituent manifesting a tagmeme of one level is further analyzable in terms of tagmemes of the next lower level.

The most complex levels of structure in Siona are the clause and the word. Clause structure is displayed in summary form by way of a matrix chart (page 24). This chart presents the eight basic clause types of the language along one perimeter and the structural variants common to each one along the other. Word structure has its greatest complexities in the verb, which is analyzed in terms of three lower levels. Verb classes are identified with the basic clause types they manifest. A salient feature of noun structure is the occurrence of classifier suffixes to form the bulk of the noun stems. Animate noun stems are distinguished on the basis of classifiers for masculine, feminine, and plural. Inanimate noun stems occur with any of twenty classifier suffixes indicating shape or function.

The section on discourse structure presents the language from perspectives that point to overall semantic relationships. Although these relationships do not lend themselves to segmentation and constituency in grammatical strings, they form an integral part of the language. It is in this area that further study is being directed.

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Contents

		Page
000.	Introduction	13
010.	General	13
020.	Linguistic model	17
100.	Brief statement of phonology	19
110.	Consonants	19
120.	Vowels	19
130.	Stress	20
140.	Syllable	21
150.	Morphophonemics	22
200.	Clause structure	23
210.	Composition clause types	25
211.	Quotative clause	28
212.	Transitive clause	29
213.	Intransitive clause	30
214.	Progressive clause	30
215.	Stative clause	31
216.	Descriptive clause	32
217.	Equative clause	33
218.	Impersonal clause	34
220.	Tagmemes of the composition clause types	35
221.	Predicate tagmemes	36
221.1.	Quotative predicate	36
221.2.	Transitive predicate	37
221.3.	Intransitive predicate	38

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221.4.	Progressive predicate	38
221.5.	Stative predicate	39
221.6.	Descriptive predicate	39
221.7.	Equative predicate	40
221.8.	Impersonal predicate	40
222.	Central nonpredication tagmemes	41
222.1.	Descriptive manner	41
222.2.	Goal	42
222.3.	Locative referent	43
222.4.	Object	43
222.5.	Predicate nominative	44
222.6.	Quotation	45
222.7.	Referent	46
222.8.	Subject	47
223.	Peripheral tagmemes	48
223.1.	Accompaniment	48
223.2.	Benefactor	49
223.3.	Interjection	49
223.4.	Instrument	50
223.5.	Intensifier	50
223.6.	Locative source	51
223.7.	Manner	51
223.8.	Time	53
223.9.	Vocative	53
230.	Distribution clause types	54
231.	Dependent clause	55
231.1.	Subordinate clause	55

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231.2.	Adjectival clause	56
231.3.	Adverbial clause	57
231.4.	Nominal clause	57
232.	Independent clause types	59
232.1.	Declarative clause constructions	59
232.1.1.	Definite involvement	59
232.1.2.	Imperative	60
232.1.3.	Subjunctive	61
232.1.4.	Detachment	61
232.1.5.	Indefinite involvement	62
232.1.6.	Distant	62
232.2.	Confirmation interrogative clause	63
232.3.	Information interrogative clause	64
240.	Perfective clause types	66
241.	Subordinate perfective clause	66
242.	Declarative perfective clause	67
242.1.	Definite	68
242.2.	Detachment	68
242.3.	Subjunctive	69
243.	Interrogative perfective clause	69
300.	Phrase structure	71
310.	Nominal	71
311.	Nominal core	72
311.1.	Apposition	72
311.2.	Sequence	73
312.	Qualifier 1	73
313.	Function	73

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313.1.	Function enclitic complex	74
313.2.	Function word	76
320.	Noun phrase	76
321.	Modifier	76
322.	Demonstrative	77
323.	Possessor	78
324.	Number	79
325.	Qualifier 2	80
326.	Qualifier 3	81
327.	Noun head	81
330.	Specifier phrases	82
331.	Noun specifier phrase	83
332.	Nominal specifier phrase	83
340.	Temporal	85
341.	Temporal core	85
350.	Temporal phrase	86
351.	Temporal demonstrative	86
352.	Temporal qualifier	86
353.	Temporal head	87
360.	Verb phrase	87
400.	Word structure	90
410.	Verb	90
411.	Verb composition	91
411.1.	Subordinate verb construction	91
411.1.1.	Subordinate verb inflection type one	97
411.1.2.	Subordinate verb inflection type two	98

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411.2.	Adjectival verb construction	100
411.3.	Adverbial verb construction	101
411.4.	Nominal verb construction	101
411.5.	Declarative verb constructions	102
411.5.1.	Definite involvement	103
411.5.2.	Imperative	104
411.5.3.	Subjunctive	105
411.5.4.	Indefinite involvement	106
411.5.5.	Detachment	107
411.5.6.	Distant past	107
411.6.	Confirmation interrogative verb construction	108
411.7.	Information interrogative verb construction	109
412.	Verb theme composition	109
412.1.	Definite verb theme	110
412.2.	Indefinite verb theme	111
412.3.	Distant verb theme	112
413.	Verb stem composition	113
413.1.	Simple verb stems	114
413.2.	Complex verb stems	116
413.2.1.	Verb stem construction type one	117
413.2.2.	Verb stem construction type two	117
413.2.3.	Verb stem construction type three	118
413.2.4.	Verb stem construction type four	119
413.2.5.	Verb stem construction type five	120
413.2.6.	Verb stem construction type six	120

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413.2.7. Repetitives without counterparts 121
420. Noun 122
421. Animate noun class 122
421.1. Ingroup human 123
421.1.1. Stem subclass 1a 123
421.1.2. Stem subclass 1b 125
421.1.3. Stem subclass 1c 125
421.1.4. Stem subclass 1d 125
421.1.4.1. Subclass 1dx 126
421.1.4.2. Subclass 1dy 126
421.1.4.3. Subclass 1dz 126
421.2. Noun stem subclass 2 127
421.2.1. Stem subclass 2a 127
421.2.2. Stem subclass 2b 128
421.3. Noun stem subclass 3 128
421.3.1. Stem subclass 3a 128
421.3.2. Stem subclass 3b 129
421.4 Proper nouns and kinship nouns 129
422. Inanimate noun class 130
422.1. Stem subclass 1 130
422.2. Stem subclass 2 136
422.2.1. Subclass 2a 137
422.2.2. Subclass 2b 137
423. Spatial noun class 137
423.1. Stem subclass 1 137
423.2. Stem subclass 2 137
423.3. Stem subclass 3 138

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423.4.	Stem subclass 4	138
423.5.	Stem subclass 5	139
424.	Temporal noun class	139
424.1.	Stem subclass 1	139
424.2.	Stem subclass 2	140
425.	Specifier noun	140
430.	Pronoun	140
431.	Animate	141
432.	Inanimate	142
433.	Spatial	142
434.	Temporal	142
435.	Interrogative	143
440.	Modifiers	144
441.	Adjective	144
442.	Numeral	145
443.	Qualifier	146
444.	Modifier	146
445.	Adverb	147
450.	Demonstrative	147
451.	Nominal demonstrative	147
452.	Temporal demonstrative	148
460.	Function word	148
470.	Interjection	149
480.	Intensifier	149

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490.	Miscellaneous forms	150
491.	Conjunction	150
492.	Exclamatory word	150
493.	Onomatopoetic word	151
494.	Special responses	151
500.	Sentence structure	153
510.	Complete sentences	153
511.	Sentence types	154
511.1.	Declarative	154
511.2.	Confirmation interrogative	156
511.3.	Information interrogative	157
512.	Subordinate base	159
512.1.	Loose knit connectivity	159
512.2.	Close knit connectivity	160
513.	Special patterns of intonation	162
513.1.	Stimulation to excitement	162
513.2.	Expression of disapproval	162
520.	Fragmentary sentences	163
600.	Discourse structure	165
610.	Sentence connectivity	166
611.	The linking element	167
612.	Elaboration	168

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613.	The distribution of sentence types within discourse	169
620.	Participant identification and role designation	169
621.	Patterns of participant identification	170
622.	Focus	173
630.	Speaker or narrator viewpoint	175
631.	The narrator's relationship to the circumstances	175
632.	The narrator's relationship to the listener	176
	References	178
	Bibliography	183

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Chart Index

I	Siona Clause Matrix	24
II	Function Enclitic Orders	73
III	Definite Verb	92
IV	Imperative Verb	93
V	Indefinite Verb	93
VI	Distant Past Verb	94
VII	Perfective Predication	94
VIII	Nominalization	93-96
IX	Verb Stem Class Number Coding	113
X	Animate Noun Specification and Pluralization	124
XI	Enclitic Marking for Focus	174

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000. Introduction

010. General

Siona is a member of the Western branch of the Tucanoan family[1] and is spoken by about 150 people, who live at three points along the Putumayo River (Colombia-Ecuador border) between the mouths of the Cuhembí and the Piñuña Blanca. The language has minor dialect variations associated with geographical spread and age differences. It is mutually intelligible with Macaguaje, spoken by about 50 people in scattered dwellings along the Putumayo at Tablero and El Hacha (below the mouth of the San Miguel), and along the Mecaya and Senseya, tributaries to the Caquetá.

Earlier recordings of the Siona language under the names of Ceona, Zeona, Sioní, and Quenquejoyo have been made by Franciscan missionary priests, whose first contact is reported to have been 1638 or earlier.[2] Mission establishments along the Napo, San Miguel and Putumayo rivers met with native resistance and failed on numerous occasions until 1752. From then until the 1870's the Franciscan missionaries maintained active work at several stations. Many of them made special efforts to learn the native language and left recorded word lists and catechisms.[3]

The Siona were considered the prestige people of the upper Putumayo during the period of the Franciscan influence, and attempts were made to establish the language as the lingua franca of that region. Population estimates ranged up to

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8,000. Contacts with civilization since the beginning of the twentieth century have resulted in a rapid trend toward extinction. "White man's disease" in the form of small pox, measles and whooping cough, along with the Siona's inability to cope with these, has been the major cause of depopulation. Today only three or four older men retain tribal dress and other practices. No one has been initiated into the office of shaman since before the death of Arcenio Yaiguaje, the "Taita Grande" of the Putumayo, in 1961. Arcenio had disqualified all the Siona men because of their use of commercial liquor in addition to their manioc beer, thus bringing "impurity" upon themselves.

At this writing Siona is still spoken in the family unit, although many people under twenty-five deny they understand more than a few words of the language. Intermarriage with whites and with Indians of other tribes (Cofán, Quichua) is common. Social, political and economic aspects of the culture are approaching almost complete integration with those of the white community. Chief Ricardo (younger brother to Arcenio) maintains very little influence on the tribe, but gains his reputation by posing for photographers in his ornate festive dress.

The name Siona seems to have been given by the Witotos (inhabitants of the lower Putumayo). In their language the term means "perfume people," which fits the practice of the Siona men in applying native perfumes to the decorative palm fibers they attach to their upper arms. Another possibility,

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which seems less plausible, is that Siona is the name given by priests and white settlers, who have observed that these people's answer to a common greeting "Where are you going?" is ziéna "to the field." The Siona call themselves gątíya bąí "people of the Wild Cane River," which is the Putumayo.

Contemporary investigation hitherto has consisted of sporadic gathering of word lists for purposes of classification,[4] in addition to a concentrated effort by Manuel José Casas y Manrique, whose field notes date from 1939 until the present.[5]

As I gathered language data during various sojourns in the tribal area between 1960 and 1968, the following informants were especially helpful: Ricardo Yaiguaje, Estanislao Yaiguaje, Francisco Piaguaje, Luciano Piaguaje, Sofonias Maniguaje, Aurelio Maniguaje, Gladys Cabrera (all of Buena Vista, the center of the tribal area along the Putumayo); and Cornelio Payoguaje, who lives near the mouth of the Piñuña Negra and represents the Macaguaje dialect.

It is difficult to evaluate the special help and encouragement my collegues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have given me throughout the period of investigation. To begin with Dr. Kenneth Pike provided me with insights into the analysis of the language during workshops at Limoncocha, Ecuador in 1960 and 1961. His theoretical work is the primary influence on the development of this presentation. Dr. Catherine Peeke made many valuable suggestions at about the

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same time. I benefited greatly from the data gathering and tribal experience of Orville Johnson in Secoya, a language closely related to Siona. My thanks, also, go to Dr. Viola Waterhouse for her help on various aspects of the grammar analysis in 1965; to Dr. Esther Matteson, who read this dissertation and made many valuable suggestions; and to Miss Carolyn Muller, Miss Beverly Brandrup, Miss Sheryl Takagi, and Mrs. Doris Svedberg, who typed the manuscript.

Of the faculty and graduate students in the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, who have influenced the formation of my theoretical views, I am especially grateful to Drs. Mary R. Haas, M.B. Emeneau, Madison S. Beeler, Wallace L. Chafe, William Shipley, Terrence S. Kaufman, and O. Brent Berlin.

I am deeply conscious of the help given by my wife Margaret, who, with our four children, accompanied me to the tribal area, learned to speak the language, established many friends among the Siona, and contributed greatly toward winning the confidence of these people.

Sponsorship for this investigation has been under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Santa Ana, California.

020. Linguistic model

This description of the Siona grammar[6] is tagmemically oriented.[7] The term tagmeme refers to a grammatical unit or constituent (together with its conditioned variations) which

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bears a specific function (also called slot) within a larger structural unit and is realized by one or more given classes of constructions (fillers of a slot). This analysis approaches the clause level as a convenient starting point (Section 200). After the internal structure of each clause type (in terms of the function-class relationships of each constituent unit) and their external distribution (in terms of larger construction classes which manifest sentence level tagmemes) are stated, the analysis proceeds to the next lower level and deals with the constituent tagmemes composing the phrase (Section 300). Subsequently the word, and then the theme, stem and root are analyzed in like manner (Section 400) until the lowest common denominator, the morpheme (or hyper-morpheme), is cited according to its distribution class by which it is labeled in the lexicon.

Ideally, one should begin the succession of analytical steps at the top level in the hierarchy, discourse, and proceed from there to sentence and then clause, so that tagmemes are analyzed by level of complexity as follows:

Discourse

Sentence

Clause

Phrase

Word

Theme

Stem

Morpheme

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However, clause is used as a starting point in the analysis because it encompasses a fairly controllable "chunk" of the grammatical structure. Sentence (Section 500) and discourse (Section 600) are dealt with at the end of the description as aspects of the grammar which tie together relationships on a less segmentable basis and explain features of syntax which cut across various levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

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100. Brief statement of phonology[8]

110. Consonants

Consonants consist of two series of stops[9]; fortis (aspirated) p, t, k, k^w and lenis (glottalized) b, d, g, g^w; sibilants s (fortis), z (lenis-glottalized), č (fortis affricate); semivowels w and y; nasals m and n; and laryngeals h and h^w (fortis), and ʔ (lenis).

Lenis d is retroflexed and has allophone [ɾ] occurring intervocalically. Semivowel y has allophone [ñ] occurring contiguous to a nasalized vowel. Glottal stop /ʔ/ is very faint and is accompanied by a glottal effect on the contiguous vowels in certain environments.[10]

120. Vowels

Vowels are of six tongue positions:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Low	e	a	o

Back vowels are rounded. Contrast between oral and nasalized counterparts occurs for all vowels except in the environment adjacent to a nasal consonant, in which case only the nasalized counterparts occur. Low front vowel e has the value of [ɛ] and has allophone [æ̨] when nasalized. All vowels have voiced offglide (phonetically long vowel and descending pitch) when they occur as stressed single vowel nucleus of word initial syllable and are followed by an un-

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stressed syllable. All single vowels have voiceless offglide preceding a stressed syllable with fortis consonant onset.

130. Stress

Stress is non-contrastive, but is analyzed as phonemic because of the conditioning effect it has on adjacent vowels and on the selection of certain allomorphs of stem inflection. Stress occurs obligatorily on all verb stem syllables, all root syllables and various suffix syllables. Some single-syllable morphemes have stressed and unstressed alternates. Stress is not written on the first syllable of a stem or root unless the stem or root is monosyllabic.

Stress is reduced on words that do not occupy a nuclear position in the phonological phrase, so that the resultant phonetic effect is the same as in cases where stress does not occur. Phonological phrase[11] is a term used among tagmemicists to refer to a level of phonological structure involving one or more word units, i.e. a head word and its attributes. It is fruitful in explaining conditioning factors for phonological variation on lower levels, e.g., word, syllable, phoneme. The phonological phrase (structural level of the phonological hierarchy) usually coincides with the grammatical phrase (structural level of the grammatical hierarchy), but not when the grammatical phrase has such complexities as apposition, series, disjunct constituents, etc. In Siona the phonological phrase consists of optional onset, obligatory peak and optional offglide. The peak coincides

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with the head word of the grammatical phrase. The stress of that word is distinct, and no leveling of phonemes occurs. Words (or syllables) which coincide with the onset and off-glide positions of the phonological phrase are not stressed as heavily as they would be in isolation or in the peak position. Because of this phenomenon, syllables are shortened, and intervocalic glottal stop is not articulated. Only the glottal effect on the contiguous vowels remains. The following examples illustrate yɨ?ɨ́ "First person singular" and gɨ̨?ɨ̨́ "louse" first in the peak position of a phonological phrase, then in the onset position.

Peak: [yɨ́?ɨ́bi sáíyɨ]12 "I am going."

[ba gɨ̨́?ɨ̨́nį číáhɨ̨́?ɨ̨́] "Pick out that louse."

Onset: [yɨ́ zįbi tį́?ą́bi] "My son arrived."

[gɨ̨́ wá́?tide kówɨ] "I bought a louse blade (comb)."

140. Syllable

The syllable canon is described phonemically as:

CV(V) and CV?-

Glottal stop never occurs in word final position. Two rounded vowels never occur contiguously.

A two-vowel sequence is considered a complex nucleus of a single syllable because the timing and intonation involved

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in its articulation is the same as that of a single stressed vowel. Sequences of VV? also occur, but morpheme boundary always occurs between the final vowel and the glottal stop. See the distant past constructions illustrated in Section 412.3.

150. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic alternation within the word[13] unit is stated as follows:

u > ɨ before o.

V > Ṽ contiguous to a nasalized vowel.

Nasalization carries through w, y, h, and ? to the following vowel.

Glottal stop is intercalated between a vowel and a lenis consonant, and the lenis consonant becomes fortis, when the following vowel is stressed. The phoneme sequences CVi and CV?i (whether oral or nasalized) are shortened to CV preceding a stressed syllable that has a fortis consonant onset. In cases where these sequences do not coincide with grammatical stem boundaries, shortening to CV occurs preceding any stressed syllable.

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200. Clause structure

Two sets of structural criteria distinguish Siona clause types. These are illustrated each along different axes of Chart I, page 24. The vertical axis indicates the distinctions based on the internal composition of the clause. The types of constituent elements, their relationship to each other, and the way they pattern in the maximum expansion of the clause comprise the internal composition, hence these clause types are referred to as composition clause types.

The horizontal axis indicates the different forms the composition types may manifest as they are distributed as functional elements among their various higher level syntactic environments, such as sentence or discourse, and as well, as units embedded within clause or phrase level construction. These different forms group together as members of a paradigm corresponding to a particular composition type and are herein referred to as distribution clause types.

The syntactic categories indicated as composition types are summarized in terms of a tagmemic formula for each (Sections 211-218). The concepts therein manifested are essentially the same as those expressed in the phrase structure components of Transformational Grammar[14], and would correspond to the categories of deep structure. Likewise, the different forms that the composition types manifest (i.e. distribution types) represent essentially the transformations which are assigned to the phrase structure component, according to the transformational school, and coincide with their concept of surface structure.

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Chart I

Siona Clause Matrix

				Composition Clause Types							
				Quotative 10	Transitive 20	Intransitive 30	Progressive 40	Stative 50	Descriptive 60	Equative 70	Impersonal 80
Dependent	Subordinate		01	11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81
	Adjectival		02	12	22	32	42	52	62	72	82
	Adverbial		03	13	23	33	43	53	63	73	83
	Nominal		04	14	24	34	44	54	64	74	84
Independent	Declarative		05	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	85
	Interrogative	Confirmation	06	16	26	36	46	56	66	76	86
		Information	07	17	27	37	47	57	67	77	87

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For convenience of description these two types are illustrated in chart form (Chart I, page 24) as intersecting vectors of a matrix. The total array of Siona clauses classified according to both sets of criteria amount to fifty-six types, as a result of multiplying the eight composition types by the seven distribution types. A particular clause type represented by the intersection of two given vectors of the matrix may be labeled Transitive-Declarative, Descriptive-Adjectival, Progressive-Subordinate, etc. In this description the composition types are assigned number codes 10 through 80, and the distribution types are assigned 01 through 07. Combinations of these types will be referred to by their appropriate number combinations, 11 for Quotative-Subordinate, 25 for Transitive-Declarative, 56 for Stative-Interrogative Corroborative, and so on to cover the entire scheme.

The composition types, with respect to their component tagmemes and interrelations, are discussed in Section 210. The analysis of individual tagmemes is further elaborated in Section 220. Variations in form and distribution are covered in Section 230 on distribution types. Section 240 deals with the perfective clause type, which is a separate category of syntactic construction from the major patterns displayed in Chart I, page 24.

210. Composition clause types

The nuclear tagmeme of a clause is the predicate, which is the only obligatory element of all clause types except

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the Equative 70 (Section 217). Other clause level tagmemes are key[15] to the definition of the clause type, and/or they perform a central role of syntactic relationship to the predicate. Object, Referent, Goal, and Quotation are of that type, since their potential occurrence along with the type of predicate determines the basic clause type. Subject does not bear this determining feature, since it occurs in all the clause types except the Impersonal 80 (Section 218), but its close relationship to the predicate justifies its role as central in the clause. Should the subject tagmeme not occur overtly, other syntactic features brought to light through discourse analysis make clear the covert element functioning as logical subject.

Other tagmemes such as Time, Manner, Interjection, and the Locatives, do not perform a central syntactic role in distinguishing one clause type from another. These elements, as stated by Longacre,[16] function as setting. They perform a peripheral role or backdrop for the dramatis personnae, or the central elements.

In order to minimize redundancy and simplify the description only the central tagmemes of a clause type will be mentioned in the following discussion on differences in clause types (Sections 221 and 222). The peripheral elements will be presented in Section 223.

The order of tagmemes in sequence is fixed only where indicated in the particular clause type. The most frequent

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order is shown by the formulae. It is normally the case that the predicate occurs finally in the clause. Only in the Declarative clause type (Section 232.1) do other tagmemes follow the predicate, and then only as an afterthought to clarify or to highlight other information pertinent to the communication.

[S] [O] [P-25] [O-ap][17], [O-ap]
si'á wa'ną 'odáde dáwį, piso tį́óyeté, ya'díbayą́de.

"Everyone brought chonta palm, to place on the floor, as flat sections."

[T] [O] [P-25] [G]
hą'ą́dį́bi 'įside tą́wį́. zióną. "Then I planted the pineapple, in the field."

The afterthought element may involve a subordinate clause as well as a nominal constituent of a declarative clause, in which case the afterthought is analyzed on the sentence level (Section 511).

In general, clause level tagmemes preceding the predicate assume no significant order, except that the first position in the clause bears a special degree of prominence before the others.

A basic difference between clause types is that certain tagmemes occur in one type and not in another. Two such differences constitute emically different clause types.[18] All the clause types have different types of predicates and are so indicated by the numerical code which occurs suffixed to the predicate symbol P- and to the clause symbol Cl-. These codes correspond to the appropriate categories indi-

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cated in Chart I, page 24. This distinction may have as its basis the fact that only a certain list of verbs comprising a distinct grammatical class constitutes the fillers of the given predicate slot.

The first six clause types, Quotative, Transitive, Intransitive, Progressive, Stative, Descriptive, represent varying degrees of transitivity. The Equative and the Impersonal are radically different types.

Each formula is followed by verbal interpretation of its symbols.

211. Quotative clause 10

Cl-10 = ±S ±G ±Q ±R +P-10

Quotative clause (Cl-10) consists of optional tagmemes: subject (S), goal (G), quotation (Q), referent (R); and of obligatory quotative predicate (P-10) tagmeme. The distinguishing features of the Quotative clause are: the quotative predicate slot, filled by a class of verbs denoting speaking, thinking, or revelation (through dreams or visions); the occurrence of a quotation (Q) tagmeme, which involves either direct quotation, indirect quotation, or a noun phrase or pronominal referent substituting for either of the first two; and the occurrence of a referent (R) tagmeme, indicating the nominal element about which the quotation refers. Goal (G) identifies the addressee. Subject (S) is the addressor.

[Q] [G] [P-10]
yaí waísi kokáde yɨ́ʔíniɨ kɨ́ábi.

"He told me the story of the tiger killing."

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[Q] [P-15] [R]
ʔąǫ́ kʷaʔkúye wesɨgo káhɨ́ baɨ́ʔɨ́, bágoté.

"'She doesn't know how to cook,' they were saying, about her."

[Q][Inj][P-15] [S]
saɨ ʔɨáyeté yuá doʔtáwɨ́, yɨ́ʔɨ́.

"Now I thought about wanting to go."

212. Transitive clause 20

Cl-20 = ±S ±G ±O +P-20

Transitive clause (Cl-20) consists of optional tagmemes subject (S), goal (G), object (O), and obligatory transitive predicate (P-20). The distinguishing feature of the transitive type is that the verb class occurring in the predicate slot denotes action which is directed toward an object. Although the object tagmeme is essential in the definition of the transitive type, it is optional in occurrence. An object is at least implicit in all transitive clauses.

[O] [G] [P-25]
hoʔyá yaínɨ́ wɨ́ʔénąǫ́ báhi.

"He keeps a dog in the house."

[S] [O] [P-25] [G]
páčobi weáde weʔóhi wɨ́ʔénąǫ́.

"Pacho is carrying the corn to the house."

[O] [G] [P-25]
gǫnǫ́ bágɨnɨ́ ʔųkʷáhɨ́ʔɨ́.

"Give him beverage to drink."

[O] [P-25]
dasǫ́ saóbi.

"He sent a message."

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[Inj][Ins] [M] [P-25]
yuá yó wa?tíbi besá wáhí?í.

"Now he quickly killed him with a paddle."

213. Intransitive clause 30

Cl-30 = ±S ±G +P-30

Intransitive clause (Cl-30) consists of optional tagmemes subject (S), goal (G), and obligatory intransitive predicate (P-30). The distinguishing feature of the intransitive type is that the verb class occurring in the predicate slot denotes action or motion toward a goal, but not toward an object.

[G] [P-35]
wi?éną sáhí?í.

"He went home."

[Ins] [G] [P-35]
yógubi sidíbiną mąąhį.

"He is drifting downriver by canoe."

[G] [P-35]
go?góną hų?įhį.

"He is ill with a cough."

[S] [Ins] [P-35]
kuyábi mą?ąbi dáhí?í.

"The foreigner came by trail."

[M] [P-35]
hudéda?du tuáhi.

"He alights like a dove."

214. Progressive clause 40

Cl-40 = ±S +P-40

Progressive clause (Cl-40) consists of optional sub-

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ject (S) tagmeme and obligatory progressive predicate (P-40) tagmeme. The progressive clause type is characterized by the occurrence in the predicate slot of a class of verbs indicating that the subject is undergoing some kind of change, whether gradual or sudden. This type does not involve a goal nor an object.

[P-45]
nąʔíhį.

"It is getting late."

[S] [P-45]
toáwɨbi hᵂéhíʔí.

"The shotgun went off."

[S] [M] [P-45]
hąmą́bi besá nęʔę́bi.

"The armadillo quickly became caught."

[S] [P-45]
hoʔčá siʔábi.

"The fermented beverage ran out."

[S] [P-45][Inj]
zį́ waʔkɨ́bi wahɨ́hi yuá.

"The child is getting well now."

215. Stative clause 50

C1-50 = ±S ±LR +P-50

Stative clause (C1-50) consists of optional tagmemes subject (S), and locative referent (LR), and obligatory stative predicate (P-50). The predicate slot of the stative type is filled by a class of verbs which indicates a temporary state of being in reference to a given place. Many of these stative verbs have intransitive counterparts which

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involve action directed toward a goal. The locative referent tagmeme is related to the goal, but the two are distinguished formally (Sections 222.1 and 222.2).

[LR] [P-55]
sụkí kábɨtɛ́ tuíhi.

"He is seated on a tree limb."

[LR] [P-55]
ziáyatɛ́ wawáhi.

"It is floating in the river."

[S] [LR] [P-55]
yɨ?ɨ yo?hégɨbi yógutɛ́ yụ?íhị.

"My younger brother is seated in the canoe."

[S] [P-55]
?u?úbi déhi.

"The sloth is hanging."

[LR] [P-55]
sụkí kábɨtɛ́ déhi.

"He is hanging from a tree limb."

[LR] [P-55]
haí hąǫ́dɨtɛ́ wéhi.

"He is reclining in the big hammock."

216. Descriptive clause 60

Cl-60 = ±S ±DM +P-60

Descriptive clause (Cl-60) consists of an optional subject (S) tagmeme, an optional descriptive manner (DM) tagmeme, and an obligatory descriptive predicate (P-60) tagmeme. The descriptive predicate slot (P-60) is filled by a class of verbs indicating quality. The main structural difference between the descriptive and the progressive

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clause types is the fact that the manner tagmeme (DM) is manifested by a limited number of adverbial constructions (Section 222.1).

[Int][P-65]
ʔaí dɨkɨ́hi. "It is very heavy."

[S][Int] [P-65]
gatábi ʔaí hɨhɨ́hi. "The rock is very hard."

[P-65]
deʔóhi. "It is good."

[S] [DM] [P-65]
ʔɥkʷébi toáʔdu mɨ́hɨ́ʔɨ́hi.

"The fruit is red like fire."

217. Equative clause 70

Cl-70 = ±S +PR +P-70

Equative clause (Cl-70) consists of optional subject (S) tagmeme, and obligatory predicate nominative (PR) and equative predicate (P-70) tagmemes. The equative predicate slot is filled by a class of verbs consisting of two members baʔí "be" and ʔɨyɥ́ "appear."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
ʔɨ́ wɨʔé haí wɨʔé baʔíhi.

"This house is a big house."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
yɨʔɨ́ waʔkɨ́ hɥʔɨ́ waʔkɨ́ baɨ́ʔɨ.

"I was a sick person."

[PR] [P-75]
wahɨ́ yɨ́go ʔɨyɥ́go.

"She appeared afraid."

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[S] [PR] [P-75]
ʔɨ́ sotódo waʔwáseʔé baʔíhi.

"This clay pot is broken."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
ʔɨ́ sotódo waʔwási sotódo baʔíhi.

"This clay pot is a broken pot."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
ʔɨ́ sotódo waʔwásido baʔíhi.

"This clay pot is a broken one."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
hąʔą́ kąyą zoáye baʔíhi.

"Those clothes are for washing."

[PR] [P-75]
zoáyo wąsóyo baʔíhi.

"It is a long pole."

218. Impersonal clause 80

Cl-80 = ±R +P-80

Impersonal clause (Cl-80) consists of optional referent (R) tagmeme and obligatory impersonal predicate (P-80) tagmeme. The impersonal predicate slot is filled by a class of verbs which may be inflected only in the third person singular, masculine. No overt subject occurs in this clause type.

[R] [M] [P-85]
yɨ́ʔɨ́de guʔá wąnǫ́hį.

"I feel bad."

[M][P-85] [R]
ʔokó ʔɨ́áhi bágɨ́té.

"He is thirsty."

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[P-85]
ʔąǫ́ guʔáhi.

"I'm hungry."

[P-85]
haʔsíhi.

"It hurts."

[R] [P-85]
sįhǫ́bįté haʔsíhi.

"(My) head hurts."

One or two speakers, who have had heavy exposure to Spanish, transfer the Spanish passive verb construction into Siona by casting it in the form of the Siona impersonal clause.

[T] [R] [P-84] [P-35]
féča bágįté señáláséʔé tįʔąbi.

"He arrived on the date indicated by him."

(Spanish: "Llegó en la fecha indicada por él.")

220. Tagmemes of the composition clause types.

The characteristics of each tagmeme on the clause level are stated in terms of a grammatical slot or function (symbol to the left of the colon) and the grammatical element filling that slot (symbol to the right of the colon). The fillers of a particular slot may be of a single construction class or of several construction classes, such as a temporal phrase, temporal pronoun, or temporal clause as fillers of the time (T) slot. A particular construction class may occur as a filler of several different slots.

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Since each clause type has a different predicate, these tagmemes are analyzed separately in Section 221. Other tagmemes performing a central role in the clause construction are described in Section 222. Those tagmemes performing a peripheral role in the clause are presented in Section 223.

221. Predicate tagmemes

Each predicate tagmeme is the nucleus of the clause type wherein it occurs. Each predicate slot is filled by a different class of verb or verb complex (Section 360). The differences are stated in terms of a semantic feature inherent in the verb stem class in relation to the kinds of clause level tagmemes which occur as complements of that verb stem class, and/or in terms of the structural features of the verb class.

221.1. The quotative predicate (P-10:v-10) tagmeme occurs in the quotative clause (Cl-10) and consists of a quotative predicate slot filled by a quotative verb class. This verb class has as its membership verbs denoting address, thinking, dreaming, etc., which may be complemented by a direct or indirect quotation (quotation tagmeme Q), the participant to which the quotation refers (referent R), and the participant to which the address is directed (goal G).

[Q]	[R]	[G]	[P-15]
ʔaí deʔóye nę́hį́,	bági	yaíde	yi-ʔíni kábi.

"'He hunts well,' he said to me about his dog."

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[Q] [G] [P-15]
bąį kokáde mąkíną̀ną̀ káwɨ́.

"I spoke the people's language into the machine."

[Q] [R] [P-15]
de'ó bąį́gɨ́ ba'íhi mɨ́'ɨ́de do'táwɨ́.

"'He is a good person.' I thought concerning you."

[Q] [G] [P-15]
sɨ'á mąį́ yo'ósé'éde hɨ́hágɨ́nɨ́ kɨ́áwɨ́.

"I told the chief all we had done."

221.2. The transitive predicate (P-20:v-20) tagmeme occurs in the transitive clause (Cl-20) and consists of a transitive predicate slot filled by a transitive verb class. This verb class encompasses causatives as well as simple transitives (Section 413.2), and is complemented optionally by both object (O) and goal (G) tagmemes. Even the transitives that have been made causative by suffixation may not be complemented by a second object or goal. Such a construction would occur in the form of a subordinate clause (Section 223.1), or an accompaniment tagmeme (Section 223.1) in the same clause.

[O] [G][P-25]
wa'tíde ziónąą̀ sábi. "He took the machete to the field."

[O] [G] [P-25] [A]
wa'tíde ziónąą̀ saóbi, yɨ́'ɨ́ zį́ nąkónį́.

"He sent the machete to the field with my child."

[O] [G] [P-25]
wɨ́de sɨ́hǫ́bɨ́nąą̀ húhí'í. "He shot the agouti in the head."

[O] [P-25] [G] [P-25]
yɨ́'ɨ́ dɨ́hǫ́de ho'káwɨ́. sɨ́díbɨ́nąą̀ ho'káwɨ́.

"I left my wife. I left her downriver."

[O] [G][P-25]
ho'yá yaínį́ wɨ́'éną̀ báhi. "He keeps a dog in the house."

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221.3. The intransitive predicate (P-30:v-30) tagmeme occurs in the intransitive clause (Cl-30) and consists of an intransitive predicate slot filled by a class of verbs which indicate motion toward a goal (G), but which may not be complemented by an object.

[G] [P-35]
ziáyaną gahéwɨ. "I descended to the river."

[G] [P-35]
zióną saíhi. "He is going to the field."

[S] [G] [P-35]
wekɨ́bi so?óną wɨ?wɨ́bi. "The tapir ran far."

[S] [G] [P-35]
nąsóbi yɨ?ɨ́ną mɨ́hɨ́?ɨ́. "The wooly monkey came up to me."

[S] [G] [P-35]
yaíbi yiháną kąɨ́hɨ. "The jaguar sleeps on the ground."

[G] [P-35]
daúną hų?ɨ́hɨ. "He is dying of a disease."

221.4. The progressive predicate (P-40:v-40) tagmeme occurs in the progressive clause (Cl-40) and consists of a progressive predicate slot filled by a verb class indicating that the subject is undergoing some kind of a change, whether gradual or sudden. It is not complemented by goal, object, nor referent.

[S] [P-45]
de?ó ?ųmúgúsé yątáhi. "A good day is dawning."

[Inj] [S] [P-45]
yuá ?ąǫ́ si?ábi. "Now the food has run out."

[S] [P-45]
yɨ?ɨ́ zɨ́bi bǫsɨ́hi. "My son is becoming a young man."

[S] [P-45]
wąąsi sawábi ?úhí?í. "The dried up plant burned."

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221.5. The stative predicate (P-50:v-50) tagmeme occurs in the stative clause (Cl-50) and consists of a stative predicate slot filled by a class of verbs which indicate a temporary state of being and which are complemented optionally by a locative referent (LR) tagmeme.

[S] [LR] [P-55]
ho?yá yaíbi ya?díbaté dɨ̨ɨ̨hɨ̨.

"The dog is standing on a sheet of split palm wood."

[S] [P-55]
?u?úbi déhi.

"The sloth is hanging."

[M] [LR] [P-55]
dó hɨ̨?ɨ̨ wa?kɨ́?du hɨ̨?ɨ̨́duté ?ɨ̨́hɨ̨.

"He is lying there just like a sick person."

221.6. The descriptive predicate (P-60:v-60) tagmeme occurs in the descriptive clause (Cl-60) and consists of a descriptive predicate slot filled by a class of verbs indicating a quality about the subject. There is no occurrence of goal, object nor referent as complements. The theme suffix order 400 "aspect" (Section 412.1), the participial nominalizer 23.2 -sé?é "completive" (Chart VIII, page 95), and the imperative inflection (Chart IV, page 94) do not occur in the verb construction.

[S][Int][P-65]
sɨ̨?sá túbɨ́bi ?aí dɨ́kɨ́hi.

"The heart wood pillar pole is very heavy."

[S][Int][P-65]
betó gɨ̨?nɨ́wɨ́bi ?aí hɨ́hɨ́hi.

"The coconut shell is very hard."

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[S] [P-65]
ʔɨ̨sɨ́gɨbi gosíhéʔíhi. "The sun is bright."

221.7. The equative predicate (P-70:v-70) tagmeme occurs in the equative clause (Cl-70) and consists of an equative predicate slot filled by a class of verbs having only two members, baʔí "be", and ʔɨ̨yǫ́ "show, appear, cause (oneself) to be seen." Its function is that of copula to show transition between the subject and predicate nominative.

[PR] [P-75]
ʔaí hųʔį́ waʔkó ʔɨ̨yǫ́go. "She appears to be very sick."

[PR] [P-75]
haí gatábɨ́ baʔíhi. "It is a big rock."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
ʔɨ̨́ yógubi ʔaí haígu baʔíhi. "This canoe is a big one."

[S] [PR] [P-75]
yɨ́ʔɨ́ yoʔhégɨbi ʔaí soʔó saísiʔkɨ́ baʔíhi.

"My younger brother has gone very far away."

[PR] [P-75]
sǫ̨sé húbɨ́ yudé zíhéʔídɨ́ kǫ́íséʔé báhíʔí.

"It was where the herd of peccary had slept this morning."

[PR] [P-75]
ʔǫ́ǫ́ táyę́ baʔíhi. "There is food planting to be done."

221.8. The impersonal predicate (P-80:v-80) tagmeme occurs in the impersonal clause (Cl-80) and consists of an impersonal predicate slot filled by an impersonal verb (v-80). The impersonal verbs are inflected only in the third person singular, masculine, and may be nominalized only by suffixation of order 23 -ye and -séʔé (Section 411.4. Chart VIII, page 96). Theme suffix order 400 "aspect", and the

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imperatives do not occur in the verb construction. Complementation by the referent tagmeme is key to the definition of this verb class.

[P-85] [R]
ʔąǫ́ guʔáhi yɨ́ʔɨ́de. "It is hungry to me."

[O] [P-85][R]
ʔokó ʔɨ́áhi bákóʔáde. "It is thirsty to them."

[R][Int][P-85]
yɨ́ʔɨ́ gɨ́sówaté ʔaí haʔsíhi.

"It hurts regarding my thigh."

[R] [M] [P-85] [Ins]
bágoté guʔá wąnǫ́hį tǫʔíɨ́séʔébi.

"It feels bad to her from the fall."

222. Central nonpredication tagmemes

Central tagmemes are key to the clause construction and are diagnostic components of the clause type in which they occur.

222.1. Descriptive manner (DM:Nom/mod) occurs only in the descriptive clause type (Section 216). It is distinct from the manner tagmemes of the other clause types, since the filler list consists of either a nominal construction (Section 310) marked only with nominalizing suffix 23.1 -ye (Chart VIII, p. 96) enclitic 74 -du "like" (Section 313.1); or a modifier (Section 444). The descriptive manner tagmeme occurs optionally not more than once. The manner tagmeme occurring in other clause types encompasses a larger filler list (Section 223.7).

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[DM] [P-60] [S]
gadé dɨkɨhi bágɨ. "He is extremely heavy."

[DM] [P-60]
toá mą dąyą'du mąhą'ịhị.

"It is red, like macaw feathers."

[M] [P-77]
kéhé'iye do'ígɨ'ną. "How much does it cost?"

222.2. Goal (G:Nom) occurs only as a complement to verbs of motion, which are either quotative, transitive, or intransitive. It is the point toward which the subject moves in the case of the intransitive, and the point toward which the object or quotation is directed in the case of the transitive and quotative.

It consists of a goal slot filled by a nominal construction (Section 310). The goal slot is identifiable by context and by the pattern of enclitic marking that occurs with the nominal construction. Either -ną, -ni, or -de (nominal enclitic order 60, Section 313.1) occurs, depending on the degree of focus given to the nominal element and whether the nominal refers to an animate or inanimate participant in the discourse (Section 622).

[G] [P-35]
ko'kówɨną sáhí'í. "He went upriver."

[O] [G] [P-25]
yóguté bágɨni 'ịsíwɨ. "I gave him the canoe."

[O] [G] [P-25]
goɨ ziáde mẹhąbɨną dutáwɨ.

"I removed the turtle eggs from the sandbar."

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222.3. Locative referent (LR:Nom) occurs only in stative clauses. It is parallel in function to the goal which occurs with motion verbs. Since the stative verbs do not reflect the element of motion, the locative complementing them functions as a point of reference to the predication.

It consists of a locative referent slot filled by a nominal which refers only to an inanimate participant and which is obligatorily marked with nominal enclitic -de "referent."

[LR][P-55]
hąǫ́dɨté wéhi. "He is reclining in the hammock."

[LR] [P-55]
yóguté yų?íhį. "He is seated in the canoe."

[LR] [P-55]
wɨ?éde ba?íhi. "He is in the house."

[S] [LR] [P-55]
kę?kébi ha?óde sɨ?íhi.

"The caterpillar is clung to the leaf."

[S] [LR] [P-55]
bį?ą́bi sųkí kábɨté tuíhi.

"The bird is upon the tree limb."

222.4. Object (O:Nom) occurs only as a complement to transitive verbs, and indicates the recipient of the action. It consists of an object slot filled by a nominal. It is identifiable by context and by the pattern of occurrence of the enclitic markers -nį, -de, or no marker (Section 622), depending on the degree of focus given to the nominal element and whether the nominal refers to an animate or inanimate participant (Section 313).

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[O] [P-25]
ʔąǫ́de kʷaʔkúyɨ́. "I am cooking food."

[O] [P-25]
ʔadósoté tɨ́áyɨ́. "I am harvesting rice."

[O] [P-25]
yoʔó yoʔówɨ́. "I did the work."

[O] [P-25][G]
yaʔónį huíʔɨ́ ʔaíduną. "I shot a peccary in the woods."

[O] [P-25]
yaíde ʔɨ́yąwɨ́. "I saw a tiger."

[O] [P-25]
nąʔíɨ́tɨ́ huʔísiʔkíde tąwɨ́.

"They buried the one who died yesterday."

222.5. Predicate nominative (PR:adj/Nom)

The predicate nominative tagmeme occurs obligatorily in the equative clause type (Section 217). The nominal construction (Section 310) in this case does not involve the occurrence of a function word nor of enclitic order 60 (Section 313).

[PR] [P-75]
zoé daísiʔkídébátąʔą báhíʔi.

"He was indeed one who had come (here) a long time ago."

[PR] [P-75]
bǫsígɨ́ bakíyą. "He was a young man."

[S] [Inj][PR] [P-75]
bágo yuá wahí yígo ʔɨ́yǫ́go.

"She then showed herself afraid."

The adjective (Section 441) here enters into some idiomatic constructions that do not occur in the qualifier 2 slot of the noun phrase (Section 325). These are formed by suffixation of inanimate noun classifier order 20 and result in

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special semantic connotations.

zį́ "offspring, small"

zį́bɨ́ "pregnant"

[PR] [P-75]
zį́bɨ́ ba?ígo. "She is pregnant."

The following nominal clause (C1-04) also patterns as this kind of idiomatic construction:

[PR] [P-75]
ką́ beówɨ́ báhí?í.

"He was nude (i.e., without clothes)"

The suffix 21.17 -wɨ́ "containing within" is associated with that of gą?nį́wɨ́ "body" (Section 422.1)

222.6. Quotation (Q:Disc/Nom) occurs only as a complement to quotation verbs. It consists of a quotation slot filled by a direct discourse of any length (Disc) or by a nominal (Nom). When the nominal occurs, the pattern of enclitic marking is the same as for inanimate object. The nominal may be an indirect discourse of no more than clause length, or a construction referring to a discourse as its antecedent. When the direct discourse is short (generally eight or ten words), the quotation tagmeme often occurs between the subject and the predicate, as indirect discourse constructions normally do. Long quotations usually precede or follow the rest of the clause construction.

[Q] [P-15][S]
daímą́hį́?į́ kábi bágɨ́. "'He didn't come,' he said."

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[Q] [P-11] [S] [Q] [P-15]
hą?ą́de káginą yi?íga hą?ą́ka ba?íto saíyų káwi.

"When he said that, I said, 'If that's the case, let's go.'"

[P-11] [S] [P-15] [Q] [P-11]
kiáni tihíginą yekíbi sewóbi, ... kági

[P-15] [S]
sewóbi bági. "He finished telling it, and another person answered, '.....' he answered saying."

[Q] [P-15]
yaí huísi kokáde kiáhį?į.

"Tell the story of the tiger shooting."

[S] [Q] [G] [P-15] [R]
bágibi hadóną sáki?né yi?íni sęhį?į. yi?i ha?yíde.

"He asked me about my older brother, 'Where has he gone?'"

222.7. Referent (R:Nom) occurs as a complement to quotation verbs and to impersonal verbs. It consists of a referent slot filled by a nominal, which is obligatorily marked with the nominal enclitic -de "referent" (Section 313.1). Most frequently the nominal filling the referent slot is animate, but the inanimate gender is manifest on occasion.

[R] [M] [P-85]
bágoté de?ó wąnóhį. "It feels good to her."

[Q] [P-17] [R]
gé koká káye?né so?ó daísi?kíde.

"What talk are they saying about the one who came from far?"

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[R] [M] [P-85]
yɨkɨną ʼųkú bąįde saí ʼɨáhi.

"There is desire to leave with respect to our (banisterium) drinking people."

222.8. Subject (S:Nom) occurs in all clause types except the impersonal. It consists of a subject slot filled by a nominal. It is identifiable by context and by the pattern of occurrence of the nominal enclitic markers -ga (without enclitic order 60), -bi, or no marker (Section 313, 622), depending on the degree of focus given to the nominal element and whether the nominal refers to an animate or inanimate participant (Section 622). Context, along with the system of antecedents and switch reference (Section 411.1.1.) determines what participant in the discourse is functioning as subject if the subject tagmeme is absent from the clause. Although the subject tagmeme is not diagnostic of different clause types, it is central to the clause construction because it is implicit in every clause except the impersonal type.

[S] [P-35]
yɨʼɨga saíyɨ. "And I, I'm going."

[S] [G] [P-31] [P-35]
čaʼkádi waʼnąbi bágɨnã gahéniį sɨʼáwɨ.

"The fire ants came down to him and latched on."

[S] [P-45]
ʼokó kąʼníhiį. "A rainstorm is gathering."

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[S] [P-31] [P-35]
yudé daisi'kɨbi 'ųmęnį kąhį'į.

"The one who came today lay down and slept."

223. Peripheral tagmemes occur optionally in most clause construction types, with restrictions indicated under the discussion of the particular tagmeme. Their semantic content is usually supplementary to the central theme of the discourse, and they are not grammatically significant in defining clause types.

223.1. Accompaniment (A:Nom) occurs optionally in all clause types except descriptive (C1-60), equative (C1-70), and impersonal (C1-80), and consists of an accompaniment slot filled by a nominal. It is characterized by obligatory occurrence of nominal function word nąkóni "with" (Section 313.2) in the nominal construction. The nominals occurring in the accompaniment slot are animate. The function word nąkóni occurs occasionally in an inanimate nominal construction, but only as a variant with the function enclitic -bi "source" (Section 313.1) when the construction fills the instrument slot (Section 223.4).

[A] [O] [P-25]
hórhe nąkóni wa'ide mąųhąhį'į.

"He went fishing with Jorge."

[A] [G] [P-25]
yɨ'ɨ wágɨ nąkóni kodóniąną saówɨ.

"I sent (it) to the settlement with my in-law."

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[A] [LR] [P-55]
bágɨ zį́ nąkóni yóguté yų?íhį.

"He is seated in the canoe with his child."

223.2. Benefactor (B:Nom) occurs in all clause types except the stative (Cl-50), descriptive (Cl-60), equative (Cl-70) and impersonal (Cl-80), and consists of a benefactor slot filled by a nominal, which is animate, and which is obligatorily marked by the function enclitic -de "referent" (Section 313.1.). This tagmeme occurs optionally only when the verb theme suffix 201 -kaí "benefactor" occurs in the verb construction (Section 411.1.).

[B] [O] [P-25] [S]
kuyáde bá wɨ?éde yo?ókáɨ?ɨ yɨkínąą.

"We made that house for the white man."

[B] [O] [P-25]
adą́ we?égɨté yógu tę?tókahí?í.

"He hewed the canoe for the one named Adán."

[G] [P-35] [B]
kodǫ́niąną saíkahį́?į́ yɨ?ɨ́de.

"Go to the settlement for me."

223.3. Interjection (Inj:inj) occurs optionally in all clause types and consists of an interjection slot filled by an interjection word, of which the membership is yuá "now" and its derivations (Section 470). It normally occurs following the subject (or clause finally as an afterthought), in which case it highlights the whole clause. It may also highlight other clause level tagmemes when it precedes them.

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[S][Inj][O][P-21][Inj][O] [P-25]
yɨ?ɨ́ dɨhǫ́bi yuá wa?tíde ?ɨníɨ yuá kučí wa?kíníɨ bi?dágo.

"My wife then got the machete and she then chased the pig."

[O] [Inj][P-21][G] [P-25]
?ąyą́ wa?kíde yuáda wánɨ ziáyaną sęhǫ́wɨ́.

"About then I killed the snake and threw it in the river."

[Inj][P-45]
yuá wahɨ́hi. "Now he is getting well."

223.4. Instrument (Ins:Nom) occurs optionally in clause types quotative (Cl-10), transitive (Cl-20), intransitive (Cl-30), and progressive (Cl-40), and consists of an instrument slot filled by a nominal, which is inanimate, and which is obligatorily marked with the nominal function enclitic -bi "source" (Section 313.1). Inanimate nominals marked with nominal function word nąkóniɨ "with" (Section 313.2.) occasionally occurs as a variant of the enclitic (Section 223.1.).

[Ins] [P-25]
yó wa?tíbi do?áwɨ́. "I paddled it with a paddle."

[Ins] [P-35]
mą?ą́bi daɨ́?ɨ́. "I came via the path."

[Ins] [P-43]
?ɨ́kó huásé?ébi wahɨ́ bi?dábi.

"He began to get well from the medicine that was injected."

223.5. Intensifier (Int:int) occurs optionally in all clause types immediately preceding the predicate. It consists of an

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intensifier slot filled by an intensifier word class of one member ʔaí "much, very, greatly" (Section 480).

[Int][P-35]
ʔaí wɨ́ʔwɨ́bi. "He ran hard."

[Int][P-65]
ʔaí dɨ́kɨ́hi. "It is very heavy."

[Int][P-15][S]
ʔaí káhi bágɨ́. "He talks much."

223.6. Locative source (LS:Nom) occurs optionally in quotative (Cl-10), transitive (Cl-20), and intransitive (Cl-30) clause types only. It consists of a locative source slot filled by a nominal denoting location and is obligatorily marked with nominal enclitic -bi "source" (Section 313.1). It indicates the point of origin of the action.

[LS] [P-35]
wɨ́ʔébi sáhíʔi. "He went from the house."

[LS] [P-35]
ziáyabi ʔetábi. "He came out of the river."

[O] [LS] [P-25] [Ins]
gatáde gohébi ʔetóbi pálabi.

"He took the rock out of the hole with a shovel."

[Ins] [LS] [P-35]
yógubi kokáyabi mąąbi.

"He drifted from Coca Creek by canoe."

223.7. Manner (M:Nom/adv/Cl-03/mod) occurs optionally in all clause types except the descriptive (Cl-60) and the equative (Cl-70). Its usual position is immediately preceding the predicate, unless the intensifier tagmeme occurs. It consists of a manner slot filled by a Nominal (Section 310),

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adverb (Section 445), an adverbial clause (Section 231.3), or a modifier (Section 444). When the Nominal construction occurs in the manner slot it has as the filler of its function slot a construction consisting of optional enclitic 51 -dębá, optional enclitic 64 -de or 65 -da, and obligatory enclitic 74 -du. More than one manner tagmeme may occur in the same clause without order preference.

[M] [P-25]
se'é 'ąįhɨ'į. "Eat some more (again)."

[O] [M] [P-25]
sęmęni besá waɨ'ɨ.

"I quickly killed the paca rodent."

[M] [P-35]
te'é wa'kɨ sáhi'í. "He went alone."

[M] [M] [P-35]
'ąyą'du besá gąniįhi. "He moves fast like a snake."

[M] [M] [P-25]
se'é gwįnąhę'į'du yo'ówɨ.

"I did it again the same way."

[M] [P-85][R]
gǫnǫde 'ųkú 'ɨáhi bágɨté.

"He is thirsty for beverage."

[M] [P-25]
kučíni saó bi'dábi.

"He set out sending the pig off."

[LS] [M] [P-35]
pikó de'ótobi gahé dáhi'í.

"He came down descending from the clouds."

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223.8. Time (T:Tem) occurs optionally in all clause types. It consists of a time slot filled by a temporal construction (Section 340). It may occur more than once in the same clause without order preference. When noun classifier suffix order 20 occurs, selection is restricted to temporal suffixes 22.2 -dį, 22.3 -tį, 22.4 -to (Section 424.1). Occurrence of function enclitics (Section 313) is restricted to optional enclitic 51 -debá, optional enclitic 61 -bi (time since), and optional enclitic order 70. Of the function words only tįká "until" may occur.

[T] [P-35]
yudé ʔųmúgúsé sáhíʔí. "He went today."

[T][P-35]
zíhéʔídį wįʔį. "I got up at dawn."

[T] [P-25]
zoé baʔí ʔųmúgúséyą yoʔówį.

"I did it in the days that were long ago."

[T] [P-35]
yudédaʔdį čaʔkábi. "He jumped right then (suddenly)."

[T] [T] [P-25]
ʔokódįbi ziáya koʔhéye tįká hįhówį.

"I waited during the rainy season, until the river overflowed."

[T] [P-35]
dǫmį zįgo wehéye baʔídį tįʔąhį.

"He will arrive when it is time for the girl to marry."

223.9. Vocative (Voc:n-p/n-k) occurs optionally in all clause types. It consists of a vocative slot filled by a proper noun (n-p), or a kinship noun (n-k) (Section 421.4), both of which

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are animate. It functions as a means of attracting the attention of the addressee. The vocative may occur only once within a sentence.

[P-35] [Voc]
saíyų mąmį́. "Let's go, Child."

mį́ʔį̨bi mąsíyį́ haʔyį́. "You know, Older Brother."

[Voc][P-35]
wágį́ daíhį̨ʔį̨. "Come, In-law."

[S] [P-35] [Voc]
zį̨ waʔkį́bi tį̨ʔą́bí ʔį̨ną́. "The child arrived, Dear."

[O] [P-25] [Voc]
sęsénį́ kʷękówį́ kobédi. "I let the peccary escape, Godfather."

230. Distribution clause types

Each of the composition clause types discussed above and illustrated along the vertical axis of Chart I, page 24 may be transformed into a variety of distribution clause types illustrated along the horizontal axis of the same chart. All the distribution type clauses are structurally distinct on the basis of their distribution within the grammatical hierarchy, correlated with variations in the verb inflection.

The independent declarative clause type (Cl-05) is viewed as the basic citation form. All other types are considered transformational variants. The other independent clause types are confirmation interrogative (Cl-06), and information interrogative (Cl-07). The dependent clause type encompasses four sub-types. The first type (Cl-01) is in

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subordinate relationship to another subordinate clause or to an independent clause within a sentence construction. The other three types occur as embedded in clause level or phrase level constructions. The adjectival clause (C1-02) occurs as a filler of the qualifier 2 slot (Q-2) of a noun phrase (Section 325). The adverbial clause (C1-03) occurs as a filler of the manner slot (Section 223.7). The nominal clause (C1-04) fills the nominal core slot of the nominal construction (Section 311), the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240), or the possessor slot of the noun phrase (Section 323).

231. Dependent clause types

231.1. Subordinate clause (C1-01)

The subordinate clause is a sentence level constituent which depends on the following clause for semantic continuity and on the main clause for such grammatical features as person, number, tense and aspect. The predicate slot is filled with any verb inflected with the definite theme (Section 412.1) plus the dependent inflection (Section 411.1). The degree of relationship between one clause and another due to the arrangement of the dependent inflection is discussed in Section 512. Basic differences in arrangement of the dependent inflection are time oriented (suffix orders 500 and 510) and condition oriented (suffix order 520).

[G] [P-31] [O] [P-25][S]
ziáyaną gahéną wa'íde mąǫ́wį yį́'į́.

"I went down to the river and caught fish."

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[O] [P-21] [S] [P-31][P-31][P-25]
wa?íde mąúgɨną yɨ?ɨ́ wágɨbi męągɨ́ héną salúdabi.

"While I was fishing, my in-law, as he was drifting downriver, pulled into (the bank) and greeted (me)."

[P-21] [S][P-31][P-21] [S] [O]
salúdágɨną yɨkɨ́ną́bi mɨ́ną ?ɨyąto yɨ?ɨ́ zɨ́bi ?ɨyéde

[P-25]
?ųkʷégɨ́ báhí?í. "He greeted me, we went up the bank, and when we looked, there was my child eating tree grapes."

231.2. Adjectival clause (C1-02)

The adjectival clause qualifies the head of the noun phrase as filler of the qualifier 2 slot (Section 325). It is characterized by the occurrence in the predicate slot of the definite verb theme construction (Section 412.1) without further inflection, or of the descriptive verb stem (Section 413).

[Q-2]
sęsé saísi mą?ą́ną tuí bi?dáwɨ́.

"I set out following the trail the peccary had gone on."

[Q-2]
bágɨ́ ?ɨsísi kudá wa?kóde kʷa?kúnɨ ?ąɨ́?ɨ́.

"I cooked the hen he had given me, and I ate her."

[Q-2]
awɨ́ǫ́ gahéhái yiháde de?wáhɨ́?ɨ́.

"Fix up the ground the airplane is to land on."

[Q-2]
yahé ?ųkú wɨ?éde ba?íhi.

"He is in the house where banisterium is taken."

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[Q-2]
ką zoá tątóde mɨąhɨ?ɨ. "Bring up the wash board."

[Q-2]
yo?ó yo?ómą?ɨ bąɨnɨ do?ímą?iyɨ.

"We don't pay the people who don't work."

[Q-2]
toá mą mąhą?ɨ dąyąté ?ɨhąɨhɨ?ɨ.

"Go get the red feathers of the macaw."

231.3. Adverbial clause type (Cl-03)

The adverbial clause occurs as a filler of the manner slot of a clause (Section 223.7). It is characterized by the occurrence in the predicate slot of the uninflected verb stem. The adverbial clause often shares nonpredication tagmemes with the clause in which it is embedded.

[G] [M] [P-35]
sɨdíbɨnąmąą daɨ?ɨ. "I came drifting downriver."

[M]
?aí hɨhá wɨ?wɨ sáhí?í.

"He went running very hard."

[M]
ya?díbayąde tɨó bi?dáwɨ.

"We set out putting palm sheets on (the floor)."

[M]
zɨ wa?nąni čó gʷeségo. "She made the children laugh."

231.4. Nominal clause (Cl-04)

The nominal clause type fills the nucleus of the nominal construction (Section 311). It is characterized by occurrence in its predicate slot, of the definite or descriptive verb theme (Section 412) plus any of the noun derivational

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suffixes of order 20 (Section 420. Chart VIII, page 95) or any of the specifier nouns which occur in the Specifier Phrase (Section 330).

[Q]
mį̨ʔį̨ weháséʔéde doʔtáwį̨.

"I thought about your having gotten married."

[S]
pų̨ʔkási waʔíde ʔą̨íyę̨bi ʔaí guʔáhi.

"It is very bad to eat rotten meat."

[S]
yahé ʔų̨kúkóʔábi ʔaí yoʔóyį̨.

"The banisterium drinkers suffer much."

(O)
[O]
nąʔítį̨ hų̨ʔíṣiʔkíde tą́yę̨ báyį̨.

"They must bury the one who died yesterday."

[O]
goį̨ ziádǫ́ǫ́ gį̨nąsidǫ́ǫ́de duʔtédeyą́.

"The removed the turtle egg nests, the ones that had been laid."

[G]
waʔtí hoʔkásidúnę̨ goį̨ʔį̨.

"I returned to the place where I had left the machete."

[S]
hą̨ʔą́dį̨déʔbá tę̨ʔtósiʔkúbi yuátą wawáhi.

"The very first canoe that was hewn is still floating."

The temporal clause type is structurally the same as the nominal, but it is formed only by suffixation of the temporal classifier 22.2 -dį̨ (Section 424.1) to the definite verb theme (Section 412.1). The temporal clause occurs in

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the temporal core slot of the temporal construction (Section 341), and the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240).

232. Independent clause types

There are three basic types of independent clauses: declarative (C1-05), confirmation interrogative (C1-06), and information interrogative (C1-07). There is very little structural difference between the declarative and the confirmation interrogative types, but their distributional differences in higher level constructions justify the distinction (Section 511). All of the independent clause types fill the nuclear slot of a sentence.

232.1. The declarative clause constructions (C1-05) fill the declarative base slot of the declarative sentence (Section 511.1), and is the basic form from which other distribution clause types are derived. Its predicate slot is filled by any of several types of verb construction, which are the definite involvement, imperative, subjunctive, detachment, indefinite involvement, and distant. These categories do not condition different clause types or sentence types, but they are significant on the discourse level (Section 630).

232.1.1. Definite involvement indicates that the speaker or narrator has a personal interest in the circumstances. Its verb construction consists of the definite verb theme

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(Section 412.1) plus verb inflection order 330 or 340 (Section 411).

[S] [P-23]
bákó'ábi mąsíyɨ. "They know."

[G] [P-33]
yó sa'ádo tɨká tį'ąbi.

"He arrived as far as the canoe port."

[M] [P-23]
'aí de'óye k^{W}a'kúgo. "She cooks well."

[A] [P-33]
yɨ'ɨ ha'yɨ nąkóni saɨ'ɨ.

"They went with my older brother."

232.1.2. The imperative has forms reflecting person as well as some distinctions in gender and number. The most common construction consists of the definite verb theme plus the verb inflection order 330. The first person imperatives are further modified by occurrence of verb suffix orders 630 and 730.

[O] [P-23]
'okó tį'ɨde 'ɨhąɨmę. "Go get the half-gourd."

[O] [P-21][P-33]
wa'í mąɣhɨ saíyų. "Let's go fishing."

[O] [P-23]
ké sųkíyɨté k^{W}émą'ɨhɨ'ɨ. "Don't fell that tree."

[O] [G][P-21][P-23]
bá 'ąɣda'kádɨąde wɨ'éną sáni tązanįyɨ.

"I'm set on taking those seeds home and planting them."

A polite form of the imperative is the same as that of the detachment construction, which consists of the definite verb theme plus verb inflection order 360 plus mood suffix

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662 -yą. In this context it refers to the second person.

[O] [P-25]
yó túbɨté huágɨyą. "You push with the canoe pole."

[O] [P-25]
toáde zɨ́ǫ́goyą. "Light the fire." (feminine addressee)

[O] [P-25]
ʔąǫ́de ʔąíyęyą. "Eat the food." (plural addressee)

232.1.3. The subjunctive reflects an element of uncertainty. Its construction is composed of the indefinite verb theme plus the verb inflection order 560 or 570.

[P-35]
saímą́ʔígɨ. "Maybe he is going."

[P-25]
hɨhómąmą́ʔíyę. "Maybe they won't wait."

[O] [P-25]
hąʔsóde duʔtémą́ʔígo.

"Maybe she is pulling up manioc."

232.1.4. The detachment category applies only to the third person. Its construction consists of the definite verb theme plus verb inflection orders 560 or 570 plus the mood suffix 662 -yą. It indicates that the speaker or narrator considers himself apart from or not involved in the circumstances. The speakers attitude is reflected as faintly derogatory, hence this form is used commonly during gossip sessions, which are frequent among the Siona.

[S] [P-25]
kuyá mąmągɨbi čógɨyą.

"The foreigner's baby is laughing."

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[G] [P-31] [P-21] [S] [PR] [P-75]
wį?éną tį?ąnį ?įyąto, yį?į dįhǫbi saisi?kó bákóyą.

"I arrived home, and when I looked, my wife was gone."

[R] [P-55]
hąǫdįté wégįyą. "He reclines in his hammock." (Quote from a myth.)

[G] [P-35]
ziáyaną dǫ́téyą. "They sank into the river."

232.1.5. The indefinite involvement category applies only to the immediate past tense. Its construction consists of the indefinite verb theme with the occurrence of at least one form for the negative plus the verb inflection order 570. It indicates that the speaker or narrator concerns himself with the circumstances but is not aware of the time of their occurrence.

[G] [P-31][P-35]
yóguną kąíhį daímąté. "We came as we slept in the canoe."

[G] [O] [P-25]
yį?įde dasǫ daómąkó. "She sent me word."

[S] [O] [P-21] [P-35]
yį?į zíbi goí bǫnągį saímąkí. "My son went to turn turtles over."

232.1.6. The distant category has as its verb construction the distant verb theme (Section 412.3) plus the distant verb inflection. The construction may reflect detachment with verb inflection order 560 plus mood suffix 662 -yą occurring, or it may reflect definite involvement with verb inflection order 580 occurring. The occurrence of the distant category

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indicates that the speaker or narrator considers the events no longer pertinent to present circumstances, but are rather "water under the bridge."

[O] [P-25] [S]
wɨ?éde nɨkǫ?wɨ yɨkɨ́nǫ. "We built the house."

[R] [P-30] [M][P-31] [P-35]
?ɨmɨ́de ba?ígɨ dǫ́ bǫnɨ́nɨ saígɨ bǫ́?hɨ.

"As he was up in the air, he just turned and was going off."

[A] [P-35]
mǫ́ɨ nąkónɨ tɨ?ą́mą?kǫ́. "She didn't arrive with us."

232.2. The confirmation interrogative clause (C1-06) fills the confirmation interrogative base slot of the confirmation interrogative sentence (Section 511.2), and its occurrence expects a yes or no response from the addressee. The response is either ?ɨ́hɨ́?ɨ́ "confirmed," bą́hɨ "no" or a repitition of the key verb in some form of the declarative. Its construction consists of the indefinite verb theme plus the verb inflection order 560 or 570. It involves three degrees of certainty: positive, probable and negative. The positive form has no occurrence of the negation suffix. The probable form has one occurrence of the negation suffix. The negative form has two occurrences of the negation suffix.

[G] [P-36]
sųkínǫ mɨ́kɨ. "Did he go up a tree?"

[O] [P-26]
zióde tą́hą́ɨ́gɨ. "Are you going to plant a field?"

[G] [P-36]
?aíduną saímą́?ɨ́yę. "You're going to the woods, aren't you (plur.)?"

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[O] [P-26]
yógu tę?tóni tɨhímąmę́'íde. "Didn't they finish hewing the canoe?"

232.3. The information interrogative clause (Cl-07) fills the information interrogative base slot of the information interrogative sentence (Section 511.3). Its occurrence expects information other than yes or no from the addressee. It is characterized by the initial occurrence in the clause of an interrogative introducer tagmeme and the occurrence of mood suffix 661 -nę́ "doubt" in the verb construction. The interrogative introducer tagmeme consists of an introducer slot filled by an interrogative pronoun (Section 435).

Simultaneously this interrogative pronoun manifests another clause level tagmeme: subject, object, time, manner, instrument, referent, etc.; or the qualifier, numeral, or possessor tagmeme on the phrase level. The verb construction of the information interrogative consists of the definite verb theme plus verb inflection order 560 or 570 plus mood suffix 661 -nę́ "doubt."

[LS] [P-37]
hadóbi daígɨ?nę́. "Where do you come from?"

[G] [P-37]
hadóna saígɨ?nę́. "Where are you going?"

[R] [P-57]
hadóde yų?ígɨ?nę́. "Where is he seated?"

[S] [P-27]
hadókó?ábi tę?tóde?nę́. "Which ones hewed it?"

[S] [P-27]
nębi húkɨ?nę́. "Who shot it?"

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[G] [P-27]
nęnį ʔįsígį̨ʔné. "To whom are you giving it?"

[S] [P-27]
gé bąįbi tį̨ǫde?né. "What people wove it?"

[O] [P-27]
géhéʔí ziábį̨ąde gį̨nągoʔné. "How many eggs did she lay?"

[M] [P-27]
géhéʔíye doʔígį̨ʔné. "How much does it cost?"

[M] [P-27]
keáka dį̨ʔdígį̨ʔné. "How are you going to carry it?"

[S] [P-27]
géʔnęgį̨bi yoʔógį̨ʔné. "Who is it that made it?"

There are cases when the information interrogative has the formal characteristics of a subordinate and a main clause combined in a single sentence, however the lexical information points to a single underlying clause.[19]

géde yoʔóhį̨ mį̨ʔį́ sákóʔa nǫʔą́yęʔné. "What are you doing digging?" i.e., "Why are you digging?"

This example is a rhetorical question used as a rebuke. It is in contrast with the following form, which expects information.

géde mį̨ʔį́ sákóʔá nǫʔą́yęʔné. "Why are you digging?"

The following example, also rhetorical, implies a strong assertion, and may be viewed lexically as "With what motive would I drink banisterium?"

keáka nęgį̨ yahéde ʔųkúgį̨ʔné. "How am I to gain drinking banisterium?" or "I have absolutely nothing to gain by drinking banisterium."

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240. Perfective clause types

The perfective clause type is analyzed apart from the main body of clauses, since its internal composition does not consist primarily of a verb nucleus. It has structural features parallel to those of the main body, but its predication is formally distinct. The subordinate predication consists of a single form siá- "be the case" with inflection described below. The declarative and interrogative predication consists of suffixes to the final element of the perfective nucleus. These suffixes indicate person, number and mood, but not tense. The significance conveyed by the perfective clause construction is that of permanent state.

There are three perfective clause types: subordinate, declarative and interrogative. Each has differences in predication and differences in distribution within the sentence construction. The perfective nucleus (PN) tagmeme is the same for each type. It is analyzed as a perfective nucleus (PN) slot filled by a nominal (Nom) construction, adjective (adj), interjection (inj) or intensifier (int). The nominal construction (Section 310) in this case does not involve the occurrence of a function word nor of enclitic order 60 (Section 313).

241. Subordinate perfective clause

PCl-s = +PN +PP-s

The subordinate perfective clause (PCl-s) consists of

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an obligatory perfective nucleus (PN) tagmeme and an obligatory subordinate perfective predicate (PP-s) tagmeme. It fills the subordinate base (B-sub) slot of a sentence (Section 511).

The subordinate perfective predicate (PP-s) tagmeme consists of a subordinate perfective predicate slot filled by a subordinate perfective verb (PP-s:pv-s). This class of verb has only one member sɨá- "be the case." It is inflected with the verb suffix orders 520 and 620, but most frequently with the suffix -nį, which in this case does not have its usual meaning of same or different subject for the following clause.

[PN][PP-s][0] [P-25]
yaí sɨáni wa?íde ?ąíhį. "Because he is a dog, he eats meat."

[PN] [PP-s][0] [P-25]
ha?tá sɨáni čiáye podémąį?į. "Because there were a lot, we couldn't gather them up."

[PN] [PP-s][0] [P-25] [S]
saísi?ką sɨáni bágɨté ?ąyámąį?ɨ yɨ?ɨ. "Because he was gone, I didn't see him."

[PN] [PP-s] [0] [P-25]
ha?sí nęyę sɨátotą?ą ?ɨkó ?ųkúmąhį?į. "He might certainly have had pain, but he didn't drink the medicine."

[PN] [PP-s][P-35] [S]
gątɨya bąį sɨáni bohóhį baɨ?ɨ yɨkíną. "Because they were Cane River people, we were happy."

242. Declarative perfective clause

PCl-d = +PN +PP-d

The declarative perfective clause (PCl-d) consists of

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an obligatory perfective nucleus (PN) tagmeme and an obligatory declarative perfective predication (PP-d). It fills the independent base slot of the declarative sentence.

The declarative perfective predicate tagmeme is analyzed as a declarative perfective predicate slot filled by definite perfective, detachment, or subjunctive inflection (PP-d:per/det/subj). Each type of inflection is structurally different, but there are no differences in distribution. (Chart VII, page 94).

242.1. The definite perfective inflection (per) consists of verb suffix order 590.

[PN][PP-d]
kudá ziá?į́. "It is a chicken egg."

[PN][PP-d]
hų?į́si?kį́?pí. "He is dead."

[PN][PP-d]
ha?ǒyanǫ saísi?kó?á?į́. "They are gone to Leaf River."

[PN][PP-d]
yaí?pí. "It is a tiger."

[PN][PP-d]
Mąría?kó. "It is María."

[PN][PP-d]
bágį́?pí. "It is he."

[PN][PP-d]
?aí?į́. "It is much."

[PN][PP-d]
yuá?į́. "Now is the time."

242.2. The detachment inflection consists of the obligatory verb suffix order 560 plus obligatory detachment suffix 662 -yǫ́ (Sections 232.1.4 and 411.5.5).

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[PN][PP-d]
bá sąwį̨bi wehá́ha?kó?áyeyą́. "Those ones intend to be married."

[PN][PP-d]
bákó?á zį́ yuá dǫmį́ zį́go?kóyą́. "Their child, now, is a little girl."

[PN][PP-d]
ho?yá yaí wa?kí?kíyą́. "It is a male dog."

242.3. The subjunctive inflection consists of the obligatory negation suffix 301 -mą́?į́, plus the obligatory verb suffix order 560 (Sections 232.1.3 and 411.5.3).

[PN][PP-d]
betó sụkímą́?į́gi̱. "Maybe it is a coconut palm tree."

[PN][PP-d]
duídunǫ́ duísi?pímá́?į́gi̱. "Maybe it is sunken to the bottom."

[PN][PP-d]
ti̱?yá daísi?kómą́?į́go. "Maybe she is the one who has given birth."

243. Interrogative perfective clause

PCl-ig = +PN +PP-ig

The interrogative perfective clause (PCl-ig) consists of an obligatory perfective nucleus (PN) tagmeme and an obligatory interrogative perfective predicate. It fills the independent base of the confirmation interrogative sentence (Section 511.2). The response expected is of the yes or no type. Information interrogative is not a category of the perfective type clauses.

The interrogative perfective predicate tagmeme consists

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of an interrogative perfective predicate slot filled by interrogative inflection (PP-ig:ig). The interrogative inflection (ig) consists of optional negation suffix 301 -mą́ʔį́, obligatory verb suffix order 590, and obligatory verb suffix 661 -né "doubt" (Section 411).

[PN][PP-ig]
zoé sęhǫ́séʔémąʔíǫiʔné. "Isn't it long discarded?"

[PN][PP-ig]
gąʔhé bąíǫiǫiʔné. "Is he a Cofan person?"

[PN][PP-ig]
géʔnęǫiǫiʔné. "What (person) is he?"

[PN][PP-ig]
diyǫ́daʔkúdímąʔíǫiʔné. "Won't it be a small one?"

[PN][PP-ig]
ócho waʔnąmąʔíkóʔáʔné.

"Aren't there eight of them?"

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300. Phrase structure

A phrase construction normally fills a clause level slot, although some types fill other slots on the phrase level (Sections 323 and 330). In order to present the syntactic relationships in most clause level constituent tagmemes (e.g., subject, object, goal, instrument, accompaniment, referent), a sub-level designated nominal is posited. The noun phrase, which is one of the fillers of the nominal core slot of the nominal construction is presented in Section 320. The noun specifier phrase, which fills the head slot of a noun phrase, and the nominal specifier phrase, which fills the nominal core slot, are described in Section 330. The temporal, which is a structural variant of the nominal, is different with respect to distribution. Its analysis is presented in Section 340. The temporal phrase (Section 330) is one of the fillers of the temporal core slot of the temporal construction. The verb phrase (Section 360) shows the relationship of auxiliaries to the main verb.

310. Nominal

Nom = +NC ±Q-1 ±F

The nominal construction (Nom) consists of an obligatory nominal core (NC) tagmeme, an optional qualifier (Q-1) tagmeme, and an optional function (F) tagmeme, according to the order shown in the formula. It fills several of the non-predicate tagmemes on the clause level (Sections 222, 223, and 240).

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311. Nominal core (NC:NP/Sp-nom/pr/num/n-p/Cl-04)

The nominal core tagmeme consists of a nominal core slot filled by a noun phrase (NP), nominal specifier phrase (Sp-nom), pronoun (pr), numeral (num), proper noun (n-p), or nominal clause (Cl-04).

[O:Nom] [P-25]
yɨ?ɨ haí pą?pá wɨ?éde yo?óni tɨhíwɨ.

"I finished making my big canambo leaf house."

[S:Nom] [O:Nom][P-25]
?aíduną saísi?kɨ se?égabi wa?íde húhi?í.

"Only the one who went to the woods shot any game."

[S:Nom] [M] [P-35]
hą?ąkó?ábi besá dátéyą. "Those ones came quickly."

[O:Nom][M][P-25]
bę?hę́ k^{w}é bi?dábi. "He began to fell the thicket."

The nominal core tagmeme may be complex, in that repetitions of it may occur in the same nominal construction. Such repetitions of the nominal core may occur in two different contexts: (1) in apposition to one another, or (2) in a sequence. These two contexts are structurally distinct one from another.

311.1. Apposition

Apposition is usually indicated by different types of constructions in a series (NP, Cl-04, Sp-nom).

[NP] [Cl-04]
yɨ?ɨ yo?hégɨ Juan we?égɨbi

my younger-brother, John named-one

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[NP] [NP]
ho?čá dé?kó sąmúté mį́ǫyǫ́ą́ ba?íye de?kóde ?ųkúbi.

"He drank fermented liquid, three fingers of it."

311.2. Sequence

Sequential listings consist of a series of the same kind ofconstruction, concluded by a nominal specifier phrase referring to all the participants in the list. Rising intonation accompanies the end of each item in the sequence.

nąsó, tį́tí, huhé, sį́sį́kó, hą?ą́ wa?nąde huígį́ bą́?wį́.

"I used to shoot the wooly monkey, the trumpeter bird, the turkey, the squirrel."

312. Qualifier 1 (Q-1:q)

The qualifier 1 tagmeme consists of a qualifier 1 slot filled by a qualifier, which is a word class limited to se?éga "only."

bágį́ se?éga mąsíhi. "Only he knows."

haí toáwį́ se?égáde dábi.

"He brought only the big shotgun."

313. Function (F:en/f)

The function tagmeme consists of a function (F) slot filled by a function enclitic complex (en, Section 313.1) or a function word (f, Section 313.2). It indicates the grammatical role of the nominal in the clause construction, the degree of focus of attention on the participant involved (Section 620), and certain conditional qualifications.

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Restrictions on selection of individual enclitics of these orders are determined by the clause level slot which the nominal fills (Sections 222 and 223).

313.1. The function enclitic complex (en) consists of three orders of enclitics (Chart II, page 75). Each order of enclitics is optional in occurrence. Any one or all three orders may occur, except that order 70 may not occur following enclitics 61, 62, and 63.

[Ins]
bą́ kokádébábi g^{W}ą́ségi kábi.

"He spoke commanding with the precise words of the people."

[G]
ké ti?wí se?éganą sai?i.

"I went only to the opposite riverbank."

[O]
ya?ó wa?í mą?kádi?ga ?isíwi.

"I gave him a piece of peccary meat, too."

?ikódébádetą́?ą́ ?ųkúginą, toyábi ?iyǫ́mąhí?í.

"Although he drank the genuine drug, the vision did not appear."

[M]
wekóda?dú ká bi?dábi.

"He began to speak like a parrot."

[M]
gą?hé bą́ tiǫ́yę?dú tiǫ́bi.

"He wove it like the Cofán people do."

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Chart II

Function Enclitic Orders

50	60	70
51 -débá "exactly in the center, precisely"	61 -bi "source"	71 -ga "even, also"
	62 -nį "motion toward - animate"	72 -tą́ʔą́ "indeed, although"
	63 -nąˀ "motion toward - inanimate"	73 -ká "especially
	64 -de ~ -téˀ "referent"	74 -dú "like, as"
	65 -da "more or less"	75 -dį́ "conciseness"

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313.2. Function word (f)

Function word occurs as a filler of the function slot (F) of the nominal construction. It consists of tɨká "until, toward" and nakóni "with."

[G]
Pedro wɨ?é se?éga tɨká saíyɨ.

"I'm going only toward Pedro's house."

[A]
wa?í mąǫsi?ká nąkóni koká káwɨ.

"I conversed with the one who had caught the fish."

[T]
bágɨ tį?ą́yę tɨká hɨhóyų.

"Let's wait until he arrives."

320. Noun phrase (NP)

Noun phrase consists of an obligatory head (NH) plus optional modifier, formulized as:

NP= ±Mod ±D ±Po ±Num ±Q2 ±Q3 +NH

The order indicated is obligatory. Each component tagmeme is described as follows.

321. Modifier (Mod:mod)

The modifier tagmeme consists of a modifier (Mod) slot filled by a modifier (mod), which is a class of words (Section 444) which may also occur in the manner slot of a clause (Section 223.7), and which is limited to gadé "completely" and dó "just that and nothing more, just plain, in vain."

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[Mod]
gadé bą́ wa?ńą́ sɨ́ánį bohóhį́ baɨ́?ɨ́.

"Since they were altogether people (not foreigners), they were happy."

[Mod]
dó yɨ?ɨ́ zį́ wa?kóbi yǫ́kó?ɨ́.

"It was just my daughter sitting there."

[Mod]
dó weáda?kádɨ́ą́de tą́bi.

"He planted just corn seeds (and nothing else)."

322. Demonstrative (D:dem)

Demonstrative tagmeme consists of a demonstrative (D) slot filled by a demonstrative (dem). This tagmeme has the function of specifying and making definite what the head noun refers to. There is no occurrence of generality (Section 420) as a category in the head noun construction when the demonstrative tagmeme occurs. Demonstrative (dem) is a class of words consisting of bá "that (nearby, in reach)," há?á "that (nearby, out of reach)," ké "that (distant," ?ɨ́ "this."

[D]
bá yɨ?ɨ́ yógubi gohé báhi.

"That canoe of mine has a hole."

[D]
bá dǫmɨ́kó?ábi hą?sóde kʷidáyɨ.

"Those women take care of the manioc."

[D]
?ɨ́ betóda?pídɨ́ą́bi pų?káhi.

"These little coconuts are rotting."

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[D]
ké tɨ?wínɑ̨ hɛ̨?ɛ́hɛ́?ɨ́. "Cross over to the opposite bank."

[D]
hɑ̨?ɑ́ bɑ̨ɨ́kó?ábi gʷesó wa?íde ?ɑ̨ɨ́yɛ̨yɑ́.

"Those people eat capybara meat."

[D]
hɑ̨?ɑ́ witóyoté ?ɨ́hɑ́ɨ́mɛ̨. "Go get that fishing pole."

323. Possessor (Po:NP/Sp-nom/n-p/pr/Cl-04)

The possessor tagmeme consists of a possessor (Po) slot filled by noun phrase (NP), nominal specifier phrase (Sp-nom), proper noun (n-p), pronoun (pr), or nominal clause (Cl-04). The constructions filling the possessor slot are the same as those filling the nominal core slot of the nominal construction (Section 311). There are internal differences, in that the participant in this function is always animate. It may be expanded to include appositions (Section 311.1) and sequence (Section 311.2). The implication is that there is no limit to the recursiveness of this structure, but in actual usage the possessor tagmeme is rarely embedded within itself more than once. This tagmeme is identifiable primarily by context, but also by its position in the noun phrase.

[Po]
yɨ?ɨ́ mɑ̨?yóbi kɑ́de tɑ̨?nɛ́go. "My older sister is sewing cloth."

[Po]
yɨ?ɨ́ wágɨ́ wɨ?énɑ̨ tɨ?ɑ́wɨ́. "I arrived at my in-law's house."

[Po]
yekɨ́ bɑ̨ɨ́ hɨ́hágɨ́ kɨ?dónɑ̨ sádeyɑ́.

"They took it to the other people's chief's place."

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[Po]
Pédro, Juán, báko?a wɨ?éną saɨ?ɨ.

"We went to the house of Peter and John."

[Po]
zoá wa?kɨ. Rósa ?ɨhɨ, hą?ą wa?kɨ yó túbɨ?ɨ.

"It is the tall fellow, Rosa's husband's canoe pole."

324. Number (Num:num)

The number tagmeme consists of a number (Num) slot filled by a numeral (num), which is a class of words including si?á "all," ?oyé "many," and ha?tá "many," as well as the cardinal numerals with Spanish borrowings from four on up (Section 442). Numerals may be inflected the same as nouns and stand in agreement with the gender classification and number of the head noun of the noun phrase to indicate focus of attention on quantity.

[Num]
te?é yó wa?tí se?égáde báyɨ. "I have only one canoe paddle."

[Num]
sąmúwɨ́ą gąsɨwɨ́ąde ?ųkʷéhɨ?ɨ. "Eat two pods of the medicinal plant."

[Num]
bá yɨ?ɨ sąmúté mąmą́kó?áni kuʔéyɨ. "I am looking for those three children of mine."

si?á bąí wa?nąbi yɨ?ká daɨ?ɨ. "All the people gathered together."

[Num]
diés ?ęmú wa?náni hútéyą. "They shot ten howler monkeys."

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The numeral functions in the same manner as a pronoun when it fills the nominal core slot (Section 311), the head slot of the nominal specifier phrase (Section 332), and the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240). It does not fill the possessor slot of the noun phrase as does the pronoun.

[Nom]
kʷátrobɨąąde čiáwɨ. "We gathered up four of them."

[PN]
sąmúté kó?á?ɨ. "They are three."

[Nom]
sąmú mą?kádɨąąde ?ɨsímę yɨ?ɨde. "Give me two of the items."

325. Qualifier 2 (Q-2:adj/Cl-02)

The qualifier 2 tagmeme consists of a qualifier 2 (Q-2) slot filled by an adjective (adj) or an adjectival clause (Cl-02). Either construction may bear further suffixation in agreement with the gender-number classification of the head noun of the noun phrase, to indicate focus of attention on quality. The qualifier 2 tagmeme may occur more than once in sequence in a noun phrase construction. In that case an adjective precedes an adjectival clause.

[Q-2]
haí pó wa?íni mąúbi. "He caught a big channel catfish."

[Q-2]
haígu mɨsé yóguté tę?tóhahí?í. "He set out to hew a big achapo wood canoe."

[Q-2]
yudé yąmí kąísi wɨ?éde ba?íhi.
"He is in the house he slept in last night."

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[Q-2]
sɨ̨ʔyǫ́hę́ʔɨ́ yąkóde báhi yaí waʔkɨ́.

"The jaguar creature has yellow eyes."

The noun zɨ́ "offspring, shoot of a plant or tree" may function as an adjective meaning "small" and fill the qualifier 2 slot of the noun phrase. However, it does not occur with classifier suffix order 20 unless special semantic connotations are involved (Section 222.4).

326. Qualifier 3 (Q-3:n)

Qualifier 3 tagmeme consists of a qualifier 3 (Q-3) slot filled by a noun (n). Its function is to specify the kind of object the head noun is.

[Q-3]
wɨ́ʔé wąsóde kʷéháɨ́ʔɨ́.

"I set out to cut down poles for the house."

[Q-3]
ʔutí haʔónąˀ toyáwɨ́. "I wrote it on wasp leaf (paper)."

[Q-3]
toá nąsóde ʔɨ́yǫ́wɨ́. "I saw a caimo-fruit colored wooly monkey." (a sub-species)

[Q-3]
kudá ziáde čiágo. "She is gathering the chicken eggs."

[Q-3]
haʔó pɨ́bɨ́bi deʔóye kʷę́nę́hɨ́.

"The stack of leaves is drying well."

[Q-3]
weá ʔąǫ́de sɨ́ógo. "She is toasting corn cassava."

327. Noun head (NH:n/Sp-n)

The noun head tagmeme consists of a head slot filled

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by a noun (n), or a noun specifier phrase (Sp-n). It is the nuclear element of the noun phrase construction.

[NH]
sąmų́tébayą́ yaí gụhį́bayą́de kóbi.

"He received three jaguar tooth necklaces."

[NH]
sęsé húbɨ́nę́ tuɨ́ʔɨ́. "I tracked a peccary herd."

[NH]
wɨ́nį́ goʔgónį́ dɨ́óbi. "He barked at the agouti and jumped him into the river."

[NH]
tɨ́kábɨ́bi waɨ́ʔɨ́. "They killed it with a stick."

[NH]
hɨ́ʔénę́ ʔayábi. "He put it inside the basket."

[NH]
toáde zɨ́ǫ́wɨ́. "I lit the fire."

[NH]
sụkí kábɨ́bi tǫ́hį́ʔį́. "The tree limb fell."

330. Specifier phrases

Nouns, pronouns, numerals, adjectives, and nominal clauses which bear the noun classifier suffix order 20 as a specifier (Chart VIII, page 95) have variant forms depending on other semantic implications. Instead of the class 20 suffix order, a class of specifier nouns (Section 425) occurs in modifier relationship to the head element. Certain subclasses of nouns and pronouns do not occur with the suffix order 20. These are specified or pluralized only by modification by a specifier noun (Sections 421 and 422).

This construction is of two subtypes: noun specifier

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phrase and nominal specifier phrase, which differ mainly with regard to distribution.

331. Noun specifier phrase

Sp-n = +SpH-n +Sp

The noun specifier phrase (Sp-n) consists of an obligatory noun specifier head (SpH-n) tagmeme and obligatory specifier (Sp) tagmeme. It occurs as a filler of the head (NH) slot of the noun phrase (NP).

The noun specifier head tagmeme consists of a noun specifier head (SpH-n) slot filled by a noun (n) without the noun classifier suffix order 20. The specifier tagmeme consists of a specifier (Sp) slot filled by a specifier noun (n-sp).

[Sp-n]
ho?yá yaí wa?nąbi wekánį go?góną diówį.

"The dogs barked after the tapir and made him submerge."

[Sp-n]
bǫsé mą?kádiąde yóguną ?ayámę.

"Put the merchandise items inside the canoe."

[Sp-n]
bá yį?į yo?hé sąwįbi yuá gų?hídaną sátéyą. "Those younger brothers of mine now have gone to Guaraja-Fish Lagoon."

332. Nominal specifier phrase

Sp-nom = +SpH-nom +Sp

The nominal specifier phrase (Sp-nom) consists of an obligatory nominal specifier head (SpH-nom) tagmeme and an

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obligatory specifier (Sp) tagmeme. It fills the nominal core (NC) slot of the nominal construction (Section 311), the perfective nucleus (PN) slot of the perfective clause (Section 231), and the possessor (Po) slot of the noun phrase (Section 323).

The nominal specifier head tagmeme consists of a nominal specifier head (SpH-nom) slot filled by a pronoun (pr), numeral (num), adjective (adj), proper noun (n-p), demonstrative (dem), or a nominal clause (Cl-04). All of these filler classes occur without the noun specifier suffix order 20. The specifier tagmeme consists of a specifier (Sp) slot filled by a specifier noun (n-sp). The specifier may be singular or plural.

[Sp-nom]
bá wa?nąbi mąsíyi. "They know."

[Sp-nom]
ké wa?nąni tuíyų. "Let's follow after those yonder."

[Sp-nom]
susíbi suási wa?kíbi ?aí ?óhí?í.

"He who had been brushed with a nettle was crying hard."

[Po]
sodí sąwį yógu?í.

"It is the canoe of Sodi and her people."

[PN]
?óčo wa?nąmą?íkó?á?ną. "Aren't there eight of them?"

[PN]
haí wa?kó síáni bá yóguną kakáye podémą?ígo.

"Because she is a big person, she can't get into that canoe."

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340. Temporal

Tem = +TC ±Q-1 ±F

The temporal construction (Tem) consists of an obligatory temporal core (TC) tagmeme, an optional qualifier 1 (Q-1) tagmeme, and an optional function (F) tagmeme, according to the order shown in the formula. It is parallel in composition to the nominal construction (Section 310), but it differs with respect to distribution and to the filler classes that occur in the temporal core slot. The qualifier 1 and function tagmemes do not differ, except for selection restrictions on the fillers of the function slot. These tagmemes are discussed in Sections 312 and 313 respectively. The temporal construction occurs only as a filler of the clause level time slot (Section 223.8).

341. Temporal core (TC:TP/t-pr/Cl-tem)

The temporal core tagmeme consists of a temporal core slot filled by a temporal phrase (TP), a temporal pronoun (t-pr), or a temporal clause (Cl-tem). All of the temporal constructions are of the same composition pattern as their nominal counterparts. The difference has to do with restrictions on the occurrence of modifiers and classifier suffixes. Temporal phrase is described below (Section 350). Temporal pronoun (t-pr) and temporal clause (Cl-tem) are described in Sections 434 and 231.4.

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350. Temporal phrase

TP = ±Mod ±TD ±Num±TQ +TH

Temporal phrase (TP) consists of optional tagmemes: modifier (Mod), temporal demonstrative (TD), numeral (Num), temporal qualifier (TQ), and obligatory temporal head (TH) tagmemes. A possessor tagmeme does not occur. Modifier and numeral tagmemes are the same as those occurring in the noun phrase (Sections 321 and 324). The temporal phrase fills the temporal core (TC) slot of the temporal construction (Tem), and the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240).

351. Temporal demonstrative (TD:t-dem/dem)

The temporal demonstrative tagmeme consists of a temporal demonstrative (TD) slot filled by a temporal demonstrative (t-dem) or a nominal demonstrative (dem). The temporal demonstrative class is limited in membership to yudé "now."

yudé ʔɥmɣgusé "this day"

yudé nąʔɣto "this afternoon"

yudé tɨkáwɨ "this year"

Of the nominal demonstratives which may modify a temporal noun, ké "that yonder" occurs with mɣąto "future day (tomorrow)" and nąʔɣtɨ "past day (yesterday)" to mean "day after tomorrow" and "day before yesterday."

352. Temporal qualifier (TQ:adj/Cl-02/n)

The temporal qualifier tagmeme consists of a temporal

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qualifier (TQ) slot filled by adjective (adj), adjectival clause (C1-02), or a noun (n). The parallel for the noun phrase construction is two qualifier tagmemes instead of one (Sections 325 and 326). No occurrence of two qualifiers to a temporal noun has been found in the data.

[TQ] [TH]
ʔokó tɨkáwɨ "rainy season"

[TD] [TQ] [TH]
yudé tutú ʔųmųgúsé "this windy day (today)"

[TD][TQ] [TH]
bá zoé baʔisi yąmį "that long ago night"

[TQ] [TH]
hobó yąmį "mid-night"

353. Temporal head (TH:t-n)

The temporal head tagmeme consists of a temporal head (TH) slot filled by a temporal noun (n-t). The temporal noun class is limited to about a dozen members, e.g.

nąʔįto "afternoon"

yąmį "night"

zíhéʔídɨ "dawn"

360. Verb phrase

The construction most commonly filling the predicate slot of a clause is a single verb (Section 221), but any of these may be expanded to include an auxiliary. In this case the composition clause type (Section 210) involved is correlated with the main verb of the verb phrase. The main verb theme is inflected with dependent suffixes 501, 502, or 503 (Chart III, page 92) if the auxiliary is baʔí "be."

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and with dependent suffix 521 -nį "sequence" if the auxiliary is tɬhí "finish." The formula for the construction

V = +VH:v-01 +Aux:aux

reads: Verb phrase (V) consists of obligatory verb head (VH) slot filled by a subordinate verb (v-01) and obligatory auxiliary (Aux) slot filled by a verbal auxiliary (aux).

Of the two auxiliary verbs, ba'í "be" (which functions also as a stative verb 50 and an equative verb 70) indicates an aspect of continuation or progression as property of the main verb. The other auxiliary tɬhí "finish" (also functioning as a transitive verb 20) indicates termination of the main event.

These two constructions are the only cases of double verb sequences that can be explained as a main verb - auxiliary relationship. Others, such as huá gʷeséhi "he has it injected," saó bi'dáhi "he set out to send them off," gahé daíhi "he comes descending," have no restrictions as to what verb may occur as the second member of the sequence. The first member is treated as the predicate of an adverbial clause which fills the manner slot of the clause in which the second member functions as predicate (Sections 223.7 and 231.3). All the remaining two-verb sequences can be explained as predicates of separate clauses, since other clause level tagmemes complementing the second verb may occur between the two and interrupt the sequence.

Only one occurrence of another type of verb complex could be interpreted as a verb phrase, i.e. 'ąǫ́ gu'áhi "it is

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hungry (to me)." but the construction is considered a single lexical unit, classed as an impersonal verb (vs-80). Separate from this idiomatic usage the two words mean: ʔąǫ "food." and guʔá (vs-60) "be bad."

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400. Word structure

The division of grammatical words into classes is determined by their distribution in syntactic environments, that is, their function in the grammatical hierarchy. Most words are complex units and are further analyzed in terms of successively lower structural levels until the simplest forms (roots and affixes) are accounted for in the syntax. The analysis for each word class is presented in the following sections: 410 verb, 420 noun, 430 pronoun, 440 modifiers (441 adjective, 442 numeral, 443 qualifier, 444 modifier, 445 adverb), 450 demonstrative, 460 function word, 470 interjection, 480 intensifier, and 490 miscellaneous forms (491 conjunction, 492 exclamatory word, 493 onomatopoetic word, 494 special response utterances).

410. Verb

Subclasses of verbs are determined by their occurrence in the predicate slot of the various composition clause types (Section 210). Each verb stem is coded in the lexicon according to the clause type in which it is distributed (10 through 80), as per the categories indicated along the vertical axis of Chart I, page 24. See also Section 221 on predicate tagmemes. The arrangement of verb subclasses is discussed in Section 413 on verb stem composition.

Different verb construction types, analyzable in terms of inflection type (Section 411) and theme composition (Section 412), are determined by their occurrence in the

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predicate slot of the various distribution clause types (Section 230) and are coded (01 through 07) according to the categories indicated along the horizontal axis of Chart I, page 24.

411. Verb composition

The total verb structure involves a verb root and up to seven orders of suffixes. Charts III through VIII, pages 92-96 indicate the potential orders of these elements. Actual verb constructions involve specific arrangements of them.

Word level constructions are composed of a constituent unit designated theme, plus person-number or other type of inflection. Each type of construction is summarized by a formula indicating the distribution clause type it is associated with. Note that verbs 02, 04, 051 and 055 are of identical theme construction.

411.1. Subordinate verb construction

v-01 = +vnu-01:vt-def +v-inf-01:sub-1/sub-2

Subordinate verb (v-01) consists of an obligatory subordinate verb nucleus (vnu-01) tagmeme and an obligatory subordinate verb inflection (v-inf-01) tagmeme. The nucleus tagmeme involves the definite verb theme (Section 412.1). The inflection tagmeme consists of either subordinate inflection type one (sub-1) or type two (sub-2).

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Chart III - Definite Verb

Definite Verb Theme				Definite Verb Inflection	
Verb Stem	Verb Theme Inflection				
Vb Rt_1 + 100 voice	± 200 benefactive	± 300 negation	± 400 aspect	+ 500 Dependent	+/± 600
101 -í "middle" 102 -á "tran" 103 -6 "caus" 104 -ʔ "repet"	201 -káí "on behalf of"	301 -mą́ʔį́ "negative"	401 -háí "intention" 402 -si* "completive" 403 -déʔa "unrealized" 404 -dá "emphatic"	Time Related Simultaneous 501 -gi̱ "m.sg" 502 -go "f.sg" 503 -hi̱ "plur" Prior 511 -ki̱ ~ -gi̱ "m.sg" 512 -kó ~ -go "f.sg" 513 -té ~ -de "plur"	± 601 -ną "switch reference" + 601 -ną "switch reference"
Vb Rt_2				Condition related +520 ±620 521 -ną́ "sequential" 522 -to "when" 621 -ká "condition" 622 -tą́ʔą́ "concessive"	
				+ 530-550 Independent Definite Declarative Immediate - Present 531 -hi "3d per sg m." 532 -go "3d per sg f." 533 -yi̱ "non-3d per sg"	
				Immediate - Past 541 -bi ~ -híʔí "3d per sg m." 542 -go ~ -kóʔi̱ "3d per sg f." 543 -wi̱ ~ -ʔi̱ "non-3d per sg"	

*Completive suffix 402 -si is restricted to verb classes 02 and 04 (Section 412).

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Chart IV - Imperative Verb

Definite Verb Theme	Imperative Verb Inflection		
Verb Stem Theme Inflection	+ 550 Imperative	±(+ 650	± 750)
	551 -za "1st sg"	651 -nį "de-emph"	751 -yį "de-emph"
Same as for Chart III	552 -yų "1st pl"		
Definite	553 -mę "2nd sg, familiar"		
	554 -hį́ʔį́ "2nd sg and pl"		
	555.1 -háʔkɨ́ "3d sg masc"		
	555.2 -háʔkó "3d sg fem"		
	555.3 -háʔpɨ́ "3d plur"		
	556 -hą́ʔmą́ "frustrative"		
	557 -nę́ʔę́ "horatory - moral obligation"		
	558 -nę́ʔį́ "horatory - fear persuasion"		

Chart V - Indefinite Verb

Verb Stem	Indefinite Verb Theme Aspect			Indefinite Verb Inflection	
Same as for Chart III-Definite	± 200	± 300	± 400	+ 560-570 tense	± 660 mood
	benefactive 201 -káí "on behalf of	negation 301 -mą́ʔį "neg"	401 -háí "intention	560 present	661 -nę́ "doubt"
				561 -gɨ́ "2nd 3d sg m."	
				562 -go "2nd, 3d sg f."	662 -yę́ "detachment"
				563 -ye "non-2nd, 3d sg"	
				570 past	
				571 -kɨ́ ~ -gɨ́ "2nd, 3d sg m."	
				572 -kó ~ -go "2nd, 3d sg f."	
				573 -té ~ -de "non-2nd, 3d sg"	

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Chart VI - Distant Past Verb

Verb Stem	Distant Past Verb Theme			Distant Past Inflection	
Same as for Chart III- Definite	± 200 benefactive 201 -kái "on behalf of"	± 300 negative 301 -mą?į "negative"	+ 480 aspect 481 (V)? "distant"	+ 560 indefinite 561 -gɨ ~ -kɨ "2nd and 3d sg. masc." 562 -go ~ -ko "2nd and 3d sg. fem." 563 -ye "non-2nd and 3d sg."	+660 mood 662 -yą "detachment"
				+ 580 definite 581 -hi "3d sg masc." 582 -ko "3d sg fem." 583 -wɨ "non-3d sg"	

Chart VII - Perfective Predication

Perfective Nucleus	Perfective Predicate
Any word class or expansion thereof, except: 1) non-nominalized verb 2) qualifier 3) exclamatory word 4) onomatopoetic word 5) conjunction	Dependent siá- "be the case" plus either: 1) condition related inflection - Chart III 2) animate or abstract noun inflection Chart VIII
	Independent + 590 Definite 591 -bi "3rd person sing. masc." 592 -gó "3rd person sing. fem." 593 -?ɨ "non-3rd sing. animate, all inanimate sg. and plur."

± 300 Neg.	+ 595 Indefinite	± 660 Mood
301 -mą?į "negative	595 -gɨ "masc.sg." 596 -gó "fem.sg." 597 -kó?á "plural"	661 -nę "doubt" 662 -yą "detachment"

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Chart VIII - Nominalization

Definite Verb Theme (Section 412.1) Descriptive Adjectivized Verb Stem (Section 413)	Animate Derivation			
	+ 20 Classif -anim			
	20.1 -gɨ "masculine singular"			
	20.2 -go "feminine singular"			
	20.3 -kó?á "plural"			
	Inanimate Derivation			
	±10 dim-1	+21 Classif-inam	±30 dim-2	±40 plur
	11 -da? "diminutive"	21.1 -ba "cliff"	31 -dɨ "dimin."	41 -ą́ ~ -yą́ "plural"
		21.2 -be "fat"		
		21.3 -bɨ "protruding"		
		21.4 -bo "cave"		
		21.5 -da "lagoon"		
		21.6 -dɨ "meshed"		
		21.7 -do "hollowed"		
		21.8 -ga "round flat"		
		21.9 -gɨ "sun or moon"		
		21.10 -go "star"		
		21.11 -gu "transportation"		
		21.12 -mę "line"		
		21.13 -mɨ́ "above"		
		21.14 -mǫ "root"		
		21.15 -sǫ́?ǫ́ "hook"		
		21.16 -wa "edge"		
		21.17 -wɨ "containing within"		
		21.18 -ya "river"		
		21.19 -yɨ́ "tree"		
		21.20 -yo "shaft"		

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Chart VIII - Nominalization (cont)

Definite verb theme (Section 412.1) Descriptive verb stem 160 (Section 413)	Temporal-Spatial Derivation	
	+ 22 Classif-tem-spat 22.1 -du "place" 22.2 -dį "time for" 22.3 -to "time when"	± 40 plural 41 -a ~ -ya "plural"
	+ 22 Classif-tem-spat 22.4 -tɨ "time" 22.5 -hą́ʔą́ "opposite, behind" 22.6 -hą́ʔą́ "opposite, across from" 22.7 -hǫ́ʔǫ́ "here" 22.8 -kǫ́ʔá "underside"	
	Abstract Derivation	
	+ 23 Classif-abs 23.1 -ye "incompleted state" 23.2 -sé́ʔé "completed state"	

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411.1.1. Subordinate verb inflection type one

sub-1 = +pn:500/510 ±/+sr:601

Subordinate verb inflection type one is composed of person-number inflection of verb suffix orders 500 or 510, and switch reference (sr)[20] suffix 601. The switch reference suffix is obligatory when suffix order 510 occurs, and optional when order 500 occurs.

Person-number inflection order 500 indicates that the predication is simultaneous to that of the following clause and translatable as "as, while, during; in order to."

ʔękáde ʔɨgo sákóʔɨ. "She went to get firewood."

yóguté tęʔtógɨ waʔtíde tǫ́bi. "As he was hewing the canoe, he dropped his machete."

siʔákóʔábi kokáde káhɨ́ yųɨ́ʔɨ́. "Everyone was seated (there) talking."

doʔágo doʔágo doʔágo ságo yɨʔɨ́de. "As she paddled and paddled and paddled, she took me."

Person-number inflection order 510 indicates that the predication is prior in time to that of the main clause.

weáde tɨ́ádeną kuyábi kógɨ́ dáhiʔí. "When they had finished harvesting the corn, the white man came to buy it."

wekɨ́bi ziáyaną dúkɨ́ną yɨkɨ́nąbi hɨhówɨ́. "When the tapir had submerged in the river, we waited."

gɨ́ną́ mɨ́ǫ́de húkóną bágo yoʔhégobi yekɨ́ kąʔkóbi dutágo. "When she had run the needle through, her younger sister pulled it out the other side."

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Switch reference suffix 601 -nąˌ indicates that the following clause has a different participant functioning as subject.

Manuélbi Narciso nąkóniˌ yógubi dáhiʔí. Manuelbi huágɨna Narciso tayóbi. hąʔą́ka daíhɨnąˌ toá yógubi ʔai tɨʔá wɨ́bi. "Manuel was coming in a canoe with Narciso. Manuel was poling, and Narciso was steering. As they thus came, a motor launch made the waves rise up greatly."

411.1.2. Subordinate verb inflection type two

sub-2 = +rel:520 ±cond:620

Subordinate verb inflection type 2 consists of a relator suffix order 520 and condition suffix order 620.

Verb suffix order 520 indicates a type of relationship the subordinate clause has with the following clause. Suffix 521 -niˌ "sequential" indicates that the following event occurs subsequently. No subject change is expected when order 620 does not occur.

ʔaíduną sániˌ yaʔóde tiˌhą́niˌ húniˌ weʔóniˌ daɨ́ʔɨ́. "I went to the woods, found a peccary, shot him, carried him, and came (home)."

Verb suffix 522 -to "when" emphasizes the fact that the following event is already in process. Subject change is not predictable on the basis of this suffix.

ziáyabi mɨ́niˌ ʔɨyą́to ziˌ waʔnąbi ʔɨyéde ʔụkʷéwɨ. "When I went up from the river and looked, the children were eating tree grapes."

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kodóniąną tį?ą́to ?į́sį́gį́ mį́yęda báhi?í.

"At the time we arrived at the settlement, the sun was straight overhead."

Verb suffix order 620 indicates that the event conditions that of the following clause. Subject change is not predictable on the basis of this suffix order.

Verb suffix 621 -ká "if" indicates that the event of the following clause is contingent upon the predication with which the suffix occurs. When the sequence -niką́ occurs, the implication is that the event is expected to happen. In the case of -toká a general cause and effect condition is implied, and may be translated "whenever."

yudé nąʔíto tį?ąniką́ sį́mį́ waʔíde ʔąíyį́.

"If he arrives this afternoon, we will eat catfish."

bá sąwį́bi wehániką́ siʔá waʔnąbi bohóhį́ fiésta yoʔóyį́.

"If they get married, everyone will happily make a festival."

ʔokóniką́ kąde dáni wį́ʔé sąʔnąwį́ną deʔtóhį́ʔį́. "If it rains, bring the clothes and hang them inside the house."

waʔtíde gį́ʔtómąniką́ deʔóye yį́tómąʔíhį́.

"If you don't file the machete, it won't cut well."

ziáyabi koʔhétoká kudá waʔnąde wį́ʔénąˌ mį́ąyį́.

"Whenever the river floods, we bring the chickens up into the house."

tutúbi kakátoká zį́ waʔnąbi daú nąyį́.

"Whenever the wind blows in, the children get sick."

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ʔękábi hʷįhą́toká toáde ʔaí bą́ʔbóye báyɨ. "Whenever the firewood is green, we have to fan the fire a lot."

Verb suffix 622 -tą́ʔą́ "concessive" indicates that the event expressed by the following predication has occurred contrary to expectation.

yąmą́nį waíye doʔtánįtą́ʔą́ wahɨ́ wɨ́ʔwɨ́nį sákɨyą́. "Although he thought he killed the deer, he ran off alive and went."

ʔaídurą́ saítotą́ʔą́ waʔí beó waʔkɨ́ daíhi. "Even when he goes to the woods, he comes back without any meat."

This suffix is a form-meaning correlate with nominal enclitic 72 (Section 313).

411.2. Adjectival verb construction

v-02 = +vnu-051:vt-def/vs-160

The adjectival verb (v-02) consists of an obligatory definite verb nucleus (vnu-051) slot filled by a definite verb theme (vt-def) or a descriptive verb stem (vs-160). The construction is not further inflected.

sęsé saísi mą́ʔą́ną tuɨ́ʔɨ́. "I followed after the path the wild peccary had gone on."

hąmį́ ʔetáhái gohéde yųʔį́gɨ hɨhóbi. "He waited, seated at the hole the armadillo would come out of."

bágɨ ʔįsísi kudáde kʷaʔkúnį ʔą́ɨ́ʔɨ́. "I cooked the chicken he gave me and ate it."

mɨ́ʔɨ́de tęʔtókáísi yógubi dó męą́ni sáhíʔí. "The canoe I hewed for you just drifted off and went."

ʔawį́ǫ́ wɨ́í yihánaą bágɨté tɨwóháihɨ́ʔɨ́. "Set out to meet him at the airport (ground where the airplane rises)."

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411.3. Adverbial verb construction

v-03 = +vnu-03:vs

The adverbial verb (v-03) consists of an obligatory adverbial nucleus (vnu-03) slot filled by a verb stem (vs) of any type.

pikó de?ótobi gahé dáhi?í. "He came descending out of the clouds."

so?ónąą saí ?íáyeté do?tábi. "He thought about the desire of going far away."

gʷebésé?ébi ?aí gu?á wąnǫ́hį. "It feels (to him) very bad from the inebriation."

411.4. Nominal verb construction

v-04 = +vnu-051:vt-def/vs-160 +nzr:20

The nominal verb (v-04) consists of an obligatory definite verb nucleus (vnu-051) slot filled by a definite verb theme (vt-def) or a descriptive verb stem (vs-160), and an obligatory nominalizer (nzr) slot filled by noun suffix order 20 "classifier." The classifier suffixes may be either animate, inanimate, temporal, spatial, or abstract. The latter occurs only with verb constructions, but all the other categories occur with any type of nominal. Temporal suffixes 22.2, 22.3, 22.4 designate the construction as a temporal (Section 340). All the inanimate, and some temporal and spatial suffixes occur optionally with noun pluralizing and diminutive suffixes (Section 422.1; Chart VIII, page 96).

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zihé?idɨ kąɨsikó?ábi nąʔɨto sɨtámątę. "Those who had gone to sleep in the early morning woke up in the afternoon."

sęsé zihé?idɨ kąɨsé?é báhí?i. "It was where the peccary had slept in the early morning."

mɨ?ɨ nąsó huímą?ɨsiduną sánɨ zoé ba?ídɨ hɨhónɨ nąsó wa?ną ?aí gʷíyedébá gʷíhɨ daíkó?áde ?ɨyáwɨ. "I went to where you had not shot the wooly monkeys, I waited a long being time, and I saw the monkeys coming shouting with all their might."

bá bisímę tɨyósimęde ?ɨhąɨhɨ?ɨ. "Go get that rope, the one that has been cut off." (Apposition, Section 311.1)

?ąǫ tąyę se?égabi kadáhi mąɨde. "There lacks to us only the planting of the food."

mąí yógǫ́ą́ zoé tę?tósigǫ́ą́ yuá pų?ká bi?dáhi. "Our canoes, the ones we hewed a long time ago are now beginning to rot out."

411.5. Declarative verb construction

There are six subtypes of the declarative verb construction, any of which fills the predication slot of the independent declarative clause (Section 222.1). Whichever of these occurs (except imperative) is determined by the mood predominating in the particular discourse, according to the patterns of discourse structure regarding speaker viewpoint (Section 630).

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411.5.1. Definite involvement verb construction

v-051 = +vnu-051:vt-def/vs-160 +v-infl-051:530/540

The definite involvement verb construction (v-051) consists of an obligatory definite verb nucleus (vnu-051) slot filled by a definite verb theme (vt-def) or a descriptive verb stem (vs-160), and an obligatory definite involvement verb stem inflection (v-infl-051) slot filled by verb suffix order 530 "present" or verb suffix order 540 "past." The suffixes of order 540 have allomorphs -hí?í (3d masc. sing.), -kó?ɨ́ (3d fem. sing), and -?ɨ́ (non-3d sing.), which occur only following the shortened form of a morpheme of the shape CVí or CV?í (Section 150). In the occurrence of -?ɨ́ the shortened form of the preceding morpheme has the variant CVɨ́.

The definite involvement construction indicates that the speaker or narrator identifies himself with the circumstances. This is the most common construction among independent verbs. Whenever the subject is other than animate, the verb is inflected in the third person singular masculine, regardless of whether the subject is singular or plural.

yɨ?ɨ́ pɨ?kágɨbi, ziáyaną čáni dúhí?í, gwígɨ kábi. "My father said shouting, 'He jumped into the river and submerged.'"

hą?sóde gɨ?tógo. gɨ?tógoną, si?á wa?nąbi se?é hą?só du?téháɨ?ɨ́. "She grated manioc. As she grated it, everyone went out and pulled some more manioc."

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ʔąsɬgɬbi ʔaí gosíhéʔíhi doʔtáyɬ yɬʔɬ. "'The sun is very bright,' I am thinking."

411.5.2. Imperative verb construction

v-052 = +vnu-052:vt-def +v-infl-052:imper/det-pres

The imperative verb construction (v-052) consists of an obligatory imperative verb nucleus (vnu-052) slot filled by a definite verb theme (vt-def), and an obligatory imperative verb inflection (v-inf-052) slot filled by the imperative inflection set (imper) or the detachment inflection set of the present tense (det-pres).

The imperative inflection consists of an obligatory person-number inflection represented by verb suffix order 550, and two optional de-emphasizing elements represented by verb suffix orders 650 and 750 respectively. The de-emphasis elements occur only with the first person imperative suffixes 551 -za, and 552 -yų. If de-emphasis two (750) occurs, de-emphasis one (650) must occur. The imperative involves all persons and numbers in addition to different nuances of aspect.

yó waʔtíde ʔíhąímę. "Go get the canoe paddle."

mɬtóde pųʔpúzanįyɬ kágɬ sąmǫgųǫ́de kówɬ. "As I said, 'I'll smoke tobacco,' I bought two cartons (of cigarettes)."

báyųnį. "Let's have each other (in our thoughts)." (salutation at leave taking)

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go?inąʔɨ mąmį. "We had better go back, Child."

bákó?á yógu sɨáni bákó?ábi gęǫ́hąʔṗɨ.

"Since it's their canoe, let them tie it up."

?adósoté tɨánąʔą. "We must harvest the rice."

wa?ide mąǫ́za. "I'm determined to go fishing."

besá do?áhɨʔɨ. "Paddle quickly."

The detachment inflection (det-pres) consists of obligatory person-number suffix order 560 and obligatory suffix 662 -yą "detachment." This construction occurs only with reference to the second person and bears the connotation of a polite imperative.

gǫnǫ́de keógoyą. "Pour me some beverage (please)."

bisímętę́ ho?čiyeyą. "Untie the vine (please)."

(second person plural)

tadá wa?tide ?įhąįgɨyą. "Go get the manioc grater (please)."

411.5.3. Subjunctive verb construction

v-053 = +vnu-053:vt-ind-1 +v-infl-053:560

The subjunctive verb (v-053) consists of an obligatory subjunctive verb nucleus (vnu-053) slot filled by an indefinite verb theme one (vt-ind-1), and an obligatory indefinite verb inflection (v-infl-053) slot filled by verb suffix order 560. This construction indicates that the circumstance is uncertain.

?aídu yaíbi yekídɨ bákó?ádę ?ąįmą?įgɨ.

"It may be that the wild jaguar would eat them."

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wɨ?énɑ̨ saímɑ́?ɨyɑ̨. "Maybe they went to the house."

se?é daíniɨká bágoté se?é ?ɨyɑ́mɑ́?ɨyɑ̨ mɑ̨ɨ. daímɑ̨niɨká se?é ?ɨyɑ́mɑ̨mɑ́?ɨyɑ̨.

"If she comes back, we might see her again. If she doesn't come back, we might not see her again."

?ɨkóde ?ɥkúniɨtɑ́?ɑ́ yuátɑ́ wahɨ daímɑ̨mɑ́?ɨgo.

"Although she is taking the medicine, she has probably not gotten well yet."

411.5.4. Indefinite involvement verb construction

v-054 = +vnu-054:vt-ind-2 +v-infl-054:570

The indefinite involvement verb (054) consists of an obligatory indefinite verb nucleus (vnu-054) filled by an indefinite verb theme 2 (vt-ind-2) and an obligatory indefinite involvement inflection (v-infl-054) slot filled by verb suffix order 570. The indefinite verb theme 2 (vt-ind-2) has an obligatory single negative to indicate the positive. Double negative does not occur. This construction indicates that the speaker or narrator identifies himself with the circumstance, but is not aware of the time the event occurred. Inflection occurs only in the near past tense and has no distant past counterpart.

yógunɑ̨ kɑ́ɨgɨ daímɑ̨kɨ́. "I came sleeping in the canoe."

zɨ́ wa?nɑ́bi goɨ́ bɑ̨nɑ́hɨ́ saímɑ̨té.

"The children went to turn over turtles."

?ɑ̨ɑ́de ?ɑ̨ímɑ̨kó. "She ate the food (but I don't know when)."

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411.5.5. Detachment verb construction

v-055 = +vnu-051:vt-def/vs-160 +v-infl-055:det

The detachment verb (v-055) consists of an obligatory definite verb nucleus (vnu-051) filled by a definite verb theme (vt-def) or a descriptive verb stem (vs-160), and an obligatory detachment inflection (v-infl-055) slot filled by detachment inflection (det). The detachment inflection consists of the obligatory occurrence of person-number suffix order 560 or 570 plus detachment suffix 662 -yą. This construction indicates that the speaker or narrator alienates himself from the circumstances as a non-involved individual. It occurs predominately in myth narration, gossip, and hearsay contexts.

yɬ?ɬ dɨhǫ́bi sakóyą́. "My wife has gone (but I don't know where)."

zɨ́bi čógɨyą́. "The child is laughing (but he is not akin to me)."

hą?ą́dɨ́bi so?tó wa?ná?du wɬ?wɬhatéyą́. "Then, they ran off as porcupines."

sadąpɨ́ǫ́ nąkóni wą́ągoyą́. "She let them get sick with measles."

411.5.6. Distant past verb construction

v-056 = +vnu-056:vt-dist +v-infl-056:580/det

The distant past verb (v-056) consists of an obligatory distant past verb nucleus (vnu-056) slot filled by a distant past verb theme (vt-dist), and an obligatory distant past

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verb inflection (v-infl-056) slot filled by person-number suffix order 580 (distant-definite involvement) or the detachment inflection consisting of order 560 plus detachment suffix 662 -yą. This construction indicates that the speaker or narrator considers the events not relevant to the present circumstances, or as "water under the bridge." The detachment form of the distant verb construction occurs very infrequently.

toá yógubi tiąʔwiį. "We arrived by launch."

hąʔąka wehéhiį bąʔwiį, yiłkíną ʔidá bąį baʔísikóʔá. "That's how our ancestors got married."

hąʔą waʔnáde huígił bąʔhiį. "Those are the (animals) he used to shoot."

ʔeee gʷiąʔkiłyą. "He shouted, 'Eeee...'"

bákóʔá ʔiłkóde ʔąkąʔkoyą. "She drank their medicine."

411.6. Confirmation interrogative verb construction

v-06 = +vnu-06:vt-ind-1 +v-infl-06:560/570

The confirmation interrogative verb (v-06) consists of an obligatory nucleus (vnu-06) slot filled by the indefinite verb theme 1 (vt-ind-1) and obligatory confirmation inflection (v-infl-06) slot filled by verb suffix order 560 or 570. This type of interrogative expects the positive or negative type of answer. Three degrees of probability are possible in the verb theme construction (Section 412.2).

sákił. "Did he go?"

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sęhǫmą́ʔį́yę. "Aren't they throwing it out?" (implies they should)

sęhǫmąmą́ʔį́yę. "Aren't they throwing it out?" (implies they shouldn't)

411.7. Information interrogative verb construction

v-07 = +vnu-07:vt-ind-1 +v-infl-07:ig

The information interrogative verb (v-07) consists of an obligatory nucleus (vnu-07) slot filled by an indefinite verb theme 1 (vt-ind-1) and obligatory information interrogative verb inflection (v-infl-07) slot filled by an interrogative suffix set (ig), which includes either suffix order 560 or 570, plus interrogative suffix 661 -né "doubt." The construction co-occurs with one of various interrogative pronominal constructions filling the introducer slot of the information interrogative clause (Section 232.3).

keáka nęgiʔné. "How did you catch it?"

géde ʔųkúmątéʔné. "Why didn't they drink it?"

hadó tiká gahéyeʔné. "Up to where are you (plur.) descending?"

kéhéʔíkóʔábi tįʔądeʔné. "How many of them arrived?"

nęni ʔįsigoʔné. "To whom did she give it?"

412. Verb theme composition

The verb theme is the basic element from which different verb construction types are formed. Their composition determines the distribution clause type within which they occur.

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The most frequent is the definite verb theme (Section 412.1). Others of more limited distribution are the indefinite verb theme (Section 412.2), and distant verb theme (Section 412.3).

Its basic composition includes the verb stem plus three orders of affixes (benefactive, negation, aspect) which occur optionally.

412.1. Definite verb theme

vt-def = +vb:vs ±ben:200 ±neg:300 ±asp:400

The definite verb theme consists of obligatory verb base (vb) slot filled by a verb stem (excluding descriptive verb stem 160), optional benefactive (ben) slot filled by verb suffix order 200 (201 -kái), optional negation (neg) slot filled by verb suffix order 300 (301 -mą̃ʔį́), and optional aspect (asp) slot filled by verb suffix order 400. Its distribution includes all the dependent verb constructions except adverbial, as well as the definite, imperative and detachment constructions.

Suffix order 400 includes the following four affixes:

401 -hái "intention"

yógutɛ́ tɛ̨ʔtóháíhi. "He is setting out to hew a canoe."

hą̃ʔsóde dutáhanį daɨ́ʔɨ́. "They set out pulling up manioc and they returned (came)."

gɨ̨ʔhį́de mą̨ʔhązá. "I intend with determination to fish guaraja."

ʔawį́ wɨ́íháídu. "Place where the airplane goes taking off."

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402 -si "completive" occurs only in nominal and adjectival verb constructions.

sęsé zihé?ídį kąįsidu. "place where the peccary slept at the time of dawn."

ha?yɨ ?įsísi kudá. "the chicken that Older Brother gave (me)"

hų?įsi?kɨ́ "dead person" (lit: "one who finished being sick")

?idá ba?ídį ba?isi?kó?á "ancestors" (lit: "those who had been in old being time")

403 -dé?á "almost" indicates that the event was not realized. It occurs only with independent inflection in the past tense.

tǫ?įdé?áwɨ "I almost fell."

kudí bániką́ kódé?áwɨ. "If I had the money, I would buy it."

?okódé?ábi. "It almost rained."

404 -dá "emphatic"

?aí ?okódáhi. "It's really raining hard."

saódábi ziáya. "The river was really swift."

412.2. Indefinite verb theme

vt-ind = +vb:vs ±ben:200 ±neg:300 ±neg:300 ±asp:400

The indefinite verb theme has basically the same composition as that of the definite theme. The difference is the inclusion of three degrees of certainty, involving the occurrence of up to two negative suffixes. The absence

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of any negative suffix indicates the positive. One negative suffix indicates uncertainty. Two negative suffixes are needed to indicate negation.

This construction occurs in the subjunctive (Section 411.5.3), indefinite involvement (Section 411.5.4), confirmation interrogative (Section 411.6), and information interrogative (Section 411.7). In the case of the indefinite involvement a single negative suffix occurs to indicate the positive, but negation does not occur.

mąǫmą́ʔį́gɨ́. "Maybe he caught something." or "Didn't he catch anything?" depending on context.

deʔwámąté. "I expect they fixed it up." (indefinite involvement)

géde nąsó huímąmą́ʔį́yęʔnę́. "Why aren't they shooting any wooly monkeys?"

412.3. Distant verb theme

vt-dist = +vb:vs ±ben:200 ±neg:300 +asp-d:480

The distant verb theme (vt-dist) consists of obligatory verb base (vb) slot filled by verb stem (vs), optional benefactive (ben) slot filled by verb suffix order 200 (201 -kái), optional negation (neg) slot filled by verb suffix order 300 (301 -mą́ʔį́), and obligatory distant aspect (asp-d) slot filled by verb suffix order 480 (481 -ʔ) plus nasalization on the preceding vowel or vowel cluster.[21]

The distant verb theme occurs only in the distant verb construction (Section 411.5.6).

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ziǿde tąkąį?hį. "He planted a field for someone."

?aí wahí yíhį bą?wį. "We were very fearful."

yuátą tį?ąmą?kǿ. "She had not yet arrived."

toáwíté bǫną?hį. "He turned the shotgun around."

?ai híhá sewǫ?kíyą. "He answered very firmly."

413. Verb stem composition

The verb stem has eight distribution classes depending on the composition clause type it distinguishes (Section 210). It is assigned a decade symbol (10 through 80) corresponding to the composition clause type it identifies, as shown along the vertical axis of Chart I, page 24. Verb stems consisting of a simple verb root are coded with a two-digit number.

ká (vs-10) "say"

yų?į (vs-50) "be seated"

si?á (vs-40) "run out"

Verb stems of complex construction (verb root plus voice suffix order 100, or verb stem plus descriptive verbalizer) are coded with a hundred symbol (Chart IX, page 115) preceding the same set of two-digit numbers. When the hundred symbol occurs with transitive, intransitive, progressive or stative verb classes, it corresponds to the unit symbol of the voice suffix code (101 middle, 102 active, 103 causative, 104 repetitive), which occurs in the stem construction.

saí (vs-130) "go" (intransitive)

mįą (vs-220) "bring (something) up" (transitive)

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tuí (vs-150) "be on top of" (stative)

tį́ʔyé (vs-420) "sever repeatedly" (transitive)

daó (vs-320) "cause to be brought" (transitive)

When the hundred symbol (1) occurs with the descriptive verb class, it indicates that the descriptive verb stem is derived from another verb stem by suffixation of the descriptive verbalizer -héʔí.

taʔyé (vs-420) "keep passing up"	taʔyéhéʔí (vs-160) "be surpassing"
mą́ (vs-60) "be red"	mą́héʔį́ (vs-160) "have the quality of redness"
zí (vs-60) "be black"	zíhéʔí (vs-160) "have the quality of blackness"

The numerical coding scheme indicating possibilities of verb stem construction is illustrated in Chart IX, page 115. Simple stems are described in Section 413.1. Complex stems involve greater elaboration in Section 413.2.

The verb stem occurs as the base of all verb theme constructions (Section 412). In addition, it is the complete form which fills the predicate slot of the adverbial clause (Section 231.3).

413.1. Simple verb stems

Simple verb stems (designated by vs plus a two-digit number) consist of the simple verb root only, and are not further analyzable. They are classified on the basis of the composition clause types they manifest. Quotative (vs-10), equative (vs-70), and impersonal (vs-80) are all

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Chart IX

Verb Stem Class Number Coding

	Simple verb stems	Complex verb stems (root plus voice suffix) 101 "mid."	102 "act."	103 "caus"	104 "rep."
Quotative	10	----	----	----	----
Transitive	20	120	220	320	420
Intransitive	30	130	230	330	430
Progressive	40	140	240	340	----
Stative	50	150	250	350	----
Descriptive	60	160*	----	----	----
Equative	70	----	----	----	----
Impersonal	80	----	---	----	----

*vs-160 consists of any verb stem plus descriptive verbalizer -hé?i (Section 413).

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of the simple construction. The other classes are of either type, simple or complex. The descriptive verb stems are simple, except for those derived by suffixation of the descriptive verbalizer (Section 413.2.6).

do?tá (vs-10) "think" (quotative)

ba?í (vs-50, vs-60, vs-70, v-aux) "be" (stative, descr. equative, or auxiliary)

yɨ́ (vs-20) "want" (transitive)

hɨhó (vs-20) "wait for" (transitive)

bɨá (vs-30) "sit down" (intransitive)

hų?ɨ́ (vs-30) "become sick, die" (intransitive)

wahɨ́ (vs-40) "become well, become alive" (progressive)

413.2. Complex verb stems

Complex verb stem classes are defined on the basis of one or both of two factors: 1) the class of the bound root and 2) the voice suffix that completes the construction. Class distinctions occurring among complex verb stems fall along the scale of transitivity (Chart IX, page 115).

The basic formula summarizing the complex verb stem formation is:

vs-c = +vc:vr-b +vo:100

Complex verb stem (vs-c) consists of obligatory verb core (vc) slot filled by bound verb root (vr-b), and obligatory voice (vo) slot filled by verb suffix order 100. Further subdivision into variant construction types are described below. The first type is the most symmetrical.

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Skewing is more predominant in the others.

413.2.1. Verb stem construction type one is composed of intransitive verb root (vr-30) plus voice suffix order 100 (101 -i "middle," 102 -a "active," and 103 -o "causative;" 104 "repetitive" does not occur).

The form involving the middle ("do to oneself or for oneself") is intransitive. The other two are transitive.

Middle	Active	Causative
saí "go"	sá "take"	saó "send" (cause to go)
daí "come"	dá "bring"	daó "send" (cause to come)
wɨ́í "rise"	wɨ́á "raise"	wɨ́ó "make raise"
kąį́ "sleep"	-	kąǫ́ "make sleep" (as a child)
mɨ́į́ "ascend"	mɨ́ą́ "take upward"	mɨ́ǫ́ "cause to ascend"

All of these stems are associated with a monosyllabic phonological unit. The pertinent syllable canon is CV(V) (Section 140).

413.2.2. Verb stem construction type two consists of intransitive verb root (vr-30) plus voice suffix order 100, in which the form for the middle (101) is -a. The active form (102) is absent. The repetitive form (104) is -ʔkV. The final vowel, e for some verbs and a for others, is not phonologically conditioned. A bisyllabic form has only a change in the final vowel. The repetitive form is intransitive.

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Middle	Causative	Repetitive
čá "jump	čaó "make jump" (throw a spear or harpoon)	ča?ká "hop around"
?etá "go out"	?etó "drive out"	-
yi̱ká "assemble"	yi̱kó "make assemble"	yi̱?ké "keep assembling"

413.2.3. Verb stem construction type three consists of intransitive verb (vr-30) root plus voice suffix order 100. The middle form, which is an intransitive stem, may be recognized by either of three vowels: -i, -e, or -i̱. The active and causative forms for this set are mutually exclusive. Although the suffixes 102 -a and 103 -o are generally recognizable, there is some deviation from the general pattern. The repetitive suffix 104 involves intercalation of glottal stop between the first vowel and the final consonant of the active stem form, and a change in the final vowel from a to e. The repetitive form is intransitive.

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Middle	Transitive	Causative	Repetitive
go?i "return"	go?yá "give back"	-	go?yé "return repeatedly, be contrary to"
gahé "descend"	-	gaǰó "lower"	-
hę?ę́ "cross"	hęą́ "take across"	-	-
kɨkɨ́ "become startled"	-	kɨkó "scare"	-
kɨyɨ́ "move away"	-	kɨyǫ́ "remove"	-
bǫnɨ́ "turn oneself"	bǫną́ "turn something"	-	bǫ?nę́ "turn over and over"
tǫ?į́ "fall"	tą́ "drop, plant"	tǫ́ "drop, make fall"	-
nę?ę́ "become ensnared"	nę́ "overcome, take control of	-	-

413.2.4. Verb stem construction type four consists of a transitive verb root (vr-20) plus voice suffix order 100 (101 -i ~ -e ~ -u "middle," 102 -a "active," 103 -a ~ -o "causative," and 104 -? plus final vowel change to e "repetitive"). All the resultant forms are transitive.

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Middle	Active	Causative	Repetitive
ʔąį́ "eat"	-	ʔąǫ́ "feed"	-
weʔé "bear a name	-	weʔyó "give a name to"	-
yeʔyé "learn"	-	yeʔyó "teach"	-
ʔųkú "drink"	-	ʔųkwá "give a drink to"	-
-	dutá "eradicate"	-	duʔté "extract"
-	sayá "put on a garment"	-	saʔyé "put on shoes".
-	-	tayó "steer, pass up"	taʔyé "surpass"

413.2.5. Verb stem construction type five consists of a progressive verb root (vr-40) plus voice suffix order 100 (101 -i ~ -e ~ -a "middle," 103 -a ~ -o "causative"). Active and repetitive forms do not occur. The middle form of the stem is progressive and the causative form is transitive.

Middle	Causative
kʷęnę́ "become dry"	kʷęná "make dry"
yayá "become extinguished"	yayó "extinguish"
ʔidá "grow old, mature"	ʔidó "raise, bring to maturity"

413.2.6. Verb stem construction type six consists of a stative verb root (vr-50) plus voice suffix order 100 (101 -i ~ -e ~ -a ~ -ɨ "middle," 102 -a "active," 103 -a ~ -o "causative"). The middle form of the stem is stative, the active form is intransitive, and the causative form is transitive. The repetitive forms do not occur.

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Middle	Active	Causative
tuí "be upon"	tuá "get upon, alight"	tɨó "place upon"
dé "be hanging"	deá "hang oneself"	deó/detó "hang up something"
dɨɻí "be on all fours"	dɨɻé "get on all fours"	-
sɨsí "be cold"	sɨsá "become cold"	sɨsá "make cold"
zɻ?é "be supporting"	-	zɻé "grasp, hold to"
sɨ?í "be clinging to"	sɨ?á "cling to"	sɨó "make adhere"

The active form of the following set deviates from the regular pattern:

?ųí "be lying down"	?ųmé "lie down"	?ųé "lay something down"

413.2.7. Repetitives without counterparts

A large number of stems with glottal stop following the first vowel have the semantic component of repeated action, but have no middle, active, nor causative counterparts.

Transitive Stems	Intransitive Stems
hą?mé "mix"	wɨ?wɨ "run"[22]
kʷa?dé "dig out"	ko?kó "cough"
yu?yú "sprinkle"	tǫ?tó "tremble"
sa?pí "mix with the hands"	
tą?nɨɻ "sew"	
ye?dé "tear"	
gɨ?tó "grate"	

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420. Noun

Siona nouns are basically of four classes: animate, inanimate, spatial and temporal. The noun root is without number disignation (except for a few variations in internal structure), and bears the connotation of generality, e.g. "people in general," "canoes in general." Specificity with respect to number and gender is indicated by any of the derivational constructions the noun root enters into, whether suffixation (Chart VIII, page 95) or expansion into a noun specifier phrase (Section 331). Each noun class is further subdivided on the basis of its occurrence with the various derivational constructions indicating specificity.

421. The animate noun class, subdivided on the basis of derivation for specificity, is of three types. The first type of derivation involves the noun suffix order 20 (20.1 -gɨ "masc. sg.," 20.2 -go "fem.sg.," 20.3 -kó?á "plural"), with variations described below. Nouns designating humans of the social ingroup only may occur with this derivation. The second type is the noun specifier phrase construction, of which wá?kɨ "creature (masc.sg.)" and variants wá?kó (fem. sg.) and wá?nɨ́ (plural) occur in a specifier relationship to the head noun. Nouns designating animals normally occur with this set of specifier nouns, but semantic connotations of "exclusion" and "familiarity" apply respectively to human nouns of the social outgroup and to human nouns of the social ingroup when they enter into this collocation.

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The third type is distinguished by its occurrence in a noun phrase construction, of which wa?í "meat, flesh" functions as specifier and indicates plurality. Specificity in the singular and generality are covertly implied by the context of the noun, since no specifier noun occurs in those cases. Nouns designating supernatural beings, invisible (spirits) and visible (celestial bodies) may enter only into this construction type. Nouns designating humans of the social outgroup may also occur with wa?í in this construction. In any case the connotation is derogatory. Chart X illustrates the major animate noun classes and the types of derivational constructions they enter into.

421.1. Ingroup human noun is designated subclass 1 (an-1).

421.1.1. Noun stem subclass 1a (an-1a) is composed of a simple noun root (anr-1a), which designates the item in a general sense, and which may be derived by addition of noun suffix order 20 (20.1 -gi "masc. sg.," 20.2 -go "fem. sg.," 20.3 -kó?á "plural") to indicate specificity. Either the general or the specific form may occur as head of a noun phrase.

General	Specific
bąį "people"	bąįgi "person (masc)"
nąhę "grandchildren"	nąhęgo "granddaughter"
wá "in-laws"	wákó?á "in-laws (plur)"
wa?hé "people whose spouses have died"	wa?hégi "widower"

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Chart X

Animate Noun Specification and Pluralization

	Suffix order 20 sɬwɨ "plural"	wá?kɨ wa?kó wa?ná	wa?i "plur"
Ingroup human nouns Class 1	an-1a + 20 an-1b + 20 an-1c + 20.3 an-1d + sɬwɨ	an-1a,1b,1c "familiarity"	
Animals Class 2		an-2ax an-2b	
Outgroup humans Class 2		an-2ay "exclusion"	an-2ay "derogatory"
Supernatural beings Class 3			an-3a an-3b

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421.1.2. Noun stem subclass 1b (an-1b) is composed of a verb stem derived by addition of noun suffix order 20 to indicate specificity. The verb stem without the noun derivation may not occur as head of a noun phrase. This construction is treated apart from the nominalized verb theme (Section 411.4), since the former does not function as the predication of an embedded clause.

General	Specific
bǫsɨ́ (vs-40) "to reach puberty"	bǫsɨ́gɨ́ "youth (masc)"
ʔɨ̨mɨ́ (vs-60) "to be high"	ʔɨ̨mɨ́gɨ́ "man"
ʔidá (vs-140) "to grow, mature"	ʔidágo "old woman"
yoʔhé (vs-60) "be behind"	yoʔhékóʔá "younger siblings"

421.1.3. Noun stem subclass 1c (an-1c) is characterized by final vowel alternation in the basic form to distinguish masculine and feminine. The plural is formed by addition of noun suffix 20.3 -kóʔá to the masculine form of the stem. This class consists of only two different nouns indicating "older sibling."

haʔyɨ́ (masc) haʔyó (fem) haʔyɨ́kóʔá (plur): direct address and referential forms.

mąʔyɨ́ (masc) mąʔyó (fem) mąʔyɨ́kóʔá (plur): referential forms only.[23]

421.1.4. Noun stem subclass 1d (an-1d) is composed of three animate noun stem types (ans-1dx, ans-1dy, and ans-1dz),

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which indicate the singular form. These may be pluralized by the noun sąwį, which functions as specifier of the Noun Specifier Phrase (Section 331).

421.1.4.1. Noun stem subclass ldx (ans-ldx) is on the order of the specific derivation of an-la (Section 421.1.1.) with gender distinctions in the singular. The plural form with suffix 20.3 -kó?á does not occur.

pį?kó "aunt (FaSi)"	pį?kó sąwį "aunts"
pį?kágį "father"	pį?kágį sąwį "fathers, parents"
pį?kágo "mother	pį?kágo sąwį "mothers"

421.1.4.2. Noun stem subclass ldy (ans-ldy) is composed of a simple noun root.

mąmį "child"	mąmį sąwį "children"
taitá "father, daddy"	taitá sąwį "daddies"
dįhǫ "wife"	dįhǫ sąwį "wives"

421.1.4.3. Noun stem subclass ldz (ans-ldz) is composed of proper nicknames of people, adapted from their equivalents in the language from which they were borrowed.

?ęmę (Ermelinda)	_____ sąwį "____ and his/her people/family"
tąnį (Estanislao)	
sodí (Isolina)	
?audé (Aurelio)	
bábi (Bobby)	bábi sąwį "Bobby and his crowd" (i.e., the four Wheeler boys, the extrovert among them being Bobby)

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421.2. Noun stem subclass 2 (an-2) is composed of nouns which designate animals and humans of the social outgroup (a distinction which varies with individuals and clans). Specification is derived by addition of wa?kɨ́ "creature (masc. sg.)" or one of its variants wa?kó (fem. sg.) and wa?nɨ́ (plural), as specifier of the Noun Specifier Phrase (Section 331).

421.2.1. Noun stem subclass 2a (an-2a) consists of simple noun roots. These are further subdivided into two classes: those which refer to animals (an-2ax), and those which refer to humans (an-2ay). This subdivision is based on the fact that the human nouns (of the social outgroup) may also be specified in the plural by wa?i "meat, flesh" in a derogatory sense, whereas animal nouns may not.

Animals

General	Specific
yaí "jaguar, dog"	yaí wa?nɨ́ "the jaguars, dogs"
goɨ́ "tortoise"	goɨ́ wa?kó "a female tortoise"
hohó "frog, toad"	hohó wa?kɨ́ "a frog"
wakɨ́ "cow"	wakɨ́ wa?nɨ́ "the cows"

Humans

kuyɨ́ "foreigner"	kuyɨ́ wa?nɨ́ "the foreigners"
paídi "priest"	paídi wa?kɨ́ "the priest"
grɨ́go "North American"	grɨ́go wa?kó "the N.A. lady"
kɨ?yɨ́ "Witoto people"	kɨ?yɨ́ wa?nɨ́ "the Witotos"

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Nouns designating humans of the social ingroup may be specified by wa?kɨ, etc., but the connotation is one of familiarity rather than exclusion.

421.2.2. Noun stem subclass 2b is of limited occurrence, and refers only to animals. It consists of an inanimate noun root 1, plus classifier suffix order 21.

tǫ?kébo "species of monkey" tǫ?kébo wa?kɨ "a monkey"

gɨnąbɨ "species of fish" gɨnąbɨ wa?nǫ "the fish (sp)"

421.3. Noun subclass 3 (an-3) is composed of two stem subclasses, which designate an item in either the general or the specific sense, depending on context. Pluralization is designated by addition of wa?ɨ "meat, flesh," which occurs as specifier of the Noun Specifier Phrase (Section 331). Nouns of this class include only supernatural beings. Nouns designating humans of the social out-group may be pluralized by wa?ɨ instead of being specified by wa?kɨ, etc. The connotation is always derogatory. Animals are never pluralized by wa?ɨ, since that collocation designates the meat of an animal.

421.3.1. Stem subclass 3a consists of simple noun root 3a (anr-3a) and includes only invisible beings (spirits):

watí "demon" watí wa?ɨ "demons"

kukú "demon which afflicts children" kukú wa?ɨ "demons"

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421.3.2. Stem subclass 3b is derived from a verb root or noun root plus noun suffix 20.1 -gɨ (masc) or 20.2 -go (fem) (20.3 -kó?á does not occur), and includes only visible beings (celestial bodies), which are subjects of mythology:

yąyą́gɨ "the one that caves in, moon"

yąyą́gɨ wa?í "months"

?ɨsɨ́gɨ "the one that shines, sun"

mą?čógo "star"

mą?čógo wa?í "stars"

This group of noun stems fall into the inanimate category in the minds of the younger generation of speakers. See the statements on suffixes 21.9 and 21.10 (Section 422.1).

421.4. Proper nouns and kinship nouns

Although proper nouns (n-p) and kinship nouns (an-k) have been mentioned as members of the ingroup human subclass (Section 421.1), they also fall into a distinct structural role by virtue of their occurrence in the vocative slot on the clause level (Section 223.9). Proper nouns do not enter into the noun phrase construction, as other noun classes do, because they are not modified. However, they do enter into the nominal construction (Section 310) and occur in the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240).

waú (an-k) "nephew (male ego= BrSo; female ego= SiSo)"

wi?yágɨ (an-k) "nephew (male ego= SiSo; female ego= BrSo)"

wágɨ (an-k) "in-law"

gɥą́gɨ (an-k) "uncle (MoBr)"

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gų?hį́da (in-p) "Guaraja-fish lagoon"

bęhą́ (an-p) "Benjamin"

kudá gį́ǫ́ (an-p) "Chicken Foot (nickname)"

mą?tį́ kɨyɨ́ (an-p) "Heavenly parrot (Banisterium name)"

422. The inanimate noun class (in) is likewise subdivided on the basis of derivation for specificity, and involves two major construction types. The most common type (Section 422.1) is derived by suffixation of classifiers indicating some feature of shape or function. The other type of construction (Section 422.2) involves derivation for specificity by addition of a specifying noun to either inanimate noun root 1 (inr-1) or inanimate noun root 2 (inr-2). The specifying noun occurs as part of the Noun Specifier Phrase (Section 331).

422.1. Stem subclass 1 (ins-1) consists of either noun root 1 (inr-1) and optional derivation by noun suffix order 21, or verb stem (vs) and obligatory derivation by noun suffix order 21. The classifier suffix itself indicates singular. Pluralization is signaled by suffix order 40 (41-ą ~ -yą). The construction may be further expanded by simultaneous suffixation of orders 10 and 30 (suffixes 11 -dá? and 31 -dɨ) to indicate diminutive.[24] The diminutive may also have a connotation of endearment or reflection of modesty, e.g. sąmǫ́dá?bɨdį́ą́ "two small (eggs)" indicates there are most likely 5 or 6 (see Chart VIII, page 95).

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The construction involving a verb stem plus obligatory suffixation of order 21 is distinguished from that of the nominalized verb theme (411.4), in that the former may not function as the predicate of a nominal clause.

Examples of the inanimate noun stem 1 (ins-1) construction illustrate each of the classifier suffixes of order 21 as follows. All roots are inanimate noun roots unless otherwise indicated.

21.1. -ba "having a flat vertical face"

tį̨ʔtɨ́ "riverbank"	tį̨ʔtɨ́ba "a riverbank"
weá "corn"	weába "a stand of corn, cornfield"
yaʔdí "straight grained wood"	yaʔdíba "a section of straight grained wood (e.g. bamboo) split and flattened for a wall"
sį̨ʔkí "knee"	sį̨ʔkíba "a knee"
gu̱hį́ "tooth"	gu̱hį́ba "a necklace of wild animal teeth"

21.2. -be "having animal fat" (only one example documented)

wiʔyá "refuse"	wiʔyábe "fat, lard"

21.3. -bɨ "having a protruding shape"

sį̨hǫ́ "head"	sį̨hǫ́bɨ "a head"
ʔohé "milk"	ʔohébɨ "breast"
mę̨há̱ "sand"	mę̨há̱bɨ "a sandbar"
mį̨ú̱ "thorn"	mį̨ú̱bɨ "a thorn patch"
gɨtá "stomach"	gɨtábɨ "an abdomen"
ʔį̨sí "pineapple"	ʔį̨síbɨ "a pineapple fruit"

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verb stem:

bąną (vs-60) "be muddy"	bąnąbɨ "mud hole, swamp"
ʔųkʷé (vs-120) "eat without chewing, dissolve in mouth"	ʔųkʷébɨ "nose"
tǫ (vs-320) "make fall"	tǫbɨ "a drop of liquid"
tuí (vs-150) "be upon"	tuíbɨ "a cap"

Also: čǫhǫ́bɨ "placenta, flower on the banana racime"; gųʔą́bɨ "bone"; dɨ́bɨ "chunk, section sliced off"; gatábɨ "rock"; húbɨ "group, herd, flock"; túbɨ "pillar, club"; zɨ́ábɨ "piece of high ground for planting"; pɨ́bɨ "stack of leaves, a book"; tudúbɨ "fiber carrying bag"; ziábɨ "an egg".

21.4. -bo "having an overhead canopy, cave-like"

ʔó "plantain"	ʔóbo "plantain field"
yiʔó "mouth"	yiʔóbo "inside part of the mouth"
zuʔú "axe"	zuʔúbo "an axe head" (which has a hole for the handle)
tɨʔké "curve"	tɨʔkébo "bend in the river" (from the viewpoint of traveling along the river with jungle arching overhead)

21.5 -da "lagoon-like"

sitá (vs-60) "be spread out"	sitáda "lagoon"

(see also: sitámo "tree root")

gųʔhɨ́ "species of fish"	gųʔhɨ́da "a lagoon named after gųʔhɨ́"

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21.6. -dɨ "having mesh"

hąǫ́ "hammock"	hąǫ́dɨ "a hammock"
yó (vs-20) "to net fish"	yódɨ "a fish net"

21.7. -do "hollowed out"

sotó "clay"	sotódo "clay pot"
gɨ́ną́ "metal"	gɨ́ną́do "a kettle"
ziá "egg"	ziádo "a nest"
gąhǫ́ "ear"	gąhǫ́do "an ear"
tuí (vs-150) "be upon"	tuído "a hat"
sa?á (no occurrence)	sa?ádo "an entrance"

21.8. -ga "round, flat disc"

?ąǫ́ "food"	?ąǫ́ga "a cassava cake"
?ɨkó "medicine"	?ɨkóga "a pill"

21.9. -gɨ "sun or moon" (in the speech of the younger generation only). See Section 421.3.2.

yąyą́ "to cave in" (vs-130)	yąyą́gɨ "the moon"
	yąyą́gɨ́ą́ "months"
?ɨ́sɨ (vs-30) "to shine"	?ɨ́sɨ́gɨ "the sun"

21.10. -go "star"

mą?čó "stars"	mą?čógo "a star"
	mą?čógǫą́ "the stars"

21.11. -gu "for transporting"

yó "canoe"	yógu "a canoe"
?awɨǫ́ "airplane"	?awɨǫ́gu "an airplane"
kářo "land vehicle"	kářogu "a car, truck"
?ó "plantain"	?ógu "a racime of plantains"

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watí "demon"	watígu "a drum (used for transporting demons to a feast)"
mẹhą́ "sand"	mẹhą́gu "a sandbar (for walking on)"

21.12. -mẹ "line-like"

gɨ́ną́ "metal"	gɨ́ną́mẹ "wire"
bisí "vine"	bisímẹ "a vine for tying, a rope"
yɨ́í "kapok, cotton"	yɨ́ímẹ "a thread"
witó "having to do with fishing"	witómẹ "a fishing line"
čǫhǫ́ "placenta"	čǫhǫ́mẹ "an umbilical cord"
gɨtá "stomach"	gɨtámẹ "an intestine"

21.13. -mɨ́ "being high" (see: ʔɨ́mɨ́ (vs-60) "be high")

mą́ʔtɨ́ "supernatural realm"	mą́ʔtɨ́mɨ́ "the supernatural realm"
gɨ́ną́ "metal"	gɨ́ną́mɨ́ "the sky"

21.14. -mǫ "root-like"

behí "belladonna"	behímǫ "the root of the belladonna"
ʔɨ́kó "medicine"	ʔɨ́kómǫ "a medicinal root"
sitá (vs-60) "be spread out"	sitámǫ "a tree root"

21.15. -sẹ́ʔẹ́ "for grabbing"

witó "having to do with fishing"	witósẹ́ʔẹ́ "a fishhook"
yǫ́ká "palm fiber"	yǫ́kásẹ́ʔẹ́ "trousers" (good to wear when twisting the fiber into string)

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21.16. -wa "having an edge"

ha?6 "leaf"	ha?6wa "a leaf"
yɨdú "border"	yɨdúwa "edge, shoreline"
de?á "tray, plate"	de?áwa "a tray, a plate"
gɨ̨só "thigh"	gɨ̨sówa "the thigh, thighbone"
paɨ́ "gunwale of a boat, buttress of a tree"	paɨ́wa "a gunwale, a buttress"
hą̨?só "manioc"	hą̨?sówa "a root of manioc"
gá? (no occurrence)	gá?wa "a wheel"

21.17. -wɨ́ "enclosed container"

gɨ̨ną́ "metal"	gɨ̨ną́wɨ́ "a barrel, a jug"
kartúču "shotgun shell"	kartúčuwɨ́ "a shotgun shell"
toá "fire"	toáwɨ́ "a gun"
kɨ́í "manioc plant"	kɨ́íwɨ́ "a field of manioc"
wę̨ká "bamboo"	wę̨káwɨ́ "a section of bamboo"
hɨ́6 (vs-320) "to blow"	hɨ́6wɨ́ "a blowgun"

21.18 -ya "stream of water"[25]

zíá "river"	zíáya "a river"
gą̨tɨ́ "cane"	gą̨tɨ́ya "cane river" (the Putumayo)
ha?6 "leaf"	ha?6ya "leaf river" (the Caquetá)
mą́ wąsó "species of fish"	mą́ wąsóya "a tributary to the Putumayo"
toá "caimita fruit"	toáya "a tributary to the Putumayo"
bę̨né "a sweet pod	bę̨néyą "a tributary to the Caquetá" (Sp: Penella)

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21.19. -yį "having permanent roots"

sųkí "tree"	sųkíyį "a tree"
gųhį "tooth"	gųhíyį "a tooth"
bęné "a sweet pod fruit"	bęnéyį "sweet pod fruit tree"
ʔįné "palm fruit"	ʔįnéyį "palm fruit tree"
ča?kádi "fire ant"	ča?kádiyį "tree where fire ants abound"

21.20. -yo "shaft-like"

nąʔmį "point, top, end"	nąʔmíyǫ "the point, end, crown of a roof"
wit6 "having to do with fishing"	wit6yo "fishing pole"
wąs6 "pole"	wąs6yo "a pole"
zęmé "liver or tongue substance"	zęméyǫ "the tongue"
ʔįk6 "tail"	ʔįk6yo "a tail"
mį́ǫ (vs-320) "make ascend"	mį́ǫyǫ "a finger"

422.2. Stem subclass 2 (ins-2) consists of inanimate nouns to which shape or function is not relevant. They do not occur with classifier suffix order 21, but may be expanded to designate diminutive by suffixation of order 30 (31 -dį). This noun class is further subdivided into two types, the first of which (ins-2a) may occur with a specifying noun in a noun specifier phrase (Section 331). The other type (ins-2b) may not occur with a specifying noun, but it may fill the qualifier 3 slot of a noun phrase (Section 326).

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422.2.1. Stem subclass 2a (ins-2a) has as its complete membership mass nouns. They may not be pluralized, but may be specified by an inanimate specifier noun (n-sp).

wa?í "meat"	wa?í mą?ká "a piece of meat"
?ąǫ "food"	?ąǫ mą?ká "a portion of food"
hęká "firewood"	hęká díbi "a chunk of firewood"
bayá "honey, sweet stuff"	bayá tǫtó "a brick of crude cane sugar"
yo?ó "work"	yo?ó mą?kádíą "chores"

422.2.2. Stem subclass 2b (ins-2b) does not include mass nouns and may be pluralized by suffixation of order 40 (41 -yą):

wi?é "house"

zió "field"

ką "cloth"

423. Spatial noun class (sn) includes designations of place which may not be inflected for diminutive. The spatial noun includes five subclasses of stems:

423.1. Stem subclass 1 (sn-1) is derived from any root except noun by suffixation of 22.1 -du "place." Pluralization may occur by addition of suffix 41 -ą:

?aí "much"	?aídu "woods"
?ió "want, desire"	?iódu "dream place"

423.2. Stem subclass 2 (sn-2) has only one example, which is derived from a descriptive verb stem (vs-60) by suffixa-

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tion of classifier 22.3 -to. Pluralization may occur by addition of suffix 41 -yą:

de?6 "be good" de?6to "region"

423.3. Stem subclass 3 (sn-3) is derived from a verb stem or inanimate noun root by suffixation of classifiers 22.5 -hą́?ą́, 22.6 -hę́?ę́, 22.7 -hǫ́?ǫ́, and 22.8 -kó?á. It is not clear what distinction in meaning may exist between these four suffixes, if any. Each functions as a nominalizer in very much the same way. Each occurs only with a single root. Pluralization does not occur:

22.5 -hą́?ą́	yo?héhą́?ą́ "behindness"	(‹yo?hé (vs-60) "be behind")
	kąhą́?ą́ "the surface"	(‹ ką (ins-2b) "cloth")
22.6 -hę́?ę́	?ɨ̨mɨ̨hę́?ę́ "above-ness, topside"	(‹ ?ɨ̨mɨ̨ (vs-60) "be above")
22.7 -hǫ́?ǫ́	?ɨ̨hǫ́?ǫ́ "here" (prn)	(‹ ?ɨ̨ (dem) "this")
22.8 -kó?á	yihákó?á "underside"	(‹ yihá "ground")

423.4. Stem subclass 4 (sn-4) is derived in the same way as the inanimate noun class 1 (in-1). Inflection for diminutive and plural may not occur. The data is limited to the following occurrences:

sa?nąwɨ̨ "inside"

sɨdíbɨ́ "downriver"

go?gówɨ́ "upriver"

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423.5. Stem subclass 5 (sn-5) consists of simple spatial noun root 5 (snr-5). Inflection for diminutive (31 -di) and plural (41 -ą ~ -yą) may occur:

we?sé "outside" kʷęyę́ "near"

so?ó "far" ką?kó́ "side"

424. Temporal noun class (tn) is distinguished from other noun classes in that it may enter into a temporal phrase construction (Section 350) with yúdé "now," in demonstrative function. The temporal noun includes two subclasses of stems.

424.1. Stem subclass 1 (tn-1) is derived from a noun root or a verb stem by suffixation of the following temporal-spatial suffix order 22. Inflection for diminutive does not occur.

22.2 -di "time for"

?okó "water, rain" ?okódi "rainy season"

?inę́ "palm fruit" ?inę́di "palm fruit season"

22.3 -to "time when"

nąʔį (vs-40) "become dark" nąʔįto "afternoon"

miąę́ (vs-230) "to shine" miąęto "tomorrow"

[note also ?áíto > ?áí "much" (emphatic agreement)]

22.4 -ti "time previous"

nąʔį "become dark" nąʔįti "yesterday"

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424.2. Stem subclass 2 (tn-2) consists of a temporal noun stem 2 (tns-2), which is without derivation, but which may be pluralized by addition of suffix 41 -yą́:

ʔụmǫ́gusé "day"	ʔą́yǫ "year"
yąmí "night"	sęmą́ną "week"

425. Specifier noun

Specifier nouns (n-sp) are either animate (an-sp) or inanimate (in-sp), according the gender of the head nouns they specify. Either singular or plural is indicated, except in the case of są́wį (Section 421.1), waʔí (Section 421.3), and sákóʔá (Section 431), which indicates only the plural. They occur as fillers of the specifier slot of the noun specifier phrase (Section 331) and the nominal specifier phrase (Section 332). For examples see Sections 421, 422 and 431.

The following collocations, analyzable as nominal specifier phrases, have special semantic connotations:

yíʔí waʔkí/waʔkó "poor me"

besá waʔkí, etc. "quickly"

ké waʔkí, etc. "quickly"

teʔé waʔkí, etc. "alone"

430. Pronoun

The four basic classes of pronouns are distinguished generally in the same way nouns are: animate, inanimate, spatial and temporal. An additional class, interrogative,

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may encompass any of these four. The four classes are distinguished by the type of classifier suffix (Chart VIII, page 95) with which they are marked. Pronouns fill the nominal core slot of the nominal construction (Section 311), the head slot of the nominal specifier phrase (Section 332), and the perfective nucleus slot of the Perfective Clause (Section 240).

431. Animate pronouns (pr-an) are further subdivided into simple and derived forms. Simple forms represent the first and second person singular: yɨ?ɨ "I" and mɨ?ɨ "you"; and the first persons plural: mąí "we inclusive" and yɨkínąˀ "we exclusive." The second person plural mɨ?ɨ sákóˀá is analyzed as a nominal specifier phrase (Section 332), in which mɨ?ɨ functions as head and sákóˀá (occurring only with the plural form) functions as animate specifier noun (Section 425).

The third person forms are derived from the demonstratives (Section 450) by suffixation of animate noun classifier 20.

bágɨ "he"	?ɨkɨ "this one"	hąˀągɨ "that one"	kégɨ "yonder one"
bágo "she"	?ɨko "this one"	hąˀągo "that one"	kégo "yonder one"
bákóˀá "they"	?ɨkóˀá "these"	hąˀąkóˀá "those	kékóˀá "those yonder"

Another pronominal form hąˀąsiˀkɨ "oneself" is unique in its derivation, since it is the only case in which a form identical to 402 -si "completive" is suffixed to a demonstrative.

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432. Inanimate pronouns (pr-in) consist of a demonstrative with or without suffixation of inanimate noun classifier set 21, depending on the classification of the antecedent, with which the pronoun agrees. See Chart VIII, page 96.

bábɨ "the protruding thing"

hą?ą́yǫ "that shaft shaped thing"

?ɬwą "this thing having an edge"

kéda?dɨdɨ́ą́ "those little meshed things yonder"

hą?ą́ "that item" (hą?ą́de káwɨ "I said that.")

hą?ą́ka "thus"

433. Spatial pronouns (pr-s) consist of a demonstrative plus the spatial noun classifier suffix 22.1 -du.

bádu "the place"

kédu "that place yonder"

hą?ą́du "that place"

?ɬdu "this place (a particular spot)"

The spatial pronoun that means "here, in this general location" is ?ɬhǫ́?ǫ́ (> ?ɬ plus 22.7 -hǫ́?ǫ́).

434. Temporal pronouns (pr-t) consist of a demonstrative plus optional temporal noun classifier suffix 22.1 -dɨ́, or of the temporal demonstrative yudé "now." All of these may fill the temporal core slot of the temporal construction (Section 341). Occurrence of some of the function enclitics (Section 313) with these results in special semantic connotations. If suffix 22.1 does not occur, one

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or more of the enclitics must occur.

hą?ą́dį́ "that time then"

hą?ą́dį́ "first" (with reference to temporal or spatial)

kédį́ "right then"

yudéda "about now, about then"

yudéda?dį́ "immediately"

hą?ą́dį́déba "first of all"

The temporal pronoun du?dú "first" functions in much the same way as yudé "now", but it does not occur with nominal enclitic 75 -dį́ "conciseness."

435. Interrogative pronoun (pr-ig) fills the introducer slot of the information interrogative clause 07 (Section 232.3), and at the same time functions as subject, one of the various complements to the predicate, or one of the demonstrative, possessor, number or qualifiers of a noun in a noun phrase construction (Section 320). All interrogative pronouns except ną́ "who" and keáka "how" may occur with noun classifier suffix order 20.

gé "what, which" gégįnį́ saóye?ną́ "which (person) shall I send?"

hadó "where" hadókó?á "which ones (where-from ones)?"

The demonstrative ké "that yonder" may occur with the suffix -hé?í, identical in form at least to the descriptive verbalizer (Section 413), to mean "how many."

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kéhé?íkó?ábi daíye?né "How many (people) are coming?"

kéhé?í zoé "how long"

kéhé?íto "when"

kéhé?ídǫ́ą́ kʷǫ́kʷéde?né. "How many hollowed out things did they count?"

440. Modifiers

Modifiers are treated as one general category in the grammatical description, whether they modify a verb or a noun. The modifier class (Section 444) may occur with either.

441. Adjective (adj) fills the qualifier 2 slot of the noun phrase (Section 325), and the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240). It may be suffixed with any of the noun classifier order 20 and function as a pronoun.

The adjective may be inflected to agree in gender with the noun it modifies. If the noun is absent in the phrase or clause construction, but implied by context, the adjective functions pronominally and must be inflected by classifier suffix order 20.

haí "big"	haísǫ́?ǫ́ "the big one (hook)"
čoá "small"	čoádi "the small one (hammock)"
zį́ "small"	zį́wa "the small one (leaf)"

For expression of other qualities, the adjectival verb construction occurs (Section 411.2). In that case it is analyzed as the filler of the adjectival predicate slot of

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Clause 02 (Section 231.2) and may be complemented by other clause level elements.

442. Numeral (num) forms fill the number (Num) slot of the noun phrase (Section 324). They may be inflected to agree in gender with the noun they modify. If the head noun is absent from the clause construction but implied by context, the numeral functions pronominally and must be inflected with classifier suffix order 20. The numeral class consists of the candinal numerals and other quantifiers such as si?á "all," and ha?tá "many."

Counting is done on the fingers of both hands, beginning with the little finger.

te?é "one"

sąmų́ "two"

sąmų́té "three"

gahésé?éga "four" (the one descended to)

te?é ?ą́tą́ "five" (one hand)

te?é ?ą́tą́ te?é "six" (one hand and one)

te?é ?ą́tą́ sąmų́ "seven" (one hand and two)

te?é ?ą́tą́ sąmų́té "eight" (one hand and three)

te?é ?ą́tą́ gahése?éga "nine" (one hand and the one descended to)

si?á sadáyą "ten" (all hands)

Counting beyond three involves complex and lengthy grammatical constructions, a system not too frequently needed in the Siona culture until the advent of Colombian

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Spanish influence. Now that the Siona participate in the national economy, counting and calculation of figures is frequent. Therefore, numerals beyond three are borrowed from Spanish, but Siona classifier suffixes are retained.

443. Qualifier (q) is a class of modifiers with one member se?éga "only." It fills the qualifier one slot of the Nominal construction (Section 312).

bágɨ se?éga mąsíhi. "Only he knows."

yųká ?oyási?kó se?éga bákó?ɨ. "She was only the one who twisted the palm fiber (string)."

444. Modifier (mod) is a class of particles which may modify either a noun or a verb. It consists of two members dó "just that and nothing more" and gadé "completely" (Section 321).

dó daɨ?ɨ. "I just came (the trip was uneventful)."

dó yɨ?ɨ zį Terésa we?égobi tɨwó dákó?ɨ. "Just my daughter Teresa came to meet (me)."

dó gʷahá gąníwɨ. "I just got tired out walking." ("In vain I went, finding no game in the woods.")

gadé saísi?kɨ báhí?ɨ. "He was one who had gone for good."

gadé bąį wa?ną baɨ?ɨ. "They were entirely people (ingroup)."

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445. Adverb (adv) fills the manner (M) slot of a clause or the perfective nucleus slot of the perfective clause (Section 240).

te?é "alone" besá "fast"

These forms have nominal specifier phrase counterparts (Section 332) which have essentially the same meaning with an added connotation of familiarity (Section 421).

te?é wa?ki "alone" besá wa?kó "fast, quickly"

450. Demonstrative (dem)

There are two subclasses of demonstrative roots. The general subclass, labeled (dem), consists of four members, which occur as fillers of both the demonstrative (D) slot of the noun phrase (Section 322) and the temporal demonstrative (TD) slot of the temporal phrase (Section 351). The temporal demonstrative subclass (t-dem) consists of one member, which fills only the temporal demonstrative (TD) slot of the temporal phrase.

451. The general subclass of nominal demonstratives is as follows:

bá "that just now referred to"

haɨ?aɨ "emphatic reference, out of view"

?aɨ "this, nearby"

ké "that, distant, within view"

These forms may be inflected the same as noun roots, in which case they function as pronouns (Section 430).

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The uninflected demonstrative occasionally functions as an inanimate pronoun (Section 432).

hą́ʔą́bɨtɛ́ ʔɨhąhɨ́ʔɨ́. "He set out to get that protruding object."

gęǫ́hɨ́ʔɨ́ bádɨ. "Tie it up, that meshed object (hammock)."

hą́ʔą́de yoʔówɨ. "I did that."

bádɛ ʔaʊ́áwɨ. "I heard it."

452. The temporal demonstrative root (t-dem) yudé "now, this time" complements only temporal nouns (Section 424).

yudé yąmɨ́ "this night, tonight"

yudé nąʔɨ́to "this afternoon"

It may occur with or without various kinds of suffixes or enclitics and functions pronominally (Section 434).

yudéyą "in these days, in these moments" (-yą "inan. plur." suffix 41, Chart VIII, page 95)

yudéʔné "perhaps now" (-né "doubt," verb suffix 661 Chart V, page 93)

460. Function word (f) consists of two members: tɨká "until, toward" and nąkóni "with," which occur as fillers of the function slot of the Nominal construction (Section 313.2). This class is in mutually exclusive distribution with the function enclitic set (Section 313.1). It indicates the grammatical function of the clause level tagmeme it is associated with.

Either goal (Section 222.1) or time (Section 223.8) is signaled by tɨká, depending on whether it bears the spatial or temporal implication.

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yó sa?ádo tɨká "toward the canoe entrance (port)"

bágɨ sɨtáye tɨká "until he wakes up"

hą?á ?ųmą́gusé tɨká "until that day"

Accompaniment (Section 223.1) is the primary signal of nąkóni. Secondarily it signals instrument (Section 223.4).

yɨ?ɨ́ waú nąkóni "with my nephew" (A)

toabo nąkóni "with the corn grinding stone" (I)

470. Interjection (inj) is limited to one particle yuá "now, then" which functions to highlight the clause or some specific element in the clause (Section 223.3). The enclitic 65 -da (Section 313.1) occurs optionally with this form to reinforce the punctuality connotation. The enclitic 72 -tą?á occurs optionally with yuá. The resulting phonological form yuátą means "not yet," and occurs only in the context of a negative verb form.

yaí wa?kɨ́ yuá tǫ́ni dɨóbi. "The dog, then, jumped (the agouti) and made him submerge (into the river)."

taíta yuáda tį?ą́hį. "Now, then, Father is arriving."

bágɨ wɨ?é yuátą tɨhímą́?į́hį. "He has not yet finished his house."

480. Intensifier (int) is limited to one particle ?aí "much, extremely" and occurs as the filler of the intensifier slot of any of the clause types (Section 223.5).

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ʔaí káhi bágɨ. "He talks much."

ʔaí mɛ̨́hi tɨká. "Debris (sticks) drifts (downriver) in great quantity."

ʔaí baʔí zióde tɛ̨tówɨ. "We cleared a very big (much being) field."

490. Miscellaneous forms, which are rather loosely incorporated into the syntax, are cited here more for the sake of human interest than for structural description. These are conjunction, exclamatory word, onomatopoetic word, and special response utterances, all of which give colorful connotations to the communication and add style to a narrative.

491. Conjunction is a class consisting of Spanish borrowings y "and," o "or," and pero "but." Although Siona has other grammatical devices to signal these concepts, they are used occasionally as a result of heavy influence from the trade language. They function predominantly as clause and sentence connectives rather than as coordinates between nouns.

492. Exclamatory word is a class of forms indicating surprise of various kinds. These are verbal responses to some linguistic or social contexts and are entirely of trade language origin.

ʔaaa (prolonged vowel with some rising intonation) "Yes, now I understand."

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ʔóрa (often uttered with long o vowel) "Sudden surprise" (in response to a very unexpected event)

ʔui "Expression of surprise to an event reflecting catastrophe, danger or harm." (Spanish: ¡uy!)

493. Onomatopoetic words reflect imitations of sounds produced by certain animals or natural phenomena. These are identified as discourse subtypes and occur as quotations (Section 222.5).

ʔeee (prolonged vocoid with rising intonation) "noise a demon makes underground"

R̃R̃ (prolonged voiced uvular trill) "sound produced by a boa or anaconda"

gaʔčék, gaʔčék, gaʔček... "sound of a person swallowing liquid"

sęę, sęę (each syllable bears rising intonation) "sound of a panpipe flute"

494. Special responses are cited as follows:

hɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ (unique intonation pattern) "I don't know."

This form is usually accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders, wag of the head, raising of the eyebrows. It often precedes wesɨ́yɨ́ "I don't know."

hɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́, hɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ hɨ́ɨ́, or hɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ɨ́ hɨ́ hɨ́ɨ́ (unique intonation patterns) "Is that so?"

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These latter forms, each one progressively more forceful, are frequently uttered by the listener to assure the narrator of his interest in the story and to encourage him to continue.

ʔaito "Of course, certainly."

haɨʔɨ "Yes, I understand."

ʔɨhɨʔɨ "Yes, that is true."

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500. Sentence structure

The term sentence encompasses two types of syntactic units, the complete sentence and the fragmentary sentence. Within the context of discourse, the two are closely related. The complete sentence (Section 510) involves an arrangement of one or more clauses in sequence, so that the final clause is one of the independent types (Section 232), unless a dependent clause occurs as an afterthought (Section 210). The fragmentary sentence (Section 520) is without predication, an element which is implicit in linguistic and social context, and occurs most frequently as a response to a circumstance initiated by another participant. Both types of sentence bear final intonation patterns in common.

510. Complete sentences

In order to fulfill the definition of grammatical completeness this type of sentence in its minimal form may be a single independent clause, which in turn may be represented by a single verb with inflection of the independent type. The most common pattern, however, is the occurrence of several subordinate clauses in sequence, followed by one independent clause, which provides the signals for person, tense, mood, and often aspect for the entire sentence. The occurrence in the final clause of such information covering all the clauses of the sentence is characteristic not only of Siona but of all the Tucanoan languages.[26] The different ways subordinate clauses unite in sequence

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(Section 512) do not constitute bases for distinguishing sentence types, since there are no distributional differences among them. The occurrence of each is accompanied by the same final intonation pattern.

Criteria for distinguishing sentence types arise from the independent base tagmeme (Section 511), which occurs finally in the construction.

511. Sentence types

Three types of complete sentences are distinguished: the declarative, the confirmation interrogative and the information interrogative. All of these types are distinguished by features of distribution within a higher structural level, discourse, by the independent clause type (Section 232) filling the independent base of the sentence, and by the pattern of intonation occurring in sentence final position.

511.1. Declarative sentence

S-dec = $\pm$(B-sub:Cl-01/PCl-s)^{n} +B-dec:Cl-05/PCl-d

A declarative sentence (S-dec) consists of an optional subordinate base (B-sub) tagmeme, which is manifested by a subordinate clause (Cl-01) or a subordinate perfective clause (PCl-s), and which may occur an unlimited number (n) of times; plus an obligatory declarative base (B-dec) tagmeme, which is manifested by a declarative clause (Cl-05) or a perfective declarative clause (PCl-dec). See Sections

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231.1, 232.1, 241 and 242.

The declarative sentence occurs in any type of discourse without restriction as to position in the discourse. The intonation pattern which occurs sentence finally is the downglide, characterized by high pitch on the last stressed syllable of the final stem and low pitch on all the succeeding syllables.

[B-sub] [B-sub] [B-dec]
wágɨbi ʔɨgɨ daigɨną yɨʔɨ dɨhǫ́bi sákóʔɨ. "When (her) (son-) in-law came to get (her), my wife went."

[B-sub] [B-sub] [B-dec]
yaí sɨáni ʔaidu waʔí waʔnáde zęągɨ ʔąíhi. "Because he is a jaguar he catches animals of the woods and eats (them)."

[B-dec]
ʔąyą pikɨbi tɨdíhi. "The anaconda growls."

[B-sub] [B-dec]
gohé sąʔnąwɨną kakáni gatísiʔkɨʔpí. "He had gone into the hole and was hidden."

Occasionally, a dependent clause occurs following the declarative base tagmeme, in which case the information is presented as an afterthought to what precedes. Downglide intonation occurs following both the independent base and the dependent base in the afterthought position. Clause level tagmemes also pattern as afterthought elements (Section 210).

[B-sub] [B-dec] [B-sub]
waʔtíde gɨʔtóni bágɨ yoʔóde sábi, ʔɨsɨgɨ ʔetágɨna. "He sharpened (his) machete and took up his work, as the sun was rising."

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[B-dec] [B-sub]
ziáyana to?idé?áwi, ti?tíbabi yąyągina. "I almost fell into the river, when the river bank caved in."

511.2. Confirmation interrogative

S-c-ig = ±(B-sub:Cl-01/PCl-s)^{n} +B-c-ig:Cl-06/PCl-ig

The confirmation interrogative sentence (S-c-ig) consists of an optional subordinate base (B-sub) tagmeme, which is manifested by a subordinate clause (Cl-01) or a subordinate perfective clause (PCl-s), and which may occur an unlimited number (n) of times; plus an obligatory confirmation interrogative base (B-c-ig) tagmeme manifested by a confirmation interrogative clause (Cl-06) or an interrogative perfective clause (PCl-ig). See Sections 231.1, 232.2, 241 and 243.

Although it is mathematically possible for any number of subordinate base tagmemes to occur, most often no more than one or two occur in this sentence type. The confirmation interrogative sentence occurs only in conversational discourse as a closure to the speech of a given participant in the dialogue, and is a signal for the addressee to begin speaking. The intonation pattern closing this sentence type is a downglide, similar to that of the declarative sentence, except that the final stem syllable is of notably higher pitch.

[B-sub] [B-sub][B-c-ig]
wa?íde tą?téni ziáyaną sáni zoáde. "Did you (pl) cut up the meat, take it to the river and wash it?"

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B-c-ig
hų́kɬ. "Did he die?"

B-c-ig
hégɬ. "Is he docking?"

[B-sub][B-c-ig]
ʔaí baʔíye ʔokógɬ sɬánį yakígo. "Because it is raining a great deal, is she getting wet?"

[B-c-ig]
weáde tɬáséʔémą́ʔįgɬʔnę́. "Wasn't the corn harvested?"

511.3. Information interrogative sentence

S-inf-ig = ±B-sub:Cl-01/PCl-s)^{n} +B-inf-ig:Cl-07

The information interrogative sentence (S-inf-ig) consists of an optional subordinate base (B-sub) tagmeme, which is manifested by a subordinate clause (Cl-01) or a subordinate perfective clause (PCl-s), and which may occur an unlimited number (n) of times; plus an information interrogative base (B-inf-ig) tagmeme manifested by an information interrogative clause (Cl-07). See Sections 231.1, 232.3 and 241.

Although it is mathematically possible for any number of subordinate base tagmemes to occur, it is most usual to have only one or two. If a subordinate clause is closely knit to the main clause it precedes, the interrogative introducer tagmeme (Section 232.3) occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause instead of at the beginning of the interrogative clause.

[B-sub] [B-inf-ig]
géde yoʔóhį bágɬté hayádeʔnę́. "What are you doing making fun of him?" (Rhetorical question indicating rebuke)

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keáka nęgɨ ʔɨkóde ʔųkúyeʔnę yɨʔɨ. "How would I gain by drinking the drug?" (Rhetorical question indicating negative insistence, i.e. "I certainly have nothing to gain by drinking the drug.")

Unless the information interrogative is rhetorical the sentence type occurs only in conversational type discourse to close the speech of a given participant. The sentence final intonation pattern is the upglide, which is characterized by low pitch on the penultimate syllable of the sentence and high pitch on the ultima.

Rhetorical questions are understood occasionally on the basis of context alone, however, and certain forms always identify the question as rhetorical. These are:

géde yoʔó- plus verb suffix 501, 502, or 503 (Chart III, page 92), followed by the remainder of an interrogative sentence. Second person subject indicates rebuke by the addressor. Third person subject indicates disapproval by the addressor.

keáka nę- plus verb suffix 501, 502, or 503 (Chart III, page 92), followed by the remainder of an interrogative sentence. This form indicates negative insistence by the addressor.

Examples of these questions are given above.

Rebuke, disapproval and negative insistence are the main types of elocutionary force displayed in rhetorical questions.

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Forms of the information interrogative other than those cited above usually expect an informative answer from the addressee.

[B-sub] [B-inf-ig]
géde wɨ́ʔwɨ́hɨ́ gąnǫ́yąʔnǫ́. "Why (for what) are they running and moving about?" i.e., "Why are they running around confused?"

[B-sub] [B-inf-ig]
hąʔsǫ́ dutámąʔítoká géde yɨ́ʔɨ́ tadá waʔtí yígɨʔnǫ́. "If you are not pulling up manioc, why do you want my manioc grater?"

[B-inf-ig]
hadónąʔ gatídeʔnǫ́. "Where did they hide?"

512. Subordinate base

The subordinate base tagmeme, which occurs optionally any number of times in a sentence, is identical for all three complete sentence types. It is manifested by a subordinate clause of either the perfective (Section 241) or the non-perfective (Section 231.1) construction. It is associated with clause final upglide intonation, which is characterized by low pitch on the penultimate syllable and high pitch on the ultima.

Connectivity relationships between a subordinate clause and the one following are classified as loose knit or close knit.

512.1. A clause has a loose knit connectivity relationship with the following one when its verb construction indicates

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a subject change by occurrence of suffix 601 -nąˀ "switch reference" (Section 411.1.1), or when subject change may occur but is not marked in the verb construction. The latter situation is the case when suffix order 620 (Section 411.1.2) or a subordinate perfective clause (Section 241) occurs. In such circumstances none of the non-predication elements of that clause is tied in with the following clause.

[B-sub] [B-dec]
gąsíde ʔųkúnįtąˀą́ sisómąmąˀíyę. "Even though I drink the emetic, I probably won't vomit."

[B-sub] [B-dec]
soˀó saísiˀkí síáni zoé daimąˀíhi. "Because he has gone far, he won't come (back) for a while."

[B-sub] [B-inf-ig]
kudí siˀásęˀé síáni gębi kąde kóyeˀné mąí. "Since the money is all gone, with what are we to buy clothes?"

[B-sub] [B-sub] [B-dec]
yó waˀtíde yoˀóni tihígíną gǫnǫ́de keóni ʔųkʷágoyą́. "When he finished making the canoe paddle, she poured beverage and gave it to him."

512.2. A clause has a close knit connectivity relationship with the following one when the verb construction indicates that the following clause will have the same subject, as in the case of the time related inflection without suffix 601 -nąˀ "switch reference," and in the case of suffix 521 -ni "sequential" without suffix order 620 (Section 411.1.2). In such circumstances a clause may be linked to the following one in either of three ways:

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1) A given nominal element manifesting the object tagmeme in the first clause may be marked for instrument instead of object and function as instrument tagmeme for the following clause.

[B-sub] [B-sub] [B-dec]
wahɨ́ wɨ́ʔwɨgɨ́nɨ́ tɨ́kábɨ́bi tɨ́yónɨ́ bágɨ́té waɨ́ʔɨ́. "He ran alive, and I cut a stick and killed him with it." The noun tɨ́kábɨ́ "stick," marked with enclitic 61 -bi for instrument, functions as the object of tɨ́yónɨ́, and as the instrument of waɨ́ʔɨ́.

2) In the case of an information interrogative sentence the interrogative introducer tagmeme of the final clause occurs as the first element of a close knit clause sequence preceding the interrogative clause.

[B-sub][B-sub][B-inf-ig]
kéhéʔíto ʔɨ́gɨ́ dánɨ́ saígɨ́ʔnɛ́. "When is he coming to get it and go?"

[B-sub] [B-inf-ig]
kéhéʔí zoé mɨ́ɨ́ hɨ́hóhɨ́ bágoté ʔɨ́yɨ́mɨ́ʔɨ́yɨ́ʔnɛ́. "How long are we going to wait and not see her?"

3) A subordinate clause marked for switch reference may occur parenthetically after the first nominal element or immediately preceding the verb of another clause. The parenthetical clause contains information out of focus to the main plot of the discourse.

[B-sub] [[[B-sub (parenthetic)]B-dec]]
ʔokó tɨ́ʔɨ́nɨ́ ʔayánɨ́ yɨ́ʔɨ́bi biá nɨ́kónɨ́ hɨ́ʔmɛ́gonɨ́ ʔɨ́kúwɨ́.
"I put it in a half gourd, and, when she mixed hot pepper with it, I drank it."

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513. Special patterns of intonation

The narration or conversation may reflect the emotions of the speaker in special situations via the type of intonation used. Two significant patterns have been noted: 1) stimulation to excitement and 2) expression of disapproval.

513.1. Stimulation to excitement is reflected by extra high pitch, with vowel lengthening on the penultimate syllable of a subordinate clause, and low pitch on the ultima plus a significantly long pause. This intonation pattern is prominent in cases where the narrator is developing a build up in his plot and is stimulating the listener to anticipate it.

[B-sub] [B-sub] [B-sub]
bohóda?dɨ sánɨ káye beóye ?ačánɨ hą?ą́dɨ̨bi wekɨ́nɨ ?ɨ̨yą́nɨ

[B-sub] [B-sub] [B-dec]
bágɨnąą kʷą́ǫ́nɨ toáwɨ̨té wɨ́ánɨ bágɨnɨ huɨ́?ɨ́. "I went slowly, listened quietly, then I saw the tapir, and drew near to him, and I raised the gun, and I shot him."

A variation on this pattern adds emphasis to the stimulation to excitement. The extra high to low downglide in pitch occurs entirely on the final syllable of the subordinate clause and on time elements (e.g., hą?ą́dɨ̨bi "then," as shown above).

513.2. Expression of disapproval is reflected only in conversation by use of a series of ascending pitch levels on the last three or four syllables of each declarative clause of the speech. Specifically, the speaker expresses disapproval

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of the event he is relating by using this intonation pattern.

yuátą kudí ʔįsímąʔígįyą́. mįʔį yoʔó deʔóye tįhímąʔíyį kągįyą́. bągį yuá dó kokégįyą́. "He hasn't given the money yet. 'You haven't finished your work well,' he said. Well, he is just lying."

520. Fragmentary sentences

Fragmentary sentences are characterized by absence of overt predication, although they are accompanied by the same sentence final intonation pattern described for the declarative (Section 511.1) and the information interrogative (Section 511.3) sentence types. The pattern corresponding to the confirmation interrogative (Section 511.2) does not occur. The absence of overt predication is compensated for by the event implied in the immediate context, linguistic or social. In the examples below the linguistic context is given first, and the fragmentary sentence response follows.

hadónąʔ saígįʔné mįʔį.	wįʔé.
"Where are you going?"	"House."
mįʔį mąʔyóni ʔįyąhąíhįʔį.	haįʔį.
"Go see your older sister."	"Ok."
gǫsáde ʔayáhįʔį.	hadónąʔ.
"Put the palm (spec) fruit inside."	"Where?"

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kéhé?íto sáté?né. hą́ą́ą́ą́.

"When did they go?" "I don't know."

se?é ?ą́ą́hą́?ą́ yo?hégi. hadó.

"Eat some more, Younger Brother." "Where at?" (assent)

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600. Discourse structure[27]

A general understanding of discourse structure in Siona became necessary in order to compose translations of the Holy Scriptures into smooth flowing, intelligible language. Single sentences out of context are understandable per se, but when they are arranged in a discourse without regard for discourse structure, the communication is stilted and unnatural. This analysis has been done with an awareness that emic differences in types of discourse exist. The two principle distinctions isolated thus far in the study are narrative and dialogue. These are referred to from time to time throughout this section.

The positing of grammatical structure on a level beyond the sentence, that is, the discourse level, is very fruitful in accounting for these variations and in predicting the types of sentences and their interrelationship within the total framework of discourse and to generate a body of language acceptable to the native speakers of Siona.

The levels of grammatical analysis presented here for sentence and below (clause, phrase, word, etc.) have been dealt with in terms of concatenations and relationships in strings. Constituents have been further analyzed as strings of tagmemes on the next lower structural level, and stated in terms of their distribution within the next higher structural level. The fact that a discourse is composed of strings of sentences with different kinds of connectivity relationships is an ex-

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tension of this principle. Definite patterns of relating sentences to each other as they occur along the line of events in a discourse are stated in Section 610.

Besides the structure of discourse in terms of strings of sentences, or larger blocks such as paragraph or episode, other aspects of grammar on this level involve the system of participant identification and role designation (Section 620), and speaker or narrator viewpoint (Section 630). These other aspects of discourse structure fall outside the realm of segmentation and string relationships, but they involve patterns that cut across various levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

610. Sentence connectivity

The relationship of sentences to each other within the context of discourse is influenced by the discourse phase in which they occur: opener, build up, climax, or closure. The types of relationships differ in accordance with shifts in episode, introduction of new elements, elaboration on information at a given point, and reference to information previously stated. Connectivity relationships focus on the linkage of events to each other as elements of the whole narrative or dialogue. Sentence connectivity in Siona is displayed structurally by two basic phenomena: the presence or absence of a linking element. The linking element indicates the line of relationship between two events or blocks of events. The absence of it indicates that elaboration of an event is to follow.

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611. The linking element

The linking element is either a clause, a temporal pronoun such as hą?ą́dį̨bi "then" or de?wé "after a while," or both. The linking clause is of either the subordinate (Sections 231.1 and 241) or the nominal (Section 231.4) construction type, and it occurs initially in a sentence that is related to a preceding one. Its verb theme is the same as that of the independent clause of the sentence it is related to (the antecedent sentence).

The connectivity relationship may be between individual sentences in sequence, or between larger units of the narrative, such as paragraph, chapter or episode, in which case there is a significant turning point in the narrative. The scope of the relationship is signaled by the internal composition of the linking element. A significant turning point in the narrative occurs when 1) hą?ą́ka "thus" occurs in the manner slot of the linking clause, 2) a temporal pronoun occurs as the first element of the clause following the linking clause, and/or 3) the antecedent sentence is not the immediately preceding one. A structural definition of the kinds of units larger than a sentence is still a matter of study. Paragraph and episode are possibilities, but there may be others. When the linking element consists only of the linking clause composed of a single verb construction, and the antecedent sentence is the immediately preceding one, the connectivity relationship is between individual events in a chain. Relationships involving simul-

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taneity, sequence, condition, or concession are indicated by the suffix orders 500 and 600 (Chart III, page 92) that occur inflected to the verb theme of the linking clause.

612. Elaboration

The absence of the linking element at the beginning of a sentence indicates that that sentence is an elaboration on the preceding one. If the independent clauses of the two sentences have the same verb filling their predicate slots, the elaboration is in terms of elements which complement the predicate, such as nominals, temporals or adverbials. Although the grammatical structure allows for such elements to be included in a single sentence, the presentation of information over the course of two or more sentences draws focus on the event, since the verb is repeated, and provides an element of redundancy in the narrative. If the information is new and perhaps unfamiliar to the listener, overloading of the communication channels[28] tends to be avoided.

If the independent clauses of the two sentences have different verbs, the second verb provides further semantic clarification on the first one.

Sentences occurring as components of the discourse opener and closure are without the linking element. The opener consists of an initial sentence and any that elaborate on it. It presents the initiating circumstances, if not the general theme of the narrative. Third person participants introduced in the

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opener are identified via a noun phrase or nominal clause construction, not via a pronoun. Such participants are central to the narrative and are marked for focus.

The closing sentence consists of a single clause to signal the end of the narrative.

si?ábi koká. "The story is finished."

gąyąyę?ą́. "That is all there is."

613. The distribution of sentence types within discourse

Two different types of discourse, narrative and dialogue, contrast with regard to the types of sentences which occur at given positions within them. Both types of discourse accommodate the declarative sentence (Section 511.1) in the same way, however, the interrogative type sentences (Sections 511.2 and 511.3), unless they reflect rhetorical questions, occur only in dialogue discourse. They function as closures to the speech of a given participant and provide the signal for the addressee to begin speaking.

Only the dialogue discourse contains fragmentary sentences (Section 520). These occur as openers to the speech of a given participant in response to the speech of another participant.

620. Participant identification and role designation

At various points along the event line[29] of a narrative participants key to the main theme are designated by various lexical representations. These are correlated with different

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grammatical constructions (noun phrase, nominal clause, pronoun, etc.) and grammatical functions (subject, goal, object, instrument, etc.). In many cases the participant is indicated apart from any overt lexical form by context and verb inflection. The ways participant roles are distinguished throughout the course of a narrative are described in terms of grammatical patterns on the discourse level (Section 621). At the same time a pattern of enclitic marking indicates the degree of focus given to the nominal elements of a discourse (Section 622). The correlation of these two patterns is demonstrated by the fact that participants central to the main theme of the narrative are identified by a different set of signals than those peripheral to the narrative, and that only the key participants are designated as in focus.

621. Patterns of participant identification

Participants peripheral to the narrative function as setting and are considered incidental to the plot formation. These occur only once or twice each during an episode and are not referred to pronominally. Participants central to the plot formation are introduced at a given point along the event line and are identifiable sentence by sentence throughout a particular phase of the narrative. First and second person participants are designated almost entirely by a pronoun. Third person participants, which may be either animate, inanimate, spatial or temporal, are designated by noun phrases and

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nominal clauses, as well as by pronouns.

A key participant is always introduced into the discourse by a nominal which characterizes the participant role as far as it is relevant to the narrative. If the socio-cultural context provides ample information for participant identification, often a minimal noun phrase is sufficient:

yɨ?ɨ́ dɨ̨hǫ́ "my wife"

?ɨ̨sɨ́gɨ́ "the sun"

gątɨ́ya bą́ "Wild Cane River people"

wɨ́?é "house"

If the immediate situation requires identification of a participant in detail, the nominal construction is more complex:

si?á wa?né, buéną vista bą́ (apposition) "everyone of the Buena ta people"

zɨ́kó?á, júlio ká wa?ká, bá bą́gɨ́ ermǫ́hęnę ká wa?ká nąkóni (plural participant) "the children, the one called Julio, along with that person called Hermógene"

yaí wa?ká sister we?égɨbi "the dog, the one named Sister"

yɨ́kíną ?avɨ́ǫ́ daisé?éde, hą?áde "our airplane trip (here), that"

Once the participant is introduced, only the information necessary for distinguishing from other participants need be incorporated into the nominal construction, although more information is often added as a tendancy to maintain a level of redundancy.

saisikó?ábi "those who had gone"

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bágɨbi "he"

hą?ą́de "that"

If only one key participant is involved in an episode, the normal pattern is first, the occurrence of a nominal characterizing the participant and afterward, the occurrence of a pronominal referent about once each sentence to identify the participant.

If two key participants are involved, each is introduced by a characterizing nominal. If they are of different gender or noun class, pronimal reference is clearly distinguished by the overt differences in the pronoun forms. If they are of the same gender or noun class, ambiguity is resolved by 1) the switch reference suffix 601 -nq (Chart III, page 92) to indicate change in subject from one participant to another, 2) the use of a noun phrase or nominal clause to identify a participant whenever there is a switch in the grammatical role associated with that participant, and 3) the context of the immediate situation or of tribal culture patterns regarding behavior and attributes of particular participants. These three devices are activated more fully when several key participants are involved in the episode at the same time. Whenever a new participant is introduced into the narrative, an identifying nominal, instead of a pronoun, is used to refer to another participant that follows the introduction.

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622. Focus

Focus on key participants of a discourse is indicated by the pattern of enclitic marking, which occurs on the nominal elements (Section 313.1). These enclitics vary according to the grammatical role (subject, object and goal) of the nominal. Chart XI indicates the general scheme of enclitic occurrence to mark focus. Two degrees of focus occur for animate nominals. The absence of an enclitic on subject and object indicates that these elements are out of focus. A goal out of focus is marked with -de.

When each participant is traced through the discourse, the pattern of enclitic marking on the pertinent nominal elements is correlated with the grammatical role in each situation. The participants which are central to the narrative occur with enclitic markers as shown in columns 1 and 2 of Chart XI. These are the same as the nominal elements marked for focus and correlated with non-linguistic behavior in dialogue. The participants which occur without enclitic markers pattern as setting to the main theme of the narrative and are considered peripheral thereto. Focus is the primary function of these enclitic markers. The fact that they indicate grammatical function as well is secondary, since the immediate situation and the socio-cultural context are the more heavily relied on to determine the grammatical role, especially when the enclitic is absent. As the grammatical role of the participant

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Chart XI - Enclitic marking for focus

	Emphatic Focus	Normal Focus	Non Focus
Animate:			
Subject	-ga	-bi	ø
Object	-nį	-de	ø
Goal	-nąˌ	-nį	-de
Inanimate:			
Subject	x	-bi	ø
Object	x	-de	ø
Goal	x	-nąˌ	-de

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changes, the enclitic marker conforming to the proper grammatical category is selected, and the primary semantic connotation of focus is maintained.

Occasionally there are instances when none of the nominal elements are in focus, in which case the events indicated by predication are in the center of attention.

630. Speaker or narrator viewpoint

The viewpoint of the speaker or the narrator involves his own relationship to both the circumstances and to the listener or addressee. His relationship to the circumstances (Section 631) determines the selection of particular verb constructions over the span of the narrative. His relationship to the listener (Section 632) determines to some extent the degree of redundancy, characterization of participants, and the amount of elaboration he builds into the narrative.

631. The narrator's relationship to the circumstances

The viewpoint of the speaker or the narrator to the circumstances of the narrative sets the stage for the patterns of mood and tense occurrence in the independent verb constructions throughout the discourse. The categories of mood are 1) definite involvement, indicating that the speaker associates himself with the circumstances and is aware of their occurrence (Section 411.5.1); 2) indefinite involvement, indicating that the speaker associates himself with the circumstances, but due

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to his participation in other activity he is not aware of the time these events take place (Section 411.5.4); and 3) detachment, indicating that the speaker considers himself alienated from the circumstances and not responsible for their occurrence (Section 411.5.5). The definite involvement and detachment categories enter into constructions for basic types of tense, which are 1) immediate, indicating that the events have a bearing on present circumstances, and 2) distant (past), indicating that the events have no application to the present and are merely history or "water under the bridge" (Section 411.5.6).

The viewpoint indicated in the opening sentence of the narration is basic to the whole discourse. There may be intermediate shifts in viewpoint from time to time, and whatever one prevails determines which mood-tense construction occurs with the main verb of each sentence included in that span of viewpoint.

632. The narrator's relationship to the listener

The narrator's relationship to the listener has to do with the former's knowledge of how well informed the latter is to the background of the events. A person narrating a given episode would present the information one way to his wife and in other ways to his children, to other members of his community, to Indians of the social outgroup, and to the linguistic investigator who is making a taped recording of it. Any attempt to define structural patterns for redundancy level,

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degree of elaboration and characterization of participants has not been done. The main observation here is that a person tends to present information in a more amplified manner, depending on how well informed he knows the listener is about it. Instead of leaving certain elements implicit in the narration, he states them explicitly so that the listener may be more sure to understand his communication.

Converse application of this factor is very helpful in translating of new material into Siona. Information about hygiene, history, society and economy of the nation, and passages from the Bible involve concepts and situations new to Siona thinking. If these people are to understand the communication, the translator must evaluate the extent to which certain elements need to be made explicit.

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1. As per Mason (1950), pages 259-261; McQuown (1955); and Waltz and Wheeler (in press), Section 4.1.

2. A summary of the history of the Western Tucanoan tribes is given in Steward (1948), pages 739-741. See also Ortiz (1965).

3. Some manuscripts are cited in Tovar (1961), pages 209-218. All are cited and evaluated in Ortiz (1965), pages 134-136.

4. Castellví (1934a and †1962), Castellví and Espinosa (1958), Igualada and Castellví (1940), Beuchat and Rivet (1911), and Rivet (1914).

5. Field notes of Manuel José Casas y Manrique, Bogotá (unpublished).

6. The grammatical analysis has been facilitated by use of a concordance of the Siona text material compiled on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

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7. For a textbook presentation see Elson and Pickett (1964). Longacre (1964) has been a guide as a field manual. The basic theoretical foundation has come from Pike (1967 rev) and Pike (1964 and 1965). A recent application of tagmemics to field investigation is found in Matteson (1967). See also Wares (1968).

8. Wheeler and Wheeler (1962a) and Wheeler (1962), pages 249-250. This presentation introduces several changes in symbolism from that presented in the 1962 material.

9. The fortis-lenis, rather than the simple-glottalized distinction (which I have stated in the 1962 articles), is posited for two reasons: 1) The historical development of the glottalized consonants emerged very recently; they are not attested in any of the other Tucanoan languages (See Waltz and Wheeler, in press). 2) The feature of glottalization is only faintly perceptible in all the sets except the alveolar stop, where retroflexion is also prominent.

10. Environments for glottal effect (laryngealization) are further specified in Wheeler and Wheeler (1962a), page 103.

11. Further treatment of the phonological phrase (or rhythm group) is found in Pike (1947), pages 89-91.

11. Glottal effect on vowels, which is conditioned by adjacent glottal stop, is indicated by a small glottal hook [ʔ] above the vowel.

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13. No morphophonemic alternation occurs across word boundaries, a feature that forms the basis for defining the word on phonological grounds. Otherwise the word is defined as the minimum elicitable form.

14. Chomsky (1965), pages 16-18. Compare also the presentations given on transformational paradigms by Banker (1964), pages 7-39.

15. Pickett (1960), pages 18-20.

16. Longacre (1964), page 17.

17. The occurrence of the allomorph -té is conditioned by secondary word stress on the preceding syllable. The same conditioning prevails for homophonous verb suffixes -de ~ -té, presented in Chart III, page 92.

18. Longacre (1964), page 18.

19. Wise (1968), pages 181-184.

20. Jacobsen (in press).

21. If the previous syllable has glottal stop onset, that glottal stop is reduced. If the vowel of that syllable is i, it is reduced.

22. A comparison of wɨ?wɨ "run," wa?wɨ "scratch the ground (as a fowl does)," and wɨi "arise" suggests that "motion with

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the legs" is a common semantic component of wɨ-. Such an analysis would lead to the morpheme divisions of wɨ?-wɨ and wa?-wɨ. Similar comparisons can be made between other forms. Although there is no general pattern in the language to account for such morpheme divisions, the situation indicates the possible existence of one at an earlier stage diachronically. Comparative evidence tends to support this hypothesis. See Matteson (in press), especially Sections 2.1, 4.1, and 6.2.

23. These forms are the only ones in which nasalization does not carry through to the following vowel, according to the morphophonemic rule given in Section 150.

24. The noun hóbo "village," derived by classifier suffix 21.4 -bo, has hó?bodɨ as its diminutive form.

25. Names of tributaries to the Caquetá, Putumayo and Napo systems abound in the ending -ya/-ña, as per designations on maps of the region.

26. Grammars of other Tucanoan languages, either in final manuscript form or in the process of completion by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics are as follows. For the Western languages are: Orejón - Dan and Virginia Velie, Perú; Secoya - Orville and Mary Johnson, Ecuador; Coreguaje - Dorothy Cook and Carolyn Muller, Colombia. For the Eastern

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languages, which are all of Colombia, are: Carapaná - Ronald and Lois Metzger, Cubeo - J.K. and Neva Salser, Guanano - Nathan and Carolyn Waltz, Desano - James and Marion Miller, Northern Barasano - Joel and Nancy Stolte, Southern Barasano - Richard and Connie Smith, Tucano - Betty Welch and Birdie West, Tatuyo - David and Janice Whisler, Tuyuca - Janet Barnes and Sheryl Takagi.

27. This section is a further elaboration of the ideas presented in Wheeler (1967). Principle applications of discourse analysis influencing this presentation are found in Wise (1968), Longacre (1968), Cromack (1968), Gleason (1968), Grimes and Glock (in press), and Loriot (1957).

28. Nida (1964), pages 140-142.

29. Gleason (1968), pages 40 ff.

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The following list, comprising all the known documents recorded by Franciscan missionaries on the Siona language, are cited and evaluated by Ortiz (1965), pages 134-136. The English translation of his comments is mine.

1. "Diccionario y doctrina en lengua Zeona." A manuscript of 416 pages, foliated; cited in Acosta, Joaquín: Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto, pages 437-438, Paris, 1848. Acosta's remarks: "This is the most general language of the Amazon tributaries, especially of the Caquetá and Putumayo."

2. Another smaller manuscript (124 pages) on the same language, cited in the same publication, page 438.

3. Uricoechea, E., "Vocabulario de la Lengua que Usan los Indios de estas misiones--del Colegio de Popayán--Se Supone Ser la Lengua Ceona" in: Castillo y Orozco, Eugenio, cura de Tálaga: Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones Gramaticales, i dos pláticas, con Adiciones y un Vocabulario Castellano, page xx, Paris, 1886.

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4. Arte de Lengua de las Misiones del río Napo de la Nación Quenquehoyos, e Idioma General de los Más de ese Río, Payohuates, Genzehuates, Ancoteres, Encabellados. Juntamente tiene la doctrina cristiana en dicha lengua y en la del Ynga, al remate -- in: Brinton, Daniel G. (1892).

5. A vocabulary of the general language of the Indians of the Putumayo and Caquetá -- in: Jiménez de la Espada, Marcos, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 49 pages, Madrid, 1904.

6. Manuscritos del Siona o Zeona -- in: Lenguas de América, Manuscritos de la Real Biblioteca, Vol 1, pages 308-79, Madrid, 1928.

7. Vocabulario de Lengua de los Yndios q(ue) Pueblan los Ríos Putumayo y Caquetá a Solicitud del Colegio Apostólico de S. Diego de Quito--cited in Schuller, Rudolf (1930).

8. Mention is made of the existence of a grammar and vocabulary of the Ceona language in the Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá -- in: Rocha (1905), page 137.

9. "Father Joaquín de San Joaquín wrote a dictionary and grammar of the Zeona language in the year 1600" quote from Otero Muñoz, Gustavo, "Historia de la Literatura Colombiana," Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, Vol. 21, page 166, Bogotá, 1934.

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10. "Franciscan missionaries (O.F.M.) Fray José de S. Joaquín Barrutieta and Fray José Carvo authored a work in El Colegio de Misiones de Quito at about 1728 or 1729, entitled 'Un Vocabulario Extenso y Datos Gramaticales del Siona,' at that time the general language of the Putumayo. They produced more than twelve copies, which had been inventoried in that library, and today I find no more than this termite eaten one, and the manuscript inventory, on this day August 5, 1791," according to a citation on an old manuscript in the possession of Dr. Paul Rivet (1938), page 381.

11. "These same Franciscan missionaries authored another manuscript, which we cite as the same vocabulary as the preceding one with a few variations, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá, entitled: Diccionario y Catecismo de la Lengua Zeona del Putumayo. A remark on the flyleaf says: '-B. -O. -N. Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá- (1855) -E. -5 -No -12 -Ms. -23 -XIV -37.' It contains 122 pages, with parchment covers, of which 15 are extant and belong to the same Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá." Citation from Castellví (1938), page 381.

12. Vocabulario de la Lengua que Usan Los Indios de estas Misiones, followed by a Doctrina Cristina and other material giving information on the Ceona language: 1 plate blank, 4 plates unnumbered, 58 numbered plates, parchment covers. Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá: Published by Ortiz, Sergio Elías (1942).

A further statement by Ortiz (page 135-36) reads as

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follows: "Count de la Vinaza, in his Bibliografía Española de Lenguas Indígenas de América (Madrid, 1892), has cited two manuscripts on Ceona. These have been included in the above list, but we want to cite them here to avoid confusion.

"a) Item 113, p. 324. Diccionario y Catecismo en Lengua Zeona. A manuscript of 410 pages, Bogotá, Biblioteca Nacional, autographed and presented by General Acosta. (Same as No. 1, above).

"b) Item 1016, page 281. Vocabulario de la Lengua de los Indios que Pueblan los Ríos de Putumayo y Caquetá Hecho a Solicitud del Colegio de Misiones de San Diego de Quito. A manuscript of 26 pages. Preceding the Vocabulario is a 'Dedicatory Prayer.' Rivet and Schuller say this manuscript is the same one that Marcos Jiménez de la Espada published (same as No. 5 above) and Ortiz judges that it is the same one that Schuller found in Popayán, in Dr. Guillermo Valencia's library (same as No. 7, above).

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