I wish, I will, I want: directives in Siriono (Tupi-Guarani)

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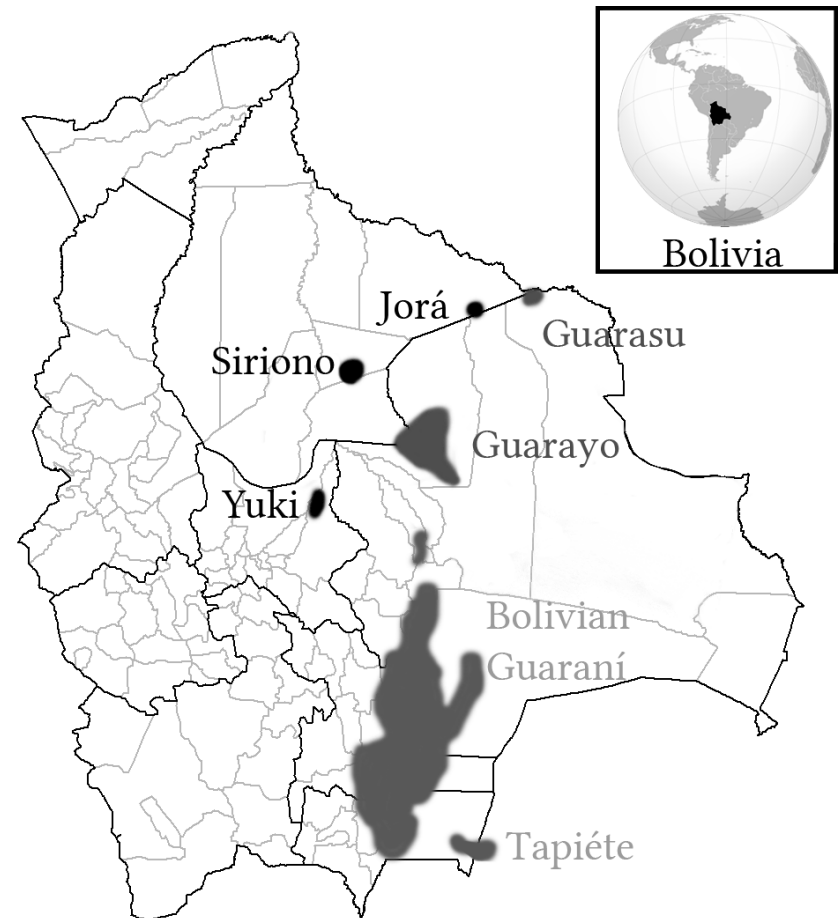
Roadmap

Figure 1: Map of Bolivian Tupi-Guarani languages by the author, 2015, based on R. Bazán & A. Cuellar, 1998.

1 Siriono

1.1 Situation

- Siriono or Sirionó (ISO 639-3 srq)

- Lowland Bolivia, one indigenous territory

- 800 Siriono but less than 50 speakers

- Oral tradition, no transmission, endangered language

- Tupi > Tupi-Guarani > Southern Clade > Sirionoide (with Yuki and Jorá)

- Also Tupi-Guarani branch 2 with: Yuki, Jorá, Guarayo, Guarasu

- A grammar by a Franciscan missionary (Schermair 1949) and a tagmemic description (Priest and Priest 1965)

- PhD[1] and ELDP[2] project on-going: description and documentation

- Corpus: ~25 hours of video recordings, 6 hours analyzed in FLEx.

1.2 Phonology and alphabet

- Syllable (C)V.

- Stress on penultimate syllable.

- Nasal propagation to the right : [ɾ] / Ṽ+_V -> [n͡d]
  <ch> [t͡ʃ] /Ṽ+_Ṽ -> <ñ> [ɲ]

- Lateralization around <ɨ> : /sɨ/ -> [s̺ɨ]

- Alphabet mainly based on Spanish with few exceptions:

  – <ny> [n͡dʒ], <ɨ> [ɪ], <nd> [n͡d], <mb> [m͡b], <h> [h]

  – Diaeresis indicates nasalization

Table 1: Pronouns and Verbal prefixes

	Pronouns		Subject	Object, Unique and possession marking
1SG	se		a-	se-
2SG	ere	nde	ere-	nde-
1PL.INCLUSIVE (1+3+2)	nande		nande-	nande-
1PL.EXCLUSIVE (1+3-2)	ure		ure-	ure-
2PL	hë		hë-	hë-
3SG	e	ae	ø-N	e-
1SG> 2SG			are-	

3SG.subject: nasalization of root-initial consonant when occlusive initial.

1.3 Syntax

- Word order: O S-V or S V O-DAT

- Split-ergative system: object of transitive sentences is the same as unique argument of intransitive sentences. Only one argument is marked on the verb.

- No number marking on nouns, no gender, no past tense

- Evidential (DIR/INDIR) indicated with a second position clitic, aspects marked with a post verbal clitic (PERF/IMPERF/DUR)

(1) eäká́toɨ =ke a-chiö   =nda
     tapir   =DIR 1SG-kill =PERF
     'I killed a tapir.'   (OP 68)

- Person marking on noun

- Noun-modifier

(2) a. *se-rirï* 'my son'
     b. *se-rirï ngasu* 'my tall son' (*kasu* 'tall')

2 Directive and imperative

2.1 Definitions

''**Manipulative speech-acts** are verbal acts through which the speaker attempts to manipulate the behavior of the hearer, with the goal being that of eliciting action rather than information.''   (Givón 2001: 311)

''**Imperative** mood is the commonest way of expressing commands in languages of the world—covering directive speech acts with their multiple meanings.''   (Aikhenvald 2010: 2)

There are ''reasons for adopting the terms '**directives**' and 'directive situation'. One is merely terminological: the grammars of different languages use **very different terms to refer to forms and constructions encoding directive situations**. In particular, **the label imperative is generally reserved for directive speech acts in which the addressee coincides with the performer**, while for other performers other labels are used (hortative, co-hortative, exhortative, injunctive, jussive, but also, somewhat less appropriately, optative or deontic).''   (Mauri & Sansò 2012: 150)

2.2 Imperative

Canonical imperative in Siriono is expressed with a verbal prefix *e-*. It is homophonous with the third person subject marker on intransitive verbs and 3sg possessor on nouns (3).

(3) nande-rirï   **e**-cheë
     1PL.INCL-sons IMP-speak
     'Speak with our sons.'   (PF 56)

Medial argument appears before the verb; beneficiary after the verb (4).

(4) **e**-cheë   tochi nde-rirï =he
     IMP-speak gently 2SG-son =DAT
     'Speak gently to your son(s).'   (HH 270)

Diachronically, *e-* (IMP) comes from *e- (IMP) while *e-* (3sg) is *i-* or *o-* (3sg) in other Tupi-Guarani languages (Jensen 1998: 518).

2.2.1 Emphasis

The command can be strengthened with a the particule *hë* (5)

(5) 'e-kichi   **hë**'   ɨ   e
     IMP-go.down EMPH 3SG.O.say 3SG.S
     'Come down! he said'   (PL 34)

2.2.2 Negative order

In negative orders, the verb is marked by a special negation clitic (6).

(6) e-u   **=chï** =naë
     IMP-eat =NEG =DUR
     'Don't ever eat this.'   (ZT 40)

Standard negation is constructed with the suffix *-ä* (7).

(7) mbarae chïa u   e-**ä**
     fish (sp.) eggs eat 3s-NEG
     'They did not eat fish egg.'   (OP 36)

2.2.3 Chain of command

Imperative can be use with causative *mb-* (8) to act on a third argument.

(8) hë-ndirï   **e-mb**-akiatu
     2PL-sons IMP-CAUS-learn
     'Make your sons learn.'   (HH 308)

2.3 Imperative plural

Order to more than one person is with the unique 2PL marker *hë-* (9). This prefix is rarely use to mark a subject on transitive sentences besides to express a directive force.

(9) ake **hë**-seni mbia-he   mambi
     this 2PL-tell people-DAT over.there
     'Tell this to the people over there!'   (Dial 168)

This prefix is not imperative marker per se, but a person marker used in a directive situation. Accordingly to Jensen (1998: 525), Proto-Tupi-Guarani had also only one **pe-* for 2PL and IMP.PL.

3 Subcategories

Table 2: Subcategories of imperatives
(König & Siemund 2007: 314)

Category	Illocutionary force
hortatives	exhortation
optatives	wishes
debitives	obligations
rogatives	petitions
monitories	warnings

3.1 Hortative

'' '**Hortative**' (also called 'exhortative' and 'adhortative') is a frequent label for **first person imperative**. Alternatively, this term may describe an extra meaning of an imperative, to do with **counseling**, or warning, or 'exhorting'. 'Jussive' and 'injunctive' often refer to commands directed at a third person. But in the Semitologist tradition, 'jussive' covers all non-second person imperative marking.'' (Aikhenvald 2010: 4)

Imperative at first person is also characterized as autoprescriptive. (Xrakovskij 2001: 26)

- In Siriono a prefix *t-* before a person prefix on verbs encodes a performative speech act (10) to manifest a reflexive directive force, an exhortion to act and a commitment.

(10) mbia ko **t**-a-seni hë-he
people DEM HORT-1SG-tell 2PL-to
'People, I will tell you that.' (HH 1)

Same with the portmanteau form 1SG.S>2SG.O (11).

(11) 'ahorita tuchɨ e-chu hë !' **t-are**-sarö
now *(es)* EMPH IMP-come EMPH ! HORT-1SG>2SG-wait
' 'Come right now!' I will wait for you.' (HH 272)

Hortative can not be negated.

(12) *t-a-cheë e-ä
HORT-1SG-speak 3SG-NEG
'I will not speak.' (elicitate)

3.2 Advice

Extension of hortative prefix with 2SG prefix to give an advice (13). This function is part of the directive speech acts to some extent, expressing a more general view about the world but still in order to give a directive to the interlocutor.

(13) ae nyukurɨ **t-ere**-u
DEM fruit (sp.) HORT-2SG-eat
'You should eat this fruit.' (HH 39)

3.3 Optative or co-hortative

Other languages in the Tupi-Guarani family use the *t-* prefix with all person (Rose 2015). Schermair (1949: 146) describes a full set, but *t-ae-*, *ta-nande-*, *ta-ure-* and *ta-hë* never appear in the Siriono corpus and actual speakers did not accept any of this forms. They generally occupy an optative function is Tupi-Guarani languages.

Optative consist of a light directive expressing a wish.

Instead, a person marking of plural markers as subjects of transitive predicate indicate a joint motion with a shared directive force, also describe as co-hortative (14 and 15).

(14) **nande**-u hë
1PL.INCL-eat EMPH
'Let's eat.' (OP 18)

(15) nde-churuki **ure**-rao
2SG-dance 1PL.EXCL-carry
'Let's carry your dance.' (MeH 296)

3.4 Polite request

Intensity of the directive force can be reduced by a limitative particle *hiri* (16). It may be related to the rogatives (petitions), but this label is not clearly defined and not common in linguistic descriptions.

(16) hë-nye **hiri** hë-ndiri he
2PL-speak LIM 2PL-kids to
'Talk a little to your kids.' (HH 223)

3.5 Strong imperative

Siriono has two clitics to reinforce directives and mark obligation. König and Siemund call this category as a debitative (2007: 315). An alternative label can be admonitives. These clitics can not co-occur and the exact meaning of them stay undetermined and a more generic glose *order* will be use (17 and 18).

(17) hë-ngoɨ **=yaë**
2PL-sit **=ORDER**
'Sit down!' (Dial 1)

(18) hë-nyu **=rä**
2PL-come **=ORDER**
'Come on!' (MiM 42)

3.6 Monitory

The semantic subcategory of warnings has been called ''monitory''. This category includes in Siriono a construction with imperative and irrealis *=reï* (19). This is a more general meaning, instructions about the right way of acting[3].

(19) e-chɨike e-sio **=reï** he e-susɨ **reï** he ɨ ari
3SG-guts IMP-gut =IRR then IMP-clean IRR then 3SG.say women
'Remove the guts and then clean them, said the women.' (PP 59)

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[3]See Palmer 2001: Chapter 6.6, for details about the interaction of the categories imperative and irrealis

Strict monitory meaning is a construction with the interjection *mbayaë* to warn strongly. It may be composed with *mba* 'expression of surprise' and *=yaë* 'order'.

(20) **mbayaë** ! chö ñe ne
forbidden ! MOD say IMPERF
'Forbidden! they said unexpectedly.' (OP 37)

3.7 I want

One postposition was described in Siriono as a 'desiderative' by Schermair (1949: 122): *chä~ña* (21).

(21) ae a-cheseo **ña** e-rese
yes 1SG-cry MOD 3SG-DAT
'Yes, I cry for him' (Dial 133)

An alternative interpretation is to consider *chä~ña* 'intentionally, on purpose' with *chö~ño* 'unexpected, that does not make sense to me' (20) as expression of a propositional modality. They indicate the presupposed of the speaker about the situation and do not convey any directive force.

3.8 Directives in the lexicon

Aikhenvald (2010: 317) dedicated a chapter to imperative lexemes, in which she described suppletive imperative forms and uninflected commands. For Siriono, at least two different elements can be described.

First position interjection *nyao* gives a directive force to the addressee and performer (22). It may come from the verb *chao* 'spill, deploy'.

(22) **nyao** nde-atake rea
let's.go 2SG-friend get
'Let's go together to get your friend' (Dial 133)

The postposition *kiatu* has the meaning of associated motion ('to go to do something') (23). The situation carries a directive force for both addressee and performer. It probably come from proto-tupi-guarani **katú* 'intensifier' (Jensen 1998: 539)

(23) nande-chiao **kiatu**
1PL.INCL-weave **go**
'Let's go and weave' (HH 155)

Conclusions

- Siriono has specific constructions for imperative and hortative;

- The strength of the order can be nuanced (emphasis, limitative, orders, irrealis);

- Optative is not a specific construction but a use of pronouns in a directive way;

- Specific structures for monitory (*mbayaë*); the interjection *nyao* participate to a directive speech-acts; associative motion (*kiatu*)

Abbreviations

1SG : first person singular
2SG : second person singular
1PL.INCL : first person inclusive
1PL.EXCL : first person exclusive
2PL : second person plural
3SG : third person
1SG>2SG : first person subject to second person object
DAT : dative, non-subject argument marking
DEM : demonstrative
DIR : direct knowledge
DUR : durative aspect

EMPH : emphasis
IMP : imperative
IRR : irrealis
IMPERF : imperfective aspect
INDIR : indirect knowledge
LIM : limitative
NEG : negation
ORDER : obligation
PERF : perfective aspect
MOD : propositional modality
~RED : reduplication

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