INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT SENTENCE TYPES IN CAMPA (ARAWAK)

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One of the problems in syntax analysis is that of the relation of sentences to each other and to larger structures made up of combinations of sentences (such as paragraphs or narratives). In Campa,[1] although it has not yet been possible to define the borders of paragraphs as units, it is possible to distinguish two major types of sentences: independent and dependent, combinations of which may be considered to be types of higher-layered structures at a level between that of single sentence and that of the paragraph. Independent sentences may be regarded as complete in themselves; dependent sentences, although complete units in terms of pause and intonation breaks, are dependent upon preceding independent sentences.

The purpose of this paper is to describe first the independent sentence types, then the dependent sentences types in terms of combinations of independent and dependent types.

Independent Sentence Types

Independent sentence types include the following: AA Affirmation of activity by actor, AAG Affirmation of activity directed toward goal, AB Affirmation of being, DNg Declaration of negativity, E Exclamation, and C Command. Each of these is distinguished by the obligatory functional units it contains.

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[1] The tribe speaking this language is called Campa by the Spanish-speaking Peruvians, but the tribe refers to itself and its members as Ashaninka, or, in the Apurimac River area, as Amatsenka Ashaninka. These people are sparsely scattered in an area from the Pachitea River on the north, to some forty miles south of the junction of the Mantaro and Apurimac Rivers, on the Apurimac. The tribal area extends from the foothills of the Andes to the Peruvian border at Puerto Pardo. (This large area is shared with other ethnic groups such as the Amuesha, Piro, and Amahuaca.) Some sections of the tribe have been acculturated to a large degree by the Spanish-speaking Peruvians; in other areas the Campas live untouched by civilization.

The dialect described in this paper is that spoken on the Apurimac River. While there are some phonological, morphological and lexical differences, this dialect is intelligible in large portions of the geographic area outlined above. The exact delineation of dialect areas and areas of mutual intelligibility we hope to study in the near future.

In my preparation of this paper I was greatly helped by the criticisms and suggestions of Viola Waterhouse and Kenneth Pike at the 1958 workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. The analysis is based on text material gathered by Willard Kindberg. I have also been greatly helped by my SIL colleague Helen Long Hart.

Sentence types AA and AAG represent probably the most frequently occurring sentence types in Campa.

Sentence Type AA. There are two obligatory functional units tagmemes)[2] in the minimum form of sentence type AA: actor (subject) and action. The action function is filled by an intransitive verb, or by an intransitive verb plus an auxiliary verb. The actor function is filled either by a subject prefix or by a free noun or pronoun or, with a small subclass of verbs, by a suffix. If the sentence contains an auxiliary verb, the subject prefix occurs with the auxiliary verb rather than with the main verb. The alternative possibilities of sentence type AA may be shown in the following tagmemic formulas: $+ +$A:SIV(obligatory action slot filled by subject-marked intransitive verb), or $+$S:N/Pr $+$A:IV (obligatory subject slot filled by noun or pronoun plus obligatory action slot filled by intransitive verb), or $+ +$A:SIVx($+$A:IV $+$Aux:SAuxV) (obligatory action slot filled by subject-marked intransitive verb expression, consisting of an obligatory action slot filled by an intransitive verb plus an obligatory auxiliary slot filled by a third person subject-marked auxiliary verb).

The fillers of the above are now discussed. In sentence type AA the filler for the activity tagmeme is the intransitive verb. The intransitive verb class is distinguished from other classes by its external distribution in that is occurs in the action or state slot, and by its internal distribution in that it has no object affixes. This class of verbs is divided into three subclasses. Subclass I consists of simple verbs. Simple verbs are divided into three alloclasses: (a) those consisting of subject prefix, stem and verbal, as nohate **I'm going;** (b) those consisting of only stem and verbal and requiring a noun or pronoun subject,[3] as hatake narori **(went I) I went;** (c) those containing suffixed subject rather than prefix subject,[4] as pokahimpi **Have you come?** (These include only a few specialized verbs.) Subclass II are auxiliary verbs which may occur as predicate in the affirmation of state sentence type, but usually accompany another verb. Subclass III consists of a few specialized forms which do not occur with all the regular suffixes characteristic of verbs, but which fill the same functional slots as verbs, and hence are considered to be members of the verb class, as ainiro **there is.**

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[2] This term replaces the term 'grameme' used in Pike's **Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior,** Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, California, 1954. A tagmeme is defined as a grammatical functional unit consisting of a slot: class correlation of a functional slot plus the class of items which fills the slot.

[3] See Campa Morphology by Willard Kindberg for discussion of the internal structure of Campa verbs. Note, however, that the classification here is of total verb complexes, whereas his classification is restricted to verb stem and verb base, hence the lack of exact correlation.

[4] These specialized verbs are discussed in Campa Morphology by Willard Kindberg.

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In sentence type AA when the subject is free the subject slot is filled by a noun or pronoun. Nouns are distinguished from other parts of speech by external distribution in that they are found in the subject, object, indirect object, agent of action, and vocative slots; and by internal distribution, in that they may be possessed in most cases. Nouns are divided into two classes. Class 1 consists of nominalized verbs. Class 2 consists of simple nouns. Examples are: of class 1 komatirori **the-one-who-paddles-it;** of class 2 opariake mapi (**it-fell the-stone**) **the stone fell.**

The subject slot may also be filled by a member of one of the pronoun classes 1, 2, or 4. Pronouns are distinguished from other parts of speech, except nouns, by external distribution; they are found in the same slots as nouns. Internally, pronouns differ from nouns in that they cannot be possesed, and that they have affixes indicating gender, except pronoun classes 4 and 5. There are six classes of pronouns, four of which occur in subject slot. Class 1 consists of the personal pronouns. Class 2 consists of demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns fill the subject, object and agent of action slots, but may also fill the hesitation, attributive, temporal and place slots. Class 3 consists of the possessive pronouns, which may fill the subject or object slots. Class 4 consists of the negative pronoun, which also may fill the subject or object slot.[5] Examples of pronoun classes are: class 1 hatake iroori (**went she**) **She went;** class 2 yoka imaake **that-one-there is sleeping;** class 3 naši opariake **that-of mine fell;** class 4 teekači irihate **no one will go.**

Examples of the minimum AA sentence type are: ihatake **He-went** ($++$AA:SIV); hatake inake (**went he-did**) **He went.** ($++$AA:SIVx: [$+$IV $+$SAuxV]); hatake iriori (**went he**) **He went.** ($+$AA:[$+$A:IV $+$S:Pr1]).

Sentence type AA may be expanded by the addition of various kinds of optional tagmemes, but no more that five of these options may occur in a sentence at the same time. The following list gives the optional tagmemes and the obligatory action tagmeme in their preferred order. This order, however, is not rigid. $\pm$Vo:N, optional vocative slot filled by a noun; $\pm$([$\pm$Intro: P1/P2]/[$\pm$H:Pr2]/[$\pm$Atn:Pr5], optional introductory slot filled by introductory particle (P1) or modal particle (P2), optional hesitation slot filled by demonstrative pronoun (Pr2), optional attention slot filled by attention pronoun (Pr5) (of these three only one may be present in any given sentence); $\pm$EmpT:Tx/Nx/Pr2 $\pm$EmpPl:Lx/Nx/Pr2 $\pm$EmpAt:Atx $\pm$EmpS:Nx/Pr, optional emphatic temporal slot filled by time expression or noun expression or demonstrative pronoun, optional emphatic place slot filled by locative expression or noun expression or demonstrative pronoun, optional emphatic attributive slot filled by an attributive expression, optional emphatic subject

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[5] The other two classes of pronouns are discussed in the paper where they are pertinent.

slot filled by noun expression or pronoun (of these emphatic slots only two may occur in the same sentence); +A:SIV/IV/IVx, obligatory action slot filled by subject-marked intransitive verb, or intransitive verb, or intransitive verb expression which consists of intransitive verb and subject-marked intransitive auxiliary verb; ±S:Nx/Pr, optional subject slot filled by noun expression or pronoun (note however that this tagmeme becomes obligatory if the verb is not subject marked); ±T:Tx/Nx/Pr2, optional temporal slot filled by time expression or noun expression or demonstrative pronoun; ±P1:Lx/Nx/Pr2, optional place slot filled by locative expression or noun expression or demonstrative pronoun; ±At:Atx, optional attributive slot filled by attributive expression; ±SA:SA, optional sound action slot filled by sound action words; ±M:P2, optional modal slot filled by modal particle.

The remaining fillers, not already discussed, found in the expanded AA formulas are now discussed. In the attention slot the filler is an attention pronoun, pronoun 5. An example is: jeri pokake ašaninka **(Look coming people) Look, the people are coming.** (AA:[±At:Pr5 + A:IV + S:N])

In the introductory slot, the modal slot, the temporal slot, the place slot, the attributive slot, and the negative slot particles occur. Particles are distinguished from other parts of speech because of their minimum affixation and their external distribution. Particles are divided into six classes. Class 1 consists of the introductory particles, filling the introductory slot. An example is haa in haa ipokake iriori **Well, he-came he.** Class 2 consists of modal particles filling the modal slot. An example is ari in ari ihati **All-right he-went.** Class 3 consists of the time particles filling the temporal slot. An example is ošaitehi in opariake ošaitehi **She-fell yesterday.** Class 4 consists of the location particles filling the place slot. An example is katonko in ihatake katonko **He-went down-river.** Class 5 consists of the attributive particles filling the attributive slot. An example is kapičahi in nohat kapičahi **I-went a-little-ways.** Class 6 consists of the negative particles filling the negative slot. An example is tee in tee irihatehi **(Not he-went.) He didn't go.**

The sound action slot is filled by sound action words. Sound action words are distinguished from other parts of speech in that they take no affixation and they fill only the sound action slot. The sound action word may be simple, as in opariake haraŋ **It-fell thud** or may have the second syllable reduplicated as in isoronkaka sorororororo **He-(snake)-glided-along, glide-glide-glide-glide-glide.**

The following examples are illustrative of some of the possibilities of the expanded affirmation of action sentence type: with introductory tagmeme preceding action tagmeme, and time, attributive and subject tagmemes following; aitakempa iovetaka anta capičahi iriori **(the situation-was he-knew then a-little he) The situation was he knew a little bit then.** (±Intr: P1 +A:SIV ±T:Pr2 ±At:At ±S:Pr1); with subject and sound action tagmemes following

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the action tagmeme; yoho kapa aka širampari tiroŋ (he-stamped (the) man thump) The man stamped thump. (+A:SIV +S:N +SA:SA); with emphasis tagmeme preceding and subject tagmeme following the action; apaniro notimi narori (alone I-live I) I live alone. (±EmpAt:At +A:SIV ±S:Pr1).

Complex forms of sentence type AA include expansions of simple tagmemes by means of attributives or repetition of the tagmeme; or by means of subordinate clauses; which may be filled by affirmation of action, declaration of negation or result types. The simple tagmemes that are usually expanded are the temporal and subject and place tagmemes. Examples of the expansions of each of these are as follows: temporal tagmeme, ari inanake otinaanaca (ok he-is-(there)-going she-rises) OK (when)-the-sun sets she rises. (±M:P2 ±EmpT:SIV +A:SIV); oseiki kitaiteri aparo kitaiteri pašini kitaiteri inkamake Miričori (many days one day another day he-will-die Mirichori) (In) many days (and) one day (and) another day, Mirichori will die. (±Empt: [±Nx ±Nx ±Nx] +A:SIV ±S:N); subject tagmeme, antiari šima mamori komairi omani ioči caraava toosove ari šincake (big fish mamori komairi omani iochi charaava toosove ok were-strung-on-a-line) The big fish called mamori komairi omani iochi charaava toosove were strung on a line ok. (±EmpS: [±Nx: (±AT:AT ±S:N) ±N±N±N±N±N±N] ±M:P2 +A: IV); nocointakanive nohataiti noaita anta otimi ina (I-sat-down-long I-went-at-a-distance I-ate there she-lives mother) I sat for quite a while, and I went and ate over there where mother lives. (+A:SIV +A:SIV +A:SIV ±Pl: AlS∓] ±N]); ocanti tiririririri išiakotaka yamajaatakotake shiriririririri. It-made (rumble) tiriririri, he-floated he-dropped (with the water) shiriririririri (sound of his dropping). (+A:SIV ±SA:SA +A:SIV +A:SIV ±SA:SA).

These complex forms may also include combinations with other sentence types. Any two or more sentence types may combine to make a complex sentence. A complex sentence of this type differs from a combination of two sentences by the lack of an intonation break until the completion of the complex sentence. Examples of a few of these complex sentences are as follows: affirmation of action duplicated plus negative action toward goal, ihavetaka ihavetaka tee irineajero (he-went-in-vain he-went-in-vain not he-saw-her) He went and went in vain and didn't see her. (+A:SIV +A:SIV +NgA: [P6+STVO]); affirmation of action plus affirmation of action toward goal, išiitapaa yopanka ipocotakaro icano iito (he-came-running Yopanca (a little bird) he-painted his-throat his-head) Yopanca came running and painted his head his throat. (+A:SIV +S:N +A:STV +O: [+N+N]); affirmation of action plus affirmation of action toward goal, picaya pamatavitakena inkaranki You-lied you-deceived-me earlier. (+A:SIV +A:STVO ±T:P4)

Another type of complex sentence is the quotation and the quotative. A quotation is normally introduced by a quotative; the quotative consists of

a verb form indicating some type of speaking, as 'he said', 'she asked', 'they called', or an expansion of such a form. The quotation may be a single sentence or several sentences. Since this paper is discussing Campa sentence structure, not paragraph structure, we shall present only those quotations which constitute a complex sentence type. Examples of this complex sentence are: ikanti "meeka nohate" **He said, "Now I-will-go."** $(+Qv:AA:+A:SIV +Qn:AA:[\pm EmpT:T +A:SIV])$; ari meeka ikanti "ato pihatiči" **Ok now he-says, "Don't go!"** $(+Qv:AA:[Intr:P2 \pm EmpT:T +A:SIV] +Qn:NgC: [+P6+SIV])$.

A further type of complex sentence is the conditional sentence, different from the other complex sentences in that it contains a subordinate conditional clause. The verbs and particles in these sentences occur with an obligatory suffix -me. Examples: arime pihatimatakeme pineakerime šintori **Well if-you-would-have-gone-even-part-way you-would-have-seen (the) pig.** $(+AA: [\pm Intr:P2 +A:SIV] +AAG:[+A:STVO +O:N])$; eirome opariime inkani arime nohatime **(if-not it-had-fallen rain ok I-would-have-gone) If it hadn't rained I would have gone.** $(+NgA:[P6+SIV \pm S:N] +AA:[\pm Intr: P2 +A:SIV])$.

Sentence Type AAG. There are three obligatory functional units in sentence type AAG: actor (subject), action, and goal (object). The action function is filled by a transitive verb. The actor function is filled either by a subject affix or by a free noun or pronoun. The goal function is filled by either an object suffix or by a free noun or pronoun. The alternative possibilities of the affirmation of activity toward goal sentence type are shown in the following tagmemic formulas: $AAG:[+S:N/Pr +A:TVO] / AAG:[+A:STV +O:N/Pr] / AAG:[+A: STVO]$. These may be read as follows: the affirmation of action toward goal sentence type consists of subject slot filled by a noun or pronoun, plus action slot filled by object-marked transitive verb; or AAG consists of action slot filled by subject-marked transitive verb plus object filled by noun or pronoun; or AAG consists of action filled by subject-marked and object-marked transitive verb. The subject is a prefix and the object a suffix. Examples of the minimum AAG sentence type are: yovečikakero **He made it** $(+A:STVO)$; večikakero irinti **(made-it he) He made it** $(+A:TVO +S:Pr1)$; yovečikake ivanko **He-made his-house** $(+A:STV +O:N)$.

Expanded forms of the AAG minimal sentence type have the possibility of many optional items, but no more than five of these may occur in a sentence at the same time. The AAG possible expansion is the same as the AA possible expansion plus some additional tagmemes not found in AA. The first of these additional options is the optional emphatic object slot filled by noun expression or pronoun, $\pm EmpO:Nx/Pr$. The emphatic object slot precedes the obligatory action slot. Following the subject slot there is an optional indirect object slot filled by noun or pronoun, and optional object

slot filled by noun expression or pronoun, $\pm$IO:N/Pr $\pm$O:Nx/Pr. Following the optional attributive slot there is an optional agent of action slot filled by noun or pronoun, $\pm$AoA:N/Pr. Of these optional fillers following the action slot only two may occur in the same sentence. If the emphatic subject tagmeme and the usual subject tagmeme following the action tagmeme are both present, these are in apposition. So also are emphatic object and regular object.

The following examples are illustrative of the possibilities: with emphatic temporal tagmeme preceding the action and subject and object tagmemes following, meekari nompeempa narori mankoite (now I-will-become I ghost) **Now I'll become a ghost.** ($\pm$EmpT:T +A:STV $\pm$S:Pr1 +O:N); with hesitation and emphatic object preceding the action and subject and time following yorari yora oneiri činane perani (well-he him she-saw-him woman earlier) **Well she saw him earlier.** ($\pm$H:Pr2 $\pm$EmpO:Pr2 +A:STVO $\pm$S:N +T:P3); with action followed by agent of action, ikahokitašitari savoro **He-treated-his-eyes (with) caña-brava.** (+A:STVO $\pm$AoA:N).

Complex forms of sentence type AAG include expansions of simple tagmemes by means of attributives or repetition of the tagmeme; by means of subordinate clauses, which may be filled by affirmation of action, declaration of negation or result sentence types. The simple tagmemes that are usually expanded are the temporal, subject and object tagmemes. In sentence type AA examples were given of the subject and temporal expansions; therefore in this section we shall just consider the expansions of the object tagmeme: nokemakotakero ina piaha onaha ašientaki (I-heard-it mother she-had-returned over-there at-(the)-hacienda) **I heard that mother had returned to the hacienda.** (+A:STVO $\pm$O:IVx:[$\pm$EmpS:N +A:(IV+SAuxV) +P1: Pr2+N]); yamakeneri yonta itonki šintori (he-brought-him that-one his-bones pig) **He brought him pig bones.** (+A:STVO $\pm$IO:N $\pm$O:Nx:[N+N]); complex affirmation of action toward goal plus affirmation of action toward goal, oconkakero pankoči okarati pankoči (they-finished-it house they-completed house) **They completely finished (the) house.** (AAG:[+A:STVO $\pm$O:N] +AAG:[+A:STV +O:N]); affirmation of action toward goal plus negative action, jata irootake ikitahenkatakero kaari opeanta kamaanči (well it-is he-buries-it no it-disappears cold) **Well it is it that he buries it and the cold doesn't go away.** (AAG:[$\pm$Intr:P1 $\pm$EmpO:StV +A:STVO] +NgA: [+NgA: (+P6+SIV) +S:N]); affirmation of action toward goal plus affirmation toward goal plus the resultant affirmation of being, ari yoameyetakeri ikahokiyetakeri iotantanakarori iroiri (ok he-taught-them he-treated-them therefore-knowers they) **Ok he taught them and treated-them therefore they are the knowers of it.** (AAG:[$\pm$Intr:P2 +A:STVO] +AAG:+A:STVO +AB:[+I:N $\pm$S:Pr1]); ipasatakero okisantakari iroori (he-hit-her (and) she-became-mad she) **He hit her and therefore she became mad.** (AAG:+A: STVO + ARt:+[A:(SIV+123+1501)+S:Pr1]).

Complex forms of sentence type AAG also include quotation and quotative. The quotative AAG may contain both object and indirect object suffixes. Examples of this complex sentence are: ikantirori "meeka eiro otimi piseito" **(he-said-it-to-her "now not it-lives your-gizzard") He said to her, "Now your gizzard won't live."** (+Qv:AAG:[+A:STVO] +Qn:DNgA:[±EmpT:P3 +NgA:(+P6+SIV) ±S:N]); the quotative with indirect object only, ikantiro "nopokašitimpi niočo nontentanakempi" **He-said-to-her, "I've-returned-for-you aunt (and) I-will-take-you-with-me."** (+Qv:[AAG: A:STVO] +Qn:AAG: [+A:STVO ±Vo:N]+AAG:[+A:STVO]).

Sentence Type AB. The affirmation of being sentence type (AB) is statistically fairly infrequent in Campa. There is only one obligatory functional unit in this sentence type, that of Item [AB:It:(N/Pr1/Pr2)]. The Item tagmeme may be filled by noun or pronoun 1 or 2. An example is: cayaančirikampa **(lie-perhaps) Perhaps it's a lie.** (I:N).

The expansion of AB is not as extensive as the expansions of AA or AAG. Because this sentence type is uncommon and the expanded forms even more uncommon, we have not observed the vocative, emphatic object, indirect object, or agent of action slots in the expansion. Examples of the expanded sentence type AB are: with emphasized subject preceding the item and subject following, yonta inkaharekiniri šima **(those-ones lake-dwellers fish) Those fish are lake dwellers.** (+AB:[±EmpS:Pr2 +I:N ±S:N]); haa oca-noki tikaamakerori aisati **(well in-her-throat choking-thing also) Well it was a choking thing in her throat also.** (+AB: [±Intr:P1 ±EmpP1:N +I:N ±M:P2]).

Complex forms of sentence type AB are statistically rare. There is a possibility of the tagmemes being expanded by means of attributives, or by repetition of the filler. An example is: saantanakerori oka mapokahirori **(shooting-pain that returning-thing) The shooting pain is that which returned.** (AB: [±EmpS:N +I:Nx(+Pr2+N)]).

Sentence Type ASt. The affirmation of state (ASt) is statistically infrequent in Campa. There are two obligatory functional units in this sentence type: state and subject. The state function is filled by a stative verb, and the subject filled by subject prefix or noun or pronoun. The alternate possibilities are symbolized by the following formula: ASt:(+SStV/[+StV +S:N/Pr]). This may be read as follows: The affirmation of state sentence type consists of subject-marked stative verb, or of stative verb plus subject noun or pronoun. The stative verb is either pronoun 1 verbalized or particle 5 verbalized or the auxiliary verb when it is an independent verb in the sentence. Examples of ASt sentence type are: iritake nohime **He-is my-husband.** (+ASt:+StV +S:N); ari iritake **yes it-is-he** (Ast:SStV); kiraasookitake irokiki **(were-red his-eyes) His eyes were red.** (+ASt:+StV +S:N). This sentence type is not usually expanded. When it is the subject may be expanded by the

addition of modifiers or by a repeated appositive subject. An example is: iritake semantanaincha iriori (he-is the-impatient-one he) **He is the impatient one.** ($+$ASt :StV $\pm$ S :Nx :|N $+$ Pr1]).

Commands. Commands are statistically infrequent in Campa. Intransitive commands have two obligatory functional units: subject and command. The subject slot is filled by a second person subject prefix, which is obligatory, and the command slot is filled by an intransitive verb plus verbal suffix 1002A or 1002B. The formula for intransitive command is C :SIV $+$ 1002A/1002B, reading command slot filled by subject-marked intransitive verb[6] plus incompletive verbal suffix 1002A or 1002B.

Transitive commands have three obligatory functional units: subject, command, and object or goal. This differs from intransitive commands only in the addition of an object. This object may be filled by object suffix or a free object slot filled by noun or pronoun. The formula for the minimal transitive command is: $+$ CG :(STVO $+$ 1002A/1002B) / $+$ CG :(STV $+$ 1002A/1002B $+$ O : N/Pr) reading, command slot filled by second person subject-marked and object-marked transitive verb plus verbal suffix 1002A or 1002B; or command slot filled by second person subject-marked transitive verb plus verbal suffix 1002A or 1002B plus object slot filled by noun or pronoun.

Examples of intransitive and transitive command sentence types are as follows: pihate **(you-go)** (C :SIV $+$ 1002B) paanakeri **you-take-to-him** (CG : STVO $+$ 1002B).

Because of the nature of commands, there is very little expansion or complexity. The only expansions noted are by means of emphatic, vocative, or introductory tagmemes; the only complex forms are combinations of two command types. Examples: iro paanakeri **(it you-take-to-him) Take it to him.** (EmpO :Pr1 $+$ C :STV $+$ 1002B); Jeroreši pintasonkeroketi **Devil, you-blow-it-quickly** (Vo :N C :STVO $+$ 1002B); pišinčite pimpena **You-be-quick you-give-to-me** (C :SIV $+$ 1002B $+$ C :STVO $+$ 1002B), pihate pamenapaaheri **(you-go you-see-him) Go and see him.** (C :StV $+$ 1002B $+$ CG :STVO $+$ 1002B).

Declaration of Negativity. The declaration of negativity sentence type is statistically common in Campa. It includes six sentence types, each differing in the predicate that it contains, and to some extent the peripheral items. Negative sentence types include the following: negative action, NgA; negative action toward goal, NgAG; negative being, NgB; negative state, NgSt; negative command, NgC; negative command toward goal, NgCG.

There are three obligatory functional units in sentence type NgA: negative, action, and subject. The negative function is filled by a negative particle[7] (P6) and the action function by an intransitive verb. The subject is filled either by a subject prefix or by a free noun or pronoun. Alternative possibilities

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[6] The subject-marked verb in C and CG is always second person.

of negative action sentence type may be shown in the following formulas:
+Neg:P6 +A:(+SIV ±1401/1402), obligatory negative slot filled by particle
class 6 plus obligatory action slot filled by subject-marked intransitive verb
plus optional negative suffix 1401 or 1402; or +Neg:P6 +A:(IV ±1401/1402)
+S:N/Pr, obligatory negative slot filled by particle class 6, plus obligatory
action slot filled by intransitive verb plus optional negative suffix 1401 or
1402, plus obligatory subject slot filled by noun or pronoun. Examples of the
minimum NgA sentence type are: tee niote (no I-know) I don't know (+Ng:
P6+A:SIV); tee hatake narori (no go I) I did not go (+Ng:P6+A:IV
+S:Pr1); tee nomaayehi (no I-sleep-negative) I didn't go to sleep. (+Ng:P6
+A:SIV+1402).

Expanded forms of the NgA minimal sentence type have the possibility
of many peripheral items, but no more than three of these may be seen in
a sentence at the same time. The following is the preferred order, but the
order is not rigid: ±Intr:P1/P2, introductory slot filled by the introductory
particle or the modal particle; ±H:Pr2, hesitation slot filled by pronoun two
or the demonstrative pronoun; ±EmpT:Tx/Nx/Pr ±EmpP1:Lx/Nx/Pr
±EmpAt:P5 ±EmpS:N/Pr, optional emphatic temporal slot filled by time
expression or noun expression or pronoun, optional emphatic place slot filled
by locative expression or noun expression or pronoun, optional emphatic at-
tributive slot filled by particle five, attributive particle, optional emphatic subject
slot filled by noun expression or pronoun; +Ng: P6, obligatory negative slot
filled by particle 6; +A:(SIV/IV ±1401/1402, obligatory action slot filled
by subject-marked intransitive verb or intransitive verb, plus optional negative
suffixes 1401 or 1402; ±S:N/Pr, optional subject slot filled by noun or
pronoun; ±T:Tx/Nx/Pr, optional temporal slot filled by time expression or
noun expression or pronoun; ±P1:Lx/Nx/Pr, optional place slot filled by
locative expression or noun expression or pronoun ±AT:ATx, optional at-
tributive slot filled by attributive expression; ±M:P2, optional modal slot
filled by modal particle.

Examples of the expanded NgA sentence type: tee nontimahe aka (no
we-live-negative here) We don't live here. (+Ng:P6+A:SIV+1402 ±P1:
Pr2); yora ani eiro ihatiči (well-he cousin not he-goes-negative) Well brother
he won't go. (±H:Pr2 ±EmpS:N +Ng:P6+A:[SIV±1401]); meeka eiro
otimi iseito (now no it-live his-gizzard) Now his gizzard won't live. (±EmpT:
P4 +Ng:P6+A:SIV ±S:N).

Complex forms of sentence type NgA includes expansions of simple tag-
memes by means of attributives or repetition of the tagmeme. There are very
few examples of the complex NgA sentence in the data thus far collected

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7 When negative pronoun (Pr4) occurs in any negative sentence type, negative particle
is not obligatory. The negative pronoun replaces it.

and such complexities as there are have already been described in the sections on complex sentence types AA and AAG.

There are four obligatory functional units in sentence type NgAG: subject, negative, action, and object or goal. The subject slot is filled by noun or pronoun or by a subject prefix. The negative slot is filled by particle 6 and the action slot is filled by transitive verb. The object or goal slot is filled by a noun or pronoun or by an object suffix on the verb. Alternative possibilities of sentence type NgAG are seen in the following formulas: NgAG: (+Ng: P6+A:STVO ±1401/1402), negative action toward goal sentence type contains a negative slot filled by particle 6, plus action slot filled by subject-marked object-marked transitive verb plus optional negative suffixes 1401 or 1402; or NgAG: (+Ng:P6 +[A:STV ±1401/1402] +O:N/Pr), negative action toward goal sentence type contains a negative slot filled by particle 6, plus action slot filled by subject-marked transitive verb plus optional negative suffixes 1401 or 1402, plus object slot filled by noun or pronoun; or NgAG: (+Ng:P6 +[A:TVO ±1401/1402] +S:N/Pr), negative action toward goal sentence type contains a negative slot filled by particle 6, plus action slot filled by object-marked transitive verb plus subject slot filled by noun or pronoun. Examples are: eiro nokoštimpi (no I-steal-yours-negative) I won't steal from you (+Ng:P6+AG:STVO) eiro noneahiriči (no I-see him-negative) I won't see him (+Ng:P6+AG:STVO+149); eiro ipeeči iovincane (no he-gives-negative his-game) He won't give away any of his game. (+Ng:P6+A:STV + O:N); teekači oana (nothing bothers-me) Nothing is wrong with me. (Ng:P6+AG: STVO).

Expanded forms of the NgAG minimal sentence type have the possibility of many peripheral items, but no more than three of these may occur in a sentence at the same time. The NgAG possible expansion is the same as the possible NgA expansion plus the inclusion of optional emphatic object slot filled by noun expression or pronoun, ±EmpO:Nx/Pr. The emphatic object slot precedes the obligatory negative action toward goal slot. Following the subject slot there is an optional indirect object slot filled by noun or pronoun, and optional object slot filled by noun expression or pronoun, ±IO:Nx/Pr ±O:Nx/Pr.

Examples of the expanded NgAG sentence type are: tee iriote anta paitarika amiriri (no he-knows then whatever (the) bringer) He didn't know whatever was the bringer. (+Ng:P6+AG:STV +T:Pr2 +O:Nx:[Pr6+N]); avirori eiro pineahiroči onta pihina (you no you-see-her-negative that-one your-wife) You won't see your wife. (EmpS:Pr1 +Ng:P6+AG:[STVO+1401] ±O:Nx: [Pr2+N]).

Complex forms of sentence type NgAG include expansions of simple tagmemes by means of attributives or repetition of the tagmeme; or by means of subordinate clauses. Examples of these complex sentences are similar to

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those in AAG with the addition of the negative. Example: noneakoventaye-tanakari tee ikantanahi irokiki tee irišaninkatanahe **(I-looked-at-his-uncomely-person no they-were-good his-eyes no he-was-like-a-person) I looked at his uncomely person and his eyes were no good and he wasn't like a person.** (AAG:+A:STVO+ NgA:[+Ng:P6 + A:(STV+1401)| NgA:Ng:P6+A: SIV); namenavetakari tee noneaherihi **I-looked-for-him but I-didn't-see-him.** (AAG:+A:STVO +NgAG:[+Ng:P6 +A:(STVO+1402)|).

There are two functional units in the declaration of negative being sentence type: negative and item. The negative slot is filled by particle 6, and the item slot is filled by a noun or pronoun. Example: kaari kemisantači **(not listener) He is not a listener.** (NgB+Ng:P6+I:N). Because this sentence type is statistically uncommon the expanded forms and complex forms are very few in the data we have collected. One example of an expanded form is: tee iro širampari **(no she man) She is not a man.** (NgB:|Ng:P6+I:Pr1+S:N|)

There are three obligatory functional units in the declaration of negative state sentence type: negative, state, and subject. The negative slot is filled by particle 6, the state slot is filled by a stative verb, and the subject filled by noun or pronoun, or the subject prefix on the stative verb. Example of NgSt: tee quisaakiahiri irahi. **(not black his-teeth) His teeth weren't black.** (NgSt: |+Ng:P6+St:StV+S:N|)

There are three functional units in sentence type NgC: subject, negative, and command. In sentence type NgCG there are four functional units: subject, negative, command, and goal. In the minimum sentence type the subject slot is filled by second person subject prefix, the negative is filled by particle 6, and the command is filled by transitive or intransitive verb plus obligatory completive verbal suffix 1001A or 1001B, and optional negative suffix 1401. If the negative command is transitive the object is filled by object suffix. Examples: ato pikamantiri **(not you-tell-him) Don't you tell him.** (NgCG: +Ng:P6 +CG:[STVO+1001A]); ato poači **Don't eat** (NgC:+Ng:P6 +C: |STV+1001A+1401]).

Expanded forms of NgC have only the possibility of adding independent object or subject. Examples: atoya pikamantiri piri **(do not you-tell-him your-father) Don't tell your father.** (NgCG:+Ng:P6 +CG:[STVO+1001B| +O:N); ato poači avinti **(do not you-eat you) Don't you eat.** (NgC:+Ng: P6+C:SIV+1001A+1401|). An example of complex form NgC is: ato pičotokiroči narokea pinčitokake nainti **(do not you-pinch-her-negative I you-pinch I) Don't pinch her pinch me.** (NgCG:+Ng:P6+CG:STVO+1001A +1401] + CG:[±EmpO:Pr1 +C:STV +O:Pr1]).

Exclamations. Exclamations are rare in Campa but a few have been noted. These exclamations are uttered when one is very tired, in pain, or discouraged. There is only one functional unit in this sentence type: exclamation slot filled

by one of two interjections. ayave is the most common exclamation uttered by both men and women. inave is uttered in fear by women, and also animals in folktales and is very rare.

Dependent Sentence Types.

Dependent sentence types include: AE affirmation of emphasis; ARst affirmation of result; Inter. Interrogative; ARsp affirmation of response. Each of these is distinguished by the obligatory functional units it contains and the sentence upon which it is dependent. In order to present dependent sentences more clearly, they are given in the matrix of the sentences on which they are dependent.

Affirmation of Emphasis. The affirmation of emphasis has one obligatory functional unit: the item it is emphasizing from the sentence upon which it is dependent. The independent sentence may be AA, AAG, DNgA, or DNgAG. The dependent sentence may focus on any form except the verb in the independent sentence and either repeat it or elaborate on it. Examples: focusing on the object, icameetiniro kaniri šinki. maaroni. **He-cultivated-it yucca corn. everything.** (+AG:|STVO ±O:N ±O:N| +AE:P5); focusing on object, yaaitiro yoakero aka kanirišiiki. sampi. **He-brought-it he-put-it here by-(the)-yucca. (the) sampi (type of grass).** (AAG: [+AG:STVO] +AAG: |+AG:STVO| ±P1:[Nx:Pr2 +N]+AE:N); focusing on place, ari itekava-kotakeri aka saiteriki. kipačiki. **Ok he-knocked-them-out-of-his-hand there outside. to-the-ground.** (AAG: ±Intr:P2 +AG:STVO ±P1:[Nx:Pr2+N] +AE:N); focusing on subject, ari neeri ikenapai šankompiti. šankopiti. **Ok look-at-him he-is-arriving Shankopiti. Shankopiti.** (AA: ±Intr:P2 ±ATn: Pr5 +A:SIV ±S:N +AE:N).

Affirmation of Result. The affirmation of result has one obligatory functional unit: Rst. resultant activity filled by subject-marked verb (intransitive, transitive or stative), plus obligatory suffix 123 (-ant). This sentence is dependent upon a sentence stating the completion of the action which produces the result stated in the dependent sentence. Example: itiritakaro aka itempikiki tiri tiri inehiki maaroni aka ivoriki tiri. ikisaatantari. **He-rubbed-it here his-thigh rub rub his-chest all (of it) here his-face rub. As-a-result-he-is-black.** (AAG: +Ag:STVO ±P1:Nx:|Pr2+N| ±SA:SA+SA ±P1:N+Nx:[P5 +Pr2+N|±SA:SA) (+ARst:SStV+123±1501). (1501 (-ri) is an optional suffix on resultant verb).

The affirmation of result may be expanded to include time, place, subject, introduction and/or modal tagmemes. Examples of some of these expansions are: kapiča itasonkakero onantakari aširotačiri. ari onta okisotakotantakari. **[a-little he-blew-it it-became metal] [ok that-thing as-a-result-became-hard] He blew on it a little and it became metal. As a result it was hard.** (AAG: [±EmpAt:P5 +AG:STVO| +AAG:|+AC:STVO ±O:N]) (+ARst:[±
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Intr:P2 ±EmpO:Pr2 +Rst:(SStV+123±1501)]); yovečikakero ikotamendo yoka ikotantakari iroari. **[he-made-it his-stove] [that-one as-a-result-he-could cook his-food] He made his stove. As a result he could cook his food.** (AAG:[+AG:STVO ±O:N]) + (+ARst:[±EmpS:Pr2+Rst:(STVO+123 ±1501)±O:N]).

The affirmation of result may become complex by the addition of another resultant verb in another ARst slot. Example: ikempevetaka iri činane. yaantakari ihinantantakariri čočoti. **[he-was-like he woman.] [as-a-result-he-married as-a-result-he-made-him-his-wife locust] He was like a woman. As a result he married and as a result the locust took him for his wife.** (AAG: [+AG:STV ±S:Pr1 +O:N]) (+ARst:[+Rst:SIV+123±1501] +ARst: [+Rst: (STVO+123±1501) ±S:N]).

Interrogative. Interrogative has two obligatory functional units: interrogative pronoun plus sentence types AA, AAG, AB, ASt, DNgA, DNgAG, DNgB, DNgSt, and ARst. All the optional peripheral expanded items that accompany other sentence types may also accompany interrogative. If there is a verb in the interrogative sentence type, the verb is suffixed with obligatory 1501 representing the unknown. Interrogative is regarded as dependent because it requires a response. Interrogative and response differ from other dependent types in that they are mutually dependent, and in that they are uttered by different speakers.[8] Examples of interrogative are: paita[9] oakempiri? **What is-wrong-with-you?** (+Inter:Pr6 + AA:+A:[STVO+1501]); hanikampa večkimpiri avirori? **(who (the) maker you) Who made you?** (+Inter:Pr6 +I:N ±O:Pr1); haokakeame ananteari kipači? **Where shall-we-put (the) ground?** (+Inter:Pr6 +AAG:[+A:(STV+1501) ±O:N]); paita piraantari? **Why are-you-crying?** (+Inter:Pr6 +ARst:[Rst:SIV+1501]).

Affirmation of Response. The affirmation of response has one obligatory functional unit: the response slot filled by any word class except interjection. The minimum of this sentence type is a one word response and the maximum would be a complete sentence, or more than one sentence. The following examples are possible answers to the question, "Where are you going?" tee eiro nohatiči **I'm not going (anywhere)** (ARsp:[+Neg:P6+A:SIV+1401) (ARsp:P6); anta **over-there** (ARsp:Pr2); ari meeka nohate anta novankoki **Well now I-go over-there to-my-house.** (ARsp: AA:±Intr:P2 ±EmpT:P3 +A:STV +O:Nx:[Pr2 +N]).

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[8] Questions for corroboration are not discussed in this paper since there is no definite method of distinguishing these from affirmation of action or declaration of negation sentence types.

[9] Pronouns, class 5 are the interrogative pronouns and fill the interrogative slot, as well as subject, object, and place slots in some constructions.