Ideophones in Bodily Experiences in Pastaza Quichua (Ecuador)

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Abstract

This paper outlines a typology for verbs occurring with ideophones in the Pastaza dialect of Ecuadorian Quichua. Ideophones are a class of words that communicate through imitative simulations, the vivid impressions of sensory experience. They occur in many language families around the world, and are abundant in Quichua. They are critically important for the achievement of native fluency in Quichua, yet are rarely recognized in grammatical analyses of this language. This paper then, presents a schema for categorizing the types of verbs occurring with ideophones in Pastaza Quichua. The schema reveals an overwhelming concern for the embodied aspects of communication. Verbs commonly used with ideophones are grouped into 10 categories, most of which concern various aspects of embodied experience, including bodily processes, configurations, cognitive capacities, movements, sounds, and proprioceptions.
Introduction

This paper presents ongoing efforts to analyze for pedagogical purposes, the complex verbal predicates of a dialect of Quichua spoken in Amazonian Ecuador, in the province of Pastaza. Quichua verbal predicates present interesting challenges, in part, because of the abundance of ideophones with which they occur. Ideophones are a type of adverb and are widespread in the language families of the world. Definitions of ideophones, have tended to emphasize their concern for sensory representation. One of the most widely cited and earliest definitions of the ideophone is that of Doke who defined them as: ‘A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity’ (1935:118). Dingemanse 2008 presents an illuminating discussion about the definition of the term ideophone: “(it) somehow fails to pick out precisely what is special about expressive vocabulary. Ideophones do not just represent; they evoke, they convey. What do they evoke or convey? Not so much ideas (an all too disembodied notion), but rather sensory perceptions, inner feelings, and sensations (Dingemanse 2008)”. In this paper I will expand upon the observation that ideophones are involved with inner feelings, sensations, and in general, embodied communication.

First, I want to explain a bit about their functions in Pastaza Quichua. They are unique with respect to ordinary adverb of this language because of their tendency to be used in performative simulations (Nuckolls 2010), or what Dingemanse (2011) has called ‘depictions’ of experience. In Quichua discourse, these simulations are evident through: foregrounded intonation; multiple repetition; anomalous stress patterns and phonotactics; and expressive, sound-symbolic lengthening and aspiration. Ideophones are a critically important category of expressions for the achievement of native fluency in Quichua, yet, the pragmatics of their usage can cause speakers of Standard Average European languages a certain level of discomfort, the end result of which is that linguists often ignore them.

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1 Recent work by Slobin (2006) has focused on ideophones’ tendency to depict manner of motion.
The first example illustrates a fairly ordinary ideophonic description:

1. Taras taras taras panda-sha,  witat-ta  shamu-shka-una
   Be lost-COR weeds-ACC come-PERF-3PL
   ‘Being lost they’ve come through the weeds (sounding) taras taras taras.’

This example illustrates several key features of ideophones in Quichua. The ideophone taras depicts a rustling sound that one makes while moving through dense foliage. It is stressed on its final syllable, when normal stress in Quichua is penultimate. Since most Quichua words end in vowels, taras is phonotactically unusual as well because of its word final consonant. And the fact that it undergoes multiple repetition feels pragmatically uncomfortable for many non-Quichua speakers, possibly because repeating in triplicate might be seen to violate the Gricean maxim of brevity.

Yet, repetition is of central importance for ideophonic description, as is also, the expressive lengthening of syllables. In the example that follows, expressive lengthening is used in a dramatic description of a large tree falling to the ground after being chopped down. I first heard this description in 1988 while conducting dissertation fieldwork. In this example my friend and consultant Luisa Cadena, described the dramatic impression made by a tree which finally succumbs to being chopped down:

2. G’auuuuuuuuuŋŋŋ bl’huuuuuuuxx put’hunŋŋŋŋ urma-gri-n
   Fall-TRSL-3
   ‘(Creaking) g’auuuuuuuuuŋŋŋ and (falling) bl’huuuuuuuxx it goes and hits (the ground) put’hunŋŋŋŋ.’

This description features a series of three ideophones, each describing a facet of the event: its creaking sound; its falling movement; and its impact with the ground. The performative extension of vocalic sounds in g’auŋ imitates the prolongation of the tree’s creaking sound. The aspiration in bl’hux imitates an idea of the sudden rupture of the tree from its position in the ground. At the same time, the velar fricative in word-final position extends the description of the initial rupture into a prolonged falling motion toward the ground. Finally, the velar nasal -ŋ in the second syllable of put’huyŋ, imitates an idea of resonant, reverberative impact with the ground.
For the purposes of my paper, this description is interesting because when I re-elicited this example from my consultant Luisa Cadena in the summer of 2008 during a discussion at the Andes and Amazon Field School in Napo, Ecuador, she paraphrased $g'auy$ as a sad sound, and described it as a type of ‘crying’ on the part of the tree. This crying, however, was said to be indicative of the future success of the agricultural field: the more the tree ‘cries’ the greater will be the productivity of the agricultural field, according to Luisa. Although it took me a little more than twenty years to realize this, the description of the tree’s falling with all of the dramatic sound imitation that accompanied it, was not simply a vivid aesthetic description. It communicated something about that tree’s reaction to being acted upon by humans. The tree was endowed with a subjective perspective that ‘commented’ ideophonically, on its own state as well as indicating something about the subsequent unfolding of human activities.

What speakers seem to be doing with such performative techniques is to foreground an impression of a process or activity by enacting it with ideophones, even when that enactment doesn’t strictly mimic how the configuration actually happened, and might even be seen as exaggerating an impression for dramatic effect. I have, in fact, made the claim that, in languages with abundant inventories of ideophones, such dramatic descriptions are likely to be part of an animistic cosmology which is enhanced and articulated by the use of ideophones (Nuckolls 2010a, b). In other words, for Amazonian Quichua culture, idephonic simulations are tied to a deeper cultural disposition to endow all forms of life with a subjective perspective and an ability to communicate. Whether an ideophonic performance simulates a speaker’s own experiences or the experiences of some other entity, they are made sense of by reference to peoples’ own bodily experiences and perspectives. This is why trees can ‘cry’ and, as a forthcoming example will demonstrate, birds can ‘speak’.

Given how significant ideophones are for Amazonian Quichua peoples’ cosmology, it is urgent that they receive full recognition by grammarians of this language. Ideophones need to be integrated within the grammar of Quichua. As a first step toward accomplishing this integration, I undertook a survey of all of my data compiled since 1988, to map out the kinds of messages ideophones are capable of communicating. I examined all ideophone and verb combinations to determine the full range of their expression. To date, I have collected approximately a thousand different collocations. These collocations consist of about 250 different verbs, each of which occurs with varying numbers of ideophones, ranging at the low end, from verbs that occur with
only one ideophone, all the way to high-end verbs which can occur with dozens of different ideophones.

The results of this survey reveal that it is necessary to take seriously the embodied nature of ideophonic expression. I have identified 10 categories for verbs that occur with ideophones. Most of the categories of verbs occurring with ideophones are actually about various aspects of bodily experience and also about different types of bodily processes. Here are the 10 categories of verbs occurring with ideophones:

I Verbs of process, where role of an agent or effector is minimized or nonexistent

The first category consists of verbs of process where the role of an effector is minimized or nonexistent. These verbs include ideas of drying up, of raining, of turning to dusk or becoming night, of rotting or being lost or torn, or wet. Many ideophones occurring with verbs in this group emphasize the complete extent to which a process was accomplished. As an example, consider the verb chayana ‘to become cooked to the point of doneness’. In example 3, it occurs with the ideophone tus, which describes a kind of crisp, crunching sensation. Here the ideophone tus evokes another predicate involving the manipulation of something which responds by crackling or bursting apart. The speaker wishes to emphasize the fact that the meat is so fully cooked that its skin reacts to being acted upon with a crisp and crackling feeling and/or sound.

This-PL -LIM be done-PERF-PAST
These (parts of the jaguar) had cooked up tusssl’a (i.e., crisply)

II Verbs of process, where role of agent is foregrounded

The next category includes various process verbs that foreground the role of an agent. These include verbs like waiting, enduring, crafting an object, or making aswa. Ideophones are also used in this group of verbs to emphasize the completion of a process, but additionally, they may also specify resultant configurations or feelings of bodily movement. In example 4 the verb chapana ‘to wait’ occurs with the ideophone ping, which depicts the moment when eyelids close,

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2 The verbs in categories I, II, and X are the least embodied, as they don’t explicitly concern the denoting of actions, events, or processes that are centered in a body. Nevertheless, they can be given embodied senses through their collocations with ideophones. The full lists of verbs for each category appear in the Appendix.
or, metaphorically, when lights go out. Here it is part of a represented dialogue where one character in a myth instructs another to not fall asleep waiting:

4. Ama ping chapa-wa-angi-chu!

   NEG wait-1ACC-2-NEG

   ‘Don’t wait for me ping (i.e., with eyes closed, closing the eyes, i.e. sleepily)’.

We could say that ping depicts a manner of waiting, that is analogous to adverbs like ‘sleepily’, but it does more than that, because it simulates the proprioceptive moment of awareness when the light of one’s awareness is gone.

III Verbs of bodily activities, processes and states

The next category of verbs includes verbs of bodily activities, processes, and states. These include eating, drinking, swallowing and many others. Of all of these verbs, the verb mikuna ‘to eat’ occurs with the greatest variety of ideophones, a total of 14 different ones. These ideophones encode various manners of eating as an embodied activity. The ideophone karau describes the sound and feeling of eating something that is somewhat crunchy, like a soft-shelled crab.

5. Chi apangura-ta miku-hu-n karau karau karau karau karau karau karau

   That crab-ACC eat-DUR-3

   ‘And that crab she (a woman) was eating (going) karau karau karau karau karau karau karau karau’.

Some ideophones that go with eating depict the resultant appearance of what has been eaten. The ideophone waling, for example, describes whatever has been eaten down to the bone, or even just hollowed out, as the way ripe fruit is eaten by birds.

IV Cognitive verbs

In the fourth category I have included the small number of verbs, all of which have to do with inner perceptions and emotions. These include verbs like looking, appearing, listening, sounding and knowing. Although this is a small group of verbs, it includes uyarina ‘to sound’, which has the largest number of co-occurring ideophones, of any other verb in this language. I have noted over 50 different ideophones occurring with this verb to describe the varieties of sounds, their rhythms, and durations that are observed in ordinary life. Also in this group is the
verb *rikuna* ‘to look’ which occurs with the ideophone *tush* to describe an eyes-wide-open kind of look, and also with the ideophone *ang* to describe the way an animal might look at something with its mouth wide open. The act of saying the ideophone *ang* actually imitates the way the mouth feels when it is wide open.

6. Chi-ga pai-ga chi al’ku-ma-lya aannng-mi riku-sha  
That-TOP he-TOP that dog-DAT-LIM-EV look-COR  
‘Then he (a cayman) was looking *anng* (with mouth wide open) right at that dog’

**V Verbs for managing the aesthetics of bodily appearance**

In the fifth group are verbs all of which describe managing the aesthetics of the body. These include verbs for dressing, undressing, painting, wrapping things around one’s wrist or head, ornamenting, and cutting hair. The verb *awirina* occurs with the ideophone *shau* to describe the unbroken, sweeping movement one uses to paint the body with dye. The verb *l’auturina*, which describes putting a headdress of feathers around one’s head, is modified by the ideophone *tak* to describe the feeling of something completely surrounding the circumference of the head:

7. Tawasamba-ta       taxxx wata-shka runa.  
Feathered headdress-ACC     tie-PERF     person  
‘(He appeared as) a man with a feathered headdress tied *taxx* (all around his head).

**VI Verbs for bodily configurations**

Group VI includes verbs which describe various bodily configurations such as sitting, standing, coming to a standstill, lying and lying down, getting up, kneeling, hugging and even fainting. The verb *siririna* ‘to lie down’ is modified by the ideophone *talau* which describes a lying down that gives way, as in collapsing. The verb *hatarina* ‘to get up or rise up’, when it occurs with the ideophone *dzaun* describes the way insects will rise up in a swarm.

8. Putan dzʰauuuu hatari-ra  
Fly      rise up-PAST  
‘The flies rose up dzʰauuuu (in a swarm).
VII Verbs of soundmaking by means of a body

In category 7 are verbs that all have in common their description of nonlinguistic sounds made by means of a body. These include laughing, crying, and snoring. Laughter that is joyful goes ha haiii in the Pastaza province and hu hui in the Napo region. Crying is fairly elaborated with ideophones. A frantic, scared cry is described with widza, and a soft, muffled crying is described with repetitions of suk. When a speech act verb such as nina ‘to say’ occurs with an ideophone, it is depictive of a nonhuman lifeform’s soundmaking that is metaphorically interpreted by humans as communicative. The squirrel cuckoo bird, for example, is believed to have two different types of messages that are communicated ideophonically, and described as a type of ‘saying’. The next example is from a narrative involving peoples’ perceptions and interpretations of this bird:

   You-ACC-EV -EV say-3 say-PAST
   ‘To you, perhaps, it says ‘chi chi chi chi chi chi chi chi chi‘ she said’.

VIII Verbs for bodily motion with limited translocation

In category 8 we have verbs for bodily motion with a limited degree of translocation. Verbs for digging, weeding, scratching and grabbing all involve motion events that are defined, in part, by their limited range of movements. When one digs, the motion involved is limited to the distance between the tip of the shovel and the ground. Similarly, grabbing is done with a limited movement, since whatever is grabbed is close enough to the body to be reached. The verb for grabbing, hapina, is often modified by the ideophone tak to describe the punctual moment of grabbing hold of something. It can also occur with the ideophone mau to describe grabbing but at the same time crushing something, the way an official might dramatically crumple up a legal document as a way of showing disregard for the agreement written on it. This verb can also occur with the ideophone hui which describes a hanging motion, to describe the way one grabs something that dangles, like a fish caught on a hook. Example 10 represents a dialogue between two characters in a narrative, with one instructing the other on how to cross a ravine:

3 I am indebted to Tod Swanson, personal communication, for the laughter ideophone hu hui from the Napo Province.
10. Kunan kai-ta wauki, ni-n-shi hui hui hapiri-sha warkuri-sha

Now here-ACC brother say-3-EV hold self-COR hang self-COR
dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir chimba-gri-angi
cross-TRSLC-2

‘Now brother, he said, ‘holding yourself (hanging) hui hui hui, go across (sliding) dzir
dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir dzir.’

IX Verbs for bodily motion with nonlimited translocation

This group of verbs has to do bodily activities that are not so limited in their paths. These include pulling, reaching, bringing, taking, carrying, dancing, crossing, scattering, throwing, shooting, sending, running, falling and crawling. Although these verbs are defined by their encoding of motions that are nonlimited, they may, with the help of ideophones describe bounded activities. The verb aisana to pull is noncommittal with respect to its boundedness. One can pull something indefinitely. When modified by the ideophone tsuk however, it describes a pulling by plucking something off of its base, like fruit from a tree. When pulling is done with the ideophone shau however, it describes the way an act of pulling defines a continuous, strip of something, like the way bark is pulled off of a tree. The verb urmana to fall can occur with ideophone dzir to describe a falling that also slides downward, along a surface. When occurring with repetitions of palai, it depicts falling by multiple entities, like fruit falling from trees, or heavy rain pelting from the sky. In example 11 we have the falling of a snake after its unsuccessful attempt to bite a man. Here the falling is depicted with the ideophone wax, which describes the way something moves rapidly through the air:

11. Salta-sha waxxx urma-ra

Leap-COR fall-PAST

‘Leaping it fell waxxx (slicing the air)’

X ‘Light’ semantically general verbs

The final category is a very small group of 6 verbs, all of which can be considered ‘light verbs’ because they are so semantically general. Verbs for being, becoming and doing are members of this group which, despite being very small, is a significant source of verb/ideophone
collocations. Below, the ideophone *tsang* occurs with the verb *rana* ‘to do, make’, to describe the way a head is pointed straight up as a bird climbs a tree:

12. Uma-ta *tsang* ra-sha-shi sika-ra

Head-ACC do-COR-EV climb-PAST

‘Making his head (go) *tsang* (straight up), he climbed’.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, ideophones occur in Pastaza Quichua with a variety of verbs, most of which are heavily weighted toward embodied experience. These include the categories of verbs involving bodily configurations, bodily processes, bodily aesthetics, soundmaking by means of a body, cognitive verbs, and bodily movements with limited as well as nonlimited translocations. In other words, approximately two thirds of the categories of verbs I have identified as relevant for ideophones, are about embodied experience. Moreover, space considerations prohibit going into detail, but a number of verbs that may seem to have nothing to do with bodily experience, such as the atmospheric verb *tutayana* ‘to become night’ may be modified by an ideophone such as *ping*, which simulates a complete change from light to darkness, usually as a result of shutting the eyes (Nuckolls 1996:215). When it modifies this verb, the ideophone *ping* metaphorically evokes the bodily experience of shutting the eyes to communicate what happens outside the body. Ideophones are clearly involved, then, not only in bodily motion and movement, but also in configurational, proprioceptive and perceptual depictions.

Ideophones are forms that draw from the body’s perceptions, experiences, and ways of inhabiting the world. Their performative foregrounding through techniques of repetition, lengthening and high rising terminal pitch, express ongoingness, repetition, resonance and reverberation and an almost endless variety of sounds as well as extendedness in space, movement through various substances and mediums, various types of deformative actions and events, instantaneousness, termination, and configurational and proprioceptive perceptions. The Bantu linguist George Fortune once stated that for African cultures, the use of ideophones reveals “a concern to give concrete and adequate expression to what they see of the forces and energies of the world”. For Pastaza Quichua ideophones at least, we need to acknowledge that forces and energies are primarily comprehended through one’s own bodily experiences.
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Appendix

I Verbs of telic process or state, where role of an effector is minimized or nonexistent

Amsayana ‘to become dusk’
Aparina ‘to bear’ (of plant)
Chakirina ‘to become dry’
Chayana ‘to become done’
Chingarina ‘to disappear, become lost’
Harkarina ‘to be blocked, obstructed’
Hukuna ‘to become wet’
Hundarina ‘to become filled’
Icharina ‘to become scattered’
Ismuna ‘to rot’
Kuyurina ‘to shake, tremble’
Likirina ‘to be, become torn’
L’utarina ‘be stuck’
Mirana ‘to increase, proliferate’
Montonarina ‘to pile oneself, be piled, mounded’
Pakirina ‘to break’
Partirina ‘to split’
Paskarina ‘to open’
Pukuna ‘to mature, ripen’
Rayuna ‘to thunder’
Rupana ‘to burn’
Sakirina ‘to remain, be left’
Tamnya ‘to rain’
Taparina ‘to close’
Timbuna ‘to boil, churn’
Tustarina ‘to be scorched, burned’
Tutayana ‘to become night’
Tuvya ‘to explode, burst’
Wiñarina ‘to sprout’
II Verbs of telic process or state, where role of agent is foregrounded
Awana ‘to craft an object such as a drinking bowl, hammock, basket’
Aswana ‘to make aswa’
Awantana ‘to endure’
Chapana ‘to wait’
Harkana ‘to obstruct, prevent movement’
Harkachina ‘to cause to be obstructed’
Hukuchina ‘to make soaked’
Mitikuna ‘to hide’
Pandana ‘to become lost, be mistaken’
Pugl'ana ‘to play’
Rupachina ‘to warm, burn sth’
Sakina ‘to leave, abandon, a place, a thing, an activity’
Taksana ‘to wash clothes’
Talina ‘to spill, pour, empty’
Tandarina ‘to gather in a group’
Tarpuna ‘to plant’
Timbuchi 'na ‘to boil something’
Tukuchina ‘to complete, finish’

III Verbs of Bodily activities, processes and states
Agl’ul’ana ‘to blister’
Armana ‘to bathe’
Chupana ‘to suck, draw on’
Ishpana ‘to urinate’
Ismana ‘to defecate’
Kanina ‘to bite’
Kwinana ‘to vomit’
L’aukana ‘to lick’
L’aukarina ‘to lick oneself’
L’ushpirina ‘to shed, let go, cast off, peel off’
Machana ‘intoxicated, altered in consciousness’
Mikuna ‘to eat’
Mikurina ‘to eat oneself’
Mukuna ‘to masticate’
Nanana ‘to hurt, be in pain’
Nanachina ‘to cause pain’
Nil’y puna ‘to swallow’
Nil’y puchina ‘to give to swallow’
Pungina ‘to swell’
Puñuna ‘to sleep’
Rimana ‘to speak’
Samana ‘to breathe’
Sambayana ‘to become tired’
Shil’una ‘to scratch’
Timbuna ‘to roil’
T’ukana ‘to spit’
Upina ‘to drink’
Upichina ‘to give to drink’
Wañuna ‘to die’
Wañuchina ‘to kill’
Wawayana ‘become pregnant’
Wiñana ‘to grow’

IV Cognitive Verbs
Mandzharina ‘to be afraid’
Munana ‘to want, desire’
Mus’ana ‘to perceive, notice’
Rikuchina ‘to show, illuminate’
Rikuna ‘to see, watch’
Rikurina ‘to appear’
Uyana ‘to hear’
Uyarina ‘to sound’
Yachana ‘to know’
Yuyarina ‘to think to oneself’

V Verbs for managing bodily aesthetics
Awirina ‘to paint oneself’
Churarina ‘to dress oneself’
kakurina ‘to rub oneself’
Kuruna ‘to crown one’s head with a headdress’
L’atanana ‘to undress’
L’auturina ‘to adorn head with feather headdress’
Pil’urina ‘to coil beads around wrist’
Pintana ‘to paint’
Pintarina ‘to paint oneself’
Rutuna ‘to cut hair’
Shimbana ‘to braid, weave’
Watarina ‘to tie something around oneself’

VI Verbs for Bodily Configurations
Bultiarina ‘to turn around’
chutarina ‘to stretch out’
Hatarina ‘to get up, arise’
Kungurichina ‘to cause to kneel’
Markana ‘to hold’
Shayana ‘to stand’
Shayarina ‘to come to a standstill, to stand out’
Sirina ‘to lie’
Siririna ‘to lie down’
Tiyarina ‘to sit’
Ugl’ana ‘to incubate by sitting’
Ugl’arina ‘to hug’
Warkurina ‘to hang oneself’

VII Verbs for Nonlinguistic Soundmaking by means of a body
Asina ‘to laugh’
Kantana ‘to sing’
Kaparichina ‘to cause to shout’
Kaparina ‘to shout’
Kontestana ‘to reply’
Mandzharin ‘to be afraid’
Mitsana ‘to be stingy’
Nina ‘to utter nonlinguistic sounds’
Piñana ‘to make angry sounds’
Pukuna ‘to blow smoke’
Runkana ‘to snore’
Wakana ‘to cry’

**VIII Verbs for bodily motion with limited path trajectories**

Aitana ‘to step’
al’ana ‘to dig’
Al’mana ‘to weed’
angl’ana ‘to choose, select’
Aspina ‘to scratch’
Bultiyachina ‘to overturn, turn something around’
Chuntina ‘to stoke fire’
Churana ‘to put down’
hapina ‘to grab’
hapichina ‘to cause to catch, grab’
hapirina ‘to catch oneself to something’
hundachina ‘to load’
hundana ‘to fill’
ishkuna ‘to peel, pick’
kakuna ‘to rub’
kamana ‘to probe, test by touching’
karana ‘to give food’
kargana ‘to load’
katana ‘to wrap up, cover’
kauchuna ‘to twist, shape’
kawina ‘to row’
kilabana ‘to nail
kimina ‘to move near, move close, lean on’
Kindzhana ‘to make a wall, fence’
kuna ‘to give’
kushparina ‘to shake, roll’
kuyuna ‘to sway, tremble, shake’
likina ‘to tear’
l’apina ‘to squeeze’
l’uchuna ‘to remove skin’
l’ukshina ‘to emerge’
l’ukshichina ‘to cause to emerge’
l’ushtina ‘to peel’
l’utachina ‘cause something to stick to some surface’
L’utana ‘to stick sth to sth else’
mail’ana ‘to wash, rinse’
Makanakuna ‘to fight with someone’
mandana ‘to spread’
Maskana ‘to search for’
Montonana ‘to pile, make a mound’
muyuna ‘to move by curving around’
muyurina ‘to circle oneself around’
nitina ‘to press’
Pakina ‘to break’
paktana ‘to arrive’
Pambana ‘to bury’: toa, face down
partina ‘to split’
pikana ‘to chop’
paskana ‘to open’
paskachina ‘to cause something to open’
pichana ‘to sweep’
picharina ‘to sweep oneself, clean oneself’

pilana ‘to pluck’

pil’uchina ‘to cause something to be wrapped around something’

pil’una ‘to wrap’

pitina ‘to cut’

pitirina ‘to cut oneself, be cut’

pungarana ‘to caulk, plaster with tar, pitch’

raspana ‘to scratch’

Sakina ‘to leave, abandon, a place, a thing, an activity’

saltana ‘to leap’

saltarina ‘to be bounced, jostled’

satina ‘to insert, place inside of something or some space’

satirina ‘to insert oneself into a space’

shalina ‘to rip’

shayachina ‘to make stand, set’

sirichina ‘to cause to lie down’

surkuna ‘to remove’

surkurina ‘to remove something from oneself’

takana ‘to touch’

takarina ‘touch oneself, bump into’

Taksana ‘to wash clothes’

Talina ‘to spill, pour, empty’

Tandarina ‘to gather in a group’

tangana ‘to shove’

tapana ‘to cover’

Tarpuna ‘to plant’

taunana ‘to steer canoe with a long pole’

tigrarina ‘turn oneself around’

tiyachina ‘to cause to sit, place’

tsagmana ‘to hit’

tuksina ‘to prick, to spear’
tuvyachina ‘to cause to burst’
urmachina ‘to cause to fall’
urmana ‘to fall’
waktana ‘to hit’
wambuchina ‘to float something’
warkuchina ‘to cause something to hang’
warkuna ‘to hang something’
ayaikuchina ‘to cause something to enter’
ayaikuna ‘to enter’
zambulina ‘to immerse oneself underwater’

**IX Verbs for bodily motion with non-limited path trajectories**

Aisana ‘to pull’
Al’sana ‘to lift’
apamuna ‘to bring’
Apana ‘to take’
Aparina ‘to carry on one’s body’
Bailana ‘to dance’
Bolarina ‘to roll’
Chimbana ‘to cross’
Ichana ‘to sprinkle’
Ichuna ‘to throw’
Il’yapana ‘to shoot with gun’
Kal’ypana ‘to run’
L’yukan ‘to crawl’
Katina ‘to follow’
Ngapachina ‘to lead’
Pawana ‘to fly’
Purina ‘to walk, trek’
Pushana ‘to take along, guide, conduct’
Raikuna ‘to descend’
Rina ‘to go’
Shamuna ‘to come’
Shitana ‘to throw’
Sikana ‘to climb’
Sikarina ‘to elevate oneself’
Tuksina ‘to throw’
Waitana ‘to swim’
Wamburina ‘to float, fly’

**X ‘Light’, Semantically General Verbs**

Mana ‘to be’
Rana ‘to do, make’
Rina ‘to go, appear, sound’
Shamuna ‘to appear, sound’
Tiyana ‘to be, exist, dwell’
Tukuna ‘to become’
The 2011 Symposium for Teaching and Learning Indigenous Languages of Latin America (STLILLA) was the second in a biennial series of symposia organized by the Association for Teaching and Learning Indigenous Languages of Latin America (ATLILLA). The Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame hosted STLILLA-2011 in collaboration with partner institutions.

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