

# Siine'o Tlaña

by Lichen

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Siine'o Tlaña is a language sketch I created for Speedlang Challenge 8 from u/roipoiboy. I shall begin with a discussion of its phonology, and then move onto aspects of the grammar relevant for the challenge.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Inventory

The phonetic inventory and romanization of Siine'o Tlaña is as follows:

	lab	alv	vel	glot			
<i>nas</i>	m	n	ŋ		vowels		
<i>impl</i>	ɓ	ɗ	ɠ		i i:	u u:	
<i>tenu</i>		t t̚	k	ʔ	e e:	o o:	
<i>ejctv</i>		t' t̚' t̚s̚' t̚ʃ'	k'		a a:		
<i>fric</i>		s ʃ		h			

	lab	alv	vel	glot			
<i>nas</i>	m	n	ɲ		vowels		
<i>impl</i>	b	d	g		i ii	u uu	
<i>tenu</i>		t t̚	k	'	e ee	o oo	
<i>ejctv</i>		t' ts' t̚s' t̚l'	k'		a aa		
<i>fric</i>		s š		h			

### 2.2 Phonotactics and Morphophonology

Syllables in Siine'o Tlaña are in the form CV(:ʔ). They must begin with a consonant, and be followed either by a short vowel alone; a long vowel; or a short vowel and a glottal stop.

When a coda glottal stop immediately precedes any stop consonant, the resulting cluster is usually articulated as a gemination of that following stop consonant: /aʔka/ [ak:a].

The sounds can be split into two groups: glottalized and plain. This split is important, as all words have a *glottal melody* ('GM') which will dictate which morae are composed of glottalized consonants and which are not. The following lists the correspondences:

Plain	Gltd	Plain	Gltd
m	ɓ	k	k'
n	ɗ	s	t̚s̚'
ŋ	ɠ	ʃ	t̚ʃ'
t	t'	h	ʔ
t̚	t̚'	vowel	ʔ

All root words (and several affixes) will have a defined GM for each mora in that word or affix. Note that other affixes are unspecified for GM, or create an inversion of part or all of the preceding GM, or change the GM some other way – these affixes are addressed below. CV syllables have one mora; CV: and CVʔ syllables have two morae. For our notation purposes, <\_> will mean a plain mora; and <^> a glottalized mora. These are 'glottal melody units' or GMUs. In the following (where words have periods dividing their morae) you can clearly see what the GM is from the uninflected root.

<i>tla.ña</i>	=	__	“speech”
<i>ba.di</i>	=	^^	“hero(ism)”
<i>tš’a.tu</i>	=	^_	“beans”
<i>no.t’o</i>	=	_ ^	“fatigue”
<i>ko.bo.ko</i>	=	_ ^ _	“monster”
<i>si.i.de</i>	=	__ ^	“quickness”
<i>’u.’da</i>	=	^^^	“dance”

There is no apparent limit on what glottal melodies a root can have, apart from being limited to match the number of morae the root contains. Almost all roots are bi- or trisyllabic, with a fair number of monosyllabic ones; and roots with four or more syllables are fleeting. Because syllables often contain two morae, the average morae for a given root will be between two and four.

- For roots of one mora, only \_ and ^ are allowed
- for roots of two morae: \_\_, \_ ^, ^ \_ , ^ ^ ,
- three morae: \_\_\_, ^ \_\_, \_ ^ \_ , \_ \_ ^ , ^ ^ \_ , ^ \_ ^,<sup>1</sup> \_ ^ ^ , ^ ^ ^
- ...

Affixes can be divided into a few categories depending on their effect on GM.

1. Affixes with unspecified GM (“Zero Melody Affixes”)
2. Affixes whose GM is equal to the number of morae in the affix (“Generic Affixes”)
3. Affixes whose GM outnumbers the number of morae in the affix (“Overspecified Affixes”)
4. Affixes that otherwise effect the GM of the word they modify

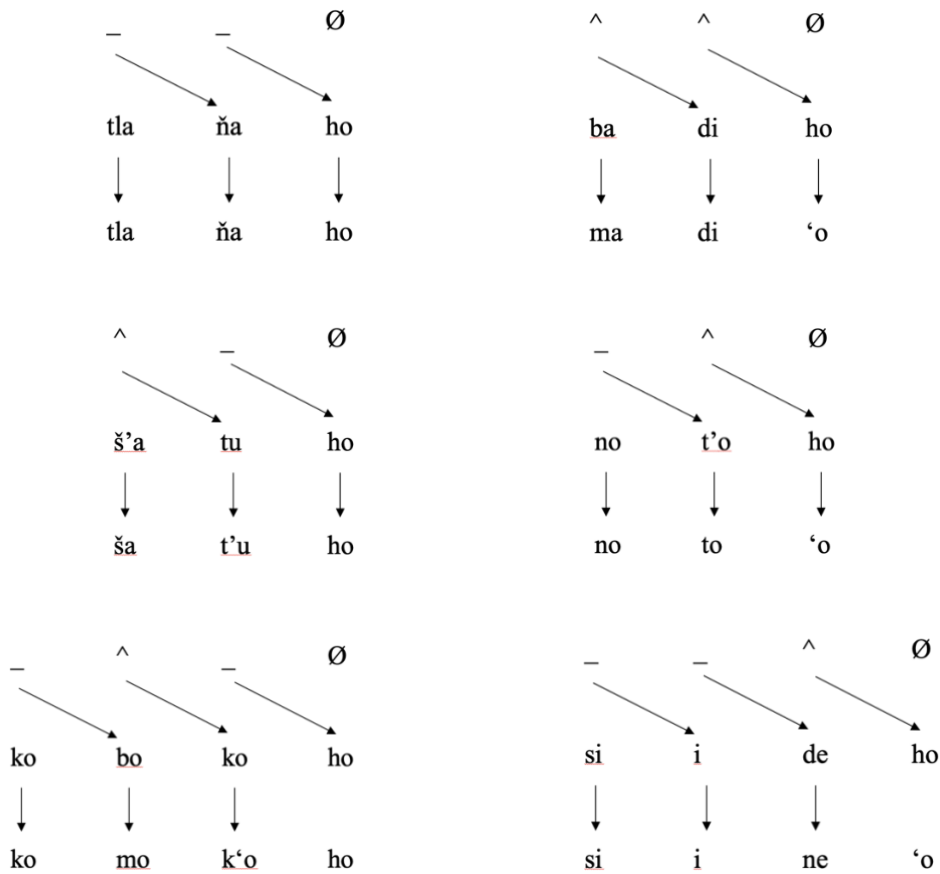
### 2.2.1 Zero Melody Affixes

GM is reckoned right-to-left, working from the end of the word to the beginning. As such, if we add an affix that has no GM value, then the whole melody will shift rightwards. Look at these examples with the possessive suffix *-ho*, which is unspecified for glottal melody.

<i>tlaña + ho</i>	=	<i>tlañaho</i>	<i>koboko + ho</i>	=	<i>komok’oho</i>
__ + Ø		---	_ ^ _ + Ø		__ ^ _
<i>badi + ho</i>	=	<i>madi’o</i>	<i>siide + ho</i>	=	<i>siine’o</i>
^^ + Ø		_ ^^	__ ^ + Ø		___ ^
<i>tš’atu + ho</i>	=	<i>šat’uho</i>	<i>’u’da + ho</i>	=	<i>hu’da’o</i>
^ _ + Ø		_ ^ _	^^^ + Ø		_ ^ ^ ^
<i>not’o + ho</i>	=	<i>noto’o</i>			
_ ^ + Ø		__ ^			

<sup>1</sup> This particular GM seems to occur frequently in words within the semantic realm of happiness: *ts’imitl’e* “smile”, *’aha’a* “laughter”, *bihats’o* “joy”, *dešo’i* “gusto”, *k’usut’o* “satisfaction”. It is unknown whether this trend will hold up under rigorous statistical scrutiny, so more research will need to be conducted.

These diagrams show how the glottal melody moves to the end of the word, due to *-ho* having an unspecified melody.



You will notice that when the glottal melody shifts rightwards, the first syllable of a word becomes undefined for glottalization, and its surface realization will always be a plain consonant.

### 2.2.2 Generic Affixes

Affixes whose GMUs match the number of morae in the affix do not effect the GM of the word they are affixed to. An example would be *-ka'ni* which is derivational morphology to form locations.

*tlaña* + *ka'ni* = *tlaña'ni* 'stage'  
 $\bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} + \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$      $\bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$

*not'o* + *ka'ni* = *not'oka'ni* 'punishment'<sup>3</sup>  
 $\bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} + \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$      $\bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$

*badi* + *ka'ni* = *badika'ni* 'task'<sup>2</sup>  
 $\hat{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} + \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$      $\hat{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$

*koboko* + *ka'ni* = *kobokoka'ni* 'hell'  
 $\bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} + \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$      $\bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$

*tš'atu* + *ka'ni* = *tš'atuka'ni* 'bean patch'  
 $\hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} + \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$      $\bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$

*siide* + *ka'ni* = *siideka'ni* 'racetrack'  
 $\bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} + \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$      $\bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}} \hat{\phantom{a}} \bar{\phantom{a}}$

<sup>2</sup> Siine'o Tlaña speakers commonly conceptualise ongoing actions as locations to be traversed. Ergo, because a task requires a long time to complete, the *-ka'ni* suffix is used for this derivation.

<sup>3</sup> Just as with *badika'ni*, punishment is an ongoing process, so is conceptualised as a location to be traversed.

### 2.2.3 Overspecified Affixes

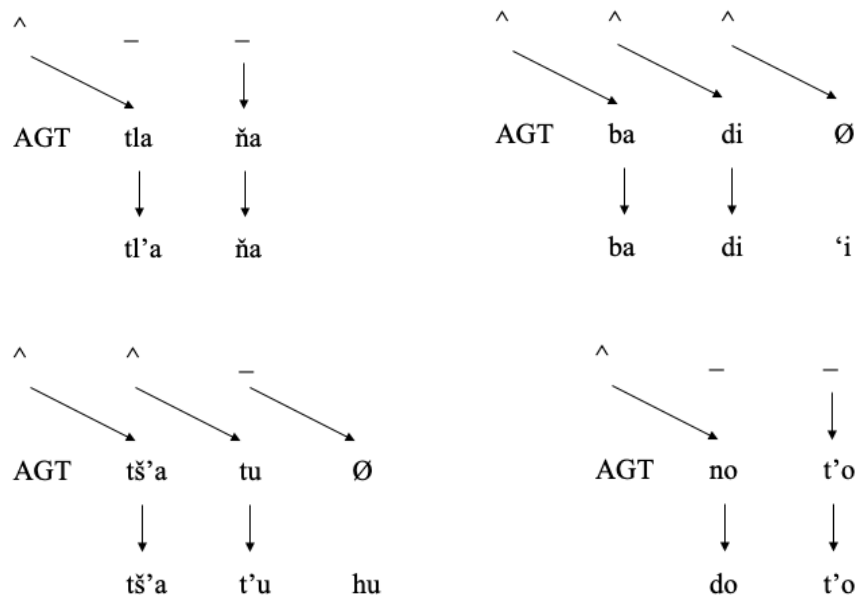
Overspecified affixes are those where the number of GMUs they contain exceeds the number of surface mora they have. For instance, an affix might have only one mora but have a melody of two or more GMUs; or it might have two morae with three or more GMUs. However, in its most extreme form, some affixes have no underlying syllable at all, and merely exist as a ‘floating melody’ which usually attaches to a word at the start or end (though, it depends on the order that affixes are attached: see 2.2.5 *Affix Stacking*).

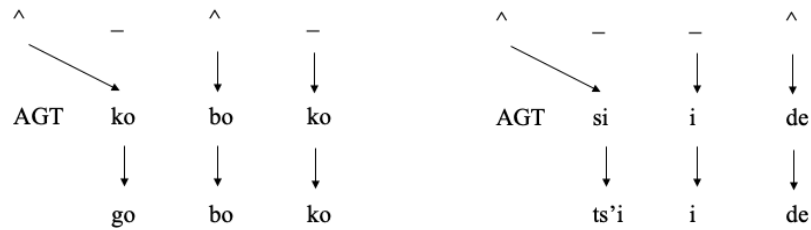
An example of one of these floating melodies is the agentive derivational morphology, which:

- a) If the first GMU is plain, it glottalizes it; and
- b) If the first GMU is glottalized, then the whole GM is shifted rightwards by one GMU, such the first mora (now undefined and thus plain) can be glottalized; and with the edition of an ‘echo syllable’ word-finally to carry the shifted original GM.

$\emptyset + tla\grave{n}a$	=	$tl'\grave{a}n\grave{a}$ ‘speaker’		$\emptyset + koboko$	=	$goboko$ ‘dictator’
$\wedge + \_ \_$		$\wedge \_$		$\wedge + \_ \wedge \_$		$\wedge \wedge \_$
$\emptyset + badi$	=	$badi'i$ ‘hero’		$\emptyset + siide$	=	$ts'iide$ ‘sprinter’
$\wedge + \wedge \wedge$		$\wedge \wedge \wedge$		$\wedge + \_ \_ \wedge$		$\wedge \_ \wedge$
$\emptyset + t\check{s}'atu$	=	$t\check{s}'at'u\check{h}u$ ‘bean farmer’		$\emptyset + 'u'da$	=	$'u'da'a$ ‘dancer’
$\wedge + \wedge \_$		$\wedge \wedge \_$		$\wedge + \wedge \wedge \wedge$		$\wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge$
$\emptyset + not'o$	=	$dot'o$ ‘slave’				
$\wedge + \_ \wedge$		$\wedge \wedge$				

The following diagrams show the effect of the agentive GM.





### 2.2.4 Other Affixes

Some affixes have either inverting or longer-range effects. The *-kitli* diminutive suffix causes the whole GM of the word to become plain;<sup>4</sup> while the *-na* negative derivational suffix causes whatever GMU preceding it to invert: *tl'aña* “speaker”, *tl'agana* “a mute”.

### 2.2.5 Affix Stacking

Affixes stack in a particular order, which dictates how the final GM of the word will be reckoned. Broadly, plural reduplication occurs first, then those affixes that change a part of speech, followed by any further derivation, negation and then possession.

For example:

<i>tlaña</i>	“speech (ROOT)”
<i>tlatlaña</i>	“speech acts/ words”
<i>tl'atlaña</i>	“speakers”
<i>tlatlañakitli</i>	“3-year-olds”
<i>tlatlañakitl'ina</i>	“mute children”
<i>tlatlañakitlidaho</i>	“The mute children’s...”

## 3. GRAMMAR

Sinee’o Tlaña is strictly SVO where word order determines the roles of the arguments. For intransitive verbs, the word order can be SV or VS, with SV for cases where the subject is more patient-like; and VS for where the subject is more agent-like.

SV:	<i>tl'aña tlaña</i>	=	the speaker spoke
	<i>badi'i dots'u</i>	=	the hero crouched down
VS:	<i>tlaña tl'aña</i>	=	the speaker is babbling / sleep talking
	<i>dots'u badi'i</i>	=	the hero fell down

<sup>4</sup> This can lead to some amusing homophones with words like *tl'aña* “speaker” and *tl'aga* “old man” becoming *tlañakitli* “a 3-year-old (i.e. the age when someone starts to speak)” and “a little old man”.

Prepositions as such do not exist, but various stative verbs are used instead in serial verb constructions.

*'u'da'a tlaña ha'i tš'atuka'ni.*

*'u'da'a tlaña ha'i tš'atuka'ni*

dancer speak stand bean.patch

“The dancer spoke (while standing) in the bean patch.”

Verbs do not inflect at all and are morphologically identical to verbal nouns. Distinctions in tense and aspect etc. are all accomplished periphrastically but will not be described and investigated here.

Nouns are by default unmarked for number but can be explicitly pluralized by reduplicating the first syllable (note, the whole first syllable and not just the first mora) and applying a zero-GM to the reduplicated segment. If there is further derivation that changes the GM, this will occur after the zero-GM initial reduplicated syllable is added. For instance: *badi* “heroism” > *mabadi* “heroisms” > *babadi* “heroes”.

<i>tš'atu</i>	“bean(s)”	>	<i>tšatš'atu</i>	“beans” <sup>5</sup>
<i>koboko</i>	“monster”	>	<i>kokoboko</i>	“monsters”
<i>'u'da</i>	“a dance”	>	<i>huu'u'da</i>	“dances”
<i>tlañaka'ni</i>	“stage” <sup>6</sup>	>	<i>tlatlañaka'ni</i>	“stages”
<i>badika'ni</i>	“task”	>	<i>mabadika'ni</i>	“tasks”
<i>kii</i>	“skill”	>	<i>kiikii</i>	“skills”
<i>siideka'ni</i>	“racetrack”	>	<i>siisiideka'ni</i>	“racetracks”
<i>'u'daka'ni</i>	“dancehall”	>	<i>huu'u'daka'ni</i>	“dancehalls”
<i>tl'aña</i>	“speaker”	>	<i>tlatl'aña</i>	“speakers”
<i>badi'i</i>	“hero”	>	<i>babadi</i> <sup>7</sup>	“heros”
<i>tš'at'uhu</i>	“farmer”	>	<i>tš'atšat'u</i>	“farmers”
<i>dot'o</i>	“slave”	>	<i>donot'o</i>	“slaves”
<i>ts'iide</i>	“sprinter”	>	<i>ts'iisiide</i>	“sprinters”
<i>'u'da'a</i>	“dancer”	>	<i>'uu'u'da</i>	“dancers”
<i>tl'aga</i>	“old man”	>	<i>tlatl'aga</i>	“old men”

<sup>5</sup> This example is an unusual one, as *tš'atu* refers to a bean or a mass of beans, while *tšatš'atu* refers to a collection of individual beans. The former would be used in meal contexts, while the latter more so for farming such as where the beans are being planted individually.

<sup>6</sup> This is ‘stage’ as in where someone performs. It cannot refer to ‘stage’ as in ‘stage of development’.

<sup>7</sup> This word might be expected to be *\*mabadi'i*, but the reduplication occurs before the agentive melody is applied, and so attaches directly to the first syllable, leaving no epenthetical echo syllable at the end.

### 3.1 Open Pronoun Class

The pronouns (anaphora for nouns and noun phrases) in Sinne’o Tlaña form an open class<sup>8</sup> whereby the first mora of a noun is used when it is being referred back to, with its glottal quality copied. If a noun phrase (consisting of a noun and any number of other nouns with the *-ho* possessive suffix) needs referring back to, the first syllable of the final noun of that phrase will be the source of the pronoun’s morphology.<sup>9</sup> Some examples:

*badi’i ha’i tš’atuka’ni meesi tlañakitli. Ba tlaña tla.*

badi’<sub>i</sub> ha’<sub>i</sub> tš’atuka’<sub>ni</sub> meesi tlañakitli<sub>j</sub>. ba<sub>i</sub> tlaña tla<sub>j</sub>.  
hero<sub>i</sub> stand bean.patch see child<sub>j</sub>. ANA<sub>i</sub> speak ANA<sub>j</sub>

“Our hero, standing in the bean patch, saw the child. He spoke to him.”<sup>10</sup>

*goboko ‘u’da siine’o tlañaho ‘u’da. Go kii ‘u.*

goboko<sub>i</sub> ‘u’da siide-ho tlaña -ho ‘u’da<sub>j</sub> go<sub>i</sub> kii ‘u<sub>j</sub>  
dictator<sub>i</sub> dance fast -POSS speech-POSS dance ANA<sub>i</sub> skilled ANA<sub>j</sub>

“The dictator dances the dance of the Sinee’o Tlaña. He is skilled at it.”

Note that noun phrases will always be composed of nouns linked with *-ho* (adjectives do not form a separate class to nouns; rather they are just the noun plus *-ho*), or with the conjunction *te’*. When noun phrases are linked with *te’*, *te’* must occur between each noun phrase; and the pronominal anaphora must also have *te’* between each of the referents. For example:

*goboko meesi tlañakitli te’ ‘u’da’a te’ dot’o.*

goboko<sub>i</sub> meesi tlañakitli<sub>j</sub> te’ ‘u’da’a<sub>k</sub> te’ dot’o<sub>1</sub>  
dictator<sub>i</sub> see child<sub>j</sub> CONJ dancer<sub>k</sub> CONJ slave<sub>1</sub>

“The dictator saw the child, dancer, and slave.”

*Go tlaña ‘u te’ do.*

go<sub>i</sub> tlaña ‘u<sub>k</sub> te’ do<sub>1</sub>  
ANA<sub>i</sub> speak ANA<sub>k</sub> CONJ ANA<sub>1</sub>

“He spoke with them (the dancer and the slave).”

### 3.2 Asymmetric Negation

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<sup>8</sup> Strictly speaking the open pronoun class is limited to the amount of possible CV morae in Sinee’o Tlaña, which is 90.

<sup>9</sup> If multiple arguments start with the same mora, then – unless otherwise specified (through reintroducing the whole noun again) or obvious from context – they will be treated as having the same role as subject or objects as they had when they were introduced.

<sup>10</sup> This is an extract from the Sinne’o Tlaña creation myth, where the god-hero Uunaamunahaa teaches the infant Sidiidañe how to farm the bean patch. This is an allegory for the rise of agriculture.

While there is a negating derivational suffix *-na* used with nouns as discussed above in 2.2.4, to negate a verb requires the use of a special negating verb *naa* along with an anaphoric referent possessing the verbal noun of the verb being negated.

*Sidiidañe 'u'da*  
 Sidiidañe 'u'da  
 Sidiidañe dance  
 “Sidiidañe dances.”

*Sidiidañe naa siho 'u'da.*  
 Sidiidañe naa si -ho 'u'da  
 Sidiidañe NEG ANA-POSS dance  
 “Sidiidañe does not dance.”

Note that if the subject of an intransitive is behaving patientlike, and thus follows the main verb, there is no need for anaphoric possession when it is being negated – simple possession will suffice.

*dots'u badi'i*  
 dots'u badi'i  
 down hero  
 “The hero fell down.”

*badi'i dots'u*  
 badi'i dots'u  
 hero down  
 “The hero crouched down.”

*naa badi'o dots'u*  
 naa badi'i-ho dots'u  
 NEG hero -POSS down  
 “The hero did not fall down.”

*badi'i naa ma'o dots'u*  
 badi'i naa ba -ho dots'u  
 hero NEG ANA-POSS down  
 “The hero did not crouch down.”

### 3.3 Insubordination

Sinee'o Tlaña has two forms of insubordination to note, both of which concern particles that would normally introduce a subordinate clause. The first of these is the reportative particle (“REP”) *'ane* which is used after verbs of speech to indicate what is being said; while the second is a complementizing particle (“COMP”) *'aboo* used after verbs of cognition.

#### 3.3.1 *'ane*

See below the normal use of *'ane* to specify what the information-content of a given speech act is in the second example, compared to the first example which makes explicit the actual words of the speech act.



*tš'at'uhu suu dot'o ha'i 'u'daka'ni*

tš'at'uhu suu dot'o ha'i 'u'daka'ni  
farmer say slave stand.in dancehall

“The farmer said, ‘The slave is in the dancehall.’”

*tš'at'uhu suu 'ane dot'o ha'i 'u'daka'ni*

tš'at'uhu suu 'ane dot'o ha'i 'u'daka'ni  
farmer say REP slave stand.in dancehall

“The farmer said that the slave is in the dancehall.”

The particle *'ane* does not always occur subordinated to a verb of speech, however. It has two uses when it surfaces alone, and is used either to introduce a gentler kind of imperative (one might call this a ‘hortative’ construction), or as a device that introduces traditional narrative tales. Compare below the general imperative, which exists as a bare verb; and the hortative with *'ane*.

<i>Suge!</i>	<i>'Ane suge</i>
eat	REP eat
“Eat!”	“Shall we eat?” / “Please eat (something)”

Note that the hortative construction has a wide range of meanings, either as suggestions or encouragement, which merely depend on the context. There is some intonational difference, however, wherein to make a suggestion the verb is lightly stressed (*'ane suge* = “Shall we eat?”), while as a form of encouragement the stress is more on the particle (*'ane suge* = “Please eat.”)

Traditional myths and folktales are almost invariably introduced with *'ane*, and professional joke-tellers<sup>11</sup> sometimes use it as a narrative device to give their humorous tales a false veneer of solemnity which is then broken for comic effect.

*'ane uunaamunahaa ha'i guguna meesimeesi...*

'ane uunaamunahaa ha'i guguna meesi-meesi  
REP Uunaamunahaa stand Guguna see -REDUP

“(Once upon a time) Uunaamunahaa was standing in Guguna<sup>12</sup> looking about...”

### 3.3.2 *'aboo*

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<sup>11</sup> These are the *ts'its'imitl'e* who are frequently employed at large gatherings like weddings, dances, and other celebrations to ensure an atmosphere of joviality; and they play an important role for attendees who are either too tired or uninterested to speak to other guests who would rather sit and listen to a few funny stories.

<sup>12</sup> Guguna is the name of the demon realm or underworld where Ts'itsimeme lives.

The particle *'aboo* must be used after verbs of cognition to introduce what is being cogitated about. It inherently describes a sense of uncertainty, such that if you want to make a statement you are certain about, you cannot introduce it with a verb of cognition in Sinne'o Tlaña.

*ta kidi 'aboo si ha'i maanigu*

ta kidi 'aboo si ha'i maanigu  
1s think COMP ANA stand Maanigu

“I think that he is/might be in Maanigu (but I am not entirely sure)”

*Si ha'i maanigu*

Si ha'i maanigu  
ANA stand Maanigu

“(I think) he is in Maanigu (and I am certain of it)”

While *'aboo* is required after all verbs of cognition, it sometimes occurs at the start of an utterance to indicate uncertainty. If we asked the question *'ehu Sidiidañe?*<sup>13</sup> “Where is Sidiidañe?” we might receive two answers:

*dots'u si*

dots'u si  
fall ANA

“He fell down.”

*'aboo dots'u si*

'aboo dots'u si  
COMP fall ANA

“He might have fallen down.”

### 3.4 Indefinite Noun Phrases

Normally the definiteness of nouns is known from context. However, if a speaker wishes to make explicit that an item is one unspecified member of a set, the word is pluralized through reduplication, then suffixed with the possessive *-ho*, and then followed by the word *heno* “one”. Some examples are as follows:

*šeme* “person, individual” > *šešemeho heno* “someone, anyone”

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<sup>13</sup> *'ehu* is an intransitive verb used to query locations, equivalent to “where is X (at)?”, which can either precede or follow its subject. If follows *'ehu*, the subject is taken to be patientlike with the meaning of “where is X?”; while if the subject precedes *'ehu* then it is taken to be more agentive and thus has a meaning more akin to “where has X got to?” or “where has X gone?”

*tš'at'uhu* “bean farmer” > *tšatš'atu'o heno* “a/any farmer”

These can be used in a positive sense...

*šešemeho heno suge tšat'u he kii 'u'da*  
šešeme-ho heno suge tšat'u he kii 'u'da  
people-POSS one eat beans ANA skill.at dance  
“Anyone who eats beans is good at dancing.”<sup>14</sup>

...and a negative sense with *naa* for statements about ‘no X’.

*kogomok'oho heno naa heho huhu.*  
gokoboko -ho heno naa he -ho huhu  
dictator.pl-POSS one NEG ANA-POSS be.alone  
“No dictator is alone.”

#### 4. Meeting the Requirements of the Speedlang Challenge

In this section I set out how Sinne’o Tlaña has conformed to the requirements of the challenge.

##### 4.1 Phonology

Sinne’o Tlaña has a **quantity distinction** in its vowels, and an allophonic quantity distinction in its consonants when a glottal stop precedes another stop.

There are no glides or semivowels, and therefore **glides/semivowels do not contrast by round or point of articulation.**

The feature of ‘glottal melody’ is a **suprasegmental feature that is not tone nor stress.**

##### 4.2 Grammar

Sinne’o Tlaña has a effectively **open pronoun class** limited only by the phonetic constraints of the language, with all possible pronouns as follows: *'a 'e 'i 'o 'u ba be bi bo bu da de di do du ga ge gi go gu ha he hi ho hu k'a k'e k'i k'o k'u ka ke ki ko ku ma me mi mo mu na ne ni no nu sa se si so su t'a t'e t'i t'o t'u ta te ti tl'a tl'e tl'i tl'o tl'u tla tle tli tlo tlu to ts'a ts'e ts'i ts'o ts'u tu tš'a tš'e tš'i tš'o tš'u ŋa ŋe ŋi ŋo ŋu ša še ši šo šu*

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<sup>14</sup> This is a Sinne’o Tlaña proverb with multifarious meanings. One meaning concerns the simple idea that beans give one energy, and traditional Sinne’o Tlaña dances are highly athletic, so requires beans to be eaten beforehand as adequate fuel. Another meaning arises from the myth of Uunaamunahaa where he fools the devil Tsi’tšimeme into eating poisoned beans with the words of the proverb, and so the proverb is used as a casual warning, especially for snake-oil type products.

There is **insubordination** in the form of the normally subordinate particle *'ane* occurring utterance-initially to get across suggestions, encouragement, and narrative techniques; and likewise for *'aboo* to create statements of uncertainty.

There is **asymmetrical negation** whereby verbs are negated through the use of a negating verb *naa* along with a possessed verbal noun construction.

There is a special construction for **indefinite noun phrases** where the noun is reduplicated and put in possession with *heno* "one".

#### 4.3 Five Example Sentences

##### 1. Syntax Test Sentence 44 "I can play after school."

*ta kedi lodu ta'u timeka'ni*

ta kedi lodu ta'u timeka'ni

1S be.near play leave school

~I am near (i.e. able) playing (after) leaving school~

Potential is conceptualized as coreferential with nearness, because if something is near a person, that person can reach out and manipulate it.

##### 2. Syntax Test Sentence 148 "They looked cautiously about, but saw nothing."

*Si te' 'u deke meesimeesi, naa titikiho heno meesi*

Si te' 'u deke meesi-meesi naa ti-tiki -ho heno meesi  
ANA CONJ ANA cautious see -REDUP NEG REDUP-thing-POSS one see

~They (two) were cautious, looked around; not anything was seen~

##### 3. Syntax Test Sentence 48 "The campers sat around the fire."

*kakamuba gise nudumudu daha*

ka- kamuba gise nudu -nudu kedi daha

REDUP-camper sit be.circular-REDUP be.near campfire

~The campers sat being in a circle near the fire~

The word *kamuba* is a loanword from English, and implies that these people are camping on holiday as opposed to camping on a hunting trip. *Daha* refers specifically to a manmade or controlled fire, in contradistinction with *neek'u* which is a wildfire or an undesired fire like a house burning down.

4. Syntax Test Sentence 112 “You and I will go together.”

*ta te' mu heno šama*

ta te' mu heno šama

1S CONJ 2S one walk

~I and you as one (will) go~

5. Syntax Test Sentence 88 “The little girl seemed lonely.”

*'aboo minikitli huhihuhi*

'aboo bini-kitli huhi -huhi

COMP girl-DIM alone-REDUP

~(It might be) that the little girl is lonely~