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Kinship terms in Ecuadorian Siona:

A first analysis

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis, "Kinship terms in Ecuadorian Siona: A first analysis", is divided in a theoretical part summarizing the background knowledge for the second part which is about the analysis of kinship terms in Ecuadorian Siona. The theory includes a short overview of the development of the linguistic field of kinship, the essential concepts and terminologies, as well as an introduction to the two techniques of analysis of Componential Analysis and Optimality Theory, which were chosen as a structural approach to Siona's kinship system. The second part, apart from the analysis, contains a description of the situation of the Siona language, its location and the situation of speakers and the methodology used in the elicitation sessions of the fieldwork trip to raise the data, which are the basis for this work. The focus in the analysis done by the techniques of Componential Analysis, Optimality theory and a resulting from these a classification to a certain kinship terminology is divided according to the two communities. Reason for this are the found differences between the villages of Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya, which even lead to a distinct classification of kinship terminology: either as an Eskimo or Iroquois type. The results from these analyses and the comparison to the Spanish kinship system, as explained in its most basic traits, bring up the question of Spanish influence. The last section hence examines the differences between the two villages in comparison to the structures in the Spanish system, and includes the different language contact situations of the two villages. As a result, hypotheses about the influence on the Siona kinship system in the village of Puerto Bolívar are formed, which will have to be tested by further research.

Content

1 Kinship in Ecuadorian Siona: An Introduction to this Work

The idea for this work resulted from an introductory course on anthropologic linguistic and the fact that I was offered the possibility to work with Dr. Martine Bruil, a lecturer of the department of linguistics of the University of Regensburg. In accordance with the Professor of the institute for linguistics, Prof. Dr. Johannes Helmbrecht, the topic of kinship was chosen for the elicitation work and as a subject for this thesis. The fieldwork trip to Ecuador from the beginnings of August to the end of September offered me an inside view of the empirical side of linguistics and has this paper as academic result.

The topic of kinship is subject to the field of anthropologic linguistics, which in turn is part of the field of sociolinguistics. In general, its aim is "to discover the appropriate use of language, to formulate these and to discover and demonstrate the underlying cultural specifics of communicative behavior of a community of speakers" (Glück 2010: 187, [my own translation]).

The aim of the research was to gain as much data on the topic of kinship terms in Ecuadorian Siona as possible. All data were raised in elicitation sessions with one speaker at a time, and in total with four different speakers. The methodology was mainly to use the genealogical technique, by generating family trees of the speakers, and the elicitation of sentences. An analysis of discourse and narrating situations was not included in this work, but would be suitable for further research. Further information to the methodology will be given in the respective chapter 3.2.

The documentation of Ecuadorian Siona, in comparison to Columbian Siona, started mainly with the research by Dr. Martine Bruil, who is doing a documentation program on the language of Ecuadorian Siona at the moment. The first description of Ecuadorian Siona's grammar is mostly covered by her dissertation "Clause-typing and evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona" from 2014, which also represents the most recent bibliography on the language. For more information on literature and the classification of language families, compare the section 3.1.

The aim of this work is the first analysis and description of the kinship system of Ecuadorian Siona. As it became clear during the elicitation sessions in the different villages, there are not just differences to Columbian Siona (which is not the subject of this work) but also between the different communities in Ecuador. The work is divided

in two parts of which the first is the theoretic background necessary to understand the analysis. It is composed of a short illustration of the development of the field of kinship, the essentials of kinship terminologies, which in turn include the main abbreviations and conventions of illustrating kinship relations and the main concepts underlying the structure of kinship systems, which are related to social factors. It also contains the theoretic illustration of two techniques of analysis: Componential Analysis and the more recent approach of Optimality Theory, which are both practically applied in the analysis of Siona's kinship system. The second main part is hence the analysis and description of kinship terms in Siona. As already mentioned, quite a few differences are found between the two communities, which leads to a split in the analysis between the two. Therefore, after a short introduction to the situation of Siona, the methodology by which the data was obtained and the representation of the Spanish kinship system, the Componential Analysis of the system of Puerto Bolívar is displayed, followed by the one for the village of Sototsiaya. After the complete section on Componential Analysis, which discovers the underlying characteristics ruling in each system, these constraints are considered the basis for Optimality Theory in the following section. Its aim is a generative representation of ranking these constraints, with the outcome having all kin terms of a generalized system of Siona to be derivable. During the analysis the question about the influence of Spanish on the system of Puerto Bolívar, in comparison to the more traditional considered system of Sototsiaya, is surging. Therefore, the last section of this work summarizes the differences between the two, and presents assumptions and hypotheses about the influence of Spanish on the language of Siona in the realm of kinship, which remain to be evaluated and investigated by further research.

In summary, this work has, apart from its main aim of a first description of the system of kinship in Ecuadorian Siona, two sub goals: the compendious description of theoretic knowledge necessary to understand the analysis, and the evaluation of Spanish influence, proposing an object for further research.

2 Theory of Kinship

Starting with this first part of theory in kinship, an overview over the most basic theoretical aspects of kinship is given. It contains different sections, where the first section treats the development in the field of the study of kinship through history. The second is about the most essential concepts, theories and aspects of kinship, including the most common notations, the different terminologies developed over time and important concepts involved. The last section gives an adequate introduction to two different types of techniques for analyzing kinship terms.

2.1 A Brief Summary of the History of the Study of Kinship in the Field of Linguistics

This chapter is in short introducing the field of kinship in linguistics, but it is not aiming to be a complete description of all currents and theories. Therefore, the focus lies on the three major shifts in kinship theory according to Stone (2014) and the main currents in this field of linguistics.

For over a century the research and analysis of kinship has been in the focus of anthropology and anthropological linguistics. Many years it constituted the center of this field, until in the 1970s the interest in it faded. However, in the 1990s it came to a revival of the field, which is lasting until now. During this time, the science of kinship has undergone three major shifts until it became now "quite different from that of earlier times" (Stone 2014: 21f.).

The first approach to kinship was the idea of the connection between kinship and social structure. "Kinship was seen to play a fundamental role in the formation of many societies' social groups" (Stone 2014: 22). Additionally it was found to be important to the character of political, economic and religious organizations. Over time, the field research showed that the resulting abstractions about kinship were less fitting to the way the people themselves conceptualized and used their own kinship systems (Stone 2014: 22). Therefore, the shift to a more cultural perspective was introduced, the aim being more the "internal cultural meanings of kinship" than "the connection of kinship with social structures" (Stone 2014: 22).

A major problem in the thematic of kinship is the question about the importance of biology, in other words the question "to what extend should 'kinship' relations be understood to involve biological relationships between people" (Stone 2014: 22). In

short, the decision to include or exclude human procreation from kinship theory. Even until nowadays there has always been a back and forth on this question. In the early 20th century anthropologists were certain that kinship and the birth of humans and their understanding of procreation was connected. To some anthropologists this connection is universal among humans. However, they do recognize that there are forms of kinship that are not bound to biological, genetic links. This includes the fact that there are some sort of "social kinship", for example in the case of adoption. The interpretation here is that those links are seen as genetic, counting them to the biological ones (Stone 2014: 23).

By the 1970s critique arose, mostly by David Schneider. He claimed that there is no cross-culturally existing concept of kinship and indicated that former anthropologists had been focusing too much on the Euro-American idea of kinship, based on biological connections. Schneider argues that other societies may base their idea of kinship on other facts like "their own ideas of their own connections on common residence [(as later explained in Chapter 2.2.2.2)], feeding, and nurturing, or the performance of certain rituals" (Stone 2014: 23). His point of view is that kinship is no valid cross-cultural category (Stone 2014: 23).

New research in the area of non-human primate biology, however, raises more questions on the development at the very beginning of human evolution, and in doing so, on the question of biology being the basis for kinship and going even further, on biology playing a part in the construction of kinship in the first place. The argument states that kinship evolved to enhance the survival and reproduction of early humans and thus human evolutionary biology to be the basis for cultural construction of kinship. It was reasoned that the proof was the fact that other nonhuman primates also exhibit the basics of humanlike kinship systems (Stone 2014: 23f.[1]).

In the 1980s' most anthropologists came to believe that for many people and in many different cultures, 'kin' is not born but made. This idea led to the third major shift, seeing kinship as a process which once being established may be maintained or installed for a long time (Stone 2014: 24).

Since the revival of kinship in the 1990s the focus continued on the local conceptions of human relationships and no anthropologist claims anymore that the understanding

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[1] further information: Stone Linda (2014): Chapter 2: *The Evolution of Kinship and Gender*. 29-60

of kinship is purely genetic or biological, and that links appearing to be so, can as well be based on other facts (Stone 2014: 23).

Another area under study and connected to kinship is that of gender. The interest in this connection is still up-to-date and its concern is to have a look at the tie between kinship and gender in each culture, with the aim to understand how the construction of relatedness, sexual difference and gender are culturally dependent (Stone 2014: 23).

Another major question over time was the discussion about universal structures in kinship systems. Kinship was studied under two perspectives, the universalistic and the relativistic perspective (Foley 2006: 131). Universalists see the biological genetic links as the universal basis for any kinship system. In most universal approaches, the mother-child-link is considered the "basic atom […] of kinship systems". According to Foley "the father is not a concept grounded universally in biology; rather, it is culturally constructed: the man who the culture regards as responsible for the social parenthood of the child" (2006: 134). It is this mother-child-link and the different biological categories of sex, age, generation etc. that prove the universal approach as the most logical one and thus is quite widely accepted nowadays (de Toffol 2011: 45).

In summary, there are quite different positions and foci in kinship studies. First the biological position, dealing with kinship in the physical or genealogical sense. The second, an anthropological approach, trying to provide a cultural and social interpretation. A mixture of both is the socio-biologist view, using genetics and evolutionary theory to find an explanation for kinship. It combines biology and the social sciences. The social-cultural approach is the most recent one and is defined as following:

> Kinship is "constructed from a set of categories, groups, relationships, and behaviors based upon culturally determined beliefs and values concerning human biology and reproduction" (De Toffol 2011: 51).

In this work kinship system is based on biological or genetic relations which are playing an important role in the kinship system and which is also constructed by the interaction of cultural, social and other facts. In short, an united version of elements of the universalistic and the relativistic view. So we might add the definition by Foley (2006: 146) to the definition from de Toffol:

"Kinship systems are cultural constructions, no doubt, but the scaffolding of such constructions are, to a large extent anyway, the universal biological categories given by nature, sex, age, and genealogy".

Nevertheless, kinship system in this work is also considered as a process or to be more precise, as a representation of a certain state in process. This becomes clearer when looking at the influence of the Spanish kinship system (detailed in the section 3.7) on the Siona kinship system. I argue that this kind of influence by another language on the system (in this case Spanish), comes hand in hand with a shift of perception of one's own kinship system, due not only to the crucial language contact, but also due to influences on cultural, social and political basis.

2.2   The Essentials of Kinship Terminology

After this small impression on the history of kinship studies in the previous section, this chapter aims to give a rough summary of the most essential basics[2]. These shall serve as a basis to understand the analysis in the second part of this work. The first part of this section describes the most common abbreviations and standards in kinship description; it represents the more formal side of analyses and concepts. The second summarizes the main conceptions in kinship: descent, residence, domestic cycles and marriage. Finally, the last part gives a short explanation of the major types of kinship systems, also called kinship terminologies.

Yet before beginning with this section and having used the term before, it is advisable give a definition of the term 'kinship system' first. A kinship system describes the ways a society uses to define and make use of relations between kin. It normally includes culturally varying ideas about reproduction, rights and obligations between groups of kin or single kin. Also included are the linguistic categories, the rules and norms that define the patterns of descent, residence and marriage (Stone 2014: 10). Due to the shortness of the fieldwork trip underlying this work, the analysis in the second part will mainly focus on the linguistic side, leaving out social, cultural and other aspects. Hence its focus is on the structural, formal side of kinship in Siona, nevertheless it will also treat the formal differences noted due to the influence of

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[2] Please note that this introduction does not claim to represent all aspects of kinship and all those interwoven with it. Therefore, reference to additional literature is given and it should be consulted for a deeper insight and further information on the respective topics.
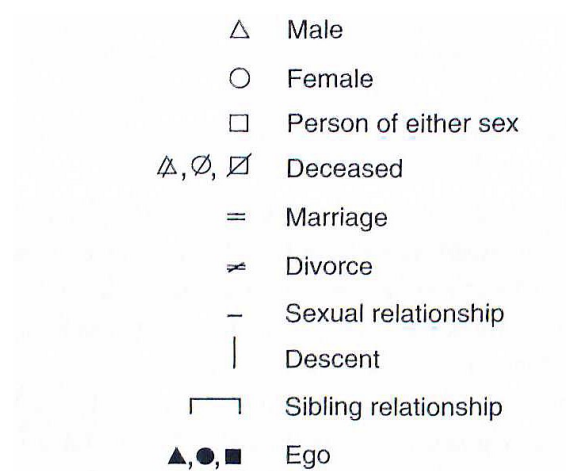
Spanish, which of course are not only of linguistic nature but also depend on cultural and social aspects.

2.2.1 The Kinship Code and Important Definitions

For any description of a kinship system there is always the need of a formal representation to illustrate the relations between certain kin. There are two main ways for illustration: first by genealogical charts of the relationships and second by kin type notation (Wallace & Atkins 1960: 58).

In the first method using genealogical charts, different symbols are utilized to illustrate the different relationships. These standard symbols constitute the so-called 'kinship code'. In the center of most illustrations is the so-called *ego*[3], the person on whom the perspective of the diagram is based on (Stone 2014: 10f.). Figure 1 and 2 (taken from Stone 2014: 10f.) illustrate the most basic elements and give an example of such representative charts[4]:

FIGURE 1 *The Kinship Code - the basic symbols*

△	Male
○	Female
□	Person of either sex
△, ∅, ⊠	Deceased
=	Marriage
≠	Divorce
–	Sexual relationship
│	Descent
⌐¬	Sibling relationship
▲, ●, ■	Ego

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[3] It is also possible to have no *ego* in a genealogical map. This depends on the aim of each illustration (Stone 2014: 13).
[4] Compare also Foley (2006: 132)

FIGURE 2 *An illustration of the Kinship Code*
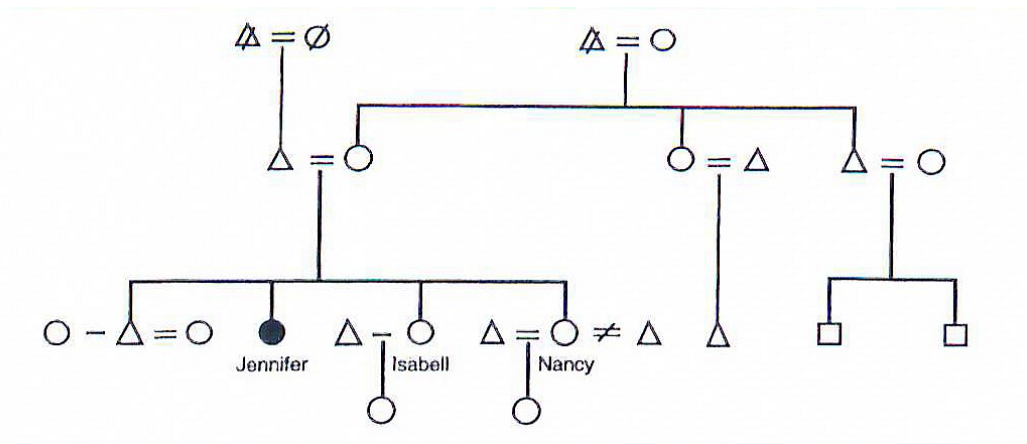
The most important fact about these diagrams or charts is to only use and show the relevant aspects, which are necessary to state a certain assumption or conclusion. This includes reducing everything to the most needed information while leaving out unnecessities to design a clear and comprehensive diagram (Stone 2014: 12). It is also common to use just capital letters or numbers instead of the whole term to show which positions in the diagram (being a kin type) are labelled with the same (kin) term. By doing so, it is clearer and easier to understand the point one is making (Schusky 1965: 16).

The second method of kin-type notation is based on the English kin terms for the basic family members, and serves as an abbreviations outside of diagrams. Eight of these terms are introduced as "primitive symbols, while all other kin types can be built up as relative products of these eight terms". Additional primitives, e.g. 'younger'/ 'older', can be added when needed (Wallace & Atkins 1960: 58). The first column in table 1 gives an overview over the most common abbreviations used throughout literature. The second includes the abbreviations later taken for the analysis of Siona in this work, especially used in diagrams. It is most important to note and bear in mind, that these terms do not include any connotations or other references of English or the language under study, but only represent the genealogical position of the term (Wallace & Atkins 1960: 58).

TABLE 1 *List of kin type notations used for the illustrations*

Terms used for analysis[5]			Own abbreviations	
English Term	**Kinship Code**		**English Term**	**Kinship Code**
	Option 1	**Option 2**		
mother	M	Mo	mother	M
father	F	Fa	father	F
brother	B	Br	brother	B
sister	Z	Si	sister	S
wife	W	Wi	wife	W
husband	H	Hu	husband	H
daughter	D	Da	daughter	D
son	S	So	son	S
parent	P	Pa	parent	P
child	C	Ch	child	C
older	e	o	older	o
younger	y	y	younger	y
female	♀	f	female	f
male	♂	m	male	m
			step-	st
			half-	h

Having introduced the term 'kin type', it is now important to define some more terms and concepts. At first, the distinction between 'kin type' and 'kin term' is essential, but also a definition of 'kin class' and 'kin vocabulary' is quite useful. Lounsbury also defines a few more concepts, which are seen as basic for the understanding of any description of analysis or theory on kinship (1978: 164f.):

- kin type: terms that specify the genealogical position of one's known kin in relation to himself, e.g. F, M, B, S etc.
- kin class: small group of kin types classed together, e.g. first generation ascending (G^{+1})
- kin term: any (linguistic) form of a kin type, e.g. English *aunt* stands for MZ and FZ, one word for two kin types
- kinship vocabulary: set of linguistic forms employed to designate such kin classes in a speech community; a paradigm, subject to the analysis; (that is the summary of all terms for kin relations)
- paradigm: any set of linguistic form wherein: (a) the meaning of every form has a feature in common with the meanings of all other forms of the set and (b) the meaning of every form differs from that if every other form of the set by one or more additional features
- root meaning: common feature shared by all forms in the paradigm; defines the semantic field, e.g. kinship, color etc.

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[5] Cf. Stone (2014: 12), Foley (2006: 135), Schusky (1965: 11)

- semantic dimensions: defined by variable features; e.g. sex, generation, relative age etc.
- dimension: set of mutually exclusive features, which share some or all of the same privileges of combination with features not of this dimension; opposition; e.g. sex
- feature: ultimate term of characterization in a set of descriptive terms appropriate for the analysis of a particular given paradigm; terms of the opposition; e.g. female or male

2.2.2 Key Concepts

After having introduced the more formal necessities for the analysis, the following chapter sums up the different concepts concerning kinship. The organization of the section is basically adopted from the chapter in Stone (2014: 13-21).

According to Jones, kinship can be defined as the relationships between persons based on the concepts of descent and/or marriage. If the relationship is based on descent, it is called *consanguineal*, if based on marriage, it is *affinal* (Stone 2014: 8). The first section is about descent and descent theory, the second about residence, the third about domestic cycles and the fourth section describes the topic of marriage and alliance theory. In the last section other interesting aspects are covered.

2.2.2.1 Descent

As humans live in groups, kinship can be one option of means of group formation. The outcome can be a stable group that persists over time (Stone 2014: 13). The formation of groups can be based on living persons, as the hypothesis is for early human population, who, in fact, did recognize the links of kinship among themselves. The problem here is, how to determine, who the central node of a certain group should be, as many different groups of reduced size may be formed, making this an unstable mechanism (Stone 2014: 14). Another option is to base the formation on ancestry, recognizing common ancestors as a node forming the basis of the group, making it a stable and lasting mechanism. This tracing of common ancestors is quite widespread, yet there are also societies who do not use ancestry as a basis. Furthermore, not all group formation mechanisms that are based on descent do this by common ancestors (Stone 2014: 15).

In societies based on descent "three general types of descent systems can be distinguished: unilateral, non-unilateral and mixed systems[6]. "Unilateral systems trace the processes of corporation, inheritance, and transmission through a single line" (Dousset 2012: 225). That means either on the father's (patrilineal) or on the mother's side (matrilineal) (Dousset 2012: 225; cf. also Stone 2014: 15-17). This type of system is mostly associated with terminologies that distinguish consanguines from affines. In non-unilateral systems, with their most common subtype of 'cognatic descent', children belong to both their father's and their mother's group (Dousset 2012: 225). If these societies do not actually use those links among relatives to form groups, the correct term is 'bilateral society'. They trace back kin through male and female kin over generations but do not form descent groups (Stone 2014: 15f.). Among the mixed systems, the most important are the ambilineal and the double descent system. In the case of double descent people may "trace their descent in different ways depending on what is transmitted" or the difference between people is essential for how and what they trace (Dousset 2012: 226). In the case of ambilineal systems:

> "[…] a person may choose to follow the mother's line or the father's line, depending on opportunities or social pressure. But one he or she has chosen to link up to one or the other side, this choice may not be changed later in life." (Dousset 2012: 225f.)

Before introducing the next section, a short explanation of important terms concerning descent and descent theory is stated: the distinction between 'category', 'group' and 'corporate group'.

The term 'category' refers to things being classed together in a group where the members may never know of each other, yet they share one common feature that makes them a category. An example for this are all fans of a certain music group. They form a category, because they share 'being a fan'. If the fans were members of a fan club in their city, this would be considered a group. These people not only share a feature but also are regularly in contact (Stone 2014: 16). If this hypothetic fan club would own a house or apartment where they meet regularly, this would make them a corporate group. "A corporate group is a group of persons who collectively share rights […], privileges, and liabilities" (Stone 2014: 16f.). In the topic of kinship, kinship categories, groups and corporations may exist; therefore, this distinction is relevant. In

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[6] Note that other authors make only a distinction of two different systems: the unilineal and the cognative system, the latter including bilateral and ambilateral systems (de Toffol 2011: 54).

a society it is possible to construct a kinship category like "all the descendants of ancestor X", whether or not these societies really do form real groups out of this possibility is a different matter. It is also reasonable that societies may form corporate groups on the basis of descent, just think of family business (Stone 2014: 17).[7]

2.2.2.2 Residence

Closely related to the matter of descent is the issue of residence. The fact of people living close to each other does a lot for the strength of ties between people. If all members of a group live in the same area, the group is considered quite stable, but if it grows too big, some subgroups may split up and move somewhere else. The groups are generally left with two options, to either reside in close proximity or disperse and live with a longer distance between them. Over time, this kind of migration may result in highly dispersed descent groups (Stone 2014: 17). Both situations affect the life of the communities, and the "identification with a locality may be as strong and as important as their ties of descent" (Stone 2014: 18). Residence affects the structure of a domestic group, which is considered to consist of people living together and sharing resources for their living. Essential are the types of post marital residence, meaning the rules (conventions or norms) where and with whom the new couple is living after being married. There are six of those patterns according to Stone (2014: 19):

1. patrilocal or virilocal: the couple lives with/near the groom's kin
2. matrilocal or uxorilocal: the couple lives with/near the bride's kin
3. ambilocal: the couple can choose between the groom's and the bride's kin
4. neolocal: the couple is living neither near/with the groom's nor the bride's kin
5. natolocal: the bride and broom remain in their natal kin and do not live together
6. avunculocal: the couple lives with/near the groom's mother's brother(s)

Of course, not all cases in a society follow these patterns, there might be exceptions (Stone 2014: 19).[8]

2.2.2.3 Domestic Cycles

Domestic groups or households with over time new, deceasing and out-marrying members are never a static construct. Based on this "dynamic nature of domestic groups" the concept of domestic cycle was developed. At any time within a society, different forms and types of households do exist (Stone 2014: 19). Two examples of such differences between households are the United States and South Asia. In the

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[7] For further detail also see Schusky (1965: 24-33; 70-73)
[8] cf. also Schusky (1965: 69f.)

United States a new couple normally starts a new household with marriage, then become parents and later the children move out. In addition, patterns like divorce, adoption or remarriage might be part of it. Nevertheless the "establishment of new households at marriage in each generation remains" (Stone 2014: 20). In South Asia, being mostly patrilineal and patrilocal, one household might remain over generations. The daughter of a couple will move out with marriage while the brides of their sons will come to live with them. The brothers stay in the household, which can lead to a quite large number of people, but normally after the death of the oldest senior male the household splits up and all married couples move out and set up new households (Stone 2014: 20).

These domestic cycles are quite interesting, because a large variety of patterns concerning them, are found worldwide. These can be studied under the aspects of political and economic factors, the use of resources for living, the aspect of property transmission and other cultural or historical aspects (Stone 2014: 20).[9]

2.2.2.4 Marriage and Alliance Theory

With Claude Lévi-Strauss, a new complementary investigation arose: the Alliance Theory. According to him, there are three types of exchange that "characterize the human social realm": exchange of words, goods and human beings. The latter is the area of investigation of alliance theorists, where a "marriage becomes a system of exchange if it is associated with the obligation of exogamy" and hence incest prohibitions must be introduced (Dousset 2012: 228).

Before going further on the topic of alliance theory, it is crucial to define the terms 'alliance' and 'marriage' (according to Dousset 2012: 228):

- marriage: the "individual event that happens in a particular place with particular people in a particular context, bringing two people (and families) together with the aim of joining them as spouses and usually future parents"[10]
- alliance (or alliance of marriage): "repetition of identical marriage types over generations or among co-generationals"

There are three basic types of alliance: direct exchange (or elementary system), indirect exchange and complex systems. For the first type, "marriage places people

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[9] For further information, see: Buchler & Selby (1968). Kinship and Social Organization: An introduction to Theory and Method. New York, Toronto: The Macmillian Company. 47-68.

[10] Note that this theoretic distinction in not important for the analysis and the use of the term 'marriage' further in this work does include both distinctions.

and groups in a symmetric relationship", where a group A exchanges women or men with a group B in a direct (reciprocal) way (Dousset 2012: 228f.). The second type is mostly found in Crow and Omaha terminology (cf. 2.2.3.4), where the marriage is either patrilineal or matrilineal, and a person may "marry a cross-cousin from either […] side, but not from both". There are "at least three exchanging units: clan A marries into clan B, who marries into clan C, who marries back into clan A" (Dousset 2012: 229). The last type is the least systemitic exchange system, the complex system. "Marriage is here no longer a system of exchange on its own, but merges into other types of exchanges, social structures and ideologies" (Dousset 2012: 229).

Referring to marriage, it is important to state that every society has some sort of marriage and it is always with reference to "legitimization and allocation of children". While there is quite a diversity in the ways of marrying, three basic marriage forms can be detected. First monogamy, being the marriage between two people (mostly one man and one woman), second polygamy (polygyny), being a man married to more than one woman, and third polyandry being the marriage of a woman to more than one man. Yet monogamy is the most common form of marriage (Stone 2014: 21).

There are two important rules governing marriage: proscriptive and prescriptive rules. Prescriptive rules in a society define a class of particular people who are acceptable for marriage. Proscriptive rules, in contrast, define who is not acceptable (Dousset 2012: 230). Concerning prescriptive rules, the differentiation between *exogamy* and *endogamy* is important (Stone 2014: 21):

- exogamy: rule for persons in a society to marry outside a certain social category or group, not being allowed to marry within their own
- endogamy: opposite to exogamy; rule for a person to marry within his or her own social category or group

A clear proscriptive rule is the incest prohibition[11]. The basic incest prohibition proscribes siblings, parents and children from being possible spouses, but in some cases in history exceptions are found. Mostly in Dravidian and Iroquois terminology, (cf. Chapter 2.2.3) there is an extension of this basic prohibition rule to parallel cousins. Proscriptive marriage rules may also affect other criteria and the range of exogamy may be interpreted in different ways (Dousset 2012: 213):

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[11] cf. also Stone (2014: 51-53).

- genealogical: prohibition from marrying close kin whatever their kin category
- terminological: prohibition from marry people whom one calls by certain terms
- spatial: e.g. prohibition from marrying people who live in the same village
- social: prohibition from marrying people from certain families, religions, roles etc.

There is one last important distinction in Alliance Theory for the classification of terminologies: lineal or collateral kin. Lineal kin is any kin "linked to ego in a direct line of ancestors or descendants" (de Toffol 2011: 53). Collateral kin "is composed of ego's siblings and their descendants and the siblings of his/her lineal kin of ascending generations and their descendants as well" (de Toffol 2011: 53); in short: the rest not included in lineal kin.[12]

2.2.2.5 Summary

All these concepts presented have been and are still important for the study on kinship. Yet current kinship studies focus on three main areas: Kinship Terminology (2.2.3), Descent Theory (2.2.2.1) and Alliance Theory (2.2.2.4). They are seen, according to de Toffol (2011: 52), as complementary and crucial to the analysis of kinship systems. Nevertheless, the analysis of Siona kinship terms and system in this work has its focus only on the first and second area, mostly leaving out marriage rules.

2.2.3 Major Types of Kinship – Kinship Terminology

The analysis of kinship over the years has shown, that there are many different systems of kinship, but they all can more or less be grouped in four to five major types of kinship systems. Those systems, illustrated only briefly here, are more complex and thus can be analyzed and further divided. Yet for the purpose of this study it should be sufficient to know the main types as later to be able to assign the found results to one of those systems. The four main types are Hawaiian, Iroquois, Eskimo and Crow. Some include the Sudanese systems in their descriptions as well. Each system is shortly presented with its main characteristics, regarding linguistics. On the different social organization systems above the level of kinship system, like marriage rules, unilateral or lineal systems, there will be no information as they are too complex and

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[12] Another good and quite elaborated summary in two chapters on Alliance Theory: Buchler & Selby (1968: 105-149).

unimportant for this study.[13] These terminologies basically map the genealogical grid into classes and terms in a few simple ways (Dousset 2012: 218).

2.2.3.1 Hawaiian

The Hawaiian system, also called the genealogical system (Dousset 2012: 219), distinguishes kin only based on differences in sex and generation. Like the following figure shows, all females in the same generation of ego are described by the same term. The same applies to males in the same generation. In the parental generation, father and uncles are referred to by the same term, as well as the aunts and the mother share the same term (Stone 2014: 314). Therefore, there is no contrast between siblings and cousins (Foley 2006: 138). The Hawaiian system can be subdivided into two subtypes based on "universal rule of incest prohibition between brothers and sisters" (Dousset 2012: 219). The problem for ego is, that he/she finds only brothers and sisters among co-generationals, therefore possible spouses must be found by other means than by terminology. There are two solutions, representing the two subtypes of Hawaiian Terminology. First, "to limit the use of terminology to very close kin and to apply a strict rule of exogamy" (Dousset 2012: 219) or second, to differentiate the category of cross-cousins and of siblings as in a Dravidian system (Dousset 2012: 220).

FIGURE 3 *Hawaiian Terminology* (Stone 2014: 314)
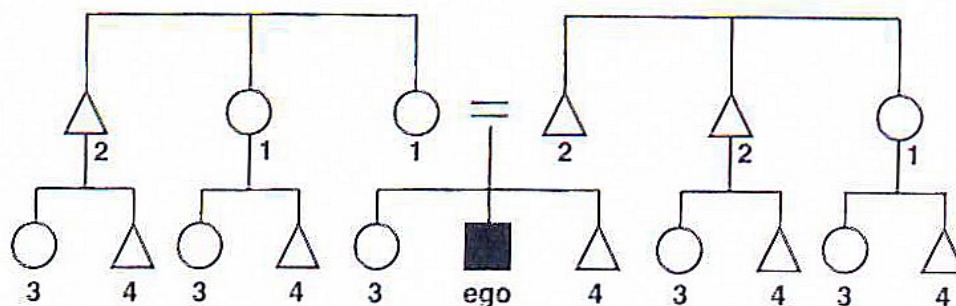
2.2.3.2 Iroquois

In the Iroquois system there is also the distinction between sex and generation, plus the feature of parallelism or crossing. As shown in figure 4, in the parental generation,

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[13] Compare also Schusky (1965: 18-24). For a more detailed introduction to the systems cf. as well Stone (2014: 313-318) and Foley (2006: 138, 141-145).

the father and his brothers are referred to by the same term, but father's sister by a different one, as the one for mother and mother's sisters. Also, the term for mother's brother is different to the one used for father and father's brothers. Here, the sex of the linking relative (mother or father) and the sex of the person referred to are of importance. When there is a parallelism in the sex, both being of the same gender, than the same term as the linking relative is used. In contrast, when there is a crossing, both being of different gender, a different term as the one of the linking relative is needed (Stone 2014: 314). Foley (2006: 136) describes it as following:

> "The semantic feature referring to the linking relative as being the same or different sex to the kin category is known as parallel (same sex) or cross (different sex)."

In the generation of ego, females linked through other female relatives (mother and mother's sister) are parallel cousins and thus called like a sister. The same applies to males, linked through father and father's brother. If cousins are cross cousins, meaning the linking relative's sexes are mixed (mother's brother or father's sister), different terms are used than those for siblings (Stone 2014: 314).

Some anthropologists subdivide this type in two categories, calling the main category Iroquois-Dravidian, and thus the subcategories Iroquois and Dravidian (cf. Dousset 2012: 218f.). Nevertheless, both share the shown criteria above, they only vary in the classification of other, more distant cousins (second degree and so on) (Stone 2014: 315).[14]

FIGURE 4 *Iroquois Terminology* (Stone 2014: 315)

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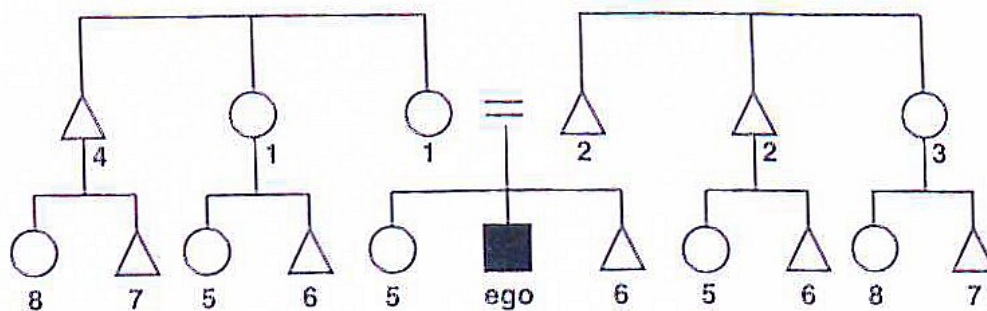
[14] Also compare the chapter on Iroquois terminology in Buchler & Selby (1968: 219-246).

2.2.3.3 Eskimo

In the Eskimo system there is a distinction of the nuclear family to the more distant relatives. Such derived terms use modifiers with the basic terms like 'step', 'in-law' etc. According to David Schneider the derived terms for more distant relatives have two main functions, first to mark the (not only genealogical) distance between relatives and second to distinguish "blood relatives" from "not blood relatives" (Schneider 1980: 22; cited in Stone 2014: 316.)

In the parental generation there is only a distinction by sex, but having a different term for mother and mother's or father's sister, father and father's or mother's brother. Therefore, there are four different terms in the parental generation (see Figure 5) in comparison to the Hawaiian System having only two terms. In the generation of ego, all cousins, not minding the sex or if it is of patrilineal or matrilineal descent, are referred to by the same term. However, in other systems they may be distinguished by sex (Stone 2014: 315). In summary, the marriage between genealogically unrelated people means that as a result no direct connection between consanguineal and affinal terminology (at least before marriage) is present, so no bifurcation is occurring and 'uncles' can be found on the father's and the mother's side as well (Dousset 2012: 221).

FIGURE 5 *Eskimo Terminology* (Stone 2014: 316)
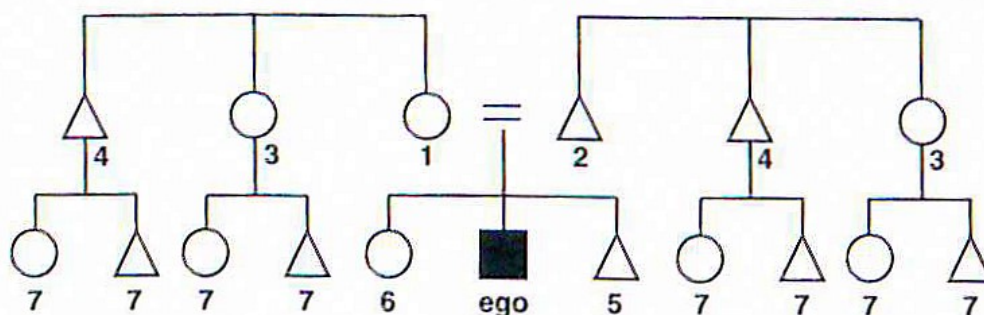
2.2.3.4 Crow

The Crow Terminology, states that relatives in the parental generation are classified as in the Iroquois system, but some relatives of different generations are referred to by the same term. This merging of terms in different generations is not random, but based

on the criteria of matrilineal or patrilineal aspects of the system. As shown in Figure 6, all relatives marked with 'X' are called by the same term, covering three different generations. However, all linking relatives are of the same structure, mother is the first linking relative (example of a matrilineal system, but also possible in patrilineal systems), followed by the husband, a male relative, and all kin sharing the term as well are male. 'X' would be translated as "male children of men of my matrilineage" (Stone 2014: 318). In the Crow terminology, the distinction between matrilineage and patrilineage is the important one, not the one between generations. Other classifications define a category called "Crow-Omaha", Crow being the matrilineal and Omaha the patrilineal subtype (Stone 2014: 317f.), yet in this work it is only called Crow terminology.[15] Others like Dousset (2012: 221) consider the Crow and Omaha system as "specific variations of the Dravidian system".[16]

FIGURE 6 *Crow Terminology* (Stone 2014: 317)
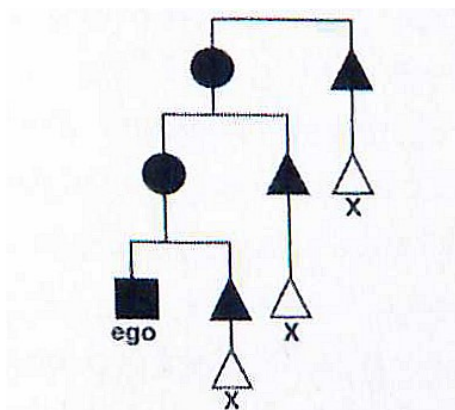
2.2.3.5 Sudanese

The last system is the Sudanese. It is considered the most descriptive system. Generally, theorist make a distinction between descriptive and classificatory systems. In the latter case, one term denominates several categories or classes of people. Descriptive systems however name every category of kin differently. Crucial is that none of all systems presented here is entirely descriptive nor classificatory, but may contain more or less descriptive or classificatory elements (Dousset 2012: 220).

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[15] A more detailed description in Schusky (1965: 33-45).
[16] For further information consider the chapter in Buchler & Selby (1968: 247-277).

The Sudanese system uses a distinctive term for every single category (Dousset 2012: 220), and thus is quite simple to understand. Every kin type is labeled by a certain kin term. There is no merging, bifurcating or skewing playing any role.[17]

Note that other theorists do distinguish different categories, but in essence, they are always based on the same distinctive features presented above, whether being considered subtypes or not. George Peter Murdock himself distinguished six categories: Omaha, Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquois, Crow and Sudanese (de Toffol 2011: 60). He simply split the two categories of Crow (2.2.3.4) into Crow and Omaha. In this classification, these two are joint in one type.

2.3 Theories and Techniques of Analysis in Kinship

This part of the theory section is quite important for the analysis, as two different types of analysis and techniques will be described in theory, and later be applied to the case of Siona. Naturally, it is not possible to describe all available techniques, so the analysis described shall be a representation of the possibilities of kinship analysis. Therefore, I chose the Componential Analysis as a basis. Two other described types of analysis are Optimality theory by Doug Jones and Transformational Analysis, an analysis based on the perspective of process, as well as the division between Core and Derived Terms. The last two, will not be applied to the description of Siona, but serve as background.

A quite important distinction, which does not appear in any of the analyzed techniques, is the one between *terms of reference* and *terms of address*. The first describes the mere reference to someone in an utterance and the second the usage of the term to address to a person (Schusky 1965: 13). Additionally, in some languages and societies it is important to distinguish the sex of the speaker, in other words, wether the speaker is female or male (Schusky 1965: 57). This is to be kept apart from the criterion of distinguishing relative age, being the age in relation to ego or a linking relative. For Siona those two criteria are no relevant distinctions, yet they were considered as possible features in the investigation.

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[17] For an explanation of skewing and merging cf. Table 2 in section 2.3.2

2.3.1 Componential Analysis

Robert Burling gives a good definition of Componential Analysis (1964: 20) to start with:

> "Componential analysis is applied to a set of terms, which form a culturally relevant domain and proceeds by recognizing semantic distinctions (components) which apportion the terms of the set into contrasting sub-sets, such that every item is distinguished from every other item by at least one component."

The objectives of Componential Analysis are first "to specify the conditions under which each term would be used" and second to understand "the criteria by which speakers of the language themselves decide what term to use for a particular item" (Burling 1964: 24; cf. also Foley 2006: 149).

The concept or idea of Componential Analysis consists of five steps, which are based on eight basic primitive kintypes being represented normally by the first (two) letters of the English terms[18]. Out of these eight basic terms it is possible to form an infinite number of relations, always being read from left to right, for example: MoBr/ MB, mother's brother (Wallace 1962: 13). Accordingly, most persons in relation to ego can be described by a combination of those eight basic terms, this being called a kintype. Those kintypes normally are grouped together and then denoted by one term of the language. The aim of the analysis is to find out which kintypes are actually grouped together and then to define the characteristics playing a role at grouping together exactly those kintypes, which are called by the same kin term. Therefore, Goodenough and Lounsbury ([19]cited in Wallace 1962: 13) developed the method of Componential Analysis to "determine the semantic components of the concept for which a given term is a rubric." Those five steps according to Wallace (1962: 13) and Buchler & Selby (1968: 182) are:

(i)   the recording of a complete set of terms of reference; determine the terms that belong to the domain of analysis

(ii)   the definition of these terms in the traditional kintype notation; map the terms onto its biological kin types

(iii)   the identification of principles of grouping of kintypes by terms, of two or more conceptual dimensions each of whose values ("components") is signified by one or more of the terms; in other words to find the core term of

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[18] cf. Chapter 2.1.1: Kinship Code
[19] Goodenough (1965) and Lounsbury (1956)

each range of biological kin types until having established the "core term" for
every kin term

(iv)   the definition of each term, in a symbolic notation, as a specific combination,
         or set of combinations, of the components; definition of each term by the least
         number of criteria by which they are distinguished

(v)   statement of the semantic relationships among the terms and of the structure
         principles of the taxonomy or paradigm

The first step is easy to understand and accomplish. The second one is also quite
simple, just applying the kin types to the acquired terms, for example: *grandmother*,
can be MoMo or FaMo. The third step tries to identify the underlying concepts on
which a distinction is made, for example, 'aunt' and 'uncle' are two terms being
distinguished by sex. Other so called 'dimensions' are for example generation,
lineality and consanguinity (Wallace 1962: 13). After identifying these dimensions, in
step four, each term can be defined by these components. For example in dimension
A (sex) 'grandmother' is female (a2) not male (a1), she is a generation above ego (b2),
ego being b3 and one underneath ego b4, and she is in a lineal relationship to ego (c1).
Therefore, 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' can also be discriminated by these
categories: 'grandmother' - a2, b2, c1 and 'grandfather' - a1, b2, c1. The *lineal*
category includes direct ancestors and descendants of ego (like mother, father, child,
grandchild etc.). *Colineal* relatives are those not being lineal ancestors (like aunt and
uncle). *Ablineal* kintypes are those neither lineal or colineal ones (like cousins)
(Wallace 1962: 13). The last step is just the conclusion of the findings, which semantic
relationships there are among the terms and what structural principles rule the
taxonomy.

"A componential analysis is economical since it uses fewer semantic components than
there are terms to be defined" (Brown 1965: 307f. in Buchler & Selby 1968: 183).

2.3.2   Transformational Analysis

Transformational Analysis is based more on a processional than on structural approach
like Formal Analysis or Componential Analysis. It depends on the following
definitions described by Allan Coult (1966: 1477):

(i)   higher order and lower order kintypes: If we classify kin-types as primary,
         secondary […etc.], then the progression from primary types to n-order types
         represents a progression from lower to higher order types.

(ii)   kin-class: a set of kin-types all of which are assigned to the same kin term

(iii) <u>transformation</u>: the substitution within a kin-class of a lower order kin-type for a higher order kin-type [*expansion transformation*], or vice versa [*reduction transformation*].

(iv) <u>transformational analysis</u>*:* the development of the rules that will in every instance in which they are applicable, accomplish a transformation so that, through successive use of the rules, all members of a kin-class are reduced to the core member (or members) of that kin-class

(v) <u>core kin-type</u>*:* a member of a kin-class to which other members can be reduced but that cannot be reduced itself

Such rules are for example, the half-sibling rule, reducing half-siblings to siblings, or parent's spouses are reduced to parents (Coult 1966: 147). Floyd Glenn Lounsbury "captures [with these rules] the relationship between the focal and non-focal members of the category through a small set of reduction rules which assimilate the latter to the former, claiming in essence that the latter are a special kind of extended case of the former" (Foley 2006: 140).[20]

The half-sibling rule states, "that any child of either of one's parents is one's sibling". The merging rule "applies to parallel siblings and states that a person's parallel sibling as a linking relative is equivalent to that person herself." (Foley 2006: 140) An example for the latter is the term *aem* in Watam which is used also for the mother and the mother's sister (Foley 2006: 141). The skewing rule, as a reduction rule, "states the equivalence of a woman's brother and her son" (Foley 2006: 143). All rules are described as a formula in the following table:

TABLE 2 *Representation of the Lounsbury Reduction Rules* (summary of Foley 2006: 140)

Merging Rule	Half-Sibling Rule	Skewing Rule
FS -> B MS -> B FD -> Z MD -> Z	♂B... -> ♂ ... ♀Z ... -> ♀ ... and ... ♂B -> ... ♂ ... ♀Z -> ... ♀	♀B ... -> ♀S …

In general, there is only a functional difference between expansion and reduction rules, and it can be summarized as following (Buchler & Selby 1968: 168):

"An expansion rule will "project" from a genealogical kernel [being a terminal derivation] to an infinite set of kin-class assignments; a reduction rule will reduce an

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[20] Also see the original paper from Lounsbury (1978: 187f).

infinite set of kin types to the genealogical kernels to which they are structurally equivalent".

An expansion rule can be seen as an instruction to rewrite 'X' as (for example) 'XY'. The context of the range, when the rule may be applicable, may be determined as in example (b) and (c) but not as in (a) (cf. table 3 summarized from Buchler & Selby 1968: 167f.).

A reduction rule may be formulated as the "logical conversion from an expansion rule […] by interchanging the terms in an expression statement". Important is that only one rule should operate "upon a string of symbols", and if there are more rules present, there has to be a regulation (ordering rule) clarifying in which order the rules may be applied (Buchler & Selby 1968: 168).

TABLE 3 *Short illustration of how reduction and expansion rules work*

	Context	Expansion rule	Reduction rules
(a)	no restriction of context	X -> XY	XY -> X
(b)	X preceeded by one or more symbols	…X -> …XY	…XY -> …X
(c)	X followed by one or more symbols	X… -> XY…	XY… -> X…

In summary, the Transformational Approach is quite closely related to the definition of kinship terminologies. The explained rules are those by which the different terminologies are defined (cf. merging of matrilineal kin in Crow terminology in section 2.2.3.4).

2.3.3 Core Terms and Derived Ones

The classification of kinship terms into Core and Derived Terms does not appear to be a great deal or a quite difficult type of analysis at first glance. Yet, the distinction into basic and derived terms is present in all techniques of analysis mentioned above. The basis for each analysis is to have a core family. Most anthropologists adopt the position of the mother-child link being the most central element of kinship systems. The concept of father, with its differentiation between biological and cultural father, is a different topic and for more information see Foley (2006: 133f.).

In his paper to Garo kinship terms Robert Burling (1963) described the separation into 'core kinship terms' and 'derived ones'. He points out that two levels must be considered to establish a more complex analysis, and "to predict more accurately which term can be applied to which people". The first level of semantic analysis is the

simple distinction of kin terms into core and derived ones. The aim of the second level is "using the meanings of the first level in combination to produce the meanings of the other terms". In other words, "the meaning [of derived terms] is built up on the basis of meanings assigned earlier to [the basic terms]" (Burling 1963: 73).

The core kinship terms are founded on a set of "mutually intersecting distinction" (Burling 1963: 73-77). This set contains mostly the same distinction as used in other analysis techniques. Unfortunately, his description is done only for the example of Garo. Therefore, a detailed description of his work here is of no use. Yet interesting is the basic distinction and the idea underlying it. All analysis until now are more or less "one-level schemes". Central to his idea is that after assigning the meaning componentially to the basic terms "it is now possible to use the core terms as building blocks to provide definitions for the remaining [more complex] kinship terms […]" (Burling 1963: 80) and "produce new meanings of new words and extended meanings of old words" (Burling 1963: 83), all by adding new components to the basic ones.

2.3.4   Optimality Theory

Optimality Theory is a fairly recent theory. It is based on the assumption of innate conceptual structures and the principles of optimal communication in general. Therefore, it connects linguistics and cognitive science (Jones 2010: 367). Despite the complex combinatorial structure and the extreme variation across cultures, this theory tries to prove that all these variations are the result "in the rankings of a universal set of constraints" and that those "constraints on kin terms form a system" (Jones 2010: 367).

Jones, adopting the position of "kinship and language […being] similar in their combinatorial structure, pointing towards general principles of cognition or communication at work in both cases", is therefore a representative of the universal theory. He bases his theory on the assumption that people, learning about the world, do not just use perceptual data, but also an "inventory of innate concepts" (Jones 2010: 368).

In general Optimality Theory does not define the rules being applied to language but "it describes how rules interact". The rules "act as filters on randomly generated variations, with each constraint weeding out variants that violate it". According to Jones all "languages use the same constraints but differ in their constraint rankings".

The term 'optimal' in Optimal Theory does not mean 'perfect', but describes the best possible trade-offs between conflicting constraints by putting them into a rank order (Jones 2010: 368).

The constraints mentioned by Jones are classified in two categories. First "DISTINGUISH FEATURE" and second "MINIMIZE KIN TYPE". The latter is founded on the principle of speakers using as few terms as possible for kin types (minimizing terms) and the former describes the expansion of number of kin terms as necessary to preserve information (maximizing information). Each language tries to find a balance of those contrasting aims. Therefore there must be a "trade-off between constraints by ranking them", which is conventionalized. Subsequently every single constraint is taking "strict precedence over lower-ranking constraints" (Jones 2010: 370f.). Applying Optimality Theory means, that all possibilities are first filtered through the highest-ranking constraint. Those violating it are discarded. The surviving ones are being filtered again and again through the remaining constraints. As a result, only the one optimal categorization survives (Jones 2010: 371).

The basic constraints in combination with associated scales form a system. There are seven constraints and three markedness scales. The "seven faithfulness constraints" are summed up in the following table which also includes the markedness scales.

TABLE 4 *Seven faithfulness constraints and three markedness scales* (Jones 2010: 372-375)

Constraint	Markedness Scale
1. DISTINGUISH SEX	A. Minimize Far Kin before Minimize Near Kin
2. DISTINGUISH DISTANCE	B. Minimize Junior Kin before Minimize Senior Kin
3. DISTINGUISH GRADE	C. Minimize Cross Kin before Minimize Parallel Kin
4. DISTINGUISH MATRIKIN	
5. DISTINGUISH PATRIKIN	
6. DISTINGUISH GENERATION	
7. DISTINGUISH AFFINES	

The table shows that sex is distinguished as an absolute category. The second constraint says that "a consanguineal chain consists of (1) any number of parent type, followed by (2) at most one sibling type, followed by (3) any number of child types". This constraint would be violated when kin at different consanguineal levels are

equated with each other. The third constraint distinguishes between equidistant kin by grade or rank, by means of "distinguishing kin who outrank Ego from those outranked by Ego". This might include the criteria of 'Relative Age', 'Ascending' or 'Descending Generation', 'Matrilineal' or 'Patrilineal Cross Kin', 'Man-to-Wife' or 'Woman-to-Husband Affines'. Any of these criteria "can be used to assign grades or ranks to kin types" (Jones 2010: 372). The constraints four and five treat either a mother-child (matrilineal) or a father-child link (patrilineal) as a bond outranking the respective opposite. Both constraints are needed to produce "matrilineal or patrilineal skewing". Constraint number six is quite simple: the network of kin is divided into "discrete, nonoverlapping generations". The last constraint (DISTINGUISH AFFINES) treats any link "between consanguines [kin by birth] as a bond and the links between affines [kin by marriage] as a boundary" (Jones 2010: 374). The constraints two and three are "concerned with the position of kin types relative to ego", whereas the last four constraints are connected with "how the nexus of kinship can be cut to yield bounded groups" (Jones 2010: 372).

The three markedness scales or markedness constraints are based on the idea of "the less prototypical a concept, the more marked the corresponding expression". They describe the idea of genealogical or other forms of distance from Ego. As it increases, "less and less effort is made to tailor distinctive terms for kin types" (Jones 2010: 375). The three scales or constraints are first the distance within and of generation, for example a cousin is more marked than a sibling. Secondly the distance of age, meaning older relatives being less marked than younger ones and thirdly the distance through matrikin or patrikin, in other words, cross kin being linked through opposite-sex relatives are marked relative to parallel kin being linked through same-sex relatives (Jones 2010: 375).

By implementing all these constraints together with the markedness scales and their constraints, the kinship system of every language is describable according to Jones.

In summary, Optimality Theory has an advantage over other just derivational theories as "derivational rules aren't just stipulated, but derive systematically from the constraints rankings" (Jones 2010: 376). This generative theory goes beyond surface generalization and one-culture-at-a-time formal analysis offering as an outcome universal constraints by which all variations in kinship terminology can be explained,

according to Jones (2010: 372).[21] Therefore, the second part of this work also attempts to use Optimality Theory to describe the system of Siona. Nevertheless, this theory, as well as all theories, has been under critique. Yet in this work, there will be no further discussion about the critical problems raised by other linguistics on the topic.[22]

3   Analysis of Kinship Terms in Ecuadorian Siona

After this rather long introduction to the field of kinship in the realm of linguistics with its basics, theories and a glimpse on the techniques used for analysis the following second main part of the work has its focus on the language of Siona. It includes the analysis of its kinship system(s) and its connection to the Spanish kinship system, due to language influence. Before starting with the analysis, there is a description of the language of Siona first, with its speakers, location and classification to the language family of the Tukanoan Languages. The next section presents the methodology, which was used during the elicitation sessions (which are given in the appendix). The last important part, more theoretical than practical, is the summary of the Spanish kinship system, as, after the analysis of the kinship system in the villages of the Siona people, a comparison to the Spanish system and accordingly some conclusions on language influence are drawn.

It must be said beforehand that the aim in this work is a structural approach to the system of Siona, leaving out the cognitive representations, further marriage rules and alliance theories. Nevertheless terms such as 'husband' and 'wife' etc. will appear, but no comment will be made about the rules underlying these marriages. Only the existence of these terms is important for this work and further facts, as social factors for example, playing a role are therefore excluded.

As a last note: the sources of the terms used in the analysis section are given in four different tables in the appendix (table 21 to 24), in accordance to the split between

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[21] For further information on Optimality Theory with respective critics, see Jones, Doug (2010) *Human kinship, from conceptual structure to grammar.* In Behavioral and Brain Science, 33, 376-416. Or: Jones, Doug (2004) *The universal psychology of kinship: evidence from language.* In Trends in Cognitive Science. Vol 8. No.5, 211-215. Or Jones, Doug (2003) *The generative psychology of kinship.* In Evolution and Human Behavior 24, 303-350.
[22] For further interest in the critics, cf. Chapter *Open Peer Commentary* at the end of Jones (2010).

"basic terms" and "terms produced by marriage" for each village and the section of "a more detailed look".

3.1 Siona - a Tukanoan Language

Siona belongs to the family of the Tukanoan languages. The main classification into three branches done by Barnes (1999: 209, cited in Bruil 2014: 8) distinguishes between Central, Western and Eastern Tukanoan languages. The Western branch includes the languages of Siona, the close related Sekoya, Koraguaje and Máíhɨkì. Central Tukanoan includes Kubeo and Tanimuka/ Retuarã. The biggest branch of the Eastern Tukanoan languages includes in total twelve different languages (Bruil 2014: 8; see Figure 7).

FIGURE 7 *The Tukanoan family classification according to Barnes* (1999: 209)
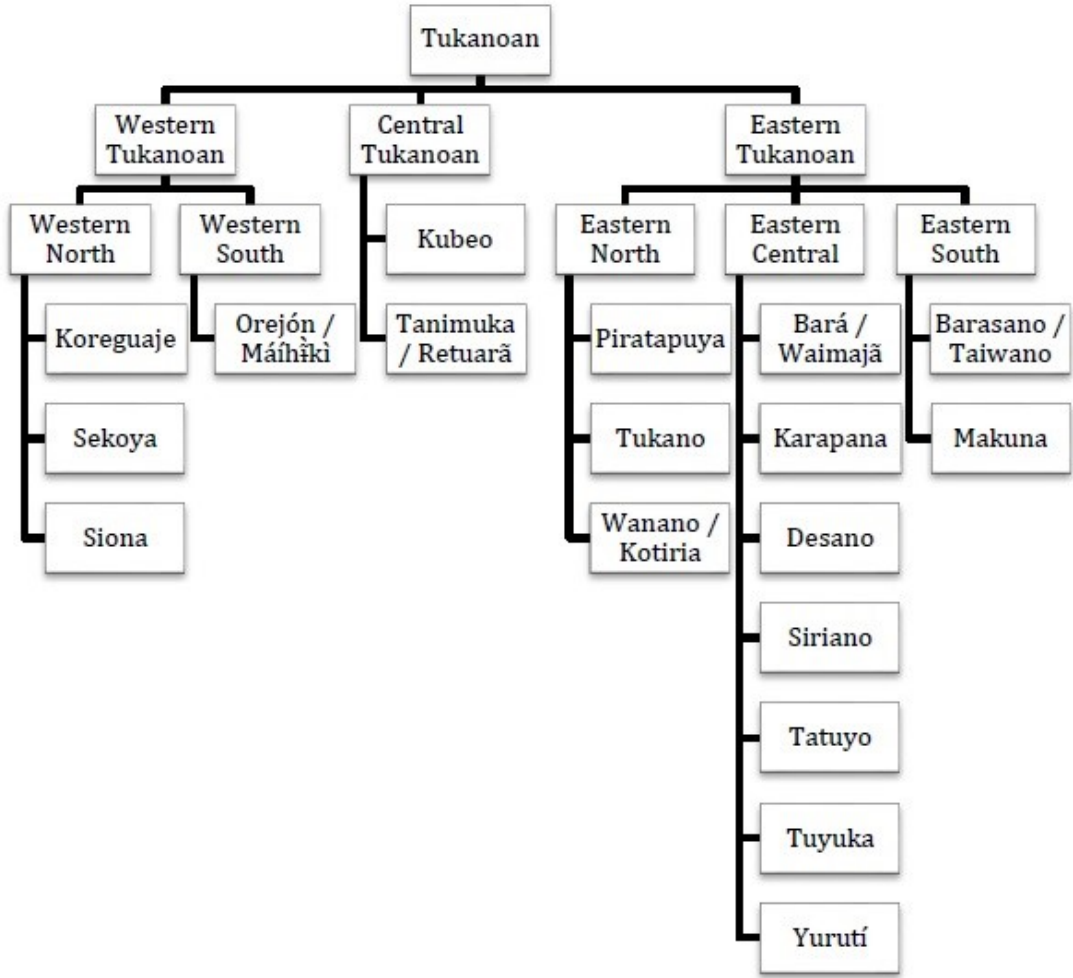
A more recent classification by Chacón (2014 cited in Bruil 2014: 10) divides the family of the Tukanoan languages into only two branches, the Western and the Eastern

Tukanoan languages (see Figure 8). In both classifications Siona belongs to the Western Tukanoan branch. A further distinction, which is made considering the language of Siona, refers to the varieties of Ecuadorian Siona and Colombian Siona. The first being under investigation by Bruil (2011, 2014) and the latter by Wheeler (1967, 1970, 1987a, 1987b, 2000), and Wheeler & Wheeler (1975). Bruil states that Ecuadorian Siona is in some aspect closer to Sekoya than to its variety of Colombian Siona. She adapts the point of view that Ecuadorian Siona, Colombian Siona and Sekoya constitute a "single dialect continuum" and Ecuadorian Siona is the intermediate variety of the other two (Bruil 2014: 11).

FIGURE 8 *The Tukanoan family classification according to Chacón* (Bruil 2014: 10)
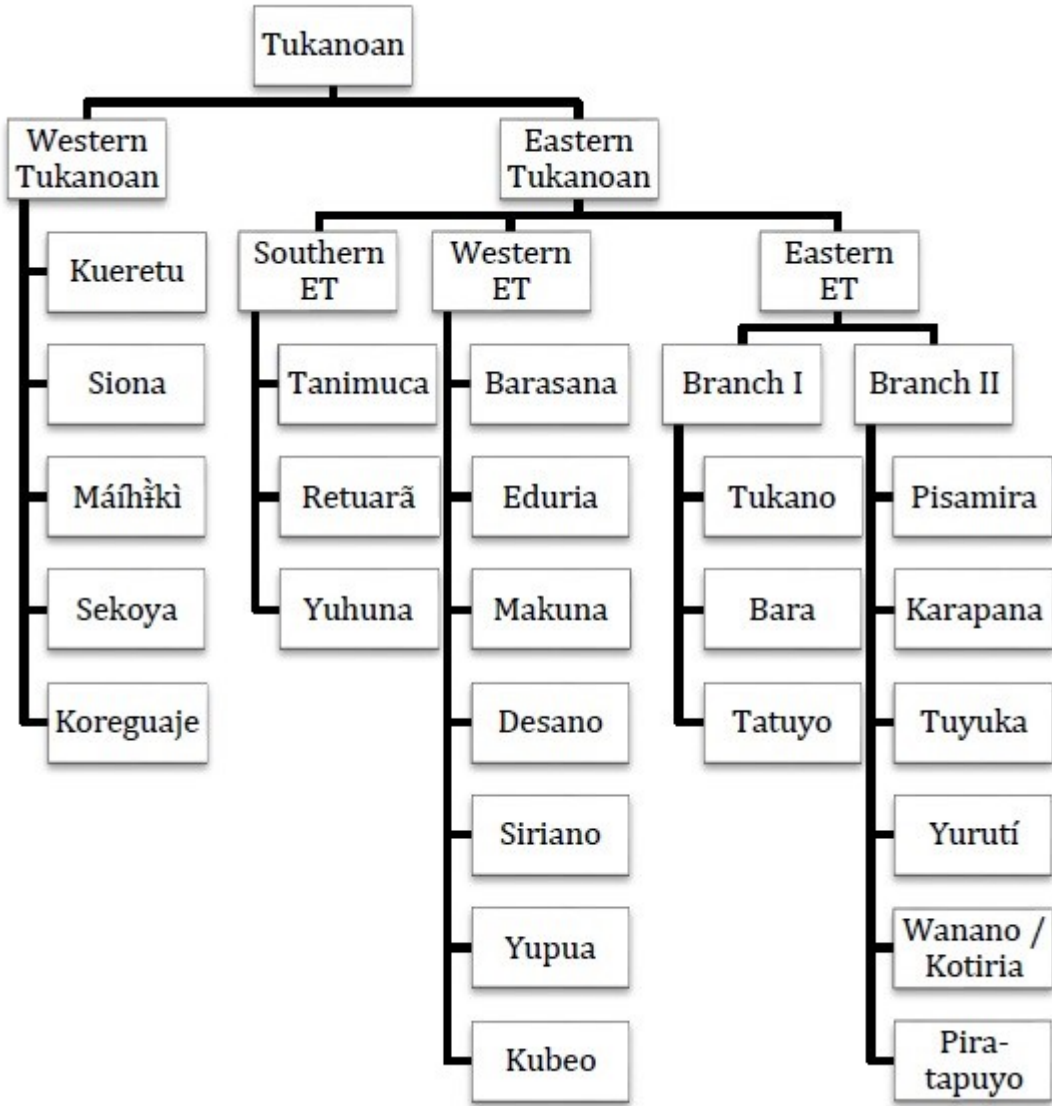
Ecuadorian Siona, as the language under investigation in this bachelor thesis, is spoken in Ecuador, in the province of Sucumbíos, in the Eastern jungle region. The language

community consist of six small villages, situated next to the Cuyabeno and the Aguarico River. Puerto Bolívar and Tarabëaya are located next to the Cuyabeno river, whereas Sototsiaya, Orahuëaya, Aboquëhuira and Bi'aña are situated next to the Aguarico river. There are also people in the provincial capital Lago Agrio speaking Ecuadorian Siona. The two villages under investigation for this thesis are Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya and their locations are illustrated in the following map (Figure 9).

FIGURE 9 *Map of Ecuadorian Siona fieldwork sites* (Bruil 2014: 5)
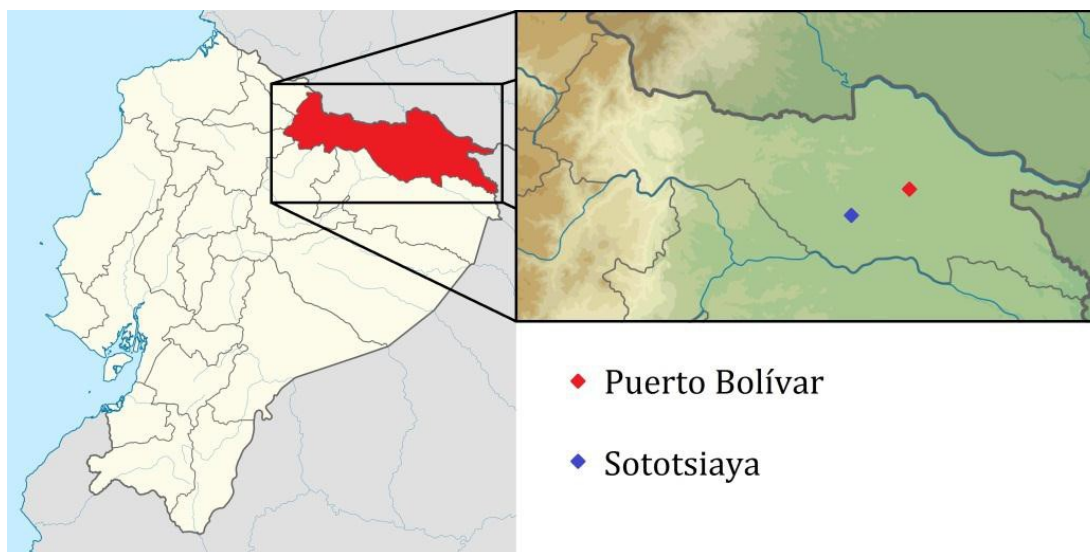
The language situation is extremely endangered as only 250 people speak Siona and only a few children acquire the language (as mother tongue or second language). Reasons are the strong impact of Spanish, the official language in Ecuador, as an external factor, and internal factors like migration and intermarriage with other indigenous or Spanish speaking people (so called 'mestizos') (Bruil 2014: 5f).

A short look at the history of language contact reveals that the contact situation has been present for quite a long time. The first contact with the Siona people was quite early in the year 1599 by a Jesuit mission, which continued to send its missionaries also during the 17th and the 18th century (Steward 1948, Vickers 1976; cited in Bruil 2014: 6). After the rubber boom in the 19th century, the Summer Institute of Linguistics arrived and in 1967, oil companies settled in this area (Vickers 1976, 2003; cited in Bruil 2014: 6).

3.2 Methodology

The data was raised in a fieldwork trip from the beginning of August to the beginning of October and the research took place in the two villages of Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya. In total four individuals were participating in the twelve research sessions (cf. table 25 to 36 in the appendix) which followed the methodology explained in this section.

The main elicitation was done using family trees, also called the "genealogical method" (Dousset 2012: 221). Drawing family trees with the participants means including all relationships and kin terms of their relatives. This procedure makes it easier for the speakers to make the relation between certain kin terms (especially more complex ones) with the names and persons in their family and hence with the respective kin types. This is due to the better mental representation and better accessibility for the speakers, in contrast to a mere construction of theoretical or hypothetical relations without the particular member in mind. In addition, it is better for people (and the data) to refer to someone in their family than just translate the term. It minimizes the possible transfer from Spanish, which in this case was used as the language of investigation, onto Siona, the language under investigation. Transfer might not always be evitable, but using the as few Spanish as possible, by trees or other construction, can minimize this phenomenon, especially in this case where all speakers were bilingual and who might just switch, by the use of Spanish, to cognitive structures in the eliciting language and then translating into Siona.

Another method used for eliciting the terms for kinship were constructed sentences, which the participant should translate. Although here the transfer might be higher than with the trees, the sentences were of a very simple structure, always using the names collected in the trees, or invented ones (when there was no actual existing member for this node in the family tree). Additionally every sentence and its members were explained (by family trees), to reach a clear understanding of who was meant by the construction. The sentences were designed to vary some aspects, like sex of the persons, and to get a grasp of all possible members of a family, if there were no examples in the family trees of the participants. The sentence-translation method was used to identify the different criteria underlying the system, which will be shown in the analysis later on. In advanced sessions (as in Session 11 and 12; cf. table 35 and

36 in the appendix) the elicitated sentences were given in Siona to represent more complex constructions and to wipe out possible inferences produced by the Spanish language.

The last method was to give a choice of different sentences and let the participants indicate the sentence which sounded the most appropriate to them and consequently try to explain their choice. To some level, it might seem that some explanations in the data were taken for granted and not tested. However, this is mostly not the case as some explanations have been written down to summarize the found conclusions while working on the topic with the participants and later on those hypotheses were tested and proven.

The data collected is quite small, and is ranging from kin terms from three generations before ego (including great-great-grandparents) and up to two generations after ego (including grandchildren), which is recommended by Dousset (2012: 221). On the extension of the generational level, the data is not going further than having maximum three linking relatives between ego and the relative in question. This should be enough for the first evaluation of the kin system of Ecuadorian Siona.

A few guidelines by Dousset (2012: 222f., 227f.) were also considered while raising the data. The guidelines concerned the age, social status, the distinction between terms of reference and address, the geographical context (difference between the two villages based on the contact with Spanish speaking people) and the distinction between classificatory and descriptive terms.

Considered the shortness of the corpus this work does not claim to have the perfect or prevailing outcome and neither is the description complete. This thesis should be seen as the basis for further investigation. With more time spent and more participants it might be that other results are found, contrasting with those in this work.

TABLE 5 *Used orthography/transcription (adapted from Bruil 2014: 83-132)*

Siona Orthography	Phonem	Siona Orthography	Phonem	Siona Orthography	Phonem
VOWELS					
Nasal vowels				**Oral vowles**	
\<a\>	/ã/			**\<a\>**	/a/
\<e\>	/ẽ/			**\<e\>**	/e/
\<ë\>	/ĩ/			**\<i\>**	/ɨ/
\<i\>	/ɨ̃/			**\<ë\>**	/i/
\<o\>	/õ/			**\<o\>**	/o/
\<u\>	/ũ/			**\<u\>**	/u/
CONSONANTS					
Plain stops		**Larigealized stops**		**Fricatives & Affricates**	
\<p\>	/p/	**\<b\>**	/p̰/	**\<ch\>**	/tʃ/
\<t\>	/t/	**\<d\>/\<r\>**	/t̰/	**\<j\>**	/h/
\<c\>/\<qu\>	/k/	**\<g\>/\<gu\>**	/k̰/	**\<s\>**	/s/
\<cu\>	/kʷ/	**\<gu\>/ \<gü\>**	/k̰ʷ/	**\<ts\>**	/s̰/
\<'\>	/ʔ/				
Nasals		**Approximants**			
\<m\>	/m/	**\<y\>/ \<ñ\>**	/j/		
\<n\>	/n/	**\<hu\>**	/w/		

Table 5 summarizes in short the transcription standards used in this work. For a detailed description of the phonology of Siona consult Bruil (2014: 83-133). Errors in the transcription of the data might occur, especially when compared to newer or earlier data (by Bruil). Nevertheless, the data represent my own transcriptions, the way I recognized different sounds. The errors however do not affect the analysis of kinship terms in this work, as these errors will not cause or disguise any difference of meaning in the terms under study. The convention for this work will be to write the words in Siona in italics and the Spanish and English translation in simple citation signs (' '), when they appear in the text. In the tables the headlines of the columns indicate the language and further marking is not needed.

3.3   The Spanish Kinship System

There are two reasons for why it is useful to illustrate shortly the Spanish kinship system before doing the analysis of Siona's system(s). First, it is good to have the Spanish system in mind while reading the analysis for Siona, to have a good reference point for the differences and the commonalities between Spanish and Siona. Second, it is necessary to lay down the most basic functions of the Spanish system, to be able

to compare the two (or three) systems later, and to have already a clue for the assumptions about the influence of Spanish on the Siona system(s).

Since there is no general description of the Spanish system, two sources were taken for this short summary: Edmonson's work "Kinship terms and Kinship Concepts" from 1957 and the dissertation "An English-Spanish Contrastive Analysis of Culturally Loaded Phraseological Units Containing Kinship Terms" by Marta de Toffol from 2011.

In general, the Spanish kinship system is equal to the English one. As table 6 shows, only the kin terms but not the kin types, they are labeling, are different:

TABLE 6 *English and Spanish kin terms defined by kin type[23]*

Kin term		Kin type
English	**Spanish**	
father	padre	F
mother	madre	M
uncle	tí**o**	FB, MB
aunt	tí**a**	FZ, MZ
brother	herman**o**	B
sister	herman**a**	Z
cousin (m.)	prim**o**	FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS
cousin (f.)	prim**a**	FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD
son	hij**o**	S
daughter	hij**a**	D
nephew	sobrin**o**	BS, ZS
niece	sobrin**a**	BD, ZD

The modern English and Spanish kin terms illustrate the principles of an Eskimo terminology (compare 2.2.3.3). It is a bilateral system with no distinction between the father's and the mother's side. This is indicated by the non-distinction of the terms 'uncle' and 'aunt', where the term is used both for father's brother and mother's brother (and respectively for father's sister and mother's sister), making the distinction irrelevant for both languages and societies (de Toffol 2011: 57). Additionally the composition of the surname of a person out of the father's and the mother's first surname is an indicator (de Toffol 2011: 55) for a bilateral system. The English and Spanish systems mark differences by gender, generation and collateral distance. Latter means that "each nuclear family relation receives a distinct term" whereas "more

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[23] adapted from de Toffol (2011: 59) by including the terms for female referents

distant relatives are grouped together into general categories" (de Toffol 2011: 61). The following figure illustrates the main part of the English and Spanish kinship system:

FIGURE 10 *English and Spanish kin terms* (de Toffol 2011: 61)
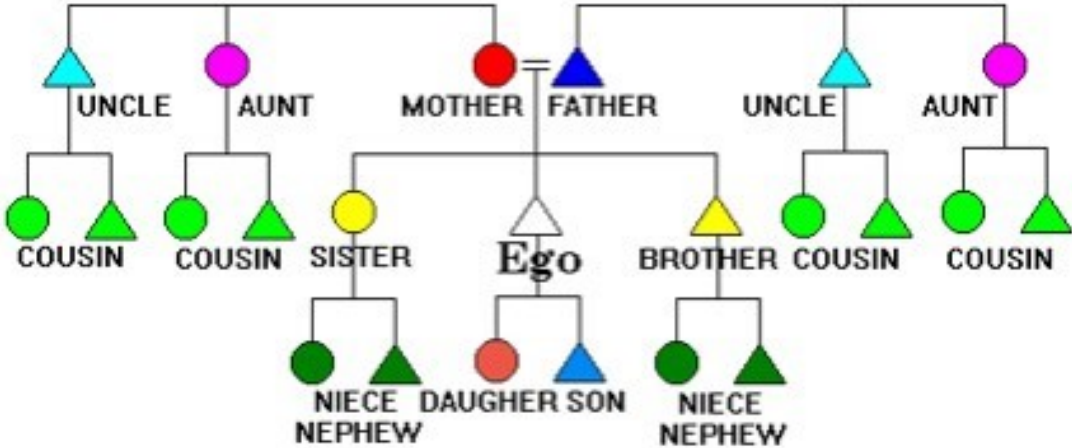
Having lined out the most basic information about the Spanish and English kinship system, a few more tendencies must be considered. These tendencies are explained due to the importance of considering variation and development in kinship systems, which for Siona will be done in the section 3.7 on the topic of influence of Spanish on the system of both villages. First, Edmonson states a "de-emphasis of sex of reference" in the Spanish system. This means that "aside from the grammatical gender, only father and mother are distinguished by different terms" (Edmonson 1957: 408). Compare all pairs of terms, besides father and mother in table 6. Edmonson's statement refers to the different lexemes used for father and mother, but for the rest, e.g. cousins, beside the grammatical marker (-o, -a) for gender, the lexemes are the same.

Second, there is a tendency toward the equation of siblings with cousins, where the term 'hermano' is used for 'primo', and third, also the opposite tendency to include the terms for brother and sister as an element of the term 'cousin' (Edmonson 1957: 408).

Yet the most interesting comment by Edmonson is the one regarding the change of kinship terminology. As he states "kinship terminology may change little or enormously over time, as to change into unrecognizably different structures or strong similarities may be maintained, yet change is happening". This is the case for the term

'tío' and its influence on indigenous languages. A slow replacement of the indigenous terms by the Spanish one is traceable, and therefore he states that this is an example of the process of language change and influence actually happening (Edmonson 1957: 399f.). As we will see later in the analysis of the Siona system, this is currently taking place in the village of Puerto Bolívar, and might be the future for Sototsiaya.

3.4 Analysis of the System in Puerto Bolívar

The analysis of Siona's kinship system is divided according to the two villages: due to the differences in the acquisition of the language and the influence of Spanish. Each chapter is structured equally, starting with a Componential Analysis and afterwards doing a classification of the systems to kinship terminologies that will amplify the analysis. At the end of this basic analysis, both systems of Siona are investigated under the viewpoint of Optimality Theory. At the end of the analysis, hence after the representation of both communities and the chapter on Optimality Theory, and as these chapters already imply, it will be necessary to make a comparison between both systems and to the Spanish one. The chapter 3.7 then will clarify the differences and commonalities between the two systems of Siona and describes the influence of the Spanish system.

To start with, a short summary of the situation of the Siona people gives a good basis to understand the differences between the two villages. It shows the related effects on the kinship systems and therefore justifies the split in the analysis. The people in Puerto Bolívar learn Siona, if they do, as a second language. Spanish is their first language, and only few children do learn the Siona from their ancestors. In Sototsiaya almost all children are raised with Siona being the first language they learn, but the influence from Spanish, which is learned more or less from the age of four[24], is equally present. All speakers of Siona are bilingual, speaking Spanish and Siona (Bruil 2014: 5f.). The difference between the two villages can also be noted in the analysis of kinship terms. In Puerto Bolívar, which is more influenced by Spanish, due to more contact with Spanish in the village and Spanish being the first language acquired, this influence can be seen in the changes in the system when contrasted with the "old" or more conservative system of Sototsiaya, having had less contact through less connection to

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[24] Please note that the age given is based on personal experience and not on empirical research.

the Spanish speaking world. As mentioned, these differences are outlined and explained in section 3.7.

3.4.1 Componential Analysis of Puerto Bolívar

The section on Componential Analysis is divided further into a description of the basic terms in 3.4.1.1 and into 3.4.1.2, which explores more complex concepts based on marriage: the in-law-system and the step-system. Section 3.4.1.3 is a discussion of more complex terms, which do not necessarily fit into the first two subsections. The data forming the basis for this analysis of Puerto Bolívar are displayed in the first two tables (table 21 and 22) in the appendix. In these tables each elicitated kin term of Siona is listed with its kin type, an English translation and the source in the data. The sources given from the elicitations are according to the following example: YearMonthDay(A/B)-Number. The capitals A and B distinguish two different elicitation of the same date. Example: 20140818A-01, is the first sentence (or phrase or word) elicitated during the first elicitation on 18th of August 2014.

3.4.1.1 Componential Analysis of the Basic Terms of Puerto Bolivar

The category of 'basic terms' is divided into three different sections. The first one lays out the relations between ego and its near kin like 'father', 'mother', 'child', 'siblings', 'grandparents' and 'grandchildren'. The second section treats 'cousins' and 'uncles', whereas the third part deals with 'great-grandparents'.

FIGURE 11 *Basic kin terms of Siona (Puerto Bolívar)*
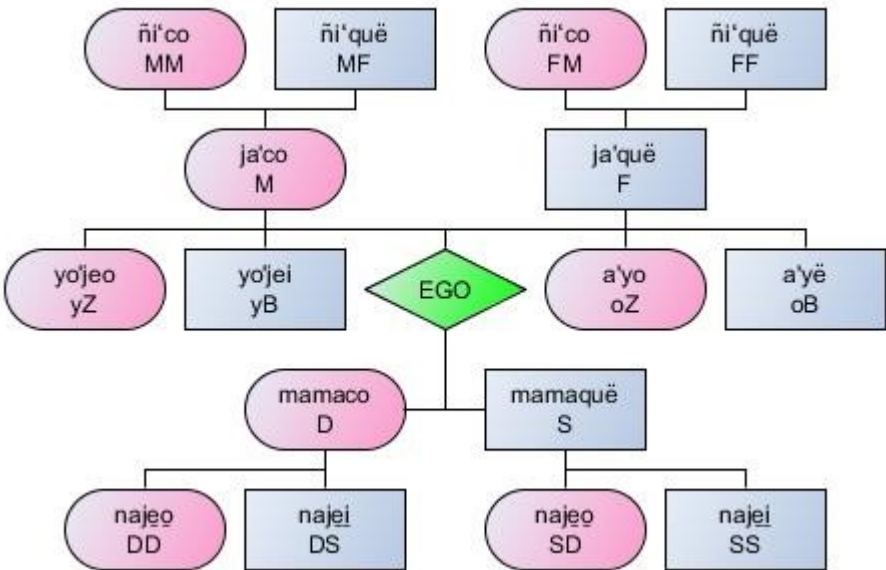
Starting with the first category, figure 11 is a genealogical map of the Siona terms for 'mother', 'father', 'siblings', 'children', 'grandparents' and 'grandchildren' which are used in Puerto Bolívar.[25] As can be seen with a closer look at the diagram, there are three major criteria underlying the structure of the system: sex, generation, and relative age. The first criterion of sex is shown by pink, oval boxes which stand for female relatives and the blue, rectangular ones for males. Ego is represented in a green rhombus, which represents either a male or a female referent. Based on the data, no indication for a distinction by the criteria of sex of ego was found and thus this criterion is considered irrelevant for further descriptions. Relatives in the same generation are represented in a horizontal line whereas generational distance is illustrated by the vertical gap between the boxes. For each kin term its kin type is given when important to understand the illustration. Considering the criterion of generation, it becomes clear from the absence of equal terms in two or more generations that this criterion is applied by the use of different terms in different generations. It is noticeable that there is no distinction between a mother's or a father's side, as we do have the same terms for grandmother and grandfather on both sides. Another interesting fact and the last criterion is relative age (older or younger relative), which is limited to the realm of siblings. The following two figures 12 and 13 on the terms for cousins also support this assumption. Last but not least: as all kin shown in the figure are lineals, no comment about lineality or colineality can be made and this constraint will be described further on in the analysis.

The next figures (12 and 13) show the terms for 'uncle', 'aunt' and 'cousins'. Due to the complexity of including all terms in one figure, the distinction between mother's side and father's side is merely practical. It serves to have a clearer illustration, and is not based on a typological distinction in the system of Siona, which is not a criterion, as already mentioned.

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[25] Please note that the English terms or the Siona terms do not state a literal translation, and that the use of English terms is just applied for better comprehension.

FIGURE 12 *Uncles, aunts and cousins in Siona (Puerto Bolívar): mother's side*
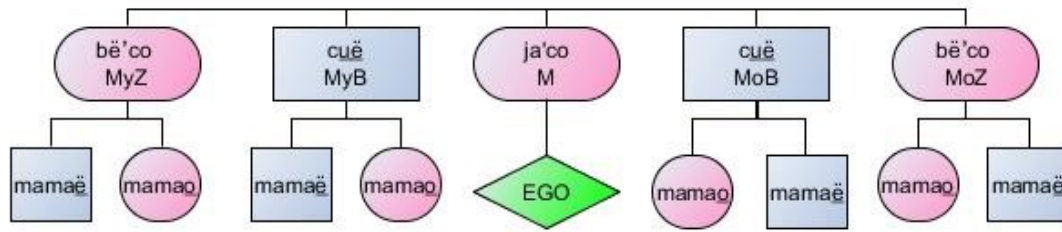
FIGURE 13 *Uncles, aunts and cousins in Siona (Puerto Bolívar): father's side*
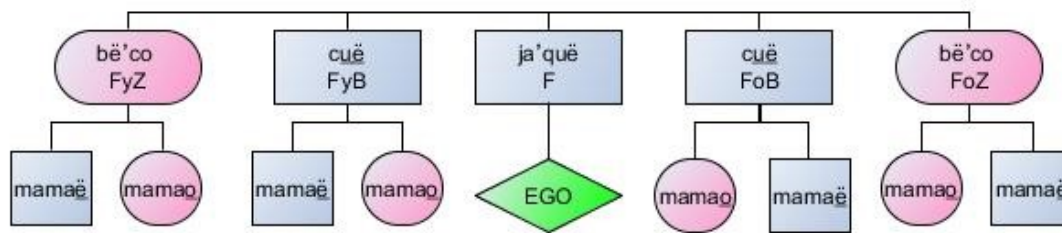
As already stated, there is no distinction between older and younger relatives (relative age), neither in the realm of cousins nor in the realm of aunts and uncles. The use of four different terms for female and male referents, one generation above ego [compare 'uncle' *cuë*, 'aunt' *bë'co* with 'mother' *ja'co*, 'father' *ja'quë*], clearly shows another underlying criterion. When including the comparison of the terms for cousins and siblings, it becomes obvious that the distinction here is not one of cross- or parallel linking, but of lineality or colineality: using different terms for more distant kin, as 'uncle' and 'aunt', and for close kin, as 'father' and 'mother' (cf. also explanation in 2.3.1).

The last terms in the basic description are those of 'great-grandparents'. The criteria used to distinguish those terms illustrated in the two figures 14 and 15 are, as already seen in the generation of grandparents (figure 11), sex and generation. Therefore, there is a classing together of all females in the third generation above ego and of those being male. Again, there is no distinction between mother's or father's side and the split in the figures is only aimed for better comprehensability. [26]

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[26] Please not that the generation of the great-grandchildren wasn't elicitated, because the sepakers worked with were not able to imagine this distant generation.

FIGURE 14 *Great-grandparents mother's side (Puerto Bolívar)*
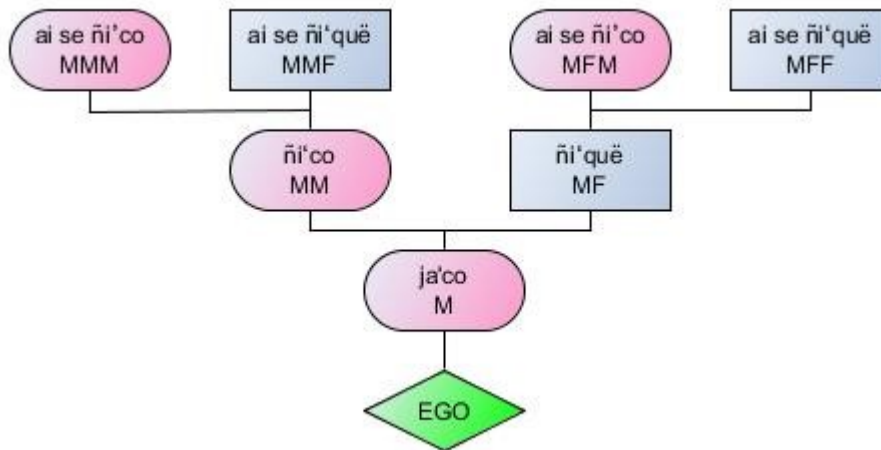
FIGURE 15 *Great-grandparents father's side (Puerto Bolívar)*
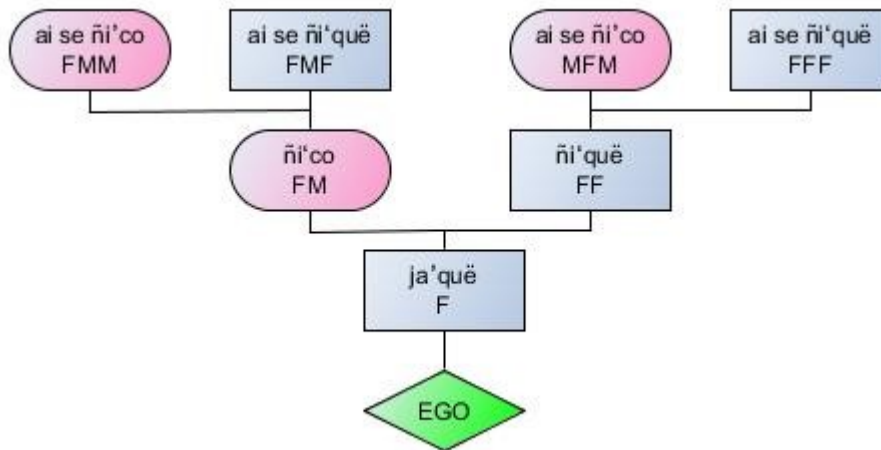
Having illustrated the system of Puerto Bolívar by genealogical maps, table 7 gives a summary of all terms with their criteria distinguishing them from another (according to the notation by Wallace 1960: 13 and described in 2.3.1). Each kin type to the respective kin term and an English translation is given. It therefore illustrates and summarizes the whole Componential Analysis of the speakers in Puerto Bolívar, which followed the following four steps: first, the determination of terms belonging to the domain of kinship; second, the assignment of kin types; third, the identification of criteria underlying the system and fourth, the definition of each term by the criteria found.

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TABLE 7 *Summary of the terms and illustration of criteria distinguishing them from another*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria			
			generation	sex	other	
MMM/MFM/ FMM/FFM	ai se ñi'quë	great-grandmother	G+3	f.	lineal	
MMF/MFF/ FMF/FFF	ai se ñi'co	great-grandfather	G+3	m.	lineal	
MM/ FM	ñi'co	grandmother	G+2	f.	lineal	
MF/ FF	ñi'quë	grandfather	G+2	m.	lineal	
M	ja'co	mother	G+1	f.	lineal	
F	ja'quë	father	G+1	m.	lineal	
MZ/FZ	bë'co	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	
MB/FB	cuë	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	
oZ	a'yo/ maja'yo	older sister	G0	f.	o	lin.
oB	a'yë / maja'yë	older brother	G0	m.	o	lin.
yZ	yo'jeo	younger sister	G0	f.	y	lin.
yB	yo'jei	younger brother	G0	m.	y	lin.
yZ+yB	huau	younger sibling	G0	m./f.	y	lin.
MZD, MBD, FZD, FBS	mamao	female cousin	G0	f.	colineal	
MZS, MBS, FZS, FBS	mamaë	male cousin	G0	m.	colineal	
D	mamaco	daughter	G-1	f.	lineal	
S	mamaquë	son	G-1	m.	lineal	
C	huare	child	G-1	f./m.	lineal	
ZD/ BD	jo'tao	niece	G-1	f.	colineal	
ZS/ BS	jo'taë	nephew	G-1	m.	colineal	
DD/ SD	najeo	granddaughter	G-2	f.	lineal	
DS/ SS	najei	grandson	G-2	m.	lineal	

In conclusion, there are four criteria underlying the system of Puerto Bolívar Siona. First, the distinction between male and female relatives. The second feature distinguishes between generations, hence the generational distance to ego. The third only applies in the generation of ego and additionally only to lineal kin, and marks a difference between older and younger siblings. However, this feature is not extended to 'cousins' (as highly expectable), 'aunts' and 'uncles', or other relatives of other generations. The criterion on relative age therefore is dependent on two other criteria, which beforehand must be satisfied: lineality and generation of ego. The last criterion hence is lineality (or colineality) as Siona does have a distinction between 'aunt' and

'mother', 'uncle' and 'father', 'cousins' and 'siblings' and between 'nieces'/'nephews' and 'children'.

3.4.1.2 Componential Analysis of Terms produced by Marriage (Puerto Bolívar)

Along with the elicitation of the shown 'basic terms', other terms were elicited which all are related with the concept of marriage. As stated marriage rules are excluded from the description and the terms are only a selection of all possible relatives related to ego by marriage to his/her relatives. Therefore, the focus is on the most basic kin types related to ego by marriage rules, in other words the most used terms in everyday life.

The first system is that of the English 'in-law' relatives and the figures 16 and 17 show all relatives bound to ego by his/her marriage, which have been under study for this work.

FIGURE 16 *Kin terms for parents-in-law: wife*
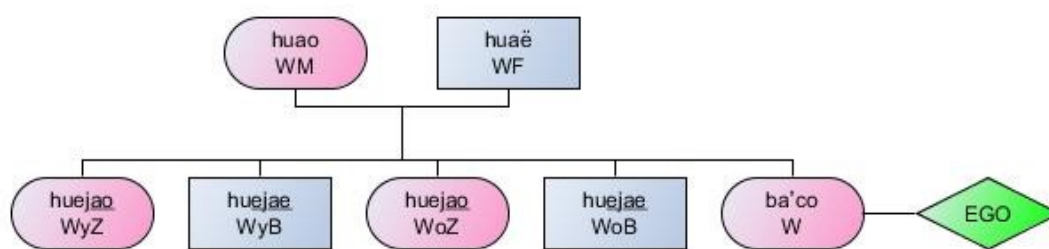
This first figure shows the typical distribution of kin types and kin terms in Siona, for the family of a male ego, his wife (*ba'co*) and her parents: wife's mother (*huao*) and wife's father (*huaë*). One's wife's and one's husbands siblings are called *huejao* ('sister-in-law') and *huejaë* ('brother-in-law'). There is no difference between older or younger siblings of the spouses, which is due to the non-lineality to ego (resulting from non consanguineality). The second figure shows the case of a female ego with her husband and his family. The terms are the same and the figure is just to complete the illustration of the paradigm.

FIGURE 17 *Kin terms for parents-in-law: husband*
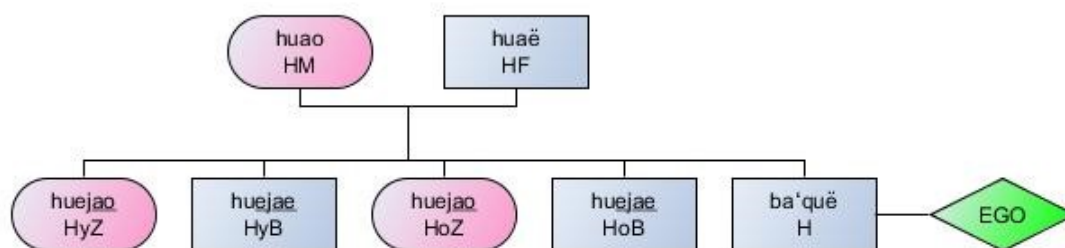
FIGURE 18 *Kin terms for children-in-law*
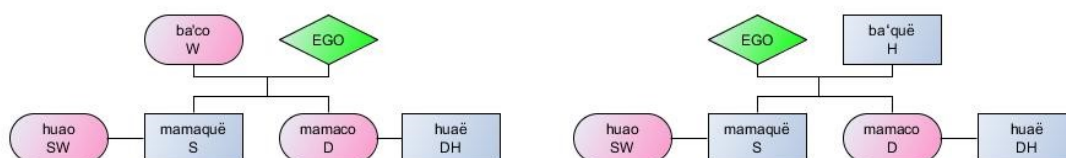
The last terms of the 'in-law' system are the 'children-in-law'. The two parts of figure 18 show that 'children in law', being the husband or wife of one's son or daughter, are equally called *huao* or *huaë*, without a differentiation of sex of ego.

Surprisingly or interestingly is that the terms *huao* and *huaë* are the same for 'children-in-law' and 'parents-in-law'. Hence the criterion of generation does not apply here. This phenomenon is marked by G1 without an '-' for descending or '+' for ascending generation in the following table, that shows the four terms with its criteria underlying the distinction, the respective kin type and an English translation, just as table 7 in the former chapter summed up the 'basic kin terms'. Therefore, the underlying criteria are generation, either ego's generation (G0) or one generation above or beneath ego (G1), and sex.

TABLE 8 *Summary of kin terms for English 'in-laws'*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria		
			generation	sex	affinal
WM,HM SW	**huao**	mother-in-law daughter-in-law	G1	f.	affinal
WF, HF DH	**huaë**	father-in-law son-in-law	G1	m.	affinal
WZ, HZ	**hueja̲o**	sister-in-law	G0	f.	affinal
WB, HB	**huejaë**	brother-in-law	G0	m.	affinal
SW	**huao**	daughter-in-law	G-1	f.	affinal
DH	**huaë**	son-in-law	G-1	m.	affinal

There are two more concepts arising while thinking of alliance theory in a broader sense: the concepts of step-family and adoption. Traditionally the death of one's spouse may lead to another marriage. This being the case, terms for a "step-family" surge and can be distinguished. The second concept is not seen as part of the "normal" or traditional system of marriage. Adoption and remarriage based on divorce are quite western and modern concepts and constitute an interesting field of investigation for further research, but are not a constituent of this work.

The following figures illustrate the found results regarding the terms for 'step'-familyhood. Step by step the cases for 'step-mother', 'step-father' and resulting 'step-siblings' are explained and the concept of "half-siblings", being children of one's father or mother's with his new wife/ her new husband, concludes the description.[27]

FIGURE 19 *Kin terms for step-family I: step-mother*

This first figure shows the situation of ego, being child to his/her father (*ja'quë*) which has been married again after his birth to someone, who ego calls *aidehua ja'co* ('step-mother'). There are two different ways to call the children of this 'stepmother', which result from an earlier marriage to a deceased husband. In both options, compounds out of the basic terms for younger or older siblings and another word are formed. The first option would be to used the word *so'o*, meaning something like 'distant', the second is to use *ye'quë* which means 'other'. In the case of ego's mother having remarried to a man with his children from an earlier marriage (figure 20) the terms stay the same.

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[27] The dotted line shall indicate the former marriage and normal lines the "valid" new marriage.

FIGURE 20 *Kin terms for step-family II: step-father*
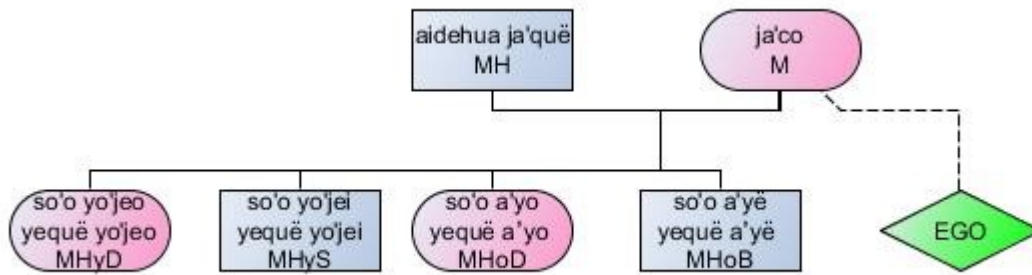
In addition to the already shown constellations, another case of kinship can result from such a remarriage: children of step-parent and parent, in English terminology so called 'half-siblings'. There are again two possibilities to call those 'half siblings' in Siona: in Puerto Bolívar either with the term *so'o* (distant), as already used for stepsiblings, or with *jobo* a literal translation of the Spanish word for 'half'. Older half-siblings would be the result of ego being born under the new marriage and the older siblings being part of the old marriage (cf. figure 22). Younger half-siblings are siblings due to the remarriage of one's father or mother (cf. figure 21).

FIGURE 21 *Kin terms for step-family III: younger half-siblings*
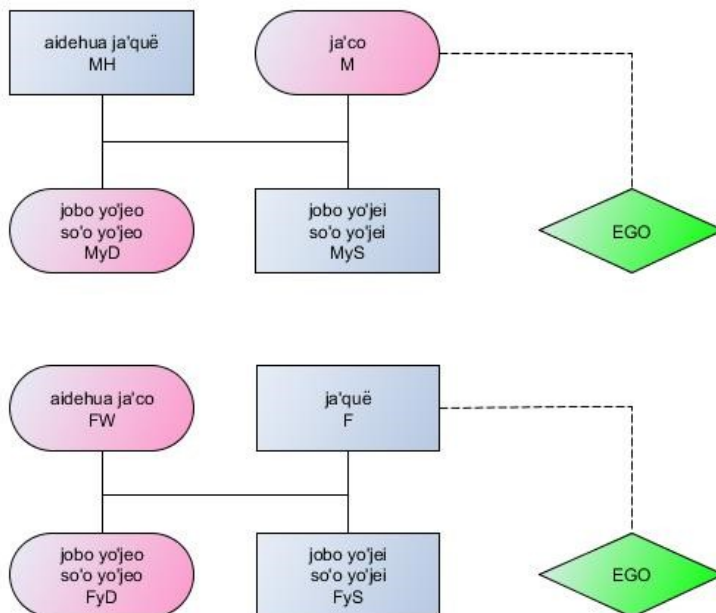
FIGURE 22 *Kin terms for step-family III: older half-siblings*
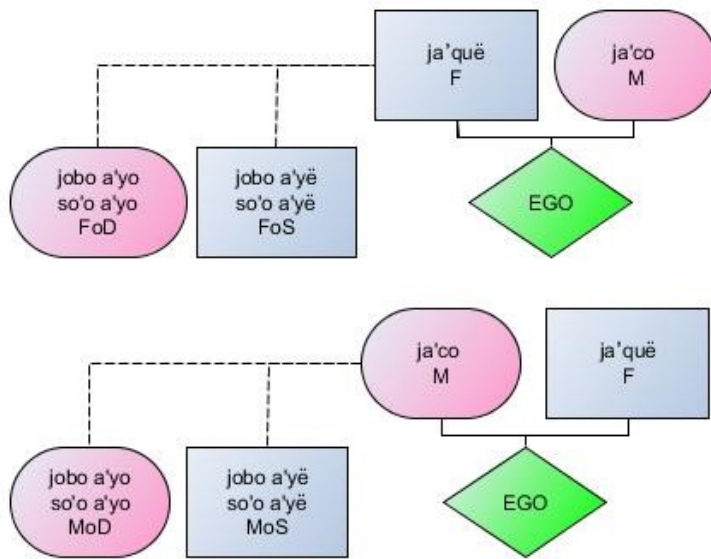
The last possibility concerning the 'step-' familyhood of ego, to have so called 'step-children', hence the children of one's wife or husband from a former marriage (illustrated in figure 23). The corresponding terms are compounds out of the word *aidehua*, which has no literal translation, and out the word for son (*mamaquë*) or daughter (*mamaco*).

FIGURE 23 *Kin terms for step-family IV: step-children*
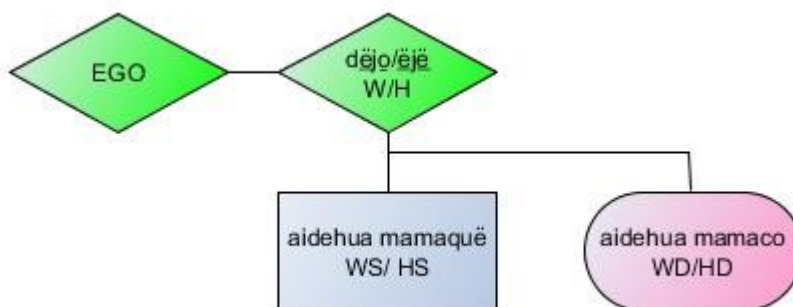
Like in the earlier parts of the analysis, the following table summarizes the results by presenting kin terms, kin types and criteria. The defining criteria are generational distance, sex, relative age and consanguinity. Half-siblings are considered consanguineous because of the half-blood-relationship: both ego and the half-singling in question share one parent. Affinal are considered all those relatives, which are merely linked to ego by the bond of direct or indirect marriage: either by marriage of ego or by marriage of any other relative of ego.

TABLE 9 *Summary of step- and half-siblings, stepparents and stepchildren*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria			
			gen.	sex	rel. age	affinal, consangu.
FW	**aidehua ja'co**	step-mother	G+1	f.	-	affinal
MH	**aidehua ja'quë**	step-father	G+1	m.	-	affinal
WD, HD	**aidehua mamaco**	step-daughter	G-1	f.	-	affinal
WS, HS	**aidehua mamaquë**	step-son	G-1	m.	-	affinal
MHoD, FWoD	**so'o a'yo ye'quë a'yo**	older step-sister	G0	f.	o	affinal
MHoS, FWoS	**so'o a'yë ye'quë a'yë**	older step-brother	G0	m.	o	affinal
MHyD, FWyD	**so'o yo'jeo ye'quë yo'jeo**	younger step-sister	G0	f.	y	affinal
MHyS, FWyS	**so'o yo'jei ye'quë yo'jei**	younger step-brother	G0	m.	y	affinal
MoD, FoD	**so'o a'yo jobo a'yo**	older half-sister	G0	f.	o	consang.
MoS, FoS	**so'o a'yë jobo a'yë**	older half-brother	G0	m.	o	consang.
MyD, FyD	**so'o yo'jeo jobo yo'jeo**	younger-half sister	G0	f.	y	consang.
MyS, FyS	**so'o yo'jei jobo yo'jei**	younger half-brother	G0	m.	y	consang.

After having lined out the most prevalent relationships in the system of Puerto Bolívar, and before moving on with the classification of Puerto Bolívar Siona to kinship terminology, it is necessary to discuss some other interesting aspects and problems, which emerged during the study.

3.4.1.3 More Detailed Look at some Terms (Puerto Bolivar)

Throughout the investigation a few problems arose: different terms for a single kin type were found and the semantics and extension of some terms are not as clear cut as demonstrated in the description above. During the elicitation different terms for 'mother' and 'father', for 'older brother' and 'older sister', 'husband' and 'wife, and two classificatory terms for 'younger siblings' and 'child' were found. First, we will begin with the difference between the two terms for 'mother' and respectively for the two for 'father': the underlying principle is the same.

As the data indicates, there are the terms *ja'co* (cf. 20140818A-01) and *ja'quë* (cf. 20140818A-02) which contrast with the terms of *bëcaco* (cf. 20140820-26) and

bëcaquë (cf. 20140820-32). Through elicitation of sentences and indications by the speakers, it was found out that the first terms have a more general meaning, and the latter are only used for a third person. If we imagine a situation of two people speaking to each other, both would use the first term (*ja'co/ja'quë*) to refer to one's own parents, or the parents of his conversational partner (cf. 20140820-25/ 20140819-83). If one would then talk about the mother or the father of a third party that is not present, both would use the second term (*bëcaco/bëcaquë*). Obviously, this distinction has something to do with distance, which is marked by the use of the respective term. Yet during the fieldwork research, I found that the distinction is not always strictly maintained (cf. 20140915B-35). Sometime speakers use also *ja'co/ja'quë* instead of *bëcaco/ bëcaquë*. This might be a good indicator for further investigations on the topic, as well as the fact, that the distinction might fade because of the influence of Spanish on the system does not have this distinction.

The second differentiation is between the two terms for 'older brother'/ 'older sister'. As the analysis above shows, the first pair of term is *a'yo/a'yë* and the second one found during the elicitation was *maja'yo/ maja'yë*, as being a compound out of the morpheme *maja-* and the term for 'older sister' (*a'yo*) or 'older brother' (*a'yë*). This distinction is not that of a clear cut as the one mentioned first. There are two possible explanations for the use of these terms. The first I consider the more traditional usage, because this use is the 'correct' use in Sototsiaya, the more traditional village (cf. 3.5.1.3). The second is the more influenced one, because it shows a clear assimilation to the Spanish system. The more traditional usage of the words is, that both have the meaning of 'older brother' or 'older sister', yet the compound (*maja'yo/maja'yë*) is only used to refer to one's older brother/sister, not to call him/her by this kin term. Latter would be done by the use of *a'yo/a'yë* (cf. 20140916-31; 20140922A-17/18). The more Spanish influenced viewpoint is the merging of the two terms to one and the same use, making them synonyms. Yet when asked for the difference many speakers explain that *a'yo/ a'yë* has a more general meaning whereas *maja'yo/ maja'yë* is to especially determine that it is an older brother (or older sister) one is talking about or to (cf. 20140820-23; 20140914-13to15). The term *a'yë* (and respectively *a'yo* for the case of sister) would in this sense only mean "brother" like the Spanish word 'hermano'. In my opinion this is clearly an indicator for the influence of Spanish,

therefore this phenomenon will be picked up again in the section about Spanish influence (3.7).

The last pair of terms is the one of 'husband' and 'wife'. During the elicitation with different speakers, two pairs for each were found: husband (*ëjë* and *ba'quë*) and wife (*dëjo* and *ba'co*). Here the distinction between the two pairs (*ëjë/dëjo* and *ba'quë/ ba'co*) is not clear and there is more than one possible way of applying for the term. The first is the more 'traditional' one (also used in Sototsiaya) and the second more 'modern' one used in Puerto Bolívar. The difference between the two pairs is, as indicated by the speakers of Puerto Bolívar, a semantic distinction based on the meaning of *ba'co* and *ba'quë* as something translated like 'the one that is mine'/ 'mine'/ 'my (wife)' (cf. 20140914-03/04). In this case, it has feature of a 'pronoun'[28] indicating the possession of something and it stands for the whole expression without the use of the term for wife or husband. When asked, the terms could not be extended for example to the realm of children (cf. 20140914-03). The second explanation would be on the same basis as the distinction for 'mother' and 'father' (and used especially in Sototsiaya). The terms *ëjë* and *dëjo* would be used for the first or second person singular whereas the *ba'co* and *ba'quë* for a third party (not present) (cf. 20140922B-44). The third possibility mentioned is simply based on semantics and considers *ëjë* and *dëjo* as 'wife' and 'husband' and the other two as 'boy-' or 'girlfriend' (cf. 20140915B-33). The data do not give a proof for the corecctness of one or more of the possibilities. Further investigation, for example based on discourse analysis, would be needed to determine exactly and rightfully which criteria apply for the use of those different terms and for all other demonstrated differences in this section. This illustrations represent only an introduction to the problems and show ideas and starting-points for further research.

The last interesting topic before moving on to the classification of Siona to kinship terminology, concerns two terms, which share one criteria. Those two terms represent two kin types denoted by a single kin term, hence a classificatory feature. However other than e.g. the term for 'uncle' there are two separate existing kin terms for each of the two kin types the classificatory kin terms are merging. The first term is the one

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[28] Please note that the consideration of 'pronoun' is not based on a grammatical analysis of Siona, but on linguistic features. Hence the terms *ba'co* and *ba'quë* show a characteristic that in most languages is expressed by pronouns: possessiveness.

for younger sibling. The first term *huau* combines 'younger brother' (*yo'jei*) and 'younger sister' (*yo'jeo*), having then the meaning of 'younger sibling' (cf. 20140914-10/11/12). The second term *huare* stands for 'child' and unites the terms for 'son' (*mamaquë*) and 'daughter' (*mamaco*) (cf. 20140816-05).

3.4.2 Classification of Siona of Puerto Bolívar Siona to the Eskimo Terminology

The classification of Siona of the people in Puerto Bolívar will be done by a step for step exclusion for possible terminologies by looking at the missing or existent traits.

The first described system in this work was the one of Hawaiian Terminology (cf. 2.2.3.1) with only two criteria: sex and generation. Yet Siona additionally to the criteria of sex and generation also distinguishes between mother/father and aunts/uncles, hence lineality. Therefore, it does not belong to the Hawaiian systems. The second system, the Iroquois Terminology (cf. 2.2.3.2), distinguishes relatives by sex, generation and cross- or parallel linking. Latter is present when the linking relative is (parallel) or is not (cross) of the same sex as the relative in question. This again does not apply to the Siona system of Puerto Bolívar, as e.g. for mother and mother's sisters different kin terms are used and hence the two kin types are not merged. As we have a clear distinction between generations (in the basic terms, not counting the merge of terms for 'mother-'/ 'father'- and 'daughter-'/ 'son-in-law') in the Siona system, it cannot belong to the Crow or Omaha Terminology (cf. 2.2.3.4), because in this case the distinction of generation would not apply. Additionally, there was no indicator found for a matrilineal or patrilineal distinction. In the Sudanese system (cf. 2.2.3.5) every kin type would be represented by a single kin term, and no kin term could cover two or more kin types. Nevertheless, this is the case for Siona, for example for aunts and uncles on mother's or father's side, or for grandparents or grandchildren.

The last system, the Eskimo Terminology (cf. 2.2.3.3) is built up on three underlying criteria which are met by the system of Puerto Bolívar kinship. In the generation of parents four terms distinguish parents from uncles and aunts, but without a distinction between patrilineage and matrilineage, which is seen by the same term for 'mother's sister' and 'father's sister'. Concerning ego's generation, there is a distinction between cousins and siblings, and both categories are divided by terms of female and male referents. Only one particularity is to be noted in Siona, the realm of siblings, which is

further divided by the criterion of relative age to ego, which is not mentioned in any of the descriptions in the section on terminology. Nevertheless, these four criteria perfectly fit into Eskimo Terminology: distinction of sex, generation, lineality and limited to the combination of lineality and ego's generation, the criterion of relative age.

3.5   Analysis of the System in Sototsiaya

This second part of the analysis is about the village of Sototsiaya. The influence of Spanish on this community is lower than on the one in Puerto Bolívar that is why I call it the more traditional one. This might be due to the higher isolation of the village as the infrastructures to get to the two villages are quite different. Puerto Bolívar is mostly reached by canoe and the only main problem lies in dry seasons, when the river does not have the necessary height of water to go by canoe. Additionally, the region where the village is located is quite popular for tourists, offering loges and other accommodations, including trips by canoe to the tourists. Many people of Puerto Bolívar work as guides and get the tourists to their accommodations. In Sototsiaya the situation is a bit different. Due to the size of the river, the access by river is not that suitable and the only 'street' was not that elaborated until shortly before my arrival. Another big problem beside the narrow road and the natural vegetation beside it was the condition of the bridge located about two kilometers before one would access the village of Sototsiaya. It was in consequence to its age renewed which took a long time, leaving the village with an even worse connection to other villages. Just before our arrival, the bridge then was renewed and consequently the people of the village have now a better connection to the bigger (Spanish-speaking) towns, by car or motorcycle, which before was almost impossible.

3.5.1   Componential Analysis of Sototsiaya

The Componential Analysis of the system of Sototsiaya is not completely different from the one for Puerto Bolívar. Nevertheless, there are a few additional distinctions made which possibly could result in a classification to a distinct terminology and will be evaluated at the end of the whole Componential Analysis, which is again divided into the three subparts of basic terms, terms produced by marriage and the discussion on problematic terms.

3.5.1.1 Componential Analysis of the Basic Terms of Sototsiaya

The basic terms for the system of Sototsiaya are basically the same as for the system of Puerto Bolívar, as the following (retaken) figure shows, exception are the terms for 'cousins', 'uncles' and 'aunts' which will be displayed in figure 25 and figure 26.

FIGURE 24 *Basic terms in Sototsiaya*
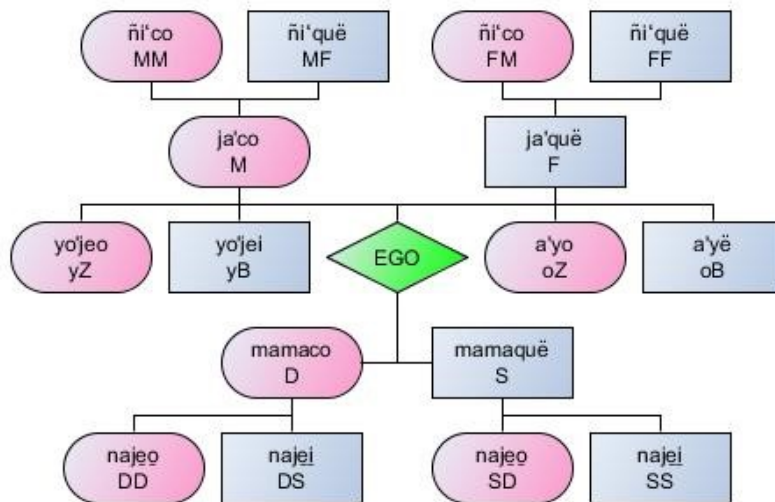
The terms for the generation of ego's grandparents, parents, ego's generation, ego's children and grandchildren are the same and do not differ in their semantics neither in their usage. The criteria underlying are the same: sex of referent, generation, lineality and relative age.[29] The following table summarizes again the results of the Componential Analysis, analyzing in four steps, the relevant kin terms, the respective kin types, the underlying criteria in general and for each term. When compared to table 11 in section 3.4.1.1 on the terms of Puerto Bolívar, and the figure 14 to the figure 15 in the same section, it becomes clear that the terms are identical, as expected, when treating Siona in the two villages as the same language or a variation of it.

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[29] Please note: The generation for great-grand parents (G+3) could not be elicitated in Sototsiaya due to the fact, that this was not imaginable for the speaker, and hence will not be treated here.

TABLE 10 *Criteria for basic terms (without uncles, aunt and cousins) of Sototsiaya*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria			
			generation	sex	other	
MM/ FM	ñi'co	grandmother	G+2	f.	lineal	
MF/ FF	ñi'quë	grandfather	G+2	m.	lineal	
M	ja'co	mother	G+1	f.	lineal	
F	ja'quë	father	G+1	m.	lineal	
oZ	a'yo/ maja'yo	older sister	G0	f.	o	lin.
oB	a'yë / maja'yë	older brother	G0	m.	o	lin.
yZ	yo'jeo	younger sister	G0	f.	y	lin.
yB	yo'jei	younger brother	G0	m.	y	lin.
D	mamaco	daughter	G-1	f.	lineal	
S	mamaquë	son	G-1	m.	lineal	
DD/ SD	najeo	granddaughter	G-2	f.	lineal	
DS/ SS	najei	grandson	G-2	m.	lineal	

The big difference in the basic terms is in the realm of uncles/aunts and cousins. Here we have quite different terms and also quite distinct underlying criteria. To start with, the following figures show the terms used for the parent's generation, including the siblings of the parents, and one possibility for the terms used for 'cousin', hence the children of parent's siblings.

FIGURE 25 *Uncles, aunts and cousins in Siona (Sototsiaya): mother's side*
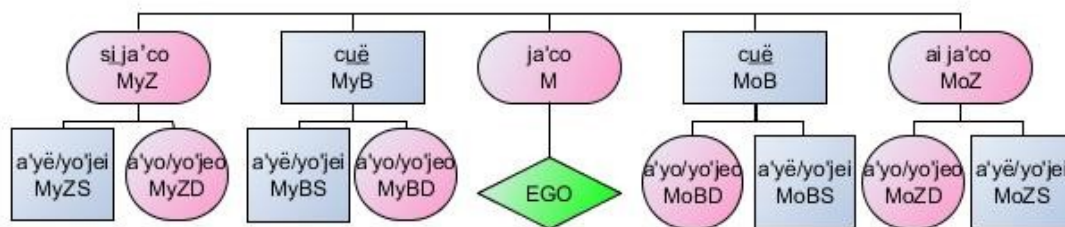
FIGURE 26 *Uncles, aunts and cousins in Siona (Sototsiaya): father's side*
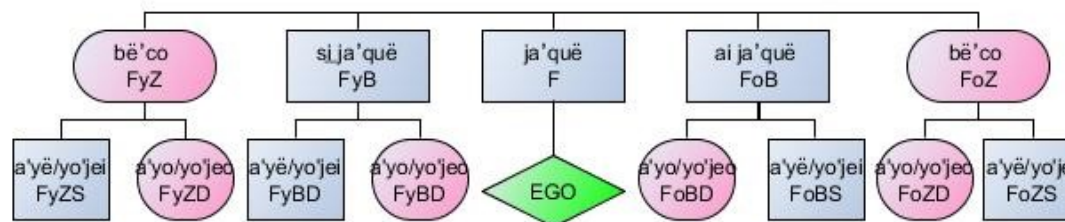
With a look at the figures 25 and 26 and having in mind the system of Puerto Bolívar (3.4.1.1: figures 12 and 13) it becomes clear that in this case we have three terms for

'uncle' and respectively three for 'aunt'. The different underlying criteria are crucial to the formation of these six terms. First is the distinction between same sex or different sex (also called cross or parallel sex). As we can see, the difference in sex between the linking relative ('mother'/'father') and the term in question ('aunt'/'uncles'), determines the pair of term we already know: *cuë* and *bë'co*. The second criterion is that of relative age, which we already know from the realm of siblings. As 'aunts' and 'uncles', are the siblings of the parents, this is not a surprise. Yet the criterion does only apply to same sex siblings. The following table sums up the interaction of the criteria additional to the other criteria underlying the distinction for 'uncles' and 'aunts' (as seen and explained for the system of Puerto Bolívar and which are the same for the terms here: generation, sex and lineality; cf. section 3.4.1.1 table 7):

TABLE 11 *Criteria for aunt and uncles in Siona of Sototsiaya*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria				
			gen.	sex	lineal	cross/parallel sex	rel. age
FZ	**bë'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	**cross**	-
MoZ	**ai ja'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	**parallel**	**older**
MyZ	**si ja'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	**parallel**	**younger**
MB	**cuë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	**cross**	-
FyB	**ai ja'quë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	**parallel**	**older**
FoB	**si ja'quë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	**parallel**	**younger**

Interesting again is the limitation of the criterion of relative age. As we saw in the section of Puerto Bolívar's basic terms, the distinction could only apply when the first two criteria of same generation as ego and lineal kin were met. In this case, the feature of relative age can only be applied when the criterion of parallel sex (additional to the criteria of one generation above ego, and colineality) is satisfied. An interpretation of this feature has something to do with considering cross kin as more distant than parallel kin. As already mentioned in section 3.4.1.3, the discussion of pairs of terms and its distinction on basis of semantic and other criteria, the fact of distance is a represented concept in the language of Siona.[30]

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[30] Cf. the different usage of terms, when referring to someone present and to someone not present in a conversation (section 3.4.1.3), and additionally cf. the fact of marking evidentiality (semantically a marking of distance) in Siona, proven by the dissertation by Bruil 2014.

TABLE 12 *Two possible terminologies for cousins (Sototsiaya)*

#	Kinship Code	English Translation	Term in Siona	Criteria
1	MBD, MZD, FBD, FZD	female cousin	**a'yo/ yo'jeo**	**o/y than ego**
2	MBD, FZD	female cousin	**jotao**	**cross-sex**
2	MoZD, FoBD	female cousin	**a'yo**	**older parallel sibling of parent**
2	MyZD, FyBD	female cousin	**yo'jeo**	**younger parallel sibling of parent**
1	MBS, MZS, FBS, FZS	male cousin	**a'yë/ yo'jei**	**o/y than ego**
2	MBS, FZS	male cousin	**jotaë**	**cross-sex**
2	MoZS, FoBS	male cousin	**a'yë**	**older parallel sibling of parent**
2	MyZS, FyBS	male cousin	**yo'jei**	**younger parallel sibling of parent**

FIGURE 27 *Cousins, nephew and nieces (Sototsiaya)*
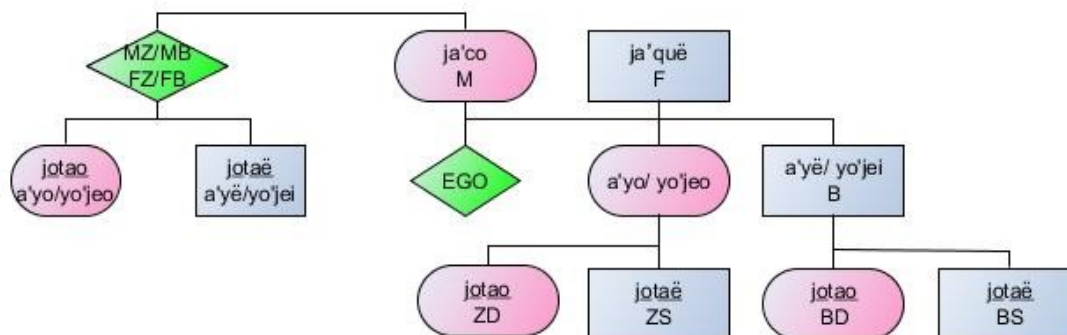
The figures 25 to 29 and table 12 show the two different possibilities to denote cousins[31]. As we know from the description of the basic terms, these terms are not new to us. When having a closer look, it becomes clear that there are no "proper" terms for cousins like in the system of Puerto Bolívar (*mamao/ mamaë*), but we have the terms for 'siblings' or 'nephews' and 'nieces', which we can use. The first possibility does not come as a surprise, as it is very common in many languages to use the terms for 'brother' and 'sister' also for 'cousins', especially in the case of conviviality or a close personal relationship. In many systems 'cousins' and 'siblings' are called by the same

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[31] marked by the numbers in the first column

term (cf. the Hawaiian system in 2.2.3.1). Nevertheless interesting in this case is, that there is then a merging of 'cousins' and 'siblings' into one class (and hence no distinction between lineality and colineality), but a lineal distinction of 'aunts' and 'mother' (and respectively between 'father' and 'uncles').[32] This would be a quite unusual split in one system. The second usage is a bit more complicated and includes the use of the terms for 'nephew' and 'niece' and the terms for 'siblings'. It is also quite interesting, as we then have a merging between generational different terms. No other structures in the system of Siona show this constraint, neither the system of Puerto Bolívar nor the one of Sototsiaya. The following figures (figure 28 and 29, as well as figure 27) illustrate the second possibility including the generational difference. The first possibility is represented in table 12 and in the figures 25 and 26.

FIGURE 28 *Second possibility to determine the kin types of "cousin": mother's side*
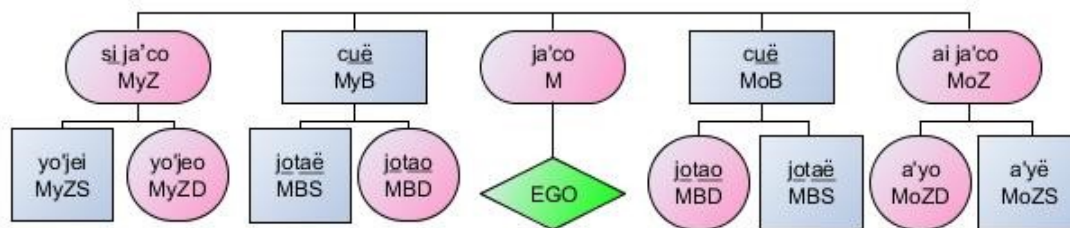
FIGURE 29 *Second possibility to determine the kin types of "cousin": father's side*
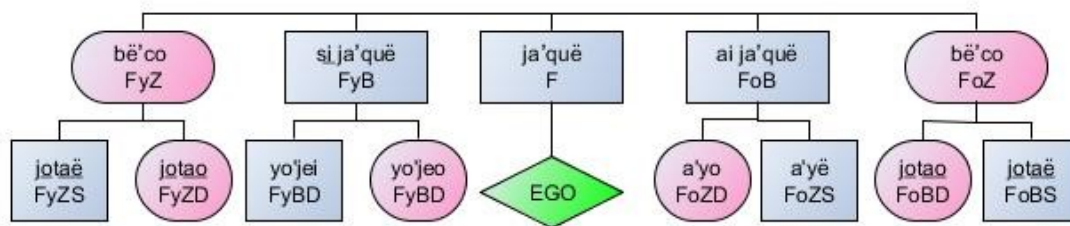
When we have a closer look at this second possibility, the merging of terms from two different generations, leaving aside the lineal distinction, we could assign this structure to the terminology of Crow or Omaha. Important for this classification is the distinction between mother's and father's side (matrilineality or patrilineality). When we have a look back at the realm of 'uncles' and 'aunts' we see that the criterion of parallel sex or cross sex causes a split into a mother's and father's side: there are three

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[32] Note here that this criterion does apply only to the realm of cousins then and that this merging is not present in any other structure in the system.

terms each, which are exclusively used on either side (cf. table 11). Therefore, the classification to the Crow Terminology would be sensible. Nevertheless, the fact of having both terms for 'siblings' and 'nephews' or nieces' occurring on both sides - maternal and paternal side – does not contribute to this hypothesis. The distinction is based on the fact of parallelism of the father or mother of the cousin to ego's parents rather than on the distinction of maternality or paternality. In the case of parallelism, the cousin in question is called by the terms for 'siblings', if we have a 'cross aunt' or 'cross uncle', the terms for 'nephew' or 'niece' are applied. Otherwise, in the case of matrilineality, the split between the set of terms for 'siblings' and 'nephews'/'nieces' would be that one set of terms is used for 'cousins' on one's mother's side and the other terms for those on one's father's side (cf. terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt' in table 13).

TABLE 13 *Aunts and uncles: split into maternal and paternal side*

Kin Type	Kin Term	En. Trans- lation	Criteria					
			gen.	sex	lineal	cross sex	rel. age	maternal paternal
FZ	**bë'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	cross	-	**paternal**
FyB	**ai ja'quë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	parallel	older	**paternal**
FoB	**si̱ ja'quë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	parallel	younger	**paternal**
MoZ	**ai ja'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	parallel	older	**maternal**
MyZ	**si̱ ja'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	parallel	younger	**maternal**
MB	**cuë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	cross	-	**maternal**

In summary we can say, that the underlying criterion, is the distinction of parallel and cross sex, resulting in a differentiation between maternal and paternal side, exclusively in the generation directly above ego. Parallelism can either be limited to that generation or be expanded as well to the generation of ego. When expanded to the generation of ego, the criterion of generation does not apply due to the merging of the kin terms for the kin types 'nephews' and 'nieces' with the kin types of 'parallel cousins'. In the second case, 'cousins' are merged with 'siblings', which represents a quite wide spread tendency of many languages (and is also applicable to the Spanish system according to Edmonson; cf. 3.3). Additionally the criterion of relative age is still playing a role. In the realm of aunts and uncles it subdivides the parallel sibling of either father or mother into two differentiated kin types and terms. Logically the relative age criterion

is not in relation to ego, but to ego's parent[33]. When cousins are called by the terms for 'siblings', equally a distinction between 'older' and 'younger' but in reference to ego is made. Hence we have two sets of criteria, first the criterion of colineality which distinguishes the terms from those for 'mother', 'father' etc., although this distinction is revised in parts in the realm of cousins, by applying the same terms as for 'siblings'. The second constits of cross sex, the distinction of sex, relative age, and distinguishes and classifies these resulting categories of collateral kin.

3.5.1.2 Componential Analysis of Terms produced by Marriage (Sototsiaya)

Just as in the section on Componential Analysis of Puerto Bolívar, the second part of the analysis is treating the kin terms and structures produced by marriage. Consequentially the subsystems of 'in-law', 'step-'family hood and 'half-siblings' are examined.

The 'in-law' system can be illustrated the same way as the Puerto Bolívar system, containing the same kin terms for the same kin types and those are summarized again in the following figures 30 and 31 and table 14. The underlying criteria are exactly the same which allows this short representation of this part.

FIGURE 30 *Kin terms for parents and siblings-in-law*

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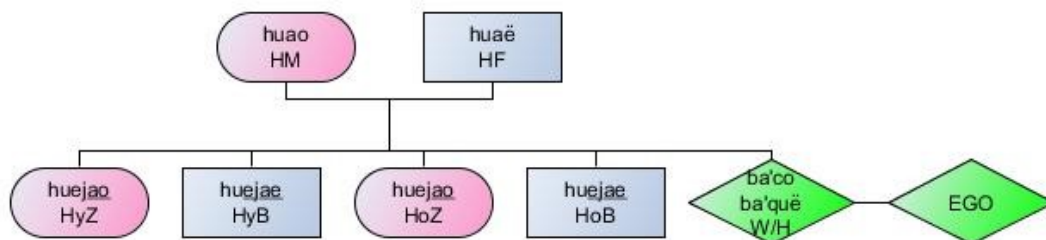
[33] All parent's siblings are older than ego, so consequentially a distinction of older or younger relative in relation to ego would not make sense, and therefore the person related to must be the parent, when using the criterion of relative age.

FIGURE 31 *Kin terms for children-in-law*
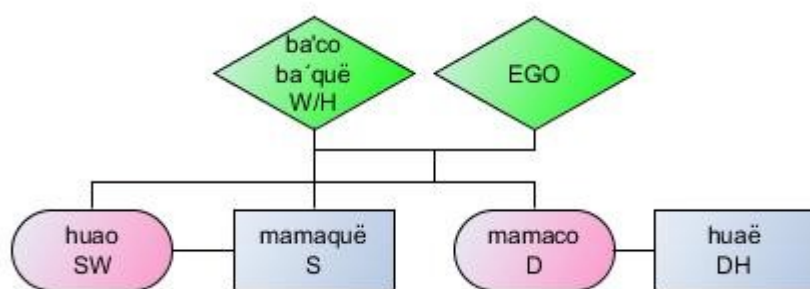
TABLE 14 *The in-law-terms of Sototsiaya*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria		
			generation	sex	(not) affinal
WM,HM SW	**huao**	mother-in-law daughter-in-law	G1	f.	affinal
WF, HF DH	**huaë**	father-in-law son-in-law	G1	m.	affinal
WZ, HZ	**hue<u>ja</u>o**	sister-in-law	G0	f.	affinal
WB, HB	**hue<u>ja</u>ë**	brother-in-law	G0	m.	affinal
SW	**huao**	daughter-in-law	G-1	f.	affinal
DH	**huaë**	son-in-law	G-1	m.	affinal

The more interesting realm is the one of step-relatives as we have few but not too great differences. In the analysis of the system of Puerto Bolívar (cf. 3.4.1.2) we have seen, that in the realm of siblings, half- or step-siblings, we have four different ways to determine these kin types. Firstly to use the same terms as for 'younger'/'older brother' or 'sister'. The other three options are a combination of the words *yë'quë, jobo* and *so'o* with the respective term for 'older'/'younger brother' or 'sister'. The distinction is that besides *so'o,* which is used for both kin types ('step' and 'half-siblings'), *yë'quë* can only be used for not consanguineous siblings ('step-siblings') and *jobo* only for half-consanguineous ones ('half-siblings'). In the system of Sototsiaya we only have two ways to describe these different kin types. These follow the same strategies as in Puerto Bolívar: to just use the terms for 'older'/'younger brother' or 'sister', not making a distinction at all, or the combinational method of combining these terms with the word *yë'quë.* In the latter case there is a marking of difference between 'siblings' (non affinal; consanguineous) and 'other siblings' (affinal; non consanguineous), and the underlying criterion hence is affinity (or consanguineality). In contrast to the

system of Puerto Bolívar, in Sototsiaya both of these cases, the kin types of 'half-siblings' and 'step-siblings' are merged together and referred to by only one kin term marking no difference between consanguineous, half-consanguineous and non-consanguineous kin in this system. The following table illustrates these two different options: the first term representing the usage of the terms for 'siblings' and the second the option of *yë'quë* plus 'sibling' term.

TABLE 15 *Half- and step-sibling terms in Siona of Sototsiaya*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria			
			generation	sex	rel. age	affinality
MHoD, FWoD	**a'yo**	older step-sister	G0	f.	o	-
	ye'quë a'yo					affinal
MHoS, FWoS	**a'yë**	older step-brother	G0	m.	o	--
	ye'quë a'yë					affinal
MHyD, FWyD	**yo'jeo**	younger step-sister	G0	f.	y	-
	ye'quë yo'jeo					affinal
MHyS, FWyS	**yo'jei**	younger step-brother	G0	m.	y	-
	ye'quë yo'jei					affinal
MoD, FoD	**a'yo**	older half-sister	G0	f.	o	-
	ye'quë a'yo					affinal
MoS, FoS	**a'yë**	older half-brother	G0	m.	o	-
	ye'quë a'yë					affinal
MyD, FyD	**yo'jeo**	younger-half sister	G0	f.	y	-
	ye'quë yo'jeo					affinal
MyS, FyS	**yo'jei**	younger half-brother	G0	m.	y	-
	ye'quë yo'jei					affinal

As for the remaining terms of 'stepparents' and 'stepchildren', the distinctions, hence the criteria, and the kin terms are the same as for the system of Puerto Bolívar. For the sake of completeness, table 16 summarizes again the results on these terms:

TABLE 16 *Stepparents and stepchildren in Siona*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria		
			generation	sex	affinal
FW	**aidehua ja'co**	step-mother	G+1	f.	affinal
MH	**aidehua ja'quë**	step-father	G+1	m.	affinal
WD, HD	**aidehua mamaco**	step-daughter	G-1	f.	affinal
WS, HS	**aidehua mamaquë**	step-son	G-1	m.	affinal

The conclusion from this short illustration of kin terms related to marriage is that there is no great difference between the two villages, apart from the missing precise distinction of 'half-' and 'step-siblings'. The next section will focus on the same problematic terms as in the section of Puerto Bolívar (cf. 3.4.1.3).

3.5.1.3 A More Detailed Look at some Terms (Sototsiaya)

In this section, the ostensible synonyms are evaluated again. This includes again the pairs of terms for 'mother' and 'father', 'wife' and 'husband', 'older brother' and 'older sister', and the two classificatory terms for 'child' and 'younger sibling'.

The first interesting point, during the elicitation of the data, was that of the two terms for 'child' and 'younger sibling' as described at the end of section 3.4.1.3 only one (*huau* for 'younger sibling') was found in the system of Sototsiaya (cf. 20140922A-15/16). There are now two possibilities: either there is no term for 'child' or it was not yet elicitated.

Again the distinction between the two terms for 'mother' and 'father' were found and the data shows that the distinction is the same as it is in the Puerto Bolívar system. The terms *ja'co* and *ja'quë* are used for the first and second person, whereas the terms *bëcaco* and *bëcaquë* refer to a third person's mother or father (cf. 20140922B-35/36).

The same is true for the distinction of the kin terms for 'wife' and 'husband'. Both terms are found, nevertheless, the distinction here is the same as with the terms for 'mother'. The speaker clearly states, that the distinction is again in the use for first or second person contrasting with a third not-present person (cf. 20140922B-44). Nevertheless, when elicitated later, this distinction was not made, and might be interpreted thus as a distinction which is at the point of disappearing (cf. 20140922B-55to60).

Another point of interest covers again the terms for 'older brother' and 'older sister'. We have, as mentioned, the contrasting pairs of *a'yo* with *maja'yo* for 'older sisters', and *a'yë* with *maja'yë* for 'older brothers'. In Sototsiaya, each of the two terms can only be applied in one way. The longer version of *maja +a'yo/a'yë* can only be used to refer to someone's 'older brother' or 'older sister', and not for calling a person with this term. Hence when speaking about someone, we use those terms (cf. 20140922B-45/46). If we are speaking to our own 'older brother' or 'older sister', we use the forms

a'yo and *a'yë*. This is quite similar to the difference of use for the terms for 'mother', just that in this case *a'yo* and *a'yë* can only be used in reference to ego. The other terms cover the reference to a second or third person, hence the differentiation between a referential (*maja'yë/maja'yo*) and an addressing purpose of the terms (*a'yo* and *a'yë)*.

After having finished the Componential Analysis of the system of Sototsiaya, the next chapter is again about the classification to kinship terminology based on the newfound results.

3.5.2 Classification of the System of Sototsiaya as a Mixture of the Eskimo and the Iroquois Terminology

As it has become clear through the Componential Analysis of the system of Sototsiaya, it is not as easy to determine the belonging to a certain terminology as it was for the system of Puerto Bolívar. There are three facts that we must consider, which are different to the system of Puerto Bolívar: first, the system of 'aunts' and 'uncles, second, the different possibilities to refer to 'cousins' and third, the merging of the terms for 'parents-in-law' and 'children-in-law', of which latter plays a role in both systems.

Considering the first point, the realm of 'uncles' and 'aunts' has two underlying criteria: cross or parallel sex and relative age. The combination of those two in theory would produce six different kin terms, but as the criterion of relative age does only apply in the case of parallel sex siblings of parents the outcome are four different kin terms. As the parallel-sex distinction is not found in the terminology of Eskimo, a clear correlation to this system is not plausible. This distinction is a general criterion for the Iroquois Terminology. Nevertheless, we do have a distinction between mother and mother's sister, which would not be present in the typical Iroquois systems: the distinction between colineal and lineal kin is a typical distinction in the terminology of Eskimo.

When we have a look at the realm of 'cousins' we have two possibilities. The first is to call 'cousins' by the terms for 'siblings' or a more complex system, in which the parallel or cross sex of the parent of one's cousins plays a role, whether to call the 'cousin' with the same term as for a 'sibling' or with the term for 'nephew' or 'niece'. In the first case, we do have a violation of the criterion distinction between lineality

and colineality, and this would be the only case in the whole system. The latter possibility violates two criteria, on the one hand again the criterion of lineality, just as in the case of 'uncles', and on the other hand the criterion of generation, as the terms for 'nephew' and 'niece' (one generation beneath ego) are used for 'cousins' (same generation as ego). The former criterion is, as already mentioned, a characteristic of the Iroquois Terminology and the latter a trait of the Crow Terminology. Additionally to example of the terms for 'nephew' and 'niece', we already have seen such a merging in the system of Siona, which is even present in both villages: the terms for 'parents-in-law' and the terms for 'children-in-law'. In the latter case, we do have affinal kin types, yet in the former consanguineous kin types are merged.

When we consider the last criterion of relative age, which is not necessarily a feature in either kinship terminology, we can say that even if we leave out this criterion, the distinctive features of parallel versus cross-sex (Iroquois) and the merging of kin types of different generations (Crow) are present and must be considered in the classification to a kinship terminology.

As we cannot clearly assign only one terminology, it becomes a balancing act of assigning the right importance to these different traits. When leaving out the whole system of 'uncles' and 'cousins', we would consider the system as belonging to the Eskimo Terminology. Nevertheless, the criterion of parallelism is important to the whole system yet not completely represented in it, to allow an entire classification to the Iroquois terminology. The merging, as it only occurs twice, once only on affinal kin terms and the second time it may have emerged only by the necessity of kin terms[34], is considered as less decisive for the classification. Therefore, the conclusion of this analysis is a classification to both terminologies: Eskimo and Iroquois. This is also based on the fact of the developments in the system of Puerto Bolívar, which clearly has lost its Iroquois traits and has become a system, which can be entirely and easily classified to the Eskimo terminology.

With this section the Componential Analysis of both villages is finished. As a main conclusion, we saw that both villages, despite the classification to the same language

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[34] This reason is purely assumption of a possible explanation for the use of the terms for 'nephew' and 'niece' and states that the equal usage of these kin terms might not be based on a mental classing of nephews and nieces together with cross-cousins.

variety, do differ in some aspects of the kinship system, which consequentially leads to a classification to different kinship terminologies. The results from this detailed description is the basis for the next chapter, which treats a more recent technique of analysis: Optimality Theory. The underlying constraints found in Componential Analysis are important for the understanding and the application of this theory.

3.6 Application of Optimality Theory to the System of Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya

Optimality Theory, as the second type of analysis in this work was chosen due to its generative approach on the topic. It complements the Componential Analysis as it is basically a hierarchical ranking of the already analyzed constraints, which at the end, viewed in its totality, form a hierarchical system to derive the correct kin terms for each kin type and each kin type grouping. It is based on the generative process which is taking place in the minds of the speakers and which are assumed to be based on universal principles. The description of Optimality Theory applied to Siona, is divided in two subparts. The second treats the structure of 'uncles' and 'aunts', of 'cousins', while the first is an attempt of a more general classification of the whole system. The analysis is not complete, as a description by Jones on the realm of siblings and on other subsections is still in work. Hence, the main focus is to explain certain structures in the system of Siona of Sototsiaya which contrasts with the structures in Puerto Bolívar's system, and to derive a general valid ranking for the whole system from the non-contrasting features.

3.6.1 General Overview of Ruling Constraints and a Basic Ranking of Siona

Doug Jones gives in his article (2003) a good overview of all the constraints, gradients and schemas that are necessary to generate kinship. Figure 32 shows his exact table with the examples given, and summarizes all constraints. It serves as an additional overview apart from the theoretic section in 2.3.4.

FIGURE 32 *Generating kinship: contraints, gradients, and schemas (Jones 2003: 309)*

Generating kinship: constraints, gradients, and schemas

Descriptive constraints	Classificatory constraints and markedness gradients	Constraint schemas or proposed primitives of social cognition
Distinguish lineal and collateral kin (e.g., sibling/cousin; parent/parent's sibling; child/sibling's child)	Collaterals marked (e.g., *No "cousin"* ≥ . *No "sibling"*; *No "sibling's child"* ≥ . *No "child"*)	*Distinguish genealogical distance* (Distant kin marked)
Distinguish adjacent generations (e.g., parent/grandparent; child/grandchild)	Distant generations marked (e.g., *No "grandparent"* ≥ . *No "parent"*)	
Distinguish consanguineal kin and kin by marriage, half-, or step-kin (e.g., aunt/aunt's husband; sibling/step-sibling)	Affines, etc., marked (e.g., *No "aunt's husband"* ≥ . *No "aunt"*)	
Distinguish ascending and descending generations (e.g., grandparent/grandchild)	Descending generations marked (e.g., *No "grandchild"* ≥ . *No "grandparent"*)	*Distinguish social rank* (Low rank marked)
Distinguish senior and junior kin (within generations) (e.g., older sibling/younger sibling)	Junior kin (relative to Ego) marked (e.g., *No "younger sibling"* ≥ . *No "older sibling"*)	
Distinguish male and female kin (e.g., brother/sister; uncle/aunt)	Female kin marked? (e.g., *No "sister"* ≥ . *No "brother"*?)	?[a]
Distinguish maternal and paternal kin (e.g., mother's sister/father's sister)	Cross-kin marked (e.g., *No "father's sister"* ≥ . *No "mother's sister"*)	*Distinguish group membership* (Out-group marked)
Distinguish adjacent patrilines	Maternal patrilines marked	
Distinguish adjacent matrilines	Paternal matrilines marked	

[a] Greenberg suggests that female kin might be generally marked relative to male kin, but the evidence for such linguistic patriarchy in the domain of kinship is actually weak. Of course, there are reasons unrelated to social rank for distinguishing females and males.

The first column gives an overview of the descriptive constraints; the second contains all classificatory constraints, whereas the third column shows the constraint schemas. The latter, according to Jones, are the most basic distinctions we can make, and which are underlying all other constraints in this table. In other words, all constraints in the left and middle column can be summarized in the concepts of DISTINGUISH GENEALOGICAL DISTANCE, DISTINGUISH SOCIAL RANK, and DISTINGUISH GROUP MEMBERSHIP (cf. Jones 2003: 311).

The first step hence is to have a look back at the underlying constraint in the systems of Siona, and furthermore to consider the situation for each constraint in both villages. This is done by table 17, giving an overview of the evaluation of all constraints, including a separated view on both systems, and doing a generalization for the Siona

system.[35] It is therefore the most basic tool to form a ranking for the whole system of Siona kinship, and the starting point to focus again on the differences, which will be explained in more detail in the second section.

TABLE 17 *Summary of the constraints ruling in both villages*

#	Contraint	Puerto Bolívar	Sototsiaya	General
1	***Distinguish lineal and collateral kin*** (e.g. siblings/cousins; parent/parent's sibling; child/sibling's child)	yes	yes (exception: cousins/ siblings)	yes
2	***Distinguish adjacent generation*** (e.g. parent/grandparent)	yes	yes	yes
3	***Distinguish consanguineal kin from kin by marriage, half- or step-kin*** (e.g. aunt/ aunt's husband; sibling/step-sibling)	yes (exception: possibility of half-/step- sibling = sibling)	yes (exception: possibility of half-/step-sibling = sibling)	yes
4	***Distinguish ascending and descending generations*** (e.g. grandparents/grandchildren)	yes (exception: parents- and children-in-law)	yes (exceptions: parents- and children-in-law; cousin terminology)	yes
5	***Distinguish senior from junior kin (within generations)*** (e.g. older/younger sibling)	yes (only siblings)	yes (siblings, aunts/uncles)	yes
6	***Distinguish female and male kin[36]***	yes	yes	yes
7	***Distinguish maternal and paternal kin*** (e.g. mother's sister/ father's sister)	no	yes (only in the case of uncles and aunts, due to parallel and cross sex)	no
8	***Distinguish adjacent patrilines or matrilines***	no	no	no

After having evaluated each constraint, the next step will be to generate a general ranking of Siona. As we can clearly see in the table it is to be considered equal to the

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[35] Please note that a detailed explanation is not necessary due to the explicit evaluation of each constraint in the section of Componential Analysis for each village. The generalization nevertheless is due to my own weighting of the importance of the differences.

[36] The two classificatory terms for 'child' and 'younger sibling' being not gender specific are not considered important as there are existent kin terms for the female and the male kin type they unite.

system of Puerto Bolívar, as the constraints are the same as for the generalized system. For this purpose the ranking by Jones (2010: 37) for English as an Eskimo kin type, is taken as a starting point to generate a valid ranking for the whole system of Siona:

1. DISTINGUISH GENERATIONS
2. DISTINGUISH DISTANCE
3. MINIMIZE COUSINS
4. DISTINGUISH SEX
5. MINIMIZE PARENT'S SIBLINGS
6. MINIMIZE SIBLINGS
7. DISITNGUISH GRADE
8. DISTINGUISH MATRIKIN

In the English system[37], the genealogical difference, DISTINGUISH GENERATIONS, is on top, and hence eliminates all possible terminologies, which merge two genealogical different kin types in one kin term. This is also the case for Siona (besides the two cases of merging together the kin types of HW with SW and WF with DH, and the usage of terms for 'nephews' in the realm of 'cousins', on latter we will focus again later). The second constraint, DISTINGUISH DISTANCE, eliminates the equation of cousins and siblings. This is also true for the Puerto Bolívar system, but not for the system of Sototsiaya, where we do have a merging of these terms, in either of the two possibilities of cousin terminology. Therefore, the ranking of English is only true for the Puerto Bolívar system. The third constraint, MINIMIZE COUSINS, is only partially satisfied (according to Jones) in the English system, as it would be optimal if there was no term at all for cousins (as it is true in the case of Sototsiaya), yet we have a single term for cousin in English. In the system of Puerto Bolívar, we have a distinction of sex, which means, that this third constraint must be put one level beneath the fourth constraint of DISTINGUISH SEX, which produces then two different terms for either 'female cousin' or 'male cousin'. The next constraint MINIMIZE PARENT'S SIBLINGS would also only account for the Puerto Bolívar system, as it distinguishes aunts and uncles only by sex, but not as in Sototsiaya by cross or parallel sex and relative age. The next constraint of MINIMIZE SIBLINGS in the English system is set one level above the constraint DISTINGUISH GRADE, which has as the outcome of there being no distinction between older or younger siblings. For the Siona system, these two have

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[37] It is useful to keep in mind that the English and the Spanish system do not differ besides in the kin terms they use, but definitively not in the kin types they describe. Therefore, the introduction and description of the English system is not only a useful illustration for the English speaking reader, but was also chosen due to the resemblance with the Spanish system.

to be switched, as we do have a distinction of relative age in the realm of siblings. The last constraint DISTINGUISH MATRIKIN is not important to the English or the Puerto Bolívar system, but for the Sototsiaya system. The following ranking is the summary for the village of Puerto Bolívar, differences to the English system are marked by the bold written constraints:

1. DISTINGUISH GENERATIONS
2. DISTINGUISH DISTANCE
3. **DISTINGUISH SEX**
4. **MINIMIZE COUSINS**
5. MINIMIZE PARENT'S SIBLINGS
6. **DISTINGUISH GRADE**
7. **MINIMIZE SIBLINGS**
8. DISTINGUISH MATRIKIN

3.6.2 Special Cases: the Realm of Cousins and Siblings and of Aunts and Uncles

As already indicated and seen in the section of Componential Analysis, the system of Sototsiaya is a bit more complicated, and therefore not that easy to derive from the English system, due to its characteristics of a Iroquois terminology[38] in the realm of cousins and aunts and uncles. Jones, besides the general description, does give a good overview and a detailed explanation on the terminologies of cousins and of aunts and uncles in Optimality Theory (Jones 2003: 324-345). Therefore, this section treats in detail those two subsections of kinship, as an example of the functioning of the theory. Due to its complexity, there is no description of the whole system of Sototsiaya.

In the English system, the following ranking is valid for cousins and siblings (Jones 2003: 310):

1. DISTINGUISH LINEAL AND COLLATERAL KIN
2. NO "COUSIN"
3. DISTINGUISH MALE AND FEMALE KIN
4. NO „SIBLING"
5. DISTINGUISH SENIOR FROM JUNIOR KIN (WITHIN GENERATIONS)

The first constraint prohibits the equation of cousins and siblings, as we have in the English system and the system of Puerto Bolívar. The interaction of the second and

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[38] Please note that Jones does distinguish again between a Dravidian and a Iroquois terminology. These two according to him only differ in "how they extend the parallel/cross distinction to second cousins" (Jones 2003: 336)

the third constraint produce as an outcome a single term for 'cousin'. In the Puerto Bolívar system those two are switched, so we get two different terms for female and male cousins, that are different from the terms for siblings. The constraint of NO "COUSIN" is overridden by the highest ranking of the constraint DISTINGUISH LINEAL AND COLLATERAL KIN, which causes different terms for cousins and siblings, in both system. Yet it still is important to include it in the ranking, as it states, that apart from the differentiation of female and male cousins (in both systems of Siona) all cousins of different grade are to be equated, thus equating or merging of different collateral distances into one group of cousins.[39] The higher ranking of DISTINGUISH MALE AND FEMALE kin to the forth constraint of NO "SIBLINGS" produces two different terms for siblings: 'brother' and 'sister'. It also overrides the lowest ranking of DISTINGUISH SENIOR FROM JUNIOR KIN (WITHIN GENERATION), which has no distinctive terms for younger or older siblings as outcome. In contrast, in the Puerto Bolívar system those two have to be switched to produce the distinction between older and younger kin in the realm of siblings. If we put it even higher in the ranking, we could possibly cause a distinction in the realm of cousins, but this is not the case for Siona. The following list summarizes the ranking of Puerto Bolívar cousins and siblings:

1. DISTINGUISH LINEAL AND COLLATERAL KIN
2. **DISTINGUISH MALE AND FEMALE KIN**
3. **NO „COUSIN"**
4. **DISTINGUISH SENIOR FROM JUNIOR KIN (WITHIN GENERATIONS)**
5. **NO "SIBLINGS"**

In the case of Sototsiaya we have a different pattern. The Componential Analysis showed two different ways of classifying cousins in Sototsiaya. First to treat them like siblings, and second the distinction between children of cross- or parallel-siblings of the parents.

The first possibility is quite easy to describe in a ranking. We just need to consider the constraint of NO "COUSIN" as the most essential one, overruling the distinction between lineal and collateral kin. Therefore, there is no differentiation between cousins and siblings, but other terms of affinal or lineal kin might be distinguished, as for example' aunts' and 'mother'. The rest of the ranking would stay the same:

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[39] Please note that this is a mere assumption of grouping all cousins into one group and is no proven for Siona.

1. NO „COUSIN“
2. DISTINGUISH LINEAL AND COLLATERAL KIN
3. DISTINGUISH MALE AND FEMALE KIN
4. DISTINGUISH SENIOR FROM JUNIOR KIN (WITHIN GENERATIONS)
5. NO "SIBLINGS"

The second possibility is a bit more complicated. The trait of classing together parallel cousins with siblings and distinguishing them from cross cousins (which are in this case merged with the term for 'nephew' and 'niece') is typical to the Iroquois terminology. Jones states that these cases "can be handled in the framework of Optimality Theory by a straightforward extension of the analysis of basic aunt and uncle terminologies" (2003: 336). Subsequently we first have to have a look at the 'uncle' and 'aunt' terminology and the corresponding ranking before we can come back to the point of ranking the cousins in an Iroquois systems like the one of Sototsiaya.

In the case of English and the system of Puerto Bolívar we have the ranking of uncles and aunts as following:

1. DISTINGUISH LINEAL FROM COLLATERAL KIN (*DLin*)
2. NO "PARENT'S SISTER" *(*PZ = *MZ + *FZ)* [40]
3. DISTINGUISH MATERNAL AND PATERNAL KIN (*DBif*)

The first constraint rules out the possibility to use just one term for 'aunts' and 'mother', and respectively for 'father' and 'uncles'. The second constraint says that there is a more prototypical or optimal outcome, either father's sister or mother's sister, to which the other is equated. Important is which of those is put higher in the ranking, *MZ or *FZ, but this is quite irrelevant for the point making. The third constraint yet is important in many systems, as it distinguishes between maternal and paternal kin. As in English and the system of Puerto Bolívar, we do not have this distinction, it is therefore on the last position of the list.

In contrast, in the system of Sototsiaya, this constraint is important. This system is called the "skewed bifurcate collateral pattern" (Jones 2003: 329) and has terms for mother, mother's older sister, mother's younger sister, and father's sister[41]. The

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[40] no parent's sister is the merge of first no mother's sister and second no father's sister; * standing for "No"

[41] and respectively the same distinction for the father's side: father, father's younger brother, father's older brother, and mother's brother

ranking (taken from Jones 2003: 329) is: *(DBif DLin) >> *FZ >>DAge[42] >> *MZ.* Or as represented in the way the other rankings were given for Puerto Bolívar and English:

1. DISTINGUISH LINEAL FROM COLLATERAL KIN (*DLin*)
2. DISTINGUISH MATERNAL AND PATERNAL KIN (*DBif*)
3. NO "FATHER'S SISTER" (**FZ*): NO "FATHER'S YOUNGER SISTER" & NO "FATHER'S OLDER SISTER"
4. DISTINGUISH SENIOR FROM JUNIOR KIN (WITHIN GENERATIONS)
5. NO "MOTHER'S SISTER" (**MZ*): NO "MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER" & NO "MOTHER'S OLDER SISTER"

"The two classificatory constraints **FZ* and **MZ* are expanded into a constraint strata **FZ = (*Fyz *FoZ)* and **MZ = (*MyZ *MoZ)"* (Jones 2003: 330). Important is the third constraint, which rules out the more marked option of cross-sex siblings, before the distinction of relative age. This constraint of NO "FATHER'S SISTER" does also include the opposite of NO "MOTHER'S BROTHER", which is also true for the last ranked constraint of *MZ. For a more detailed analysis, consider the four tableaus given by Jones (2003: 330), in which he exactly explained how the rules rule out the unrealized options and by doing so create exactly the realized terms, as it is the case for Sototsiaya Siona.

Figure 33 gives a summary of all possible aunt terminologies, in which Jones sums up all constraint rankings to generate the respective terms in each terminology.

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[42] Distinguish senior from junior kin (within generation), hence relative to parent

FIGURE 33 *Generating aunt terms - summary (Jones 2003: 332)*

Generating aunt terms

Type	Equations	Constraint ranking
Generational	M = M = FZ	*PZ ≫ (DBif DLin DAge)
Lineal	M MZ = FZ	DLin ≫ *PZ ≫ (DBif DAge)
Bifurcate merging	M = MZ FZ	DBif ≫ *PZ ≫ (DLin DAge)
Bifurcate collateral	M MZ FZ	(DBif DLin) ≫ *PZ ≫ DAge
Relative age	M PoZ PyZ	(DLin DAge) ≫ *PZ ≫ DBif
Skewed bifurcate collateral	M MoZ MyZ FZ	(DBif DLin) ≫* FZ ≫ DAge ≫ *MZ
Age-differentiated bifurcate collateral	M MoZ MyZ FoZ FyZ	(DBif DLin DAge) ≫ *PZ

Kin type abbreviations:

M	Mother
Z	Sister
F	Father
oZ	Older sister
P	Parent
yZ	Younger sister

Descriptive constraints:

DBif	*Distinguish maternal and paternal kin*
DLin	*Distinguish lineal and collateral kin*
DAge	*Distinguish senior and junior kin (within generations) relative to parent*

Classificatory constraints:

*FZ = (*FyZ *FoZ)	No "father's sister" stratum equivalent to (No "father's younger sister" No "father's older sister")
*MZ = (*MyZ *MoZ)	No "mother's sister" stratum equivalent to (No "mother's younger sister" No "mother's older sister")
*PZ = (*FZ *MZ)	No "parent's sister" (i.e., No "aunt") stratum equivalent to (No "father's sister" No "mother's sister")

Markedness gradients:

*FZ ≥ . *MZ	Paternal (cross) aunts marked relative to maternal (parallel) aunts
*PyZ = . *PoZ	Parent's older and younger sisters equally marked

The English and the Puerto Bolívar system correspond with the *lineal type* (second in the table) and the system of Sototsiaya with the *skewed bifurcate collateral type* (second to last).

Having finished with the uncle and aunt terminology, consider figure 34 (Jones 2003: 341) on cousin terminology. It is equally a summary of all possible cousin types with the respective ranking of constraints.

FIGURE 34 *Generating cousin terms - summary (Jones 2003: 341)*

Generating cousin terms

Type	Equations	Constraint ranking
Omaha	Patrilineal skew	(*Cousin DPatri) ≫ (DGen DMatri) DLin
Crow	Matrilineal skew	(*Cousin DMatri) ≫ (DGen DPatri) DLin
Dravidian/Iroquis	Sibling = ‖cousin Xcousin	(DPatri DMatri) ≫ (*Cousin DGen) DLin
Sudanese	Sibling ‖cousin Xcousin	(DPatri DMatri DGen) ≫ (DLin)* Cousin
Eskimo	Sibling ‖cousin = Xcousin	DGen DLin*Cousin ≫ (DPatri DMatri)
Hawaiian	Sibling = ‖cousin = X cousin	(DGen *Cousin) ≫ (DLin DPatri DMatri)

Kin type abbreviations:

‖cousin	Parallel cousin	Xcousin	Cross cousin

Descriptive constraints:

DPatri	*Distinguish adjacent patrilines*
DMatri	*Distinguish adjacent matrilines*
DGen	*Distinguish generations*
DLin	*Distinguish lineal and collateral kin*
DLat	*Distinguish matrilateral and patrilateral kin*
	Note: The matrilateral/patrilateral distinction does not distinguish major types listed above but sometimes plays a secondary role in subtypes that draw further distinctions among patrilineages or among matrilineages.

Classificatory constraint:

*Cousin =	No "cousin" stratum equivalent to
(*FZC *MBC *FBC *MZC)	(No "father's sister's child" No "mother's brother's child," etc.)
	Note: The No "cousin" stratum may be split up in mixed cousin terminologies, or terminologies that apply sex or other distinctions to some but not all cousins.

Gradients:

*Cousin ≥ . (*PZ *PB)	Cousin marked relative to aunt and uncle
(DPatri DMatri) ≥ . DLat	Unilinearity more salient than laterality
DGen ≥ . DLin	Generation more salient than lineal/collateral distinction

In the English system and in the system of Puerto Bolívar we have the Eskimo type, exactly as we suspected from the classification to the terminologies in chapter 3.4.2 and which became clear from the detailed look on the ranking in this section on Optimality Theory. As for the system of Sototsiaya, we have a different type of classification: the missing distinction between cousins and siblings in the first possibility to denote cousins would be a trait of the Hawaiian type, whereas the distinction between parallel and cross cousins in the second possibility is an indicator for either Sudanese or Dravidian/Iroquois Terminology. As we have this parallel sex trait twice (also in the terminology of aunts and uncles) in the system of Sototsiaya Siona, the latter is considered more reasonable. It could be considered of the Sudanese type, which has three different terms: one for siblings, one for parallel cousins, and one for cross cousins. However, this is not the case in Sototsiaya Siona, consequentially it is of the Dravidian/Iroquois type, where parallel cousins are lumped together with siblings and distinguished from cross cousins.

After having had a detailed look at the different rankings for aunts, uncles and cousins in the system of Sototsiaya, it became clear, that this system is more complex. In my

opinion, a further analysis of the realm of siblings, considering step- and half-siblings, as well as other realms, is necessary to give a good valid ranking for the whole system. Therefore, it is left for further investigation and elicitations, to find out the more adapt way to denote e.g. cousins and siblings in Sototsiaya, as well as further analysis by Optimality Theory on the missing realms, not described in this work.

Concluding, this chapter on Optimality Theory did show the applicability of this theory to the Siona kinship system, as well as the usefulness to combine it with Componential Analysis, to obtain a more complex and detailed representation of the mental structures which underlie these classifications. Of course, this is just one of many possible theories on how the mental representation of kinship in the mind of speakers might function. Nevertheless, due to its representability and its simplicity it was chosen for this work.[43]

3.7 Comparison of the two Systems to the Spanish System: Indicators for Language Influence

Finally, after the analysis of kinship in Ecuadorian Siona, with the division into the two villages of Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya, this last section of the work will treat the elaborated differences between the two villages and give a possible explanation for these findings. As already mentioned several times, the assumed reason is the existence of Spanish influence on the Siona language in general and in the case of this work on the kinship systems. The different situations of influence for the two villages, as described earlier at the beginning of the Componential Analysis for each village, are the basis for this statement.

The first section of this chapter again gives a rough overview of the differences between the two systems, which will be seen as indicators for Spanish influence on both systems, but more on the system of Puerto Bolívar as it is more affected by the language contact situation with Spanish.

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[43] For further information on Optimality Theory in the realm of kinship, cf. Jones (2003), Jones (2004) and Jones (2010).

There are four major differences between the system of the two villages. All differences and tendencies have already been mentioned before in this work, nevertheless it is important to sum them up again, to have a good overview before comparing them to the Spanish system and trying to explain the influence of Spanish on Siona.

The first difference concerns the terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt'. In Sototsiaya we have six different terms, due to the constraints of relative age in combination with cross- or parallel sex. In Puerto Bolívar there are only two remaining terms, based on the mere distinction of sex. Table 18 summarizes again the kin terms, with the respective kin types, and the underlying criteria for the distinction of the kin terms.

TABLE 18 *Comparison of terms for uncle and aunt*

Kin Type	Kin Term in Siona	English Translation	Criteria				
SOTOSTIAYA							
			gen.	**sex**	**lineal**	**cross/parallel sex**	**rel. age**
FZ	**bë'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	**cross**	**-**
MoZ	**ai ja'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	**parallel**	**older**
MyZ	**si ja'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	**parallel**	**younger**
MB	**cuë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	**cross**	**-**
FyB	**ai ja'quë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	**parallel**	**older**
FoB	**si ja'quë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	**parallel**	**younger**
PUERTO BOLÍVAR							
MZ/FZ	**bë'co**	aunt	G+1	f.	colineal	-	-
MB/FB	**cuë**	uncle	G+1	m.	colineal	-	-

When comparing the terms and the constraints, it becomes clear that only the cross-sex-terms are those used in the village of Puerto Bolívar. This leads to the assumption that the others went out of use, and the range of meaning of the two remaining terms was widened to cover all male and respectively female siblings of a parent.

The second difference is the one concerned with the different terminologies for cousins (cf. table 19). We have two different ways to determine the children of ego's parent's children in Sototsiaya and one, different to those in Sototsiaya, in Puerto Bolívar. First, we can use different terms for cousins and siblings, as it is the case for Puerto Bolívar

(*mama<u>o</u>/ mama<u>ë</u>*). Second we can call cousins with the same terms as for brothers and sisters (*a'yo/ a'yë/ yo'jeo/ yo'jei*) or third, we have a mixture out of the terms for siblings and for nephews and nieces (*j<u>o</u>tao/ j<u>o</u>taë/ a'yo/ a'yë/ yo'jeo/ yo'jei*). All these possibilities are listed in the table 19, with its underlying constraints[44]. It is important to notice, that the distinction between lineality and colineality is only present in two of these possibilities: first in the use of different terms for 'cousins' and 'siblings', and in the classification of parallel cousins with siblings, considering these as lineal kin, and of cross cousins, hence marked as collateral kin, by using a different term.[45]

TABLE 19 *Three different ways for a terminology of cousins*

#	Kinship Code	English Translation	Term in Siona	Criteria		
	SOTOTSIAYA			rel. age	sex	cross/par. parent
1	MBD, MZD, FBD, FZD	female cousin	**a'yo/ yo'jeo**	o/y	f.	-
1	MBS, MZS, FBS, FZS	male cousin	**a'yë/ yo'jei**	o/y	m.	-
2	MBD, FZD	female cousin	**j<u>o</u>tao**	-	f.	cross
2	MoZD, FoBD	female cousin	**a'yo**	older	f.	parallel
2	MyZD, FyBD	female cousin	**yo'jeo**	younger	f.	parallel
2	MBS, FZS	male cousin	**j<u>o</u>taë**	-	m.	cross
2	MoZS, FoBS	male cousin	**a'yë**	older	m.	parallel
2	MyZS, FyBS	male cousin	**yo'jei**	younger	m.	parallel
	PUERTO BOLÍVAR			rel. age	sex	lineality
3	MZD, MBD, FZD, FBS	female cousin	**mama<u>o</u>**	-	f.	colineal
3	MZS, MBS, FZS, FBS	male cousin	**mamaë**	-	m.	colineal

A third topic in the differences between the systems of Sototsiaya and Puerto Bolívar concerns the use of the terms for older siblings *(a'yo/ a'yë* vs. *maja'yo/ maja'yë*). As we have seen there are two possible explanations given by the speakers. First, the

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[44] The constraint of *generation* is left out as it is for all kin types G0.
[45] Please note, that the use of the terms for 'nephew' and 'niece' for 'cross cousins' is also a use of collateral kin terms.

different terms are based on the criteria of reference term, only used to refer to a certain person contrasting with the term being used to call someone not by name but by the appropriate kin term. The second usage is based on the distinction between a more general meaning and the specific denotation of an older or younger sibling.

TABLE 20 *Summary of kin terms referring to kin types by remarriage*

Puerto Bolívar			Sototsiaya		
Kin Type	**English Translation**	**Kin Term in Siona**	**Kin Term in Siona**	**English Translation**	**Kin Type**
FW	step-mother	**aidehua ja'co**	**aidehua ja'co**	step-mother	FW
MH	step-father	**aidehua ja'quë**	**aidehua ja'quë**	step-father	MH
WD, HD	step-daughter	**aidehua mamaco**	**aidehua mamaco**	step-daughter	WD, HD
WS, HS	step-son	**aidehua mamaquë**	**aidehua mamaquë**	step-son	WS, HS
MHoD, FWoD	older step-sister	**so'o a'yo** **ye'quë a'yo**	**a'yo** **ye'quë a'yo**	older step-sister	MHoD, FWoD
MHoS, FWoS	older step-brother	**so'o a'yë** **ye'quë a'yë**	**a'yë** **ye'quë a'yë**	older step-brother	MHoS, FWoS
MHyD, FWyD	younger step-sister	**so'o yo'jeo** **ye'quë yo'jeo**	**yo'jeo** **ye'quë yo'jeo**	younger step-sister	MHyD, FWyD
MHyS, FWyS	younger step-brother	**so'o yo'jei** **ye'quë yo'jei**	**yo'jei** **ye'quë yo'jei**	younger step-brother	MHyS, FWyS
MoD, FoD	older half-sister	**so'o a'yo** **jobo a'yo**	**a'yo** **ye'quë a'yo**	older half-sister	MoD, FoD
MoS, FoS	older half-brother	**so'o a'yë** **jobo a'yë**	**a'yë** **ye'quë a'yë**	older half-brother	MoS, FoS
MyD, FyD	younger-half sister	**so'o yo'jeo** **jobo yo'jeo**	**yo'jeo** **ye'quë yo'jeo**	younger-half sister	MyD, FyD
MyS, FyS	younger half-brother	**so'o yo'jei** **jobo yo'jei**	**yo'jei** **ye'quë yo'jei**	younger half-brother	MyS, FyS

The last aspect is the one of kin terms in relation to marriage. Not just with the modern sight on marriage, divorce and remarriage, but also with the death of a partner, the necessity of determining further kin types, e.g. step-parents, arises. As the description of these terms for the two different villages shows, there are differences between the two systems, and even within the systems themselves. We have quite a few terms that can be use to call those kin types in the same generation as ego as table 20 shows. Within the terms for step-parents and step-children, we only have one possibility. However, it is interesting that when contrasting these to the kin terms in ego's

generation, the first element of the compound is different. In the case of step-parents and –children we have the word *aidehua* collocated before the kin term for 'mother', 'father', 'son' or 'daughter'. In ego's generation this combination is not possible, and three other words may be used: *so'o*, *jobo* or *ye'quë*. The all-important question for further research is therefore, why it is not possible to use *aidehua* as well for the kin terms in ego's generation, which would be supported by the fact of economics of language, which is the principle to use as few different (kin) terms as possible in a system. Three principles underlie this appliancation of these three words. First, to make no difference between half-, step- or siblings at all. Second, to make a difference between consanguineal siblings and not (totally) consanguineal siblings, as we can see in the system of Sotostiaya, where the compound out of the word for 'other' (*yë'quë*) is added to the terms for siblings. The same applies to one of the two possibilities for the Puerto Bolívar system, only with the word *so'o* ('distant') instead of *ye'quë,* which is used for all kin types. The third and last possibility then distinguishes between the non-(fully)-consanguineal kin types, into those being half-consanguineal and totally non-consanguineal. Here the half-consanguineal terms are compounds with the term *jobo* ('half'), and the others are compounds out of the term for siblings and the already mentioned word *yë'quë* ('other').

These quite outstanding differences between the two villages are now constrasted with the structures in the Spanish kinship system (described in 3.3.), and on the resulting basis, assumptions about the influence of Spanish on the language of Siona in reference to its kinship system are made.

3.7.2 Spanish Influence?

Throughout this work it has been mentioned quite a few times, that some phenomena, and especially the difference between the two systems of Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya, might be explainable due to the influence of Spanish to the Siona language. Yet, these assumptions stated before are just theoretic assumptions and not based on any research on the topic. Therefore, it constitutes an interesting aspect for further research to consider in which ways and to which grade Siona is influenced by Spanish. Of course, this is not only interesting in the realm of kinship, but also in many other aspects of the language, and also other native languages should be taken into consideration.

In summary for recall, the facts on which the assumptions of Spanish influence are based are the differences in the location of the two villages, their respective infrastructure, the consideration of access of the Siona people to the nearby Spanish speaking villages and the economic structure. The village of Puerto Bolívar has had always a quite good connection to other villages, due to the river which is used as way of transportation, whereas in Sototsiaya only the recently build bridge has made way for a better way of access to the village now. The people of Puerto Bolívar are working as guides (with canoes) for the tourist in their area, whereas the people in Sototsiaya mostly work for the oil industry.[46]

Therefore, the main assumption here is that people in Puerto Bolívar had over a long time more contact with Spanish speaking people, and have been affected more than the people in Sototsiaya. It is based especially on the most obvious fact, that in Puerto Bolívar most people speak Spanish as a first language and Siona, when learned at all, is learned as a second language. In Sototsiaya it is very important to the people that their children first learn Siona and later Spanish, as it is required for higher education and getting a job, and for their children not being restricted later in life, when they have to leave the village for work or other reasons.

After this short recall of the social situation of the villages, the next section states hypothesis about how the contact to Spanish might have caused changes in the kin system of Puerto Bolívar Siona. This is done by the simple comparison of structures between the two villages' systems and the Spanish.

The first aspect concerns the different terminologies for aunts and uncles. As we saw, the more 'traditional' usage is a differentiation between cross- or parallel-sex of the linking relative with the relative in question, in combination with the feature of relative age (to the linking relative), considering it an Iroquois trait. Puerto Bolívar's system is simpler as it is only based on one constraint, the distinction between female and male sibling of the parents, as in Eskimo terminology. The latter is also the case for the Spanish system, which uses the same distinction. When we consider Sototsiaya the more traditional system, not so much affect by Spanish influence, we could assume

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[46] Please note that this is the view of the author gained during the fieldwork research, and might not represent a correct representation of the situation of the villagers on basis of research. For a more scientific representation, research on the topic should be done and elaborate how the different work situations and access situations are between the two communities, and which influence it has on the speakers' situation.

that this shift from six different terms to only two, is a phenomenon of language contact.[47] In this process four terms (those differentiating between older and younger same-sex siblings of the parents) are given up, and the range of meaning of the remaining two terms for cross-sex (which do not differentiate between older and younger) is widened to cover the kin types, resulting in a mere distinction by sex (female or male).

With this loss of distinction of parallel- or cross-sex and of relative age in the realm of uncles and aunts, a shift within the terminology of cousins is also highly expectable, as the underlying constraints for the distinction, represented by the second possibility in Sototsiaya[48], are not present any more. So at some stage this distinction will become intransparent until fading and being given up. Interesting in our case is, that when contrasting the three different ways to determine cousins, the more traditional ways (in the system of Sototsiaya), do not include a proper or own term for 'cousin' but uses the terms for 'nephew'/'niece' or 'siblings'. Therefore, the system of Puerto Bolívar must have developed two new[49] terms, as it does not use the terms for 'siblings' or 'nephew'/ 'niece', which could be then traced back to the more traditional system of Sototsiaya. As already mentioned, there is also a tendency to call 'cousins' by the terms for 'siblings'. This tendency gives raise to further research, as two possible explanations can be given for this phenomenon. First that the Siona people in Puerto Bolívar did first call 'cousins' by the terms for 'siblings' as in the traditional usage and then later, due to the influence of Spanish developed two new kin terms. This theory could be strengthened by the fact, that in Sototsiaya, as seen, the change of the terminology for cousins (to call them with the terms for 'siblings') is also present. However, why should the cousin terminology then be in the need of two new kin terms to denote cousins? Second, and in my opinion the more plausible explanation, the speakers of Puerto Bolívar, due to the influence of Spanish and hence due to the present distinction of cousins and siblings (constraint of lineality) have developed two new kin terms for 'cousins'. Later, with the tendency of Spanish, or even without it, the speakers changed to equate cousins and siblings. This is supported by the already

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[47] Please note that it could also be a case of simple changing within the system, due to the developments in language to gain simpler categories, rather than language contact. Further research would have to prove the direct influence.

[48] That is the differentiation between cross or parallel parent's siblings' child, and in the latter case, the differentiation of younger or older than ego.

[49] new in the sense of not having been used for other kintypes before

mentioned tendency of Spanish, according to Edmondson (1957: 408), to equate cousins and siblings. Even without the influence of Spanish, in many languages (according to Edmonson) this tendency is possible, as this merging is a representation of social interaction and of the speakers' evaluation and marking of nearness or distance. However further studies will be necessary to determine the correct development of the differences between these two cousin terminologies, and hence to determine the influence Spanish does have or does not have on it.

Also in the realm of siblings there is a notable change which concerns the contrasting kin terms of *maja'yë/ maja'yo* and *a'yë/ a'yo*. As we saw, in Sototsiaya, the difference is between referential and address use. Yet those terms, beside the similar distinction between the terms for 'mother' (*bëcaco* and *ja'co*) and 'father' (*bëcaquë* and *ja'quë*), are the only kin terms based on such a distinction (cf. 20140916-03to25). The terms for 'mother' and 'father' are more based based on the distinction of presence of a person referred to during a conversation (1.PS and 2.PS usage contrasting with 3.PS usage), rather on the mere constraint of referential or address use. In Puerto Bolívar there is a tendency to use the word *a'yo/a'yë* more in a general meaning, according with the extension of meaning of the Spanish word for 'brother' or 'sister' ('hermano'/ 'hermana'). From this usage in Puerto Bolívar we might assume that the distinction as it is common in Sototsiaya was lost or given up[50], and the gap was filled by the criterion of general or more specific meaning, to have a difference between the two terms. This is supported by the two Spanish meanings of the word 'hermano' ('brother'): it has a generic meaning of 'siblings' when used in plural (but also only meaning 'brothers') and the more specific meaning of 'brother' as male sibling. The hypothesis is, that this difference in meaning, between generic and specific, could have been adapted to the distinction of *a'yë/ a'yo* with *maja'yë/ maja'yo*, when the underlying criterion of referential or address use was lost.

The last aspect considered here is the one about the terms for 'half-' and 'step-siblings'. As the data proves, there is only variation in the terms in the same generation as ego, but not in the generations above and beneath ego (stepparents/ stepchildren). The most interesting fact for this section on Spanish influence is the term *jobo* used in Puerto Bolívar, which is definitively not used in Sototsiaya. In Sototsiaya it is more

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[50] the term lost shall implicate that this process was not intentional or at least less intentional as when given up by a group of speaker because they decided to not use the word anymore, e.g. for taboo reasons

common to either make no distinction between siblings and half/step-siblings, or to do so by the usage of the term *yë'quë* ('other'). The usage of *so'o* ('distant') can also be explained reasonably, as it is a synonym for 'other' and the existence for these two terms could be due to a simultaneous application for the concept of 'not (totally) consanguineous siblings'. Yet the usage of *jobo*, which is a literal translation of the Spanish word for 'half', indicates an influence by the Spanish terms for 'half-siblings'. In Spanish half-siblings are, as it is the case in English, called by a compound out of the word for 'half' ('medio' [m.] or 'media' [f.]) and the respective term for siblings ('hermano' or 'hermana'). Another indicator for this influence might be the missing distinction between half- and step-siblings in the system of Sototsiaya, indicating a more recent introduction to the kinship system.

In total, quite a few elements are affected by the shift within the systems of Siona, and those shifts can be explain by the consideration of Spanish influence. Nevertheless, it is important to state again that all these explanations given are only assumptions and a further, more detailed research on the topic might confirm these hypotheses or bring proof against them.

4 Conclusions of the Analysis of Kinship Terms in Ecuadorian Siona

In this work, the first part described the theoretic backgroung necessary to the analysis of kinship terms in Ecuadorian Siona. It included a section of developments in the field of kinship as part of anthropological linguistics, an introduction to the most basic abbreviations and conventionalities to illustrate kinship relations, the summary of the most basic concepts in societies underlying kinship systems and the description of different terminologies, including the Lounsbury reduction rules. Additionally the two chosen techniques of analysis, Componential Analysis and Optimality Theory were presented theoretically.

The second part contains apart from the analysis, a description of the language situation of Siona and its classification to the language family of Tukanoan languages, a chapter on explaining the methodology used during the elicitation of the data, which are the basis for this work, and a short illustration of the Spanish kinship system.

Important about the illustration of Siona as a Tukanoan language is the fact of considering the three variants of Ecuadorian Siona, Columbian Siona and Secoya as a

continuum and Ecuadorian Siona as being in the middle of those two, as does Bruil in her work (2014: 11).

With the Componential Analysis of both villages the differences between the two speaker communities become clear. Sototsiaya is due to its language contact situation to Spanish, seen as the more traditional system, whereas in the system of Puerto Bolívar changes can be noticed. These differences are in particular in the terminology for uncles and aunts, as well as in the terminology for cousins and siblings. The speaker in Puerto Bolívar use a simpler system, only based on the distinction between lineal and collateral kin as well as differentiation between female and male relatives. In Sototsiaya the system is more complex, as it combines, apart from the distinction of female and male referents, the constraints of parallel or cross sex with the distinction of relative age in the realm of uncles and aunts. In the realm of cousins this distinction between cross and parallel uncles and aunts leads to a grouping of parallel cousins with siblings by using the same terms, and therefore differentiating between older and younger referents, whereas cross cousins are grouped alone, and denoted with the terms for nephews and nieces.

Another outcome of Componential Analysis concerns the kin terms for step- and half-siblings. Interesting is the fact of more than one possibility in each community to denote those kin types. The people in Puerto Bolívar have the possibility to differentiate between half- and step-siblings, this is not possible in Sototsiaya. Also of interest in this realm is the usage of the same kin terms for step-parents and step-children, representing a merging of kin types of different generations, which is generally not a constraint present in either system of Siona.

Two more interesting facts emerged in the investigation of Siona kinship. First the classificatory terms of *huao* and *huare*. Latter combines the kin types of son and daughter to the kin type of child, whereas the same occurs with *huao*, uniting the kin types for younger siblings. Notable is the fact that these terms do unite kin types for which Siona has proper kin terms.

Second, the difference between two kin terms for the same kin type. The data gives evidence for three different pairings: first the kin terms for 'mother' and 'father', second for 'wife' and 'husband' and third the kin terms for 'older brother' or 'older sister'. As the analysis showed for the first pair, the distinction concerns the use in

conversation. The first is used to refer to relatives of persons present in the communication situation, and the second term to refer to the relatives of a non-present person. The same distinction is one of the two possibilities for the pair of the kin term for 'husband' and 'wife'. The second possibility is based on semantics, hence one pair does denote the meaning of the English husband or wife, whereas the other kin terms bear the possessive meaning of 'mine' without the use of the noun it is related to. For the third pair of terms referring to 'older brother' or 'older sister', there are also different explanations. In Puerto Bolívar, the distinction is made between a general meaning of 'brother' or 'sister' contrasting with the specific marking of 'older'. In Sototsiaya the distinction of the two terms is based on the constraint of the use as referential or addressing to an older brother or an older sister.

These differences in the systems of Ecuadorian Siona, lead to a different classification to kinship terminologies. The Puerto Bolívar system can be easily classified as an Eskimo type, due to its distinctions between lineal and collateral kin, between generations and between female and male relatives. The only particularity in this system is, also present in the system of Sototsiaya, the distinction between older and younger siblings. Nevertheless, this trait is not relevant for the classification to a certain terminology. The system of Sototsiaya, as explained, has two more underlying criteria, first the distinction of parallel or cross aunts and uncles, and resulting from this distinction, the differentiation of cross and parallel cousins. The second possibility of merging cousins with siblings does indicate a difference to the Eskimo Terminology. Due to the assignment of importance of these traits to the system, the classification of Sototsiaya Siona is a position between the Iroquois and the Eskimo Terminology.

These results from Componential Analysis were taken as a basis for the approach of Optimality Theory. When generalizing the system of Siona by weighing the differences and abstracting the constraints, the Puerto Bolívar system can be considered as a generalized version of Ecuadorian Siona. The chapter on Optimality Theory showed that it is possible to rank the constraints of English and of Puerto Bolívar in a way that these hierarchically ranked constraints produce the exact kin terms for the respective kin types. The analysis for Sototsiaya showed the differences in the realm of cousins and of uncles and aunts, and therefore how the different ranking can produce different outcomes in kin terms. In the case of Sototsiaya Siona, further

research and analysis are needed to do a complete ranking of all ruling constraints for this system.

The last section showed that assumptions about the influence of Spanish can be made by contrasting the two systems and by comparing these differences to the Spanish system. Thus, the generalization of the terms for 'older brother' and 'older sister' are also found in the Spanish system, as well as the tendency to call cousins by the kin terms for siblings. Even the reduction and change in the constraints ruling the terminology of cousins and uncles can be explained by the influence of Spanish. Nevertheless, the different contact situations of Puerto Bolívar and Sototsiaya do play a role. Of course, these entire hypotheses must be proven by further investigations and research on the topic.

List of Abbreviations

B	brother		h	half
C	child		M	mother
D	daughter		m.	male
F	father		o	older
f.	female		P	Parent
G	generation		PS	person
G+1	one generation above ego		S	son
G+2	two generations above ego		st	step
G+3	three generations above ego		y	younger
G0	ego's generation		Z	sister
G-1	one generation beneath ego		1	first
G-2	two generations beneath ego		2	second
G-3	three generations beneath ego		3	third
H	husband		*	No

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A. Appendix

A.1. Tables of sources

TABLE 21 *Basic terms of Puerto Bolívar (Chapter 3.4.1.1)*

English Term	Kinship Code	Term in Siona	Source of Data
mother	M	**ja'co**	20140818A-01 20140819-02 20140819-79/84/85 20140915B-02
father	F	**ja'quë**	20140818A-02 20140819-01 20140819-78/86/87 20140915B-01
daughter	D	**mamaco**	20140816-04 20140818A-22 20140819-05 20140915B-10
son	S	**mamaquë**	20140816-03 20140818A-23 20140819-04 20140915B-11
child	C	**huare**	20140816-05 20140818A-13/14 20140818A-26/27 20140915A-03
older sister	oZ	**a'yo**	20140818A-07/10/28 20140914-14 20140819-08/19/90
		maja'yo	20140915B-16
older brother	oB	**a'yë**	20140818A-05/09/30 20140914-13 20140819-09/20/88/89
		maja'yë	20140915B-17
younger sister	yZ	**yo'jeo**	20140818A-08/12/29 20140914-12 20140819-21/92 20140915B-15
younger brother	yB	**yo'jei**	20140818A-06/11/31 20140914-11 20140819-10

			20140819-22/81 20140915B-14
younger sibling	yZ+yB	**huau**	20140914-10/11/12 20140914-10/11/12 20140819-21/22 20140915B-26
grandmother	MM/ FM	**ñi'co**	20140816-23 20140914-17 20140819-23 20140915B-05/38
grandfather	MF/ FF	**ñi'quë**	20140816-24 20140914-17 20140819-24 20140915B-06
granddaughter	DD/ SD	**naj<u>eo</u>**	20140816-07 20140914-31 20140915A-31 20140819-47 20140915B-45
grandson	DS/ SS	**naj<u>ei</u>**	20140816-08 20140914-30 20140915A-31 20140819-46 20140915B-44
niece	ZD/ BD	**jo't<u>ao</u>**	20140818B-17 20140819-02 20140914-09 20140915A-30 20140819-16/18 20140915B-21
nephew	ZS/ BS	**jo't<u>aë</u>**	20140818B-16 20140819-01 20140914-09 20140915A-30 20140819-15/17 20140915B-20
great-grandmother	MMM/ etc.	**ai se ñi'co**	20140816-25 20140820-01/04 20140914-45 20140819-75 20140915B-40
great-grandfather	FFF/ etc.	**ai se ñi'quë**	20140816-26 20140820-02/03 20140914-45 20140819-74
great-granddaughter	SSD/SDD etc.	**ai se naj<u>eo</u>**	20140915A-32
great-grandson	SSS/ SDS etc.	**ai se naj<u>ei</u>**	20140915A-32

wife	W	**dëjo**	20140816-02 20140914-03/08 20140915B-04
husband	H	**ëjë**	20140816-01 20140914-03/08 20140915B-05
mother-in-law	WM/ HM	**huao**	20140819-05 20140915A-35 20140915B-09
father-in-law	WF/ HF	**huaë**	20140819-06 20140915A-35 20140915B-08 20140916-55
sister-in-law	WoZ/ WyZ HoZ/ HyZ	**huejao**	20140819-04 20140914-01 20140819-13 20140915B-19
brother-in-law	WoB/ WyB HoB/ HB	**huejae**	20140819-03 20140914-02 20140819-12 20140915B-18
daughter-in-law	SW	**huao**	20140818B-18 20140819-09 20140819-07 20140915B-48 20140916-53
son-in-law	DH	**huaë**	20140818B-19 20140819-08 20140819-06 20140915B-47 20140916-52
stepmother	stM	**aidehua ja'co**	20140816-20 20140820-10 20140819-65 20140915B-51
stepfather	stF	**aidehua ja'quë**	20140816-19 20140820-09 20140819-64 20140915B-50
older stepsister	ostZ	1. **so'o a'yo** (distant) 2. **yequë a'yo** (other) 3. **a'yo**	1. 20140820-14 2. 20140816-16 3. 20140819-67 20140915B-53
older stepbrother	ystZ	1. **so'o a'yë** 2. **yequë a'yë** 3. **a'yë**	1. 20140820-1 2. 20140816-15 3. 20140819-66 20140915B-52
younger stepsister	ostB	1. **so'o yo'jeo**	1. 20140816-16

		2. yequë yo'jeo 3. yo'jeo	20140820-13 2. 20140616-18 3. 20140915B-53
younger stepbrother	ystB	1. so'o yo'jei 2. yequë yo'jei 3. yo'jei	1. 20140816-15 20140820-12 2. 20140816-17 3. 20140915B-53
stepdaughter	stD	aidehua mamaco	20140816-14 20140820-16 20140916-01
stepson	stS	aidehua mamaquë	20140816-13 20140820-15 20140916-02
half-sister	hZ	jobo + a'yo / yo'jeo so'o + a'yo/ yo'jeo	20140816-22 20140820-29/31 20140915B-55
half-brother	hB	jobo + a'yë/ yo'jei so'o + a'yë/ yo'jei	20140816-21 20140820-28/30 20140915B-54

TABLE 22 *Terms in discussion - Puerto Bolívar (Chapter 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.3)*

English Term	Kinship Code	Term in Siona	Source of Data
mother	M	bëcaco	20140818A-20;25-30 20140820-26/27 20140819-80/81/83 20140915B-36
father	F	bëcaquë	20140820-32 20140819-80/82/83 20140915B-36
older brother older sister	oB oZ	a'yë vs. maja'yë a'yo vs. maja'yo	20140820-23/24 20140914-15/16 20140915A-09 20140915A-21/22/23/24 20140915A-25/26/27/29 20140915B-34 20140916-07/08/09/10 20140916-11/12/13/14 20140916-29/31
aunt	MoB/ MyB/ FoB/ FyB	bë'co	20140816-28 20140818B-1/2/3/6/7 20140915A-01 20140819-48/51

			20140915B-24/42/43 20140916-21
	MoB/ MyB/ FoB/ FyB	**si̱ ja'co**	20140818B-10 20140914-22 20140819-33
	FoZ	**ai ja'co**	20140914-22 20140818B-04/05/08/09 20140819-31
uncle	MoZ/ MyZ/ FoZ/ FyZ	**cuë**	20140816-27 20140915A-01/20 20140819-49/50/63 20140915B-23/42/43 20140916-19/20
	FyB	**si̱ ja'quë**	20140818B-10 20140914-21/22 20140819-32/62
	FoB	**ai ja'quë**	20140914-20/22 20140819-30/61
female cousin	MBD, MZD FBD, FZD	**mama̱o**	20140816-30 20140818B-14/15
		a'yë/ yo'jei	20140819-41 20140915B-28/30
male cousin	MBS, MZS FBS, FZS	**mama̱ë**	20140816-29 20140818B-11/12
		a'yo/ yo'jeo	20140819-40 20140915B-27/29
wife	W	**dëjo̱ /ba'co**	20140914-03/04/05/06 20140914-08 20140819-03 20140915B-04 20140915B-33
husband	H	**ëjë̱/ ba'quë**	20140914-03/04/05/06 20140914-08 20140915B-03 20140915B-33

TABLE 23 *Basic terms of Sototsiaya (Chapter 3.5.1.1)*

English Term	Kinship Code	Term in Siona	Source of Data
mother	M	**ja'co**	20140922A-29

father	F	**ja'quë**	20140922A-30
daughter	D	**mamaco**	20140922A-03
son	S	**mamaquë**	20140922A-04
child	*C*	***huare***	*not found*
older sister	oZ	**a'yo** **maja'yo**	20140922A-13
older brother	oB	**a'yë** **maja'yë**	20140922A-14
younger sister	yZ	**yo'jeo**	20140922A-16/22
younger brother	yB	**yo'jei**	20140922A-15/21
younger sibling	yZ+yB	**huau/ huao**	20140922A-15/16
grandmother	MM/ FM	**ñi'co**	20140922A-41/43 20140922B-29/30
grandfather	MF/ FF	**ñi'quë**	20140922A-42/44 20140922B-31/32
granddaughter	DD/ SD	**naj<u>ei</u>**	20140922A-08
grandson	DS/ SS	**naj<u>eo</u>**	20140922A-07
niece	ZD/ BD	**j<u>ota</u>o**	20140922A-25/33 20140922B-21/22/23/24
nephew	ZS/ BS	**j<u>ota</u>ë**	20140922A-26/32 20140922B-21/22/23/24
great-grandmother	MMM/ etc.	**ai se ñi'co**	20140922A-45/47 20140922B-34
great-grandfather	FFF/ etc.	**ai se ñi'quë**	20140922A-46/47 20140922B-33
great-granddaughter	SSD/SDD etc.	**se naj<u>eo</u>**	20140922A-12
great-grandson	SSS/ SDS etc.	**se naj<u>ei</u>**	20140922A-11
aunt	FoZ, FyZ	**bë'co**	20140922A-36
	MyZ	**s<u>i</u> ja'co**	20140922A-35
	MoZ	**ai ja'co**	20140922A-34
uncle	MoB, MyB	**c<u>uë</u>**	20140922A-39
	FyB	**s<u>i</u> ja'quë**	20140922A-38
	FoB	**ai ja'quë**	20140922A-37
wife	W	**ba'co**	20140922A-01 20140922B-58/59
husband	H	**ba'quë**	20140922A-02 20140922B-55/56
mother-in-law	WM/ HM	**huao**	20140922B-07
father-in-law	WF/ HF	**huaë**	20140922B-08
sister-in-law	WoZ/ WyZ HoZ/ HyZ	**huej<u>ao</u>**	20140922A-24/48
brother-in-law	WoB/ WyB	**hu<u>e</u>jae**	20140922A-23/49

		HoB/ HB	
daughter-in-law	SW	**huao**	20140922A-05
son-in-law	DH	**huaë**	20140922A-06
stepmother	stM	**aidehua ja'co**	20140922B-05
stepfather	stF	**aidehua ja'quë**	20140922B-06
older stepsister	ostZ	1. **yequë a'yo** 2. **a'yo**	20140922B-03
younger stepsister	ystZ	1. **yequë a'yë** 2. **a'yë**	20140922B-01
older stepbrother	ostB	1. **yequë yo'jeo** 2. **yo'jeo**	20140922B-04
younger stepbrother	ystB	1. **yequë yo'jei** 2. **yo'jei**	20140922B-02
half-sister	hZ	**yë'quë + a'yo / yo'jeo**	20140922B-09/10
half-brother	hB	**yë'quë + a'yë/ yo'jei**	20140922B-11/12

TABLE 24 *Terms in discussion - Sototsiaya (Chapter 3.5.1.2 and 3.5.1.3)*

English Term	**Kinship Code**	**Term in Siona**	**Source of Data**
mother	M	**bëcaco**	20140922B-35/36 20140922B-37/38/39
father	F	**bëcaquë**	20140922B-40/41/42
older brother older sister	oB oZ	**a'yë vs. maja'yë** **a'yo vs. maja'yo**	20140922A-17/18/19/20 20140922B-45/46
female cousin	MBD, MZD FBD, FZD	**a'yo/ yo'jeo**	20140922A-54
	MBD, FZD	**jo<u>ta</u>o**	20140922B-15
	MoZD, FoBD,	**a'yo**	20140922B-17/18
	MyZD, FyBD,	**yo'jeo**	20140922B-19/20
male cousin	MBS, MZS FBS, FZS	**a'yë/ yo'jei**	20140922A-53
	MBS, FZS	**jo<u>ta</u>ë**	20140922B-15
	MoZS, FoBS	**a'yë**	20140922B-17/18
	MyZS, FyBS	**yo'jei**	20140922B-19/20
wife	W	**dëj<u>o</u> /ba'co**	20140922B-44 20140922B-55/56/57
husband	H	**ëjë/ ba'quë**	20140922B-43 20140922B-58/59/60

A.2. Tables of elicitation sessions

TABLE 25 *Session 1 - 16.08.2014 LC*

	16.08.2014 LC[51] - citation form: 20140816-XX[52]		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	esposo	husband	ë‿jë‿[53]
2	esposa	wife	dë‿jo‿
3	hijo *(de otra persona)*[54]	son *(of sb. else)*	mamaquë
4	hija *(de otra persona)*	daughter *(of sb. else)*	mamaco
5	(mi)[55] hijo	(my) son	huare
	(mi) hija	(my) daughter	huare
6	nieto	grandson	nahe‿i‿
7	nieta	granddaughter	nahe‿o‿
8	esposo de mi hija / hierno	son-in-law	yë mamaco ë‿jë‿
9	esposa de mi hijo/ nuera	daughter-in-law	yë mamaquë dë‿jo‿
10	Gladis es la esposa de mi hijo (Jaime).	Gladis is the wife of my son (Jaime).	GLADIS[56] cato yë mamaquë dë‿jo‿ a.
11	Evelin es la hija de Gladis.	Evelin is Gladis' daughter.	EVELIN cato GLADIS mamacoa.
12	Neimar es el hijo de Gladis.	Neimar is Gladis' son.	NEIMAR cato GLADIS mamaquëabi.
13	hijastro	stepson	**aidehua** mamaquë
14	hijastra	stepdaughter	**aidehua** mamaco
15	hermanastro (V1)	stepbrother (V1)	**so'o** yo'jei[57]
16	hermanastra (V1)	stepsister (V1)	**so'o** yo'jeo

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[51] abbreviation for speaker

[52] XX refers to the number of the elicitation

[53] ‿ shows nasalization of the vowel after which it's collocated

[54] *de otra persona* : Comments in italics and bold are annotations by the speaker

[55] Words in () are not translated into Siona, but were asked.

[56] Names are written in capital letters to show that it is not sure if they are of Siona or of Spanish origin, and the pronunciation of these names was not elicitated.

[57] also with the terms *a'yo* and *a'yë* (for older and younger), only not transcribed

17	hermanastro (V2)/ hermano lejano	stepbrother (V2)	**yequë** yo'jei
18	hermanastra (V2)/ hermana lejana	stepsister (V2)	**yequë** yo'jeo
19	padrastro	stepfather	**aidehua** ja'quë
20	madrastra	stepmother	**aidehua** ja'co
21	medio hermano V1/V2	half-brother V1/V2	so'o yo'jei (alejano: distant) **jobo** yo'jei (medio: half)
22	medio hermana V1/V2	half-sister V1/V2	so'o yo'jeo (alejano: distant) **jobo** yo'jeo (medio: half)
23	abuela	grandmother	ñi_'co
24	abuelo	grandfather	ñi_'quë
25	bisabuela	great-grandmother	**ai se** ñi_'co
26	bisabuelo	great-grandfather	**ai se** ñi_'quë
27	tío [58]	uncle	cu_ë_
28	tía	aunt	bëco
29	primo	(male) cousin	mamaë_
30	prima	(female)cousin	mamao_

TABLE 26 *Session 2 - 18.08.2014 LC*

	18.08.2014 LC – 20140818A-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	Mi madre se llama Angelina.	My mother's name is Angelina. My mother's called Angelina.	yë'ë **ja'co** mami [cato][59] ANGELINA.
2	Mi padre se llama Victoriano.	My father's name is Victoriano.	yë'ë **ja'quë** mami [cato] VICTORIANO.
3	Tu padre se llama German. V1/V2	Your father's name is German. V1/V2	**më_a'quë** mami [cato] GERMAN. (V1)

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[58] Note by speaker: no difference between maternal or paternal (use)

[59] [] shows an optional use of the word

			më_ë ja'quë mami [cato] GERMAN. (V2)[60]
4	Tu madre se llama Guisela. V1/V2	Your mother's name is Gisela. V1/V2	**më_a'co** mami [cato] GUISELA. më_ë ja'co mami [cato] GUISELA. (V2)
5	Mi hermano mayor se llama Rogelio.	My older brother's called Rogelio. My older brother's name is Rogelio.	yë'ë **a'yë** mami cato ROGELIO.
6	Mi hermano menor se llama Sergio.	My younger brother's name is Sergio.	yë'ë **yo'jei** mami cato SERGIO.
7	Mi hermana mayor se llama Rita.	My older sister's name is Rita.	yë'ë **a'yo** mami cato RITA.
8	Mi hermana menor se llama Neli.	My younger sister's name is Neli.	yë'ë **yo'jeo** mami cato NELI.
9	Tu hermano mayor se llama Esteban.	Your older brother's name is Esteban.	më_a'yë mami cato ESTEBAN.
10	Tu hermana mayor se llama Patricia.	Your older sister's name is Patricia.	më_a'yo mami cato PATRICIA.
11	Tu hermano menor se llama Johannes.	Your younger brother's name is Johannes.	më_yo'jei mami cato JOHANES.
12	Tu hermana menor se llama Cristina.	Your younger sister's name is Cristina.	më_yo'jeo mami cato CRISTINA.
13	Mi hijo de llama Jairo.	My son's name is Jairo.	yë'ë huare mami cato JAIRO.
14	Mi hija se llama Merci.	My daughter's name is Merci.	yë'ë huare mami cato MERCI.
15	Mi hijo major se llama Jaime.	My *elder* son's name is Jaime.	yë'ë huare **maja'yë** mami cato JAIME.
16	Mi hijo menor se llama Jairo.	My *younger* son's name is Jairo.	yë'ë huare **yo'jei** mami cato JAIRO.
17	Mi hijo más menor se llama Jairo.	My youngest son's name is Jairo.	yë'ë huare **yo'jeireba** mami cato JAIRO.
18	Mi hijo Galo es menor de Jaime. Jairo es menor de Galo.	My son Galo is younger than Jaime. Jairo is younger than Galo.	yë'ë huare GALO cato JAIME yo'jeibi. JAIRO cato GALO yo'jeibi.
19	Mi hija mayor se llama Carola.	My *elder* / eldest daughter's name is Carola.	yë'ë huare **maja'yo[reba]**mami cato CAROLA.
20	Mi hija menor se llama Nalleli.	My *younger* / youngest daughter's name is Nalleli.	yë'ë huare **yo'jeo** mami cato NALLELI.
21	Mi hija la más menor/la última se llama Nalleli.	My last/ youngest daughter's name is Nalleli.	yë'ë huare **yo'jeoreba** mami cato NALLELI.
22	Mi hija se llama Dora.	My daughter's name is Dora.	yë'ë mamaco mami cato DORA.
23	Mi hijo se llama Galo.	My son's name is Galo.	yë'ë mamaquë mami cato GALO.
24	Mi hija [lo más] menor se llama Nalleli.	My younger [youngest] daughter's name is Nalleli.	yë'ë mamaco **yo'jeo[reba]** mami cato NALLELI.
25	Mi hijo [lo más] menor se llama Jairo.	My younger [youngest] son's name is Jairo.	yë'ë mamaquë **yo'jei[reba]** mami cato JAIRO.

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[60] Assimilation of <yë'ë> + noun not possible, with exception of the 2.PS.SG

26	Tu hijo se llama Rolando. (V1/V2)	Your son's name is Rolando.	më_ **huare** mami cato ROLANDO. (V1) më_ **mamaquë** mami cato ROLANDO. (V2)
27	Tu hija se llama Leine. (V1/V2)	Your daughter's name is Leine.	më_ **huare** mami cato LEINE. (V1) më_ **mamaco** mami cato LEINE. (V2)
28	Mis hermanas mayores se llaman Rita y Patricia.	My older sisters' names are Rita and Patricia.	yë'ë **a'yo dohuë** mami cato RITA gu_i'ne PATRICIA.
29	Mis hermanas menores se llaman Neli y Cristina.	My younger sisters' names are Neli and Cristina.	yë'ë **yo'jeo dohuë** mami cato NELI gui'ne CRISTINA.
30	Mis hermanos mayores se llaman Rogelio y Julio.	My older brothers' names are Rogelio and Julio.	yë'ë **a'yë dohuë** mami carto ROGELIO gui'ne JULIO.
31	Mis hermanos menores se llaman Sergio y Venancio.	My younger brothers' names are Sergio and Venancio.	yë'ë **yo'jei dohuë** mami cato SERGIO gui'ne VENANCIO.
32	Mis hijos (solo varónes) se llaman Jaime, Galo y Jairo.	My sons' names are Jaime, Galo and Jairo.	yë'ë **mamaquë dohuë** mami cato JAIME gui'ne GALO gui'ne JAIRO.
33	Mis hijas (solo mujeres) se llaman Leine, Merci y Dora.	My daughters' names are Leine, Merci and Dora.	yë'ë **mamaco dohuë** mami cato LEINE gui'ne MERCI gui'ne DORA.
34	Mis hijos (hijos y hijas) se llaman Jaime, Dora y Nalleli.	My children's names are Jaime, Dora and Nalleli.	yë'ë **mama'jë_**[61]mami cato JAIME, DORA gui'ne NALLELI.

TABLE 27 *Session 3 - 18.08.2014 LC*

	18.08.2014 LC - 20140818B-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	La hermana (mayor) de mi madre es mi tía.	My mother's (older) sister is my aunt.	ja'co **majayo** cato yë'ë **bë'coa.**
2	La hermana menor de mi madre es mi tía.	My mother's younger sister is my aunt.	ja'co yo'jeo cato yë'ë **bë'coa.**
3	La hermana mayor de mi madre es mi tía.	My mother's older sister is my aunt.	ja'co majayo cato yë'ë **bë'coa.** = #1
4	El hermano menor de mi madre es mi tío.	My mother's younger brother is my uncle.	ja'co yo'jei cato yë'ë **gu_ë_a_bi.**

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[61] <jë> *signifying as much as "many/much" according to speaker*

5	El hermano mayor de mi madre es mi tío.[62]	My mother's older brother is my uncle.	ja'co **maja'yë** cato yë'ë **gu_ë_a_bi.**
6	La hermana menor de mi padre es mi tía.	My father's younger sister is my aunt.	ja'quë yo'jeo cato yë'ë **bë'coa**.
7	La hermana mayor de mi padre es mi tía.	My father's older sister is my aunt.	ja'quë maja'yo cato yë'ë **bë'coa**.
8	El hermano mayor de mi padre es mi tío.	My father's older brother is my uncle.	ja'quë maja'yë cato yë'ë **gu_ë_a_bi.**
9	El hermano menor de mi padre es mi tío.	My father's younger brother is my uncle.	ja'quë yo'jei cato yë'ë **gu_ë_a_bi.**
10	tió tía	uncle aunt	si_ja'quë si_ja'co
11	El hijo del hermano menor de mi padre (tío) es mi primo.	The son of my father's younger brother is my cousin.	ja'quë yo'jei mamaquë cato yë'ë **mamaë_bi.**
12	El hijo del hermano mayor de mi padre(tío) es mi primo.	The son of my father's older brother is my cousin.	ja'quë maja'yë mamaquë cato yë'ë **mamaë_bi**.
13	primo mayor/menor (que hablante)	older/younger cousin (than speaker)	mamaë_
14	La hija de la hermana menor de mi padre es mi prima.	The daughter of my father's younger sister is my cousin.	ja'quë maja'yo mamaco cato yë'ë **mamao_**.
15	La hija de la hermana mayor de mi padre es mi prima.	The daughter of my father's older sister is my cousin.	ja'quë yo'jeo mamaco cato yë'ë **mamao_**.
16	sobrino (hijo de hermano/a)	nephew (son of brother/sister)	jo_taë_
17	sobrina (hijo de hermano/a)	niece (son of brother/sister)	jo_tao_
18	nuera	daughter-in-law	huao
19	hierno	son-in-law	huaë

TABLE 28 *Session 4 - 19.08.2024 LC*

	19.08.2014 LC – 20140819A-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	El hijo de mi hermana mayor es mi sobrino.[63]	My older sister's son is my nephew.	a'yo mamaquë cato yë'ë **jo_taëbi**.
2	La hija de mi hermano mayor es mi sobrina.	My older brother's daughter is my niece.	a'yë mamaco cato yë'ë **jo_tao**.

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[62] No difference between parternal or maternal side: same terms (annotation by speaker)

[63] No difference if it's the brother's or sister's child, neither if it's older or younger brother/sister (annotation by speaker)

3	El marido de mi hermana (mayor) es mi cuñado.[64]	My (older) sister's husband is my brother-in-law.	a'yo ë_jë_ cato yë'ë **hue_ja_ebi**.
4	La esposa de mi hermano es mi cuñada.	My brother's wife is my sister-in-law.	a'yë dë_jo_ cato yë'ë **hue_jo_a**.
5	La madre de mi esposa es mi suegra.	My wife's mother is my mother-in-law.	yë'ë dë_jo_ bë'caco cato yë'ë **huao**.
6	El padre de mi esposa es mi suegro.	My wife's father is my father-in-law.	yë'ë ë_jë_ bë'caquë cato yë'ë **huaëbi**.
7	La hija de mi primo es mi „sobrina"[65]	My cousin's (male) son is my "niece".	? *the speaker didn't know.*
8	El esposo de mi hija es mi hierno.	My daughter's husband is my son-in-law.	yë'ë mamaco ë_jë_ cato yë'ë **huaëbi**.
9	La esposa de mi hijo es mi nuera.	My son's wife is my daughter-in-law.	yë'ë mamaquë dë_jo_ cato yë'ë **huao**.
10	El esposo de mi tía es mi ,tío'.	My aunt's husband is my 'uncle'.	yë'ë bë'co ë_jë_ cato yë'ë **gu_ë_abi**.
11	La esposa de mi tío es mi ,tía'.	My uncle's wife is my 'aunt'.	yë'ë gu_ë_ dë_jo_ cato yë'ë **bë'coa**.
12	El hermano de mi abuela (es mi …).[66]	My grandmother's brother (is my ….).	yë'ë ñico yo'jeibi
13	El marido de mi prima es mi "primo".	My cousin's (female) husband is my "cousin".	yë'ë mamao_ ë_jë_ cato yë'ë **mamaë_bi.**
14	La esposa de mi primo es mi "prima".	My cousin's (male) wife is my "cousin".	yë'ë mamaë_ dë_jo_ cato yë'ë **mamao_**.
15	(La hija de mi cuñada es mi) „sobrina".	(My sister-in-law's daughter is my) "niece".	jo_tao
16	(El hijo de mi cuñada es mi) „sobrino".	(My sister-in-law's son is my) "nephew".	jo_taë
17	El hijo de mi cuñado es mi „sobrino".	My brother-in-law's son is my "nephew".	yë'ë huë_ja_ë_ mamaquë cato yë'ë **jo_taëbi.**
18	La hija de mi cuñada es mi „sobrina".	My sister-in-law's daughter is my "niece".	yë'ë hue_jo_ mamaco cato yë'ë **jo_tao**.

TABLE 29 *Session 5 - 19.08.2014 RY*

	19.08.2014 RY – 20140819B-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	mi padre	my father	yë'ë ja'quë
2	mi madre	my mother	yë'ë ja'co
3	mi esposa	mi wife	yë'ë baco
4	mi hijo	mi son	yë'ë mamaquë

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[64] <a'yo> also for just expressing „sister" without specifying if it's the older or younger sister (annotation by speaker)

[65] „" meaning here, that it doesn't have to be the correct term in Spanish (here the correct term being "sobrinos de segundo grado")

[66] There is no term for that in Siona.

5	mi hija	mi daughter	yë'ë mamaco
6	mi hierno	mi son-in-law	yë'ë huaë
7	mi nuera	my daughter-in-law	yë'ë huao
8	hermana mayor	older sister	a'yo
9	hermana menor	younger sister	a'yë
10	mi hermano menor	my younger brother	yë'ë yo'jei
11	hermana política = hermana de cuñado	sister-in-law = brother-in-law's sister	so'o a'yo
12	cuñado (esposo de hermana)	brother-in-law (sister's husband)	huë_ja_ë_
13	cuñada (esposa de hermano)	sister-in-law (brother's wife)	huë_ja_o_
14	hermano de cuñada (= 'sobrino')	sister-in-law's brother ('nephew')	jo'taë
15	hijo de hermana y cuñado = sobrino	sister's and brother-in-law's son = nephew	jo'taë
16	hija de hermana y cuñado = sobrina	sister's and brother-in-law's daughter = niece	jo'tao
17	hijo de hermano y cuñada = sobrino	brother's and sister-in-law's son = nephew	jo'taë
18	hija de hermano y cuñada = sobrina	brother's and sister-in-law's daughter = niece	jo'tao
19	hermana: mayor/ general	sister: older/general	a'yo
20	hermano: mayor/ general	brother: older/ general	a'yë
21	hermana menor	younger sister	yo'jeo/ hoau
22	hermano menor	younger brother	yo'jei/ hoau
23	abuela (maternal/paternal)	grandmother (maternal/paternal)	ñico
24	abuelo (maternal/paternal)	grandfather (maternal/ paternal)	ñiquë
25	hermano mayor del abuelo	grandfather's older brother	ai ñiquë
26	hermano menor del abuelo	grandfather's younger brother	ai ñiquë
27	hermana (mayor/menor) del abuelo	grandfather's (older/younger) sister	ai ñico
28	hermana (mayor/menor) de la abuela	grandmother's (older/younger) sister	ai ñico
29	hermano (mayor/menor) de la abuela	grandmother's (older/younger) brother	ai ñiquë
30	hermano mayor del padre (tío)	father's older brother (uncle)	ai ja'quë / a'yë
31	hermana mayor del padre (tía)	father's older sister (aunt)	ai ja'co/ a'yo
32	hermano menor del padre (tío)	father's younger brother (uncle)	si_ ja'quë/ yo'jei
33	hermana menor del padre (tía)	father's younger sister (aunt)	si_ ja'co/ yo'jeo

34	esposa del 'tío' (hermano mayor del padre)	'uncle's' wife (father's older brother)	bë'co/ ai ja'co/ a'yo
35	esposo de la 'tía' (hermana mayor padre)	'aunt's husband (father's older sister)	cu_ë_/ ai ja'quë/ a'yë
36	esposa del 'tío' (hermano menor del padre)	'uncle's' wife (father's younger brother)	si_ ja'co/ bë'co/ yo'jeo
37	esposo de la 'tía' (hermana menor padre)	'aunt's' husband (father's younger sister)	si_ ja'quë/ cu_ë_ / yo'jei
38	also: esposo de tía (maternal/paternal)	also: aunt's husband (maternal/paternal)	yë jo'a_ë_
39	also: esposa de tío(maternal/paternal)	also: uncle's wife (maternal/paternal)	yë jo'a_o_
40	hijo de tío/ tía = primo	uncle's/ aunt's son = cousin	a'yë/ye' cu_ë_
41	hija de tío/ tía = prima	uncle's/ aunt's daughter = cousin	a'yo/ye'jeo
42	hijo de prima	cousin's (female) son	jo_ta_ë_
43	hija de prima	cousin's (female) daughter	jo_ta_o_
44	SOBRINA -> EGO[67]	NIECE -> EGO	-> si_ ja'quë
45	PRIMA-> EGO	COUSIN -> EGO	a'yë/ si_ ja'quë
46	hijo de hija y hierno = nieto	daughter's and son-in-law's son = grandson	naje_i_
47	hija de hija y hierno = nieta	daughter's and son-in-law's daughter = granddaughter	naje_o_
48	hermano mayor de la madre (tío)	mother's older brother (uncle)	cu_ë_ / a'yë
49	hermana mayor de la madre (tia)	mother's older sister (aunt)	bëco/ a'yo
50	hermana menor de madre (tía)	mother's younger sister (aunt)	bëco
51	hermano menor de madre (tío)	mother's younger brother (uncle)	cu_ë_
52	esposa de hermano mayor de madre	mother's older brother's wife	bëco/ a'yo
53	esposo de hermana mayor de madre	mother's older sister's husband	cu_ë_ / a'yë
54	hijo de hermano mayor de madre y su esposa = primo	mother's older brother's and his wife's son = cousin (male)	si_ cu_ë_
55	hija de hermano mayor de madre y su esposa = prima	mother's older brother's and his wife's daughter = cousin (female)	si_ ja'co
56	prima política	cousin-in-law (female), cousin's wife	si bë'co
57	'nieto' = hijo de primo/a	cousin's son = 'grandson'	na'je_i_
58	'nieta' = hija de primo/a	cousin's daughter = 'granddaughter'	na'je_o_

[67] Being the term used for the person calling (niece) ego as 'uncle'.

59	primo politico	cousin-in-law (male), cousin's husband	si cu_ë_
60	#57/58 -> EGO	#57/58 -> EGO	ñicuë
61	tío mayor (maternal/paternal)	(maternal/paternal) older uncle	ai ja'quë
62	tío menor (maternal/paternal)	(maternal/paternal) younger uncle	si_ ja'quë
63	tío (general)	(general) uncle	cu_ë_
64	padrastro	stepfather	aidehua ja'quë
65	madrastra	stepmother	aidehua ja'co
66	hermanastro mayor	older stepbrother	a'yë/ aidehua a'yë
67	hermanastra mayor	older stepsister	aidehua a'yo/ a'yo
68	hermanastro menor	younger stepbrother	aidehua yo'jei
69	hermanastra menor	younger stepsister	aidehua yo'jeo
70	hermanastro/a (general) = 'sobrino'	stepbrother/stepsister (in general) = 'nephew'/ 'niece'	aidehua jo_ta_ë_ aidehua jo_ta_o_
71	DIFFERENCIA: a'yo VS. si_ a'yo	DIFFERENCE: a'yo and si_ a'yo	a'yo: for your own, or the person talking to si_ a'yo: for other person, not being present
72	USO DE a'yë/ a'yo	USE OF a'yë/ a'yo	a'yë/ a'yo: also used for brothers, cousins, siblings-in-law and their wifes/husbands
73	USO DE ñico/ ñiquë	USE OF ñico/ ñiquë	ñico/ ñiquë: used for grandparents and great-grandparents
74	bisabuelo	great-grandfather	ai se ñiquë
75	bisabuela	great-grandmother	ai se ñico
76	tía (bis-tía)	aunt (great-aunt)	ai se bëco /ai se ja'co
77	tío (bis-tío)	uncle (great-uncle)	ai se ja'quë /ai se cu_ë_
78	papa	dad	ja'quë
79	mama	mom	ja'co
80	USO DE ja'co/ ja'quë	USE OF ja'co/ ja'quë	ja'co/ ja'quë: used for own and talking between two persons, used with personal pronouns for first and second person (only)
81	madre	mother	bë'caco
82	padre	father	bëcaquë

83	USO DE bë'caco/ bë'caquë	USE OF bë'caco/ bë'caquë	bë'caco/ bë'caquë: for other person(s) not being present in conversation
84	Mi madre está cocinando.	My mother is cooking.	yë'ë **ja'co** coacoco.
85	Mama, venga.	Mother, come here.	**ja'co** daigë'ë.
86	Mi padre está cocinando.	My father is cooking.	yë'ë j**a'quë** coacogi.
87	Padre, venga.	Father, come here.	**ja'quë** daigë'ë.
88	Mi hermano mayor está cocinando.	My older brother is cooking.	yë'ë **a'yë** coacogi.
89	Hermano mayor, venga.	Older brother, come here.	**a'yë** daigë'ë.
90	igual: hermana mayor	same with: older sister	yë'ë **a'yo** coacoco. / **a'yo** daigë'ë.
91	igual: hermano menor	same with: younger brother	yë'ë **yo'jei** coacogi. / **yo'jei** daigë'ë.
92	igual: hermana menor	same with: younger sister	yë'ë **yo'jeo** coacoco. / **yo'jeo** daigë'ë.
93	tío (cualquier), venga.	uncle (any), come here.	**cu_ë_** daigë'ë.
94	tío (padre), venga.	uncle (paternal), come here.	**ai ja'quë** daigë'ë.
95	tío (madre), venga.	uncle (maternal), come here.	**ai cu_ë_** daigë'ë.
96	hermano (llamar)	brother (calling)	a'yë/ si_ a'yë/ jo_ta_ë_

TABLE 30 *Session 6 - 20.08.2014 LC*

	20.08.2014 LC – 20140820-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	La madre de mi abuela es mi bisabuela.	My grandmother's mother is my great-grandmother.	ja'co ñico cato yë'ë **ai se ñicoa**.
2	El padre de mi abuelo es mi bisabuelo.	My grandfather's father is my great-grandfather.	ja'quë ñicuë cato yë'ë **ai se ñicuëabi.**
3	padre de abuela	my grandmother's father (great-grandfather)	**ai se ñicuë**
4	madre de abuelo	my grandfather's mother (great-grandmother)	**ai se ñico**
5	El marido de mi cuñada es mi cuñado.	My sister-in-law's husband is my brother-in-law.	yë'ë hu_e_jo_ ë_jë_ cato yë'ë **hueja_ë_bi.**
6	La esposa de mi cuñado es mi cuñada.	My brother-in-law's wife is my sister-in-law.	yë'ë hueja_ë_ dë_jo_ cato yë'ë **hue_jo_a_.**
7	hermano/a de mi nuera	my daughter-in-law's brother/sister	*No word for it.*

8	hermano/a de mi hierno	my son-in-law's brother/sister	*No word for it.*
9	El nuevo marido de mi madre es mi padrastro.	My mother's new husband is my stepfather.	ja'co huajë ë_jë_ cato yë'ë **aidehua ja'quëbi.**
10	La nueva esposa de mi madre es mi madrastra.	My father's new wife is my stepmother.	ja'quë huajë dë_jo_ cato yë'ë **aidehua ja'coa.**
11	El hijo de mi padrastro es mi hermanastro mayor.	My stepfather's son is my (older) stepbrother.	yë'ë aidehua ja'quë mamaquë cato yë'ë **so'o a'yëabi**.
12	hermanastro menor	younger stepbrother	**so'o yo'jei**
13	hermanastra menor	younger stepsister	**so'o yo'jeo**
14	hermanastra mayor	older stepsister	**so'o a'yo**
15	hijastro	stepson	**aidehua mamaquë**
16	hijastra	stepdaughter	**aidehua mamaco**
17	V2: hermanastro menor	V2: younger stepbrother	**aidehua yo'jei**
18	V2: hermanastra menor	V2: younger stepsister	**aidehua yo'jeo**
19	V2: hermanastra mayor	V2: older stepsister	**aidehua a'yo**
20	V2: hermanastro mayor	V2: older stepbrother	**aidehua maja'yë**
21	lejano	distant	so'o
22	otro	other	ye'quë
23	DIFERENCIA: maja'yë VS. a'yë	Difference: maja'yë VS. a'yë	DIFFERENCE: maja'yë VS. a'yë **maja'yë** = older brother (always OLDER) **a'yë** = (older) brother (but also "brother"), not differencing between older and younger
24	Esteban es mi hermano mayor. (V1/2)	Esteban is my older brother. (V1/2)	V1: Esteban cato yë'ë **maja'yë**. (older brother) V2: Esteban cato yë'ë **a'yë**. (brother)
25	DIFERENCIA: ja'co VS. bë'caco[68]	DIFFERENCE: ja'co VS. bë'caco	DIFFERENCE: ja'co VS. bë'caco bë'caco = mother of other person, not mine (DISTANT) ja'co = my mother (NEAR)

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[68] *ja'co* and *ja'quë* may be used in an dialog between two people talking about their parents, also referring to the other person's parents with the same term. Talking about another person's parent's (not present) the terms *bë'caco* and *bë'caquë* are used. (Annotation by speaker)

26	'madre de otra persona'	'mother of another person, not yours'	bëˈcaco
27	'solo MI madre'	‚your (own) mother'	ja'co
28	El hijo de mi madre y mi padrastro es mi ‚medio hermano'.	My mother's and my stepfather's son is my 'half-brother'.	ja'co gu_ine yë'ë aidehua ja'quë mamaquë cato **jobo yo'jeibi/ jobo a'yë.**
29	La hija de mi madre y de mi padrastro es mi 'media hermana'.	My mother's and my stepfather's daughter is my 'half-sister'.	ja'co gu_ine yë'ë aidehua ja'quë mamaco cato **jobo yo'jeo/ jobo a'yo.**
30	hijo de padre + madrastra	father's + stepmother's son (half-brother)	**jobo yo'jei/ jobo a'yë**
31	hija de padre +madrastra	father's + stepmother's daughter (half-sister)	**jobo yo'jeo/ jobo a'yo**
32	DIFFERENCIA: ja'quë VS. bëˈcaquë	DIFFERENCE: ja'quë VS. bëˈcaquë	DIFFERENCE: ja'quë VS. bëˈcaquë same difference as in "mother"

TABLE 31 *Session 7 - 14.09.2014 LC*

	14.09.2014 LC – 20140914-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	Ortografía correcta de cuñada	right orthography of sister-in-law	hu_e_ja_o_
2	Ortografía correcta de cuñado	right orthography of brother-in-law	hu_e_ja_e_
3	DIFFERENCIA entre 'dë_jo_' y 'baco'	Difference between 'dëjo' and 'baco'	dë_jo_: esposa/wife baco: la mía (esposa), la que tengo/ mine, the one which is mine Only used to replace the terms "husband/wife", not adaptable for e.g. children etc.
4	el mío	mine (male), the one that is mine	baquê
5	el tuyo	yours (male), the one that is yours	mê se_'quê
6	la tuya	yours (female), the one that is yours	mê se_'co
7	suyo/su	his	ja_ê_
8	Diferencia entre uso de 'dë_jo_'/'ë_jë_ ' y 'baco'/'baquë'	Difference between 'dë_jo_'/'ë_jë_ ' and 'baco'/'baquë'	the use of 'dë_jo_'/'ë_jë_' more frequent than of 'baco'/'baquë'
9	Ortografía correcta de sobrino/sobrina	right orthographie of nephew/niece	jo_'taë /jo_'ta_o_
10	hermano/hermana menor	younger sister/ brother	huau

11	hermano menor	younger brother	a. huau b. yo'jei
12	hermana menor	younger sister	a. huau b. yo'jeo
13	hermano mayor	older brother	a'yë
14	hermana mayor	older sister	a'yo
15	hermano (general)	brother (generic term)	a'yë
16	hermana (general)	sister (generic term)	a'yo
17	abuelo/a maternal y paternal	grand-mother/father maternal/paternal side	ñi'co - ñi'cuë
18	a. hermano mayor/menor del abuelo/ de la abuela b. hermana mayor/menor del abuelo/a de la abuela	a. older/younger brother of grandparents b. older/ younger sister of grandparents	a. ai ñi'cuë b. ai ñi'co
19	termino para referirse y hablar de personas ancianas/ mayors	term to refer to or talk about the oldest people	a. ai ñi'cuë b. ai ñi'co
20	hermano mayor del padre	father's older brother	a. ai ja'quë b. a'yë a'yë: because the father calls him like that the children adopt the term
21	hermano menor del padre	father's younger brother	a. si_ ja'quë b. yo'jei yo'jei: because the father calls him like that the children adopt the term
22	a. hermano mayor del padre o de la madre b. hermano menor del padre o de la madre	a. mother's or father's older brother b. mother's or father's younger brother	a. ai ja'quë b. si_ ja'quë
23	a. madre mayor b. padre mayor	a. older mother b. older father	a. ai ja'co b. ai ja'quë
24	a. madre menor b. padre menor	a. younger mother b. younger father	a. si_ ja'co b. si_ ja'quë

25	#23/24 sólo se aplica para referirse/ hablar de los tíos/tías	#23/24: only terms to refer to or talk to aunts and uncles	not used for parents!
26	Diferencia entre 'bë'co', 'ai ja'co' y 'si_ ja'co' lo mismo aplica para los respectivos terminos masculinos	Difference between 'bë'co', 'ai ja'co' and 'si_ ja'co' the same applies to the respective male terms	1. the three terms represent the same position of relative, being MoSi or FaSi (male: MoBr or FaBr) 2. si_ ja'co& ai ja'co: talking about the own relatives 3. bë'co: of another person 4. si_ ja'co& ai ja'co: not being used in Puerto Bolívar 5. terms for Puerto Bolívar: bë'co/ a'yo and cu_ë_/a'yë 6. adolescents use more a'yo/a'yë than bë'co/ cu_ë_
27	a. esposo de tía b. esposa de tío	a. aunt's husband b. uncle's wife	a. = uncle (cu_ë_) b. = tía (bë'co)
28	primo	male cousin	a. ye'quë (SIV : #40) doesn't exist b. mamaë_ correct c. a'yë: isn't used to refer to cousin
29	prima	female cousin	a. ye'jeo (SIV : #41) doesn't exist b. mamao_ correct c. a'yo: isn't used to refer to cousin
30	nieto	grand-son	naje_i_
31	nieta	grand-daughter	naje_o_
32	tía menor de padre/madre	mother's or father's younger sister	si_ bë'co
33	tío menor de padre/madre	mother's or father's younger brother	si_ cu_ë_
34	tía mayor	mother's or father's older sister	ai bë'co
35	tío mayor	mother's or father's older brother	ai cu_ë_
36	formas de respeto para personas de la misma generación que los padres para no-familiares	termsof respect for not-relatives of the same generation as the parents	a. tío (cu_ë_) b. tía (bë'co)

37	Formas de respeto: a. misma generación que EGO b. misma generación que padres c. misma generación que abuelos d. misma generación que los más mayores	terms to show respect: a. same generation as EGO b. same generation as parents c. same generation as grand-parents d. same generation as the oldest	the use of the correct term is most important to prevent being disrespectful a. tío/ tía (cu_ë_/ bë'co) b. tío/ tía (ai cu_ë_/ bë'co) c. abuelos (ñi'co/ ñi'cuë) d. ai ñi'co/ai ñi'cuë
38	Uso de "a'yo/ a'yë"	Use of "a'yo/ a'yë"	a. for brothers/ sisters b. for uncles/aunts c. NOT for cousins
39	hermanastro/a y medio hermano/a	step-sister/brother and half-sister/brother	also just: a'yo/a'yë/ yo'jei/ yo'jeo
40	lejo	distant	so'o
41	otro	other/different	ye'quë
42	medio	half	jobo : can only be used for half-siblings (not for step-siblings)
43	significado de "aidehua"	meaning of "aidehua"	aidehua: no proper meaning, just to form the terms a. step-children b. step-father/ step-mother c. NOT for step-siblings!
44	para formar los terminos "hermanastro/a"	to form the terms "step-siblings"	a. so'o b. ye'quë
45	bisabuelo/a	great-grand-mother/father	a. ai se ñi'cuë b. ai se ñi'co
46	tartarabuelo/a	great-great-grand-mother/father	NO WORD for this

TABLE 32 *Session 8 - 15.09.2014 LC*

15.09.2014 LC – 20140915A-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**

1	Diferencia entre cu_ë_ vs. ai/si_ ja'quë vs. ai/si_ cuë bë'co vs. ai/si_ ja'co vs. ai/si_ bë'co	Difference between cu_ë_ vs. ai/si_ ja'quë vs. ai/si_ cuë bë'co vs. ai/si_ ja'co vs. ai/si_ bë'co	bë'co = tío/a (uncle or aunt) ; ai/si_ ja'co/ja'quë only in Sototsiaya (signification: padre/madre mayor o menor; older/younger mother/father) ; ai/si_ cuë/ bë'co = tío/a (uncle or aunt) bë'co = tía menor; ai bë'co = mayor de edad que bë'co (ai/si_ bë'co is more respectful than just bë'co; also valuable for cu_ë_)
2	Uso de a'yo/ a'yë	Use of a'yo and a'yë	Sólo uso para familiars, no se usa para amigos o extranjeros sino se usa 'tío/tía' (Just for family members, not useable for friends or strangers, for latter use od 'uncle/aunt')
3	Diferencia entre ‚huare' y ‚mamaco/mamaquë'	Difference between ‚huare' and ‚mamaco/mamaquë'	'huare' for female and male children, = MY child 'mamaco/quë' difference between the sexes, usable for own child or of other person: *Felicitas huare; Felicitas mamaco/quë
4	Diferencia entre ‚ja'co/ ja'quë' y ‚bëcaco/becaquë'	Difference between ‚ja'co/ ja'quë' and ‚bëcaco/becaquë'	yë ja'co; *yë bëcaco; Felicitas bëcaco; * Felicitas ja'co yë ja'quë; më ja'quë; * ja_ë_ ja'quë ja_ë_ bëcaquë -> papa de él (his father) *ye bëcaquë -> ja'co/ja'quë for 1st & 2nd Person Singular -> bëcaco/ bëcaquë for 2nd & 3rd Person Singular
5	hermano lejano	distant brother	so'o yo'jei
6	otro hermano menor	different/other younger brother	ye'quë yo'jei
7	hermano medio	half-brother	jobo yo'jei
8	otro; de nosotros, nuestro	other/different; our, of us	ye'quë
9	diferencia entre a'yë/a'yo y maja'yë/ maja'yo	difference between a'yë/a'yo and maja'yë/ maja'yo	a'yë/a'yo -> general meaning 'brother' and 'older brother' maja'yë/ maja'yo -> only 'older bother/sister'

10	hermano/a menor	younger brother/sister	yo'jei/ yo'jeo
11	abuela; abuela más mayor	grandmother; older grandmother	ai ñi'co; ai se ñi'co
12	diferencia entre ‚ñi'co', ‚ai ñi'co', ‚ai se ñi'co' y ‚aijereba se ñi'co'	difference between ‚ñi'co', ‚ai ñi'co', ‚ai se ñi'co' and ‚aijereba se ñi'co'	abuela (grandmother): ñi'co and ai ñi'co bisabuela (great grandmother): ai se ñi'co tartarabuela (great great grandmother): aijereba se ñi'co
13	tartarabuelo	great great grandfather	aijereba se ñi'cuë
14	Significado de „ai" y „ai se"	Meaning of "ai" and "ai se"	ai = mayor/ older ai se = lo/la más mayor /oldest
15	Uso de „ai" children	Use of „ai" with children	*ai huare; *hijo/a mayor (older child) 'ai' solo para la G+1 (no para hijos), 'ai' tiene un significado de "Viejo/ más edad" -> not possible to use with children; has a connotation of "elder"
16	Posible combinar ‚ai se' con padre/madre	Possible to combine 'ai se' with father/mother	*ai se ja'co
17	Existen las palabras for ‚ñaño/ñaña'?	Are there the words ‚ñaño/ñaña' (Ecuadorian dialect for "brother /sister"?	no hay; don't exist
18	Existen palabras for ‚papa/mama'?	Are there words for „mum/dad"?	no hay; don't exist
19	los hijos	the children	mamajë_
20	**c**u_ë_ o **g**u_ë_	**c**u_ë_ or **g**u_ë_	* **g**u_ë_ -> **c**u_ë_
21	Yo tengo tres hermanos mayors (solo varones).	I have three older brothers (just men).	yë'ë 3 a'yë dohuëre bayë. yë'ë 3 maja'yë dohuëre bayë.
22	Yo tengo 3 hermanos menores (solo varones).	I have three younger brothers (just men).	yë'ë 3 yo'jei dohuëre bayë.
23	Yo tengo 3 hermanas mayors.	I have three older sisters.	yë'ë 3 a'yo dohuëre bayë. yë'ë 3 maja'yo dohuëre bayë.
24	Yo tengo 3 hermanas menores.	I have three younger sisters.	yë'ë 3 yo'jeo dohuëre bayë.
25	Yo tengo 3 hermanos (solo varones).	I have three brothers (just men).	a'yë
26	Yo tengo 3 hermanas.	I have three sisters.	a'yo
27	Yo tengo 3 hermanos (mixto).	I have three brothers and sisters (mixed).	a'yë
28	¿Quántos hermanos tienes?	How many bothers and sisters do you have?	jeso maja'yë dohuëre baco?

29	Tengo 3 hermanos mayores/ menores.	I have three older/ younger brothers.	yë'ë 3 maja'yëre bayë. (-ëre = many)
			yë'ë 3 yo'jeisinre bayë. (-sinre = bastante, some, many)
30	Hijo/a de hermano/a menor/mayor	Older/younger sister/brother's son/ daughter	= sobrino/sobrina (nephew, niece): jo_'ta_ë_ / jo_'ta_o_
31	nieto/a	grandchild	naje_o_ / naje_i_
32	bisnieto/a	great grandchild	ai se naje_i_ / ai se naj_e_o_ ; *ai naje_i_/ *ai naj_e_o_
33	Existe la palabra ye'cu_ë_?	Does ye'cu_ë_ exist?	no: * ye'cu_ë_
34	hijos/as de primos/as (paternal/maternal)	Cousins children (mother's/father's side)	= sobrino/a; nephew, niece
35	suegro/suegra	Mother/Father-in-law	yë huaë
			yë huao
36	madre/padre de suegro/a	mother/father-in-law's mother/father	= abuelo/a = grandfather/-mother
37	hermano/A de abuelo/a	grandmother's/grandfather's brother/sister	= abuelo/a = grandfather/-mother

TABLE 33 *Session 9 - 15.09.2014 IC*

	15.09.2014 IC – 20140915B-XX		
#	Spanish	English	Siona
1	padre	father	ja'quë
2	madre	mother	ja'co
3	esposo	husband	ë_jë_
4	esposa	wife	dë_jo_
5	abuela (paternal/maternal)	grandmother (father's/mother's side)	ñi'co
6	abuelo (paternal/maternal)	grandfather (father's/ mother's side)	ñi'cuë
7	abuelo/a de esposo/a	grandmother/ grandfather of husband/wife	ñi'co/ ñi'cuë (because he is called that by the husband/wife)
8	suegro	father-in-law	huaë
9	suegra	mother-in-law	huao
10	hija	daughter	mamaco

11	hijo	son	mamaquë
12	al tío del esposo/ de la esposa	husband's/wife's uncle	-> tío (because he's called that by the husband/wife)
13	a la tía del esposo/ de la esposa	husband's/wife's aunt	-> tía (because he's called that by the husband/wife)
14	hermano menor	younger brother	yo'jei
15	hermana menor	younger sister	yo'jeo
16	hermana mayor	older sister	maja'yo
17	hermano mayor	older brother	maja'yë
18	cuñado	brother-in-law	huejo_
19	cuñada	sister-in-law	hueja_ë_
20	sobrino	nephew	jo_taë
21	sobrina	niece	jo_tao
22	diferencia entre cuñado/a de hermano/a mayor/menor	difference between (older/younger) brother's/sister's brother-/sister-in-law	no hay diferencia entre ellos, todos son cuñado/a no difference, all called brother-/sister-in-law
23	tío	uncle	cu_ë_
24	tía	aunt	bë'co
25	Ejemplo ‚Consuelo' (fondo Sekoya): tío paternal tío maternal tía paternal tía maternal	Example 'Consuelo' (backgrpund Sekoya): uncle (father's brother) uncle (mother's brother) aunt (father's sister) aunt (mother's sister)	difference between father's and mother's side: bë'quë yo'jei cu_ë_ bë'co bë'quë yo'jeo no difference if Ego's female or male
26	significago de ‚huao'	meaning of ‚huao'	huau= yo'jei/ yo'jeo
27	primo menor	younger cousin (male)	huau/ yo'jei
28	prima menor	younger cousin (female)	huau/ yojeo (? No word for cousin??)
29	primo mayor	older cousin (male)	a'yë/ maja'yë
30	prima mayor	older cousin (female)	a'yo/ maja'yo
31	hijos de primos	children of cousins	called the same: huau or mamaco/ mamaquë
32	uso de las palabras para ‚sobrinos'	Use oft he words for 'cousin'	only used for sibling's children

33	diferencia entre ,dë_jo_', ë_jë_, ba'co y ba'quë	difference between ,dë_jo_', ë_jë_, ba'co and ba'quë	dë_'jo_ / ë_jë_ -> esposo/marido (husband) ba'co/ ba'quë -> novio (boy/girlfriend, partner)
34	diferencia entre a'yo/ë y maja'yo/ë	difference between a'yo/ë and maja'yo/ë	no hay diferencia; there's no difference
35	diferencia entre 'huau', mamaco/mamaquë	difference between 'huare', mamaco/mamaquë	huare – hijo/ hija (both female and male child) mamaco – hija (daughter) mamaquë – hijo (son)
36	diferencia entre ja'co/ja'quë y bëcaco/becaquë	difference between ja'co/ja'quë and bëcaco/becaquë	bëcaco/ bëcaquë = madre/padre de ella/él
37	ejemplos con pronomina	Examples with pronomina	më ja'quë (right) më bëcaquë (right) yë ja'quë/bëcaquë (right) jaë_ ja'quë/bëcaquë (right) -> difference #35???
38	abuela	grandmother	ñi'co
39	tartarabuela	great great grandmother	ai ñi'co
40	bisabuela	great grandmother	ai se ñi'co
41	Existen „ai bë'co/ ai cu_ë_"? Existen „si_ bë'co/ si_ cu_ë_"?	Exist „ai bë'co/ ai cu_ë_"? Exist „si_ bë'co/ si_ cu_ë_"?	*ai bë'co/ ai cu_ë_ sth. like „old aunt" *si_ bë'co/ si_ cu_ë_ sth. like "aunt of the children, young aunt"
42	uso de ai ja'co/ si_ ja'co	Use of ja'co/ si_ ja'co	only in the village of Sototsiaya
43	-> tía in Puerto Bolívar	-> word for aunt used in Puerto Bolívar	bë'co
44	nieto	grandson	naj_ei_
45	nieta	granddaughter	naje_o_
46	bisnietos	greatgrandchildren	huau
47	hierno	son-in-law	huaë
48	nuera	daughter-in-law	huao
49	Formas de respeto: edad de abuela edad de padre edad de ego	Respect forms: same age as grandmother same age as father same age as ego	ñi'co/ñi'cuë ; bë'co/ cu_ë_ ga'jei/ ga'jeo (amigo/friend) ga'jei/ ga'jeo (amigo/friend)

	menor de ego	younger than ego	ga'jei/ ga'jeo (amigo/friend)
50	padrastro	stepfather	aidehua ja'quë
51	madrastra	stepmother	aidehua ja'co
52	hermanastro mayor	older stepbrother	same as older brother/ igual que hermano mayor: a'yë/ maja'yë
53	hermanastro menor hermanastra mayor hermanastra menor	younger stepbrother older stepsister younger stepsister	a'yo/ maja'yo yo'jei/ huau yo'jeo/ huau
54	medio hermano	half-brother	jobo a'yë/ jobo yo'jei
55	medio hermana	half-sister	jobo a'yo/ jobo yo'jeo
56	mamá?	mum?	no existe/ doesn't exist -> ja'co
57	uso de a'yo/ ay'ë	Use of a'yo/ a'yë	para hermanos y primos mayore y hijos de primos used for older brothers and cousins and children of cousins
58	use de huau	Use of huau	primos menores, hijos de primos, hermanos menores used for younger brothers and cousins, and children of cousins

TABLE 34 *Session 10 - 16.09.2014 IC*

	16.09.2014 IC – 20140916-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	hijastra	stepdaughter	aidehua mamaco
2	hijastro	stepson	aidehua mamaquë
3	Mi madre está comiendo sopa.	My mother is eating soup.	yë'ë ja'cobi hua'i tiracare ai_co.
4	Mamá, me ayudas (por favor)?	Mum, can you help me (please)?	ja'co concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre.
5	Mi padre está comiendo arroz.	My father is eating rice.	yë'ë ja'quëbi a_i_ji_ arusu.
6	Papá, me ayudas (por favor)?	Dad, can you help me (please)?	ja'quë, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre.
7	Tu hermano mayor está bailando.	Your older brother is dancing.	më'ë maja'yëbi/ a'yëbi ña'ñuji

8	Hermano mayor, venga.	Older brother, come here.	daijë_'ë_ a'yo/ maja'yo.
9	Su hermano menor está cocinando.	His younger brother is cooking.	ja_ë_ yo'jeibi/ huaubi ao_re cuacoji.
10	Hermano menor, venga.	Younger brother, come here.	daijë_'ë_ yo'jei/ huau. Or: Yo'jei daijë_'ë_.
11	Mi hermana mayor está llegando.	My older sister is coming.	yë'ë a'yobi/ maya'yobi ti_taco.
12	Hermana mayor, salga.	Older sister, go out/ leave.	a'yo/ maja'yo ëtajë_'ë_
13	Tu Hermana menor está durmiendo.	Your younger sister is sleeping.	jaë_/më'ë yo'jeobi/ huaubi cai_co.
14	Hermana menor, salga.	Younger sister, go out/leave.	yo'jeo/ huau ëtajë_'ë_
15	Mi abuelo está leyendo la biblia.	My grandfather is reading the bible.	yë'ë ñi'cuëbi maija'quë toyapëbëre ñaji.
16	Abuelo, coma!	Grandfather, eat!	ñi'cuë aiji_
17	Su abuela está leyendo un libro.	His/Her grandmother is reading a book.	më'ë ñi'co toyapëbëre ñaco
18	Abuela, entra.	Grandmother, come in.	ñi'co cacaco. Or: Cacaco ñi'co
19	Nuestro tío está bebiendo agua.	Our uncle is drinking water.	mai cu_ë_bi ocore u_ncuji.
20	Tío, canta!	Uncle, sing!	cu_ë_ jë_jë_ji_/ si_ ja'quë jë_jë_ji_
21	Su tía está viendo téle.	His/her aunt is watching TV.	më'ë bë'cobi huatihuë_re ñaco
22	El nieto está durmiendo.	The grandson is sleeping.	jaë_ naje_i_bi cai_ji_.
23	Nieto, venga.	Grandson, come here.	naje_i_ daijë_'ë_. Daijë_'ë_ naje_i_
24	La nieta está escribiendo una carta.	The granddaughter is writing a letter.	naje_o_bi toyajaore toyasoco
25	Nieta, salga.	Granddaughter, go out/leave.	naje_o_ ëtajë_'ë_
26	Yo tengo 3 hermanos (varones)	I have three brothers.	yë'ë bayë toasoñe yo'jeo hua'ire.
27	Yo tengo 3 hermanos mayores. (varones)	I have three older brothers.	yë'ë bayë toasoñe a'yëohuia're. -ohui're = PL
28	Yo tengo 3 hermanos menores. (varones)	I have three younger brothers.	yë'ë bayë toasoñe yo'jeiohuaire.
29	Yo tengo 3 hermanos. (mixtos)	I have three brothers and sisters.	no se puede not possible
30	Yo tengo 2 hermanas.	I have 2 sisters.	yë'ë bayë caya a'yohua'ire
31	palabras diferentes para hermano (en general) y hermano menor/ mayor?	Different words for brother (in general), older/younger brother?	siempre hay que especificar si es mayor o menor. Just words for older or younger brother, no general term
32	Yo tengo 2 hermanas mayors.	I have 2 older sisters.	yë'ë bayë caya a'yohua'ire
33	Yo tengo 2 hermanas menores.	I have 2 younger sisters.	yë'ë bayë caya yo'jeohua'ire

34	uno	one	teo (female) tei (male)
35	Tengo un hermano mayor, un hermano menor, una Hermana menor y una Hermana mayor.	I have an older brother, a younger brother, a younger sister and a older sister.	yë'ë bayë teo a'yo, tei yo'jei, teo yo'jeo gui'ne tei a'yë.
36	Diferencia si ego es mujer o hombre?	Difference if ego is male or female?	no
37	ñaño/ ñaña?	Word for brother/sister (with emotion)	no
38	explicación	explanation	Familiares que se conocen poco se tartan solo con Nombre (no con palabra de realción) porque queda claro la relación family members that don't know eachother so well, just refer to each other by name, not by the kin term
39	explicación	explanation	Es más respetuoso usar la palabra de relación con el nombre It is more respectful to call someone by the kin term and the name, than just by his name
40	nietos -> abuelos	grandchildren -> grandparents	abuelo/ mama/ papa - porque sus padres les llaman así (because their parents call them like that)
41	explicación	explanation	los hijos muchas veces les tartan igual a los familiars como les tratan sus padres often children call their kinsmen the same as their parents do
42	(mi) hijo major, (primer hijo)	(my) oldest son, (my first son)	duru mamaquë duru = primer/first
43	(mi) hija major, (la primer hija)	(my) oldest daughter, (my first daughter)	duru mamaco
44	mi segunda hija	my second daughter	yë'ë duru mamaco quënomaca aco my first daughter the follwoing one "the one following my first daughter"
45	mi segundo hijo	my second son	yë'ë duru mamaquë quënomaca aquë

46	la última hija	my last daughter	tëjio mamaco
47	el último hijo	my last son	tëji mamaquë
48	PL	PL	a'yo dohuë or a'yohua'ire
49	hijos	children	mama'jë_ = mamaco + mamaquë
50	hijas	daughters	mamacohua'i
51	hijos	sons	mamaquëohua'i
52	hierno (= suegro)	son-in-law (= father-in-law)	huaë
53	nuera (= suegra)	daughter-in-law (= mother-in-law)	huao
54	(mi) hierno	(my) son-in-law	i_o_huai
55	suegro	father-in-law	huaë = suegro (father-in-law) para referirse / to refer to
56	diferencia entre i_o_huai y huaë	difference between i_o_huai and huaë	i_o_huai for son/daughter-in-law më huaë = my father-in-law

TABLE 35 *Session 11 - 22.09.2014 ASC*

	22.09.2014 ASC – 20140922A-XX		
#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	esposa	wife	ba'co
2	esposo	husband	ba'quë
3	hija	daughter	mamaco
4	hijo	son	mamaquë
5	nuera	daughter-in-law	huao
6	hierno	son-in-law	huaë
7	nieta	granddaughter	naje_o_
8	nieto	grandson	naje_i_
9	esposa del nieto	grandson's wife	so'o jo_ta_o_ anotación: no hay una palabra para este familiar, sino las palabras constatan la relación entre la

			persona y ego. No existe una palabra si es por relación de matrimonio annotation: the word here does determine the relation between the person and ego, and is no special word just for that kin. There're no words for kin linked by marriage.
10	esposo de la nieta	granddaughter's husband	ai so'o naje_i_
11	bisnieto	greatgrandson	se naje_i_
12	bisnieta	greatgranddaughter	se naje_o_
13	hermana mayor	older sister	a'yo/ maja'yo
14	hermano mayor	older brother	a'yĕ/ maja'yë
15	hermano menor	younger brother	huau/ yo'jei
16	hermana menor	younger sister	huau/ yo'jeo
17	uso de maja'yo/ maja'yë	use of maja'yo/ maja'yë	solamente para referir, no para llamar only used to refer to person, not to call sb. like that
18	uso de a'yo/ a'yë	use of a'yo/ a'yë	solamente para llamar only used to call somebody, addressing to someone
19	¡Hermana mayor! (llamar)	Older brother! (calling)	a'yo baico (llamar; calling)
20	¡Hermano mayor! (llamar)	Older sister! (calling)	a'yë (lamar; calling)
21	¡Hermano menor! (llamar)	Younger brother! (calling)	huau/ yo'jei (llamar y referir; calling and refer to)
22	¡Hermana menor! (llamar)	Younger sister! (calling)	huau/ yo'jeo (llamar y referir; calling and refer to)
23	cuñado	brother-in-law	hueja_ë_
24	cuñada	sister-in-law	hueja_o_
25	sobrina (hija de hermano/a)	niece (brother's/sister's daughter)	jo_ta_o_
26	sobrino (hijo de hermano/a)	nephew (brother's/sister's son)	jo_ta_ë_
27	nieto de hermano/a	brother's/ sister's son	jo_ta_ë_
28	nieta de hermano/a	brother's/ sister's daughter	jo_ta_o_

29	madre	mother	ja'co
30	padre	father	ja'quë
31	esposa de tío	uncle's wife	a'yo/ jo_ta_o_ no hay palabra, there's no special term for that kin
32	hija de tío/ tía = sobrina	uncle's/ aunt's daughter	jo_ta_ë_
33	hijo de tío/ tía = sobrino	uncle's/ aunt's son	jo_ta_o_
34	hermana mayor de madre	mother's older sister	ai ja'co
35	hermana menor de madre	mother's younger sister	si_ ja'co
36	hermana (menor/ mayor) de padre	father's (older/younger) sister	bë'co
37	hermano mayor del padre	father's older brother	ai ja'quë
38	hermano menor del padre	father's younger brother	si_ ja'quë
39	hermano (menor/ mayor) de madre	mother's (older/younger) brother	cu_ë_
40	#34-39 diferencia si ego es feminino/masculino	#34-39: Is there a difference if ego es female or male?	no
41	madre de la madre	mother's mother	*ja'co bëcaco?* = ñi'co the underlined and cursive part was asked in Siona. la parte cursive fue preguntada en Siona
42	padre de la madre	mother's father	*ja'co bëcaquë?* = ñi'cuë
43	madre del padre	father's mother	*ja'quë bëcaco?* = ñi'co
44	padre del padre	father's father	*ja'quë bëcacquë?* = ñi'cuë
45	la madre de la madre de la madre	the mother of the mother's mother (greatgrandmother)	*ja'co bëcaco bëcaco?* = ai se ñi'co (bisabuelo; greatgrandmother)
46	el padre de la madre de la madre	the father of the mother's mother (greatgrandfather)	*ja'co bëcaco becaquë?* = ai se ñi'cuë
47	la madre de la madre del padre	the mother of father's mother (greatgrandmother)	*ja'quë bëcaco bëcaco?* = ai se ñi'cuë Same for the rest of the paradigm lo mismo para el resto

48	hermana mayor del esposo: cuñada	husband's older sister	*ba'quë a'yo*: huë_ja_o_
49	hermano mayor del esposo: cuñado	husband's older brother	*ba'quë a'yë*: huë_ja_ë_
50	hijo/a de hermana mayor del esposo	husband's older sister's child	*ba'quë a'yo mamaco/mamaquë:* a'yo/a'yë
51	hijo/a de hermano menor del esposo	husband's younger brother's child	*ba'quë yo'jei mamaco/mamaquë:* yo'jeo/ yo'jei
52	hijo/a de hermana menor del esposo	husband's younger sister's child	*ba'quë yo'jeo mamaco/mamaquë*: yo'jeo/ yo'jei
53	primo	cousin (male)	a'yë/ yo'jei
54	prima	cousin (female)	yo'jeo/ a'yo

TABLE 36 *Session 12 - 22.09.2014 ASC*

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#	**Spanish**	**English**	**Siona**
1	hermanastro mayor	older stepbrother	a'yë/ yequë a'yë
2	hermanastro menor	younger stepbrother	yo'jei/ yequë yo'jei
3	hermanastra mayor	older stepsister	a'yo/ yequë a'yo
4	hermanastra menor	younger stepsister	yo'jeo/ yequë yo'jeo
5	madrastra	stepmother	yequë ja'co
6	padrastro	stepfather	yequë ja'quë
7	suegra: madre del esposo	mother-in-law: husband's mother	*baquë ja'co:* yë huao
8	suegro: padre del esposo	father-in-law: husband's father	*baquë ja'quë:* yë huaë
9	medio hermano mayor	older half-brother	a'yë/ yequë a'yë
10	medio hermano menor	younger half-brother	yo'jei/ yequë yo'jei
11	medio hermana mayor	older half-sister	a'yo/ yequë a'yo
12	medio hermana menor	younger half-sister	yo'jeo/ yequë yo'jeo
13	mama – madre	mum – mother	no – ja'co
14	papa – padre	dad – father	no – ja'quë there is no term for mum/dad
15	primo/a: hijo/a del hermano de la madre	cousin (f./m.): mother's brother's child	*cu_ë_ mamaco/ mamaquë:* jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
16	primo/a: hijo/a de la hermana del padre	cousin (f./m.): father's sister's child	*bëco mamaco/ mamaquë*: jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_

17	primo/a: hijo/a de la hermana mayor de la madre	cousin (f./m.): mother's older sister's child	*ai ja'co mamaco/ mamaquë:* a'yo/ a'yë no se usa (no use of): jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
18	primo/a: hijo/a del hermano mayor del padre	cousin (f./m.): father's older brother's child	*ai ja'quë mamaco/ mamaquë:* a'yo/ a'yë no se usa (no use of): jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
19	primo/a: hijo/a de la hermana menor de la madre	cousin (f./m.): mother's younger sister's child	*si_ja'co mamaco/mamaquë:* yo'jei/ yo'jeo no se usa (no use of): jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
20	primo/a: hijo/a del hermano menor del padre	cousin (f./m.): father's younger brother's child	*si_ja'quë mamaco/mamaquë:* yo'jei/ yo'jeo no se usa (no use of): jo_ta_o_/ jo_ta_ë_
21	sobrino/a: hijo/a de la hermana mayor	niece/ nephew: older sister's child	*a'yo mamaco/ mamaquë*: jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
22	sobrino/a: hijo/a del hermano mayor	niece/ nephew: older brother's child	*a'yë mamaco/ mamaquë*: jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
23	sobrino/a: hijo/a del hermano menor	niece/ nephew: younger brother's child	*yo'jei mamaco/ mamaquë*: jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
24	sobrino/a: hijo/a de la hermana menor	niece/ nephew: younger sister's child	*yo'jeo mamaco/ mamaquë:* jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_
25	uso de a'yë	use of a'yë	hermano mayor, primo con ai ja'co/ ai ja'quë (hermana mayor de la madre/ hermano mayor del padre) older brother, cousin (m.) with ai ja'co/ ai ja'quë (mother's older sister, father's older brother)
26	uso de a'yo	use of a'yo	hermana mayor, prima con ai ja'co/ ai ja'quë (hermana mayor de la madre/ hermano mayor del padre) older sister, cousin (f.) with ai ja'co/ ai ja'quë (mother's older sister, father's older brother)
27	uso de jo_ta_ë_	use of jo_ta_ë_	hijo de hermanos/as, nietos/as de hermanos/as son and nephews of sisters and brothers
28	uso de jo_ta_o_	use of jo_ta_o_	hija de hermanos/as, nietos/as de hermanos/as daughters and nieces of sisters and brothers
29	bisabuela: madre de la madre	grandmother: mother's mother	*ñi'co bëcaco*: ai ñi'co
30	bisabuela: madre del padre	grandmother: father's mother	*ñi'cuë bëcaco:* ai ñic'o
31	bisabuelo: padre de la madre	grandfather: mother's father	*ñi'co bëcaquë:* ai ñi'cuë
32	bisabuelo: padre del padre	grandfather: father's father	*ñi'cuë bëcaquë:* ai ñi'cuë

33	tartarabuelo	greatgrandfather	ai se ñi'cuë
34	tartarabuela	greatgrandmother	ai se ñi'co
35	diferencia entre ja'co y bëcaco	difference between ja'co and bëcaco	ja'co se usa para su propria madre o la person con la que uno está hablando; used for someones own mother or the mother of the person you're talking to bëcaco es la madre de alguien más (no presente); used for someone elses mother (not present)
36	diferencia entre ja'quë y bëcaquë	difference between ja'quë and bëcaquë	same as with ja'co and bëcaco
37	Mi madre se llama Angelina.	My mother's name is Angelina.	yë ja'co cato ANGELINA.
38	Su madre se llama Anna.	Your mother's name is Anna.	më ja'co cato ANNA.
39	La madre de ella se llama María.	Her mother's name is Maria.	ja_o_ bëcaco cato MARIA.
40	Mi padre se llama Victoriano.	My father's name is Victoriano.	yë ja'quë cato VICTORIANO.
41	Su padre se llama Romelio. (su = tú)	Your father's name is Romelio.	më ja'quë cato ROMELIO.
42	El padre de ella se llama Alfonso.	Her father's name is Alfonso.	ja_o_ bëcaquë ALFONSO.
43	significado de ë_jë_	meaning of ë_jë_	ë_jë_ = esposo/ husband usado con la primera y la segunda persona singular (como ja'co/ja'quë) con la tercera persona singular (persona non presente) se usa (i_o_) ba'quë used with the 1st and 2nd person singular (like ja'co/ja'quë) with 3rd person singular (i_o_) ba'quë is used **???#55-60**
44	significado de dë_jo_	meaning of dë_jo_	dë_jo_ = esposa/ wife usado con la 1.PS.SG y la 2.PS.SG (como ja'co/ ja'quë) con la 3.PS.SG se usa (i_o_) ba'co used with the 1st and 2nd person singular (like ja'co/ja'quë)

			with 3rd person singular (i_o_) ba'co is used
45	que forma es más "correcta"? (usado) maja'yë daijë_'ë_ o a'yë daijë_'ë_	Which form is more "correct[69]"? (used) maja'yë daijë_'ë_ o a'yë daijë_'ë_	-> a'yë daijë_'ë_
46	que forma es más "correcta"? (usado) maja'yo daijë_'ë_ o a'yo daijë_'ë_	Which form is more "correct"? (used) maja'yo daijë_'ë_ o a'yo daijë_'ë_	-> a'yo daijë_'ë_
47	¿Cómo decir a una persona mayor de edad con respeto? (no familiar)	How do you address an elder person with respect? (not a family memer)	ñi'co / ñi'cuë
48	¿Cómo decir a una persona de la misma edad con respeto? (no familiar)	How do you address a person the same age with respect? (not a family member)	cajeo/ cajei = amigo/a; friend
49	¿Cómo decir a una persona menor con respeto? (no familiar)	How do you address a person younger with respect? (not a family member)	jo_ta_o_ / jo_ta_ë_ (sobrino/a – nephew/niece)
50	¿Cúal es la diferencia? ¿Cúal es más respetuoso? ¿Cúal no se usa? a. A'yo, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Hermana mayor, me puedes ayudar?) b. A'yo Patricia, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Patricia, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	Where is the difference? Which one is more respectful? Which one is not used? a. A'yo, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Older sister, can you help me?) b. A'yo Patricia, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Patricia, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	a. & b. solamente para diferenciar (entre los hermanas mayores), to distinguish between more older sisters c. no se usa / not used, not common
51	¿Cúal es la diferencia? ¿Cúal es más respetuoso? ¿Cúal no se usa? a. A'yë, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Hermano mayor, me puedes ayudar?) b. A'yë Rafael, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Rafael, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	Where is the difference? Which one is more respectful? Which one is not used? a. A'yë, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Older brother, can you help me?) b. A'yë Rafael, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Rafael, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	c. no se usa/ not used, not common a. & b. ambos bien, para diferenciar como en #50; both good, only to dishinguish like in #50
52	¿Cúal es la diferencia? ¿Cúal es más respetuoso? ¿Cúal no se usa? a. Bë'co, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Tía, me puedes ayudar?) b. Bë'co Angelina, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Angelina, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	Where is the difference? Which one is more respectful? Which one is not used? a. Bë'co, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Aunt, can you help me?) b. Bë'co Angelina, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Angelina, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	igual como #50/51 same as in #50/51

[69] correct in the sense of more understandable, or more appropriate

53	¿Cúal es la diferencia? ¿Cúal es más respetuoso? ¿Cúal no se usa? a. Ñi'co, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Abuela, me puedes ayudar?) b. Ñi'co Feliciana, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Feliciana, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	Where is the difference? Which one is more respectful? Which one is not used? a. Ñi'co, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? (Grandmother, can you help me?) b. Ñi'co Feliciana, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre? c. Feliciana, concaijë_'ë_ yë'ëre?	igual como #50/51 same as in #50/51
54	uso de ñi'co/ ñi'cuë/ jo_ta_e_ / jo_ta_o_	Use of ñi'co/ ñi'cuë/ jo_ta_e_ / jo_ta_o_	ñi'co/ ñi'cuë: para abuelo/a y personas más lejanos y más mayor de edad; for grandparents and older/more distant people jo_ta_e_ / jo_ta_o_: para jóvenes; for younger people
55	Mi esposo se llama Victoriano.	My husband's name is Victoriano.	yë'ë ba'quë cato VICTORIANO:
56	Su esposo se llama Simón. (su = tú)	Your husband's name is Simón.	më'ë ba'quë cato SIMON.
57	El esposo de ella se llama Eduardo.	Her husband's name is Eduardo.	ja_o_ ba'quë cato EDUARDO.
58	Su esposa se llama Ana. (su = tú)	Your wife's name is Ana.	më ba'co cato ANA.
59	Mi esposa se llama María.	My wife's name is María.	yë'ë ba'co cato MARIA.
60	La eposa de él se llama Angelina.	His wife's name is Angelina.	ja_o_ ba'quë cato ANGELINA.
61	~~el esposo de la hermana menor de la madre~~	~~mother's younger sister's husband~~	~~si_ja'co baquë -> cu_ë_~~
62	la esposa del hermano de la madre	mother's brother's wife	cu_ë_ baco: bë'co
63	el esposo de la hermana mayor de la madre	mother's older sister's husband	ai ja'co baquë: ai ja'quë
64	la esposa del hermano mayor del padre	father's older brother's wife	ai ja'quë baco:ai ja'co
65	el esposo de la hermana del padre	father's sister's husband	bë'co baquë: cu_ë_
66	la esposa del hermano menor del padre	father's younger brother's wife	si_ ja'quë baco: si_ ja'co
67	el esposo de la hermana menor de la madre	mother's younger sister's husband	si_ ja'co baquë: si_ ja'quë