

J. Diego Quesada

The Chibchan Languages



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*To heaven-sent Lucía (Lucirín):
For all the wonderful things
that she stands for*

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Preface

The Chibchan language family is by all means one of the most intriguing language groups in the Americas. The Chibchan languages are dispersed over the length of a protracted area extending from Honduras in Central America to the eastern Colombian highlands and the Colombian-Venezuelan border region. It formed a sort of land-bridge between the Mesoamerican and Andean civilization areas. Understandably, this so called Intermediate Area (Willey 1971) was an area of considerable cultural and political interaction, which nevertheless had retained its own distinctive character. As Chibchan-speaking peoples were among the first to suffer the impact of European colonization, many of them submerged into extinction. The isthmian situation of the Central American Chibchans, who lacked a sizeable hinterland, made them particularly vulnerable to forced contact and exploitation, but the losses suffered by their Colombian relatives, surrounded as they were by warlike enemy tribes before being subdued and assimilated by the Spaniards, were no less tragic. Only a limited number of Chibchan peoples have managed to survive into the 21st century. In spite of all the contact, they belong to the American Indian peoples that have preserved their cultural and religious heritage to a remarkable extent.

From the viewpoint of historical linguistics, the Chibchan languages are no less fascinating. In spite of the early identification of Chibchan as a genealogical unity (by Uhle, around 1890) it remained largely unknown beyond the limits of a small community of dedicated scholars. In the meantime, proponents of broad genealogical classifications used the Chibchan family as a nucleus for huge, poorly founded constructions of the waste-basket type, in which all sorts

of small language families and linguistic isolates were put together with languages of undisputed Chibchan affiliation. As a result, the distinctive characteristics of the Chibchan language family became masked from the public at large until its reassessment by Constenla (1981). Since then, Chibchan language studies have benefited from a steady progress and an improved recognition, with the support of a specialized journal published in Costa Rica (*Estudios de Lingüística Chibcha*).

The Chibchan languages exhibit a considerable amount of typological diversity, whereas a persistent kernel of basic vocabulary remains visible throughout. In the Chibchan family, languages of great morphological complexity with intricate formal irregularities occur side by side with phonologically complex tonal languages with a more analytic structure. This state of things suggests internal developments of considerable antiquity (although the suggestion may eventually turn out to be illusive). Chibchan differs from other widely extended American language families, such as Tupí or Cariban, in that the latter are more homogenous from a typological point of view. Chibchan also brings an eloquent argument for the crucial importance of basic lexicon in historical comparative research. The relevance of the Chibchan languages as a promising terrain for the reconstruction of American linguistic history is at the least two-directional. It concerns both Mesoamerica and South America.

The present book will contribute to a better understanding of the Chibchan languages and their history. It will help to reveal their importance for the development and verification of current linguistic theory, especially in the domain of syntax. It offers rich data from a wide array of Chibchan languages, including languages such as Barí, of which very few data have been published so far.

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Abbreviations

I, 2, 3	grammatical person	DEF	definite
ABS	absolutive	DEM	demonstrative
ACT	actual	DETRANS	detransitivizer
AG	agentive subject	DIM	diminutive
ANT	anterior	DIR	directional
ANTIP	antipassive	DIST	distant past
APPL	applicative	DS	different subject
ASP	aspectual marker	DUR	durative
ASSERT	assertive	EMPH	emphasis
AUX	auxiliary	EPIST	epistemic
CAUS	causative	ERG	ergative
CERT	certainty	EXCL	exclusive
(NUM.)CL	numeral classifier	EXIST	existential marker
COLL	collective	FACT	factual mood
COM	comitative	FOC	focus marker
COMP	comparative	FUT	future
COND	conditional	GEN	genitive
CONN	connective	HAB	habitual
CONJ	conjunction	IMM	imminential
CONT(R)	counter-expectancy	IMP(ERF)	imperfective
COP	copula	IMPS	impersonal
DAT	dative	IMPR	imperative
DECL	declarative	INCEP	inceptive
DEICT	deictic	INCL	inclusive

INES	inessive	POS(S)	possessive
INF	infinitive	PRES	present
INTENS	intensifier	PROG	progressive
INTN	intention	PROX	recent past
INV	inverse	PURP	purposive marker
ITER	iterative	PV	prefix vowel
LIM	limitative	Q	question marker
LOC	locative	RECIP	reciprocal
MAL	malefactive	REF	reference
MID	middle	REFL	reflexive
MOD	modal	REL	relativizer
NEG	negation marker	RESULT	resultative
NOM	nominative	SEM	semelfactive
NON.FUT	non future	SG	singular
OBV	obviative	SOC	sociative
OBJ	object	SPEC	specificity marker
OBL	oblique	SS	same subject
OBLI(G)	obligation	SUB	subordinator
PASS	passive	SUBJ	subject
PAST	past	TEMP	temporal connective
PERF	perfective	TOP	topic marker
PERIPH	peripheral participant	TR	transitive
PL	plural	VIRT	virtual
POSIT	positional verb	WIT	witnessed event

The Chibchan Languages in Areal Perspective

Relatively little is known about the languages spoken at the heart of the American continent, at least in the English-speaking (and hence most widespread) linguistic literature. As a result, confusion about the typological, areal and even genetic relationships existing among those languages and language families is rampant.¹ The languages of Central America are more often than not regarded as residual languages of either Mesoamerica or Amazonia, the surrounding linguistic areas of Central and northern South America, respectively; and within this tradition, the name *Chibchan* has played the role of a “ragbag”; the terms *Macro-Chibchan*, *Chibchan-Paezan* among others represent a case in point. Thus, in the past, languages as disparate as Paez (Ecuador), Tarasco (Mexico), isolate Warao (Venezuela), as well as members of other language families (e.g. Carib or Aztec), and even languages from as far as Chile (e.g. Atacama) or Argentina (e.g. Allentiac) have been given the label of “Chibchan” (cf. Constenla 1983, 1991 for an overview). Such an easy-going attitude shows not only the lack of a strong Chibchan linguistics tradition, but, especially, the need for an up to date, coherent, and modern linguistics-oriented description of this language family.

The study of Chibchan is important on two grounds. First, it puts an end to the confusion about this language family, thus adding to the number of language families already documented and analyzed. Second, given the fact that the Chibchan languages are both geographically and structurally good representatives of a linguistic area, largely ignored in both Amerindian and areal linguistics, namely the Central American-Colombian Area -itself a linguistic area within the larger cultural area known as the *Intermediate Area*, the study

of Chibchan becomes the study of an areal prototype. The present study has thus been conceived as a description of a language family qua model of the linguistically little studied Central American-Colombian Area of the American continent. In other words, through the study of Chibchan, we can gain knowledge about the linguistic world that unites Mesoamerica and Amazonia. This book is not intended as a study on areal linguistics, though. Rather, the idea of presenting a language family within a more encompassing reference frame obeys situational and contextual purposes; it is not only a hitherto relatively little studied language family that is being described, but also one from a rather neglected geographic and linguistic area; to the extent that a good representative of the area becomes known, attention and interest in the area is gained. Similarly, insofar as the main distinctive features of the area are known, the features of its members can be understood better. The remainder of this introduction is thus devoted to introducing the Chibchan languages within their areal context.

1.1 Areal linguistics

As is well-known, areal linguistics is concerned with the set of linguistic features that languages from a geographic area share, irrespective of their genetic affiliation, and as a result of transfer (cf. Winter 1973, Campbell, Kaufman, and Smith-Stark 1986, Constenla 1991, Nichols 1992, Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999b, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001). It is further assumed that such transfer is the result of historical and cultural interaction, whence it follows that a linguistic area *usually* appears as the linguistic correlate of a cultural area. The latter is by no means the case, though; Aikhenvald and Dixon (2001b: 14) warn that there are cases in which the sharing of cultural features does not imply the existence of a linguistic area, nor does the existence of a linguistic area entail a cultural area. This is also the case in the Intermediate Area, our point of reference to approach Chibchan. Although anthropological (Lange 1992b, Sheets 1992, Healy 1992), archeological (Willey 1971, Hoopes 1992, Snarskis 1992), and even genetic (Barrantes et al. 1982, 1990) evidence has shown that the Intermediate Area constitutes a cultural area in its own right, linguistically, it comprises three linguistic areas (see 1.2, below).

For a specific geographic zone to qualify as a linguistic area, it must exhibit a certain unity, manifested in the commonality and regularity of the shared features. The more features shared, and the more of those features that oppose that area to a contiguous zone, the more chances there are that one is dealing with a linguistic area. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2001b: 12) mention three

important aspects to consider when establishing a linguistic area: a. the way the so-called “diagnostic traits” of the area cluster; b. the weight of each individual feature with respect to their area-defining qualities; and c. the tendencies for elaborating different mechanisms (that become characteristic of the area). Linguistic areas come into existence through contact, and the nature of that contact determines the dynamics of the diffusion of the defining features. It has long been acknowledged that “[i]f nature and size of linguistic areas are the result of historical conditions, both linguistic and extra linguistic, it follows that one can attempt to use observations about the existence and extent of linguistic areas as the basis for conclusions about the conditions that caused them to come into existence” (Winter 1973: 141). As for the Intermediate Area, no attempt has been made yet at explaining how the current state of linguistic subgrouping came about, and no such an attempt will be made here either, as it would exceed the scope of this book (cf. 1.4). Instead, the Intermediate Area will be introduced as the geographic and cultural setting of several converging language families, with the purpose of creating a reference frame for the description of Chibchan.

At least five cultural areas have been recognized in Spanish (and Portuguese)-speaking America, Mesoamerica, Intermediate, Caribbean², Peruvian (or Andean) and Amazonia (cf. Constenla 1991: 4, and Fig. 1.1). Briefly, Mesoamerica extends from central Mexico to northern Central America; there are approximately 62 languages belonging to some 5 language families, plus some 5 unaffiliated languages. The most representative areal features of Mesoamerica, according to Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark (1986: 536-558) include

- a) final devoicing of sonorants,
- b) voicing of obstruents after nasals,
- c) vowel harmony,
- d) fixed predictable stress,
- e) nominal possession of the type ‘his-noun₁, (the) noun₂’, meaning ‘(the) noun₂’s noun₁’,
- f) use of relational nouns as spatial markers,
- g) vigesimal numeral system,
- h) existence of only non-verb-final languages,
- i) absence of switch reference,
- j) locatives derived from body parts,
- k) noun incorporation,
- l) several widespread semantic calques.

Of the features listed above, five (e., f., g., h., and l.) are said to encompass the whole area.

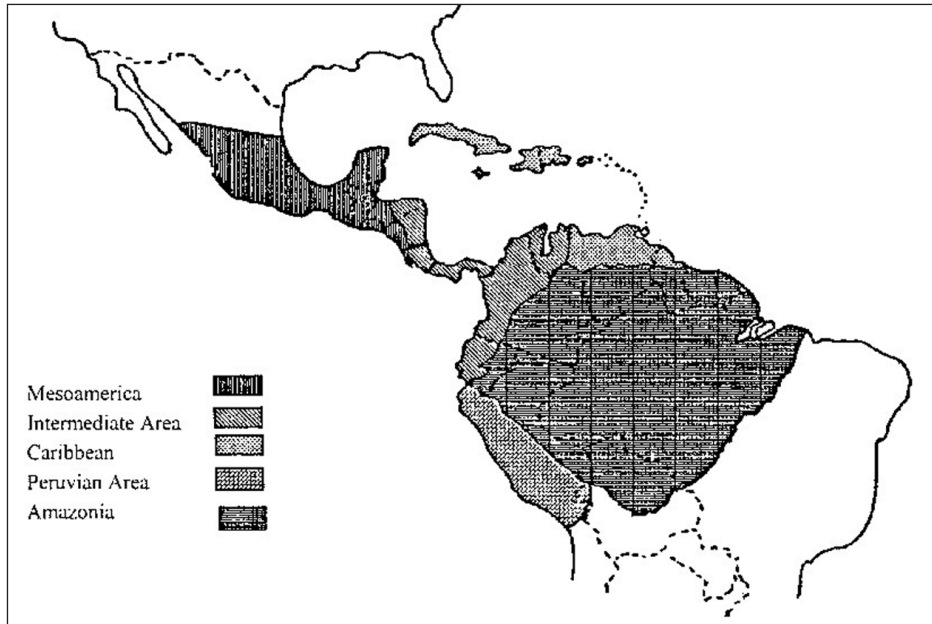


Figure 1.1. *Cultural areas of Latin America (adapted from Constenla 1991: 4)*

Amazonia comprises the area around the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, “from the north coast of South America, east to the mouth of the Amazon, west to the Andes, and south to the southernmost headwaters of the Amazon tributaries” (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999b: 4). Approximately 300 languages belonging to some 12 language families are spoken in the area, in addition to some isolates. The Amazonian languages can in general be defined in terms of the following features, according to Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999b: 8-9):

- a) most languages are polysynthetic and head-marking, agglutinating with little fusion;
- b) phonologically, there is typically one liquid phoneme, which is frequently a flap. There are usually more affricates than fricatives;

- c) extensive classifier and/or gender systems;
- d) few oblique cases, mostly local or instrumental/comitative;
- e) possession is usually marked on the possessum, with the most widespread word order being possessor-possessum;
- f) cross-reference usually includes only one core argument, with various bound pronominal paradigms for the core argument being cross-referenced in each instance;
- g) there are complex rules for the cross-referenced argument, usually yielding split-ergative systems;
- h) bound pronominal forms marking possessors usually come from one of the pronominal paradigms used for expressing core arguments;
- i) strong tendency for prefixation;
- j) pronominal prefixes appear further from the root than valency-changing prefixes;
- k) verbal categories are expressed through suffixation;
- l) subordinate clauses involve nominalized verbs;
- m) noun incorporation is restricted to nouns that are obligatorily possessed;
- n) adverb and adposition incorporation is found in some languages, in postverbal position;
- o) lexical numbers are scarce.

The Peruvian or Andean area covers most of central and western Peru, down to northwestern Bolivia; Quechua and Aymara are clear representatives of this area. Typical Andean areal features include, according to Constenla (1991: 123-125),

- a) prenuclear position of the adjective in the noun phrase,
- b) prenuclear position of numerals in the noun phrase,
- c) sentence-initial position of interrogative word,
- d) marking of accusative case,
- e) marking of the genitive case,
- f) presence of a passive construction,
- g) absence of mid-high opposition in the back series,
- h) absence of voiced/voiceless opposition in affricates,
- i) presence of a voiceless alveolar affricate,
- j) presence of a voiceless prepalatal fricative,
- k) presence of a lateral mediopalatal approximant,
- l) presence of a nasal mediopalatal consonant,
- m) presence of retroflex fricatives or affricates.

1.2 The Intermediate Area

The Intermediate Area was first proposed by Willey (1971) as a cultural unit, clearly differing from neighboring Mesoamerica and Peru, in terms of twelve features that reveal both geographical and developmental “intermediateness” between those two cultural complexes:

1. Maize and manioc constituted the main crops, with emphasis on one or the other determined by region and time period: tropical lowlands favored the former, whereas the latter was more important in higher elevations. Archaeological indications in Colombia hint at the fact that manioc preceded maize, wherefrom it can be inferred that this part of Intermediate Area had ties with the Caribbean and Amazonia, earlier than with Mesoamerica. Though terracing and irrigation have been recorded for some parts of Ecuador and Colombia, slash-and-burn agriculture or the creation of agricultural fields was the norm.
2. Small hamlets and villages were the characteristic units of settlement; in some subareas in later pre-Columbian times, towns and small cities also existed.
3. Sociopolitical units tended to be small; these ranged from single autonomous communities to minor territorial states.
4. There existed ceremonial sites or centers throughout the area; some were incorporated within the towns while others were nuclei for dispersed settlements.
5. There is great variety of burial forms and their distribution is geographically and chronologically spotty. In addition, immolation of retainers in the graves of chiefs as well as mortuary indicators of noble prestige have been found.
6. Ceramics originates partly from the early pottery tradition of the Early Ceramic Period, though later other techniques that link the area to Mesoamerica and the South become apparent. Intermediate Area tradition favors pedestal, annular-based and tripod-based bowls and plates, negative painting and appliqué decoration. The quality of craftsmanship in pottery is said to be very good and the volume of production great.
7. Metallurgical techniques constitute an important feature of the tradition of the Intermediate Area. Such techniques include casting, gilding, soldering, alloying, and repoussé work in gold, silver, copper, and alloys of them; these techniques were limited to ornaments or small tools.
8. Monumental stonework, such as slab carvings or column statues is extensive in the area. Although styles vary greatly, they exhibit a common level of competent craftsmanship as well as a common bond of angular or stiff treatment of life forms.

9. Very common are small pottery manufactures, including figurines, spindle whorls, and musical instruments. Also known was the figurine mold.
10. Polished stone celts and small ornaments are general, but chipped stone tools are rare and generally roughly executed.
11. Though widely shared in the tradition, technological features are not comparable in scope to those of the Peruvian Area, the closest approach being seen only in the goldwork of Colombia and Lower Central America.
12. Language affiliation gives some historical unity to the Intermediate Area, with only three principal language families being represented: Chibchan, Paezan, and Macro-Chibchan (Willey 1971: 277-278).
See below as regards language affiliation.

Human populations sharing the above features lived in an area that extended from eastern Honduras, through northern Ecuador and Western Venezuela (see Fig. 1.2). The Intermediate Area exhibits a wide diversity of climates, “from seasonally dry (northern Pacific Costa Rica and Southern Pacific Nicaragua, the Santa Elena Peninsula of Ecuador) to the highest levels of precipitations in the new World (the Atlantic watersheds of Costa Rica and Panama)” (Lange 1992a: 3-4). The ecological diversity of the Intermediate Area was a decisive factor in the evolution of the societies established there; it generated broad cultural diversity, which in turn “provided long-term cultural stability for the people who lived in the area, in contrast to the cyclical upheaval and competition that was characteristic of the centers of Mesoamerican and Andean civilizations” (Lange 1992a: 6).

Until recently, the Intermediate Area was understudied and poorly understood, mainly because it does not exhibit the social and economic complexity of neighboring areas such as Mesoamerica or the Andes. In addition, this lack of interest was determined by a by now obsolete “evolutionist” conception in culture studies, which views development as linear and measurable in terms of stages reached, e.g. state mode. No wonder, the levels of social organization in the Intermediate Area appear as retarded and underdeveloped when compared to Mesoamerica. While it is true that such differences existed, it was precisely these features that granted Intermediate Area societies greater time stability than their neighbors had. Sheets (1992) approaches the dynamics of culture change in the Intermediate Area in terms of equilibrium rather than “development” and identifies six achievements/features of Intermediate Area societies which, together with ecological diversity, underlay the time stability that characterized these societies:³

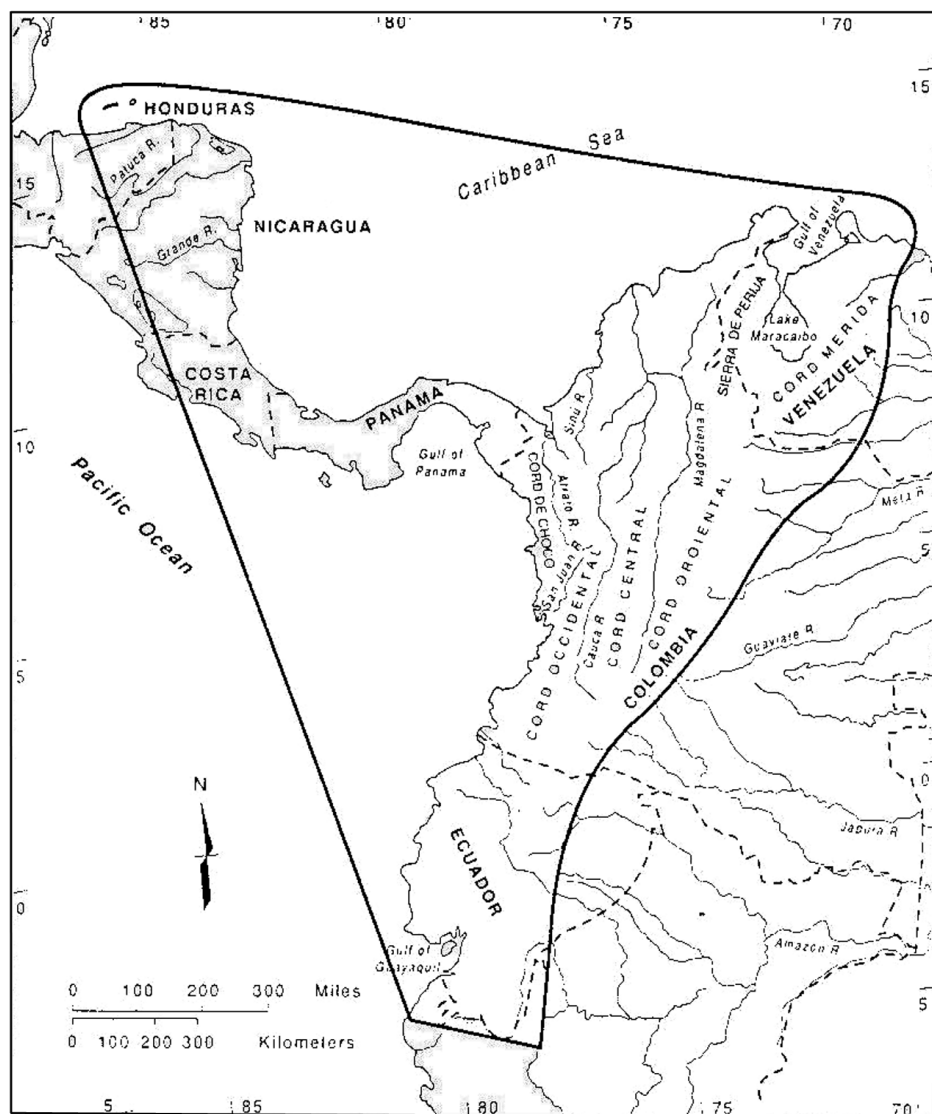


Figure 1.2. *Geographical features of the Intermediate Area (from Lange 1992b: 5)*

1. *Sedentism and the neolithic village tradition*: there is a striking early establishment and a long maintenance of an efficient Neolithic life style throughout the area, which goes as far back as the third millennium B.C. By *Neolithic* is meant “a sedentary village life, with pottery vessel production and the use of domesticated species of plants for at least some of the diet” (Sheets 1992: 20).
2. *Avoidance of the state*: instead of conceiving the absence of state-level organization negatively, that is, as some sort of mental limitation or simply underdevelopment, the absence of such level of social organization was an achievement in that certain features of these societies rendered the creation of the state unnecessary; such features include peer polity interactions, especially “the nature of populations densities and distributions related to access to productive resources (i.e. lesser needs for adjudication of disputes), lower levels of intersocietal conflict and conquest, lesser needs for defense, and abilities to maintain more self-sufficient sustained-yield adaptations” (Sheets 1992: 24-25). Isolation and sheer distance from centers of power played another crucial role.
3. *Small polities, egalitarian and simple ranked societies*: tribes and chiefdoms were the most basic level of organization; archeological evidence shows that status differentials were due to sex rather than to social status.
4. *Religion*: religious systems in the Intermediate Area differ from those of its neighbors in the level of complexity and in the fact that ancestor worship was more central than deity worship, although some religions of the area had organized priesthood, and a well-developed theology, with a Supreme Being.
5. *High artistic/aesthetic achievement in selected categories*: although high levels of artistic achievement are not characteristic of simple societies, Intermediate Area societies “expended considerable time and effort in selected crafts, with resultant high achievement in artistic representations” (Sheets 1992: 28). Among the artistic achievements of the Intermediate Area are vesicular lava sculptures, some ceramics, the finest jades, and especially goldwork, which shows impressive technical accomplishments.
6. *Economic, social and adaptational stability*: partly determined by its ecological diversity (including the extraordinary abundance of sources for subsistence), Intermediate Area societies reached a high degree of economic independence, thereby avoiding the economies of dependency that characterized the neighboring areas. As a result, high indices of social and time stability became the norm.

The above mentioned achievements/features of Intermediate Area societies prove, among other things, that this cultural area had its own dynamics –early establishment and remarkable persistence of the village tradition, and was not the result of migrations of marginal members from neighboring areas, nor was there “cultural import”, as it is sometimes assumed.⁴ Hoopes (1992) remarks that there is no archeological evidence pointing in that direction; rather, it was in situ processes of autochthonous development that brought about the historical patterns characteristic of the area. Differences between Intermediate Area societies and those of its neighboring areas existed as early as the Early Formative Period (Hoopes 1992: 72), which in the case of the Intermediate Area can be traced as far back as 6,000 B.C. Occupation of the area ensued prior to 8,000 B.C. (cf. Hoopes 1992, Lange 1992c: 424).

In summary, the cultural development of the Intermediate Area was largely determined by its natural environment, the tropical rain forest. Ecological diversity, which manifested in a variety of resources utilized for subsistence strategies, led to less complex social organization schemes and to a long tradition of cultural diversity; these were, in turn, characterized by regional (sub-areal) developmental independence and inwardly-oriented living, which brought about long-term cultural stability. Although village life predominated, more complex ranked societies did exist, the most important one being the Muisca civilization that developed around Bogotá (see 1.3.1).

As for linguistic affinity, the twelfth feature that Willey assigns to the Intermediate Area is far from correct. Constenla (1991) has reliably shown the following linguistic composition of the Intermediate Area:

- a) Eight language families, Lenca, Jicaque, Misumalpan, Chibchan, Chocoan, Timote-Cuica, Jirajara, extinct Betoy, and Barbacoan;
- b) What could be called “frontier languages” because of their being members of families belonging to other areas, such as the northern branches of Carib, and Maipuran;
- c) Individual (but not isolate) languages such as Paez and Cofán, isolate Camsá, Ecuadorian Quechua, Colombian Quechua, and extinct Yurumanguí and Esmeraldas.

Constenla points out that the Chibchan family is both the most numerous and the most widely distributed along the Intermediate Area. It can also be added that it is the one with most grammars and/or grammatical descriptions available. This, however, should not mislead the reader to think that there is a rich literature on Chibchan; it only means that when compared to the disheartening scarcity of descriptions of other Intermediate Area languages, Chibchan is much better off.

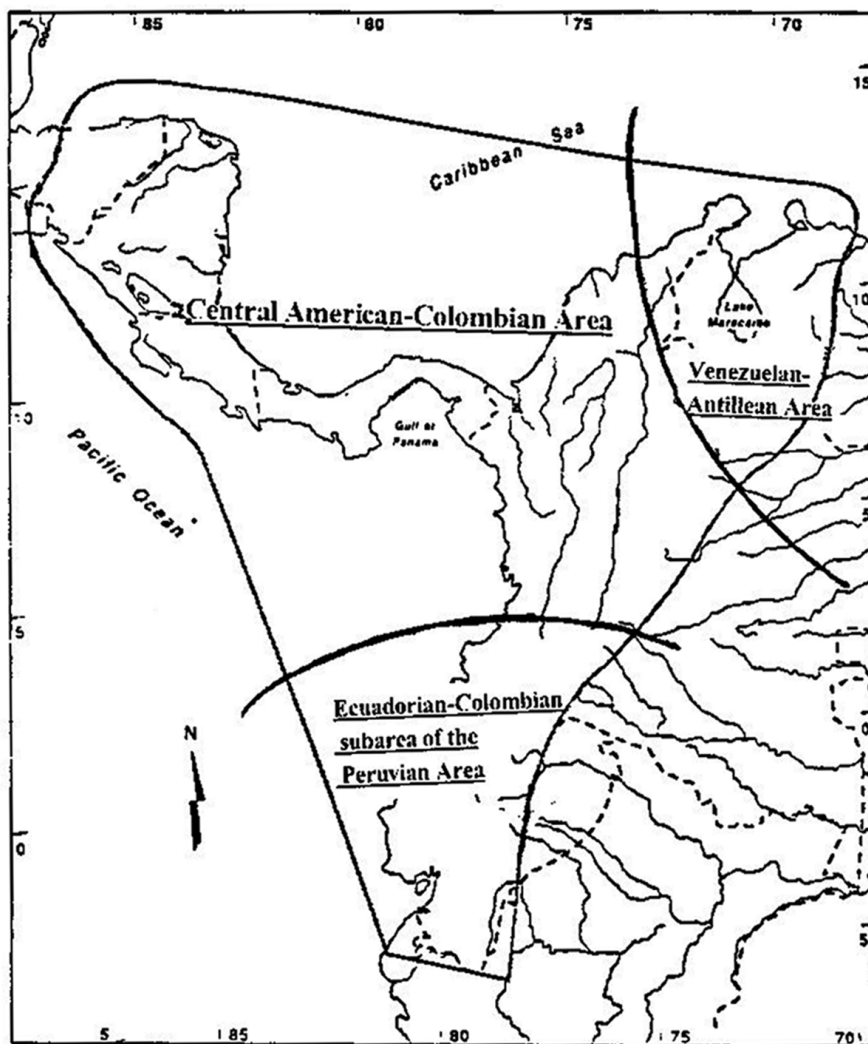


Figure 1.3. *Linguistic areals of Intermediate Area.*

Linguistically, the Intermediate Area is not one single area. On the basis of 39 phonological and 42 morphosyntactic features selected from a sample of 32 Intermediate Area languages belonging to all living language families from all

regions of the area (and in some cases from recorded data from dead languages), and through comparison with the neighboring linguistic areas, Constenla (1991) concludes that there is no coincidence between the isoglosses and the borders of the Intermediate Area; instead, there are important typological differences among some members, which hint at the existence of three linguistic areas (see Fig. 1.3):

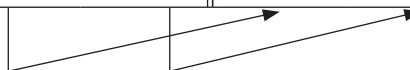
1. Central American-Colombian Area (CCA),
2. Ecuadorian-Colombian subarea of the Peruvian Area (EC),
3. Venezuelan-Antillean Area (VA),

It seems appropriate to analyze the Intermediate Area in terms of core and periphery. In this view, the Central American-Colombian area (CCA) would stand for the core of the Intermediate Area, while the Ecuadorian-Colombian (EC) and Venezuelan-Antillean (VA) areas appear practically as transition areas to the Andean area in the south, and to Amazonia and the Caribbean in the east, respectively.⁵ This view is reinforced by the fact that whereas the CCA shares some features with the other two areas, –and these two areas, in turn, share features with their respective neighbors, typological contrast with neighboring Mesoamerica is greatest (see Table 1). Thus, SOV order and use of postpositions in CCA contrasts radically with the use of prepositions and V-initial order in Mesoamerica, but V-medial and use of prepositions in VA does not contrast with V-medial order and use of prepositions in Amazonia; similarly, post nuclear adjective position and possessor-possessum order in CCA contrasts with prenuclear position of adjectives and possessum-possessor order in Mesoamerica, but prenuclear position of the adjective and possessum-possessor order in EC is similar to the Andean pattern. In sum, the CCA is the only linguistic area of the Intermediate Area that shows a sharp boundary with non-Intermediate Area linguistic areas, namely with Mesoamerica, whereas the other two areas flow into their neighboring areas; the EC flows into the Andean Area and VA flows into Amazonia. This internal distribution basically matches Willey’s original remark (see above) that the southern regions of the Intermediate Area had ties with the Caribbean and Amazonia earlier than with Mesoamerica (a view corroborated by recent archaeological research, cf. Fonseca 1994, Lange 1994),⁶ whence it can be argued for a more “prototypical” nature of the CCA area within the Intermediate Area.

Table 1.1 is not meant to propose the existence of linguistic areas on the basis of only four features. The admittedly sparse number of features in Table 1.1 is only meant to show the internal differences within the Intermediate Area, as well as the differences and similarities between its three linguistic areas and their neighboring areas. A more encompassing list of distinctive features for each linguistic area of the Intermediate Area follows, as can be obtained from Constenla’s findings (1991:123-129).

Table 1.1
Differences and similarities between linguistic areas

FEATURE	MESOAMERICA	INTERMEDIATE AREA			ANDES	CARIB./ AMAZ.
		CCA	EC	VA		
<i>V-Position</i>	V-initial	V-final	V-final	V-medial	V-final	V-medial
<i>Adpositions</i>	Prepositions	Postpositions	Postpositions	Prepositions	Postpositions	Prepositions
<i>Adjectives</i>	Prenuclear	Postnuclear	Prenuclear	Postnuclear	Prenuclear	Postnuclear
<i>Possession</i>	Possd.-Possr.	Possr.- Possd.	Possd.-Possr.	Possd.-possr.	Possr.-possd.	Possr.- possd.
<i>N + num.</i>	Numeral + N	N + numeral	Numeral + N	Numeral + N	Numeral + N	Numeral + N



Ecuadorian-Colombian (EC) subarea of the Peruvian Area

This area extends from southwestern Colombia, the western half of Ecuador down to northern Peru. Some of the languages spoken in it include Guambiano, Cuaiker, Cayapa, Páez, Cofán and Ecuadorian Quechua. Table 1.2 shows this area's distinctive traits in terms of both differences and similarities between this area and the Andean area.

Venezuelan-Antillean Area (VA)

This area includes the Guajira Peninsula (where Colombia and Venezuela meet) and Western Venezuela; some of the languages spoken in this area include Cariban languages, Guajiro and other Arawakan languages, as well as languages of uncertain affiliation, such as Guamo, Yaruro and Warao. Due to the scarcity of conclusive data (little and/or outdated descriptions, or in most cases language death), Constenla (1991: 125-126) admits that this proposed area does not rest on solid ground. Still some features have been identified as Caribbean:⁷

- a) absence of sonority oppositions for obstruents,
- b) exclusive VO basic order in the transitive clause (and consequent total absence of SOV order),
- c) numeral + noun order,
- d) noun + genitive order,
- e) use of prepositions.

Table 1.2*Distinctive features of the EC as compared to the Andean area*

FEATURE	EC	ANDES
a) absence of mid-high opposition in the back series	+	+
b) absence of voiced/voiceless opposition in affricates	+	+
c) presence of a voiceless alveolar affricate	+	+
d) presence of a voiceless prepalatal fricative	+	+
e) presence of a lateral mediopalatal approximant	+	+
f) presence of a nasal mediopalatal consonant	+	+
g) presence of retroflex fricatives or affricates	+	+
h) presence of the mid-high opposition in the front series	+	-
i) absence of glottal oppositions	+	-
j) presence of a voiceless glottal stop	+	-
k) absence of uvular stops	+	-
l) presence of a voiced bilabial fricative	+	-
m) presence of the [$\pm$ rounded] opposition in non-front vowels	+	-
n) prenuclear position of the adjective in the noun phrase	+	+
o) prenuclear position of numerals in the noun phrase	+	+
p) sentence-initial position of interrogative word	+	+
q) marking of accusative case	+	+
r) marking of the genitive case	+	+
s) presence of a passive construction ⁸	+	+
t) absence of number inflection in the noun	+	-
u) use of prefixation in the expression of some TAM distinctions	+	-

Central American-Colombian (CCA) Area

This area extends from eastern Honduras, most of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and central Colombia. The following appear as the most significant features of this area:

- a) most languages exhibit sonority oppositions in the stop and fricative series;
- b) exclusive SOV order in the main clause;
- c) exclusive use of postpositions;
- d) most languages have a possessor-possessum order;
- e) extensive presence of noun-adjective order;
- f) strong tendency for noun-numeral order;
- g) question words do not tend to appear sentence-initially;
- h) extensive suffixation or postposition of negative particles in declarative clauses;
- i) total absence of gender oppositions in pronouns and nominal inflection;
- j) most languages have no accusative marking;
- k) absence of alienable possession in nouns.

The Chibchan languages constitute the clearest representatives of this linguistic area, not only in terms of number but also of extension (see 1.3). They can be characterized as the *most widespread language family in the Central American-Colombian linguistic area* (which constitutes, in turn, the core of the cultural area known as the Intermediate Area).

1.3 The Chibchan Languages

The Chibchan languages are spoken in a wide area extending from Northeastern Honduras, through the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, most of Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, and West of Venezuela (see Fig. 1.4). Since the “discovery” of this language family, attributed to M. Uhle (1890), several classifications have been proposed (see 1.3.2, below). The most recent and accepted one to date is that of Constenla (1989, 1991, 1995), an adaptation of which is offered in Fig. 1.5. The geographic distribution of the family, shown in Fig. 1.4, has given rise to some controversy. Since Central America (concretely, present day Honduras and Nicaragua) constituted the border line between the linguistic areas of Mesoamerica and the Central American-Colombian Area, the low number of members in the peripheral north has given rise to two views, which I call the *Theory of North Migration* and the *Centrifugal Expansion*

Theory, respectively. Briefly, the former posits Colombia as the epicenter of the Chibchan languages, from where migratory movements to the north took place in relatively late times; the name *Chibchan* given to the whole family is remnant of this view. However, neither glottochronological studies (cf. Constenla 1981, 1985, 1989, 1991, 1995)⁹ nor archeological research (Cook and Ranere 1992) seem to back up this position (which is not based on linguistic data anyway), but tend to favor the latter, according to which the original Chibchan territory was the present-day border zone between Costa Rica and Panama, at the Talamanca mountain range, which cross-cuts that border; from there, migratory movements both northbound and southbound took place. The earliest fragmentation of the family has been estimated to have occurred around 4,000 B.C. (Constenla 1995: 44). In addition to the recent anthropological and archeological research (cf. Cooke and Ranere 1992, Fonseca and Cooke 1993, Fonseca 1994), there is even genetic data speaking in favor of the Centrifugal Expansion Theory. A genetic characterization of the Chibcha-speaking groups of lower Central America reveals that “the Chibcha of lower Central America have genetic characteristics that distinguish them from the groups in Mesoamerica and northern South America –namely, a virtual absence of DI*A in most groups, high frequencies of TF*D-CHI and 6PGD*C, as well as polymorphic frequencies of five originally restricted variants, TPI*3-BRI, TF*D-GUA, ACP*GUA1, PEPA*2-KUNA– leading credence to the idea that the peoples of this region have developed in situ over a long period of time, without major intrusions from the outside” (Barrantes et al. 1990: 80); Ruiz-Narvaez (2005) confirmed this view in a more recent genetic study including Chibchan Indians from Costa Rica and Panama.

So far, 24 languages have been identified under Chibchan affiliation, 8 of which are now extinct; some are facing imminent death (e.g. Paya in Honduras and Guatuso in Costa Rica), having less than 600 speakers left, while the rest includes languages with numbers of speakers ranging from 2,000 (e.g. Barí in Colombia and Venezuela) to even 150,000 (e.g. Guaymí in Panama). Practically extinct are Rama (Nicaragua) and Boruca (Costa Rica); there remain only 24 speakers of the former and 1 elderly speaker of the latter. The majority of the living languages, however, have an average of 3,000 speakers and are, at least temporarily, not seriously threatened with extinction.

All 16 living languages plus 1 of the extinct languages (Muisca) have been included in this book. The analyses in this book are based on the sources, although they do not always mirror theirs, a case in point is the assumption of split ergative systems for Kogi and Damana (Chapter 4), overlooked in the

descriptions consulted. Also in glosses I have tried to use familiar terminology, which is not to detract from the uniqueness of the languages concerned. To avoid constant repetition in the descriptive chapters (2 and 3), Table 1.3 lists the languages, with alternative names, and the sources consulted; the countries where the languages are spoken are also provided, followed by an estimated number of speakers; some of those numbers are taken from the sources and some others from SIL's *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1997).¹⁰

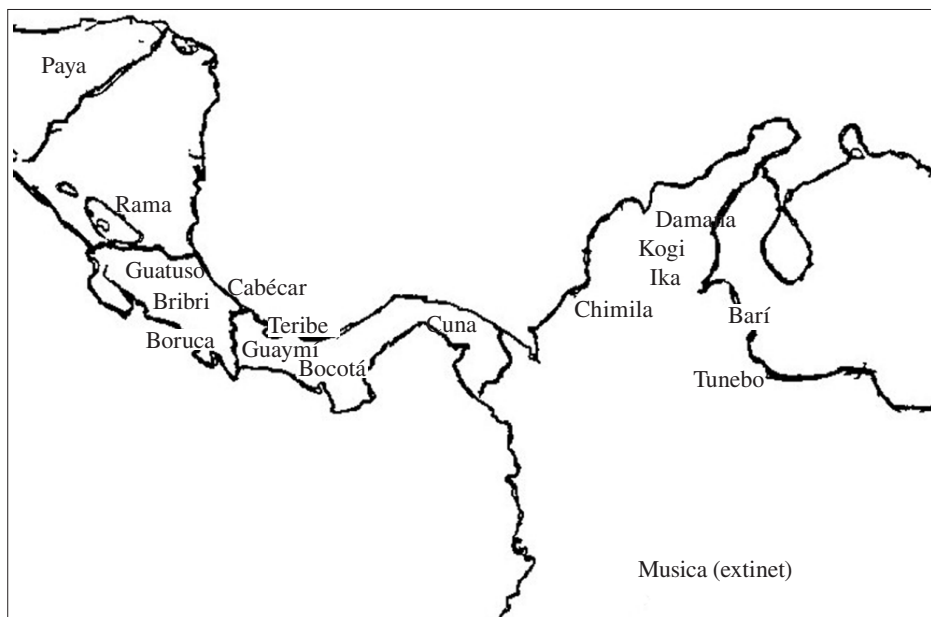


Figure 1.4. *Geographic distribution of the Chibchan languages*

1.3.1 Geographic and historical aspects of the Chibchan peoples

As pointed out above, the original Chibchan territory was the present-day border zone between Costa Rica and Panama, from where migratory movements took place both northwards and southwards. As can be inferred from Figures 1.4 and 1.5, linguistic diffusion north of the epicenter exhibited the time stability and equilibrium typical of the Intermediate Area (cf. 1.2., above), while those groups

Table 1.3
The Chibchan languages

LANGUAGE	ALTERNATIVE NAME	COUNTRY	N.º OF SPEAKERS	SOURCES
Paya	Pech	Honduras	600	Holt (1999).
Rama		Nicaragua	24	CRAIG and HALE (1988), CIDCA-CRAIG (1990), CRAIG (1986, 1991).
Guatuso	Maleku Jlaika	Costa Rica	365	Constenla (1982, 1986, 1998), Sánchez (1979).
Bribri		Costa Rica	6,000	CONSTENLA and MARGERY (1978, 1979), DICKEMAN-DATZ (1983, 1984, 1985), SCHLABACH and LEVINSOHN (1983), CONSTENLA <i>et al.</i> (1998), field notes.
Cabécar		Costa Rica	2,500	MARGERY (1986, 1989a, 1991).
Boruca	Brunca	Costa Rica	1 (elderly)	MAROTO (n.d.), CONSTENLA and MAROTO (1986), QUESADA (1996, 2000c, 2001a), QUESADA-PACHECO (1995a, 1995b), QUESADA and QUESADA-PACHECO (1995), field notes.
Teribe	Naso	Costa Rica, Panama	1,500	KOONTZ and ANDERSON (1975, 1977), KOONTZ (1977), HEINZE (1979), QUESADA (2000a, 2000b, 2000d, 2001c), field notes.
Guaymí	Ngäbère, Movere, Move	Costa Rica, Panama	150,000	ALPHONSE (1956), KOPESEC (1975), PAYNE (1982), LININGER (1982), GIVÓN and YOUNG (1990), field notes.

Continue

Continue Table 1.3

LANGUAGE	ALTERNATIVE NAME	COUNTRY	N.º OF SPEAKERS	SOURCES
Bocotá	Buglere	Costa Rica, Panama	2,500	GUNN (1975), JARA (1989), SOLÍS (1989, 1992), MARGERY and RODRÍGUEZ (1992), MARGERY (1989b, 1993, 1996), field notes.
Cuna		Panama, Colombia	70,000	HOLMER (1946, 1947), SCHERZER (1978), LLERENA (1987, 2000).
Muisca (Extinct)	Chibcha	Colombia		GONZÁLEZ DE PÉREZ (1987), OSTLER (1992, 1993, 2000). ADELAAR (1995, 2004).
Ika	Bíntucua, Arhuaco	Colombia	8,000	FRANK (1990), LANDABURU (2000).
Damana	Arsario, Sanká, Malayo, Marocasero, Guamaca	Colombia	2,800	TRILLOS (1989, 1999, 2000).
Kogi	Cágaba	Colombia	7,000	STENDAL (1976, 1979), ORTIZ (1989, 2000), HENSARLING (1991), OLAYA (2000).
Tunebo	Uwcuwa	Colombia	1,800	HEADLAND (1976, 1997), HEADLAND and LEVINSOHN (1977).
Chimila	Ette taara	Colombia	2,000	TRILLOS (1996).
Barí	Motilón	Colombia, Venezuela	2,500	MOGOLLÓN (2000), RINCÓN and QUESADA (2001-2). QUESADA (2004) field notes.

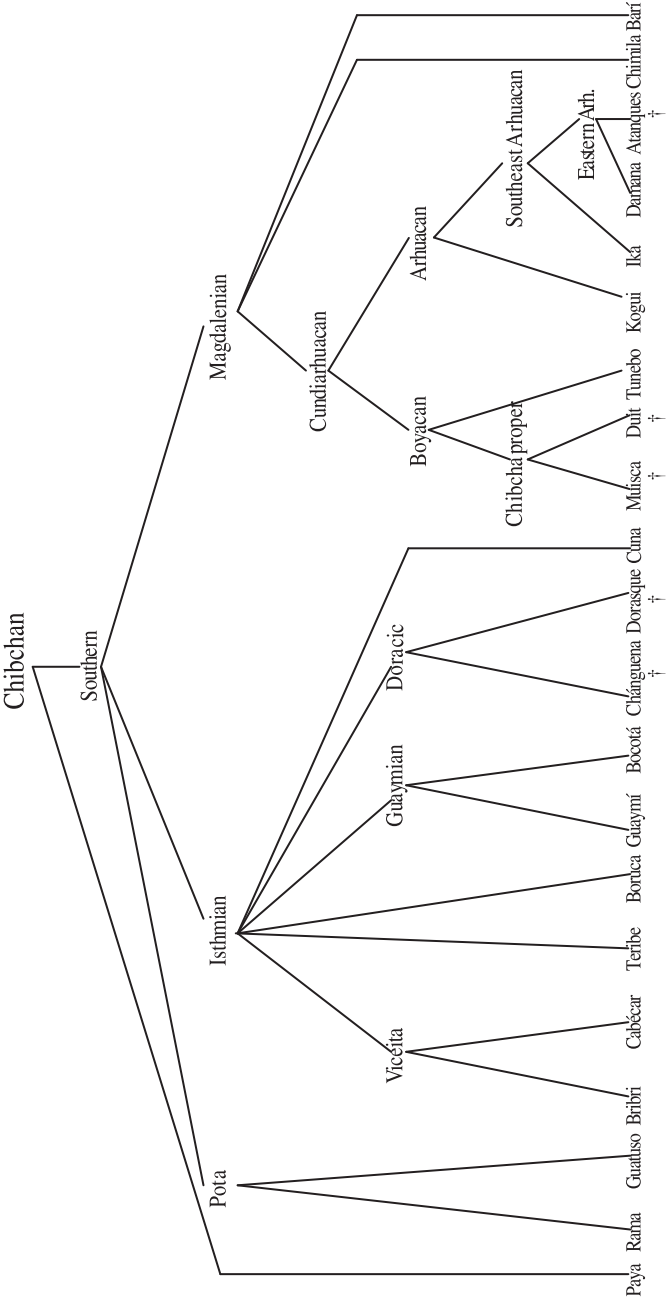


Figure 1.5. Genealogical classification of Chibchan

heading south apparently went through more intimate and active contact, and hence more “punctuation”, in Dixon’s terms.¹¹ Genetic research and historical data tend to confirm this impression; in the previously cited work by Barrantes and associates, these geneticists argue for “a relatively small founding population and for essential isolation of the Central American Chibcha over a long period. Cultural barriers and geographic isolation have contributed to an essential containment of both genetic and linguistic exchange within the region” (Barrantes et al. 1990: 80). Ruiz-Narvaez’s study (2005) supports these findings. Historical data confirm the view of a more “punctuated” south. While self-sufficient small societies based on independent economic systems were the norm in the north, chiefdoms tended to be greater in frequency, size and power in the south (cf. Lange 1992b); the north was characterized by emergent chiefdoms and organization at the tribal level, whereas social stratification was more marked in the south; likewise, population seems to have been larger in the southern part of the Chibchan world; a population of three million has been estimated at the time of the Spanish contact (cf. Fowler 1992: 365). The Muisca, or Chibcha, for instance, reached the most complex levels of social (and cultural) organization as a result of a stricter social organization and probably due to the proximity of Colombia to the Andes (cf. Lange 1992b: 438); chiefs and their families constituted a privileged layer of society -assisted by priests and warriors, in charge of political (and military) decision-making. The rest of the population was ranked according to their productive activities, artisans, peasants, etc. (Rodriguez 1999); conquered populations were enslaved and required to pay tributes, which resulted in greater concentration of wealth at the disposal of the ruling elite (cf. Fowler 1992).

The arrival of Chibchan-speaking groups to Colombia has been dated in 4-3,000 B.C. where intermarriage with local populations of nomadic hunters and gatherers must have ensued. Sedentary life and early agriculture emerged, as a result of increasing population and exploitation of the ecological resources. Intensification of agriculture brought about a self-sufficient economy, which later developed into a more complex level of social organization. The Muisca established themselves in the temperate and cold regions of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, and soon developed techniques for maximizing crop production, such as the construction of irrigation canals for the dry areas and drainage canals for swamp areas. Agricultural techniques were complemented by the development of goldwork techniques.¹² The Muisca are known for their varied ceramics, gold work and emeralds, which they considered sacred stones. Possession of emerald mines was a constant source of wars with neighboring peoples of Cariban origin (cf. Rodriguez 1999). Their acquired wealth gave rise to the myth of El Dorado, the ultimate cause for the

encounter with the Spaniards. Despite strong resistance, the Muisca were finally subdued and practically exterminated.

Other Chibchan groups of Colombia include the Duit, the Tairona, whose languages became extinct soon after the Spanish arrival. Those languages that have survived till the present day are spoken in the areas east of the Magdalena river, the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Ika, Kogi, Damana, Chimila), and the north of Boyacá (Tunebo). In general, their quality of life is in many cases deplorable, and their languages endangered. Some groups have been lucky in having had their territories declared “reservation”, or *resguardo* (e.g. Chimila); others like the Tunebo (also known as Uwa) have had to fight with all the means available to them (ranging from demonstrations and lobbying at the international level to the threat of mass suicide) to have their right to land respected, as the threat posed by multinational oil-exploring companies becomes more tangible.¹³ Last but not least, the never ending spiral of terror in Colombia (drug dealers, leftist guerrillas and U.S. supported paramilitary groups and government troops) represents a permanent threat to the indigenous groups of the country.

The Chibchan groups in Lower Central America clearly exhibit the cultural hallmark of the Intermediate Area, broad diversity and (resulting) long-term stability (cf. Cook and Ranere 1992). Save for western Honduras, where due to vicinity with Mesoamerica large chiefdoms emerged, the tribal level of socio-political organization was the rule in this part of the Chibchan nation (cf. Healy 1992, Cook and Ranere 1992). After the fragmentation of Proto-Chibchan in 4,000 B.C., there was relatively little northbound movement, as most groups remained close to the original territory. On the basis of archeological findings it has been concluded that these people soon established themselves in their own regions (Drolet 1992).

Village life and segmentary societies were predominant in the isthmus, as was a hunting and gathering basis of subsistence, which lasted until well into the first millennium A.D., thus delaying the development of agriculture. Slash-and-burn agriculture gave way to some lower order chiefdoms, where more organized social life ensued. Art, religion, and war became prominent activities of the Pre-Columbian Chibcha of Lower Central America. Art, including lapidary and stone sculptural media, began some 2,000 years ago, being replaced by metallurgy (cf. Snarskis 1992). Ceramics, jade and goldwork appear thereafter as the most remarkable features of these groups. Gold played an important role in social stratification, posturing and politics (Cook and Ranere 1992); there even existed a gold-trading network at the time of the Spanish contact (cf. Fowler 1992). As for ritual activities, drug use was an important ingredient; likewise, human

sacrifice, including the trophy-head cult, was part and parcel of their religious practices.¹⁴ War was widespread and continuous, remaining even until well into the independent era of Central America (in 1821); war “provided the means for social mobility for commoner warriors” (Fowler 1992: 368). The constant wars among the local groups certainly eased conquest, and “shock and loss of cultural identity befell the conquered and defeated. The proud pre-Columbian lineages disintegrated into a humdrum population striving to maintain the bare essentials of life itself” (Stone 1977: 217). As elsewhere in the continent, colonization brought extermination and marginalization to the indigenous cultures. A dramatic case was that of the Teribes, who were separated in 1698 by Franciscan missionaries to help bring about their surrender and Christianization; a clan was brought from northeastern Panama (then Costa Rican territory) to the Pacific region of Costa Rica. Only after 300 years of almost no contact between the two groups, a reencounter took place (cf. Quesada 2001b). Culturally orphan, the relocated group was soon assimilated to the Mestizo culture and gave up its language. Despite the reencounter both groups concede that they are two peoples now.

After 1492 population decreased rapidly in Lower Central America, from the estimated one or two million at the time of the Spanish contact, something that not even Pre-Columbian wars and sacrifices had caused. Only recently has there been growing awareness about the value of the autochthonous cultures, which among other things has brought state recognition and creation of reservations. However, the damage caused is far from healing and the sequels of the invasion are still visible. Descendants of the Pre-Columbian Chibcha in Lower Central America include the two groups with the largest number of speakers in the family; Guaymí and Cuna (cf. Table 1.3). While the latter have somehow managed to organize and cope with the ever-increasing threat of linguistic (and cultural) extinction, the former constitute one of the most marginal(ized) groups of Panama, despite (or perhaps due to) their ever-increasing population size. Semi-nomadic, and polygamous, the Guaymí have “invaded” other indigenous territories of Panama, e.g. Teribe, thereby clashing with the local groups; others have migrated to Costa Rica and established themselves at the skirts of the Talamanca mountain range. Following a practice that goes back to the early seventies, the Costa Rican government has declared the settled area a “reservation”. Originally, reservations were areas conceived to protect Indians, and to provide them with land to work. Save for the Boruca, who engaged in the production of handicrafts to supply the tourist industry, thus speeding up the death of their already moribund language, the reservation experiment turned out to be half-way solution. For one, the borders of the reservations are never

secure;¹⁵ second, though the basic needs (health, land, electricity, running water, education) are provided, the government shows little interest in the betterment of the Indians' social condition. There is little support for their agricultural activities in the form of subsidies, supplies, and the like; consequently, they cannot compete with Mestizo farmers. In Nicaragua, the Ramas were at the brink of extinction before 1979; the Sandinista Revolution gave them (and other indigenous groups) new hope of survival when the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua was given the status of "autonomous region" and new laws for the protection of the indigenous groups were passed. However, with the collapse of the revolutionary process, the Ramas lost institutional support and are currently involved in land disputes, being pressured by Mestizo settlers to abandon the riverbanks and forests they occupy. The old idea of an interoceanic rail line, or "Dry Canal", constitutes another permanent threat. Finally, the Paya in Honduras have faced a similar situation; their territory is gradually shrinking due to pressure from Mestizo settlers, and infrastructure works; in addition, substantial intermarriage with Miskito people (Misumalpan) has brought cultural and linguistic assimilation (Holt 1999). There remain only 600 speakers out of 2,500 ethnic Paya.

1.3.2 Problems in the study of Chibchan: a ghost named *Macro-Chibchan*

It is no exaggeration to affirm that the causes of the confusion about the typological, areal and even genetic relationships among the Chibchan languages have been lack of interest and sloppiness. Perhaps attracted by the grandeur of Mesoamerican and Andean cultures -as was the case with archeologists (cf. Sheets 1992), linguists have traditionally shown relatively little interest in Lower Central America.¹⁶ Interest in the languages of the isthmus was on the probable relations between them and Muisca (in an attempt to demonstrate the Theory of Northern Migration) rather than on the languages per se. In addition, there was an implicit tendency to solve the "Central American language question" by casting all the languages of the region into one sack under the label of *Macro-Chibchan*, and in doing so, the specifics of the family and of each individual language were ignored.

As for sloppiness, between 1888 and 1950, following Uhle's original paper, a few authors devoted themselves to establishing genetic relations, but in most cases their results were not felicitous. According to Constenla

(1983:17-33), among the main flaws of those studies are:¹⁷ a) confusion between typology and genealogy, b) ignorance of the central role of sound correspondences in diachronic work, c) semantic arbitrariness; d) arbitrariness in segmentation; e) inexistence of etymological research; f) interference of non-linguistic entities in the classifications; and g) careless handling of the data. Worse yet, some of these classifications were later taken as valid for subsequent classifications, most notably by Swadesh (1954, 1955) and Greenberg (1960, 1987). As a result, these two authors' classifications were vague, impressionistic, speculative, inexplicit concerning evidence, and not beyond the level of *probable* relations (cf. Constenla 1995: 19); still, they soon became received information, probably due to the reputation of their proponents. Constenla (1995: 19-20) highlights Greenberg's sloppiness in applying the comparative method and in the use of etymology, which resulted in inaccurate postulations about Chibchan. His own classification was not accompanied by etymological research nor by a strict application of the comparative method; the concept of sound correspondence was not taken into account at all. Thus, hypotheses became statements of truth even without having gone through systematic and rigorous examination, let alone proof. Tragically, most of these classifications have gone even beyond the field of linguistics, e.g. anthropology.

As stated in the preceding paragraph, classifications were arbitrary, even when presumed relations could be ruled out on simple inspection. A vicious cycle was thus created in which the original flawed classifications were acritically accepted by others, who in turn came up with aberrant and hilarious statements about Chibchan. Constenla (1995: 26) comments how Kaufman (1988),¹⁸ without the least knowledge about the historical background of the Chibchan peoples, arrived at the conclusion that the Teribe people must have entered Costa Rica by 4,000 B.C., although the relocation of part of the tribe, mentioned in the preceding section, has been well-known and documented practically since it happened.¹⁹

Confusion and sloppiness are not limited to the Chibchan languages only; they are also prevalent in the hypothesized relations of Chibchan with other neighboring languages and language families (e.g. Paezan, Barbacoan, Chocoan, and Misumalpan). As can be seen in Tables 1.4 and 1.5, there are no grounds for including the Barbacoan languages (Colorado and Cayapa), nor Páez within the Chibchan family (the cognates in the Chibchan languages appear in boldface).²⁰ Still, it was common view until recently that these languages were either Chibchan, or at least members of a phylum.

Table 1.4
Chibchan vs. Barbacoan cognates
 (adapted from Constenla 1981: 10-11)

	BIBRI	BORUCA	GUATUSO	KOGI	COLORADO	CAYAPA
'house'	ú	ú	u:	hu-	já	já
'cry'	ĩ ũk	bo	xo:	mau-	waré	wáa-
'blood'	apĩ	dʒibí	li:	abi	ʔa'sá	ʔása
'grind'	ũʔ	úʔ	u:	ʒungui	ʔilí	ʔfi
'mouse'	sakuí	kui	pi:ʔiki	sipsi	ʔijú	ʔijú
'tree'	kál	kraŋ	ko:ra	kali	tsidé	tʃi
'sleep'	kapĩʔ	kabí	tʃu:xi	kaba	ka'tso-	kás-
'deer'	sũlí	suturík	ʔuri	sugi	maná	mána
'louse'	kũ	kuá	ku:	ku-	mú	mú
'name'	axká	káʔ	okteka	kaʒuka	mumú	múmu
'water'	dĩʔ	díʔ	ti:	ni	pi	pi
'thou'	běʔ	báʔ	po:	ma	nú	ɲú
'ear'	kuku	kuágax	toko:	kuka	pũki	pũŋgi
'stone'	áik	káŋ	oktara	hagi	sú	ʃu-púka
'feather'	ku	ká	i:la	gáda	fú	hú
'what'	í	í	oro:ki	hi	tí	tí
'take'	kaʎõǎʔ	dʒúʔ	ku:	gu-	táhi-	táʔ
'cook'	alĩʔ	driʔ	tuxxe	nu-	ʔá-	ʔá-
'snake'	tkabí	tebék	ʔala:ki	takbi	piní	píɲi
'person'	apĩʔ	abí	le:ku	kagaba	tsá'tsi	tʃátʃi

As could be foreseen, the “Macro” level was reached. Greenberg’s Macro-Chibcha, for instance, includes languages as far north as Timucua (U.S.A.) and far south as Kunza (Chile). It is not easy to conclude that if the classifications on which the *Macro-Chibchan* hypothesis is based are flawed, so too will be the Macro-Chibchan phylum, which is of little use in the description of Chibchan

Table 1.5
Chibchan vs. Páez cognates
 (adapted from Constenla 1981: 11-12)

	PÁEZ	GUAYMÍ	BOCOTÁ	MUISCA	GUATUSO	BRIBRI
‘blood’	ee	dóriè	be	yba	li:	apí
‘name’	jaseʔ	kó	káda	hyca	okteka	axká
‘come’	juu-	kíté	tʃie	-ny-	to:ki	dĩʔ
‘tree’	φtũ	kří	gli	quye	ko:ra	kál
‘stone’	kuet	hɔ	ke	hyka	oktara	âk
‘thou’	ingj	mó	ba	mue	po:	běʔ
‘three’	tekx	-mð	maí	mika	poi	bádʒãl
‘two’	eʔnz	-bù	bóke	boza	paunʃka	bok
‘tongue’	txũne	tídra	kwíra	pkua	ku:	kũʔ
‘bone’	djiʔtx	kró	gda	quyne	ko:ra	ditʃǎʔ
‘planted field’	ex	tíre	--	ta	putu	tí
‘sleep’	dee-	kíbi	geve	quyby-	tʃu:xi	kap-
‘mouth’	juwe	kádà	ka	quhyca	ko:ki	axko
‘house’	yat	hú	u	gue	u:	ú
‘leaf’	ets	kó	ga	quye	au:ki	kó
‘tooth’	kiʔt	tú	daú	sica	oka	aká
‘moon’	aʔte	sé	daí	khie	fixi	síuò
‘water’	juʔ	ñé	tʃi	sie	ti:	dĩʔ

morphosyntax anyway. Constenla (1981, 1995) and to a lesser extent Craig and Hale (1992) appear skeptical about the possibility of ever demonstrating the Macro-Chibchan hypothesis.²¹ In this respect, Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999b: 15) ingeniously point out that “People writing a grammar of language X from family Y sometimes feel impelled to say something like ‘family Y belongs to the Macro-Tucanoan stock within the Equatorial-Tucanoan stock within Greenberg’s Amerind’. Such a statement should be avoided”. And they accordingly suggest

that “[A]s a rough rule of thumb, readers should be on their guard against any name beginning with ‘macro-’ or any unit labeled as ‘stock.’” (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999b: 15). This suggestion will be followed here. Thus, in this book Chibchan will simply be referred to, and analyzed, as *the most numerous language family in the Central American-Colombian linguistic area*.

1.4 Structure and scope of the book

A major contribution of recent research on the Chibchan peoples and languages consists in having substantiated the Centrifugal Expansion Theory (cf. 1.3, above). Originally, it was Constenla (1981) who delimited the number of members of the family on the basis of phonological reconstruction; his early classification was refined in subsequent publications (1985, 1989, 1991, 1995), showing that the languages of Colombia constitute a clearly separate branch of the family (see Fig. 1.5). Archeological and historical research (Lange 1992,²² Fonseca 1994) later provided further evidence for the division, which was finally supported by genetic research (Barrantes et al. 1990). Interestingly, the first and to date more encompassing publication on Chibchan comparative morphosyntax, Quesada (1999a), also found some important differences between the languages of Central America and those of Colombia, thus reinforcing the division of this language family broadly into north and south (or east and west, as they are also referred to when taking Panama as point of departure). Quesada (1999a) found that despite the typological homogeneity of these languages, there are differences between the languages of Colombia and those of Central America in a few respects. First, the category of auxiliaries (excluding positionals, which constitute a class in its own right) seems to be more relevant and more grammaticalized in Colombia. The same is true, second, of modal systems; these languages have the category of data source, and appear thus close to those of the Peruvian Area. Third, agreement (cross-referencing) seems to be more syntacticized in Colombia than in Central America, with the notable exceptions of Tunebo in the former and of Paya and the Pota languages in the latter. Fourth, with exception of Rama, clause connectors as part of verbal morphology are absent in Central America, but present in Colombia. All these differences point to a more elaborate verbal complex in Colombia (again, excluding Tunebo) than in Central America. Concerning ergativity, there tends to be a geographical “skewing” in favor of TAM splits in Central

America, on the one hand, and NP type (including free vs. bound) and verb type in Colombia, on the other hand (cf. 4.1).

Both the phonological and the morphosyntactic patterning of these languages into two broad groups justify the division, which for methodological reasons will be adopted in this book. Accordingly, the book is organized into two main chapters, 2 and 3, which deal with the languages of Central America and Colombia, respectively. In Chapter 4, selected themes of Chibchan linguistics will be treated in detail; such themes include the three most remarkable features of Chibchan, ergativity, participant-highlighting, and intermittent marking. Finally, Chapter 5 wraps up the conclusions.

The main emphasis of the book is on morphosyntax, with brief reference to phonology at the onset of Chapters 2 and 3. There are two reasons for this disparity. First, Chibchan phonology has already been comparatively described and analyzed in detail for various purposes (reconstruction, comparison, etc.) and this author has little to contribute to that (see Constenla 1981, 1995, and Adelaar 2004). Thus, reference to phonology will be limited to the presentation of general features. Second, morphosyntax constitutes both the author's area of research and by far the least aspect of Chibchan grammar that has been treated in descriptive, (synchronic) perspective. The analysis will be for the most part synchronically oriented, especially in Chapters 2 and 3. There is no presentation of individual languages; rather, the review is thematically oriented, with selected topics as parameters for the analysis e.g. word classes, word order, grammatical relations, and so on; only the main clause will be dealt with because the grammar of subordination is left out in most sources, thereby making it rather difficult to make generalizations about the whole family. The book goes beyond the portrait presented in Quesada (1999a), not only in that the data base has been enlarged, but also in the number of topics included as well as in the depth of the analyses proposed. Progress in the study of Chibchan until now indicates that the time is ripe for a general account of these languages.

NOTES

1. A quick browse at bibliographies where reference to the Chibchan languages is made (e.g. encyclopedias, classification of Amerindian languages, internet sites, etc.) shows little reference to current Spanish-speaking sources, with most authors still acritically departing in one way or another from outdated sources written in English (cf. Constenla 1983, 1995 for a serious criticism). Currently, the most updated and serious research on the languages of the Central American-Colombian linguistic area in general, and the Chibchan languages in particular, is being done by local linguists, basically at the University of Costa Rica, the National University in Costa Rica and the Centro Colombiano de Estudios en Lenguas Aborígenes (Colombia).
2. The relationship between linguistic and cultural area in these cultural complexes is not clear at all, though after reading the linguistic literature on Mesoamerica, the Andes and Amazonia one gets the impression that there is a one-to-one correspondence.
3. Time and social stability, in turn, are important aspects to consider in relation to linguistic diffusion; see 1.3.1, below.
4. This “diffusionist” view is based on a flawed, mechanistic age-area hypothesis (cf. Sheets 1992: 36). The until recently still commonplace view that the Chibchan peoples (and languages) originated in Colombia and then moved northward to Lower Central America is remnant of that view; see 1.3. Most archaeologists currently working on the Intermediate Area and the Chibchan peoples view the evolution of these cultures from the perspective of endogenous development, and discard diffusionist views, especially the Mesoamericanist one (cf. Fonseca 1994: 209). Genetic research also speaks against cultural import; Barrantes et al. (1990: 80), for example, concluded that their results “do not support the old view of the Intermediate Area (and lower Central America) as a well-travelled ‘frontier’ between ‘mother cultures’ to the north and south. Any such explanation would require recent waves of migration from outside the region. While there have been cultural influences from both directions, waves of migration are not compatible with either the genetic and linguistic data or with the archaeological history of the region”.
5. As for the Antilles as a linguistic area, while Constenla argues for the existence of a Caribbean linguistic area stretching to the south (including Arawakan languages), the mainstream view (Spike Gildea, p.c.) is that Amazonia stretches far north up to the Greater Antilles. The presentation that follows is based on Constenla (1991), so that his “Caribbean” linguistic area will have to be understood as referring to Amazonia.
6. The southern periphery of Mesoamerica, known as Greater Nicoya (which includes Western El Salvador, the Pacific coast of Nicaragua and Costa Rica’s Nicoya Peninsula, see Fig. 1.2), has been characterized as a “corridor of north-south cultural movement” marking the boundary between Mesoamerica and the Intermediate Area (Lange 1994: 3); it is said to have been the product of recent Mesoamerican migrations only going back to 500 BC (Lange 1994: 7).
7. Whether the Caribbean in fact constitutes a linguistic area (Constenla) or whether Amazonia stretches all the way up to the Greater Antilles (the mainstream view) will not be pursued here since it exceeds the scope of this book.

8. W. Adelaar (p.c.) remarks that this feature is not really extensive in the area, as it has only been registered in Mochica and Mapuche; even in the latter, the alleged passive is disputed.
9. There has been growing insistence that the family-tree model and glottochronology do not provide the whole picture about linguistic diffusion, with alternative models being proposed instead (cf. Dixon 1997, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001a, b). While glottochronology and the family-tree model do have their pitfalls, they still have some undeniable heuristic value, as they provide general views about genetic affiliation and separation as well as points of departure for both putative and recorded linguistic change and diffusion. In the case of Chibchan, there seems to be general consistency between archeological findings and glottochronological dating (cf. Constenla 1995: 45-47). Bellwood (2001: 29) concedes that not “all dates derived from glottochronology are necessarily incorrect –the problem is to separate the good from the bad”. If archeology, linguistics and genetics (see below) have arrived at similar results independently of one another, as in the case at hand, then one can assume that there was “good” glottochronology involved. See 1.3.2 for a case of “bad” glottochronology.
10. In Quesada (1999a) the two peripheral languages, Paya (Honduras) –the northernmost one– and Barí (Colombia-Venezuela) –the easternmost one, were excluded, as was Chimila (Colombia). All three languages have been included in this book; see Table 1.3.
11. Skeptic about the effectiveness and reliability of the family-tree model and lexico-statistics in general, Dixon (1997) proposes his “punctuated equilibrium model”. Briefly, this model proposes that during the course of mankind there have been long periods of equilibrium which become interrupted by short periods of punctuation. During the former, there are apparently no language prestige divisions, thus creating the conditions for the diffusion of both cultural and linguistic features. Punctuation stands for abrupt situations that bring about expansion of peoples, which, in turn, may end up in language split.
12. In this respect, Fowler (1992: 369) remarks that “in societies of both intermediate and maximum social complexity, stratification can be linked to the surplus-producing capacity of the economy... the greater complexity of the Muisca was made possible not so much by greater surplus-producing capacity (which existed in many Intermediate Area societies since at least 300 B.C.), but rather by dynamic social-structural and ideological factors that made possible a greater concentration of wealth in the hands of the Zipa and Zaque [the two kings] of the Muisca”.
13. Nicholas Ostler, a connoisseur of the Tunebo experience, summarizes the situation as follows (p.c.) “The Uwa have been the inhabitants from time immemorial of the eastern slopes of the Andes in the neighbourhood of Sierra Madre del Cocuy. In April 1992 the Occidental Petroleum Corp. was granted exploration rights in the Samore zone, squarely within traditional Uwa territory. The Uwa, believing that petroleum is *ruiria*, the blood of Mother Earth, oppose all oil extraction on religious grounds. They also note the spread of settlers, social dislocation and guerrilla sabotage activities, that have persistently accompanied oil extraction installations in Colombia. They had threatened mass suicide if the drilling went ahead. After lengthy legal hearings, actual drilling began in late 2000. In July 2001 it was announced that the test bores had come up dry; Occidental later negotiated its withdrawal from the Uwa territory, but in February 2003 the Colombian oil company Ecopetrol was announcing it had found 200 million barrels in the zone.”

14. The trophy-head cult was a ritual consisting in dancing around an enemy's cut-off head as a sign of victory. An allusion to it is made in one of the stories contained in Quesada (2002).
15. In this respect, not even the Boruca were safe. There are currently plans by the Costa Rican government to build a huge dam in the Boruca area in order to sell electricity to Central America and Mexico; this would require the relocation of both Boruca and Teribe reservations. Both groups are currently fighting the plans, but their struggle has little hope.
16. In some compendiums of the world's languages (e.g. Klose 1987, Campbell 1991) there is a conspicuous absence of reference to the Chibchan languages; and when reference is made, confusion tends to be the rule. The same is true for dozens of internet sites.
17. These flaws will only be mentioned here. The reader is referred to the source for details.
18. In a paper presented at annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association.
19. The much cited passage of the corresponding colonial chronicle from 1698 reads "El pueblo de Téjabas, llamado San Francisco, lo sacó mi compañero fray Pablo de Rebullida de la montaña y pobló tres horas de camino de Boruca, para que el padre misionero que esta allí de la provincia de Nicaragua lo asista" (Fernández 1886: 376).
20. Similar comparisons with these and other cognates are provided in Constenla (1995: 20-21).
21. Constenla (1981: 68-82) reviews four attempts at providing evidence in favor of Macro-Chibchan (Shafer 1962, Moore 1962, Wheeler 1972, and Levinsohn 1975), and concludes that, in general, these "did not overcome most of the limitations which characterized the work done during the first part of this [the 20th] century."
22. Lange (1992) is a publication of papers read at a symposium held at Dumbarton Oaks, U.S., in 1987.

The Languages of Central America

The ten Chibchan languages of Central America represent 62% of all living Chibchan languages. These languages belong to three branches of Chibchan, Paya, Pota and Isthmian, distributed along four countries. The northernmost member, Paya, is spoken in eastern Honduras, in the departments of Olancho and Colón. Rama is spoken in the South Atlantic Autonomous Region of Nicaragua, on the Islands of Rama Cay. Except for Guatuso, which is spoken in the northern lowlands of Costa Rica, Province of Alajuela, the languages of this country, Boruca, Bribri and Cabécar, are all spoken in and around the Talamanca mountain range, in the Provinces of Puntarenas and Limón. The languages of Panama, Teribe, Guaymí and Bocotá, are spoken near the Costa Rican-Panamanian border, in the Provinces of Veraguas, Chiriquí and Bocas del Toro; Guaymí and Bocotá are also spoken in Costa Rica, as a result of recent migrations. Finally, the southernmost member of the region, Cuna, is spoken in the archipelago of San Blas, in the Caribbean, and further south into Colombia.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Vowels

With the exception of Rama, all Chibchan languages of Central America have vowel systems that include three degrees of tongue height; in fact, all these languages can be characterized as consisting of the basic five vowels, plus some “extra” feature, which can be vowel length, nasalization, or the tense/lax

opposition. The five vowel system is present in Boruca and Cuna. Five languages of the Isthmian branch, Bribri, Cabécar, Teribe, Guaymí and Bocotá, have both the tense/lax opposition in the high vowels (in the Guaymian languages, the opposition looks more like open vs. closed) and a nasal series, in addition to the basic five vowel system. Nasalization is restricted to the tense segments, though. The vowel systems of these languages are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1
Vowel systems of the Chibchan languages of Central America

Basic vowel system [Boruca and Cuna]

i	u	i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o [not in Rama]	ĩ~	ũ~	ẽ	õ
a		eẽ	oõ	ã	
		a			
[V:/ in Paya and Pota]		[Isthmian]		[Paya and Isthmian (except Bocotá)]	

In Teribe and Guaymí, an extra segment completes the vowel inventory, the low back vowel /a/, in the former, and a round central vowel /ɤ/ in the latter; neither has a nasal counterpart. Guaymí is the only language of Central America with a round vowel.

Just as the tense/lax opposition appears characteristic of the Isthmian languages, so is vowel length in Paya and the Pota languages (Rama and Guatuso), that is, the northernmost languages. The Paya system differs from the Pota languages, however, in that it has nasal oppositions; in fact, because of the presence of nasalization and vowel length, Paya exhibits the largest vocalic inventory in Central America.

2.1.2 Consonants

Consonant systems in Central America exhibit the following characteristics. There is categorical lack of implosive consonants, uvular stops and retroflex segments. As for secondary articulations, there are no glottalized oppositions in either the stop of the affricate series (as is the case in some Mayan languages), though three languages, Paya, Boruca and Bribri, have a glottal stop /ʔ/. Aspiration

is found only in the stop series of two Isthmian languages, Teribe and Cabécar; consonant gemination is present in the Cuna stop and nasal series (restricted to intervocalic position, though); prenasalization of voiced stops (/^mb, ⁿd, ^ɲg/) exists in Bocotá, although this language has no nasals at all. Except for Cuna and Guatuso, most systems have at least one series of two or more obstruents opposed by sonority. A voiceless labialized velar stop /k^w/ is also found in Paya and Cuna, the northernmost and southernmost languages, respectively.

- *Stops*: Only Teribe has the whole set of six stops, both voiced (/p, t, k/) and voiceless (/b, d, g/). The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is present in most languages except in Boruca and the Guaymian languages; its voiced counterpart /b/ is missing only in Guatuso and Cuna, which, as pointed out above, do not have voiced stops at all. Languages with three voiced stops include Boruca, Teribe, Bocotá and Guaymí, all Isthmian. Languages with two voiced stops, /b/ and /d/, include Rama, Bribri and Cabécar. Paya has only one voiced stop, namely the bilabial one, which contrasts with the voiceless one; the other voiceless stops /t, k/ are present in Paya. This leaves /t/ and /k/ as the only two stops present in all languages of Central America. The Viceita languages also have a voiceless coarticulated stop, /t̪k/.
- *Affricates*: All languages but Rama have the palatal affricate /tʃ/, its voiced counterpart /dʒ/ is absent in Paya, Rama, Teribe, Guaymí, and Cuna. In addition to the two palatal affricates, three Isthmian languages, Boruca, Bribri and Cabécar, have an alveolar affricate /ts/, with no voiced counterpart. There are neither aspirated nor lateral affricates in Chibchan.
- *Fricatives*: The alveolar fricative segment /s/ is the only element shared by all languages of Central America. Its voiced counterpart /z/ is found in Teribe. The voiceless palatal fricative segment /ʃ/ is found in Paya, Rama, and four Isthmian languages, Boruca, Teribe, Bribri and Cabécar; its voiced counterpart /ʒ/ is found in Teribe. Guatuso is rather “exotic” in that it is the only language with a voiceless bilabial /ɸ/ and a voiceless lateral /ɬ/ fricative. The glottal fricative is present in almost all languages of the region, except in the Pota languages, Cuna and Bribri; both Guatuso and Bribri have a voiced velar /x/. Cuna appears thus as the only language with only one fricative phoneme, namely the voiceless, alveolar /s/.
- *Nasals*: Three Isthmian languages, Bribri, Cabécar, and Bocotá, lack nasals. In addition to the bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/ nasals, Paya, Boruca, Teribe, and Guaymí have a palatal nasal /ɲ/, while Rama, Guatuso, Boruca, Teribe and Guaymí have a velar one /ŋ/. That is, Boruca, Teribe and Guaymí have the highest number of nasal segments, while their closest neighbors do not have any. Rama is the only language with consonant clusters whose initial member is a nasal.

- *Liquids*: The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ is found in Paya and the Pota languages, as well as in three Isthmian languages, Guaymí, Bocotá, and Cuna. The other languages of Central America, Teribe, Bribri, and Cabécar have a lateral flap /ɭ/. There is no voiced palatal /ʎ/ in Chibchan; as mentioned above, Guatuso has a voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/. Boruca has no lateral phoneme. As for vibrants, the tap, /ɾ/ is found in almost all languages but Teribe, Bribri and Cabécar; in Teribe it is an allophone of the trill /r/ and of the lateral flap. The trill is found in five languages, Paya, Guatuso, Teribe, Bocotá, and Cuna. Thus, only Paya and Guatuso have both vibrants.

Both glides, /w/ and /j/, are present in all languages, except in the Viceita ones. Table 2.2 presents an overview of the consonant inventories of the Isthmian languages. The four common phonemes appear in gray background.

Table 2.2
Overview of the consonant inventories of the Isthmian languages

			BRIBRI	CABÉCAR	TERIBE	BORUCA	GUAYMÍ	BOCOTÁ	CUNA	
	Bilabial	vl. <i>s.</i>	/p/	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
		<i>asp.</i>	/p ^h /	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
		<i>gem.</i>	/pp/	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	vd.	<i>s.</i>	/b/	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
		<i>pren.</i>	/ᵐb/	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
S	Dental	vl. <i>coart.</i>	/t̪k/	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
T	Alveolar	vl. <i>s.</i>	/t/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		<i>asp.</i>	/t ^h /	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
		<i>gem.</i>	/tt/	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
O	vd.	<i>s.</i>	/d/	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
<i>pren.</i>		/ᵐd/	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
P	Velar	vl. <i>s.</i>	/k/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
S		<i>asp.</i>	/k ^h /	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
		<i>gem.</i>	/kk/	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	vd.	<i>s.</i>	/g/	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
		<i>pren.</i>	/ᵑg/	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	Labio-Velar	vl. <i>s.</i>	/kʷ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	<i>gem.</i>	/kʷkʷ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
	Glottal	vl.	/ʔ/	+	-	-	+	-	-	-

			BRIBRI	CABÉCAR	TERIBE	BORUCA	GUAYMÍ	BOCOTÁ	CUNA
A	Alveolar	vl.	/ts/	+	+	-	+	-	-
F	Palatal	vl.	/tʃ/	+	+	+	+	+	+
F.		vd.	/dʒ/	+	+	-	+	+	-
		vl.	/s/	+	+	+	+	+	+
F	Alveolar	vd.	/z/	-	-	+	-	-	-
R		vl.	/ʃ/	+	+	+	+	-	-
I	Palatal	vd.	/ʒ/	-	-	+	-	-	-
C		vl.	/h/	-	+	+	+	+	-
A	Glottal	vd.	/x/	+	-	-	-	-	-
T.		Vd.s.	/m/	-	-	+	+	-	+
N	Bilabial	gem.	/mm/	-	-	-	-	-	+
A		vd. s.	/n/	-	-	+	+	-	+
S	Alveolar	gem.	/nn/	-	-	-	-	-	+
A	Palatal	vd.	/ɲ/	-	-	+	+	-	-
L	Velar	vd.	/ŋ/	-	-	+	+	-	-
S		vd. s.	/l/	-	-	-	+	+	+
L	Alveolar	gem.	/ll/	-	-	-	-	-	+
A		flap	/ɭ/	+	-	+	-	-	-
T.		vd. tap	/ɽ/	-	+	-	+	+	-
V	Alveolar	trill	/ɽ/	-	-	+	-	-	+
I		vd.	/w/	-	-	+	+	+	+
B.	Bilabial	vd.	/w/	-	-	+	+	+	+
A	Palatal	vd.	/j/	-	-	+	+	+	+
P									
P.									

s. = simple, gem. = geminate, asp. = aspirated, pren. = prenasalized, vd. = voiced, vl. = voiceless, lat. = lateral, vib. = vibrant, app. = approximant, coart. = double articulation.

2.1.3 Tone

With the exception of the Pota languages (Rama and Guatuso) and Cuna, all other Chibchan languages of Central America are tonal. Most languages have high and low tone (e.g. Paya, Boruca, Guaymí), while others can have up to four tones. Bribri, for instance, has low, high, rising and falling tones, the

last mentioned one being obligatory with vowels followed by the glottal stop. In Teribe, tone is rather marginal, being limited to a few minimal pairs and having no grammatical function, as is the case in others, e.g. Boruca, where tone placement alters the valency of the verb; thus [ahd.rá] ('(he) abandons') is opposed to [áhd.ra] ('(he) remains', or [ráhd.ra] ('(he) goes out') against [rahd.rá] *rahd-rá* ('(he) takes out').

2.1.4 Phonological processes

Few, if any, phonological processes can be said to apply to all, or at least to the great majority of the languages of Central America; most of these processes involve vowels, as processes involving consonants are rather language specific. Among them vowel weakening appears as the most noticeable; non-final vowels are either reduced to a lenis articulation, as in Boruca /da.ba.kra/ → [d^a.ba.'kra], '(he) arrived', to a mid central realization, as in Bribri /a.pà.biʔ/ → [ə.pà.biʔ] '(to) scratch', or dropped altogether, as in Teribe /do.boŋ/ → [d̥boŋ] 'tiger'; in fact, in Teribe there are sequences consisting of the voiced dental stop plus another voiced stop (/b/ or /g/), which can better be analyzed as double articulations. In Paya, long vowels are shortened in closed or unstressed syllables, and short vowels are open and lax in the same context; thus /tò:kkawá/ → [tòkk.əw.aʔ] 'I entered'; in addition, unstressed vowels are lost between any consonant and the flap segment. In Cuna, syllable-final vowels are deleted, and vowels of contiguous morphemes merge /toa.pe.a.mie/ → [to:a.ba.'mie] 'who are you looking for?'

Vowel harmony is common in Guatuso, Teribe, Bribri, and Paya. In Paya, the vowel of the objective case-suffix assimilates to a stem-final back vowel in the noun. In Teribe, on the other hand, vowel harmony is "regressive"; it is the suffix that determines the quality of the vowel in the stem; thus the perfective aspect-suffixes /-ra/ and /-no/ cause the stem of the verb to change, e.g. /woj.dɪ/ 'want-IMP' → ['woj.do.no] and ['woj.da.ra], respectively.

Nasalization is common in languages with nasal vowels. It can be progressive or regressive. There is, finally, a stress rule in the Isthmian languages, whereby the final syllable of roots is always stressed. In tone languages, stress may be predictable on the basis of tone (e.g. Paya), while in others (Teribe) it depends on it.

2.2 Morphology

In general, there are two basic types of lexical words in Chibchan, both in Central America and Colombia, around which most of the grammatical features and categories revolve; these are nouns and verbs. A second set of word classes is formed by adjectives and adverbs; although there are clearly identifiable adjectival (colors, and basic qualities) and adverbial (time and manner) roots, their number is not that large, and most other adverbial and adjectival concepts are expressed by other means (e.g. derivation, adpositional phrases, predication). Adpositions and particles, though essential in the Chibchan linguistic arsenal, constitute a third class from the point of view of their referring capacity; these will be considered in 2.2.3, below.

2.2.1 Nouns and nominal morphology

Most basic, non-derived nouns in Chibchan fall into three categories, proper names, toponyms and names of natural entities and phenomena (rivers, mountains, thunder, wind, etc.), and common nouns. Derivation (mainly suffixation) and compounding are productive in most languages. Compound nouns consist of two nouns, mostly in a possessor-possessum relation, in which case the second noun becomes the head of the syntagm (it is the one that carries all morphological trappings). Reduplication is rare in the nominal dimension; in some languages it is common in adjective formation (e.g. Teribe, Paya), and to a lesser extent in the expression of verbal categories (e.g. Paya). In Rama, lexical roots cannot be assigned to classes such as noun, adjective or verb solely by their form; in the case of nouns, affixation and compounding are the mechanisms used. Another albeit not so extensive noun-formation strategy is nominalization; in Rama, the suffix *-ima* is used to form nouns out of verbs to denote the entity affected by the verb, thus *kaans-ima-dut*, fry-NOM-PL → ‘the fried ones’, out of *kaans* ‘fry’. In Bribri, a set of enclitics are used to nominalize nouns; these enclitics indicate the class of the nominalized noun; *-ël* ‘human’, *-ëk* ‘round’, *-ëtk* ‘flat’, and *-ëtöm* ‘long’ (see 2.2.1.2 on numeral classifiers).

2.2.1.1 Pronouns

(i) *Personal pronouns*: Concerning personal pronouns, the Central American Chibchan languages distinguish person, inclusive/exclusive (found in Guatuso,

Bribri, Cabécar, Teribe, Guaymí, Bocotá and Cuna), and number; Paya distinguishes dual. With the most notable exception of Rama and Teribe, there is a lack of distinct subject and object forms. This formal non-distinction of core cases is made up for by word order (1, Bocotá), verbal morphology (2, Cuna),¹ or by special clitics on subject pronouns (3a-c, Boruca) or also in conjunction with word order (3b-c, Boruca):²

- (1) *Chá ba bé ngamégue*
 1SG 2SG FUT kill
 ‘I’ll kill you.’
- (2) *An-pe-sape*
 1SG-2SG-love
 ‘I love you.’
- (3a) *At ki ba ishd-ra*
 1SG SUBJ 2SG see-PRES
 ‘I see you.’
- (3b) *Ba ki at ishd-ra*
 2SG SUB 1SG see-PRES
 ‘You see me.’
- (3c) *At ishd-ra ba-ng*
 1SG see-PRES 2SG-TOP
 ‘You see me.’

Table 2.3 illustrates the personal pronoun system of Paya, including dual, which is also distinguished when person agreement markers appear in lieu of personal pronouns; the respective suffix is *-par-*, which is replaced by the suppletive morpheme *-aʔ-* in the future. Free personal pronouns are generally used for emphasis. Thus, most Chibchan languages are head-marking and pro-drop to a high degree, à la Spanish. However, pro-drop does not necessarily correlate with head-marking insofar as there are other languages (Viceita and Guaymian), which are pro-drop but lack affixes/clitics for person. Extensive zero anaphora is common, however, for both languages with and without person affixes, as exemplified in (4) for Bocotá.³

Table 2.3
Paya personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 st PERSON	<i>tàs</i>	<i>patàs</i>	<i>untàs</i>
2 nd PERSON	<i>pà:</i>		<i>pà:...-wa</i>
3 rd PERSON	<i>éka</i>		<i>éka</i>

- (4) *Ngang yigue kwang blale; jayi-bi ngãng begue digue. Chui mñg ø chibe*
 Place arrive person man; stay-PERF place put to. Sun NEG ø be able
digue jo-ni. ø be jo gue kalera begue chui digue; ø jo gueme kalera dwe.
 to go-PERF. ø FUT go to ladder put sun to; ø go to there ladder carry.
 ‘There arrives a man who tries to catch the sun, but ø is unable to; so ø goes
 to get the ladder to get the sun; ø carries the ladder.’

(ii) *Possessive pronouns:* in most Chibchan languages the free possessive pronouns are formally identical to the personal pronouns; this is the case in Guatuso, Bribri, Cabécar, Boruca, Teribe, and Bocotá. In other languages free possessive pronouns are formed by a combination of personal pronouns and a marker of possession, as in Rama and Guaymí. Teribe has both types; in Teribe the free possessive pronoun set is formally different from the personal pronoun set. Cuna is the opposite of the preceding group. In Cuna it is the possessive form which constitutes the base and the personal pronoun is formed by adding the marker *-t(t)i* to the free possessive pronoun; this procedure applies only to singular pronouns, however.

(iii) *Reflexive pronouns:* Most Chibchan languages have reflexive pronouns, some free and some bound, corresponding to the word and morpheme type in Geniušiene’s (1987) typology. Generally, reflexive pronouns are invariable and also serve as reciprocal markers. However, the opposition between reflexive and reciprocals is also overtly expressed in three languages, Guatuso, Bribri, and Teribe. In Guatuso (5, 6), showing an ergative pattern, reflexivity and reciprocity are jointly expressed

by the prefix *ri-* ~ *ra-*, which occupies the slot reserved for the ergative prefix in transitive sentences (the absolutive prefix is subject to vowel harmony):

- (5) a) *ma-rra-cuang-e*
 2ABS-1ERG-see-NON.FUT
 'I see you.'
- (5) b) *mi-ri-cuang-e*
 2ABS-REFL-see-NON.FUT
 'You see yourself.'

To obtain a reciprocal reading a comitative postpositional phrase must be used, consisting of a pronoun plus the comitative postposition *yu*:

- (6) *ní yu mi-rí-corro-he*
 him with 2ABS-REFL-quarrel-NON.FUT
 'You had a quarrel with each other.'

In Bribri there are separate markers for reflexive and reciprocal, *e* and *anî*, respectively; with both the subject is in the absolutive. It is interesting to note that in non-Chibchan languages with ergativity, such as K'iche' (Mayan), the subject of the reflexive construction is in the ergative. This variability of the controller (ergative or absolutive) nicely exemplifies the semantic duality of the only participant in reflexive situations with its active and patient roles highlighted by ergative or absolutive marking respectively (Quesada 1997b: 73).

In some languages, such as Guaymí (7), Teribe and Cuna, the reflexive pronoun is also used for possessive reflexivity:

- (7) a) *ti-gwe ha-ku-ri*
 1SG-ERG REFL-burn-PERF
 'I burned myself.'
- b) *davi-gwe ha-hu-e-te hadîg-aba*
 David-ERG REFL-house-POS-LOC sleep-PAST
 'David slept in his own house.'

(iv) *Demonstrative pronouns*: Demonstratives are commonly used as pronouns (8, Rama), and as 3rd person markers (9, Boruca):

- (8) *ning aa ba-n-ting-i i-saling-kama*
 DEM NEG for-1SG-want-PRES 3SG-wet-for
 'I don't want this to get wet.'
- (9) *wa ki ya? ka?yéng-ra María*
 DEM SUBJ REFL call-PRES María
 'She calls herself María/Her name is María.'

2.2.1.2 Numeral classifiers and number

Numeral classifiers constitute the most common type of determiners and one of the most distinctive features of the Chibchan languages of Central America. Definite articles are practically non-existent; only one language, Boruca, has a definite article, a recent innovation (cf. Quesada and Quesada-Pacheco 1995). Curiously, numeral classifiers are present in all Isthmian languages except Boruca. Numeral classifiers are predominantly postnominal. Noun classifiers proper do not constitute a feature of these languages.

Grinevald (ms) proposes a typology that distinguishes a) lexical systems, which include *measure terms* and *class terms*, the latter being “classifying morphemes which participate in the lexicogenesis of a language” (p. 8); b) *gender and noun class systems* (the former representative of Indo-European languages, the latter represented prototypically by the Bantu languages); and c) *classifier systems*. The last mentioned type of system is further broken down into *numeral classifiers*, which “occur in the context of quantification” (p. 10); *noun classifiers*, said to be “free morphemes standing in a noun phrase, next to the noun itself or within the boundaries of the noun phrase with other determiners of the noun” (p. 12); *genitive classifiers*, “a type of classifier [that] appears in the context of possessive constructions” (p. 12) and *verbal classifiers*, which do not “classify the verb itself but rather one of the nominal arguments of the verb” (p. 13). The place of the Chibchan languages of Central America within this typology is under the type of numeral classifiers, with the exception of Rama, which has class terms.⁴

Most languages with numeral classifiers have around four classes, long, round, thin, human/animate -some have more, e.g. Bocotá has ten and Guaymí thirteen; and in most languages those classifiers are free forms. Teribe exhibits the typical Isthmian numeral classifier system; the classifiers of Teribe are numeral, interrogative, and indefinite.⁵

(i) *numeral*: Numeral quantification in Teribe has six classes: a) prototypically animate objects (which includes humans, some animals, plants and some body parts); b) round objects; c) wide objects; d) long objects; e) long and wide objects; and f) objects that can be counted in plots. The expression of each class is effected through prefixes attached to a numerical base. For example, the base for the number one is *ara*, to which the class marker prefix is added: *kl-ara* for animate objects (10), *kw-ara* for round objects (11), *k-ara* for wide objects (12), *pl-ara* for long objects (13), *kwan-na*⁶ for long-wide objects (14), and *kri-na* (< *krin-na*) for objects counted in plots (15):

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|----------|
| (10) | <i>Domer kl-ara</i> | <i>u</i> |
| | man CL.ANIMATE-one | house |
| | ‘One man’s house’ | |

- (11) *Sbi kw-ara* *roy* *di*
 pot CL.ROUND-one inside water
 ‘One pot of water’
- (12) *Shwong ko* *plublun* *ĩ-no-r* *k-ara*
 dress color white see-PERF-1SG CL.WIDE-one
 ‘I saw one white dress.’
- (13) *Dröng* *twlẽ-no-r* *pl-ara*
 machete buy-PERF-1SG CL.LONG-one
 ‘I bought one machete.’
- (14) *Söglo kwan-na* *sěngna* *zě* *wlo*
 knife CL.LONG-WIDE-one meat cut PURP
 ‘One knife to cut meat’
- (15) *Sak* *kri-na* *tok* *na*
 cemetery CL.PLOT-one EXIST here
 ‘There is one cemetery here.’

In some cases, the class to which an object is assigned depends on other considerations that have precedence over the features mentioned above, a phenomenon not uncommon in gender systems (cf. Corbett 1991); such is the case of *dö*, ‘monkey’, which one would expect to be assigned to the class of animates, but which is counted as round (*dö kwara* → ‘one monkey’); similarly, *sěnwā* (‘bird’) is classified as round (*sěnwā kwara*), whereas *ön* (‘animal’) is included in the class of animates *ön klara* (‘one animal’). Some body parts, such as *wlogdo*, ‘arm’, and *wlengwo*, ‘penis’, belong to the class of animates, while others such as *orkwo*, ‘hand’, belong to the class of round objects.

The same forms with some phonetic changes, notably for the class of animate objects, are used to count to ten. (16) illustrates the numbers two, *pök*, three, *mya*, four, *pkeng*, and five, *shkeng*:

(16) *Numeral classification in Teribe: numbers two to five*

	two	three	four	five
ANIMATE	<i>do-pök</i>	<i>doglo mya</i>	<i>doglo pkeng</i>	<i>doglo shkeng</i>
ROUND	<i>kwo-pök</i>	<i>kwo-mya</i>	<i>kwo-pkeng</i>	<i>kwo-shkeng</i>
WIDE	<i>ko-pök</i>	<i>ko-mya</i>	<i>ko-pkeng</i>	<i>ko-shkeng</i>
LONG	<i>ploglo-pök</i>	<i>ploglo-mya</i>	<i>ploglo-pkeng</i>	<i>ploglo-shkeng</i>
LONG-WIDE	<i>kwan-pök</i>	<i>kwan-mya</i>	<i>kwan-pkeng</i>	<i>kwan-shkeng</i>
PLOTS	<i>krin-pök</i>	<i>krin-mya</i>	<i>krin-pkeng</i>	<i>krin-shkeng</i>

(ii) *interrogative*: The same class prefixes are used in the formation of interrogative quantifiers; they are added to the base *obi*, ‘how many?’, which always appears in clause-final position. The corresponding forms are listed in the examples in (17-22); note the suppletive form in the case of the long-wide class in (22):

- (17) *¿Walë-ga ör kl-obi?*
 woman-PL go CL.ANIMATE-how many
 ‘How many women came?’
- (18) *¿Pa u yuak kw-obi?*
 2SG house build CL.ROUND-how many
 ‘How many houses are you going to build?’
- (19) *¿Pa kibokwo sö-no k-obi?*
 2SG book bring-PERF CL.WIDE-how many
 ‘How many books did you bring?’
- (20) *¿Pa irbo zo-no pl-obi?*
 2SG road cut-PERF CL.LONG-how many
 ‘How many roads did you cross?’
- (21) *¿Pa dröng twlë-no pan-bi?*
 2SG machete buy-PERF CL.LONG-WIDE-how many
 ‘How many machetes did you buy?’
- (22) *¿Pa sak ã-no krin-bi?*
 2SG cemetery see-PERF CL.PLOTS-how many
 ‘How many cemeteries did you see?’

(iii) *indefinite*: The numeral classifier prefixes are added to the root *öbö* to express indefinite number, exception made for the classes long-wide and plots, which use the corresponding class marker preceding a form that is identical to that of the round class. The corresponding forms are listed in (23):

(23) *Indefinite numeral classifiers of Teribe*

ANIMATE	<i>kl-öbö</i>
ROUND	<i>kw-öbö</i>
WIDE	<i>k-öbö</i>
LONG	<i>pl-öbö</i>
LONG-WIDE	<i>kwan kw-öbö</i>
PLOTS	<i>krin kw-öbö</i>

There is a formal distinction depending on whether the indefinite quantity is high or low. If high the suffix *-so* is added, yielding the forms *klöböso*, *kwöböso*,

köböso, etc. meaning ‘various, several’; if the quantity is low, the suffix *-du* is added, yielding the forms *klöbödu*, *kwöbödu*, *köbödu*, etc. meaning ‘(a) few, some’. It should be noted, though, that this distinction is seldom made, so that the forms without the suffixes are commonplace. Other indefinite quantifiers used for count nouns are *ara* ‘many’ and *kop ara* ‘many many, lots’.

An extreme case is Cuna. In Cuna there are four (bound) numeral classifiers *kwa-* (‘animals’), *ka-* (‘long’), *war-* (‘people and animals’), *sar-* (‘trees and plants’). In addition, there are class terms which are also common nouns; these include *matt(a)* (‘flat’), *sakl(a)* (‘fruit trees’), *tan(a)* (‘plot of land’), *ukk(a)* (‘generic for fish’), *sok(a)* (‘general’), *il(a)* (‘number of times of action/event’), *tar* (‘distribution in space’), plus a set of approximately 33 measurable classifiers (a lexical system in Grinevald’s typology), where there is usually a one-to-one relationship between the classifier and the object (e.g. *malale* ‘whole fruit product from a single banana plant cut in half’). Clearly, this procedure finds itself between compounding and noun classification proper.

The existence of numeral classifiers in Chibchan has been hypothesized to originate from a set of Proto-Chibchan class terms, which in conjunction with the head noun formed lexical compounds, similar to those mentioned above for Cuna (Constenla 1989: 29); the Pota languages exhibit such a case of compounding too. The development of such class terms into numeral classifiers constitutes an innovation in the Isthmian languages. It is interesting to note that Cuna exhibits three procedures/types, the innovative numeral classification, the presence of class terms, and the lexical system.

As for the expression of plurality, it generally remains unmarked even in those languages that have the means to express it. Where overt plurals exist, they are commonly restricted to humans and culturally relevant animals; thus in Teribe *dbon-ga* tiger-PL is readily accepted, while *miskwo-ga* cat-PL is questionable. Where plural is limited in terms of animacy, as in Paya, Bribri and Cabécar, it is optional with non-humans. Cuna differs from the Isthmian languages in that it expresses plurality and in a variety of ways: *-kana* expresses “several of different kinds”, collectivity in some cases, and partitivity in others (cf. *tule* ‘man’ *tule kana* ‘a number of men’); *-mala* to express “fellowship of various kinds” and “functional unity”, group, and *pi(i)* to express totality, or exclusivity: *ka-pi(i)* ‘all meat or meat only’; *-mal* is added to the singular personal pronouns to form the corresponding plural forms *an* vs. *anmal*, *pe* vs. *pemal*. There is, in addition, a dual marker, *-po*. However, despite the number

of plural forms, the use of them is as in the other members of the family, that is “more sparingly and then to express special functions” (Holmer 1947: 86).

Markers of plurality, where they exist, are sometimes shared by nouns and verbs; cf. Boruca *duríh róhk* sorcerer PL ‘sorcerers’ and *shi-krá rohk* arrive-PERF PL ‘they arrived’. Cuna behaves similarly. The plural marker *-mala* is used for both nouns and verbs (*an-na-mala*, 1-go-PL, ‘we go’). However, with transitive verbs *-mala* is used only with objects: *an-tai-mala*, 1-see-PL, ‘he sees us’; a plural subject has to be expressed by the full plural pronoun: *pemal takke* 2PL see, ‘you (pl) see him’.

In Rama (24) and to some extent also in Boruca, (enclitic) plural markers attach to the NP rather than its head:

- (24) [tiiskiba kutkuuka]-dut aa mliis ni-sung-i
 child bad.mannered-PL NEG good 1SG-see-PRES
 ‘I don’t like bad-manner children.’

2.2.1.3 Demonstratives

In general demonstratives are free forms. The languages that distinguish three degrees of distance include Paya, Rama, Teribe and Cuna; only two degrees are distinguished in Guatuso, and Boruca. Another parameter is the position of these spatial deictics relative to the head of the NP: they are pronominal in Paya, Rama, Guatuso, Boruca, and Cuna and postnominal in Bribri, Cabécar, Teribe, and Bocotá with Guaymí apparently allowing both orders. In the Viceita languages demonstratives express both distance and perceptibility. For those forms deictically referring to objects within the scope of the speaker’s sensorial perception there is a subdivision between visible and audible referents. For example, a bird might be heard but not seen, and it will then be referred to by *ñéwa*; if it is both seen and heard, vision takes precedence and the bird is thus referred to by one of the five “visible” demonstratives, chosen according to the three degrees of distance from the speaker and, for the third degree only, also relative to the speaker’s eye sight level. The Cabécar system of demonstratives is illustrated in Table 2.4. The demonstratives for objects outside the speaker’s perception are used for discourse reference too, so that there appears to be no difference between deictic and discourse demonstratives. The Viceita languages show that within demonstratives, languages can also be classified according to the parameter of sensorial perception.

Table 2.4
Cabécar demonstratives

	IN CONTACT WITH SPEAKER	NEAR SPEAKER	FAR FROM PEAKER
visible	<i>jí</i>	<i>jé</i>	<i>jamí</i> eyesight level <i>jöí</i> above eyesight level <i>diá</i> below eyesight level
not visible, audible		<i>ñéwa</i>	
imperceptible		<i>né ~ é ñé ~ é né</i> (also used as discourse reference)	

2.2.1.4 Possessive markers

In some languages (e.g. Rama, Cuna), short forms of the free possessive pronouns are prefixed to the possessed element, though in Rama only in the case of inalienable possession. In others (Teribe) the possessive markers are used as objects of postpositions. As mentioned in 2.2.1.1(iii), in some languages the reflexive pronoun can express possession. More on possession in 2.3.4.

2.2.1.5 Case markers

Case marking, providing “information on a dependency relation of its carrier NP and [which] presupposes the element in which the NP depends” (Lehmann 1988: 64), is extensive in Chibchan. The dependency relations of NPs can be expressed by adpositions, by bound morphemes, or by clitics, increasingly cohesive forms in between the two extremes of a cline of grammaticality – “a natural pathway along which forms evolve; a kind of linguistic ‘slippery slope’ which guides the development of forms” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 6-7). Accordingly, Payne (1997: 100-101) remarks that it is not always easy to tell case marking

from adpositions, and proposes that the former represent “a morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases that is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase occurs”, while adpositions “are free of such configurational constraints”.

As shown in Table 2.5, Central American Chibchan languages can be ordered depending on the positions of their case and other NP dependency markers on this cline of grammaticality. Table 2.5 is implicational insofar as the utilization of a form of dependency marking on the right implies that those to the left of it can also be utilized in the same language (when they are, the respective language is mentioned more than once), but not viceversa. One language, Paya, is in its entirety confined to the right-hand side of the continuum, with all cases expressed by affixes (nominative *-yǎʔ*, objective *-ra*, genitive *-ʔe*, locative/allative *-yǎ*, comitative/instrumental *-yó*, meditative/instrumental *-rí*, manner/relational *-kán*, absolutive *-ká/- (h)á*). In languages occupying the middle of the continuum, such as Guaymí, the clitic status of case markers is evident from the way they attach to the entire NPs rather than to their heads.

Table 2.5

Case-marking in Chibchan I: Central America

ADPOSITION	CLITIC	AFFIX
Rama, Boruca Teribe, Cuna	Bribri, Cabécar, Guatuso, Guaymí, Teribe, Cuna	Paya, Guatuso, Bribri Guaymí

There are no pervasive correlations between morphological case and core arguments and between adpositions and peripheral arguments, contrary to case hierarchies proposed in the literature (e.g. Givón 1984). Thus, the expression of absolutive or nominative, ergative or accusative (corresponding to the “universal syntactic-semantic primitives” A, S, O, of Dixon (1994: 6), and also of dative is not necessarily performed by markers from the right-hand side of the scale, nor are peripheral cases exclusively expressed by postpositions. For example, in Bribri the ergative marker is a clitic (*tö*) while the absolutive is a suffix (*-wa*, if

full NPs, zero for pronouns) and the dative is postpositional. Similarly, Teribe has clitics for instrumental (*go*) and source (*so*), but not for datives. Guaymí, however, does tend to show a certain correlation: ergative, dative, and comitative are expressed by affixes (*-gwe*, *-be(n)* and *-e*, respectively), benefactive and instrumental by clitics (*kräge* and *biti*, respectively), and source and goal by postpositions, with only the (peripheral) comitative not fitting well.

2.2.1.6 Markers of information-structure status

A very conspicuous feature of Chibchan is the existence of markers for highlighting participants as topic or focus. In combination with word order such markers create a wealth of foregrounding structures similar in function to such mechanisms as passives, clefts or left/right dislocations in other languages. In Guatuso, for instance, there are two suffixes to highlight participants, *-áru* ('limitative') and *-fa* (emphatic). They can co-occur, yielding the sequence *-fáru*. As can be seen in (25d) such markers also cliticize to postpositional phrases:

- (25) a) *arapchá óra-fá jué ang*
 child DIM-EMPH indeed be
 'It was a SMALL CHILD.'
- b) *to-nti-fá-ru i-cuáng-e*
 ISG-ERG-EMPH-LIM 3ABS-see-NON.FUT
 'I (AND ONLY I) saw him.'
- c) *chíchi-fá-ru chí ang*
 opossum-EMPH-LIM all be
 'It was all ONLY OPOSSUMS.'
- d) *quitá-yu-fá-ru to-ye*
 sword-with-EMPH-LIM go-NON.FUT
 'THE SWORD he took himself'./'It was the sword that he himself took.'

The by far most common strategy for topic continuity is zero anaphora; therefore, what we have here are marked topics. In Teribe, the contrast between marked and unmarked topics is exemplified by (26), with both zero anaphora and a marked topic (*li*); in (26) *li* allows highlighting the topic of the episode out of three possible candidates, the man (the actual topic), the King, and the president:

- (26) *Plaraga, domer wlenyo... oma plu... ko... ba setro kwa-ra*
 One day, man certain... DEM King...name...3POSS sceptergive-PERF.INV

Presidente *dë* *Domer kl-ara* *li* *lũ* *ae.*
 President OBV. Man CL.ANIMATE-one TOP thief very.
 ‘There was once a man... [there was] that king... named... the president
 had given [him] his scepter. THAT MAN was a big thief.’

Diachronically, it is not unusual for such forms to start out as a focus marker and to be further grammaticalized into topic markers. Thus, in Boruca, what used to be (and occasionally still is) a focus marker, *ang* (27), got affixed to personal pronouns, forming portmanteau morphemes (28); in a third stage the new forms were fused and affixed to the conjugated verb forms to express topic continuity (29):⁷

- (27) *so?* *Juana* *ang* *ohrí?* *sodíh-ra*
 doña Juana FOC tortillas make-PRES
 ‘DOÑA JUANA makes tortillas/It is Doña Juana who makes tortillas.’
- (28) 1. *at+ang* → *ang* *dĩ?*+*ang* → *dĩng*
 2. *bá+ang* → *bang* *bĩ?*+*ang* → *bĩng*
 3. *i+ang* → *ing* *i róhk+ang* → *ing* *róhk*
- (29) *brúnkahk kí ta kwíng kawĩ?-kra e?tse s?kwa ki. Wá ki ya?*
 Boruca SPEC in many live-PERF one foreigner SPEC. DEM DEF REFL
ka?yéng-íra Johnson. Tunxuá krĩ?-ír-ing kwíng kákba? róhk
 call-IMPERF Johnson. Policeman big-IMPERF-TOP many day PL
ki ta.
 SPEC in.

‘There lived right in Boruca for a long time a [certain, specific] foreigner
 [that was] called Johnson. He was a police officer for many years.’

Belonging to the realm of discourse, the use of these markers is speaker-dependent. At the same time, the markedness of the topic markers, as opposed to zero anaphora for continuity topics, engenders a diversity (and sometimes disparity) of other uses such as switch reference, event-linking (progression of events) and separation of events, or narrowing of focus.

2.2.1.7 Anaphoric reference

In some Chibchan languages certain nouns “inflect” for anaphoric reference. Thus, when a referent is reactivated in the discourse, having gone unmentioned for a while, this is registered by nominal morphology. It is usually expressed by a suffix, such as *-e* in (30, Guaymí):

- (30) *mütu kämiga näen... Ngri-e*
 pig kill go... meat-ANAPH
 ‘One kills the pig... the meat (of said pig)/its meat.’

Revealing an even higher degree of grammaticalization of this discourse category, in some languages, including Bribri, there are tonal or segmental changes on the nouns; for instance *ák* ‘stone’ > *ék* plus the suffix *-i* → *ék-i*, ‘the stone previously mentioned’.

2.2.2 Verbs and verbal morphology

2.2.2.1 Tense, aspect, mood

Chibchan abounds in TAM systems (tense, aspect, mood) which are sometimes very elaborate. In Central America, tense seems the least salient; it is present only in Paya, Rama, Cuna (present, past, future), and Guatuso (with an opposition [$\pm$ future]). The tense-relevant languages also have aspectual distinctions; thus the Rama tripartite tense system coexists with both bound and analytic aspectual distinctions. Paya has an especially rich system of temporal and aspectual distinctions, each with its own position in the verbal string. There are eleven positions for grammatical categories in the Paya finite verb; two preverbal positions are reserved for objects (pronouns and case markers, respectively), while TAM, polarity, and person follow the verbal stem. Positions 4, 5, and 6, are occupied by aktionsart and aspectual distinctions, while positions 8 and 9 are occupied by polarity-tense and tense proper positions (the remaining two positions are occupied by mood markers, and by the second person plural suffix, respectively). Aktionsart distinctions include frequentative, semelfactive, iterative, and stative; aspectual distinctions include completive, progressive, among others. There are five tenses, present, immediate past, recent past, earlier past, immediate future, and future. There are separate forms for the expression of these tenses in negative polarity.

Most languages have three basic aspectual distinctions (perfective, imperfective and the perfect), to which a complementary series can be added (usually ingressive, resultative and progressive). Thus, as shown in Table 2.6, there is a basic opposition ([$\pm$ perfective]) in Bribri. The perfective aspect, used only in affirmative clauses, subdivides into prospective (completion during and subsequent to the Bribri day) and improspective (completion prior to the Bribri day), in both active and middle voices. The anterior aspect is used for intransitive verbs and the middle voice (if a transitive situation is expressed in the anterior aspect, the agent is marked by *-wa*,

the absolutive marker of full NPs). The opposition improspective/prospective is neutralized in negation. The imperfective is used to express unbounded, primarily habitual, situations, thus corresponding to the simple present of most languages. Negation in the imperfective requires the presence of the marker *kè*, as opposed to the perfective aspect. In addition to that basic system, there are the inchoative, iterative, punctual, and anticipative ('to have just verb-ed') aspects. Similar systems are found in Cabécar, Boruca, Teribe, Guaymí and Bocotá.

Table 2.6
Aspect in Bribri

	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
ACTIVE	improspective <i>-Vʔ</i> (with reference to the Bribri day)	prospective <i>-(w)é</i> (during the Bribri day, or subsequent) ^a
	improspective <i>-e</i> anterior (perfect) <i>-ule</i>	prospective <i>-a</i>
MIDDLE	inchoative (<i>-mí</i>), iterative (<i>-ne</i>), punctual (<i>-wa</i>), anticipative (<i>-tke</i>)	
	progressive <i>tsoʔ</i> + infinitive (root + <i>-k</i>)	

^a. The Bribri day begins and ends with sunset; thus Bribri 'today' began at around 6 p. m. 'yesterday' (Spanish-style), and Bribri 'tomorrow' will start around the same time Spanish-style 'today'.

Mood is not as highly developed in the languages Central America as it is in the Colombian ones. In Central America there tends to be (bound and analytic) markers for deontic, imperative, epistemic, and intentional modality.

In the vast majority of the Chibchan languages the most basic TAM distinctions are expressed by bound morphology, both prefixing and suffixing, with the latter more widespread. Some languages, however, make use of auxiliaries for that purpose. The grammaticalization channel VERB-AUXILIARY⁸ recognizes three major types of auxiliaries, two of which are present in Central America, VERB + VERB and FUNCTION VERB + VERB; the third type of auxiliaries CARRIER + VERB, is basically found in Colombia (see 3.2.2):

(a) VERB + VERB: one of the verbs is beginning to be grammaticalized and typically used both as an auxiliary and lexical verb; thus in Boruca (31) *do? a* is a verb meaning ‘give’, ‘marry’, but the placing of the object between the two verbs hints at a certain degree of cohesion between them:

- (31) *ing do?á i sodíh-ira róhk*
 3SG.FOC give 3SG make-IMPERF PL
 ‘They are making it.’

(b) FUNCTION VERB + VERB: this stage shows a further advanced stage of grammaticalization, with a free form already belonging to a closed set (usually a copula); as in Bocotá, such forms may still be used to express notions other than TAM ones:

- (32) *cha kle chage*
 1SG be walk
 ‘I’m walking.’

2.2.2.2 Positionals

Four Ishtmian languages, Bribri, Cabécar, Teribe, and Cuna, have a closed set of linking verbs (usually no more than seven) specifying location and position (standing, lying, hanging). In Bribri (33) (where subject referents become specific when positionals are followed by locative expressions) this is the only function of these verbs, while in Cuna (34) they are used to express aspectual notions (durative):

- (33) *ie? dur áula a*
 3SG POSIT.STAND classroom in
 ‘He’s standing in the classroom.’
- (34) *we sunmakke-kuichi-t saila ospino*
 DEM speak-POSIT.STAND-(PROG)-NOM Chief Ospino
 ‘The one speaking there is Chief Ospino.’

Other Cuna positionals include *-mai* ‘lying’, *-nai* ‘in motion’, *-sii* ‘sitting’, and *-yola(ki)* ‘neutral situation’; these forms are more grammaticalized than in the other languages, as shown by their bound status.

In Teribe, positionals (of which there are seven) are obligatory in sentences denoting actions and movements, attesting to the grammaticalization of the verbal category of position. The function of positionals is still to indicate position and as a side effect, aspectual nuances can be attained:⁹

- (35) *tawa shro-no löng na*
 1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF POSITT.STAND here
 ‘We came here.’

- (36) *ëng wļē-no löng e wlo*
 RECIP meet-PERF POSIT.STAND DEM PURP
 ‘for us to meet’

The grammaticalization of the category of position and the specification of movement trigger the creation of verbal series in Teribe, which can have two, as in (35) and (36), three (37), and four verbs (38):

- (37) *Sënwa dbuk jem pang di kingo*
 Bird fly go.up POSIT.HANG river above
 ‘The bird is flying over the river.’

- (38) *Tawa shro-no to tek shäng borwa lanma*
 1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF go come POSIT.STAND 1PL.EXCL.POSS husband
tok
 with
 ‘We came with our husbands.’

2.2.2.3 Person

Most languages of Central America lack person agreement (or rather cross-reference) entirely (Bribri, Cabécar, Boruca, Bocotá, Guaymí, Cuna). Rama and Teribe have subject agreement, while Paya and Guatuso have both subject and object agreement (Rama to a certain extent can be said to also have object agreement). Unlike, for instance, in Guatuso, in Rama (39) and Teribe (40) agreement is not syntacticized completely but is sensitive to topicality status. Thus, the basic SOV order coexists with an alternative clause type merely consisting of OV:

- (39) a) *naas glaas aark-u*
 1SG glass break-PAST
 ‘I broke the glass.’
 b) *chiicha ni-ngw-i*
 chicha 1SG-drink-PRES
 ‘I drink chicha.’
- (40) a) *Ta shwling ī-no*
 1SG deer see-PERF
 ‘I saw the deer.’
 b) *Bop walē ī-no-r*
 2SG.POSS wife see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I saw your wife.’

SOV is used for opening discourse, for emphasis, or else for participant reactivation; there are no agreement affixes, and free personal pronouns have to be used. OV clauses are used in running discourse; person is here marked by verbal affixes (prefixes in Rama (39a-b), suffixes in Teribe (40a-b)), which contrast with zero anaphora for topic continuity, and which are in complementary distribution with full NPs, both nominal and pronominal.

2.2.2.4 Voice

Three voice distinctions are present in Central America, middle in the Viceita languages, antipassive in deeply ergative Guatuso, and inverse in Teribe and Bocotá. The absence of passive in both Central America and Colombia is a major feature of this language family.

(i) *Middle*: In Cabécar (41-42), the infinitive form of this voice consists of the indefinite root of the anterior remote perfective aspect of the active voice plus a high tone vowel followed by the marker *-n-* plus the thematic vowel *-a* in low tone, which is the one inflecting for aspect and the other categories:

- (41) *yís ia kapë ur-ké*
 1SG to coffee grind.MID-HAB
 ‘I know how to grind coffee.’
- (42) *yís kága wá dí yár kéi átana*
 1POS father ERG chicha drink NEG STOP.MID-IMPERF
 ‘My father does not stop drinking chicha.’
- (43) transitive *yö > yána ‘drink’*
 súwá > súna ‘see’
 wö > úna ‘grind’
 intransitive *shö > yëna ‘say’*
 shkö > shkëna ‘walk’
 kapö > kapëna ‘sleep’

There are also *media tantum*: *jánatë* ‘fall down’, *júna* ‘fly’, *túna* ‘run’. This middle voice is not detransitivizing, and many verbs occurring in this voice are agentive, with agents sometimes in the ergative (42); see discussion in 4.1.2. It is best characterized as an “indirect middle” in the sense of Kemmer (1993: 78), denoting actions normally or necessarily performed for one’s own benefit.

In Bribri the middle voice applies to verbs of action, and defocuses the agent. This voice constitutes a paradigm of its own in opposition to the active voice, having its own set of aspectual forms. The middle voice marker consists of

a theme suffix *-r ~ -n* plus the corresponding aspectual marker: *shka-n-e* → *shkàne* ('one walked').

In Cuna there is a suffix *-le(ke)*, which is applied to transitive verb stems to yield an impersonal reading, cf. (44):

- (44) *we ome yele takke-leke*
 DEM woman good see-MID
 'This woman looks good.'

Unlike in the Viceita languages, the agent is never expressed. In some examples in Holmer (1947) an apparent agent is more of a locative. This non-agentive interpretation is reinforced by the fact that *le(ke)* is also suffixed to nominal stems to obtain stative meanings like 'be good', 'become red', 'be in a fever'. Here nominals are more like experiencers, which, together, with the impersonal reading of the transitive constructions and the possibility of reciprocal readings, suggests that this might be a middle voice like those in Bribri and Cabécar. In fact, Holmer (1947: 150) provides comparative reconstruction of *-le* which leads precisely to Bribri *-r ~ -l*, middle.

(ii) *Antipassive*: The only ergative language in the family having an antipassive voice is Guatuso, expressing it by the suffix *-fa* (allomorphs *fa- ~ f- ~ p- ~ ø*). As in antipassivization elsewhere, the demoted patient is usually omitted: sometimes it appears as a postpositional phrase (*yu* 'with', *lha* 'on', or *co* 'in'):

- (45) *ujúti ø-rra-err-é*
 pig 3ABS-1ERG-shoot-NON.FUT
 'I shot the pig.'
- (46) *ujúti lhá na-f-err-é*
 pig on 1ABS-ANTIP-shoot-NON.FUT
 'I shot at the pig' / 'I did some shooting at the pig.'
- (47) *lacá ø-rra-culí-ye*
 earth 3ABS-1ERG-dig-NON.FUT
 'I dug the earth.'
- (48) *lacá co na-pa-culí-ye*
 earth on 1ABS-ANTIP-dig-NON.FUT
 'I dug on the earth.'

Antipassives are usually generic. They are obligatory in the expression of impersonal transitive sentences, where an assumed agent is coded with *ma-*, the form that corresponds to the 1PL.INCL.ABS. Unlike in personal antipassives, what would function as the oblique (an absolutive pronoun with postposition) need not be omitted:

- (49) *epé-me orróqui ma-ø-cuáng-e*
 NEGL-NEG thing IMPS-ANTIP-see-NON.FUT
 'Nothing was seen.'

- (50) *tacá níni mulhú ma-ø-túje-cá*
 and this fish IMPS-ANTIP-COOK-INF
 ‘And it happened that fish was cooked.’

There is also an incorporation antipassive in Guatuso, with incorporation presupposing antipassivization but not vice versa. It is usually body part and relational nouns that are incorporated:

- (51) *totó tocó rra-jo-ye*
 Totó ear 1ERG-make noise-NON.FUT
 ‘I make noise to Toto.’ (idiom: ‘I harm Toto’)
- (52) *na-pa-toco-jó-ye*
 1ABS-ANTIP-ear-make noise-NON.FUT
 ‘I make noise.’

(iii) *Inverse*: Two languages, Teribe and Bocotá, have been reported as having an inverse voice. In Bocotá (53), the order of auxiliary and verb is inverted on the conditions that the auxiliary be in non-completed aspect of *kle* (‘be’), and the completed aspect of *jo* (‘go’) and that the verb have a non-finite form (sometimes the auxiliary is omitted altogether):

- (53) *samla gut-a kle* (infinitive of ‘eat’ is *gute*)
 meat eat-INV be
 ‘The meat is eaten.’

The purpose of the inverse voice is to topicalize the patient of the active sentence and to defocus the agent, thus creating an impersonal reading:

- (54) *Cha ngwadi cha me jo toi no. Cha kag-a kle chi nate*
 1POSS place 1SG NEG GO.PERF live well. 1SG sent-INV be water for
 ‘I’m not happy where I live, I’m sent to get water.’

While the Bocotá inverse appears to be a voice insofar as it takes a specific verbal marker (although the source, Gunn 1975 is rather laconic in its categorization), Teribe has a semantic, non-promotional inverse, expressed through word order inversion (with the subject postverbal), aspectual morphology, and direct marking of the obviative:¹⁰

- (55) *ø mida-ra ba boy dë ga irkë eni*
 ø know-PERF.INV 3SG wife OBV CONJ get mad so
 ‘When his wife found out [about it], she got mad.’
- (56) *ta sö-ra ebga dë*
 1SG bring-PERF.INV PL OBV
 ‘Me, they dragged.’

In (55) the patient (the woman’s husband’s extramarital affair), is the topic of the episode and is coded by zero anaphora, while in (56) the speaker, being at the deictic center, is acted upon by a third person, requiring the obviative marker

dë, since the agent is outranked by the patient on the hierarchy SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT > PROXIMATE > OBLIVIOUS.

2.2.3 Other word classes

2.2.3.1 Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs are not a strong word class in Chibchan. There are adjectival and adverbial roots for basic qualities (colors, physical appearance, animal features), or basic verbal qualifications (time, location), but they tend to be few and derivation is the prevailing procedure. Most languages formally distinguish attributive and predicative constructions, either by a copula as in Cabécar (57) or by aspectual marking as in Boruca (56), which lacks a copula:

- (57) a) *yís ju jé rö surúna*
 1SG house DEM be white
 ‘My house is white.’
 b) *ju surúna*
 house white
 ‘the white house’
- (58) a) *kuchi moreng ki*
 pig good DEF
 ‘the good pig’
 b) *kuchi ki moreng-ra*
 pig DEF good-IMPERF
 ‘The pig is good.’

In Cuna, adjectives express categories such as plural, collective, definite, augmentative, in predicative function (that is, not as internal agreement).

2.2.3.2 Adpositions and particles

(i) *Postpositions*: The Chibchan languages are unexceptionally postpositional. Postpositions express case (cf. §2.2.1.5) and location; they also serve as clause connectors, as in Rama (compare Table 2.7), where the subordinators seem to be postpositions that have been further grammaticalized.¹¹

Table 2.7
Subordinators and postpositions in Rama

SUBORDINATORS		POSTPOSITIONS	
<i>ka</i>	temporal/conditional	<i>ka(ng)</i>	ablative
<i>kata</i>	counterfactual	<i>ka(ng)</i>	ablative
<i>bang</i>	purpose	<i>ba(ng)</i>	goal
<i>kama</i>	purpose	<i>kama</i>	goal
<i>su</i>	succession	<i>su</i>	locative

(ii) *Conjunctions*: Though asyndesis is common at clause and phrase level, there are bound coordinating and subordinating morphemes coexisting with free conjunctions. Conjunctions meaning ‘and’, ‘then’, ‘therefore’ are most common across the family.

(iii) *Clause connectors*: Rama (and Cuna to a certain extent)¹² constitutes a notable exception to the Central American tendency toward asyndesis. In Rama clauses can be connected by special subordinating forms:

- (59) ... *suuli-kaas* $\emptyset$ *yu-nsu-auk-kama*
 ...animal-meat $\emptyset$ with-1PL-grill-PURP
 ‘so that we grill meat with’ ($\emptyset$ = ‘it’)

(iv) *Negation*: Negation is expressed both through bound morphology and free forms. Concerning the former, in Boruca (60), for instance, it is expressed by the suffix *-shi*, which is the morpheme closest to the verbal stem:

- (60) *bóʔs* *róhk* *ki* *díʔ* *ték* *wiʔ-sh-ir-ing*
 wizard PL DEF 1PL language know-NEG-IMPERF-3SG
 ‘The wizards did not speak our language.’

Free negators can be preverbal or postverbal, as in Bocotá (61) or Cuna (62), or are always clause-final, as in Teribe (63):

- (61) *chá* *no* *míng* *jien-déga* *na*
 1SG TOP NEG run-IMPERF again
 ‘I won’t run again.’

- (62) *an-pinsae* *suli*
 1SG-remember NEG
 ‘I don’t remember.’

- (63) *ta sök toksa llëme*
 1SG POSIT.SIT alone NEG
 ‘I am not alone (sitting).’

In Paya there are various processes to express negation, including affixation, suprasegmental changes, and nasalization. The negative affix is placed immediately after the subject suffix in the verbal string. As mentioned in 2.2.2.1, there are separate forms for the expression of tense in negative polarity, all subject to morphophonological processes; the result is a complexity of forms and paradigms similar to those of highly inflecting languages.

(v) *Questions:* Yes/no questions are either formed by a question marker, as in Teribe (64), by a verbal suffix, as in Paya (65) –which has suppletive form for interrogation in the future, *-iká*, or by a tag question marker, as in Guaymí (66), which alternates with the yes/no question marker strategy (the clitic *ya*). Word order and intonation are also common:

- (64) *¿Bop data sök uy de?*
 2SG.POSS father POSIT.LIVE home Q
 ‘Is your father home?’
- (65) *¿nya-éreh?*
 2SG-go-Q
 ‘Are you going?’
- (66) *¿Mä tä mrö rien, o ñakare?*
 2SG be banana cook, or not
 ‘You are cooking bananas, aren’t you?’

In information questions the interrogative pronoun is either placed clause-initially, as in Boruca (67), or left in situ as in Teribe (68); both options are available in Bribri and Rama:

- (67) *¿yaí ba-ng deg-rá?*
 where 2SG-TOP go-IMP
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (68) *¿Pa twe llono?*
 2SG come come-Q
 ‘When are you coming (back)?’

In Paya, in addition to the interrogative pronoun, an interrogative suffix, *-sah*, is added to the verb or to the predicate noun in copular sentences:

- (69) *¿pikán nẽ-rĩ?-sah?*
 where go-3PL.PAST-Q
 ‘Where did they go?’

2.3 Syntax

2.3.1 Word order

Basic word order in Chibchan in general is SOV, noun + adjective, possessor + possessum, noun + postposition, noun + numeral. The only parameter where there is variation is the position of demonstratives: demonstratives precede the noun in most languages, but they follow it in a few, namely in Bribri, Cabécar, Guaymí, Bocotá, and Teribe, all from the border zone between Costa Rica and Panama, which is the putative original Chibchan territory (cf. §1.3). Discussion of the role of word order for participant-highlighting is deferred to §4.2.

2.3.1.1 The main clause

Basic order in the main, unmarked, declarative, transitive clause with full NPs in Chibchan is without exception SOV. With omission of the subject, in the characteristic style of non-discourse-initial clauses in head-marking languages, this reduces to OV (cf. 2.2.2.3, above). Rarely, independent nominal or pronominal NPs may appear postverbally, as in examples like (70) from Cabécar and (71) from Bocotá, the latter with a profusion of zero subjects unaccompanied by verbal person markers.

- (70) *tkabě suwá étaba yís tě*
 snake see-PERF one-CL.LONG 1SG ERG
 ‘A snake I saw.’

- (71) *Ngang yigue kwang blale; jayi-bi ngāng begue digue. Chui mǎng ø*
 Place arrive person man; stay-PERF place put to. Sun NEG ø
chibe digue jo-ni. ø be jo gue kalera begue chui digue;
 be able to go-PERF. ø FUT go to ladder put sun to;
ø jo gue me kalera dwe.
 ø go to there ladder carry.

‘There arrives a man who tries to catch the sun, but ø is unable to; so ø goes to get the ladder to get the sun; ø carries the ladder.’

Verbal agreement occurs in different fixed orders in Central America. With both subject and object agreement (where 3rd singular is zero), there is o-s-V (72, Rama where 2SG *ma* is enclitic), or o-V-s, as in Paya (73), but not *s-V-o,

or *s-o-V¹³, the latter is present in Colombia, though (cf. §3.3). In the only cross-referencing ergative language, Guatuso, the order is ABS-ERG-V, as in (5a) above:

(72) *ma ni-sung-u*
 2SG 1SG-see-PAST
 ‘I saw you.’

(73) *pí-wà:k-rí*
 2SG-carry-3PL.PAST
 ‘They carried you.’

2.3.1.2 The noun phrase

(i) *Basic template:* The structure of an NP in Chibchan can be represented as follows:

_i[(DEM) _{ii}[(POSS) N (ADJ) (CL-NUM-CL)~ (CL-NUM-CL) (ADJ)]_i (DEM)]_{ii}

The subscripted bracketing indicates that demonstratives can either be initial or final. Classifiers can either precede or follow numerals. While adjectives generally come immediately after the noun, as in Cabécar (74a) and Cuna (74b), they follow the classifier-numeral complex in Teribe (74c):¹⁴

- (74) a) *Sálkoló dolóna bó-tkō jé*
 spider black two-CL.FLAT DEM
 ‘those two black spiders’
- b) *we ome pini war-po*
 DEM woman old CL-TWO
 ‘those two old women’
- c) *bor plu doglo mya kokshko*
 1POSS king CL.ANIMATE three tall
 ‘my three tall kings’

Possessives, which are often identical to personal pronouns, invariably precede the head.

(ii) *Possession:* Possessive constructions in Chibchan, with the only systematic exception of Bocotá, prefer the order possessor + possessum. Possessive NPs in Central America may consist of (a) a possessive determiner/(pro-)clitic and a noun (75, Rama), (b) two juxtaposed nouns with no further marking (76, Teribe), (c) a possessive prefix (77, Paya):

- (75) *m-uup*
 2SG eye
 'your eye'
- (76) *walë orkwo*
 woman hand
 'the woman's hand'
- (77) *pí-shushú*
 2SG.POSS-dog
 'your dog'

Rama and Boruca (78) are among the languages where a free possessum follows the possessor:

- (78) *kwasrán igi ték*
 Kwasrán GEN story
 'Kwasrán, his story/Kwasrán's story'

Here *igi* is not a postposition; its only function is to express possession.

Some languages distinguish inalienable and alienable possession. In Bocotá, the order is possessor + possessum in the former, with body parts and kinship relations as the possessum and with no further morphological marking:

- (79) a) *chá sé*
 1SG nose
 'my nose'
- b) *ché kiruá*
 1PL son
 'our son'
- c) *kuá buíre dabaia*
 CL woman sister
 'the woman's sister'

When body parts are possessed, the possessor must be singular; otherwise, alienable possession marking takes over. Alienable possession can be expressed in two ways:

- (80) a) possessor + possessum + suffix (-ia ~ ã)
chá chudú-ã *cha kuã buiré-ia*
 1SG pig-POSS 1SG CL woman-POSS
 'my pig' 'my wife'
- b) possessum + possessor + genitive
chudú chá no *kuã buire chá no*
 pig 1SG GEN CL woman 1SG GEN
 'my pig' 'my wife'

In Paya, body-part terms, terms of spatial relationship, kinship terms, words for natural effluvia and certain special words like ‘God’ (*tʃisʔahá*) have to occur with the possessive suffix.

(iii) *Relative clauses*: Relative clauses are rare in Chibchan, and paratactic juxtaposition is preferred. There is normally no contrast between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Comrie (1989) identifies four parameters of cross-linguistic variation of relative clauses: order of the relative clause (pre-, post-, and circumnominal or head-internal), kind of representation of the relativized NP (non-reduction, pronoun-retention, relative pronoun, gap), behavior of the head in the main clause (attraction of its case marking to that of the relativized NP, relational identity requirements on head and relativized NP), and accessibility to relative clause formation.

In most Chibchan languages that have relative clauses, including Cuna (81) and Rama (82), they are postnominal. This seems unusual for strict OV languages, which tend to have prenominal relative clauses (cf. Turkish or Japanese). While relative clauses in Cuna are formed by adding the participial suffix *-ti* to the verb (comparable to a nominalizing suffix such as *-er* in English), there may also be separate relativizers, and that of Rama (82) occupies clause-final position.

- (81) *tule we nattappi-tti, itti anai*
 man there walks-REL, DEM friend
 ‘The man who walks there is my friend.’

- (82) *suuli kwahala dolfo abanga malng-u kaing ba-an-alp-iikr-i*
 animal bad Dolfo poor kill-PAST REL to-3PL-find-want-PRES
 ‘They want to find the bad animal that killed Dolfo.’

As to Comrie’s other parameters, Chibchan relativization is generally of the gapping type, as can be seen in (81) and (82), where there is no way to tell the role of *tule* (‘man’) and *suuli kwahala* (‘bad animal’).¹⁵ Concerning attraction, the closest that there is to it is found in Paya, where the case marking of relativized non-subject NPs is shifted from the head to the verb of the relative clause; thus in (83) *libroh* (‘book’) does not bear the objective (accusative) marker *-rá*, which is cliticized to the verbal string of the relative clause. If the subject is relativized, the emphatic marker *-ma* is cliticized to the verb of the relative clause and can optionally appear on the head, cf. (84):

- (83) *libroh p-àyh-r-ì-râ?* *awèsh-róshk-i-shi*
 book 2SG-give-3PL-PAST-OBJ/REL read-PROG-2SG-PAST
 ‘You were reading the book that they gave you.’

- (84) *aʔ -árwà -ma katùsh-k-u-riʔ-ma ò:n-íʔ*
 that-man-EMPH work-SEM-HAB-PAST-EMPH/REL die-PAST
 ‘That man you used to work with died.’

As to accessibility, subjects and objects are the NPs relativized most commonly.

2.3.1.3 The verb phrase

In addition to the verb, which is the only obligatory element of the verb phrase, the two other major constituents are auxiliaries and positionals. As pointed out in 2.2.2.2, the auxiliary-like element precedes the verb in both Boruca (31) and Bocotá (32).

As for verb serialization, “the combination of two or more asyndetically juxtaposed verbs with at least one shared argument in order to express a complex, but unitary situation” (Lehmann 1995: 34), Teribe deserves special mention. It was pointed out above that with movement and certain event and state verbs, specification of position is obligatory in that language and that up to three verbs can thus be concatenated. There are two rules that constrain the combinations of verbs in a series, regardless of the number of verbs:

Teribe verb serialization Rule 1

“A positional verb is never the first member in a series.”

Teribe verb serialization Rule 2

“There must be at least a movement or a positional verb in the series.”

In the case of two-member series, given the three verb types that can appear, positional, movement, and event verbs, there are nine possible combinations:

- a) positional + positional
- b) positional + movement
- c) positional + event
- d) movement + positional
- e) movement + event
- f) movement + movement
- g) event + positional
- h) event + movement
- i) event + event

However, Rules 1 and 2, already rule out combinations a), b), c) and i), leaving seven possible combinations.¹⁶ The number of possible combinations is further

reduced by a restriction on the nature of the syntactic relation between the two verbs: the two verbs must belong to the same simple clause, that is, that they have to be members of the same predicate, and not two predicates in hypotactic relation, as is the case in (85), a purposive clause, (86), and (87) constructions expressing the progressive aspect. By this criterion, combinations b), c) (already ruled out by Rule 1), and e) are also excluded, leaving only combinations d), f), g) and h).

- (85) *Walë jek wë diga*
 Woman go bathe river
 ‘The woman went to bathe in the river.’

- (86) *E shäng jek Panama*
 DEM POSIT.STAND go Panama
 ‘He is going to Panama.’

- (87) *Tawa löng pë*
 1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE sleep
 ‘We are sleeping.’

The combinations that conform to the above rules can be summarized as in (88), “the serial template”:

- (88) *Teribe serial template*

$$v[\overset{\text{event}}{\{\text{movement}\}} + \overset{\text{position}}{\{\text{movement}\}}]v$$

The four possible combinations stemming from (88) are illustrated in turn:

- (89) movement and position of subject

Tawa shro-no löng bomi tok na
 1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF POSIT.BE 2PL with here
 ‘We came to you.’

- (90) event and position of subject

Păy parkë löng afwera
 2PL work POSIT.BE outside
 ‘You were working outside the comarca.’

- (91) movement of subject

Tawa to tek junikong
 1PL.EXCL go come this side
 ‘We came over here.’

- (92) event and movement of subject

Ba data shinmoko-no jek bebi
 3POSS father die-PERF go too
 ‘His father died too.’

The common denominator of the combinations allowed by (88) is that the second element expresses the last phase of a situation; thus (89) and (90) express the position of a participant after its movement and after an event, respectively. Similarly (91) and (92) specify the direction of the state of affairs (in the latter only metaphorically). In other words, in cases involving movement verbs, general movement precedes specific movement; thus in (91) above the first verb expresses the departure, and the second verb express the direction (in this case toward the deictic center). Similarly, in (93) below the first verb expresses the initial movement, while the second verb specifies the direction (away from the deictic center):

- (93) *Tawa jek brik bon*
 1PL.EXCL go leave tomorrow
 ‘We are leaving tomorrow.’

In some cases specification of movement is achieved by using a verb that includes punctuality among its features, as in (94) and (95):

- (94) *Tawa jek ör këm*
 1PL.EXCL go go[arrive] there
 ‘We got there.’
- (95) *Ta jek är di bang shko*
 1SG go arrive water hole at
 ‘I got to the well.’

When the series has three members it is usually an “extra” movement verb that is added to the template; and given the above rules, it must be placed before the positional verb (96), or, depending on its meaning, in the preferred order general > specific (97):

- (96) movement + movement + positional
tawa to tek löng ba tok llëme
 1PL.EXCL go come POSIT.BE 3SG with NEG
 ‘We came without him.’
- (97) movement + movement + movement
E shro-no to tek ba pluyo tok llëme
 DEM arrive-PERF go come 3POSS majesty with NEG
 ‘He came without the [lit. his] King.’

As in the case of two-member series, an event at the end of a string or following a movement verb in a string cannot be analyzed as a series; that is the case in (98)¹⁷ and (99). An event, however, can be the first member of a series, as in (100):

- (98) movement + positional + event
ga oba ör pang parko-no bebi
 CONN people go POSIT.HANG work-PERF too
 ‘And people came and worked too.’

(99) movement + event + positional

rey ör pë buk boy tok
 king go sleep POSIT.LIE wife with
 'The King went to sleep with his wife.'

(100) event + movement + positional

Sënwa dbuk jem pang di kingo
 Bird fly go.up POSIT.HANG river above
 'The bird is flying over the river.'

Occasionally, series with up to four members are produced in spontaneous speech; the general tendency holds even in these cases; thus in (101) below, the last member of the series is a positional verb:

(101) *Tawa shro-no to tek shäng borwa lanma tok*
 1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF go come POSIT.STAND 1PL.EXCL.POSS husband with
 'We came with our husbands.'

The preceding examples basically include intransitive situations. In the case of transitive situations, the specification of the movement and/or position basically refers to the object; the first verb is the one expressing the transitive event, and the other members of the series carry the movement and/or positional specification. (102a) and (102b) illustrate transitive series of two and three members, respectively. That the positional refers to the object is evidenced by the fact that the positional *shäng* cannot be used in (102a):

(102) a) *Tawa shwling zrö-no buk/*shäng*
 1PL.EXCL deer kill-PERF POSIT.SIT/*POSIT.STAND
 'We killed the deer (lying/*standing).'

b) *Dröng sö-r-a tek teng na*
 Machete carry-PERF-3 come POSIT.BE here
 'He brought the machete over (here).'

Cases in which the positional expresses the position of the transitive subject are extremely rare:

(103) *Entonces... ku-rwa löng p'ir*
 Then... hear-1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE finish
 'Thus, we hear it all.'

On occasion, there appear series containing four verbs, with a transitive event at the beginning of the series, and a positional at the end, as in (104) where the whole event is decomposed into its meaning components, each of which is expressed by a verbal lexeme. In relation to the serial template in

(88), the movement verbs in (104) appear to be “inserted” in the middle of the template:

- (104) *srĩ-ya jem jer pang kok erei dogo*
 throw-IMP.INV go.up go.down POSIT.HANG in the sky
 ‘[She] tossed [it] up [and it remained hanging] in the sky.’

The variability in ordering the members of such series reveals that serialization is not highly grammaticalized. The common elements in the various series are movement and position verbs. The function of positionals is still to express the development of a situation in terms of the resulting position; as a side effect, aspectual nuances can be attained.¹⁸

2.3.2 Grammatical relations

All three types of relational alignment traditionally recognized exist in Central America. As elsewhere, accusative alignment predominates for syntactic purposes, with the possible exception of Guatuso.

2.3.2.1 Accusative systems

Five languages are accusative in Central America: Paya, Rama, Boruca, Teribe, Cuna and Bocotá (see discussion in 2.3.2.2). Accusative alignment is apparent in languages with cross-reference, Rama (105), with direct marking, Boruca (106), or with both, Paya (107) and (108):

- (105) a) *nah ma-sung-u*
 1SG 2SG-see-PAST
 ‘I saw you.’
 b) *ma na-sung-u*
 2SG 1SG-see-PAST
 ‘ You saw me.’
 c) *ma aa-tiskama*
 2SG NEG-little
 ‘ You are big.’
 (106) a) *at ki baʔ isht-kra*
 1SG SUBJ 2SG see-PERF
 ‘I saw you.’

- b) *ba ki aʔr isht-kra*
2SG SUBJ 1SG see-PERF
'You saw me.'
- c) *at ki daba-kra*
1SG SUBJ arrive-PERF
'I arrived.'
- (107) a) *arwǎ-yǎʔ úʔ-ra-hǎʔ abàk-k-ĩʔ*
man-NOM jaguar-OBJ-EMPH follow-SEM-PAST
'The man followed the jaguar.'
- b) *úʔ-rǎ-yǎʔ arwǎ-hǎʔ abàk-k-ĩʔ*
jaguar-NOM man-OBJ-EMPH follow-SEM-PAST
'The jaguar followed the man.'
- c) *arwǎ-hǎʔ mór-t-wá*
man-NOM snore-ITER-PRES
'The man snores.'
- (108) a) *ø-ǎʔ-a-wá*
3SG-eat-1SG-PRES
'I eat it.'
- b) *ta-wěh-wǎ...*
1SG-touch-3SG.PAST
'She touched me.'
- c) *nǎ-a-wá*
go-1SG-PRES
'I go.'

A not so straightforward situation occurs in Teribe, where the expression of grammatical relations with pronominal NPs can be misleading. The Teribe personal pronouns fall into two paradigms, one that I call "nominal" and the other which I term "oblique". The former is used to code referents in subject and object relations, while the latter codes objects and objects of postpositions. Members of the oblique paradigm are, in addition, used as possessive determiners, in pronominal position. Teribe has the inclusive/exclusive opposition in the first person plural and a switch reference system, limited to third person plural; both the exclusive/inclusive and the same/different oppositions are expressed by verbal morphology. The Teribe pronoun system is illustrated in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8
Teribe pronoun system

		NOMINAL	OBLIQUE
SINGULAR	1.	<i>ta</i>	<i>bor</i>
	2.	<i>pa</i>	<i>bop</i>
	3.	$\emptyset$	<i>ba</i>
PLURAL	1. EXCLUSIVE	<i>tawa</i>	<i>borwa</i>
	1. INCLUSIVE	<i>shi</i>	<i>bi</i>
	2.	<i>pãy</i>	<i>bomi</i>
	3. SAME	$\emptyset$	<i>ba</i>
	3. DIFFERENT	<i>ebga</i>	<i>ba</i>

The expression of grammatical relations by means of personal pronouns works as follows. Members of the nominal paradigm may code (O)bjects of a transitive verb in the OV-s order, where -s stands for a person-indexing suffix, as in (109), as well as S(ubjects) of an intransitive verb, as in (110):

(109) *pa shpo-ro-r*

2SG hit-PERF-1SG

‘I hit you.’

(110) *pa shro-no kupke shko*

2SG arrive-PERF yesterday in

‘You arrived yesterday.’

This situation would lead one to posit ergative alignment; however, the nominal paradigm is also used to code A(gents) of transitive verbs in the SOV order, in which case O is coded by a form from the oblique paradigm (111a); the language does not admit two contiguous members of the same paradigm (111b). In addition, the oblique paradigm can be used to code O(bjects) in the OV-s order, as shown in (111c):¹⁹

(111) a) *pa bor kimtë*

2SG 1SG help

‘You help me.’

b) **pa ta kimtë*

2SG 1SG help

‘You help me.’

- c) *ba kosho-ro-rwa ga to borwa shiryo*
 3SG wait-PERF-1PL.EXCL CONN go 1PL.EXCL.POSS place
 ‘We waited for it and went to our place.’

This system parallels a nominative-accusative basis because although A, S, and O are treated similarly in the nominal paradigm –that is, A is not opposed to S and O, the members of the oblique paradigm cannot be used to code A (112a) nor S (112b), only O in both the SOV and the OV-s orders, thereby disclosing an opposition of A and S against O. Again, there is alignment of the transitive and the intransitive subject in the pronominal system.

- (112) a) **bor pa kimtë*
 1SG 2SG help
 ‘I help you.’
 b) **bop shro-no kupke shko*
 2SG arrive-PERF yesterday in
 ‘You arrived yesterday.’

In the case of lexical NPs, there are two main word orders in the simplex clause, which can be roughly described as follows: the SOV order is used discourse-initially, for grounding participants, and to reinforce their identity in some discourse passages; there is a tendency for participants to appear as full noun phrases in this order. The more frequent OV-s order is used for running discourse. The SOV order excludes the indexing of the subject and the OV-s does not allow the presence of a free subject noun phrase. Both orders, which can be regarded as being in complementary distribution, are shown in (113) and (114), respectively:

- (113) *Carlos Jacinto shpo-no*
 Carlos Jacinto hit-PERF
 ‘Carlos hit Jacinto.’
 (114) *Jacinto shpo-ro-r*
 Jacinto hit-PERF-1SG
 ‘I hit Jacinto.’

In the inverse construction (cf. 2.2.2.4 (iii)) the order is OVS*dë*, where S is a full noun phrase marked as obviative (by *dë*) in postverbal position; the object of the clause remains in its preverbal position:

- (115) *Jacinto shpo-ra Carlos dë*
 Jacinto hit-PERF.INV Carlos OBV
 ‘Carlos hit Jacinto.’

As for intransitive clauses, the discourse equivalent of the SOV order is SV, as in (116), while the intransitive counterpart of OV-s is $\emptyset$ V (117):

- (116) *Carlos shro-no kupke*
 Carlos arrive-PERF yesterday
 ‘Carlos arrived yesterday.’
- (117) $\emptyset$ *wollë-no buk e shko*
 $\emptyset$ wake up-PERF POSIT.LIE DEM in
 ‘[He] woke up there.’

On the basis of these word order patterns, one could conclude that Teribe exhibits an ergative system in that the encoding of the agent of transitive clauses is opposed to that of the subject of intransitive clauses both in the OV-s order, where it is only the agent that is indexed in the verb, and in the OVS*dë* order, which could then be regarded as a marked ergative construction. Such an analysis, however, cannot account for the fact that in the SOV order, where the subject is always an agent (or agent-like entity), it is not marked in any special way that could suggest a different treatment from the subject of the intransitive construction; thus, *Carlos* receives the same morphosyntactic treatment in both (113) and (116); in both cases it appears in preverbal unmarked position.

2.3.2.2 Ergative systems²⁰

Four languages show ergative alignment in Central America: Guatuso, Bribri, Cabécar, and Guaymí. With the exception of Guatuso, ergativity is mostly a matter of direct marking rather than cross-reference. As is well-known, most ergative languages in the world are “split”, aligning S with A as opposed to O for syntactic or also certain morphological purposes. Basically five factors have been identified as conditioning such splits (cf. Dixon 1994):

- a) verb semantics, with intransitive verbs favoring accusative or ergative alignment depending on whether or not they take an agent;²¹
- b) the semantics of NPs, with pronouns for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular usually cross-referenced on the verb following an accusative pattern and with non-pronominal inanimate NPs following the ergative pattern;
- c) tense, aspect, mood and negation, with past, perfective, realis, positive favoring ergative alignment and non-past, imperfective, irrealis, negative, favoring accusative alignment;
- d) subordination, with purposive clauses being among those favoring ergative alignment;
- e) free-form nominals vs. cross-referencing bound affixes, with the former favoring ergative and the latter (developing from free forms) accusative alignment.

In languages without cross-referencing, such as Bribri (118), and Cabécar, alignment patterns are only manifested through direct marking, with splits conditioned by verbal semantics:

- (118) a) *ieʔ-r diwö-ø sa-we*
 3SG-ERG sun-ABS see-PERF
 ‘She saw the sun.’
 b) *diwö- ø michò*
 sun-ABS go
 ‘The sun goes.’
 c) *ieʔ-ø túrkeka diwö ska*
 3SG-ABS jump sun to
 ‘She jumps to the sun.’

There are also splits conditioned by tense, aspect, which are generally found in the languages without cross-referencing (Bribri and Cabécar).

In some languages ergative marking is highly dependent on discourse-pragmatics.²² Sometimes, where an ergative marker is expected in terms of alignment typology, its actual use (as opposed to zero anaphora) is contingent on prominence. Compare (119) from Bribri, where with one and the same verb the 3rd person pronoun is intermittently ergative and not ergative:

- (119) *ieʔ i-sa-we tö siʔwö wë-na; ieʔ-r i-sa-we*
 3SG 3ABS-see-PERF that moon see-MID; 3SG-ERG 3ABS-see-PERF
 i-dewa tsinetkla siʔwö tak
 3ABS-approach nea moon piece
 ‘She saw that the moon was looking; she saw (him) coming close to that piece of moon.’

Guatuso uses cross-referencing (120) and direct marking of the agent NP by *ti* (121), effecting prominence by such combined marking.²³ (In (121) the free agent pronoun, marked ergative, is not cross-referenced.)

- (120) a) *(ton po) ma-rra-cuang-e*
 (1SG 2SG) 2ABS-1ERG-see-NON.FUT
 ‘I see you.’
 b) *i-rpa-cuang-e*
 3ABS-2ERG-see-NON.FUT
 ‘You see him.’
 c) *mi-tó-ye*
 2ABS-go-NON.FUT
 ‘You go.’

- (121) *ton-ti po mi-cuang-e*
 1SG-ERG 2SG 2ABS-see-NON.FUT
 ‘I see you.’

2.3.2.3 Active/non-active systems

Jara (1989) advances the view that Bocotá belongs to the active/non-active type, a view that most authors –including the present one– have acritically accepted. However, on the basis of data stemming from fieldwork, a rigorous analysis (Quesada *forthcoming*) shows that viewing Bocotá as a representative of the active/non-active type results from a serious error in syntactic analysis, an erroneous interpretation of data, and a appalling confusion of concepts and terms such as grammatical relations, case, and voice). On the basis of examples like those in (122), Jara concludes that Bocotá is an active/non-active language with direct marking on the active subject (by means of the particle *no*). Nonetheless, neither examples provided by Jara herself (123a), nor those contained in Margery (1989) (123b), nor data that I have gathered (123c) support the claim that grammatical relations in Bocotá follow an active/non-active pattern:

- (122) a) *cha no gliá gúg-le*
 1SG “AG” leaves burn-PERF
 ‘I burned leaves.’
 b) *cha gugé-du*
 1SG burn-PERF
 ‘I burned.’
 c) *gliá gugé-du*
 leaves burn-PERF
 ‘Leaves burned.’
- (123) a) *Cha mĩālěn i gude*
 1SG never manioc eat
 ‘I never eat manioc.’²⁴
 b) *Giti Chubé doiá joy-áble girógro julíta jinande*
 Thus Chubé enemy arrive-PERF child all search
 ‘Thus Chubé’s enemy searched for all children.’
 c) *Gudde siũ ngabeg-able*
 tiger goat kill-PERF
 ‘The tiger killed the goat.’

Positing an active/non-active pattern leads Jara to propose a series of exceptions (e.g. movement verbs are not marked for agency, in certain temporal-aspectual

circumstances, usually in periphrastic constructions, agency is also left unmarked), and restrictions (e.g. active subjects are *no*-marked only when the main verb is not preceded by an auxiliary (?)) (Jara 1989: 106).

A set of three sentences shows that grammatical relations in Bocotá follow the nominative-accusative pattern. The examples in (124) contain pronominal subjects while those in (125) have full NPs. Presence of *no* in (124a-b) is optional, according to my informants:

- (124) a) *Ba (no) cha ba-dre*
 2SG TOP 1SG hit-PERF
 ‘You hit me.’
- b) *Cha (no) ba ba-dre*
 1SG TOP 2SG hit-PERF
 ‘I hit you.’
- c) *Cha tui San Vito*
 1SG live San Vito
 ‘I live in San Vito.’
- (125) a) *Guirogro isi ngambege*
 child snake kill-PERF
 ‘The child killed the snake.’
- b) *Isi guirogro daga-blede*
 snake child bite-PERF
 ‘The snake bit the child.’
- c) *Guirogro kle oade*
 child be alive
 ‘The child is alive.’

Since there is no cross-referencing in Bocotá, the only sign of the syntactic organization of the language is direct marking, which revolves around the role of the marker *no*. Both the examples in (124) and those in (125) reveal that this language does not group S and A against O; both pronominal and lexical noun phrases are treated alike regardless of the transitivity of the verb. The use of *no* seems to be related to information structure rather than to grammatical relations (as can be confirmed by the Bocotá text in 2.4.3). Therefore, there are no grounds for positing an active/non-active pattern in this language.

2.3.3 Valency and syntactic operations

There are languages where every verb is obligatorily marked for transitivity; for example “the mode of being of every verb in the Mayan languages is either

transitive or intransitive, in much the same way that in Romance languages every substantive must exist with inherent gender, masculine or feminine” (Robertson 1992: 50). With the most notable exception of extinct Muisca, this is not the case for the Chibchan languages. Nonetheless, in addition to voice changes, both synthetic and periphrastic valency-changing mechanisms are attested in some languages, especially valency-increasing ones.

(i) *Causativity*: In Bribri, there is a causative morpheme, $-a$: $bua? + -a \rightarrow bua?a?$ (‘fixed, made good’, $\langle ? \rangle$ marks perfective aspect). This morpheme has a suppletive morpheme to express causativity in the perfective prospective aspect: $bua?a? > bua?w\acute{e}$ (‘I fixed -today-’), which becomes $bua?w\acute{e}$ (high tone) in the imperfective.

In Cuna, causativity is expressed by the prefix *o-*, thus *turtakke* (‘learn’) vs. *o-turtakke* (‘teach’), or by the causative verb *imakke* ‘make’:

(126) *an pe tule kaya o-turtakke-nai*
 1SG 2SG people language CAUS-learn-PROG
 ‘I’m teaching you Cuna.’

(127) *achu moli apparmakke-te-kala imakke-sa*
 dog tapir run-DIR-LOC make-PERF
 ‘The dog make the tapir run away.’

As in Cuna, in Teribe, there is synthetic, expressed by the suffix *-rg* (128), and analytic causativity, expressed by the causative verbs *yë* ‘put’, and *ichë* ‘send, command’ (129), but in keeping with the relevance of the category of position in this language, the resulting position of the causee is sometimes expressed (130):

(128) *kökto-rg-a sök*
 kneel-CAUS-3 POSIT.SIT
 ‘[He] made [them] kneel down.’

(129) *E yo-ro-r di yë*
 DEM put-PERF-1SG water drink
 ‘I made him drink water.’

(130) *Kwozirwa pang nä yë. Ba mekë e ba wa yë*
 child POSIT.HANG breast drink. 3POSS mother DEM 3POSS baby put
pang nä yë
 POSIT.HANG breast drink
 ‘The baby is feeding (hanging) at the breast. His mother is making him feed (hanging) at the breast.’

In Paya, analytic causativity is expressed by the causative verbs *kà?-/kî?* ‘make’ and *pàs-k-* ‘take out’. If the embedded verb is transitive, it appears as an infinitive

consisting of the verb stem without aspect or nominalizing suffixes (131); if intransitive, it carries a nominalizing suffix (132):

- (131) *kapàsh-yó pè: àso tók ta-kìʔ-wá*
 talk-COM much water drink 1SG-make-PRES
 ‘It makes me thirsty to talk so much.’
- (132) *tàs-ma shúshú a-wáhn-á pàs-k-a-rí*
 1SG-EMPH dog 3POSS-cry-NOM take out-SEM-1SG-PAST
 ‘I made the dog bark.’

(ii) *Dative shift*: The closest to dative shift in Central America is found in Teribe, where dative noun phrases are expressed by the postposition *kong*, and forms from the oblique paradigm (cf. Table 2.8). With certain verbs expressing trivalent propositions, however, the dative is not marked by *kong*, but is instead advanced to the object role, as shown in (133b) and (134b), the “shifted versions” of (133a) and (134a), respectively. That (133b) and (134b) represent instances of dative shift is confirmed by two facts; a) the recipient is in the immediately preverbal position, which is strictly reserved for direct objects in the language, and b) the dative is not expressed by a postpositional phrase, which would take a pronoun from the oblique paradigm. In the case of (133a), the verb *sîn* (‘feed’) is a bivalent verb, taking a subject and an object, cf. (134a); however, the presence of another object *dli* (‘food’) clearly shows that (133b) is a double object construction, with the dative in the direct object slot:

- (133) a) *ba mekë sî-n-a e ba wawa sî-n-a bakoe*
 3SG.POSS mother feed-PERF-3 DEM 3SG.POSS baby feed-PERF-3 also
 ‘She fed her mom and her baby.’
- b) *Jeg-ong tawa sî-na-ba dli*
 go-PERF 1PL.EXCL feed-PERF-DS food
 Others came and gave us food.’
- (134) a) *ba kok, le, pi-n-a ba kong*
 3SG.POSS god, say.IMP.INV, teach-PERF-3 3SG to
 ‘His god, they say, he taught to them.’
- b) *¡Ta pî-zong llë, bomi tlôkwo e bomi shwong*
 1SG teach-IMPR thing, 2PL.POSS language DEM 2PL.POSS dress
pu-mi sorë!
 wear-2PL how
 ‘Teach me something, your language and how you dress!’

(134), shows that the verb *sîn* in the imperative mood also takes the dative in preverbal position as the direct object, while the noun *dli* ('food, meal') appears postverbally, in another instance of a double object construction:

- (135) *¡Ta sî-zong dli!*
 1SG feed-IMPR food
 'Feed me!'

(iii) *Cuna prefix vowels*: In Cuna, verbs take so-called prefix vowels, some of which are valency-reducing morphemes: *e-tinne* 'bind something' vs. *a-tinne* 'bind', *e-kuane* 'pick fruit' vs. $\emptyset$ -*kuane* 'fall', *e-pinsae* 'think of someone' vs. $\emptyset$ -*pinsae* 'think'.

(iv) *Noun incorporation*: Another rather peripheral valency-decreasing mechanism in Central America is noun incorporation. Attested in Bribri (136), Teribe (137) and Guatuso (51-52), incorporation is usually limited to non/human, not-so-referential or generic nouns. (137b) is an intransitive sentence as evidenced by the difference in perfective markers, (-*ra*) is used with transitive verbs only, as in (137a)

- (136) a) *yeʔ tso àrros alök ù iʔ a*
 1SG be rice cook pot DEM in
 'I'm cooking rice in this pot.'
- b) *yeʔ tso ùalök*
 1SG be pot-cook
 'I'm (pot)-cooking.'
- (137) a) *di za-r-a e*
 river cut-PERF-3SG CFP
 'He crossed the river.'
- b) *tlapga dib-zo-no ö-tong kalë*
 elder river-cross-PERF go-PERF there
 'The elder (river)-crossed there.'

Traces of incorporation can be found in certain compounds in Cuna, such as *mas-kunne* 'eat', from *masi* 'banana', 'food' and *kunne* 'chew', or *op-nake-t-akk^wa* 'millstone' (from *opa* 'maize'); *nake-* 'grind', -*t* 'nominalizer', and *akk^wa* 'stone'; these forms clearly border on lexicalization.

(v) *Boruca tonal changes*: Suprasegmental expression of valency changes is marginally attested in some languages. Thus, as mentioned in 2.1.3, in Boruca, *ahd-rá* '(he) abandons' and *áhd-ra* '(he) remains', or *ráhd-ra* '(he) goes out' against *rah-drá* '(he) takes out' differ in tone placement.

2.3.4 Comparison

Comparison is mostly analytic. For example, in Bribri (138), equality is expressed by either *eʔs* or *éjkě* in a compound sentence where the standard of comparison appears in the second part followed by the comparative marker; the comparative marker is generally sentence-final (e.g. Bribri, Teribe, Paya, Guaymí, Cuna):

- (138) *beʔ datsiʔ dör mâtk ieʔ datsi eʔs*
 2POSS dress be red 3POSS dress COMP
 ‘Your dress is as red as hers.’

Along the same syntactic lines superiority is expressed by *tsáta* (‘more than’ and inferiority by *dikì a* (‘less than’). The standard of comparison can be expressed pronominally by *icha* preceded by the possessive pronoun:

- (139) *beʔ ù dör bêrie yeʔ icha tsáta*
 2POSS house be big 1POSS POSSESSION COMP
 ‘Your house is bigger than mine.’

Other languages, including Cuna (140), do not distinguish comparative and superlative. The notion of surpassing is expressed by means of the adverb *pule* (‘more’) preceding the adjective. Comparison can also be expressed by coordination (e.g. ‘it’s good to work standing, work sitting won’t do’). For positive degree there are also emphasizing adverbs such as *ise* ‘very’. Equality is expressed by the adjective *yoppi* (‘similar’):

- (140) *we nekakuepule mullusuli naipe yoppi*
 DEM town long snake similar
 ‘This town is as long as a snake.’

Yuxtaposition is used in Guatuso to express both equality (141) and superiority (142):

- (141) *ton ampe-nhé, ninhá-fa Oyanhqui*
 1SG big-NOM, thus-EMPH Oyanhqui
 ‘Oyanhqui is as tall as me.’ [lit. ‘I am big, and so is Oyanhqui.’]
 (142) *ton ampe-nhé, epéme púo*
 1SG big-NOM, NEG1-NEG 2SG
 ‘I am taller than you.’ [lit. ‘I am tall, you are not.’]

2.4 Sample texts

The following texts from Teribe, Bribri and Bocotá, correspond to on-line descriptions of the same film, a video version of children’s artist Eric Carle’s

story *Papa, Please Get the Moon for Me* (1986). It is the tale of a father's love for his daughter, who requests him to bring the moon down from the sky. He places a very long ladder on top of a very high mountain in an attempt to fulfill his daughter's wish for the moon. When the father acknowledges it is now too big to bring home to his daughter, he waits after it is small enough to carry, and finally brings it home to her. The girl becomes extremely happy, jumps, dances, and tosses the moon up in the sky; the moon recovers its size and goes back up in the sky. Having fulfilled her dream, the girl goes to bed. The protagonists are the girl, the moon, the father and a cat. Without audio, the film was shown to three native speakers of these languages in 1997, Mr. Faciano Vargas (Teribe), Mr. Feliciano Elizondo (Bribri), and Mr. Benito Morales (Bocotá); they were asked to narrate the story as it unfolded. The choice of the languages was determined by the nature of the grammatical relations in each language, [accusative (Teribe and Bocotá), and ergative (Bribri)]. The idea was to guarantee spontaneity as much as possible. After the on-line recording, the texts were transcribed. The texts, which have not been published before, are presented in a threefold version: the original text, followed by a glossed version and free translation into English.

2.4.1 Teribe

Dlo pang, kwara dbala, dbong jek sök klara, jek jerong ba uy roy. U kwo sréngsréng. Dbala, mok wen pang, kwozirwa walë. Mok pang; dbala tok ba sorgo. U jong kwara kwo sréngsréng ro shko; no sök këm klara. Mok pang kwara e dbala kwöbö sök, no wen shäng klara mok porwë woydë. Kwozirwa opshik tek uy roy; klara irgo, miskwo klara, no shäng klara; kwozirwa walë shäng klara; wloshko miskwo teng klara; pñöya jem, loya jem, orkwo jem, orkwo yë; jem orkwo shik ter. Domer wen shäng klara; kwozirwa pñöya sök ba dbopdo king; dlo shaya woydë or go; domer komo ïk; kwozirwa shäng wloshko. Miskwo, kwozirwa walë shäng ba slongbang; domer erä wloshko jeklo söya teng ba or go, jek shäng, jek jek jek e slongbang shko; ïya ba kwozirwa dë shäng e domer jek jek shäng jek; dbala wen lok. Erä miskwo sök klara, kwozirwa walë shäng ba slongbang ga domer jek shäng bigo wloshko; jeklo, dbala lok wen lok, kwozirwa shäng kojong. Domer jek shäng ba jeklo tok, jem tye ba jeklo go; ïya kwozirwa dë shäng töy, miskwo ba shiti/miskwo sök ba ïk; domer jem tye pang, jem tye pang, jem tye pang, jem tye pang; ïya miskwo dë sök e ïya kwozirwa walë li dë shäng. Ötong pang kok shko; jem tye, jem jeklo go shko; jemong dbala lok poglo go shko. Domer jem tye pang jeklo go shko; ïya kwozirwa

dë shäng. Domer jem, domer jem, domer jem; ñya kwozirwa dë shäng; miskwo sök bokwo jong jem lë bakoe. Domer jem jem jeklo li dbogo; ötong mok pang shko ga mok li shaya or go shko; porwë ötong, nõya ga mok ber pang kan e porwë ötong shäng ga tlẽ jong, tlẽ jong mok pang li; ga erä tö shko li; ñya ga kwozirwa li beno shäng ga mok li ro bokwo wirwik smẽ t smẽ t smẽ t. Domer bokwo yësmët, smët, smët bakoe; ñya mok dë ga bokwo smët, smët bakoe. Ga erä ñya miskwo dë ga bokwo smët, smët bakoe. Kä jong kat kat kat e ba jeklo li, ötong jong mok pang li shko. Sorgo dbala ara; erä mok li shakza pang, söra teng ba wloy. Erä ba jeklo li yonza pang; jek jerong, jek jerong; erä ötong smoktong jong dbala go shko; ñya miskwo dë sök, ñya kwozir walë dë. Erä mok söra ter ba wloshko; ter oblono, ter shäng, ter shäng, oblono ter shäng, oblono ter shäng wloshko. Ba mok li ter shrono tö shko ga erä twarga kwozirwa walë li kong. Erä jek shäng srow, srow, srow, wloshko ba mok li teng; ga tör ba mok teng li tok; srong ara, jek ara; wo owa llëme. Erä yarga ba sakwo go shko, ga erä pñiya ba mok pribri ga srñiya jem jerong pribri; sharga teng; lõ shiya e pñöya, sriya jem jem jer pang kok eridogo ga jer jerong kok dogo; ñya miskwo dë, beno sök bakoe ga dbala teng trak llëme. To e mok to e ga ba miskwo e kwozirwa li woydë ara. Miskwo jek sök ba irgo; är ba u jong li shko ga opsrino u li roy, woydë ara. Ötong pono buk e bokwo wik trak llëme. Ey ga miskwo beno sök tör toksa u bonka; ba sogo li buk pë komo; ga erä wollëno klay ga ba mok li woyoshre klay e ga mok ñaglo pang ba u li roy; ñya obi kwozirwa li dë ga slongbango dbala ara. Erä opkorgo shäng ba ubäng bang; ga erä jek iröng këroy. Döniga weno tö shko ba miskwo li; shira jek. Miskwo erä jek jek sök u bonka e gañya mok dë pang obi wolëso; ba sorgo e dینگding.

Dlo pang kw-ara, dbala, dbong jek sök kl-ara, jek
 Sun POSIT.HANG CL.ROUND-one, star, tiger go POSIT.SIT CL-ANIMATE go
jer-ong ba uy roy. U kwo sréngsréng. Dbala, mok wen
 godown-PERF 3POSS house inside. House red. Star moon appear
pang, kwozirwa walë. Mok pang; dbala tok ba sorgo. U
 POSIT.HANG, child woman. Moon POSIT.HANG; star exist 3SG around. House
jong kw-ara ko sréngsréng ro shko; no sök këm
 POSIT.STAND CL.ROUND-one color red inside in; person POSIT.SIT there
kl-ara. Mok pang kw-ara e dbala kw-öbö
 CL.ANIMATE-one. Moon POSIT.HANG CL.ROUND-one DEM star CL.ROUND-some
sök, no wen shäng kl-ara mok porwë woydë.
 POSIT.SIT, person appear POSIT.STAND CL.ANIMATE-one moon touch want.

Kwozirwa opshik tek uy roy, kl-ara irgo, miskwo kl-ara, no
 Child go out go house inside, CL.ANIMATEafter cat CL.ANIMATE-one, person
shäng kl-ara; kwozirwa wale shäng kl-ara;
 POSIT.STAND CL.ANIMATE-one; child woman POSIT.STAND CL.ANIMATE-one,
wloshko miskwo teng kl-ara; pōño-ya jem, lo-ya jem, orkwo
 handy cat belong CL.ANIMATE-one; lift-IMP go up drop-IMP go up hand
jem, orkwo yë; jem orkwo shik ter. Domer wen shäng
 go up, hand put; go up hand pull go down. Man appear POSIT.STAND
kl-ara; kwozirwa pōño-ya sök ba dbopdo king; dlo sha-ya
 CL.ANIMATE-one; child lift-IMP POSIT.SIT 3POSS shoulder on; sun grab-IMP
woydë or go; domer komo ĩk; kwozirwa shäng wloshko. Miskwo,
 want hand with man upwards see; child POSIT.STAND handy. Cat,
kwozirwa wale shäng ba slonbang; domer erä wloshko jeklo
 child woman POSIT.STAND 3POSS side man then handy ladder
sö-ya teng ba or go; jek shäng, jek jek jek e slonbang shko;
 carry-IMP belong 3POSS hand with; go POSIT.STAND, go go go DEM side of;
ĩ-ya ba kwozirwa dë shäng e domer jek jek shäng
 see-IMP.INV 3POSS child OBV POSIT.STAND DEM man go go POSIT.STAND
jek; dbala wen lok. Erä miskwo sök kl-ara, kwozirwa
 go; star appear PL. Then cat POSIT.SIT CL.ANIMATE-one, child
wale shäng ba slonbang ga domer jek shäng bigo wloshko;
 woman POSIT.STAND 3POSS side CONJ man go POSIT.STAND bend handy;
jeklo, dbala lok wen lok; kwozirwa shäng kojong. Domer jek shäng
 ladder, star PL appear PL; child POSIT.STAND stand. Man go POSIT.STAND
ba jeklo tok, jem tye ba jeklo go; ĩ-ya kwozirwa dë
 3POSS ladder with, go up climb 3POSS ladder with; see-IMP.INV child OBV
shäng töy, miskwo ba shiti/miskwo sök ba ĩk; domer jem
 POSIT.STAND ground, cat 3POSS dog/cat POSIT.SIT 3SG see; man go up
tye pang, jem tye pang, jem tye pang, jem
 climb POSIT.HANG, go up climb POSIT.HANG, go up climb POSIT.HANG, go up

tye pang; ĩ-ya miskwo dē sōk e ĩ-ya kwozirwa
 climb POSIT.HANG; see-IMP.INV cat OBV POSIT.SIT DEM see-IMP.INV child
walē li dē shäng. Ö-tong pang kok shko; jem tye, jem
 woman TOP OBV POSIT.STAND. Go-PERF POSIT.HANG place of; go up climb, go up
jeklo go shko; jem-ong dbala lok poglo go shko. Domer jem tye
 ladder with of; go up-PERF star PL edge with of. Man go up climb
pang jeklo go shko; ĩ-ya kwozirwa dē shäng. Domer jem,
 POSIT.HANG ladder with of; see-IMP.INV child OBV POSIT.HANG. Man go up,
domer jem, domer jem; ĩ-ya kwozirwa dē shäng; miskwo
 man go up, man go up; see-IMP.INV child OBV POSIT.STAND; cat
sōk bokwo jong jem lē bakoe; domer jem jem jeklo li dbogo;
 POSIT.SIT eye POSIT.STAND go up say too man go up go up ladde TOP tip;
ö-tong mok pang shko ga mok li sha-ya or go shko;
 arrive-PERF moon POSIT.HANG of CONJ moon TOP grab-IMP hand with in;
porwē ö-tong, nō-ya ga mok ber pang kan e porwe
 touch arrive drop-IMP CONJ moon remain POSIT.HANG hard DEM touch
ö-tong shäng ga tlē jong, tlē jong mok
 arrive-PERF POSIT.HANG CONJ speak POSIT.STAND, speak POSIT.STAND moon
pang li; ga erä tö shko li ĩ-ya ga kwozirwa li;
 POSIT.HANG REL; CONJ then ground in TOP see-IMP CONJ child TOP;
be-no shäng ga mok li ro bokwo wirwik smēt, smēt,
 remain-PERF POSIT.STAND CONJ moon TOP in eye wink move, move,
smēt; domer bokwo yē smēt, smēt, smēt bakoe; ĩ-ya mok
 move; man eye put move, move, move too; see-IMP.INV moon
dē ga bokwo smēt, smēt bakoe. Ga erä ĩ-ya miskwo dē
 OBV CONJ eye move, move too. CONJ then see-IMP.INV cat OBV
ga bokwo smēt, smēt bakoe. Kä jong kat kat kat e ba jeklo
 CONJ eye move, move too. Head POSIT.STAND zig zag DEM 3POSS ladder
li, ö-tong jong mok pang li shko. Sorgo dbala ara;
 TOP, arrive-PERF POSIT.STAND moon POSIT.HANG REL of. Around star many;

erä mok li sha-kz-a pang; sö-r-a teng ba wloy. Erä
 then moon TOP take-SUBIT-3 POSIT.HANG; carry-PERF-3 belong 3POSS handy Then
ba jeklo li yon-z-a pang; jek jer-ong jek jer-ong;
 3POSS ladder TOP move-SUBIT-3 POSIT.HANG; go go down-PERF go go down-PERF;
erä ö-tong smok-tong jong dbala go shko;ĩ-ya miskwo
 then arrive-PERF stick-PERF POSIT.STAND star with of; see-IMP.INV cat
dë sök, ĩ-ya kwozir wale də. Erä mok sö-r-a ter
 OBV POSIT.SIT, see-IMP.INV child woman OBV. Then moon carry-PERF-3 come down
ba wloshko; ter oblo-no, ter shäng, ter shäng, oblo-no
 3SG handy; come down fall down-PERF, come down POSIT.STAND, fall down-PERF
ter shäng, oblo-no ter shäng wloshko. Ba mok li ter
 POSIT.STAND fall down come down POSIT.STAND handy; 3POSS moon TOP come down
shro-no tö shko ga erä twa-rg-a kwozirwa walë li kong.
 arrive-PERF ground in CONJ then give-CAUS-3 child woman TOP to.
Erä jek shäng srow, srow, srow, wloshko ba mok li teng; ga
 Then go POSIT.STAND jump, jump, jump, handy 3POSS moon TOP belong; CONJ
tor ba mok teng li tok; sron ara, jek ara; wo owa llëme. Erä
 play 3POSS moon belong TOP with; run much, go much; liver bad NEG. Then
ya-rg-a ba sakwo go shko, ga erä prĩ-ya ba mok
 put-CAUS-3 3POSS finger with of, CONJ then turn-IMP 3POSS moon
pribri ga srĩ-ya jem jer-ong pribri; sha-rg-a teng; lõ
 around CONJ jump-IMP go up go down-PERF around; grab-CAUS-3 belong; part
shi-ya e põño-ya, srĩ-ya jem jem, jer pang kok erei
 pull-IMP DEM lift-IMP, ump-IMP go up go up, go down POSIT.HANG place in the
dogo ga jer jer-ong kok dogo;ĩ-ya miskwo də, be-no
 sky CONJ go down go down-PERF place sky; see-IMP.INV cat OBV, remain-PERF
sök bakoe ga dbala teng trak llëme. To e mok to e ga
 POSIT.SIT too CONJ star belong little NEG. Go DEM moon go DEM CONJ
ba miskwo e kwozirwa li woydë ara. Miskwo jek sök ba irgo;
 3POSS cat DEM child TOP want much. Cat go POSIT.STAND 3POSS after;

är ba u jong li shko ga opsrë-no u li roy,
 arrive 3POSS house POSIT.STAND TOP in CONJ enter-PERF house TOP inside,
woyde ara. Ö-tong po-no buk e bokwo wik trak llëme. Ey ga
 want much.go-PERTsleep-PERFPOSIT.LIE DEM eye wink little NEG. Then CONJ
miskwo be-no sök tor toksa u bonka; ba sogo li
 cat remain POSIT.SIT play alone house side 3POSS owner TOP
buk pë komo; ga erä wollë-no klay ga ba mok li
 POSIT.LIE sleep up; CONJ then wake up-PERF suddenly CONJ 3POSS moon TOP
woyoshre klay e ga mok ñaglo pang ba u li roy;
 remember suddenly DEM CONJ moon in front POSIT.HANG 3POSS house TOP inside;
ĩ-ya obi kwozirwa li dë ga slongbango dbala ara. Erä
 see-IMP.INV again child TOP OBV CONJ around star many. Then
opkorgo shäng ba ubäng bang; ga erä jek irong këroy.
 approach POSIT.STAND 3POSS window side; CONJ then go again inside there.
Döniga we-no tö shko ba miskwo li; shi-r-a jek. Miskwo
 Later appear-PERF ground in 3POSS cat TOP; take-PERF-3 go. Cat
erä jek jek sök u bonka e ga ĩ-ya mok dë pang
 then go go POSIT.SIT house side DEM CONJ see-PERF mon OBV POSIT.HANG
obi wolëso; ba sorgo e díngríng.
 again pretty; 3POSS around DEM blue.

There is a sun, a star; a tiger goes into the house. The house is red. There appears a star, the moon and a girl. The moon is surrounded by many stars. There is a house that looks red in the inside. There appears a person. There is a moon and some stars too. There appears a person who wants to touch the moon. The girl goes into the house and the cat goes behind her. There appears a person. The girl is holding the cat in her arms; she picks it up and puts it down with her hands. There appears a man; the girl lifts her shoulder toward the sun wishing she could grab it; the man looks toward the sky holding the girl in his arms; the cat is next to the man. With his hand the man carries a ladder and brings it to where they [the girl and the cat] are. The girl watches closely. The man goes, the stars appear; the cat is there and the girl is next to it; the girl stands up. The man comes with the ladder, climbs up the ladder; the girl is looking from below; the

cat looks too. The man goes up and up; both the girl and the cat keep looking. He finally arrives at the moon and gets close to the stars. He goes further up; the girl keeps watching, and so does the cat. The man reaches the top of the ladder, goes toward the moon to grab it; tries to bring it down but it remains in place; it is hard and he can only touch [but not grab] it; he says something but the moon remains hanging up in the sky. He then comes down and sees that the girl is looking; the moon winks, on and on; the man winks too; the cat sees them winking and begins to wink too. He moves his head back and forth and looks toward the ladder, which is still touching the moon. There are many stars around. Then all of a sudden he grabs the moon and goes down the ladder until he reaches the ground with the moon in his hands; both the girl and the cat look attentively. He comes down holding the moon and hands it over to the girl. She then jumps and jumps holding the moon, and plays with it; she is extremely happy; she tosses it up and down, from one hand onto the other. She keeps jumping and the moon then goes back up to the sky and remains there; the cat looks; there are many stars. The moon goes up and the girl loves the cat so much. The cat walks behind her until she enters the house; very happy, she goes to sleep and winks a lot. The cat remains alone at the side of the house; his owner is now sleeping upstairs. She suddenly wakes up and remembers the moon, which is hanging up in the sky in front of her; the girl sees the moon from inside the house; the moon is surrounded by many stars; the girl leans toward the window and goes back in. Later, the cat appears sitting on the ground; it goes then to the side of the house. The moon sees the cat and feels happy. It is all blue around it.

2.4.2 Bribri

Mòchka wëna tobèch k_i, nomù dami êtòm o michi dami êtòm mìchò iù a; bowö nárke iù a; mìchi dé iù a, eköl apé alàkùsila tēr kapök, shkènaka. Ie?r isawé tō diwö tskìna, ie? e? kéka, ie kuli? tare?wé?wà; ie?r diwö sawé, diwö mìchò, ie? e? yétsa ventana a isauk; ie? tso énbiköki. Ie? ki bëkuö kiàng kē ie? ulà dö bëkuö ska, bëkuö ena si?wö àte kámì; ie? mía ñolà k_i, ie? túrkeka diwö ska. Ie?r mìchi a ichè tō itsúmi eköl apé dé isauk. Ichàkök tō wés ide ì kiana ie? k_i, kē ie? ulà dö iska, diwö àte kómì; ie? tō mìchi éwa ie? àte ibikéitsuk ie? kē wà. Píska dé êtom mìchó ie?pa wà; michila tkēr ie? omìk; e?ta ie? shköëme, bëkuö wëna tòi, michila tkēr ie? wàpie cha ie? mìchò kàjtō a. Ie? dé ak k_i; ie? tso? iwébalök. Ie? kiana píska amúkkà e? k_i shkökka, michila tso iwébalök añies. Ie? mùchòka píska k_i; ie?pa àte diàëka, mìchi

ta iwak ia ta; ie? dökekutke si?wö ska, ká wëna tsipátsipâ, tatsikö wëna tsipátsipâ, ù a bö ñárke, ñée ie? déka si wö ska. Ie?r si?wö sawe, si?wö taibulu; ie? ula bùnawa, ie?r iamawe, ie?r iwöti?wëke, kē iwötir; ie?r iche wës? yö iwëke, ita wës? yö iwëke, ye? déka iska. Diwö wöbla ñárke; ie? tso ibikéitsuk tö wës? yö iwëmi, si?wö alónawa mīchi tkēr ís iwébalök si?wö wöbla ñárke; ie?pa tso ibikéitsuk, ie? tö si?wö ták klö? we iulá a; píska árkerötke, ie? dé bëkuö ska, ie?r bëkuö klö?we mīchi ena tayëla stséna bua?. Ie?par isawé tö ie? dàtsketke si?wö ták ki; ie?tso ibikéitsuk ie?r iamé ikulála a; bua? ikutála stséna ie? stséna bua?e, ie? turkëka, ie? stséna bua?e, bua?e; ie? ulá dé ikiana ie? ki e? ska e? kuékí ie? stséna bua? si?wö tak wa. Ie? tso inúk; ie?r ibikéitse tö e? dör ie? icha, si?wö míane ie? yöki chöraë kāköl jtō a. Ie? míane, stséna sià mīchi ta. Ie? mīchōng iú a, kábata tulur taí. Mīchi kiana kua? kölö?uk, ie? dé iú a, kapówane etökicha, ie? iùketör, si?wö iéitsuk. Mīchi tso inúk kua? ta, tayëla kapötër, ie? ajkárketër, ie? shkënanë etökicha; ie? isawe tö si?wö wëna; ie?r isawe idéwa tsjnetkla si?wö ták wöienane déne shkíshkí derë kámí. Irir kál ar élkör ù omik. Mīchi mīchōng; si?wö wënanë etökicha.

Mòchka wë-na tobèch kḷ, nomù dami ètòm o michi dami ètòm
 cloud see-MID TV in, tigre go CL.CILINDRIC or cat go CL.CILINDRIC
imìchò ù a; bowö ñárke i-ù a; mīchi dé i-ù a,
 leave 3SG-house in; fire burn 3SG-house in; cat arrive-PERF 3SG-house,
eköl apë alàkùsi-la tēr kapök, shkëna-ka. Ie?-r i-sawé
 CL.ANIMATE people girl-DIM POSIT.LIE sleep, wake up-MID. 3SG-ERG 3ABS-see
tö diwö tskì-na, ie? e? kéka, ie? kuli? tare?wë?wa; ie?-r diwö
 that sun born-MID, 3SG REFL get up, 3SG neck turn; 3SG-ERG sun
sa-we, diwö mīchò, ie? e? yétsa ventana a i-sauk; e? tso énbiköki. Ie?
 see-PERF, sun go, 3SG REFL exit window in 3SG-see; 3SG be think. 3SG
kḷ bëkuö kiana kē ie? ulá dö bëkuö ska, bëkuö ena si?wö àte kámí;
 on star want NEG 3SG hand arrive star to, star and moon remain far;
ie? mía ñolà kḷ, ie? túrkëka diwö ska. Ie?-r mīchi a i-chè tö
 3SG go road on, 3SG jump sun to. 3SG-ERG cat to 3ABS-say that
i-tsú-mi eköl apé dé i-sauk. I-chàkòk tö wés
 3ABS-carry-INC CL.ANIMATE person arrive.PERF 3ABS-see. 3ABS-ask that how
i-de i kiana ie? kḷ kē ie? ulá dö i-ska, diwö àte
 3ABS-happen what want 3SG on, NEG 3SG hand arrive 3ABS-to, sun remain

kómi; ie? tö mìchi éwa ie? àte i-bikéitsuk ie? kë wa. Píska
 far; 3SG ERG cat drop.PERF 3SG remain 3ABS-think 3SG NEG AG. Ladder
dé êtom mìchó ie?pa wá; michi-la tkër ie? omik;
 arrive CL.CILINDRIC move 3PL with; cat-DIM POSIT.SIT 3SG next to;
e?ta ie? shköë-më, bëkuö wë-na taì, michi-la tkër ie? wàpie
 then 3SG walk-IMP, star see-MID much, cat-DIM POSIT.SIT 3SG company
cha ie? mìchò kájtö a. Ie? dé ak kì; ie? tso?
 so 3SG go up in. 3SG arrive.PERF stone on; 3SG be
i-wébalök. Ie? kiana píska amúkk-a e? kì shkökka, michi-la tso
 3ABS-observe. 3SG want ladder put-CAUS DEM on climb, cat-DIM be
i-wébalök añëes. Ie? mùchò-ká píska kì; ie?pa àte diàëka, mìchi ta
 3ABS-observe too. 3SG carry-PERF ladder on 3PL remain down there, cat with
i-wak i-a ta; ie? dö-kekutke si?wö ska, ká wë-na tsipátsipâ, tatsikö
 3ABS-owner 3ABS-to with; 3SG arrive-FUT moon to, place see-MID green, grass
wë-na tsipátsipâ, ù a bö ñárke, ñée ie? dé-ká si?wö ska. Ie?-r
 see-MID green, house to fire burn, then 3SG arrive-PERF moon to. 3SG-ERG
si?wö sa-we, si?wö taibulu; ie? ula bùna-wa, ie?-r i-amawe,
 moon see-PERF, moon very big; 3SG hand stick-PUNCT, 3SG-ERG 3ABS-try,
ie?-r i-wöti?wè-ke, kë i-wötir; ie?-r i-che wës? yö i-wèke,
 3SG-ERG 3ABS-move-PERF, NEG 3ABS-move; 3SG-ERG 3ABS-say how? 1ERG 3ABS-do,
ita wës?sö... yö i-wèke, ye? dé-ká i-sk. Ddiwö wöbla ñárke; ie? tso
 now how?... 1ERG 3ABS-do, 1SG arrive-PERF 3ABS-to. Sun eyes burn; 3SG be
i-bikéitsuk tö wës? yö ì-wè-mì, si?wö alòna-wa mìchi tkër ís
 3ABS-think that how? 1ERG 3ABS-do-INC, moon break-PUNCT cat POSIT.SIT ground
i-wébalök si?wö wöbla ñárke; ie?pa tso i-bikéitsuk, ie? tö si?wö ták klö?-wë
 3ABS-observe moon eyes burn; 3PL be 3ABS-think, 3SG ERG moon piece take-PERF
i-ulà a; píska árkerö-tke, ie? dé bëkuö ska, ie?-r bëkuö klö?-wë
 3ABS-hand to; ladder fall-PERF, 3SG arrive star to, 3SG-ERG star take-PERF
mìchi ena tàyëla stsé-na bua? Ie?pa-r i-sawé tö ie? dàtske-tke si?wö
 cat and girl feel-MID good. 3PL-ERG 3ABS-see-PERF that 3SG come-PERF moon

ták k_i; ieʔtso i-bikéitsuk ieʔ-r i-amé i-kulá-la a; buaʔ
 piece with; 3SG 3ABS-think 3SG-ERG 3ABS-give 3ABS-daughter-DIM to; good
i-kutá-la stse-na ieʔ stse-na buaʔe; ieʔ turkeka, ieʔ stse-na
 3ABS-sister-DIM, feel-MID 3SG feel-MID very good; 3SG jump, 3SG feel-MID
buaʔe, buaʔe; ieʔ ulà dé i-kiana ieʔ k_i eʔ ska eʔkuéki ieʔ
 very good, very good; 3SG hand arrive 3ABS-want 3SG on DEM to therefore 3SG
stse-na buaʔ siʔwö tak wa. Ieʔ tso inúk; ieʔ-r i-bikéitse
 feel-MID good moon piece with. 3SG be play; 3SG-ERG 3ABS-think
tö eʔ dör ieʔ i-cha, siʔwö mí-a-ne ieʔ yöki
 that DEM POSIT.STAND 3SG 3ABS-of, moon go-PERF 3SG MAL
chöraë kàköl jtö a. Ieʔ mí-a-ne, stse-na sià mìchi ta. Ieʔ mìchò-ne i-ú a,
 vanish sky in. 3SG go-PERF, feel-MID sad cat with. 3SG go-IMP 3ABS-house to,
kábata tulur tai. Mìchi kiana kuaʔ kölöʔuk, ieʔ dé i-ù a,
 mountain ABS.PL much.Cat want butterfly grab, 3SG arrive 3ABS-house to,
kapówane etökicha. Ieʔ iùketör, siʔwö iéitsuk. Mìchi tso inúk kuaʔ
 fall asleep again. 3SG crying, moon cry. Cat be play butterfly
ta, tayëla kapötër, ieʔ ajkárketër, ieʔ shkèna-ne etökicha; ieʔ i-sa-we
 with, girl sleeping, 3SG lie down, 3SG wake up-MID again; 3SG 3ABS-see-PERF
tö siʔwö wë-na; ieʔ-r i-sawe i-déwa tsìnetkla siʔwö ták
 that moon see-MID; 3SG-ERG 3ABS-see-PERF 3ABS-approach near moon piece
wöièna-ne dé-ne shkíshkì derë kámì. Irir kál ar élkor ù omìk.
 remerge-MID arrive-PERF round but far. Be tree be CL.ROUND house next to.
Mìchi mìchò-ne; siʔwö wèna-ne etökicha.
 Cat go-PERF; moon see-MID again.

There is a cloud on TV; a tiger, or a cat is coming out of a house; there is fire inside the house; the cat comes to the house. A little girl, who is sleeping, wakes up. She sees that the sun rose and gets up; she moves her neck around and sees that the sun is going away, so leans toward the window to see it. She is thinking. She wants to grab the star with her hand but she cannot because the moon and the stars are far away. She goes out and jumps toward the sun. She tells the cat to get it, and someone arrives to see what is going on. He tries to reach the sun

but it is far away. He drops the cat and the cat remains thinking that he [the man] cannot [reach the moon]. A ladder is brought to move them; the little cat is sitting there; then he moves away. Many stars can be seen; the cat is there. Next the person brings the ladder and places it against the stone [the moon]; he observes and tries to affirm the ladder against the moon to climb up; the cat also watches. The man carries the ladder but remains standing; the cat sees its owner go up the ladder toward the moon. The place looks green; green grass can be seen. There is fire in the house. The man finally arrives at the moon. He looks at the moon. The moon is very big. He grabs it and tries to bring it down, but the moon does not move. He asks himself, ‘what can I do now? I know what I will do; I will get there’. The sun’s eyes are burning. He asks himself again, ‘what can I do? I know; I will break it.’ The cat remains on the ground observing how the moon’s eyes burn. They are thinking he can get a piece of moon with his hands; he climbs down the ladder to the girl holding the moon. The girl and the cat are very happy as they see him come down with the moon; he thinks he will give it to his little daughter. His sister [daughter] feels very happy, so happy that she jumps; she is indeed happy because she could hold the moon, as she wanted. She is very happy with her piece of moon. She plays and thinks it is hers, but the moon soon vanishes up in the sky. She and the cat now feel sad, and she goes into the house. Many mountains can be seen. The cat tries to grab a butterfly. The girl enters the house and goes back to sleep; she cries and the moon cries too. While the girl is sleeping, the cat plays with the butterfly. She wakes up again; she sees that the moon is still visible; she sees how the piece of moon, far away, gets back to its [round] size. There is a tree next to the house; the cat goes [around] again, and the moon can be seen again.

2.4.3 Bocotá

Ya abromĩ chuire; kwayle twi llane; chula jai jo batega, chula joi kwang abande joyi tugle daba. Chui yigue millane, biwagba yigue millane, kwang yiguebi millane; chui yiguebi ngaña, ngusa. Kwang yiguebi; wĩte, kwang tai chui dwague. Kwang yiguebi mĩ llane; chula tai jayi chui dwague. Jayi, chula begue digue. Ngan yigue kwang blale; jayibi ngang begue digue. Chui mĩng chibe digue joni. Be jo gue kalera begue chui digue; jo gue me kalera dwe. Kle llane chula ogle; chuimĩng chibe dwe gue; jui nguena; be jo gue ngaña jogayi ngaña kalera digue, ngaña. Yabro kle malande. Juãble ngaña jo millane, joyibi chui digue ngaña; jo dwe, jo siglenda, mĩng

siglenda dbale gue; yabro kle malande. Chui mĩng chibe dale gue, siglenda no, jo dwe julita. Be jo dwe julita; chubuni dweni daba; ngajoyi soguiane digue. Yabro kwang muire bire kode no; kle kolare digue, jomeni mĩguieng. Guidi ni joyare kwang blale; chula kle kolare. Kwang jo undegue, chubu, wĩte, joni chui gue ni; jo yane talĩque chula bire goga no; ngang chuba no; jusa no.

Ya-bromĩ chui-ra; kwayle tui llane; chula jai jo batega,
DEM-EMPH sun-PRES; personlike live there; cat DEM go run,
chula joi kwang abande joyi tu-gle daba. Chui yigue mĩllane,
cat arrive.PERF person where remain sit-IMP ground. Sun rise there (visible),
biwagba yigue mĩllane, kwang yigue-bi mĩllane; chui yigue-bi
star rise there (visible), person arrive-PERF there (visible); sun arrive-PERF
ngaña, ngusa. Kwang yigue-bi; wĩte, kwang tai chui dwague.
up, dawn. Person arrive-PERF; wake up, person want sun grab.
Kwang yigue-bi mĩllane; chula tai jayi chui dwague. Jayi, chula begue
Person arrive-PERF there (visible); cat want stay sun grab. Stay, cat put
digue. Ngang yigue kwang blale; jayi-bi ngāng begue digue. Chui mĩng chibe digue
to. Place arrive person man; stay-PERF place put to. Sun NEG be able to
jo-ni. Be jo gue kalera begue chui digue; jo gue me kalera dwe. Kle llane
go-PERF.FUT go to ladder put sun to; go to there ladder carry. Be there
chula o-gle; chui mĩng chibe dwe gue; jui ngena; be jo gue
cat 3SG-with; sun NEG be able carry DAT; arrive-PERF near; FUT go to
ngaña jogayi ngaña kalera digue, ngaña. Ya-bro kle malande. Juã-ble ngaña
up go up ladder to, up. DEM-EMPH be waiting. Take-ANT up
jo mĩllane, joyi-bi chui digue ngaña; jo dwe, jo siglenda, mĩng siglenda
go there (visible), arrive-PERF sun to up; go carry, go break NEG break
dbale gue; ya-bro kle malande. Chui mĩng chibe-dale gue, siglenda-ba no,
be able DAT; DEM-EMPH be waiting. Sun NEG be able-OBLIG to, break-PERF TOP,
jo dwe julita. Be jo dwe julita, chubu-ni dwe-ni daba; ngajoyi
go take all. FUT go carry all, come-PERF carry-PERF down; feel
soguiane digue. Yabro kwang buire bire kode no; kle kolale digue,
happiness to. DEM-EMPH person woman put.PERF hand TOP; be playing to,

jome-ni mĩgieng. Guidi ni jo yare kwang blale; chula kle kolare. Kwang
 return-PERF road. Then same go there person man; cat be playing. Person
wĩte, jo-ni chui gue ni, jo yane tafique chula bire goga
 wake up, go-PERF sun to again, go there same place cat put.PERF out
no; ngang chuba no, jusa no.
 TOP; place come TOP, clear TOP.

There is the sun; there is apparently one person there. The cat is running, comes near a person and sits on the ground. The sun rises; the stars rise; there arrives a person; the sun rises; it is daybreak. There comes a person, who wakes up and wants to grab the sun; [she] stays there and puts the cat down. There arrives a man who tried to catch the sun, but is unable to; so he goes to get the ladder to get the sun; he carries the ladder. [The other] stays there with the cat. He cannot take the sun but comes closer. He climbs up the ladder and reaches the sun. The other one is waiting. Now he gets the sun and tries to break it, but is unable to. The other person is still waiting. He cannot break the sun, but now he manages to break it and brings it down completely. Once down, he comes to the other person, who carries it and feels very happy. The other person, who is a woman, grabs it and plays with it. The other person, who is a man, makes his way home. The cat is playing. The other [the woman] is going to rest; she wakes up and sees that the sun is back in place. She takes the cat out [of the house] and comes home; it is clear now.

NOTES

1. The person prefixes find themselves in a process toward cohesion; as a result their “prefix character is not always apparent” (Holmer 1947: 127). The status of these forms will be addressed in Chapter 5.
2. Examples appear in most cases in the practical alphabets used in the sources; the following orthographic conventions are used in the literature: <ë> and <ö> represent mid high lax vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/, <gu> and <qu> represent the velar consonants /g/ and /k/, while underlining represents nasalization in the Viceita languages; in other languages such as Paya, Teribe, and Bocotá the tilde is used. <rr> and <ll> represent the trill /r/ and the voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/. Finally, both <h> and <j> stand for the voiceless glottal fricative, while <ñ> and <ng> stand for /ɲ/ and /ŋ/.
3. In these languages Payne’s (1997: 170-1) remark certainly holds true, namely that “it may be difficult to distinguish constructions with reduced syntactic valence from those with zero pronouns. In the extreme case of languages with no morphological means of expressing grammatical relations, and few restrictions on zero anaphora, the only way to decide is to examine the discourse context”.
4. The Rama class terms “constitute a set of class terms, which morphologically help in the formation of compound nouns, consisting of nominal roots and suffixes marking class terms” (CIDCA-Craig 1990: 37); they classify nouns into classes: *kat* (< ‘tree’, ‘large and rigid’), *up* (< ‘eye’, ‘round and solid’), *kaas* (< ‘muscle, flesh’, ‘musculus’), *ri~li* (< ‘liquid’, ‘liquid’).
5. In Quesada (1999a) it is insinuated that the Teribe numeral classifiers could be in a process of disintegration. Such an insinuation was based on data collected in an earlier stage of research. As this section shows, numeral classification still has some vitality in the morphosyntax of Teribe; as the numbers go up, however, the use of classifiers decreases.
6. It is plausible that the expected form *kwan-ara* underwent phonetic adaptations, in this case syncope, *kwan-ra*, and subsequently assimilation, *kwan-na*. The same could be true for the class of objects counted in plots, *krin-a*.
7. A detailed analysis of this process is presented in 4.2.3.
8. A grammaticalization channel is “a frequently recurring route which signs with a given function may take when they are grammaticalized in language change” (Lehmann 1995: 25).
9. The sentences in (35) and (36) are ungrammatical if the positional verb is left out. The ungrammatical status here is inferred from the fact that though native speakers sometimes utter sentences without the positional, their judgment of such sentences is that “people do say so, but it is not right; it is incomplete”.
10. A semantic inverse is one in which “[i]f the agent outranks the patient on the relevant generic topic hierarchy... the direct clause is used. [conversely] If the relevant norm is reversed and the patient outranks the agent on the relevant hierarchy, the inverse clause is used” (Givón 1994: 23). As for promotion, it means that the patient is not promoted to subjecthood. This is a controversial matter clearly beyond the scope of this presentation. See Thompson (1990, 1994) for a discussion of this issue.

11. These postpositions are crucially also used as “relational preverbs”, that is, as “a prefixal element whose semantic content falls within the range generally attributed to so-called oblique relations that are typically expressed by means of adpositions or semantic cases” (Craig and Hale 1988: 312):

- (i) *ka-na-ngalbi-u*
ELAT-1SG.SUBJ-run-ASP
‘I ran away (from him).’

Other uses of relational preverbs in Rama include anaphoric uses (ii), “while an overt NP may be marked either by a postposition or by a relational preverb, a non-overt one will always be marked by a relational preverb” (p. 321) and lexicalized uses (iii), in which they “co-occur with the full lexical NP, they appear in combinations of specific postpositions with specific verbs, and they have undergone semantic shift” (p. 324):

- (ii) a) *nainguku kiskis nsu-kuaakar-i*
so tongs 1PL-have-ASP
‘That’s why we have the tongs.’
- b) *suli-kaas() yu-nsu-auk-kama*
animal-meat() PV/with-1PL-roast-SUB
‘for us to roast the meat with (it).’ (Craig and Hale 1988: 322).
- (iii) a) *maukala i-park-I seem nga bang u* POSTPOSITION
net 3SG-make-ASP same silk grass PSP/with
‘He makes nets with silk grass.’
- b) *naing tata nga bang yu-i-siik-ing uu ki* LEXICALIZED
1SG.POSS father silk grass PV/with-3SG-come-ASP house in
‘My father brings the silkgrass in the house.’ (Craig and Hale 1988: 324).

In (iiib) *yu-*, prefixed to the verbal complex headed by *siik* ‘come’, creates a transitive verb meaning ‘bring’

12. In Cuna, subordination can be expressed by verbal morphemes (e.g. *-ku*, which could be related to Rama *-ka*, both meaning ‘when’):

- (i) *neka oipoe-sa-ku an noni pinne*
cosmos dawn-PERF-TEMP 1SG arrive already
‘By daybreak [lit. ‘when it dawned’] I had already arrived.’

13. If the Cuna person markers are taken as prefixes, then this order can be considered attested. Holmer (1947: 127) remarks that “[A]lthough the analogy with the possessive prefixes and every known fact in the Amerindian flecational system makes it necessary to consider these personal elements as ‘prefixes’, it must on the other hand be admitted that on the whole they enter into a looser combination with the verbal stem than might be expressed of true prefixes [sic].”
14. In Cabécar the classifier is suffixal and the demonstrative phrase-final, while in Cuna the classifier is prefixal and the demonstrative phrase-initial. This is no categorical correlation,

however. Teribe, for instance, has final demonstratives and postnominal numeral classifiers (*walë kwara* woman ONE.ANIMATE ‘one woman’), but classifiers are prefixes (*öbö*: *wale kl-öbö* women ANIMATE-some ‘some women’).

15. It could be argued that word order in (81) and (82) is an indicator of the (syntactic) role; however, it is the word order in the main clause, not in the RC, that is telling about the role of the head in the sentence.
16. Combination a) is impossible regardless of the rules, since it entails the expression of two positions; and that is a clear incompatibility
17. Actually (98) does not constitute a case of hypotaxis, but a case of parataxis; still it does not qualify as a series because the verb *parkono* ‘worked’ constitutes a clause of its own, which is asyndetically coordinated to the preceding. Evidence supporting this analysis comes from the fact that there is a positional preceding it, which is an indicator that a situation has come to its final point (the resulting position of the subject). The second verb then constitutes another clause, as evidenced by its taking the perfective aspect.
18. Verb serialization in Cuna exhibits a high degree of cohesion: *kape + takke* → *kaptakke* (‘sleep’ + ‘see’ → ‘dream’), *ape + takke* → *aptakke* (‘want’ + ‘see’ → ‘wait’). That there is more cohesion than in common serial verb constructions (e.g. of the Teribe type) is shown by the syncope of the last vowel of the first member in the series as well as by the placement of the stress on the second member. Serialization in Cuna is also used to express directionality, as in Teribe:
 - (i) *tiwala pinnasuli tani-kki*
 river fast come-DIR
 ‘The river runs fast in this direction.’
 - (ii) *mette-take pola an-seka*
 throw-come ball 1SG-to
 ‘Throw me the ball.’
19. In Quesada (1999a) an example such as (11b) is presented as grammatical. That is erroneous; two members of the nominal paradigm can appear in the SOV order only if there is linguistic material (a marker of left dislocation, a marker of information-structure status, etc.) between the two, as in (i):
 - (i) *Ta ra pa kimië*
 1SG CONT-FOC 2SG help
 ‘I DID help you.’
20. A detailed treatment of ergativity in Chibchan in general is deferred to §4.1.
21. There are two types here, which Dixon (1994) calls “split-S” (there are prototypical situations for S to be marked as A or as O and most verbs fall automatically into either of these) and “fluid-S” (S is associated with A or O depending on every individual circumstance); languages of these two types are usually regarded as constituting a different type, the “active/non-active type”, dealt with in 2.3.2.3 below.
22. Intermittent marking is deferred to §4.3.

23. The markers for second person take the form *mV* (where the realization of the vowel is subject to vowel harmony).
24. It could be argued that the absence of the active subject marker *no* is due to the negative polarity (which would, in turn, constitute a case of split ergativity by polarity). However, in Jara's paper there is an example of a negative sentence whose subject is *no*-marked. It cannot be argued that the presence of *no* is caused by the perfective aspect (in which case, there would be TAM-determined ergativity) either; in that case too an active/non-active pattern has to be ruled out:

- (i) *Cha no mĩng i gud-able*
 1SG "AG" NEG manioc eat-PERF
 'I did not eat manioc.'

The Languages of Colombia (and Venezuela)

The six languages of Colombia (and Venezuela) represent 37% of all living Chibchan languages; they all belong to the Magdalenian branch of Chibchan (see Fig. 1.5)¹ As the name of the branch indicates, these languages are all spoken east of the Magdalena River; four of them are spoken in and around the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, three Arhuacan (Ika, Kogi, and Damana) and Chimila, while Tunebo is spoken just north of the department of Boyacá, in the northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada del Cocuy.² Further south, in the high plain of today's departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, lived the Muisca, whose language became extinct in the 18th Century. Barí, the easternmost member of the family, is spoken at the skirts of the Sierra de Perijá, which cross-cuts the Colombian-Venezuelan border.

3.1 Phonology

3.1.1 Vowels

The main difference between the vowel systems of Colombia and those of Central America has to do with the absence of tense/lax oppositions in the former. In general, vowel systems are more varied and complex in Colombia. They range from a simple five-member system, as in Tunebo,³ to a twelve-member system, as in Barí, or more, as Chimila, which has a total of twenty vocalic segments; the other languages have an average of seven vowels. All

Magdalenian languages have mid-high oppositions in both the front and the back series, and a low central vowel /a/. In addition to the basic five-vowel system, Ika has a mid-high opposition in the central series, yielding a three member set /ɨ, ə, a/; Damana has a [± low] opposition in the central series /ə, a/, and Kogi has a round back vowel /ɯ/, (a similar system was to be found in extinct Muisca). The more complicated systems are found in Barí and Chimila. The former has six oral and ten nasal vowels, while the latter has a set of five simple vowels with long, interrupt (glottalized), and aspirated counterparts. One can thus distinguish three types of vowel systems from the point of view of inventory size, as in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1
Vowel systems of the Chibchan languages of Colombia

a) <i>simple</i> (Tunebo)			b) <i>middle complex</i> (Arhuacan and Muisca)			
i		u	i	i (Ika, Muisca)	ɯ (Kogi)	u
e		o	e	ə (Ika, Damana)	o	
	a			a		
c) <i>complex systems</i>						
<u>Barí</u>			<u>Chimila</u>			
i ɨ̃	ɨ̃ ɨ̃	u ũ	i iː iʔ iʰ		u uː uʔ uʰ	
eẽ	oõ		e eː eʔ eʰ		o oː oʔ oʰ	
aã			a aː aʔ aʰ			

3.1.2 Consonants

Consonant systems in Colombia share a few features with the languages of Central America such as a) absence of implosive consonants; b) absence of glottalized oppositions in both the stop and the affricate series, though Kogi, Ika, and Tunebo have a glottal stop /ʔ/, and Chimila has a preglottalized tap /ʔr/; c. lack of oppositions by aspiration; d. absence of retroflex affricates and fricatives; and e. absence of uvular stops, a general feature of the entire Intermediate Area (cf. Constenla 1991: 95). As in Central America, most systems have at least one series of two or more obstruents opposed by sonority; only Barí and Tunebo have one single sonority opposition in the

stop series, /t/ vs. /d/. As for secondary articulations, in Chimila there is labialization (of velar segments /k^w, g^w, ŋ^w, ŋg^w/), gemination, and prenasalization of voiced stops (/ᵐb, ᵐd, ᵐg/); the last two are also present in Central America, in Cuna and Bocotá, respectively. A voiceless labialized velar stop /k^w/ is also found in Tunebo.

- *Stops*: The stops series is symmetrical in all Magdalenian languages, except in Barí and Tunebo. Thus, while the Arhuacan languages have three sonority oppositions (bilabial, alveolar, velar), Barí and Tunebo lack the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and the voiced velar stop /g/. A (voiceless) palatal stop /c/ is found in both Kogi and Chimila, in the latter also voiced, /ɟ/, and, in addition, a geminated correlate of both voiced and voiceless. In Muisca, all stops –bilabial, alveolar, velar, and coarticulated labiovelar (/p̠k/), were voiceless. As pointed out above, the glottal stop /ʔ/ exists in Kogi, Ika, and Tunebo.
- *Affricates*: Ika is the only language with both voiced and voiceless alveopalatal affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. Damana has the former and Chimila has the latter; the remaining three languages (Kogi, Tunebo, and Barí) do not have affricate segments. Extinct Muisca was the only language with a voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/; it also had two voiceless palatal affricates, /tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/.
- *Fricatives*: Concerning sibilants, Kogi and Damana have four fricative segments, two alveolar and two alveopalatal (voiced and voiceless), /s, z, ʃ, ʒ/; Ika has three of those phonemes, with the voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ absent.⁴ Chimila has three sibilants, palatal fricative /ç/ and alveolar, simple and geminate, /s/. Tunebo has two voiceless fricatives, alveolar /s/ and palatal /ʃ/, while Barí has only the voiceless alveolar one. Muisca had an alveolar and a palatal voiceless phoneme, in addition to the rather exotic bilabial one, /ɸ~β/, found also only in Guatuso; Muisca also had a velar fricative, /ɣ/. As for the glottal fricative, it is present in all languages; this means that /s/ and /h/ are the only fricative phonemes shared by all languages of the region.
- *Nasals*: The only nasal phonemes common to all Magdalenian languages are /m/ and /n/. Only Barí and Chimila have other nasals, palatal /ɲ/ in both, and velar /ŋ/ only in the latter. This situation contrasts with Central America, where there are languages that have no nasals at all (e.g. Bribri, Cabécar, and Bocotá).
- *Liquids*: With the exception of Damana and Chimila, all languages of the branch have only one liquid; the former has the voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and two vibrants, tap /ɾ/ and trill /r/, while the latter has the voiced lateral plus the preglottalized tap /ʔɾ/. The remaining languages have a vibrant segment, which can be a trill, as in Muisca and Barí, or a tap, as in Tunebo and Ika. Kogi has an alveolar lateral.

Table 3.2
Overview of the consonant inventories of the Arhuacan languages
 (adapted from Adelaar 2004)

		BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	<i>voiceless</i>	p	t	c [in Kogi]	k	ʔ [not in Damana]
	<i>voiced</i>	b	d		g	
AFFRICATES	<i>voiceless</i>			tʃ		
	<i>voiced</i>			[not in Kogi] dʒ [not in Kogi]		
FRICATIVES	<i>voiceless</i>		s	ʃ		h
	<i>voiced</i>		z	ʒ		
NASALS		m	n		ŋ [Ika only]	
VIBRANTS	<i>Tap</i>		r			
	<i>Trill</i>		[not in Kogi] r [in Damana]			
LATERALS			l			
GLIDES		w [not in Kogi]				

As for glides, there are languages without them, such as Barí and Kogi; others have only the bilabial one (Chimila, Ika, and Damana), while Muisca and Tunebo have both; the latter has, in addition, a nasal bilabial glide /w̃/. There are no languages with only the palatal glide. Table 3.2 provides an overview of the consonant inventories of the Arhuacan languages.⁵

3.1.3 Suprasegmental phonology

There are three tonal languages, Tunebo, Barí, and Chimila. All three have two tones, low and high, which can have subtonemic variation (rising and falling); in Tunebo, tone coexists with stress, though they do not coincide; in Chimila, tone in polysyllabic words seems to be determined by the nature

of the following consonant; in Barí tone has grammatical functions. Stress is the main suprasegmental feature of the Arhuacan languages; in Kogi and Ika it is phonological and predictable, falling on the penultimate syllable of two-syllable monomorphemic words. In words containing more than three syllables, secondary stress is noticeable. Predictability of stress placement also exists in Barí and Damana, though stress is not phonological in either language; in the former it always falls on the last syllable, while in the latter it falls on the penultimate one, as in the other two Arhuacan languages.

3.1.4 Phonological processes

A few phonological processes are common to some Magdalenian languages, especially the Arhuacan ones. Aspiration of voiceless stops in some contexts is one of those processes. In Ika, voiceless stops are aspirated in word-initial position and before open syllables: /tunə/ → [tʰu.nə] 'lip', and /i.kə/ → [i.kʰə] 'people', respectively; in Kogi, aspiration occurs after an open syllable /ipa/ → [i.ᵑpa] 'kneel down'; in Damana, it occurs before a devoiced vowel and in free variation: /kəkosi/ → [kʰə.ᵑko.si] 'narrate, recount'.

Lenition of obstruents is also common in two Arhuacan languages, Kogi and Damana. In Kogi, stops become devoiced when a morpheme beginning in /g/ follows another ending in a vowel: /gagi/ 'mother-in-law' → [na.ᵑka.gi] 'my mother-in-law', /due/ 'older brother' → [na.tu.ᵑe] 'my older brother'. Nasal segments become denasalized in the same context; thus /moku'i/ 'frog' → [niu.ba.ᵑbo.kui] 'golden frog', /maigua/ 'three' → [ka.sa.ᵑbai.gua] 'thirteen'. In Damana voiced stops become fricative in intervocalic position, /abu/ → [a.βu] 'mother', /kwaga/ → [kwa.ɣa] 'he lives'. Similarly, the voiced velar stop palatalizes before the front vowel in stressed syllables: /ge/ → [gᵑe] 'fire', /i.gi.si/ → [i.gᵑi.si] 'sleet'. The converse, consonant strengthening, occurs in the other member of the group, Ika, where obstruents become geminated after stressed, non-low vowels: /nugin/ → [nu.gᵑin] 'he is', /tutu/ → [tu.tᵑu] 'backpack'.

Phonological processes involving vowels include fluctuation of the mid central vowel /ə/ in Ika and Damana. In Ika, it opens or closes depending on the environment and also on its position in the syllable; in open, non-word final syllables, it opens if preceded by a labial or a velar consonant /məna/ → [mʌ.na] 'navel', /ikənə/ → [i.kʰʌ.nə] 'they'; it closes after apical, laminal or palatal consonants: /təkin/ → [tᵑi.kiŋ] 'behind', /ʒərə/ → [ʒi.ɾə] 'laziness'. In Damana,

it closes in stressed syllables (e.g. /magəra/ → [ma.'gɾ.ra] 'vulture'), opens in word-final position (e.g. /kɔŋilə/ → [kɔŋ.'gi.lə] 'tongue'), and is deleted in pre-stressed position (e.g. /təməzəra/ → [təm.'zɾ.ra] 'porcupine'.) In addition, vowels are devoiced between voiceless obstruents and in pre-stressed syllables (e.g. /sikma/ → [sɪ̥.'kɪ.na] 'needle', /kəsa/ → [kə̥.'sa] 'foot'). Finally, in Kogi high vowels are normally deleted in word-initial syllable if the syllable is closed and begins with fricatives, or if it ends in stops, lateral or nasals; thus /sunuka/ → [snu.'ka] 'armpit', /sulakala/ → [s.'la.ka.la] 'bone', /jikaui/ → [j.'ka.wi] 'give out'.

Vowel fluctuation also occurs in Chimila. Back vowels tend to be raised when in contact with front vowels: /munti/ → [mũn.ti] 'strength'; long mid front vowels open in word-initial position: /eegwe/ → [ɛɛ.gwe] 'there'; mid front vowels are reduced to /ə/ in word-final position: /kʔránnə/ → [qɾánnə] 'grow'; and the low central vowel becomes back in certain (unclear) environments: /kʔanti/ → [qɾánti] 'rainbow'. Nasalization of vowels surrounded by nasal sounds is common in Kogi, Chimila and Barí.

3.2 Morphology

As pointed out in 2.2, nouns and verbs constitute the two basic types of lexical words in both Central America and Colombia; most of the grammatical features and categories revolve around these two word types. Second to them are adjectives and adverbs; there is not so large number of clearly identifiable adjectival (colors, and basic qualities) and adverbial (time and manner) roots; most other adverbial and adjectival concepts are expressed by other means (e.g. derivation, adpositional phrases, predication). Adpositions and particles complete the Chibchan linguistic set. The differences between the languages of Central America and those of Colombia involve word structure and grammatical categories, especially in the verbal dimension.

In Colombia, copulas and/or auxiliaries play a very important role in the expression of grammatical (verbal) categories, which include evidentials, polarity, and markers of clause combining. A rather elaborate head-marking verbal word/phrase is the result, with grammatical categories being expressed by both prefixes and suffixes; cross-reference appears more elaborate and syntacticized in Colombia, just as case, in the nominal dimension, especially in the Arhuacan languages. In a couple of languages there are noun classes, but their role in the grammar (at least in one of them) is not so important, as is the case with numeral

classifiers in Central America. In sum, though some grammatical categories are common to both regions, their relevance is not the same in both.

3.2.1 Nouns and nominal morphology

Nouns are either bare roots or the result of derivation (mainly, though not exclusively, through suffixation) and composition. In Barí and Tunebo, for instance, non-basic nouns are the result of derivations by means of very productive suffixes. Thus, most derived nouns in Barí are either bare roots or derivations with the nominalizer *-bāy* ('for'), which can be added to verbs to express the doer of the action, e.g. *chueychuey* 'sing' + *-bāy* → *chueychueybāy* 'singer', *chidaseysey* 'work' + *-bāy* → *chidaseyseybāy* 'worker'. It can also be added to perception verbs to form nouns expressing appliances: *bisjiji*, 'see' + *-bāy* → *bisjijibāy*, 'TV set'; *aanaynay* 'hear' + *-bāy* → *aanaynaybāy*, 'radio'; *abaybay* 'talk' + *-bāy* → *abaybaybāy*, 'telephone'. Similarly, in Tunebo, nouns can be formed from verbs by *-quib* for nouns expressing actors, e.g. *yehwīnro* 'carry' → *yewquib* 'the one who carries', or by *-quey* to express the noun corresponding to the verbal action *raquinro* 'come' → *raquey* 'arrival', *roquinro* → *rojoquey* 'the brought thing'.⁶

Composition in Kogi is very productive; compounds are of various types, including a) noun + noun *shi* 'thread' + *huala* 'root' → *shihuala* 'artery', *nabi* 'tiger' + *hisbi* 'cut meat' → *nabihisbi* 'vagina'; b) noun + case marker (genitive or ablative) + noun, *souma* 'baby' + GEN + *hui* 'house' → *soumayihui* 'womb', *kali* 'tree' + GEN + *gula* 'arm' → *kaliyigula* 'branch'; c) noun + adjective *shi* 'thread' + *atushi* → *shitushi* 'a certain liana' (notice the dropping of the last vowel in the first member of the compound). In Chimila, nouns can be derived from verbs by means of nominalizers expressing relations such as agent (doer), *-niɬɬa*, object *-ɬɬa*, or instrument *-nkʔre*, among others; thus a verb like *kenne* 'eat' can give way to the following nouns *kenneɬriɬɬa* 'eater', *konniɬɬa* 'food, meal', or *konninkʔre* 'spoon', respectively. Composition is also very productive in Chimila.

Nominal morphology in Colombia includes case-marking enclitics and/or affixes, markers of information-structure status, and number. These categories apply at the word level, except in Tunebo, where most nominal inflections apply at the clause level. Other determiners of the noun include demonstratives, classifiers (in Ika and Chimila), quantifiers, and possessive markers, among the most salient.

3.2.1.1 Pronouns

(i) *Personal pronouns*: The grammatical distinctions expressed by personal pronouns in Colombia are rather language specific, though most languages distinguish person and number. In Ika, for instance, they are not marked for number; sometimes the quantifier *džina* is used, conveying the idea of ‘more than one’, without specifying the exact number; there is, in addition, an every time less used first person inclusive (*mananka*³). In the Kogi pronominal system there is a [$\pm$ definite] opposition in the third person plural forms (*kawiyi* and *eikũẽ*, respectively), whereas in Tunebo third person pronouns distinguish near (*uiya* singular, *uiyina* plural) and far (*eya*, singular, *eyina* plural). Damana and Chimila pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural, while Barí pronouns distinguish number and switch reference, the latter only in the third person plural. Table 3.3 summarizes the grammatical distinctions of the personal pronouns of the Magdalenian languages.

In general, free personal pronouns are used for pragmatic purposes. Zero anaphora is not as extensive as in Central America because all languages, except Tunebo, are highly head-marking, including person markers, among the verbal trappings. Also personal pronouns are invariable as to grammatical relations; their function as either subject or object is established by cross-reference (cf. §.3.2.2); in turn, person affixes are usually shortened forms of the free personal pronouns.

Table 3.3
Grammatical distinctions in Magdalenian personal pronouns

	DUAL	[$\pm$ EXCLUSIVE]	[$\pm$ INDEFINITE]	S. REFERENCE	[$\pm$ NEAR]	PLURAL
Ika	-	+	-	-	-	$\pm$
Kogi	-	-	+	-	-	+
Damana	+	-	-	-	-	+
Chimila	+	-	-	-	-	+
Tunebo	-	-	-	-	+	+
Barí	-	-	-	+	-	+

(ii) *Possessive pronouns*: Some languages have different, albeit related, forms for possessive pronouns, usually a combination of personal pronouns and a marker of possession. Possessive pronouns express the same distinctions coded by the nominal paradigm; with the intriguing exception of Kogi, which has no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the personal pronoun paradigm, but does in the possessive pronouns, as shown in Table 3.4. As in the case of the personal pronouns, shortened forms of these pronouns are affixed to nouns as possessive determiners (see 3.2.1.4iv, below).

Table 3.4
Kogi free possessive pronouns

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st person	INCLUSIVE		<i>nawijí</i>
	EXCLUSIVE	<i>nají</i>	<i>stn</i>
2 nd person		<i>mijí</i>	<i>mimijí</i>
3 rd person		<i>ají</i>	<i>cawijí</i>

(iii) *Reflexive pronouns*: In the Magdalenian languages, reflexive pronouns are invariable and also serve as reciprocal markers; also they are all bound. In Barí, the reflexive/reciprocal marker is the prefix *ya(k)-*.

(1a) *Nay espeho ro ya-bra-ni*
1SG mirror in REFL-see.PRES -1SG
'I see myself in the mirror.'

(1b) *Obāyji yak-doi-drā*
3PL RECIP-hit-3PL.PAST
'They hit each other/one another.'

In some cases, e.g. Ika, the absence of overt noun phrases makes it difficult to ascertain whether a reciprocal or a reflexive reading is intended; a sentence like (2a) can have both readings; if an overt noun phrase is present, the postposition *-sin* 'with' indicates reciprocity, cf. (2b). Sometimes reflexive clauses are emphasized by the form *kingui*, cf. (3).

- (2a) *riŋa-tšua u-ku-in*
 RECIP-see AUX-MED-WIT
 ‘We saw each other/I saw myself.’
- (2b) *Pablo-sin riŋa-tšua u-w-in*
 Pablo-with RECIP-see AUX-PROX-WIT
 ‘Pablo and I (just) saw each other.’
- (3) *a kingui riŋa-sua u-ž-in*
 3 same RECIP-burn AUX-MED-WIT
 ‘He burned himself.’

(iv) *Demonstrative pronouns*: On occasion, demonstratives (cf. 3.2.1.3) are also used as pronouns, usually anaphorically, as in Damana.

- (4) *mema-nyina te-rga y-ibanek-ka*
 DEM-PL field-DIR 3PL-work-FACT
 ‘Those work in the field.’

3.2.1.2 Noun classifiers

Classifier systems are not as significant as in the Isthmian languages. Ika and Chimila exhibit some kind of noun classification.⁷ Ika has a system that falls within the verbal classifier type in Grinevald’s classification (see §2.2.1.2). In Ika there are certain verb forms to express the concept ‘put’, their choice being determined by the shape of the nouns that participate in the putting and the location or existence of the nouns (which are not marked for class); the objects of putting can be long, flat, two-dimensional, three-dimensional, liquids, containers or objects with specialized holders: *gaka* is to put down long objects, *pan* ‘put down flat objects’, *ipan* ‘put flat things up on’, and *kʌpas* ‘put flat things into’. There are, in addition, existential and locative verbs that also “inflect” for noun class; thus existence and location is expressed by *gaka* (‘long’), *pa* (‘flat’), *sa* (‘three dimensional’), *tšo* (‘upright’); ‘be in’ is *aʔgeikua* (‘long’), *aʔpaʌnkua* (‘flat’), *aʔnikua* (‘three dimensional’), *aʔkua* (‘liquid’), *aʔžu* (holder’), *aʔnuk* (‘upright’). Frank (1990: 53), refers to this system as a minimal system of noun classification “in that it involves only nouns referring to concrete objects and the noun classes are only relevant in locational sentences”.

Chimila has numeral classifiers of the Isthmian type. Numbers are preceded by a prefix specifying the class of the counted objects. The six-member paradigm includes the following distinctions: round (*gwaa-*), long (*tii-*), animals and dresses

(^mb[?]rii-), corn cobs⁸ (*k[?]raa-*), persons (*ø-*), and papers (*-kaa*). In the case of numbers 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of some classes the shape of the object is not expressed, only the number is used. Apparently the numeral classifier system is limited to numeral forms, and does not include interrogative or indefinite forms, as in Central America; cf. (48) below, where the question word does not express class.

In Kogi there is a third and marginal noun classification system of lexical gender. Gender is expressed for human entities by different lexemes; for animals, there are two postnominal determiners *sigí* ‘male’ and *munzí* ‘female’; similarly, in Chimila *tsáu* is used for males and *yúnk* for females, both follow the noun. This is the closest that a Chibchan language comes to expressing gender.

3.2.1.3 Demonstratives

With the exception of Tunebo and Ika, which distinguish two degrees of distance, near and far, all other languages of Colombia distinguish three degrees of distance, near, far and farther. In Barí, the three demonstratives, *irabāy* ‘next to speaker’, *orabāy* ‘far from speaker’, and *orashu* ‘removed from speaker’, are undoubtedly related to the corresponding adverbs: *irāhā* ‘here’, *orāhā* ‘there’, and *orāhāshu* ‘over there’. In most languages, demonstratives are prenominal. Chimila is an exception in respect to both position of the demonstrative vis-à-vis the noun and in the distinction between [$\pm$ visible] in the third degree of distance, as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5
Chimila demonstratives

	NEAR (IN CONTACT) WITH SPEAKER	FAR FROM SPEAKER	REMOVED FROM SPEAKER
Visible	<i>na[?]na</i>	<i>na[?]ina</i>	<i>tagwá[?]je[?]na</i>
non-visible			<i>na[?]je[?]na</i>

3.2.1.4 Number and other determiners

(i) *Plural*: The languages of Colombia follow the general Chibchan pattern of plural marking, whereby basically human and animate entities are marked for

number, and only the head of the NP is marked (in the presence of a quantifier the head is not marked, though), that is, there is no internal agreement, with the most notable exception of Chimila (see below). The existing differences have to do with types of plural marking. In Kogi, the plural marker *-kūē* is used for all phenomena of nature, which in the Kogi culture are animate; in Cuna, in Kogi there is also a collectivizer, *-(l)ula*, used in the sense of “the whole class”, *kat* ‘tree’ + *-ula* → *katula* ‘all trees’, *ni* ‘river’ + *-lula* → *nilula* ‘all rivers’. A similar system is found in Chimila; in addition to the plural marker and collectivizer *-^mb²re*, there is a diminutive plural *-tikkwī*, e.g. *oggwe-tikkwī* child-PL.DIM ‘little children’. As is characteristic of Chibchan, number is not always overtly expressed, with the consequence that the distinction between dual and plural is frequently omitted. Chimila seems to deviate from the general Chibchan pattern in that there is internal (5a) and external (5b) agreement (when number is overtly expressed).

- (5a) *oggwe-tikkwī na²na-^mb²re*
 child-PL.DIM DEM-PL
 ‘these little children’

- (5b) *ha²ru-^mb²ri hatta ka-^mb²re-tte sawi²ri-kwi⁹*
 all-COLL come MOOD-PL-MOD man-PL
 ‘All the men came.’

In Damana, there are two more plural types in addition to the plural marker *-yina*, a diminutive plural (as in Chimila), *-burru* e.g. *zhi* ‘worm’ → *zhiburru* ‘little worms’, *mena* ‘woman’ → *menaburru* ‘little women’, and an augmentative plural, which results from the agglutination of the augmentative morpheme, *-shukuia* e.g. *urraga* ‘house’ → *urraganshukuia* ‘big house’, and the plural marker *-yina*, thus, *sherra* ‘machete’ + *-shukuia* + *-yina* → *sherranshukuianyina* ‘big machetes’. Unlike in Chimila, there is no internal agreement, but external agreement is optional; thus in (6), the use of the plural marker *-yina* is idiolectal.

- (6) *Julio Dionelia-nʌn zunʌnka-nyina*
 Julio Dionelia-SOC generous-PL
 ‘Julio and Dionelia are generous.’

In Barí, only nouns referring to human entities are marked for number, (by the suffix *-ji*), which can be used with non-human animate entities for personification purposes (e.g. in stories). When plural marking occurs, a definite reading obtains. Finally, in Tunebo, nouns designating human beings can optionally take the morpheme *-in* -group/plurality; common nouns do not take plural.

(ii) *Definiteness*: There are no special forms to express definiteness (e.g. articles) in Chibchan, except for Boruca (cf. 2.2.1.2). In most cases, definite readings of nouns obtain as a side effect of the expression of some other category, e.g. possessive markers or possessive phrases in general, as well as demonstratives. In Barí, for example, marking the head in a quantifier phrase yields a definite reading: *insami atayda arombé* means ‘two angry men’, but *insami atayda-ji arombé* means ‘the two angry men’. In Ika, differences in word order can result in a definite reading; this is most clear in the case of quantifier phrases: prenominal quantifiers yield a definite reading, postnominal quantifiers an indefinite one. A similar situation occurs in Kogi.

(iii) *Quantifiers*: Quantifiers, including partitive-like forms, constitute a small class in most languages, including concepts such as ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘little’, ‘all’, etc. In some languages, quantifiers are prenominal (Barí), in others (Tunebo) they are postnominal. The [± count] opposition is of little relevance in the grammar of these languages. Quantifiers (partitives) in Chimila specify noun class too: *ke^hmeassu* ‘a little’ for liquids, *ⁿdiisaassu* ‘a little’ for powders, *kwate* ‘a piece’ (used for fruits and soft objects), *kwa²riⁿda* ‘a piece’ (for hard objects), and *^mb²ritte* ‘a piece’ (for round objects). Chimila thus differs from the languages of Central America in that partitives do not specify class in the latter.

As for numeral systems, they are of three types a) vigesimal in Muisca, b) decimal in the Arhuacan languages and Tunebo, and c) quinary in Barí. The word for number ‘five’ in Barí is *akdu īshkidā*, which literally means ‘a full hand’. The only numbers expressed by an “independent” lexeme are 1 to 3; thus *intok* ‘1’, *insami* ‘2’, *tētahko* ‘3’, *ahdu īshkidā intok wa* ‘4’ (lit. ‘a full hand, one non-existent’), *ahdu īshkidā* ‘5’ (lit. ‘a full hand’). The numbers 1, 2 and 3 simply add to the number five expression to form the corresponding 6, 7, and 8. As for numbers 9 and 10, again, the hand becomes the reference point; *ahdu īshkidā ītomayno īshkidā intok wa* (lit. ‘a full hand plus a full hand, one non-existent’) and *ahdu īshkidā ītomayno īshkidā* (lit. ‘a full hand and full’), respectively.¹⁰

(iv) *Possessive determiners*: As in Central America, personal pronouns in prenominal position also function as possessive determiners; they can be free as in Tunebo (7), or affixed to the noun as in Ika (8). As mentioned in (§3.2.1.1), some languages have different forms for possessive pronouns and determiners, usually a combination of personal pronouns and a marker of possession. That is the case in Damana, where possessive markers make a distinction between general objects

and kinship terms in addition to the person and number distinctions of the personal pronoun paradigm; a rich paradigm emerges, which is illustrated in Table 3.6.

- (7) *As ubach tuw-in reh-ca-ro*
 1SG.POSS house straw-INTN AUX-PRES-DECL
 ‘I want to straw my house.’
- (8) *na-sewá hanchi-ga-ze*
 1POSS-wife good-DETRANS-be
 ‘My wife is pretty.’

Table 3.6
Possessive determiners in Damana

	SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL	
	General	kinship	General	kinship	General	Kinship
1 st person	<i>ranzhe</i>	<i>ranzhi</i>	<i>nabinzhe</i>	<i>nabinzhi</i>	<i>nabinyinanzhe</i>	<i>nabinyinanzhi</i>
2 nd person	<i>manzhe</i>	<i>manzhi</i>	<i>mabinzhe</i>	<i>mabinzhi</i>	<i>mabinyinanzhe</i>	<i>mabinyinanzhi</i>
3 rd person	<i>nanzhe</i>	<i>nanzhi</i>	<i>ijkʉnanzhe</i>	<i>ijkʉnanzhi</i>	<i>ijkʉnanyinanzhe</i>	<i>ijkʉnanyinanzhi</i>

3.2.1.5 Case markers

With the most notable exception of Barí, case marking is one of the richest aspects of nominal morphology in the Chibchan languages of Colombia,¹¹ not only in terms of the number of case distinctions but also of the ways case relations are expressed. In Kogi, five cases are distinguished, all expressed by suffixes on the dependent element: ergative *-ja*, dative *-c*, genitive *-yi*, and locative (ablative) *-li*. In Damana there is ergative *-ka*, dative *-ga*, benefactive *-mba*, origin (source) *-zhana*, goal *-zhe*, comitative *-bi*, and additive *-gua*. There is also a “restrictive” suffix, whose function seems more like one of a marker of information-structure status (see 3.2.1.6). In Ika, case marking is expressed in NP right-most position by enclitic forms. Postpositions are used to express relations such as ergative, locative, genitive, instrument, comitative, means and

limitative. In some cases the grammaticalization of the postpositions is high, becoming practically bound elements on the last element of the noun phrase, a case in point being the genitive marker which sometimes is free and sometimes bound. Finally, in Tunebo, case is expressed by bound morphology only for vocative (-*u*), while ergative (-*at*) and genitive (-*ay*) are clitics whose host is the phrase; the rest is effected by postpositional phrases. A similar situation occurs in Muisca; nouns are not marked for case for the core relations, but there are postpositions and clitics (expressing direction) as well as affixes for other cases (e.g. comitative and instrument, are expressed by -*u*). A characteristic of Muisca, however, is the existence of portmanteau forms combining personal pronouns and case markers for locative expressions.

Just as in Central America, the languages of Colombia can be ordered according to the positions of their case and other NP dependency markers on the cline of grammaticality going from adposition to affix; this is done Table 3.7, which can be regarded as a complementation of Table 2.5. Table 3.7 is likewise implicational insofar as the utilization of a form of dependency marking on the right implies that those to the left of it can also be utilized in the same language (when they are, the respective language is mentioned more than once), but not viceversa. Thus there are languages totally belonging on the right end of the continuum, that is, all cases are expressed by affixes, as in Kogi and Damana. In languages in the middle of the continuum, Ika and Muisca, the clitic status of the case markers appears most clearly in the fact that the marker attaches to the whole NP, not to the head. Tunebo uses bound morphology, clitics and postpositions. Barí can be placed at that side of the cline because the expression of dative case is performed by a postposition (*ahkí*). As mentioned in 2.2.1.5, there are no pervasive correlations between morphological case and core arguments or between adpositions and peripheral arguments, as shown most clearly by Tunebo, and to a lesser extent by Ika.

Table 3.7
Case-marking in Chibchan II: Colombia

ADPOSITION	CLITICA	AFFIX
Muisca, Tunebo, (Barí)	Muisca, Ika	Damana, Kogi, Tunebo

3.2.1.6 Markers of information-structure status

The languages of Colombia are true to one of the most conspicuous features of the Chibchan family, namely the existence of markers of information-structure status of participants. In some languages these markers constitute relatively large paradigms, while in others their number is not that large. All languages have at least one form for topic and one for focus. In the realm of focalization, several other distinctions such as emphasis, contrastive focus, or delimitation complete the inventory. The interplay of these forms and word order creates a variety of structures and communicative effects comparable to those achieved by syntactic operations affecting valency.

The most common strategy is zero anaphora, which contrasts with the corresponding marked topic. In Ika, the marked topic is *-ri*; zero anaphora is more common at the textual level, while *-ri* is more local (that is, it operates at the sentence level). The opposition between zero anaphora and *-ri* is illustrated in (9a, b). As for focus, there are two particles, *neki* (contrary to expectation) and *neika* (marked focus). Marked topics can also be placed under focus, as can be seen in (10).

- (9) a) *mura na-ka-tak-an zoža-na-rua; mura*
 mule REF-APPL-look for-IMPERF go-DIST-1SG; mule
neki tšuza-? nar-i-ri
 CNTR see-NEG AUX-while-TOP
 ‘I went to look for my mule; I did not see THE MULE.’
- b) *josé eigui keiwi tsei-na ei u-ž-e? nɒgua guako-u-na*
 José again right away shoot-DIST thus AUX-then and kill-AUX-DIST
 ‘José fired again. And then he killed it.’
- (10) *per? umɒn reʔmasi neika-ri aʔnɩ win-was-i iwa mouga neika-seʔ*
 dog more group FOC-TOP rock 3SG-chase-while now two FOC-ERG
nɒgua guiadžina win-was-i zoža-na
 and puma 3SG-chase-while go-DIST
 ‘MOST OF THE DOGS chased the rocks (tumbling down the hillside), but TWO OF THEM went chasing the puma.’

There is, in addition, an emphasis marker, *kɩʃi*.

Tunebo has a rich inventory of participant highlighters. In Tunebo, there is an emphasis pronoun meaning ‘self’, which follows the personal pronouns; it varies (“inflects”) for person (*ajmar*, *behmar*, *ima*, etc.).

- (11) *Asa ajmar ben-ro. Istiy áy-ti-ro.*
 1SG self go-DECL. Other send-NEG-DECL
 ‘I’m going myself. I’m not sending someone else.’

The emphasis marker *-an*, (with cognates in Muisca *-(a)n*, Ika *an-ʌn-*, and Boruca *ang*) follows nouns, pronouns, and whole NPs; it can also follow the ergative marker, which means that in Tunebo, as opposed to the Viceita languages (cf. 4.1), the scope of ergativity is not related to participant-highlighting.

- (12) *Sir-at-an rahsi chá-jac-ro*
 Dios-ERG-EMPH sun put-PAST-DECL
 ‘GOD put [created] the sun.’

Contrast is expressed by *-ra* (13), which attaches to (core) participants and to a lesser extent to time and location expressions, as in (14). In addition, there is a negative emphasis marker, *-i* (15).

- (13) *Ectam uw-at-ra ara sécua-ti-ro*
 next to people-ERG-CONT now collect-NEG-DECL
 ‘The people living near do not collect’ [We do].
- (14) *Ah-ra ajay cuit wahn síhwaro*
 now-EMPH mine lots buy think
 ‘THIS TIME (in contrast to other times), I think I’ll buy myself lots.’
- (15) *Rehat-i an-ajat-ro*
 who-EMPH.NEG cook-IMPOS-DEC
 ‘There is NO ONE who can cook.’

3.2.2 Verbs and verbal morphology

The languages of Colombia are head-marking. Grammatical categories include person/number, (negative) polarity, TAM, and clause-connecting markers (coordinating and subordinating). The order of the morphemes is language specific; whereas in Damana person markers are prefixes and all other categories are expressed by suffixes, in Barí and Kogi subjects are cross-referenced by suffixes, while other actants are cross-referenced by prefixes. In Ika, the only obligatory element is the verbal stem. Person indexing affixes have no fixed location. Subject agreement is expressed by prefixes (except for first person singular which is expressed by a suffix *-rua*), and objects are cross-referenced by prefixes placed after the subject suffixes. Tunebo is the most notable exception in this respect, as this language does not cross-reference participants. Verbal morphology in Tunebo includes suffixes for tense, mood, question, polarity and evidentiality. Finally, in Chimila all grammatical categories are expressed through suffixation in a rather rigid order, roughly: [STEM + ASPECT + MOOD + PERSON + NUMBER].

The most salient feature of the Chibchan languages of Colombia, especially the Arhuacan ones, is the existence “true” auxiliaries. While in Central America only the first two stages of the grammaticalization channel VERB-AUXILIARY (VERB + VERB and FUNCTION VERB + VERB) are common, in Colombia the last stage of that channel (CARRIER + VERB, where there is no lexical meaning ascribable to the morpheme carrier) is the rule, as in Kogi (16). A good number of auxiliaries are grammaticalized forms of erstwhile copular verbs.

- (16) *nac gu-ngu-cu-aini-ki, yatai na-gu-cu-a*
 come AUX-PAST-1SG-and-then, sit CERT-AUX-1SG-PAST
 ‘I came and then I sat down.’

Here the sole function of *gu* (originally meaning ‘do’) is to serve as carrier of person and tense and of clause connector in the first conjunct, and of mood (whose scope is bi-clausal), person and tense otherwise. The lexical verbs *nac* (‘come’) and *yatai* (‘sit’) remain unmarked.

In the Colombian languages auxiliaries have both obligatory and optional uses. The obligatory uses include the expression of verbal categories when one of them (especially aspect, mood, negation, and clause-connectors) is already expressed by the verb; that is, categories are distributed among the two constituents. Thus, (impersonal, obligatory) mood is marked on the verb, (causal) clause-connection on the auxiliary in Ika (17); in Tunebo (7, repeated here as 18) the lexical verb takes the modal mark and the auxiliary expresses tense and the other modal distinctions.

- (17) *mi-u-kum-Akkua n-ame?*
 2SG-do-IMP-OBL AUX-CAUS
 ‘it had to be done to you because...’
- (18) *As ubach tuw-in reh-ca-ro*
 1SG.POSS house straw-INTN AUX-PRES-DECL
 ‘I want to straw my house.’

Optional auxiliaries follow uninflected verbs, as in Kogi (19), expressing emphasis in the manner of pseudo-cleft constructions in English, rather than serving as carriers.

- (19) a) *Juan-ja Pedro tũw na-gu*
 Juan-ERG Pedro see CERT-do
 ‘Juan sees Pedro.’
- b) *Juan-ja Pedro na-tũw*
 Juan-ERG Pedro CERT-see
 ‘Juan sees Pedro.’

Similarly, the use of the auxiliary in Ika “serves to highlight the main verb, so that optional auxiliary verbs are especially common in cases where the verb itself constitutes the new information in the clause” (Frank 1990: 50).

- (20) a) *mouga-ri awaʔrein zoʒa-na*
 two-TOP below go-DIST
 ‘Two men went below.’
 b) *zoʒa u-na*
 go AUX-DIST
 ‘They went.’

These two alternative sentence types have been termed *analytic vs. synthetic* by Trillos (1996, 1999), and *direct vs. existential* by Landaburu (2000). The former seems more appropriate not only because it is in line with standard terminology in general linguistics, but also because it helps to avoid confusion, as the terms “existential” and “direct” are widely used for other linguistic categories, the former referring to a specific verb (and sentence) type, the latter related to the phenomenon of inversion. As mentioned above, the choice of one or the other construction type has pragmatic implications.

3.2.2.1 Tense, aspect, mood, and evidentials

In general TAM systems are very elaborate. Tense relevant languages include Tunebo, Muisca, Kogi, and Barí; the other three Magdalenian languages (Ika, Damana and Chimila) are tenseless. While Tunebo has a tripartite tense system but no aspect,¹² the Kogi and Barí tense systems coexist with bound and analytic aspectual distinctions. Thus in Kogi the four tense distinctions, unmarked present, immediate past *-a*, non-recent past *gu-*, and future tense *-li*, coexist with progressive aspect, expressed by *-wi*, and other aspectual distinctions, some of which can be expressed on the lexical verb, as in (21).

- (21) *tua-la na-gu-a*
 see-INCH CERT-do-PAST
 ‘He began to see.’

Aspect systems usually include the basic perfective/imperfective opposition, which is usually complemented by other distinctions. In Ika, there is perfect *-akí* (expressing anteriority), imperfective *-an*, and the unmarked perfective. In addition, the imperfective may combine with two other aspectual suffixes, inceptive *-pana* and motion *-bina*; the former expresses inception and imminentiality (22), while the latter expresses an action performed in the absence of the deictic center, as in (23).

- (22) *akin ora nΛ-k-itšon-Λm-pan-ni*
 as far as hour 1SG-APPL-go up-IMP-IMP-INCERT
 ‘It is just about time for me.’
- (23) *Abran zamt g-Λm-bina u-ž-e*
 Abram food eat-IMP-MOTION AUX-MED-Q
 ‘Did Abram come to eat?’

Damana is rather atypical for Chibchan; there are five aspects (perfective *-a*, imperfective *-un*, actual *-i*, negative-perfective *-uní*, and negative-imperfective *-ung*), and a rich modal system, which includes three moods (factual, virtual and real), which inflect for person and number, see Table 3.8, while aspectual marks are invariable. The combination of mood and aspect yields other aspectual nuances; thus imperfective + factual mood yields progressive, continuative is expressed by factual and real mood, and so on. Similarly, in Chimila, there are three basic aspectual distinctions, imperfective *-a*, perfective *-o*, and prospective *-e*. Like in Damana, these forms combine with modal distinctions to achieve finer aspectual nuances.

Table 3.8
Mood inflections in Damana

	FACTUAL		VIRTUAL		REAL	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st person	<i>-uga</i>	<i>-kura</i>	<i>-ənga</i>	<i>-ɾnkura</i>	<i>-anga</i>	<i>-ankura</i>
2 nd person	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-kua</i>	<i>-ənka</i>	<i>-ɾnkua</i>	<i>-anka</i>	<i>-ankua</i>
3 rd person	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ənka</i>	<i>-ɾnka</i>	<i>-anka</i>	<i>-anka</i>

Mood and modal distinctions, including evidentiality, are manifold in Colombia. The Arhuacan languages are especially rich in this respect. In these languages, the distinction between witnessed (referred to in various ways depending on the researcher, e.g. “assertive”, “declarative”, “factual”,

etc.) and not witnessed events is significant and coexists with other modalities like obligation, ability, intention, etc. In Kogi, there is a closed set of evidentiality markers, which include *ni*- ‘real and witnessed’, *na*- ‘real but not witnessed’; these two have their corresponding interrogative forms, *-sha* and *shi*-, respectively. The paradigm is completed by the forms *scan*-, which expresses doubt or uncertainty, *sna*- ‘possibility’, and an imperative mood marker (*g*)*wa*. In Ika, there are two basic modal distinctions, *-in* ‘witnessed’ and *ni* ‘not witnessed, but certain’; these can coappear (subject to semantic compatibility) with a series of modality distinctions, which include obligation (*-ikua*), ability (*-ikuei*), prohibition (*-wi?na*), intention (*-iwa*), and future (*-ngua*). In Damana, factual mood expresses witnessed situations, whereas real mood expresses real but certain situations, pretty much like in its neighbors. A series of other modal nuances are achieved by additional forms and combinations thereof; such forms include *-ié* inference, *é*- possibility, *-ní* speculation, *-negi* volition, and *-do* optative. In Tunebo, declarative mood is expressed by the morphemes *-ro* and *-no*, as opposed to non-involvement, expressed by *-cua*. In Muisca, the modal opposition is between assertive/declarative and interrogative, cf. (24).

- (24)a) *ma-muysca cho-a*
 2SG-man good-Q
 ‘Are you a good man?’
 b) *cha-muysca cho gue*
 1SG-man good ASSERT
 ‘I am a good man.’

3.2.2.2 Person and number

As pointed out above, with the exception of Tunebo,¹³ all other languages have cross-reference or agreement. Chimila has only subject agreement, which includes separate forms for singular, dual and plural; the suffix marker follows the aspect morpheme (25). Muisca and Kogi have both subject and object agreement, while Ika, Damana and Barí cross-reference subjects, objects and datives. In most cases, person affixes are reduced forms of free personal pronouns. In Muisca, person prefixes follow the order s-o-V (26).

- (25) *juŋ-a-ne-tte*
 walk-IMP-3DU-ASSERT
 ‘They two walk/The two of them walk.’

- (26) *chi-a-guity gue*
 1PL-3SG-hit ASSERT
 'He beat us.'

In Ika, there is subject and object agreement. Except for third person singular subject and object, which are always unmarked, and third person plural, which is optionally marked, person marking is obligatory; object markers code direct and indirect objects; there is no separate indirect object category, though. Subject and object are marked by differential marking on the verb (transitive and intransitive subjects are referenced by the same morphology), as in (27) and (28). Objects of transitive verbs and indirect objects of intransitive verbs are expressed by prefixes; when there are both subject and object prefixes, the order is SOV (29).

- (27) *zož-a-na-rua*
 go-DIST-1SG
 'I went.'

- (28) *mi-tšua-na-rua*
 2OBJ-see-DIST-1SG
 'I saw you.'

- (29) *na-nive-ʔzasana u-ž-e*
 2SG-1PL-pay AUX-MED-Q
 'Did you pay us?'

Additionally, there is a form, *an-/ʌn*, used to refer to non-human objects and reference point with motion verbs; it is used with verbs that imply a direct effect on the object, indicating "that an object is the focus of attention" (Frank 1990: 74). With motion verbs it helps distinguish directed from undirected motion, that is, specificity of the movement. In general *an-* is used where there is high transitivity: kinetic verbs, active participants, volitional agents and affected patients, highly individuated objects of location, as in (30).

- (30) *dže-siki ʌn-guak-akí nus-i-ri, ingi-ri ʌn-g-ʌn*
 river-LOC REF-kill-PERF AUX-while-TOP, little-TOP REF-eat-IMPF

nus-eʔ keiwi kaʔšʌn-na
 AUX-then right away arrive-DIST

'Having killed (the deer) at the river, (the dogs) were eating on it when he arrived.'

In Damana, both arguments of transitive verbs are cross-referenced (31); with bitransitive verbs the agent and the dative are cross-referenced and the patient is lexically expressed, third person agent is $\emptyset$ (32). There are also dative subjects, given

the existence of cross-referencing affixes for dative participants; these are common with *verba cogitandi* in both Damana (33) and Kogi (34). Like Damana, Barí has separate paradigms for subjects, objects and indirect objects, shown in Table 3.9.

- (31) *m̥-m̥-pash-ka*
2SG-1SG-hit-FACT
'You hit me.'
- (32) *zhinzhoma* $\emptyset$ -*min-ge-ka*
notebook 3SG-2SG.DAT-give-FACT
'He gives you the notebook.'
- (33) *mi-n-zhun-ka*
2SG.DAT-CONN-dream-FACT
'You dream.'
- (34) *sánkala* *na-k-sei-shi*
head 1POSS-DAT-feel-DETRANS
'I have a headache.'

Table 3.9
Person-indexing affixes in Barí

		DIRECT OBJECT	INDIRECT OBJECT	SUBJECT ^a
SINGULAR	1.	<i>la-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>-ni</i>
	2.	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-mi</i>
	3.	<i>a- ~ ∅</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>- sã̃y</i>
PLURAL	1.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>chi-</i>	<i>-chã̃</i>
	2.	<i>bi-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-mĩa</i>
	3.	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-drin ~ sã̃y</i>

^a. Present tense, regular verbs only.

3.2.2.3 Polarity

Except in Chimila, and Muisca to a lesser extent, negative polarity is expressed by bound morphology. The negation marker in Chimila is a free form, placed in clause-initial, preverbal position, as in (35); the negation marker can carry verbal morphology itself, giving rise to a typical Magdalenian analytic construction (36).

- (35) *jumma juŋŋ-a María*
 NEG walk-IMP María
 ‘Maria does not walk.’

- (36) *jumma-na juŋŋ-a*
 NEG-1SG walk-IMP
 ‘I don’t walk.’

Muisca behaves similarly. There is a negative clitic *-za*, hosted by the verb, but there are also “negative copulas” determined by tense; thus the form *nza*, which is the negative form of the auxiliary *gue*, has its own future form, *nzinga* (‘will not’). There is, in addition, a negative existential *maguenza* (‘there is not’), which also tends to be used sentence finally, as in Teribe.

All other languages express negation by means of a negative suffix, which in most languages occurs next to the verbal stem, as in Tunebo (37); the Tunebo negative suffix *-ti* has cognates in Boruca (*-shi*) and Barí (*-shi*); in both languages the negative marker is also the morpheme closest to the verbal stem. Tunebo is similar to Muisca in having a negation marker for the future (*bár*); it has additionally a marker of impossibility (*-ajar*), cf. (15) above.

- (37) *Ahajira bahnaqu-i sin-ti-ro*
 yet all-not learn-NEG-DECL
 ‘I haven’t learned all yet.’

Damana is similar to Tunebo and Barí concerning the position of the negative suffix in the verbal string, but it differs from them in the number of negative markers it has: a negative suffix, *-un*, for the three basic moods represented in Table 3.8, three negative aspectual markers, *ung* for negative imperfective, *-uní* for negative perfective, and *-ungui* for negative durative, and three for the modalities, *-wi* inability, *-unkuzhi* for negative exhortative, and *-emé* for negative speculation.

3.2.2.4 Clause-connectors

While the languages of Central America favor asyndesis (with the most notable exception of Rama), in Colombia clauses can be connected by verbal suffixes, as in Kogi (38).

- (38) *Nac gu-ainiqui, yatai na-gu-a*
 come do-and then sit CERT-do-PAST
 ‘He came and then he sat down.’

In Ika, a non-final clause is marked for the logical or temporal relationship it has with the clause it precedes; there are five clause connectors in Ika: *-i* ‘while’ temporal, *-e?* ‘then’ temporal (39), *-adžu* ‘immediate succession’ (40), *-ame?* ‘cause’ (17, above), and *-ndi* ‘condition’ (41).

- (39) *mouga máikanɬ hau hau ʒʌnʔ kʌ-dar-i-ri pert te nis-eʔ-ri*
 two three yip yip ust APPL-bark-while-TOP dog quiet do-then-TOP
 ‘Barking two or three times, the dog became quiet.’

- (40) *du kaw-i aʔʌɾɬ u-n-adžu nʌngua-ri du kaw-i mantéki-se?*
 good seem-whileskin AUX-DIST-IMM and-TOP good see-whilelard-LOC
isua aw-i
 cook AUX-while
 ‘As soon as she skinned it well, she fried it in lard well.’

- (41) *husiri nʌ-kʌ-na-ndi tʂaʒa ninza*
 shotgun 1SG-APPL-COP-COND shoot 1SG.RESULT
 ‘If I had my shotgun, I would shoot.’

In both Muisca and Tunebo parataxis is the most common way of connecting clauses, but both have subordination; in Tunebo, it is expressed by means of verbal suffixes *-r* ‘later’ and same subject, *-yat/-yet* ‘when’, *-year* ‘if’, *-tara* ‘if’, *-rabara* ‘while’, *-yiror* ‘then’, *-yaquíʔ* ‘but’, *-ir waquíʔ* ‘if’. In Muisca, there are also clause coordinators. Bound coordination, as exemplified in Damana (42), is not widespread.

- (42) *Maria Alberto-nun hom-un*
 Maria Alberto-CONN bathe-DUR
 ‘Maria and Alberto bathe.’

3.2.2.5 Voice

In general, voice is not so central to Chibchan, especially in Colombia, owing to other means of information structuring (e.g. markers of information-structure status); the absence of passive in both Central America and Colombia is a major feature of this family. On the other hand, a “passive” (43) has been claimed for Muisca by González (1987), and by Ostler (1995), with the prefix *-(a)n* after the person marker.

- (43) *cha-n-quy-squa*
 1SG-MID-do-PRES
 ‘I’m done/made.’

Positing a passive diathesis for Muisca raises more questions than it answers, however. The alleged passive morpheme is hypothesized to stem from the Proto-Magdalenian first person free pronoun *tə:nə through generalization involving a shift of reference of the sort “not to me but to the grammatical subject” (Ostler 2000: 292). In Muisca there are two series of personal prefixes and a set of free personal pronouns:

		SERIES I	SERIES II	FREE PRONOUNS
SG	1.	<i>ze-</i>	<i>cha-</i>	<i>hycha</i>
	2.	<i>um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mue</i>
	3.	<i>a-</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>ysy</i>
PL	1.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>chia-</i>	<i>chie</i>
	2.	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mia-</i>	<i>mie</i>
	3.	<i>a-</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>ysy</i>

Ostler (1993, footnote 3: 30), remarks that “Series I applies to active verbs and some supines, and Series II to participles... In general, it seems that a given verb form can take the prefixes of only one series, but GP [González Pérez (1987)]: 143 asserts that a second-series prefix may apply to a finite verb marking the object: *Pedro beat me Pedro cha-guity.*” In fact, in Ostler (2000), series II prefixes are referred to as object prefixes. On the other hand, in González (1987: 121), I found intransitive verbs with the “object” prefixes, so that their distribution is murky, to say the least. In any case, the alleged passive marker occurs a) with Series II prefixes, b) without the presence of the intransitive marker *-ne* (stative, resultative), claimed for Muisca (Ostler 2000: 290), c) no further stem or morphological change, as in (44), and d) does not accept agents of any sort (as adjuncts or as part of verbal valency).

- (44) a) *cha-m-isty*
 1SG-TR-see
 ‘He saw me.’

- b) *cha-nn-isty*
 1SG-PASS-see
 'I was seen.'

Taken together, a. to d. reveal a rather atypical passive, so that, if $-(a)n$ indeed marks diathesis at all, in line with voice phenomena in Central America it would be better analyzed as an instance of middle voice.¹⁴ However, the diathesis hypothesis still has to account for the following questions. Why are passives not detransitivized? (Saying that $-(a)n$ detransitivizes verbs because it is the passive marker is circular.) Why are object prefixes used instead of subject prefixes in the alleged passive construction? What evidence is there for positing the first person singular free pronoun as the source of the passive morpheme? Ostler (2000: 288) admits that the evidence is weak. There being no passive in either Proto-Chibchan or Proto-Magdalenian, the existence of a passive in Muisca appears as a rather surprising innovation.

A different, albeit no less tentative explanation could be sought in the field of information structure. In Tunebo, Muisca, Ika and Boruca there is a form which hints at a common source **an*: *an* emphasis marker in Tunebo (cf. 3.2.1.6), $-(a)n$, topic marker in Muisca (Ostler 1993: 11), *an-/an*, marker of non-human objects and reference point marker in Ika (cf. 3.2.2.2) and *ang*, a focus marker in Boruca. Whereas in Tunebo *an* has kept its free form (clitic) status, in Ika and Boruca it has undergone further grammaticalization. As pointed out in section 2.2.1.6 (and in the larger discussion in section 4.2.3), *ang* started out as a focus marker, later got affixed to personal pronouns, forming portmanteau morphemes, and finally the new forms were fused and affixed to the conjugated verb forms to express topic continuity and eventually subject agreement; all functions of *ang* coexist. It could be argued that each language represents a stage in the evolution of **an*, which was a marker of information-structure status from the start. Thus, in Tunebo it became an emphasis/focus marker, whereas in Ika it evolved as an object marker for non-human entities; a similar development is proposed here for Muisca, with the functions of topic marker and object referent marker coexisting, see Figure 3.1. If the alleged passive suffix is in reality related to the morpheme glossed as topic marker (Ostler 1993: 11), then (43) would simply be a transitive sentence with topic suffix, meaning either 'I do (it)' or '(he) makes ME', with both forms coming from Series II (notice that in both hypothesis, the participants are referred to by forms from Series II). This proposal has several advantages. First, there is comparative evidence supporting it; second, under this analysis, $-n$ remains within the realm of personal reference,

instead of moving from it to actionality, concretely transitivity and diathesis; third, its placement within the verbal string is in harmony with its function, again with comparative evidence supporting it: only person reference forms are prefixes in the Magdalenian languages.

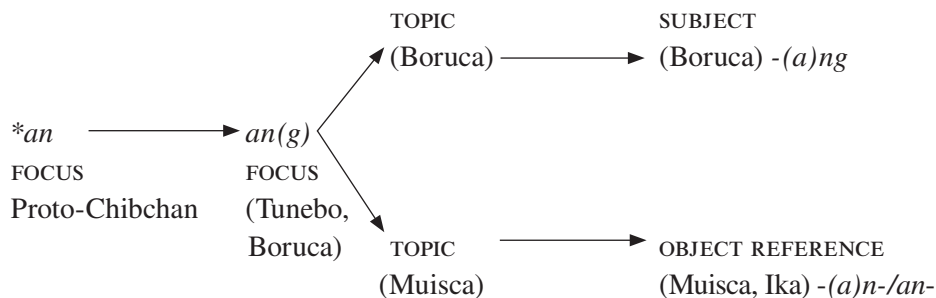


Figure 3.1. *Proposed status of the alleged Muisca passive morpheme*

3.2.3 Other word classes

3.2.2.1 Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs are not a strong class in Chibchan. In addition to some monomorphemic adjectival and adverbial lexemes, adjectival concepts are expressed through derivation. In Kogi, for instance, most adjectives are derived from verbs, have both attributive and predicative functions, and admit gradation; they can also be marked for number. Their unmarked function is postnominal; prenominal position implies a change in function, basically a definite reading as in Ika, or in the Viceita languages.

Predicative function is performed either by a copula, as in Ika (45), or by suffixing verbal morphology to the adjectival root, as in Tunebo (46).

- (45) *Juancito warin kawa-ni*
 Juancito tall seem-CERT
 ‘Juancito is tall.’

- (46) *Oriquen-ro*
 nice-DECL
 ‘It’s nice.’

In most languages there is no formal way of distinguishing adjectives from adverbs; the difference is basically semantic and syntactic; if the scope of the qualifying word is a noun, then it is an adjective, if a verb, then an adverb.

3.2.3.2 *Adpositions and particles*

(i) *Postpositions*: Adpositions are used to express case relations and location. In Muisca postpositions can be free forms, *za-paba bohozâ* ‘my-father with’, or clitics, *plaza-na* ‘square-in’. In Ika more than one postposition may occur in a row, pretty much like in some Romance languages (e.g. Lat. *de ex post* → Sp. *después* ‘after’); thus the locative postposition *-eki* follows the demonstrative *eim* ‘that’, forming the expression ‘there’, to which the postposition *pari* ‘from’ can be added, yielding *eimekâpari* ‘from there’; other combinations of postpositions are possible.

(ii) *Questions*: Yes/no questions are generally signaled by a question marker, which can be an affix, as in Muisca (47, above as 24a), or a free marker, as in Ika (48). In information questions the interrogative marker can be placed in verb-phrasal final position, as in Ika (49), sentence-initial position as in Chimila (50), or left in situ, as in Tunebo (51); Tunebo has the question markers *-ca/qui* for present, and *-ya/-yi* for past, thus fusing them with tense.

- (47) *ma muysca cho-a*
 2SG man good-Q
 ‘Are you a good man?’

- (48) *Jordan na-kua-ža no*
 Jordan 2SG-live-MED Q
 ‘Do you live in Jordan?’

- (49) *beki âs-ik-o*
 where sit-OBL-Q
 ‘Where shall I sit?’

- (50) *^mbiʃʃama sawi[?]ri-kwi hatta-ka*
 how many man-PL come-FACT
 ‘How many men came?’

- (51) *Baha bitat ben-ca?*
 2SG when go-Q.PRES
 ‘When are you leaving?’

(iii) *Ika deictic suffixes*: These forms signal the relationship between a speaker, an action or state predicated and frame of reference. Their use is dependent on

the person subject, the time frame, and context: *-w* ‘proximate first person’, *-ku* ‘medial non-third person’, *-ž ~ ø* ‘medial non-first person’, and *-na* ‘distal past’. The effect of such markers is to locate a situation in time; as such their function is essentially temporal, as shown by the examples in (52).

- (52) a) *Biteriu eiki kuΛa-ž*
 Viterio there live-MED
 ‘Viterio lives there.’
 b) *Biteriu eiki kuΛa-na*
 Viterio there live-DIST
 ‘Viterio lived there.’

In reality, these forms are part of Ika verbal morphology, but they have been presented here because they are not common to all Magdalenian languages.

(iv) *Kogi anaphoric reference*: Like in some languages of Central America, Kogi has an anaphoric reference marker. When a referent is reactivated in discourse, having gone unmentioned for a while, the marker *-ki* registers this.

- (53) *káklɔábé-ga-ki ma-gáh-ga-ákue nžá, a-guák-xa*
 lion-REF-EMPH 2SG.OBJ-eat-FORM-IMPERS CERT.be, 3PL-speak-PRES
 ‘Those same mountain lions eat you, they say.’

3.3 Syntax

3.3.1 Word order

The languages of Colombia follow the general word order parameters SOV, noun + adjective, possessor + possessum, noun + adposition, noun + numeral; variation can be found in the position of demonstratives, numerals and even adjectives, but, as pointed out above (3.2) in most cases such variations are related to the expression of definiteness.

3.3.1.1 The main clause

As in Central America, the order in the main, unmarked declarative, transitive sentence is SOV, although in Chimila SOV alternates with instances of SVO; similarly, in Barí there is a tendency among young speakers to use SVO constructions. Since most languages are highly head-marking, subject omission is frequent, thus reducing

that order to OV; the interaction of verbal morphology and the status of NPs as either full or pronominal produces alternative orders, whose choice depends on pragmatic intent (basically, the “full pattern” is used for discourse-opening and the other orders reserved for running discourse). Thus in Barí, a sentence like (54a), SOV, can be expressed as OV-s (54b) and S o-V (54c), or even o-V-s, (54d) (in most languages the third person singular object prefix is $\emptyset$).

- (54) a) *Nay akseyseybāy akshi-r-ō*
 1SG glass buy-1SG-PAST
 ‘I bought the glass.’
 b) *Akseyseybāy akshi-r-ō*
 glass buy-1SG-PAST
 ‘I bought the glass.’
 c) *Nay $\emptyset$ -akshi-r-ō*
 1SG 3SG-buy-1SG-PAST
 ‘I bought it.’
 d) *$\emptyset$ -akshi-r-ō*
 3SG-buy-1SG-PAST
 ‘I bought it.’

Even in the only non-cross-referencing language, Tunebo, this reduction is common, as there is also a marker of same subjects *-r*, which alternates with zero anaphora, as shown in (55) and (11), above.

- (55) *Cu-r, erar cu-r sar quesar itcha-cro*
 arrive-ss, there arrive-ss plant foot sit-PERF
 ‘When he arrived there, he sat at the foot of the sara plant.’

3.3.1.2 The noun phrase

(i) *Basic template*: The languages of Colombia do not deviate significantly from the Chibchan NP template:

$${}_i[(\text{DEM}) {}_{ii}[(\text{POSS}) \text{N} (\text{ADJ}) (\text{CL-NUM-CL}) \sim (\text{CL-NUM-CL}) (\text{ADJ})] {}_i(\text{DEM})] {}_{ii}$$

As explained in 2.3.1.2, the subscripted bracketing indicates that demonstratives can either be NP-initial or NP-final. In Tunebo, only possessive markers precede the noun, all other constituents being postnominal. In the other languages, classifiers can either precede or follow numerals, while adjectives are exceptionless postnominal. Thus in Ika, numbers may precede or follow the noun, depending on definiteness; if the noun is definite they follow it, if indefinite, they precede it.

Similarly, in Muisca demonstratives are prenominal while adjectives and numerals follow the head. In Barí, demonstratives are prenominal, but numbers can precede (56a) and follow (56b) the head, in what appears to be a sort of quantifier float; this view is reinforced by the fact that the number can be separated from the head by other linguistic material, as in (56c). That is, (56c) could be analyzed as an instance of SVO order with quantifier float, or as an instance of SOV order, where the number one (*intok*) is syntactically the head of the object noun phrase and *buktray* ('Guajiro') is a sort of adjectival object complement.

- (56) a) *Nay bisd-r-un insami buktray*
 1SG see.PAST.1SG-PAST two Guajiro
 'I saw two Guajiros.'¹⁵
- b) *Nay ruraba insami bisd-run*
 1SG dog two see-PAST.1SG
 'I saw two dogs.'
- c) *Nay intok bisd-run buktray*
 1SG one see-PAST.1SG Guajiro
 'I saw one Guajiro.'

(ii) *Possession*: With the most notable exception of Chimila, where the possessum bears the genitive prefix (57) preceding the possessor, possessive constructions prefer the order possessor + possessum. Morphologically, the possessive relation can be expressed by genitive marking on the possessor, as in Ika (58), by genitive marking on the possessum, as in Barí (59),¹⁶ by a possessive determiner on the possessum, which can in turn be an affix, as in Kogi (60), or a free form, as in Damana (61); juxtaposition of two nouns with no further marking is not as common as in Central America; in most cases, the possessor is a proper name, as in Muisca (62).¹⁷ No Chibchan language of Colombia distinguishes inalienable and alienable possession.

- (57) *ni^h-oggwe Jose*
 GEN-son Jose
 'Jose's son'
- (58) *Marta-za tšeitši*
 Marta-GEN father
 'Marta's father'
- (59) *Juan a-biobāy*
 Juan POSS-woman
 'Juan's wife'
- (60) *na-skua*
 1SG.POSS-son
 'My son'

- (61) *ranzhe mena*
1SG.POSS woman
'My wife'

- (62) *Pedro boi*
Pedro cloak
'Pedro's cloak'

(iii) *Relative clauses*: Relative clauses are postnominal in all Magdalenian languages, cf. (63) from Kogi. In Ika they can also be head-internal, as evidenced by the fact that case endings follow the relative clause (64). In Muisca, in addition to the existence of non-restrictive RCs (65), prenominal (66), postnominal (67),¹⁸ and circumnominal (head-internal) (68) orders are possible.

- (63) *pio kaka atema a-k-bakue i-te*
dog mouth big 3SG-DAT-have 3SG-sit
'The dog that has a big snout is sitting.'

- (64) [*ikɪ inʔgui Rɪsiu zaʔki nuk-ʒa*]-*seʔ-ri* *ʌn-tʃua-na*
man one Lisio name COP-MED-ERG -TOP REF-see-DIST
'A man named Lisio saw it.'

- (65) *um-paba Dios mue ø-quy-ia*
2POSS-father God, 2SG 3SG-made.PAST
'thy father God, who made you'

- (66) *muhycasuasa huc-a muysca-n*
yesterday come.PART-3 man-DEF
'the man who came yesterday'

- (67) *cha-guecua chu-anz-in gua-qu-in cha-quy-ia*
which-is-mine not-good-INTENS harm-INTENS 1SG-do-PAST
'the great harm which I did'

- (68) *a-obana chue-nza guaica cha-quy-ia zonuca*
3SG-towards good-NEG harm 1SG-do-PAST all
'all the harm that I did towards him'

Most languages lack a relativizer, but Tunebo and Barí have a relative clitic, *bi* (69), and a relative suffix *-mãy* (70), respectively.

- (69) *sasa conu bi*
children small REL
'the children who are small'

- (70) *Saabaseeba hũ i-bag-ra atka obik-bari-mãy ahki:*
God TOP 3.DAT-say-PAST.3SG ugly sick-person-REL to
'God said to the person who was horribly sick.'

Most languages are of the gapping type, as the examples in this section show, though it could be argued that insofar as in Ika (64, above) the ergative marker *-se?* does not follow the head of the relative clause, but cliticizes to the NP, there is case attraction. As in Central America, subjects are most commonly relativized, followed by objects.

3.3.1.3 The verb phrase

The only obligatory member of the verb phrase is the verb in the synthetic construction, and both verb and auxiliary in the analytic construction. Auxiliaries are predominantly postverbal. When the participants are overtly coded as noun phrases, the object is usually placed in preverbal (or pre-auxiliary in the analytic construction) position. In trivalent constructions variation exists as to the placement of the dative participant; it may precede the verb as in Damana (71), it may follow it, as in Chimila (72), or both, as in Barí (73).

- (71) *ra-ga mena-zhe arro unak-ka*
 1SG-ERG rice-DAT rice give-PERF
 ‘I gave the rice to the woman.’

- (72) *noggwe-²ri che seʃʃ-a ko²-te sawi-²ri*
 3SG-AG money give-IMP AUX-FACT man-DAT
 ‘She gave the money to the man.’

- (73) a) *Nay bahtro bi-ra-ni bay ahki*
 1SG book 2DAT-give.PRES-1SG 2SG to
 ‘I give you the book.’

- b) *Nay bahtro bay ahki bi-ra-ni*
 1SG book 2SG to 2SG-give.PRES-1SG
 ‘I give you the book.’

Chimila and Damana are similar to some Isthmian languages in that they have a paradigm of five positional verbs: *uuk²ri* ‘sit’, *^mb²reek²ri* ‘lie’, *k²rint²ri* ‘quiet’, *mong²ri* ‘hang’, and *²riŋatt²ri* ‘be around’ in Chimila; and *té* ‘stand’, *kuhté* ‘sit’, *gaga* ‘lie’, *ʰnkʷyá* ‘hang’ and *ijpé* ‘bend’ in Damana. These verbs differ from main verbs in that they do not bear the evidential morpheme as shown in (74) from Chimila and (75) from Damana; since they do not coappear with main verbs, they cannot be considered auxiliaries either.

- (74) *kiitikui-ta tiite ka^h-lla uuk²ri*
 bird-FOC one tree-INES sit
 ‘A BIRD is sitting on a tree.’

- (75) *ingui suzhinguma kun-mba kuhté*
 one little bird tree-INES sit
 'There is a little bird sitting on a tree.'

3.3.2 Grammatical relations

Two types of relational alignment, accusative and ergative, exist in Colombia; the Arhuacan languages and Tunebo exhibit ergative alignment, whereas Muisca, Barí, and possibly Chimila (see footnote 11) have accusative alignment.

3.3.2.1 Accusative systems

Accusative alignment in Barí is morphologically expressed through cross-reference. Subject noun phrases, whether lexical or pronominal, are treated equally regardless of the transitivity of the verb, as can be seen in (76a-c), which clearly reveal equal treatment of S (intransitive subject) and A (agent of transitive clause). In fact, the optional postposition in (76b) hints at an opposition between S and A against O (object of a transitive clause).

- (76) a) *Bay kabru-mi ikbé*
 2SG sleep.PRES-2SG much
 'You sleep too much!'
- b) *¿Aydo aba bay kabayo (aba) dra-mi?*
 why 2SG horse (to) hit.PRES.2SG
 'Why do you hit the horse?'
- c) *Kabayo kabi-sāy*
 horse sleep.PRES-3SG
 'The horse is sleeping.'

In clauses with no lexical noun phrases, the role of the pronominal participant is made explicit in the verbal string, as in (77) and (78). In the (a) examples, the pronominal NP finds itself outside the verb phrase, while in the (b) examples it is an integral part of it. The difference between (77a) and (77b) and that between (78a) and (78b) is thus one of information structure, concretely unmarked focus. The former are agent-oriented (or agent-focus), whereas the latter are patient-oriented (or patient-focus). This type of alignment is commonplace in most of the Chibchan languages of Colombia, whether accusative or ergative, and Guatuso in Central America.

- (77) a) *Nay ba-dra-ni*
 1SG 2SG-hit.PRES-1SG
 'I hit you.'
- b) *Nay lah-dra-mi*
 1SG 1SG-hit.PRES-2SG
 'You hit me.'
- (78) a) *Bay lah-dra-mi*
 2SG 1SG-hit.PRES-2SG
 'You hit me.'
- b) *Bay bah-dra-ni*
 2SG 2SG-hit.PRES-1SG
 'I hit you.'

3.3.2.2 Ergative systems

The Arhuacan languages and Tunebo show ergative alignment. In Ika, Kogi, and Tunebo ergativity is expressed through direct marking. In general, subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives are marked by $\emptyset$, and agents of transitives are marked by an ergative affix, Ika *-se?*, Kogi *-ha*, Tunebo *-at*, cf. (79) from Tunebo. Damana uses both direct marking, *-ga* ~ *-ka* (80) and cross-referencing; cf. (81).

- (79) *Bónit-at eb- $\emptyset$ yá-ca-ro*
 mouse-ERG corn-ABS eat-PRES-DECL
 'The mouse is eating the corn.'
- (80) a) *maestra-ga gumushina- $\emptyset$ una-ka ihkuela-mba*
 teacher-ERG children-ABS take-FACT school-INES
 'The teacher takes the children to school.'
- b) *gumushina- $\emptyset$ neik-ka anzh-abu-mba a-shate*
 children-ABS go-FACT 3SG.POSS-INES 3SG-before
 'The child walks before his mother.'
- c) *na- $\emptyset$ uraga-mba*
 3SG-ABS house-INES
 'She (the teacher) is in the house.'
- (81) a) *m#-n#-pash-ka*
 2ERG-1ABS-hit-FACT
 'You hit me.'

- b) *ma-wʰn-ka*
 2ABS-vomit-FACT
 ‘You vomit.’
- c) (*ra*) *∅-ma-pash-uga*¹⁹
 (1SG) 1ERG-2ABS-hit-FACT
 ‘I hit you.’

Splits of various types occur in the Arhuacan languages, ‘bound vs. free’ type in Ika and Kogi, verb semantics in Damana and to a lesser extent in Ika, and NP type in Kogi; these are treated in detail in Chapter 4.

3.3.3 Valency and syntactic operations

As stated in 2.3.3, scarcity of valency-changing mechanisms is the rule in Chibchan; even so, a couple of synthetic and periphrastic valency-changing mechanisms are attested in some languages. Muisca represents a special case within the family in terms of the formal division of verbs into transitive and intransitive, which has consequences for the conjugation of verbs (e.g. in imperatives); the former contain the prefix *b-* ~ *m-*, whereas the latter do not; conversely, the latter may take the suffix *-n*, but the former may not.

(i) *Causativity*: In Ika there are morphological and analytic causatives; the former are expressed by the suffix (-s), as in (82), the latter are formed with the verb *guaʔsa* (‘make’, ‘cause’) plus the lexical verb in the imperfective aspect, as shown in (83).

- (82) *Marta zizi hamaka-seʔ kʌmma-s-ʌn nuʔ-na*
 Martha baby hammock-LOC sleep-CAUS-IMP AUX-DIST
 ‘Martha rocked the baby to sleep in the hammock.’
- (83) *Juan-seʔ tʃei tʃus-ʌn guaʔsa-na*
 Juan-ERG farms leave-IMP CAUSE-DIST
 ‘Juan made him leave this farm.’

In Damana causativity is expressed by root alternation, the changes being rather irregular, as shown in (84).

- (84) *hom-* > *hok-* ‘bathe’
iun- > *iuj-* ‘(make) go down’
zhuazh- > *zhuarch-* ‘run’
kupin- > *kupish-* ‘wake up’

<i>kinkum-</i>	>	<i>kinkuk-</i>	‘(make) arrive’
<i>kush-</i>	>	<i>kurch-</i>	‘soften’

As in Cuna and Bribri (cf. 2.3.3), in Kogi there are valency-changing prefix vowels; the vowel *u-* transitivizes intransitive verbs, thus *nashi* ‘come’ → *ulashi* ‘bring’, *nayji* ‘go’ → *ulayji* ‘take’, *zabiji* ‘go down’ → *uzabiji* ‘bring down’, *nachishi* ‘go up’ → *unachishi* ‘take down’.

(ii) *Applicative*: Another valency-increasing mechanism, present in Ika, and marked by *kΛ-* (85b), is the applicative. An applicative, called “peripheral participant” by Frank (1990: 68), is “a valence increasing operation that brings a peripheral participant onto center stage by making it into a direct object” (Payne 1997: 186). It has the function of implicating a participant, otherwise not present in the verb form; thus *ža* ‘say’ implies a hearer, which becomes manifest only by adding the marker: *žΛ-na* (say-DISTAL, ‘he said’) vs. *nΛ-kΛ-žΛ-na* (LOBJ-PERIPH-say-DISTAL, ‘he said to me’). This form also figures in “constructions that raise a peripheral participant to object status” (Payne 1997: 194), with the possessor ascension requiring the applicative affix.

- (85) a) *tigri mi-ga*
 jaguar 2OBJ-eat
 ‘The jaguar eats you.’
 b) *peri-kin-di mi-kΛ-ga*
 dog-LIM-TOP 2OBJ-PERIPH-eat
 ‘(The jaguar) eats your two dogs.’

(iii) *Noun-incorporation*: A couple of incorporation instances exist in Damana; that the nouns in (86) and (87) are incorporated is signaled by the presence of the connector *-n*, which serves to unite morphemes, thereby making the noun part of the verb. A few instances of incorporation also exist in Barí (88).

- (86) *irrugua-n-azh-i*
 manioc-CONN-plant-ACT
 ‘manioc-planting’
 (87) *kunihta-n-atunsh-i*
 guandu-CONN-harvest-ACT
 ‘guandu-harvesting’
 (88) *Jabon akshi-r-ō mata-duy aba*
 soap buy-1SG-PAST clothes-wash for
 ‘I bought soap (in order) to wash clothes.’ (lit. ‘for cloth-washing’)

3.3.4 Comparison

As in Central America, comparison is mostly analytic. In Ika, for instance, it is expressed by the postposition *guasi* following the standard of comparison and the adjective *ingumʌn* ‘more’ (89). Equation is expressed by the postposition *-sin* ‘with’ and *dikin* ‘same’ preceding the adjective (90).

- (89) *Pedro Juancito guasi ingumʌn nʌʒa ni*
 Pedro Juancito COMP more walk CERT
 ‘Pedro walks faster than Juancito.’

- (90) *Juan ma-sin dikin kawa no*
 Juan 2SG-with same seem Q
 ‘Is Juan the same height as you?’

Barí exhibits a similar procedure, with the postposition *skāy* ‘toward’ used as comparative marker (91); *skāy* normally follows the standard of comparison, but on occasion it can precede it (92). In non-equational sentences *skāy* appears in sentence-final position (93).

- (91) *Maracaibo abí Boksí skāy*
 Maracaibo big Boksí COMP
 ‘Maracaibo is larger than Boksí.’

- (92) *Pedro sabayni skāy Juan*
 Pedro better COMP Juan
 ‘Pedro is better than Juan.’

- (93) *Pedro chida-sāy bri/sakbri Juan skāy*
 Pedro work-3SG.PRES more/less Juan COMP
 ‘Pedro works more/less than Juan.’

In Kogi reduplication is used to express superlatives, e.g. *hika* ‘thing’, → *hikahika* (‘many things’), *kaggaba* ‘person’ → *kaggabagaba* (‘many people’).

3.4 Sample texts

The texts from this section correspond to languages from three sub-branches of Magdalenian, Damana (Arhuacan), Tunebo (Boyacan) and Barí (cf. Fig. 1.5); the texts from Damana and Tunebo come from secondary sources, Trillos (1989) and Headland and Levinsohn (1976), respectively. The Barí text comes from my own field notes. The Tunebo text is undersegmented in the source, thus deviating from the format used in the transcription of the texts in this book (original text, glossed version and free translation into English); however, where possible, and

based on the available grammatical descriptions of Tunebo, some glosses have been added. Similarly, the Barí text is not fully segmented, as the description of this language is still in its early stages; some parts of the text contain approximate translations provided by the consultant.

3.4.1 Damana

Ra minsha Awingui kuanarga. Awinguika meku ibanekun, zhandukun, zhazhikun. Irrungua ágün, fransé ágün, malanga ágün, küntana ágün; meku zumé kuanarga awinguika awün guaziyinaburrubi, kugunyinabi. Meki zuméi kuhtea nukugemazhi. Gəmunshinaburru zhinzhoma tu ün nukemazhi, imana iuna aukusemazhi memanba. Umba iami urraga guma zingo; mimi kuhtea memanba awün; urruuga zhingawi, teingawi; mimi urruuga zhazheshi fransé zhazheshi, iam zhazheshi. Memamba ukuhtea nukkurra; mimika makuagurra duganburrubi. Memamba zumé kuauka; mimi kamakuazhá, kuazha nukuga awünka mimambi; iwarru zhandushi burru, iamburru agaanarga, shitá agaanarga. Iá nəhkənaunka, iá zhandushi, ibaneshi neshi. Kuauka na ünka iwarru umba iuna ukuemazhi. Urruga inkishana, urruuga inkishana. Nekusemazhi iwarru umba kuazhá iwarru uzhashkerru ma kinkuna manən, ma kumanzhi nən umba shai umba neshi; dəməna guashi dəməna shinyən; mangua mənəkəunka memerru. Rangua zenzhi guazhi, mangua zenzhi guazhi. Iwarru umba kuhtea memerru ukuashkerru; guazi nikitaəngui nakawa unzhazhiguazhi; zhinguzhi mən dəməna shinyən dəməna muguí; buye manaiunka? Naia məwenzhi nakuni; ma awünka guazi naia məwenzhi; meku zhinzhoma tuən meku məwenzhi, mowanən. Inyinaki mogui go inyinaki ukó; zhinzhoma tuən ma nukuemazhi. Tuənki tuənki raki nənguanənki. Ingui meku naia ma wənzhieru zhinzhoma tuən mənəunka kuhtea; zhinzhoma kətuən zhinzhoma kətuən. Meku mənukuemazhi ingui mekunba ma naiunka. Ingui naka ma wənzhi ingui Barranquillanba awashkerru, əgeni shiməkənyiea əgeni shinyən. Awanshkerru urragangua əgeni mogui, agenimogui. Meku nəkuashka imbiú ingui kəgi mówa kəgi maigua kəgi.

Ra minsha awingui kua-narga. Awingui-ka meku
 1SG not long ago Avingüe live-REAL.PAST.1SG. Avingüe-LOC there

ibanek-un, zhanduk-un, zhazhik-un. Irrungua ág-un, fransé ág-un, malanga
 work-DUR, clean-DUR, plow-DUR. Manioc plant-DUR, banana plant-DUR, malanga

ág-tñ, kñntana ág-tñ, zhanduku-tñ; meku zumé kua-narga
 plant-DUR, plantain plant-DUR; take care of-DUR; there good live-REAL.PAST.1SG
Awingui-ka aw-tñ guazi-yina-burru-bi, kugun-yina-bi. Meki zuméi kuhte-a
 Avingüe-LOC, make-DUR friend-PL-DIM.PL-SOC, sir-PL-SOC. There good sit-PERF
nuk-ug-emtñzhi. Gñmun-shina-burru zhinzhoma tu-tñ nuk-emuñzhi, imana
 be-1PL-CERT. Child-PL-DIM.PL book see-DUR be-CERT, here
iun-a au-kusemtñzhi mema-nba. Ëmba iami urraga gñma zhing-o;
 come down-PERF do-CERT.1PL DEICT-INES. Here DEICT house small build-PERF;
mimi kuhte-a mema-nba aw-tñ; urraga zhing-aw-i, teing-aw-i; mimi
 this place sit-PERF DEICT-INES do-DUR; house build-RES-ACT, plow-RES-ACT; this place
irruaga zhazhesh-i, fransé zhazhesh-i, ium zhazhesh-i mandugua zhazhesh-i Mema-mba
 manioc grow-ACT, banana grow-ACT, corn grow-ACT, pumpkin grow-ACT. DEICT-INES
ukuhte-a nuk-kurra; mimi-ka mñ-kua-gurra dungan-burru-bi.
 sit-PERF be-REAL.PRES.1PL; this place-LOC 2SG.ERG-live-REAL.PRES.1PL child-DIM.PL-SOC.
Mema-mbazumé kua-uka; mimikñ-mñ-kua-zhá kuazha nu-kuga
 DEICT-INES good live-REAL.PRES.1SG; here ?-2SG.ERG-live-?, live-? be-REAL.PRES.1SG
aw-tñka mima-mbi; iwa-rru zhandush-i burru, iñm-burru
 do-REAL.PRES.1SG here-SOC; now-FOC grow-ACT DIM.PL, corn-DIM.PL
aga-anarga, shitá aga-anarga. Já nñh-kñ-na-tñka,
 plant-REAL.PAST.1SG bean plant-REAL.PAST.1SG. Already 1SG-?-exist-REAL.PRES.1SG,
já zhandush-i, ibanesh-i, nesh-i. Kua-uka na-tñka
 already grow-ACT, work-ACT, go-ACT. Live-REAL.PRES.1SG exist-REAL.PRES.1SG
iwa-rru ñmba iun-a u-kutñmñzhi. Urraga inki shan-a,
 now-FOC here come down-PERF do-PRES.SING.CERT.1SG. House ? buy-PERF.
urraga inki shan-a. Ne-ku-semñzhi iwa-rru ñmba kua-zhá iwa-rru
 house ? buy-PERF. Go-1SG-CERT now-FOC here live-? now-FOC
uzhashkerru ma kinkun-a ma-nññ, ma kumanzhi-nññ ñmba
 meanwhile 2SG.ABS finish-PERF 2SG.ABS-SOC, 2SG.ABS TOGETHER-SOC HERE
sha-i ñmba nesh-i; ñmñña guash-i, ñmñña shiny-tñ; ma-ngua
 TALK-ACT here come-ACT; Damana talk-ACT, Damana learn-ACT; 2SG.ABS-too

m̃n-nak-t̃nka *meme-rru. Ra-ngua zen-zhi* *gua-zhi, ma-ngua*
 2SG.ERG-come-VIRT.PRES.2SG thus-FOC. 1SG-too happy-CERT say-CERT, 2SG.ABS-too
zen-zhi *gua-zhi. Iwa-rru t̃mba kuhté-a meme-rru ukuashkerru; guazi*
 happy-CERT say-CERT. Now-FOC here sit-PERF thus-FOC then; friend
zi-ki-ta-t̃ngui *na-kaw-a* *unzazhigua-zhi zhingua-zhi m̃n d̃m̃t̃na*
 2SG.DAT-?-give-IMP 1SG.DAT-give-PERF say-CERT; say-CERT there Damana
shiny-t̃n d̃m̃t̃na muguí; buye ma-nai-unka? *Nai-a mu-wen-zhi*
 learn-DUR Damana invite; when 2SG.ABS-go-VIRT.2SG? Go-PERF 2ERG-happen-CERT
nak-uni; ma *aw-unka* *guazi nai-a mu-wen-zhi; meku*
 come-NEG.PAST; 2SG.ABS do-VIRT.2SG friend go-PERF 2ERG-happen-CERT; THERE
zhinzhoma tu-t̃n meku mu-wen-zhi, mowa-ñn. In-yina-ki mogui-go
 BOOK see-DUR there 2ERG-happen-CERT, two-SOC. ?-PL-RESTR do-PERF
in-yina-ki u-kó; zhinzhoma tu-t̃n ma nuk-em̃zhi. Tu-t̃n-ki
 ?-PL-RESTR do-PERF; book see-DUR 2SG.ABS be-CERT. See-DUR-RESTR
tu-t̃n-ki *ra-ki* *ñ-uguan-t̃n-ki* *Ingui meku nai-a*
 see-DUR-RESTR 1SG.RESTR 1SG.ABS-think-DUR-RESTR. One there go-PERF
ma-w̃n-zhie-rru *zhinzhoma tu-t̃n m̃n-na-t̃nka*
 2SG.ABS-happen-commitment-FOC book see-DUR 2SG.ERG-exist-VIRT.2SG
kuhtéa; zhinzhoma k̃-tu-t̃n zhinzhoma k̃-tu-t̃n. Meku
 sit-PERF; book ?-see-DUR book ?-see-DUR. There
m̃n-nuk-t̃m̃-zhi *ingui meku-nba ma-nai-unka. Ingui nak-a*
 2SG.ERG-be-commitment-CERT one there-INES 2SG.ABS-go-REAL. One come-PERF
ma-w̃n-zhi *ingui Barranquilla-nba awashkerru, ũgeni*
 2SG.ERG-happen-CERT one Barranquilla-INES then, thus.ASSERT
shi-m̃-k̃n-yie-a ũgeni shinyi-t̃n. Awashkerru urraga-ngua ũgeni
 ?-2SG.ERG-?-learn-PERF thus.ASSERT learn-ASSERT. Then house-too thus.ASSERT.
mogui, age-ni mogui. Meku ñ-kuash-ka imbiú ingui k̃gi m̃wa k̃gi
 do, think-ASSET do. There 1SG.ABS-spend-PRES one year two year
maigua k̃gi.
 three year.

Not long ago, I lived in Avingüe. There, I used to work, clean, and plow the land. I used to grow manioc, plantains, malanga, and bananas; I used to take care of the field. I lived well there in Avingüe; I had friends; I was fine. We all felt well. The children read; all of them went to school. We came here to improve our lives. We built a small house and we live happily in it. We built the house and we plow the land; we also grow manioc, plantains, corn, pumpkins. We are happy in this place; we live here with the children. I am fine here; we live here for our sake. The crops are now small; we grow corn, beans, and we will soon start harvesting. We plant and work; we just moved over to this place. It was for our own sake. We bought a house, and we will stay here; this is our place now. So, when you are done with your work, you come over; we will speak Damana; you will learn Damana. You can also come here and I will be happy; you will be happy too. I am also happy. Now we are all fine. So, my friend, you bring presents to me and the kids. You invite me [to your place] so I can teach you Damana. You ask me “When are you coming?” If I had gone there, you would not have come here. But it will not take long before I go. I assure you that the two of us will study together; we will work alone. When I am there, I will only study and think. And you will study too. We will do it for you. So, when we are in Barranquilla, I am sure you will learn everything in your house. I think I will spend one, two or three years there.

3.4.2 Tunebo

Eya Utacayá sisbur bawoy cóhwyata bar sucuir bijacro. Eya uwat istítiro. Sasat istítiro. Ey isi ji wisi ji sibar ji bijacro. Ey querat tium tium bácoyan erar jin bijacro, ruiy cajc cutara. Erar cur ítita bar caba bicaro. Bar tin bicaro. Bat rahs rau bijacro. Eyta erar cur istiti cujacro. Asa cat béjecro. Imay béjecro. Uch cajc cutar bi béjecro. Erar cur usi raútiro. Sar quésara istiti cujacro, ruiyat istiti. Cur car cur ítita ay teca bar yehw̃jacro. Cui tehnro. Etata erar ítchacro. Eya rauti cuan bijacro. Cuan racayata, sico wat rajacro. Cur erar cur sar quésara ítchacro. Usi raútiro. Sibar ji isi ji yarti cuar b̃jiyira eyta raútiro. Ay oc erar bitiro. Watar acuar ítchacro.

Ityat caba bicayat rahs rau bicayat ruiy chaunín cábarin Utacay quemir ey icar béjecro. Bécyat, Utacayat ítita eya uwa chauna ehchiro. Oriquinro. Chon banaro. Chonan icor quinquinro. Etar ey quemir cuara, bajara cuijacro. Utacay quemir cuijacro. Eyta cuácayata Utacayat síh̃wajacro, “¿Ahran ruiy chauninat cábarinat as conu itqui?” síh̃wajacro. Eyta cuar eyra istítiro. Istiti rehjecro.

Istiti ac síhŵajacro. Ey bajar cui tíriyata, ruiy chaunínata bar itchacro. Istir bar wajacro: –¿Urar to it eya werjayquí?, wajacro. Etara chau jájacro. Etat búrora, Utacay búrora, eya ahní rehjecro. Sischacro. Etatan Utacayat ruiy chaunin way cabarin way ititan, sis cun tiu rehjecro. Yehw cun tiu rehjecro. Eyta cuar eyra bar yarjac ajc cujaquir barira, eyra catotiro Pablo. Wahistitiro. Icara war jajacro.

Ay uya istir, bajar cuiir, usi ay oc caso bicayat yehn bir bir ocor wan jajacro. Etat rahjacro. Eyat camti asan eyta tewjacro. Yácaja reht bar quinay yihnjacro. Ruiy bar cohwjacro. Cohwir erar cat ayan bahnac rucaro. Ay wato wihar cuitara cubcar tar cuitara eya erar cat rubar cucaro, chey ubut chat ay cubcar bahnara. Etar cuitar ay rujacro. Etara ey catum Utacayat itit usari ajcan bitartara ey cat eytaro. Rican toro Uwan chero. Churotan chero. Asan chero. Bacan chero.

Eya etar itcha reht yácaja reht erar sisbur chero. Erar sisbura bar cohway yihnjacro. Bawoy bacoy bawoy cohwyat bacoy cohwyata isur acat bar bu quir bicaro. Eyta cuacayata, bar bahnar, chicrias bar war way yihnjacro. Etat sicor war bat rajacro. “¿As bar biqui?” síhŵajacro, “sico war. Usar usara rauti tenti benro”, síhŵat rajacro. “Awan as yarjat chinyatan etatan usi rauwinro”, síhŵajacro. “as ajcan usar itinro. Ruiy watan usat raquir, usar itinro”, eyta síhŵajacro. Etar sico wat rajacro.

Ey rajac querat acor wiquir, querat isti tium buca y tium bay tium bacoy tium sicor usar war, bar wijacro. Eya sicor uchta wijacro, sicor. Eya, cuan racayat, usar wiquir ítata war ítata bar caba bicaro. Tin bicaro. Etar sasa quin sucuir wijacro. Wiquir, usi wijacro. Ey sasat wajacro: –Teto, ¿bah birar bijaquin wica? síhŵaro. Eyta wajacro. Etat sasa quin wajacro: –As birar bitiro. Birich bitiro, wajacro. Birich bitiro. Asum eycuit bin raquiro. Eycut bin raquiro, wajacro. –Biscani bitiro. Sicor uch cuitar wiquir, Utacay quin wiyat wajacro: –¿Bah birar bijáquinca? –Asa erar bijacan as eycut cuanjac biro. Ey ehcútiro. Sasa quin wiya quin ehcútiro.

Wiquir cara, sucuir ira yajacro. Ira yari yajacro. Etar síhŵajacro, Utacayat síhŵajacro: “¿Asan biscal cu bácuia?” Síhŵar yaquita: “Erar ruiy quin bijacro. Erat rau bijacro. Erar cujacro. ¿Sicor as bar wicyi?”, síhŵaro. “Eyta ira yara caba cúcayatan, as ajcan im erar itin biru. Witra tícatira as ajcan im eri cuitar ítiro. Erar chihrataro”.

Eya Utacayá sisbur bawoy cóhwyata bar sucuir bi-jàc-ro.

DEM Utacayá chicken third singing that moment bathing go-PAST-DECL.

Eya uw-at istí-ti-ro. Sas-at istí-ti-ro. Ey isi ji wisi ji
1SG people-ERG see-NEG.DECL. Son-ERG see-NEG-DECL. 3SG urine with excrement with
sibar ji bi-ja-cro. Ey querat tium tium bácoyan erar in
whistle with go-PAST-DECL. 3SG door through through four there good

bi-ja-cro, *ruiy* *cajc* *cutara.* *Erar* *cu-r* *ítita* *bar* *caba*
go-PAST-DECL. ancestor land in. There arrive-ss seeing that moment dark

bi-ca-ro. *Bar* *tin* *bi-ca-ro* *Bat* *rahs rau bi-jac-ro.*
go-PRES-DECL. That moment late go-PRES-DECL. That moment sun enter go-PRES-DECL.

Eyta erar cu-r *isti-ti* *cu-jac-ro.* *Asa cat bé-jec-ro.* *Imay*
Thus there arrive-ss see-NEG arrive-PAST-DECL. Coca also take-PAST-DECL. His own

bé-jec-ro. *Uch* *cajc* *cutar bi* *bé-jec-ro.* *Erar* *cu-r* *usi*
take-PAST-DECL. DEM land in of take-PAST-DEC. There arrive-ss inside

raú-ti-ro. *Sar* *quésara isti-ti* *cu-ja-cro,* *ruiyat* *isti-ti.*
enter-NEG-DECL. Sara foot see-NEG arrive-PAST-DECL, ancestor see-NEG.

Cu-r *car* *cu-r* *ítita* *ay* *teca* *bar*
Arrive-ss also arrive-ss seeing dance stick that moment

yehw̃-jac-ro *Cui* *tehn-ro.* *Etata erar itch-ac-ro.* *Eya rau-ti* *cuan*
carry-PAST-DECL. Vertical extend-DECL. Then there sit-PAST-DECL. DEM enter-NEG dawn

bi-ja-cro. *Cuan racayata,sico wat* *ra-jac-ro.* *Cu-r* *erar cu-r*
go-PAST-DECL. Dawn coming, again returning come-PAST-DECL. Arrive-ss there arrive-ss

sar quésara itch-ac-ro. *Usi* *raú-ti-ro.* *Sibar ji* *isi* *ji* *yar-ti* *cuar*
sara foot sit-PAST-DECL. Inside enter-NEG-DECL. Body with urine with die-NEG though

bíjiyra *eyta raú-ti-ro.* *Ay* *oc erar bi-ti-ro.* *Watar* *acuar itch-ac-ro.*
of that kind thus enter-NEG-DECL. Dance to there go-NEG-DEC. Outside only sit-PAST-DECL.

Ityat caba bicayat rahs rau bicayat ruiy *chaun-ín* *cábar-in* *Utacay*
Sitting dark going sun enter going ancestor female-COLL girl-COLL Utacayá

quemir eyicar bé-jec-ro *Bécayat, Utacay-at* *ítita* *eya uwa* *chauna ehchi-ro.*
around DEM in go-PAST-DECL. Going, Utacayá-ERG seeing DEM people female nice-DECL.

Oriquin-ro. *Chon bana-ro.* *Chon-an* *icor quinquin-ro.* *Etar ey*
Pretty-DECL. Leg well-formed-DECL. Leg-EMPH skin really nice-DECL. Then DEM

quemir cuara, bajara cui-jac-ro. *Utacay quemir* *cui-jac-ro.* *Eyta*
around though, cap knit-PAST-DECL. Utacayá around knit-PAST-DECL. Thus

cuácayata Utacay-at *síhwajac-ro,* “¿Ahran ruiy *chaun-in-at*
doing Utacayá-ERG think-PAST-DECL, “¿Now ancestor female-COLL-ERG

cábar-in-at as conu itqui?” *síhũa-jac-ro. Eyta cuar eyra istí-ti-ro.*
 girl-COLL-ERG 1SG little see?” think-PAST-DECL. Thus though 3SG see-NEG-DECL.

Isti-ti reh-jec-ro. Isti-ti ac síhũa-jac-ro. Ey bajar cui
 See-NEG remain-PAST-DECL. See-PAST-DECL so that think-PAST-DECL. DEM cap knit

tíriyata, ruiy chaun-ín-at-a bar itch-ac-ro. Istir
 finishing, ancestor female-COLL-ERG-? that moment sit-PAST-DECL. Seeing

bar wa-jac-ro: -¿Urar to it eya werjayquí?,
 that moment say-PAST-DECL: -¿There many sit DEM elder?,

wa-jac-ro. Etara chau já-jac-ro. Etat búrora, Utacay
 say-PAST-DECL. Then-CONTR female put-PERF-DECL. Then wrapping up, Utacayá

búrora, eya ahní reh-jec-ro. Sisch-ac-ro. Etat-an
 wrapping up, DEM happy remain-PERF-DECL. Smile-PAST-DECL. That moment-EMPH

Utacay-at ruiy chaun-in way cabar-in way itit-an, sis cun
 Utacayá-ERG ancestor female-COLL look girl-COLL look see-EMPH, smile want

tiu eh-jec-ro. Yehw cun tiu reh-jec-ro. Eyta
 for a minute remain-PAST-DECL. Marry want for a minute remain-PAST-DECL. Thus

cuar ey-ra bar yar-jac ajc cujaquir barira, ey-ra
 though DEM-CONTR that moment die-PAST soul arrive negative, DEM-CONTR

cato-ti-ro Pablo. Wahisti-ti-ro. Icara war ja-jac-ro.
 touch-NEG-DECL Pablo. Look-NEG-DECL. Back turning put-PAST-DECL.

Ay uya istir, bajar cuiir, usi ay oc caso bicayat yehn bir
 DanceDEM seeing, cap knitting, inside dance to together going get up going

bir ocor wan ja-jac-ro. Etat rah-jac-ro. Ey-at cam-ti asan eyta
 going near enter put-PAST-DECL. Then hear-PAST-DECL. DEM-ERG sleep-NEG coca thus

tew-jac-ro. Yácaja reht bar quinay yihn-jac-ro. Ruiy
 chew-PAST-DECL. Did remaining that moment leave stand up-PAST-DECL. Ancestor

bar coh-w-jac-ro. Cohwir erar cat ay-an bahnac
 that moment shout-PAST-DECL. Shouting there also dance-EMPH all

ru-ca-ro. Ay wato wihar cuitara cubcar tar cuitara
 hold hands-PAST-DECL. Dance outside side inside cubcar singing same time

eya erar cat rubar cu-ca-ro, chey ubut chat ay cubcar bahnara.
 DEM there also shell play-PERS-DEC, night half to dance *cubcar* finishing.

Etar cuitar ay ru-jac-ro. Eta-ra ey catum Utacay-at
 Then same time dance hold hand-PAST-DECL. Then-CONTR DEM also Utacayá-ERG

itit usari ajcan bitartara ey cat eyta-ro. Ric-an toro uw-an
 seeing here substance as DEM also thus-DECL. Crowd big people-EMPH
chero. Churot-an chero. As-an chero Bac-an chero.
 much. Crown-EMPH much. Coca-EMPH much. Tobacco much.

Eya etar itcha reht yácaja reht erar sisbur chero. Erar
 DEM then sat remaining did remaining there cocks much. There
sisbura bar cohway yihn-jac-ro. Bawoy bacoy bawoy cohwyat bacoy
 cock that moment sing stand up-PAST-DECL. Third fourth third singing fourth

cohwyata isur acat bar bu quir bi-ca-ro. Eyta
 singing, downriver other side that moment red very go-PRES-DECL. Thus

cuacayata, bar bahnar, chicrias bar war way
 doing, that moment finishing, morning that moment turning round

yihn-jac-ro. Etat sicor war bat ra-ja-cro.
 standup-PAST-DECL Then backwards turning round that moment come-PAST-DECL

“¿As bar biqui?” *síhwa-jac-ro, “sico war. Usar usara rau-ti*
 “¿1SG that moment go?” think-PAST-DECL, “backwards turning round. Here here

ten-ti, ben-ro”, síhwat ra-jac-ro. “Awan as yarjat
 enter-NEG speak-NEG, go-DECL”, thinking come-PAST-DECL. “Some time 1SG to-death

chinyatan, etat-an usi rauwin-ro”, síhwa-jac-ro. “As ajcan usar
 dying, then-EMPH inside enter-DECL, think-PAST-DECL. “1SG soul here

itin-ro. Ruiy watan usat raquir, usar itin-ro”, eyta
 live-DECL. Ancestor returning here coming here live-DECL”, thus

síhwa-jac-ro. Etar sico wat ra-jac-ro.
 think-past-DECL. Then backwards turning round come-PAST-DECL.

Ey rajac querat acor wiquir, querat isti tium buca y tium bay
 dem come door to arriving, door one through two through there

tium bacoy tium sicor usar war, bar wi-jac-ro. Eya
 through fourth through behind three appearing, that moment come-PAST-DECL. DEM
sicor uchta wi-jac-ro, sicor. Eya, cuan racayat, usar wiquir ítata
 behind DEM come-PAST-DECL, behind. DEM, dawn coming, here coming seeing
war ítata bar caba bi-ca-ro. Tin bicaro. Etar sasa
 coming back seeing that moment dark go-PRES-DECL. Late go-PRES-DECL. Here son
quin sucuir wi-jac-ro. Wiquir, usi wi-jac-ro. Ey sas-at
 where bathing come-PAST-DECL. Returning, house return-PAST-DECL. DEM son-ERG
wa-jac-ro: –Teto, ¿bah birar bijaquin wi-ca? síhwaro. Eyta
 say-PAST-DECL: –Father, ¿2SG where go-PAST-INTER come-PRES? think-DECL. Thus
wa-jac-ro. Etat sasa quin wa-jac-ro: –As birar bi-ti-ro. Birich
 think-PAST-DECL. Then son to say-PAST-DECL: –1SG where go-NEG-DECL. Wherever
bi-ti-ro, wa-jac-ro. Birich bi-ti-ro. Asum eycuit bin ra-qui-ro.
 go-NEG-DECL, say-PAST-DECL. Wherever go-NEG-DECL. 1SG there from come-PAST-DECL.
Eycut bin ra-qui-ro, wa-jac-ro. –Biscani bi-ti-ro. Sicor
 There from come-PAST-DECL, say-PAST-DECL. –Where go-NEG-DECL. Behind
uch cuitar wiquir, Utacay quin wiyat wa-jac-ro: –¿Bah birar
 DEM in coming, Utacayá to wife say-PAST-DECL: –¿2SG where
bi-jáq-uinca? Asa erar bi-jac-an as eycut cuan-jac biro. Ey
 go-PAST-INTER? –1SG there go-PAST-EMPH 1SG there dawn-PAST there was. DEM
ehcú-ti-ro Sasa quin wiya quin ehcú-ti-ro.
 reply-NEG-DECL. Son to wife to reply-NEG-DECL.
Wiquir cara, sucuir ira ya-jac-ro. Ira yari ya-jac-ro. Etar
 Coming also, bathing food eat-PAST-DECL. Food little eat-PAST-DECL. Then
síhwa-jac-ro, Utacay-at síhwa-jac-ro: “¿As-an biscal cu bácuia?”
 think-PAST-DECL, Utacayá-ERG think-PAST-DECL: “¿1SG-EMPH where arrive left?”
Síhwar yaquita: “Erar ruiy quin bi-jac-ro. Erat rau bijacro. Erar
 Thinking doing: “There ancestor to go-PAST-DECL. Thereenter go-PAST-DECL. There
cu-jac-ro. ¿Sicor as bar wicyi?”, síhwa-ro. “Eyta ira yara
 arrive-PAST-DECL. ¿Behind 1SG that moment came?”, “think-DECL. “Thus if dead

caba cúcayatan, as ajcan im erar itin biru. Witra íca-ti-ra as
 end arriving, 1SG soul self there live kind of. Pole fall-NEG-CONTR 1SG
ajcan im eri cuitar itin-ro. Erar chihra-ta-ro”.
 soul self there in live-DECL. There sit-FUT-DECL”.

There was a man called Utacayá. One day, while the birds were singing for the third time, he bathed and left. No one saw him leave. He left like a person, through the fourth door, to the land of the ancestors. It was late when he got there; it was sunset. Nobody saw him, as he brought his own coca from this land. He arrived at the foot of the sara plant, and not being seen by the ancestors, he sat down. He did not step inside but he saw that they were carrying some sticks for the dance, and they stood up. It dawned but he did not come in. So, at sunrise he came back. When he got to the land of the ancestors, he sat at the foot of the sara plant. He did not get into the dancing place; we mortals do not enter that place while alive. That is why he did not enter the place and just sat outside.

While sitting, there was sunset. The ancestors' wives came around him. When they came in, he saw how nice and pretty they were; they had really nice and well-shaped legs. Although they were around Utacayá, they were knitting caps. Under the circumstances, he thought, “Do the ancestors' wives see me?” But they did not see him. He then understood they had in fact not seen him. While the ancestors' wives finished knitting their caps, they saw Utacayá. They said, “Is the one sitting there an elder?” But they did not inquire further. Utacayá then wrapped himself up and felt happy; he smiled. At the same time, he saw for a minute that the women wanted to smile too; they wanted to marry him. However, since he had not died, and his soul had not reached the land of the ancestors yet, they did not touch him. They did not stare at him any more, but turned their backs to him.

The girls were done with the knitting, when they saw people coming to the dance; they followed those people as Utacayá left the place. Utacayá then listened; chewed some coca, and so did not fall asleep. Once he had done that, the ancestors began to leave, screaming. (There, they also hold one another's hands for leaving. At the backyard, they blew the horn, while singing the *cubar*; they all play it at midnight, when they are done with the *cubar*.) They then took one another's hand and left. Utacayá saw that they do it in the other world just like we do it in this world. There was a real crowd; they wore many crowns and had lots of coca and tobacco.

Then, after Utacayá had gone through all that, the cock crowed (there are many cocks there). While the cock crowed for the third and fourth time, the day broke. Meanwhile, the ancestors turned around, going backwards, as the dance came to

an end. Utacayá made himself on his way back. “It is time to go back; I am leaving without having stepped in”, he thought. He then left. “Perhaps when the time of my death comes, I will come in; my soul will live here”, he thought and left.

Utacayá came back through the four doors he had gotten there through, and he finally got back to this world. While the day broke there, he appeared here and saw that it was dusk here; it was getting late. Then, after bathing, Utacayá approached his children. They said, “Dad, we have been wondering where you had gone”. He replied, “I did not go anywhere”. When he came back to this world, his wife also asked him “Where did you go?” “I went to that place; I woke up there”, he thought. But he did not say a word to his wife and children.

When he got back, he bathed and ate. He then asked himself “Where did I actually go?” He then thought, “I went to Hades. Yes, I went there. Have I come back?” He concluded “if I had died, I would have remained there. Thus, if the poles that support the Hades’ roof do not fall down, my soul will live in that place, and I will sit there.”

3.4.3 Bari

Ña sobibāy

Ñá há Saabaseeba h̥ ibag oromimāy barí ahki, intok atká obikbarimāy ahki, “akokseysey kák orominé, darikbí akokseysey há”; mimāynahā bariji h̥ ishki tété waydrā obāya akokseysey há. Mimāynahā intok obāy h̥ ña bák oarasāymāy; bariji ishki: “Nay né, nay né”. Ño atká ibagbishi iibaná ñá há bák kii bé dokkóo wáydayo; máyñáhá kii bé wáydre, anīh̥ bariji há inka asusé wáydre; anīh̥ hunikenemba Saabaseeba h̥ ibagra atka obikbarimāy ahki: “Bay h̥ sakbuné; bay h̥ ñá ninominé ũwī oromine; barikarihi akokseysey kák ũwī séeni kang. Anīh̥ sé akishták ñna ka ahki; anīh̥ orahāwayīh̥ inka abiobāy, atayda, bakku jahki kii ũwī kitchu ũwī ishtan bayra hunikenemba. Anīhi kii sharikenemba akshkéri akokseysey kák, ũwī orominé”, ibagra Saabaseeba h̥.

Ña sobibāy

Sun story

Ñá há Saabaseeba h̥ i-bag oro-mi-māy barí ahki, intok atká
Sun TOP Good FOC 3DAT-say AUX-2SG-REL person ugly, one ugly

obik-bari-māy ahki, “akokseysey kák oromineé, darikbí akokseysey há”;
sick-person-REL to, “necklace put-on AUX-2SG-FUT, toucan necklace TOP”;

mimãynahã bari-ji hĩ ishki tété way-drã obãya akokseysey hã. Mimãynahã
 however person-PL CONT all put-on AUX-3PL DEM necklace TOP. However
intok obã hũ ña bák oara-sãy-mãy; bari-ji ishki: “Nay nẽ, nay nẽ”.
 one DEM FOC sun light up put-3SG-REL; person-PL all: “1SG go.PAST, 1SG go.PAST”.
Ño atká i-bag-bi-shi i-ibanũ ñã hã bák kii bé dokkóo
 Go ugly 3DAT-say-PAST-NEG 3OBJ-see.PAST.3SG sun TOP light up and dark clear
wãydayo; mãyñãhã kii bé wãydre, anĩhĩ bari-ji hĩ inka asusé wãy-dre;
 suddenly; however and dark AUX-3SG, then person-PL TOP and laugh AUX-3SG;
anĩhĩ hunikenemba Saabaseeba hũ i-bag-ra atka obik-bari-mãy ahki:
 then that moment God TOP 3DAT-say-PAST.3SG ugly sick-person-REL to
“Bay hã sakbu-nẽ; bay hũ ñã nino-mi-nẽ ũwĩ oro-mi-nẽ;
 “2SG FOC be-FUT; 2SG FOC sun go out-2SG-FUT always AUX-2SG-FUT;
barikarihi akokseysey kák ũwĩ sěeni kang. Anĩhĩ sě akishták ñã ka ahki;
 all day long necklace put-on always late until. Then night take off go house to;
anĩhi orahaawayĩhi inka abiobã, atayda, bakku jahki kii ũwi kitchu ũwi
 then thereafter and wife, father, child leave again always walk always
ishtan bayra hunikenemba. Anĩhi kii sharikenemba akshkéri akokseysey
 earth under continuously. Then again in-the-morning newly necklace
kák, ũwi orominnẽ”, i-bag-ra Saabaseeba hu.
 put-on, always AUX-2SG-FUT”, 3DAT-say-PAST.3SG God FOC.

The Story of the Sun

The God sun once said to a Barí man who had an ugly skin, “Put on a toucan necklace.” All other Barí wanted to put it on, but only the one who had it on would light up the world. All the Barí said, “it was me, it was me” [who brought light]. The man with the ugly skin did not say that he saw the sun light up suddenly. All the Barí became happy at that moment. Then God said to the man who was terribly sick, “You shall always wear the necklace all day long until sunset. At night you shall go home and take it off. Then your wife, father and children will continuously go around the earth [lighting it up]. The next morning, you shall put it on again, and so on forever”, said God.

NOTES

1. Although Cuna is also spoken by some 1,000 speakers around the Gulf of Urabá in Colombia, it was included under the languages of Central America because it clearly sides with those languages typologically, e.g. it has positionals, numeral classifiers, lacks cross-referencing, has middle voice and verb serialization; the last-mentioned feature is shared with Teribe only. And though the presence of the Cunas in Panama is the result of relatively recent migrations, it is also true that they are not originally from Colombia (cf. Chapter 1), so that their presence in Panama can be seen as the result of a “back-and-forth” migration pattern.
2. Apparently, there are some Tunebos living in Venezuela too (cf. Meléndez 2000: 703).
3. It should be noted, however, that in the first syllable, additional contrasts such as length and glottalization can play a role.
4. The sources on Ika differ on the phonological status of two segments; while Frank (1999: 10) lists /ɜ/ and /ʔ/ as phonemes, Landaburu (2000: 736) does not. There are also considerable differences in terms of morphological analysis.
5. Table 1 differs slightly from Adelaar’s representation, e.g. the existence of /c/ instead of /tʃ/ in Kogi.
6. As in Chapter 2, examples appear in most cases in the practical alphabets used in the sources; the following orthographic conventions are used in the literature: the mid central vowel /ə/ is represented by <u> in Damana and by <ʌ> in Ika; the high central vowel <i> is represented by <y> in Muisca and by <i> in Ika. The voiceless palatal fricative /j/ is represented as <sh> in most languages, except in Ika, which is represented as <š>; similarly, the voiced palatal fricative /ʒ/ is represented by <zh> in Damana, and by <ž> in Ika. <y> stands for /dʒ/ in Damana and /c/ in Kogi. <j> and <h> are used interchangeably in Kogi and Tunebo, but not in Barí or Damana, where the former represents /dʒ/ and the latter stands for /h/. <qu> stands for /k/ in all languages, except Muisca, where it represents /kʷ/. Finally, <r> stands for the simple vibrant /r/, while <rr> represents the trill /r/.
7. Ortiz (1989, 2000) refers to certain lexemes in Kogi as “noun classifiers”. From her description and analysis, however, it becomes clear that such forms are lexicalizations or compounds, since they do not behave like real classifiers. First, not all nouns can be determined by these forms (that is, their use is rather restricted), and second, when added to nominal lexemes these forms change the meaning of the nouns so determined. For instance, the alleged classifiers *-kala* and *-shiza*, are said to classify objects as long; however, the examples show that these are derivational morphemes plain and simple: cf. *ni* ‘water’ + *kala* → *nikala* ‘rain’, *hu* ‘house’ + *kala* → ‘roof’; *hagi* ‘stone’ + *shiza* → *hagshiza* ‘wall’, *mala* + *shiza* → *malashiza* ‘umbilical cord’. These forms can hardly be considered noun classifiers. Not surprisingly, Ortiz concludes that “due to their low functional load and frequency, it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which they are classifiers, that is, compounds that have lost their semantic force, or derivations with a higher semantic force than those treated under derivation” (Ortiz 2000: 769)[translation provided].

8. It seems that corn cobs, dresses and so on represent prototypical objects (the source (Trillos 1996) is rather succinct in this respect); this impression is confirmed by (i), where the gloss used for corn cobs in the original reads long:

- (i) *kʔraa-mu^hna* *ammuna*
long-two corn cob
'two corn cobs'

9. This plural marker is not listed in the main text; it appears suddenly in this example.
10. W. Adelaar (p.c.) remarks that this system resembles a typical Amazonian system. Whether it is the result of contact, however, remains to be investigated.
11. The case of Chimila is rather obscure, judging from the source (Trillos 1996), where one and the same morpheme *-ʔri* is glossed as agent, accusative, and even dative; it will therefore be left out of the analysis in this section.
12. Actually, in Tunebo there is a sort of progressive aspect expressed by the auxiliary *rauwinro* ('enter'), which also conveys the idea of inchoative. This duality of meanings hints at a low degree of grammaticalization, though.
13. Though there is no person morphology, verbal plurality is expressed in some verbs by means of ablaut, e.g. *rajacro* 3SG came vs. *rojacro* 3PL. came, like in Boruca. Also, some verbs have suppletive forms for the singular object as opposed to plural objects and subjects of intransitive verbs: e.g. *ehsunro* 'cut many' vs. *cuiquinro* 'cut one', *behquinro* 'many people come back' vs. *wiqinro* 'one person comes back'.
14. In fact, in Adelaar (1995: 178), there is mention of an element *-n-*, which can cause reflexive/middle meanings: *-b-ia-squa* 'open' vs. *-ia-n-suca* 'open (non transitive).'
15. 'Guajiros' are an Arawak group in Western Venezuela; they call themselves *wayúu*.
16. Ortiz (1989: 233) has an example of a possessive construction with the order possessum + possessor and with the suffix marking the possessor on the possessum:

- (i) *kaggaba-chi* *Yinkuámelo*
people-GEN Yinkuámelo
'people from Yinkuámelo'

17. However, if the possessor is a full personal pronoun, the corresponding possessive marker is prefixed to the possessum:

- (i) *muy um-boi*
2SG 2SG.POSS-cloak
'your cloak'

In addition, there are cases in which a suffix *-s* is added as a kind of genitive marker:

- (ii) *cha-s* *gue*
man-GEN house
'The man's house'

18. The non-relative versions of (66) and (67) are:

- (i) *as muyysca-n muhhycasuasa a-huque*
 DEM man-DEF yesterday 3SG-come.PERF
 'That man came yesterday.'

- (ii) *a-obana chue-nza-in guaica-in ze-b-quy-ø*
 2SG-towards good-NEG-INTENS harm-INTENS 1SG-TRANS-do-PERF
 'I did great harm to him.'

19. Trillos (1999: 159-160) lists the paradigms for agents, patients and datives; according to them, the second person singular patient should be *-ma*; strangely, however, on p. 42 *et passim* the form corresponding to second person singular agent is used in examples where the patient is second person singular (i); that is certainly disconcerting. If the paradigms are correct, then (81c, above) and (ii, below) is what has to be expected:

- (i) *ra mĩ-sak-uga*
 1SG 2SG-look for-FACT
 'I look for you.'

- (ii) *ra ma-sak-uga*
 1SG 2SG-look for-FACT
 'I look for you.'

Relevant Topics in Chibchan Linguistics

Although the review in Chapters 2 and 3 already provides an adequate amount of facts about the Chibchan languages, the portrait is rather “static” in that description predominates over analysis and discussion. To provide a fuller account of Chibchan, the material from the preceding chapters has to be complemented with detailed discussion of topics or case studies that touch on the most salient features of these languages. Accordingly, this chapter deals with three major aspects of Chibchan: ergativity, participant-highlighting (how prominence is expressed), and intermittent marking of grammatical categories. One of the most significant features of the Chibchan languages is the relevance of discourse grammar; grammatical structure in these languages is heavily permeated by discourse; the various word order patterns, the remarkable absence of extensive valency-changing mechanisms, and the rich systems of prominence assignment represent a case in point. Even in the languages of Colombia, in which grammatical relations appear more syntacticized, is this discourse-permeability quite distinctive. For that reason, the three topics will be presented in an order that goes from structure to discourse.

Section 4.1 describes three types of ergative systems found in the Chibchan languages, “Mayan-style” ergativity, discourse-based ergativity, and intra-clausal ergativity.¹ The order of the presentation is due to the geographic distribution of the systems as one proceeds from North to South; exception is made of Guaymí, which though geographically closer to the Viceita languages, will be described with the Colombian languages due to typological similarity.

Participant-highlighting, the domain of prominence assignment, is dealt with in 4.2. As stated above, the Chibchan languages rely more on direct marking of participants than on other mechanisms (voice, syntactic structures) for that purpose.

Since subject prominence is not as high as in languages like English (though by no means non-existent), the formal expression of roles and reference is less subject to grammatical relations (subject, object) and more to pragmatic states. In fact, grammatical relations rank lower in terms of participant-encoding and highlighting, whereby it appears that these languages have a more “fluid syntax” than languages like English, where the rigid syntacticization of participant encoding –ruled by grammatical relations– is the norm. What English (and like languages) accomplish(es) with subject and object syntactic roles (and rules that make reference to them), Chibchan does with its set of topic/focus markers, and word order patterns.

Section 4.3 discusses intermittent marking, which can be regarded as another instance of Chibchan “fluid syntax”. Insofar as noun phrases are not marked for the corresponding grammatical category because their role is to be inferred from context, intermittent marking hints at a high degree of discourse permeability. A feature of grammatical relevance is obligatoriness; Bybee and Dahl (1989: 64–65) remark that “the notional domain encoded by a set of obligatory grams must be touched on whenever the appropriate grammatical context arises”. Intermittent marking does exactly the opposite; it avoids the redundancy entailed by the obligatory use of grammatical forms.

4.1 Ergativity

Ergative alignment is found in 8 languages of the family, that is, 50% of all living languages: Guatuso, Cabécar, Bribri, Guaymí, Ika, Kogi, Damana, and Tunebo. Except for Guatuso and Damana, where ergativity is expressed by cross-reference and direct marking, in all other languages it is effected only through the latter mechanism. Although ergativity has certainly been identified in most languages that exhibit it, the sources for Kogi and Damana make no mention of it; both Ortiz and Trillos first published descriptions of Kogi and Damana, respectively, in 1989, and later in 2000 (Trillos also in a major description in 1999), but both failed to recognize the ergative pattern in these languages. The analysis in 4.1.2 will show that there is indeed ergativity in these languages.

Not all ergative systems function alike. Guatuso has an antipassive voice, which is obligatory in the expression of impersonal transitive sentences; in addition, it has an incorporation antipassive –hence the label “Mayan style”, justifying its treatment as a special case within the ergative systems of the family (§4.1.1). Special emphasis will be placed on one type of ergativity, characterized by its discourse-dependence (§4.1.2). In this type of ergative systems, whether an NP is marked ergative

depends not so much on grammatical relations but on discourse saliency and topic continuity. Although there are studies that have highlighted the role of discourse in ergativity (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Dixon 1994), discourse-based “splits” or, more accurately, discourse-based intermittent ergative marking has not been extensively documented. The existence of this type of split provides further evidence of the Chibchan “fluid syntax”. Finally, the languages of Colombia (and Guaymí) exhibit less discourse-permeated ergativity, termed here “intra-clausal” (§4.1.3).

4.1.1 Mayan-style ergativity: Guatuso

Guatuso is unique in Central America in a number of respects; for instance, it has a basic [$\pm$ future] tense system, Magdalenian-style alignment, and it is the only ergative language with an antipassive voice. Guatuso also has cross-referencing prefixes on the verb, illustrated in Table 4.1, and free pronouns, which are “optional”, illustrated in Table 4.2. The sequence of the cross-referencing prefixes on the verb is ABS-ERG-V-TAM, as shown in (1); as for the free pronouns, the same forms are used in the plural, followed by the marker *maráma*, with the exception of the first person inclusive, which is *tótiki*.

- (1) *i-rrip-cuang-e²*
 3ABS-2ERG-see-NON.FUT
 ‘You see/saw him.’ (Constenla 1998: 71).

Table 4.1
Guatuso cross-referencing prefixes
 (adapted from Constenla 1998:69-73)

		ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE
SINGULAR	1.	-ra-	na-
	2.	-rpa-	mi-
	3.	-ri-	i-
PLURAL	1.	EXCL -ra-	na-
		INCL -ri-	ma-
	2.	-rpa-	mi-
	3.	-ri-	i-

Table 4.2
Guatuso free personal pronouns
 (adapted from Constenla 1998: 69-73)

SINGULAR		SLURAL	
	ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	
1. <i>ton</i>			
2. <i>po</i>	<i>ti</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>maráma</i>
3. <i>ni</i>			

There are two types of transitive clauses in Guatuso: a) the one formed by an NP, its relation to the object being marked by an agentive [ergative] person agreement prefix (2a); and b) those where the agent NP consists of phrases resulting from governing exocentric constructions where the ergative marker *ti* functions as the governing element and a nominal form as the governed element; in these constructions there is no cross-referencing of the agent on the verb, as in (2b).

- (2) a) *ton po ma³-rra-cuang-e*
 1SG 2SG 2ABS-1ERG-see-NON.FUT
 'I see you.'

- b) *ton-ti po mi-cuang-e*
 1SG-ERG 2SG 2ABS-see-NON.FUT
 'I see you.'

(Constenla 1982: 98).

Constenla (1998: 142) calls the second type of transitive constructions *ergative-oriented transitive clauses*, which constitute the marked type.⁴ The unmarked transitive sentence is the one without overt expression of participants as NPs. In cases where both participants are third person singular relative ambiguity may occur, e.g. if both participants are equal in the scale of agentivity, and if the order is not the basic one, SOV, as in (3a-c).

- (3) a) *ochápacá i-rrí-cuang-e*
 man 3ABS-3ERG-see-NON.FUT
 'The man saw her/him.' or 'S/he saw the man.'
- b) *ochápacá curíjurí i-rrí-cuang-e*
 man woman 3ABS-3ERG-see-NON.FUT
 'The man saw the woman.'

- c) *i-rri-cuang-e* *curíjurí* *ochápacá*
 3ABS-3ERG-see-NON.FUT woman man

‘The woman/man saw the man/woman.’ (Constenla 1998: 142).

Constenla reasonably remarks that such ambiguities are more theoretical than practical since the speaker definitely knows what the state of affairs is and from the perspective of the hearer such aspects as the relative agentivity and context preclude such ambiguities. He calls those transitive clauses where the agent is marked ergative “incompletely transitive”, whereas the non-ergatively oriented (not marked ergative, type a) above), are termed “completely transitive”. When intransitive clauses are included, a five-member set of sentence types emerges, summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3
Guatuso sentence types
 (adapted from Constenla 1998, Ch. 10)

TRANSITIVE			NON-TRANSITIVE	
a) complete (head-marking)	b) incomplete (independent ergative)	c) intransitive	d) reflexive ↑ voice	e) antipassive ↑ inflection

Subtypes a-c are illustrated in (4a-c). Subtypes d. and e., already fall within the scope of voice phenomena, to be treated in the next subsection.

- (4) a) *a-rra-cunú-ye*

3SG-1ERG-hear-NON.FUT

‘I heard him.’

- b) *ton-ti* *i-conú-ye*

1SG-ERG 3SG-hear-NON.FUT

‘I heard him.’

(Constenla 1998: 125).

- c) *i-tó-ye*

3SG-go-NON.FUT

‘He went.’

(Constenla 1998: 126).

4.1.1.1 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity/reciprocity is expressed by the prefix *ri-* ~ *ra-*, which indicates that the person expressed by the absolutive prefix performs an action upon itself (each other), as in (5). When the reciprocal situation takes place between two people only, a comitative postpositional phrase must be used (*yu*), as in (6). The reflexive prefix *ri-* occupies the slot reserved for the ergative prefix in transitive sentences, cf (6) and (7).

- (5) *na-ra-cuang-e*

1ABS-REFL-see-NON.FUT

‘I see myself.’

- (6) *mi-ri-cuang-e*

2ABS-REFL-see-NON.FUT

‘You see yourself.’

- (7) *ní yu mi-rí-corro-ye*

him with 2ABS-REFL-quarrel-NON.FUT

‘You had a quarrel with each other.’

(Constenla 1998: 126).

(i) *Middle uses*: The “medio-passive” form *-teki* is used only with transitive verbs; it is in the process of obsolescence, and is being replaced by the reflexive (middle) morpheme, as in (8) and (9). It is also used with experiential verbs, a clear case of middle voice (10).

- (8) *a-rrá-púra-yé*

3ABS-1ERG-inflate-NON.FUT

‘I inflated it.’

- (9) *i-rí-púra-yé*

3ABS-REFL-inflate-NON.FUT

‘It inflated’/‘it grew.’ (said of bread in the oven)

- (10) *tuérri-fá mi-yu rí-lherr-fe*

always-EMPH 2SG-with REFL-get mad-NON.FUT

‘He always gets mad at you.’

(Constenla 1998: 127).

(ii) *Antipassive uses*: In certain cases the reflexive morpheme substitutes the antipassive morpheme, yielding an antipassive reading. Apparently this is due to the restriction on certain verbs to take the antipassive morpheme, as in (11).

- (11) *a-rrá-lang-é*

2ABS-1ERG-eat-NON.FUT

‘I ate it.’

- (12) *i-có na-m-lang-é*

3ABS-in 1ABS-ANTIP-eat-NON.FUT

‘I ate it.’ [lit. ‘I ate on it.’]

- (13) *i-có na-rá-lang-é*
 3ABS-in 1ABS-REFL-eat-NON.FUT
 ‘I ate it.’ [lit. ‘I ate myself from it.’] (Constenla 1998: 128).

These seemingly contradictory uses of the reflexive forms are explained by Constenla as being the result of the main function of the reflexive, namely ‘actant-demotion’; thus in one case it demotes the agent and in the other it demotes the patient; what is clear is that the remaining actant is always marked absolutive, revealing a clear transitivity-reducing nature of reflexivity. Constenla (1998: 128) concludes that “since there is no coreference these constructions can be interpreted as referring to an agentless patient or to a patientless agent”. This is, indeed, a natural consequence of middle voice phenomena; depending on the type of situation, the participant of the (resulting) one-argument structure can be taken as more agent-like or as more patient-like (cf. Quesada 1997, 1998). Ergative languages fall into two groups in this respect, those where the only participant is coded ergative (e.g. K’iche’, Guatuso) and those where it is coded absolutive (Bribri); the antipassive or passive readings obtain from the participant being demoted, antipassive if the patient, and passive if the agent. As for coreference, although there is no clear coreference as in canonical reflexive situations, it is clear that the effects of the situation delve upon the only participant, making it at least indirectly the onset and/or goal of the situation.

4.1.1.2 Antipassive

The antipassive morpheme *-fa* has three morphosyntactically conditioned allomorphs: *fa-* ~ *f-* ~ *p-* ~ $\emptyset$; these forms are placed immediately to the left of verb stems beginning with a vowel; otherwise, they are placed in the slot corresponding to the ergative morpheme of transitive clauses. $\emptyset$ occurs after the first person plural inclusive, *fa-* occurs before a stem beginning in a nasal or a labial vowel.

Antipassivization is a promotion (to absolutive) mechanism and the absolutive from the corresponding transitive clause is usually not retained; in the few cases where it is not omitted, it appears as a postpositional phrase (*yu* ‘with’, *lha* ‘on’, or *co* ‘in’). Its function is clearly to detransitivize otherwise transitive clauses. Antipassive sentences are usually of a generic nature:

- (14) *ujúti ø-rra-err-é*
 pig 3ABS-1ERG-shoot-NON.FUT
 ‘I shot the pig.’

- (15) *ujúti lhá na-f-err-é*
 pig on 1ABS-ANTIP-shoot-NON.FUT
 'I shot on the pig.'/'I did some shooting at the pig.'

- (16) *lacá ø-rra-culí-ye*
 earth 3ABS-1ERG-dig-NON.FUT
 'I dug the earth.'

- (17) *lacá co na-pa-culí-ye*
 earth on 1ABS-ANTIP-dig-NON.FUT
 'I dug on the earth.'

(Constenla 1998: 130).

Antipassivization is obligatory in the expression of impersonal transitive sentences, where an assumed agent is coded with *ma-*, the form that corresponds to first person plural inclusive absolutive. As opposed to the personal antipassives, what would function as the oblique (an absolutive pronoun governed by a postposition) need not be omitted; if it is kept, it does not appear as a postpositional phrase, yielding ostensibly transitive constructions unmarked for ergativity. The semantic patient is not marked for case either as is the case with nominal predicates, as shown in (18) and (19).

- (18) *epé-me orróqui ma-ø-cuáng-e*
 NEG1-NEG thing IMPERS-ANTIP-see-NON.FUT
 'Nothing was seen.'

- (19) *tacá níni mulhú ma-ø-túje-cá*
 and this fish IMPERS-ANTIP-cook-INF
 'And it happened that fish was cooked.'

(Constenla 1998: 131).

There is also incorporation antipassive in Guatuso (21) and (22); the nouns involved are usually body parts and relational nouns; incorporation presupposes antipassivization (but not the contrary).⁵

- (21) *Totó tocó rra-jo-ye*
 Totó ear 1ERG-make noise-NON.FUT
 'I make noise to Toto.' (idiom: 'I harm Toto.')

- (22) *na-pa-toco-jó-ye*
 1ABS-ANTIP-ear-make noise-NON.FUT
 'I make noise.'

(Constenla 1998: 132).

Constenla (1986) accurately points to the fact that the Guatuso voice system resembles that found in the Mayan languages. The sentence types listed in Table 4.3 are all found in K'iche', for instance:

- a head-marking pattern with two sets of affixes: *i-rri-lhóng-e* ('I wash it');
- middle voice both by the reflexive and the one expressed by *-teki*: *i-lhoc-teng-é* ('It washes', e.g. a road after it has rained);

- c) reflexive: *i-rí-lhóng-e* ('He washes himself');
- d) antipassive: *i-p-lhóng-e* ('he washes');
- e) ergatively-oriented transitive sentences: *ní-ti mi-lhóng-e* ('He washes you').

The difference between a. and e. seems to correspond to what elsewhere in Chibchan is expressed by word order alternations and/or morphological marking -particles, namely the opposition between topical ('active') -that is, already grounded- participants, and new, 'activated' ones.

The interesting thing about this type of ergative system in Lower Central America is, as hinted at by Constenla (1986: 93), that from the point of view of areal linguistics it appears as (rather) isolated. Guatuso is spoken in the northern lowlands of Costa Rica, surrounded by non-ergative languages (both Chibchan and non-Chibchan, e.g. Misumalpan) in the North, and with no contact with the Viceita group, where discourse-based intermittent ergative marking occurs; the nearest languages with a similar ergative pattern are precisely the Mayan ones, which areally belong to Mesoamerica. Guatuso thus appears as a "typological enclave" in the Central American-Colombian Area (and perhaps in the whole Intermediate Area.)

4.1.2 Discourse-run ergativity: The Viceita languages

The two Viceita languages, Bribri and Cabécar, are closely related;⁶ they are spoken on the Talamanca mountain range in Costa Rica. Ergative marking in Talamanca is effected via direct marking. In Bribri *tö* ~ *-r* is the ergative marker (and a complementizer as well), absolutive is marked by $\emptyset$ (23a-c).

- (23) a) *ieʔ tö beʔ- $\emptyset$ sú*
 3SG ERG 2SG-ABS see-PERF
 'He saw you.'
- b) *ieʔ- $\emptyset$ stsë-ʔ*
 3SG ABS sing-PERF
 'He sang.'
- c) *ieʔ- $\emptyset$ sú ye-ʔ tö*
 3ABS see-PERF 1SG ERG
 'I saw him.'

Cabécar has two ergative markers, *të* for affirmative (24) and negative sentences (51b, below), and *wá* for negative sentences (25); absolutes are also unmarked.

- (24) *yís kága të tabéli blëlwá*
 1SG father ERG machete hide-PERF
 ‘My father hid the machete.’
- (25) *yís elká wá kono jamí yúne*
 1SG brother NEG.ERG boat DEM make-PERF
 ‘My brother did not make that boat.’ (Margery 1989a: lxi).

4.1.2.1 Splits

Both Bribri and Cabécar exhibit split ergativity. In Bribri, transitive sentences in the progressive aspect (cf. 26a vs. 26b) and purposive subordinate clauses (27) do not exhibit the ergative marker:

- (26) a) *ieʔ-r i bikéitse tö...*
 3-ERG 3.ABS think that...
 ‘She thinks that...’
- b) *ie tso i bikéits-uk*
 3SG be 3ABS think-INF
 ‘She is thinking.’
- (27) *Juana úrke ùshkalo tauk êt*
 Juana went broom buy one
 ‘Juana went to buy a broom.’ (Dickeman-Datz 1984: 121).

Cabécar, too, exhibits split ergativity conditioned by aspect and mood. In addition to the progressive aspect, illustrated in (28), immediate futurity also triggers a split (29); in subsequent perspective, however, there is no split (30).

- (28) *jié tsó bá mína yulö*
 3SG be 2SG mother search
 ‘He is looking for your mother.’ (Margery 1989a: lxxxii).
- (29) *jié ma nama jamí ktöwá*
 3SG go tiger DEM kill
 ‘He’s going to kill the tiger.’ (Margery 1989a: lxxxiv).
- (30) *yís të i-ø sɯwé-ra*
 1SG ERG 3ABS see-FUT
 ‘I will see him.’ (Margery 1989a: lxxx).

As for mood, there is a distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs in the imperative mood. With intransitive verbs, only the second person singular pronoun has to be expressed (31a); with transitive verbs, the imperative morpheme *kö* has to be used, followed by the object and the infinitive form of the verb (31b); the second

person pronoun may but need not be used. Alternatively, the second person singular morpheme *ba ~ bö* can follow the OV sequence (31c). There is yet a third option; the pronoun *bö* is marked ergative preceding the OV sequence, as in (31d).

- (31) a) *bá ksö!*
 2SG sing
 ‘Sing!’ (Margery 1989a: lxxxvii).
- b) *bá kö i-∅ suwa!*
 2SG IMPR 3ABS see
 ‘See it!’
- c) *i-∅ suwa bö*
 3ABS see 2SG
 ‘See it!’
- d) *bö te i-∅ suwa*
 2SG ERG 3ABS see
 ‘See it!’ (Margery 1989a: lxxxviii).

There is a sort of epistemic modality, called “imperfecto de conocimiento” by Margery. It is expressed by the affix *-jka*, added to the habitual aspect of the active voice, for intransitive verbs (32a). For transitive verbs there are two possibilities; the first consists in adding the postposition *ia* to the subject, and marking the verb habitual; the ergative marking of the sentence is optional (32b). Alternatively, this modality can be expressed in the indefinite voice without ergative marking, as in (32c).

- (32) a) *yís yaba shkō-ké-jka*
 1SG son walk-HAB-EPIST
 ‘My son knows how to walk.’ (‘he walks already.’)
- b) *aláglōwa jé ia kapë (të) wé-ké-jka*
 woman DEM to coffee (ERG) grind-HAB-EPIST
 ‘That woman knows how to grind coffee.’ (Margery 1989a: xcvi).
- c) *yís ia kapë ur-ké*
 1SG to coffee grind.MID-HAB
 ‘I know how to grind coffee.’ (Margery 1989a: xcvi).

In addition, there is split ergativity conditioned by negation in Cabécar (for negation in Bribri, see below). To express negation in immediate futurity, the suffix *-ne* is added to the marker *mā* (‘go’), thus forming a discontinuous negation pattern *ká... māne* (cf. (25), which illustrates negation in Cabécar). There is no ergative marking here in transitive expressions. However, the egressive phase (which Margery -judging from the glosses- wrongly calls resultative) is marked

ergative in negative polarity, which in this aspect takes a different form, *kéi* (34).

- (33) *ká yís mǎ-ne i-∅ súwǎ*
 NEG 1SG GO-NEG 3ABS see

‘I’m not going to see it.’

(Margery 1989a: lxxxiv).

- (34) *yís kága wǎ dí yár kéi átana*
 1SG father ERG.NEG chicha drink NEG stop.MID-IMPF

‘My father does not stop drinking chicha.’

(Margery 1989a: xcvi).

Although these instances of split ergativity already show intermittent marking, the presence or absence of the ergative markers is still to a large extent systematic and predictable. However, as will be illustrated in 4.1.2.3, when it comes to running discourse, environments other than those listed above suddenly appear marked or unmarked, respectively. Intermittent (split) ergative marking in these languages seems to be related to another grammatical category, namely, voice, to which I now turn.

4.1.2.2 Voice

Scholars working within the Viceita linguistic tradition refer to what constitutes a plain case of middle voice as the “indefinite voice”, which, as pointed out in 2.2.2.4, constitutes a verbal paradigm not restricted to transitive verbs. Likewise, the so-called indefinite voice is not a detransitivizing mechanism; otherwise, it would be a terminological matter, substituting for the label of passive. Middle verbs exhibit degrees of transitivity; in fact, in many cases, many intransitive verbs in the middle have agentive subjects; and in many other cases there is overtly coded ergativity, as shown in (34, above). That is, (non-active) voice and ergative marking are not mutually exclusive:

- (35) *Tuwína dí yá-n-el tai*
 Last night chicha drink-MID.PERF much

‘Lots of chicha were drunk last night.’

(Margery 1989a: xcvi).

In Bribri, the indefinite voice applies to verbs of action. This voice constitutes a paradigm of its own in opposition to the active voice, having its own set of aspectual forms. In Bribri, there is what seems to constitute a split conditioned by the confluence of aspect, voice and negation. In negative sentences, the perfective forms of verbs (except for certain intransitive ones) have to be replaced by the improspective aspect of the indefinite voice, cf. (36) and (37). That is, the aspectual opposition improspective/prospective is

neutralized in negation (cf. 2.2.2.1). In transitive sentences the ergative marker *tö* is replaced by the form *wá* (38).

- (36) a) *yeʔ sts-é*
 1SG sing-PERF.ACT
 ‘I sang.’
 b) *yeʔ kè stsè-n-é*
 1SG NEG sing-IMPROSP-MID
 ‘I didn’t sing.’
- (37) a) *yeʔ tö ù sá-wé*
 1SG ERG house see-PERF.ACT
 ‘I saw a house.’
 b) *yeʔ kè wá ù sù-n-é*
 1SG NEG AG house see-IMPROSP-MID
 ‘I didn’t see any house.’
- (38) *yeʔ wa sawé chka katár-u*
 1SG AG rabbit meat eat-ANT.MID
 ‘I have eaten rabbit meat.’

According to Constenla and Margery (1978, Ch. 5), the use of the middle in negation “is due to the fact that the forms of indefinite agent are, by definition, not transitive and *wá* is the postposition used with semantic agents in Bribri whenever a non-transitive form is used transitively”. This explanation is at odds with the verbs used in negation, which are both transitive (37) and intransitive (36). It also begs the question why in cases like (38) there is an agent (*yeʔwá*), a transitive verb (*katár*) –not a transitively used intransitive one–, and a direct object (*sawé chka*), if “the forms of indefinite agent are [supposed to be], by definition, not transitive”; that is, it is not clear what makes the verb in (38) intransitive. Dickeman-Datz (1985) questions the alleged detransitivizing effect of the indefinite voice. But she argues on the grounds that this device suppresses not only agents but also benefactives and experiencers, thus arguing that “suppression of non-O required arguments describes this derivation more accurately” (1985: 389). This is a plain case of terminology; for, and as Dickeman-Datz (1985: 388) herself points out, Bribri treats experiencers and benefactives as agents by coding them ergative. That is, these two semantic case-roles are subsumed under the ergative prototype just as they are subsumed under the subject prototype in English. Thus, neither Constenla and Margery –who ascribe the Bribri middle voice a detransitivizing mechanism, nor Dickeman-Datz –who conceives of transitivity as presence vs. absence of arguments, provide satisfactory explanations to the issue; both analyses fail to recognize the gradual

nature of transitivity (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980).⁷ Indeed, the reason for this “multiple split” seems to be the reduction of transitivity caused by three parameters of low transitivity, namely negative polarity, aspect, and affectedness of the object, the last mentioned parameter caused partly by the middle voice. The form *wa*, then, can best be analyzed as an instance of tripartite marking: ergative *tö* ~ *-r*, absolutive $\emptyset$, agentive middle/negative *wa*, caused by these converging parameters of low transitivity.⁸ In fact, *wa* appears glossed as AG in the stories in Jara (1993), though no explanation for that glossing is provided there. Interestingly, a more grammaticalized (bound) form of *wa*, namely a verbal suffix *-wa*, is used to mark the absolutive of full NPs in singular (39), as opposed to *-ulur*, which marks plurality of object NPs, cf. (40). This is a clear (albeit marginal in that it seems to be restricted to animate objects and not regularly used, cf. (45), below) instance of cross-referencing, which enhances the ergative pattern by using both strategies, direct marking for the ergative case and cross-reference for the absolutive case).

- (39) *Ye?* *tö* *skuè* *kót-wa*
 1SG ERG mouse kill-ABS.SG
 ‘I killed a mouse.’

- (40) *Ye?* *tö* *skuè* *kót-ulur*
 1SG ERG mouse kill-ABS.PL
 ‘I killed mice.’

Regardless of the adequacy of the explanation suggested, one thing is clear: the middle (“indefinite”) voice constitutes one more parameter of split ergativity in these two languages. Again, the degree of predictability of the use of ergative morphology is to a certain extent high, so that its use is not totally discourse-run. Real intermittent use of the ergative morphemes is dealt with next; intermittent marking across the Chibchan family is fully discussed in section 4.3.

4.1.2.3 Discourse-triggered intermittent ergative marking

The ergative marker in the Viceita languages is highly dependent on discourse pragmatics; thus the ergative morpheme sometimes does not appear as expected, its use being related to prominence-marking (as opposed to zero anaphora); compare (41), where the third person pronoun with the same verb is one time marked ergative and another it is not.

- (41) *ie?* *i-sa-we* *tö* *siʔwö wë-na*; *ie?* *r* *i-sa-we* *i-déwa*
 3SG 3ABS-see-PERF that moon see-MID; 3SG-ERG 3ABS-see-PERF 3ABS-approach

tsìnɛtkla siʔwö ták
 near moon piece

‘She saw that the moon was looking; she saw (him) coming close to that piece of moon.’

Cases like (41) are not difficult to come across. (41) is taken from Text 2.4.2, where the speaker narrates the scenes as they appear on screen. Another instance of intermittent ergative marking from that source is (42).

- (42) *Ieʔ-r m̩ch̩i a i-chè tö i-tsúmi, eköl apé dé*
 3SG-ERG cat DAT 3ABS-say that 3ABS-carry, CL.ANIMATE.one person arrive.PERF
i-sauk. I-chàkòk tö wés i-de.
 3ABS-see. 3ABS-ask that how 3ABS-happen.
 ‘She told the cat to carry it. One_(i) person arrived to look and $\emptyset$ _(ii) asked
 ‘what happens?’” [i = ii].

In (42) *chàkòk* (‘ask’) is not marked ergative, as would otherwise be the case; its subject, having been mentioned in the preceding sentence (*eköl apé*, ‘one person’) is coded as zero anaphora.

In the stories contained in Jara (1993), similar cases are plentiful. The following examples are taken from the story of the birth of Sibö, the Bribri almighty God.

- (43) *Eʔta i wák tö bikéitse: “Sòrbulu eʔ m̩eʔ yeʔ bikéitse ñèse:*
 Then 3SG himself ERG think-PERF: “Sòrbulu DEM hopefully 1SG think like that:
“alè rö Siböla sulàre tsoʔ wòyòk balö-kʔ.”
 maybe be Sibö God be bad omen make-INF.
 ‘Then Sibö thought [ERG]: “I hope the Sòrbulus think [$\emptyset$ ERG] that it is
 Sibö who is making them a bad omen”’ (Jara 1993: 95).
 (44) *I yě i iute: “Ba yúshka erë beʔ m̩à wöbala wa. Pěʔ eʔ beʔ*
 3SG father 3SG answer: 2SG go but 2SG go eyes with. People DEM 2SG
ttèwà.” I bit-éa, i daché taì bit-é ieʔ wà.
 kill. 3SG come-PERF, of something bone big bring-PERF 3SG AG
 ‘His father [$\emptyset$ ERG] replied, “O.K., go, but be careful; those people [$\emptyset$
 ERG] (can) kill you”. He came and [ERG/AG] brought a big animal’s
 bone.’ (Jara 1993: 94).

In (43) the agent of the verb meaning ‘think’ is marked in one instance but not in the other; *verba dicendi* and *verba cogitandi* are among the verbs where intermittent ergative marking is most conspicuous.⁹ In (44), the agent of the transitive verb ‘kill’ is not marked ergative, while the agent of the verb ‘bring’ is, albeit with the third marker *wà*. In both (43) and (44) presence and absence of ergative marking

seems to be related to the function of prominence-assignment; in the case of verbs of saying and perception, presence of the ergative marker adds to the importance of the agent; in the case of (44), where the agents of two transitive verbs are not treated equally, ergative marking seems likewise to be concerned with highlighting the relative saliency of the participant so marked: Sibö, the main character, is marked (*ie?* *wā*) while the other characters in the episode, Sibö's father and his enemies, the Sòrbulus, referred to as *pě?* *e?* ('those people'), are not. That presence of the ergative marker(s) is discourse-run is evidenced by the fact that it is not uncommon for a topic to be marked as such after it has been coded as $\emptyset$ in a series of preceding clauses. The ergative markers (*tö* ~ *-r* and *wā*) appear depending on the speaker's assessment as to whether it 'should' be included in order to preserve continuity without threatening topic identification, cf. (45).

- (45) *Sòrbulu lùnèkà: "Ise su wértse irtse; su duwöràwā". Bikili*
 The Sòrbulus got mad: since 1PL make omen rhyme; 1PL die. Fox
kölöwèwa, wöttè; kó kó kó, pèumì; kē i wā i tsō?
 catch-PERF prick-PERF; IDEOPH, throw away-PERF; NEG 3PL AG 3SG first
könāne E? kuék bikili? kē katānok.
 bite-PERF. DEM because fox NEG edible.
 'The Sòrbulus got mad and said, "because of his [Sibö's] omens [on us] we will die". [they $\emptyset$ ERG] caught a fox, and [they $\emptyset$ ERG] pricked it: bang bang!, [they $\emptyset$ ERG] threw it away; they [*wā* = AG/ERG] did not eat it at first. That's why foxes are not edible.' (Jara 1993: 97-8).

While the presence of *wā* in the penultimate clause could be accounted for by alluding to the ergativity split conditioned by negation (cf. above), its absence (or that of *tö* ~ *-r*) in the preceding clauses cannot. Verbs like 'catch', 'prick', and 'throw away' are clearly agentive; still no ergative marker appears; topic continuity is the common denominator; the presence of *wā* in the penultimate clause (the last before topic switch), thus, also serves to restate the topic around which a series of clauses revolves (the Sòrbulus). The last clause is about fox meat.

A similar picture obtains in Cabécar. Let us look at (46), from a short story in Margery (1986).

- (46) *Jayéwa mané-julö yëbölö mañal kó bata dëmì-julö, mái katuwí-na*
 man go-PL hunt three placeTOP arrive-PL, where dusk-MID
ska iéwá ju yuwá-wā.
 in 3PL hut build-PERF
 'Three men went hunting in the mountain and where the night fell they [$\emptyset$ ERG] built a hut.' (Margery 1986: 52).

The opening sentence of (46), which grounds the participants, is transitive; yet the agent NP is not marked ergative. Absence of ergative marking in (46) may be due to the fact that the participants are not totally individuated (identified) yet; later in the story, they are referred to as ‘his friends’ and ergative marking is more “systematic”. In other words, absence of marking can be regarded as resulting from the “presentational” nature of the sentence; in Lambrecht’s (1994: 39) words, presentational sentences, which generally involve intransitive constructions and indefinite referents, “call the attention of an addressee to the hitherto unnoticed presence of some person or thing in the speech setting. This construction is called ‘presentational’ because its communicative function is not to predicate a property of a given entity but to introduce a new entity into a discourse”. That being the case, absence of ergative marking in (46) constitutes a case of discourse-run intermittent marking, which becomes more striking when one considers that *yuwá-wa* is in the perfective aspect, where transitivity is higher and more prone to be marked.

A sample of lullabies (Margery 1991), likewise reveals that the ergative marker can be dropped depending on discourse needs, in this case, in order to preserve verse structure (length), cf. (47) and (48). Presence of *tě* (ergative marker) has to do with the fact that in (48) there is one syllable less, while the first word in (47) is bisyllabic (*jila*); by including *tě* the required number of syllables, eight, is obtained.

- (47) *jila bikětsö se kú le*
 thing think 1PL.INCL NEG should
 ‘Let’s not worry.’ (Margery 1991: 126)

- (48) *ji bikětsö kě se tě le*
 this think NEG 1PL.INCL ERG should
 ‘Let’s not think about that.’ (Margery 1991: 127).

The opposite of what has been described so far also occurs in Cabécar, namely “ergative marking doubling”. In Cabécar, sentence-final position is used when the agent of the transitive clause constitutes known information, leaving the new information, usually the object, in sentence- initial position, as in (49). Interestingly, the ergative NP is repeated immediately after the verb, despite its preverbal presence (50).

- (49) *tkabě suwá étaba yís tě*
 snake see-PERF one-CL.LONG 1SG ERG
 ‘A snake I saw.’ (Margery 1989a: lxi).

- (50) *é wa i tě i tká i tě sulě wa*
 then 3SG ERG 3ABS nail-PERF 3SG ERG arrow with
 ‘Then he nailed him with the arrow.’ (Margery 1989a: lxii).

(50) clearly shows that presence or absence of ergative marking depends not only on grammatical relations but is also sensitive to discursive aspects such as relative saliency and topicality. The situation just described is consistent with the behavior of other morphological devices elsewhere in the family (including the Viceita languages themselves), described in Chapters 2 and 3, and especially in section 4.3, whereby the overt expression of certain grammatical categories such as plural is discourse-run; similarly subject pronouns (e.g. in Boruca, Rama, Teribe) are used for purposes of topic continuity (zero anaphora) and reinforcement (overt coding).

4.1.3 Intra-clausal ergativity:

The Magdalenian languages and Guaymí

Ergativity in the Colombian languages is less dependent on discourse than in Talamanca, although in Ika and Tunebo there is a slight tendency to use ergative morphology discursively. Let us begin with Ika. In this language subject and object are marked by differential marking on the verb. Transitive and intransitive subjects are referenced by the same morphology (cf. first person singular *-rua* (51a-b) vs. second person: *mi-* if object (51b), *na-* if subject (51c)). Objects of transitive verbs and indirect objects of intransitive verbs are expressed by prefixes; when there are both subject and object prefixes, the order is SOV (51c):

(51) a) *zoza-na-rua*

go-DIST-1SG

‘I went.’

b) *mi-tšua-na-rua*

2OBJ-see-DIST-1SG

‘I saw you.’

c) *na-nive-ʔzasana* *u-z-e*

2SG-1PL-pay

AUX-MED-Q

‘Did you pay us?’

(Frank 1990: 7).

Ergativity is effected via direct marking, which means that Ika has split ergativity of the ‘bound vs. free’ type. In general, subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives are unmarked, and agents of transitives are marked by *-seʔ*, but this marking is optional –not on every NP– and not determined by animacy either (Frank 1990: 9). The tendency is for *-seʔ* to appear when the agent is contiguously pre-verbal (that is, when the SOV order is disrupted), as in (52); in

other words, ergative marking depends on word order, and though word order is to a large extent discourse-run, marking is controlled by order more than on speaker's assessment, as in the Viceita languages. According to Frank (1990: 115), ergative marking is "directly a result of surface word order... and indirectly a result of the pragmatic conditions that control zero anaphora and alternate word orders". The canonical order is OV, when the order SV occurs, S is marked by *-se?*, basically to disambiguate possible ambiguities. OSV (53) and OVS (54) orders also trigger ergative marking.

- (52) *iki gΛ-ža kua ikΛ-se? gΛ-ža*
 person eat-MED or person-ERG eat-MED
 'They eat people or people eat them.' (Frank 1990: 116).

- (53) *guadžina zΛ-gΛmmi peri-se? an-a?kuss-i guak-aki?nu-na*
 puma GEN-child dog-ERG REF-bite-while kill-PERF AUX-DIST
 'The dog had killed the puma's cub, biting it.'

- (54) *máikan pert-ri kΛ-ga-na guiadžina-se?-ri*
 three dog-TOP APPL-eat-DIST puma-ERG-TOP
 'The puma ate his three dogs.' (Frank 1990: 116).

Although there is accusative morphology and syntax, there is also split ergativity conditioned by the semantics of verb type; agents of intransitive verbs are marked by *-se?*; patients (non-volitional participants) are marked by the object prefixes; the number of "patient-coding" verbs is said to be small (Frank 1990: 9).

Tunebo exhibits a similar pattern, although, there is no cross-referencing in Tunebo. The ergative marker is a free postnominal form, *at*; absolutes are marked by $\emptyset$ (55).

- (55) *Bónit-at eb- $\emptyset$ yá-ca-ro*
 mouse-ERG corn-ABS eat-PRES-DECL
 'The mouse is eating the corn.' (Headland 1997: 33).

In Tunebo, ergativity is not dependent on discourse considerations, especially saliency-assignment, as can be seen from the fact that the markers of information-structure status combine with the ergative marker cf. (56) and (57). However, there appear to be syntactic environments where the use of the ergative marker is said to be variable; clauses with compound verbs, one of which is a movement verb, are a case in point, as can be seen in (58).

- (56) *Sir-at-an raisi chá-jac-ro*
 Dios-ERG-EMPH sun put-PAST-DECL
 'GOD put [created] the sun.'

- (57) *Ectam uw-at-ra ara sécua-ti-ro*
 next to people-ERG-CONT now collect-NEG-DECL
 ‘The people living near do not collect [We do].’ (Headland 1997: 37).
- (58) *As ey wahit-áy ben-ro. Aj-át ey con-ay ben-ro*
 1SG that see-INF go-DECL. 1SG-ERG that plead-INF go-DECL
 ‘I’m going to see that. I’m going to plead for that.’ (Headland 1997: 42).

It is unclear (Headland does not go beyond mentioning the fact) whether this is some kind of a split or intermittent marking.

We now turn to the languages where ergativity is not sensitive to discourse pragmatics, Damana and Kogi. In Damana, verbal predicates include two-argument structures; both arguments are cross-referenced on the verb (59). With bitransitive verbs the agent and the dative are cross-referenced and the patient is lexically expressed; third person agent is (60). Intransitive predicates may take as the only participant an agent (61), a dative subject (62),¹⁰ or an object (63).

- (59) *m̥-m̥-pash-ka*
 2SG-1SG-hit-FACT
 ‘You hit me.’
- (60) *zhinzhoma ø-min-ge-ka*
 notebook 3ERG-2SG.DAT-give-FACT
 ‘He gives you the notebook.’ (Trillos 1989: 56).
- (61) *m̥-mo-ka*
 2ERG-cry-FACT
 ‘You cry.’
- (62) *g̥ma-mi-nu-ka*
 child-2DAT-be-FACT
 ‘You are pregnant.’
- (63) *ma-w̥n-ka*
 2ABS-vomit-fact
 ‘You vomit.’ (Trillos 1989: 56-7).

This is an unmistakable case of split ergativity conditioned by verb type; both ‘cry’ and ‘hit’ are agentive verbs, their referents are coded with the same marker, the second person prefix *m̥-*, while the only participant of ‘vomit’ is not an agent, and is coded by *ma-*, the marker of objects. Therefore, the cross-referencing system in Damana can more appropriately be regarded as ergative.

As for NP-marking, Trillos talks about “nominative” (64) (her examples are an intransitive verb *naka* ‘come’ and a transitive verb with no patient *zhamai*

‘sing’), “agentive”, a transitive verb with a direct object (65), its agent being marked by *ka ~ ga*, and “accusative”, marked $\emptyset$ (66-67).

(64) *abu na-ka*

mom come-FACT

‘Mom comes.’

(65) *na-ka kun zhikosh-un*

3SG-ERG stick cut-DUR

‘He cuts wood.’

(66) *maestra-ga gumushina- $\emptyset$ una-ka ihkuela-mba*

teacher-ERG children take-FACT school-INES

‘The teacher takes the children to school.’

(67) *ma-ka kun- $\emptyset$ zhikosh-un*

2SG-ERG stick-ABS cut-DUR

‘You are cutting wood.’

(Trillos 1989: 59-60).

Clearly, this is an ergative pattern too; for both the only participant of the intransitive verb and the patient of transitive verb are unmarked, resembling an absolutive, whereas the agent of transitive verbs is marked by *ka~ga*. Thus, what Trillos glosses as AG (namely *ka~ga*) can better be reglossed as ERG; similarly, what she glosses as ACC can better be glossed as ABS.

A sentence in Damana can consist of a verb indexing all the necessary specifications (person, TAM, etc.), but it is also possible to have a free pronoun plus the verbal complex. The verb takes the set of agent affixes, but the free pronoun is not *ka~ga*-marked; when that happens the verb does not register the cross-referencing affixes, as shown in (66-67), above, and (68-69), below.¹¹

(68) *(ma) mʉ-n-zhishimun-ga*

(2SG) 2ERG-CONN-laugh-FACT

‘You laugh.’

(69) *(ma) ma-n-kʉgun-ga*

(2SG) 2ABS-CONN-want-FACT

‘You want.’ (also ‘vomit’, ‘think’ and others)

(Trillos 1989: 62).

This is not an instance of split ergativity (in this case, of the free/bound type) because both systems, cross-referencing and direct marking, follow the ergative pattern; instead there is a sort of complementary distribution of the coding mechanisms: if direct marking is used (66-67) there is no cross-reference, and viceversa, as shown in (68), where there is no **ma-ka mʉ-n-zhishimun-ga*. The free pronouns are invariable; if ergative they take *ka~ga* (67), if absolutive the plain form appears but the absolutive affix appears on the verb (69).¹² Notice the different cross-referencing

affix depending on verb semantics; in (68), ‘laugh’ takes the ergative affix, while in (69) ‘want’ takes the absolutive affix. Indeed, though failing to identify the ergative pattern, Trillos (1989: 68f) shows that intransitive verbs are sensitive to agentivity, and can thus take dative, agentive and objective subjects depending on verb semantics, thus representing a clear instance of what Dixon (1994: 70) calls split-S “each intransitive verb has a fixed class membership –either S_a [agent] or S_o [patient]– generally on the basis of its prototypical meaning”.

Kogi differs from Damana in that ergativity is restricted to direct marking of third person, free, non-pronominal NPs (70) and (71); such NPs are marked for case ergative *-hã*, absolutive (other cases include dative *-k*, genitive *chi*, and ablative *-li*).

- (70) *misí-hã simsi ga-∅*
 cat-ERG mouse eat-3SG
 ‘The cat eats the mouse.’ (Ortiz 1989: 228)

- (71) *Juan-hã Pedro-k šentá a-k-kou ni-gún-∅*
 Juan-ERG Pedro-DAT hen 3SG-DAT-give CERT-do-3SG
 ‘Juan gives the hen to Pedro.’ (Ortiz 1989: 229).

The cross-referencing system follows the accusative pattern. Compare the following examples where the second person prefix (*ba-*) is used to refer to both the only participant of the intransitive clause (72) and to the agent of the transitive clause (73), but a different form (*ma*) is used for the object of the transitive verb (74).

- (72) *yatai na-ba-cu-a*
 sit CERT-2SG-do-PAST
 ‘You sat down.’ (Stendal 1976: 10)

- (73) *Pedro tũw na-ba-cu-a*
 Pedro see CERT-2SG-make-PAST
 ‘You saw Pedro.’ (Stendal 1976: 8).

- (74) *Káklđabé-ga-ki ma-gáh-ga-ákue nžá, a-guák-xa*
 lion-REF-EMPH 2SG.OBJ-eat-FORM-IMPERS CERT.be, 3PL-speak-PRES
 ‘Those same mountain lions eat you, they say.’ (Hensarling 1991: 18).

There thus seems to be split ergativity of the ‘bound vs. free’ type, where the bound forms (cross-referencing) and the pronoun system follow an accusative pattern and the free non-pronominal forms (direct marking) follow an ergative pattern. Things tend to get confusing because *-hã* is used with the subject of intransitive verbs, as in (75).

- (75) *mitu-hã zab-i-šihí*
 pig-ERG descend-3SG-DO
 ‘The pig comes down (the hill).’ (Ortiz 1989: 234).

Ortiz glosses *hã* in these cases as ACT (active participant), as though implying that it is used only with intransitive verbs that require an agent. It might well be the case that it is an instance of a split conditioned by the semantic nature of the verb, also termed “marked nominative” (Dixon 1994: 64-7). If there were cases of intransitive verbs whose subjects are not agents, but are still *hã*-marked (impossible to tell from the sources), then it would be a clear case of marked nominative. Now, in Hensarling (1991: 11) there is a case of *hã* used as a cross-referencing suffix, and as such within the accusative system (76).

- (76) *Mauldísiu ak-a-i-nók-xa-ha-ki guak-oa na-gu-ngu*
 Mauricio 3SG.OBJ-RECIP-3SG.OBJ-be-PRES-AG-EMPH kill-PERF CERT-do-PAST
 ‘The one named Mauricio killed it.’

(76) hints at a split conditioned by the semantic nature of NP (the overt NP agent is not *hã*-marked as predicted by the Nominal Hierarchy, cf. Dixon 1994: 84f). Given that *hã* is used only with third persons, it seems more appropriate to view the Kogi case as a split conditioned by NP type, not by the semantic nature of the verb.¹³ That being the case, Kogi has two types of splits, the bound vs. free type and the one conditioned by the semantic nature of the NP. Whether cases like (76) constitute an instance of change in progress (e.g. going from one type to the other or a change in agreement patterns) is an open question beyond the scope of this presentation.

The last language in this section, Guaymí, is similar to the Colombian ones in that the coding of ergativity is not discourse-based. There is no cross-referencing in Guaymí; ergativity is expressed by the marker *gwe* (which also indicates genitive case). Subjects of transitive verbs (77) and agentive intransitive subjects (78-79) are *gwe*-marked.

- (77) *Toma gwe Dori dëma-ini*
 Tom ERG Doris kiss-PERF
 ‘Tom kissed Doris.’

- (78) *Doris gwe blit-ani*
 Doris ERG speak-PERF
 ‘Doris spoke.’

(Payne 1982: 48).

- (79) *Ti nü jüben*
 1SG come-PERF bathe
 ‘I came to bathe.’

(Kopesec 1975: 26).

Ergative marking is restricted to the perfective aspect and the unmarked absolutive is used mostly with agentive verbs in non-perfective aspects, as in (80) and (81), and with non-agentive intransitive verbs and verbs of motion (82).

- (80) *Ti-∅* *gwa* *kwet-e*
 1SG-ABS fish eat-PRES.HAB
 ‘I eat fish.’ (Payne 1982: 50).
- (81) *Niara-∅* *jodron* *ye* *mig-e* *sete*
 3SG-ABS thing DEM put-IMP there
 ‘He puts it there.’ (Kopeseć 1975: 23).
- (82) *Monso-∅* *ye* *näin* *Panama*
 child-ABS DEM go-FUT Panama
 ‘This child will go to Panama.’ (Kopeseć 1975: 52).

Guaymí thus exhibits both aspectually conditioned split ergativity and, as noted by Payne (1982: 53), an instance of extended nominative, in that the ergative is extended to mark intransitive agents (cf. (78), above. In this respect, the situation in Guaymí is more clear-cut than that in Kogi.

4.1.4 Summary

Table 4.4 summarizes the various ergative systems in Chibchan, disclosing several aspects. In the first place, the encoding of ergativity, which appears as the only common parameter among these languages, does not suffice to classify the languages into types of ergative systems. Encoding mechanisms do not allow predicting, if anything can, other parameters such as the type of split; indeed, two languages with identical encoding mechanisms (Guatuso and Damana) differ in terms of both the splits (no split in Guatuso) they have and the type of ergative system they can be assigned to. The same is true for the types of split, despite the fact that there tends to be a geographical “skewing” in favor of TAM splits in Central America, and NP type (including free vs. bound) and verb type in Colombia. (Guaymí appears as a turning point in terms of both geography and attested split types.) Therefore, secondly, geography and split type do not suffice to classify the ergative systems in Chibchan either.

A third conclusion to be drawn from this account of ergativity in Chibchan is that determining factors, as identified in this section, have little to do with the other parameters of ergativity commonly used in morphosyntactic description; the factors used here range from discourse to morphology via syntax: the Viceita system is highly discourse-bound; in that type of system ergative marking is not only a sentence-grammar phenomenon but also a matter of discourse grammar; it is “discursively transparent”. Less constrained

Table 4.4
Ergativity in Chibchan

LANGUAGE	ENCODING		SPLIT	TYPE OF SYSTEM	DETERMINING FACTOR
	DIRECT MARKING	CROSS-REFERENCE			
Guatuso	+	+	-	Mayan-style	Antipassive Discourse-based intermittent marking
Bribri	+	-	TAM, neg., voice		
Cabécar	+	-	TAM, voice	Viceita	
Guaymí	+	-	TAM, verb type	Intra-clausal	Splits caused by sentence semantics.
Ika	+	-	Free/bound, verb type		
Tunebo	+	-	₁₄		
Damana	+	+	Verb type		
Kogi	+	-	Free/bound, NP type		

by discourse but still with a series of functions that border on discourse considerations (what is to be demoted/downgraded is to a large extent dependent on discourse pragmatics) and yet more integrated into the syntax of the language is the Guatuso system. Finally, the intra-clausal systems are by definition more dependent on clause grammar/semantics than the previous two. Thus, from the point of view of Chibchan comparative grammar, ergativity can be characterized as a morphosyntactic mechanism exhibiting three degrees of discourse permeability: 1. *direct* (Viceita), 2. *indirect* (Guatuso), 3. *rudimentary* (Guaymí and Magdalenian). This characterization does not deny the underlying semantic essence and discourse basis of ergativity;¹⁵ it merely states the extent to which a linguistic phenomenon can be developed to satisfy communicative needs.

4.2 Participant-highlighting

4.2.1 Definition

Participant-highlighting has to do with information structure, that component of sentence grammar, “in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts” (Lambrecht 1994: 5). A corollary of this view is that one member of the pairs (or indeed sets) of “allosentences” is unmarked; for Lambrecht it is the one whose referents are ordered following the topic-comment (focus) articulation, that is “structures which are used to convey information about some topic under discussion [and which] represent communicatively speaking the most common type” (Lambrecht 1994: 132). Topic is a relation of aboutness, “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (Lambrecht 1994: 131). Focus is “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994: 213), that is, it is the component of the proposition which adds information about a topic.¹⁶ Since both topic and focus are pragmatic relations and thus depend on the presuppositions of the interlocutors, the topical or focal status of a referent is not to be equated with its syntactic status (e.g. though subjects tend to be topics and viceversa, this is not always the case).

Participant-highlighting, then, is that domain of the information structure component of sentence grammar which is concerned with the formal, grammaticalized encoding of the pragmatic states of participants in marked configurations. That is, participant-highlighting has to do primarily with marked (re-)activating, topicalizing, and focalizing mechanisms applying at the sentence level. Marked constructions most clearly reveal a separation of “the REFERRING function of noun phrases from the RELATIONAL role their denotata play as arguments in a proposition” (Lambrecht 1994: 184). Referents are highlighted when their referring function is separated from the relational role. This does not mean that activation can only be achieved through special structural means. Bare mention is an activating mechanism. To achieve special foregrounding, however, special mechanisms are resorted to beyond those of mere activation.

4.2.2 Strategies

4.2.2.1 Word order

A productive highlighting mechanism in Chibchan is word order. Deviations from the unmarked SOV template are occasioned by a) topicality of subjects or activation of objects, depriving clauses of independent NPs; b) foregrounding of constituents, which are usually placed initially (83, Boruca); c) voice changes.

- (83) *duhbiʔk ki ta ya-ishi-krá Juan ki auh róhk áíʔ, mang domingo*
 yesterday SPEC in go-NEG-PERF Juan DEF dog PL kill, but sunday
 ‘It was not yesterday that Juan killed the dogs, it was on Sunday.’

Post-verbal subjects are either reactivated as topics (84, Boruca) or activated as focus (85, Teribe); in the former case they cannot be full NPs, since prior activation requires anaphoric forms.

- (84) *¿í dí-ra bá ki kákyuagí chíʔ tebek kí mang?...
 what search-PRES 2SG SUBJ speaking DEM snake DEF with?...
 yá ki ba túʔ-ra, ba áíʔ-r-ing
 DEM SUBJ 2SG devour-PRES, 2SG kill-PRES-3TOP
 ‘What are you doing talking to that snake? It will devour you, it will kill you.’*
- (85) *ta woyd-e domer dě llëme
 1SG want-INV.IMP man OBV NEG
 ‘No man will (ever) want me.’*

In (84), the snake gradually becomes the topic of the episode: in the last clause it has undoubtedly attained this status and is coded as *ing*, while in the previous clauses it appears as a full oblique NP, first, and then as a demonstrative in preverbal subject position. (85) is an instance of the inverse voice; the topic –the speaker narrating how she got married (first person singular *ta*)– is the direct object, and postverbal subject relation is reserved for the obviative, marked by *dě*; a participant “whose status is relatively distant or marginal” (Klaiman 1993: 344).

4.2.2.2 Voice systems

The category of voice has to do with the relation of the verb to its arguments, especially that acting as its subject. Limiting ourselves to transitive clauses involving an agent and a patient (or roles treated like them), we assume that the basic, universally unmarked state of affairs –the active voice– is for the agent and patient to be represented as subject and object, respectively. in the passive voice the patient

gets promoted to topic and becomes the subject, with the agent being simultaneously demoted, and this non-basic matching is registered by special verbal marking. In the middle voice agent and patient are coreferential, but this middle prototype may get extended to situations where the agent is affected by his own action without two participant roles being clearly distinguishable. In the antipassive the patient is downgraded from its syntactic position of direct object, by deletion, incorporation, or oblique marking, and the agent is concomitantly promoted. Inverse is also recognized as a voice here, even though what it effects vis-à-vis the basic direct voice is a reversal of situational roles ('I hate her' vs. 'She hates me'). Despite the existence of the middle voice (Bribri, Cabécar, Cuna, and possibly Muisca), the antipassive in Guatuso, and the inverse in Bocotá and Teribe, discussed in due course, it cannot be overemphasized that voice is not so central to Chibchan, its function being fulfilled by other means of information structuring to be dealt with in the next section.

4.2.2.3 *Focus systems*

Together with word order, direct morphological coding of the information-structure status of participants as topics or focus is by far the most common strategy of participant-highlighting in Chibchan. Unlike voice, which is verbally registered, the morphosyntax of what is here called focus systems pertains first and foremost to the nominal dimension; it consists in structures whose sole function is the pragmatic foregrounding of participants.

Table 4.5
Topicality-focality continuum in Chibchan

TOPICALITY ←				→ FOCALITY
zero anaphora OV order	marked topics	discourse- connection	focus markers/ foregrounding structures	

To account for the Chibchan solutions, a continuum of topicality-focality will be assumed, with topic and focus as the endpoints (see Table 4.5). The formal manifestations of a participant's information-structural standing, acquired in the discourse context, range from zero anaphora and word order on the topicality end to marked structures and direct marking on NPs on the focality end, with an

intermediate gray area where some markers have an ambiguous and discourse-connecting function or indeed a dual function. As represented in Table 4.5, given, (information-structurally) active referents receive zero coding. Moving rightward, activation and retrievability are getting less clear, and therefore more morphological marking is required. The not-so-active status of referents in the middle of the continuum demands overt coding not only of their status, but also of their involvement in the events represented in the discourse (e.g. progression, separation). Towards the right-hand end we find inactive referents becoming reactivated, requiring marking of focus, emphasis and contrast. The rest of this section is devoted to illustrating the expression of the various focal points in Table 4.5.

(i) *Topicality*: Topical referents preferably remain unexpressed (zero anaphora), regardless of their syntactic relation. They are mostly subjects, as in many previous examples, but it is also common for objects to be topical and to have zero coding, as in (86) from Teribe.

- (86) *era* $\emptyset$ *ö-tong* *smok-tong* *jong* *dbala go shko*; $\emptyset$ *ĩ-ya*
 then $\emptyset$ arrive-PERF collide-PERF POSIT.STAND star with in; $\emptyset$ see-IMP.INV
miskwo *dě* *sök*, $\emptyset$ *ĩ-ya* *kwozir* *walë* *dě*
 cat OBV POSIT.SIT, $\emptyset$ see-IMP.INV child woman OBV
 ‘And then [he] collided with the star; the cat sitting there saw [it], the girl saw [it].’

The two topics of the episode, the girl’s father (the one who collided with the star), and the event of colliding, remain unexpressed in the next two clauses; the postverbal non-topical subjects (the cat and the girl) are marked for obviation. The example in (86) thus illustrates how zero anaphora refers to topics regardless of their syntactic relation.

Turning to marked topics, it is not uncommon for a topic to be marked as such after it has been unexpressed in series of preceding clauses. In (87), from Bocotá, the topic marker *no* appears depending on the speaker’s assessment of its utility in preserving continuity without threatening topic identification. The anaphoric reference markers mentioned in 2.2.1.7 and 3.2.3.2iv, and the intermittent marking of the ergative markers in Bribri and Cabécar, dealt with in 4.1.2.3, have a similar function.

- (87) *Amāguidi* $\emptyset$ *jo-ni* *chui gadrega ni* *mundigue*, *chui gadrega ni* *julita no*
 After $\emptyset$ go-PERF sun fix again together, sun fix again all TOP
guidi, $\emptyset$ *jo na* *degue daba*, $\emptyset$ *chubu ni*, $\emptyset$ *gada juga jegle mũ*
 with, $\emptyset$ go again ground to, $\emptyset$ come again, $\emptyset$ stand door close in

guidi no, guidi ø jo undegue daba, gwa jai, ãmã.

with AG, with ø go rest ground, bedroom DEM, maybe.

‘Then [they] went to get the sun again, together they fixed it all again, they went back to the ground, came back, and they stood by the door; they went together to rest, in that bedroom, I guess.’

Moving further right of Table 4.5, the scope of the topic markers becomes wider and fuzzier. Thus, in Ika, as in Kogi (where the marker is *-ki*) topic continuity is primarily expressed by means of zero anaphora (both subjects and objects), unmarked NPs, and the topic marker *-ri*. In addition to topicality as such, *-ri* signals progression (88), and contrast when attached to adjectives (89) (in Kogi, *-ki* also expresses switch reference).

- (88) *ei aw-i nangua-ri, kan se? eigui an-itšon-an nus-e? nangua-ri*
 thus AUX-while and-TOP, tree LOC again REF-go up-IMP AUX-then and-TOP
 ‘(The puma) climbed a tree, and then...’ (Frank 1990: 125).

- (89) *in?gui-ri peri-ri t?kekt n?ža*
 one-TOP dog-TOP behind walk
 ‘Certain dogs walk behind.’ (Frank 1990: 126).

The function illustrated in (89) comes closer to one from the right end of the topicality-focality continuum. Such functional duality is not exclusive to Ika *-ri*. In Boruca the opposite development of focus marker turning into a topic marker occurred. The process will be discussed in full in 4.2.3; suffice it now to recall that the focus marker *ang* in its free form is a focus marker, but in its bound form serves as a topic continuity marker. In examples like (90) its function seems ambiguous.

- (90) *dur?h r?hk ang ch?h k?kba? kaw?ʔ-ra ki ra? r?hk-ra*
 sorcerer PL TOP/FOC? nowadays live-PRES DEF Talamanca PL-PRES
 ‘The sorcerers who still exist are from Talamanca.’
 (Quesada-Pacheco 1995: 115).

Marked topics can also be placed under focus, as in Ika (91).

- (91) *peri um?n re?masi neika-ri a?ni win-was-i iwa mouga neika-se?*
 dog more group FOC-TOP rock 3SG-chase-while now two FOC-ERG
nangua guiadžina win-was-i zož-a-na
 and puma 3SG-chase-while go-DIST
 ‘MOST of the dogs chased the rocks (tumbling down the hillside), but TWO OF THEM went chasing the puma.’ (Frank 1990: 120).

The syntactic structures that are beginning to be utilized in combination with direct focus marking at this stage of the continuum are discussed in turn.

(ii) *Foregrounding*

(ii-a) *Direct marking*: The commonest way of overtly indicating the focal status of a participant in Chibchan is by means of the focus markers. Since there is a tendency for subjects to be topics, focus markers are often used in circumstances other than this “default”, as illustrated in (92). When the object is focus and the subject a continuous topic, and there is still overt marking, this produces a contrastive reading, as in Boruca.

- (92) *ramróhk ki kurá abí beyang-ira nong abí beyang-ira, kramshúk abí*
 woman DEF tiger FOC love-IMP red monkey FOC love-IMP, wild pig FOC
beyang-ira, toro suhgróhk abí beyang-ira, kui xít abí beyang-ira, auh abí
 love-IMP, bull old FOC love-IMP, mouse little FOC love-IMP, dog FOC
beyang-ir-i-ng, pero kongróhk no
 love-IMP-3SG-TOP, but man no
 ‘The woman loved even THE TIGER, (even) THE RED MONKEY, (even) THE
 WILD PIG, (even) THE OLD BULL, (even) THE LITTLE MOUSE, (even) THE
 DOG, but not the man.’ (Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 45).

In (92) all the referents are being emphasized that the woman, unexpectedly, preferred over the man, who is the other topic of the episode. The normal OV order is maintained, still the object is marked for focus. Even without zero anaphora, however, when the sentence takes the canonical SOV form, focus-marking on the subject remains a possibility, as shown by (116), below (also as (27) in 2.2.1.6). Direct marking of both topics and foci is a widespread strategy in Chibchan, more so than voice, and even more so than word order changes.

(ii-b) *Left-dislocation*: Left-dislocation, that is, moving participants to sentence-initial position and thus creating marked structures, is rare in Chibchan. This may be due to the preference for direct marking and also to the flexibility already guaranteed by the basic clause template (S)OV, with the initial subject expressed or unexpressed, cross-referenced or moved depending on its pragmatic status and with the object staying put. It is mostly adverbs important to the development of the narrative that are placed initially (83). Occasionally, however, objects are dislocated, as in Guaymí (93), yielding OSV patterns instead of the more common OVS (94).

- (93) *ne jodroen ti-gwe kädriebe abogado kri Bocas del Toro ben*
 DEM thing 1SG-ERG discussed lawyer big Bocas del Toro in
 ‘THOSE THINGS I discussed with an important lawyer in Bocas del Toro.’
 (Kopesec 19875: 65).

- (94) *Dori dëma-ini Toma-gwe*
 Doris kiss-PERF Tom-ERG
 'Tom kissed Doris.'

(Payne 1982: 49).

Teribe represents an exception in that left-dislocated sentences represent a very productive alternative and a rather unmarked way of clause organization. Central participants in roles of agent or patient, tend to appear in the left periphery, separated from the sentence core by the demonstrative *e*, which functions as a resumptive pronoun, as in (95), (96) and (97), in a construction type that is very similar to what is found in the so-called *topic prominent* languages.

- (95) *E borwa plu e krë-rwa eni*
 DEM 1PL.EXCL.POSS king DEM choose-1PL.EXCL so
 'And our King, we choose him that way.'
- (96) *Kön e ba domer*
 Kön DEM 3POSS man
 'Kön, he is her husband.'
- (97) *Juan e Jacinto zono e*
 Juan DEM Jacinto cut-PERF CFP
 'Juan, he cut Jacinto.'

The topic construction appears in all sentence and word order types; (95) is a transitive clause in the OV-s order; (96) is an asyndetic, verbless, clause; and (97) is a transitive clause in the SOV order. Subject, object noun phrases can be placed in the topic slot. The left-dislocated argument and the demonstrative/resumptive pronoun *e* must appear next to each other with no linguistic material between the two, so that the element immediately to the left of *e* is to be understood as its referent or antecedent; thus in a case like (98a), it is the dog that eats, not the people, it is an instance of the SOV order in the clause; for the people to be the agent, it has to be left-dislocated (98b).

- (98) a) *Shiti e nop-ga wuo-no kl-öbö*
 Dog DEM person-PL eat-PERF CL.ANIMATE-some
 'The dog, he ate some people.'/*'Dogs, the people ate some.'
- b) *Nop-ga e shiti wuo-no kl-öbö*
 Person-PL DEM dog eat-PERF CL.ANIMATE-some
 'The people, they ate some dogs.'/*'The people, the dogs ate some.'

Despite the frequency and rather unmarked nature of left dislocation in Teribe, it is limited to non-pronominal noun phrases (an adverbial phrases, which are connected to the sentence core by the connector *ga*); personal pronouns

cannot be left-detached, probably because pronouns refer to inherently topical participants (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 178), and their referents need not be fronted to be made topics.

(ii-c) *Clefting*: Clefting in the Indo-European manner is equally sporadic in Chibchan. What comes closest to such constructions are initial demonstratives marked for focus and followed by the rest of the sentence. The constituent so “clefted” can be subject (99, Bocotá), or object (100, Boruca).

- (99) *jui ngena; be jo gue ngaña jogayi ngaña calera digue, ngaña. Ya-bro*
 arrive-PERF near; FUT go to up go up ladder to, up. DEM-EMPH
kle malande.
 be waiting.
 ‘[he] comes closer; climbs up the ladder. IT IS THE OTHER one who keeps waiting.’

- (100) *yabih-ira seña ki ching ogé róhk dekyu-íra rahdi yet*
 DEM.FOC-IMP signal DEF so that all PL run-IMP leave PURP
 ‘THAT was the signal [all expected in order] to run away/IT WAS...’

(Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 147).

(iii) *Defocusing*: Special defocusing mechanisms are likewise marginal in Chibchan; in general, what is not relevant simply goes unmentioned.

(iii-a) *Incorporation and middle voice*: Though peripheral, two mechanisms for defocusing are the middle voice and noun incorporation, already dealt with in due course. The former is found in Bribri, Cabécar, Cuna, and possibly Muisca, the latter in Guatuso, Bribri, Teribe, Damana, and Barí.

(iii-b) *Impersonal constructions*: More common but still marginal is defocusing by impersonal constructions. In addition to the impersonal readings of the middle voice, some languages have impersonal morphemes. Thus, the first person inclusive free pronoun *tótiki*, is used as an impersonal pronoun in Guatuso. In addition, there are impersonal constructions a) with the intransitive and antipassive verb marked by the impersonal prefix *ma-* (101, 102), b) with a third person plural pronoun expressed by the plural particle *maráma* in transitive clauses (103), and, most frequently, c) with the verb *qui* marked 3ABS (104).

- (101) *naíco ója tenéfa ma-tat*
 that.one run as IMPS-die
 ‘There one dies soon.’

- (102) *u ma-ϕ-cuáng-e*
 house IMPS-ANTIP-see-NON.FUT
 ‘One could see the house.’
- (103) *epé-me nicó macacá rri-tá marám-e*
 NEG1-NEG2 here bread 3ERG-give PL-NON.FUT
 ‘They don’t sell bread here.’
- (104) *i-quí ní juac tené yáj i-ang-é ngaríne chacóng-e*
 3ABS-say this face as arrived 3ABS-be-NON.FUT Venado.River headwaters-in
 ‘(They) say that he first got to the headwaters of Venado River.’
 (Constenla 1998: 145).

In Bogotá (105) there is a potential impersonal aspect, *-dale*, whose function is perhaps more appropriately considered to be impersonalizing.

- (105) *ji jwan-dale ngle*
 wood take-IMPS much
 ‘One collects much wood sticks.’ (Gunn 1975: 118).

In Ika impersonal constructions are formed with the main verb and the copula *zan* (106), with the second person object prefix (*mi-*) used non-referentially (like English *you*), or with the impersonal pronoun *-kuma* (107).

- (106) *Bogotá eima uraki-ri kinki-ri žou-kitši zan? tšu zar-in*
 Bogotá this house-TOP really-top all-EMPH just see COP-WIT
 ‘You see all the houses in Bogotá.’ (Frank 1990: 113).
- (107) *amase aw-in amase aw-in ke-i-kima-ž-eʔ-ri*
 get up AUX-WIT get up AUX-WIT APPL-say-IMP-MED-then-TOP
 ‘“It got up. It got up”, was being said to them...’ (Frank 1990: 114).

Finally, in Teribe, impersonal constructions are formed with the “impersonal verb”, *jongña* (108),¹⁷ which also expresses necessity and with the first person inclusive pronoun *shi* (109). In addition, the third person different subject, is used for impersonal constructions, akin to the plural impersonal constructions found in some European languages (e.g. English, Spanish) (110).

- (108) *jongña k’or zë*
 OBLI tree cut
 ‘It is necessary to go and cut a tree.’ (Koontz and Anderson 1975: 149).
- (109) *Junyo li yë-y ba kwota roy; p’irga li-y-dë, eni.*
 Dough TOP put-1PL.INCL 3POSS skin inside; then cook-IPL.INCL-PROSP, SO.
 ‘You [lit. ‘we’] put the dough in the corn leaves; and then you cook it, like that.’

- (110) —*¿Səngna buk kone?*
 —meat POSIT.LIE where
 —*Wua-ra-ba e*
 —eat-PERF-DS CFP
 ‘—Where is the meat?’
 —They (someone) ate it.’

4.2.3 The channel focus > topic > subject: the Boruca case

The validity of topicality-focality continuum (Table 4.5) has been additionally confirmed by the evolution of the Boruca focus marker *ang*, albeit in the opposite direction. It has been pointed out in various passages of this book that this form started out as a focus marker and gradually moved to the other end of the continuum. Currently, it is practically a subject marker. This development is important not only in terms of the topicality-focality continuum but also because it provides evidence for a new route to subject-coding.

4.2.3.1 Subject, word order and participant-highlighting

In addition to *ang*, Boruca has two other morphemes *abí*, and *ki* whose functions seem to be topicalization and contrast. The first step in the analysis of the channel focus > topic > subject consists in describing the interaction and distribution of the three markers in terms of their information-structure function. Participants are not cross-referenced in the verb in Boruca, their role being made explicit by word order and by this set of contrast and focus markers. The Boruca pronominal system, represented in Table 4.6, does not distinguish the core relations; in addition to subjects and objects, these forms function as obliques and possessive pronouns.

Table 4.6
Boruca personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1.	<i>at</i>	<i>dí? (róhk)</i>
2.	<i>bá</i>	<i>bí? (róhk)</i>
3.	<i>i</i>	<i>í? (róhk)</i>

The plural marker *róhk* is used only when the plural pronouns appear in subject-function. When functioning as subjects, these forms rarely if ever stand alone; in most cases they are accompanied by the information-structure markers *ang* or *ki*, or else by *abí*, as in (111), (112), and (113). Actually, their function as either subject or object is marked by the presence or absence, respectively, of the markers -that is, none of these markers (with certain exceptions in the case of *abí* cf. (92) above) is used with non-subject pronominal NPs (this is why *ki* is glossed as SUBJECT in (112)).¹⁸

- (111) *ba-ng* *daba-krá*
 2SG.FOC arrive-PERF
 ‘You, you came.’
- (112) *ba* *ki* *daba-krá*
 2SG SUBJ arrive-PERF
 ‘You came.’
- (113) *at* *abi-ng* *daba-krá*
 1.SG EMPH-FOC arrive-PERF
 ‘It was me who arrived.’

Of the three markers, however, *ang* is restricted to subject noun phrases (full or pronominal), while *ki* and *abí* can accompany non-pronominal object noun phrases (and postpositional phrases too), as in (114) and (115); this asymmetry will be addressed below.

- (114) *at* *ki* *at* *auh* *ki* *íshd-ra*
 1SG SUBJ 1POSS dog SPEC see-PRES
 ‘I see my dog.’
- (115) *Sibu abí* *yasug-ír-ing* *róhk*
 God EMPH adore-IMP-3 PL
 ‘God [and only God] (they) adored.’

(i) *The focus marker ang*

(i-a) *Focus proper*: This marker appears with subject noun phrases only; it does not mark noun phrases in other grammatical functions (direct objects and objects of postpositions.) In some cases, it accompanies a full noun phrase in that function, as in (116), mirroring its likely original function (cf. Figure 3.1); (116) shows a combination of SOV word order and *ang*; the marker also follows subjects of intransitive and nominal predications (117). From the point of view of frequency (116) and (117) illustrate a currently peripheral function of *ang*:

- (116) *So?* *Juana* *ang* *ohrí?* *sodíh-ra*
 doña *Juana* FOC *tortillas* *make-PRES*
 ‘Doña Juana makes tortillas.’

- (117) *Abí* *róhk* *ki* *ang* *kagrú?-ra*
 People PL SPEC FOC devil-PRES
 ‘those (very) people are devils’ (Quesada-Pacheco 1995: 77).

A new step in the development of *ang* constituted its fusion with the pronouns, mentioned in Chapter 2, producing portmanteau (bound) morphemes (118). These new forms, in turn, are fused and affixed to the conjugated verb forms in cases in which the basic SOV order is disrupted by fronting of constituents, as in (119) or by reordering, as in (120).

- (118) 1. *at+ang* → *ang* *di?+ang* → *díng*
 2. *bá+ang* → *bang* *bi?+ang* → *bíng*
 3. *i+ang* → *íng* *i? róhk+ang* → *íng róhk*

- (119) *e?tse* *auh* *ai?-kr-ang*
 one dog kill-PERF-1SG
 ‘(I) killed a dog.’

- (120) *we?* *kuchi* *uge?* *at* *tsan-kr-ing* *róhk* *ku?* *ta*
 DEM pig because of 1SG put in-PERF-3SG PL jail to
 ‘Because of this pig (they) put me in jail.’

Ang has thus two forms, a free or “heavy” one used to focus subjects, and a bound or “light” (more grammaticalized) one. The latter can be affixed to free personal pronouns, still as a focus marker, as in (111) -a free portmanteau morpheme; in addition, the portmanteau morpheme can lose its free form status, being affixed to the verbal complex, in which case it functions as a topic continuity marker and ultimately as an agreement marker.

The highly syntacticized uses of *ang* include *wh*-questions, where the questioned element is an unknown subject and its being questioned constitutes a plain case of focusing as in (121); exhortative commands, where the role of the (potential) *doers* is clearly under focus (122), and imperative sentences to express prohibition (123a); otherwise, the pronoun shows none of the markers (123b).¹⁹

- (121) *di* *ang* *i* *ái?-kra?*
 who FOC 3SG kill-PERF
 ‘Who killed him?’

- (122) *chan* *di-ng* *kwik-ra*
 will 1PL-FOC dance-PRES
 ‘Let us dance.’

- (123) a) *di ba-ng deg-a*
 NEG 2SG-FOC go-IMP

‘Don’t (you) go!’

- b) *ba deg-á*
 2SG go-IMP
 ‘Go!’

(Quesada-Pacheco 1995: 99).

(i-b) *Topic continuity*: One of the most common uses of *ang* is that of marker of topic (subject) continuity. This function presupposes the acquisition of anaphoric properties; at some point, a tendency must have developed whereby any clause introduced by *ang*, which always referred to the same subject, could be used to express a chain of situations sharing the same subject. That is illustrated by (124), where a clause introduced by *ang* refers to another situation where *síʔkwa róhk* (‘the whites’) is the same subject of the sequence; notice that in (124) the form corresponding to third person plural (*i róhk*) has been substituted by *ang*... *róhk* (*chang* < *cha* + *ang*); the third person pronoun *i* in (124) refers to the object ‘it’. Cases like (124) are rather sporadic. More common is its cliticization and affixation to a personal pronoun, as in (113), above, and (125), below, in a clear anaphoric function.

- (124) *síʔkwa róhk ki tong-íra, i tong-íra ch-ang i yang-íra róhk*
 white PL DEF buy-IMP, 3SG buy-IMP TO-SS 3SG eat-IMP PL
 ‘The whites would buy, they’d buy it to [they] eat it’

(Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 53).

- (125) *At ki ya-rá Palmar kúʔshi ki ganá. Don Venancio káb ang ya-rá*
 1SG SUBJ go-PRES Palmar clothes DEF earn. Don Venancio house 1SS go-PRES
druk xún úpshih
 steel machine work.

‘I will go to Palmar to earn money for my clothes. At Don Venancio’s I will work with the machete.’

(Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 94).

In (124) and (125) *ang* marks unchanged subjects (i.e. a discourse entity continuing as subject from the previous sentence), in opposition to *ki*, which also cliticizes to subject pronouns but only when these are new in discourse (see below).

(i-c) *Agreement*: A further step was the postverbal placement and eventual cliticization of the portmanteau morpheme consisting of personal pronoun and *ang*. Compare (126), where *ki* marks the subject of the presentative sentence (just as in the preceding examples), but *ang* performs the anaphoric function.

- (126) *Brúnhahk kí ta kwíng kawíʔkra eʔtse síʔkwa ki. Wá ki yaʔ*
 Boruca SPEC in many live-PERF one foreigner SPEC. DEM DEF REFL

kaʔyéng-íra Johnson. Tunxúa kríʔ-ír-ing kwíng kákbaʔ róhk ki ta.
 call-IMPERF Johnson. Policeman big-IMPERF-TOP many day PL SPEC in.
mang i-ng wáʔ róhk ba-kr-í-ng eʔtse brúnkahk eʔde, búʔk kóngat eʔse
 then 3-FOC child PL have-PERF-3-SS one Boruca with, two males one
ramát.
 female.

‘There lived right in Boruca for a long time a [certain, specific] foreigner [that was] called Johnson. He was a police officer for many years and had three children with a Boruca [woman], two boys and a girl.’

(Constenla and Maroto 1986: 88).

When the same entity constitutes the thread of the narrative, appearing in successive clauses, it is highly topical; it constitutes an instance of high “topic persistence”, “the number of times the referent recurs within the next (cataphoric) 10 clauses following its present occurrence”, and, as such, an indicator of high topicality (cf. Givón 1995: 79); topic persistence is, in turn, a manifestation of the “active state” of the referent involved.

The current distribution of *ang* can be assumed to have originated in situations like those exemplified in (116) and (117), where a subject noun phrase in sentence-initial position was focused. A stage of anaphora emerged, where *ang* functions as marker of topic continuity; that stage was followed by development of the portmanteau form (pronoun + *ang*). Later, that whole compound started to appear in postverbal position with a subject NP (full or pronominal) in preverbal position, first in a clearly emphatic and subsequently in an anaphoric (agreement) function, as attested in the last sentence of (126), repeated here as (127).

- (127) *mang i-ng waʔ róhk ba-kr-í-ng*
 then 3SG-FOC/SS child PL have-PERF-3SG-SS
 ‘Then HE had children.’

From there, the dropping of the preverbal subject, as in (119), (120) above, or in (128) below, was just one step away. (127) thus represents an intermediate stage of an at least three-step process: *mang ing waʔ róhk bakra* (Sang OV) > *mang ing waʔ róhk bakríng* (S ang OV-ng) > *mang waʔ róhk bakríng* (OV-ng); all three stages are attested. In (128), below, which exemplifies the preverbal subject dropping and the marking of the same subject on the verb (by -ing), the first *róhk* refers to -ing, which affixed to *kaʔyéng-* marks the third person plural subject. Notice that *ki* relativizes *orka marsopa róhk*, which is the object complement of *kaʔyéngríng róhk*; however, once *orka marsopa* has been established as the new topic/subject -(i)ng appears as the

“agreement marker”. It is important to note that the agreement function, as illustrated in (127) and (128) is discourse-controlled in that it is restricted to topical subjects; this is evidenced by the fact that when the other “subject marker”, the clitic *ki*, occurs there is no such “agreement”. In other words, at this stage the verb agrees with its subject qua topic at the discourse level.

- (128) *i kaʔyéng-r-ing róhk orka marsopa róhk ki asta mas krie ke iʔ róhk*
 3OBJ call-PRES-3SS PL orka marsopa PL COMP even bigger than 3SG PL
ki ka, briʔe tu r-i-ng, foca róhk ki idvosh kwing tuʔr-i-ng
 SPEC to, much eat-PRES-3SS, seal PL SPEC also much eat-PRES-3SS
 ‘They call them “orcas marsopas”, which eat (even) bigger animals than themselves, they also eat lots of seals.’ (Maroto n.d.: 2).

The probable development of *ang* includes at least three main functional spheres: FOCUS (wh-questions, imperatives) > ANAPHORA 1 (subject/topic continuity) > ANAPHORA 2 (subject agreement). Evidence for the proposed development is provided by such facts as the cliticization and eventual fusion of *ang* with the pronouns first and then with the verbal stem at the agreement stage, while in the original focusing function as well as in the subsequent function as topic/subject continuity marker, and in the stage of free portmanteau morpheme, it still keeps its free-form status, not fusing with full noun phrases. In other words, in the step from focus marker to subject marker (which formally correlates with the formal status of *ang* as free and bound, respectively), an intermediate stage, topic continuity, can be identified: in that stage *ang* is still a free form (a characteristic of its focus marker stage), but at the same time it already shows signs of anaphora (a feature of the agreement stage). This is a common symptom of grammaticalization, which, in turn, points to the function of focus as prior to that of anaphora (topic). This route to anaphora via focus is not uncommon (cf. Givón 1976, Lehmann 1982).

(ii) *The definite article ki*: This clitic underwent the common path, first discussed in detail by Greenberg (1978), starting out as a definite article (Greenberg’s Stage I), as illustrated in (129), and a marker of specificity (Greenberg’s Stage II), as in (130a-b).

- (129) *u ki*
 house DEF
 ‘The (new) house’

- (130) a) *at ki yaʔ do-ra eʔtse ramróhk tíshibiʔ eʔde*
 1SG SUBJ REFL marry-PRES one woman Térraba with
 ‘I will marry a woman from Térraba (who I don’t know).’

- b) *at ki yaʔ doʔ-ra eʔtse ramróhk tíshibiʔ ki eʔde*
 1SG SUBJ REFL marry-PRES one woman Térraba SPEC with
 ‘I will marry a [certain] woman from Térraba (who I know).’

As a definite article, *ki* underwent a series of extensions that include co-presence with demonstratives (131),²⁰ relative clauses (132), proper names (133),²¹ and pronouns (134).

- (131) *wá ki síʔkwa ki*
 DEM DEF white DEF
 ‘This white’

- (132) *ú (sodíh-kr-i-ng) ki moréng-ra*
 house (build-PERF-3-SS) DEF good-PRES
 ‘The house (they built) is good.’ (Constenla and Maroto 1986: 25).

- (133) *Sibu ki kawíʔ-ra Brúnkahk tá*
 God DEF live-PRES Boruca in
 ‘God lives in Boruca.’

- (134) *At ki wá ki ramróhk beyáng-ra*
 1SG SUBJ DEM DEF woman love-PRES
 ‘I love that woman.’

All *ki*-marked noun phrases can function as subjects, (direct) objects, or objects of postpositions only if they are full noun phrases; however, cliticization to pronouns is only possible if these function as subjects, as evidenced in (135) and (136).

- (135) **At ki bahd-r-ing*
 1SG (OBJ) hit-PRES-3SG
 ‘He hits me.’

- (136) **At ki kwik-krá i ki mang*
 1SG (SUBJ) dance-PERF 3SG(OBL) DEF with
 ‘I danced with her.’

A new subject pronoun paradigm has thus emerged in Boruca (137), which alternates with the one built on the basis of *ang*; a further step in the grammaticalization of *ki* has taken place.

- (137) 1. *at ki diʔ róhk ki*
 2. *bá ki biʔ róhk ki*
 3. *i ki iʔ róhk ki*

The development of *ki*, which includes at least three stages, DEFINITENESS > SPECIFICITY > SUBJECT, shows a continuum of *ascending topicality*, ranging from contexts characterized by an opposition of definiteness to others where

the referent is highly definite, via contexts where specificity (a feature of high topicality) has to be expressed. This development reveals the semantic connection between specificity and subject pronouns in that the referents of the latter are more often than not specific; it also reveals a characteristic of subjecthood, namely the tendency for subject pronoun referents to be topics, and as such identifiable, definite and specific entities (according to Givón (1995: 47), “nearly 100%”).

(ii-a) *Subordination*: *Ki* has two additional functions, complementizer of *verba cogitandi* and *verba dicendi* (138), and relativization (139).

(138) *Oge bi-ng ték dóh-kra ki...*
 All 2PL-FOC talk hear-PERF COMP
 ‘You all have heard it said that...’

(139) *Mamráng ki ramrohk ki isht-kra ki koht-kra*
 Mamráng DEF woman DEF see-PERF REL die-PERF
 ‘Mamráng saw the woman who died.’

(138) reveals a cataphoric mechanism to introduce subordinate clauses by using the specificity marker; similar cases occur in some Germanic languages, where the subordinator originated from a demonstrative (cf. Eng. *that*, *I think that...*, Germ. *daß*, *ich glaube daß*). This step is foreseen in the core meaning of *ki* qua specifier stemming from a definite article. As for relativization, it is worth noting a peculiarity of *ki* in terms of that function, namely that it only relativizes object noun phrases –that is, it is the role of the NP in the matrix clause that counts–. There being no readily available explanation for the use of *ki* as a relativizer of objects, it can be hypothesized that such use developed in analogy with the subordination of object complements; supporting evidence for that hypothesis is the structural identity of both constructions.

(iii) *The emphasis and contrast marker abí*: The third member of the set of participant-highlighting markers in Boruca is a recent development; it involves the grammaticalization of the noun *abí* (‘person’). That its grammaticalization is recent is evidenced by the following facts, a) *abí* does not show phonological erosion, being identical to its source; b) it has not completely reached the cliticization stage; c) it can function as a stem to which verbal morphology can be affixed (140), a property of Boruca nouns. Like the previous markers, it can follow non-pronominal subjects (140–141) and objects (142), and precede objects of postpositions (143).

- (140) *Ya ki kongróh ki kagrú abi-íra*
 DEM SPEC man SPEC devil himself-IMP
 ‘That very man was the devil himself (in person).’
- (141) *Kóngróh abí at auh róhk ki ai?-kra*
 Man EMPH 1SG.POSS dog PL DEF kill-PERF
 ‘The man himself killed my dogs.’
- (142) *Tebek ki i? wá? abí tú?-kra*
 snake DEF 3POSS son EMPH bite-PERF
 ‘The snake bit its son.’
- (143) *Susrút ki yan-kr-ing abí kwa? ta*
 rice DEF eat-PERF-3SG EMPH plate in
 ‘He ate the rice in that very plate.’

The function of *abí* comes very close to the original function of *ang*. A syntactic property of *abí* is that it can follow a subject pronoun and itself be the host of the clitic *ang*, as in (144).

- (144) *Ba? abi-ng ya? do?-ra we? ramróh ki e?de*
 2SG EMPH-FOC REFL marry-PRES DEM woman DEF with
 ‘YOU (and only you) will marry this woman.’

An important fact about *abí* is its fusion with the demonstrative pronoun *ya*, yielding the fixed form *yabí*, which can take verbal endings, as in (145) and (146). This function constitutes a new step in its grammaticalization, namely as focus cleft marker; in these cases it no longer expresses emphasis but becomes a marker of contrast. This new step, in turn, has made it possible for *yabí* to function as a very productive (pseudo-)cleft marker. *Ang* can be affixed to the “copular compound”; the result is an asyndetic focus cleft construction (147).

- (145) *Yabíh-ra di? deseo róhk ki*
 DEM.EMPH-PRES 1POSS.PL wish PL DEF
 ‘(Exactly) those are our wishes.’/‘That’s exactly what we wish.’
- (146) *Yabih-ira seña ki ch-ing ogé róhk dekyu-íra rahdi yet*
 DEM.EMPH-IMP signal DEF to-3FOC all PL run-IMP run PURP
 ‘That was the signal [all expected in order] to run away.’

(Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 147).

- (147) *Yabih-ir-ing yabí beyáng-ir-ang ke*
 DEM.EMPH-IMP-3SG DEM.EMPH want-IMP-1SG COMP
ba ki at ká yuag-irá
 2SG SUBJ 1SG to say-IMP

‘It is exactly that that I wanted you to tell me’/‘That’s exactly what...’

(Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 162).

The difference between these cases of clefting and those of emphasis exemplified above (140-143) lies in that in the former the base *yabí(h)*- indeed splits the sentence into two clauses by virtue of its taking verbal morphology –and in its rather fixed sentence initial position– while in the latter *abí* simply reinforces the noun phrase it follows. The function of *abí* comes close to that of focus particles in that its scope, “the semantic counterpart of that part of a sentence that is relevant for spelling out that contribution” (König 1991: 31), is rather “local” –it does not go beyond its immediate environment. The development of *abí* thus includes three stages NOUN > EMPHASIS MARKER > FOCUS CLEFT MARKER.

The development of the three markers of information structure can be summarized as follows. *Ang* was originally a focus marker (with cognates in other languages of the family); its use became restricted to subject noun phrases. It developed into a marker of thematic (active) subjects; its original function is still attested sporadically. The referential feature of the definite article *ki* made possible an extension to other contexts characterized by the need to highlight definiteness and specificity. This led to the acquisition of a new function as marker of highly salient entities, the personal pronouns in subject function. As will be shown in 4.2.3.2, the current distribution of *ang* and *ki* as regards subject noun phrases is that of topic vs. non-topic subject pronouns, respectively. It can be hypothesized that *ang* was almost from the start related to the marking of subject noun phrases, while *ki* reached that stage fairly recently. In fact, the cliticization and fusion of *ang* to verbal stems strongly suggests an earlier development. Finally, the third marker, *abí*, is an emphasis marker with an increasing tendency to be used as a focus cleft (contrast) marker, though it is still used to emphasize participants in non-clefted sentences.

The three markers can be ordered on a scale of increasing grammaticalization/discourse-boundedness which correlates with the parts of speech and grammatical functions to which each of the markers can be attached, as in Table 4.7. By discourse-boundedness is meant the degree of optionality of the marker; thus, although the opposition *ang/ki* is discourse-bounded in that one is used with topical subjects while the other is used with non-topic (focal) ones, their degree of grammaticalization makes them obligatory in such contexts. Unlike *ang* and some of the syntactic contexts of *ki*, *abí* is still subject to the individual speaker’s assessment as to whether a referent is to be emphasized or not. In other words, Table 4.7 shows that as one proceeds from *abí* to *ang*, the analysis as a marker of a grammatical relation (concretely, that of subject) becomes stronger. In the case of *ang*, that analysis is close to absolute, while *ki* still has other uses (indicated

by [$\pm$]); as for *abí*, it still has a range of other uses, and thus relates to subject-marking rather marginally.

Table 4.7
Grammaticalization of Boruca participant-highlighters

	<i>ang</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>abí</i>
SUBJECT PRONOUN	+	+	+
FULL SUBJECT NP	(+)	+	+
FULL OBJECT NP	-	$\pm$	+
FULL POSTPOSITIONAL NP	-	$\pm$	+
PRONOMINAL POSTPOSITIONAL NP	-	-	+
OBJECT PRONOUN	-	-	$\pm$
← [more grammaticalized] [less grammaticalized] → [less discourse-bounded] [more discourse-bounded]			

Table 4.7 reveals a tendency toward greater differentiation of subject and object pronouns; the more grammaticalized the marker the stronger the tendency to mark subject pronouns and noun phrases and to leave object pronouns unmarked. The middle ground is occupied by objects of postpositions, which in the case of *ki* show discourse-bounded fluctuation. These are remnants of the tendency to highlight referents according to their discursive relevance (sometimes they are *ki*-marked, sometimes they are not). The “morphologization” of subject implies greater differentiation between subject and object noun phrases, as the core syntactic categories of subject-prominent languages. Furthermore, it is the pronouns, by virtue of their anaphoric nature and of their original formal indistinguishability, that need greater differentiation; in the case of two full (subject and object) noun phrases or of a combination of full noun phrase and pronominal noun phrase, context can easily solve the problem of role identification, whereas this is not always the case when both participants are expressed pronominally. The irregular coding of subject in Boruca can be regarded as the result of the mapping between information structure and grammatical relations, in addition to the formal sources

that cause such irregularity. The next step consists in analyzing the distribution of *ang*, *ki* and *abí* as determined by information-structure factors.

4.2.3.2 The interaction of the Boruca information-structure markers

(i) *Ang* vs. *ki*: *Ang*, the erstwhile, and now restricted, focus marker became the marker of topical (thematic) subjects or topic continuity, a function that is not exclusive to sequences of sentences narrated by the same individual, but also in conversation. Thus the equivalent to *It's OK* as a reply is *moreng-r-ing* (good-PRES-3SG), not **i ki moreng-ra* (3SG SUBJ good-PRES), where the preceding discourse is treated as an entity, more exactly as the discourse topic; as such, it is referred to by the topic continuity marker, the light form of *ang*. Being less grammaticalized than *ang*, *ki* has become a pronoun subject marker; since *ang* was already fulfilling that function, a split determined by the information structure of the sentence qua discourse unit, occurred.²² The claim here is not that all of the functions of *ang* and *ki* are topical (thematic) and focal (rhematic), respectively (although there tends to be a strong correlation in this respect); the claim is, rather, that their distribution in terms of the subject-coding function pairs the active-activating/topic-focus dichotomy of pragmatic states of the participants in discourse. This information-structure-determined distribution is mirrored by the current word order pattern in Boruca, where new (rhematic) subjects are always sentence/discourse-initial (SOV), while topical (thematic) subjects, due to the affixation of *-(a/i)ng* to the verbal complex, actually produce an OVS order, as in (148).²³

- (148) a) *at ki i aiʔkra*
 1SG SUBJ 3SG kill-PERF
 'I killed him.'

b) *iʔ aiʔkrang*

c) **iʔ aiʔkra at ki*

O VS (rhematic)

Other orders not allowed are those in (149).

(149) a) **iʔ at ki aiʔkra*

O S (rhematic) V

b) **iʔ ang aiʔkra*

O S (thematic) V

Verb-initial order in transitive sentences is totally ungrammatical; direct objects have to be placed immediately before the verb, as shown in (150).

(150) a) **aiʔkra iʔ at ki*

V O S (rhematic)

b) **aiʔkrang iʔ*

V_{agr} O

c) **aiʔkra iʔ ang*

V O S (thematic)

d) **aiʔkra at ki iʔ*

V S (rhematic) O

e) **aiʔkrang iʔ*

V_{agr} O

The split determined by the information-structure division is nicely exemplified by the distribution of the greeting formulas in Boruca: *Í shóhkre-ra bang?* (3SG health-PRES 2SG.FOC) vs. *Ini -ra ba ki?* (how-PRES 2SG SUBJ). Both mean ‘how are you?’, but the former is used when the addressee is known, familiar, in sum “an active referent”, while the latter is used to address people with whom the speaker is less familiar.²⁴

Another, more impressive, manifestation of the thematic-rhematic/active-activating distribution of these two markers manifests itself in the roles that they perform in relativization. *Ang* is the relativizer of subjects while *ki* is the relativizer of objects. Thus in (151), the use of *ang* to relativize the object *auh* (‘dog’) is ungrammatical, just as is the use of *ki* to relativize the subject. Recall that it is the role of the NP in the matrix clause, not that in the relative clause, that is significant. The rhematic character of this relativization strategy is shown by the role of the relativized NP, the object -which overwhelmingly tends to correlate with the status of focus (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 262 *et passim*); (151) is no exception in this respect.

- (151) *Brunkahk ta kawʔ-kra eʔtse síʔkwa ang/*ki auh ki aiʔ-kra*
 Boruca in live-PERF a white REL dog DEF kill-PERF
*ki/*ang iʔ ramat ki tuʔ-kra*
 REL 3POSS wife DEF bite-PERF

‘There lived a white in Boruca who killed the dog that bit his wife.’

Notice that the relativization of the subject with *ang* applies even if the subject is not an active referent in the discourse. This seems to contradict the distribution explained here; however, when the subject is new as in the presentative construction in (151), the relative clause activates it and as such it can be *ang*-marked; that is, the subject, though new, is being grounded and will constitute the source of reference for at least one clause following it.

While the functions of *ang* and *ki* are in general as explained above, there are already isolated cases of agreement (marked by *-(a/i)ng*) with a rhematic (non-topic) subject, as in (152, 153, and 154), which can be both discourse-opening and the answer to the question, *who cut the tree?*

- (152) *Caray ki krang ki tas-kr-ing*
 Caray SUBJ tree DEF cut-PERF-3SG
 ‘Caray cut the tree.’

- (153) *pero boʔs róhk ki diʔ ték wiíʔ-sh-ir-ing*
 but wizard PL SUBJ 1PL language know-NEG-IMP-3SG
 ‘But the wizards did not speak our language.’ [discourse-opening]

- (154) *Trórkora ki búk ra? róhk ki ái?-kr-ing*
 Trórkora SUBJ two Talamanca PL DEF kill-PERF-3SG
 ‘Trórkora killed the two Talamancas.’ (Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 38).

While (152), (153) and (154) could be dismissed a priori by arguing that *ki* is simply functioning as definite article, and *-(i)ng* is marking the active state of the referent as in (127) and (128), above, there are two arguments against such an analysis. First, in all three cases there is a new topic/subject (*Caray*, *bóʔs róhk* and *Trórkora*, respectively) introduced in the sentence, and SOV order, which as pointed out above, marks new subjects. Second, *-(i)ng* affixed to the verbal complex is expected only in OV-s orders. This strongly suggests a new step in the grammaticalization of subject coding properties –concretely, the rise of “regular” subject agreement (recall that agreement with *-(a/i)ng* does not have all the properties of subject agreement yet). At this stage the distribution of *ang* and *ki* ceases to function in terms of the information structure and becomes a syntactic rule; syntacticization entails, among other things, the surrendering of semantic and discursive motivation to obligatoriness (Li and Thompson’s (1976) “impurity” and “weakening” of topic properties.) This step, however, has not been fully completed in the language, as evidenced by the fact that new pronominal subjects cannot trigger *-(a/i)ng*-agreement yet (155). This confirms that pronominal noun phrases constitute the last stage in the spreading of the tendency to differentiate subjects from objects, as shown in Table 4.7. Once subject pronouns trigger agreement, the cycle will be complete, in which case *-(a/i)ng*, fused to the personal pronouns, will simply be a portmanteau subject agreement suffix. In the unlikely event that this step ever occurred (Boruca is on the verge of extinction), the subject agreement pattern of Boruca would consist of the six personal pronouns, with *ki* fully fused to them and *-(a/i)ng* cross-referencing the subjects on the verb, as shown in (156).

- (155) **i ki kawíʔ-r-ing Yimba ta*
 3SG SUBJ live-PRES-3SG Rey Curré in
 ‘He lives in Rey Curré.’

- (156) 1. *atki*
 2. *baki*
 3. *i ki*
 1. *di ʔ róh ki* + V-(NEG)-ASP-PERS-(A)NG
 2. *bi róhki*
 3. *i róhki*

(ii) *ki* vs. *abí*: This opposition has been analyzed as one of definite vs. emphatic determination (Constenla and Maroto 1986, Quesada-Pacheco 1995), where emphasis is understood as reinforcement by these authors. While this analysis is not incorrect, it does not provide the whole picture. As explained above, *ki* has acquired the function of specifier -which, among other things, implies a type of reinforcement of the referent to which it cliticizes. *Abí*, on the other hand, also marks contrast; this means that once grammaticalization affected both forms the difference became one of a different, albeit related, sort. Consider (92) repeated here as (157) and (158).

- (157) *ramróhk ki kurá abí beyang-ira nong abí beyang-ira, kramshúk abí*
 woman DEF tiger FOC love-IMP red monkey FOC love-IMP, wild pig FOC
beyang-ira, toro suhgróhk abí beyang-ira, kui xít abí beyang-ira, auh
 love-IMP, bull old FOC love-IMP, mouse little FOC love-IMP, dog
abí beyang-ir-i-ng, pero kongróhk no
 FOC love-IMP-3SG-TOP, but man no
 ‘The woman loved even THE TIGER, (even) THE RED MONKEY, (even)
 THE WILD PIG, (even) THE OLD BULL, (even) THE LITTLE MOUSE, (even)
 THE DOG, but not the man.’ (Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 45).

- (158) *Yʔabí benyang-íra ba-ng?*
 DEM.EMPH love-IMP 2SG-FOC
 ‘You loved that one?’ (Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 42).

There are two important aspects here; in the first place there is the function of counter-expectancy. In (157) the speaker contrasts all the referents that the woman, unexpectedly, preferred over the man, the topic of the episode; that is, she establishes what Myhill and Xing call *an opposition set*.²⁵ In (158) the emphasis on the demonstrative serves to express surprise at the fact that the addressee loved someone unexpected to the hearer, again an instance of contrast. The opposition between *ki* and *abí* has thus achieved a new dimension namely, specificity vs. contrast. However, since *ki* is moving toward marking subjects (notice that the object *kongróh* ‘man’) in (157) is not *ki*-marked), *abí* can be said to be relieving *ki* of this function, thus creating the new dimension in the opposition. Secondly, in the series of *beyang* ‘love’, only the last instance bears the agreement marker -*ng*, which clearly shows that the grammaticalization of subject morphology has not been completed yet (otherwise all instances would be -(i)*ng*-marked.)

(iii) *ang* vs. *abí*: Just as the increasing grammaticalization of *abí* seems to be causing a certain overlap with some of the functions of *ki*, there are

already signs of *abí*'s encroaching in the territory of *ang*. This is only natural when one realizes that the increasing grammaticalization of *ang* as eventual subject agreement marker has stripped this marker of the vitality to express focus proper (a situation that need not happen, but that in this case did occur.) Thus in (159) and (160) *abí* simply focuses (without contrasting) participants, subject and object respectively, the way *ang* must have done some time ago. Note that (160) represents the intermediate stage in the development of *ang*, characterized by redundant marking (agreement), as exemplified in (127), above.

- (159) *porque siʔkwa abí kawíʔ-ra yá ta*
 because white EMPH/FOC live-PRES there to
 'Because the white [himself] lives there.' (Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 70).

- (160) ...*daba-krá róhk, cuando i-ng yibí abí yasu-kr-ing róhk*
 come-PERF PL, when 3-FOC blood EMPH/FOC smell-PERF-3 PL
 'they came, and there they smelled the blood.'

(Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 75).

Similarly, cases like (144) above and (161) below evidence *abí*'s covering the erstwhile focus function of *ang*. This implies one more step in the grammaticalization of *abí* (from focus-cleft marker to plain focus marker). In fact, the interrogative pronoun in (161) is in free variation with *di ang*. As a focus/emphasis marker *abí* cliticizes to the interrogative pronoun *di* in *who*-questions. On the other hand, if *di* refers to the object, the interrogative pronoun is followed by *abí* but the subject is marked by *ang*, cf. (162).

- (161) *di abí te-krá ke kákba nenguáhk ki chah-rá?*
 who EMPH say-PERF COMP day first DEF today-PRESS
 'Who said that today is the first day?' (Quesada-Pacheco 1996: 152).

- (162) a) *di abí aiʔ-kra bang?*
 who FOC kill-PERF 2SG
 'Who did you kill?'/ 'who was it that you killed?'
 b) **di ang aiʔ-kra ba ki?*
 who FOC kill-PERF 2SG SUBJ
 'Who did you kill?'

Perhaps the clearest evidence of *abí*'s taking over the functions of focus of assertion (from contrastive emphasis) is provided by its function as focus-cleft marker, exemplified in 4.2.3.1. This indicates that as forms are affected by grammaticalization, their original functions may or may not continue to exist. If they do, an instance of what Hopper (1991) calls *layering* (coexistence of new

layers within a functional domain) occurs; if they do not, as seems to be the case in Boruca, replacement through encroachment takes place.

4.2.3.3 *The informational route to subject-coding*

The development of the two Boruca morphemes *ang* and *ki* leading to a situation where both –simultaneously– code subjects, as cross-referencing and direct marking elements, respectively (cf. (156, above), reveals an important feature about the nature of subjects. The immediately preceding stages of that development (which coexist with the latest stage), where the distribution of the two subject markers functions in terms of information structure, raises the question of how topicality and “focality” relate in the expression of subject in Boruca. This section will attempt an answer to that question.

The information structure of sentences consists of “pragmatic states of the denotata of individual sentence constituents in the minds of the speech participants” and “pragmatic relations established between these denotata and the propositions in which they play the role of predicates or arguments” (Lambrecht 1994: 49). The main pragmatic states are active and inactive, while the pragmatic relations are topic and focus; pragmatic states and relations relate in the sense that usually, though not exclusively, topics are active referents while foci are inactive referents which become activated, thereby adding new information about the topic, “the focus relation relates the pragmatic non-recoverable component of a proposition and thereby creates a new state of information in the mind of the addressee” (Lambrecht 1994: 218). Lambrecht further distinguishes three types of focus structure: a) the unmarked PREDICATE-FOCUS STRUCTURE, “in which the predicate is the focus and in which the subject (plus any other topical elements) is in the presupposition”; b) ARGUMENT-FOCUS, “in which the focus identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition” (this was the erstwhile function of *ang* and one of the new ones of *abí*); and c) SENTENCE-FOCUS, “in which the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements)” (Lambrecht 1994: 222); sentence-focus structures are usually presentational (discourse-opening). These three types of focus structure nicely illustrate the current distribution of *ang* and *ki* in terms of subject-coding:

(163) PREDICATE-FOCUS

<i>eʔtse</i>	<i>kramshúk</i>	<i>isht-kr-ang</i>
one	wild pig	see-PERF-1SG
‘I SAW A WILD PIG.’		

For the subject to be non-focus, that is topic, it has to be coded by *-(a)ng*. Let us now turn to argument-focus. For the subject to be the only element in focus, it has to be marked by *ang* or by *abí* (164). A focused non-subject participant has to be marked by either *ki* or *abí*, not by *ang*, and the subject is, again, topic (165). For the subject to be both brand-new and part of the focus-structure, it has to be *ki*-marked, as in (166).

(164) ARGUMENT-FOCUS

ang ~ at abi-ng kramshúk ki isht-kra (subject in focus)
 1SG.FOC ~ 1SG.EMPH-FOC wild pig DEF see-PERF
 ‘I saw the wild pig.’

(165) *eʔtse kramshúk abí/ki isht-kr-ang* (object in focus)
 one wild pig FOC/SPEC see-PRES-1SG
 ‘I saw A WILD PIG.’

(166) SENTENCE-FOCUS

at ki eʔtse kramshúk isht-kra
 1SG SUBJ one wild pig see-PERF
 ‘I SAW A WILD PIG.’

The difference between sentence-focus structures and the other two focus-structures lies in that the former provides brand-new referents both in the subject and the predicate, while the latter does not. While *ang* in its “heavy” form behaves like a subject focus marker (a rather sporadic use) and in its “light” form as a topic continuity/agreement marker, *ki* only relates to subject-coding when the subject is not topical. Moreover, sentence-focus structures as well as the so-called “thetic sentences”²⁶ belong also within the scope of *ki* as subject marker. These two types of constructions have in common that their subjects are not topics (yet) in the discourse. These facts, together with the behavior of *ki* and *ang* discussed heretofore, suggest that the function of *ki* in terms of subject-coding is basically that of grounding referents as subjects (and as such belongs in the domain of focality), while *-ng* is totally integrated in the domain of topicality. This still begs the question of why or how *ki* ended up in the domain of focality.

It is clear by now that the development of *ang* consisted in moving from the sphere of focus to that of topic(al)ity, while *ki* has been in both spheres, topicality as definite article/specifier, focus structure as a marker of non-topical subjects; as for *abí*, as a marker of emphasis it has been in both spheres, while currently tending to move to the sphere of focus. It will be recalled that *ki* first marked proper nouns and only later pronouns; the impossibility of

(155) as opposed to the acceptability of (152) neatly illustrates that. Since, as shown by Table 4.7, the tendency of the three Boruca markers is to move in the direction of subject pronouns (given the formal indistinguishability of subject and object pronouns in Boruca), and –as explained by Greenberg (1978: 740), subjects outrank objects, it was the former that received *ki*-coding; in other words, the spreading of *ki* to subject pronouns only has both a language-internal and a cross-linguistic basis. Once *ki* became a marker of subject pronouns, a type of complementary distribution with *ang* ensued. This distribution can be explained as a kind of chain reaction. As *ang*, the most grammaticalized of the three markers, moved to mark topic continuity, the subjects of sentence-focus structures as well as those of argument-focus structures were left unexpressed; *ki* spread to presentative/discourse-new NPs and *abí* to subject focus NPs to fill the gaps left by *ang*. Since the grammaticalization of *abí* is a recent phenomenon (notice that it has not totally replaced *ang* as argument-focus marker), the only element left is *ki*. This was *ki*'s (and *abí*'s) entry into the domain of sentence-focus structure, blatantly a phenomenon of the third kind. This rather structural explanation is not in conflict with a functionalist analysis of the three morphemes nor with the current information-structure behavior/distribution of the Boruca subject markers. As Lambrecht (1994: 339) points out, “the relationship between grammatical form and discourse function is not one of causality but of motivation. Grammatical form is motivated by function, but it is not determined by it, at least not synchronically”. Some lines later this idea is complemented, “While grammar must provide the formal means for expressing our communicative needs it cannot be held accountable for the forms it chooses to achieve this purpose”.

The current distribution of the subject markers and their eventual coalescence in Boruca allows making the case for what can be called “the informational route to subject-coding”. That subject is the amalgam of semantic features and syntactic-pragmatic functions built into a syntactic constituent has been repeatedly pointed out (Halliday 1967, Keenan 1976, Schachter 1976, 1977, Comrie 1989 [1981], Dixon 1994). The Boruca evidence points in a special direction, however; it is not exactly such semantic features as animacy or control, or such forms as resumptive pronouns as such, that have fed the grammaticalization of this category's morphology (although there is some pronominal anaphora involved in the case of *ang*). The grammaticalization of coding properties shows increasing relevance of the category of subject and a peculiar set of sources for coding it, which includes information distributed along the sentence; it draws from both

topic-related and focus-related elements and information. This means that in Boruca both topical and focal (pragmatic) states and relations of referents have coalesced and given rise to the coding properties of the subject. The claim is not that subject properties derive from topic and focus; rather, the claim is that the semantics and pragmatics of subjecthood includes both topical (aboutness) and focal (assertive) information, and that its coding in Boruca reveals this fact. Obviously, as syntacticization proceeds, semantic and discourse-pragmatic reflexes tend to become opaque: it would be difficult to say of *ang*'s "light" form that it encodes focal information or of *ki* that it marks new subjects; in such later stages they blatantly do/will not (cf. (152-154), above). This fact gives the picture a new look; for it tends to show that the category of subject is not exclusively concerned with expressing topical but also non-topical, that is, assertive (focal) information however reduced it could be; this is clearest inthetic sentences in any language (subjects are not topics in such sentences). In this respect, Lambrecht (1994: 210) remarks that "the function of focus-marking is then not to mark a constituent as new but to signal a focus relation between an element of a proposition and the proposition as a whole"; it follows then that subjects do contain a certain degree of focal information insofar as asserting a referent, which need not be presupposed because subjects are not necessarily topics, implies establishing a relation between it and the rest of the proposition; and though that relation is in essence one of aboutness, it also entails identification, which by no means equals aboutness because the aboutness relation can exist between a direct object and a proposition as well.

In view of the preceding considerations I have advanced the view (cf. Quesada 2001a) that the subject in a sentence is only "given" a posteriori, there being no objective way to predict which referent from the universe of discourse or some other universe will be assigned in the subject slot. Its essence would therefore not only be that of expressing topical participants but that of *making participants topical*. According to this view, *subjecthood is a discourse construction*, and subject is the syntacticization of a prototypical role in discourse, that of choosing a referent as topic in opposition to other possible candidates.

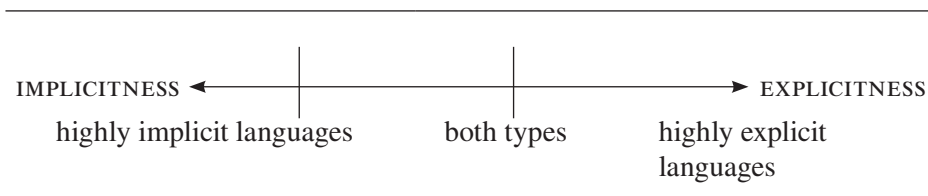
Regardless of the accuracy and suitability of the view of subject as a discourse construction, the "informational route to subject-coding" as explained in the preceding paragraphs is understandable if one rejects, à la Lambrecht (1994), a conception of the information structure of sentences that equates new and old information with specific sentence constituents such as subject and predicate, or referents. If, instead, the point of view that the information structure of sentences

consists of “pragmatic states of the denotata of individual sentence constituents in the minds of the speech participants” and “pragmatic relations established between these denotata and the propositions in which they play the role of predicates or arguments” is adopted, the coalescence of topicality and focality in the encoding of subjects finds a natural explanation. Therefore, when *ki*-marked subject pronouns in Boruca “are conjugated” with an *-ng* ending verb, what takes place is the sum of “the assumed states of the representations of the referents or designata of the various sentence constituents in the addressee’s mind at the time of utterance” (Lambrecht 1994: 49). When this process becomes grammaticalized the subject coding properties become established. In the chronology of developments in Boruca, the use of *-ng* with *ki*-marked subject pronouns is fairly recent (the last stage, to be more precise), so that the presence of *-ng* (topic agreement) in otherwise sentence-focus structures –which by definition lack a topic– has to be regarded as the assignment of topical status to the *ki*-marked brand-new subject. In other words, the presence of *-ng* in those sentences not only indicates the syntacticization of subject agreement but indeed makes a participant topical.

4.3 Intermittent marking

Intermittent marking is characterized by constant tension between redundancy (a feature of grammatical categories) and the tendency toward functional economy, that is, saving sign material when there is no risk of ambiguity. Dealing with similar patterns in African languages, Heine (1982) proposed an *implicitness-explicitness* continuum, an adaptation of which is presented in Table 4.8; languages can be placed along the continuum depending on the degree of overt expression of grammatical categories. At least three types of languages can be recognized, a) highly implicit languages, b) highly explicit languages, and languages with both explicit and implicit expression of grammatical categories. Explicit marking involves total and redundant expression of grammatical categories, as in Spanish (167), where there is internal agreement in the noun phrase, and all members covary in the expression of plural. Implicit marking, on the other hand, implies little or no grammatical information on a word; in those cases, the missing information can be recovered from both linguistic and extra linguistic context. An example of implicit marking is (168), the Cabécar version of (167). In (168) the presence of *mañatkö* (‘three’) already expresses plurality, thereby rendering the use of the plural marker *-wa* unnecessary.

Table 4.8
Implicitness-explicitness continuum
 (adapted from Heine 1982: 306)



(167) *aquella-s tres gallina-s negra-s del suquia*
 DEM-PL three hen-PL black-PL of the chief
 ‘Those three hens of the chief’

(168) *jawá óshkoro dolóna mañā-tkō awí*
 chief hen black three-CL.FLAT DEM
 ‘Those three hens of the chief’

For cases such as (2), Heine (1982: 304) proposes the contextual rule in (169), where A is a constituent rewritten as B or C; B would be the implicit category, which occurs only in certain contexts (X₋), while C, the explicit category, occurs elsewhere. In this way it is possible in principle to predict to a certain extent when a category will or will not be overtly expressed. As for the extralinguistic context, there is less predictability and the expression of the categories practically becomes a matter of free variation.²⁷

(169) A → {B/X₋}
 C

Intermittent marking induced by linguistic context, which can be termed *grammatical* in opposition to that induced by extralinguistic context, which can be called *discursive*, exists even in languages with a clear tendency toward explicitness, such as Spanish or Finnish. In the former, intermittent pluralization of clitics is well-known; the clearest case is the use of the indirect object clitic *le* instead of the expected *les* when the indirect object is plural (e.g. *le-ødijeron a las viejas que se apuraran* ‘they told the ladies to hurry up’). Intermittent marking represents an instance of functional economy, aimed at avoiding the redundancy of grammatical rules. As for discursive intermittent marking, it is concerned with participant identification, topic continuity, and the like. In the Chibchan languages both types of intermittent

marking are common, though it is not always easy to tell one from the other. As will become evident in this section, the Chibchan languages occupy the area between the middle and the left end of the implicitness-explicitness continuum; and that is precisely the area where grammar and discourse converge.

This section presents the clearest cases of intermittent marking in Chibchan. The categories analyzed are number and case, including obviative, agentive and ergative, and information structure; this order is intended to reflect the gradual nature of the difference between grammatical and discursive intermittent marking, going from less to more discourse permeability.

4.3.1 Number

Plural marking is facultative in the Chibchan languages; it is expressed by free and by bound forms. In general, plural marking appears to be determined by the animacy hierarchy, with at least three instances: HUMAN > ANIMATE > INANIMATE. Compare (170, Bribri) and (171, Kogi, above as (74)).

- (170) *seʔ döṛ aṇî tókàio*
 1PL.INCL TOP RECIP namesake
 ‘We are namesakes.’

- (171) *Káklɔábé-ga-ki ma-gáh-ga-ákue nžá, a-guák-xa*
 lion-REF-EMPH 2SG.OBJ-eat-FORM-IMPERS CERT.be, 3PL-speak-PRES
 ‘Those same mountain lions eat you, they say.’ (Hensarling 1991: 18).

The referents in (170) and (171) are pluralizable according to the animacy hierarchy; still they are unmarked. In (170) the corresponding suffix *-pa* is not used because plurality is already expressed by the first person inclusive pronoun. Similarly, in (171) there is no use of the plural suffix *-kue* although the topic of the sentence is the mountain lions, a plural entity.

Free plural forms in some Chibchan languages are used for both nouns and plural subjects, as in Boruca (172). In principle the plural marker *róhk* could be used after *abíh-kra* in (172), as is the case in (173); still, its presence after the head of the nominal predicate renders redundant marking unnecessary.

- (172) *wá abíh-kra brúnkahk nénuáhk róhk ang kawíʔ-kra ki*
 DEM EMPH-PERF Boruca first PL REL live-PERF DEF
 ‘Those were the first Borucas that came to live here.’

(Constenla and Maroto 1986: 60).

- (173) $\emptyset$ *shi-krá* *róhk*
 $\emptyset$ return-PERF PL
 ‘They came back.’

Similar behavior exhibit Guatuso, Teribe and Cuna; the respective plural markers are *maráma*, *lok* and *mala*.

4.3.2 Case

4.3.2.1 Teribe obviative

The obviative case in the Teribe inverse construction is marked intermittently. A “full” inverse sentence in Teribe consists of a preverbal (lexical or pronominal) object noun phrase, a verb and a postverbal subject, marked for obviation by *dě*, as in (85), repeated here as (174). However, there are many cases in which the postverbal subject is not marked, as in (175). That (175) is a case of inversion is shown by a) presence of the inverse imperfective morpheme *-ya*, b) realization of the agent as a lexical noun phrase (*walë*), and c) use of the third person singular pronoun from the nominal paradigm, $\emptyset$ (cf. Table 2.8 and discussion in section 2.3.2.1); still the inverted subject is not marked for obviation. Further cases of intermittent obviative marking are (176), marked, (177) unmarked, and (178), where the participant *ba klara* ‘his comrade’ is marked in one instance but not marked in another within the same sentence.²⁸

- (174) *ta woyd-e domer dě llëme*
 1SG want-INV.IMP man OBV NEG
 ‘No man will (ever) want me.’

- (175) *ta enkwo-no e bor domer kī shko, $\emptyset$ dö-ya*
 1SG fight-PERF DEM 1SG.POSS man because of, 3SG take away-PERF.INV
walë, ëre siwa wlenyo
 woman, DEM white type
 ‘I had to fight over my husband; a white woman wanted to take him away from me.’

- (176) *e är llono ga ba tlökwo e rok-e oba dě*
 DEM arrive when CONN 3POSS language DEM ask-IMP.INV people OBV
midë llëme
 know NEG

‘and the day will come when people will ask them about their language and they will not know it.’

- (177) *ga plu krë-k oba eni*
 CONN king choose-IMP.INV people so
 ‘And people choose the(ir) King that way.’

- (178) *Zrö-r-a e ï-na ba klara dë ga... do pök;*
 kill-PERF-3 DEM see-PERF.INV 3POSS peer OBV CONN... CL.ANIMATE two;
ï-na ba klara ker-tong
 see-PERF.INV 3POSS peer die-PART
 ‘They killed him and [that] saw his comrade; there were two of them;
 his comrade saw [him] dead’.

4.3.2.2 Viceita ergative

Intermittent marking in the Viceita languages was amply discussed in section 4.1.2; so little can be added here, except perhaps to stress the fact that intermittent marking of the ergative morpheme in these languages is an instance of discursive intermittent marking. Presence or absence of the ergative morpheme is closely related to topic continuity and prominence assignment; as such, they have a function which is very similar to that of markers of information-structure status.

4.3.3 Information-structure

Prominence-assignment is one of the least predictable aspects of discourse grammar. It is practically impossible to know when a speaker is going to highlight a given participant; similarly, what may be considered worth highlighting by one speaker is not necessarily so for another. A case in point are pro-drop languages like Spanish; it can absolutely not be predicted when a speaker is going to use the free personal pronoun, despite the well-know tendency to use them for emphasis, disambiguation, and so on. In this sense, participant-highlighting is by definition intermittent because it is totally idiolectal.

As pointed out in 4.2.2.3, the most common strategy to express topic continuity is zero anaphora, which alternates with marked topics. Thus in Ika, the presence of focus and topic markers (179) contrasts with their absence in the expression of topic continuity, as can be seen in (180). Just as in the second clause of (179) it is possible to leave the topic marker *-ri* out, it is also possible to include it in the second clause

of (180). Similarly, presence of *neki* in the second clause of (180) is at the speaker's discretion. It is possible for the deictic center to be coded as zero anaphora (in fact, that is the case) and the mule as marked topic, having been activated in the first clause; however, the speaker chose to code the mule as focus.

- (179) *mura na-ka-tak-an zoža-na-rua; mura*
 mule REF-APPL-look for-IMPERF go-DIST-1SG; mule
neki tšuza-ʔ nar-i-ri
 CNTR see-NEG AUX-while-TOP
 'I went to look for my mule; I did not see THE MULE.'
- (180) *José eigui keiwi tsei-na ei u-ž-e? nangua guako-u-na*
 José again right away shoot-DIST thus AUX-then and kill-AUX-DIST
 'José fired again. And then he killed it.'

Unpredictable marking is also common in Teribe. Just as the agent of inverse constructions is sometimes not marked for obviation, there are cases in which it appears as a marked topic in addition to obviation. In (181) there are three inverse constructions; the inverted obviative subject in the first two is a marked topic; the third one, which happens to be the same referent –the devil, under the same grammatical conditions of the previous clauses, however, is not a marked topic. This is a very clear case of discursive intermittent marking.

- (181) *Domer lo-no ter toyo; wua-kz-a äya li dë; ber*
 Man fall-PERF go.down ground; eat-SUD-3 devil TOP OBV; remain
drete. Dboglo ber buk shlow; i-ya kok shran ga
 NON-EXIST. Skeleton remain POSIT.LIE suck; see-IMP.INV time early CONN
ba boy li dë ga ba dboglo li ra be-no
 3POSS wife TOP OBV CONN 3POSS skeleton TOP CONT-FOC remain-PERF
buk. Sho drete; sho wua-ra ä dë
 POSIT.LIE. Flesh NON-EXIST; flesh eat-PERF.INV devil OBV
 'The man fell down and the devil devoured him at once; he remained there, his skeleton was all sucked; early in the morning his wife saw it but the skeleton still remained there. The flesh was gone; the devil had devoured the flesh.'

4.3.4 Summary

The various cases of intermittent marking dealt with in this section can now be placed along the implicitness-explicitness continuum, as in Table 4.9. Information structure marking, which alternates with word order, represents the highest degree

NOTES

1. All three types are, of course, intra-clausal in that the coding of ergativity involves morphosyntactic mechanisms within the clause (word order, cross-referencing, and direct marking). The “labels” used in this chapter do not neglect that fact; they are simply used to highlight the major aspects characterizing each type.
2. The expected *-rpa* changes to *-rrip* because of the phonetic environment (cf. Constenla 1998: 29-30).
3. This instance of the sequence *ma-* appears homophonous with the form corresponding to 1PL.INCL, but this is the result of a vowel harmony rule, according to which the vowel of the 2SG prefix, *mV* is assimilated to of the following vowel in height (cf. Constenla 1998: 70).
4. An important feature of the ergatively marked transitive clause is the constraint that the first person plural inclusive form, *tótiki*, cannot be marked by *ti* (the ergative marker). According to Constenla (1982: 100), the constraint is due to the fact that one of the functions of *ti* is to mark newly introduced participants, and that the speech act participants are by definition not new. This explanation, though plausible, shows the basic weakness of equating speech act with discourse sequence, that is, speech act participants are always given (not new), but discursively they are dependent on the information structure of the sentence/discourse; thus, for instance, the deictic center can be new in certain discourse contexts, although as a speech act participant it is given, as in *she said that someone was against the resolution, namely I. I rejected it*. Indeed, in Boruca, as will be explained in 4.2.3, there are two sets of subject markers, which are dependent on the information-structure status of the subject (1SG, deictic center) as either new (*at ki*) or not new (*ang*) in discourse. Another possibility for the constraint may be that the sequence *-ti-* is already present in *tótiki*, which could then be some sort of fossilized form consisting of *to-* (< *to(n)* 1SG) + *ti* (ergative marker) + *-ki* (?), in which case there was no need to repeat the element. I will leave this question open.
5. Antipassive constructions tend to become lexicalized, especially when the verb has various senses and the antipassive tends to relate mainly to one of them: *-pí-* (‘to take out’ with a fish in the absolutive) > *-fapí-* ‘to fish’ > *na-fa-pí-ye* ‘I fished’. Lexicalization of antipassive forms has led to the existence of verbs whose only form is the antipassive: *napquíye* (‘I defecated’), *nafuchúye* ‘I urinated’, *napcóre* ‘I was horny’, *naplhíteng* ‘I had sex’ (Constenla 1986: 91).
6. According to lexico-statistical analyses, the temporal separation of these two languages is only 1,100 years (cf. Constenla 1995: 28).
7. More convincing, however, are Dickeman-Datz’s syntactic criteria for arguing that there is transitivity in the indefinite voice, a) deletion of coreferential NP in a verb complement (it can only occur if the main verb is intransitive, but indefinite voice verbs cannot); b) raising cannot occur if the matrix verb is intransitive but indefinite voice verbs can. That is, they block equi but allow raising.
8. Tripartite marking related to split ergativity is not uncommon; cf. the Mayan language Chorti’, which resorts to it for the expression of the progressive aspect (Quesada 1997a: 95).

9. Cf. the following example where the agent of the verb *chè* ('say') is marked for ergativity:

- (i) *eʔta këkë-pa tö i chè:*
 then elder-PL ERG 3SG say.IMP
 'Then our ancestors would say.'
 (Jara 1993: 97).

10. The Damana paradigms of cross-referencing affixes (adapted from Trillos 1989: 50, 62, 70, and Trillos 2000: 159-161) are as follows:

	ERGATIVE		ABSOLUTIVE		DATIVE	
	SG.	PL.	SG.	PL.	SG.	PL.
1.	∅	∅	<i>nɬ-</i>	<i>nai-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>nai-</i>
2.	<i>mɬ-</i>	<i>mɬ-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mai-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mai-</i>
3.	∅	<i>yɬ-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ihkɬ-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>

Not recognizing the underlying ergative pattern in Damana, Trillos refers to these paradigms as nominative, accusative and dative, respectively.

11. This complementary distribution is practically identical to the so-called complete and incomplete transitive patterns in Guatuso, dealt with in 4.1.1.

12. The free pronoun set in Damana looks as follows:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1.	<i>ra</i>	<i>nabi</i>
2.	<i>ma</i>	<i>mabi</i>
3.	<i>na</i>	<i>ihkɬna</i>

(Trillos 1989: 51).

13. W. Adelaar (p.c.) suggests that this function of *hã* looks more like that of "subject disambiguator" (pretty much like Ika *-seʔ*), and the language would not be ergative. In this view then, the "marked nominative" approach mentioned above would be more appropriate. However, this approach does not explain the use of *hã* with intransitive subjects, where there is nothing to be disambiguated.

14. Actually, it is a bit difficult to ascertain whether there is indeed a split in Tunebo, since there is no cross-referencing; see (58) and comment there.

15. Dixon (1994: 211) remarks that "most of the ergativity splits... can be explained in discourse terms". In principle this is true of any linguistic phenomenon. The claim here is not whether or not ergativity and ergativity-related phenomena have a discourse basis, but rather that some ergative systems are more yielding to discourse (that is, less controlled by the rules of grammar) in their functioning than others.

16. Presupposition in turn is defined as assumptions about the hearer's knowledge, while assertion corresponds to assumptions about the hearer's improved/augmented knowledge through the utterance. In other words, the topic represents the constant referent about which information (assumed by the speaker to be unknown to the hearer) is added. This distinction comes close to the traditional Prague School-oriented dichotomies, but significantly differs from those in that it is articulated independently of sentence constituents. Information structure is concerned with the mapping of that distinction onto a sentence, be it in unmarked or marked ways; participant-highlighting is concerned with the latter way of that mapping.
17. The verb *jongña* can be used with the personal pronouns to express deontic modality:
 - (i) *Llë e shäria-ko llëme, pa jongña ba krë eröe*
 what DEM do-OBL.IMPSNEG, 2SG OBLI 3SG get all
 'There is nothing to do; you have to go get him.'
18. The three forms in question will be glossed according to their various functions. Thus, *ang* will be glossed as FOC (focus marker), REL (marker of relativized subjects), ss (same subject). Similarly, *ki* will be glossed as DEF (definite article), SPEC (specificity marker or specifier, not be confused with the structural position in the Government and Binding approach -daughter of XP, sister to X, SUBJ (new subject), and COMP (complementizer).
19. There is no readily available explanation for this distribution.
20. Greenberg (1978: 76) discusses a similar phenomenon in Rumanian, where the erstwhile demonstrative *cel* (< Lat. *ecce illum*) became a definite article and now follows the sequence [N + definite article (suffix)] + definite article:
 - (i) *om-ul cel cu boi*
 man-DEF DEF with cow
 'the man with cattle'

According to Greenberg (1978: 77), "specific demonstratives, as they become bleached of deixis by anaphoric uses, are constantly being replaced by new demonstratives usually formed from the older ones by the addition of new deictic elements, by reduplication, etc. These in turn lose their deictic force to be replaced by others."
21. It is not uncommon for definite articles to precede proper names (cf. Italian *Il Carlo*, *La Paola*), or demonstratives (Greek *afto to spiti* 'this the house').
22. This outcome is to be expected because, as Mithun (1991: 176) remarks, "since speakers normally retain the same topic over a series of clauses, hearers expect topic continuity until there is a reason for a reorientation. When there is a shift in vantage point or scene, this is usually indicated not only by a shift in subject, but by other devices as well that overtly introduce new topics and alert hearers to the changes." This is precisely what the *ang/ki* opposition achieves.
23. Actually it is OV-s, where -s stands for an "agreement" suffix, pretty much like in Teribe; what is meant by OVS order is the pre-cliticization and suffixation stage, where the by now suffix *-(a)ng* was a free form in postverbal position.
24. That the *ang/ki* opposition is discursively determined is shown by the fact that the deictic center (first person singular), which is by definition thematic, is *ki*-marked when it is introduced in

discourse. In conversation, for example A says something about x, and B wishes to express its opinion, s/he will say *At ki tera...* ('I think...'), not **ter-ang*.

25. "[I]n contrastive pairs there are **two or more** elements which are different in the two clauses (either verbs with opposite meanings or non-verbal elements in a set relationship" [emphasis in original] (Myhill and Xing 1996: 314). This is exactly what (157) illustrates.
26. "[A] superordinate information-structure category which includes the categories 'event-reporting sentence' and 'presentational sentence'" (Lambrecht 1994: 144).
27. "In some cases, implicit structures which at first appear to be the result of context-sensitivity, turn out to be essentially context-free at a more advanced level of analysis" (Heine 1982: 305).
28. The fact that the verb 'see' is in the perfective aspect in the second clause (where the obviative is left unmarked) plays no role as there are cases of perfective aspect with marked obviative:
 - (i) *La-ra klara dë nieniga pãy parkë plú*
 say-PERF.INV peer OBV as 2PL work good
 'As my colleague said, you work well'

Concluding Remarks

The preceding review of the Chibchan languages allows two important generalizations about this language family. In the first place, the discourse-run use of subject pronouns, (free) ergative markers and others, as well as the relative scarcity of valency-decreasing mechanisms (with the probable exception of the Guatuso antipassive),¹ and the widespread use of markers of information-structure status reveal a high degree of discourse permeability, thus confirming the characterization of these languages as representatives of a type of structural organization that can be referred to as a fluid syntax. In general, participant-highlighting seems to rank higher than grammatical relations and the associated processes involving complex constructions, such as the existence of passive structures and to a certain extent clefts too.²

Secondly, the geographic distribution of morphosyntactic phenomena confirms the division of the family into north and south. Not only have the differences pointed out in Quesada (1999a) been confirmed (e.g. full-fledged auxiliaries, evidentials, more elaborate modal systems, and the existence of clause connectors as part of verbal morphology in Colombia), but, perhaps more significantly, the division provides an explanation for the current process of (further) syntacticization of grammatical relations, especially the increase of subject prominence in the family as a whole. The Chibchan languages seem to be moving from fluid syntax to a more rigid syntax. Geographically, the languages that moved away from the epicenter (Paya and Pota in the north and the Magdalenian in the south) exhibit higher subject prominence, whereas the Isthmian languages are only starting the process. Whether that distribution is

due to contact or the result of language drift is clearly beyond the scope of this book, and remains among the most exciting topics for future research.

From the perspective of both Chibchan comparative grammar and linguistic typology the paths that languages from the same family can follow to accomplish the same goal are rather significant; a quick look at how morphologization of subject is taking place in the Chibchan languages is therefore in order. Signs of the process are visible in Boruca, Teribe, and to a lesser extent in Cuna. As discussed at length in Chapter 4, the erstwhile focus marker in Boruca moved along the topicality-focality continuum and ended up as a subject marker. In Teribe, transitive verbs (and a couple of intransitives too) carry a suffix morpheme in the OV-s order. In Cuna, the free personal pronouns find themselves in the early stage of cliticization.

In Teribe, the process involves a change in word order patterns, the creation of a new pronoun set and reanalysis of an erstwhile passive voice into an inverse. Transitive clauses in Teribe have two participants, express actions, and have three possible word orders: a. SOV with the same perfective aspect marker as intransitive verbs (-*no*), as in (1); b. OV-s, where -s stands for a person suffix, and a different perfective aspect marker (-*ro*), as in (2); c. and the inverse construction OVS*dë*, where the agent appears postverbally and marked for obviation, as in (3).³

- (1) *oba akordeon sö-no*
 people accordion bring-PERF
 'People brought accordions.'
- (2) *llun sö-r-a lok*
 drum bring-PERF-3 PL
 '[They] brought drums.'
- (3) *Ga ø ã-ya ba boy dë*
 CONN ø see-IMP.INV 3POSS wife OBV
 'And his wife saw [it].'

As elsewhere in Chibchan, these three word orders are discourse-run. SOV order is used discourse-initially, for grounding participants, and to reinforce their identity in some discourse passages, while the more frequent OV-s order is used for running discourse. The main difference between the two word orders, OV-s and OVS*dë*, is that the former does not allow the presence of a free lexical subject noun phrase, which has to be expressed by means of the person affixes, thereby revealing the topical status of its referent. In the latter, on the other hand, the subject is almost always a free noun phrase, marked by *dë*. Another difference between these two constructions appears in terms of the expression

of aspect, especially, the imperfective, expressed by the morpheme *-ya*. Finally, the OVS*dë* order is used in texts and spontaneous speech mainly in situations in which a third person referent acts upon another third person, and secondly upon a speech act participant. Since the OVS*dë* order requires by definition a non-indexed subject noun phrase (independently of whether it is realized lexically or as zero anaphora), and given that there is no detransitivization mark on the verb, this clause type fits the profile of an inverse construction.

As explained in Chapter 2 (cf. Table 2.8), the Teribe personal pronouns fall into two paradigms, nominal and oblique. The former is used to code referents in subject and object relations, while the latter codes objects and objects of postpositions. Members of the oblique paradigm are also used as possessive determiners, in prenominal position. The existence of a separate paradigm of object pronouns constitutes an exception in Chibchan, where undifferentiated free forms are the rule (save for Rama); the formal non-distinction is made up for by word order, and other strategies. The subject agreement markers, shown in Table 5.1, are obvious grammaticalized instances of the nominal pronouns. The morphological status of the bound forms, as suffixes, indicates that the current OV-s order was indeed an OVS configuration in the past; cliticization and later fusion led to the current state.

Table 5.1
Teribe personal pronouns and person suffixes

NOMINAL PRONOUNS		SUBJECT SUFFIXES	
SINGULAR	1.	<i>ta</i>	<i>-r</i>
	2.	<i>pa</i>	<i>-p</i>
	3.	$\emptyset$	<i>-a</i> ~ <i>-$\emptyset$</i> (depending on verb class)
	1excl.	<i>tawa</i>	<i>-rwa</i>
	1incl.	<i>shi</i>	<i>-y</i>
PLURAL	2.	<i>pãy</i>	<i>-mi</i>
	3same	$\emptyset$	<i>-a</i> ~ <i>-$\emptyset$</i> (depending on verb class) ... <i>lok</i>
	3different	<i>ebga</i>	<i>-ba</i>

The OVS*dë* order is characterized by a. word order inversion, concretely postverbal position of the subject NP; b. verbal (aspectual) marking; c. direct marking on the obviote NP (*dë*), as in (4).

- (4) *E "t'ër" kowe tlapga-ga dë*
 DEM "grandma" call.IMP.INV elder-PL OBV
 'And the ancestors called it "grandma."

Four arguments speak in favor of an inverse analysis for (4). First, patient suppression, as shown in (5), is by far more common than agent suppression, which is close to absolute (cf. Quesada 2000d).

- (5) *ĩ-ya miskwo dë sök e ĩ-ya kwozirwa*
 SEE-IMP.INV cat OBV POSIT.SIT DEM see-IMP.INV child
walë li dë shäng
 woman TOP OBV POSIT.STAND

'[That] saw the cat sitting there and [that] saw the girl (standing) there.'
 Second, the verb form *-ya*, as in (5), appears in clearly transitive situations, as in (6a), where the marker of active plural subjects, *lok*, appears instead of the expected *ebga* ~ $\emptyset$ *dë*. In the same story where (6a) appears, it alternates with (6b), the originally canonical active/direct.

- (6) a) *ba dbu-ya e shi-ya lok*
 3 oust-IMP.INV DEM remove-IMP.INV PL
 'They ousted and removed her.'
 b) *ga $\emptyset$ shi-r-a lok e kĩ*
 CONN $\emptyset$ remove-PERF-3 PL DEM because
 'And because of that they removed her.'

Third, the grammatical relations in the inverse construction remain unaltered. The postverbal NP is subject and the preverbal NP is the object; that is, there is no promotion to subjecthood; this can be seen in (7), where the third person plural pronoun does not take the object form *ba*.

- (7) *Pāy kimta-ga ebga dë*
 2PL kill-IMP.INV 3PL.DS OBV
 'They help you.'

Fourth, as noted above, the inverse construction appears first and foremost in situations involving non-SAPS (speech act participants), especially in cases in which the agent is outranked by the affected entity in terms of animacy or discourse saliency; and in situations which involve a non-SAP acting upon a SAP. It can thus be regarded as a semantic, non-promotional inverse.

Important for the present discussion are certain apparent counterexamples to the characterization of the Teribe inverse as a semantic inverse, in which there are instances of a SAP acting upon a non-SAP and still the OVS*dë* order is used.

- (8) *Ta kimta-ga pāy dë*
 1SG help-INV 2PL OBV
 ‘You help me.’
- (9) *Ba zrö-ga ta dë*
 3SG kill-INV 1SG OBV
 ‘I killed him.’
- (10) *ga ø mida-ga tawa dë*
 CONN 3 know-INV 1PL.EXCL OBV
 ‘and [that] we know.’

While (8) would lead one to assume a further break down of the ontological saliency hierarchy to something like $1 > 2 > \text{PROXIMATE} > \text{OBVIATIVE}$, (9) and (10) show that this is not the case. Cases like (8), (9) and (10) are rather hard to elicit and to attest in naturally occurring data; direct forms are preferred. The little historical data available, as well as the low frequency and difficulty of elicitation of inverted clauses with postposed SAPs, clearly suggest the assumption that the inverse construction used to be a passive, expressed by word order inversion and marking on the verb by *-ga*; while the construction was a passive there were no restrictions on the agent (it could be any person). The construction ceased to behave as a passive as its use became limited to express $3 > 3$ relations. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that more than one hundred years ago active sentences with *ga*-marked verbs, such as *pa la-ga* ‘you say’ (Thiel 1882) already existed, which clearly indicates that *ga*-marked verbs were no longer being analyzed as passive forms. Similarly, postverbal SAPs with a *ga*-marked verb were as infrequent as they are nowadays.⁴ Pittier and Gagini (1891: 94, glossing and orthographic adjustment provided) register one instance of inversion in a $1 > 3$ relation, and one in a $2 > 3$ relation, as in (11).

- (11) *Sho-ga ta dë*
 do-PERF.INV 1sg obv
 ‘I did it.’
- (12) *zö-ga fairn dë*
 kill-IMP.INV 2PL OBV
 ‘you killed [him].’

(Pittier and Gagini 1891: 96).

The scarcity of these constructions in the present, plus the fact that likewise in the present inverted structures with a SAP acting upon a non-SAP only take the suffix *-ga* (not the other aspectual markers) strongly suggest a passive $>$

inverse passage in Teribe. In this view, then cases like (8), (9), and (10) appear as residues of the old passive.

The current word order patterns can therefore be hypothesized to have originated from a situation in which there were two basic orders, an active SOV order and a passive SV-*ga* order, and only one set of personal pronouns, as elsewhere in the family. Presumably, the currently agrammatical sequence of two forms from the same paradigm was then allowed, though not favored. The likely function of the passive structure was to avoid those sequences, in addition to topicalizing the patient in the preverbal, subject role. A state of affairs like ‘I hit you’ could thus be expressed actively as **Ta pa shpok* or passively as **Pa shpoga (ta dē)*, which is exactly the antecedent of the current inverse construction. As for oblique relations, these were expressed by postpositional phrases and forms from the nominal paradigm.

As an alternative to the passive structure there soon emerged an OVS structure with postverbal subject pronoun on the model of the passive; the common denominator of both structures was the preverbal patient -in the active construction as the object, in the passive as the subject. The same state of affairs could then be rendered as **pa shpok ta*. The posposed free pronouns soon cliticized and eventually became the current person markers; the changes involved are represented in Table 5.2. OVS then became OV-s. The passive structure soon lost its functionality because the patient could keep its grammatical status of object in preverbal position as in the basic SOV, and the subject was now part of the verb. This structure was clearly more economical than the passive (phonologically at least). The passive then soon became restricted to states of affairs in which a third person agent acted upon a speech act participant; the corresponding morphological changes have been discussed in Quesada (2000a).

A parallel development must have been the creation of the free object pronouns on the basis of the form *bo* (‘eyeball’) + personal pronoun + postposition, a construction most likely used in the expression of oblique relations, as is currently the case. The use of these forms was extended to the expression of object relations. Similar phonological changes must have ensued: *bo + ta* → *bor*, *bo + pa* → *bop*, *bo + a* → *ba*, *bo + tawa* (**botwa*) > *borwa*, *bo + shi* → *bi*, *bo + pāy* (**bobāy* > **bomāy*) > *bomi*. The creation of the object paradigm weakened the passive construction further because the new OV-s structure now had a counterpart that conformed to the canonical SOV basic order with differentiated pronominal forms.

Table 5.2
Cliticization and affixation of Teribe
postverbal free pronouns

1.	<i>ta</i>	> - <i>t</i>	>	- <i>r</i>
2.	<i>pa</i>	> - <i>p</i>	>	- <i>p</i>
3.	$\emptyset \sim -a$	> - $\emptyset \sim -a$	>	- $\emptyset \sim -a$
I EXCL.	<i>tawa</i>	> *- <i>twa</i>	>	- <i>rwa</i>
I INCL.	<i>shi</i>	> - <i>y</i>	>	- <i>y</i>
2.	<i>pãy</i>	> *- <i>bãy</i>	> *- <i>mãy</i> >	- <i>my</i>
3.	$\emptyset \sim -a$	> - $\emptyset \sim -a$	>	- $\emptyset \sim -a$

The emergence of the new word order patterns, SOV with differentiated pronominal forms and OV-s with subject agreement brought about a series of changes in the language. First, grammatical relations, especially that of subject, and to a lesser extent that of object, were expressed not only by word order but also by special morphology. Second, a discourse-run set of orders emerged, SOV used to express SENTENCE-FOCUS, and OV-s used for ARGUMENT FOCUS. Third, a new diathetic distinction, inversion, was created. All these changes have not been fully consolidated, however. Subject agreement has not been extended to intransitive verbs, although there are signs that the process is beginning (see (14), below). The encoding of inversion is rather irregular; among those irregularities are omission of the obviative marker (*dě*), optional use among younger speakers of the marker *-k* in class-IV verbs, followed by a likewise optionally *dě*-marked subject,⁵ and fossilized use of the old passive marker *-ga* in inverse constructions (cf. (8-10), above). There is still fluctuation in the use of pronouns; third person in the inverse construction is sometimes expressed by $\emptyset$ and sometimes from the corresponding form of the oblique paradigm, *ba*, as in (6, above). Similarly, in the case of fronted dative postpositional phrases, forms of either paradigm can express the object, as in (13).

- (13) a) *Dbur twa-r-a bor kong*
 money give-PERF-3 1SG to
 'He gave the money to me.'

- b) *Ta~bor kong dbur twa-r-a*
 ISG to money give-PERF-3
 'He gave me the money.'

Although it is basically the agent of transitive verbs that is indexed in the verb, there are instances of intransitive verbs marked for person (14), so that in addition to the admittedly prevailing OV-s, a few V-s cases have to be taken into account.

- (14) *Rey dyo yo-no nelō; ba sombrero kī joywa-ra-ba;*
 King chicha drink-PERF drunk; 3POSS sombrero CAUS laugh-PERF-DS

kosina dorko pē buk
 stove under sleep POSIT.LIE

'The King got drunk and they laughed at his sombrero [lit. 'because of his sombrero they laughed']; [he] was sleeping under the stove.'

The extension to intransitive verbs (which can be regarded as an indicator of the accusative disposition of the system) constitutes a case of what Harris and Campbell (1995: 255) call "consistency in alignment"; that is, if a syntactic change occurs, which pushes the syntactic system in one direction, other subsequent changes might take place which tend to harmonize with the development/direction of the previous change.

The situation in Cuna is less complicated, as the process is at a very early stage. Personal pronouns in Cuna are formed by the possessive forms plus the marker *t(t)i*, in singular forms only; however, it seems that the longer form is used for emphasis. Holmer (1946: 190) explains that there is a distinction between *an soke* and *anti soke*, where the former means 'I say', and the latter 'It is I who says'. The personal pronouns, as in Rama, have a reduced form which is prefixed to the verb, yielding an (O)s-V order. Thus *pe-takke*, 2SG-see, can mean 'you see him' or 'he sees you', because third person tends to be expressed by $\emptyset$. As for plural, the suffix *-mala* is added to the verb, as in (15). However, with transitive verbs *-mala* is used only with objects (16); a plural subject has to be expressed by the full plural pronoun (17).

- (15) *an-na-mala*

1-go-PL

'We go.'

- (16) *an-tai-mala*

1-see-PL

'He sees us.'

- (17) *pemal takke*

2PL see

'You (pl.) see him'.

(Holmer 1946: 192).

According to Holmer (1947), the person prefixes find themselves in a process of grammaticalization, concretely cohesion, as a result of which their “prefix character is not always apparent” (Holmer 1947: 127). In fact, the discontinuous nature of the plural marker hints at some degree of cohesion between the person markers and the verbal stem, which can be taken as a symptom of, at least, cliticization; the person markers also tend to cliticize to postpositions (*an-ka* 1SG-for, ‘for me’). In Llerena (2000: 66) there are examples providing phonological evidence of cliticization by a rule of vowel fusion: *toa pe amie* [to:abami:ɛ], who 2SG look for, ‘who are you looking for?’, or *pe ittoe-sa* [bitto:sa], 2SG hear-PAST ‘you heard’.⁶ Elsewhere in the grammar of Cuna, however, the free form status of the person markers is unquestionable, as in (18) and (19). Thus, the person markers in Cuna are still intermediate in their status as free or bound. A sentence like (20) can therefore be regarded as an instance of SOV or s-o-V.

- (18) *Ti pe an-kala se-take*
 Water 2SG 1SG-to bring-?
 ‘Bring me water!’

- (19) *An-kine okop attursae-sa-mala*
 1SG-LOC coconuts steal-PAST-PL
 ‘They stole my coconuts.’

(Llerena 2000: 64).

- (20) *an-pe-sape*
 1SG-2SG-love
 ‘I love you.’

(Holmer 1947: 126).

The developments in Boruca, Teribe, and Cuna are more than just the acquisition of person morphology. They are to be regarded as the enhancement of grammatical relations, especially that of subject. Thus, while Cuna is developing subject and object agreement prefixes in keeping with both the basic order s-o-V and the agglutinating nature of the language, and Boruca (cf. Chapter 4) is developing subject suffixes, Teribe has developed subject suffixes, and a pronominal paradigm for non-subjects. By developing head-marking patterns, grammatical relations, especially that of subject, are reinforced. The totality of changes discussed in this chapter is summarized in Table 5.3. The development of person morphology in the Isthmian languages evidences a variety of ways to accomplish the same goal, with structural heterogeneity as a side effect.

Table 5.3
*The morphologization of grammatical relations
 in three Isthmian languages*

	BORUCA	TERIBE	CUNA
TRIGGER	Typology: the development of head-marking patterns 		
STRATEGY	-suffixation of focus marker and personal pronouns (OVS)	-suffixation of personal pronouns (OVS) -creation of a separate free object pronoun paradigm	-prefixation of pronouns in original SOV word order
SIDE-EFFECTS	restructuring of domain of prominence-assignment	reanalysis of passive as semantic inverse	pro-drop

The seemingly disparate paths followed by the Isthmian languages contrast with the rather straightforward development of head-marking patterns in Colombia, as postulated by Ostler (2000). According to Ostler, the starting point in the acquisition of person morphology was the Proto-Magdalenian free pronouns, represented in Table 5.4. The general tendency was for these forms to become proclitic and eventually prefixed to the verbal stem, with the only exception of Tunebo. Language-specific phonological developments lead to the current differences between individual languages (cf. Ostler 2000: 285-291).

The main division of the Chibchan family into north and south has proven to be a useful description tool, although not all aspects of Chibchan comparative grammar can be reduced to it. Many aspects of Chibchan still need to be

investigated, such as the development of evidentiality and auxiliaries in Colombia, the numeral systems, or the grammar of clause-combining, to name a few.

Table 5.4

Proto-Magdalenian free personal pronouns
(adapted from Ostler 2000: 285)

	1.	<i>*na</i>
SINGULAR	2.	<i>*ma</i>
	3.	<i>*a</i>
	1.	<i>*nawin</i>
PLURAL	2.	<i>*miwin</i>
	3.	<i>*ihkaná</i>

NOTES

1. The middle voice is not exactly a detransitivizing device; noun incorporation is sparse, and passivization non-existent.
2. The Chibchan languages, thus, provide evidence against regarding passive as a universal category. Neither the prototype approach (Shibatani 1985), according to which the superordinate function of “defocusing” of agents is detectable in related constructions –a view already challenged by Andersen (1990), nor the promotion-detransitivization approach (Givón 1990, 1995) find support in Chibchan. As for the former, it became clear in Chapter 4 that in these languages defocusing *per se* is rather minimal; the two procedures incorporation and the various strategies in Guatuso, all of which are effected in the nominal dimension, hardly fit the prototype, even in its periphery. As for the latter, even if syntactic constructions such as left dislocation and Y-movement, which Givón views as manifestations of a putative de-transitivization-cum-passive functional domain, were indeed part of a superordinate category, their noticeable scarcity in Chibchan seriously questions the universality of passive.
3. It is common for the patient to be suppressed in the OVS order. In the case of third person singular, which is expressed by $\emptyset$ in Teribe, it is difficult to tell between suppression, that is zero anaphora, and simply third person singular; the former is more conspicuous with first and second persons.
4. It could be argued that the infrequent use of postverbal SAPs represents an innovation, and that the data from Thiel and those from Gagini and Pittier attest the initial stage of it. That view could not explain why that innovation has not made its way through after a bit more than one century. Thus, instead of a semantic inverse loosing its restriction to allow SAPs acting on non-SAPs, it makes more sense to propose a passive becoming an inverse by restricting the use of the construction to 3>3 relations.
5. This *-k* appears as the result of a reanalysis of the velar segment as marker of third person; in the imperfective forms of the transitive verbs of classes I and II third person is expressed by $\emptyset$; thus a sequence such as *sök- $\emptyset$* ‘carries’ was reanalyzed as *sök-k* carry-3SG.
6. This situation is reminiscent of the phonology of some Romance clitics; e.g. Sp. *le digo* [‘li.xo] ‘I tell him’, *la agarró* [la.ya.‘ro] ‘he grabbed her’; or French *je le dit* [ʒøl. di] ‘I told him’.

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