Introduction

Verbal person marking in Chibchan: Retention or innovation? Triggering factors? Conclusion
• High typological diversity
• Inflectional synthesis of the verb
• Verbal person marking
• Synthetic verbal person marking
• Analytic verbal person marking
Introduction

Verbal person marking in Chibchan
Retention or innovation?
Triggering factors?
Conclusion
Questions

1. Which are the morphosyntactic properties of verbal person markers in Chibchan?
2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
3. Triggering factors?
Questions

1. Which are the morphosyntactic properties of verbal person markers in Chibchan?
2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
3. Triggering factors?
Introduction
Verbal person marking in Chibchan
Retention or innovation? Triggering factors? Conclusion
Ika

(1)  mi-tʃua-na-rua
2OBJ.SG-see-PST-1SBJ.SG

‘I see you.’ (Frank 1985: 27)

Cabécar

(2)  dʒís te bá sũwërá buřía
I ERG you see.FUT tomorrow

‘I will see you tomorrow.’ (Margery Peña 1989: cii)
Ika
(1) mi-tʃua-na-rua
2OBJ.SG-see-PST-1SBJ.SG
‘I see you.’ (Frank 1985: 27)

Cabécar
(2) dʒís te bá sũwẽrá buřía
I ERG you see.FUT tomorrow
‘I will see you tomorrow.’ (Margery Peña 1989: cii)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbal person marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paya</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barí</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kogi</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muisca</td>
<td>s-o-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuna</td>
<td>o-s-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabécar</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaymí</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunebo</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teribe</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>OV-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatuso</td>
<td>OS=V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimila</td>
<td>V-o-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introduction  Verbal person marking in Chibchan  Retention or innovation?  Triggering factors?  Conclusion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbal person marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paya</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barí</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kogi</td>
<td>o-V-s s-o-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muisca</td>
<td>S o-V o-s-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuna</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabécar</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaymí</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunebo</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teribe</td>
<td>SOV OV-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>SOV Os=s-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatuso</td>
<td>o-a-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimila</td>
<td>V-o-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Verbal person marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paya</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barí</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kogi</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muisca</td>
<td>S o-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuna</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabécar</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaymí</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunebo</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teribe</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatuso</td>
<td>o-a-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimila</td>
<td>V-o-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introduction  Verbal person marking in Chibchan  Retention or innovation?  Triggering factors?  Conclusion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbal person marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paya</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barí</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kogi</td>
<td>o-V-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muisca</td>
<td>S o-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuna</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabécar</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaymí</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunebo</td>
<td>AOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teribe</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatuso</td>
<td>o-a-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimila</td>
<td>V-o-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introduction  Verbal person marking in Chibchan  Retention or innovation?  Triggering factors?  Conclusion
Questions

1. Which are the morphosyntactic properties of verbal person markers in Chibchan?

2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?

3. Triggering factors?
Questions

1. Which are the morphosyntactic properties of verbal person markers in Chibchan?
   1. Heterogeneity, even within subgroups.
   2. Can depend on topicality, grammatical person involved.

2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?

3. Triggering factors?
Questions

1. Which are the morphosyntactic properties of verbal person markers in Chibchan?
   1. Heterogeneity, even within subgroups.
   2. Can depend on topicality, grammatical person involved.

2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?

3. Triggering factors?
Reconstructable as a suffix: 1st person subject marker

1 Paya
2 Rama
3 Guatuso
4 Cabécar
5 Bribri
6 Teribe/Térraba
7 Boruca
8 Guaymí
9 Bocotá
10 Dorasque

11 Kuna
12 Kogi
13 Damana
14 Ika
15 Atanques
16 Chimila
17 Bari
18 Tunebo
19 Duit
20 Muisca

Introduction  Verbal person marking in Chibchan  Retention or innovation?  Triggering factors?  Conclusion
Reconstructable as a suffix: 1st person subject marker

Kogi

ni-nak-ku ‘I come’
ni-ba-lak ‘You come’
ni-nak ‘(S)he comes’
ni-ka-lak ‘We come’
ni-bi-nak ‘You come’
ni-a-lak ‘They come’
(3) *da ‘I’
*seʔ ‘we’

*da ‘I’
*seʔ ‘we’

(3) ma mi-ni-paʃ-ka
you 2SBJ.SG-1OBJ.SG-beat-FM
‘You beat me.’ (Trillos Amaya 1989: 54)

(4) ra mi-sak-u-ga
I 2OBJ.SG-search-1SUBJ.SG-FM
‘I search you.’ (Trillos Amaya 1999: 42)
The suffix *-ku is an irregularity in the paradigm

Formally different from unbound forms *da ‘I’, *sêʔ ‘we (incl.)’

In this case, synthetic verbal person marking is relatively old
Not reconstructable as a prefix: object person marker
Kogi
(6) ma-la-bei-a-li
2SBJ.SG-1OBJ.SG-say-?-FUT
‘You will talk with me.’ (Ortiz Ricaurte 2000: 775)

Goal marking suffix *-ka

Kogi
(7) bigi3a na-k-luni
pineapple 1OBJ.SG-DAT-want

(8) mi-hu-k nak ni-gu-ku
2POSS-house-DAT come DECL-do-1SBJ.SG
‘I came to your house.’ (Ortiz Ricaurte 2000: 772)
Paya

(9) \text{pi-wàː-k-r-í?} \quad \text{2OBJ-carry-SEM-PL-PST}

‘They carried you.’ (Holt 1999: 27)

Objective marking affix -r

(10) \text{pi-r-tamih-pã} \quad \text{2OBJ-OBJ-pay-1SBJ.SG.FUT}

‘I will pay you.’ (Holt 1999: 70)

(11) \text{ʃúʃú apāyã-r ěʔ-wã} \quad \text{dog bone-OBJ eat.3-PRS}

‘The dog eats the bone.’ (Holt 1999: 34)
Not reconstructable as a prefix: object person marker

- Person marker followed by case marker
- Grammaticalization of an unbound element
Questions

1. What is the morphosyntactic realization of verbal person marking in Chibchan?
2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
3. Triggering factors?
Questions

1. What is the morphosyntactic realization of verbal person marking in Chibchan?

2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
   1. The subject marking suffix in Arhuacan languages is a retention.
   2. The element marking object person in Paya and Arhuacan cannot be reconstructed as a prefix.

3. Triggering factors?
Questions

1. What is the morphosyntactic realization of verbal person marking in Chibchan?
2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
   1. The subject marking suffix in Arhuacan languages is a retention.
   2. The element marking object person in Paya and Arhuacan cannot be reconstructed as a prefix.
3. Triggering factors?
Triggering factors for grammaticalization?

- Language contact
- Internal factors
Introduction

Retention or innovation?

Triggering factors?

Conclusion
Contact with Misumalpan: triggering factor for grammaticalization in Paya (o-V)?

Ulwa (Misumalpan)
(12) maː=taih-pasiŋna dai
    2OBJ=cheat-1SBJ.PL.NEG AUX.PST
    ‘We didn’t cheat you.’ (Green 1999: 113)

Paya (Chibchan)
(13) pi-ka-péʔ-bar-péʔ?
    2OBJ-BEN-return-1SBJ.PL-FUT
    ‘We’ll return it to/for you.’ (Holt 1999: 43)
Introduction

Verbal person marking in Chibchan: Retention or innovation? Triggering factors?

Conclusion
Contact with Misumalpan: triggering factor for grammaticalization in Paya (o-V)?

Ulwa (Misumalpan)
(14) ma=taih-pasiŋna dai
    2OBJ=cheat-1SBJ.PL.NEG-AUX.PST
    ‘We didn’t cheat you.’ (Green 1999: 113)

Rama (Chibchan)
(15) ma ni=suŋ-u
    you 1SBJ.SG=see-TNS
    ‘I saw you.’ (Craig, no date: 109)

Guatuso (Chibchan)
(16) ma-ra-kuanhe
    2ABS-1ERG-see
    ‘I see you (SG/PL).’ (Constenla Umaña 1998: 73)
Frequency-driven morphologization (cf. Bybee & Hopper 2001)

Cabécar

(17) džís te bá sũwêrâ buřía
I ERG you see.FUT tomorrow
‘I will see you tomorrow.’ (Margery Peña 1989: cii)
Questions

1. What is the morphosyntactic realization of verbal person marking in Chibchan?
2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
3. Triggering factors?
Questions

1. What is the morphosyntactic realization of verbal person marking in Chibchan?
2. What is older in Chibchan: synthetic or analytic verbal person marking?
3. Triggering factors?
   1. Language contact: possible Misumalpan influence on Paya.
   2. Internal factor: SOV constituent order, adjacency of object person marker and verb.
   3. Several imaginable solutions in the different languages.
Conclusion/Discussion

- Morphosyntactic realization of verbal person marking: differences within subgroups
- Can depend on topicality, grammatical person
- Different processes may underlie subject/object person marking
  - 1st person subject marker: reconstructable as a suffix in Arhuacan languages
  - Object person marker: not reconstructable as a prefix in Paya and Arhuacan languages
- Triggering factors for grammaticalization: language contact, internal factors
- Is the feature ‘verbal person marking’ just unstable in Chibchan?
- Considerable time depth of the language family?


HASPELMATH, MARTIN. The indeterminacy of word segmentation and the nature of morphology and syntax. Folia Linguistica 45: 31-80.


