

# LINCOM Studies in Native American Linguistics

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# A Grammar of Teribe

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## *Preface*

There are currently 16 Chibchan languages alive. Some are facing imminent death (e.g. Paya in Honduras, Rama in Nicaragua, Guatuso and Boruca in Costa Rica), having less than 400 speakers left, while the rest includes languages with numbers of speakers ranging from 2,000 (e.g. Bari in Colombia and Venezuela) to even 150,000 (e.g. Guaymi) and 70,000 (e.g. Cuna), the last two spoken in Panama, a country of barely 2,500,000 people. Also spoken in Panama, Teribe, with no more than 1,000 speakers appears as a language under potential danger of extinction, especially considering the number of speakers of other languages of that country. This scenario plus the fact that there is relatively little description of the grammar of this language, especially in comparison with other languages of the Chibchan family such as Rama, Guatuso, Bribri, Cabécar, Boruca, Cuna, Kogui, and even the extinct Muisca, made it compulsory to provide a relatively comprehensive description of the structure of Teribe. This grammar comes to fill a lacuna in a twofold manner: it provides an extensive account of the structure of Teribe, and in doing so, it reduces the number of Central American Chibchan languages being undescribed, especially the so-called isthmian languages (those spoken in Costa Rica and Panama); there still remain Guaymí and Bocotá without their published grammars. The Chibchan languages of Colombia are "being taken care of" by the linguists working within the frame of the Centro Colombiano de Estudios en Lenguas Aborígenes (CCELA). This grammar is therefore intended as a contribution to the description of a language at three levels: a. language-immanent, b. Chibchan comparative grammar; c. documentation of endangered languages, especially those of the American continent.

### *Abbreviations*

1, 2, 3	grammatical person	MASS	mass noun marker
ABIL	ability marker	MOD	modality operator
CAUS	causative marker	NEG	negation marker
CFP	clause-final particle	NON-EXIST	negative existence
CL	(numeral) classifier	NUM	numeral
COMP	comparative marker	OBLI	deontic modality
COND	conditional	OBV	obviative
CONN	connective, linker	ORGN	origin
CONT-FOC	contrast	PART	particle
DEF	definite	PARTCL	particle
DEM	demonstrative	PERF	perfective
DIM	diminutive	PERS	person marker
DIR	direct	PFC	perfect
DIST	distant imperative	PL	plural
DS	different subject	POSIT	positional verb
EXCL	exclusive	POSS	possessive
EXIST	existential marker	PROSP	prospective aspect
FOC	focus	PURP	purpose
FRUST	frustrative	Q	( <i>yes/no</i> ) question marker
IDEOPH	ideophone	RECP	reciprocal
IMP	imperfective	REFL	reflexive
IMPERS	impersonal	REL	relativizer
IMPR	imperative	SG	singular
INCL	inclusive	SUD	sudden aspect
INTENS	intensifier	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
INV	inverse	TOP	topic
LOC	locative operator		

## 1. The Teribe people and language

### 1.1 Geographic and historical context

Teribe [te.'ri.be] belongs to the Chibchan family of languages, which covers a wide area ranging from Northeastern Honduras, through the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, most of Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, to the West of Venezuela (see Map 1, white area). Teribe is spoken in two geo-politically separate locations. Most of its speakers, approximately 1,000 people, live in the basin of the Changuinola and Teribe rivers, a tropical forest in the province of Bocas del Toro, Northwestern Panama. 400 kilometers away, and separated by the Talamanca mountain range, in the South-Pacific region of Costa Rica, live nearly 500 descendants of them, known as Térrabas (see Map 2). Originally, both groups lived along the Teribe river (in Teribe called *di kēs*, 'Big River'), from its source to its mouth in today's Bahía de Almirante, including the Isla de Colón (see Map 3), known then as Isla de Tójar. On the Isla de Tójar, the Teribes coexisted with other groups such as the Chánguenas, Dorasques, and Seguas (cf. Fernández 1886: 374).<sup>1</sup> In general, there is little documentation available about the Teribes. It is assumed that Columbus was the first Spaniard the Teribes had contact with, during the navigator's fourth voyage, in 1502 (Reverte 1967: 24). That contact was apparently brief, as were subsequent Spanish incursions during the sixteenth century. One of the ensuing exploration journeys to Teribe territory was organized by J. Vásquez de Coronado, as mayor of the Province of Costa Rica, in 1563. The first written record of the region is due to Vásquez de Coronado himself: "Terbi. Es palenque. Es provincia por si, hazia el norte, pasada la cordillera" (cf. Peralta 1883: 238).

According to oral tradition, the name Terbi (whence *Teribe*) stems from T'érbi [t'ɛr.bi], a compound word consisting of the lexemes *t'ér* ('grandma') and *bi* ('sukia'), 'the wise grandma', the name with which the ancient Teribes referred to a rock located at the source of the Teribe river. That rock was believed to have special curative powers because the spirit of the wise grandma lived on it. The people in need of cure would go all the way to the stone bringing corn and other offerings in order to be cured (the story of T'ér is included in Chapter 5).

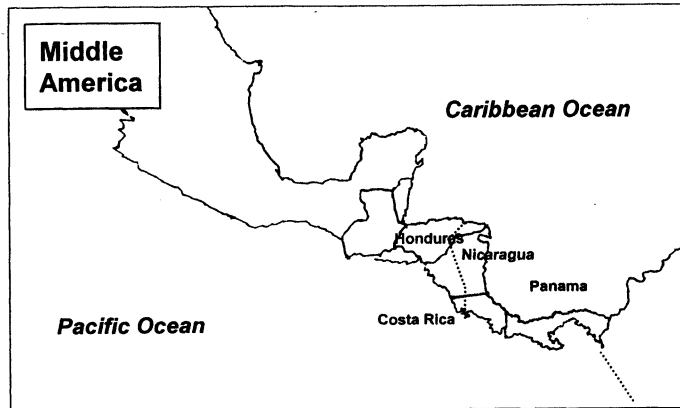
The Teribes were among the most difficult groups to conquer. All sources available (e.g. Fernández 1889, 1976; Peralta 1883, Roberts 1827) highlight the indomitable and bellicose character of the Teribes. It took the Spaniards almost 130 years to finally subdue them. Their surrender was made possible in 1695, when the Spanish missionaries "relocated" a clan, the Térrabas, who were apparently in favor of christianization. That relocation, which constituted part and parcel of a conquest strategy designed by the Spaniards to both subdue the rebellious Talamanca groups (Bribris, Cabécares, Chánguenas, etc.) and to seize Indians in order to take

<sup>1</sup>Both Chánguenas and Dorasques were groups of Chibchan affiliation (cf. Constenla 1991). The Seguas were a Mesoamerican (presumably Aztec) group; they were one of many Mesoamerican colonies established in Lower Central America, which in pre-Hispanic times formed a network designed to transport gold from Southern Central America to Yucatan and even to Central Mexico (Carmak 1993: 296 *et passim*). Thus it comes as no surprise that the Teribe word for 'stranger' and non-Indians in general is *siwa*, with "cognates" in close relatives of Teribe (e.g. Boruca, Cabécar).

them to the *reducciones* (cf. Guevara & Chacón 1992: 33 *et passim*),<sup>2</sup> was crucial for both the surrender and the subsequent fate of the relocated group:

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 (cf. Fernández 1886: 376).

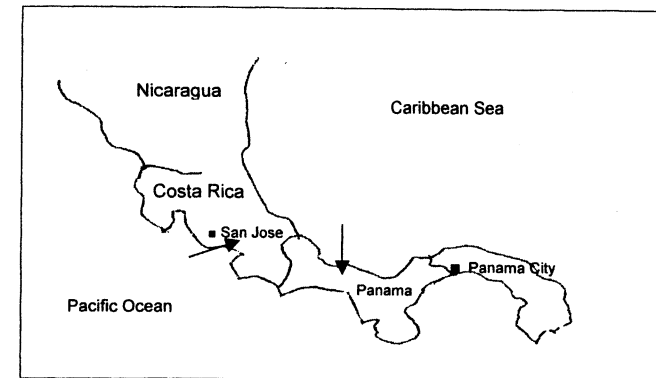
Map 1. Geographic Location of the Chibchan Languages



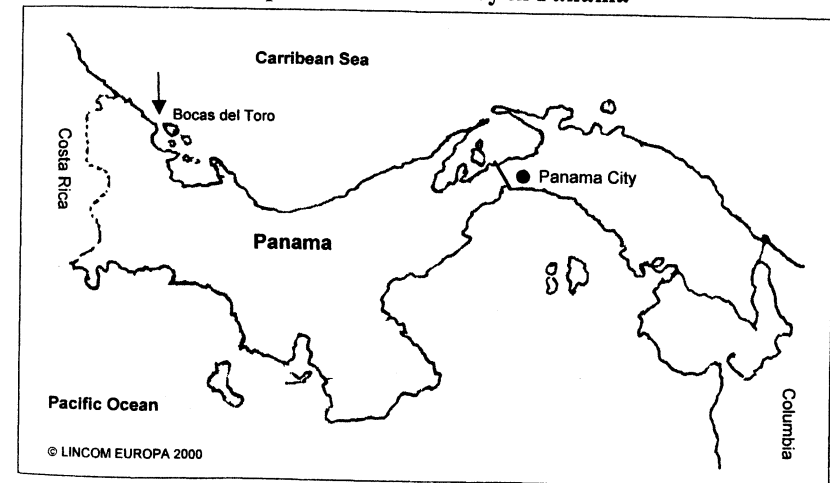
After the relocation both groups lost steady contact. According to oral tradition, there was still contact for some years, until a group of Teribes was lost while trying to cross over to the Pacific. Similarly, the sources available (e.g. Fernández 1889: 392; Fernández 1976: 238, Guevara & Chacón 1992: 111) mention later contacts between them; some of those contacts were even violent, as the one that took place in 1761, when some Teribes coming from the

<sup>2</sup>A *reducción* was a village created by the Spaniards, which was to be peopled with Indians seized during raids (euphemistically called *cabalgadas*, 'cavalcades'), as well as Indians deported from various nearby locations in order to have hand labor handy. In practice, the *reducciones* were huge concentration camps. The village of San Francisco de Térraba, as the Franciscan missionaries named it, became a *reducción* whose initial inhabitants were the relocated Teribes; it was erected close to that of Boruca, the oldest *reducción* in the area (cf. Guevara & Chacón 1992: 33).

Map 2. Geographic Location of Teribes and Térrabas



Map 3. Teribe Territory in Panama



Atlantic attacked the Térrabas settled in Cabagra and Broran,<sup>3</sup> on the Pacific. After that, no written records of contact between the two groups exist, with the exception of the last assault of San Francisco de Térraba by the Teribes in 1820, mentioned in passing by Guevara & Chacón (1992: 37). Costa Rica's relinquishing the Province of Bocas del Toro to Panama in the 19th

<sup>3</sup>Both communities use the name *Broran* to refer to both the relocated group and the village known in Costa Rica as Térraba. The origin of that name is uncertain; its meaning is also unknown. According to oral tradition, that was the name of the relocated clan. It also is probable that the relocated clan gave that name to their new home. In any case, there being no reliable sources about the origin of this name, all references to it will necessarily remain at the level of speculation.

century might have sealed any possible (but unlikely) contact still existing between the two groups.

The story of the separation remained and gave way to the legend that at the end of time both groups would reunite. It was not necessary to go that far, however. For in the 1970's, in a series of international congresses of indigenous organizations, a "reencounter" took place, after which the two communities have established and intensified contact. In one such conference, the "word spread" that some non-Panamanian participants spoke Teribe; representatives from both groups came face to face and through the use of the language and knowledge of legends and traditions recognized each other as Teribes. The news was carried to both communities. Some years later, in a subsequent conference, reciprocal invitations were made and some visits on both sides of the border took place. By then, the contact was firmly established, but it had not been "officialized". On October 16, 1992 (500 years after the Spanish incursion and almost 300 years after the separation) the "Official Encounter of the Térraba and Teribe Peoples" was organized. Mr. César Santana, then King of the Teribes, and his 50-member entourage arrived in Térraba, and a one-week celebration took place; the reencounter is documented in Quesada (2000a). As a result of that reencounter, several "cross-Teribe" (for want of a better term) marriages have ensued, and a teacher of the language has been sent to Térraba.

As stated above, the separation and relocation of the Térrabas marked a turning point in the history of the Teribe people and language. Two important consequences of linguistic nature can be readily identified. First is the language death issue. Although the relocated group initially kept its language, and despite the unquestionable historical neglect by the Costa Rican Government (cf. Guevara & Chacón 1992), the result of the split proved especially negative for the language, as the Térrabas, like many other indigenous groups in Costa Rica, were subjected to a process of assimilation to the mainstream Costa Rican culture -according to Guevara & Chacón (1992: 38-45), as early as 1841, that is, twenty years after that country's independence from Spain-; compulsory elementary education since the late 19th century also played a key role in that process. Gabb (1886: 405) already noted the difference between the two groups, in the second half of the 19th century, highlighting the accelerated shift away from Térraba, which eventually led to the present state of only three elderly fluent speakers and half a dozen semi-speakers remaining. No doubt, linguistic and cultural orphanhood must have reinforced the process of decay. Second, the dialectal division of the language must have deepened. Although it is not known how many dialects existed at the time of the Spanish Conquest, there should be no doubt as to the existence of dialectal variation; at least two dialects must have existed, the one spoken on the Isla de Tójar and the one spoken on dry land. The relocation, then, enhanced the existing variation. So far, however, only two dialects of the language have been identified and described to varying degrees, the Térraba dialect (Costa Rica), and the Teribe dialect (Panama). Among the differences between these dialects are the phonological split of the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ into two phonemes /p/ and /ɸ/ (a voiceless bilabial fricative), or the loss of phonemic status of the glides /w/ and /j/, in the former. The degree of intelligibility between the two dialects seems to be acceptable. This grammar is about the Panamanian dialect of Teribe.

The Teribes call themselves *naso* (< *na* 'here' + *so* MARKER OF ORIGIN). The term *naso* is also used to refer to the Térrabas and to other indigenous groups, in opposition to *siwa*; it is also used to refer to the language. In this book, the cover term *naso* will not be used for the language because it includes the two dialects, Térraba and Teribe, while this grammar is only about the latter.

The Teribes, who are basically swidden agriculturalists, are distributed in approximately 27 villages, 18 of them along the Teribe river; the whole area makes up the *Comarca* (a large reservation). The most important, and larger, villages are Sieyllik, Sieyking, and Dluy; the first two, which lie on opposite sides at approximately two hours upriver from the town of Changuinola (the nearest non-indigenous town), can be considered the "capital" of the Teribe culture. The King sits in Sieyllik, where all administrative matters are handled. Sieyking is the other larger village. It is in these two villages where the language is healthiest.

The administrative organization of the Teribes consists of a hereditary, non-absolutistic monarchy, whose head is the King, followed by a Vice-King; the latter position is not hereditary. Next in the hierarchy are the King's representatives, appointed by him, who work as liaison between him and the population. In addition, the community chooses their representatives to the Panamanian local government (*regidores*). Finally, there are the police, whose role is to patrol the comarca and to enforce the law. Decision-making does not solely rest on the King. To that effect, the King must consult with *La dirección*, or council of village leaders, whose function it is to pass, or repeal laws that rule the entire comarca. In general, the people respect and accept the King's authority, which plays a significant role in the Teribe culture. In principle, a King's rule ends with his death; however, under special circumstances, if the people so wish, and if there is consensus, a King can be removed. In the last twenty years, this situation has arisen only two times.

## 1.2 Degree of endangerment

As pointed out in 1.1, the separation of the Teribes was especially negative for the relocated group, which during the last hundred years has undergone a process of assimilation to the mainstream Costa Rican culture. Both compulsory elementary education and the relatively rapid development of means of transportation and telecommunication systems (electricity, mass media, etc.) inevitably led to the decay and death of the language in Costa Rica. It is now too late for a process of language revitalization in Térraba; the will is simply not there. The general attitude of the Térrabas is of neglect; despite the reencounter, the general feeling there is that "we are two peoples".

The language was preserved in Panama, on the other hand, thanks to the relative isolation and almost complete lack of social integration of the group; Teribe is accessible only by river, there is no electricity. In the communities of Sieyllik and Sieyking, the language is, at least for the time being, not seriously threatened. The existing degree of bilingualism does not represent serious danger, and the degree of linguistic loyalty is still relatively high, as the language is still a symbol of cultural identity. Bauman (1980) has proposed a well-known

classification for the state of the indigenous languages vis à vis English in the United States, which comprises the following categories: 1. flourishing, 2. enduring, 3. declining, 4. obsolescent, and 5. extinct. Among the criteria underlying Bauman's classification are age profile of speakers and their degree of bilingualism (+), proportion of speakers to the whole population (+), fluency of young speakers (+), degree of preference for the native language ( $\pm$ ), degree of bilingualism ( $\pm$ ), and adaptation capacity of the language to a changing culture (-). The values in parentheses are the result of direct observation in both Teribe communities. According to these values, Teribe finds itself half-way between enduring and declining. However, when the other villages are taken into consideration, the situation does not look so heartening; there are villages where the language is not spoken at all. A recent study by Oakes & Oakes (MS) reveals that in the third largest village, Dluay, the use of Spanish is displacing use of Teribe at an accelerated pace. Even in the two "stronghold villages" a series of noticeable threatening trends can be identified. These are dealt with in what follows.

**Population:** The number of speakers of Teribe totals slightly more than 1,000 people; the largest group of speakers of a Chibchan language, Ngäbére or Guaymí, approximately 150,000 is from Panama, a country of barely 2.5 mil. Considering that the demographic growth of the indigenous groups of Panama in the last 100 years is a meager 1.7% -vs. whites 49%, blacks 69% and mixed 119%- (Médica 1974, 11), the Teribes not only constitute a minority, but also this growth trend does not look too promising for them. In addition, there is the non-negligible fact that whites and mixed settlers continue to establish themselves in neighboring areas. This creates a scenario where a minority group is every time more surrounded by speakers of majority languages, in this case Spanish and Guaymí; and though that in itself does not entail extinction, it does represent a potential threat, especially if intermarriages take place. That is precisely what has happened with the few marriages between Teribe women and Térraba men living in Costa Rica; the latter are monolingual speakers of Spanish and the language in those households is Spanish even in the absence of the father. The Teribe women living in Térraba rarely have the chance to speak with one another; and when they do they tend to use Spanish; a couple of them already show signs of accelerated language attrition, such as vocabulary loss, abundant calques from Spanish, code-switching during narrations, and difficulty to produce elicitations.

**Schooling:** In Teribe there are elementary schools only; the first schools started in the mid 1970's. Aside from the negative fact that language and culture are not part of the curriculum, schooling in Spanish means that the only language that they know how to read and write is Spanish; the presence of literature (journals, textbooks, magazines and Bibles) written in Spanish in households is increasing. As a result, people tend to talk about what they read in the language in which they read it. A yet more critical issue is that native teachers talk to their pupils in Spanish not only during class time but also out of class. Clearly, there is the implicit message that Spanish is the language of authority and superiority. Negative attitudes could arise from that.

**Religion:** Although the non-relocated Teribes eventually became Christian, their hostility

toward anything Spanish remained; this might explain their alliances with the English pirates and the English-ruled Miskitos from Nicaragua, as well as their "conversion" to protestantism, and continuous wars with catholic Indians, the Talamancas, especially (cf. Quesada, 2000a and citations therein). In the early 1950's, new protestant, anglophone denominations appeared in Teribe. Religion became more prominent in the life of the people; obviously, the language of transmission was Spanish. The use of Spanish in religious activities and discussions is higher than that of Teribe. Despite the presence of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the 1970's, interrupted at the end of that decade and recently restarted, there is no religious -let alone secular- material written in Teribe accessible to the people (and if there were, most people would not be able to read it). Furthermore, the presence of U.S. imported sects has created divisions in the community, Ortiz & Von Chong (1982: 137) have already pointed out at the detrimental consequences of this activity:

La presencia de estas sectas religiosas ha ocasionado el divisionismo entre los moradores de algunos poblados. Por ejemplo: en Druy [sic] la secta religiosa Evangelista ha dividido el poblado en dos sectores: el de los evangelistas y el de los pecadores. Esta situación afecta tremendamente a la comunidad, pues los trabajos que requieren la intervención conjunta de todos los moradores no se pueden hacer a menos que se dividan responsabilidades laborales. En consecuencia, la presencia de esta secta religiosa en Druy perturba la armonía entre los moradores y restringe todo tipo de actividad que conlleve al mejoramiento de la comunidad.

A similar situation occurred recently as another sect, New Tribes, made its way in. The communities of Sieyllik and Sieyking were bitterly split, especially for the rudeness said to have been employed by this group in order to get established there. My Teribe consultants have identified this incursion as one of the causes of the "peaceful coup" which prompted elections in 1998 to force out King César Santana, who did not want to allow this sect in.

**Language policy:** The Teribes are clear when it comes to their language policy: it is forbidden "to sell the language". However, their conception of what it is to sell the language is rather idiosyncratic. In principle, it is not permitted to teach the language to siwas because language can be a way of profit, so they say. A siwa can profit from the language by writing grammars, and collecting stories, publishing and selling them. Any individual linguist trying to work there has to get a permit from the King, who determines the conditions under which linguistic work is to be done. It is required from linguists that copies of any published work be given to the community.

Several aspects are worth discussing in regards to this language policy. In the first place, although the phrase "it is forbidden to sell the language" does sound unequivocal, in practice it is not. Both the permission given to this author to do descriptive work there and the SIL's return, chronologically concurrent with New Tribes' arrival, evidence inconsistent enforcement of the policy (exception made of the former King's opposition to the latter event). Second, this policy is not designed to actually protect the language from extinction. Language obsolescence begins from within, and it is inside the community (e.g. schooling in Spanish, illiteracy in Teribe,

extraneous religion, not individual linguists or casual visitors) that the threat is growing. Finally, though meaningful, the requirement that copies of any published work be given to the community loses effectiveness given the lack of a more substantial language policy.

**External contact:** The last threatening aspect to be discussed is the growing contact with the outer world. The two main sources are the increasing tendency of the Teribes to send their kids to the Changuinola high school, and the continuous emigration of young men to the banana plantations. In the case of high school, the threat is bigger than that posed by elementary school, since the students have to stay out of the comarca, in most cases in a Spanish-speaking environment outside class time; sometimes, students quit high school but do not return to the reservation. The result is similar to that of migratory workers; in principle, these people go to the plantation during the week and come back for weekends and vacation time; however, in many cases the men take their family with them and rarely pay visits to their relatives in the comarca. All this constitutes a potential source of disintegration of the society as young generations leave their home.

In summary, Teribe is still a relatively healthy language in Sieyllik and Sieyking; it is seriously endangered in some communities (Dluy) and it is practically history in some others (La Tigua). This use of the language from zero to very high roughly correlates with the proximity to Changuinola: the nearest villages are Spanish-speaking; in the farthest ones, Sieyllik and Sieyking, the language is used most. This clearly shows that in this specific case geographic proximity to the dominant language plays a role in endangerment. If one considers, however, that the government is planning to build a road to link Sieyllik and Sieyking with Changuinola (an old but until now not materialized promise, though), the impact of that single event in the future of the language could be devastating.

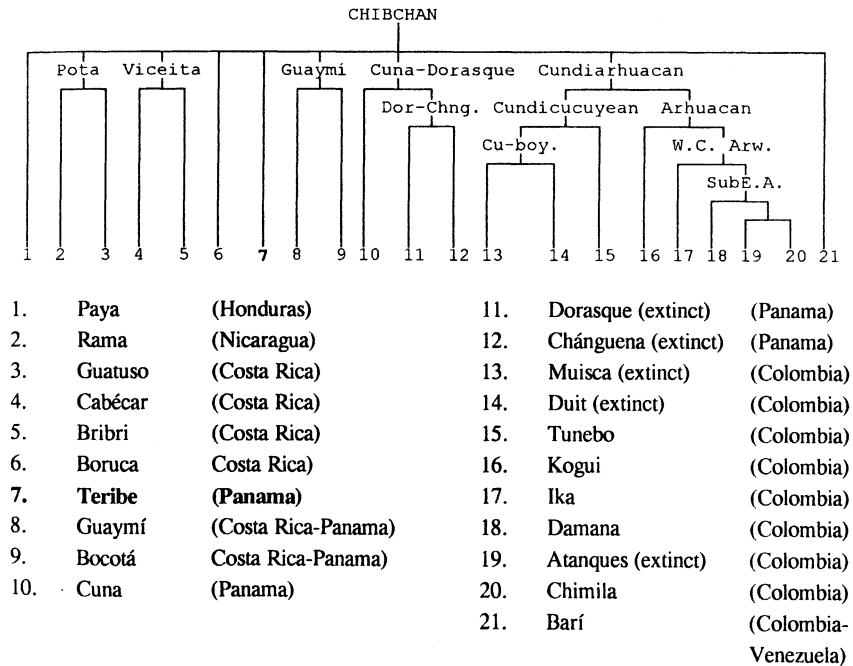
### 1.3 Genealogical and areal aspects

As mentioned at the outset, Teribe is a Chibchan language. Within this family, Teribe constitutes a branch of its own, see (S1). 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 (Constenla 1991, Fonseca & Cooke 1993). This means that, genealogically, the Teribes have remained in isolation not far from the original Chibchan area till today.

The Chibchan languages, in turn, constitute the largest stock and have the widest distribution within the linguistic area known as the Intermediate Area, which borders with the Mesoamerican Area to the north and with the Amazonian and Peruvian areas to the south. Mesoamerica and the Intermediate Area meet in what is today Western Honduras, the middle of Nicaragua (actually dividing that country in two, West and East), and Costa Rica's Nicoya Peninsula. The areal features distinguishing both areas are rather clear-cut: the Mesoamerican languages exhibit a verb-initial basic word order pattern (VSO/VOS), have prepositions, a possessed-possessor and an adjective-noun order. The languages of the Intermediate Area, on the other hand, are SOV, have postpositions, and have possessor-possessed and noun-adjective

orders (cf. Constenla 1991). Teribe is no exception to these word order patterns. In addition, it shares some other features with the isthmian languages (Bribri, Cabécar, Teribe, Bocotá, Guaymí, Cuna) such as the existence of numeral classifiers, which has been hypothesized to originate from a set of Proto-Chibchan class terms, which in conjunction with the head noun formed lexical compounds (Constenla 1989: 29). The development of such class terms into numeral classifiers constitutes an innovation in these languages.

#### (S1) The place of Teribe in the Chibchan family



(Adapted from Constenla 1991).

Areal features distinguishing the Intermediate Area from other areas in the south include the nominalization of subordinate clauses and full-fledged evidential systems in the Peruvian Area, and the existence of both subject and object agreement systems in the Amazonian Area (Constenla 1991: 135). Absence of passives is common to both the Amazonian and the Intermediate areas. Teribe also lacks a passive and evidentials, and does not exhibit nominalization of subordinate clauses.

A recent study on Chibchan comparative grammar (Quesada 1999a) evidenced that there tends to exist a division between the languages of Colombia and those of Central America in

terms of certain features. First, the category of auxiliaries seems to be more relevant and more grammaticalized in Colombia. The same is true, second, of modal systems; the existence of data source systems puts these languages 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 Rama and Guatuso 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. The "Central American" features of Chibchan are all found in Teribe, which, based on the preceding can be characterized as a *Central American isthmian language of the Chibchan stock in the Intermediate Area*.

#### 1.4 Typological features (Overview)

The basic constituent order in Teribe is SOV (1), with an alternative order OV-s, where -s stands for a suffix indexing person (subject) (2). In principle, the alternation of these two orders is discourse-run; however, a series of other complex factors also play a role in that choice; these will be addressed in 4.1.1:

- (1) *tawa dbong kuklo ĩ-no*  
1PL.EXCL tiger footprint see-PERF  
'We saw the tiger's footprints'
- (2) *sēngna tsira wuo-ro-r*  
meat little eat-PERF-1SG  
'I ate a little meat'

Adpositions in Teribe are postnominal, as illustrated in (3) and (4), where the postposition is used to express location and instrument, respectively:

- (3) *ta be-no sōk u shko*  
1SG stay-PERF POSIT.SIT house in  
'I stayed in the house'
- (4) *tlino-ro-rwa shiti go*  
chase-PERF-1PL.EXCL dog with  
'We chased [it] with the dogs'

Possessive determination is prenominal in Teribe; the head noun (possesum) can be preceded by a possessive marker (a member of a paradigm that is also used to express objects of postpositions and direct objects in the SOV order), as in (5), or by another noun as in (6):

- (5) *bor shiti*  
1SG.POSS dog  
'my dog'
- (6) *plu shiti*  
king dog  
'the King's dog'

Adjectives, on the other hand, are postnominal (7), as are numeral classifiers (8a); the latter follow the verb when the object is counted (8b) in both the SOV and the OV-s orders:

- (7) *walē wolēso*  
woman pretty  
'pretty woman'
- (8a) *Sbi kw-ara*  
pot CL.ROUND-one  
'One pot'
- (8b) *Drōng twlē-no-r pl-ara*  
machete buy-PERF-1SG CL.LONG-one  
'I bought one machete'

Relative clauses can be postnominal (9) or head-internal (10):

- (9) *Domer [sōk ěre shko] bor shiti zro-no e*  
man POSIT.SIT DEM in 1SG.POSS dog kill-PERF CFP  
'The man who lives here killed my dog'
- (10) *[Maria [kwomgla] twlē-no] i-no-r*  
Maria horse buy-PERF see-PERF-1SG  
'I saw the horse that Maria bought'

Negation is expressed by the form *llēme*, which is strictly clause-final:

- (11) *ta sōk toksa llēme*  
1SG POSIT.SIT alone NEG  
'I am not alone (sitting)'

In yes/no questions the question marker *de* appears in final position (12), whereas in information questions the question word appears usually *in situ* as in (13a) and (13b):

- (12) *¿Inocencio sōk de?*  
Inocencio POSIT.SIT Q  
'Is Inocencio home?'
- (13a) *¿Pa twe llono?*  
2SG come when  
'When will you come?'
- (13b) *¿Pa ěye ĩ-no?*  
2SG who see-PERF  
'Who did you see?'

Comparison is analytic in Teribe. In comparative constructions the standard of comparison follows the adjective; the order is thus QUALITY-STANDARD-MARKER:

- (14) *Bor u kégué bopoya kinmo*  
1SG.POSS house old yours COMP  
'My house is older than yours'

The coding of major syntactic functions is realized mainly by word order, especially in the case of full noun phrases. Teribe is a strict OV language; thus, in the case of transitive



constructions, any NP immediately preceding the verb, be it in the SOV or in the OV-s orders, will be an object, as shown in (1) and (2) above. It becomes clear, then, that it is the subject that can be moved around the verb or verb phrase. In the SOV order it is preverbal, in the OV-s order, not being a full NP, it is coded by the person suffix. The other possibility for the subject is to be realized as a full noun phrase in postverbal position; this situation occurs in the context of inversion, as in (15):

- (15) *Ta ĩ-ya Juan dē*  
1SG see-IMP.INV Juan OBV  
'Juan sees me'

In intransitive and stative clauses the only participant is placed in preverbal position (16):

- (16) *Tawa lõng ba triko*  
1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE 3 middle  
'We are in the middle of them'

When the participants are coded as pronouns both word order and the pronoun forms come into play. Teribe has two pronominal paradigms, nominal and oblique:

(17)		NOMINAL	OBLIQUE
		1. <i>ta</i>	<i>bor</i>
	SINGULAR	2. <i>pa</i>	<i>bop</i>
		3. $\phi$	<i>ba</i>
		1excl. <i>tawa</i>	<i>borwa</i>
		1incl. <i>shi</i>	<i>bi</i>
	PLURAL	2. <i>pāy</i>	<i>bomi</i>
		3same $\phi$	<i>ba</i>
		3diff. <i>ebga</i>	<i>ba</i>

The forms of the nominal paradigm are used to code subjects in the S(O)V order (18) and objects in the OV-s order (19), while the forms of the oblique paradigm are used to code objects of transitive verbs (18) and objects of postpositions (20), but not subjects. The language thus operates in terms of a nominative-accusative system by opposing O to A and S, despite the fact that the nominal paradigm is used for both subjects and objects:

- (18) *Ta bop kintē*  
1SG 2SG help  
'I help you'
- (19) *Pa kintē-r*  
2SG help-1SG  
'I help you'
- (20) *dbur twa-r-a bor kong*  
money give-PERF-3 1SG to  
'He gave the money to me'

As for grammatical categories, the verbal dimension has more grammaticalized

distinctions than the nominal dimension. The latter is practically limited to NUMBER, which includes the singular/plural opposition plus the six classes expressed by numeral classifiers. The other nominal category, expressed by pronouns, not by nouns, includes the INCLUSIVE/EXCLUSIVE opposition for first person plural and SWITCH REFERENCE, limited to third person plural.

The verbal dimension is characterized by the existence of three verb classes that give rise to three distinct clause and word order types. Such classes include positional verbs, movement and intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs. The only category which is common to all three types is ASPECT. Teribe is a "tenseless" language. MOOD and MODALITY include imperative mood and epistemic modality expressed by bound morphology, as well as deontic and desiderative modality, expressed analytically. Other verbal categories expressed include PERSON and NUMBER, by virtue of the "agreement" system in the OV-s order. There is verb serialization in Teribe.

Finally, affixation is exclusively suffixal (with the exception of numeral classifiers, which are prefixes (cf. 8a-b)). There is little noun morphology; as for verbal morphology, the (transitive) verb takes as many as two suffixes, one for aspect/mood and one for person (which includes number), as can be seen in (2), (4), and (8b) above.

### 1.5 Previous studies

Though valuable, the existing information on the Teribe language is scarce. It is basically the result of the work of two linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the 1970's, Carol Koontz and Joanne Anderson. Koontz & Anderson (1974) is a sketchy description of the Teribe phonological system, while Koontz & Anderson (1975) offers an outline of Teribe verbal morphology and clause combining. Koontz (1977) and Koontz & Anderson (1977) are both studies from the perspective of discourse grammar. Heinze (1979) provides a "survival guide" for first-time visitors to Changuinola. Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.), a 21-lesson booklet conceived as an alphabetization guide, contains a large glossary and some stories (not glossed), translated into Spanish; such translations are helpful for the analysis of certain structures. The alphabet per se, however, is not felicitous because it fails to recognize phonological distinctions, in addition to making a rather inconsistent representation of the phonemic-graphematic relation (that is, every word is spelled as articulated in every instance, so there is no possibility for a standardized spelling).

The most recent descriptions of the Teribe grammar stem all from the Teribe project, 'Aspects of Teribe Grammar', funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, written by this author. These include an analysis of the phenomenon of inversion (Quesada 1998), a description of the Teribe noun phrase (Quesada 1999b), a description of the coding of the basic syntactic relations and a disclaimer that there is ergativity in Teribe (Quesada 2000b), as suggested in Constenla (1997). The analyses in those papers have in some cases been modified in the present work, while others mirror the original analysis. This book is thus the first extensive, though by no means flawless, reference grammar of the Teribe language.

Prior to the beginning of the Teribe project, the reencounter of the Teribes and Terrabas was documented (Quesada 2000a). That book includes a collection of stories told by Teribes in their language, with glosses and a free translation into Spanish, and by the Terrabas in Spanish, about their separation and reunification after 300 years. The collection is preceded by an ample typological sketch of the language with plenty of examples. Certain assertions about the language, contained in Koontz & Anderson (1975), are disputed, as are in this book where applicable. At the same time, being the result of a very early stage of research, some of the analyses presented in that work have been revisited and modified both in the papers mentioned above and in this grammar. In other words, the analyses presented in this grammar overstep those in that book.

As for the Terraba dialect, the first report is an outdated amateur description of aspects of the grammar such as pronouns, verb "tenses", and the like, by Gagini & Pittier (1891), followed by Pittier (1892), which contains a list of phrases and a glossary. The other two sources containing some material about this dialect, basically phrases and isolated words, are by Thiel (1882) and Thiel (n.d.). In the 20th century Diaz (1976) provides a generative grammar of Terraba. Portilla (1986) describes the process of shift and the death of the Terraba dialect, placing excessive emphasis on the aspect of interference, so little is to be learned in terms of the structure of the language; much of the material used to evidence interferences is based on Koontz & Anderson (1975). Portilla (1989) attempts a reconstruction of Proto-Teribe phonology, again based on Koontz & Anderson (1974); since the latter is not an accurate description of Teribe phonology, the reconstruction offered has to be taken with a grain of salt. At present, there appears to be a grammar of this dialect in progress by Constenla (personal communication), based on data collected approximately twenty years ago from the last fluent speakers of that dialect.

## 2. Phonology<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Phoneme inventory and realization

Teribe has 23 consonants and 13 vowels, the latter divided into two series, oral and nasal. (S1) shows the consonant system, while (S2) shows the vowels of this language.

#### (S1) *Teribe consonantal phonemes*

		Bilabial		Dento-alveolar		Alveopalatal	Velar		Glottal
		Asp	N-Asp	Asp	N-Asp		Asp	N-Asp	
Stop	vl.	p <sup>h</sup>	p	t <sup>h</sup>	t		k	k <sup>h</sup>	
	vd.		b		d			g	
Fricative	vl.			s		ʃ			h
	vd.			z		ʒ			
Affricate	vl.					tʃ			
Nasal			m		n	ɲ		ŋ	
Lateral flap					l				
Trill					r				
Glides			w				j		

#### (S2) *Teribe vowels*

	Oral			Nasal		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
Tense	i		u	ĩ		ũ
High Lax	ɪ		ʊ			
Mid	e		o	ẽ		õ
Low		a	ɑ		ã	

<sup>1</sup> The phonological description presented in this chapter differs radically in a lot of respects (e.g. phoneme inventory, distribution of phonemes, among many) from that offered by Koontz & Anderson (1974), in my view largely inaccurate. Since the main objective of this chapter is to provide a description of the phonology of Teribe, not a detailed discussion or comparison of previous analyses, discrepancies between the above mentioned source and the present description will go unmentioned, even in cases where descriptive aspects not covered by said authors are brought into the description, a case in point being the admittedly marginal role of tone in the language. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Marília Facó Soares for helpful and insightful criticism on excerpts of this chapter. Needless to say, all shortcomings are mine.

## 2.1.1 Vowels

As (S2) shows, the nasal series does not include the high lax segments, nor the low back one. The treatment that the language gives to those vowels, in addition to "exclusion" from the nasal series (see 2.1.1.1 and 2.2.1 below) makes these segments appear as somehow secondary in the system. Illustration of the phonemic status and phonotactics of the vocalic segments follows in the next two subsections.

## 2.1.1.1 Oral vowels

Minimal pairs exist between all oral vowels in the language. The front and back series contrast in height:

- (1) /i/ /di/ 'water' /u/ /suk/ 'burn'  
 /ɪ/ /dɪ/ 'look after/raise' /ʊ/ /sok/ 'positional: sit'  
 /e/ /de/ 'question marker' /o/ /sok/ 'size'

The central low vowel contrasts with the mid vowels, central and back:

- (2) /e/ /sek/ 'sew' /o/ /sok/ 'size'  
 /a/ /sak/ 'cemetery'

The two low vowels contrast with each other and with the mid vowels, front and back:

- (3) /e/ /be/ 'remain' /o/ /bo/ 'fruit'  
 /a/ /ba/ 'his/her' /a/ /ba/ 'brother-in-law'

Other contrasts by position include:

- (4) /i/ /k<sup>h</sup>i/ 'reed, cord' /u/ /k<sup>h</sup>u/ 'alligator'  
 /ɪ/ /dɪ/ 'look after, raise' /ʊ/ /dʊ/ 'monkey'  
 /e/ /tek/ 'come' /o/ /tok/ 'there is/are'

Oral vowels are found in all positions within the syllable:

- | (5) | <u>Initial</u>   | <u>Medial</u>   | <u>Final</u>       |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|     | /ik/ 'cassava'   | /dik/ 'as'      | /di/ 'water'       |
|     | /ɪp/ 'corn'      | /sɪp/ 'meat'    | /tɪ/ 'write, sing' |
|     | /e/ 'that'       | /hek/ 'come'    | /dre/ 'foot'       |
|     | /ak/ 'stone'     | /kak/ 'seven'   | /ma/ 'fish'        |
|     | /un/ 'all'       | /kuk/ 'listen'  | /tu/ 'yam'         |
|     | /un/ 'animal'    | /kuk/ 'kneel'   | /bu/ 'belly'       |
|     | /op/ 'reflexive' | /kok/ 'place'   | /so/ 'tapir'       |
|     | /at/ 'arrive'    | /mar/ 'protect' | /ta/ 'flu'         |

The most remarkable feature in the realization of the vocalic segments in Teribe, height fluctuation, will be described in 2.2.1.

## 2.1.1.2 Nasal vowels

Nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels:

- (6) /ĩ/ vs /i/ /ĩk/ 'see' vs /ik/ 'cassava'  
 /ũ/ vs /u/ /ũ/ 'thief' vs /lu/ 'year'  
 /õ/ vs /o/ /nõ/ 'bad smell' vs /no/ 'person'  
 /ã/ vs /a/ /mã/ 'useless' vs /ma/ 'fish'

No minimal pair has been found between the mid front vowels, /ẽ/ and /e/, respectively.

Minimal pairs between nasal vowels are scarce:

- (7) /ĩ/ vs /õ/ /kĩ/ 'because' vs /kõ/ 'dwarf banana'  
 /ũ/ vs /ã/ /hũ/ 'here' vs /hã/ '(now and) later'  
 /ĩ/ vs /ã/ /sĩ/ 'dark' vs /sã/ 'snake'  
 /ẽ/ vs /õ/ /nẽ/ 'nose' vs /nõ/ 'bad smell'

In general, nasal vowels have a very low frequency. With the exception of the high vowels, especially the front one (/ĩ/), nasal vowels cannot begin a syllable; that is, they do not appear in a syllable pattern of the VC type; but they can be the nucleus of an open syllable. As for closed syllables, with exception of the high front nasal vowel (e.g. /ĩk/ 'see'), and a couple of instances of the mid front one, /ẽ/, as in /twlẽk/ 'buy', /sojnẽk/ 'sell', and /wlẽk/ 'find', the position of all other nasal vowels is restricted to open syllables. Nasal vowels rarely appear in unstressed syllables; (open) monosyllabic words containing a nasal vowel as its nucleus are generally stressed; this is also true of the only monosyllabic, nasal monosegmental word identified so far: /ã/ 'to crow (the cock)'.

## 2.1.2 Consonants

## 2.1.2.1 Stops

Each point of articulation in the stop series has three phonemes, a voiced one and two voiceless ones opposed in terms of aspiration. The former opposition is illustrated in the following examples:

- (8) BILABIAL /pa/ 'you sg.' vs /ba/ 'his/her'  
 /pin/ 'I teach' vs /bin/ 'large green banana'  
 /pi/ 'sleep' vs /bi/ 'dance'
- (9) DENTO-ALVEOLAR /tan/ 'already' vs /dan/ 'dry'  
 /tɪ/ 'write, sing' vs /dɪ/ 'look after/raise'  
 /to/ 'go' vs /do/ 'thick'
- (10) VELAR /ko/ 'name' vs /go/ 'with (instrumental)'  
 /kur/ 'I hear' vs /gur/ 'bat'

/poklo/ 'bed' vs /poglo/ 'hammock'

As for the opposition by aspiration, the main characteristics of aspiration in Teribe are as follows. First, it is rather marginal in the language, there being not many minimal pairs; aspirated phonemes occur only in word-initial position. Second, aspiration is a rather lenis articulation; this fact, in addition to the third feature of aspiration, namely the tendency to aspirate (in a likewise lenis articulation) all voiceless stops in word-initial position, makes it difficult to ascertain the phonemic status of aspirated segments in initial position. The decision to assign phonological value to a given aspirated stop must therefore rest exclusively on the existence of minimal pairs, some of which are illustrated as follows:

- (11) BILABIAL /pir/ 'sink' vs /p<sup>h</sup>ir/ 'finish'  
 /pɪ/ 'sleep' vs /p<sup>h</sup>ɪ/ 'hit'
- (12) DENTO-ALVEOLAR /tuk/ 'escape' vs /t<sup>h</sup>uk/ 'corner'  
 /tɪr/ 'I write' vs /t<sup>h</sup>ɪr/ 'grandma'
- (13) VELAR /kor/ 'darkness' vs /k<sup>h</sup>or/ 'tree'  
 /ki/ 'selfishness' vs /k<sup>h</sup>i/ 'reed, cord'

Examples of contrast among the stops as determined by point of articulation follow:

- (14) /p/ vs /t/ /pa/ 'you sg.' vs /ta/ 'I'  
 /t/ vs /k/ /ta/ 'flu' vs /ka/ 'cocoa'  
 /p/ vs /k/ /piŋ/ 'teach' vs /kiŋ/ 'on, above'
- (15) /b/ vs /d/ /bor/ 'my, me' vs /dor/ 'sister of a male'  
 /d/ vs /g/ /do/ 'thick' vs /go/ 'with (instrumental)'  
 /b/ vs /g/ /ba/ 'his/her' vs /ga/ 'and, thus, so'

Examples of minimal "trios", albeit the only ones found so far, exist in the case of the bilabial and dento-alveolar series but not in the velar one:

- (16) /bɪ/ 'dance' vs /pɪ/ 'sleep' vs /p<sup>h</sup>ɪ/ 'hit'  
 /dɪ/ 'look after' vs /tɪ/ 'write' vs /t<sup>h</sup>ɪ/ 'corn hectare'

As pointed out above, the aspirated stops occur in syllable-initial position, with lenis articulation, which can be taken as indicating the existence of two allophones, an aspirated one [p<sup>h</sup>] and a non-aspirated one [p], the former occurring in contexts in which the speakers feel that there might be confusion. Another instance in which the aspirated variant occurs is for emphatic purposes; thus the adverb /p<sup>h</sup>irga/ is regularly realized as [pɪr.ga], on one occasion (in the text in 5.3) the speaker clearly aspirates the stop when stating that he finished cleaning the entrails of a wild pig that had been hunted: [ʒaŋ.po.ror.↑p<sup>h</sup>ɪr], 'I cleaned the entrails'.

The non-aspirated bilabial stop /p/ can appear in syllable-initial (illustrated in (8) above) and syllable-final position, as in (17) below, in which case it is articulated slightly less strongly:

- (17) [ʃtop'] 'nephew'  
 [ʃup'] 'pejivalle' (*Guiljelma utilis*)  
 [ro.kɪp'] 'you ask'

In cases in which it appears in syllable-final position, and followed by a voiced segment, assimilation by voice optionally occurs; thus, in the case of <tlapga> ('ancestor, elder'), both [p] and [b] may follow:

[tlap.ga] ~ [tlab.ga]

/p/ can also precede liquids, in initial position only, though:

- (19) /pli/ 'hunger'  
 /plu/ 'king'  
 /pri.bri/ 'around'

Another feature of /p/ in final position is the fact that it can also undergo assimilation by nasalization; thus, the reflexive pronoun /op/ is realized as [om] if preceding a nasal segment, as in (20):

- (20) /op + nek/ → [om.nek'] 'hide'

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ occurs in syllable-initial position, as shown above, and followed by liquids in that position, as in /brik/ 'leave'. In most cases, however, it is followed by vowels. In intervocalic position it becomes a bilabial fricative [β]:

- (21) [o.βi] 'again'  
 [su.ra.βa] 'they (other subject) took it away'  
 [o.βa] 'people'

The same realization occurs when it appears between a vowel and a vocalic consonant, usually a liquid, in syllable-initial position:

- (22) [o.βri] 'different'  
 [wo.βro] 'while'

It does not become fricative, however, if the liquid precedes it (note that the liquid is a multiple vibrant, as opposed to the preceding example, where it is simple, no doubt multiplicity of vibration at syllable boundary is playing a role in the blocking of fricative articulation):

- (23) [wor.bo] 'border'

The dento-alveolar stops behave in a way similar to that of the bilabial stops. Aspiration is rather lenis, the locus of the aspirated segment /t<sup>h</sup>/ being restricted to word-

initial position (see (12) above). The principles alluded to above in relation to the distribution of the two variants of the aspirated bilabial phoneme govern the distribution of its two variants [t<sup>h</sup>] and [t], the latter tending to be rather dental [t̪].

The non-aspirated dento-alveolar stop appears in syllable-initial position, as shown in (9) above, and also in syllable-final position, in which case its articulation is rather lenis.

- (24) [ˈpe.sit̪] 'later'  
 [ʒet̪] 'fast'  
 [ˈnot̪.so] 'well, fine'

It can also be followed by liquids (in syllable-initial position), and occur in intervocalic position as well, but, as opposed to the bilabial (and velar) stops, it does not undergo sonorization as readily; thus:

- (25a) /wo.tlik/ → [ˈwō.tlik̚] \*['wō.dlik̚] 'think'  
 /da.ta/ → [ˈda.ta] \*['da.da] 'father'

but

- (25b) /dre.te/ → [ˈdre.de] 'there is not (suppletive form for existence)'

(25b) occurs rather sporadically and does not represent standard speech.

The voiced dento-alveolar stop appears in initial position (see (9) above) and followed by liquids in that position:

- (26) /dlo/ 'sun'  
 /dli/ 'food, meal'  
 /dre/ 'foot'

A peculiarity of this segment is that it forms clusters with the other two voiced stops in initial position; such clusters constitute an instance of a very productive double articulation where no traces of a vocalic segment can be perceived in between.<sup>2</sup>

- (27a) db /dboy/ [d̪boŋ] 'tiger'  
 /d̪bar/ [d̪bar] 'day'  
 /d̪bur/ [d̪bur] 'money'  
 /d̪buk/ [d̪buk̚] 'throw away, overthrow'  
 /d̪bo.rjɪ/ [ˈd̪bo.rjɪ] 'answer'
- (27b) dg /dgur/ [d̪g̠ur] 'snake'  
 /dgɪ/ [d̪g̠ɪ] 'plant'  
 /d̪ge/ [d̪ge] 'long ago'  
 /d̪gu.kwo/ [ˈd̪gu.kwo] 'piece, pack (Sp. *tamuga*)'

<sup>2</sup> A cluster containing two stops is also found in the number 'four' /pkeɪ/. This combination has been attested only in this case.

/dgo.no/ [d̪go.'no] 'boiled'

Following a vowel, the dento-alveolar stop sometimes becomes fricative:

- (28) /ta.wa.ip.kwo.dgo.no/  
 [ta.βa.,ip̚.kwo.d̪go.↑'no]  
 'We planted corn'

However, a more frequent realization of /d/ is as tap, usually in intervocalic position at word boundary:

- (29) /ta.kim.ti.mi.de/  
 [ta.kim.'te.↑mi.→re]  
 'Will you (pl.) help me?'

Finally, behavior of the velar stop does not differ significantly from that of the other stops. The aspirated segment has two allophones, [k<sup>h</sup>] and [k], whose distribution follows the pattern of the other aspirated segments in the system. It is restricted to word-initial position; examples were given in (13) above.

The non-aspirated velar stop, /k/, appears in syllable-initial position, as illustrated in (10) above. In that position, it is followed by both vowels and liquids:

- (30) /kaga/ 'head'  
 /kur/ 'I hear'  
 /kloʃo/ 'grass, bush'  
 /kru/ 'get, fetch, obtain'

In syllable-final position it is articulated in a lenis manner:

- (31) [do.'pok̚] 'numeral classifier for one (animate objects)'  
 [tok̚] 'there is/are'

In both intervocalic position and when preceding a voiced segment, it tends to become voiced, its realization being fricative:

- (32) [ˈhe.ɾe.roŋ] 'he came down'  
 [ˈkax̚.zoŋ] 'hair'

In the first of the two preceding examples, /-k/ precedes the glottal fricative /h/ (/hek.her.oŋ/), <jek jerong> 'came down'), which has been deleted; the sequence Vk + V appears, thereby creating the context for lenition, and for stress placement. Voicing of /k/ when followed by a liquid only occurs in unstressed syllables; this is the case of the purposive suffix /-klo/, which serves to derive nouns from verbs (notice the "regressive" vowel harmony in the second example), cf. 2.2.1 on vowel harmony and 3.1.1.2 on nominal derivation:

- (33) /huŋ + klo/ → [ˈhuŋ.glo] 'sharpen' (/huŋ/ = 'sharpen')  
 /dan + klo/ → [ˈdoŋ.glo] 'dryer' (/dan/ = 'dry')

The voiced velar stop /g/, like the other voiced stops, occurs in syllable-initial position (see (10) above), followed by liquids and in intervocalic position. In the last two instances it tends to become fricative [ɣ]:

- (34) /ka.ga/ [ˈka.ɣa] 'head'  
 /kim.ta.ga/ [ˈkim.ta.ɣa] 'helper, aid, assistant'  
 /do.glo/ [ˈdo.ɣlo] 'numeral classifier for three (animate objects)'  
 /ko.glo/ [ˈkʰo.ɣro] 'girl'

It is also followed by the bilabial glide /w/, syllable-initially, in which case it also tends to be articulated in a fricative manner (if the preceding syllable is open, fricativization is almost certain):

- (35) /ko.gwa/ [ˈko.ɣwa] 'stepfather'  
 /kwe.gwo/ [ˈkwe.ɣwo] 'turtle'

No doubt, lack of stress also contributes to the fricativization of this segment.

### 2.1.2.2 Fricatives

The four fricative phonemes appear chiefly in initial position, where most of the minimal pairs are found, and in initial-position clusters, of which they are the first members:

- (36) /s/ vs /z/: /sok/ 'size' vs /zok/ 'pubic hair'  
 /sɪ/ 'alive' vs /zɪ/ 'cut'  
 /se.no/ 'he became tired' vs /ze.no/ 'he got cold'  
 /san/ 'come back' vs /zan/ 'spend'
- (37) /ʃ/ vs /ʒ/: /ʃɪr/ 'I take out' vs /ʒɪr/ 'hoarse'  
 /ʃik/ 'take out' vs /ʒik/ 'wishbone-shape'  
 /ʃu.go/ 'anteater' vs /ʒu.go/ 'up there'

There is little neutralization of the voiced/voiceless opposition; in the sporadic cases attested, that neutralization occurs in syllable-initial position, and it is basically the voiced member of the opposition that loses its sonority:

- (38) /dli.wl̩.na.lok.ʒe.bo.plu.zon.ʒɪ.ʃur.bo.ʒɪ.kebin.ʒɪ/  
 [dli.'wl̩.na.rok'.ʃe.bo||'plu.zoŋ.ʃɪ||'ʃur.bo.ʃe||'ke.βin.ʃe]  
 'People brought us food, meals, palm hearts, plantains'

In the preceding example there is no falling intonation (as would be expected, cf. 2.3.1) probably because of the series context, in which there appears to be a clash between the end of the series and the intonation; apparently, the speaker had a longer list in mind but found herself short of elements and stopped there.

Each of the alveopalatal phonemes has a voiced and a voiceless allophone, respectively, with the phonemic counterpart used in free variation sporadically. The only case

of allophonic variation is that of the negative particle /ʒɪme/, which in rapid speech becomes [hm]; this realization of the voiced alveopalatal fricative as glottal fricative is exclusive to this item.

Clusters consist of the fricative segment followed by a liquid or a stop; such clusters are abundant in the language, especially when the fricative element is voiceless (but see below); a remarkable exception to this tendency are the clusters /sp-/ and /st-/, unattested. (39a) illustrates clusters whose second member is a liquid, while (39b) shows clusters whose second element is a stop:

- (39a) /srɪŋ/ 'blood' /ʃri/ 'wild pig'  
 /sɫar/ 'cry' /ʃrɪ/ 'arrive'  
 /sɫoŋ/ 'next to' /ʃruŋ/ 'gray hairy'
- (39b) /skwɪ/ 'take off (clothes)' /ʃpok/ 'hit (with a stick)'  
 /skus.toŋ/ 'hung' /ʃta.ta/ 'worm'  
 /skok/ 'break' /ʃkaw/ 'nine'

The second element in a fricative-initial cluster can also be a nasal:

- (40) /smo/ 'cold' /ʃmi/ 'laziness'

In cases like the previous two, the fricative does not become voiced; similarly, there are cases in which the voiceless alveopalatal fricative precedes a voiced stop in the cluster, voicing is by no means automatic here either (the same is true for the cases of fricative + liquid, above); that is, the voiced and the voiceless allophones are in free variation:

- (41) /ʃdar/ [ʃdar] 'distribute, share, portion'  
 /sde.kwo/ [sde.kwo] 'culture'  
 /ʃgik/ [ʃgik] 'to squash'  
 /sgɪ/ [sgɪ] 'become used to'

Three-member clusters include the fricative segment, followed by a stop (generally the velar one) and a bilabial glide:

- (42) /skwik/ 'folding bed, cot'  
 /skwē/ 'crazy'  
 /ʃkwer.bo/ 'cotton belt'

Fricative + glide in initial position is also frequent:

- (43) /ʃwoŋ/ 'dress'  
 /ʃwi/ 'crutch'

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs in syllable-initial position only. In rapid speech it tends to be deleted, but only at word boundary; in word-medial position it is not deleted:

- (44a) /hek+her.oŋ/ [ˈhe.ɣe.roŋ] 'came down'

/twe+hon/            ['twe.ɔŋ]            'came and stood'

but

(44b) /ko.hon/            ['ko.hon]/\*['ko.ɔŋ]    'get up'

There are a couple of clusters in which /b/ is the first member, followed by a liquid.

(45) /hlōe/            'truth'

/hlō.ko.jo/            'truly'

### 2.1.2.3. A case of phonological split: the alveopalatal affricate

The alveopalatal affricate segment /tʃ/ appears as a recent acquisition of the Teribe phonological system, concretely as the result of a phonological split. /tʃ/ seems to stem from the palatalization of the cluster /ts/ before the high front vowel, and of the alveolar stop /t/ before that vocalic segment. The clearest instance of the hypothesized situation appears in (46):

(46) /tsi.ra/ [tsi.'ra] ~ [si.'ra] 'a little, some'            vs    /tʃi.ra/ ['tʃi.ra] 'small'

Note that there is a change in stress placement, in addition, of course, to the new, albeit related, meaning, as is to be expected in a case like this. In addition, /tʃira/ has given rise, via derivation, to the word /tʃi.ra.wa/ → ['tʃi.ra.βa] 'very little, little one', which is not realized as \*['tʃi.ra.βa].

The other likely source of /tʃ/, could be the causative verb *ichē* /itʃi/, 'let, command, send, make, order' (the other item where /tʃ/ occurs), presumably as the result of palatalization of /itʃi/. That the original phonetic cause has been extended is evidenced by the fact that the affricate realization is not limited to the forms of that verb that contain front vowels (in which case it would be a case of palatalization, plain and simple), but has been extended to forms containing non-front vowels:

(47) /itʃara/            →    ['i.tʃa.ra]            'he let him'

/itʃoror/            →    ['i.tʃo.ror]            'I let (him)'

While there are still speakers, mainly older ones, that sporadically exhibit a non-palatalized realization of the affricate segment before the low central vowel ([i.tʃa.ra]), the palatalized realization before the back vowel is categorical; thus there is no \*['i.tʃo.ror]. On the other hand, sequences containing the alveolar stop plus the palatal glide do not show affrication.

(48) /tʃi/            →    [tʃe]/\*[tʃe]            'climb'

/tʃono/            →    ['tʃo.no]/\*['tʃo.no]            'climbed'

The alveopalatal affricate segment has a very reduced frequency, appearing in no more than half a dozen items, which suggests that its phonologization is incipient. Most of the items containing this new phoneme include loan words, such as <Changuinola> (the Miskitu name of the nearest non-Teribe town), <champi>; 'turkey', the term used in some varieties of

Central American Spanish, or <kochi> ['ko.tʃi], 'pig', which has cognates in the neighboring Talamanca languages, where /tʃ/ has a much higher frequency and functional load.<sup>3</sup> It might well be the case that such loans have played a role in the incipient phonologization of /tʃ/

### 2.1.2.4 Nasals

The nasal phonemes contrast mainly in initial position, which is where their frequency is highest; exception to this statement has to be made of the velar nasal /ŋ/, which is limited to final position:

(49) /m/	vs	/n/	vs	/ɲ/
/ma/ 'fish'		/na/ 'here'		/ɲa/ 'figure'
/mo/ 'jealousy'		/no/ 'person'		/ɲo/ 'lie'

The velar nasal contrasts in final position with the alveolar one:

(50) /n/ vs /ɲ/:	/jon/ 'fine, good'	vs	/joŋ/ 'floor'
	/sin/ 'pregnancy symptom'	vs	/siŋ/ 'a woman's brother'
	/kɲun/ 'bark (dogs)'	vs	/kɲuŋ/ 'earth, soil'

The alveolar-velar opposition is morphophonemic:

(51)	/pin/ 'I teach'	vs	/piŋ/ 'to teach'
	/hun/ 'I sharpen'	vs	/huŋ/ 'to sharpen'

In general, all nasals have only one realization, except for the alveolar nasal, which has a velar allophone in (syllable-)final position, apparently in free variation:

(52)	/poskwon/ →	['pos.kwon] ~ ['pos.kwoŋ]	'lend'
	/paNʃo/ →	['pan.ʃo] ~ ['paŋ.ʃo]	'clouds'

There are two sources of variation in the realization of the velar nasal. One is the tendency to neutralize the velar feature of /ɲ/ in final position if followed by a vowel or by a homorganic consonant, in which case, the velar realization in final position becomes alveolar

(53)	/siŋ/ 'a woman's brother'	→	['sin+de] 'the woman's brother + obviative marker'
	/kuŋ/ 'grow up'	→	['ku.no] 'grew up'
	/teŋ/ 'belong; positional: be'	→	['ten+ʔde] 'does it belong?/is it (there)?'

The other instance of allophonic variation concerns the velar nasal, which is sometimes deleted in rapid speech; this deletion only applies to unstressed items. The second case in (54) below, the unstressed syllable corresponds to the postposition /koŋ/ 'to':

(54)	/u.toŋ/ →	['u.to]	'arrived'
	/ba+koŋ/ →	['ba+ko]	'with him'
	/ʃaŋ/ →	[ʃa]	'positional: stand'

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Bribri /kútʃi/, Boruca /kutʃi/, Cabécar /kutʃi/.

Finally, the bilabial nasal /m/ can also appear in syllable-final position, and its realization is bilabial [m]:

- (55) /kum/ 'size'  
 /ʒum/ 'up'  
 /sdam/ 'low land'

### 2.1.2.5 The lateral flap

This phoneme appears only in initial position (followed by a vowel) and following stops in clusters:

- (56) /lago/ 'beach'  
 /li/ 'relativizer, topic marker'  
 /dlo/ 'sun'  
 /tlapga/ 'elder, ancestor, lord'  
 /kloʃo/ 'grass, bush'

/l/ has three allophones: [ɭ], [l], and [ɾ]. In initial position, it is realized either as [ɭ] or as [l], depending on speech speed. Contexts favoring the non-flap articulation are intervocalic position and certain clusters. The tap allophone [ɾ] does not appear in initial or intervocalic position, its distribution being limited to clusters. Examples of intervocalic realization follow:

- (57) /dba.la/ [d̥ba.'la] ~ [d̥ba.'la] 'star'  
 /a.li/ [a+'li] ~ [a.li] 'the devil' (/a/ 'devil' + /li/ 'topic marker')  
 /wa.li/ [wa.'li] ~ [wa.'li] 'woman'  
 /wo.lso/ [wo.'li.so] ~ [wo.'ri.so] 'pretty, nice'

As for its realization in clusters, in general, it is as follows: if the preceding stop is voiced /l/ becomes [ɾ]; if the stop is voiceless, it is realized as [l]:

- (58a) /poglo/ [p<sup>h</sup>o.ɾro] 'hammock'  
 /doglo/ [d̥o.ɾro] 'numeral classifier for three, animate objects'  
 /koglo/ [k<sup>h</sup>o.ɾro] 'girl'  
 (58b) /poklo/ [po.klo] 'bed'  
 /wotlik/ ['wō.tlik̚] 'think'  
 /tlē/ [tlē] 'speak'  
 /tlōkwo/ [tlō.kwo] 'language'  
 /kloʃo/ [klo.ʃo] 'grass, bush'

As noted above, these rules are dependent on speech speed. In general, slow speech tends to favor the flap articulation [ɭ], while the allophones (in the distribution explained) appear in rapid speech.

There are clusters whose first member is the bilabial glide. In those cases /ɭ/ has two allophones in free variation, [ɭ] and [ɾ]:

- (59) /wlor.kɪ/ [wlor.'kɪ] ~ [wror.'kɪ] 'hunt'  
 /wlar/ [wlar] ~ [wrar] 'sit down'

When the first element of the cluster is a sibilant, both [ɭ] and [ɾ] appear, again with speed being the determining factor; the former occurs in slow speech while the latter occurs in rapid speech:

- (60) /sloŋ/ [sloŋ] ~ [sroŋ] 'next to'  
 /slar/ [slar] ~ [srar] 'cry'

### 2.1.2.6 The trill

The last consonantal phoneme in the Teribe inventory has two main variants, an alveolar multiple vibrant [r] and a tap [ɾ]; the former appears in initial and final position, while the latter occurs elsewhere (though in syllable-final position they seem to be in free variation):

- (61) /ro/ [ro] 'inside'  
 /res/ [res] 'rice'  
 /rokɪr/ [ro.kɪr] 'I ask'  
 /p<sup>h</sup>ir/ [p<sup>h</sup>ir] 'finish'  
 /ara/ [a.ra] 'much'  
 /ɲorkɪ/ [ɲor.kɪ]/[ɲor.kɪ] 'lie'  
 /irpana/ [ir.pa.na]/[ir.pa.na] 'he followed (him)'

Another realization of the trill is as an alveolar stop [t], a clear case of dissimilation, which occurs when it appears in final position; this realization is in free variation with the multiple vibrant:

- (62) /kimtɪr/ [kim.tɪt] 'I help'  
 /p<sup>h</sup>ir/ [p<sup>h</sup>it] 'finish'  
 /ber/ [bet] 'remain'

The trill occurs in initial position, in final position (as illustrated in (61) and (62) above), respectively. It also occurs as the second member in clusters. The first member of a cluster can be a sibilant or a stop; in these contexts, it is realized as a tap:

- (63) /zrok/ [zrok̚] 'kill'



/srɪŋ/	[srɪŋ]	'blood'
/ʃragwan/	[ʃra.ɡwan]	'parallel poles'
/brik/	[brikʰ]	'leave'
/prik/	[prikʰ]	'bind, tie'
/dre/	[dre]	'foot'
/trak/	[trakʰ]	'scarce, little'
/kri/	[kri]	'get'
/ʒgriŋ/	[ʒgriŋ]	'rib'

### 2.1.3 Glides and diphthongs

The two glides are very productive in Teribe, not so much in terms of diphthongization but rather in terms of contrasts between the two, as well as in their presence in clusters, especially the bilabial one. Contrasts between the two follow:

(64)	/wono/	'bathed'	vs	/jono/	'drank, consumed'
	/wa/	'son, daughter'	vs	/ja/	'vomit (noun)'
	/wo/	'liver'	vs	/jo/	'earthquake'
	/woŋ/	'iguana'	vs	/joŋ/	'floor'

/w/ frequently appears as the first and/or second element in clusters; in the first case, it is usually followed by a liquid:

(65)	/wlorɔkɪ/	'hunt'
	/wlar/	'sit'
	/wlo/	'wasp'
	/wlēp/	'docile'

As the second element in clusters, /w/ is usually preceded by obstruents; notice the presence of the liquid phoneme following the glide in most of these obstruent-initial clusters

(66)	/twlo/	'price, value'
	/twlēk/	'buy'
	/dwlo/	'medicine'
	/kwli/	'rabbit'
	/swlo/	'illness'
	/ʃwoŋ/	'dress'
	/ʃwliŋ/	'deer'
	/ʒwek/	'fix, solve'

It can also be the third element in a cluster:

(67)	/skwē/	'crazy'
	/skwik/	'folding bed, cot'

It can even be followed by a fourth consonant in a cluster:

(68)	/ʃkwli/	'strength'
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As for diphthongs, rising ones are by far the more common:

(69)	/ʃkaw/	'nine'
	/srow/	'jump'

The palatal glide /j/ appears in syllable-initial position, and as such in rising diphthongs:

(70)	/ji/	'eat, consume'
	/jara/	'he put'
	/aja/	'evil spirit, devil'
	/plujo/	'majesty'
	/suja/	'burn (imperfective inverse)'

The diphthongs /ja/ and /jo/ are morphemes; the former is the inverse imperfective marker and the latter is a lexical suffix used to derive 'abstract' concepts out of more concrete ones (cf. 3.1.1.2); such is the case of /plu/ 'king' → /plujo/ 'majesty'.

In syllable-initial position, /j/ appears in a few clusters, as the first member

(71)	/jbi/	'sukia'
	/jga/	'skunk'

It should be noted that in the case of /jbi/ 'sukia', for some speakers, the word has no glide; for them it consists of only two segments /bi/. There are no large clusters formed with /j/, as is the case with /w/. In most cases, /j/ is the second member of a cluster, whose first member is generally a stop:

(72)	/kjoŋ/	'boat'
	/kjo/	'oil'
	/tji/	'climb up'
	/djoŋ/	'liquid'
	/mja/	'three'

As for falling diphthongs, these are more numerous than the falling ones formed with the other glide because of the morphological status of /j/, namely as marker of first person plural inclusive. Examples of falling diphthongs formed that way include.

(73)	/plōj/	'we thrust it into the earth'
	/ʃarɔj/	'we make'

/prij/	'we tie up, bind'
/poʃtɨj/	'we tear, cleave'

"Authentic" falling diphthongs include:

(74) /boj/	'wife, trap'
/tej/	'ideophone' (used to simulate a gunshot)
/bej/	'half'
/soj/	'near'
/ʃij/	'a man's older brother'
/ʃūj/	'guaba' ( <i>Inga laurina</i> ). <sup>4</sup>

Two forms that consist of a base (a postposition and a demonstrative), respectively, plus the locative postposition /j/, have become rather bonded and can be regarded as cases in between the two just mentioned:

(75) /ej/	'there'
/roj/	'inside'

#### 2.1.4 Syllable structure

The following eight syllable types exist in Teribe.

(76a)	<u>Open</u>	
V	/a/	'devil'
CV	/ta/	'cold, flu'
CCV	/pli/	'hunger'

In this type, the first segment is generally a stop, and the second one can be a liquid, as in the third case in (76a), or another stop, as in the first two cases in (76b):

(76b)	/dɨr/	'to plant'
	/dba/	'daytime'
(76c) CCCV	/dwlo/	'medicine'

An admittedly rare type, in which the last two consonants are the glide and a liquid is (76d):

(76d) CCCC	/ʃkwli/	'strength'
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(77a) Closed

VC	/ar/	'arrive'
CVC	/huŋ/	'sharpen'
CCVC	/trak/	'little'

<sup>4</sup> A long green fruit that contains seeds "wrapped" in an edible cotton-like tissue (the seeds are not edible); not to be confused with Eng. *Guava* (Sp. *Guayaba*, *Psidium guajava*).

The CCVC type has two main sequences; one consists of a stop followed by a liquid, as in the third case in (77a); the other, more widespread, structure/pattern is that containing a cluster of two stops in pre-nuclear position:

(77b)	/dboy/	'tiger'
	/dbur/	'money'
	/dbuk/	'throw away, overthrow'
	/dɨur/	'snake'

Non-existent in the language are:

- (77c) \*VCC  
\*CCCVC

## 2.2 Phonological processes

The three most characteristic phonological processes of Teribe are described in this section. The first one pertains to the vowel system, while the remaining two occur within the consonant system.

### 2.2.1 Vowel harmony, vowel fluctuation and vowel dissimilation

As hinted at at the beginning of this chapter, some vowels exhibit fluctuating quality. The first context in which this fluctuation of the vowels occurs is that of vowel harmony, which in Teribe is "regressive": the quality of the vowel in the suffix determines that of the vowel in the stem. This occurs in both lexical and inflectional morphology. Examples of the former include the suffixes /-kwo/, /-klo/, and /-ga/:

(78) /dan + -klo/	→	/donklo/	['dɔŋglo]	'dryer' (/dan/ = 'dry')
/pɨ + -klo/	→	/poklo/		'bed' (/pɨ/ = 'sleep')
/tlē + -kwo/	→	/tlökwo/		'language' (/tlē/ = 'speak')
/parkɨ + -ga/	→	/parkaga/		'worker' (/parkɨ/ = 'work')
/kimtɨ + -ga/	→	/kimtaga/		'helper' (/kimtɨ/ = 'help')

As for inflectional morphology, vowel harmony occurs with verbs of Class IV, which ends in /l/ (see 3.2.1.3 and 3.2.1.4); among the suffixes triggering vowel harmony are the marker of perfective aspect in the SOV order /-no/, the marker of perfective aspect in the OV-s order /-ra/, and the imperative marker /-zoŋ/. Examples follow:

(79)			/-no/	
/wojɨr/	'want'	→	/wojɨno/	'wanted'
/dɨr/	'plant'	→	/dɨno/	'planted'
/zɨ/	'cut'	→	/zono/	'cut'
/kimtɨ/	'help'	→	/kimtono/	'helped'

	/parkɪ/	'work'	→	/parkono/	'worked'
	/ʃrɪ/	'arrive'	→	/ʃrono/	'arrived'
(80)				<i>/-ra/</i>	
	/wojdɪ/	'want'	→	/wojdara/	'wanted'
	/dɔɪ/	'plant'	→	/dɔgara/	'planted'
	/zɪ/	'cut'	→	/zara/	'cut'
	/kimtɪ/	'help'	→	/kimtara/	'helped'
(81)				<i>/-zoŋ/</i>	
	/dɪ/	'take care'	→	/dozoŋ/	'take care!'
	/zɪ/	'cut'	→	/zozoŋ/	'cut (it)'
	/koʃɪ/	'wait'	→	/koʃozoŋ/	'wait!'

The other process affecting vowel quality has to do with the fluctuation in the high-mid area, in both the front and back series, as well as in the low back area. Basically, the high lax vowels tend to fluctuate between one degree higher or lower, in certain environments, some of which remain obscure, wherefore it seems preferable to view that fluctuation as free variation. One of those environments triggering that fluctuation is open syllables in absolute final position, in which case the vowel falls by one degree:

(82a)	/ɪ/ → [e]:	/parkɪ/	→	[ˈpar.ke]	'work'
		/wɔrkɪ/	→	[wɔrɔr.ke]	'hunt'

Raising the quality of the vowel by one degree is also common.

(82b)	/ɪ/ → [i]:	/wɪ/	→	[wi]	'bathe'
		/krɪrwa/	→	[ˈkrir.wa]	'we (excl.) obtain'

The raising of the mid vowel is less common:

(82c)	/e/ → [ɪ]:	/tem/	→	[tɪm]	'go up'
		/dena/	→	[ˈdɪ.na]	'long ago, past'

I have registered <dena> both as [ˈdɪ.na] and [ˈde.na]; in Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.: 123) it appears with the high lax vowel, while in Heinze (1979: 42) it appears with the mid vowel. An interesting case is the obviative marker /dɪ/; if the dento-alveolar phoneme is realized as a tap [ɾ], the vowel is raised by one degree; if not, it falls by one degree, as in (83a-b) respectively.

(83a)	/i.ja.ba.pe.jo.ga.di/	
	[i̠j̠ä.ba.ˈpe.jo.ga.ɾi]	'his family saw it'
(83b)	/ta.ʃpo.ra.hwaŋ.dɪ/	
	[ta.ʃpo.ra.ˈhwan.de]	'Juan hit me'

However, even in isolation, the quality of the vowel fluctuates; thus the word <sing> 'a woman's brother' appears as [sin] <sing> in Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.: 140), which is the same quality I have registered; however, it is spelled with <ë>, that is, representing a lax vowel [ɪ], in Heinze (1979: 46), similar to <dena>, discussed above. Another instance of this fluctuation appears in the case of the verb <opzrik> 'enter, come in'. I have registered that word as ['obzrik'], and the spelling in Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.: 64) as <opzrëk> would also tend to confirm its phonological form as being /opzrik/; however, on the basis of a morphological test, namely the expression of that verb in the perfective aspect, it appears that it is one more case of vowel fluctuation; the perfective form of that verb is /opzrino/, which is a clear indicator that phonologically, there is no lax high vowel in that verb; otherwise, the corresponding form for the perfective aspect would be \*/opzrono/, by means of the rules of vowel harmony described above.

A similar situation occurs with the back vowels; the high vowel moves up and down:

(84a)	/ʊ/ → [o]:	/zrura/	→	[ˈzro.ra]	'killed'
		/tʊj/	→	[toj]	'ground, soil, down'
(84b)	/ʊ/ → [u]:	/druŋ/	→	[druŋ]	'machete'
		/ʊtoŋ/	→	[ˈu.to]	'arrived'

The fluctuation can be puzzling at times. For instance, I have registered the word corresponding to 'calabash' as /gok/, while it appears as /gok/ -spelled <gök>-in Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.: 126), and as /guk/ -spelled <guk>- in Koontz & Anderson (1974: 59)! The word corresponding to 'pubic hair' was uttered as [zuk] by one speaker during a narration, while another speaker corrected me in a session where isolated words were being read, suggesting [zok] instead; this last example shows that, if the isolated pronunciation is to be taken as "basic", the mid back vowels can also be raised by one degree. The case of 'calabash' can be analyzed in either direction.

Finally, in a like manner, the low back vowel tends to be realized rather centrally, although, curiously, this last phenomenon is more noticeable in younger speakers, while the others are common in the speech community as a whole. The change is unidirectional, however; it is the back vowel that is articulated centrally, but the low central vowel is not articulated as a back vowel:

(85)	/a/ → /aː:	/ʃaŋ/	→	[ʃaŋ] ~ [ʃa]	'positional verb, stand'
		/ʃtata/	→	[ˈʃta.ta]	'worm'

This neutralization is more dramatic in the case of the minimal pair:

(86)	/era/	'but'	vs	/era/	'just, only'
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which is realized as [ˈe.ra] in rapid speech. Of course, its position in the spoken chain, in addition to the intonational patterns, help "disambiguate" the situation. The fluctuations

described in this section make it difficult to posit phonemic forms, since not all cases can be subjected to morphological tests as in the case of /opzrik/, <opsrik> 'enter', dealt with above.

The last process involving the vowel system is that of vowel dissimilation, this is a non-productive process affecting a couple of items only. The mid back vowel /o/ is realized as high front [i] in the case of the postposition <dorko> → ['dir.ko]; in addition to rising to high position, the back vowel is shifted to the front position. The other instance of vowel dissimilation occurs in two members of the (singular) possessive pronoun paradigm

- (87a) 1. *botoya* [bo.'to.ja]  
 2. *bopoya* [bo.'po.ja]  
 3. *baīya* [ba.'i.ja]

The items corresponding to the first and second persons exhibit dissimilation of the stressed vowel, which shifts from its mid back position to front position, as in (87b); in this case the dissimilation involves change of position only, whereas the previous case involves both change in position and height:

- (87a) 1. *boteya* [bo.'te.ja]  
 2. *bopeya* [bo.'pe.ja]  
 3. *baīya* [ba.'i.ja]

The underlying factor seems to be the presence of stress in both cases; whereas in <dorko>, it is the first vowel, in the pronouns it is the second one that is affected; in both cases, however, the dissimilated vowel is the one bearing the stress. These two processes are diachronically conditioned, concretely, they constitute a case of variation by clan, and are not canonical realizations. Because of its restriction to these isolated items as well as its sociolinguistic range, vowel dissimilation does not represent a relevant process in Teribe phonology, but constitutes a sporadic one.

### 2.2.2 (De)Nasalization

There is a slight tendency for nasal vowels to transfer their nasalization to the vowel of the following syllable; this type of nasalization is more likely to occur if the following vowel is contiguous and unstressed:

- (88) /sīe/ → ['sī.ē] 'black'  
 /hlōe/ → ['hlō.ē] 'truth'  
 /ija/ → ['i.jā] 'he sees it' (inverse form)

Cases where the affected vowel is non-contiguous are sporadic:

- (89) /wējko/ → ['wēj.kō] 'the morning after'  
 /nēroj/ → ['nē.rōj] 'through the nose'

Similarly, there are instances in which the presence of a nasal consonant produces nasalization of a neighboring vowel; this is by no means a regular process:

- (90) /ipado/ → [i.'na.ðo] ~ [i.'nā.ðo] 'always, all the time'  
 /hiɲo/ → ['hī.nō] 'lie'

The other phenomenon related to nasalization, and already alluded to in 2.1.2.4, is the "deletion" of the velar nasal in rapid speech. As explained in that subsection, this deletion applies mainly to unstressed items. I repeat the examples here as (91), with a third one added, which contains a verbal series consisting of the movement verb <jek> 'go' and the positional verb <shāng>:

- (91) /u. + toŋ/ → ['u.to] 'arrived'  
 /ba+kon/ → ['ba.ko] 'with him'  
 /hek+ʃon/ → ['hek'.ʃa] 'went, was going'

The deletion of the velar nasal does not carry any "compensatory" nasalization of the preceding vowel, as the standard analysis of what goes on in languages like French or Portuguese claims.

As mentioned in 2.1.2.4, nasal contrasts are morphophonological (cf. (51)); it also plays an important role in the differentiation of transitive and intransitive verb classes, concretely, one of the four verb classes is established on the basis of the nasal status of the last vowel of the root. See 3.2.1.

### 2.2.3 Consonant clusters and consonant lenition

The description so far has already referred to the productivity of consonant clusters in Teribe, the most remarkable and productive being the combination of two stops in initial position (cf. 2.1.2.1) and those in which a sibilant appears as the first member (cf. 2.1.2.2). An inventory of the cluster types attested looks as follows:

- (92a) a. stop + stop: /dbala/ 'star'  
 b. sibilant + liquid ~ nasal ~ stop: /slar/ ~ /smo/ ~ /ʃta/ 'cry ~ cold ~ worm'  
 c. glottal + liquid: /hlōe/ 'truth'  
 d. stop + liquid: /tlē/ 'speak'  
 e. sibilant + stop + liquid: /ʒgrin/ 'rib'

Clusters b-e can be collapsed into one template, as in (92b), b. only partially, though.

- (92b) [(sibilant) [stop + liquid]]

where the common element is the liquid segment. The remaining cluster types all include a glide; they are:

- (93a) f. glide + liquid: /wlorɲ/ 'hunt'  
 g. stop + glide + liquid: /twlo/ 'price, value'  
 h. sibilant + stop + glide: /skwik/ 'folding bed, cot'  
 i. sibilant + glide + liquid: /ʃwlin/ 'deer'  
 j. sibilant + stop + glide + liquid: /ʃkwɲ/ 'strength'

Clusters f-j can all be subsumed under one pattern:

(93b) [(sibilant) [(stop) [glide] + (liquid)]]

where the glide appears as the constant element. In summary, three sets of clusters can be identified in Teribe, which roughly correlate with the syllable types listed in 2.1.4 for open syllables:

(94) I.	stop + stop	CCV
II.	[(sibilant) [stop + liquid]]	CCCV
III.	[(sibilant) [(stop) [glide] + (liquid)]]	CCCCV

Set I differs from II and III in the type of members, while the difference between II and III lies on the constant element, a liquid in II, and a glide in III.

The other process affecting the Teribe consonant system is that of lenition. It basically affects the stop series and works as follows. Aspirated stops are mildly aspirated, while non-aspirated stops tend to be aspirated (equally mildly) in initial position, thereby creating a phonetically common scenario of lenis aspiration of stops (regardless of their phonemic status) in initial position, and a lenis, non-audible release in final position: while the non-aspirated segments "gain" in terms of aspiration, however lenis it may be, the aspirated series loses that articulation. Second, both aspirated and non-aspirated stops have non-audible releases in final position. Third, some voiceless stops become voiced in intervocalic position. Fourth, in intervocalic position, voiced stops tend to become fricative. Examples of this process were provided in 2.1.2.1. Schematically, Teribe consonant lenition can be partially represented as in (95):

(95) C <sup>h</sup>	→	C/#__
C	→	C'/_#
C	→	C <sub>l</sub> /V__V
C̣	→	̣/V__V <sup>5</sup>

### 2.2.4 Fossilized epenthesis

There are a few monosyllabic items ending in open syllable, shown in (96a)

(96a) /plu/	→	'king'
/no/	→	'person'
/di/	→	'water, river'

When followed by a suffix, these items exhibit the insertion of a bilabial stop (whose sonority is phonologically conditioned), as in (96b); the third case in (96b) is one of noun incorporation (cf. 4.1.3.5):

(96b) /plu + ga/	→	[ <sup>l</sup> plub.ga]	'king + PL'	→	'kings'
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<sup>5</sup> The last two steps can be modified slightly by including the presence of a consonant after the affected stop, to account for some cases mentioned in 2.1.2.1. Similarly, the tendency for the dento-alveolar phoneme /d/ to become a tap instead of a fricative interdental has to be kept in mind

/no + ga/	→	[ <sup>l</sup> nop.ga]	'person + PL'	→	'persons'
/di + zi/	→	[ <sup>l</sup> dib.zi]	'river + cut'	→	'river-cross'

An item that seems to be related to this phenomenon is <tlapga> 'elder, ancestor', whose plural form is <tlapgaga> [tlap.<sup>l</sup>ga.va]. It might be the case that in the past this item used to be \*tla and formed its plural just like the items in (96b); in that case, the plural form was reanalyzed as singular, leading to the apparent "reduplication" of the suffix -ga

The effect of the insertion of the bilabial segment is the creation of a closed syllable structure, which could be interpreted as the result of a stress-placement rule under the process of affixation. When monosyllabic items were assigned stress, the syllable became "heavy", but instead of manifesting its weight in vowel lengthening, or in a glottal closure (as is the case in other languages), the heavy syllable takes the form of an epenthetic stop segment. The question naturally arises as to why this process is confined to the items in (96b). A plausible explanation (and the one adopted here) is that the process in question never reached the point of being categorical, and was "aborted" at some point; the items affected by the process became fossilized, as evidenced by the fact that there are cases of open syllables that do not show epenthesis of the bilabial segment when followed by a suffix (the case of <tlapga>, mentioned above also points in that direction):

(97a) /di/	→	'water, river'
/bi/	→	'sukia'

The corresponding affixed forms of the items in (97a) are those in (97b), not those in (97c):

(97b) /di + ga/	→	[ <sup>l</sup> di.va]	'at the river' (-ga behaves as a locative marker here)
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/bi + ga/	→	[ <sup>l</sup> bi.va]	'sukia + PL'	→	'sukias'
(97c) *[ <sup>l</sup> dib.ga]					
*[ <sup>l</sup> bib.ga]					

Assuming a discontinuation of the process and fossilization of the forms affected by it accounts for the synchronic coexistence of the forms in (96b) and (97b).

## 2.3 Suprasegmental phonology

### 2.3.1 Tone, stress and intonation

The following are the main features of Teribe suprasegmental phonology. First, insofar as there are a handful of tonal minimal pairs manifest in lexically related items, this language can be regarded as tonal; however, precisely because of the scarcity of the oppositions (that is, low number of tonally opposed items) in addition to the fact that tonal distinctions have no grammatical function, the phenomenon appears as clearly marginal in the phonological system. In other words, in Teribe, tone has a very low functional load, understood as the degree to which a given phonological contrast is used in the language. Second, stress is phonological, as evidenced by the existence of minimal pairs, which slightly outnumber the

tonal ones. Third, stress (and tone to a lesser degree) is subject to clause/sentence stress, which provides the basic intonation pattern. These features make the role of both tone and stress marginal in the phonology of Teribe.

There are two tones in Teribe, low and high, the former being marked in relation to the latter; this view of markedness is based on the fact that semantically, the items bearing low tone express concepts derived from their high tone counterparts, as evidenced by the tonal oppositions expressing color terms (99a). Examples of tonal contrasts not involving color terms are provided in (98):

(98)	/plú/	‘good’	vs	/plu/	‘king’
	/kók/	‘god’	vs	/kok/	‘earth, land, time’
	/bék/	‘cutting edge’	vs	/bek/	‘correct, exact’
	/kégé/	‘old’	vs	/kege/	‘uncle’
	/sín/	‘late, evening’	vs	/sɪŋ/	‘meat’

As mentioned above, color terms represent the other main source of tonal oppositions:

(99a)	/dɪŋdɪŋ/	‘blue’	vs	/dɪŋdɪŋ/	‘light blue’
	/srɪsrɪŋ/	‘red’	vs	/srɪsrɪŋ/	‘light red’
	/plúplún/	‘white’	vs	/pluplun/	‘whitish, pale’

Tonal differences are also used to express degrees; the following add to the preceding color terms, which in a sense also express differences of degree; both reveal sound symbolism underlying the tonal distinctions:

(99b)	/w.liw.li/	‘dirty’	vs	/w.liw.li/	‘a bit dirty’
	/plípli/	‘sweet’	vs	/plipli/	‘a bit sweet’

As for phonological stress, whose physical correlate is (high) pitch, see (100)

(100)	/ˈlo.no/	‘said’	vs	/lo.ˈno/	‘fell’
	/ˈʃa.ra/	‘seized’	vs	/ʃa.ˈra/	‘next’
	/ˈpo.g.lo/	‘hammock’	vs	/po.ˈg.lo/	‘next to’
	/ˈdgo.no/	‘planted’	vs	/dgo.ˈno/	‘fell’

As mentioned above, these distinctions become void by sentence stress; for instance, the minimal pair /ˈdgo.no/ ‘planted’ vs /dgo.ˈno/ ‘fell’ disappears in the following attested situations; in fact, it tends to apply in completely the opposite way.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In the so-called tone languages, tone is “persistent”; for instance if a tone-bearing syllable is deleted, the tone moves to an adjacent syllable. In Teribe, tone-bearing syllables are never dropped, and though there is absolutely no evidence of it, it could be guessed that if one such syllable were dropped, its tone would not shift, but would fall with the syllable altogether. Now, the fact that a tone-bearing syllable is never dropped, precisely because of the high pitch that correlates with the articulatory force that maintains it can be taken as an indicator of the confluence of high pitch and duration of stress (Marília Facó Soares, personal communication).

- (101) /kwo.zir.wa.dgo.no.buk.toj.e.ko.ho.no.o.bi/  
 [kwo.ˈzir.wa.ˌdgo.no.buk.ˈtoj↓||e.ˈko.ho.no.ˈoβi↓]  
 ‘The child fell down and stood up again’
- (102) /ta.wa.par.ko.no.ta.wa.pʰu.lo.no.ta.wa.ip.kwo.dgo.no/  
 [ta.wa.par.ko.ˈno?↑||ta.wa.pʰu.lo.ˈno↑||ta.wa.ip.kwo.dgo.ˈno?↓]  
 ‘We worked, we cut down trees, we planted corn’

A distinction has thus to be made between word stress, which can be phonological, and sentence stress, the latter being the determining factor of stress placement.

### 2.3.1.1 Word stress

Stress has as a result a slight lengthening of the stressed syllable, the surrounding syllables being slightly shorter. As mentioned in the preceding section, stress is phonemic, although its realization depends on sentence stress. In general, stress is placed on the first syllable in individual two-syllable and three-syllable words. A minority of words are stressed on the last syllable.

### 2.3.1.2 Sentence stress

Sentence or clause stress is the basic stress/intonation unit in the language. Its boundaries are falling intonation and pause (but see next section). The unmarked sentence stress pattern is characterized by a low-mid pitch onset, which is maintained until the last syllable, where there is rising intonation, followed by a conspicuous fall to a low pitch. During the articulation of the “body” of the intonation group, certain peaks or upsteps can occur, depending on pragmatic factors. There is generally lengthening and delay of the vowel that bears the sentence stress, as opposed to the speed with which the syllables preceding that upstep are uttered. (High) tone-bearing syllables do not appear especially higher if bearing sentence stress; on the other hand, low tone-bearing syllables are uttered with considerable higher pitch. In (103), tonal features yield to the sentence stress pattern, indeed, following the pattern, I was expecting the sequence [dɪŋ.dɪŋ] to be glossed as ‘blue’, that is, as high tone; however, the speaker advised me that he meant ‘light blue’, that is, the sequence was supposed to be low tone; still, the second syllable was unquestionably high:

- (103) /ba.sor.go.e.dɪŋ.dɪŋ.e/  
 [ba.sor.go?e.dɪŋ↑ˈdɪŋ↓e?]  
 ‘(everything) around her was light blue’

Further examples of the subordination of tone to sentence stress are (104) and (105a-b). These examples involve “minimal tonal pairs”, whose realization in the sentence does not correspond to that of each item in isolation; the three items are the nouns /ke.ge/ ‘father-in-law’, /ké.ge/ ‘uncle’, and the adjective /ké.gé/ ‘old’:

- (104) /bor.ke.ge.e.ké.gé.ga.bor.ké.ge.e.ké.gé.ʒme/  
 [bor.ké.ge.e.'ké.gé.ga.bor.'ke.ge.e||'ké.ge.↑ʒi.↓me]  
 'My father-in-law is old but my uncle is not old'

In (104) the item corresponding to 'father-in-law' bears a considerable high pitch in the first syllable, a practically tonal realization, while the adjective 'old' behaves "as expected" in the first instance, but not in the second, in which it loses its high tone in the second syllable, probably as a result of the rising intonation that ensues in the following syllable.

The instability of tone is clearly illustrated in the sentences in (105) too; in (105a) the item corresponding to 'father-in-law', bears (high) tone in both syllables! In fact, the speaker was asked to produce the sequence 'I met my father-in-law in my uncle's old house', but he not only omitted the adjective 'old', but also "misplaced" the high tones. The speaker was then asked to say it once more and he uttered (105b):

- (105a) /bor.ke.ge.e.w.lēn.suk.bor.ké.ge.u.ʃko/  
 [bor.ké.gé.e.'wrēn.suk'.bor.↑'ke.ge?↓.u.ʃko]  
 'I met my father-in-law in my uncle's house'
- (105b) /bor.ke.ge.e.w.lēn.suk.bor.ké.ge.u.ké.gé.e.ro.ʃko/  
 [bor.ké.ge.e.wrēn.suk'.bor.'ke.ge.u.ké.gè.e.↑roʃ.↓ko]  
 'I met my father-in-law in my uncle's old house'

In (105b), the item corresponding to 'father-in-law' bears tone on the first syllable, whereas the item corresponding to 'uncle' was uttered with high pitch, and the accent pattern of the item corresponding to 'old' is slightly modified in that its second syllable shows low tone; this syllable is lower than the previous one but still higher than the one following it. And in (104), this tone fall appears to be linked to the subsequent upstep in the intonation contour.

The fact that tone yields to (sentence) stress and intonation attests to the marginality of tone in Teribe, a view that is reinforced by the fact that during the sessions on tone, the speaker first "consulted" with his peers present and needed to "concentrate" prior to uttering the examples. Finally, it should be mentioned that, as in any other language, there exist deviating intonation patterns, depending on all sorts of pragmatic factors, emotional, affected speech, sequencing, questions, and so on.

### 2.3.2 Sentence-closing glottalization

Occasionally, the falling intonation unit is accompanied by glottalization, usually when the last segment is vocalic. This feature is particularly noticeable in short clauses, which range from certain formulaic expressions to entire clauses; the former include the greeting formulas:

- (106) *-Miga* /mi.ga/ [↑'mi:↓ga?] 'Hello (initiating)'  
*-Kobe* /ko.be/ [↑'ko:↓βe?] 'Hello (replying)'  
*-¿Llëe shāriëp?* /ʒi.e.ʃa.rjɪp/ [ʒi.e.'↑ʃa.→rjɪp?] 'What are you doing?'

## 2.4 Orthographic conventions

There is no Teribe alphabet agreed upon. The authors who have written on Teribe (Heinze 1979; Koontz & Anderson 1974, 1975, and 1977; Gamarra & Vargas n.d., Quesada 1998, 1999b, 2000a, b) have their own notation. Similarly, a few people in the community who occasionally write words use a mix of the orthographies used by the above authors, especially the first two. In previous publications, I have used an orthography based on Heinze (1979), which is also characterized by confusing the difference between phonetics and phonology in orthographic representation. In this grammar, as well as in future publications (a collection of stories in preparation), I have adopted the following conventions, which are based on the phonology of Teribe as described in this chapter; it thus deviates in certain respects from both Heinze (1979) and my previous writings. The following are the orthographic conventions adopted in this book:

### Vowels

Oral		Nasal	
PHONEME	GRAPHEME	PHONEME	GRAPHEME
/i/	<i>	/ĩ/	<ĩ>
/ɨ/	<ɛ>	/ɛ̃/	<ɛ̃>
/e/	<e>	/ã/	<ã>
/a/	<a>	/õ/	<õ>
/ɑ/	<ä>	/ũ/	<ũ>
/o/	<o>		
/u/	<ö>		
/u/	<u>		

### Consonants

/p <sup>h</sup> /	<p'>
/t <sup>h</sup> /	<t'>
/k <sup>h</sup> /	<k'>
/p/	<p>
/t/	<t>
/k/	<k>
/b/	<b>
/d/	<d>
/g/	<g>
/s/	<s>
/ʃ/	<sh>

/h/	<j>
/z/	<z>
/ʒ/	<ll>
/tʃ/	<ch>
/m/	<m>
/n/	<n>
/ɲ/	<ñ>
/ŋ/	<ng>
/l/	<l>
/r/	<r>
/w/	<w>
/j/	<y>

This representation is partly Spanish-based. Accordingly, the sequence voiced velar stop + front vowel will be represented as <gu>: /genmo/ → <guenmo> 'orange', as well as rules of capitalization and punctuation (e.g. "opening" and "closing" exclamation and question marks <¿?> and <!>, respectively).

Nasalization will be represented only when phonemic; the same is true for other phonetic aspects such as vowel fluctuation, clause-final glottalization, which will have no bearing on the orthographic transcription, exception made, of course, of the morphophonological processes described in 2.2.1. The same goes for aspiration, which according to what was said in the relevant sections of this chapter, can only be represented graphematically under the (attested) existence of minimal pairs.

As for stress, though it is phonological in the language, it will not be represented mainly because of reasons explained in 2.3.1.2 (word stress yields to sentence stress). Concerning tone, high tone will be represented with an accent mark on the syllable nucleus: /plú/ → <plú> 'good, well' vs /plu/ → <plu> 'king'; low tone is not marked.

### 3. Morphology

#### 3.1 Nouns and nominal morphology

##### 3.1.1 Nouns

It is well-known that there are cross-linguistically two large lexical classes, nouns and verbs. Both classes represent two poles of a scale (continuum) based on the relative time-stability of the situations depicted by each of them. Nouns depict entities, which tend to be more time-stable, whereas verbs express situations whose relative time-stability is low. In the middle of those two poles we can situate another class, that of adjectives, which depict intermediate states from the point of view of relative time-stability. The continuum in question is usually represented as follows:

NOUNS-----	ADJECTIVES-----	VERBS
stable	intermediate	rapid change

(Givón 1984: 55).

Nouns are readily identifiable as a class in Teribe; together with that of verbs, they constitute the major word classes of the language. In addition, there is the class of adjectives, a class in its own right, but considerably less numerous than those of nouns and verbs.

##### 3.1.1.1 Basic nominal roots (monomorphemic nouns)

Basic, non-derived nouns in Teribe can be grouped into various types depending on their lexico-semantic content. First, there are proper names. Aside from a couple of exceptions, most proper names are Spanish; such exceptions include names of historic characters of Teribe culture: *Lukës*, *Songdi*, *Basri*, *Kös*; the first three refer to brave warriors, whereas the last one refers to an evil night spirit. Similarly, there are Teribe names for neighboring indigenous groups; among them are *Shomga* (Bribri), *Shkwikla* (Guaymí), *Usekra* (Cabécar), *Wring* (Chánguena, also called "Rabbit Indians"). As stated in 1.1, the Teribes call themselves *naso* (< *na* 'here' + *so* MARKER OF ORIGIN), a term also used to refer to other indigenous groups, in opposition to *siwa* ('non-Indian, white').

The second set of nouns that can be identified in Teribe are toponyms and names of rivers; most of them are Teribe, or at least non-Spanish. Examples of the former are *Sieyking*, *Sieyllik*, *Bonllik*; as for the latter, it should be noted that it is basically small rivers that have Teribe names (e.g. *San-San*, *Timillik*, *Sursuba*, *Kochigro*); the names of the bigger, more important rivers have no Teribe names; such is the case of the *Teribe* River, a Spanish adaptation of *T'ërbi*, or the *Changuinola* and *Sixaola* rivers, both of Miskito (a Misumalpan language of Nicaragua) origin; the former means 'River of the Chánguenas', while the latter means 'River of the Bananas'. The *Teribe* River is a Spanish adaptation of *T'ërbi*, but in Teribe it is simply called *Di kës* ('Big River').

The third and largest group of nouns are common nouns, which for purposes of grammatical description can be classified primarily into count and mass nouns, the difference



between them being the ability of the former to take numeral classifiers (see 3.1.3). All three types mentioned above are expressed by basic or monomorphemic forms. There are, in addition, nouns formed by derivation and compounding.

### 3.1.1.2 Derivation

Noun derivation proceeds exclusively through suffixation. The following are the most common and productive suffixes in the language.

**-klo:** it is added to verbal roots; it expresses use, purpose 'in order to + V': *pē* 'sleep' + *klo* → *poklo* 'bed'; *jōng* 'sharpen' + *klo* → *jōnglo* 'sharpener'; *dan* 'dry' + *-klo* → *donglo* 'dryer'; *tör* 'play' + *-klo* → *törglo* 'toy'.

**-yo:** it is added to nouns and verbs; it helps to express abstract concepts, related to the more concrete roots it attaches to: *plu* 'king' + *-yo* → *pluyo* 'majesty'; *lan* 'talk, chat, tell' + *-yo* → *lanyo* 'story'. Affixed to adjectives it helps express superlative concepts: *kan* 'hard' + *-yo* → *kanyo* 'the bravest'; *mā* 'useless' + *-yo* → *māyo* 'the most foolish' (cf. 3.3.2.1).

**-kwo:** it is used to denote relations of part, component or realization of an activity; it is usually affixed to verbs: *tē* 'sing' + *-kwo* → *tēkwo* 'song'; *tle* 'speak, say' + *-kwo* → *tlökwo* 'language'; *bē* 'dance' + *-kwo* → *bēkwo* 'text of the dance/song'.

**-ga:** this suffix, encodes the doer of an activity/action: *parkē* 'work' + *-ga* → *parkaga* 'worker'; *tör* 'play' + *-ga* → *törga* 'player'; *kimtē* 'help' + *-ga* → *kimtaga* 'helper, aid, assistant'; *rök* '(to) hammer' + *-ga* → *röga* 'carpenter'.

**-sho:** this suffix expresses stuff or substance used for and/or stemming from the entity denoted by the root; thus *klung* 'earth, soil' + *-sho* → *klunsho* 'clay'; *dbur* 'money' + *-sho* → *dbursho* 'gold'; *dröng* 'machete' + *-sho* → *drönsho* 'metal'; *u* 'house' + *-sho* → *usho* 'nest'.

**-wa:** this suffix is exclusively used to form diminutives: *na* 'breast' + *-wa* → 'little breast'; *u* 'house' + *-wa* → *uwa* 'little house'; *kibokwo* 'book' + *-wa* → *kiḃokwowa* 'little book, booklet'.

There are cases of lexicalization, whereby a given form cannot be decomposed into its apparent components; most of those cases involve the suffix *-kwo* basically; examples of said phenomenon are *kibokwo*, 'book, paper, letter' (\**kibo* + *-kwo*); *bo* 'fruit' + *-kwo* → *bokwo* 'eye' (\*'part of a fruit').

Suffixation to already derived forms is also possible, mainly with the diminutive suffix *-wa*: *tē* + *kwo* + *wa* 'little song'; *tör* + *ga* + *wa*; 'little player'.

### 3.1.1.3 Compounding

There are two basic types of compound nouns in Teribe. The first one consists of the addition of two free nouns: *k'or kwang* ('tree' + 'piece' → 'wood'); *ēp gloroy* ('corn' + 'heap' → 'cornfield'). The second type consists of a monomorphemic (free) noun, followed

<sup>1</sup>Note the change of the mid front lax vowel /i/ to back /o/, an instance of the process of "regressive" vowel harmony (it is the affix that determines the quality of the vowel in the stem), discussed in 2.2.1.

by a derived one; this second type of compound noun, in turn, can be further divided according to the lexical category on which derivation takes place: there are nouns derived from other nouns and nouns derived from verbal forms. Examples of the first subtype are *sīo* 'prayer' + *u-yo* 'place', 'house' → *sīo uyo* 'church'. Examples of the second, more numerous subtype are *sogla* 'cattle, cow' + *tör-ga* → *sogla törga* 'bull fighter' (lit. 'cow player'); *ma* 'fish' + *sha-ga* (< *shak* 'catch') → *ma shaga* 'fisherman'; *sīo* 'prayer' + *roka-ga* (< *rokē* 'ask for') → *sīo rokaga* 'priest', 'pastor'; *no* 'person' + *zrö-ga* (< *zrök* 'kill') → *no zröga* 'assassin', 'murderer' (lit. 'person killer'); *kibokwo* 'book' + *tē-kwo* 'song' → *kibokwo tēkwo* → song book'; *llēbo* 'thing' + *īklo* (< *īk* 'see' + *klo*) → 'TV set' (lit. 'thing to see/watch'). The common denominator of all three compounding types is the fact that the second element of the compound form becomes the head of the syntagm; supporting evidence comes from the fact that it is the second member of the compound form that determines the various morphosyntactic operations of the noun phrase, such as numeral classification or pluralization.

There are, in addition, lexicalizations of phrases, that is a noun plus another part of speech, into one single noun; thus the postpositional phrase *di triko* 'water between' eventually yielded *ditriko* 'island'; the following nouns *uara* 'city' and *ukwöböso* 'town' can be transparently traced back to the sequences noun + quantifier, noun + (indefinite) numeral classifier (see 3.1.3), *u* 'house' + *ara* 'many, much' and *u* 'house' + *kwöböso* 'some (round class)', respectively. The word meaning 'telephone', *tlöklogo* is a compound (more exactly a postpositional phrase in origin) consisting of the verb *tlē* (*ō* being the result of vowel harmony) followed by the suffix *klo*, which form a noun (stem), to which the instrumental postposition *go* 'with' is added, literally meaning 'to speak with'.

Just as in the case of derivation, a compound form can undergo derivation, and here too, it is basically the diminutive suffix that most readily applies: *ma shagawa* = [[[*ma*] [*sha* + *ga*]] + [*wa*]] → 'little fisherman'; *llēbo iklowa* = [[[*llēbo*] + [*īk* + *klo*]] + [*wa*]] → 'little TV set'.

### 3.1.2 Pronouns

There are four types of pronouns in Teribe: personal, possessive, reflexive/reciprocal, and indefinite; what could be labeled as "interrogative pronouns", are described in 3.4.5, a section concerned with question markers in general.

#### 3.1.2.1 Personal

The Teribe personal pronouns fall into two paradigms, one that I call "nominal" and the other which I will 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 prenominal 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 (1):

(1) *The pronoun system of Teribe*

		NOMINAL	OBLIQUE
SINGULAR	1.	<i>ta</i>	<i>bor</i>
	2.	<i>pa</i>	<i>bop</i>
	3.	$\phi$	<i>ba</i>
	1excl.	<i>tawa</i>	<i>borwa</i>
	1incl.	<i>shi</i>	<i>bi</i>
PLURAL	2.	<i>pāy</i>	<i>bomi</i>
	3same	$\phi$	<i>ba</i>
	3different	<i>ebga</i>	<i>ba</i>

See 4.1.1.1 on the use of the personal pronouns for coding of the major grammatical relations.

3.1.2.2 *Possessive*

The Teribe possessive pronouns express the same distinctions coded by the nominal paradigm, that is, the inclusive/exclusive opposition, and the opposition of switch reference (same/different) in the case of third person plural:

(2) *Teribe possessive pronouns*

SINGULAR	1.	<i>botoya</i>
	2.	<i>bopoya</i>
	3.	<i>baīya</i>
	1exc.	<i>borwatoy</i>
	1incl.	<i>bishiya</i>
PLURAL	2.	<i>bomipoy</i>
	3same	<i>baīya</i>
	3different	<i>baīya lok</i>

The forms in (2) can be used to express the grammatical relations of subject (2a), object (2b) and object of postposition (2c); similarly, those forms appear as the predicative member in in equational constructions (2d):

- (2a) *Bopoya be-no buk ey*  
 2POSS remain-PERF POSIT.LIE there  
 'Yours remained there'
- (2b) *Botoya ī-p llēme*  
 1POSS see-2SG NEG  
 'You won't see mine'
- (2c) *Dli twa-r-a bopoya kong*  
 food give-PERF-3 1POSS to  
 '[He] gave food to (fed) mine'

- (2d) *Kwozirwa ěre baīya*  
 child DEM 3POSS  
 'That child is hers'

3.1.2.3 *Reflexive and reciprocal*

The expression of reflexivity and reciprocity in Teribe presents the following characteristics: a. there are distinct forms for each (*op* is reflexive and *ěng* is reciprocal), b. both pronouns are invariable as to person:

- (3a) *Ta op zo-no*  
 1SG REFL cut-PERF  
 'I cut myself'
- (3b) *Oba ěng tō-no*  
 people RECP meet-PERF  
 'People met'

Nouns that, together with personal pronouns, behave as heads of the noun phrase can be modified by the following facultative constituents: numeral classifiers, demonstratives, adjectives, markers of possession and other nominal modifiers such as relative clauses and markers of information-structure status.

3.1.2.4 *Indefinite*

There is a small set of forms that function as indefinite pronouns; these are *kone kone* 'some (Pl.)', *ebo* 'someone'. The forms corresponding to the negative indefinite pronouns 'nobody' and 'nothing' constitute discontinuous forms in which the interrogative pronouns *ěye* 'who' and *llēe* 'what' are negated, and given that the negation marker is always clause-final, the result is the forms *ěye...llēme* and *llēe...llēme*, as in (4a) and (4b), respectively:

- (4a) *Ěye shro-no llēme*  
 who arrive-PERF NEG  
 'Nobody came'
- (4b) *Ta llēe woydē llēme*  
 1SG what want NEG  
 'I don't want anything'

In the case of postpositional phrases, the clause-final position of the negation marker remains:

- (4c) *Ta parkē sōk ě kong llēme*  
 1SG work POSIT.SIT who to NEG  
 'I don't work for anybody'

In (4c) *ěye* becomes *ě* because it is not a core argument but an oblique one. The other indefinite pronouns are *ě(ye)pogo* 'whoever', and *llēpogo* 'whatever', likewise discontinuous:

- (4d) *Ta ěnkwē ě tok pogo*  
 1SG fight who with ever  
 'I fight with anyone/whoever'

- (4e) *Skwikla-ga llë wuë pogo*  
 Guaymí-PL what eat ever  
 'The Guaymís eat (just) anything/whatever'

### 3.1.3 Numeral classifiers and number

A typological feature that Teribe shares with other Central American Chibchan languages is the existence of numeral classifiers, that is, forms used to categorize nouns exclusively in the context of quantification. The existence of numeral classifiers in the Chibchan languages has been explained as the evolution of a certain class of nouns used to form lexical compound nouns in Proto-Chibchan; the position of the numeral form in relation to the noun (prenominal vs. postnominal) in the protolanguage determined the formal status of the class markers either as prefixes, as in Teribe, or as suffixes, as in Bribri, Kogui, or Cabécar (Constenla 1989: 29ss). The development of these compounds into numeral classifiers constitutes an innovation in the languages of Costa Rica and Panama. As pointed out above, numeral classification is relevant in the grammatical description of Teribe because it allows to distinguish important noun types, basically count vs non-count (mass) ones; the former can be counted and pluralized (under the conditions described in 3.1.3.4), whereas the latter cannot. The classifiers of Teribe are numeral, interrogative, and indefinite.<sup>2</sup>

#### 3.1.3.1 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 of the classes 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 (5), *kw-ara* for round objects (6), *k-ara* for wide objects (7), *pl-ara* for long objects (8), *kwan-na*<sup>3</sup> for long-wide objects (9), and *kri-na* (< *krin-na*) for objects counted in plots (10):

- (5) *Domer kl-ara u*  
 man CL.ANIMATE-one house  
 'One man's house'
- (6) *Sbi kw-ara roy di*  
 pot CL.ROUND-one inside water  
 'One pot of water'

<sup>2</sup>In Quesada (1999a) it is insinuated that the numeral classifiers of Teribe could be in a process of disintegration. Such an insinuation was based on data collected in an earlier stage of research. As this and subsequent subsections show, numeral classification still has some vitality in the morphosyntax of Teribe; as the numbers go up, however, the use of classifiers decreases.

<sup>3</sup>It is plausible that the expected form *kwan-ara* underwent phonetic adaptations, in this case a syncope, *kwan-ra*, and subsequently an assimilation, *kwan-na*. The same could be true for the class of objects counted in plots, *krin-a*.

- (7) *Shwong ko plublun ĩ-no-r k-ara*  
 dress color white see-PERF-1SG CL.WIDE-one  
 'I saw one white dress'
- (8) *Dröng twlë-no-r pl-ara*  
 machete buy-PERF-1SG CL.LONG-one  
 'I bought one machete'
- (9) *Söglo kwan-na sēngna zē wlo*  
 knife CL.LONG-WIDE-one meat cut PURP  
 'One knife to cut meat'
- (10) *Sak kri-na tok na*  
 cemetery CL.PLOT-one EXIST here  
 'There is one cemetery here'

*Noreng jee ca  
 rauf kagayo  
 ch. 2. Vokung 10  
 macie 09*

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, *sēnwa* ('bird') is classified as round (*sēnwa kwara*), whereas *ön* ('animal') is included in the class of animates *ön klara* ('one animal'). Some body parts, such as *ulogdo*, 'arm', and *ulengwo*, '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. (11a) illustrates the numbers two, *pök*, three, *mya*, four, *pkeng*, and five, *shkeng*:

#### (11a) Numeral classification in Teribe I: numbers two to five

	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five</u>
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>

The numbers corresponding to six to ten have the same prefixes, with the exception of the number that corresponds to ten, which does not "inflect" for class. The numbers from six to ten are *ter* (six), *kak* (seven), *kwong* (eight), *shkaw* (nine) and *sakkwara* (ten). The numbers from ten on are formed by placing the linking particle *kinsho* between the tens and the ones, the latter "inflecting" for class, cf. (11b) below. The tens, in turn, do not inflect for class; there are numeric expressions for the tens up to one hundred, as shown in (11c). No speaker consulted was able to provide forms for hundreds (two, three, etc.). Hundreds and tens are also separated by the particle *kinsho*; thus the number corresponding to 155 is

*sak dbaw kinsho sak shkeng kinsho doglo shkeng* ('one hundred and fifty and five (animate)'). As can be seen from (11b-c), the Teribe numeral system is decimal.

(11b) *Numeral classification in Teribe II: numbers ten to twenty*

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 11 | <i>sakkwara kinsho klara ~ kwara ~ kara, etc.</i> |
| 12 | <i>sakkwara kinsho dopök ~ kwopök, etc.</i>       |
| 13 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo mya</i>                  |
| 14 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo pkeng</i>                |
| 15 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo shkeng</i>               |
| 16 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo ter</i>                  |
| 17 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo kak</i>                  |
| 18 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo kwong</i>                |
| 19 | <i>sakkwara kinsho doglo shkaw</i>                |
| 20 | <i>sak pök</i>                                    |

(11c) *Numeral classification in Teribe III: tens from twenty to one hundred*

- |     |                   |
|-----|-------------------|
| 20  | <i>sak pök</i>    |
| 30  | <i>sak mya</i>    |
| 40  | <i>sak pkeng</i>  |
| 50  | <i>sak shkeng</i> |
| 60  | <i>sak ter</i>    |
| 70  | <i>sak kak</i>    |
| 80  | <i>sak kwong</i>  |
| 90  | <i>sak shkaw</i>  |
| 100 | <i>sak dbaw</i>   |

Although most speakers use the Teribe numbers up to ten, after which Spanish numbers are used, some can produce numbers up to twenty; the combinations between twenty and higher are not part of the speakers' repertoire; still, if elicited some speakers, especially the older ones, can produce some numeric expressions.

### 3.1.3.2 Interrogative

The same class prefixes are used in the formation of interrogative quantifiers; they are added to the base *obi*, 'how many?', whose position in the clause is clause-final. The corresponding forms are listed in the examples in (12-17); note the suppletive form in the case of the long-wide class in (17):

- (12) *¿Walë-ga ör kl-obi?*  
 woman-PL go CL.ANIMATE-how many  
 'How many women came?'
- (13) *¿Pa u yuak kw-obi?*  
 2SG house build CL.ROUND-how many  
 'How many houses are you going to build?'

- (14) *¿Pa kibokwo sö-no k-obi?*  
 2SG book bring-PERF CL.WIDE-how many  
 'How many books did you bring?'
- (15) *¿Pa irbo zo-no pl-obi?*  
 2SG road cut-PERF CL.LONG-how many  
 'How many roads did you cross?'
- (16) *¿Pa dröng twlë-no pan-bi?*  
 2SG machete buy-PERF CL.LONG-WIDE-how many  
 'How many machetes did you buy?'
- (17) *¿Pa sak î-no krin-bi?*  
 2SG cemetery see-PERF CL.PLOTS-how many  
 'How many cemeteries did you see?'

### 3.1.3.3 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 (18):

- (18) *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'.

### 3.1.3.4 The plural marker -ga

Nominal plurality in Teribe is expressed by the suffix *-ga*; pluralization is essentially determined by the animacy hierarchy, with the entities higher in the hierarchy, that is humans and some animals, being more likely to be pluralized. The general tendency is for nouns to be marked plural facultatively, a widespread feature in the Chibchan family, which I have referred to elsewhere as "intermittent marking" (cf. Quesada 1999c). Only the head of an NP is marked for plurality; that is, there is no internal agreement:

- (19) *walë-ga wolëso*  
 woman-PL pretty  
 'pretty women'
- (19a) \**walë-ga wolëso-ga*  
 woman-PL pretty-PL  
 'pretty women'

Similarly, if a numeral classifier is present, the head is not marked as plural:

- (20) *domer kl-öbö/doglo mya*  
 man CL.ANIMATE-some/CL.ANIMATE three  
 'some/three men'
- (20a) \**domer-ga kl-öbö/doglo mya*  
 man-PL CL.ANIMATE-some/CL.ANIMATE three  
 'some/three men'

### 3.1.3.5 Partitives

Mass nouns such as *pribrisho*, 'sugar'; *resgwo*, 'rice'; *shtagwo*, 'beans'; *sëngna*, 'meat', etc. are preceded by "partitive" forms such as *ara*, which also has a mass reading, 'much'; *ara ara* 'a lot'; *tsira* 'some', 'a bit', 'a little'; *ara ara kwöre*, 'enough', 'plenty'. In the case of grains, presence of numeral classifier yields, as is well-known, a count reading 'one (grain of) rice'; grains are assigned to the class of round objects (*kw-*). There is, in addition, the form *llë* (a grammaticalized form of the noun *llëbo*, 'thing'), which is used with mass nouns (21). *llë* has a two-fold function; first, it helps to distinguish count from mass nouns; second, it marks a noun as indefinite and/or generic; a definite reading of mass nouns requires absence of *llë*. Mass nouns are not pluralized:

- (21) *Dlunna llë yë-y*  
 salt MASS put-1PL.INCL  
 'We add salt'

### 3.1.4 Demonstratives

Teribe exhibits a system determined by both space (distance) and visual perception. Concerning the former, there are three degrees of distance relative to the deictic center; as for the latter, a distinction is made between objects that are within the speaker's eyesight and those that are not. The Teribe system of demonstratives is illustrated in (22):

#### (22) Teribe demonstratives

	VISIBLE	NON-VISIBLE
near	<i>ëre</i>	
far	<i>kwe</i>	<i>e</i>
farther	<i>këm wle</i>	<i>oma</i>

Although demonstratives can appear in both prenominal and postnominal position, the general

tendency (higher frequency) is for them to follow the head (cf. 4.1.1.2.1).

The demonstratives used for objects outside the speaker's visual perception, *e* and *oma*, are used for discourse reference (anaphora) too, especially the former, so that there appears to be a difference between deictic and discourse demonstratives. Among the discourse functions of *e* are the expression of a third person referent not present in the speech act, in opposition to  $\phi$  anaphora, which is usually used when the referent is present. Another function *e* has is to express topic continuity (23); this function makes *e* more frequent than *oma* in texts, since the former is used to maintain a referent activated, while the latter is used to reintroduce a referent after longer stretches of discourse by referring farther back than is the case of activated referents. In fact, *oma* almost never appears as the head of an anaphoric noun phrase, but rather in prenominal position, as in (24):

- (23) "T'ër" *sök ak koyo e. Tlapga ëp yë e shko.*  
 "Grandma" POSIT.SIT stone like CFP. Elders corn put DEM in.  
 "T'ër" is kind of a stone. Our ancestors would bring corn and water to it.'
- (24) *Kwozir shpo-ra padre dë be-no ba kong owa li. Ënkwë ba tok,*  
 child hit-PERF.INV priest OBV remain 3SG to mad TOP. Fight 3SG with  
*le, plara. Bërkë kère; aa shärio-no, pang ö-tong*  
 say.IMP.INV, once. Dance INTENS; chicha make-PERF POSIT.HANG go-PERF  
*ocho días. Bërkë kère oma padre wle.*  
 eight days. Dance INTENS DEM priest near.  
 'The child who had been beaten by the priest had remained angry at him [the priest]. They fought, once, they say. Then they [the Teribes] danced a lot and made chicha. They kept him hanging for up to eight days. They danced a lot neat that priest'.
- Needless to say, whether a referent is represented as more or less distant is totally dependent of the individual speaker's perception; when asked why she referred to the priest in (24) as *oma padre* and not as *e*, given the fact that the last mention of that referent is not so many clauses back, the consultant explained that the referent lived so many years ago, that she would not refer to him as *e*. That explanation reveals a less taxic function of *oma*.

Another important function of *e* is that of marking clause boundaries, concretely at the end of simple declarative clauses, as in (25) (see also the first clause of (23) above):

- (25) *To tuk-tong e*  
 Go escape-PERF CFP  
 'He escaped'

Finally, another use of *e* consists in linking clauses in a function that comes very close to that of a conjunction; this is the case in the first instance of *e* in (26):

- (26) *Sö-y ga wo-y e pri-y e go*  
 Bring-1PL.INCL CONN rend-1PL.INCL DEM tie up-1PL.INCL DEM with  
 'We bring it and rend it and tie it up with it'

Koontz & Anderson (1977: 100) propose that the Teribe demonstratives are organized in terms of two variables, physical proximity and specificity, as in (27):

(27) *Teribe demonstratives according to Koontz & Anderson (1977: 100)*

	[+ SPECIFIC]	[- SPECIFIC]
near	<i>ëre</i>	<i>jũ</i>
far	<i>kwe</i>	<i>e</i>

A brief look at (22) and (27) reveals that the latter is not only incomplete but also inaccurate. First, (27) omits the third degree of deictic distance; as well as the marker of non-visible faraway degree, *oma*. Second, the authors provide no evidence that *jũ* is or behaves as a demonstrative; such evidence is unavailable precisely because *jũ* is not a demonstrative but an adverb, as the authors themselves state (1977: 101), and as their own example, repeated here as (28), shows:

(28) *Ta shro-no sòk plú jũ*  
 1SG arrive-PERF POSIT.LIVE good here  
 'I arrived and am fine here'

(Koontz & Anderson 1977: 100,  
 glosses added, orthography adapted).

As for *e*, the above description and examples make it clear that its function has nothing to do with specificity. It seems that the above-mentioned authors mistook the visibility parameter for one of specificity. In fact, cases like the second instance of *e* in (23) clearly reveal that non-visible, discourse retrievable referents can have specific readings; it is very difficult to conceive of both cases as referring to non-specific entities. In fact, there are instances of *e* where only a specific reading is possible:

(29) *E twe kosho-ydë*  
 DEM come wait-PROSP  
 'Let us hope that he comes'

### 3.1.5 Possession markers

Possession markers constitute another set of nominal determiners in Teribe, which are isomorphic with the members of the oblique personal pronoun paradigm, illustrated in (1). Possession markers differ from most nominal determiners in that they always precede the head. The personal pronouns of both paradigms (nominal and oblique) have been said to alternate in the expression of (attributed) possession (Quesada 2000a), without further specification as to the circumstances under which such alternation occurs. Such an analysis is incomplete. Although the members of the nominal paradigm can indeed precede head nouns, their prenominal position represents an instance of asyndetic predicative possession; thus *ta wa* does not mean 'my son', but 'I have a son'. That this is so is evidenced by the fact that constructions with the nominal pronoun cannot appear as subjects or objects (30), and neither can the marker of possession in the context of quantification (31):

(30) *Bor/\*ta wa Ì-no-r*  
 1POSS/1SG son see-PERF-1SG  
 'I saw my son'

(31) *Ta/\*bor u kw-ara*  
 1SG/1POSS house CL.ROUND-one  
 'I have a house'

In addition, the informants consistently establish a distinction depending on which paradigm is used in transitive clauses. Thus, (32) is opposed to (33) in the number of participants involved; that is, it represents an instance of external possession:

(32) *Ta sakwo za-r-a e*  
 1SG finger cut-PERF-3 CFP  
 'He cut my finger' [lit. 'He cut me the finger']

(33) *Bor sakwo za-r-a e*  
 1POSS finger cut-PERF-3 CFP  
 'He cut my finger'

Thus a case like (34), present in Text 5.2, in Chapter 5, does not constitute a counterexample to the characterization provided; it is also a case of external possession (cf. 4.1.3.2):

(34) *Tawa kl-ara wua-ra llë dë midë-rwa llëme.*  
 1PL.EXCL CL-one eat-PERF.INV what OBV know-1PL.EXCL NEG.  
 'We don't know what devoured our mate' [lit. 'what devoured us the mate']

### 3.1.6 Information-structure markers

Teribe is no exception to a distinctive feature of the Chibchan languages, namely the existence of markers of the information-structure status of participants, either as topics or as foci (cf. Quesada 1999a). Such markers combine with word order to create a wealth of foregrounding structures similar in function to such mechanisms as passives, clefts or left/right dislocations in other languages. Topic and focus constitute pragmatic relations; they are not sentence components; 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" (p. 213), that is, it is the component of the proposition which adds information about a topic.

#### 3.1.6.1 Topic

The by far most common strategy for topic continuity is  $\phi$  anaphora. In addition, the topical status of a non-pronominal referent can be made explicit by means of the marker *li*, which is isomorphic with the relativizer in relative clauses. Referents so marked appear as "marked topics", and they can be subjects (35), objects (36), and oblique NPs (37):

(35) *Plaraga, domer wlenyo... oma plu... ko... ba setro kwa-ra*  
 One day, man certain... DEM King... name... 3POSS scepter give-PERF.INV  
*presidente dë. Domer kl-ara li lü ae*  
 president OBV. Man CL.ANIMATE-one TOP thief very

'There was once a man... [there was] that King... called... the president had given him the scepter. That man [we are talking about] was a big thief'

- (36) *tlē lok ga walē kuzong ga walē li yo-y-dē*  
 say PL CONN "woman then CONN woman TOP appoint-1PL.INCL-PROSP"  
 'Then they said, "well then, if it's a woman, a [that] woman we will appoint"'
- (37) *Ga erä φ to u li shko*  
 CONN just φ go house TOP to  
 'Then [he] went to the house'

In (35) *li* allows to highlight the topic of the episode, there being three possible candidates, the man (the actual topic), the/a King, and the president. In (36), *li* keeps *walē* ('(the) woman') as the newly established topic once it is introduced in the first clause. Finally, (37) is a sentence that refers to a house that was introduced at the onset of a narration, fifteen clauses after its first mention; notice, in addition, that there are two topics in (37), the one expressed by *φ* anaphora and the marked one, the house; the former is the main topic.

### 3.1.6.2 Focus

The unmarked focal status of a participant is its realization as a full NP in close connection with the word order type in which it appears (SOV or OV-s for transitive and SV for intransitive clauses). Teribe exhibits a discourse-run set of orders which are roughly distributed as follows (cf. also 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.2.1.2): SV is used to introduce participants, likely to be topics for a good stretch of discourse; SOV is used to introduce participants and to keep them 'activated'; while OV-s is used to introduce only a new participant, O, while keeping S (or rather -s) as given information. SOV comes very close to what Lambrecht calls SENTENCE-FOCUS, an information structure relation "in which the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements)", while the OV-s fits the profile of an ARGUMENT-FOCUS structure, a relation "in which the focus identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 222).

In addition to the unmarked strategies for the expression of focus, outlined above, there are two forms, *omgo* and *om* used for explicitly marking the focal status of participants. The former is used with subjects, while the latter is used to focalize objects. An example of subject in focus is given in (38), where the marker provides the new information to the presupposition that someone is coming; a variation of (38), and a clearer example of the focal nature of *omgo*, is in (39), where as a reply for a *wh*-question, the participant representing the new information is *omgo*-marked:

- (38) *E tlē ga e omgo twa-ydē dikkoyo e, le*  
 DEM say CONN DEM FOC come-PROSP seem CFP, say.IMP.INV  
 'He said it seems HE is the one who is coming'
- (39) *-i Èye jek?*  
 -who go?  
*-ta omgo jek*  
 -1SG FOC go

-'Who is going?  
 -I am going/It's ME'

The situation with *om* is a bit more complicated. It was first described by Koontz & Anderson (1975) as a marker of the focal status of subjects; the examples in (40-44) were provided in support of that analysis:<sup>4</sup>

- (40) *Tlapga-ga tlē ga "eniyo" le. Ta om midē llēme.*  
 Elder-PL say CONN "thus" say.IMP.INV. 1SG FOC know NEG.  
 'The elders say it is so, but I don't know'
- (41) *Tlapga-ga shkē-so li tawa om kowē "Kös"*  
 Elder-PL late-ORGN TOP 1PL.EXCL FOC call "Kös"  
 'The elders of the night WE call "Kös"'
- (42) *Tawa kintē-p llēme ga tawa op kintē om*  
 1PL.EXCL help-2SG NEG CONN 1PL.EXCL REFL help FOC  
 'If you don't help us, WE will help ourselves'

(Koontz & Anderson 1975: 154-5)

- (43) *Le-mi bor kong, ta om kuk wlo bakoe*  
 say-2PL 1SG to, 1SG FOC hear PURP too  
 'Tell me, so I know too'

(Koontz & Anderson 1975: 169)

- (44) *Kl-ara shāng; kwe om ichē ba kinmo*  
 CL.ANIMATE-one POSIT.STAND; DEM FOC command 3SG COMP  
 'There is one; HE commands more than him [he is in a higher rank]'

(Koontz & Anderson 1975: 181).

That analysis was adopted in Quesada (2000a) and Quesada & Soares (1999); the latter state that *om* is not used for marking objects as foci and the explanation provided was that "the object, as opposed to the subject, is a constituent totally integrated within the case frame of the verb. It is as though every (transitive) predication introduces/activates a participant, which being an integral part of the verbal complex simply appears with it" (Quesada & Soares 1999: 126). Hence marking the object would be "redundant". Nonetheless, on the basis of more data, stemming from both text analysis and sessions with informants, as well as in the light of various aspects of the grammar of Teribe, the analysis of *om* as subject focus marker has to be abandoned as mistaken. Instead, *om* appears as a marker of the newly activated state of a participant; that is, a participant is introduced into the discourse, usually as a lexical object NP; if the speaker wants to maintain it as the new element in the following clauses, it will be coded as *om*; after that, the participant may either disappear from the discourse or, if it persists, it will be treated as an established topic, coded as *φ*. I will first illustrate this function of *om* and then I will show how the previous analyses (and the examples given in its support) are untenable. Let us take a look at (T1), an excerpt from one

<sup>4</sup>The orthography has been adapted to the graphematic conventions adopted in this book (cf. 2.4); similarly, the glosses have been slightly modified, specifically in terms of segmentation. The examples have been translated from the original Spanish version.

of the texts in Quesada (2000a); the text is about the reencounter of Teribes and Térrabas and the differences the speaker, a Teribe woman living in Costa Rica, recognizes between the two groups after centuries of separation:

(T1) *Tawa shro-no teng na; oba ör kalë ga kra-ra-ba lok*  
1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF POSIT.BE here; people arrive there CONN get-PERF-DS PL;

*oba eni; dli wlë-n-a lok llëbo, plözon llë, shurbo llë, kebin llë.*  
people so; food get-PERF-3 PL thing, foodstuffs MASS, palm heart MASS, plantain MASS.

*Wotlik ga oba naso-ga obi la-ra miga sha rewuelto ya siwa-ga*  
Think CONN people Teribe-PL again talk-PERF.3 but PARTCL mixed already white-PL

*tok. To llëbo dik këm kalëkong wuë lok un llëme sek e. Kone kone om wuë,*  
with. Go thing like there other side eat PL all NEG almost CFP. Some FOC eat,

*pero kone kone om wuë un llëme... tawa ra om wuë llëbo un. Tawa*  
but some FOC eat all NEG... 1PL.EXCL CONT-FOC FOC eat thing all. 1PL.EXCL

*to tek junikong; tawa naso-ga, tawa löng, borwa tlökwo*  
go come this side; 1PL.EXCL Teribe-PL 1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE 1PL.EXCL.POSS language

*borwa toy e teng borwa tok un, oba, borwa tradisyon*  
1PL.EXCL.POS soil DEM belong 1PL.EXCL.POSS to all, people, 1PL.EXCL.POSS tradition

*naso-ga llë tek dena e teng borwa tok e oba junikong*  
teribe-PL MASS come before DEM belong 1PL.EXCL.POSS with DEM people this side

*om woyoje-r-a lok p'ir.*  
FOC forget-PERF-3 PL finish.

'We got here. The people came from there and were received (by other people); they brought food, things to eat, like palm hearts, plantains. I thought that the Indians [from Costa Rica, Térrabas] spoke [the language] but they have completely mixed with the whites. They just don't go and eat all the things like [we do] there [in Panama]. Some eat them but some others don't. But we do eat them all. We came here, we are Indians, yes we are; our language, our land all belong to us, the people. Our ancient traditions belong to us, but the people from here [the Térrabas] have totally forgotten them.'

There are four instances of *om* in (T1); the first two (lines 4 and 5) refer to a

participant that has been activated (as new information) in the clause immediately preceding it, namely *llëbo... un* 'all things',<sup>5</sup> the object of the transitive verb *wuë* 'eat'; the clauses containing *om* thus mean 'Some eat THEM but some others do not eat THEM (all)', instead of '\*SOME eat them but SOME do not eat them (all)' (see below). In fact, in line 5 there is the presence of *ra*, the marker of contrastive focus clearly focusing the subject *tawa* ('we'); thus that clause, in connection with the preceding ones has to be read as 'Some eat THEM but some others do not eat THEM (all). But WE do eat THEM, all those things'. A similar situation occurs in relation to the fourth instance of *om* in (T1); the newly activated referent, the Teribe traditions, is kept active as focus in the last sentence: 'And people from this side [the Térrabas] have forgotten THEM'. It could be argued that *om* might as well be regarded as focusing a participant that had gone unmentioned for a good stretch of discourse, *oba junikong* 'people from this side', and that *om* is focusing its reactivation in the text. In what follows, evidence will be provided to show that such is not the case.

To decide whether the sequences *S om V* correspond are to be described as [[*Som*]  $\phi$  V] or as [*S O = om V*], several aspects of Teribe syntax have to be taken into consideration.<sup>6</sup> In the first place, the coding of grammatical relations by means of pronouns and word order strongly speak against viewing *om* as a subject focus marker. The Teribe word order patterns of transitive sentences roughly function as follows: SOV requires the two syntactic slots (S and O) to be filled and has no subject "agreement"; there is no *S  $\phi$  V* in the language, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (45a), rejected by the speakers, who consistently suggest the bracketing and reading in (45b):

(45a) \*<sub>S</sub>[NP[*Juan om*]<sub>NP</sub> VP[NP[ $\phi$ ]<sub>NP</sub> V[*í-no*]<sub>V</sub>]<sub>VP</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
Juan FOC  $\phi$  see-PERF

'JUAN saw [him]'

(45b) <sub>S</sub>[NP[*Juan*]<sub>NP</sub> VP[NP[*om*]<sub>NP</sub> V[*í-no*]<sub>V</sub>]<sub>VP</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
Juan FOC see-PERF

'Juan saw HIM'

As for the OV-s order, it admits lexical objects as foci, or topical objects, coded as  $\phi$  anaphora; it does not allow *om*-marked lexical objects, so that a sequence NP<sub>om</sub>V-s would be ungrammatical if intended as a marked O; this is exactly what happens in (45c), where the sequence \**Juan om í-no-r* (where *-r* codes the subject) is deemed unacceptable by the speakers. That occurs because *om*, being a NP head, is analyzed as a separate NP, and that

<sup>5</sup>Presumably, the speaker is referring to the natural products mentioned at the onset of the paragraph, palm hearts and plantains. Notice that the subtheme of foodstuffs is briefly interrupted by one sentence in which the speaker says that the Térrabas have mixed with whites and do not speak the language; she then goes back to the subtheme. The main theme is how the relocated Térrabas have become assimilated.

<sup>6</sup>Since those aspects are described in detail in 4.1.1, mention of them in this section will be rather brief.



is tantamount to the SOV order, which, in turn, disallows agreement:<sup>7</sup>

- (45c) \*<sub>s</sub>[VP[NP[*Juan om*]<sub>NP</sub> v[*-no* Subj[-s]<sub>Subj</sub>]v]<sub>VP</sub>]<sub>s</sub>  
           Juan FOC see-PERF-1SG

'I saw JUAN'

To place Juan under focus, as opposed to the topic subject (I), the language simply requires the OV-s order with the lexical realization of the object; thus the grammatically correct, and pragmatically equivalent, version of (45c) is (45d):

- (45d) *Juan i-no-r*  
       Juan see-PERF-1SG  
       'I saw JUAN'

Decisive evidence against the status of *om* as a subject focus marker comes from the fact that it only appears in transitive clauses; that is the case in all the instances it is registered both by Koontz & Anderson and by this author. In fact, marking intransitive subjects with *om* yields ungrammatical sentences:

- (46a) \**Ta om pē*  
       1SG FOC sleep  
       'I sleep'
- (46b) \**Ta om jek*  
       1SG FOC go  
       'I go'

That is because *om* is coding -as marked!- a non-existent object. Literally (46a-b) mean '\*I sleep IT' and '\*I go IT!', respectively. Subjects, both intransitive and transitive are marked as foci by *omgo*; examples of the former are (38) and (39) above; instances of transitive subjects in focus are infrequent but do exist:

- (47) *Bor data tlē ga kwe jōrko-gdo miga φ lūyoka-ga kwe dē omgo*  
       1POSS father say CONN DEM lie-PFC but φ steel-INV DEM OBJ FOC  
       'My father says that he has lied, but that HE [it was him who] stole it'

In (47) the subject has been inverted, the object ('the meat', mentioned previously), being the topic of the episode is coded by φ anaphora. Focusing the subject in the second clause of (47) is only natural given that the topic is given and that the new information, 'who stole the meat' is conveyed by the obviative NP.

Further confirming evidence about the role of *om* as marker of objects comes from another aspect of Teribe syntax, namely the position of NP determiners in transitive clauses; these are usually placed postverbally, as floating quantifiers, as in (8), repeated here as (48); actually it is not only quantifiers but other determining elements of the object NP, as in (49),

<sup>7</sup>There are rather sporadic SOV-s instances in some texts mainly those produced by the speakers living in Costa Rica; that can be taken as either a regularization of the agreement pattern, or as language attrition due to the very limited use of the language (cf. 1.2). One such case is present in (T1):

(i) *oba junikong om woyaje-r-a lok p'ir.*  
       people this side FOC forget-PERF-3 PL finish.  
       'People from this side have totally forgotten IT'

present in (T1), line 2; in (49) *llēbo* floats off outside the preverbal NP:

- (48) *Drōng twlē-no-r pl-ara*  
       machete buy-PERF-1SG CL.LONG-one  
       'I bought one machete'

- (49) *dli wlē-n-a lok llēbo...*  
       food get-PERF-3 PL thing  
       'They got [us] food, things'

Let us now look at sentences (50) and (51):

- (50) *E k'orkwo kro-no mya obi*  
       DEM fruit get-PERF three again  
       'He took three more fruits'
- (51) *E om kro-no mya kwenyo obi*  
       DEM FOC get-PERF three thereof again  
       'He took three more of THOSE'

In (50) *mya obi* is a determiner of the object *k'orkwo*, 'fruit'. In (51) the postverbal phrase *mya kwenyo obi* has to have a an antecedent object noun; for reasons explained above, it cannot be assumed that the referent is realized as φ because the order in (51) is SOV; hence the only possible head for the quantifier adjunct is *om*, the object of the clause. Viewing *om* as marking *e* as focus implies that the order is SVO, which implies that there is a headless object NP. *Kwenyo* cannot be the head because the number *mya* is preceding it, and numbers are strictly postnominal in Teribe.

Based on the above evidence, the examples (40)-(44) have to be regarded as instances of the SOV order, where the object is in focus; notice that in those sentences there is a newly activated participant in the clause preceding the one containing *om*; that is the participant that *om* keeps as new: in (40) *om* refers to what the elders say and in (41) to the elders of the night; similarly, in (43) it refers to the content of what is to be told, coded as φ in the first clause. (42) represents an instance of a floating (postverbal) focus marker determining the reflexive pronoun *op*, which is, in turn, the syntactic object of the apodosis. The syntactic similarity with the cases in (49)-(51) is rather obvious. If *om* were a subject focus marker, it would be difficult to explain why it is not placed after the subject pronoun. Finally, in (44) *om* appears in a verbal comparative construction, where the verb *ichē* functions as the quality by which the subject *kwe* is compared, while *om* is simply the standard against which *kwe* is compared; thus (44) is to be interpreted as 'There is one, who rules/commands more than HIM'.<sup>8</sup>

The evidence provided heretofore speaks against viewing *om* as a subject focus marker, and confirms that this form is syntactically an object in all its instances. Still, its

<sup>8</sup>In (44) *ba* refers to *om*, not to *kwe*; the comparative syntagm *ba kinmo* is a postpositional phrase meaning 'above him'; and its referent can only be the standard, which in turn can only be *om*; otherwise there would be no standard and *ba* would necessarily have to refer to *kwe*; that would obviously be an ill-formed comparative clause meaning something like 'He commands more than himself'.

strictly focal role has to be ascertained. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, and as shown in the instances of *om* in (T1), its role is to keep a newly activated participant as new until it either disappears or becomes established as a new topic. In this sense, it is not a "pure" focus marker, but rather a sort of pronominal "passageway" to topichood as it were, a transition between the status of focus to that of topic of the participants so marked. In fact, in addition to its peculiarity of appearing in the context of recent activation, it has undeniable anaphoric functions. Not only does *om* seem to be related to the marker of non-visible faraway degree, *oma*, but in practice its syntactic status is that of a pronoun, as shown by the above analysis, where it was shown that it cannot follow lexical object NPs. Moreover, it is restricted to third person referents (it cannot follow non-third person referents \**Pa om*; \**ta om*; \**bor om*; \**bop om*). That it is not a topic marker, however, is shown by the fact that it is opposed to *e* and  $\phi$  (and even *kwe*), the unmarked forms coding third person object topics in the language (the other possibility is to overtly mark topics as *li*, but these have to be non-pronominal).  $\phi$ , *kwe* and *e* are used as objects in the OV-s order and as subjects in the SOV order (while *ba* is used to code third person objects in subordinate clauses); while *om* is restricted to the SOV order. It could then be concluded that *om* is a third person pronoun in word order-determined complementary distribution; thus *e*, *kwe* and  $\phi$  are subjects in the SOV order, and objects in the OV-s order; *om* is used as object in the SOV order. While this is in fact the case, it does not provide the whole picture, which has to be complemented by considering the role of these word order patterns in the expression of information-structure statuses. It will be recalled that the OV-s and SOV orders are the orders used to introduce participants, as objects and as subjects and objects respectively; the complementary distribution of the third person pronouns is thus information-structure-based in that *om* is used in the word order pattern that is used for SENTENCE-FOCUS; this is why objects in that order cannot be coded with forms expressing topic continuity. In sum, *om* is a *third person focal pronoun*, a form that refers back to a newly introduced participant in the syntactic role of object; it sustains that referent's focality for one or two clauses until it becomes an established topic or disappears from the scene, a pattern characteristic of objects: "In the O position, in contrast, we tend to find inanimate patient arguments in much greater variety. Each is likely to be relatively ephemeral in the discourse, rarely persisting through more than a few successive clauses" (Du Bois 1987: 830).

The third marker of information-structure statuses in Teribe is *ra*, which expresses contrastive focus, a pragmatic relation defined in terms of opposition: "In 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). Contrast can thus be said to focus by singling out the contrasted participant through opposition to what is being presupposed. It also follows that contrasted entities are not exclusively NPs but also verbs and even clauses. A clear example of participants (NPs) being contrasted is (52), present in (T1). Notice the double focus in (52), one contrasting the Terrabas with the Teribes (*ra*) and the other focusing the things that are/are not eaten:

- (52) *Kone kone om wuë, pero kone kone om wuë un llëme...*  
 Some FOC eat, but some FOC eat all NEG...  
*tawa ra om wuë llëbo un.*  
 1PL.EXCL CONT-FOC FOC eat thing all.

'Some eat THEM, but some [others] do not eat THEM... WE DO eat THEM ALL'

In (52), as in most instances of *ra* in texts, it is subjects that are *ra*-marked; however, occasionally, instances of *ra*-marked objects are also attested:

- (53) *E ba data ï-no llëme, bor data ra ï-n-a erä*  
 DEM 3POSS father see-PERF NEG, 1POSS father CONT-FOC see-PERF-3 just  
 'He did not see your father, he saw only MINE'

A whole clause can also be contrasted; in (54) the scope of *ra* extends over the second conjunct of the sentence;

- (54) *Shro-no koko ga ra yuk-tong ga ma li kyoyo tsi-ra*  
 arrive-PERF out CONN CONT-FOC fire-PERF CONN fish TOP oil little  
 'They went out BUT the fire would not start because there was little fish oil'

Finally, a postpositional phrase can be the sole scope of *ra*, as shown in (55), where the two postpositional phrases are being opposed:

- (55) *ga ba shtop Mimi li tok ra lan, ba peyo teng*  
 CONN 3POSS nephew Mimi TOP with CONT-FOC chat, 3POSS family POSIT.BE

*u shko li tok ra lan llëme...*  
 house in REL with CONT-FOC chat NEG...

'And he would talk TO HIS NEPHEW MIMI only, he would not talk TO HIS RELATIVES WHO WERE IN THE HOUSE'.

Finally, the form *dë*, whose main function in the language is to mark subjects of inverted sentences as obviative (cf. (34), (35), (47) above and especially 4.1.4) appears rather seldomly as a focus marker, in what could be viewed, in the light of the main features of inversion in Teribe, as an old function of this form (which eventually undertook that of marking obviation); in the very few instances of *dë*, it is subjects that are marked:

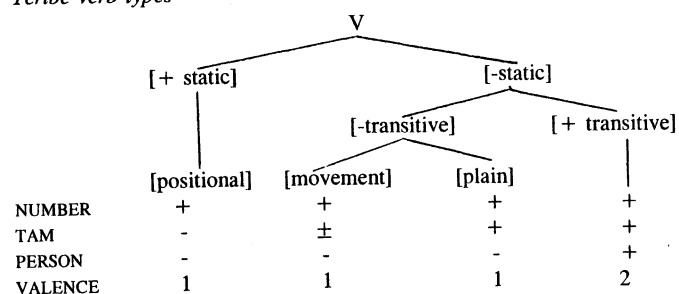
- (56) *-iËye jek?*  
 -who go?  
*-Ta dë jek-do*  
 -1SG FOC go-PFC  
 '-Who is going?  
 -I AM'

### 3.2 Verbs and verbal morphology

#### 3.2.1 Verb classes

For the purpose of grammatical description, three relevant verb types can be identified in Teribe, state/positional, intransitive, and transitive, all definable in terms of their semantics and morphosyntax. Each verb type gives rise to a specific clause and word order type. The

first type comprises positional verbs/clauses, which, as the name suggests, have a positional verb as their nucleus (hereto belong also asyndetic stative clauses). The second type corresponds to intransitive verbs; movement verbs are included under this type as a special subtype (see below). The third type consists of transitive verbs. Semantically, transitive and intransitive verbs/clauses are opposed to stative/positional verbs and clauses in that the latter involve static situations while the former express non-static situations. Morphologically, all three verb types differ in terms of the expression of verbal categories, especially that of perfective aspect; positional verbs are not marked for aspect, transitive verbs have two ways of marking (perfective) aspect, one of which is shared with intransitive verbs. In addition, intransitive verbs can be further subdivided into movement verbs and 'plain intransitives', in terms of the different (perfective) aspect marker as well as by the fact that perfectivity can be expressed by means of a verbal series in the case of movement verbs. Transitive verbs differ from the other two verb types in that they index the subject of the clause, that is, they are marked for person.<sup>9</sup> Syntactically, the three types vary in terms of valence, with transitive verbs having mainly two participants, while the other two types have only one. (S1) summarizes the differences between the three verb types:

(S1) *Teribe verb types*3.2.1.1 *Asyndetic predications*

Asyndetic, or 'verbless' clauses, roughly correspond to copular sentences in other languages; they can be equational (57), inclusive (58), possessive (59-60), and (some) locative

(61):

(57) *Walē kwe wolēso*  
 woman DEM pretty  
 'That woman is pretty'

(58) *Juan e pinga*  
 Juan DEM teacher  
 'Juan is a teacher'

<sup>9</sup>This could be taken as evidence of ergativity. This issue is dealt with in 4.1.2.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.1.2.2.

- (59) *Ta u kw-ara*  
 1SG house CL.ROUND-one  
 'I have a house'
- (60) *Kibokwo e botoya*  
 book DEM mine  
 'The book is mine'
- (61) *ǰBop shiti kwondllo?*  
 2SG.POSS dog where  
 'Where is your dog?'

3.2.1.2 *Positional and existential verbs*

Next in the Teribe verbal system are positional verbs, a closed set of linking verbs specifying location and manner of the location (standing, lying, hanging). Teribe has a closed set of seven positional verbs, listed in (62):

- (62) *sök* 'sit, live'  
*buk* 'lie'  
*shāng* 'stand'  
*pang* 'hang'  
*jong* 'stand permanently'  
*teng* 'be in possession'  
*lōng* 'be plural in a state/place'

Examples of stative sentences with positional verbs follow:

- (63) *Kibokwo e buk bapkwō king*  
 book DEM POSIT.LIE table on  
 'The book is (lying) on the table'
- (64) *U kw-ara jong p'ōglo roy*  
 house CL.ROUND-one POSIT.STAND mountain inside  
 'One house is (stands permanently) in the mountain'
- (65) *Mok pang kw-ara e dbala kw-ōbō sök*  
 moon POSIT.HANG CL.ROUND-one DEM star CL.ROUND-some POSIT.LIVE  
 'There is a moon (hanging) up there and some stars are (living) too'

Koontz & Anderson (1975) and Heinze (1979) list the form *lok* as a positional verb meaning 'be plural'; it is said to be used with collective entities. So far, I have found it only a couple of times as a positional, but referring to a singular participant; the vast majority of times it appears as a marker of plural subjects in transitive sentences, as in (66). On the other hand, those authors do not include the form *teng* as a positional verb, but list it as a marker of "belonging" instead (Koontz & Anderson 1975: 145). Although there is clear evidence that belonging is one of the main features of this form (67), it is also used in serial constructions to express the resulting position/state of the subject as in (68), or in (69) where it appears as any other positional expressing location, thus matching the syntactic behavior of positional verbs in the language (see 4.1.2.3.1 on verb serialization):

- (66) *Dbong f-na lok*  
 tiger see-PERF.3 PL  
 'They saw a tiger'
- (67) *Borwa ilökwo e teng borwa tok*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS language DEM belong 1PL.EXCL with  
 'Our language, it belongs to us'
- (68) *Tawa shro-no teng na*  
 1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF POSIT.BE here  
 'We came here [to stay/belong/be part of]'
- (69) *¿Jose e ba boy teng de?*  
 Jose DEM 3POSS wife POSIT.BE Q  
 'Are Jose and his wife home?'

According to (S1), positionals in Teribe have no verbal (basically aspectual) morphology; even number, which appears as "+" in (S1), is mainly expressed 'lexically', in the case of *lōng*, which is used only with plural subjects. In other words, there is no morphological evidence for the verbhood of these forms. There is, however, syntactic evidence; it comes from the context of question formation. In Teribe, question words appear *in situ*; word order is S(O)V, as can be seen in (70a). In (70b) the positional verb appears in the same slot as the verb in (70a):

- (70a) *¿Bop mekē parkē kone?*  
 2SG.POSS mother work where  
 'Where does your mother work?'
- (70b) *¿Bop mekē sök kone?*  
 2SG.POSS mother POSIT.LIVE where  
 'Where is your mother?'

In the case of *yes/no* questions and their answers, the positional verb both fills the verbal slot in the clause and appears as the only element (together with  $\phi$  anaphora) under the scope of the negation marker:

- (71a) *¿Pa parkē de?*  
 2SG work Q  
 'Do you work?'/ 'Are you working?'
- Ta parkē llëme*  
 -1SG work NEG  
 'No, I am not'/ 'I do not'
- (71b) *¿Carlos sök de?*  
 Carlos POSIT.LIVE Q  
 'Is Carlos home?'
- Sök llëme*  
 -POSIT.LIVE NEG  
 'No, he is not'

The examples in (70) and (71) reveal that syntactically positional verbs do not behave

differently from "inflecting" verbs, and can thus be safely analyzed as verbs. The same applies to existential clauses, which are expressed by means of the existential marker *tok* and its suppletive form for negation *drete*:

- (72) *Broran e zomkwo tok/drete*  
 Térraba DEM goat EXIST/NON-EXIST  
 'There are/not goats in Térraba'

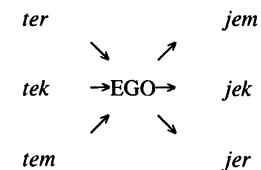
Application of the above syntactic tests reveals the same results, thereby allowing the analysis of the existence marker and its suppletive negative form as verbs.

### 3.2.1.3 Movement and intransitive verbs

As explained above, intransitive verbs express non-static situations, and differ morphologically from positional verbs in the expression of perfective aspect (imperfective aspect is not marked), as well as other aspectual and modal nuances to be described in 3.2.2. The same criterion forms the basis for the subdivision, shown in (S1), of intransitive verbs into movement and plain intransitive verbs; these are described in this section.

There are three sets of movement verbs in Teribe; two of those are determined by two parameters, deixis and direction, the latter being determined by the former but not the other way around; the third set includes forms expressing non-deictic movement. In the first set, there are two basic deictically opposed movement roots, *te* (towards deictic center) and *je* (away from deictic center), which take directional morphemes, *-m* 'up', *-k* 'straight', and *-r* 'down'; the system of deictic-directional movement verbs is summarized in (S2), while deictic non-directional movement verbs are listed in (S3):<sup>10</sup>

#### (S2) Deictic-directional movement verbs in Teribe



#### (S3) Deictic non-directional movement verbs in Teribe

*twe* → EGO → *to, brik*

Non-deictic movement verbs include verbs expressing movement related to the moving entity; these include *är* 'arrive', which focuses on the point of arrival of the moving entity

<sup>10</sup>Koontz & Anderson (1975: 142), who call the deictic-directional movement verbs "specific direction verbs", describe them as being the result of suffixation for direction (*-m*, *-k*, *-r*) and prefixation (*j-* and *t-*) for deixis to a movement root *e*. I will not follow this analysis simply to be in line with the general tendency of the language toward suffixation (exception made of the numeral classifiers dealt with in 3.1.3.)

(which may but need not coincide with the deictic center); a synonym of *är* is *shrë*, originally meaning 'fall' as related to the rain or meteorites, but widely used to express the arrival of a moving entity; and *ör* 'go some distance' (Koontz & Anderson 1975: 141). Finally, there are the verbs *tur* 'run' and *tuk* 'escape', included under the set of movement verbs by virtue of their taking the specific perfective aspect morpheme of this whole class *-(t)ong*.<sup>11</sup> Precisely, this last-mentioned feature precludes the inclusion of other movement verbs in this class, notably *opzrik* 'enter' and *opshik* 'exit', which are lexicalizations of reflexive constructions *op + zrik* and *op + shik*, meaning 'put oneself in' and 'take oneself out', respectively. These two verbs take the perfective aspect morpheme of intransitive verbs, *-no*.

Movement verbs in Teribe exhibit two features in terms of the expression of aspect, a. expression of aspect when there is only one movement verb, as in (73); and b. 'facultative' expression in the context of a series (74); in such cases the expression of perfective aspect can be effected on (the) other(s) member(s) of the series (75), which can, in turn, be another movement verb (76):

(73) *Tawa ö-tong llum a las tres de la tarde*  
1PL.EXCL go-PERF up at three in the afternoon  
'We went up at three o'clock in the afternoon'

(74) *Tawa jem löng bislon-so llum Töblor dluþyo*<sup>12</sup>  
1PL.EXCL go.up POSIT.BE side-ORGN up Töblor top  
'We went up to the top of the Töblor mountain'

(75) *Tawa opshi-no jem jü shko dwayo*  
1PL.EXCL leave-PERF go.up here of from  
'We left from here upwards'

(76) *Tawa jem jer-ong wlorë kokshko*  
1PL.EXCL go.up go.down-PERF hunt up  
'We went up hunting'

Plain intransitive verbs differ from movement verbs both in terms of the morpheme expressing the perfective aspect and in the obligatoriness of its expression. Koontz & Anderson (1975: 156-7) identify four classes of intransitive verbs in Teribe: a. roots whose final vowel is neither nasal nor the high lax vowel; b. roots whose final vowel is nasal; c. roots whose final consonant is nasal; d. roots whose final vowel is the high lax vowel. The four classes are ordered in (S4). Class IV is the most numerous in the language; it exhibits the progressive vowel harmony described in 2.2.1, while Class III verbs drop the velar segment when followed by the perfective aspect suffix *-no*. An intransitive clause shows SV order; the subject can in turn be realized as a full NP (77), or as  $\phi$  anaphora depending on

<sup>11</sup>A couple of movement verbs take the *-no* marker:

- (i) *Oba shro-no ara*  
People arrive-PERF much  
'Many people came'

<sup>12</sup>The dot (.) in the glosses stands for lexicalized direction.

discourse considerations (78):

(S4) *Subclasses of Teribe intransitive verbs*

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
ROOT	<i>uñik</i> 'visit'	<i>tlë</i> 'speak'	<i>kojong</i> 'get up'	<i>parkë</i> 'work'
IMPERFECTIVE	<i>uñik-φ</i>	<i>tlë-φ</i>	<i>kojong-φ</i>	<i>parkë-φ</i>
PERFECTIVE	<i>uñi-no</i>	<i>tlë-no</i>	<i>kojo-no</i>	<i>parko-no</i>

(Adapted from Koontz & Anderson 1975: 157).

(77) *Wëshko tawa parko-no*  
Next day 1PL.EXCL work-PERF  
'The next day we worked'

(78) *kosina dorko pë buk*  
stove under sleep POSIT.LIE  
'[He] was sleeping under the stove'

The behavior of movement verbs in terms of aspect marking can be summarized as halfway between positional and intransitive verbs, the latter exhibiting a much more regular behavior. Not surprisingly, it is positional and movement verbs that always appear in series as specifying elements.

### 3.2.1.4 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Teribe can be regarded as "full-fledged" verbs. Morphologically, they are marked for aspect, person and number. Syntactically, they take two arguments and three word orders. Morphosyntactically, they have two perfective aspect morphemes determined by word order. There are two word orders in complementary distribution in a transitive clause, SOV (79) and OV-s, where *-s* stands for a person suffix (80); the examples are in the perfective aspect because it is here where the distinction manifests itself most clearly:

(79) *Tawa ëpkwo dgo-no*  
1PL.EXCL corn plant-PERF  
'We planted corn'

(80) *Sëngna tsira wuo-ro-r*  
meat a little eat-PERF-1SG  
'I ate a bit of meat'

In addition, there is the inverse construction, present in the second clause of (81), whose order is OVSdë (see 4.1.1.1.3 for details):

(81) *Kl-ara ra opto-no jek juni ga*  
CL.ANIMATE-one CONT-FOC jump-PERF go here CONN  
 $\phi$  za-ra k'i li dë llëme  
 $\phi$  cut-PERF.INV thread TOP OBV NEG

'ONE [OF THEM] (did) jump(ed) over and the thread did not cut [him]'. 9

Notice that in the OVS<sub>dē</sub> order the object/patient, being the unmarked topic of the episode, is coded as  $\phi$ , while the 'agent' (an inanimate entity) is retained; this is a clear instance of both semantic and pragmatic inversion; in the former a 3<sub>inanimate</sub> acts upon a 3<sub>animate</sub>; in the latter, the more topical participant is coded  $\phi$ , while the agent, being also topical appears as a marked topic. Postverbal subjects are not possible with the other three verb types.

Transitive verbs can be grouped into the same four subclasses established for intransitive verbs. In addition to the aspect morpheme ( $\phi$  for imperfective, *-ro* for perfective aspect, a phonologically conditioned allomorph of which is *-no* in Classes II and III), there is the person suffix, described in 3.2.2.4, in the OV-s order; the perfective aspect marker in the SOV order is the same as that of plain intransitive verbs (*-no*). (S5) illustrates the four subclasses of transitive verbs in Teribe; in the case of the OV-s order, the person suffix used is the one corresponding to first person singular:

(S5) *Subclasses of Teribe transitive verbs*

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
ROOT	<i>sök</i> 'bring'	<i>ik</i> 'see'	<i>jöng</i> 'sharpen'	<i>zē</i> 'cut'
SOV	<i>sō-no</i>	<i>ī-no</i>	<i>jō-no</i>	<i>zo-no</i>
PERFECTIVE				
OV-s	<i>sō-ro-r</i>	<i>ī-no-r</i>	<i>jō-no-r</i>	<i>zo-ro-r</i>
SOV	<i>sök-φ</i>	<i>ik-φ</i>	<i>jöng-φ</i>	<i>zē-φ</i>
IMPERFECTIVE				
OV-s	<i>sō-φ-r</i>	<i>ī-φ-n</i>	<i>jō-φ-n</i>	<i>zē-φ-r</i>

(Adapted from Koontz & Anderson 1975: 158-160).

### 3.2.2 Verbal categories

The verb structure of Teribe is summarized in (82):

(82) [[V-(T)AM-PERS-NUM] (LOC) {MOD}]

According to (82), there are two sets of verbal categories, those expressed by bound morphology and those expressed by free forms; this is what the two sets of brackets intend to capture. The first set of brackets represents the categories that are expressed by means of bound morphology; the order of the morphemes basically follows the sequence of transitive verbs.<sup>13</sup> The second set of brackets includes operators whose scope can be the predicate in

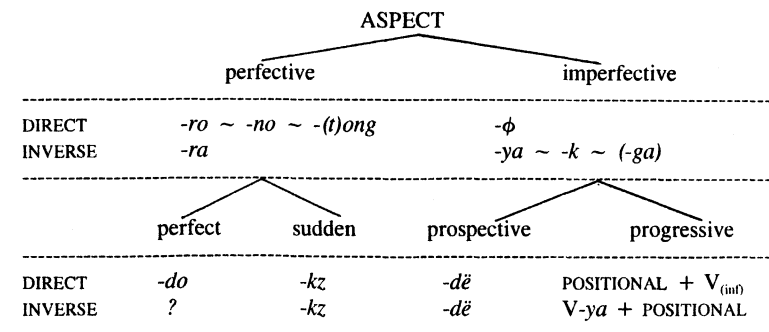
<sup>13</sup>As long as number is lexicalized in the most basic form of verbal expression, that is, in some positional verbs, it can be argued that number is more basic than aspect; this view is reinforced by the lack of aspectual morphology in positionals. However, since transitive verbs are more prototypical verbs, and aspect is the most basic verbal category of this verb type, the transitive pattern is taken as basic.

the case of LOC, or the clause in the case of MOD. V can be any of the three (four) verb types explained in 3.2.1, while preference is given to movement and positional verbs (or both together) in the slot corresponding to LOC, while two movement verbs can appear in a series, the same is not possible with positional verbs. The phenomenon of verb serialization comes thus into existence; it is first and foremost a mechanism that situates states of affairs in space (either statically, in the case of positional verbs, or dynamically, in the case of movement verbs), and by extension in time. Aspectual nuances are thus attained. As for MOD, it is coded by both bound and free morphemes; the braces represent this possibility. When MOD is coded by free forms, the verb appears in its non-finite form. ASP, on the other hand, does not behave like MOD, that is, it is always expressed by bound morphology, which means that the original function of the LOC operator (another verb) is not aspectual; that is, in the case of MOD there is practically complementary distribution between the free and the bound forms, precisely because they have the same function; they express the same grammatical category. On the other hand, aspectual marking and presence of a movement or a positional verb in a series do not exclude each other; and that is an indicator that the presence of a verb in the LOC slot is independent of the expression of aspect in the verb. This explains why verbs in a series can be marked for aspect (cf. (75) and (76), above), whereas this possibility does not exist in the case of MOD. The remainder of this section is devoted to discussing the categorial organization of the Teribe verbal complex.

#### 3.2.2.1 Aspect

Teribe is a "tenseless" language. The most basic verbal category in this language is aspect; its organization is represented in (S6):

(S6) *The Teribe aspectual system*



As can be seen in (S6), the default aspectual value of verbs is imperfective direct in the case of transitive verbs, and simply imperfective in all other verbs. The description of the various aspectual distinctions of Teribe will proceed from perfectivity to imperfectivity.

3.2.2.1.1 *Perfective*

As mentioned in the preceding sections, there are three aspectual markers corresponding to the three verb types that take aspectual morphology: *-(t)ong* for movement verbs, illustrated in (73), *-no* for intransitive verbs (77) and transitive verbs in the SOV order (79), and *-ro* for transitive verbs in the OV-s order, cf. (80), above. In the inverse construction, the marker of perfective aspect is *-ra*, as can be seen in (81) (cf. also 4.1.4.1). The marker of perfective aspect of movement verbs (*(t)ong*) and the perfect morpheme *-do*, in addition take part in participial-like constructions, dealt with in 3.2.2.1.7, below.

The perfective aspect in Teribe expresses the boundedness, though not necessarily the completeness and thorough realization of, the event; that dimension is expressed by the perfect. The perfective aspect rather expresses a break in the "normal", unobstructed way/course of a verbal situation (imperfectivity) by imposing a boundary, that is by signalling the interruption of that flow; it is therefore the marked member of the opposition.

3.2.2.1.2 *Perfect*

As mentioned in the preceding section, the perfect covers a semantic area in the domain of perfectivity, which includes the expression of totality, "altogetherness", anteriority and "current effect" of the event. This variety of meanings gives rise to various "secondary uses", such as imminentiality. The morpheme expressing the perfect, *-do*, is the grammaticalized form of the noun *doyo* 'body'. In the process of grammaticalization of this form various stages/functions can be identified. Already undergone phonological erosion but still keeping its free form status, the form has adjectival functions as in (83), where it modifies the noun *so* 'tapir':<sup>14</sup>

- (83) *Dbo trak llëme ga sök oba to wlorjë ga so sök do*  
 force little NEG CONN carry people go hunt CONN tapir carry whole  
*kl-ara ga sök oba to shäng eni*  
 CL.ANIMATE-one CONN carry people go POSIT.STAND so  
 '[He] was very strong and people would take him to go hunting; he could carry a whole tapir and so people would take him to hunt like that'

In (83), *do* means 'whole'; this meaning of wholeness was kept in the further step of its grammaticalization as an affix expressing completeness in the realization of the situation, as shown in (84):

- (84) *-E domer ter e shäng llë li kworkwok-do dbong*  
 -DEM man go.down DEM POSIT.STAND what REL become-PFC tiger  
 'The man who came down has become a tiger'

(Gamarra & Vargas n.d.: 89)

The feature of completeness is nicely illustrated by the examples in (85), volunteered

by the consultants, which show the opposition between the perfective and the perfect:

- (85a) *¿Pa parko-gdo llonoshko?*  
 2SG work-PFC when  
 'When [on earth] have you worked?'  
 (85b) *¿Pa parko-no llonoshko?*  
 2SG work-PERF when  
 'When have/did you work(ed)?'

According to the consultants (85a) has the implication "you being such a lazy bum", whereas that is not the case in (85b); the presence of the perfect adds the meaning of surprise too. In the case of (85b), on the other hand, the question simply asks for a specific time and/or date. This is due to the element of anteriority with implications to the speech act, present in the perfect. The element of completion is also present in (86), where the verb *shärië* appears double-marked, as both perfective and perfect:

- (86) *¿Lëe shärio-ro-p-do?*  
 what make-PERF-2SG-PFC  
 'What have you done?' (Gamarra & Vargas n.d.: 35).

Cases like (86) are extremely rare, however; they are practically non-existent in the texts I have collected. Both (85a-b) and (86) show that the perfect is marked in relation to the perfective, just like the perfective is marked in relation to the imperfective.

The current effect feature is shown in (87), where the subject, 'the men', are still there, according to the speakers; notice, that in (87) the positional verb *sök* is marked for aspect; this is the only positional that takes this aspectual mark, *-do*:

- (87) *Domer-ga shro-no ga sök-do lu kop eni*  
 men-PL arrive-PERF CONN POSIT.LIVE-PFC year many so  
 'The men came and have stayed for many years'

The other meanings expressed by the perfect include imminentiality and emphasis, probably as an extension of the feature of completeness. In (88), the situation is clearly referring to a situation in post-speech act perspective; still, the speaker uses the perfect probably to express that the minute the situation occurs, it will ensue totally:

- (88) *E brik-do*  
 DEM leave-PFC  
 'He is living in a moment' [lit. 'He leaves totally']

No cases of inversion in the perfect have been reported

3.2.2.1.3 *Sudden*

The sudden aspect expresses the realization of a situation as an instantaneous event; it necessarily falls within the domain of perfectivity because the event is viewed in its entirety; the sudden aspect can be expressed in both inverse and direct constructions, as shown in (89a) and (89b), respectively. The use of the same form for both direct and inverse constructions means that an inverse construction in this aspect (and in the other aspectual distinction where this is the case, the prospective aspect) can be recognized by word order

<sup>14</sup>It should be noted, incidentally, that (83) contains two inverted constructions in which the verb *sök* ('carry, bring', which is formally identical to the positional meaning 'sit, live') is not marked for aspect; similarly the agent *oba* 'people' is not marked for obviation. These aspects of inversion are discussed in 4.1.4.2.

inversion and presence of the obviative marker:

(89a) *icha-kz-a jer llet llet*  
send-SUD-3 go.down quick quick  
'He threw it down very quickly'

(89b) *wua-kz-a äya li dē ga shotwa-kz-a*  
eat-SUD-3 devil TOP OBV CONN vomit-SUD-3  
'The devil ate [him] and vomited [him] at once'

The sudden aspect is not used with intransitive verbs because these mainly express atelic situations, and the use of a sudden form would yield an ingressive aspect, which is expressed by the verb *soyē* ('begin') in a hypotactic construction:

(89c) *E soya-r-a sēngna wuē*  
DEM begin-PERF-3 meat eat  
'He began to eat meat'

Some punctual intransitive verbs constitute an exception to the above mentioned rule:

(89d) *Shunyo shro-kzo*  
rain fall-SUD  
'It started to rain (suddenly)'

#### 3.2.2.1.4 Imperfective

Imperfective direct is the default aspectual value of verbs in Teribe. It is always expressed by  $\phi$ , as shown in (S4) and (S5). The imperfective aspect expresses the uninterrupted flow of the situation, with no boundaries other than those imposed by the telicity of the individual verbs. In the case of intransitive verbs only the verbal root appears, as in the first clause of (90a), whereas in the case of transitive verbs, the  $\phi$  morpheme is followed by the person suffix, also shown in (90a):

(90a) *ga di dan- $\phi$  ga ma tö- $\phi$ -mi, wuē- $\phi$ -mi wlo eni*  
CONN river dry-IMP CONN fish collect-IMP-2PL, eat-IMP-2PL PURP so  
'And [when] the river dries, you pick up the fish to eat [them]'

In the case of the inverse constructions, the imperfective aspect is expressed by the morpheme *-ya* and allomorphs (*-k*, *-ga*, but see 4.1.4.2 on *-ga*), as in (90b-d):

(90b) *ī-ya miskwo dē sök*  
see-IMP.INV cat OBV POSIT.SIT  
'The cat sitting there saw [it]'

(90c) *ga lē-k oba oblē dē ga...*  
CONN say-IMP.INV people different OBV CONN  
'and say other people that...'

(90d) *problema tok ga llwe-ga rey dē e llwe-ga siwa-ga*  
problem exist CONN solve-IMP.INV king OBV DEM solve-IMP.INV white-PL  
*dē llēme*  
OBV NEG

'There are problems but it is the King who solves them, not the whites.'

The other two aspectual distinctions expressed by bound morphology are the prospective and the progressive.

#### 3.2.2.1.5 Prospective

The prospective aspect expresses situations that are expected to occur subsequently to the speech act; it is expressed by the suffix *-(y)dē*, in both direct and inverse constructions, as in (91a) and (91b), respectively. The prospective aspect has the peculiarity that it inverts the order of morphemes in the verbal word; the sequence V-ASP-PERS becomes V-PERS-ASP, as shown in (91c):

(91a) *E twa-ydē*  
DEM come-PROSP  
'He will come shortly/He's about to come'

(91b) *Ta wua-ydē dgur dē*  
1SG eat-PROSP.INV snake OBV  
'The snake is going/about to bite me'

(91c) *p'irga li-y-dē, eni*  
then cook-1PL.INCL-PROSP, so.  
'Then we go on to cook [it]'

When the prospective aspect is negated, it immediately becomes a perfect aspect, as shown in (92); this is so because when a situation that is in the process of taking place is negated, the perspective of the speaker shifts from the conceptual space subsequent to the speech act to that preceding it. Perhaps this is the reason why Koontz & Anderson (1975: 164), rather bafflingly, label this aspect "perfect", without identifying the morpheme *-do*, described in 3.2.2.1.2:

(92) *E twa-yde llēme*  
DEM come-PROSP NEG  
'He has not come yet'

Hence 'incomplete' (or even 'improspective') appears as a more accurate designation for this form of negated prospective.

#### 3.2.2.1.6 Progressive

As for the progressive, it is coded by a positional verb (usually *sök*, *shäng* or *pang*, and to a lesser degree *buk*) and the imperfective form of the 'main' verb, as in (93a):

(93a) *E sök shing lwē*  
DEM POSIT.SIT basket weave  
'He is weaving a basket'

On the basis of (93a) one could be tempted to conclude that the progressive is a periphrastic construction in Teribe, pretty much like in English or Spanish. However, on closer inspection it turns out that the positional verb(s) used to express this aspect is (are) an operator(s) taking the whole clause under its (their) scope, thereby showing that the relation of the positional to what could be termed the 'main verb' is not one of auxiliary; that is, there is no



cohesion, nor bondedness between the two (see 4.1.2.3.2 on the inappropriateness of viewing positionals as auxiliaries); compare (93b), which also shows the expression of the progressive in the inverse construction:

- (93b) [[*Ta shpo-ya Juan dē shāng*]  
 1SG hit-IMP.INV Juan OBV POSIT.STAND  
 'Juan is hitting me'

### 3.2.2.1.7 Participial constructions

In Teribe there are certain constructions and uses of the aspectual morphemes *-tē*, which is identical to the form expressing first person singular prospective, *-do*, the perfect marker, and *-tong*, the marker of perfective aspect of movement verbs, which will be termed here "participial constructions". These are characterized by the presence of those morphemes on verbs which, in general, do not perform the basic predicative function of the clause; their role is to express secondary verbal meanings such as resulting states, which makes them appear as participles. The difference between *-tē* and *-tong* is in general terms comparable to that between present and past participles of European languages; *-tē* expresses the state as it develops while *-tong* presents the state as consummated. Examples of *-tē* are shown in (94a-b):

- (94a) *ār-ong ba di ga ga dibzoklo za-kz-a tas tas, icha-kz-a*  
 arrive-PERF 3SG river at CONN bridge cut-SUD-3 IDEOPH IDEOPH, send-SUD-3  
*jer llet llet dewle ga äya li wle la-ga*  
 come.down fast fast down there CONN devil TOP near say-IMP  
*smok-tē pang:...*  
 stick-PART POSIT.HANG

'[They] got to the river and [he] cut the bridge at once bang bang! and chopped it down very quickly and the devil there, hanging and sticking (on the bridge), said:...'

- (94b) *ār di ga ga k'or zrë-rg-a jong di roy shko ga*  
 arrive river at CONN tree put in-CAUS-3 POSIT.STAND river inside in CONN  
*di jek don-tē*  
 river go dry-PART

'[They] got to the river and put the stick [and made it stand] in the water, and the river went dry'

The participial forms in (94a-b) can be better translated as 'sticking' and 'drying', respectively; the latter case comes very close to the Spanish prospective periphrasis *ir* ('go') + present participle *se fue secando* [lit. 'it went drying'], which expresses the unfolding of a situation in prospective perspective (cf. Quesada 1995).

As mentioned above, *-tong* presents the state as consummated, not in its unfolding; this is illustrated in (95a), where the literal translation of the phrase *zara skoktong* is 'cut it broken'; similarly in (95b) the participial form of the transitive verb *dölē* 'tear' expresses a the state resulting from the action of tearing:

- (95a) *Zē kēre ö-tong llgrin li za-ra skok-tong taze*  
 cut INTENS go-PERF rib TOP cut-PERF break-PART half  
 'They cut and cut till they got the rib cut in the middle'  
 (95b) *Bop dyoklo dölē-tong*  
 2SG.POSS shirt tear-PART  
 'You shirt is torn'

In addition, *-tong* can be affixed to nouns to express the termination of the entity; thus in (54), repeated here as (96a), *-tong* is attached to the noun *yuk* to express that it was non-existent; a similar situation occurs in (96b):

- (96a) *Shro-no koko ga ra yuk-tong ga ma li kyoyo tsi-ra*  
 arrive-PERF out CONN CONT-FOC fire-PERF CONN fish TOP oil little  
 'They went out but the fire would not start because there was little fish oil'  
 (96b) *Ba shidok-tong*  
 3POSS hut-PERF  
 'His hut is finished/destroyed'

There are a few non-movement verbs that take that suffix (e.g. *star* 'cry', *jar* 'laugh', *p'ir* 'finish') in what appears to be an irregularity in the verbal paradigms. In reality, these can be shown to be syntactically participles too. In (97a) there is an asyndetic equational sentence just like the one in (97b); the verbal form *p'irtong* behaves as a nominal predicate just as the adjective in (97b):

- (97a) *Maria wo p'ir-tong*  
 Maria liver finish-PART  
 'Maria fainted'  
 (97b) *Maria wo plú*  
 Maria liver happy  
 'Maria is happy'

Similarly, *star* appears in participial constructions characteristic of *-do* to be described below:

- (98) *Kwozirwa li star-tong kl-ara*  
 child REL cry-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
 'a crying child'

Participial constructions like that in (98) are mainly formed with the perfect marker *-do*; these are by far more frequent than those formed with *-tong*. Syntactically, these constructions are nominalized relative clauses, but differ from 'regular' relative clauses in a. the fixed position of the relativizer *li* in postnuclear position, b. in the presence of the perfect suffix, and c. the ability to stand alone as complex nouns; none of these features, exemplified in (99), is characteristic of the relative clause types described in 4.1.2.2.2. Notice the regressive vowel harmony in the verb roots as well as the velar consonant at the end of the root /-k/, which are indicators of the bound status of *-do*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>The velar consonant is the marker of classes I (*zrök* 'kill', *shpok* 'hit', etc.) and II (*ik* 'see', *twlëk* 'buy', *wlëk* 'find', 'meet', etc). It looks as though /-k/ has been reanalyzed as an infinitive marker, as evidenced by its extension to verbs of class IV in both the inverse construction (cf. (90c)

(99) *Participial noun phrases*

- a. *sēnwa li tog-do kw-ara*  
bird REL sing-PART CL.ROUND-one  
'a singing bird'
- b. *ōn li sron-tong kl-ara*  
animal REL jump-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
'a jumping animal'
- c. *domer li yog-do kl-ara*  
man REL drink-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
'a drinking man'
- d. *walē li bērkog-do kl-ara*  
woman REL dance-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
'a dancing woman'
- e. *domer li lūkog-do kl-ara*  
man REL steal-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
'a thieving man'
- f. *domer li jñorkog-do kl-ara*  
man REL lie-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
'a lying man'
- g. *ōn li tyog-do kl-ara*  
animal REL climb-PART CL.ANIMATE-one  
'a climbing animal'

Another difference between these phrases and relative clauses has to do with the fact that the presence of the suffix *-do* has no verbal (aspectual-predicative) force, that is, the phrase does not provide any information as to whether the state of affairs expressed in the verb form is bounded or not; thus in (100a) and (100b), the sentences are read as imperfective, despite the presence of *-do*:

(100a) *Juan li tog-do*

Juan REL sing-PART  
'Juan is the one singing'

(100b) *Pa li sök opzrigdo*

2SG REL POSIT.SIT enter-PART  
'You are the one coming in'

By contrast, an ordinary relative clause in Teribe looks as follows:

- (101) *Domer [sök ēre shko (li)] bor shiti zro-no e*  
man POSIT.LIVE DEM in (REL) 1SG.POSS dog kill-PERF CFP  
'The man who lives there killed my dog'

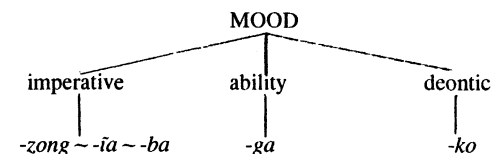
The relativizer is optional and the verb in the relative clause is 'finite', that is, it does not

above and 4.1.4.2) and in the participial constructions analyzed here. If this is so, the participial forms have to be analyzed as consisting of the affixation of the perfective morpheme *-do* to the "infinitive" of the verb; in the process there is vowel harmony and sonorization of the infinitive marker.

appear in a nominalized form (cf. 4.1.2.2.2).

3.2.2.2 *Mood and modality*

In terms of mood, a strictly language immanent distinction has to be made between bound and free modal forms; such a distinction does not correlate with trends suggested by Bybee (1985: 166) that "markers of modalities that designate conditions on the *agent* of the sentence will *not* often occur as inflections on verbs, while markers that designate the role the *speaker* wants the proposition to play in the discourse will often occur as inflections" [emphasis in original].<sup>16</sup> Under mood are included here 'meanings' of modality proper, mood, and illocutionary force (such as imperative, permissive, and wish).<sup>17</sup> (S7) summarizes the modal categories expressed by bound morphology:

(S7) *Modal inflections of the Teribe verb*3.2.2.2.1 *Imperative*

The imperative mood has various features. First, it makes a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; in the case of the former, there is a distinction by number of the addressee; if it is singular the form *-zong* (reduced in rapid speech to *-zo*, cf. 2.2.2) and even to *-z*) is used (102a); if plural, the addressee is coded as *-zīa* (102b); *-zong* is also used with intransitive verbs, which, in addition, have to express the addressee by means of a second person (singular or plural) pronoun, as in (102c). Positional verbs express the imperative mood by simply placing the second person pronoun in preverbal position; they take no inflection as shown in (102d):

- (102a) *¡Kosho-zong na!*  
wait-IMPR.SG here  
'[you sg.] Wait here!'

<sup>16</sup>Those trends are not born out by conditional sentences in Teribe either. Conditional sentences do not designate conditions on the agent of the sentence; according to Bybee's prediction, they should be expressed by bound morphology, but that is not the case in Teribe; see 4.2.2.2.1.

<sup>17</sup>Some authors reject the idea of "mixing" these concepts under a single "label" instead of treating them separately. Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 42), for instance, state that "subjunctive mood is a combination of irrealis [mood] and particular illocutionary force notions, while indicative mood is declarative realis. Therefore, indicative and subjunctive moods are combinations of these basic categories, which need to be distinguished". In the case of Teribe, the morphosyntactic treatment that the language gives to these categories, namely interacting with (or rather, in opposition to) aspect, justifies the conflation.

- (102b) *¡Kosho-zīa na!*  
wait-IMPR.PL here  
‘[you pl.] wait here!’
- (102c) *¡Pa/pāy po-zong na!*  
2SG/2PL sleep-IMPR here  
‘Sleep here!’
- (102d) *¡Pa/pāy sōk na!*  
2SG/2PL POSIT.SIT here  
‘Sit/stay/be here!’

Second, in the case of transitive verbs there is a distinction between spatial closeness, so that a form, *-zong*, is used if the addressee is close to the speaker, as in (103a), while another, *-ba*, which is formally identical to the third person plural different subject (cf. 3.2.2.4), is used if not, as in (103b). In the case of the distinction by distance, the opposition by number is neutralized; that is, there is no expression of distant command with a plural addressee:

- (103a) *¡Ta shopo-zong!*  
1SG hit-IMPR  
‘Hit me!’
- (103b) *¡Ta shpo-ba!*  
1SG hit-IMPR.DIST  
‘[you there] hit me!’

Third, negation of the imperative is used with what would be ‘realis’ forms; thus the command in (104a), which shows the imperative suffix *-zong*, is negated in the non-imperative mood in (104b):

- (104a) *¡Pa to-zong!*  
2SG sing-IMPR  
‘Sing!’
- (104b) *¡Pa tē llēme!*  
2SG sing NEG  
‘Don’t sing!’ [also ‘You do not sing!’]

Finally, in the case of “verbless” clauses commands are given by simply placing the second person pronoun (singular or plural) before the adjective:

- (105) *¡Pa tekso!*  
2SG quiet  
‘Be quiet!’

### 3.2.2.2.2 Ability

The expression of ability, also called epistemic modality, is illustrated in (106a). A peculiarity of the ability mood marker is that it cannot be negated with the negative marker *llēme*; instead it requires the frustrative particle *āe*, as shown in (106b):

- (106a) *Pa shpo-r-ga*  
2SG hit-1SG-ABIL  
‘I can hit you’
- (106b) *E tlē-ga āe/\*llēme*  
DEM speak-ABIL FRUST/\*NEG  
‘He cannot speak’ (‘he is dumb’)
- The ability marker is also used to express permissive modality; in those cases, there is a tendency for the adverb *plú* to co-appear, as in (106c):
- (106c) *¡Di ěre ye-y-ga plú de?*  
water DEM drink-1PL.INCL-ABIL good Q  
‘May we drink (from) this water’

### 3.2.2.2.3 Deontic modality

Deontic modality proper is expressed both by bound and free forms. The affix *-ko* listed in (S7) has the peculiarity that is used to express impersonal obligation; agent-related obligation in the sense explained by Bybee (1985: 166) is expressed by the free forms *jongñā* and *klue*, the former, present in (107), expresses both deontic modality and movement; see below on free deontic markers:

- (107) *Llē e shāria-ko llēme, pa jongñā ba krē erōe*  
what DEM do-OBLI.IMPERS NEG, 2SG OBLI 3SG get all  
‘There is nothing to do, you have to go get him’

### 3.2.2.2.4 Other modal forms

In addition to bound modal forms, there are a few free forms that express other modalities. One such form is *woydē* (‘want’, ‘need’, ‘have to’); it expresses desiderative (108) and epistemic modality (109). In addition, there are *klue* ~ *kwe* (*shāng*), which expresses deontic (obligation) modality, as in (110); *wēñe* (‘let’), which expresses permissive/exhortative modality (111), *jongñā* (‘necessity’), cf. (107) above, and *lē* (‘say’) used in the expression of intent (112):

- (108) *[[Pa shpo-r] [woydē]]*  
2SG hit-1SG want  
‘I want to hit you’
- (109) *[[Shunyo shrē] [woydē]]*  
rain fall want  
‘It looks like rain’ [lit. ‘rain wants to fall’]
- (110) *[[E shāriē-p] [klue]]*  
DEM do-2SG MUST  
‘You must do it’
- (111) *[[Jek] [wēñe]]*  
go let  
‘Let him go!’

- (112) [[*Ta wue dgur dë*] [*la-r-a*]]  
 1SG eat.IMP.INV snake OBV say-PERF-3  
 'A snake wanted/was going to bite me'

As the previous examples show, the modality markers have the clause as its scope and the clause is well-formed without them; this is especially true of (112) in which the operator takes a 'derived' clause (an inverted one) under its scope, clearly showing that the operator is not integrated into the clause core. It becomes clear that it is inappropriate to analyze these forms as auxiliaries (see discussion in 4.1.2.3.2).

Finally, hortative modality is expressed by placing the first person plural inclusive pronoun in preverbal position, as shown in (113):

- (113) "*Shi to e", le padre dë ba kong*  
 "1PL.INCL go CFP", say.IMP.INV priest OBV 3 to  
 "Let's go", said the priest to them'

### 3.2.2.3 Position

Positional verbs not only constitute a verb type of its own, which gives rise to a specific clause type, but they also form the basis for the expression of the position of the participants in states of affairs. In some cases the expression of that position is compulsory, so that there are grounds to posit the existence of a verbal category POSITION in the grammar of Teribe. In addition to positional sentences per se, there are two readily identifiable contexts in which the expression of position is rather obligatory: movement (114a) and (114b), and intransitive verbs (115a), and (115b); if the positional is removed, some speakers feel the clause is "incomplete":<sup>18</sup>

- (114a) *tawa ö-tong... tawa ö-tong... tawa jem löng*  
 1PL.EXCL go-PERF... 1PL.EXCL go-PERF... 1PL.EXCL go.up POSIT.BE  
*bislon-so llum Töblor dlubyo*  
 side-ORGN up Töblor top  
 'We walked and walked and got to the top of the Töblor mountain'
- (114b) *Domer jem tye pang jeklo go shko*  
 Man go.up climb POSIT.HANG ladder with in  
 'The man is ascending (hanging) with/by the ladder'
- (115a) *kosina dorko pë buk*  
 stove under sleep POSIT.LIE  
 [He] was sleeping (lying) under the stove
- (115b) *kwozirwa li be-no shäng*  
 child TOP remain-PERF POSIT.STAND  
 'The child remained there (standing)'

As (114a) illustrates, the presence of the positional verb can provide an endpoint to an

otherwise atelic situation;<sup>19</sup> this could be interpreted as an aspectual feature of positional verbs. While the effect is indeed "aspectual", the presence of the positional verb is first and foremost locational and by (metaphoric) extension aspectual, as can be seen in the other examples; the perfective reading of (114a) is reinforced by the fact that the clause is in the perfective aspect. There are situations where the presence of the positional has no (telic/perfective) aspectual effects, as in (116) where the positional simply specifies the position of the participant to which it refers:

- (116) *bor kégue Toño jem shäng bebi*  
 1SG.POSS uncle Toño go.up POSIT.STAND too  
 'My uncle Toño was going [standing] too'

In all the preceding examples the positional verb and the other verbs it modifies have the same subject. In the case of transitive verbs the two verbs have different subjects and the result is a causative reading, that is, the positional verb expresses the resulting position of the patient as caused by the action of the agent, as in (117a), see 4.1.3.1 on causativity. That the positional refers to the object is evidenced by (117b), where the positional *shäng* ('stand') cannot be used, because, in one of my consultants' words, "an animal that is killed cannot stand". Cases in which the positional expresses the position of the transitive subject are extremely rare (117c):

- (117a) *e ichë-rwa shäng borwa bamgo shko*  
 DEM send-1PL.EXCL POSIT.STAND 1PL.EXCL.POSS before in  
 'We send him (standing) before us'
- (117b) *Tawa shwling zrö-no buk/\*shäng*  
 1PL.EXCL deer kill-PERF POSIT.LIE/\*STAND  
 'We killed the deer (lying/\*standing)'
- (117c) *Entonces... ku-rwa löng p'ir*  
 then... hear-1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE finish  
 'Thus, we hear it all'

### 3.2.2.4 Person and number

As explained in 3.2.1.4, only transitive verbs are marked for person in the OV-s order; the person suffix follows the aspectual suffix (-*ro* for perfective aspect, - $\phi$  for imperfective aspect) in the verbal word, except in the case of the perfect and the prospective aspects (cf. 3.2.2.1.2 and 3.2.2.1.5, respectively). The person suffixes are shown in (118). A look at the personal pronoun system shown in (1) unequivocally hints at an earlier stage of the language in which the forms of the oblique paradigm were posposed in an alternative OVS order, presumably used for defocusing the subject (hence the use of the oblique paradigm instead of the nominal one). That order must have grammaticalized up to the point where the root of the pronouns *bo-* underwent phonological attrition, which led to the

<sup>18</sup>Though native speakers sometimes utter sentences without the positional, their judgement of such sentences is that "people do say so, but it is not right; it is incomplete".

<sup>19</sup>The verb is in the perfective aspect, but the situation depicted is atelic in that it narrates the process of movement toward a destination, which is only reached when the position, *löng* ('be (plural) in a state/place') is specified.

suffixation of the elements containing the morphological information in the segment chain, that is, the person indexing segments. A similar process has been attested in the case of Boruca, one of Teribe's genealogically related neighbors (cf. Quesada 2000b):

(118) *Person encoding suffixes in the OV-s order*

	1.	-r
SINGULAR	2.	-p
	3.	-a ~ -φ (depending on verb class)
	1excl.	-rwa
	1incl.	-y
PLURAL	2.	-mi
	3same	-a ~ -φ (depending on verb class) <i>lok</i>
	3different	-ba

Two of the above person distinctions have secondary uses. The first plural inclusive form is used as a marker of indefinite subject as in instructions, recipes, and the like pretty much like English *you*, as in (119), below (see also Texts 5.4 and 5.5 in Chapter 5). The other form, 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) (120):

(119) *Junyo li yē-y ba kwota roy; p'irga li-y-dē, eni.*  
 Dough TOP put-1PL.INCL 3POSS skin inside; then cook-1PL.INCL-PROSP, so.  
 'You [lit. 'we'] put the dough in the corn leaves; and then you cook it, like that'

(120) *-jSēngna buk kone?*  
 -meat POSIT.LIE where  
 -Wua-ra-ba e  
 -eat-PERF-DS CFP  
 'Where is the meat?  
 -They (indef.) ate it'

On occasion, an intransitive verb appears marked for person, as in (121). In Quesada (2000b), the sporadic marking of person in intransitive verbs has been explained as a sign that agreement is becoming grammaticalized and the marking of person in transitive verbs is extending to intransitive ones:

(121) *ba sombrero kī joywa-ra-ba*  
 3POSS sombrero because laugh-PERF-DS  
 'Others laughed at his sombrero'

As for number, it is expressed in two ways in Teribe, "lexically", in the case of the positional verbs that are used only with plural subjects (*lōng* and to a certain extent *lok*) and by means of the person markers in the plural, shown in (118). In the case of same third person the positional *lok* is used to mark plurality.

3.2.2.5 *Reported speech*

Although there is not a clearly identifiable category of evidentials in Teribe, such as that found in some South American languages (e.g. Quechua), there is a systematic way of expressing indirect or reported speech. It can be done in either of two ways; the first and more common is to present the reported proposition either as a narration or as quoted material, followed by the verb *lē* in its inverse form *le*, which can optionally be followed by the adverb *eni* ('thus') as in (122):

(122) *be-no drete, le eni.*  
 remain-PERF NON-EXIST, say.IMP.INV so

'[apparently, it seems, they say, it is said that] it disappeared'

The other possibility is to place the verb *tlē* followed by the connective *ga* preceding the reported proposition, usually a "literal" reproduction; the reported proposition can be optionally followed by *le*, as in (123):

(123) *domer li tlē ga: -"Ta sror wo e", le.*  
 man TOP say CONN: -"1SG urinate liver CFP", say.IMP.INV.

'The man said: -"I want to urinate"'

It should be noted that the source of the information need not be identified; what matters is to let the hearer know that the information is being cited. As the texts in Chapter 5 show, the use of *le* is very pervasive in narrations, perhaps as a way to constantly express that the information is being narrated and is not part of the narrator's firsthand experience.

3.3 *Adjectives*

As stated at the onset of this chapter, adjectives constitute a word class of its own in Teribe; however, it is comparatively speaking less numerous than those of nouns and verbs. Aside from the adjectives, basic and derived, many "adjectival concepts" are formed by means of predication, not by attribution/modification. In addition to the semantic feature of expressing properties of entities (nouns), the class of (basic) adjectives is identifiable in Teribe on the basis of the following morphosyntactic features: a. they are postnominal; b. they do not "inflect" like nouns or verbs; c. they take part in the processes of attribution and predication of properties that exist in the language. Each of these features will be briefly illustrated here.

In a noun phrase in which the head is surrounded by a series of modifiers (cf. 4.1.2.2), that constituent expressing a characteristic or property of the head will always be postnominal, while others are only prenominal, such as possession markers; yet others such as demonstratives can be both pre- and postnominal (with clear preference for the latter position, though). The adjective can appear immediately following the head, as in (124), or it can alternate with other modifiers, as in (125), but it will never precede the head in the noun phrase:

(124) *[[bor walē-ga wolēso doglo mya] [gok]]*  
 1SG.POSS woman-PL pretty CL.ANIMATE three calabash

'The calabash of my three pretty women'

- (125) *bor plu shiti doglo mya kës bang ère*  
 1SG.POSS king dog CL.ANIMATE three big DEM  
 'These three big dogs of my king'

As can be seen in (124) and (125), the head noun can take plural marking but the adjective cannot, that is, the adjective does not agree in number with the noun. Similarly, the fact that the adjective can alternate with modifiers such as the numeral modifiers shows that it is not under their scope, as is the noun, and as such represents a separate constituent that is neither a verb nor a noun. Furthermore, adjectives do not take verbal morphology in predicative function, as in Boruca, one of Teribe's Chibchan neighbors:

- (126) *Ra rôhk ki moréng-kra*  
 Bribri PL DEF good-PERF  
 'The Bribris were good'

Finally, it is possible to distinguish between attribution and predication of property concepts in Teribe, despite the non-existence of a copula and the lack of verbal morphology in the language. The distinction between attribution and predication is indicated by the presence of the clause final particle in the latter function, and by its absence in the former:

- (127a) *Walë wolëso (kl-ara)*  
 woman pretty (CL.ANIMATE-one)  
 '(One/a) pretty woman'

- (127b) *Walë wolëso e/\*kl-ara*  
 woman pretty CFP/\*CL.ANIMATE-one  
 'The woman is pretty'

Notice that the numeral classifier cannot appear after *e*, the clause boundary marker, which is absent in (127b); the role of *e* is precisely that of indicating that a predication is being made, as shown in (128):

- (128) *Pedro Juan shpo-no ga to e*  
 Pedro Juan hit-PERF CONN go CFP  
 'Juan hit Pedro and left'

Having provided evidence in favor of the existence of the lexical class of adjective in Teribe, we can now proceed to its description.

### 3.3.1 Basic (monomorphemic) adjectives

Most non-derived, monomorphemic adjectives express properties that have to do with age, size, value and certain physical characteristics. It is difficult, however, to single out properties as being expressed exclusively by monomorphemic adjectives because in every property that can be distinguished there are derived nouns. Perhaps, the only clearly established, though by no means categorical, trend is the expression of color terms, in general formed through reduplication and tonal distinctions; the other area where the number of basic adjectives is small is concepts that have to do with social and intellectual characteristics, such as behavior, emotional states, or intelligence. In what follows a non-exhaustive inventory and classification of the most common monomorphemic adjectives in the language will be offered.

- (129) *A sample of basic adjectives and the properties they express in Teribe*

AGE	SIZE	VALUE
<i>mite</i> 'young'	<i>kës</i> 'big'	<i>plú</i> 'good'
<i>kégué</i> 'old'	<i>kwôtsô</i> 'medium'	<i>owa</i> 'bad'
<i>taglen</i> 'new'	<i>tushko</i> 'little'	<i>mâ</i> 'useless'
PHYSICAL APPEARANCE	SHAPE	CONDITION
<i>kan</i> 'hard'	<i>sdam</i> 'flat'	<i>song</i> 'poor'
<i>deze</i> 'taut'	<i>kurmâi</i> 'long'	<i>së</i> 'alive'
<i>wëng</i> 'light'	<i>bam</i> 'wide'	<i>wlëp</i> 'calm, tranquil'
<i>wolëso</i> 'pretty'		<i>tekso</i> 'quiet'
<i>rubru</i> 'crumpled'		<i>toksa</i> 'lonely, alone'
<i>tun</i> 'full'		<i>shiye</i> 'ripe'
<i>llir</i> 'hoarse'		<i>wôr</i> 'slow'
<i>ron</i> 'deep'		<i>dogro</i> 'dry'
<i>yug</i> 'thick'		<i>shgleyge</i> 'wet'
		<i>steg</i> 'clean'
		<i>one</i> 'rotten'
		<i>zenteng</i> 'cool'
		<i>an</i> 'spoiled'
		<i>oblë</i> 'different'
		<i>skwë</i> 'crazy'

Each grouping in (129) has members that are the product of word-formation, thereby confirming the irregularity alluded to above. Thus, for size there is a derived and a compound form *chira-wa* 'little' and *kës bang* 'huge', respectively; shapes also have non-basic forms such as *bam ara* 'wide', or *kwo grin* 'round'; and physical appearances are also expressed by non-basic forms such as *dölë-tong* 'torn', *dyor-yo* 'soft', *këng ara* 'heavy'. More on non-basic adjectives in 3.3.2.

An important feature of non-derived adjectives, in addition to the fact that they constitute a small and random class, is that some of them have very wide meanings. Thus, the term *wolëso* not only means 'pretty' but also 'nice, sympathetic, agreeable, friendly'; *owa* means, in addition to 'bad', 'dangerous, mad, angry, evil'; *plú* 'good' can also mean 'respectful, perfect'. It is as though each form incorporates a central, prototypical, superordinate concept that covers a wide semantic area.

The last feature of basic, non-derived adjectives in Teribe is the fact that some of them can function as adverbs with no formal manifestation, as in languages like German and some English adjectives (e.g. *hard, fast*). Thus, *plú* means both 'good' and 'well'; *owa* also means 'badly'; *maling* means 'fast, rapidly, speedy'; *bek* means 'straight, direct, honest' and 'correctly, honestly'; *wôr* means both 'slow' and 'slowly'; *oblë* means 'different' and 'differently'; and so on.

### 3.3.2 Adjective formation

In addition to basic adjectives, there are adjectival concepts that are produced by processes of word formation. These are dealt with in the next subsections.

#### 3.3.2.1 Suffixation

A few adjectives are derived by means of suffixation; this process is rather marginal in Teribe adjective-formation. The following suffixes are the most common:

**-wa:** it is used to form diminutives: *chira* 'small' + *-wa* → *chirawa* 'very little'; *mite* 'young' + *-wa* → *mitewa* 'little young'.

**-yo:** it is used to derive superlative concepts: *kan* 'hard' + *-yo* → *kanyo* 'the hardest'; *mā* 'useless' + *-yo* → *māyo* 'the silliest'; *kégué* 'old' + *-yo* → *kéguéyo* 'the oldest'. In one case, it does not derive a superlative concept, but a different, albeit somewhat related, one: *dyor* 'liquid' + *-yo* → *dlioryo* 'soft'.

**-tong:** the participle, affixed to transitive verbs, expresses adjectives that denote states; thus *dölē* 'tear' + *-tong* → *dölētong* 'torn'; *smok* 'stick' + *-tong* → *smoktong* 'stuck'; *zgak* 'squash' + *-tong* → *zgakotong* 'squashed'.

#### 3.3.2.2 Reduplication and compounding

Reduplication is widespread in the formation of adjectives in Teribe; there are reduplicated roots with and without tonal distinctions. The non-reduplicated root may or may not exist<sup>20</sup> as an individual root in the language. Examples of reduplication without tonal distinctions are *sloslo* 'thin', for which no non-reduplicated form has been attested, and *shruēshruē* 'pale, whitened (color)'; the latter has a non-reduplicated base, *shruē* 'pallid'.

The other type of reduplicated adjectives consists of two reduplicated, tonally opposed forms. Curiously, this process appears skewed towards adjectives expressing colors. For instance, a root *srēng* 'blood' is reduplicated → *srēsréng* 'red' (notice the dropping of the velar nasal in the base); a low tone reduplicated form appears to express another color (actually, a distinction of degree) → *srēsrēng* 'light red'. In the case of other colors expressed that way, there is apparently no non-reduplicated base as in the case of *srēng*; these are: *dīngdīng* 'blue' → *dīngdīng* 'light blue', *k'ék'ě* 'brown' → *k'ék'ě* 'light brown', *plūblūn* 'white' → *plūblun* 'whitish' (note the sonorization of the voiced bilabial stop in addition to the dropping of the nasal segment in the root). Cases of "double-reduplication" occur in the case of the adjective meaning 'pink', which is a combination of the colors light red and pale, themselves the product of reduplication: *srēsréng shuēshē*. A similar case constitutes the expression of the color meaning 'purple'; it is the sum of the reduplicated color 'light blue' and the reduplication of the adjective meaning 'dark', which surprisingly is not the product of reduplication, but is reduplicated in the case of purple: *dīngdīng sīsī*. Actually, these words are compounds of two reduplicated words; one such compound is used in the case of

<sup>20</sup>Or at least it has not been possible to elicit a non-reduplicated form, as in the case of *wliwli* 'dirty'

'orange', which is the sum of light red and yellow: *srēsréng shōy rōr* (*shōy rōr* 'yellow' is a compound word whose members have no meaning in isolation). Instances of "tonal reduplication" not related to colors are *plēblē* 'sweet' → *plēblē* 'a bit sweet' (notice the sonorization of the voiced bilabial stop), and *wliwli* 'dirty' → *wliwli* 'a bit dirty'.

It should be noted that reduplication of adjectives is not exclusively utilized for the formation of new adjectives but also for the expression of (higher) degree of the property expressed by the root; thus *kang kang* means 'very hard' just as *kēs kēs* means 'very big', *oblē oblē* 'very different', and so on. Orthographically, that difference is represented by separating the two roots; phonologically, in the cases in which there are no tonal distinctions, there are processes such as sonorization or deletion of segments hinting at the difference.

As for compounding, property concepts expressed through this process are, structurally speaking, the least adjectival in that they come very close to predications. There are two types of compound adjectival phrases: **a. noun-based:** those that have a noun as its head, and **b. verb-based:** those that have a verb as its head. Although the latter can hardly be considered adjectives, they will be described here because they still fit the semantic definition of adjectives, albeit marginally from the formal point of view, "a word that can be used in a noun phrase to specify some property of the head of the phrase" (Payne 1997: 63). Actually, adjectival concepts so articulated in Teribe can be analyzed as asyndetic relative clauses, and as such they can be said to modify a noun; and that is what justifies their being treated in this section.

Noun-based adjectival compounds are formed by a noun + a modifier, usually *ara* 'much' or the negative marker *llēme*. The property is lexicalized as a noun and the modifier signals that the referent being modified is characterized as possessing that property: thus 'lazy' is the same as much laziness; 'valuable' implies having much value and so on. Some property concepts so formed are listed in (130):

#### (130) Noun-based adjectival compounds in Teribe

<i>swlo ara</i>	'illness + much'	→	'ill'
<i>pli ara</i>	'hunger + much'	→	'hungry'
<i>twlo ara</i>	'value + much'	→	'expensive'
<i>kwēng ara</i>	'weight + much'	→	'heavy'
<i>kā llēme</i>	'head + negative'	→	'insane'
<i>shmi ara</i>	'laziness + much'	→	'lazy'
<i>dbo ara</i>	'force + much'	→	'strong'

These adjectival expressions are, from the strictly syntactic point of view, asyndetic possessive clauses. Still, their function is clearly adjectival. Compare the following examples (see also 3.1.5, examples (30) and (31), and 3.2.1.1, example (59)); the a. examples show the predicative and the b. examples show the attributive function:

- (131a) *Walē kwe swlo ara e*  
 woman DEM illness much CFP  
 'That woman is very ill'

- (131b) *Walē swlo ara shinmoko-no*  
 woman illness much die-PERF  
 'The sick woman died' [lit. 'the woman that had much illness died']
- (132a) *Kwomgla kwe twlo ara e. E kī ga twlē-no-r llēme*  
 horse DEM value much CFP. DEM because CONN buy-PERF-1SG NEG  
 'That horse is very expensive. That's why I didn't buy it'
- (132b) *Kwomgla twlo ara ī-no-r*  
 horse value much see-PERF-1SG  
 'I saw the expensive horse'

As for verb-based adjectival compounds, these consist of a verb or verb phrase + a modifier, again, usually *ara* or *llēme*. In these compounds, a property is lexicalized as a verb and the modifier signals that the referent being modified is characterized as having the property and/or as behaving in a way that qualifies him/her as having that property: thus 'intelligent' is the same as knowing much; 'angry' implies having much anger, or being prompt to behaving as such, and so on. Some property concepts so formed are listed in (133):

- (133) *Verb-based adjectival compounds in Teribe*
- |                       |                      |   |                    |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---|--------------------|
| <i>irkē ara</i>       | 'enrage + much'      | → | 'angry'            |
| <i>kok midē ara</i>   | 'time + know + much' | → | 'intelligent'      |
| <i>kok midē llēme</i> | 'time + know + not'  | → | 'stupid, ignorant' |
| <i>lan ara</i>        | 'talk + much'        | → | 'talkative'        |
| <i>jīorkē ara</i>     | 'lie + much'         | → | 'lying, deceitful' |

As mentioned above, these adjectival concepts can be analyzed as asyndetic relative clauses; but it is equally true that their function is adjectival. Compare the following examples (here too, the a. examples illustrate the predicative function while the b. examples show the attributive function):

- (134a) *Domer ēre lan ara e*  
 man DEM talk much CFP  
 'That man is (very) talkative' ~ 'That man talks too much'
- (134b) *Domer lan ara sōk uy*  
 man talk much POSIT.SIT home  
 'The talkative man is at home'

(134a) is clearly a declarative sentence. This is why verb-based adjectival compounds were characterized above as the least adjectival forms in the language. It should be mentioned, however, that these adjectival compounds show a high degree of cohesion; thus despite the fact that they clearly represent syntactic structures, their constituents are rather bonded, falling within the same intonational group of noun + modifier.

A special type of adjectival compound is that formed on the basis of the noun *wo* 'liver', which seems to have become grammaticalized as a morpheme carrier for adjectival

expressions.<sup>21</sup> The following adjectives are expressed on the basis of *wo*: *wo plú* 'happy', *wo owa* 'angry', *wo kan* 'rash, bold', which literally mean 'liver good', 'liver mad', and 'liver hard', respectively. On the basis of these three adjectives, it could be assumed that *wo* has totally lost its original meaning in an earlier construction that could be considered either an asyndetic possessive clause or a case of external possession, as is the case in (135). Such an analysis is supported by the fact that speakers immediately produce the sequence *wo* + adjective during elicitation:

- (135) *Tawa wo plú*  
 1PL.EXCL liver good  
 'We are happy' [lit. 'We have the liver good'/'Our liver is good']

That being the case, the adjective in (135) has to be reanalyzed as *woplú*, and the same applies to the other two forms, *woowa* (there is no vowel simplification here, \**wowa*) and *wokan*. Supporting evidence for this analysis comes from other *wo*-expressions such as *wo p'irtong* 'fainted', as in (7a), repeated here as (136):

- (136) *Maria wo p'ir-tong*  
 Maria liver finish-PART  
 'Maria fainted'

In (136) there is a participial construction like the ones described in 3.2.2.1.7; at the same time, it is reminiscent of a type of external possession construction ('Maria's liver is finished'). Again, the sequence in (136) could be reanalyzed as *wopir* 'faint', which can have a perfective reading in the presence of the participle (the lack of aspiration of /p/ in the sequence tends to support this view). It thus seems safe to conclude that *wo*-adjectives do not constitute instances of noun-based adjectival expressions, but recent lexicalizations.

### 3.3.2.3 The origin marker -so

The suffix *-so* in Teribe is a marker of origin, used to express national, tribal, adjectives, as in (137), where the suffix is added to an "inflected" noun, which becomes an adjective (just like *Broran*) modifying *Naso*; the same situation occurs in (138):

- (137) *Naso Broran e Teribe-ga-so ñng tō-no ñng tok*  
 Teribe Térraba DEM Teribe-PL-ORGN RECP meet-PERF RECP with  
 'Térrabas and Teribes met' [lit. 'Térraba and Teribe Teribes (Indians) met']
- (138) *no Broran-ga-so klōbō-wa e ra ga roprā-r-a lok siwa-ga*  
 people Térraba-PL-ORGN some-DIM but CONN mix-PERF-3 PL white-PL  
*tok p'ir tan*  
 with finish already  
 'The Térrabas are just a few people and they have already totally mixed with the whites'

The origin marker is also suffixed to adverbs (139), to nouns that do not necessarily express tribal or national names (140), to numeral classifiers (141) and even to verbal

<sup>21</sup>It is also used as a verb expressing desire, as in (123) above.



arguments (142) and (143), in which case it becomes a locative marker, concretely a marker of source; at this point, it no longer forms adverbs, but places the noun it attaches to in a locative role; the significance of this extension is that it creates a “case marker” for a non-core relation, while the basic cases (agent, patient) have no formal expression:

- (139) *oba jū shko-so e... twe pus bor shwoshko*  
 people here in-ORGN DEM... come unexpected 1SG.POSS place  
 ‘People from here appear in my place’
- (140) *Dushing e kishgwo kloshko-so p’öglo roy*  
 Dushing DEM reed bush-ORGN mountain inside  
 ‘Dushing is a bush reed (found) in the mountains’
- (141) *borwa kăga e kl-ara-so erö*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS head DEM CL.ANIMATE-one-ORGN only  
 ‘Our leader is only one’ [lit. ‘Our head stems from only one’]
- (142) *Rey tlë ga, “shi löng jünikong na, e kalëkong broran-ga*  
 Rey say CONN, “1PL.INCL POSIT.BE this side here, DEM that side Térraba-PL  
*li tek Panama-so llë e”, le eni*  
 TOP come Panama-ORGN what CFP”, say.IMP.INV so  
 ‘The King says, “we are on this side, and on the other side the Térrabas came from Panama.”’<sup>22</sup>
- (143) *tawa tek kalë-so, tawa naso-ga*  
 1PL.EXCL come there-ORGN, 1PL.EXCL Teribe-PL  
 ‘We come from there; we are Teribes’

Finally, it should be noted that only in one case did the suffixation of *-so* lead to the formation of a noun, namely in the word for ‘Teribe, Indian’; originally an adjective formed from the affixation of *-so* to an adverb (*na* ‘here’), the form must have quickly turned into a noun.

### 3.4 Adverbs and other word classes

The last section of this chapter describes the fourth major word class of Teribe, that of adverbs, which compared to that of nouns and verbs appears as less prominent, and various minor classes, which constitute closed sets of grammatical elements.

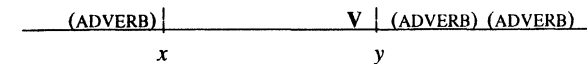
#### 3.4.1 Adverbs

The lexical class of adverbs is similar in some respects to that of adjectives. Both classes have a not so large number of monomorphemic (basic) members, a great number being the product of word formation, or simply, in the case of adverbs, of phrases with adverbial function. Similarly, it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a correlation between (classes of) concepts expressed (in this case adverbial concepts) and the status of the

<sup>22</sup>This sentence comes from the texts narrating the reencounter; the King is quoted as uttering that sentence in Costa Rica; hence the phrase *kalëkong broranga li tek Panamaso* ‘on the other side, the Térrabas came from Panama’.

words used to express them (whether free, bound, derived, or compound). Such aspects make the two classes appear as secondary in relation to nouns and verbs. Still, on the basis of two criteria they can be shown to be relevant for the morphosyntactic description of Teribe. The first one is semantic and language external; and the other is syntactic and language internal. Words and phrases analyzed here as adverbs and adverbial phrases are characterized by having a scope that “is relevant to entire clauses and larger units rather than simply to phrases” (Payne 1997: 69). The second criterion is that adverbs and adverbial phrases in Teribe can be recognized by their most frequent position in the clause; they tend to appear either at the left periphery (cf. 4.1.2.1.3) or postverbally. The preferred slots for adverbs in Teribe make the plan of the clause appear as in (144), which basically expresses that adverbs tend to remain outside the verbal complex, especially between object and verb:

#### (144) Preferred syntactic positions of adverbs in Teribe clauses



*x* = left periphery

*y* = border of verbal complex (= verb + arguments)

The left periphery is marked by the presence of the markers *e*, used mainly for arguments of the verb, *ga* (and sometimes *shko*) for non-verbal arguments. In the case of adverbs, then, an adverb can be identified in that position by the presence (in most cases) of *ga*, which is itself an indicator that the adverb occupying that slot is not in its most basic position, namely following the verbal complex. Compare the pairs in (145) and (146):

- (145a) *E shro-no kok shronto shko*  
 DEM arrive-PERF hour early in  
 ‘He came early’
- (145b) *¿Kok shronto shko ga pa shäng llë kläk?*  
 Hour early in CONN 2SG POSIT.STAND what grind  
 ‘This morning, what were you crushing?’
- (146a) *Tawa jek brik bon*  
 1PL.EXCL go leave tomorrow  
 ‘We are leaving tomorrow’
- (146b) *Bon ga ta jongña jong shkwikra-ga kok shko*  
 Tomorrow CONN 1SG OBLI POSIT.STAND Guaymí-PL place in  
 ‘Tomorrow, I have to go to the Guaymís’

As pointed out at the beginning of this section, monomorphemic adverbs do not constitute a large class in Teribe, most adverbial concepts being expressed by adpositional phrases, mainly. Monomorphemic adverbs, or what could be considered “truly adverbial roots”, basically fall into three groups, spatial, temporal and manner adverbs. In what follows

a non-exhaustive inventory of those is provided.

### 3.4.1.1 Spatial

This class comprises forms expressing location in space. It can be divided into two groups, deictic and non-deictic adverbs. Some deictic spatial adverbs are listed in (147), while (148) lists non-deictic spatial adverbs:

#### (147) Teribe deictic spatial adverbs

<i>jū</i>	'here'
<i>jūni</i>	'this side'
<i>na</i>	'here'
<i>nalē</i>	'this side'
<i>kalē</i>	'that side'
<i>ey</i>	'there'
<i>wle</i>	'close'

#### (148) Teribe non-deictic spatial adverbs

<i>llum</i>	'up'
<i>tōy</i>	'down'
<i>polae</i>	'far'
<i>soy</i>	'near'

### 3.4.1.2 Temporal

Temporal adverbs express time reference, which can be also deictic or used for relative time, that is, with reference to a situation that does not involve the speech act participants. These adverbs are listed in (149):

#### (149) Teribe temporal adverbs

<i>eri</i>	'today'
<i>bon</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>kupke</i>	'yesterday'
<i>dena</i>	'formerly, earlier, long ago'
<i>jā</i>	'now and later'
<i>pesit</i>	'later'
<i>ame</i>	'anymore, no longer'
<i>tan</i>	'already'
<i>damar</i>	'earlier'
<i>ölö</i>	'sometimes'

### 3.4.1.3 Manner

The term "manner" is used here very widely, comprising forms that range from manner proper (that is, forms that express **how** a situation occurs) to forms that express addition, repetition, sequence, or amount. These are listed in (150):

#### (150) Teribe manner adverbs

<i>llet</i>	'fast, quickly'
<i>ñotso</i>	'well'
<i>plú</i>	'well, fine'
<i>owa</i>	'badly'
<i>bek</i>	'correctly'
<i>dik</i>	'like'
<i>eni</i>	'thus, so, like that'
<i>obi</i>	'again'
<i>yon</i>	'fine'
<i>anmoō</i>	'even, further'
<i>ara</i>	'much'
<i>bakoe</i>	'too, also' (negated it means 'neither, either')
<i>bebi</i>	'also'
<i>dōe</i>	'exclusively'
<i>erä</i>	'just'
<i>une</i>	'together'
<i>mā</i>	'poorly, inadequately'
<i>guing</i>	'first(ly)'
<i>koyo</i>	'seemingly' <sup>23</sup>
<i>irōng</i>	'again'

### 3.4.1.4 Adverbial phrases

In addition to monomorphemic adverbs, there are adverbial forms formed through compounding.

#### a. adverb + adverb:

A few compound adverbs are formed this way, such as *eri jā* 'today' and *bon jā* 'tomorrow', which consist of the words meaning 'today' and 'tomorrow', respectively plus the adverb *jā* 'now and later', in what appears as a sort of reinforcement, as in certain varieties of Spanish *hoy día*. Other instances of this pattern are the adverbial phrases *dik koyo* 'perhaps', which consists of two non-derived adverbs, *dik* 'like' and *koyo* 'seem, like'; and *wlets erä* 'at once', where the first member does not exist in isolation, as no speaker was able to provide a translation for it independent of *erä* ('just').

#### b. noun + adverb:

At least one adverbial compound has been recorded that follows this pattern: *jlōkoyo* 'really', which consists of the noun *jlō* 'truth' and the adverb *koyo* 'seemingly'. A form produced by an isolated pattern will be included here for the sake of simplicity, there being no other forms resulting from it; it is the adverb *diga* 'riverwards'; it is the result of the

<sup>23</sup>One could be tempted to regard this form as some sort of derivation due to the sequence *yo*, which resembles the suffix *-yo*, described in 3.1.1.2 and 3.3.2.1. Although the word *ko* exists, meaning 'name', there is no evidence that *koyo* involves those two morphemes.

fusion of the noun *di* 'water, river' and the conjunction *ga*. It is used as a spatial adverb.

**c. noun + adjective:**

This procedure seems to be restricted to the following temporal adverbs *kok shronto* 'early', *kok sēng* '(in the) afternoon', and *kok shkë* '(in the) evening, (at) night'. Each adjective expresses the corresponding part of the day as a feature of the day (hence the adjectival status).

**d. adverb + suffix:**

Strictly speaking, this is not an instance of compounding but of derivation. But being the only case of derivation, it is included here for the sake of simplicity. At least one form exists that clearly shows this pattern: *enido* 'always', which reveals the affixation of the perfect morpheme *-do* to the adverb *eni* 'thus'. The other form that appears to be formed following this pattern is a synonym of *enido*: *iñado*; in this case, there is no evidence that the form is indeed the result of derivation because the form *\*iña* has not been attested. The real status of this form must thus remain open.

**e. adverb + llëme**

Two adverbs appear to be the formed as negations, and both mean 'much'. The first one is *chira llëme*, literally meaning 'not little'; and the other one, by far the most frequently used, is *trak llëme*. The case of *trak* is similar to that of *wlets* and *iña*; there is apparently no meaning attributable to these forms in isolation.

**f. adpositional phrases:**

In addition to the procedures described in a-e, the use of adpositional phrases to express adverbial functions is very common in Teribe, concretely locative postpositions such as *dorko* 'under', *king* 'on', *triko* 'between', *roy* 'inside', *pribri* 'around', among others. The postposition most commonly used for the purpose of adverb formation, however, is *shko* 'at, in, of, to'. It is used to form locative and temporal adverbial expressions, and can follow a noun, as in *u shko* 'home' [lit 'house in']; another postposition, as in *ro shko* 'inside' [lit. 'inside in']; an adverb as in *jū shko* 'here' [lit. 'here in'];<sup>24</sup> or an adverbial compound as in the case of *kok shronto*, *kok shkë* and *kok sēng*. An example of this adverbial phrase is given in (145a) and (145b) above; in the former, the adverb appears postverbally, not in the left periphery, while in the latter it is placed in that position and is thus marked by *ga*. The form *shko* can thus be analyzed as an adverbial marker, in some cases a formative. In fact, there are forms that can no longer be decomposed into their component parts, that is, they constitute lexicalizations of some form plus *shko*.<sup>25</sup> That is the case in *kōshko* 'two days later', which cannot be said to be a postpositional phrase consisting of *kō* 'dwarf banana' + *shko*. The same is true for *pabashko* 'day before yesterday' (*\*paba* (?) + *shko*). The case

<sup>24</sup>Cf. example (139) above, where the source marker *-so* is suffixed to this adverbial expression, thereby making it an adjective. This case insinuates a high degree of cohesion between *jū* and *shko*.

<sup>25</sup>In some cases, as in *wēshko* 'next day', the adverbial phrase sometimes takes *ga* when in the left periphery and some cases it does not (as in Narration 5.3 in Chapter 5); this can be taken as a sign that total lexicalization has not taken place.

of *kōkshko* 'up, high' is slightly more transparent, being the lexicalization of a postpositional phrase meaning 'at God' (*kōk* 'God' + *shko*).

Finally, it should be noted that reduplication is used in the expression of adverbs mainly as an iconic mechanism (to intensify), and not to form new concepts, as in (89a), repeated here as (151):

- (151) *icha-kz-a jer llet llet*  
send-SUD-3 go.down quick quick  
'He threw it down very quickly'

**3.4.2 Adpositions**

Teribe is a postpositional language. Most of the postpositions in the language are basic, not compound. Pronominal objects of postpositions come from the oblique paradigm, shown in (1). Some forms can be regarded as "genuine" postpositions, while others (a minority) can be analyzed as possessive phrases, as shown by the fact that in cases when the object of the postposition is indefinite the forma *ba* has to be there:

- (152a) *Yok bakwo-no sbi dorko*  
Fire blow-PERF pot under  
'He blew the fire under the cooking-pot'
- (152b) *Yok bakwono ba dorko*  
Fire blow-PERF 3POSS under  
'He blew the fire under something'
- (153a) *Shwong yo-no buk k'or slon*  
Dress put-PERF POSIT.LIE tree beside  
'He put the dress beside tree'
- (153b) *Shwong yo-no buk ba slon*  
Dress put-PERF POSIT.LIE 3POSS beside  
'He put the dress beside something'

In some cases the form and the meaning of the object of the postposition can be identified as in the case of *slon* 'side', and as such the erstwhile status of the postposition can be reliably identified as a noun and the whole construction as a possessive noun phrase; in other cases, as in *dorko*, it is not possible, there being no noun *\*dorko*.

Koontz & Anderson (1975), Heinze (1979), and Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.) spell the postpositions as bound forms (the first two sources use a hyphen between the postpositions and their objects, while the third one simply spells them together), insinuating a bound status of these forms; in the case of core relations, the implication would be that these forms are case markers. There are four arguments that unequivocally show that these forms are not bound forms (e.g. case markers) but have free status, and are thus adpositions. First, they do not attach to the head but follow the last element in the noun phrase, as in (154) and (155); in (154), the head noun is marked as topic and the postposition takes the topic noun phrase under its scope; similarly, in (155) the postposition appears at the end of the noun

phrase, after all modifiers.<sup>26</sup>

(154) *E roy wle-no llun plugyo li kī*

DEM news get-PERF drum sound TOP because

'He received the message thanks to/because of the sound of the drum'

(155) *E dwlo wlē-no no kl-ara wlenyo kī*

DEM medicine get-PERF person CL.ANIMATE-one some because

'He got the medicine thanks to someone'

Second, in the case of the postposition, expressing what could be considered the dative case, *kong*, in addition to the fact that it also appears after all modifiers present in the noun phrase, as in (156), there is one more important piece of evidence, namely that when the dative phrase appears in the left periphery and the object is a pronoun, it can take a member of the oblique paradigm as well as one from the nominal paradigm, as (157a) and (157b) show; this fact shows that *kong* is independent of the elements that precede it, that is it is a free form, and does not constitute a morphological unit as affixes attached to roots do:

(156) *ba walē li kong*

3POSS woman TOP to

'To his wife'

(157a) *Dbur twa-ra bor kong*

money give-PERF.3 1SG to

'[He] gave money to me'

(157b) *Ta~bor kong dbur twa-r-a*

1SG to money give-PERF-3

'[He] gave the money to me'

Third, most of these forms show no phonological attrition, being capable of bearing stress, especially in cases like (157b), and having a substantial phonological structure; some are even bisyllabic. Finally, the fact that there are compound postpositions indicates that these forms are free; in these cases, if one is to talk about attachment, it is between the two postpositions and not between the postposition and the head or even the noun phrase.<sup>27</sup>

In (158) a list of basic postpositions is provided; while (159) lists the compound postpositions of Teribe. Notice that the postpositions *go* and *shko* are the more common forms used to for compounding. In the case of compound postpositions containing the sequence *go* (*sorgo*, *plorgo*, *irgo*), it should be noted that although there are no attested forms of a root without the sequence *go*, these are classified as compound on the basis of *kin-go* and *bam-go*, where the forms *king* 'above' and *bam* are attested as postpositions:

<sup>26</sup>I am aware that this argument is not necessarily conclusive, as case is a dependency relation of the entire noun phrase. However, when this argument is considered together with all other three arguments above, the free form status of these elements is confirmed.

<sup>27</sup>It should also be noted that in Quesada (1999a and 2000a) the postposition *go* is described as a suffix expressing the instrumental case. The arguments provided above against the bound-form status of all other postpositions apply to this case too and thus outdo that analysis.

(158) *Teribe basic postpositions*

<i>kong</i>	'to, for'	<i>y</i>	'toward'
<i>tok</i>	'with (associative)'	<i>shko</i>	'in, at, to, of'
<i>bam</i>	'ahead, before'	<i>ko</i>	'onto'
<i>go</i>	'with (instrumental), on'	<i>ro</i>	'in(side)'
<i>king</i>	'over'	<i>dwayo</i>	'from'
<i>triko</i>	'between'	<i>kī</i>	'because, about'
<i>dorko</i>	'under'	<i>slon</i>	'beside, next to'

(159) *Teribe compound postpositions*

<i>shwoy</i>	'at'	<i>pribri</i>	'around' <sup>28</sup>
<i>roy</i>	'inside'	<i>slon bamgo</i>	'adjacent'
<i>kingo</i>	'above'	<i>roworbe</i>	'in the middle of'
<i>sorgo</i>	'around'	<i>roshko</i>	'inward'
<i>kī shko</i>	'because of'	<i>plorgo</i>	'behind something static'
<i>bokshko</i>	'in front'	<i>bamslon</i>	'in front'
<i>bamgo</i>	'before'	<i>irgo</i>	'behind something that moves'

Most postpositions express location. As for more specific grammatical functions, *kong* is used to code indirect objects, while *go* expresses instrumental (not exclusively, though), and *tok* associative relations. Finally, *kī* and *kī shko* express cause relations.

### 3.4.3 Conjunctions

A remarkable feature of Teribe, already hinted at by Koontz & Anderson (1977) is the lack of a sizeable class of monomorphemic conjunctions. Aside from *ga*, essentially a linker which, among many other functions, takes specific meanings in conjunction with other forms in compound conjunctions, and two more conjunctions, *gueniyo* 'however' and *miga* 'but', this language resorts to compound forms to link sentences, in what constitutes an alternative to a conspicuous tendency to asyndesis. Nouns and noun phrases are joined by means of the demonstrative *e* (160), while clauses and sentences are joined by *ga* and other compound conjunctions, which fall into two groups, those formed on the basis of *ga* and those formed on the basis of *e*:

(160) *Juan e Maria löng parkē*

Juan DEM Maria POSIT.BE work

'Juan and Maria are working'

The conjunction system centers on the role of *ga*, which is basically a linker, irrespective of the nature of the syntactic relations existing between the conjuncts it joins. It thus functions as a complementizer of verbs taking sentential complements, as in (161) and

<sup>28</sup>This form suggests reduplication (with voicing of the initial segment) and as such is to be considered compound.

(162), as well as a linker of two clauses and/or sentences, as in (163):

(161) *Woydë lok ga ta kimtë-p*

want PL CONN 1SG help-2SG

'[They] want you to help me' [lit. 'They want that you help me']

(162) *Bor mekë tlë ga e swlo llëme*

1SG.POSS mother say CONN DEM illness NEG

'My mother says (that) he is not ill'

(163) *Plaraga tlapga löng ga kl-ara jer shäng di krë*

Once elder POSIT CONN CL-one go.down POSIT.STAND water get

'There were once some elders and one of them went to get some water'

*Ga*-joined clauses can express temporal sequence (164), or they can be causal (165), and conditional (166):

(164) *Ta ëp twlë-no ga two-ro-r bor boy kong*

1SG corn buy-PERF CONN give-PERF-1SG 1SG.POSS wife to

'I bought some corn and [then] I gave it to my wife'

(165) *Twa-ra rey dë ba kong llëme ga, irkë trak llëme plu kong*

Give-PERF.INV king OBJ 3SG to NEG, CONN get mad little NEG king to

'Since the King did not give them [wives], they got mad at him'

(166) *Pa sha-ro-r ga pa shpo-r*

2SG catch-PERF-1SG CONN 2SG hit-1SG

'If I catch you, I will hit you'

The role of *ga* in compound conjunctions is twofold; first, it "activates" the meaning of the word that precedes it; second, it provides the link between the two sentences. It is as if the first element could not establish the link by itself. Thus, in the forms in (167), the basic meaning is provided by the first member(s) of the compound; *e* is a demonstrative, *eni* is an adverb, *e tok* is an associative postpositional phrase (meaning 'with that'), and *kuzong* is the imperative form of the verb *kuk* 'listen', and it is used to connect dialogues in narration; as for *gueniyo ga*, it is a compound of two conjunctions. The role of *ga* is thus merely syntactic, and that is due to the original syntactic environment in which these forms appear:

(167) *Compound conjunctions with ga*

*e ga* 'that's why'

*eni ga* 'and so'

*e tok ga* 'then, immediately after that'

*kuzong ga* 'and so'

*gueniyo ga* 'although'

Although *ga*-formed compound conjunctions can be shown to be instances of left-dislocation, and hence ought to be marked by *ga*, there is good evidence that some of them form units, and in some cases there have been lexicalizations, such as *p'irga* 'then', which is formed on the basis of the verb *p'ir* 'finish'. Still, a difference has to be established

between "true" conjunctions and left dislocated elements. Koontz & Anderson (1977) were apparently not aware of this fact and thus listed adverbs in the left periphery as connectives; among them were *eri ga* 'today', *pabashko ga* 'day before yesterday', *kupke ga* 'tomorrow', *dena ga* 'at that time, in the old days, formerly'. A clear difference between these left-dislocated adverbs and adverbial phrases, on the one hand, and compound conjunctions formed on the basis of *ga*, on the other hand, can be established by applying a syntactic test, whereby the alleged conjunction is moved to another adverbial position (cf. (144) above), in which case *ga* disappears; if the sentence is well-formed, then the element in question is an adverb; if the sentence is ill-formed, then it is a conjunction. The test was illustrated in the case of the adverbial phrase *kok shronto shko* in (145a-b) and of the adverb *bon* in (146a-b), above. This test has the inconvenience that it cannot be totally falsified because by definition (at least in the grammar of Teribe), conjunctions must appear sentence-initially. Still, it does help to rule out forms that from the strictly syntactic point of view do not constitute conjunctions.

There are, in addition a few conjunctions that are not formed with *-ga*, listed in (168); they are formed on the basis of the demonstrative *e*. Contrary to what occurs with *ga*-conjunctions, here the basic meaning of the compound is provided by the grammatical element following *e*; the first one is an instrumental postpositional phrase, the second one is formed with the marker of contrastive focus, and the third one consists of a causative postpositional phrase followed by *shko*:

(168) *Compound conjunctions with e*

*e go* 'that being the case'

*e ra* 'on the contrary'

*e kī shko* 'that is why'

The other two basic conjunctions are *gueniyo* and *miga*; although both express opposition, the former is more frequent because of its more general meaning, while the latter has a more restricted use, which Koontz & Anderson (1977: 108) rightly define as to "warn[s] [the hearer] of a change in direction or break in an expectancy chain within the sentence"; this use of *miga* is illustrated in (169), present in (T1), while (170) shows the use of *gueniyo*:

(169) *Wotlik ga oba naso-ga obi la-ra, miga sha rewuelto*

Think CONN people Indian-PL again speak-PERF, but PARTCL mixed

*ya siwa-ga tok*

already white-PL with

'I thought that the Indians [the Tërrabas] still spoke the language, but they don't; they have mixed with the whites'

(170) *Tawa om midë plú anmoio llëme; gueniyo lë-ba eni*

1PL.EXCL FOC know well even NEG; however say-DS so

'We did not really know well, but people say so'

### 3.4.4 Question markers

Teribe has question markers for both yes/no and information questions. Each type is described in turn.

#### 3.4.4.1 Yes/no questions

The marker of yes/no questions is the particle *de*. Whether it is related to the focus and obviative marker *dē* is an open question. The marker *de* has the peculiarity that it does not have a phonetically conditioned allomorph as *dē*; that is, it is not subject to the process of vowel fluctuation described in 2.2.1. Its position is clause-final and it can appear in both affirmative and negative propositions, as shown in (171) and (172), respectively:

(171) *¿E twe de?*

DEM come Q

'Is she coming?'

(172) *¿Midē-p llēme de?*

Know-2SG NEG Q

'Didn't you know [that]?'

*De* is also used in subordinate clauses that entail an indirect question involving alternatives, similar to the English conjunctions *if* and *whether*. In the context of Teribe grammar, this function of *de* can hardly be considered a conjunction (in (173) the question is in addition presented in indirect speech, as indicated by the presence of *lē-r*):

(173) *Ta wotlik ga twe de lē-r*

1SG think CONN come Q say-1SG

'I wonder if she will come'

#### 3.4.4.2 Information questions

Information questions are formed by placing the corresponding *wh*-word in situ. The examples in (174), each illustrates the form and position of Teribe question words:

(174) *Teribe wh-words and their position in the clause*

a. *¿Pa shāng llē shārie?*

2SG POSIT.STAND what do

'What are you doing?'

b. *¿Ëye twe na?*

who come here

'Who is coming here?'

c. *¿E shārie-p sorē?*

DEM do-2SG how

'How do you do it?'

d. *¿Pa tek kone dwayo?*

2SG come where from

'Where are you coming from?'

e. *¿Pa slar e ga?*

2SG cry why

'Why are you crying?'

f. *¿Woydē-p kone dey?*

Want-2SG which

'Which one do you want?'

g. *¿Pa twe llono?*

2SG come when

'When will you come?'

h. *¿Sha-ro-p llono shko?*

Catch-PERF-2SG when

'When did you catch it?'

i. *¿Sloywē-p llēno?*

Cry-2SG what for

'What are you crying for?'

The examples in (174) reveal three variations on the pattern of information question formation. First, the form expressing 'why' is not monomorphemic, but the result of compounding, the demonstrative *e* and the conjunction *ga*. Second, in the case of *kone dey* 'which', in addition to the fact that it is also a compound form, it is the only question word that does not appear in situ; insofar as the verb in (147f) has the person suffix, it is to be understood as following the OV-s order; still the object appears postverbally. Third, in the case of 'when' there are two forms differing in terms of whether the situation is completed or not; the basic one is used for completed situations, and the compound one is used for non-completed ones.

#### 3.4.5 Negation markers

Negation is expressed mainly by the invariant particle *llēme*, which is essentially clause-final. As a result of that disposition, it is impossible to speak of a distinction between clausal and constituent negation in Teribe; the scope of *llēme* is the entire clause. As pointed out by Payne (1997: 282), "negative clauses are functionally similar to contrastive focus clauses"; in fact, the closest that Teribe comes to a formal expression of constituent negation is through the use of the contrastive focus marker *ra*, described in 3.1.6.2. A typical negative clause in Teribe looks like (175), where *llēme* appears clause-finally. The only elements that follow *llēme* are the conjunction *ga* in the protasis of conditional clauses (176), or a postposition taking a clause as its object, as in (177):

(175) *E ma wuë llēme*

DEM fish eat NEG

'He does not eat fish'

(176) *ugo skok, kloga ko 'ugo'; ugo llëme ga 'kwong', llëme ga 'pungo'*  
 ugo break, leaf name 'ugo'; ugo NEG CONN 'kwong', NEG CONN 'pungo'  
 '[You] cut the ugo, the name of the leaf is 'ugo'; if there is no ugo, then [use]  
 'kwong', if there is none, then 'pungo'

(177) *E ma wuo-no llëme; e pli llëme kī*  
 DEM fish eat-PERF NEG; DEM hunger NEG because  
 'He did not eat the fish because he was not hungry'

There are two other negation markers in Teribe. One is the suppletive form for existence, the invariant negator of existence, *drete*, see (178):

(178) *Oba teng këm li wua-ra äya li dë; drete,*  
 people POSIT.BE there REL eat-PERF.INV devil TOP OBV, NON-EXIST  
*be-no kl-ara llëme.*  
 remain-PERF CL.ANIMATE-one NEG

'The devil would devour the people who got there; none, not even one would remain [alive]'

The existence of one marker for standard negation and one for negation of existence is not a common feature in the Chibchan languages, as it is in other parts of the world, such as the Austronesian languages (cf. Payne 1997: 286).

The other negation marker in Teribe is the frustrative particle *äe*, which as mentioned in 3.2.2.2.2, is used to negate epistemic modality, as shown in (106b), repeated here as (179):

(179) *E tlë-ga äe/\*lleme*  
 DEM speak-ABIL FRUST/\*NEG  
 'He cannot speak' ('he is dumb')

The other context in which it appears is to express negative purpose (*so that... not*), that is, to express that the situation in the subordinate clause should not take place:

(180) *¡Ubang do-zong, ter tur äe!*  
 Door close-IMPR, go.down escape FRUST  
 'Close the door so that he does/cannot escape!'

(Koontz & Anderson 1975: 171;  
 glosses provided, orthography adapted)

Finally, another form that could be considered, loosely speaking, a negation marker is the adverb *ame* 'anymore, no longer', exemplified in (181):

(181) *Rufina e dena ga reina; ö-tong na ga ame, erä*  
 Rufina DEM formerly CONN queen; go-PERF here CONN no longer, only  
*ex-reina.*  
 ex-queen

'Rufina was then Queen; but now she is no longer Queen, she is just an ex-Queen'

### 3.4.6 Particles

Teribe is not especially rich in particles. Two groups of particles can be identified in this language. First, there are the greeting and farewell formulas: *miga* 'hello', *kobe* 'hello', and *jölö* 'bye', respectively. The first two are opening forms, *miga* is used for the person initiating the greeting (in meetings, when calling at someone's door, when visitors arrive, etc.), while *kobe* is uttered by the person greeted; *jöro* is the closing formula. *Miga* and *kobe* are a unit; failure of the addressee to reply with *kobe* is regarded as disrespectful.

The other group of particles includes *wlo*, a marker of purpose, used in purposive clauses (182), *këre* an intensifier (183), *eröe*, 'that's all', used to close narrations (cf. Narration 5.1 in Chapter 5), and *sha* (169), repeated here as (184), a valuative particle taking the entire clause under its scope:

(182) *Ëpkwo e shärië-y boyo wlo ga ëp dguë-y...*  
 Corn on the cob DEM make-1PL.INCL boyo PURP CONN corn plant-1PL.INCL...  
 'In order to make boyo, we plant corn...'

(183) *shpo-kz-a pang ta ta... sö-ya lok këre u pribri*  
 hit-SUD-3 POSIT.HANG IDEOPH IDEOPH... carry-IMP.INV PL INTENS house around  
*ocho dias*  
 eight days

'The started beating him bang bang; they dragged and dragged him around the house for eight days'

(184) *Wotlik ga oba naso-ga obi la-ra, miga sha rewuelto*  
 Think CONN people Indian-PL again speak-PERF, but PARTCL mixed  
*ya siwa-ga tok*  
 already white-PL with

'I thought that the Indians [the Terrabas] still spoke the language, but they don't; they have mixed with the whites'

## 4. Syntax

This chapter is divided into two main sections, the simple (4.1) and the complex sentence (4.2), respectively. These sections are complemented by a third one, dealing with information structure (4.3). This organization of the chapter is intended to mirror the basic levels of syntactic organization of Teribe. It should be noted, however, that the aspects described in sections 4.1 and 4.2 are extremely interrelated, word order being an essential strategy for coding grammatical relations. In fact, as will become clear throughout the analysis, a description of grammatical relations in Teribe has to make reference to word order, and the various word order patterns can only be understood by making reference to grammatical relations. In this sense, the division is a bit artificial and strictly follows format purposes.

### 4.1 The simple sentence

Since various syntactic operations in Teribe make reference to grammatical relations, it becomes necessary to start the description of the syntax of Teribe by laying out the organization of the basic relations and their expression both by lexical and pronominal noun phrases; this will be done in 4.1.1. The chapter then moves on, in 4.1.2, to describe the various word order patterns in the language, in order to provide the necessary background for the description, in 4.1.3, of various syntactic operations, both valence-increasing and valence-decreasing. The last subsection of the first part of this chapter, 4.1.4, deals in detail with one of the most, if not the most, central aspects of Teribe grammar, inversion.

#### 4.1.1 Grammatical relations

The participant-encoding ('core arguments') strategies existing in Teribe include constituent order, agreement (understood as the indexing of the subject on the verb; see 4.1.1.1), and direct marking; the last mentioned strategy is rather marginal insofar as it is restricted to the obviative case in the inverse construction, dealt with in detail in 4.1.4, the dative, which is marked by the postposition *kong* (see 4.1.1.3), and the information-structure status of the participants, described in 3.1.6. The combination and function of these three strategies reveal the relevance of the following grammatical relations: subject, object, dative, and obliques.

##### 4.1.1.1 Subject

The grammatical relation of subject in Teribe is identifiable on the basis of word order, "agreement", and some syntactic processes. Let us begin with word order. Since a detailed description and discussion of Teribe word order patterns is given in 4.1.2, word order will be referred to here only in relation to the relevance of the grammatical relations of the language, especially that of subject.

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (especially in 3.2.1), in the case of transitive clauses, there are two main word orders in the simplex clause, which can be roughly described as follows

(more on this in 4.1.2.1): 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, where -s stands for a person-indexing suffix (illustrated in 3.2.2.4), 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 (1) and (2), respectively:

- (1) *Carlos Jacinto shpo-no*  
Carlos Jacinto hit-PERF  
'Carlos hit Jacinto'
- (2) *Jacinto shpo-ro-r*  
Jacinto hit-PERF-1SG  
'I hit Jacinto'

In the inverse construction (cf. 4.1.4) 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 (cf. 4.1.1.2):

- (3) *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 (4), while the intransitive counterpart of OV-s is  $\phi$ V (5):

- (4) *Carlos shro-no kupke*  
Carlos arrive-PERF yesterday  
'Carlos arrived yesterday'
- (5)  $\phi$  *wollë-no buk e shko*  
 $\phi$  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 (1) and (4); in both cases it appears in preverbal unmarked position. Consequently, it can be safely regarded as the syntactic subject (more on this in 4.1.2.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.1.2.2).

As for the indexing of the transitive subject in the OV-s order, it should be analyzed, together with the intransitive construction with  $\phi$  anaphora, from the perspective of discourse topicality. In the intransitive construction, there being one participant, it can be realized as a full NP if new or focal in discourse, while its realization in terms of topic continuity is as



$\phi$ ; that is the case in (5). In the transitive construction, the topical role of the subject is expressed by the person suffix; if the object is the unmarked topic, it tends to be coded as  $\phi$  in the inverse construction, as in (6):

- (6) *Ga*  $\phi$  *ĩ-ya* *ba* *boy* *dě*  
 CONN  $\phi$  see-IMP.INV 3POSS wife OBV  
 'And his wife saw [it]'

It can be concluded then that the four basic word orders, two transitive and two intransitive (with exclusion of the inverse construction), can be ordered in terms of discourse topicality, roughly as in (S1) (more on this in 4.1.2.1.2 and 4.3):

(S1) *Discourse-bound set of word orders in Teribe*

	<u>Focal participants</u>	<u>Topical participants</u>
<i>Transitive</i>	SOV	OV-s
<i>Intransitive</i>	SV <sup>1</sup>	$\phi$ V

That being the case, the person suffix in the OV-s order appears as a mechanism used to introduce only a new participant, O, while keeping the subject as given information (as -s). The subject suffix then is not the result of a special alignment of object and intransitive subject by the grammar. In fact, agreement<sup>2</sup> and  $\phi$  anaphora, which cross-linguistically represent alternative and widespread ways to encode topical participants, are being employed to code one and the same grammatical relation in Teribe: subject.

The expression of grammatical relations by means of pronouns described in 3.1.2.1 works as follows. Members of the nominal paradigm may code (O)bjects of a transitive verb in the OV-s order, as in (7), as well as S(ubjects) of an intransitive verb, as in (8):

- (7) *pa* *shpo-ro-r*  
 2SG hit-PERF-1SG  
 'I hit you'
- (8) *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 (9a); the language does not admit two contiguous members of the same paradigm (9b) (see also (33) below). In addition, the oblique paradigm can be

<sup>1</sup>The only participant in the SV order is focal only if it is expressed as a lexical noun phrase; if it is pronominal, then, it is being definition topical.

<sup>2</sup>The term "agreement" is being applied here rather loosely to the -s in the OV-s order.

used to code O(bjects) in the OV-s order, as shown in (9c):<sup>3</sup>

- (9a) *pa* *bor* *kimtě*  
 2SG 1SG help  
 'You help me'
- (9b) *\*pa* *ta* *kimtě*  
 2SG 1SG help  
 'You help me'
- (9c) *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 (10a) nor S (10b), 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, yielding further morphosyntactic evidence that the category of subject (that grouping A and S) is applicable to the grammar of Teribe:

- (10a) *\*bor* *pa* *kimtě*  
 1SG 2SG help  
 'I help you'
- (10b) *\*bop* *shro-no* *kupke* *shko*  
 2SG arrive-PERF yesterday in  
 'You arrived yesterday'

4.1.1.1.1 *Subject prominence and lack thereof*

The preceding description has shown the relevance of the category of subject for the description of grammatical relations in Teribe. Further syntactic evidence can be supplied, chiefly from syntactic processes widely used in the literature on subjecthood, such as reflexivization and coordination, both existing in Teribe. In the former, a morpheme (*op* reflexive and *ěng* reciprocal) refers to a previously mentioned participant, which is coreferent with it; that participant can be described by making reference to the category of subject, see (11). In the latter, the typical case is the coordination of a transitive clause and an intransitive one; only the S and A can be deleted when coordinated, which makes them the controllers

<sup>3</sup>In Quesada (2000a) an example such as (9b) 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* *kimtě*  
 1SG CONT-FOC 2SG help  
 'I did help you'

of the operation. Compare (12a) and (12b):<sup>4</sup>

- (11) *Kwozirwa op zo-no ba söglo go*  
 Child REFL cut-PERF 3POSS knife with  
 'The child cut himself with his knife'
- (12a) *Juan shiti shpo-no ga to e*  
 Juan dog hit-PERF CONN go CFP  
 'Juan hit the dog and left' [Juan left/\*the dog left]
- (12b) *Juan shiti shpo-no ga shiti to e*  
 Juan dog hit-PERF CONN dog go CFP  
 'Juan hit the dog and the dog left'

Nonetheless, although coordinations like that in (12a) are possible, situations like the one in (13), in which there are asyndetic coordinations where the controllers of the deletion are not only A and S, but also S and O, are very frequent in Teribe; cases like (13) reveal that the pragmatic relation of topic can be superimposed on grammatical relations:

- (13) *Rey dyo yo-no nēlō; ba sombrero kī joywa-ra-ba;*  
 King chicha drink-PERF drunk; 3SG sombrero because laugh-PERF-DS;  
*kosina dorko pē buk. Kosina dorko wlē-n-a lok,*  
 stove under sleep POSIT.LIE. Stove under find-PERF-3 PL,  
*wollē-no buk e shko*  
 wake up-PERF POSIT.LIE DEM of

'The King got drunk, and some people were making fun of his sombrero. He fell asleep under the stove; there they found him the next morning'

There are five clauses coordinated in (13); the controller of the coordination of clause 1 and 2, and 2 and 3 are S and A; on the other hand, the controllers of the coordination of clause 3 and 4 and 4 and 5 are S and O; the sequence of controllers in the clauses in (13) is S → A → O → S. What actually controls the coordination of the semantic and syntactic roles of A, S and O in (13) is the common denominator, the topic of the whole passage. The topic, the King, is introduced in the first clause; it is maintained in the second clause by means of the possessive phrase *ba sombrero* 'his sombrero'. In the second clause, a new participant is introduced, a third person different subject referent (coded as *-ba*); that participant, A in syntactic and semantic terms, is coordinated with the S of the preceding clause. The third clause, in which the topic (re-)appears in S role, is coordinated with the next clause, where the topic, still the King, now appears in O function. Finally, the topic appears in S function in the last clause.

<sup>4</sup>Sometimes, however, control of operations is more sensitive to pragmatic topicality (Croft 1994: 30, quoting Givón 1984). This is nicely exemplified by Spanish, where a left-dislocated object can control coordination, resembling the much cited case of Dyrbal syntactic ergativity:

- (i) *A las muchachas las castigaron y se rieron*  
 D.O. the girls CL.3PL scold-PERF.3PL and REFL laugh.PAST.3PL

'They, scolded the girls; and [they,] laughed'/'The girls were scolded (by them) and laughed' This topicality-controlled deletion is impossible in English, where the category of subject is more entrenched, and the passive has to be used.

Another relevant aspect of Teribe syntax is the productivity of left-dislocation, which is a rather unmarked way of clausal organization, appearing spontaneously both in discourse and, especially, under elicitation. The grammar of the left periphery will be described in detail in 4.1.2.1.3; here it will be mentioned to the extent that it shows that the grammatical relation of subject, though clearly identifiable in Teribe, is not as entrenched in the syntax of this language as it is in other languages (e.g. English). 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 (14), (15) and (16), in a construction type that is very similar to what is found in the so-called *topic prominent* languages:

- (14) *E borwa plu e krē-rwa eni*  
 DEM 1PL.EXCL.POSS king DEM choose-1PL.EXCL so  
 'And our King, we choose him that way'
- (15) *Kön e ba domer*  
 Kön DEM 3POSS man  
 'Kön, he is her husband'
- (16) *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; (14) is a transitive clause in the OV-s order; (15) is an asyndetic, verbless, clause; and (16) is a transitive clause in the SOV order. Subject, object noun phrases can be placed in the topic slot. As pointed out above, left-dislocated sentences represent a very productive alternative and rather unmarked way of clause organization.

On the basis of the preceding, it appears that although the category of subject is relevant for the morphosyntactic description of Teribe, it is not that relevant for certain processes such as coordination (where the category of topic can control the operation as well), or in the process of left dislocation (which constitutes a topic construction plain and simple). Similarly, the lack of formal indistinguishability of the pronouns in terms of the grammatical categories they can encode counterbalances the prominence that subjects exhibit in some syntactic processes (e.g. reflexivization) or even in the indexing of the subject in the OV-s order. Consequently, in terms of the typology of topic vs subject prominence, Teribe can be regarded as a language that employs both categories, subject and topic.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Among other features, topic-prominent languages code the topic but not the subject, lack passives, have no-dummy subjects, are verb-final, and lack constraints on topic constituent, that is, any NP can be the topic (cf. Li & Thompson 1976). These features are found in Teribe: the last-mentioned one is especially clear in (14)-(16). Similarly, the difference between a subject and a topic basically lies in the degree of syntactic integration or bondedness of the NP functioning as point of departure/reference in the sentence, where the former is more bonded than the latter. Symptomatic of this lack of syntactic integration are such properties of topics as definiteness (and familiarity), lack of selectional restrictions, functional role (the topic is center of attention), rare verb agreement, and sentence-initial position. Topic or left-dislocated clauses in Teribe tend to fit this pattern.

4.1.1.2 *Object*

The (direct) object in Teribe can be identified positionally: it is the noun phrase that immediately precedes the verb in unmarked declarative clauses. In addition, an object NP can be placed in the left periphery, but it must be resumed by *e* in immediate preverbal position, as in (14) above, or it can be realized as  $\phi$  anaphora, likewise in preverbal position. In Teribe, the sequence OV constitutes a rather rigid order which allows to identify any noun phrase as object. In terms of pronouns, the two pronoun paradigms constitute a case in point; despite the fact that an object can be expressed pronominally by either paradigm, it is the form that appears adjacent to the verb (preceding it) which codes the object in a transitive clause, cf. (7) vs (9a) above. Further evidence that the object relation is relevant for the syntactic description of Teribe is provided by the topic construction, or left periphery, which, as mentioned in the preceding subsection, can be identified by the presence of the marker *e* following the left-dislocated noun phrase: when the subject is placed in the left periphery, and the aspect of the clause is perfective, the aspectual marker can be either of the two aspect markers determined by word order, *-no* for SOV, or *-ro* for OV-s:

(17a) *Juan e bor sakwo za-r-a e*  
 Juan DEM 1POSS finger cut-PERF-3 PFC  
 'Juan, he cut my finger'

(17b) *Juan e bor sakwo zo-no e*  
 Juan DEM 1POSS finger cut-PERF PFC  
 'Juan, he cut my finger'

However, if it is the object that is left-dislocated, only the morpheme corresponding to the OV-s order is allowed:

(17c) *Bor kibokwo e two-ro-r bor dor kong*  
 1POSS book DEM give-PERF-1SG 1POSS sister to  
 'The book, I gave it to my sister'

(17d) *\*Bor kibokwo e two-no bor dor kong*  
 1POSS book DEM give-PERF 1POSS sister to  
 'The book, I gave it to my sister'

This differential treatment can only be accounted for by making reference to the grammatical relation of object.

4.1.1.3 *Dative*

There is morphosyntactic evidence about the relevance of the dative relation in Teribe, a grammatical relation including the semantic roles of recipients, experiencers, and benefactives. Dative noun phrases can be identified by the postposition *kong* in trivalent verbs, that is, as expressing one of the arguments required by the verb (18a):

(18a) *Kibokwo two-ro-r Maria kong*  
 book give-PERF-1SG Maria to  
 'I gave the book to Maria'

When the dative noun phrase is pronominal, the corresponding form comes from the oblique paradigm, as in (18b):

(18b) *Kibokwo two-ro-r ba kong*  
 book give-PERF-1SG 3SG to  
 'I gave the book to her/him'

Evidence that *kong* postpositional phrases are not only adpositional phrases but markers of a grammatical relation comes from cases in which the dative postpositional phrase is fronted, in which case its object can be expressed by forms of either paradigm, as shown in (19a-b); such alternation is not possible with other postpositional phrases, cf. (20a-b):

(19a) *Dbur twa-r-a bor kong*  
 money give-PERF-3 1SG to  
 'He gave the money to me'

(19b) *Ta ~ bor kong dbur twa-r-a*  
 1SG to money give-PERF-3  
 'He gave me the money'

(20a) *Ta to bop tok*  
 1SG go 2SG with  
 'I'll go with you'

(20b) *\*Pa tok ta to*  
 2SG with 1SG go  
 'I'll go with you'

There are two syntactic processes, external possession (4.1.3.2) and dative shift (4.1.3.3), which though marginal from the point of view of frequency do show the relevance of the dative in the grammar of Teribe.

4.1.1.4 *Obliques*

Oblique noun phrases are those expressed by postpositional phrases; if pronominal the corresponding form comes from the oblique paradigm. Among the semantic roles expressed by oblique phrases are INSTRUMENTAL by *go*, COMITATIVE by *tok* and most other positions expressing spatial relations, such as *king* 'over', *dorko* 'under', *shko* 'in, of, at', *triko* 'between', *roy* 'inside', and all others listed in (158) and (159) in Chapter 3. Common to these oblique noun phrases is the tendency to appear after the verb phrase. There are no syntactic processes involving oblique noun phrases.

4.1.1.5 *Summary*

The grammatical relations described in this section have morphosyntactic manifestation both in the case of lexical and pronominal noun phrases. Concerning the former, despite the non-existence of case markers, the syntactic processes specified for each grammatical relation demonstrate the relevance of each grammatical relation identified. As for pronominal noun phrases, the grammatical relations coded by the pronoun system are summarized in (21):

- (21) SUBJECT > OBJECT > DATIVE > INSTRUM. > COMITATIVE > LOCATIVE  
 nominal > nominal > oblique > oblique > oblique > oblique  
           oblique       nominal

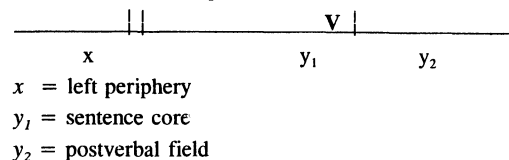
(21) shows precedence of the main relations of subject, object and dative in that these are the only ones that can be expressed by the nominal paradigm; in the case of dative noun phrases, the inclusion of the nominal paradigm under the oblique in (21) indicates that, it is mainly the former paradigm that is used to code this relation, while the latter is used more restrictively; the opposite holds for the coding of objects.

#### 4.1.2 Word order

This section deals with the various word order patterns at the clause level as well as at the phrase level (noun and verb phrase). At the clause level, special attention is paid to the role of word order in the coding of the major syntactic relations, and its connection with the other two strategies made use of by Teribe, "agreement" and the admittedly marginal direct marking. At the verb phrase level, the issue of verb serialization and its relation to auxiliarity is given priority. Other word order patterns described include the left periphery and comparative constructions.

The "layout" of a simple clause in Teribe was presented in (144), Chapter 3, in relation to the place of adverbs and adverbial phrases. It is repeated here, somewhat modified as (S2):

#### (S2) The layout of the Teribe simple clause



According to (S2), there are two main segments in the simple sentence; the left periphery and the sentence core, which is further subdivided into core and postverbal field. The postverbal field is basically occupied by adverbs and postpositional phrases not governed by the valency of the verb (e.g. dative ones), whereas the sentence core includes such phrases plus the verb with its other arguments. The head of the sentence core is the verb, and it usually appears at the border of the sentence core and the postverbal field, except in the case of the inverse construction, or the dative postpositional phrase; this feature shows that though in general terms Teribe is a V-final language, it is not a strict one (e.g. Japanese). The left periphery, a segment with its own properties, will be described in 4.1.2.1.3. The basic word order patterns described in the following sections, thus, apply to the sentence core only.

#### 4.1.2.1 Main clause

As mentioned in 3.2.1, there are three main verb types that give rise to three main clause and word order types: stative/positional, intransitive and transitive. Each type is illustrated in that section and thus need not be repeated here. Instead, these types will be revisited here from the perspective of word order only. Since the main difference among these types in terms of word order lies on the valence of the verbs, the word order types can be divided into two main types, non-transitive and transitive. The former includes sentences having stative/positional, movement, and plain intransitive verbs as the main predicate.

##### 4.1.2.1.1 Non-transitive clauses

Non-transitive clauses are one-participant constructions expressing both static situations and events; their order is SV. (22) is a stative/positional clause, (23) is a movement clause, while (24) exemplifies an intransitive clause:

- (22) *Mok pang kw-ara e dbala kw-öbö sök*  
 moon POSIT.HANG CL.ROUND-ONE DEM star CL.ROUND-some POSIT.SIT  
 'There is a moon (hanging) up there and some stars are (living) too'
- (23) *sombrero dök-tong buk dboy*  
 sombrero fall-PERF POSIT.LIE away  
 '[His] hat fell down and lay there'
- (24) *Ta be-no sök u shko*  
 1SG remain-PERF POSIT.SIT house in  
 'I stayed in the house'

The subject of non-transitive sentences can be suppressed in running discourse, a common topic continuity strategy, yielding a  $\phi$ V structure:

- (25) *ta sök junikong, woydë plú anmoño llëme*  
 1SG POSIT.LIVE this side, want good even NEG  
 'I am here [and I] don't like [it] at all'

Postverbal subjects are not allowed in these sentence-types. Since these are one-argument structures, the suppressed participant is easily retrievable.

##### 4.1.2.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses 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 (26); b. OV-s, where -s stands for a person suffix, and a different perfective aspect marker (-ro), as in (27); c. and the inverse construction OVSdë, where the agent appears postverbally and marked for obviation, as in (6) above, repeated here as (28):<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>It is common for the patient to be suppressed in the OVSdë order. In the case of third person singular, which as noted in 3.1.2.1 is expressed by  $\phi$  in Teribe, it is difficult to tell between suppression, that is  $\phi$  anaphora, and simply third person singular; the former is more conspicuous with first and second persons, as in (25) above. More on the inverse order in 4.1.4.

- (26) *oba akordeon sö-no*  
 people accordion bring-PERF  
 'People brought accordions'
- (27) *llun sö-r-a lok*  
 drum bring-PERF-3 PL  
 '[They] brought drums'
- (28) *Ga φ ī-ya ba boy dē*  
 CONN φ see-IMP.INV 3POSS wife OBV  
 'And his wife saw [it]'

The combination of the two word order patterns and their interaction with both agreement and the pronoun system poses once more the question about the nature of the system that these three strategies together follow. Do these strategies point to an ergative or to an accusative system? Both possibilities will be analyzed here to finally show that the latter does more justice to what is going on in Teribe.

#### 4.1.2.1.2.1 The case for ergativity

There are five aspects of Teribe grammar that could lead one to posit ergativity in this language. First and foremost, is the fact that agreement is basically limited to the subject of transitive verbs, that is, only agent or agent-like participants are indexed in the verb. Second, under the ergativity hypothesis, the more frequent OV-s order would be the unmarked word order pattern, and OVS*dē* the marked one; the fact that the latter is mainly used in 3 > SAP situations would be immaterial insofar as the agent noun phrase is still treated differently from the non-agent one by receiving direct marking (*dē*). Third, perhaps the strongest argument in favor of the ergativity hypothesis in Teribe comes from the expression of the participants as pronouns in combination with word order. A look at both (S3) and the examples following, (29)-(32), insinuates a distribution of the pronouns in an apparent alignment of S and O against A:

#### (S3) Coding of major relations by pronouns and word order types in Teribe

O	V	-s	S	O	V
nominal paradigm			nominal paradigm	oblique paradigm	
O	V	S	vs		
nominal paradigm					
S	V				
nominal paradigm					

- (29) *Pa kimtē-r*  
 2SG help-1SG  
 'I help you'
- (30) *Pa kimta-ga Juan dē*  
 2SG help-INV Juan OBV  
 'Juan helps you'

- (31) *Pa bērkē*  
 2SG dance  
 'You dance'
- (32) *Ta bop kimtē*  
 1SG 2SG help  
 'I help you'

The nominal paradigm appears to express both S and O in the more frequent word orders; the language then would be basically OVS or rather O/S V A, with preverbal position reserved for absolutive noun phrases and postverbal position reserved for ergative noun phrases, which could be realized either as a person suffix or as a full noun phrase. The SOV order, or AOV under the ergativity hypothesis, would appear as a split conditioned by word order. Fourth, in the perfective aspect both the SV (intransitive) and the SOV order take the same morpheme, *-no*; it could be argued that the SOV then is a word order reserved for two-argument clauses with low transitivity. As evidence for that argument some instances of incorporation could be adduced, which can be traced transparently to SOV structures, and are nowadays lexicalizations such as *dibzē* 'cross (a river)' < *di* 'river' + *zē* 'cut'; *opshik* 'leave, exit' < *op* 'reflexive' + *shik* 'pull'; *opzrik* 'enter' < *op* 'reflexive' + *zrik* 'take in' (see 4.1.3.5 for details). The morpheme *-no* would then have to be analyzed as the marker of perfective aspect of intransitive, or at least low transitive, constructions. Fifth, transitive verbs show different treatment not only in that they are the only verbs (not exclusively, though) that take person suffix, but also in at least another aspect of the grammar, namely in the expression of the imperative mood. As explained in 3.2.2.2.1, transitive verbs make a distinction by number of the addressee, as well as one of spatial closeness of the addressee. Though not directly related to the expression of grammatical relations, this fact does show a phenomenon directly sensitive to transitivity, which is the phenomenon underlying ergativity.

#### 4.1.2.1.2.2 The case against ergativity

Appealing as the above arguments may appear, they may be challenged. Concerning the indexing of person in transitive verbs, there are instances of intransitive verbs coding the subject, as in (13) above, so that in addition to the admittedly prevailing OV-s, a few V-s cases have to be taken into account.<sup>7</sup> As for the OV-s and OVS*dē* orders being opposed in terms of markedness, suffice it to say that the latter is not exactly opposed to the former in terms of configuration, but rather in terms of function and distribution in the language; the OVS*dē* is used mainly when the expected SAP > 3 is reversed, in other words, it is an inverse construction. In this very respect, its function is by no means immaterial because it

<sup>7</sup>While this could indeed be taken as a manifestation of the Nominal Hierarchy in that third person of an intransitive verb is marked, the fact that this verb can mark other persons (e.g. *joywo-ro-rwa* laugh-PERF-1PL.EXCL, 'we laughed') shows that it is not the third person that is causing the marking. The other possibility, split conditioned by verb semantics, is not applicable because there is no regular marking of active intransitive verbs (elsewhere) in the language.

shows that OVS<sub>dē</sub> is not an alternative to OV-s but a construction in its own right.

The strongest argument in favor of positing ergativity in Teribe merits a somewhat more detailed analysis. It was pointed out in 4.1.1.1 that the language does not admit two contiguous members of the same paradigm, cf. (9b) above. In fact, both the current situation and what could be hypothesized to represent an earlier stage of the language disclose a tendency which somehow harmonizes with the rule of non-contiguity of members of the same paradigm. A careful look at the OV-s order and at the actual person-indexing suffixes reveals not only that this order is the result of the grammaticalization of an inverted order (OVS) but, more importantly, that the forms placed in postverbal position were members of the oblique paradigm (the suffixes *-r*, *-p*, *-a*, *-rwa*, *-y* and *-mi* are unquestionably reduced forms of *bor*, *bop*, *ba*, *borwa*, *bi* and *bomi*, respectively). That earlier situation and the current one share one principle, which I will term "The pronoun order principle" (POP):

(33) *The pronoun order principle*

"if two pronouns are to appear in the clause, the first one must come from the nominal paradigm and the second one, should there be one, must come from the oblique paradigm".

(33) accounts for the following configurations: S<sub>nominal</sub>O<sub>oblique</sub>V and \*O<sub>nominal</sub>VS<sub>oblique</sub>; the asterisk stands for unattested constructions that presumably led to the OV-s order. POP can be functionally justified by assuming that the two pronoun paradigms are ruled by the parameters of *attention flow* and *viewpoint*, introduced by DeLancey (1980); these parameters "contribute to determining the relative interest of various entities involved in an actual witnessed event". The former has to do with the ordering of the NPs in a sentence and the latter with the perception of an event in terms of its movement from source to goal. The nominal paradigm then has to be assumed to be more basic (an assumption that is not difficult to sustain in the light of the distribution of both paradigms); being the more basic, it is the one used to express the onset of predications, that is, the first-mentioned participant, where attention flow and viewpoint coincide. The oblique paradigm, on the other hand, is used to express the endpoint of the attention flow.<sup>8</sup> Although there may be a correlation between the POP and information-structure status of participants, this need not be the case, as shown by the fact that the SOV order expresses SENTENCE-FOCUS, which implies that both pronouns are focal, while the OV-s order does not, in which case *-s* or its predecessor, a member of the oblique paradigm, codes a participant in the status of topic (cf. below and 4.3). POP implies, among other things, that the use of the pronoun paradigms in Teribe has been subject to discourse grammar rather than to strictly sentence grammar.<sup>9</sup> This in turn provides an explanation for

<sup>8</sup>Note that this explanation necessarily has to assume that the OV-s order's predecessor was a clause in which both participants were coded as pronouns; if this word order pattern stems from a construction in which the object was a lexical noun phrase, the POP has to be modified as requiring the nominal paradigm to code onsets of predication, to the exclusion of the requirement that the first pronoun in a clause be from the nominal paradigm.

<sup>9</sup>An apparent counter example to POP is the one in footnote 3, where two pronouns of the same paradigm appear, only separated by the contrastive marker *ra*. It is only formally a counterexample

the indistinguishability of pronouns in terms of grammatical relations (especially that of subject), as well as for the fact that the oblique paradigm is used to code objects and objects of postpositions, which are grammatical relations generally reserved for participants that appear in semantic roles that rarely become the onset of predications.

It should be added that the apparent S/O alignment against A only occurs in the case of pronominal noun phrases. In non-pronominal noun phrases the agent of the transitive clause in the SOV order is treated in a similar way as the subject of the intransitive clause, as was explained in 4.1.1.1. Apparent counterexamples to the preceding explanation appear in the case of the admittedly rare instances in which the subject of the inverse construction is a SAP, and is coded by a form from the nominal paradigm, as in (34), just as there are instances of the OV-s order where the object is coded by a form from the oblique paradigm, as in (9c), repeated here as (35):

(34) *Ba zró-ga ta dē*  
3SG(OBJECT) kill-INV 1SG(SUBJECT) OBV  
'I killed him'

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

Such apparent counterexamples can be explained as a result of a transition currently in progress in the language, especially in the case of the inverse construction, which, as will be shown in 4.1.4, is very irregular itself; such a transition is responsible for the fluctuation in the use of the third person pronoun. Note, however, that the grammatical relations remain unaltered; and this very fact, in turn, hints at the likely cause behind that fluctuation, namely a tendency toward a more syntacticized, less discourse-run encoding of grammatical relations.

Finally, as for the perfective aspect morpheme *-no* being used with intransitive verbs too, cases of SOV sentences with high transitivity are not difficult to attest in the language. Examples can be found in the texts in Chapter 5.

Despite the preceding argumentation, the question remains, however, why are there two word orders in "complementary distribution" in Teribe, in the first place? A look at their roles in discourse can shed some light on this issue; the use of a text is critical for establishing the nature of the two word order patterns of transitive clauses. (T1) below will be used here in order to clarify the issue at hand. (T1) is one of several stories about the reunification of the Teribe group after 300 years of forced separation:

because the fact that the first pronoun is highlighted as contrastive focus keeps the underlying functional tendency intact: it is the form expressing the onset of attention flow and viewpoint that appears first.

(T1) *Naso Broran e Teribe-so*    *ëng tō-no*    *ëng tok e lanyo*  
 Teribe Tèrraba DEM Teribe-ORGN RECP meet-PERF RECP with DEM story

*Rey tek ör-ong bamgo shko ga oba dyo yo-no trak llème; chicha*  
 King come go-PERF first of CONN people chicha drink-PERF little NEG; chicha

*shària-r-a lok tanke kèskès kwenyo, pök, mya. Jeg-ong tawa sī-na-ba dli.*  
 make-PERF-3 PL tank big of those, two, three. Go-PERF 1PL.EXCL feed-PERF-DS food,

*oba bër-k-ono dbar mya. Rey dyo yo-no nēlō; ba sombrero kī*  
 people dance-PERF day three. King chicha drink-PERF drunk; 3SG sombrero because

*joywa-ra-ba; kosina dorko pē buk. Kosina dorko wlē-n-a lok, wollē-no*  
 laugh-PERF-DS; stove under sleep POSIT.LIE. Stove under find-PERF-3 PL, wake up-PERF

*buk e shko ga; pē kosina dorko, sombrero dök-tong buk dboy; to jek*  
 POSIT.LIE DEM of CONN; sleep stove under, sombrero fall-PART POSIT.LIE away; go go

*iröng ga sombrero be-no buk na toksa... E... oba bërko-no ara;*  
 again CONN sombrero remain-PERF POSIT.LIE here alone... DEM... people dance-PERF much;

*oba gitara sō-no, oba akordeon sō-no, llun sō-r-a lok; oba*  
 people guitar bring-PERF, people accordion bring-PERF, drum bring-PERF-3 PL; people

*bërko-no dbong bëyo. Reunyon shàrio-no; trak llème ëng wlē-no. Oba shro-no*  
 dance-PERF tiger dance. Meeting make-PERF; little NEG RECP meet-PERF. People arrive-PERF

*ara; oba ör pang trak llème na. Oba ëng boy bankro-no llème. Oba*  
 much; people go POSIT.HANG little NEG here. People RECP wife fear-PERF NEG. People

*ëng boy kro-no, ba boy naso-ga teraba tok; tek kalē tok junikong tok.*  
 RECP wife seize-PERF, 3POSS wife Teribe-PL Tèrraba with; go there with this side with.

*Oba kone ba boy-ga ënkwo-no, wlē-na oba dē buk ba tok... tlē*  
 People where 3SG wife-PL fight-PERF, find-PERF.INV people OBV POSIT.LIE 3SG with... say

*lok ga... to shro-no lok plobek llème, sino ënkwo-no. Oba ëng rayo-no*  
 PL CONN... go arrive-PERF PL behave NEG, but fight-PERF. People RECP leave-PERF

*sek oma nada mas teraba kī shko. Rey tek ör-ong na, är kēm ga*  
 almost DEM just Tèrraba because of. King come arrive-PERF here, arrive there CONN

*lē-k oba oblē dē ga rey ör pē buk boy tok, le, är*  
 say-IMP.INV people different OBV CONN King arrive sleep POSIT.LIE wife with, say, arrive

*kēm ga woyd-e ba boy dē ame, le; shwong skwa-r-a,*  
 there CONN want-IMP.INV 3SG wife OBV no longer, say.IMP.INV; clothes take off-PERF-3,

*le, wē di klik go, le-a eni. Tlē ga rey ör-ong ocho*  
 say.IMP.INV shower.IMP.INV water hot with, say-3 so. Say CONN King arrive-PERF eight

*dia pē ba boy tok llème.*  
 day sleep 3POSS wife with NEG.

#### 'Tèrrabas and Teribes Met

First came the King, and the people drank lots of chicha, which they had prepared in two or three big containers. Others gave us food and danced for three days. The King got drunk, and some people were making fun of his sombrero. He fell asleep under the stove; there they found him the next morning, his sombrero lying at a distance. People danced a lot; they brought guitars, accordions and drums; they danced the Tiger Dance. Many meetings were held; many people came. The [Teribe and Tèrraba] men dishonored each other's wives; they took each other's wives, the Teribe and Tèrraba wives, those from there with those from here. Fights broke out whenever they found their wives with other men. They did not behave; instead they started fights, and some couples were about to separate because of the Tèrrabas. The King came, and some people gossip that, once back in Teribe, his wife was reluctant to sleep with him; they say that she took off his clothes and wanted to sprinkle him with hot water. They also say that she would not sleep with him for up to eight days.'

(T1) consists of four readily recognizable segments. The first one introduces the story and the two main 'protagonists' around which the narration revolves, *Rey* 'the King', and *oba* '(the) people'. Once the protagonists are introduced, two segments are assigned to each of them. The King is the protagonist in the second segment, which begins from *Rey dyo yono nēlō* 'The King got drunk', and continues until *sombrero beno buk na toksa* ('his hat lay here alone'). A new segment begins when *oba* moves to the foreground, introduced by *E... oba bër-kono ara* ('And... people danced a lot') until *Oba ëng rayo-no sek oma nada mas teraba kī shko* ('People were about to separate because of the Tèrrabas'). After this segment, the King reappears as the main protagonist and remains so till the end of the story. How do the word order patterns connect with the 'core roles' involved? As can be seen in (T1), the SOV order helps to introduce a referent in A function and to keep it 'activated', as well as to

reactivate it after some stretches of discourse,<sup>10</sup> while the OV-s order is used when A is firmly established as the topic of the stretch in question; this is most clearly in the third clause of example (36) at the onset of the second segment of (T1). It goes without saying that the assessment of whether a referent is firmly established or not is in principle solely dependent on each individual speaker:<sup>11</sup>

- (36) *Oba bërko-no ara; oba gitara sô-no, oba akordeon*  
 People dance-PERF much; people guitar bring-PERF, people accordion  
*sô-no, llun sô-r-a lok*  
 bring-PERF, drum bring-PERF-3 PL

'People danced a lot; they brought guitars, accordions and drums'

As for intransitive sentences, these conform to the pattern established in Du Bois (1987), namely to introduce one participant at a time. Thus in segments I and IV, the King is introduced in S function; the same is true for *Oba* in segment III. As for segment II, the King is introduced in A function, probably because it is not its first mention in (T1). More significant, perhaps, is the fact that the use of the SOV order to introduce a participant (*oba* in segment I) seems to run counter to Du Bois' principles. Actually, it does not; it represents an instantiation of another principle, namely "if a mention is new information, this typically entails that it will be realized with a full NP" (Du Bois 1987: 830). This same principle applies in the case of the OV-s order, which is used overwhelmingly to introduce new (O) participants in (T1),<sup>12</sup> thus conforming to Du Bois' (1987: 829) prediction that

<sup>10</sup>Though rare, there are instances of SVO order in Teribe, one of which appears in (T1):

- (i) *oba bërko-no dbong bëyo*  
 people dance-PERF tiger dance  
 'The people danced the Tiger Dance'.

The SVO order is similar to the SOV in its discourse function. In these cases the verb may agree for person. This is not the case in (i).

<sup>11</sup>The reciprocal sentences in the third segment are not counterexamples to this analysis insofar as despite the fact that the subject may be suppressed (i), these constructions have no alternative OV-s order; they are always SOV, where O is the reciprocal pronoun (ii):

- (i) *ëng woydo-no*  
 RECP want-PERF  
 '[They] loved each other'  
 (ii) *\*ëng wayda-r-a (lok)*  
 RECP want-PERF-3 (PL)  
 'They loved each other'

<sup>12</sup>Of a total of 21 instances of O in (T1), excluding those cases in which O is encoded as a reciprocal pronoun, 13 are lexical NPs, 3 are subordinate clauses, *tlë (lok) ga...* 'they say that...' two times, and *lëk oba oblë dë ga...* 'some other people say that...', and the rest consists of 4 third person pronouns, which is  $\phi$  in Teribe; plus one in which the first person plural exclusive is used in a double object construction (*Jegong tawa sïnaba dli*, 'They came and gave us food'). As for the forms *le* 'say' and *lea eni* ('so say'), which appear four times and one time, respectively, near the end of (T1), these are parenthetical forms signaling indirect speech. As such, they are not instances of *verba dicendi* plus sentential object, such as those mentioned above. Of the 13 lexical NPs, one, *dyo* 'chicha' appears three times, one of which it is expressed by a synonym, and *boy* ('wives').

To the extent that human protagonists are likely to be agents in two-place predicates, it is likely that the A role will be filled by a given mention of a thematic human protagonist *-for which a pronoun or a cross-referencing affix rather than a full NP will suffice*. In the O position, in contrast, we tend to find inanimate patient arguments in much greater variety. Each is likely to be relatively ephemeral in the discourse, rarely persisting through more than a few successive clauses. The steady sequence of shifting patient referents results in the O role being filled very frequently with new, lexical mentions [emphasis added].

The above analysis confirms the distribution of the two word orders, advanced in (S1). Teribe has a discourse-run set of orders, roughly distributed as follows: SV is used to introduce participants, likely to be topics for a good stretch of discourse; SOV is used to introduce participants and to keep them 'activated', especially S; while OV-s is used to introduce only a new participant, O, while keeping the agent/subject as given information (as -s). SOV comes very close to what Lambrecht calls SENTENCE-FOCUS, an information structure relation "in which the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements)", while the  $O_{(\text{lexical})}V$ -s fits the profile of what Lambrecht calls ARGUMENT-FOCUS, a relation "in which the focus identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 222). As for the inverse OVSdë order, it is a construction involving overwhelmingly lexical NPs as S's. As the three instances in (T1) show (see also 4.1.4), O tends to be filled with given mentions ( $\phi$ , that is third person singular and/or  $\phi$  anaphora, two times and one time with a verb of saying plus a sentential object), while S is filled with given mentions too (*oba* 'people' two times and *ba boy* 'his wife' who had been mentioned indirectly in the previous passages, where reference is made to the men's dishonoring their wives), thus conforming to Givón's characterization of the inverse construction, "the patient is more topical than the object but the agent retains considerable topicality" (Givón 1994b: 9). In sum, in terms of the coding of individual, lexical NP's, the indexing of participants in the verb, and especially the two word orders in transitive sentences, there are no grounds to claim that Teribe works on an ergative-absolutive basis.

#### 4.1.2.1.3 The left periphery

The "left periphery", or left-detached position, refers to an area preceding the sentence core; the elements placed in that position provide background information, whether related to the whole clause (adverbial) or to the pragmatic state of a participant (topic), for the content of what is expressed in the sentence core. In Teribe these two segments of the simple sentence are linked by *ga* when the constituent in the left periphery is adverbial, or by the demonstrative *e*, which, inside the sentence core, functions as a resumptive pronoun occupying the argument slot that corresponds to the detached noun phrase. As explained in 3.4.1, the boundary between the left periphery and the sentence core is clearly marked by the conjunction *ga*; when the left periphery is occupied by an adverb or adverbial phrase, or



when the left-detached NP is quantified, the core may be of any type, asyndetic, as in the second clause in (37), stative/positional (38), intransitive (39), or transitive (40):

- (37) *gueniyo ga e kishgwoyo siwa i. Erishko ga eni.*  
 but CONN DEM thread white POSS. Today CONN thus  
 'but the thread [used] is that of the whites. Nowadays it is so'
- (38) *erishko ga tawa sök uy*  
 Today CONN 1PL.EXCL POSIT.SIT home  
 'Today we are staying home'
- (39) *Kok shkoglë ga ta wen sök ta jong koyo obi*  
 time end CONN 1SG appear POSIT.LIVE 1SG POSIT.STAND like again  
 'At the end of time I will reappear' [lit. 'I will appear as me again']
- (40) *Ga erishko ga poglo shärië-y oblë*  
 CONN today CONN hammock make-1PL.INCL different  
 'And nowadays we make our hammocks differently'

Another characteristic of the adverbial periphery is that although it usually contains one adverb/adverbial phrase, on occasion two (41) such elements appear, coordinated by *ga*:

- (41) *Eni ga dbar ara ga to klo shko*  
 so CONN day many CONN go bush to  
 'So, many days later, he went to the bushes'

In some cases, given the wide range of functions and contexts of *ga*, it is difficult to tell whether what precedes it is an adverbial phrase or a clause, in which case it would be a case of two coordinated clauses, as in (42):

- (42) *Ö-tong dbar kw-ara ga... jem shäng... ma lök*  
 go-PERF day CL.ROUND-one CONN... go.up POSIT.STAND... fish shoot  
*diga... llum Timillik...*  
 riverwards... up Timillik

'One day later, he went fishing on the river up there in Timillik'

Although there is a finite verb in (42), its function is clearly adverbial both semantically and syntactically, as evidenced by the fact that what could be regarded as the subject of the intransitive verb *ötong* 'went, passed' appears postposed to it. Since this is the only context in which an intransitive subject follows the verb, and since its only function is to express quantity of time (days, months, etc.), cf. (43), cases like these can be analyzed as adverbial phrases and not as clauses:

- (43) *"Är dbar kw-ara ga midë-p obi", le ba kong*  
 "arrive day CL.ROUND-one CONN know-2SG again, say.IMP.INV 3 to  
 "One day you will hear [lit. know] (from me) again", he said to him'

In addition to adverbial elements, connected by *ga*, the left periphery is occupied by noun phrases that are resumed in the clause by the demonstrative *e*, which appears in the slot and in the grammatical relation in which the left-detached noun phrase would appear in non-detached constructions; that is, the clause has one of the various word orders (SOV, OV-s, OVSDë, or SV), and *e* appears in the slot corresponding to the detached NP. The left-

detached noun phrase is resumed as subject in verbless (44), stative/positional (45), intransitive (46), and in transitive clauses in the SOV order (47a), but not in inverted ones (47b):

- (44) *Ba u e pola e*  
 3POSS house DEM far CFP  
 'His house, it is far away'
- (45) *Kus li ä bakoe; äya e löng pola e*  
 Kus TOP devil too; evil spirit DEM POSIT.BE far CFP  
 'Kus is a devil too; the evil spirits, they are far away'
- (46) *Bor sogla e ker-tong e*  
 1SG.POSS cow DEM die-PERF CFP  
 'My cow, it died'
- (47a) *Juan e dröng je-no e*  
 Juan DEM machete lose-PERF CFP  
 'Juan, he lost his machete'
- (47b) *\*Juan walë zrö-ya e dë*  
 Juan woman killIMP.INV DEM OBV  
 'Juan, the woman he killed'

Similarly, the left-dislocated noun phrase can be resumed as object in transitive clauses in the OV-s order (48), in inverted clauses (49a), as well as in the SOV order (49b), provided the object is definite (marked by a possessive, demonstrative or topic marker):

- (48) *Yongdo e sho-ro-y*  
 Horizontal pole DEM chop-PERF-1PL.INCL  
 'The horizontal pole, we cut it'
- (49a) *Walë e zrö-ya Juan dë*  
 Woman DEM kill-IMP.INV Juan OBV  
 'The woman, Juan kills her'
- (49b) *Juan ba dröng e je-no e*  
 Juan 3POSS machete DEM lose-PERF CFP  
 'His machete, Juan lost it'

The previous examples reveal a rule that can be summarized as follows: 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/antecedent; thus in a case like (49c), 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 (49d):

- (49c) *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'

- (49d) *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'  
 While most constituents in the left periphery are lexical noun phrases, as shown by the preceding examples, left-dislocated noun phrases can be sentential too, usually relative clauses, which can be resumed as either subjects (50) or objects (51):

- (50) *Domer shro-no shäng e krik*  
 Man arrive-PERF POSIT.STAND DEM rifle  
 'The man who [just] arrived, he has a rifle'  
 (51) *"Orkwo zeng" e le tlapga-ga dë*  
 "Hand cold" DEM say.IMP.INV elder-PL OBV  
 "[Their] hands were cold", said the elders'

The left-detached noun phrase can also be resumed as a possessor (52); since the word order of possessive constructions is possessor-possessum (cf. 4.1.2.2.3), the resumptive pronoun automatically becomes a possessive pronoun:

- (52) *lushkwa e kwota koshkwë-y*  
 balsa DEM skin wash-1PL.INCL  
 'The balsa, we wash its skin'

Constituents placed in the left periphery can also be questioned, as subject (53a) or object (53b), and they can be the constituent of a command (54):

- (53a) *Teribe-ga ze kochi wuë lok de?*  
 Teribe-PL DEM pork eat PL Q  
 'The Teribes, do they eat pork?'  
 (53b) *Shing ze ywa-ga walëga dë de?*  
 Basket DEM weave-INV woman-PL OBV Q  
 'Baskets, do women weave them?'  
 (54) *¡Bor dbur e two-zong bor kong iröng!*  
 1SG.POSS money DEM give-IMPR 1SG to again  
 'My money, give it back to me!'

Functionally, the left periphery can be regarded, in general terms, as a topicalization strategy, whereby a referent is established as the topic of a new episode, or discourse passage. As mentioned in 4.1.1.1.1, left dislocation is a very common and unmarked strategy in Teribe. This strategy is limited to non-pronominal noun phrases, however; personal pronouns cannot be left-detached in Teribe, probably because pronouns refer to inherently topical participants (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 178, among others), and their referents need not be fronted to be made topics. The left periphery will be revisited in 4.3.1.1 in the context of participant-highlighting strategies.

#### 4.1.2.2 Noun Phrase

Nouns and pronouns are the only obligatory constituents of the noun phrase. The internal structure of the Teribe noun phrase is represented in (55). Excluded is the relative

clause, which though mainly postnominal, can also be both head-internal and headless (see 4.1.2.2.2):

- $$(55) \left[ \left[ \text{I}(\text{DEM}) \left[ \text{I}(\text{POSS})(\text{SN})^2 \text{N} \left\{ (\text{CL.NUM}) (\text{ADJ}) \right\} \right] \right] \right] \text{I}(\text{DEM}) \text{I}(\text{FOC/TOP})$$

According to (55), there exist various possibilities in terms of the internal order of the noun phrase. In general terms, most noun phrase constituents are postnominal; an exception to this pattern are possessive noun phrases, in which the head is preceded by the possessor, which in turn can be another noun phrase, as shown in (56); more on possession in 4.1.2.4:

- (56) *[[bor walë-ga wolëso doglo mya] [gok]]*  
 1POSS woman-PL pretty CL.ANIMATE three calabash  
 'The calabash of my three pretty women'

#### 4.1.2.2.1 Demonstratives, adjectives, numeral classifiers

In addition to possessors, demonstratives can also precede the head, although their preferred and most frequent position is postnominal, concretely in the rightmost position within the noun phrase; demonstratives compete against information-structure markers for that position. The two sets of brackets inside the noun phrase structure in (55) represent those two possibilities, each of which is illustrated in (57a-b):

- (57a) *bor plu shiti doglo mya kësbang wolëso ëre*  
 1POSS king dog CL.ANIMATE three big pretty DEM  
 'These three pretty, big dogs of my King'  
 (57b) *ëre bor plu shiti doglo mya kësbang wolëso*  
 DEM 1POSS king dog CL.ANIMATE three big pretty  
 'These three pretty, big dogs of my King'

There is also variability in terms of the position of the adjective relative to numeral classifiers.<sup>13</sup> Adjectives can immediately follow the noun, as in (56); but that position can also be occupied by classifiers, as in (57a-b).

Certain things should be noted in regards to (55). First, strings in which all positions are filled are rarely, if ever, attested in discourse; this also applies to adjectives, which in principle can modify the possessor in possessive phrases. In (55) the number of prenominal noun phrases is limited to one; this has to do with the fact that prenominal position is mainly reserved for the expression of possession. Teribe does not admit double nominal modification, that is, the process whereby the head of the noun phrase, the possessum, is possessed by a possessor which in turn appears as the possessum of another relation, as in (58a). In those cases, what would appear as the head in a sequence of three nouns is separated from the possessor by means of the demonstrative *e*, which here functions as a resumptive possessive pronoun as in the topic constructions described in 4.1.2.1.3, example (52): the constituents to the left of *e* are ordered in accordance with the phrase structure rules (58b):

<sup>13</sup>In (55) the abbreviation CL.NUM is not limited to numeral classifiers proper, but includes other quantifiers such as partitives and others, dealt with in 3.1.3.

(58a) \**plu walē kāga*  
king woman head  
'The King's wife's head'

(58b) *plu walē e kāga*  
king woman DEM head  
'The King's wife's head' [lit. 'The King's wife her head']

A similar situation occurs in the case of adjectives. Teribe does not allow two adjectives modifying the head; the sequence N + adjective + adjective is highly marked and avoided. In those cases one adjective modifies the head and the next adjective is expressed by means of predication. As explained in 3.3, although there are no copulas in Teribe, the presence of the clause final particle indicates that we are dealing with a case of predication, not attribution:

(59a) \**plu kēsbang kégué*  
king big old  
'The great old King'

(59b) *plu kēsbang kégué e*  
king big old CFP  
'The great King is old'

The common denominator underlying the restrictions on the number of nouns and adjectives seems to be a tendency to limit lexical modification to only one modifier per noun phrase.

#### 4.1.2.2.2 The relative clause

Relative clauses in Teribe are mainly postnominal, as shown in (60). There are also structures that fit the profile of head-internal relative clauses, as in (61), where the head of the relative clause, *kwomgla* 'horse', appears inside the relative clause, and is the object of both the main and the relative clause (whose internal word order is SOV). There are, in addition, instances of headless relative clauses, as in (62). Note that in (62) one would expect a noun meaning 'place' as the head of the clause; however, the only indication that location is the concept being relativized is expressed by the postposition *shko* 'in, at, of, on':

(60) *Domer [sök ēre shko] bor shiti zro-no e*  
man POSIT.LIVE DEM in 1POSS dog kill-PERF CFP  
'The man who lives here killed my dog'

(61) [*Maria [kwomgla] twlē-no*] *ī-no-r*  
Maria horse buy-PERF see-PERF-1SG  
'I saw the horse that Maria bought'

(62) [*Plu po-no buk shko li*] *e bapkwō k'or*  
King sleep-PERF POSIT.LIE in REL DEM table tree  
'The table where the King slept is of wood' [lit. 'Where the King slept, it's a wooden table']

Concerning the expression of the relativized noun, Teribe uses the gap strategy, as in (60-62), as well as that of pronoun retention (though to a lesser extent), as in (63), where the

third person possessive marker *ba* refers to the head *u* 'house':

(63) *U [shi srobyē ba plorgo li] e p'o-no e*  
house 1PL.INCL urinate 3POSS behind REL DEM burn-PERF CFP  
'The house behind which we urinated burned down'

As for the marker of a clause as relative, the previous examples show that there is an invariable marker, *li*, which always appears clause-finally. The relativizer *li* tends to be used facultatively; it also tends to appear more readily when the relativized element is neither a subject nor an object. This is reminiscent of its original function, as adverb, which can still be attested, though sporadically, as in (64):

(64) *Eni ga e ra walē buk li ga dlo ō-tong dlo dlu bek*  
So CONN however woman POSIT.LIE there CONN sun go-PERF midday right  
'But the woman lay there until well into the day' [lit. 'But the woman lay there and the sun came exact midday']

In (64) there are two sentences coordinated by *ga*, *Eni ga e ra walē buk li* 'But the woman remained there' and *dlo ōtong dlo dlu bek* 'It became midday'; that fact, in addition to its being in clause-final position, clearly shows the adverbial function of *li*.

The next step in the grammaticalization of the adverb was its use as a relativizer in locative expressions such as (62) above, or (65) below; notice that in (65) the postposition follows *li*, whereas in (62) that order is inverted; (65) thus represents a step prior to the reanalysis of *li* as relativizer:

(65) *ār ba u jong li shko ga opsri-no u li roy*  
arrive 3POSS house POSIT.STAND there in CONN enter-PERF house TOP inside  
'He came to the house [that was standing] there and entered the house'

In (66) below, the role of *li* as relativizer is clearly established, as evidenced by the fact that there is an adverbial phrase *e shko* 'there' [lit. 'in it']:

(66) *Ku-ya no lōng e shko li ga...*  
hear-INV.IMP person POSIT.BE DEM in REL CONN...  
'The people who were there heard that...'

Even clearer instances of *li* as a well-established relativizer appear in (67) and (68):

(67) *ē Walē bop sgō-ga li shāng kone?*  
Woman 2SG scratch-PERF REL POSIT.STAND where  
'Where is the woman who scratched you?'

(68) *Domer bor ī-ga li*  
Man 1SG see-ABIL REL  
'The man who saw me'

When functioning as a relativizer, *li* bears no stress. In both (67) and (68) the subject is relativized and is expressed by a gap in the relative clause, which follows the S(= φ)OV order. In (66) the relativized noun phrase is an inverted subject.

Further grammaticalization of *li* led to the expression of marked topics as in the second clause of (65) and as described in 3.1.6.1. In this last stage, *li* enters the nominal dimension as a marker of nouns, with no reference to a predication about them; the relative

clause component is no longer a constituent of strings in which a noun and *li* co-occur:

- (69) *Áya li teng tōshko*  
 Evil spirit TOP POSIT.BE ground  
 'The evil spirits were on the ground'

In Quesada (2000a), *li* is described as a definite article that was grammaticalized as an anaphoric marker and later as a relativizer. That analysis, which failed to recognize the original adverbial nature of *li* but assigned this form the role of definite article,<sup>14</sup> has to be abandoned in favor of the current one, which assumes, based on the above explanation, a grammaticalization chain which includes the following stages ADVERB > RELATIVIZER > TOPIC MARKER.

#### 4.1.2.3 Verb Phrase

The constituents of the verb phrase are the direct object and the dative in the case of bivalent and trivalent verbs, respectively; the former precedes and the latter follows the verb, as shown in (70); an exception to this rule is the fronting of the dative noun phrase, alluded to in 4.1.1.3 and illustrated in (19b), repeated here as (71):

- (70) *Juan e kibokwo two-no Maria kong*  
 Juan DEM book give-PERF Maria to  
 'Juan, he gave the book to Maria'

- (71) *Ta~bor kong dbur twa-r-a*  
 1SG to money give-PERF-3  
 'He gave me the money'

In addition to the arguments of the transitive verb, a verb phrase may have more constituents, namely more than one verb, within the context of verb serialization.

##### 4.1.2.3.1 Verb serialization

A serial verb construction is understood here as "the combination of two or more asynchronously juxtaposed verbs with at least one shared argument in order to express a complex, but unitary situation" (Lehmann 1995: 34); this definition does not explicitly include parataxis as the nature of the syntactic relation holding among the members of the series; that condition will be added to the definition because it allows to differentiate between a "compound verbal concept", which is what a verbal series stands for, and the juxtaposition of two predicates, each belonging to a different level of clause organization (hypotaxis). In (82), cf. 3.2.2, LOC appears as a constituent of the Teribe verbal complex; it is that constituent that is responsible for the phenomenon of verb serialization in the language. From a strictly structural point of view, LOC is a rather heterogeneous constituent; it subsumes

<sup>14</sup>The behavior of *li* appears rather weird and difficult to explain assuming it is a definite article (e.g. it is used mostly with proper names), and it is difficult to tell between that function and that of topic marker basically because it has no regular behavior. The current analysis has no such problems; when it is not an adverb, *li* is a relativizer or a topic marker. The fact that *li*-marked nouns have a definite reading comes from the topic marker function.

positionals, movement and directed movement verbs. Both position and movement verbs help situate a state of affairs in space; positional verbs express static location, a rather grammaticalized distinction (as noted in 3.2.2.3), and movement verbs express dynamic location (which is what movement implies anyway). It is the expression of position and the specification of movement that triggers the creation of verbal series in Teribe.

Verbal series in Teribe can have two, three, and four verbs, of which at least one is a movement and/or a positional verb; the other member can, but need not, be a verb other than those two types (referred here simply as "event verbs"). Rules of combination are difficult to state because each series, especially in the case of larger ones (three and four), is the sum of its components; that is, the verbs that enter a series keep their lexical meaning and their presence in the series is highly speaker and context-dependent. However, there are two rules that constrain the combinations of verbs in a series, regardless of the number of verbs:

##### Verb serialization Rule 1

"a positional verb is never the first member in a series"

##### 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, by virtue of Rules 1. and 2., combinations a., b., c. and i. are ruled out, leaving seven possible combinations.<sup>15</sup> But another restriction, entailed in the above modified definition of serial verb construction, reduces the number of possible combinations even further, namely, that the verbs belong to the same simple clause, that is, that they be members of the same predicate, and not two predicates in hypotactic relation, as shown in (72), (73), and (74). By this criterion, which will be expanded in the next section, combinations b., c. (already ruled out by Rule 1), and e. are also excluded, leaving only combinations d., f., g. and h.

- (72) *Walë jek wë diga*  
 Woman go bathe river  
 'The woman went to bathe in the river'

<sup>15</sup>Combination a. is impossible regardless of the rules, since it entails the expression of two positions; and that is a clear incompatibility.

- (73) *E shäng jek Panama*  
DEM POSIT.STAND go Panama  
'He is going to Panama'
- (74) *Tawa löng pë*  
1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE sleep  
'We are sleeping'

The previous three examples are instances of subordination; (72) is a purposive clause, while (73) and (74) are constructions expressing the progressive aspect (see next section).

The combinations that conform to the above definition and rules, can be summarized as in (75), "the serial template":

- (75) *Teribe serial template*
- $$\sqrt{[\text{movement}]_{\text{event}} + \{\text{movement}\}_{\text{position}}}]_v$$

The four possible combinations stemming from (75) are illustrated in turn:

- (76) 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'
- (77) event and position subject  
*Pây parkë löng afwera*  
2PL work POSIT.BE outside  
'You were working outside the comarca'
- (78) movement of subject  
*Tawa to tek junikong*  
1PL.EXCL go come this side  
'We came over here'
- (79) 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 (75) is that the second element expresses the last phase of a situation; thus (76) and (77) express the position of a participant after its movement and after an event (in the case of intransitive and transitive verbs), respectively. Similarly (78) and (79) 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 (78) above the first verb expresses the departure, and the second verb express the direction (in this case toward the deictic center). Similarly, in (80) below the first verb expresses the initial movement, while the second verb specifies the direction (away from the deictic center):

- (80) *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 (81) and (82):

- (81) *Tawa jek ör këm*  
1PL.EXCL go go[arrive] there  
'We got there'
- (82) *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 (83), or, depending on its meaning, in the preferred order general > specific meaning (84):

- (83) movement + movement + positional  
*tawa to tek löng ba tok llëme*  
1PL.EXCL go come POSIT.BE 3 con NEG  
'We came without him'
- (84) 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 (85)<sup>16</sup> and (86). An event, however, can be the first member of a series, as in (87):

- (85) movement + positional + event  
*ga oba ör pang parko-no bebi*  
CONN people go POSIT.HANG work-PERF too  
'And people came and worked too'
- (86) movement + event + positional  
*rey ör pë buk boy tok*  
king go sleep POSIT.LIE wife with  
'The King went to sleep with his wife'

<sup>16</sup>Actually (85) 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.

(87) event + movement + positional

*Sēnwa 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 (88) below, the last member of the series is a positional verb:

(88) *Tawa shro-no to tek shāng 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. (89a) and (89b) illustrate transitive series of two and three members, respectively. That the positional refers to the object is evidenced by the fact that the positional *shāng* cannot be used in (89a) because, as one of the consultants remarked "an animal that is killed cannot stand":

(89a) *Tawa shwling zrō-no buk/\*shāng*  
 1PL.EXCL deer kill-PERF POSIT.SIT/\*POSIT.STAND  
 'We killed the deer (lying/\*standing)'

(89b) *Drōng sō-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:

(90) *Entonces... ku-rwa lōng 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 (91) 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 (75), the movement verbs in (91) appear to be "inserted" in the middle of the template:

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

As for the expression of grammatical categories in a series, these are expressed in the event verb (if intransitive, only aspect, if transitive, aspect and person/number), if there is one in the series; that is the case in (76), (79), (84), (88), (89), (90), and (91). If there is no event verb, the expression of the categories is as follows: in two-member series containing a positional verb, the first verb (which by exclusion is a movement one) bears the aspectual

mark, as in (76); if there are two movement verbs, either one can bear the aspectual mark, depending on the specific situation, including meanings of the series' members (92) and (93), or on both, as in (94); the same is true in the case of series containing three movement verbs, as in (84) above:

(92) *Tawa ār shro-no na*  
 1PL.EXCL arrive arrive-PERF here  
 'We got here'

(93) *E opshi-no jem*  
 DEM leave-PERF go.up  
 'He left'

(94) *Jek-tong ār-ong di bang shko*\*Jektong ār di bang shko  
 Come-PERF arrive-PERF water hole in  
 '[They] got to the well'

In addition, in series of two movement verbs in which the first verb expresses direction and the second expresses aspect, the meaning of the second verb tends to become neutralized,<sup>17</sup> thus in (95) and (96), both movement and direction are expressed by the first member of the series; in (96), which contains three verbs, the same verb *jer* 'go.down' appears twice; the first instance expresses the direction and the second instance bears the aspectual mark:

(95) *Jem jer-ong*  
 go.up go.down-PERF  
 '[She] went up'

(96) *Despwes ga to jer jer-ong*  
 After CONN go go.down go.down-PERF  
 'Later, he went down there'

## 4.1.2.3.2 A note on auxiliary

This section constitutes a brief excursus addressing the analysis of positional and movement verbs expressing aspectual (e.g. progressive) and modal (e.g. desiderative) concepts as auxiliaries in Teribe, advanced by Koontz & Anderson (1975: 149) and Givón & Young (1990), based on the former authors. The issue will be approached from the current perspective of grammaticalization studies, which analyzes linguistic categories in terms of prototypes. In this view (cf. Heine 1993, Bybee et al. 1994, Lehmann 1995), verb and auxiliary constitute two endpoints of a continuum; at one end there are full lexical verbs, at the other end forms with a status close to clitics, with bleached lexical meaning, being practically carriers of grammatical categories. Auxiliarity in this view is a matter of gradience. Now, an auxiliarity relation in higher stages of grammaticalization implies, among other things, that the two (or more) verbs in a sequence constitute a semantic and syntactic unit; that is, no syntactic relation between the two can be established, and this should be

<sup>17</sup>(93) could be taken as an exception to this tendency; it may be the case that it is because the verb *opshik* 'leave' does not behave as a movement verb morphologically, as evidenced by the aspectual marker it takes, *-no* instead of *-(t)ong*.

reflected semantically in the bleaching of the alleged auxiliary: "only a free form can exert government. As, in the course of proceeding grammaticalization, the auxiliary loses its verbal properties, it can no longer be said to govern the lexical verb" (Lehmann 1995: 34). A look at the behavior of movement and positional verbs immediately reveals that syntactically there is a hypotactic relation (subordination) between them and the "lower" verb; evidence that this is indeed the case comes from the fact that to express the progressive aspect of transitive verbs, the SOV order (with suppressed subject) is used and the pronouns used come from the oblique paradigm, which is precisely the paradigm used in subordinate clauses; thus (97a) cannot be expressed in the OV-s order, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (97b). At the same time (97a) is structurally identical to (98), a purposive clause used when the subject is actually on his way to perform the action:

(97a) *Pa shäng ba shpok*

2SG POSIT.STAND 3 hit

'You are beating him [standing]'

(97b) \**Shäng shpo-p*

POSIT.STAND hit-2SG

'You are beating him [standing]'

(98) *e to ba shpok*

DEM go 3 hit

'he goes [in space] to beat him'

Another piece of evidence, already hinted at in 3.2.2.2.4 above comes from the fact that the positional (as well as other alleged auxiliaries expressing modal distinctions) in transitive sentences 'take' an inflected verb under their scope, instead of the alleged auxiliary carrying the TAM markers, as highly grammaticalized auxiliaries are supposed to do: "When it [the auxiliary, DQ] has become a tense/aspect/mood marker, it depends on the lexical verb, which is now the main verb" (Lehmann 1995: 34):

(99) [*Ta shpo-p*] [*woydë*]

1SG hit-2SG want

'You want to hit me'

As explained in 3.2.2.2.4, where similar cases in (108), (109), (110), and (112) were described, there is no cohesion nor bondedness between the two verbs in these sentences. (99) and the above mentioned cases show that *woydë* and the positional verbs in similar constructions are forms taking the whole clause under their scope; they are not integrated into the verb phrase. The clause is well-formed without the presence of the alleged auxiliary, and morphosyntactic operations take place with or without it; this is an indicator that the degree of integration of the alleged auxiliary is, in any case, low due the fact that the clause is still syntactically dependent on it; that is, it is the syntactic, governing main verb.

Semantically, there is no bleaching of the alleged auxiliaries, as evidenced by the fact that the use of a positional in constructions as the progressive is determined by the features of the subject and by the meaning of the alleged 'main verb'. Thus the positional *pang* 'hang' cannot be used to refer to a human who is performing an activity that is normally

realized standing, just as the choice between *sök* and *shäng* depends on the position of the speaker during the speech act (100):

(100) *Ta shäng/sök/\*pang parkë maling*

1SG POSIT.STAND/LIE/\*HANG work fast

'I am working (standing, sitting, \*hanging) fast'

In addition, the order of the alleged auxiliary vis à vis the 'main verb' is sensitive to meaning of the auxiliary. (101a) means something different from (101b), thereby showing that the positional's meaning remains and has effects depending on where it is in the clause.<sup>18</sup> In other words, the positional enjoys semantic and syntactic autonomy in the sense of Lehmann (1995: 122), that is freedom due to its semantic weight, and, conversely, shows low cohesion, "a factor inherent in such relations [with other signs, DQ] which detracts from autonomy":

(101a) *Delia buk pë*

Delia POSIT.LIE sleep

'Delia is sleeping (lying)'

(101b) *Delia pë buk*

Delia sleep POSIT.LIE

'Delia (usually) lies when sleeping/Delia slept lying'

Finally, it should not go unmentioned that the expression of aspectual nuances such as the progressive is not limited to a construction with positional verb and a "lexical" verb, as in (93a) in 3.2.2.1.6 and (97a) above. Three other constructions are used as frequently and spontaneously to express progressive aspect; one of them uses only a positional (102a), and the other does without it (102b); the third one (102c) is a word order alternative to (102b):

(102a) *¿Pa shäng llë?*

2SG POSIT.STAND what

'What are you doing?'

(102b) *¿Pa llë shärië?*

2SG what do

'What are you doing?'

(102c) *¿Llë e shärië-p*

what DEM do-2SG

'What are you doing?'

This shows that the function of positionals is still to indicate position and as a side effect, aspectual nuances can be attained. Though this may imply incipient grammaticalization, the process must reach higher degrees before one can speak of auxiliary in Teribe. In conclusion, then, there are strong syntactic and semantic arguments against viewing the Teribe movement and positional verbs as auxiliaries. The verbal constructions consisting of more than one verb in Teribe can thus be better analyzed as verbal series in which the

<sup>18</sup>In fact, as shown in the previous section, the position of the positional relative to an event verb is syntactically significant; if it precedes it there is hypotaxis, if it follows it, there is verb serialization.

members from the closed set (in this case, the positional and movement verbs) are at a very low stage of grammaticalization.

#### 4.1.2.4 Possession

The order of possessive phrases in Teribe is possessor + possessum; the former can be a noun (103) or a possessive determiner, a member of the oblique paradigm (104). As shown in (55), the possessum is the head of a possessive noun phrase; this means that all other constituents, except the possessor, follow it (105a), although it should be noted that such attributed phrases tend to be avoided in favor of predication, as in (105b):

- (103) *walē orkwo*  
 woman hand  
 'the woman's hand'
- (104) *bor wa*  
 1SG.POSS son  
 'my son'
- (105a) *Juan u taglen*  
 Juan house new  
 'Juan's new house'
- (105b) *Juan u e taglen e*  
 Juan house DEM new CFP  
 'Juan's house, it is new'

The other procedure employed to express possession in Teribe includes the use of possessive pronouns, listed and exemplified in 3.1.2.2. In addition to those forms, there is the marker *ī*, which is used in equational constructions as the predicative member; this form is used only with lexical noun phrases (106), and exclusively with alienable possession; thus (107a) would not be appropriate in a context in which a beheaded man's head is found and identified by someone; (107a) should be expressed as (107b); Juan's horse, on the other hand, can be expressed by *ī* (107c). This is the closest that Teribe comes to the alienable/non-alienable distinction in its grammar; elsewhere in the expression of possession such distinction is non-existent:

- (106) *Pero ya erishko ga naso-ga ī ame*  
 but already today CONN Teribe-PL POSS no longer  
 'But nowadays it is no longer the Teribes''
- (107a) *\*Kāga kwe e Juan ī*  
 Head DEM DEM Juan POSS  
 'That head, it is Juan's'
- (107b) *Kwe e Juan kāga*  
 DEM DEM Juan head  
 'That is Juan's head'

- (107c) *Kwomgla e Juan ī*  
 Horse DEM Juan POSS  
 'The horse, it is Juan's'

Finally, as was mentioned in 3.2.1.2, the other admittedly marginal strategy used to express possession in Teribe consists of the use of the positional verb *teng*, which in the context of possession means 'belong' (108). On asyndetic and external possession see 4.1.3.2:

- (108) *borwa tlōkwo e teng borwa tok*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS language DEM belong 1PL.EXCL with  
 'Our language, it belongs to us'

#### 4.1.2.5 Comparatives

Comparative constructions in Teribe follow the order QUALITY-STANDARD-MARKER, where the markers are postpositions and adverbs; as such they take pronouns from the oblique paradigm. Comparison of equals is marked by the adverb *dik*; the quality can be adjectival as in (109) or sentential as in (110):

- (109) *Maria e plū Juan dik*  
 Maria DEM good Juan like  
 'Maria, she is as good as Juan'
- (110) *Manuel e walē krē ara Antonio dik*  
 Manuel DEM woman get many Antonio like  
 'Manuel, he gets as many women as Antonio'

Comparison of superiority (Eng. *more than* ~ *-er*) is expressed by the postposition *kinmo* 'above', which has been specialized as a marker of comparison, as its use is restricted to this function. For that reason it will be glossed as COMP cf. (111) and (112):

- (111) *Bor u kégué bopoya kinmo*  
 1SG.POSS house old 2SG.POSS COMP  
 'My house is older than yours'
- (112) *Plu ēre parkē plū plu sōk bam e kinmo*  
 King DEM work good king POSIT.LIVE first DEM COMP  
 'This King works better than the previous King'

The converse comparative, the one expressing inferiority (Eng. *less than*), is marked by the postposition *dorko* 'under', as shown in (113) and (114):

- (113) *Kwe kégué bop dorko*  
 DEM old 2SG under  
 'That one is less old than you'
- (114) *E parkē bor dorko*  
 DEM work 1SG under  
 'He works less than I do'

Finally, superlatives are expressed by the adverb *anmofo* 'even (more), further', if



highest, and by negating it if lowest (least), as in (115) and (116), respectively:

- (115) *Elias e mite anmoio*  
 Elias DEM young further  
 'Elias, he is the youngest'
- (116) *Elias e mite anmoio llème*  
 Elias DEM young further NEG  
 'Elias, he is the least young'

#### 4.1.3 Valence and syntactic operations

Three valence-increasing (causativity, dative shift and external possession) and two valence-decreasing (reflexive-reciprocal, and object demotion and incorporation) operations can be identified in Teribe. The former will be dealt with first. Since inversion is not exactly valence-decreasing, and because it comprises a major area of Teribe grammar, it will be dealt with separately in 4.1.4.

##### 4.1.3.1 Causativity

Aside from lexical causation expressed by pairs such as *shinmokë/zrök* ('die/kill'), *lon/dbuk* ('fall'/'drop') -among many, and some verbs that evidence no formal change when one or two arguments are present, such as *wollë* ('wake up'), causativity is basically expressed analytically, the main causative verbs being *ichë* ('send', 'command') and *yë* ('put'). To express causative clauses, the OV-s order is used, the causee becomes the object of the causative verb, the causer is indexed in the causative verb, and the cause event appears as an embedded structure. (117) shows a case of a caused transitive event, while (118) is a case of a caused intransitive one; as can be seen from the glosses, *yë* is more 'causative' than *ichë*, which also expresses permission:

- (117) *E yo-ro-r di yë*  
 DEM put-PERF-1SG water drink  
 'I made him drink water'
- (118) *Päy ichë-r tör llème*  
 2PL send-1SG play NEG  
 'I won't let you play'

Occasionally, the verb *shärië* ('do') is used as the matrix predicate, as in (119):

- (119) *Ba shwong e shäria-r-a ko sē*  
 3SG.POSS dress DEM make-PERF-3 color black  
 'He made his dress black'

As explained in 4.1.2.3.1, in relation to series involving transitive verbs, a positional verb can follow a transitive clause, thus yielding a causative reading; in the case of analytic causation, a positional can also be present, simply specifying the position of the causee, as in (120) or in the second clause of (121):

- (120) *e ichë-rwa shäng borwa bamgo shko*<sup>19</sup>  
 DEM send-1PL.EXCL POSIT.STAND 1PL.EXCL.POSS before of  
 'We send him [standing] before us'
- (121) *Kwozirwa pang nä yë. Ba mekë e ba wa yë*  
 child POSIT.HANG breast drink. 3POSS mother DEM 3POSS baby put  
*pang nä yë*<sup>20</sup>  
 POSIT.HANG breast drink  
 'The baby is feeding (hanging) at the breast. His mother is making him feed (hanging) at the breast'

Notice that in (120) and (121) the positional follows the causative verb, thereby showing that the expression of causation also involves the specification of the position; thus (121) means something like 'she is making him hang and feed'.

There is, in addition, the morpheme *-rg*, analyzed as exhortative mood in Quesada (2000a) and as "obtusé" by Koontz & Anderson (1975), which is used to express both "ordinary" (122) and more coercive requests, in which case, it comes close to a morphological causative, as in (123). This form appears to be falling out of use:

- (122) *Padre roka-rg-a lok sök dyo yë ba tok bebi*  
 priest ask-CAUS-3 PL POSIT.SIT chicha drink 3 with too  
 'They requested the priest to drink chicha with them'
- (123) *kökto-rg-a sök*  
 kneel-CAUS-3 POSIT.SIT  
 '[He] asked/made [them] (to) kneel down'

##### 4.1.3.2 External possession

The Teribe possessive markers are formally identical to the members of the oblique paradigm. There is, in addition, the possibility of using the pronouns from the nominal paradigm in prenominal position to express predicative possession asyndetically; thus *ta wa* does not mean 'my son', but 'I have a son'. That is easily shown by the fact that constructions with pronouns from the nominal paradigm cannot appear as subjects or objects as in (33) from Chapter 3, repeated here as (124), nor can the marker of possession appear when the possessum is quantified, as in (34) from Chapter 3, repeated here as (125):

- (124) *Bor/\*ta wa i-no-r*  
 1POSS/1SG son see-PERF-1SG  
 'I saw my son'
- (125) *Ta/\*bor u kw-ara*  
 1SG/1POSS house CL.ROUND-ONE  
 'I have a house'

<sup>19</sup>(120) could also be interpreted as a causative construction meaning 'We make him stand before us'; however, the translation provided was the one the consultants suggested.

<sup>20</sup>The verbs meaning 'put' and 'consume, drink, eat' are homophones.

Now, in constructions with experiencer verbs such as *bang* 'ache', the pronoun acquires the function of a dative subject. That that is the case is shown by the fact that body parts that can be possessed (in which case they are preceded by a member of the oblique paradigm) cannot appear as subjects in such contexts:

(126a) *Ta bor dre zo-no*  
1SG 1POSS foot cut-PERF  
'I cut my foot'

(126b) *Ta dre bang ara e*  
1SG foot ache much CFP  
'My foot aches a lot' [lit. 'Me aches the foot a lot']

(126c) *\*Bor dre bang ara e*  
1POSS foot ache much CFP  
'My foot aches a lot'

(126d) *Tawa/\*borwa wo plú*  
1PL.EXCL/\*1PL.EXCL.POSS liver well  
'We feel fine' [lit. 'We have our liver well']

When it comes to verbs expressing actions, the consultants consistently establish a difference depending on which paradigm is used. Thus, (127a) is opposed to (127b) in terms of the involvement of the possessor; in both (127a) and (128), the personal pronoun refers to a participant, the possessor, which is upgraded to a dative in the OV-s order, while in (127b) the pronoun is expressing possession (of the object) only; this fits the profile of external possession:

(127a) *Ta sakwo za-r-a e*  
1SG toe cut-PERF-3 CFP  
'He cut my toe' [lit. 'He cut me the toe']

(127b) *Bor sakwo za-r-a e*  
1POSS toe cut-PERF-3 CFP  
'He cut my toe'

(128) *Shkwisi e ta sakwo wua-r-a e*  
mouse DEM 1SG toe bite-PERF-3 CFP  
'The mouse, it bit my toe' [lit. 'the mouse, it bit me (the) toe']

(128) exhibits OV-s order although the left-dislocated subject *shkwisi* 'mouse' is resumed in the clause, in which case the SOV order would be expected (cf. 4.1.2.1.3). The only admittedly ad hoc explanation for this seems to be that given a double object construction (the first person pronoun *ta* is upgraded to object), the subject is treated as extra-clausal, despite being expressed by *e*, and that triggers the OV-s order.

#### 4.1.3.3 Dative shift

As noted in 4.1.1.3, dative noun phrases are expressed by the postposition *kong*, and therefore by forms from the oblique paradigm. 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 (129b) and (130b), the "shifted versions" of (129a) and (130a), respectively. That (129b) and (130b) 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 (129a), the verb *sín* ('feed') is a bivalent verb, taking a subject and an object, cf. (129a); however, the presence of another object *dli* ('food') clearly shows that (129b) is a double object construction, with the dative in the direct object slot (note that (129a-b) are instances of the OV-s order:

(129a) *ba mekë sī-n-a e ba wawa sī-n-a bakoe*  
3SG.POSS mother feed-PERF-3 DEM 3SG.POSS baby feed-PERF-3 also  
'She fed her mom and her baby'

(129b) *Jeg-ong tawa sī-na-ba dli*  
Go-PERF 1PL.EXCL feed-PERF-DS food  
'Others came and gave us food'

(130a) *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'

(130b) *¡Ta pi-zong llë, bomi tlökwo e bomi shwong pu-mi sorë!*  
1SG teach-IMPR thing, 2PL.POSS language DEM 2PL.POSS dress wear-2PL how  
'Teach me something, your language and how you dress!'

(131) shows that the verb *sín* 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:

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

Both dative shift and external possession are rather marginal strategies from the point of view of text frequency.

#### 4.1.3.4 Reflexive, reciprocal, and middle

As Payne (1997: 198) points out, reflexives and reciprocals are valence-reducing in that despite the fact that with the so-called analytic reflexives there are two syntactic arguments, the reflexive marker specifies "that there are not two separate entities involved; rather, one entity fulfills two semantic roles and/or grammatical relations". Reflexives and reciprocals are analytic in Teribe; they are formed by using the invariant pronouns *op* (132a) and *ëng* (133a), respectively:

(132a) *Domer e op zrö-no e*  
man DEM REFL kill-PERF CFP  
'The man, he killed himself'

(133a) *Oba ëng plo-no*  
people RECP visit-PERF

'People visited each other/one another'

That these constructions represent an instance of reduced valence and hence low transitivity is nicely illustrated by the fact that they cannot be expressed in the OV-s order, an order used among other things to focus the direct object/patient; thus there being no distinct object/patient in those constructions, there is no such OV-s alternative to the  $SO_{[reflexive/reciprocal]}V$  order, as in normal transitive clauses:

(132b) \**op zrö-r-a* (e)  
REFL kill-PERF-3 (CFP)

'[He] killed himself'

(133b) \**ëng pla-r-a* (e)  
RECIP visit-PERF-3 (CFP)

'[They] visited each other'

On the other hand, the SOV order can be used with suppressed subjects, that is as  $\phi$  anaphora:

(132c) *op zrö-no* (e)  
REFL kill-PERF (CFP)

'[He] killed himself'

(133c) *ëng plo-no* (e)  
RECIP visit-PERF (CFP)

'[They] visited each other'

The reciprocal pronoun exhibits so-called "extended uses" in Teribe; one of them is the expression of coreference between the possessor of the noun and the subject, as in (134):

(134) *Oba ëng boy bankro-no llëme*  
People RECP wife fear-PERF NEG

'People did not respect each other's wives'

Here *ëng* is practically a possessive marker; in fact, if there were no coreferent participants the slot occupied by *ëng* would be occupied by a possessive marker, e.g. *Carlos borwa boyga bankrono* ('Carlos harassed our wives'). *Ëng* is also used as a pronominal object of postposition, as in (135):

(135) *Oba jü shko ënkwë ëng tok*  
people here in fight RECP with

'People here fight with each other'

(135) discloses a feature of both the reflexive and reciprocal marker, namely lexicalization of otherwise reflexive and reciprocal situations and creation of new intransitive verbs; thus *ënkwë* can be transparently traced back to *ëng* + *kwë*, RECIPROCAL + 'give' → 'to give -in the sense of 'hit'- to each other → 'fight'; hence the need to express a reciprocal postpositional phrase in (135). Similarly, *ëntön* 'meet' goes back to *ëng* + *tön* RECIPROCAL + 'gather'. The same occurs with the reflexive marker *op*; intransitive verbs are formed from erstwhile reflexively encoded situations; thus *opin* 'learn' is a lexicalization of *op pin*

REFLEXIVE + 'teach', *opshik* 'leave' < REFLEXIVE + *shik* 'pull', *oblon* (notice the sonorization of the bilabial stop) 'go down' < REFLEXIVE + *lon* 'fall', *obuk* (notice the simplification of two stops to one) 'go to bed, lie down' < REFLEXIVE + *buk* (positional meaning 'lie'). Supporting evidence for this development is provided by the fact that the subjects of all these intransitive verbs are agents. All these verbs take the perfective aspect suffix of intransitive verbs (-*no*).

As for middle constructions, Teribe does not have a clearly identifiable set of "middle verbs" such as English *wash, shave, bathe*. Except for a couple of them such as *wë* ('wash', 'bathe') *sen* ('get tired'), *pojë* ('get dressed'), verbs used medially, the closest Teribe comes to a middle voice would be the above-mentioned lexicalizations of the reflexive constructions.

#### 4.1.3.5 Object demotion and noun incorporation

These two strategies are rather marginal in Teribe. In the case of object demotion, the verb takes the corresponding perfective aspect (-*no*); there is no lexically realized object, the only indication being the postverbal presence of the mass pronoun *llë*, which is the grammaticalized form of *llëbo* ('thing'). (136b) is the version with demoted object that corresponds to (136a); (136c) shows the use of *llë* following a noun and marking it as non-count in preverbal position in the SOV order (imperfective aspect is  $\phi$ ) with suppressed subject. The SVO order in (136b), where O is a marker of mass nouns, is thus an indicator of demotion:

(136a) *Tawa llëbo yo-no*

1PL.EXCL things eat-PERF

'We ate things'

(136b) *tawa yo-no llë*

1PL.EXCL eat-PERF MASS

'We ate'

(136c) *reunion llë shärië ame*

meeting MASS make no longer

'She would no longer hold meetings'

As for noun incorporation, it occurs with some nouns, but in general, it is not very productive. In (137a-b), the noun *di* 'river' is the object of *zë* 'cut', but the relation is not one of a governed object NP. That the noun is incorporated is evidenced by the surfacing of the epenthetic bilabial segment after *di*, which as described in 2.2.4, usually appears when the noun has affixes attached, as in the case of *no* 'person' → *nop-ga* 'person-PLURAL'; otherwise the short form is used, as shown in (137c); once it is bound to the verb, the result is an intransitive verb, as evidenced by the fact that the OV-s order is ungrammatical (137d). For the OV-s order to be felicitous, the noun must be in its short (free standing) form (137e):

(137a) *k'or yo-no kl-ara dib-zë wlo*

tree put-PERF CL.ANIMATE-one river-cut PURP

'He put a piece of wood to cross the river'

- (137b) *tlapga dibzo-no ö-tong kalë*  
 elder river-cross-PERF go-PERF there  
 'The elder crossed the river there'
- (137c) *lo-no di shko*  
 fall-PERF river in  
 'He fell on the river'
- (137d) \**dib-za-r-a*  
 river-cut-PERF-3  
 'He cut/crossed the river'
- (137e) *di za-r-a e*  
 river cut-PERF-3 CFP  
 'He crossed the river'

#### 4.1.4 Inversion

In addition to the two word orders in transitive clauses, dealt with in 4.1.2, there is the word order pattern OVS*dë*, characterized by a. word order inversion, concretely postverbal position of the subject NP; b. verbal (aspectual) marking; c. direct marking on the obviate NP (*dë*), as in (138):

- (138) *E "i'ër" kowe tlapga-ga dë*  
 DEM "grandma" call.IMP.INV elder-PL OBV  
 'And the ancestors called it "grandma"'

The main difference between the two word orders, OV-s and OVS*dë*, is that the former, which is the more frequent, 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, which is marked (again, almost always, see 4.1.4.4) by *dë*. Another difference between these two constructions appears in terms of the expression of aspect, especially, the imperfective (cf. 4.1.4.1). 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  $\phi$ -anaphora; cf. 4.1.4.3), and given that there is no detransitivization mark on the verb, this clause type fits the profile of an inverse construction.

Four arguments speak in favor of an inverse analysis for (138). First, patient suppression, as shown in (139), is by far more common than agent suppression; in the text from which (139) stems what the girl saw was that her father grabbed the moon:

- (139) *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'

Indeed, there is a tendency for patients to be suppressed and for agents to be retained. In a series of stories collected in Quesada (2000a), 29 out of 49 instances (that is 59.20%) of inverses, show no overt patient. This might resemble an antipassive-like structure, but, in reality, this has to do with a strong use of  $\phi$  anaphora with highly topical participants (as well as with the fact that third person pronoun is also expressed by  $\phi$ ). As for agents, their retention is close to absolute; in 75.5% of the cases the agent was retained against a 24.5% suppression rate.

Second, the verb form *-ya*, as in (139), appears in clearly transitive situations, as in (140a), where the marker of active plural subjects *lok* appears instead of the expected *ebga dë*; this will be dealt with below:

- (140a) *ba dbu-ya e shi-ya lok*  
 3 oust-IMP.INV DEM remove-IMP.INV PL  
 'They ousted and removed her'

In the same story where (140a) appears, it alternates with (140b), the originally canonical active/direct:

- (140b) *ga  $\phi$  shi-r-a lok e kī*  
 CONN  $\phi$  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 (141), where the third person plural pronoun does not take the object form *ba*:<sup>21</sup>

- (141) *Päy 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.

##### 4.1.4.1 Aspect in the OVS*dë* order

Koontz & Anderson (1975: 161), provide the aspectual paradigm, reproduced and adapted here as (S4), of the construction they labeled "passive". (S4) exhibits an aspectual opposition [ $\pm$  perfective], apparently used only with third persons. The perfective forms

<sup>21</sup>While the use of the nominal paradigm in preverbal position of inverse constructions could be taken as a sign that there is indeed a change in grammatical relations (and thus a passive analysis would be more accurate), the fact that the nominal paradigm is used to code objects renders this parameter inapplicable. In fact, the oblique paradigm, at least in the case of third person, appears in preverbal position in the OVS*dë* order, see examples below. As indicated in 4.1.2.1.2.2, this apparent violation of the POP has to be analyzed within the context of a transition to more prominence (that is, syntacticization) of grammatical relations.

are identical for both the "passive" (inverse)<sup>22</sup> and the active (direct) voice:

(S4) Aspectual forms of the "passive" voice

	Suffix	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
		sö-	ĩ-	jöng	zë
imperfective	-ya	sö-ya	ĩ-ya	jöña	ze
perfective	-ra	sö-ra	ĩ-na	jöna	za-ra
		'bring'	'see'	'sharpen'	'cut'

(Adapted from Koontz & Anderson 1975: 161).

Presumably, the paradigmatic identity with the perfective aspect of the active (direct) constructions prompted a reanalysis of the imperfective "passive" (inverse) paradigm as allomorphic of the active (direct) imperfective aspect. In addition to morphological identity in the perfective aspect, word order, which for this structure was always OVS, might have contributed to this reanalysis, since inverted word order with subject agreement, as shown in (142a), was also used to express active (direct) situations. The difference between an active/direct and a passive/inverse in the perfective aspect thus solely depended on the presence of a *dë*-marked NP:

(142a) *Ta sö-r-a* ACTIVE/DIRECT

1SG bring-PERF-3  
'He dragged me'

(142b) *Ta sö-r-a e dë* PASSIVE/INVERSE

1SG bring-PERF-3 DEM OBV  
'He dragged me'

The corresponding plural versions of the sentences in (142) are provided in (143):

(143a) *Ta sö-r-a lok* ACTIVE/DIRECT

1SG bring-PERF-3 PL  
'They dragged me'

(143b) *Ta sö-r-a ebga dë* PASSIVE/INVERSE

1SG bring-PERF-3 3PL.DS OBV  
'They dragged me'

The corresponding imperfective forms take the suffix *-ya*. If we look at (140a), repeated below as (144a), it becomes clear that *-ya* appears in a clearly active/direct sentence; this is evidenced by the presence of the object pronoun *ba* as well as by the fact that *lok* appears instead of the expected *ebga dë*. The verbs of the other three classes behave in a like manner. Here again, the difference between an active/direct and a passive/inverse in the imperfective

<sup>22</sup>About the OVS*dë* construction, Carol Koontz (personal communication) remarked "I was never comfortable calling this construction a passive. It did not seem to me to function as a true passive."

aspect rests on the presence of a *dë*-marked NP. This situation clearly reveals a system in transition:

(144a) *ba dbu-ya e ø shi-ya lok* ACTIVE/DIRECT

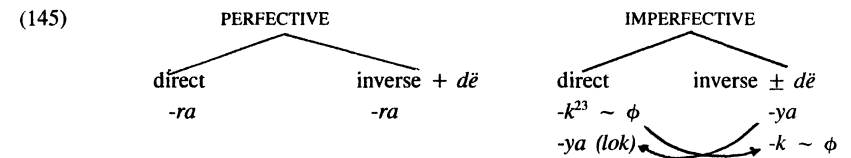
3 oust-IMP DEM ø remove-IMP PL  
'They ousted and removed her'

(144b) *Dröng sö-ya Maria dë* PASSIVE/INVERSE

machete carry-IMP Maria OBV  
'Maria carries the machete'

(Koontz & Anderson 1975: 161).

In summary, there is a. a perfective aspect paradigm identical for direct and inverse constructions; and b. an imperfective paradigm with two sets of markers identical for direct and inverse, due to the use of the inverse suffix for direct situations:



(145) is currently in the process of "symmetry adjustment" in that, as we will see shortly, the suffixes of the direct imperfective tend to be used also in inverse constructions; the matter is further complicated by the fact that in some instances obviate-marking is not effected, as happens elsewhere in the expression of certain grammatical categories in the Chibchan world, namely the tendency to intermittent marking (cf. Quesada 1999c). Still, the constructions are inverses because the subject is not expressed exclusively via subject agreement (that is, they are not instances of the OV-s pattern), but through independent noun phrases (OVS).<sup>24</sup>

The other "allomorphs" of the imperfective-inverse morpheme (for the sake of simplicity {-ya}), are *-ga* and *-k*, and *-e* for class IV verbs. The first two have a different origin from *-ya*. *-ga* is said to be a reflex of Proto-Chibchan \*/-ka/, "a non-finite form" (Constenla 1989: 23). Interestingly, *-ga* tends to appear in imperfective situations (but see below). In fact, in Thiel (n.d.) and in Pittier & Gagini (1891) *-ga* appears as the imperfective marker in situations in which nowadays the person marker or else *ø* would be expected; thus 'you say', which nowadays can be either expressed by *pa lë* or *lë-p*, appears as *pa la-ga* in Thiel (n.d.) (see 4.1.4.6 on the implications of this fact). As for *-k*, it 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 *ø* (cf. 3.2.1.4); thus a

<sup>23</sup>See below on *-k*.

<sup>24</sup>In terms of glosses, when a verb ending in *-ra* is followed by a postposed subject, it will (and has been heretofore) glossed simply as PERF.INV, while in clear instances of the OV-s order, it is segmented as *r-a* PERF-3. This is intended to clearly distinguish two types of constructions with different functions.

sequence such as *sök-φ* 'carries' was reanalyzed as *sö-k* carry-3SG. Evidence for this view is provided by instances in which class-IV verbs take the suffix *-k* in addition to the expected, and morphophonologically determined, *-e*, together with word order inversion, cf. (149a), (149c), below. Now, that seems to run counter to what was said at the onset of this section, namely that inversion does not mark person, at least in class IV, where third person imperfective is *lē*, which changes to *le* in the context of inversion (this change is systematic and does not constitute an instance of vowel fluctuation, described in 2.2.1); *-e* thus expresses inversion (or passive, or whatever it expressed in the past), not person. It seems then that the resegmentation was interpreted as a way to express inversion rather than person per se. This view is supported by the fact that the use of *-k* is rather irregular (see 4.1.4.2-c below), which in turn tends to confirm that the whole domain of inversion is being "restructured".

As for the other two features of inversion, word order inversion and obviation-marking,<sup>25</sup> sources from last century register the former with (Pittier & Gagini 1891: 94, 96, 99) and without the latter (Pittier & Gagini 1891: 91). All this too points to inversion in Teribe as a relatively recent phenomenon. This could explain the rather irregular coding in the present, to which we now turn.

#### 4.1.4.2 The inventory of Teribe inverse constructions

The following are the attested inverse constructions in Teribe:

a. The first one is what could be considered the "canonical inverse"; it shows the OVS*dē* order, aspectual marking (the allomorph of *-ya* for the class IV-verb in (146a) is *e*) and a postverbal lexical subject noun phrase:

(146a) *ta woyd-e domer dē llēme*  
 1SG want-IMP.INV man OBV NEG  
 'No man will (ever) want me'

(146b) *Ta ī-ya bor shmi dē*  
 1SG see-IMP.INV 1SG.POSS laziness OBV  
 'My own laziness defeated me'

b. inverse aspectual marking but no *dē*- marking on the obviate, as in (147); here the patient, being the currently activated participant (in the preceding clause), is suppressed in the OVS structure:

(147) *ta ēnkwo-no e bor domer kī shko, φ dō-ya*  
 1SG fight-PERF DEM 1SG.POSS man because of, φOBJ take away-IMP.INV  
*walē ēre siwa wlenyo*  
 woman DEM white type

'I had to fight over my husband; a white woman wanted to take him from me'  
 That (147) is an inverse and not an instance of the unmarked OV-s order is shown by the fact that the subject is a full NP (*walē*). (148) illustrates an instance of this pattern and the preceding one:

<sup>25</sup>See 4.1.4.3 on *dē*.

(148) *Zrö-r-a e ī-na ba klara dē ga... do pök;*  
 kill-PERF-3 DEM see-PERF.INV 3POSS peer OBV CONN... CL.ANIMATE two;  
*ī-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'.

Notice that both participants of the verb *zröra* ('killed') have been suppressed; and given the syncretism alluded to before, that clause can at least theoretically be analyzed as either direct or inverse; however, since there is no overtly realized postverbal subject noun phrase, the direct reading is more feasible. More interesting are the two clauses making reference to the same participant; under identical conditions in one instance the subject is *dē*-marked but not in the other. This is intermittent marking at work (cf. Quesada 1999c).

c. in class-IV verbs there is the optional use of the marker *-k*, followed by a likewise optionally *dē*-marked subject; the combination of all options yields four possibilities, all of which are attested: [+ *-k*, + *dē*] (149a), [- *-k*, + *dē*] (149b), [+ *-k*, - *dē*] (149c), [- *-k*, - *dē*], second clause of (149d). When *-k* appears, the morphophonemic change /l/ <ē> → /e/ <e> does not ensue. *-k* appears only in inverted OVS orders with Class IV verbs:

(149a) *ga lē-k oba oblē dē ga*  
 CONN say-IMP.INV people different OBV CONN  
 'and other people say that...'

(149b) *e ār llono ga ba tlökwo e rok-e oba dē*  
 DEM arrive when CONN 3POSS language DEM ask-IMP.INV people OBV  
*midē llēme*  
 know NEG

'and the day will come when people will ask them about their language and they will not know it'

(149c) *ga plu krē-k oba eni*  
 CONN king choose-IMP.INV people so  
 'And people choose the(ir) King that way'

(149d) "*pa kimtē-r ba dē*", *le bor kong eni*  
 2SG help-1SG 3 raise, say-IMP.INV 1SG to so  
 "I will help you raise him", he said to me'

In (149d) the subject has been suppressed, but the verb "inflects" for inversion: *lē* → *le-*, while the proximate, the subordinate clause in indirect speech, is retained.

All these possibilities occur in the imperfective aspect. In the perfective aspect, the situation is more straightforward; the verb takes the perfective suffix and the subject is *dē*-marked:

(150) *La-ra klara dē nieniga pāy parkē plú*  
 say-PERF.INV peer OBV as 2PL work good  
 'As my colleague said, you work well'

(150) provides the opposite to (149d) in that the obviative is retained and the direct object (the contents of the verb *lē* 'say') is suppressed; the fact that the direct object is "spelled out" in the following clause does not make it the direct object/patient/proximate of *lē* ('say') precisely because the conjunction *nieniga* 'as' marks the clause boundary.

d. the use of the apparently imperfective suffix *-ga* in the verb and the marking of the postverbal noun phrase (subject/agent) as obviative:

(151) *problema tok ga llwe-ga rey dē e llwe-ga siwa-ga*  
 problem exist CONN solve-IMP.INV king OBV DEM solve-IMP.INV white-PL  
*dē llēme*  
 OBV NEG

'There are problems and it is the King who solves them, not the whites'.

In Quesada (2000a) *-ga* is glossed as marker of ability in these contexts (it is isomorphic with the marker of epistemic modality, the plural marker, and the connective); according to that gloss (151) would mean 'it is the King who can solve them'. However, the epistemic paradigm inflects for person, *-ga* corresponding to third person, and when inverted sentences are elicited, *-ga* appears in cases in which there is no third person, as in (152a),<sup>26</sup> whose corresponding direct version appears in (152b), thereby eliminating the possibility of epistemic modality:

(152a) *Ta kimta-ga pāy dē*  
 1SG help-INV 2PL OBV  
 'You (pl.) help me'

(152b) *Ta kimitē-mi*  
 1SG help-IMP.DIR-2PL  
 'You (pl.) help me'

On the basis of the preceding examples *-ga* could be analyzed as marker of imperfective inverse aspect. A puzzling case, however, is the use of the suffix *-ga* in inverse constructions which speakers render as perfective:

(153) *-i Sēngna buk kone? iE wua-ga ēye dē?*  
 meat POSIT.LIE where? DEM eat-PERF.INV who OBV?  
*-E wua-ga shiti dē*  
 DEM eat-PERF.INV dog OBV  
 -'Where is the meat? Who ate it?'  
 -'The dog did'

It seems, thus, that *-ga* is simply a marker of inversion, as further evidenced by (163), (164) and (165) below, where the agent/subjects *ta* and *tawa*, respectively, are not cross-referenced in the verb; that is, *-ga* is invariable as to grammatical person. This explanation is problematic because it tacitly assumes that the aspectual opposition is lost in this type of inversion. There is no readily available explanation for this fact, except to say that the use of *-ga*-marked inverted constructions with perfective readings is not extensive. There are,

<sup>26</sup>See 4.1.4.6 on the role of SAPS (speech act participants) as obviatives.

however, cases of *-ga*-marked non-inverted constructions (with SOV order), and a perfective reading, as in (67), repeated here as (154):

(154) *iWalē bop sgō-ga li shāng kone?*  
 woman 2SG scratch-PERF REL POSIT.STAND where  
 'Where is the woman who scratched you?'

It is important to note that some speakers use the suffixes *-ra* and *-ga* interchangeably for situations like (153) and (154). Again, this is another sign that we are dealing with a system in transition here (see 4.1.4.6).

#### 4.1.4.3 The status of *dē*

If the postverbal noun phrase is an inverted subject, and given that Teribe exhibits a rigid OV order, the question about the grammatical status of *dē* is unavoidable. Koontz & Anderson (1975: 154), in harmony with their analysis of the OVS*dē* order as passive, analyze this form as an agent marker, which in their words, "indicates that the agent is not focused" [translation provided, DQ]. Since this is not a passive construction (there is no remapping of semantic roles and grammatical relations), and since the transitivity in the clause is preserved, it does not seem very attractive to analyze *dē* as an oblique marker. In addition, its function in the language is practically reduced to marking inverted transitive subjects; the other, clearly marginal, function is as focus marker (cf. 3.1.6.2). One could thus argue that *dē* is also a focus marker in the inverted word order; in fact, that analysis was advanced in Quesada (2000a). That analysis, however, cannot account for cases like (155), where the postverbal subject is marked by a "genuine" focus marker; that fact shows that *dē* is not a focus marker in the OVS*dē* construction, as there would be no plausible explanation for the presence of two contiguous focus markers:

(155) *ta i-na plu dē omgo*  
 1SG see-PERF.INV king OBV FOC  
 'THE KING saw me'

Similarly, that analysis cannot account for the fact that more often than not, the postverbal subject is marked as topic, with *li*, as in (156):

(156) *Kl-ara ra opto-no jek juni ga za-ra k'i li*  
 CL.ANIMATE-one CONT-FOC jump-PERF go here CONN cut-PERF.INV reed TOP  
*dē llēme; dōk-tong plú e, le. Kl-ara tek ba irgo*  
 OBV NEG; jump-PERF good CFP, say.IMP.INV CL.ANIMATE-one come 3 behind  
*e li ra za-ra k'i li dē do-pōk tats erä*  
 DEM TOP CONT-FOC cut-PERF.INV reed TOP OBV CL.ANIMATE-two IDEOPH just  
 'One did jump over and the reed did not cut him; he skipped it well. Another one came after him, but that one the reed did cut into two'

The most feasible analysis is thus one that assumes an intermediate topicality status of the *dē*-marked postverbal noun phrases. And that is precisely what the literature on inversion suggests: "the patient is more topical than the agent [that is why in Teribe the patient in the OVS*dē* order is placed in initial position, DQ] but the agent retains considerable

topicality [that is why it is mostly expressed as a full noun phrase and very often as a marked topic, DQ]” (Givón 1994b: 9). That being the case, the function of *dě* is no longer related to focus. Under the analysis of the OVS*dě* order as inverse, the function of *dě* as obviative marker fits most naturally. In fact, there is no reason why an obviative noun phrase cannot be marked as focus, as shown in (155), or as topic, as in (156). Semantic inversion, though related to the relative topicality of participants, is in principle independent from the strictly discourse status of each participant; in other words, the fact that a rule of grammar requires explicit marking of a relation that runs counter to the ontological saliency hierarchy does not eliminate the possibility that the participants involved in that state of affairs can be highlighted as topics or foci.

#### 4.1.4.4 The ontological saliency hierarchy

Semantic inverse systems operate on the well-know ontological saliency hierarchy SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT > PROXIMATE > OBVIATIVE. When a participant to the left of the hierarchy is an agent acting upon a non-agent which appears to the right of the hierarchy, the so-called *direct* (unmarked) construction is used; if, however, a participant to the right acts upon another to the left of the hierarchy the *inverse* construction is used. The proximate refers to a third person “whose status in the situation of the discourse or in the concerns of the speaker/hearer is relatively imminent”, while the obviative refers to a third person “whose status is relatively distant or marginal” (Klaiman 1993: 344). Examples (155) and (156) show that there is semantic inversion in Teribe, as the 3 > 1 relation is marked, while the opposite 1 > 3 would normally be expressed as in (157), that is by the unmarked OV-s order:

- (157) *plu (li) ĩ-no-r*  
king (TOP) see-PERF-1SG  
'I saw the King'

The cut-off point of the ontological hierarchy in Teribe emerges at the last level, however, as PROXIMATE > SAP and PROXIMATE > OBVIATIVE relations are not expressed in the OVS*dě* order; the former relations are illustrated in (158) and (159), while (160) illustrates the latter, all instances of the OV-s order:

- (158) *Ta ĩ-n-a*  
1SG see-PERF-3  
'He saw me'

- (159) *Pa shpo-r-a*  
2SG hit-PERF-3  
'He hit you'

- (160) *zrö-r-a*  
kill-PERF-3  
'[He] killed [him]'

Inversion occurs when a low-ranking participant, the obviative acts upon a higher ranking one, proximate, be it in terms of person, as in (148) or (150) above, of animacy, as

in (157) above, or in terms of species (non-human acting upon a human), as in (161) below (but see 4.1.4.6):

- (161) *Teg-ong teg-ong teg-ong; twe ba shwoy:*  
Come-PERF come-PERF come-PERF; come 3POSS place  
-“*¿Pāy ö-tong llē?*”, *le-a ba kong*  
-“2PL go-PERF what”, say-3SG 3 to  
-“*Tawa wua-ra ma dė. Tawa döa-ra ma dė*”  
-“1PL.EXCL eat-PERF.INV fish OBV. 1PL.EXCL vomit-PERF.INV fish OBV  
‘[They] went on and on till they got to his place:  
-“What happened?” he asked them  
-“A fish swallowed us and it threw us up”’

Notice that in (161) there is an instance of a 3 > 3 relation without inversion (*le-a ba kong* ‘he said to them’), that is, the OV-s order is used, whereas in similar cases with the same verb *lē* (cf. (149a) and (149d) above, the OVS*dě* order is used; this shows that the assessment of a referent as proximate or obviative depends on the speaker, especially with verbs of saying. In 3 > 3 relations, in which the agent is a proper name, it is always coded as obviative presumably because it stands in opposition to  $\phi$ -anaphora/person marker *-a*, and is thus lower in the hierarchy; in fact the SOV order, while possible for 3 > 3 relations in which both participants are proper names (cf (1) at onset of this chapter), is not possible when the proper name acts upon a SAP (162a) or a proximate (162b); the inverse has to be used in those cases (162d) and (162d):

- (162a) \**Juan bor i-no*  
Juan 1SG see-PERF  
'Juan saw me'  
(162b) \**Juan ba zrö-no*  
Juan 3 kill-PERF  
'Juan killed him'  
(162c) *Ta ĩ-na Juan dė*  
1SG see-PERF.INV Juan OBV  
'Juan saw me'  
(162d) *Zrö-ra Juan dė*  
Kill-PERF.INV Juan OBV  
'Juan killed him'

The preceding examples reveal that the current status of the Teribe inverse can be defined as a **semantic, non-promotional inverse** which is coded through word order inversion (that is, a postverbal subject), aspectual morphology, and direct marking of the obviative; these three features make the Teribe inverse a *marked inverse*, one in which the inverse, but not the direct construction is overtly marked.



4.1.4.5 *Passive to inverse and pragmatic inversion*

Apparent counterexamples to the characterization of the Teribe inverse as a semantic inverse are those instances in which a SAP acts upon a non-SAP and still the OVS*dë* order is used, as in the following examples:

- (163) *Ta kimta-ga pāy dë*  
1SG help-INV 2PL OBV  
'You help me'
- (164) *Ba zrö-ga ta dë*  
3SG kill-INV 1SG OBV  
'I killed him'
- (165) *ga φ mida-ga tawa dë*  
CONN 3 know-INV 1PL.EXCL OBV  
'and [that] we know'

While (163) would lead one to assume a further break down of the ontological saliency hierarchy to something like 1 > 2 > PROXIMATE > OBLIATIVE, (164) and (165) show that this is not the case. Cases like (163), (164) and (165) are rather hard to elicit and to attest in naturally occurring data; direct forms are preferred. In previous analyses of Teribe inversion (cf. Quesada 2000a), I suggested that the fact that inverse structures in spontaneous speech, text, dialogues, etc., overwhelmingly, almost categorically, involve third persons while structures like (163) occur only under "pushy [very pushy indeed] elicitation" could indicate that the erstwhile pattern could be extending to include other persons. Consequently, that could be either considered a reinforcement of the inverse system, that is, it would be moving in the direction of what has come to be termed *pragmatic inverse* (cf. Givón 1994b) - inversion becomes more sensitive to discourse topicality than to intrinsic saliency; or, alternatively, the beginning of an ergative construction.<sup>27</sup> However, based on little historical data available, as well as on the low frequency and difficulty of elicitation of inverted clauses with postposed SAPS, the most reasonable conclusion is that the inverse construction used to be a passive, which was expressed by word order inversion and marking on the verb by *-ga* (and presumably by *-ya* too); 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. Later, when the expression of 3 > 3 relations was more established, the pattern was replaced by the corresponding active form(s) for third person perfective, *-ra* (recall that the difference between active/direct and inverse in the perfective aspect lies on the presence of a *dë*-marked postverbal noun phrase), which is the more common pattern in the present. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that one hundred years ago active sentences with *ga*-marked verbs, such as *pa la-ga* 'you say' (Thiel n.d.) 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

<sup>27</sup>In that the third person in (164) is coded by the object pronoun (in (165) it is expressed as *φ* anaphora but resembles an ergative construction with a marked agent and a *φ* coded third person absolutive), and that the deictic center is marked obviative.

infrequent as they are nowadays.<sup>28</sup> Pittier & 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:

- (166) *Sho-ga ta dë*  
do-PERF.INV 1SG OBV  
'I did it'
- (167) *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 *-ga* (not *-ya*, nor *-k*, nor *-ra*) strongly suggest a passive > inverse passage in Teribe. In this view, then cases like (163), (164), and (165) appear as residues of the old passive. Similarly, the irregularity of Class IV verbs in terms of *-k* reveals a process of "accommodation" to the new situation, concretely formally marking the restriction to third person *-k*, exclusive of the semantic inverse. In fact, use of *-k* with Class IV verbs is clearly attested in younger speakers. In the speech of oldest and last monolingual speaker of Teribe, a ninety year-old lady, such cases are non-existent.

The passive > inverse development in Teribe has led to the present stage in which the OVS*dë* construction functions as a semantic inverse. However, in many cases of inversion, as in (153) above or (168) below, the agent clearly ranks higher than the patient in terms of animacy or humanness:

- (168) *E ra srobyoz ter-ong sre re ree. Ba shu-kz-a äya li dë.*  
But urine go.down-PERF IDEOPH. 3 gulp-SUD-3 devil TOP OBV  
*Jek ir rir re; shuk ä li dë.*  
Go IDEOPH; gulp devil TOP OBV.

'But the urine fell down weeee... and the devil gulped it at once. It went weee and the devil drank it'

In such cases, inversion is used as a topic continuity strategy; in (169), the urine is clearly outdone by the devil in terms of other parameters (this explains why it is coded as a marked topic), and thus no inversion of expected roles occurs. The only explanation for situations like this is that while still operating on the saliency hierarchy with a cut-off point between PROXIMATE and OBLIATIVE, the coding of a participant as either of those two roles is subject to topicality; as such the Teribe inverse appears as a semantic inverse sensitive to discourse topicality.

<sup>28</sup>It could be argued that the infrequent use of postverbal SAPS represents an innovation, and that the data from Thiel and those from Gagini & 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 loosening 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. This process underlies the glossing practice adopted in this book, whereby the sequence *-ra* is not segmented as *r-a* PERF-3 in inverted constructions; given that there inversion is limited to obviative acting on proximates and SAPS, person-marking in these clauses is somehow a side-effect.

## 4.2 The complex sentence

The presentation in this section follows the traditional distinction between paratactic and hypotactic constructions; the former has to do with coordination of elements of sentential nature, while the latter involves a dependency relation of one clause or sentence on another, matrix ("higher") clause or predicate; hypotaxis thus means subordination. This division follows expository purposes and is not intended to neglect the fact that the difference between parataxis and hypotaxis is a matter of degree in terms of various parameters of clause linkage (Lehmann 1988), such as hierarchical downgrading of the dependent clause (low in parataxis, high in hypotaxis), or desententialization of the second clause (full-fledged clause in parataxis, less sentence-like in hypotaxis). Paratactic constructions will be divided into asyndetic (juxtaposed) and syndetic constructions, usually linked by the connectives *ga* and *e*, and the compound conjunctions formed with them (cf. 3.4.3). As for hypotactic constructions, these will be further subdivided into complement and adverbial clauses; the former constitute arguments of a predicate while the latter do not; since relative clauses are neither complement nor adverbial, but rather nominal modifiers, they have not been included in this section and were dealt with under word order in the noun phrase (cf. 4.1.2.2.2). The distinction between asyndetic and syndetic constructions applied only to paratactic constructions is somewhat arbitrary; syndesis is used simply as a formal expository criterion given the fact that, functionally, the coordinated clauses have the same syntactic (independent) status and thus the degree of interlacing (higher with asyndesis, lower with syndesis) of the two is not indicative of a major syntactic function or process. In the case of hypotactic constructions, on the other hand, syndesis plays a more decisive role in that low explicitness of the linking implies a higher degree of linkage, which, in turn, implies higher dependency and integration (cf. Lehmann 1988). Nonetheless, though higher asyndesis implies higher interlacing, it does not necessarily correlate with the various syntactic functions that subordinate clauses have: "It is not the case that either the concept of hypotaxis or the concept of subordination require the use of a conjunction, as has been claimed variously" (Lehmann 1988: 210). Consequently the description of subordinate clauses will be based on their functions, concretely as arguments (complement) or adjuncts (adverbial) of the main clause.

### 4.2.1 Paratactic constructions

#### 4.2.1.1 Asyndesis

As mentioned in 3.4.3, Teribe exhibits a conspicuous tendency to asyndesis. Asyndetically coordinated sentences may or may not have shared elements; an example of the latter is (169). In the former, and more common case, the shared element may be an argument (170a) or a verb (phrase) (170b); if it is an argument, it can be expressed as anaphora (pronominal, person affix,  $\phi$ ), by far the most common strategy (171a), but if it is a verb or verb phrase it may not be left unexpressed, hence the ungrammaticality of (171b):

- (169) *Walë-ga e ëp dguë. Domer-ga u shärië*  
 Woman-PL DEM corn plant. Man-PL house make  
 'Women, they plant corn. Men make houses'

- (170a) *Wëshko tawa parko-no, tawa p'olo-no, tawa ëpkwo*  
 Next day, 1PL.EXCL work-PERF, 1PL.EXCL chop-PERF, 1PL.EXCL corn  
*dgo-no*  
 plant-PERF  
 'The next morning, we worked, we cut down trees, we planted corn'
- (170b) *Oba jüshko-so e shwling wuë. Siwa-ga shwling wuë llëme*  
 People here-ORGN DEM deer eat. White-PL deer eat NEG  
 'People from here, they eat deer. Whites do not eat deer'
- (171a) *ta sök junikong, woydë plü ammoio llëme*  
 1SG POSIT.LIVE this side, want good even NEG  
 'I am here [and I] don't like [it] at all'
- (171b) \**Oba jüshko-so e shwling wuë. Siwa-ga llëme*  
 People here-ORGN DEM deer eat. White-PL NEG  
 'People from here, they eat deer. Whites don't'

#### 4.2.1.2 Syndetic constructions

Syndetic constructions exhibit the same characteristics as asyndetic constructions; the only difference being the presence of a syndeton. Clauses can be linked, which have no elements in common, as in (64), repeated here as (172), while others have them. In the latter case, the shared element can be an argument (173a) or a verb phrase (173b). While an argument can be expressed anaphorically (174a), a verb or verb phrase cannot (174b):

- (172) *Eni ga e ra walë buk li ga dlo ö-tong dlo dlu bek*  
 So CONN however woman POSIT.LIE there CONN sun go-PERF midday right  
 'But the woman lay there until well into the day'
- (173a) *Ta sö-r-a lok ga ta ya-r-a lok be-no sök u shko*  
 1SG bring-PERF-3 PL CONN 1SG put-PERF-3 PL remain-PERF POSIT.SIT house in  
*toksa*  
 alone  
 'They took me and left me at home by myself'
- (173b) *Juan shro-no gueniyo Maria shro-no llëme*  
 Juan arrive-PERF however Maria arrive-PERF NEG  
 'Juan arrived but Maria did not arrive'
- (174a) *Walë är u shko ga op ne-no*  
 Woman arrive house in CONN REFL hide-PERF  
 'The woman got home and hid herself'
- (174b) \**Juan shro-no gueniyo Maria llëme*  
 Juan arrive-PERF however Maria NEG  
 'Juan arrived but Maria didn't'

As pointed out in 3.4.3, sentences are basically coordinated by *ga* and the nature of the coordination (sequence, simultaneity, opposition) is basically expressed by the meaning of the conjuncts or by the sum of *ga* and other constituents in the case of compound conjunctions.

The preceding examples constitute instances of conjunction; disjunction is not grammaticalized in Teribe.

#### 4.2.2 Hypotactic constructions

##### 4.2.2.1 Complement clauses

There are no subject complement clauses in Teribe; there are only object complements. A distinction can be made between clauses with shared arguments and those without them; the latter are less tightly linked to the main clause and are introduced by the connective *ga*; they can thus be regarded as "finite-complements". These clauses are usually objects of complement-taking verbs (such as verbs of saying, perception and mental activity), as shown in (175)-(177):

(175) *E tlē ga e omgo twa-yde*  
 DEM say CONN DEM FOC come-PROSP  
 'He said that he would come himself'

(176) *ī-ya ga shtāta wle pang e*  
 see-INV.IMP CONN worm next POSIT.HANG CFP  
 '[She] saw that the worm was close'

(177) *Woydē-r ga pa worong pa llēbo shārio-no bor kong owa li kī*  
 Want-1SG CONN 2SG die 2SG thing do-PERF 1SG to bad REL because  
 'I want you to die because of the bad things you did to me'

Note that the subordinate clause can in principle stand alone as an independent clause; the situation changes when there is subject identity, in which case the dependent clause is asydentically linked to the main clause; the shared element is gapped, as in (177a) and (177b). An exception to this is the verb *tlē* 'say', which, as shown in (175) does not allow the gapping of the identical subject in the dependent clause (the behavior of verbs of saying will be described in the next section):

(177a) *Pa kimtē-rwa woydē*  
 2SG help-1PL.EXCL want  
 'We want to help you'

(177b) *Tawa ī-na lok löng nēlō*  
 1PL.EXCL see-PERF PL POSIT.BE drunk  
 'They saw us drunk' [lit. 'They saw us be(ing) drunk']

In (177a) the shared element is the subject of both the main and the dependent verbs. In complement clauses of the verb *woydē* ('want'), the dependent verb takes the verbal trappings if transitive, as in (177b); if the dependent verb is intransitive, the expression of the relevant categories is expressed on *woydē*, as in (178):

(178) *E star woydo-no*  
 DEM cry want-PERF  
 'He wanted to cry'

In (177b), the shared element is the object of the main verb, which is the subject of the dependent verb, the positional *löng*.

Structurally, the sentence in (177b) is similar to causative clauses, the other main type of object complements, whose shared element is the object of the main clause and subject of the dependent clause, as shown in (179a):

(179a) *Ta icha-ra lok pē buk toy*  
 1SG send-PERF PL sleep POSIT.LIE ground  
 'They made me sleep on the ground'

Alternatively, a causative clause can be expressed "sententially", that is, the dependent clause is expressed as a sentence that can stand alone, only linked to the main clause by *ga*; it should be noted, though, that this alternative is seldom used:

(179b) *Ta icha-ra lok ga ta po-no buk toy*  
 1SG send-PERF PL CONN 1SG sleep-PERF POSIT.LIE ground  
 'They made me sleep on the ground' [lit. 'They sent that I slept on the ground']

The other two main types of complement clauses are those in reported speech and indirect questions.

##### 4.2.2.1.1 Reported speech

Complement clauses expressing reported speech are, syntactically, objects of the two verbs used to express indirect speech: *tlē* and *lē*. The clauses dependent on these verbs are like independent clauses, having their own aspect and their own subject reference. The main differences between *tlē*-clauses and *lē*-clauses are the following. *Tlē*-clauses, which are less frequent, follow the verb (a case of SV[O] order), and are introduced by *ga*, as in (180) and (181):

(180) *Bor pluyo e tlē bor kong ga e irkē ara bop kong*  
 1SG.POSS king DEM say 1SG to CONN DEM mad much 2SG to  
 'The King, he told me that he is very angry at you'

(181) *Kupke ga ta ep twlē-no ga two-ro-r bor walē*  
 Yesterday CONN 1SG corn buy-PERF CONN give-PERF-1SG 1SG.POSS woman  
*kong e tlē ba kong ga e li-ba*  
 to DEM say 3 to CONN DEM cook-IMPR.DIST

'Yesterday I bought some corn, gave it to my wife and told her to cook it'

*Lē*-clauses are instances of inversion, they precede the verb, which appears in its imperfective inverse form *le* (*eni*); they are not introduced by *ga*:

(182) *Jek srow ber sök kläk tan, le.*  
 Go jump remain POSIT.SIT frog already, say.IMP.INV  
 '[She] jumped and turned into a frog, they say'

(183) *Jek llet, to e, le eni.*  
 Go fast, go CFP, say.IMP.INV so.  
 '[She] went, left fast, they say'

It should be noted that in the case of *lē* (*le*), it has no clearly identifiable subject; although the verb form is inverse, there is no clearly identifiable inverted *dē*-marked subject. This is because of the specialization of this verb to express reported speech. In this sense, the

hypotactic relation is obscured.

Finally, the dependent clauses tend to be direct/literal reproductions of what the referent has uttered:

- (184) *Twe u shko ga tlē ba boy kong ga* -“*Shmi shmi e oba*”.  
Come house to CONN say 3POSS wife to CONN -“Lazy lazy DEM people”.  
‘He came home and said to his wife “Those people are really useless”’
- (185) -“*Shi to ik*”, *le eni*.  
-“1PL.INCL go see”, say.IMP.INV so  
‘“Let’s go see”, they said’.

#### 4.2.2.1.2 Indirect questions

The other type of completive clauses are those in indirect questions. In these cases the matrix verb is *wotlik* ‘think’, the dependent clause is introduced by *ga* and takes the form of a question. (186) shows an indirect yes/no question, while (187) shows an indirect information question:

- (186) *Ta wotlik ga sēngna wuē de*  
1SG think CONN meat eat Q  
‘I wonder if he eats meat’
- (187) *Ta wotlik ga pa twe ilono*  
1SG think CONN 2SG come when  
‘I wonder when you will come (again)’

#### 4.2.2.2 Adverbial clauses

With the exception of conditional sentences, which follow a strict protasis-apodosis order, most adverbial clauses follow the main clause. The following are the main types of adverbial clauses that can be identified in Teribe.

##### 4.2.2.2.1 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are syndetic. In simple conditional clauses the only obligatory syndeton is *ga*, as in (188); however, there are other stylistic alternatives, such as *dani*, *wleny*, and/or *kwe*, which mark the clause as protatic, as in (189), (190), and (194), respectively, or *eni ra* ‘then’, which introduces the apodosis, as in (190); *eni ra*, as used in these contexts, functions as a unit (it does not mean ‘but so’). These alternatives are sporadic in narratives:

- (188) *Pa rokë-r ga pa twe*  
2SG ask-1SG CONN 2SG come  
‘If I ask you, you (will) come’
- (189) *Bop wawa slar dani ga e kong nädyo twë-p*  
2POSS child cry COND CONN DEM to milk give-2SG  
‘If your child cries, you (will) give him some milk’

- (190) *E tek woydë wleny ga eni ra in*  
DEM come want COND CONN then see.1SG  
‘If he comes, I will/can see him’  
Hypothetical clauses are identified by the perfective aspect in the protasis
- (191) *Juan ba kyong e je-r-a ga e shpo-ya ba data dë*  
Juan 3POSS boat DEM lose-PERF-3 CONN DEM hit-IMP.INV 3POSS father OBV  
‘If Juan lost his boat, his father would spank him’
- (192) *Ta be-no na ga ta srö-ya oba dë*  
1SG remain-PERF here CONN 1SG kill-IMP.INV people OBV  
‘If I stayed here people would kill me’

Counterfactual sentences are expressed by placing the marker of deontic modality *kwe* (which is homophonous with the demonstrative used as marker of conditional clauses) in preverbal position in both the protasis and the apodosis, and marking the verb as perfective in both clauses, as in (193) and (194), the counterfactual version of (189):

- (193) *Päy kwe be-no shko ga päy kwe shpo-ra-ba e*  
2PL must remain-PERF in CONN 2PL must hit-PERF-DS CFP  
‘If you had stayed, they would have hit you’
- (194) *Bop wawa kwe slar-tong kwe ga e kong nädyo kwe two-ro-p*  
2POSS child MUST cry-PERF DEM ~ COND CONN DEM to milk must give-PERF-2SG  
‘If your child had cried, you would have given him milk’

##### 4.2.2.2.2 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses in Teribe always follow the main clause; they can be divided into implicit (195) and explicit, the difference being the presence of the purposive marker *wlo* in the latter, illustrated in (196), (197), and (198):<sup>29</sup>

- (195) *E to ba shpok*  
DEM go 3 hit  
‘He is going to hit him’
- (196) *E bop krik kro-no zomkwo zrök wlo kl-ara*  
DEM 2SG.POSS rifle get-PERF goat kill PURP CL.ANIMATE-one  
‘He took your rifle to kill a goat’
- (197) *Pa kong sögro twë-r kw-anna körkwo zrök wlo kl-ara*  
2SG to knife give-1SG CL.ANIMATE-one hen kill PURP CL.ANIMATE-one  
‘I (will) give you a knife (for you) to kill a hen’

<sup>29</sup>The purposive marker has been attested once following a noun:

- (i) *Shi jongña k’or zë obi tyoklo wlo*  
1PL.INCL OBLI tree cut again ladder PURP

‘You have to cut more wood to make the ladder’ [lit. ‘for the ladder’]

While on the basis of this case *wlo* could be analyzed as a postposition, it would be difficult to explain why it is used for purposive clauses; the above example is in fact a rarity.

- (198) *Yë-y dlo shko dan wlo*  
 Put-1PL.INCL sun in dry PURP  
 'We put it under the sun so it dries'

(195) expresses movement in space; such a sentence is uttered when the agent is on his/her way to perform the action; (195) also reveals gapping of the shared element, in this case the subject; this is also true of (196) and (197). Notice, in addition, that there is no restriction on the syntactic status of the shared element in the main clause; in (195) and (196) it is the subject, in (197) the shared element is the dative in the main clause and the subject in the dependent clause; while in (198) it is the object of the main clause. Purposive clauses with no shared elements are less frequent:

- (199) *erä tö-y ba kingo ter-ong um um um um är-ong*  
 just gather-1PL.INCL 3 above go.down-PERF IDEOPH arrive-PERF  
*këm, shunyo shrë llëme wlo*  
 up, rain arrive NEG PURP

'We just put it on top like this so the rain does not come in'

The dependent verb can appear in its "infinitive" form, as in the preceding examples, but this need not be so, as shown in (200); person indexing in the dependent verb does not imply that the subject of the dependent clause is different from that of the main clause:

- (200) *di dan ga ma tö-mi wue-mi wlo eni*  
 river dry CONN fish gather-2PL eat-2PL PURP thus

'The river will dry and you will catch the fish and (in order for you to) eat it'

The dependent verb can also appear in the inverse form but the subject is not expressed as a postverbal *dë*-marked noun phrase (notice that the dependent verb in (201) has a completive clause as its object):

- (201) *díblö dbu-kz-a jer-ong jum ba slon bango*  
 calabash strike-SUD-3 go.down-PERF IDEOPH 3POSS side first  
*wir de í-ya wlo*  
 move Q see-IMP.INV PURP

'She suddenly hit the calabash on the side to see if it was still moving'

#### 4.2.2.2.3 Causal clauses

"Causal" clauses expressing circumstances and reasons contain the postposition *kí*. There are basically two ways to express clausal clauses in Teribe. The first one consists of a main clause followed by the juxtaposed causal clause, with *kí* in final position, as in (202) and (203):

- (202) *ëye om tlökwo krë chira llëme jĩñō ä kí*  
 who FOC word take little NEG liar very because  
 'No one would believe him because he was a liar'<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup>In (202) there is a double object construction (cf. 4.1.3.3), where the focus marker *om*, which refers to the liar, is practically functioning as a "shifted" dative pronoun.

- (203) *irkë trak llëme plu kong boy twa-ra llëme kí*  
 get mad little NEG king to wife give-PERF NEG because  
 'They got mad at the King because he did not give them wives'

The second way consists of a main clause followed by the causal clause, which is in turn followed by the postpositional phrase *e kí* (*shko*); in this type of causal clause the dependent clause is not asyndetically juxtaposed to the main clause but is connected to it by *ga*; the dependent status of the causal clause is shown by the fact that the demonstrative *e*, which is a member of the causal clause, refers to the main clause, not the dependent clause immediately preceding it:<sup>31</sup>

- (204) *be-no ba kong owa ga ënkwo-no e kí shko*  
 remain-PERF 3 to mad CONN fight-PERF DEM because of  
 'He remained mad at him and they fought because of that'
- (205) *Soyne-n-a p'ir e kwa-r-a siwa kong p'ir e lë lok ga*  
 Sell-PERF-3 finish DEM give-PERF-3 white to finish DEM say PL CONN  
*shi-r-a lok e kí*  
 throw-PERF-3 PL DEM because

'She sold it all and gave it all to the whites and they say that they dethroned her because of that'

A variation of the second type consists of the causal phrase *e kí* (*shko*) placed sentence-initially and followed by the clause; given that the clausal phrase appears in the left periphery, it must be connected to the clause by *ga*:

- (206) *e är llono ga ba tlökwo e roke oba dë*  
 DEM arrive when CONN 3POSS language DEM ask-IMP.INV people OBV  
*midë llëme. E kí shko ga ëng wlë-no plú e*  
 know NEG. DEM because of CONN RECP find-PERF good CFP  
 'and the day will come when people will ask them about their language and they will not know it. That is why it is good that they have met'

#### 4.2.2.2.4 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses in Teribe, which tend to precede the main clause, can be identified by means of the adverb *p'irga* ('then, when'), as in (207):<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>In (205), the causal clause/phrase is syntactically a completive clause of the main clause *lë lok ga* ('they say that'), which is in turn coordinated to the clause expressing the reason; still *e* refers to the first conjunct ('She sold it all and gave it all to the whites'). It is thus a case of long distance anaphora.

<sup>32</sup>Although clauses containing the adverb *bango*, as in (i), could also be included under the label of temporal, they are instances of parataxis:

- (i) *Rey tek ör-ong bango shko ga oba dyo yo-no trak llëme*  
 King come go-PERF first in CONN people chicha drink-PERF little NEG  
 'The King came first and the people drank lots of chicha'

- (207) *ëp dguë-y... p'irga kégué tan, shārië-y boyo wlo*  
 corn plant-1PL.INCL... then old already, make-1PL.INCL boyo PURP  
*ga krë-y, sō-y u shko*  
 CONN get-1PL.INCL, bring-1PL.INCL house in

'We plant corn; when it is ripe, to make boyo, we reap it and take it home'

Temporal clauses expressed hypotactically are rather sparse in Teribe; the most common way to expressed sequence is by means of coordination, as in (208):

- (208) *tyo-no jem jer-ong mok pang kra-r-a ga sō-r-a*  
 climb-PERF go.up go.down-PERF moon POSIT.HANG get-PERF-3 CONN bring-PERF-3  
*ter shro-no ga erä ter pang ga erä*  
 come.down arrive-PERF CONN just come.down POSIT.HANG CONN just  
*shro-no ga twa-r-a ba walë kong*  
 arrive-PERF CONN give-PERF-3 3POSS woman to

'[He] climbed up and got the moon (hanging) and brought it down and then he just came down and gave it to his wife'

#### 4.2.2.2.5 Locative clauses

Locative clauses are expressed by means of what is syntactically a juxtaposed relative clause, which consists of a positional verb and the adverb *li*, as in (209):

- (209) *Borwa kokshko tawa löng li shko ko Panama*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS place 1PL.EXCL POSIT.BE there in name Panama

'The place where we live is called Panama' (adapted from Heinze 1979: 9)

The adverb *li* in these clauses does not function as a relativizer, as evidenced by the fact that it does not follow the postposition *shko* (see discussion in 4.1.2.2.2). In other cases the locative clause appears as a headless relative clause, as in (210):

- (210) *Tlapga-ga erishko ga kok pola shko ga twe naso-ga*  
 Elder-PL today CONN place far of CONN come Teribe-PL  
*löng li shko*  
 POSIT.BE there in

'Today, some sirs came from afar to where the Teribes live'

#### 4.2.2.2.6 Simultaneous clauses

Simultaneous clauses follow the main clause and are linked to it by a compound conjunction consisting of the demonstrative *e*, the conjunction *wobro* ('while') and the connective *ga*:

- (211) *Sök tē e wobro ga sök ëp kläk*  
 POSIT.SIT sing DEM while CONN POSIT.SIT corn crush  
 '[S/he] sings while crushing corn'
- (212) *Tēte sök shing lwë e wobro ga sök dbong lanyo*  
 Grandma POSIT.SIT basket weave DEM while CONN POSIT.SIT tiger story  
 'Grandma weaves a mat while telling tiger stories'

These clauses are barely hypotactic, as evidenced by the fact that they second clause can stand alone; in Lehmann's (1988) terms, these clauses show low hierarchical downgrading, high explicitness of the linkage, and syntactically the simultaneous clause is outside the main clause. However, on the basis of at least one of the other parameters of clause linkage, discussed by Lehmann, desententialization, the second clause may be regarded as dependent, in that it lacks what Lehmann (1988: 194) calls "assertive force", by which he means "certain bits of meaning are not expressed in the subordinate clause because they are determined for the whole sentence by the main clause". In the preceding examples, the second clause expresses a situation that is temporally, contextually contained in and by the first, main, clause. In sum, simultaneous clauses have very low degree of hypotaxis.

#### 4.2.2.2.7 Concessive clauses

The last type of adverbial clause that can be identified in Teribe is concessive. These clauses follow the main clause and are linked to it by the compound conjunction *gueniyo ga*, as in (213):

- (213) *Twe gueniyo ga pola erä*  
 Come but CONN far just

'He got [there], although it was far'

It should be noted, however, that just as in the previous case; the dependent status of the concessive clause is more semantic than syntactic, the concessive clause exhibits low hierarchical downgrading, low desententialization, and can syntactically function as an independent clause. In fact, the concessive nature of the clause cannot be deduced from its morphosyntax but from the meaning of the clause, as evidenced by the fact that the conjunction *gueniyo ga* cannot be unmistakably analyzed as a marker of concessiveness as is the case with *wlo* (purpose), *wobro* (simultaneity) or *kī* (cause). There are instances in which *gueniyo ga* simply coordinates two clauses, as in (214) below; in this sense concessive clauses are the least hypotactic of all adverbial clauses in Teribe:<sup>33</sup>

- (214) *ugo llëme ga "kwong", llëme ga "pungo", e llë "klungo";*  
 ugo NEG CONN "kwong", NEG CONN "pungo", DEM what "klungo";  
*gueniyo ga pluyo li ugo*  
 but CONN best TOP ugo

'If there is no ugo, use "pungo" or else "klungo", but the best one is ugo'

### 4.3 Information structure

Information structure refers to a 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

<sup>33</sup>This situation is not exclusive to Teribe. In English, for instance, a concessive situation can be expressed by means of coordination *She voted for John but she was not totally convinced* or by means of an adverbial subordinate clause *She voted for John although she was not totally convinced*. In the case of *gueniyo ga* it can be analyzed both ways.

and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts" (Lambrecht 1994: 5). A corollary of that 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 and focus are conceived as pragmatic relations, not as sentence components; 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.<sup>34</sup> Since both topic and focus are pragmatic relations, heavily dependent on the presuppositions of the interlocutors, it follows that the topical or focal status of a referent is not necessarily dependent on its syntactic status (e.g. though subjects tend to be topics and viceversa, this is not always the case), but dependent on the speakers' assessments.

#### 4.3.1 Participant-highlighting

Participant-highlighting 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 non-canonical configurations (cf. Quesada 1999a). That is, participant-highlighting has to do primarily with marked (re-)activating, topicalizing, focalizing mechanisms applying at the sentence level; this restriction to marked constructions has to do with the fact that these constructions most clearly reveal a mechanism of 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. However, from the point of view of marked foregrounding, only those (re-) activating mechanisms requiring sign material (including word order) are relevant. Now, in the case of Teribe, to the extent that the various word order patterns correlate with information structure status of participants (cf. 4.1.1.1 and especially 4.1.2), the various word order patterns can be regarded as representing syntacticized mechanisms of information-structure status encoding; and as such, they can be regarded as participant-highlighting mechanisms, albeit

<sup>34</sup>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 differs from those in one significant respect; 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.

not totally "marked" ones. Thus, although the description that follows makes a distinction between marked and unmarked highlighting mechanisms, it should be borne in mind that in Teribe that distinction is not clear-cut. The main features of participant-highlighting in Teribe are word order (including the inverse construction and left- dislocation), and direct marking on the NP, as either topic (*li*), focus (*om*), or contrastive focus (*ra*).

##### 4.3.1.1 Topic

Topics are expressed differently depending on the verb type and on their grammatical relation. Let us begin with non-transitive verbs. The unmarked topic status of the only participant of monovalent verbs is  $\phi$  anaphora, as in (25), repeated here as (215), or, more commonly, a pronoun in the case of speech-act participants (216);  $\phi$  anaphora is more common with third persons:<sup>35</sup>

(215) *ta sök junikong, woydë plú anmoño llëme*  
 1SG POSIT.LIVE this side, want good even NEG  
 'I am here [and I] don't like [it] at all'

(216) *Tawa wlorkë kokshko ga tawa opshi-no jem jü shko*  
 1PL.EXCL hunt up CONN 1PL.EXCL leave-PERF come.up here in  
*dwayo ga... kok las nwebe... tawa jem löng las nwebe...*  
 from CONN... place nine o'clock... 1PL.EXCL come.up POSIT.BE nine o'clock...  
 'We went hunting up in the mountain and we left from here around nine o'clock. We left at nine o'clock...'

When lexical noun phrases are not coded as  $\phi$  anaphora it is usually the case that they are introducing new participants or reactivating others already mentioned, as in (217), where *walë* ('woman') is introduced in the first clause, and resumed some clauses later, after the other participant, *shtäta* ('worm') is also introduced:

(217) *Walë plara jek jer-ong e ëp krë, ëp krë ga ku-ya*  
 women once go go.down-PERF DEM corn get, corn get CONN hear-IMP.INV  
*ga srët srët, le ga ï-ya ga shtäta wle*  
 CONN IDEOPH IDEOPH, say.IMP.INV CONN see-IMP.INV CONN worm next  
*pang e. Be-no shäng ga tek pogro, ba*  
 POSIT.HANG CFP. Remain-PERF POSIT.STAND CONN come skin, 3POSS  
*kworbo go, le. Walë op dis ta ta ta ta, dök-tong llëme.*  
 leg with, say.IMP.INV. Woman REFL roll IDEOPH, fall-PERF NEG.

'A woman once went to get corn and heard a noise; she saw a worm hanging next to her. It remained stuck to her skin, on her leg. The woman rolled and rolled, but it would not fall'

Although lexical intransitive subjects may represent new information, and as such they could be said to fall within the domain of focality, it is usually the case that the lexical referent

<sup>35</sup>Recall that in the case of third person singular it is difficult to tell between suppression, that is  $\phi$  anaphora, and simply third person singular because the latter is expressed by  $\phi$  in Teribe. A clear case of non- $\phi$  anaphora is given in (220a-b).

continues activated for some clauses following the introduction, as in (217); the SV order with lexical subject is thus a presentational structure, whose main function “is not to predicate a property of an argument but to introduce a referent into a discourse, often (but not always) with the purpose of making it available for predication in subsequent discourse” (Lambrech 1994: 177); as such the SV order falls within the domain of topic(ality).

As for transitive verbs, in the OV-s order, the unmarked topic is the subject, and the object is usually expressed as a full (lexical) noun phrase, as in (218), where the object is the (unmarked) focus:

(218) *U shärië-y ga shwle zë-y...*  
House make-1PL.INCL CONN pole cut-1PL.INCL...

‘To make a house we cut the poles’ [lit. ‘We make a house and cut poles’]

In the OV-s order, both participants can have equal (topical) status, in that case the object is expressed by  $\phi$  anaphora, and the subject is expressed by the person indexing suffix:

(219)  $\phi$  *zrö-r-a*  
 $\phi$  kill-PERF-3  
‘[S/he] killed him/her’

In the SOV order there are sporadic situations which could lead one to assume subject suppression (that is,  $\phi$  anaphora), and hence topical status of the subject in that configuration; however, the fact that such situations are possible only with third persons (see (220b) below) clearly suggests that there is no  $\phi$  anaphora, but an instance of the third person singular pronoun:

(220a)  $\phi$  *op ne-no sök*  
 $\phi$  REFL hide-PERF POSIT.SIT  
‘[S/he] hid (him/herself)’

(220b) \*( $\phi$ ) *Juan ï-no*  
( $\phi$ ) Juan see-PERF  
‘\*I, \*you, \*we, \*they/he saw Juan’

While the use of the third person pronoun instead of a lexical noun phrase in the SOV order could be taken as evidence that the subject is an unmarked topic, the fact that, as mentioned in 4.1.2, the SV and SOV orders are generally used discourse-initially, for grounding participants, and to reinforce their identity in some discourse passages, makes this structure appear as marginal strategy to code unmarked topics; indeed, 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 use of these three orders in the expression of information-structure status of participants is nicely illustrated in the opening sentences of the story in 5.1, *T’ër*, repeated here as (221):

(221) *“T’ër” sök ak koyo e. Tlapga ëp yë e shko. Diwa yë*  
“Grandma” POSIT.SIT stone like CFP. Elders corn put DEM in. Water put  
*e shko ga diwa sô-y*  
DEM in CONN water bring-1PL.INCL

“*T’ër*” is kind of a stone. Our ancestors would bring corn and water to it; they would take the water to it’

The opening sentence introduces the topic; it is a presentational (intransitive) sentence, SV, which is followed by another sentence introducing another participant *tlapga* (‘the ancestors’), the subject of an SOV structure. The third sentence is OV-s, and a new focus, *diwa* (‘water’) is mentioned with the same topic  $yë-\phi$  (‘put-3’), where  $\phi$  refers back to the ancestors.

As for marked topics, these are marked by *li*; and, as explained and exemplified in 3.1.6.1, they can be syntactically subjects (35), repeated as (222), objects (36), now (223), and oblique NPs (37), now (224), respectively:

(222) *Plaraga, domer wlenyo... oma plu... ko... ba setro kwa-ra*  
One day, man certain... DEM King... name... 3POSS scepter give-PERF.INV  
*presidente dë. Domer kl-ara li lü ae*  
president OBV. Man CL.ANIMATE-one TOP thief very

‘There was once a man... [there was] that King... called... the president had given him the scepter. That man [we are talking about] was a big thief’

(223) *tîë lok ga “walë kuzong ga walë li yo-y-dë”*  
say PL CONN “woman then CONN woman TOP appoint-1PL.INCL-PROSP”  
‘Then they said, “well then, if it’s a woman, a [that] woman we will appoint”’

(224) *Ga erä  $\phi$  to u li shko*  
CONN just  $\phi$  go house TOP to  
‘Then [he] went to the house’

It goes without saying that the highlighting of a participant as a marked topic is totally speaker-dependent; there is no way to predict when a topic will be *li*-marked. Perhaps the only exception to this statement is the tendency for the subjects in the inverse construction to be *li*-marked, as shown in the first inverted clause of (139), repeated here as (225):

(225) *E ra sroyoz ter-ong sre re reee. Ba shu-kz-a äya li dë.*  
But urine go.down-PERF IDEOPH. 3 gulp-SUD-3 devil TOP OBV  
*Jek ir rir re; shuk ä li dë.*  
Go IDEOPH; gulp devil TOP OBV.

‘But the urine fell down weeee... and the devil gulped it at once. It went weee and the devil drank it’

(225) shows, in addition, that the object of the inverse construction can sometimes be the unmarked topic, as evidenced by its realization as  $\phi$  anaphora (in the second instance of inversion in (225)), and as third person pronoun (in the first inverted clause). When the object of the inverse construction is realized as a lexical noun phrase, its status is that of an unmarked focus, as in the second clause of (222), *ba setro* (‘his scepter’), repeated here as (226):

(226) *Plaraga, domer wlenyo... oma plu... ko... ba setro kwa-ra*  
One day, man certain... DEM King... name... 3POSS scepter give-PERF.INV  
*presidente dë.*  
president OBV.



'There was once a man... [there was] that King... called... the president had given him the scepter'

However, in most cases in which the object of an inverted clause is a lexical noun phrase, it is usually a pronoun or a noun that is not necessarily brand-new, as in (225), where the urine is first introduced in an intransitive clause and then coded as a pronoun and/or  $\phi$  anaphora; the same is true of the lexical object in the last clause of (227), *sho* ('flesh'), which is first introduced as an intransitive subject and then coded as the object of the next (inverted) clause; this is another manifestation of the tendency of the Teribe inverse construction to function in more pragmatic terms (cf. 4.1.4.6):

(227) *Domer lo-no ter toyo; wua-kz-a äya li dē; 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 dē 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 dē.*  
 POSIT.LIE. Flesh NON-EXIST; flesh vomit-PERF.INV devil OBV

'The man fell fown 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'

That the object of the inverse construction is at least as topical as the subject, even if lexical, is evidenced in (228), where it is explicitly coded as a (marked) topic:

(228) *no li shotwa-ra äya dē*  
 person TOP vomit-PERF.INV devil OBV  
 'The devil vomited the man'

The inverse construction thus appears as a "transition" structure in terms of the expression of information-structure status in that its participants exhibit comparable degrees of topicality, with one of them being close to, but not totally new, and thus close to the domain of focality; sometimes it is the object, and sometimes it is the subject that is more topical. Another way of looking at this function of the Teribe inverse construction is through a comparison with a scales, its two pans being the two noun phrases; the weight of each pan is represented by the realization of the noun phrase as either pronominal or lexical plus the presence of the topic marker. Thus in the second clause of (227) the subject is "heavier" and thus less topical (that is, it requires more sign material) than the object, while in (228) it is the object that is less topical.

The last topic-highlighting strategy in Teribe is left-dislocation, whose function is to establish a new participant as the topic of the discourse; that is why this strategy has also been termed "topic-promotion" and characterized as matching "the requirements of syntactic structure and information structure in cases where the two do not naturally coincide" (Lambrecht 1994: 176). In Teribe discourse, it should be noted, left-dislocation behaves similarly to unmarked focalization in that both are strategies that introduce a new participant,

which is likely to persist for some episodes; this is because left-dislocation in Teribe is not a highly marked strategy, but simply represents one more word order pattern that alternates with others, in this case the OV-s order: in both a new participant is introduced and neither implies persistence of the introduced participant; similarly, an already active participant can appear in the left-periphery. This is most evident in narration 5.4, an excerpt of which is presented here as (T2):

(T2) *P'irga yongdo yē-y; p'irga shragwan e dlo-y*  
 Then horizontal pole put-1PL.INCL; then parallel pole DEM break-1PL.INCL

*e lö i; shragwan dlo-y p'ir, yē-y ba kingo.*  
 DEM palm POSS; parallel pole break-1PL.INCL finish, put-1PL.INCL 3 on.

*P'irga lö zē-y klo shko, sho-y, wōsho shi-y.*  
 Then palm cut-1PL.INCL bush in, break-1PL.INCL, sponge tear-1PL.INCL.

*P'irga yē-y yong li kingo shko; ber yongdo.*  
 Then put-1PL.INCL floor TOP on to, remain horizontal pole.

*P'irga erä ba yongdo llum jeg-ong kweni, u yongdo*  
 Then just 3POSS horizontal pole up go-PERF like this, house horizontal pole

*yē-y, uyo kwokum yongdo go eñaglo. Yongdo*  
 put-1PL.INCL, home size horizontal pole with exact. Horizontal pole

*e zo-ro-y; p'irga yē-y llum ba shragwan kwe.*  
 DEM cut-PERF-1PL.INCL; then put-1PL.INCL up 3POSS parallel pole must.

*Yongdo yē-y bamgo; p'irga erä ga shragwan*  
 Horizontal pole put-1PL.INCL first; then just CONN parallel pole

*pri-y dushing go. Dushing e kishgwo klohko-so pöglo roy.*  
 tie up-1PL.INCL reed with. Reed DEM thread bush-ORGN mountain inside.

*Sō-y ga wo-y e pri-y e go ba*  
 Bring-1PL.INCL CONN rend-1PL.INCL DEM tie up-1PL.INCL DEM with 3POSS

*yongdo go pri-y jek är-ong kēm.*  
 horizontal pole with tie up-1PL.INCL go arrive-PERF there.

'Then you put the horizontal poles. You break the parallel poles, which are from palm trees. You break up the parallel poles and put them over the

horizontal ones. You cut the palm trees in the bushes; you break them and take out the inside tissue. Then you put the horizontal poles just like this, the house's horizontal poles, which are the same size as the house. You cut the horizontal poles and then you have to put them on top of the parallel ones, but first you put the horizontal ones. Then you just tie up the parallel ones with reed, which is a kind of thread you get in the mountain. You take it [from there], rend it and tie up the horizontal poles with it. Then you tie up the parallel ones that go on top.'

(T2) shows that although left-dislocation tends to function as a topic-promotion strategy, it is neither the only one, nor is its function limited to that. In (T2) there are four main participants *yongdo* ('horizontal pole'), *shragwan* ('parallel pole'), *lō* 'palm', and *dushing* ('a type of reed'). Each of the four is established/introduced through different strategies but though various strategies have the same topic-establishing function, there is no relationship between each strategy and the amount of text during which the newly introduced topic is kept activated. Thus on line 1 both *yongdo* and *shragwan* are introduced; the former as focus in the OV-s order, and the latter through left-dislocation; on line 2, the third participant *lō* is introduced in a possessive phrase; and it is *lō* that persists for the following clauses up to line 4, where *yongdo* is reactivated. Still activated, *yongdo* is left-dislocated on lines 6-7, and on line 8 it is coded as a lexical noun phrase in the OV-s order. And the only participant introduced through left-dislocation in line 1, is reactivated only on line 8 as a lexical object in the OV-s order. The last participant in the passage, *dushing*, is not introduced through left-dislocation but as the object of a postposition on line 9; in the next clause it is left-detached and continues activated as topic for some clauses. (T2) thus shows that in Teribe left-dislocation does not exclusively function to establish topics, but that it also behaves as a topic continuity strategy.

#### 4.3.1.2 Focus

In the expression of foci, word order appears as the unmarked strategy, while the use of the markers *omgo*, *om* and *ra* constitutes the marked counterpart. In the case of intransitive clauses, as mentioned in 4.3.1.1, they are basically presentational clauses and as such they are excluded from the domain of focality. The two word orders in transitive clauses have different functions in the expression of focality. As mentioned in 4.1.2.1.2.2, the SOV order expresses SENTENCE-FOCUS, a focus structure whose main function is to report an event or introduce a new discourse referent; these structures yield an "eventive" interpretation of the proposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 233); a clear instance of this function of the SOV order appears in the second clause of (221), repeated here (together with the preceding clause) as (229):

(229) "T'ër" sōk ak koyo e. Tlapga ëp yë e shko.

'Grandma' POSIT.SIT stone like CFP. Elders corn put DEM in.

"T'ër" is kind of a stone. Our ancestors would bring corn to it'

The second clause of (229) both provides new information in the subject and predicate and

at the same time packages the proposition as an event, as Lambrecht suggests; the eventive nature of the SOV order is even clearer in the perfective aspect, a well-know fact from typological studies:

(230) *Wëshko tawa parko-no, tawa p'ölo-no, tawa*  
Next day 1PL.EXCL work-PERF, 1PL.EXCL clear mountain-PERF, 1PL.EXCL  
*ëpkwo dgo-no.*  
corn plant-PERF.

'The next day we worked, we cleared bushes, we planted corn'

The third clause in (230) simply reports an event, and though the subject refers to an already activated participant (which could be taken as a sign that the only focal information includes only the verb and the object), in reality it is focusing the whole situation, not just the verb and the object; otherwise the OV-s order would have been used (*ëpkwo dgo-ro-rwa*, corn plant-PERF-1PL.EXCL), which is the order used to focus the object. In other words, the SOV order responds to the question "What happened?", whereas the OV-s order responds to the question "What did X do?" This function of the OV-s order is illustrated in (231):

(231) *Ta icha-ra lok ba shrin; shri-no-rwa p'ir e, llan*  
1SG send-PERF PL 3 peel; peel-PERF-1PL.EXCL finish DEM, shit  
*po-ro-r p'ir, dyo-ro-r p'ir bor klara Rafael tok.*  
clean-PERF-1SG finish, smoke-PERF-1SG finish 1SG.POSS mate Rafael with.  
*P'irga wuo-ro-rwa.*  
Then ate-PERF-1PL.EXCL.

'They had me clean and peel it. We peeled it, I cleaned its entrails and smoked it with my mate Rafael. Then we ate it'

(231) consists of a series of situations in which the presupposition is kept constant (the speaker and his mate Rafael, albeit in alternate mentions across the clauses), and new information (chiefly coded by the predicate) is added. All the participants in the first clause in (231) are activated: the speaker *per definitionem*, the subject (coded by the person indexing suffix), and the wild pig (coded as a third person pronoun from the oblique paradigm, as is the case in subordinate clauses). The same is true for the rest of the clauses, the only difference being the person of the subject. Thus, the OV-s order expresses PREDICATE-FOCUS in those cases in which the object is not a lexical noun phrase; predicate focus is a focus structure "in which the focus and in which the subject (plus any other topical elements) is in the presupposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 222).

When the object in the OV-s order is a lexical noun phrase, this order expresses ARGUMENT-FOCUS, a structure "in which the focus identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 222). That function is clearly illustrated in (232), taken from narration 5.5:

(232) *Ëpkwo e shärië-y boyo wlo ga ëp dguë-y...*  
Corn on the cob DEM make-1PL.INCL boyo PURP CONN corn plant-1PL.INCL...  
*p'irga kéguë tan, shärië-y boyo wlo ga krë-y.*  
then old already, make-1PL.INCL boyo PURP CONN get-1PL.INCL,

*sō-y u shko; p'irga poshtë-y e p'irga klä-y*  
 bring-1PL.INCL house in; then crack-1PL.INCL DEM then grind-1PL.INCL  
*ro shko. Dlunna llë yë-y, di klik yë-y jong,*  
 inside in. Salt MASS put-1PL.INCL water hot put-1PL.INCL POSIT.STAND,  
*yök kingo bamgo.*  
 fire over first.

'You take corn on the cob to make boyo. You plant corn; when it is ready [when it ripens], to make boy you go and bring it into the house. You then crack it and grind it in the house. You put salt and put hot water on the fire [stove] and let it stand there'

All transitive clauses in (232) are exhibit the OV-s order. However, there is a clear difference between those cases in which the subject is a third person pronoun ( $\phi$ ) and those in which it is a lexical noun phrase; in the former, the object is kept activated, it is in the presupposition, in Lambrecht's terms, whereas in the latter, the object is new information. The first clause in (232) is an instance of left-dislocation used to introduce a participant (*ëpkwo* 'corn on the cob'), which gets firmly established in the second clause, where it is still coded as a lexical noun phrase; it continues as the topic of the following six clauses. The only new information in these six clauses is the predicate; in these clauses then the OV-s order expresses predicate focus. Line four in (232) contains two instances of the OV-s order; the object in these two clauses is new and does not persist in successive clauses; it is clear that these referents represent "the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition" (cf. above); they represent an argument-focus structure.

Whereas all three types of focus structures, SENTENCE-FOCUS, PREDICATE-FOCUS, and ARGUMENT-FOCUS, can be expressed by the two unmarked word order patterns (SOV for the first type of focus structure and OV-s for the other two), marked focality is only employed in the expression of argument focus. The three focus markers *omgo*, *om* and *ra* highlight their status as being different from the presupposition; but while *omgo* and *ra* are postposed to a noun phrase, *om* is practically a pronoun, albeit a special one. As noted in 3.1.6.2 in the case of *om*, its function is to highlight its status by opposing it to the default topical status of third persons; in other words, the presence of *om* is a signal to the hearer: "note that this person is not exactly one that we have been talking about, but the one just talked about, the recently introduced one".<sup>36</sup> *Om* usually appears after the first mention of a participant; it resumes that participant until it either becomes established as the new topic or disappears from the scene; this is shown in (233):

- (233) *"pa tlë tlökwo", lë-p ga kone kone om kuk lok voydë llëme;*  
 "2SG speak language", say-2SG CONN some FOC hear PL want NEG;

<sup>36</sup>The reader is referred to 3.1.6.2, where a comprehensive discussion of the function of *om* is offered. The interest of this section is not to discuss its function but to analyze it in terms of its place within the participant-highlighting system of Teribe, concretely in terms of focus structures; the same holds for *omgo* and *ra*.

*e lë-r li e kī, gueniyo ga si opin lok voydë jlökoyo...*  
 DEM say-1SG there DEM because, but CONN if learn PL want really...

"You say you speak the language" and some do not want to hear IT; and that's why I say there, though if they really want to learn (it)...

The difference between *om* and  $\phi$  (or even *ba*) is that the referent, in this case *tlökwo* ('the language'), is not established as the topic, but at the same time it is not in its first mention in the text; *om* represents its first reference to it. In the last clause it is referred to by means of the third person pronoun  $\phi$ , which indicates that it became the topic of the episode.

The distribution of *om* and *omgo* correlates with the syntactic status of the referents they focus; while *om* only focuses objects, *omgo* only focuses subjects, both preverbal (234) and postverbal (235):

- (234) *Ta jek omgo*

1SG go FOC

'I am going'

- (235) *Bor data tlë ga kwe jïorkog-do miga lüyoka-ga kwe dë omgo*

1POSS father say CONN DEM lie-PART but steel-INV DEM OBJV FOC

'My dad says that he is lying and that HE stole it'

The frequency of both *omgo* and *om* is not very high, partly because the unmarked mechanisms of participant-highlighting (word order) are rather effective (recall the word order in Teribe practically represents the syntacticization of information structure) and partly because both markers are used when the general correlations SUBJECT-TOPIC and OBJECT-FOCUS are disrupted; in (234) and (235) the new information, the argument "missing" is the subject, while in (233) it is the object.

Whereas *omgo* and *om* signal disruption of the general correlation between pragmatic status and grammatical relation, the role of the other participant-highlighting marker, *ra*, is to express counter-expectancy or contrast; this function is clearly shown in (236), where the passage refers to two men jumping over a bewitched reed, each having a different fate when trying to skip it; *ra* signals that difference:

- (236) *Jek optë ba kingo, le ga jem pōyong eni eni eni eni.*

come jump 3 over, say.IMP.INV CONN come.up down so so so so.

*Kl-ara ra opto-no jek juni ga za-ra k'i*

CL.ANIMATE-one CONT-FOC jump-PERF come here CONN cut-PERF.INV reed

*li dë llëme; dök-tong plú e, le. Kl-ara tek ba irgo*

TOP OBJV NEG; skip-PERF good CFP, say.IMP.INV. CL.ANIMATE-one go 3 after

*e li ra za-ra k'i li dë do-pök tats erä eni*

DEM TOP CONT-FOC cut-PERF.INV reed TOP OBJV CL.ANIMATE-two half just so

'[They] jumped over it and went up and down, like that. ONE DID jump to this side and the reed did not cut him; he skipped it just fine. Another one was behind him, but THAT ONE was cut by the reed into two halves right there'

It should be noted that counterexpectancy does not entail the expression of a "missing argument", in Lambrecht's terms, but rather, it takes arguments with their own information-

structure status for granted, and it simply highlights the fact that the topic or focus stands in an opposition relationship with whatever is expected of it; in this respect contrast or counterexpectancy is not exactly a focus structure, in that it does not assert but rather stresses

(S5) *The grammar of participant-highlighting in Teribe*<sup>37</sup>

	TOPIC	FOCUS
UNMARKED	[- trans.] { -SV (PRESENTATIONAL) -S(pro ~ φ)V -Left Periphery → (S = topic)	---
	[+ trans.] { -O(lexical)V-s → (-s = topic) -Left Periphery (either S or O = topic)	{ -O(lexical)V-s(topic) → ARGUMENT-FOCUS -O(lexical)VS(topic) → ARGUMENT-FOCUS -O(pro)V-s (O and -s topics) → PREDICATE-FOCUS -O(pronoun)VS (O and -s topics) → PREDICATE-FOCUS -SOV → SENTENCE-FOCUS
MARKED	[- trans.] -S <i>li</i> V	-S <i>omgo</i> V
	[+ trans.] { -O <i>li</i> V-s -OVS <i>li</i> -*SO <i>li</i> V (unattested)	{ -OVS <i>omgo</i> → ARGUMENT-FOCUS -S <i>omgo</i> OV → ARGUMENT-FOCUS -S <i>om</i> V → ARGUMENT-FOCUS -* <i>om</i> V-s
	CONTRAST	
[- trans.]	-S( <i>li</i> ) <i>ra</i> V	
[+ trans.]	-S( <i>li</i> ) <i>ra</i> OV -OVS( <i>li</i> ) <i>ra</i> -O <i>ra</i> V-s -O <i>ra</i> VS	

either the assertion or the presupposition, as the case may be. This explains why both topics and foci can be contrasted; in the last clause of (236), a retrievable participant is reactivated via left dislocation; inside the clause it is resumed by the demonstrative *e*, which is *li*-marked and, in addition, it is contrasted; in other words, what this structure is doing is stating that whatever happened to the very topic of the passage runs counter to what was expected by and/or of it, namely, that it could not skip the reed. As mentioned in 3.1.6.2, *ra* tends to contrast mainly subjects, which usually happen to be topics (both marked and unmarked (*li*)). The relevance of this fact for a general theory of participant-highlighting merits further study. The totality of the participant-highlighting mechanisms and their functions in Teribe is summarized in (S5).

<sup>37</sup>(S5) oversteps the synopsis presented in (Quesada & Soares 1999 and Quesada 1999b).

## 5. Teribe texts

This chapter contains five texts, three stories, one “instruction” and one “recipe”, presented in a threefold version: a Teribe version, followed by a glossed version and an free translation into English. Four of these texts were collected during the project and are part of a larger number of stories compiled for a book in preparation, likely to be published in Spanish (and Teribe). The story in 5.2 is taken from Gamarra & Vargas (n.d.), with permission from Mr. Vargas, whose courtesy is deeply acknowledged. The original version is not glossed and spelled differently from the alphabet used in this book; the spelling (including punctuation) has been adapted and glosses have been provided, as has been the free translation, which differs from that in the original version (which is in Spanish).

### 5.1 T'ër

*Margarita Calixto*

“T'ër” sòk ak koyo e. Tlapga ëp yë e shko. Diwa yë e shko ga diwa sòy ga yë wlo. Ga shi swlo ara ga shi swlo jer wlo, le tlapgaga dë eni. Söya tlapga dë ba u shko ga diwa sòya ba u shko; yë twe ba u shko. Junyo ba ëp sòra jem, le. E twe sòya ba u shko; ye tlapga li dë. Tlapga swlo ara, ba swlo li jer wlo, jek ga eri, le eni. E “t'ër” kowe tlapgaga dë; “t'ër” le. Dena shko ga eni; gueniyo ga erishkoga llë shäriëba e shko ame. Ëng, eröe.

T'ër  
Grandma

“T'ër” sòk ak koyo e. Tlapga ëp yë e shko. Di-wa yë  
“Grandma” POSIT.SIT stone like CFP. Elder corn put DEM in. Water-DIM put

e shko ga di-wa sò-y ga yë wlo. Ga shi swlo  
DEM in CONN water-DIM bring-1PL.INCL CONN put in order to. CONN 1PL.INCL illness

ara ga shi swlo jer wlo, le tlapga-ga dë eni.  
much CONN 1PL.INCL illness go.down PURP, say.IMP.INV elder-PL OBV so.

Sö-ya tlapga dë ba u shko ga di-wa sò-ya ba u  
Bring-IMP.INV elder OBV 3POSS house in CONN water-DIM bring-IMP.INV 3POSS house

shko; yë twe ba u shko. Junyo ba ëp sò-r-a jem, le.  
in; put come 3POSS house in. Dough 3POSS corn bring-PERF-3 go.down, say.IMP.INV.

E twe sò-ya ba u shko; ye tlapga li dë. Tlapga swlo  
DEM come bring-IMP.INV 3POSS house in; put.IMP.INV elder TOP OBV. Elder illness

T'ër

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ara, ba swlo li jer wlo, jek ga eri, le eni. E “t'ër”  
much, 3POSS illness TOP go.down PURP, go CONN then, say.IMP.INV so. And “grandma”

kowe tlapga-ga dë; “t'ër” le. Dena shko ga eni;  
call.IMP.INV elder-PL OBV; “grandma” say.IMP.INV. Antiquity in CONN so;

gueniyo ga erishko ga llë shärië-ba e shko ame. Ëng, eröe.  
but CONN nowadays CONN what make-DS DEM in no longer. Yes, all.

### The Grandma Stone

“T'ër” is kind of a stone. Our ancestors would bring corn and a little water to it; they would take the water to it, so that whenever we were ill the illness would lessen, so say our elders. They would take it home, the water, and they would leave it [at the stone] and come home. They say that they would also take some dough, corn, and then they would take it back home. And the elders would leave it there. If they were ill, the illness would reduce, so they say. And the elders would call it “Grandma”, “grandma”, they say. In the old days it used to be like that, but nowadays people do not do that anymore. That is all.

### 5.2 Tlapga wue dbong dë e lanyo

*Faciano Vargas and Emilia Gamarra*

Paralaga tlapga löng ga klara jer shäng di krë ga ÿya beno löng uy li dë ga domer tek shäng klara.

–“Miga”, le tlapga löng li kong ga jer llet. Kuya beno löng u shko li dë ga tlapga jer shäng di krë li kowë plugone, le.

–“¿E ötong ro? Shi to ik”, le lok ëng kong ga twe e shko ga ÿya ga tlapga tem shäng.

–“¿E pa ötong ro?”, le lok ba kong. Kuya tlapga li dë ga

–“Ta shgawaga dbong dë”, le ba peyo li kong. Kuya tlapga li dë ga

–“E domer ter e shäng llë li kworkwokdo dbong”, le lok ëng kong, “Kwe li e shi to ik u shko, e wen jem shäng dlup go de ÿy wlo”, le lok.

Tlapgaga li jem är u shko ga ÿya ga domer li wen jem shäng këm dlup li go. Ey ga tlapga sòk klara obi e sòk shkwerbo shärië ga ÿya ga domer tem shäng klara. Domer li temong, twe tlapga sòk li, shakza pang erä ga

–“Ööng”, le tlapga li dë ga kuya ba peyo löng u shko li dë ga

–“Ööng, ¿e ötong ro?”, le lok ba peyoga li dë ga kura domer li dë. Ga tlapga li rayakza wlets erä ga domer li jem llet erä.

Ey ga luna juni ga tlapga jer jek shäng klara wë e koshë lok këre ga twe llëme.

–“¿E ötong ro?”, le lok ëng kong, “e shi to ik”, le tlapga dë. Jer löng är e shko ga ÿya ga tlapga li käkzon e srëng beno teng erä; ÿya lok jem tsira ga dbong sakwo beno teng kwo chira llëme. Tlapga tle ëng kong ga

-“E wuara dbong dë dikoyo e”, le lok. Kuya tlapga klara dë ga

-“E shi to”, lë tlapga ybi kong, “ötong e wuaga llë midëy wlo”, le klara li dë ba peyo li kong.

Eni ga tlapga li llet ärong ybi li shwoy, tlë ga

-“Tawa klara wuara llë dë midërwa llëme. E kī ga kakrokëp borwa kong tsira”, le lok ba kong. Eni ga kakrokara ybi li dë ga tlë ga

-“Pây domer îno jem shäng klara lëmi li kworkwono dbong ga tlapga e wuak e dë gueniyo ga dbong e brikdë llëme. E buk p’ing gloro roworbe ga p’ing e sumi pribri e”, le tlapgaga li kong.

Eni ga tlapga li llet p’ing li suk e ga sura pribri ga klosho li pono p’ir ga îya lok är e shko ga dbong li pono beno ñoño erä. Dbong lanyo ëre eni.

**Tlapga wue dbong dë e lanyo**  
Elder eat.IMP.INV tiger OBV DEM story

*Plaraga tlapga löng ga kl-ara jer shäng di krë*  
Once elder POSIT.BE CONN CL.ANIMATE-one go.down POSIT.STAND water get

*ga î-ya be-no löng uy li dë ga domer tek shäng*  
CONN see-IMP.INV remain-PERF POSIT.BE home TOP OBV CONN man come POSIT.STAND

*kl-ara.*  
CL.ANIMATE-one.

-“Miga”, le *tlapga löng li kong ga jer llet. Ku-ya*  
-“Hello”, say.IMP.INV elder POSIT.BE REL to CONN go.down fast. Hear-IMP.INV

*be-no löng u shko li dë ga tlapga jer shäng di krë*  
remain-PERF POSIT.BE house in REL OBV CONN elder go.down POSIT.STAND water get

*li kowë plugone, le.*  
REL cry noise, say.IMP.INV

-“¿E ö-tong ro? Shi to ik”, le *lok ëng kong ga twe*  
-“DEM go-PERF inside 1PL.INCL go see”, say.IMP.INV PL RECP to CONN come

*e shko ga î-ya ga tlapga tem shäng.*  
DEM in CONN see-IMP.INV CONN elder go.up POSIT.STAND.

-“¿E pa ö-tong ro?”, le *lok ba kong. Ku-ya tlapga*  
-“DEM 2SG go-PERF inside”, say.IMP.INV PL 3 to. Hear-IMP.INV elder

*li dë ga*  
TOP OBV CONN

*Ta shgawa-ga dbong dë, le ba peyo li kong. Ku-ya*  
1SG frighten-INV tiger OBV, say.IMP.INV 3POSS family TOP to. Hear-IMP.INV

*tlapga li dë ga*  
elder TOP OBV CONN

-“E domer ter e shäng llë li kworkwok-do dbong”,  
-“DEM man go.down DEM POSIT.STAND what REL become-PFC tiger”,

*le lok ëng kong, “Kwe li e shi to ik u shko, e wen jem*  
say.IMP.INV PL RECP to, “DEM REL DEM 1PL.INCL go see house in, DEM appear come.up

*shäng dlup go de î-y wlo”, le lok.*  
POSIT.STAND hillock with Q see-1PL.INCL PURP”, say.IMP.INV PL.

*Tlapga-ga li jem är u shko ga î-ya ga domer li wen*  
Elder-PL TOP come.up arrive house in CONN see-IMP.INV CONN man TOP appear

*jem shäng këm dlup li go. Ey ga tlapga sök kl-ara*  
come.up POSIT.STAND there hillock TOP with. There CONN elder POSIT.SIT CL.ANIMATE-one

*obi e sök shkwerbo shärië ga î-ya ga domer tem shäng*  
again DEM POSIT.LIVE cotton belt make CONN see-IMP.INV CONN man go.up POSIT.STAND

*kl-ara. Domer li tem-ong, twe tlapga sök li, sha-kz-a*  
CL.ANIMATE-one. Man TOP go.up-PERF, come elder POSIT.SIT REL, grab-SUD-3

*pang erä ga*  
POSIT.HANG just CONN

-“Ööong” le *tlapga li dë ga ku-ya ba peyo löng*  
-“IDEOPH” say.IMP.INV elder TOP OBV CONN hear-IMP.INV 3POSS family POSIT.BE

*u shko li dë ga*  
house in REL OBV CONN

-“Ööong, ¿e ö-tong ro?”, le *lok ba peyo-ga li dë ga*  
-“IDEOPH, DEM go-PERF inside”, say.IMP.INV PL 3POSS family-PL TOP OBV CONN

ku-ra domer li dë. Ga tlapga li raya-kz-a wlets erä ga domer  
hear-PERF.INV man TOP OBV. CONN elder TOP release-SUD-3 suddenly just CONN man

li jem llet erä.  
TOP come.up fast just.

Ey ga luna juni ga tlapga jer jek shäng  
There CONN beforehand CONN elder come.down come POSIT.STAND

kl-ara wë e koshë lok këre ga twe llëme.  
CL.ANIMATE-one wash DEM wait PL INTENS CONN come NEG.

-“¿E ö-tong ro?”, le lok ëng kong, “e shi to ik”,  
-“DEM go-PERF inside”, say.IMP.INV PL RECP to, “DEM 1PL.INCL go see”,

le tlapga dë. Jer löng är e shko ga i-ya ga  
say.IMP.INV elder OBV. Come.down POSIT.BE arrive DEM in CONN see-IMP.INV CONN

tlapga li käkzon e srëng be-no teng erä; i-ya lok jem tsira  
elder TOP hair DEM blood remain-PERF POSIT.BE just; see-IMP.INV PL come.up little

ga dbong sakwo be-no teng kwo chira llëme. Tlapga tle ëng kong ga  
CONN tiger finger remain-PERF POSIT.BE size small NEG. Elder say RECP to CONN

-“E wua-ra dbong dë dikoyo e”, le lok. Ku-ya tlapga  
-“DEM eat-PERF.INV tiger OBV seem CFP”, say.IMP.INV PL. Hear-IMP.INV elder

kl-ara dë ga  
CL.ANIMATE-one OBV CONN

-“E shi to”, lë tlapga ybi kong, “ö-tong e wua-ga llë  
-“DEM 1PL.INCL go”, say elder sukia to, “go-PERF DEM eat-INV what

midë-y wlo”, le kl-ara li dë ba peyo li kong.  
know-1PL.INCL PURP”, say.IMP.INV CL.ANIMATE-one TOP OBV 3POSS family TOP to.

Eni ga tlapga li llet är-ong ybi li shwoy, tlë ga  
So CONN elder TOP fast arrive-PERF sukia TOP place, say CONN

-“Tawa kl-ara wua-ra llë dë midë-rwa llëme. E  
-“1PL.EXCL CL.ANIMATE-one eat-PERF.INV what OBV know-1PL.EXCL NEG. DEM

kī ga kakrokë-p borwa kong tsira”, le lok ba kong. Eni ga  
because CONN ask-2SG 1PL.EXCL to little”, say.IMP.INV PL 3 to. So CONN

kakroka-ra ybi li dë ga tlë ga  
ask-PERF.INV sukia TOP OBV CONN say CONN

-“Päy domer i-no jem shäng kl-ara lë-mi li  
-“2PL man see-PERF come.up POSIT.STAND CL.ANIMATE-one say-2PL REL

kworkwo-no dbong ga tlapga e wua-k e dë gueniyo ga dbong  
become-PERF tiger CONN elder dem eat-INV DEM OBV however CONN tiger

e brik-dë llëme. E buk p'ing gloro roworbe ga p'ing e  
DEM leave-PROSP NEG. DEM POSIT.LIE bush heap middle CONN bush DEM

su-mi pribri e”, le tlapga-ga li kong.  
burn-2PL around CFP”, say.IMP.INV elder-PL TOP to.

Eni ga tlapga li llet p'ing li suk e ga su-r-a pribri ga  
So CONN elder TOP fast bush REL burn DEM CONN burn-PERF-3 around CONN

klosho li po-no p'irga i-ya lok är e shko ga dbong li  
bush TOP burn-PERF then see-IMP.INV PL arrive DEM in CONN tiger TOP

po-no be-no ñoño erä. Dbong lanyo ëre eni.  
burn-PERF remain-PERF coal just. Tiger story DEM so.

#### How the tiger devoured one of our ancestors

There were once some elders and one of them went to get some water; those who remained in the house saw a man coming.

-“Hello”, he said to the elders there, and continued quickly. Those who stayed home heard the cries of the man who had gone to get the water, the story goes.

-“What happened? Let’s go and see”, they said to one another and went there; they saw the man coming back up.

-“What happened to you?”, they asked him and heard him say:

-“A tiger frightened me”, he said to them, who then said:

-“That is the man who passed by; he has become a tiger. Let’s go back to the house to see if he appears on that hillock.”

The elders went back up to the house and saw that the man was walking up the hillock. Meanwhile there was an old lady making a cotton belt; she saw the man walking toward her. He approached her and snatched her right away. She screamed:

-“Ouch!” Her relatives who were in the house heard her scream and asked:

-“What happened?” The man heard them and immediately released her and left very quickly.

Before that happened, an elder had gone to wash [in the river]; his relatives had been waiting for him, but he did not come back.

-“What could have happened [to him]?”, they said. Let’s go take a look. They went to where he was bathing and only found his hair and blood. They walked up a bit further and saw a tiger’s very big footprints. They said:

-“It seems that the tiger has devoured him.” One of them said:

-“Let’s go and tell the sukia, so we know what happened and what ate him”. They went to the sukia’s and said to him:

-“We don’t know what devoured one of us. Please inquire about it on our behalf.” So he did and said to them:

-“The man you said you saw became a tiger and devoured that elder; however, he has not left yet; he is hiding in the middle of the bush. Go and burn it.”

So they quickly went to set the bush on fire and it burned. When the fire ended they saw the tiger’s remains totally charred. That’s the story of the tiger.

### 5.3 Tawa jem jerong wlorkë kokshko

Milton Villagra

Tawa wlorkë kokshko ga tawa opshino jem jü shko dwayo ga... kok las nwebe... tawa jem löng las nwebe... llegamos tawa ötong llum... dyes, no a las nwebe. Tawa ötong llum a las tres de la tarde; eshkoga p’irga tawa jem; tawa ötong... Tawa ötong... tawa jem löng bislonso llum Töblor dlubyo. Tawa jek, tawa dbong kuklo ñno. Tawa jek löng shko jegong jegong këm ga tawa dibzono diwa plara shko ko Töblor obi.

Eshko tawa jem Töblor kwo kalëkong dlubyo ga tawa jem sok sok llum ga tawa jek këm juniga shrë tuktong eshko beno jong... shtoyo ko Wirdam. Tawa shrë tuktong e shko tawa jem. Tawa ötong borwa ukwang shko ga... bor kégue Toño jem shäng bebi, jek jerong ba lök, jem ba lök ga löra klara kok séng, komo las seys. Ta söra lok ga ta yara lok beno sök u shko toksa. Ta kok bangkrë chira llëme llëme llëme llëme ga ta beno sök u shko ga twe beno séng e. Ta ichara lok ba shrin; shrinorwa p’ir e, llan poror p’ir, dyoror p’ir bor klara Rafael tok. P’irga wuororwa.

Wëshko tawa parkono, tawa p’ölonno, tawa ëpkwo dgono. P’irga tawa jek jerong kok ko Adlu; tawa ötong löng e shko. Tawa jek jerong parkë, kok ik. Kok jemong e shko wolëso; tawa jemong ba ik. Tawa jek jerong shwling tlin bebi; tawa shwling tline. Ichororwa ter Akdlu, jer juni poglogo pang. Tawa jer jerong; tlinorwa shiti go ga tawa jer ärong deu di kës ba koshë e shko, ba koshororwa ga to borwa shiryo. Tawa bogro kara e. Tawa tem löng kok séng ga pli chira llëme. Orkwo... shwling drete.

Tawa shrono u shko ga shunyo chira llëme llëme llëme ga tawa kok séng ga bweno,

tawa yono llë, tawa dli lino llë. Tawa ter... tawa ter, tawa ter, tawa tek to irbo ga dbong e jektong obi, ter jong, ter jong, ter jong; twe jong llugo... soy e, Kundillik ga kok séng ga tawa shrono löng e shko. Ta ëpkwo söno kwöbö, ter llum li kong dwayo, séngna tsira wuoror.

Eshkoga tawa jegong u shko. Tawa jegong u shko, loror bor mekë kong “tawa to ötong eni eni eni”, loror bor mekë kong, bor data kong. Bor mekë wo owa llëme, bor data, bor peyga llë bebi. P’irga erä e shko.

Tawa jem jer-ong wlorkë kokshko  
1PL.EXCL come.up come.down-PERF hunt up

Tawa wlorkë kokshko ga tawa opshi-no jem jü shko dwayo  
1PL.EXCL hunt up CONN 1PL.EXCL leave-PERF come.up here in from

ga... kok las nwebe... tawa jem löng las nwebe... llegamos tawa  
CONN... place nine o’clock... 1PL.EXCL come.up POSIT.BE nine o’clock... we came 1PL.EXCL

ö-tong llum... dyes, no a las nwebe. Tawa ö-tong llum a las tres de la tarde;  
go-PERF up... ten o’clock, no nine o’clock. 1PL.EXCL go-PERF up three in the afternoon

eshkoga p’irga tawa jem; tawa ö-tong... Tawa ö-tong... tawa  
then finish 1PL.EXCL come.up; 1PL.EXCL go-PERF... 1PL.EXCL go-PERF... 1PL.EXCL

jem löng bislon-so llum Töblor dlubyo. Tawa jek, tawa dbong  
come.up POSIT.BE side-ORGN up Töblor top. 1PL.EXCL come, 1PL.EXCL tiger

kuklo ñ-no. Tawa jek löng shko jeg-ong jeg-ong këm ga  
footprint see-PERF. 1PL.EXCL come POSIT.BE in come-PERF come-PERF there CONN

tawa dibzono diwa pl-ara shko ko Töblor obi.  
1PL.EXCL cross-PERF brook CL.LONG-one in name Töblor again.

Eshko tawa jem Töblor kwo kalëkong dlubyo ga tawa jem  
Then 1PL.EXCL come.up Töblor size rearmost top CONN 1PL.EXCL come.up

sok sok llum ga tawa jek këm juniga shrë tuk-tong eshko  
hide up CONN 1PL.EXCL come there like this wild pig escape-PERF then

be-no jong shtoyo ko Wirdam. Tawa shrë tuk-tong e shko  
remain-PERF POSIT.STAND place name Wirdam. 1PL.EXCL wild pig escape-PERF DEM in



tawa jem. Tawa ö-tong borwa ukwang shko ga... bor kégue  
1PL.EXCL come.up. 1PL.EXCL go-PERF 1PL.EXCL.POSS hut in CONN... 1SG.POSS uncle

Toño jem shäng bebi, jek jer-ong ba lök, jem ba lök ga  
Toño come.up POSIT.STAND too, come come.down-PERF 3 shoot, come.up 3 shoot CONN

lö-r-a kl-ara kok séng, komo las seys. Ta sö-r-a lok ga ta  
shoot-PERF-3 CL.ANIMATE-one time late, about six o'clock. 1SG take-PERF-3 PL CONN 1SG

ya-r-a lok be-no sök u shko toksa. Ta kok bangkrë chira llëme llëme  
put-PERF-3 PL remain-PERF POSIT.SIT house in alone. 1SG place fear small NEG NEG

llëme llëme ga ta be-no sök u shko ga twe be-no séng e.  
NEG NEG CONN 1SG remain-PERF POSIT.SIT house in CONN come remain-PERF late CFP.

Ta icha-r-a lok ba shrin; shri-no-rwa p'ir e, llan po-ro-r p'ir,  
1SG send-PERF-3 PL 3 peel; peel-PERF-1PL.EXCL finish DEM, shit clean-PERF-1SG finish,

dyo-ro-r p'ir bor klara Rafael tok. P'irga wuo-ro-rwa.  
smoke-PERF-1SG finish 1SG.POSS mate Rafael with. Then ate-PERF-1PL.EXCL.

Wëshko tawa parko-no, tawa p'ölo-no, tawa ëpkwo  
Next day 1PL.EXCL work-PERF, 1PL.EXCL clear mountain-PERF, 1PL.EXCL corn

dgo-no. P'irga tawa jek jer-ong kok ko Adlu; tawa ö-tong  
plant-PERF. Then 1PL.EXCL come come.down-PERF place name Adlu; 1PL.EXCL go-PERF

läng e shko. Tawa jek jer-ong parkë, kok ik. Kok jem-ong  
POSIT.BE DEM in. 1PL.EXCL come come.down-PERF work, place see. Place come.up-PERF

e shko wolëso; tawa jem-ong ba ik. Tawa jek jer-ong  
DEM in pretty; 1PL.EXCL come.up-PERF 3 see. 1PL.EXCL come come.down-PERF

shwling tlin bebi; tawa shwling tli-no. Icho-ro-rwa ter Akdlu,  
deer bark too; 1PL.EXCL deer bark-PERF. Send-PERF-1PL.EXCL go.down Akdlu,

jer juni poglo go pang. Tawa jer jer-ong;  
come.down here edge with POSIT.HANG. 1PL.EXCL come.down come.down-PERF;

tli-no-rwa shiti go ga tawa jer är-ong deu di kës  
bark-PERF-1PL.EXCL dog with CONN 1PL.EXCL come.down arrive-PERF down river big

ba koshë e shko, ba koshö-ro-rwa ga to borwa shiryo. Tawa  
3 wait DEM in, 3 wait-PERF-1PL.EXCL CONN go 1PL.EXCL.POSS position. 1PL.EXCL

bogro ka-r-a e. Tawa tem läng kok séng ga pli chira llëme.  
eye grab-PERF-3 CFP. 1PL.EXCL go.up POSIT.BE time late CONN hunger small NEG.

Orkwo... shwling drete.  
Hand... deer NON-EXIST.

Tawa shro-no u shko ga shunyo chira llëme llëme llëme ga  
1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF house in CONN rain small NEG NEG NEG CONN

tawa kok séng ga bweno, tawa yo-no llë, tawa dli-li-no llë.  
1PL.EXCL time late CONN well, 1PL.EXCL eat-PERF MASS, 1PL.EXCL food-cook-PERF MASS

Tawa ter... tawa ter, tawa ter, tawa tek to irbo  
1PL.EXCL go.down... 1PL.EXCL go.down, 1PL.EXCL go.down, 1PL.EXCL come go road

ga dbong e jek-tong obi, ter jong, ter jong,  
CONN tiger DEM come-PERF again, come.down POSIT.STAND, come.down POSIT.STAND,

ter jong; twe jong llugo... soy e, Kundillik ga kok séng  
come.down POSIT.STAND; come POSIT.STAND there... near DEM, Kundillik CONN time late

ga tawa shro-no läng e shko. Ta ëpkwo sö-no kw-öbö,  
CONN 1PL.EXCL arrive-PERF POSIT.BE DEM in. 1SG corn take-PERF CL.ROUND-some,

ter llum li kong dwayo, sängna tsira wuo-ro-r.  
go.down up there to from, meat little eat-PERF-1SG

Eshkoga tawa jeg-ong u shko. Tawa jeg-ong u shko, lo-ro-r  
Then 1PL.EXCL come-PERF house in. 1PL.EXCL come-PERF house in, tell-PERF-1SG

bor mekë kong "tawa to ö-tong eni eni eni", lo-ro-r bor  
1SG.POSS mother to "1PL.EXCL go go-PERF so so so", tell-PERF-1SG 1SG.POSS

mekë kong, bor data kong. Bor mekë wo owa llëme, bor data,  
mother to, 1SG.POSS father to. 1SG.POSS mother liver bad NEG, 1SG.POSS father,

bor peyga llë bebi. P'irga erä e shko.  
1SG.POSS family MASS too. Then just DEM in.

### We went hunting up in the mountain

We went hunting up in the mountain and we left from here around nine o'clock. We left at nine o'clock. We went up at ten; no, at nine. We got there at three in the afternoon, which is when we finally got there. We went on and on up to the top of the Töblor Mountain. We got there and saw the tiger's footprints. We got there and crossed a brook also called Töblor.

Then we went up to the other side of the Töblor Mountain and hid quickly because there was a wild pig, which escaped. Then we stayed in a place called Wirdam. The wild pig had lost us and we continued up mountain. We got to our hut; my uncle Toño was with us too. We went shooting, and [finally] killed one [wild pig] rather late, around six o'clock. They took me and left me alone in the hut. I was very afraid and had to stay there till very late. They told me to clean and peel it. We peeled it, I cleaned its entrails and smoked it with my mate Rafael. Then we ate it.

The next day we worked, we cleared bushes, we planted corn. Then we headed down to a place called Akdlu; we went and stayed there. We went to see the place and work (there). That place was beautiful. We went up there to see it. We then came down to chase deer too; we chased deer. We chased it all the way down to Akdlu; we chased it with the dogs. We went down to the river to wait for (anticipate) it. We awaited it and went back to our posts, but it fooled us.<sup>1</sup> We got back very late and were very hungry; and there was no deer.

When we got back to our hut it was raining a lot and it was late for us. Well, we cooked and ate something. We came down until we got to the road (pathway); the tiger had been there again. We kept coming down until we were near Kundillik; it was late so we stayed there. I took down some corn from there; I ate some meat.

We then came home; we came home. I told my mother the trip had been so and so; I told my mother and my father. My mother was very happy, and so were my father and family. That was all.

### 5.4 U shäriëy sorë

Cristino Villagra

U shäriëy ga shwle zëy... shwle zëy doglo pkeng... plöy klung roy unkong ga -siwaga "poste"- unkong ga doglo shkau ba u li kwokum ga eñaglo. P'irga shwle plöy; plëyo key deu ga plöy; p'irga llwëy ber ñotso. P'irga yongdo yëy; p'irga shragwan e dloy e lö ī; shragwan dloy p'ir, yëy ba kingo. P'irga lö zëy kloshko, shoy, wōsho shiy. P'irga yëy yong li kingo shko, ber yongdo. P'irga erä ba yongdo llum jegong kweni, u yongdo yëy, uyo kwokum yongdo go eñaglo. Yongdo e zoroy; p'irga yëy llum ba shragwan kwe. Yongdo yëy bamgo;

<sup>1</sup>The expression *bogro kē*, means literally 'to poke someone's eye', but is used in the sense of 'to pull someone's leg, to fool someone.'

p'irga erä ga shragwan priy dushing go. Dushing e kishgwo kloshkoso p'öglo roy. Söy ga woy e priy e go ba yongdo go priy jek ärong këm. P'irga ba shragwan priy jemong, ärong llum. P'irga erä ugo skok, kloga ko "ugo"; ugo llëme ga "kwong", llëme ga "pungo", e llë "klungo"; gueniyo ga pluyo li ugo; ugo erä. Ugo e skoy e töy, orkwo kwara krëy, töy teng sakkwara a sakkwara kinsho shken orkwo eni bayo eni; sakkwara a sakpök erä. Eni ga diy diy diy, ga söydë u shko ga yey teng ga kwirkë, kwirkë ber koglo srëngsrëng erä. Eni ga klung ber dyor dyor ga sey, sey srogwan go, sroglo e zëy ga, e woy. P'irga erä seyde e go shko; jegong ga ba ko "estera" sey -ba korga kwe ko "estera". P'irga eni ga ärong llum; p'irga erä zeroy, p'irga dyüy dlo shko. P'irga doglo ga erä p'oydë; p'ëy jemong ga ba sdayo ba junikong kwe t'uk. P'irga ugo zëy jemong, siwa ī ga "un pie"; p'irga sey jemong ärong ba dbo. Liga p'irtong e. U p'irtong ga shi jongña k'or zë obi tyoklo wlo. Ugo dbo yëy llum, ère pungo; pun e skoy ga erä töy ba kingo terong um um um ärong këm, shunyo shrë llëme wlo. P'irga erä k'or priydë kishgwo go ga ber teng llum, pluk llë twe ga bakwë llëme. U kwara ga shäriëy ga eni.

U shärië-y sorë  
House make-1PL.INCL how

U shärië-y ga shwle zë-y... shwle zë-y doglo  
House make-1PL.INCL CONN pole cut-1PL.INCL... pole cut-1PL.INCL CL.ANIMATE

pkeng... plö-y klung roy unkong ga -siwa-ga "poste"- unkong ga  
five... thrust-1PL.INCL earth inside all CONN -white-PL "poste"- all CONN

doglo shkau ba u li kwokum ga eñaglo. P'irga shwle plö-y, plëyo  
CL.ANIMATE nine 3POSS house TOP size CONN exact. Then pole thrust-1PL.INCL, hole

ke-y deu ga plö-y; p'irga llwë-y ber ñotso. P'irga  
dig-1PL.INCL deep CONN thrust-1PL.INCL; then set upright-1PL.INCL remain well. Then

yongdo yë-y; p'irga shragwan e dlo-y e lö ī;  
horizontal pole put-1PL.INCL; then parallel pole DEM break-1PL.INCL DEM palm POSS;

shragwan dlo-y p'ir, yë-y ba kingo. P'irga lö zë-y klo  
parallel pole break-1PL.INCL finish, put-1PL.INCL 3 on. Then palm cut-1PL.INCL bush

shko, sho-y, wōsho shi-y. P'irga yë-y yong li kingo shko;  
in, break-1PL.INCL, sponge tear-1PL.INCL. Then put-1PL.INCL floor TOP on to,

ber yongdo. P'irga erä ba yongdo llum jeg-ong kweni, u  
remain horizontal pole. Then just 3POSS horizontal pole up go-PERF like this, house

yongdo yě-y, uyo kwokum yongdo go eñaglo. Yongdo  
horizontal pole put-1PL.INCL, home size horizontal pole with exact. Horizontal pole

e zo-ro-y; p'irga yě-y llum ba shragwan kwe. Yongdo  
DEM cut-PERF-1PL.INCL; then put-1PL.INCL up 3POSS parallel pole must. Horizontal pole

yě-y bamgo; p'irga erä ga shragwan pri-y dushing go. Dushing e  
put-1PL.INCL first; then just CONN parallel pole tie up-1PL.INCL reed with. Reed DEM

kishgwo klashko-so p'öglo roy. Sö-y ga wo-y e  
thread bush-ORGN mountain inside. Bring-1PL.INCL CONN rend-1PL.INCL DEM

pri-y e go ba yongdo go pri-y jek är-ong këm.  
tie up-1PL.INCL DEM with 3POSS horizontal pole with tie up-1PL.INCL go arrive-PERF there.

P'irga ba shragwan pri-y jem-ong, är-ong llum. P'irga erä ugo  
Then 3POSS parallel pole tie up-1PL.INCL go.up-PERF, arrive-PERF up. Then just ugo

skok, kloga ko "ugo"; ugo llëme ga "kwong", llëme ga "pungo", e llë  
break, leaf name "ugo"; ugo NEG CONN "kwong", NEG CONN "pungo", DEM MASS

"klungo"; gueniyo ga pluyo li ugo; ugo erä. Ugo e sko-y e  
"klungo"; but CONN best TOP ugo; ugo just. Ugo DEM break-1PL.INCL DEM

tö-y, orkwo kw-ara krë-y, tö-y teng sakkwara  
gather-1PL.INCL, hand CL.ROUND-one get-1PL.INCL, gather-1PL.INCL POSIT.BE ten

a sakkwara kinsho shkeng orkwo eni bayo eni; sakkwara a sakkpök erä. Eni ga  
to ten and five hand so amount so; ten to twenty just. So CONN

dī-y dī-y dī-y, ga sö-ydë u shko ga yě-y  
roll-1PL.INCL roll-1PL.INCL roll-1PL.INCL, CONN bring-PROSP house to CONN put-1PL.INCL

teng ga kwirkë, kwirkë ber koglo srëngsrëng erä. Eni ga klong ber  
POSIT.BE CONN ripe, ripe remain colour pink just. So CONN palm core remain

dyor dyor ga se-y, se-y srogwan go, sroglo e zë-y  
soft soft CONN sew-1PL.INCL, sew-1PL.INCL half with, white cane DEM cut-1PL.INCL

ga e wo-y. P'irga erä se-ydë e go shko; jeg-ong ga ba  
CONN DEM rend-1PL.INCL. Then just sew-PROSP DEM with in; go-PERF CONN 3POSS

"estera" se-y -ba korga kwe ko "estera". P'irga eni ga är-ong  
"estera" sew-1PL.INCL -3POSS palm leaf DEM name "estera". Then so CONN arrive-PERF

llum; p'irga erä ze-ro-y, p'irga dyü-y dlo shko. P'irga doglo ga  
up; then just cut-PERF-1PL.INCL, then dry-1PL.INCL sun in. Then dry CONN

erä p'o-ydë; p'ë-y jem-ong ga ba sdayo ba junikong kwe  
just attach-PROSP; attach-1PL.INCL go.up-PERF CONN 3POSS side 3POSS this side DEM

t'uk. P'irga ugo zë-y jem-ong, siwa ī ga "un pie"; p'irga se-y  
corner. Then ugo cut-1PL.INCL go.up-PERF, white POSS CONN "un pie"; then sew-1PL.INCL

jem-ong är-ong ba dbo. Liga p'ir-tong e. U p'ir-tong ga  
go.up-PERF arrive-PERF 3POSS top. Then finish-PART CFP. House finish-PART CONN

shi jongña k'or zë obi tyoklo wlo. Ugo dbo yě-y llum, ère pungo; pun  
1PL.INCL OBLI tree cut again ladder PURP. Ugo top put-1PL.INCL up, DEM pungo; pun(go)

e sko-y ga erä tö-y ba kingo ter-ong um um um um  
DEM break-1PL.INCL CONN just gather-1PL.INCL 3 above go.down-PERF IDEOPH

är-ong këm, shunyo shrë llëme wlo. P'irga erä k'or pri-ydë kishgwo go  
arrive-PERF up, rain arrive NEG PURP. Then just tree tie up-PROSP thread with

ga ber teng llum, pluk llë twe ga bakwë llëme. U kw-ara  
CONN remain POSIT.BE up, wind MASS come CONN blow NEG. House CL.ROUND-one

ga shärië-y ga eni.  
CONN make-1PL.INCL CONN so.

### How to make a house

In order to make a house you cut five poles which you thrust well into the ground; whites call them "postes". You need nine of the same size as the house. You thrust the poles, dig a deep hole and thrust them. Then you set them upright so they stay firm. Then you put the horizontal poles. You break the parallel poles, which are from palm trees. You break up the parallel poles and put them over the horizontal ones. You cut the palm trees in the bushes; you break them and take out the inside tissue. Then you put the horizontal poles just like this, the house's horizontal poles, which are the same size as the house. You cut the horizontal poles and then you have to put them on top of the parallel ones, but first you put the horizontal ones. Then you just tie up the parallel ones with reed, which is a kind of thread

you get in the mountain. You take it [from there], rend it and tie up the horizontal poles with it. Then you tie up the parallel ones that go on top. Then you just cut the ugo, the name of the leaf is "ugo"; if there is no ugo, use "pungo" or else "klungo", but the best one is ugo, just ugo. You cut the ugo and put it together; get one hand [measure] of it; get between ten and fifteen or twenty hands of it. Then you roll it and roll it and bring it home and let it ripen; when it ripens it turns pink. The palm core then gets very soft and you sew it in the middle to make an "estera" -that palm leaf is called "estera". That goes up. When you have cut it you let it dry under the sun. Then you attach two on each side to make the corners. You then cut the ugo; whites call it "a foot". You sew it all the way up to the top. It is then done. When the house is finished, you have to cut more trees to make a ladder; you put the tip of the ugo, or rather pungo, upward. You cut the pungo and put it on top like this so the rain does not come in. Then you tie up the ladder with reed so it stays up and the wind does not blow it. That is how you make a house.

### 5.5 Boyo shäriëy sorë

*Delia Gamarra*

Ēpkwo e shäriëy boyo wlo ga ěp dguëy... p'irga kégué tan, shäriëy boyo wlo ga krëy, söy u shko; p'irga poshtëy e p'irga kläy ro shko. Dlunna llë yëy, di klik yëy jong, yök kingo bamgo. P'irga boyo yëy ber jong. Junyo li yëy ba kwota roy; p'irga liydë, eni.

**Boyo shärië-y sorë**  
Boyo make-1PL.INCL how

Ēpkwo e shärië-y boyo wlo ga ěp dguë-y...  
Corn on the cob DEM make-1PL.INCL boyo PURP CONN corn plant-1PL.INCL...

p'irga kégué tan, shärië-y boyo wlo ga krë-y, sö-y u  
then old already, make-1PL.INCL boyo PURP CONN get-1PL.INCL, bring-1PL.INCL house

shko; p'irga poshtë-y e p'irga klä-y ro shko. Dlunna llë  
in; then crack-1PL.INCL DEM then grind-1PL.INCL inside in. Salt MASS

yë-y, di klik yë-y jong, yök kingo bamgo. P'irga boyo  
put-1PL.INCL water hot put-1PL.INCL POSIT.STAND, fire over first. Then boyo

yë-y ber jong. Junyo li yë-y ba kwota roy;  
put-1PL.INCL remain POSIT.STAND. Dough TOP put-1PL.INCL 3SG skin inside;

p'irga li-y-dë, eni.  
then cook-1PL.INCL-PROSP, SO.

### How to make boyo<sup>2</sup>

You take corn on the cob to make boyo. You plant corn; when it is ready [when it ripens], to make boyo you go and bring it in the house. You then crack it and grind it in the house. You add salt and put hot water on the fire [stove] and let it stand there. You then let the boyo stand there. The dough thus obtained you wrap in its skin; then you cook it. That's it.

<sup>2</sup>A type of bread, made out of corn dough.

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