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## Contributions to Chibchan historical linguistics

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## Data presentation

The language data used in the present thesis come from heterogenous sources, modern and premodern. Concerning the use and spelling of language names, I stick to the alternative used in the main source consulted on the respective language: I write <Xinka> with <k>, as Sachse (2010), <Lenca> with <c>, as Arguedas Cortés (1988), and, although Guatuso is also referred to as ‘Malecu’ (e.g., by Chevrier 2017a: 22), I use the term ‘Guatuso’, used by Constenla Umana (1998), since he was my main source on this language. In the case of Macro-Jê languages, I adopted the language names and spellings used by Nikulin (2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2017).

In every case, except for data given between pointed brackets, I adapted the transcriptions of indigenous language data to IPA symbols. Forms from indigenous languages are presented in phonemic or phonetic transcriptions here only if they are also explicitly given as such in the respective source. For the following sources, particular rules apply:

For Bribri and Cabécar data, Margery Peña (1982, 1989) uses specific orthographies including the symbols *m* and *n*, although consonant nasality is not phonemic in these languages. Also, low tone is indicated by the absence of tone marking in his orthography; the latter is also the case in the orthography used by Constenla Umaña (2007) for Térraba. In the case of data from these languages, given in italics here, Margery Peña’s and Constenla Umaña’s transcriptions have been adapted to IPA symbols but are not strictly phonemic. They do not differentiate, for instance, between the sequence of the two stops /t/ and /k/ and the coronal-dorsal, distinctive unit /tk/.

In Constenla Umaña’s (1998) Guatuso data, forms are sometimes given between vertical bars: |...|. These elements indicate morphophonemes underlying phonemic transcriptions and are kept as such in the present thesis.

In the orthography of Boruca data, several rules apply, which are presented in detail in subsection 2.3.4.

Holmer’s (1947, 1952) transcriptions of Kuna represent underlying forms, which can differ from actual phonetic realizations.

The anonymous author of the Muisca manuscript no. 158 from the National Library of Colombia (González de Pérez 1987) gives morphologically complex verb form, including, for instance, first person singular subject and imperfective aspect marking. These forms are cited here as such; morphology not belonging to the root in question is not translated in these cases.

In the case of Tunebo, both /ku/ and the labiovelar /k<sup>w</sup>/ are represented by <cu> in Headland (1997) and by <k<sup>w</sup>> in Huber and Reed (1992). Tunebo descending tone is indicated by the absence of tone marking in Headland (1997) and by <`> in Huber and Reed (1992); both high/rising tone and stress are indicated by an acute accent in the orthography of Huber and Reed (1992) and Headland (1997).

In Chimila, consonant gemination is indicated by Malone (2005); it is not distinctive, according to Malone (2006: 3). More information on the transcription of Chimila data can be found in subsection 2.3.8 below.

In sets juxtaposing potentially related forms from different languages, I use bold for all relevant segments.

Proto-Chibchan words and morphemes reconstructed by Holmer (1947), Wheeler (1972), Holt (1986), and Constenla Umaña (1981, 2012) are given in their original form. In Constenla Umaña's (1981) reconstructions, <\*A> refers to a proto-phoneme \*a or \*ə, <\*I> and <\*U> refer to \*i and \*o, respectively, <\*B> indicates that the proto-form had either \*p or \*b, and <\*L> refers to a liquid archiphoneme that is not further specified (cf. *ibid.*: 359).

In my own reconstructions, \*B and \*G refer to archiphonemes, that is, to Proto-Chibchan stops which are unspecified in terms of voicing. \*H refers to a glottal consonant, which may either have been a stop or a fricative.

In some cases, such as \*<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>n</sup>d- 'tasty', the asterisked form is regularly reflected in different Chibchan languages, but its reflex seems to have been combined, in the daughter languages, with different "stem formatives" (Constenla Umaña 2012: 405) or thematic vowels. This may be illustrated by Kuna *palu* 'salt' (Holmer 1952: 114) versus Chánguena <báli> 'salt, sea' (Pinart 1890: 21, 29), both derived from \*<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>n</sup>d- 'tasty'. The existence of final segments or stem formatives which cannot be reconstructed is indicated by the hyphen in \*<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>n</sup>d- 'tasty' and in similar cases.

## Abbreviations and symbols

Several abbreviations have been used in this thesis. Interlinear glosses and other symbols, such as those for syllable and word boundaries are in accordance with Adelaar (1984), Adelaar and Muysken (2004), Campbell (2004), or The Leipzig Glossing Rules (2015).

### Glossing conventions

AFF	affirmative
AG	agent
AGN	agentive nominalizer
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary
COM	comitative
COREF	coreferential
CTFG	centrifugal direction
CTPT	centripetal direction
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GENR	generic object
GO	goal
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrumental
INT	intensive
INTERR	interrogative
INTR	intransitive
INV	inverse
IPFV	imperfective
L	linking element
LOC	locative
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POT	potential

PP	peripheral participant
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PSD	possessed
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
REA	realis
REFL	reflexive
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
TOP	topic

### Abbreviations of works referred to

Ad	Adelaar 2008
AdM	Adelaar & Muysken 2004
Al	Castro Alves 2004
Am	Amado 2004
GT	Gómez and Torres 2012/13
CU	Constenla Umaña 1987
Gr	Greenberg 1987
H	Henry 1948
Her	Herzog 1886
Ho	Holt 1986, Holt 1988
JC	Jijón y Caamaño 1943
Le	Lehmann 1920
Lo	Loukotka 1968
Na	Nikulin 2015a
Nb	Nikulin 2015b
NS	Nikulin & Salanova 2018
Ol	Oliveira 2005
Pal	Palácio 1984

Pos	Postigo 2009
R	Ribeiro 2012
Roa	Rodrigues 1999
Rob	Rodrigues 2007
RC	Rodrigues and Cabral 2012
Ria	Rivet 1924a
Rib	Rivet 1924b
RV	Ribeiro & van der Voort 2010
Sch	Schuller 1919/20
Si	Silva 2007
Swa	Swadesh 1967
swb	Swadesh 1954

#### Abbreviations of language names

Api	Apinajé
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
Kay	Kayapó
Kgg	Kaingáng
KgP	São Paulo Kaingáng
PC	Proto-Chibchan
PCJ	Proto-Cerrado Jê (= Proto-Amazonian Jê)
PJ	Proto-Jê
PM	Proto-Misumalpan
PMJ	Proto-Macro-Jê
PNJ	Proto-Northern Jê
Pnr	Panará
Port.	Portuguese
PS	Proto-Sumalpan
Sp.	Spanish
Suy	Suyá (Kĩsêdjê)
Tap	Tapayúna
Timb	Timbira
Xav	Xavánte
Xok	Xoklêng

#### Other abbreviations

A	agent
A.D.	<i>anno domini</i>
B.C.	before Christ
C	consonant
forthc.	forthcoming
n.d.	no date
O	object
p.	page
p.c.	personal communication
pl.	plural
S	subject
sg.	singular
sp.	species
tr.	transitive
V	vowel; verb

#### Symbols

x/y	alternating segments
x ~ y	segments in free variation
>	development into
<	development from
/_	in the environment...
ˊ	high or rising tone
-	mid tone
ˋ	low or descending tone
^	falling tone
<...>	graphemic (orthographic) representation
...	underlying morphophoneme
/.../	phonemic representation
[...]	phonetic representation
(...)	optional segment
{...}	instable segments
-	unknown segment (in reconstructed forms); morpheme boundary; feature not present
=	clitic; literal translation
.	division of a gloss relating to a portmanteau morpheme

#	word boundary
+	morpheme boundary; feature present
\$	syllable boundary
*	reconstructed form (if preceding the form in question), non-existing form (if postposed)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	central archiphoneme [a, ə]
B	bilabial archiphoneme [ʰb, b, m, p]
G	velar archiphoneme [k, g]
H	glottal archiphoneme [ʔ, h]
I	near high front undrounded vowel [ɪ]
L	liquid archiphoneme [ɾ, ɽ, ʎ, ʟ, ɹ]
N	nasal archiphoneme [m, n, ŋ]
U	near high back rounded vowel [ʊ]

